

Skiri Narratives, Twelve

Roaming Scout

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
 Ráwa iraári^ʔ
 Now , brother ,
 rawa , i- -raar- -ri^ʔ ,
 now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tirataríraiwatⁱ

tirataríraa'iiwaati

this that I am telling you

tii- ra- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
 this ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

, irárⁱ ,
 iraári^ʔ
 , brother ,
 , i- -raar- -ri^ʔ ,
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikuwitú^{Atⁿ}

rikuwituú'ut

that is how it was

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

tirahárikukⁱ ,

tirahaárikkuuki

these ways I have

tii- ra- t- raa- ruhka'uk -i

this ABS 1.A way have.DIST SUB.2

tiratukstárikukⁱ .
tiratukstaárihkuuki .
these ways I used to have .
tii- ra- t- uks- raa- ruhka'uk -i .
this ABS 1.A AOR way have.DIST SUB.2 .

Kakíhi títak^u
Kaakíhi' títaku .
It is not here .
kaaki- 0- ihii -0 tii- -taku .
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF this LOC .

hirunikutuhaitúsurá
Hiru rikutuhaa'íitúsurá'
There that is where the story originated
hiruu riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.iit.us- hurar -0
there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV story be.where.one.comes.from PERF

tiráwah^{Atⁿ} ,
Tiráwaahat
the Heavens
tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

aharətiwáwárik^a . I
aharaatiiwaawárika . I
when He assigned them their ways . And
ar- ra- 0- raa- tii.warik -waa -a . i
EV ABS 3.A way measure DIST SUB.1 . and

ahawáku , "
ahawáku' "

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

Tiwiráspari

Tiwiráspari

you go around here

tii- wii- ra- s- warii -hus
 here now ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikutásukst^a

rikutaásuksta .

you are going to be the one .

riku- ta- s- uk -his -ta .
 that.is IND.1/2A 2.A be PERF INT .

təsparíhust^a

Təsparíhusta

You are going to go around

ta- s- warii -:hus -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

rakáhuraráwara

rakaahuraaráwara .

the earth .

ra- 0- kaa.huraar- a.war -a .
 ABS 3.A earth go.in.a.line.DU SUB.1 .

hawirisíriruš

Haawiriisíriiruc

Here are yours

haa- wii- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -0
 here now ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL PERF

ésur^u . "
 ásuuru' . "
 moccasins . "
 as.huur- -u' . "
 moccasin NOM . "

Nikuwitiwáku .
 Rikuwitiwáku' .
 That is what He said .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

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

Atihawirisiríruš
 A tihaawiriisiriíruc
 And here you now have yours
 a tii- haa- wii- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -0
 and here here now ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL PERF

asuhəstáwi^u . "
 asuhaastáwi'u' . "
 moccasin strings . "
 as.huur- haas- ta -wi -u' . "
 moccasin string be.hanging SUB.L NOM . "

Ahawáku , "
 Ahawáku' " "
 He said : "
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Atihawirisiríruš

A tihaawiriisiriíruc

And here are yorus

a tii- haa- wii- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -0
and here here now ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL PERF

ukúku , nakúkukⁱ
ukuúku'u' rakúkuuki
leggings to wear
uk.kuuku -u' ra- 0- ku- kuuk -i
legging NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B wear SUB.2

rakúwari

rakúwari .

when you go around .

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

təsparíhust^a . "

Təsparíhusta . "

You are going to go around . "

ta- s- warii -:hus -ta . "
IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . "

Ahawáku , " Náwa^a ,

Ahawáku' " Ráwa

He said : " Now

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now

kásiwaku

kaasiwáku'

you must say : '
 kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 , '
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF , '

witisišukstahkítawaw^u

Witiisicukstahkítawaawu

Tie the leggings to your belt

witi- i- s- ir- ut- uks- raar- kita.wuh -waa -0
 REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS 3PL.INAN.P tie.a.legging.to.one's.belt DIST PERF

. " Aahawáku , "
 . ' " A ahawáku' "
 ! ' " And He said : "
 . ' " a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 . ' " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tirəšišťáhuripⁱ

Tirasictáhuriipi

This you have tied around the waist

tii- ra- s- ir- ut- tahuriik -wi
 this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV have.tied.around.the.waist SUB.L

, kásiwaku
 kaasiwáku' '
 , you must say : '
 , kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 , '
 , POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF , '

witisišukstáhurip^u

Witiisicukstáhuriipu

Tie it around your waist

witi- i- s- ir- ut- uks- tahuriik.wuh -0
 REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS tie.a.belt PERF

| | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------|---|---|
| . | " | Aahawáku | , | " |
| . | ' | A ahawaku' | , | " |
| ! | ' | And He said | : | " |
| . | ' | a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 | , | " |
| . | ' | and EV ABS 3.A say PERF | , | " |

Kásiwaku
Kaasiwáku'
You must say
kaas- s- i- waka'u -0
POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF

irəsiharíhtawⁱ
Tirasihaaríhtawi
This you tied to your belt
tii- ra- s- ir- ut- raar- ihta -wi
this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt SUB.L

rarihtáwi^u
raarihtáwi'u'
thing tied to the belt
raar- ihta -wi -u'
PL have.under.one's.belt SUB.L NOM

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

Kásiwaku
Kaasiwáku'
You must say
kaas- s- i- waka'u -0

POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF

tirəstaríhkukⁱ

tirastaaríhkuuki

these that you carry

tii- ra- s- raar- ruhka'uk -i ,
this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 ,

šáhákⁱ

tirótpit^{Atⁿ}

Cáhuuki

tirátpitat

Robe

this one I wear

cahuu -kis tii- ra- t- witak -0
robe DIM this ABS 1.A wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4

. " Tarahá šahúkⁱ
. ' " Táraha' cáhuuki
. ' " Buffalo robe
. ' " tarahaa cahuu -kis
. ' " buffalo robe DIM

tuháik^u

. A

tuuhá'ihku'

. A

He meant

. And

ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus . a
IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . and

ahawáku

, "

ahawáku'

, "

He said

: "

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

Witatára^u

Witátaraa'u

I am giving you a way

wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

rakúrawaruksti^u

rakuraawaárukstii'u

its being a powerful way

ra- 0- ku- raa- waarukstii -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.holy SUB.D

tirəstaríhkukⁱ

tirastaaríhkuuki

these things you carry

tii- ra- s- raar- ruhka'uk -i . kítapat
this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 . kítaapat
otter

nikutəstahkiškáwist^a

rikutastaahkiickaáwista

that is what you are going to have around your neck

riku- ta- s- raar- kiic.kaa -wi -his -ta
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P be.around.one's.neck SUB.L PERF INT

kítapat . " Ahawáku , "
kítaapat . " Ahawáku' " , "
an otter . " He said : "
kítaapat . " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
otter . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Kasúšia

Kaasúci'a

You must do it

kaas- s- ut- i- aar -0
POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|--------|----------|-----------------|-----|--------|------|--|
| kusəksiháhiri | | | hiistáuš | | | | | |
| kúsaksihaahiri' | | | hi | istá'uc | | | | |
| on the left side | | | and | you'll hang her | | | | |
| kusaksii | -haar | -hiri' | hi | i- | s- | ta.uc | -0 | |
| left.side | LOC | LOC | and | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | put.on | PERF | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---|----------|-----|-----|--------|------|---|
| atír ^a | . | " | Ahawáku | | | | | , |
| Atíra' | . | " | Ahawáku' | | | | | |
| Mother (Corn) | . | " | He said | | | | | : |
| ati- | raa | . | ar- | ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | , |
| 1.POSS | mother | . | EV | ABS | 3.A | say | PERF | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|
| " | A | pihkawíhiri | | | | | | |
| " | A | pihkawíhiri' | | | | | | |
| " | And | on the right side | | | | | | |
| " | a | wiir.kawi | -hiri' | | | | | |
| " | and | right.side | LOC | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|-----|--------|------|--|------|--|---|
| hiistáuš | | | | | | ihi | | |
| hi | istá'uc | | | | | ihi | | |
| and | you'll hang it | | | | | uh | | , |
| hi | i- | s- | ta.uc | -0 | | ihii | | , |
| and | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | put.on | PERF | | uh | | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------|-------------------------|--------|---|-----|-----|--|--|
| níkušk ⁱ | | kutáwikutš ^u | . | " | A | | | |
| ríkucki | | kútawikucu' | . | " | A | | | |
| a bird | , | a hawk | . | " | And | | | |
| rikuc | -kis | rikutawi- | -kucuu | . | " | a | | |
| bird | DIM | tail | AUG | . | " | and | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|----|--------|----|--|--|--|---|---|
| ahawáku | | | | | | | | , | " |
| ahawáku' | | | | | | | | | " |
| He said | | | | | | | | | : |
| ar- | ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | | | | | , |

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tirəstáruhkuⁱ

Tirastaáruhkuuki

These things you'll carry

tii- ra- s- raar- ruhka'uk -i
this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

tíruštiriwis

tíructiiriwis

these lying across

tii- ra- 0- ut- tiiriwis -0
this ABS 3.A PREV be.across.one's.back SUB.4

kátar^u

kátaaru'

green grass

kataar- -u'

green.grass NOM

nikutəskuharawirutíkust^a

rikutaskuuhaarawiiruutíkusta

they are what you are going to show (ie offer to) me

riku- ta- s- ku- ut- raar- ra.wi.itik -ruu -:hus -ta
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV 3PL.INAN.P show DIST IMPF INT

,

tiwirətararawúha

tiwirataraaraawúha

these things I have given you

tii- wii- ra- t- a- raar- ra- wa- uh -a
this now ABS 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P way DIST give SUB.1

kutátira

. Kutátira'

. They are mine

. ku- ta- t- ir- raar- 0 -0
. INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

. " A ahawáku , "

. " A ahawáku' "

. " And He said : "

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

. " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Atirasihahkúkaku^u

A tirasiihaahkúkaku

And these feathers you have on your head

a tii- ra- s- ir- ut- raar.kuka.kus -0
and this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV wear.feathers.on.the.head SUB.4

káuktu

ká'uktu'

downy feathers

ka'uk.ru'

downy.feather

hirurikutíšt^a

hiru rikutícta

there that is to be the one

hiruu riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- 0 -his -ta
there that.is IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV be PERF INT

irasitasíhtawⁱ
 irasiitasíhtawi
 the claw you have hanging at your waist
 ii- ra- s- ir- ut- as- ihta -wi
 that ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV foot have.under.one's.belt SUB.L

nikutskⁱ .
 ríkucki .
 bird .
 rikuc -kis .
 bird DIM .

Wísirarahúrit^{itn}
 Wisirarahúritit
 After they gratify you
 wii- si- ra- 0- a- rahur.itik -0
 when DU ABS 3.A 2.P gratify SUB.4

hiruwitiisuširahkúkakus
 hiru witi'isucirahkúkakus
 then you'll put the down feathers on your head
 hiruu witi- i- s- ut- i- raar.kuka.kus.k -0
 then REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ put.feathers.on.one's.head PERF

, asúrikutⁱ
 . Ásu' ríkuti'
 . A claw that is the one
 . as- -u' riku- ti- 0- 0 -0

. foot NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF

irasitíhtawi

irasiitíhtawi

that one you have hanging from your belt

ii- ra- s- ir- ut- ihta -wi
that ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV have.under.one's.belt SUB.L

níkutskí . " Ahawáku , "

ríkucki . " Ahawáku' "

bird . " He said : "

rikuc -kis . " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "

bird DIM . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Wisirarahúrit^{itn}

Wisirarahúritit

After they have gratified you

wii- si- ra- 0- a- rahur.itik -0
when DU ABS 3.A 2.P gratify SUB.4

hiruwitisušihitkitáuš

hiru witi'isucihitkíta'uc

then you'll put a feather on your head

hiruu witi- i- s- ut- i- hiit- kita- uc -0
then REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ feather on.top lay.SG.P PERF

, witatáhitu ,

. Witatáhiitu

. I am giving you a feather

. wii- ta- t- a- hiit- uh -0
. now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P feather give PERF

nakúrahir^a ,

rakúraahiira

its being a good way ,
 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 ,

nakúrawaruksti^u . " A
 rakúraawaarukstii^u . " A
 its being powerful . " And
 ra- 0- ku- raa- waarukstii -u . " a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.holy SUB.D . " and

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

Atirəstárahaha

A tirástaraaha
 And these you have
 a tii- ra- s- raar- raah -a
 and this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

tirəsiharíhtawi

tirasihaaríhtawi
 these you have tied to your belt
 tii- ra- s- ir- ut- raar- ihta -wi
 this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt SUB.L

nikúriitⁿ

rikúrii^{it}
 they are the ones
 riku- ra- 0- ir- ut- 0 -'
 that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV be EX

sirarahpahahúkustar^{itⁿ}

sirarahpahaahuukústarit

when they are going to paint you red

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|--------|-------|----------|-----|---------|
| si- | ra- | 0- | a- | raar- | pahaat | ra'uk | -hus | -ta | -rit |
| DU | ABS | 3.A | 2.P | ITER | be.red | make | IMPF.SUB | INT | INT.SUB |

wisíarakustar^{itⁿ}

wisíraruukustarit

when they are going to paint you

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|----------|-----|---------|
| wii- | si- | ra- | 0- | a- | ra'uk | -hus | -ta | -rit |
| when | DU | ABS | 3.A | 2.P | make | IMPF.SUB | INT | INT.SUB |

, wiispíšata

ákitar^u

. Wi'ispícata

ákitaaru'

. When you arrive

tribe

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----|--------|-------|----------------|-----|
| . wii- | i- | s- | wic.at | -a | akitaar | -u' |
| . when | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | arrive | SUB.1 | be.one's.tribe | NOM |

irirəsihrihk^u

iriirasírihku

where yours is

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|--------|------------|-------|
| irii- | ra- | s- | ir- | ri- | uur- | kus | -0 |
| where | ABS | 2.A | POSS.1/2A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

,

sirarahpahahúkustar^{itⁿ}

sirarahpahaahuukústarit

when they are going to paint you red

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|----|-------|--------|-------|------|-----|------|
| si- | ra- | 0- | a- | raar- | pahaat | ra'uk | -hus | -ta | -rit |
|-----|-----|----|----|-------|--------|-------|------|-----|------|

DU ABS 3.A 2.P ITER be.red make IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

, nikutíikist^a . "
 rikutiikista . "
 they are going to be the ones . "
 riku- ti- 0- ir- uk -his -ta . "
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be PERF INT . "

A ahawáku , "
 A ahawáku' "
 And He said : "
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Atirásastah^a ,
 A tirásaastaaha
 And this string you have -
 a tii- ra- s- haas- raah -a -
 and this ABS 2.A string have SUB.1 -

nəktáwiskar^u
 raktaáwiskaaru'
 a pipe
 rak.raawis.kaar- -u'
 pipe NOM

kutásihaætⁿ
 kutásiihaa'at .
 the pipe stem is yours .
 ku- ta- s- ir- haak- 0 -' .
 INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A wood be EX .

tátahak^u .
 Tátahaaku .

I give you the pipe .
 ta- t- a- haak- uh -0 .
 IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P wood give PERF .

Hírikurisastuwaríhust^a

Hi rikuriisaastuuwariíhusta
 And that is the string you are going to carry around
 hi riku- rii- s- haas- ruu- warii -:hus -ta
 and that.is ASSR 2.A string PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiruirahaspəsiat^a

Hiru irahaaspasi'ata
 Then that string stretched along it
 hiruu ii- ra- 0- haas- wasii.at -a
 then that ABS 3.A string thin.line.to.stretch.across SUB.1

hirurikutaskúskist^a

hiru rikutaskúskista
 there that is where you are to put it
 hiruu riku- ta- s- kus.k -his -ta
 there that.is IND.1/2A 2.A put PERF INT

níkuškíripáškⁱ , "
 ríkuckiripacki . "
 a small bird . "
 rikuc kiripac -kis . "
 bird small DIM . "

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------|-------------|-------|--------------------|---|---|
| níhwakíhu | | | | | kírit ⁿ | , | |
| Ríhwakihu' | | | | | kírit | . | " |
| They say | | | | | bluebird | . | " |
| ra- | 0- | ir- | waki.a | -:hus | kirit | . | " |
| ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF | bluebird | . | " |

nawirahisurikuwitísa^a

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---------|------|--------|--------------------------|----------|----|
| Raawiiraáhisu' | | | | | rikuwitiisá'a | | |
| A warrior | | | | | that is what it is named | | |
| raawiir.aah.his | -u' | riku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | asar | -' |
| warrior | NOM | that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | be.named | EX |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|----------|-----|-----|--------|------|------------------|
| . | " | A | ahawáku | | | , | " | Náw ^a |
| . | " | A | ahawáku' | | | | " | Ráwa |
| . | " | And | He said | | | : | " | Now |
| . | " | a | ar- | ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | , " rawa |
| . | " | and | EV | ABS | 3.A | say | PERF | , " now |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|----------|-----|-----------|------------|----|------|
| , | kutátira | | | | | | |
| | kutátira' | | | | | | |
| | they are mine | | | | | | |
| | ku- | ta- | t- | ir- | raar- | 0 | -0 |
| | INDF | IND.1/2A | 1.A | POSS.1/2A | 3PL.INAN.P | be | PERF |

witətatíraktaru

witatatíraktaru

now I give you a bow and arrows

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----|------|---------|-------|------|------|
| wii- | ta- | t- | a- | tiraak- | raar- | uh | -0 |
| now | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.PP | bow | PL | give | PERF |

tirəstiráktarah^a

tirastiráktaraaha

this bow and arrows you have

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|---------|-------|------|----|---|
| tii- | ra- | s- | tiraak- | raar- | raah | -a | . |
|------|-----|----|---------|-------|------|----|---|

this ABS 2.A bow PL have SUB.1 .

wirikutitirákatⁿ

Wirikutitiraákit

These are the bows

wii- riku- ti- 0- tiraak- 0 -ik -0
now that.is IND.3A 3.A bow be DIST PERF

witirasuhakawawutikústaritⁿ

witirasuuhaakawaawuutikústarit

when you are going to kill various things for yourself

witi- ra- s- ut- raa- ka.wa.ut.ik -waa -hus -ta -rit
REFL ABS 2.A BEN way kill.DIST DIST IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

arísit

ariísit

yourself ,

ariisit ,

one's.own ,

witirasuhakawawutikústaritⁿ

witirasuuhaakawaawuutikústarit

when you are going to kill various things for yourself

witi- ra- s- ut- raa- ka.wa.ut.ik -waa -hus -ta -rit
REFL ABS 2.A BEN way kill.DIST DIST IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

. A tíras^a

. A tíraasa

. And this one lying

. a tii- ra- 0- sa -0

. and this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

wiríta^u

nékaks^u ,

wiriíta'u

rákaaksu' .

I now give you war club .
 wii- rii- t- a- uh -0 rakaaks- -u' .
 now ASSR 1.A 2.P give PERF war.club NOM .

witáta^u nəkáks^u ,
 Witáta'u rákaaksu'
 I now give you a war club
 wi- ta- t- a- uh -0 rakaaks- -u'
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P give PERF war.club NOM

nəskuráh^a
 raskuraáha .
 for you to have .
 ra- s- ku- raah -a .
 INF.A 2.A INF.B have SUB.1 .

nikutiwáruksti
 Rikutiwaáruksti' .
 That one is holy .
 riku- ti- 0- waarukstii -0 .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF .

tiwáruksti
 Tiwaáruksti'
 It is holy
 ti- 0- waarukstii -0
 IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF

tíras^a nəkaks^u a
 tíraasa rákaaksu' . A
 this one lying war club . And
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 rakaaks- -u' . a
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 war.club NOM . and

tíras^a
 tíraasa
 this one lying ,
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 ,
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 ,

tíras^a níšikⁱ
 tíraasa riíciki
 this one lying knife ,
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 riici -kis ,
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 knife DIM ,

wirikurīta^u
 wirikuriíta^u
 now I give you that one
 wii- riku- rii- t- a- uh -0
 now that.is ASSR 1.A 2.P give PERF

witirəskuhakuwawáru^u
 witiraskuuhaakuuwaáwaru
 for you to butcher them for yourself
 witi- ra- s- ku- ut- raa- kuuwaaru -waa -0
 REFL INF.A 2.A INF.B BEN way butcher DIST SUB.4

nəskukuwawáru tárah^a
 raskukuuwaáwaru táraha^ʔ
 - for you to butcher them buffalos ,
 - ra- s- ku- kuuwaaru -waa -0 tarahaa ,
 - INF.A 2.A INF.B butcher DIST SUB.4 buffalo ,

nahúrahk . " Ahawáku , "
 rahúrahki . " Ahawáku^ʔ "
 deer . " He said : "
 rahuraar -kis . " ar- ra- 0- waka^ʔu -0 , "

animal DIM . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

atirarušⁱ

A tíraruuci

And these lying

a tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i
and this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

wirítararu

wiriitaráru .

now I give them to you .

wii- rii- t- a- raar- uh -0 .
now ASSR 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF .

nikútiitⁿ

Ríkuti[?]it

They are the ones

riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

tirəsparihústarⁱtⁿ

tirasparihústarit

when you are going to be going around

tii- ra- s- warii -hus -ta -rit
when ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

hiistarušpáwuhu

hi istaručpaáwuhu

and when you'll be making fires

hi i- s- ta.ra.uc.wuh -waa -hus
and CONT.1/2A 2.A make.a.fire DIST IMPF.SUB

tirasá^a násiš . "

tíraasa raásic . "

this one lying . "

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|---|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | sa | -0 | . | " |
| this | ABS | 3.A | be.lying | SUB.3 | . | " |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|------------------|----------|---|
| Náwa ^a | , | irar ⁱ | , | | |
| Ráwa | | iraári' | | | |
| Now | , | brother | , | | |
| rawa | , | i- | -raar- | -ri' | , |
| now | , | 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | 3.POSS.B | , |

nikuwitúta
rikuwituúta
that is what He did

| | | | | | | |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------|-----|------|
| riku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | aar | -0 |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | do | PERF |

Tiráwa
Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|------|------------------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | waa- | ahak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | DIST | extend.in.a.line | SUB.4 |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------|---------------------|----------|----------|-----|
| tirótparí | | ákitar ^u | | | | |
| tirátpari | | ákitaaru' | | | | |
| this one of mine living | | tribe | | | | |
| tii- | ra- | t- | warii | -hus | akitaar- | -u' |
| this | ABS | 1.A | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | tribe | NOM |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|----------|-----|--------|------|---|---|
| . | A | ahawáku | , | " | | | |
| . | A | ahawáku' | | " | | | |
| . | And | He said | : | " | | | |
| . | a | ar- ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | , | " |
| . | and | EV ABS | 3.A | say | PERF | , | " |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-----|------|----|------|------------|--------|
| Nikútira | | | | | | atí^s | |
| Ríkutira' | | | | | | Atí'as | |
| That is what he did | | | | | | our Father | |
| riku- | ti- | 0- | raa- | 0 | -0 | ati- | as |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | way | be | PERF | 1.POSS | father |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|--------|------------|-------|--|--|
| tirakítak ^u | | | | | | | |
| tirakítaku | | | | | | | |
| this one above | | | | | | | |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kita- | kus | -0 | | |
| this | ABS | 3.A | on.top | be.sitting | SUB.4 | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-------|-------|--|--|--|
| ahára ^u | | | | | | | |
| ahára'u | | | | | | | |
| when He made it | | | | | | | |
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ra'uk | -0 | | | |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | make | SUB.3 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------|-------|------------|------|-------|---|
| tirəstiwihtawaw ⁱ | | | | | | | | , |
| tirastiwíhtawaawi | | | | | | | | . |
| these limbs of your body | | | | | | | | . |
| tii- | ra- | s- | ri- | wiir- | ta | -waa | -wi | . |
| this | ABS | 2.A | PORT | arm | be.hanging | DIST | SUB.L | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|------|------------|-------|--|--|--|---|
| tuharáihk ^u | | | | | | | | , |
| " Tuuhaará'ihku' | | | | | | | | . |
| " He meant them | | | | | | | | , |
| " ti- | 0- | ut- | raa.ra'ihk | -:hus | | | | , |
| " IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | mean | IMPF | | | | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|--|------|--|--|--|--|---|
| irár ⁱ | | | | | | | | , |
| iraári' | | | | | | | | . |
| brother | | | | | | | | , |
| i- | -raar- | | -ri' | | | | | , |

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

tirəspíhtawawⁱ,
tirəspíhtawaawi
these arms of yours

tii- ra- s- wiir- ta -waa -wi
this ABS 2.A arm be.hanging DIST SUB.L

atirəšikəstawáwⁱ

a tiracihkaastawaáwi
and these legs of ours

a tii- ra- aciir- kaas- ta -waa -wi
and this ABS IN.DU.A leg be.hanging DIST SUB.L

nikútira atí[^]s
. Ríkutira' Atí'as
. That is what He did our Father
. riku- ti- 0- raar -0 ati- as
. that.is IND.3A 3.A do PERF 1.POSS father

ahára^u

ahára'u .
when He made it .
ar- ra- 0- ra'uk -0 .
EV ABS 3.A make SUB.3 .

ahawíška^a

Ahawicka' "
He thought: "
ar- ra- 0- wicka -0 "
EV ABS 3.A think PERF "

súkspari,
Súkspari' .

Walk about !
 i- s- uks- warii -:hus .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

tahasuksurətíspari

Tihaasúksuurat . Íspari'
 Be this high ! Walk about here
 tii- haa- i- s- uks- huur.ak -0 . i- s- warii -:hus
 this here CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.so.tall PERF . CONT.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

nikútira
 . " Rikutíra'
 ! " That is the reason
 . " riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 . " that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

tiirirəširihúrakⁱ

ti'iriiraciriíhuúraki
 this that is our height
 tii- irii- ra- aciir- i- huur.ak -i
 this that ABS IN.DU.A SEQ be.so.tall SUB.2

tirásuhrárikⁱ

tiraasuhuraáriki .
 this way that you stand .
 tii- ra- s- uhur- raa- arik -i .
 this ABS 2.A now way be.standing SUB.2 .

nikutahapakíah^u

Rikutahapaki'aahu'
 That is what we say
 riku- ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tiráshurárikⁱ . "

tiraasuhuraárikⁱ .

this way in which you stand .

tii- ra- s- uhur- raa- arik -i .

this ABS 2.A now way be.standing SUB.2 .

Nawa , nikuwitiwáku ,

Ráwa rikuwitiwáku'

Now that is what He said :

rawa riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 ,

now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF ,

" Tirəstaruhkukⁱ ,

" Tirastaáruhkuuki

" These things you have

" tii- ra- s- raar- ruhka'uk -i

" this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

tirəskišišuhóstawi

tiraskiciicuhaástawi

this string around your neck

tii- ra- s- kiic- ica- haas- ta -wi

this ABS 2.A neck on.the.end string be.hanging SUB.L

tihátu^{^tⁿ} ,

tihátuu'ut .

it is this way .

tii- haa- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .

this here IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

nikútiratiráwahətⁿ

Rikutíra' Tiráwaahat

That one is the way it is the Heavens

riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0

that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tirəsuhaíriku,

tirasuuhaa'íiriku

these things you see

tii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -hus
 this ABS 2.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB

tisirawikatirítik^u

tisiraawikatiriítiku

these (du) that fly above

tii- si- ra- 0- awi.kata.iri.itik -hus
 this DU ABS 3.A fly.above IMPF.SUB

tirəkišišuhástawⁱ

tiraskiciicuhaástawi

this string around your neck

tii- ra- s- kiic- ica- haas- ta -wi
 this ABS 2.A neck on.the.end string be.hanging SUB.L

nəskuwitákipir^u

raskuuwitákipiiru

when you wear it securely fastened

ra- s- ku- awi.takipir -u . "
 INF.A 2.A INF.B wear.securely.fastened SUB.D . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
 Ráwa iraári^ʔ

Now , brother ,
 rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tirəskurətkáwawuk^u

tiraskuuratkáwaawuku

these things you are hearing from me

tii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka'uk -waawa -hus
 this ABS 2.A 1.P PREV hear DIST IMPF.SUB

nikutiwakíah^u

rikutihwakí'aahu'

that is what they said

riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus kúrahus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF old.man

raturákətkuk^u

ratuuraákatkuku

what I heard from them

ra- t- uur- ak- atka'uk -hus kúrahus .
 ABS 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P hear IMPF.SUB old.man .

" Kítu

Kítuu'u'

All

kituu -u'

all NOM

tikuhapawáktiku

tikuhaapaawáktiiku'

he was talking to us

ti- 0- ku- ut- rak- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 1/2.PL talk IMPF

kúrahus
 kúrahus
 an old man
 kurahuus
 old.man

hitikuhəktatarúwa^u

hi tikuhaktaataruúwa'u'

and he told us different things

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-----|------|--------|------|------------|------|------|------|
| hi | ti- | 0- | ku- | ut- | rak- | raa- | tara'u | -ruu | -wa | -0 |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | 1.P | PREV | 1/2.PL | way | talk.about | DIST | DIST | PERF |

hirutiráwah^{Atⁿ}

. " Hiru Tiráwaahat

. " There the Heavens

. " hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0

. " there this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, šiksúrakut^a

cíksu' rakuúta

think about Him

aciks- -u' ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -0

mind NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do PERF

" Atiwáku

" A tiwáku'

" And he said

" a ti- 0- waka'u -0

" and IND.3A 3.A say PERF

Hirutítak^u

Hiru títaku

Then here

hiruu tii- -taku

then this LOC

witikitak^u

witikitaku

He sits above

wi- ti- 0- kita- kus -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A on.top be.sitting PERF

iriahuharutirašihwari

irii'ahuuhaáru

where he caused it

irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raar -u
where EV ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

tiracihwari

our living here

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

, ikasáhtawi

. I kasaáhtawi'

. And you might be among them ,

. i kaas- s- ar- tawi -0 ,
. and POT.2A 2.A EV be.among PERF ,

witísutkⁱ

wiitiisutki

young men

wiita.isut -kis

young.man DIM

tirásuhakasuh^{Atⁿ}

tirásuuhaakasuuhat .

you who are sitting around here .

tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 .
here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 .

kasáhtawi

atí^{As}

Kasaáhtawi'

Atí^{as}

, wítisətkⁱ
 wiitiísutki
 , young men ,
 , wiita.isut -kis ,
 , young.man DIM ,

tihárut^a

tiháruuta

it is this way

tii- haa- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
 this here ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

atirátirut^a

Atíra'

tíruuta

Mother

, it is this way

ati- raa , tii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
 1.POSS mother , this ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

tirahárik^u

átira

.

tirahaáriku

Atíra'

.

this one I have

Mother

.

tii- ra- t- raa- ri.kus -0 ati- raa .
 this ABS 1.A way sit.holding SUB.4 1.POSS mother .

Witirášiksta

atí^ʼs

Witíraaciksta

Atí^ʼas

He has his thoughts in her

our Father

wi- ti- 0- raa.aciks.ta -0 ati- as
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A think.highly.of PERF 1.POSS father

iríhašikst^a

.

i ríhaaciksta

.

and He is watching over her

.

i ra- 0- ir- ut- raa.aciks.ta -0 .

and ABS 3.A OBV PREV watch.over PERF .

Irákurašíkstawⁱ

I rákuuhaacikstawi ,

And watch over her

i ra- 0- ku- ut- raa.aciks.ta -wi
and INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV watch.over SUB.L

nakuharáh^{Atⁿ}

rakuuhaaráhut*

when one holds her

ra- 0- ku- ut- raar- ahuk -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P hold SUB.4 .

Siwítirawikíhkaruk^u

Siwítiraawikíhkaruuku^ʔ

They set prescribed times for it

si- wi- ti- 0- raawi.kiir ka.ra'uk -:hus
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.late make.PL.P IMPF

tiráwah^{Atⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

Kusirašiksišáwiš^{atⁿ}

Kusiíraciksicawicat

You will live to an old age

kuus- 0- ir- ar- aciks.ica.wic.at -0 hi
POT.1/3A 3.A PL.3A EV live.to.an.old.age PERF and

nikúisa

ríku'isaa

you'll be the one

riku- i- s- aah -0
that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A be PERF

hiisarətpáwaktik^u

hi isaruutapaáwaktiiku'

and you'll be talking to them

hi i- s- ar- ut- ak- waa.wak.tik -:hus
and CONT.1/2A 2.A EV BEN PL.AN.3P talk IMPF

witísətkⁱ .

wiitiisutki .

young men .

wiita.isut -kis .

young.man DIM .

Áriruhara^u

A riiruuhaára'u

And He will make the way for you

a ra- 0- ir- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
and ABS 3.A OBV 2.P BEN way make SUB.3

nakuwíška^a

rakuwícka'a

His wanting it

ra- 0- ku- wicka -a : "
INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 , "

kítara^u

Kiítaraa'u

Let me give you a way

kii- i- t- a- raa- uh -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

kararakukapákis^u
 kararakuukaapaákisu .
 that one not be pitiful .
 kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u .
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.pitiful SUB.D .

nikuwítira
 Rikuwítira'
 That is the way it is
 riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

kararakukapákis^u
 kararakuukaapaákisu
 for one not to be poor
 kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.poor SUB.D

nakútawi
 rakútawi
 to be among them
 ra- 0- ku- ta -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.hanging SUB.L

níhkuruh^a
 ríhkuruuha
 what was given to him by Him
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1

tiráwa .
 Tiráwaahat .
 the Heavens .
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 .

this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

Náw^a i , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa i iraári^ʔ
Now and , brother ,
rawa i , i- -raar- -ri^ʔ ,
now and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tiratuhárikah^u

tiratuuhaárikaahu

this I am telling you

tii- ra- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus
this ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV.3A PREV tell.to IMPF.SUB

, irárⁱ ,
iraári^ʔ ,
, brother ,
, i- -raar- -ri^ʔ ,
, 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tirétawihⁱ

tiraátawi^ʔ

it might be that way hi
and

ti- 0- raa- tawi -0 hi
IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF and

našakukuhára^u

racakukuuhaára^ʔu

His making a plan for us

ra- 0- aca- ku- ku- ut- raa- ra^ʔuk -0
INF.A 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P INF.B BEN way make SUB.3

atí^ʌs šíkstitⁿ

Atí^ʔas cíkstit

just now all.at.once NOM .