

Tópakdinážiŋwiŋ na Waŋbdíhotena Tǎa-Waníyetu Wówapi
The Winter Count of Teresa and Eugene Yellow Lodge

By

Tipiziwin Tolman

Bachelor of Science, Sitting Bull College, 2011

A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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We acknowledge and respect the Lək'wəŋən (Songhees and X^wsepsəm/Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək'wəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Supervisory Committee

Dr. Sonya Bird, Co-Supervisor

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures

Dr. Jean Paul Restoule, Co-Supervisor

Department of Indigenous Education

i. Abstract

Winter counts are traditional record-keeping mechanisms used by many Plains tribes, where pictographs represent significant annual events. My paternal great-grandparents, Mrs. Teresa and Eugene Yellow Lodge, were winter count keepers for our Wichíyena band of Dakota people, residing on the Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation in North Dakota. Their winter count is housed in collections at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Teresa and Eugene were first-generation boarding school students who integrated their newly acquired literacy in Dakota and English with their responsibilities as winter count keepers. They created an invaluable resource for family, community, culture, and language in the form of a booklet accompanying their winter count, which spanned from 1785 to 1952. This booklet, written entirely in Dakota and Lakota, remains with our family. This project examines the process and significance of sharing my paternal great-grandparents' winter count "key" booklet with my community, employing wise practices rooted in a Lakota and Dakota worldview. I acknowledge the unique role of Topakdinážiŋwiŋ, Mrs. Teresa Yellow Lodge, who took on the duties of winter count keeper after her husband died in 1929, a role traditionally held by men. Given the current status of the Dakota and Lakota languages, this project aims to revitalize these winter count stories by combining photographs of the pictographs with their Dakota and Lakota descriptions, transcriptions into the New Lakota Dictionary Orthography (NLDO), and English translations. Through this resource, I aim to (re)connect our community with the vital cultural narratives within my great-grandparents' winter count. Additionally, I emphasize significant linguistic and cultural insights from their written work. This project, rooted intuitively in the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ worldview of Mitákuye Owas'íŋ, and principles of generosity and reciprocity, strives to maintain and share these stories for future generations.

ii. Preface

I come from a winter-count family. I was raised with this knowledge but did not fully comprehend its meaning until I was a young adult. My dad would often tell us children that his grandmother, Mrs. Teresa Yellow Lodge, known as grandma Topa, had a winter count that he could recall from his childhood. He would share these memories with us, such as the times visitors came or saw his grandmother roll it out, and how he wondered what certain pictographs meant as a child.



Figure 1. *Mrs. Teresa Yellow Lodge with her grandson c.1950*

Around 1996, as a teenager and student at Standing Rock High School, I went on a field trip to the North Dakota Historical Society Heritage Center, where “Yellow Lodge’s Winter Count ” was displayed. After seeing my great-great grandfather’s winter count on display, a seed was planted in my mind, and I wanted to learn more.

In 2001, I met a winter count historian, Ms. Christina Burke, and her colleagues Candace Green and Russell Thornton. They visited Dakota and Lakota communities, presented the Lakota winter counts held in the Smithsonian, and interviewed community members about winter

counts, which would later become the book *The Year The Stars Fell*. When I met Christina Burke, all I was equipped with was familial knowledge and oral history. “We come from winter count keepers on my dad’s side,” I told her. She asked me, “Who were the winter count keepers in your family?” I told her, “Well, there is more than one, but my dad’s grandmother was Teresa Yellow Lodge.” Christina exclaimed, “Oh yes!” and reached to the floor, grabbed a huge black binder, flipped through it, and said, “Here is a picture of her winter count. It’s at the Heard Museum in Phoenix.” I was stunned and silent momentarily, looking at the Xerox copy of my great-grandmother’s winter count. “Can I call my dad? Can I have a copy of this for my dad?” I went to the phone and called him at work. I was emotional but said, “This woman has a copy of your grandma’s winter count.” We made plans to meet again that evening, and it was the beginning of a relationship with Christina Burke that our family is grateful for.

Within our family, it is known that after my great-grandmother’s death, her winter count was sold due to financial hardships. Christina traced the journey of my great-grandmother’s winter count and how it ended up at the Heard Museum after it left our family.

“I don't have a year/date when it left the family, but in 1976 the calendar shows up at Jim Fowler's Period Gallery in Scottsdale, Arizona. Two years later it was in a New York auction held by Sotheby-Parke-Bernet (Lot Number 278 in Sale Number 4088 on March 3, 1978) where it was purchased for \$3,000 by the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. It was officially accessioned by the museum on March 21, 1978 and was assigned the accession number NA-PL-SO-Q-40.” (Christina Burke, personal communication, July 16, 2002).

Christina also facilitated a visit with the curator of the Heard Museum, Diana Pardue, allowing our family to see the winter count in October 2005. It had been fifty-three years since my dad saw his grandparent's winter count. He reacted emotionally to seeing it, which made memories from his childhood come flooding back. That day, three generations of our family visited (Figure 1). We spent all afternoon taking pictures, visiting, and being in the same space as our family's winter count. It was an emotional and wonderful day.



Figure 2. *Three generations of our family visited the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona.*

In 2009, during Thanksgiving, one of my cousins had an idea and suggested we go to our grandma's dilapidated house and look through her trunks. We asked my dad, who reluctantly agreed and asked us to pray and smudge when we were done. We found many treasures that day. There were many letters, some written in Dakota and others in English, along with pictures, moccasins, fabric, sewing needles, and much more. We put everything back and did as requested.

My grandmother, Mary Yellow Lodge (Young-Bailey), died in 1986, and her trunks had gone untouched since then. We must have awakened a curiosity in my dad; he had never opened his mother's trunks before we did; they were stored away in her now uninhabitable house, located next door to his house, along the Porcupine Creek on Standing Rock. A few weeks later, he was curious. After looking through his mother's trunks, he called out to me after he walked back into the house. He had a small book in his hands, about the size of my hand. It looked old. He said, "Tipi, take a look at this and tell me what you think it is." Instantly, I knew what it was. I could see the years and the descriptions in Dakota. It was all written in Dakota; it was the corresponding "key" to his grandparent's winter count. We were both silent and amazed.

I couldn't understand what the words said because neither my dad nor I are first-language speakers of our Dakota language. We could pick out words and names but couldn't comprehend the complete sentences. A few months later, in June of 2009, I attended the Lakota Summer Institute, where I met many fluent first-language speakers of Dakota and Lakota and fluent second-language learners. It was a pivotal moment in my language learning and networking that allowed me to begin to comprehend and fully appreciate the booklet of my great-grandparents' key to their winter counts. I brought the winter count book to the institute on one occasion, and two of my teachers, Jan Ullrich and Peter Hill, along with many Lakota and Dakota elders, had a chance to see the winter count key booklet. My dad and I often discussed the possibilities of sharing the winter count stories with our community and our nation's young people. We imagined a time when the community could read the stories, and the booklet wouldn't just sit on our bookshelf. We both believe it survived over a century in his grandparents' and parents' homes for a reason. We believe the Winter Count stories are integral and vital to our people and community, and they are meant to be told and shared.

iii. Dedication

To my children: Mathó Ská Wiñ, Wanápĥeya Yellow Lodge, Wañblíkuñzawiñ, Wiğġiyaothi, Ptehéwoptuĥa Pepper, Itazipalutašlutela Charles, thákoža Rylen, and my husband T, it's through your love that all good, all healing and all positive growth is possible. You are my heart.

To my dad, Thawáchañteognake, thank you for sharing your memories of when the winter count was still at your home and how your grandma Topa would add on years and welcome visitors to share their stories. Thank you for your humor, constant and unwavering support, and love through life's storms. Phidámayaye até. To my mom, Mní Theĥila Wiñ, thank you for the fierce, powerful love you have gifted us, the standard of intelligence and visionary criticality you have set, and the living example of compassionate love and generosity you show us daily.

Philámayaye Ina. To my siblings, Kona, John, Lakotah, Petra, Waštéwičak'uwiñ, Cynthia, Karen, Virginia, Wambdiĥota, William "Petee," Ray, and all your children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, these are our stories to cherish. Thank you for being my family. I love you all. To the uñči-aunties (Aunty Sharon, Bea Jaye & Debra) on boot, I love you like the stars.

Wophíla to my Inala Mabel Ann Eagle Hunter and the Feather Necklace tiošpaye for raising us with love of the people. To all my teachers, my tiošpaye, my great-grandparents, my ancestors from before me and my ancestors to come, to my community and my people, especially to the young people of Standing Rock and Očhéthi Šakówiñ, may you find the lessons and the love these stories are meant to teach us and carry them far into the future.

To all future winter count keepers, remember,

"They don't belong to us; we only take care of them."

iv. Acknowledgements

Acknowledgments: My greatest co-conspirators in creating this body of work are Peter “Paha” Hill for helping with translations and emotional support, Christina Burke for the generous encouragement, walking with me and opening doors for me, Jan Ullrich for helping me with edits and for always being a stellar teacher and relative, and Shelly Neil Charging for taking pictures and always leading with love, all of you are my beloved relatives. These stories will always be told through your generosity, compassion, and love; thank you for helping me. I could not have done it without each of you.

To my teachers, mentors, spiritual leaders, colleagues, relatives, all loved ones, who all contributed to strengthen and (re)connect these stories to the people and to the future: The late Thomas Red Bird “Išna Wičha”, Lala Pahá Háńskaska: Timoti Karetu, Chantel Hill, Nacole Walker, Rick Two Dogs, Francene Watson, Renee Holt, the late Gabe Black Moon, Sonya Bird, Jan Paul Restoule, Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, Michael Moore, Kelly Morgan, the late Delores Taken Alive, the late Jay Taken Alive, Sacheen White Tail Cross, Sunshine Archambault, the late Byron Olson, Dakota Good House, the late Homer Grey Cutler, Diana Pardue, Ann Marshall, Nača Arvol Looking Horse, the late Ladonna Brave Bull-Allard, John Lenker, the late Kevin Locke, Gilbert Kills Pretty Enemy III, Alex Fire Thunder, Cheyenne Harris, the late Eagle Hunter, Teresa Ennis, Ben Black Bear Jr. the late Sandra Black Bear, Sallie Thurman, Phil Deloria, Cedric & Sissy Goodhouse, the MILR COVID cohort, Ti’tooqan Cuukweneewit Co-Heart at Washington State University, all supportive teachers and staff at Sitting Bull College, University of Victoria and Washington State University. To my Pھےží Thó Wakpá sisters, Lynn, Floris, Aresta, Kim, Julie, Deanna, Audie, Linda, every day spent in the sun with you has taught me more than I ever imagined.

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1. Positionality

My project is based on the answer to my research question: How do I share my paternal great-grandparents' *winter count "key" booklet in a good way with my community and people?*

A winter count is a record-keeping mechanism that was a common practice among Plains tribes, such as the Dakota, the Lakota, the Kiowa, and the Mandan. A pictograph was drawn or painted on a hide or piece of material for the most significant event of the year or winter.

(Greene & Thornton, 2007) My great-grandparents, my father's maternal grandmother and grandfather, Teresa and Eugene Yellow Lodge, and other relatives within our extended family were winter count keepers for our Wičhíyena band of Dakota people. We have, within our family, a booklet belonging to my great grandparents, Eugene and Teresa Yellow Lodge, written in our Dakota and Lakota language, containing the corresponding descriptions to the pictographs on their winter count that is located at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, United States as well as other variants of the Blue Thunder and Yellow Lodge family winter counts. (Goodhouse 2015) Their winter counts began in the year 1785 and ended in 1952.

The significance of the Teresa Yellow Lodge winter count is that after my great-grandfather died in 1929, his wife, Teresa, took over the duties as winter count keeper until she died in 1954. This is traditionally a male role for our Očhéthi Šakówiŋ people. Eugene and Teresa were first-generation boarding school students who learned to read and write in Dakota and English while attending boarding school. They combined the winter count keeper role with their acquired written literacy skills in our indigenous language to create the booklet that remains with our family. My great-grandparents were visionary in combining their winter count pictographs with a written descriptor. Still, they could not have envisioned the time that we are

currently living in, where very few of our tribal members can speak, understand, read, or write in our language.

Settler colonialism has violently disrupted our languages and our stories, which guide us and inform us in how we respond to the world we currently live in. To create the winter count resource, I first had to (re)learn the language to understand and know these winter count stories. With the support of the network of fluent speakers of Lakota and language co-conspirators, I created a chronological account of my great-grandparents' winter count. I wanted both digital and print versions available to maximize the potential of reaching as many Dakota and Lakota community members across generations as possible.

For my project, I combine photographs of the pictographs from my great-grandparents' winter count with their corresponding written descriptions in the Dakota language, as found in their winter count key booklet. I then add a transcription into the “New Lakota Dictionary Orthography” (NLDO) phonemic orthography and an English translation. The purpose of creating this resource is to ensure that these winter count stories in our language are once again a part of our families and communities. Our stories have power and can help heal us and strengthen us, individually and collectively. Our stories need us, and we need them. My purpose for this project is rooted in Očhéthi Šakówiŋ protocol, to bring forth the winter count stories kept by my great-grandparents on behalf of the people so that they are told as often as possible and as far into the future as possible. The paper serves as a foundation for culturally sustaining frameworks of teaching and learning Lakota and Dakota, as it encompasses multiple dialects and is written by our people. I hope our language and stories will always be spoken and shared hundreds of years into the future, just as they were shared hundreds of thousands of years before.

2. Winter counts

2.1 What is a winter count?

A winter count is a record-keeping mechanism that was a standard pre-colonial practice among Plains tribes, such as the Dakota, the Lakota, the Kiowa, and the Mandan peoples. A pictograph was drawn or painted on a hide or piece of material for the most significant event of the year or winter. (Densmore 1918; Feest, 1999)

2.2 Winter Count Keepers

My ancestors were winter count keepers (Figure 2). My paternal great-grandparents, Eugene and Teresa Yellow Lodge, my great-great-grandfather Belden Yellow Lodge, and my great-great-grandmother's husband, Blue Thunder, were all winter count keepers.



Figure 3. *Pictures of the winter count keepers in my family: Blue Thunder on the left, Teresa Yellow Lodge in the middle, and Belden Yellow Lodge on the right.*

2.3 My Family's Winter Count

Our family has the corresponding booklet, the key to my great-grandparents, Eugene and Teresa Yellow Lodge's winter count, now housed at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, United States. In the winter count key booklet, a descriptor in our Dakota and Lakota language directly corresponds to each drawn pictograph (housed at the Heard Museum) from 1785 to 1954.

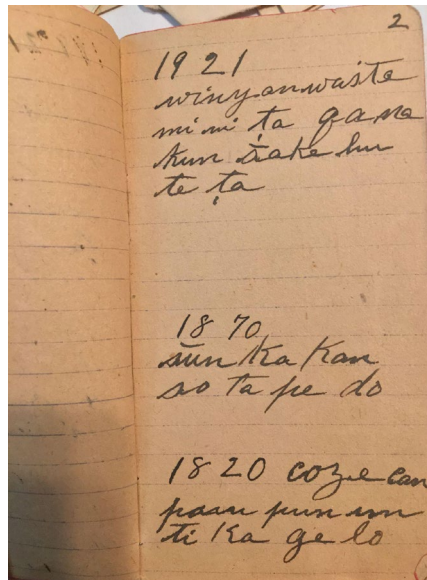


Figure 4. A page from the winter count key booklet

Each page in the winter count key booklet maximizes space by including three pictograph descriptors, with the oldest entries on the bottom and the latest entries on the top. Based on the last inscription on the back and for the year 1873, it is apparent that this book belonged to my great-grandfather, Eugene Yellow Lodge. After his death, his wife, my great-grandmother Teresa Yellow Lodge, continued adding to the booklet and their winter count.

3. Methodology and Methods

3.1 Methodology

Mitákuye Owas’iŋ

As a child of a Lakota mother and a Dakota father, who were both raised by their grandparents, the worldview and cultural practices of our Lakota and Dakota people have always been the foundation of my upbringing. My parents intuitively and intentionally created an environment that centered our Lakota and Dakota belief systems. Our Lakota and Dakota foundational worldview is “*Mitákuye Owas’iŋ*”, commonly translated as “we are all related.” We believe we are all descendants of creation's first grandmothers and grandfathers. Chelsey Luger, a Lakota and Ojibwe woman from my home community, writes in her book, “The Seven Circles: Indigenous Teachings for Living Well,” “We are all connected. All entities - are equally important and equally insignificant. To understand *Mitákuye Owas’iŋ* is to take on responsibility for every action and decision in life. When one is raised with this value, it is a given that one must act in such a way that helps rather than harms. It is understood that our actions impact the entire world.” (Luger & Collins, 2022). Despite the familial and community impacts of the imposed material poverty stemming from settler colonial policies, my mother developed intimate global relationships and traveled abroad frequently during my childhood; this was a pivotal component of strengthening our worldview of *Mitákuye Owas’iŋ*. Through her work in international Indigenous human rights, as a child, our family traveled to the Netherlands and the World Court at De Hauge, Holland. We often also welcomed and hosted my mother’s colleagues and friends, who were non-indigenous people from all walks of life; we had an “uncle Swami” and her Jewish friend, who we all called the “Aunty with the Big Hair,” and my mother had a *huŋká* (ceremonial traditional adoption) mother, Maria Van Kintz, our wonderful *huŋká uŋcí*

with red hair who came to visit every summer from Holland. My mother raised her children to embody our foundational worldview of *Mitákuye Owas'iy*, a belief in action. She allowed us to see non-natives as fellow human beings to whom we are related.

These foundational experiences allowed me to embrace non-natives such as Peter Hill and Jan Ullrich as my own relatives. Both individuals are not only fluent speakers of Lakota but also advocates for language teaching and learning, who have dedicated their time and energy to supporting me and countless others in our mission to revitalize our language. Christina Burke is an exceptional scholar whose academic contributions regarding winter counts stand out as the most comprehensive and supportive resources available for winter count historians and families. She is our beloved relative, and this work would not be possible without them. All have been generous with helping locate resources and references and answering all winter count and language-related questions that arose from the process of writing this paper. It is due to my mother and father providing a culturally mindful practice of this foundational tenet, therefore gifting me the ability to discern these non-natives and their scholarship as a strengthening contribution to my learning in language and winter counts. *Mitákuye Owas'iy*

Indigenous Storywork

My cultural background has intuitively gifted me the ability to honor my winter count keeper ancestors, and this aligns with Indigenous research approaches demonstrated by scholars like Jo-Ann Archibald in her work, "Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit." Archibald collaborated with her elders and storytellers to showcase Indigenous storytelling as a powerful educational tool. She emphasized seven principles that emerged as vital to centering Indigenous knowledge systems.

1. Respect: “This principle emphasizes the importance of honoring the stories, the storytellers, and the cultural context from which they originate.”

I show respect for my ancestors, who were winter count keepers, by continuing their work in a manner rooted in our cultural practices and values of generosity that they upheld. I have also demonstrated respect for our Lakota and Dakota worldviews.

2. Responsibility: “Storytellers and listeners must use the stories ethically and appropriately. This includes understanding the cultural protocols and the intended lessons of the stories.”

I demonstrate my responsibility for caring for the winter count stories, which are regarded as precious but not owned by me. I also provide clear guidance and parameters for sharing the names and stories embedded in the winter count within the community and in a broader global context.

3. Reciprocity: This principle emphasizes the mutual exchange of knowledge and benefits between the storyteller and the listener.

I demonstrate respectful and generous reciprocity; I am giving back what my dad entrusted me with by gifting this work to our community, people, and the world. Another way I demonstrated this value was the realization that one must be in a reciprocal relationship with the winter count stories, gifting our time back and forth to stories to create a relationship of learning and healing. I have also demonstrated reciprocity by centering the co-conspirators, allies, and mentors who have helped create this body of work, acknowledging their generosity.

4. Reverence: “Reverence involves a deep respect and spiritual connection to the stories. It acknowledges the sacredness of the storytelling process and the wisdom embedded in the stories.”

I have shown reverence for the winter count stories and my ancestors, who were the keepers of the winter count. I have prayed and asked for ceremonies for their guidance, offering tobacco, traditional foods, and water for their spirits. I uplift their lived experiences as those of our people who were first-generation boarding school students but were born free before the establishment of reservations. My ongoing learning is also a form of reverence for the winter count stories; I have learned that every pictograph is a stone thrown into a pond, with ever-expanding lessons that can unfold to support our people and our future.

5. Holism: “This principle recognizes that stories address the whole person—heart, mind, body, and spirit. It promotes a holistic approach to learning and understanding.”

The winter count stories elicit embodied responses, processed through the mind and spirit, that invoke compassion, sadness, grief, curiosity, and wonder. Some of the years, such as cannibalism, banishment, death of children, and alliances between the United States army, require time to process and cause embodied responses such as recoil and adrenaline. The realization of understanding the actual names of ancestors on the winter count, which had not been spoken in the physical world for a very long time, and then learning to honor their names with traditional protocol such as offering tobacco and water, is also an example of accounting for the holistic processes of the winter count stories.

6. Interrelatedness: “Stories are seen as interconnected with each other and with the broader context of life. This principle emphasizes the importance of understanding the relationships between stories, people, and the environment.”

The winter count stories share points of our homelands, such as the Painted Woods, near present-day Washburn, North Dakota, Fort Rice, North Dakota, Sisseton, South Dakota, Greasy Grass, Montana, Santee, Nebraska, and showcase how interconnected and engaged our people were with our homelands (our environment). A significant lesson that unfolded for me is how, in modern times, our people tend to be very proud of the reservations we come from, for example, Standing Rock, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and others. Still, the reality shared through the winter count stories is that our peoples were in a relationship with the land long before any colonial borders, including the Canadian-United States border, even existed. This contributes to a broader, more ancestral-based Očhéthi Šakówiŋ identity. The repercussions of these events extend to the broader contexts of our people, including banishment, violence against our own, and treaties, with ongoing, complex, and interrelated consequences.

7. Synergy: “Synergy refers to the combined effect of the principles working together, creating a greater impact than any single principle alone. It underscores the dynamic and powerful nature of storytelling.”

Every winter count story is full of synergy; these stories are essential today in healing the pain and grief of lost cultural identity caused by harmful settler-colonial policies. The winter count is rich in a more authentic human identity. Each story embodies a lesson that, when combined, can offer our people a more genuine sense of Lakota and Dakota identity than the modern, romanticized version of the stories that others have told about us.

The winter count stories are rooted in all the values highlighted by Archibald's scholarship, and the lessons and healing potential for Očhéthi Šakówiŋ communities and the world will continue to unfold for a long time to come.

3.2 Methods:

Language (Re)Learning

To understand the winter count descriptors that are written in Dakota and Lakota. I first had to learn my language. For about a decade of intentional learning, working in, and creating Lakota language-centered spaces, I found the support of relatives, fellow learners, and first-language speakers to support my translation of the winter count booklet. My primary support in the translation process was Peter Hill, T Tolman, the late Gabe Black Moon, Jan Ullrich, and the late Thomas Red Bird. They helped with the Dakota/Lakota to English translations. This took many years; we would find time to meet, translate, and visit about the winter count booklet, and the process would be impossible without their support.

(Re)Constructing

Since that moment with my dad in 2009, I have had a continual dream to do something with my great-grandparents' winter count key booklet. The dream had been ongoing with no action to pair it with for over a decade. In 2015, a close family relative, Peter "Paha" Hill, was visiting, and I asked him to help translate the Dakota in the winter count booklet. Paha is a non-native and a fluent speaker of Lakota. We jokingly said he was probably the first white man to touch the winter count key booklet. He left me notes of his attempt at a quick translation, which had been on a shelf in my home for many years, along with my great-grandparents' winter count key book.

In 2020, I was accepted to the University of Victoria's Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization program. When completing coursework, we then had to choose a research topic. I wanted to explore the intergenerational disruption of naturally occurring language transmission in my family. Still, I shifted towards the dream of doing something with my great-grandparents' winter count key booklet.

Since the actual winter count is housed at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, and the key booklet is in my possession, it would be fitting to bring the pictographs together with the written Dakota transcription and an English translation. Because the booklet has three entries per page, I wanted to create a clear and chronological format and use a phonemic orthography that best supports the reader with specific Dakota and Lakota sounds. I also want to make a digital format to reach our people who are dispersed throughout the United States and Canada to accompany the print version, which would be for those of our people who are accustomed to reading print.

My research project is creating a combination of chronological photographs of the pictographs of my great grandparents' winter count and their corresponding written descriptions in the Dakota language from their winter count and winter count key booklet and adding a transcription into the "New Lakota Dictionary Orthography" (NLDO) phonemic orthography and an English translation. It is an essential and wise practice to create an accessible format so that, once again, my great-grandparents' winter count and its encompassing historical and cultural stories in our Dakota language are in the hands of our home community and not just put away in a museum archive far away from our homelands or sitting on a bookshelf collecting dust. Therefore, my overarching Indigenous research project question is:

*How can I share the written key to my great-grandparent's winter count in a good way
for my community?*

In 2005, our family visited the Heard Museum to see the winter count, and we took pictures. These photographs remain in my possession in a large photo album.

I took pictures of every page of the booklet, and of the photos, and in 2022, I asked my high school English teacher and Phoenix resident, Shelly Charging, to visit the Heard on my behalf to take more pictures. She took pictures with her iPhone and sent them to me via email.

I began a Word document to put the pictographs alongside the written descriptors, then typed the transcription into modern phonetic NLDO Lakota/ Dakota with diacritics, a translation into English, the corresponding year in numerals, and the corresponding pictograph.

Bringing the pictographs back together with the written descriptors is a century-old reunion.

4. Reflections

4.1 Dialects & Literacy

The winter count key booklet taught me that there is a broader collective identity that transcends dialects, as well as current colonial, state, or international borders. My great-grandparents' winter count key booklet shifts between the Wičhíyena Dakota, Isanti (Eastern) dialect, and the Lakota dialect. Their booklet offers a wider perspective on identity than our current modern context. Additionally, their work provides our community with an opportunity to engage in critical dialogue regarding written literacy and education, while also challenging the long-standing resistance to literacy and education in our language.

4.2 Names

In Lakota and Dakota culture, there is a protocol regarding names. For example, we call our names four times out loud to call our spirit back; we also have strict protocols of not changing a name once it is given in a ceremony. According to an article by Demallie, he reports Ella Cara Deloria, a Lakota woman linguist, teacher and largely our very first language matriarch on Standing Rock, shared that names were highly respected when property was given away as a demonstration of the family's love. "In after years, people would have to say, 'He does not bear that name for nothing!' That others benefitted by one's name was to one's everlasting credit and glory." (DeMallie, 2021)

While working on this paper, I realized that some of these ancestors' names have not been spoken aloud in many years. I began offering water, food, and tobacco when I would say many of the names out loud while working on this paper. I started gifting small items to share with those I was sharing these stories within a public setting. The Lakota and Dakota tenets of generosity are to be practiced, and this practice is essential, especially as an honor to those ancestors whose names are being said or read aloud. I am grateful to have learned to practice this protocol of "give-away" as related to the names of the ancestors on my great-grandparents' winter count, and I will keep it as a part of my pedagogical praxis as a Lakota and Dakota scholar and teacher.

4.3 Learning More Language

There are numerous lessons regarding language that I have learned from this process. I observed the shifting from a full Lakota and Dakota text to a full English text. I will share a few of the Dakota and Lakota grammar specifics:

1. Winter counts contain words that are no longer part of our languages' lexicon. For example, the word for the tribe of Illiniwek is “Ite sto” (1787). The Illiniwek people lived in present-day Illinois and Iowa. Their history is worth learning, and I would have never known who they were without working on the winter count booklet.
2. The word for 'make a camp' and 'make war' (year) - I had to consult a team of elder first-language speakers and second-language learners to understand these words. The cultural context of the word is no longer a common occurrence, so it took some digging to figure out what the word meant; only when paired with the corresponding pictograph were we able to decipher and understand the entire translation.

The winter count booklet offers far more nuances of grammar to explore, and I am excited to further this exploration and deepen my understanding and learning.

4.4 Discrepancies

While writing and creating this paper, I identified some discrepancies that I would like to highlight, not to provide a definitive answer but to suggest that additional inquiry is warranted in certain areas. For example, 60. 1843-1844, in the booklet is written, “**nawíchašdi**”, describes the event as measles, yet on the actual winter count, the words, “**wícháňaňňaň**”, meaning smallpox. Again, I am not attempting to discredit the narratives shared in the winter count but only to suggest that additional mixed-methods research on these discrepancies may shed more light on them and provide further details.

4.5 Connecting to Ancestors

This process has allowed me to humanize my ancestors. Unfortunately, our Lakota and Dakota people often believe some segments of the stories told about us rather than those told by us. We embrace romanticized, inaccurate historical notions and view our ancestors through a Western lens, believing they lived utopian lives and did not make poor choices or mistakes or face consequences. In the same sense, I have come to realize that my ancestors deserve my respect, compassion, and dignity. In turn, I have also learned to humanize myself, recognizing that I am similar to them in a way I had never considered before. We are all on a journey with our own winter counts. This process has gifted me with the ability to accept that my ancestors are human beings, with human shortcomings, challenges, victories, and the will to survive and live.

4.6 Protocols & Parameters

Writing this paper has allowed me to immerse myself in stories that teach me how to be a better Lakota and Dakota, as well as a better human being. I have also learned how to share these stories while keeping in mind the cultural beliefs of my ancestors, who were known for their generosity. By sharing these stories, I aim to avoid being a gatekeeper or hoarding traditional knowledge in times of scarcity or fear. I pledge to share openly, honoring the words of my ancestors: **“The winter count does not belong to you; it didn’t belong to us; we just take care of it.”** In doing this, I emphasize the importance of sharing the Lakota and Dakota traditional winter count-keeping and story-sharing protocols. Additionally, I will outline the boundaries within which our people will respectfully engage with this knowledge and share how non-Lakota and non-Dakota individuals can also engage with the winter count stories respectfully.

Protocols

In Ella Cara Deloria's *Waterlily*, traditional winter count protocols are shared; winter count keepers were always male and received training from a young age. As stated in the book, "speech is holy and it is not intended to be set freely; it is for remembering." The keepers were expected to memorize the entire winter count, maintain a clear mind, and were raised strictly to become storytellers of the winter count. When the winter count keepers were invited to a home or village, they would camp and visit each family circle, primarily in the winter. The keepers received gifts of food and items such as moccasins or buffalo hides.

At the turn of the century, during the late 1800s and early 1900s, reservations were established. Early non-native settlers, including government officials, medical doctors, and schoolteachers, showed an interest in collecting cultural items and documenting local stories. During this period, many winter counts were gathered but have since become absent from our communities. This led to a decline in sharing our own stories and contributed to the reduction of the collective memory of winter counts in our community over several generations. Our people, particularly the youth, no longer had or could maintain a consistent relationship with winter counts, their stories, and the lessons they impart. Of course, a spectrum of collective knowledge is still held in our communities, and there are exceptions to the rule, such as the winter count key booklet of my great-grandparents.

Parameters

I would like to issue a fair warning and outline the respectful boundaries of engagement regarding the information contained in this paper. Winter counts are culturally sensitive entities to the Lakota and Dakota, sacred and embodying significant cultural significance. It is essential to engage with these stories respectfully and responsibly. Please adhere to the following guidelines.

- I ask that the Lakota and Dakota people who are reading this paper, if you wish to share beyond your own personal learning, seek guidance from the Young Yellow Lodge tiošpaye winter count keepers, using our traditions of “opaği,” and be mindful to hold proper care and respect for these stories. Please also seek consent from the elders and community, as well as the guidance of the Young and Yellow Lodge. You are also welcome to engage in the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe’s Institutional Review Process.
- For non-natives who may read this work and wish to utilize the information and engage with it further, I would like to offer the following guidance and parameters: Please strive to understand the sacred nature of the winter count and its stories, approaching them with utmost respect and sensitivity. First, educate yourself on the cultural significance of winter counts and their stories. As a second step, obtain permission through transparent consultation with the Yellow Lodge Young family and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe Institutional Review Process, which is grounded in tribal sovereignty. This process will ensure your reasonable faith in not misusing or appropriating the content for personal gain. You do not have permission to photograph or replicate any segments of the winter count pictographs or the accompanying booklet without explicit authorization from the family and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Additionally, you are welcome to participate in cultural sensitivity training to gain a deeper understanding of how to acknowledge Lakota and Dakota traditions respectfully. It is also essential to use respectful language when discussing winter counts and other cultural and traditional objects of the Lakota and Dakota peoples. By following these guidelines, I hope that we can create a future where this winter count and its stories are treated with the respect and reverence they deserve.

4.7 Future Work

The future work can take multiple directions. Some ideas include exploring how winter counts can serve as a framework for a global teaching tool in teacher education, imparting life lessons, and informing curriculum theory regarding trends in shrinking global epistemology and its relationship to the reduction of global language variety. I also hope to explore the Dakota and Lakota linguistic lessons embedded in the winter count booklet and the contribution it makes to an Očhéthi Šakówiŋ identity. There are numerous ways that winter counts can benefit the future and the world, and I am excited to see it unfold.

My greatest hope for the future is that the obligations and responsibilities of the winter count stories can be passed on to one of my sons, Wanáp̃heya Yellow Lodge, Wiǵiiaothi, and Ptehéwoptuǵa Pepper, so the winter count keeper role can be returned to the males of our family as it originally was. While all my sons show interest in the winter counts of our ancestors, my youngest son often calls it “our dark lore” and asks me to tell him a story from his great-great-grandparents' winter count. I happily oblige, reminding him that these stories are meant to be shared and cared for, so they are always told far into the future.

As I worked on bringing the stories together, I began to realize that initially, I looked at this project with a narrow scope, believing I would create a singular booklet; I quickly realized the power of the stories and how they were connecting me to a broader, critical lens to view the

timeline and reality of my family, community, and people. Some key lessons I share are how I begin to see and feel a distance in the process of our history, as an observer, as an educational



Figure 5. *Winter count year 1932 of National Bonus Army*

researcher, to sit with the heavy, traumatic stories, to grieve, but also to see that as people, we moved through these events, we didn't stay in those moments.

I also continue to learn from the winter count; it is STILL doing precisely what it was meant to do: to teach and remind us and to strengthen our identity and culture. I will share one example of the continual learning from my great-grandparents' winter count is the year of the Bonus Army. I did a Google and newspaper search and learned about an event from March 1932 in Washington, DC. It was a complex decade-long story of a promised military service bonus. Due to prolonged arguing in Congress, veterans marched on Washington to obtain the promised

bonus. I had never heard of this event, and if it were not for the process of creating this paper, I would not have explored this event that was prompted by the pictograph for that winter count year.

I am honored to carry on the legacy of my great-grandparents and all my winter count keeper ancestors. I love and respect their stories and the lessons I have learned from them. It has also been vital for me to honor my dad, the only living community member who remembers when the winter count was still in his family home and our community. This project is a cultural responsibility to my community, ancestors, and the future.

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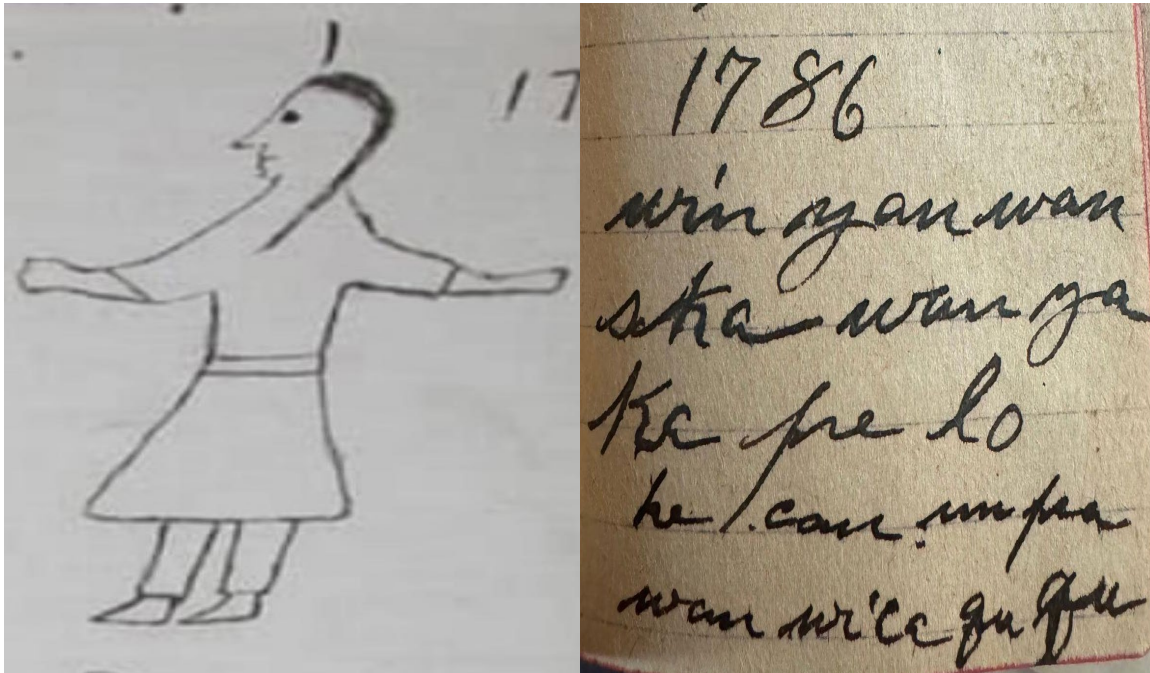
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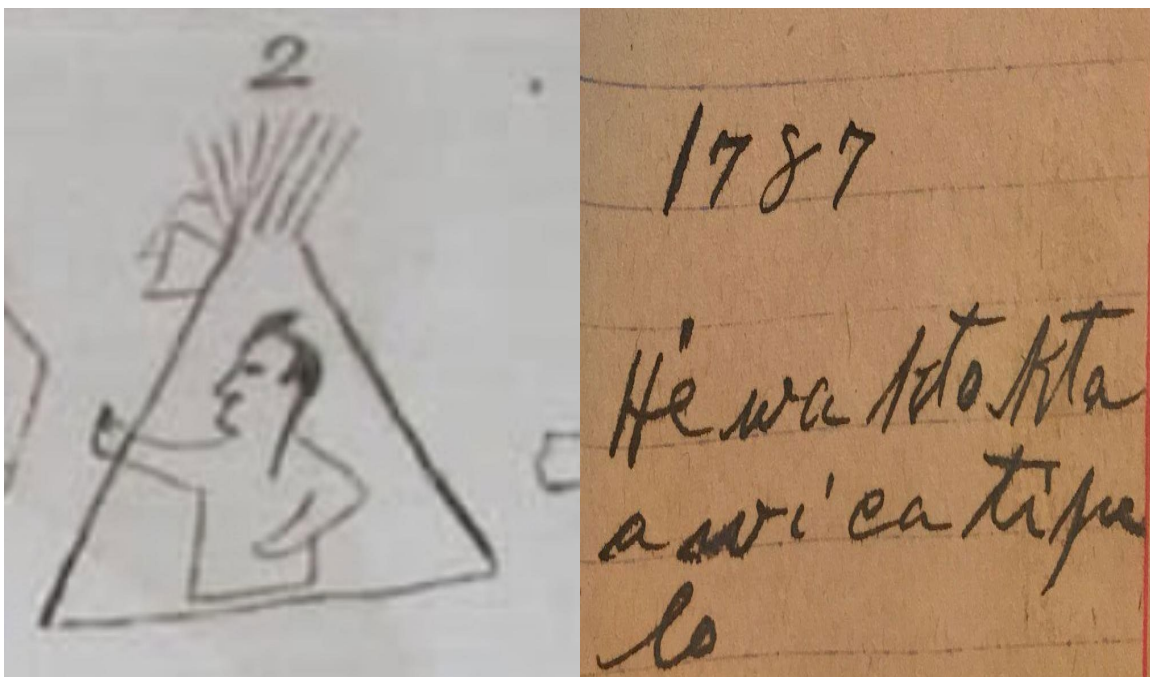
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Appendix A



1. 1786: Wínyañ wañ ská wañyáñkape ló, hé čhañnúŋpa wañ wičhák'u k'uŋ

They seen a white woman, she brings them a pipe



2. 1787: Ĥewáktokta awíčhathipe ló They made a war camp to fight the Hidatsa



1788
i'te stowan
kte pu lo

3. 1787 – 1788: Ité Stó waŋ ktépe ló

A long face (Illiniwek Tribe) was killed



1789
pa ha han
stra ske wan
kte pu lo

4. 1788 – 1789: Pahá háŋskaska waŋ ktépe ló

A long hair was killed



1790 m'ni
ya ye yu ha
wan kte pe
lo

5. 1789 – 1790: Mniyaye yuhá waṅ ktepe ló

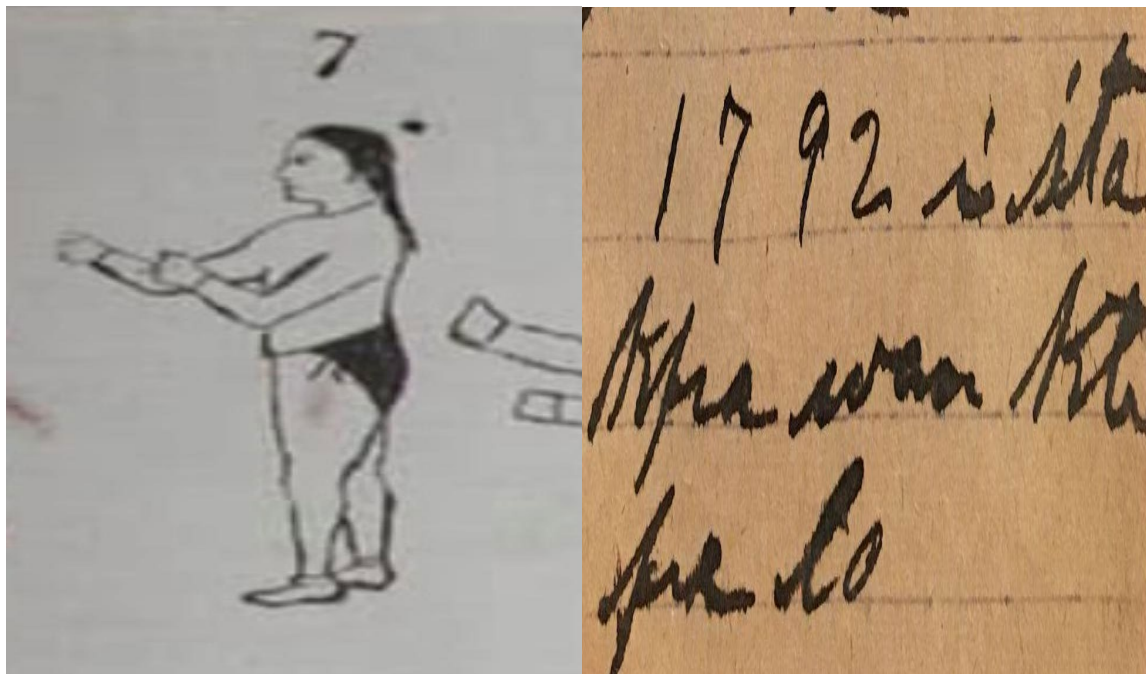
A water carrier was killed.



1791 wa patta
ki tur na wa
ee hipe ya
pe lo

6. 1790 – 1791: Wapháha kithúṅna waṅ éihpeyape

A bonnet wearer was taken away (from the people)



7. 1791 – 1792: Ištákpa waŋ ktépe ló

Gouged Eye was killed



8. 1792 – 1793: Čhuwígnaka dúta uŋ waŋ ktépe ló

One who wore a red dress was killed



1794 Hu bo
wi'ca we we
ga pe lo

9. 1793 – 1794: Hú bowíchwewéǵape ló

Their legs are broken by shots



tan ípi
1795 ci'yo
tan ka yo
ha wan ee
hípe ga pe
lo

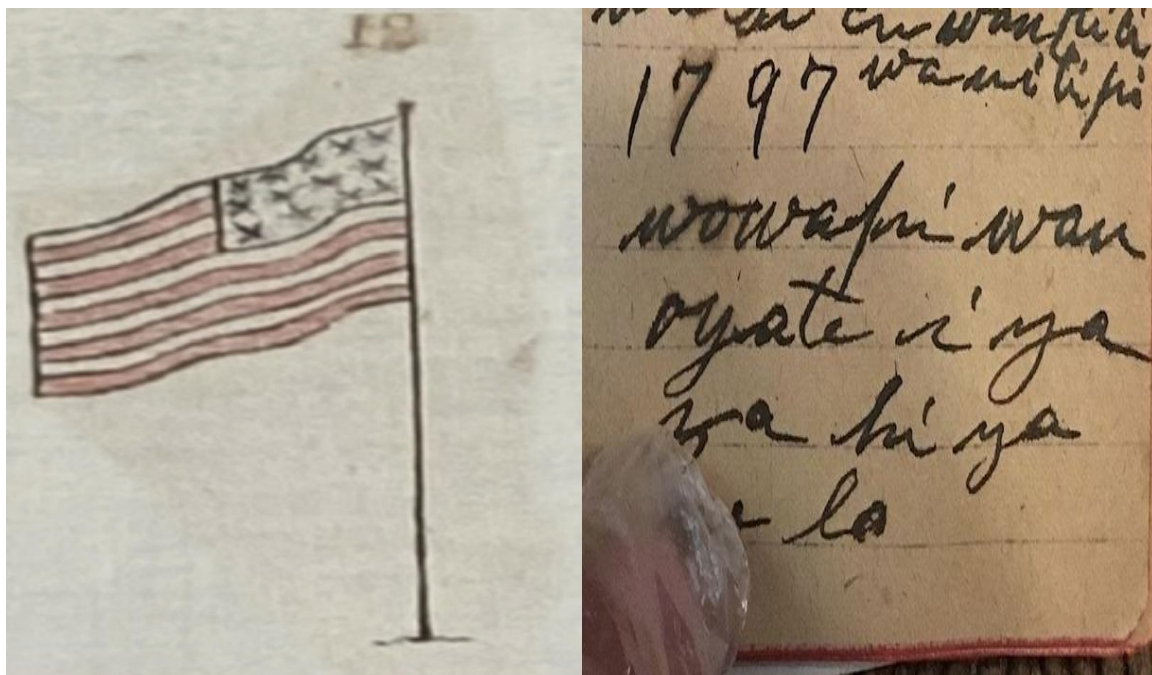
10. 1794 – 1795: Šiyóthǵaŋka yuhá waŋ éiǵpeyape lo

A flute owner is left (banished)



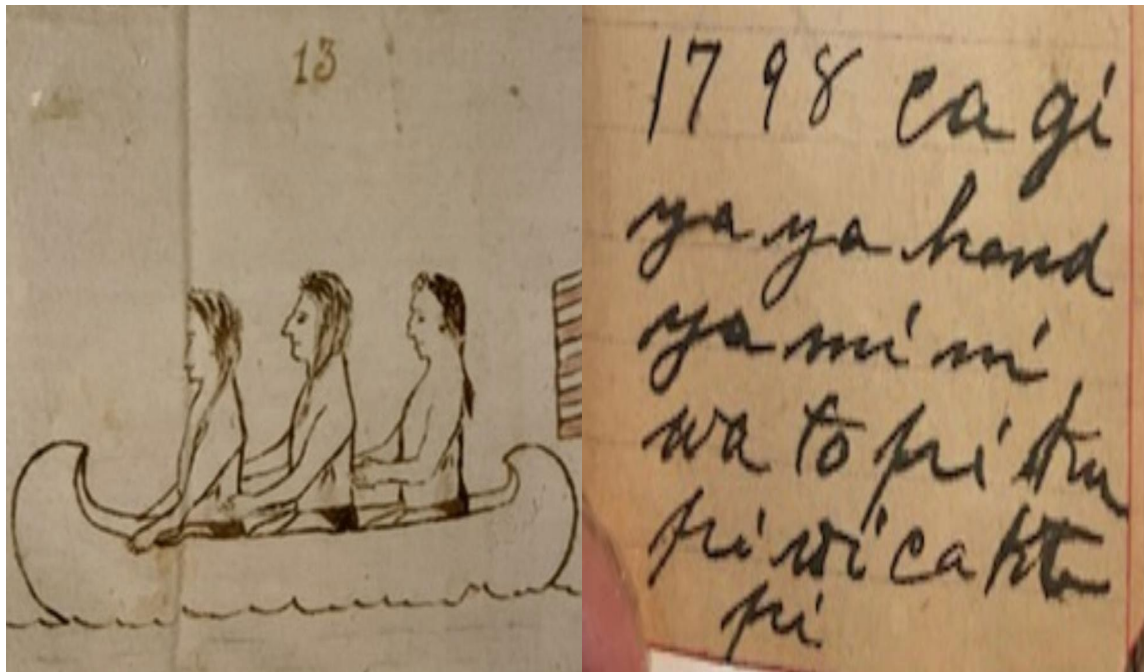
11. 1795 – 1796: Istó bowíchawehweǵape ló

Their arms are broken by shots



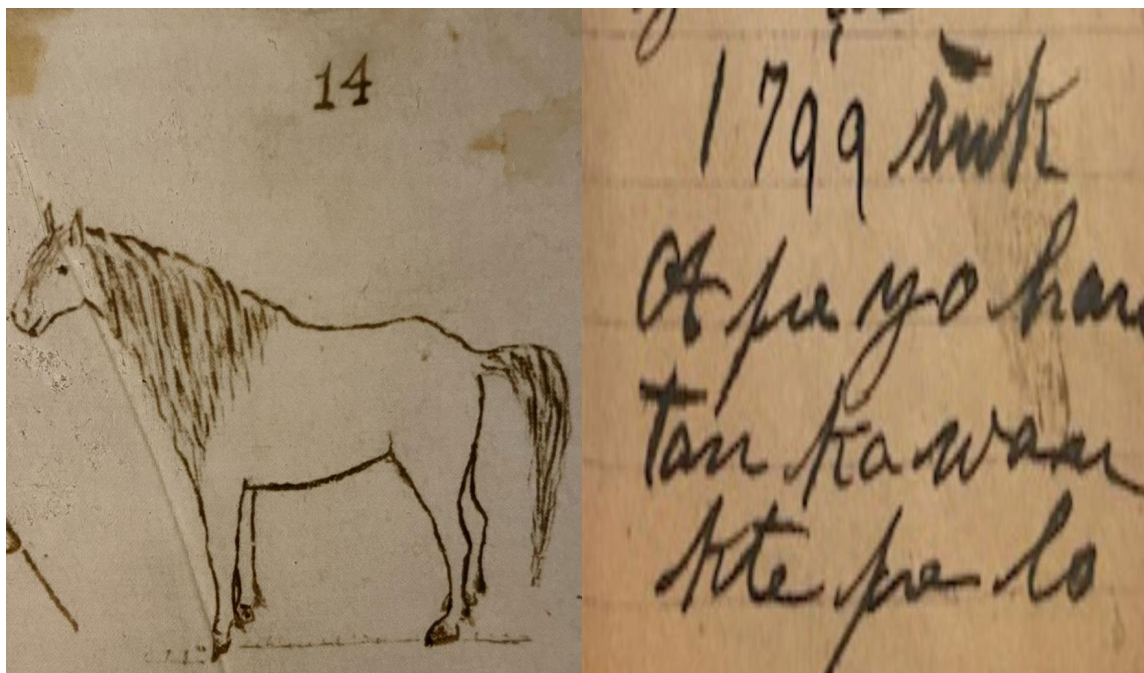
12. 1796 – 1797: Wówapi waŋ oyáte iyáza hiyáye ló

A flag goes from one tribe to one another



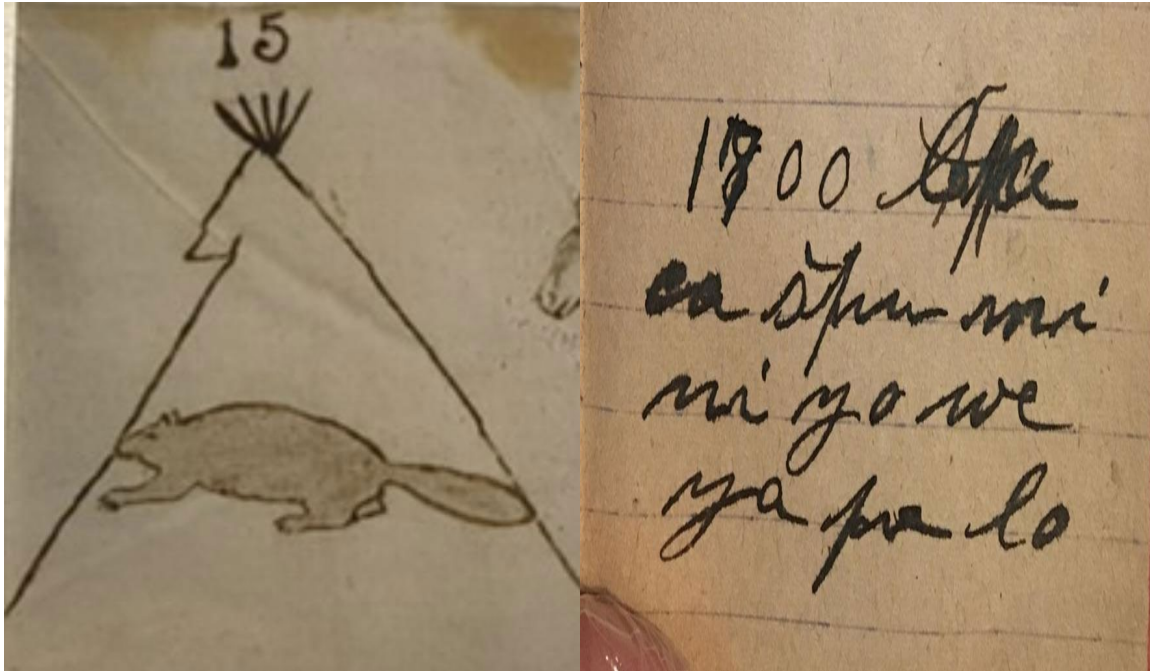
13. 1797 – 1798: Čhaň'iyaya hánd yámni watópha kúpi wičáktepi

During the time of breaking ice, three coming back home in a boat were killed



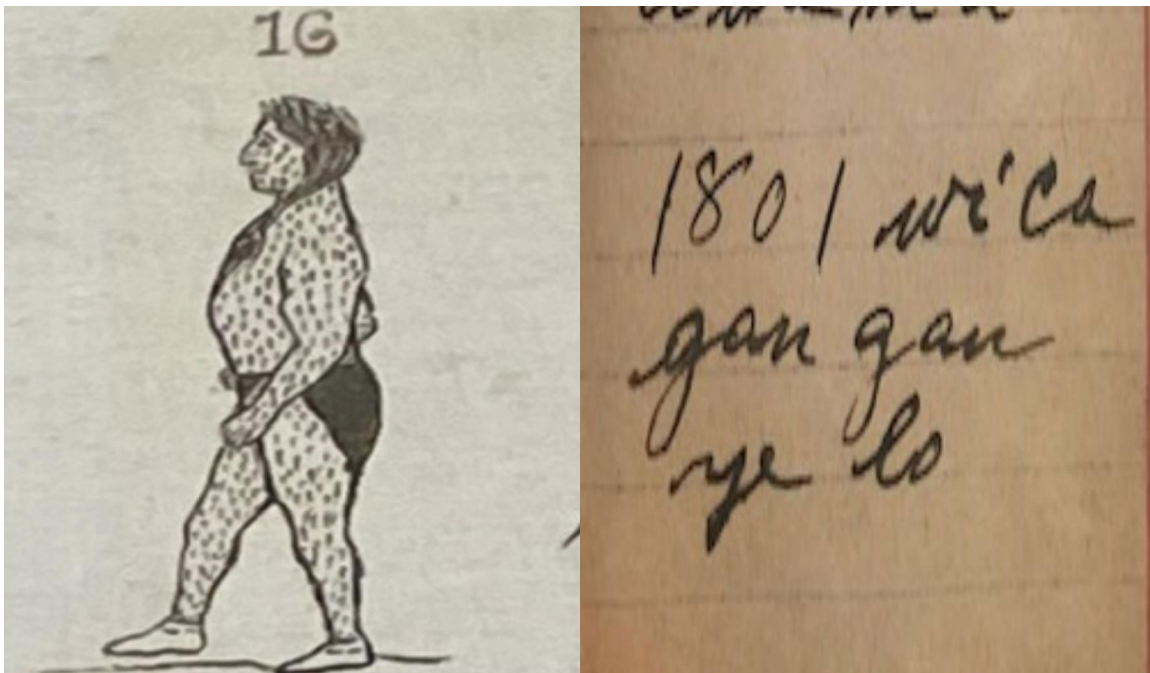
14. 1798 – 1799: Šuňk-ápheyohaň thánka waň ktépe ló

A horse with a large mane was killed



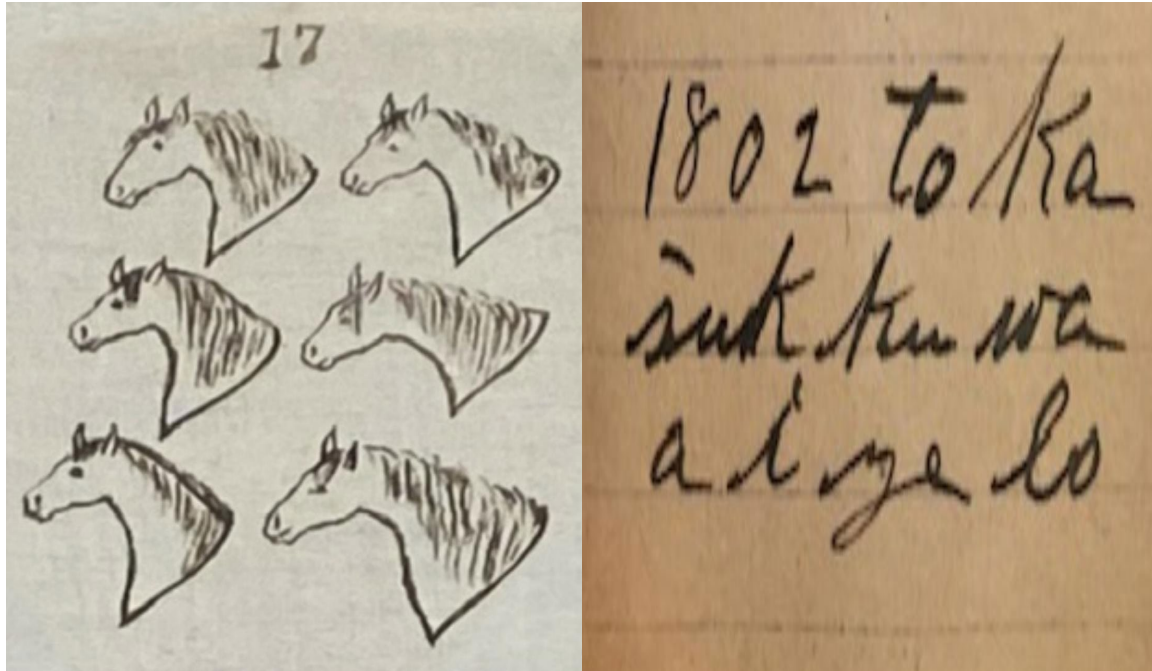
15. 1799 – 1800: Čhápa čášpu mniyówe yápe ló

They used a beaver den as a water well



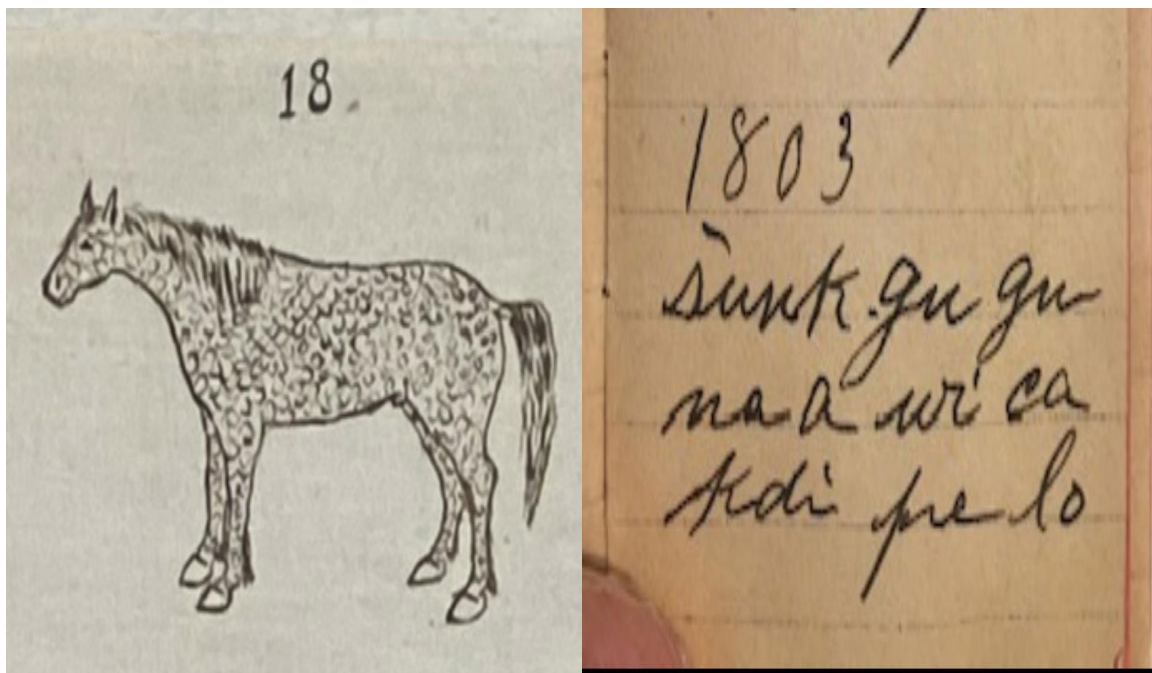
16. 1800 – 1801: Wičháňňňň ye ló

Smallpox outbreak



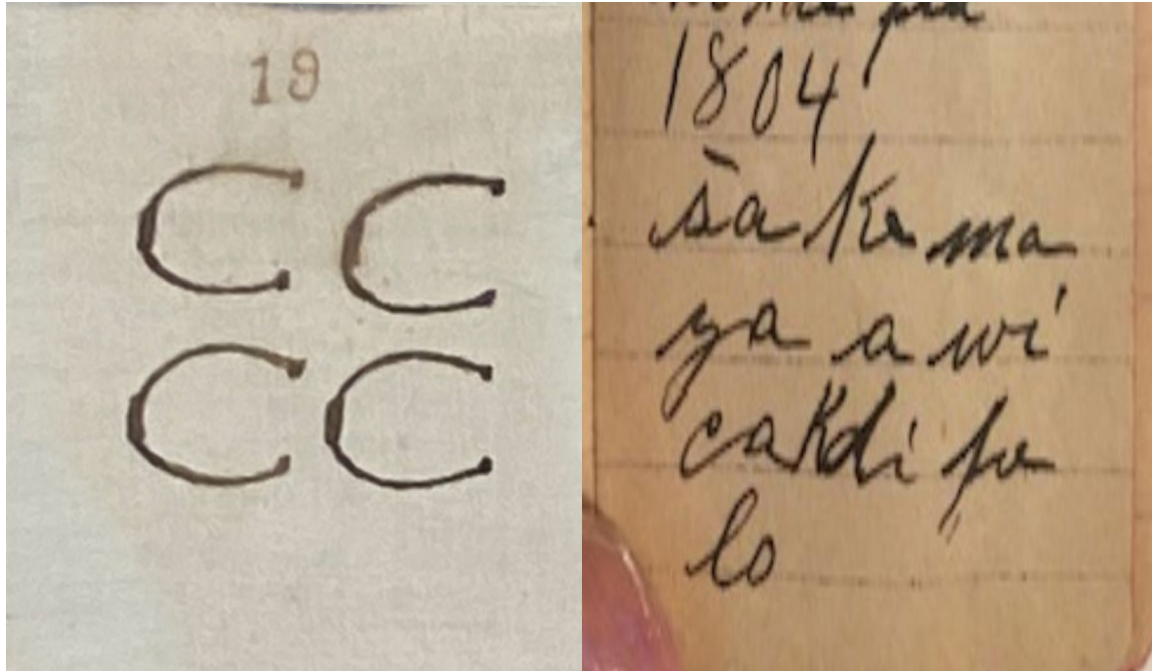
17. 1801 – 1802: Třoká šungkhúwa-aí yeló

A group went to chase horses for the first time



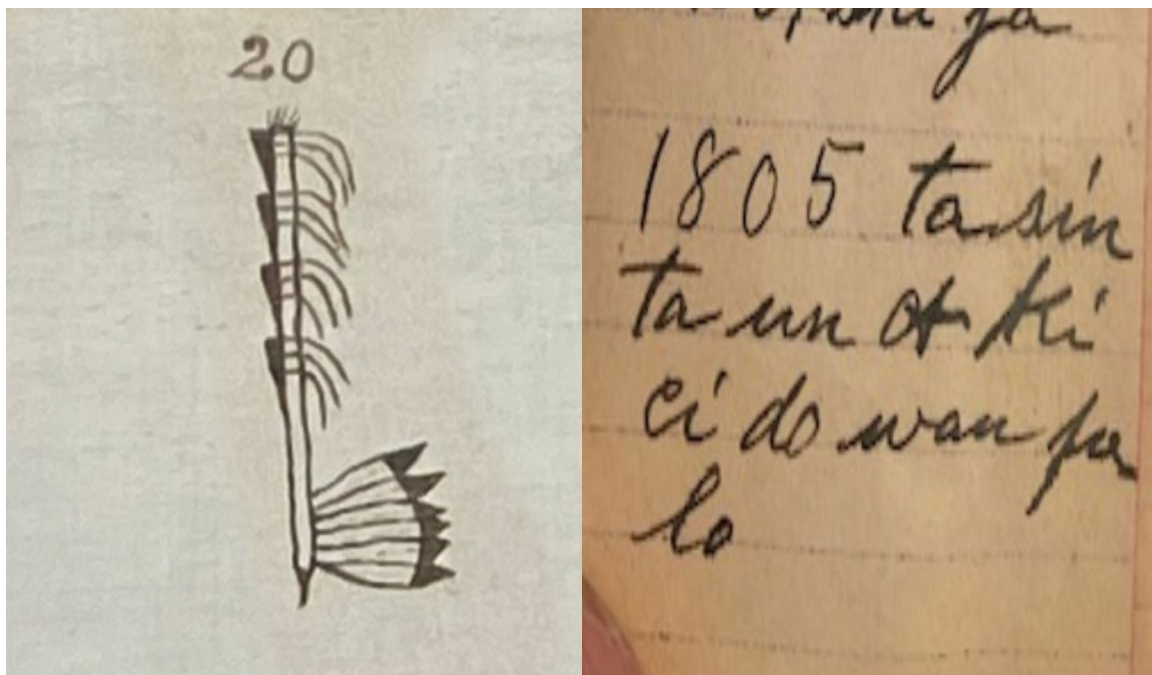
18. 1802 – 1803: Šukgúguna awíhakdipe ló.

Curly horses were brought back.



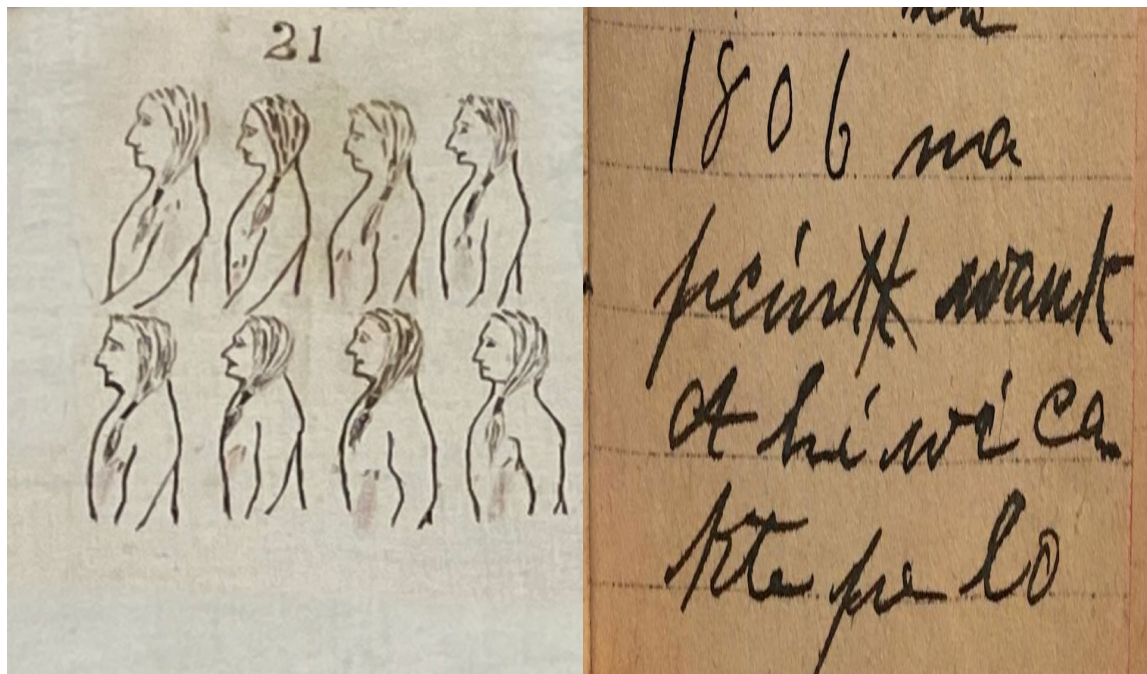
19. 1803 – 1804: Šaké-máza awíčkakdipe ló

Shod horses were brought back.



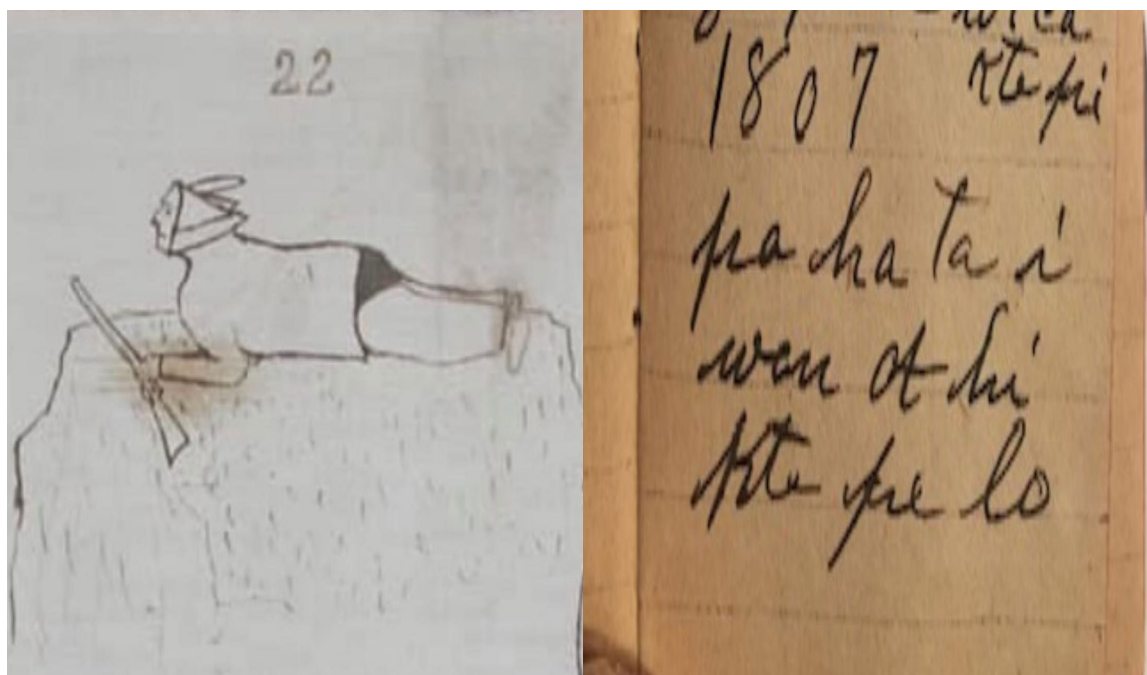
20. 1804 – 1805: Tšasíŋta úŋ akíčhidowanpe ló

They sing over each other with buffalo tails



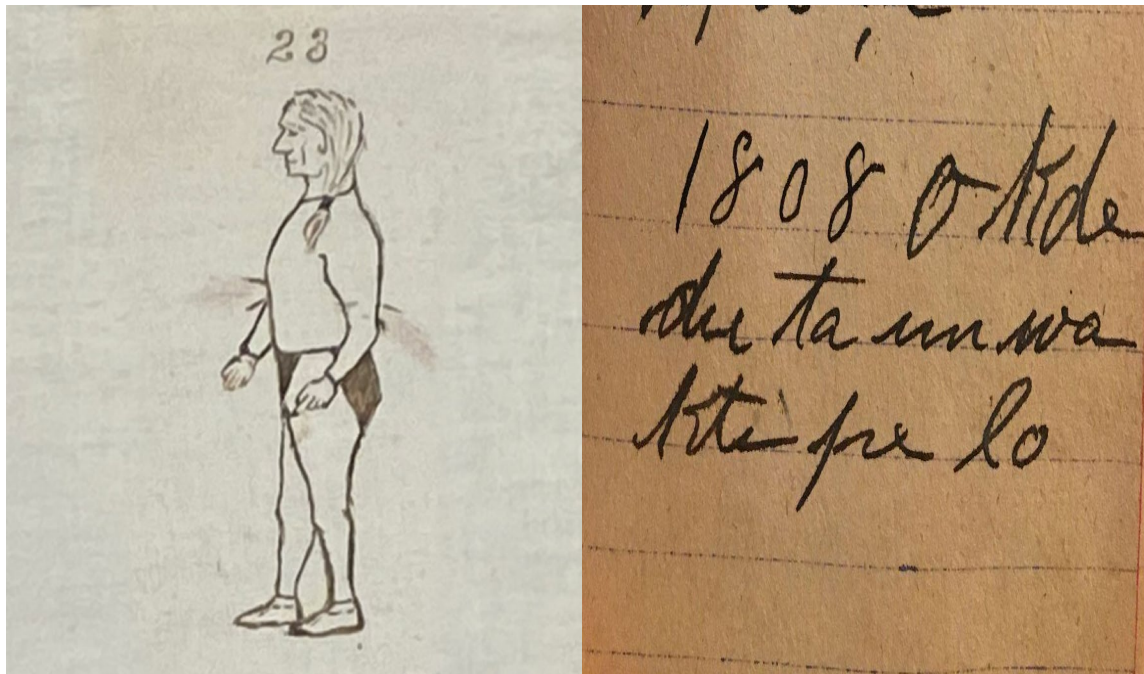
21. 1805 – 1806: Napčínwanǵ ahíwíchaktepe ló

Nine are killed in battle



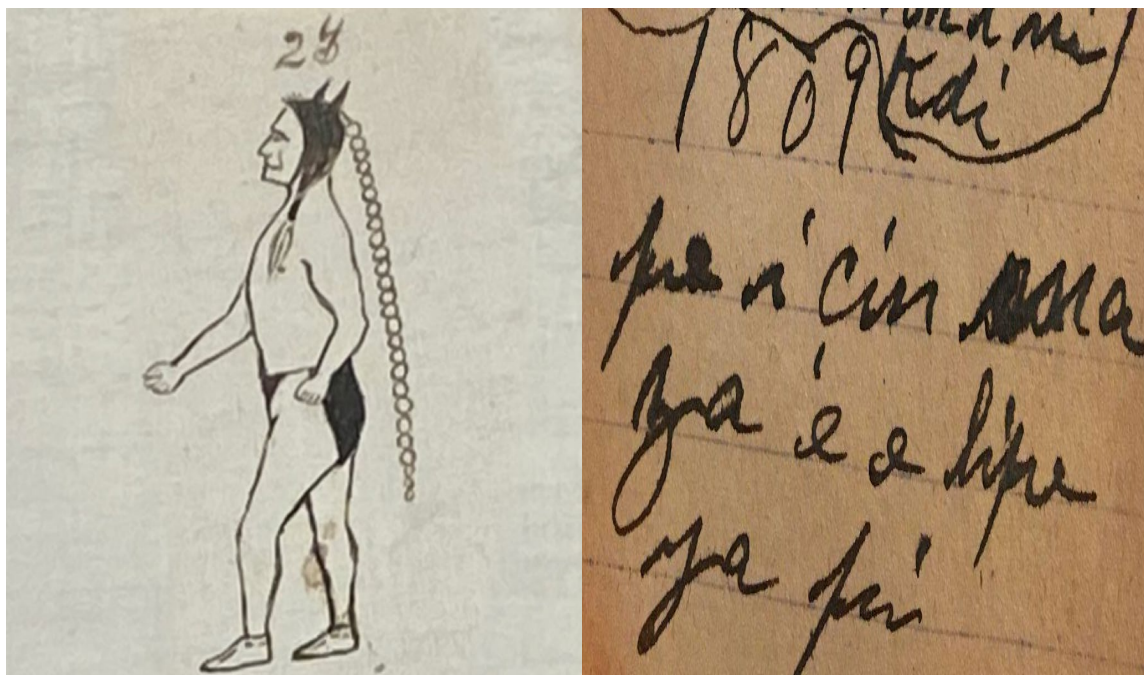
22. 1806 – 1807: Paháta í wan ahík~~te~~pe ló

One who has gone on the hill (i.e., a scout) he was killed by an incoming war party.



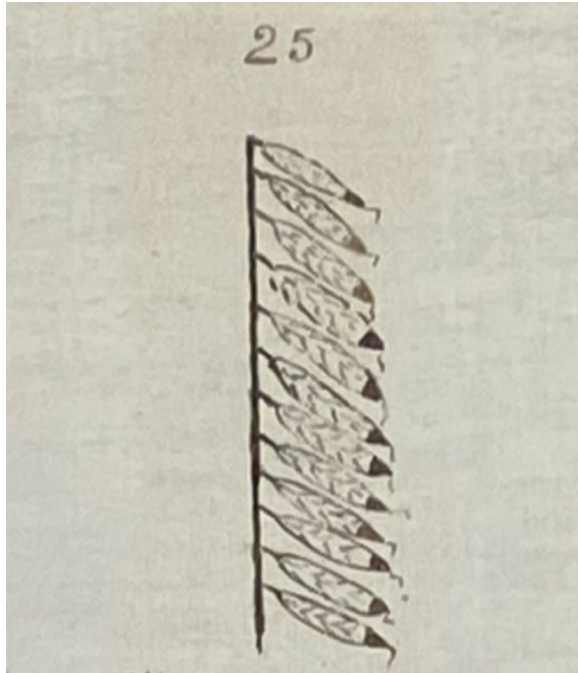
23. 1807 – 1808: Ógde dúta úŋ waŋ ktépe ló

A red shirt wearer was killed



24. 1808 – 1809: Pĥé ič'íŋ máza éiĥpeyapi

One who wore metal harnesses in his hair was taken away



18 10 wiyakta
gdo gda ta wa
ni ti pi

25. 1809 – 1810: Wiyaka Gdogdá ťha waníhipi

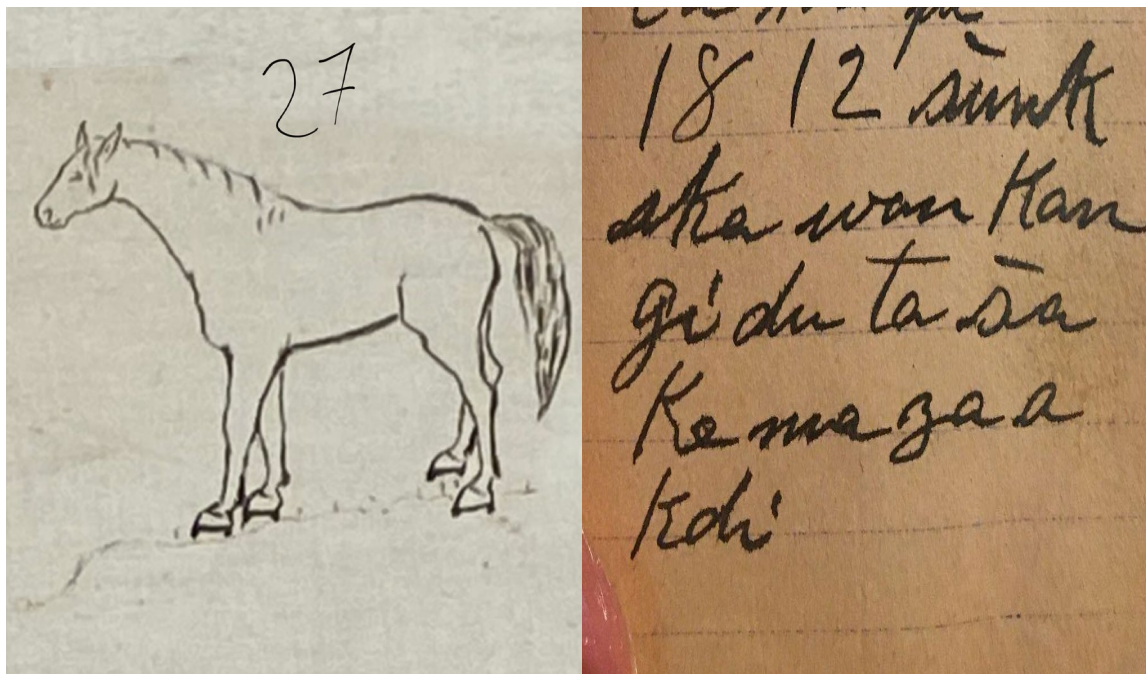
Tales-His-Feather-Back's winter camp



18 11 mupa kri
ci tte pi

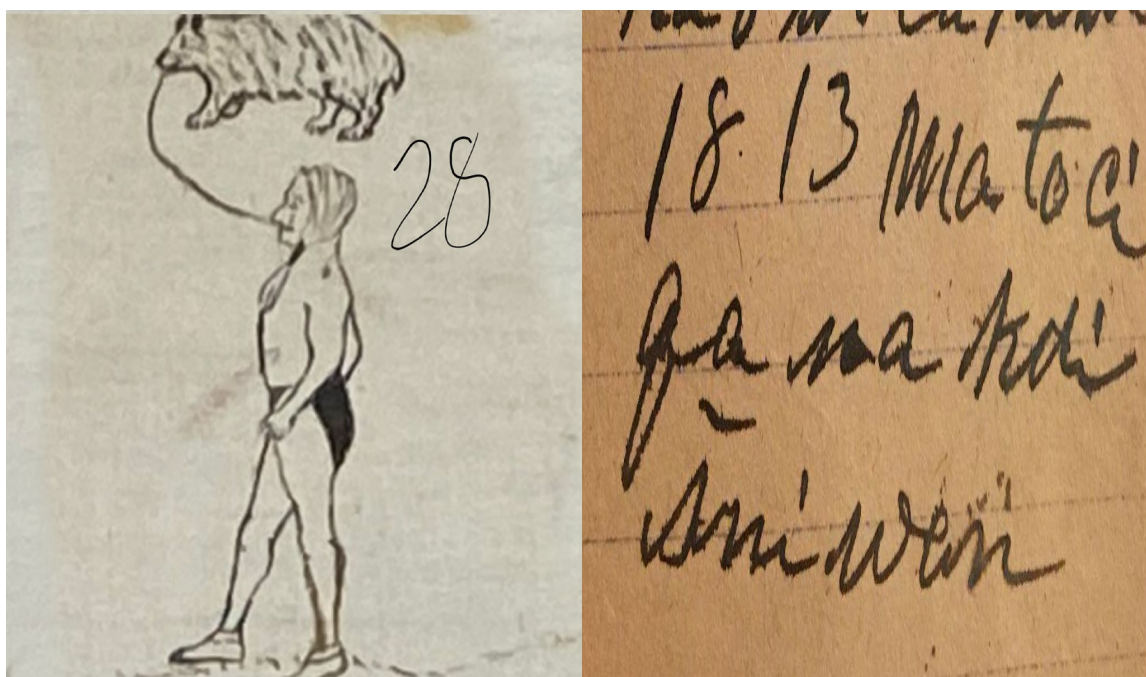
26. 1810 – 1811: Núnp kičhíktepi

Two kill each other



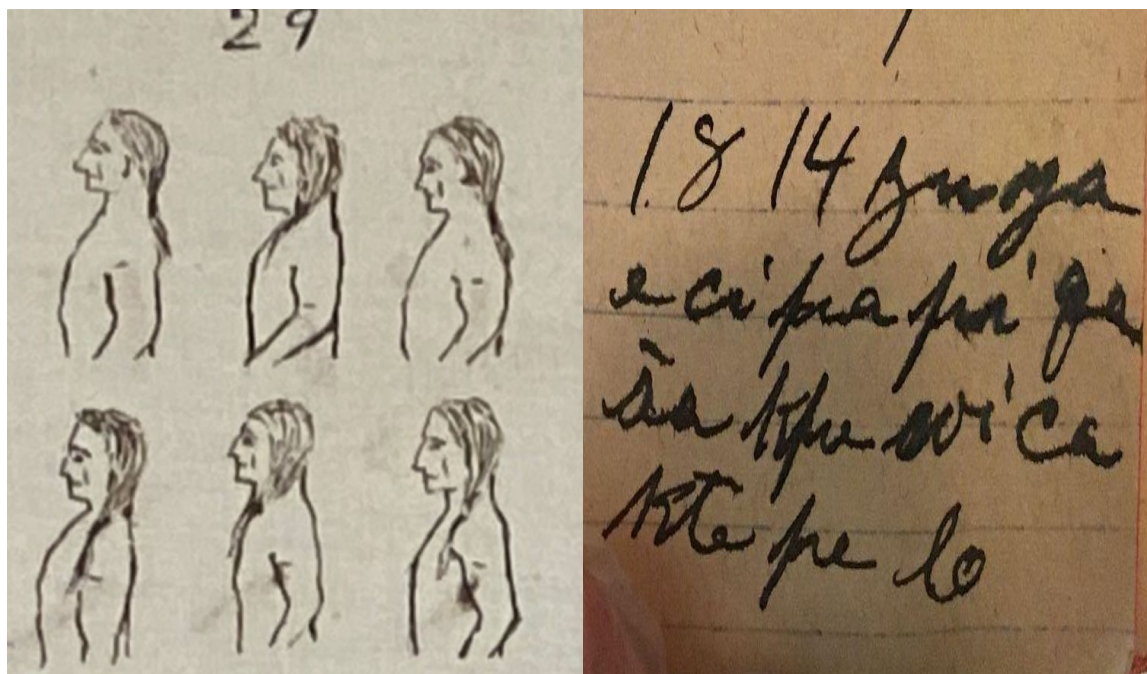
27. 1811 – 1812: Šungská waŋ Kħaŋǵí Dúta šaké-máza akdí

Red Crow brings back a shod white horse



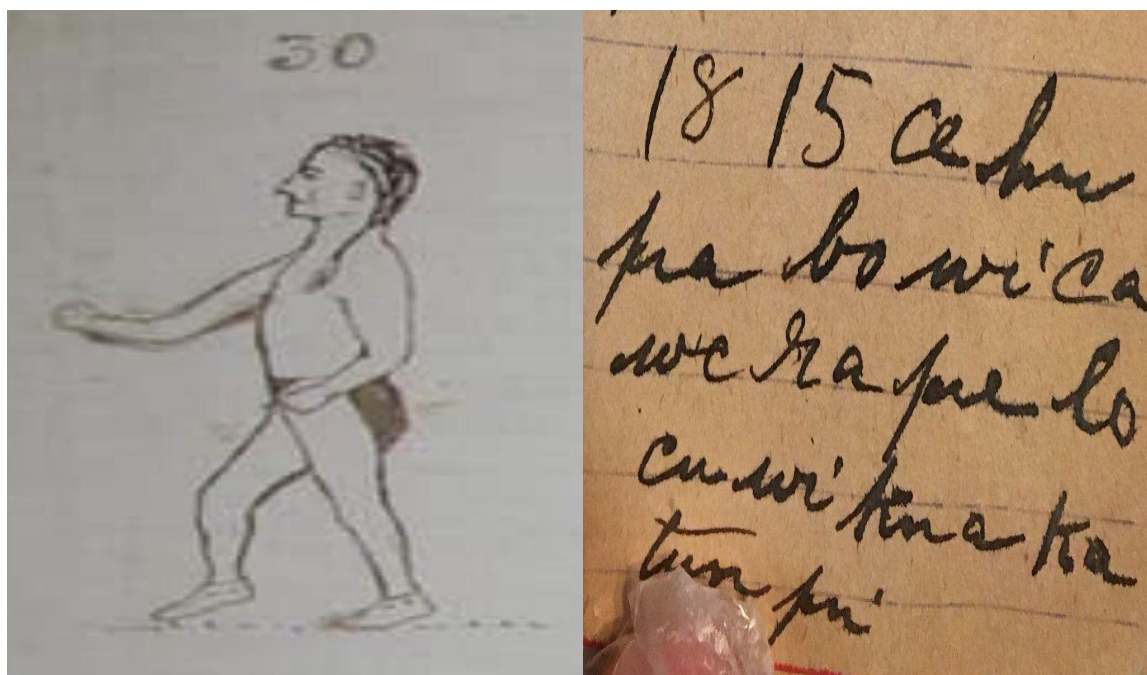
28. 1812 – 1813: Maťó Čík'ana kdí šni waŋ

One named Little Bear doesn't return



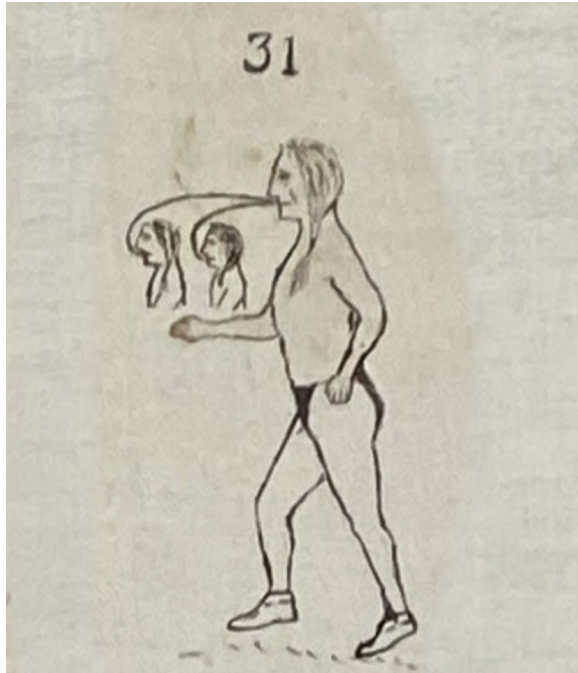
29. 1813 – 1814: Zuyá échiphapi na šákpe wičháktepe ló

Two war parties run into each other, and six are killed



30. 1814 – 1815: Čehúpa bowíchaweğape ló, {Čhuwígnaka thúnpi}

They break their jaws by shooting, Dress is born



18 16 nu pi
Ka hipa pu
lo

31. 1815 – 1816: Nuphíj kaḥpápe ló

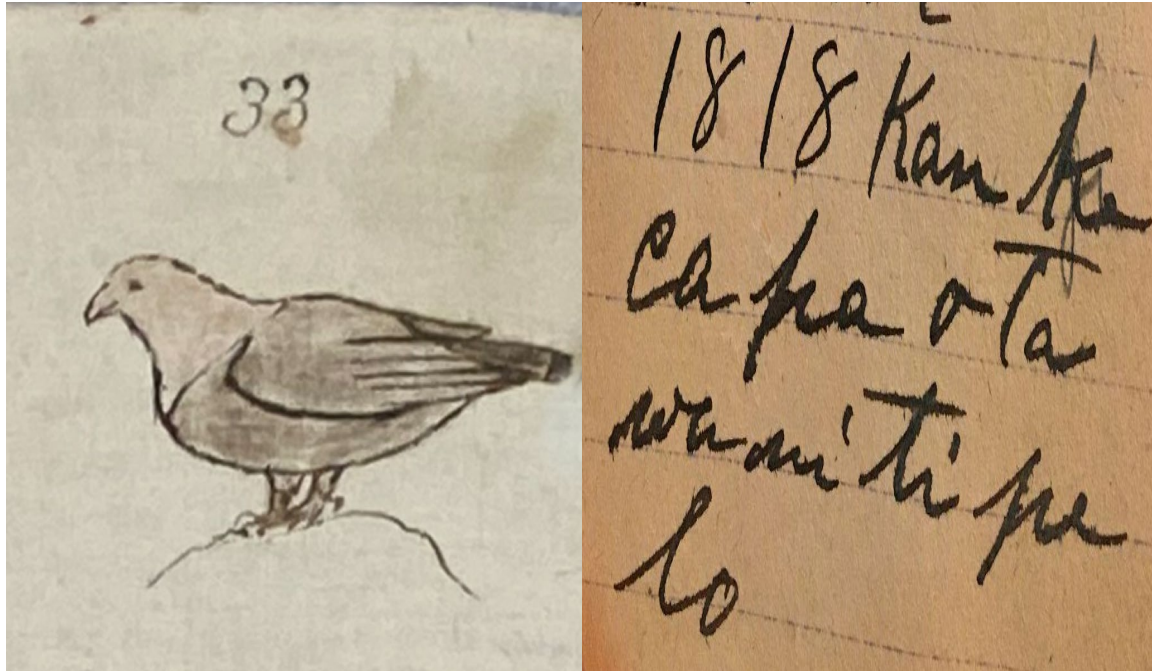
Both knocked him off



18 17 ma ka
o po wa ma
sá pu lo pte
san wan a pi

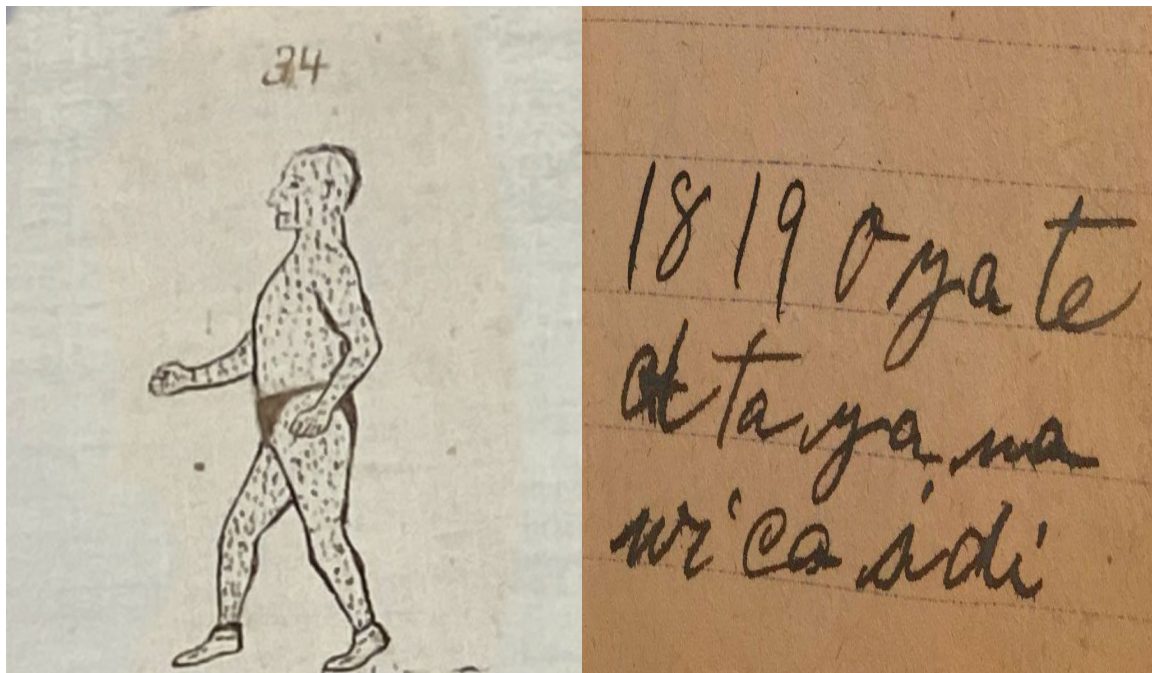
32. 1816 – 1817: Makḥáo'pó wanásape ló, ptésáj waḡ ópi

They go on a buffalo hunt, knocking up much dust, they shoot a white buffalo.



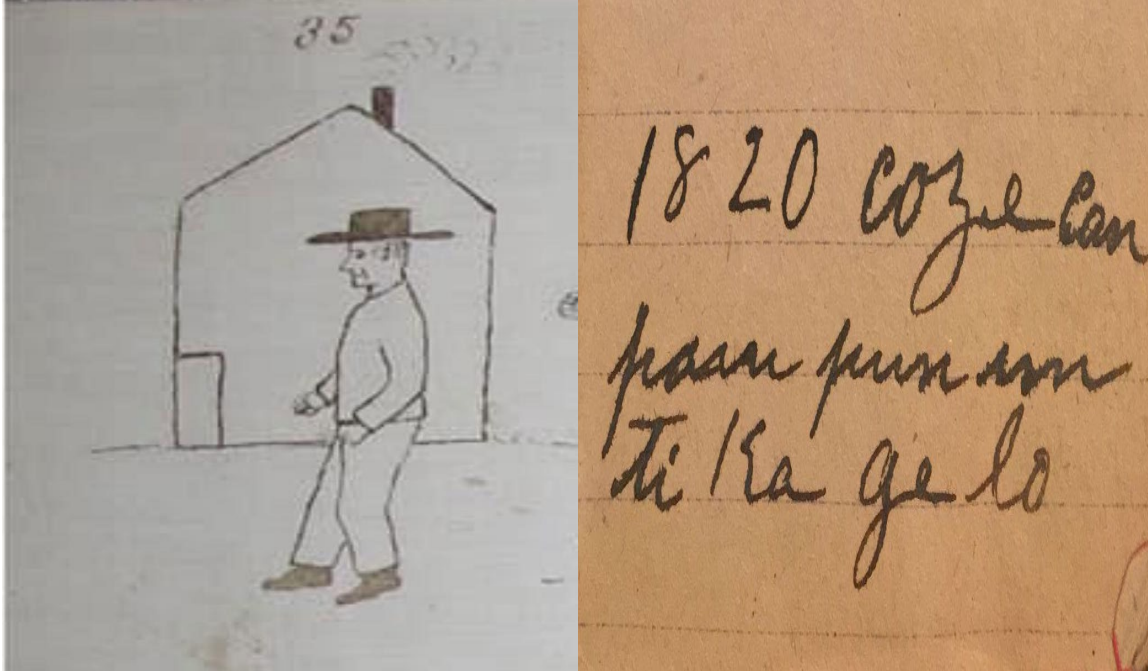
33. 1817 – 1818: Kħaŋǵí, čhápa óta waníthipe ló

There are many crows and beavers during their winter camp



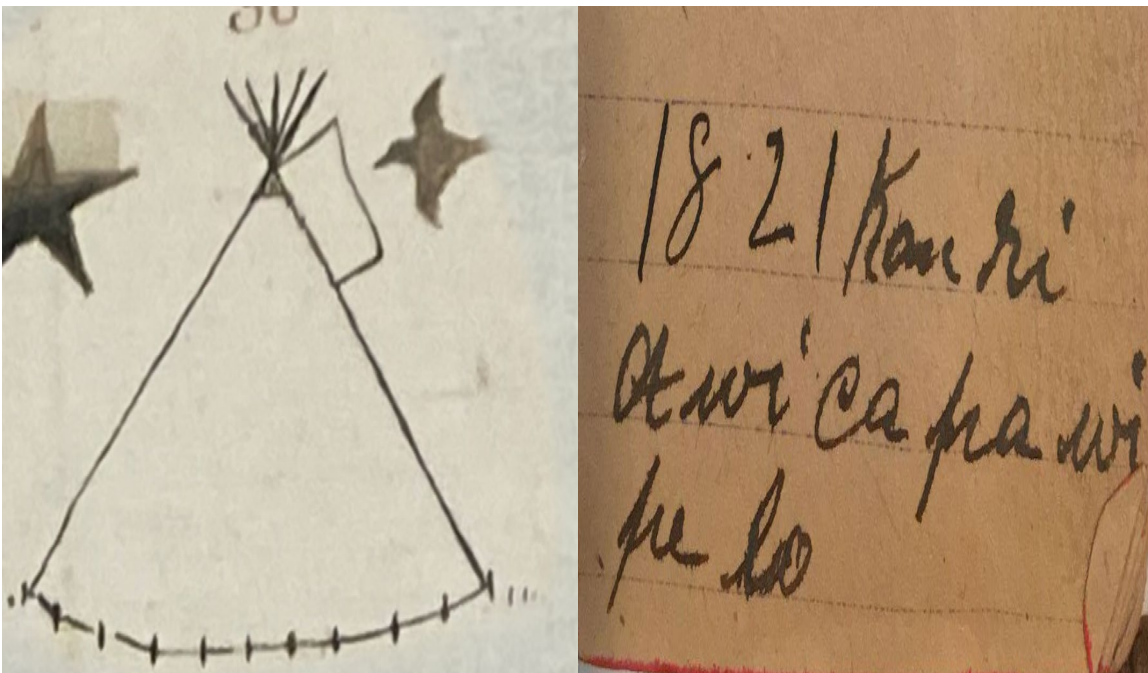
34. 1818 – 1819: Oyáte átaya nawíchašdi

All the people had measles



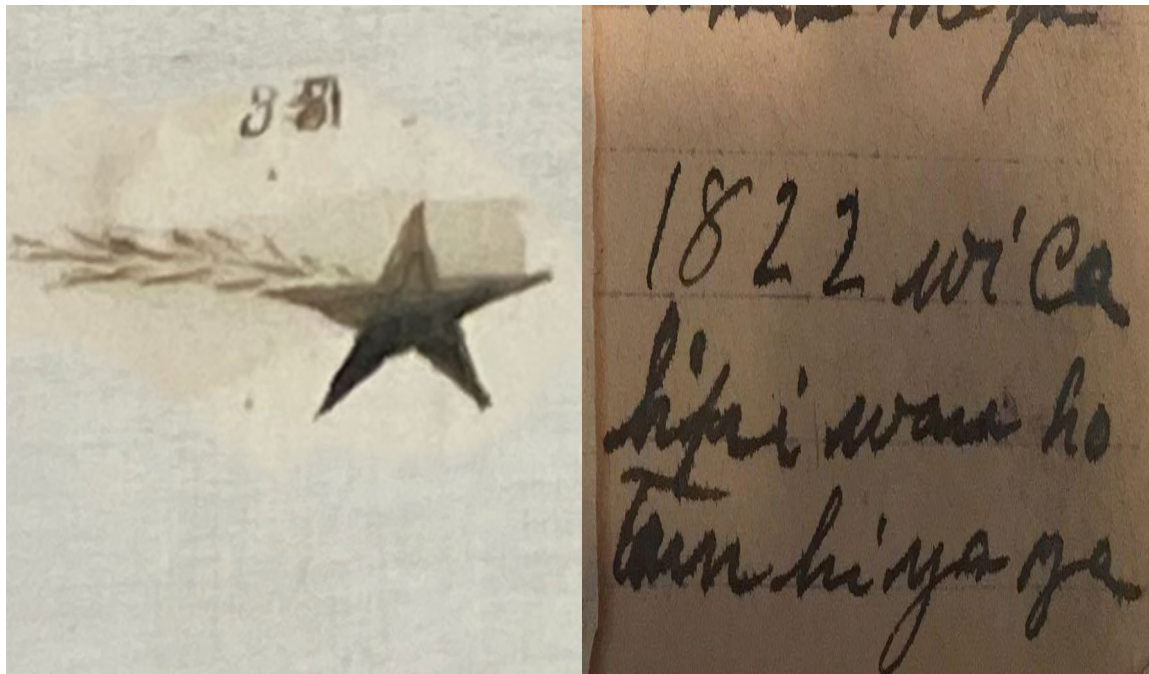
35. 1819 – 1820: Coze čhaŋ-púnpuŋ úŋ thikáŋe ló

A man named Coze builds a house from rotten wood



36. 1820 – 1821: Kħaŋǵi awíchapiwape ló

They were swarmed by crows



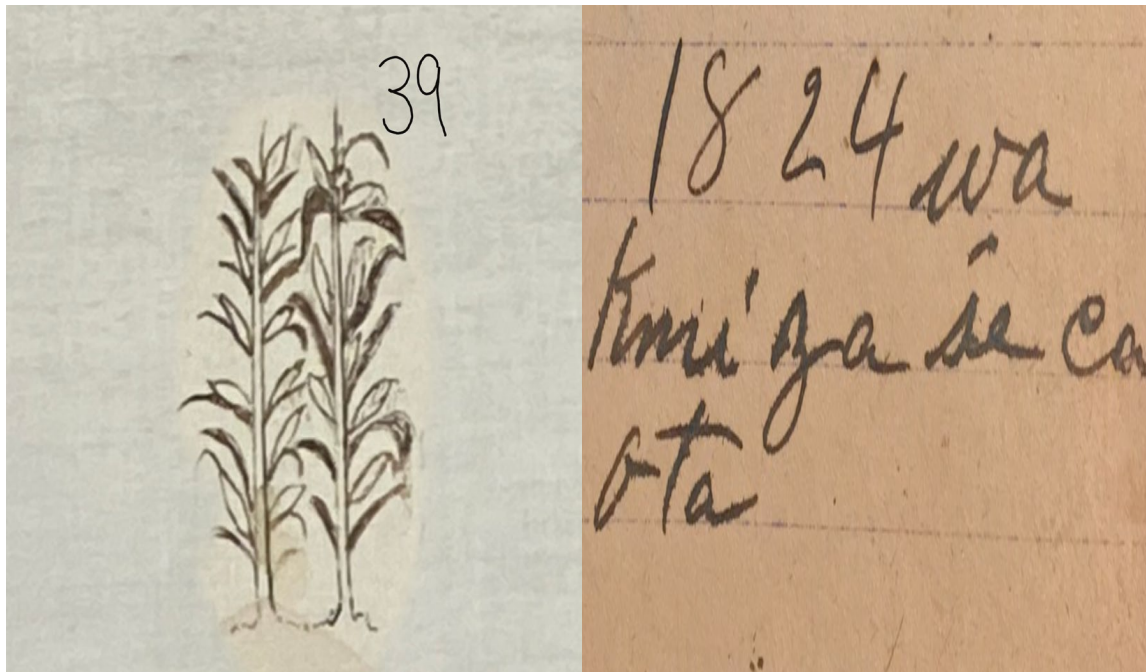
37. 1821 – 1822: Wičháŋpi waŋ hóthąŋiŋ hiyáya

A shooting star passes by noisily



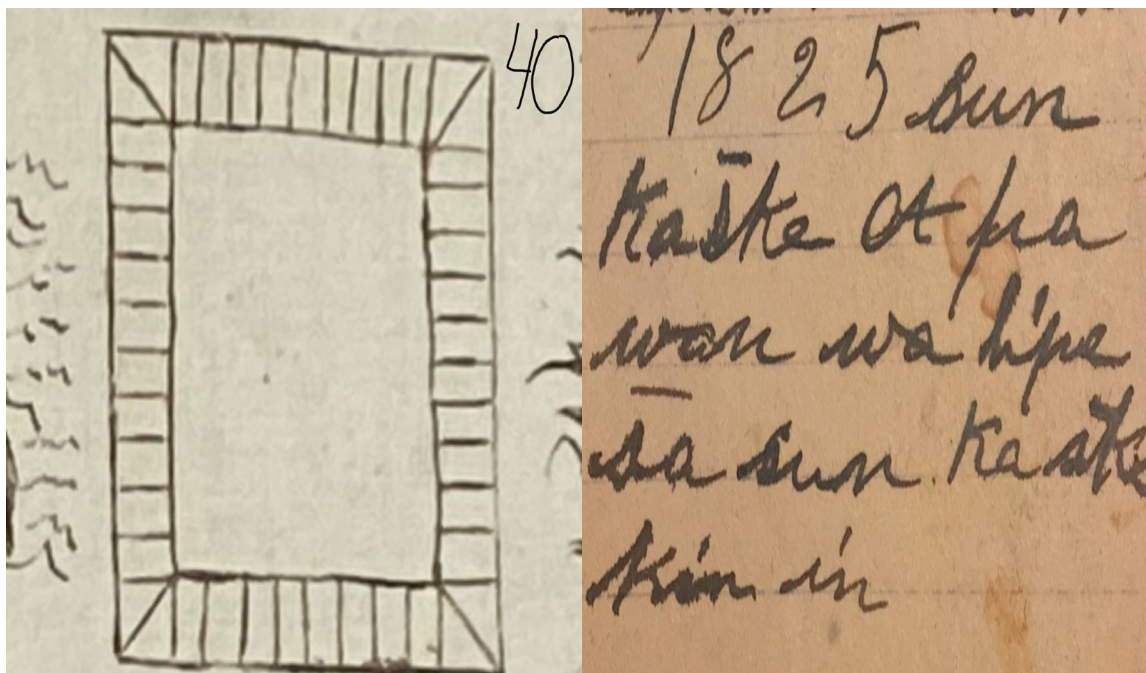
38. 1822 – 1823: Ĥewáktokta yámni wáta mahé wičháktepi

Three Hidatsa in a boat were killed [missing: descriptor taken from related winter counts]



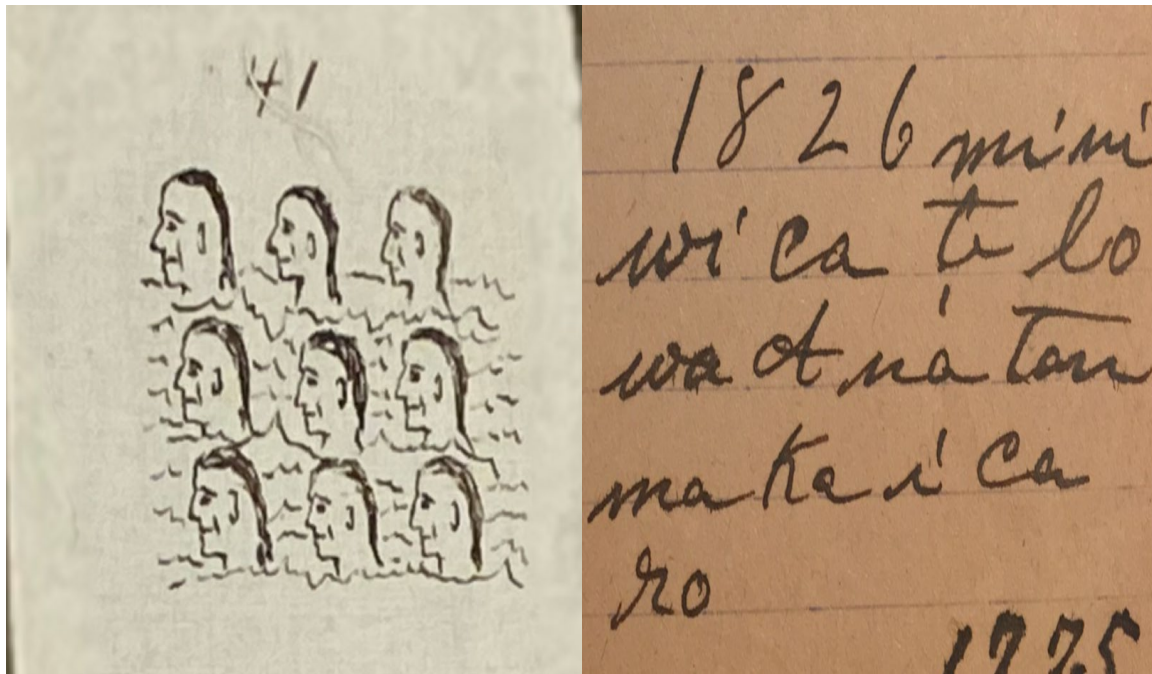
39. 1823 – 1824: Wagmíza šéča óta

Lots of dried corn



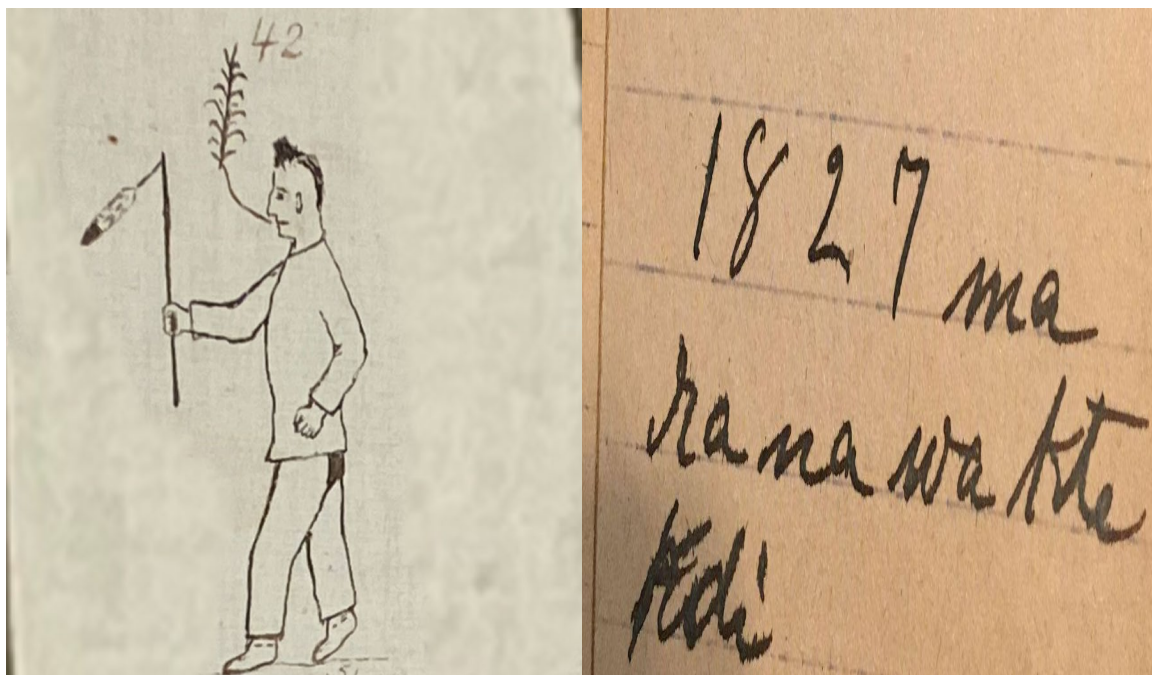
40. 1824 – 1825: Čhúnkaške aphá waj Waǰpé Šá čhúnkaške khiǰín

A fence-hitter throws a fence at Red Leaf



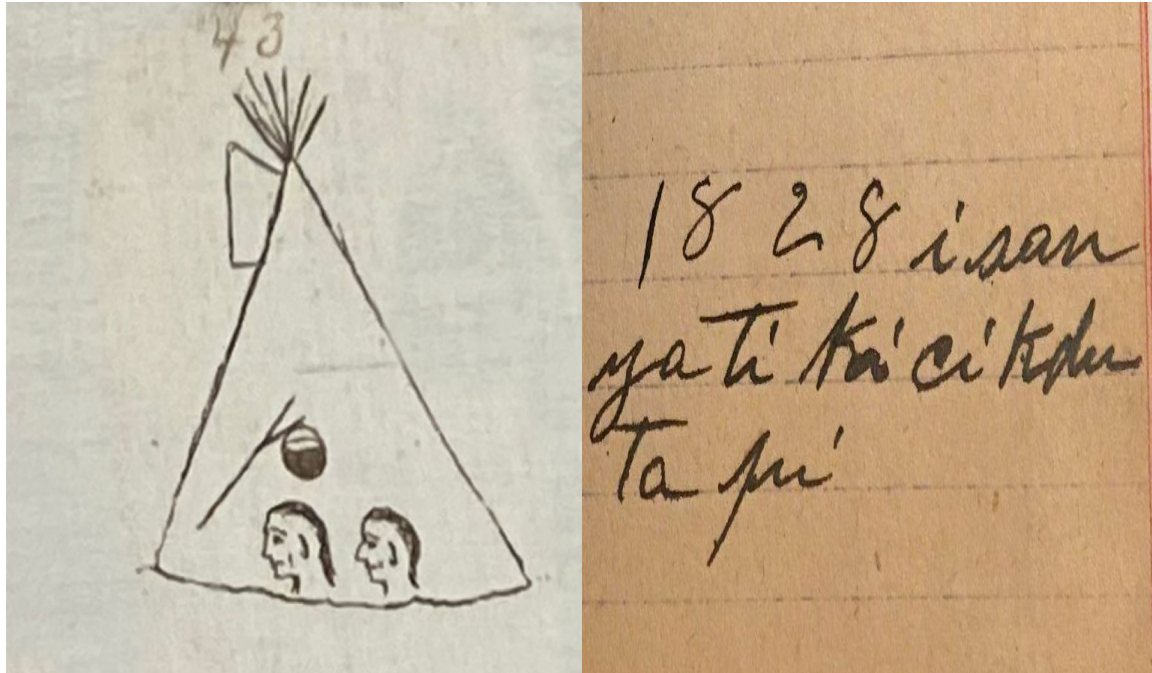
41. 1825 – 1826: Mníwíchat'e ló, Waánataŋ makhá ičágo

A mass drowning, Charger draws a line in the earth



42. 1826 – 1827: Mağána waktégdi

Little Goose returns victorious in battle



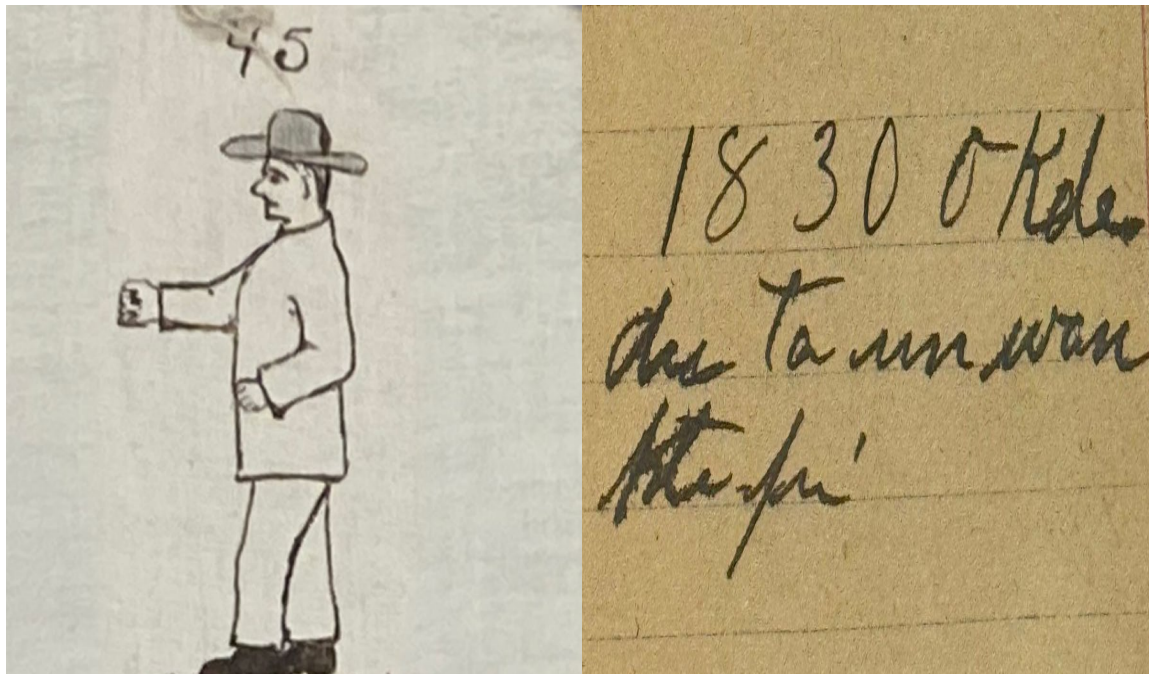
43. 1827 – 1828: Isányathi kichígdutapi

Santee eat each other



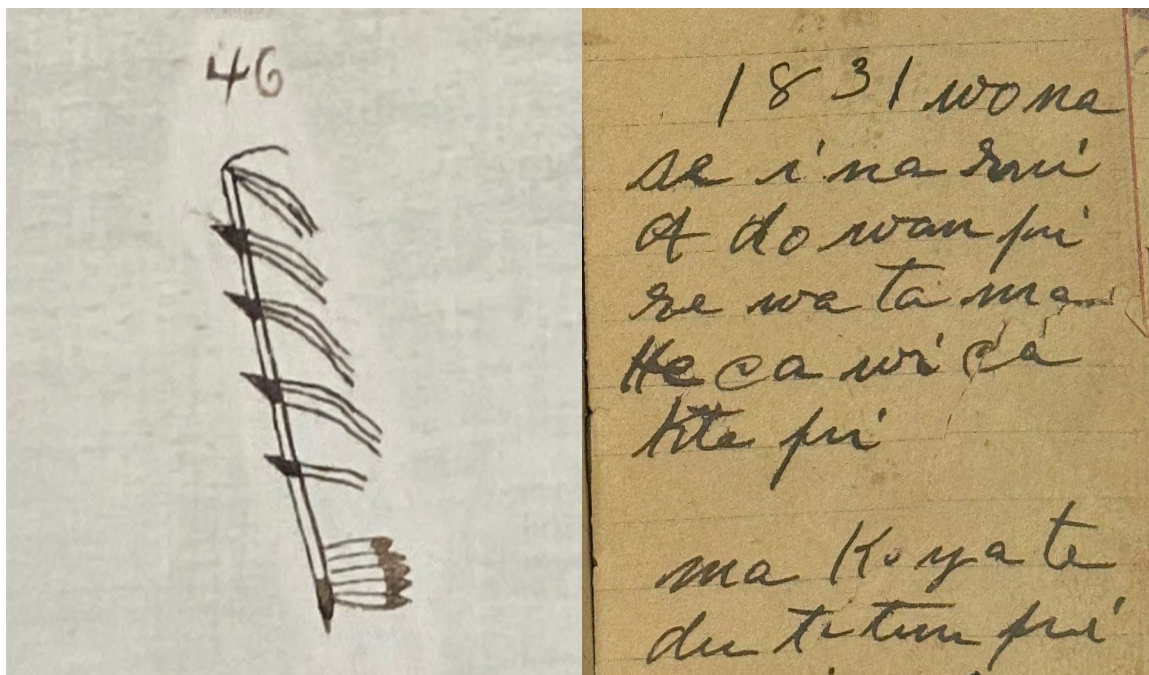
44. 1828 – 1829: Ikpí šá waŋ kičhí waníthipi

They spend the winter with a red belly

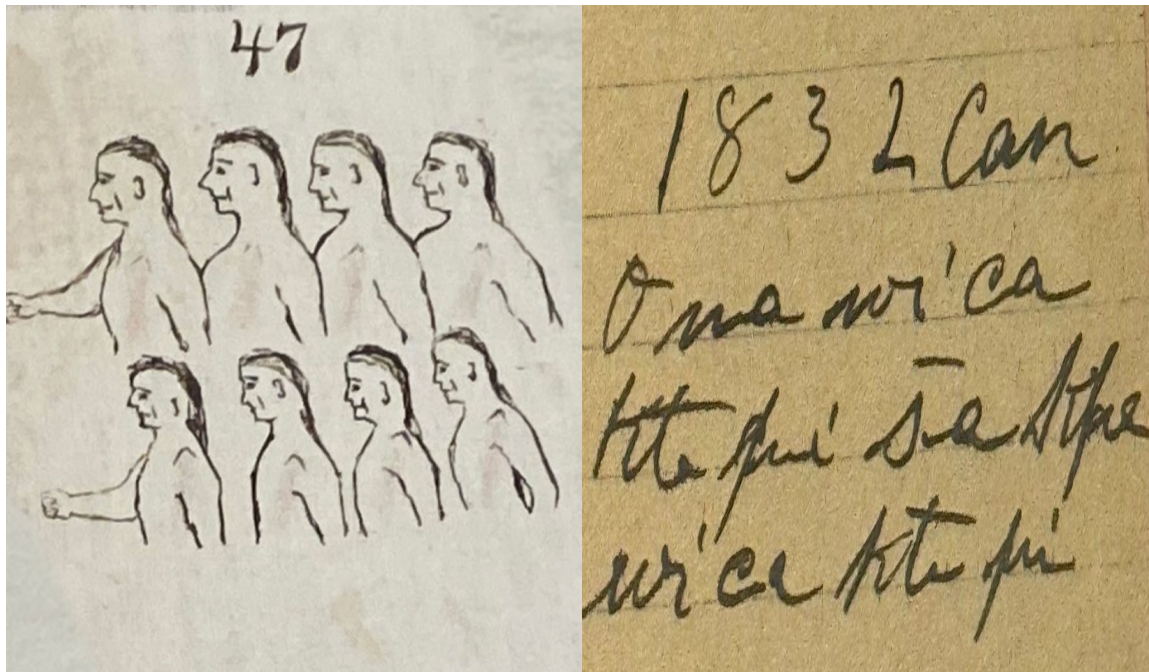


45. 1829 – 1830: Ógde Dúta nuṅwáṅ ktépi

Red Shirt killed while swimming

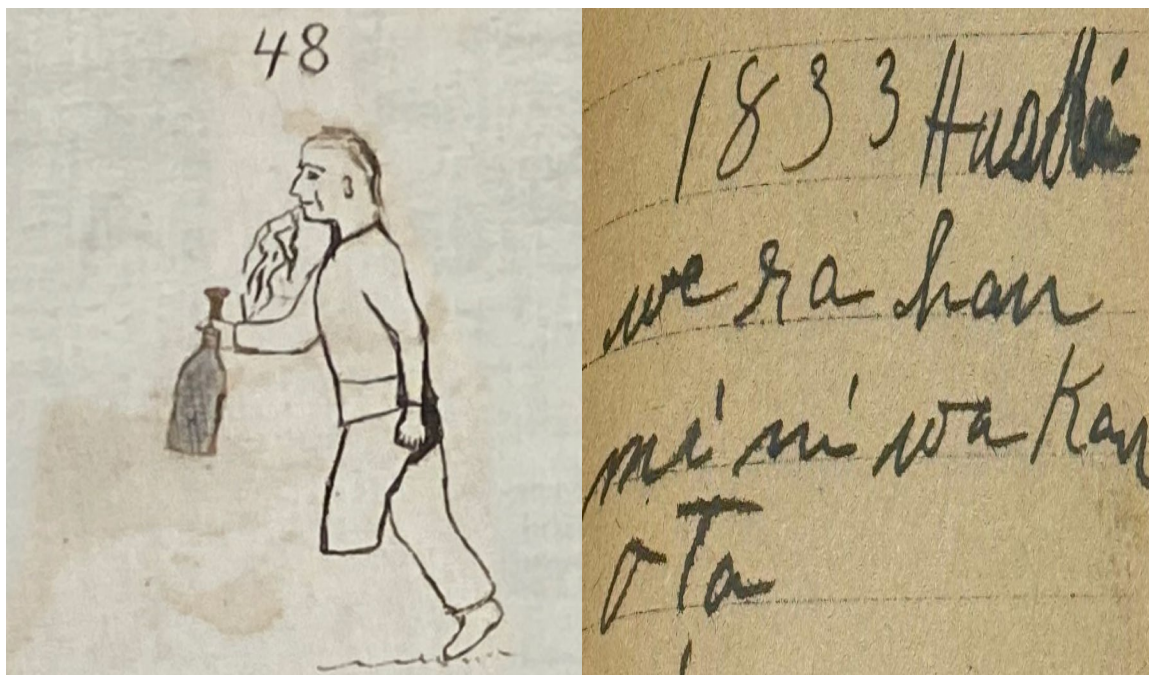


46. 1830 – 1831: Wónase ináñni adówanpi ħewá tamahécha wičháktepi, Makhóyate Dúta tǎúṅpi They hurriedly sing over a Buffalo hunt, malnourished Hidatsa were killed, Mahkoyate Duta is born.



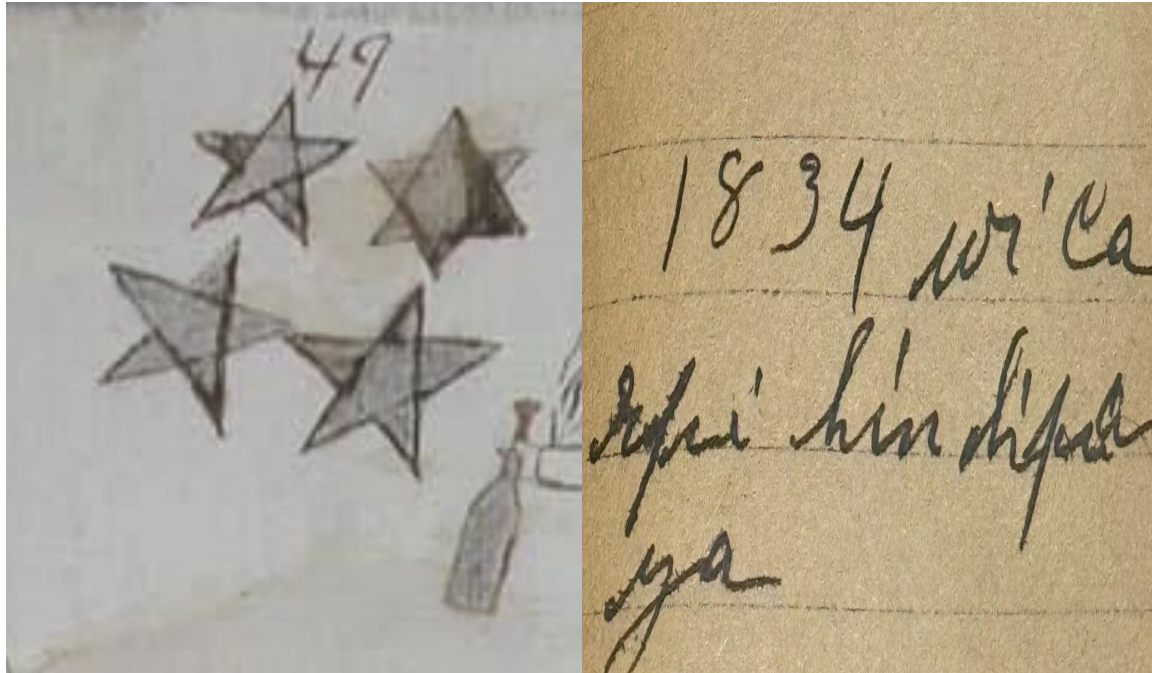
47. 1831 – 1832: Čhąj onáwičaktepi, šákpe wičáktepi

They were trampled to death in the woods; six were killed.



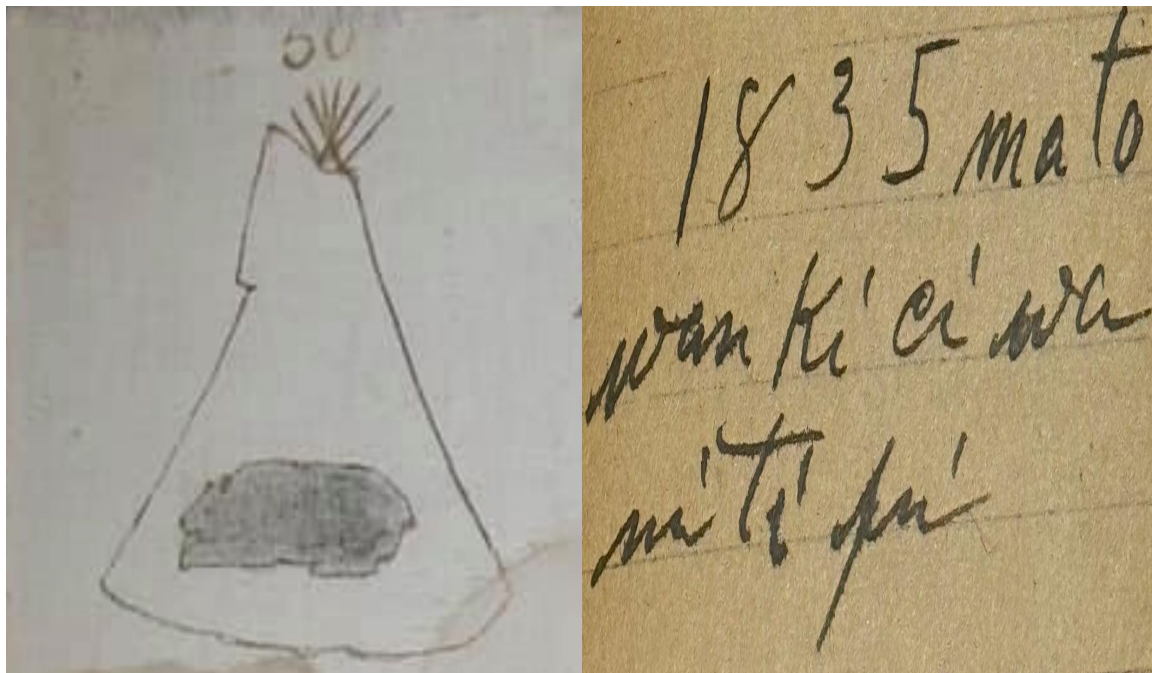
48. 1832 – 1833: Huslí Weğáhaŋ mniwákħaŋ ot'á

His leg was broken above the ankle, and he got sick and passed out from drinking whiskey



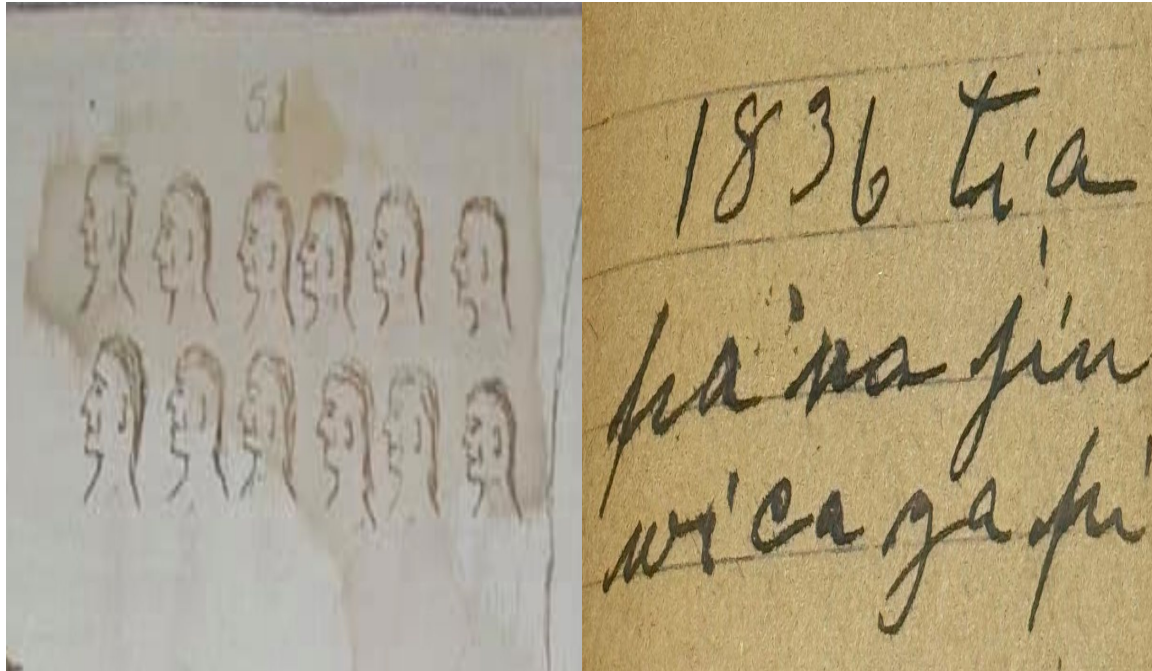
49. 1833 – 1834: Wičáhpi hiŋhpáya

The Stars Fell



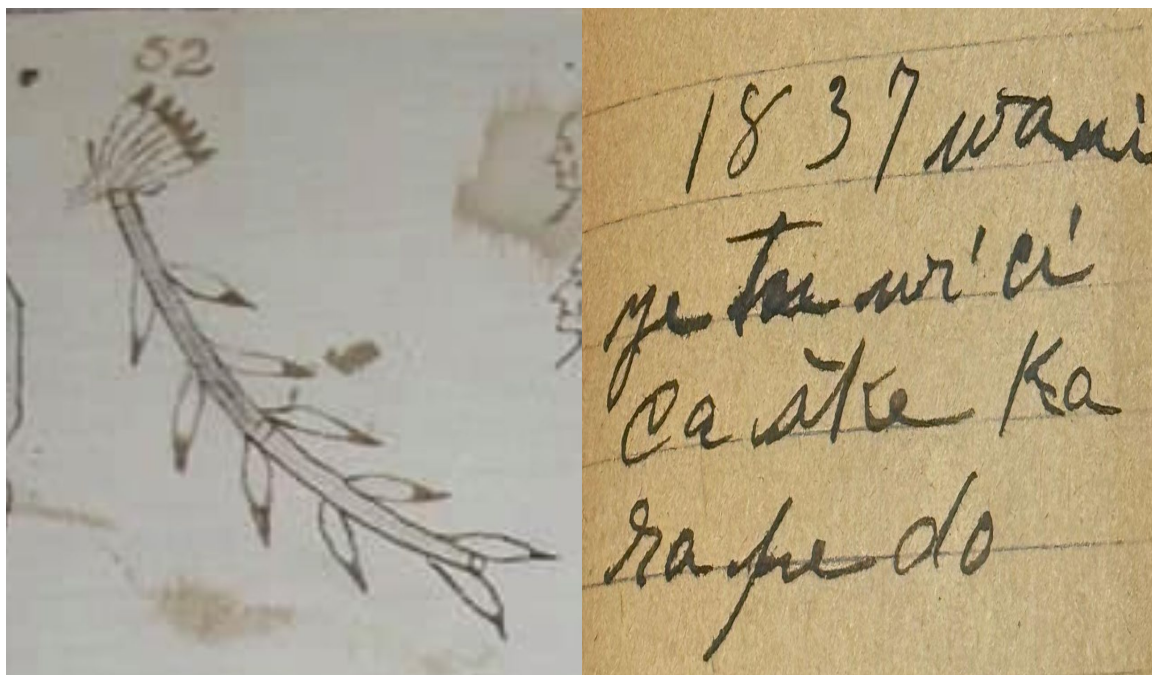
50. 1834 – 1835: Maťó kičhí waníthipi

They made a winter camp with bear



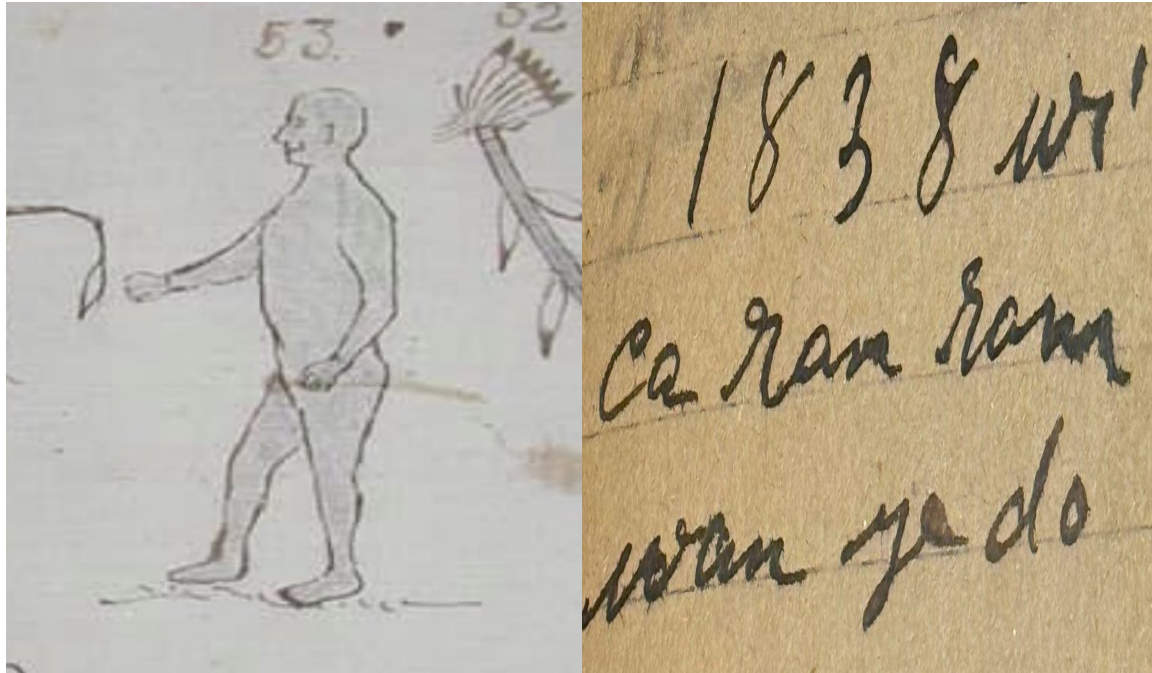
51. 1835 – 1836: Thiápa nážiwichayapi

An entire family was surrounded



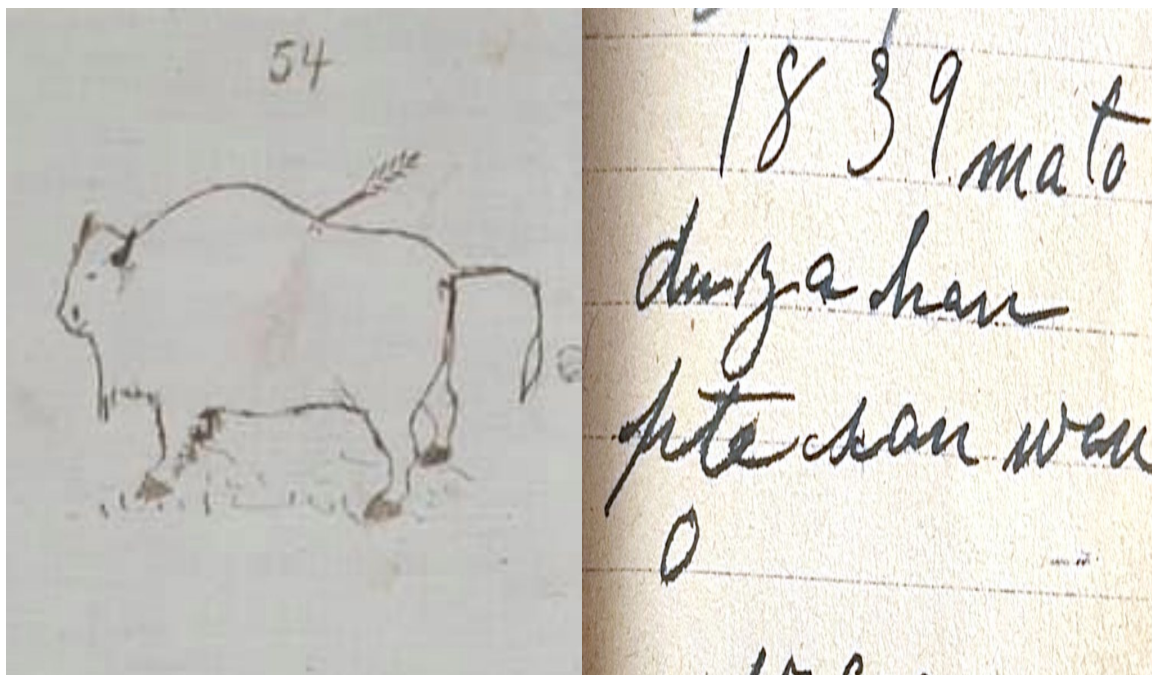
52. 1836 – 1837: Waniyetu wičhíčaške kágape dó

A winter in which warrior sashes were made



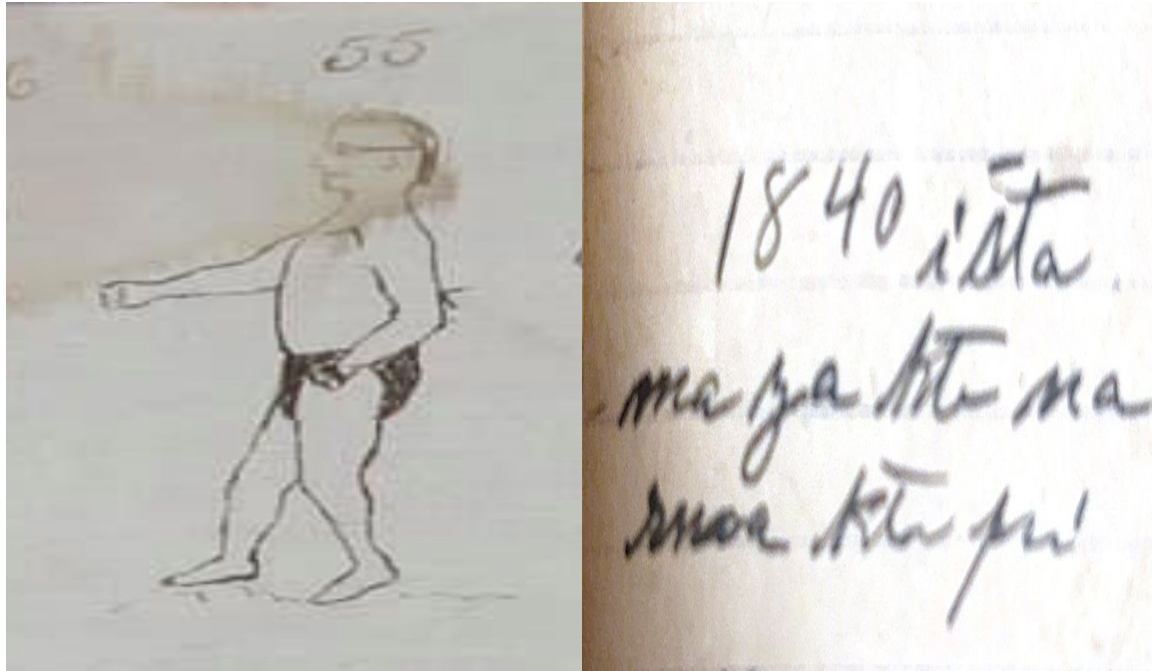
53. 1837 – 1838: Wičháŋŋaŋ waŋ yedó

Outbreak of smallpox



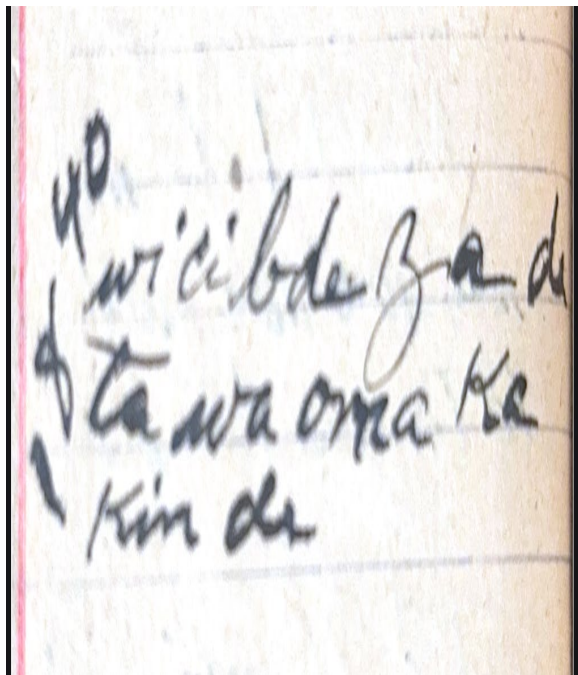
54. 1838 – 1839: Maťó Dúzahaŋ ptésáŋ waŋ ó

Quick Bear kills a white buffalo

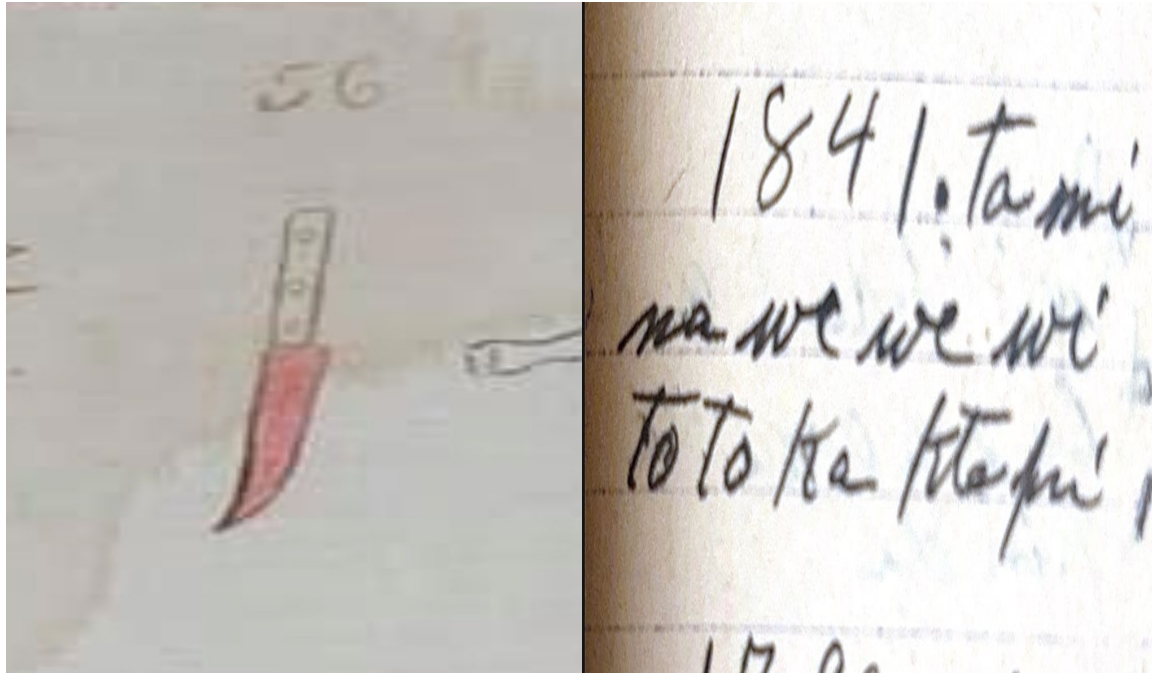


55. 1839 – 1840: Ištá Máza kté na ěná ktépi {Waánataŋ}

Waanatan (Glasses/Spectacles) was killed

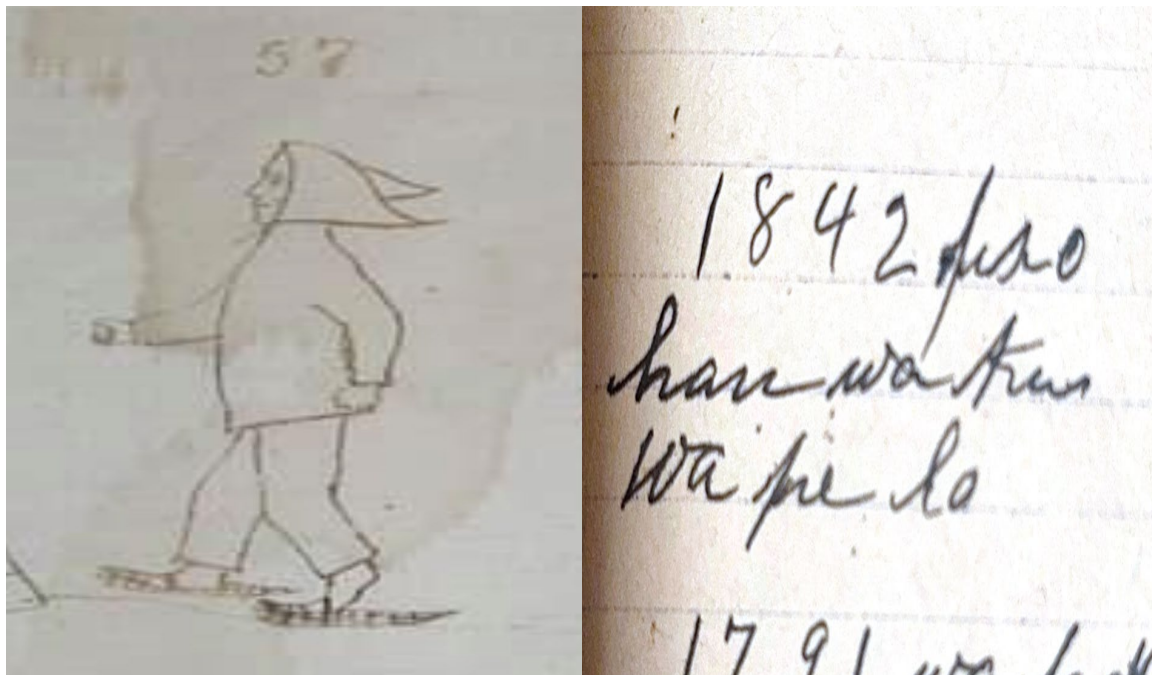


1840 – *Wičhibdeze dé tšáwa ómakħa kiŋ dé - This year the people had an understanding



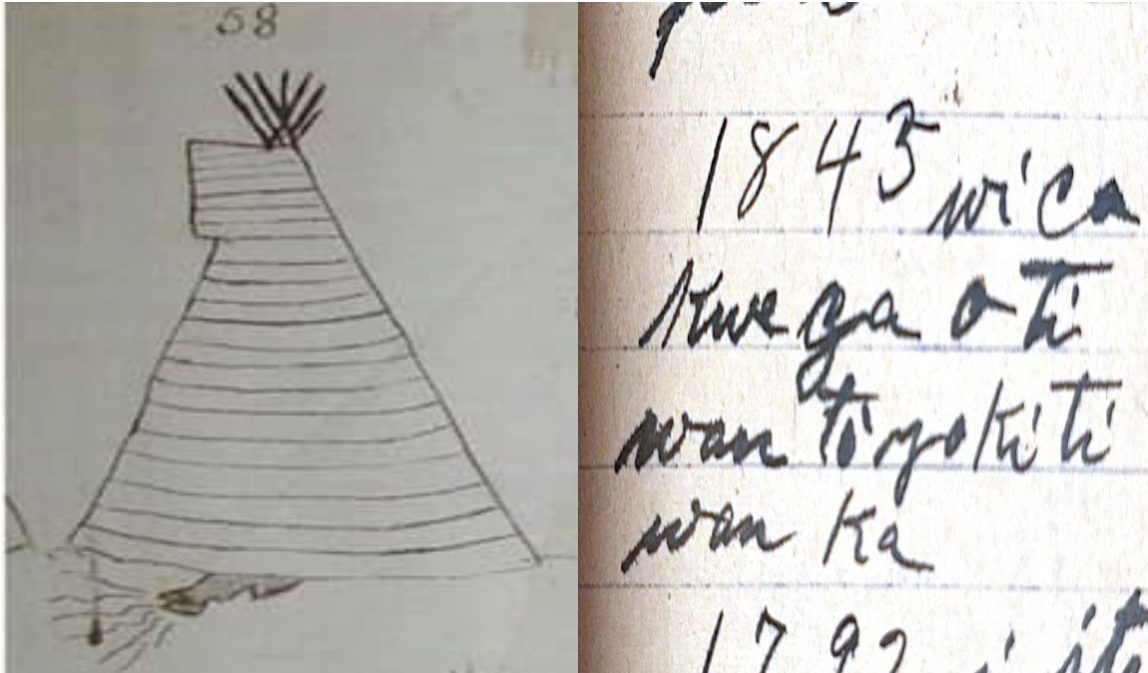
56. 1840 – 1841: **Ťha-Mína Wewé withó ťókaktepi**

His bloody knife, his enemies counted coup on him



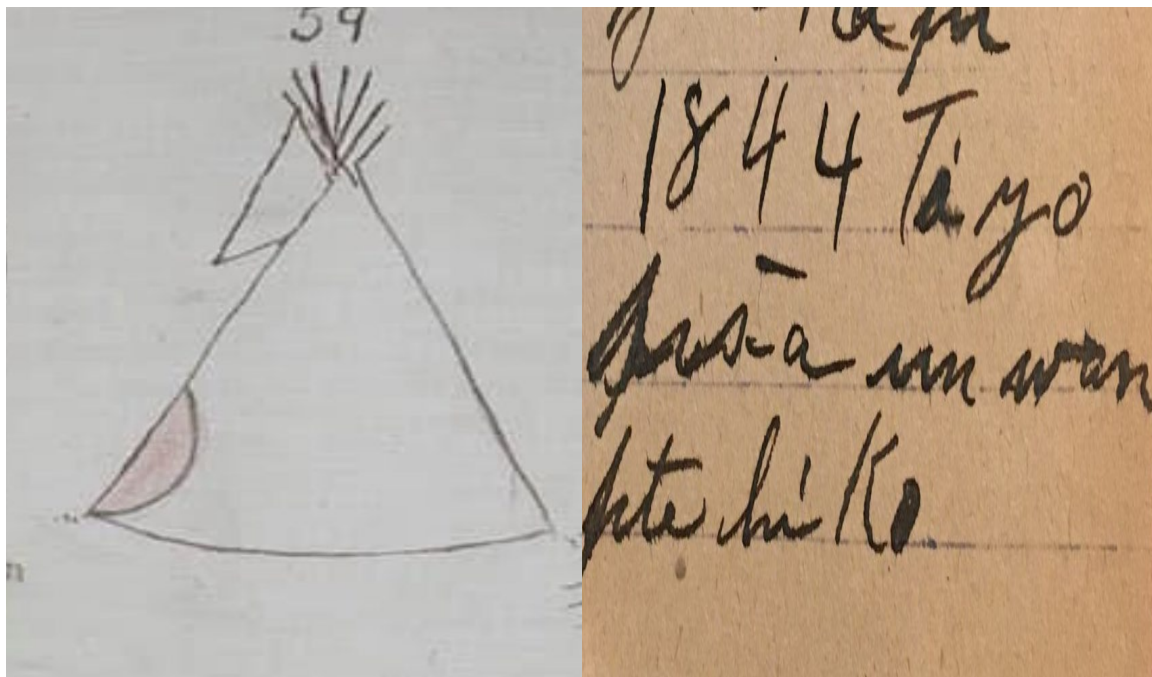
57. 1841 – 1842: **Psóhanj wakhúwape ló**

They hunt wearing snowshoes



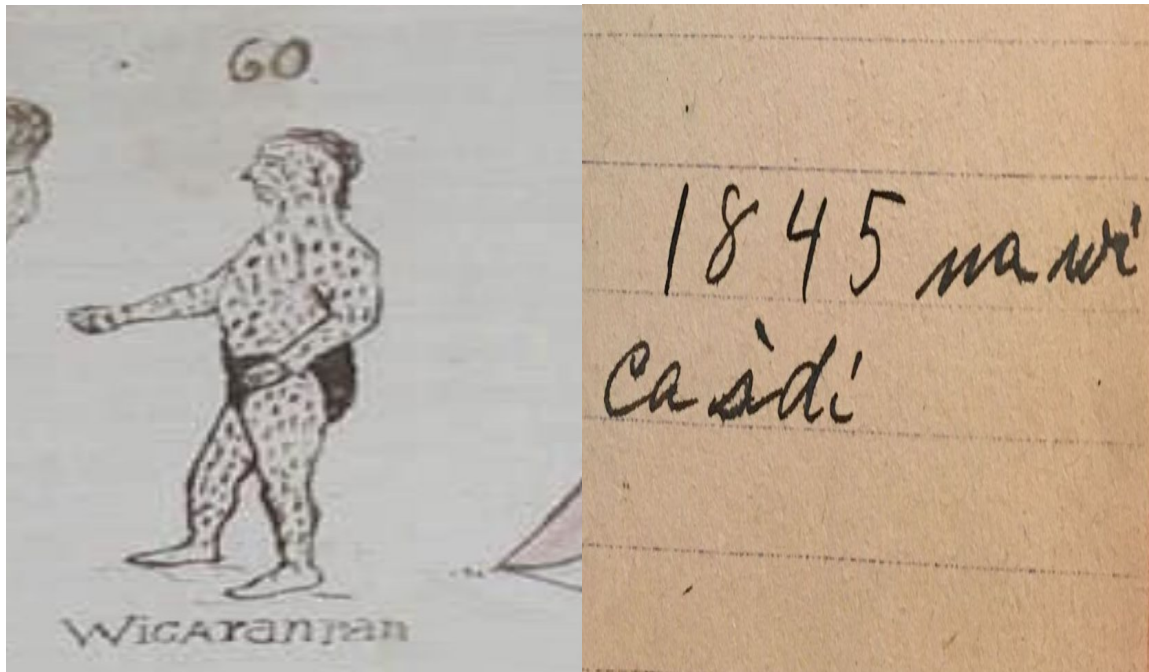
58. 1842 – 1843: Wičhágweza-othí waŋ thiyóthi waŋká

A man who lived in a lodge painted with narrow stripes is lying (for his eternal rest) in his own lodge



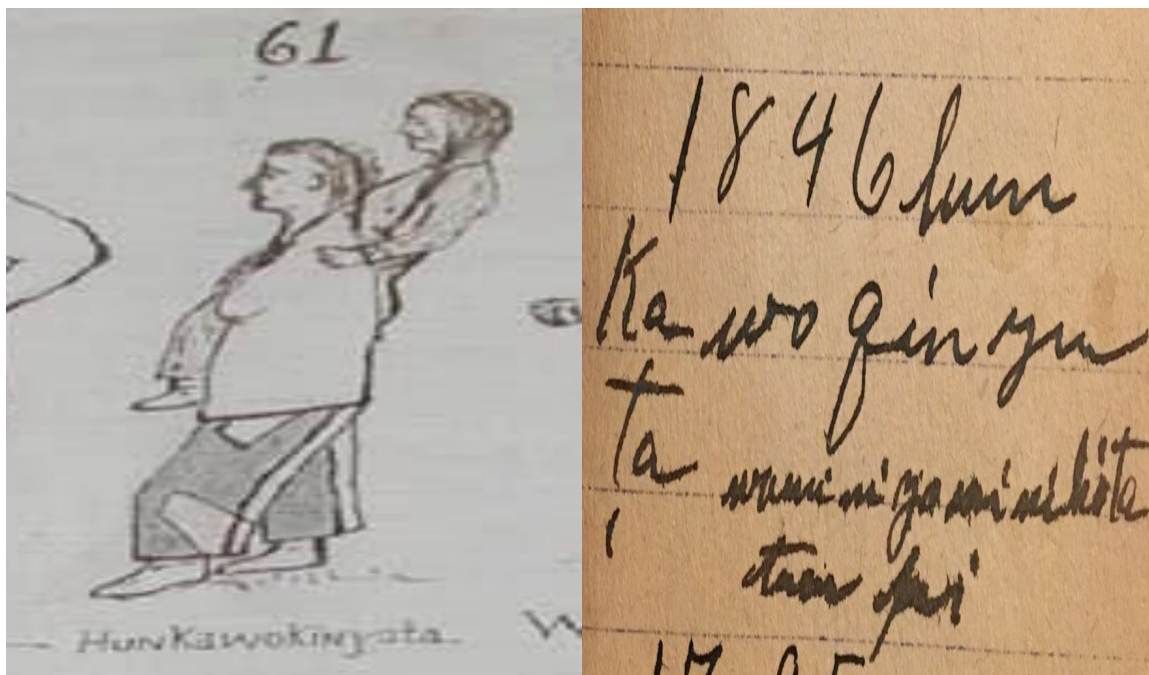
59. 1843 – 1844: Thiyópa šá úŋ waŋ ptehíkho

A man who uses a red door performs a buffalo-finding ceremony



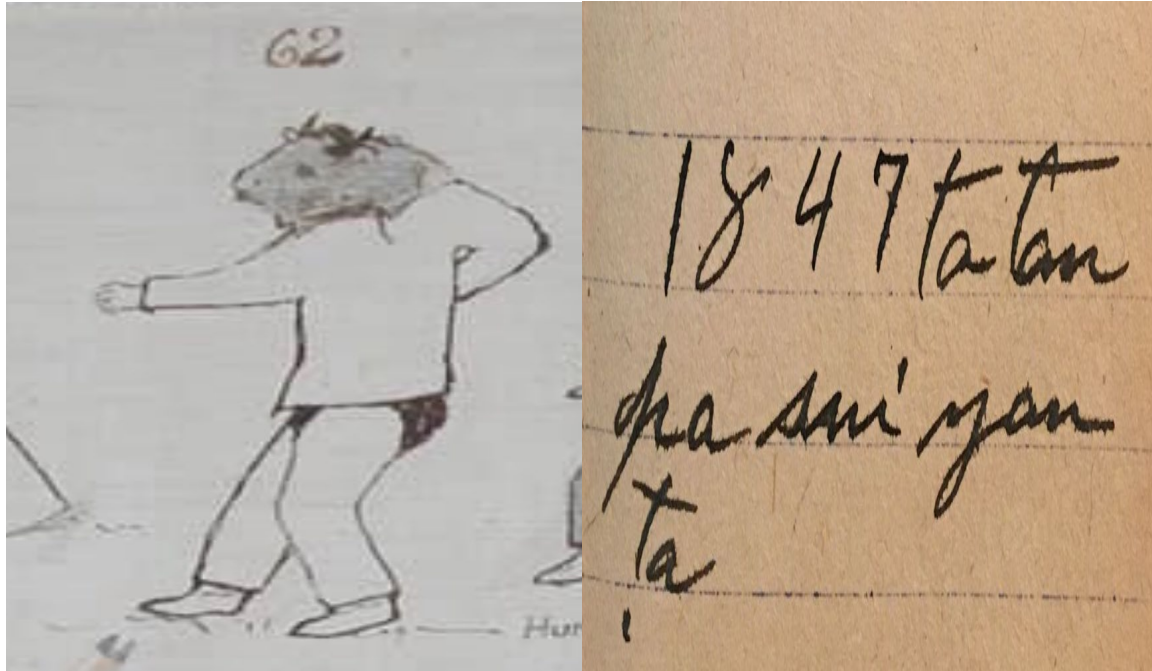
60. 1844 – 1845: Nawíchašdi

Measles outbreaks



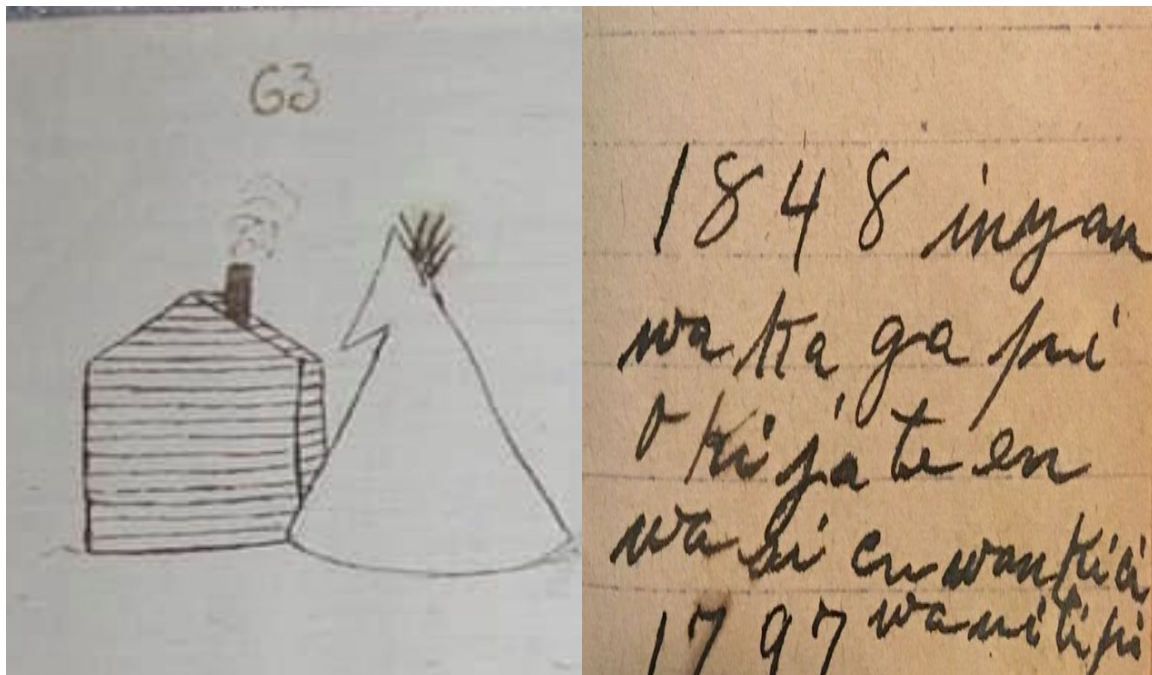
61. 1845 – 1846: Huṅká wók'iq yut'á {Wamníyomni Ĥóta thúnpi}

A huṅka is strangled by a load they are carrying (Grey Whirlwind born)



62. 1846 – 1847: Tǎthǎŋka sniyǎnt'e

A buffalo or a person named Buffalo, faints



63. 1847 – 1848: Íŋyaŋ Wakáǵapi okhízate én wašíču waŋ kichí waníthipi

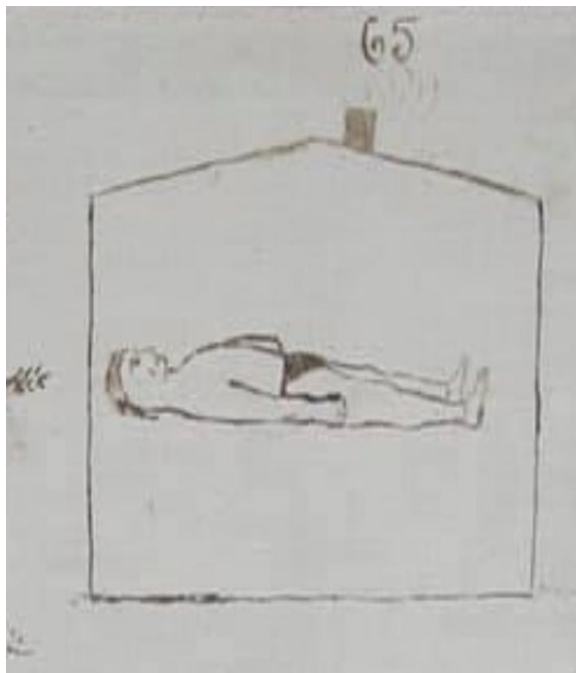
They spend the winter with a white man at the fork of the Cannonball River.



1849 Zuyá
e'ci'pa pi'

64. 1848 – 1849: Zuyá éčhipǎpi

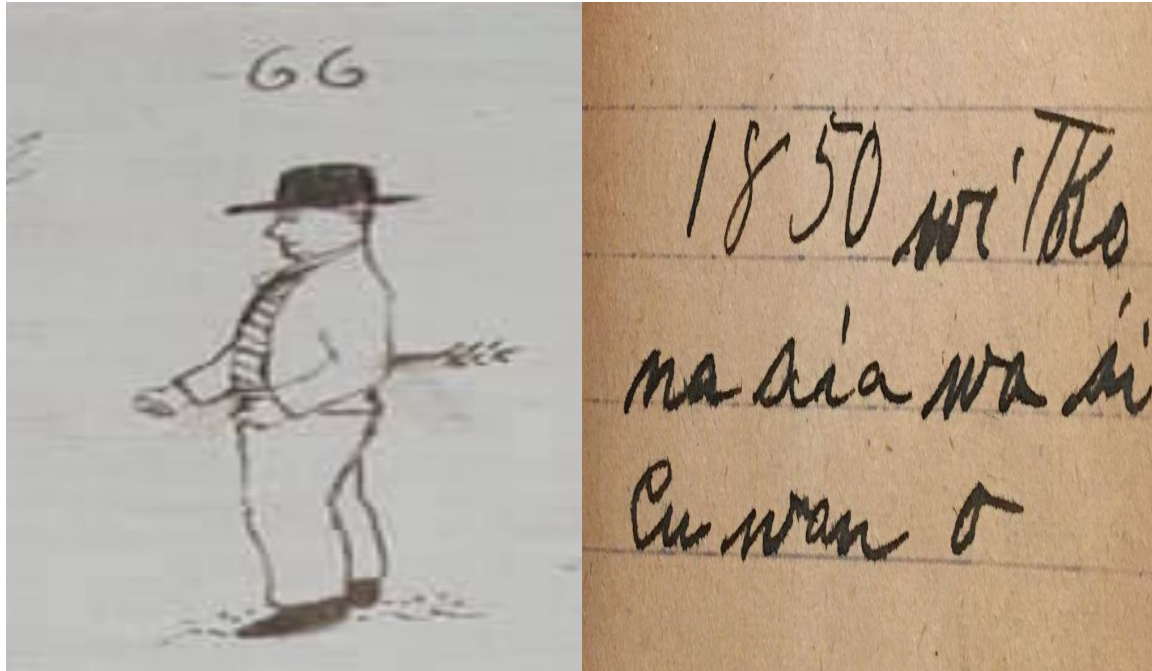
Two war parties meet each other



1849 wa kin
yan yu dhi ti
Tan ka osni'
yan ta
1700 ...

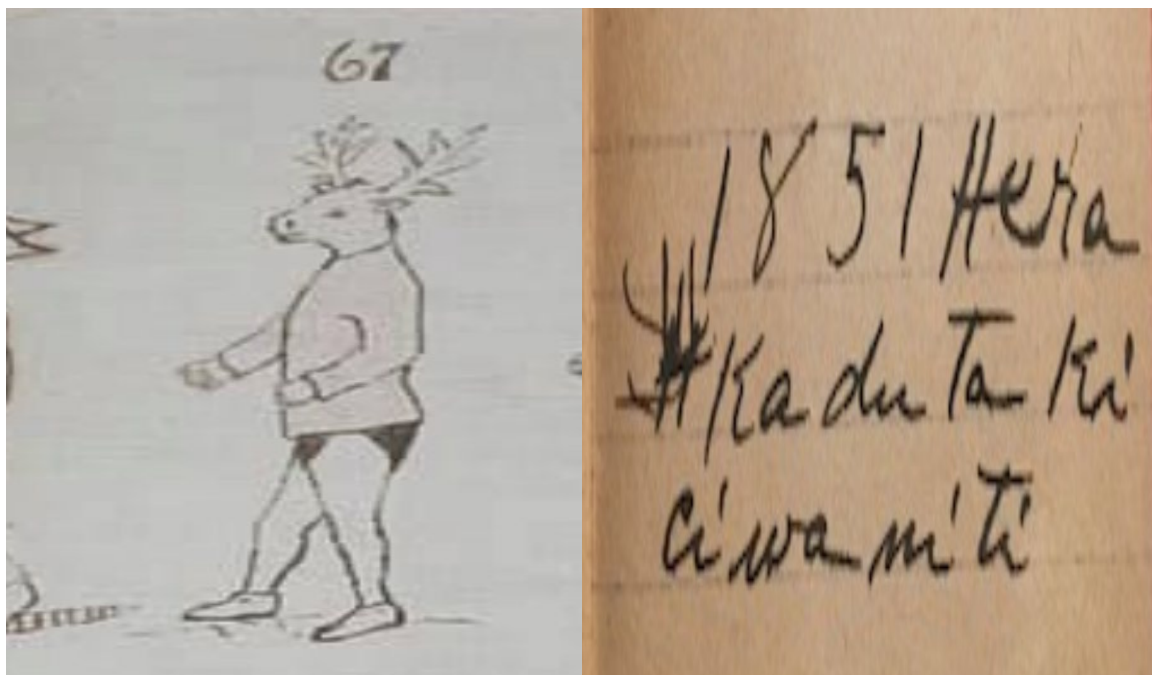
65. *1848 – 1849: Wakínyaŋ Yuhí thí thǎŋka osníyaŋ t'á

Scatters Thunder dies of cold inside a big house



66. 1849 – 1850: Witkóna _? wašiču waŋ ó

Crazy kills a white man



67. 1850 – 1851: Heháka Dúta kičí waníthi

winter encampment with Red Elk



1852
sho wan pi'wo
na sa pi'

68. 1851 – 1852: Psóhanpi wanásapi

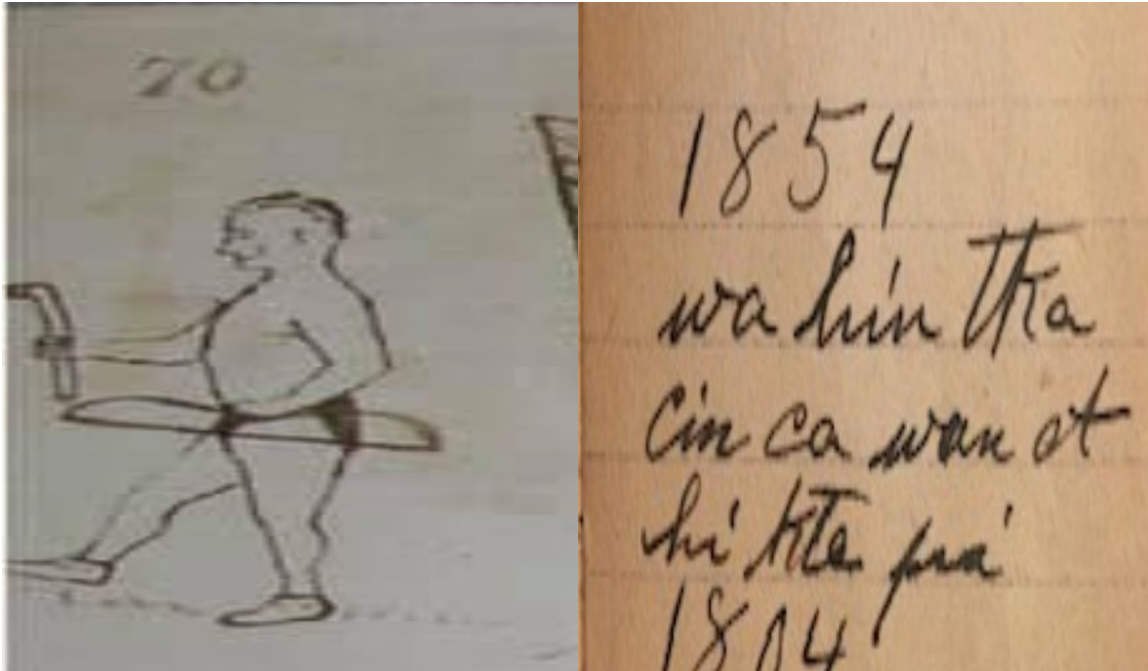
They hunt buffalo in snowshoes



1853
He to fua un
wan the pi'

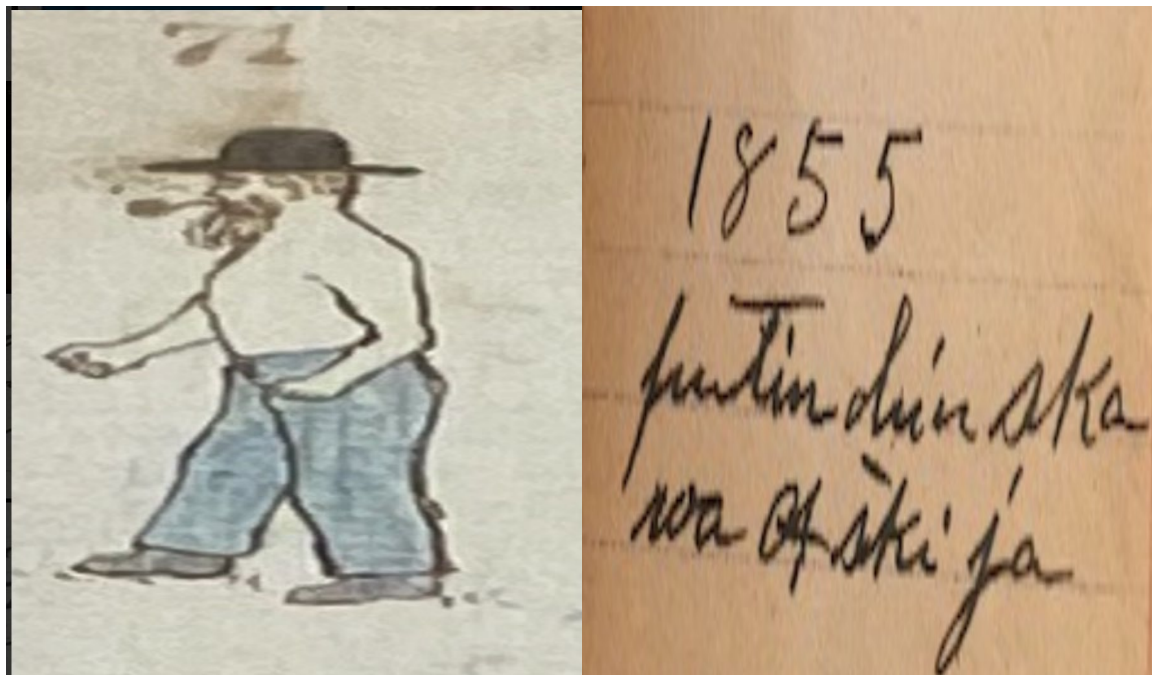
69. 1852 – 1853: Hé tópa úŋ waŋ ktépi

They kill one wearing four horns



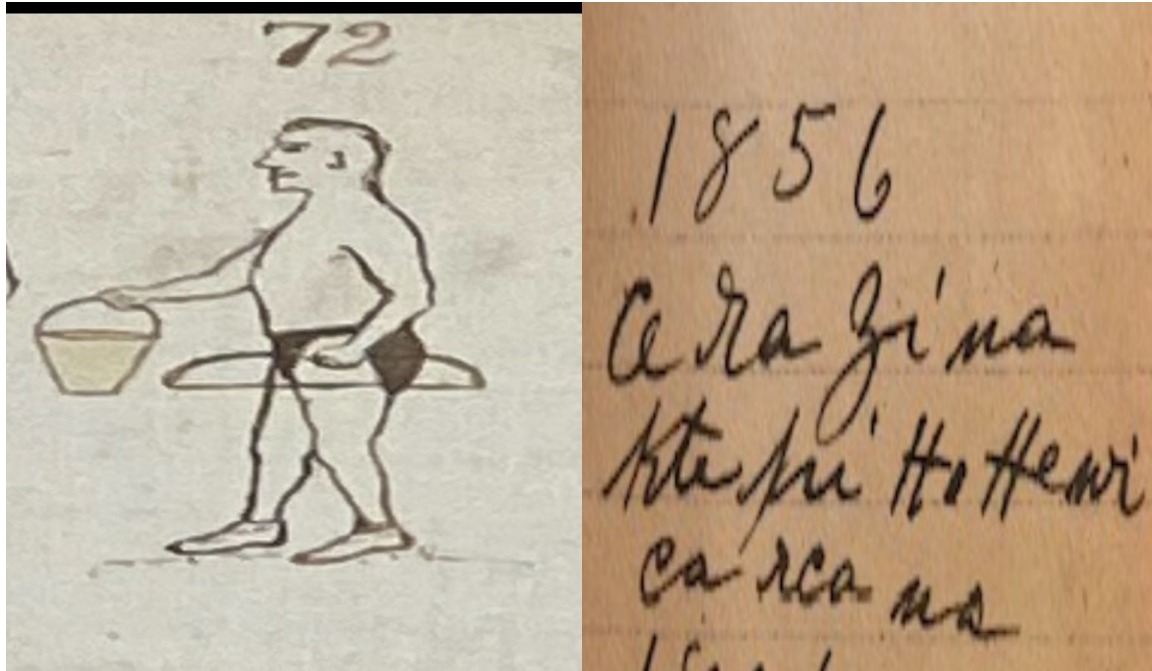
70. 1853 – 1854: Wahíntka činčá waŋ ahíktepi

Fleshing Knife's son killed in battle



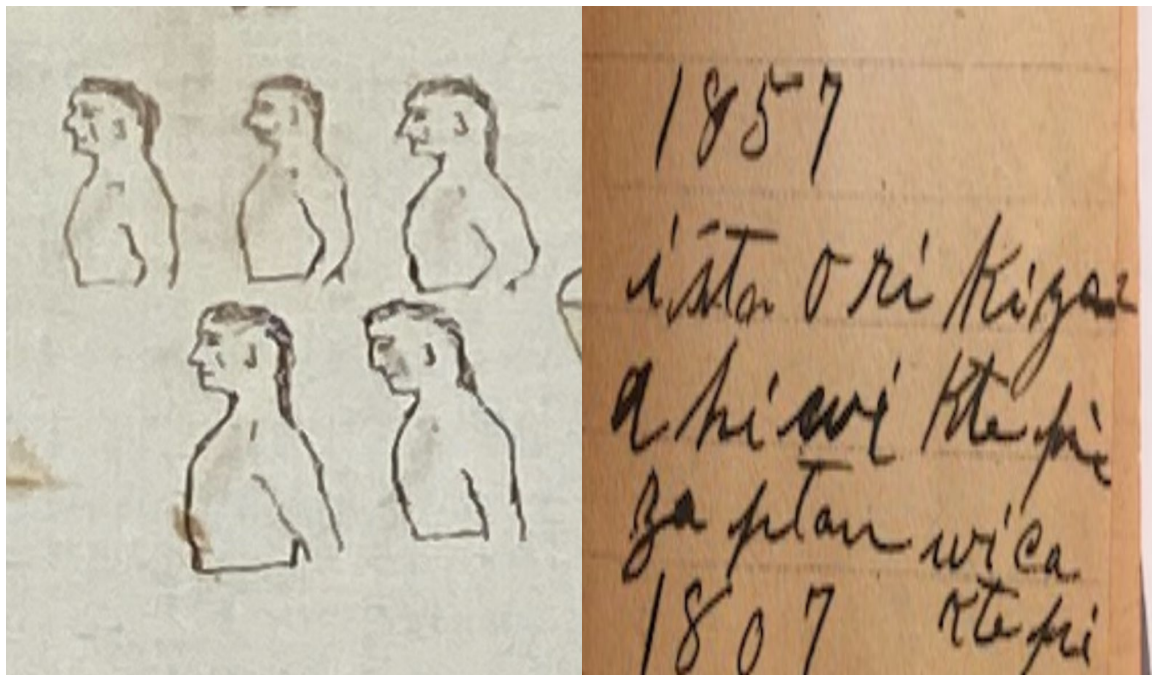
71. *1854 – 1855: Puthíhhiŋ Ská waákšiča

White Beard refused to return things



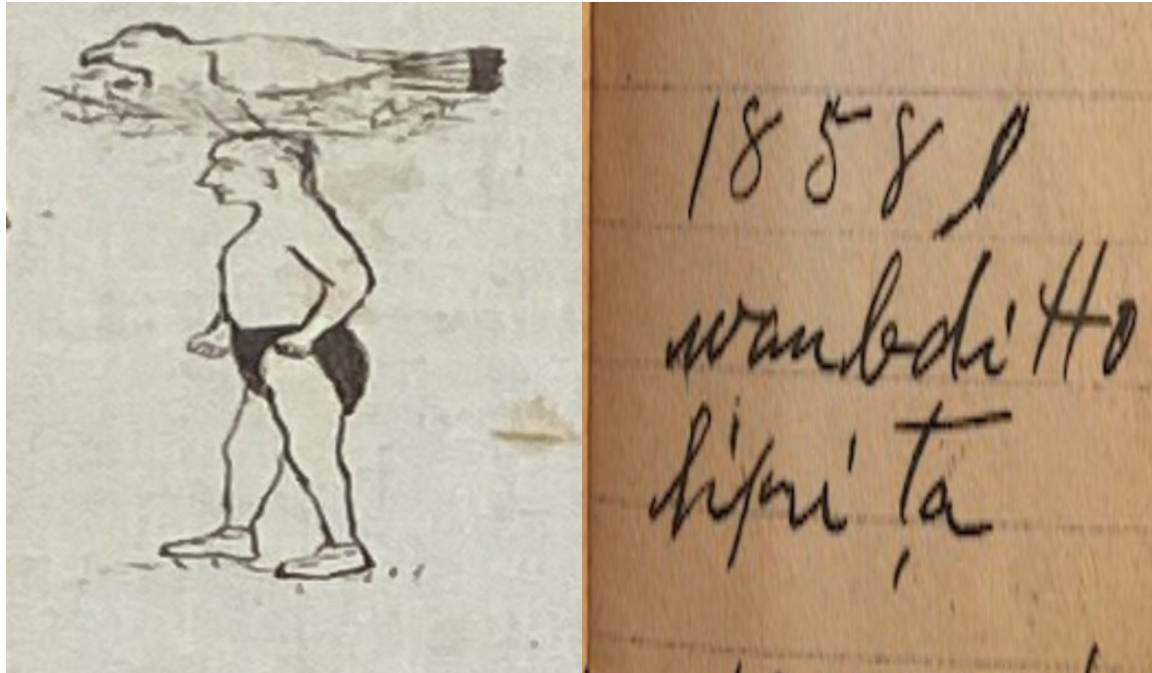
72. 1855 – 1856: Čěga Zina ktépi, Hóhe-wicháhčana

Little Yellow Kettle killed, an Assiniboine old man



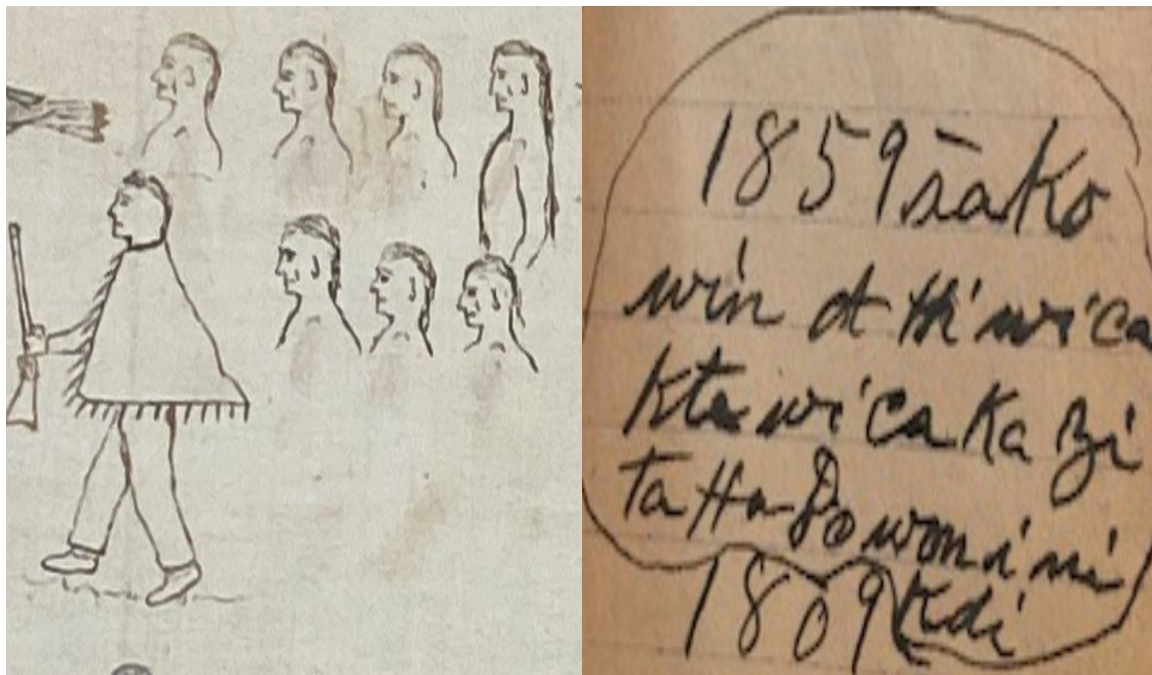
73. 1856 – 1857: Ištá Oǵí khíža ahíwi(ča)ktepi. Záptaŋ wičháktepi

Five (men) who put brown paint around their eyes were killed in battle.



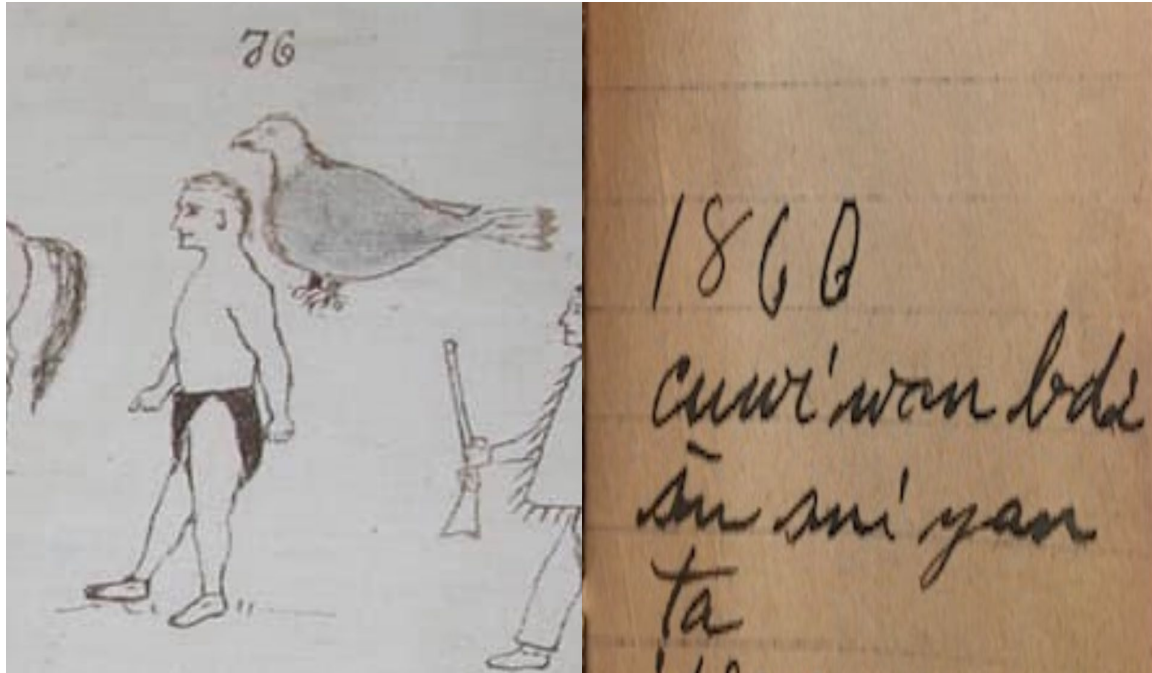
74. 1857 – 1858: Waṅblí Hoḥpí t'á

Eagle Nest dies



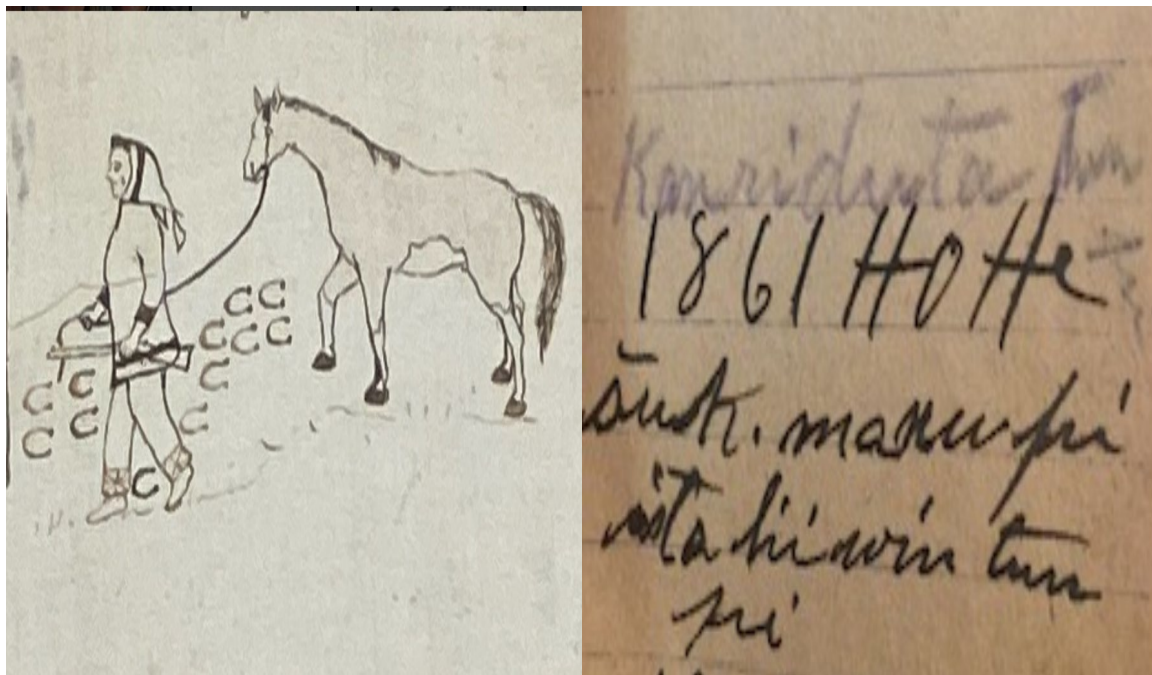
75. 1858 – 1859: Šakówiṅ ahiwičaktepi? ni kdí

Seven were killed in battle, ??? ??? came back alive.



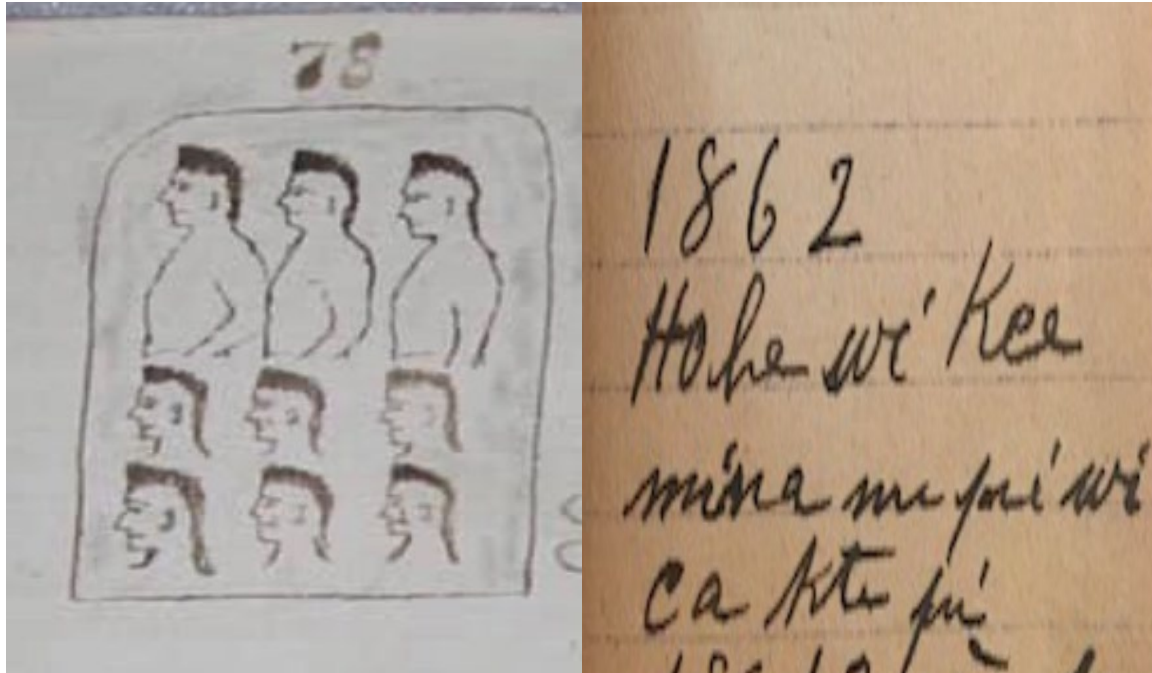
76. 1859 – 1860: Čuwí WaŋbdiŠúŋ sniyáŋt'a

Eagle Feather Back faints



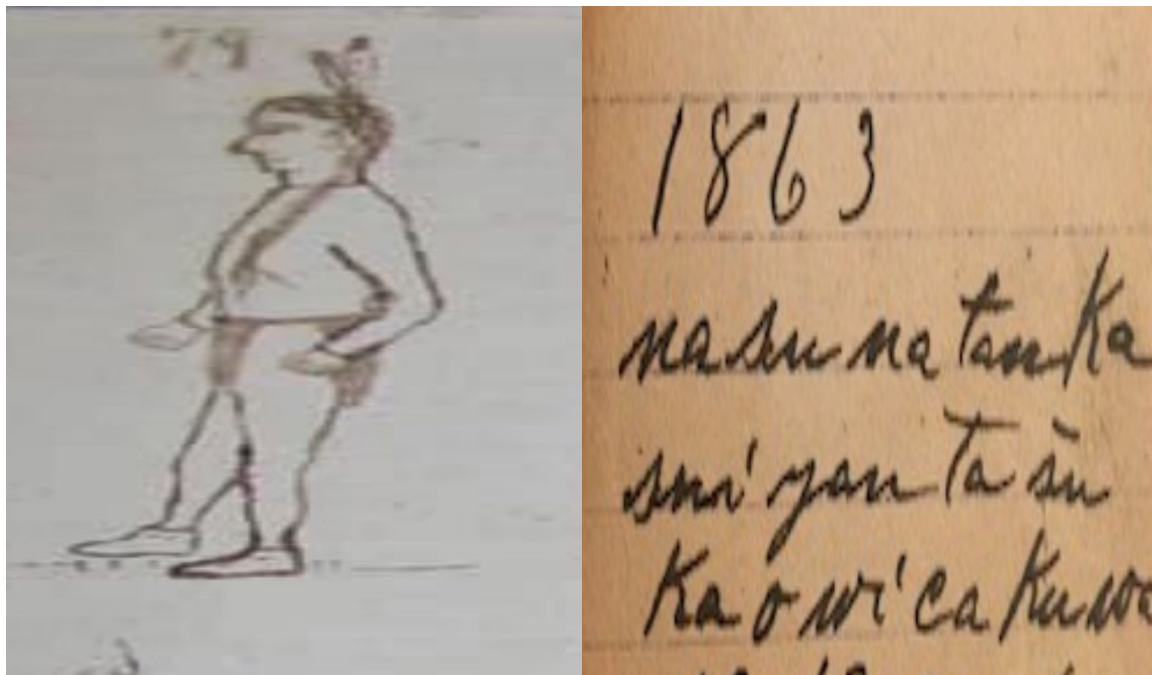
77. 1860 – 1861: Hóhe šuŋmánuŋpi. {Ištá Ğí Wíŋ thúŋpi}

Assiniboine steal horses. {Brown-Eyed woman born}



78. 1861 – 1862: Hóhe Wikčémna núŋpa wičháktepi.

They kill twenty Assiniboine



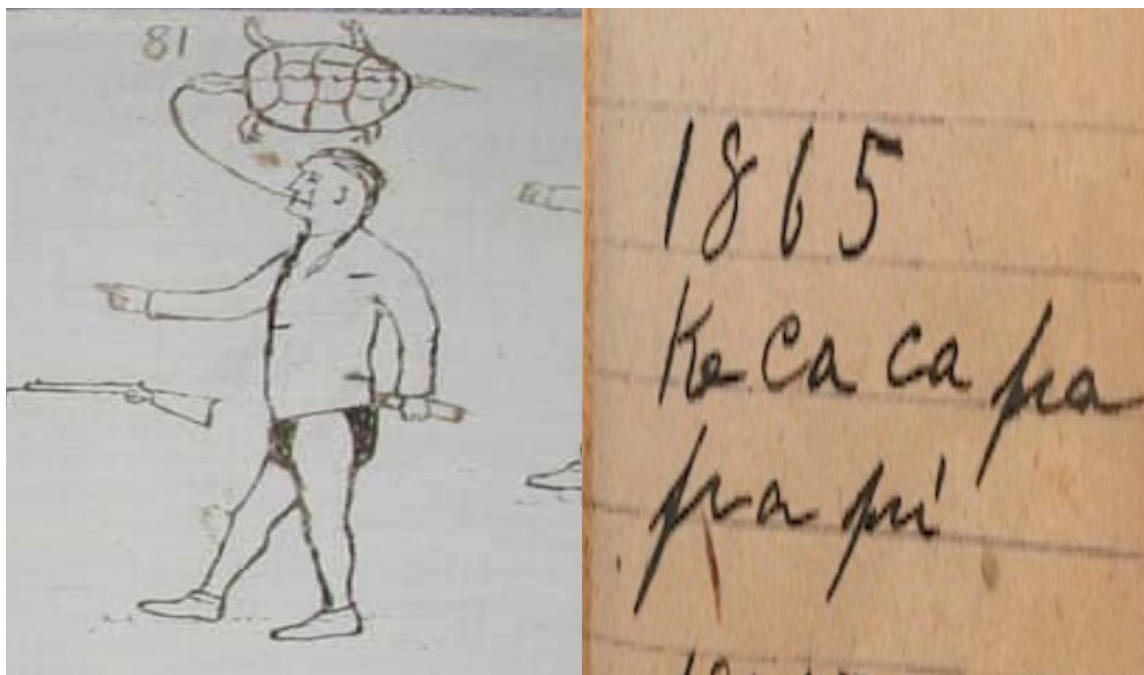
79. 1862 – 1863: Nasúna Tháŋka sniyáŋt'a, šuŋka owíčakhuwa

Big Brain faints while chasing dogs (horses)



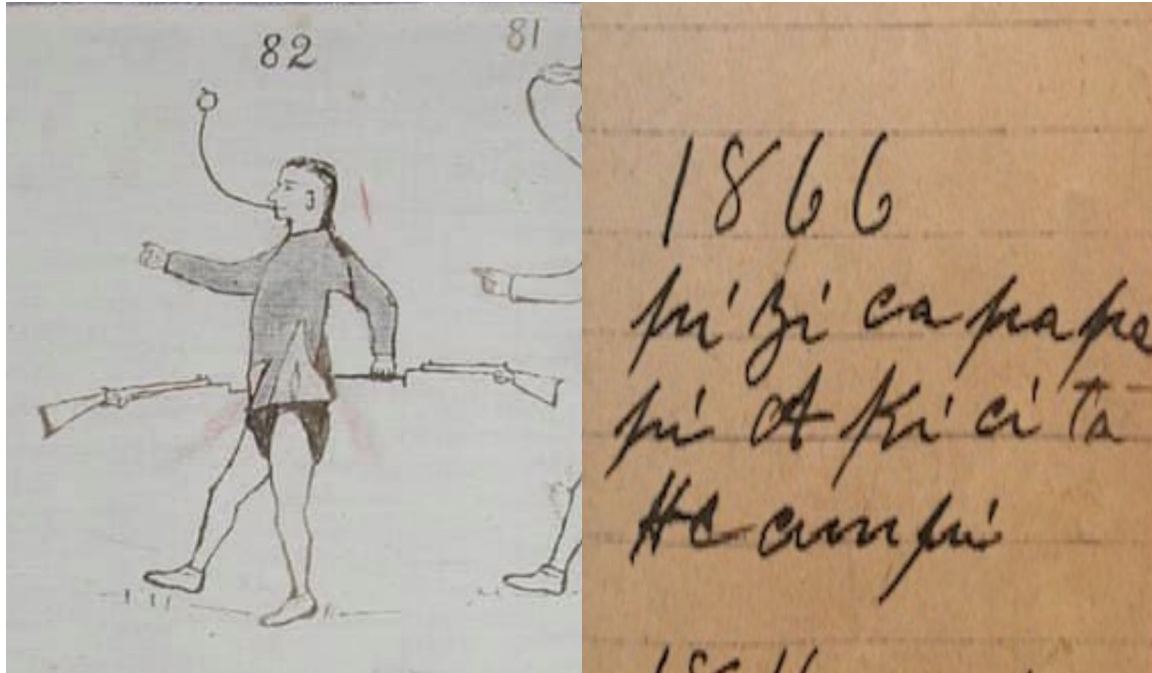
80. 1863 – 1864: Wayážužu kaškápi

Dismantles with the Mouth/Truth Teller is imprisoned



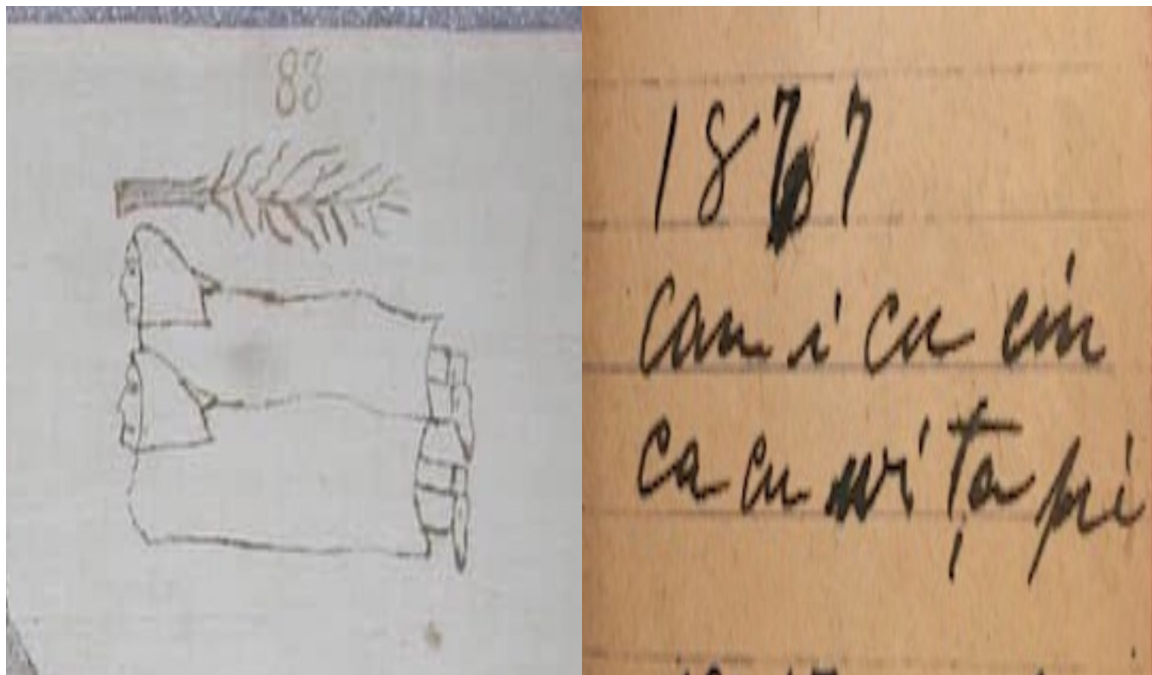
81. 1864 – 1865: Khechá čapĥáphapi

Turtle is stabbed repeatedly



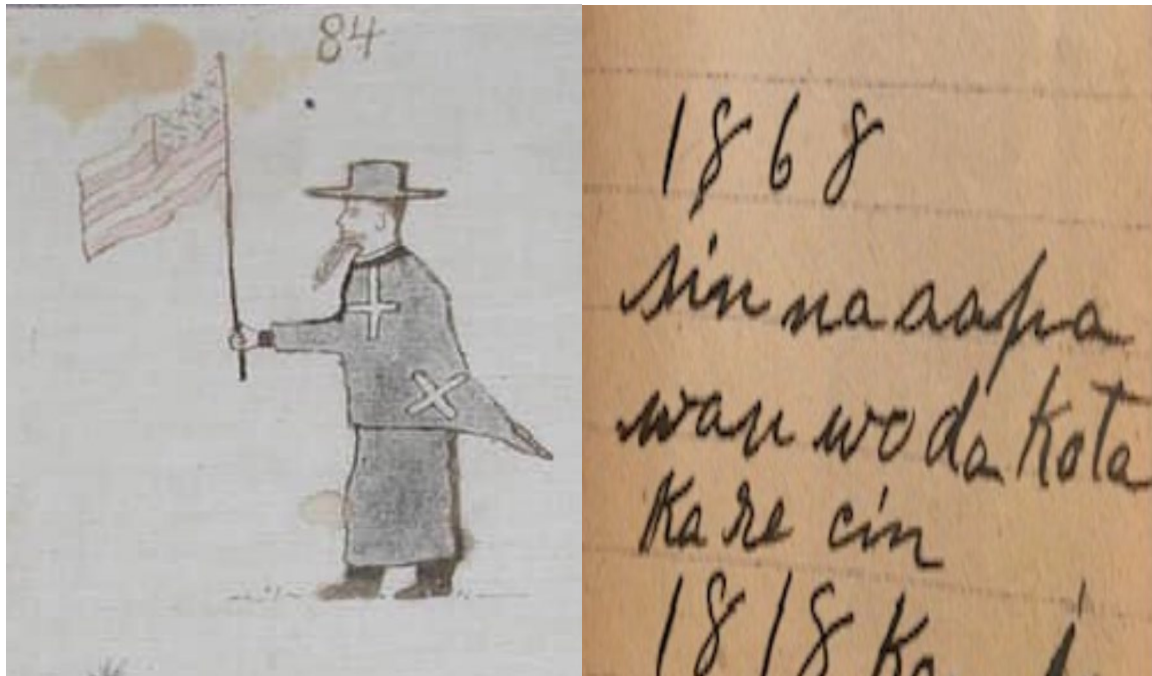
82. 1865 – 1866: Phizí čapháphapi, akíčhita héčhunpi

Gall is stabbed repeatedly, soldiers did that



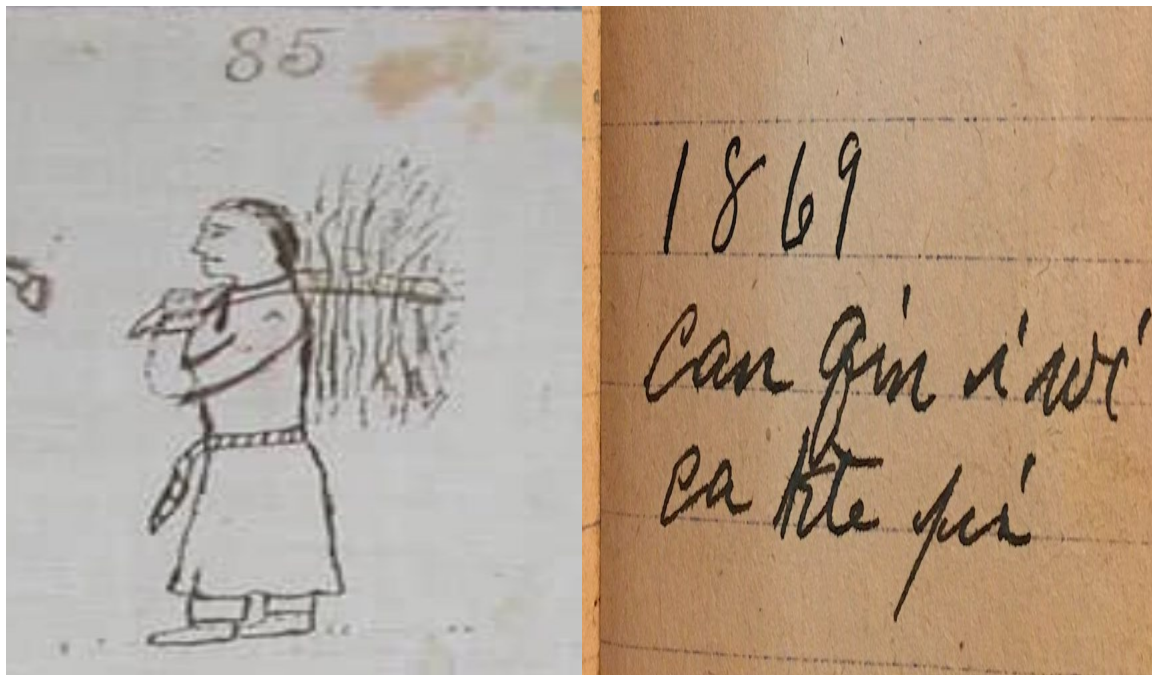
83. 1866 – 1867: Čháj Ičú čhiŋčá čhuwíta t'ápi

The children of Takes Wood freeze to death



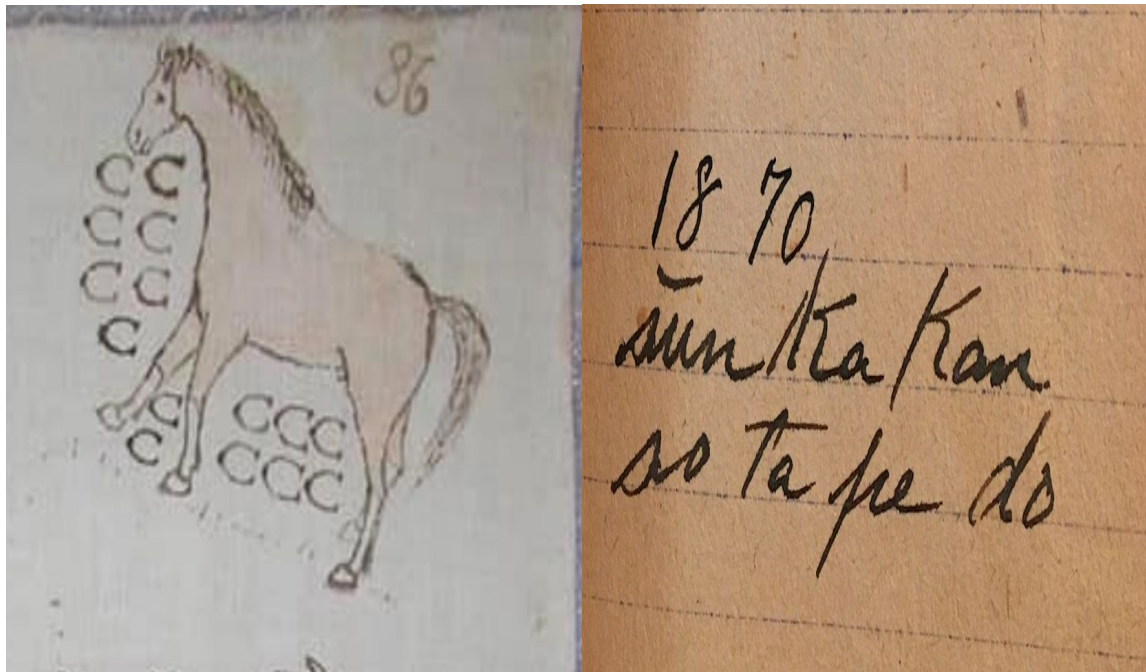
84. 1867 – 1868: Šiná Sápa waj wódakhota káge čin

A Black Robe brokers a peace agreement



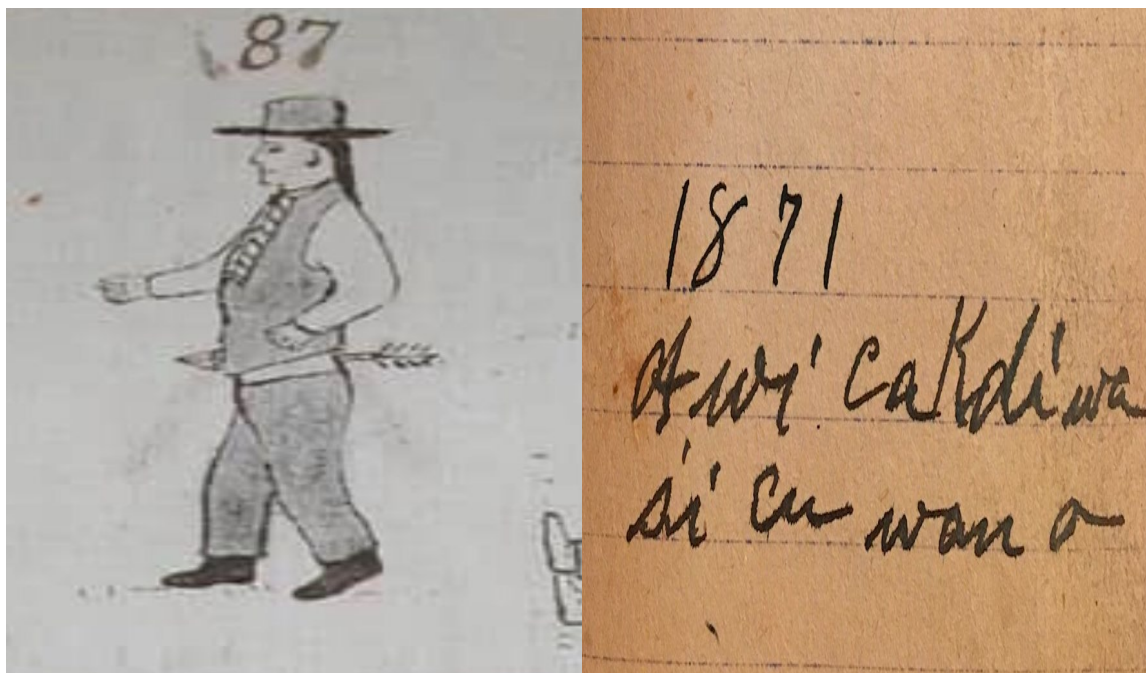
85. 1868 – 1869: Čhaŋk'ín í wičáktepi

People are killed while gathering wood



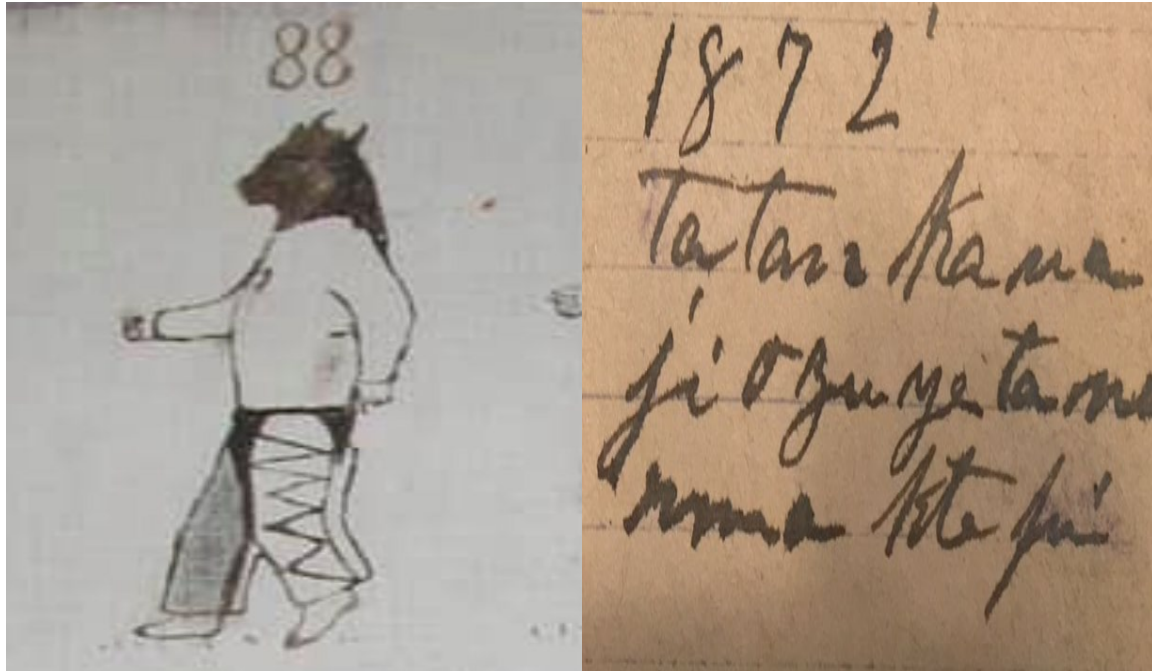
86. 1869 – 1870: Šúnkawkǎŋ sótape dó

Horses all die off.



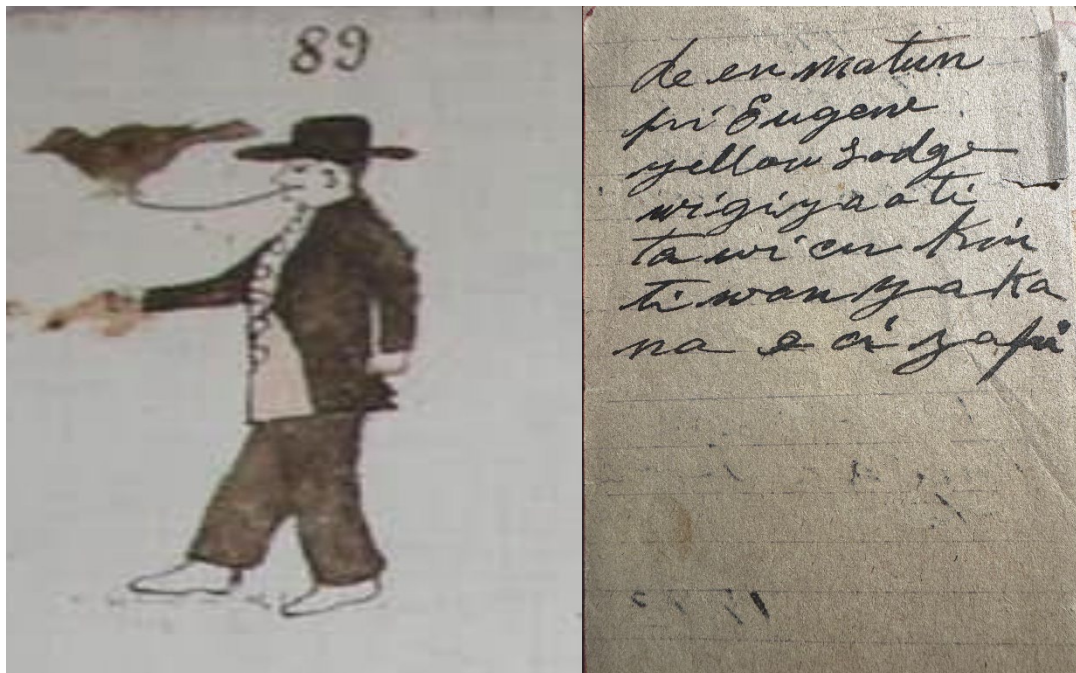
87. 1870 – 1871: Awíçhakdi wašiču waŋ o

(A man called) Brings Them Back shot a white man



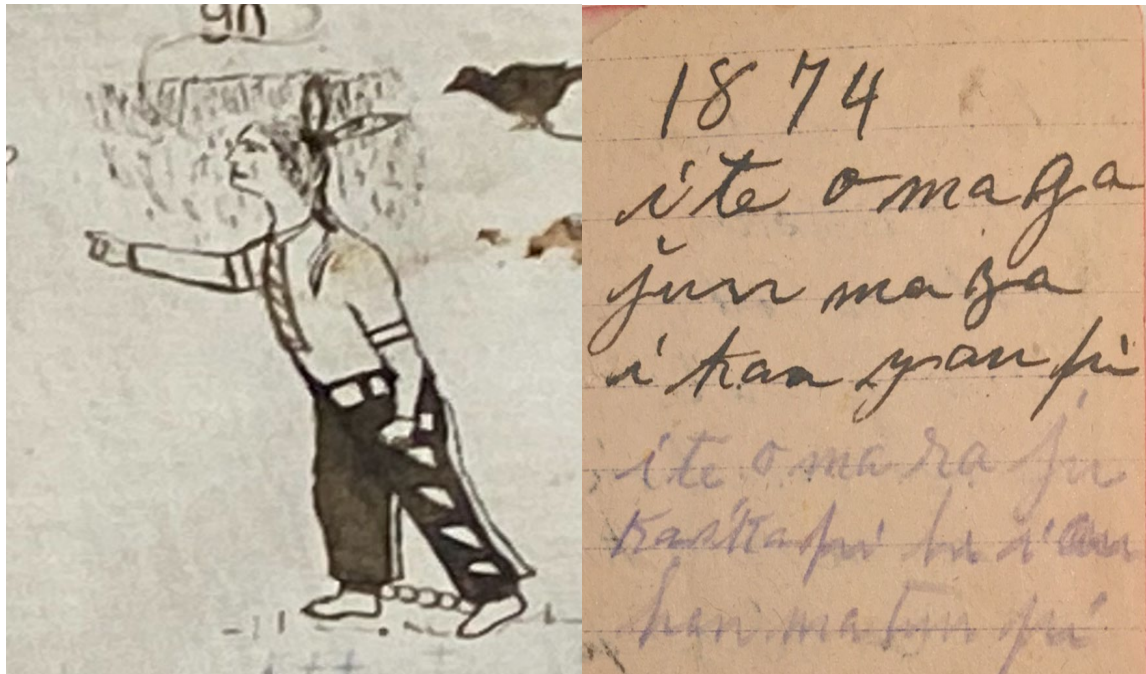
88. 1871 – 1872: **Thǎhǎnka Nážiŋ ozúye-ta nahmá ktépi.**

Standing Buffalo was secretly killed in battle.



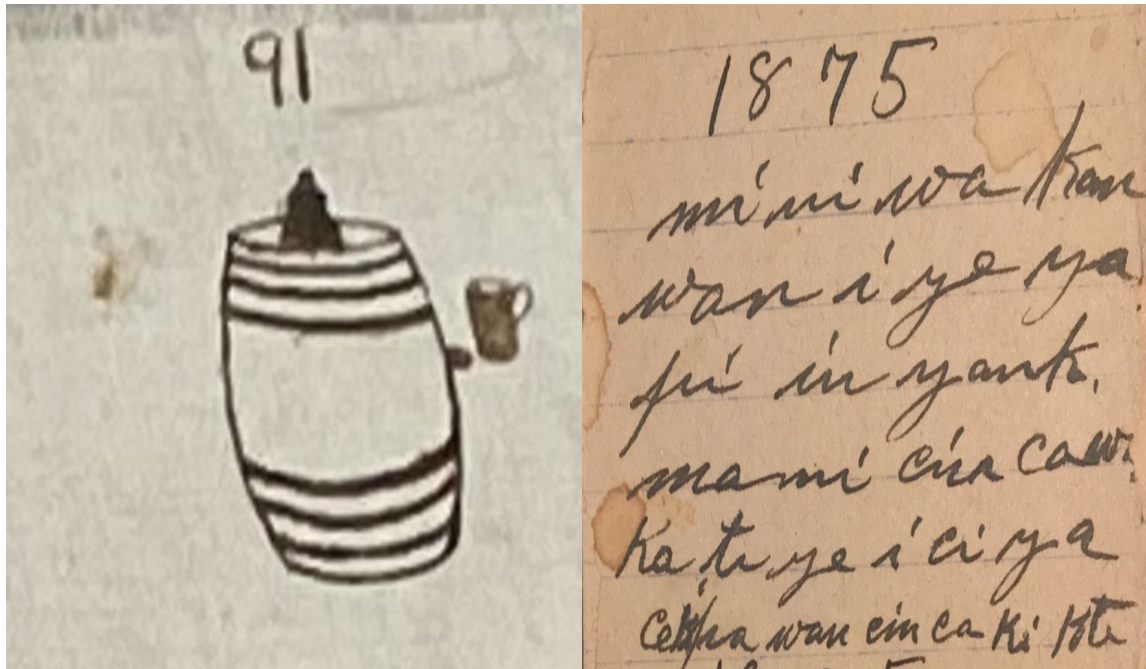
89. 1872 – 1873: ***Dé én mathúŋpi Eugene Yellow Lodge Wíǵiia Othí thawíču kin Thiwányakala ečiyapi** This year Eugene Yellow Lodge was born, dad was Wíǵiia Othí and Wife's name was Little- Watches-The-House"

***Bad Bird was killed (on familial winter counts)**



90. 1873 – 1874: Ité Omágažu máza ikhányanpi, Ité Omágažu kaškápi, he inš han mathúŋpi

Rain-In-The-Face held in irons, Rain-In-The-Face imprisoned, before that I was born



91. 1874 – 1875: Mníwakħan waŋ iyéyapi. Inyanċ Máni činčá kat'iyéič'iya. Čekpá waŋ činčá kikté. They found a store of alcohol. A child of Fast Walker shoots himself. A twin kills his own child



1876
Akicita
šunkmama
zanpi

92. 1875 – 1876: Akíčhita šunkmánazaŋpi

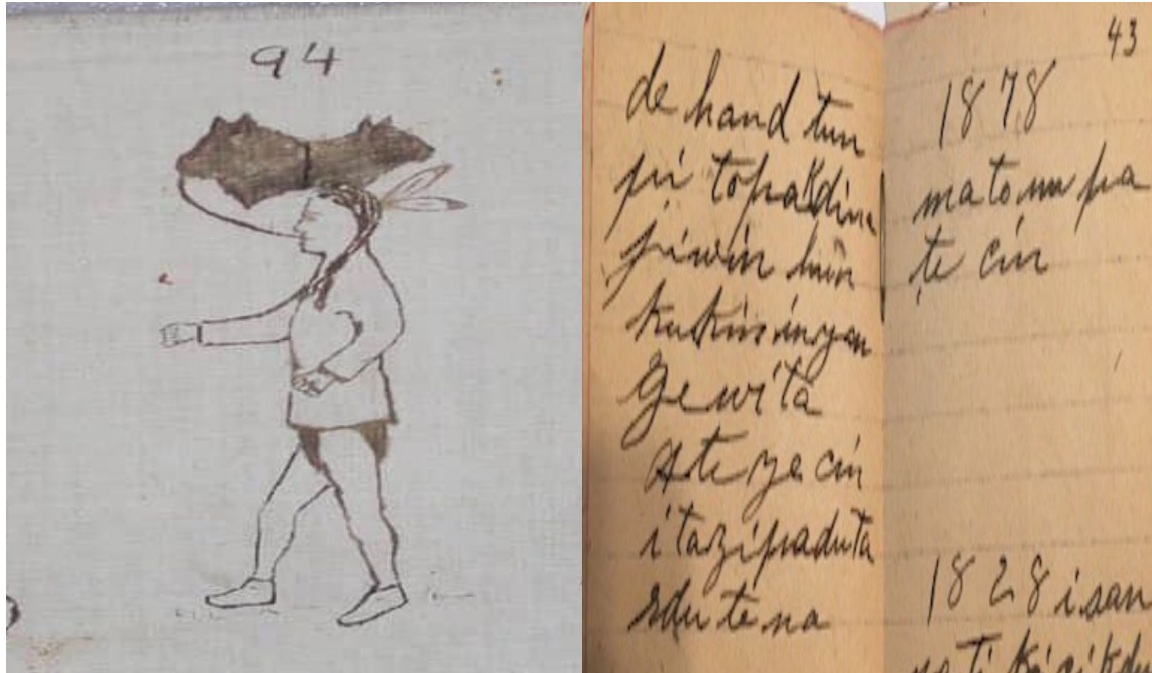
The soldiers confiscated horses



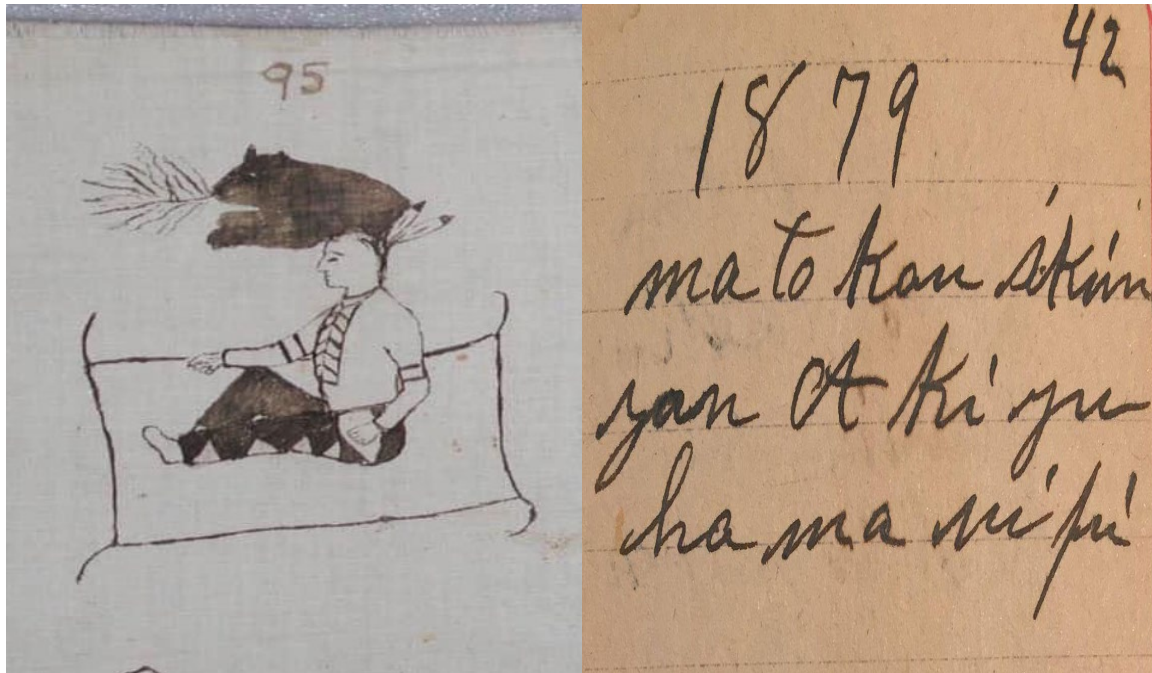
1877
matotama
heca titan
ka o sniyan
te cin

93. 1876 – 1877: Matǎó Tǎmáheča thí thǎnka osníyaŋ t'é čin

Poor Bear dies of the cold in a big lodge

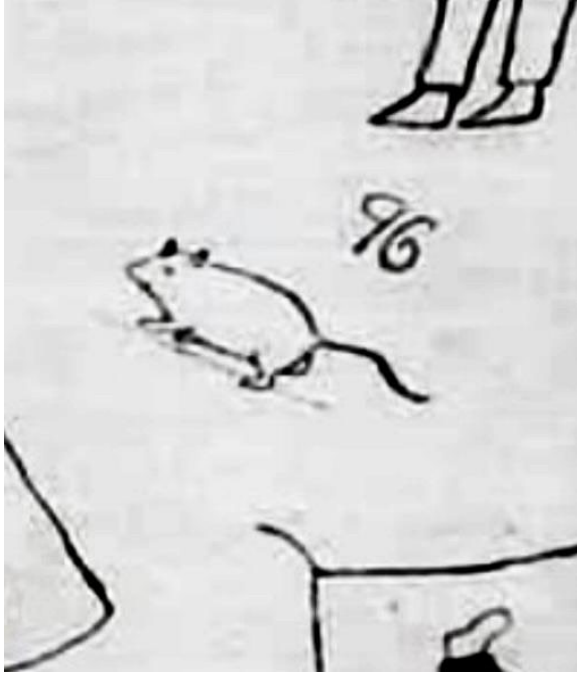


94. 1877 – 1878: Mathó Núpa t'é čij {Deháŋd thúnpi: Tópa-kdinážiŋwín, húŋku kiŋ ÍŋyaŋĤéwíta, atéye čij Itázipa Dúta Šdútena} Two Bears dies (This year is when Returns standing up four times was born, mom was Rocky Butte, dad was Slick Red Bow)



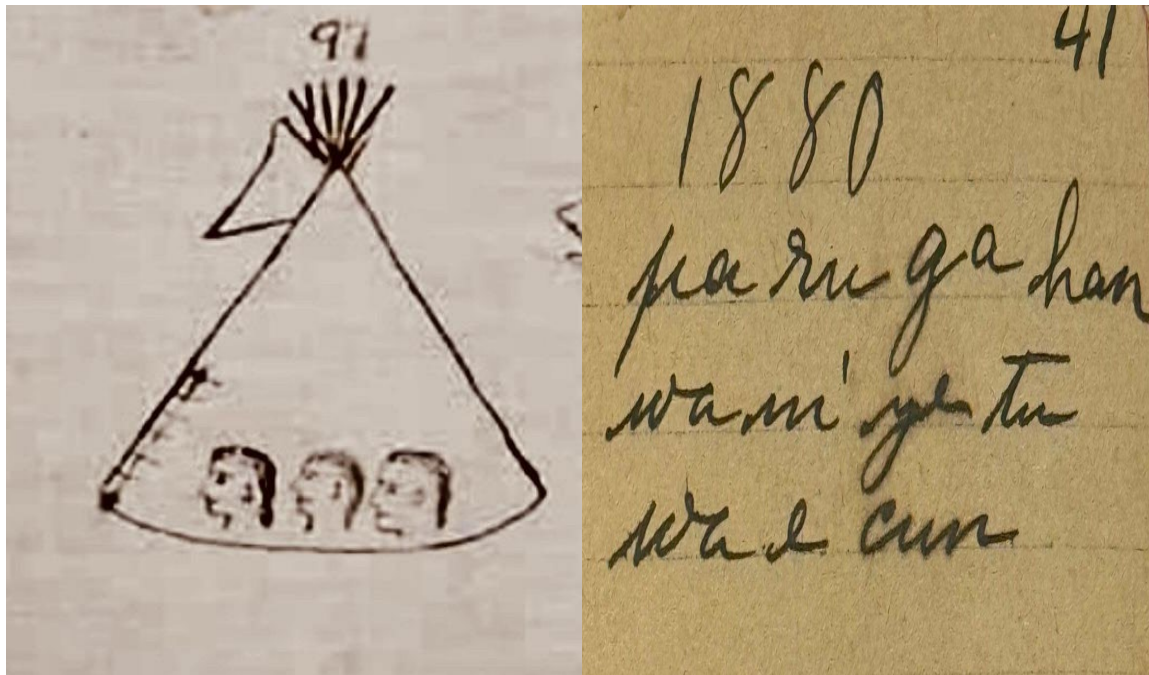
95. 1878 – 1879: Mathó Gnaškíŋyaŋ akhíyuha mánipi.

They carried Crazy Bear in a blanket



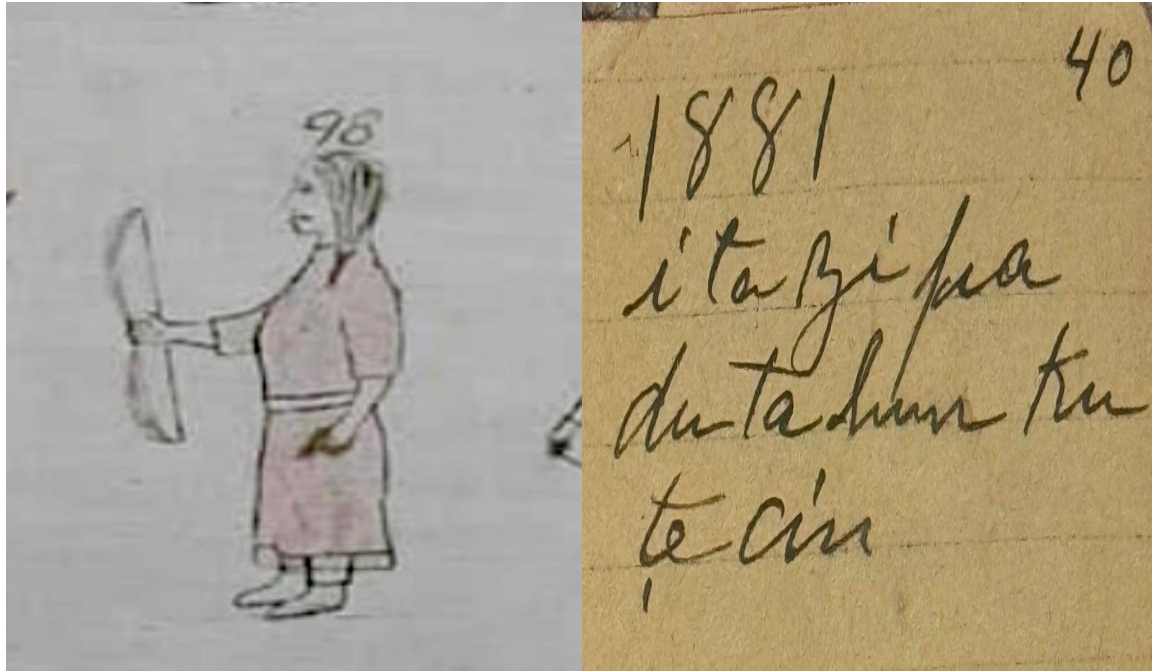
*[missing: no event year equivalent]

96.



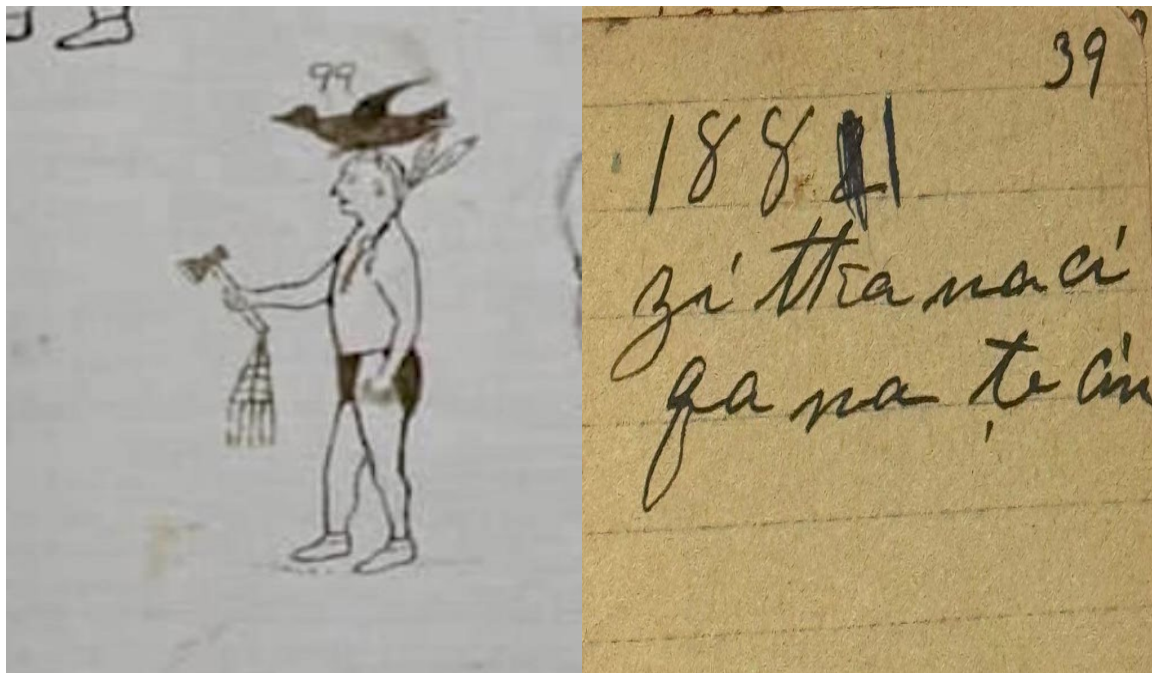
97. 1879 – 1880: Pǎ́ Ĥuǵáhaŋ waniyetu waéčuŋ

Crushed-In-Head performs a winter ceremony



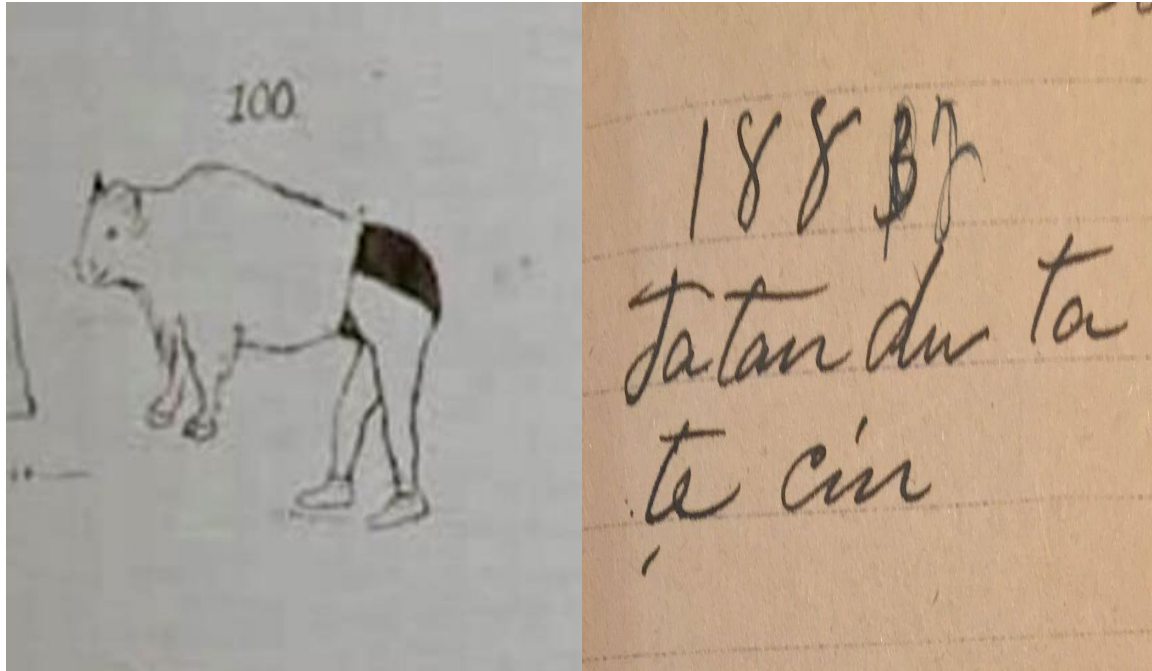
98. 1880 – 1881: Itázipa Dúta húŋku t'é čin

Red Bow's mother dies



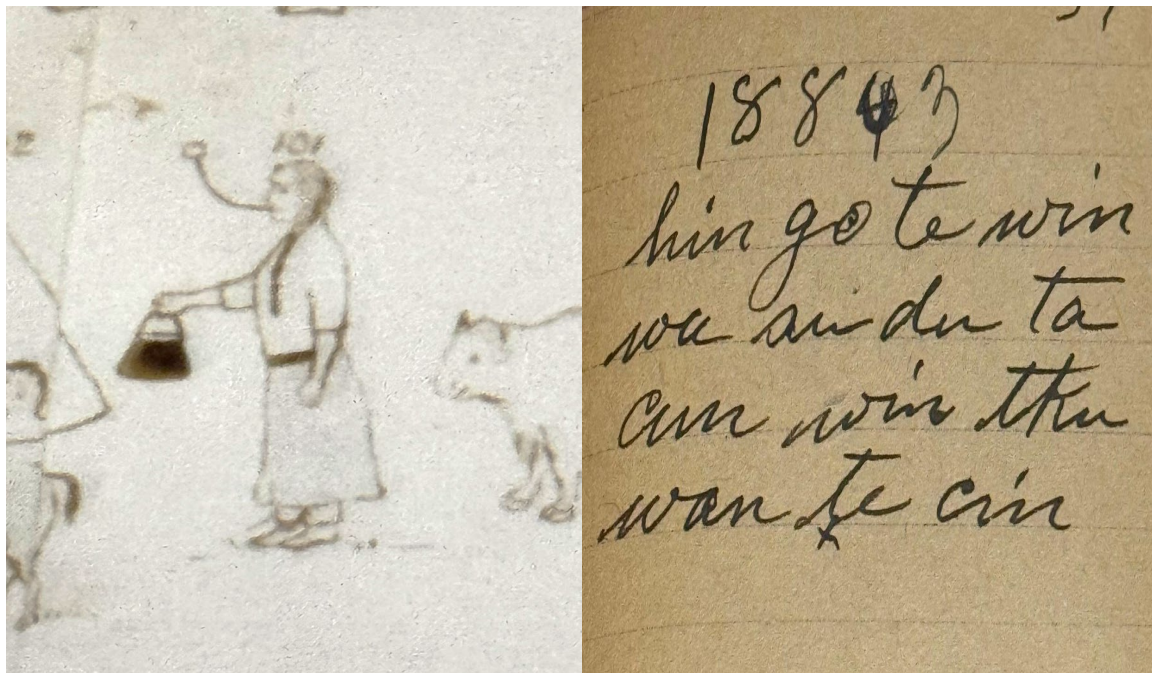
99. 1881 – 1882: Ziptkála Čík'ana t'é čin

Little Bird dies



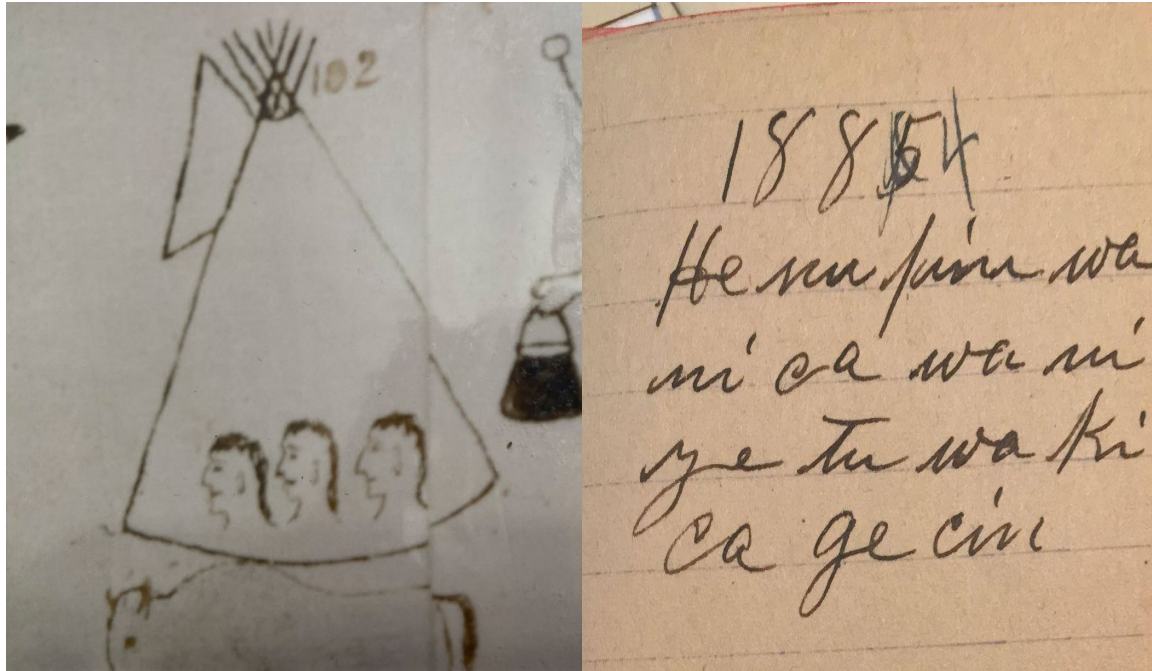
100. 1882 - 1883: Thátháŋka Dúta t'é čin

Red Bull dies



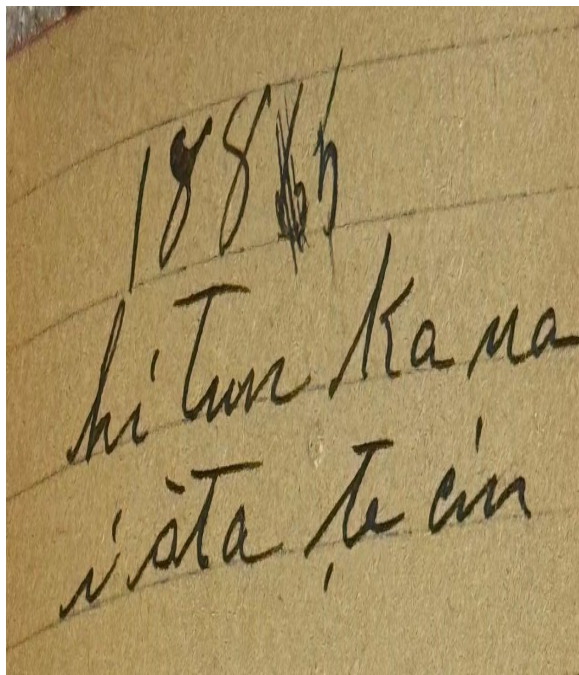
101. 1883 - 1884: Hínhote Wín - Wasú Dúta čhunwínku wan t'é čin

Gray Horse Woman, Daughter of Red Hail dies



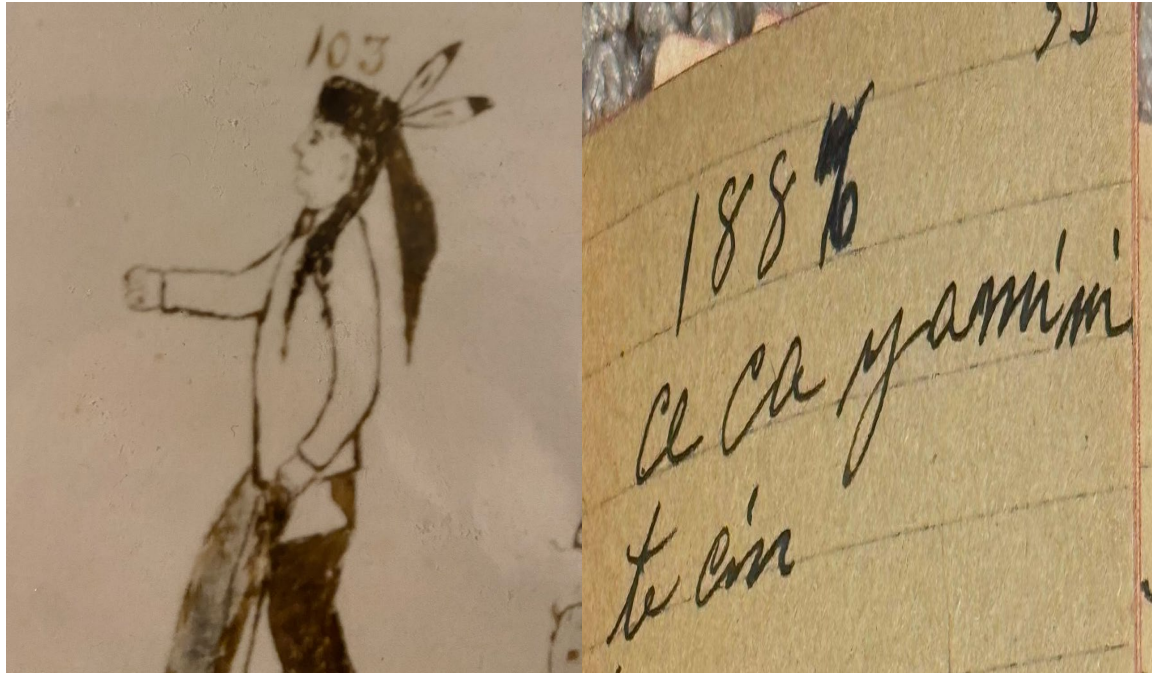
102. 1884 - 1885: Hé Nuphiŋ Waniča waniyetu wakičađe čin

No Two Horns made a winter feast



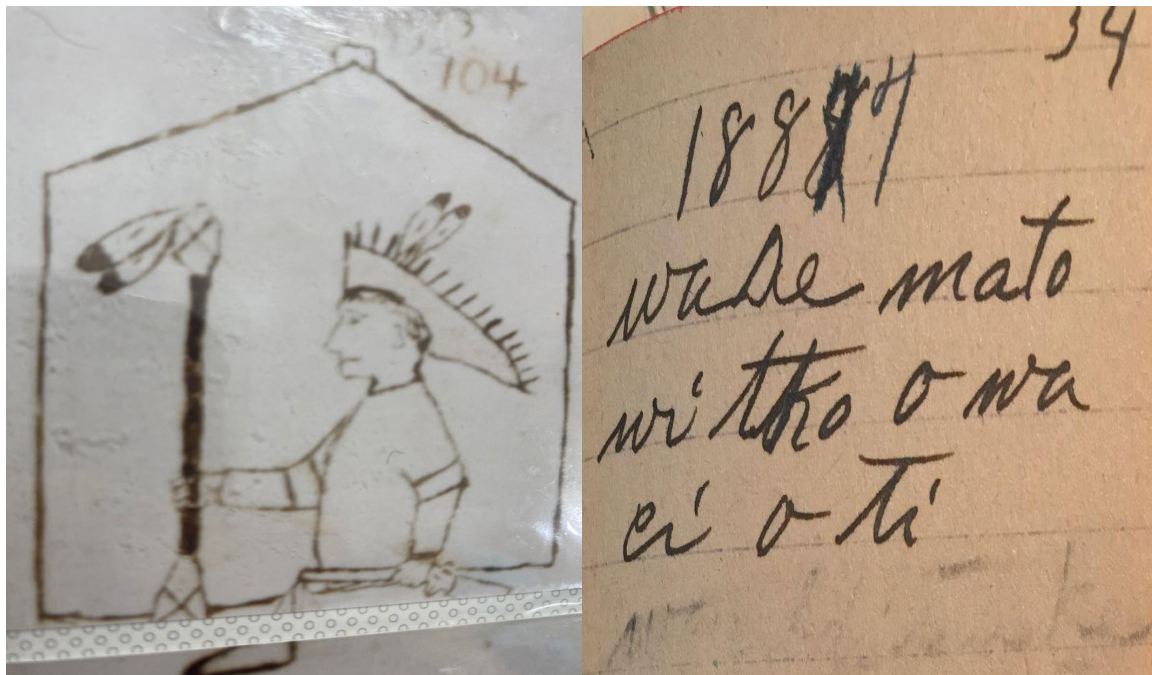
102(b). 1885 - 1886: Hithúnkana Ištá t'é čin

Weasel Eyes dies ____ 96?*



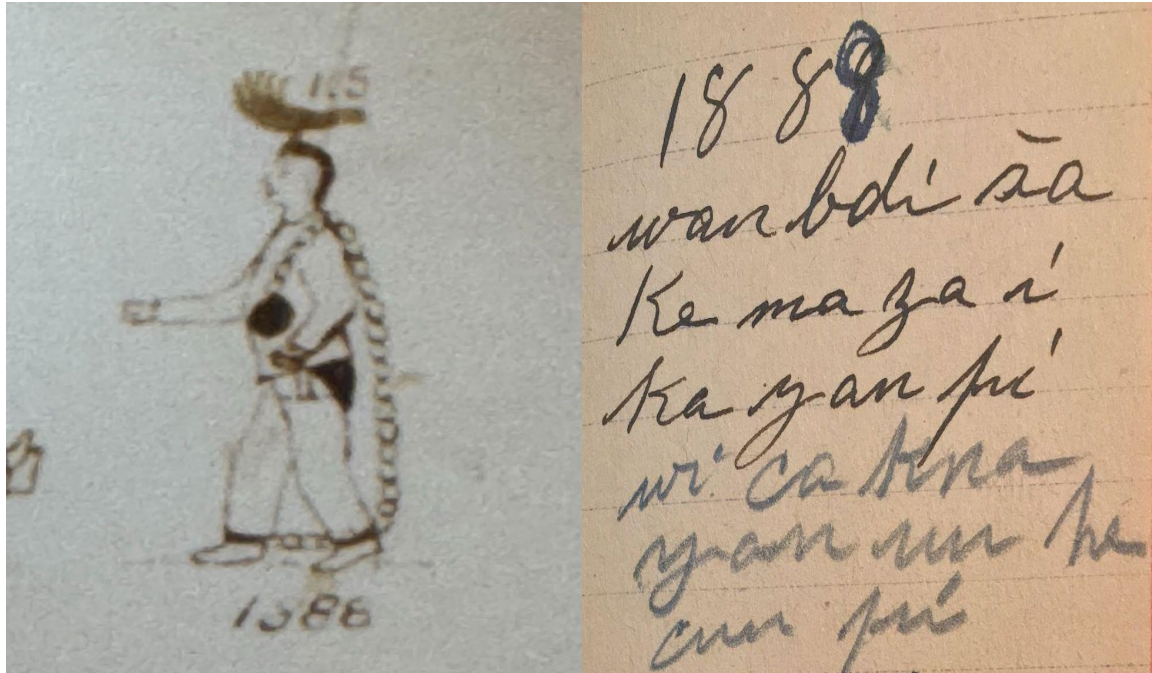
103. Čečá Yámni t'é čiŋ

Three Thighs dies



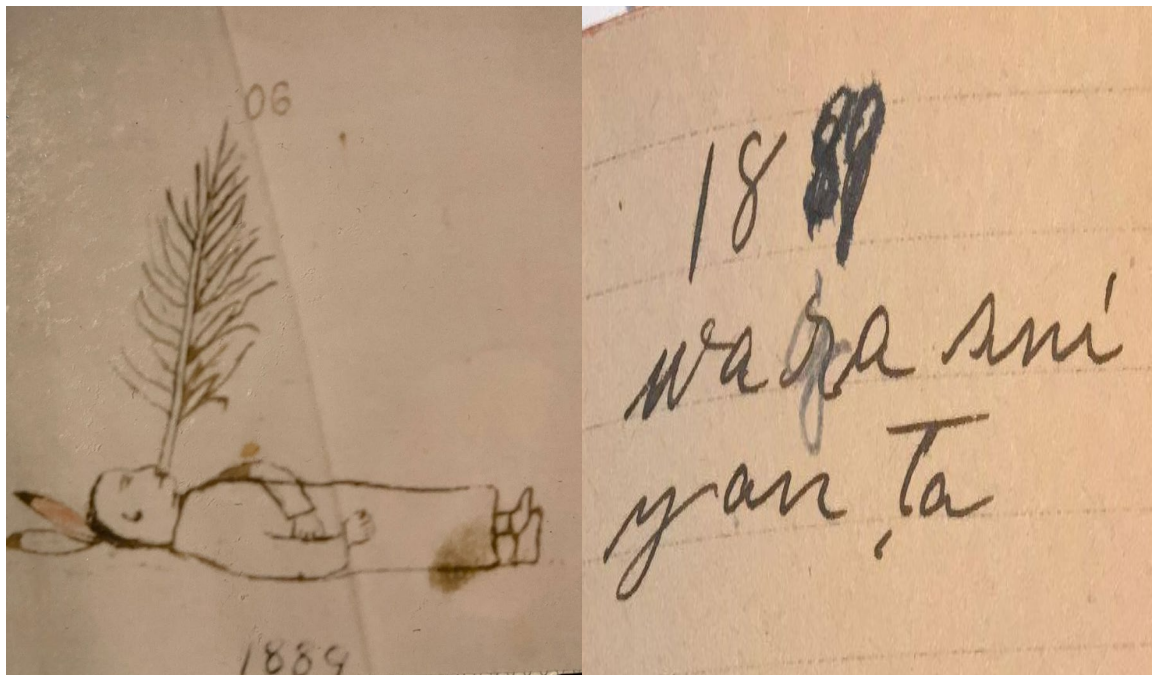
104. 1886 - 1887: Wasé Mathó Witkó owáči othí

Red Painted Crazy Bear lives in a dance hall



105. 1887 - 1888: Waṅbdí-Šaké máza ikháṅyaṅpi - wičhágnayaṅ úṅ héčhuṅpi

Eagle Claw is put in chains, he failed his word to them



106. 1889: Waḡá sniyáṅt'e

Cottonwood faints or freezes to death



32
1890
tatan kasi
gotan ke kte
pi

107. 1890: Třáňka Íyotake ktépi

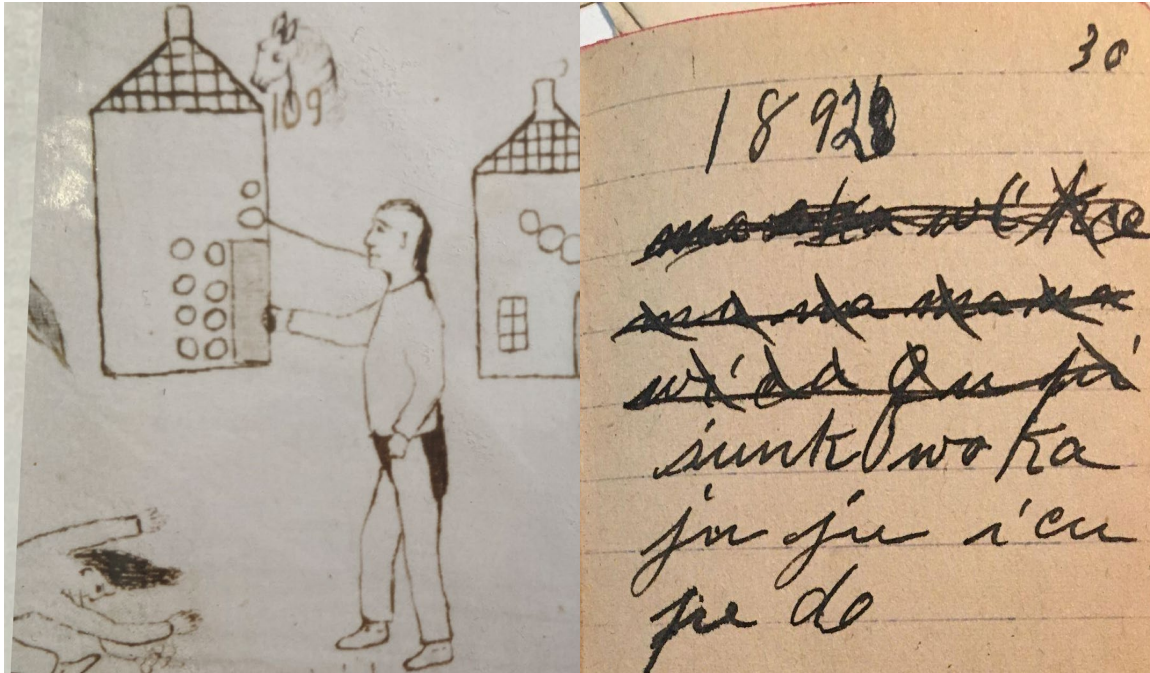
Sitting Bull is killed



31
1890
ma za aka
ya mi mi mi
wi ca gu pi

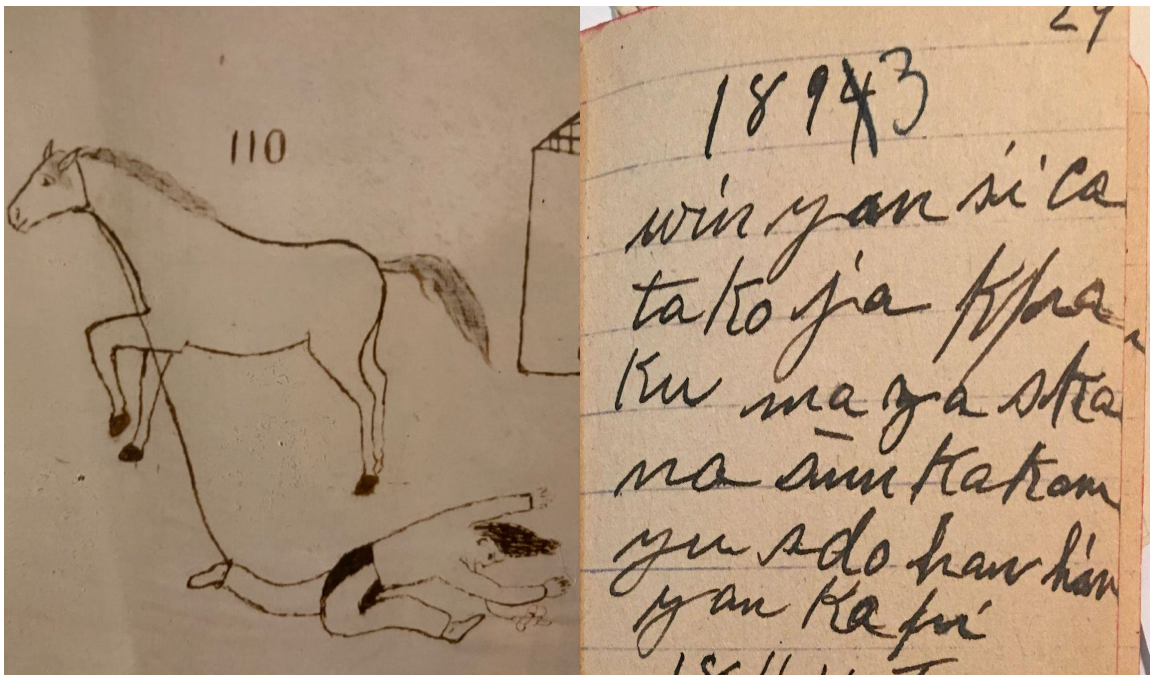
108. 1890-1891: Mázaska yámnimni wičhák'upi

Everyone is given three dollars

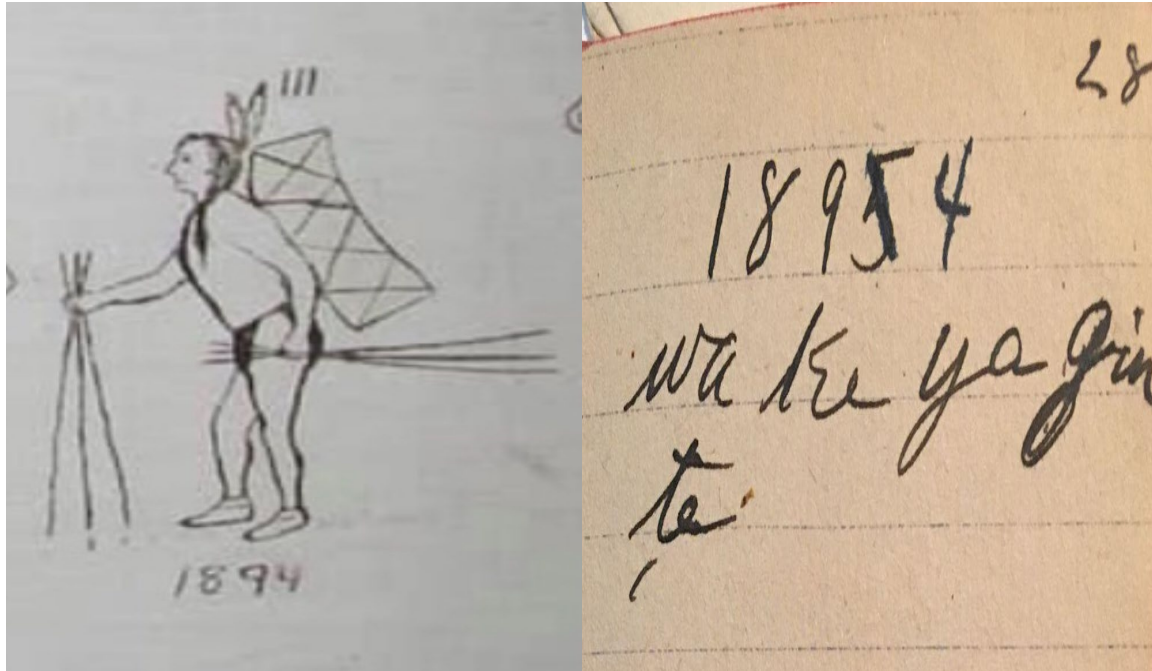


109. 1891-1892: Suŋk-wókažužu ičúpe dó

“They received payment for horses

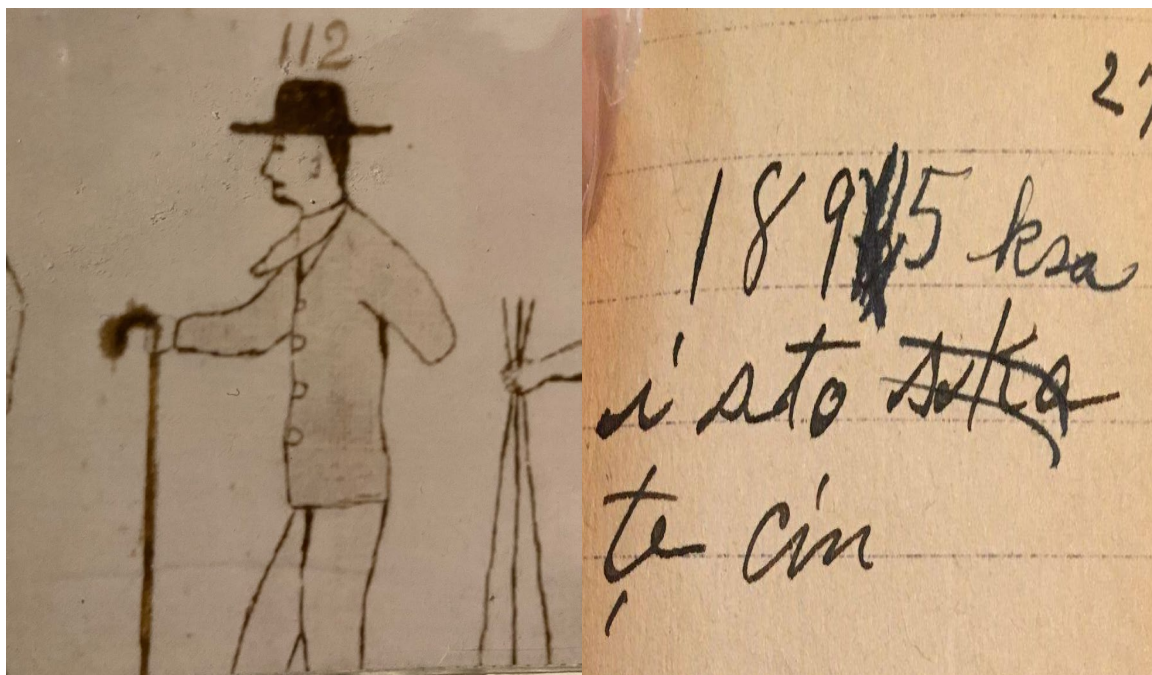


110. 1892-1893: Wínyan šíča thakóžakpaku Mázaska, na šúŋkawakhaŋ yusdóhanhaŋ yaŋkápi A bad woman's grandson, 'Money,' dragged to death by a horse



111. 1893-1894: Wakhéya K'ín t'é

Carries Tent dies



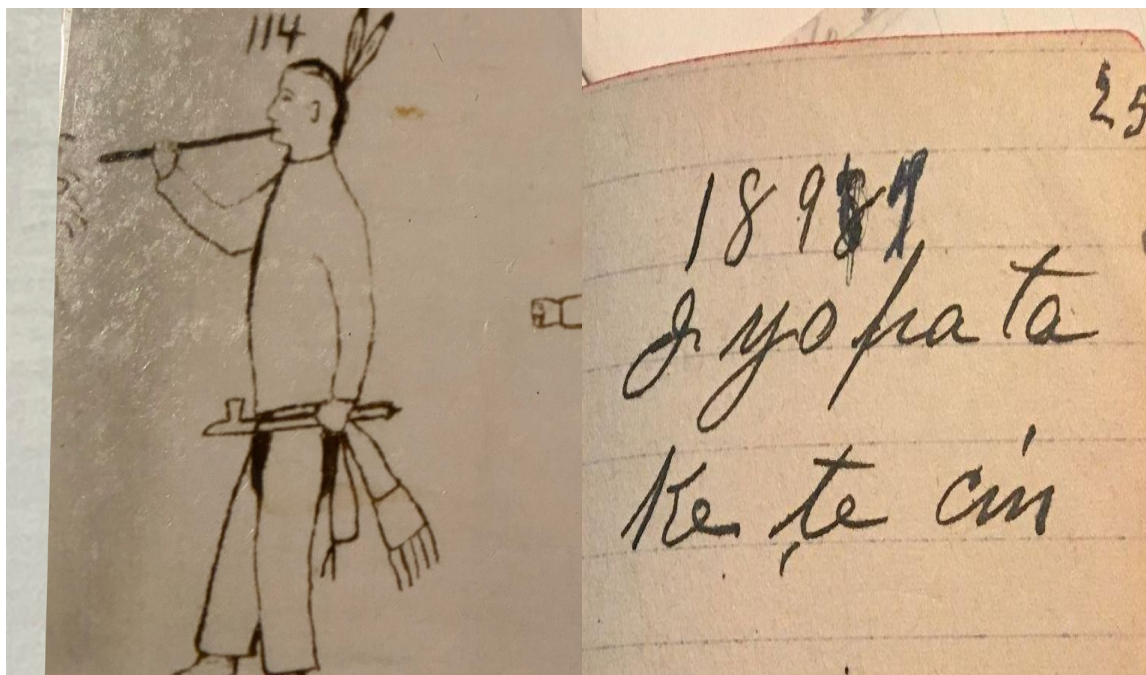
112. 1894-1895: Istó Ksá t'é čin

Severed Arm dies



113. 1895-1896: Pažipa, Nasúna Thánka íwehiyu t'é čin

Pinches, Big Brain, dies bleeding from the mouth



114. 1896-1897: Iyopahta t'é čin

Toothpick died



1898 98
mato ta he
ya i' ci' kle
kin

115. 1897-1898: Mathó Tša-héya ič'ikte

Bear's Louse commits suicide



1898
mato kin ro
ta ta pu ka
spi' ca te cin

116. 1898-1899: Mathó Hín Ĥóta tšábkápsiča t'é

Gray Haired Bear dies playing shinny



1900
wapa haki
cin hi rna
'ge cin

117. 1899-1900: Wapháha-kič'úŋ huhnáŋe čin

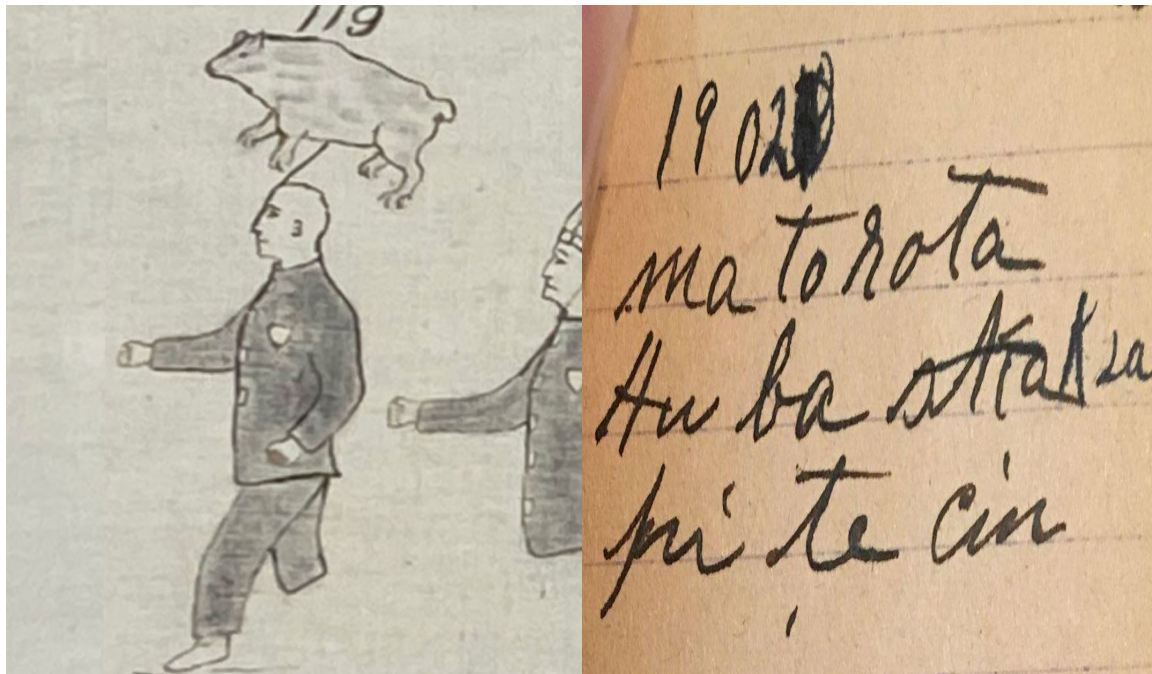
Warbonnet-Wearer is burned up



1901
wapa ha
wa wan ya
ka wan te
cin

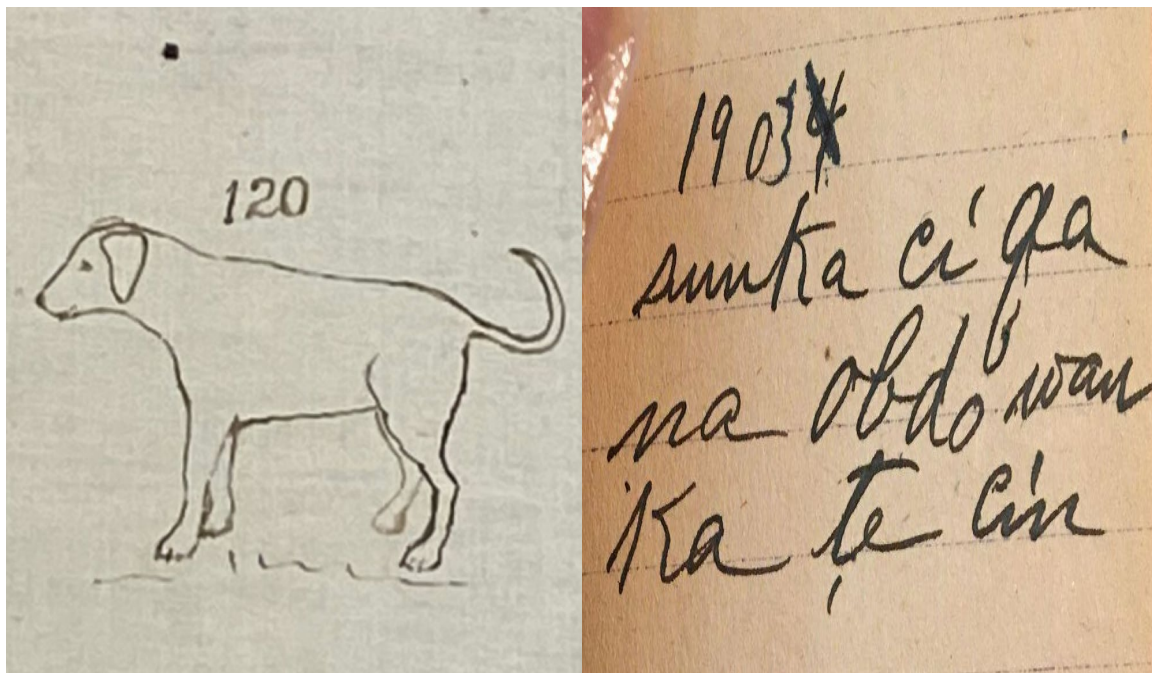
118. 1900-1901: Wapháha wawányan̄ka wan t'é čin

A warbonnet-observer dies (policeman)



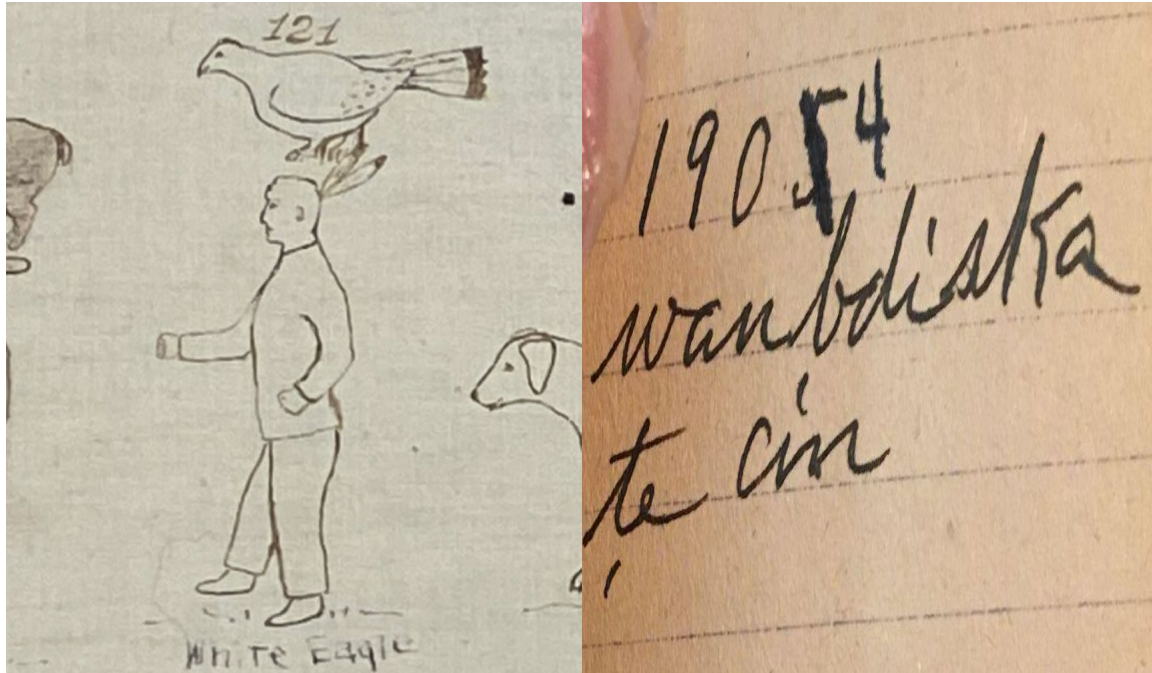
119. 1901-1902: Mathó Hóta hubáksapi t'é čin

Grey Bear dies, his legs having been cut off/amputated



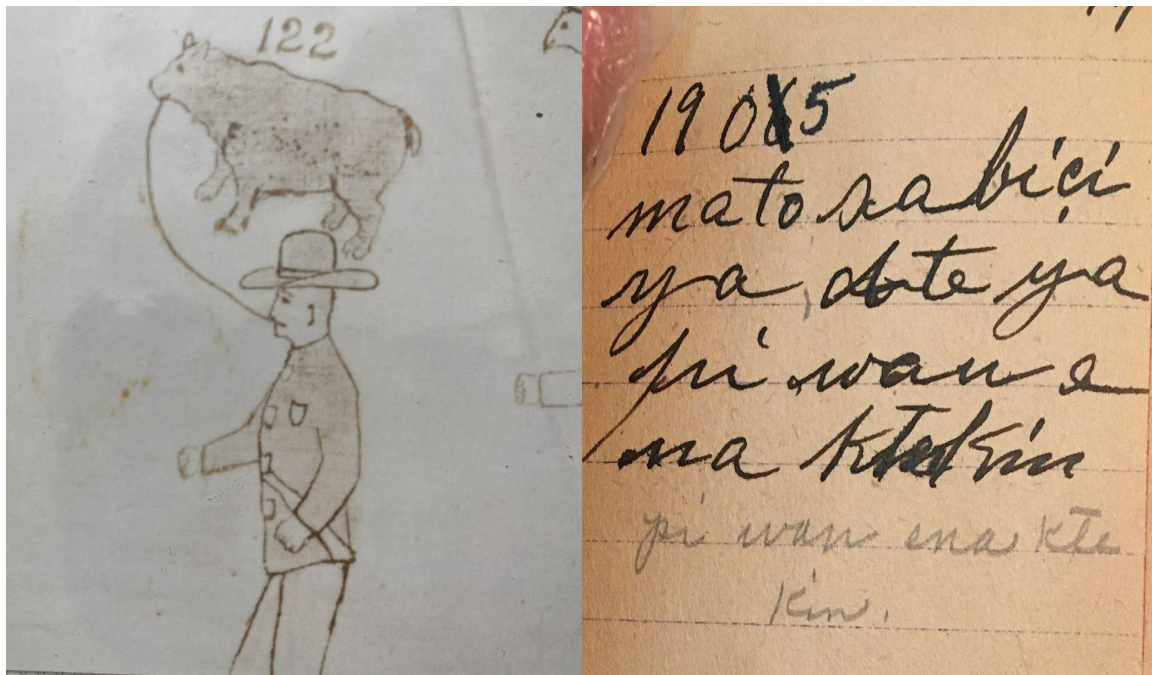
120. 1902-1903: Šúnka Čík'ana obdó wan ka t'é čin

Little Dog square? lies dying



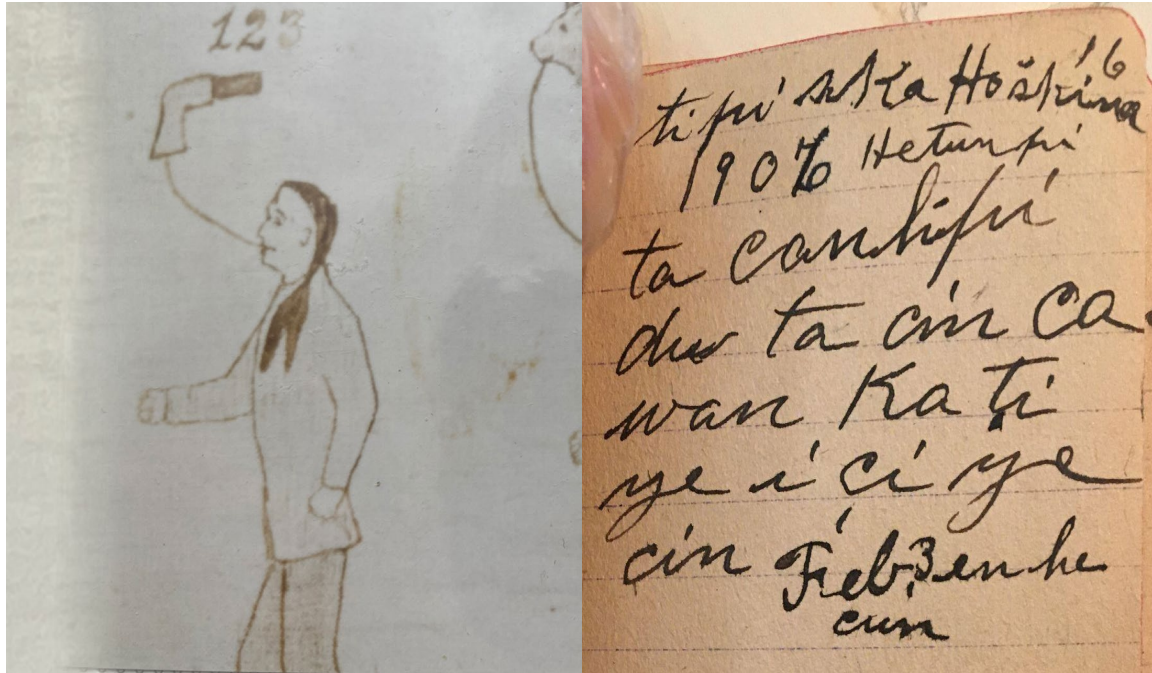
121. 1903-1904: Waṅbdí Ská t'é čin

White Eagle dies

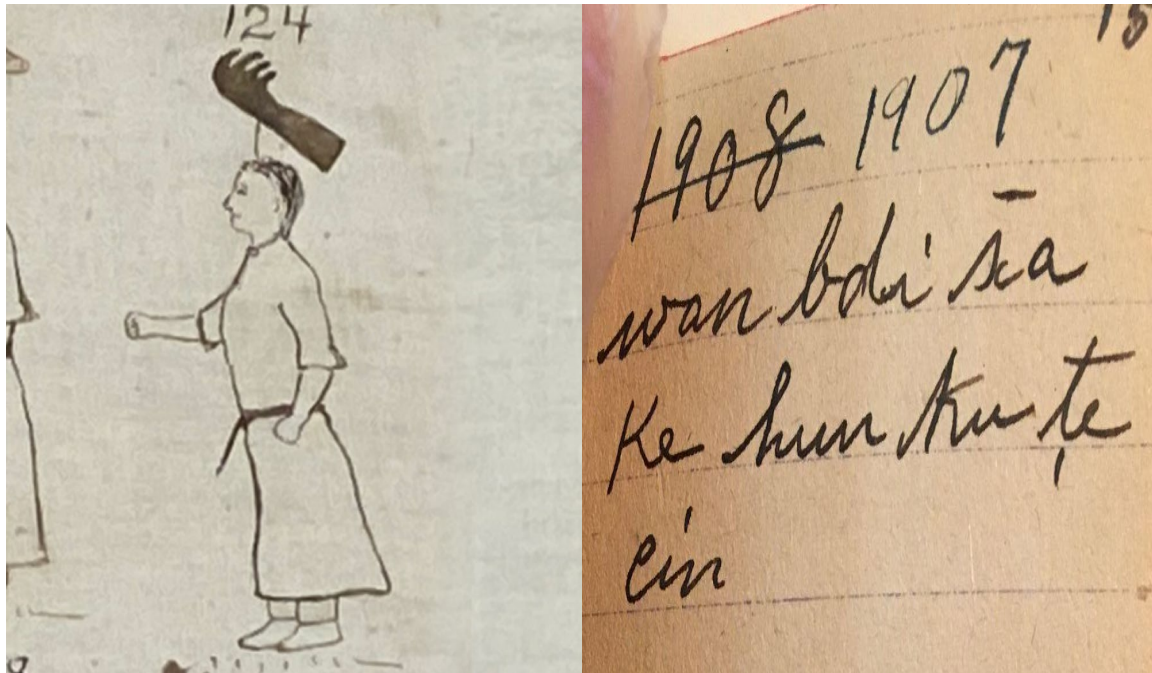


122. 1904-1905: Maṭhó Sab'íc'ia atéyapi waṅ éna kte kin

Bear Blackens Himself kills a reservation agent

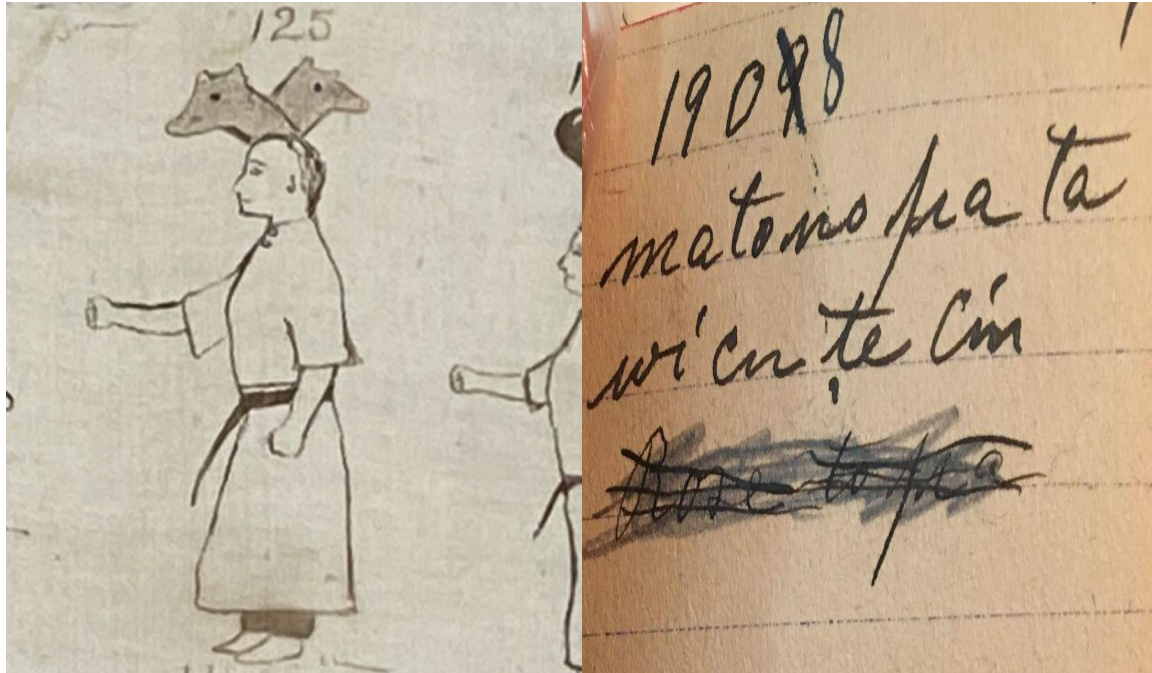


123. 1905-1906: {Thípi Ská Hokšína hé thúnpi} ThăČáhǵpi Dúta činčá waŋ kat'íyeič'íye čin {White Lodge Boy was born} One of Red Tomahawk's children shoots himself, he did that on Feb. 3



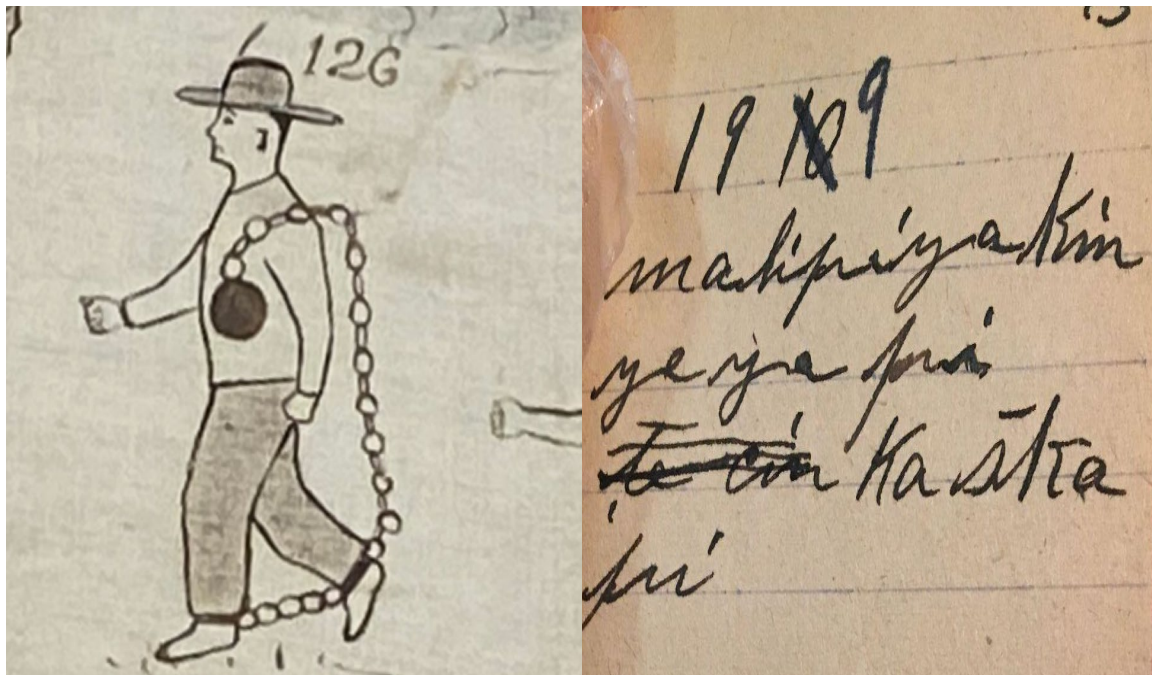
124. 1906-1907: Waŋbdí-Šaké húnku t'é čin

Mother of Eagle Claws dies



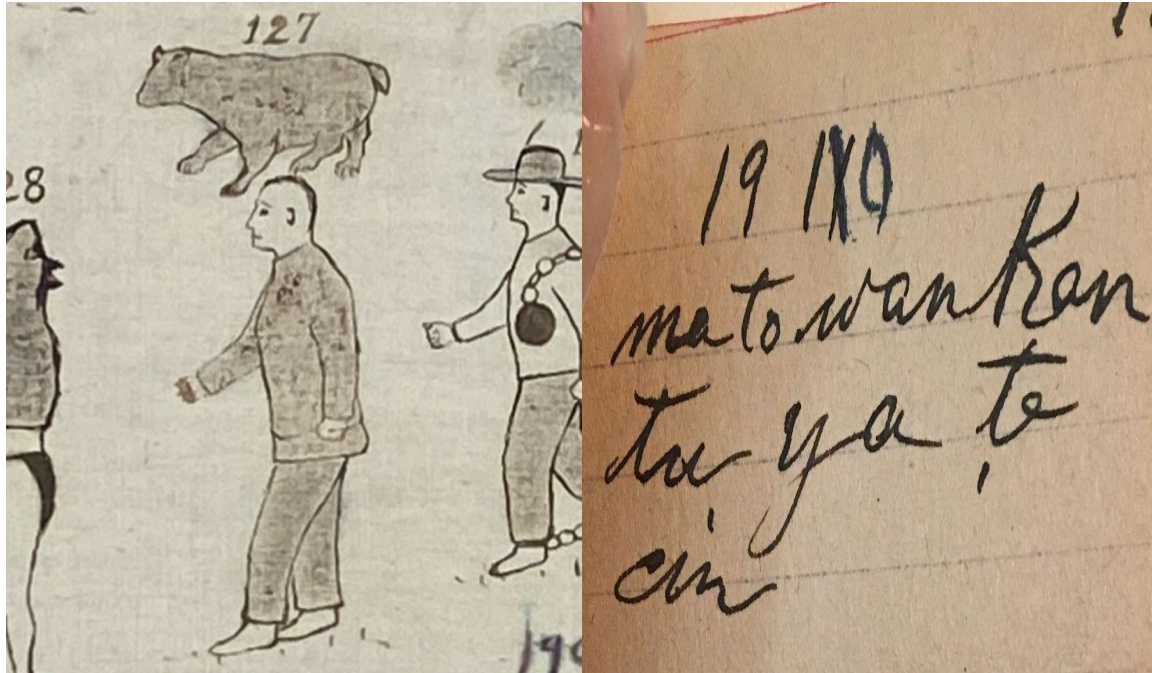
125. 1907-1908: Maḥó Núnpa ṥhawícu t'é čin

Wife of Two Bears dies



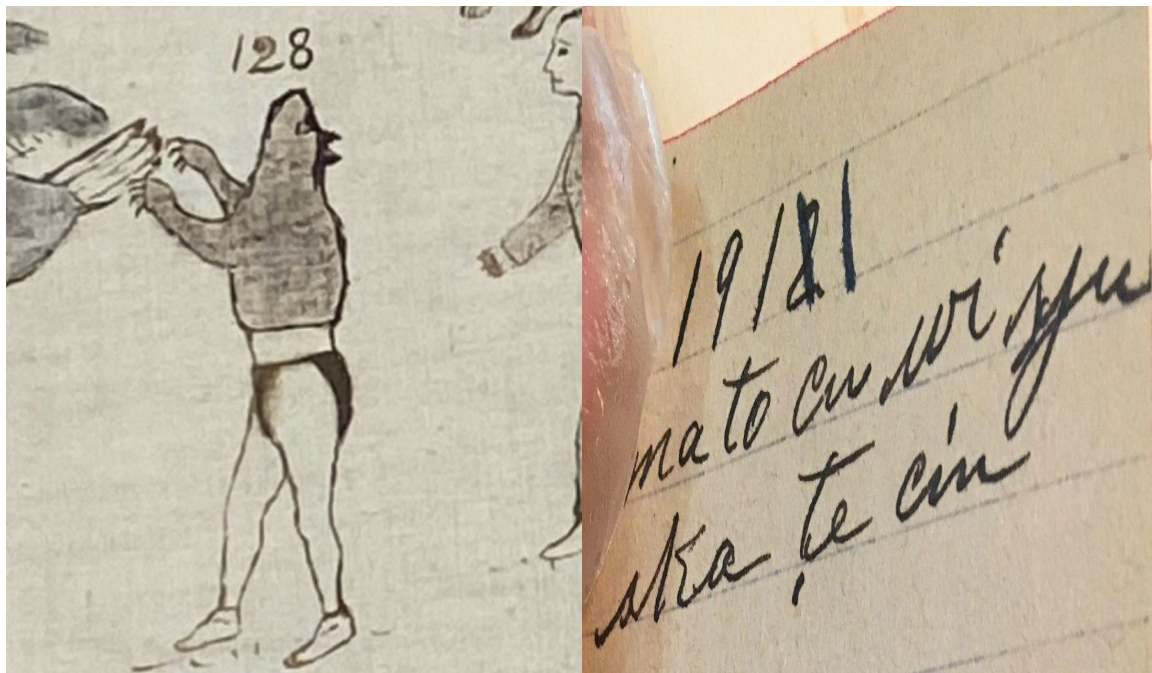
126. 1908-1909: Maḥpíya Kinyéyapi kaškápi

Cloud-Sent-Flying is imprisoned



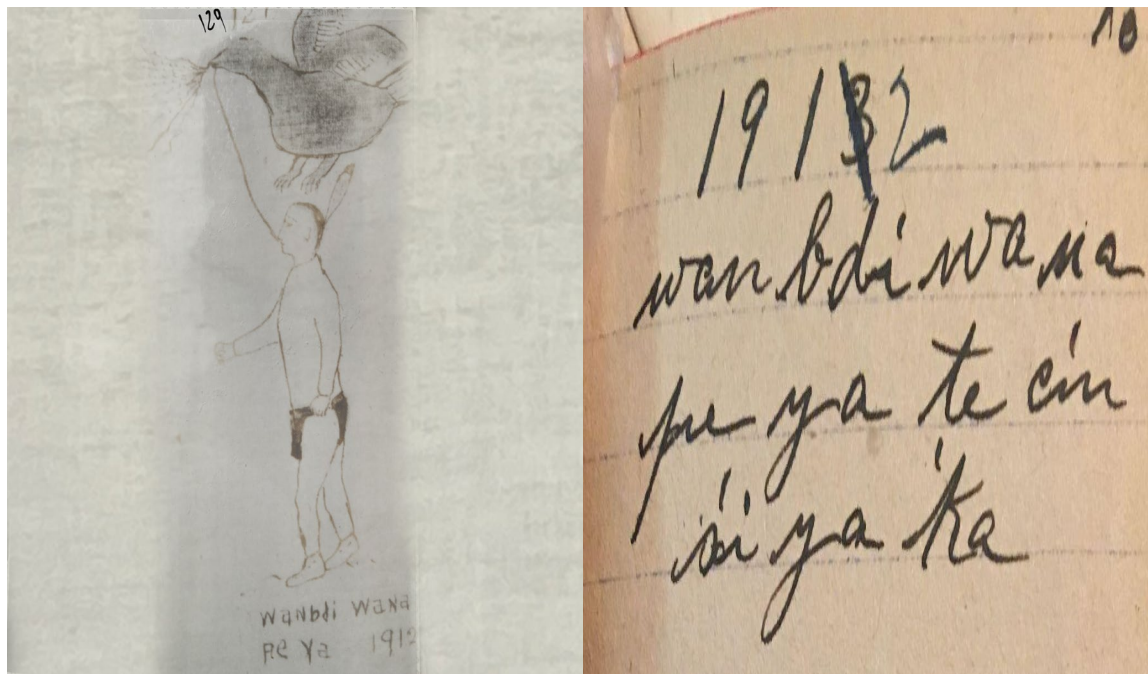
127.1909-1910: Mathó Waṅkátuya t'é čin

High Bear dies.



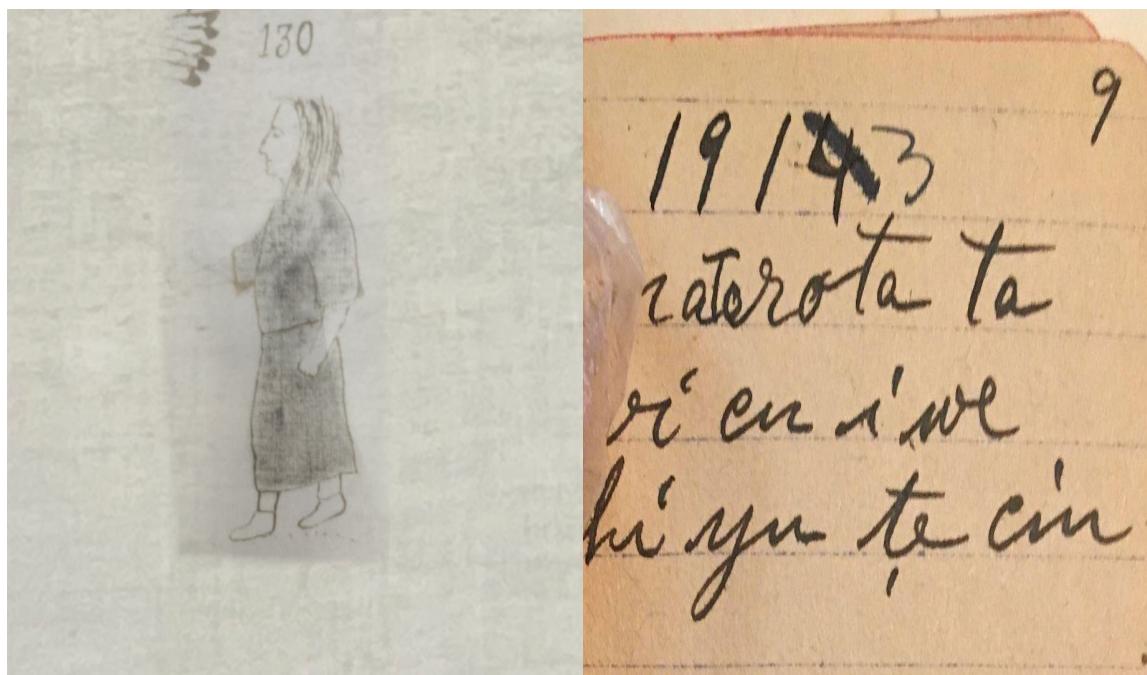
128. 1910-1911: Mathó Čuwíyuská t'é čin

Upper Half Bear dies



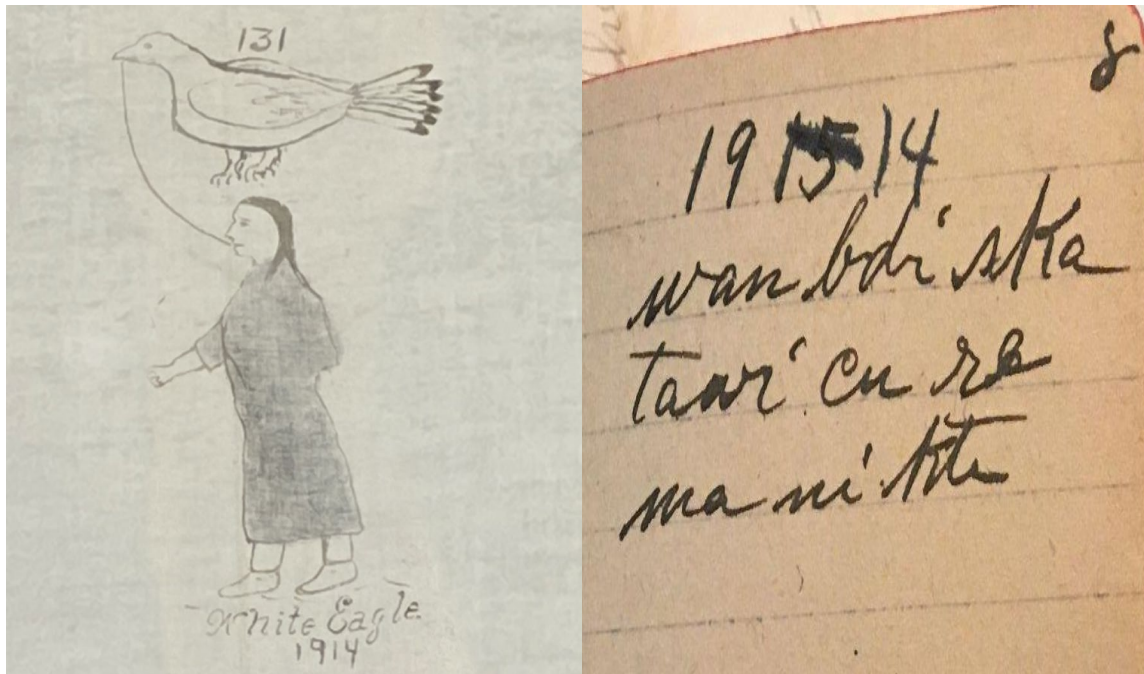
129. 1911-1912: Wanbdi Wanápheya t'é čin, Šiyáka

Eagle-Makes-Them-Flee dies, Šiyaka



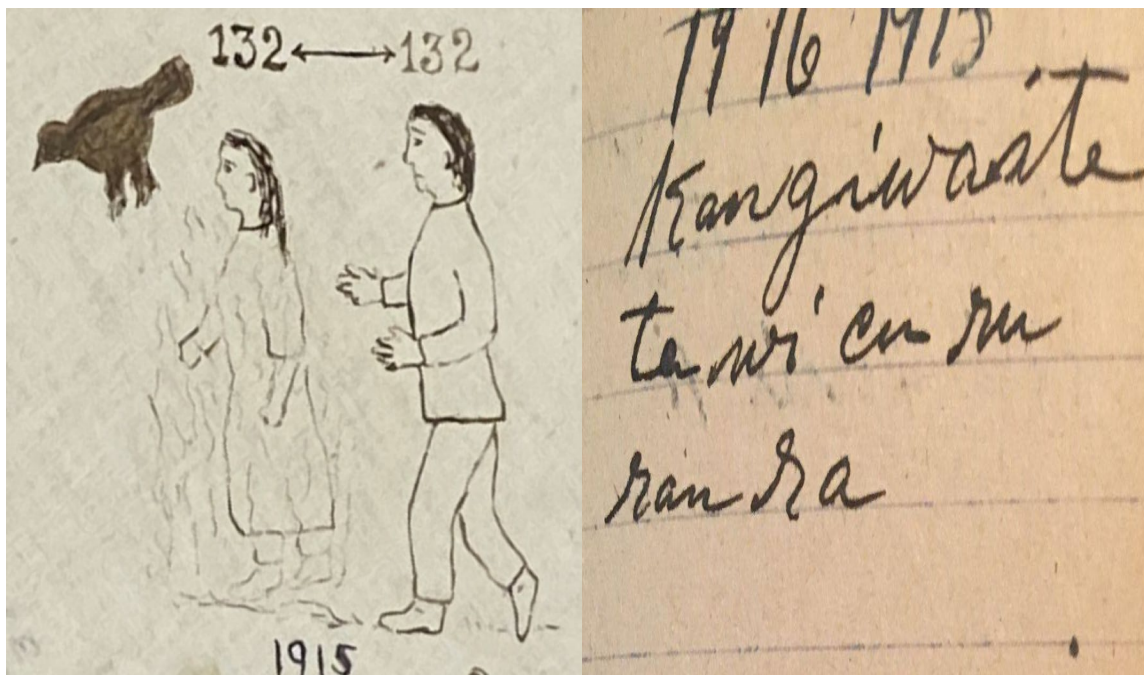
130. 1912-1913: Mathó Hóta thawíču íwehiyu t'é čin

Gray Bear's wife bleeds from the mouth when she dies



131. 1913-1914: Waᅇbdí Ská ᅇhawíçu ᅇemáni kté

White Eagle's wife is killed by a train.

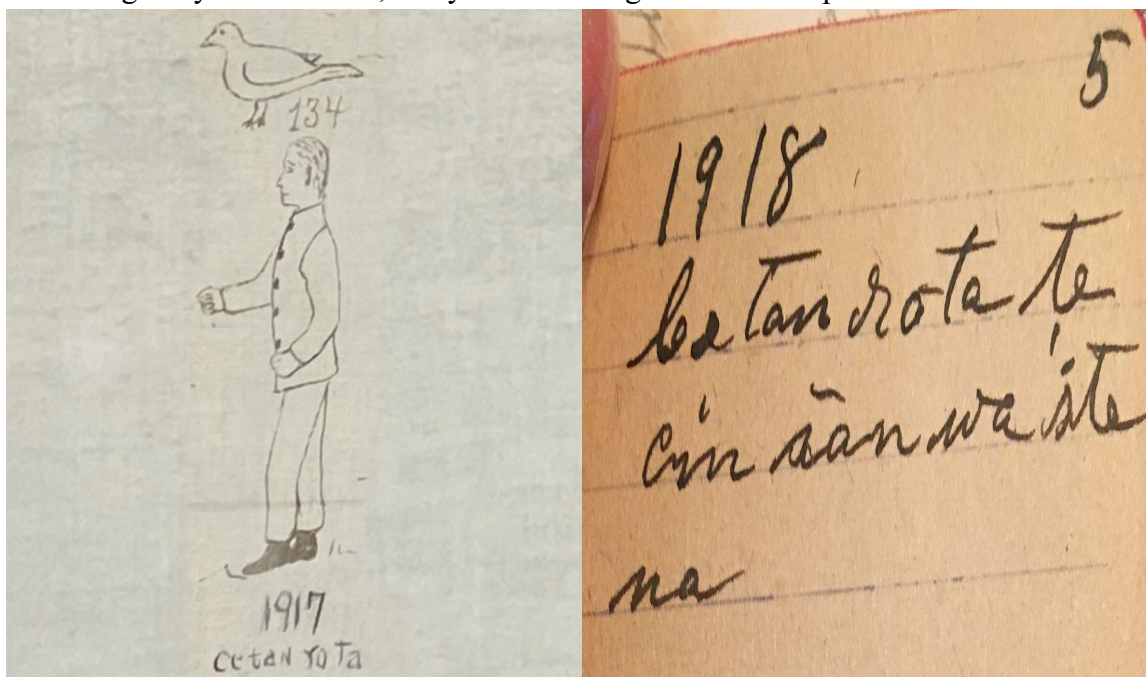


132. 1914-1915: Kᅇaᅇgí Waᅇté ᅇhawíçu ᅇugnáᅇa

Good Crow's wife is burned up

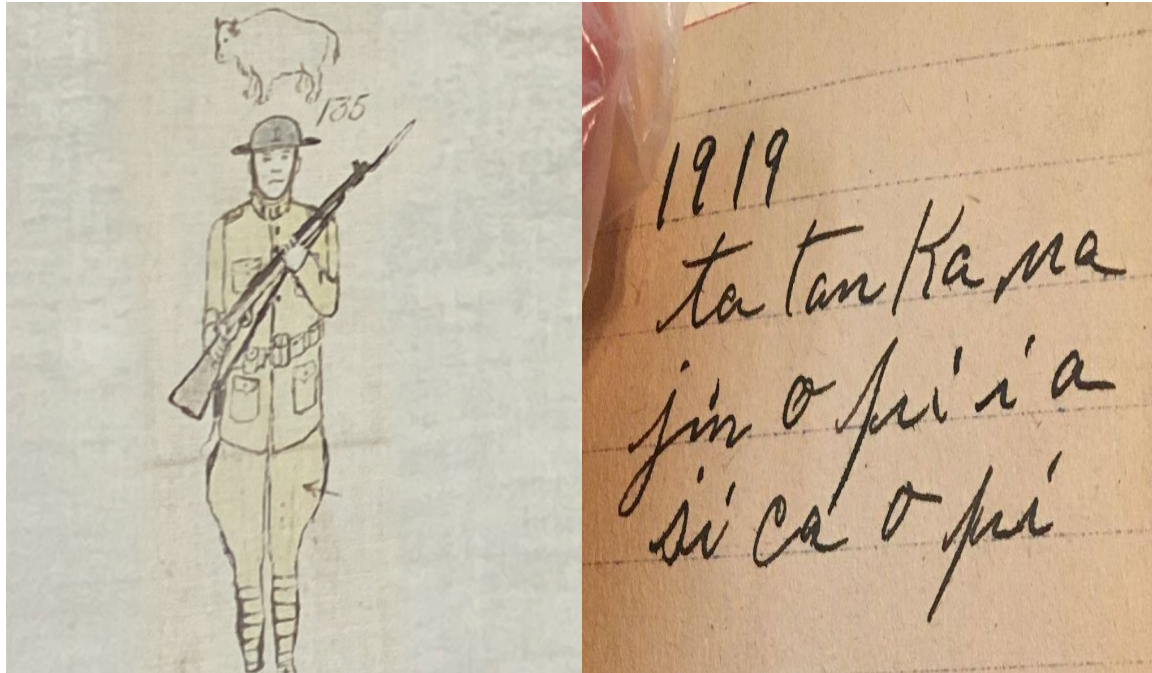


133. 1916-1917: Mathó Wakhán t'é čin othápha Mary Yellow Lodge thúnpi, April 11
 Following Holy Bear's death, Mary Yellow Lodge is born on April 11



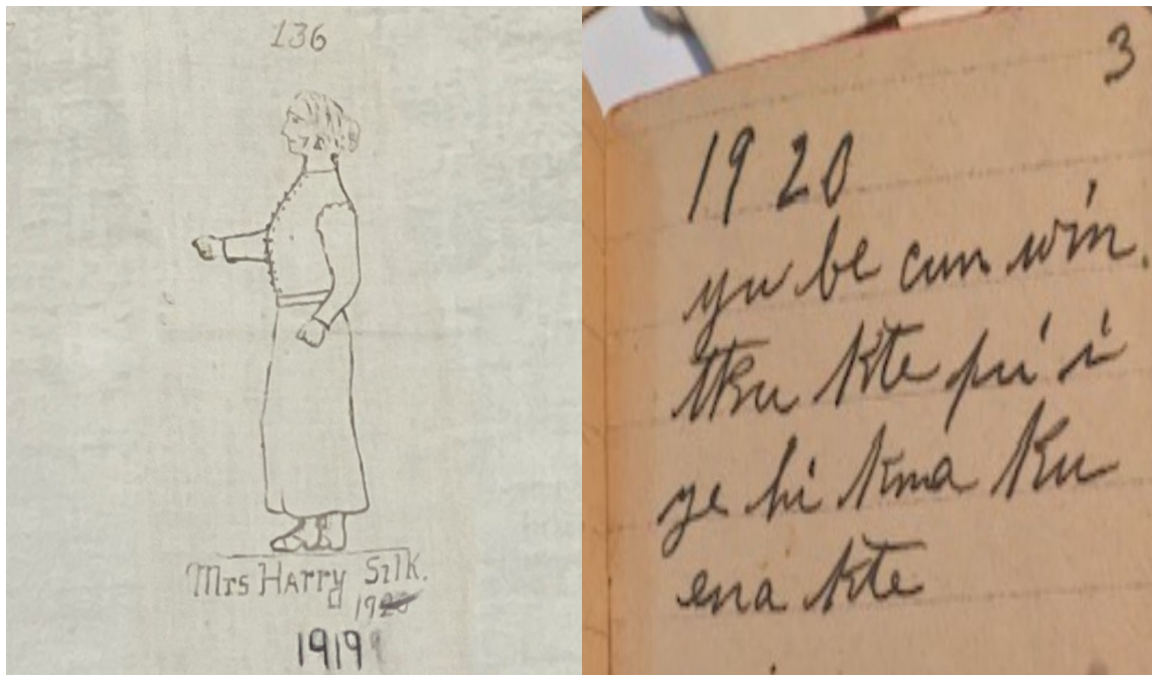
134. 1917-1918: Chetan Hóta t'é čin šan wašténa

Gray Hawk dies _____ ?



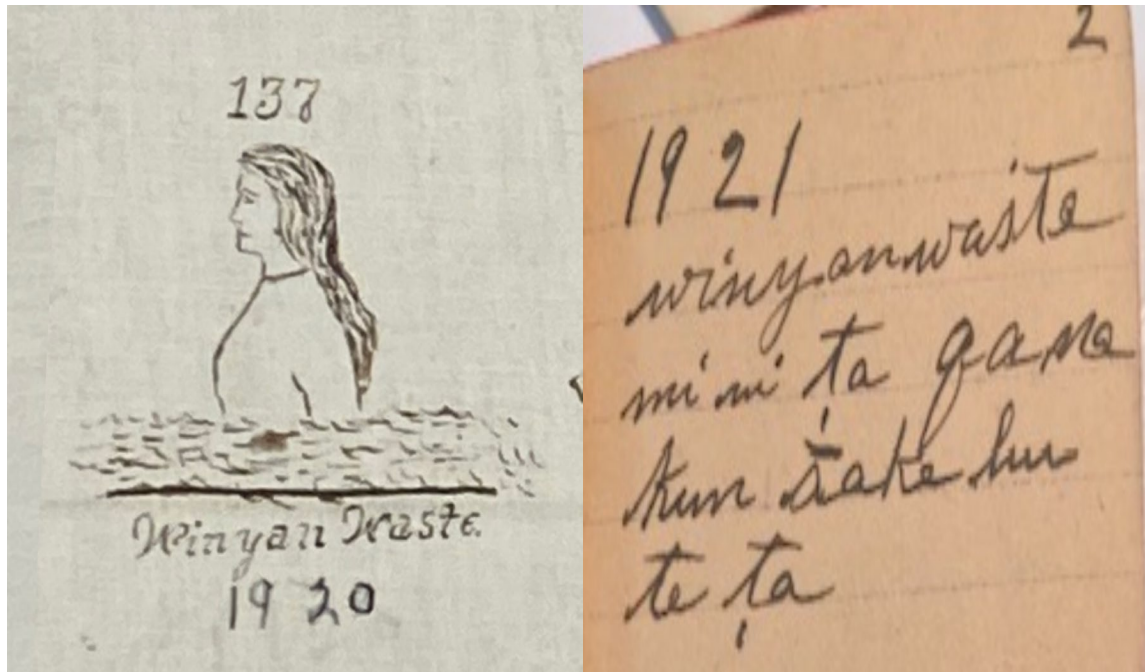
135. 1918-1919: Tháthánka Nážiŋ ópi, IyáŠíča ópi.

Standing Buffalo wounded by the Germans



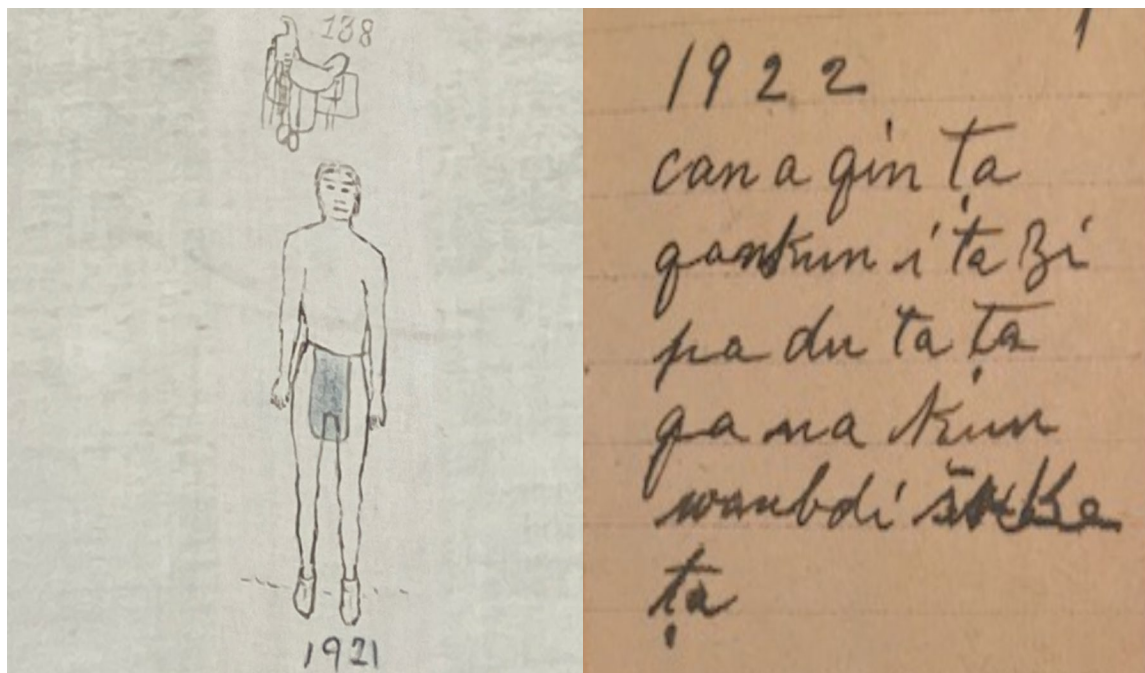
136. 1919-1920: Yube čunwíŋtku ktépi, iyé hignáku éna kté

Yube's daughter is killed, her own husband killed her



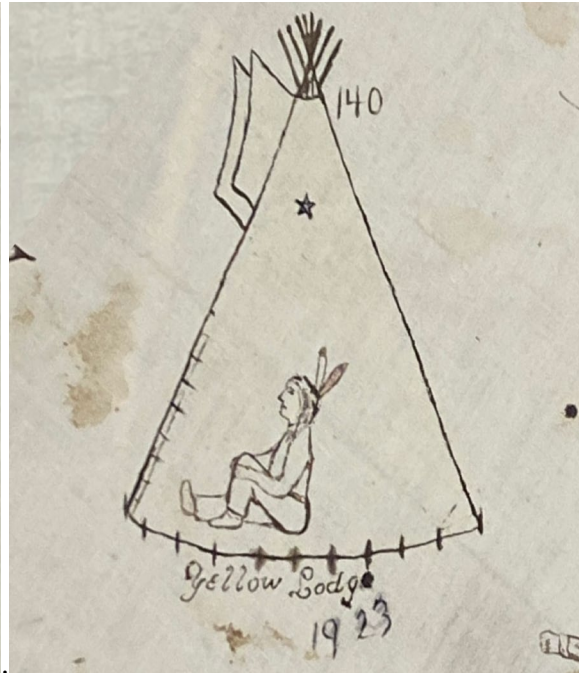
137. 1920-1921: Winyan Wašté mnít'a na nakúŋ Šaké Húte t'á

Beautiful Woman drowns, and also Fingernail Bed dies



138. 1921-1922: Čhánwak'inj t'á k'a nakúŋ Itázipa Dúta t'á na nakúŋ Waŋbdí-Šaké t'á.

Saddle dies, Red Bow dies, and also Eagle Claw dies



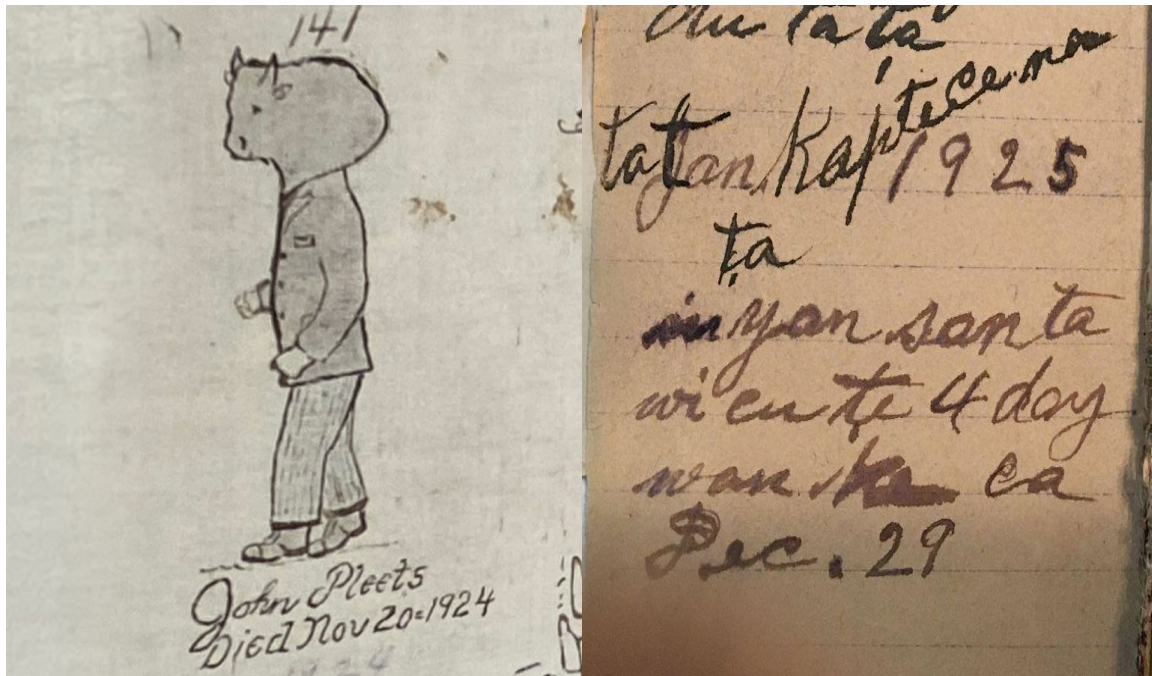
85 en ta
 oot 30 1923
 en wiyoyote
 ta 1924
 1925
 maybe Feb.
 en mathoyate
 du ta ta
 tatan kap 1925
 ta

19 23
 wakinyanwa takpe
 te cin he e han
 Fort Yates N. Dak.
 wambdiwa kita ta
 sa wa na ta ta
 sa ke hu te cin
 win ihu ta

139. 1922-1923: Wakinyan Wathákpe t'é čin he ehán, Fort Yates, N. Dak. - Wanbdi Wákhita t'á, šuwanata? t'á. Šaké Húta čhuwíŋtku t'á.

140. Wigiiyaothi t'á {85 én t'á} 140. 1923-1924: Maybe Feb. én Mathóyate Dúta t'á

When Charging Thunder dies - watching eagle dies, ___? Dies, the daughter of the Base of Fingernail dies. Wigiiyaothi died on that date. His Nation dies 85



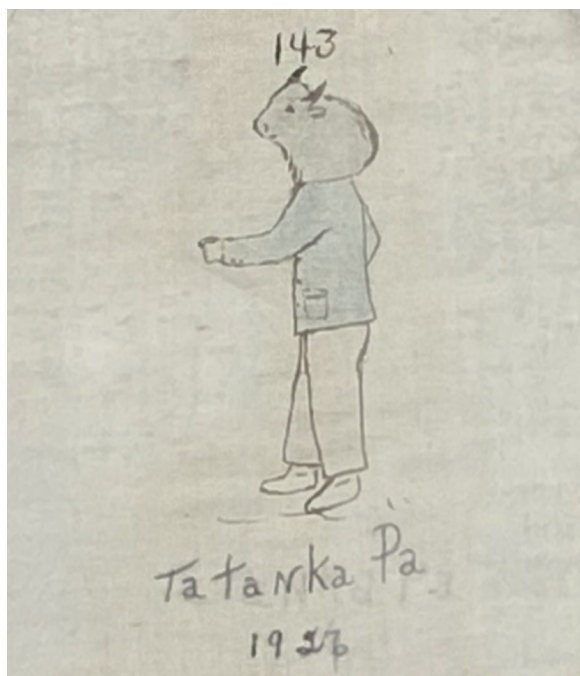
141. 1924-1925: Thăthánka Ptéčena t'á - Inyan Sáj thăwíču t'é 4 day ____? Dec 29

Short Bull dies - White Rock's wife dies, lasting four days

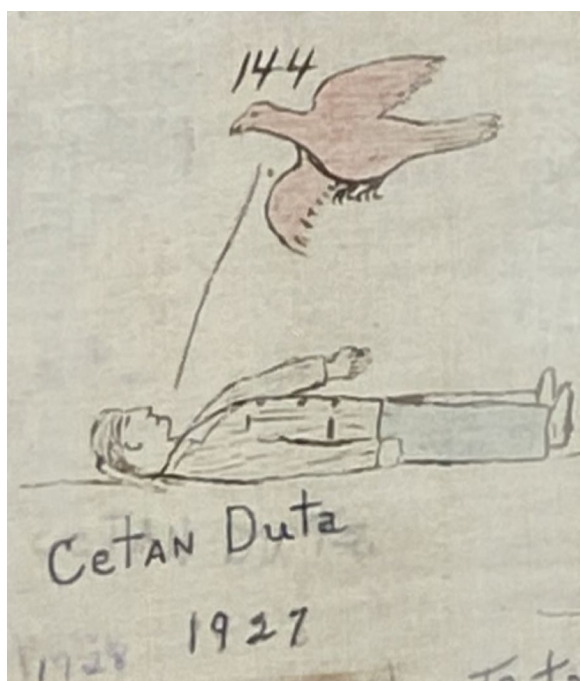
Final Entry in winter count key booklet



142. 1925: Maḥpíya Phéta - Fire Cloud



143. 1926: Třathánka Pňá - Bull Head



144. 1927: Čhetán Dúta - Red Hawk



145. 1929: Waṅbdi Hótēna t'ē

Eugene Grey Eagle Dies (Feb 5, 1929)



146. 1930: Frank Gates dies (November 20, 1930)



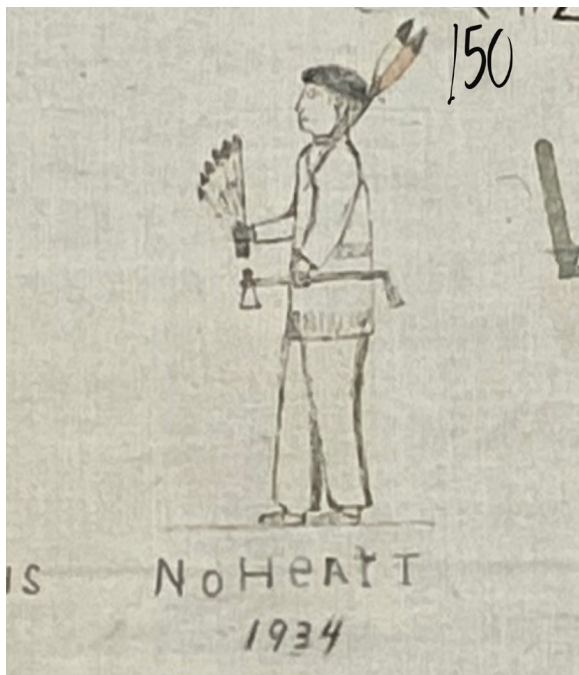
147. 1931: Mrs. Shave One Side Died (1931), Bonus Army (April 1932)



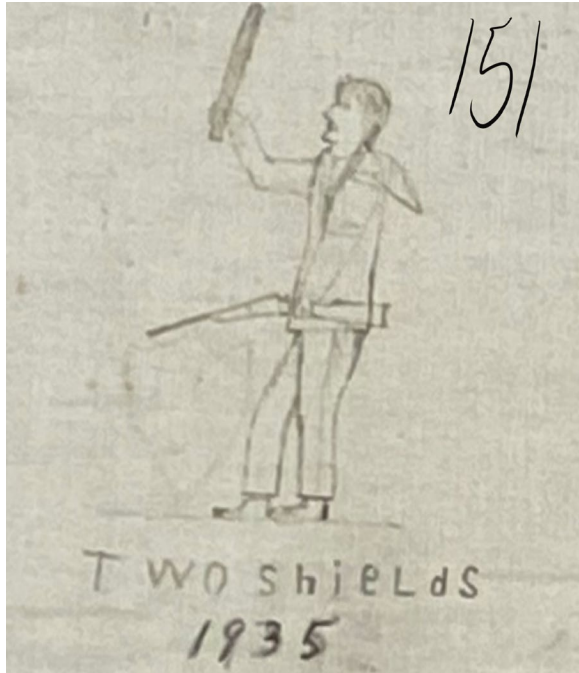
148. 1932: Třaphá



149. 1933: Mathó Ská



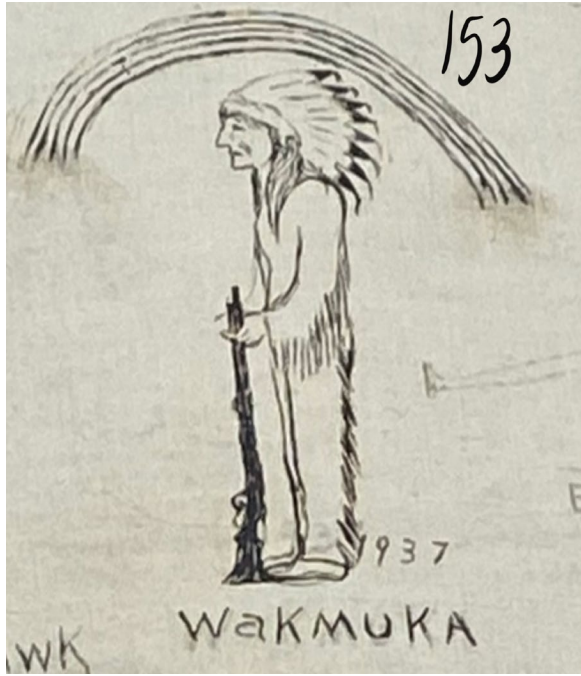
150. 1934: No Heart



151. 1935: Two Shields



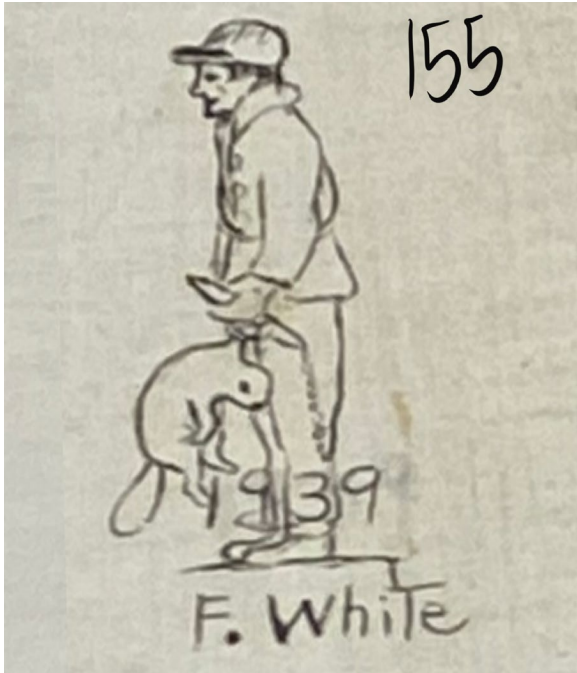
152. 1936: Edward Four



153. 1937: Wagnúka



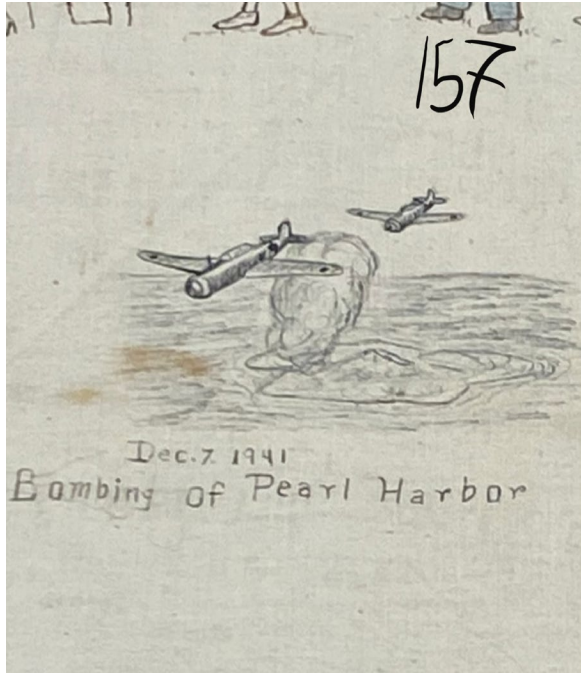
154. 1938: Afraid of Hawk



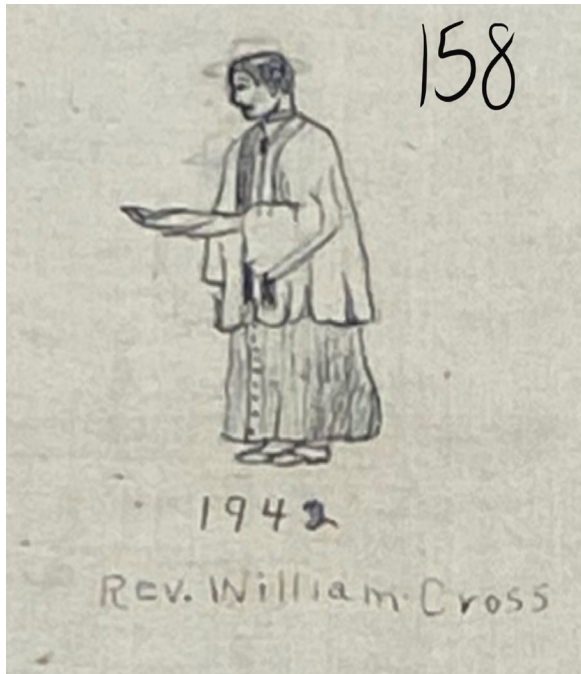
155. 1939: F. White



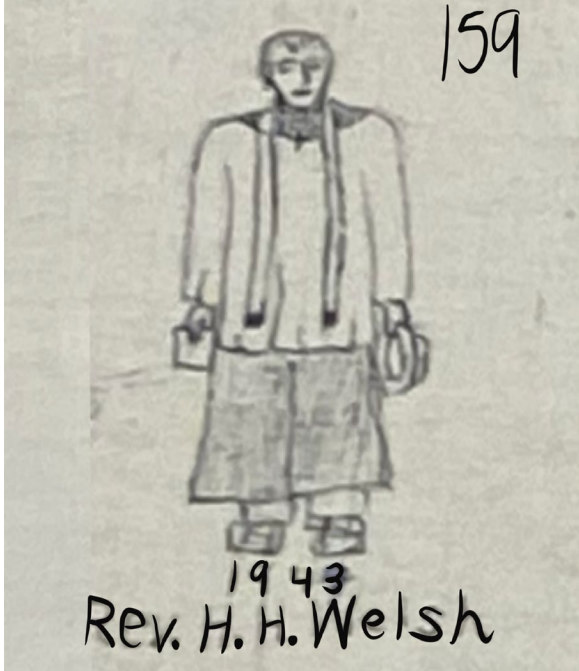
156. 1940: Ben Standing Soldier



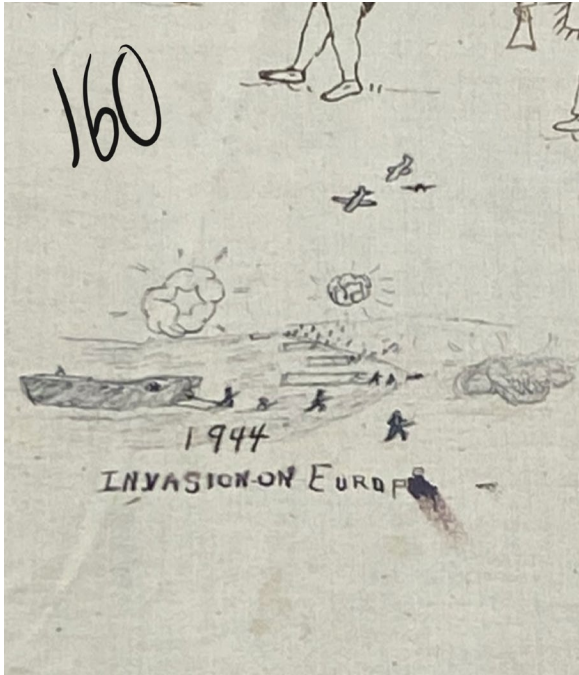
157. 1941: The Bombing of Pearl Harbor



158. 1942: Rev. William Cross



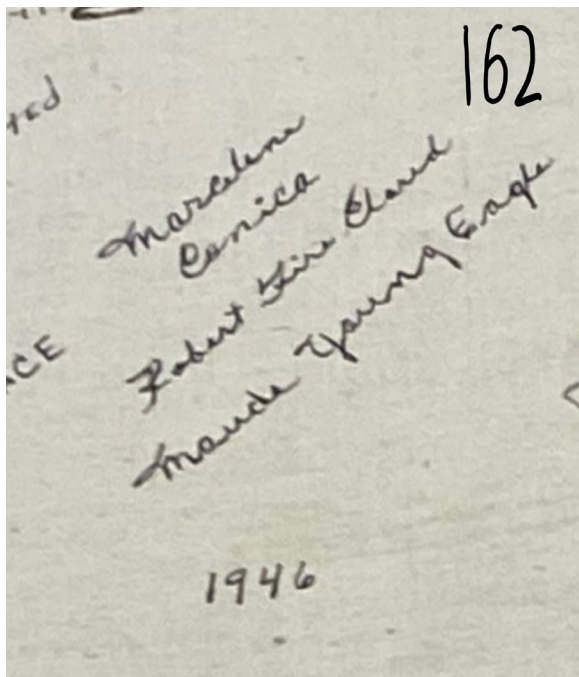
159. 1943: Rev. H.H. Welsh



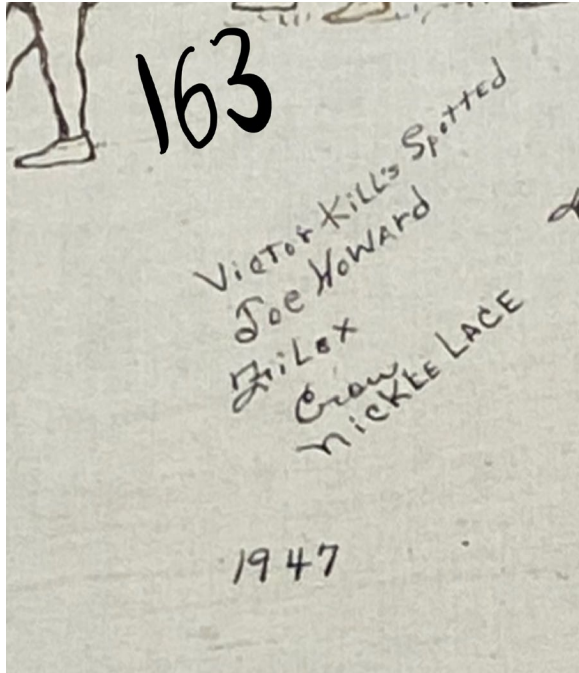
160. 1944: Invasion of Europe



161. 1945: Victory in Europe and Japan



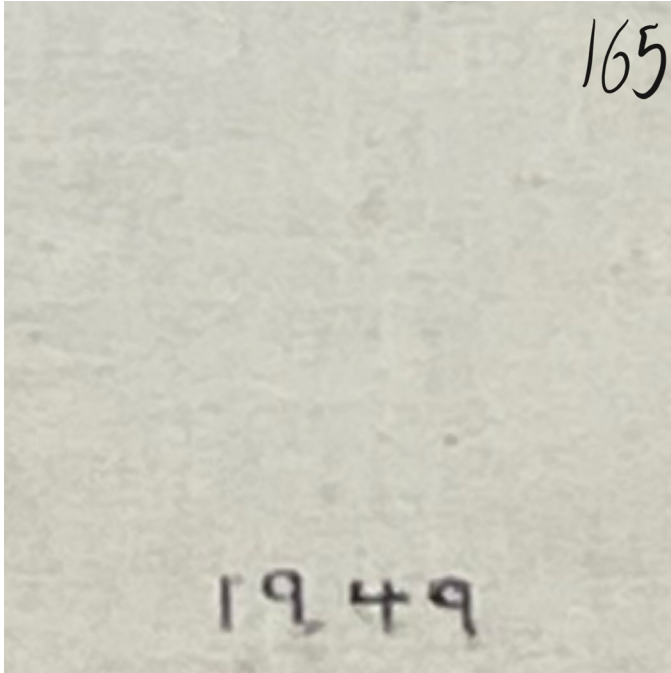
162. 1946: Marcelene Conica, Robert Fire-Cloud, Amanda YoungEagle.



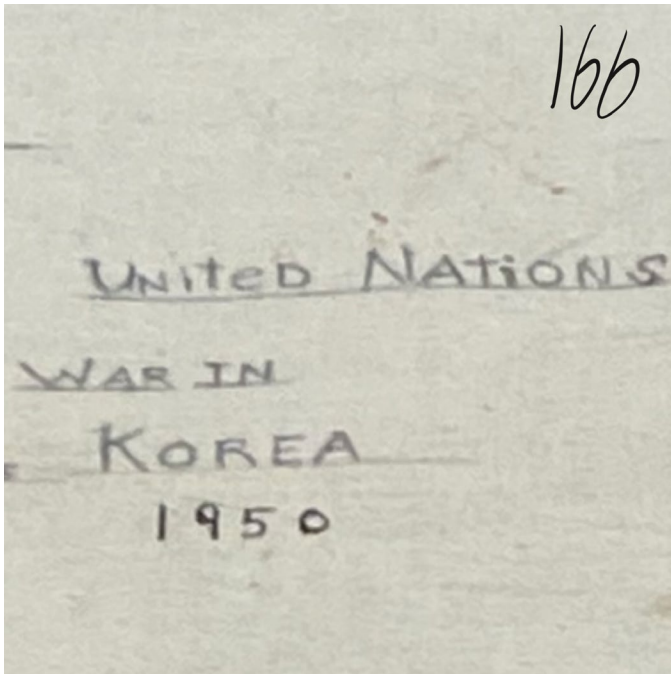
163. 1947: Victor Kills Spotted, Joe Howard, Felix Crow Necklace



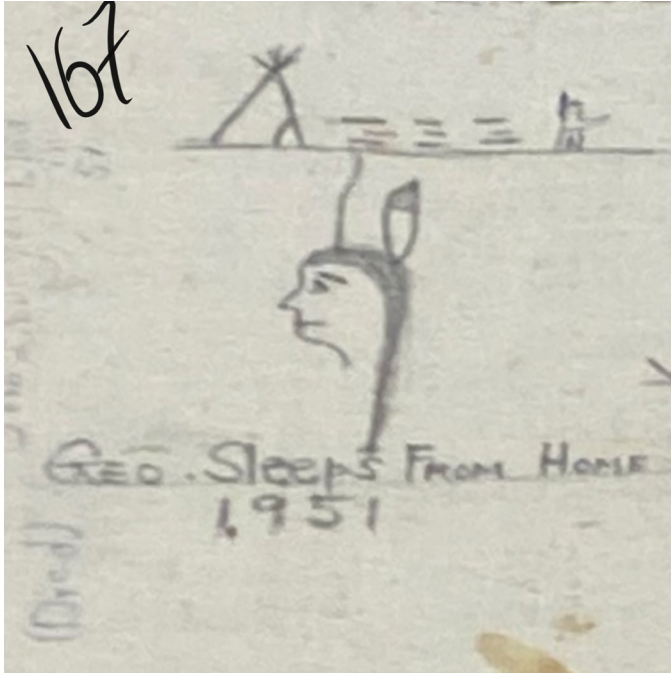
164. 1948 _____



165. 1949 _____



166. 1950: United Nations war in Korea



167. 1951: George Sleeps-From-Home

168. 1952: Etta Iron Shield Died

Appendix B

<p>1910- Matipija Kingyapi kiska pi. 1909 Mato rape ta wicite cin. 1908 Wambdi sake kunkin te cin 1907 Jasanhipi duta cinia wan Ka ti xye i ci ye Feb 3. 1906 Mato sabiriga aliyapi wan ena kte kin. 1905 Wambdiska te cin. 1904. Sunka cigama ob</p>	<p>1923- Oct. 30. wigiya ole ta 1922- can wa kin ta Ita zipa duta, ta. Wambdi sake ta. 1921 Winyan waste mni ta Sake hute ta 1920 yube sunwintku ktepi. iye hoknaku ena kte. 1919 Satanka najin, iasicaopi 1918 Cetan kota te cin (an waste na). 1917 Mato wakan te cin siapay 1916 Kanji waste tawici kunkin ga. 1915 Wambdiska tawicu ki- mane kte. 1914 Matokota tawicu i waki yu te cin. 1913 Wambdi wanapeya te cin siyaka. 1912 Mato kuwi yu k'oa te cin. 1911 Mato wakan tu ya te cin</p>
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37

Deaths.

Theodore Leone Buried	died	Oct 12, 1935. Oct 14 - 1935.
Mary Jane Redstone Buried	died	Febr. 1, 1936 Febr. 2, 1936.
John Frutep		1936

1929 Eugene yd. Oct 5.
 1929 - Frank Gates Nov. 20
 1930 - Ruelen Tuske Aug 4
 1931 - Jessie Slater Sept. 16
 1932 - Herbert Buf. Boy Jan 2
 1932 - Tom Duped - Dec. 20
 1933 - ~~Frank Black Tom~~ ~~Aug 20~~
 1934 - Joe No Heart Jan 27
 1934 - John Crow Man Nov 19
 1934 - Frank Goodcloud - Nov 3
 1935 - John Two shield - Aug 8
 1935 - Ted Doone Oct 3
 1936 Different owl Feb 10
 Eddie Doney
 1937 - Mary Jane White - Oct 9
 1938 Ed. of Hawk - Feb 10
 1939 - Gyl White Man July 29
 1940 Father Bernard Oct 16
 1941 Tom Black Tomhawk Aug 7

