

## Skiri Narratives, Three

### Roaming Scout

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

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

tatarira<sup>i</sup>wátist<sup>a</sup>

tatariiraa<sup>i</sup>iwaátista

I am going to tell you

|          |     |     |           |      |              |      |     |
|----------|-----|-----|-----------|------|--------------|------|-----|
| ta-      | t-  | a-  | ri-       | uur- | raa.iiwaat   | -his | -ta |
| IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | PHYS.POSS | PREV | tell.a.story | PERF | INT |

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

hiruwiririhkurištarauš<sup>a</sup>

hiru wirikurictara<sup>'</sup>ucta

then now I am going to talk about that one

|       |      |         |      |     |                     |       |     |
|-------|------|---------|------|-----|---------------------|-------|-----|
| hiruu | wii- | riku-   | rii- | t-  | tara <sup>'</sup> u | -:hus | -ta |
| then  | now  | that.is | ASSR | 1.A | talk.about          | IMPF  | INT |

tirahápakihu

tirahápakihu

this one we say

|      |     |     |        |             |          |
|------|-----|-----|--------|-------------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | rak-   | waki.a      | -hus     |
| this | ABS | 1.A | 1/2.PL | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

|                    |       |       |     |   |            |   |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-----|---|------------|---|
| šahikstahkítu      |       |       |     | , | páruksti   | . |
| cahikstaahkítuu'u' |       |       |     |   | Paáruksti' | . |
| all people         |       |       |     |   | Holy Being | . |
| icaahiks           | raar- | kituu | -u' | , | waarukstii | . |
| person             | PL    | all   | NOM | , | be.holy    | . |

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

|                |        |     |            |      |   |   |
|----------------|--------|-----|------------|------|---|---|
| witiwáruksti   |        |     |            |      | , |   |
| witiwaáruksti' |        |     |            |      |   | . |
| he was holy    |        |     |            |      |   | . |
| wi-            | ti-    | 0-  | waarukstii | -0   |   | . |
| QUOT           | IND.3A | 3.A | be.holy    | PERF |   | . |

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

nikutuhásiratísask<sup>u</sup>  
rikutuuhá'  
that is the reason

siratísaasku  
our calling him

|         |        |     |      |      |    |      |     |     |     |              |          |
|---------|--------|-----|------|------|----|------|-----|-----|-----|--------------|----------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | ut-  | raa- | 0  | -0   | si- | ra- | t-  | hisaask      | -hus     |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way  | be | PERF | DU  | ABS | 1.A | call.by.name | IMPF.SUB |

|            |   |           |        |     |        |      |  |  |   |  |   |
|------------|---|-----------|--------|-----|--------|------|--|--|---|--|---|
| páruksti   | . | Witiwáku  |        |     |        |      |  |  |   |  |   |
| Paáruksti' | . | Witiwáku' |        |     |        |      |  |  |   |  | " |
| Holy Being | . | He said   |        |     |        |      |  |  | : |  | " |
| waarukstii | . | wi-       | ti-    | 0-  | waka'u | -0   |  |  | , |  | " |
| be.holy    | . | QUOT      | IND.3A | 3.A | say    | PERF |  |  | , |  | " |

|               |     |            |      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---------------|-----|------------|------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| tətparuksti   |     |            |      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tatpaáruksti' | .   |            |      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| I am holy     | .   |            |      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ta-           | t-  | waarukstii | -0   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IND.1/2A      | 1.A | be.holy    | PERF |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|              |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| nutkuwiškaa  |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ratkuwícka'a |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| When I want  |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ra-          | t-  | ku-   | wicka | -a    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| INF.A        | 1.A | INF.B | want  | SUB.1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|               |              |      |           |     |      |     |      |  |  |  |  |
|---------------|--------------|------|-----------|-----|------|-----|------|--|--|--|--|
| kíratiháituta |              |      |           |     |      |     |      |  |  |  |  |
| kíra          | tihaá'ituuta |      |           |     |      |     |      |  |  |  |  |
| then          | I'll do this |      |           |     |      |     |      |  |  |  |  |
| kira          | tii-         | haa- | i-        | t-  | ut-  | aar | -0   |  |  |  |  |
| perhaps       | this         | here | CONT.1/2A | 1.A | PREV | do  | PERF |  |  |  |  |

|   |      |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| " | Náwa | , |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| " | Ráwa | , |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| " | Now  | , |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| " | rawa | , |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| " | now  | , |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

atatúhuktišis



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

wítiwaku  
 witiwáku'  
 he said  
 wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

tírahuparuksti ,  
 tíraahu Paáruksti'  
 this one coming Holy Being :  
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus waarukstii ,  
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB be.holy ,

“  
 “  
 “  
 “

kokakatirihahúhtawi  
 Kukaakaatiriihaahúhtawi'  
 Nothing is hard for me  
 ku- kaaka- t- ir- ri- ut- raa.huhtawii -0  
 INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV be.difficult PERF

tirétpari .  
 tirátpari .  
 as I go around .

tii- ra- t- warii -hus .  
 when ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPf IMPf.SUB .

Kukakiráku  
 Kukaakiiraáku  
 There is nothing

ku- kaaki- 0- raa- kus -0  
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.sitting PERF

ratikurihahuhtawi<sup>u</sup>  
 ratihkurihaahúhtawi'u  
 my having it difficult

ra- t- ir- ku- ri- ut- raa.huhtawii -u  
 INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV be.difficult SUB.D

. Nətkuwíšk<sup>a</sup>  
 . Ratkuwícka'a  
 . What I want it

. ra- t- ku- wicka -a  
 . INF.A 1.A INF.B want SUB.1

tihasišuks  
 tihaásicuks  
 it will be this way

tii- ar- ra- s- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0  
 this EV ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS be PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Nikutirarətpáruksti<sup>u</sup>

Rikutíra'  
That is the reason  
riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 ra- t- waarukstii -u  
that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF ABS 1.A be.holy SUB.D

. Nətkuwiška<sup>a</sup> ,  
 . Ratkuwícka'a ,  
 . When I think ,  
 . ra- t- ku- wicka -a ,  
 . INF.A 1.A INF.B think SUB.1 ,

kitaráhuru  
Kiitaraáhuru'  
Let me spoil (ie disfigure) it  
kii- i- t- ar- raahur ra'uk -0  
HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A EV be.spoiled make PERF

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

kitaráhuru  
Kiitaraáhuru'  
Let me spoil it  
kii- i- t- ar- raahur ra'uk -0  
HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A EV be.spoiled make PERF

tirahúraš<sup>a</sup>  
tirahúraahca "  
this earth , "  
tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0 , "  
this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3 , "

hirikutatuhá

hi rikutatuuhá'

and I am the cause

|     |         |          |     |      |      |    |      |
|-----|---------|----------|-----|------|------|----|------|
| hi  | riku-   | ta-      | t-  | ut-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| and | that.is | IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV | way  | be | PERF |

nutkurahúra<sup>u</sup>

ratkuraahúra'u

for me to spoil it

|       |     |       |            |       |       |   |
|-------|-----|-------|------------|-------|-------|---|
| ra-   | t-  | ku-   | raahur     | ra'uk | -0    | . |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | be.spoiled | make  | SUB.3 | . |

Nikutuhatiratasaru

Rikutuuhá'

That is the reason

|         |        |     |      |      |    |      |
|---------|--------|-----|------|------|----|------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | ut-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way  | be | PERF |

tiraátasaaru

my being named

|      |     |     |          |       |
|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | asar     | -u    |
| this | ABS | 1.A | be.named | SUB.D |

|   |            |   |   |      |   |
|---|------------|---|---|------|---|
| " | paruksti   | . | " | Náwa | , |
|   | Paáruksti' | . | " | Ráwa |   |
|   | Holy Being | . | " | Now  | , |
| " | waarukstii | . | " | rawa | , |
| " | be.holy    | . | " | now  | , |

irár<sup>i</sup>

iraári'

brother

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

nikutirákit<sup>a</sup>

rikutiraákita

that is why



riku- ti- 0- raa.kita -0  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

áhawak<sup>a</sup> ,  
 áhawaaka “  
 his saying : “  
 ar- ra- 0- waak -a , “  
 EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , “

sitəskutpakararúhust<sup>a</sup>

Sítaskutpakaraarúhusta

You are going to call out to me

si- ta- s- ku- ut- wakaraar.u.uh -:hus -ta  
 DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV call.out.to.IMPF.INT IMPF INT

wirahkukukáhurahtiraraari

wiraahkukukaáhurahtiiraraa'aari.

when my spring season is becoming new.

wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ku- kaahuraar- tiiraraa -aar -i  
 when INF.A 3.A EV 1.P INF.B earth be.new INCH IMPF.SUB

"  
 "  
 "  
 "

iririkusiritutpákararaw<sup>u</sup>

Iririkusiriitutpákaraarawu'

Thus he is the one we call out to

irii- riku- si- rii- t- ut- wakaraar.a.wu -:hus  
 that that.is DU ASSR 1.A PREV call.out.to.IMPF IMPF

nasira<sup>taw</sup><sup>i</sup> ,

rasiraa'íitawi

as you know

ra- s- ir- raa.iita -wi ,  
ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A know SUB.L ,

nətkúraruku

kúrahus .

ratkúraaruku

kúrahus .

when we sing

old men .

ra- t- ku- raa.ra'uk -hus kurahuus .  
INF.A 1.A INF.B sing IMPF.SUB old.man .

Witihurasaráriks

Witiihuurasaraáriks

It is his real name

wi- ti- 0- i- huur.asar- raariks -0  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ name be.true PERF

páruksti , irár<sup>i</sup> .

Paáruksti' iraári' .

Holy Being , brother .

waarukstii , i- -raar- -ri' .

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

Tuhararahkítu

Tuuhá'

raaraahkítuu'u'

It is the reason

(in) all ways

ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 raa- raar- kituu -u'  
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF way PL all NOM

kuhawaruksti ,

kuuháwaaruksti'

he is holy

kuur- ra- 0- waarukstii -0 ,  
DUB ABS 3.A be.holy PERF ,

tirahúšuhur<sup>u</sup>

tíraahu

this one who comes

|      |     |     |         |      |          |          |     |
|------|-----|-----|---------|------|----------|----------|-----|
| tii- | ra- | 0-  | a-      | a    | -hus     | cúhuuru' | -u' |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PREV.3A | come | IMPF.SUB | rain     | NOM |

.  
. .  
. .

Akihíirikúhuharaik<sup>u</sup>

Aki

hi

irikúhuuhaara'ihku'

And here

and

that is what he meant

|     |       |     |       |       |     |     |      |            |       |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|------------|-------|
| a-  | ki    | hi  | irii- | kuur- | ra- | 0-  | ut-  | raa.ra'ihk | -.hus |
| and | there | and | that  | DUB   | ABS | 3.A | PREV | mean       | IMPF  |

,  
  
,  
,

ti'riwiratuharíka<sup>a</sup>

ti'riwiratuuhaárikaa'a

this that I have told you

|      |       |      |     |     |           |     |      |              |       |
|------|-------|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|------|--------------|-------|
| tii- | irii- | wii- | ra- | t-  | ir-       | a-  | ut-  | raa.ri.kaa.a | -0    |
| this | that  | now  | ABS | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | 2.P | PREV | tell.to      | SUB.4 |

.  
. .  
. .

Kukárawitaríšinahútawi  
 Kukarawitariiciraahúhtawi'  
 Nothing is hard for him

|      |       |      |        |     |         |           |      |     |              |      |
|------|-------|------|--------|-----|---------|-----------|------|-----|--------------|------|
| ku-  | kara- | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | a-      | ri-       | ut-  | i-  | raa.huhtawii | -0   |
| INDF | NEG   | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | PHYS.POSS | PREV | SEQ | be.difficult | PERF |

nakuwiška<sup>a</sup>

|                |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  |   |
|----------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| rakuwícka'a    |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  | “ |
| when he thinks |     |       |       |       |  |  |  |  |  | “ |
| ra-            | 0-  | ku-   | wicka | -a    |  |  |  |  |  | “ |
| INF.A          | 3.A | INF.B | think | SUB.1 |  |  |  |  |  | “ |

kitaráhur<sup>u</sup>

|                |           |  |     |     |            |       |      |  |  |   |
|----------------|-----------|--|-----|-----|------------|-------|------|--|--|---|
| Kiitaraáhuru'  |           |  |     |     |            |       |      |  |  | “ |
| Let me ruin it |           |  |     |     |            |       |      |  |  | “ |
| kii-           | i-        |  | t-  | ar- | raahur     | ra'uk | -0   |  |  | “ |
| HORT           | CONT.1/2A |  | 1.A | EV  | be.spoiled | make  | PERF |  |  | “ |

irirurúksawaš<sup>u</sup>

|                         |      |     |     |      |        |    |       |  |  |   |
|-------------------------|------|-----|-----|------|--------|----|-------|--|--|---|
| iriruúruksawahcu        |      |     |     |      |        |    |       |  |  | . |
| whatever it may even be |      |     |     |      |        |    |       |  |  | . |
| irii-                   | ruu- | ra- | 0-  | uks- | awahc- | 0  | -u    |  |  | . |
| what                    | then | ABS | 3.A | JUSS | even   | be | SUB.D |  |  | . |

Nuksawaštakasísu  
 Ruksawactaakasísu  
 No matter how hard it is

|     |     |      |         |           |       |
|-----|-----|------|---------|-----------|-------|
| ra- | 0-  | uks- | awahc-  | raa.kasis | -u    |
| ABS | 3.A | JUSS | even.if | be.firm   | SUB.D |

hikaraahaririširahúhtawi

hi kara'ahaririiciraahúhtawi'  
and it is not difficult for him  
hi kara- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- ri- ut- i- raa.huhtawii -0  
and NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ be.difficult PERF

nikuwituhá .  
. Rikuwituuhá' .  
. That is what he did .  
. riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 .  
. that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF .

Na , irári'  
Ra iraári'  
So , brother ,  
ra , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
so , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

iahawáku  
i ahawáku' "  
and he said : "  
i ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

hirutítaku ,  
Hiru tiítaku  
Then here  
hiruu tii- -taku ,  
then this LOC ,

ti'riratárik<sup>i</sup> ,  
ti'iriiraatáriki  
here where I stand  
tii- irii- ra- t- arik -i ,  
here where ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

hirunikutíra

hiru rikutíra'

then that is the reason

hiruu riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0  
then that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

tiratárik<sup>i</sup>,

tiraatáriki

my standing here

tii- ra- t- arik -i  
here ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2

tiréspari

tiráspari

your being here

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

ákítar<sup>u</sup>

ákitaaru' .

tribe .

akitaar- -u' .

tribe NOM .

nikúwitira ,

Rikuwitíra'

That is the reason

riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 ,  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF ,

rutkurakipásikawakarúku

ratkurahkipaásikawaakaruku

for me to make them cool

|       |     |       |            |          |               |          |
|-------|-----|-------|------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| ra-   | t-  | ku-   | raar-      | kipaasi  | kawaaka.ra'uk | -hus     |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | 3PL.INAN.P | be.shady | make.DIST     | IMPF.SUB |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| tirustarúhkuk <sup>i</sup>              | . |   |
| tirastaáruhkuuki                        | . | " |
| these that you have                     | . | " |
| tii- ra- s- raar- ruhka'uk -i           | . | " |
| this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 | . | " |

Nəkirik<sup>u</sup>  
Rákiriku'  
Seeds  
rak- kirik -u'  
wood eye NOM

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| wituharaíhk <sup>u</sup>        | , |
| wituuhaára'ihku'                | . |
| he meant them                   | . |
| wi- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus | . |
| QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF  | . |

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

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| nikuwítira                          |  |
| rikuwítira'                         |  |
| he meant it                         |  |
| riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0          |  |
| that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF |  |

tirarakipaka<sup>i</sup>wíru,

tiraraahkipaahka'wiiru

when he places the coolness down on it

|      |     |     |            |         |               |      |          |
|------|-----|-----|------------|---------|---------------|------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | 0-  | raar-      | kipaar  | ka.wi.iir     | -wa  | -hus     |
| when | ABS | 3.A | 3PL.INAN.P | be.damp | place.down.on | DIST | IMPF.SUB |

iriahihara<sup>u</sup>

iri'ahiihaára'u

the way He made it for him

|       |     |     |     |     |     |      |       |       |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|
| irii- | ar- | ra- | 0-  | ir- | ut- | raa- | ra'uk | -0    |
| that  | EV  | ABS | 3.A | OBV | BEN | way  | make  | SUB.3 |

atíəs

tirakítak<sup>u</sup>

Atí'as

tirakítaku

our Father

this one above

|        |        |      |     |     |        |            |       |
|--------|--------|------|-----|-----|--------|------------|-------|
| ati-   | as     | tii- | ra- | 0-  | kita-  | kus        | -0    |
| 1.POSS | father | this | ABS | 3.A | on.top | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

I arísít<sup>n</sup>

I ariísit

And himself

i ariisit

and one's.own

witikúhuriwət<sup>n</sup>

witikúhuuriiwat

he told of himself

|       |       |     |     |      |       |      |      |   |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|-------|------|------|---|
| witi- | kuur- | ra- | 0-  | uur- | iiwat | -0   | Náwa | , |
| REFL  | DUB   | ABS | 3.A | PREV | tell  | PERF | Ráwa | , |
|       |       |     |     |      |       |      | Now  | , |
|       |       |     |     |      |       |      | rawa | , |
|       |       |     |     |      |       |      | now  | , |

irár<sup>i</sup>

iraári'

brother

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



hirurikuwituháhura

hiru rikuwituhaáhura'

then that is where everything originated

|       |         |      |        |     |      |               |      |
|-------|---------|------|--------|-----|------|---------------|------|
| hiruu | riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | ut-  | raa.hurar     | -0   |
| then  | that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | be.the.origin | PERF |

ti'riahárik<sup>i</sup>

ti'irii'ahaáriki

here where he stands

|      |       |     |     |     |             |       |   |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|-------|---|
| tii- | irii- | ar- | ra- | 0-  | arik        | -i    | , |
| here | where | EV  | ABS | 3.A | be.standing | SUB.2 | , |

ti'rirašíhwari

ti'iriiracíhwari

here where we go about

|      |       |     |         |                     |          |
|------|-------|-----|---------|---------------------|----------|
| tii- | irii- | ra- | aciir-  | warii               | -hus     |
| here | where | ABS | IN.DU.A | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

tirašíhwari

tiracíhwari

our living here

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

hirurikuwituháhura

Hiru rikuwituhaáhura'

Then that is where everything originated

|       |         |      |        |     |      |               |      |
|-------|---------|------|--------|-----|------|---------------|------|
| hiruu | riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | ut-  | raa.hurar     | -0   |
| then  | that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | be.the.origin | PERF |

|   |      |                          |                    |
|---|------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| . | Hiru | əskurúrit <sup>n</sup> , | šápat <sup>n</sup> |
| . | Hiru | askuruúrit               | cápaat             |
| . | Then | together                 | woman              |

. hiruu asku ra- 0- uur- ik -0 capaak  
 . then one ABS 3.A PREV look.like PERF woman

, tirárik<sup>i</sup> ,  
 tiraáriki  
 this  
 , tii- ra- 0- arik -i ,  
 , this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

hirurikusiwitiwárit<sup>n</sup>,

hiru rikusiwitiwaárit

then they (du) are the ones standing there

hiruu riku- si- wi- ti- 0- wa- arik -0  
 then that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF

hikíši pít<sup>a</sup>  
 hi kici piíta  
 and but the man  
 hi kici wiita  
 and but man

kuhíharu

kuhíhaaru'

the way was made for him

kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa- ra'uk -0 , "  
 DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF BEN way make PERF , "

nikuásu,

Riku'aásu

That you be the one

riku- aa- s- 0 -u  
 the.one SUBJ.1/2A 2.A be SUB.D

astakipaka<sup>i</sup>wíru

astaákipaahka'wiiru

that you place coolness on the earth

aa- s- rak- kipaar ka.wi.iir -wa -hus  
SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.damp place.down.on DIST IMPF.SUB

. Ha ,  
. " Ha  
. " Ha ,  
. " ha ,  
. " ha ,

rakíríkuwiríhkuraririwasírík<sup>a</sup>

rákiriiku' wiríhkuraaririwaasíríka  
seeds when they put them in the ground

rak- kirik -u' wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- irisir -waa -ik -a  
wood eye NOM when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P be.buried DIST CAUS SUB.1

nikuwítuharu

rikuwítúhaaru'

that is the way he made it

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- ra'uk -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way make PERF .

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

nikuwítuharu

rikuwítúhaaru'

that is the reason

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- ra'uk -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way make PERF

ahiruririkíhk<sup>a</sup>

ahiruuriirikíhka

his being stood there by him

|     |     |     |     |                        |       |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|-------|
| ar- | ra- | 0-  | ir- | uuri.arik.ihk          | -a    |
| EV  | ABS | 3.A | OBV | cause.to.stand.upright | SUB.1 |

|            |        |   |                        |       |      |
|------------|--------|---|------------------------|-------|------|
| atíəs      |        | . | Hiruaškət <sup>n</sup> |       | ,    |
| Atí'as     |        | . | Hiru                   | áckat |      |
| our Father |        | . | Then                   | above | ,    |
| ati-       | as     | . | hiruu                  | ac    | -kat |
| 1.POSS     | father | . | then                   | above | LOC  |

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

akaruwítaru

ákaaru' wítaruu  
dwelling it is his

|          |     |      |        |     |         |           |        |    |      |
|----------|-----|------|--------|-----|---------|-----------|--------|----|------|
| akaar    | -u' | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | a-      | ri-       | uur-   | 0  | -0   |
| dwelling | NOM | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be | PERF |

tiráhu

tíraahu

this one coming

|      |     |     |         |      |          |         |     |
|------|-----|-----|---------|------|----------|---------|-----|
| tii- | ra- | 0-  | a-      | a    | -hus     | acuhuur | -u' |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PREV.3A | come | IMPF.SUB | rain    | NOM |

šuhúru  
cuhuúru'

rain  
rain NOM

.

.  
.

akaruwítaru

|          |     |           |        |     |         |           |        |    |      |  |
|----------|-----|-----------|--------|-----|---------|-----------|--------|----|------|--|
| Ákaaru'  |     | wítaruu   |        |     |         |           |        |    |      |  |
| Dwelling |     | it is his |        |     |         |           |        |    |      |  |
| akaar    | -u' | wi-       | ti-    | 0-  | a-      | ri-       | uur-   | 0  | -0   |  |
| dwelling | NOM | QUOT      | IND.3A | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be | PERF |  |

. Hirikuahahútuha  
hi riku'ahahuútuha  
, and there is wind in it  
, hi riku- ar- ra- 0- huutuur- kaa -0  
, and that.is EV ABS 3.A wind be.inside PERF

. Nikuwitiwákah<sup>u</sup>  
. Rikuwitiwákaahu' "  
. That is what he was saying: "  
. riku- wi- ti- 0- waka -:hus "  
. that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF "

ahírutətaríka

|     |       |                   |     |              |      |  |  |  |  |   |
|-----|-------|-------------------|-----|--------------|------|--|--|--|--|---|
| A   | hiru  | taatákariku       |     |              |      |  |  |  |  | . |
| And | then  | I have a dwelling |     |              |      |  |  |  |  | . |
| a   | hiruu | ta-               | t-  | akaar.ri.kus | -0   |  |  |  |  | . |
| and | then  | IND.1/2A          | 1.A | have.a.home  | PERF |  |  |  |  | . |

arísit<sup>n</sup> , "  
Ariísit  
Myself  
ariísit , "  
one's.own , "

Tihatatu<sup>utn</sup> ,

tahaatátuu'ut .  
 this is how I am .  
 tii- haa- ta- t- ut- 0 -' .  
 this here IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX .

tatákarik<sup>u</sup> .  
 Taatákariku .  
 I have a dwelling .  
 ta- t- akaar.ri.kus -0 .  
 IND.1/2A 1.A have.a.home PERF .

Wirəskukutpakararú<sup>a</sup>  
 Wiraskukutpakaraáru'a  
 When you call out to me  
 wii- ra- s- ku- ku- ut- wakaraar.u.a -0  
 when INF.A 2.A 1.P INF.B PREV call.out.to SUB.4

,

,

,

kurusirakítaw<sup>i</sup>  
 kuruusiraakítaw<sup>i</sup>  
 it will be the way  
 ku- ruu- i- s- i- raa.kita.wi -0  
 INDF then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.the.primary.way PERF

wirəskukutpakararu<sup>a</sup>  
 wiraskukutpakaraáru'a  
 when you call out to me  
 wii- ra- s- ku- ku- ut- wakaraar.u.a -0  
 when INF.A 2.A 1.P INF.B PREV call.out.to SUB.4

irirutatawašitikusuk<sup>u</sup> .  
 iriruutaatawacítikusuuku' . "  
 I always come out of it there . "  
 irii- ruu- ta- t- awacitik -:hus -uuku . "  
 there then IND.1/2A 1.A go.out IMPF HAB . "

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

nikutira  
 rikutíra'  
 that is the reason  
 riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

ahirutəktaríka<sup>a</sup>  
 ahiruutaktaaríkaa'a  
 that is what he told them  
 ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa.ri.kaa.a -0  
 EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV PL.AN.3P tell.to SUB.4

. Wítiwaku ,  
 . Witiwáku' .  
 . He said .  
 . wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 .  
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

wítiwaku títaku ,  
 Witiwáku' " Tíitaku  
 He said : " Here

wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " tii- -taku ,  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " this LOC ,

sitaskutpakararúhust<sup>a</sup>

sitaskutpakaraarúhusta

you (pl) are going to call out to me

si- ta- s- ku- ut- wakaraar.u.uh -:hus -ta  
 DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV call.out.to.IMPF.INT IMPF INT

, tihakásiwakah<sup>u</sup>

. Tihaakaasiwákaahu'

. This you must say

. tii- haa- kaas- s- i- waka -:hus  
 . this here POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF

təsku'itáwuh<sup>u</sup>

rasku'iitaáwuhu

when you call upon me

ra- s- ku- iita.wuh -hus  
 ABS 2.A 1.P announce IMPF.SUB

Kasiwakáh<sup>u</sup>

Kaasiwákaahu'

You must say

kaas- s- i- waka -:hus ,  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF ,

wirahwít<sup>itn</sup>

Wiraáhwiitit

Now he sits down

wii- ra- 0- ar- wi.itik -0  
 now ABS 3.A EV sit.down PERF

nakúwit<sup>itn</sup>



rakúwiitit . '
   
when he sits down . '
   
ra- 0- ku- wi.itik -0 . '
   
INF.A 3.A INF.B sit.down SUB.4 . '

Kasiwakáh<sup>u</sup>
  
Kaasiwákaahu'
   
You must say : '
   
kaas- s- i- waka -:hus , '
   
POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF , '

wituhkusawiet<sup>n</sup> .
   
Witúhkusawi'at . '
   
Now he rocks . '
   
wii- ti- 0- uur- kus.awi.at -0 . '
   
now IND.3A 3.A PREV rock.in.one's.seat PERF . '

Kasiwakāhuwituša
   
Kaasiwákaahu'
   
You must say :
   
kaas- s- i- waka -:hus ,
   
POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF ,

Wituucaá' . '
   
Now he arises . '
   
wii- ti- 0- a- uca.a -0 . '
   
now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF . '

irirutətirišáah<sup>u</sup>
  
Iriruutatiriicaá'aahu'
   
Then I am getting up
   
irii- ruu- ta- t- ir- i- uca.a -:hus
   
there then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ get.up IMPF

|   |                         |     |       |       |       |        |
|---|-------------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| . | Nətkuwíška <sup>a</sup> |     |       |       |       | náwa   |
| . | Ratkuwícka'a            |     |       |       |       | ráwa   |
| . | When I want             |     |       |       | ,     | now    |
| . | ra-                     | t-  | ku-   | wicka | -a    | , rawa |
| . | INF.A                   | 1.A | INF.B | want  | SUB.1 | , now  |

|                            |     |         |             |
|----------------------------|-----|---------|-------------|
| tuhurawásitit <sup>n</sup> | .   | Na      | ,           |
| tuuhuuráwacitit            | .   | " Ra    |             |
| let me finally go outside  | .   | " Now   | ,           |
| i-                         | t-  | uhur-   | awacitik -0 |
| CONT.1/2A                  | 1.A | finally | go.out PERF |
|                            | .   | " ra    | ,           |
|                            | .   | " now   | ,           |

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

|                            |     |     |     |      |         |        |          |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|---------|--------|----------|
| tírəskurətkawawúku         |     |     |     |      |         |        |          |
| tiraskuuratkawaáwuku       |     |     |     |      |         |        |          |
| this that you hear from me |     |     |     |      |         |        |          |
| tii-                       | ra- | s-  | ku- | uur- | atka'uk | -waawa | -hus     |
| this                       | ABS | 2.A | 1.P | PREV | hear    | DIST   | IMPF.SUB |

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

|                      |            |
|----------------------|------------|
| Nikuwitiwákuparuksti | .          |
| Rikuwitiwáku'        | Paáruksti' |
| That is what he said | Holy Being |
|                      | :          |

riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 waarukstii .  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF be.holy .

Kásiwakāh<sup>u</sup>

“ Kaasiwákaahu’ ~  
 “ You must say : ~  
 “ kaas- s- i- waka -:hus , ‘  
 “ POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF , ‘

witispátasit<sup>n</sup> .

Witispáatasit . ‘  
 Now he starts out . ‘  
 wii- ti- 0- as.waat.as.ik -0 . ‘  
 now IND.3A 3.A start.out PERF . ‘

Kásiwakāh<sup>u</sup>

Kaasiwákaahu’ ~  
 You must say : ~  
 kaas- s- i- waka -:hus , ‘  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF , ‘

witáka<sup>a</sup> .

Witákaa’a’ . ‘  
 Now he walks across the lodge . ‘  
 wii- ti- 0- a- kaa- a -0 . ‘  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A inside come PERF . ‘

Kásiwakāh<sup>u</sup>

Kaasiwákaahu’ ~  
 You must say : ~  
 kaas- s- i- waka -:hus , ‘  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF , ‘

witakáwiša .

Witakaá'ihwiica' . '  
 Now he moves closer in the lodge . '  
 wii- ti- 0- a- kaa.ih.wiic.a -0 . '  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A approach.inside PERF . '

Kásiwak<sup>u</sup>  
 Kaasiwáku' '  
 You must say : '  
 kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 , '  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF , '

witawašítiksa .  
 Witaawacítiksa' .  
 Now he comes outside .  
 wii- ti- 0- a- awacitik -his a -0 .  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF come PERF .

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

tirətpawákahu  
 tiratpaawaákahu  
 this that I am saying  
 tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus  
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

níkuwitiwaku  
 rikuwitiwáku' "  
 this is what he said : "  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

tihatəspawakáhust<sup>a</sup>

Tihaataspaawaakáhusta

You are going to be saying this

|      |      |          |     |      |          |       |     |
|------|------|----------|-----|------|----------|-------|-----|
| tii- | haa- | ta-      | s-  | waa- | waka     | -.hus | -ta |
| this | here | IND.1/2A | 2.A | DIST | say.IMPf | IMPf  | INT |

|   |    |     |          |                  |          |   |
|---|----|-----|----------|------------------|----------|---|
| . | Na | ,   | irári    | ,                |          |   |
| . | "  | Ra  | iraári'  | ,                |          |   |
| . | "  | And | brother  | ,                |          |   |
| . | "  | ra  | i-       | -raar-           | -ri'     | , |
| . | "  | and | 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | 3.POSS.B | , |

wítiwaku

witiwáku'

he said

|      |        |     |        |      |   |   |
|------|--------|-----|--------|------|---|---|
| wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | waka'u | -0   | , | " |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | say    | PERF | , | " |

iskurutka<sup>u</sup>

Iskuúratka'u

What you hear from me

|           |     |     |      |         |       |        |     |
|-----------|-----|-----|------|---------|-------|--------|-----|
| i-        | s-  | ku- | uur- | atka'uk | -0    | rihuks | -u' |
| CONT.1/2A | 2.A | 1.P | PREV | hear    | SUB.3 | alone  | NOM |

níhuks<sup>u</sup>

ríhuksu'

only

wiitíra

wi'itíra

when I come

|      |           |     |           |      |       |
|------|-----------|-----|-----------|------|-------|
| wii- | i-        | t-  | ir-       | a    | -0    |
| when | CONT.1/2A | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | come | SUB.4 |

kiháhiri

kiihaáhiri'

in the room

kiihaar -hiri' ,  
be.a.room LOC ,

iskúrætka<sup>u</sup> šæskírarit<sup>n</sup>,  
iskuúratka'u caskiírarit  
what you hear from me a little bit  
i- s- ku- uur- atka'uk -0 caskii raarit  
CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV hear SUB.3 a.little really

nætkíriru ,  
ratkíriru  
when I thunder  
ra- t- kirir -hus ,  
ABS 1.A thunder IMPF.SUB ,

iriruruksáwaš,tətkaharáwi<sup>u</sup>  
iriruuruksáwactatkahaarawi'u  
no matter what time of the night it is  
irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- ratkahaar- raa.wi.u -0  
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even.if night be.a.time SUB.4

, nurahírah<sup>u</sup>  
ruuratiírahu  
, then when I am coming  
, ruu- ra- t- ir- a -hus  
, then ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come IMPF.SUB

nikíririra  
rikíririra  
when it thunders (softly)  
ri- 0- kirir -a  
CONT.3A 3.A thunder SUB.1

hirurikuwitakaháhir<sup>i</sup>

hiru rikuwitaá'  
 then that is when I come  
 hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- a- a -0  
 then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

Kahahirírikuwita

kaahaáhiri' . Kaahaáhiri' rikuwitaá'  
 inside . Inside that is when I come  
 kaa- -haar -hiri' . kaa- -haar -hiri' riku- wi- ti- 0- a- a -0  
 inside LOC LOC . inside LOC LOC that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

. Na , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . " Ra iraári'  
 . " Now , brother ,  
 . " ra , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 . " so , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

iriwítiwaku ,  
 iriwitiwáku' “  
 he said this : “  
 irii- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , “  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , “

itirawašítiksa

Itirawacítiksa

When I come outside

i- t- ir- awacitik -his a -0  
 CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A go.out PERF come SUB.4

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

witawášitiks<sup>a</sup>  
Witaawácitiksa'  
Now he has come out  
wii- ti- 0- a- awacitik -his a -0  
now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF come PERF

' Na , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
' " Ra iraári'  
' " Now , brother ,  
' " ra , i- -raar- -ri'  
' " so , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikuwitiwaku  
rikuwitiwáku'  
this is what he said  
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

tirətpakástarit<sup>n</sup> ,  
tiratpaakástarit " ,  
this that I am going to say : "  
tii- ra- t- waak -as -ta -rit , "  
this ABS 1.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT INT.SUB , "

kásiwaku  
Kaasiwáku'  
You must say :



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

witiwawít<sup>n</sup>

Witiwaawiítit

Now he spreads out

|      |        |     |      |          |      |   |   |
|------|--------|-----|------|----------|------|---|---|
| wii- | ti-    | 0-  | waa- | wi.itik  | -0   | . | ' |
| now  | IND.3A | 3.A | DIST | sit.down | PERF | . | ' |

wi'túhtar<sup>it</sup><sup>n</sup>

Wi'ituútiirit

When I see you

|      |           |     |     |      |       |       |
|------|-----------|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|
| wii- | i-        | t-  | a-  | ut-  | iirik | -0    |
| when | CONT.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | PREV | see   | SUB.4 |

təskutírikst<sup>a</sup>

taskuutiíriksta

you are going to see me

|          |     |     |      |       |      |     |   |
|----------|-----|-----|------|-------|------|-----|---|
| ta-      | s-  | ku- | ut-  | iirik | -his | -ta | . |
| IND.1/2A | 2.A | 1.P | PREV | see   | PERF | INT | . |

kásiwaku

Kaasiwáku'

You must say

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

witiwawitit<sup>n</sup>

Witiwaawiítit

Now he spreads out

|      |        |     |      |          |      |   |   |   |
|------|--------|-----|------|----------|------|---|---|---|
| wii- | ti-    | 0-  | waa- | wi.itik  | -0   | . | ' | " |
| now  | IND.3A | 3.A | DIST | sit.down | PERF | . | ' | " |

Ahawáku

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

wihiwátār<sup>a</sup>
  
Wi'ihiiwátaara
   
When I look
   
wii- i- t- riiwat.aar -a
   
when CONT.1/2A 1.A look.in.a.direction SUB.1

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

witiwawapiš ,
   
Witiwaawaapic . '
   
Now it lightenings . '
   
wii- ti- 0- waa.waapic -0 . '
   
now IND.3A 3.A lightning PERF . '

wihiwátpaah<sup>a</sup>
  
Wi'ihiiwátpaaha
   
When I look all around
   
wii- i- t- riiwat.aar -waa -a
   
when CONT.1/2A 1.A look.in.a.direction DIST SUB.1

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

witiriwətpa .  
 Witiriíwatpa . '  
 Now he looks around . '  
 wii- ti- 0- riiwat.aar -waa -0 . '  
 now IND.3A 3.A look.in.a.direction DIST PERF . '

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

wi'tpáwaktit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 wi'itpaáwaktit ,  
 when I speak :  
 wii- i- t- waa.wak.tik -0 , '  
 when CONT.1/2A 1.A talk SUB.4 , '

witíkiri .  
 Witíkiri . '  
 Now it shakes (ie thunders) . '  
 wii- ti- 0- kirir -0 . '  
 now IND.3A 3.A thunder PERF . '

Kásiwakuwi'tət<sup>a</sup>  
 Kaasiwáku' wí'itata  
 You must say when I go  
 kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 wii- i- t- at -a  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF when CONT.1/2A 1.A go SUB.1

,  
 ,  
 :

,  
,  
,

witakirirus<sup>a</sup>

Witakirirusa'

Now the thunder is coming

|      |        |     |         |         |          |      |
|------|--------|-----|---------|---------|----------|------|
| wii- | ti-    | 0-  | a-      | kirir   | -hus     | a    |
| now  | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | thunder | IMPF.SUB | come |

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

tirəskurutkawawúku

tiraskuuratkawaáwuku

these things you hear from me

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

nikútira

rikútira'

that is the reason

|         |        |     |      |    |      |
|---------|--------|-----|------|----|------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | way  | be | PERF |

tirətpawákahu

tiratpaawaákahu

these things I am saying

|      |     |     |      |          |          |   |
|------|-----|-----|------|----------|----------|---|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | waa- | waaka    | -hus     | . |
| this | ABS | 1.A | DIST | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | . |

nikuwitirətaitusu

Rikuwitiirattaa'ítusu

That is the story that was given to them

|         |      |        |     |       |          |             |      |      |
|---------|------|--------|-----|-------|----------|-------------|------|------|
| riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | ir-   | ak-      | raa.iit.us- | uh   | -0   |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PL.AN.3P | story       | give | PERF |

kúrahus      átira

kúrahus      Atíra'

the old men      Mother

|          |        |        |
|----------|--------|--------|
| kurahuus | ati-   | ra     |
| old.man  | 1.POSS | mother |

tiraharaha      ,

tíraharaaha      ,

this that I have      ,

|      |     |     |            |      |       |   |
|------|-----|-----|------------|------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | raar-      | raah | -a    | , |
| this | ABS | 1.A | 3PL.INAN.P | have | SUB.1 | , |

átirarahkítu      .

Atiraraahkítuu'u'      .

all the Mothers everything      .

|        |        |       |       |     |   |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|-----|---|
| ati-   | ra     | raar- | kituu | -u' | . |
| 1.POSS | mother | PL    | all   | NOM | . |

Kúhawaku,

Kuuhawáku'

He must have said

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

wítiwaku

witiwáku'      “

he said      “

|      |        |     |        |      |   |
|------|--------|-----|--------|------|---|
| wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | waka'u | -0   | “ |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | say    | PERF | “ |

tirəstarahaátir<sup>a</sup>

Tirastaraaha

This one you have

|      |     |     |            |      |       |        |        |
|------|-----|-----|------------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| tii- | ra- | s-  | raar-      | raah | -a    | ati-   | ra     |
| this | ABS | 2.A | 3PL.INAN.P | have | SUB.1 | 1.POSS | mother |

Átira'

Mother

, wírikutara<sup>u</sup>

wirikutáraa'u

He is the one who has given her to you

|      |         |        |     |     |        |      |
|------|---------|--------|-----|-----|--------|------|
| wii- | riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | a-  | raa.uh | -0   |
| now  | that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | 2.P | give   | PERF |

əti'as

Ati'as

our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

.  
"  
"  
"  
"

Awiritára<sup>u</sup>

Awiriitáraa'u

And now I am giving it to you

|     |      |      |     |     |        |      |   |
|-----|------|------|-----|-----|--------|------|---|
| a   | wii- | rii- | t-  | a-  | raa.uh | -0   | , |
| and | now  | ASSR | 1.A | 2.P | give   | PERF | , |

nakúrawarúksti<sup>u</sup>

rákuraawaarukstii'u

its being mysterious

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

tirəstarah<sup>a</sup>

tirástaraaha

this one you have

.  
.

|      |     |     |            |      |       |   |
|------|-----|-----|------------|------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | s-  | raar-      | raah | -a    | . |
| this | ABS | 2.A | 3PL.INAN.P | have | SUB.1 | . |

tírawaruksti ,

Tíraawaaruksti'

It is holy ,

|        |     |      |            |      |   |
|--------|-----|------|------------|------|---|
| ti-    | 0-  | raa- | waarukstii | -0   | , |
| IND.3A | 3.A | way  | be.holy    | PERF | , |

irár<sup>i</sup> ,

iraári' .

brother .

i- -raar- -ri' .

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

nikutiratirətpawákahu

Rikutíra'

That is the reason

|         |        |     |      |    |      |
|---------|--------|-----|------|----|------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | way  | be | PERF |

tirátpaawaakahu

my telling you this

|      |     |     |      |          |          |
|------|-----|-----|------|----------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | waa- | waaka    | -hus     |
| this | ABS | 1.A | DIST | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

páruksti tirəštara<sup>u</sup> .

Paáruksti' tiráctara'u .

Holy Being this that I am talking about .

|            |      |     |     |            |       |   |
|------------|------|-----|-----|------------|-------|---|
| waarukstii | tii- | ra- | t-  | tara'u     | -0    | . |
| be.holy    | this | ABS | 1.A | talk.about | SUB.3 | . |

Tiraharúku,

Tiráhaaruku

When I am singing ,

|      |     |     |           |          |   |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|----------|---|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | raa.ra'uk | -hus     | , |
| when | ABS | 1.A | sing      | IMPF.SUB | , |

irár<sup>i</sup> ,

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

tirətpákahu ,  
 tiratpaákahu  
 what I say  
 tii- ra- t- waaka -hus  
 this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikuwitiwáku  
 rikuwitiwáku' " : "  
 this is what he said : "  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

kásiwaku  
 Kaasiwáku' ^ : ^  
 You must say : ^  
 kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 , '  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF , '

witurarakaraəs  
 Wituraarakaára'as  
 Now he is running with the lodges  
 wii- ti- 0- uur- raar- akaar- ra- as-i -0  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P dwelling PORT run PERF

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





kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 , ' rawa  
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF , ' now

witurarakáraæs  
 wituraarakaára'as  
 he runs with the lodges

wii- ti- 0- uur- raar- akaar- ra- as-i -0  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P dwelling PORT run PERF

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

tuharáihk<sup>u</sup>  
 tuhaará'ihku'  
 he meant

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

witurarakáraæs  
 wituraarakaára'as  
 he runs with the lodges

wii- ti- 0- uur- raar- akaar- ra- as-i -0  
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P dwelling PORT run PERF

šuhúru wira<sup>a</sup>  
 cúhuuru' wíraa'a  
 rain when it comes

acuhuur -u' wii- ra- 0- a- a -0  
 rain NOM when ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

nikutuharáihk<sup>u</sup> . Náwa

|   |                                   |   |      |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|------|
| . | Rikutuhaará'ihku'                 | . | Ráwa |
| . | That is what he meant             | . | Now  |
| . | riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus | . | rawa |
| . | that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF | . | now  |

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

tiratuhárikahu

tiratuuhaárikaahu

this I am revealing to you

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

nikuwitúæt<sup>n</sup>

rikuwituú'ut

it was that way

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

tirašihwari

tiracíhwari

our living here

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

tirəptákahu

tiratpaákahu

this that I am saying

|                                |
|--------------------------------|
| tii- ra- t- waaka -hus         |
| this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB |

nikuwítiwaku  
 Rikuwitiwáku' "
   
This is what he said : "
   
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "
   
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

witatáraru  
 Witataráru  
 I now give it to you (pl)
   
wii- ta- t- a- raar- uh -0
   
now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

húrar<sup>u</sup>  
 húraaru'  
 the earth  
 huraar -u'  
 be.land NOM

tiiriróspari .  
 ti'iriiráspari . "

here where you live . "

tii- irii- ra- s- warii -hus . "

here where ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . "

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

irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 iraári' "  
 brother :



Witataráru

Now I give you (pl)

|      |          |     |     |            |      |      |
|------|----------|-----|-----|------------|------|------|
| wii- | ta-      | t-  | a-  | raar-      | uh   | -0   |
| now  | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | 3PL.INAN.P | give | PERF |

tirakišuhət<sup>n</sup>

tirakiícuhat

this stream of water

|      |     |     |       |                  |       |   |   |
|------|-----|-----|-------|------------------|-------|---|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0-  | kiic- | uhak             | -0    | , | " |
| this | ABS | 3.A | water | extend.in.a.line | SUB.4 | , | " |

nawákahu

rawaákahu

his saying

|     |     |          |          |                      |     |
|-----|-----|----------|----------|----------------------|-----|
| ra- | 0-  | waaka    | -hus     | kíšahar <sup>u</sup> | -u' |
| ABS | 3.A | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | kiícahaaru'          | NOM |
|     |     |          |          | the stream of water  |     |
|     |     |          |          | kica.haar            |     |
|     |     |          |          | watery.place         |     |

nikutahá'ihk<sup>u</sup>

rikutuuhá'ihku'

that is what it meant

|         |        |     |      |        |       |
|---------|--------|-----|------|--------|-------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | ut-  | ra'ihk | -:hus |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | mean   | IMPF  |

tirakišuhət<sup>n</sup>

tirakiícuhat

this stream of water

|      |     |     |       |                  |       |   |   |
|------|-----|-----|-------|------------------|-------|---|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0-  | kiic- | uhak             | -0    | , | " |
| this | ABS | 3.A | water | extend.in.a.line | SUB.4 | , | " |

Tirətpákahu

Tiratpaákahu

When I say

|      |     |     |          |          |
|------|-----|-----|----------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | t-  | waaka    | -hus     |
| this | ABS | 1.A | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |



|         |      |        |     |            |      |        |        |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------------|------|--------|--------|
| riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | raa.riihac | -0   | ati-   | as     |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | finish     | PERF | 1.POSS | father |

áwit<sup>n</sup> tirahuráhša  
 áwit tirahúraahca  
 first this earth

|       |      |     |     |         |          |       |
|-------|------|-----|-----|---------|----------|-------|
| awit  | tii- | ra- | 0-  | huraar- | sa       | -0    |
| first | this | ABS | 3.A | earth   | be.lying | SUB.3 |

áhara<sup>u</sup>

áhara'u

when He made it

|     |     |     |       |       |   |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|---|
| ar- | ra- | 0-  | ra'uk | -0    | . |
| EV  | ABS | 3.A | make  | SUB.3 | . |

nikuwitihírasa

Rikuwitihírasa

That one was first

|         |      |        |     |                |      |
|---------|------|--------|-----|----------------|------|
| riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | hiras.aah      | -0   |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | be.in.the.lead | PERF |

tirahuráhša

tirahuraáhca

this earth

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

áhara<sup>u</sup>

áhara'u

when He made it

|     |     |     |       |       |        |        |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| ar- | ra- | 0-  | ra'uk | -0    | ati-   | as     |
| EV  | ABS | 3.A | make  | SUB.3 | 1.POSS | father |

átiaš

Átí'as

our 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 .

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

nikuwititawira<sup>a</sup>  
 rikuwitiitawiíra'a'  
 that is the one that followed  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- awiira.a -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV follow.behind PERF

tíras<sup>a</sup> nəkis  
 tíraasa rákis  
 this wood (ie timber)  
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 rak -kis  
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 wood DIM

áhara<sup>u</sup> .  
 áhara'u .  
 when He made it .  
 ar- ra- 0- ra'uk -0 .  
 EV ABS 3.A make SUB.3 .

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

nikuwititawíra  
 rikuwitiitawiíraa'  
 that is the one that came afterward  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- awiira.a -0  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV follow.behind PERF

átiaš                    áhara<sup>u</sup>  
 Ati'as                    áhara'u  
 our Father              when He made it  
 ati- as ar- ra- 0- ra'uk -0  
 1.POSS father EV ABS 3.A make SUB.3

tirašú<sup>a</sup>  
 tíraacuu'a  
 this rain  
 tii- ra- 0- a- acuu.a -0  
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A rain SUB.4

tirakišuhət<sup>n</sup> .  
 tirakiícuhat .  
 this stream of water .  
 tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0 .  
 this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

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

iriruahašakuráru  
 iriruu'ahacakuráru  
 then He gave them to us

|       |      |     |     |     |         |     |            |      |      |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|---------|-----|------------|------|------|
| irii- | ruu- | ar- | ra- | 0-  | aca-    | ku- | raar-      | uh   | -0   |
| that  | then | EV  | ABS | 3.A | IN.DU.P | 1.P | 3PL.INAN.P | give | PERF |

nakirík<sup>u</sup>

rákiriiku'

seeds

|      |       |     |
|------|-------|-----|
| rak- | kirik | -u' |
| wood | eye   | NOM |

tirašíarah<sup>a</sup>

tiraciíraaha

these that we have

|      |     |         |            |      |       |   |
|------|-----|---------|------------|------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | aciir-  | raar-      | raah | -a    | . |
| this | ABS | IN.DU.A | 3PL.INAN.P | have | SUB.1 | . |

Irári<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

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

nikútira

rikútira'

this is the reason

|         |        |     |      |    |      |
|---------|--------|-----|------|----|------|
| riku-   | ti-    | 0-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | way  | be | PERF |

irətpákahu

áwit<sup>n</sup>

iratpaákahu

áwit

my telling you

first

|      |     |     |          |          |       |
|------|-----|-----|----------|----------|-------|
| ii-  | ra- | t-  | waaka    | -hus     | awit  |
| that | ABS | 1.A | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | first |

nikutahapakíah<sup>u</sup>

rikutahapaki'aahu'  
that is the one we call

|         |          |     |        |             |       |
|---------|----------|-----|--------|-------------|-------|
| riku-   | ta-      | t-  | rak-   | waki.a      | -:hus |
| that.is | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 1/2.PL | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF  |

haturišapat<sup>n</sup> .  
hatuurícapaat .  
the woman's road .  
hatuur- icapaak .  
road woman .

Šapatkutira

Cápaat kutiíra'  
Women it is theirs

|         |      |        |     |       |      |      |
|---------|------|--------|-----|-------|------|------|
| icapaak | ku-  | ti-    | 0-  | ir-   | raah | -0   |
| woman   | INDF | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | have | PERF |

šahiksíšahiks .  
cahiksícahiks .  
the Indian .  
icaahiks icaahiks .  
person person .

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

nikuwítira  
rikuwítira'  
that is the reason

|         |      |        |     |      |    |      |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------|----|------|
| riku-   | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | raa- | 0  | -0   |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | way  | be | PERF |



wi- ti- 0- ka.ra'uk -0 .  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A make.PL.P PERF .

Tirətpákahu ,  
 Tiratpaákahu  
 What I say ,  
 tii- ra- t- waaka -hus ,  
 this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

ikstaríp<sup>a</sup>  
 ikstariípa  
 tied hands “  
 iks- tariik -wa “  
 hand be.tied DIST ”

nikuwitutaási  
 rikuwituúta “  
 that is what He did : “  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 , “  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF , “

A  
 A  
 And  
 a  
 and

təstaripápi

sitastariípaapi

you'll tie them

i-                    s-    ir-                    ut-    as-    tariik    -waa    -wi  
CONT.1/2A    2.A    PREV.1/2A    PREV    foot    be.tied    DIST    SUB.L

tirašiwíhtawáw<sup>i</sup>

"    tiracihwíhtawaawi

,    "    these arms of ours

,    "    tii-    ra-    aciir-    wiir-    ta                    -waa    -wi  
,    "    this    ABS    IN.DU.A    arm    be.hanging    DIST    SUB.L

tiraširastawaw<sup>i</sup>

tiraciirástawaawi

,    these feet of ours

,    tii-    ra-    aciir-    as-    ta                    -waa    -wi                    ,  
,    this    ABS    IN.DU.A    foot    be.hanging    DIST    SUB.L                    ,

tirašihkástawaw<sup>i</sup>

tiracihkaástawaawi

these legs of ours

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

nikuwitira

Rikuwítirá'

That is the reason for

riku-    wi-    ti-                    0-    raa-    0    -0  
that.is    QUOT    IND.3A    3.A    way    be    PERF

tiraširasuhəstawaw<sup>i</sup>

tiraciirasuuhaástawaawi

these moccasin laces of ours

tii-    ra-    aciir-    as.huur-    haas-    ta                    -waa    -wi  
this    ABS    IN.DU.A    moccasin    string    be.hanging    DIST    SUB.L

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

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

|                 |     |     |          |          |            |        |
|-----------------|-----|-----|----------|----------|------------|--------|
| tiratpákahu     |     |     |          |          | átias      |        |
| tiratpaákahu    |     |     |          |          | Ati'as     |        |
| this that I say |     |     |          |          | our Father |        |
| tii-            | ra- | t-  | waaka    | -hus     | ati-       | as     |
| this            | ABS | 1.A | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | 1.POSS     | father |

|                      |      |        |     |        |      |   |
|----------------------|------|--------|-----|--------|------|---|
| nikuwitiwáku         |      |        |     |        |      |   |
| rikuwitiwáku'        |      |        |     |        |      | “ |
| this is what He said |      |        |     |        | :    | “ |
| riku-                | wi-  | ti-    | 0-  | waka'u | -0   | , |
| that.is              | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | say    | PERF | “ |

|                                   |          |     |     |            |      |                 |       |     |       |                         |       |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----|-----|------------|------|-----------------|-------|-----|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| witatararurəskúwitət <sup>n</sup> |          |     |     |            |      |                 |       |     |       |                         |       |
| Witataráru                        |          |     |     |            |      | raskúwitat      |       |     |       |                         |       |
| Now I give it to you (pl)         |          |     |     |            |      | for you to wear |       |     |       |                         |       |
| wii-                              | ta-      | t-  | a-  | raar-      | uh   | -0              | ra-   | s-  | ku-   | witak                   | -0    |
| now                               | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | 3PL.INAN.P | give | PERF            | INF.A | 2.A | INF.B | wear.over.the.shoulders | SUB.4 |

|   |   |                         |
|---|---|-------------------------|
|   |   | nikutiháik <sup>u</sup> |
| . | " | Rikutuuhá'ihku'         |
| . | " | That is what I meant    |





|  |  |  |  |  |            |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|------------|--|
| tirawaákahu                                  |  |  |  |  | Ati'as     |  |
| this that He said                            |  |  |  |  | our Father |  |
| tii- ra- 0- waaka -hus ati- as               |  |  |  |  |            |  |
| this ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB 1.POSS father |  |  |  |  |            |  |

|                                      |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|
| nikuwítiwaku                         |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |
| rikuwitiwáku'                        |  |  |  |  |  |   | " |
| this is what He said                 |  |  |  |  |  | : | " |
| riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "       |  |  |  |  |  | , | " |
| that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |

|   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |            |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|------------|
| witatararuwáruksti                                |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |            |
| Witataráru  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | waáruksti' |
| Now I give it to you                              |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | holy       |
| wii- ta- t- a- raar- uh -0 waarukstii             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |            |
| now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF be.holy |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |            |

|   |                               |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|   |                               |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | tuharáihk <sup>u</sup>        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| . | " Tuuhaará'ihku'              |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| . | " He meant it                 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| . | " ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| . | " IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|                                    |  |  |  |  |  |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| tiraharáh <sup>a</sup>             |  |  |  |  |  |
| tíraharaaha                        |  |  |  |  |  |
| this one that I have               |  |  |  |  |  |
| tii- ra- t- raar- raah -a          |  |  |  |  |  |
| this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 |  |  |  |  |  |

|                                |  |  |  |  |   |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|
| tirarawáruksti <sup>u</sup>    |  |  |  |  |   |
| tiraraawaárukstii'u            |  |  |  |  | . |
| this holy thing                |  |  |  |  | . |
| tii- ra- 0- raa- waarukstii -u |  |  |  |  | . |
| this ABS 3.A way be.holy SUB.D |  |  |  |  | . |

narahkítu

Raaraahkítuu'u'

Everything (in it)

raa- raar- kituu -u'  
way PL all NOM

tuharáihk<sup>u</sup>

tuuhaará'ihku'

He meant them

ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus . Náwa ,  
IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . Ráwa ,  
. Now ,  
. rawa ,  
. now ,

irár<sup>i</sup>

iraári'

brother

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

nikuwítiwaku

rikuwitiwáku'

this is what He said

riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 ,  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF ,

atiwirətataruh<sup>a</sup>

A tiwirataraáruha

And when I give it to you

a tii- wii- ra- t- a- raar- uh -a  
and this when ABS 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

nikutəspakáhust<sup>a</sup>

rikutaspaakáhusta

that is what you are going to say

|         |          |     |          |       |     |   |   |
|---------|----------|-----|----------|-------|-----|---|---|
| riku-   | ta-      | s-  | waaka    | :-hus | -ta | . | " |
| that.is | IND.1/2A | 2.A | say.IMPf | IMPf  | INT | . | " |

átira  
 Atíra'  
 Mother  
 ati- ra  
 1.POSS mother

nikutatutuktaíhk<sup>u</sup>  
 rikutatuutaktá'ihku'  
 that is what I mean  
 riku- ta- t- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus  
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREv PL.AN.3P mean IMPf

tiwirəstárik<sup>u</sup>  
 tiwirastaáriku .  
 this one that you have now .  
 tii- wii- ra- s- raar- ri.kus -0 .  
 this now ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P sit.holding SUB.4 .

kíšku tiwirarakáwi  
 Kícku' tiwiraraahkaáwi  
 Several these inside  
 kicku tii- wii- ra- 0- raar- kaa -wi  
 several this now ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

tatutət<sup>n</sup> ta'ihk<sup>u</sup> . Náwa ,  
 tatuutattá'ihku' . Ráwa ,  
 I meant them . Now ,  
 ta- t- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus . rawa ,  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREv PL.AN.3P mean IMPf . now ,

irár<sup>i</sup> ,

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

nikuwítiwaku . Náwa  
 rikuwitiwáku' . " Ráwa  
 this what He said . " Now  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 . " rawa  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF . " now

, witátara<sup>u</sup>  
 witátaraa'u . "  
 , I have given it to you . "  
 , wi- ta- t- a- raa.uh -0 . "  
 , QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P give PERF . "

tuharáihku nawiráhis<sup>u</sup>  
 Tuuhaará'ihku' raawiiraáhisu'  
 He meant a warrior  
 ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus raawiir.aah.his -u'  
 IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF warrior NOM

, áhiruha nikuš kírípəšk<sup>i</sup>  
 áhiiruha ríkuckiripacki  
 when He gave it to him a small bird  
 ar- ra- 0- ir- uh -a rikuc kiripac -kis  
 EV ABS 3.A OBV give SUB.1 bird small DIM

, nikutísa<sup>a</sup> kírít<sup>n</sup> ,  
 . Rikutiisá'a kírít .  
 . That one is named kírít .  
 . riku- ti- 0- asar -' kírít .  
 . that.is IND.3A 3.A be.named EX kírít .

|                           |          |     |              |       |                                 |   |      |
|---------------------------|----------|-----|--------------|-------|---------------------------------|---|------|
| nikutatisásk <sup>u</sup> |          |     |              |       | kír <sup>i</sup> t <sup>n</sup> | , | náwa |
| Rikutatísaasku'           |          |     |              |       | kírit                           | . | Ráwa |
| That is what I call it    |          |     |              |       | kírit                           | . | Now  |
| riku-                     | ta-      | t-  | hisaask      | :-hus | kirit                           | . | rawa |
| that.is                   | IND.1/2A | 1.A | call.by.name | IMPF  | kirit                           | . | now  |

.  
.  
.  
.  
.