

Skiri Narratives, Thirty-five

Roaming Scout

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

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

Kuhíkakaštára ^u	,					
Kuhiikaakaactára'u'	.					
I am not talking about any other one	.					
ku-	hii-	kaaka-	t-	tara'u	-0	.
INDF	other	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	talk.about	PERF	.

hirútaštara ^u					
Hiru	tactára'u'				
There	I talk of Him				
hiruu	ta-	t-	tara'u	-0	.
there	IND.1/2A	1.A	talk.about	PERF	.

tiráwahət ⁿ	.					
Tiráwaahat	.					
the Heavens	.					
tii-	ra-	0-	waa-	ahak	-0	.

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

Hirunikuwitiharúhura^a

Hiru rikuwitiihaaruúhura'a

There that is where everything originated

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa- ruu- hurar -'
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way DIST be.where.one.comes.from EX

tirəšihwari

tiracihwari

our living here

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

anahúrahki , nahurarahkítu .
a rahúrahki , rahuraaraahkítuu'u'
and animals , all animals ,
a rahuraar -kis , rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' ,
and animal DIM , animal PL all NOM ,

Kitúpirus ,
kítuu'u' piirus ,
all bugs ,
kituu -u' piirus ,
all NOM worm ,

akitutiraráras^a

a kítuu'u' tiraraárasa
and all these living in water
a kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0
and all NOM this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.4

.
.

.
. .
.

Hirurikuwitíharuhura^a

Hiru rikuwitíhaaruuhura'a

There that is where everything came from

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa-	ruu-	hurar	-'
there	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	way	DIST	be.where.one.comes.from	EX

, tiráwahətⁿ
Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

ahíra ^u	.	I	,				
ahíra'u	.	I	,				
his making it	.	And	,				
ar- ri-	0-	ra'uk	-0	.	i	,	
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	make	SUB.3	.	and	,

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

tirúksuriwaw ⁱ		ihí						
tirúksuriiwaawi		ihí						
these who roamed		uh						
tii-	ra-	0-	uks-	hurii	-waa	-wi	,	ihii
this	ABS	3.A	AOR	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L	,	uh

,	nawiráhis ^u	,	nawiráhisu	
	raawiiraáhisu'		raawiiraáhisu'	
,	warriors	,	warriors	
,	raawiir.aah.his	-u'	raawiir.aah.his	-u'
,	warrior	NOM	warrior	NOM

tiruksúriwawⁱ ,
 tiruksúriiwaawi ,
 these who roamed ,
 tii- ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi ,
 this ABS 3.A AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

hítiha , kiksta ,
 hi tíhaakiksta ,
 and he carried a pipe ,
 hi ti- 0- haak- iks- raah -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A wood hand have PERF ,

nətáwiskar ^u	,	nətáwiskar ^u	,
rattaáwiskaaru'		rattaáwiskaaru'	
a pipe	--	a pipe	
rak.raawis.kaar-	-u'	- rak.raawis.kaar-	-u'
pipe	NOM	- pipe	NOM

átihakiksta ,
 a tíhaakiksta .
 and he carried a pipe .
 a ti- 0- haak- iks- raah -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A wood hand have PERF .

arikutihatahkáwira
 A rikutihaattahkáwira
 And that pipe is what he carried upward
 a riku- ti- 0- haak- raar- ka- -wi raah -0

and that.is IND.3A 3.A wood PL on SUB.L have PERF

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

wihirurakúpaksk^u

wihiru rakuúpaksku
there when there was a head sitting
wii- hiruu ra- 0- ku- i- paks- kus -0
now there INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ head be.sitting SUB.4

, tarahápaksk^u ,
tarahaápaaksu'
a buffalo head ,
tarahaa paks- -u' ,
buffalo head NOM ,

wihirurakúpaksk^u

wihiru rakuúpaksku
there when there was a head sitting
wii- hiruu ra- 0- ku- i- paks- kus -0
now there INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ head be.sitting SUB.4

, hirutúšⁱa,
hiru túci'a
then he did it
hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

átipakskusitⁿ .

a típakskusit .

and he picked up the head .
a ti- 0- paks- kusik -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A head pick.up PERF .

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

hirutipakstíkaætⁿ ,
hiru tipakstíkaa'at
then he took the head inside
hiruu ti- 0- paks- ri- kaa- at -0
then IND.3A 3.A head PORT inside go PERF

híšitutasuh^tⁿ ,
hici tuútasuuhat .
but they sat around .
hi.ci ti- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A PREV be.sitting.around PERF .

hiruhítaku átipakskus
Hiru híitaku a típakskus
Then another place and he set the head
hiruu hii- -taku a ti- 0- paks- kus.k -0
then other LOC and IND.3A 3.A head put PERF

. Hirutúši^a ,
. Hiru túci'a
. Then he did it
. hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0
. then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

nahataha						rətáwiskar ^u	,
ráhaattaaha						rattaáwiskaaru'	
the stick he had						pipe	
ra-	0-	haak-	raah	-a		rak.raawis.kaar-	-u'
ABS	3.A	wood	have	SUB.1		pipe	NOM

atutakuríku							,
a		tutaakuuríku					
and		he grasped the pipe					
a	ti-	0-	ut-	haak-	uurikuk	-0	
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	wood	hold	PERF	

atítaku							,
a		títaku					
and		here					
a	tii-	-taku					
and	here	LOC					

tákstawi ^a							.
taákstawi'a'							.
he stroked it							.
ti-	0-	a-	iks-	ta.wi.a	-0		.
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	hand	brush.against	PERF		.

Hawahiruharíraharu							,
Hawá	hiru	haarírahaaru					
Also	there	the other side					
haawa	hiruu	haa-	rirahaar	-u			
also	there	here	be.the.side	SUB.D			

hawáatakstawi ^a							
hawá	a	taákstawi'a'					
also	and	he would stroke it					
haawa	a	ti-	0-	a-	iks-	ta.wi.a	-0

also and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A hand brush.against PERF

. Skítiiks ,
. Ckiíti'iks
. Four (times)
. iks.kiiti'iks
. four

áatakstaiwa

a taaksta'iwaá'

and he was stroking it

a ti- 0- a- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A hand brush.against DIST PERF

. Hirutíurir^{it}ⁿ
. Hiru tí'uuriirit ,
. Then he stood up ,
. hiruu ti- 0- uuri.arik -0 ,
. then IND.3A 3.A stand.upright PERF ,

hirutušiwawaktíkusititⁿ

hiru tuciwaawaktíkusitit

then he began talking to it

hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik
then IND.3A 3.A BEN SEQ talk IMPF INCH

. Tirətpawáktiku ,
. Tirutpaawáktiku
. This one speaking to it
. tii- ra- 0- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
. this ABS 3.A BEN talk IMPF.SUB

kišitiruhú ,

kici tiruuhú'

but it was the intention
 kici ti- 0- raa.uhur -0
 but IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason PERF

iráwari
 iráwari
 that one going
 ii- ra- 0- warii -hus
 that ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

náwirakuru^u
 raáwiirakuuru'
 (as) a warrior
 raawiiraak.huur -u'
 war.party NOM

wirutpawáktiku
 wirutpaawáktiku
 when he was talking to it
 wii- ra- 0- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
 when ABS 3.A BEN talk IMPF.SUB

kirikuáskuruh^a
 kíriku' áskuruuha
 something ' that you gave me
 kirikuu ' aa- s- ku- raa- uh -a
 anything ' SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P way give SUB.1

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

Náhira , irárⁱ ,
 Ráhiira' iraári'
 Sometimes , brother ,
 rahiira , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 further , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

rurakúwakawirariks^a

ruurakuuwakaawiraárikxa

then when he spoke in earnest to it

ruu- ra- 0- ku- wakaara- -wi raariks -a
 then INF.A 3.A INF.B noise SUB.L be.true SUB.1

, hisitiráhurit^tn .
 hi sitiráhuritit .
 and he was gratified .
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- rahur.itik -0 .
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A gratify PERF .

Hisitiráhurit^tn

Hi sitiráhuritit

And he was gratified

hi si- ti- 0- ir- rahur.itik -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A gratify PERF

arusawisiríhkuraruh^a

aruúsa' wisiríhkuraaruha

horses when they gave them to him

aruusaa wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- uh -a
 horse when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

. Iriráwakur^u

. Iriiráwakuuru

. What he asked for

. irii- ra- 0- wakur -u

. what ABS 3.A be.the.way.one.speaks SUB.D

hitáwiša .
hi táwica' .
and it arrived .
hi ti- 0- a- wic.a -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

Hitáwiša ,
Hi táwica' ,
And it arrived ,
hi ti- 0- a- wic.a -0 ,
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF ,

hirutúsi^a , ihi
hiru túci'a , ihi
then he did it , uh ,
hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0 , ihii ,
then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF , uh ,

irirawíška^a
iriirawícka'a
what he wanted
irii- ra- 0- wicka -a
what ABS 3.A want SUB.1

nákuhīšis .
rákuuhiicis .
to realize .
ra- 0- ku- ut- riicis -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV learn.about SUB.4 .

Tuharáihk^u
Tuuhaará'ihku'

He was meaning

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

nakustahwirik^a

rakustahwiirika

to lay it on its back, feet upright

ra- 0- ku- as.raar.wiira.ik -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B put.on.its.back.feet.upward SUB.1

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

, kurakúturəs ,
kurakuúturas
, when he found one dead
, ku- ra- 0- kuut- huras -0
, INDF ABS 3.A dead find SUB.4

wihirurákusa

wihiru

there

wii- hiruu
now there

rákuusa

its lying

ra- 0- ku- sa
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying

níkuškⁱ

ríkucki

a bird

rikuc -kis
bird DIM

, irirúkⁱ

iriiruúki

any kind

irii- ra- 0- 0 -uk -i
that ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2

iriruruksáwahšu .
 iriruuruksáwahcu .
 whatever it even was .
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u .
 what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D .

Kunikúškatitⁿ , kúnitakəš ,
 Ku rikúckaatit ku riítahkaac
 Perhaps a black bird , perhaps an eagle ,
 ku rikuc- kaatiit , ku riitaar.kaac ,
 INDF bird be.black , INDF golden.eagle ,

akuiriruuksáwahšu

a ku iriruuruksáwahcu
 or perhaps whatever it would have even been
 a ku irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 or INDF what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

, nihwakíhu árikt^a ,
 rihwakíhu árikta
 their saying a bald eagle
 ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus arikta
 ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB bald.eagle

hiwihirútisa .
 hi wihiru tísa .
 and there it lay .
 hi wii- hiruu ti- 0- i- sa -0 .
 and now there IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying PERF .

Náw^a , hirutúšⁱ^a
 Ráwa hiru túci'a
 Now , then he did it :
 rawa , hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,

now , then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

atitákipap^u ,
a titákipaapu .
and he gathered it together .
a ti- 0- takik.wuh -waa -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A gather DIST PERF .

atitákipap^u .
A titákipaapu .
And he gathered it together .
a ti- 0- takik.wuh -waa -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A gather DIST PERF .

Kitúkisu
Kítuu'u' kiisu'
All bones
kituu -u' kiis -u'
all NOM bone NOM

wihirurakurušpáwⁱ ,
wihiru rakurucpaáwi
there the various ones lying
wii- hiruu ra- 0- ku- ra.uc -waa -wi
now there INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

atitákipap^u ,
a titákipaapu .
and he gathered
a ti- 0- takik.wuh -waa -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A gather DIST PERF

átius̃ .
a tí'uc .

and he laid them down .
a ti- 0- uc -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A lay.SG.P PERF .

Atutpawaktíkusititⁿ . “
A tutpaawaktíkusitit . “
And he began talking to it . “
a ti- 0- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik . ”
and IND.3A 3.A BEN talk IMPF INCH . ”

Náw^a , šasíri , níspari
Ráwa , cásiiri ríspari’
Now , even you are going about
rawa , casiiri’ rii- s- warii -:hus
now , even ASSR 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

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

tiróspari . ”
tiráspari . ”
your going about here . ”
tii- ra- s- warii -hus . ”
this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . ”

tuharáihku,
Tuuhaará’ihku’
He meant
ti- 0- ut- raa.ra’ihk -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

tiráwari “
 tiraáwari . “
 this one flying . “
 tii- ra- 0- a.warii -hus . ”
 this ABS 3.A go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB . ”

Šasiriríspari
 Cásiiri ríspari’ .
 Even you are going about .
 casiiri’ rii- s- warii -:hus .
 even ASSR 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

nawahá ! tírasutahš^a
 Ráwa haa tírasuutaahca
 Now see ! you were lying about here
 rawa haa , tii- ra- s- ut- as.sa -0
 now see , here ABS 2.A PREV just.lie.there PERF

. Nawai rítiška
 . Ráwa i riíticka’
 ! Now , and I do want it
 . rawa , i rii- t- wicka -0
 . now , and ASSR 1.A want PERF

tiwírətahtakipapuh^a
 tiwíratahtakipaapuha
 since I have gathered all of you up
 tii- wii- ra- t- a- ar- takik.wuh -waa -a
 when when ABS 1.A 2.P EV gather DIST SUB.1

, tátiška
 . Táticka’
 . I want
 . ta- t- wicka -0

. IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

askukuksuhúruh^a kíriku
askukuksuhuúruha kíriku'
that you would at last give me something
aa- s- ku- kuks- uhur- uh -a kirikuu
SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P fleeing finally give SUB.1 anything

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

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

tirátpari .
tirátpari .
as I walk here .
tii- ra- t- warii -hus .
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Aítisuksuhúrišis,
A iticuksuhuúriiciis
And then I'll at last learn
a i- t- ir- ut- uks- uhur- riicis -0
and CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS finally learn.about PERF

nakúrahir^a . "
rakúraahiira . "

its being good . "

ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a . "

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 . "

Nikutihwakiáhuhaw^a ,

Rikutihwaki'aahu' haáwa'

That is what they said also

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

that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF also

nikuškírakaturəs .

rikucki rakuúturas .

a bird when one found it dead .

rikuc -kis ra- 0- kuut- huras -0 .

bird DIM ABS 3.A dead find SUB.4 .

Atirarárəs^a

A tiraraárasa

And these in the water

a tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0

and this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.4

tirarárəs^a ,

tiraraárasa

, these in the water

, tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0

, this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.4

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

animals ,

rahuraar -kis ,

animal DIM ,

iriruruksáwahš^u ,
 iriruuruksáwahcu
 whatever kind it might even be
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

nahúrahkⁱ ,
 rahúrahki
 animal
 rahuraar -kis
 animal DIM

wirahkúkutu
 wiraahkúkuutu
 when it was dying ,
 wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- kuut -hus ,
 when INF.A 3.P EV INF.B die IMPF.SUB ,

hitáhkatah^{^tⁿ} .
 hi taáhkatahat .
 and it would get out .
 hi ti- 0- ar- kata.hak -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV get.away PERF .

Kiturahúrahki ,
 Kítuu'u' rahúrahki
 All animals
 kituu -u' rahuraar -kis
 all NOM animal DIM

tiraráras^a ,
 tiraraárasa
 these in water
 tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0

this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.4

kášikⁱ a páus aškáwaribus .
káciiki a paá'us a ckaáwariibus
fish, and crayfish , and mussel ,
kacii -kis a paa'us , a ickaa.warii.hus ,
fish DIM and crayfish , and mussel ,

Kitutirararasa

kítuu'u' tiraraárasa
all these in water
kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0
all NOM this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.4

kášikⁱ arihwakíh^u
káciiki a ríhwakihu
fish, and the one called
kacii -kis a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus
fish DIM and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, “ Išas ,
ícaas
turtle
icaas
turtle

wirahkúkutu ,
wiraahkúkuutu ,
when it dies ,
wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- kuut -hus ,
when INF.A 3.P EV INF.B die IMPF.SUB ,

hirutarúši^a ,
hiru tarúci'a

then it would do it :
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hitáhkatah^tⁿ .
 hi taáhkatahat .
 and it would get out .
 hi ti- 0- ar- kata.hak -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV get.away PERF ,

Hiwihirurarútiisa,
 Hi wihiru raarútiisa
 And then it just lay
 hi wii- hiruu raa- ruu- ti- 0- sa -0
 and now then just then IND.3A 3.A be.lying PERF

nakuhuwíšas^a ,
 rakuhuuwícasa
 its lying on the bank
 ra- 0- ku- huuwiica- sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B on.the.edge be.lying SUB.4

irirakukíštararut^a .
 iriirakukíctararuuta .
 where the stream runs .
 irii- ra- 0- ku- kiic- tarar.u.at -a .
 where INF.A 3.A INF.B water extend.in.a.line SUB.1 .

" Sirihkúturəs
 Sirihkukuúturas
 When they found it dead
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut- huras -0
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B dead find SUB.4

. Hirutirárah^t .
 hiru tiraárahahat .
 then they stopped there .
 hiruu ti- 0- raar- rirahak -0 .
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF .

Hirútiətⁿ níhkit^a
 Hiru tí'at ríhkita
 Then he went the leader
 hiruu ti- 0- at -0 rihkita
 then IND.3A 3.A go PERF leader

atihtákipap^u
 a tihtákipaapu .
 and he gathered it together .
 a ti- 0- ir- takik.wuh -waa -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV gather DIST PERF .

hirútiwaku “ Náwahá !
 Hiru tiwáku' “ Ráwa haá
 Then he said : “ Now see !
 hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa haa ,
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " now see ,

tírəsuhakasuh^t .
 tirasuuhaákasuuhat .
 these of you sitting around .
 tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 .
 this ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 .

Náwahá ! šasiritíras^a
 Ráwa haá cásiiri tíraasa
 Now see ! even this one lying
 rawa haa , casiiri' tii- ra- 0- sa -0

now see , even this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

, hiriwáruksti ,
hi riiwaáruksti' . "
and it does have mysterious power . "
hi ri- 0- waarukstii -0 . "
and CONT.3A 3.A be.holy PERF . "

tatarapakíahu ,

Tataraapaki'aahu'

We always say

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

tiwáruksti "
tiwaáruksti' ,
it has mysterious power ,
ti- 0- waarukstii -0 ,
IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF ,

iri , ruruksáwahš^u ,

iriruruksáwahcu

whatever kind it might even be

irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

kášiki, áihi íšas
káciiki a ihi ícaas . "
fish or , uh , turtle . "
kacii -kis a , ihii , icaas . "
fish DIM or , uh , turtle . "

hiriwáruksti . Atí^s ,
Hi riiwaáruksti' Atí'as

And it is powerful , our Father
 hi rii- 0- waarukstii -0 , ati- as
 and ASSR 3.A be.holy PERF , 1.POSS father

áhira^u ,
 áhira'u
 his having created it
 ar- ri- 0- ra'uk -0
 EV CONT.3A 3.A make SUB.3

tirakĩsuh^{tⁿ} ,
 tirakiícuhat
 this stream
 tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
 this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

asáwari ,
 asaáwari
 that you live in water
 aa- s- haa- warii -hus
 SUBJ.1/2A 2.A in.water be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

karaasihuráhaš^u .
 kara'asiihuráhacu .
 that you not die .
 kara- aa- s- i- hurahac -hus .
 NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ die IMPF.SUB .

Hihá !
 Hi ha
 And see !
 hi ha ,
 and see ,

wiraruriwíšesa .
wiraaruuriwiícasa .
now it just lies on the bank .
wii- raa- ruu- rii- 0- awiica- sa -0 .
now just then ASSR 3.A on.the.edge be.lying PERF .

"
"
"
"
"

Nihuksúatuta
Ríhuksu' a tuúta
Only and he did it ,
rihuks -u' a ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
alone NOM and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

ihi
ihi
uh ,
ihii ,
uh ,

nakukistašákipapuha^a
rakukiistacákipaapuha
to gather up the bones ,
ra- 0- ku- kiis- raar- takik.wuh -waa -a ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B bone PL gather DIST SUB.1 ,

hiirirútisa .
hi iriruútiisa .
and then it lay there .
hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- sa -0 .

and there then IND.3A 3.A be.lying PERF .

Atirəšihwari

A tiracihwari

And while we were living here

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

iriruruksáwahš^u

iriruuruksáwahcu

whatever kind it might even be

irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

irirašarísikⁱ

iriiraacariísiki

the mean ones

irii- ra- 0- icaris -ik -i rahuraar -kis --
that ABS 3.A be.mean DIST SUB.2 animal DIM --

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

animals

kúruks , kúruks ,
kúruks -- kúruks
bears -- bears
kuuruks -- kuuruks
bear -- bear

širuwitúkskari

ciru witúkskari'

yet there used to be many

ciruu wi- ti- 0- uks- kari -0 tirakaahúraahku
yet QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.numerous PERF this ABS 3.A kaa.huraar- kus -0
earth be.sitting SUB.4

ahúksuriwawⁱ

ahúksuriwaawi

when they were going around ,
 ar- ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi ,
 EV ABS 3.A AOR live.PL DIST SUB.L ,

šahiksíšahiks ,
 cahiksícahiks
 Indians
 icaahiks icaahiks
 person person

hiwihiruwítahša
 hi wihiru wítaahca
 and there it would lie
 hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- sa -0
 and now there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying PERF

, kúruks . Náw^a ,
 kúruks . Ráwa
 the bear . Now
 kuuruks . rawa
 bear . now

tihwakíah^u , əsku ,
 tihwakí'aahu' ásku
 they always say one
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus asku
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF one

raítusu “ Náwahá ! šásiri ,
 raa'íitusu' “ Ráwa haá cásiiri
 story : “ Now see ! even
 raa.iit.us -u' , " rawa haa , casiiri'
 story NOM , " now see , even

kúharu

kuúharu'

He made it

kuur-	ra-	0-	ra'uk	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	make	PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

nəskuwarúksti^u

raskuwaarúkstii'u

for you to have power

ra-	s-	ku-	waarukstii	-u	.
INF.A	2.A	INF.B	be.holy	SUB.D	.

Hihiruirikúhuha^a

Hi hiru iriikúhuuha'a

And there whoever did it

hi	hiruu	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-'
and	there	who	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	EX

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

Sakurusitiháihk^u

Sakuúru' sitiihá'ihku'

The sun they meant

sakur	-u'	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	ra'ihk	-.hus
-------	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	--------	-------

sun NOM DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

. Hihirúirikuhuha^a

. Hi hiru iriikúhuuha'a

. And then whoever did it

. hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar -'
. and then who DUB ABS 3.A PREV do EX

Irirurakurátih^{tⁿ}

Iriruurakuuraátiihat

when it is the time to die

irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- raa- tiihak -0
when then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ way be.the.end SUB.4

, tiréspari ,

tiráspari

while you live

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

hirarutirurawiúsitⁿ

hi raaruutaruúrawi'uusit

and then one just expires

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- awi.uusik -0
and just then IND.3A 3.P PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV pass.away PERF

. Kúruks ,

. Kúruks

. Bears
 . kuuruks
 . bear

witukstátawi
 witukstaátawi'
 there used to be around
 wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

sirihkúturəs .
 sirihkuúturas .
 when they found one dead .
 si- ra- 0- ir- kuut- huras -0 .
 DU ABS 3.A PL.3A dead find SUB.4 .

Hirutaruširikárah^{tⁿ}
 Hiru taruciirikáarahat
 Then he'd turn it over
 hiruu ti- 0- a- ri- ut- i- irikaraa.ra.hak -0
 then IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ turn.over PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

“ Náwa , witísutki , šasíritⁿ
 “ Ráwa wiitiísutki casiírit
 “ Now , young men , even
 " rawa , wiita.isut -kis , casiiri'
 " now , young.man DIM , even

nárušpawi										
rárućpaawi										
their lying about										
ra-	0-	ra.uc	-waa	-wi						
ABS	3.A	be.lying.PL	DIST	SUB.L						

nahúrahk ⁱ	
rahúrahki	
an animal	
rahuraar	-kis
animal	DIM

wihirurarurakuspáras ^a									
wihiru	raaruurakuspaárasa								
there	its just lying on its back								
wii-	hiruu	raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	aspaara-	sa	-0
now	there	just	then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	on.one's.back	be.lying	SUB.4

.	Ahíkiri	,
.	A	híkiri
.	And	indeed
.	a	hikiiri
.	and	indeed

tirəšihwari						
tiracihwari						
while we live here						
tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii		-hus	
this	ABS	IN.DU.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB	

karirakúwiška								
kariirakuúwicka'								
do not think								
karii-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	wicka	-0		
EMPH.NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	think	PERF		

tiháarak ⁱ			
Tiiháarakii			
It must be long			
tiir-	ra-	0-	raa.kii
			-0

INFR ABS 3.A be.a.long.time PERF

tirátpari .
tirátpari .
my living here .
tii- ra- t- warii -hus
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Askuraukakaširárəspi

Askúraa'u' kaakaaciraáraspi'
The same thing we are not seeking it
asku raa- -u' kaaka- aciir- raa.raspii -0
one way NOM NEG.IND.1/2A IN.DU.A look.for PERF

. Níkutihwakahu ,
. " Rikutihwákaahu'
. " That is what he was saying
. " riku- ti- 0- ir- waka -:hus
. " that.is IND.3A 3.A OBV say.IMPF IMPF

wirakutirikarah^{^t}

wirakuutirikaraáhat ,
when he turned back
wii- ra- 0- ku- ut- irikaraa.hak -0
when INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV turn.around SUB.4

níhkit^a . "
ríhkita . "
the leader . "
rihkita . "
leader . "

Pitkutašihwari ,

Pítku tacíhwari'

Two we are living ,
 pitku ta- aciir- warii -:hus ,
 two IND.1/2A IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF ,

tirəsihwari .
 tiracihwari .
 we who live here .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Tiharašihwari
 Tihaaracihwari
 We who live here
 tii- haa- ra- aciir- warii -hus
 here here ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

taširərəspi ,
 taciraaraspi'
 we are seeking it '
 ta- aciir- raa.raspii -0 '
 IND.1/2A IN.DU.A look.for PERF '

kúaskura^u
 kú'aaskuraa'u
 that you give us something'
 ku- aa- s- ku- raa- uh -0
 INDF SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P way give PERF

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

híatawari ,
 hi aatáwari
 and ' that I would live '

hi ' aa- t- a.warii -hus '

and ' SUBJ.1/2A 1.A go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB '

nakúrahira ,
 rakúraahiira
 its being a good way

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

híatuhišis .
 hi átuuhiicis .
 and ' that I would learn . '

hi ' aa- t- ut- riicis -0 . '

and ' SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 . '

" Tuharaíhku ,
 " Tuuhaara'íhku'
 " He was meaning

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

arusarihkuráruha
 aruúsa' rihkuraáruha
 horses their being given to him

aruusaa ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- uh -a
 horse INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

nakútawi
 rakútawi
 its being among us

ra- 0- ku- ta -wi

INF.A 3.A INF.B be.hanging SUB.L

nakukári^u šáhiks .
rakukári'u cáhiks .
there being many people .
ra- 0- ku- kari -u icaahiks .
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.numerous SUB.D person .

Aruharáihiku

A ruuhaará'ihku'
And he was meaning
a ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
and ABS 3.A PREV mean IMPF

írawakahu , "
írawaakahu "
that one saying : "
ii- ra- 0- waaka -hus , "
that ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , "

Tirakúwari ,

Tirakúwari

While one goes around here

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

hiruiriruasaruksáwašta

hiru iriruu'aasaruksáwahcata
then wherever you might even go

hiruu irii- ruu- aa- s- ar- uks- awahc- at -a
then where then SUBJ.1/2A 2.A EV JUSS even go SUB.1

,

iriruraruksawasíška^a

iriruuruksawahcícka'a

whatever He might even want

irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ar-	uks-	awahc-	wicka	-a
what	then	ABS	3.A	EV	JUSS	even	want	SUB.1

, tiráwahəṯⁿ ,

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

araruísáhšā

a raaruu'isaáhca

and then you'll just lie there

a	raa-	ruu-	i-	s-	ar-	sa	-0
and	just	then	CONT.1/2A	2.A	EV	be.lying	PERF

Kakirarahúrarist^a

Kaakiraaraahúraarista

It is not going to spoil

kaaki-	0-	raar-	raahur	-aar	-his	-ta
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.spoiled	INCH	PERF	INT

" níhkutihwakhiah^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	,	"

Kakirárahurarist^a

Kaakiraáraahuraarista

They are not going to spoil

kaaki-	0-	raar-	raahur	-aar	-his	-ta
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.spoiled	INCH	PERF	INT

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Akaririrarahúrarist^a

A kariiriraaraahúrarista

And it is not going to spoil

a	karii-	ri-	0-	raar-	raahur	-aar	-his	-ta
and	EMPH.NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.spoiled	INCH	PERF	INT

, tirahúrahša

tirahúraahca

this earth

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

Kakírariks

Kaakíraariks

It is not real

kaaki-	0-	raariks	-0
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be.true	PERF

tirašíhwari

tiracíhwari

our living here

tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii	-hus	.	"
------	-----	--------	-------	------	---	---

this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . "

nikutiwákah^u , níhkita .
Rikutiwákaahu' ríhkita .
That is what he said the leader .
riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus rihkita .
that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF leader .

Kitutuharirahkáwari

Kítuu'u' tuuhaariraahkaáwari'
All he was enumerating everything
kituu -u' ti- 0- ut- raa- ri.raar kaa- warii -:hus
all NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.one's.intention.that.someone.do inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

kitutuharirahkáwari

Kítuu'u' tuuhaariraahkaáwari'
All he was enumerating everything
kituu -u' ti- 0- ut- raa- ri.raar kaa- warii -:hus
all NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.one's.intention.that.someone.do inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. Nakistírawawi ,
. Rákis tírawaawi ,
. Wood this growing ,
. rak -kis tii- ra- 0- waa -wi ,
. wood DIM this ABS 3.A be.upright.DIST SUB.L ,

nakiskitutuharirahkáwari

rákis kítuu'u' tuuhaariraahkaáwari'

wood		all		he was enumerating everything									
rak	-kis	kituu	-u'	ti-	0-	ut-	raa-	ri.raar			kaa-	warii	:-hus
wood	DIM	all	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.one's.intention.that.someone.do			inside	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

níhkit ^a	.	“	Ahá	!	šarír ^{itⁿ}	,
rihkita	.	“	Ahá		casiirit	
the leader	.	“	Aha	!	Even	
rihkita	.	”	aha	,	casiiri [?]	
leader	.	”	aha	,	even	

tíras ^a					híihi	,
tíraasa					hi	ihí
this one					and	, uh
tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	hi	, ihii
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	and	, uh

nišihwišk ^a						,
riicihwicka'						
we think						
rii-	aciir-		wicka	-0		
ASSR	IN.DU.A		think	PERF		

tirákas ^{is}						;
tiraákasis						.
it is solid						.
ti-	0-	raa-	kasis	-0		.
IND.3A	3.A	way	be.hard	PERF		.

akihikaririrákas ^{is}									
Aki		hi	kariiriraákasis						
And here		and	it is not solid						
a-	ki	hi	karii-	ri-	0-	raa-	kasis	-0	
and	there	and	EMPH.NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	way	be.hard	PERF	

. Kitúnihkit^a
. " Kítuu'u' ríhkita
. " Everything the leader
. " kituu -u' rihkita
. " all NOM leader

tuharirahkáwari
tuuhaariraahkaáwari'
he was enumerating everything

ti- 0- ut- raa- ri.raar kaa- warii -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.one's.intention.that.someone.do inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

, wirakúwari
wirakúwari
when he roamed

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

náwirakur^u .
raáwiirakuuru' .
(as) a warrior .
raawiiraak.huur -u' .
war.party NOM .

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

tirótpawakahu
tirátpaawaakahu
this I am saying

tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus

this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

harisiráit^a

haariisiraá'iita

you do know it

haa- rii- s- ir- raa.iita -0
here ASSR 2.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hiruirikuruhárəsah^{^tⁿ}

hiru iriikuruuhaarásahat

there wherever you grew up

hiruu irii- kuruur- ri- a- rasahat -0
there where DUB CONT.3A 2.P grow.up PERF

kúhəsutir^{tⁿ}

Kuúhasuutiirit

You must have seen it

kuur- ra- s- ut- iirik -0 arús^a
DUB ABS 2.A PREV see PERF aruúsa'
horse

isikuhəsurəs

I sikuuhásuras

And you found them (du)

i si- kuur- ra- s- huras -0
and DU DUB ABS 2.A find PERF

isikuhəsírihwar^{tⁿ}

I sikuuhəsírihwaarit

And you had them (du)

i si- kuur- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- wa- arik -0
and DU DUB ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A DIST be.standing PERF

. Náwa^a ,

. Ráwa

. Now ,
 . rawa ,
 . now ,

ikuharataríta^a

iikuuharaatarítta'a

there they had colts

ii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	raa-	tarikta-	aar	-0
there	DUB	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	way	body	become	PERF

,

isirəsírihwarikⁱ

isirasírihwaariki

those (du) you (du) have

ii-	si-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	wa-	arik	-i
that	DU	ABS	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2

, iəskurúritⁿ

i askuruúrit

and together

i	asku	ra-	0-	uur-	ik	-0
and	one	ABS	3.A	PREV	look.like	PERF

sikuhárəsah^{^t}ⁿ

sikuuhárəsahat

they (du) grew up

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	rasahat	-0	arús ^a	.
DU	DUB	ABS	3.P	grow.up	PERF	aruúsa'	.
						horses	.
						aruusaa	.
						horse	.

Irikuháratih^{^t}ⁿ

Irikuuháraatiihat

There at the end

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

hikuhásuhišis

hi kuuhásuuhiicis

and you found out

hi	kuur-	ra-	s-	ut-	riicis	-0
and	DUB	ABS	2.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF

hirurisiwiška

Hiru riisíwicka'

Then you did think

hiruu	rii-	s-	i-	wicka	-0	,	"
then	ASSR	2.A	SEQ	think	PERF	,	"

kurahúswitiarus^a

Kúrahus wíti'

An old man it is

kurahuus	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0	aruúsa'	,	"
old.man	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	horse	,	"

hirisiška

Hi riisíwicka'

And you thought

hi	rii-	s-	i-	wicka	-0	,	"
and	ASSR	2.A	SEQ	think	PERF	,	"

kirakiríkiruətⁿ

Kíra kiriki ruú'ut

What is the reason

kira	kirikii	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'	,	"
------	---------	-----	----	-----	---	----	---	---

perhaps what ABS 3.A PREV be EX . "

Arísirirarítⁿ

A riísiriirarít

And you had it standing

a rii- s- ir- ri- uur- arik -0
and ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.standing PERF

, hínahiritⁿ , rúta ,
hi raáhiirit ruúta
and finally it did it
hi raahiirit ra- 0- ut- aar -0
and finally ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

kaririwáwa^a ;

kariiriwaáwa'a

it did not eat

karii- ri- 0- waawa- a -0
EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF

kurahúskahiku ,

kurahúskaahiiku'

an aged old man

kurahuus kaahik -u'
old.man aged NOM

wiráar^a .

wirá'aara .

when it became .
wii- ra- 0- aar -a .
when ABS 3.P become SUB.1 .

Rutasiriráit^a

Ruutasiriiraá'iita

Then you knew it

ruu- ta- s- ir- ri- uur- raa.iita -0
then IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV know PERF

, kurahusnáari .
kúrahus rá'aari .
an old man when it became .
kurahuus ra- 0- aar -i .
old.man ABS 3.P become IMPF.SUB .

Iirikuruharuhurahtih^{tⁿ}

I iriikuruuháruuhuraahtiihat

And that was the end of its life

i irii- kuruur- ri- 0- a- ri- uur- huraar- tiihak -0
and that DUB CONT.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A earth be.the.end PERF

, ikuhakáhikutⁿ .
. I kuuhakaáhikut .
. And it died of old age .
. i kuur- ra- 0- kaahik kuut -0 .
. and DUB ABS 3.P aged die PERF .

Ikuháwiiuhətⁿ ,

I kuuháwi'uuhat

And it fell over

i kuur- ra- 0- wi.uu.hak -0
and DUB ABS 3.P fall.over PERF

ihawakarósiřuša

i hawá karásiruucaa'
and again you won't raise it up
i haawa ka- ra- s- ir- ra- uca.a -0
and also NEG ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PORT rise PERF

, hawakakušáhist^a .
. Hawá kaakuucaáhist^a .
. Again it is not going to get up .
. haawa kaaki- 0- a- uca.a -his -ta .
. also NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF INT .

Kurahuswiráar^a

Kúrahus wíra'aara
An old man when it became
kurahuus wii- ra- 0- aar -a
old.man when ABS 3.P become SUB.1

nikuwitúutⁿ .
rikuwituú'ut .
that is how it was .
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

Šahíksnikutašiitⁿ ,

Cáhiks rikutací'it
Persons we are that way
icaahiks riku- ta- aciir- ut- 0 -' .
person that.is IND.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV be EX

tirəšíhwari .
tiracíhwari .
we living here .
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .

this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Túhá^a

Tuuhá'a

He is the cause

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

natuhaíriku

ratuuhaa'íiriku

my having seen it

ra- t- ut- raa- iirik -hus kúrahus
ABS 1.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB old.man

nákutⁱ

rakaáhikuuti

when he died of old age

ra- 0- kaahik kuut -i Šáhiks
ABS 3.P aged die SUB.2 . Cáhiks
 . A person
 . icaahiks
 . person

tiiritútkiriku

ti'

he was

ti- 0- 0 -0 i rii- t- ut- kirik.kus -0
IND.3A 3.A be PERF and ASSR 1.A PREV look.at PERF

; hítiwaku

hi tiwáku'

and he said

hi ti- 0- waka'u -0

and IND.3A 3.A say PERF

, " Tikⁱ ,

" Tíki

: " Sonny ,

, " tikis ,

, " sonny ,

wikakaštárahkis

. "

wikaakaactárahkis

. "

I am not strong . "

wii- kaaka- t- tarahkis -0 . "

now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.strong PERF . "

Hirutatúš^a ,

Hiru tatúci'a

Then I did it

hiruu ta- t- ut- i- aar -0

then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

atáštakus ,

a táctakus

and I put him on my back

a ta- t- ta.kus.k -0

and IND.1/2A 1.A hang.on PERF

ataháwašititⁿ .

a tahaáwacitit .

and I took him out .

a ta- t- ra- awacitik -0 .

and IND.1/2A 1.A PORT go.out PERF .

Ataháhukətⁿ

A taháhuukat

And I took him inside

a ta- t- ra- huuk- at -0

and IND.1/2A 1.A PORT into go PERF

irírahakakawⁱ ,

iriirahaakákaawi .

where our lodge was .

irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi .

where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

hirutiwáwahisit^tn

Hiru tiwaáwaahisitit

Then he began to eat

hiruu ti- 0- waawa- a -his -itik
then IND.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF INCH

hiistutitaráhkisa

hi sístu titaráhkisa

and again he became strong

hi sistu ti- 0- tarahkis -aar -0
and again IND.3A 3.A be.strong INCH PERF

Híwiriwakah^u

Hi wiriwákaahu'

And he was saying

hi wii- rii- 0- waka -:hus , " tikis ,
and now ASSR 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , " sonny ,

iriwirutatiwitíh^{^t}n

iriwirutatiwitíhat

this is where I'll have my end

irii- wii- ruu- ta- t- i- awi- tiihak -0
where now there IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ image be.the.end PERF

. " Iritiráita

. " I riitiraá'iita

. " And I do know

. " i rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
. " and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hírihwakⁱ

hi ríhwaki'

and they said

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0

and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

witikáhikut^u kúrahus ,
witikaáhikut kúrahus
he died of old age the old man
wi- ti- 0- kaahik- kuut -0 kurahuus
QUOT IND.3A 3.P aged die PERF old.man

takúruksk^u .
táku rúksku .
here his having lived .
taku ra- 0- uks- kus -0 .
someone ABS 3.A AOR be.sitting SUB.4 .

Irikúruha^u ,
Irikúruuhaa'u'
It was that way ,
irii- ku- ra- 0- ut- raa- uu -0 ,
that INDF ABS 3.A PREV way be PERF ,

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

nahurarahkítu
rahúraaraahkítuu'u'
all animal kind
rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'
animal PL all NOM

iríkuruhuširahuraráru
iriikuruuhucirahuraaráru'

the different kinds of animals

irii- kuruur- ri- 0- ut- i- rahuraar- raar- uu -0
that DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ animal PL be PERF

,

ahikušukskárauati^s

ahikucukskára'u

the ones He made for us

ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- uks- ka.ra'uk -0 Atí'as
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN AOR make.PL.P SUB.3 our Father
as
ati- as
1.POSS father

nətkuwáwa^a

ratkuwaáwa'a

for me to eat

ra- t- ku- waawa- a -0
INF.A 1.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.3 .

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

uskurúritⁿ

askuruúrit

together

asku ra- 0- uur- ik -0 nahúrahkⁱ
one ABS 3.A PREV look.like PERF rahúrahki
the animal(s)
rahuraar -kis
animal DIM

tášira .
 táciira .
 we are living .
 ta- aciir- aah -0 .
 IND.1/2A IN.DU.A be PERF .

Nahkukahíkutⁱ
 Raahkukaahíkuuti
 When it dies of old age

ra- 0- ar- ku- kaahik- kuut -i
 IFN.A 3.P EV INF.B aged die SUB.2

arihuksú tiškarítpiraku
 a ríhuksu' tickarítpiraku
 and only the skin is wrinkled
 a rihuks -u' ti- 0- ickariit- pira.kus -0
 and alone NOM IND.3A 3.A hide be.wrinkled PERF

. Iriruruksáwahš^u
 . Iriruuruksáwahcu
 . Whatever it might even be
 . irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 . what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

sirihkúturəs,
 sirihkuúturas
 when they found it dead
 si- ra- 0- ir- kuut- huras -0
 DU ABS 3.A PL.3A dead find SUB.4

hitíhwaki , “ Hā !
 hi tíhwaki’ “ Haá ,
 and they said : “ Ha !
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ” haa ,

and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " ha ,

tíras^a

tíraasa

this one lying

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

tihakáhikutⁿ

tihakaáhikut

it must have died of old age

tiir- ra- 0- kaahik- kuut -0
INFR ABS 3.P aged die PERF .

hušakarúsutⁱ

Huucakaruúsu'

ti'

A shriveled (hide)

it is

huuca.karuus -u' ti- 0- 0 -0
be.shriveled NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF , "

Iriruruksawáhšu

iriruruksáwahcu

whatever it might even be

irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

nahúrahkiⁱ

. I ,

rahúrahki

. I

the animal

. And ,

rahuraar -kis

. i ,

animal

DIM . and ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

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

škarakárəširawakⁱ

ckára karaciraáwaki'
 alone we are not different
 ckara ka- ra- aciir- ir- raa- awakir -0
 alone NEG ABS IN.DU.A PREV.1/2A way be.strange PERF

, Nikutašⁱtⁿ ,
 . Rikutaciⁱ'it .
 . We are that way .
 . riku- ta- aciir- ut- 0 -' .
 . that.is IND.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV be EX .

šahiksíšahiks

Cahiksícahiks

Indians

icaahiks icaahiks
 person person

tašakukahíkut^u .

tacakukaahíkuutu' .

we die of old age .

ti- aca- ku- kaahik- kuut -:hus .
 IND.3A IN.DU.P 1.P aged die IMPF .

Arahúrahkⁱ ,

A rahúrahki

And the animal

a rahuraar -kis
 and animal DIM

narurihuráhaš^u .
 raaruurihuráhaacu' .
 then it just dies .
 raa- ruu- rii- 0- hurahac -:hus .
 just then ASSR 3.P die IMPF .

Ahawárarurišaku huráhaš^a
 A hawá raaruuriicakuuhuráhaacu'
 And also then you and I just die
 a haawa raa- ruu- rii- aca- ku- i- hurahac -:hus
 and also just then ASSR IN.DU.P 1.P SEQ die IMPF

. Kúkakirak^u
 . Kukaakiiraáku
 . There is nothing there
 . ku- kaaki- 0- raa- kus -0
 . INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.sitting PERF

nakurahurahkítawi
 rakuraahuraahkítawi
 its being certain
 ra- 0- ku- raa- huraar- kita -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way earth be.on.top SUB.L

tirəšíhwari .
 tiracíhwari .
 our living here .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Kišitirahúrahš^a ,
 Kici tirahúraahca
 But this earth
 kici tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0

but this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

irikúharu ,

iriikuúharu'

He made that one

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ra'uk -0
that DUB ABS 3.A make PERF

nəkúrakir^u ,

rakúraakiiru

its being a long time

ra- 0- ku- raa.kiir -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.long SUB.D

nəkuhúrahš^a .

rakuhúraahca

its being the earth ,

ra- 0- ku- huraar- sa -0 ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B earth be.lying SUB.4 ,

Nikurəšihkukísikit^u ,

rikuracihkukísikiitu

that being where we are alive

riku- ra- aciir- ku- kisikit -u
that.is INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B be.alive SUB.D

tiharahúrahša

tiharahúraahca

this earth here
 ti- haa- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0
 this here ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4

našihkukísikit^u
 racihkukísikiitu
 our being alive
 ra- aciir- ku- kisikit -u
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B be.alive SUB.D

tiharahúrahša .
 tihaarahúraahca .
 this earth here .
 ti- haa- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0 .
 this here ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4 .

Níkurakuhar^u
 Rikurakuúhaaru
 That one being the cause
 riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

tirəšihwáwa^a , hínahiritⁿ
 tiracihwaáwa'a hi raahiirit
 our eating here and finally
 ti- ra- aciir- waawa- a -0 hi raahiirit
 here ABS IN.DU.A DIST eat SUB.3 and finally

, titaríta^a .
 titarítta'a .
 one develops .
 ti- 0- tarikta- aar -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A body become PERF .

Nikutíhuta

Rikutíhuuta

That is what He must have done

riku-	tii-	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	.

Ikaririrahúrari

I kariiríraahúraari'

And so it does not spoil

i	karii-	ri-	0-	raahur	-aar	-i
and	EMPH.NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	be.spoiled	INCH	IMPF

tirahúrahš^a

tirahúraahca

this earth

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

Atirákíshuh^{^tⁿ}

A tirakiícuhat

And this stream

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

tirakíshúh^{^tⁿ}

tirakiícuhat

this stream

tii-	ra-	0-	kiic-	uhak	-0
------	-----	----	-------	------	----

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

hawakaririrahúrari ,
hawá kariiriraahúraari' .
also it does not spoil .
haawa kari- ri- 0- raahur -aar -i .
also EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.spoiled INCH IMPF .

hawakákihuráhaš^u .
Hawá kaakiihuráhaacu' .
Also it does not die .
haawa kaaki- 0- i- hurahac -:hus .
also NEG.IND.3A 3.P SEQ die IMPF .

Irisitiháruati^s
Irisitiiháraaru' Atí'as
That is how He made it for them our Father
irii- si- ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- raa- ra'uk -0 ati- as
that DU IND.3A 3.A OBV BEN 3PL.INAN.P way make PERF 1.POSS father

níkurákuta
ríkurakuuta
for it to be that way
riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a
that.is ABS 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

tírakišuh^tⁿ ,
tírakiicuhat
this stream
tii- ra- 0- kiic- u.hak -0
this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

rəšakukutaritári .
racakukutarittá'aari

when our bodies develop

ra- aca- ku- ku- tarikta- aar -i
INF.A IN.DU.P 1.P INF.B body become IMPF.SUB

Nákuhar^u

rákuuhaaru

its being the reason

ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

nasihkukíkahu

racihkukiikahu

for us to be drinking

ra- aciir- ku- kiikaa -hus
INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B drink IMPF.SUB

Ikuháraru

I kuuháraru

And He gave them

i kuur- ra- 0- raar- uh -0
and DUB ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

atí^s

Atí^sas

our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

nəkirikutirašihákawašu

rákiriiku'

seeds

rak- kirik -u'

wood eye

NOM

tiraciihaákawaahcu

this our eating

tii- ra- aciir-
this ABS IN.DU.A

haakawaahc

eat

-hus
IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa iraári'
Now , brother ,
rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,
now , 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

atí[^]s tirakítak^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

, aharakawakára^u .
aharaakawaakára'u .
His making things .
ar- ra- 0- raa- kawaaka.ra'uk -0 .
EV ABS 3.A way make.DIST SUB.3 .

Tirəšihwáwa^a

Tiracihwaáwa'a

This our eating

tii- ra- aciir- waawa- a -0

here ABS IN.DU.A DIST eat SUB.3

nókirik^u ,
rákiriiku'
seeds
rak- kirik -u'
wood eye NOM

irikuruhuširáru
iriikúruuhuciráru'
whatever the kinds are

irii- kuruur- ri- 0- ut- i- raar- uu -0
what DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

, tirəšihwáwa^a .
tiracihwaáwa'a
this our eating
tii- ra- aciir- waawa- a -0
here ABS IN.DU.A DIST eat SUB.3

Atí[^]s
Atí'as
our Father
ati- as
1.POSS father

nikutihašakúhar^u
rikutiihacakuúhaaru'
that is how he made it for us
riku- tiir- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
that.is INFR ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way make PERF

. Níkurakuhar^u
rikurakuuhaáru

, that being the plan
 , riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u
 , that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

nəkurasáhatu .
 rakurasáhatu .
 when one is growing up .
 ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus .
 INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB .

Hirurusirihkúra^u
 Hiru ruusirihkúra'u
 Then when one is born
 hiruu ruu- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ra'uk -0
 then then DU INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B make SUB.3

hisitiruharétawawuh^u
 hi sitiiruuhaarátawaawuhu'
 and they are feeding it things
 hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- raar- hata waa- wuh -hus
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV 3PL.INAN.P be.a.hole DIST put IMPF

hínahiritⁿ tahtaráhkisa ,
 hi raáhiirit taahtaráhkisa
 and finally he would become strong
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- ar- tarahkis -aar -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.P EV be.strong INCH PERF

hínahiritahwíšəksa ,
 hi raáhiirit taahwícaksa
 and finally he would become aware of things
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- ar- wicaks.aar -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.P EV come.to.mind PERF

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

tahwaríhusititⁿ

taahwaríhusitit

he would start walking

ti-	0-	ar-	warii	-:hus	-itik	.
IND.3A	3.A	EV	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INCH	.

Hirurikutuhá^a

Hiru rikutuuhá'a

Then He is the cause

hiruu	riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raar	-'
then	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.the.cause	EX

tirəšihákawaš^u

tiraciihaákawaahcu

this our eating

tii-	ra-	aciir-	haakawaahc	-hus	,
this	ABS	IN.DU.A	eat	IMPF.SUB	,

hawatirəšakutarítári

hawá tiracakutarítta'aari

also this development of ours

haawa	tii-	ra-	aca-	ku-	tarikta-	aar	-i
also	this	ABS	IN.DU.P	1.P	body	become	IMPF.SUB

. Hirikutíhuta ,

. Hi rikutíhuuta ,

. And that is what He did ,

. hi riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,

. and that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

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

tírararuši , táwitⁿ
 tíraraaruuci táwit
 these things three
 tii- ra- 0- raar- ra.uc -i tawit
 this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 three

. Áhawiška^a ,
 aháwicka'a " : "
 His thinking : "
 ar- ra- 0- wicka -a , "
 EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , "

tihásišuks ,
 Tihaásucuks .
 Let it be this way !
 tii- haa- i- s- ut- uks- 0 -0 .
 this here CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS be PERF .

tiráwah^tⁿ .
 " Tiráwaahat .
 " the Heavens .
 " tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 .
 " this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

A , irári ,
 A iraári'

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

kuhárar^u ,
kuuháraru ,
He gave it to them
kuur- ra- 0- raar- uh -0
DUB ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

atíəstirakitak^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

, aháwiška^a
aháwicka'a " "
when He thought : "
ar- ra- 0- wicka -a , "
EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , "

tiráwari ákitar^u
Tiráwari ákitaaru'
This one living tribe
tii- ra- 0- warii -hus akitaar- -u'
this ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe NOM

tihárasa kátuhar^u
tiháraasa kaátuhaar'
this one lying woods
tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0 kaatu.haar -u'
this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 grove NOM

tíras^a

tíraasa

this

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

hiruirikasuširararíksawu

hiru irikaasuciraaraaríksawu'

there you will be reaching for that

hiruu irii- kaas- s- ut- i- raar- raar- iks- a.wuu -:hus
there that POT.2A 2.A BEN SEQ 3PL.INAN.P ITER hand go.in.a.line.IMPF IMPF

,

iriruruksawášta^u

iriruuruksawáctaa'u

whatever it may even be

irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- raa- 0 -u
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even way be SUB.D

witiiskáruruku

Witi'iskaáruruku

When you'll feed yourself

witi- i- s- kaaruur- ra'uk -hus
REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A meal make IMPF.SUB

hīistaruš^u

hi istaruúcu

and you'll build a fire

hi i- s- ta.ra.uc.wuh -0

and CONT.1/2A 2.A make.a.fire PERF ,

hirikurirákit^a

hi rikuriiraákita

and that is the reason

hi riku- rii- 0- raa.kita -0

and that.is ASSR 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

hiispáwa^a

hi ispaáwa'a

and you'll eat

hi i- s- waawa- a -0

and CONT.1/2A 2.A DIST eat PERF

nəkuwarásikⁱ

rakuwaaraásiki

when it is cooked

ra- 0- ku- waa- araas -ik -i . "

INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.cooked CAUS SUB.2 . "

Irikuháraru

Irikuuháraaru'

He made that way

irii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- ra'uk -0 ati- as

that DUB ABS 3.A way make PERF 1.POSS father

, áhawiška^a

áhawicka'a

His thought

ar- ra- 0- wicka -a , " arísitⁿ ,

EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , " Ariisit

EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , " Yourself

EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , " ariisit

EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , " one's.own

tírak^u

tíraaku

, tihátaku

tíraaku

this one here
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 tii- haa- -taku
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 here here LOC

arísitⁿ
 ariisit
 myself
 ariisit
 one's.own

kustariširašikstawa
 kustariíciraacikstawa
 I will watch over your foods

kuus- t- ir- a- ri- ut- i- raa- aciks.ta -waa -0
 POT.1/3A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ way watch.over DIST PERF

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Kitúahikušukstákaruhtawáwuh^u

Kituu'u' ahikucukstaakaaruhtawaáwuha

All foods He put on trees for us

kituu -u' ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- uks- rak- kaaruur- ta.wuh -waa -a
 all NOM EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN AOR 1/2.PL meal hang.up DIST SUB.1

tírahapawⁱ
 tírahaapaawi
 these trees

tii- ra- 0- haak- waa -wi
 this ABS 3.A wood be.upright.DIST SUB.L

rakarurahkítu .
 raakaaruraahkítuu'u' .
 all kinds of food .
 raa- kaaruur- raar- kituu -u' .
 way meal PL all NOM .

Hikitutiwáwarəs ,
 Hi kítuu'u' tiwaáwaaraas ,
 And all they are ripe ,
 hi kituu -u' ti- 0- waawa- araas -0
 and all NOM IND.3A 3.A DIST be.ripe PERF

árikutətpa^a
 a ríkatatpa'a
 and they are the ones I eat
 a riku- ta- t- wa- a -0
 and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A DIST eat PERF

nətkúwari ,
 ratkúwari ,
 when I am going around ,
 ra- t- ku- warii -hus ,
 INF.A 1.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

Nakarurahkítu . Atí^s
 raakaaruraahkítuu'u' . Atí'as
 all kinds of food . Father
 raa- kaaruur- raar- kituu -u' ati- as

way meal PL all NOM 1.POSS father

tihikurihašikstawirútitⁿ

tiihikurihaacikstawiiruútit

He must have watched over us in all ways

tiir-	ri-	0-	ku-	ri-	ut-	raa-	aciks.ta	-wi	-itik	-ruu	-0
INFR	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	way	watch.over	SUB.L	INCH	DIST	PERF

, arísⁱtⁿ . Nahurarahkítu ,
ariísit . Rahuraaraahkítuu'u'
himself . All animals
ariísit . rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'
one's.own . animal PL all NOM

hitahkutahítkaruku

hi taahkuutahítkaruuku'

and he made them fat for me

hi	ti-	0-	ar-	ku-	ut-	ahiht	ka.ra'uk	:-hus
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	1.P	PREV	be.fat	make.PL.P	IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

tihakusirikatíhahtihətⁿ

Tihaakuusirikatíhahtiihat

This will be the end of a season

tii-	haa-	kuus-	0-	i-	rikatihaar-	tiihak	-0
this	here	POT.1/3A	3.A	SEQ	be.a.year	be.the.end	PERF

, hirúšikstⁱtⁿ
hiru cíkstit

then well
 hiruu cikstik
 then well

niwawahístarⁱtⁿ .
 riwaawaahístarit .
 when he is going to eat .
 ri- 0- waawa- a -his -ta -rit .
 CONT.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF INT INT.SUB .

Nahurarahkítu ,
 Rahuraaraahkítuu'u'
 All animals
 rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'
 animal PL all NOM

tatutatáihku .
 tatuutattá'ihku' .
 I mean them .
 ta- t- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus .
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P mean IMPF .

Kítu atí^s
 Kítuu'u' Atí'as
 All our Father
 kituu -u' ati- as
 all NOM 1.POSS father

ahakusuhhtakarah[^]tⁿ ,
 ahakusuhhtakaárahát .
 He dropped the flocks on it .
 ar- ra- 0- kus.uhuur- takaa.ra.hak -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A flock drop PERF .

áhik^{^t^n} kusúhuhkus^a

ahikutkusúhuhkuska

When he put the flocks on it for me

ar-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	kus.uhuur-	kus.k	-a
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	flock	put	SUB.1

, tirakahúrahku
tirakaahúraahku " " " "
this earth , " "
tii- ra- 0- kaa.huraar- kus -0 , "
this ABS 3.A earth be.sitting SUB.4 , "

hirutihakusiwáwa^a

Hiru tihaakuusiwaáwa'a

Then these are what he will eat

hiruu	tii-	haa-	kuus-	0-	i-	waawa-	a	-0
then	this	here	POT.1/3A	3.A	SEQ	DIST	eat	PERF

;
.
.
.
.
.

hirikurarurákit^a

Hi rikuraruuraákita

And that is the reason

hi	riku-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	raakita	-0
and	that.is	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	CONT.3A	PREV	be.the.way.on.top	PERF

, tirátarušⁱ ,
tirátaruuci
this fire
tii- ra- 0- ta.ra.uc -i

this ABS 3.A be.fire SUB.2

nítarušuh^u .
rítaruucuhu .
His making a fire .
ri- 0- ta.ra.uc.wuh -hus .
CONT.3A 3.A make.a.fire IMPF.SUB .

Irikusarurákit^a

Irikuusaruuraákita

That will be the reason

irii- kuus- 0- a- ri- uur- raa.kita -0
that POT.1/3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.way.on.top PERF

riwawarəsíku ,

riwaawaarasíku

when he cooks the food

ri- 0- waawa- araas -ik -hus
CONT.3A 3.A DIST be.cooked CAUS IMPF.SUB

ariwáwa^a .

a riwaáwa'a .

and then he eats it .

a ri- 0- waawa- a -0 .
and CONT.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF .

Kituníkuškⁱ ,

Kituu'u' ríkucki

All birds

kituu -u' rikuc -kis

all NOM bird DIM

tatutətaíhku ,

tatuutatta'íhku'

I mean them

ta-	t-	ut-	ak-	ra'ihk	:-hus
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	mean	IMPF

tiruuskusuhúhwari

tiruuskusuhúhwari

this flock that flew around

tii-	ra-	0-	uks-	kus.uhuur-	warii	-hus
this	ABS	3.A	AOR	flock	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

,	títak ^u	.
	tiítaku	.
	here	.
	tii- -taku	.
	here LOC	.

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

kuwíkariritiruhwari

kuwikariiritirúhwari'

I do not have any going around

ku-	wii-	karii-	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	warii	:-hus
INDF	now	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

,	kírik ^u	.	Šasíri
	kíriku'	.	Cásiiri
	anything	.	Even
	kirikuu	.	casiiri'
	anything	.	even

tirétpawakahu ,
 tirátpaawaakahu
 this that I am speaking
 tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hikuwikariritirutawáwiku
 hi kuwikariiritiruutawaáwiku'
 and I do not have any hanging from trees
 hi ku- wii- kari- rii- t- ir- ri- ut- ta -waa -wi -ka'uk -0
 and INDF now EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV be.hanging DIST SUB.L DIST PERF

nəkuhtaháriwar^a .
 rakuhtaháriwaara .
 their being things tasting good .
 ra- 0- ku- uur- taha- hi.wa.ar -a .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV flavor be.good.DIST SUB.1 .

Akítu , irárⁱ
 A kítuu'u' iraári'
 And all , brother
 a kituu -u' , i- -raar- -ri'
 and all NOM , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

, áhawiška^a
 ahawicka'a
 , when He thought
 , ar- ra- 0- wicka -a
 , EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1

Tiráwah^{tⁿ} ,
 Tiráwaahat , "
 the Heavens : "
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 , "

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

súkspari ,

Súkspari' .

Live !

i- s- uks- warii -:hus .

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

hikarisírariks

Hi kariisiraáriks

But it is not real

hi kara- i- s- i- raariks -0

and NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.true PERF

íspari .

íspari . "

your living . "

i- s- warii -hus . "

CONT.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . "

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tirəšíhwari ,

tiracíhwari

our living here

tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus

this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kakírariks . I ,

kaakíraariks . I

it is not real . And ,
kaaki- 0- raariks -0 . i ,
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF . and ,

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

irirəsíška ,
irirasícka'
you want that ' ,
irii- ra- s- wicka -0 ' ,
that ABS 2.A want PERF ' ,

kuátuhišis .
ku'átuuhicis .
would that I learn it . ' ,
ku- aa- t- ut- riicis -0 . ' ,
INDF SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about PERF . ' ,

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

nikuwitú^{utn}
rikuwituú'ut .
that is how it is .
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

kuháraru , atí^s ,
 Kuuháraaru' Atí'as .
 He made it that way our Father .
 kuur- ra- 0- raa- ra'uk -0 ati- as .
 DUB ABS 3.A way make PERF 1.POSS father .

hirukuhuhá^a , " "
 Hiru kúhuuha'a . " "
 There He did it . " "
 hiruu kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar -' . "
 there DUB ABS 3.A PREV do EX . "

Kustiwu
 Kústiwu'
 I will go
 kuus- t- i- wuu -:hus
 POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ go.IMPF IMPF

hiruirahurahašústar^{tⁿ}
 hiru irahurahacustarit
 there where he is going to die
 hiruu ii- ra- 0- hurahac -hus -ta -rit
 there where ABS 3.P die IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

, hihiruruhaíriku .
 " hi hiru ruuhaa'íriku' .
 , " and there he sees it .
 , " hi hiruu ra- 0- ut- raa- iirik -:hus .
 , " and there ABS 3.A PREV way see IMPF .

" Hihiruruhaírík^u ,
 Hi hiru ruuhaa'íriku'
 " And then he saw it
 " hi hiruu ra- 0- ut- raa- iirik -:hus

" and then ABS 3.A PREV way see IMPF

nakútká

rakútká

when he slept

ra- 0- ku- itka -0 ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B sleep SUB.4 ,

hihirurikurirákit^a

hi hiru rikuriiraákita

and there that is the reason

hi hiruu riku- rii- 0- raa.kita -0
and there that.is ASSR 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

nihúraħáš

rihúraħac

when he dies

ri- 0- hurahac -0 icaahiks
CONT.3A 3.P die SUB.4 person

šáħiks ,

cáħiks

a person

híriwakah^u

hi riiwákaahu'

and he says

hi rii- 0- waka -:hus , " rawa ,
and ASSR 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , " now ,

" Náwa ,

" Ráwa ,

: " Now ,

, " rawa ,

, " now ,

hiruwitásətⁿ

hiru witaásat

then you'll go

hiruu wi- ta- s- at -0
then QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A go PERF

irikararirakapákisu .

iriikarariiraakaapaákisu .

where there is no pitifulness
 irii- kara- rii- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u
 where NEG ASSR 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D

Škarawíkakaskapakⁱ
 Ckará wikaakaskaápaakis
 Alone you are no longer pitiful
 ckara wii- kaaka- s- kaapaakis -0
 alone now NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.pitiful PERF

Hiwítíatⁿ
 Hi wítí'at
 And he went
 hi wi- ti- 0- at -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A go PERF

wirakúkutⁱ
 wirakúkuuti
 after he died
 wii- ra- 0- ku- kuut -i
 when INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.2

Sirihkúkutik^a
 sirihkukuútika
 after they killed him
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut.ik -a
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill SUB.1

sirihkətpawáktiku
 sirihkutpaawáktiku
 after they were talking to him
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF.SUB

. Hitihwakíah^u "

. Hi tihwakí'aahu' "

. And they were saying : "

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

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

Hiruwitás^{^tⁿ} ,

Hiru witaásat

There you have gone

hiruu wi- ta- s- at -0

there QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A go PERF

irikararirakapákis^u .

iriikarariiraakaapaákisu

where there is no pitifulness --

irii- kara- rii- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u --

where NEG ASSR 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D --

Irikárahirakapakis^u

iriikara'ahiraakaapaákisu

where there is no pitifulness

irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u

where NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D

. Šíkstitⁿ

. Cíkstit

. Well

. cikstik

. well

witəsparíhust^a "

witasparíhusta . "

you are going to go about . "

wii- ta- s- warii -:hus -ta . "

now IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . "

hiwitikúætⁿ .
Hi witikuú'at .
And he was already dead .
hi wii- ti- 0- kuu'at -0 .
and now IND.3A 3.A be.dead PERF .

Nikutihwakiáh^u .
Rikutihwaki'aahu' .
That is what they were saying .
riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Arihwakíahu ,
A rihwaki'aahu'
And they were saying
a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tirəšihwari , "
tiracíhwari , "
these of us living : "
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus , "
this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB , "

Tirótpari ,
Tirátpari
While I live
tii- ra- t- warii -hus
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tirətkapákis^u ,
tiratkaapaákisu

my being pitiful

tii- ra- t- kaapaakis -u
when ABS 1.A be.pitiful SUB.D

tirətpari

tirátpari

while I live

tii- ra- t- warii -hus
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Irihiwitəskurahuhkápak's^u

irihii witaskurahuhkaápaakis

that you have grieved me

irii- hii wii- ta- s- ku- rahur kaapaakis -0
that other now IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P grieve be.pitiful PERF

, tirətpáriširu

tirátpari

while I live

tii- ra- t- warii -hus ciruu
when ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB yet

, kaskušúkstar^u

kaskucúkstaaru'

you must make a way for me

kaas- s- ku- ut- uks- raa- ra'uk -0
POT.2A 2.A 1.P BEN JUSS way make PERF

hirətkuksuhúwari

hi ratkuksuhúhwari

and for me to live awhile

hi ra- t- ku- uks- uhur- warii -hus
and INF.A 1.A INF.B JUSS awhile be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

.
.
.
.
.

Hikirikuiskuksuhúra^u

Hi	kíriku'	iskuksuhuúraa'u							
And	something	give me a way							
hi	kirikuu	i-	s-	ku-	uks-	uhur-	raa-	uh	-0
and	anything	CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	JUSS	now	way	give	PERF

,	karətkukapákis ^u					.	"
	karaatkuukaapaákisu					.	"
	that I not be pitiful					!	"
	ka-	ra-	t-	ku-	kaapaakis	-u	.
	NEG	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	be.pitiful	SUB.D	.

Nikutihwakiáh ^u						.
Rikutihwaki'aahu'						.
That is what they were saying						.
riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	:-hus	.
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	.

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

kitúiriahutar^a

kítuu'u'		irii'ahuútaara						
all		what He did						
kituu	-u'	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-a

all NOM what EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tihásisuks

Tihaásucuks

Let it be this way

tii- haa- i- s- ut- uks- 0 -0 .
this here CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS be PERF .

Tatuharáihku

" Tatuuhaará'ihku'

" I am meaning

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

nakawíra^u

rakaawíra'u'

jealousy

ra- 0- kaawira'u -0 ra- 0- raa- 0 -u
ABS 3.A be.jealous SUB.3 ABS 3.A way be SUB.D

nára^u

ráraa'u

the way

. Nawahá !

. Ráwa haá

. Now see

. rawa haa

. now see

irihisitihkákawakət^u

irihiisitihkákawaakatku'

they were cutting that other one up

irii- hii- si- ti- 0- ir- ka.ukac.k -waa -:hus
that other DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A cut.up DIST IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Narutíkarušpakitu

Raaruutíkarucpa

Then the pieces were scattered

raa- ruu- ti- 0- ka- ra.uc -waa -0 kituu -u'
just then IND.3A 3.A ITER be.lying.PL DIST PERF all NOM

kituu'u'

all

kituu

all NOM

. Sirihkukákawakətk^a

sirihkukákawaakatka

after they cut him up

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ukac.k -waa -a
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B cut.up DIST SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiirihiraririráwakawiri

Hi irihiiraaririiraawakaarawiri

And they just spoke well of that one

hi irii- hii- raa- ri- 0- ir- ri- uur- i- raa- wakaara- -wi hiir -0
and that other just CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ way noise SUB.L be.good PERF

. Irihitihwakíah^u
 . Hi irihiitihwakí'aahu'
 . And of that one they were saying
 . hi irii- hii- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 . and that other IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

. " Náw^a , isíritⁿ ,
 " Ráwa isiirit
 : " Now prominent
 , " rawa isii.rik
 , " now in.plain.sight

wirarutasítawi ,
 wiraaruutasítawi' .
 you have just been among us .
 wii- raa- ruu- ta- s- i- tawi -0 .
 now just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.among PERF .

isiritwirarutasíwari
 Isiirit wiraaruutasíwari'
 Plainly you have just gone around
 isii.rik wii- raa- ruu- ta- s- i- warii -:hus
 in.plain.sight now just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Tihairiwírəsutahš^a
 Tihaa'iriiwírəsuutaahca
 Here where you are lying thus
 tii- haa- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- as.sa -0

here here where now ABS 2.A PREV just.lie.there SUB.4

tiwisírarawakis^a

tiwisiraraawaáhkisa

here they tortured you

tii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- a- raawaahkisaar -0
here now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A 2.P torture PERF

kawíra^u

. Isíritⁿ

kaawíra'u'

. Isiirit

jealousy

. Plainly

kaa.wi.ra- -u'

. isii.rik

jealousy

NOM

. in.plain.sight

wirarutasíwari

wiraaruutasíwari'

you have just gone about

wii- raa- ruu- ta- s- i- warii -:hus
now just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hikutarataríktu

Hi kutaraatárikту'

But it is a terrible sight

hi ku- ti- 0- a- raa- tarikta'u -0
and INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A way be.deplorable PERF

, rákus^a

rákuusa

.
. "

his lying	.	"
ra- 0- ku- sa -0	.	"
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying SUB.4	.	"

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

kakírariks	,
kaakíraariks	,
it is not real	,
kaaki- 0- raariks -0	,
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF	,

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

Nikutihwakiáhu	,
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	,

kurahúskahiku	:	"
kurahúskaahiiku'	:	"
the aged old men	:	"
kurahuus kaahik -u'	,	"
old.man aged NOM	,	"

Witusuksikiráwar^tn

Witusuksikiraáwarit

Hasten

witi- i- s- uks- ikiraa.warik -0
REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS hurry PERF

tiwirarásah^tn

tiwirarásahat

while you grow up

tii- wii- ra- 0- rasahat -0
when when ABS 3.P grow.up SUB.4

súkspari

Súkspari'

Be around

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

Hiruiriruasaruksáwašt^a

Hiru iriruu'aasaruksáwacca

There wherever you might even lie

hiruu irii- ruu- aa- s- ar- uks- awahc- sa -0
there where then SUBJ.1/2A 2.A EV JUSS even be.lying SUB.4

.

,

,

,

Hiruiriruiruksawahsíška^a

hiru iriruu'iruksawahcícka'a

then whatever He might even wish

hiruu irii- ruu- ii- 0- ar- uks- awahc- wicka -a

then what then SUBJ.3A 3.A EV JUSS even want SUB.1

, tihásišuks
, ' Tihaásusuks
, ' Be this way
, ' tii- haa- si- i- s- uks- 0 -0
, ' this here DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be PERF

tiráwari . "

tiráwari . ' "

this one living ! ' "

tii- ra- 0- warii -hus . ' "

this ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . ' "

Kukakú^{ut}n .

Kukaakuú^{ut} .

There was nothing to it .

ku- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -' .

INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

Irári ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tihwakíahu .

tihwakí'aahu' " "

they were saying : " "

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

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

tiráwahətⁿ ,

Tiráwaahat

The Heavens

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

kakírahurarist^a ,

kaakiraahúraarista

He is not going to be spoiled

kaaki- 0- raahur -aar -his -ta
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.spoiled INCH PERF INT

ruksawahşúrahaş . "

ruksawahcúrahac . "

if He were even to die . "

ri- a- uks- awahc- hurahac -0 . "
CONT.3A 2.P JUSS even.if die PERF . "

Nikutihwakiáh^u .

Rikutihwaki'aahu' .

That is what they were saying .

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

A , irárⁱ ,

A iraári'

And , brother ,

a , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

iriwikurihwakíah^u

iriwikurihwaki'aahu'

that is what they used to say :

irii- wii- ku- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus ,
what now INDF ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF ,

hirutiráwahəṭⁿ
 “ Hiru Tiráwaahat
 “ There the Heavens
 " hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 " there this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tirawawárikⁱ
 tirawaawaáriki
 these various ones
 tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i
 this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

hiruirihisikusušíškstawititⁿ
 hiru irihiisikusuuçiicíkstawiitit
 there those will look after him
 hiruu irii- hii- si- kuus- 0- ut- i- aciks.ta -wi -itik -0
 there that other DU POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ watch.over SUB.L INCH PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

irihisikusušisikskápakⁱs
 Irihiisikusuuçiicikskápaakis
 Those will pity you
 irii- hii- si- kuus- 0- ut- i- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 that other DU POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ feel.pity.for PERF

tiwiráspari
 tiwiráspari
 while you are living here
 tii- wii- ra- s- warii -hus

here now ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

irihisikusára^u .

Irihisikusaáraa'u .

Those will give you a way .

irii-	hii-	si-	kuus-	0-	a-	raa-	uh	-0	.
that	other	DU	POT.1/3A	3.A	2.P	way	give	PERF	.

"

"

"

"

Nikutihwakhiahúkurahus

Rikutihwaki'aahu'

That is what they said

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

.

.

.

.

.

Akisikutiraíta

Aki

sikutiiraá'iita

And here

they knew about them

a-	ki	si-	ku-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
and	there	DU	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	know	PERF

, irári'
iraári'

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

tiráwawarikitirawahətⁿ

tiráwaawaariki

these various ones

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

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

. Kurahús
 . Kúrahus
 . The old men
 . kurahuus
 . old.man

akisikutiráita

aki

and here

a- ki
 and there

sikutiiraá'iita

they knew about them

si- ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0
 DU INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nikuwíšuksar^a

Rikuwítucuksaahu'

That is the way it used to be

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -:hus
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF

kíšⁱ ,
 kici
 , but
 , kici
 , but

nikutaturakətkáwawuk^u
 rikutatuuraakatkáwaawuuku'
 that is what I heard from them

riku-	ta-	t-	uur-	ak-	atka'uk	-waawa	-:hus
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	hear	DIST	IMPF

,	irár ⁱ			.	Kurahuš
	iraári'			.	Kúrahus
,	brother			.	The old men
,	i-	-raar-			kurahuus
,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B	old.man

kutiraitusta
 kutiiraa'itusta'
 they are their stories

ku-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raa.iit.us-	raar-	0	-0
INDF	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	story	PL	be	PERF

tirátpawakahu .
 tirátpaawaakahu .
 this I am saying .
 tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus .
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Hirukituahušúksawar^a

Hiru	kítuu'u'		ahucuksáwara
There	all		the ones that were about
hiruu	kituu	-u'	ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- a.war -a

there all NOM EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR go.in.a.line.DU SUB.1

, nahúrahkⁱ ,
rahúrahki
animals
rahuraar -kis
animal DIM

ahukstahkawawárika
ahukstaahkaawaawárika
after He put them in lodges

ar- ra- 0- uks- raar- kaa.warik -waa -a
EV ABS 3.A AOR 3PL.INAN.P put.inside DIST SUB.1

, atí[^]s ,
Atí'as
our Father
ati- as
1.POSS father

hitáhwiška ,
hi taáhwicka' , "
and He thought : "
hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , "
and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , "

tihátaku
Tihaátaku
This place
tii- haa- -taku
here here LOC

kísuhišís .
kí'isuuhiicis . "

let you find out . "

kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0 . "

HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF . "

Ahúksuriwawi šáhiks ,

Ahúksuriiwaawi cáhiks

The ones who were living people

ar- ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi icaahiks

EV ABS 3.A AOR live.PL DIST SUB.L person

rahkutarítār^a

raahkutarítta'aara

after he developed

ra- 0- ar- ku- tarikta- aar -a

INF.A 3.P EV INF.B body become SUB.1

hináhurahkⁱ

hi rahúrahki

and animals

hi rahuraar -kis

and animal DIM

hisitírahukætⁿ ,

hi sitiírahuukat

and they took him inside

hi si- ti- 0- ir- ra- huuk- at -0

and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT into go PERF

hitarúhišis .

hi tarúhiicis .

and he would learn .

hi ti- 0- ar- ut- riicis -0 .

and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV learn.about PERF .

Irírutasitiku ,
 Iriruutasitiku

How it happened

irii- ra- 0- ut- asitik -hus
 what ABS 3.A PREV happen IMPF.SUB

irikuháwiška atí^s
 irikuuháwicka' Atí'as
 that is what He thought our Father

irii- kuur- ra- 0- wicka -0 ati- as
 what DUB ABS 3.A think PERF 1.POSS father

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku " : "
 this one above

tii- ra- 0- kita- kus -0 , "
 this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 , "

tihásišuks ,

Tihaásucuks

Let it be this way

tii- haa- i- s- ut- uks- 0 -0
 this here CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS be PERF

tirahurétkahar^u

tíraahu rátkahaaru'
 this one coming night

tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus ratkahaar- -u'
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB night NOM

, nahkútka . "
 raahkútka ! "
 when he sleeps . "
 ra- 0- ar- ku- itka -0

INF.A 3.A EV INF.B sleep SUB.4 . "

hihirutátuhišis .

Hi hiru tátuuhicis .

And then I learned .

hi hiruu ta- t- ut- riicis -0 .
and then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about PERF .

irikuwítura

Irikuwítura'

It was that way

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

. Nahúrahk¹

. Rahúrahki

. Animals

. rahuraar -kis

. animal DIM

ahuksakahwirarawawárika

ahuksakaahwiiraarawaawárika

when he placed the lodges along in rows

ar- ra- 0- uks- akaar- wiiraar- a.warik -waa -a
EV ABS 3.A AOR dwelling in.a.row throw DIST SUB.1

, náhurarut^a

ráhuraaruuta

the land extending

ra- 0- huraar- u.at -a
ABS 3.A earth extend.in.a.line SUB.1

nahurarahkítu .

rahúraaraahkítuu'u'

all kinds of animals

rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'
animal PL all NOM

Isirurakuhurahtáwiku

isiiruurakuuhurahtáwiku

its being a special place among them

isiiruu- ra- 0- ku- i- huraar- tawi kus -0
plainly INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ earth be.among be.sitting SUB.4

hirikutihwakiah^u

hi rikutihwakí'aahu'

and that is what they were saying

hi riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
and that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

Takutihúrawaruksti . "

Táku tihúraahwaaruksti' . "

There it is holy ground . "

taku ti- 0- huraar- waarukstii -0
someone IND.3A 3.A earth be.holy PERF . "

Akirihwakíah^u " "

Aki rihwakí'aahu' " "

And here they were saying : " "

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

Šahíks ,

Cáhíks

A person

icaahíks

person

nikusiwitirahúk^{^t}ⁿ

rikusiwitírahuukat

that is where they took him inside

riku-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ra-	huuk-	at	-0
that.is	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	into	go	PERF

, šahiksíšahiks .
cahiksícahiks .
an Indian .
icaahiks icaahiks .
person person .

Nikuwítutura

Rikuwitútura'

That is where he had his origin

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	hurar	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.where.one.comes.from	PERF

kúra^u ,
kúraa'u' .
the doctor .
kuraa -u' .
doctor NOM .

nikuwítutura

Rikuwituturá'

That is where he originated

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	hurar	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.where.one.comes.from	PERF

tírawaruksti ^u	.	Išəski
tírawaarukstii'u	.	" I cáski
this holy one	.	" And a little bit
tii- ra- 0- waarukstii -u	.	" i caskii

this ABS 3.A be.holy SUB.D . " and a.little

ritúhairitⁿ ,

rituúhaa'iirit

I did see of it ,

rii- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 ,
ASSR 1.A PREV way see PERF ,

iráriⁱ ,

iraári'

brother ,

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

kuraúahikura^u

kúraa'u'

áhikuraa'u

doctor

He gave me the way

kuraa -u' ar- ri- 0- ku- raa- uh -0
doctor NOM EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P way give PERF

akitaru páni . Šúskiⁱ
ákitaaru' Paári . Cáski
tribe Pawnee . A little
akitaar- -u' paari . caski
tribe NOM Pawnee . a.little

tatúhairitⁿ .

tatuúhaa'iirit .

I saw of it .

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

Wirakurarítis^u ,

Wirakuraaríttisu

When he was old

wii- ra- 0- ku- raariktis -u
when INF.A 3.A INF.B be.older SUB.D

hitihwakíah^u

hi tihwakí'aahu' " "
and they were saying : "
hi ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , "
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

kúra^u tíraku
Kúraa'u' tíraaku
Doctor this one
kuraa -u' tii- ra- 0- kus -0
doctor NOM this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

nikutihíra^u

rikutihíraa'u
he was one given the way
riku- tiir- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
that.is INFR ABS 3.A 3.INDF way give PERF

kararakukapákis^u . Hi ,
kararakuukaapaákisu . " Hi
not to be pitiful . " And ,
kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u . " hi ,
NEG ABS 3.A INF.B be.pitiful SUB.D . " and ,

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

hitatutakárikusirⁱtⁿ

hi tatuutakaárikusiirit

and I saw his lodge

hi ta- t- ut- akaar- ri- kus iirik -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV dwelling PORT be.sitting see PERF

,

ahirukirikukutíkahtih[^]tⁿ

a hiru kíriku' kutíkaahtiihat

and there something it was a large lodge

a hiruu kirikuu ku- ti- 0- akaar- tiihak -0
and there anything INDF IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.the.border PERF

. Hiirírakukawi

. Hi iriirakúkaawi

. And where his lodge was

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

arusá a

aruúsa' a

horses and

aruusaa a

horse and

rutušikahwíik^a

ruutuciikaahwí'iiikaku

his lodge would be in the midst (of them)

ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- akaar- -wi iika- kus -0

then IND.3A SEQ PREV SEQ dwelling SUB.L center be.sitting PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Akirikutaruhá^a

Aki rikutaruuhá'a

And here that was the reason

a- ki riku- ti- 0- ar- ut- raar -' .
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A EV PREV be.the.cause EX

, irašawáwuhu ,
iraacawaáwuhu
when he was doctoring (people)
ii- ra- 0- ica.wuh -waa -hus
when ABS 3.A doctor DIST IMPF.SUB

širuahukstawarúksti^u .

ciru ahukstaawaarúkstii'u .

yet when the way was holy .

ciruu ar- ra- 0- uks- raa- waarukstii -u .
yet EV ABS 3.A AOR way be.holy SUB.D .

Hitáhwari

Hi taáhwari'

And he would live

hi ti- 0- ar- warii -:hus icaahiks
and IND.3A 3.A EV be.going.about.IMPF IMPF person

,

wirakuksawahšurahašistarⁱtⁿ

wirakuksawahcurahacistarit

even though he had been about to die

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	hurahac	-his	-ta	-rit
when	INF.A	3.P	INF.B	AOR	even.if	die	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nawahí	,	irár ⁱ	,		
Ráwa	hi	iraári'			
Now	and	brother	,		
rawa	hi	i-	-raar-	-ri'	,
now	and	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

hikirukuráhuriwa

hi	kiru	kuráhuriwa							.
and	where	are	they						?
hi	kiruu	ku-	ra-	0-	hurii	-waa	-0		.
and	where	INDF	ABS	3.A	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF		.

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

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

Hikaririrakúwari

Hi kariirií' rakúwari
And he cannot be living
hi kari- rii- 0- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. Hā !
. " Haa
. " Ha ,
. " haa ,
. " ha ,

wirutárahí^{tⁿ}

wiruutaárahíhit

there is only this single way

wii- ruu- ti- 0- a- raa- rihik -0
now that IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.only.one PERF

, wirəsúhairí^{tⁿ} .

wirasúhaa'iirit .

what you have seen .

wii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -0 .
now ABS 2.A PREV way see SUB.4 .

Akararikapákis^u ,

A karariikaapaákisu

And the one who was not pitiful

a kara- ra- 0- i- kaapaakis -u
and NEG ABS 3.A SEQ be.pitiful SUB.D

hiirikuhaarúhšakurukst^a

hi iriikuhaarúhcakuruksta

and when that one's day was going to be

hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- sakur uk -his -ta

and when DUB ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.day be PERF INT

, hirihurahəš . I ,
 hi riíhurahac . I
 and then he died . And ,
 hi ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 . i ,
 and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF . and ,

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

ritiráit^a ,
 riitiraa'iita
 I did know it
 rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hitíhwaki , kúra^u
 hi tíhwaki' kúraa'u'
 and they said the doctors
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 kuraa -u'
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF doctor NOM

“ Títaku
 “ Tiítaku
 : “ Here
 , " tii- -taku
 , " here LOC

ruksakárik^u ,
 ruksakáriku

the one who had a home

ra- 0- uks- akaar- ri- kus -0
ABS 3.A AOR dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

witíhurah^š

witíhurahac . " I ,

he has died . " I

wi- ti- 0- hurahac -0 . " And ,

QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF . " and ,

irárⁱ

iraári^ʔ ,

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri^ʔ ,

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

witirakáksawahšuhúhkaruku

witirakuksawahcuhúhkaruku

even though he could be doing it

witi- ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- uhur- ka.ra'uk -hus
REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even.if now make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

rákuwaruksti^u

rákuwaarukstii^u ,

to be holy

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

kúrakur^u

kúrakuuru ,

his looking like

ku- ra- 0- ku- uur- 0 -u
INF.B ABS 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.D

nahurararíksis^u ,
 rahuraaraaríksisu'
 a real animal
 rahuraar- raariks -his -u'
 animal be.true PERF NOM

kúrakur^u
 kúrakuuru
 his looking like
 ku- ra- 0- ku- uur- 0 -u
 INF.B ABS 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.D

nákuriškuhwawⁱ
 rákurickuhwaawi
 his having fur
 ra- 0- ku- ra.ickuur- waa -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B animal.fur be.upright.DIST SUB.L

hiupirútarurawaritⁿ
 hi uúpiiru' taruuráwarit
 and wrong he would do for him
 hi uupir -u' ti- 0- a- ar- ri- uur- a.warik -0
 and be.different NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A EV PHYS.POSS PREV throw PERF

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

Witikutⁿ . " I ,
 Wítikut . " I
 He has died . " And ,
 wi- ti- 0- kuut -0 . " i ,

QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF . " and ,

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

kukaririrahuráhkit^a

kukariiriraahuraáhkita

there is not any certainty

ku- kari- ri- 0- raa- huraar- kita -0
INDF EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A way earth be.on.top PERF

, tirəšíhwari .
tiracíhwari .
these of us living .
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Akituraruahirakawakaraúati^s

A kítuu'u' raaruu'ahiraakawaákara'u

And all His just having made things

a kituu -u' raa- ruu- ar- ri- 0- raa- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
and all NOM just then EV CONT.3A 3.A way make.DIST SUB.3

naruwitikásišiksawawarik^u

Atí'as raaruuwitikásiiciksawaawariku'

our Father then you will cut your lives short

ati- as raa- ruu- witi- kaas- s- i- aciks- a.warik -waa -:hus
1.POSS father just then REFL POT.2A 2.A SEQ mind throw.away DIST IMPF

,

narusirihkukútik^a

raaruusirihkukuútika

when they just kill him

raa-	ruu-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kuut.ik	-a
just	then	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	kill	SUB.1

,	šáhiks	.	Isír ^{it} ⁿ	,
	cáhiks	.	Isiirit	
	a person	.	Plainly	
	icaahiks	.	isii.rik	
	person	.	in.plain.sight	

kururuksáwahš^u

kuruuruksáwahcu

even if he were like one

ku-	ri-	0-	uur-	uks-	awahc-	0	-u
INDF	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV	JUSS	even.if	be	SUB.D

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

an animal

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

witirihúhkaruku

witiriihúhkaruuku'

he was transforming himself

witi-	ri-	0-	uhuur-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus	šáhiks
REFL	CONT.3A	3.A	way	make.PL.P	IMPF	cáhiks
						a person
						icaahiks
						person

wiruhahúruku .
 wiruuháhuuruuku .
 when he doctored him .
 wii- ra- 0- ut- rahur.ra'uk -hus .
 when ABS 3.A PREV treat IMPF.SUB .

Isír^tn ,
 Isiirit
 Openly
 isii.rik
 in.plain.sight

hírutairikuhu^{ut}n
 hi ruúta iriikúhuu'ut
 and he did it whatever it was
 hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
 and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX

irírihkutašikskapakis^u
 iriirihkuutacikskapaákisu
 whatever it was that had pitied him
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
 what INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

nahúrahki . Híruta ,
 rahúrahki . Hi ruúta ,
 the animal . And he did it :
 rahuraar -kis . hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,

animal DIM . and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hiriraríkatah^{^tⁿ}

hi riiraaríkatahat

and he took them out

hi rii- 0- raar- ri- kata.hak -0
and ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT get.away PERF

hitíhwakⁱ

hi tíhwaki'

and they said

hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Nikuwitú^{utⁿ}

Rikuwituú'ut

That is the way it is

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

Nikuwitú^{utⁿ}

Rikuwituú'ut

That was how it was

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

ahitašikskapákis^u

ahiitacikskapaákisu

when he was pitied

ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u .
EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D .

Witiwaka

Witiwáku'

, nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

Kakírariks ,
 Kaakíraariks
 It is not real
 kaaki- 0- raariks -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF

tirəšíhwari .
 tiracíhwari .
 our living here .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Aríhkuruh^a ,
 A ríhkuruuha
 And what he was given
 a ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a
 and INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1

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

níhkuruha ,
 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

nətpákahu nawiráhis^u .
 ratpaákahu raawiiraáhisu' .
 what I say the warrior .
 ra- t- waaka -hus raawiir.aah.his -u' .

ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB warrior NOM .

Ahirukutaruratihótarus^a

A hiru kutaruúraatiihat aruúsa'
And then he would have a large number of them horses horses
a hiruu ku- ti- 0- a- ar- ri- uur- raa- tiihak -0 aruusaa
and then INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.the.end PERF horse

hirawitakaráhis^u

hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'
and suddenly
hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
and just now all.at.once NOM

tíhurahaš .

tíhurahac .

he died .

ti- 0- hurahac -0 .
IND.3A 3.P die PERF .

Aruasaarutarúhkariksk^u

Aruúsa' a raaruutarúhkariksku
Horses and his herd was just there
aruusaa a raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kariiks- kus -0
horse and just there IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A herd be.sitting PERF

, hihiruwítahša

hi hiru wítaahca
and then he lay yonder
hi hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- sa -0
and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying PERF

kírik^u .

kíriku' .

somewhere .
 kirikuu .
 anything .

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

nikuwitú^{^tⁿ} .
 rikuwituú'ut .
 that is how it was .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

Tuhá
 Tuuhá'
 He was the cause of it, ,
 ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 ,
 IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF ,

irárⁱ šahiksíšahiks
 iraári' cahiksícahiks
 brother , Indian
 i- -raar- -ri' , icaahiks icaahiks
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , person person

tirəšíhwari .
 tiracíhwari .
 our living here .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Kituirikuharakawákaru

Kítuu'u' irikuuharaakawaákaru'

All He is the one who made things

kituu -u' irii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
all NOM that DUB ABS 3.A way make.DIST PERF

, áti^s . Šahíks
Atí'as . Cáhíks
our Father . A person
ati- as . icaahíks
1.POSS father . person

witahuhawíra

witahuuhawíraa'

he came downriver

wi- ti- 0- a- huu.hawi.raa- a -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A downstream.alongside.the.water come PERF

, pít^a . Širuráku^u
piíta . Ciru ráku'u
, a man . Yet his being
, wiita . ciruu ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
, man . yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

tihwakíah^u pítísutkⁱ .
tihwakí'aahu' piitísutki .
they say a young man .
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus wiita.isut -kis .
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF young.man DIM .

Ahahuhawíra .

Ahahuuhawíraa' .

He came downriver .

ar- ra- 0- a- huuha.wi.raa- a -0 .

EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A downstream come PERF .

Tihwakíah^u ,

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

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

irirutíhurarəsa^a “

iriruutíhuraarasa'a

that was the name of the place

irii- ruu- ti- 0- huraar- asar -'
that then IND.3A 3.A earth be.named EX

Nakiwíhkaku . "

Rakiwíhkaku .

Sandbank .

ra- 0- kiwihk- ka- kus -0 .
ABS 3.A sandbar in be.sitting SUB.4 .

Kuháwiš^a

Kuhaáwica'

He arrived

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

hiwítikuhauš .

hi witikuúha'uc .

and he lay down .

hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- uc -0 .
and REFL DUB ABS 3.A lie.down PERF .

Wituhkíwiti .

Wituhkíwitti .

It was a nice sandhill .
 wi- ti- 0- uur- kiwikt- hiir -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV sand be.good PERF .

Kiwitutuⁱ .
 Kíwittu' ti' .
 Sand it was .
 kiwikt- -u' ti- 0- 0 -0 .
 sand NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Narutiwahukatáwikak^u

Raaruutiwaahuukatáwikaku

There was a hill just along the bank

raa- ruu- ti- 0- waa- huukata- -wi ka- kus -0
 just there IND.3A 3.A hill across.water SUB.L on be.sitting PERF

,

hiwitikuhahkítauš

hi witikuuhaahkíta'uc

and he lay down on top

hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- ar- kita- uc -0
 and REFL DUB ABS 3.A EV on.top lie.down PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Irisikuhituhurahúru
 Iriisikuuhiituhurahúru'

Whatever it was that they did to him

irii-	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	uhur-	rahur.ra'uk	-0
what	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	now	do.to	PERF

kuhátkasit^{tn}

kuuhátkasitit

he went to sleep

kuur-	ra-	0-	itikas.itik	-0	.
DUB	ABS	3.A	fall.sleep	PERF	.

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Pisšukstakirawáhis

Pis cukstaakiraawáhis

Quickly make haste

wis	i-	s-	ut-	uks-	raa-	ikiraa-	aar	-wa	-his
quickly	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	JUSS	way	in.a.hurry	do	DIST	PERF

. áka^a !

. Aáka'a

! Oh my ,

. aaka'a ,

. oh.my ,

kakúhkaharawiri.

kaakúhkahaarawiri

he does not smell good

kaaki-	0-	uur-	kahaa.ara	-wi	hiir	-0
--------	----	------	-----------	-----	------	----

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be.an.odor SUB.L be.good PERF

" Hikuhahwíšaksa ,
" Hi kuuhaahwícaksa
" And he revived
" hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- wicaks.aar -0
" and DUB ABS 3.A EV come.to.mind PERF

hiwihirúahikak^u

hi wihiru ahiikaáku
and there he sat inside a lodge
hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- akaa- kus -0
and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A dwelling be.sitting PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Ruwitíakahparih^tn

Ruuwitií'akaahpárihit

It was such a fine lodge

ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- akaar- parit.rik -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ dwelling be.smooth PERF

. Hiruirirahíwatur^u

. Hiru iriirahíwatuuru

! There where the entrance was

. hiruu irii- ra- 0- hiwatur -u
. there where ABS 3.A be.a.doorway SUB.D

hiwihirurikuahík^u

hi wihiru riku'ahiíku

and there that was the one sitting
 hi wii- hiruu riku- ar- ri- 0- kus -0
 and now there that.is EV CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

. Ahawáku “ Náwa
 . Ahawáku’ “ Ráwa
 . He said: : “ Now
 . ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , " rawa
 . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now

wískuš^u
 wiskucu’ .
 hurry !
 wis -kucuu .
 hurry AUG .

kakúhkaharawiri .
 Kaakúhkahaarawiri .
 He does not smell good .
 kaaki- 0- uur- kahaa.ara -wi hiir -0 .
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be.an.odor SUB.L be.good PERF .

" Hiruukátətⁿ ahawáku
 " Hiru uúkatat ahawáku’
 " There in the west he said :
 " hiruu uukata- -t ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 ,
 " there west LOC EV ABS 3.A say PERF ,

“ Náwatikⁱs , náwatikⁱs ,
 “ Ráwa tíkis . Ráwa tíkis
 “ Now , sonny . Now sonny ,
 " rawa , tikis . rawa tikis ,
 " now , sonny . now sonny ,

sitatarítasiksti

sitataríítaciksti'

we liked your thoughts

si-	ta-	t-	ir-	a-	ri-	ut-	aciks-	tii	-0
DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	mind	like	PERF

tírasira

tíراسيرا

when you came

tii-	ra-	s-	ir-	a	-0	.
when	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	come	SUB.4	.

Tahápišk^a

Tahápicka'

We wished

ta-	t-	rak-	wicka	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	want	PERF

tírasira

tíراسيرا

when you came

tii-	ra-	s-	ir-	a	-0
when	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	come	SUB.4

nikúrasihku^a

rikúrasihku'a

for you to be the one to come

riku-	ra-	s-	ir-	ku-	a	-0
that.is	INF.A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	INF.B	come	SUB.4

títaku . Ah ! ítik's , títaku

tiítaku . A iítikis tiítaku

here . Ah , my son , here

tii- -taku . a , uu.tikis , tii- -taku

here LOC . ah , sonny , here LOC

rikuríhura^a ,
rikuríihura'a .
this is the place .
riku- rii- 0- huraar -' .
that.is ASSR 3.A be.earth EX .

nahapíška
Rahapícka'
We wish

ra- t- rak- wicka -0
ABS 1.A 1/2.PL want PERF

tihakúsuši ,
tihaakuúsuci'
this is how it will be
tii- haa- kuus- 0- ut- i- 0 -0
this here POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

tírəspari . Náw^a ,
tírəspari . Ráwa
your living here . Now
tii- ra- s- warii -hus . rawa
this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . now

ítik's wikakú^{utn} ,
íitikis wikaakuú'ut
my son , it is not thus
uu.tikis , wii- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -'
sonny , now NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

iriratukstapíška^a .
iriiratukstaapícka'a .

what we wanted .
 irii- ra- t- uks- rak- wicka -a .
 what ABS 1.A AOR 1/2.PL want SUB.1 .

Náwatik¹s ,
 Ráwa tíkis
 Now , sonny ,
 rawa , tikis ,
 now , sonny ,

kakasíhkaharawiri
 kaakasúhkahaarawiri
 you do not smell good

kaaka- s- uur- kahaa.ara -wi hiir -0
 NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A PREV have.an.odor SUB.L be.good PERF

. Nawahítik¹s , hā !
 . Ráwa íitikis haá
 . Now , my son , ha !
 . rawa , uu.tikis , haa ,
 . now , sonny , ha ,

istiwáta ,
 istiiwáta
 look

i- s- riiwat.aar -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A look.at PERF

tiraukátaharawahətⁿ
 tira'uukátahaarawaahat
 along this wall

tii- ra- 0- uukata.haar- a.hak -waa -0
 this ABS 3.A interior.wall extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

. "

. "

! "

. "

. "

Hiruiriruahušukátaharu^a

Hiru iriruu'ahuci'uukátahaaru'a

There where the wall of the lodge extended

hiruu	irii-	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	i-	uukata.haar-	u.a	-0
there	where	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	SEQ	interior.wall	extend.this.way	SUB.4

,

hiwihiruwitahkárustarukat^a

hi wihiru witaahkárustaaruuukata

and there bags were hanging

hi	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	karuus-	raar-	uukata	-0
and	now	there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	bag	PL	hang.on.the.west.wall	PERF

. Kitapatkárus^u .

. Kitaapatkárusu' .

. Otterskin bags .

. kitaapat karuus- -u' .

. otter bag NOM .

Nahirarihuksurahkuhásikⁱ

Ráhiira' ríhuksu' raahkuhaásiki

Some only their being ropes

rahiira	rihuks	-u'	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	haas-	0	-ik	-i
---------	--------	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-------	---	-----	----

further alone NOM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B rope be DIST SUB.2

ihí háskatitⁿ , náruhuru
 ihí háskaatit raruuhuúru'
 , uh , black ropes , a meteorite
 , ihii , haas- kaatiit , raruuhuur- -u'
 , uh , rope be.black , meteor NOM

kirikurahkúštak^u

kíriku' raahkúctaku
 perhaps its hanging from it
 kirikuu ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- ta kus -0
 anything INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiataruwitarušítat^{^tⁿ}

Hi Atíra' ruuwitarucítatat
 And Mother there it would be attached to it
 hi ati- raa ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- tatat -0
 and 1.POSS mother there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ be.attached.to PERF

níksu . Aahíhwakⁱ
 ríksu' . A ahíhwaki'
 an arrow . And they said
 riiks- -u' . a ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0
 arrow NOM . and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

“ Náw^a , náwatikⁱs ,
 “ Ráwa ráwa tíkis

: " Now , now , sonny ,
 , " rawa , rawa , tikis ,
 , " now , now , sonny ,

hirutásuht^a ,
 hiru tásuhta .
 there you are to go .
 hiruu ta- s- uh -ta .
 there IND.1/2A 2.A go.INT INT .

Kišihawirisúhairitⁿ ,
 Kici haawiirisuúhaa'iirit ,
 But here you have seen it ;
 kici haa- wii- rii- s- ut- raa- iirik -0 ,
 but here now ASSR 2.A PREV way see PERF ,

títaku
 tiítaku
 here
 tii- -taku
 here LOC

nikutahákaka , ihi
 rikutahaákaka , ihi
 this is our lodge , uh
 riku- ta- t- rak- akaa -0 , ihii
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling PERF , uh

, tirəstápakihu ,
 tirastápakihu ,
 , this your saying ,
 , tii- ra- s- rak- waki.a -hus
 , this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tirəstákuriwawⁱ ,
 tirastákuriiwaawi
 these of you living
 tii- ra- s- rak- hurii -waa -wi
 this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

nawiráhis^u .
 raawiiraáhisu' .
 warriors .
 raawiir.aah.his -u' .
 warrior NOM .

Hirikuritúhata^a
 Hi rikuriitúhatta'a
 And we are the ones who are the cause
 hi riku- rii- t- ut- rak- raar -'
 and that.is ASSR 1.A PREV 1/2.PL be.the.cause EX

nawiráhis^u nákuar^a
 raawiiraáhisu' ráku'aara
 a warrior to become
 raawiir.aah.his -u' ra- 0- ku- aar -a
 warrior NOM INF.A 3.P INF.B become SUB.1

tihárahakakawⁱ .
 tihaárahaakakaawi . "
 this lodge of ours . "
 tii- haa- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi . "
 this here ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L . "

Ahúta pířəskⁱ ,
 Ahuúta pířaski
 He did it the boy :
 ar- ri- 0- ut- aar -0 piiras- -kis ,

EV CONT.3A 3.A PREV do PERF boy DIM ,

irihawásikuhituhurahuru

irii hawá sikúhiituhurahúru'

what also whatever they did to him

irii haawa si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- uhur- rahur.ra'uk -0
what also DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV now do.to PERF

, hiahakírika^a .
hi ahakírika'a .
and he awoke .
hi ar- ra- 0- kirika.aar -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A wake.up PERF .

Hírihiwihiruahíhi

Hi irihii wihiru ahíhi'

And that other there it was

hi irii- hii wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- ihii -0
and that other now there EV CONT.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

iríahas^a

irí'ahaasa

where he had lain

irii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0 kita- -haar -hiri'
where EV ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 on.top LOC LOC

kitaháhirⁱ

kitahaáhiri'

on top the hill

. Híruahiwiška ,
. Hiru ahíwícka' "
. Then he thought : "
. hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , "
. then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , "

kirakírikirəsu^{^tⁿ}

Kíra kíriki rasuú'ut

I wonder why it is

kira kirikii ra- s- ut- 0 -'
perhaps what ABS 2.A PREV be EX

tikarahatúhkaharawirir^a

tikaraahatúhkahaarawiriira

this my not smelling good

tii- kara- ar- ra- t- uur- kahaa.ara -wi hiir -a
this NEG EV ABS 1.A PREV have.an.odor SUB.L be.good SUB.1

.
. ?
.
.

Hiširukukariritušíratihúruk^u

Hi ciru kukariiriitucíraatihúruuku'

And yet I have not been with one (a woman)

hi ciruu ku- kari- rii- t- ut- i- raa- tiihur.uu -uk -:hus
and yet INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ way be.around DIST IMPF

. Ah !
. " A
. " Ah ,
. " a ,
. " ah ,

hiwihiruahúšira^a

hi wihiru ahúcira'a

and there it was the cause of it

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- ut- i- raar -'
and now there EV ABS PREV SEQ be.the.cause EX

:
,
,

ahutarəsurikátak^u
ahuutarasurikáta^{ku}
he had food on himself

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	aras-	uri.kata.kus	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	cooked.food	carry.under.one's.arm	PERF

tákask ⁱ	,	áiš
taákaski		a íc
; dried meat		and potatoes
, taakas	-kis	a íc
, dried.meat	DIM	and wild.potato

ahutarəstaruríkatak^u
ahuutarastaaruríkata^{ku}
he had food on himself

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	aras-	raar-	uri.kata.kus	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	cooked.food	PL	carry.under.one's.arm	PERF

. Hiruwíwitətⁿ
. Hiru wiwiti'at
. Then he went
. hiruu wii- wi- ti- 0- at -0
. then now QUOT IND.3A 3.A go PERF

iríahakitkahak^u
irí'ahakitkahaahku
where the village was

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	kitka.haar-	kus	-0	.
-------	-----	-----	----	-------------	-----	----	---

where EV ABS 3.A earth.lodge.village be.sitting SUB.4 .

Híruahušⁱa

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

aahárəstušⁱtⁿ

a ahaárastuucit

and he took up the food

a ar- ra- 0- aras- ruuci.ik -0
and EV ABS 3.A cooked.food pick.up PERF

hiruwitararəstarawiháhkaⁱ

hiru witaararastaarawihaáhkaⁱ

then he threw the food down a bank yonder

hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- aras- raar- awi- haahka- iir -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV cooked.food PL image in.a.ravine put PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiiruaⁱhiwakarakáəs

Hi iriruu'ahiwakaraahká'as

And thereupon he cried

hi irii- ruu- ar- ri- 0- wakaraar- kaas -0
and then then EV CONT.3A 3.A voice break PERF

. Ahasákuh[^]tⁿ

. Ahasákuhat

. The sun passed by
 . ar- ra- 0- sakur- hak -0
 . EV ABS 3.A sun pass.by PERF

ahakitárikⁱ .
 ahakitaáriki .
 while he was standing on top .
 ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -i .
 EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing SUB.2 .

Aahasakúris^{^tⁿ} ,
 A ahasakúriisat
 And the sun went down
 a ar- ra- 0- sakur- iis.at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A sun go.out.of.sight PERF

híaharətkⁱ ,
 hi aharátkii'a
 and it became night
 hi ar- ra- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 and EV ABS 3.A be.night INCH PERF

híahar^{i^{tⁿ}} .
 hi ahaárit .
 and he stood .
 hi ar- ra- 0- arik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A be.standing PERF .

Wiruwitahisáhist^a
 Wiruuwitahiisáhista
 Now it was going to be dawn
 wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- hiis- a -his -ta
 now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF INT

, hiahíhwakⁱ “
 hi ahíhwaki’ “
 and they said : “
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Náwatikⁱs ,
 Ráwa tíkis
 Now , sonny ,
 rawa , tikis ,
 now , sonny ,

awikarirúši

a wikariirúci’
 and it is not to be
 a wii- kari- ra- 0- ut- i- 0 -0
 and now EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

, hirúšuksətⁿ .
 . Hiru súksat .
 . There go on !
 . hiruu i- s- uks- at -0 .
 . there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS go PERF .

Kišihawirisuháiritⁿ ,

Kici haawiirisuuhaá’iirit
 But now you have seen them
 kici haa- wii- rii- s- ut- raa- iirik -0
 but here now ASSR 2.A PREV way see PERF

tírahakakawⁱ

tírahaakakaawi

this lodge of ours

tii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi

this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L

nawiráhis^u .
raawiiraáhisu' .
warriors .
raawiir.aah.his -u' .
warrior NOM .

Hirukásiətⁿ ,
Hiru kaási'at .
So you must go .
hiruu kaas- s- i- at -0 .
then POT.2A 2.A SEQ go PERF .

kišiwitasúhairitⁿ ,
Kici witasuúhaa'iirit .
But you have seen it .
kici wii- ta- s- ut- raa- iirik -0 .
but now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV way see PERF

áwiriskuhakirⁱtⁿ .
a wiriskúhaakiirit .
and now you have seen us .
a wii- rii- s- ku- ut- rak- iirik -0 .
and now ASSR 2.A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL see PERF .

"
"
"
"
"

Náwa ,
Ráwa

Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

hiirirúaha

hi iriiruú'ahaa'a'
 and then he came on

hi irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- a- a -0
 and then then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

píraski wiaharahúrawit^a ,
 piiraski wi'aharahuúrawiita .
 the boy after he had ceased (crying) .
 piiras- -kis wii- ar- ra- 0- rahuur.awi.at -a .
 boy DIM when EV ABS 3.A cease SUB.1 .

wiahasakuhkátawiš^{^tⁿ}

Wi'ahasakuhkátawicat

The sun had climbed up to it

wii- ar- ra- 0- sakur- kata- wic.at -0
 now EV ABS 3.A sun against.a.vertical.surface arrive PERF

. Aaháwiš^{^tⁿ} .
 . A aháwicat .
 . And he arrived .
 . a ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 .
 . and EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF .

Ikaruráiwətⁿ

I karuuraa'iiwat .
 And he did not tell the story .
 i ka- ra- 0- uur- raa.iiwaat -0 .
 and NEG ABS 3.A PREV tell.a.story PERF .

Hirirəsáh^t

Hi riirásahat

And he grew up

hi rii- 0- rasahat -0
and ASSR 3.P grow.up PERF

wiráwari

wiráwari

as he went about

wii- ra- 0- warii -hus
when ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ráwirakur^u

raáwiirakuuru' . Hiruríwiška
(on) the warpath . Hiru riíwicka'
raawiiraak.huur -u' . hiruu rii- 0- wicka -0
war.party NOM . then ASSR 3.A think PERF

Then he thought

“ Náwa , kirákatu ,
“ Ráwa kúra kátu' .
: “ Now let's see about it .
, “ rawa kira katuu .
, “ now perhaps oh.my .

kirakírikirəsitašiksu

Kúra kíriki rasiítaciksu'

Let's see what you think about it

kira kirikii ra- s- ir- ut- aciks -hus
perhaps what ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV think.of IMPF

. "
. "
. "

. "

Hiruiriahuháiritⁿ

Hiru irii'ahúhaa'íirit

Then what he saw

hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- iirik -0
then what EV ABS 3.A PREV way see SUB.4

nikuwitirarakárus^u

rikuwitírara

that is the one he carried

riku- wi- ti- 0- raar- raah -0 káruusu' -u'
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF bag NOM

. Hiruaahariwíspišətⁿ

. Hiru a ahaariwípicat

. Then and the war party arrived

. hiruu a ar- ra- 0- iriwis- wic.at -0
. then and EV ABS 3.A war.party arrive PERF .

Witikahurarukátasa

Witikáhuraarukátasa

Timber lay at the base

wi- ti- 0- kahuraar- hukata sa -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A brushy.area be.a.curve be.lying PERF

, híruahiwaku

. Hiru ahiwáku'

. Then he said:

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

Tihátaku

Tihaátaku

This place

tii- haa- -taku
here here LOC

kístatarušpaw^u

kistattarucpaáwu

you'll make fires

kii- i- s- rak- ta.ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL make.a.fire DIST PERF

"

"

"

"

"

Híruahikata^htⁿ

Hiru ahíkata'at

Then he went up

hiruu ar- ri- 0- kata- at -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

áahakitarⁱtⁿ

a áhakitaarit

and he stood on top

a ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
and EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

áahakitarⁱtⁿ

a áhakitaarit

and he stood on top

a ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
and EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

Wítiwaku “
 Witiwáku’ “
 He had said : “
 wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Karisiriratarúša
 Kariisiriiraattaaruúcaa’
 Don't get up

kara- i- s- ir- i- rak- raar- uca.a -0
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A SEQ 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A get.up PERF

. " nkaa !
 . " líka’a
 . " Oh my ,
 . " iika’a ,
 . " oh.my ,

tuhúri ,
 tuuhúri .
 the place was nice .
 ti- 0- uur- huraar- hiir -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV earth be.good PERF .

túhwāri .
 Túhwaari .
 The hill was nice .
 ti- 0- uur- waa- hiir -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV hill be.good PERF .

Áahakitar^tn
 A áhakitaarit
 And he stood on top ,
 a ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0 ,

and EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF ,
 áahakitar^tn . Náwa^a
 a áhakitaarit . Ráwa
 and he stood on top . Now
 a ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0 . rawa
 and EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF . now

, aharətki^a ,
 aharatkii'a
 , it became night
 , ar- ra- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 , EV ABS 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hiahatawíra .
 hi ahaatawíraa' .
 and he came down .
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- tawiraa- a -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A down come PERF .

Nusiahirikárurukusititⁿ
 Ruusi'ahiriikaáruukusitit
 Then they began feeding him

ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- kaaruur- ra'uk -:hus -itik
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ meal make IMPF INCH

níhkit^a
 ríhkita .
 the leader .
 rihkita .
 leader .

wisiwiti^{pawáktik}^u
 Wisiwiti^{paawáktiiku}'

Now they were talking to him

wii- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus
now DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN talk IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Náwa^a , wiritkasítitⁿ
Ráwa wiritkasítit
Now , he fell asleep
rawa , wii- ri- 0- itka -his -itik
now , now CONT.3A 3.A sleep PERF INCH

níhkita . Híritka
ríhkita . Hi rítka
the leader . And he slept
rihkita . hi ra- 0- itka -0
leader . and ABS 3.A sleep PERF

híahihwakⁱ ,
hi ahíhwaki'
and they said
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

tirakáwirawirahis^u
tirákaawi raawiiraáhisu'
this lodge warriors
tii- ra- 0- akaa -wi raawiir.aah.his -u'
this ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L warrior NOM

, “ Nikutahápiška ,
 “ Rikutahápicka’
 : “ It is what we wanted
 , " riku- ta- t- rak- wicka -0
 , " that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL think PERF

tiiriwírəsutar^a ,
 ti’iriwírəsuutaara
 this that you have done
 tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -a
 this that now ABS 2.A PREV do SUB.1

nikúrəskutar^a .
 rikuraskuutaára .
 for you to do that .
 riku- ra- s- ku- ut- aar -a .
 that.is INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1 .

Náwahíru
 Ráwa híru’ .
 Now go on !
 rawa híru’ .
 now go.on .

hirurikutútəst^a ,
 Hiru rikutuútasta
 There that is what is going to be
 hiruu riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta
 there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

iriwirəstárəspi . "
 iriwirastaáraspi . "
 that which you seek . "
 irii- wii- ra- s- raa.raspii -0 . "

what now ABS 2.A look.for SUB.4 . "

Wiwitítka

Wiwitítka

He was sleeping

wii- wi- ti- 0- itka -0
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A sleep PERF

hisiahiruharikáah^u

hi si'ahiiruhaarikaá'aahu'

and they were telling him

hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -:hus
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV tell.to IMPF

, nawiráhis^u ,
raawiiraáhisu'
warriors
raawiir.aah.his -u'
warrior NOM

tirákwai

tirákaawi

this lodge

tii- ra- 0- akaa -wi
this ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

nikusiwirituharikáahu

rikusiwitiiruhaarikaá'aahu'

that is what they were telling him

riku- si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -:hus
that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV tell.to IMPF

. Náwa , hirúwirar^{^t}
. Ráwa hiru wiiraárat

. Now , then now he went on .
 . rawa , hiruu wii- ra- 0- ar- at -0 .
 . now , then now ABS 3.A EV go PERF .

Náw^a , iríahihwaki^a ,
 Ráwa irii'ahihwaki'a ,
 Now as they had said
 rawa irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -a
 now when EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL SUB.1

aahurarahuríruhšⁱ
 a ahuraarahuríruhci'
 and he took many of them
 a ar- ra- 0- uur- raar- rahuur- riruhci -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P carrying be.numerous PERF

, arús^a .
 aruúsa' .
 horses .
 aruusaa .
 horse .

Hiahušahikstáhkuš^u
 Hi ahú' cahikstaáhkucu'
 And it was a large crowd
 hi ar- ra- 0- uu -0 icaahiks raar- -kucuu
 and EV ABS 3.A be PERF person PL AUG

. Híruahiwiška níhkit^a
 . Hiru ahiwícka' ríhkita
 . Then he thought the leader :
 . hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 rihkita ,
 . then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF leader ,

ári , arikuritáwiška
 “ Ári’ a rikuriitáwicka’
 “ Oh , and that is what I do want
 " arii , a riku- rii- t- ar- wicka -0
 " oh , and that.is ASSR 1.A EV want PERF

, arikuritáwiška .
 . A rikuriitáwicka’ . "
 . And that is what I do want . "
 . a riku- rii- t- ar- wicka -0 . "
 . and that.is ASSR 1.A EV want PERF . "

Kitúarus^a

Kítuu’u’ aruúsa’
 All horses
 kituu -u’ aruusaa
 all NOM horse

aahatáru .
 a ahaattáru .
 and he gave them to them .
 a ar- ra- 0- ak- raar- uh -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF .

Kirakusikariráru

Kíra kusikariráru

They gave him about that many

kira ku- si- ka- ri- 0- ir- raar- uh -0
 perhaps INDF DU Y/N.INTER CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

, súhuks , kuskíksapiš .
 súhuks ku ckíkksaapic .
 five or six .
 suhuks ku ickíkksaapic .

five INDF six .

Hitihíahuta ,

Hi tihí'ahuuta

And its being another time

hi tii- hii- ar- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
and here other EV ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

tihíahaætⁿ ;

tihí'aha'at .

he went this other way .

tii- hii- ar- ra- 0- at -0 .
this other EV ABS 3.A go PERF .

híruahiwišk^a ,

Hiru ahiwícka' " .

Then he thought : " .

hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , "
then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , "

kírahaw^a .

Kíra haáwa' . "

Perhaps also . "

kira haawa . "

perhaps also . "

Aharukíriwih^u .

Aharuukíriwiihu' .

He changed the way .

ar- ra- 0- raa- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0 .
EV ABS 3.A way be.different CAUS PERF .

Híruahíætⁿ .

Hiru ahí'at .

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

Iríahawak^a .
 irií'ahawaaka .
 where he said .
 irii- ar- ra- 0- waak -a .
 where EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 .

Áhawaku “
 Ahawáku’ “
 He said : “
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ”
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Iharakáhuraru^a
 Ihaarakáhuraaru'a
 That brush extending over there
 ii- haa- ra- 0- a- kahuraar- u.a -0
 that here ABS 3.A PREV.3A brushy.area extend.this.way SUB.4

kístətahkaukətⁿ
 kístattahka'uukut
 you (pl) go into the brush
 kii- i- s- rak- raar- ka- uukuk -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A in.the.brush get.into PERF

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Nuahiurír^tn , háw^a .
 Ruu'ahi'uuriírít haáwa' .
 Then he stopped also .
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- uuri.arik -0 haawa .
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A stop PERF also .

Iriwíahakik^{^t}n .
 Iriwí'ahakikat .
 There he now cried .
 irii- wii- ar- ra- 0- kikak -0 .
 there now EV ABS 3.A cry PERF .

Aharətki^a
 Aharatkií'a
 It became night
 ar- ra- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 EV ABS 3.A be.night INCH PERF

aaháwiš^a . Náw^a ,
 a ahaáwica' . Ráwa
 and he came back . Now ,
 a ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 . rawa ,
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF . now ,

hirusiahišiwawaktíkusi^tn
 hiru si'ahiiciwaawaktíkusi^tn
 then they began talking to him
 hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik

then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN SEQ talk IMPF INCH

. Híahawaku “
 . Hi ahawáku’ “
 . And he said : “
 . hi ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 . and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Karistáraktaruša .
 Karistaraaktaarúcaa’ .
 You must not get up .
 ka- rii- s- rak- raar- uca.a -0 .
 NEG ASSR 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A get.up PERF .

" Náwa , hirirótki^a
 " Ráwa hi riirátkii’a
 " Now , and it became night
 " rawa , hi rii- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 " now , and ASSR 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hiwítirirawáwauš
 hi wítirirawaáwa’uc
 and they each lay down
 hi witi- ra- 0- ir- ar- awaawa- uc -0
 and REFL ABS 3.A PL.3A EV DIST lie.down PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hihawariruharíka
 Hi hawá riruhaaríkaa’

And also he told him
 hi haawa ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 and also ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV tell.to PERF

. Ahawáku , “ Náwa
 . Ahawáku’ “ Ráwa
 . He said : “ Now
 . ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , " rawa
 . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now

wírikututəst^a

wirikutuútasta

this time it is going to be

wii- riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

irirəstárəspi . " Náw^a ,
 irirastaáraspi . " Ráwa
 what you are seeking . " Now ,
 irii- ra- s- raa.raspii -0 . " rawa ,
 what ABS 2.A look.for SUB.4 . " now ,

wiráririwistətⁿ

wiraáririwistat

he took the warriors

wii- ra- 0- ar- iriwis- ra- at -0 .
 now ABS 3.A EV war.party PORT go PERF .

Hiruríhira

Hi ruuríhiira’

And a short way off

hi ruurihiira’

and farther

hisiahirá^u

hi si'ahiraá'u

and they gave him a way (ie power)

hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A way give PERF

nakúrahira^a

rakúraahiira

its being a good way

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

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

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

kútatakuah^u

kútaattaku'aahu'

it seems a group is coming

ku- ti- 0- a- aktaku- a -:hus . "
INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A group come IMPF . "

Hirurihkutašikskapákis^u

Hiru rihkuutacikskapaákisu

There the ones that had pitied him

hiruu ra- 0- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
there INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

ahúkstahkawawi

ahúkstaahkaawaawi

the ones that had been inside

ar- ra- 0- uks- raar- kaa -waa -wi

EV ABS 3.A AOR PL.INDV.A be.inside DIST SUB.L

nahúrahkiⁱ

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

Ahúksakawawⁱ

ahúksakawaawi

the lodges that were

ar- ra- 0- uks- akaa -waa -wi
EV ABS 3.A AOR be.a.dwelling DIST SUB.L

Hawáahaætⁿ

hawá ahá'at

also he went

haawa ar- ra- 0- at -0
also EV ABS 3.A go PERF

Wiwitihwakíahu

Wiwitihwakí'aahu'

Now they were saying

wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

ⁿka^a ! tirakupíræskⁱ

Íika'a , tiraáku piíraski

Oh my , this boy

iika'a , tii- ra- 0- kus -0 piiras- -kis

oh.my , this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 boy DIM

iriwituráhi

iriwituráahi

it is good

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

tiráwari . Náwa^a

tiráwari . " Ráwa

this one going about . " Now

tii- ra- 0- warii -hus . " rawa

this ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . " now

,

,

,

,

pitkuwíwítákaríkstiwiša

pítku wíwítakaríkstíwica'

two he had brought herds back

pitku wii- wi- ti- 0- a- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
two now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT arrive PERF

.

.

.

.

hitiháaha^{^tⁿ} ;

Hi tihí'aha'at .

And he went another time .

hi tii- hii- ar- ra- 0- at -0 .

and this other EV ABS 3.A go PERF .

rúahiwiška ,
 Ruú'ahiwicka' "
 Then he thought : "
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , "
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , "

kítarukiriwih^u
 Kítaruukiriwiihu'
 Let me do it differently
 kii- i- t- ar- raa- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A EV way be.different CAUS PERF

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Hiruiriahuháwir^{tⁿ}
 Hiru irii'ahúhaawiirit
 There where he had seen the things
 hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0
 there where EV ABS 3.A PREV way DIST see SUB.4

síahirahukat^a
 si'ahírahuukata
 where they had taken him inside
 si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ra- huuk- at -a
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT into go SUB.1

Aharukiriwih^u
 aharuukiriwiihu'
 he was changing the way
 ar- ra- 0- raa- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0

EV ABS 3.A way be.different CAUS PERF

aharáruhkuⁱ .
 aharaáruhkuuki .
 the things he had .
 ar- ra- 0- raar- ruhka'uk -i .
 EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 .

Íriahawakahu . n'ka^a
 Irii'ahawaákahu . " Íika'a
 Where he was saying . " My
 irii- ar- ra- 0- waaka -hus . " iika'a
 where EV ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB . " oh.my

! Tuhkahúrari .
 tuhkáhuraari . "
 , it is nice woodland . "
 , ti- 0- uur- kahuraar- hiir -0 . "
 , IND.3A 3.A PREV brushy.area be.good PERF . "

Tihwakíahu títaku
 Tihwakí'aahu' " Tiítaku
 They were saying : " Here
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " tii- -taku
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , " here LOC

nikuwitišiksakirihúsuku
 rikuwitiiciksakiirihúsuku'
 it is where they always used to stay overnight
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- ak- hiir-i -:hus -uuku
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR PL.AN.3P stay.overnight IMPF HAB

wirahkukitaúriri^{tⁿ}
 wiraahkukita'uúriirit

when he would stand on top (the hill)

wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	kita-	uuri.arik	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	on.top	stand.upright	SUB.4

,	nawiráhis ^u	,
	raawiiraáhisu'	
	a warrior	
	raawiir.aah.his	-u'
	warrior	NOM

wíahaar ^a						píræsk ⁱ	.
wí'aha'aara						piíraski	. "
when he became						a boy	. "
wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	aar	-a	piiras-	-kis
when	EV	ABS	3.P	become	SUB.1	boy	DIM

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

níkuwituta							;
ríkuwituuta							
that is what he did							
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	

tirátpari						kíši
tirátpari						kici
when I lived						but
tii-	ra-	t-	warii		-hus	kici
this	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB	but

šahiksíšahiks ,
 cahiksícahiks
 Indians
 icaahiks icaahiks
 person person

witikúhar^u ,
 witikuúhaaru'
 He made the way for me
 wi- ti- 0- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN way make PERF

nakátka ,
 rakútka
 to sleep
 ra- 0- ku- itka -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B sleep SUB.4

hiwiturutašikskápakⁱ ,
 hi wítiruutacikskápaakis
 and it was feeling sorry for him
 hi witi- ra- 0- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 and REFL ABS 3.A PREV feel.pity.for PERF

nihkuharíka^a
 rihkuuhaaríkaa'a
 when it revealed it to him
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PREV reveal.to SUB.4

, nahkútka .
 raahkútka .
 when he slept .
 ra- 0- ar- ku- itka -0 .

INF.A 3.A EV INF.B sleep SUB.4 .

Hiruiriwikuwiritáwari

Hiru iriwikuwiritaraátawari

Then that was the way among us

hiruu irii- wii- ku- wi- ti- 0- raa- tawi -0
then that now INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF

;
.
.
.
.

irikuhihuhatawášt^u

Irikuuhikuuhaattáwictu'

That was one picked out among us

irii- kuur- ri- 0- ku- ut- rak- tawi -his ra'uk -0
that DUB CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 1/2.PL be.among PERF make PERF

, kísⁱ .
kiici'
but ,
kici ,
but ,

Hihawáruahiwiška

hi hawá ruú'ahiwicka'

and also then he thought

hi haawa ruu- ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 ,
and also then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF ,

“

“
”
”

kírahawaihukirih^u

Kíra hawá ihuukíruihu’
Now again I’ll change the way
kira haawa i- t- raa- ikirit ^u -ra’uk -0
perhaps also CONT.1/2A 1.A way be.different CAUS PERF

. Náw^a ,
. ” Ráwa
. ” Now ,
. ” rawa ,
. ” now ,

hawáwirariruwist^{tⁿ}

hawá wiiraáriruwistat .
again now he took warriors out .
haawa wii- ra- 0- iriwis- ra- at -0 .
also now ABS 3.A war.party PORT go PERF .

Hawáwiritirukiwi

Hawá wiritiruúkiwi
Also now it was different
haawa wii- wi- ti- 0- raa- ikiwir -0
also now QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.different PERF

, aháruhkuⁱ ,
aháruhkuuki
the things he carried
ar- ra- 0- raar- ruhka’uk -i
EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

iríahuhawir^tn .
 irii'ahúhaawiirit .
 the things he had seen .
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0 .
 that EV ABS 3.A PREV way DIST see SUB.4 .

Áhawaku " Náwa ,
 Ahawáku' " Ráwa
 He said : " Now
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now

nétaku ,
 rátaku
 here
 ra- 0- ta kus -0
 ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

sukstakiriwispít^tn .
 sukstaákiriwispiitit .
 you warriors sit down !
 i- s- uks- rak- iriwis- wi.itik -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL war.party sit.down PERF .

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Kišiwisiwitiiráit^a
 Kici wisiwitiiraá'iita
 But they now knew
 kici wii- si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0

but now DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

, ahakitaúrirítⁿ ,
. Ahakita'úúriirit
. He stood on a hill
. ar- ra- 0- kita- uuri.arik -0
. EV ABS 3.A on.top stand.upright PERF

iriahakitárikih .
irii'ahakitaárikí .
where he stood on the hill .
irii- ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -i .
where EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing SUB.2 .

Náw^a , aahatawirá^{^t}ⁿ .
Ráwa a ahatawiraá'at .
Now , and he went down .
rawa , a ar- ra- 0- tawiraa- at -0 .
now , and EV ABS 3.A down go PERF .

Wiwitinátki^a ,
Wiwitirátkii'a
It now became night
wii- wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

híahawiš^{^t}ⁿ . Nawa ,
hi ahawícat . Ráwa
and he arrived . Now ,
hi ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 . rawa ,
and EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF . now ,

kírikirutarišt^a ,
kíríki ruutárista

what was he to do
kirikii ra- 0- ut- aar -his -ta
what ABS 3.A PREV do PERF INT

sikaraišiwawáktiku
sikara'iiciwaawáktiku

when they would not talk to him

si- kara- ii- ir- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -hus
DU NEG SUBJ.3A PL.3A BEN SEQ talk IMPF.SUB

. Wiwítiráit^a
. Wiwítiraá'iita
. They now knew

. wii- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0
. now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

,

hiwítáru rišahikstariruhšⁱ

hi wíwítáruuricahikstaaríruhci'

and now he had a great many people (with him)

hi wii- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -0
and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A person PL be.numerous PERF

. Aahótka ,

. A ahaátka

. And he slept

. a ar- ra- 0- itka -0
. and EV ABS 3.A sleep PERF

witikúhauš ,
 witikuúha'uc
 after he lay down
 witi- kuur- ra- 0- uc -0
 REFL DUB ABS 3.A lie.down PERF

hiahirairáwatⁿ
 hi ahiriiraa'ííwat
 and he was told things
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

. Nawirahisú ,
 . Raawiiraáhisu'
 . The warrior
 . raawiir.aah.his -u'
 . warrior NOM

irikuhakítawⁱ ,
 iriikuuhakítawi'
 the one who was leader
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- kita.wi -0
 who DUB ABS 3.A be.a.leader PERF

tiahákawi
 ti'ahákaawi
 this lodge
 tii- ar- ra- 0- akaa -wi
 this EV ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

Ahawáku " Náwa ,
 ahawáku' " Ráwa ,
 he said : " Now ,
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now ,

irirasíška^a

iriirasícka'a

what you want

irii- ra- s- wicka -a
what ABS 2.A want SUB.1

nákuta . Náw^a ,

rákuuta ráwa

for it to be , now

ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a , rawa
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 , now

wírikututəst^a .

wirikutuútasta .

that is what is going to be .

wii- riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta .
now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT .

Nawahíru . " Náwa

Ráwa híru' . " Ráwa

Now go on ! " Now

rawa híru' . " rawa

now go.on . " now

tihwakíah^u , "

tihwakí'aahu' " "

they were saying : "

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

Wiraririwíst^{tⁿ} ,

Wiiraaririwístat .

Now he took the warriors
 wii- ra- 0- ar- iriwis- ra- at -0
 now ABS 3.A EV war.party PORT go PERF

hiruwiraririwíst^h
 Hiru wiiraaririwístat
 There he now took the warriors
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ar- iriwis- ra- at -0
 there now ABS 3.A EV war.party PORT go PERF

Tihwakíah^h “
 " Tihwakí'aahu' “
 " They were saying “
 " ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus “
 " IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF “

Hiruirikuhuhaíwiš^h
 Hiru iriikúhuuhaa'íwicat
 There wherever it was he came upon it
 hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa- raa.ii.wic.at -0
 there where DUB ABS 3.A PREV way come.upon PERF

,
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

hiwihiruahátakuah^h
 Hi wihiru ahaáttaku'aahu'
 And there a group was coming
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- aktaku- a -:hus
 and now there EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A group come IMPF

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

híahirəs ;

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

ásiahiraki .
 a si'ahiíraki' .
 and they struck them .
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- kii -0 .
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P strike PERF .

nka^a !
 líka'a
 Oh my ,
 iika'a ,
 oh.my ,

nahwawituraríruhšⁱ .
 ráhwa wituraaríruhci' .
 captives there were many !
 rahwa wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.riruhci -0 .
 captive QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.dangerous PERF .

Iríaha^u
 Irií'aha'u
 Its being the one
 irii- ar- ra- 0- 0 -u

that EV ABS 3.A be SUB.D

nakuwíška^a , “
raahkuwícka’a “
his thinking “
ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a “
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 ”

Kiratítaku . ”
Kíra tiitaku , ”
Perhaps here , ”
kira tii- -taku , ”
perhaps here LOC , ”

Ahitašikskapákis^u ,
ahiitacikskapaákisu
when he was pitied
ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

ahurakukatarawiráhis^u
ahuurakuúkata raawiiraáhisu’
when he went in theirs the warriors
ar- ra- 0- uur- ak- huuk- at -a raawiir.aah.his -u’
EV ABS 3.A POSS.P PL.AN.3P into go SUB.1 warrior NOM

.
. .
. .
. .

Wírirətakuah^u
Wíriirattaku’aahu’

Now the group was coming

wii-	ri-	0-	a-	ir-	aktaku-	a	-:hus
now	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	group	come	IMPF

;

;

,

,

wírirakušir^a

wiiriiraakusiira'

now the party came

wii-	ri-	0-	a-	ir-	raa-	kusiir-	a	-0
now	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	way	group.to.run	come	PERF

;

;

,

,

wirirakusíhwiš^a

wiriiraakusíhwica'

now the party arrived

wii-	ri-	0-	a-	ir-	raa-	kusiir-	wic.a	-0
now	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	way	group.to.run	arrive	PERF

. Kitkahahpákuht^u

éskuhurar^u

. Kitkahaahpákuhtu'

áskuhuraaru'

. Old Village

the same place

. kitka.haar-

pakuht

-u'

asku huraar-

-u'

. earth.lodge.village

be.old

NOM

one

earth

NOM

hirurikuwituháhurawa

hiru rikuwituhaáhurahwa

there that is where everything had its origin

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- hurar -waa -0
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Náw^a ,

Ráwa

Now ,

rawa ,

now ,

hihawasistúriatⁿ

hi hawá sístu ruurí'at .

and also again then he went .

hi haawa sistu ruu- ri- 0- at -0 .

and also again there CONT.3A 3.A go PERF .

Karurirataháriwa .

Karuuriraataháriwa

The times were not close together ,

ka- ruu- ri- 0- raa- tahaari -waa -0 ,

NEG then CONT.3A 3.A way be.close DIST PERF ,

Kiširahkúrakir^u ,

kici raahkúraakiiru

but its being a long time ,

kici ra- 0- ar- ku- raa.kiir -u ,

but INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.long SUB.D ,

nahkúrakir^u .
raahkúraakiiru .
its being a long time .
ra- 0- ar- ku- raa.kiir -u .
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.long SUB.D .

Hawasistúrikuahuta

Hawá sístu ríku'ahuuta
Also again that is what he did
haawa sistu ríku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
also again that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

iríahutari ,
irí'ahuutári .
what he had been doing .
iríi- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -i .
what EV ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF.SUB .

hiruwítitaruš .
Hiru wítitaaruc .
Then he would lie down .
hiruu witi- ti- 0- ar- uc -0 .
then REFL IND.3A 3.A EV lie.down PERF .

Hiwítiriruraíwætⁿ

Hi witiiriruuraa'íwat
And he was told by them
hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- uur- raa.iivaat -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

, hirúrahkətk^a “
hiru raahkútka “

then	when he slept	:	“
hiruu	ra- 0- ar- ku- itka -0	,	”
then	INF.A 3.A EV INF.B sleep SUB.4	,	”

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

hirúrikututést^a

hiru	rikutuúta						
then	this is what is going to be						
hiruu	riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta						
then	that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT						

irirəstárəspi	.	”
iriirastaáraspi	.	”
what you seek	.	”
irii- ra- s- raa.raspii -0	.	”
what ABS 2.A look.for SUB.4	.	”

Hihawawihiruahiítətⁿ

Hi	hawá	wihiru		ahiítat			
And	also	there		it was a village			
hi	haawa	wii- hiruu	ar- ri- 0- itak -0				
and	also	now there	EV CONT.3A 3.A be.a.camp PERF				

.	Náw ^a ,	wirirúrəs	.
.	Ráwa	wiiríruuras	.
.	Now ,	now they ran	.
.	rawa ,	wii- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0	.
.	now ,	now ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF	.

Sikuhirətáwašitⁿ

Sikúhiirattaáwacitit

They ran them out of it

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	ra-	awacitik	-0
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go.out	PERF

,

;

,

,

wisírirurakiturətⁿ

wisíiruuraakíturat

they took the village from them

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ar-	uur-	ak-	ituur-	ra-	at	-0
now	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	PL.AN.3P	village	PORT	go	PERF

.

.

.

.

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Akitakukukakikáwari

Aki táku' kukaakikaáwari'

And here there were not any in it

a-	ki	taku	ku-	kaaki-	0-	kaa-	warii	-:hus
and	there	someone	INDF	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	inside	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

,	píta	.	ⁿ ka ^a	!	šápat ⁿ
	piíta	.	líka'a		cápaat
	men	.	Oh my	,	women
	wiita	.	iika'a	,	icapaak

man . oh.my , woman

wituráriruhši . Náw^a
wituraaríruhci' . Ráwa
there were many . Now
wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.riruhci -0 . rawa
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.dangerous PERF . now

,

,

,

,

wirirákusir^a
wiiriiraahkúsiira'
now the party came
wii- ri- 0- a- i- raar- kusiir- a -0
now CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A SEQ PL.INDV.A group.to.run come PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Wirirakusíhwiša
Wiiriiraahkusíhwica'
Now the party arrived
wii- ri- 0- a- i- raar- kusiir- wic.a -0
now CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A SEQ PL.INDV.A group.to.run arrive PERF

. Ahawáku , pířaskⁱ “
. Ahawáku' pířaski “

. He said the boy : “
 . ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 piiras- -kis , ”
 . EV ABS 3.A say PERF boy DIM , ”

Náw^a , skítiiks
 Ráwa , kskiiti’iks
 Now , four
 rawa , iks.kiiti’iks
 now , four

nikutatútawarist^a

rikutatuútawaarista

that is what I was going to do

riku- ta- t- ut- aar -waa -his -ta
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do DIST PERF INT

hiituraíwætⁿ

hi itúraa’iiwat .
 and then I’ll tell of it --
 hi i- t- uur- raa.iiwaat -0 --
 and CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV tell.a.story PERF --

Tiirirəpítiku

ti’iriiratpiítiku

here where I was sitting down ,
 tii- irii- ra- t- wi.itik -hus ,
 here where ABS 1.A sit.down IMPF.SUB ,

tiháirirəpítiku ,

tiháá’iriiratpiítiku

here where I was sitting down

tii- haa- irii- ra- t- wi.itik -hus
 here here where ABS 1.A sit.down IMPF.SUB

nətkukíwihkarikⁱ
 ratkukíwihkaariki
 when I stood on sand
 ra- t- ku- kiwikt- ka- arik -i
 INF.A 1.A INF.B sand on be.standing SUB.2

nakiwíhwak^u ;
 rakiwíhwaaku .
 its being a sand hill .
 ra- 0- kiwikt- waa- kus -0 .
 ABS 3.A sand hill be.sitting SUB.4 .

nikutíka
 Rikutíika
 That is where there is a lodge
 riku- ti- 0- akaa -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.a.dwelling PERF

rawiráhisu . Híri^{tⁿ}
 raawiiraáhisu' . Hi rií't
 warriors . And they are
 raawiir.aah.his -u' . hi rii- 0- 0 -ik -0
 warrior NOM . and ASSR 3.A be DIST PERF

, nikutáwikutš^u . "
 rikútawikucu' . "
 hawks . "
 rikutawi- -kucuu . "
 tail AUG . "