The Water Spirit

Ollie Anderson

(Edited and translated by Ives Goddard.)

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1)
/u
       ná=húnt ó·k níke ló·məwez wənči-ahpí·t,z wənči-luwíhələnt ná awé·n→ 'wewtənəwe·s'.z
             <u>=</u>húnt ó⋅k
                                       ló·məwe (IC+)wənčī
/m
       ná
                         níke
                                                                       apī+t
/g
       then HRSY and
                         that.INsg
                                       long.ago xx+from.{smthg}/PV be+3s/PPL(OBL)
                             ələwīhl+ənt
       (IC+)wənčī
/m
                                                                    awēn+0
                                                        ná
       xx+from.{smthg}/PV name.{so}+X-3/PPL(OBL) that.ANsg someone+ANsg
/g
       (IC+Rih+wətənəwē+s)+∅
/m
       (xx+HAB+drag.people.(under)+AGT =) water.spirit+ANsg
/g
       Then also long ago, the reason why that creature came into existence, and why it was called
/e
       wewtónowe's 'water spirit' (lit., 'the one that drags people (under)').
/n
       -ənt ná awé·n: [-ənˌnaaˈwɛ·n] (pitch drops slightly to mid); wewtə́nəwe·s: [wew<sup>w</sup>·tənə̄ˌwɛ·s]
       (last syllable has rising pitch after fall to mid)
2)
/u
       ké·nu=húnt máh kwčəmí··na só·k·əla·n.∨
                                                                         [só·k·-: extra-high pitch]
/m
       ké·nu <u>=</u>húnt máh kwčəmí·na
                                               sōkəlān+w
                                        EMPH rain+0s/IND
       HESN HRSY PST on.and.on
/g
       It just kept raining and raining.
/e
3)
/u
       nink-əmé-e só-k-əla-n.\
       Rih+nəkəmēwe sōkəlān+w
/m
       HAB+always
                        rain+0s/IND
/g
/e
       It rained all the time.
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4)
/u
       ná=ét nó wontáhkwi énta-luwé·nsi·k 'ka·nsiya·í·i-sí·p·u', → wončo·ltíhti·t yó·k lona·p·é·yok. \
/m
       ná
             ét
                  ní
                            wəntáhkwi
                                         IC+(an)ta(\overline{11})
                                                           ələwēnsī+k
       PRES DUB that.INsg direction
                                         xx+\{smwh\}/PV be.named.\{so\}+0/PPL(OBL)
/g
/m
       kānsəyāw+īwī
                        %+weqīs
                                      (IC+)wənčōlətī+hətīt
/g
       Kaw+PNF
                        stream+INsg
                                      xx+come.from.{smwh}.COLL+3p/PPL(OBL)
/m
       vó·k
                  ələnāpēw+ak
       these.ANpl Delaware+ANpl
/g
       That was over there at the place called Kaw River, where all these Delawares came from.
/e
/n
       wəntáhkwi énta-: ['wəntah.kwenda]; last phrase stays on lower pitch register
5)
/u
       ná=húnt we·xkaóči təla·né·yə nikáhke khikayínka né·l tə·nəwá·a,
       "šé:=tá=yó:ta nkát:a-á:ne:n thakíti.>>
/m
       ná =húnt
                    we·xkaśči
                                  wət+əl+ānēwa
       then HRSY
                    unexpectedly 3+say.{so}.to+3p-3'/SBD
/g
       nikáhke
                        kəhkay+ənka
/m
                                         né∙l
                                                   wə+-tān+əwāw+a
                                                                          šé·
                                                                                         yó·ta
                                                                                   =tá
       that.PL,OBV.ABS old.person+ANpl that.OBV 3+daughter+3p+OBV
/g
                                                                          EMPH
                                                                                   FOC here(?)
       nə+kata
/m
                                            thakíti
                       ā+ənēn
       1+want.to/PV
                       go.{smwh}+1p/IND
                                            little.while
/g
       Then those parents suddenly said to their daughter, "We want to go somewhere for just a
/e
       little while.
       šé·=tá=yó·ta (OA): [¡šɛ·tʌੱu'tʌ]; or šé· tətá, with rounded /ə/ (?).
/n
6)
/u
       xú lápi mpáhəna.→ ná=č vú ktáp·i·n.\"
/m
       хú
             lápi
                    nə+pā+hməna
                                     ná
                                                            kət+apī+ən
                                           =č
                                                 <u>yú</u>
       FUT again 1+come+1p/IND PRES FUT this+INSg
                                                            2+be.\{smwh\}+2s/SBD
/g
       We'll be back. You stay here."
/e
/n
       ná=č yú (OA): [načU]
7)
/u
       ná=húnt tolomska·né·vo né·kz khíkavak.\
/m
             =húnt wət+aləməskā+ənēwa né·k
                                                        kəhkay+ak
/g
       then HRSY 3+depart+3p/SBD
                                           those.ANpl
                                                        old.person+ANpl
       Then the parents left.
/e
       tolomska·né·yo: preceded by toloma·mehola·n[é·yo] 'they traveled off fast' (f.s.)
/n
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8)
       ná=húnt o·p·ánke énta-páhti·t, khitahčínki kwtək·í·i-pé·yok.
/u
/m
       ná
             <u>=</u>húnt (IC+)wāpan+kē IC+ənta
                                                    pā+hətīt
       then HRSY xx+be.day+0/CS xx+\{smt\}/PV come+3p/CC
/g
/m
       khitahčínki
                             kwətəkīwī pā+wak
/g
       with great difficulty back/PV
                                        come+3p/IND
       The next day when they came back, they had a hard time returning.
/e
       o·p·ánke ónta-: [o·ˈp·ʌngɛndʌ]
/n
9)
/u
       yú hé· yú pe·-só·k·əlank, ≯ ó·k yú mé·či sí·p·u, ≯ wáli=húnt mé·či pa·lí·špe·. \
/m
                          IC+pə(mī)
                                            sōkəlān+k 5·k
                                                                        mé∙či
                                                                                 sīpəw+Ø
                                                             yú
       because this.INsg xx+continuing/PV rain+0/CC and this.INsg already stream+INsg
/g
/m
       wáli
              =húnt mé·či
                               pālīšpē+w
                               overflow.riverbanks+0s/IND
       really HRSY already
/g
       Here it was still raining, and now the river was right over its banks.
/e
/n
       idiom?
10)
/u
       mé·či=húnt káhti kí·xki pe·tpé·k·at≯ nó é·te·k nó wi·k·əwámtət,\ wi·k·íhti·t.\
/m
       mé∙či
               =húnt káhti
                                 kīxkī
                                           pētəpēkat+w
/g
       already HRSY almost
                                 close
                                           water.to.come+0s/IND
/m
                 IC+ahtē+k
                                                    wīkəwahm+ətàt+0
       ní
                                        ní
       that.INsg xx+be.\{smwh\}+0/CC
                                        that.INsg
                                                    house+DIM+INsg
/g
       (IC+)wīkī+hətīt
/m
       xx+dwell.{smwh}+3p/PPL(OBL)
/g
       The water was already nearly up to where that little house was, where they lived.
/e
       [\subseteq ...\script: identical intonation]
/n
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11)
/u
       ná=húnt yó·k khíkayak> énta- íka -páhti·t,>
       mayá·i šúkw pwéči-ne·yɔ·né·yɔz nikáhke tɔ·nəwa·únka,z
       pé·-tət·əpčéhəla·t, × xántki ktaní·i=húnt íka mpínk. ×
/m
            =húnt
                     yó·k
                                kəhkay+ak
                                                   IC+ənta
                                                                        pā+hətīt
                                                                 íka
       then HRSY
                     these.ANpl old.person+ANpl
                                                  xx+{smt}/PV there
                                                                        come+3p/CC
/g
       mayāwī <u>šúkw</u> wə+peči
/m
                                   nēw+ānēwa
                                                   nikáhke
                                                                    wə+-tān+əwāw+ənka
       truly
                      3+hither/PV see+3p-3'/SBD that.PL,OBV.ABS 3+daughter+3p+OBV.ABS
/g
               only
      IC+pə(mī)
/m
                         Rà+təpəčēhlā+t xántki
                                                  ktaní·i
                                                              =húnt
                                                                       íka
                                                                              nəpəy+ənk
/g
       xx+continuing/PV REP+roll+3s/CC finally eventually HRSY
                                                                       there
                                                                              water+LOC
       And when the parents got there, they were just in time to see their daughter
/e
       flopping over and over, and eventually all the way into the water.
                                                                               [ktaní·i: 66-9:32]
       ónta- íka: [ənˈdʌkʌ]; ne·yɔ·né·yɔ৴: [ˈnɛ·yɔ·ˌnɛɔ৴]; /tət·əp-/: [t·] prominent and very long
/n
12)
       name·s·í·i-=húnt -škwónay wəlá·to· náka xkwé·yɔ,\ sé·ki-ne·yóhti·t mpínk,>>
/u
       ónta-čhó·pwi·t náka xkwé·yɔ.∨
       namēs+īwī <u>=</u>húnt šəkwənay+∅
                                                                       axkwēwa
/m
                                       wəlaht+ōw
                                                        náka
                                       have+3s-(0)/IND that.ANsg.ABS woman+ANsg.ABS
/g
       fish+PNF
                  HRSY tail+INsg
/m
      IC+sahkī
                        nēw+āhətīt
                                      nəpəy+ənk
/g
      xx+\{so.long\}/PV see+3p-3'/CC water+LOC
/m
      IC+ənta
                     čəhwāhpwī+t
                                                        xkwēw+a
                                         náka
       xx+{smt}/PV enter.water+3s/CC
                                         that.ANsg.ABS woman+ANsg.ABS
/g
       That woman had a fish tail, they say; all they did was see her in the water,
/e
       when that woman went into the water.
       sé·ki: preceded by [əndʌ] f.s.; čhó·pwi·t: preceded by [čhɔ·p] f.s.
/n
13)
/u
      name·s·í·i-škwánay walá·to·.∨
/m
       namēs+īwī šəkwənay+Ø wəlaht+ōw
       fish+PNF
                  tail+INsg
                               have+3s-(0)/IND
/g
       She had a fish tail.
/e
       wəlá·to·: [o·] clearly long
/n
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14)
/u
       ná=nə šé· wwónči-luwé·nsi·n≯ xántki náka xkwé·yɔ,≯
       é·li ná=nə šúkw pwihpəmá·wsi·n≯ mpínk.≯
                             wə+wənčī
                                                ələwēnsī+ən
/m
                      šé·
                                                                       xántki
                                                                               náka
       PRES that.INsg EMPH 3+from.{smthg}/PV be.named.{so}+3s/SBD finally
                                                                               that.ANsg.ABS
/g
/m
       axkwēw+a
                                              šúkw wə+Rih+pəmāwəsī+ən nəpəy+ənk
                         é·li ná
                                    ní
/g
       woman+ANsg.ABS as PRES
                                    that.INsg only
                                                     3+HAB+live+3s/SBD
                                                                             water+LOC
       That's where that woman finally got her name, since she always lived only in the water.
/e
      /ww-/: [w-]; second phrase-final pitch lower, third stays low, and fourth is higher and rising
/n
15)
/u
       ná=nə wənči-aləmi-wənči·x·ən.∨
/m
                      wənčī
                                        aləmī
                                                  wənčīxən+w
      ná
            ní
       PRES that.INsg from.{smthg}/PV
                                        start/PV
                                                  originate.from.{smthg}+0/SBD
/g
/e
       That's the reason why that started.
       áləmi: raised pitch; wənčí·x·ən: [-n] is stopped abruptly
/n
16)
       xántki ná=yúkwe=nén telewihela·né·yo≯ awé·ni·k≯ 'wewténewe·s'.\
/u
                                    wət+ələwīhl+ānēwa
/m
       xántki ná
                   yúkwe nán
                                                            awēn+īk
                                                                           weh+wətənəwēs+0
       finally PRES now
                           that.INsg 3+name. {so}+3p-3'/SBD someone+ANpl water.spirit+ANsg
/g
       Finally people called her wewtónowe's 'water spirit'.
/e
       ná=yúkwe=nón: ['nayŏıkwənən]
/n
17)
/u
      ná=húnt=ánkw éntxən-xa·kwí·x·ink, awé·ni·k čhɔ·pwihəlé·yɔk, a·ptəp·é·yɔk.
            <u>=</u>húnt <u>=</u>hankw IC+(ən)taxən
                                                   (ma)xāhkwīxən+k
/m
       then HRSY usually xx+{so.many}.times/PV be.flood+0/CC
/g
/m
      awēn+īk
                       čəhwāhpwīhlā+wak āpətəpē+wak
                       fall.in.water+3p/IND drown+3p/IND
       someone+ANpl
/g
      Every time the river comes up, people fall into the water and drown.
/e
/n
       \...\: pitch level and contour the same.
18)
      yú hé· nál náni wewtónowe·s tóli-wtóna·n né·l awé·ni, \ ó·k=húnt=ankw mohó·o. \
/u
/m
                                weh+wətənəwes+0 wət+əlī
                                                               wətən+ān
/g
      because PRES that.ANsg water.spirit+ANsg
                                                   3+\{so\}PV
                                                              drag+3s-3'/SBD
/m
      né·l
                awēn+ī
                                ή·k
                                     =húnt
                                              =hankw
                                                        wə+mwahw+āwa
       that.OBV someone+OBV and HRSY
                                                        3+eat+3s-3'/IND
/g
                                              usually
/e
       It's because it's that water spirit that pulls those people under and eats them.
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19)
/u
       ná=húnt ó·k ná=nə wənčí·x·ənz təli- náka xkwé·yə we·xkaóči -nkí·skaɔ·n,z
       ší·ki=húnt ná skínnu.∨
/m
            =húnt 5·k
                         ná
                                            wənčīxən+w
                                ní
       then HRSY
                   and PRES
                                that.INsg
                                            originate.from.{smthg}+0/SBD
/g
/m
                  náka
                                                                  nakīskaw+ān
       wət+əlī
                                axkwēw+a
                                                    we·xkaśči
       3+{so}/PV that.ANsg.ABS woman+ANsg.ABS
/g
                                                    unexpectedly meet+3s-3'/SBD
/m
       ší·ki
                 VS
                         <u>=</u>húnt
                                  ná
                                              (wə)skīlənəw+∅
       good, etc. EMPH
                         HRSY
                                  that.ANsg
                                              young.man+ANsg
/g
/e
       And that is how it came about that that woman all at once met this nice-looking young man.
       =húnt ná: [hUnnʌ]
/n
20)
/u
       ná=húnt tóləmi- kéku -lá·n ná skínnu.≯
/m
            =húnt wət+aləmī kéku əl+ān
                                                              ná
                                                                         (wə)skīlənəw+0
       then HRSY 3+start/PV smthg say.{so}.to+3s-3'/SBD
                                                              that.ANsg
                                                                         young.man+ANsg
/g
       Then the young man began to talk to her.
/e
21)
       təlá·ɔ,'/_"ní·=á·=tá ktáləmi-wi·č·é·i/_jónta-má·č·iya·.\"
/u
/m
       wət+əl+āwa
       3+say.\{so\}.to+3s-3'/IND
/g
/m
                            kət+aləmī wīčēw+ī
                                                              IC+ənta
                                                                            māčī+ya·(n)
       ní٠
                 <u>=</u>á∙
                      <u>=</u>tá
                                                                            go.home+1s/CC
       1s.EMPH POT FOC 2+start/PV accompany+2s-1s/IND xx+{smt}/PV
/g
       He said to her, "You should come with me when I go home."
/e
       təlá·ɔ: [təˈlaɔ]; -wi·č·é·i/_ónta-: [wi·ˈč·ɛ·indʌ] (low pitch on [č·ɛ·])
/n
22)
/u
       ná=húnt tóla·nz_náka xkwé·yɔ,z "ná=tá nóni.\"
            =húnt wət+əl+ān
/m
                                            náka
                                                          axkwēw+a
       ná
                                                                            ná
                                                                                  =tá néni
       then HRSY 3+say. {so}.to+3s-3'/SBD that.ANSg.ABS woman+ANSg.ABS PRES FOC that.IN
/g
       And that woman told him, "Alright."
/e
       xkwé·yɔ: [xkwe·yʌ]
/n
23)
/u
       tolomó·x·ola·n=húnt náka lónowa, z skinnúwa. z
       wət+aləmōxwal+ān
/m
                                       náka
                                                                       (wə)skīlənəw+a
                               =húnt
                                                       ələnəw+a
       3+take.away+3s-3'/SBD HRSY
                                       that.ANsg.ABS
/g
                                                       man+ANsg.ABS youngman+ANsg.ABS
       And that man, young man, took her away.
/e
/n
       >....>: phrase-final pitch drops; -əwa ... -úwa: contrast clear
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```
24)
/u
       íka təló·x·əla·n> nə ... xínkwi-ɔʻ·lakw> kí·xki mpínk.>
/m
       íka
             wət+əlōxwal+ān
                                          ní
                                                    (ma)xīnkwī wālakw+0 kīxkī
                                                                                    nəpəy+ənk
       there 3+take+{smwh}+3s-3'/SBD that.INSg big/PN
                                                                                    water+LOC
/g
                                                                 cave+INsg close
/e
       And he took her to that ... it was a big cave near the water.
/n
       ná: [na] but higher than the (low central) [\lambda] in náka (22) and \(\delta\)-lakw (23); the pitches of the
       last four stressed syllables terrace down, rising on the end of the last one, which is followed
       by a pause; syntax so?
25)
       ∠.n·slc·x·òtneq-ilèt èn tnùl=àn
/u
/m
       ná
             <u>=</u>húnt ná
                              wət+əlī
                                          pəntōxwal+ān
       PRES HRSY that.INsg 3+{so}/PV take.inside+3s-3'/SBD
/g
       And that's where he took her in.
/e
/n
       pəntó·x·ɔla·n: pitches: mid, low, high, mid
26)
       ná=húnt nó wti·t·é·ha·n náka xkwé·yɔ, "lónu=tá wáni. \kókhit-ší·ki wá skínnu.\"
/u
/m
             =húnt ná
                              wət+(əl)ītēhā+ən
                                                                    axkwēw+a
                                                    náka
       PRES HRSY that.INsg 3+think.{so}+3s/SBD that.ANsg.ABS
                                                                    woman+ANsg.ABS
/g
/m
       ələnəw+0
                    <u>=</u>tá
                          wáni
                                      kákhit
                                                ší·ki
                                                           wá
                                                                         (wə)skīlənəw+0
       man+ANsg FOC this.ANsg
                                                good,etc.
                                                           this.ANsg
                                     very/PP
                                                                         young.man+ANsg
/g
       And that woman thought, "This is a man. This young man is very handsome."
/e
/n
       /wt-/ (OA): [w] faint; kékhit-ší·ki: [ˌkəkhiˈš·i·ki]
27)
       níke=x=ét máh nániz nál ná e·ləwíhələntz 'maxáxko·k'.\
/u
/m
                                    máh
                                           náni
/g
       that.INsg.ABS in.fact DUB
                                    PST
                                           that.ANsg
/m
       nál
                        IC+ələwīhl+ənt
                                                          maxaxkōk+0
             ná
       PRES that.ANSg xx+name.\{so\}+X-3/PPL(ANSg)
                                                          big.snake+0
/g
/e
       But in fact it seems that he was the one who is called the Giant Serpent (maxáxko·k, lit. 'big
       snake').
28)
/u
       ná=húnt nó tónta-ahkénna·n nó ó·lahkunk.
/m
       ná
              =húnt ní
                                wat+(an)ta(l\bar{\imath})
                                                 akēlən+ān
                                                                             wālakw+ənk
                                                                   ní
       PRES HRSY that.INsg 3+{smwh}/PV
/g
                                                 hold+3s-3'/SBD that.INsg cave+LOC
       He was holding her captive in that cave.
/e
       second ná: [nʌ]
/n
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```
29)
/u
       ná=vúkwe náni=húnt tálami- kwí·la-le·lantamáhti·n≯ wé·mi awé·ni·k.≯
/m
       ná
              yúkwe
                      náni
                                húnt
                                       wət+aləmī kwīla
                                                                əlēləntamwahətī+ən
                      that.INsg HRSY 3+start/PV at.a.loss/PV think.{so}.COLL+3/SBD
/g
       PRES
              now
/m
       wé·mi awēn+īk
/g
       all
              someone+ANpl
/e
       And now everyone began to worry about what to do.
       ná=yúkwe: [nayəkwə]; |wə-ən| 3/SBD for |wə-ənēwa| 3p/SBD (Goddard 1979:117 §5.5.16;
/n
       but contrary to what is said there, there is a TA ex. in 38)
30)
       yú hé· yó·ki kó· o·wa·to·wəné·yɔz táta=á· ennəmíhti·tz ánta-káski-maxkaáhti·tz né·li
/u
       wəni·č·a·nəwá·a.≯
       yú hé·
                yó·ki
                          kó· wə+wəwāht+ōwənēwa táta
/m
                                                                =á· IC+ələn+əməhətīt
       because these.ANpl NEG 3+know+3p-0/IND/NEG whatever POT xx+do.{so}+3p-0/PPL(INsg)
/g
/m
       IC+ənta
                        kàskī
                                     maxkaw+āhətīt
                                                       né∙li
                                                                wə+-nīčān+əwāw+a
       xx+{smt}/PV
                        be.able/PV
                                     find+3p-3'/CC
                                                       that.OBV 3+child,daughter+3p+OBV
/g
       Because the (parents) didn't know what they might do in order to be able to find
/e
       their daughter.
       /-né·yɔ/z: rapid [-nɛɔ] sounds like [-naa] (rising pitch); z...z...z: last three penultimate
/n
       pitches terrace down
31)
/u
       ná=húnt xántki náka hilo·s·és·a móxkao·n, ná=ne táli ó·lahkunk.
                                            hilōsès+a
/m
            húnt
                   xántki
                            náka
                                                                 wə+maxkaw+ān
       ná
       then HRSY finally
                            that.ANsg.ABS
                                            old.man+ANsg.ABS
                                                                 3+find+3s-3'/SBD
/g
/m
       ná
              ní
                         talī
                                   wālakw+ənk
/g
       PRES that.INsg
                         {smwh} cave+LOC
       And finally that old man found her, in that cave.
/e
       nánə táli: [ˈnʌnˌtʌli]
/n
32)
/u
       níke=x=ét máh wániz nál ná maxáxko·kz táli-ahkénna·n.\
/m
       níke
                                  máh wáni
                     =X
                            =ét
       that.INsg.ABS in.fact DUB PST
                                       this.ANsg
/g
/m
       nál
                         maxaxkōk+Ø wət+əlī
                                                   akēlən+ān
              ná
              that.ANsg big.snake+0
                                        3+\{so\}/PV \text{ hold}+3s-3'/SBD
/g
/e
       It turned out that it was the Giant Serpent that was holding her captive.
/n
       níke=x=ét: ['nɪkĕˌxɛt]; -ahkénna·n.∖: [ε] with extra-high pitch, final [-n]
```

```
33)
/u
       ná=húnt tóləmi-pá·tama·n náka hilo·s·és·a./>
/m
       ná
              <u>=</u>húnt wət+aləmī
                                  pāhtamā+ən
                                                  náka
                                                                    hilōsès+a
       then
              HRSY 3+start/PV
                                  pray+3s/SBD
                                                  that.ANsg.ABS
                                                                    old.man+ANsg.ABS
/g
/e
       And then that old man began to pray.
34)
/u
       təlá·ɔ=húnt pe·thakhuwé·yɔ,≯ "↑kəwi·č·əmíhəna=tá.≯
/m
       wət+əl+āwa
                                 =húnt pētahkwahəwēw+a
                                                              kə+wīčəm+īhməna =tá
       3+say.{so}.to+3s-3'/IND HRSY Thunderer+ANpl
                                                              2+help+2-1p/IND
/g
                                                                                  FOC
       He said to the Thunderers, "Help us.
/e
       təlá·ɔ: [təˈla·a] (rising pitch); .>: phrase-final pitches are: low, high, mid
/n
35)
/u
       é·li nál nó tóli-aləmo·x·ɔlúk·wənz nó mpí.zz
/m
       é·li
            nál
                               wət+əlī
                                             aləmōxwal+əkwən
                                                                                 nəpəy+Ø
                    ní
                                                                     ní
/g
       as
             PRES
                    that.INsg
                               3+\{so\}/PV
                                            take.away+0-3s/SBD
                                                                     that.INsg
                                                                                 water+INsg
/e
       For the water has taken her away.
36)
       kónč=tá ki·ló·wa≯ wi·č·əmiyénke.≯
/u
/m
                               wīčəm+īyēnkē
       kánč
             <u>≡</u>tá
                    ki·ló·wa
                               help+2-1p/SBJ
       must FOC 2p.EMPH
/g
/e
       You have to be the ones to help us.
/n
       >...>: second pitch contour is lower
37)
/u
       kwtək·i·iz nkat·a·lá·wənaz ná ... nni·č·á·nəna.z"
                    nə+katāl+āwəna ná nə+-nīčān+ənā(n)+∅
/m
/g
       back
                    1+want+1p-3s/IND that.ANsg
                                                       1+child,daughter+1p+ANsg
/e
       We want our daughter back."
       nni·č·á·nəna: [nni·ˈč·a·n.nʌ] phrase-final pitches are: low, high, mid
```

/n

```
38)
       ná=húnt yúkwe nó šé·, tóla·n=húnt né·k pe·thakhuwé·yok,
/u
       "ni·ló·na=tá kénč we·t·ənénke ná kəni·č·á·nəwa.
                        vúkwe ní
/m
       ná
               =húnt
                                             šé·
       PRES
               HRSY
                        now
                                 that.INsg
                                             EMPH
/g
/m
       wət+əl+ān
                                                      pētahkwahəwēw+ak
                                 =húnt né·k
/g
       3+say.\{so\}.to+3-3'/SBD\ HRSY\ those.ANpl
                                                      Thunderer+ANpl
/m
       ni·ló·na
                   <u>=</u>tá
                           kánč
                                  wētən+ēnkē
                                                                  k \Rightarrow +-n\bar{i} \in \bar{a}n + \Rightarrow w\bar{a}(w) + \emptyset
                                                     ná
       1р.ЕМРН
                                                     that.ANsg
                                                                  2+child,daughter+2p+ANsg
/g
                   FOC
                           must take+1p-3/SBJ
       And then the Thunderers said to him, "We're the ones that have to take your daughter.
/e
       ná=húnt yúkwe ná: [nʌ.hunəˈkwənə]; tála·n=húnt né·k: [təˈla·nhun.nɛ·k];
/n
       kánč: preceded by [nawe:t:an...] f.s. for nawe:t:aná:wana 'we take her'
39)
/u
       tá=á· wələt·ó·u kwtək·í·i pó·n, któli--č kwtək·í·i -wəlahəla·né·yɔ. \
                   wələt+ōwī
                                          kwətəkīwī wə+pā+ən
/m
             =á·
       tá
       NEG POT be.good+0s/IND/NEG back
                                                      3+come+3s/SBD
/g
/m
       kət+əlī
                     =\check{c}
                           kwətəkīwī
                                         wəlahl+ānēwa
       2+\{so\}/PV
                     FUT back
                                        have, keep+2p-3/SBD
/g
       It wouldn't be right for her to come back, so that you would have her back.
/e
40)
/u
       ni·ló·na=táz no·lhalá·wənaz ná xkwé·z yúkwe wənči áləmi.\"
       ni·ló·na
                           nə+wəlahl+āwəna
/m
                     =tá
                                                      ná
                                                                  axkwew+0
       1р.ЕМРН
                          1+have,keep+1p-3s/IND that.ANsg woman+ANsg
/g
                     FOC
/m
       yúkwe
                  wənčī
                                  aləmī
/g
       now
                  from. {smthg}
                                  starting
       We'll keep that woman from now on."
/e
41)
       ná=húnt éntxən-pé·thakhənk/_ ´ɔʻ·k -sa·sa·p·əléhəla·k,/
/u
                                                                                [\(\textit{\cdots}\)...\(\textit{\cdots}\): terraces lower]
       tolomo·x·ola·né·yoz nikáhke pe·thakhuwe·yúnka.z
                                                                                [\(\textit{\cdots}\)...\(\textit{\cdots}\): terraces lower]
             =húnt IC+(ən)taxən
                                              pētahkwahan+k
                                                                          Rv+sāpəlēhlā+k
/m
       ná
                                                                  j·k
       then HRSY xx+{so.many}.times/PV be.thunder+0/CC
                                                                  and
                                                                          REP+be.lightning+0/CC
/g
                                  nikáhke
/m
       wət+aləmōxwal+ānēwa
                                                     pētahkwahəwēw+ənka
       3+take.away+3p-3'/SBD that.PL,OBV.ABS Thunderer+PL,OBV.ABS
/g
/e
       And every time it thunders and lightens, those Thunderers are taking her with them.
/n
       éntxən: ['ɛnxən]; tələmo·x·əla·né·yə/: [-ɛə]; nikáhke: or né·k (OA)
```

```
42)
/u
       təspo·x·əla·né·və=húnt.>
/m
       wət+aspōxwal+ānēwa
                               <u>=</u>húnt
       3+take.up+3p-3'/SBD
/g
                               HRSY
/e
       They are taking her up.
       Pitch raised; phrase-final pitches are: low, high, mid.
/n
43)
       ná=húnt nó wónči- yúkwe -pontá·k·ot=hánkw ónta-pe·thákhonk,
/u
       aláhši=hánkw li·tá·k·ɔt≯ tɔhempsóma náka xkwé·yɔ.∨
                             wənčī
                                                                         <u>=</u>hánkw
/m
            =húnt ná
                                                yúkwe pəntākwat+w
       ná
/g
       PRES HRSY that.INsg from.{smthg}/PV now
                                                         be.heard+0/SBD
                                                                         usually
                     pētahkwahan+k aláhši =hánkw ələhtākwat+w
/m
       IC+ənta
                                                                         wət+ahēmpəs+əm+a
       xx+{smt}/PV be.thunder+0/CC like
                                             usually sound. {so}+0s/IND
                                                                         3+dress,shirt+PT+INpl
/g
/m
       náka
                     axkwēw+a
       that.ANsg.ABS woman+ANsg.ABS
/g
       That's the reason why there's a sound now when there's thunder; it sounds like (the rustle
/e
       of) that woman's skirts.
       pe·thákhonk (OA): [pe·thʌkhin] (slip of the tongue); tohempsóma: [toˈhɛmsəmʌ]; syntax?
/n
44)
/u
       ná níke énta-aləmó·x·ɔlənt, \ či·mí·i, \ akó· čí·č kwtək·í·i pé·e, \
       yú šé· əntalá·wsi·t wá awé·n,≯ ləná·p·e.∨
                           IC+ənta
                                         aləmōxwal+ənt
                                                             čīmīwī
/m
       then that.INsg.ABS xx+{smt}/PV take.away+X-3/CC forever
/g
/m
       akó· čí·č kwətəkīwī pā+wī
                                                yú
                                                          šé·
                                                                 IC+(ən)talāwəsī+t
                             come+3s/IND/NEG this.INsg EMPH xx+live.{smwh}+3s/PPL(OBL)
/g
       NEG more back
/m
                  awēn+0
                                  ələnāpēw+Ø
       wá
                                  Delaware+ANsg
       this.ANsg
                  person+ANsg
/g
/e
       And when she was taken away, forever, she never came back again to this place where these
       people, the Delawares, live.
       či·mí·i: added with sentence-medial intonation after what sounds like the end of a sentence.
/n
       [1966-T:220 and 221 were omitted from the scans.]
45)
/u
       ná=nə péči-wi·kwí·x·ən.≯
/m
                                          wīhkwīxən+w
                      péči
            ní
       PRES that.INsg up.to.{smthg}/PV
                                          end+0/SBD
/g
/e
       That was the end of it.
       péči-: péči≯
/n
```

```
46)
/u
       ílli kó· čí·č wəni·ne·yɔ·iwwá·a≯ wəni·č·a·nəwa·únka.∨
/m
                   čí·č
                           wə+Rī+nēw+āwīwəwāwa
                                                         wə+-nīčān+əwāw+ənka
       even NEG more 3+EXT+see+3p-3'/IND/NEG
                                                         3+child,daughter+3p+PL,OBV.ABS
/g
       They never even saw their daughter again,
/e
47)
       šúkw ná=nə péči-wi·kwí·x·ən wé·mi kéku.∨
/u
                                                                                 <u>kéku</u>
/m
       <u>šúkw</u> <u>ná</u>
                      <u>ní</u>
                                   <u>péči</u>
                                                      wīhkwīxən+w
                                                                        <u>wé·mi</u>
                      that.INsg
                                  up.to.{smthg}/PV
                                                                                  smthg
       but
               PRES
                                                      end+0/SBD
                                                                         all
/g
       But that was the end of everything.
/e
48)
/u
       ná=nə šíhkanč.∖
/m
       ná
               <u>ní</u>
                           <u>šíhkanč</u>
                           entirely
              that.INsg
/g
       PRES
```

That's all.

/e