

## Ethics, Two

### Roaming Scout

Hirutíuririt<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tí'uuriirit

Then he stood

hiruu ti- 0- uuriirik- -0  
then IND.1/2A 3.A stand.up PERF

nakukirikawúsitit<sup>n</sup>

rakukirikawuúsitit

to begin examining it

ra- 0- 0- ku- kirikaa.at -hus -itik  
INF.A 3.A 3.P INF.B examine IMPF.SUB INCH

Asiahiruririkítpit<sup>a</sup>

A si'ahiiruuriírikít

And they stood him up

a si- ar- ri- 0- 0- ir- uuriirik -0 piíta  
and DU EV CONT.3A 3.A 3.P 3.A.PL stand.up PERF the man  
wiita  
man

, ahawáku

. Ahawáku'

. He said

. ra- 0- waka'u -0  
. ABS 3.A say PERF

wiahutəsarírit

wii'ahuutasaariírit

when he saw the pole

wii- ar- ra- 0- ut- asaar- iirik -0 : “

now EV ABS 3.A PREV game.piece see PERF : “

tāskaru . "  
Tāskaru' . "  
You won them . "  
ta- s- 0- ka- ra'uk -0 . "  
IND.1/2A 2A 3.P DIST win PERF . "

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0  
EV ABS 3.A say PERF

wiahutasarírit ,

wi'ahuutasaariirit ,

when he saw the pole ,

wii- ar- ra- 0- asaar- ut- iirik -0 ,  
when EV ABS 3.A game.piece PREV see SUB.4 ,

“ tāskaru . "

“ Tāskaru' . "

“ You won them . "

" ta- s- ka.ra'uk -0 . "

" IND.1/2A 2.A make.PL.P PERF . "

Hiruahiwákuihi ,

Hiru ahiwáku' , ihi ,

Then he said , uh ,

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii ,

then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , uh ,

irikúahasar<sup>u</sup>

iriikú'ahaasaaru

the one who owned the pole

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- a- asaar- 0 -u  
that INDF EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A game.piece be SUB.D

, “ Irítawirat<sup>n</sup> .  
, “ I riitáwirat .  
, “ And I did beat him .  
, " i rii- t- awirat -0 .  
, " and ASSR 1.A outdo PERF .

wirutatikáwutit<sup>n</sup> . "

Wiruutatikáwuutit . "

Now I won them . "

wii- ruu- ta- t- i- ka.wa.ut.ik -0 . "  
now then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ win.stakes PERF . "

Hiruahiwakuirisiríhkaruku

Hiru ahiwáku' iriisiríhkaruku  
Then he said the one winning them

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 irii- si- ra- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF that DU ABS 3.A OBV make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

, “ Šíru  
, “ Círu  
, “ Yet  
, “ ciru  
, “ still

sikarisuksuhurəsakúsit<sup>n</sup>

sikariisuksuhurasaáhkusit

don't pick up the pole for him

si- kara- i- s- uks- uhur- asaar- kusik -0  
DU NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS now game.piece pick.up PERF

. Āka<sup>a</sup> ,  
 . Aāka'a ,  
 . Oh my ,  
 . aaka'a ,  
 . oh.my ,

iriwitāsikis  
 iriwitāsihkiis  
 you are a liar

irii-	wi-	ta-	s-	ir-	kiis	-0
that	QUOT	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	be.one.who.prevaricates	PERF

. " Šikstithíahauririt<sup>n</sup> .  
 . " Cíkstit hi aha'uuriirit .  
 . " Well and he stood up .  
 . " cikstik hi ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 .  
 . " well and EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF .

ahawáku	,	"	Āka <sup>a</sup>	,
Ahawáku'	,	"	Aāka'a	,
He said	,	"	Oh my	,
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0	,	"	aaka'a	,
EV ABS 3.A say PERF	,	"	oh.my	,

iriwitaskiskítaw<sup>i</sup>  
 iriwitaskiiskítaw<sup>i</sup>  
 you are a leading liar

irii-	wi-	ta-	s-	kiis	kita.wi	-0
that	QUOT	IND.1/2A	2.A	be.one.who.prevaricates	be.the.leader	PERF

. kukakíkaru .  
 . Kukaakiíkaru' .  
 . He did not win them .  
 . ku- kaaki- 0- i- ka.ra'uk -0 .

. INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ make.PL.P PERF .

Nahurikakíratihat<sup>n</sup> . "  
Raáhuri kaakíraatiihat . "  
It did not reach it . "  
raa.hurii kaaki- 0- raa- tiihak -0 . "  
far.off NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF . "

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'  
Then he said  
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

Ahárik<sup>u</sup>

aháriku  
the one sitting with it  
ar- ra- 0- ri- kus -0  
EV ABS 3.A PORT be.sitting SUB.4

iríahušuksasariríku

irí'ahucuksasaariiríku  
the one seeing the pole  
irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- asaar- iirik -hus  
that EV ABS 3.A PREV JUSS game.piece see IMPF.SUB

wiwitawíhakak<sup>u</sup>

wiwitaahwíhaahkaku  
it was there on the game ground  
wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.haar- ka- kus -0  
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV game.ground on be.sitting PERF

, " ɣka<sup>a</sup> ,  
, " líka'a ,

, “ Oh my ,  
 , " iika'a ,  
 , " oh.my ,

irúhkaru . "  
 iirúhkaru' . "  
 that one won them from you . "  
 ii- ra- 0- a- uur- ka.ra'uk -0 . "  
 that ABS 3.A 2.P PREV make.PL.P PERF . "

Hipitaruahiwítit<sup>n</sup> .  
 Hi píita ruu'ahiwítit .  
 And the man then he sat down .  
 hi wiita ruu- ar- ri- 0- wi.itik -0 .  
 and man then EV CONT.3A 3.A sit.down PERF .

hiruahiwáku "  
 Hiru ahíwáku' "  
 Then he said "  
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 "  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF "

iihikarisiwətiks  
 I , ihi , kariirisiwattiks  
 And , uh , you are not truthful  
 i , ihii , kari- rii- s- i- wak.rik.his -0  
 and , uh , EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

. kakíkaru .  
 . Kaakiíkaru' .  
 . He did not win .  
 . kaaki- 0- i- ka.ra'uk -0 .  
 . NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ make.PL.P PERF .

Hitiwirarurikúwirətn

Hi tiwiraaruriikuúwirat

And here he has just beat me

hi	tii-	wii-	raa-	ruu-	rii-	0-	ku-	awirat	-0
and	here	now	just	then	ASSR	3.A	1.P	outdo	PERF

. " Ahawáku

. " Ahawáku'

. " He said

. " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0

. " EV ABS 3.A say PERF

iriwirurakára<sup>u</sup>

iriwiruurakára'u

(of) the one who won

irii-	wii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ka.ra'uk	-0	,	"
that	now	then	ABS	3.A	make.PL.P	SUB.3	,	"

Irúhkaru

Iirúhkaru'

That one won from you

ii-	ra-	0-	a-	uur-	ka.ra'uk	-0	.	"
that	ABS	3.A	2.P	PREV	make.PL.P	PERF	.	"

irakáwutit

Iiraakáwuutit

That one beat you

ii-	ra-	0-	a-	ka.wa.ut.ik	-0	.	"
that	ABS	3.A	2.P	win.stakes	PERF	.	"

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	wiita	,	"
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then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF man , “

Hawakarisiwáku .

Hawá kariisiwáku' .

Also don't say it .

haawa kara- i- s- i- waka'u -0 .

also NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ say PERF .

rurušukstaru

Ruurucukstáru'

Let that be all

ruu- ri- 0- ut- uks- raar- uu -0

then CONT.3A 3.A PREV JUSS 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

. Hištaahíahawaku

. Hicta'aáhii' ahawáku'

. Nevertheless he said

. hi cta'aahii ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0

. and nevertheless EV ABS 3.A say PERF

pít<sup>a</sup> , “ Iritíwatiks

piíta , “ I ritiíwattiks

the man , “ And I am truthful

wiita , “ i rii- t- i- wak.rik.his -0

man , “ and ASSR 1.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Hiruahirušápit<sup>a</sup>

Hiru ahuucaá' piíta



Then he arose the man  
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 wiita  
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF man

aahawiháhka<sup>a</sup>

a ahaawihaáhkaa'  
 and he came on the game ground  
 a ar- ra- 0- a- wi.haar- ka- a -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A game.ground on come PERF

iriahakúpita<sup>a</sup>

irí'ahaaku piíta  
 where he sat the man  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0 wiita  
 where EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 man

kišihiwitíwišət<sup>n</sup>

kici hi witiwícat  
 but and he arrived  
 kici hi wi- ti- 0- wic.at -0  
 but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A arrive PERF

híahakawat<sup>n</sup>

hi ahakáwat níšik<sup>i</sup> .  
 and he took it out riíciki .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- kawat -0 riici -kis .  
 and EV ABS 3.A take.out PERF knife DIM .

Aahirisahakatarúwa

A ahiirisahahkataruúwaa'  
 And he stabbed him several times in the ribs  
 a ar- ra- 0- a- ir- risat- raar- kata- ruu- wa- a -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV rib PL against.a.vertical.surface PORT DIST come PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

wihiruwitahkutpiháhkasa

Wihiru witaahkutpiháhkasa

Now then he lay dead on the game ground

wii-	hiruu	wii-	ti-	0-	ar-	kuut-	wi.haar-	ka-	sa	-0
now	then	now	IND.3A	3.A	EV	dead	game.ground	on	be.lying	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hikišiahiruwáwaəs

Hi kici ahiruuwaáwa'as

And but they ran in different directions

hi	kici	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	ruu-	waawa-	as-i	-0
and	but	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	DIST	DIST	run	PERF

šahikstahkítu .

cahikstaahkítuu'u' .

everyone .

icaahiks	raar-	kituu	-u'	.
person	PL	all	NOM	.

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0
-----	-----	----	--------	----

EV ABS 3.A say PERF

ahawakárarut<sup>a</sup> , “  
ahawakaráruuta , “  
when he called out , “  
ar- ra- 0- wakaraar- u.at -a , “  
EV ABS 3.A voice extend.in.a.line SUB.1 , “

Wiwititatarákut<sup>t</sup>n

Wiwititaraákuutit

We have killed one of our own

wii- witi- ta- t- a- rak- kuut.ik -0  
now REFL IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL kill PERF

. “  
. “  
. “  
. “  
. “

Iriahatarakítkaharuhat<sup>n</sup>

Irii’ahataraakítkahaaruhat

Where our village extended

irii- ar- ra- t- a- rak- kitka.haar- u.hak -0  
where EV ABS 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL earth.lodge.village extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hínisar<sup>u</sup>

hi riisaaru’  
and the chiefs

hi riisaar -u’  
and be.chief NOM

áhihwak<sup>i</sup> , “ Šíru .  
ahíhwaki’ , “ Círu .

they said , “ Wait .  
 ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " ciru .  
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " still .

širupahit<sup>u</sup> . pahít<sup>u</sup> .  
 Círu . Pahiítu’ . Pahiítu’ .  
 Wait . Quiet . Quiet .  
 ciru . pahiit -u’ . pahiit -u’ .  
 still . be.quiet NOM . be.quiet NOM .

kararušuksuhú<sup>u</sup> .  
 Kararuucuksuhú’u .  
 Let it be awhile .  
 kara- ri- 0- ut- uks- uhur- 0 -’ .  
 NEG CONT.3A 3.A PREV JUSS awhile be EX .

ruruksuhúhwari  
 Ruuruksuhúhwari’  
 Let him go around awhile  
 ruu- ri- 0- uks- uhur- warii -:hus  
 then CONT.3A 3.A JUSS awhile be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. " Na  
 . " Ra’  
 . " Now  
 . " rawa  
 . " now

nikuwitirúhkit<sup>a</sup>  
 rikuwitiirúhkita  
 those were the cause  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- kita -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.cause PERF

nísar<sup>u</sup>  
 rísaaru'  
 the chiefs  
 riisaar -u'  
 be.chief NOM

sikarahirikútik<sup>a</sup>  
 sikaraahiriikuútika  
 that they did not kill him

si-	kara-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	i-	kuut.ik	-a
DU	NEG	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	kill	SUB.1

,	Karahirípak <sup>a</sup>	.							
,	karaahiriípaka	.							
,	that they did not fight	.							
,	kara-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	i-	apak	-a	.
,	NEG	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	fight	SUB.1	.

Irikuhárahát<sup>n</sup>  
 Iriikuuhárahátiihat  
 Whenever the time was

irii-	kur-	ra-	0-	raa-	tiihak	-0
that	DUB	ABS	3.A	way	be.the.end	PERF

hirukuhariškawiraæt<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru kúhaarickawiíra'at  
 then he went west

hiruu	kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	ickawiira-	at	-0
then	DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	in.a.westward.direction	go	PERF

píta  
 piíta  
 the man  
 wiita

man

nuwitariškawíraæt<sup>n</sup>

Ruuwitaarickawíira'at

Then he went west

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ickawiira-	at	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	in.a.westward.direction	go	PERF

. Kuháragi

. Kuuháraakii

. It was a long time

. kuur-	ra-	0-	raa.kiir	-0
. DUB	ABS	3.A	be.long	PERF

híkukawiš<sup>a</sup>

hi kúhaawica'

and he came back

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	wic.a	-0
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	arrive	PERF

kuhašíkšurahaš

Kúhaacikšuráhac

He forgot it

kuur-	ra-	0-	aciks-	hurahac	-0
DUB	ABS	3.P	mind	disappear	PERF

hikuháwiša

hi kuhaáwica'

and he came back

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	wic.a	-0
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	arrive	PERF

Hiruahiráwirakæt<sup>n</sup>

Hiru ahiraáwiiraakat

Then he went on the warpath .  
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- raawiiraak- at -0 .  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A on.the.warpath go PERF .

arusáahakarikstíwiš<sup>a</sup>

Aruúsa' a ahaakarikstíwica'  
 Horses and he brought back a herd  
 aruusaa a ar- ra- 0- a- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0  
 horse and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT arrive PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Siwitíkarikstíwiš<sup>a</sup>

Siwitíkarikstíwica'

They brought back a herd

si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0  
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT arrive PERF

hiirikuhaahkítawi

hi irikuhaahkítawi'

and that one was leader of them

hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- ar- kita.wi -0 wiita  
 and that DUB ABS 3.A EV be.the.leader PERF man

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

nikuhahírasa

Rikuuhaahírasa'

That one was the leader

rii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	hiras-	a	-0
that	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	in.the.lead	come	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hiwisiríhkuhašikstawaw<sup>i</sup>

Hi wisiríhkuuhaacikstawaawi

And when they were watching over them

hi	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raa-	aciks.ta	-waa	-wi
and	when	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	way	watch.over	DIST	SUB.L

šahikstáka

cahíkstaaka

the white men

icaahiks	taakaar
person	be.white

wikuhuhakašíkstawa

wikúhuuhaacákstawa

he was watching over them

wii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	rak-	aciks.ta	-waa	-0
now	DUB	ABS	3.A	2.P	PREV	1/2.PL	watch.over	DIST	PERF

náhikuš <sup>u</sup>	,	kišišahiksíšahiks	a
raáhikucu'	,	kici cahiksícahiks	a
the braves	,	but the Indians	and
raahikuuc -u'	,	kici icaahiks icaahiks	a



be.brave      NOM      ,      but      person      person      and

nisár<sup>u</sup>                      .  
riisaáru'                      .  
a chief                      .  
riisaar      -u'                      .  
be.chief      NOM      .

Wituksasá <sup>a</sup>						Hákararus		
Wituksasá'a						Haákararus		
He was named						Beard		
wi-      ti-      0-      uks-      asar      0						haaka-      raruus		
QUOT      IND.3A      3.A      AOR      be.named      PERF						mouth      be.furry		

.      Aháhwak<sup>i</sup>                      ,      “  
.      Ahíhwaki'                      ,      “  
.      They said                      ,      “  
.      ar-      ri-                      0-      ir-      waki      -0                      ,      “  
.      EV      CONT.3A      3.A      PL.3A      say.PL      PERF                      ,      “

šahíkstaka  
Cahíkstaaka  
A white man  
icaahiks      taakaar  
person      be.white

kukutíhara<sup>a</sup>  
kukutíhaara'a  
they are his  
ku-      ku-      tiir-      ra-      0-      a-                      raar-                      0      -'  
INDF      INDF      INFR      ABS      3.A      POSS.3A      3PL.INAN.P      be      EX

tirawáriki                      .      "  
tirawaáriki                      .      "

these  
 . "

tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i . "  
 this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 . "

Híruahiwaku Hákárus  
 Hiru ahiwáku' Haákararus  
 Then he said Beard  
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 haaka- raruus  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF mouth be.furry

, "  
 , "  
 , "  
 , "  
 , "  
 , "

Hirusisišiksukširəs<sup>a</sup>

Hiru sisiiciksakcírasa'  
 Then bring them here  
 hiruu si- i- s- ir- ut- i- uks- ak- ciras- a -0  
 then DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ JUSS PL.AN.3P COM come PERF

. "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "

Asiahirutəšírása

A si'ahiiruutaccírasa'  
 And they brought them  
 a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- ak- ciras- a -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P COM come PERF

iriahakárik<sup>u</sup>

irii'ahaakáriku

where his home was

irii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0  
where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

Hákararus . Ahawáku ,  
Haákararus . Ahawáku' ,  
Beard . He said ,  
haaka- raruus . ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ,  
mouth be.furry . EV ABS 3.A say PERF ,

“ Tiwárikist<sup>a</sup> títaku  
“ Tiwaárikista tiítaku  
“ They are to stand right here  
“ ti- 0- waa- arik -his -ta tii- -taku  
“ IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF INT here LOC

. šahíkstaka  
. Cahíkstaaka  
. White men  
. icaahiks taakaar  
. person be.white

kutirá<sup>a</sup> .  
kutiirá'a .  
they are theirs .  
ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raar- 0 -' .  
INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P be EX .

Hirusikúsirit<sup>n</sup> tət

Hiru sikuúsirittat

Then they will take them

hiruu si- kuus- 0- ir- i- ak- ra- at -0

then DU POT.1/3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go PERF

. " Asawakiwitítawi  
. " Asaáwaki' witítawi'  
. " A pinto it was among them  
. " asaa- awakir wii- ti- 0- tawi -0  
. " horse be.strange now IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

. ahawáku píta , "  
. Ahawáku' píita , "  
. He said the man , "  
. ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , "  
. EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , "

Kakátiška

Kaakaáticka'

I do not want

kaaka- t- wicka -0  
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

rəskusirásat<sup>a</sup>

raskucirásata

for you to take it

ra- s- ku- ut- ciras- at -a  
INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV COM go SUB.1

tírarik<sup>i</sup>

tíraariki

this one

tii- ra- 0- arik -i asaa- awakir  
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 horse be.strange

.  
.

.  
. .  
.

tátirirarikista

Tátiriirarikista

I am going to keep it

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	arik	-his	-ta
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.standing	PERF	INT

.	"	Ahawáku			Hákararus	,
.	"	Ahawáku'			Haákararus	,
.	"	He said			Beard	,
.	"	ar- ra- 0-	waka'u	-0	haaka- raruus	,
.	"	EV ABS 3.A	say	PERF	mouth be.furry	,

" irítiška

" I ríiticka'

" And I want

" i rii- t- wicka -0

" and ASSR 1.A want PERF

rətkuširásata

ratkucirásata

for me to take it

ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	ciras-	at	-a	"	.
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	COM	go	SUB.1	"	.

Kuruharasákipu

Kuruuhaaracákipu

Thereupon he called them together

kuruur-	ra-	0-	ar-	raar-	takik.wuh	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	3PL.INAN.P	gather	PERF

naripákus<sup>u</sup> .  
 raaripákusu' .  
 the soldiers .  
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .  
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hákarárus  
 Haákararus  
 Beard  
 haaka- raruus  
 mouth be.furry

níkuwitikitawi  
 rikuwitikítawi'  
 that one was leader  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- kita.wi -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

nisár<sup>u</sup> ,  
 riisaáru' ,  
 the chief ,  
 riisaar -u' ,  
 be.chief NOM ,

hirikuaharašákipu  
 hi riku'aharacákipu  
 and that one gathered them  
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- raar- takik.wuh -0  
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P gather PERF

naripákus<sup>u</sup> .  
 raaripákusu' .  
 the soldiers .  
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .

way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Awítawaku , “ Náwa<sup>a</sup>  
A witaahwáku’ , “ Ráwa  
And he would say , “ Now  
a wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , “ rawa  
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , “ now

hirusisišišíras

hiru sisiicicírasa’  
then bring it  
hiruu si- i- s- ir- ut- i- ciras- a -0  
then DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ COM come PERF

. “ Pitawitawáku  
. “ Piíta witaahwáku’  
. “ The man he would say  
. “ wiita wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0  
. “ man QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, “  
, “  
, “  
, “  
, “

tatituriátirarik<sup>i</sup>

Tatiituri’a’ tiraáriki  
I came for it this one  
ta- t- ir- ut- huri a -0 tii- ra- 0- arik -i  
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV wait.for come PERF this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

. “  
. “

. "  
. "  
. "

Hiwitawákupit<sup>a</sup>

Hi	witaahwáku'						piíta
And	he would say						the man
hi	wii-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	wiita
and	now	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF	man

"  
"  
"  
"  
"

Ikaririsušiširəsuht<sup>a</sup>

I	kariirisucicirásuhta								
And	you are not going to take it								
i	karii-	rii-	s-	ut-	i-	ciras-	uh	-ta	
and	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	2.A	PREV	SEQ	COM	go.INT	INT	

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

hiruruksáih

Hiru	rúksa'							,	ih
Then	let him come							,	uh
hiruu	ri-	0-	a-	uks-	a	-0		,	ihii
then	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	JUSS	come	PERF		,	uh



, katáratitkuš<sup>u</sup> . "  
 , Kaatáratitkucu' . "  
 , Big Charred Axe . "  
 , kaatara- tiit- -kucuu . "  
 , ax eye.of.ax AUG . "

Hiruwitáwaku

Hiru witaahwáku'  
 Then he would say  
 hiruu wii- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0  
 then now IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

wirahkuwíšata , "  
 wiraahkuwícata , "  
 when he arrived , "  
 wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- wic.at -a , "  
 when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B arrive SUB.1 , "

Tiwákahu , '  
 Tiwákaahu' , '  
 He was saying , '  
 ti- 0- waka -:hus , '  
 IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , '

hiruruksáarisit

Hiru rúksa' ariísit  
 Then let him come himself  
 hiruu ri- 0- a- uks- a -0 ariisit  
 then CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A JUSS come PERF one's.own

. ' " Ahawáku , " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
 . ' " Ahawáku' , " Ráwa  
 . ' " He said , " Now  
 . ' " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa

. ' " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now

rutušíra<sup>u</sup> . "

ruutucíraa'u' . "

that is alright . "

ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0 . "

that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF . "

Hiruahúša

Hiru ahuúcaa'

Then he arose

hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0

then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF

Hákararus .

Haákararus .

Beard .

haaka- raruus .

mouth be.furry .

wihíruaharət<sup>u</sup>

Wihiru ahaárat

Now then he went over there

wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- at -0

now then EV ABS 3.A EV go PERF

iriaharutətširasáriki

irii'aharuutaccirasáriki

where he stood holding them

irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- ak- ciras- arik -i

where EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PLAN.3P COM be.standing SUB.2

pít<sup>a</sup> arús<sup>a</sup> .

piíta aruúsa' .

the man	the horses	.
wiita	aruusaa	.
man	horse	.

Aaháwišət <sup>n</sup>	.
A ahawícat	.
And he arrived	.
a ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0	.
and EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF	.

Aahawáku	,	“	Ihi	,
A ahawáku’	,	“	Ihi	,
And he said	,	“	Uh	,
a ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0	,	“	ihii	,
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF	,	“	uh	,

náw<sup>a</sup>  
ráwa  
now  
rawa  
now

tatituriátirariki								tiraáriki					
tatiitúri’a’								this one					
I came for it													
ta- t- ir- ut- huri a -0								tii- ra- 0- arik -i					
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV wait.for come PERF								this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2					

asawáki	.	"
asaawáki’	.	"
pinto	.	"
asaa- awakir	.	"
horse be.strange	.	"

Ahawáku					píta	,	“
Ahawáku’					piíta	,	“
He said					the man	,	“
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0	wiita	,	“
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	man	,	“

Irikúritpaku						.	
Irikúritpáku’						.	
That is what I said						.	
irii-	ku-	rii-	t-	waka’u	-0	.	
that	INDF	ASSR	1.A	say	PERF	.	

tətpáku						,	’
Tətpáku’						,	’
I said						,	’
ta-		t-	waka’u	-0		,	’
IND.1/2A		1.A	say	PERF		,	’

hirúruksa						.	’
Hiru	rúksa’					.	’
Then	let him come					.	’
hiruu	ri-	0-	a-	uks-	a	-0	’
then	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	JUSS	come	PERF	’

Nišikutš <sup>u</sup>					arusírasət		
Riícikucu’					a ruucírasat		
Big Knife					he can take it		
riici	-kucuu	a	ra-	0-	ut-	ciras-	at -0
knife	AUG	and	ABS	3.A	PREV	COM	go PERF

arís <sup>i</sup> t <sup>n</sup>	.	“	Ahawáku			,	“
ariísit	.	“	Ahawáku’			,	“
himself	.	“	He said			,	“
ariisit	.	“	ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u -0	,

one's.own . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “

Irikurítíšk<sup>a</sup> . "  
 Irikuríticka' . "  
 That is what I want . "  
 irii- ku- rii- t- wicka -0 . "  
 that INDF ASSR 1.A want PERF . "

Ahawákupit<sup>a</sup> , “  
 Ahawáku' piíta , “  
 He said the man , “  
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , “  
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , “

ríkutatíšk<sup>a</sup>  
 Rikutáticka'  
 That is what I want  
 riku- ta- t- wicka -0  
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

rasíhkua  
 rasíhku'a  
 for you to come  
 ra- s- ir- ku- a -0  
 INF.A 2.A PREV.1/2A INF.B come SUB.4

tiiriratárik<sup>i</sup> . "  
 ti'iriiraatárikiki . "  
 here where I am standing . "  
 tii- irii- ra- t- arik -i . "  
 here where ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2 . "

Akiiriwirukutisíurikæt<sup>n</sup>  
 Aki iriwiruukutiici'uurikut

And here	thereupon he took hold of him													
a- ki	irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uurikuk -0													
and there	then now then INDF IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV SEQ hold PERF													

Hakarárus	.
Haákararus	.
Beard	.
haaka-	raruus .
mouth	be.furry .

Ahituríkæt <sup>n</sup>	.
Ahiituuríkut	.
He took hold of him	.
ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uurikuk -0	.
EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV hold PERF	.

Kuharíkškawæt <sup>n</sup>	.
Kúhaaríkškawatat	.
(One of) his hand(s) got free	.
kuur- ra- 0- ar- iks- kawatak -0	.
DUB ABS 3.A EV hand get.out PERF	.

kuhirašikškawarúšæt <sup>n</sup>									
Kuhiiracikškawaruúcat									
He stabbed him repeatedly at the base of the throat									
kuur- ra- 0- ir- aciks- ka.cak -waa -ruu -0									
DUB ABS 3.A OBV trachea stick DIST DIST PERF									

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

raruwítáhkutpiət  
 Raaruuwitaáhkutpii'at  
 Then he just fell over dead

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kuut-	wii.at	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.P	EV	dead	bend.forward	PERF

, Híahirəs  
 , hi ahiíras  
 , and they ran  
 , hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0  
 , and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF

túhkitu	.	"
tuhkítuu'u'	.	"
the entire village	.	"
ituur- kituu -u'	.	"
village all NOM	.	"

Ihawatakurákutit<sup>n</sup>

I	hawá	tatakuraákuutit						
And	also	he killed ours						
i	haawa	ta-	t-	a-	ku-	rak-	kuut.ik	-0
and	also	IND.1/2A	1.A	IN.PL.A	1.P	1/2.PL	kill	PERF

. "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "

Skatakawitúksasa<sup>a</sup>

Ckataáka	witúksasa'a	.
White Face	he was named	.
icka- taakaar	wi- ti- 0- uks- asar	-'
		.

face be.white QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX .

Hiahířastuhkitu

Hi ahířas tuhkituu'u'  
And they ran the entire village  
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0 ituur- kituu -u'  
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF village all NOM

. " Wisitíhkutit<sup>n</sup>

. " Wisitíhkuutit

. " They have killed him

. " wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0

. " now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

nišíkuš<sup>u</sup> . "

Riicíkcucu' . "

Big Knife . "

riici -kucuu . "

knife AUG . "

Akikutuháhkusak<sup>u</sup>

Aki kutuuhaáhkusaahku

And here a group was waiting

a- ki ku- ti- 0- ut- raar- kus.haar- kus -0  
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A seat be.sitting PERF

iríkuhutakířis<sup>u</sup>

iriikúhuutaakíciisu'

the ones related to him

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -:hus  
that DUB ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF

. Na

. Ráwa



. Now  
 . rawa  
 . now

iriruwítiripət<sup>n</sup>  
 iriruuwítiriipət

thereupon they fought

irii-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	apak	-0
then	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	fight	PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Irar<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

i-	-raar-	-ri'	
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

kakúrahi

kaakúraahi

it was not good

kaaki-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF

hiarísit

hi ariísit

and themselves

hi ariísit

and one's.own

siía

si'í'a

if it were they (du)

si-

ii-

DU

SUBJ.3A

3.A

0-

0

be

-a

SUB.1

hisiipak<sup>u</sup> .  
 hi si'iiipaku .  
 and if they (du) were fighting .  
 hi si- ii- 0- apak -hus .  
 and DU SUBJ.3A 3.A fight IMPF.SUB .

Iriuwitiripət<sup>n</sup>  
 Iriuwitiriipət  
 Thereupon they fought  
 irii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- apak -0  
 then then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ fight PERF

.  
.

Asiahirətahukiwihkaúkut  
 A si'ahiirattaahuhkiwihka'uukut  
 And they chased them onto a sandbar  
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- raa.uhuur- kiwihk- ka- uukuk -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P way sandbar on get.into PERF

. Irii'aha<sup>u</sup>  
 . Irii'aha'u  
 . The one  
 . irii- ar- ra- 0- 0 -u  
 . that EV ABS 3.A be SUB.D

asiahikásapit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 a si'ahihkaásapit ,  
 and they broke his leg ,  
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kaas- apic.k -0 ,

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A leg break PERF ,

asiahihikutukiwihkauš

a si'ahihkuutuukiwihka'uc

and they left him dead on the sand

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut- huukiwihk- ka- uc -0  
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A dead sandbar on lay.SG.P PERF

. Kusiwiritrahú<sup>u</sup> ,

. Kusiwitiirahú'u ,

. They treated him ,

. ku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- rahur -' ,

. INDF DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A grieve EX ,

irár<sup>i</sup> , kátahka .

iraári' , kátahka .

brother , an enemy .

i- -raar- -ri' , katahkaa .

3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , enemy .

Kitusiahihpaksikiškahúkar<sup>u</sup>

Kítuu'u' si'ahihpaskickahuúkaru'

All they smashed his head

kituu -u' si- ar- ra- 0- ir- paks- kic.kahuu -ka.ra'uk -0  
all NOM DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A head be.crushed CAUS.PL.P PERF

. Hihírawu

. Hi híiraawu

. And the others

. hi hii- ra- 0- wuu -hus

. and other ABS 3.A go.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hisiahirakápah<sup>a</sup>

hi si'ahiiraakapáhaa'

and they chased them  
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- aak.apaha.a -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A drive.back PERF

. Kúšihī ,  
 . Kici , ihī ,  
 . But , uh, ,  
 . kici , ihii ,  
 . but , uh ,

wiruwitirikaúkæt<sup>n</sup>

wiruwitirika'uukut

then they drove them into the woods

wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- ka- uukuk -0  
 now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT in.the.brush get.into PERF

kahurahkišúšiskæt<sup>n</sup>

kahuraahkicuúcisakat

in thick woods

ka.huraar- kicuucis -kat hi hawá ásku  
 be.a.brushy.area be.dense LOC and also one  
 and also one

hihawáask<sup>u</sup>

siahitišárikít<sup>n</sup>

si'ahiiticaárikít

they shot him all over

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- .  
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irar<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

karawitúrahi .  
karawitúraahi .  
it was not good .  
kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> aháwa  
Ráwa a haáwa'  
Now and also  
rawa a haawa  
now and also

witiahahakútit<sup>n</sup> .  
witi'ahaahakuútit .  
we killed our own .  
witi- ar- ra- 0- t- rak- kuut.ik -0 .  
REFL EV ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL kill PERF .

Hiaharurákit<sup>a</sup>  
Hi aharuuraákita  
And it was the reason  
hi ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- raa- kita -0  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV way be.the.reason PERF

atawátiks<sup>a</sup> . ihi ,  
aatawáttiksa . lhi ,  
I want to be truthful . Uh ,  
aa- t- a- wak.rik.his -a . ihii ,  
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P be.truthful SUB.1 . uh ,

witukskarikstiwišápit<sup>a</sup>  
witukskarikstíwica' piíta  
he had arrived with a herd a man  
wi- ti- 0- a- uks- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0 wiita

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A AOR herd PORT arrive PERF man

. wituksasá<sup>a</sup>  
. Wituksasá'a  
. He was named  
. wi- ti- 0- uks- asar 0  
. QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

Skiriškátáka .  
Ckirickataáka .  
White Faced Wolf .  
ickirir- icka- taakaar .  
wolf face be.white .

Hiahúhasikstawa .  
Hi ahúhaacikstawa .  
And he watched everything .  
hi ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -waa -0 .  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV way watch DIST PERF .

wituksasá<sup>a</sup> nišíkuš<sup>u</sup>  
Wituksasá'a Riicíkucu'  
He was named Big Knife  
wi- ti- 0- uks- asar 0 riici -kucuu  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF knife AUG

. Sahíkstaka  
. Cahíkstaaka  
. White men  
. icaahiks taakaar  
. person be.white

wikuharirirətapírihu<sup>u</sup>  
wikúhaaririirattaapírihu'u

he loved them

wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -'  
now DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV PLAN.3P value EX

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Nikuwitihá<sup>a</sup>

Rikuwitiíhá'a

Those were the cause of it

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raar -'  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.cause EX

. Nawa<sup>a</sup> , írasa  
. Ráwa , íraasa  
. Now , that one lying  
. rawa , ii- ra- 0- sa -0  
. now , that ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4

iwirakawášaks<sup>u</sup>

iwirakawaácaksu

when he was stabbed

ii- wii- ra- 0- ka.cak -waa -his -u  
when when ABS 3.A stick DIST PERF SUB.D

akikutikísikiit

aki kutikísiki'it  
and here he was alive

a- ki ku- ti- 0- kisikit -'  
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A be.alive EX

Hisikuhirušaríkut

Hi sikuhiiruhcaríkut

And they took it out from him

hi	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	ca.ri.kuk	-0
and	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	pull.out	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hikuhahkíškara wiritpat<sup>u</sup>

hi kuhaahkickaraawírit

and the liquid ran out

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	kic.karaa.wirik	-0	paátu'
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	liquid.to.run.out	PERF	blood

. Sikuhiriripítat<sup>n</sup>

. Sikúhiiriripiítat

. They turned him over face down

. si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	irik.wiitat.k	-0
. DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	turn.on.the.stomach	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hikitukuharašiksuhurítit<sup>n</sup>

hi kítuu'u' kuhaaraciksúhuritit

and all he revived

hi	kituu	-u'	kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	aciks.uhur.itik	-0
----	-------	-----	-------	-----	----	-----	-----------------	----



and all NOM DUB ABS 3.A EV revive PERF

, hirawitakaráhis<sup>u</sup>  
, hi raawitakaaraáhisu'  
, and suddenly  
, hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'  
, and just now all.at.once NOM

ahataparúpaš

ahataparuúpac

he moved around

ar- ra- 0- tap.aruu.pac -0  
EV ABS 3.A move.DIST PERF

hiahakisikíta . Náw<sup>a</sup>  
hi ahakisikíta . Ráwa  
and he became alive . Now  
hi ar- ra- 0- kisikit -aar -0 . rawa  
and EV ABS 3.A be.alive INCH PERF . now

akikarahihuráhəš

aki karaahiihuráhac

and here he did not die

a- ki kara- ar- ri- 0- i- hurahac -0  
and there NEG EV CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF

. Ihárəsa

. Iháraasa

. That (other) one lying

. ii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0  
. that here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4

škárawisitíhkutit<sup>n</sup>

ckára wisitíhkuutit

alone they killed him .  
 ckara wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .  
 alone now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> nikuwitúksasa  
 Ráwa rikuwitúksasa'  
 Now that one was named  
 rawa riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- asar -0  
 now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

škiriškatáka  
 Ckirickataáka  
 White Faced Wolf  
 ickirir- icka- taakaar  
 wolf face be.white

iwisirihkútik<sup>a</sup> .  
 iwisirihkuútika .  
 the one they killed .  
 ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a .  
 that now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A kill SUB.1 .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> , a  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' , a  
 \ Now , brother , and  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' , a  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and

irirəsuharíhku  
 irirasuuhaaríhku  
 that which you mean  
 irii- ra- s- ut- raa.ra'ihk -hus  
 that ABS 2.A PREV mean IMPF.SUB

ətakuhúru  
 attakuhuúru'  
 a moving party  
 aktaku.huur- -u'  
 pack NOM

rakúwəriřihkurárəspi

rakúwari  
 when it went about

ra- 0- ku- wari -hus  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

riřkurárəspi  
 when they looked for them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- raspii -0  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P look.for SUB.4

tárah<sup>a</sup> , Irar<sup>i</sup> ,  
 táraha' , iraári' ,  
 buffalo , brother ,  
 tarahaa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 buffalo , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

karawiturúkstahi

karawituurúkstaahi

it was bad

kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0  
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF

, hišəsk<sup>i</sup> ritúhairit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 , hi caskí rituúhaa'iirit .  
 , and a little I saw it .  
 , hi caskii rii- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 .  
 , and a.little ASSR 1.A PREV way see PERF .

kakúrahi .

Kaakúraahi .

It was not good .

kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Naripákusú  
Raaripákusú'  
Soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

wirakuwárik<sup>i</sup> ,  
wirakuwaárik<sup>i</sup> ,  
when they were posted ,  
wii- ra- 0- ku- waa- arik -i ,  
when INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

naripákus<sup>u</sup>  
raaripákusú'  
soldiers  
raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

Hawakakítaku hítakú  
hawá kaakí' táku' híitaku  
also it was not someone over there  
haawa kaaki- 0- 0 -0 taku hii- -taku  
also NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF someone other LOC

raruít<sup>a</sup>  
raaruu'íita  
were he just to go  
raa- ruu- ii- 0- at -a  
just then SUBJ.3A 3.A go SUB.1

rakurakútik<sup>a</sup> kírík<sup>u</sup> .  
rakuraakuútika kíríku' .

to kill them						anything	.
ra-	0-	ku-	raa-	kuut.ik	-a	kirikuu	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	way	kill	SUB.1	anything	.

Niát  
 Ri'aát  
 Summer  
 ri'aat  
 summer

tihitatúhairit<sup>n</sup>

tiíhi'						Tatuúhaa'iirit	.				
it was						I saw it	.				
ti-	0-	ihii			-0	ta-	t-	ut-	raa-	iirik	-0
IND.3A	3.A	be.in.a.place/time			PERF	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	way	see	PERF

.	Niáttihi					.
.	Ri'aát	tiíhi'				.
.	Summer	it was				.
.	ri'aat	ti-	0-	ihii	-0	.
.	summer	IND.3A	3.A	be.in.a.place/time	PERF	.

Hiríhwak <sup>i</sup>						,	"
Hi	rihwaki'					,	"
And	they said					,	"
hi	ra-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,	"
and	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,	"

Kíwiku  
 Kíwiiku'  
 Buffalo bulls  
 kiwiik -u'  
 buffalo.bull NOM

tihariraráhət<sup>1</sup> .  
tihaariiraárahət .  
they were passing by there .  
tii- haa- rii- 0- raar- a.hak -0 .  
here here ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A extend.in.a.line PERF .

kísašk<sup>i</sup>  
Kísacki  
Meat  
kisaac -kis  
meat DIM

kusiríhkura<sup>a</sup>  
kusirihkúra'a  
you will bring it  
ku- si- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ra- a -0  
INDF DU INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF INF.B PORT come SUB.3

. "  
. "  
. "  
. "  
. "

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
\ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
\ Now , brother ,  
\ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
\ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hikišipitakuharawarúkstir<sup>u</sup>  
hi kici piíta kuuharaawaarúkstiiru'  
and but a man he consecrated it  
hi kici wiita kuur- ra- 0- raa- waarukstii -ra'uk -0

and but man DUB ABS 3.A way be.holy CAUS PERF

irirušúksahu .  
iriirucúksahu .  
the way it used to be .  
irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus .  
that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB .

Hinaripákus<sup>u</sup>

Hi raaripákus<sup>u</sup>  
And soldiers  
hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

wiriwár<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

wiiriwaárit  
they now stood  
wii- rii- 0- waa- arik -0  
now ASSR 3.A DIST be.standing PERF

kararakuhuriwáw<sup>i</sup>

kararakuuhuriwaáwi  
their not going around  
kara- ra- 0- ku- i- hurii -waa -wi  
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

kírik<sup>u</sup> . Hikišíkiwik<sup>u</sup>  
kíriku' . Hi kici kíwiiku'  
anything . And but a buffalo bull  
kirikuu . hi kici kiwiik -u'  
anything . and but buffalo.bull NOM

sikuhiahkahúhurəs  
sikúhihaahkahúhuras

they found it in a hollow

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	haahka.huur-	huras	-0
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	hollow	find	PERF

. Sikuhíhkutit<sup>n</sup>

. Sikuuhíhkuutit

. They killed it

. si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	kuut.ik	-0
. DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	kill	PERF

iriwiruriwíšet<sup>a</sup>

iriwiruuriwícata

whereupon he arrived there

irii-	wii-	ruu-	ri-	0-	wic.at	-a
when	when	there	CONT.3A	3.A	arrive	SUB.1

Kišiwitatiráit<sup>a</sup>

Kici witatiráá'íta

But I knew of it

kici	wii-	ta-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
but	now	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

hikišikaratašikskas<sup>a</sup>

hi kici karaátacikskasa

and but I was not sensible

hi	kici	ka-	ra-	t-	aciks.ka.sa	-0	šíru
and	but	NEG	ABS	1.A	be.sensible	PERF	yet

Nihuksutatuhákirik<sup>u</sup>

Ríhuksu' tatuuhaákiriku

Only I looked at it

rihuks	-u'	ta-	t-	ut-	rak-	kirik.kus	-0
alone	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	1/2.PL	look.at	PERF



.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hisikuhihakákuskus

Hi sikúhiihaahkákuskus

And they set the parfleche down

hi	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	raar.ka.kus-	kus.k	-0
and	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	BEN	parfleche	put	PERF

. Hinaripákus<sup>u</sup>

. Hi raaripákusu'

. And the soldiers

. hi	raa-	ri.apak		-hus	-u'
. and	way	oppose.relinquishing		IMPF.SUB	NOM

riwárit<sup>n</sup>

riiwaárit

they stood

rii-	0-	waa-	arik	-0	.
ASSR	3.A	DIST	be.standing	PERF	.

Tihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

Tihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	:-hus	,	"
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	,	"

Asakípiriru

tíka<sup>a</sup>

. "

Asaakípiriiru'

tíkaa'a

. "

A Young Dog

it is the lodge

. "

asaa- kipiriir -u'

ti- 0- akaa

-' . "

dog young NOM IND.3A 3.A be.a.dwelling EX . "

Nihuksuraripákus<sup>u</sup> .  
Ríhuksu' raaripákusu' .  
Only soldiers .  
rihuks -u' raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .  
alone NOM way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hípitk<sup>u</sup>  
Hi pítku  
And two  
hi pitku  
and two

sikuruhirikúsit<sup>n</sup> ,  
sikuruuhiriikúsit .  
then they selected them (du) .  
si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- kusik -0 .  
DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ pick.up PERF .

Kuhihwaki  
Kuuhíhwaki'  
They said  
kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0  
DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

naripákus<sup>u</sup> , "  
raaripákusu' , "  
the soldiers , "  
raa- ri.apak -hus -u' , "  
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM , "

hirusikstəktarakísašk<sup>i</sup>  
Hiru síkstaktaraa'

kísacki

Then	bring it										meat	
hiruu	i-	s-	ir-	uks-	rak-	raar-	ra-	a	-0		kisaac	-kis
then	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	PERF		meat	DIM

áharuš <sup>i</sup>												
áharuuci												
its lying over yonder												
ar-	ra-	0-	ar-	ra.uc	-i							
EV	ABS	3.A	EV	be.lying.PL	SUB.2							

Pitkurusikuruhirikúsit<sup>n</sup>

Pítku	síkuruuhiriikúsit								
Two	then they selected them (du)								
pitku	si-	kuruur-	ri-	0-	ir-	i-	kusik	-0	
two	DU	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	pick.up	PERF	

sikararakukirikáhur <sup>u</sup>									
sikarakuukirikaáhuuru									
ones (du) who were mean									
si-	kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	kirik.kaa.huur	-u			
DU	NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.kind	SUB.D			

Hítakaráhis <sup>u</sup>									
Hi	takaaraáhisu'								
And	suddenly								
hi	takaaraahis	-u'	ra-	0-	ir-	waki	-0		
and	all.at.once	NOM	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF		

,	“	Witírapət							
,	“	Witiírapat							
,	“	They are fighting							
,	“	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	apak	-0		
,	“	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	fight	PERF		

Akiírak<sup>u</sup> pīt<sup>a</sup>  
 Aki íraaku piíta  
 And here that one man  
 a- ki ii- ra- 0- kus -0 wiita  
 and there that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 man

irikúrəra<sup>u</sup>  
 iriikuráraa'u  
 the one who owned it  
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- raa- 0 -u  
 that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A way be SUB.D

wiahuhahúkət<sup>a</sup>  
 wi'ahuhaáhuukata  
 after they rushed inside  
 wii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- huuk- at -a  
 when EV ABS 3.A BEN PL.INDV.A into go SUB.1

ahíhwak<sup>i</sup> , "  
 ahíhwaki' , "  
 they said , "  
 ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "  
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Kisaškitatíhatar<sup>a</sup>  
 Kísacki tatiíhattaara'  
 Meat we came for it  
 kisaac -kis ta- t- ir- ut- rak- raar- a -0  
 meat DIM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A BEN 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A come PERF

tíraruš<sup>i</sup> . "  
 tíraruuci . "  
 this lying . "  
 tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i . "

this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 . "

Ahawákupīta , "  
Ahawáku' piíta , "  
He said the man , "  
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , "  
EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , "

Isikaririsiraráhuht<sup>a</sup>

I sikariirisiiraráhuhta  
And you (du) cannot take it  
i si- kari- rii- s- i- raar- ra- uh -ta  
and DU EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.INT INT

. tirawáruksti . "  
. Tiraawaáruksti' . "  
. It is holy . "  
. ti- 0- raa- waarukstii -0 . "  
. IND.3A 3.A way be.holy PERF . "

Ahawáku , "  
Ahawáku' , "  
He said , "  
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Isiriharáhuht<sup>a</sup>

I siriharáhuhta .  
And we are going to take it .  
i si- rii- t- raar- ra- uh -ta .  
and DU ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.INT INT .

" Náwa<sup>a</sup> nikurihwakiáh<sup>u</sup> ,  
" Ráwa rikurihwaki'aahu' ,

" Now that is what they were saying ,  
 " rawa riku- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus ,  
 " now that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF ,

tiraíwət<sup>n</sup> . "  
 tiiraa'íwat . "  
 they were telling (ie agreeing) . "  
 ti- 0- ir- raa.iiwaat -0 . "  
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A tell.a.story PERF . "

Karurakuwíšət<sup>a</sup>

Karú' ratkuwícata

Can I get there

ka- ra- 0- uu -0 ra- t- ku- wic.at -a  
 Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be PERF INF.A 1.A INF.B arrive SUB.1

. Tatiraitaríhuksa  
 . Tatiraa'íita ríhuksu'  
 . I knew of it just  
 . ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 rihuks -u'  
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF alone NOM

. tatúhairit<sup>n</sup>

. Tatuúhaa'íirit

. I saw it

. ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0  
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF

hišikarurakutaitukút<sup>a</sup>

kici karú' rakutá'ituukuuta

but can he get through the crowd

kici ka- ra- 0- uu -0 ra- 0- ku- ta'ituuku.at -a  
 but Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B make.one's.way.through SUB.1

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Arawitak<sup>a</sup>ráhis<sup>u</sup>

A raawiitakaaraáhisu'

And suddenly

a	raa-	wii-	takaaraahis	-u'
and	just	now	all.at.once	NOM

áhirapət	.	Naw <sup>a</sup> há	,
áhiirapat	.	Ráwa	haa ,
they fought (over it)	.	Now	see ,
ar- ra- 0- ir- apak -0	.	rawa	haa ,
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A fight PERF	.	now	see ,

irár <sup>i</sup>	,
iraári'	,
brother	,
i- -raar- -ri'	,
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B	,

kakúrahi	.
kaakúraahi	.
it was not good	.
kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0	.
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF	.

níšik<sup>i</sup>

Ríiciki

Knives

riici -kis

knife DIM

hikuhirahkárúwət<sup>n</sup>

hi kuuhiraahkárúuwat

and they took them out

hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- raar- kawat -ruu -0  
and DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P take.out DIST PERF

. Tirarikípit<sup>a</sup>

. Tiraáriki piíta

. This one man

. tii- ra- 0- arik -i wiita

. this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 man

hisikuhihkákawakət<sup>n</sup>

hi sikuuhihkákawaakat

and they stabbed him several times

hi si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0  
and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A ITER cut.up DIST PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hiirurárihit<sup>n</sup>

hi iriruuraárihit

and that one being alone

hi irii- ruu- ra- 0- a- i- rihik -0  
and that then ABS 3.A PREV.3A SEQ be.the.only.one PERF

hiitarurikstaúkət<sup>n</sup>

hi iritaaruurikstá'uukut



and that one would reach for his  
 hi irii- ti- 0- ar- uur- iks- ra- uukuk -0  
 and that IND.3A 3.A EV POSS.P hand PORT get.into PERF

atáhkakət<sup>n</sup> .  
 a taahkakat .  
 and he would stab him .  
 a ti- 0- ar- ka.ukac.k -0 .  
 and IND.3A 3.A EV cut.up PERF .

Takarahisurirápət ,  
 Takaaraáhisu' riirápat ,  
 Suddenly they fought ,  
 takaaraahis -u' rii- 0- ir- apak -0 ,  
 all.at.once NOM ASSR 3.A PL.3A fight PERF ,

hiririkaruwátət<sup>n</sup> šápat<sup>n</sup>  
 hi riirikáruuwatat cápaat  
 and they ran outside the women  
 hi rii- 0- ir- ri.kawatak -ruu -0 icapaak  
 and ASSR 3.A PL.3A run.outside DIST PERF woman

. rutirahkíkət<sup>n</sup>  
 . Ruutíraahkikat  
 . Then they cried  
 . ruu- ti- 0- raar- kikak -0  
 . then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A cry PERF

píra<sup>u</sup> .  
 píra'u' .  
 the children .  
 piira -u' .  
 child NOM .

rutatikukstawiət

Ruutatikukstawi'at

Then I ran among them

ruu-	ta-	t-	i-	kuks-	tawi	at	-0
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	fleeing	be.among	go	PERF

. Hírirapət

. Hi riirápat

. And they fought

. hi	rii-	0-	ir-	apak	-0
. and	ASSR	3.A	PL.3A	fight	PERF

irírutahu

iriíruutahu

the way it used to be

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus	.
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB	.

Wiruwiturahkúrit<sup>a</sup>

Wiruuwitiirahkúrita

Now they were bloody all over

wii-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	i-	raar-	kurita	-0
now	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	PL.INDV.A	be.bloody	PERF

. Tirára

. Tírara

. They had them

. ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	raah	-0	riici	-kis
. IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	have	PERF	knife	DIM

níšik<sup>i</sup>

riíciki

knives

ikirikirutárist<sup>a</sup>

i kiriki ruutárista

and who could do anything

i	kirikii	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-his	-ta	.
---	---------	-----	----	-----	-----	------	-----	---

and what ABS 3.A PREV do PERF INT .

nahkurikskáwatət<sup>n</sup>

Raahkuurikskáwatat

When he dropped his knife

ra- 0- ar- ku- i- riiks- kawatak -0  
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ arrow get.out SUB.4

arutíhkakət<sup>n</sup>

a ruutíhkakat .

and then he was cut by him .

a ruu- ti- 0- ir- ka.ukac.k -0  
and then IND.3A 3.A OBV cut.up PERF .

Hikuháwišət

nísar<sup>u</sup> .

Hi kuuháwicat

riísaaru' .

And he arrived

the chief .

hi kuur- ra- 0- wic.at -0 riisaar -u'  
and DUB ABS 3.A arrive PERF be.chief NOM .

Náw<sup>a</sup>

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

nisarúwiritirarupapákusitit<sup>n</sup>

riísaaru' witiiraaruupaapákusitit

the chief he began to stop their fighting

riisaar -u' witi- rii- 0- raar- ruu- apaa.apak -:hus -itik  
be.chief NOM REFL ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P DIST fight.DIST IMPF INCH

náhikuš<sup>u</sup> .

raáhikuucu' .

the braves .  
 raahikuuc -u' .  
 be.brave NOM .

Ákaririripət<sup>n</sup>

A kariiriiríriipət  
 And they did not fight anymore  
 a kari- rii- 0- ir- ri- ri- i- apak -0  
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ fight PERF

. Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Iraári' ,  
 . Brother ,  
 . i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

awitkariririkáwutit<sup>n</sup>

a witkariiriiririikáwuutit  
 and they did not kill each other  
 a witi- kari- rii- ir- ri- ri- i- ka.wa.ut.ik -0  
 and REFL EMPH.NEG ASSR PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ kill.DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Nihuksuwititihkákawakət<sup>n</sup>

Ríhuksu' wititihkákawaakat  
 Only they stabbed each other  
 rihuks -u' witi- ti- 0- ir- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0  
 alone NOM REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A ITER cut.up DIST PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

\	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irár <sup>i</sup>		,	
\	Ráwa	,	iraári'		,	
\	Now	,	brother		,	
\	rawa	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'	,
\	now	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

kakúrahi .  
kaakúraahi .  
it was not good .  
kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

kakurúkstahi  
Kaakuurúkstaahi  
It was not good  
kaaki- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0  
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF

ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
ákitaaru'  
the tribe  
akitaar- -u'  
tribe NOM

tiratúkspari .  
tiratúkspari .  
when I was living .  
tii- ra- t- uks- warii -hus .

when ABS 1.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Hiruwitiratakú

Hiru witiraátaku

Then it happened

hiruu wi- ti- 0- raa- ta kus -0  
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.hanging be.sitting PERF

áwit<sup>n</sup>

áwit

first

awit

first

nakurariruar<sup>a</sup>

rakuraríru'aara

when they became frightened

ra- 0- ku- raar- riru -aar -a .  
INF.A 3.P INF.B PL.INDV.P be.frightened INCH SUB.1 .

Pirəsk<sup>i</sup> , ihi , áwit

Píiraski , ihi , áwit

A boy , uh , first

piiras- -kis , ihii , awit

boy DIM , uh , first

kukúhipārit<sup>n</sup>

kukúhiiparit

he shot something

ku- kuur- ra- 0- i- ak- warik -0  
INDF DUB ABS 3.A SEQ PL.AN.3P shoot PERF

hikuruharárahirəs

hi kuruuhaararaa'

híras

and he brought it at night  
 hi kuruur- ri- 0- a- raar- ra- a -0 hiras  
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF at.night

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

hirəsakuhararíwiš<sup>a</sup>

Híras a kuuhaararíwica'  
 At night and he arrived with it (meat)  
 hiras a kuur- ra- 0- a- raar- ri- wic.a -0  
 at.night and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive PERRF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Arihikuhihīšis

Ári' , hi kuhíhiicis  
 Why , and they found out  
 arii , hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- riicis -0  
 oh , and DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV learn.about PERF

. kuhíhwak<sup>u</sup> , “  
 . Kuuhíhwaki' , “  
 . They said , “  
 . kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , “  
 . DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “

tiharákaw <sup>i</sup>						kísašk <sup>i</sup>	
Tihaarákaawi						kísacki	
This lodge						meat	
tii- haa- ra- 0- akaa -wi kisaac -kis							
this here ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L meat DIM							

tiharihwáwa <sup>a</sup>							.	"
tihaarihwaáwa'a							.	"
they are eating here							.	"
tii- haa- ra- 0- ir- waawa- a -0							.	"
here here ABS 3.A PL.3A DIST eat PERF							.	"

Kuruhiríwak <sup>i</sup>							
Kuruuhiriíwaki'							
Then they said							
kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0							
DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF							

naripákus <sup>u</sup>							,	"
raaripákus <sup>u</sup>							,	"
the soldiers							,	"
raa- ri.apak -hus -u'							,	"
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM							,	"

Hirukístətahwišət <sup>n</sup>							
Hiru kístattahwícat							
There you (pl) go there							
hiruu kii- i- s- rak- raar- wic.at -0							
there HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A arrive PERF							

.	"	Hikuruhirárət <sup>n</sup>					
.	"	Hi kuruuhiraárat					
.	"	And then they went					
.	"	hi kuruur- ri- 0- raar- at -0					



. " and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A go PERF

naripákus<sup>u</sup> .  
raaripákus<sup>u</sup> .  
the soldiers .  
raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .  
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hiwihirukisaškiraahíriwik<sup>u</sup>

Hi wihiru kísacki raa'ahiíriwiiku  
And now meat there was just a pile  
hi wii- hiruu kisaac -kis raa- ar- rii- 0- riwii.kus -0  
and now then meat DIM just EV ASSR 3.A be.a.large.pile PERF

. Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
. Iraári' ,  
. Brother ,  
. i- -raar- -ri' ,  
. 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

aahuháhukət<sup>n</sup>

a ahuhaáhuukat  
and they rushed inside  
a ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- huuk- at -0  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A into go PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

kituásiahirakakakawakət<sup>n</sup>

Kítuu'u' a si'ahiiraakakaahkákawaakat

All		and	they cut up their lodge												
kituu	-u'	a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	ak-	akaar-	ka-	ka.ukac.k	-waa	-0	
all	NOM	and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	POSS.P	PL.AN.3P	dwelling	ITER	cut.up	DIST	PERF	

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Kituasiahíhkapit<sup>n</sup>

Kituu'u'		a	si'ahíhkapit												
All		and	they broke it up												
kituu	-u'	a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ka.apic.k	-0						
all	NOM	and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	break.up	PERF						

tírak <sup>u</sup>		a	tírak <sup>i</sup> s		pírask <sup>i</sup>		.
tíraaku'		a	tíraakis		piíraski		.
the gun		and	the bow		the boy		.
tiraak	-u'	a	tiraak	-kis	piiras-	-kis	.
gun	NOM	and	bow	DIM	boy	DIM	.

Asakuhíhkutut

A	sikuuhíhkuutuc													
And	they whipped him until he fell													
a	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	kuut.uc	-0							
and	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	whip.severely	PERF							

Rarakítaw<sup>i</sup>

raraakítawi	its being the reason													
ra-	0-	raa-	kita		-wi									
ABS	3.A	way	be.the.reason		SUB.L									

áwittukukaraasihakáwaəs

áwit táku' kara'aasihaákawa'ac

first someone their not wanting him to eat

awit taku kara- aa- s- i- haakawahc -0  
first someone NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ eat SUB.4

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Rikutisikstarúruut

Rikutiicikstaarúruu'ut

That is what they used to do

riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- raaruur- uu -uk -0  
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR deed be DIST PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
\ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
\ Now , brother ,  
\ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
\ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikutíhuta

rikutíhuuta

this is what He must have done

riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0

that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

akitarutírətpari

ákitaaru'

tribe

akitaar-

tribe

-u'

NOM

tirátpari

when I went about

tii-

this

ra-

ABS

t-

1.A

warii

be.going.about.IMPF

-hus

IMPF.SUB

. Aharatiwawárik<sup>a</sup>

. Aharaatiiwaawárika

. Things could happen

. ar-

ra-

0-

raa-

tii.warik

-waa

-a

. EV

ABS

3.A

way

measure

DIST

SUB.1

Kararakúrahir<sup>a</sup>

kararakúraahiira

its not being good

kara-

ra-

0-

ku-

uur-

raa-

hiir

-a

NEG

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

PREV

way

be.good

SUB.1

arakúrahir<sup>a</sup>

a rakúraahiira

and its being good

a

ra-

0-

ku-

uur-

raa-

hiir

-a

and

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

PREV

way

be.good

SUB.1

Irar<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

i-

-raar-

-ri'

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

wihirutirátwi

wihiru

tiiraátawi'

now		it was the way among us						
wii-	hiruu	ti-	0-	i-	raa-	tawi	-0	
now	then	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	way	be.among	PERF	

tirikurəsahət <sup>n</sup>							.
tirikurásahat							.
when I grew up							.
tii-	ri-	ku-	rasahat	-0			.
when	CONT.3A	1.P	grow.up	SUB.4			.

wihirutirátawi							
Wihiru		tiiraátawi'					
Now then		it was the way among us					
wii-	hiruu	ti-	0-	i-	raa-	tawi	-0
now	then	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	way	be.among	PERF

šépat  
cápaat  
a woman  
icapaak  
woman

nihkurítpiua								
rihkuritpí'uu'a								
if she favored him								
ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	ut-	wi.uu	-a
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	favor	SUB.1

píta	,
piíta	,
a man	,
wiita	,
man	,

hi[ru]aparusiwiritahkíturu

hiru	apaáru'									siwiritaaahkítuuru'
then	secretly									they (du) would meet each other
hiruu	apaar-	-u'	si-	witi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kituu.ra'uk	-0	
then	secret	NOM	DU	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	EV	come.together	PERF	

. siwiritahkíturu<sup>u</sup>

. Siwiritaaahkítuuru'

. They (du) would meet each other

. si-	witi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kituu.ra'uk	-0
. DU	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	EV	come.together	PERF

ápar<sup>u</sup>

. ápaaru'	. Kici	hi	
secretly	. But	and	
apaar-	-u'	. kici	hi
secret	NOM	. but	and

kararaitapítáru<sup>u</sup>

kararaá'iita						piitára'u				
he didn't know						the husband				
ka-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iita	-0	wiita	ra-	0-	0	-u
NEG	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	know	PERF	man	ABS	3.A	be	SUB.D

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

kararaitapítarákuku

Kararaá'iita						piíta	rákuuku				
He didn't know						the man	his being				
ka-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iita	-0	wiita	ra-	0-	ku-	uk	-u

NEG ABS 3.A PREV.3A know PERF man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

Akiaparusitarutári

aki ápaaru' sitaruutári'  
 and here secretly they (du) were doing it  
 a- ki apaar- -u' si- ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -i  
 and there secret NOM DU IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do IMPF

. Hírahiri<sup>i</sup>  
 . Hi raahiíri  
 . And finally  
 . hi raahiirit  
 . and finally

tirutuhurašíkstawitit<sup>n</sup>  
 tiiruutuhuuracíkstawiitit  
 he finally began watching her

ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- uhur- aciks.ta -wi -itik  
 IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV finally watch SUB.L INCH

pitáirihi  
 píita irihii  
 man that other  
 wiita irii- hii  
 man that other

irírətaku<sup>u</sup> ,  
 iriírattaku'u ,  
 her husband ,  
 ii- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u ,  
 that ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D ,

hítirutirit .  
 hi tiiruutiírit .

and he saw him  
 hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- iirik -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV see PERF

níhuks<sup>u</sup>  
 Ríhuksu'  
 Only  
 rihuks -u'  
 alone NOM

atírutirit  
 a tiiruutiírit  
 and he saw him  
 a ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- iirik -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV see PERF

hirutahwiška , “  
 hiru taahwícka’ , “  
 then he would think , “  
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , “  
 then IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , “

Tuuskiriwiskírar<sup>it</sup><sup>n</sup> . "  
 Tuuskíriwiski' raárit . "  
 Let me trick him really . "  
 i- t- uks- kiriwis.ki -0 raarit . "  
 CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS cheat PERF really . "

Átirutašikst<sup>a</sup> ,  
 A tíiruutaciksta ,  
 And he watched her ,  
 a ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- aciks.ta -0 ,  
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV watch PERF ,



hiháwataru .  
 hi haáwa' táruu[tiirit] .  
 and also he would [see him] .  
 hi haawa ti- 0- ar- ut- iirik -0 .  
 and also IND.3A 3.A EV PREV see PERF .

hítarutirit<sup>n</sup> pít<sup>a</sup> .  
 Hi táruutiirit piíta .  
 And he would see him the man .  
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- iirik -0 wiita .  
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV see PERF man .

Hihiruirirutáret<sup>n</sup>  
 Hi hiru iriruutaárat  
 And then he would go over there  
 hi hiruu irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- at -0  
 and then there there IND.3A 3.A EV go PERF

píta . hípít<sup>a</sup>  
 piíta . Hi piíta  
 the man . And the man  
 wiita . hi wiita  
 man . and man

irirútarét<sup>n</sup>  
 iriruútaarat  
 he would go over there  
 irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- at -0  
 there there IND.3A 3.A EV go PERF

iriaparúsirahtári  
 irii ápaaru' siruutári  
 where secretly they (du) would be doing it  
 irii apaar- -u' si- ra- 0- ut- aar -i

where secret NOM DU ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF.SUB

. Náwa<sup>a</sup>  
. Ráwa  
. Now  
. rawa  
. now

wisirahkúsaw<sup>a</sup>

wisiraahkuúsawa

when they (du) lay together

wii- si- ra- 0- ar- ku- i- sa -waa -0  
when DU INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ be.lying DIST SUB.4

kahúrahkæt<sup>n</sup>

kahúraahkat

in the woods

ka.huraar- -kat  
be.a.brushy.area LOC

rúksihik<sup>i</sup>

rúksihiiki

where there were places

ra- 0- uks- ihii -ik -i ,  
ABS 3.A AOR be.in.a.place DIST SUB.2 ,

hisitahkásawa

hi sitaahkásawa

and they (du) lay in the woods

hi si- ti- 0- ar- ka- sa -waa -0  
and DU IND.3A 3.A EV in.the.brush be.lying DIST PERF

, híkiš<sup>i</sup> táhwišæt<sup>n</sup>  
, hi kici taáhwicat

, and but he would arrive  
 , hi kici ti- 0- ar- wic.at -0  
 , and but IND.3A 3.A EV arrive PERF

irirírətaku<sup>u</sup> .  
 iririúráttaku'u .  
 the one who was her husband .  
 irii- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u .  
 that ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D .

Hitáhwišət<sup>n</sup> .  
 Hi taáhwicat .  
 And he would arrive .  
 hi ti- 0- ar- wic.at -0 .  
 and IND.3A 3.A EV arrive PERF .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kakurúkstahi .  
 kaakuurúkstaahi .  
 it was not good .  
 kaaki- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0 .  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF .

hirútahakirit  
 Hiru taahaakírit  
 Then he picked up a club  
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- haak- iriik -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A EV wood pick.up.long.object PERF

irikuraúšapat<sup>n</sup>

iriikúraa'u								cápaat
the one who had her								the woman
irii- ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -u								icapaak
that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D								woman

pitáirirurətáhurahəs

piíta iriruurrattáhurahac								
man the one who eloped with her								
wiita irii- ruu- ra- 0- ak- ra- hurahac -0								
man that then ABS 3.A PLAN.3P PORT disappear SUB.4								

ararutahpákspir<sup>u</sup>

a raaruutaahpákpiru'								
and then he just whipped his head								
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- paks- piru -0								
and just then IND.3A 3.A EV head whip PERF								

. Atarakahtarihú<sup>u</sup>

. A taaraakatárihu'u								
. And it was a terrible thing								
. a ti- 0- ar- raa- kata.rihur -'								
. and IND.3A 3.A EV way be.wide EX								

nahkutahukákətka .

raahkutahuhkákátka .								
when he cut his pate up .								
ra- 0- ar- ku- tahuur- ka.ukac.k -a .								
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B tough.skin cut.up SUB.1 .								

Hítarašiksta<sup>a</sup>

Hi taaracíksta'a								
And he hurt his feelings								
hi ti- 0- ar- aciks- ra.aar -0								

and IND.3A 3.A EV mind hurt PERF

iriwisirihkútik<sup>a</sup>

iriwisirihkuútika

when that one was beaten

irii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a  
that when DU ABS 3.A OBV beat SUB.1

hitáhwiška

hi taáhwicka'

and he thought

hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0  
and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF

ipítarit<sup>n</sup>

I píita rit

And a man I am

i wiita rii- t- 0 -0  
and man ASSR 1.A be PERF

Hitarišárisa

Hi taaricárisa

And he became angry

hi ti- 0- ar- icaris -aar -0  
and IND.3A 3.A EV be.mean INCH PERF

Hitiirikúra<sup>u</sup>

Hi ti'iriikúraa'u

And this one who had her

hi tii- irii- ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -u  
and this that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D

šápat<sup>n</sup> hiirirutawáku

cápaat hi iriruutaahwáku'

woman and then he would say  
 icapaak hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0  
 woman and then then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, " Náw<sup>a</sup> wiritákutit<sup>n</sup> .  
 , " Ráwa wiriitákuutit .  
 , " Now I'll whip you .  
 , " rawa wii- rii- t- a- kuut.ik -0 .  
 , " now now ASSR 1.A 2.P beat PERF .

" Hiirirutahkáwət<sup>n</sup>  
 " Hi iriruutaahkáwat  
 " And thereupon he took it out  
 " hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- kawat -0  
 " and then then IND.3A 3.A EV take.out PERF

níšik<sup>i</sup> .  
 riíciki .  
 a knife .  
 riici -kis .  
 knife DIM .

Irar<sup>i</sup> , híšikstit<sup>u</sup>  
 Iraári' , hi cíkstit  
 Brother , and well  
 i- -raar- -ri' , hi cikstik  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and well

irirutarurara huríruhš<sup>i</sup>  
 iriruutaruuraarahuríruhci'  
 thereupon he did it severely  
 irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- uur- raa- rahur- riruhci -0  
 then then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV way do be.powerful PERF

nakuškakákawakət<sup>a</sup> .  
 rakuckakákawaakatka .  
 when he cut his face up .  
 ra- 0- ku- icka- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -a .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B face ITER cut.up DIST SUB.1 .

Nikutukstakítawa  
 Rikutukstaakítawa  
 That is what was the reason  
 riku- ti- 0- uks- raa- kita -waa -0  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.the.reason DIST PERF

rihkuwákihu  
 rihkúwakihu  
 when they say  
 ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

iraškakíšis<sup>u</sup> .  
 iraackakíciisu .  
 that scarred face .  
 ii- ra- 0- icka- kiciis -u .  
 that ABS 3.A face be.a.scarred.area SUB.D .

tihá<sup>a</sup> tiruhú<sup>u</sup> .  
 Tiihaá'a tiruuhú'u .  
 This it was the reason .  
 tii- haa ti- 0- raa.uhur -' .  
 this here IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason EX .

tiruhúšapat<sup>n</sup> .  
 Tiruuhú' cápaat .  
 She was the reason the woman .  
 ti- 0- raa.uhur -0 icapaak .

IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason PERF woman .

Akihirikuahukstakítawa

Aki hi riku'ahukstaakítawa

And here and this is what the reason was

a- ki hi riku- ar- ra- 0- uks- raa- kita -waa -0  
and there and that.is EV ABS 3.A AOR way be.the.reason DIST PERF

. Šápat<sup>n</sup>

. Cápaat

. The woman

. icapaak

. woman

hawaawitáhkutit<sup>n</sup> .

hawá a witaáhkuutit .

also and he whipped her .

haawa a wi- ti- 0- ar- kuut.ik -0 .  
also and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV beat PERF .

Apəšhawawitukstátawi

Ápac hawá witukstaátawi'

Both also it was the custom

apac haawa wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0  
both also QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

apəšsirakukútik<sup>a</sup> .

ápac sirakukuútika .

both to whip them (du) .

apac si- ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a .  
both DU INF.A 3.A INF.B beat SUB.1 .

Kakatuharáihku

Kaakatuuhaará'ihku'



I do not mean it

kaaka-	t-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-:hus
NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF

kuharíksis<sup>u</sup>

kuuhaaríksisu

to be real

ra-	0-	ku-	kuut-	raariks	-his	-u	,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	dead	be.true	PERF	SUB.D	,

širíhuksu

ci ríhuksu'

but just

ci rihuks -u'

but alone NOM

sirahkurawákisa

siraahkuraawaáhkisa

for him to bruise them (du)

si-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	raawaahkis	-a	.
DU	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	abuse	SUB.1	.

Híapəš rusitaruhuráhət<sup>n</sup>

Hi ápac ruusitaaruhuráhat

And both then he let them (du) go

hi	apac	ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	ar-	uhur.ra.hak	-0
and	both	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	EV	release	PERF

píta a šápət<sup>n</sup> .

piíta a cápaat .

the man and the woman .

wiita a icapaak .

man and woman .

A	,	irár <sup>i</sup>	,		
A	,	iraári'	,		
And	,	brother	,		
a	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'	,
and	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

awihirukariruráhihaw<sup>a</sup>

a	wihiru	kariirúraahi		haáwa'						
and	now	it was not good		also						
a	wii-	hiruu	karii-	ra-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0	haawa
and	now	then	EMPH.NEG	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF	also

,	hírukakurahi						
,	hiru kaakúraahi						
,	then it was not good						
,	hiruu kaaki-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0	
,	then	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF

tirikuwĩsuksar <sup>a</sup>	šápat <sup>n</sup>				
tirikuwícaksaara	cápaat				
when I became aware	a woman				
tii-	ri-	ku-	wicaks.aar	-a	icapaak
when	CONT.3A	1.P	come.to.mind	SUB.1	woman

iriratuuharihkúšapat<sup>n</sup>

iriiratuúhaarihku					
what I mean					
irii-	ra-	t-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-hus
what	ABS	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF.SUB

nakuwiška <sup>a</sup>	'				
rakuwícka'a	'				
when one wanted	'				
ra-	0-	ku-	wicka	-a	'

ABS 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 ' .

aturəktipārāra  
aatuuraktipaaraāra  
that I hide you from them

aa- t- a- uur- ak- ri- paar.aar -a  
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV PL.AN.3P PORT hide SUB.1

' pīta ,  
' piīta ,  
' a man ,  
' wiita ,  
' man ,

hitāripara .

hi taāripara .  
and she would hide him .  
hi ti- 0- ar- ri- paar.aar -0 .  
and IND.3A 3.A EV PORT hide PERF .

Hihirurutihwaki

Hi hiru ruutihwaki'  
And then then they said  
hi hiruu ruu- ti- 0- ir- waki -0  
and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

irirutakišisu

iriruutaakícisu  
the ones related to her

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus  
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

šápat<sup>n</sup> , “ Ihi ,  
cápaat , “ Ihi ,

the woman , “ Uh ,  
 icapaak , “ ihii ,  
 woman , “ uh ,

hirusisišitšírəs<sup>u</sup>

hiru sisiiccírasa'  
 then bring him

hiruu	si-	i-	s-	ir-	ut-	i-	ciras-	a	-0
then	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	SEQ	COM	come	PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirušisišitšírəs<sup>a</sup>

Hiru sisiiccírasa'  
 Then bring him

hiruu	si-	i-	s-	ir-	ut-	i-	ciras-	a	-0
then	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	SEQ	COM	come	PERF

. " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
 . " Ráwa  
 . " Now  
 . " rawa  
 . " now

hirusitirušíhurət<sup>n</sup>

hiru sitiiruucíhurat  
 then they would go after him

hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	uhur-	ra-	at	-0
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	now	PORT	go	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Pitahikaráwitir<sup>a</sup>

Píita hi karáwitiira'  
The man and he would not come  
wiita hi kara- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- a -0  
man and NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV come PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

\ Naw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
\ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
\ Now , brother ,  
\ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
\ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hirusitirušíhurət<sup>n</sup>

hiru sitiiruucíhurat  
then they would go after him  
hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- uhur- ra- at -0  
then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ now PORT go PERF

, hirúawaku pírəsk<sup>i</sup>  
, hiru taahwáku' píiraski  
, then he would say the boy  
, hiruu ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 piiras- -kis

, then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF boy DIM

, “ Náw<sup>a</sup>  
, “ Ráwa  
, “ Now  
, “ rawa  
, “ now

hiruwirusisišutšírəsət<sup>n</sup>

hiru wiruusiisicuccírasat

then take her

hiruu wii- ruu- si- i- s- ir- ut- uks- ciras- at -0  
then now then DU CONT.1/2A 2.A OBV PREV JUSS COM go PERF

. náw<sup>a</sup> kústiət<sup>n</sup> . " Awit<sup>n</sup>  
. Ráwa kústi'at . " Áwit  
. Now I will go . " First  
. rawa kuus- t- i- at -0 . " awit  
. now POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ go PERF . " first

šúráki

cuúráki

the girl

icuúra- -kis

girl DIM

asiwiriturušírəsət

a siwitiiruucírasat

and they would take her

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- ciras- at -0  
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV COM go PERF

hirúirirutakíšis<sup>u</sup>

hiru iriruutaakícisu

then	the ones related to her						
hiruu	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	ak-	icis	-hus
then	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB

šúráki  
cuúráki  
the girl  
icuúra- -kis  
girl DIM

Nakurúhwihət  
raakurúhwihat  
where hers lived

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-0
INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4

irášt<sup>i</sup> ,  
iraácti' ,  
her brother ,  
i- raac -ri' ,  
3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B ,

ipakt<sup>i</sup> , a  
ipaákti' , a  
her grandfather , and  
i- paak -ri' , a  
3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , and

híast<sup>i</sup> .  
hí'aasti' .  
her father .  
i- as -ri' .  
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B .

Kirikurakúhir<sup>a</sup>

Kíriku' rakúhiira

Perhaps its being nights

kirikuu ra- 0- ku- hiir -a  
anything INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.night.that.elapses SUB.1

pitk<sup>u</sup> ,  
pítku ,  
two ,  
pitku ,  
two ,

hisiwítirúturet<sup>n</sup>

hi siwitiiruúturat

and they would go after him

hi si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- huur.ra.at -0  
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV go.to.get PERF

, hiwítahwaku

, hi witaahwáku'

, and he would say

, hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0  
, and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

píraski , " Náwa kústiət<sup>n</sup>

piíraski , " Ráwa kústi'at

the boy , " Now I will go

piiras- -kis , " rawa kuus- t- i- at -0  
boy DIM , " now POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ go PERF

. "  
. "  
. "  
. "



. "

Hikárawitir<sup>a</sup>

Hi kárawitiira'

And he would not come

hi kara- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- a -0  
and NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV come PERF

. Náw<sup>a</sup> ,

. Ráwa ,

. Now ,

. rawa ,

. now ,

hirusitirušihurət

hiru sitiiruucíhurət

then they would go after him

hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- uhur- ra- at -0  
then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ now PORT go PERF

hawakararakúrahir<sup>a</sup>

hawá kararakúraahiira

also its not being good

haawa kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a  
also NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

. Náw<sup>a</sup> , rirúhiri

. Ráwa , rirúhiri'

. Now , by means of fright

. rawa , riru -hiri'

. now , be.frightened LOC

asitirúširəsišákaət<sup>n</sup>

a sitiiruucirasicáhka'at

and they would take him through the village  
a si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- ciras- icaħka- at -0  
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV COM village go PERF

. Asiwitíħkus .  
. A siwitíħkus .  
. And they set him down .  
. a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .  
. and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

asiwitíħkus .  
A siwitíħkus .  
And they set him down .  
a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .  
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

Awiwitáħk<sup>u</sup> .  
A wiwitaáħku .  
And now he would sit there .  
a wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- kus -0 .  
and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.sitting PERF .

Hiwitárahkairirutakišiš<sup>u</sup>  
Hi witaáraahka iriruutaakícisu  
And now they would be inside the ones related to her  
hi wii- ti- ar- raar- kaa -0 irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus  
and now IND.3A EV PL.INDV.A be.inside PERF that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

šúráki .  
cuúráki .  
the girl .  
icuura- -kis .  
girl DIM .

Hiruwitíhwak<sup>i</sup> , “  
 Hiru witíhwaki’ , “  
 Then they said , “  
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , “  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “

Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Ráwa ,  
 Now ,  
 rawa ,  
 now ,

rikutatukstápišk<sup>a</sup> .  
 rikutatukstaápicka’ .  
 this is what we want .  
 riku- ta- t- uks- rak- wicka -0 .  
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL want PERF .

tatukstapišk<sup>a</sup>  
 Tatukstaápicka’  
 We want  
 ta- t- uks- rak- wicka -0  
 IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL want PERF

tirakutíahəstiparara  
 tíraaku tí’ahastipaaraara  
 this one this one whom you stole  
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 tii- ar- ra- s- ri- paar.aar -a  
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 this EV ABS 2.A PORT hide SUB.1

nəskušírəsah<sup>a</sup>  
 raskucírasaaha  
 for you to take her  
 ra- s- ku- ut- ciras- aah -a

INF.A2.A    INF.B PREV    COM    be    SUB.1

rásihkutaku<sup>u</sup> .  
rásihkuttaku'u .  
for you to marry her .  
ra-    s-    ir-    ku-    aktaku    -u .  
INF.A    2.A    POSS.1/2A    INF.B    have.as.a.wife    SUB.D .

Nikutatukstápišk<sup>a</sup>

Rikutatukstaápicka'

That is what we wanted

riku-    ta-    t-    uks-    rak-    wicka    -0  
that.is    IND.1/2A    1.A    JUSS    1/2.PL    want    PERF

kišiwikariritirápišk<sup>a</sup>

kici    wikariiritiiraápicka'

but    now we do not want it

kici    wii-    kari-    rii-    t-    i-    rak-    wicka    -0  
but    now    EMPH.NEG    ASSR    1.A    SEQ    1/2.PL    want    PERF

.    "    Asiwitihkútik<sup>u</sup>  
.    "    A    siwitihkuútiku'  
.    "    And    they were whipping him  
.    "    a    si-    wi-    ti-    0-    ir-    kuut.ik    -:hus  
.    "    and    DU    QUOT    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    beat    IMPF

,    asiwitihkuútik<sup>u</sup>    ,  
,    a    siwitihkuútiku'    ,  
,    and    they were whipping him    ,  
,    a    si-    wi-    ti-    0-    ir-    kuut.ik    -:hus    ,  
,    and    DU    QUOT    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    beat    IMPF    ,

hiwitarúhkuksəs

hi    witarúhkuksas

and he would run away  
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- kuks- as-i -0  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV fleeing run PERF

píta .  
 piíta .  
 the man .  
 wiita .  
 man .

Asiwitihkutíkusitit<sup>n</sup>

A siwitičkuutíkusitit  
 And they began to whip him  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus -itik  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF INCH

,  
 ,  
 ,  
 ,  
 ,

[asiwitičkuutíkusitit<sup>n</sup>,]

a siwitičkuutíkusitit  
 and they began to whip him  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus -itik  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF INCH

,  
 ,  
 ,  
 ,  
 ,

asiwiturahuríruš<sup>i</sup>

a siwitiiruuraahuuríruhci'

and they did it excessively

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- rahur- riruhci -0  
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV do be.powerful PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Karawitiraruurətarípak<sup>a</sup>

Karawiti' raaruu'uúrattaarípaka

One could not stop them doing it

kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ii- 0- uur- ak- raa- ripak  
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF just then SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P way  
oppose.someone.having.something SUB.1

nišuksawaštaíriku

ricuksawactaa'íiriku

even if they were seeing it

ri- 0- ir- ut- uks- awahc- raa- iirik -hus  
CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV JUSS even.if way see IMPF.SUB

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Upirúwiturawarít<sup>n</sup>

Uupiíru'

Wrong

wituuráwarit

he did

uupir	-u'	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	a.warik	-0
be.different	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	throw	PERF

píraski	.
piíraski	.
the boy	.
piiras-	-kis
boy	DIM

pirəskiupiruwituráwarit

Piíraski	uupiíru'	wituuráwarit							
The boy	wrong	he did							
piiras-	-kis	uupir	-u'	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	a.warik	-0
boy	DIM	be.different	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	throw	PERF

.	Arihkuwíška <sup>a</sup>	,							
.	A	rihkuwícka'a	,						
.	And	when they wanted	,						
.	a	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	wicka	-a	,	
.	and	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	want	SUB.1	,	

asitikisíkir<sup>u</sup>

a	sitihkisíkiihu'	.						
and	they revived him	.						
a	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	kisikit	-ra'uk	-0	.
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	be.alive	CAUS	PERF	.

Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	híkisi
Ráwa	,	hi kici
Now	,	and but
rawa	,	hi kici
and	,	and but

siwiturúwa<sup>a</sup>

wiwitiiruúwa'a  
they hurt him  
wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ra.aar -wa -0  
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A hurt DIST PERF

Nikuwítusuks  
Rikuwítucuks  
That is how it was  
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF

tírahakitət<sup>D</sup>  
tírahaakitat  
(in) this our village  
tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0  
this ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

Šúraki		nakuwíška <sup>a</sup>					pírəsk <sup>i</sup>	
Cuúraki		rakuwícka'a					piíraski	
A girl		when he wanted					a boy	
icuura	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	wicka	-a	piiras-	-kis
female	DIM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	want	SUB.1	boy	DIM

'	káratata							
'	kara'átaata							
'	that I not go							
'	kara-	aa-	t-	at	-a			
'	NEG	SUBJ.1/2A	1.A	go	SUB.1			

witírahkutasikusuhurihúrari  
witíraahkuutacikusuhurihúraari  
when he thinks of himself  
witi- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aciks- uhuur- rihur -aar -i  
REFL INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV mind way be.big INCH IMPF.SUB



, šápat<sup>n</sup> nakuksáwaš<sup>u</sup>  
 , cápaat rakuksáwahcu  
 , a woman even if it were  
 , icapaak ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u  
 , woman INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

, šápat a šúrak<sup>i</sup> ,  
 , cápaat a cuúraki ,  
 , a woman or the girl ,  
 , icapaak a icuura- -kis ,  
 , woman or girl DIM ,

šurakiráku<sup>u</sup> ,  
 cuúraki ráku'u ,  
 a girl her being ,  
 icuura- -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,  
 girl DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

širusikararikuktúku<sup>u</sup>  
 ciru sikararikuktáku'u  
 yet her not being married  
 ciruu si- kara- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- aktaku -u  
 yet DU NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B have.as.a.wife SUB.D

, hiwitárahurahəš  
 , hi witaaráhurahac  
 , and he would elope with her  
 , hi wi- ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0  
 , and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF

, hítarahurahəš  
 , hi taaráhurahac  
 , and he would elope with her

, hi ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0  
 , and IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF

píræski . píræski  
 piíraski . Piíraski  
 the boy . The boy  
 piiras- -kis . piiras- -kis  
 boy DIM . boy DIM

awitaráhurahæš .  
 a witaaráhurahac .  
 and he would elope with her .  
 a wi- ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0 .  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF .

\ Náv<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikutihwakíahu :  
 rikutihwakí'aahu' :  
 that is what they say :  
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus :  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF :

hirusiwitirušíhuræt<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru siwitiiruucíhurat  
 then they would go after him  
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0  
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

. Awitíhwak<sup>i</sup> , ihi

. A witíhwaki' , ihi  
. And they said , uh  
. a wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ihii  
. and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , uh

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

wisirihkutúrat<sup>a</sup>

wisirihkuutúrata

when they went after him

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- huur.ra.at -a  
when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV go.to.get SUB.1

, “ náwaihi ,  
, “ Ráwa , ihi ,  
, “ Now , uh ,  
, “ rawa , ihii ,  
, “ now , uh ,

siwitásiwahist<sup>a</sup>

siwitásihwaahista

you (du) are going to come

si- wi- ta- s- ir- wa- a -his -ta  
DU QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A DIST come PERF INT

. " I pířaski  
. " I piíraski  
. " And the boy  
. " i piiras- -kis  
. " and boy DIM

karakatawitíkstahaw<sup>a</sup> , [haáwa']  
 karakatawiitíksta , haáwa'  
 he would not refuse , also  
 ka- ra- 0- kata.wi.itik -his -ta , haawa  
 NEG ABS 3.A refuse PERF INT , also

asiwítahw<sup>a</sup> .  
 a siwítaahwa' .  
 and they (du) would go .  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ar- war -0 .  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV go.DU PERF .

Šúrak<sup>i</sup> širuráhku<sup>u</sup>  
 Cuúraki ciru raáhku'u  
 A girl yet if she would be  
 icuura -kis ciruura- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u  
 female DIM yet INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

nakurahúrahəs , Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 rakurahúrahac , ráwa ,  
 when he eloped with her , now ,  
 ra- 0- ku- ra- hurahac -0 , rawa ,  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PORT disappear SUB.4 , now ,

asitírəktaku  
 a sitiiraktaku'  
 and they (du) married  
 a si- ti- 0- a- ir- aktaku -0  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife PERF

. nutušíra<sup>u</sup> .  
 . Ruutucíraa'u' .  
 . Then it was alright .

. ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0 .  
 . that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF .

rutušíra<sup>u</sup>

Ruutucíraa'u'

Then it was fine

ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0  
 that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF

atiréktaku

a tiiráktaku'

and he married her

a ti- 0- a- ir- aktaku -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife PERF .

\ Naw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kararahkuwíška<sup>a</sup>

kararaahkúwicka'a

if he would not want to

kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a piiras- -kis  
 NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 boy DIM

pírask<sup>i</sup>

píiraski

a boy

, hikakáhwiška ,

, hi kaakaáhwicka' ,

, and he would not want to ,

, hi kaaki- 0- ar- wicka -0 ,  
 , and NEG.IND.3A 3.A EV want PERF ,

ríkuwitusuks ,

ríkuwitucuks ,  
 that is how it was ,  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 ,  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF ,

hikituusiwitiirúhkariks kúsit

hi kítuu'u' ruusiwitiirúhkarikskusit  
 and all then they would take his herd  
 hi kituu -u' ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- kariiks- kusik -0  
 and all NOM then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV POSS.P herd pick.up PERF

árus<sup>a</sup> . Arusakítu  
 áruusa' . Aruusa' kítuu'u'  
 horses . Horses all  
 aruusaa . aruusaa kituu -u'  
 horse . horse all NOM

asiwitiirúrarət<sup>n</sup>

a siwitiiruúrarat  
 and they would take them away from him  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- raar- ra- at -0  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV 3PL.INAN.P PORT go PERF

. Awitíhwak<sup>i</sup> , “  
 . A witíhwaki' , “  
 . And they said , “  
 . a wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , “  
 . and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “

Kakasirətakúkst<sup>a</sup>

Kaakasiirattakúksta

You are not going to get married to her

kaaka- s- ir- aktaku uk -his -ta  
 NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A have.as.a.wife be PERF INT

háwa . " Níhuksu  
 haáwa' . " Ríhuksu'  
 again . " Only  
 haawa . " rihuks -u'  
 also . " alone NOM

asiwitihkípist<sup>u</sup>

a siwitihkípistu'  
 and they took everything from him  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kipis.ra'uk -0  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A strip.someone.of.possessions PERF

píræski . Kararakuwíška<sup>a</sup>  
 píiraski . Kararakuwícka'a  
 the boy . If he did not want to  
 piiras- -kis . kara- ra- 0- ku- wicka -a  
 boy DIM . NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1

nakutáku .  
 raakuttáku' .  
 to be married .  
 ra- 0- a- ku- aktaku -u .  
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B have.as.a.wife SUB.D .

Hawasiwitihipiru ,  
 Hawá siwitihipiru' ,  
 Also they whipped him ,  
 haawa si- wi- ti- 0- ir- piru -0 ,  
 also DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip PERF ,

siwitihipiru . Kátu  
 siwitihipiru' . Kaátu'  
 they whipped him . Because

si- wi- ti- 0- ir- piru -0 . kaatu'  
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip PERF . because

witurətahukapak<sup>is</sup>  
 wituurattahuhkápaakis  
 he wronged theirs

wi- ti- 0- uur- ak- rahur- kaapaakis -0  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.P PL.AN.3P do be.pitiful PERF

šúráki . Tukstarihú<sup>u</sup>  
 cuúráki . Tukstaárihu'u  
 the girl . It was a big matter

icuura- -kis . ti- 0- uks- raa- rihur -'  
 girl DIM . IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.big EX

sirihkurakukət<sup>a</sup>  
 sírhkuurakuukata

when they went into a lodge for her

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- huuk- at -a  
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B POSS.P PL.AN.3P into go SUB.1

tirətukstakuriwáwi  
 tiratukstaákuriwaáwi

when we used to go around

tii- ra- t- uks- rak- hurii -waa -wi  
 when ABS 1.A AOR 1/2.PL go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

. nikuwitúkstárihu<sup>u</sup> .  
 . Rikuwitukstaárihu'u .  
 . That used to be a big matter .  
 . riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- rihur -' .  
 . that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.big EX .

I šəsk<sup>i</sup> ritúhawírit<sup>n</sup>





šúrak<sup>i</sup> . Hiitušúráki  
 cuúráki . Hi , ihi , cuúráki  
 a girl . And , uh , the girl  
 icuura- -kis . hi , ihii , icuura- -kis  
 girl DIM . and , uh , girl DIM

hawahitakútaruta  
 hawá hiítaku' taruúta  
 also another she would do it  
 haawa hii- taku ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0  
 also other someone IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF

píræsk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 piíraski ,  
 the boy ,  
 piiras- -kis ,  
 boy DIM ,

hisitíhuræs .  
 hi sitíhuras .  
 and they found out .  
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- huras -0 .  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A find PERF .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kakúrahi  
 kaakúraahi  
 it was not good

kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

irirutakišisu  
 iríruutaakicisu  
 the one who were her relatives

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus  
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

rihkuwáki<sup>a</sup> kustáwihšu  
 rihkuwáki'a kustáwihcu'  
 when they said son-in-law  
 ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a kus.tawihc -u'  
 INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1 son.in.law NOM

, iririrətáku<sup>u</sup>  
 , iríiriirattaku'u  
 , the one married to her  
 , irii- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u  
 , that ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D

šúráki ,  
 cuúráki ,  
 the girl ,  
 icuúra- -kis ,  
 girl DIM ,

hítahwahu , “ Náwa<sup>a</sup>  
 hi witaahwáku' , “ Ráwa  
 and he would say , “ Now  
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , “ rawa  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , “ now

kukakúut<sup>n</sup> , ihi ,

kukaakuú't  
 there is nothing wrong  
 ku- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -' , ihi ,  
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX , uh ,

tirátuhišis  
 tirátuuhiicis  
 since I found out  
 tii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 ,  
 when ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 ,

hikisitirəstápihət  
 hi kici , tirastápihat  
 and but , you sitting here  
 hi kici , tii- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0  
 and but , here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4

, irisirəsutíšisu ,  
 , iriisirasuutícisu ,  
 , you who are her relatives ,  
 , irii- si- ra- s- ut- icis -hus ,  
 , that DU ABS 2.A PREV be.related.to IMPF.SUB ,

təstakítaw<sup>i</sup> arís<sup>it<sup>n</sup></sup> . "  
 tastakítaw<sup>i</sup> ariísit . "  
 you are the judges yourselves . "  
 ta- s- rak- kita.wi -0 ariísit . "  
 IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.the.leader PERF one's.own . "

Nikúwitusuks .  
 Rikuwítucuks .  
 That was how it was .  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 .  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> , hiruwitíhwak<sup>i</sup>  
 Ráwa , hiru witíhwaki'  
 Now , then they said  
 rawa , hiruu wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0  
 now , then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

, “ Náw<sup>a</sup> , kustáwihšú , náw<sup>a</sup>  
 , “ Ráwa , kustáwihcu' , ráwa  
 , “ Now , son-in-law , now  
 , “ rawa , kus.tawihc -u' , rawa  
 , “ now , son.in.law NOM , now

nikutúut<sup>n</sup> .  
 rikutuú'ut .  
 that is how it is .  
 riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

kakúrahi . " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
 Kaakúraahi . " Ráwa  
 It is not good . " Now  
 kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . " rawa  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . " now

hiruwitarišáhkawu  
 hiru witaaricáhkawu'  
 then they would go through the village  
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- icahka- wuu -:hus  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV village go.IMPF IMPF

šúraiki  
 cuúraiki  
 girl

icuura- -kis  
girl DIM

irirutakíšís<sup>u</sup> .  
íriruutaakícisu .  
the ones related to her .  
irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus .  
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB .

Awitáhupu

A witaáhuupu'  
And they would go inside  
a wi- ti- 0- ar- huuk- wuu -:hus  
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV into go.IMPF IMPF

pírəski ,  
piíraski ,  
the boy ,  
piiras- -kis ,  
boy DIM ,

pirəskiirirəkuhar<sup>u</sup>

piíraski iriiraáhkuuhaaru  
boy the one who did it  
piiras- -kis irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- raar -u  
boy DIM that INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV do SUB.D

. Šúraki tuhá<sup>a</sup>  
. Cuúraki tuuhá'a  
. A girl it is the reason  
. icuura -kis ti- 0- ut- raar -'  
. female DIM IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

širuráku<sup>u</sup> ,

ciru ráku'u ,  
 yet her being ,  
 ciruu ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,  
 yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

hikakiruratúkisit<sup>n</sup>

hi kaakiruuraatukiisit  
 and he would not anger easily  
 hi kaaki- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raatukiis.ik -0  
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV be.easily.angered PERF

pitára<sup>u</sup> . Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 piitára'u . Ráwa ,  
 the husband . Now ,  
 wiita ra- 0- 0 -u . rawa ,  
 man ABS 3.A be SUB.D . now ,

irihikakúrahi .  
 irihiikaakúraahi .  
 that was not good .  
 irii- hii- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
 that other NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

irirutakísisu

Íriruutaakícisu

The ones who were her relatives

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus  
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

ásiwihkutit<sup>n</sup>

a siwihkuutit  
 and they killed him  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

pířesk<sup>i</sup> .  
 pířaski .  
 the boy .  
 piiras- -kis .  
 boy DIM .

Rurakukuháriks<sup>a</sup>  
 Ruurakukuuhaárikxa  
 Its being a real death

ruu- ra- 0- ku- kuut- raariks -a  
 then INF.A 3.A INF.B dead be.true SUB.1

asiwitíhkutit<sup>n</sup> .  
 a siwitíhkuutit .  
 and they killed him .  
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .  
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> híkiši  
 Ráwa hi kici  
 Now and but  
 rawa hi kici  
 now and but

irirákuhar<sup>u</sup>  
 iriirákuuhaaru  
 the one who did it

irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u  
 that INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do SUB.D

hiirirutákukstakət<sup>n</sup>  
 hi iriruutaáhkukstákut  
 and thereupon he would flee



hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- kuks- takuk -0  
 and then then IND.3A 3.A EV fleeing run PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

hirukírikuatahkuksət<sup>n</sup>

Hiru kíriku' a taáhkuksat  
 Then somewhere and he would flee  
 hiruu kirikuu a ti- 0- ar- kuks- at -0  
 then anything and IND.3A 3.A EV fleeing go PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

níkuwitišuks

Ríkuwitiicuks

That is how it used to be

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV AOR be PERF

. Akakírapət<sup>n</sup> .  
 . A kaakiírapat .  
 . And they did not fight .  
 . a kaaki- 0- ir- apak -0 .  
 . and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF .

kakírapət<sup>n</sup> .

Kaakiírapat .  
 They did not fight .  
 kaaki- 0- ir- apak -0 .  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF .

tatiraitáask<sup>u</sup> šápat  
 Tatiraá'iita ásku cápaat  
 I knew her one woman  
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 asku icapaak  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF one woman

rirurakítawaw<sup>i</sup>  
 riruuraakítawaawi  
 her being the cause of things  
 ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raa- kita -waa -wi  
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV way be.the.cause DIST SUB.L

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Rikutirurakítawa  
 Rikutaruuraakítawa  
 That one was the cause of things  
 riku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raa.kita -waa -0  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.way.on.top DIST PERF

šápat<sup>n</sup> ,  
 cápaat ,  
 the woman ,  
 icapaak ,  
 woman ,

nikutirukítawa

rikutaruuraakítawa

that one was the cause of things

riku-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	raa.kita	-waa	-0
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.the.way.on.top	DIST	PERF

. Kakúrahi

. Kaakúraahi

. It was not good

. kaaki-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0	.
. NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF	.

tirapírihu<sup>u</sup>

Tiraapírihu'u

It was desirable

ti-	0-	raapi.rihur	-'	šápat <sup>n</sup>
IND.3A	3.A	value	EX	cápaat
				a woman
				icapaak
				woman

Írirutahušápat<sup>n</sup>

iriíruutahu

its being the way

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus	cápaat
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB	a woman
							icapaak
							woman

nakúhurəs

rakúhuras

to find her

ra-	0-	ku-	huras	-0	úrarisit <sup>n</sup>
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	find	SUB.4	uúrariisit
					directly
					uurariisik
					straight.forward

nusiwitrakušišíksu<sup>a</sup>

ruusiwitrakuciicíksuu'a

their (du) thinking

ruu- si- witi- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aciks- uu -a  
 then DU REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ mind be SUB.1

, úrarisit  
 , uúrariisit  
 , directly  
 , uurariisik  
 , straight.forward

rusiwitarakušišksu<sup>a</sup>  
 ruusiwitiraakuciicíksuu'a  
 their (du) thinking

ruu- si- witi- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aciks- uu -a  
 then DU REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ mind be SUB.1

šápət a pīt<sup>a</sup> .  
 cápaat a piíta .  
 a woman and a man .  
 icapaak a wiita .  
 woman and man .

hisitíkarik<sup>u</sup>

Hi sitiíkariku  
 And they (du) have a home  
 hi si- ti- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting PERF

hišahiksitarúhkar<sup>i</sup>

hi cáhiks sitarúhkari'  
 and people they (du) have many  
 hi icaahiks si- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kari -0  
 and person DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.numerous PERF

,

,  
,  
,  
,

šahiksitarúhkar<sup>i</sup>

cáhiks      sitarúhkari'  
people      they (du) have many  
icaahiks    si-    ti-      0-    a-      ri-      uur-    kari      -0  
person      DU    IND.3A   3.A    POSS.3A    PHYS.POSS    POSS.A    be.numerous    PERF

sírakukarik<sup>u</sup>

sírakuukáriku  
when they (du) have their home  
si-    ra-      0-    ku-      akaar-    ri-      kus      -0  
DU    INF.A    3.A    INF.B    dwelling    PORT    be.sitting    SUB.4

Akitutihwakíahu

A      kítuu'u'      tihwakí'aahu'  
And    all            they say  
a      kituu    -u'      ti-      0-      ir-      waki.a      -:hus  
and    all      NOM    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    say.PL.IMPF    IMPF

,      “      Áka<sup>a</sup>      ,  
,      “      Aáka'a      ,  
,      “      Oh my      ,  
,      “      aaka'a      ,  
,      “      oh.my      ,

iriwisituhi

iriwisítuuhi  
they (du) are good  
irii-    wii-    si-    ti-      0-    uur-    hiir      -0  
that    now    DU    IND.3A    3.A    PREV    be.good    PERF

tisírak <sup>u</sup>	.	"
tisíraaku	.	"
these (du)	.	"
tii- si- ra- 0- kus -0	.	"
this DU ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4	.	"

Hihirurakurakhawípit<sup>a</sup>

Hi hiru rakúraahkaawi	piíta
And then when they were inside	men
hi hiruu ra- 0- ku- raar- kaa -wi	wiita
and then INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L	man

hihirukirikutarutášapat<sup>n</sup>

hi hiru kíriku' taruúta	cápaat
and then something she would do it	the woman
hi hiruu kirikuu ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0	icapaak
and then anything IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF	woman

nahkuráhupu

raahkuráhuupu

when they went inside

ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- huuk- wuu -hus
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PL.INDV.A into go.IMPF IMPF.SUB

irirakukárik<sup>u</sup>

iriirakuukáriku

the one who has the lodge

irii- ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0
where INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, hi pitára<sup>u</sup>  
, hi piitára'u  
, and the husband

, hi wiita ra- 0- 0 -u  
 , and man ABS 3.A be SUB.D

táruhišis ,  
 táruuhiicis ,  
 he would find out about her ,  
 ti- 0- ar- ut- riicis -0 ,  
 IND.3A 3.A EV PREV learn.about PERF ,

hitahwáku , “ ɣka<sup>a</sup> ,  
 hi taahwáku’ , “ líka’a ,  
 and he would say , “ Oh my ,  
 hi ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , “ iika’a ,  
 and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , “ oh.my ,

iriwitúrahi  
 iriwitúraahi  
 that is good  
 irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiwirátuhišis . "  
 tiwirátuuhiicis . "  
 my finding this out . "  
 tii- wii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 . "  
 this now ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 . "

Nakuhihkúšapat<sup>n</sup>  
 Raáhkuuhihku cápaat  
 His meaning her the woman  
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- ra’ihk -hus icapaak  
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV mean IMPF.SUB woman

. “ ɣka<sup>a</sup> ,

. “ Íika’a ,  
 . “ Oh my ,  
 . “ iika’a ,  
 . “ oh.my ,

iriwitúrahi  
 iriwitúraahi  
 that is good

irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiwirətuhišis . Náw<sup>a</sup>  
 tiwirātuuhiicis . Ráwa  
 my finding this out . Now  
 tii- wii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 . rawa  
 this now ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 . now

tatarurapírihu<sup>u</sup>  
 tataruuraapírihu’u  
 I love you

ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -’  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

. sirakuwawáktiku  
 . Sirakuwaawáktiku  
 . The ones talking

. si- ra- 0- ku- waa.wak.tik -hus  
 . DU INF.A 3.A INF.B talk IMPF.SUB

tírutasuhət<sup>n</sup>  
 tíruutasuuhat  
 these sitting around

tii- ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0 piiras- -kis  
 this ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4 boy DIM

pírəsk<sup>i</sup>  
 píıraski  
 boys



tatirurətapírihu<sup>u</sup>

tatiruurattaapírihu'u

I love them

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	ak-	raapi.rihur	-'
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	PL.AN.3P	value	EX

. iriwitúrahi

. Iriwitúraahi

. That is good

. irii-	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0
. that	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF

tiwirətuhišis

tiwirātuuhiicis

my finding this out

tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0	.
this	now	ABS	1.A	PREV	learn.about	SUB.4	.

Kakíruhu

Kaakíruuhu'

It is not the way

kaaki-	0-	raa.uhur	-0	.
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be.the.way	PERF	.

kuratakútawirahət<sup>1</sup>

kurataakútawiirahat

for me to touch you

ku-	ra-	t-	a-	ku-	tawiira.hak	-0	.
INDF	INF.A	1.A	2.P	INF.B	brush.against	SUB.4	.

ákirikukaririruhú<sup>u</sup>

A kíriku' kariiriruhú'u

And anything it is not the way

a	kirikuu	karii-	rii-	0-	raa.uhur	-ʼ
and	anything	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	3.A	be.the.way	EX

pītarət kutawīrahət<sup>n</sup> .

piīta ratkutawīrahāt .

the man for me to touch him .

wiita	ra-	t-	ku-	tawiira.hak	-0	.
man	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	brush.against	SUB.4	.

Ahikīhi				súət <sup>n</sup>		,
Ahikiʼ			ihī	cuúʼat		,
But			uh	daughter		,
a	hi	ki	ihii	cuuʼat		,
and	and	there	uh	daughter		,

kaskušišikskápakʼs .

kaskuuciicikskápaakis .

you should pity me .

kaas-	s-	ku-	ut-	i-	aciks.kaapaakis	-0	.
POT.2A	2.A	1.P	PREV	SEQ	feel.pity.for	PERF	.

Hā , natutakíšisu

Haa , ratuutaakícisu

Ha , my relatives

haa	,	ra-	t-	ut-	ak-	icis	-hus
ha	,	ABS	1.A	PREV	PLAN.3P	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB

natusúhət<sup>n</sup>

ruutasuúhat

they sit around

ra-	0-	ut-	as.uu.hak	-0	hi	piira	-uʼ
ABS	3.A	PREV	be.sitting.around	SUB.4	and	child	NOM

hipíra<sup>u</sup>

hi piiraʼuʼ

and children

nəsihkurúhwihət<sup>n</sup>

rasihkurúhwihat

you have them

ra-	s-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-0
INF.A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	PERF

,	hã	,	píra <sup>u</sup>
.	Haa	,	piíra'u'
.	Ha	,	children
.	haa	,	piira -u'
.	ha	,	child NOM

nətiríwihət<sup>n</sup>

ratiríhwihat

I have them

ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-0
ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

sitikururatapírihu<sup>u</sup>

Sitikuruurattaapírihu'u

They love us

si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	rak-	raapi.rihur	-'
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	value	EX

píra <sup>u</sup>	.	"
piíra'u'	.	"
the children	.	"
piira -u'	.	"
child NOM	.	"



ra-	0-	ku-	i-	raariks	-a	'
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	be.true	SUB.1	'

atarasikstawáw <sup>i</sup>							,	'
aatáraacikstawaawi							,	'
that I love them							,	'
aa-	t-	a-	raa-	aciks.ta	-waa	-wi	,	'
SUBJ.1/2A	1.A	2.P	way	value.highly	DIST	SUB.L	,	'

pīrəsk <sup>i</sup>	'
pīraski	'
boys	'
piiras-	-kis
boy	DIM

atətarasíkstawi							,	'
aatáraacikstawi							,	'
that I love them							,	'
aa-	t-	a-	raa-	aciks.ta	-wi		,	'
SUBJ.1/2A	1.A	2.P	way	value.highly	SUB.L		,	'

kitúkurahus		,	šápat <sup>n</sup>	,
kítuu'u'	kúrahus	,	cápaat	,
all	the old men	,	the women	,
kituu	-u'	kurahuus	icapaak	,
all	NOM	old.man	woman	,

nikutihwakiahúpít <sup>a</sup>							,	
rikutihwakí'aahu'							pīita	,
that is what they say							man	,
riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	wiita	,	
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	man	,	

“ iriwitisīkskasa .

“ Iriwitiicíkskasa .  
 “ That is sensible .  
 “ irii- wi- ti- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0 .  
 “ that QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sensible PERF .

Iriwitisikstárahkis . "  
 Iriwitiicikstárahkis . "  
 He has a strong mind . "  
 irii- wi- ti- 0- aciks- tarahkis -0 . "  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A mind be.strong PERF . "

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tatariraíwawat<sup>n</sup>  
 tatariiraa'íiwaawat  
 I am telling you stories  
 ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -waa -0  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story DIST PERF

irirúšuksa  
 iriiruúcuksa  
 the way it used to be  
 irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a  
 that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1

ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
 ákitaaru'  
 tribe  
 akitaar- -u'  
 tribe NOM

ratúkspari .  
 ratúkspari .  
 when I went about .  
 ra- t- uks- warii -hus .  
 ABS 1.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Iritiwirutpišihíú<sup>a</sup>  
 Iritiwirutpicihí'uu'a  
 When it was this cold weather  
 irii- tii- wii- ra- 0- ut- picí.ihí uu -a  
 when this when ABS 3.A PREV be.very.cold be SUB.1

tarahárətkurárəspi .  
 táraha' ratkuráraspi .  
 buffalo when we went hunting .  
 tarahaa ra- t- ku- raar- raspíi -0 .  
 buffalo INF.A 1.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P look.for SUB.4 .

A , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 A , iráári' ,  
 And , brother ,  
 a , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

iririšiksuhúru<sup>a</sup>  
 iriričikstuuhúruu'a  
 its having been that way  
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- raa.uhur- uu -a  
 that ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR way be SUB.1

kúrahus  
 kúrahus  
 the old men

kurahuus  
old.man

wirikuwakíhu ,  
wiri<sup>h</sup>kuwakíhu ,  
when they would say ,  
wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus ,  
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

“ Náwa  
“ Ráwa  
“ Now  
“ rawa  
“ now

witašihawíriku  
witaciihaawíriku'  
we'll be seeing things  
wii- ta- aciir- ut- raa- wa- iirik -:hus  
now IND.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV way DIST see IMPF

Wirikúkusiirahu  
wiri<sup>h</sup>kúkusiirahu  
when the herd is coming  
wii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- kusiir- a -hus  
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B group.to.run come IMPF.SUB

. " Hikúrahus  
. " Hi kúrahus  
. " And the old men  
. " hi kurahuus  
. " and old.man

hirutaráhukət<sup>n</sup> ,



hiru taaráhuukat ,  
 then they would go inside ,  
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- raar- huuk- at -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A into go PERF ,

hikúrahus  
 hi kúrahus  
 and the old men  
 hi kurahuus  
 and old.man

rutirúšja ,  
 ruutiirúci'a ,  
 then they did it ,  
 ruu- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ do PERF ,

ihipíraski<sup>i</sup>  
 ihi , piíraski  
 uh , boys  
 ihii , piiras- -kis  
 uh , boy DIM

rukspiwahət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 rukspíwaahat ,  
 where they were sitting about ,  
 ra- 0- uks- wi.hak -waa -0 ,  
 ABS 3.A AOR be.sitting.PL DIST SUB.4 ,

ahitíhwaki<sup>i</sup> kúrahus  
 a hi tíhwaki' kúrahus  
 and and they said the old men  
 a hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus  
 and and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man

, “ tíraaku  
 , “ Tíraaku  
 , “ This one  
 , “ tii- ra- 0- kus -0  
 , “ this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

kirakíriki síriritasiksu  
 kúra kíriki síriitaciksu'  
 let's see what He thinks of him

kira kirikii si- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- aciks -:hus  
 perhaps what DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV think.of IMPF

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>  
 Tiráwaahat  
 the Heavens  
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0  
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tiharáwahət<sup>n</sup>  
 Tihaaráwaahat  
 the Heavens  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0  
 this here ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

Kirahirurikusiiisutátət<sup>n</sup>  
 Kúra hiru rikúsi' isutaáttata  
 Perhaps then you will be the one if you take the pipe  
 kira hiruu riku- i- s- i- 0 -0 i- s- ut- haak- ra- at -a  
 perhaps then that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ be PERF CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV wood PORT go SUB.1

. "  
 . "  
 . "

. "

Náw<sup>a</sup> , tirátawi  
Ráwa , tiraátawi'  
Now , maybe  
rawa , ti- 0- raa- tawi -0  
now , IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF

nakuwíška<sup>a</sup> , " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
rakuwícka'a , " Ráwa  
when he wanted , " Now  
ra- 0- ku- wicka -a , " rawa  
INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 , " now

irikutihíhwiška<sup>a</sup> . "  
irikutihíhwicka' . "  
that is what they want . "  
iriku- tiir- ra- 0- ir- wicka -0 . "  
that.is INFR ABS 3.A PL.3A want PERF . "

Atiráruhakukítəs<sup>a</sup>

Atíra' raruhaakuukítasa  
Mother the one having the pipe lying on top  
ati- raa ra- 0- a- ri- uur- haak- huukita- sa -0  
1.POSS mother ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A wood on.top be.lying SUB.4

nutáwiskar<sup>u</sup> .  
rattaáwiskaaru' .  
pipe .  
rak.raawis.kaar- -u' .  
pipe NOM .

Hiruwitarahkáwarit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru witaaraahkáwarit  
 Then he filled it up  
 hiruu wi- ti- ar- raar- ka.warik -0  
 then QUOT IND.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF

kúrahus irirakukitáwi<sup>u</sup> .  
 kúrahus iriirakukitáwi'u .  
 old man the one who was leader .  
 kurahuus irii- ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u .  
 old.man that INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D .

Hirutihatúša

Hiru tahaattuúcaa'  
 Then he arose with the pipe  
 hiruu ti- 0- a- haak- ra- uca.a -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT get.up PERF

, hirupíraski<sup>i</sup>  
 , hiru píiraski  
 , then the boy  
 , hiruu piiras- -kis  
 , then boy DIM

irirakukáriku

iriirakuukáriku

where his lodge was

irii- ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0  
 where INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

kararakukapákisu

kararakuukaapaákisu

his not being poor

kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u  
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.poor SUB.D

arikuwítahátahukət<sup>n</sup>

a rikuwítahaáttahuukat

and that is where he took the pipe inside

a riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- haak- ra- huuk- at -0  
and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV wood PORT into go PERF

. Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
. Iraári' ,  
. Brother ,  
. i- -raar- -ri' ,  
. 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

awítahwítit<sup>n</sup>

a wítaahwítit

and he sat down

a wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.itik -0  
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV sit.down PERF

kúrahús . Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
kúrahús . Ráwa ,  
the old man . Now ,  
kurahuús . rawa ,  
old.man . now ,

iriríhku<sup>u</sup> , “ Náw<sup>a</sup>  
iriríhku'u , “ Ráwa  
whatever he is to him , “ Now  
irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- 0 -u , “ rawa  
what INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B be SUB.D , “ now

tatiškairatira

tatícka'

I want

íratiira

when I came

ta- t- wicka -0 ii- ra- t- ir- a -0  
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF when ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.3

iriwirirurašiksár<sup>a</sup>  
 iriwiriruuráciksaara  
 what they think of you

irii- wii- ra- 0- a- ir- a- ri- uur- aciks.aar -a  
 what now ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV consider SUB.1

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

iriwisirəturašiksara  
 iriwisiratuuráciksaara  
 what we think of you

irii- wii- si- ra- t- a- uur- aciks.aar -a  
 what now DU ABS 1.A 2.P PREV consider SUB.1

ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
 ákitaaru'  
 tribe  
 akitaar- -u'  
 tribe NOM

tiwirəšíhwari  
 tiwiracíhwari  
 when we go around

tii- wii- ra- aciir- warii -hus  
 here now ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ihi , ákitar<sup>u</sup>

ihi , ákitaaru'  
 uh , tribe  
 ihii , akitaar- -u'  
 uh , tribe NOM

rəskuksuhurukírawu .  
 raskuksuhuuruukíraawu .  
 for you to support me .  
 ra- s- ku- uks- uhur- raa.ikiraa.wuu -hus .  
 ABS 2.A 1.P JUSS now support IMPF.SUB .

"  
 "  
 "  
 "  
 "

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

rahirarahkutakúrikut<sup>n</sup>

ráhiira' raahkutaakuúrikut  
 sometimes when he takes the pipe  
 rahiira ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- haak- uurikuk -0  
 further INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV wood hold SUB.4

pířask<sup>i</sup> . Hikúrahus  
 pířaski . Hi kúrahus  
 a boy . And the old man  
 piiras- -kis . hi kurahuus  
 boy DIM . and old.man

tawaktikusišáka<sup>a</sup>

tawaktikusicáhka'a'

he comes through the village crying out

ti-	0-	a-	wak.rik	-hus	icahka-	a	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	cry.out	IMPF.SUB	village	come	PERF

,	“	Atiwiraráwisa						.
,	“	A	tiwiraraáwisa					.
,	“	And	now he has smoked					.
,	“	a	tii- wii- ra-	0-	raawis-	a	-0	.
,	“	and	this now ABS	3.A	smoke	eat	SUB.3	.

tiwiráháwis<sup>a</sup>

Tiwirahaáwisa

Now I have smoked

tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	raawis-	a	-0	.	“
here	now	ABS	1.A	smoke	eat	PERF	.	“

Irári<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

i-	-raar-	-ri'						,
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B						,

hiirutiwawáuririt<sup>n</sup>

hi iriruutiwaawaá'uuriirit

and then they stand all around

hi	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	waawa-	uuri.arik	-0
and	there	then	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	stand.upright	PERF

naripákusú

raaripákusú'

the soldiers



raa-	ri.apak	-hus	-u'
way	oppose.relinquishing	IMPF.SUB	NOM

tukuhawakararakút<sup>a</sup>  
 táku' hawá kararakuúta  
 no one else going

taku	haawa	kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	at	-a
someone	also	NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	go	SUB.1

hirátaku	.	Irár <sup>i</sup>				
hiirátaku	.	Iraári'				
over there	.	Brother				
hii-	ra-	-taku	.	i-	-raar-	-ri'
other	ABS	LOC	.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

, tárah<sup>a</sup>  
 , táraha'  
 , buffalo  
 , tarahaa  
 , buffalo

wirakukáriar<sup>a</sup>  
 wirakukári'aara  
 there being many

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	kari	-aar	-a
now	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.numerous	INCH	SUB.1

irirúrakutət<sup>n</sup>  
 iriruúakuutat  
 there where the village was

irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	itak	-0
where	there	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.a.camp	SUB.4

hitarahataráhwiš<sup>a</sup>

hi	táraha'	taraáhwica'					
and	buffalo	they came there					
hi	tarahaa	ti-	0-	a-	raar-	wic.a	-0
and	buffalo	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.INDV.A	arrive	PERF

.	Irár <sup>i</sup>					,
.	Iraári'					,
.	Brother					,
.	i-	-raar-		-ri'		,
.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B		,

Šápatkitu				pírəski	
cápaat	kítuu'u'			piíraski	
the women	all			boys	
icapaak	kituu	-u'		piiras-	-kis
woman	all	NOM		boy	DIM

tisiksarihúsuku									
tiiciksaariíhusuuku'									
they used to do it									
ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

nakuhukitaháwari									
rakuhuukitahaáwari									
to skate on the ice									
ra-	0-	ku-	huukita-	haa-	warii				-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	on.top	in.water	be.going.about.IMPF				IMPF.SUB

iririšiksawahihúsuku												
iriiriiciksáwaahiihusuku												
the way they used to do												
irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-waa	-i		-hus	-uku
that	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	DIST	IMPF.SUB		IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

pířaski ářapat<sup>n</sup>  
 piiraski a cápaat  
 boys and the women  
 piiras- -kis a icapaak  
 boy DIM and woman

rakisrikuháat<sup>a</sup>

rákis rihkuuhaá'ata  
 wood when they went after it  
 rak -kis ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.at -a  
 wood DIM INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV go.to.get SUB.1

, híkiři raripákusu  
 , hi kici raaripákusu'  
 , and but the soldiers  
 , hi kici raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 , and but way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

taruháhkawatət<sup>n</sup>

taruuhaáhkawatat .  
 they would get out .  
 ti- 0- ar- ut- raar- kawatak -0 .  
 IND.3A 3.A EV PREV PL.INDV.A get.out PERF .

Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hiruwirihkuhúraiwa

hiru wirihkuhurá'íwa  
 then when they came bringing it

hiruu	wii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ut-	huur.awi.a	-wa	-0
then	when	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	return.laden	DIST	SUB.3

šápat <sup>n</sup>	nák <sup>i</sup> s									
cápaat	rákis									
the women	wood									
icapaak	rak	-kis								
woman	wood	DIM								

hiraripákusu

hi	raaripákusu'									
and	the soldiers									
hi	raa-	ri.apak			-hus		-u'			
and	way	oppose.relinquishing			IMPF.SUB		NOM			

hitaráhwišət<sup>n</sup>

hi	taaráhwicat									
and	they arrived									
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	raar-	wic.at	-0				
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PL.INDV.A	arrive	PERF				

Atirurətaruwakatárák<sup>i</sup>

A	tiiruurattáruuwa									kaatáráki	
And	they would take them away from them									the axes	
a	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	uur-	ak-	raar-	ruu.war	-0	kaatara-	-kis
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	PL.AN.3P	3PL.INAN.P	take.away.DU	PERF	ax	DIM

.	Irár <sup>i</sup>									
.	Iraári'									
.	Brother									
.	i-	-raar-			-ri'					
.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling			3.POSS.B					

tiksiširarihusuku

tiksiciíraariihusuuku'  
they used to tease them

ti-	0-	ir-	uks-	iciira.aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	become.mischievous	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

nihkutár<sup>a</sup>  
rihkuutaára  
when they did it

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	aar	-a
INF.A3.A		PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	do	SUB.1

hitirakaskáruwət<sup>n</sup>

hi tiiraakaskáruuwat  
and they would take their moccasins off

hi	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ak-	as-	kawat	-ruu	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PL.AN.3P	foot	take.out	DIST	PERF

šápat <sup>n</sup>	,	asúrakata		əskiwarit <sup>u</sup>	.
cápaat	,	asúrahkata		askiwaritu'	.
the women	,	yellow moccasins		barefoot	.
icapaak	,	as.huur-	rahkataar	as- kiiwariit	-u'
woman	,	moccasin	be.yellow	foot naked	NOM

Aráhir <sup>a</sup>	,	ih	,
A ráhiira'	,	ih	,
And sometimes	,	uh	,
a rahiira	,	ihii	,
and further	,	uh	,

kararakukiríhkahur<sup>u</sup>  
kararakuukiríkaahuuru  
there being one who is mean

kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	kirik.kaa.huur	-u
NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	be.kind	SUB.D

naripákusu  
 raaripákusu'  
 a soldier

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

ararutarúhaskakət<sup>u</sup>

a raaruutaruuhaáskakat  
 and he would just cut her ropes

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- uur- haas- ka.ukac.k -0  
 and just then IND.3A 3.A EV POSS.P rope cut.up PERF

həskararíkaks<sup>u</sup> . Nək<sup>i</sup>sawas  
 haskararíkaaksu' . Rákis áwas  
 rawhide rope . Wood left behind  
 haas.kararikaaks -u' . rak -kis awas  
 rawhide.rope NOM . wood DIM left.behind

atirúriwik<sup>u</sup>

a tiiruúriwiiku  
 and it would be piled there

a ti- 0- a- ir- ar- ri- uur- riwii.kus -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.large.pile PERF

. Ahuskararíkaks<sup>u</sup>  
 . A haskararíkaaksu'  
 . And rawhide rope  
 . a haas.kararikaaks -u'  
 . and rawhide.rope NOM

nihkurakastarúwar<sup>a</sup>

rihkuurakaastarúwara

when they took the rope away from them

ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- haas- raar- ruu.war -a  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P rope PL take.away.DU SUB.1

ruhár<sup>u</sup>  
 ruuhaáru  
 their doing it

ra- 0- ut- raar -u  
 ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D

karaasihatiwaktawáriku  
 kara'asiihaattiiwaktawaáriku  
 so that the wood would not sound

kara- aa- s- i- haak- rii.waktaa.rik -waa -hus  
 NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ wood make.the.sound.of.an.impact DIST IMPF.SUB

, Nuhár<sup>u</sup> táraha  
 , ruuhaáru táraha'  
 , their doing it buffalo  
 , ra- 0- ut- raar -u tarahaa  
 , ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D buffalo

wirurakutahúhrawi  
 wiruurakuutahúrahwi  
 when they were close by

wii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- ta.hurah -wi  
 when then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.close.to SUB.L

irirətkurákitət<sup>n</sup>  
 iriirátkuraakitat  
 where we were camped

irii- ra- t- ku- rak- itak -0  
 where INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

Irár<sup>i</sup>

Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hiruatirarúwišpa

hiru a tiiraruúwicpaá'  
 then and they would take everything there  
 hiruu a ti- 0- a- ir- ar- raar- ruu- wic.a -wa -0  
 then and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive DIST PERF

naripákusu  
 raaripákusu'  
 the soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

irirakukáwi .

iriirakúkaawi .

where the lodge is .

irii- ra- 0- ku- akaa -wi .  
 where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Ahirurikutirarahúpa

A hiru rikutiiraráhuupa  
 And then that is where they would take them inside  
 a hiruu riku- ti- 0- ir- ar- raar- ra- huuk- war -0  
 and then that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P PORT into go.DU PERF

katáarak<sup>i</sup> , ahuskararíkuks<sup>u</sup>  
 kaatáaraki , a haskararíkaaksu'  
 the axes , and rawhide ropes  
 kaatara- -kis , a haas.kararikaaks -u'  
 ax DIM , and rawhide.rope NOM



aasurúšapat<sup>n</sup>

a asuúru' cápaat  
and moccasins the women  
a as.huur -u' icapaak  
and moccasin NOM woman

rirasuwúkuhu .

riirasuuwuúkuhu .

the moccasins they wear .

ra- 0- ir- as.uuk -waa -i -hus .  
ABS 3.A PL.3A wear.on.the.feet DIST SUB.2 IMPF.SUB .

Kararakutáhip<sup>i</sup>

Karakuutáhipi

One's not touching it

kara- ra- 0- ku- i- tahik -wi  
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ strike.with.an.object SUB.L

wituhá<sup>a</sup>

wituuhá'a

that is the reason

wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -'  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

hihítiraskaruúwæt<sup>n</sup>

hi hiitiraskaruúwat

and they took their moccasins off

hi hii- ti- 0- ir- as- kawat -ruu -0  
and other IND.3A 3.A PL.3A foot take.out DIST PERF

. Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
. Ráwa ,  
. Now ,

. rawa ,  
. now ,

hiruirirakúkawi

hiru irirakúkaawi

then where her lodge was

hiruu irii- ra- 0- ku- akaa -wi  
then where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hítahukat<sup>n</sup>

hi taáhuukat

and she would enter

hi ti- 0- ar- huuk- at -0  
and IND.3A 3.A EV into go PERF

hitáhwaku

hi taahwáku'

and she would say

hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0  
and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

Hirúkatáráki

Hiru kaatáráki

There the axe

hiruu kaatara- -kis  
there ax DIM

wisitíkurət<sup>n</sup>

wisitíkuurat

they have taken it from me

wii- si- ti- 0- ir- ku- uur- ra- at -0  
now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV PORT go PERF

naripákusú . "



. surúksaku  
 . Saruksaáku  
 . Give him the pipe  
 . i- s- ar- uks- haak- uh -0  
 . CONT.1/2A 2.A EV JUSS wood give PERF

naripákusu . "  
 raaripákusu' . "  
 the soldier . "  
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u' . "  
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM . "

Iripíræsk<sup>i</sup>  
 Iripíiraski  
 The boys  
 irii- piiras- -kis  
 that boy DIM

irahákuk<sup>i</sup>  
 írahaakuki  
 those of ours  
 ii- ra- t- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i  
 that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2

nætkuratarukitaháwari  
 ratkuraattaaruukitahaáwari  
 when we skated around on ice  
 ra- t- ku- rak- raar- huukita- haa- warii -hus  
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A on.top in.water be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

,  
 ,  
 ,

,  
,

nəkurápakaraiwari

ratkuraápakaara'iwari

when we were going around making noise

ra-	t-	ku-	rak-	wakaara	-wi	warii	-hus
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	be.noisy	SUB.L	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

Kitutatisukstakawahihúsuku

kítuu'u' taticukstaakáwaahiihúsuuku'

everything we used to do (ie play)

kituu	-u'	ta-	t-	ir-	ut-	uks-	rak-	aar	-waa	-i	:-hus	-uuku
all	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	do	DIST	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

. Nasít<sup>u</sup>

. Raasiítu'

. Ice

. raasit- -u'

. ice NOM

hitihutáiwu

hi tiihuhtá'iwu'

and he was sliding on it

hi	ti-	0-	uhuur-	tawii	wuu	:-hus
and	IND.3A	3.A	way	be.sloping.upward	go.IMPF	IMPF

pírəski

piíraski

a boy

piiras- -kis

boy DIM

hiraripákus

hi raaripákusu'  
 and the soldiers  
 hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

tahkíhawahət<sup>n</sup>  
 taahkiíhaahwaahat  
 they passed in groups  
 ti- 0- ar- kiihaar- waa- hak -0  
 IND.3A 3.A EV in.a.group DIST pass.by PERF

nakukurakaturiwirútit<sup>n</sup>  
 rakukuuraakaturiwíruutit  
 their blocking our path  
 ra- 0- ku- ku- uur- rak- hatuur- ri- wi.itik -ruu -0  
 INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B POSS.P 1/2.PL road PORT sit.down DIST SUB.4

. Hirawitakaráhisu  
 . Hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'  
 . And suddenly  
 . hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'  
 . and just now all.at.once NOM

tuhahkišpátpa  
 tuuhaahkiicpátpaa'  
 they came out of the brush  
 ti- 0- a- ut- raar- kiic.waat.a -wa -0  
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come.out.of.the.brush DIST PERF

, hitaturətúwaəs .  
 , hi taturaattuúwa'as .  
 , and we ran away .  
 , hi ta- t- uur- rak- ruu.wa.as-i -0 .  
 , and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL run.away PERF .

\	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irár <sup>i</sup>		,
\	Ráwa	,	iraári'		,
\	Now	,	brother		,
\	rawa	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'
\	now	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

nikutatišúkstakuhuru  
rikutaticukstaakuhúru'  
that is what we used to do

riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	ut-	uks-	rak-	uhuur.uu	-0
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	be.the.way.one.does	PERF

[]  
ratukstaákuriwaawi  
when we were living

ra-	t-	uks-	rak-	hurii	-waa	-wi
ABS	1.A	AOR	1/2.PL	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L

nikurətarəsawahət<sup>n</sup>  
rikuuraattarasáwaahat  
when we grew up

ri-	ku-	i-	rak-	raar-	rasahat	-waa	-0
CONT.3A	1.P	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.P	grow.up	DIST	SUB.4

.	Kitupírəsk <sup>i</sup>		
.	Kituu'u'	piiraski	
.	All	the boys	
.	kituu	-u'	piiras- -kis
.	all	NOM	boy DIM

atitətárurikut<sup>n</sup>  
a titattáruurikut  
and they caught them

a ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- raar- uurikuk -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P catch PERF

. Hitíhwaki , “  
 . Hi tíhwaki’ , “  
 . And they said , “  
 . hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , “  
 . and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “

Sukstapáuririt<sup>n</sup>

Sukstaapá'uuriirit

Stand still

i- s- uks- rak- wa- uuri.arik -0  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL DIST stand.upright PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

kakatarátahpirust<sup>a</sup>

Kaakaataraattaahpírusta

We are not going to whip you

kaaka- t- a- rak- raar- piru -:hus -ta  
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P 1/2.PL PL.INDV.P whip IMPF INT

. " Irári ,  
 . " Iraári’ ,  
 . " Brother ,  
 . " i- -raar- -ri’ ,  
 . " 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikutatišukstakuhúru



rikutatucukstaakuhúru'

those were our ways

riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uks-	rak-	uhuur.uu	-0
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	be.the.way.one.does	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hirusitirəsakúsit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru sitiiracakúsit

Then they took off their robes

hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	raar-	ta.kusik	-0
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	POSS.P	3PL.INAN.P	take.off	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

rusitirəšakúsit<sup>n</sup>

ruusitiiracakusit

then they took off their robes

ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	raar-	ta.kusik	-0
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	POSS.P	3PL.INAN.P	take.off	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hirusitikarušuhúra<sup>u</sup>

hiru	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ka-	ra.uc.wuh	-0	húraa'u'	
then	they	put	on	it				snow	
hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ka-	ra.uc.wuh	-0	huraa-	-u'
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	on	put.PL.OBJ	PERF	snow	NOM

niškúhkət <sup>n</sup>		harík <sup>i</sup> s	.	
ríckuhkat		hariík <sup>i</sup> s	.	
on the fur		calf (robe)	.	
ra.ickuur-	-kat	harii -kis	.	
animal.fur	LOC	calf DIM	.	

Hirútiwaku					,	“	Náw <sup>a</sup>
Hiru	tiwáku'				,	“	Ráwa
Then	he	said			,	“	Now
hiruu	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	“	rawa
then	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,	“	now

siwitisukstawi <sup>h</sup> urət <sup>n</sup>							.
siwitisukstaawi <sup>h</sup> urat							.
you (du) wrestle							.
si-	witi-	i-	s-	uks-	taawihurahk	-0	.
DU	REFL	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	wrestle	PERF	.

"	Pírask <sup>i</sup>	
"	Píiraski	
"	Boys	
"	piiras-	-kis
"	boy	DIM

asiwítítawihurət <sup>n</sup>							.
a	siwítitaawíhuurat						.
and	they (du)	threw	each	other	down		.

a si- witi- ti- 0- taawihurahk -0 .  
 and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A wrestle PERF .

Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

akišisiwitiitirahurakáwari

a kici siwitiitirahuraakáwari'  
 and but they rolled around together on the snow  
 a kici si- witi- ti- 0- raar- huraa- ka- warii -:hus  
 and but DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A snow on be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. siwitikarakútik<sup>u</sup>  
 . Siwitikarakuútik<sup>u</sup>  
 . They were not fighting  
 . si- witi- ka- ra- 0- kuut.ik -:hus  
 . DU REFL NEG ABS 3.A beat IMPF

kisirarusirakukusísari

kici raarusirakuukusísaari  
 but their (du) just playing  
 kici raa- ruu- si- ra- 0- ku- i- kusion.aar -i  
 but just then DU INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ play IMPF.SUB

, híkiwaritusiti<sup>a</sup> .  
 , hi kíiwariitu' síti'a .  
 , and naked they (du) were .  
 , hi kíiwariit -u' si- ti- 0- aah -0 .  
 , and naked NOM DU IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Hirusitirušíšahuk<sup>i</sup>

Hiru	sitiirúcit						cahuúki	
Then	they	picked	them	up			robes	
hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ruuci.ik	-0	cahuu	-kis
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	pick.up	PERF	robe	DIM

naripákus <sup>u</sup>							,
raaripákus <sup>u</sup>							,
the	soldiers						,
raa-	ri.apak			-hus	-u'		,
way	oppose.relinquishing			IMPF.SUB	NOM		,

asitirahwítatit <sup>n</sup>							
a	sitirahwítatit						
and	they	put	them	on	them		
a	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	witak.rik	-0
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	put.over.someone's.shoulders	PERF

,	hihúra <sup>u</sup>						
,	hi	húraa'u'					
,	and	snow					
,	hi	huraa-	-u'				
,	and	snow	NOM				

rusitátaris							.
ruusitaátaris							.
they	were	heavy	with	it			.
ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	a-	taris	-0	.
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	be.heavy	PERF	.

Ararutikišáiwa							
A	raaruutikictá'iwa						
And	then	water	just	ran	down	them	
a	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kiic.tawi.war	-0	
and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	water.to.run.down.DU	PERF	

wirarusirakuwárik<sup>i</sup>  
wiraaruusirakuwaárik<sup>i</sup>  
while they just stood there  
wii- raa- ruu- si- ra- 0- ku- wa- arik -i  
when just then DU INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.standing SUB.2

. Hirútiwaku  
. Hiru tiwáku'  
. Then he said  
. hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0  
. then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hírariki , "  
híraariki , "  
another , "  
hii- ra- 0- arik -i , "  
other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , "

Sík<sup>sa</sup><sup>a</sup> . "  
Sík<sup>sa</sup>' . "  
Come . "  
i- s- ir- uks- a -0 . "  
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS come PERF . "

Hirútirisparauš  
Hiru sitirispaára'uc  
Then they laid him down on his back  
hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- i- aspaara- uc -0  
then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ on.one's.back lay.SG.P PERF

.  
.  
.

.  
.  
Akišihitahatukitahaiwáriku

A kici tihtaatuukitaha'iwáriku'

And but they were causing him to slide on his back

a kici ti- 0- ir- taat- huukita- ha- -wi war -ik -:hus  
and but IND.3A 3.A PL.3A back on.top in.water SUB.L go.DU CAUS IMPF

. Árahit<sup>n</sup> tíhkiša

. A raáhiirit tíkica

. And finally there was water

. a raahiirit ti- 0- kica -0  
. and finally IND.3A 3.A be.watery PERF

irihkutahatukitahaiwáriku

irihkutaatuukitaha'iwáriku

where he was being dragged on his back

irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- taat- huukita- ha- -wi war -ik -hus  
where INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B back on.top in.water SUB.L go.DU CAUS IMPF.SUB

.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
Náw<sup>a</sup> , híhaw<sup>a</sup> rútiwaku

Ráwa , hi haáwa' ruutiwáku'

Now , and also then he said

rawa , hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- waka'u -0  
now , and also then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hirakúriki , “ Náw<sup>a</sup>

hiirakuúriki , “ Ráwa  
 another one , “ Now  
 hii- ra- 0- ku- arik -i , “ rawa  
 other INF.A 3.A INF.B be.standing SUB.2 , “ now

sisikspa  
 sisíkspaa'  
 you (du) come  
 si- i- s- ir- uks- wa- a -0  
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS DIST come PERF

, hisírəsparik<sup>i</sup> . "  
 , hiisíraspaariki . "  
 , you (du) others . "  
 , hii- si- ra- s- wa- arik -i . "  
 , other DU ABS 2.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 . "

#### Hirusitišíksurikət<sup>n</sup>

Hiru sitiicíksuurikut  
 Then they caught them (du)  
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uurikuk -0  
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR catch PERF

. hírariki  
 . Híraariki  
 . Another  
 . hii- ra- 0- arik -i  
 . other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

hítiwaku , “ Arísit<sup>n</sup>  
 hi tiwáku' , “ Ariísit  
 and he said , “ Yourselves  
 hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , “ ariisit  
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , “ one's.own

siwitišukstahúru  
 siwitiisicukstahúru'  
 do it to yourselves (du)

si-	witi-	i-	s-	ir-	ut-	uks-	rahur.ra'uk	-0
DU	REFL	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	JUSS	do.to	PERF

. " Arísít pířask<sup>i</sup>  
 . " Ariísit piíraski  
 . " Themselves the boys  
 . " ariísit piiras- -kis  
 . " one's.own boy DIM

siwitrakuhahúruku  
 siwitrakuuhahúruuku  
 their doing it to themselves

si-	witi-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	rahur.ra'uk	-hus
DU	REFL	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	do.to	IMPF.SUB

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hititikstáruurikət<sup>n</sup>

Hi tiicikstáruurikut

And they held his hands

hi	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	iks-	raar-	uurikuk	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	hand	PL	hold	PERF

,  
 ,  
 ,



,  
,

atírikstarakus

a tírikstaarakus

and they put his hands in the water

a ti- 0- ir- iks- raar- ha- kus.k -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A hand PL in.water put PERF

. Arahirit<sup>n</sup> títawi

. A raáhiirit títawi'

. And finally he was among them

. a raahiirit ti- 0- tawi -0

. and finally IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

nəkuwakaráhkaəs .

rakuwakaráhka'as .

his crying .

ra- 0- ku- wakaraar- kaas -0 .  
INF.A 3.A INF.B voice break SUB.4 .

Hirutirihuráhət<sup>n</sup> .

Hiru tirihuráhat .

Then he turned him loose .

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- uhur.ra.hak -0 .  
then IND.3A 3.A OBV SEQ turn.loose PERF .

Híkišihaw<sup>a</sup>

Hi kici haáwa'

And but also

hi kici haawa

and but also

irirakušuksakikstárahət<sup>n</sup>

iriirakuucukstaakikstaárahut

the one who held his hands

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	uks-	rak-	iks-	raar-	ahuk	-0
that	ABS	3.A	1.P	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	hand	PL	hold	SUB.4

hikiširusitišikstáurikət<sup>n</sup>

hi kici ruusitiicikstáruurikut  
and but then they held his hands

hi	kici	ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	iks-	raar-	uurikuk	-0
and	but	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	hand	PL	hold	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hawárusitirikstara<sup>i</sup>

hawá ruusitiirikstaára'i  
also then they put his hands in water

haawa	ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	iks-	raar-	ha.iir	-0
also	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	hand	PL	put.in.water	PERF

nəkuhurakíšuhət<sup>n</sup>

rakuuhúraakiicuhat

where the snow water extends

ra-	0-	ku-	i-	huraa-	kiic-	u.hak	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	snow	water	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

nəkukišukitaháwari

rakukicuukitahaáwari

where the water is on top of the ice

ra-	0-	ku-	kiic-	huukita-	haa-	warii				-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	water	on.top	in.water	be.going.about.IMPF				IMPF.SUB

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Nikutatišukstakuhúruæt<sup>n</sup>

Rikutatucukstaakuhúruu'ut

That is what used to be our way

riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uks-	rak-	uhuur-	uu	-uk	-0
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	way	be	DIST	PERF

,	irár <sup>i</sup>								.
,	iraári'								.
,	brother								.
,	i-	-raar-		-ri'					.
,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B					.

Irár <sup>i</sup>						,	ákitar <sup>u</sup>		
Iraári'						,	ákitaaru'		
Brother						,	the tribe		
i-	-raar-		-ri'			,	akitaar-	-u'	
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			,	tribe	NOM	

nakúwaritirətpišihí<sup>u</sup>

rakúwari

when it went about

tiratpiciíhi'u

when I was wintry

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus tii- ra- t- pici.ihí -u  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB when ABS 1.A be.winter SUB.D

a  
 a  
 and  
 a  
 and

kakuksrarurakúwari  
 kaakúks raaruurakuúwari  
 one could not just go anywhere

kaaki- 0- uks- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- warii -hus  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A AOR be PERF just then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, ihí , šáhíks  
 , ihí , cáhíks  
 , uh , a person  
 , ihii , icaahíks  
 , uh , person

narurakúwari  
 raaruurakuúwari  
 when one just went about

raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- warii -hus  
 just then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, parís<sup>u</sup> .  
 , paariisu' .  
 , a hunter .  
 , paariis- -u' .  
 , hunter NOM .

Kakuksrarurakúwari

Kaakúks raaruurakuúwari

One could not just go anywhere

kaaki-	0-	uks-	0	-0	raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	warii	-hus
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be	PERF	just	then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

kištíkuš<sup>u</sup>

kictíkucu'

far off

kii.ac.ri -kucuu

far AUG

Nakúharu

rakuúhaaru

his doing it

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar	-u	tárahá
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be.the.cause	SUB.D	tárahá'
						buffalos
						tarahaa
						buffalo

níhkuhašikstawi

rihkuuhaacíkstawi

when they are watching

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raa.aciks.ta	-wi
INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	PREV	be.watchful	SUB.L

naripákus<sup>u</sup>

raaripákusu'

the soldiers

raa-	ri.apak	-hus	-u'
way	oppose.relinquishing	IMPF.SUB	NOM

nakúhuriwaw<sup>i</sup>

rakuhúriiwaawi

when they are around

ra-	0-	ku-	hurii	-waa	-wi	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L	.

Nikutihikusukstatuhuhkawákaru

Rikutiihikucukstaattuuhuhkawaákaru'

That is what He must have planned for us

riku-	tiir-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	uks-	rak-	raa.uhur-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0
that.is	INFR	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	AOR	1/2.PL	way	make.DIST	PERF

,	irá <i>r</i> <sup>i</sup>									,
,	iraá <i>r</i> '									,
,	brother									,
,	i-	-raar-		-ri'						,
,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B						,

tiráwahət

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

tii-	ra-	0-	waa-	ahak	-0
this	ABS	3.A	DIST	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

tirátpawakahu

tiratpaawaákahu

what I am saying

tii-	ra-	t-	waa-	waaka	-hus	.
this	ABS	1.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	.

Nikutihikuhatuhuhkáru

Rikutiihikuuhaattuhuhkáru'

That is what he must have planned for us

riku-	tiir-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	rak-	raa.uhur-	ka.ra'uk	-0
that.is	INFR	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	1/2.PL	way	make.PL.P	PERF

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

. “  
. “  
. “

tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 . “  
 this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUBJ.4 . “

Kiširikuásut<sup>a</sup> ,

Kici riku'ásuuta ,  
 But that you be thus ,  
 kici riku- aa- s- ut- aar -0 ,  
 but that.is SUBJ.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF ,

ákitar<sup>u</sup> áspari  
 ákitaaru' áaspari  
 the tribe that you go about  
 akitaar- -u' aa- s- warii -hus  
 tribe NOM SUBJ.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, hiraripákusu  
 , hi raaripákusu'  
 , and the soldiers  
 , hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 , and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

tíwawarit<sup>n</sup>

tíwaawaarit  
 they stand about (ie posted)  
 ti- 0- waawa- arik -0  
 IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF

Awitnarukaraasitahuriwáwi

áwit raaruukara'asittáhuriiwaawi  
 first that you should not chase them  
 awit raa- ruu- kara- aa- s- i- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi  
 first just then NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

. " wituharáihk<sup>u</sup>

. " Wituuhaará'ihku'  
. " It means  
. " wi- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus  
. " QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

awitnarukaraasitahuriwáwi

áwit raaruukara'asittáhuriiwaawi  
first that you should not chase them

awit raa- ruu- kara- aa- s- i- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi  
first just then NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

táraha .  
táraha' .  
buffalos .  
tarahaa .  
buffalo .

Awitnakutáhuriwawi

Áwit rakuttáhuriiwaawi  
First if one chases them

awit ra- 0- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi  
first INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, irá<sup>i</sup> ,  
, iráari' ,  
, brother ,  
, i- -raar- -ri' ,  
, 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

asiwítihkutuš

a siwítihkuutuc  
and they whipped him severely

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.uc -0  
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip.severely PERF



,  
,  
,  
,  
,

asiwirutirakapápit<sup>n</sup>

a siwitiiruhtiraákapaapit

and they broke his bow and arrows

a	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	tiraak-	apic.k	-waa	-0
and	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.1/2A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	bow	break	DIST	PERF

kítu	.
kítuu'u'	.
all	.
kituu -u'	.
all NOM	.

Nikutihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

Rikutihwakí'aahu'

That is what they say

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-.hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF

awitnakurəsihítika

áwit rakuurasihittika

first when one ran his (horse)

awit	ra-	0-	ku-	uur-	as-i	-hik.rik	-a	.
first	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	run	CAUS	SUB.1	.

\	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irár <sup>i</sup>	,
\	Ráwa	,	iraári'	,
\	Now	,	brother	,

\ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

wisirikurarahurirúhš<sup>u</sup>

wisirihkuuraarahurirúhci'u

when they killed a great number

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raar- rahur- riruhci -u  
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P do be.numerous SUB.D

táraha ,  
 táraha' ,  
 buffalos ,  
 tarahaa ,  
 buffalo ,

wisirihkurətahurirúhš<sup>u</sup>

wisirihkuurattahurirúhci'u

when they took a huge number

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- rahur- riruhci -u  
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P do be.numerous SUB.D

, nihkukawútik<sup>u</sup>

, rihkukawuúniku

, when they were killing them

, ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus  
 , INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB

hiwiturarisahiruhš<sup>i</sup>

hi wituraariisahíruhci'

and there was a large number of them

hi wi- ti- 0- uur- raar- riisat riruhci -0  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.large be.numerous PERF

níškus<sup>u</sup> .

ríckuusu' .  
 skins .  
 ickus- -u' .  
 skin NOM .

Awitirakarahkátatut<sup>n</sup>

A witiraakaraahkátatut  
 And they put up a shelter  
 a wi- ti- 0- ir- akaar- raar- katatuhk -0  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A dwelling PL line PERF

, hiarusá  
 , hi aruúsa'  
 , and the horses  
 , hi aruusaa  
 , and horse

nikutirahkáwa .  
 rikutiraahkáwa .  
 that is where they were inside .  
 riku- ti- 0- raar- ka -waa -0 .  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.in DIST PERF .

\ Náv<sup>a</sup> , irar<sup>i</sup> , hi  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' , hi  
 \ Now , brother , and  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' , hi  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and

atíkarətíriirikstapíwahət<sup>n</sup>

atíka' ratiriirikstaapíwaahat  
 grandmothers the ones of mine that used to be  
 ati- kaa ra- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- rak- wi.hak -waa -0  
 1.POSS grandmother ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL DIST SUB.4

,	hirútiwaku	,	“	Náwa <sup>a</sup>	,
,	hiru tiwáku’	,	“	Ráwa	,
,	then she said	,	“	Now	,
,	hiruu ti- 0- waka’u -0	,	“	rawa	,
,	then IND.3A 3.A say PERF	,	“	now	,

hirukišikušuhurára

hiru	kici	kucuuhuuráaa’											
then	but	bring them to me at last											
hiruu	kici	i-	s-	ir-	ku-	ut-	i-	uhur-	raar-	ra-	a	-0	
then	but	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PREV	SEQ	finally	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	PERF	

kīs <sup>u</sup>	.	Tutatáihku											
kiisu’	.	Tuutattá’ihku’											
bones	.	She meant them											
kiis	-u’	ti-	0-	ut-	ak-	ra’ihk	-:hus						
bone	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	mean	IMPF						

rířtak <sup>u</sup>	.	Náwa <sup>a</sup>	,
riřtaaku’	.	Ráwa	,
backbones	.	Now	,
riřtaak-	-u’	rawa	,
back	NOM	now	,

atətiraráah<sup>u</sup>

a	tatirará’aahu’												
and	I brought them												
a	ta-	t-	ir-	raar-	ra-	a	-:hus						
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	IMPF						

rířtak <sup>u</sup>	.	Na	,
riřtaaku’	.	Ra’	,
backbones	.	Now	,

rictaak- -u' . rawa ,  
 back NOM . now ,

hirútiwaku , “  
 hiru tiwáku' , “  
 then she said , “  
 hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , “  
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , “

hirukəskušihákta

Hiru kaskucihaáktaa'

Then you must bring me a stick

hiruu kaas- s- ir- ku- ut- i- haak- ra- a -0  
 then POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PREV SEQ wood PORT come PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Witatútkispisust<sup>a</sup>

Witatútkiispíisusta

I am going to pound the bones for you

wii- ta- t- a- ut- kiis- wa.is -:hus -ta  
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN bone pound IMPF INT

. "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "

Náw<sup>a</sup> ,

Ráwa ,  
 Now ,  
 rawa ,  
 now ,

hirikutatútanətihku háta<sup>a</sup>

hi	rikutatuúta							ratihkuhaátta'a							
and	that is what I did							my bringing the stick							
hi	riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	aar	-0		ra-	t-	ir-	ku-	haak-	ra-	a	-0
and	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	do	PERF		INF.A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	INF.B	wood	PORT	come	SUB.3

nətkukistarukitáwuhu  
 ratkukiistaaruukitáwuhu  
 for me to put the bones on top

ra-	t-	ku-	kiis-	raar-	huukita-	wuh	-hus
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	bone	PL	on.top	put	IMPF.SUB

.	Irár <sup>i</sup>						,
.	Iraári'						,
.	Brother						,
.	i-	-raar-		-ri'			,
.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			,

wirikutahapakíah<sup>u</sup>  
 wirikutahapakí'aahu'  
 that is what we say

wii-	riku-	ta-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus
now	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF

kišáhit <sup>u</sup>	.	"
kiicáhihtu'	.	"
bone grease	.	"
kiic- ahiht	-u'	.
liquid grease	NOM	.

wirikutatuhukst<sup>a</sup>

Wirikutatuuhúksta

Now that is what I am going to make for you

wii-	riku-	ta-	t-	a-	ut-	ra'uk	-his	-ta
now	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	BEN	make	PERF	INT

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Atikárikutiwakah<sup>u</sup>

Atíka'

rikutiwákaahu'

My grandmother

that is what she said

ati-	kaa	riku-	ti-	0-	waka	-:hus
1.POSS	grandmother	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	say.IMPf	IMPf

. " Witətuhúkst<sup>a</sup>

. " Witatuuhúksta

. " Now I am going to make it for you

. "	wii-	ta-	t-	a-	ut-	ra'uk	-his	-ta
. "	now	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	BEN	make	PERF	INT

kišáhit<sup>u</sup>

rəskurah<sup>a</sup>

kiicáhihtu'

raskúraaha

bone grease

for you to have

kiic-	ahiht	-u'	ra-	s-	ku-	raah	-a	,
liquid	grease	NOM	INF.A	2.A	INF.B	have	SUB.1	,

" Wirakurakatárihur<sup>u</sup>

" wirakuraakatárihuuru

" when there were many

" wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- kata.rihur -u  
 " when INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.wide SUB.D

sirihkukúniku tárah<sup>a</sup>  
 sirihkukuúniku táraha'  
 their killing buffalos  
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut.ik -hus tarahaa  
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill IMPF.SUB buffalo

. Náwa ,  
 . Ráwa ,  
 . Now ,  
 . rawa ,  
 . now ,

hiatikairirutikispišusítit<sup>n</sup>

hi atíka' iriruutikiispišusitit  
 and my grandmother thereupon she began breaking up the bones  
 hi ati- kaa irii- ruu- ti- 0- kiis- wa.is -:hus -itik  
 and 1.POSS grandmother then then IND.3A 3.A bone pound IMPF INCH

. Tisakúhkari  
 . Tisakúhkari'  
 . It was many days  
 . ti- 0- sakur- kari -0  
 . IND.3A 3.A day be.numerous PERF

atikarakukispísu

atíka' rakúkiispisu  
 my grandmother her pounding the bones  
 ati- kaa ra- 0- ku- kiis- wa.is -hus  
 1.POSS grandmother INF.A 3.A INF.B bone pound IMPF.SUB

, hikírikupitkuwitirihəš



,	hi	kíriku'	pítku	wítiriihac				
,	and	perhaps	two	she finished				
,	hi	kirikuu	pitku	wi-	ti-	0-	riihac	-0
,	and	anything	two	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	finish	PERF

kiśáhit <sup>u</sup>		.
kiicáhihtu'		.
bone grease		.
kiic-	ahiht	-u'
liquid	grease	NOM

Irári <sup>i</sup>		,
Iraári'		,
Brother		,
i-	-raar-	-ri'
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

titahakítaw <sup>i</sup>		.		
titahakítaw <sup>i</sup> '		.		
it is delicious		.		
ti-	0-	taha-	kita.wi	-0
IND.3A	3.A	flavor	be.the.leader	PERF

Tahapakíah <sup>u</sup>		,	ihí	,
Tahapaki'aahu'		,	ihí	,
We say		,	uh	,
ta-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus
IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF
			,	uh

kiskís <sup>u</sup>		.
kiiskíicu'		.
bone liquid		.
kiis-	kiic	-u'
bone	liquid	NOM

Tirahápakihu

Tirahápakihu

This that we say

tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-hus
this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

kiskĩš <sup>u</sup>	,
kiiskiícu'	,
bone liquid	,
kiis- kiic -u'	,
bone liquid NOM	,

kisúrikutíit <sup>n</sup>								tárahá
kiísu'		rikutí'it						tárahá'
bones		they are the ones						buffalo
kiis -u'	riku-	ti-	0-	0	-ik	-0		tarahaa
bone NOM	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	DIST	PERF		buffalo

tirakistahkátus	.
tirakiistahkátus	.
these bones spread out	.
tii- ra- kiis- raar- katuus -0	.
this ABS bone PL be.flat SUB.4	.

Nihkukispísu

Rihkukiispísu

One's pounding bones

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kiis-	wa.is	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	bone	pound	IMPF.SUB

nikutuharáihk <sup>u</sup>	.	A	,
rikutuhaará'ihku'	.	A	,
that is what she meant	.	And	,

riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus . a ,  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . and ,

irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 iraári' ,  
 brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kišiatik<sup>a</sup>  
 kici atíka'  
 but my grandmother  
 kici ati- kaa  
 but 1.POSS grandmother

nikətituhúru  
 rikutiituhúru'  
 that is their way  
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- uhuur.uu -0  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.way.one.does PERF

šúst<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup> ,  
 cústit .  
 the old women .  
 custit .  
 old.woman .

nikutituhúruhaw<sup>a</sup>  
 Rikutiituhúru' haáwa'  
 That was their way also  
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- uhuur.uu -0 haawa  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.way.one.does PERF also

atikíspawis<sup>u</sup> .

a tikiís paawiisu' .  
 and one pounds the bones .  
 a ti- 0- kiis- waa- wa.is -:hus .  
 and IND.3A 3.A bone DIST pound IMPF .

Kitutirapahikskískæs<sup>a</sup>

Kítuu'u' tirapaahikskískasa  
 All this throat cartilage  
 kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- paahiks- kiis- ka- sa -0  
 all NOM this ABS 3.A throat bone in be.lying SUB.4

, ihi , táraha  
 , ihi , táraha'  
 , uh , buffalo  
 , ihii , tarahaa  
 , uh , buffalo

hiruatirahwarukítu

hiru a tiráhwaaru kítuu'u'  
 then and she blew them all  
 hiruu a ti- 0- raar- waarur-i -0 kituu -u'  
 then and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P blow PERF all NOM

paahíkskis<sup>u</sup> . Akikiśáhit<sup>u</sup>  
 paahíkskiisu' . Aki kiicáhihtu'  
 throat cartilage . And here bone grease  
 paahiks- kiis- -u' . a- ki kiic- ahiht -u'  
 throat bone NOM . and there liquid grease NOM

nikutihkiškawawárikust<sup>a</sup>

rikutihkickawaawárikusta  
 that is what they are going put into it  
 riku- ti- 0- ir- kiic- ka.warik -waa -:hus -ta  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A liquid put.in DIST IMPF INT

. Kiturihkuwáki<sup>a</sup>  
. Kítuu'u' rihkuwáki'a  
. All when they said  
. kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a  
. all NOM INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1

, “  
, “  
, “  
, “  
, “

Hirutirəsiřtarahístarit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tirasiriictaraahístarit

Then these intestines you are going to bring

hiruu tii- ra- s- ir- riic- raar- ra- a -his -ta -rit  
then this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A intestine PL PORT come PERF INT INT.SUB

kīsiwirikusitatuhúkst<sup>a</sup>

kici wirikusitatuuhúksta

but that is what we are now going to make for you

kici wii- riku- si- ta- t- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta  
but now that.is DU IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

nīšu ,  
riícu' ,  
intestine ,  
riic- -u' ,  
intestine NOM ,

Tirariřtahkawawi

tirariictaahkaawaawi

these intestines inside

tii-	ra-	0-	riic-	raar-	kaa	-waa	-wi
this	ABS	3.A	intestine	PL	be.inside	DIST	SUB.L

táraha .  
táraha' .  
buffalo .  
tarahaa .  
buffalo .

Nətkuriškarúwati ,  
Ratkuriickaruúwati ,  
When I took the intestine out ,  
ra- t- ku- riic- kawat -ruu -i ,  
INF.A 1.A INF.B intestine take.out DIST SUB.2 ,

irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
iraári' ,  
brother ,  
i- -raar- -ri' ,  
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

aratatiririštiwík<sup>u</sup>  
a raatatiriiriictíwiiku  
and I just had the intestines piled up  
a raa- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- riic- riwii.kus -0  
and just IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A intestine be.a.large.pile PERF

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hiiritutušihatšakátauš

Hi iriruutatucihaaccakáta'uc  
 And thereupon I put them on a stick  
 hi irii- ruu- ta- t- ut- i- haak- ca kata- uc -0  
 and then then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ wood be.upright against.a.vertical.surface lay.SG.P PERF

, irár<sup>i</sup> .  
 , iraári' .  
 , brother .  
 , i- -raar- -ri' .  
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B .

Arikutikutkarukúatika

A rikutikutkaruúku' atíka'  
 And that is what she made for me my grandmother  
 a riku- ti- 0- ku- ut- ka.ra'uk -:hus ati- kaa  
 and that.is IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN make.PL.P IMPF 1.POSS grandmother

, ihi , tihwakíah<sup>u</sup>  
 , ihi , tihwakí'aahu'  
 , uh , they say  
 , ihii , ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 , uh , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

nĩš<sup>u</sup>

riícu'

the intestine

riic- -u'

intestine NOM

akútiwət<sup>n</sup>

a kútiivaat  
 and it was long  
 a ku- ti- 0- i- waa- ak -0  
 and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

. Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Iraári' ,  
 . Brother ,  
 . i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hirutikušíkar<sup>u</sup>

hiru tikuucíkaru'  
 then she made it for me  
 hiruu ti- 0- ku- ut- i- ka.ra'uk -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ make.PL.P PERF

iriwirətkurarahístari<sup>n</sup>

iriwiratkuraraahístari<sup>t</sup>  
 the ones I was going to carry  
 irii- wii- ra- t- ku- raar- raah -his -ta -rit  
 that now INF.A 1.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P have PERF INT INT.SUB

atík<sup>a</sup> . Kirikupítku nīš<sup>u</sup>  
 atíka' . Kíríku' pítku riícu'  
 my grandmother . Perhaps two intestines  
 ati- kaa . kirikuu pitku riic- -u'  
 1.POSS grandmother . anything two intestine NOM

atikuritkátauš ,  
 a tikuurítkáta'uc ,  
 and she laid it over the fire for me ,  
 a ti- 0- ku- uur- itkata- uc -0 ,  
 and IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV by.a.fire lay.SG.P PERF ,

Nakukatárihuru  
 rakukatárihuuru  
 its being wide



ra- 0- ku- kata.rihur -u  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.wide SUB.D

asirakúrihuru .  
 a sirakúrihuuru .  
 and their (du) being big .  
 a si- ra- 0- ku- rihur -u .  
 and DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.big SUB.D .

Hirutikurišikatárikít<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tikuriicikataárikít  
 Then she patched it for me  
 hiruu ti- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- i- kata.arik -ihk -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ be.patched CAUS PERF

kirikutáraha ,  
 kiriiku' táraha' ,  
 an eye buffalo ,  
 kirik- -u' tarahaa ,  
 eye NOM buffalo ,

arikutikiritahkátasa

a rikutikirittaahkátasa  
 and that is what the eyes lined  
 a riku- ti- 0- kirik- raar- kata- sa -0  
 and that.is IND.3A 3.A eye PL against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF

, hiihi , kirikupahíkskis<sup>u</sup>  
 , hi , ihi , kíriku' paahíkskiisu'  
 , and , uh , perhaps throat cartilage  
 , hi , ihii , kirikuu paahiks- kiis- -u'  
 , and , uh , anything throat bone NOM

wirurutuširóšáku

wiru		ruutucíracaku							
there		then they hang							
wii-	ruu	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raar-	ta.kus	-0
now	there	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	PL.INDV.A	hang.down	PERF

ikárikət <sup>n</sup>		kišáhit <sup>u</sup>							
ikárikat		kiicáhihtu'							
in the middle		the bone grease							
iika.ri	-kat	kiic-	ahiht	-u'					
center	LOC	liquid	grease	NOM					

\	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irár <sup>i</sup>						
\	Ráwa	,	iraári'						
\	Now	,	brother						
\	rawa	,	i-	-raar-		-ri'			
\	now	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			

nikutatišukstakuhúru									
rikutatucukstaakuhúru'									
those were our ways									
riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uks-	rak-	uhuur.uu		-0	
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	be.the.way.one.does		PERF	

ákitar <sup>u</sup>									
ákitaaru'									
tribe									
akitaar-	-u'								
tribe	NOM								

tiratúkspari									
tiratúkspari									
this of mine that lived									
tii-	ra-	t-	uks-	warii		-hus			
when	ABS	1.A	AOR	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB			

ahíkura <sup>u</sup>							atíəs	
ahikúra'u							Atí'as	
when he made me							our Father	
ar-	ri-	0-	ku-	ra'uk	-0		ati-	as
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	make	SUB.3		1.POSS	father

tirakítak <sup>u</sup>								
tirakítaku								
this one above								
tii-	ra-	0-	kita-	kus	-0			
this	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.sitting	SUB.4			

ákitar <sup>u</sup>			Áhawiška <sup>a</sup>					,	“
ákitaaru'			Ahawicka'					,	“
the tribe			He thought					,	“
akitaar-	-u'		ar-	ra-	0-	wicka	-0	,	“
tribe	NOM		EV	ABS	3.A	think	PERF	,	“

tihásúkspari									
Tihaasúkspari'									
Live here									
tii-	haa-	i-	s-	uks-	warii			-:hus	
here	here	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	be.going.about.IMPF			IMPF	

hirutítaku								
hiru	tíitaku							
then	right here							
hiruu	tii-	-taku						
then	here	LOC						

tirahúrahš <sup>a</sup>								.
tirahúrahca								.
this earth								.

tii- ra- 0- huraa- sa -0 .  
 this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4 .

Iriratáwikukista<sup>a</sup>

I ríraatáwiikuukista

And the ways are going to be among you

i rii- 0- raa- tawi -ka'uk -his -ta  
 and ASSR 3.A way be.among DIST PERF INT

kítu . "  
 kítuu'u' . "  
 everything . "  
 kituu -u' . "  
 all NOM . "

\ Irári , ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
 \ Iraári' , ákitaaru'  
 \ Brother , tribe  
 \ i- -raar- -ri' , akitaar- -u'  
 \ 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , tribe NOM

tirátpari

tirátpari

when I went about

tii- ra- t- warii -hus  
 this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikutihikúharu

rikutihikuúhaaru'

that is the way he made for me

riku- tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0  
 that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN way make PERF

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

a



ákítar <sup>u</sup>	,	"	tíratku				
ákitaaru'	,	"	tíratku				
tribe	,	"	this one of mine				
akitaar-	-u'	,	tii-	ra-	t-	kus	-0
tribe	NOM	,	this	ABS	1.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

škiriákítar<sup>u</sup>

Ckíri	ákitaaru'		
Skiri	tribe		
ickirir	akitaar-	-u'	
Skiri	tribe	NOM	

tatuharáihk<sup>u</sup>

tatuuhaará'ihku'	.				
I mean it	.				
ta-	t-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	:-hus	.
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	.

Irári<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'	,		
Brother	,		
i-	-raar-	-ri'	,
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

tukstarihú<sup>u</sup>

tukstaárihu'u	pírask <sup>i</sup>	,						
it was important	piíraski	,						
	a boy	,						
ti-	0-	uks-	raa-	rihur	-'	piiras-	-kis	,
IND.3A	3.A	AOR	way	be.big	EX	boy	DIM	,

pirəskirakurəsaĥātu

piíraski	rakurásahatu	,
a boy	when he was growing up	,

piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus ,  
 boy DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB ,

rurakurakáwitat<sup>a</sup>

ruurakuuraakáwitaata

when he did displeasing things

ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- raa- kawitaat -a  
 then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ way be.disagreeable SUB.1

piranisaruráku<sup>u</sup>

piiráriisaaru' ráku'u .  
 a chief's child his being .  
 piira- riisaar- -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .  
 child chief NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Hitíhwaki , “  
 Hi tíhwaki' , “  
 And they said , “  
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , “  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “

tiharakupíræsk<sup>i</sup>

Tiháraaku piíraski  
 This one boy  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 piiras- -kis  
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 boy DIM

kakírapa<sup>a</sup>

kaakírapaa'a

it is not hidden

kaaki- 0- raa- raa.apaar -'  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.hidden EX

iriwirutasiksú<sup>a</sup>

iriwiruutaciksuú'a	.	"
what he thinks	.	"
irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- aciks.uu -a	.	"
what now ABS 3.A PREV think SUB.1	.	"

Áka<sup>a</sup> ,  
Aáka'a ,  
Oh my ,  
aaka'a ,  
oh.my ,

Kitutaruratapírihurit<sup>n</sup>

kítuu'u'		taruurattaapírihuurit									
all		he loves them									
kituu -u'	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	ak-	raapi.rihur	-ik	-0		
all NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	PL.AN.3P	value	DIST	PERF		

píraski		rarasáhatu				
piíraski		rarasáhatu				
boys		when he is growing up				
piiras- -kis	ra-	0-	rasahat	-hus		
boy DIM	ABS	3.P	grow.up	IMPF.SUB		

rarasáhatu	.
rarasáhatu	.
when he is growing up	.
ra- 0- rasahat -hus	.
ABS 3.P grow.up IMPF.SUB	.

Hitírasahət <sup>n</sup>					píraski	
Hi tírasahat					piíraski	
And he grew up					the boy	
hi ti- 0- rasahat -0					piiras- -kis	
and IND.3A 3.P grow.up PERF					boy DIM	



isiritárarutik<sup>u</sup>

isiirit	a	raarutiiku							
prominently	and	he just lived							
isii.rik	a	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kus	-0		
in.plain.sight	and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting	PERF		

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

isiritárarutik<sup>u</sup>

Isiirit	a	raarutiiku							
Prominently	and	he just lived							
isii.rik	a	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kus	-0		
in.plain.sight	and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting	PERF		

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

širukararakuharáriku

Ciru	kararakuuhaaráriku								
Yet	when he was not married								
ciruu	kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	haa-	raar-	ri-	kus	-0
yet	NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	child	PL	PORT	be.sitting	SUB.4

, hi  
, hi  
, and

, hi  
, and

isiritwírarutik<sup>u</sup>

isiirit           wiraarútiiku  
prominently   now he just lived  
isii.rik       wii-   raa-   ruu-   ti-       0-   kus       -0  
in.plain.sight   now   just   then   IND.3A   3.A   be.sitting   PERF

. Kararakukapákis<sup>u</sup>

. Kararakuukaápaakisu

. His not being poor

. kara-   ra-       0-   ku-       kaapaakis   -u  
. NEG   INF.A   3.A   INF.B   be.poor   SUB.D

nákuhar<sup>u</sup>

rakuúhaaru

its being the reason

ra-       0-       ku-       ut-       raar       -u  
INF.A   3.A   INF.B   PREV   be.the.cause   SUB.D

Nakurúwihæt<sup>n</sup>

raakurúhwihat

his having them

ra-       0-       a-       ku-       ri-       uur-       wi.hak       -0  
INF.A   3.A   POSS.3A   INF.B   PHYS.POSS   POSS.A   be.sitting.PL   SUB.4

híast<sup>i</sup>

á

hí'aasti'

a

his father

and

i-

as

-ri'

a

3.POSS.A

father

3.POSS.B

and

ísast<sup>i</sup>

,

isaásti' ,  
 his mother ,  
 i- saas -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B ,

Nakurúwihət<sup>n</sup>

raakurúhwihat

his having them

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- wi.hak -0  
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

itáh<sup>a</sup> .

itaáhi' .

his sisters .

i- -taat- -ri' .  
 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B .

Hiisiritwírarutik<sup>u</sup>

Hi isiírit wíraarutiiku

And prominently now he just lived

hi isii.rik wii- raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0  
 and in.plain.sight now just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 Now , brother ,  
 rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hirutáhwiška ,  
 hiru taáhwicka' ,  
 then he thought ,  
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF ,

wirarihášara pířask<sup>i</sup> ,  
 wirariihácaara piíraski ,  
 when he had matured the boy ,  
 wii- ra- 0- riihac -aar -a piiras- -kis ,  
 when ABS 3.A finish INCH SUB.1 boy DIM ,

“ kiratiháituta  
 “ Kíra tihaá'ituuta  
 “ I think I'll do this  
 “ kira tii- haa- i- t- ut- aar -0  
 “ perhaps this here CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF

. "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "

#### Taraháiratiruruksuriwawi

Tárahá' iratiruruksuriíwaawi  
 Buffalos those I used to have going about  
 tarahaa ii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- uks- hurii -waa -wi  
 buffalo that ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, atíəs  
 , Atí'as  
 , our Father

, ati- as  
 , 1.POSS father

ahikutkára<sup>u</sup> .  
 ahikutkára'u .  
 the ones he made for me .  
 ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- ka.ra'uk -0 .  
 EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN make.PL.P SUB.3 .

Hitarahatáhkutit<sup>n</sup>  
 Hi táraha' taáhkuitit  
 And a buffalo he would kill  
 hi tarahaa ti- 0- ar- kuut.ik -0  
 and buffalo IND.3A 3.A EV kill PERF

píræski isirurákuk<sup>u</sup>  
 piíraski isiuruurákuuku  
 the boy its sitting there prominently (ie was special)  
 piiras- -kis isiiruu- ra- 0- ku- kus -0  
 boy DIM plainly INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sitting SUB.4

, hitarastahwírit<sup>n</sup>  
 , hi taarastahwiirit  
 , and he would lay it on its back, feet upward  
 , hi ti- 0- ar- as.raar.wiira.ik -0  
 , and IND.3A 3.A EV put.on.its.back.feet.upward PERF

, tárah<sup>a</sup> ,  
 , táraha' ,  
 , the buffalo ,  
 , tarahaa ,  
 , buffalo ,

tarahihkituhítar<sup>u</sup>

tarahiihkítuu'u'				hi	taáru'				
a whole buffalo carcass				and	he would make it				
tarahaa-	iir-	kituu	-u'	hi	ti-	0-	ar-	ra'uk	-0
buffalo	corpse	all	NOM	and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	make	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

tarúhašahp <sup>u</sup>									
taruúhacahpu									
he put it on									
ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	raar-	taahk.wuh				-0
IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	put.on.one's.back				PERF

kaháhkiš	.
kahaáhkic	.
a mule	.
itkahaar-	kii'ac
ear	be.long

Híhikirisititirit <sup>n</sup>									
Hi	híkiiri	sitiitiírit							
And	indeed	they saw him							
hi	hikiiri	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	iirik		-0
and	indeed	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	see		PERF

,	hirurihiratáhwak <sup>i</sup>								,	"	
,	hiru	ríhiira'	taáhwaki'						,	"	
,	then	beyond	they would say						:	"	
,	hiruu	rihiiraa	ti-	0-	ar-	waki			-0	,	"
,	then	beyond	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say.PL			PERF	,	"

Áka<sup>a</sup> ! iriwikurawišká<sup>a</sup>  
 Aáka'a iriwikurawicka'a  
 Oh my , that is what he wanted '

aaka'a	,	irii-	wii-	ku-	ra-	0-	wicka	-a	'
oh.my	,	that	now	INDF	ABS	3.A	want	SUB.1	'

átuta  
 aátuuta  
 that I do it '

aa-	t-	ut-	aar	-0	'
SUBJ.1/2A	1.A	PREV	do	PERF	'

tiráhatpirəsk<sup>i</sup>  
 tiiraáhat piíraski . "  
 this one passing boy . "  
 tii- ra- 0- hak -0 piiras- -kis . "  
 this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 boy DIM . "

Irar<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

pirəskiríkutira  
 piíraski ríkutira'  
 a boy that is his way  
 piiras- -kis riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0  
 boy DIM that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

rarurukstasahátu ,  
 raaruurukstasáhatu ,  
 when he just grew up ,

raa- ruu- ra- 0- uks- rasahat -hus ,  
 just then ABS 3.P AOR grow.up IMPF.SUB ,

píraski rakurasáhat<sup>u</sup> .  
 piíraski rakurasáhatu .  
 a boy when he grew up .  
 piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus .  
 boy DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB .

Akíriwirutiriška

Akí iriwiruutiíriikkaa'  
 And here thereupon he came to an age  
 a ki irii- wii- ruu- ti- 0- a- ir- raa- icka- a -0  
 and there then now then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV way end come PERF

wisirihkutpawáktiku  
 wisirihkutpaawáktiku  
 when they talked to him

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus  
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF.SUB

kúrahus ,  
 kúrahus .  
 the old men .  
 kurahuus .  
 old.man .

hawakakirahuráwarit<sup>n</sup> .



Hawá kaakíraahuuráwarit .  
 Also he did not fail to heed it .  
 haawa kaaki- 0- raa.huur- a.warik -0 .  
 also NEG.IND.3A 3.A way throw PERF .

Hirusitipákararawu

Hiru sititpákaraarawu'  
 Then they prayed for him  
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ut- wakaraar- a.wuu -:hus  
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN voice go.in.a.line.IMPF IMPF

, tiráwahətn  
 Tiráwaahat  
 the Heavens  
 tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 .  
 this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 .

Nikutuhá<sup>a</sup>

Rikutuuhá'a

That is the reason

riku- ti- 0- ut- raar -' .  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

wikarariraítusu rawárik<sup>a</sup>

wikarariiraa'itusuurawárika

he did not fail to heed their advice

wii- kara- ra- 0- ir- raa.iit.us- huur- a.warik -a  
 now NEG ABS 3.A OBV story way throw.away SUB.1

tiwírurahurətk<sup>u</sup>

tiwiruúraakuuratka'u

what he heard from them

tii- wii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- uur- atka'uk -0  
 this now then INF.F 3.A INF.B PREV hear SUB.3

, piráskiráku<sup>u</sup> .  
 piíraski ráku'u .  
 a boy his being .  
 piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .  
 boy DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Akiiriwirutáratihət<sup>n</sup>

Aki iriwiruutaáraatiihat  
 And here that would the end of it  
 a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- raa- tiihak -0  
 and there that now then IND.3A 3.A EV way be.the.end PERF

. Hihawatiraták<sup>u</sup>  
 . Hi hawá tirátaku  
 . And also right here  
 . hi haawa tii- ra- 0- -taku  
 . and also here ABS 3.A LOC

hihawatihwak<sup>i</sup> “  
 hi hawá tíhwaki’ “  
 and also they said : “  
 hi haawa ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”  
 and also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Hā !  
 Haa  
 Ha ,  
 haa ,  
 ha ,

ihawarirəstahwírara

i hawá riirastahwiiráaa’  
 and also he is bringing it with feet upward

i	haawa	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	as-	raar-	wiiraar-	ra-	a	-0
and	also	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	foot	PL	in.a.row	PORT	come	PERF

píraski	.	"	Nakurəsáhutu								
piíraski	.	"	Rakurasáhatu								
the boy	.	"	When he grew up								
piiras-	-kis	.	"	ra-	0-	ku-	rasahat	-hus			
boy	DIM	.	"	INF.A	3.P	INF.B	grow.up	IMPF.SUB			

, nakúrahira  
rakúraahiira  
his being good

ra-	0-	ku-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-a
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	way	be.good	SUB.1

píraski	.	Hitírəsahət <sup>n</sup>									
piíraski	,	hi	tírasahat								
a boy	,	and	he grew up								
piiras-	-kis	,	hi	ti-	0-	rasahat	-0				
boy	DIM	,	and	IND.3A	3.P	grow.up	PERF				

hirutirakáwitət<sup>n</sup>

hiru	tiraakaáwiitit										
then	he follows his way										
hiruu	ti-	0-	raa-	kaa-	wi.itik	-0					
then	IND.3A	3.A	way	inside	sit.down	PERF					

pirarisarunéku <sup>u</sup>											
piírariisaaru'				ráku'u							
a chief's son				his being							
piira-	riisaar-	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u				
child	chief	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D				

híisirit " "

hi isiirit  
 and prominently  
 hi isii.rik  
 and in.plain.sight

wirarútik<sup>u</sup> . Naw<sup>a</sup>  
 wiraarútiiku . Ráwa  
 he was just living . Now  
 wii- raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0 . rawa  
 now just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF . now

, a , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 , a , iraári' ,  
 , and , brother ,  
 , a , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 , and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

arikurúha<sup>u</sup> ,  
 a rikuruúhaa'u  
 and that is the way  
 a riku- ra- 0- ut- raa- 0 -u  
 and that.is ABS 3.A PREV way be SUB.D

šurak<sup>i</sup>  
 cuúraki  
 a girl  
 icuura- -kis  
 girl DIM

nihkúruk<sup>u</sup>  
 rihkúruhku  
 when they had her  
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- kus -0  
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, hitírəsahat<sup>u</sup> ,  
 , hi tirasáhaatu' ,  
 , and she was growing up ,  
 , hi ti- 0- rasahat -:hus ,  
 , and IND.3A 3.P grow.up IMPF ,

hitírəsahat<sup>u</sup> ;  
 hi tirasáhaatu' ,  
 and she was growing up ,  
 hi ti- 0- rasahat -:hus ,  
 and IND.3A 3.P grow.up IMPF ,

hísititasikst<sup>a</sup> ,  
 hi síitiitaciksta  
 and they watched over her  
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

hísititasikst<sup>a</sup>  
 hi síitiitaciksta  
 and they watched over her  
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

nəkurəsáhatu súraki .  
 rakurasáhatu cuúraki .  
 when she grew up the girl .  
 ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus icuura- -kis .  
 INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB girl DIM .

Iriaharótirahət<sup>n</sup>  
 Irii'aharaatiírahət  
 When he took her to the age

irii- ar- ra- 0- raa- tii.ra.hak -0  
 when EV ABS 3.A way take.to.the.end SUB.4

atíás ,  
 Atí'as  
 our Father  
 ati- as  
 1.POSS father

tirašíhwari  
 tiracíhwari  
 these of ours living  
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus  
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kišísapat<sup>1</sup> tiráhuriwaw<sup>i</sup>  
 kici cápaat tirahúriiwaawi  
 but women these living  
 kici icapaak tii- ra- 0- hurii -waa -wi  
 but woman this ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, šúráki  
 , cuúráki  
 , a girl  
 , icuura- -kis  
 , girl DIM

hitarutasítítpat<sup>u</sup>  
 hi taruutásitit paátu'  
 and it would happen blood  
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- asitik -0 paat- -u'  
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV happen PERF blood NOM

, tahpaharáhisitit .

, taahpaaharaáhisitit .  
 , she would begin to carry blood .  
 , ti- 0- ar- paat- raar- raah -his -itik .  
 , IND.3A 3.A EV blood PL have PERF INCH .

Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hawásikakiruhurišakawárik<sup>u</sup>  
 hawá sikaakiiruhuuricakawáriku'  
 also they did not let her go astray  
 haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- uhuur.icaka.warik -:hus  
 also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A lose.track.of IMPF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Asitiširəsawašitik<sup>u</sup>  
 A sitiicirasawacítiiku'  
 And they were taking her outside  
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ciras- awacitik -:hus  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV COM go.out IMPF

wirakupáharah<sup>a</sup> .  
 wirakupaáharaaha .  
 when she was carrying blood .  
 wii- ra- 0- ku- paat- raar- raah -a .  
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B blood PL have SUB.1 .

Hihiruukáhkát<sup>n</sup>

Hi hiru uukaáhkát  
And then outside  
hi hiruu uukaahkat  
and then outside

hiikarisitísawa

hi ikaári' sitiísawa  
and her grandmother they (du) lay  
hi i- kaa -ri' si- ti- 0- sa -waa -0  
and 3.POSS.A grandmother 3.POSS.B DU IND.3A 3.A be.lying DIST PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Ikárirakúruhku

Ikaári' raakúruhku  
Her grandmother when she has her  
i- kaa -ri' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0  
3.POSS.A grandmother 3.POSS.B INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

rahiráísast<sup>i</sup> ,  
, ráhiira' isaásti' ,  
, sometimes her mother ,  
, rahiira i- saas -ri' ,  
, further 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B ,

hisitíhsawaisást<sup>i</sup>

hi sitiísawa isaásti'  
and they (du) lay her mother



hi si- ti- 0- sa -waa -0 i- saas -ri'  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A be.lying DIST PERF 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Kakírarurakuhuríśakawárik<sup>a</sup>

Kaakí' raaruurakuuuhuricakawárika

One would not just let her go astray

kaaki- 0- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- uhuur.icaka.warik -a  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF just then INF.A 3.A INF.B lose.track.of SUB.1

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iráári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kitutiírirətpawakahu

kítuu'u' tí'iriiratpaawaakahu

all this that I am saying

kituu -u' tii- irii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus  
 all NOM this that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hiwihirurikuriratáwik<sup>u</sup>

hi	wihiru									
and	now									
hi	wii-	hiruu	riku-	rii-	0-	raa-	tawi	kus	-0	
and	now	then	that.is	ASSR	3.A	way	be.among	be.sitting	PERF	

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Nurakurákawitat<sup>a</sup>

Ruurakuuraakáwitaata

When it is disagreeable

ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	raa-	kawitaat	-a
then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	way	be.disagreeable	SUB.1

pírask <sup>i</sup>		širuráku						.
piíraski		ciru	ráku'u					.
a boy		yet	his being					.
piiras-	-kis	ciruu	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u	.
boy	DIM	yet	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D	.

\	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irár <sup>i</sup>	,	
\	Ráwa	,	iraári'	,	
\	Now	,	brother	,	
\	rawa	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'
\	now	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

hitáwiška						pírask <sup>i</sup>	,	
hi	taáhwicka'					piíraski	,	"
and	he thought					a boy	:	"
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	wicka	-0	piiras-	-kis	,
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	think	PERF	boy	DIM	,

hirutitakuráku

Hiru	tiítaku		raáku				
Then	right here		the one				
hiruu	tii-	-taku	ra-	0-	kus	-0	
then	here	LOC	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	

šúrak<sup>i</sup>

cuúraki

girl

icuura- -kis

girl DIM

iriwitatíristi

iriwitatírecti'

I like that one

irii-	wi-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	ut-	tii	-0
that	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	like	PERF

,  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.

hírutarušihkaksa

Hiru táruuciikaksa'

Then he would call them

hiruu	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	ak-	kaksaa	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	SEQ	PL.AN.3P	call	PERF

irirutakíšisu

iriruutaakícisu

his relatives

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus .  
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB .

Híastihitáhwišk<sup>a</sup>

Hí'aasti' hi taáhwicka'  
 His father and he would think  
 i- as -ri' hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0  
 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF

, náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 " Ráwa . "  
 : " Now . "  
 , " rawa . "  
 , " now . "

hirútahwaku " náw<sup>a</sup>  
 Hiru taahwáku' " Ráwa  
 Then he would say " Now  
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 " rawa  
 then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF " now

witikusíkskatitari

witikuucíkskatiitári' ,  
 I have my mind set on her ,  
 wi- ti- ku- aciks- katiit -aar -i ,  
 QUOT IND.3A 1.P mind be.black INCH IMPF ,

atíəs a atípət<sup>n</sup> , ihi  
 atí'as a atípat , ihi ,  
 father and grandfather , uh ,  
 ati- as a ati- paak , ihii ,  
 1.POSS father and 1.POSS grandfather , uh ,

šúragi titakúrag<sup>u</sup> .

cuúraiki		tiítaku		raáku					.
girl		right here		the one					.
icuura-	-kis	tii-	-taku	ra-	0-	kus	-0		.
girl	DIM	here	LOC	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4		.

"  
"  
"  
"  
"

Hirutíhwak<sup>i</sup>

Hiru	tiíhwaki'								"
Then	they said					:			"
hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,			"
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,			"

iriwitúrahi									"	.
Iriwitúraahi									"	.
That is good									"	.
irii-	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0		"	.
that	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF		"	.

Hirutahwákuhiast<sup>i</sup>

Hiru	taahwáku'					hi'aásti'			
Then	he would say					his father			
hiruu	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	i-	as	-ri'	
then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF	3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B	

	"	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	náw <sup>a</sup>	,	irítiška			
	"	Ráwa	,	ráwa	,	i riíticka'			
:	"	Now	,	now	,	and I want			
,	"	rawa	,	rawa	,	i rii- t- wicka	-0		
,	"	now	,	now	,	and ASSR 1.A want	PERF		

sirəskukurú širaířahkata

siraskukuruucirasícahkaata

for you to lead us through the village

si-	ra-	s-	ku-	ku-	ri-	ut-	ciras-	icahka-	at	-a
DU	INF.A	2.A	1.P	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	COM	village	go	SUB.1

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Ipatisiríhku<sup>u</sup>

Ipátti'

His grandfathers

i-	pak	-ri'	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	0	-u
3.POSS.A	grandfather	3.POSS.B	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	be	SUB.D

siríhku'u

their being

. Náw<sup>a</sup> ,

. Ráwa ,

. Now ,

. rawa ,

. now ,

hirutarúři<sup>a</sup> ,

hiru taruúci'a

then he would do it :

hiruu	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	,
then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	,

kúrahus

kúrahus

old man

kurahuus  
old.man

Askuawitahírəsa

ásku a witaahírasa  
one and he would walk in the lead  
asku a wi- ti- 0- ar- hiras- aah -0  
one and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV in.the.lead be PERF

hipírəskitarutíka<sup>a</sup>

hi píraski taruutiíka'a  
and the boy he would go in the middle  
hi píras- -kis ti- 0- ar- ut- iika- aah -0  
and boy DIM IND.3A 3.A EV PREV center be PERF

, aəskukúrahus  
, a ásku kúrahus  
, and one old man  
, a asku kurahuus  
, and one old.man

witahatúhka<sup>a</sup>

witahatúhka'a'  
he came behind  
wi- ti- 0- a- hatuur- ka- a -0  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A road in come PERF

Hiruatáhwu

Hiru a taáhwu'  
Then and they would go  
hiruu a ti- 0- ar- wuu -:hus  
then and IND.3A 3.A EV go.IMPF IMPF

šúrak<sup>i</sup>

cuúraki  
 girl  
 icuura- -kis  
 girl DIM

iriraríšti<sup>u</sup>  
 iriiraríctii'u  
 the one he loved

irii- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- tii -u  
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV like SUB.D

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hiruarikuwitáhupu

Hiru a rikuwitaáhuupu'  
 Then and that is where they would enter  
 hiruu a riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- huuk- wuu -:hus  
 then and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV into go.IMPF IMPF

. Awitarárirət<sup>n</sup>

. A witaaraáirat  
 . And they would sit down  
 . a wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- ri.ra.at -0  
 . and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF

. Karawitíraki

. Karawitíraakii  
 . It was not long  
 . kara- wi- ti- 0- i- raa.kiir -0  
 . NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.long PERF



híistu  
 hi ístu  
 and again  
 hi istu  
 and again

witirišahkáah<sup>u</sup>  
 witiiricahká'aahu'  
 they came through the village

wi- ti- 0- a- ir- icahka- a -:hus  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A village come IMPF

. Híkišišurak<sup>i</sup>  
 . Hi kici cuúraki  
 . And but girl  
 . hi kici icuura- -kis  
 . and but girl DIM

irirutakíšis<sup>u</sup>  
 iriruutaakícisu  
 the ones related to her

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus  
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

hirusíwiritapira

hiru síwitiirapira  
 then they gathered

hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- piraah -0  
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF PL.AN.3P pick.up.PL.P PERF

,  
 ,  
 ,

,  
,

ruwítirahukahusítit<sup>n</sup>

ruuwítíírahuukáhusítit

then they began entering

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raar-	huuk-	a	-:hus	-itik
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	PL.INDV.A	into	come	IMPF	INCH

. Hawawítahwu ,

. Hawá wítaahwu' ,

. Also they would go ,

. haawa	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	wuu	-:hus	,
. also	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	go.IMPF	IMPF	,

hiwítáhupu

hi witaáhuupu'

and they would enter

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	huuk-	wuu	-:hus
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	into	go.IMPF	IMPF

hiwíhiruwítárahka

hi wíhiru

witaáraahkaa

and then they would be inside

hi	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	raar-	kaa	-0
and	now	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PL.INDV.A	be.inside	PERF

. Karawítukstapa<sup>a</sup> ,

. Karawítukstaapaa'a ,

. The matter was not hidden ,

. kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	raa.apaar	-'	,
. NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.hidden	EX	,

irár<sup>i</sup>

, kúrahus

iraári'										Kúrahus
brother										The old men
i-	-raar-									kurahuus
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling									old.man

iríahawihət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 irií'ahawihat  
 where they were sitting

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	wi.hak		-0
where	EV	ABS	3.A	be.sitting.PL		SUB.4

hiwihiruwitahíh<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 hi wihiru witaahíhit  
 and now there would be spread out

hi	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	hihit		-0
and	now	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.spread.out		PERF

kirikúpít<sup>ku</sup> rawíhtaka  
 kíriku' pítku raawíhtaaka ,  
 perhaps two blankets ,  
 kirikuu pítku raawiir- taakaar ,  
 anything two cloth be.white ,

náhku<sup>u</sup> šahúki . A  
 raáhku'u cahuúki . A  
 maybe its being robes . And

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	0	-u	cahuu	-kis		
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	be	SUB.D	robe	DIM		and

kúrahus wirusitahwáku  
 kúrahus wiruusitaahwáku'  
 old men then they (du) would say

kurahuus	wii-	ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u		-0
old.man	now	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say		PERF

“ Náwairi . ”  
 “ Ráwa iri . ”  
 : “ Now then . ”  
 , “ rawa irii . ”  
 , “ now then . ”

Hirúwítiruša

Hiru witiiruúcaa’

Then he arose

hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- ir- uca.a -0  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV get.up PERF

,

irisirihkukitawíra<sup>u</sup>

iriisirihkuukitawíra’u

the one who was made judge

irii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kita.wi -ra’uk -0  
 that DU INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B be.the.leader CAUS SUB>3

hiruwitarahkáwarit<sup>n</sup>

. Hiru witaaraahkáwarit

. Then he would fill it up

. hiruu wi- ti- ar- raar- ka.warik -0  
 . then QUOT IND.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF

raktáwiskr<sup>u</sup> .

raktaáwiskaaru’ .

the pipe .

rak- raawis.kaar -u' .  
 wood smoke.pipe NOM .

Awitarárir<sup>u</sup> ,  
 A witaaráriiru' ,  
 And he would light it ,  
 a wi- ti- 0- ar- rariit -ra'uk -0 ,  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.hot CAUS PERF ,

irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 iraári' ,  
 brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hirúawitiwitirawisawárik<sup>u</sup>  
 hiru áwit iwitiraawisawaawáriku'  
 then first he blows smoke in the directions  
 hiruu awit ii- wi- ti- 0- raawis- a.warik -waa -:hus  
 then first then QUOT IND.3A 3.A smoke throw DIST IMPF

hirútirawahət<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru Tiráwaahat  
 there the Heavens  
 hiruu tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0  
 there this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

atíəs  
 Atí'as  
 our Father  
 ati- as  
 1.POSS father

tiiriahákitak<sup>u</sup> a

ti'irii'ahakítaku									a
here	where	is	above						and
tii-	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	kita-	kus	-0		a
here	where	EV	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.sitting	SUB.4		and

tirahúrahš <sup>a</sup>									.
tirahúraahca									.
this	earth								.
tii-	ra-	0-	huraar-	sa		-0			.
this	ABS	3.A	earth	be.lying		SUB.4			.

Hiruwitiháta <sup>a</sup>									
Hiru	witihátta'a'								
Then	he	carried	the	pipe					
hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	haak-	ra-	a	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	wood	PORT	come	PERF

, kúrahus  
 . Kúrahus  
 . The old man  
 . kurahuus  
 . old.man

iriahakusíræsk <sup>u</sup>									
irii'ahakusírasku									
where	he	sat	at	the	head				
irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	kus	hiras-	kus	-0		
where	EV	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	in.the.lead	be.sitting	SUB.4		

,

witirutakátaw<sup>u</sup>

witiiruutaakátawu

he would extend the pipe to him

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	haak-	kata-		wuh	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	EV	BEN	wood	against.a.vertical.surface		put	PERF

. Kúrahus  
. Kúrahus  
. The old man  
. kurahuus  
. old.man

awitarašikstihú<sup>u</sup>

a witaaracikstiihú'u

and he would be glad

a	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	aciks.tiihur	-ʼ				
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.happy	EX				

Hipíræsk<sup>i</sup>

Hi piíraski

And the boy

hi piiras- -kis

and boy DIM

rætkætruwitahakátaw<sup>u</sup>

rátkat ruuwitaahaakátawu

next then he would be given the pipe

rat-	-kat	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	haak-	kata-		wuh	-0
afterwards	LOC	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	wood	against.a.vertical.surface		put	PERF

, hawahíraku kúrahus .  
, hawá hiíraaku kúrahus .  
, also the other one old man .

, haawa hii- ra- 0- kus -0 kurahuus .  
 , also other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 old.man .

Nikuwitisiksuhúru  
 Rikuwitiiciksuhúru  
 That was their way

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uhuur.uu -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.the.way.one.does PERF

tírətku ákitar<sup>u</sup> .  
 tíratku ákitaaru' .  
 this one of mine tribe .  
 tii- ra- t- kus -0 akitaar- -u' .  
 this ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4 tribe NOM .

Arusá  
 Aruúsa'  
 Horses  
 aruusaa  
 horse

witúkskarik<sup>u</sup> ,  
 witúkskariiku'  
 there were many  
 wi- ti- 0- uks- kari -ka'uk -0  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.numerous DIST PERF

nahkurariwarikapírəsk<sup>i</sup>  
 raahkurariwárika piíraski  
 that he would lose them the boy  
 ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- ri.warik -a piiras- -kis  
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B 3PL.INAN.P lose SUB.1 boy DIM



.  
. .  
. .

Aahúkskarikúarus<sup>a</sup>

A ahúkskariiku' aruúsa'  
And there were many horses  
a ar- ra- 0- uks- kari -ka'uk -0 aruusaa  
and EV ABS 3.A AOR be.numerous DIST PERF horse

wisirihkuraruhasistu

wisirihkuraaruha sístu  
when they gave them again  
wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- uh -a sistu  
when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1 again

iriwirutakak<sup>u</sup>

iriwíruutakaaku  
the ones who were his in-laws  
irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- ak- kaa.kus -0  
that now ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.an.in-law SUB.4

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hiruwitarətáru

Hiru witaarattáru  
Then he would give them to them  
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- ak- raar- uh -0  
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

, híast<sup>i</sup>  
 hí'aasti'  
 her father  
 i- as -ri'  
 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

iriahakárik<sup>u</sup> .  
 irii'ahaakáriku .  
 where his home was .  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0 .  
 where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4 .

\ Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,  
 \ Now , brother ,  
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikuwituráhi .  
 rikuwitúraahi .  
 that was a good way .  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

tihwakíahu  
 Tihwakí'aahu'  
 They say  
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

nikuwituráhi .  
 rikuwitúraahi .  
 that was a good way .

riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Isiarusiwitaaku

Isiiruusiwitaaku

Then they (du) lived prominently

isiiruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ar- kus -0  
 plainly DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.sitting PERF

siwiraahkukitura<sup>u</sup>

siwiraahkukituura'u

after they (du) got together

si- witi- ra- 0- ar- ku- kituu -ra'uk -0  
 DU REFL INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.whole CAUS SUB.3

.  
,  
,  
,  
,

Kusikarahkuraruhkuki

kusikararaahkuuraaruhkuuki

their (du) not doing anything bad

ku- si- kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- i- raa- ruhka'uk -i  
 INDF DU NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ way have.DIST SUB.2

. Irá*r*<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Iraá*r*<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Brother ,  
 . i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

titariktáari

pírəsk<sup>i</sup>



nakúhuhkutik<sup>i</sup>

rakuúhuhkuutiki

his doing unsocial things

ra- 0- ku- uhuur- kuut.ik -i  
INF.A 3.A INF.B way kill SUB.2

rakútaut<sup>u</sup>

rakúta'uutu

for him to steal

ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus , A  
INF.A 3.A 1.PAT steal IMPF , a  
, and

isirukararákururakawi

isiiruukararaákuruurakaawi

his not having a particular home

isiiruu- kara- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- akaa -wi  
plainly NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hihirukurarutarišahkawarihusat<sup>n</sup>

hi hiru kuraaruutaaricahkawarihusat

and then he would just go wandering (from one lodge to another) through the village

hi hiruu ku- raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- icahka- warii -hus at -0  
and then INDF just then IND.3A 3.A EV village be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB go PERF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hitaruhwíhət<sup>n</sup>

hi taruhwíhat

and he had them

hi ti- 0- a- ri- uur- wi.hak -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL PERF

nəkutakíšis<sup>u</sup>

rakuutaakícisu

ones who were relatives

ra- 0- ku- ut- ak- icis -hus  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

, hísikakitasikst<sup>a</sup>

, hi sikaakiítaciksta

, and they did not pay attention to him

, hi si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0  
 , and DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Kakaririraitúsiwa

Kaakaaririiraa'itúsiwa

They did not have good words for him

kaaki- 0- a- ri- ri- uur- raa.iit.us- hi.wa.ar -0  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV story be.good.DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Irár<sup>i</sup>

,

Iraári' ,  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kakaririraitúsiwa  
 kaakaaririiraa'itúsiwa  
 they did not have good words for him  
 kaaki- 0- a- ri- ri- uur- raa.iit.us- hi.wa.ar -0  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV story be.good.DIST PERF

,

kararakuruhúriwara  
 kararakuuruhúriiwaara  
 when his ways were not good  
 kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- uhuur- hi.wa.ar -a  
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good.DIST SUB.1

, ihi sáhiks  
 , ihi , cáhiks  
 , uh , a person  
 , ihii , icaahiks  
 , uh , person

nakutaríktar<sup>a</sup> pířaski ,  
 rakutaríktara pířaski .  
 when he was growing up a boy .  
 ra- 0- ku- tarikta- -aar -a piiras- -kis .  
 INF.A 3.P INF.B body INCH SUB.1 boy DIM .

nakútaut<sup>u</sup>

Rakúta'uutu

When he stole

ra-	0-	ku-	ta'uut	-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	steal	IMPF.SUB

kakaririraitúsiwa

kaakaaririiraa'iitúsiwa

they did not have good words for him

kaaki-	0-	a-	ri-	ri-	uur-	raa.iit.us-	hi.wa.ar	-0
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	PHYS.POSS	PREV	story	be.good.DIST	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Rikutuharihwakíhu

Rikutuuhá'

That is why

riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa-	0	-0	ra-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be	PERF	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

rihwakíhu  
their saying

kúrahus      šikstit      wirakurésahət<sup>n</sup>

kúrahus      cíkstit      wirakurásahat

the old men      well      when he grew up

kurahuus	cikstik	wii-	ra-	ku-	rasahat	-0
old.man	well	when	ABS	1.P	grow.up	SUB.4

pírəski

piíraski

a boy

“

: “



piiras- -kis , "  
 boy DIM , "

šikstītšúkspari .  
 Cíkstit súkspari' .  
 Well live !  
 cikstik i- s- uks- warii -:hus .  
 well CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

“

Hitakúkari suširášikst<sup>a</sup>

Hiítaku kariisuciraáciksta  
 Another don't pay heed to it  
 hii- -taku kara- i- s- ut- i- raa- aciks.ta -0  
 other LOC NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ way watch PERF

tirarátawi

tiraraátawi

this way among us

tii- ra- 0- raa- tawi -0  
 this ABS 3.A way be.among SUB.4

rakútautu .

rakúta'uutu .

when one steals .

ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB .

Karisuširášiksta

Kariisuciraáciksta

Don't pay heed to it

kara-	i-	s-	ut-	i-	raa-	aciks.ta	-0
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	way	watch	PERF

tirarátawi

tiraraátawi

this way among us

tii-	ra-	0-	raa-	tawi	-0
this	ABS	3.A	way	be.among	SUB.4

nakukiriwiskíhu

šáhiks . "

rakukíriwiskiihu

cáhiks . "

when one cheats him

a person . "

ra- 0- ku- kiriwis.ki -hus

icaahiks . "

INF.A 3.A INF.B cheat IMPF.SUB

person . "

Nikutihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

kúrahus

Rikutihwakí'aahu'

kúrahus

That is what they say

the old men

riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus

kurahuus

that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

old.man

nihkutpawáktiku

.

rihkutpaawáktiku

.

when they talk to him

.

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus

.

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF.SUB

.

Naruisikiriwiskíhu

" Raaruu'isikiriwiskíhu

" If you just cheat him

" raa- ruu- i- s- i- kiriwis.ki -hus

" just then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ cheat IMPF.SUB

karawitúrahi  
karawitúraahi .  
it is not good .  
kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

nikutihwakíah<sup>u</sup>  
" Rikutihwakí'aahu'  
" That is what they said  
" riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
" that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

kúrahus .  
kúrahus . "  
the old men . "  
kurahuus . "  
old.man . "

Karawitúrahi  
Karawitúraahi  
It is not good  
kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

raruišikiriwiskíhu  
raaruu'isikiriwiskíhu  
if you just cheat him  
raa- ruu- i- s- i- kiriwis.ki -hus  
just then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ cheat IMPF.SUB

šáhiks .  
cáhiks .  
a person .

icaahiks .  
person .

Akaraahuráhi

A kara'ahuraáhi

And it is not good

a kara- ar- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
and NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

nakútautu

rakúta'uutu

when one steals

ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus  
INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB

nakúwari .

rakúwari .

to go about .

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus .  
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Tuhkitúirirarutaši šahkawaríhust<sup>a</sup>

Tuhkítuu'u' iriraaruutasiicahkawariíhusta

The entire village there you are just going to roam around the village

ituur- kituu -u' irii- raa- ruu- ta- s- i- icahka- warii -:hus -ta  
village all NOM there just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ village be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

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.  
.  
.  
.

\ Irári ,

\ Iraári' ,  
 \ Brother ,  
 \ i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 \ 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hawakakúrahi

hawá kaakúraahi  
 also it was not good  
 haawa kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0  
 also NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

nakukíšari .

rakukícaari .

to be silly .

ra- 0- ku- kihc- -aar -i .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B clown INCH IMPF.SUB .

Irár<sup>i</sup> ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hawasikakitašikst<sup>a</sup>

hawá sikaakiítaciksta  
 also they did not pay attention to him  
 haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0  
 also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hiastirakururuksáwəšk<sup>u</sup>

Hí'aasti'

His father

rakuruuruksáwacku

even if his was living

i-	as	-ri'	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	uks-	awahc-	kus	-0
3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	even.if	be.sitting	SUB.4

a isást<sup>i</sup>

a isaásti'

and his mother

a i- saas -ri'

and 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B

Hihawasikaririššikst<sup>a</sup>

Hi hawá sikariiriicíciksta

And also they did not care for him

hi	haawa	si-	karii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	aciks.ta	-0
and	also	DU	EMPH.NEG	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	value.highly	PERF

. Wirakútaut<sup>u</sup>

wirakúta'uutu

if he stole

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ta'uut	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	steal	IMPF.SUB

Wisiríhkutišis

wisiríhkuuticis

when they knew him

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	icis	-0
when	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	know	SUB.4

ákitar<sup>u</sup>

ákitaaru'

the tribe

akitaar- -u' .  
 tribe NOM .

Awirakukíšari

A wirakukícaari

And when he was silly

a wii- ra- 0- ku- kihc- -aar -i  
 and when INF.A 3.A INF.B clown INCH IMPF.SUB

hawasikakítašikst<sup>a</sup>

hawá sikaakiítaciksta

also they did not pay attention to him

haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0  
 also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

, irirakárik<sup>u</sup>

iriiraakáriku

where his home was

irii- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0  
 that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

hihirukirikurarusitirahwawaríkusitit<sup>n</sup>

hi hiru kíriku' raarusitiriirahwaawárikusitit

and then somewhere then they just sent him off (on errands)

hi hiruu kirikuu raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- ri- uur- raar.warik -waa -:hus -itik  
 and then anything just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV send DIST IMPF INCH

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirukiriku ararutáhwari

Hiru	kíriku'	a	raarutaáhwari'						
Then	somewhere	and	then he would go about						
hiruu	kirikuu	a	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ar-	warii	-:hus
then	anything	and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

tiráturarawahət<sup>n</sup>  
tiraáturaarawaahat  
these villages scattered about

tii-	ra-	0-	ituur-	raar-	a.hak	-waa	-0
this	ABS	3.A	village	PL	extend.in.a.line	DIST	SUB.4

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