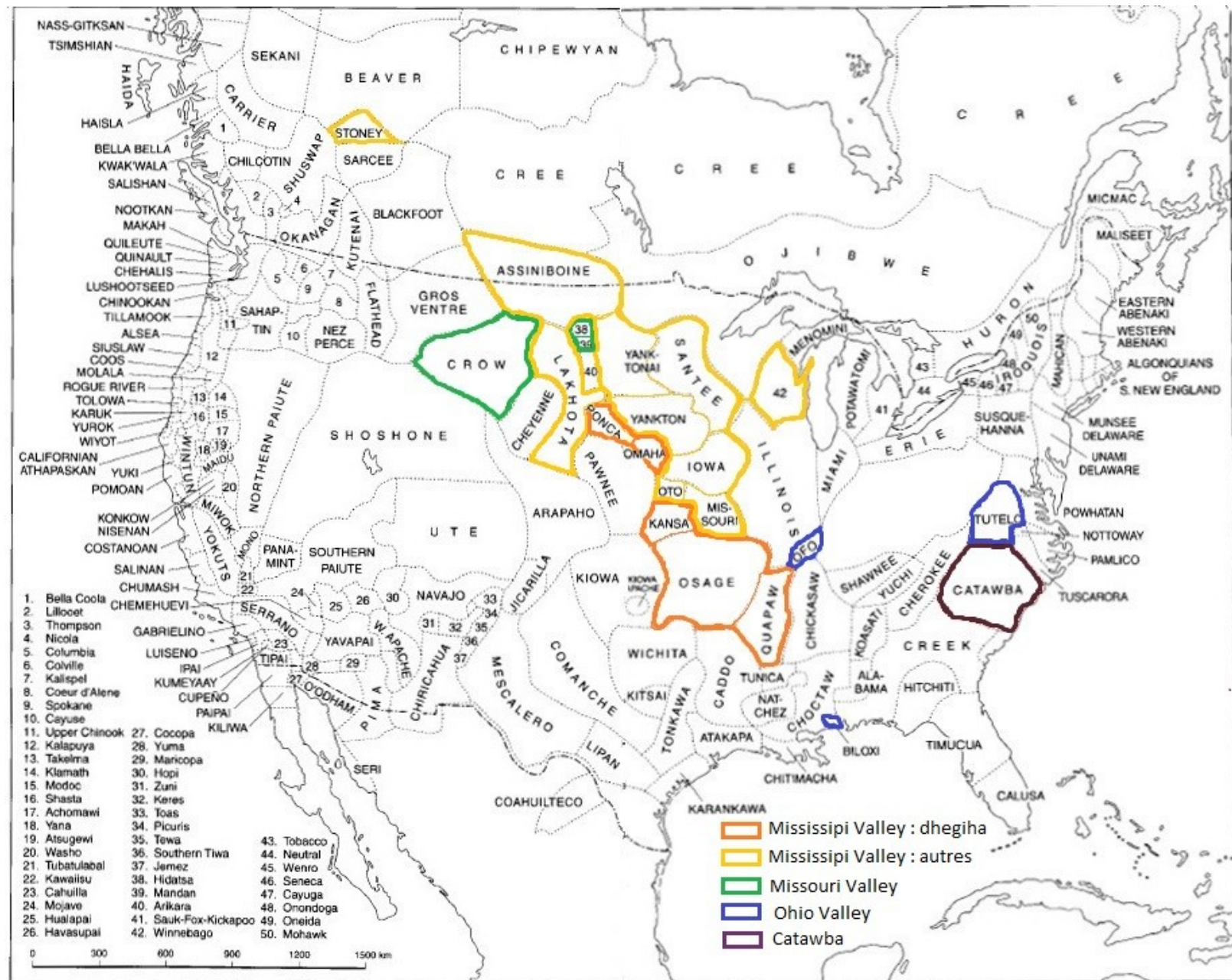
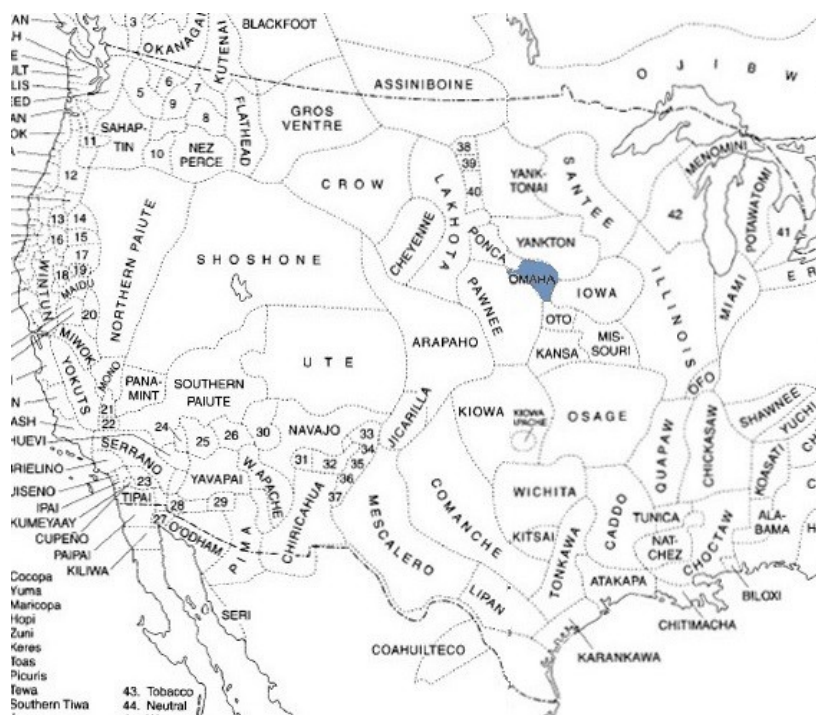


Stratégies de glosage d'une langue peu décrite : le cas de l'omaha au 19ème siècle

Julie Marsault

28 juin 2023





MAP 1b: OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE LOCATIONS: DETAIL, SHOWING LANGUAGES SPOKEN FROM HUDSON BAY SOUTHWARD.

Cartes adaptées de Mithun (1999)

HOW THE RABBIT CAUGHT THE SUN IN A TRAP.

AN OMAHA MYTH, OBTAINED FROM F. LAFLÈCHE BY J. OWEN DORSEY.

Égiçe maeteiñ'ge aká ixa^{n'} çĩũké ená-qtei ȳgçe júgigçá-biamá.
It came to rabbit the his grand- the st. ously dwelt with his own, they say.
pass sub. mother ob.

Kĩ ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teč'-qtei-hna^{n'} 'ábac ahí-biamá. Ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teč'-qtei ačá-bi
Aud morning very habitu- hunting went they say. morning very went, they say
ally thither say

ctěwa^{n'} níkaci^{n'}ga wi^{n'} sí snedě'-qti-hna^{n'} sígçe ačá-bitéamá. Kĩ íbaha^{n'} 3
notwith- person one foot long very as a trail had gone, they say. And to know
standing rule him

ga^{n'}čá-biamá. Níaci^{n'}ga çĩ^{n'} ĩ^{n'}ta^{n'} wíta^{n'}çĩ^{n'} bčé tá miũke, ečéga^{n'} biamá.
wished they say. Person tho uow I-first I go will I who, thought they say.
mv. ob

Ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teč'-qtei páha^{n'}-bi ega^{n'} ačá-biamá. Čí égiçe níkaci^{n'}ga amá
Morning very arose they having went they say. Again it hap- person the
say pened mv. snb.

sígçe ačá-bitéamá. Égiçe akí-biamá. Gá-biamá: ȳa^{n'}há, wíta^{n'}çĩ^{n'} bčé 6
trail had gone, they say. It came he reached home, Said as follows, grand- I-first I go
to pass they say. they say: mother

axídaxe ctěwa^{n'} níkaci^{n'}ga wí^{n'} a^{n'}aqai ačái te a^{n'}. ȳa^{n'}há, uxía^{n'}çĩ^{n'}
I make for in spite of it person one getting ahead he has gone. Grandmother snare
myself of me

dáxe tá miũke, kí bčíze tá miũke há. Áta^{n'} ja^{n'} tada^{n'}, á-biamá
I make will I who, and I take will I who . Why you do should? said, they say
it him it

wa'újiĩga aká. Níaci^{n'}ga íčát'abčé há, á-biamá. Kĩ macteiñ'ge ačá- 9
old woman the sub. Person I hate him . said, they say. And rabbit went

biamá. Ačá-bi ȳĩ čí sígçe čétéamá. ȳĩ ha^{n'} tě íčápe ja^{n'}-biamá.
they say. Went they when again trail had gone. And night the waiting lay they say.
say for

Man'dě-ȳa^{n'} ča^{n'} ukínacke gaxá-biamá, kí sígçe čé-hna^{n'} tě č'di íča^{n'}čá-
how string the noose he made they say, and trail went habitu- the there ho put it
ob. ally

biamá. Égiçe ha^{n'}+ega^{n'}.teč'-qtei uxía^{n'}çĩ^{n'} ča^{n'} gija^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Égiçe 12
they say. It came morning very snare the to see his ar- they say. It came
to pass. oh. own rived to pass

mi^{n'} ča^{n'} číze akáma. Ta^{n'}çĩ^{n'}-qtei učá agčá-biamá. ȳa^{n'}há iudáda^{n'}
sun the taken he had, Running very to tell went homeward, Grand- what
cv. ob. they say. they say. mother.

éĩte bčíze édega^{n'} a^{n'}baaze-hna^{n'} há, á-biamá. ȳa^{n'}há, man'de-ȳa^{n'} ča^{n'}
it may I took but me it scared habitu- . said they say. Grand- bow string the
be ally mother, oh.

agčíze ka^{n'}bdédega^{n'} a^{n'}baaze-hna^{n'}i há, á-biamá. Máhi^{n'} ačĩ^{n'}-bi ega^{n'} 15
I took my I wished, but me it scared habitu- . said they say. Knife had they having
own ally say



James Owen Dorsey (1848-1895)

Plan de l'exposé

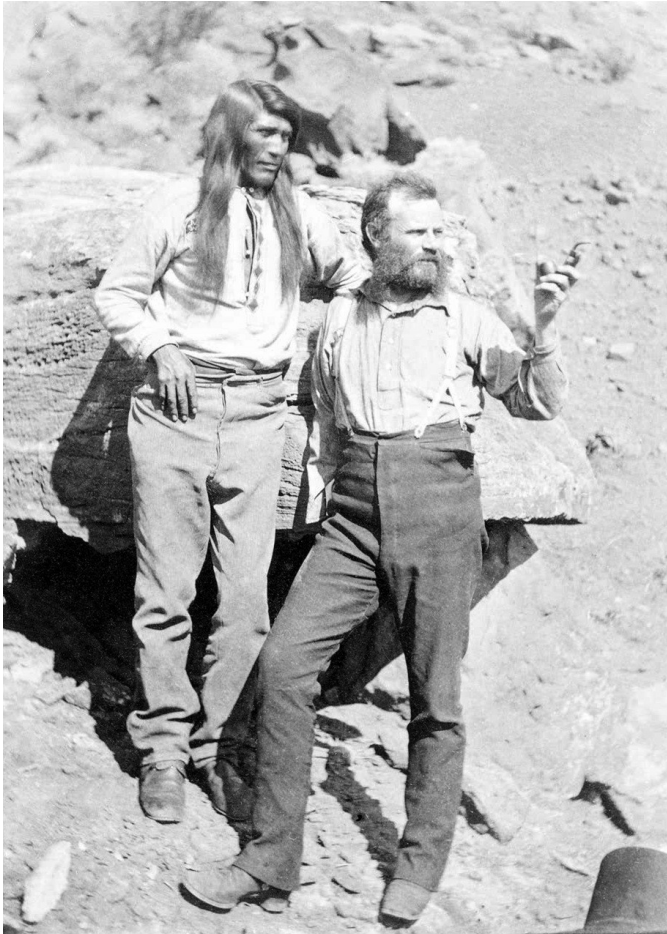
1. La description des langues nord-américaines à la fin du 19e siècle.
2. Stratégies de glosage de Dorsey (années 1880-1890)
3. Glosage de la forme *wa-* : reflet de l'analyse et de la compréhension de l'omaha

1. La description des langues nord-américaines à la fin du 19^e siècle.

Laplantine, Chloé. 2022. Les textes autochtones et la formation de l'étholinguistique nord-américaine. *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 44(2). 31-56. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/hel.3256>

Planification des recherches en ethnologie et linguistique américaine

1879, création du **Bureau of Ethnology** (1897: **Bureau of American Ethnology**)



John Wesley Powell
(directeur)

John Wesley Powell. 1891. "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico", *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1885-1886*, Government Printing Office, Washington



- 1877 – Powell, John Wesley. *Introduction to the study of Indian Languages, with Words, Phrases, and Sentences to be Collected*. Washington : Government Printing. (Réédité en 1880)
- 1879 – Création du *Bureau of Ethnology*
- 1881 – *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1879-80*. Washington: Government Printing Office. (env. 600 p.)
- 1888 – Création du *Journal of American Folklore*
- 1890 – Dorsey, J. O., *The Dhegiha language*. Contributions to North American Ethnology, 6. Washington: Government Printing Office
- 1891 – Dorsey, J. O., *Omaha and Ponca Letters*. Smithsonian Institution. BAE. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Dorsey, James O., Albert S. Gatschet & Stephen R. Riggs. 1881. Illustration of the Method of Recording Indian Languages.

First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1879-1880. Washington : Government Printing Office. 579-589.

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AN OMAHA MYTH, OBTAINED FROM F. LAFLÈCHE BY J. OWEN DORSEY.

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It came to rabbit the his grand- the st. uly dwelt with his own, they say.
pass sub. mother ob.

Ki ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teç'-qtei-hna^{n'} 'ábac ahí-biamá. Ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teç'-qtei aça-bi
Aud morning very habitu- hunting went they say. morning very went, they say
ally thither say

ctéwa^{n'} níkaci^{n'}ga wi^{n'} sí snedč'-qti-hna^{n'} sígçe aça-bitéamá. Ki íbaha^{n'} 3
notwith- person one foot long very as a trail had gone, they say. And to know
standing rule him

ga^{n'}çá-biamá. Níaci^{n'}ga çii^{n'} i^{n'}ta^{n'} wíta^{n'}çii^{n'} bçé tá miñke, eçéga^{n'} biamá.
wished they say. Person tho uow I- first I go will I who, thought they say.
mv. ob

Ha^{n'}ega^{n'}teç'-qtei páha^{n'}-bi ega^{n'} aça-biamá. Ci égiçe níkaci^{n'}ga amá
Morning very arose they having went they say. Again it hap- person the
say pened mv. snb.

sígçe aça-bitéamá. Égiçe akí-biamá. Gá-biamá: xa^{n'}há, wíta^{n'}çii^{n'} bçé 6
trail had gone, they say. It came he reached home, Said as follows, grand- I-first I go
to pass they say: they say: mother

axídaxe ctéwa^{n'} níkaci^{n'}ga wí^{n'} a^{n'}aqai açaí te a^{n'}. xa^{n'}há, uxía^{n'}çé
I make for in spite of it person one getting ahead he has gone. Grandmother snare
myself of me

dáxe tá miñke, kí bçize tá miñke há. Áta^{n'} ja^{n'} tada^{n'}, á-biamá
I make will I who, and I take will I who . Why you do should? said, they say
it him it

wa'újiñga aká. Níaci^{n'}ga içát'abçé há, á-biamá. Ki macteiñ'ge aça- 9
old woman the sub. Person I hate him . said, they say. And rabbit went

biamá. Aça-bi xi cí sígçe çétéamá. xi ha^{n'} tē içápe ja^{n'}-biamá.
they say. Went they when again trail had gone. And night the waiting lay they say.
say for

Man'dě-xa^{n'} çá^{n'} ukínacke gaxá-biamá, kí sígçe çé-hna^{n'} tē č'di içá^{n'}çá-
how string the noose he made they say, and trail went habitu- the there ho put it
oh. ally

biamá. Égiçe ha^{n'}+ega^{n'}.teç'-qtei uxía^{n'}çé çá^{n'} gija^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Égiçe 12
they say. It came morning very snare the to see his ar- they say. It came
to pass. oh. own rived to pass

mi^{n'} çá^{n'} çize akáma. Ta^{n'}çii^{n'}-qtei uçá agçá-biamá. xa^{n'}há iudáda^{n'}
sun the taken he had, Running very to tell went homeward, Grand- what
cv. ob. they say. they say. mother.

éinte bçize édega^{n'} a^{n'}baaze-hna^{n'} há, á-biamá. xa^{n'}há, man'de-xa^{n'} çá^{n'}
it may I took but me it scared habitu- . said they say. Grand- bow string the
be ally mother, oh.

agçize ka^{n'}bdédega^{n'} a^{n'}baaze-hna^{n'}i há, á-biamá. Máhi^{n'} açi^{n'}-bi ega^{n'} 15
I took my I wished, hnt me it scared habitu- . said they say. Knife had they having
own ally say

2. Stratégies de glosage de Dorsey (années 1880-1890)

Les textes de Dorsey

PONKA HISTORICAL TEXTS.

THE WAR PARTY OF NUDAⁿ-AXA'S FATHER.

TOLD BY NUDAⁿ-AXA.

Iⁿdádi aká nudaⁿ' ačai tē. Gaⁿ' wa'aⁿ'-hnaⁿ caⁿ'caⁿ. Maⁿ'ciⁿ' maⁿ'ciⁿ'
My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
tē wa'aⁿ'-hnaⁿ caⁿ'caⁿ; haⁿ' jaⁿ' gē gaⁿ' wa'aⁿ'-hnaⁿi cēnujīn'gai tē'di.
when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
down (pl.) man
3 Égičē wadaⁿ'be ahí-biamá. Níkaciⁿga sígčē wéča-biamá wadaⁿ'be agčai
At length to see they arrived, they Man trail they found them, to see they went
say. they say hack
tē. Núdaⁿhaṅgá, égičē, níaciⁿga d'úba agčai ke hǎ', á-biamá. Ahaú!
when. O war-chief, behold, man some have gone home- said they, they Oho!
ward in a long line say.
á-biamá. Wackaⁿ'egañ-gǎ. Qubéxičá-bi číⁿhé, á-biamá. Égičē níaciⁿga
said he, they Do persevere. To make one's self be sure, said he, they At length man
say. sacred say.
6 čábčíⁿ wéna'úqtcí ihe amáma. Ké, núdaⁿhaṅgá, čéama aⁿwañ'gaqčí taí,
three very close beside were passing, they Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,
them say.
á-biamá. Éde nudaⁿhaṅga aká uči'agai tē. Égičē haⁿ' amá, ugáhanadžaze
said they, they But war-chief the was unwilling. At length night they say, dark

Publications :

- 800 pages en 1890
- 120 pages en 1891

Contenu :

- mythes,
- récits personnels,
- lettres

Format :

1. titre, locuteur,
2. texte glosé,
3. notes,
4. traduction libre

Transcriptions de Rankin

title the war party of Nudoⁿ-axa's father

iⁿdádi ak^há nudóⁿ athái t^he. Góⁿ wa'óⁿ-hnoⁿ shóⁿshoⁿ. Moⁿthíⁿ moⁿthíⁿ
My father / the / to war / went. / And / he sang regularly / always. / Walking / he
walked /
P. 368, line 1.

t^he wa'óⁿ-hnoⁿ shóⁿshoⁿ; hóⁿ zhóⁿ ge góⁿ wa'óⁿ-hnoⁿi shénuzhíⁿgai té.di.
when / he sang regularly / always; / night / he lay down / the (pl.) / so / he sang
regularly / he was a young man / when. /
P. 368, line 2.

égithe wadóⁿbe ahí-biamá. Níⁿkashiⁿga sígthe wétha-biamá wadóⁿbe agthái
At length / to see / they arrived, they say. / Man / trail / they found them they say / to
see / they went back /
P. 368, line 3.

t^he. Núdoⁿhoⁿgá, égithe, níashiⁿga dúba agthái k^he há, á-biamá. Ahaú!
when. / O war-chief, / behold, / man / some / have gone homeward in a long line / . /
said they, they say. / Oho! /
P. 368, line 4.

á-biamá. Washkóⁿegoⁿ-ga. Xubékithá-bi thiⁿhé, á-biamá. égithe níashiⁿga
said he, they say. / Do persevere. / To make one's self sacred / be sure, / said he, they
say. / At length / man /
P. 368, line 5.

- pdf 1000 pages, non publié
- gloses non alignées
- problèmes typographiques mineurs

Rankin, Robert. 2008. *James Owen Dorsey's The Dhegiha Language*. Manuscrit non publié.

Les textes de Dorsey

Iⁿdádi aká nuda^{n'} ačai^{n'} tē. Ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'} ca^{n'}ca^{n'}. Ma^{n'}ci^{n'} ma^{n'}ci^{n'}
 My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
 tē wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'} ca^{n'}ca^{n'}; ha^{n'} ja^{n'} gě ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'}i cénujiñ'gai tē'di.
 when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
 down (pl.) man

3 Égičē wada^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Níkaci^{n'}ga sígčē wéča-biamá wada^{n'}be agčai
 At length to see they arrived, they say. Man trail they found them, they say to see they went
 back
 tē. Núda^{n'}hañgá, égičē, níaci^{n'}ga d'úba agčai ke hǎ', á-biamá. Ahaú!
 when. O war-chief, household, man some have gone home-ward in a long line said they, they say. Oho!
 á-biamá. Wacka^{n'}egañ-gǎ. Qubéxičá-bi či^{n'}hé, á-biamá. Égičē níaci^{n'}ga
 said he, they say. Do persevere. To make one's self be sure, said he, they say. At length man

6 čábči^{n'} wéna'úqtcí ihe amáma. Ké, núda^{n'}hañgá, čéama a^{n'}wañ'gaqčí tai,
 three very close beside them were passing, they say. Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,
 á-biamá. Éde nuda^{n'}hañga aká uči'agai tē. Égičē ha^{n'} amá, ugáhanačáze
 said they, they say. Bnt war-chief the (sub.) was unwilling. At length night they say, dark

The War party of Nudo^{n'}-Axa's father. Told by Nudo^{n'}-Axa.
 (Dorsey 1890: 368)

Traduction libre de Dorsey:

My father went on the warpath.

And he sang all the time, he always was singing as he walked.

When he was a young man, he was always singing when he lay down at night.

At length they went as scouts to a certain place.

When the scouts were going back, they discovered the trail of men.

"O war chief, some men have gone homeward in a long line!" said they.

Les textes de Dorsey

Traduction libre de Dorsey:

Iⁿdádi aká nuda^{n'} ačai^{n'} tē. Ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'} ca^{n'}ca^{n'}. Ma^{n'}ci^{n'} ma^{n'}ci^{n'}
 My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
 tē wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'} ca^{n'}ca^{n'}; ha^{n'} ja^{n'} gē ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hna^{n'}i cénujīn'gai tē'di.
 when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
 down (pl.) man

3 Égičē wada^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Níkaci^{n'}ga sígčē wéča-biamá wada^{n'}be agčai
 At length to see they arrived, they say. Man trail they found them, they say to see they went
 hack
 tē. Núda^{n'}haŋgá, égičē, níaci^{n'}ga d'úba agčai ke hǎ', á-biamá. Ahaú!
 when. O war-chief, household, man some have gone home-ward in a long line said they, they Oho!
 say.

á-biamá. Wacka^{n'}egañ-gǎ. Qubéxičá-bi či^{n'}hé, á-biamá. Égičē níaci^{n'}ga
 said he, they Do persevere. To make one's self be sure, said he, they At length man
 say. sacred say.

6 čábči^{n'} wéna'úqčei íhe amáma. Ké, núda^{n'}haŋgá, čéama a^{n'}wañ'gaqčí tai,
 three very close beside them were passing, they say. Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,

á-biamá. Éde nuda^{n'}haŋga aká uči'agai tē. Égičē ha^{n'} amá, ugáhanačáze
 said they, they But war-chief the (sub.) was unwilling. At length night they say, dark

"Oho!" said he, "Do persevere.

Be sure to make yourselves sacred by the aid of your guardian animals."

At length three men were passing along very close beside them.

"Come, O war-chief, let us kill these!" said they.

But the war-chief was unwilling.

The War party of Nudo^{n'}-Axa's father. Told by Nudo^{n'}-Axa.
 (Dorsey 1890: 368)

At length it was night and somewhat dark.

Les textes de Dorsey

Iⁿdádi aká nuda^{n'} ačai tē. Ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿ ca^{n'}caⁿ. Maⁿčei^{n'} maⁿčei^{n'}
 My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
 tē wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿ ca^{n'}caⁿ; ha^{n'} ja^{n'} gē ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿi cénujiñ'gai tē'di.
 when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
 3 Égičē wada^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Níkaciⁿga sígčē wéča-biamá wada^{n'}be agčai
 At length to see they arrived, they Man trail they found them, to see they went
 say. say. hack
 tē. Núdaⁿhañgá, égičē, níaciⁿga d'úba agčai ke hǎ', á-biamá. Ahaú!
 when. O war-chief, behold, man some have gone home- said they, they Oho!
 ward in a long line say.
 á-biamá. Wacka^{n'}egañ-gǎ. Qubéxičá-bi čeiⁿhé, á-biamá. Égičē níaciⁿga
 said he, they Do persevere. To make one's self be sure, said he, they At length man
 say. say. say.
 6 čábčeiⁿ wéna'úqčei íhe amáma. Ké, núdaⁿhañgá, čéama aⁿwañ'gaqčei taí,
 three very close beside were passing, they Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,
 them say.
 á-biamá. Éde nuda^{n'}hañga aká uči'agai tē. Égičē ha^{n'} amá, ugáhanadžaze
 said they, they Bnt war-chief the was unwilling. At length night they say, dark
 say. (sub.)

The War party of Nudoⁿ-Axa's father. (Dorsey 1890: 368)

Alignement mot à mot et découpage : mots segmentés

Les textes de Dorsey

Iⁿdádi aká nuda^{n'} a^çai t^ě. Ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿ ca^{n'}caⁿ. Maⁿçi^{n'} maⁿçi^{n'}
 My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
 t^ě wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿ ca^{n'}caⁿ; ha^{n'} ja^{n'} g^ě ga^{n'} wa'a^{n'}-hnaⁿi cénujiñ'gai t^ě'di.
 when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
 down (pl.) man

3 Égiçe wada^{n'}be ahí-biamá. Níkaciⁿga sígçe wéça-biamá wada^{n'}be agçai
 At length to see they arrived, they Man trail they found them, to see they went
 say. they say hack
 t^ě. Núdaⁿhañgá, égiçe, níaciⁿga d'úba agçai ke há', á-biamá. Ahaú!
 when. O war-chief, behold, man some have gone home-ward in a long line said they, they Oho!
 say.

á-biamá. Wacka^{n'}egañ-gă. Qubéxiçá-bi çiⁿhé, á-biamá. Égiçe níaciⁿga
 said he, they Do persevere. To make one's self be sure, said he, they At length man
 say. sacred say.

6 çábçiⁿ wéna'úqci íhe amáma. Ké, núdaⁿhañgá, çéama aⁿwañ'gaqçi taí,
 three very close beside them were passing, they say. Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,
 say.

á-biamá. Éde nuda^{n'}hañga aká uçi'agai t^ě. Égiçe ha^{n'} amá, ugáhanadáze
 said they, they Bnt war-chief the was unwilling. At length night they say, dark
 say. (sub.)

The War party of Nudoⁿ-Axa's father. (Dorsey 1890: 368)

Alignement mot à mot et découpage : mots glosés ensemble

Problèmes de glosage

	Omaha	Anglais
Problème 1	+ marquage Exemples : <ul style="list-style-type: none">• évidentialité: t^he / biama• 11 articles définis	- marquage
Problème 2	- marquage	+ marquage Exemple <ul style="list-style-type: none">• distinction formes verbales finies et non-finies (-ing, to V)
Problème 3	Structure différente Exemples <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ordre des morphèmes pour la négation	

Problèmes de glosage 1

Marquages, distinctions en omaha inexistantes en anglais

- Stratégie 1 / absence totale de traduction
 - marque d'évidentialité *the*
- Stratégie 2 / traduction/rendu en évitant le métalangage
 - *k^he* “in a long line”
 - *há* “.” (marque assertive)
- Stratégie 3 / utilisation d'un métalangage grammatical
 - *ge* “the (pl.)”
 - *akhá* “the (sub.)”
 - *Azékithe taithe* “(see note)” [43 occurrences]

“Meaning uncertain, especially if spoken by Haxige. If used by the narrator alone, it may mean “They shall practice again on themselves”; but that is very doubtful. Frank La Flèche doubts its use here.”

açai tē.
went.

agçai ke
have gone home-
ward in a long line

hă',
.

gě *aká*
the the
(pl.) (sub.)

Azékiçe taité,
(See note),

Problèmes de glosage 2

Marquages, distinctions en anglais inexistantes en omaha

- Stratégie A / la glose suit la structure de l'anglais
- → ne reflète pas l'absence de distinction en omaha
- Stratégie B / la glose suit la structure de l'omaha
- → reflète l'absence de distinction en omaha

Exemples:

- formes verbales finies vs. non-finies

Maⁿçi^{n'} maⁿçi^{n'}
Walking he walked

“he walked”

wacka^{n'} maⁿçi^{n'} amégaⁿ é
makes an walke that class that
effort

“that class of men who are
continually making efforts”

a^{n'}ç agçai
they they went
left him back

“they had left him”

Problèmes de glosage 3

Structures et place du marquage différents en anglais et en omaha

- Stratégie A / la glose suit la structure de l'anglais
- Stratégie B / la glose suit la structure de l'omaha

Exemple :

- négation

ɕatá-bají-
did not eat

ɕatá-bají-biamá,
he ate not they say,

ɕatá-bají-biamá.
he ate not they say.

3. Glosage de la forme wa- : reflet de l'analyse et de la compréhension de l'omaha

Les verbes omahas

Trois grandes catégories de verbes non dérivés

Verbes transitifs

doⁿbá “he looked at it” (1890:118.1)

• *óⁿdoⁿbai* “they saw me” (1890:707.1)

tha^haí “they ate it” (1890:463.3)

baxú te “let him write it” (1891:118.11)

Verbes intransitifs actifs

gthíⁿ “was sitting” (1890:219.3)

• *aⁿgthíⁿ* “I sit” (1890:261.2)

Verbes intransitifs statifs

zhiⁿga “young” (1890:39.8), “small” (1890:72.14)

• *oⁿzhiⁿga* “me small” (1890:365.9)

Agentif	Patientif
<i>a-</i> 1SG	<i>oⁿ-</i> 1SG
<i>oⁿ(g)-</i> 1PL	<i>wa-</i> 1PL
<i>tha-</i> 2	<i>thi-</i> 2
<i>wa-</i> 3PL obj. animé	

Aⁿwañ'kega
Me sick

çatá-bají-biamá,
he ate not they say,

aⁿwañ'kega
I am sick

Le préfixe *wa-*

Fonctions de *wa-* dans les textes de Dorsey

<p>1PL (→ patientif) <i>Shóⁿge shti wathíⁿgai ha.</i> horse also we have none . “we have no horses.” (1890:491.3)</p>	<p>3PL (→ objet, animé) <i>póⁿka níⁿkagáhi zaníxti áwásithe.</i> Ponca chief all I remember them “I remember all the Ponca chiefs.” (1890:512.9)</p>
<p>objet indéfini <i>K^hagéha, wawípaxu.</i> O friend I write to you about something “O friend, I write to you about something.” (1891:55.1)</p>	<p>pas d’objet (→ antipassif) <i>Wathá^ha-biamá wóⁿgithe.</i> they ate they say all “All ate.” (1890:331.10)</p>
<p>nominalisateur ? <i>wabáxu</i> “writer” (1890:509.2) <i>wabáxu</i> “letter” (very common)</p>	

çatá-bají-biamá,
 he ate not they say,

Wadóⁿbe – to see them / to act as a scout

Iⁿdádi aká nudaⁿ ačaiⁿ tē. Gaⁿ wa'aⁿ-hnaⁿ caⁿcaⁿ. Maⁿciⁿ maⁿciⁿ
 My father the to war went. And he sang regularly always. Walking he walked
 tē wa'aⁿ-hnaⁿ caⁿcaⁿ; haⁿ jaⁿ gē gaⁿ wa'aⁿ-hnaⁿi cénujiñgai tē'di.
 when he sang regularly always; night he lay the so he sang regularly he was a young when.
 down (pl.) man

3 Égiče wadaⁿbe ahí-biamá. Níkaciⁿga sígče wéča-biamá wadaⁿbe agčai
 At length to see they arrived, they say. Man trail they found them, they say to see they went
 back

tē. Núdaⁿhañgá, égiče, níaciⁿga d'úba agčai ke hǎ', á-biamá. Ahaú!
 when. O war-chief, household, man some have gone home-ward in a long line said they, they say. Oho!

á-biamá. Wackaⁿegañ-gǎ. Qubéxičá-bi čiⁿhé, á-biamá. Égiče níaciⁿga
 said he, they say. Do persevere. To make one's self sacred be sure, said he, they say. At length man

6 čábčiⁿ wéna'úqtcí ihe amáma. Ké, núdaⁿhañgá, čéama aⁿwañ'gaqčí tai,
 three very close beside them were passing, they say. Come, O war-chief, these let us kill them,

á-biamá. Éde nudaⁿhañga aká uči'agai tē. Égiče haⁿ amá, ugáhanačáze
 said they, they say. Bnt war-chief the (sub.) was unwilling. At length night they say, dark

Traduction libre de Dorsey:

My father went on the warpath.

And he sang all the time, he always was singing as he walked.

When he was a young man, he was always singing when he lay down at night.

At length **they went as scouts to a certain place.**

When the scouts were going back, they discovered the trail of men.

The War party of Nudoⁿ-Axa's father. Told by Nudoⁿ-Axa.
 (Dorsey 1890: 368)

"O war chief, some men have gone homeward in a long line!" said they.

Wanáse – to surround them / to surround the herds

oⁿzhínga *thédi* *té* **wanáse** *úzhawaxti* *gthíni the*
Me small when buffalo **surrounding them** very pleasantly sat
Umóⁿhoⁿ *amá.*
Omahas the (sub.).

“When I was a boy the Omahas passed the time very pleasantly in surrounding the buffaloes.” (406.1)

O3PL ou ANTIP ?

HOW THE OMAHAS FOUGHT THE DAKOTAS AFTER THE
LATTER HAD KILLED AⁿPAⁿ-LAŃGA'S BROTHER.

RELATED BY AⁿPAⁿ-LAŃGA.

Umaⁿ'haⁿ amá wanáse gphiⁿ'i tě. Wijiⁿ'če amá ɬe-jiŋ'ga kide aɬai tě, haⁿ'-
Omahas the surrounding sat. My elder the buffalo-calf to shoot went, morn-
(sub.) the herds brother (sub.) at

Umóⁿhoⁿ amá **wanáse** gthíⁿi the.
Omahas the **surrounding the herds** sat.

“The Omahas continued surrounding the buffaloes.” (425.1)

O3PL ou ANTIP ?

THE LAMENT OF THE FAWN OVER ITS MOTHER.

TOLD BY JOSEPH LA FLÈCHE.

ᑕáqti wí^{n'} mi^{n'}ga ᑕáqtijiñga júgigçai. ᑕáqtijiñga aká wéçai tē.
Deer one female Fawn she was with hers. Fawn the (sub.) discovered them.

Táxti wíⁿ míⁿga táxtizhiⁿga zhúgig^hthai. Táxtizhiⁿga akhá wé^hthai *the*.
deer one female fawn she was with hers fawn the (sub.) discovered them

“A Doe was with her fawn. The Fawn discovered the presence of enemies.” (358.1)

égithe **wadóⁿbe** ahí-biamá.
At length **to see** they arrived, they say
“At length **they went as scouts** to a certain place.” (368.3)

Absence d'objet

íe *thapí,* *wabáxu shteóⁿⁱ.*
Language speak well, they even write (letters).
“They speak English, and they even write letters.” (1891:35.8)

Wabtháthe *ínudon.*
I.eat I-dative.good
“I like to eat”
(Saunsoci & Eschenberg 2016:15)

wathítóⁿⁱ
• “they work” (1891:70.2)
• “he works (at various things)”
(1891:92.8)

Objet indéfini mais spécifique

Washpáxu *thíthathe* *thoⁿ* *anóⁿ'oⁿ* *éde* *u'óⁿthingé.*

You wrote something you sent it here the ob. I heard it but in vain.

I have heard what you wrote and sent hither, but it is in vain. (1891:64.1)

Wa-shpáxu *t^hí-tha-the* *thoⁿ* *a-nóⁿ'oⁿ* *éde u'óⁿthiⁿgé.*

INDEF-A2.write arrive.here-A2-CAUS REL:RND A1SG-hear but in.vain

I have heard what you wrote and sent hither, but it is in vain. (Dorsey 1891:64.1 / Gahige)

Analyse

Certains exemples montrent clairement qu'il y a trois préfixes *wa-* homophones, aux fonctions différentes:

- 3ème personne du pluriel objet animé, avec possibilité d'une référence générique (construction transitive)
- marqueur d'objet indéfini mais spécifique (pas nécessairement pluriel ni animé) (construction transitive)
- marque d'antipassif : l'objet est absent (construction intransitive)

Dans de nombreux contextes, *wa-* peut s'interpréter de plusieurs manières
→ la langue omaha est ambiguë sur la présence ou non d'un objet spécifique.

Hypothèse

Les incohérences et contradictions apparentes dans la glose de Dorsey reflètent l'ambiguïté de l'omaha

Un exemple de glosage

ki wi-sítthe-goⁿ *wa-wí-paghu* *shu-thé < a > the.*
et A1SG/P2-se.souvenir-? P3PL-A1SG/P2-écrire TRANSLOC-<A1SG>envoyer

DORSEY : *And as I think of you, I write about some things and send the letter to you.*

Comme je pense à toi, j'écris à propos de plusieurs choses et je t'envoie la lettre.

(Marsault 2016:205)

Merci de votre attention !!

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1PL (→ patientif)

Shóⁿge shti wathíⁿgai ha.
horse also we have none .
“we have no horses.” (1890:491.3)

3PL (→ objet, animé)

póⁿka níⁿkagáhi zaníxti áwásithe.
Ponca chief all I remember them
“I remember all the Ponca chiefs.”
(1890:512.9)

objet indéfini

K^hagéha, wawípaxu.
O friend I write to you about something
“O friend, I write to you about
something.” (1891:55.1)

pas d’objet (→ antipassif)

Wathá^tha-biamá wóⁿgithe.
they ate they say all
“All ate.” (1890:331.10)

nominalisateur

wabáxu “writer” (1890:509.2)
wabáxu “letter” (very common)

wazhíⁿga “bird”
wazhíde “buffalo berries”

