

Unami 1966-15

Prayer

Martha Ellis

(Edited and translated by Ives Goddard.)

Martha Snake Ellis; Anadarko, Oklahoma; told and recorded on tape July 26, 1966.
Notebook 1966-T:274-325; recording Del2_Cut5_ME 0:18-7:02

1)

/u yúkwe pəná šé· ke·x·á·pto·n nkát·a- kéku -lúwe, ánta- wá šé· -píči-mái-ki·í·k·ami·t,
wá šé· e·lankó·mak, we·yó·psi·t.

/m yúkwe pəná šé· kēxāpətōn nə+kata kéku ələwē+θ
/g now even EMPH few.words 1+want.to/PV smthg say.{so}+1s/IND

/m IC+ənta wá šé· píči mawī kīwīkam+īt
/g xx+{smt}/PV this.ANSG EMPH hither/PV go.to/PV visit+3s-1s/CC

/m wá šé· IC+əlankōm+ak IC+Ra+wāpəsī+t
/g this.ANSG EMPH xx+be.related.to+1s-3/PPL(ANsg) xx+PL+be.white+3/PPL(ANsg)
/e I'm going to say a few words now that this white man, my relative, has come to visit me.

2)

/u mé·či=x=tá ná=nə la·p·é·x·ən, kəmo·kəmóna.

/m mé·či =x =tá ná ní əlāpēxən+w kə+məhkw+əm+ənā(n)+θ
/g already in.fact FOC PRES that.INsg flow.{so}+0/SBD 2+blood+PT+12+INsg
/e Our blood is mixed by now, in fact. [lit., 'flows the same way']

3)

/u ktəlanko·má·wəna wá šé· we·yó·psi·t, šəwánakw.

/m kət+əlankōm+āwənā(n)+θ wá šé· IC+Ra+wāpəsī+t
/g 2+be.related.to+12-3s/IND this.ANSG EMPH xx+Ra+be.white+3/PPL(ANsg)

/m šəwanakw+θ
/g white.man+ANsg
/e We're related to this white man.

4)

/u mé·či ná=nə la·p·é·x·ən kəmo·kəmóna.

/m mé·či ná ní əlāpēxən+w kə+məhkw+əm+əna
/g already PRES that.INsg flow.{so}+0/SBD 2+blood+PT+12
/e Our blood has become mixed.

5)

/u ktami·mənsəməná·na·k, nán təli·ná·kwsí·n né·k·a e·li·ná·kwsí·t.
/m kət+(a)mīməns+əm+ənān+āk ná ní wət+əlīnākwəsī+ən
/g 2+child+PT+12+ANpl PRES that.INsg 3+look.{so}+3s/SBD

/m né·k·a IC+əlīnākwəsī+t
/g 3s.EMPH xx+look.{so}+3s/PPL(OBL)
/e Our children look the way *he* looks.

6)

/u ná=yúkwə=nə šé· ónta- wəntáx -lənəmáit, ónta-káhta-pa·tamá·a,
ahékta kéhəla né·pe no·la·mhítamən, təli-ahpí·n kó·x·əna, ki·š·e·ləmúk·ənkw.
/m ná yúkwə ní šé· IC+ənta wəntax ələnəmaw+īt
/g PRES now that.INsg EMPH xx+{smt}/PV over.here get.O.to.do.{so}+3s-1s/CC

/m IC+ənta kata pāhtamā+yā(n)
/g xx+{smt}/PV want.to/PV pray+1s/CC

/m ahékta kéhəla nə+é·pe nə+wəlāməht+amən [ahékta: for áhi=kta]
/g very really 1+also 1+believe+1s-0s_{1a}/IND

/m wət+əlī apī+ən kə+-ōx+ənā(n)+θ IC+kīšēləm+əkwankw+θ
/g 3+{so}/PV be+3s/SBD 2+father+12+ANsg xx+divinely.create+3-12/PPL(ANsg)
/e Now that he has come and had me do it, since I want to pray, I really believe that there exists our father, our creator.

7)

/u ná=yúkwə=yu=šé·, ntəlhukwé·p·i·n, nkəmé·e=hánkwx nəməš·á·la kó·x·əna,
éntxən-ó·p·ank, ó·k éntxən-pí·ske·k.
/m ná yúkwə yú šé· nət+ələhkwxēpī+ən
/g PRES now this.INsg EMPH 1+sit.positioned.{so}+1s/SBD

/m nəkəməwe =hánkwx nə+məšāl+āw kə+-ōx+ənā(n)+θ
/g always usually 1+remember+1s-3SIND 2+father+12+ANsg

/m IC+(ən)taxən wāpan+k ó·k IC+(ən)taxən pīskē+k
/g xx+{so.many}.times/PV be.dawn+0/CC and xx+{so.many}.times/PV be.night+0/CC
/e The way I'm sitting now, I always think about our father every morning and every night.

/n ná=yúkwə=yu: [nai'kwuyə] [CH]

8)

/u ntíte=hánkwx, kéhəla wanəš·i, ntəli- íka -pe·t·a·wsí·ne·n.
/m nət+íte =hánkwx kéhəla wanəš·i nət+əlī íka pētāwəsī+ənēn
/g 1+think usually really thank.you 1+{so}/PV there live.until+1p/SBD
/e I'm always very thankful that we have lived until then.

9)

/u yúkwe=yu=šé· ánta-ó·p·ank, ɔ·x·é·e· yú entala·wsíenk.
/m yúkwe yú šé· IC+ánta wāpan+k
/g now this.INsg EMPH xx+{smt}/PV be.dawn+0/CC

/m wāxēyē+w yú IC+(ən)talāwəsī+yenk
/g be.light+0s/IND this.INsg xx+live. {smwh}+1p/PPL(OBL)
/e Now this morning, it's light here where we live.
/n yúkwə=yu: [yə'kwuyə]

10)

/u ntíte=hánkwa, kéhəla wanóš·i, nó·x·əna, ánta- máta -wi·wanían, nhak·ayəna.
/m ntite =hánkwa kéhəla wanóš·i nə+-ōx+ənā(n)+0
/g 1+think usually really thank.you 1+father+1p+ANsg

/m IC+ánta máta Rī+wani+yán nə+-hakay+ənā(n)+0
/g xx+{smt}/PV not EXT+forget.O2+2s 1+self+1p+ANsg
/e Thank you, our father, that you never forget us.

11)

/u wé·mi awé·n, mwəšhiká·k·wən ní, kəmant·uwwá·k·an, nuxá·t·i, [CH -ww-]
e·li·xtáon, yúkwe=yu=šé· entala·wso·há·lienk.

/m wé·mi awēn+0 wə+məšəhkaw+əkwən ní kə+manətōwəwākan nuxá·t·i
/g all person+ANsg 3+benefit+0s-3s/IND that.INsg 2+power+INsg father.VOC

/m IC+əlīxət+awan
/g xx+set.up. {so}+2s-0₂/PPL(OBL)

/m yúkwe yú šé· IC+(ən)talāwəsōhāl+īyēnk
/g now this.INsg EMPH xx+make.live. {smwh}+2-1p/PPL(OBL)

/e Everybody benefits from your divine power, Father, [ME: "blessings"]
the way you set up this (world) here where you put us to live,
/n yúkwe=yu=šé·: [yə'kwuu.šé·]

12)

/u ktá šúkw, wté·ha, we·lhála·t, awé·n.
/m ktá šúkw wə+tēh+a IC+wəlahl+āt awēn+0
/g whatever but 3+heart+OBV xx+keep+3s-3'/PPL(ANsg) person+ANsg
/e in fact, any creature at all that has a heart,
/n ktá: for tətá=ktá.

13)

/u táli=tá a·es·ós·ak, čo·lós·nsak, táli čo·lontót·ak.

[CH]

/m táli =tá awēsəs+ak čöləns+ak táli čöləntət+ak

/g ?? FOC animal+ANpl bird+ANpl ?? bird.DIM+ANpl

/e even the animals, and the birds, and the little birds.

/n first táli(??) uncertain; are there other examples of this word or usage?

14)

/u wəli·ta·kwŕi·t·əwak, ənta·wwa·túhti·t, mé·či, íka wəntáhkwí, ənta·ó·p·ank;
tóləmi·kənči·mhóti·n.

/m wələhtākwəsī+tī+wak IC+ənta wəwāht+ōhəfīt

/g sound.nice+DIM+3p/IND xx+{smt}/PV know+3p-0₂/CC

/m mé·či íka wəntahkwí ənta wāpan+k

/g already there direction xx+{smt}/PV be.dawn+0/CC

/m wət+ələmī kənčīmwī+həfīt+ən

/g 3+start/PV crow+COLL+3s/SBD

/e They sound cute when they know it's getting towards morning; then they start crowing.

15)

/u ó·k né·pəna, no·lhate·namíhəna; nto·khika·k·ó·ne·n ní, kəmant·uwwá·k·an, nuxá·t·i, e·li·xtáon.

/m ó·k nə+ēp+əna nə+wəlahtēnamī+hməna nə+tōhkəhkaw+əkōnēn

/g and 1+also+1p 1+be.glad+1p/IND 1+wake.up+0-1p/IND

/m ní kə+manətōwəwākan+θ nuxá·t·i IC+əlīxət+awan

/g that.INsg 2+power+INsg father.VOC xx+set.up.{so}+2s-0₂/PPL(OBL)

/e And we, too, are glad. Your power wakes us up, our father, the way you set it up.

/n

16)

/u wəla·te·namuwá·k·an, nəməšhika·khúməna, ənta·ɔ·x·é·e·k, yú šé· entala·wsíenk.

/m wəlahtēnaməwākan+θ nə+məšəhkaw+əkəwməna IC+ənta wāxēyē+k

/g happiness+INsg 1+benefit+(0)-1p/IND xx+{smt}/PV be.light+0/CC

/m yú šé· IC+(ən)talāwəsī+yēnk

/g this.INsg EMPH xx+live.{smwh}+1p/PPL(OBL)

/e We experience happiness when it's light here where we live.

17)

/u yú hé· yú, nné·məne·n, alla·mali·ké·enk, ó·k alli·nxké·enk;
ɔ·x·é·e· yú entala·wsienk.

/m yú hé· yú nə+nēm+ənēn Rā+əlāmaləhkē+yēnk
/g because this.INsg 1+see+1p-0₃/IND PL+step. {so}+1p/PPL(OBL)

/m ó·k Rā+əlīnaxkē+yēnk
/g and PL.put.hands. {so}+1p/PPL(OBL)

/m wāxēyē+w yú IC+(ən)talāwəsī+yēnk
/g be.light+0s/IND this.INsg xx+live. {smwh}+1p/PPL(OBL)
/e Here, we can now see where to step and where to put our hands;
it is light here where we live.

/n Two sentences united by intonation.

18)

/u yú só·mi wanóš·i, nuxá·t·i;
tá=á· kti·yála- íka -ləló·u, kéku;
wanóš·i e·li·xtáon yú šé· entala·wso·há·liyenk.

/m yú wəsāmī wanóš·i nuxá·t·i
/g this.INsg too.much thank.you father.VOC

/m tá á· kət+Rī+ála íka əl+əlōwī kéku
/g NEG POT 2+EXT+stop/PV there say. {so}.to+1s-2s/IND/NEG something

/m wanóš·i IC+əlīxət+awan
/g thank.you xx+set.up. {so}+2s-0₂/PPL(OBL)

/m yú šé· IC+(ən)talāwəsōhāl+īyēnk
/g this.INsg EMPH xx+make.live. {smwh}+2-1p/PPL(OBL)
/e Thank you so much, Father. I would never stop asking you for things. [‘asking’: ME]
Thank you for the way you have set in order this world where you placed us to live.

19)

/u ná=yú=šé·, ktəntale·ləmí·ne·n, nuxá·t·i;
ná=yú=šé·, ktəntala·wso·há·lí·ne·n, yúkwe=yu=šé· xkwi·thakamí·k·we.

/m ná yú šé· kət+(ən)talēləm+īnēn nuxá·t·i
/g PRES this.INsg EMPH 2+divinely.create. {smwh}+2-1p/SBD father.VOC

/m ná yú šé· kət+(ən)talāwəsōhāl+īnēn
/g PRES this.INsg EMPH 2+make.live. {smwh}+2-1p/SBD

/m yúkwe yú šé· axkwītahkamīkwē
/g now this.INsg EMPH on.the.surface.of.the.earth
/e You created us to be here, father; you placed us here to live on the surface of the earth.

/n ‘You created us to be here ... you placed us here’:
“you know we’re here ... you created us here” (ME)

20)

/u nəwe·mhukwé·mwi·n, yúkwe=yu=šé·, ónta·pa·tamá·a, [mw (IG): tape [m]]
é·li wé·mi təlahpi·né·yɔ, e·lanko·mák·i·k.

/m nə+wēməhk wēmwī+ən yúk wə yu šé· IC+ənta pāhtamā+yā(n)
/g pray.universally+1s/SBD now this.INsg EMPH xx+{smt}/PV pray+1s/CC

/m é·li wé·mi wət+əlapī+ənēwa IC+əlankōm+əkīk
/g since all 3+be. {smwh}+3p/SBD xx+be.related.to.({so})+1s-3/PPL(ANpl)

/e I include everyone when I pray now, because my relatives are everywhere.

/n nəwe·mhukwé·mwi·n: transcription and analysis uncertain

21)

/u khičī·i ná=ni lé·:
nkət·əma·ksíhəna mé·či;
tá·kó· ahpi·i awē·n ikalíči e·lkí·kwsit, ləpahkəno·t·ink á· yú šé· me·á·e·k kéku;
šúkw, ná=yukwəno=šé· ntəltó·nhe·n, né·pe yúkwe=yu=šé· ntəlhukwé·p·i·n.

/m kəhčīwī ná ní əlē+w nə+kətəməkəsī+hməna mé·či
/g very.much PRES that.INsg happen. {so}+0/SBD 1+be.poor+1p/IND already

/m tá·kó· apī+wī awēn+θ ikalíči IC+ələkíhk wəsī+t
/g NEG be+3s/IND/NEG someone+ANsg further.DIM be. {so}.old+3s/PPL(ANsg)

/m (IC+)ləpakəno·t+ənk =á· yú šé· IC+mayāwē+k kéku
/g xx+explain.precisely+3s-0_{1b}/PPL(ANsg) POT this.INsg EMPH xx+be.right+0/PPL(INsg) smthg

/m šúkw ná yúkwe ní šé· nət+ələtōnahē+ən nə+é·pe
/g only PRES now that.INsg EMPH 1+talk. {so}+1s/SBD 1+also

/m yúkwe yú šé· nət+ələhk wēpī+ən
/g now thus.INsg EMPH 1+sit.positioned. {so}+1s/SBD

/e This is very true: we are pitiful now;
there is no one older who could accurately interpret this true thing;
there's only the way I'm talking, the way I'm sitting here.

22)

/u ná=hánk w ní lí·x·ən, mpəna·eləntamuwá·k·an.

/m ná =hánk w ní əlīxən+w nə+pənawēləntaməwākan+θ
/g PRES usually that.INsg happen. {so}+0/SBD 1+thought+INsg

/e That's where my thinking is.

/n

23)

/u pənáw no·skinno·yəməná·na·k:
no·lhate·namihəna, ənta·ki·ki·š·i·k·íhti·t, no·skinno·yəməná·na·k.

/m pənaw+0 nə+(wə)skɪlənəw+əm+ənānāk
/g look.at+2s-3 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANpl

/m nə+wəlahtēnamī+hməna IC+ənta Rv+kɪʃikɪ+hətɪt nə+(wə)skɪlənəw+əm+ənān+āk
/g 1+be.glad+1p/IND xx+{smt}/PV REP+grow.up+3p/CC 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANpl
/e Consider our boys: we're glad when our boys grow up.

24)

/u šúkw wá šé· we·yó·psi·t, e·lankó·menk, ənta·wét·əna·t,
wəntáhkwi mó·ní·p·ala·n, no·skinno·yəməná;
wəntáhkwi lə·kəntəna·n, ənta·mahtá·kenk. [wəntáhkwi = íka wəntáhkwi (l. 14)]

/m šúkw wá šé· IC+Ra+wəpəsɪ+t IC+əlankōm+enk
/g but this.ANsg EMPH xx+PL+be.white+3/PPL(ANsg) xx+be.related.to+1p-3/PPL(ANsg)

/m IC+ənta wētən+āt
/g xx+{smt}/PV take+3s-3'/CC

/m wəntáhkwi wə+mawi nīpal+ān nə+(wə)skɪlənəw+əm+ənā(n)
/g over.there 3+go.to/PV make.stand+3s-3'/SBD 1+young.man+PT+1p

/m wəntáhkwi əlī kəntən+ān IC+(ən)ta(lī) matahkē+nk
/g over.there {so}/PV push+X-3/SBD xx+{smwh}/PV fight+X/PPL(OBL)

/e But this whiteman, our relative, when he took our boys away, he went and made them stand
(put them in the army?) over there; they were forced to go over there where there's fighting.
/n no·skinno·yəməná: end fully voiced, with pitch rise, before breath; peripheral suffix absent.

25)

/u kéhəla pší kéku nti·t·e·háhəna, no·skinno·yəməná, ənta·aləməó·x·ələnt,
ənta· takó·k məna·té·yunk, -ló·x·ələnt, no·skinno·yəməná.

/m kéhəla pší kéku nət+(əl)ɪtəhə+hməna
/g really PWM something 1+think.{so}+1p/IND

/m nə+(wə)skɪlənəw+əm+ənā(n) IC+ənta aləməóxwal+ənt
/g 1+young.man+PT+1p xx+{smt}/PV take.away+X-3/CC

/m IC+ənta takó·k mənahtēw+ənk əlōxwal+ənt nə+(wə)skɪlənəw+əm+ənā(n)
/g xx+{smt}/PV other island+LOC take.{so}+X-3/CC 1+young.man+PT+1p

/e We were thinking hard thoughts when our boys were taken away,
when they were taken to another island.

/n 'our boys': representative singular.

26)

/u yú hé· yú tá-kó· we·yǒhkót·o·kw, tǎlí·namən, wá no·skinno·yəmána,
ǎnta- mé·či ní šé· -pá·t,ǎ ǎnta-me·khíti·t, hǒk·ayúwa.ǎ

/m yú hé· yú tá-kó· IC+wəwāhəkwat+ōkw
/g because this.INsg NEG xx+be.known+0/PPL/NEG(INsg)

/m wət+ǎlīn+amən wá nə+(wə)skīlənəw+əm+ǎnā(n)
/g 3+have.it.happen. {so}+3s(-O)_{1a}/SBD this.ANsg 1+young.man+PT+1p

/m IC+ǎnta mé·či ní šé· pā+t
/g xx+{smt}/PV already that.INsg EMPH come+3s/CC

/m IC+(ǎn)ta(lī) mēk+ǎhətīt wə+-hakay+ǎwā(w)
/g xx+{smwh}/PV give.away.O2+3p/PPL(OBL) 3+self+3p
/e Since after all, our boys face an unknown fate after they arrive at that place where they put
their lives at risk. [lit., ‘give themselves away’]
/n ‘Our boys’ has singular demonstrative, but ‘they’ and ‘their’ are 3d plural.
šé· -pá·t,ǎ: pitch rises then falls to mid.

27)

/u šúkw kí· kǎna·ká·lǎl, nuxá·t·i;
kí· ktǎle·lǎntamən, yúkwe=yu=šé· wé·mi kéku pé·-lǎhǎla·k, ǎntala·wso·há·lienk.

/m šúkw kí· kǎ+nahkāl+ǎl nuxá·t·i kí· kǎt+ǎlǎlǎnt+amən
/g but 2s.EMPH 2+rely.on+1s-2s/IND father.VOC 2s.EMPH 2+cause.by.will. {so}+2s-0s_{1a}/IND

/m yúkwe yú šé· wé·mi kéku IC+pə ǎlǎhlā+k
/g now this.INDsg EMPH all something xx+continue/PL run. {so}+0/PPL(OBL)

/m IC+(ǎn)talāwəsōhāl+īyēnk
/g xx+make.live. {smwh}+2-1p/PPL(OBL)
/e But I depend on you, father; you created how everything is going, [exact sense?]
here where you placed us to live.

28)

/u wé·mi ktá·to·n, kǎmant·uwwá·k·an;
ílli=tá čup·é·k·we, ktá·to·n, kǎmant·uwwá·k·an.

/m wé·mi kǎt+aht+ōn kǎ+manǎtōwəwākan+0 ílli ǎtá čup·é·k·we
/g all 2+put. {smwh}+2s-0s₂/IND 2+power+INsg even FOC in.deep.water

/m kǎt+aht+ōn kǎ+manǎtōwəwākan+0
/g 2+put. {smwh}+2s-0s₂/IND 2+power+INsg
/e You put your divine power everywhere; you even put your power in the depths of the sea.
/n wé·mi ‘everywhere’ (cf. l. 20); ms. interlinear ‘all’.

29)

/u ó·k ná šé·, mpínk, ktá·to·n kəmant·uwwá·k·an.
/m ó·k ní šé· nəpəy+ənk kət+aht+ōn kə+manətōwəwākan+θ
/g and that.INsg EMPH water+LOC 2+put.{smwh}+2s-0s₂/IND 2+power+INsg
/e And you put your divine power there in the water.

30)

/u ó·k ná šé· mo·š·á·p·ani, ktá·to·n kəmant·uwwá·k·an.
/m ó·k ní šé· mo·š·á·p·ani kət+aht+ōn kə+manətōwəwākan
/g and that.INsg EMPH in.the.sky 2+put.{smwh}+2s-0₂/SBD 2+power+INsg
/e And also in the sky you put your power.

31)

/u pwəp·a·mihəla·né·yɔ, no·skinno·yəməná·na·k.
/m wə+Rə_ā+pəmīhlā+ənēwa nə+(wə)skīlənəw+əm+ənānāk
/g 3+PL+fly.along+3p/SBD 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANpl
/e Our boys fly there.
/n [[apām-|, |-pəpām-| ‘about’ < Rə_ā ‘pl.’ + pəm- ‘along’]
[no·skinno·yəməná·na·k: [-na·nə...]

32)

/u ó·k pwəp·a·ma·š·əwihəla·né·yɔ.
/m ó·k wə+Rə_ā+pəmāšəwīhlā+ənēwa
/g and 3+PL+sail.along+3p/SBD
/e And they sail there.
/n Note the chiasmus in ll. 29-32.

33)

/u ó·k yú šé·, táli-pəpəhki·né·yɔ, yúkwə=nə=šé· ónta-xinkwi-mpí·i·k, no·skinno·yəməná·na·k.
/m ó·k yú šé· wət+əlī Rə+pwakī+ənēwa yúkwə ní šé·
/g and this.INsg EMPH 3+{so}/PV REP+dive+3p/SBD now that.INsg EMPH
/m IC+(ən)ta(lī) xinkwi nəpīwī+k nə+(wə)skīlənəw+əm+ənānāk
/g xx+{smwh+}/PV big/PV be.water+0/PPL(OBL) 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANpl
/e And our boys dive there, in the ocean.

34)

/u ki· yú wínki-ləs·iyáne, nuxá·t·i, tó·ni=á· tətá pé·-lə-ka·ka·i·ná·k·o ní·p·ai·t, no·skinno·yámóna,
ki· wínki-ləs·iyáne, nuxá·t·i, ahékta kéhəla, tá=á· kéku li·namo·wí·yak.

/m ki· yú wínkī ələsī+yane nuxá·t·i tó·ni =á· tətá
/g 2s.EMPH this.INsg like.to/PV do.{so}+2s/SBJ father.VOC although POT whatever

/m IC+pə əlī kāhkāwīnākwat+k IC+nīpawī+t
/g xx+continue/PV {so}/PV appear.dangerous+0/PPL(OBL) xx+stand.{smwh}+3s/PPL(OBL)

/m nə+(wə)skīlənəw+əm+ənā(n)+0 ki· wínkī ələsī+yane nuxá·t·i
/g 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANsg 2s.EMPH like.to/PV do.{so}+2s/SBJ father.VOC

/m ahékta kéhəla tá =á· kéku əlīn+amōwīwak
/g very really NEG POT something have.it.happen.{so}+3p(-O)_{1a}/IND/NEG

/e If you are willing, Father, no matter how dangerous the place where our boys stand,
if you are willing, Father, nothing at all will happen to them.

/n tətá: [tə]; li·namo·wí·yak: /-yak/ inaudible.

35)

/u kwtək·í·i=č a·p·a·č·í·yak, no·skinno·yámóná·na·k.

/m kwətəkīwī =č āpāčī+wak nə+(wə)skīlənəw+əm+ənānāk
/g back FUT return.home+3p/IND 1+young.man+PT+1p+ANpl

/e Our boys will come back.

/n no·skinno·yámóná·na·k: /-a·k/ inaudible.

36)

/u ó·k ná šé· o·s·í·i, ke·t·o·nalúk·wenk, pe·-mahta·ká·lkwenk,
íka hát·aw wəlí-pəna·eləntamuwá·k·an,
təlī=š né·k·a·né· -li·t·é·ha·n, né·kwtən o·p·ánke,
'yúh=ta máta nna·čī·tó·wən,→ yú šé· mahčī·kwi kéku.'

/m ó·k ná šé· o·s·í·i IC+katōnal+əkwēnk
/g and that.ANsg EMPH on.other.side xx+want.to.kill+3-1p/PPL(ANsg)

/m IC+pə matahkāl+əkwēnk íka ahtaw+0
/g xx+continue/PV fight+3-1p/PPL(ANsg) there put.{smwh}.for+2s-3/IMP

/m wəlí pənaēləntaməwākan+0 wət+əlī =č né·k·a né· əlītēhā+ən
/g good/PN thought+INsg 3+{so}/PV FUT 3s.EMPH too think.{so}+3s/SBD

/m IC+nəkwətən wāpan+kē yúh =ta máta nə+nāhčīht+ōwən
/g xx+once/PV be.dawn+0/CS well! FOC NEG 1+bother+1s-0s₂/IND/NEG

/m yú šé· mahčī·kwi kéku
/g this.INsg EMPH bad something

/e And our enemy on the other side who is fighting us, give him good thoughts,
so that he, too, some morning may decide not to bother with this thing that's no good.

37)

/u wé·mi ná šé· mahč́i·kwi, kéku ahč́i·p·apahsí·kan, ləlxwé·nəmən;
tá-kó· awé·n o·li·lae·ska·k·ó·wən.

/m wé·mi ní šé· mahč́i·kwi kéku Ra+č́ipāpasīhkan+0
/g all that.INsg EMPH bad something PL+powerful.medicine+INsg

/m Rə+laxwēn+əmən tá-kó· awēn+0 wə+wəlīlawēskaw+əkōwən
/g REP+scatter+X-0s_{1b}/IND NEG someone+ANsg 3+have.good.effect.on+X-3s/IND/NEG
/e All kinds of dangerous and powerful medicines are scattered about;
their effects on anyone are not good.

/n tá (ME, denying *máta*): tape sounds [mətʌ]

38)

/u šúkw ná=yukwə=nə=šé·, nəwánč́i- ná -lət·ó·nhe·n, nuxá·t·i; kí· kká·nši-lás·i;
kí· li·t·e·há·ane, ahékta kéhəla wé·mi palí·i ktəlhitéhəmən, ná šé· mahč́i·kwi kéku.

/m šúkw ná yúkwə ní šé· nə+wunč́i ní ələtōnahē+ən
/g but PRES now that.INsg EMPH 1+from. {smth}/PV that.INsg talk. {so}+1s/SBD

/m nuxá·t·i kī kə+kānši ələsī+0 kí· əlītēhā+yanē
/g father.VOC 2s.EMPH 2+extremely/PV do. {so}+2s/IND 2s,EMPH think. {so}+2s/SBJ

/m ahékta kéhəla wé·mi palīwī kət+ələhteh+amən
/g very really all away 2+impel. {so}+2s-0s_{1a}/IND

/m ní šé· mahč́i·kwi kéku
/g that.INsg EMPH bad something

/e That's why I talk that way, Father; you are powerful;
if you are willing, you will surely drive away all the kinds of that bad thing.

/n ná -lət·ó·nhe·n: ná (ME) is a brief [n] or [l] at most; kká·nši: clear [k·]

39)

/u é·li yú šé·, kí· ktánta-khitanət·ó·wi·n,→ nuxá·t·i.

/m é·li yú šé· kí· kət+(ən)ta(lī) kəhtanətōwī+ən nuxá·t·i
/g since this.INsg EMPH 2s.EMPH 2+{smwh}/PV be.great.spirit+2s/SBD father.VOC

/e Because you are the only powerful spirit here, Father.

40)

/u kí· wé·mi kéku, ktələ·löntamən, yúkwə=šé·, entala·wsienk.

/m kí· wé·mi kéku kət+əlēlont+amən
/g 2s.EMPH all something 2+cause.by.will+2s-0s_{1a}/IND

/m yúkwə šé· IC+(ən)talāwəsī+yēnk
/g now EMPH xx+live. {smwh}+1p/PPL(OBL)
/e You created everything here where we live.

41)

/u ná=yúkwə=yu=šé·, ánta-só·k·əlan̩k, kəhəla=hánkʷ, ná xinkəhkəntamən,
ní ánta-so·k·əla·namíyenk,
tá=hánkʷ, kəhəla wanəš·i, ktəli-skappat·ai·ne·n, yú=šé·, entala·wsiyenk.

/m ná yúkwe yú šé· IC+ánta sōkəlān+k

/g PRES now this.INsg EMPH xx+{smt}/PV rain+0/CC

/m kəhəla =hánkʷ ní (ma)xinkwakənt+amən

/g really usually that.INsg count.lots.of+X-0s_{1a}/IND

/m ní IC+(ən)ta(lī) sōkəlānamī+yēnk

/g that.INsg xx+{smwh}/PV have.rain+1p/PPL(OBL)

/m tá =hánkʷ kəhəla wanəš·i kət+əlī səkəpəpataw+īnēn

/g ?? usually really thank.you 2+{so}/PV wet.O2.for+2-1p/SBD

/m yú šé· IC+(ən)talāwəsī+yēnk

/g this.INsg EMPH xx+live.{smwh}+1p/PPL(OBL)

/e At the times when it rains, a lot is counted in the place where we have rain;
many thanks that you water for us the place where we live.

/n -pp-: seems extra long, but treated as |-p-| in prefixed forms; |səkəpəpataw-|: or |səkəpətaw-|

42)

/u hú pəná káski-ki·š·i·k·ən, kéku ne·xpe·ləmíyenk, yúkwə=šé·, mehəmi·č·ink, e·ləwəntamá·enk.

/m hú pəná kàskī kīšikən+w kéku IC+naxpələm+īyēnk

/g FUT even be.able.to/PV grow+0s/IND smthg xx+divinely.bestow.O2.on+2-1p/PPL(INsg)

/m yúkwe šé· IC+Rih+mīčī+nk IC+ələwəntamā+yēnk

/g now EMPH xx+HAB+eat+X-0₃/PPL(INsg) xx+have.name.for.O2+1p/PPL(INsg)

/e Now anything you have vouchsafed to us as what we call food can grow.

43)

/u tákta awé·n, kéku pé·-phəkhakéhank, xkání·m, ahékta kəhəla, sá·k·ən.

/m tákta awēn+0 kéku IC+pə pwahkahkeh+ank xkanīm+0

/g any someone+ANsg smthg xx+continuing/PV bury+3s/PPL(INsg) seed+INsg

/m ahékta kəhəla sākən+w

/g very really sprout+0s/IND

/e Any seeds anyone plants in the ground sure enough come up.

/n sá·k·ən: has sentence-final devoicing but ends on mid pitch.

44)

/u nəwúnči-káski-mi·tsí·ne·n.

[sounds [wunʃi] or [wəŋʃi].]

/m nə+wənčī kàskī mītəsī+ənēn

/g 1+from.{smthg}/PV be.able.to/PV eat+1p/SBD

/e And we can therefore eat.

45)

/u ná=yukwə=nə=šé, ktáli-mehəmentəwá·mələn, nuxá·t·i, yúkwə=yu=šé ntəlhukwé·p·i·n;
tá-kó· xánne· čó·xkwi, kéku no·wa·tó·wi, šúkw=tá ná=nə wəntáhkwi, ntəltó·nhe·n, nuxá·t·i.

/m ná yúkwə ní šé: kət+əlī Rvh+mentəwām+ələn nuxá·t·i
/g PRES now that.INsg EMPH 2+{so}/PV REP+beseech+1s-2s/SBD father.VOC

/m yúkwə yú šé: nət+ələhkwe·pī+ən
/g now this+INsg EMPH 1+sit.facing. {so}+1s/SBD

/m tá-kó: xánne: čōxkwi kéku nə+wəwāht+ōwī
/g NEG however (not).much smthg 1+know+1s-0s₂/IND/NEG

/m šúkw =tá ná ní wəntáhkwi nət+ələtōnahē+ən nuxá·t·i
/g but FOC PRES that.INsg over.there 1+talk. {so}+1s/SBD father.VOC

/e That's why I ask your blessings, Father, here the way I sit.

Although I don't know very much, still I'm talking the way I've been talking, Father.

46)

/u ó·k kpántai, ktáli-lələn kánč;
tá-kó·, no·wa·tó·wən, ehələt·o·nha·lké·an;
šúkw=tá ná=nə wəntáhkwi, ntəltó·nhe·n.

/m ó·k kə+pəntaw+ī kət+əlī əl+ələn kánč
/g and 2+hear+2s-1s/IND 2+{so}/PV say. {so}.to+1s-2s/SBD

/m tá-kó: nə+wəwāht+ōwən IC+Rih+ələtōnahāl+əkēyan
/g NEG 1+know+1s-0s₂/IND xx+REP+talk. {so}+X-2s/PPL(OBL)

/m šúkw =tá ná ní wəntáhkwi nət+ələtōnahē+ən
/g but FOC PRES that.INsg over.there 1+talk. {so}+1s/SBD

/e And you heard me speaking to you just now;

I don't know how you should be talked to,

but still that's the way I talk.

/n -lələn: [l^olən]

47)

/u ktáli--š ná=nə -lí·hi·n: ktəma·ksót·ai.

/m kət+əlī =č ná ní əlīh+īn kətəməkəsətaw+ī
/g 2+{so}/PV FUT PRES that.INsg treat. {so}+2s-1s/SBD hear.with.pity+2s-1s/IMP

/e Please do that for me: take pity on me as you hear my words.

/n ME tr.: "Will you take pity on me."

48)

/u ó·k wá šé· we·yó·psi·t, kta·taí·ne·n, nuxá·t·i, ónta- á· -wə́l·xta·kw, yó·l šé·, mpi·s·ó·na.
/m ó·k wá šé· IC+Ra+wāpəsī+t kət+ahtaw+īnēn
/g and this.ANsg EMPH xx+PL+be.white+3/PPL(ANsg) 2+put.O2. {smwh}.for+2-1p/IND

/m nuxá·t·i IC+ənta á· wə́l·xət+ākw yó·l šé· nəpīsōn+a
/g father.VOC xx+{smt}/PV POT fix+3s-0₂/PPL(OBL) these.INpl EMPH medicine+INpl
/e You put this white man here for us, father, for when he would fix those medicines.
/n nuxá·t·i, ónta- á· -wə́l·xta·kw, yó·l: [nuxa:t'in.. ndΛ.. Λ.. wəli:xta:ko'l]

49)

/u nəwə́l·h·kó·ne·n, ónta-we·t·ə́n·ə́menk, yó·l šé· mpi·s·ó·na.
/m nə+Ra+wə́l·h+əkōnēn IC+ənta wētən+əmēnk yó·l šé· nəpīsōn+a
/g 1+PL+cure+0-1p/IND xx+{smt}/PV take+1p-0_{1b}/CC these.INpl EMPH medicine+INpl
/e Those medicines cure us when we take them.
/n yó·l: [o'l]

50)

/u wehé·e mé·č·i, nkət·ə́ma·ksíhəna, ni·ló·na;
tá·kó· hat·é·e, awé·n wənč·i- á· -káski-wə́l·h·ar·t awé·n, nihə́lá·č·i, e·lanko·má·č·i.

/m wehé·e mé·č·i nə+kətəmākəsī+hməna ni·ló·na
/g alas(?) already 1+be.poor+1p/IND 1p.EMPH

/m tá·kó· ahtē+wī awēn+θ
/g NEG be+0s/IND/NEG someone+ANsg

/m (IC+)wənč·i á· káskī wə́l·h+āt
/g xx+from. {smthg}/PV POT be.able.to/PV cure+3s-3'/PPL(OBL)

/m awēn+θ nihə́lá·č·i IC+əlankōm+āč·i
/g someone+ANsg one's.own xx+be.related.to+3s-3'/PPL(OBV)
/e Now we are poor; no one has a way to cure their own relatives.

51)

/u ná wá šé·, we·yó·psi·t, kta·taí·ne·n, ntálə-wə́l·xta·k·ó·ne·n, yó·l šé·, mpi·s·ó·na →
táli- awé·n, -nhaká·t·amən.↘

/m ná wá šé· IC+Ra+wāpəsī+t kət+ahtaw+īnēn
/g PRES this.ANsg EMPH xx+PL+be.white+3/PPL(ANsg) 2+put.O2. {smwh}.for+2-1p/IND

/m nət+əlī wə́l·xətaw+əkōnēn yó·l šé· nəpīsōn+a
/g 1+{so}/PV fix.O2.for+3-1p/PPL(OBL) these.INpl EMPH medicine+INpl

/m wət+əlī awēn+θ nahkāt+amən
/g 3+{so}/PV someone+ANsg use+3s-0_{1a}/SBD
/e It was this white man that you put here to prepare those medicines for us, for anyone to use.
/n ntálə-: [ndəl..]; yó·l šé·, mpi·s·ó·na →: [ò'l šé· mbi·s·ó·n]; ↘: pitch fall and devoicing.

52)

/u -wəlamálsi·n, awé·n.→

/m [wət+əlī] wəlamàləsī+ən awēn+∅

/g [3+{so}/PV] be.well+3s/SBD someone+ANSg

/e And for anyone to get well.

/n Construction continued from 51 with the prefixed preverb təli- gapped.

53)

/u pa·lsuwi·k·a·rəni·ké·e, awé·ni·k, íka šenki·x·ínki·k, pé·ka·ktəma·k·i·ká·xink, awé·n.

/m pāləsəwīkāwan+īhkēwē awēn+īk íka (IC+)šenkīxīn+kīk

/g hospital+LOCpl someone+ANpl there xx+lie+3/PPL(ANpl)

/m IC+pə Rā+kətəmākīhkāxīn+k awēn+∅

/g xx+continue/PV REP+lie.pitifully+3/PPL(ANSg) someone+ANSg

/e Of the people in hospitals, ones lying there, someone who goes on just lying there pitifully.

/n Syntax?

54)

/u ná=ni kí·, máta e·le·ləntamó·wan, nuxá·t·i; mwəšhika·k·wəné·yə.

/m ná ní kí· máta IC+ələlənt+amōwan nuxá·t·i

/g PRES that.INsg 2s.EMPH NEG xx+cause.by.will. {so}+2s-0_{1a}/PPL/NEG(OBL) father.VOC

/m wə+məšəhkaw+əkwənēwa

/g 3+infect+0-3p/IND

/e That was not what you intended by your creation, Father; they were infected by it.

55)

/u kó· ní kí·, ktəle·ləntamó·wən, təli--š awé·n, -ka·ktəma·k·i·ka·x·í·nən,
-pəpkwi·ka·x·í·nən, awé·n.→

/m kó· ní kí· kət+ələlənt+amōwən

/g NEG that.INsg 2s.EMPH 2+divinely.cause. {so}+2s-0/SBD/NEG

/m wət+əlī =č awēn+∅ Rā+kətəmākīhkāxīn+ən

/g 3+{so}/PV FUT someone+ANSg REP+lie.pitifully+3s/SBD

/m [wət+əlī] Rə+pəkwīhkāxīn+ən awēn+∅

/g [3+{so}/PV] REP+have.bedsore+3s/SBD someone+ANSg

/e It was not your will that anyone just lie there pitifully, or for anyone to get bed sores.

/n Prefixed preverb təli- gapped in last clause.

56)

/u šúkw kí, wínki-ləs·iyáne, nuxá·t·i, ahéкта kéhəla wəlamálsu=č awé·n,
-kta·malí·ke·n, awé·n yú šé·, pa·lsuwi·k·á·ɔnink, wənči.

/m šúkw kí wínkī ələsī+yanē nuxá·t·i
/g but 2s.EMPH like.to/PV do.{so}+2s/SBJ father.VOC

/m ahéкта kéhəla wəlamələsī+w =č awēn+θ
/g very really be.well+3s/IND FUT someone+ANsg

/m [wət+əlī] kətāmaləhkē+n awēn+θ
/g [3+{so}/PV] step.out+3s/SBD someone+ANsg

/m yú šé· pələsəwīkāwan+ənk wənči
/g this+INsg EMPH hospital+LOC from.{smthg}
/e But if you are willing, Father, a person will sure enough get well,
for a person to step forth from the hospital.

/n kta·malí·ke·n: [-ŋ]; if subordinative /-n/ is present, the expected táli is absent (see 57, 58).

57)

/u -káski- nihələči -a·yahpa·mó·x·ɔla·n, awé·n, hók·aya.

/m [wət+əlī] kàskī nihələči Rā+apāmōxwal+ān awēn+θ
/g [3+{so}/PV] be.able.to/PV one's.own REP+carry.around+3s-3'/SBD someone+ANsg

/m wə+-hakay+a

/g 3+self+OBV

/e To be able to carry his own body.

/n See 56.

58)

/u -káski-wí·č·əma·n, nihələči hók·aya, awé·n.

/m [wət+əlī] kàskī wīčəm+ān nihələči wə+-hakay+a awēn+θ
/g [3+{so}/PV] be.able.to/PV help+3s-3'/SBD one's.own 3+self+OBV someone+ANsg

/e To be able to help himself.

/n See 56.

59)

/u ó·k wəla·te·namuwá·k·an, məši·ká·k·wəlu, e·lanko·má·č·i,
ón̄ta·né·wənt, lápi awēn, táli-əwəlamálsi·n, -káski·a·yahpá·mska·n.
/m ó·k wəlahtēnaməwākan+θ məšəhkaw+ək wələw IC+əlankōm+āčī
/g and happiness+INsg infect+(0)–3'/IND xx+be.related.to+3–3'/PPL(OBV)

/m IC+ənta nēw+ənt lápi awēn+θ wət+əlī Ra+wəlamələsī+ən
/g xx+{smt}/PV see+X–3/CC again someone+ANsg 3+{so}/PV PL+be.well+3s/SBD

/m [wət+əlī] kaskī Rā+apāməskā+ən
/g [3+{so}/PV] be.able/PV REP+walk.around+3s/SBD

/e And gladness comes over a person's relatives,
when it is seen that they are again well and able to walk around.

60)

/u ná=yukwə=nə=šé·, ntáli-mehəmentəwe·n, yúkwə=yu=šé·, ntəlhukwé·p·i·n.
/m ná yúkwə ní šé· nət+əlī Rvh+mentəwē+ən
/g PRES now that.INsg EMPH 1+{so}/PV REP+beseech+1s/SBD

/m yúkwə yú šé· nət+ələhk wēpī+ən
/g now this.INsg EMPH 1+sit.facing.{so}+1s/SBD
/e That's what I pray for, here as I sit.

61)

/u ó·k ké·pe, a·š·əwa·kwhitehá·s·iyan, níke ónta-piči-mái-tahpá·miyenk,
ón̄ta-ktəma·k·a·wsiyenk; tá ahékta kéhəla, kpe·t·alo·ká·lukw, kó·x·əna.
/m ó·k kə+é·pe āšəwāhk wəhtehāsī+yan
/g and 2+also be.crucified+2s/PPL(VOC)

/m níke IC+ənta piči mawī tapām+īyēnk
/g that.INsg.ABS xx+{smt}/PV come/PV go.to/PV instruct+2–1p/CC

/m IC+ənta kətəməkāwəsī+yēnk
/g xx+{smt}/PV live.miserably+1p/CC

/m tá ahékta kéhəla kə+pētalōhkāl+ək wə kə+ōx+əna
/g ?? very really 2+send.this.way+3s–2s/IND 2+father+12+ANsg
/e And you, Christ, the time when you brought us the gospel, when we were living pitifully,
sure enough our (inc.) father sent you here.

/n tá (??): cf. 41.

62)

/u ktak·əno·t·əmaí·ne·n, ní šé·, me·á·e·k, kéku.
/m kət+akənōtəməw+īnēn ní šé· IC+mayāwē+k kéku
/g 2+tell.O2.to+2–1p(INsg) that.INsg EMPH xx+be.right+0/PPL(INsg) smthg
/e You told us the right way.

63)

/u we·í·t·ət, tətá ehe·ləmo·k·wəná·k·a, ahkəno·t·á·s·u, ní šé·, kta·pto·na·k·anúwa.

/m we·í·t·ət tətá IC+Rih+aləmo·kwənakat+k akənōtāsī+w

/g I.guess whatever xx+HAB+days.go.on+0/CC) be.told+0s/IND

/m ní šé· kət+āpətōnākan+əwā(w)+0

/g that.INsg EMPH 2+word,message+2p+INsg

/e I guess your (pl.) gospel will be talked about forever and ever.

/n IC is irregular, on stem and reduplicant.

64)

/u pəná ní šé·, šəwanahkwí·i-pa·tamwe·yó·k·an.

/m pəná ní šé· šəwanakwīwī pāhtamwēwākan+0

/g even that.INsg EMPH of.whiteman/PN religion+INsg

/e Now, as for this white man's church.

65)

/u tá kó·, kéku lí-čani·nakəhtó·u, ní nə wəntax, táli.

/m tá-kó· kéku əlī čanīnākwat+ōwī

/g NEG smthg {so}/PV be.wrong+3s/IND/NEG

/m ní· ní wəntax táli

/g 1s.EMPH that.INsg right.here {smwh}/P

/e There's nothing wrong with it; that's right where I am myself.

/n nə: [ŋ]; táli: [təlī]

66)

/u é·li kí·, kwət·i kki·š·é·ləmíhəna, ktəle·ləmí·ne·n, yúkwə=yu=šé·, ntəntala·wsí·ne·n.

/m é·li kí· kwət·i kə+kīšēləm+īhməna

/g since 2s.EMPH one 2+divinely.create+2-1p

/m kət+əlēləm+īnēn yúkwə yú šé· nət+(ə)n·talāwəsī+ənēn

/g 2+divinely.create. {so}+2-1p/SBD now this.INsg EMPH 1+live. {smwh}+1p/SBD

/e Because you created us as one, in creating us to live here.

/n kki·š·é·ləmíhəna: very long [k·-]

67)

/u ntəntala·wsí·ne·n, ó·k ntami·mə·nsəməná·na·k.

/m nət+(ə)n·talāwəsī+ənēn ó·k nət+(a)mīməns+əm+ənān+āk

/g 1+live. {smwh}+1p/SBD and 1+child+PT+1p+ANpl

/e For us and our children to live (here).

68)

/u ná=yukwə=nə=šé·, ktəli-mehəmentəwa·mələné·yɔ, yúkwe=yu=šé·, ntəlhukwé·p·i·n, nuxát·i,
ó·k ké·pe a·šuwə·kwhitehá·s·iyan.

/m ná yúkwe ní šé· kət+əlī Rvh+mentəwām+ələnēwa
/g PRES now that.INsg EMPH 2+{so}/PV REP+beseech+1s-2p/SBD

/m yúkwe yú šé· nət+ələhkwepī+ən nuxát·i
/g now this.INsg EMPH 1+sit.facing. {so}+1s/SBD father.VOC

/m ó·k kə+ēpe āšəwāhkwehteħāsī+yan
/g and 2+also be.crucified+2s/PPL(VOC)

/e That's why I ask blessings of both of you, here as I sit, O Father. and you also, Christ.

69)

/u yúkwe=yu čí·č, sahka·kwəní·ne·n, yú=šé· kwət·i, təmá·k·an,→
ntəli--š, -na·ɔhtó·ne·n,→ †tətá ehe·ləmo·k·wəná·k·a,→ ntami·mə·nsəməná·na·k.↘
/m yúkwe yú čí·č sakāhkweñ+īnēn yú šé· kwət·i (mə)təmākan+0
/g now this.INsg ever lead.by.hand+2-1p/IMP this.INsg EMPH one road

/m nət+əlī =č nāwat+ōnēn tətá IC+Rih+aləmo·kwənakat+k
/g 1+{so}/PV FUT follow+1p-0/SBD whatever xx+HAB+days.go.on+0(CC)

/m nət+(a)mīməns+əm+ənān+āk
/g 1+child+PT+1p+ANpl

/e And here always lead us on this one road,
for us to follow it forever, we and our children.

/n yúkwe=yu čí·č s-: sounds [u'koɔčis-]; ó·k yúkwe čí·č (ME). yú=šé·: [š·ɛ·]. Cf. 63.

70)

/u mé·či, ná=ni txí.

/m mé·či ná ní taxi
/g already PRES that.INsg {so.much}/P

/e That's all.