

Skiri Narratives, Thirty-two

Roaming Scout

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

taturákiwatist^a

tatuuraakiiwaátista

I am going to tell you about it

ta-	t-	a-	uur-	rak-	iiwaat	-his	-ta
IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	PREV	1/2.PL	tell.about	PERF	INT

šíruiríkuhíkuháktar^u

ciru iriíkuuhíkuuhaáktaaru'

yet that is the way He made for us

ciruu	irii-	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	rak-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
yet	that	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	1/2.PL	way	make	PERF

ákitaru

tirátpari

ákitaaru'

tirátpari

tribe

this of mine living

akitaar-

-u'

tii-

ra-

t-

warii

-hus

tribe

NOM

this

ABS

1.A

be.going.about.IMPF

IMPF.SUB

,
šápatⁿ
cápaat
women
icapaak

,
tiráhuriwi
tiráhuriiwaawi
these going about
tii- ra- 0-
hurii

-waa -wi

woman this ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

iririsiksuhúru^a

iriiriiciksuhúruu'a

the ways they had

irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uhuur.uu -a
that ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.the.way.one.does SUB.1

;

,

,

,

hiruihiahirúha

hiru ihi áhiruuha
there , uh , his having given the way

hiruu , ihii , ar- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -a
there , uh , EV ABS 3.A OBV way give SUB.1

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

nəkúrahir^a

rakúraahiira

its being good

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

irirakutawarišapatⁿ

iriirakuutáwaari

cápaat

what they did women
 irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -waa -i icapaak
 what INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do DIST IMPF.SUB woman

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Širurikutaturakiwátist^a

Ciru rikutatuuraakiiwaátista
 Yet those are what I am going to tell you about
 ciruu riku- ta- t- a- uur- rak- iiwaat -his -ta
 yet that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV 1/2.PL tell.about PERF INT

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Karatihikuširətar^u

Karaatihikuciraáttaaru'
 He did not make it that way for us
 kara- tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- i- rak- raa- ra'uk -0
 NEG INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ 1/2.PL way make PERF

atí[^]stirakitak^u

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

pít^a , ihi ,
 piíta ihi
 men , uh ,
 wiita , ihii ,
 man , uh ,

nətkuhakáwari
 ratkuuhaakáwaari
 for us to work

ra- t- ku- ut- rak- aar -waa -i
 INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV 1/2.PL do DIST IMPF.SUB

tiirirəsúhakáwari
 ti'iriirasuuhaakáwaari
 these ways that you do

tii- irii- ra- s- ut- rak- aar -waa -i
 this that ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL do DIST IMPF.SUB

,
 ,
 ,
 ,

Hišapátirihi kuhirətá^u

hi cápaat irihiikúhiirattaa'u

but women that is what He gave to them

hi icapaak irii- hii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ar- ak- raa- uh -0
 and woman that other DUB ABS 3.A OBV EV PL.AN.3P way give PERF

. Irárⁱ ,
 . Iraári'
 . Brother ,
 . i- -raar- -ri' .

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

tiwirapiših^u , šápatⁿ
tiwirapiciíhi^u cápaat
after it was cold women
tii- wii- ra- 0- picí.ihí -u icapaak
when when ABS 3.A be.very.cold SUB.D woman

hiruwirikutitairítahu

hiru wirikutiíta
then now that is what they did

iriíruutahu
the way it was

hiruu wii- riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -0 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus
then now that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

, ihí ,
ihí
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

wirihkurariwah^š

wirihkuraariwaahac

when they had finished their work

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- riihac -waa -0
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way finish DIST SUB.4

kítu ihiníkis^u šápatⁿ .
kítuu'u' ihí ríkiisu' cápaat .

all , uh , corn women .
 kituu -u' , ihii , rikiis- -u' icapaak .
 all NOM , uh , corn NOM woman .

Kakitáwari

Kaakiitáwaari'

They did not work

kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aar -waa -i ,
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do DIST IMPF ,

ihipít^a . Šapat
 ihi piíta . Cápaat
 uh , men . Women
 ihii , wiita . icapaak
 uh , man . woman

tihtawákaru

tihtawaákaru'

they picked them

ti- 0- ir- ta waa- ka.ra'uk -0
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.hanging DIST make.PL.P PERF

níks^u .
 ríksu' .
 corn .
 riiks- -u' .
 unshelled.corn NOM .

Aratirúšpa

A raatirúcpa

And they were just piled

a raa- ti- 0- ra.uc -waa -0
 and just IND.3A 3.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF

irirurakurákirik^u
 iriruurákuu rákiriiku'
 its being different kinds seeds
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u rak- kirik -u'
 that then INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D wood eye NOM

, tahapakíahu ,
 . Tahapaki'aahu'
 . We say (ie call them)
 . ta- t- rak- waki.a -hus
 . IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

uruháhkatitⁿ ;
 huuruhaáhkaatit .
 blue corn .
 huuruhaar.kaatiit .
 blue.flour.corn .

aratiwakusuhúraritⁿ
 A raatiwaakusuhúrarit
 And the piles were just separate
 a raa- ti- 0- waa- kus uhura -rik -0
 and just IND.3A 3.A hill be.sitting be.separate DIST PERF

šápatⁿ
 cápaat
 women
 icapaak
 woman

nihkuraruhurawakaríhku
 rihkuraaruhúrawaakaríhku
 when they were putting them in separate piles
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- uhura.waa.karik.ihk -hus

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P separate IMPF.SUB

níks^u uruháhkatiⁿ .
 rikiisu' huuruhaáhkaatit .
 corn blue corn .
 rikiis- -u' huuruhaar.kaatiit .
 corn NOM blue.flour.corn .

Arihwakíahu

A rihwakí'aahu'
 And they say
 a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

níkstaka níkispah^{^t} ,
 ríkstaaka ríkispahat
 white corn red corn
 riiks- taakaar rikiis- pahaat
 unshelled.corn be.white corn be.red

hawatiraruhuráwuhu

hawá tiraaruhúrawuhu'
 also they put them in different piles
 haawa ti- 0- ir- raar- uhura wuh -:hus
 also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P be.separate put IMPF

Arihwakíahu

a rihwakí'aahu'
 , and they say
 , a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 , and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

nikstáhkata ,
 rikstáhkata

yellow corn

riiks- rahkataar
unshelled.corn be.yellow

hawatiraruhuráwuhu

hawá tiraaruhúrawuhu'

also they put them in different piles

haawa ti- 0- ir- raar- uhura wuh -:hus
also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P be.separate put IMPF

. Arihwakíahu

. A rihwakí'aahu'

. And they say

. a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
. and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

níkstaka .

ríkstaaka .

white corn .

riiks- taakaar .

unshelled.corn be.white .

Atiruhuwakárikítⁿ,

A tiiruhuwaakárikít

And they put them in separate piles

a ti- 0- ir- uhura.waa.karik.ihk -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A separate PERF

nakurušpawíat^a

rakurucpaawí'ata

their being piles in a row

ra- 0- ku- ra.uc -waa -wi u.at -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L extend.in.a.line SUB.1

níkis^u .
 ríkiisu' .
 corn .
 rikiis- -u' .
 corn NOM .

Kakirahkítuutⁿ
 Kaakiirahkítuu'ut

They were not mixed together

kaaki- 0- raar- kituu -uk -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.whole DIST PERF

kítu , níkístipik^u
 kítuu'u' rikístipiiku'
 all speckled corn
 kituu -u' rikiis- rípiik- -u'
 all NOM corn egg NOM

aratirarúhura ,

a raatiraarúhura
 and they were just separate

a raa- ti- 0- raar- uhura -0
 and just IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.separate PERF

rakuwákusku .

rakuwaákusku .

its being a hill .

ra- 0- ku- waa- kus kus -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B hill be.sitting be.sitting SUB.4 .

Tihwakíahu

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

nikskarúskatitⁿ ,
rikskarúskaatit
blue corn
riiks- karuus kaatiit
unshelled.corn deflate be.black

aratirarúhura

a raatiraarúhura
and they would just be separate
a raa- ti- 0- raar- uhura -0
and just IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.separate PERF

nəkuwákusk^u .
rakuwaákusku .
its being a hill .
ra- 0- ku- waa- kus kus -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B hill be.sitting be.sitting SUB.4 .

Nikiskáruspah^{^t}ⁿ . Nikiskarustáhkata^a .
Rikiskáruspahat . Rikiskarustáhkata .
Red and white corn . Yellow corn .
rikiis- karuus pahaat . rikiis- karuus rahkataar .
corn deflate be.red . corn deflate be.yellow .

Nikiskárustaka .
Rikiskárustaaka .
White corn .
rikiis- karuus taakaar .
corn deflate be.white .

Hirutihairirətarákakⁱ

Hiru tihaa'iriirataraákakaaraki

There this being the length of our lodge
hiruu tii- haa- irii- ra- t- a- rak- akaar- ak -i
there this here that ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL dwelling be.a.certain.length SUB.2

arikutiraríšitpatⁿ

a rikutiraarícitpaat
and that was the length of the arbor
a riku- ti- 0- raar.iciit- waa- ak -0
and that.is IND.3A 3.A arbor DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

,

hihirurikutirahkakašitⁿ

hi hiru rikutirahkakaásit
and there that is where she divided them
hi hiruu riku- ti- 0- raar- ka- kaas -ik -0
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P in break CAUS PERF

,

nəkuwakušárikⁱ
rakuwaakusáriki
their being piles

ra- 0- ku- waa- kus arik -i
INF.A 3.A INF.B hill be.sitting be.standing SUB.2

.
.
.
.
.

Kĩtuatihkikawákaru

Kĩtuu'u' a tihkiikawaákaru'
All and they braided them together
kituu -u' a ti- 0- ir- kii- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
all NOM and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A corn.chain make.DIST PERF

,

aratikihukáriwiritⁿ

a raatihkiihukáriwiirit
and the braids were just piled in it
a raa- ti- 0- ir- huka- riwii arik -0
and just IND.3A 3.A PL.3A in be.clenched be.standing PERF

. šápatⁿ titáwari
. Cápaat tiitáwaari'
. The women they did these things
. icapaak ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -waa -i
. woman IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do DIST IMPF

. Hirutísi^a
. Hiru tíci'a
. Then they did it :
. hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,
. then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

tiirirúturaru^a

ti'iriirúturaaru'a
when it was this season

tii- irii- ra- 0- ut- huraar- uu -a

this when ABS 3.A PREV earth be SUB.1

hirutiritawáhət^tⁿ .
hiru tiritawaáhattit .
then they fixed the cache pits .
hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ta.waa.hak.rik -0 .
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ store.in.a.cash.pit PERF .

Hā ! tirahúraš^a
Haa tirahúraahca
Ha , this earth
haa , tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0
ha , this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3

nikutihurahótawawuhu
rikutiihuraahátawaawuhu'
that is where they dug holes
riku- ti- 0- ir- huraar- hata.wuh -waa -:hus
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A earth make.a.hole DIST IMPF

šápatⁿ .
cápaat .
the women .
icapaak .
woman .

Hirurakuhətkahúrət^a
Hiru rakuuhatkahúrata
There when one tunneled downward
hiruu ra- 0- ku- uur- hatkaahuur- ra- at -a
there INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV elongated.hole PORT go SUB.1

,

hihirutuhətkahuhtahúrust^u

hi hiru tuuhatkahuhtaahúrustu'
and then one made the hole round

hi hiru ti- 0- uur- hatkaahuur- taahurus -ra'uk -0
and then IND.3A 3.A PREV elongated.hole be.round CAUS PERF

, hirukawíhirⁱ . I ,
hiru kaawíhiri' . I
there inside . And
hiruu kaa- -wi -hiri' . i
there inside SUB.L LOC . and

tiiriwirúturarua

ti'iriwuruutúraaruu'a

when the season was this way

tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- huraar- uu -a
this when when ABS 3.A PREV earth be SUB.1

tirapišihíar^a ;

tirapiciíhi'aara

when it was becoming cold

tii- ra- 0- pici.ihi -aar -a
when ABS 3.A be.very.cold INCH SUB.1

wirətkurətahkatahúhtaritⁿ

wiratkuraattaahkatahúhtarit

when we were about to go onto (the prairie)

wii- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- kata- uh -ta -rit
when INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go.INT INT INT.SUB

Hirurikutirarahkawawárik^u

hiru rikutiraaraahkawaawárik^u

there that is where they were putting them in them

hiruu riku- ti- 0- ir- raar- haahka- warik -:hus
there that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P in.a.ravine shoot IMPF

nikis^unakuruwakusárikⁱ

ríkiisu' raakuruhwaakusáriki

the corn when she stood with her piles

rikiis- -u' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- waa- kus arik -i
corn NOM INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A hill be.sitting be.standing SUB.2

, šápatⁿ .
cápaat . "
a woman . "
icapaak . "
woman . "

Nikukasiraraháhkawu

Rikukaasirarahaáhkawu'

That is where you must take them down in it

riku- kaas- s- i- raar- ra- haahka- wuu -:hus
that.is POT.2A 2.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT in.a.ravine go.IMPF IMPF

.
.
.
.
.

. "

Hirukawíhiri

Hiru kaawíhiri'

There inside

hiruu kaa- -wi -hiri'

there inside SUB.L LOC

tiráhkatatuhku

tiráhkatatuhku'

she lined the walls

ti- 0- raar.katatuhk -:hus

IND.3A 3.A line.a.vertical.surface IMPF

harút^u

haaruútu'

grass

haaruut -u'

dry.grass NOM

hirukawíhiri .

hiru kaawíhiri' .

there inside .

hiruu kaa- -wi -hiri' .

there inside SUB.L LOC .

Airirakukasirəšawátur^a

A iriirakukasiiracawátura

And where the space between sacks is

a irii- ra- 0- ku- kasii- raar- tawatur -a

and where INF.A 3.A INF.B bag PL be.between SUB.1

, híharut^u

hi haaruútu'

and hay

hi haaruut -u'

and dry.grass NOM

nikutirahkatátutⁿ .

rikutirahkatátut . “

that is where they lined them . “
 riku- ti- 0- raar.katatuhk -0 . ”
 that.is IND.3A 3.A line.a.vertical.surface PERF . ”

Kítuatikasirarahkáwarit¹¹

Kítuu'u' a tikaasiraaraahkáwarit
 All and you must take them down in it
 kituu -u' a tii- kaas- s- i- raar- haahka- warik -0
 all NOM and this POT.2A 2.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P in.a.ravine shoot PERF

,
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

tuksurahatáwikišuk¹¹

Tuksuraahatáwikicuuku'

The hole used to be deep

ti- 0- uks- huraar- hata wi kii'ac -uk -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A AOR earth be.a.hole be.upright be.long DIST IMPF

. Hirutíši^a

. Hiru tíci'a

. Then they did it

. hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0
 . then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

nihkurahírik^a

rihkuuraahiírika

when they fixed it

ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raa- hiir -ik -a
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV way be.good CAUS SUB.1

, nihkuhakawátətk^a .
 rihkuhaakaawátatka .
 when she put the lid on .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- haaka- awatat.k -a .
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B mouth cover SUB.1 .

Atíhakawatətⁿ .
 A tíhaakaawatat .
 And she put the lid on .
 a ti- 0- haaka- awatat.k -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A mouth cover PERF .

Arutihurahpárihitⁿ .
 A ruutihuraahpárihit .
 And then the ground was just smooth .
 a ruu- ti- 0- i- huraar- parit.rik -0 .
 and then IND.3A 3.A SEQ earth be.smooth PERF .

Arutihurakhírikstítⁿ .
 A ruutihuraahkiirikstit .
 And then the ground was just smooth .
 a ruu- ti- 0- i- huraar- kiiriks -rik -0 .
 and then IND.3A 3.A SEQ earth be.solidly.smooth DIST PERF

, akukakúutⁿ .
 a kukaakuú'ut .
 and there was nothing amiss .
 a ku- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -' .
 and INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

Hirutatirətahkátaətⁿ .
 Hiru tatiraattaahkáta'at .
 Then we went up onto (the prairie) .
 hiruu ta- t- i- rak- raar- kata- at -0 .

then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

, tiharúturaru^a .
tihaarúturaaru'u^a .
this being the season .
tii- haa- ra- 0- ut- huraar- uu -a .
this here ABS 3.A PREV earth be SUB.1 .

Nihuksuatahatahkataætⁿ

Ríhuksu' a tahaattaahkáta'at
Only and we went onto (the prairie)
rihuks -u' a ta- t- rak- raar- kata- at -0
alone NOM and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

hitahatahkaukutⁿ

hi tahaattaáhka'uukut
and we went into the woods
hi ta- t- rak- raar- ka- uukuk -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A in.the.brush get.into PERF

, nakukáhuraruhætⁿ ,
rakukáhuraaruhat .
where the woods were .
ra- 0- ku- kahuraar- u.hak -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B brushy.area extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

šápatⁿ , hítirəs
Cápaat hi tíiras

Women	and	they ran						
icapaak	hi	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	as-i	-0	
woman	and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	run	PERF	

,

rihkuráræspiətíkurar ^u									
rihkuráræspi							atíkuraaru'		
to look for them							ground beans		
ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raar-	raspii	-0	atiik	huraar	-u'
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	look.for	SUB.4	bean	earth	NOM

.
.

.

.

.

Hirutirahkaúkut ^u							
Hiru	tiraáhka'uukut						
Then	they went into the woods						
hiruu	ti-	0-	raar-	ka-	uukuk	-0	
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	in.the.brush	get.into	PERF	

. áka^a !
. Aáka'a
. Oh my ,
. aaka'a ,
. oh.my ,

tihširírušⁱ

tihciiríruhci'

they were industrious

ti- 0- ir- uur- ciir riruhci -0
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.industrious be.powerful PERF

, šápatⁿ .

cápaat

the women

icapaak

woman

Hirurahkúrahkirikiskáwari

hiru raahkuraahkiirikiskáwari

there when they would crawl through the brush

hiruu ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- ka- irikis- ka- warii -hus
there INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PL.INDV.A in.the.brush crawl ITER be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, írikis ,

íírikis

mice

iirikis

mouse

sirihkurakastúwari

sirihkuuraakastuúwari

when they followed the trails

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- as- ruu- warii -hus
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P foot PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, írikis ,

Atíkuraru
atíkuraaru'

Mice ground beans

iirikis atíik huraar -u'

. mouse bean earth NOM

rikutirahkawawáriku

rikutiraahkawaawáriku'

that is where they put them in them

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	ka.warik	-waa	-.hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	put.in	DIST	IMPF

háwakišⁱ

írikis

haáwa' kíici' iírikis

also but mice

haawa kici iirikis

also but mouse

nihkukakawakára^u

rihkuukaahkawaakára'u

when they made houses

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	akaar-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	dwelling	make.DIST	SUB.3

atíkurar^u

atíkuraaru'

ground beans

atiik huraar -u'

bean earth NOM

hirutirahúraahš^a

hiru tirahúraahca

there this ground

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

nihkuraráhupu

raahkuraráhuupu

where they would take them inside

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

. Hitíhwaki “
. Hi tíhwaki’ “
. And they said : “
. hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
. and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Íharituhkasa .

Ihaariitúhkasa .

There is a village .

ii- haa- ri- 0- ituur- ka- sa -0 .
there here CONT.3A 3.A village in be.lying PERF .

”

”

”

”

”

Kiškuatarurakakarârahuru

Kícku’ a taruuraakakararaâhuru’

Several and they would ruin nests

kicku a ti- 0- a- ar- ri- uur- ak- akaar- raar- raahur -ra’uk -0
several and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A PL.AN.3P dwelling PL be.spoiled CAUS PERF

,

hitarurárisəta

hi taruuraáriisata

and she would have plenty

hi	ti-	0-	a-	ar-	ri-	uur-	raar-	riisat	-aar	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	EV	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	3PL.INAN.P	be.large	INCH	PERF

ətíkurar^u

atíkuraaru' . Šápatⁿ

ground beans . A woman

atiik huraar -u' . icapaak

bean earth NOM . woman

aratahurawíah^u

a raatahuurawí'aahu'

and she just came back laden

a	raa-	ti-	0-	a-	huur.awi.a	-:hus
and	just	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	return.laden	IMPF

Náriwiš^u

raáriwiicu'

just now

raariwiicu'

right.now

rəkuráhkatāt^a

rakuráhkataata

when they went onto (the prairie)

ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	kata-	at	-a
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	go	SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .

Kītutihuhuriráh^{^t}n

Kítuu'u' tiihuuhuriráhat
All they undertook things
kituu -u' ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.uhuur- riraar.hak -0
all NOM IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way pursue PERF

. Aširutahísah^u

. A ciru
. And still
. a ciruu
. and yet

hiwitarahwášapatⁿ

tahiísaahu' hi witaraáhwa cápaat
it was dawning and they went the women
ti- 0- a- hiis- a -:hus hi wi ti- 0- ar- raar- war -0 icapaak
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come IMPF and be.upright IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A go.DU PERF woman

. Kutúritpit^a

. Kutuúrit
. They looked like
. ku- ti- 0- uur- 0 -ik -0
. INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV be DIST PERF

rakurahparíspari

piíta rakuraahpaaríspari
men when they went hunting
wiita ra- 0- ku- raar- paariis- warii -hus
man INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A hunter be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hihirutirutakurísipa

hi	hiru	tiruutakurísipaa’								
and	then	before the sun came up								
hi	hiruu	tii-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	sakur-	iis.a	-wa	-0
and	then	when	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	sun	come.into	DIST	PERF

nakuhurahkatárihur^u

rakuhuraahkatárihuuru	.					
its being quite a distance	.					
ra-	0-	ku-	huraar-	kata.rihur	-u	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	earth	be.wide	SUB.D	.

Hiriširiwiri hkukarihaahkákatk^a

Hi	irii	ic	iriwiri hkukarihaahkákatka								
And	where	wild potatoes	when they divided up the patches								
hi	irii	ic	irii-	wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	karihaar-	ka.ukac.k	-a
and	where	wild.potato	when	when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	field	cut.up	SUB.1

Išhiruátiruwakaruiš

ic	hiru	a	tiiruuwaákaru’							ic
wild potatoes	then	and	they dug them up							wild potatoes
ic	hiruu	a	ti-	0-	ir-	ruu-	waa	ka.ra’uk	-0	ic
wild.potato	then	and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	DIST	be.upright.DIST	make.PL.P	PERF	wild.potato

.
. .
. .
. .

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

kakiruhuríšahiks šápatⁿ ;
kaakiiruhuurícahiks cápaat
they did not waste any the women
kaaki- 0- ir- uhuur.icaahiks -0 icapaak
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A waste.time PERF woman

iš hihaw^a ótikuraru .
ic hi haáwa' atíkuraaru'
wild potatoes and also ground beans
ic hi haawa atíik huraar -u'
wild.potato and also bean earth NOM

Tiruturarú^a
tiruturaaruú'a
when it was the season
tii- ra- 0- ut- huraar- uu -a
when ABS 3.A PREV earth be SUB.1

nətkuratáhkāt^a
ratkuraattaáhkataata
when we went onto (the prairie)
ra- t- ku- rak- raar- kata- at -a

INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go SUB.1

. Tiiriwírut^a

. Ti'iriwiiruuta

. At this time (of year)

. tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
. this when when ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

wirakupišihiar^a

wirakupiciíhi'aara

when it became cold

wii- ra- 0- ku- pici.íhi -aar -a
when INF.A 3.A INF.B be.very.cold INCH SUB.1

nikutiruhú^u

rikutiruu^{hú'u}

that was the way

riku- ti- 0- raa.uhur -' kítu kítuu'u' šápatⁿ
that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX all all cápaat
women
icapaak
woman

; harút^u

haaruútu'

hay

haaruut -u'

dry.grass NOM

sirihkutataruwahúarus^a

sirihkuutattaruúwahu

for them to be bringing it for them

si- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- ak- raar- ruu- wa- a -hus aruúsa'
DU INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B BEN PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come IMPF.SUB the horses
aruusaa
horse

.

Arusarakurarəstáwik^u

aruúsa' rakuraaraastáwiku
horses when they were tied

aruusaa ra- 0- ku- raar- haas- ta -wi kus -0 -u
horse INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A rope be.hanging SUB.L be.sitting SUB.4 SUB.D

. Kítu hínahiritⁿ
. Kítuu'u' hi raáhiirit
. All and finally
. kituu -u' hi raahiirit
. all NOM and finally

tirakarahkátauš,
tiirakaraahkáta'uc
they put a windbreak against the lodge

ti- 0- ir- akaar- raar- kata- uc -0
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A dwelling PL against.a.vertical.surface lay.SG.P PERF

áku^{tu}

a kutuú'u
and it seemed

a ku- ti- 0- uu -'
and INDF IND.3A 3.A be EX

kararakuspatasikústaritⁿ

kararakuspaatasikústarit

that one was not going to start out

kara- ra- 0- ku- as.waat.as.ik -hus -ta -rit
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B start.out IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

arúsa^a
 aruúsa'
 , the horses
 , aruusaa
 , horse

sirikutataruwáhu
 siričkuutattaruuwáhu
 when they brought it for them

si-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ut-	ak-	raar-	ruu-	wa-	a	-hus
DU	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	INF.B	BEN	PL.AN.3P	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	DIST	come	IMPF.SUB

, nétakar^u
 ráttaakaaru'
 cotton woods
 rak- taakaar -u'
 wood be.white NOM

nihkuhaktahwiruwahaku
 rihkuhaaktahwiruuwaáhaku
 when they were felling the trees

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	haak-	raar-	wi.ra.hak	-waa	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	wood	PL	knock.down	DIST	IMPF.SUB

šápat	nétakar ^u	.	Arúsa ^a
cápaat	ráttaakaaru'	.	Aruúsa'
the women	cottonwoods	.	The horses
icapaak	rak- taakaar -u'	.	aruusaa
woman	wood be.white	NOM	horse

sitírutatira
 sitiíruutattira'
 they brought them for them

si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	ut-	ak-	ri-	raar	-0
-----	-----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	----

DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P PORT do PERF

. Apítakišⁱ háw^a
. A píta kici haáwa'
. And men but also
. a wiita kici haawa
. and man but also

arusasirirutátira

aruúsa' siriiruutattíra'

the horses they brought it for them

aruusaa si- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- ak- ri- raar -0
horse DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P PORT do PERF

, pákarutāt^u
paákaruutaatu'
joint grass
paakuutaat -u'
joint.rush NOM

nikurarahuraruwáhu

rihkurarahuuraruuwáhu

when they brought bundles

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- rarahuur- raar- ruu- wa- a -hus
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B bundle PL PORT DIST come IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirurutirarúkaætⁿ

Hiru ruutiraaruúkaa'at

then they followed upstream
 hiruu ruu- ti- 0- raar- huukaa- at -0
 then then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A along.a.stream.course go PERF

,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hiruasitíwiš^{Atⁿ}

hiru a sitiitiíwícat
 then and they came upon them
 hiruu a si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ii.wic.at -0
 then and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV come.upon PERF

, tárah^a .
 táraha['] .
 buffalo .
 tarahaa .
 buffalo .

Kakuíruhuritⁿ

Kaaku'íruhuurit

They indeed knew how to do things

kaaku- ii- 0- ir- uhuur.ik -0
 NEG.POSS SUBJ.3A 3.A PL.3A be.proficient PERF

šápatⁿ ,
 cápaat
 the women
 icapaak
 woman

kīturihkutáwari

kítuu'u' rihkuutáwaari

all their working

kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aar -waa -i
all NOM INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV do DIST IMPF.SUB

rihku kahkawákaruku

rihkuukaahkawaákaruku

when they were making their lodges

ra- 0- ir- ku- akaar- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B dwelling make.DIST IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Kítuatírarih^š

Kítuu'u' a tiiraariihac

All and they finished

kituu -u' a ti- 0- ir- raa- riihac -0
all NOM and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way finish PERF

, hírakⁱ
hi rákis
and wood
hi rak -kis
and wood DIM

rutirušíra^{tⁿ}

ruutiiruucíraa'at

then they went after it

ruu- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- raa.at -0

then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

,
.
.
.
.

rutirušírawa

Ruutiiruucíraawa

Then they went after them

ruu- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- raa.war -0
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ go.to.get.DU PERF

kítúrak^{is},

kítuu'u' rákis

all wood

kituu -u' rak -kis

all NOM wood DIM

nakuhuraiwáhu .

raakuuura'iwáhu .

when one was coming back repeatedly laden .

ra- 0- a- ku- huur.awi.a -wa -hus .
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B return.laden DIST IMPF.SUB .

Hisititiwís^{^tⁿ} ,

Hi sitiitiíwícat

And they came upon them

hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ii.wic.at -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV come.upon PERF

tárah^a ,

táraha' .

buffalo .
 tarahaa .
 buffalo .

hisititíwiš^{^t}ⁿ ,
 Hi sitiitiíwícat
 And they came upon them ,
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ii.wic.at -0 ,
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV come.upon PERF ,

Kišípit^a
 kici piíta
 but the men
 kici wiita
 but man

kútirasirihkutáhuriwáwⁱ
 kútiira' sirihkuttáhuriwaawi
 it was their way for them to hunt them
 ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raa- 0 -0 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
 INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A way be PERF DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

.
 ,
 ,
 ,

Stusirihkurarahurirúhšⁱ^u
 ctu sirihkuraarahurirúhci'u
 truly when there was a large amount
 ctuu si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raa.rahuur.riruhci -u
 certainly DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV get.a.large.quantity SUB.D

hikišišápatⁿ
 . Hi kici cápaat
 . And but the women
 . hi kici icapaak
 . and but woman

wítirurəs ,
 wítiiruuras
 they ran
 wi- ti- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF

nakukáhuraruh^{^t} ,
 rakukáhuraaruhat .
 where the woods extended .
 ra- 0- ku- kahuraar- u.hak -0 .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B brushy.area extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

kípistāt^u nisápi^u
 Kípistaatu' riisaápi'u'
 Dogwood stakes
 kipsis- tat- -u' riis.haak.wi- -u'
 shaft stalk NOM stake NOM

nikutihkarúk^u
 rikutihkaruúku'
 those are what they made
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

akituwirakuratákipapuh^a
 a kítuu'u' wirakuraatákipaapuha
 and all when one was gathering things together
 a kituu -u' wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- takik.wuh -waa -a

and all NOM when INF.A 3.A INF.B way gather DIST SUB.1

, šápatⁿ , nák^{is}
cápaat rákis
a woman wood
icapaak rak -kis
woman wood DIM

wirakururíwik^u

wiraakuruuríwiiku

when she had a pile

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- riwii kus -0
when ABS 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.clenched be.sitting SUB.4

;

,
,
,

harutúwirakururíwik^u

haaruútu'

wiraakuruuríwiiku

hay

when she had a pile

haaruut -u' wii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- riwii kus -0
dry.grass NOM when ABS 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.clenched be.sitting SUB.4

híarus^a

hi aruúsa'

and the horse

hi aruusaa

and horse

wirutušíkaruk^u

wiruutucíkaruuku'

she was preparing them for it

wii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- ka.ra'uk -:hus
now then IND.3A 3.A BEN SEQ make.PL.P IMPF

hawarakuwáwa,

hawá rakuwaáwa'a

also for it to eat

haawa ra- 0- ku- waawa- a -0
also INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.3

nakuhurawihístar^tn

raakuuurawiihístarit

when they were going to return laden

ra- 0- a- ku- huur.awi.a -his -ta -rit
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B return.laden PERF INT INT.SUB

. Hitahuraiwišáhusititⁿ

. Hi tahuura'iwicáhusitit

. And they began arriving laden

. hi ti- 0- a- huur.awi.wic.a -:hus -itik
. and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive.laden IMPF INCH

; íka^a !

. iika'a

, oh my ,

, iika'a ,

, oh.my ,

stusirihkurakatarihúra^u

ctu sirihkuraakatarihuúra'u

truly their having made a large amount

ctuu si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- kata.rihur ra'uk -0
certainly DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way be.wide make SUB.3

nihkukawúniku .
rihkukawuúniku .
when they were killing them .
ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus .
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB .

Hirúšapatⁿ
Hiru cápaat
Then the women
hiruu icapaak
then woman

kutirarahkítu
kútiira' raaraahkítuu'u'
it was their way everything
ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raa- 0 -0 raa- raar- kituu -u'
INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A way be PERF way PL all NOM

. Nakutákaskaruku ,
rakutaákaskaruku .
to make dried meat .
ra- 0- ku- taakaas- ka.ra'uk -hus .
INF.A 3.A INF.B dried.meat make.PL.P IMPF.SUB .

tətkarukutákaskⁱ ,
Karátkaruuku' taákaski
I did not make it dried meat ,
ka- ra- t- ka.ra'uk -:hus taakas -kis ,
NEG ABS 1.A make.PL.P IMPF dried.meat DIM ,

šápatⁿ ,
cápaat
women
icapaak

woman

nihkutakaskawákaruku
rihkutaakaskawaákaruku
their making dried meat

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	taakaas-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	dried.meat	make.DIST	IMPF.SUB

,

hitíhkarikskaruk^u

hi tihkaaríkskaruuku'
and they made racks of drying meat

hi	ti-	0-	ir-	kaariks-	ka.ra'uk	-.hus
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	meat.hanging.to.dry	make.PL.P	IMPF

. Híšapatⁿ

. Hi cápaat

. And the women

. hi icapaak

. and woman

hirutíši^a

hiru tíci'a

then they did it

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

nihkuhuhurírah^tⁿ

rihkuuhuhurírahat

their commencing work
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raa.uhur- riraar.hak -0
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way pursue SUB.4

Tihwakíahu
 Tihwaki'aahu'
 They say

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

tarahárhkuraririwáhiku,

táraha' rihkuraaririwáhiku

buffalo when they spread them out

tarahaa ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- iriwa.hik -hus
 buffalo INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P spread.out IMPF.SUB

atirahkatawíšak^u

a tiraahkatawícaaku'

and they were chipping it off

a ti- 0- ir- raar- kata.wi.cak -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P chip.off IMPF

tirahkatírik^u

Tiraahkatíriiku'

They scraped it off

ti- 0- ir- raar- kata.iriik -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.off IMPF

kísaškⁱ

kísacki

the meat

kisaac -kis

meat DIM

nakukskátawi .
 rakukskátawi .
 what was on it .
 ra- 0- ku- uks- kata -wi .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B AOR be.against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L .

Šápatⁿ
 Cápaat
 Women
 icapaak
 woman

kútira .
 kútiira' .
 it was their way .
 ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raa- 0 -0 .
 INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A way be PERF .

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

tirahatarúwa^u
 tirahaataruúwa'u
 this I talk about
 tii- ra- t- raa- tara'u -wa -0
 this ABS 1.A way talk.about DIST SUB.4

rikutíšiks suhúrušapatⁿ
 rikuticiksuhúru' cápaat
 that was their way the women
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uhuur.uu -0 icapaak

that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.the.way.one.does PERF woman

. Atirəšawáhis
 . A tiracaawáhis
 . A they were dry
 . a ti- 0- raar- taahiis -wa -0
 . and IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.dry DIST PERF

nihkurašawahísiku
 rihkuracaawaahísiku
 when they were drying them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- taahiis -waa -ik -hus
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P be.dry DIST CAUS IMPF.SUB

, ríškus^u . Náwa^a , híhaw^a
 ríckuusu' . Ráwa hi hawá
 the hides . Now , and also
 ickus- -u' . rawa , hi haawa
 skin NOM . now , and also

nutišiášapatⁿ

ruutíci'a cápaat
 then they did it the women
 ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 icapaak
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF woman

tirəsiraítawi ikspát^u ,
 tirasiraa'ítawi ikspátu'
 this one you know scraper
 tii- ra- s- ir- raa.iita -wi iks.watur
 this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A know SUB.L scraper

parikararúpah ,
 paaríkaraaru' páh

elk horn elk
 waa- arika raar- -u' pah
 elk horn PL NOM elk

tipirúsuhurišk^{^t}ⁿ ,
 típirus uhuúrickat .
 it is bent on the end .
 ti- 0- piruus -0 uhuur.icka.t .
 IND.3A 3.A be.bent PERF on.the.end .

nikutihwakíahu ikspát^u .
 Rikutihwakí'aahu' ikspátu' .
 That is what they say a scraper .
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus iks.watur .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF scraper .

Hikisiwítitakiškákaru

Hi kici siwitiitaakickákaru'
 And but they sharpened them for them
 hi kici si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- icka -ka.ra'uk -0
 and but DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN PL.AN.3P be.pointed CAUS.PL.P PERF

, pít^a , tihwakíahu
 piíta tihwakí'aahu'
 men they say
 wiita ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 man IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

kurakukatíwah^{^t}ⁿ ,

kurakukatíwaahat
 its being so wide
 ku- ra- 0- ku- ka.tiihak -waa -0
 INDF INF.a 3.A INF.B be.so.wide DIST SUB.4

katípəs .
 katiipas .
 the scraper blade .
 katiipas .
 scraper.blade .

Hirutiraririwáwahitⁿ

Hiru tiriiraaririwaáwahit
 Then they spread them about

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	iriwa.hik	-waa	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	spread.out	DIST	PERF

,

rihkukaráhkatuša^a

rihkuukaraáhkатуuca
 when they raised windbreaks against it

ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	akaar-	raar-	kata-	uca.a	-0
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	INF.B	dwelling	PL	against.a.vertical.surface	rise	SUB.4

,

.

.

.

.

hirutirirašapiríwusititⁿ

Hiru tiriiracapiríwuúsitit
 Then they began scraping them

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	tapi.ri.wuu	-.hus	-itik
-------	-----	----	-----	----	-------	-------------	-------	-------

then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF INCH

áka^a ! iráⁱ
 . Aáka'a iraá^{ri}'
 . Oh my , brother ,
 . aaka'a , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 . oh.my , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tirusiskitawíšapatⁿ

tirií'uusiskítawí' cápaat
 she was highly knowledgeable the woman
 ti- 0- rií'uus -his kita.wi -0 icapaak
 IND.3A 3.A be.knowledgeable PERF be.the.leader PERF woman

, nəkutapíriwu , táraha
 rakutapíriwu táraha'
 to scrape it a buffalo
 ra- 0- ku- tapi.ri.wuu -hus tarahaa
 INF.A 3.A INF.B scrape.IMPF IMPF.SUB buffalo

, nəkuruku ,
 rákuruku
 to prepare it
 ra- 0- ku- ra'uk -hus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B make IMPF.SUB

wirakutapíriwu . Hi
 wirakutapíriwu . Hi
 when she scraped it . And
 wii- ra- 0- ku- tapi.ri.wuu -hus . hi
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B scrape.IMPF IMPF.SUB . and

, iráⁱ , hi ,
 iraá^{ri}' hi

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

rarukaririrarawáriku
 raaruukariiriraarawáriku'

she just did not throw them away

raa- ruu- kari- ri- 0- raar- a.warik -:hus
 just then EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P throw.away IMPF

,

tirrahkatapíriwu

tiiriraahkatapíriwu

when they scraped them

tii- ra- 0- ir- raar- kata.pi.ri.wuu -hus
 when ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, tahapakíah^u “
 tahapaki'aahu'
 they say

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

Katákikasⁱs . "
 kataákikasis .
 shavings .
 kataakikasis .
 shavings .

Nikutúhiwa ,
 Rikutuúhiwa
 Those are good
 riku- ti- 0- uur- hi.wa.ar -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good.DIST PERF

nakuwáwa^a .
 rakuwaáwa'a .
 to eat .
 ra- 0- ku- waawa- a -0 .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.3 .

Akutiwáahu .
 A kutiwá'a huu' .
 And they are like eating mush .
 a ku- ti- 0- wa- a -0 huu- -u' .
 and INDF IND.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF mush NOM .

Atíraríhaš
 A tiraariíhac
 And she finished
 a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0
 and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF

nihkurahkawirúwara .
 rihkuraahkawiruúwara .
 her scraping them .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- ka.wi.ruu.war -a .
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B 3PL.INAN.P scrape.DU SUB.1 .

Iráriⁱ ,
 Iraári'
 Brother ,
 i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hirurikutirahkawíriw^u

hiru rikutiraahkawíriw'

then that is what she scraped on it

hiruu riku- ti- 0- raar- ka.wi.ri.wuu -:hus
then that.is IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF

tarahairapakskírahkawⁱ

táraha' irapakskíraahkaawi

buffalo its brains

tarahaa ii- ra- 0- paks- kiraar- kaa -wi
buffalo that ABS 3.A head liquid be.inside SUB.L

, arís^{it}n . Kitu ,
ariísit . Kituu'u'
itself . All
ariísit . kituu -u'
one's.own . all NOM

atíraríh^š ,

a tíraariihac

and she finished

a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0
and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF

nakupíšískara^u ,

rakupicískara'u

her smearing it ,

ra- 0- ku- piciis -ka.ra'uk -0 ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.smeared CAUS.PL.P SUB.3 ,

hirutirírəšahis^{it}n

hiru tiriiracaáhisit

then	they	dried	them					
hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	taahiis	-ik	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	be.dry	CAUS	PERF

,
,
,
,

hirutirikaruikstíhar^u

hiru	tiriikaru'						ikstíhaaru'	
then	they	made	it				top of the head	
hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	ka.ra'uk	-0	iks.tiihaar-	-u'
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	make.PL.P	PERF	top.of.the.head	NOM

. Nakuniwirwárik^a
. Rakuuriwiraawárika
. When she rolled it up

.	ra-	0-	ku-	iriwiraa.warik	-a
.	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	roll	SUB.1

tiharáihku

tihaará'ihku'

one means

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

Akukutiráhwiætⁿ

A	ku	kutiiraáhwi'at			
And	perhaps	they were so high			
a	ku	ku-	ti-	0-	raar.wi.ak
and	INDF	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	be.a.pile.so.high
					PERF

wirakuraruhawíra^a

wiraakuraruuhawíraa'a

when they came downstream

wii-	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	raar-	huuha.wi.raa-	a	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	downstream	come	SUB.4

, hitíhwakⁱ " "
. Hi tíhwaki' "
. And they said : "
. hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
. and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Karawitatuksuhu rakituráhuruksta

Karawitatuksuhuuraakituuuraáhuruksta

We are not yet going to break camp

kara-	wi-	ta-	t-	uks-	uhur-	rak-	ituur-	raahur	-ra'uk	-his	-ta
NEG	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	JUSS	now	1/2.PL	village	be.spoiled	CAUS	PERF	INT

. " Hitirahkíparu
. " Hi tiraahkíparu'
. " And she wet them
. " hi ti- 0- raar- kipaar -ra'uk -0
. " and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P be.wet CAUS PERF

šáhukⁱ , šápatⁿ ,
cahuúki cápaat
the robes ; the woman
cahuu -kis , icapaak
robe DIM , woman

tirahkíparu	šáhuk ⁱ
tiraahkíparu'	cahuúki
she wet them	the robes
ti- 0- raar- kipaar -ra'uk -0	cahuu -kis

IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P be.wet CAUS PERF robe DIM

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirutikitapátkakətⁿ

Hiru tikitapátkakat
Then she cut willows she cut willows
hiruu ti- 0- kitapaat- ka.ukac.k -0
then IND.3A 3.A willow cut.up PERF

, hitihtaríwikus ;
hi tihtaríwiikus .
and they made a fire .
hi ti- 0- ir- ta.riwii.kus.k -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.a.large.fire PERF .

hirikutirahkíšaw^u

Hi rikutiraahkíccawu
And those are what she hung up wet
hi riku- ti- 0- raar- kiic- ta.wuh -0
and that.is IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P water hang.up PERF

,

wirihkukarukúšahukⁱ

wirihkúkaruku

cahuúki

when she was preparing them							the robes	
wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus cahuu -kis								
when INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB robe DIM								

, nakurúhtik ⁱ							.
rakurúhtiki							.
for them to be soft							.
ra- 0- ku- aruht -ik -i							.
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.soft DIST SUB.2							.

áka^a !
 Aáka'a
 Oh my ,
 aaka'a ,
 oh.my ,

tirusiskítaw ⁱ							.
tirii'uusiskítaw ⁱ							.
she was highly knowledgeable							!
ti- 0- rii'uus -his kita.wi -0							.
IND.3A 3.A be.knowledgeable PERF be.the.leader PERF							.

Tihwakíahu					tirahkási ^u		,
Tihwakí'aahu'					tiraakásii'u'		
They say					a bowstring		
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus tiraak.asii -u'							
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF bowstring NOM							

arisítkiwik ^u						
ariísit kíwiiku'						
itself a buffalo bull						
ariísit kiwiik -u'						
one's.own buffalo.bull NOM						

tirakisaštáhkasa

tirakisactáhkasa

this meat along the back

tii- ra- 0- kisaac- raar- ka- sa -0
this ABS 3.A meat PL on be.lying SUB.4

ratirakasiráhkasa

ratiraakasiiráhkasa

the string lying along the back

ta- 0- tiraak.asii- raar- ka- sa -0
IND.1/2A 3.A bowstring PL on be.lying SUB.4

hirikutíhkaru

hi rikutíhkaru'

and those are what they make

hi riku- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -0
and that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P PERF

tirakási^u

tiraakásii'u'

bowstrings

tiraak.asii -u'

bowstring NOM

Ahirukutitirakásiwætⁿ

A hiru kutiitiraakásiiwaat

And then the bowstring would be so long

a hiruu ku- ti- 0- i- tiraak.asii- waa- ak -0
and then INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ bowstring DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

. Náwa^a ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa

. now

hirutirúšiša

hiru tiirúci'a

then they would do it

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

nihkutirakasiraráwuha

rihkutiraakasiiraaráwuha

their hanging the bowstrings

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	tiraak.asii-	raar-	a.wuh	-a
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	bowstring	PL	stretch.out.on.a.frame	SUB.1

šápatⁿ

cápaat

the women

icapaak

woman

Irikuhikúharu

Irikuuhikuúhaaru'

That is what He planned for us

irii-	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
that	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	way	make	PERF

ákitar^u

tirótpari

ákitaaru'

tirátpari

tribe

this one of mine

akitaar-	-u'	tii-	ra-	t-	warii	-hus
tribe	NOM	this	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

, šahúki

atíhkaruku

. Cahuúki

a tíhkaruuku'

. Robes and they make them
 . cahuu -kis a ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
 . robe DIM and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

níhku tirašawiráhak^u

. Rikutiracawiráhaaku'
 . That is what she rubbed them on
 . riku- ti- 0- raar- ta.wi.ra.hak -:hus
 . that.is IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P brush.against IMPF

tirakási^u ,
 tiraakásii'u'
 the bowstring
 tiraak.asii -u'
 bowstring NOM

wirakúwi .
 wirakuúwi .
 when it hangs .
 wii- ra- 0- ku- i- wi -0 .
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.upright SUB.4 .

Nikutirašawírahaku ,
 Rikutiracawírahaaku' .
 That is what she rubbed them on .
 riku- ti- 0- raar- ta.wi.ra.hak -:hus .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P brush.against IMPF .

tuhtirakasiraritikstirúšiiⁿ

Tuhtiraakasiiraritikstíruhci'it
 The bowstrings were extremely hot
 ti- 0- uur- tiraak.asii- rariit -uk -his riruhci -ik -0
 IND.3A 3.A PREV bowstring be.hot DIST PERF be.powerful DIST PERF

rihkúkarukúšahukⁱ

rihkúkaruku

when they were preparing

cahuúki

the robes

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.ra'uk	-hus	cahuu	-kis
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	make.PL.P	IMPF.SUB	robe	DIM

.	Kíriku	pitk ^u
.	Kíriku'	pítku
.	Perhaps	two
.	kirikuu	pitku
.	anything	two

rakú hir^a

rakúhiira

its being days

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

hitírarih^š

hi tíraariihac

and she finished

hi	ti-	0-	raa-	riihac	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	way	finish	PERF

Pitaarara-tirarihkaruk^u

Piíta a raatirarihkaruuku'

Men and they would just draw on them

wiita	a	raa-	ti-	0-	rariir-	ka.ra'uk	-.hus
-------	---	------	-----	----	---------	----------	-------

man and just IND.3A 3.A marking make.PL.P IMPF .

Kišipitatiraríhkaruku

Kici piíta tiraríhkaruuku'
But men they drew on them they drew on them
kici wiita ti- 0- rariir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
but man IND.3A 3.A marking make.PL.P IMPF

,

arusárikurawáwuhuahakapirus

aruúsa' rihkuurawaáwuhu a haákapirus
horses when they were drawing things and drums
aruusaa ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- a.wuh -waa -hus a haaka- piruus
horse INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV draw.a.picture DIST IMPF.SUB and mouth be.bent

.
. .
. .
. .

Aarusárihuksurakurəspirakatuhk^a

A aruúsa' rihuksu' rakuuraspiraahkátuhka
And a horse only to put hooves on it
a aruusaa rihuks -u' ra- 0- ku- uur- as.wi.raar- katuhk -a
and horse alone NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV hoof put.on SUB.1

.
.

Pitárikusitirutətira^a

Piíta rikusitiiruutattíra'a

Men those are the ones they did for them

wiita	riku-	si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	ut-	ak-	ri-	raar	-'
man	that.is	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	PL.AN.3P	PORT	do	EX

, háw^a ,
haáwa'
also
haawa
also

awitnihkukarukúšahukⁱ

áwit rihkúkaruku

first when they prepared them

awit	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.ra'uk	-hus
first	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	make.PL.P	IMPF.SUB

akihitáhwišk^a

cáhuuki	.	Aki	hi	taáhwicka'						
robes	.	And here	and	she would think						
cahuu	-kis	a-	ki	hi	ti-	0-	ar-	wicka	-0	
robe	DIM	.	and	there	and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	think	PERF

šápat ⁿ	“	Tirawírakut ^a	.
cápaat	“	Tiraawiíraakuhta	.
a woman	:	“ He is going on the warpath	.
icapaak	,	” ti- 0- raawiiraak- uh -ta	.
woman	,	” IND.3A 3.A on.the.warpath go.INT INT	.

"
"
"
"
"

Atararuhawíra

A taraaruhawíraa'

And they came downstream

a ti- 0- a- raar- huuha.wi.raa- a -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A downstream come PERF

,

hitikaruúkusa

hi tiikaruúkusa'

and they were making them as they came

hi ti- 0- a- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus a -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB come PERF

šahúkⁱ ,
cahuúki .
robes .
cahuu -kis .
robe DIM .

hitíkarukusa

Hi tiikaruúkusa'

And they were making them as they came

hi ti- 0- a- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus a -0

and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB come PERF

šahúki . Kiši ,
cahuúki . Kici
robes . But ,
cahuu -kis . kici ,
robe DIM . but ,

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

witatiráita ,
witatiráá'iita
I now knew
wii- ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

šahíkstaka wiráwihah^{tⁿ}
cahíkstaaka wirawíwaahat
white men they were living here and there
icaahiks taakaar wii- ra- 0- wi.hak -waa -0
person be.white now ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

. Ataráhwiš^a ,
. A taráhwica'
. And they arrived
. a ti- 0- a- raar- wic.a -0
. and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A arrive PERF

irirakurapíkaruši
iriirakuraapikaáruuci

where the goods were inside

irii- ra- 0- ku- raapi- kaa- ra.uc -i
where INF.A 3.A INF.B goods inside be.lying.PL SUB.2

; híšapatⁿ
hi cápaat
and women
hi icapaak
and woman

rutirapúhusititⁿ

ruutiriiraapúhusitit

then they began bartering them

ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raak.wuh -:hus -itik
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ barter IMPF INCH

šahúkⁱ .
cahuúki .
the robes .
cahuu -kis .
robe DIM .

Atararišakáisa

A taraaricaahkaá'iisa'

And they came into the village

a ti- 0- a- raar- icahka- iis.a -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A village come.into PERF

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

irirituhuruáŝapatⁿ
 iriiriituhúruu'a cápaat
 how their way was the women
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- uhuur- uu -a icapaak
 what ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV way be SUB.1 woman

, taturákiwætⁿ ,
 . Tatuuraakiíwat
 . I tell you about them
 . ta- t- a- uur- ak- iiwaat -0
 . IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV PL.AN.3P tell.about PERF

nátarakukⁱ .
 rátaraakuki .
 our (people) .
 ra- t- a- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i .
 ABS 1.A PREV.3A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2 .

Hirutiritawáhutⁿ
 Hiru tiriitawaáhut
 Then they opened their cache pits
 hiruu ti- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- ahuk -waa -0
 then IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PHY.POSS PREV hold DIST PERF

;

nihkuruhkári^u
 rihkuruhkári'u
 theirs having much
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- kari -u

INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.numerous SUB.D

níkis^u ,
ríkiisu'
corn
ríkiis- -u'
corn NOM

áratikasikariwiritⁿ

a raatikasiikaáriwiirit
and there were many bags of it
a raa- ti- 0- kasii- ka.riwii.arik -0
and just IND.3A 3.A bag be.a.large.pile PERF

níkis^u ;
ríkiisu' .
corn .
ríkiis- -u' .
corn NOM .

arutikasiukátawa

A ruutikasii'uukátawa
And then the bags were (piled) against the wall
a ruu- ti- 0- kasii- uukata -waa -0
and then IND.3A 3.A bag hang.on.the.west.wall DIST PERF

,

wirakurarisahkáisa
wiraakuraaricaahkaá'iisa

when they came into the village

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- raar- icaška- iis.a -0
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PL.INDV.A village come.into SUB.4

.
. .
. .
. .

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

hawawirahuraráwišpu

hawá wirahuraaráwicpu

also when the season was arriving

haawa wii- ra- 0- huraar- a- wic.wuu -hus
also when ABS 3.A earth in.a.line arrive.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, wirahurakiwátaku ,

wirahuraahkiwátaku

when the land was changing

wii- ra- 0- huraar- kiwat.ak -hus
when ABS 3.A earth fade IMPF.SUB

iriahitataráúšapatⁿ

irii'ahiitattaára'u

the way that was made for them

irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa- ra'uk -0 cápaat
that EV ABS 3.A OBV BEN PL.AN.3P way make SUB.3 women
icapaak
woman

iriahirurikatiháhtih^{^t}n

irii'ahiruurikatihaáhtiihat

when it was the beginning of the season for her

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rikatihaar-	tiihak	-0
when	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.a.year	be.the.end	SUB.4

, šápatⁿ

cápaat

the woman

icapaak

woman

. Hikišiatí^{^s}

hi kici Atí'as

and but our Father

hi kici ati- as

and but 1.POSS father

kuhitátuhur^u

kuhiitáttuuhuru'

He planned it for them

kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ak-	raa.uhur-	ra'uk	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	OBV	BEN	PL.AN.3P	way	make	PERF

wirahurahkiwátaku

wirahuraahkiwátaku

when the land changes

wii-	ra-	0-	huraar-	kiwat.ak	-hus
when	ABS	3.A	earth	fade	IMPF.SUB

tahapakíah^u

Tahapaki'aahu'

They say

ta-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus
-----	----	------	--------	-------

IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Hurárika . "
huraáriika .
spring .
huraar- iika .
earth be.in.the.middle .

Wirakuraritkakukúkstaritⁿ

Wirakuraaritkaakuúkukstarit

When they were going to go into the gardens

wii- ra- 0- ku- raar- itkaaka- uukuk -his -ta -rit
when INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A garden get.into PERF INT INT.SUB

, hítihwaki kúrahus
hi tíhwaki' kúrahus
and they said old men :
hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus ,
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man ,

“ Šíru awitⁿ ,
“ Círu' . Ciru áwit
“ Wait ! Yet first
" ciruu . ciruu awit
" yet . yet first

tasirátakahist^a

tasiraattaahkaáhistá

you are going to dance

ta- s- ir- rak- raar- kaa.a -his -ta
IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A dance PERF INT

, šápatⁿ .
cápaat . "

women . "
 icapaak . "
 woman . "

Hiruwitiráhka

Hiru witiiraahkaa'

Then they danced

hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- i- raar- kaa.a -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A SEQ PL.INDV.A dance PERF

šápatⁿ . Tahapakíahu "
 cápaat . Tahapakí'aahu'
 the women . They say
 icapaak . ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
 woman . IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

éwari . " Šapatáhkītu^u ,
 Áwari' . Capaattaáhkītuu'u'
 Flying Around . All women
 a.warii . icapaak raar- kituu -u'
 go.around.IMPF . woman PL all NOM

šapatáhkītu

capaattaáhkītuu'u'

all women

icapaak raar- kituu -u'
 woman PL all NOM

hitaráhka^a

hi taraáhkaa'a' .

and they danced .

hi ti- 0- a- raar- kaa.a -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A dance PERF .

Tiruharihtawa

Tiiruuhaarihtawa

They had them tied to their waist bands

ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ut-	raar-	ihta	-waa	-0
IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	have.under.one's.belt	DIST	PERF

nókirik ^u			šápat ⁿ
rákiriiku'			cápaat
seeds		,	a woman
rak-	kirik	-u'	, icapaak
wood	eye	NOM	, woman

rahkuwíška ^a			,					
raahkuwícka'a								"
her thinking						:		"
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	wicka	-a	,		"
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	want	SUB.1	,		"

wítatkakukukst ^a									
Witaatitkaakuúkuksta							.		"
Now I am going to go into the fields							.		"
wii-	ta-		t-	itkaaka-	uukuk	-his	-ta	.	"
now	IND.1/2A		1.A	garden	get.into	PERF	INT	.	"

nókirik ^u			,
Rákiriiku'			
Seeds			
rak-	kirik	-u'	
seed	eye	NOM	

atuhariht ^a									
a	tuuhaarihta								
and	she had them tied to her waist band								
a	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	raar-	ihta		-0	

and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

hirutaráhka

hiru taaraáhkaa'
then they danced
hiruu ti- 0- a- ar- raar- kaa.a -0
then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A EV PL.INDV.A dance PERF

, nakúrahkahu
raakúraahkaahu
as they were dancing
ra- 0- a- ku- raar- kaa.a -hus
ABS 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PL.INDV.A dance IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Nihuksúatirarahurawíetⁿ

Rihúksu' a tiraarahuúrawi'at

Only and when the dance ended
 rihuks- -u' a ti- 0- raa- rahuur.awi.at -0
 only NOM and IND.3A 3.A way cease PERF

wirakúkstahkahu
 wiraakúkstaahkaahu
 when they were dancing

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- uks- raar- kaa.a -hus
 when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B AOR PL.INDV.A dance IMPF.SUB

, kúrahus
 kúrahus
 , an old man
 , kurahuus
 , old.man

hirutihšipawúktikusititⁿ

hiru tiicipaawaktikusitit
 then he would begin talking to them
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik
 then IND.3A 3.A OBV BEN SEQ talk IMPF INCH

“ Náw^a , šúətⁿ ,
 “ Ráwa , cuú'at
 : “ Now , daughters ,
 , " rawa , cuu'at ,
 , " now , daughter ,

wiwititasuštíratarikskatawist^a

wiwititasuctíraattaarikskatáwista
 now you are going to place the bow and arrows in your hands
 wii- witi- ta- s- ut- tiraak- raar- iks- kata- wuh -his -ta
 now REFL IND.1/2A 2.A PREV bow PL hand against.a.vertical.surface put PERF INT

,	tirətaráhuwaruksti	.	Náw ^a	,
	tiraattaráhuhwaaruksti'	.	Ráwa	
	the holy bow and arrows		Now	
	tiraak- raar- rahuur- waarukstii		rawa	
	bow PL carrying be.holy		now	

huráhkušu
huraáhkucu'
the great earth
huraar- -kucuu
earth AUG

witasutuhurírahakst^a
witasuutuhuurírahaksta
now you are going to cultivate it
wii- ta- s- ut- uhuur- riraar.hak -his -ta
now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV way pursue PERF INT

tirasirihúraahš^a
tirasiriihúraahca
this earth of yours
tii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- huraar- sa -0
this ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A earth be.lying SUB.4

. Náw^a ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa

. now

kusušírar^u

kusuucíraaru'

He will make it thus for you

kuus-	0-	a-	ut-	i-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
POT.1/3A	3.A	2.P	BEN	SEQ	way	make	PERF

ríkurakut^a

ríkurakuuta

to be that way

riku-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	0	-a	.	"
that.is	ABS	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be	SUB.1	.	"

Kúrahus

Kúrahus

The priest

kurahuus

old.man

titapawáktik^u

tiitapaawáktiiku'

he was speaking to them

ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	ak-	waa.wak.tik	-:hus
IND.3A	3.A	OBV	BEN	PL.AN.3P	talk	IMPF

kišišapatⁿ . " Náw^a ,

kici cápaat . " Ráwa

but women : " Now

kici icapaak , " rawa

but woman , " now

witasítkakukukst^a

witaasítkaakuukuksta .

you are going to go into the field .
 wii- ta- s- itkaaka- uukuk -his -ta .
 now IND.1/2A 2.A garden get.into PERF INT .

witasəspítikst^a

Witaasaspiítiksta

Now you are going to step

wii- ta- s- as- wi.itik -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 2.A foot sit.down PERF INT

kisiiríahuhuhura^u

kici irii'ahuhuhúra'u

but the way He planned it for you

kici irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raa.uhur- ra'uk -0
 but that EV ABS 3.A 2.P BEN way make SUB.3

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Nikutitatatarúwa^u

Rikutiitattaataruúwa'u'

That is what he told them

riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa- tara'u -wa -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A OBV BEN PL.AN.3P way talk.about DIST PERF

kúrahus . Náwa ,
 kúrahus . Ráwa
 the priest . Now
 kurahuus . rawa
 old.man . now

hirutiraritkakáisətⁿ

hiru tiraaritkaaká'iisat

then they went into the fields

hiruu ti- 0- raar- itkaaka- iis.at -0
then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A garden go.out.of.sight PERF

. Nakutatkišuh^tⁿ

rakutatkiicuhat

where the stalks are

ra- 0- ku- tat- kiic- u.hak -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B stalk water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, tihwakíahu ,

. Tihwakí'aahu'

. They say

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

širurakutatkištikar^u

ciru rakutatkiictiikaaru .

yet that the stalks were woolly .

ciruu ra- 0- ku- tat- kiic- riikaar -u .
yet INF.A 3.A INF.B stalk water be.woolly SUB.D .

áka^a !

Aáka'a

Oh my ,

aaka'a ,

oh.my ,

ararutiráwistararitⁿ

a raaruutiraáwistaararit

and then smoke was just all over

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- raawis- raar- arik -0

and just then IND.3A 3.A smoke ITER be.standing PERF

. Witihíwik^u ,
 . Witihíwiiku' .
 . She was pulling weeds .
 . wii- ti- 0- hii.wiik -:hus .
 . now IND.3A 3.A chop.weeds IMPF .

tahapakíah^u “
 Tahapaki'aahu' “
 We say : “
 ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus , ”
 IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF , ”

Witihiwikúšapatⁿ . ”
 Witihíwiiku' cápaat . ”
 Now she is pulling weeds the woman . ”
 wii- ti- 0- hii.wiik -:hus icapaak . ”
 now IND.3A 3.A chop.weeds IMPF woman . ”

Sikakiriritátasiksta

Sikaakiiriritattaáciksta

They did not watch (ie help) them

si- kaaki- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- ut- ak- raa- aciks.ta -0
 DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P way watch PERF

pít^a . Nihuksúšapatⁿ ,
 piíta . Rihúksu' cápaat
 men . Only women
 wiita . rihuks- -u' icapaak
 man . only NOM woman

titáwārittakahar^u

tiitáwaari' itkaákahaaru'

they work							the fields	
ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	aar	-waa	-i	itkaaka.haar-	-u'
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	do	DIST	IMPF	cultivated.field	NOM

.
.
.
.
.

Nihkutatkištašararitkaruku
Rihkutatkictacararitkaruku
When they burned the stalks

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	tat-	kiic-	raar-	tararit	-ka.ra'uk	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	stalk	water	PL	be.burned	CAUS.PL.P	IMPF.SUB

.
.
.
.
.

Nihuksuatahíwikstihəš

Ríhuksu'		a	taahíwikstiihac						
Only		and	she would finish pulling weeds						
rihuks	-u'	a	ti-	0-	ar-	hii.wiik	-his	riihac	-0
alone	NOM	and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	chop.weeds	PERF	finish	PERF

,
.
.
.
.

hiruiririhkuruhúrahku

hiru iriirihkuruuhúraahku

there where her (plot of) land was

hiruu irii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- huraar- kus -0
where INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A land be.sitting SUB.4

, aratitarúšpa .

a raatitarúcpa .

and there were just fires here and there .

a raa- ti- 0- ta.ra.uc -waa -0 .
and just IND.3A 3.A be.fire DIST PERF .

Hiirirutarúši^a

Hi iriruutaruúci'a

And thereupon she would do it

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0
and then then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF

, naháris^u

raahárisu'

a hoe

raaharis -u'

hoe NOM

nakúrik^a ,

raahkúriika ,

her picking it up ,

ra- 0- ar- ku- iriik -a ,
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B pick.up.long.object SUB.1 ,

hirutarišpákarukusititⁿ

hiru taaricpaákaruukusitit

then she would begin making hills

hiruu ti- 0- ar- ic.waa ka.ra'uk -:hus -itik

tehn IND.3A 3.A EV be.a.row.of.seed.mounds make.PL.P IMPF INCH

. Hirúawitⁿ
. Hiru áwit
. Then first
. hiruu awit
. then first

atarišpákarukus^tⁿ

a taaricpaákaruukusat

and she would go making hills (ie rows)

a ti- 0- ar- ic.waa ka.ra'uk -hus at -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV be.a.row.of.seed.mounds make.PL.P IMPF.SUB go PERF

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

Irikúritari ,

Irikúriitari'

That is what they did

ii- riku- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i
that that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF

akutikítkaharuøtⁿ

a kutikítkahaaru'at

and it seemed like an earth lodge village

a ku- ti- 0- kitka.haar- u.at -0
and INDF IND.3A 3.A earth.lodge.village extend.in.a.line PERF

øskusakúru,

. Ásku sakuúru'

. One day
 . asku sakur- -u'
 . one day NOM

hitárahēš

a taáraariihac
 and she would finish it she would finish it
 a ti- 0- ar- raa- riihac -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV way finish PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hitáhis^a,

Hi táhiisa'
 And dawn came
 hi ti- 0- a- hiis- a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF

hikikárusk^{^t}ⁿ

hi kiikáruskat
 and early in the morning
 hi kiikarus -kat
 and early.in.the.morning LOC

hirəkirikurutararirkákaukutⁿ

hi rákiriiku' ruutaaraarikaáka'uukut
 and seeds then she would take them to the field
 hi rak- kirik -u' ruu- ti- 0- ar- raar- itkaaka- uukuk -0
 and 1/2.PL eye NOM then IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P garden get.into PERF

. Hirutarúši^a ,
 . Hiru taruúci'a
 . Then she would do it
 . hiruu ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0
 . then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF

tihwakíah^u , náhira
 tihwakí'aahu' ráhiira'
 they say sometimes
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus rahiira
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF further

skítiiks wírarahkáwuh^u
 kskiíti'iks wíraaraahkáwuhu'
 four she put them in it
 iks.kiiti'iks wi- ti- 0- raa.raar.ka.wuh -:hus
 four QUOT IND.3A 3.A plant IMPF

nákirik^u , akuótítⁿ skítiiks ,
 rákiriiku' aku átit kskiíti'iks
 the seeds or beans four
 rak- kirik -u' aku atíik iks.kiiti'iks
 1/2.PL eye NOM or bean four

ákusuhuks níkis^u .
 aku súhuks ríkiisu' .
 or five corn kernels .
 aku suhuks rikiis- -u' .
 or five corn NOM .

Irárⁱ ,
 Iraári'
 Brother ,
 i- -raar- -ri' ,

Kakíiritatašikstapit^a

cápaat	.	Kaakiíriitattaaciksta		piíta										
the women	.	They did not look after them		men										
icapaak	.	kaaki-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	ri-	ut-	ak-	raa-	aciks.ta	-0	wiita	
woman	.	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PHYS.POSS	PREV	PL.AN.3P	way	watch.over	PERF	man	

.
.

.

.

.

Atitkáraruhak^u

A titkararuúhaaku'
 And she was working the dirt around
 a ti- 0- itkaar- raar- ruu- hak -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A particulate.matter ITER PORT pass.by IMPF

, híkišⁱ
 hi kici
 and but
 hi kici
 and but

witatahahkáah^u

witatahaahkaá'aahu'
 the plants were coming up
 wi- ti- 0- a- tat- raar- kaa.a -:hus
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A stalk PL come.out IMPF

, awitikáuwikiəš ,
 . A witika'uúwikii'ac
 . And it was tall ,
 . a wi- ti- 0- ka'uu.awi.kii'ac -0 ,
 . and QUOT IND.3A 3.A corn.to.be.tall PERF ,

hirutiríwaki , “
 hiru tiriíwaki' “
 then they said : “
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 , ”
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF , ”

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

witatuhatáririspist^a
 witatuuhaattaáririspista
 we are going to cultivate it
 wii- ta- t- ut- rak- raar.iriisk.wuh -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL cultivate.a.field PERF INT

.
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

Hawarutirarítkákaukut
 Hawá ruutiraaritkaáka'uukut
 Again then they went into the fields
 haawa ruu- ti- 0- raar- itkaaka- uukuk -0

also then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A garden get.into PERF

šápatⁿ . Irári' ,
 cápaat . Iraári'
 the women . Brother ,
 icapaak . i- -raar- -ri' ,
 woman . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hawawirikutahapakíahu

hawá wirikutahapaki'aahu'

also that is what we said

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

" Wituháririspuh^u .

" Wituuhaáririspuhu' .

: " They are cultivating .

, " wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.iriisk.wuh -:hus .

, " QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV cultivate.a.field IMPF .

" Hiwitikaúwikiäš ,

" Hi witika'uúwikii'ac .

" And it was tall .

" hi wi- ti- 0- ka'uu.awi.kii'ac -0 .

" and QUOT IND.3A 3.A corn.to.be.tall PERF .

kītuatiraparítkaruk^u

Kítuu'u' a tiiraaparítkaruuku'

All and they made them smooth

kituu -u' a ti- 0- ir- raa- parit -ka.ra'uk -:hus

all NOM and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way be.smooth CAUS.PL.P IMPF

, irirašahpəksárikⁱ

iriiraacaahpəksáriki

where the hills were

irii- ra- 0- icahpaks- arik -i
where ABS 3.A be.a.seed.mound be.standing SUB.2

níks^u a , átitⁿ
ríksu' a átit
corn and beans
riiks- -u' a atiik
unshelled.corn NOM and bean

wirakukarihahkáwa^a

wiraakukarihaahkaáwa'a

when the crops had come up

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- karihaar- kaa.a -wa -0
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B crops come.out DIST SUB.4

. Arutírariks

. A ruutiíraariks

. And then it was real

. a ruu- 0- ti- 0- i- raariks -0
. and then 3.A IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.true PERF

arutihurahkispárih^tⁿ

a ruutihuraahkispárihit

and then the ground was smooth

a ruu- ti- 0- i- huraar- kiis- parit.rik -0
and then IND.3A 3.A SEQ earth bone be.smooth PERF

. Awitikaúwikiäš ,

. A witika'uúwikii'ac ,

. And the plants were tall ,

. a wi- ti- 0- ka'uu.awi.kii'ac -0 ,
. and QUOT IND.3A 3.A corn.to.be.tall PERF ,

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

hirutiríwakⁱ , “
 hiru tiriíwaki’ “
 then they said : “
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 , ”
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF , ”

Náw^a witináriwahəš
 Ráwa witiiraariwaahac
 Now they have finished
 rawa wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- riihac -waa -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way finish DIST PERF

kítu . ” Šápatⁿ
 kítuu’u’ . ” Cápaat
 all . ” Women
 kituu -u’ . ” icapaak
 all NOM . ” woman

nutirikítawⁱ . “
 ruutiriikítawi’ . “
 then they were leaders . “
 ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- kita.wi -0 . ”
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.the.leader PERF . ”

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa

now

witahətáriwahəš
witahattaáriiwaahac
we have finished

wii-	ta-	t-	rak-	raa-	riihac	-waa	-0
now	IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	way	finish	DIST	PERF

kítu	.	"	Náw ^a	,
kítuu'u'	.	"	Ráwa	,
all	.	"	Now	,
kituu	-u'	.	rawa	,
all	NOM	.	now	,

hirutiríwakinisar^u

hiru	tiriíwaki'						riisaáru'	
then	they said						the chiefs	
hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0	riisaar	-u'
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF	be.chief	NOM

,	"	Náw ^a	,
,	"	Ráwa	,
:	"	Now	,
,	"	rawa	,
,	"	now	,

iwiritarətahkatáhut^a

i	wiriitaraattaahkatáhuhta								
and	we are going up onto (the prairie)								
i	wii-	rii-	t-	a-	rak-	raar-	kata-	uh	-ta
and	now	ASSR	1.A	IN.PL.P	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	give	INT

.	"
.	"

. "

. "

. "

Náw ^a	,	irár ⁱ	,	níat
Ráwa		iraári'		rí'aat
Now	,	brother	,	summer
rawa	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'
now	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B
				, summer

,	niathawášapat ⁿ	,	
	rí'aat	haáwa'	cápaat
,	summer	also	women
,	rí'aat	haawa	icapaak
,	summer	also	woman

kutiruhú ^u							.
kutiiruhú'u							.
it was their way							.
ku-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raa.uhur	-'	.
INDF	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	be.the.way	EX	.

Rutirahkátaæt ⁿ						
Ruutiraahkáta'at						
Then they went up onto (the prairie)						
ruu-	ti-	0-	raar-	kata-	at	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	go	PERF

.	Tihwakíahu						,
.	Tihwakí'aahu'						
.	They say						
.	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus		
.	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF		

nihkukahkipiskawákaruku
 rihkuukaahkipiskawaákaruku
 when they made willow lodges

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	akaar-	kipis-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	dwelling	shaft	make.DIST	IMPF.SUB

šápatⁿ ,
 cápaat
 women
 icapaak
 woman

hiruakutikahkipíspətⁿ

hiru a kutiikaahkipísmaat
 then and the willow lodge was so long

hiruu	a	ku-	ti-	0-	akaar-	kipis-	waa-	ak	-0
then	and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	dwelling	shaft	DIST	be.a.certain.length	PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hawawítirukiwi

Hawá wítiruukiwi
 Also it was different

haawa	wi-	ti-	0-	i-	raa-	ikiwir	-0
also	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	way	be.different	PERF

níatⁿ

rí'aat .
 summer .
 ri'aat .

summer .

Witirakahkatúšist^a

Witiirakaraahkatúcista

Now they were going to lay hides on the lodges

wii-	ti-	0-	ir-	akaar-	raar-	kata-	uc	-his	-ta
now	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	dwelling	PL	against.a.vertical.surface	lay.SG.P	PERF	INT

híšapatⁿ ritáwari

hi cápaat riitáwari'
and women they worked

hi	icapaak	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	aar	-waa	-i
and	woman	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	do	DIST	IMPF

, nakukarikúšapatⁿ

rakuukáriku

its being her home

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

Hiruatahatarúkaetⁿ

cápaat . Hiru a tahaattaaruúkaa'at

the woman . Then and we went along the bank

icapaak	.	hiruu	a	ta-	t-	rak-	raar-	huukaa-	at	-0
woman	.	then	and	IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	along.a.stream.course	go	PERF

. Iráriⁱ

. Iraári'

. Brother

. i-

-raar-

-ri'

. 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

asitatutiwíšetⁿ

a situutuúwicat

táraha

táraha'

and we came upon them buffalo
a si- ta- t- ut- ii.wic.at -0 tarahaa
and DU IND.1/2A 1.A PREV come.upon PERF buffalo

, níatⁿ ,
rí'aat
summer
rí'aat
summer

hisitatətáhuriwa

hi sitaatattáhuriwa

and we chased them

hi si- ta- t- ak- ra- hurii -waa -0
and DU IND.1/2A 1.A PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST PERF

, nətukurakawúniku ,
ratkuraakawuúniku
when we were killing them
ra- t- ku- rak- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL kill.DIST IMPF.SUB

sirihkurarahurirúhš^u

wisirihkuuraarahurirúhci'u

when they each killed many

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raar- rahur- riruhci -u
when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P do be.numerous SUB.D

, hitahuraiwáahu

hi tahuura'iwá'aahu'

and they were coming laden (with meat)

hi ti- 0- a- huur.awi.a -wa -:hus
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A return.laden DIST IMPF

. Kakíraki^a
 . Kaakíraakii'a
 . It was not long
 . kaaki- 0- raa.kii -aar -0
 . NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

hikiriniátⁿ ,
 híkiiri rí'aat
 indeed summer
 hikiiri ri'aat
 indeed summer

hitíkawutkisaškⁱ
 hi tikawut kísacki .
 and it would spoil the meat .
 hi ti- 0- ka.wa.ut -0 kisaac -kis .
 and IND.3A 3.P spoil.DIST PERF meat DIM .

Híšapatⁿ
 Hi cápaat
 And the women
 hi icapaak
 and woman

hiwitiirikiráwaritⁿ .
 hi witiirikiraáwarit .
 and they hurried .
 hi witi- ti- 0- ir- ikiraa.warik -0 .
 and REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A hurry PERF .

Íka^a ! nətkahahkítu
 Íka'a ratkahaahkítuu'u'
 Oh my , all night
 iika'a , ratkahaar- kituu -u'

oh.my , night all NOM

hitihatakáskaruk^u

hi tihtaakáskaruuku'

and they were making dried meat

hi ti- 0- ir- taakaas- ka.ra'uk -hus
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A dried.meat make.PL.P IMPF

hitáhis^a,

hi táhiisa'

and morning came

hi ti- 0- a- hiis- a -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF

hiwihiruratikaríksaw^a

hi wihiru raatikaríksawa

and there there was a lot of meat hanging

hi wii- hiruu raa- ti- 0- kaariiks- a.war -0
and now there just IND.3A 3.A hanging.dried.meat go.in.a.line.DU PERF

. Nətkahahkítu

ratkahaahkítuu'u'

all night

ratkahaar- kituu -u'

night all NOM

nihkutakáskaruku

rihkutaakáskaruku

their slicing the meat

ra- 0- ir- ku- taakaas- ka.ra'uk -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B dried.meat make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

. Hitáhisa

. Hi táhiisa'

. And morning came
 . hi ti- 0- a- hiis- a -0
 . and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF

hirutíšiáškaritkⁱ

hiru tíci'a ckáritki
 then they did it hides
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ickariit -kis
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF hide DIM

. Tihwakíahu “
 . Tihwakí'aahu’
 . They say
 . ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 . IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Ikskiskatáwišak^u

ikskatáwicaku . "
 a flesher .
 iks- kata- -wi cak -hus .
 hand against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L shoot IMPF.SUB .

Taraháarisitiihi

Táraha' ariisit ti' ihi
 Buffalo itself it is , uh ,
 tarahaa ariisit ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii ,
 buffalo one's.own IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh ,

íksəš ,

hitiáhkaru
 íksas hi ti'aáhkaru'
 forearm bone and one made teeth
 iks- as hi ti- 0- aar- ka.ra'uk -0
 hand foot and IND.3A 3.A tooth make.PL.P PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Ákuturitpapišis^u

A	kutuúrit								paápicisu'
And	they looked like it								metal
a	ku-	ti-	0-	uur-	0	-ik	-0		paapicis-
and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	DIST	PERF		metal NOM

,

íhairirutah^u

ihaa'iriiruutahu

that way it was

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

, atíahwa

a tí'aahwa

and it had teeth

a	ti-	0-	aar-	waa-	aah	-0	
and	IND.3A	3.A	tooth	DIST	be	PERF	

Ararutikataríkuk^u

A raaruutikataríkuuku'

And then she was just pulling it off

a	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kata-		ri.kuk	-:hus
---	------	------	-----	----	-------	--	--------	-------

and just then IND.3A 3.A against.a.vertical.surface remove IMPF

tihárukutasət^a

tihaárukuutasata

there as she worked down it

tii- haa- ra- 0- ku- ut- as- at -a
here here INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV foot go SUB.1

níatⁿ , éskusakur^u ,
rí'aat ásku sakuúru' .
in summer one day .
ri'aat asku sakur- -u' .
summer one day NOM .

irihíkakiraki^a

Irihiikaakíraakii'a

That was not long

irii- hii- kaaki- 0- raa.kii -aar -0
that other NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

éskusakuru,

ásku sakuúru'

one day

asku sakur- -u'

one day NOM

hitírəšahis

hi tiracáhis

and they were dry

hi ti- 0- raar- taahiis -0 níškus^u
and IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.dry PERF ríckuusu'
the hides

ahawátakaskⁱ

a hawá taákaski .

and also the dried meat .
 a haawa taakas -kis .
 and also dried.meat DIM .

Šakurahkítu híšapatⁿ
 Sakuraahkítuu'u' hi cápaat
 Everyday and a woman
 sakur- raar- kituu -u' hi icapaak
 day PL all NOM and woman

hítutəspari
 hi tuutáspari'
 and she worked with it
 hi ti- 0- ut- as- warii -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV foot be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

nəkuráhwawisu
 rakuraahwaáwisu
 her pounding them
 ra- 0- ku- raar- waawa- is -hus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P DIST hit IMPF.SUB

tákaskⁱ ;
 taákaski
 dried meat '
 taakas -kis '
 dried.meat DIM '

karaəskuhkáwutⁱ
 kara'aaskuhkáwuuti
 so that mine does not spoil '
 kara- aa- s- ku- uur- ka.wa.ut -i '
 NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P POSS.P spoil.DIST SUB.2 '

tákaskⁱ .
 taákaski .
 dried meat .
 taakas -kis .
 dried.meat DIM .

narukakaruhšakuhkúšapatⁿ

Raaruukaakaruhcákuhku cápaat
 She just had the day a woman
 raa- ruu- kaaki- 0- a- ri- uur- sakur- kus -0 icapaak
 just then NEG.IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A day be.sitting PERF woman

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Arutirahkitawirakúrəšahis

A ruutiraakítawi' rakuracaáhis
 And then the way was in the lead for them to be dry
 a ruu- ti- 0- raa.kita.wi -0 ra- 0- ku- raar- taahiis -0
 and that IND.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.dry SUB.4

tákaskⁱ .
 taákaski .
 the dried meat .
 taakas -kis .
 dried.meat DIM .

Hirutiširəšaripap^u

Hiru tiicirácariipaapu
 Then they tied them up (to store)
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raar- tariik.wuh -waa -0

then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P tie DIST PERF

. Irá*r*ⁱ , híhaw^a
. Iraá*r*' hi hawá
. Brother , and also
. i- -raar- -ri' , hi haawa
. 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and also

rutíširuhurirah^{^t}ⁿ

ruutiiciruu*h*urírah*at*

then they attended to it

ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raa.uhur- riraar.hak -0
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ way pursue PERF

,

nihkurəšapíriwu

rihkuracapíriwu

when they scraped them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF.SUB

.

.

.

.

.

Wirikutirəšapíriwu

Wirikutiiracapíriwu'

These were the ones they scraped

wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	tapi.ri.wuu	-:hus
now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	scrape.IMPF	IMPF

,

iwirirakakarúkstaritⁿ

iwiriirakaahkarúkstarit

when they were going to make tipi covers

ii-	wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	akaar-	ka.ra'uk	-his	-ta	-rit
when	when	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	tipi.cover	make.PL.P	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

, ihi

ihi

, uh ,

, ihii ,

, uh ,

nirarišakaísət^a

riraaricaahkaa'ísata

when they went into the village

ri-	0-	raar-	icahka-	iis.at	-a	.
CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	village	go.out.of.sight	SUB.1	.

WirətKurataruhawiráat^a

Wiratkuraattaaruuhawíraa'ata

When we went downstream

wii-	ra-	t-	ku-	rak-	raar-	huuha.wi.raa-	at	-a
when	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	downstream	go	SUB.1

hiirutiširuhurírahətⁿ

hi iriruutiiciruuhurírahat

and thereupon they attended to it

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raa.uhur- riraar.hak -0
and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ way pursue PERF

hihavarutirašapíriwusititⁿ

hi hawá ruutiracapíriwusitit

and also then they began scraping them

hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- ir- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -:hus -itik
and also then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF INCH

tihwakíahu

“

. Tihwakí'aahu'

“

. They say

:

“

. ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , "

. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

Witíhkaruk^u

Witíhkaruuku'

Now they are preparing them

wi- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

narákahkⁱ

.

"

raarákahki

.

"

tanned hides

.

"

raar.akaar-

-kis

.

"

tanned.summer.hide DIM . "

Irirariškuhwawi

Iriirariickúhwaawi

Where the fur grows

irii- ra- 0- ra.ickuur- waa -wi
where ABS 3.A animal.fur be.upright.DIST SUB.L

irihitiharáhura^a

irihiitihaaráhura'a'

that is where they began

irii- hii- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa- ra- hurar -'
that other IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way PORT be.where.one.comes.from EX

nihkurəšapíriwu

rihkuracapíriwu

when they scraped them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. áka^a !

. Aáka'a

. Oh my ,

. aaka'a ,

. oh.my ,

tirusiskitawíšapatⁿ

tirii'uusiskítawi'

she was highly knowledgeable

ti- 0- rii'uus -his kita.wi -0 cápaat
IND.3A 3.A be.knowledgeable PERF be.the.leader PERF icapaak
woman

, irikúhitari

iriikúhiitári'

however they did it !
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i .
 that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF .

Hiruatiraruhawíraætⁿ,

Hiru a tiraaruuhawíraa'at
 Then and they went downstream
 hiruu a ti- 0- raar- huuha.wi.raa- at -0
 then and IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A downstream go PERF

hitirəšapíriwu ,

hi tiracapíriwu'
 and they scraped them
 hi ti- 0- ir- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF

kirikukurakuriškústahwikⁱ

kírku' kurakuurickústahwiiki
 perhaps the (pile of) hides being so high
 kirikuu ku- ra- 0- ku- ickus- raar- wi ak -i
 anything INDF INF.A 3.A INF.B skin PL be.upright be.a.certain.length SUB.2

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Arutiriraráir^u

A ruutiriiraará'iiru'
 And then they put them in water
 a ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ha.iir -:hus
 and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.in.water IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hitihkarúkus^{^tⁿ}

Hi tihkaruúkusat

And they prepared them as they went

hi ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus at -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB go PERF

, nekuraruhawiráat^a

rakuraaruuhawíraa'ata

when they traveled downstream

ra- 0- ku- raar- huuha.wi.raa- at -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A downstream go SUB.1

,
,
,
,

hitihkarukus^{^tⁿ}

hi tihkaruukusat

and they prepared them as they went

hi ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus at -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB go PERF

. Šahúkikakiitⁿ

. Cahuúki kaakií't .

. Robes they were not .

. cahuu -kis kaaki- 0- 0 -ik -0 .

. robe DIM NEG.IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF .

šahúki
Cahuúki
Robes
cahuu -kis
robe DIM

wírikutiitirirušuksahu

wírikuti'it

they were the ones

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

iriirucúksahu

the way it used to be

irii- ra- 0-
what ABS 3.A

iriírucuksuhuuriki

the way one did it

ut- uks- 0 -a -hus
PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

wirihkukahkárau

wírihkuukaahkára'u

when they made tipi covers

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- akaar- ka.ra'uk -0
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B tipi.cover make.PL.P SUB.3

,

wirətkurətahwaripíšikətⁿ

wiratkurattáhwari

when we traveled around

wii- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- warii
when INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A be.going.about.IMPF

-hus IMPF.SUB

píciakat

in winter

pici- -kat
wintry LOC

. Irárⁱ

. Iraari'

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

hiruatahatarišakáis^{^tⁿ}

hiru a tahaattaaricaahkaá'iisat
 then and we went into the village
 hiruu a ta- t- rak- raar- icahka- iis.at -0
 then and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A village go.out.of.sight PERF

,

hiwitiáriwah^{^š}

hi witiáriwah^{^š}
 and they were finished
 hi wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- riihac -waa -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way finish DIST PERF

, rarahkítu .
 raaraahkítuu'u' .
 everything .
 raa- raar- kituu -u' .
 way PL all NOM .

Hitahátarišakáis^{^tⁿ}

Hi tahaattaaricaahkaá'iisat
 And we went into the village
 hi ta- t- rak- raar- icahka- iis.at -0
 and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A village go.out.of.sight PERF

hiirutihirurarah^t

hi iriruutiiciruuurarahat

and thereupon they attended to it

hi	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	raa.uhur-	riraar.hak	-0
and	then	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	way	pursue	PERF

, hirúihi

hiru		ihi	
there	,	uh	,
hiruu	,	ihii	,
there	,	uh	,

iririruhúrarušpawⁱ

iriiriiruuuráaruupaawi

the ones who had gardens

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	huraar-	ra.uc	-waa	-wi
that	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	earth	be.lying.PL	DIST	SUB.L

nihkurarahkúwir^a

rihkurarahkuúwira

when they roasted (corn)

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raar-	raar.kiwir	-a	.
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	roast.corn	SUB.1	.

Híhikirⁱ

Hi híkiiri

And indeed

hi híkiiri

and indeed

irihi tirárisaətⁿ

irihiitiraáriisa'at

there was ample there

irii-	hii	ti-	0-	raar-	riisat	-'
there	other	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.large	EX

wirakurarahkíwira

wirakurarahkíwira

when one roasted it

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	raar.kiwir	-a
when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	roast.corn	SUB.1

Nihkutásparirihkurarahkúwirašapatⁿ

Rihkuutáspari

When they attended to it

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	as-	warii	-hus	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raar-	raar.kiwir	-a	rihkurarahkíwira	cápaat
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	foot	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	roast.corn	SUB.1	when they roasted it	the women

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Kakíhašikstapit^a

Kaakíhaaciksta

They did not watch

kaaki-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa-	aciks.ta	-0	piíta
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	way	watch	PERF	men

hítirətki

hi tirátkii'a

and it became night
 hi ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 and IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hítaruta ,
 hi táruuta
 and she would do it
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF

nahkutáhpik^a .
 raahkutaáhpika .
 when she would shell it .
 ra- 0- ar- ku- tahk.wiik -a .
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B shell.corn SUB.1 .

Nətkaháhkītu,
 Ratkahaáhkituu'u'
 All night
 ratkahaar- kituu -u'
 night all NOM

hítaruta ,
 hi táruuta
 and she would do it :
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF ,

hitahtáhpik^u ,
 hi taahtaáhpiku' .
 and she would shell it .
 hi ti- 0- ar- tahk.wiik -:hus .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV shell.corn IMPF .

hitahtáhpikukítutárarih^ě

Hi	taahtaáhpíiku'					kítuu'u'		taaraáriihac					
And	she would					all		she would be finished					
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	tahk.wiik	-:hus	kituu	-u'	ti-	0-	ar-	raa-	riihac	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	shell.corn	IMPF	all	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	EV	way	finish	PERF

, kikáruskətⁿ ,
. Kíikaruskat
. Early in the morning
. kiikarus -kat
. early.in.the.morning LOC

hirarutiriríwah^tⁿ

hi	raaruutiraariríwahit												
and	she would spread out covers												
hi	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	raar-	iriwa.hik		-0					
and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	spread.out		PERF					

Wirahkuwarásikⁱ

wiraahkuwaarásiki													
when all was cooked													
wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	waa-	araas	-ik	-i					
when	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	DIST	be.cooked	CAUS	SUB.2					

níks^u , hi
ríksu' hi
the corn and
riiks- -u' hi

that is the way He made for them
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa- ra'uk -0
 that DUB ABS 3.A OBV BEN PL.AN.3P way make PERF

tiráwahətⁿ kísⁱ .
 Tiráwaahat kíici' .
 the Heavens however .
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 kici .
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 but .

Hawawirihkúrašawahišikunawarit^u
 Hawá wirihkuracaawaahísiku raáwariitu'
 Also when they were drying it roasted corn
 haawa wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- taahiis -waa -ik -hus raa- wariit -u'
 also when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P be.dry DIST CAUS IMPF.SUB way be.warm NOM

, hihawápahuks ,
 hi hawá páhuks
 and also squash
 hi haawa wahuks
 and also squash

hihawatihakarəšarahákusititⁿ
 hi hawá tiihaakaracarahákusitit
 and also they began slicing them into rings
 hi haawa ti- 0- ir- haaka- raar- tarahak -:hus -itik
 and also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A mouth PL slice IMPF INCH

, šápatⁿ . Arisít šapat
 cápaat . Ariísit cápaat
 the women . Themselves the women
 icapaak . ariisit icapaak
 woman . one's.own woman

nihkuhakarəřaruwáhaku
 rihkuhaakaracaruuwaáhaku

when they were slicing them into rings

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	haaka-	raar-	tarahak	-ruu	-waa	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	mouth	PL	slice	DIST	DIST	IMPF.SUB

,	hawatahapakíahu								“
	hawá	tahapaki'aahu'							“
	also	we say					:		“
	haawa	ta-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus	,		”
	also	IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	,		”

Pahukswitíhkaruk^u

Páhuks witíhkaruuku'

The squash they are preparing

wahuks	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus	.
squash	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	make.PL.P	IMPF	.

" Kutukspáki

" Kutukspaáki

" They were so long

"	ku-	ti-	0-	uks-	waa-	ak	-i
"	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	DIST	be.a.certain.length	SUB.2

, akutíkatih^{^tⁿ}

a kutiíkatiihat

and it was so wide

a	ku-	ti-	0-	i-	ka.tiihak	-0
and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.so.wide	PERF

hitútastarawat^{^tⁿ}

hi tuútaastaarawatat

and one wove the stings

hi	ti-	0-	ut-	haas-	raar-	awatat.k	-0
----	-----	----	-----	-------	-------	----------	----

and IND.3A 3.A PREV string PL pile.one.on.another PERF

.
.

.

.

.

Irikuhitaritiríhkarukúpahuks

Iriikúhiitari'

That is what they did

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i
that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF

tiríhkaruku

when they prepared them

tii- ra- 0- ir-
when ABS 3.A PL.3A

ka.ra'uk -hus
make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

páhuks

squash

wahuks
squash

, šápatⁿ .
cápaat .
the women .
icapaak .
woman .

Ákukuritⁿ

A kutuúrit

And they resembled

a ku- ti- 0- uur- 0 -ik -0
and INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV be DIST PERF

ótakuhur^u

. Iráⁱ

áttakuhuru'

. Iraá^{ri}'

a pack

. Brother

aktaku.huur- -u'

. i- 3.POSS.A

-raar- same.sex.sibling

-ri' 3.POSS.B

pack

NOM

,

,
,
,

kitúhawaatiráriwahəš

kítuu'u'		hawá	a	tiraáriwaahac							
all		also	and	they were finished							
kituu	-u'	haawa	a	ti-	0-	ir-	raa-	riihac	-waa	-0	
all	NOM	also	and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	way	finish	DIST	PERF	

, hirúšapatⁿ ,
hiru cápaat
there the women
hiruu icapaak
there woman

hawawitirákuritəspari

hawá	witiraákuriitaspari										
also	when each did her own work										
haawa	witi-	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	ut-	as-	warii		-hus
also	REFL	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	foot	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB

kítu .
kítuu'u' .
all .
kituu -u' .
all NOM .

Kituatiráriwahəš

Kítuu'u'		a	tiraáriwaahac								
All		and	they finished them								
kituu	-u'	a	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	riihac	-waa	-0		
all	NOM	and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	finish	DIST	PERF		

níkis^u .
 ríkiisu' .
 the corn .
 rikiis- -u' .
 corn NOM .

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

hirutíhwaki “ Náw^a
 hiru tíhwaki' “ Ráwa
 then they said : “ Now
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

tišuhurakakarašaríhwaritⁿ

tiicuuuraakakaracarihwarit

let's sew our lodge covers awhile

i- t- ir- ut- uhur- rak- akaar- raar- tariir.warik -0
 CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV awhile 1/2.PL canvas PL sew PERF

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

hirutišikarəšarihwawaríkusititⁿ

hiru tiiciikaracarihwaawaríkusitit

then they began sewing the lodge covers

hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- akaar- raar- tariir.warik -waa -:hus -itik

then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ tipi.cover PL sew DIST IMPF INCH

atiharikututəskaštašakarusúutⁿ

a tihaarikutuutaskactacakarusuú'ut

and this is how large the (pile of) sinew was

a tii- haa- riku- ti- 0- ut- askac- raar- ta.karus.uu -uk -0
 and this here that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV sinew PL be.a.large.pile DIST PERF

škašpátiš^u .

ckacpaátisu' .

sinew thread .

askac- paatis- -u' .

sinew line NOM .

Hikúrahapⁱ ,

Hi kurákuhaapi

And where a pole was

hi ku- ra- 0- ku- haak- wi -0
 and INDF INF.A 3.A INF.B wood be.upright SUB.4

hirutaskaštašáris ,

hi ruutaskactacárit

and then the sinew was tied to it

hi ruu- ti- 0- askac- raar- tariik -0
 and then IND.3A 3.A sinew PL be.tied PERF

nókuhapⁱ .

rákuhaapi .

where a pole was .

ra- 0- ku- haak- wi -0 .

INF.A 3.A INF.B wood be.upright SUB.4 .

Hiruwirikutitakahtariwawáriku

Hiru wirikutiitakahtarihwaawáriku'

Then those were the ones they were sewing
hiruu wii- riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- akaar- tariir.warik -waa -:hus
then now that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV tipi.cover sew DIST IMPF

ihí narákahkⁱ .
ihí raarákahki .
, uh , tanned hides .
, ihii , raar.akaar- -kis .
, uh , tanned.summer.hide DIM .

Tihahkawiutawáwuhu

Tiihahkawi'uttawaáwuhu'

They were sewing them together

ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- kawi'uktawuh -waa -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P join.together DIST IMPF

,

hawairikúhitari

hawá iriikúhiitári'

also whatever they did

haawa irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i
also that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF

. Náhir^a rakuháru^a
. Ráhiira' rakuuháruu'a
. Sometimes their numbering
. rahiira ra- 0- ku- ut- raar.uu -a
. further INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.a.number SUB.1

pitaurarákahkⁱ ,
 piíta'u' raarákahki
 twenty tanned hides
 wiita- -u' raar.akaar- -kis
 twenty NOM tanned.summer.hide DIM

atikárihu^u ,
 a tiikárihu'
 and it was a large lodge ,
 a ti- 0- akaar- rihur -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big PERF ,

atikaríhu^u ;
 a tiikárihu' .
 and it was a large lodge .
 a ti- 0- akaar- rihur -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big PERF .

ahirukutikahtíh^{^tⁿ}
 A hiru kutiikaah^{tí}hat
 And then it was a large, round lodge
 a hiruu ku- ti- 0- akaar- tihak -0
 and then INDF IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.the.border PERF

pitaurákuharu^a
 piíta'u' raahkuuháruu'a
 twenty their numbering
 wiita- -u' ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- raar.uu -a

twenty NOM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.a.number SUB.1

. Pítuskakirahir^a
. Pítuskaakii' ráhiira'
. Eighteen sometimes
. pitkus kaaki- 0- i- 0 -0 rahiira
. two NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be PERF further

nákuharu^a ,
raahkuuháruu'a
their numbering
ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- raar.uu -a
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.a.number SUB.1

hitikárihu .
hi tiikárihu' .
and it was a large lodge .
hi ti- 0- akaar- rihur -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big PERF .

Súrawi^u akusuhukstarúkit^a
Ksúrawi'u' aku suhukstaruúkita
Sixteen or fifteen
iks- huur.awi- -u' aku suhuks raar- huukita
hand laden NOM or five PL be.on.top

kurakúkita
ku rakuúkita
or fourteen
aku rak- huukita
or wood be.on.top

hikakikárihu^u
hi kaakiikárihu' .

and it was not a large lodge .
 hi kaaki- 0- akaar- rihur -0 .
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big PERF .

kirikupitkusúsiri
 Kíriku' pitkusuúsiri'
 Sometimes twelve
 kirikuu pitkus.huus.hiri'
 anything twelve

hikakikárihu^u .
 hi kaakiikárihu' .
 and it was not a large lodge .
 hi kaaki- 0- akaar- rihur -0 .
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big PERF .

Nikutirátiwah^{^t}ⁿ .
 Rikutiraatiiwaáhat .
 Those were the sizes of them .
 riku- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -waa -0 .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A way be.the.border DIST PERF .

Arutirikarahkawawárik^u
 A ruutiriikaraahkawaawáriku'
 And then they put the tipi covers on
 a ruu- ti- 0- ir- akaar- raar- ka.warik -waa -:hus
 and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A tipi.cover PL put.on DIST IMPF

,

aratiturišihaitətⁿ

a raatiituuricihta'itat

and a camp just extended on the outskirts of the village

a raa- ti- 0- ituur- icihta- itak -0
and just IND.3A 3.A village edge.of.the.village be.a.camp PERF

irárⁱ

iraári'

, brother

, i-

-raar-

-ri'

, 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

akahtápi

,

akahtápi

akahtápi'

.

Akahtápi'

tipis

.

Tipis

akaar- taapiir

.

akaar- taapiir

dwelling be.vertically.slanted

.

dwelling be.vertically.slanted

aratiturišihaitətⁿ

a raatiituuricihta'itat

and a camp just extended on the outskirts

a raa- ti- 0- ituur- icihta- itak -0
and just IND.3A 3.A village edge.of.the.village be.a.camp PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Nikutihikúrihaka

Rikutiihikúriihaaka

That is what He did for us

riku- tiir- ri- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- rak- aar -0

that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL do PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

kišitirahákuriwⁱ

kici tirahákuriwi
but we who live here

kici tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi
but this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks

Indians

icaahiks icaahiks
person person

ahikurakára^u

ahikuraakára'u

after He created us

ar- ri- 0- ku- rak- ka.ra'uk -0
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P 1/2.PL make.PL.P SUB.3

tihawirəskurətkawawúku

Tihaawiraskuuratkawaawúku

These things that you are hearing from me

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

.

šahúki ,
cahuúki
robes
cahuu -kis
robe DIM

nakúwitətⁿ ;
rakúwitat .
to wear .
ra- 0- ku- witak -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4 .

nakuwitətšahuki
Rakúwitat cahuúki
To wear robes
ra- 0- ku- witak -0 cahuu -kis
INF.A 3.A INF.B wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4 robe DIM

. Nikutahákaruk^u ,
rikutahákaruuku' .
those are what we made .
riku- ta- t- rak- ka.ra'uk -:hus .
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL make.PL.P IMPF .

nikutihkarukúšapətⁿ ,
Rikutihkaruúku' cápaat
Those are what they made women
riku- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus icapaak
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF woman

šahúkí ,
cahuúki
robes
cahuu -kis

robe DIM

nakúwitətⁿ

rakúwitat

to wear

ra-	0-	ku-	witak	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	wear.over.the.shoulders	SUB.4

rakúwarit^u

rakúwariitu

to be warm

ra-	0-	ku-	wariit	-u	.	Ániat ⁿ
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.warm	SUB.D	.	A ri'aat
					.	And in summer
					.	a ri'aat
					.	and summer

-- ri'aat

-- in summer

-- ri'aat

-- summer

wirihkúkaruku

wirihkúkaruku

when they made them

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.ra'uk	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	make.PL.P	IMPF.SUB

narákahkⁱ

;

raarákahki

tanned hides

raar.akaar-	-kis
tanned.summer.hide	DIM

nikutíhkarukúakaruniatⁿ

rikutíhkaruuku'

ákaaru'

ri'aat

that is what they made lodges summer
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus akaar -u' ri'aat
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF dwelling NOM summer

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Wirihkukararíwahəš

Wirihkuukarariíwaahac

When they finished the lodges

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- akaar- raar- riihac -waa -0
 when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B dwelling PL finish DIST SUB.4

, aratitúruəťⁿ

a raatiitúru'at

and a village just extended

a raa- ti- 0- ituur- u.at -0
 and just IND.3A 3.A village extend.in.a.line PERF

, šítaháhiri ;

cihtahaáhiri' .

on the outskirts .

icihta- -haar -hiri' .

edge.of.the.village LOC LOC .

rihkukarahkawawárik^a

Rihkuukaraahkawaawárika

When they put the tipi covers on

ra- 0- ir- ku- akaar- raar- ka.warik -waa -a
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B tipi.cover PL put.on DIST SUB.1

nikutahapakíahu "

rikutahapaki'aahu' "

that is what we said : "

riku- ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus "

that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

Tihkarukurarákahkiⁱ

Tíhkaruuku' raarákahki

They are making tanned skins

ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus raar.akaar- -kis

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF tanned.summer.hide DIM

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hiirirutíši^a

hi iriruutíci'a

and thereupon they did it

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0

and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

wirihkurárihəš ,

wirihkuraáriihac

when they finished

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku raa- riihac -0

when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INDF way finish SUB.4

hitíhwaki “ Náwa ,
hi tíhwaki’ “ Ráwa
and they said : “ Now
hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

rótakuwirikutiratíhətⁿ

rátaku wirikutiraatíhat
here now that is the end of it
ra- 0- ta kus -0 wii- riku- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -0
ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 now that.is IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

witətaratakátáhuht^a

witatarattaahkatáhuhta

we are going to go up onto (the prairie)

wii- ta- t- a- rak- raar- kata- uh -ta
now IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface give INT

. Wirutirakítawⁱ

. Wiruutiraakítawí’

. Now then it is the leading way

. wii- ruu- ti- 0- raa.kita.wi -0
. now then IND.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF

nirarihəškitúakaruar^u

riraáriihac kítuu’u’ akaáru’ a,kaáru’

when they finish them all lodges , lodges
 ri- 0- raa.riihac -0 kituu -u' akaar -u' , akaar -u'
 CONT.3A 3.A finish PERF all NOM dwelling NOM , dwelling NOM

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

tirətúraiwati ,
 tiratúraa'iwaati
 this story I am telling you
 tii- ra- t- uur- raa.iivaat -i
 this ABS 1.A PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

tihátak^u ,
 tihaátaku
 right here
 tii- haa- -taku
 here here LOC

nikutiráitustih^{^tⁿ} .
 rikutiraa'iitustiíhat .
 this is the end of the story .
 riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us- tiihak -0 .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A story be.the.end PERF .

Witahaítustihaš Písikətⁿ
 Witahaa'iitustiíhac píciakat
 I have finished the story in winter
 wii- ta- t- raa.iit.us- riíhac -0 píci- -kat
 now IND.1/2A 1.A story finish PERF wintry LOC

irikuhiikutirawahatⁿ

irikuuhikuriita

that is what He did for me

Tirawaahat

the Heavens

irii- kuur- ri- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- aar -0 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
that DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV do PERF this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

šahukirihkúkaruku

cahuúki

rihkúkaruku

robes

when they prepared them

cahuu -kis ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus
robe DIM INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

. Sáhikstaka

. Cahíkstaaka

. White people

. icaahiks taakaar

. person be.white

tikstapirariwišpúsuuk^u

tikstaapirariwicpuúsuuku'

they used to arrive with goods

ti- 0- ir- uks- raapi- raar- ri- wic.wuu -:hus -uuku

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR goods PL PORT arrive.IMPF IMPF HAB

átirapuh^u

a tiiraapúhu'

and they were bartering

a ti- 0- ir- raak.wuh -0

and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A barter PERF

akutirahwiwétšahukⁱ

a kutiiraáhwíwaat

and they were piled high

a ku- ti- 0- raar- wi waa- ak -0 cahuúki

and INDF IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.upright DIST be.a.certain.length PERF robe DIM

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Arikutirarahuhawiráahu

A rikutiirarahuhawiráá'aahu'

And that is what they brought down river

a riku- ti- 0- a- ir- raar- ra- huuha.wi.raa- a -:hus

and that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT downstream come IMPF

šahíkstaka šahúkⁱ .

cahíkstaaka cahuúki .

white men robes .

icaahiks taakaar cahuu -kis .

person be.white robe DIM .

rawititiruhukítaw^u

raawititiruhukítawu'

they were just outdoing each other

raa- witi- ti- 0- ir- uur- uhuur.kita.wuu -:hus
just REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV outdo.IMPf IMPF

, tikstíus šápatⁿ ,
. Tikstí'us cápaat
. They knew how women
. ti- 0- ir- uks- rii'uus -0 icapaak
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR know.how PERF woman

irikuhišíksari

iriikúhiiciksaari'

whatever it was they were doing

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- aar -i
what DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR do IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Akaririririrapuhúniatⁿ

A kariiriiririiraápuhu'ri'aat

And they did not barter (in) summer

a kari- rii- 0- ir- ri- ri- i- raak.wuh -:hus
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ barter IMPF

. Tíhkaruk^u

. Tíhkaruuku'

. They were making them

. ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

narákahki .
 raarákahki .
 tanned hides .
 raar.akaar- -kis .
 tanned.summer.hide DIM .

Kišitihkarukurakúwarit^u ;

Kici tihkaruuku'
 But they were making them
 kici ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus
 but IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

wirakukarikústaritⁿ

rakúwariitu					wirakuukarikústarit									
to be warm					when one is going to have a home									
ra-	0-	ku-	wariit	-u	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	akaar-	ri-	kus	-his	-ta	-rit
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.warm	SUB.D	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	dwelling	PORT	be.sitting	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

píšikətⁿ . Náw^a ,
 píciikat . Ráwa
 in winter . Now
 pici- -kat . rawa
 wintry LOC . now

witahaitusikiríwihukst^a

witahaa'ituskiríwiihuksta
 I am going to change the story
 wii- ta- t- raa.iit.us- ikiriwit -ra'uk -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 1.A story be.different CAUS PERF INT

. Irárⁱ ,
 . Iraári'
 . Brother ,
 . i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tirətpawakahu

tirátpaawaakahu

these things I am saying

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

tirəturakiwatíšapatⁿ

tiratuuraakiíwaati

this that I am telling you about them

tii- ra- t- a- uur- ak- iiwaat -i cápaat
this ABS 1.A 2.P PREV PL.AN.3P tell.about SUB.2 women
icapaak
woman

. áka^a !

. Aáka'a

. Oh my ,

. aaka'a ,

. oh.my ,

tišihkítawⁱ

tiicihkítawⁱ

they were industrious

ti- 0- ir- ut- ciir kita.wi -0
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.industrious be.the.leader PERF

.

.

!

.

.

Piraurakurúhwih^{^t}ⁿ

Píira'u' raakurúhwihat

Children when she had them
 piira -u' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
 child NOM INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

, hiširuirikakišíkaskasa
 hi ciru irikaakiicíkaskasa
 and yet that one was not sensible
 hi ciruu irii- kaaki- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0
 and yet that NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.sensible PERF

, hirikutitakústa
 hi rikutitákusta
 , and she carried that one on her back
 , hi riku- ti- 0- ta.kus- raah -0
 , and that.is IND.3A 3.A hang.down have PERF

nakuraruwáhu
 raakuraruuwáhu
 when she brought things
 ra- 0- a- ku- raar- ruu- wa- a -hus
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come IMPF.SUB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiaruturákuhāt^a
 Hi aaruútu' rakuúhaa'ata
 And hay when she went after them
 hi haaruut- -u' ra- 0- ku- ut- raa.at -a
 and hay NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV go.to.get SUB.1

, arutirapíra^u .
 a ruútira piíra'u' .
 and then she carried it the child .
 a ruu- ti- 0- raah -0 piira -u' .
 and then IND.3A 3.A have PERF child NOM .

Kituišruháwari

Kítuu'u' ic
 All wild potatoes
 kituu -u' ic
 all NOM wild.potato

pirauarútira

ruuhaáwari piíra'u' a ruútira
 when she went after them the child and then she carried it
 ra- 0- ut- raa.warii -hus piira -u' a ruu- ti- 0- raah -0
 ABS 3.A PREV go.around.to.get IMPF.SUB child NOM and then IND.3A 3.A have PERF

nakuturikátaku

raakuuturikátaku

her carrying it in her arms

ra- 0- a- ku- ut- uri.kata.kus -0
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PREV carry.under.one's.arm SUB.4

. Irári ,
 . Iraári'
 . Brother ,
 . i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

irikúhit[^]tuhurúšapatⁿ

iriikúhiitattuuhuru'

that is what He planned for them

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ak-	raa.uhur-	ra'uk	-0	icapaak
that	DUB	ABS	3.A	OBV	BEN	PL.AN.3P	way	make	PERF	woman

cápaat

women

icapaak

woman

.
. .
. .
. .

Kakiráitarakukak^u

Kaakiraá'iita

They did not know to stay inside

kaaki-	0-	a-	ir-	raa.iita	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	kaa-	kus	-0
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	know	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	inside	be.sitting	SUB.4

rakúkaaku

to stay inside

,

wirakupaharahisitítšapatⁿ

wiraahkupaaharaahísitit

when she began menstruating

wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	paat-	raar-	raah	-his	-itik	icapaak
when	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	blood	PL	have	PERF	INCH	woman

cápaat

a woman

icapaak

woman

.
.

.
. .

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

hihiruratikaraukáhkawititⁿ

hi hiru raatiikara'uukaáhkawiitit
and then they just put up a lodge outside
hi hiruu raa- ti- 0- akaar- ra- uukaahka- wi.itik -0
and then just IND.3A 3.A dwelling PORT outside sit.down PERF

.
. .
. .

Širuwitukstawárukstiiⁿ

Ciru witukstaawaárukstii'it
Yet things were sacred
ciruu wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- waarukstii -ik -0
yet QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.holy DIST PERF

;
. .
. .

raritwitisiksəktakawákar^u

Raárit witiiciksaktaakawaákaru'

Really He made the ways for them

raarit	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	ak-	raa-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0
really	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	BEN	SEQ	AOR	PL.AN.3P	way	make.DIST	PERF

.	Náhkuwak ^a										"
.	Raáhkuwaaka										"
.	One would say									:	"
.	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	waak	-a					"
.	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	say.SUB	SUB.1					"

Nihpaharahísititⁿ

Rihpaaharaahísitit

When she begins menstruating

ra-	0-	ir-	paat-	raar-	raah	-his	-itik
ABS	3.A	OBV	blood	PL	have	PERF	INCH

kararíak ^u											"
karariíkaaku											"
she must not stay inside											"
kara-	rii-	0-	kaa-	kus	-0						"
NEG	ASSR	3.A	inside	be.sitting	PERF						"

Širuririkstaruwawašihtis^u

Ciru riirikstaaruwaawaacíhtisu

Yet when they used to have faith in the sacred

ciruu	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	i-	uks-	raa.racíhtis	-waawa	-u
yet	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	be.reverent	DIST	SUB.D

;

rakururaukátawⁱ
 raakuruuraa'uukátawi
 when he had his hanging in the west

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	raa-	uukata	-wi
INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	hang.on.the.west.wall	SUB.L

, nikuwitíra .
 rikuwitíra' .
 that was the way .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF .

Hirikuahararákuwaka
 Hi riku'ahará' raáhkuwaaka
 And that was the way when he said

hi	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	raa-	0	-0	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	waak	-a
and	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	way	be	PERF	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	say.SUB	SUB.1

kúrahus , “ Hirukasiwašítitⁿ
 kúrahus “ Hiru kaasiúwacitit
 the priest : “ There you must go outside
 kurahuus , " hiruu kaas- s- i- awacitik -0
 old.man , " there POT.2A 2.A SEQ go.out PERF

hírəs , nəpaharahísititⁿ .
 híras rapaaharaahísitit .
 at night when one begins menstruating .
 hiras ra- 0- paat- raar- raah -his -itik .
 at.night ABS 3.A blood PL have PERF INCH .

Hírəs ,
 Híras

At night
 hiras
 at.night

ruksawahsíhi^u
 ruksawahciíhi^u
 even if it is

ri-	0-	uks-	awahc-	ihii		-u
CONT.3A	3.A	JUSS	even.if	be.in.a.place/time		SUB.D

rapaaharaahísitit
 when one begins menstruating

ra-	0-	paat-	raar-	raah	-his	-itik
ABS	3.A	blood	PL	have	PERF	INCH

	atiúkahkaku					.	"
	a	ti'uúkaahkaku				.	"
,	and	she must stay outside				.	"
,	a	ti-	0-	uukaahka-	kus	-0	.
,	and	IND.3A	3.A	outside	be.sitting	PERF	.

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

nahkútasitit
 wiraahkuútasitit
 when her period happens

wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	ut-	asitik	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PREV	happen	SUB.4

šápatⁿ
 cápaat
 a woman
 icapaak
 woman

hiruwitáhwaku , “
 hiru witaahwáku’ “
 then she would say : “
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , ”
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , ”

Pātuwítikutasititⁿ

Paátu’ witikuútasitit
 Blood it has happened to me
 paat- -u’ wii- ti- 0- ku- ut- asitik -0
 blood NOM now IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV happen PERF

. ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

Hirusiwitiraráwasititⁿ

Hiru siwitiiraarawácitit
 Then they sent her outside
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raar.awacitik -0
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A send.out PERF

. Pitarahkúkaku
 . Piíta raahkúkaaku
 . A man when he would be inside
 . wiita ra- 0- ar- ku- kaa- kus -0
 . man INF.A 3.A EV INF.B inside be.sitting SUB.4

, hítahwaku , “
 hi taahwáku’ “
 and he would say : “
 hi ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , ”

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

Hirusuksákaru

Hiru suksákaru'

There make a lodge

hiruu i- s- uks- akaar- ra'uk -0
there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS dwelling make PERF

hirúukahkətⁿ . "

hiru uukaáhkat . "

there outside ! "

hiruu uukaahkat . "

there outside . "

Hirósatarakriku

Híras a taarakaríku

At night and she would have a lodge

hiras a ti- 0- ar- akaar- ri- kus -0
at.night and IND.3A 3.A EV dwelling PORT be.sitting PERF

ukákətⁿ hírəs . Irári

uukaáhkat híras . Iraári'

outside at night . Brother

uukaahkat hiras . i- -raar- -ri'

outside at.night . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

, wíruhú^u

wíruuhú^u

, it was the reason

, wi- ti- 0- raa.uhur -'

, QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason EX

tisirirarawasítiku

tisiriraarawacítiku

when they were sending her outside .
 tii- si- ra- 0- ir- raar.awacitik -hus .
 when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A send.out IMPF.SUB .

širurukstawárukstikⁱ

Ciru rukstaawaárukstiiki
 Yet when things were holy
 ciruu ra- 0- uks- raa- waarukstii -ik -i
 yet ABS 3.A AOR way be.holy DIST SUB.2

siririkstarəšiwítis

siriirikstaaraciiwíhtis

they used to have faith in the sacred

si- 0- ra- 0- ir- uur- i- uks- raa.racihitis -wa -0
 DU 3.A ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.reverent DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .

Karaasipaharíkak^u

Kara'aasipaaharíkaaku

That you not remain inside with blood

kara- aa- s- i- paat- raar- ri- kaa- kus -0
 NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ blood PL PORT inside be.sitting SUB.4

;
 .
 .
 .

nahkupaharíkak^u

raahkupaaharíkaaku

when she would be inside with blood

ra- 0- ar- ku- paat- raar- ri- kaa- kus -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B blood PL PORT inside be.sitting SUB.4

, šápatⁿ tírahurari .
cápaat tíraahuraari' .
a woman it was becoming spoiled .
icapaak ti- 0- raahur -aar -i .
woman IND.3A 3.A be.spoiled INCH IMPF .

Arísⁱtⁿ šápatⁿ
Ariisit cápaat
Herself a woman
ariisit icapaak
one's.own woman

tuhakárahkuwašititⁿ

tuuhá'

she did it

ti- 0- ut- raar -0 kararaáhkuuwacitit
IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause PERF NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B awacitik -0
for her not to go outside
go.out SUB.4

. Níkuwitusuks

. Ríkuwitucuks

. That is how it used to be

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

naritsiwitirukstaítawa

raárit siwitiirukstaa'ítawa

really they knew the various ways

raarit si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- uks- raa.iita -waa -0

really DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A AOR know DIST PERF

. Káturaritnihkutⁿ
kaátu' raárit
because really
kaatu' raarit
because really

pawaktitⁿ .
rihkutpaáwaktit .
one was told (ie taught) .
ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -0 .
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B PREV talk SUB.4 .

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

hiruatipaharíku
hiru a tipaaharíku
then and she had her menses
hiruu a ti- 0- paat- raar- ri- kus -0
then and IND.3A 3.A blood PL PORT be.sitting PERF

, hiruśú^raki
hiru cuú^raki
there a girl
hiruu icuura- -kis
there girl DIM

nakuukákak^u ,
raku'uukaáhkaku

when she stayed outside

ra- 0- ku- uukaahka- kus -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B outside be.sitting SUB.4

hikišísititašikst^a

hi kici sitiitacíksta

and but they watched her

hi kici si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
and but DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

. Narúkarik^u

. Raaruúkariiku .

. She just did not sit there .

. raa- ruu- ka- ri- 0- kus -0 .
. just there NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

sitítakaruk^u

Sitiitákaruuku'

They made her a lodge

si- ti- 0- ir- ut- akaar- ra'uk -:hus
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN dwelling make IMPF

arikutíkarik^u

a rikutiikáriku

and that was the lodge she had

a riku- ti- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
and that.is IND.3A 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting PERF

, hisitítasikst^a .

hi sitiitacíksta .

and they watched her .

hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0 .
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF .

Nahirarakúrahkawⁱ

Ráhiira' rakúraahkaawi

Sometimes when they were inside

rahiira ra- 0- ku- raar- kaa -wi
further INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

ihi kíšku ,
ihi kícku'
, uh , several
, ihii , kicku
, uh , several

nihkutakásititⁿ

rihkuutaákasitit

when it happened to them

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ak- asitik -0
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P happen SUB.4

šápətⁿ , hiratíka .
cápaat hi raatíka .
women and she was just inside .
icapaak hi raa- ti- 0- kaa -0 .
woman and just IND.3A 3.A be.inside PERF .

Rakúrahkawi ,

Rakúraahkaawi

When they were inside

ra- 0- ku- raar- kaa -wi
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

atirakáruruk^u

a tiirakaáruruuku'

and they fed them

a ti- 0- ir- ak- kaaruur- ra'uk -:hus

and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P meal make IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Paharahisurikutihpáhara

Paaharaáhisu'

rikutihpaáhara

Menses

that menses is what they had

paat-	raar-	raah	-his	-u'	riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	paat-	raar-	raah	-0
blood	PL	have	PERF	NOM	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	blood	PL	have	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

hiruirikuhikúharu

Hiru irikuuhikuúhaaru'

There that is what He planned for me

hiruu	irii-	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
there	that	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	way	make	PERF

šahiksíšahiks

skarakarətúut¹

cahiksícahiks

ckára káratuu'ut

Indians

alone we are not thus

icaahiks	icaahiks	ckara	ka-	ra-	t-	ut-	0	-'
person	person	alone	NEG	ABS	1.A	PREV	be	EX

, hawáirari

. Hawá iraári'

. Also , brother ,
 . haawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 . also , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikutasúutⁿ ákitar^u .
 rikutasuú'ut ákitaaru' .
 that is how you are tribe .
 riku- ta- s- ut- 0 -' akitaar- -u' .
 that.is IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be EX tribe NOM .

Karasiráit^a
 Karasiraá'iita
 You did not know
 ka- ra- s- ir- raa.iita -0
 NEG ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

titásaruutⁿ :
 titásaruu'ut
 it was this way ' .
 tii- ta- s- ar- ut- 0 -' ' .
 this IND.1/2A 2.A EV PREV be EX ' .

tiwiwitrəšihkitúra^u ,
 tiwiwitracihkituúra'u
 when you and I got together ' .
 tii- wii- witi- ra- aciir- kituu.ra'uk -0 ' .
 when when REFL ABS IN.DU.A come.together SUB.3 ' .

šápatⁿ
 cápaat
 a woman
 icapaak
 woman

akihiruwirusítiru

aki	hiru	wirusítiru'								
and here	then	now they (du)	bore it							
a-	ki	hiruu	wii-	ruu-	si-	ti-	0-	i-	ra'uk	-0
and	there	then	now	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	make	PERF

píra ^u	.	Náwa ^a	,	
piíra'u'	.	Ráwa		
a baby	.	Now		
piira -u'	.	rawa		
baby NOM	.	now		

pirəskirakúwari

piíraski		rakúwari								
a boy		when he goes about								
piiras-	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	warii				-hus	
boy	DIM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF				IMPF.SUB	

,	pirəskirakurásah ^{^tⁿ}									
	piíraski		rakurásahat							
,	a boy		when he is growing up							
,	piiras-	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	rasahat			-0	
,	boy	DIM	INF.A	3.P	INF.B	grow.up			SUB.4	

náriwiš ^u	,	irár ⁱ								
raáriwiicu'		iraári'								
right now	,	brother								
raariwiicu'	,	i-		-raar-					-ri'	
right.now	,	3.POSS.A		same.sex.sibling					3.POSS.B	

nikutahapakiáh ^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 , "

Písiks širutíwari ,
Píisiks ciru tíwari'
Pisiks still he goes around ,
piisiks ciruu ti- 0- warii -:hus ,
Pisiks yet IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF ,

tirakupísiks . "
tíraaku Píisiks . "
this pisiks . "
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 piisiks . "
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 Pisiks . "

Pisikstísa^a píraškⁱ .
Píisiks tiisá'a piíraski .
Pisiks he is named the boy .
piisiks ti- 0- asar -' piiras- -kis .
Pisiks IND.3A 3.A be.named EX boy DIM .

Tuharaíhku
Tuuhaará'ihku'
It means

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

širukararakúširašikstawi,

ciru kararakuciraacíkstawi
yet for him not to care for them
ciruu kara- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- raa- aciks.ta -wi
yet NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ way watch.over SUB.L

šápat náhuriwawⁱ .
cápaat ráhuriwaawi .

women	the ones going about	.
icapaak	ra- 0- hurii -waa -wi	.
woman	ABS 3.A go.around DIST SUB.L	.

Nikutirəsá^a

Rikutiirasá'a

That is what they are named

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	asar	-ʔ
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	be.named	EX

pirəskirakurəsah^{^t}

piiraski	rakurəsahat	.
a boy	when he is growing up	.
piiras-	-kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0	.
boy	DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4	.

pisiksšírutⁱ

Písiks	ciru	tí'	.
Pisiks	still	he is	.
piisiks	ciruu	ti- 0- 0 -0	.
Pisiks	yet	IND.3A 3.A be PERF	.

Irirakukárik^u

Iriirakuukáriku

Where his home is

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

askuhurarurakuwirútiiku

askúhuraaru'

the same place

rakuwiiruútiiku

his staying there

asku	huraar-	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	wi.itik	-ruu	-hus
one	earth	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	sit.down	DIST	IMPF.SUB

pířaski ;
 pířaski
 the boy
 piiras- -kis
 boy DIM

narukakirakúwari
 raaruukaaki' rakúwari
 he cannot just go about

raa-	ruu-	kaaki-	0-	0	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	warii	-hus
just	then	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

A , irikuhárar^u
 A irikuuháraaru'
 And that is how He made it

a	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
and	that	DUB	ABS	3.A	way	make	PERF

irikuhařakuhatíruwah^{^tⁿ}
 irikuuhacakuuhattiíruuwaahat
 that is when there was a time for us

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	aca-	ku-	ut-	rak-	tiihak	-ruu	-waa	-0
when	DUB	ABS	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	BEN	1/2.PL	be.the.end	DIST	DIST	SUB.4

,

kukararakusiksurakurəsáhatu

kukararakuucíksu

when one does not think of it

ku- kara- ra- 0- ku- acíks -hus
INDF NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B think.of IMPF.SUB

rakurasáhatu

when one is growing up

ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus
INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB

, ihi
ihi
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

nakuhatihurúšapatⁿ

rakuuhaatíhuru

when he is not interested in them

ra- 0- ku- ut- raa- tii.hur -u cápaat
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.measured.correctly SUB.D icapaak
woman

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now ,
. rawa ,
. now ,

nakuruhkítawⁱ

raakuruhkítawi

its being on his account

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kita.wi -0
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.leader SUB.4

, arís^{it}ⁿ kušúrakⁱ ,
ariísit ku cuúraki

herself	perhaps	a girl	
ariisit	ku	icuura-	-kis
one's.own	INDF	girl	DIM

arisitnəkuruhkítawⁱ

ariisit	raakuruhkítawi							
herself	its being on his account							
ariisit	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	kita.wi	-0
one's.own	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.the.leader	SUB.4

rahkuwíška ^a	,	“					
raahkuwícka'a		“					
when she would think	:	“					
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	wicka	-a	,	”
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	want	SUB.1	,	”

Iriwitatírišti

Iriwitatíricti'

I like that one

irii-	wi-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	ut-	tii	-0
that	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	like	PERF

pirəskitiráwari

píraski	tiráwari						
boy	this one going about						
piiras-	-kis	tii-	ra-	0-	warii		-hus
boy	DIM	this	ABS	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB

. " Hínahirⁱtⁿ

. " Hi raáhiirit

. " And finally

. " hi raahiirit

. " and finally

hitiruturíkutⁿ

hi tiiruutuuríkut

and she would catch him

hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- uurikuk -0
and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV catch PERF

píræski . Hínahiritⁿ

piíraski . Hi raáhiirit

the boy . And finally

piiras- -kis . hi raahiirit

boy DIM . and finally

tíhwiškast^u

tíhwickaastu'

he was excited by her

ti- 0- ir- wicka -as -ra'uk -0
IND.3A 3.A OBV want IMPF.IRR CAUS PERF

hínahirit sitáhšawa

hi raáhiirit sitaáhcaawa

and finally they (du) lay together

hi raahiirit si- ti- 0- ar- sa -waa -0
and finally DU IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying DIST PERF

, hisitáhšawa .

. Hi sitaáhcaawa .

. And they (du) lay together .

. hi si- ti- 0- ar- sa -waa -0 .

. and DU IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying DIST PERF .

Iwirátisipiræskⁱ

Iwiráttiisi

After he had intercourse with her

ii- wii- ra- 0- ra- 0- ak.riis -i piíraski
the boy
piiras- -kis

when when ABS 3.A ABS 3.A have.sexual.intercourse.with SUB.2 boy DIM

nikutahapakiáh^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 ,

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

Wítipisiksiwatətⁿ .
 Wítipiisiksiwátat . "
 He has changed from a pisiks . "
 wii- ti- 0- piisiks- kiwat.ak -0 . "
 now IND.3A 3.A pisiks fade PERF . "

Wikakípisiks
 Wíkaaki' Píisiks
 Now he is not a pisiks
 wii- kaaki- 0- 0 -0 piisiks
 now NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF Pisiks

rúkspari ,
 rúkspari .
 when he was going about .
 ra- 0- uks- warii -hus .
 ABS 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

witíkiwatətⁿ .
 Witíkiwatat .

He has faded (ie changed) .
 wii- ti- 0- kiwat.ak -0 .
 now IND.3A 3.A fade PERF .

Tuhá^a
 Tuuhá'a

It is the cause

ti- 0- ut- raar -' .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

wirótišⁱ

wiráttiisi

when he had intercourse with her

wii- ra- 0- ak.riis -i .
 when ABS 3.A have.sexual.intercourse.with SUB.2 .

Šapatruksawáhš^u

Cápaat ruksawáhcu

A woman even if she were

icapaak ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 woman CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D

hitáhwiškašapatⁿ

hi taáhwicka' cápaat " .
 and she would think the woman : "
 hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 icapaak , "
 and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF woman , "

Iriwitətírišti

Iriwitatíricti'

I like him

irii- wi- ta- t- ir- ri- ut- tii -0
 that QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV like PERF

tirahətpírəsk ⁱ	.	"
tíraahat	piíraski	.
this one passing by	boy	.
tii- ra- 0- hak -0 piiras- -kis	.	"
this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 boy DIM	.	"

Hirarutiruśista

Hi raaruutiíruucista

And she would just show him attention

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- as.raah -0	
and just then IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV SEQ show.attention.to PERF	

, hínahiritⁿ
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

tíhwiškast ^u	.
tíhwickaastu'	.
he was aroused	.
ti- 0- ir- wicka -as -ra'uk -0	.
IND.3A 3.A OBV want IMPF.IRR CAUS PERF	.

Šapatnuksáwahš^u

Cápaat ruksáwahcu

Woman even if she was

icapaak ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u	
woman CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D	

híruta

hi ruúta

and he did it :

hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,

and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hisirísawa .
hi siriísawa .
and they (du) lay together .
hi si- 0- ri- 0- sa -waa -0 .
and DU 3.A CONT.3A 3.A be.lying DIST PERF .

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

irirutirakítawi ,
iriruutiraakítawi'
right there is the leading way ,
irii- ruu- ti- 0- raa- kita.wi -0
there there IND.3A 3.A way be.the.leader PERF

iwisirásawa ,
iwisirásawa ,
when they (du) lay
ii- wii- si- ra- 0- sa -waa -0
when when DU ABS 3.A be.lying DIST SUB.4

wirúkstisu
wirúkstiisu
when he has had intercourse with her
wii- ra- 0- uks- riis -hus
when ABS 3.A AOR have.sexual.intercourse.with IMPF.SUB

. Irirutirakítawⁱ ,
. Iriruutiraakítawi'

. Right there is the leading way
 . irii- ruu- ti- 0- raa- kita.wi -0
 . there there IND.3A 3.A way be.the.leader PERF

írawakahu , “
 íwirawaakahu “
 when one says : “
 ii- wii- ra- 0- waaka -hus , ”
 when when ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , ”

Witipisíkskiwatətⁿ ,
 Witipiisíkskiwatat .
 He has changed from a pisiks .
 wii- ti- 0- piisiks- kiwat.ak -0 .
 now IND.3A 3.A pisiks fade PERF .

wikakípisiks . ”
 Wikaakí’ piisiks . ”
 He is no longer pisiks . ”
 wii- kaaki- 0- 0 -0 piisiks . ”
 now NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF Pisiks . ”

Híirirutuširuhuriráh^tⁿ
 Hi iriruutuciruuhurírahat
 And thereupon he took up the way
 hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uhur- riraar.hak -0
 and then then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way pursue PERF

nəkurarəspiwaríšapatⁿ
 rakuraraspíwari cápaat
 when he went around seeking them women
 ra- 0- ku- raar- raspíi warii -hus icapaak
 INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P look.for be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB woman

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

nihkururapírihur^u
 rihkuruuraapírihuuru
 when he was held dearly by him

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -u
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV value SUB.D

, pířaskí
 piíraski
 boys
 piiras- -kis
 boy DIM

sirahkúwari
 siraahkúwari
 when they (du) would go around

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

, tihwakíah^u , “ Písiks
 tihwakí'aahu' piísiks
 they say a písiks
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus piísiks
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF Písiks

.
 .
 .
 .

Sirahkuwaripíræskⁱ

Siraahkúwari

When they (du) went around

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

širusikararakušiaríšapatⁿ

piíraski ciru sikararakucí'aari cápaat
boys yet when they (du) had not done it a woman
piiras- -kis ciruu si- kara- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aar -i icapaak
boy DIM yet DU NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ do IMPF.SUB woman

šápatⁿ

cápaat

, a woman

, icapaak

, woman

širusikararakušíari

ciru sikararakucí'aari

yet when they (du) had not done it

ciruu si- kara- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aar -i
yet DU NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ do IMPF.SUB

. Hisitíwari

, hi sitíwari'

, and they (du) went around

, hi si- ti- 0- warii -:hus
, and DU IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

tihwakíah^u

tihwakí'aahu'

, íka^a !

“ Íka'a

they say : “ Oh my ,
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " iika'a ,
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , " oh.my ,

iriwísituhtáwasi

iriwísituhtáwaasi

they (du) are nicely aroused

irii- wii- si- ti- 0- uur- tawaas hiir -0
 that now DU IND.3A 3.A PREV be.sexually.aroused be.good PERF

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Siwítirakururapíríhur^u

Siwítiraakuruuraapíríhuuru

When they (du) loved each other

si- witi- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -u
 DU REFL INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV value SUB.D

širakuwaripíræskⁱ

sirakúwari

when they (du) went around

si- ra- 0- ku- warii -hus piiraski
 DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB boy DIM
 piiraski
 the boys

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Sikararakukítu^u

Sikararakuukítuu'u

When they (du) were not the same

si-	kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	kituu	-u
DU	NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	be.closely.related	SUB.D

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

iririsiwítítiru

iraári'

brothers

i-	-raar-	-ri'	si-	witi-	ti-	0-	ra'uk	-0
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	DU	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	make	PERF

siwítítiru'

they (du) made each other

. Ákutu^u

. A kutuú'u

. And it seemed

. a ku- ti- 0- uu -' ,

. and INDF IND.3A 3.A be EX ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

rusirakukáwatətⁿ

ruusirakukáwatat

when they (du) came out

ruu- si- ra- 0- ku- kawatak -0

then DU INF.A 3.A INF.B get.out SUB.4

isastirasirihkuraúasku^u

isaásti'				raasirihkúra'u						ásku'u'		
their mother				her just bearing them (du)						the same one		
i-	saas	-ri'		raa-	si-	ra-	0-	ku-	ra'uk	-0	asku	-u'
3.POSS.A	mother	3.POSS.B		just	DU	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	make	SUB.3	one	NOM

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Akihítihuraisastⁱ

Aki	hi	tiíhura						isaásti'		
And here	and	she was separate						his mother		
a-	ki	hi	ti-	0-	uhura	-0	i-	saas	-ri'	
and	there	and	IND.3A	3.A	be.separate	PERF	3.POSS.A	mother	3.POSS.B	

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hítuhasiwitirakururapírihur^u

Hi	tuuhá'							siwitiraakuruuraapírihuuru							
And	it is the reason							their (du) loving each other							
hi	ti-	0-	ut-	raar	-0	si-	witi-	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	raapi.rihur	-u
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.the.cause	PERF	DU	REFL	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	value	SUB.D

,

asititsawapíræskⁱ

a	sitiisawa						piíraski	
and	they (du)	lay	together				the boys	
a	si-	ti-	0-	sa	-waa	-0	piiras-	-kis
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	be.lying	DIST	PERF	boy	DIM

. Naratawíšapatⁿ ,
. Raraátawi cápaat
. Sometimes a woman ,
. ra- 0- raa- tawi -0 icapaak ,
. ABS 3.A way be.among SUB.4 woman ,

šapátaris^{it}ⁿ ,
cápaat ariísit
a woman herself
icapaak ariisit
woman one's.own

kupiræskirihkutuhúrirah^{^t}ⁿ

ku	piíraski		irihkuutuhurírah							
or	a boy		when she wanted his attention							
aku	piiras-	-kis	ii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uhuur-	riraar.hak	-0
or	boy	DIM	when	INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	way	pursue	SUB.4

, hínahiritⁿ
hi raáhiirit
and finally
hi raahiirit
and finally

tihwiškástušapatⁿ

tíhwickaastu'

he was aroused by her

ti-	0-	ir-	wicka	-as	-ra'uk	-0	cápaat
IND.3A	3.A	OBV	want	IMPF.IRR	CAUS	PERF	the woman
							icapaak
							woman

. Hirutáhwiškapirəskⁱ

. Hiru taáhwicka' piíraski

. Then he would think the boy :

. hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 piiras- -kis ,

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

“

“

”

”

tatarurapírihu^u

Tataruuraapírihu'u

I love you

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

tirasatətpákahu

tíraasa

this one lying

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

,

. Tatpákaahu'

. I call him

. ta- t- waka -:hus

. IND.1/2A 1.A say.IMPF IMPF

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

hirútiwaku . Náw^a ,
 Hiru tiwáku' " Ráwa
 Then he said : " Now ,
 hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 " rawa ,
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " now ,

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

tirasawititukstakawaúššapatⁿ

tíraasa					wítitukstaakawa'uc										cápaat
this one lying					let's sleep together										woman
tii- ra- 0- sa -0					witi- i- t- uks- rak- ka- wa- uc -0										icapaak
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3					REFL CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL on DIST lie.down PERF										woman

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

atihšawášapatⁿ

a tíhcawa cápaat

and they lay together the woman
a ti- 0- ir- sa -waa -0 icapaak
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.lying DIST PERF woman

, nakuséšapatⁿ
. Rákuusa cápaat
. When she lay the woman
. ra- 0- ku- sa -0 icapaak
. INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying SUB.4 woman

hitutíkasa ,
hi tuutiíkasa
and she lay in the middle
hi ti- 0- ut- iika- sa -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV center be.lying PERF

hípirəski sitiwitatésawa
hi píraski sitiwitatásawa
and the boys they (du) lay on (each) side
hi piiras- -kis si- ti- 0- witata.sa -waa -0
and boy DIM DU IND.3A 3.A lie.beside DIST PERF

. Hírutiwaku píras^k
. Hiru tiwáku' píras^k
. Then he said boy
. hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 píras- -kis
. then IND.3A 3.A say PERF boy DIM

irikurakuúšapatⁿ
iriikúraaku'u cápaat
the one who owned her the woman
irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ku- 0 -u icapaak
that INDF INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B be SUB.D woman

, " Náw^a , " šápatⁿ
 , " Ráwa , " cápaat
 : " Now , " the woman
 , " rawa , " icapaak
 , " now , " woman

nákuhihku , " Náw^a
 rákuuhihku , " Ráwa
 his meaning her , " Now
 ra- 0- ku- ut- ra'ihk -hus , " rawa
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV mean IMPF.SUB , " now

tatawašítikst^a . Náw^a ,
 taatawacítiksta . Ráwa
 I am going to go outside . Now
 ta- t- awacitik -his -ta . rawa
 IND.1/2A 1.A go.out PERF INT . now

tátiškatirəs^a
 táticka' tíraasa
 I want this one
 ta- t- wicka -0 tii- ra- 0- sa -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

rusirəskukásaw^a
 ruusiraskuukaásawa
 for you (du) to lie together inside
 ruu- si- ra- s- ku- i- kaa- sa -waa -0
 then DU ABS 2.A INF.B SEQ inside be.lying DIST SUB.4

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "

. "

Náw^a , híšapatⁿ
Ráwa hi cápaat
Now , and the woman
rawa , hi icapaak
now , and woman

tariháwi^u ,
tarihaáwi'u' .
she consented .
ti- 0- a- ri- ut- raa.awi.uu -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A CONT.3A PREV consent PERF .

náw^a , árikutuutⁿ ,
Ráwa a rikutuu'ut
Now and it was that way ,
rawa a riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' ,
now and that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX ,

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

Šapatwitatúkstataruh^u
Cápaat witatukstaattáruuhu'
Women we used to give them to one another
icapaak witi- ta- t- uks- rak- raar- uh -:hus
woman REFL IND.1/2A 1.A AOR 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF

, táštwi ,
. Táctawi' .

. I was among them .
 . ta- t- tawi -0 .
 . IND.1/2A 1.A be.among PERF .

wititatakstataruhúsuk^u

Wititatakstaattaaruhúsuuku'

We used to give them to one another

witi- ta- t- uks- rak- raar- uh -:hus -uuku
 REFL IND.1/2A 1.A AOR 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF HAB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nikutirasirakuwaripíræskⁱ

Rikutíra'

That was the way

riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 si- ra- 0- ku- warii -hus piíraski
 that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB boy DIM

hítiwaku " " " " " "
 hi tiwáku' " " " " " "
 , and he said : " " " " " "
 , hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " " " " " "
 , and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " " " " " "

Kirótiharuutⁿ

Kíra tiháruu'ut

Let it be this way

kira tii- haa- ri- 0- ut- 0 -' . " . " . " . "
 perhaps this here CONT.3A 3.A PREV be EX . "

Árakuruhku

A raakúruhku

And when he had him

a ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
and INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, iwáiriks
iwáriiriks
, an uncle
, i- wariiriks
, 3.POSS.A uncle

nakúruhku^u

raakúruhku

when he had him

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

, hínahiritⁿ tihurésšapatⁿ
hi raáhiirit tíhuras cápaat
and finally he found her the woman
hi raahiirit ti- 0- huras -0 icapaak
and finally IND.3A 3.A find PERF woman

, hitihwákura
hi tihwákura
and she assented
hi ti- 0- ir- wakur- raah -0
and IND.3A 3.A OBV word have PERF

hirútiwaku

hiru tiwáku'

then he said

hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " Tíwaširiks
" Tíwaciriks
: " My uncle
" ati- waciriks

then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " 1.POSS uncle

, šápátⁿ tiháras^a
cápaat tiháraasa
, woman this one lying
, icapaak tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0
, woman this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

kírasiihšawa ,
kíra si'ihcawa .
let's lie together .
kira si- i- s- sa -waa -0 .
perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A be.lying DIST PERF .

šápatⁿ
Cápaat
The woman
icapaak
woman

tariháwi^u .
tarihaáwi'u' .
she consented to it .
ti- 0- a- ri- ut- raa.awi.uu -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A CONT.3A PREV consent PERF .

"
"
"
"

Kisihásiwitiwauš
Kici hi a siwitiíwa'uc

But and and they (du) lay together
 kici hi a si- witi- ti- 0- awa- uc -0
 but and and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A DIST lie.down PERF

, hikišihirutíwašititⁿ .
 hi kici hiru tíwacitit .
 and but then he went outside .
 hi kici hiruu ti- 0- awacitik -0 .
 and but then IND.3A 3.A go.out PERF .

Aipáti

A ipaátti'
 And a grandfather
 a i- paak -ri'
 and 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B

rakúruk^u

raakúruhku
 when he had him
 ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

,

irihikakuhahúhtawi

irihiikaakuhaahúhtawi'

that was not difficult

irii- hii- kaaki- 0- ut- raa- huhtawii -0
 that other NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.difficult PERF

	irár ⁱ		,	híšapat ⁿ
	iraári'			hi cápaat
	brother		,	and a woman
	i-	-raar-	-ri'	hi icapaak
	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	and woman

hitíhurəs

hi	tíhuras		
and	he found her		
hi	ti-	0-	huras -0
and	IND.3A	3.A	find PERF

hítiwaku		,	"
hi	tiwáku'		"
and	he said	:	"
hi	ti-	0-	waka'u -0
and	IND.3A	3.A	say PERF

Atíp^{^t}ⁿ

Atípat		
Grand father	,	
ati-	paak	,
1.POSS	grandfather	,

kísir ^a		.	"				
kí'isiira'		.	"				
come		.	"				
kii-	i-	s-	ir-	a	-0	.	"
HORT	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	come	PERF	.	"

Awítitirawauš

A	wititiirawá'uc		,					
And	they lay together		.					
a	witi-	ti-	0-	ir-	awa-	uc	-0	.

and REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A DIST lie.down PERF .

hirútiwaku

Hiru tiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "

then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

atíp^t

Atípat

Grandfather,

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

tíras^a

tíraasa

this one

tii- ra-

this ABS

0-

3.A

sa

be.lying

-0

SUB.3

tatirurapírihu^u

tatiruuraapírihu'u

I love her

ta-

IND.1/2A

t-

1.A

ir-

PREV.1/2A

ri-

PHYS.POSS

uur-

PREV

raapi.rihur

value

-'

EX

. Šúətⁿ

. Cuú'at

. Girl ,

. cuu'at ,

. daughter ,

wítətataku

wítataattaku'

you are now my wife

wii- ta-

now IND.1/2A

t-

1.A

ir-

POSS.1/2A

a

2.P

aktaku

have.as.a.wife

-0

PERF

irítiška

I ríiticka'

And I want
 i rii- t- wicka -0
 and ASSR 1.A want PERF

sirəskúsa^a
 siraskuúsawa

for you (du) to lie together

si- ra- s- ku- sa -waa -0
 DU INF.A 2.A INF.B be.lying DIST SUB.4

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

atípətⁿ .
 a atípat . "
 and my grandfather . "
 a ati- paak . "
 and 1.POSS grandfather . "

Hitiráritis .
 Hi tiraárittis .
 And he was older .
 hi ti- 0- raariktis -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A be.older PERF .

Atiwákušapatⁿ " Hā^a
 A tiwáku' cápaat " Haa'a'
 And she said the woman : " Yes
 a ti- 0- waka'u -0 icapaak , " haa'a'
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF woman , " yes

! irikuhásisk^a
 iriikuuhásicka'
 , whatever you want
 , irii- kuur- ra- s- wicka -0
 , what DUB ABS 2.A want PERF

nikúsušⁱ . "
 rikuúsuci' . "
 that will be . "
 rii- kuus- 0- ut- i- 0 -0 . "
 that POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF . "

Ipatirakúruk^u
 Ipaátti' raakúruhku
 A grandfather when he had him
 i- paak -ri' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, irihitúrahi
 irihiitúraahi
 that was good
 irii- hii- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that other IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

šapatáti^u .
 cápaat a tí'u .
 a woman and he gave her to him .
 icapaak a ti- 0- uh -0 .
 woman and IND.3A 3.A give PERF .

Airarinakúruhku^u
 A iraári' raakúruhku
 And a brother when he had him
 a i- -raar- -ri' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0

and 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

,

-- iraári' raakúruhku
 -- a brother when he had him
 -- i- -raar- -ri' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
 -- 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

hirútiwakušapatⁿ

hiru tiwáku' cápaat
 , then he said , a woman
 , hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , icapaak
 , then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , woman

nəkušírəsukat^a

rakucírasuukata

when he brought her inside

ra- 0- ku- ut- ciras- huuk- at -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV COM into go SUB.1

hirútiwaku

hiru tiwáku'

then he said:

hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF ,

“

“

:

”

”

Tirasakirəsíhšaw^a

Tíraasa

kíra si'ihcawa

This one					you (du) lie together						
tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	kira	si-	i-	s-	sa	-waa	-0
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	perhaps	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	be.lying	DIST	PERF

, kirésiisitkawa . "

. Kíra si'ísítkawa . "

. You (du) sleep together . "

. kira	si-	i-	s-	itka	-waa	-0	. "
. perhaps	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	sleep	DIST	PERF	. "

Iráiriisírákurⁱ

Iraári'				iriisírákuuri							
Brother				the one he has							
i-	-raar-	-ri'	irii-	si-	ra-	0-	ku-	US		-0	
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	that	DU	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	unknown.stem		SUB.4	

, arakutáku^u

a raakuttáku'u

and when he was married to her

a	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	aktaku	-u
and	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	have.as.a.wife	SUB.D

nakutáku^u

raakuttáku'u

, when he was married to her

, ra-	0-	a-	ku-	aktaku	-u
, INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	have.as.a.wife	SUB.D

hitáhwišk^a

hi	taáhwicka'				“	
and	he would think	:			“	
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	wicka	-0	, "
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	think	PERF	, "

iritarurapírihu^u

I riitaruuraapírihu'u

And I love you

i rii- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -'
and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

, tirəšihwari ,

tiracihwari

, this one I go about with

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

tírətataku , "

tírataattaku' .

this one I am married to .

tii- ra- t- ir- a- aktaku -0 .
this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A 2.P have.as.a.wife PERF .

Kirasiispawáktik^u . "

Kíra si'ispaawáktiiku' . "

Let you (du) talk together . "

kira si- i- s- waa.wak.tik -:hus . "
perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A talk IMPF . "

Hirútiwaku , "

Hiru tiwáku' "

Then he said : "

hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "
then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Tihárətirətaku^u

Tihaaratiírattaku'u

This one to whom I am married

tii- haa- ra- t- ir- aktaku -u

this here ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A have.as.a.wife SUB.D

kirəsiihšawa . "
 kúra si'ihcawa . "
 let you (du) lie together . "
 kira si- i- s- sa -waa -0 . "
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A be.lying DIST PERF . "

Kararakuhurahakúšapatⁿ

Karakuuhúrahaku cápaat
 His not wanting to let her go the woman
 kara- ra- 0- ku- uhur.ra.hak -hus icapaak
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B release IMPF.SUB woman

. Hítiwaku "
 hitiwáku' "
 and he said : "
 hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Šapattatirirapírihu^u

Cápaat tatiriiraapírihu'u a
 Woman I love her and
 icapaak ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -' a
 woman IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV value EX and

aritarurapírihu^u

a riitaruuraapírihu'u
 and I love you
 a rii- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -'
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

,
 "

, "
 , "
 , "

irarisírakurⁱ

iraári'

his brother

i-

-raar-

-ri'

síraakuuri

the one he has

si-

ra-

0-

ku-

US

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

DU

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

unknown.stem

,

kuiwahiráku^u

ku

iwaáhi'

or

his nephew

ráku'u

his being

ku

i-

waat

-ri'

ra-

0-

ku-

0

-u

INDF

3.POSS.A

nephew/neice

3.POSS.B

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

be

SUB.D

. Náw^a ,

. " Ráwa

. " Now

. " rawa

. " now

sisútšawa

sisútcawa

you (du) lie together

si-

i-

s-

uks-

sa

-waa

-0

DU

CONT.1/2A

2.A

JUSS

be.lying

DIST

PERF

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

tatarurapírihu^u
 Tataruuraapírihu'u
 I love you
 ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -'
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

aritirapírihu^u
 a riitiriiraapírihu'
 and I love her
 a rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV value PERF

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

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

irikuhihíkúhuhuru
 irikuuhíkuuhuhuru'
 that is the way He made for us
 irii- kuur- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa.uhur- ra'uk -0

that DUB CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN way make PERF

sahiksíśahiks , tótpawakah^u
cahiksícahiks . átpaawákaahu'
Indians . I am telling these things
icaahiks icaahiks . aa- t- waa- waka -:hus
person person . SUBJ.1/2A 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Kišitasírurukiwi

Kici tasíruuruukiwi

But your way is different

kici ta- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- ikiwir -0
but IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.different PERF

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

śahíkstaka ,

cahíkstaaka

white people

icaahiks taakaar

person be.white

tiráspari

tiráspari .

these of you living .
 tii- ra- s- warii -hus .
 this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

tasírurukiwi

Tasíruuruukiwi

Your way is different

ta- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- ikiwir -0
 IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.different PERF

,

arítírurukiwi

a ríitíruruukiwi

and my way is different

a rii- t- ir- ri- uur- ikiwir -0
 and ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.different PERF

šahiksíšahiks ,

cahiksícahiks .

the Indian .

icaahiks icaahiks .

person person .

tiharót̄pawakahu

Tihaarát̄paawaakahu

These things I am saying

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

nikutihíkuhar^u

rikutihíkuuhaaru'

that is the way He made for us

riku-	tiir-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
that.is	INFR	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	way	make	PERF

, tiráwahətⁿ
Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

tirétpari

tirátpari

this one of mine

tii-	ra-	t-	warii	-hus	ákitaar-	-u'
this	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	tribe	NOM

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'

tribe

tribe

.
. .
. .

iwikarirítušⁱ

I wikariirítuci'

And I am no longer that way

i	wii-	karii-	rii-	t-	ut-	i-	0	-0
and	now	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	PREV	SEQ	be	PERF

, irárⁱ .
iraári' .
, brother .
, i- -raar- -ri' .

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

Wikakátuutⁿ

Wikaakátuu'ut

I am no longer that way

wii- kaaka- t- ut- 0 -'
now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX

irirətúšuks^a,

iriiratúcuksa

the way I was

irii- ra- t- ut- uks- 0 -a ákitar^u .
that ABS 1.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 tribe .
akitaaru' .
akitaar- -u' .
tribe NOM .

Tuharukstarišatúpīt^a

Tuuhá'

It was the reason

ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 rukstaáriisaatu piíta
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF ABS 3.A AOR PL.INDV.A be.large SUB.D men
wiita
man

ášapatⁿ

a cápaat . Apírəskⁱ
and women . A piíraski
and woman . a piiras- -kis
and woman . and boy DIM

siwitrakururapírihur^u

siwiraákuruuraapírihuuru

when they (du) loved each other

si- witi- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -u
DU REFL INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV value SUB.D

nihkutətpákah^u

rikutatpákaahu'

that is what I am saying

riku- ta- t- waka -:hus
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A say.IMPF IMPF

pirəskisirakúwari

piiraski sirakúwari
boys when they (du) went around
piiras- -kis si- ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
boy DIM DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPf IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Hinahirisiwitiitaruhúšapatⁿ

Hi ráhiiri siwitiitaruuhu' cápaat
And sometimes they gave them to each other women
hi raahiirit si- witi- ti- 0- raar- uh -:hus icapaak
and finally DU REFL IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF woman

.
. .
. .
. .

Šapatnikurišti^u

Cápaat rihkuríctii'u
A woman when he liked her
icapaak ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- tii -u
woman INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV like SUB.D

, hitíhurəs ,
 hi tíhuras
 and he found her
 hi ti- 0- huras -0
 and IND.3A 3.A find PERF

hihírak^u
 hi híiraaku
 and the other one
 hi hii- ra- 0- kus -0
 and other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

rútiwaku “
 ruutiwáku’ “
 then he said : “
 ruu- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Kirəsíihšawa . ”
 Kíra si’ihcawa . ”
 Let you (du) lie together . ”
 kira si- i- s- sa -waa -0 . ”
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A be.lying DIST PERF . ”

Nikutatusúkstakuhuru
 Rikutatúcukstaakuhúru’
 Those were our ways
 riku- ta- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -0
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does PERF

pírəski širuráku^u .
 píiraski ciru ráku’u .
 a boy yet when he was .
 piiras- -kis ciruu ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .

boy DIM yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Kišíkakuutⁿ kúrahus
Kici kaákuu'ut kúrahus
But it was not thus an old man
kici kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -' kurahuus
but NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX old.man

wiráku^u . Kišipíra^u
wiráku'u . Kici piíra'u'
when was . But children
wii- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u . kici piira -u'
when INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D . but child NOM

táruwih^{^t}
táruhwihat
he had them
ti- 0- a- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL PERF

,

nakuruhkári^u
raakuruhkári'u
his having many
ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kari -u
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.numerous SUB.D

. Kakúutⁿ
. Kaakuú'ut

. It was not thus
 . kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -'
 . NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

pīrauwitarúhkari

pīra'u' witarúhkari'
 children he had many
 pīra -u' wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kari -0
 child NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.numerous PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Ášapatⁿ tišíkaskasa .
 A cápaat tiicíkaskasa .
 And the woman she had sense .
 a icapaak ti- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
 and woman IND.3A 3.A be.sensible PERF .

Hawákakuutⁿ

Hawá kaákuu'ut
 Also it was not thus
 haawa kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -'
 also NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

rəkurásah^{^t}ⁿ šápatⁿ ,
 rakurásahat cápaat .
 when she grew up a woman .
 ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0 icapaak .
 INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 woman .

kakíwišk^a ,
 Kaakiíwicka' “
 She did not think “
 kaaki- 0- i- wicka -0 ”
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ think PERF ”

takurakuæskúrisu
 Táku' raaku'askúriisu
 Someone would that you just have intercourse with me
 taku raa- ku- aa- s- ku- riis -u
 someone just INDF SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P have.sexual.intercourse.with SUB.D

hítak^u . Hawa
 hiítaku . " Hawá
 over there . " Also
 hii- -taku . " haawa
 other LOC . " also

rikúruutpít^a .
 rikúruu'ut piíta .
 it was that way a man .
 riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' wiita .
 that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX man .

Kakíwiška húwi
 Kaakiíwicka' huúwi'
 He did not want indeed
 kaaki- 0- i- wicka -0 huuwi'
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ think PERF indeed

wirakurarítis^u ,
 wirakuraaríttisu “
 when he was older : “
 wii- ra- 0- ku- raariktis -u , ”

when INF.A 3.A INF.B be.older SUB.D , "

takuhítaku,

Taku' hiítaku

Someone over there

taku hii- -taku

someone other LOC

kuatáris^u

ku'aatáriisu

would that I have intercourse with her

ku- aa- t- ar- riis -u
INDF SUBJ.1/2A 1.A EV have.sexual.intercourse.with SUB.D

.
.
.
.
.
.

Kišiširurakušikskípiriru

Kici ciru rakuucikskípiriiru

But yet when he was young of mind

kici ciruu ra- 0- ku- aciks- kipiriir -u
but yet INF.A 3.A INF.B mind young SUB.D

túutⁿ . Náw^a ,

tuú'ut . Ráwa

he was thus . Now ,

ti- 0- ut- 0 -' . rawa ,

IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX . now ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári'

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

nikutatusukstakuhúru
rikutatucukstaakuhúru'
that is what we used to do

riku- ta- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -0
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does PERF

,

tírəskurətkawawuku
tiraskuuratkawaawúku
these things you hear from me

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

. Nakuksáwahnšú
. Rakuksáwahnšú
. Even if he was

. ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u
. INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

híastí
hí'aasti'
a father
i- as -ri'
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B
, atíəs
, atí'as
, my father
, ati- as
, 1.POSS father

natihkuksáwahšu
 ratihkuksáwahcu
 even if he was mine

ra- t- ir- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 INF.A 1.A POSS.1/2A INF.B JUSS even.if be SUB.D

, hirarutátiwaku
 hi raaruutatiwáku'
 and I just said

hi raa- ruu- ta- t- i- waka'u -0
 and just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF

" Atí^s tírəs^a
 " Atí'as tíraasa
 : " Father , this one
 , " ati- as , tii- ra- 0- sa -0
 , " 1.POSS father , this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

kirasíihšawašapatⁿ

kíra si'hcawa cápaat
 let you (du) lie together woman
 kira si- i- s- sa -waa -0 icapaak
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A be.lying DIST PERF woman

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Tatukstawiiririšiksapíræskⁱ

Tatúkstawi' iriiriíciksa piíraski
 I was among them the way they were boys
 ta- t- uks- tawi -0 irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- 0 -a piiras- -kis

IND.1/2A 1.A AOR be.among PERF what ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be SUB.1 boy DIM

, rakúhuriwawi .
 rakuhúriiwaawi .
 when they were going around .
 ra- 0- ku- hurii -waa -wi .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B go.around.PL DIST SUB.L .

Irikuhikuháktaru

Irikuuhikuuhaáktaru'

That is what He planned for us

irii- kuur- ri- 0- ku- ut- rak- raa- ra'uk -0
 that DUB CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 1/2.PL way make PERF

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

nikúrət^{ku^a}

rikúratkuuta

for me to be that way

riku- ra- t- ku- ut- 0 -a
 that.is INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

ákitaru

tirátpari

ákitaaru'

tirátpari

tribe

this one of mine

akitaar-

-u'

tii-

ra-

t-

warii

-hus

tribe

NOM

this

ABS

1.A

be.going.about.IMPF

IMPF.SUB

. Kakaraitášapatⁿ

. Kaakaraá'íta

cápaat

. He did not know a woman
 . kaaki- 0- a- raa.iita -0 icapaak
 . NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF woman

sirakúswa^a

sirakuúsawa

when they (du) lay together

si- ra- 0- ku- sa -waa -0
 DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying DIST SUB.4

nahkukspáharah^a

raahkukspaáharaaha

that she would have had her menses

ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- paat- raar- raah -a
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B AOR blood PL have SUB.1

hipítatuta

Hi piíta tuúta
 And the man he did it

hi wiíta ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 and man IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

hitarukspaharášapatⁿ

hi tarukspaáhara cápaat
 and she would have her menses the woman

hi ti- 0- ar- uks- paat- raar- raah -0 icapaak
 and IND.3A 3.A EV AOR blood PL have PERF woman

, náriwiš^u

. Raáriwiicu'

. Just now

. raariwiicu'

. right.now

rahkutáskiwatətⁿ

raahkuutáskiwatat

when she would be over her period

ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- as.kiwatak -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV end.one's.menstrual.period SUB.4

, ákiⁱ píra^u
aki i piira'u'
and here and a child
a- ki i piira -u'
and there and baby NOM

witáruh^u

witáruuhu'

he caused it

wi- ti- 0- ar- raa.uhur -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.the.cause PERF

Nikutirarawitakaráhisu

Rikutíra'

That was the way

riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 raawitakaaraáhisu'
that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF just now all.at.once -u'
suddenly NOM

, irárⁱ , šápatⁿ ,
iraári' cápaat
, brother , a woman
, i- -raar- -ri' , icapaak
, 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , woman

sikaririkutáku

sikariiriirattáku'

she was not married

si- kari- rii- 0- a- ir- aktaku -0

DU EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife PERF

,
.
.
.
.

hirarutakararúta

Hi raarutaakaraaruútaa'

And then her belly just swelled

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- karaar- huuta.a -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A stomach swell PERF

. Hítiru

. Hi tíru'

. And she bore it

. hi ti- 0- ra'uk -0
. and IND.3A 3.A make PERF

hitíhwaki

hi tíhwaki'

and they said

hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Takikúraha

Takí kúraha'

Whose child is it

takii ku- ra- a- haa -0 . "
someone INDF ABS POSS.3A be.one's.child PERF . "

Nahirášapatⁿ

Ráhiira' cápaat

Sometimes a woman
 rahiira icapaak
 further woman

nákuwaka “
 raáhkuwaaka “
 her saying : “
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waak -a , ”
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Hirutiharakúpit^a

Hiru tiháraaku piíta
 There this one man
 hiruu tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 wiita
 there this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 man

kútaha . ”
 kútaha’ . ”
 it is his child . ”
 ku- ti- 0- a- haa -0 . ”
 INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be.one's.child PERF . ”

Hiruarikusitíruh^u

Hiru a rikusitíruuhu’
 Then and that is the one they blame
 hiruu a riku- si- ti- 0- ir- raa.uhur -0
 then and that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.the.cause PERF

. Aahirášapatⁿ

. A ráhiira’ cápaat
 . And sometimes a woman
 . a rahiira icapaak
 . and further woman

kararakúsikskas^a ,
 kararaahkuucíkksasa
 one who had no sense
 kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0
 NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.sensible SUB.3

hikakihísiruk^u
 hi kaakiihísiiruuku'
 and she was not certain
 hi kaaki- 0- i- hisii -ra'uk -:hus
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.prominent CAUS IMPF

irikurihkuhaupíra^u
 iriikurihkúhaa'u piíra'u'
 whoever the child belonged to the child
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- haa -u piira -u'
 who INDF INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B be.one's.child SUB.D child NOM

nakuhásah^{^tⁿ} .
 rakuuhásahat .
 when hers grew up .
 ra- 0- ku- ut- rasahat -0 .
 INF.A 3.P INF.B BEN grow.up SUB.4 .

Nikutišíksuhuru
 Rikuticiksu^{húru'}
 That was what they used to do
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uhuur.uu -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.the.way.one.does PERF

, hiruirurikurásah^{^tⁿ} .
 hiru iriruurikurásahat .
 then when I was growing up .
 hiruu irii- ruu- ri- ku- rasahat -0 .

then when then CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4 .

Itiritiráit^a

I tiriitiraá'iita

And I knew this way

i tii- rii- t- ir- raa- iita -0
and this ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A way know PERF

tirikurásah^{^tⁿ}

tirikurásahat

when I grew up

tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

itirirahuráhəš

i tiriraahúrahac

and this way has passed away

i tii- ri- 0- raa- hurahac -0
and this CONT.3A 3.P way die PERF . Náv^a
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

, ríkutisuks

ríkutucuks

that is how they were

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

Šáhikstaka

Cáhikstaaka

White people

icaahiks taakaar

person be.white

hiruwirarátih^{^tⁿ}

hiru wiráraatiihat

then when the way began
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -0
 then when ABS 3.A way be.the.end SUB.4

wisírihišis
 wisíriihiicis
 now they found out
 wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ut- riicis -0
 now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV learn.about PERF

hihirurutitakukaá'spu
 hi hiru ruutittakukaá'ispu'
 and there then they went into the settlement
 hi hiruu ruu- ti- 0- aktaku- kaa- iis.wuu -:hus
 and then then IND.3A 3.A group inside go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

pirəskihiruatirakáis^{^t}
 Piiraski hiru a tiraahkaá'isat
 Boys then and they went into the settlement
 piiras- -kis hiruu a ti- 0- raar- kaa- iis.at -0
 boy DIM then and IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A inside go.out.of.sight PERF

, hikakúhasiksta^a
 hi kaakúhaaciksta
 and he paid no attention to it
 hi kaaki- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -0
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way watch.over PERF

hitakurakúwari
hiítaku rakúwari
over there when one went
hii- -taku ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
other LOC INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ráwirakuru .
raáwiirakuuru' .
(on) the warpath .
raawiiraak.huur -u' .
war.party NOM .

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

níkutušuks ,
ríkutucuks .
it was that way .
riku- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF .

níkutušuks
Ríkutucuks
It was that way
riku- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF

tíraskurətkawawuku,
tiraskuuratkawaawúku
these things you are hearing from me
tii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka'uk -waawa -hus

this ABS 2.A INF.B PREV hear DIST IMPF.SUB

nakupišíhi^u

rakupicíhi'u

when it was winter

ra- 0- ku- pici.ihí -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.winter SUB.D

nakuhuriwawíšapatⁿ

rakuhúriiwaawi

when they went around

ra- 0- ku- hurii -waa -wi icapaak
INF.A 3.A INF.B go.around.PL DIST SUB.L woman

hirurikutarurakítawa

Hiru rikutaruuraakítawa

Then that is where things began

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

kítu

nakupišíhi^u

kítuu'u'

rakupicíhi'u

all

when it was winter

kituu -u' ra- 0- ku- pici.ihí -u
all NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be.winter SUB.D

rihkuháwari

rihkuuhaáwari

when they went after things

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.warii -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV go.around.to.get IMPF.SUB

,

hitiruhturáhwari

hi tiiruhtuuráhwari'

and he would be waiting for her

hi	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ar-	ri-	uur-	raar-	warii	-:hus
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	EV	PHYS.POSS	PREV	ITER	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

pít^a hitíhurəs

piíta hi tíhuraas

a man and he found her

wiita	hi	ti-	0-	huras	-0	.
man	and	IND.3A	3.A	find	PERF	.

Irári

Iraári'

Brother

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

rikútiratírətpakahu

rikutíra'

that was the way

riku-	ti-	0-	raa-	0	-0	tii-	ra-	t-	waaka	-hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	way	be	PERF	this	ABS	1.A	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

tiratpaákahu

this that I am saying

sirahkúsaw^a

siraahkuúsawa

when they (du) would lie together

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

híapar^u
 hi ápaaru'
 and secretly
 hi apaar- -u'
 and secret NOM

tiruhupíra^u .
 tíruuhu' piíra'u' .
 he made it a baby .
 ti- 0- raa.uhur -0 piira -u' .
 IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason PERF baby NOM .

Nahirášapatⁿ nahkuwíška^a
 Ráhiira' cápaat raahkuwícka'a
 Sometimes the woman when she would think
 rahiira icapaak ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a
 further woman INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1

karistarapíra^u
 " Karístara piíra'u'
 : " I do not want to have it a child
 , " ka- rii- s- raar- raah -0 piira -u'
 , " NEG ASSR 2.A ITER have PERF child NOM

hirutarúši^a
 " hiru taaruúci'a
 , " then she would do it
 , " hiruu ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0
 , " then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF

atahkawátətitⁿ ,
 a taahkawátattit
 : and she would take it out
 , a ti- 0- ar- kawatak -rik -0

, and IND.3A 3.A EV get.out CAUS PERF

ararútarawarⁱtⁿ

a raarutaárawarít .
and then she would just throw it away .
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- a.warik -0 .
and just then IND.3A 3.A EV throw.away PERF .

pīrauárarutarawarⁱtⁿ

Piira'u' a raarutaárawarít
The child and then she would just throw it away
piira -u' a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- a.warik -0
child NOM and just then IND.3A 3.A EV throw.away PERF

,

šapatirikararúhiwar^a

cápaat irikararuúhiwaara
woman the one who was not good
icapaak irii- kara- ra- 0- uur- hi.wa.ar -a
woman that NEG ABS 3.A PREV be.good.DIST SUB.1

. Hítihisis ,
. Hi tíhiicis
. And they knew
. hi ti- 0- ir- ut- riicis -0
. and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV learn.about PERF

hitíhwakⁱ “
hi tíhwaki’ “

and they said : “
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Pirauiharíkasa,

Píira'u' ihaariíkasa
 A baby there it lies in the brush
 piira -u' ii- haa- rii- 0- ka- sa -0
 baby NOM there here ASSR 3.A in.the.brush be.lying PERF

irikúharu . ”
 iriikuúharu' . ”
 whoever bore it . ”
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ra'uk -0 . ”
 that DUB ABS 3.A make PERF . ”

Híšapatⁿ sitíhurəs ,
 Hi cápaat sitiíhuraas .
 And the woman they found her .
 hi icapaak si- ti- 0- ir- huras -0 .
 and woman DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A find PERF .

náw^a , kakúrahi ,
 Ráwa kaakúraahi
 Now it was not good
 rawa kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 now NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

iririkspawakahúsuku

iriiriksaawaakahúsuku

what they used to say

irii- ra- 0- ir- uks- waa- waaka -hus -uku
 what ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

Nahirarakurikášapatⁿ

Ráhiira'	raahkúriika						cápaat
Sometimes	when she picked it up						a woman
rahiira	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	iriik	-a	icapaak
further	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	pick.up.long.object	SUB.1	woman

upirúšapatⁿ

uupiíru'		cápaat
, different		a woman
, uupir	-u'	icapaak
, be.different	NOM	woman

rahkúrik^a

raahkúriika						
when she would pick it up						
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	iriik		-a
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	pick.up.long.object		SUB.1

hiwihiruwitahkísikiitⁿ

hi	wihiru		witaahkísiki't					
and	there		it would be alive					
hi	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kisikit	-'
and	now	there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.alive	EX

šíru , hipíra^u ,

círu	hi	piíra'u'
yet	and	the baby
ciruu	hi	piira -u'

yet and baby NOM

irihirutarušihúrirahətⁿ

irihíruutaruucihuurírahət

thereupon she would attend to it

irii-	hii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	uhuur-	riraar.hak	-0
then	other	then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	SEQ	way	pursue	PERF

,	upír ^u	šápat ⁿ	.	
	uupiíru'	cápaat	.	
	different	woman	.	
	uupir	-u'	icapaak	.
	be.different	NOM	woman	.

Hirárutik^uiríšapatⁿ

Hi	raarútiiku					irii	cápaat	
And	then she just sat there					that	woman	
hi	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kus	-0	irii	icapaak
and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting	PERF	that	woman

nakuraúapar^u

rakúra'u					apaáru'		
who bore it					secretly		'
ra-	0-	ku-	ra'uk	-0	apaar-	-u'	'
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	make	SUB.3	secret	NOM	'

karaasířirišis

kara'aasíciriicis

that you (pl) should not know it

kara-	aa-	s-	ir-	ut-	i-	riicis	-0
NEG	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	learn.about	SUB.4

. Hirutúrahiwiš

. Hiru túraahiwic

. ' Then it showed up
 . ' hiruu ti- 0- uur- raa- hiwihc -0
 . ' then IND.3A 3.A PREV way appear PERF

piraurahkukísikitar^a

piíra'u' raahkukísikitaara
 the baby when it would become alive
 piira -u' ra- 0- ar- ku- kisikit -aar -a
 baby NOM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.alive INCH SUB.1

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

hirusiturušihúrirahətⁿ

Hiru sitiiruucihuurírahət
 Then they attended to it
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- uhuur- riraar.hak -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ way pursue PERF

, hínahirⁱtⁿ
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

hisitirutkišətawáwu

hi sitiirutkicatáwaawu
 and they would put various liquids in its mouth
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- kiic- hata.wuh -waa -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV liquid make.a.hole DIST PERF

ruhkišaháriwar^a .
 ruhkicaháriwaara .
 its being liquids that tasted good .
 ra- 0- uur- kiic- taha- hi.wa.ar -a .
 ABS 3.A PREV liquid flavor be.good.DIST SUB.1 .

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

hinahiritírēsah^{^tⁿ} ,
 hi raáhiirit tírasahat ,
 and finally he grew up
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- rasahat -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.P grow.up PERF

hikišitíwari
 hi kíci tíwari'
 and but she went around
 hi kici ti- 0- warii -:hus
 and but IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

nihkuwáki^a
 wirihkuwáki'a " : "
 when they said : "
 wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a , "
 when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL SUB.1 , "

tiharakúšapətⁿ ,
 Tiháraaku cápaat
 This one woman
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 icapaak

this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 woman

nikuwitiwaritⁿ píra^u
rikuwitiwarit píra'u'
she is the one who threw it away the baby
riku- wi- ti- 0- a.warik -0 piira -u'
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A throw.away PERF baby NOM

, tiwirerásah^{tⁿ} .
tiwirarásahat . "
when he grew up . "
tii- wii- ra- 0- rasahat -0 . "
when when ABS 3.P grow.up SUB.4 . "

Náwai , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa i iraári'
Now so , brother ,
rawa i , i- -raar- -ri' ,
now and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikurikspawakihúsuku
rikurikspaawakiihúsuuku'
that is what they used to say
riku- ra- 0- ir- uks- waa- waki.a -:hus -uuku
that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR DIST say.PL.IMPF IMPF HAB

. Šapatwirakuróšah^{tⁿ} ,
. Cápaat wirakurásahat
. The woman when she grew up
. icapaak wii- ra- ku- rasahat -0
. woman when ABS 1.P grow.up SUB.4

asitiháihku "
a sitiíhá'ihku'

and they called her
a si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

Šáwariks^u . "
Cawáriksu' .
Throws It Away Woman .
c- a.warik -his -u' .
FEM throw.away PERF NOM .

Arihkuwáki^a "
A rihkuwáki'a "
And when they said : "
a ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a , "
and INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1 , "

Siwitihkirarətúhkakus^{itⁿ}
Siwitihkiraaratúhkakusit
They picked it up on the trail in its bag
si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kiraar- hatuur- ka- kusik -0
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A liquid road on pick.up PERF

.
,
,
,
,
,

Hirurikutiharáihku,
hiru rikutihaará'ihku'
then that is what they meant that is what they meant
hiruu riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
then that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

narurakukawatótik^a

raaruuraahkukawatáttika

when she would just bear it

raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	kawatak	-rik	-a
just	then	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	get.out	CAUS	SUB.1

píra^u

piíra'u'

a baby

piira -u'

baby NOM

Kararahkukírahkasik^a

kararaahkukírahkaasika

when she would not break the bag

kara-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	kiraar-	kaas.ik	-a	.
NEG	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	liquid	break	SUB.1	.

Náhira árutahk^u

Ráhiira' a ruutaáhku

Sometimes and it would be sitting there

rahiira	a	ruu-	ti-	0-	ar-	kus	-0
further	and	there	IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.sitting	PERF

, árahira

a ráhiira'

and sometimes

a rahiira

and further

sirihkukukáwatⁱ

sirihkuhkáwati

when they took it out (of the bag)

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	kawat	-i
-----	-----	----	-----	-----	------	-------	----

DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B POSS.P take.out SUB.2

úpīru
uúpiiru'
the other ones
uupir -u'
be.different NOM

híirihi sitirásahatⁿ

hi irihiisitiirásahaattit
and those others raised it
hi irii- hii- si- ti- 0- ir- rasahat -rik -0
and that other DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A grow.up CAUS PERF

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

rikúahušuks ,
riku'ahúcuks .
that used to be the way .
riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 .
that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR be PERF .

nahiratatutapírítⁿ

Ráhiira' tatuutápiirit
Sometimes I saw them
rahiira ta- t- ut- ak- wa- iirik -0
further IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P DIST see PERF

rihkuwáki^a “
rihkuwáki'a “

when they said : “
 ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a , ”
 INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1 , ”

Tiharakusiwitíhkiraraw^a

Tiháraaku siwitíhkiraraawa’
 This one they left it in its water bag
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kiraar- aawaa -0
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A liquid abandon PERF

,
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

hiupiruahárəsaħətⁿ

hi uúpiiru’ aħarasáhaat
 and different one she raised it
 hi uupir -u’ ar- ra- 0- rasahat -0
 and be.different NOM EV ABS 3.A grow.up PERF

aħarahóšapatⁿ

aħáraaha cápaat .
 the one she had woman .
 ar- ra- 0- raah -a icapaak .
 EV ABS 3.A have SUB.1 woman .

irítuhišis

I rítuuhiicis .
 And I knew .
 i rii- t- ut- riicis -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A PREV learn.about PERF .

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

hirurikuwitúutⁿ

hiru	rikuwituú'ut							
then	that is how it was							
hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'	
then	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX	

tirašihwari

tiracihwari

these of us

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

kuhašákur^u

kuuhacákuru'

He made us

kuur-	ra-	0-	aca-	ku-	ra'uk	-0		
DUB	ABS	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	make	PERF		

tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

nikuósit^a

riku'ásiita

that you be that way

riku-	aa-	s-	ir-	ut-	0	-a		.
-------	-----	----	-----	-----	---	----	--	---

that.is SUBJ.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PREV be SUB.1 .

Iškarakáratuutⁿ

I ckára káratuu'ut
 ' And alone I am not thus
 ' i ckara ka- ra- t- ut- 0 -'
 ' and alone NEG ABS 1.A PREV be EX

ákítar^u , kitúakitarahkítu
 ákitaaru' . Kítuu'u' akitaaraahkítuu'u'
 tribe . All all tribes
 akitaar- -u' . kituu -u' akitaar- raar- kituu -u'
 tribe NOM . all NOM tribe PL all NOM

kúhašiiⁿ .
 kuúhacii'it .
 we are thus .
 kuur- ra- aciir- ut- 0 -' .
 DUB ABS IN.DU.A PREV be EX .

Kitúšahíkstakakuhótawi

Kítuu'u' cahíkstaaka kuuhátawi'
 All white men there must be among them
 kituu -u' icaahiks taakaar kuur- ra- 0- tawi -0
 all NOM person be.white DUB ABS 3.A be.among PERF

narurahkuwárika

raaruuraahkuuwárika

for her to just throw it away

raa- ruu- ra- 0- ar- ku- a.warik -a
 just then INF.A 3.A EV INF.B throw.away SUB.1

píra^u híupir^u ,
 píira'u' hi uúpiiru'

a baby and a different one
 piira -u' hi uupir -u'
 baby NOM and be.different NOM

hitarésahatⁿ ,
 hi taarásahaat
 and she would raise it
 hi ti- 0- ar- rasahat -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV grow.up PERF

nahkukiráhkus^tⁿ .
 raahkukiraáhkusit .
 when she would pick it up in its water bag .
 ra- 0- ar- ku- kiraar- kusik -0 .
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B liquid pick.up SUB.4 .

Šapatirikúhitətar^u
 Cápaat irikúhiitattaaru'
 Women that is the way he made for them
 icapaak irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa- ra'uk -0
 woman that DUB ABS 3.A OBV BEN PL.AN.3P way make PERF

, irárⁱ ,
 iraári'
 , brother ,
 , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 , 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

nikuwitúutⁿ . Náw^a ,
 rikuwituú'ut . Ráwa
 that is the way it is . Now ,
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' . rawa ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX . now ,

wirakurásah^tⁿ ,
 wiraakurásahat
 when he has grown up ,
 wii- ra- a- ku- rasahat -0 ,
 when INF.A 2.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 ,

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

pitaráku^u ,
 piíta ráku'u
 a man to be
 wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

hitírəsah^tⁿ hínahiritⁿ
 hi tirasáhat hi raáhiirit
 and he grew up and finally
 hi ti- 0- rasahat -0 hi raahiirit
 and IND.3A 3.P grow.up PERF and finally

sitírutasikst^a ,
 sitiiruutaciksta
 they would look after him
 si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- aciks.ta -0

DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV watch.over PERF

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit
and finally
hi raahiirit
and finally

sitirutuhuriráh^{^t}ⁿ

sitiiruutuhurírahat

they would attend to him

si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- uhuur- riraar.hak -0
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV way pursue PERF

, rahkuwíška^a

raahkuwícka'a

when he would think:

ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a "
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 "

piraukutétaha

Píira'u' kutátaha'

The child he is mine

piira -u' ku- ta- t- ir- a- haa -0
child NOM INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 2.P be.one's.child PERF

,

,

,

,

hirahiritarutuhuriráh^{^t}ⁿ

hi raáhiirit taruutuhurírahat

and finally he would look after him
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- ar- ut- uhuur- riraar.hak -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.A EV PREV way pursue PERF

, pít^a
 piíta
 the man
 wiita
 man

irikurihkúha^u
 iriikurihkúhaa'u
 the one who was his child
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- haa -u
 who INDF INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B be.one's.child SUB.D

wirakurásah^{^t^n} ,
 wirakurásahat
 when he had grown up
 wii- ra- ku- rasahat -0
 when ABS 1.P grow.up SUB.4

kurahuswiráku^u ,
 kúrahus wiráku'u
 an old man his being
 kurahuus wii- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 old.man when INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

nurakurakáwitát^a
 ruuraahkuuraakáwitaata
 when it was not good
 ruu- ra- 0- ar- ku- uur- raa- kawitaat -a
 then INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV way be.disagreeable SUB.1

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

hisitituhuriráh^tⁿ

hi sitiituhuurírahát
 and they looked after him
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- uhuur- riraar.hak -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way pursue PERF

,

arikusitihisásk^u

a rikusitihísaasku'
 and that is what they named him
 a riku- si- ti- 0- ir- hisaask -:hus
 and that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A call.by.name IMPF

“ Piríšis . ”
 Piiríicis .
 Known Child .
 piira- icis .
 child know .

Nikutahapakiáh^u “

Rikutahapakí'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

Pirišis . "
Piiriicis .
Known Child .
piira- icis .
child know .

Wiwititútpirišis ,
Wiwititútpiiriicis .
He learned of his own infancy .
wii- witi- ti- 0- ut- piira- icis -0 .
now REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV child learn.of PERF .

tuhá^a ika !
Tuuhá'a iika
It is the cause , oh my ,
ti- 0- ut- raar -' , iika'a ,
IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX , oh.my ,

nararaítawi ,
raararaa'ítawi
his knowing it
raa- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -wi
just ABS 3.A PREV.3A know SUB.L

iraruritarittā^a
iraaruuritaritta'aara .
when he just grew up .
ii- raa- ruu- ri- 0- tarikta- -aar -a .
when just then CONT.3A 3.P body INCH SUB.1 .

nikutúutⁿ
Rikutuú'ut

It was that way

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

tirəspawákahu ,

tiratpaawaákahu ,

this that I am saying ,

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

irárⁱ ,

iraári' ,

brother ,

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

étuhišis

átuuhiicis

that I learn ,

aa- t- ut- riicis -0 ,
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 ,

raítus^u kítu , ihi ,

raa'íitusu' kítuu'u' ihi ,

stories all , uh ,

raa.iit.us -u' kituu -u' , ihii ,

story NOM all NOM , uh ,

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks

Indians

icaahiks icaahiks

person person

tirətkúakitar ^u								.
tirátku					ákitaaru'			.
this one of mine					tribe			.
tii-	ra-	t-	kus	-0	akitaar-	-u'		.
this	ABS	1.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	tribe	NOM		.

Hi	,	irár ⁱ						,
Hi		iraári'						
And	,	brother						,
hi	,	i-	-raar-		-ri'			,
and	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			,

nikuahušúksak ^u								.	Náwa ^a
riku'ahucúksaahu'								.	Ráwa
that is how it used to be								.	Now
riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	uks-	aah	-:hus	.	rawa
that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	AOR	be	IMPF	.	now

,

iwirikuwíšuksar ^a								
iwirikuwícaksaara								
when I became mature								
ii-	wii-	ri-		ku-	wicaks.aar			-a
when	when	CONT.3A	1.P		come.to.age.of.consciousness			SUB.1

hírikuruut ⁿ								
hi	rikúruu'ut							
and	it was that way							
hi	riku-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'		

and that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX

nətuháwir^tn

ratuuhaáwiirit

the ways I saw

ra- t- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0
ABS 1.A PREV way DIST see SUB.4

tiwirətaríraiwatⁱ

tiwiratariíraa'iiwaati

this that I am telling you

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

šuskírar^tn

cuskiírarit

a little

caskii.rarit

a.little.bit

nikuwíšəksar^a

rikuwícaksaara

when I became mature

ri- ku- wicaks.aar

CONT.3A 1.P come.to.age.of.consciousness -a
SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .

Tirihkarukupiraúšapatⁿ

Tirihkaruku

When they were bearing them

tii- ra- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus piira -u' cápaat
when ABS 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB child NOM women
child NOM woman

.
Sitiitúriwu
sitiitúriwu'

, they went after her
 , si- ti- 0- ir- ut- huri wuu -:hus
 , DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV wait.for go.IMPF IMPF

ihí šapátnaku^u
 ihí cápaat ráku'u
 , uh , a woman her being
 , ihii , icapaak ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 , uh , woman INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

píraúirinariku ,
 píra'u' iriiráriiku .
 a child the one who picked it up .
 píra -u' irii- ra- 0- iriik -hus .
 child NOM that ABS 3.A pick.up.long.object IMPF.SUB .

Sititúriwu

Sitiitúriwu'

They went after her

si- ti- 0- ir- ut- huri wuu -:hus
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV wait.for go.IMPF IMPF

nakuúšapatⁿ

ráku'u cápaat .
 her being a woman .
 ra- 0- ku- 0 -u icapaak .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D woman .

Sikakitúriwu

Sikaakiitúriwu'

They did not go after him

si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- huri wuu -:hus
 DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV wait.for go.IMPF IMPF

pitaráku^u .
 piíta ráku'u .
 a man his being .
 wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
 man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Hitirášapatⁿ
 Hi tíra' cápaat
 And she would come the woman
 hi ti- 0- a- ir- ar- a -0 icapaak
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV come PERF woman

.
.

Kitutárurušpa
 Kítuu'u' táruurucpa
 All she had her things
 kituu -u' ti- 0- a- ri- uur- ra.uc -waa -0
 all NOM IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF

, iríahutari ihi
 irií'ahuutari ihi
 what she did , uh ,
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -i , ihii ,
 what EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.2 , uh ,

pirauwirahkukáwatətⁿ
 piíra'u' wiraahkukáwatat
 a child when it would come out
 piira -u' wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- kawatak -0

child NOM when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B get.out SUB.4

; wirahkúriwašukatka^a
wiraahkúriwaacukatka
when she would cut the navel
wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- riwaac- ukac.k -a
when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B navel cut SUB.1

. Kiturirárikh^u
. Kítuu'u' riirárikhu'
. All she had various things ,
. kituu -u' ri- 0- raar- ruhka'uk -0 ,
. all NOM ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST PER ,

níšikⁱ ,
riíciki
a knife ,
riici -kis ,
knife DIM ,

kararákukiš^u
kararákuukiicu riiciki
one that was not long the knife
kara- ra- 0- ku- i- kii'ac -u riici -kis
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.long SUB.D knife DIM

.
. .
. .

kakirakúrihuru
Kaakí'arakúrihuuru

It could not be big

kaaki-	0-	0	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	rihur	-u
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.big	SUB.D

níšik ⁱ	kararírihur ^u
riíciki	karariírihuuru
the knife	one that was not big,

riici	-kis	kara-	ra-	0-	ir-	rihur	-u
knife	DIM	NEG	ABS	3.A	OBV	be.big	SUB.D

nišikíripahk ⁱ	.		
riicikíripahki	.		
a small knife	.		
riici	kiripac	-kis	.
knife	small	DIM	.

Nikuwitiitári	.							
Rikuwitiitári'	.							
That is what they did	.							
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	aar	-i	.
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	do	IMPF	.

rikutihwakíah ^u	.					
Rikutihwakí'aahu'	.					
That is what they say	.					
riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	.
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	.

Tiráriwašukatku	.					
Tiráriwaacukatku	.					
This one who cut the navel	.					
tii-	ra-	0-	riwaac-	ukac.k	-hus	.
this	ABS	3.A	navel	cut	IMPF.SUB	.

Aahutári

a ahuutári'
and she did it
a ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -i
and EV ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF

iripiráurarik^u

irii píira'u' ráriiku hi
the one the child her picking it up and
irii piira -u' ra- 0- iriik -hus hi
that child NOM ABS 3.A pick.up.long.object IMPF.SUB and

ahutári

ahuutári'
she did it :
ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -i ,
EV ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF ,

náhkurušik^a

raáhkuruucika
when she would take them up
ra- 0- ar- ku- ruuci.ik -a
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B pick.up SUB.1

karétuhš^u ,

karáttuhcu'
ashes
itkaar.raktuuhc- -u'
ashes NOM

hiruwitahpíšist^u

hiru witaahpícištu'
then she would smear it
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- piciiis -ra'uk -0

then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.smeared CAUS PERF

, niwašupíra^u .
 ríwaacu' piíra'u' .
 the navel the child .
 riwaac- -u' piira -u' .
 navel NOM child NOM .

Nikutihwakiahúšapatⁿ .
 Rikutihwakí'aahu' cápaat .
 That is what they say the women .
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus icapaak .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF woman .

Hiruwititarusikskitiírahpu
 Hiru wiwitaruucikskitiírahpu
 Then she would now wrap it around her finger
 hiruu wii- witi- ti- 0- ar- ut- iks- kitiirahk.wuh -0
 then now REFL IND.3A 3.A EV PREV hand wrap.around PERF

níšu ,
 ríicu' .
 the intestine .
 riic- -u' .
 intestine NOM .

kituawitahkirarišawirikisətⁿ
 Kítuu'u' a witaahkiraaricawírikisat
 All and she would squeeze the liquid out
 kituu -u' a wii- ti- 0- ar- kiraar- ica.wirikis.at -0
 all NOM and now IND.3A 3.A EV liquid push.along PERF

hitákupātu ,
 hiitáku paátu'

the other way blood ,
 hii- -taku paat- -u' ,
 other LOC blood NOM ,

hiruwitáriwašukətⁿ ,
 hiru witaáriwaacukat ,
 then she would cut the navel ,
 hiruu wii- ti- 0- ar- riwaac- ukac.k -0 ,
 then now IND.3A 3.A EV navel cut PERF ,

aruwitarusíkitirətⁿ
 a ruuwitaruucikitiírat
 and then she would wrap it around
 a ruu- wii- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- kitiirahk -0
 and then now IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ be.wrapped.around PERF

íksu ,
 íksu' .
 the finger .
 iks- -u' .
 hand NOM .

nikutihwakíah^u .
 Rikutihwakí'aahu' .
 That is what they say .
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Aahətáwipít^a ,
 A ahátawi' piíta .
 And there was among us a man .
 a ar- ra- 0- tawi -0 wiita .
 and EV ABS 3.A be.among PERF man .

pítawítáwí

Pííta wítáwí'

A man there was among us

wiita wii- ti- 0- tawi -0
man now IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

nahkurikapíra^u

raahkúriika

one who would pick it up

ra- 0- ar- ku- iriik -a piíra -u'
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B pick.up.long.object SUB.1 baby NOM

piíra'u'

the baby

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now ,
. rawa ,
. now ,

hišikarariraitawísətapít^a

hici karariiraaiitawiísatta

but he really knew how to do it

hi.ci kara- rii- 0- a- raa.iita.wi.his.akta -0 wiita
and NEG ASSR 3.A PREV.3A know.how.to.do PERF man

piíta

the man

. Tihwakháhúpít^a “
. Tihwakí'aahu' “
. They say : “
. ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , ”
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , ”

Nakurikapíra^u

Pííta raahkúriika

A man when he picks it up a baby

wiita ra- 0- ar- ku- iriik -a piíra -u'

man INF.A 3.A EV INF.B pick.up.long.object SUB.1 baby NOM

irihiwitarurarahúwišuritⁿ

irihiiwitaruuraarahúwicuurit

that other one would be more careful

irii-	hii-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ar-	ri-	uur-	raa.rahuu.wic.huur.ik	-0
that	other	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	EV	PHYS.POSS	PREV	do.things.meticulously	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

kituwituhiwawáriku

Kítuu'u' wituuhiwaawaáriku'

All he cleaned it all up

kituu	-u'	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	hi.wa.ar	-waa	-ik	:-hus
all	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.good.DIST	DIST	CAUS	IMPF

iríahut^a

irí'ahuuta

the way it was

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	piira	-u'	,
that	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	child	NOM	,

píra^u

piira'u'

the child

,

ihi nakuksukítas^a

ihi rakuksuukítasa

uh , its having lain on top

ihii	,	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	huukita-	sa	-0
uh	,	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	AOR	on.top	be.lying	SUB.4

, nihwakíhu

ríhwakihu

, “

their saying

ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus
ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Náruwis . "
ráruwis .
fetal membrane .
raruwis .
fetal.membrane .

Kituawítaruta

Kítuu'u' a witaarúwa
All and he would take it off
kituu -u' a wii- ti- 0- ar- ruwaah -0
all NOM and now IND.3A 3.A EV remove PERF

nahkuhakatahurawirútiku

raahkuhaakatahuraahwiiruútiku

when he would press his mouth down on it here and there

ra- 0- ar- ku- haaka- ta.hurah wi.itik -ruu -hus
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B mouth be.barely.touching sit.down DIST IMPF.SUB

nahkutišakištahširuhkukuhakáhirⁱ

raahkuuticakictaahcirúhkuku

when he would suck the mucous out

ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- icakihc- raar- ciruhkuk -hus haakáhiri'
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV saliva PL suck.DIST IMPF.SUB mouth LOC

atisiraškisakarátawⁱ

a tisiraackiisaakarátawi

and these (du) nostrils

a tii- si- ra- 0- ickiis- haaka- hata -wi
and this DU ABS 3.A nose mouth be.a.hole SUB.L

.
. .
. .
. .

Nikuwitišiksarihusukúpita
Rikuwitiiciksaariihúsuuku'
That is what they used to do

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku	piíta
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB	men
												wiita
												man

.

Kararahkukutakúihi

kararaáhkuuku							táku'		ih
when she was not there							someone	,	uh
kara-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	kus	-0	taku	,	ihii
NEG	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	be.sitting	SUB.4	someone	,	uh

	tíkskurit ⁿ	šúst ^t ⁿ	.
	tíkskurit	cústit	
,	close by	an old woman	,
,	tíkskurit	custit	,
,	nearby	old.woman	,

Kiširákuihi

kici	raáhku'u						ih		
but	his being						uh	,	
kici	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	0	-u	,	ihii	,

but INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D , uh ,
 sirihkúra^u , kírík^u
 sirihkúra'u kíríku'
 when they bore it sometimes
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ra'uk -0 kirikuu
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make SUB.3 anything

hátuhkætⁿ , hipíteta^a
 hátuhkat . Hi píita taá'a
 on the trail . And a man he would be
 hatuhka.t . hi wiita ti- 0- ar- 0 -'
 in.the.rear . and man IND.3A 3.A EV be EX

kúra^u ,
 kúraa'u'
 a doctor
 kuraa -u'
 doctor NOM

kakuráriru .
 kaakuraáriru' .
 he was not afraid of it .
 kaaki- 0- uur- raar- riruu -0 .
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P be.afraid PERF .

Akiturihwakíah^u ,
 A kítuu'u' rihwakí'aahu'
 And all they say
 a kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 and all NOM ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tirakúihi ,
 tiraáku ihi

this , uh ,
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 , ihii ,
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

stáhkawi^u píra^u
 stáhkawi'u' píira'u'
 afterbirth the baby
 as.raar.ka.wi- -u' piira -u'
 afterbirth NOM baby NOM

iriahastahkáwuhu
 irii'ahaastaahkáwuhu
 where his feet were on it
 irii- ar- ra- 0- as- raar- ka- wuh -hus
 where EV ABS 3.A foot PL on put IMPF.SUB

,

siwitítkitiráhp^u
 siwitítkitiiraáhp^u
 they always wrapped it up
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- kitiirahk.wuh -:hus
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV wrap.around IMPF

,

kirikurakukakúihi

kíriku' raahkúkaku
something its being in it

kirikuu ra- 0- ar- ku- ka.- kus -0
anything INF.A 3.A EV INF.B in be.sitting SUB.4

ruksawahšúihi

ihi ruksáwahcu
uh , its even being ,

ihii , ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u ,
uh , CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D ,

rukstátawi

ihi rukstaátawi
uh, what used to be among us

ihii ra- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
uh ABS 3.A AOR way be.among SUB.3

šahurárus ,

cahuurárus
a furry piece of robe
cahuu- raruus
robe be.furry

hirikusitíhkakus

hi rikusitíhkakus
and that is where they put it in

hi riku- si- ti- 0- ir- ka- kus.k -0
and that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A in put PERF

.
. .
. .

Hirusiwitirušikiráhpu

Hiru siwitiiruucikitiiraáhpu

Then they would wrap it up

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	kitiirahk.wuh	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	wrap.around	PERF

,

,

,

,

hirusiwitiruši , tariipápu^u

hiru siwitiiruucitariípaapu

then they would tie it up

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	tariik.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	tie	DIST	PERF

,

,

,

hirusiwitirət

hiru siwítíirat

then they took it

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ra-	at	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	go	PERF

irakatuhárut^a

irakaatuhaáruuta

.

.

that woods
 ii- ra- 0- kaatu.haar- u.at -a
 that ABS 3.A timber extend.in.a.line SUB.1

Nakistírawawiⁱ

Rákis tírawaawi
 Woods these
 rak -kis tii- ra- 0- waa -wi
 wood DIM this ABS 3.A be.upright.DIST SUB.L

hirurikusiwitihtáwuhu

hiru rikusiwitihtáwuhu'
 then that is where they hung it up
 hiruu riku- si- wi- ti- ir- ta.wuh -:hus
 then that.is DU QUOT IND.3A PL.3A hang.up IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Tihwakíahu stáhkawi^u,
 Tihwakí'aahu' stáhkawi'u'
 They say the afterbirth
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus as.raar.ka.wi- -u'
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF afterbirth NOM

nakuhakásara

rakuhaakásara
 where there was a fork in the tree
 ra- 0- ku- haak- kasar -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B wood be.forked SUB.1

hihirušapatⁿ

hi hiru cápaat
and there a woman
hi hiruu icapaak
and there woman

nikutahukitáurir^tⁿ

rikutaahuukitá'uuriirit

that is where she would stand on top

riku- ti- 0- ar- huukita- uuri.arik -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A EV on.top stand.upright PERF

hirikuwitáhtawu

hi rikuwitaáhtawu

and that is where she would hang it

hi riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- ta.wuh -0
and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV hang.up PERF

nikutihwakiáhu

Rikutihwakí'aahu'

That is what they say

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

pirautiríhkaruku

piíra'u' wítiríhkaruku

babies when they are born

piira -u' witi- ra- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus
baby NOM REFL ABS 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

arikurihwakíah^u

a rikurihwakí'aahu'

, and that is what they say

, a riku- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus

, and that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

iríhi šústitⁿ
 irii ihii cústit
 the one , uh , old woman
 irii , ihii , custit
 that , uh , old.woman

nákukstius^u ihi
 rákukstii'uusu ihi
 her knowing how , uh, ,
 ra- 0- ku- uks- rii'uus -u , ihii ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B AOR know.how SUB.D , uh ,

piraúrækuriku
 píira'u' rakúriiku
 a baby to pick it up
 píira -u' ra- 0- ku- iriik -hus
 baby NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B pick.up.long.object IMPF.SUB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Ikuruwiráhuriwa
 I kuruuwirahúriwa
 And they are no longer living
 i ku- ruu- wii- ra- 0- hurii -waa -0
 and INDF then now ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST PERF

, wikakíhuriwa
 . Wikaakiihúriwa

. They are no longer living
 . wii- kaaki- 0- hurii -waa -0
 . now NEG.IND.3A 3.A go.around.PL DIST PERF

šústitⁿ .
 cústit .
 the old women .
 custit .
 old.woman .

Iwiriwíwahətⁿ
 I wiriwíwaahat
 And now they are living
 i wii- rii- 0- wi.hak -waa -0
 and now ASSR 3.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

kíripaškiraku^u
 kíripacki ráku'u
 young one his being
 kiripac -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 small DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

náhkuhišis ,
 raáhkuuhiicis
 one who learned it
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- riicis -0
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV learn.about SUB.4

tiraraítusk^u
 tiraraa'ítusku .
 this story .
 tii- ra- 0- raa.iit.us- kus -0 .
 this ABS 3.A story be.sitting SUB.4 .

nikutihwakíahu						.	A	,
Rikutihwakí'aahu'						.	A	
That is what they say						.	And	,
riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	.	a	,
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	.	and	,

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

tirəturakiwatíšapat ⁿ								
tiratuuraakiíwaati								cápaat
this that I tell about them								women
tii-	ra-	t-	a-	uur-	ak-	iiwaat	-i	icapaak
this	ABS	1.A	2.P	PREV	PL.AN.3P	tell.about	SUB.2	woman

, šápatⁿ
cápaat
, women
, icapaak
, woman

tírəturakiwat ⁱ								
tiratuuraakiiwaati								
this that I tell about them								
tii-	ra-	t-	a-	uur-	ak-	iiwaat	-i	
this	ABS	1.A	2.P	PREV	PL.AN.3P	tell.about	SUB.2	

tiharáwahət ⁿ								,
Tihaaráwaahat								
these Heavens								
tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	a.hak		-waa	-0	

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

áhira^u

ahíra'u

when he made her

ar- ri- 0- ra'uk -0
EV CONT.3A 3.A make SUB.3

tiráriki

pah

tiraáriki

pah

this

moon

tii- ra- 0- arik -i pah

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

nikúhuhá^a

rikúhuuha'a

she was the one who did it

rii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar -'
that DUB ABS 3.A PREV do EX

rihkuraúšapatⁿ

rihkúra'u

cápaat

when she was made

the woman

ra- 0- ir- ku- ra'uk -0 icapaak
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B make SUB.3 woman

Hikuruhišírar^u

Hi kuruuhiicíraaru'

And there upon she made the way for him

hi kuruur- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- raa- ra'uk -0
and DUB CONT.3A 3.A OBV BEN SEQ way make PERF

, kurúhirar^u

kuruuhiraáaru'

; thereupon she made the way
 , kuruur- ri- 0- raa- ra'uk -0
 , DUB CONT.3A 3.A way make PERF

nahkuwíška^a pīt^a ,
 raahkuwícka'a " Piíta
 when she thought : " A man
 ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , " wiita
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , " man

kirətiráwari
 kúra tiráwari
 let this one going about
 kira tii- ra- 0- warii -hus
 perhaps this ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kiraitarúihi
 kúra itáru' ihi
 let me make you , uh ,
 kira i- t- a- ra'uk -0 , ihii ,
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 1.A 2.P make PERF , uh ,

nakuuškúsatⁿ ,
 ráku'uckúsat
 his being a berdache
 ra- 0- ku- ut- c.kusaat- 0 -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV berdache be SUB.4

hipítətⁱ .
 hi píita ti' . "
 and a man he is . "
 hi wiita ti- 0- 0 -0 . "
 and man IND.3A 3.A be PERF . "

Irári'			,	hirupákuht ^u		
Iraári'				hiru	pákuhtu'	
Brother			,	then	long ago	
i-	-raar-	-ri'	,	hiruu	pakuht	-u'
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,	then	be.old	NOM

wikúwituutⁿ
wikúwituu'ut
it was thus

wii-	ku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'
now	INDF	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

nahkutawíšititⁿ

raahkutawíhcitit

when he would be among them

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	tawi.ihc.itik	-0
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	appear.among	SUB.4

škúsətⁿ

pīt^a

ckúsat

piíta

a berdache

a man

c-

kusaat

wiita

FEM

berdache

man

hitárəsah^{^t}ⁿ

hi taárasahat

and he would grow up

hi	ti-	0-	ar-	rasahat	-0
and	IND.3A	3.P	EV	grow.up	PERF

Nahirarihkuhára^u

Ráhiira' rihkuuhaára'u

Sometimes when she made him that way

rahiira	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raar-	ra'uk	-0
---------	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-------	-------	----

further INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3

asuhuríkípit^a

aasuhuúriki

that you act that way

aa- s- uhuur.ik -i

SUBJ.1/2A 2.A be.proficient SUB.2

hitíra^u

piíta hi tíraa'u

a man and she gave him the way

wiita hi ti- 0- raa- uh -0

man and IND.3A 3.A way give PERF

kararakukapákis^u

kararakuukaapaákisu

for him not to be pitiful

kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u

NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.pitiful SUB.D

Nihkuruh^a

Ríhkuruuha

When he was given the way

ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a

INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1

nawiráhis^u

raawiiraáhisu'

a warrior

raawiir.aah.his -u'

warrior NOM

nakúwari

rakúwari

to go about

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

híšapatⁿ tihúritpít^a .
hi cápaat tiihuúrit piíta .
and a woman he acted like a man .
hi icapaak ti- 0- uhuur.ik -0 wiita .
and woman IND.3A 3.A be.proficient PERF man .

Átirarikⁱ

A tiraáriki --
And this one --
a tii- ra- 0- arik -i --
and this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 --

tirarikikúhuha

tiraáriki kúhuuha'
this one it must be the reason
tii- ra- 0- arik -i kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar -0
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 DUB ABS 3.A PREV be.the.reason PERF

, irárⁱ , šápatⁿ ,
iraári' cápaat
, brother , a woman
, i- -raar- -ri' , icapaak
, 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , woman

šapatnakuwíška^a ,

cápaat raahkuwícka'a
a woman when she wanted
icapaak ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a
woman INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1

tirarikikuhuhaápit^a

tiraáriki						kúhuuha'					piíta	
this one						it must be the reason					man	
tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i		kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-0	wiita
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2		DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.the.reason	PERF	man

,
“
“
:
“
”
”
”

Kirótiharakupit^a

Kíra tiháraaku											piíta
Let this one											man
kira	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	kus	-0					wiita
perhaps	this	here	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	PERF					man

itašiksúhkaúššapatⁿ

itaaciksúhka'uc										cápaat	,
let me put the mind in him										a woman	.
i-	t-		aciks.uur.ka.uc			-0				icapaak	.
CONT.1/2A	1.A		put.a.thought.into.someone			PERF				woman	.

šápatⁿ

Cápaat
A woman
icapaak
woman

kíraitasiksukauš

kíra itaaciksúhka'uc
let me put the mind in him

kira	i-	t-	aciks.uur.ka.uc			-0					
------	----	----	-----------------	--	--	----	--	--	--	--	--

perhaps CONT.1/2A 1.A put.a.thought.into.someone PERF

pitaráku^u . I ,
piíta ráku'u . " I
a man his being . " And ,
wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u . " i ,
man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D . " and ,

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

šaskiritúhawir^{tⁿ} ,
caskií rituúhaawiirit
a little I saw them
caski rii- t- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0
a.little ASSR 1.A PREV way DIST see PERF

šapatnáku^u
cápaat ráku'u
a woman her being
icapaak ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
woman INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

hitiparíspari ,
hi tipaaríspari'
and she went hunting
hi ti- 0- paariis- warii -:hus
and IND.3A 3.A hunter be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

tirakurákurah^a .
tíraaku' rákuraaha .

a gun		when she had it						.
tiraak	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	raah	-a		.
gun	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	have	SUB.1		.

Ašúskiritúhairitⁿ

A	caskií	rituúhaa'iirit						
And	a little	I saw of it						
a	caski	rii-	t-	ut-	raa-	iirik	-0	
and	a.little	ASSR	1.A	PREV	way	see	PERF	

šapatnáku^u

cápaat	ráku'u							
a woman	her being							
icapaak	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u			
woman	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D			

hitiníkskarúk^u

hi	tiríkskaruuku'							,
and	she made arrows							
hi	ti-	0-	riiks-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus			
and	IND.3A	3.A	arrow	make.PL.P	IMPF			

pītawitírahúruku

piíta	witirakuuhúruku							
a man	when she was acting like him							
wiita	witi-	ra-	0-	ku-	uhuur-	ra'uk	-hus	
man	REFL	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	way	make	IMPF.SUB	

. Ašəskiritúhairitⁿ

.	A	caskií	rituúhaa'iirit					,
.	And	a little	I saw of it					,
.	a	caski	rii-	t-	ut-	raa-	iirik	-0
.	and	a.little	ASSR	1.A	PREV	way	see	PERF

irárⁱ , šápatⁿ ,
 iraári' cápaat
 brother , a woman
 i- -raar- -ri' , icapaak
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , woman

nakuháwiša
 raakuuhaáhwica
 when the enemy attacked

ra- 0- a- ku- ut- raar- wic.a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV PL.INDV.A arrive.to.attack SUB.4

hitirəsúhuhša
 hi tirasúhuhca
 and there were two sides

hi ti- 0- ir- as- uhuur- sa -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A foot way be.lying PERF

nakuwahakúspari
 rakuwaahakúspari
 when she was going about back and forth

ra- 0- ku- waa- hak -hus warii -hus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST pass.by IMPF.SUB be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

,

nakutpahurawirúniku
 rakutpaahuraahwiiruúniku
 when she got down on one knee here and there

ra- 0- ku- ut- paa- huraar- wi.itik -ruu -hus

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV knee earth sit.down DIST IMPF.SUB

ihí kátahka
 ihí kátahka
 , uh , the enemy '
 , ihii , katahkaa '
 , uh , enemy '

atakútika,
 aatakuútika
 that I kill you

aa- t- a- kuut.ik -a '
 SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P kill SUB.1 '

hítišapatⁿ

hi ti' cápaat .
 and it was a woman a woman .
 hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak .
 and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman .

Pitakúrakur^u

Píita kúrakuuru
 A man her acting like
 wiita ku- ra- 0- ku- uur- 0 -u
 man INF.B ABS 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.D

arakuwiška^a

a raahkuwícka'a ,
 and when she thought
 a ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a
 and INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1

tuhátirariki

tuuhá' tiraáriki

she was the cause this one
 ti- 0- ut- raar -0 tii- ra- 0- arik -i
 IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause PERF this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

, nahkuwíška^a “
 raahkuwícka’a “
 when she would think : “
 ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , “
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , “

Kirótirakúšapatⁿ

Kíra tiraáku cápaat
 Let this one woman
 kira tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icapaak
 perhaps this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 woman

tiwirətára^u

tiwiratára’u
 this way I have made you
 tii- wii- ra- t- a- ra’uk -0
 when when ABS 1.A 2.P make SUB.3

kirəišarárik^u

kíra isaaráriku
 let you be married
 kira i- s- haa- raar- ri- kus -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A child PL PORT be.sitting PERF

. " Hítišapatⁿ
 . " Hi ti’ cápaat
 . " And she was a woman
 . " hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak
 . " and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman

hitiharáriwitiitⁿ .
 hi tihaaráriwiitit .
 and she became married .
 hi ti- 0- haa- raar- ri- wi.itik -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A child PL PORT sit.down PERF .

Nácutkáriukawi
 Raakutkári'uukawi
 When she wore a breechcloth
 ra- 0- a- ku- ut- karií'uuka -wi
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV wear.a.breechcloth SUB.L

nakúwari
 rakúwari
 when she went about
 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hítišapatⁿ . Híháw^a
 hi ti' cápaat . Hi haáwa'
 and she was a woman . And also
 hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak . hi haawa
 and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman . and also

irirutáratih^{^n} ,
 iriruutaáraatiihat
 thereupon the time began
 irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- raa- tiihak -0
 then then IND.3A 3.A EV way be.the.end PERF

kīšⁱ
 kiíci'
 but
 kici

but

hisitirətakúksa

hi sitiirattakúksa
and she married her

hi si- ti- 0- ir- aktaku uk -his -aar -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A OBV have.as.a.wife be PERF INCH PERF

. Hítišəpatⁿ ,

. Hi ti' cápaat

. And she was a woman

. hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak

. and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman

hitihurítpit^a .

hi tiihuúrit piíta .

and she acted like him a man .

hi ti- 0- uhuur.ik -0 wiita .

and IND.3A 3.A be.proficient PERF man .

Airakúšapat

A iraáku cápaat

And that one woman woman

a ii- ra- 0- kus -0 icapaak

and that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 woman

iriraúpit^a ,

iriíra'u piíta

that one man ,

irii- ra- 0- 0 -u wiita ,

that ABS 3.A be SUB.D man ,

pitáirira^u .

piíta iriíra'u .

man that one .
 wiita irii- ra- 0- 0 -u .
 man that ABS 3.A be SUB.D .

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

nihkušiksuhkuhšápit^a
 rihkuuciksuhkúhca piíta
 when the mind was put in her a man
 ra- 0- ir- ku- aciks.uur.ka.uc -a wiita
 INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B put.a.thought.into.someone SUB.1 man

šapatnáku^u .
 cápaat ráku'u .
 a man a woman her being .
 icapaak ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
 woman INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Atutasəwirarúwari
 A tuutasawiraaruúwari'
 And she put out traps
 a ti- 0- ut- as.awi- raar- ruu- warii -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV trap PL PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

kituksnakukawúniku ,
 kítuks rakukawuúniku
 beavers when she killed them
 kituks ra- 0- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus
 beaver INF.A 3.A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB

hítišapatⁿ

hi ti' cápaat
and it was a woman
hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak
and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman

Kituksnakukawúniku

kítuks rakukawuúniku
beavers when she was killing them
kituks ra- 0- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus
beaver INF.A 3.A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB

sirihkutkírík^u

sirihkutkíríku
when they watched her
si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- kirik.kus -0
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV look.at SUB.4

Asirihkutkíríku

A sirihkutkíríku
And when they watched her
a si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- kirik.kus -0
and DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV look.at SUB.4

nakukúšapatⁿ

rakuúku cápaat
when she sat there the woman
ra- 0- ku- uk -u icapaak
INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D woman

hitiníkskaruk^u

hi tiríkskaruuku'
and she was making arrows
hi ti- 0- riiks- ka.ra'uk -:hus

and IND.3A 3.A arrow make.PL.P IMPF .

Atiníkskaruku

A tiríkskaruuku'

And she was making arrows

a ti- 0- riiks- ka.ra'uk -:hus

and IND.3A 3.A arrow make.PL.P IMPF

pitairikúriruhuru ,

piíta iriikúriiruuhuuru

men the way they did

wiita irii- ku- ra- 0- ir- raa.uhur -u

man that INDF ABS 3.A PL.3A be.the.way SUB.D

hítišapatⁿ

hi ti' cápaat . Náw^a ,

and she was a woman . Ráwa

hi ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak . rawa

and IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman . now

tiháirirətpawakahu ,

tihaa'iriiratpaawaákahu ,

these things I am saying ,

tii- haa- irii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,

this here that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári'

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nikuwítušuks .

rikuwítucuks .

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

Šəskiritúhairitⁿ .
 Caskií rituúhaa'irit .
 A little I saw the things .
 caski rii- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 .
 a.little ASSR 1.A PREV way see PERF .

Wihirušəskⁱ tíwiwahə^t
 Wihiru caskií tiwiwaahat
 There a little they lived now and then
 wii- hiruu caski ti- 0- wi.hak -waa -0
 now there a.little IND.3A 3.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

škúsatⁿ . Apítahaw^a , ašápatⁿ
 ckúsat . A píita haáwa' . A cápaat
 berdaches . And men also . And a woman
 c- kusaat . a wiita haawa . a icapaak
 FEM berdache . and man also . and woman

náhirarahkuwíška^a
 ráhiira' raahkuwícka'a " "
 sometimes when she would think : "
 rahiira ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , "
 further INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , "

kirətiharakuitara^u
 Kíra tiháraaku itáraa'u
 Maybe this one I'll give you the way
 kira tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 i- t- a- raa- uh -0
 perhaps this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 CONT.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

, šápatⁿ
 cápaat
 woman
 icapaak
 woman

tiwirətaraúpit^a

tiwiratáraa'u								piíta	.
when I give you the way								a man	.
tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	a-	raa-	uh	-0	wiita	.
when	when	ABS	1.A	2.P	way	give	PERF	man	.

kitaraurakúwari

Kiitáraa'u								rakúwari				
Let me give you the way								to go about				
kii-	i-		t-	a-	raa-	uh	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	warii	-hus
HORT	CONT.1/2A		1.A	2.P	way	give	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

, nawirakurúšapat ⁿ							.
raawiirakuúru'				cápaat		.	"
(on) the warpath				a woman		.	"
raawiiraak.huur	-u'			icapaak		.	"
war.party	NOM			woman		.	"

Šapatnáku^u

Cápaat				ráku'u		
A woman				her being		
icapaak	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u	
woman	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D	

hiṭíwarinawirakur^u

hi	tíwari'					raawiirakuúru'
and	she went about					(on) the warpath
hi	ti-	0-	warii		-:hus	raawiiraak.huur -u'

and IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF war.party NOM

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirurikuwitukstátawi

Hiru rikuwitukstaátawi'

Then that used to be the way among us

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

,
. .
. .
. .

hikiširitutapírit¹

Hi kici rituutápiirit

And but I saw them

hi kici rii- t- ut- ak- wa- iirik -0
and but ASSR 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P DIST see PERF

níhuks^u , šustíkahiku ,
ríhuksu' custíkaahiiku'
only aged old women
rihuks -u' custit kaahik -u'
alone NOM old.woman aged NOM

iríahuksuriwawuhu

irí'ahuksuriwaáwuhu

those who had gone around now and then

irii- ar- ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi -hus
that EV ABS 3.A AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L IMPF.SUB

náwirakur^u , šápatⁿ . Náhira
raáwiirakuuru' cápaat . Ráhiira'
(on) the warpath women . Sometimes
raawiiraak.huur -u' icapaak . rahiira
war.party NOM woman . further

sirihkurahúrititⁿ

sirihkurahúritit

when they gave it to her

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- rahur.itik -0
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B gratify SUBS.4

arusasirihkuštautúsititⁿ

aruúsa' sirihkucta'uutúsitit

a horse when they stole it for her

aruusaa si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ta'uut -hus -itik
horse DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV steal IMPF.SUB INCH

, šápatⁿ .
cápaat .
a woman .
icapaak .
woman .

Nihusuasiwitararuhúasišapatⁿ

Ríhuksu' a siwitiiraruúhu'

Only and they gave them to her

rihuks -u' a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raar- uh -:hus asiícapaat
alone NOM and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF mares
horse woman

asawakiráhku^u
 asaawáki'
 , a pinto
 , asaa- awakir
 , horse be.strange

akahakišnáku^u
 raáhku'u a kahaáhkiic ráku'u
 its being , and a mule its being
 ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u , a itkahaar- kii'ac ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D , and ear be.long INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

. Nikutihwakiáh^u ,
 . Rikutihwaki'aahu .
 . That is what they used to say .
 . riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .
 . that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

kúrahus nikutihwakiáh^u
 Kúrahus rikutihwaki'aahu
 The old men that is what they used to say
 kurahuus riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 old.man that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

,

sirihkurákiwatⁱ
 sirihkuúrakiiwaati
 when they were telling about them
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- iiwaat -i

DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P tell.about SUB.2

šápatⁿ . Airiráúpita
 cápaat . A iriíra'u piíta
 women . And that one man ,
 icapaak . a irii- ra- 0- 0 -u wiita ,
 woman . and that ABS 3.A be SUB.D man ,

iríra^u ,
 iriíra'u ,
 that one ,
 irii- ra- 0- 0 -u ,
 that ABS 3.A be SUB.D ,

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

pitáiríra^u ,
 piíta iriíra'u ,
 man that kind ,
 wiita irii- ra- 0- 0 -u ,
 man that ABS 3.A be SUB.D ,

nihkuraúšapatⁿ ,
 rihkúra'u cápaat ,
 when he was made that way a woman ,
 ra- 0- ir- ku- ra'uk -0 icapaak ,
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B make SUB.3 woman ,

hihawatáhwari
 hi hawá taáhwari'

and also he would go around
 hi haawa ti- 0- ar- warii -:hus
 and also IND.3A 3.A EV be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

náwirakur^u,
 raáwiirakuuru'
 (on) the warpath
 raawiiraak.huur -u'
 war.party NOM

hisitíratakuxsa

hi sitiirattakúksa
 and he would get married to her
 hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- aktaku uk -his -aar -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV have.as.a.wife be PERF INCH PERF

. Hipítatⁱ
 . Hi píita ti'
 . A a man he was
 . hi wiita ti- 0- 0 -0
 . and man IND.3A 3.A be PERF

hísitirétaku

hi sitiirattaku'
 and he would be married to her
 hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- aktaku -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A EV have.as.a.wife PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

really girl DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

akipíteta^a

aki piíta taá'a .
and here a man he would be .
a- ki wiíta ti- 0- ar- 0 -' .
and there man IND.3A 3.A EV be EX .

Širukararakušíkskas^a

Ciru kararakuucíkskasa
Yet when one was not mature
ciruu kara- ra- 0- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0
yet NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sensible SUB.4

nətarápakíhu

rataraápakihu

our saying

ra- t- a- rak- waki.a -hus
ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

šúras^u

cuúraasu'

a young woman

icuuraas -u'

young.woman NOM

akipírəskita^a

aki piíraski taá'a
and here a boy he would be
a- ki piiras- -kis ti- 0- ar- 0 -'
and there boy DIM IND.3A 3.A EV be EX

hitátiška

hi táticka' “

and I thought : “
 hi ta- t- wicka -0 , ”
 and IND.1/2A 1.A think PERF , ”

šurákikūhəs .
 Cuúraki kuúhas . ”
 A girl you must be . ”
 icuura -kis kuur- ra- s- 0 -0 . ”
 female DIM DUB ABS 2.A be PERF . ”

Iríahutar^a , i ,
 Irii’ahuutaara i
 What she did , so ,
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a , i ,
 what EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 , and ,

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

tihawirətuharíkah^u
 tihaawiratuuhaaríkaahu kici
 this that I have been telling you but
 tii- haa- wii- ra- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus kici
 this here now ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to IMPF.SUB but

, suhurítihātaku ,
 suúhuri’ tihaátaku
 closer right here
 suuhuri’ tii- haa- -taku
 over.here here here LOC

kuwíkakiratawikírik^u
kuwikaakiraátawi' kíriku'
it is no longer the way among us any
ku- wii- kaaki- 0- raa- tawi -0 kirikuu
INDF now NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF anything

tirahatarúwa^u .
tirahaataruúwa'u .
this that I am talking about .
tii- ra- t- raa- tara'u -wa -0 .
this ABS 1.A way talk.about DIST SUB.4 .

Kiwikakitawihšitikúškusatⁿ
Kuwikaakiitawihcítiiku' ckúsaat
He is no longer among us a berd ache
ku- wii- kaaki- 0- tawi.ihc.itik -:hus c- kusaat
INDF now NEG.IND.3A 3.A appear.among IMPF FEM berdache

, akukariritawihšítiku
a kukariiritawihcítiiku'
and she is no longer among us
a ku- kari- rii- 0- tawi.ihc.itik -:hus
and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A appear.among IMPF

šápatⁿ pitarákuhurikⁱ
cápaat piíta rakuuhuúriki
a woman a man her having his ways ,
icapaak wiita ra- 0- ku- uhuur.ik -i ,
woman man INF.A 3.A INF.B be.proficient SUB.2 ,

šitatutakirit
ci tatuutákiirit
but I saw them
ci ta- t- ut- ak- iirik -0

but IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P see PERF

níhuksu, ruríhir^a .
ríhuksu' ruuríhiira' .
only farther beyond .
ríhuks -u' ruuríhiira' .
alone NOM farther .

Kišítatuharáihku

Kici tatuuhaará'ihku'

But I am meaning it

kici ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
but IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

tihairirótpari

tihaa'iriirátpari

here where I went around

tii- haa- irii- ra- t- warii -hus
here here where ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tiirirasihurarítawⁱ

ti'iriirasihuraariítawi

here where you know the place

tii- irii- ra- s- ir- huraar- iita -wi
here where ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A earth know SUB.L

. Iriwitiháratihətⁿ

. Iriwitiíháraatiíhat

. That must have been the end of the way

. irii- wii- tiir- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -0
. that now INFR ABS 3.A way be.the.end PERF

nakurahurúwahəškítu

rakuraahuruúwaahac

kítuu'u'

when the ways passed away all
 ra- 0- ku- raa- hurahac -waa -0 kituu -u'
 INF.A 3.P INF.B way die DIST SUB.4 all NOM

iriahikusukstakawakára^u

irii'ahikucikstaakawaakára'u

the ways He had made for me

irii- ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- i- uks- raa- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
 that EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ AOR way make.DIST SUB.3

tirətpariákitar^u

tirátpari

this one of mine

tii- ra- t- warii -hus ákitaaru'
 this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe
 akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Iráriⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

nikutíhuta

rikutíhuuta

that is what He must have done

riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

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

tiharawahótnikutíhuta
 Tihaaráwaahat rikutíhuuta
 The Heavens that is what He must have done
 tii- haa- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 this here ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

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

. Hi , irárⁱ ,
 . Hi , iraári'
 . And , brother ,
 . hi , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 . and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hiškarakáratu^{utⁿ} .
 hi ckára káratuu'ut .
 and alone I am not thus .
 hi ckara ka- ra- t- ut- 0 -' .
 and alone NEG ABS 1.A PREV be EX .

Irihawairikukúhasut^u
 Irii hawá irikukuúhasuu'ut
 There also that is how you must be that is how you must be
 irii haawa irii- ku- kuur- ra- s- ut- 0 -'

there also that INDF DUB ABS 2.A PREV be EX

šahíkstaka
cahíkstaaka
white men
icaahiks taakaar
person be.white

tiráhuriwawⁱ .
tiráhuriwaawi .
these going around .
tii- ra- 0- hurii -waa -wi .
this ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L .

Kuhótawi
Kuuhatáwi'
There must be among them
kuur- ra- 0- tawi -0
DUB ABS 3.A be.among PERF

tirətúraiwatⁱ
tiratuúraa'iiwaati
this that I am telling about
tii- ra- t- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
this ABS 1.A PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

nəsakútka^u “
rasaahkútka'u “
maybe your hearing it : “
ra- s- ar- ku- atka'uk -0 , ”
INF.A 2.A EV INF.B hear SUB.3 , ”

Tiharakuwitúksihi
Tiháraaku wituks ihi

This one here he was, uh,
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 wi- ti- 0- uks- 0 -0 ihii
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be PERF

škúsetⁿ , pitaráku^u
 ckúsat piíta ráku'u
 a berdache a man his being
 c- kusaat wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 FEM berdache man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

. Tirətpawákahu ,
 . " Tiratpaawaákahu ,
 . " These things I say ,
 . " tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,
 . " this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

skarakáratu^{utn} ákitar^u
 ckára káratuu'ut ákitaaru'
 alone I am not thus tribe
 ckara ka- ra- t- ut- 0 -' akitaar- -u'
 alone NEG ABS 1.A PREV be EX tribe NOM

tiwiwiritə́tawawuh^u
 tiwiwiritatiitawaáwuhu
 these things that I have been telling about myself
 tii- wii- witi- ra- t- iita.wuh -waa -hus
 this now REFL ABS 1.A describe.to DIST IMPF.SUB

, ákitar^u
 ákitaaru'
 tribes
 akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

irirahákukⁱ .
 iríirahaakuki .
 those that are our kind .
 irii- ra- t- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i .
 that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2 .

Kišikahurahkítu
 Kici kaahuraahkítuu'u'
 But the entire world
 kici kaa.huraar- kituu -u'
 but earth all NOM

irikúhu^{utn} ákitar^u .
 irikúhuu'ut ákitaaru'
 that is how it must be the tribe
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' akitaar- -u'
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX tribe NOM

Nihkutawištaupitaráku^u
 rihkuutawícta'u piíta ráku'u
 when one was made to be among a man his being
 ra- 0- ir- ku- i- tawi -his -ra'uk -0 wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B SEQ be.among PERF CAUS SUB.3 man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

hítarušapatⁿ .
 hi taáru' cápaat .
 and he made her a woman .
 hi ti- 0- a- ar- ra'uk -0 icapaak .

and IND.3A 3.A 2.P EV make PERF woman .

Tuhá^a

Tuuhá'a

It is the reason

ti- 0- ut- raar -'
 IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

witirətkurakitukára^u

witiratkuraakituuukára'u

when we came into contact with each other

witi- ra- t- ku- rak- kituu -ka.ra'uk -0
 REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.whole CAUS.PL.P SUB.3

, iriakitarurukⁱ ,

irii ákitaaru' ruúki
 those tribes their being

irii akitaar- -u' ra- 0- 0 -uk -i
 that tribe NOM ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2

hiwihirutítawiškusatⁿ

hi wihiru títwi' ckúsat
 and there there was a berdache
 hi wii- hiruu ti- 0- tawi -0 c- kusaat
 and now there IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF FEM berdache

, pitaráku^u .

piíta ráku'u .
 a man his being .

wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
 man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Awitirətkurakitúra^u

A witiratkuraakitúúra'u

And when we came into contact with each other
 a witi- ra- t- ku- rak- kituu -ra'uk -0
 and REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.whole CAUS SUB.3

kírikuakitar^u
 kíriku' ákitaaru'
 some tribe
 kirikuu akitaar- -u'
 anything tribe NOM

tiraturaráwah^{tⁿ}
 tiraaturaaráwaahat
 these various tribes
 ti- ra- 0- ituur- raar- ahak -waa -0
 this ABS 3.A village PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

,

hiwihirutítawišapatⁿ
 hi wihiru títwawi' cápaat
 and there there was a woman
 hi wii- hiruu ti- 0- i- tawi -0 icapaak
 and now there IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.among PERF woman

, hikutúpīta .
 hi kutuú píita .
 and she seemed a man a man .
 hi ku- ti- 0- uu -0 wiita .
 and INF.B IND.3A 3.A be PERF man .