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## Wichita Text Structure\*

## DAVID S. ROOD

In this paper I want to examine the structural and performance characteristics of two Wichita texts (appended). They are both narrated by the same person, Mrs. Bertha Provost, late of Anadarko, Oklahoma; they are both what would have to be called "traditional narratives," and they are both about the same length, but they represent two different genres. I want to look at the meanings of elements in the texts which seem to signal event boundaries and special types of language, and to describe some rather striking differences between the two examples here, differences which must be due solely to the genre, which in turn colors the speaker's attitude toward the subject matter.

The first text represents what the Wichitas call a "true story." The characters are human beings who act very much the way ordinary Wichitas act; and from the point of view of the Wichitas, the events are normal happenings. Stories of this sort can be told any time, and they seem to have little reason for existence beyond the intrinsic interest in the story itself. The second text, in contrast, is a Coyote story--and a very common one all over the Plains. Mrs. Provost called these "fairy tales" (ksi:r?o:kha:r?a). The characters are usually talking animals, and the ordinary laws of physics and biology are often suspended in these tales. They cannot be told during the summer months, and they always have some explicitly stated reason for existence-in this case, as the explanation for why coyotes cry.

Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that the first narrative is told in a very unemotional matter-of-fact way, almost as a broadcast journalist might present it, while the second seems designed to entertain, and includes a lot of variation in its phonology. To illustrate, I have prepared some excerpts from each text for you to listen to.

Before we start, you need a few words of caution about the recordings vs. the transcriptions. The transcription you have before you is of slow speech forms, and it is also the result of sometimes rather drastic editing by the speaker as we went over and over the original tape. On the tape, however, you have fast speech forms, hesitations, repetitions, errors like stammering or slips of the tongue, and repairs--in short, a normal oral performance. That means that you will not see what you hear part of the time, particularly as regards grammatical (rather than intonational) pitch, word boundaries, reduction of VwV sequences to [0:], and the allophony of [r] and [n]. I will try to help you associate the right parts of the transcription with the tape as we go along.

The first class of phenomena we will examine is phonological, specifically the use of pitch level, speed changes, and pauses. First we will hear lines 1-13 of the true story text. Note that except for the grammatically conditioned pitch changes and for the kind of pitch drop that apparently universally precedes a pause, the passage is quite intonationless. Note, too, how few pauses there are. In particular, in line 7, note that there is almost no pause at all before the word meaning 'suddenly'. This is surprising, for we will find in the next text that that word regularly marks boundaries between sections of the story.

The text goes on to describe how everyone left, but the woman did not rejoin the group. A year later they have returned to the same place, but still not found her. Then toward sunset someone takes his horses out of the camp to graze; he spots the woman they had left behind, but sees that there is something wrong. Now we will hear lines 24-26.

This should be a very dramatic revelation, at least to my mind--perhaps the most important one in the story. Yet the only intonational indication of its importance is the pause that precedes wira?a a:ka?ar. All of the drama is in the text rather than the performance here.

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Turning now to the other story, even in the first few lines we can hear a real difference. There is a general tendency for the direct quotations to be either slightly raised in pitch or breathy in tone, while the "stage directions", especially the quotation verbs, are normal or somewhat lowered in pitch. I am going to play the first 17 lines of the text. Listen for the intonational pitch that marks the quotes, and at the beginnings of lines 11 and 23, a distinctly breathy quality that also accompanies a quotation. Note also the end of line 12: this is an important word, and elicits gales of laughter from an audience listening to and understanding the tape. Yet it is not particularly well marked by the intonation--rather, just as we saw in the introduction of the notion that the woman in the other text had become part bear, the dramatic announcement is set off by pauses, but made at a normal voice level.

Starting with line 13, we move away from conversation to narration. The pitch level settles back to something close to normal, and the language speeds up, as if this were material the narrator wished to get past so she could get to the interesting part of the story.

Next I want you to hear lines 21-24.

This passage begins with a statement of the scene, moves to a monologue by Turtle, and then introduces old Coyote himself. You noticed that the Turtle's monologue was very different in character from anything else we've heard: much slower, enunciated syllable by syllable, and composed of verbs without their usual prefixes. I found out several years after I collected this text that that passage was supposed to be sung, but the narrator decided to recite the song text instead. Nevertheless, she retained the rhythm of the song, even though she omitted the melody.

Again, the introduction of Coyote, which is a major dramatic event in the story (and again elicits a chorus of laughter as soon as the name is mentioned), is signalled by setting the name off by pauses, rather than by any special uses of pitch. This is now the third time that we have noticed normal pitch and pause utilized for the presentation of a particularly important part of the narrative. But notice what happens as soon as Coyote is on the scene. The verb that brings him in is rushed past, and his first quotation is presented without any pause between that verb and the beginning of the statement. But the statement itself, like all the quotes we heard at the beginning of the story, occurs with raised pitch.

The next sample I have for you is lines 46-51. Coyote has gone off to find his family, and Turtle, with Squirrel's help, has moved all the butchered meat up to a branch that hangs out over the water. When Coyote returned with his family and found the meat gone, he was quite angry and the children were quite disappointed. Now we learn that one of the children spots the meat's reflection and assumes that it's deep down in the water. Listen to the excitement in the report of this discovery, beginning with line 49.

Here the usual tendency to raise pitch during a quotation is exaggerated, and the speed of delivery is much increased as well. Yet the identification of the speaker, the child, even in the middle of the quotation, returns use to the sober pitch and speed we have come to expect of "stage direction" passages.

The last excerpt I have for you goes from line 57 to the end. Note at the beginning, where the plans that had been hatched in the preceding lines were described as carried out, that the pitch variation is even less than usual. Then the quotation in line 60 is again high and fast. From the end of that line on we have the wrap-up of events and the explanation for the story, all told very matter-of-factly again, though I like to think I detect just a smidgin of sympathy with the coyotes in the tones of these lines.

To summarize what I have been trying to illustrate so far: in this speaker's renditions of Wichita narratives, we find a relatively monotonous presentation of facts, either in the whole of the "true story", or in the narrator's own lines in the fairy story. But in the fairy story, we note that direct quotations of the animal characters are generally produced on a higher than normal pitch level, and several other variations in speed (very slow, as in the song, or very quick), breathiness, and pitch contours enable the narrator to distinguish "stage directions" or straight narration from utterances attributed to characters, even without using verbs of speaking and names of speakers.

Besides these intonational characteristics, I would like to point out the use of three additional words or morphemes. First is the prefix ka:? found on the first word of each story, and occasionally elsewhere in the texts. In the bear-woman text, the first two words are an obligatory, formulaic opening for this kind of story, and the ka:? appears on the first word of the formula as well as on the first word of the story itself. It occurs again at line 17, where there seem to be a major break in the story: the group returns a year after the original event. In the coyote text, ka:? appears on each verb which introduces a new character: the turde in line 1, the buffalo in line 4, and Coyote in line 24. Squirrel pops up without ka:?, but there is some evidence that the narrator was stumbling in her recollection of the story at that point, and that she is telling it as if she had already introduced Squirrel.

Ka: 9 may also be present at the beginning of Line 61, though there are at least two other words of this shape that can occur in this position, one of which means something like 'so; consequently', and that may be what we have in 61. In 62, however, we again find ka: on the verb that introduces Mrs. Coyote by name, even though she's been around in the story already. The final occurrence is in line 63, where it introduces the explanation segment of the story.

It seems to me that ka:?- marks a kind of new beginning. Either it introduces a new character, or it introduces a major change in the focus of the story. It is therefore an important indicator of major boundaries in the text.

The second word that seems to have a lot to do with indicating text structure is hiriwa:?. This is probably a conjunction which serves to move the story along; it is usually translated "and then" or "and next", and signals the fact that we're launching into something different now. And finally, I would point out a:ki?i:rakhann, generally glossed "all at once" or "suddenly", but not usually having quite that meaning in most of its occurrences in these texts. In each text, the number of instances of hiriwa: 2 and a:ki?i:rakhann added together totals 16; I wish I knew whether that is a coincidence, or whether there is some "average length of passage" which requires a certain number of these markers in a particular length of narrative.

This is the text of an oral paper which was accompanied by a tape recording of relevant passages. The tape is available for \$3.00 on request to the author. The paper was read at the Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., December 1985.

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## Appendix

The following two texts are reprinted from Caddoan Texts, ed. by D. R. Parks, International Journal of American Linguistics Native American Texts Series 2.1 (1977).

Text	
1.	kar'arkiwakharr'a has'arkire'erha kar'arkihinthiri irrir'a
	Once upon a time there was a village. One day chief
2.	marfir'ih fikiwak'a hawi' taciraik'ishiririika torikic'a
	the said "Ok. We (pl. incl.) are moving." Young man
3.	hivass'askis'i ace bas'askibi'iriyase ti'i isris'a sarésr'ih
••	he was in love with her this chief the
h.	nai: "th wera" fika "akiwa: we"a: h hikiyakiwa "ariki
٠,	his daughter. Probably they (dual) met; they were standing
	bald afteriverbush véra
5.	hiravestakin ivaamati Naybe
	(dual) talking. It was been been been been been been been bee
6.	ne's' like akicire eruming there.
	they (aux.) got man at court of
7.	niverrikike*e:h hi:ya:ki*iriwackva*ah a:ki*iranisim
	While they (pl) for them (du) to set out suddenly
	were weiting (coming)
8.	ner6:r*ib ba*wiv iclimatria erization
	the "Ok. Let us (pl. incl.) Boon they (dual) so then set out.
	aces sometices marker the vera
9.	niiceveriweenissen issuits and the maybe
	(after) they (pl.) (all as disc)
	hávit hisciswári kirikiyaroskvas
10.	Let's (du. incl.) go." She didn't want to,
	ne mept terring to a standard history A:kivicks's
11.	is in it's martin the thought
	woman com
12.	torrigid maren and y moss T better last; soon
	young man so (if I go)
13.	botos kaiffikhirtihaky hinniy kaita
-3-	the will come. Soon she will get over and she will come." So then
	her mid speil
14.	ne*ero:chissah mini*inn**
	after he started out (and) after he left and after where they (pr.) said her (behind) he was going
	hirdker? nicivakharissah
15.	kathith's naretrin statistical For off after they (pl) had gone,
	woman the less took and the state of nickwakharissah
16.	ka:sis vare:waknarass with
	I don't know now long
17.	hinni* kathitk's maretr'in
	and too woman the the back of
18.	machinathary takih Rimit He anna 1 to the there was no one.
	when they (pl) and where they me
	vere coming;
19.	hiviparne:siyas
	even though they
20.	nerhieseh vickher there wassissisvan
20.	for them to grass. While he was very the sum was close to setting;
	going

- kiyakiyakikita\*ariki kiyaki:ya:hkvi 21. ka:mi:cf\*ih hakima:k\*f:skwah it is almost for the sun to go down, someone was standing by a tree. on top ready
- a: \*áki:cá:k\*iraki véra\* ka:kwic 22. ka:kiri\* kiyakika\*acs Something (s)he was eating it. (8)He had found self maybe hackberries
- 23. kiyaka\*acs hiriwa\* na:hissah nahannó:ra:hissah which (a)he So then as he was going as he was getting closer he recognised
- 24. 4:ki\*icaras kathitk\*a narétr\*ih hika\*akiréthi\*inn\*átwah He recognized woman the whom they had left behind. That one
- 25. kiyaki: \*i hîriwa\* wickhê: acs ni:cîte:re:skih she was the one. So then very good when he recognized her,
- vira\*a a:ka\*ar hinni' na'asikirih 26. nari: firih hiyas where her from there to (and) where her feet are bear (lit. first) waist is
- 27. hiriwa\* nachissah ackiwak\*a hicri\* So then when he went he said, "That one: I found her and
- a:kiwaha\*a nahánthiriskirih hire\*i:hanthiri 28. kiri\*acakwe\*e:\*i she is not right any more." They said, "In the daylight tomorrow."
- 29. mahánthiriskírih hasí:riwa:chí:ke:hah hi:raka: ni\*i:ckó:rih where the end is rock In the daylight a deep ravine (canyon) far
- 30. hassi: "ih isa" kiyaki: c"i hiriwa" nërrikite: ri: tiskih as if it was thus it was. And so after they got on horseback some
- 31. ne:wiya:s ni:we\*ekih a:\*ákickawi:kwiki híriwa\* á:kiwak\*a afoot being (too), they surrounded it. So then (one) said,
- 32. wéra\* ti\*ise\*ecak\*a hinni\* ke\*eci:cí:co:ra:wa hike\*eci:rihiyah "When I give this then we (incl. pl.) will We will look for her." go down. slensle
- kathitk'a kiyararêtr'ih vêra' 33. kirirecire:rak\*askih Here's a part I didn't say: woman the probably
- ti'i wi:c kiya'arê:r'ih ka'akire:hirî:rasih who found her. she was seen (by) this man the
- 35. a: 'ákawi:h hára' ka: 'áiki:ke:skwa i:hánniwickwas á:h nawak'áskih She ran off there she went down in. He knew the place and and said,
- hiriwa\* ti:ra:ckawi:kwiskih 36. hi:rika: tike:sis "Far she went down in." So then they (pl) surrounded it some
- 37. hiri: arharikiwa: wih ire: wiya: ass ne: we akih a: ki:cco: ra: wa who were on horseback; afoot some who were. They (pl) went down.
- 36. hiriwa? miscosrashiesah hisrakas? wéra? masrisrashiréstésrih when they had (as) far (as) maybe where they had selected the place
- gone down 39. hara\* ni\*i:ckavah nihf:ke:hah ika:\*a kiyakfriva:c\*i k£:kathir£kirik which had a hole in there the end (of) the canyon rock there was a the side (a cave).
- 40. hára† kaikiya† a: fáki†ic†íirh kai† kiyaki:cká:rhavi There someone he looked inside. Far she was lying inside
- kiyakiriwa:cka:ha hara\* wara\* bl. né:rhi:stiskih hánc's May (straw) there was a lot inside. There probably biding.
- \$2. hi\*i:c6\*erhavi hfriwa\* hinniwacitfskih ka:kiyaki:ckakickas\* they (du) have So then as they were she was yelling and screaming for pulling her out someone. marf: \*ikir\*ib
- k3. wire\*assihir kiyakikass\*ess váre\* ickáss\*ehé:riks Like a bear she yelled. Probably she kept yelling for her husband.
- bb. tackar véra frihirákava hára karrarhissah víra véra The place must have been there that he went. Bear probably VALV (AT AVE)

- híriwa\* hira:hi\*nna\*askih hinni\* nahitá:tiskih 45. we\*&:wi:e\*i she was married So then when they brought her and when she came out
- kiyakfrikictatath chararé: 'as 'frih hinni' 46. asikakic'a khi'as dry moccasin the poor thing had a little one where her foot and attached
- fikiwak\*a hf\*wih hf\*is\*fiskwati by, naré: 'ira:cf'ih hiriwa' na'e::skih (pl) Release when he saw her he said, "Ok. the one who was them her brother
- hinni \* &:kiwak \*a chati'iyaric chat[:\*o:s 48. kaistifficafta She's still alive. She's still And he said. That's the way walking around." it is, it's Ok.
- chára astickih bg. hi\*is\*f:skwati chibi:his acs ficts while she is still "Release her. Just let her go. Good it is [this way] going around
- 50, hira:r's ti'i na:kih kíri\*acakve\*eh earth this where it is. She is not suitable
- isa\* a:kikitawi:tis\*i f:ka\*aki\*f:akwati 51. Myscikffissfik for us (pl. incl.) to look at. Thus it happened: they released her.

## Text 1: Turtle, Buffalo, and Coyote, by Bertha Provost

- kiyakihite ecaki kík\*i:s khi\*as 1. kaifaifaikõikhairfa poor thing he was sitting at the edge, Once upon a time they say.
- hakihi iyaskvah 2. kiya:ki\*1:khfya\*a to go across the water. He was wishing, they say
- 3. karkiya\* isfr\*a iskirhi\*iyaskwa
- "Somebody come! Take me across the water!"
- h, kartartankihirtikansta neirhirta ankonkta anh netewar Then along down in came buffalo. He said "Hey, friend;
- 5. Sikiri\* harwa\* masiryakharak\*as tatí: 'ikhiya'a What then are you talking about?" "I am wishing
- askoskia tiirib birii iskiteleski 6. hakibi?iyaskwah to gross the water." he said. "Here then sit on top
- T. mackwiir\*ic\*frib askosk'a nésrhir'a where my shoulder is," said buffalo.
- 8. a:ko:k'a kîk'i:s kiri\* ke'esavi:r'ictakvi
- Said turtle, "No! You will shake your shoulder;
- bitvist birit 9. ke\*eskiha:hennivihi you will throw me into the water." "Ckay them
- a:ko:k\*a natí: arihkite er f: arikírih hara iste erhí: kava where my horns stick out on top there go into the brush. He replied, "No:
- 11. fith kiri\* ke\*es6to\*iriyari hinni\* ke\*eskihathanniwihi Oh. No! You will shake and you will throw me into the water."
- 12. fith titetawitt'i ha'wit' hiri' iskawa matiri'iskirik'irih then, go in where my anus is." "Oh, it's hard! Ok.
- hiriwa\* nakhissah hara\* 13. hiriwa\* machissah hara\* ackikawa Then going, there he went into it. Then going in, there
- 14. wa\* neka: icakih a: kihi\*iyaskwa
- mow sitting inside he went across the water.
- nahi\*iyassissah 15. hiriwa\* nahité:tiskih Then when he was getting onto the bank after crossing the water,
- hiriwa\* kiyaki:ctavi::\*i hiriwa\* 16. he'awfiro: fike: "Okay, then now where (is it) then?" It was hard for him then
- 17. hako:citih a:ki\*frakhann kfk\*i:s á:kiwicka:\*a ti\*i hfri\* "This then ' to get out. Suddenly, turtle thought

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16. icks\*sci ka:kiri\*fre:r\*i neke\*acekih let me eat it!" He didn't know what it was that he was eating

- 19. nako:ke:bárih chi\*f:ki\*i:rakhfris\*f:\* nf:rhir\*a a:ki:we\*ehi deep inside him. All at once buffalo fell over.
- 20. hiriwa\* kik\*i:s vérs\* naka\*acskih here? a:k6:citi Then aturtle maybe while he was eating there he went out.
- kiyaki:cîva:cé:rhir\*as\*irhawi 21. payagitiskih After he went out there was the big buffalo lying there.
- 22. hiriwa\* nork\*áskih árkihir\*arhi árr\* harkiya\* isarctarhara\*a Then saving he stopped. "Ney! Somebody bring your knife!
- 23. m:cf:rf:rhir\*asuariyari tariyari a:ki\*f:rakhann k\*fta:ks Butcher the buffelo! butcher!" Suddenly
- há:wa\* ne\*evá:r 24. ka: \*a: \*a:kiriya:s\*a 6:s1:\* along came the old one. "What is (the matter) then friend?"
- ká:kiri\* \*atf:\*i 25. e:h tataictairhaskis "Oh! I have killed me a buffalo; nothing I have it
- 26. hiriwa\* hakitariyarih arkork\*a k\*ftarks ha\*wir\* with it to butcher him." Said Coyote "Ok.
- hinni kifictariyari 27. ita:ce\*f:riye:a\*akhi:wa Let me go after my children first and afterwards, let me butcher."
- 26. ha'wit' hiriwat' nathiasah hinni' fika'akiret'fitariyari they two had butchered first.
- "Ok." Then he was going and 29. k'ítaiks véra' has'ai'ákicitaihe'ch Coyote must be had his knife with him.
- 30. aikiriwāiiiiio\*aras\*fir\*ariik hiroi\* k\*ftaiks āikoik\*a he piled up a great big amount of meat. Then Coyote said,
- 31. havel: itf:ce firhiwa nati: ak h hinni niye: natf:kih "Ok; let me go first after her my wife and child my plural."
- 32. ka: \* hiriwa\* ni\*irhissah k\*ita:ks nashissah So then going off Coyote going along.
- 33. Sich karkiyákichis arki\*firakhánn híriva\* harva\* Ch, he was going along, far away. Suddenly
- 36. véra\* nasziriyess\*akhir\*firaskih tis\* as\*ákiresvasr kík\*is I guess he found his children. At once he set to work turtle.
- 35. hinni? váictarta aikoikta šikirit háivat natováir And squirrel said "What (is it) then, friend?"
- nare:he:hárih 36. kiyakiriwa:ca:hkwi hassiya:rhi\*f:rika:wih There was a big tree with a branch hanging down over where the creek is.
- 37. tatí: 1:khíya\*a ti\*i \*aras hatakiccare:hih this meat for me to put mine up on top." "I want
- 36. a:ko:k\*a wa:c\*ar\*a ha\*wi\* itaotate:ti Said squirrel "Ok. Let me help you."
- 39. vaictarta kiyaikiriwaictarasarikitatahiiriks
- aguirrel he brought the big quantity of meat up to the top, repeatedly
- hirrakath atkiriwate francarethi ko. niya:hkwirib where the tree is. Far off he put the big quantity of meat on top.
- bl. hiriwa: k\*ita:ks na: askih niye:s kiyako:khitata\*ariki Coyote coming child they were following Then
- \$2. hinni\* naré: ak\*ih nachiss\*askih fiyath ká:kiri\* kiyaki:\*i and his wife. When they arrived Oh! My! nothing there was.
- 53. 6:h k6:kiri\* wati:\*i 6:ka:\* w6ra\* "Oh! Nothing there is left. I wonder where he is?
- hh, té:riyash icihir\*f:rasih n6\*a\* kiyaki:cha:ris k\*fta:ks He better watch out if I find him!" He was growing angry Coyote.

- 45. khi'as niye:s niré:r'ih khi'aski:kihante'er'as Poor child the plural poor ones were licking the ground
- a:kiff:rakhann 46. wa:cka:riks\*a na:ckitawa:hah blood clots those scattered around. Suddenly
- nare:he:harih niya:rhi\*f:rika:wirih 47. a:ki\*ickhité:s he peaked over the edge of the creek where the branch hung down over it.

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- 48. věra\* chiyaré:sirih kirikiyakirhare:s\*i biani\* It seemed in plain sight they were deep in the water, and
- akwitha\* ha:ri\* iskirihe\*ecaki ko, hirrikary irveth way off all the time they were above. "He is sitting in water!
- 50. hf:raka: \* iskirihf:ke\*ecaki niye:s nire:r\*ih way off he is sitting down in!" Child [it was] the plural.
- a: \*fkiciye:s\*akwa:ri ha\*wi:\* 51. té:riya:h
- "He better watch out!" He told his children, "Ok.
- 52. ika: a ti\*i hi\*iski:cikiwiki hinni\* hi\*iskiha:hanniwihi Rock this you all tie it around my neck and throw me in the water.
- 53. ha:rí:h hára\* ke\*eckvisskva nahe\*ecakírih Where he is there I will go + arrive where he is sitting in the water."
- a: 'ákiciye:: 'akwa:ri 5h. firfih ikaraki:cfwa:cfika:rikiwiki Oh! Alas! They put a big rock around his neck. He told his children
- wahi:cshice\*eriya:skih 55. ha:s 'ata:c'a wahacshice'er'askih "If manure when they come to the surface when they are floating around
- 56. ke\*esa:k\*i:kha:r\* né:rhir\*aská:hkaks va\*aracacka\*askih hinni\* you will know the buffalo intestines they have been cut open and
- 57. issiri\* ke: iki né:rhir\*as\*ata:c\*a ha\*vi: híriva: that kind they will be buffalo manure." Ok, then,
- hinni hiraha:hanniwiskih 58. hiri:c\*ika:rfkiwiskih they, tying a rock around his neck and throwing him in the water
- 59. khi\*as wéra\* a:kihí:ko:te\*es kík\*i:s hinni\* wé:c\*ar\*a poor thing I guess he drowned. Turtle and squirrel
- ariya:ci\*i\*assi:ssiyak\*av 60. hí:ró:h ariya:c\*i\*ássi:sha:hanniwih "Ha! Ha! They threw their father in the water! They killed their father!"
- 61. ka:ki:kiciwa:c\*iriki wi\*iyac\*asa:sko:rara\*e:ya:k Then they cried greatly. Mrs. Coyote
- 62. ka:khi\*fakiyaki\*icf\*iriki a:ki:cf\*ero:ckwa ni:ckwakhfrissah ni:ri:hf::skih poor thing was crying. They left going along mourning.
- 63. isa\* tikitawis\*i ka:\*a:wakhār\*as k\*ita:ks f:ri:ha:ss Thus it is that way. There are times coyote they mourn.
- 64. hiriwa: hi:was a ni:'i ke'iyikic'i'assi:shi:ko:te'esikih Then the very ones they are who drowned their father, they say.