

Ráhskan Oká:ra'

Transcriptions and Translations of a Rotinohsión:ni Narrative

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Table of Contents

<u>Table of Contents</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Abstract</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Résumé</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>Glossary of Kanien'kéha Terms</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Chapter 1: Ónhka ni:'i</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Chapter 2: Iotkaráhteron [A Scary Story]</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>2.1 Ráhskan Oká:ra'</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>2.2 Personal connection</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>2.3 Onkwara'shòn:'a - 'our stories'</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>Chapter 3: Representing Narratives</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>3.1 Authenticity</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>3.2 Representing language: transcriptions</u>	<u>30</u>
<u>3.3 Representing language: translations</u>	<u>34</u>
<u>3.4 In summary</u>	<u>36</u>
<u>Chapter 4: Methodology</u>	<u>37</u>
<u>4.1 Transcriptions: The Kanien'kéha Transcription Project</u>	<u>39</u>
<u>4.2 Translations</u>	<u>41</u>
<u>Chapter 5: Discussion</u>	<u>45</u>
<u>5.1 Ónhka?</u>	<u>46</u>
<u>5.2 Oh nahò:ten'?</u>	<u>48</u>
<u>5.3 Kátke?</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Figure 1</u>	<u>51</u>
<u>5.4 Ka' nón:we?</u>	<u>52</u>
<u>Figure 2</u>	<u>54</u>
<u>5.5 Oh nontié:ren?</u>	<u>55</u>
<u>5.6 Oh ní:tsi?</u>	<u>59</u>
<u>Chapter 6: Conclusion</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>6.1 Oh ní:tsi Só:se wahaká:raton'?</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>6.2 Concluding remarks</u>	<u>67</u>
<u>References</u>	<u>69</u>
<u>Appendix A: Ráhskan Oká:ra' - Transcription and Translation</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>Appendix B: 'Vampire Skeleton' 1896 Manuscript</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>Figure 3</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>Appendix C: Sample of Illustrations for the Ráhskan Oká:ra'</u>	<u>102</u>

<u>Figure 4:</u>	<u>102</u>
<u>Figure 5:</u>	<u>103</u>
<u>Figure 6:</u>	<u>103</u>

Abstract

This thesis presents a case study in Indigenous language revitalization focused on the Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) language. Rooted in a community-based approach, the research centers on the transcription and translation of a recorded oral narrative shared by a first-language Kanien'kéha speaker. The narrative, an old Rotinonhsión:ni (Iroquoian) story, served as an opportunity for linguistic and cultural engagement. Through the transcription and translation process, I collaborated with a range of community members—each contributing unique insights into the language, storytelling conventions, and cultural meaning embedded in the narrative. This immersive experience not only deepened my linguistic skills, but also strengthened my cultural understanding and connection to community knowledge systems. The thesis reflects on this collaborative and iterative process as both a method and a pathway for language learning, cultural renewal, and the reclamation of traditional Kanien'kehá:ka narrative forms.

Résumé

Ce mémoire présente une étude de cas sur la revitalisation des langues autochtones, centrée sur la langue Kanien'kéha (Mohawk). Ancrée dans une approche communautaire, la recherche porte sur la transcription et la traduction d'un récit oral enregistré, partagé par un locuteur kanien'kéha de langue maternelle. Ce récit, une ancienne histoire Rotinonhsión:ni (Iroquoienne), a servi de point d'ancrage riche pour l'exploration linguistique et culturelle. Grâce au processus de transcription et de traduction, j'ai collaboré avec divers membres de ma communauté, chacun apportant des perspectives uniques sur la langue, les conventions narratives et les significations culturelles inscrites dans l'histoire. Cette expérience immersive a non seulement renforcé mes compétences linguistiques, mais aussi approfondi ma compréhension culturelle et mon lien avec les savoirs communautaires. Ce mémoire réfléchit à ce processus collaboratif et itératif, à la fois comme méthode et comme voie d'apprentissage linguistique, de renouveau culturel et de réappropriation des formes narratives traditionnelles des Kanien'kehá:ka.

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Prior to presenting this thesis, I want to first acknowledge all the individuals and their great minds who have helped me along with this long and ambitious task. For without them, I would not have been able to do it.

First, niawenhkó:wa to the McGill Ad-Hoc Master's of Indigenous Language Revitalization cohort. We were a small cohort but the weekly classes where we got to meet provided me to challenge my thinking and become a better student through each of our discussions.

Second, I would also like to acknowledge the academic community I found at McGill, specifically the Roti'nikhrowá:nen's group as well as my supervisors Jessica Coon and Noelani Arista. Within the group and through close work with my supervisors, I had the opportunity to meet many individuals in various specialized fields all interested in the same thing: Kanien'kéha. These individuals were always encouraging and pushing me to learn more but also knew when to allow me to do my own thing. They have been the best safety net in this program.

Thirdly, I want to acknowledge the language community in Kahnawà:ke, with special mention of all the staff and board at the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitíóhkwa Language and Cultural Centre. Through them they make it possible for all Kahnawa'kehró:non to have a chance at reclaiming their language and culture and they are constantly innovating ways to improve their methodology. Our community is one that is collectively proud to be Kanien'kehá:ka and the efforts we make daily to encourage language use is evident. I love my community.

Specifically, I must thank a few individuals outside of my supervisory committee who were pivotal to the creation of this thesis. Charlotte Logan, who I had the chance to meet, listen to and speak with on multiple occasions and helped me gain further understanding within Rotinonhsión:ni oral literature and translation work. Akwiratékha' Martin, who with his detailed knowledge of Kanien'kéha sat with me for hours on end to help me with transcriptions and translations, had nothing but patience with me and is now someone I call a dear friend. The entire Kanien'kéha Transcription team who spent their entire summer learning how to transcribe together. And finally, a special regard to Joe "Só:se" Aniatará:ken McGregor, Amelia Tekwatón:ti McGregor, as well as all of our rotiksten'okòn:'a ever involved on the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show* and who actively donate their time and knowledge to the revitalization of language and culture. Thanks to them, I have gained many new friends and we are all able to listen to Kanien'kéha whenever it is needed, for learning purposes or purely for fun.

Finally, I acknowledge my family, especially my tóta who always emphasized the importance of asking *why* as well as my supportive partner who has been by my side these past years in school. Together, they have all always emphasized learning in a way that challenges your preconceived beliefs and seeing perspectives other than your own. They are my safest place and it is from them that I have learned the most. Khenorónkhwa' nakhwá:tsire'.

Niawenhkó:wa sewakwé:kon.

Glossary of Kanien'kéha Terms

Kahnawa'kehró:non	<i>People of Kahnawà:ke</i>
Kanien'kehá:ka	<i>People of the flint 'Mohawk'</i>
Kanien'kéha	<i>Language of the Kanien'kehá:ka</i>
Kaianere'kó:wa	<i>Great Law of Peace</i>
Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen	<i>Word before all else 'Thanksgiving address'</i>
Onkwehón:we	<i>Original people 'Indigenous'</i>
Onkwehonwehnéha	<i>Language of the original people</i>
Thotí:ien's	<i>Elders</i>
Rotinonhsión:ni	<i>People of the longhouse 'Iroquois confederacy'</i>

Chapter 1: Ónhka nì:'i

Onkwehón:we have been reciting their oral histories and narratives for the purpose of knowledge transfer from one generation to the next since time immemorial. However, circumstances of settler colonialism and general cultural genocide have intercepted and impacted transmission of our language and cultural knowledge (Brant, 2023; Decaire, 2020; Green, 2019; Stacey, 2024; Stacey, 2016; Whitebean, 2019). This loss is recognized by my Onkwehón:we communities who have now made a commitment to revitalize and/or reclaim their languages and cultural knowledge.

My home, Kahnawà:ke¹, and my people, the Kanien'kehá:ka, have been collaborating and bringing our minds together since the 1970s to bring our language, Kanien'kéha, back into intergenerational transmission (Decaire, 2023). At the time, the Quebec government had passed Bill 101 which restricted education and all services within the province to the French language. Kahnawa'kehró:non were to attend schools that emphasized French language education. The Kahnawà:ke community and its youth protested this by walking out of schools on September 6th, 1978 and created their schools, reclaiming the education of the youth (Decaire, 2023; Stacey, 2016). Thus began the primary efforts of the Kanien'kéha revitalization movement in Kahnawà:ke.

Kanontienéhtha' Brass nitewakhsennò:ten tánon' wakhsaré:wake'. Kahnawà:ke nitewaké:non, nek tsi òn:wa wenhniseraténion Ahkwesásne kenákere'. Ojistoh Horn iontátiats nake'nisténha tánon' Gregory Brass ronwá:iats ne rake'níha. Kaié:ri niiohserá:ke tsi náhe' takatáhsawen' akatéweienste' nonkwawén:na'. Iah tewakatiesénhse' nek tsi tiawerien'tí:ioht.

¹ Kahnawà:ke is one of six sister Kanien'kehá:ka communities, all of which reside near in lower Ontario/Quebec and upstate New York. Sister communities (starting from the east) are Kahnawà:ke, Kanehsatà:ke, Ganieneh, Akwesásne, Tyendinega, Wáhta, and Ohswé:ken (Six Nations of the Grand River).

My name is Kanontienénhtha' Brass and I belong to the bear clan. I'm from Kahnawà:ke but nowadays I reside in Akwesásne. My mother is Ojistoh Horn and my father is Gregory Brass. Four years ago I began learning my language. It has not been easy, but it is the most rewarding.

Like many Onkwehón:we I have had a constant desire to relearn my language since I was a young child. In the early years of my life, we used to live in my tóta's [grandmother] basement. Although my mother could never speak much Onkwehonwenéha, she strongly believed in raising her children to know who they are as Kanien'kehá:ka and to conduct ourselves in a way that was considerate, respectful, and grounded, much of which stems from our cultural knowledge and the Kaianere'kó:wa². I went to the *Karihwanó:ron* Kanien'kéha immersion school and my tóta spoke to me only in Onkwehonwenéha. Up until the age of five, I vividly remember the experience of being able to speak and understand my language.

This all shifted when our family packed our bags and moved to Vancouver for the next four years so that my mother could attend medical school. I stopped speaking almost immediately and I did not even realize it. What child would? It was not until the next summer that I understood what happened.

While visiting with my tóta, it was a hot summer day and I had been running around outside with my older cousin. I went inside and told my tóta "I'm thirsty". The conversation went along the lines of this:

Tóta: *Onkwehonwenéha satá:ti. Sania 'táthens ken?* [Speak *Onkwehonwenéha*. Are you thirsty?]

Me: [silence]

Tóta: *Nahò:ten' tesatonhontsó:ni?* [What do you want?]

² The Kaianere'kó:wa [the Great Law (of Peace)] is the code of law to which Kanien'kehá:ka and other Rotinohsion:ni peoples have conducted themselves and been held accountable to. Rotinohsion:ni peoples include the Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), Onödowá'ga:' (Seneca), Onüda'gegá' (Onondaga), OnAyote'a:ká: (Oneida), Gayogohó:nq' (Cayuga), and Skarù:rë' (Tuscarora).

Me: [silence]

Tóta: *Tesatonhontsó:ni ken ohné:kanos ahshneki:ra'?* [Do you want some water for you to drink?]

Me: [silence]

Tóta: I'm asking if you want some water to drink.

Me: *Hen!* [yes!]

Tóta: So say this "*enwá:ton' ken ohné:kanos enkhneki:ra'...*" [Can I have some water that I will drink?]

Me: *enwá:ton' ken ohné:kanos enkhneki:ra'*

I bring attention to this memory because it has been pivotal in pushing me to return to language. In those moments of silence while my *tóta* waits for me to reply, I can feel myself recognize the words that she is saying, but there is so much uncertainty behind understanding them. I know that I know this question. I know that I used to know how to answer it. The words, however, have gone. It was the first time I became aware that I could no longer speak and it was also the first time I felt personal shame around not knowing my language anymore.

As I grew into a young adult, in school I was always unsure of what I wanted to study. I knew I was good at puzzles, math, and sciences. I thought I would follow in my mother's footsteps and also pursue a degree in medicine. The only problem was that I really never cared much for it at all. I was accustomed to the biological sciences and I functioned well in such classes, but I never felt particularly passionate for it.

The only time I felt true excitement in academia was when I got to learn other languages. I learned some German in college. I naturally picked up a good amount of Spanish when I lived for a short time in Peru. While there, I also loved attending the courses that were offered in Quechua. In my year at the University of British Columbia, I practiced Italian.

It was only in the first year of my undergrad at McGill that I finally had the chance to take a class in my own Onkwehón:we language, Kanien'kéha. It just so happened that I also decided to simultaneously take an introductory class in linguistics. At the time, I did not realize the impact that the two classes would have on me, but they changed everything. After this first semester, I decided to minor in linguistics and I began to think linguistically about my own language. I also sought out more opportunities to understand Kanien'kéha vitality in Kahnawà:ke.

In May 2018, I helped to organize McGill's first ever *Indigenous Language Revitalization Symposium*³, which was created as a response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's⁴ 2017 Call to Action #16, which states: "We call upon post-secondary institutions to create university and college degree and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages." The symposium invited Indigenous language leaders from across Canada to hold discussions for the purpose of answering the question: *what is the role of the university in supporting Indigenous language revitalization?* It was at this two-day event that I was formally introduced to Dr. Kahtehrón:ni Stacey and first learned about *Skátne Enionkwaió'ten*⁵, a five-year project established by Kahtehrón:ni in 2017 and run through till 2022. Little did I know at the time that Kahtehrón:ni would contact me in 2019 to offer a part-time position on the project.

The position lasted five months and it aimed to assess the progress of the project as it was coming up on its third year. From one organization to the next, myself and my co-facilitator met with different representatives from different Kahnawà:ke community organizations to assess

³ See more about the results of the symposium here: <https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/papers/s4655m662>

⁴ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada was established in 2008 as part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. Its mandate was to document the experiences of survivors, educate the public, and promote healing and reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. The Commission released its final report in 2015, including 94 Calls to Action.

⁵ *Skátne Enionkwaió'ten* ' [we will all work together] was a five-year strategic community language project implemented by Kahtehrón:ni Stacey in Kahnawà:ke. It ran from 2017-2022 and it aimed at assessing the community organizational needs to foster Kanien'kéha language use.

progress on the language goals they set in 2017. From this opportunity I was able to learn in-depth about the state of Kanien'kéha in the community.

Kahnawà:ke is making strides in Kanien'kéha revitalization. We have the Kahnawà:ke Language Law⁶, enacted in 1999-2000 and amended in 2006-2007. We have two Kanien'kéha elementary immersion schools (i.e.: *Karihwanó:ron* and *Karonhianónha*). The language nest *Iakwahwatsiratátie*⁷ has been supporting families in language since 2005 and *Ratiwennahní:rats*⁷ has been pushing out new speakers since 2002. New opportunities for introductory Kanien'kéha classes are made available often. The community recognizes the importance of their language and are proud to be Kanien'kehá:ka (Stacey & Whitebean, 2018).

Despite the efforts made for Kanien'kéha revitalization, there remains many challenges to overcome. In working with *Skátne Enionkwaió'ten*⁷, I came to understand the lack of available human resources for Kanien'kéha revitalization work. As adult immersion programming has succeeded in creating advanced⁸ speakers (Decaire, 2023), little support exists for advanced learners to reach superior and/or distinguished levels of proficiency (Brant, 2023; Green, 2019, Stacey, 2016; Stacey 2024). Additionally, recent graduates from immersion programs join the workforce as needed following graduation. Lack of time and support results in an overall plateau in Kanien'kéha proficiency for recent graduates of immersion programming, ultimately affecting children's ability to acquire more advanced levels of Kanien'kéha naturally. There also is a

⁶ To read more about the Kahnawake Language Law, follow this link:

<http://www.kahnawakemakingdecisions.com/legislation/laws/docs/Language.pdf>

⁷ *Ratiwennahní:rats* [They strengthen the words/language] is a full-time two-year adult Kanien'kéha immersion program. It started as a year-long cohort in 2002 and in 2008 it became two years. Eventually they were able to run a new cohort every year, with the two cohorts staggered every year. It is run by the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Language and Cultural Center (KORLCC) in Kahnawà:ke.

⁸ The terms 'advanced', 'superior' and 'distinguished' refers to the proficiency scale created by the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, are a standardized framework for assessing language ability across four skill areas—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—organized into five main levels: Novice, Intermediate, Advanced, Superior, and Distinguished, with sublevels (Low, Mid, High) for greater specificity in the first three categories.

requirement for more involvement from parents to incorporate Kanien'kéha at home (Stacey & Whitebean, 2018). There simply are not enough resources for advanced learners nor human resources to create such resources.

My time working on McGill's Indigenous Language Symposium and on *Skátne Enionkwaió'ten'* along with the opportunity to learn Kanien'keha in parallel to introductory linguistics allowed me to grasp my language in a way I had not previously. Together, they completely altered my trajectory in academia and pushed me to pursue more opportunities within Kanien'kéha revitalization. By the time I was graduating in 2020, I knew that once I finished my Bachelors degree, I would not be applying to medical school, but to *Ratiwennahní:rats* instead.

I attended the *Ratiwennahní:rats* adult Kanien'kéha language immersion program from September 2021 to June 2023. Due to the COVID-19 restrictions at the time, our cohort was the smallest the program had ever seen. There were only seven of us. Classes were filled with laughter daily as we played with the language, made embarrassing but hilarious mistakes, and told stories from all of our different life experiences. We became lifelong friends and they are some of my biggest cheerleaders.

I remember in my first week of attending the program, I found myself frustrated. It was my first time attending any schooling on the reserve since I was 11. I thought class would follow a rigid structure with days planned out to the minute. I was quite naive. While indeed there was structure and consistent lesson planning, classes were fluid and fun. There were plenty of grammar lessons but I felt that our class emphasized storytelling above all else. Some days if we felt too mentally drained, we would sit for hours and practice telling one another about our day, asking questions and listening. We would debate. We would go for breakfast and learn different

words for food. Everything was a learning activity and it flowed. After all, telling one another stories is one of the things we, as Kanien'kehá:ka, love to do most.

Since graduating from *Ratiwennahní:rats*, I have continued to practice Onkwehonwehnéha on my own. It has not been easy and if I am honest my proficiency has either plateaued or decreased since graduation. I often find myself caught up in the demands of academia as well as home life, too distracted to feel the passion I experienced daily at *Ratiwennahní:rats*. I think this is a normal experience for many Onkwehón:we graduating from similar immersion programs.

Initially, when I decided to pursue a Master's degree in Indigenous Language Revitalization, I was primarily focused on linguistic analysis. However, as the course of my studies progressed, I surprisingly spent the most time learning different transcription and translation methods. I began to actively listen to old recordings again of our *rotiksten'okòn: 'a* tell stories and laugh as they joked back and forth, playing with the language. This is where I feel the most determined in language. I love telling stories. I love to listen to others tell stories. Most of all I love storytelling in Kanien'kéha and I wish all Onkwehón:we could experience how we as Onkwehón:we tell all stories of different kinds.

It is from listening to our stories in language that I form the basis of this thesis on.

More specifically, for this thesis I have decided to transcribe and translate one of the stories told by *rokstén:ha* [elder] Joe "Só:se" Aniatará:ken McGregor told on the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show*⁹. Furthermore, I have decided to record the process of transcription and translation while addressing the challenges and issues that emerged throughout. The experience of creating the transcribed and translated story will ultimately enhance my

⁹ The *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show* is an hour long radio show that premiered on Kahnawà:ke's K103.7 FM radio station back in 1992. It features first language speakers of Kanien'kéha speaking only in Kanien'kéha on subjects of all kinds.

understanding as a Kanien'kéha language learner regarding what I, as a second language (L2) learner, can gain from engaging deeply with a Rotinonhsión:ni narrative.

The story I have chosen to focus on in particular is one that Só:se told on October 23, 2019, about the *ráhskan oká:ra'* [skeleton story], a common Rotinonhsión:ni¹⁰ narrative about a flesh-eating skeleton. I selected this particular story for reasons that I will elaborate in [Chapter 2](#). The thesis will be organized in chapters as follows:

In [Chapter 2](#) I will present a shortened generalized English version of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*, which pulls from multiple versions of the story I have come across. Following this I will discuss the Rotinonhsión:ni oral tradition and why we as Rotinonhsión:ni tell the stories that we do. This will expand into the role that storytelling plays in Kanien'kéha revitalization.

In [Chapter 3](#) I will then present a brief literature review regarding best practices for transcription and translation for the purpose of Indigenous language and cultural revitalization/reclamation.

In [Chapter 4](#), I turn attention to the methodology I have employed throughout this thesis and give detailed explanations of how transcriptions and translations were completed.

Then, in [Chapter 5](#), by using the created transcriptions, I then interpret translations according to the following questions to contextualize and discuss the *ráhskan oká:ra': ónkha* [who] - as in who is involved in storytelling; *nahò:ten'* [what] - as in what kind of genre of story is the *ráhskan oká:ra'*; *kátke* [when] - when is the story placed in time; *ka' nó:n:we* [where] - what place is the story tied to; *oh nontié:ren* [why] - why is this story told; and to finally conclude the discussion section with question of *oh ní:tsi* [how] - how does Só:se tell a story?

¹⁰ Rotinonhsión:ni is a Kanien'kéha term meaning 'the people of the longhouse' and I will use this term interchangeably with the word 'Iroquois' to refer to the Iroquois peoples.

To conclude this thesis, in [Chapter 6](#) I will relay a summary of all the details presented in this thesis. Using the insights I have gained from transcription, translation, and interpretation, I will connect these concepts to the ongoing efforts in Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization to illustrate how to effectively portray these narratives for such revitalization efforts.

Finally, this thesis contains a significant contribution in the form of an appendix, featuring three different sections. The first section contains the transcriptions and translations of Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*. The transcriptions are accompanied by notes that expand on the deeper and broader meanings of words in context, as they arose during the translation process, indicating that a one-to-one translation was difficult. In the second section, I provide a word-for-word translation of the 1896 manuscript titled *Vampire Skeleton*, which was written by John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt and is archived at the Smithsonian Anthropological Archives. I include this translated work as I make reference to Hewitt's manuscript on multiple occasions throughout the thesis and also because I have yet to find an English translation of this manuscript. Finally, in the third section, I provide a number of illustrations that have been created as part of future work to come from Só:se's transcribed narratives.

Chapter 2: Iotkaráhteron [A Scary Story]

In Kanien'kéha, the word for 'story' is *oká:ra'*. On the October 23, 2019 episode of the *All Kanien'keha Radio Talk Show*, the *ráhskan* story is referred to in Kanien'kéha as a *iotkaráhteron*, a 'scary story'. Books that present Rotinonhsión:ni folktales, legends, and myths often contain the story with some slight variation. Two books worth mentioning are *Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths* (Curtin & Hewitt, 1918) and *Iroquois Stories: Heroes and Heroines, Monsters and Magic* (Bruchac, 1985). Another source is the previously mentioned 1896 *Vampire Skeleton* manuscript written by J. N. B. Hewitt.

Prior to giving focus to the version which I center this thesis on, it is important that I present a generalized paraphrasing of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*, which is given in section [2.1](#). This generalized version pulls from multiple stories and some variations are highlighted. From this, I will then begin to elaborate on my own personal connection to the story in section [2.2](#). Then in section [2.3](#) I expand upon the story within the context of the community and Kanien'kéha language revitalization.

2.1 Ráhskan Oká:ra'

A couple is walking through the woods. Sometimes it is just the two of them, husband and wife, and sometimes they have a young child with them. It is getting late and they are in need of shelter to rest for the night. They find themselves at a log cabin and no one is home. Although once inside, the couple finds the skeleton of a man. Back then, the people did not bury their dead and often left the body above ground on a scaffold.

As the couple settles in and the night progresses, the wife hears something. It sounds like someone is chewing something and smacking its lips as it eats. Confused, the wife checks her surroundings and notices a stream or pool of blood gathering. Her eyes follow the blood to see the skeleton feeding on her now dead husband (or in other versions the child). Determined to ensure that the skeleton does not realize she is aware of it, the woman makes an excuse to go outside to fetch something. Once she is outside, she flees and sprints towards the nearby village. Some versions mention that her husband escapes with her.

The skeleton begins chasing the woman and yells and whoops after her. She runs hard through the woods until eventually she makes it to the village. Upon her arrival, the people make a meeting and determine that a group must leave to the log cabin to kill the skeleton so that it does not prey upon others. The group heads to the cabin and finds the skeleton. They kill it and set the log cabin on fire.

Some versions conclude with words of caution as to why we as *rotinonhsión:ni* take the precautions and perform the ceremonies that we do when an individual passes.

2.2 Personal connection

Kè:iare' shikeksà:'a tiótkons nia'tekaká:rake iakwakará:tonskwe' ne akhwá:tsire'. I remember that as a child, my family used to tell all kinds of stories with one another. The type of stories that we would tell depended on the time and type of day which it is told. In the mornings, my aunts would gather around in the kitchen and drink coffee while my grandmother told them a story about her life as a young rebellious woman in the 1960s and 1970s¹¹. After work and

¹¹ For more fun stories regarding this rebellious lady, Kahentinétha Horn, listen to the podcast *Coffee with My Ma*, produced by her daughter Kaniehtí:io Horn: <https://www.coffeewithmya.com/>

school, we would all tell stories about our days. If it was snowing, perhaps my mother would recall the days of the 1998 Quebec Ice Storm and how people would skate down the road to visit family and neighbours and how as children we were given baths in the kitchen sink. Sometimes, when things had become difficult, we would remind ourselves of harder days, like the 1990 Oka Crisis¹², and how even through that, our family had made it out in one piece and became stronger because of it.

I love it when we tell stories. It is the way in which we as Kanien'kehá:ka have passed down our histories and knowledge for millenia. We have stories about creation, about law, about the roles and responsibilities of all life on earth, and about our ceremonies which many of us continue to practice today. While all stories have their own individual purpose, the type of story that I love the most is the one often told late at night when we gather as a group around a fire: scary stories.

The *ráhskan* [skeleton] story is one of those stories I faintly recall hearing as a child. I remembered that there was a husband, a wife, a house, and the sound of something smacking its lips and chewing. Additionally, as a child, I remember gaining the understanding that there used to be a time when we as Onkwehón:we used to bury our dead above the ground.

It was not until one day when I was 27 years old and sitting in my Kanien'kéha immersion class that I heard this story again. One of my teachers handed out a 10-page document titled *Ohré:nis*. It was a transcription from a scary story recorded on October 23rd, 2019, by the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show*. Our teacher braced the class for the recording they were about to play, advising us not to get too caught up in trying to comprehend completely what the

¹²The Oka Crisis was a 78-day armed standoff in 1990 between the Kanien'kehá:ka people, Quebec police, and the Canadian military, sparked by the proposed expansion of a golf course onto land—including a burial ground—claimed by the Kanien'kehá:ka community of Kanehsatà:ke; it became a defining moment in Onkwehón:we resistance in Canada, drawing national attention to unresolved land disputes and Indigenous sovereignty (Obomsawin, 1993).

speaker, “Só:se”, was saying as Só:se’s cadence is quicker than other speakers we had heard before and our language proficiency and comprehension was not yet high enough to understand the totality of the story. They pressed play and Só:se’s voice sounded throughout the room.

As predicted by the teacher, I could not understand the majority of what Só:se said. However, every few lines of speech, the teacher would pause the recording to help us understand. It must have taken over an hour to get through the entire 14 minutes. It made class go on for an extra 30 minutes or so. None of us students were up for leaving mid-story. We stayed and we listened and it was worth it.

By the end of it, I thought to myself: “That’s THAT story!” It did exist, I just had not heard it in a while.

In the years following that day, when I had asked others if they had heard the story, I noticed a gap in knowledge. People who were actively learning Kanien’kéha and listened to the radio show were familiar with it, elders were familiar with it or perhaps told different versions of it, but those outside of the Kanien’kéha speaking/learning community were mostly unaware of it. Why was that? What happened to these stories and why were they not being told anymore? What other stories have we as Kanien’kehá:ka lost access to because we stopped speaking our language?

The *ráhskan oká:ra’* is just one of many narratives that were told amongst our elders when they were children. While my work focuses specifically on Só:se’s telling, it is my hope that it inspires the retelling of many others. I hope that the re-visitation of the story in its transcribed form brings the story to all Kanien’kehá:ka of varying proficiencies and allows for it to be interacted with once again.

2.3 *Onkwara'shòn:'a* - 'our stories'

As previously stated, the *ráhskan oká:ra'* is a *iotkaráhteron*. It is an oral narrative with its different versions told across the Rotinonhsión:ni confederacy. In this thesis, I consider it as one of the more informal types of oral literature that exists amongst many other types of oral narratives within Kanien'kehá:ka culture and the wider Rotinonhsión:ni nations.

Tsi tiotonhontsatáhsawe' [creation story], *Ohén:ton Karihwatékhwen* [matters before all else] or [thanksgiving address], *Kaianere'kó:wa* [Great Law], diplomatic speeches, birth and death speeches, and others, are all forms of Rotinonhsión:ni oral literature. William Bright¹³, a scholar in Indigenous linguistics and literature, defines oral literature as a “body of discourses or texts, which, within any society, is considered worthy of dissemination, transmission, and preservation in essentially constant form” (1994). The different forms of Rotinonhsión:ni oral literature named above are considered as more formal as they are often recited during ceremony, festivals, and formal gatherings.

While I cannot state with certainty how the *ráhskan oká:ra'* was traditionally narrated in past centuries, its presentation on the public radio show indicates that it has been shared in more casual settings, such as during social gatherings or celebrations. Like other forms of oral literature, including the *Ohén:ton Karihwatékhwen*, the story is conveyed in various artistic styles depending on the storyteller. Additionally, the way the *ráhskan oká:ra'* has been passed down over the years implies that, akin to other oral narratives, it carries potential teachings relevant to the Rotinonhsión:ni experience. If it did not hold such significance, it would not have been shared. So, firstly: *what kind of story is it* and secondly: *what knowledge is embedded within it?*

¹³ William O. Bright (1928–2006) was an American linguist who made contributions to the documentation and analysis of Indigenous languages of the Americas, especially through his work on oral traditions, narrative structures, and the storytelling practices of Indigenous peoples.

In *Seneca Fiction, Legends and Myths* (Curtin & Hewitt, 1918), the two authors released their collection of transcribed, translated, and edited versions of Seneca stories. The collection features a story titled *The Vampire Skeleton* which is about the same *ráhskan* narrative described in this thesis. In the introduction, Curtin classifies their own version of the story *The Vampire Skeleton*, as fiction, as it meets the criteria where the fictional stories are “composed and related to amuse, to mystify, or to glorify some hero... [and] the result is a fabrication because it does not rest on facts of the human experience”. However, fiction is too broad of a category.

Another category to consider are folktales. Hansen (2017) defines the qualities of a folktale as a narrative that centers human characters and deals with supernatural elements, both of which apply to Só:se’s narrative.

Still, these two definitions given by Hansen and Curtin fall short. The reason for this is that both “fiction” and “folktale” fail to encapsulate the embedded cultural lessons and knowledge contained within such stories, a fact about Indigenous narratives that are recognized by Sarah Hernandez and her work in her 2023 publication *We Are the Stars*.

Sarah Hernandez is an assistant professor of Native American literature at the University of New Mexico. She is a Sicangu Lakota woman and in her book *We Are the Stars*, she examines how settler colonialism infiltrated Oceti Sakowin (Lakota Narratives) literary narratives to insert Christian beliefs which ultimately decentered women's traditional roles as cultural knowledge holders and thus shifted Dakota lifeways from a matriarchy to a patriarchy. In the introduction, Hernandez defines three Oceti Sakowin literary genres: (1) real tales which are ancient stories concerning “different beings from ourselves”; (2) novelistic tales which are also ancient but characters are the people themselves; and (3) local tales which are modern and tied to specific locations. More importantly, what the three genres share in common is that they all are

constantly alluded to by the people and they help to perpetuate Oceti Sakowin everyday life (p. 14).

We also see stories of a similar nature in Tlingit oral narratives about the trickster character Raven. A collection of translated Raven stories was published by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer in 1987, and in 1999, the two authors once again reflected on the trickster stories, stating how in Tlingit culture, Raven is not meant to symbolize a god or creator, but rather as a figure in narratives that Tlingit peoples can reflect on to recognize the trickster traits within themselves. The Raven is neither good nor bad, but represents mischief that is present in human nature. Those who told Raven stories learned from Raven stories.

This commonality of storytelling is shared across all cultural and religious groups across the world: the transmission of any story within a group perpetuates the lifeways of such a group.

The fact that the *ráhskan* narrative has been told across Rotinonhsión:ni communities over centuries informs us as listeners that the story perpetuates Rotinonhsión:ni lifeways and therefore it was valuable to tell it.

As stated in section [2.2](#), in the years following my first encounter with Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan*, I noticed a gap in knowledge regarding the story and that individuals who were not L2 learners of Kanien'keha seemed less likely to be familiar with it. This may be because stories like the *ráhskan oká:ra'* are told in Kanien'kéha and due to the loss in Kanien'kéha transmission, less and less young people engage in conversation with Kanien'kéha speakers who have knowledge of the story.

For Onkwehón:we peoples, our narratives have been told orally and in language since time immemorial. The oral literature which we transmit through the generations contains important cultural knowledge and lessons. They are the original instructions. However, due to

the effects of settler colonialism and cultural genocide, as Onkwehón:we we can no longer understand the language that was originally used to communicate them. Therefore, documentation of these narratives (as well as general language documentation) is vital for language and cultural revitalization/reclamation and this is recognized by many Kanien'kehá:ka scholars (Brant, 2023; Green, 2019; Stacey, 2024; Stacey, 2016).

In her thesis, Kahtehrón:ni Stacey developed the *Framework for Rotinonhsión:ni Language Pedagogy* (2016). The framework highlights two approaches to language learning: communicative and structural. Within the communicative approach, Stacey defines the oral tradition as one of its two components. She explains its importance for Rotinonhsión:ni Language Pedagogy as “language, culture, and knowledge [is acquired] through stories, histories, formal oration, and traditional skills including land based teachings” (p. 64). Stacey then used this pedagogy for her study discussed in her 2024 dissertation. She created a peer study group of women, all of whom were advanced Kanien'kéha learners striving to improve their proficiency. One of the learning activities they employed in their study group was reading. They selected different written narratives from different first language (L1) speakers to use for language analysis and learning, as well as for gaining cultural knowledge embedded within the stories. Stacey's work emphasizes the value of L1 documentation and storywork to support higher level Kanien'kéha learning.

In Brant (2023), the author argues for the importance of authentic L1 Kanien'kéha input for learners. In his interviews with L2 learners, interviewees often mention how they listen to L1 recordings and transcribe words themselves. Some even prefer recordings to have transcriptions already completed for them as it “helps to ensure correct comprehension and interpretation of the Kanyen'kéha utterance” (p. 39). In his dissertation, he talks about how he used Kanien'kéha

documentation when visiting with L1 speakers to learn how to talk about different topics. Participants often expressed the need for language documentation to follow a chronological day as in *how do we talk as we move through the morning versus evening* and *how do we explain how to sew a fancy outfit* (p. 36)? This contextualization is necessary for language documentation.

According to many Kanien'kehá:ka, language documentation, transcription, and translation work is regarded as a valuable resource. It allows for individuals learning Kanien'kéha to continue to have access to different types of L1 speech and knowledge, as well as challenges their knowledge in the Kanien'kéha language. Then, through close work with such documentation, learners build their cultural knowledge. Proficiency in Kanien'kéha allows the Kanien'kehá:ka people to access the wisdom embedded in their narratives. How do we ensure that such documentation is represented in its best form so that the cultural knowledge and contextualization embedded within it is not lost?

In this thesis, I explore language documentation methods of transcription and translation so that such transcriptions and translations prioritize language revitalization goals. Then I hope to take the products of such documentation to use it and better understand the cultural knowledge that can be gained from said documentation. I will use Só:se's narrative of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* as a case study to answer the question of: *how does one tell a story in Kanien'kéha?*

More specifically, in the remainder of this thesis, I address the following:

1. *What methods and techniques are used in Kanien'kéha storytelling?*
2. *What kinds of knowledge are embedded within the Ráhskan oká:ra'?*
3. *How does the process of language documentation support Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization?*

Chapter 3: Representing Narratives

In [Chapter 2](#), I discussed how Rotinonhsion:ni oral narratives contain cultural knowledge about Rotinonhsion:ni world views and lifeways. In the past, we have seen different attempts of translating these narratives into English. *How does one then represent such oral narratives within documentation in way that mitigates linguistic and cultural knowledge loss?* This chapter explores different literature to investigate transcription and translation practices of Onkwehón:we narratives in other Onkwehón:we language communities.

However, prior to investigation, we need to first define how “authenticity” applies to such work, which is done in section [3.1](#). Then in section [3.2](#) and [3.3](#) we explore how narratives have been transcribed and translated before and their usability for current language and cultural revitalization goals. Analysis of past translation work will inform me where earlier translation work of oral narratives fell short. Through reviewing recent transcription and translation work of other Indigenous languages I can better understand how to represent Kanien’keha, which I will be considering throughout this chapter.

3.1 Authenticity

Prior to considering how Rotinonhsion:ni have represented oral narratives in the past, it is vital that we define what it means for translations to be “authentic”.

“Authenticity” for translation work is a myth. In choosing to translate any narrative from its original language to another, meaning will inevitably be lost because of the altered semantics and pragmatics of the translated language (Hanks & Severi, 2014, p. 17). This may be especially true for Onkwehón:we languages like Kanien’kéha which are more vastly typologically different from English than for example French is to English. This means that the way that languages from

the Indo-European language family represent linguistic concepts is not at all similar to Kanien'kéha.

Kanien'kéha is a polysynthetic language that contains three word categories: verbs, nouns, and particles. A single word in Kanien'kéha may express what constitutes a full sentence in English (Decaire, 2023). For example, in line 31 of the transcribed story presented in Appendix A, Só:se uses the word *iontenonhsón:niskwe'* meaning [one used to habitually make their house]. If we break the word down to its linguistic morphological components, we see how the word is pieced together:

(1) Iontenonhsón:niskwe'

Ion-te-nonhs-onni-s-kwe'

She/someone-SemiReflexive-*house-make*-Habitually-FormerPast

She/someone used to habitually make their house

This process is the same for even abstract words like in (2):

(2) Ia'tewakaterihwaién:ta'se'

I-a' -te-waka-te-rihw-a-ienta-' s-e'

Translocative - factual - duplicative - 'I' - semireflexive - *matter* - joiner - *have* - benefactive - punctual

I decided [literal: An issue did settle on the ground for me there]

Language concepts, like that in (2), while possible to be expressed in English, ultimately lose their full meaning in the translation process. This makes authenticity difficult to achieve.

However, there still is truth in the claim that some transcriptions and translations may be more “authentic” than others.

Consider the impacts of settler colonialism on Onkwehón:we narratives. Settler colonialism, as defined by Hernandez, is “a continuous and ongoing process of Indigenous erasure that seeks to eliminate tribal nationhood by destroying Indigenous lifeways and replacing them with Western beliefs and values. Settler colonialism is an invasive process that erases Indigenous people and communities at multiple levels: culturally, linguistically, socially, politically, and legally” (2023, p. 4). In discussing oral literature, how might settler colonialism have impacted this?

As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), Hernandez (2023) investigated the recording and transmission of Dakota narratives through history. She found that through transcription and translation methods that prioritized the Catholic missionary agenda, it allowed for the reinterpretation of traditional Oceti narratives to support Catholic beliefs. For example, in the first chapter of her book *We Are the Stars*, Hernandez discusses how missionaries developed a writing system for the Dakota language and translated Oceti Star narratives using language that emphasized biblical ideology. They also developed a dictionary and omitted certain translations that did not support Western viewpoints. For example, the word for *land* and *mother* is the same, but it was never made mention of in the dictionary. Actions like this removed the role of the women from the narratives, ultimately shifting how Dakota peoples organized themselves from a matriarchy to a patriarchy. No longer were the women the knowledge keepers.

Then, in *Chapter Three* she juxtaposes how narratives have been infiltrated by settler colonialism to how they are now being decolonized. She emphasizes the work of Ella Cara Deloria to make this point. Deloria was the first Dakota anthropologist and linguist. Using her knowledge of the language and Oceti Sakowin narratives, she went through the above described translation works and corrected them. She observed that translations from settler-colonial

contexts frequently prioritized free translation to reflect Dakota ways of thinking, customs, and metaphors, yet they overlooked the cultural and linguistic subtleties present in the intricate Oceti Sakowin literary traditions. She believed the Dakota language should be translated with “word-units” where important knowledge and cultural implications were encoded in them. Through her work, she was able to re-center women and recognize them as playing the critical role of knowledge keepers (Hernandez, 2023). At the time, scholars often dismissed her work and remained insistent on their prioritization of settler-colonial translations of Oceti Sakowin narratives as authentic, though today we may argue that Deloria’s representation may be more “authentic” than previous versions.

Considering Kanien’kéha oral narratives, although it's impossible to achieve total authenticity, what methods can be used to represent the language in such narratives as faithfully as possible? In the next two sections, I turn to different works that emphasize Onkwehón:we oral narratives and the transcription and translation work done on them.

3.2 Representing language: transcriptions

How do I represent Só:se’s narrative on the page?

To answer this question, first we must consider the following: for whom are the transcriptions being created for? For what purpose are the transcriptions to be used? How might the transcriptions be used in the future?

If one steps into an archive to review historical documentation on Onkwehón:we languages, it is likely that the manuscripts found will be the result of missionary work (Hernandez, 2023; Red Shirt, 2016). These archived manuscripts, though created for the purpose of the settler colonialist agenda of converting Onkwehón:we peoples to the Catholic faith, are nonetheless valuable for present day language revitalization. One example of such value can be

seen in the 2011 documentary short-film titled *We Still Live Here* which follows Jesse Little Doe Baird's mission to revive the language Wampanoag using archived manuscripts from missionaries. Another example is Megan Lukaneic's work on Wendat revitalization, where she also draws language from Jesuit missionary archives to define Wendat verbal structure (Lukaniec, 2018). The writing style in these manuscripts are often outdated and can be difficult to read. While such archival language documentation is valuable, they were not created for Onkwehón:we peoples on a mission to learn their languages.

One example of archival language documentation within a Rotinonhsión:ni context that I will discuss is once again Hewitt's 1896 manuscript *Vampire Skeleton*. The author, Hewitt, who has been mentioned multiple times in this thesis, was a linguist and ethnographer that specialized in Iroquoian languages and he worked for the Smithsonian Institution. A biographical note made by the Smithsonian says that Hewitt was born near a Tuscarora reserve near Lewiston, New York, and that his mother was of Tuscarora, French, Oneida, and Scottish descent. Having grown up near the Tuscarora community, he learned how to speak Tuscarora and eventually went on to learn other Rotinonhsión:ni languages, including Kanien'kéha. This detail is important because the *Vampire Skeleton* is written in Kanien'kéha at the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve. It is unclear whether his manuscript represents a word-for-word transcription telling of the story to him by another fluent Kanien'kéha speaker, or if it is a quick paraphrasing of a story which was told to him. In reviewing the manuscript, I wonder how proficient Hewitt truly was in Kanien'kéha and whether this impacted the "authenticity" of the language and narrative presented in the 1896 manuscript. Another question that I have: who was Hewitt writing this manuscript for and why?

Related questions are considered in Delphine Red Shirt's 2016 publication *George Sword's Warrior Narratives, Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition*. Red Shirt is an Oglala Sioux woman from the Pine Ridge Reservation and has her PhD in American Indian Studies from the University of Arizona. In her book, Red Shirt examines warrior narratives transcribed by George Sword. Though he had learned how to write using the English orthography, George Sword was never literate in English. As he recited an oral narrative he recorded every word that was said. At the time of Sword's work, the Lakota culture was at a time of transition between orality and literacy. Red Shirt shows through her study that this transition did not yet affect the oral tradition (pp. 40-41). This is important to note for other transcribed narratives in other languages, as writing may be impacted by an author's desire to omit certain language or details that they may have viewed as nonessential to the narrative, such as may be the case for Hewitt's 1896 manuscript. Additionally, if they were not fluent in the language that they transcribed, English writing tendencies may seep into the transcriptions, affecting overall "authenticity".

So how do I represent transcriptions of the language? Do I represent every sound present in the language through use of the International Phonetic Alphabet¹⁴ (IPA)? The IPA was developed to create a uniform way of representing the sounds of the world's languages and it is used mostly in phonetic transcription. Individuals learning Onkwehón:we languages will find phonetic transcriptions useful if they are focused on subjects like representing dialectal differences, but this population is small.

¹⁴ The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was created in 1888 by Paul Passy and the International Phonetic Association to provide a standardized system for representing speech sounds across languages. It was based on earlier phonetic alphabets and has since become the most widely used tool for phonetic transcription. See: *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 195–214.

Another question of transcription work (as well as translation work) is the question of sentence boundaries. Mithun (2016) claims that Kanien'kéha has an expected prosodic pattern for sentences. Every word (aside from a few particles) contains a stressed syllable. For sentence structures, a pattern exists where one stressed syllable within the sentence is emphasized (pitch reset) and each sequential stressed syllable that follows shows continuous descent in pitch. Considering this, one possible method for transcription and translation in Kanien'kéha would be to create sentence boundaries according to its prosodic pattern. This could be done intuitively according to a speaker's knowledge of the language's sounds or by use of the software Praat¹⁵. It also suffices that sentence boundaries be made at areas where sentences intuitively feel complete to a speaker.

In Kanien'kéha revitalization, I have decided that all language documentation work is created for use by Kanien'kéha language learners. Therefore, if transcriptions are being created *for* Kanien'kéha learners, then they must be readable and usable *by* Kanien'kéha learners. My audience for the transcribed narration of Só:se's story are Kanien'kéha learners of *all* proficiencies—novice to advanced. Considering this, transcriptions that are created in the Kanien'kéha standardized orthography are most suitable.

In 1993, Kanien'kehá:ka communities gathered to develop a standardized Kanien'kéha orthography¹⁶. The orthography has some slight variations across the Western, Central, and Eastern dialect, but since its development, it has been implemented largely and allows for transferability of resources across the communities. As Só:se speaks using the Eastern dialect,

¹⁵ Praat is a free, open-source software tool developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink at the University of Amsterdam, designed for the analysis, synthesis, and manipulation of speech sounds. Widely used in phonetics research, it allows for detailed acoustic analysis. See: Paul Boersma and David Weenink, *Praat: Doing phonetics by computer* [Computer program], Version 6.3: <http://www.praat.org>.

¹⁶ For more information regarding the development of the standardized Kanien'kéha orthography, see: Lazore, D. K. (1993). *The Mohawk Language Standardization Project*. Literacy Ontario, Mohawk Language Steering Committee. Queen's Printer for Ontario.

the transcriptions will be presented in the standardized orthography of the Eastern Kanien'kéha dialect.

3.3 Representing language: translations

The decision for the audience of the transcribed story to be Kanien'kéha language learners of all levels poses challenges for the question of how to provide translations. I want Kanien'kéha learners at the novice level to be able to comprehend the story, but I do not want translations to veer too far from the original Kanien'kéha spoken.

This is an issue highlighted in the works of Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1999). Here, the authors reflect on their transcription and translation work of Tlingit oral narratives and state the “poetic odds” they often found themselves at between the original Tlingit narrative and the English translation. They stated the following:

Our goal has always been to produce high quality transcriptions and translations of texts from the moribund Tlingit oral tradition, and to do so in a manner culturally acceptable to the Tlingit people, technically acceptable to the scholarly community, and stylistically accessible to the general public (who we think of as the interested, intelligent reader). This is not always easy, because the three constituencies often have differing attitudes, assumptions, and expectations regarding such work, and there may also be disagreement among various members of the same constituency according to generational or other subgrouping. (p. 5)

Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1999) often found themselves struggling to decide the best way to represent the translations of the oral narratives. Due to their desire to make the translations available to multiple audiences, they chose to prioritize English comprehensibility, causing them to sacrifice most of the original Tlingit grammar structure. That decision has thus

affected the translated Raven stories from being used for Tlingit revitalization purposes. Had they chosen to focus on maintaining as much Tlingit grammar as possible, perhaps the compositional process within the Tlingit oral narratives would be more easily grasped by Tlingit L2 learners today.

The aspect of audience is also mentioned in Red Shirt (2016) for translations of narratives. Her efforts to translate George Sword's transcribed oral narratives occurred in three steps to maintain as much "authentic" Lakota translation into English as possible. The steps were (1) a word-for-word translation; (2) a syllable-by-syllable analysis; and (3) an analysis of each word's meaning in context. These steps were felt as necessary by Red Shirt to capture the poetic nature of the narratives to reveal the compositional processes involved in Lakota oral narratives.

Similarly, as described by Hernandez (2023) and previously discussed in section [2.1](#), Ella Deloria used her spare time outside of her work to translate narratives as she felt captured the Lakota language best. This meant providing detailed explanations for different words to capture context. How might this look within translation on a page?

One struggle with translation work being put on to the page is that we can no longer interact with the language and the speaker in real-time. The words which are said and the translations that are created become ossified. The difficulty of ossification is also present in language documentation that utilizes audio recordings. At no point in reading or listening to Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan oká:ra* am I able to stop him to ask for further explanation about different words he uses. However, through the translation work of this thesis I was lucky enough to have this opportunity.

The inability to gain clarity on meaning with Kanien'kéha language documentation is a definite challenge for any translation work. In Kanien'kéha, many words exist where meaning is

only captured through the understanding of a specific context. Also, some words emphasize a specific visual description that cannot be provided through a single word in English.

The work that has been discussed in this section highlights the impact that translation has on oral narratives. If throughout the translation process we aim for English comprehensibility, then we are prioritizing the English audience. While it is ideal for all English-only speaking Kanien'kehá:ka to understand the story, it is more ideal that Kanien'kehá:ka can use the story for their Kanien'kéha language learning needs.

3.4 In summary

In the creation of transcriptions and translations for Onkwehón:we oral narratives, it is necessary to be cognizant of the purpose of such work. Aspects of narratives like author/orator fluency, intended audience of the author/orator and intended audience for transcriptions and translations, are all necessary to consider for the purpose of transcribing and translating the *ráhskan oká:ra'*. As described above, it will impact the presentation of the compositional processes, but it will also affect the usability of the transcriptions and translations for L2 Kanien'kéha learners. These are the considerations relevant to the transcription and translation of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* within the context of Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I turn to a discussion of the process used to transcribe and translate Só:se's narration of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*. More importantly, this chapter stresses how language documentation projects such as this one are the result of a community effort. It is the type of work that is the result of multiple Kanien'kehá:ka combining their expertise and knowledge, similar to how we as Rotinonhsión:ni come together within the longhouse. Prior to any exchanging of words, we recite the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen and state *Akwé:kon énska entitewahwe'nón:ni' ne onkwa'nikòn:ra'* [we will bring our minds together as one].

I grew up in a family of ambitious women. Throughout my upbringing, they were often busy running around pursuing their dreams and expanding their knowledge, but whenever a challenge arose that impacted the entire family, everyone would drop what they were doing. The entire family would gather in my tóta's living room and discuss, bringing their minds together as one to figure out a solution. If no one had the required knowledge, someone would take the responsibility to seek another person out who could help.

This manner of problem solving as a combined effort is something I have witnessed in a number of different situations within my community as well as in the longhouse. It is a paradigm grounded in the Rotinonhsión:ni worldview and is discussed and further elaborated on in Stacey (2024), where she states:

Respect for others and the natural world, equality amongst all living things, decision making through consensus building, seven generations thinking, and spirituality in maintaining kindred relations, are examples of values embedded within Rotinonhsión:ni teachings. It is from such examples that Rotinonhsión:ni methodologies are derived,

linking all aspects of the research and once again underscoring the importance of positionality and relationality (p. 72).

It is through this paradigm of collective knowledge building in consideration of the future generations that the process of the transcription and translation of Só:se's narrative was conducted.

The production of this transcribed story underwent multiple stages, with its starting place being the creation of the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show* which first aired on Kahnawà:ke's K103.7 FM radio in 1990 and was re-established in 2014 by the *Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitíóhkwa Language and Cultural Center* (KORLCC). The show made it possible for *rotiksten'okòn:'a* like Só:se and co-host Leo Diabo to share their stories with the community, leading to the inspiration of language projects like the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project in 2024.

This project gathered Kahnawa'kehró:non minds with a passion for Kanien'kéha to work together over the summer to think about best practices for Kanien'kéha transcription and translation work. As a result of the project, the transcription and translation of Só:se's version of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* was created and this inspired me to use it, study it, and then one day further develop it into a visual form for interaction with the community.

As this thesis is a result of multiple phases in regards to the process, this methodology chapter will also follow the progression of the different phases with the first being the transcriptions which followed the methodology of the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project in section [4.1](#) and then followed by the process of translations in section [4.2](#).

4.1 Transcriptions: The Kanien'kéha Transcription Project

The first pass of transcriptions of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* were produced during the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project. As I am both Kahnawa'kehró:non and a McGill student studying Kanien'kéha, I decided to join the project as a main collaborator and project coordinator. Top collaborators within the project consisted of faculty members and students of McGill University, as well Kanien'kéha language educators from multiple Kanien'kehá:ka communities. The first proposal was submitted by the McGill University Department of Linguistics to the KORLCC board in the spring of 2024 with the goal of the project being a collaborative effort between McGill and KORLCC to transcribe and translate past episodes of the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show*. These transcribed and translated episodes were proposed to then be made available online for use by Kanien'kéha language learners, teachers, and researchers. However, eventually the proposal for online publication was redacted and instead episodes would only be made readily available for use by Kahnawà:ke community members while non-community members must request access.

Transcription work was carried out through summer 2024. After board approval, nine episodes, including the episode from October 23, 2019, were selected for transcription and translation. The episodes were selected based on speaker consent and content. This means that only episodes that featured speakers who were alive and able to provide consent for the project were selected and these episodes could not detail sensitive content.

With funding support from McGill's Indigenous Studies and Community Engagement Initiative, the project coordinators sought to hire a team of Kahnawa'kehrón:non to transcribe and translate the episodes. However, considering that all transcription work would be done using

the ELAN software¹⁷, which is quite technical and requires a fair amount of training prior to use, we felt it would be beneficial to provide Kahnawa'kehró:non with an opportunity to learn how to use the software first. This led to the creation of a free three day workshop series where we taught ELAN to L2 Kanien'kéha speakers and throughout workshops, we gauged people's interest in joining the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project team. The workshops took place over three weeks in May, 2024, and by the first week of July, 2024, the project had hired a team of 11 Kahnawa'kehró:non.

The Kanien'kéha Transcription Project provided L2 Kanien'kéha speakers with an employment opportunity where they could also work closely with L1 speech everyday throughout a period of eight weeks. I participated in the transcription project and together our team met weekly where we would discuss insights into transcription and translation, help one another with difficult segments of language, and generally 'nerd out' over Kanien'kéha and all its unique characteristics.

Episodes were divided into three or four parts, with each team member either given the task of only transcribing or only translating their own designated part. Transcribers created annotations with segments of speech that were consistent of a complete 'thought' within Kanien'kéha, meaning whenever a speaker talked in Kanien'kéha and what was said was somewhat equivalent to a complete English sentence. The team made use of additional symbols, which were used to represent certain language phenomena, such as laughing, trailing off, false starts, use of filler words. However, the use of these symbols was not always consistent across transcribers and for the purpose of this thesis, they were removed.

¹⁷ ELAN is a non-proprietary transcription software that was developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. It allows for users to create, edit, analyze, and search time-aligned annotations with associated audio and video files. See more: *ELAN* (Version 6.9) [Computer software]. (2024). Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive. Retrieved from <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>

After episode parts were transcribed, they would be given to another team member to be reviewed and then translated. The translators at this stage would fix annotation boundaries if segments were incorrectly made and did represent an entire ‘thought’ in a way that made sense both in Kanien’kéha and English. The translators would then translate the annotations and if certain parts of speech were unclear or the translator did not know the meaning of a certain word, they would make note of it within the ELAN file.

As the majority of us from the team were new to transcription, the process of completing selected episodes took much longer than we anticipated. A few of the selected episodes were successfully transcribed and only some of the transcribed episodes were successfully translated. Out of the nine episodes, one episode was completed fully with Kanien’kéha transcriptions and translations, with episodes being partially transcribed but not translated. The episode from October 23rd, 2019, was one of the episodes only partially transcribed but not translated.

Using the completed transcriptions of the October 23, 2019 episode, Akwiratékhá’ Martin was able to edit and provide translations of the episode during the 2025 McGill Winter semester with my assistance, which will be further elaborated on in the following section.

4.2 Translations

The *ráhskan oká:ra’* is the last story told within a series of *iotkaráthteron* told on the October 23, 2019 episode. It was transcribed as a part of the Kanien’kéha Transcription project, but it was only translated after the project as a part of this thesis. It is the only story from the episode that was both transcribed, edited and translated, with translations completed in the McGill Winter 2025 semester primarily by Akwiratékhá’ Martin with some collaboration from myself.

Akwiratékha' Martin is a Kanien'kéha speaker, educator, researcher and activist from Kahnawà:ke. He has been studying the Kanien'kéha language for over 20 years and is one of the most renowned L2 Kanien'kéha speakers across the confederacy. In 2016, through KORLCC he published the first edition of *Tekawennahsonterónnion, Kanien'kéha Morphology* (Martin, 2023), a key resource used in many adult Kanien'kéha immersion programming to teach Kanien'kéha grammar. He has devoted his life to Kanien'kéha revitalization and provides his linguistic expertise to a number of language projects and initiatives, with the Kanien'kéha Transcription project and this specific thesis project being only two projects of many.

Akwiratékha' and I would meet regularly over Zoom to jointly create translations. Together we would listen to the audio recording in ELAN, review the transcription and edit for any spelling mistakes or alter segments of speech if sentence boundaries created by transcribers from the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project seemed off (i.e.: did not result in a complete 'thought'). Following edits, we attempted translation.

At first, we attempted to make translations sound as fluid as possible in English. However, soon into translating I reflected further upon the works of Dauenhauer (1988), Hernandez (2023), and Red Shirt (2016) which all explore Indigenous language translation methodology. These works show that when translations prioritize English fluidity, much of the Indigenous language's meaning and structure are lost, impacting usability for Indigenous L2 learning and language revitalization/reclamation purposes. My audience for the transcribed story is first and foremost Kanien'kehá:ka L2 Kanien'kéha learners and for this reason I decided to keep translations as close as possible to the original Kanien'kéha syntax and verbal complex meanings. However, I also consider that this audience may shift in future generations when Kanien'kéha vitality is strong and content in language is more sought for entertainment purposes.

Still, mitigating the loss of original Kanien'kéha syntax and verbal meanings was not always easily accomplished, especially when certain particles presented multiple times in a single phrase without necessarily affecting the overall meaning of the phrase.

Akwiratékha' and I translated the recording one annotation at a time jointly.

Akwiratékha' would often read the line then sometimes I would try to translate it myself.

Akwiratékha' would then confirm my translation or correct me, and I would type in the English translation. If any annotation was unclear, Akwiratékha' would make note of the unknown word to come back to later on. If neither of us knew the word, I later on consulted with Joe Aniatará:ken 'Só:se' McGregor and his wife, Amelia McGregor, for the specific translation.

Joe and Amelia have been involved since the beginning stages of the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project. When the nine episodes were selected for transcription, all the *rotiksten'okòn:'a* featured in the episodes were gathered for a breakfast to discuss the project and its goals. *Rotiksten'okòn:'a* involved had requested that episodes be transcribed and translated prior to their offering of consent for use by the project, which was agreed to. Throughout the summer of 2024, we met with the *rotiksten'okòn:'a* over food to provide updates as well as share stories and hang out. Joe and Amelia were a part of this group.

Then, when I decided to use Joe's narrative of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*, I met personally with him and his wife to propose the idea of creating the transcribed story, and then producing an illustrated video. They were excited and enthusiastic and from that point on I met with them every few weeks to further update them on our progress and spend time with them. Once translations were complete, I brought the completed transcript with translations and we read over the entire story together.

The process of going over the 14 minute story took over two hours. Joe, the narrator of the story, was compensated for this time, while his wife supported him for his work. Generally, I would read the Kanien'kéha speech first and follow with the English translation, while Joe and Amelia nodded along. Sometimes, a specific line would spark a story from either of the two which would lead to a 10-15 minute conversation about another topic slightly related. For example, oftentimes the conversation was about how the way things were at the time of story, which would ignite a memory in with Joe or Amelia from when they were young. We would then eventually continue on with the story. Every so often, I would encounter a phrase or word that Akwiratékha' and I struggled with to find the translation and/or meaning. When I asked for the meaning, Amelia, who had heard the story an immeasurable amount of times, would go into an explanation as to why the character in the story was doing a certain action. Joe would affirm his wife by nodding. Though sometimes comments would seemingly veer far off from the original topic or question, all explanations still somehow brought immense clarity to the story, which will be further elaborated on in the discussion section of this thesis.

By the end of the two hours, translations were complete and I was finally able to begin understanding the story as a whole. It was through this experience of hearing Só:se's words, sitting with Akwiratékha' to better understand them, and then sitting with Só:se and Amelia at their dining room table, that I could finally engage with the story on a deeper level that I had not done before.

Chapter 5: Discussion

When I decided that I wanted to base my thesis on the transcription and translation of Só:se's narrative of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*, I wanted to ensure that the process would support Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization. It is well established within Kanien'kéha revitalization literature that language documentation of L1 Kanien'kéha speech is highly valuable for L2 learners (Stacey, 2016; Stacey, 2024; Green, 2019; Brant, 2023). Additionally, L1 documentation pertaining to different contextualized environments and topics is also sought after by Kanien'kehá:ka language learners and teachers. In section [3.3](#), I discussed Kahtehrón:ni Stacey's 2024 dissertation. Stacey names the Kanien'kéha oral tradition as being one of 4 components of her Kanien'kéha Pedagogy. The study group that Stacey follows often uses textual sources of different stories to analyze and increase their knowledge in language and culture. My work in transcription and translation of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* reflects a similar process.

What knowledge about language and Kanien'kéha culture can be learned from close analysis of one of our stories?

In this chapter, I discuss how the process of transcription and translation of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* made me more cognizant about how Kanien'kehá:ka peoples structure their stories and the knowledge that is contained within them. As this thesis centers the *ráhskan oká:ra'*, I decided to present this discussion as responses to the following content questions: *ónhka* [who], *nahò:ten'* [what], *kátke* [when], *ka' nón:we* [where], and *oh nontié:ren* [why], to finally conclude the discussion section with the question of *oh ní:tsi* [how], as in *how do we as Rotinonhsión:ni tell stories?* For *ónhka* [who], I discuss the topic of author/orator and audience. For *nahò:ten'* [what] I question whether the *ráhskan oká:ra'* is truly a story of horror. For *kátke*

[when] I explore how Só:se's places the narrative in time with respect to his audience. In *ka' nón:we* [where] I show how Só:se's relates the story to the land which he comes from. Then in *oh nontié:ren* [why] I look closely at the lesson contained in the story. Finally, I tie all things together in *oh ní:tsi* [how].

5.1 *Ónhka?*

In considering the question of *ónhka* [who], the obvious but most simple answer would pertain to the characters in the story, the husband, the wife, their daughter, the villagers and the *ráhskan*. However, in focusing only on characters we lose two others who are pivotal to the story: the speaker and the audience.

Joe "Só:se" Aniatará:ken McGregor is a Kanien'kehá:ka man from Kahnawà:ke. He was born on July 25th, 1941. He grew up on the farm and like many other Kahnawa'kehró:non, Onkwéhonwehnéha is the first language he spoke as a child. He loves to tell stories and he loves to box and he loves to tell stories about him boxing. I have memories as a kid watching him stand up in the longhouse and recite different speeches of ceremony. As an adult L2 Kanien'kéha learner, hearing him speak is an exciting challenge because of the language he uses and his quick-paced style of speaking. Spending time with him and his wife Amelia this past year has given me some of my best memories of being with our *rotiksten'okòn:'a*.

For years he was a host on the *All Kanien'kéha Radio Talk Show* along with Leo Diabo. This is where he told his version of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*.

At the beginning of each show, the two men always welcome the entire community to the show, give special welcomes to their close family and friends, and also sometimes welcome the nearby community of Kanehsatà:ke. Their audience is all Kanien'kehá:ka, old or young,

listening to their live broadcast. This is the same audience on October 23, 2019, that Joe is telling his story to.

Throughout the recording, Só:se addresses the story to the community as if he were conversing with people rather than speaking to them over the radio. For example, in line 10 Só:se says *Né: kí: onkwara 'sè:tshen wà:kehre' enkká:raton' kí:ken* [So those of you, my cousins, I thought I will tell this story]. He addresses his audience as *onkwara 'sè:tshen* [all my cousins/relatives] and explains that this story happened in Kahnawà:ke many years ago and refers to a house that still exists somewhere in the community. His audience, first and foremost, is the community of Kahnawà:ke and all Kahnawa'kehró:non and ultimately affects the way in which Joe chooses to present the narrative.

To contrast, I make mention again of Hewitt's 1896 manuscript titled the *Vampire Skeleton*, which I first introduced in [Chapter 1](#). The story written by Hewitt spans 8 pages and is much less detailed than the version Só:se tells. The reason for its short length is uncertain. It is unknown whether Hewitt was transcribing a story told to him word-for-word by another individual from the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve, or if he heard the story and paraphrased it later.

Hewitt, unlike Só:se, does not begin his story by addressing an audience. Rather, he begins with *Thí: akká:ra'* [this is my story] without mentioning who told him the story to begin with. There is no explicit self relation of Hewitt to the reader. He does not name a certain community nor place the story within a specific landscape. The contextualization of author and audience is reduced to what is described on the page and the reader who finds it. We simply do not know who this story is for and for that reason, I assume that the story was written down for a more general audience, rather than Rotinonhsión:ni from Rotinonhsión:ni communities.

In Swann (2004), authors Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhaur discuss how the relationship between orator and audience deeply affects how an author portrays the story. Details of the story are dependent on the cultural knowledge of the orator, while the depth of detail shared is dependent on how much the orator assumes the audience already knows (p.27).

At one point in the story (lines 40-47), Joe takes a few moments to describe how the interior of a house looked at that time.

<p>Tánon' kanonhsiiónhne' iá:ken kí:ken nek tsi orihwakaion'néha ki' wáhi. Tánon' iah iá:ken tha'tewahsonhtó:tahkwe' onia'tarà:'a iá:ken kí: áhsire' kwi ratiniiónthahkwe' iontiatkáhton kwi' ní: Rió: tho ní:ioht.</p>	<p>And it was a well made house, it is said, but it was old fashioned. And there were no partitions. A cloth, it's said, they used to hang up a blanket. We've seen it like that Leo.</p>
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<p>Nek tenkakháhsi' tóka' ne iatathróna' kenh ianonhwétstha'. Sok ki' enhatinia'taraniión:ten' ki' wáhi thí:.</p>	<p>It would just split it up if the married couple's bedroom was there. So then that's where they'd hang a cloth eh.</p>
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This description Joe gives is meant to serve his audience. Joe, who grew up as a child in the 1940s and 1950s, knows that his audience in 2019 are Kahnawa'kehró:non who most likely do not know what life was like then, so he gives his community the contextualization they need to move his story forward in a way that will make sense to them.

In knowing this, it is curious to think how Joe might have told the same story in front of a group of Kanien'kéha-speaking children. What details would he include to relay the *ráhskan oká:ra'* to our younger generations? What would he exaggerate? What would he omit?

5.2 *Oh nahò:ten?*

[What?] What kind of story is this?

[Chapter 2](#) of this thesis is titled *Iotkaráhteron* [a scary story]. I named the first chapter this because it is how the *ráhskan oká:ra'* is introduced to all Kahnawa'kehró:non tuning into the K103.7 FM radio on October 23, 2019, which is approximately a week before October 31, 2019, also otherwise known as Halloween.

In the opening lines (lines 4-7), Só:se states the following:

Né: ki' rotiri'wanón:ton ón:kwe iakori'wanón:ton ne	This is what they asked, people asked.
Né: ne iotkaráhteron's akakaraién:take' ne, nè:'e tsi í:kehre'	For there to be scary stories, because I think
tsi niiontkonhsò:roks wáhi, ne tehontsharí:tes nothé:nen.	It is Halloween [they cover their faces] eh, they beg for stuff.
Tánon' ne enhontkonhsó:roke' neh nahò:ten'	And they will cover their face with stuff.

The concept of Halloween is fairly recent within North America. The origins of Halloween stem from pagan rituals of the Celtic peoples of Ireland. They believed there existed one day a year when life and death meet. On this day, called *Samhain* (eventually evolving into history as *All Hallows Eve*), spirits of the dead are able to return. In order to confuse such spirits, the people would wear masks. In the mid-nineteenth century there was a large influx of Irish immigrants to the continent and they brought their traditions and folklore when they migrated. Eventually, *All Hallows Eve* became the Halloween we know today (Rogers, 2002).

The *ráhskan oká:ra'*, deals with the supernatural like the dead rising to feed upon the living. It also features horrific elements like the death of a husband, a baby, the presence of blood, and a skeleton's insatiable thirst for it. However, the way the modern world categorizes stories that explore different themes like horror is not necessarily how Rotinonhsión:ni peoples may have categorized such stories prior to settler colonialism.

In section [3.3](#) I addressed the purpose of Onkwehón:we storytelling and that oral literature is the way in which we as Rotinonhsión:ni have been transmitting our knowledge across generations since time immemorial (Stacey, 2024; Brant, 2023, Green, 2020). There is knowledge to be found in the *ráhskan* narrative.

Prior to the infiltration of settler colonialism into Rotinonhsión:ni thought and knowledge systems, the *ráhskan* narrative may not have been considered “horror” in the same way we categorize stories that feature horror in modern day storytelling. Rather, it may have been just another story that Rotinonhsión:ni peoples told that made use of horrific elements to emphasize the cultural knowledge embedded in the narrative.

5.3 *Kátke?*

[When?] When does the author place the story in time relative to their audience?

Throughout lines 12-20 Só:se calls the audience to a time when he and other *rotiksten'okòn:'a* were children and had first heard the story.

Akwé:kon ionkwarièn:tare'
ohsén:na'/aohsén:na' ka' nón: thí: tho
nitiawèn:'en, nek tsi iah né: thí:ken
nonwén:ton teiontion'wéskwani tsi
niiátion iakwaká:rátóns naiakwaká:rátón'
thí:ken. Tóka' nòn:wa rati:teron shé:kon
ne kahwá:tsire'. Tóhsa né: ne ahonni:ron'
eniethi'nikonhrakaré:wahte' wáhi thí:ken.

... we all know the name, its name, where it happened, but we never enjoy that, those of us who tell that story. Maybe the family is still on the earth. So that they don't say that we hurt their minds.

Tiótkon ki' wáhi onkwara'sè:tshen né:..
Né: kí: tsi niiawèn:'en iá:ken. Kwah ken'
orihwí:io kí: tsi tho niiawèn:'en kí:ken.
É:so ionkwè:take kèn:'en aonkwe'taká:ion
ne tho nón: shikahá:wi' ken' shithotièn:sa,
ronathonté:'on kí:ken tsi niiawèn:'en tho
nón: shikahá:wi'.

As always, my cousins, this is what happened, they say. This is what really happened. A lot of old people, at that time, when they were young, they had heard this had happened at that time.

In these lines of speech, we as the audience envision the older generations, our *rotiksten'okòn:'a* as children or *ken' shithotiièn:sa* [when they were young] listening to their elder generation *rotiksten'okon'kénha* tell them the story about something that happened when they were young to the generation before them. I created a representation of this shown in [Figure 1](#) where the different generations are set on a line, with each jump representing a new generation. The story is set, relative to the audience who heard it in 2019, at least seven generations back in time! It makes the story relevant to life in 2019.

Figure 1

Setting a Story Through the Seven Generations



Note: This figure is meant to depict how Só:se places the narrative in time relative to the audience listening to the radio on October 23, 2019, setting the main character “Iakón:kwe” seven generations back in time. Each ‘jump’ represents a jump from one generation to the next from *Iakón:kwe* [the woman; character from the *ráhskan oká:ra*], *Rotiksten'okon'kénha* [former elders], Só:se’s parent generation, Só:se’s generation, my parent’s generation, Í:'i [me; a listener], *Ratiksa'okòn:'a* [the children; other listeners].

Additionally, in lines 114-116, Só:se alludes that the character herself has heard a similar story to the one she is living through. This allusion places the *ráhskan oká:ra* even further back, alluding that the age of the story is even older than seven generations back.

Ó:nen wa'onten'nikonhrí:sake' ó:nen'k tsi
 ó:nen... Ó:nen iakoterièn:tare'
 kakaranákerehkwe's íá:ken thí: ahón:nise'
 tsi, nó:nen kenh nonká:ti ienhó:ton'se'. Í:se
 ki' ò:ni wá'tsok.

Now she searched for an idea, she had
 to... she already knew there were stories
 back then from a long time ago, when on
 this side he died. You too, later (you're
 going to be next).

This suggests an interesting possible feature about how we as Rotinonhsión:ni tell stories: every few generations the story may be retold to make it relevant to the current generations as well as *á:se' t'ahatikonhsontóntie's* [coming faces 'generations']. We keep stories fresh and alive, yet their teachings remain ancient. This may be accomplished by alluding to previous accounts of the story within the story itself. If this is a feature that is present in similar Rotinonhsión:ni narratives, then it begs the question: how old are these stories truly?

5.4 *Ka' nón:we?*

As mentioned in [Chapter 3](#) of this thesis, there are multiple print publications of various *ráhskan*/ Vampire Skeleton stories as well as the 1896 archived manuscript from Hewitt. In these other versions, the narrative is tied to different peoples within the confederacy. For example, in Hewitt's manuscript, the narrative is tied to the Six Nations of the Grand River, but in Jeremiah Curtin and Hewitt's recent re-publication from 2005, the *Vampire Skeleton* is associated with the Seneca peoples and therefore, I assume, tied to Seneca lands. In Só:se's narrative, the *ráhskan* is specifically tied to Kahnawà:ke.

In the beginning of the narrative, Só:se details the landscape in which the events of the story take place.

Kenh nenká:ti kaniataraktóntie' niahà:ne'
ki' tsi ki' nenká:ti ó:nen ki' nòn:wa
kana'tsheratátie' kwi' nòn:wa, nà:kon
nonká:ti tewana'tónhkhwa'.

On this side along the river, they went,
where now the seaway is today, we call it
the 'east side'.

Tho nón: kí:ken tkanonhsó:tonhkwe',
tánon' í:non né: tekónteronhkwe' ne tho
nón: shikahá:wí',

There were houses there and they were
far apart at that time.

Ase'kén ieienthohtarionhkwaniónhkhwa'
wáhi tsi na'tekónteron
kahentowá:nen'skwe'.

Because there were farms eh, between
them were big gardens.

Kahrhahrónnion kí:

There were wooded areas.

In the lines 22-26 written above, Só:se is describing his community as it was prior to the building of the seaway in 1950. [Figure 2](#) shows a photo of Kahnawà:ke from around 1885, and you can see that on the western part of Kahnawà:ke was the main village where most houses were located. As you went further east along the water (towards and past the train bridge), it became farmland where animals used to roam freely and create dirt paths in the ground. Houses became fewer and farther between one another with wooded areas. To this day, if you cross the St. Lawrence Seaway in Kahnwà:ke you can find this area he describes and stumble on remnants of old structures in the woods that used to be houses.

With the construction of the Seaway in 1950, many Kahnawa'kehró:non, including my grandmother, lost their homes and farms, and all Kahnwa'kehró:non lost access to the river. In listening to *rotiksten 'okòn: 'a* talk on the radio, many of them enjoy telling stories of what life was like for them as children and then often solemnly describe the heartache that came when they lost the river. One story in specific that describes what life was like for Kahnawa'kehró:non prior to the Seaway is a featured story in *Sharing Our Stories: Ionkwaká:raton*¹⁸, titled “River Fishing” by Andrew Montour which states the following:

A long time ago, in the late 50s, I used to fish alongside the river. In the springtime there was a lot of bullhead fishing. Before the seaway, when the ice was gone, you'd see people fishing alongside the river. You'd see the little lights - the lanterns. You'd walk

¹⁸ Sharing Our Stories is a community-driven initiative that gathers, preserves, and shares personal and cultural narratives through storytelling. It uses diverse media—such as audio, video, and written formats—to document lived experiences, celebrate cultural heritage, and strengthen intergenerational connections. The project emphasizes collaboration with communities to ensure stories are told authentically and respectfully. Sharing Our Stories. (n.d.). *Sharing Our Stories*. Retrieved August 13, 2025, from <https://www.sharing-our-stories.com/>

down by the river, and you'd hear people talking about how many fish they caught. We used to go fish down at the train bridge. We would ride our bikes there. We'd catch so many fish and tie them to a chain. We'd have a hard time riding our bikes with so much fish. There was one guy who would fish and then he would sell it on the highway. It was a dollar a dozen. Today, you'd have a hard time finding that. A lot of people lived off the river. Some people had boats with motors on it, and they'd go out in the middle of the river. There's a lot of fish there. Big ones. But since the seaway passed, it's not the same. Some people go fish over there, but not as many. A long time ago, there's a picture I'd seen looking downriver. Maybe it was taken from the church? Every home had a little box for little boats or little canoes. Almost everybody was fishing.

Figure 2

Photo of Kahnawà:ke (i.e.: Caughnawaga) around the year 1885



Note: Photo is southeast facing depicting the Catholic church on the western part of the village (left). Farmlands not shown but generally situated on the eastern part of town. See: (*McCord Museum*, ca. 1885)

Andrew Montour’s story about the river illustrates the connection Kahnawa’kehró:non had with the St. Lawrence on a daily basis. It was a way of life. Though Só:se’s story does not directly involve the river, he does describe the landscape, relaying to Kahnawa’kehró:non of how the land always looked before the Seaway. In listening to his narrative, we receive reminders of how Kahnawà:ke once was.

Perhaps Só:se’s depiction of Kahnawà:ke is an intentional feature that we as Kanien’kehá:ka and Rotinonhsión:ni peoples employ in our stories so that the audience can look at the space around us in real-time, envisioning the events that take place in the *ráhskan oká:ra*.

5.5 *Oh nontié:ren?*

Why has the *ráhskan oká:ra* been told over so many generations?

In [Chapter 2](#), I wrote about the first time I had heard the *ráhskan oká:ra*. An additional detail accompanying that memory was that I recall there being a short conversation following the story about how we as Rotinonhsión:ni used to place our deceased on scaffolds up in the tree.

I also remember tying the knowledge from that conversation to a scene in the 1992 film *The Last of the Mohicans*, directed by Michael Mann. The film is set in the year 1757 and follows three men—a Mohican man Chingachgook (Russell Means), his son Uncas (Eric Schweig), and his other adopted English son Hawkeye (Daniel Day-Lewis)—as they find themselves caught in the middle of the French and Indian War.

In one scene, the three men are trying to hide from the French and Huron soldiers and camp overnight in a specific part of the woods. As the French and Huron approach the camp in the middle of the night, the Huron men halt, stating that they refuse to go further. The French

become frustrated and question the decision, with the Huron only nodding up to the scaffolds in the trees above them. They are in a “graveyard”. This scene made me realize that the shift in Rotinonhsión:ni mortuary customs to burials happened at some point in history after the arrival of the colonizers.

This knowledge is further supported by the works in Chapter Three of the book *Words of the Huron* by John L. Steckley¹⁹ (2007). The Wendat language is also part of the Iroquoian language family and much of their cultural customs are similar to that of the Rotinonhsión:ni. In his book, Steckley examines Jesuit archival documentation for Wendat (Huron) language and creates translations to study and describe the Wendat culture. The third chapter discusses the Wendat clan system and through the words and descriptions Steckley investigates, he notes that customs for infantile death are different from others, and that “they do not put them like the others into bark tombs set up on posts” (p. 62). This description was provided by Father Jean de Brébeuf in the 1636 *Relation* which Steckley repurposes and uses in his work. For this thesis, it provides evidence that mortuary customs had not shifted to underground burials until after the arrival of settler-colonial ideology.

As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), since I had first heard Só:se’s narrative a few years ago, I have slowly come across a number of other written variations of the same story (Hewitt, 1896; Curtin & Hewitt, 2005; Bruchac, 1995). In these other versions, the authors will include a few words about the lesson to be learned from the narrative. For example, in *Vampire Skeleton* (see appendix B; line 82-84; Hewitt, 1896), Hewitt mentions the presence of a *wenniseráhere*’ [scaffold] multiple times. Then, the concluding lines, he wrote the following:

¹⁹ John L. Steckley is a Canadian anthropologist and linguist renowned for his work on Indigenous languages, particularly the Wyandot (Huron) language, and for promoting Indigenous knowledge systems through both academic and community-based work.

Ó:nen íá:ken wahonterihwisa' ken' enwatáhsawen' iah

Now it is said they committed from now it will start no

shé:kon wenhniserà:ke thaonsahati:ron. Ó:nen enhontshá:ton'.

more on scaffolding they will (not) put it on top Now they will bury it

[From now on it will start, no more will they put it (the body) on top of the scaffolding.

Now they will bury it (the body).]

In his manuscript, Hewitt presents that the story is a lesson of why Rotinonhsión:ni needed to begin burying their deceased. This same lesson is also cited in Joseph Bruchac's 1995 publication of the *Vampire Skeleton in Iroquois Folktales, Legends, and Myths*. Here, Bruchac explains that the flesh-eating skeleton is that of a wizard who was left in a cedar box in a sweat lodge. The story ends with the following sentences:

... it is said that from that time on people who died were no longer placed in cedar boxes above the ground. Instead they were buried in the earth. This way a wandering spirit would not find it so easy to escape and roam the night. (p. 133)

Then in another version of *The Vampire Skeleton* told in the Curtin and Hewitt collection of stories titled *Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths* (1918), the narrative explains how mortuary customs shifted from scaffolds in the trees, to boxes in lodges, to shallow rooms built on hillsides, then finally to deep holes within the earth (pp. 423-424).

All three of these versions express similar lessons. It is curious then to question whether all the different versions told stem from the same print publication. There exists no further commentary by any of the authors involved where the story was sourced from. However, in reading these variations, as a Kanien'kehá:ka myself, I felt these lessons did not quite 'fit'. The reason for this lack of acceptance is because that would entail that the *ráhskan oká:ra* is fairly

recent and therefore could only be as old as the impact of settler colonialism within Rotinonhsión:ni communities and cultural practice.

However, when examining the works of Sarah Hernandez (2023) and Delphine Red Shirt (2016), discussed in previous chapters, it is evident that Catholic ideology permeated Indigenous narratives. Both authors explore the experiences of Indigenous linguists and demonstrate that to navigate academic institutions, it frequently required sacrificing cultural practices and committing one's life to the Church. As an effect, the Indigenous narratives they translated were done so that they supported the settler-colonial agenda.

Could these other texts of the *ráhskan oká:ra* be the product of a similar process?

A possible answer to this question lies within the translation and interpretation process. Só:se's account of the *ráhskan* was translated in two steps: first through collaborative translation with Akwiratékha' Martin, followed by working with Só:se and his wife Amelia to gain clarity on certain sections of his speech.

Visits with Só:se and Amelia often meant that we would sit around their dining table, working for a few minutes, followed by exchanging stories and lots of laughter. At one point in the story we reached the following lines of speech (185-192):

Ostón:ha enskáhkete', iah tehshakotíia'táta'skwe' thí:	I'll go back a bit, they didn't used to bury people.
Tsi nón: nihotatonhnho'ktà:'on né: kí' ónhte' rón:kwe' kí: ráhskan rotòn:'on.	Where he gave up (died), this man must have become a skeleton.
Tho ónhte' nón:we thaonhé:ion thotstáhshion tsi watonhontsá:te' kanaktà:ke.	That's where he might have died, he stopped using the earth on the place.
Thí: tho nón: shikahá:wi' kwahs iá:ken nek nenhatihnhotónnion'	At that time, they would just close everything.
tánon' ienhatiiá:ken'ne' iah	And they would go out and not come

tha'taontahón:ne'.	back.
Narihón:ni akwé: thiekakè:ron nothé:nen	That's why everything was left.
Hen. Tóka' tánon' thí:ken nahò:ten' kí: ráhskan rotòn:'on.	Yes. Maybe, and that stuff became this skeleton.

During these lines of speech, I could not grasp the full meaning of Só:se's words. I asked and suddenly Só:se began talking about the process of what happens when we pass. Together, he and his wife Amelia began to help me understand that in the story, the man must have passed and there was no one around to do the words to help this man continue on his journey into the spirit world.

Through the process of translation and getting curious about our stories, I was able to learn from Só:se and Amelia how this story could be understood from the original Rotinonhsión:ni mind. This story is not about burials. It is about the importance of how we respect and support those who have *thotitstáhsion tsi watonhontsá:te'* [they have stopped using the earth]. In understanding this, we see that the *ráhskan oká:ra* and its many variations have been told for far longer than since the first encounter with European settlers.

5.6 *Oh ní:tsi?*

[How?] As in *how did Só:se tell his version of the ráhskan oká:ra?* This section differs from previous ones presented in this chapter as it highlights the takeaways from each to answer. Before delving in, however, I want to bring attention to one word that is consistently present throughout the entire narrative: *íá:ken*.

Íá:ken is a particle that exists in Kanien'kéha and within the transcribed *ráhskan* story present in appendix A, it is translated into [it is said].

There are a few ways to attempt to understand the function of this particle.

First, *íá:ken* can be examined as an evidential particle. Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that primarily indicates the source of information—the speaker's level of knowledge regarding an event, whether they witnessed it directly, heard about it, inferred it from general understanding or clues, or received it from someone else's account (Aikhenvald, 2011). When *íá:ken* is used by a speaker in Kanien'kéha, the listener may interpret the accompanying information as communicating “hearsay”. Interestingly, in Marianne Mithun's (1999) publication *The Languages of Native North America*, Mithun discusses evidentials and mentions the particle *íá:ken*, adding that “Kaia'titákhe' Jacobs, a speaker of Mohawk, notes that the Mohawk hearsay evidential *íá:ken* can have the effect of distancing the speaker from responsibility for the truth of the information” (p. 185) rather than the expected opposite where evidentiality places the speaker closer to the information source.

It is common in Kanien'kéha narratives that *íá:ken* is used. For example, in the book *Kanien'kéha Okara'shòn: 'a Mohawk Stories* (1976), there are 28 narratives written in Kanien'kéha, provided by 10 different L1 speakers of Kanien'kéha. For each story, there exists a word-by-word translation, as well as free translation. In the word-by-word translations, *íá:ken* is translated to [it is said] and is present in almost all of the narratives. Yet, when reading the free translations, there is no attempt at including its translation. It is unnecessary to specify this evidentiality in *English*.

Só:se, however, and all other speakers who used *íá:ken* in their stories, recognize its role. In storytelling, *íá:ken* continuously communicates to listeners throughout the narrative's progression that the story is one that was told to them by another, and most likely that person heard it from another, and so on.

So how does Só:se tell his version of the ráhskan oká:ra'?

If one of the goals of the oral tradition is Rotinonhsión:ni knowledge transmission, then it is important that the stories are continuously told, like how Só:se and other speakers use the particle *íá:ken*. Through listening to Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan*, I can understand how he makes the story relevant to listeners.

First, he addresses his audience as *onkwarasè:tshen* [all my relations], his family and all Kahnawa'kehró:non, as well as other listeners from sister communities like Kanehsatà:ke and Akwesáhsne. Second, he explains the kind of story that he is about to tell, it is a *iotkaráthteron* [a scary story]. Third, he places the story in time relevant to the audience by having the story occur seven generations back and makes further allusions within the story that similar stories go further back. Fourth, he ties the story directly to the community and describes the land in Kahnawà:ke, allowing his audience, Kahnawa'kehró:non, to imagine the story happening in the community they know so well and love. And fifth, without explicitly stating the lesson, he teaches the audience through his narrative about what happens when the deceased are not properly laid to rest and the ceremonial death speeches do not take place.

There are certainly more that can be explored and said about the Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*. Except, the ability to delve deep into this narrative and others is waning with the loss of Kanien'kéha language and cultural transmission. In considering my own language and cultural knowledge, the depths to which I can explore this story further is limited by my proficiency in Kanien'kéha and the amount of time I have spent dedicated to building my cultural knowledge. Language and culture are interdependent on one another in order for one to excel in each. As a former teacher of mine once stated: You cannot separate one from the other.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In [Chapter 2](#) of this thesis I presented the following question: *how does one tell a story in Kanien'keha?*

Sub questions of this question were stated as the following:

1. *What methods and techniques are used in Kanien'kéha storytelling?*
2. *What kinds of knowledge are embedded within the Kanien'kehá:ka/Rotinoñhsión:ni narratives?*
3. *How does the process of language documentation support Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization?*

Through transcription and translation of Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan*, I was able to review and interpret the story contents. However, because this story is only one version of the *ráhskan oká:ra* and I have not reviewed any other recording of an oral narrative, nor have I closely analyzed any other story told by Só:se (or any of the Kanien'kéha speaker), I cannot arrive to a definitive conclusion to answer to any of the above questions. The information I present in this thesis concerns a single story relayed by a single speaker, Só:se, who employs his own artistic methods with each telling of any story to any particular audience. This case study is highly contextualized. I cannot say how all Kanien'kehá:ka tell stories in language, but I can focus on *oh ní:tsi Só:se wahaká:raton'* [how did Só:se tell the story]. Therefore, rather than answering the above questions, in the following section I will present an alternative to each and answer accordingly.

6.1 Oh ní:tsi Só:se wahaká:raton'?

1. *What methods and techniques does Só:se use in this narrative?*

2. *What kinds of knowledge are embedded within this narrative?*
3. *How did the process of language documentation support me in Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization?*

In response to the first question, as was discussed in section [4.6](#), Só:se did the following in his telling of the *ráhskan*:

- He related the story to his audience by addressing them directly.
- He explained to the audience what kind of story he is about to tell.
- He ties the story in time relative to the audience.
- He placed the story within Kahnawà:ke, showing evidence for land-based storytelling.
- He does not explicitly give the audience the lesson of the story, but rather uses elements of horror to depict consequences of improper actions (in this story we learn of what happens when the deceased are not helped through ceremony for their journey to the spirit world).

It is noted that the final point here also answers question 2, but concluding with that would be premature. There is much knowledge to be gained through the constant contextualization he provides within the story. Some examples of this include:

- He describes the way the roads looked at that time and that paths used to be made by animals wandering the farms (line 26).
- He details the way the log house is organized inside and outside (lines 32-47).
- He spends some time describing the process of washing corn (lines 65-68).
- He fixates on the word *roská:nons* [he skeletons him] or [he's licking his bones], explaining its meaning and states that it is an old word (lines 97-103).

This narrative contains knowledge about how the world used to be prior to the audience's time, keeping them in the know about how their ancestors lived and the words they used to use.

Another aspect of knowledge to be gained and also refers to question 3, is how this process of transcription, translation, and interpretation supported me in my learning of Kanien'kéha language and culture, and how it may support others.

The time I have invested in completing this thesis has required me to think critically about Kanien'kéha and our stories. In my time spent with the team from the Kanien'kéha Transcription Project, Akwiratékhá', Só:se and Amelia, I learned a lot about the benefits of engaging in such work.

Through transcription, I had to learn how to *hear* our language and understand the subtleties of pronunciation across different speakers. Our team had to get curious as to how to best represent the speakers we were listening to and our weekly meetings were filled with engaging conversations about how to make transcriptions the most useful for language revitalization purposes. It was normal for meetings to end with more questions than answers. How do you hear dialect variation through writing if using the IPA for representation is not ideal?

Through translation, I had the opportunity to sit one-on-one with Akwiratékhá' to listen attentively and watch him translate. I was able to observe the difficulties that come with translation work and how slight variations in sentences, especially when ambiguous particles are present, change meaning and only speakers with high enough proficiency are able to recognize these variations. Every now and then we would come across a word like the one present in line 89 *wa'tiakoterihotáhrho'se'* [she could not make up her mind]. Here, the translation itself is not sufficient. I listened to Akwiratékhá' as he contextualized the word and said something along the

lines of “it’s like something is happening that she doesn’t understand and she’s trying to reason through every possibility, but she can’t figure it out, she can’t make up her mind.” How do we capture the context within the translation?

A similar thing happened in lines 75-81, when neither Akwiratékha’ nor I could fully comprehend what was being said. Here, Só:se talks about the character sitting on the floor. In the next line he states *É:so iá:ken nón: tionrahsi'takè:ron' kí:ken tsi iétskote' kí:ken iakokhón:ni* [Her feet were all over the place as she was sitting cooking]. When I finally had the chance to sit with Só:se and Amelia, I asked them to explain what was happening. The following is a paraphrase of what Amelia relayed to me:

If you could imagine the woman and her husband have been walking outside all day, she’s tired and her feet probably hurt. You know when that happens you’ll take your shoes off, and as you sit you might sway your feet along the floor, as if you’re massaging them. That’s what she’s doing. And while she’s doing that she’s probably watching her feet, and she’s looking at the ground, that’s why she notices the blood.

From her description and contextualization, I was finally able to see clearly this part of the story. The character is sitting on the rocking chair, massaging her feet as they sway, her shoes are off to the side on the ground, and in looking at her feet she notices the stream of blood.

How am I supposed to capture this in a transcribed and translated written story? For the purpose of this thesis, the most I can do is provide footnotes within the transcription and translation of areas where uncertainty of contextualization is needed, as is done and can be found in the appendix. Still, how else may I add to translations?

I can recall a day in *Ratiwennahní:rats* when my class asked the teacher about the duplicative *te-* prefix in the word *tekenonniáhkhwa'* [I dance]. In Martin (2023), the duplicative

prefix could mean ‘two’ like ‘two houses’ or it could also indicate a change in motion (p. 84). This definition was confirmed by my teacher when they did a little dance in front of the class and remarked how when someone dances, there is a change in motion. The duplicative was a way to convey that motion. In that moment, I remembered something that my *tóta* has emphasized to me about Kanien’kéha over and over throughout my life: *the language is what you see*. Since then, I have always been curious about how one would convey language through the visual dimension. Specifically, through illustration and animation.

I will mention two books that I have encountered which also join the Kanien’kéha language with artistic illustrations. The first book, which was previously mentioned, is *Kanien’kéha Okara’sòn: ’a Mohawk Stories* (Williams, 1976). The second book is titled *Tales of the Iroquois* (Tehanetorens, 1976). I make mention of these two publications because (1) they both concern Kanien’kéha narratives and (2) they both utilize illustrations to emphasize meaning in the narratives. In the first book, illustrations are used to depict a scene within the story. In the second, the author makes use of the ancient elaborate Rotinonhsión:ni system of pictographs were used to “convey their ideas to a distant nation or preserve the memory of remarkable events” (p. 10). The author presents multiple narratives and uses pictographs alongside the different lines of story to convey meaning.

Utilizing illustrations to aid in translation for such narratives I feel is something to benefit from in the context of Kanien’kéha language and cultural revitalization. Specifically, I believe that emphasizing movement within the visual dimension will help to express additional meaning. However, it will still lack moments of clarity and in depth explanations given by the speakers who tell the story.

This is an avenue of future work for myself and for which I have already begun the process. In Appendix C, I present a number of illustrations created by Kanien'kehá:ka artist Bruce Boots, which will be used in a transcribed illustrated video of Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan oká:ra'*. This video will be given to KORLCC for community distribution.

6.2 Concluding remarks

Kwah tsi niion 'wesénhne' [It has been a good time].

I am so fortunate to have had the opportunity to explore my language in a Rotinonhsión:ni narrative in a way that I never thought I would. When I started my graduate studies two years ago, my studies on Kanien'kéha were heavily linguistics focused. Linguistics has provided me with a solid foundation of Kanien'kéha grammar and it has allowed me to get curious about what a speaker of Kanien'kéha can and cannot do in language. I have also learned how to ask questions and provide detailed contextualization to get the answer I am looking for.

While my love and understanding for Kanien'kéha has continued to expand throughout these couple of years, I noticed a shift in my interests about it. I no longer wanted to tease words and sentences apart. Rather, I wanted to listen to the language be spoken and sit with other speakers to hear all kinds of stories in language. As I wrote in the opening chapter: I love stories.

If I was going to complete a thesis, then it needed to be about *onkwara 'shòn: 'a* [our stories].

Transcribing, translating and then further animating to video Só:se's telling of the *ráhskan oká:ra'* is an idea I had while I was still a student at *Ratiwennahní:rats*. I told myself I would wait till after completing a Master's degree before producing anything. Then the *Kanien'kéha Transcription Project* was first proposed to me in early 2024. I agreed to work on the project when I realized I could use the opportunity to request that the episode from October

23, 2019 be one of the episodes selected for transcription and translation. Now, instead of waiting to complete my Master's degree to begin producing the animation, I have been lucky to do this work as a basis for my entire thesis. Never did it occur to me that I would write about this story, but I am happy that I have.

Through the *ráhskan oká:ra*, I have come to understand Kanien'kéha language and cultural revitalization in a different manner that is grounded in our stories and thus our knowledge. Considering the different aspects of the story which I presented in [Chapter 3](#), how can they be assembled to answer the question of: *how does one tell a story in Kanien'kéha?*

Storytelling is an art form. There is no one precise method. Though I cannot definitively state how all Kanien'kehá:ka tell stories within language, I can attempt to understand the elements and methods employed by Só:se in his narrative of the *ráhskan oká:ra*, as I believe I have accomplished here. It is my hope in providing such transcriptions and translations that I have provided Kanien'kéha language learners of all levels another resource to delve into for their own learning or for pure fun.

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Appendix A: *Ráhskan Oká:ra* - Transcription and Translation

This first in the appendix presents the transcriptions and translations of the *ráhskan oká:ra* told by Joe “Só:se” Aniatará:ken McGregor. Throughout the transcription there are some footnotes that document words of interest I encountered throughout this process as well as additional information provided by Joe and his wife Amelia.

For more detailed information on the process of transcription and translation, please review [Chapter 4: Methodology](#).

	Joe “Só:se” Aniatará:ken McGregor - Kanien'kéha	Joe “Só:se” Aniatará:ken McGregor - English
1	Né: nikén: wà:kehre' kí: enkká:raton' , ó:nen énska wakká:raton kèn:tho tohkára niiohserá:ke tsi náhe'.	That's the story I thought I'd tell. I've already told it once here a few years ago.
2	Né: ne roterihón:tahkwe' ó:ia' ne kèn:tho né: thí:ken wahakerihón:ten'.	That other one that was in charge here that's the one that gave me the duty
3	Wahawennáta' thó:ne ne kèn:tho.	At that time, he recorded here.
4	Né: ki' rotiri'wanón:ton ón:kwe iakori'wanón:ton ne	This is what they asked, people asked.
5	né: ne iotkaráthteron's akakaraién:take' ne, nè:'e tsi í:kehre'	for there to be scary stories, because I think
6	tsi niiontkonhsó:roks wáhi ne tehontsharí:tes nothé:nen.	it was Halloween eh, they beg for stuff
7	Tánon' ne enhontkonhsó:roke' neh nahò:ten'	and they'd cover their face with stuff
8	tánon' ónhka' tentsatátken' rotkonhsó:ron iah kwi' tesaterièn:tare' ónhka' wáhi.	and you would see someone with a covered face, you wouldn't know who they are.

9	Narihón:ni kí: tsi rontkonhsó:roks kwi' wáhi.	That's why they'd cover their face, eh.
10	Né: kí: onkwara'sè:tshen wà:kehre' enkká:raton' kí:ken	So those of you, my cousins, I thought I will tell this story
11	tánon'	and
12	akwé:kon ionkwateièn:tare' aohsén:na' ka' nón: thí: tho nitiawèn:'en	we all know the name, its name, where it happened
13	nek tsi iah né: thí:ken nonwén:ton teiontion'wéskwani tsi niiátion iakwaká:ratons naiakwaká:raton' thí:ken	but we never enjoy that, those of us who tell the story to tell that story
14	tóka' nòn:wa ra/ratì:teron shé:kon ne kahwá:tsire'	maybe the family is still on the earth
15	tóhsa né: ne ahonni:ron' eniethi'nikonhrakaré:wahte' wáhi thí:ken.	so that they don't say that we hurt their minds
16	Tiótkon ki' wáhi onkwara'sè:tshen né:	As always, my cousins
17	né: kí: tsi niiawèn:'en iá:ken	this is what happened they say
18	kwah ken' orihwí:io kí: tsi tho niiawèn:'en kí:ken.	this is what really happened
19	É:so ionkwè:take kèn:'en aonkwe'taká:ion ne tho nón: shikahá:wi' ken' shithotièn:sa	A lot of old people, at that time, when they were young
20	ronathontè:'on kí:ken tsi niiawèn:'en tho nón: shikahá:wi'.	they had heard this had happened at that time.
21	Né: iá:ken kí:ken iatathróna tehniáhse,	There was this married couple living together, they say.

22	kenh nenká:ti kaniataraktóntie' niahà:ne' kí: tsi ki' nenká:ti ó:nen ki' nòn:wa kana'tsheratátie' kwi' nòn:wa, nà:kon nonká:ti tewana'tónhkhwa'.	On this side along the river, they went, where now the seaway is today, we call it the 'east side'
23	Tho nón: kí:ken tkanonhsó:tonhkwe', tánon' í:non né: tekónteronhkwe' ne tho nón: shikahá:wi',	There were houses there and they were far apart at that time.
24	ase'kén ieienthohtarionhkwaniónhkhwa' wáhi tsi na'tekónteron kahentowá:nen'skwe'	because there were farms eh, between them were big gardens
25	kahrhahrónnion kí:	there were wooded areas
26	Iohatátie' kwi' iá:kens kí:ken akohsá:tens kontohétstha' tánon' né: kí: noiánaka'we' ki' wáhi.	There was this road they say, where horses passed and well it was a path eh
27	Ó:nen ki' iá:ken kí:ken iahà:newe' kí: iatathróna, òn:wa'k nahè:'a ki' ná: shihotiniákon - tóka' nòn:wa tsóhsera teiohserá:ke.	And so now they arrived there, this married couple. They just recently got married I guess - maybe a year or two.
28	Eksà:'a iá:ken kí:ken ken' niiá:ka kí: kahrhohserà:ke iakoia'tanentá:kon kí:ken	There was this girl they say, she was small this one, she was on the cradleboard.
29	iakothrátie' kí:ken o'nisténha wáhi ken' nithotiièn:sa ki' tetsá:ron wáhi kí:ken ne iatathróna.	The mother has it on her back eh they're both young this married couple.
30	Ó:nen iá:ken iahà:newe' kí:ken tekarontà:sere' tkanónhsote' kí:ken.	So now these two arrived there, there was this log house.
31	Tho nón: shikahá:wi' akwe: é:so kwi' tho ní:ioht tsi iontenonhsón:niskwe' wáhi .	At the time, a lot of people, that's how they made their houses.

32	Á: tánon' thí: tho nón: shikahá:wi iá:ken tho nihatiíérhahkwe' ken' nón:kwe ienhatiíá:ken'ne' thí:ken iah thé: thahatiniótháhrhoke' thí:ken.	And at that time they say, this is how they do it, these people would go out and they wouldn't lock their doors.
33	Iekakè:ron akwé: anitskwahra'shòn:'a, kanákta', karístote' ahsekhón:ni' - Akwé:kon kaweientà:'on.	Everything was there, the chairs, the bed, the stove to cook, everything was prepared.
34	Tánon' akwé: iá:ken <ekskionsé:>	and everything it is said -- excuse me ---
35	iohren'tónnion iá:ken tho ononhkwen:'on	it is said that corn on the cobs were hanging here and there.
36	tó:k iá:ken niionoré:son's kí:ken ionoren'tónnion kanónhskon,	they were all so long, the braided corn, inside the house.
37	Karístote' kí: kwah akwé:kon.	There was a stove, all of it!
38	Á: ki' iahà:newe' iah ki' thé: tehotinekherèn:'en tho nihotiianerenhsero'ténhne' nonkwahsóhtshera'	So they arrived there, they didn't think anything was strange, that was our ancestors' law at the time.
39	thikawenní:io ónhka ieniontáweia'te' káneka enhatiniáhese' wáhi.	Anybody could go in and they could rely on it
40	Tánon' kanonhsiióhne' iá:ken kí:ken nek tsi orihwakaion'néha ki' wáhi.	And it was a well made house, it is said, but it was old fashioned.
41	Tánon' iah iá:ken tha'tewahsonhtó:tahkwe' onia'tarà:'a iá:ken kí: áhsire' kwi' ratiniiónthahkwe' iontiatkáhton kwi' ní: Rió: tho ní:ioht	and there were no partitions (walls). A cloth, it is said, they used to hang up a blanket. We've seen it like that Leo.
42		
43	nek tenkakháhsi' tóka' ne iatathróna kenh ianonhwétstha'.	It would just split it up if the married couple's bedroom was here.

44	Sok ki' enhatinia'taraniión:ten' ki' wáhi thí:.	So then that's where they'd hang a cloth eh
45	Á: kenh iá:ken nonká: karístote' kí:ken ó:iente' ki' watónthos akwé: kén: ká:ien'.	So this where the stove was, it was a wood stove, it had everything.
46	Akwé: ká:ien' ne kanónhskon kí: tánon' átste' tiohnáwerote' iá:ken kí:ken.	Everything was in the house and outside there was a well they say.
47	Á: tho ki' iá:ken ní:ioht kí:ken	So that's how it was they say
48	né: ne ró:ne iá:ken kí:ken iekhwaweiéinh/ akwé: kwi' nè:'e kontiweientehtòn:ne' thí: tho nón: shikahá:wi' wáhi.	There was his wife, they say she knew how to cook, they all used to know how at that time eh
49	Iah káneka thaón:ton' tsi iontenhninòn:tha' ahshninòn:ra' wáhi.	You couldn't go to purchase anything at the store, eh,
50	Tiótkon iá:ken kí:ken tánon' iá:ken kí:ken rón:kwe tsi na'tehohwishenhé:ion iá:ken kí: nia'té:kon ki' roio'tátie'skwe' tsi niió:re' iahà:newe'.	So they say this man was always tired from all kinds of work he was doing along here and there until they arrived there.
51	Ó:nen ki' iá:ken kí:ken o'karahsnéha taioton'hátie'	And so now night time is coming.
52	sok iá:ken kí:ken wa'ì:ron' iá:ken kí:ken ne ró:ne	So then, they say, his wife said...
53	tánon' wa'ontken'sénion' iá:ken kákhwa' ken' ká:ien' nia'té:kon iá:ken tánon' tóka' nòn:wa nihá:wi' ostón:ha kí:	and she checked the food, there was all kinds they say and maybe some things that they brought.
54	sok iá:ken kí:ken wáhi wa'ì:ron'	Then, they say, she said this:

55	wá'ts ki' kí:ken ²⁰ takwatekà:ten kí:ken sok enke'wà:rarihte' kí:ken tánon' tóka' ken kana'tarokhón:we kí:ken iekwatakóhe' - Hen kana'tarokhón:we iekwatakóhene'.	hold on a moment...-- "light a fire for me then I'm going to cook meat" and maybe she's going to make cornbread -- Yes! She was going to make cornbread.
56	Nek tsi wa'ewà:rarihte' ki' wáhi ohén:ton kí: wáhi.	But she cooked the meat beforehand.
57	Ó:nen ki' iá:ken kí:ken ró:ne wahèn:ron' iá:ken	And now, they say, the husband said:
58	wahshakotekà:ten' kwah ki' né: akwé: wahshakoié:rite' ²¹ wahèn:ron' iá:ken sáksten iá:ken wahèn:ron'	He made the fire for her, he finished it all for her, he said: Wife!
59	tha'sa'nikòn:ia'k ²² iá:ken wahèn:ron' é:so iá:ken wahèn:ron' tsi... wa'tekhwishénheie'	just give up! he said, "I got tired."
60	tóka' wahèn:ron' iá:ken ken' nikarihwésha tsi nikari:wes sakhón:ni	Maybe he said, "for a short time while you cook..."
61	ienkatia'takwenhtáhrho' kanáktaien' ki' sewahsónhtati kí:.	...I'll go lay on the bed in the other room.
62	tekanaktakà:ron tsi ki' ní:ioht ne iatathróna wáhi ahiá:rate' wáhi.	There's a wide bed for a couple to lay
63	Khò:ni' ne eksà:'a skén:nen ahsén:nen ahshakotii'a'tò:ron.	They can even put a child safely between them.
64	Ó:nen ki' iá:ken kí:ken sok ki' iá:ken kí: iakokhón:ni iako'wahraríhton kí:	And so then she's cooking, she's cooking meat

²⁰ *Wa'ts ki' kí:ken* was difficult to translate as it is a series of particles that we could not directly translate. In the context it could be [hold on a moment...] or [I'm just about to...] or [Hold on a minute I'm going to...].

²¹ *Wahshakoié:rite'* - Unsure of finding a better way of saying [He completed it] or [He finished it].

²² *Tha'sa'nikòn:ia'k* is a word we went back and forth on trying to capture the tone of the husband. We wanted to write [give me a break] or [give it up already] or [give up on me], but all these translations seemed to feel like the husband was expressing annoyance with the wife, which he is not. It's like he's been working all day and doing everything to help her and now he has nothing left in him. He's tired. He needs a rest.

65	tánon' kí:ken átste' tkáhere' ne ó:nenhste' teiotionhontsóhon iá:ken kí: akanóhareke'	And there's corn outside that has to be washed
66	iokahrón:ton kanà:tson wáhi róntsthahkwe' tho enhonnéta' sok tho ki' ohnawerá:kon, iah ki'	They used to use pails with holes, they would put it in there then in the well... no then,
67	ohén:ton ki' né: ne kí:ken tho nitiakoié:ren ken iakokwatákwen.	She did it before, she fixed it.
68	Kwató:ken nikari:wes kí:ken ákta' aiekhwísa' sok enienóhare' kí:ken.	There's a certain amount of time before she's done cooking, that she'll wash it (the corn).
69	Sok kí:ken tóka' ken iontena'taronnià:ne' ki' ónhte' wáhi kí:ken .	so then maybe she might be going to make corn bread.
70	Ratiweientehtòn:ne' ki' akwé:kon ne tho nón: shikahá:wi'	They all knew how to do that at that time.
71	Iah ki' tsi té:ioht nòn:wa wáhi. Iah thé: tetsitewaweién:te' wáhi.	It's not like that today. We don't know to do anything anymore.
72	Tiótkon ki' iá:ken kí:ken sok ki' iá:ken iako'wahraríhton iá:ken kí:.	It was always like that. So then they say she was cooking meat.
73	Ó:nen ki' iá:ken kí: kwah iá:ken wa'onthnaniión:ten' akwé: kén: kakè:ron kí:	So then she put on her apron and everything was laid out
74	Wa'onthnaniión:ten' iá:ken kí:ken	She put on her apron.
75	tho iá:ken wa'óntien' kí:ken ehtà:ke tánon' wanitskwahra'tsherí:io ki' ná: kí: kà:niote' tóka' ken tewatatkaren:ron.	She sat down and there was a nice chair there—maybe it was a rocking chair
76	é:so iá:ken nón: tionrahsi'takè:ron kí:ken tsi iétskote' kí:ken iakokhón:ni	Her feet were all over the place as she was sitting cooking.

77	Ó:nen íá:ken ken' na'é:iere' kí:ken	So then she did this
78	nikén: tánon' kí: eksà:'a tóka' ken né: iakó:ta's wáhi	um and then maybe the girl was sleeping.
79	kí:ken tsi teionhsì:taien' ehtà:ke ken' ní:tsi teiakoterensà:sere' kí: ehtà:ke	As her feet were on the ground, she was sitting like this, cross-legged.
80	akóhta iekakè:ron kí: teionhsì:taien' ²³	Her shoes were laying where her feet are.
81	Wa'ontkáhtho' íá:ken kí:ken wa'kaniataratátie' onekwénhsa'.	She saw it, this river of blood.
82	tho íá:ken nontá:we' kí:ken kania'taró:kon teionia'tarèn:ton sewahsónhtati nenká:.	It came from underneath the hanging cloth in the other room.
83	tho íá:ken nontá:we' kí:ken tsi teionhsì:taien' kí: tho wa'ohnawakè:tohte' kí:ken onekwénhsa'	It came up to her feet, the current of blood appeared.
84	Ótsta' íá:ken tsi né: wa'onnonhtonnión:ko' oh kwah na'á:wen' kí:	Jeez! She thought "what happened here?"
85	tánon' óksa kwi'k ia'tkaken'to'ókhon' tsi.. ²⁴ .	and right away (something) was tapping
86	raonhà:'ak ró:ne tho thaia'tión:ni kí:ken	Her husband is lying alone there.
87	ónhka' káti' kí: raonekwénhsa' wáhi	Whose (male) blood could it be?
88	Ó:nen kí:	And then

²³ I could not picture what Só:se is describing in lines 75-80. After speaking with Só:se and Amelia, it was realized that these lines depict an image of a woman sitting on a rocking chair and her feet are tired from walking all day. She has her shoes off on the side and she's massaging her feet by moving them around on the floor as she rocks. This is why she notices the river of blood, because she was watching her feet move as she cooks.

²⁴ We were unsure of *what* was tapping. We went back and forth trying to decide whether something was "tapping at her mind" in the sense of something bugging her mentally and she can't figure it out, or if something is acoustically making a tapping sound.

89	wa'tiakoterihotáhrho'se' kí:ken ²⁵	she couldn't make up her mind.
90	tóka' ken iaiontke'tó:ten' kí:ken tóka' ni' ken	Maybe she should look in or
91	Kháre' iá:ken ó:nen sénha iá:ken kahnahowá:nen kí:ken onekwénhsa'	So finally they say the blood current was bigger.
92	tsi teionhsi:taien' nontá:we' tho ki' sewahsóntati ahsiró:kon kí: nontá:we' ionia'tarèn:ton ki' wáhi	It came up to her feet, in the other room it came from under the blanket, the hanging cloth.
93	Ó:nen iá:ken kí:ken wa'tienia'tarakháhsi' kwah ká:ni'k ia'ontke'tó:ten'	So then she opened the curtain. As soon as she looked in..
94	kí: ráhskan iá:ken	There was this skeleton they say
95	iah iá:ken sò:tsi tehakowá:nen	He wasn't very big.
96	Kén: iá:ken réntskote' rentske'wà:ke	He was sitting on his chest (the husband)
97	roská:nons	He's licking his bones (he's making him into a skeleton)
98	-----	-----
99	niionehrákwa kí:ken nahò:ten' enkwahró:ri'	It's surprising what I'm going to tell you all.
100	ase'kén iah teho'wà:rare' iah tehokahróhsta	because he has no flesh, he has no guts.
101	iah thé:nen.	Nothing.
102	Tánon'	And
103	sha'té:ioht ne ro'wà:raks nek tsi roská:nons ronwatina'tónhkhwa' tsi iá:ken ní: nek thihokanónthons	He's eating him just the same but they call it "He's licking his bones". It's as if he's just licking him.

²⁵ *Wa'tiakoterihotáhrho'se'* was difficult to translate using a single word. Rather, its meaning is described through a phenomenon of when something is occurring and you're using all possible logic to make sense of it, but you cannot seem to figure it out, you *cannot make your mind up about it*. As Amelia said: "it's an awakening for her to notice that something is happening and she cannot figure out why that's happening, she's processing it."

104	Tánon' iah tehawen'náhsonte' kí:ken	And he doesn't have a tongue.
105	Ok thihokanónthons kwah iá:ken iorá:kahre' kí:ken tsi tsi nón: ro'sénhtha' kí:ken.	He's just licking him, it's really making noise where he's lowering him.
106	Rentskwe'nà:ke kí: réntskote' ó:nen kí: ia'tehokontáhkwen	He's sitting on his chest and now he's gone to the end (he's permanently dead)
107	raonhé:ion kí:ken rón:kwe.	he's dead this man.
108	Ó:nen ki' kí: tho tóka' ken raonekwénhsa' kí:ken	And so then that was maybe his blood
109	ì:rehre' ahahneki:ra' tóka' ni' ken ì:rehre' ahóskane' kwah otekèn:'en wáhi	he wanted to drink it or really lick his bones (skeleton him).
110	Né: kí:ken owennaká:ion kí: wakathró:ri. Iah nòn:wa thé: tetsonkwateièn:tare' nahò:ten' kwah kén:ton thí:	That's an old word that I'm talking about. Today we don't know anything of what that really means.
111	Ó:nen ki' kí:ken iá:ken oh káti' nenié:iere' kí:	And so then now "what will she do?"
112	iah thé: tekáhsta iah thaón:ton' ahonwaia'takéhnhá'	It is useless, it's not possible to help him.
113	ó:nen se' wáhi raonhé:ion.	He's already dead, you know?
114	Ó:nen wa'onten'nikonhrí:sake' ó:nen'k tsi ó:nen ²⁶	Now she searched for an idea, she had to...
115	ó:nen iakoterièn:tare' kakaranákerehkwe's iá:ken thí: ahón:nise' tsi, nó:nen kenh nonká:ti ienhó:ton'se'	she already knew there were stories back then from a long time ago, when on this side he died
116	í:se' ki' ò:ni' wá'tsok.	you too, later (you're going to be next).
117	Sok iá:ken wa'ontia'tawi'tánion'	And then they say she put on shirts

²⁶ *Wa'onten'nikonhrí:sake'* is a word that describes when one is trying to search for a thought/opinion/suggestion/counsel for themselves.

118	Tanón' kanenna'kè:ne kí:ken kí' wáhi né: se' aorì:wa' ionoren'tónnion kaienthókwen wáhi	and it's fall time eh, that's why there's corn hanging about, it was harvested.
119	tho ia'eiá:ken'ne' ia'ontatia'ténhawe' kí:ken eksà:'a	She went outside, she brought the girl.
120	Tsakothonwí:sen sok iá:ken kí:ken	She's a female, so then...
121	ó:nen kí' tsi ní:ne wa'enenhstóhare' kí:ken wa'onterihwakèn:serahkwe' tsi	So then, it was like she washed corn, she made an excuse to...
122	iah kwi' teiakottó:ken tsi wahonwá:ken' iah thaháttoke' tsi wahonwá:ken'	It wasn't noticed that he (skeleton) was seen, he won't notice that she saw him.
123	Roterièn:tare' tsi akaónha nòn:wa	He knew it was her turn,
124	nó:nen wá'ts enháhsa' thí:	when he finishes in a bit.
125	Sok iá:ken kí: tsi ní:ne tóka' ken iohseriie'tèn:tonhkwe' thí:ken sè:iahere' shes tho kí' nihatiéhrhahkwe'	So then it was like there was a string or rope hanging there, you remember that's what they used to do.
126	ka'nerohkwáhere' kí: ne ohontsó:kon wáhi	There was a box up top, in the basement.
127	nikén: iohnáwerote' wáhi wa'enenhstóhare' kí:	um, there was a well, she washed corn.
128	Sok iá:ken kí:ken eksà:'a kí:ken tsi ní:ne	And so then the girl, it's like...
129	wa'tiontatihnò:rarake' iá:ken kí:ken wa'tionhséntho' kí: eksà:'a tsi ní:ne	she was pinched and she cried it's like
130	wa'onterihwakèn:serahkwe' tóhsa aháttoke' kí: tsi niiontiéhrha' wáhi	she was making an excuse for him not to notice what she was doing
131	oh nakeni'niakèn:sera' ó:nen wáhi kí:	so that they could get leave
132	tsi kí' niió:re' kí:ken wa'ónttoke' tsi ó:nen	until she noticed that now...
133	enwá:ton'	it'll be possible

134	sok iá:ken kí:ken kahrhohserà:ke wa'ontatè:ren' tho ki' né: né: kwi' ratina'tónhkhwahkwe'	The she put her on the cradle board, that's what they used to call it,
135	tho wa'ontáteren'	she put her in there.
136	sok kí:ken ienontsi:ne ieken'kwarà:ke tehatihwáhnhakskwe' thí: sok	So then on her head, on her forehead, they used to wrap it around,
137	iehsòn:ne nonká: kí: tho iohson'karanentá:kon thí:	on her back, that's where the cradleboard was put
138	iah ní: nonwén:ton tewakatkáhthon ne né: tho nón: shikahá:wi' wáhi	I never saw it, at that time (era)
139	Sok ki' iá:ken	So then...
140	wa'tionráhtate' ²⁷	she RAN
141	ken nonká: kaná:takon na'tontà:ien'	she came back towards town
142	Ótsta' iá:ken tsi iah tekari:wes iá:ken thí:ken	Christ it wasn't long (until)
143	ó:nen iá:ken iakothón:te' hé: hé: iá:ken ka' nienhéhse' nenhsatè:ko' né: iá:ken kí:ken sok á:re' iá:ken teiakotshotà:seron	and then she heard "HEY HEY where you going to go and run away" and then she fell to her knees.
144	Tsi ní:ne enieia'takénheie' iá:ken kí:ken nó:nen tenhohén:rehte' kí:ken	It's as if she'll have a stroke when she hears him scream.
145	Kwah iá:ken rotewennáthteron	He had a really scary voice.
146	tsi ní:tsi kí: ó:nen ki' iakoterièn:tare' tsi ó:nen ki' rotekhwíson' ne ró:ne	How it was (it's as if) now she knew that he's finished eating her husband.

²⁷*Wa'tionráhtate'* there was some slight uncertainty about why this word was said this way. I knew that it meant that she was running, but I wanted more context. So when I had an opportunity to sit with Só:se and Amelia, I asked what this word specifically meant. "She RAN, like ADRENALINE ran" they told me.

147	ó:nen ki' akáonha nòn:wa tóka' ni' ka'k níká:ien' ne tekeniiáhse	And now it's her now or whichever of the two of them
148	sok á:re' iá:ken tonsaié:ta'ne' sok á:re' saieteken' (saiontè:ko')	and then she got back up and continued to run away
149	wa'onratste'nión:ko' wa'tionráhtate' kí: ²⁸	She scurried fast and she ran
150	wató:ken iá:ken na'tekónteron kí: sok á:re' iá:ken	every so often then again:
151	hé: hé: iá:ken ka' nienhénhse' nenhsatè:ko' kháre' iá:ken tetsakotshotà:seron kí:ken iakón:kwe kí:ken	HEY HEY where are you going to go and run away to!?! and then again the woman fell to her knees
152	Kháre' ó:nen iá:ken wa'ónttoke'	Finally she noticed
153	kí:ken eksà:'a tsi ó:nen wa'íheie'	that the girl is now dead,
154	wa'onteriahسانیiontá:ko'	her heart became undone (heart attack)
155	Só:tsi tokóhton io'shátste' tsi ietákhe'	She through and through ran hard
156	tánon' kén: kwi' iakoia'tanentá:kon wáhi ienontsi:ne iotáhrhon kí:ken óhna'	and she was on it, on her head it was hooked (attached) the strap (leather)
157	tho iakoia'tèn:ton kí: eksà:'a akohson'karà:ke	The girl was hanging off from her board.
158	iakaonhé:ion kí: eksà:'a	She was dead.
159	ó:nen ki' oh káti' niiá:wen ó:nen'k ó:nen né: wa'onnonhtónnionhwe'	Now then, so what would, happen now, now she thought that.
	akáonha ó:nen'k eniontate'niá:kenhte'	It's herself that will save now.
160	Sok iá:ken kí: wa'ontaterá:ko' kí:ken	So she took it off herself (the cradleboard)

²⁸ *Wa'onratste'nión:ko'* is a word I needed translated by Só:se and Amelia. I asked and Amelia took her hands on the table and moved her fingers fast along the top, like one does as a mouse: "She scurried!"

161	sok iá:ken tho wa'ontatí'teron' wa'ontatia'tión:nite' iotatitén:ra ki' ná:'a tho naiá:wen' wáhi	Then she put her on the ground, she laid her down, it's sad I guess for that to happen.
162	iakoterièn:tare' tsi wa'ontatewén:tehte' ontatièn:'a nek tsi akáonha tóka' ni' eksà:'a ó:nen ki' né: iakaonhé:ion ²⁹	She knows that she abandoned her daughter, but it's her or the girl and she is already dead.
163	Sok á:re' iá:ken saié:ienhte' kí:ken iakón:kwe.	Then again it's said she hit again (with energy) this woman.
164	wa'tionráhtate' thí:	She ran.
165	iah iá:ken tekari:wes sok á:re' iakothón:te' kí:	It was not along then again she heard it.
166	hé: hé: iá:ken ka' nienhénhse' nenhsatè:ko' sok á:re' iá:ken tetsakotshotà:seron thí:	HEY HEY where are you going to go and run away then again she fell to her knees
167	kwah iá:ken ó:nen thó:ha shaiontoniò:kten'	when she was about to run out of breath
168	ó:nen thó:ha shahshakohnhóntera'ne' iá:ken ken'k nihatsi'ero'ktà:ne'	when he was about to catch up with her, his fingernails were just short of her
169	tsi iá:ken niió:re' ronathón:te' iá:ken ken' nithotièn:sa kén: kaná:takon	As far as the young people can hear in the village
170	ka'k nón: rontia'tarò:roks	somewhere where they gather
171	ronathón:te' kí:ken tsi tontaiakohenrehtà:ne' kí: iakón:kwe	They hear this woman screaming coming this way
172	sok iá:ken wa'thonráhtate' tho	then they ran there
173	tsi kwi' ní:iöh natsa'któntie' thó:ne kénhne'	It was along the shore back then

²⁹ Lines 152–162 describe a difficult scene, but in translation I had a difficult time understanding what had happened. I learned that from the fear the baby had had a heart attack, however, the way the language is translated into English, it seems like the cradleboard was the issue, but it was not. The child became limp on the board. It is a heartbreaking fact of the story, but translation makes it difficult to know why the child had passed.

174	tsi niió:re' íá:ken kwah íá:ken ó:nen íá:ken thó:ha iahshakotihnhóntera'ne' ó:nen iahotikè:tohte' kí: ronón:kwe	Until, really, now, they were about to catch up with her, and now they showed up these men.
175	né: íá:ken thí: tontahaianákta'te' thí:	It's said he turned back this (skeleton)
176	sok á:re' íá:ken kí:	then again this:
177	hé: hé: íá:ken ka' nienhéhse' nenhsatè:ko'	HEY HEY where are you going to go and run away?
178	ó:nen kí:ken kwah nek tsi ó:nen kí' waha'nikòn:ia'ke' kí:	now this, but just, he gave up now
179	seronhkè:ne íá:ken kí: wahatikwé:ni' sahshakotí:tahste'	they were barely able to stand her back
180	tontahshakotiiia'ténhawe' kí:ken ieià:tase' wáhi	they brought her back, the young lady
181	<well> aki:ron' kí' iakón:kwe kí'	well I should say she's a woman in fact
182	ó:nen kí' íá:ken wa'óhrhen'ne' kí:ken	and then the sun came up
183	ó:nen wahonnitiohkón:ni'	then they made a group
184	iah kí' thaón:ton' tho naihótnhake' thí:ken ase'kén thí: nahón:nise' wáhi	It's not possible to be like that because that a long time ago
185	ostón:ha enskáhkete' iah tehshakotiiia'tá'tskwe' thí:	I'll go back a bit, they didn't used to bury people.
186	tsi nón: nihotatonhnho'ktà:'on né: kí' ónhte' rón:kwe' kí: ráhskan rotòn:'on	Where he gave up (died), this man must have become a skeleton
187	tho ónhte' nón:we thaonhé:ion thotstáhsion tsi watonhontsá:te' kanaktà:ke	that's where he might have died, he stopped using the earth, on the place.
188	thí: tho nón: shikahá:wi' kwahs íá:ken nek nenhatihnhotónnion'	At that time, they would just close everything
189	tánon' ienhatiiá:ken'ne' iah tha'taontahón:ne'	and they would go out and not come back.

190	Narihón:ni' akwé: thiekakè:ron nothé:nen ³⁰	That's why everything was left.
191	Hen	Yes
192	tóka' tánon' thí:ken nahò:ten' kí: ráhskan rotòn:'on	Maybe, and that stuff became this skeleton
193	tóka' thí: rón:kwe wahóskane'	And if he licked this man's bones
194	ráonha ò:ni' ráhskan enshá:ton' thí:	he too will become a skeleton
195	ó:nen tenhniiahsé:ta'ne' thí: ne	then they will be together
196	shakotiská:nons ne ón:kwe	they lick the people's bones (they skeleton people)
197	kí: wa'óhrhen'ne' iá:ken óksa'k wahonnitiohkwahserón:ni' iá:ken	this next day, right away they organized the group
198	tetiatera'né:ken iá:ken wa'konwatiia'taniión:ten' wenniseráhere'	they tied the horses on two by two to the flat bed
199	tho kwah iá:ken ennékeri kahwà:'e iá:ken wahonnetárian'	and they filled it with hay/straw
200	tánon' é:so iá:ken konnón:kwe ronnón:kwe akwé: iá:ken wa'thóntiehste' kí:ken	and a lot of women and men they all chipped in
201	nia'té: iahatíhawe' iehahserénhas iá:ken nia'té:kon	They brought all kinds of stuff, lanterns, all kinds of stuff
202	ionteka'tákhwa' nothé:nen kwah kí' tánon'	things to make a fire and
203	ó:iente' ò:ni' nahò:ten' enhontekà:tahkwe'	wood also, stuff to use to burn
204	akwé: iá:ken iahatíhawe' tetiatera'né:ken kí' kí: wa'konwaia'taniión:ten'	they brought it all, side by side, they tied them on

³⁰ Lines 185–190 describe an area of language I was unclear on for some time. I could not understand what exactly Só:se was trying to explain. I had already read other versions of the *ráhskan* narrative that I was curious about whether he meant a scaffold. Instead, Só:se and Amelia told me about how a deceased body must have been left and everyone left things as they were, rather than doing the ceremonies required when one passes.

205	tho wahón:nehte' iá:ken kí:	and they went there
206	ó:nen kí' iahón:newe' kí: há:ke ó:nen enhtshitewaia'tí:sake' kí:ken	now they arrived there, "come on now let's look for him"
207	ka' nón: ó:nen'k tsi enhtshitewáio' thí:	where do we have to kill him?
208	sok kí' iá:ken wahonwaia'tí:sake' kwah òn:wa kén: wahonwaia'taióha' kí:	then they looked for him and they couldn't find him
209	kháre' ó:nen ónhka'k iá:ken kí:ken rón:kwe ia'thanonhtonión:ko'	finally now one of these men, he thought of something
210	wahatkáthto' kí:ken ka'nonhkwakèn:tore' kanonhsoharà:ke nenká:ti	he saw this attic upstairs
211	tsi watehnhohahrákwas kí:ken	where the door comes off
212	óksa'k wà:rehre'k	right away he thought
213	tóka' tho nón: thí:ken thotahséhton	maybe thats where he's hiding
214	sok iá:ken iahatke'tó:ten' kí: rón:kwe	then this man looked in
215	thí:ken tsi kanáhstote' iá:ken kwah tsi niió:re' kahson'karáhere'	From the rafter to the roof
216	tsi niió:re' teka'nonhkwakèn:tore' tho iá:ken ní:ioht kwah nek ne iá:ken tsi teioronhwén:te' thí: tsi tetiotá:rote' nek tsi kanónhskon kwi' nenká: ³¹	Up to the attic, that's how it was, there was a small opening at the space (at the point of the roof) but in the house
217	tho iá:ken ia'tehotatia'tahsiharáhton ³²	thats where he wedged himself in

³¹ *Tetiotá:rote'* was a word we were not sure of but eventually we came to learn that it described a small opening in the attic of the house, where the point is inside the roof.

³² *Ia'tehotatia'tahsiharáhton* [he wedged himself in there] – I bring attention to this specific word because I thought it was interesting that in watching both L1 and L2 speakers listen to this story, I noted that this specific word produced some vivid visualization that made them cringe in both disgust and fear.

218	ró:ten iá:ken tsi nihoteronhienhtén:ni ionehrákwa ken	He's poor, he was so frightened, isn't it amazing
219	óhstien khok tánon' tho ní:ioht thí: hen	It's only bones and that's what it looked like
220	sok iá:ken iehotíha iehahseróhkhwa' kwah ken' ní:kon	then they brought so much kerosene
221	sok iá:ken wa'thonnonhsatá:se'te' akwé:kon thí:ken	then they brought it around the house the whole thing
222	tánon' kí: kahwà:'e rotí:ien'	and they put down the straw
223	sok iá:ken thotitsí:rote' thí:	and then they lit it on fire
224	ronatsha'áhton iá:ken thí: kanónhsa'	they burnt the house
225	ratinà:tonskwe' thí: kanónhsa'	they used to have a name for that house
226	nahò:ten' konwá:iatskwe' thí: ónhka' rati'terón:tahkwe' sè:iahre' wáhi iah kwi' ní: tétewehre' ne aietewana'tónnion' wáhi <but> kí:ken nahò:ten' wakathró:ri tó:kenske' iá:ken tho niiawèn:'en	What did they call it where they lived? You remember eh? We don't want to call it but what I'm saying that happened is true
227	é:so ratiká:ratonskwe' kí:ken ne	They used to tell this story a lot
228	ratiienteríhne' tsi niiawèn:'en tho nón: shikahá:wi' wáhi thí:	They knew what happened then
229	Tiótkon ki' wáhi thí: ne tho nón: shikahá:wi' né: kwi' wakathró:ri	It was always like that at that time what I'm telling
230	thé:nen nahò:ten' tensatierónnion'se' nonhontsà:ke	Anything strange that happens to you on earth
231	tho ki' neniá:wen' ó:nen'k tsi	That's what will happen, have to
232	é:so iohserá:ke ka'nikonhrharáhtshera' enhotiierà:ton wáhi	a lot of years they would face stress
233	tho ní:ioht na'á:wen' kí:ken	that's how this happened

234	ok ne sahshakoia'taká:ri' tsi tsi nón: nihotonhho'ktà:'on ne raónha	and he would attack people where he died.
235	Tsi ne arihón:ni' wahóntshahte' né: tsi iah thí:ken ne ró:ne tho thaonhéion	That's why they burnt it, because her husband he died there
236	iah ki' nón:wa ráhskan né: thaonsahá:ton' ó:nen sewi' tehniáhse tahonatòn:'on wáhi	he won't become the next skeleton, this one, there would have been two of them
237	hen ó:ia' aonsahshakonatonhho'ktahkwén:ni sok né: nón:wa aonsa- eh ní:tsi nahotié:ren wáhi.	yes, they would have killed another, then another, and that's how they would have done it.
238	ohhhhhhh	ohhhhhhh
239	é:so tsi shikeksà:'a Ríio	Many... when I was a child, Leo
240	tóka' nón:wa <woah> wa'tkektak/ wennawénhton???	?
241	ísi' ki' nón:we ki' <oh yeah> ísi' nón:we wísk niwáhsen niiohserá:ke wakathontè:'on	more than <oh yeah> more than 50 years ago I heard it
242	ase'kén thó:ner nitionkeniniákon khekstén:ha tánon' shikeksà:'a ki' é:so ki' shitewatièn:'a	because at that time we were married, my wife, and when I was a kid, when I was really young
243	é:so rotiká:raton kí:ken	They told that story a lot
244	é:so rá:ti kaná:takon ò:ni' ronathontè:'on thí: kaká:ra... ratinà:tonskwe' thí: kanónhsa' ka' nón:	A lot of people in town also heard that myth... they used to name that house, where it was
245	hen, hen	Yes, yes

Appendix B: 'Vampire Skeleton' 1896 Manuscript

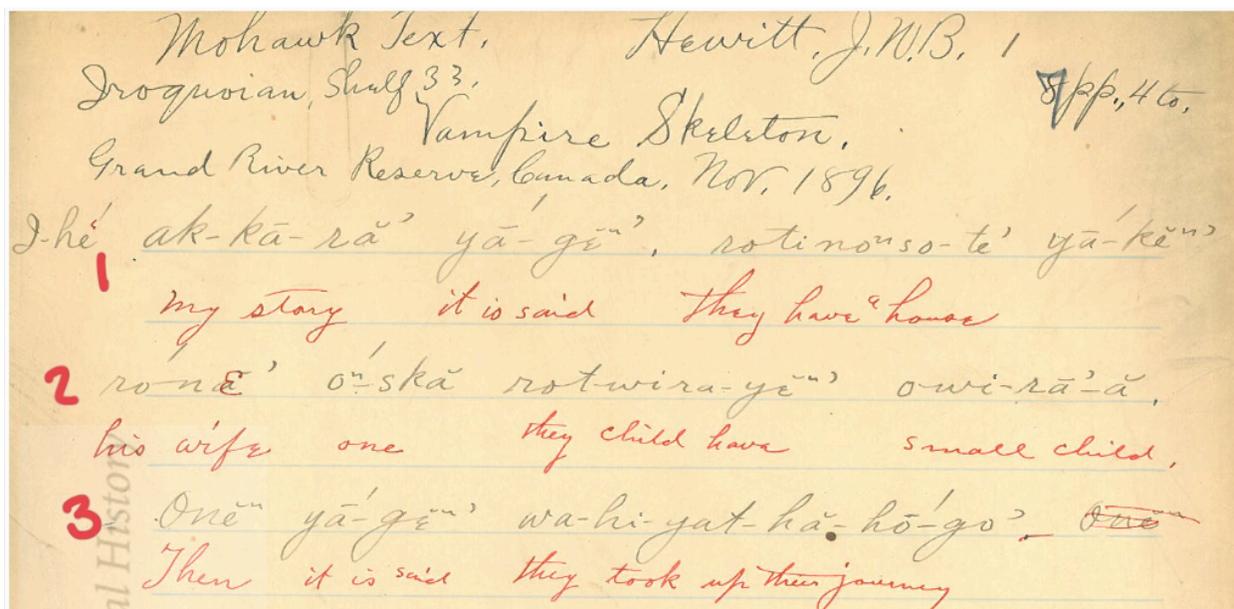
This section of the appendix features translation work I completed during my graduate studies. It is from the 1896 manuscript titled *Vampire Skeleton* written by the late John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt and archived at the Smithsonian Anthropological Archives in Washington, D. C. (see [Figure 3](#)).

The manuscript was translated line by line as is written in the original document. Each line is divided into three other lines, with the top representing Hewitt's orthography, the middle representing the same word but in standardized Kanien'kéha, and the bottom is the translation done word-by-word. I was not able to provide a free-translation due to time constraints.

Transcription and translation work was completed by Akwiratékha' Martin and myself.

Figure 3

Vampire Skeleton by J. N. B. Hewitt, 1896



Note: NAA MS 3788, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

Line 1:	Thi' ak-kā-rā' Thí: akká:ra' This my story	yā-gě ^{n'} , iá:ken, it is said	rotinōnso-te' rotinónhsote' there is a house	yā-gě ^{n'} iá:ken, it is said	
Line 2:	ro-ne' ró:ne His wife	ō'-skā énska one	rot-wira-yě' rotiwí:raien they have a child	owi-rā'-ă, owirà:ʔa small child	
Line 3:	Oně Ó:nen Now	yā-gě ^{n'} iá:ken it is said	wa-hi-yat-hă-hō'-go'. wahiathahó:ko. they took up their journey	Oně Ó:nen Now	
Line 4:	wa-ra-tu-rā-thă' wahatorátha' he went hunt	yā-gě ^{n'} iá:ken it is said	ne NE NE	yā-gě ^{n'} iá:ken it is said	
Line 5:	tsi Tsi Tsi	ni-ga-rĩ-ho'te ⁿ -ne' nikariho'ténhne' it was that way/culture	ne NE NE	o-rihwā-gā-yoñ orihwaká:ion old matters	
Line 6:	tsi tsi as/how	ni-ha-ti-yer-hă-kwe' nihatiiéhrhahkwe' they used to do it		tga-yon-de' tká:konte have to	oñs ons ??
Line 7:	othe-no ^{n'} othé:non Anything	wa-de'-nyěñ-do ⁿ s-to ⁿ wate'nienténhston it is measured			
Line 8:	ne' NE' NE	ne NE NE	ra-o-te-rā's-wă' raoterà:swa' his luck	ratiri-hwě ⁿ -ha-we' ratirihwénhawe' they are holding matters	
Line 9:	tsi tsi tsi	ni-ha-tĩ-ho'-tě ⁿ -ne' nihatihò:ten'ne' ?	ne NE NE	orihwa-gā-yoñ orihwaká:ion old matters	
Line 10:	tsi tsi tsi	ron-tu-ra-the's rontoráthe's they go hunt		tga-goñ-dě' tká:konte' have to	oñs ons ??
Line 11:		wa-ho-nă'-ge-ră'-tě ^{n'} wahonakerá:ten' It was born to him	tsi tsi tsi	ni-hotiri-hō'-teñ nihotirihò:ten their kind of matters/culture	

Line 12:	oně ⁿ k̄ā-tī' yā-gě ⁿ ' wa-hyā-de-wa-noñ-dī'			
	ó:nen ká:ti' iá:ken wahiawennón:ti'			
	Now so/then it is said they lost their voice/disobeyed			
Line 13:	yahe' de-hoti-ye-ro ⁿ			
	Iah eh tehotiié:ron			
	no that they have (not) done			
Line 14:	tsi ni-ka-ri-ho-těñ tsi rati'hā-wī'		tsi	
	tsi nikarihò:ten tsi ratihá:wi'		tsi	
	as/how it is the type of matter/way as/that they are carrying as/that			
Line 15:	ronwatiweyě ^{ns} -těñ-nī. Oně ⁿ ka-tī'			
	ronwatiweienstén:ni. Ó:nen káti'			
	They were taught now so/then			
Line 16:	yā-gě ⁿ wa-hya-těñ-dī' tsi no-yo-re'			
	iá:ken wahiahtén:ti' tsi niió:re'			
	It is said they left tsi until			
Line 17:	yaho-nā'-ga-rā-hwe' eh yagě ⁿ '			
	iahonà:karahwe' eh iá:ken			
	It got dark on them there it is said			
Line 18:	rono ⁿ -hwets'-thā' te-ga-go ⁿ -rets-ha-ri-go ⁿ			
	ro(n)nonhwétstha' tekakonhretshari:kon			
	Where they sleep log house			
Line 19:	eh rontegā'-dā'-kwā' ne ne ron-tu-ra-the's			
	eh ronteka'tákhwa' NE NE rontoráthe's			
	There they use to make a fire the one that they go hunt			
Line 20:	ya-gě ⁿ ' wa'-thá-go ⁿ -rets-ha-ga-nye'			
	iá:ken'			wa'thakhretshakánie'
	It is said "he gathered wood"			
Line 21:	ya-gě ⁿ ' e-tho wa'-o-teke'			
	Iá:ken eh tho wa'ó:teke'			
	It is said there/then it burned			
Line 22:	ya-gě ⁿ ' oně ⁿ ya-gě ⁿ ' tsi nēñ wa'-o-tek-e'			
	Iá:ken ó:nen iá:ken' tsi né:n wa'ó:teke'			
	It is said now it is said that that it burned			

Line 23:	oně ⁿ	wa'-tyo'-swa-thě ⁿ -ne'			
	ó:nen	wa'tiohswáthe'ne'			
	Now	it became bright			
Line 24:	oně ⁿ	ya-gě ⁿ	ne'	yoñ-gwe	oně ⁿ wa'-o ⁿ -tgă'-tho'
	ó:nen	iá:ken	ne	ión:kwe	ó:nen wa'ontkáhtho'
	now	it is said	NE	woman	now she saw it
Line 25:	tsi	wěn-nis-e-ra-he-re'			
	tsi	wenniseráhere'			
	at	scaffold (for the dead)/shelf			
Line 26:	oně ⁿ	yā-gě ⁿ	ok-să'-ok	[tsi ni'-yo't]	wă-o'te'ro ⁿ -ne
	ó:nen	iá:ken	óksa'k	[tsi ní:ioht]	wa'óhteron'ne'
	now	it is said	right away	it is like	she got afraid
Line 27:	ne	yoñ'-gwe	wă'-gě ⁿ -roñ'		
	NE	ión:kwe	wa'kèn:ron'		
	NE	female	she said		
Line 28:	ya-gě ⁿ '	a-e-dwa-do'-hets-de'		do-kă'	
	iá:ken	aietewatóhetste'		tóka'	
	it is said	for us all to pass by/away		if	
Line 29:	noñ-wă'	ya	deyoya-ne-re'	gă'ste-ri-ho ⁿ -ge	
	nòn:wa	iah	teioiánere'	kasterihòn:ke	
	now	NEG	not good	in a hurry	
Line 30:	oně ⁿ	wa-hon-toñ-dĩ'	wa-hoñ-tō'-hets-de'		
	ó:nen	wahonhtén:ti'	wahontóhetste'		
	now	they left	they passed by/away		
Line 31:	ino ⁿ	yā-gě ⁿ	wa-hoñ-to-hets-do ⁿ		
	í:non	iá:ken'	wahontohetston'		
	far	it is said	they passed by/away		
Line 32:	oně ⁿ	e'tho	don-sa-ha-di-dă'-ne'		
	ó:nen	eh tho	tonsahatí:ta'ne'		
	now	there	they stopped (again)		
Line 33:	oně ⁿ	wa-ho-nits-ga-ro ⁿ '	ya-gě ⁿ		
	ó:nen	wahonnítskaron'	iá:ken'		
	now	they put down a mat	it is said		

Line 34:	oně ⁿ wa-ho-di-dǎ' ó:nen wahotí:ta'we' now they slept	wa-hā-ye' wahá:ie' he woke up	yā-gě ⁿ iá:ken' it is said
Line 35:	tsi ro-dǎ's rothoñ' -de' tsi ró:ta's rothón:te' As he is sleeping he hears it	othe-no ⁿ othé:nen something	de-wats-gā' -ho ⁿ tewatskà:hon (teiotskà:hon) it's eating
Line 36:	wa-ha-tgǎ-tho' ya-gě ⁿ wahatkáhtho' iá:ken' he saw it it is said	o-ne-kwě ⁿ -sǎ' onekwénhsa' blood	
Line 37:	e' yo-di-ya-gěñ' -o ⁿ eh iotiiakèn:'en there they left	[tsi noñ] [tsi nón:] where	
Line 38:	ken ni-gen ni-ya-yǎ'- dyon -ní', nikeniia'tión:ni where they two are laying down		
Line 39:	ya-gě ⁿ ne roñ' gwe Iá:ken' ne rón:kwe It is said the man	wǎ-hat-gǎ-'tho' wahatkáhtho' he saw it	
Line 40:	de-yo-de-ryoñ'-hā' -rǎ. Oně ⁿ ya-gě ⁿ teioterien'thá:ra. Ó:nen iá:ken It is worrisome now it is said		
Line 41:	sa-ha-tsā-re' -se-ro ⁿ tsi yo-tek-hǎ' oně ⁿ sahatsarè:seron' tsi iotékha' ó:nen ?? that/at it is burning now		
Line 42:	yagě ⁿ sa-hā-dyǎ'-dyoñ' -ni-tě ⁿ . Oně ⁿ yagě ⁿ Iá:ken sahatia'tión:nite'. Ó:nen iá:ken It is said he laid on the ground now it is said		
Line 43:	wa-ha-rō' -ri' ne ro' -ne' wahahró:ri' ne ró:ne he told her NE his spouse	wa-hě ⁿ -ro ⁿ yagě ⁿ wahèn:ron' iá:ken he said it is said	
Line 44:	sasa-dě' -go'. Oně ⁿ yagě ⁿ Sasatè:ko ó:nen iá:ken Run away back (home). Now it is said	wa-hě ⁿ -roñ' wahèn:ron' he said	

- Line 45: dja-gěⁿw sǎ'-kwis'-roⁿ o-djǎ-hoⁿs-kwa-goⁿ
tsá:ken'wh sahkwisron otiahónhskwakon
bring it out try hard in a whisper?
- Line 46: tsi wa-hǎ-rō'-ri' wa-rěⁿ-hǎ-se' ya-gěⁿ'
tsi wahahró:ri' wahrénhahse' iá:ken
as he told her he said to her it is said
- Line 47: sne-gā-go'-hǎ te-sa-ste-ri'-hěⁿ oněⁿ
shnekakóha tesasterihen ó:nen
go get water hurry up now
- Line 48: ya-gěⁿ' ya't-ga-nā-djǎ-gwe' oněⁿ son-dē'-go'
iá:ken ia'tkanà:tsahkwe' ó:nen sontè:ko'
It is said she went pick up the bucket now she ran away
- Line 49: oněⁿ yagěⁿ' ne roñ'-gwe
Ó:nen iá:ken ne rón:kwe
Now it is said NE man
- Line 50: oněⁿ ō'něⁿ' ne wa'-ha-rǎ'-tā-toⁿ. Oněⁿ
ó:nen ó:nen ne wa('t)harahtáthon'. Ó:nen
now now NE he ran it many times now
- Line 51: tsi sa-sago-hnon-te-rǎ'-ne' ne rone
tsi sahsakohnhóntera'ne' ne ró:ne
as he caught up with her NE his spouse
- Line 52: oněⁿ yagěⁿ' ro-nathoñde' dā-yonts-kwa-rā-ro'ñ-nyoⁿ'
ó:nen iá:ken ronathón:te' teiontskwararónnion ?
now it is said they hear it they are sitting around?
- Line 53: dā-yonts-kwa-rā-ro'ñ-nyoⁿ' o-hnā-gěⁿ' de-hni-djǎ-hoⁿ
teiontskwararónnion ohnà:ken tehnitsá:ron
?? behind the both of them
- Line 54: yagěⁿ' e-'tǎ'-ge' wa'-tga-yoñ-tǎ'ne'
iá:ken ehtà:ke wa'tkaién:ta'ne'
it is said down it settled on the ground
- Line 55: oněⁿ tǎ-sago'-se-re' ne e-sgan-gō'-wǎ
ó:nen tahshakóhsere' ne ehskankó:wa
now he chased/following them ne big skeleton

- Line 56: tsi ni-goñ wa'-tho-hoñ-re'-te'
 tsi ní:kon wa'thohén:rehte'
 as much he screamed/yelled
- Line 57: ne e-sgan-gō-wǎ e'tā-ge' wa'-tni-yoñ-dǎ'
 ne ehskankó:wa ehtà:ke wa'thniión:ten' (wa'thnién:ta'ne'?)
 big skeleton below (they settled to the ground?)
- Line 58: wa'-thyā-doñ-go'-di' ya-gěⁿ
 Wa'thiatónkó:ti (wa'thiatón:kohte') iá:ken
 They went through it it is said
- Line 59: ya'de-sa-go-hnon-te-rā'-'oⁿ yoñ-sa-ne-we'
 Iah tehshakohnhontehrà:'on ionsà:newe'
 He didnt catch up with them they got home
- Line 60: oněⁿ ya-gěⁿ wa-hoñt-goñ-ni-sǎ' ne
 ó:nen iá:ken wahontkennísa'(ne')
 now it is said they had a meeting
- Line 61: ra-ti-gowā-neⁿ-s. Oněⁿ wa'-thā-ti-yǎ'-dō-re'-te'
 ratikowá:nen's. Ó:nen wa'thatia'tó:rehte'
 People in charge now they made a judgment
- Line 62: ya-gěⁿ noñ sagotgěñ-nis-ǎ'-te-
 iá:ken nón: (wah)shakotkennísa'te'
 it is said where he had a meeting with somebody/them
- Line 63: Oněⁿ yagěⁿ wa-hoñtgěñ-nī's-sǎ'
 Ó:nen iá:ken wahontkennísa'
 Now it is said they had a meeting
- Line 64: wǎ-hoñ-ti-yǎ'-dā-roñ-go' ya-gěⁿ ro-ti-yǎ'-dǎ-ni-roⁿ's
 Wahontia'tarón:ko' (wahontia'tará:ko') iá:ken rotia'tahnì:ron's
 they got chosen it is said the strong ones
- Line 65: ra-ti-nā-gěⁿ-tā-roⁿ' Oněⁿ
 ratinekénhteron Ó:nen
 young men now
- Line 66: ya-hoñ-wa-ti-nhǎ'-ne' ya-gěⁿ wa-hoñt-goⁿ'-se-rǎ'
 Iahonwatihna'ne' iá:ken wahontken'sè:ra'
 they were ordered/hired it is said they went check on something

Line 67:	o'-hne-gěñ ohnà:ken?? (oh nikén:) Later?? (what)	na'-ā-wěñ' ne' na'á:wen'ne' it happened		
Line 68:	oně ⁿ ya-gě ⁿ ' ó:nen iá:ken now it is said	ne ne NE	ra-ti-ne-gě ⁿ -te-ro ⁿ ' ratinekénhteron young men	
Line 69:	oně ⁿ ya-gě ⁿ ' ó:nen iá:ken Now it is said	ne ne NE	ro-tik-stěñ-ho-goñ-hă rotiksten'okòn:'a old people	
Line 70:	wa-hoñ-wa-ti-rē-djā-ro ⁿ ' wahonwatihretsiá:ron' They were encouraged		tgā-goñ-de' tká:konte' have to	
Line 71:	ě ⁿ -tsi-se-ne-we' entsísene ^w e' you two will get home	dō'-să' tóhsa don't	ē'-yě ⁿ -djā-ga-ră'-hwe' eniontià:karahwe' remain overnight (it will get dark on us)	
Line 72:	oně ⁿ ya-gě ⁿ ' ó:nen iá:ken Now it is said	e'-tho eh tho there	yă-hoñ-ne-we' iahón:newe' there they arrived	
Line 73:	tsi tet-ga-go ⁿ -rets-ha-nē-rī'-gě ⁿ tsi tetkakhretsharí:kon at the log cabin			
Line 74:	oně ⁿ wa-hoñt-gă'-tho' ó:nen wahontkáhtho' now they saw it	tsi tsi at		
Line 75:	won-nī-se-ra-he-re' wenniseráhere' The scaffolding	e'-tho eh tho there there	kā-ti' ra-yă'-tă-he-re' ká:ti raia'táhere' so/then he is laid out	
Line 76:	won-ni-se-rā'-ge' wenniserà:ke on the scaffolding		roñ-gwe-gě ⁿ -hă'. ronkwehkénha. dead/former-man	
Line 77:	Oně ⁿ yagě ⁿ ' Ó:nen iá:ken Now it is said	dă-hoñ'-sě ⁿ -te' tahòn:senhte' they lowered it		

Line 78: (Left side)	sha-yā-dǎ Shaià:ta one male	ne ne NE	ra-ne-gě ⁿ -te-ro ⁿ ' ranekénhteron young man	wā-ha-ta'-ser-ha-ra-go' wahata'sehrhará:ko' (?wahata'serará:ko') he kept his axe?		
Line 79: (Top 1)	yo-no-na-woñ-toñ-te' Io-no-na-won-Xon-Xe ?????		a-dō-gě ⁿ ' ató:ken axe	e'-tho-ne' eh thó:ne there then	ya-gě ⁿ ' iá:ken it is said	
Line 80: (Top 2)	wa-ho-hoñ-ra-te'-nyo ⁿ ' Wahohonratenion' ?he turned the gun on him??		agwǎ akwáh Really	ya-gě ⁿ ' iá:ken it is said	tsi tsi as	ni-yo'-t' ní:ioht how it is/looks
Line 81: (Top 3)	ne ne NE	oñwǎ' ò:n:wa now	a-hoñ-wā'-ryo' ahonwário' for him to get killed	oně ⁿ ó:nen now	ya-gě ⁿ ' iá:ken it is said	wa-hoñ-te-gǎ'-ye' wahonté:ka'te' they lit it on fire
Line 82: (Right side)	oně ⁿ ó:nen Now	ya-gě ⁿ iá:ken it is said	wǎ-hoñts-hā-ǎ'-te'. wahóntsha'ahte'. they burned it`	Oně ⁿ Ó:nen Now	ya-gě ⁿ ' iá:ken it is said	
	wa-hoñ-te-ri-wis-ǎ' wahonteriwisa' they committed					
Line 83: (Bottom)	kě ⁿ ' ken' from now		ě ⁿ -wa-tǎ-sa-wě ⁿ ' enwatáhsawen' it will start	ya iah no	se-go ⁿ shé:kon more	won-ni-se-rā'-ge' wenniserà:ke on scaffolding
Line 84: (Left side)	ta-hoñ-sa-ti-ro ⁿ ' thaonsahatì:ron. they will (not) put it on top		oně ⁿ Ó:nen Now	ě-ho ⁿ -tsā-to ⁿ . enhontshá:ton' they will bury it		

Appendix C: Sample of Illustrations for the *Ráhskan Oká:ra*

This final section of the appendix samples three of the 12 illustrations I have commissioned for by Kanien'kehá:ka artist Bruce Boots. Each image depicts a different scene in the *ráhskan oká:ra* as told by Só:se. These images will then be animated to go along with the recording. The completed transcribed and translated video will then be given to KORLCC for distribution.

Figure 4:

Kahnawà:ke

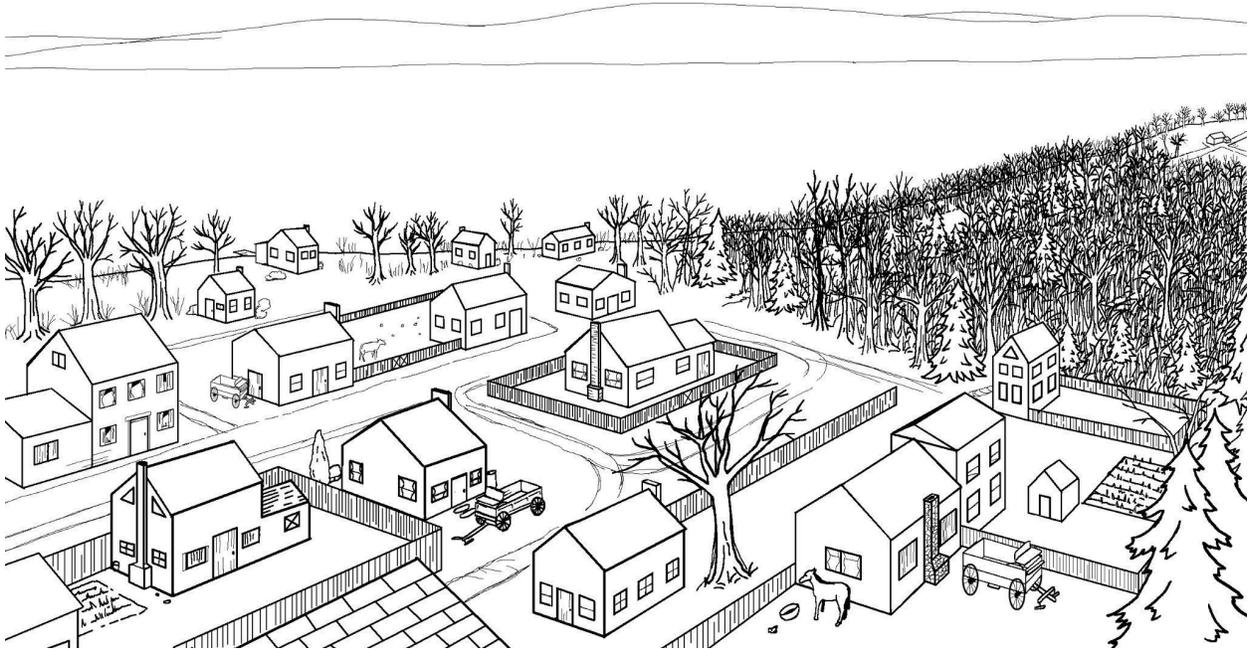


Figure 5:

Ó:nen iá:ken kí:ken wa'tienia 'tarakháhsi' [So then she opened up the curtain]



Figure 6:

Wa'tionráhtate' [She RAN]

