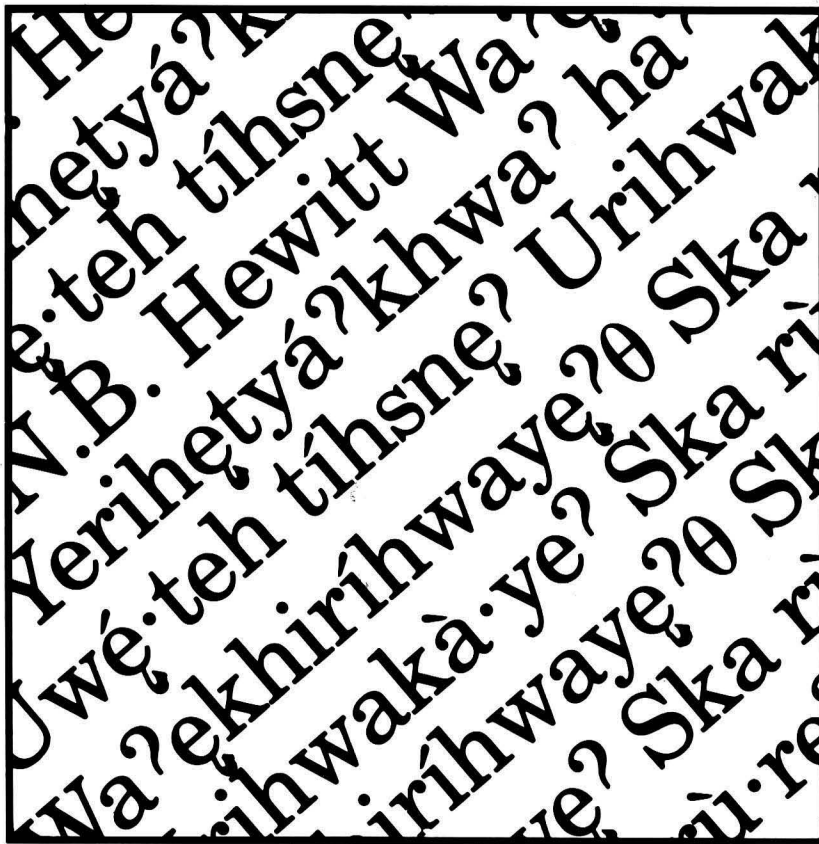


The Tuscarora Legacy of J.N.B. Hewitt *J.N.B. Hewitt Waʔekhirihwayeʔθ Ska rù·reʔ*

Volume 1

Blair A. Rudes and Dorothy Crouse



National Museums of Canada

1987

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**The Tuscarora Legacy of J.N.B. Hewitt:
Materials for the Study of the Tuscarora
Language and Culture**

*J.N.B. Hewitt Wa'ękhiríhwaye'ŋ Ska rù·re'
Yerihętyá'khwa' ha'
Uwę·teh tíhsne' Urihwakà·ye' Ska rù·re'?*

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urihwakà·ye'ę' skarù·re'ę'

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ABSTRACT

The subject matter of the thirty-six texts presented here deals principally with three areas of Tuscarora culture: cosmological and traditional religious beliefs, medical practices, and mythic traditions. However, just as religion, medicine and myth do not appear to have been highly differentiated spheres of traditional Tuscarora society, they are seldom treated apart in individual texts. Nevertheless, we have attempted to organize the texts in this volume around these three areas, placing those texts in which religious themes dominate together, and so on. Cosmological and religious topics are the dominant elements in the first four of the texts. The following nineteen are concerned with medical practices. Included are texts which indicate how specific diseases are to be treated, and specific medicines prepared; texts which describe the roles which medicines and medical practitioners played in traditional Tuscarora society; and texts which deal with sorcery and witchcraft, practices which were intimately connected with medicine among the Tuscarora. The last thirteen texts focus on Tuscarora mythic traditions, and describe many of the major characters who populated these myths.

RÉSUMÉ

Les trente-six textes présentés ici portent principalement sur trois secteurs de la culture tuscarora : la cosmologie et les croyances religieuses traditionnelles, les pratiques médicales et la mythologie. Toutefois, la religion, la médecine et les mythes étant des domaines ne semblant pas avoir été nettement différenciés les uns des autres dans la société tuscarora traditionnelle, ces thèmes sont rarement traités séparément par les auteurs. Nous avons tout de même tenté d'organiser les textes du volume selon ces trois domaines. Dans les quatre premiers textes, les éléments religieux dominent. Les dix-neuf textes suivants traitent principalement de pratiques médicales; nous y avons inclus des textes qui expliquent les traitements utilisés pour combattre des maux précis et la préparation de certains médicaments; d'autres textes décrivent les rôles des médicaments et des guérisseurs dans la société tuscarora traditionnelle; enfin, d'autres encore se penchent sur la magie et la sorcellerie qui, chez les Tuscaroras, étaient intimement liées à la médecine. Finalement, les treize derniers textes portent sur la mythologie et décrivent nombre des principaux personnages des mythes tuscaroras.

Kyè·nẹ́ í·kẹ́· uhyatẹ́hsteh
yẹ́kya?neθwé·kih eyẹ́khikwé·nyẹ́hst

AMELIA WILLIAMS kẹ́he?

sé?či wa?ẹ́khikyerhakyénha? ù·nẹ́
wa?nyaktiwẹ́ta?ku?né·ti?

The authors dedicate this book
to the memory of

AMELIA WILLIAMS

for her assistance during the
translation of these texts

Table of Contents

I.	Acknowledgements	viii
II.	Preface	ix
III.	Method Used in Translating the Texts	xii
IV.	Format of the Texts	xiii
V.	Abbreviations Used on Line IV of Texts	xv
VI.	The Texts	1
1.	Genesis Myth: A Fragment	2
2.	The Creator	9
3.	Tuskarora Cosmogony: A Tuskarora Cosmogonic Myth	17
4.	A Tree of Language, Tuskarora Legend	91
5.	Kaʔtárhwaht Woman: The Pythoness	100
6.	The Killing of the Mythic Reptile	131
7.	White Corn, Squash and Corn	152
8.	The Great Bird and the Hunter	163
9.	How Medicine Men Were Chosen	201
10.	A Monster	214
11.	A Uncle and His Nephew, or the Child Adopted by a Bear ...	222
12.	Food Offering to the Animals by a Hunter	246
13.	A Society of Wizards Destroyed	280
14.	House Destroyer	289

15.	The Twelve Mystical Bugs.....	294
16.	Preventative of Smallpox, Scarlatina and Other Contagious Diseases.....	310
17.	Love Potion.....	314
18.	Dropsy.....	321
19.	White Ash.....	325
20.	Black Jaundice.....	328
21.	Medical Notes.....	331
22.	Dew Berry (Cure for Diarrhea).....	340
23.	John Foxe's Seventy Dollar Medicine.....	342
24.	Akutrè'we.....	352
25.	The Akutrè'we Who Played Ball.....	367
26.	The Mischief Maker.....	383
27.	The Tradition of the Elopement of a Woman with an Owl.....	414
28.	The Mythic Flying Head.....	445
29.	An Old Woman.....	454
30.	Stone Giant.....	469
31.	A Man Followed by a Stone Giant.....	522
32.	The Story of a Fabulous Saurian.....	530
33.	The Prophetic Bird.....	553
34.	Tobacco and the Buried Head.....	569
35.	The Great Snake and the Thunder Have a Child.....	585

36. A Man Chased by the Thunders.....	614
Appendix I: Long Vowel Stems.....	622
Appendix II: Glossary of Labels for Grammatical Morphemes.....	625
Appendix III: Tuscarora Phonetics and Phonology.....	635
References.....	650

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We wish to express our thanks to Esther Blueye and Ruth Dudley, who first introduced the authors, and who enthusiastically supported the research involved in preparing these texts. We are also indebted to the staff members of the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution for the assistance they provided in locating and reproducing materials from the Hewitt collection. In addition, we thank Michael Foster for his editorial comments and thoughtful suggestions on formatting and generally improving the presentation of the texts in this volume.

Finally, as an expression of our deep gratitude to our friend and coworker, whose goal it was to help preserve her people's language and culture for future generations, we dedicate this work to the memory of Amelia Williams.

II. Preface

According to traditional history, the ancestors of the Six Nations Iroquois (the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora) once lived as a single nation, somewhere in the St. Lawrence Valley (Hale 1883, Johnson 1967). As the result of losses in battle to a mythic enemy, this nation fragmented, the progenitors of each modern nation fleeing to a new location. Of the six, the Tuscarora took the most distant path, finally settling near the Island of the Great (Floating) Pine, Kahtéhu·?, in present-day North Carolina.

In 1701 an English explorer found the Tuscarora to be the most numerous and influential of the indigenous peoples of the Carolinas (Lawson 1709). By the latter part of that century, however, wars with the colonists and internal strife had weakened what unity had existed among the Tuscarora, and small groups began to migrate north. Throughout the nineteenth century, ever more of the Tuscarora joined those who had made their home in New York and Ontario. By the turn of the century, the time at which the texts presented here were recorded, the vast majority of the Tuscarora were to be found in two locations: on the Tuscarora Reservation near Lewiston, New York, and on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

Although the texts presented in this volume were all recorded from residents of the Tuscarora Reservation in New York, several deal with events which transpired among the Tuscarora in Ontario. As these texts show, however, communications between the two groups were quite limited in the nineteenth century. The reasons for this separation and isolation had less to do with distance (the Tuscarora Reservation is only 65 miles from the Six Nations Reserve) than with religious and political differences. In the 1800's the Tuscarora who had first settled in Ontario some hundred years before were joined by several hundred Tuscaroras from New York. These Tuscarora were non-Christians fleeing the Tuscarora Reservation to escape persecution by their neighbors, who had been converted to Christianity through the work of the New York Missionary Society. Over the course of the early to mid 1900's, many of the Tuscarora who had fled to Ontario, and their descendants, tried to return to the Tuscarora Reservation in New York. They were blocked from doing so, however, as the Chief's Council of the Tuscarora Reservation had ordered the Tribal Roles of the Tuscarora Nation sealed; no Canadian Tuscarora could officially become a member of the nation and thus be entitled to own land on the reservation. This situation remains to this day.

Despite this separation, few differences exist in the Tuscarora spoken in Ontario and in New York. The most noticeable difference involves the two fricatives found in the speech of residents of the Tuscarora Reservation, /s/ and /θ/, which have merged into a single fricative, /s/, in the speech of the residents of

the Six Nations Reserve. As a result, a number of word pairs found among New York Tuscarora speakers appear as homophones among Canadian Tuscarora speakers. For example, New York uhsé·?neh 'stocking' and uhθé·?neh 'darkness' both appear in Ontario as uhsé·?neh, and New York ska?rihwíhs?ahs 'you promise me' and θka?rihwíhs?ahs 'I promise again' are both ska?rihwíhs?ahs in Ontario. In addition, there exist a handful of words, most referring to items borrowed from European culture or from the cultures of the other five of the Six Nations, which differ. In Ontario, for example, the words for 'window', 'chair', and 'dumpling' are: yunęhsáhrarę·, yę?tečharákhwa?, and usnéhkweh, respectively; in New York, the words for these items are: awe·kyeh 'window', u?θkwéhseh 'chair', and u?nhę·θteh 'dumpling'.

As Canadian and New York Tuscarora differ from one another, so the Tuscarora recorded by J. N. B. Hewitt differs from both. For example, Hewitt consistently recorded geminate /t/, the onset of which was preglottalized, wherever it would be expected on the basis of comparative evidence, as in wă?-kă?t-tăkw-něň-tĩ? (Hewitt's transcription) 'I made (a) bed for myself' from Proto-Northern Iroquoian *wa?katnaktó·ni?. Among living speakers of Tuscarora both in Canada and New York this word is wa?ka?takné·ti?, the geminate /t/ appearing as a non-geminate, but the preglottalization being retained as a full glottal-stop. Of the Tuscarora whose speech has been documented in recent times, the language of the Hewitt texts most closely resembles in pronunciation that of Chief Elton Greene (see Williams 1976) and Amelia Williams, whose pronunciation is recorded here as line II of each text. Both of these speakers are now deceased.

The texts presented in this volume include all of those preserved in the Hewitt Collection of the National Anthropological Archives with Tuscarora versions. In a few cases, texts exist in the Hewitt Collection only in English versions, although they were taken down from speakers of Tuscarora. These texts have been published elsewhere (Johnson 1967), and are not reproduced here. All of the texts which appear in this volume were recorded by J. N. B. Hewitt or by Lucinda Thompson, whom Hewitt appears to have trained. Lucinda Thompson was born in 1850, the daughter of Esa Thompson and Sally Mt. Pleasant. She was a member of the White Bear Clan, as was J. N. B. Hewitt through his mother, Harriet Printup. Little else is known about Lucinda Thompson, except that she died in 1909.

In contrast to the limited information available on Lucinda Thompson, a great deal is known about J. N. B. Hewitt. An overview of his life and work appeared in the obituary written about him in the American Anthropologist (Swanton 1938). In addition, Judd (1967) provides various insights into Hewitt's personality and interpersonal relationships while an employee of the Bureau of American Ethnology. J. N. B. Hewitt was born on December 16, 1958, on the Tuscarora Reservation in Lewiston, New York. Though he spoke only English until the age

of eleven, he acquired a relatively good knowledge of the Tuscarora language later from friends at the neighboring school district which he attended. From his father, David B. Hewitt, he acquired a broad background in history and science, as well as a knowledge of Greek and Latin which he brought to bear on his later linguistic work. In the summer of 1880, while working as a conductor on a northern New Jersey streetcar, Hewitt was engaged by Erminnie A. Smith, a linguist and anthropologist working for the Bureau of American Ethnology, to assist her in her work on the Iroquois languages. Following Mrs. Smith's death in 1886, Hewitt was hired by Major John W. Powell, then director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to complete a dictionary of Tuscarora which he had been working on with Mrs. Smith. While employed by the Bureau, Hewitt transcribed hundreds of pages of texts in Tuscarora as well as other Iroquoian languages, only a small portion of which was published during his lifetime. A major reason why Hewitt did not publish more, according to Judd (1967), was that Hewitt was meticulous to a fault about his work. This is also seen in the fact that the manuscripts by Hewitt preserved down to the present day are very neatly and legibly written, and contain exceptionally few detectable errors of any kind. In addition, many of these manuscripts are incomplete in that they lack an English or Tuscarora version, or end in the middle of a line or a narrative, indicating that Hewitt had not finished recopying them from earlier rough drafts.

After Hewitt's death in 1937, his Iroquois texts and grammatical notes became part of the archival collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology. With the demise of this office, the materials became the property of the National Anthropological Archives. The manuscripts of the Hewitt Collection have been greatly used by linguists, ethnologists, and others interested in the history and culture of the Iroquois. However, for those who do not speak or read the Iroquois languages, the value of many of the texts has been limited by the lack of English translations. In addition, many of the Iroquois living today are unaware of the existence of the Hewitt manuscripts, and the information which these manuscripts contain about their cultures and mythic traditions. The purpose of this volume is to improve the accessibility of at least a portion of the Hewitt Collection by providing translations of all of Hewitt's Tuscarora texts and by making the material more available to the interested public in published form.

III. Method Used in Translating the Texts

Work on translating those Tuscarora texts in the Hewitt Collection for which no English version existed began in the summer of 1974, at the request of Amelia Williams. Acutely aware of the declining use and dwindling number of speakers of the language, Williams saw this work as an opportunity to help in preserving the knowledge of Tuscarora for future generations. Because Williams could not read Hewitt's transcription of her language, it was necessary for a cooperative method of translation to be used by her and Blair Rudes. First, Rudes would read Hewitt's text and pronounce each word separately to Williams. She would then correct his pronunciation and provide an English translation for the word. If a word unfamiliar to Williams was encountered, she would check with other speakers on the meaning and correct pronunciation of the word. If no living speaker recognized the word, it was noted as unknown by Rudes. He would then check through other published and manuscript materials on the Tuscarora language to see if the word could be identified. Particularly useful in this regard was the manuscript dictionary of Tuscarora prepared by Erminnie Smith and Hewitt, archived in the National Anthropological Archives. Once all of the words in a text had been identified, the entire text was reread to Williams by Rudes, and a sentence by sentence translation provided. Following this step, Rudes would edit the sentence by sentence translation to arrive at a "smooth" English narrative. Williams would then read the English narrative to determine whether it provided an accurate translation of the Tuscarora text as a whole.

Upon the death of Amelia Williams in 1977, Dorothy Crouse took over the task of completing the translations of the Hewitt texts. Having originally introduced Williams and Rudes in 1973, and having worked with the two intermittently over the next four years, Crouse was already familiar with the approach being used. The authors completed the translation of the last text in the summer of 1983.

IV. Format of the Texts

Each of the texts contained in this volume is presented in six-line interlinear translation, with the exception of the first part of the "Tuscarora Cosmogony" which is in seven-line interlinear. Each line presents a different type of information, specifically:

- line I: Hewitt's original transcription of the text, including all diacritics as well as his corrections;
- line II: the modern Tuscarora form of the words in the texts, based on the pronunciation of Amelia Williams (Note: the material on line II does not represent a modern Tuscarora version of the text, since syntactic and stylistic, as well as certain lexical changes between Hewitt's Tuscarora and modern Tuscarora have not been noted);
- line III: the segmentation of each of the words in the texts into morphemes;
- line IV: the translation of the meaning of each of the morphemes indicated in line III as making up each word of the text (Note: the meanings of frequently recurring morphemes have been abbreviated; a list of the abbreviations used is given in section V. of this introduction);
- line V': a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of each word in the text provided by Hewitt himself (Note: this line is used only in the first part of the "Tuscarora Cosmogony");
- line V: the translation into English of each word in the texts (Note: only the core meaning of each word, that is, the meaning the word would have in isolation, is given; contextual variation in the meaning of particular words has generally been ignored);
- line VI: a running, free translation in English of the entire text.

On the first page of each of the texts, in the upper left corner of the page, appears a legend which provides the following information: (1) the date the text was recorded (if known), (2) who recorded the text (noted only if it was Lucinda Thompson, rather than Hewitt himself), (3) from whom the text was

recorded (if known), (4) the Bureau of American Ethnology catalog number of the text (abbreviated BAE-ms., followed by a number), and (5) the individual(s) who prepared the English translation of the text.

In addition to the information referred to above, each text is preceded by a brief commentary on the nature of the text, relevant background information, and references to where the text, or similar texts, had been published previously. The commentary is immediately followed by a continuous presentation of the English translation of the text, taken from line VI. Sentences are numbered sequentially as they are in the text itself. Notes referred to by number in the text appear on the immediately preceding page, if that page contains the continuous presentation of the English text and no Tuscarora text; otherwise, notes appear at the bottom of the page on which the numbered reference occurs. As with sentences, notes are numbered sequentially throughout a given text.

Following the presentation of all of the texts there appear three appendices. The first of these treats the representation of stems which have long vowels in some varieties of Tuscarora, but not in others. The second presents definitions for the grammatical terms used in describing Tuscarora morphology in this work. And, the third contains a brief description of Tuscarora phonetics and phonology. These three appendices are then followed by a list of the reference works cited in this volume.

V. Abbreviations Used

Grammatical morphemes which occur frequently in the texts have been "translated" by abbreviated labels. The abbreviations which have been used, and the labels for which these abbreviations stand, are given below. For a more detailed description of the meaning of each of these morphemes, see Appendix II. Labels which have been used by others to name these morphemes are given here in parentheses. Also included are special symbols used in the texts and their meanings.

amb.	-	ambulative
aug.	-	augmentative
aorist	-	aorist (factual, indicative) mode (tense)
caus.	-	causative
cisl.	-	cislocative
com.	-	completive
contr.	-	contrastive
dat.	-	dative
decess.	-	decessive
dim.	-	diminutive
distr.	-	distributive
dupl.	-	duplicative (dualic)
d. n.	-	dummy noun
du.	-	dual
ex. loc.	-	external locative
excl. /ex. /e.	-	exclusive first person
fem.	-	feminine/indefinite
fut.	-	future mode (tense)
he	-	masculine third person singular
incl. /in. /i.	-	inclusive first person
incho.	-	inchoative
instr.	-	instrumental
intens.	-	intensive
in. loc.	-	internal locative
it	-	neuter third person singular
nom.	-	nominalizer
n. s.	-	simple noun suffix
opt.	-	optative (indefinite) mode (tense)
part.	-	partitive
pat.	-	patient
perf.	-	perfect (perfective, stative) aspect
pl.	-	plural
pnt.	-	punctual aspect
progress.	-	progressive
purpos.	-	purposive
p. s.	-	possessive suffix

recip.	-	reciprocal
reflx.	-	reflexive
rep.	-	repetitive (iterative)
revers.	-	reversive
serial	-	serial aspect (iterative aspect)
they	-	third person plural
transl.	-	translocative
1st	-	first person
2nd	-	second person
3rd	-	third person
-	-	syllable boundary (in line I)
	-	morpheme boundary (in line III)
+	-	formative (non-productive morpheme) boundary (in line III)
=	-	separates agent (before the =) and patient (after the =) in transitive pronominal prefixes (in line IV)
) (-	encloses the overlapping portions of overlapping morphemes (in line III)
()	-	encloses epenthetic segments (in line III)
*	-	appears after words in line I, the morphological segmentation or meaning of which are not entirely certain
^	-	material inserted in the original manuscript by the original authors
—	-	through a word on line I indicates a word which was crossed out (as a mistake) in the original manuscript
////	-	through a word on line I indicates a word which was blackened out (as a mistake) in the original manuscript
{ }	-	encloses morphemes or stems in the commentary and footnotes to texts

VI. THE TEXTS

Text 1Tuskarora Text
Genesis Myth: A Fragment

Commentary:

No parallel to this legend can be found in any of the relevant published works on Tuscarora mythic traditions. While it is possible this text, along with texts 2 and 4 in this volume, contain elements of Tuscarora beliefs regarding creation which were held prior to joining the Five (then Six) Nations Confederacy (see commentary on Tuscarora Cosmogony, Text 3), the evidence is too limited for this to be proven.

It is uncertain why this text was left unfinished. One possibility is that Hewitt left off in the midst of recording it and never returned to finish it. Another is that Hewitt recorded the entire text but that, as seems to be the case with other text fragments included here, he only partially recopied the texts from his original notes before moving on to other work. A third possibility is that the speaker from whom Hewitt recorded the text died before it could be completed, and no other speaker knew the story well enough to complete it.

A particularly unusual feature of this text is Hewitt's sporadic use of the symbols o, d and g to represent what he otherwise transcribes with u, t and k. This is the only one of Hewitt's manuscript texts in which he uses this, apparently, allophonic transcription, although it appears in several of his published works. It is unclear whether this represents Hewitt's early attempts at transcribing these sounds, before settling on the essentially phonemic system which he uses elsewhere, or whether he was somehow influenced here by the system of transcription which he employed in transcribing texts in Seneca, Mohawk and Onondaga (see Hewitt 1903, 1928).

Notes to the text:

1. This particle is used to introduce reported speech of the recent past, or traditional series of events in the mythic past (cf. English 'it is said that...').
2. Both the verb {-takre-/-taker-} and the verb {-?nenę-} are translated in these texts 'dwell'. The former refers to a more permanent dwelling than the latter (note yetá·kre? 'village/one dwells').
3. A paralinguistic particle denoting hesitation, recorded by Hewitt only in this text.
4. Both the word yetá·kre? and the word utá·?neh can be translated as 'village'. The former normally refers to the village as a population center, whereas the latter refers to the village as a grouping of dwelling structures.

Recorded 1889
 From Joseph Henry
 BAE-ms. 3132
 Trans. Rudes

Tuskarora Text
 Genesis Myth: A Fragment

I	(1)	Há' -thu	i-yāk ¹	yá'-tā-kre ²	is' -ē ⁿ
II		Hé' ?thu	ì·ya·k	yetá·kre?	íhs' ?ē
III		he' ?thu	iya·k	ye-takre-?	ihs' ?ē
IV		there	it is said	fem. -dwell-perf.	more
V		there	it is said	village	more
VI	(1)	It is said that at that time there was a village of people			

nă?	u-rē ⁿ -hyă' -nī	ěň' -kwě.	(2)	Da ³	ha?	kě ⁿ ?
na?	urēhyá' ?ni	é' kweh.		Da	ha?	kē?
na?	u-rēhy-(a) -?ni	ēkwe-h		da	ha?	kē?
	much pat. -sky-be at edge of	human-n. s.		eh,	the	where
	much at edge of sky	human		eh,	the	where
	located far to the other side of the sky.		(2)	And in the		

ka-tā' -nai-yē ⁿ 4	tă' -ă-sěň-nē ⁿ	há' -thũ	i-yāk
katá' ?nayē?	tha' ahsē' nē	hé' ?thu	ì·ya·k
ka-ta' ?n-(a)-yē-?	tha' -ahsēnē	he' ?thu	iya·k
it-village-lie-perf.	contr. -half	there	it is said
there is a village	halfway	there	it is said
center of this village was			

yă-kěň' -něň?	ra-wěň-rũ	hă?	ra-ku-wā-něň,
yakē' nē?	rawē' ruh	ha?	rakuwā' nē,
yak-ēnē-?	ra-w-ēruh	ha?	ra-kuwan-ē
fem. -construct-perf.	he-pat. -be self	the	he-be chief-perf.
building	himself	the	chief
the house of a married			

ru-tyā-kě ⁿ	tĩ' -sē ⁿ ?	hă?	rũ' -nũ' -ně ⁿ ?
rutyá' kē	tíhsnē?	ha?	ru' nú' nē?
r-u-tyak-ē	tíhsnē?	ha?	r-u-?nu' nē?
he-pat. -marry-perf.	and	the	he-pat. -have as child
his spouse	and	the	his child
chief who had a child,			

English translation of text:

(1) It is said that at that time there was a village of people located far to the other side of the sky. (2) And in the center of this village was the house of a married chief who had a child, a girl. (3) All of a sudden the chief noticed that something was happening to him. (4) It is said that he grew very frail and that this caused the old man to become depressed. (4a.) The daughter thought that perhaps this had happened because he was jealous of someone. (5) This condition persisted. (6) The chief then issued an invitation for the people to seek out his speech. (7) It is said that all of the people came together there. (8) They looked everywhere for his speech, asking of each thing they saw whether that was what he wanted. (8a.) After a long time a man spoke up and said, "I have found it, the speech of our chief - that is, the thing which he wanted . . ."

Notes to text (cont.):

5. The use here of kanè·wẹ? 'female' after eká·θ?ah is not redundant, as might at first appear, since the latter word may refer either to 'girl' specifically or to 'child' generically, i. e., the feminine is the unmarked gender for animate nouns. Thus, the appearance of kanè·wẹ? here serves to specify that a female child is being referred to.

6. The verb root {-er-} is roughly translated here as 'believe'; it refers to the actual process of 'thinking, knowing, wanting, believing, etc.', i. e. to the cognitive process, and is often used to introduce direct quotations of thoughts.

đ'-kaç-ă	kā-něñ'-wěñ ⁵	(3)	Twă-ră [?] -nyă'-rěñ ⁿ -tcĩ
eká·θ [?] ah	kanĕ·wĕ [?]		Thwakra [?] nyerĕ·čĩ [?]
e-kaθ [?] ah	ka-nĕwĕ [?]		t-(h)-wa-hra- [?] n-yer-ĕ-čĩ- [?]
fem. -be child	it-be female-perf.		part. -aorist-he-reflx. -do-perf. -intens. -pnt.
child	female		he suddenly discovered
a girl.		(3)	All of a sudden

oněñ	ěñ-çā [?] -w'ā [?]	wă-rŭ'-hrāw'-hěñ ⁿ .
ŭ·nĕ	ĕhθá [?] w [?] a· [?]	wahrurhrawĕ [?] .
unĕ)ĕ(-hθa [?] w [?] a·- [?]	wa-hr-u-hraw-hĕ [?]
now	aorist-it-begin-pnt.	aorist-he-pat. -unsettle-distrib. -pnt.
now	it began	he was distraught

the chief noticed that something was happening to him.

(4)	Oněñ	i-yāk	gwa-něñ	rŭs-nă'-yěñ	ha [?]
	Ŭ·nĕ	ì·ya·k	kwă·ne	ruhsně·yĕ·	ha [?]
	unĕ	iya·k	kwane	r-u-hsneyĕ·	ha [?]
	now	it is said	many	he-pat. -be lean-perf.	the
	now	it is said	many	he got thin	the

(4) It is said that he grew very frail

rŭ'-hŭr	ha-nă [?]	i-yāk	ga-rĭ'-hwa-yěñs
rŭhur	hă·ne [?]	ì·ya·k	karĭhwayĕhs
r-u-hur	hane [?]	iya·k	ka-rihw-(a)-yĕ-hs
he-pat. -grow	that is	it is said	it-matter-lay-serial
old man	that is	it is said	it is the reason

and that this caused the old man

kwŭ ^{ns}	ă-skěñ-něñ [?]	ă-rěñ [?] -ti-gěñ-něñ-hĕk	hă [?]
kwĕhs	ahskĕ·nĕ [?]	arĕ [?] tikĕhnĕhek	ha [?]
kwĕhs	ahskĕnĕ [?]	ar-)ĕ(- [?] -tikĕhn-ĕ-hek	ha [?]
no	peace	opt. -it-reflx. -mind-fall-serial	the
no	peace	that his state of mind is	the

to become depressed.

nă'-kā-wi-rai-yěñ [?]	ar-yěñ [?] r ⁶	íyāk
nekawì·rayĕ [?]	á·ryĕ [?] r	ì·ya·k
ne-ka-wir-(a)-yĕ- [?]	ar-y-)ĕ(-r- [?]	iya·k
dupl. -it-infant-lay-perf.	opt. -fem. -believe-pnt.	it is said
their two's child	that one think	it is said

(4a.) The daughter thought that perhaps this

ha-náʔ	kwu-tíʔ	háʔ	rũ-skā-rě ⁿ .
há·neʔ	kwú·tiʔ	haʔ	ruhskà·rę.
haneʔ	kwutiʔ	haʔ	r-u-hskar-ę
that is	perhaps	the	he-pat. -be jealous-perf.
that is	perhaps	the	he is jealous
had happened because he was jealous of someone.			

- (5) Da oněⁿ háʔ-thu tyǎ-hěñʔw
 Da ù·nę héʔthu tyáhęʔw
 da unę heʔthu t-yah-)ę(-w-ʔ
 eh, now there part. -transl. -aorist-it-come-pnt.
 eh, now there it came to that point
- (5) This condition

háʔ	ha-náʔ	něñ-yǔ'·ně ⁿ k.	
haʔ	há·neʔ	neyúhņę·k.	
haʔ	haneʔ	n-e-y-u-hņę-·k	
the	that is	part. -fut. -it-pat. -disappear-perf.	
the	that is	so it will have disappeared	
persisted.			

- (6) Da oněⁿ
 Da ù·nę
 da unę
 eh, now
 eh, now
 (6) The chief

iyāk	wǎ-rā-tě ⁿ ?-nyu'tě ⁿ ? 7	haʔ
ì·ya·k	wahratęʔnyú·tęʔ	haʔ
iya·k	wa-hra-t-ęʔnyut-ę-ʔ	haʔ
it is said	aorist-he-d. n. -invite-dat. -pnt.	the
it is said	he invited	the
then issued an invitation for the people		

- | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| a-ka-yě ⁿ ?-náʔ-nwěñ-tǐ'-sak. 8 | (7) Oně ⁿ | iyāk | twáʔ ⁿ |
| akayęʔnaʔnwętihsa·k. | Ū·nę | ì·ya·k | thwé·ʔ ⁿ |
| a-kay-)ę(-ʔnaʔn-wętihsa·k | unę | iya·k | thweʔ ⁿ |
| opt. -they- recip. -word- seek | now | it is said | all |
| that they seek another's speech | now | it is said | all |
| to seek out his speech. | (7) It is said that all | | |

haʔ	ěñ-gwá'-gěñ-hǎʔ-ně ⁿ ?	ka-yě ⁿ ?-tǎ-yā-rũ-tcrě ⁿ
haʔ	ękwehkęhaʔnęʔ	kayęʔteyarúhčręh
haʔ	ękwe-h-kęhaʔnęʔ	kay-)ę(-ʔ-tey-(a)-ruhčrę-h
the	human-n. s. -distrib.	they-reflx. -crowd-gather-serial
the	humans	they assemble a crowd
of the people came together		

7. The verb root {-ęʔnyut-} ({-tęʔnyut-} with dummy incorporated noun) is translated here as 'invite'. More specifically it means 'give invitation to an event or ceremony at which food will be shared.'

8. The root {-węti-} has a wide range of meanings depending upon the context. These include: 'word, language, utterance, speech, voice, music, song.'

háʔ-thu.	(8)	Ka-yās'-kǎ't*	uně ⁿ	háʔ-thũ	kā-yě ^{nʔ} -nǎʔ-nwěñ-tĩ'-sāks,
héʔthu.		Kayáhksaht	ũ·neḡ	héʔthu	kayeḡnaʔnwę̄tíhsa·ks,
heʔthu		ka-yahskaht	unę	heʔthu	kay-)ę(-ʔnaʔn-wę̄t-ihsa·k-s
there		it-result	now	there	they- recip. -word- seek-serial
there		it results	now	there	they are seeking another's speech
there.	(8)	They looked everywhere for			

thĩ-ga-wěñ-ni-yũʔ	haʔawěñ-tǎ'-kěñ-hǎʔ-ně ⁿ
thikawę̄ni·yuʔ	haʔ awę̄te kę̄haʔneḡʔ
thikawę̄niyuʔ	haʔ awę̄te kę̄haʔneḡʔ
anywhere	the thing distrib.
anywhere	the thing distrib.
his speech, asking of each thing	

ka-yǎ-kě ⁿ -hwǎʔ-nǎ-wěñ*	arě ⁿ	hě ⁿ	ha-nǎʔ
kayakę̄hwǎʔnawę̄h	ǎ·reḡ	heḡ	hǎ·neʔ
kayak-ę̄hwaʔn-awę̄-h	areḡ	heḡ	haneʔ
they-indicate-distrib. -serial	about	'question'	that is
they are indicating	about	'question'	that is
they saw whether that was			

nǎ'-ru-tǎ-hwěñ-tcu-nĩ,*	kǎʔ-ně ⁿ	waʔ-ũʔ-tyā-tĩ
nehrutahwę̄čhũ·nih,	káʔneḡ	waʔuʔtyá·tih
ne-hr-u-tahwę̄čhun-ih	kaʔneḡ	waʔ-u-ʔtyatih
dupl. -he-pat. -be in need of-perf.	just!	aorist-pat. -be long time
he required it	just!	it was a long time
what he wanted.	(8a.)	After a long time

uně	çra-yās'-dāt	wǎ-rě ⁿ -rěñʔ ⁹
ũ·neḡ	θhrayáhsta·t	wahrę̄hrę̄ʔ
unę	θ-hra-yahst-a·t	wa-hr-)ę(-hrę̄-ʔ
now	rep. -he-individual-be one	aorist-he-say-pnt.
now	one male	he said
a man spoke up and said,		

oně ⁿ	wǎ-hiʔr	hǎʔ iʔ	wǎʔ-khǎwěñ-dǎ-kũʔ-tcěñ'-rĩʔ
ũ·neḡ	wáhiʔr	héʔi·ʔ	waʔkhewę̄takuʔčę̄·riʔ
unę	wahiʔr	heʔ-i·ʔ	waʔ-khe-wę̄t-(a)-kuʔčę̄ri-ʔ
now	it is so	the-I	aorist-I=3rd-word-find-pnt.
now	it is so	I myself	I found another's speech
"I have found it, the speech			

9. Hewitt's transcription of the final vowel of this word with "ěñ", rather than "ěⁿ", would suggest the presence of a long vowel (/ę̄·/). Speakers of modern Tuscarora show both individual and across-speaker variation in the length of this vowel. For a detailed discussion of final-syllable vowel length variation, see Appendix I.

hǎʔ	yě ⁿ -khi-ku-wā'-něñ,	ha-náʔ	wǎ-hiʔr
haʔ	yɛkhikuwà'ne,	hà'neʔ	wáhiʔr
haʔ	yɛkhi-kuwan-ɛ	haneʔ	wahiʔr
the	we ex. pl. =3rd-be chief-perf.	that is	it is so
the	our chief	that is	it is so

of our chief - that is, the thing

ruʔ-ná'-ɕwǎ'-kǐ' . . . "

ruʔneθwé'kih

r-u-ʔneθwek-ih

he-pat. -want-perf.

he wants it

which he wanted . . . "

(End of Tuscarora Manuscript)

Text 2

The Creator

Commentary:

As with the preceding text, no exact parallel exists in the published literature for this text. However, both Cusick (1828, p. 30) and Johnson (1881, p. 58) describe a legendary mosquito of tremendous size which lived off of human blood. The mosquito is described as having plagued the Tuscarora along the Neuse River in North Carolina for a time and then having disappeared. Later it is said to have reappeared to menace those living around the Great Lakes. It is said that the mosquito was then killed in the territory of the Onondaga, and that from the blood which sprang from the dying creature were created common mosquitos.

The word for 'the Creator' which appears in this text is unusual in that it contains a verb root, {-waʔkɛ-}'hold', which otherwise appears only in the proper name Raʔwnawáʔkɛ 'He-holds-the-Earth' seen in Text 3. The fact that this verb root is found only in these proper names suggests that both names are borrowed from some other Iroquoian language, although the incorporated noun {-aʔwn-}'land' which is unique to Tuscarora suggests that the name Raʔwnawáʔkɛ is a Tuscarora creation. Regardless of the etymologies of these names, the content of the narrative and the description of the giant mosquito indicate that the text itself is not borrowed but is instead part of a body of traditional Tuscarora beliefs regarding the mosquito.

Notes to text:

1. This sequence of particles, kyè·nɛ· í·kɛ·, has coalesced in modern Tuscarora into a single particle, kyení·kɛ· 'this is'.

2. Hewitt consistently transcribed the augmentative clitic, as well as the particle meaning 'other', as u-wǐʔ, thereby suggesting a pronunciation [uwǐʔ]. In modern Tuscarora, the augmentative appears for most speakers as -uʔy ([uʔy], [uʔX]) or as -uʔ ([uʔ]). However, in certain idiolects the pronunciations [uʔʔ], [uʔiʔ] are also heard. It was probably some pronunciation similar to these latter that Hewitt intended by his transcription.

BAE-ms. 432

Trans. Rudes & Crouse

Tha-rěⁿ-hyă-wă[?]-kěⁿ
 Tha rẹhyawá[?]kẹ
 tha-rẹhy-(a)-wa[?]kẹ
 contr. -sky-hold
 The Creator

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| I | (1) | kyă-něñ | i-kěñ ¹ | rěñ-kwě-stěñ-tě |
| II | | Kyè·nẹ· | í·kẹ· | rẹkwehstẹ·te |
| III | | kyenẹ· | ikẹ· | r-ẹkwe-hst-ẹte |
| IV | | this is | it is | he-human-nom. -be a certain |
| V | | this is | it is | a particular male human |
| VI | (1) | He has the appearance of being a human, | | |

tci'r	u-rěⁿ-hyă	u-tě'-hwě	u-rě ⁿ -hyě
číhr		utéhweh	urẹhyeh
čihr		u-tehw-eh	u-rẹhy-eh
dog		pat. -skin-n. s.	pat. -sky-n. s.
dog		skin	sky

but is covered in short fur like that of a dog,

ti-wă'-çu'-ku [?] -něñ	ti-wă [?] -răç-ă'
tiwahθuhkú [?] nẹ·	tiwe [?] ré:θ [?] ah
ti-w-ahθu-hk-u [?] nẹ·-	ti-w-e [?] r-e-θ-([?])-ah
part. -it-paint-instr. -be of a kind-perf.	part. -it-hair-be long-dim.
so it is in color	it has short fur
the color of the	

ru [?] -tkyěr-hu-rě ⁿ .	(2) wă'-ră [?] -w
rutkyerhù·rẹ.	Wáhra [?] w
r-u-t-kyerh-u-r-ẹ	wa-hra-w- [?]
he-pat. -reflx. -body-cover-be in-perf.	aorist-he-come-pnt.
he has a coat on	he came
sky.	(2) At this time he came

kě ⁿ ?	yă-tă-křě [?]	ru [?] -tă-yu [?] -u-wĩ [?] 2
kẹ [?]	yeta·kre [?]	ru [?] teyú· [?] u [?] y
kẹ [?]	ye-takre- [?]	r-u- [?] tey-u- [?] - [?] -u [?] y
where	fem. -dwell-perf.	he-pat. -crowd-be in water-perf. -aug.
where	village	large mosquito

to a village which was being plagued by

English translation of text:

(1) He has the appearance of being a human, but is covered in short fur like that of a dog, the color of the sky. (2) At this time he came to a village which was being plagued by a giant mosquito. (3) It had an enormous, long stinger. (4) This it had used to bite and suck up all the blood of a person in the village, thus having killed him. (4a.) When the Creator arrived, he saw that the mosquito's stomach was full of blood, and he asked it what it had eaten. (6) It replied that it had eaten sumac fruit; however, the Creator knowing this to be false called it a liar and said that it was blood which it had meant to say. (7) He then told the mosquito that he would kill it. (8) It quickly took flight. (9) And he chased it. (10) As it fled it scattered stones behind it. (11) These fell into the holes made by its tracks as well as those made by the Creator as he chased it. (12) But the Creator was so powerful that, as he urinated on the stones they melted, just as snow melts when a person urinates on it. (13) In this way the Creator was able to follow the tracks of the mosquito, and caught up with it and killed it in a swamp grown over with flat leafed cedars. (14) The water in the swamp was thus poisoned when the quantity of blood in the giant mosquito spilled into it. (15) And some of the pine trees within the swamp began to produce a very sweet tasting syrup.

Notes to the text (cont.):

3. Both ká·tkę? and útkwareh mean 'blood' in Hewitt's and modern Tuscarora. The former term seems to have a somewhat more abstract sense, along the lines of 'life substance', whereas the latter appears to refer to blood as a physical substance (cf. the distinction in Latin between cruor and sanguis). However, the distinction is vague at both periods in the language.

- kă-ku-tă's-kwă?r, (3) ti-kă-tă-kă-ră'ç-u-wĩ?
kakutáhska?r, Tikatakare'θ?u?y
kak-u-tahskw-a?r ti-ka-takar-e'θ-(?) -u?y
they-pat. -slave-be much part. -it-beak-be long-aug.
it plagues them its great long beak
a giant mosquito. (3) It had an enormous, long
- hă? wu?-tci-ră?-thă?.* (4) hă? ěñ-kwě wă?-ă-ku-tcyu?-rĩç
ha? wu?čirá?tha? Ha? ě'kweh wa?akučú'ri·θ
ha? w-u?čira?t-ha? ha? ěkwe-h wa?-ak-u-ču?ri·θ
the it-sting-serial the human-n. s. aorist-fem. -pat. -stick
the it stings the human it stuck one
stinger. (4) This it had used to bite
- nă-kă's-ă'-nă'k hă? kă-tkěⁿ,³
nakahs?áhnahk ha? ká'tkě?,
n-(a)-ka-hs?-ahn-ahk ha? ka-tkě-?
cisl. -it-finish-caus. -perf. past the it-blood-n. s.
it used up all the blood
and suck up all the blood of a person in the village, thus
- wă?-ă-kur-yu?, hă's-něñ, hă? uněⁿ wă'-ră?w
wa?akú·ryu?, hésneç, ha? ù·neç wáhra?w
wa?-ak-u-ryu-? hesneç ha? unę wa-hra-w-?
aorist-fem. -pat. -kill-pnt. then the now aorist-he-come-pnt.
it killed one then the now he came
having killed him. (4a.) When the Creator arrived,
- wă'-ră-kěⁿ? ti-kă-hwěç-nă?ç-u-wĩ?
wahrá'keç? tikahweθná?θ?u?y
wa-hra-keç-? ti-ka-hweθn-a?θ-(?) -u?y
aorist-he-see-pnt. part. -it-underbelly-be of a size-aug.
he saw its underbelly is big
he saw that the mosquito's stomach
- kă'-nhěⁿ kă'-tkěⁿ. (4b.) wă'-rěⁿ-tá'ç tě?-ă-wěñ-tě
kánheç ká'tkě?, Wahręhte·θ te? awę'te
ka-nh-ę ka-tkě-? wa-hr-)ę(-hte·θ te? awęte
it-be full-perf. it-blood-n. s. aorist-he-tell what thing
it is full blood he told what thing
was full of blood, and he asked it what

çã-tcyu-ri ?	(6)	wã?-kě ^{n'} -rěñ?	nã-rã-kwĩ?
θačhù·ri· ?		Wa?kěhrę?	nará·kwĩ?
θa-čhuri-·		wa?-k-)ę(-hrę-?	narakwi?
you pat. -eat-perf.		aorist-it-say-pnt.	sumac
you ate		it said	sumac
it had eaten,	(6)	It replied that it had	

yu'-sá'-yã-tĩ'-hã-rã-wě ⁿ , *		hã-nã?	wã-kã-tcyu-ri,
yuhseyatiharã·węh,		hã·ne?	wakačhù·ri·,
y-u-hsey-(a)-tihar-awę-h		hane?	wa-k-ačhuri-·
it-pat. -ear of corn-flee-distrib. -serial		that is	pat. -I-eat-perf.
ears are hanging around		that is	I ate
eaten sumac fruit; however, the Creator, knowing this to be			

ça-tu-wěñ	wã'-rě ^{n'} -rěñ?	kã-tkě ⁿ
θatù·wę·	wahręhrę?	ká·tkę?
θa-tuwę-·	wa-hr-)ę(-hrę-?	ka-tkę-?
you pat. -tell a lie-perf.	aorist-he-say-pnt.	it-blood-n. s.
you are a liar	he said	blood
false, called it a liar and said that it was blood		

hě? kyá?	çã'-tě ⁿ .	(7)	uně ⁿ	há's-něñ	wã?-kěñr-yu?
hé?kye?	θáhtę?		Ū·nę	hésnę·	wa?kě·ryu?
he?kye?	θa-htę-?		unę	hesnę·	wa?-kę-ryu-?
that one	you pat. -mean-perf.		now	then	aorist-I=you-kill-pnt.
that one	you mean		now	then	I killed you.
which it had meant to say.		(7)	He then told the mosquito the he would kill it.		

(8)	uně ⁿ	ě ⁿ ?-tkyěr-hã-rã-ku?	ě ⁿ ?-ně?-kü?
	Ū·nę	ętkyerhará·ku?	ę?né?ku?
	unę)ę(-t-kyerh-(a)-raku-?)ę(-?ne?ku-?
	now	aorist-it reflx. -body-select-pnt.	aorist-it-run away-pnt.
	now	it took itself away	it ran away

(8) It quickly took flight.

(9)	Uně ⁿ	wã'-rã-tkã't.	(10)	Ǻ-çě ⁿ	yu?-ně?-kwěñ-hã?	
	Ū·nę	wahrá·tkaht.		Áθę	yu?né?kwę	ha?
	unę	wa-hra-tkaht		aθę	y-u-?ne?kw-ę	ha?
	now	aorist-he-chase		when	it-pat. -run away-perf.	the
	now	he chased it		when	it had run away	the
(9)	And he chased it.		(10)	As it fled		