

Wichita Narratives

Project for the Documentation of Endangered Languages

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pp. 257-269

TEXT ANALYSIS

The sample text presented below was chosen from among several because it is better understood than most and it contains a variety of tense, person, number, and adverbial forms, including some impressively long polysynthetic constructions. Moreover, it is a cute story, and was narrated smoothly and in good literary style (cf. the number of participles indicating parallel activity, the lack of 'fillers' or hesitation forms such as ickiriʔ and ka:kiriʔ which abound in conversation, and the paucity of events told out of order).

The format consists of two lines. The lines contain the following information:

line a: The Wichita surface structure form, punctuated parallel to its English counterpart.

line b: A free translation of the form.

line c: A morphological analysis of the sentence.

line d: A gloss for each morpheme. A number here refers to a preceding text line which also contains that morpheme; relevant further information can be found in the line with the first reference.

[Note: Lines *c'* and *d'* are occasionally used as extra lines for morphological analysis and morpheme gloss when these do not fit into a single line in the word processor.]

A tape recording of this text is on deposit with the American Philosophical Library in Philadelphia.

Turtle, Buffalo, and Coyote

1. a. ka:ʔa:ʔa:kó:kha:rʔa
b. Once upon a time
c. ka:ʔ a:ʔ a: ki wakhahr ʔa
d. new topic quotative 3rd person with preverb aorist activity come

2. a. kíkʔi:s khiʔas kiyakihiteʔecaki
b. turtle poor thing he was sitting at the edge, they say.
c. kíkʔi:s khiʔas kiya ki hita ʔicaki
d. turtle poor quotative + 3rd person 1 edge sit

3. a. kiya:kiʔi:khíyaʔa hakihiʔiyaskwah.
 b. he was wishing, they say to go across the water.
 c. kiya a: ki uʔikhiyaʔa ha...ki hiʔiyas¹ wa h
 d. 2 preverb 1 wish subjunctive cross water go, perf. sub
4. a. "ka:kiyaʔ² isí:ʔa!
 b. Somebody come!
 c. ka: kiyaʔ i s uy ʔa
 d. indefinite person imperative 2nd person preverb come
5. a. iskirhiʔiyaskwa!"
 b. Take me across the water!
 c. i s kiʔ ri hiʔiyas wa
 d. 4 4 1st person object portative 3 3
6. a. ka:ʔa:ʔa:kihi:ʔiké:sʔa né:rhirʔa
 b. then along down in came buffalo
 c. ka:ʔ a:ʔ a: ki hi:ʔike:s ʔa né:rhir ʔa
 d. 1 1 1 1 ditch down into come buffalo bull noun
 formant
7. a. a:ko:kʔa "a::h neʔewá:r!
 b. He said, "Hey, friend!
 c. a:ʔ ki wakʔa a::h neʔewá:r
 d. 1 1 say interjection vocative term of pseudo-friendship usually
 used by Coyote
8. a. é:kiriʔ³ ha:waʔ nasí:wakharakʔas ?"
 b. "What then are you talking about?"
 c. é: kiriʔ ha:waʔra s u wakharakʔa s
 d. question thing then interrogative indicative⁴ 3 talk about impf.
9. a. "tatí:ʔikhiyaʔa hakihiʔiyaskwah," a:ko:kʔa.
 b. "I am wishing to cross the water," he said.
 c. ta t u ʔikhiyaʔa hakihiʔiyaskwah a:ki-wakʔa
 d. indicative 1st person subject 3 3 3 7
10. a. "tiʔrih híriʔ iskiteʔe:ki
 b. "Here then sit on top
 c. tíʔi -hirih híriʔ⁴ i s kita ʔi:ki
 d. this locative in that case 4 4 top sit down

11. a. nackwi:rʔicʔirih⁵," a:ko:kʔa né:rhirʔa.
 b. Where my shoulder is," said Buffalo.
 c. na t wi:r-ʔic ʔi -hirih a:ki-wakʔa né:rhirʔa
 d. participle 9 shoulder = be arm-head 10 7 6
12. a. a:ko:kʔa kíkʔi:s "kíriʔ! keʔesawi:rʔictakwi;
 b. said turtle, "No! You will shake your shoulder;
 c. a:ki-wakʔa kíkʔi:s kíriʔ! keʔe s a⁶ wi:rʔic takwi
 d. 7 2 No! future 4 unexplained 11 shake, jerk
13. a. keʔeskiha:hanniwihi." "háʔwi:ʔ híriʔ
 b. You will throw me into the water." "Okay, then
 c. keʔe s kíʔ ha: hirahr-riwihi haʔawi:ʔ híriʔ
 d. 12 4 5 water throw down interjection 10
14. a. natí:ʔarikhkiteʔerʔi:ʔarikírih
 b. Where my horns stick out on top
 c. na t uy ʔarik ru⁷ kita ʔirʔi: ʔariki hirih
 d. 11 9 possessive horn plural 10 protrude stand 11
15. a. harah isteʔerhí:kawa." a:ko:kʔa, "kíriʔ!
 b. There go into the brush. He replied, "No!
 c. harah i s teʔerhi:ka wa a:ki-wakʔa kíriʔ
 d. There 4 4 brush 3 7 12
16. a. á:h, kíriʔ! keʔesé:cʔiriyari hinníʔ
 b. Oh, No! You will shake your head and
 c. a:h kiriʔ keʔe s a ʔic⁸ ʔiriyari hinníʔ
 d. 7 12 12 4 12 head go randomly and
17. a. keʔeskiha:hanniwihi." "á:h, tí:ctawi::ʔi!
 b. You will throw me into the water "Oh, it's hard!
 c. keʔe-s-kíʔ-ha:-hirahr-riwihi á:h tí uc tawi::ʔi
 d. 13 7 indicative 3rd person preverb be difficult
18. a. háʔwi:ʔ, híriʔ, iskawa, natíriʔiskirikʔirih."
 b. Ok, then, go in where my anus is."
 c. haʔawi:ʔ híriʔ i s ka wa na t uy riʔis
 d. 13 10 4 4 in 3 11 9 14 buttocks

- c'. kirik ?i hirih
d'. hole 11 11
19. a. hiriwa? na:hissah harah a:kikawa.
b. Then going, there he went into it.
c. hiriwa? na a⁹ hisha h harah a:?
d. then participle unanalyzed go, impf. 3 15 1
- c'. ki ka wa
d'. 1 18 3
20. a. hiriwa? nakhissah harah wa? naka:ʔicakih
b. then going in, there now sitting inside
c. hiriwa? na ka hisha h harah wa? na ka:
d. 19 19 18 19 3 15 already now 19 inside
- c'. ʔicaki h
d'. 2 3
21. a. a:kihiʔiyaskwa. hiriwa? nahité:tiskih
b. he went across the water. Then when he was getting onto the bank
c. a:? ki hiʔiyas wa hiriwa? na hita iti skih
d. 1 1 3 3 19 19 2 exit subordinate
imperfective
22. a. nahiʔiyassissah, "haʔawí:ro:ʔ é:ka:ʔ¹⁰ hiriwa?
b. after crossing the water "Okay, then now where (is it) then
c. na hiʔiyas hisha haʔawi:ʔ hiriʔ wa? é: ka:ʔ hiriwa?
d. 19 3 19 13 10 20 8 place 19
23. a. kiyakí:ctawi::ʔi hiriwa? hako:citih.
b. It was hard for him then to get out.
c. kiya ki uc tawi::ʔi hiriwa? ha...ki wac iti h
d. 2 1 17 17 19 3 out(side) 21 3
24. a. a:kiʔirakhann kíkʔi:s á:kiwicka:ʔa,
b. Suddenly, turtle thought,
c. a:? ki ʔirakhann¹¹ kíkʔi:s a:? ki wicka:ʔa
d. 1 1 unanalyzed 2 1 1 think (= say to oneself)

25. a. "tiʔi híriʔ ickaʔac!" ka:kiriʔáre:rʔi
 b. "this then let me eat it!" He didn't know what it was
 c. tiʔi híriʔ i t kaʔac ka: kiriʔ i
 d. 10 10 4 9 eat, transitive indefinite 8 inchoative
- c'. a...re:R ʔi
 d'. unknown 11
26. a. nakaʔacskih nako:ke:hárih.
 b. that he was eating deep inside him.
 c. na kaʔac skih na ko:ka yiha hirih
 d. 11 25 21 11 deep inside be a place 11
27. a. chiʔá:kiʔi:rakhárisʔi:ʔ né:rhirʔa a:ki:weʔehi.
 b. All at once Buffalo fell over.
 c. chiʔ a:kiʔi:rakhahr isʔi:ʔ né:rhirʔa a:ʔ ki iweʔehi
 d. still 24 unanalyzed 6 1 1 fell over.
28. a. hiriwaʔ kíkʔi:s wéraʔ nakaʔacskih harah
 b. then turtle maybe while he was eating there
 c. hiriwaʔ kíkʔi:s wéraʔ nakaʔacskih harah
 d. 19 2 inferential 26 15
29. a. a:kó:citi. nawacitiskih,
 b. he went out. After he went out,
 c. a:ʔ ki wac iti na wac iti skih
 d. 1 1 23 23 11 23 23 21
30. a. kiyaki:cíwa:cé:rhirʔasʔirhawi.
 b. there was the big buffalo lying there.
 c. kiya ki uc Riwa:c re:hírʔa s ʔirhawi
 d. 2 1 preverb big 6 incorporating element lie
31. a. hiriwaʔ no:kʔáskih á:kíhirʔa:hi.
 b. then saying he stopped
 c. hiriwaʔ na wakʔa skih a:ʔ ki hirʔa:hi
 d. 19 11 7 21 1 1 come to a stop
32. a. "á:ʔ ka:kiye isa:cta:haraʔa !
 b. "Hey! Somebody bring your knife!
 c. á:ʔ ka:-kiyaʔ i s a: uc ta:ha ri ʔa
 d. 7 4 4 4 reflexive dative knife 5 4

33. a. a:ci:ré:rhirʔastariyari tariyari!"¹²
 b. Butcher the buffalo! butcher!"
 c. a uc í:R ne:rhirʔa s tar iyari tariyari
 d. 32 32 polite 6 30 cut randomly 33
34. a. a:kiʔi:rakhamn kʔíta:ks ka:ʔa:ʔa:kiriya:sʔa.
 b. Suddenly Coyote along came the old one.
 c. aki-ʔi:rakhar-r kʔíta:ks ka:ʔ a:ʔ a: ki riya:s ʔa
 d. 24 coyote 1 1 1 1 old 1
35. a. "é:si:ʔ há:waʔ neʔewá:rʔ" "e:h!
 b. "What is (the matter) then friend?" "Oh!
 c. é: si:ʔ ha:waʔ neʔewá:r a:h
 d. 8 activity 8 7 7
36. a. tata:cta:rhaskis; ka:kiriʔ ʔatí:ʔi
 b. I have killed me a buffalo; nothing I have it
 c. ta t a uc ta:rha s ki s ka:
 d. 9 9 32 32 buffalo cow 30 kill 8 negative
- c'. kiriʔ ʔa t uy ʔi
 d'. 8 negative indicative 9 14 11
37. a. hiriwaʔ¹³ hakitariyarih." a:ko:kʔa kʔíta:ks
 b. with it to butcher him said Coyote
 c. hiriwaʔ ha...ki tar-iyari h a:ki-wakʔa kʔíta:ks
 d. instrumental pronoun? 3 33 3 7 34
38. a. "haʔwi:ʔ. ita:ceʔi:riye:sʔakhi:wa, hinniʔ
 b. "OK. Let me go after my children first, and
 c. haʔwi:ʔ i t a: uc reʔi:R riye:s ʔak hi:wa hinniʔ
 d. 13 4 9 32 32 first child plural patient fetch 16
39. a. kiʔictariyari." "haʔwi:ʔ" hiriwa:ʔ
 b. afterwards, let me butcher." "OK." then
 c. kiʔi t tariyari haʔwi:ʔ hiriwa:ʔ
 d. future imperative 9 33 13 19

40. a. na:hissah¹⁴ hinni? í:ka?akire:ʔí:tariyari
 b. he was going and they two had butchered first.
 c. na-a-hisha-h hinni? í: ka? a...ki re:ʔí:R tar-iyari
 d. 19 16 dual quotative aorist 38 33
41. a. kʔíta:ks wéra? hasʔa:ʔákicita:heʔeh.
 b. coyote must he had his knife with him.
 c. kʔíta:ks wéra? hasʔ a:ʔ a: ki uc i
 d. 34 28 narrative 1 32 1 32 extra vowel
- c'. ta:ha ʔahi
 d'. 32 have along
42. a. a:kiriwá::::cʔarasʔí:rʔari:k¹⁵
 b. He piled up a great big amount of meat.
 c. a:ʔ ki Riwa:c ʔaras ʔi:ri ʔariki iki
 d. 1 1 30 meat protrude stand cause
43. a. hiro:ʔ kʔíta:ks á:ko:kʔa "haʔwi:ʔ ; ití:ceʔé:rhi:wa¹⁶
 b. then Coyote said, "OK; Let me first go after her
 c. hiriwaʔ kʔíta:ks a:ki-wakʔa haʔwi:ʔ i t uc
 d. 19 34 7 13 4 9 32
- c'. reʔí:R hi:wa
 d'. 34 38
44. a. nati:ʔakʔih hinni? niye:s natí:kih."
 b. my wife and child my plural."
 c. na-t-uy-ʔak-ʔi-h hinni? niye:s na-t-uy-iki-h
 d. 11-9-14-wife-14-3 16 38 11-9-14-be.plural-3
45. a. ka:ʔ híriwaʔ niʔírhissah kʔíta:ks na:hissah
 b. So then going off Coyote going along
 c. ka:ʔ híriwaʔ na iʔí:R¹⁷ hisha-h kʔíta:ks
 d. 1 19 11 in a direction 19 34
- c'. na-a-hisha-h
 d'. 19

46. a. é:h, ka:kiyáki:his. a:kiʔi:rakhánn
 b. Oh, he was going along, far away. Suddenly
 c. á:h ka:ʔ kiya ki i:R¹⁷ hisha a:ʔ-ki-ʔi:rakhánn
 d. 7 far off 3 1 in a direction 19 24
47. a. híriwaʔ ha:waʔwéraʔ na:ciriye:sʔakhirʔi:raskih.
 b. then too I guess he found his children.
 c. híriwaʔ ha:waʔwéraʔ na-uc-i riye:s ʔak hirʔi
 d. 19 lso 28 11-32-41 38 38 patient is animate
- c'. ʔiras kih
 d'. find 21
48. a. ti:ʔ a:ʔákire:wa:r kíkʔi:s. hinniʔ
 b. At once he set to work turtle. and
 c. ti:ʔ a:ʔ a ki re:wa:ri kíkʔi:s hinniʔ
 d. at once 1 32 1 begin work 2 16
49. a. wá:cʔarʔa a:ko:kʔa, "é:kiriʔ há:waʔ, neʔewá:rʔ"
 b. Squirrel said "What (is it) then, friend?"
 c. wá:cʔarʔa a:ki-wakʔa é:kiri, há:waʔ neʔewá:r
 d. squirrel 7 8 8 7
50. a. kiyakiriwa:cá:hkwi
 b. There was a big tree
 c. kiya ki Riwa:c ya:k ri wi
 d. 2 1 30 wood plural stand upright
51. a. hassiya:rhiʔi:rika:wih
 b. with a branch hanging down over
 c. has na ya:k ri ʔi:ri ka:wi h
 d. permanently 11 50 50 42 hang down 3
52. a. nare:he:hárih.
 b. where the creek is.
 c. na re:R ha: yiha hirih
 d. 11 the 13 26 11
53. a. "tatí:ʔi:khiyaʔatiʔi ʔaras hatakicare:hih."
 b. "I want this meat for me to put mine up on top."
 c. tatí:ʔi:khiyaʔa tiʔi ʔaras ha t a: ki uc ca
 d. 9 10 42 3 9 32 3 32 surface

- c'. re:hi h
d'. put plural object 3
54. a. a:ko:kʔa wa:cʔarʔa, "haʔwiʔ. itactate:ti."
b. said Squirrel "OK. Let me help you."
c. a:ki-wakʔa wa:cʔarʔa haʔwi:ʔ i t a
d. 49 13 2nd person object
- c'. uc tate:ti
d'. preverb help
55. a. wa:cʔarʔa kiya:kiriwa:cʔarasarikitaʔahí:riks
b. Squirrel He brought the big quantity of meat up to the top, repeatedly
c. wa:cʔarʔa kiya a: ki Riwa:c ʔaras ra ri kita ʔa
d. 49 2 1 1 30 42 patient plural 5 10 1
- c'. hi:riks
d'. iterative
56. a. niya:hkwírih. hí::raka:h¹⁸
b. where the tree is. Far off
c. na ya:k ri wi hirih hi:raka:h
d. 11 50 50 50 10 intensive
57. a. a:kiriwa:cʔárascare:hi. híriwa:ʔ kʔíta:ks
b. he put the big quantity of meat on top. then Coyote
c. a:ʔ ki Riwa:c ʔaras ca re:hi híriwa:ʔ kʔíta:ks
d. 1 1 30 42 53 53 19 34
58. a. na:ʔaskih niye:s kiyako:khátataʔariki
b. comingchild they were following
c. na-a:-ʔa-skih niye:s kiya ki wakhahr
d. 11-1-1-21 38 2 1 collective patient with motion verb
- c'. tata ʔariki
d'. follow stand
59. a. hinniʔ naré:ʔakʔih. nachissʔaskih
b. and his wife when they arrived
c. hinniʔ na re:R ʔak ʔi h na uc
d. 16 11 the 43 11 3 11 preverb with plural of motion

- c'. hiss ʔa skih
d'. arrive 1 21
60. a. í:ya:h! ká:kiriʔ kiyaki:ʔi. "é:h!
b. Oh! My! nothing there was. "Oh!
c. í:yá:h! ká: kiriʔ kiya ki i ʔi á:h
d. interjection 36 8 2 1 41 11 7
61. a. ká:kiriʔ wati:ʔi é:ka:ʔ wéraʔ
b. nothing there is left I wonder where he is?
c. ka: kiriʔ waʔ ti i ʔi é: ka:ʔ wéraʔ
d. 36 8 20 17 41 11 8 22 28
62. a. té:riya:h icihirʔí:rasah!
b. He better watch out if I find him!
c. ti a:riya:h¹⁹ i t i hirʔi ʔirasi h
d. 17 watch out conditional 9 preverb 47 47 3
63. a. néʔaʔ kiyaki:cha:ris kʔíta:ks.
b. he was growing angry Coyote
c. néʔaʔ kiya ki uc hahris kʔíta:ks
d. bad 2 1 preverb become angry 34
64. a. khiʔas niye:s nire:rʔih
b. poor child the plural
c. khiʔas niye:s na iy re:R ʔi h
d. 2 38 11 indefinite subject the 11 3
65. a. khiʔaski:kihanteʔerʔas
b. poor ones were licking the ground
c. khiʔas kiya iy ki hirahr teʔerʔas
d. 2 2 64 1 ground lick 8
66. a. wa:cka:riksʔa na:ckitawa:hah.
b. blood clots those scattered around.
c. wa:c ka:riksʔa²⁰ na uc awa: kitha h
d. blood lump 11 preverb distributive be scattered 3

67. a. a:kiʔi:rakhann a:kiʔickhité:s nare:he:hárih
 b. Suddenly he peeked over the edge of the creek
 c. a:ki-ʔi:rakhar-r a:ʔ ki ʔicka hita hisha
 d. 24 1 1 face, instrumental 2 19
- c'. na-re:R-ha:-yiha-hirih
 d'. 52
68. a. niya:rhiʔi:rika:wírih. wéraʔ chiyaré:sirih
 b. Where the branch hung down over it. It seemed in plain sight
 c. na-ya:k-ri-ʔi:ri-ka:wi-hirih wéraʔ chiyaré:sirih
 d. 11-50-50-42-51-11 28
69. a. kirikiyakirhare:sʔi, hinniʔ
 b. They were deep in the water, and
 c. kiri kiya ki r²¹ ha: re:hi s ʔi hinniʔ
 d. deep, intensive 2 1 preverb 13 53 8 resultative 16
70. a. hi:raka:ʔ i:ye:h akwithaʔ. "há:riʔ iskiriheʔecaki!
 b. way off all the time they were above. "He is sitting in water!
 c. hi:raka:h i iy yiha akwithaʔ ha:riʔ iskiri
 d. 56²² durative 64 26 above that exclmatory
- c'. ha: ʔicaki
 d'. 13 2
71. a. hí:raka:h iskirihi:keʔecaki!" niye:s
 b. way off he is sitting down in!" child
 c. hí:raka:h iskiri hi: ka ʔicaki niye:s
 d. 56 70 6 18 2 38
72. a. nire:rʔih. "té:riya:h!"
 b. [it was] the plural. "He better watch out;"
 c. na-iy-re:R-ʔi-h ti-a:riya:h
 d. 64 62
73. a. a:ʔákiciye:sʔakwa:ri, "háʔwi:ʔ
 b. He told his children, "OK.
 c. a:ʔ a: ki uc riye:s ʔak wa:ri háʔwi:ʔ
 d. 1 32 1 32 38 38 tell 13

74. a. ika:ʔ tiʔi hiʔiski:cikiwiki
 b. rock this you all tie it around my neck
 c. ika:ʔ tiʔi hiʔ i s kiʔ uc riki
 d. rock 25 non-singular 4 4 5 32 back, neck; inst.
- c'. wi iki
 d'. 50 42
75. a. hinniʔ hiʔiskiha:hanniwihi.
 b. and throw me in the water.
 c. hinniʔ hiʔ i s kiʔ ha: hirahr-riwihi
 d. 16 74 4 4 5 13 13
76. a. ha:ri:h²³ hárah keʔeckwisskwa naheʔecakírih."
 b. where he is there I will go + arrive where he is sitting in the water."
 c. ha:riʔ yiha harah keʔe t wiss²⁴ wa na ha: ʔicaki hirih
 d. 70 26 15 21 9 arrive 3 11 13 2 11
77. a. í:ʔí:h! ikaʔaki:cíwa:cʔika:rikiwiki.
 b. Oh! Alas! They put a big rock around his neck.
 c. í:ʔí:h! í: kaʔ a...ki uc Riwa:c ʔika: riki wi iki
 d. interjection 40 40 40 32 30 74 74 50 74
78. a. a:ʔákiciye:sʔakwa:ri, "ha:s ʔata:cʔa
 b. He told his children, "if manure
 c. a:ʔ-a-ki-uc-riye:s-ʔak-wa:ri ha:s ʔata:cʔa
 d. 73 if manure
79. a. wahácshiceʔerʔáskih
 b. when they come to the surface
 c. waʔ hi a: uc r hi: ca ʔir
 d. 20 conditional 1 59 collective 71 53 direction
- c'. ʔa skih
 d'. 1 21
80. a. wahí:cshiceʔeriya:skih
 b. When they are floating around
 c. waʔ hi uc r hi: ca ʔiriyahr skih
 d. 20 79 59 79 79 53 randomly 21

81. a. keʔesa:kʔi:kha:rʔ né:rhirʔaská:hkaks
 b. You will know the buffalo intestine
 c. keʔe s ra:k ʔi:kha:rʔ²⁵ né:rhirʔa s
 d. non-third person plural know 6 30
- c'. ka:hkaks
 d'. intestine
82. a. waʔaracackaʔaskih hinniʔ issiriʔ
 b. They have been cut open and that kind
 c. waʔ ara r tackaʔas iki hinniʔ issiriʔ
 d. 20 perfect 79 burst open 74 16 that kind
83. a. ke:ʔiki né:rhirʔasʔata:cʔa." haʔwi:ʔ híriwa:ʔ
 b. they will be buffalo manure." OK. then
 c. keʔe iki ne:rhirʔa s ata:cʔa haʔwi:ʔ híriwa:ʔ
 d. 12 44 6 30 78 13 19
84. a. hiri:cʔika:ríkiwiskih hinni, hiraha:hanniwiskih
 b. They, tying a rock around his neck and throwing him in the water
 c. hiʔ na iy uc ika: riki wi skih hinniʔ hiʔ na
 d. 74 11 64 32 74 74 50 21 16 74 11
- c'. ha:hanniwi skih
 d'. 13 21
85. a. khiʔas wéraʔ a:kihi:ko:teʔes
 b. poor thing I guess he drowned
 c. khiʔas wéraʔ a:ʔ ki hi:ko: teʔes²⁶
 d. 2 28 1 1 deep inside die
86. a. kíkʔi:s hinniʔ wá:cʔarʔa, "hí:ró:h!
 b. Turtle and Squirrel "Ha! Ha!
 c. kíkʔi:s hinni, wá:cʔarʔa hí:ró:h
 d. 2 16 49 interjection

87. a. ariya:cʔiʔassi:sha:hanniwiḥ! ariya:ciʔiʔassi:ssiyakʔaw."
 b. They threw their father in the water! They killed their father!"
 c. ara iy a: uc ʔiʔassi:s ha:hanniwiḥi ariya:c i
 d. 82 64 32 32 father 13 87 preverb
- c'. ʔiʔassi:s riyakʔaw
 d'. 87 kill²⁷
88. a. ka:kí:kiciwa:cʔiriki niye:s hinniʔ
 b. Then they cried greatly child and
 c. ka:ʔ kiya iy²⁸ ki uc Riwa:c ʔiriki riye:s hinniʔ
 d. 1 2 64 1 preverb 30 cry 38 16
89. a. wiʔiyacʔasa:sko:raraʔe:ya:k
 b. Mrs. Coyote
 c. This name for Coyote's wife was translated 'female dog with stiff
 d. hair on the back of the neck', but attempts at analysis to verify
90. a. ka:khiʔáskiyakiʔiciʔiriki.
 b. poor thing was crying.
 c. ka:ʔ khiʔas kiya ki uc i ʔiriki
 d. 1 2 2 1 88 41 88
91. a. a:ki:cé:ʔero:ckwa ni:ckwakhárisah
 b. They left going along
 c. a:ʔ ki uc aʔiriwac wa na-iy-uc-wakhahr-hisha-h
 d. 1 1 59 depart 3 11-64-59-58-19-3
92. a. ni:ri:há:skih. ísaʔ tikitawisʔi.
 b. mourning thus it is that way.
 c. na iy iri:ha: skih ísaʔ ti kita wi s ʔi
 d. 11 64 mourn 21 thus 9 10 49 8 68
93. a. ka:ʔa:wakháʔas kʔíta:ks í:ri:ha:ss
 b. There are times coyote they mourn
 c. ka:ʔ a: wakhahr ʔa s kʔíta:ks i iy iri:ha:
 d. 1 1 1 1 1 8 34 70 64 92
- c'. :ss
 d'. generic

94. a. híriwa:ʔ hi:wasʔa ní:ʔi
 b. Then the very ones they are
 c. hiriwa:ʔ hi:wasʔa na iy ʔi
 d. 19 principal 11 64 11
95. a. keʔiyákicʔíʔassi:shí:ko:teʔesíkih.
 b. who drowned their father, they say.
 c. kaʔ iy a: ki uc ʔiʔassi:s hí:ko: teʔes iki h
 d. 40 64 32 1 32 87 85 85 42 3

Notes

1. hiʔiyas may be a bound root like 'follow' (3.3.2, D14), since it occurs with other motion verbs, or it may be a location (3.3.2, D7) like hita.
2. Cf. Section 5.2, rule M3.
3. Cf. Section 5.2, rule M3.
4. Compare Chapter 5, rules W1 and w16.
5. This is the location noun required by D8 in 3.3.2. See ex. 394 in Chpt. 3
6. This might be a reflexive with an unmarked "possessive" but the need for it here versus its absence in 11 is unexplained.
7. See Chapter 5, rule M7, position 19 (p. 225).
8. Compare the formation of shoulder in example 11 and the discussion of instrumental body parts in Chapter 2.
9. This vowel is truly a mystery; compare this form with others of the same verb in 20 and 22, where it is absent. Only the presence of the location marker characterizes 20 and 22 vs 19, yet nothing about these markers in other verbs causes parallel changes.
10. See Section 5.2, rule M3.
11. This is probably based on a variation of the root wakhahr 'be an activity; happen', but the exact composition is unclear.

12. This quotation is really a song, though the speaker recited rather than singing the words in this story. The analysis of the prefixes in the first form of 33 is tentative.

13. This is the only instance in any texts of this use of hiriwaʔ and I was unable to clarify it. Perhaps it is the conjunction 'then', meaning something like 'so that' here; perhaps it is another form like isaʔ, issiriʔ, etc. (see 5.2, m4), representing 'instrumental'.

14. This is an error in the narration; cf. the next two sentences.

15. The extra length in the middle of this word is for emphasis. Compare line 56.

16. Compare line 38.

17. These analyses are uncertain.

18. Again, length is used for emphasis; cf. line 42. p. 267

19. This verb is defective, occurring only in the indicative. It takes active subjects (tasé:riya:h 'you better watch out') and is also translated 'dare' but with the English subject of 'dare' unexpressed: tasé:riya:h 'I dare you' or 'he dared you'.

20. Attempts to elicit other examples of this morpheme were fruitless; consequently 'lump' is merely a guess at a gloss.

21. The identification of this morpheme is uncertain; it might be an additional indication of 'plural patient', or it might be 'portative', but that is unexpected here.

22. The difference between hi:raka:h and hi:raka:h is uncertain.

23. This sentence is discussed as example 47 in Chapter Five. Since that discussion was written, I have been wondering about (1) the difference between ha:riʔ (line 70 of this text) and ha:ri:h (here) and (2) rule T62 (Section 4.13) and its application to the analysis in Chapter Five of ha:ri:h as the location noun of rule D8. It now seems that ha:riʔ + yiha, as expected if rules D8 and T62 are both obligatory, would give ha:ri:h by regular phonological rules, thus confirming the analysis offered as the second alternative for example 5-47.

24. The difference between hiss (59) 'arrive' and wiss 'arrive' sometimes seems to be that hiss means 'arrive there' and wiss 'arrive here'; but either morpheme can occur with either 'come' or 'go', and this meaning distinction does not seem to hold in the examples in this text. The difference between them is thus uncertain.

25. This is my only record of this root. Perhaps it is a variation of iwakhahr 'think, know'.

26. This verb root is a taboo word, never used of people and rarely used anywhere except in specialized compounds such as 'drown' (here) or kakicteʔes 'be thirsty' 'die from dryness'.

27. The difference between ki (line 36) and this root is not clear.

28. See line 65 for another instance of kiya-iy > kí:

The following is a free translation of this text; line numbers inserted here correspond to those used in the analysis above, although exact correspondences are occasionally impossible.

Free Translation

1. Once upon a time
2. a poor little turtle was sitting beside the creek.
3. He was wishing to cross the water.
4. "Somebody come
5. and take me across the water," he cried.
6. Then along came the buffalo.
7. "Say, Friend," he asked.
8. What are you talking about?"
9. "I want to cross the water," he said.
- 10.11. "OK, then sit up here on my shoulder," said Buffalo.
12. But Turtle said, "No. You will shake your shoulder and
13. throw me in the water." "OK. Then
- 14.15. get into the long hair on the top of my head, between my horns."
16. "Oh, no." he said. "You will shake your head and
17. throw me in the water." "Well, this is difficult.
18. OK, crawl into my anus."
19. So he went inside there.
20. And while he was sitting inside,
21. he went across the water. But when he got to the other side and was getting onto the bank,
- 22.23. the turtle began to wonder how to get out.
24. All at once the turtle thought,
25. "Let me eat this." He didn't know what
26. he was eating inside of him,
27. but all at once the buffalo fell over.
28. The turtle ate
29. his way out, and when he got out,
30. there was the big buffalo, lying there.
31. so the turtle stopped and said,
32. "Somebody bring your knife, bring your knife and
33. help me butcher the buffalo."
34. Suddenly here came old Coyote.
35. "What is going on, friend?" he asked. "Oh,
36. I just killed myself a buffalo, but I don't have anything
37. to butcher him with." So the coyote said,
38. "Let me go after my children, and
39. then I'll butcher." So
40. he set out, and... No, the two of them butchered first.
41. Coyote probably had his knife with him.
42. They piled up a great pile of meat.
43. Then coyote said, "Now let me go after
44. my wife and children."
45. You could see him going

46. way off, running along, until all at once
47. he must have found his children.
48. Meanwhile, the turtle got busy and went to work.
49. The squirrel said, "What is it, friend?"
50. (Now there was a big tree
51. with a branch that was bent out over
52. the water there.)
53. "I want to put this meat way up in the top of the tree."
54. The squirrel said, "OK. I'll help you."
55. And the squirrel carried all the meat up
56. into the tree, way up into the top of the tree, although it took him many trips.
57. Then the coyote
58. came back, and his children
59. and his wife were following him. When they arrived,
60. there was nothing there. "Oh,
61. there isn't anything left! I wonder where he is?
62. He better watch out if I find him!"
63. The coyote was angry.
64. And the poor little children
65. could only lick up
66. the blood clots scattered around on the ground
67. Suddenly someone looked over the edge of the creek,
68. where the tree leaned over. It seemed like he could see them plainly,
69. sitting deep in the water, although
70. they were really up above. "Here they are! They're down there in the water!
71. Way down deep there in the water!"
72. It was the children yelling. "Now they better watch out!"
73. The coyote told his children, "OK.
74. You tie this rock around my neck
75. and throw me in the water.
76. I will get down there where they are."
77. so, unfortunately, they tied the rock around his neck.
78. Now he told his children, "When you see manure
79. float to the top of the water and
80. float around on it,
81. you will all know that the buffalo's intestines
82. have been cut open and that
83. you will be seeing buffalo manure." OK. So
84. they put the rock around his neck and threw him in the water,
85. where he must have drowned.
86. The turtle and the squirrel cried, "Ha! Ha!
87. They threw their father in the water and killed him!"
88. Then the children started crying loud and long, and
89. Mrs. Coyote
90. was crying, too.
91. They left that way,
92. crying as they went. And that's the way it is.
93. Sometimes you can hear coyotes crying to this day.
94. Those are the ones
95. who drowned their father.