

Skiri Narratives, Nine

Roaming Scout

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

witatariraiwatíst^a

witatariiiraa'iiwaátista

I am going to tell you a story

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

,	irár ⁱ	,	šáhiks
	iraári'		cáhiks
,	brother	,	a person
,	i-	-raar-	-ri'
,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B
			icaahiks
			person

ahúhiwiš

ahuúhiwic

he appeared

ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	hiwihc	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	appear	PERF

nakuwarúksti^u

rakuwaarúkstii'u

one who was holy

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

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

witúkspari

witúkspari'

he was going around

wi- ti- 0- uks- warii -:hus
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

parís^u

paariisu' .

a hunter .

paariis- -u' .

hunter NOM .

witukstáræspi

Witukstáræspi'

He was looking for them

wi- ti- 0- uks- raar- raspil -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR 3PL.INAN.P look.for PERF

kítuks . Hiru Aaháwu

kítuks . Hiru a aháwu'

beavers . Then and they were going

kituks . hiruu a ar- ra- 0- wu -:hus

beaver . then and EV ABS 3.A go.PL IMPF

kíškurakuháru^a

kícku' rakuuháruu'a

a few	there being						
kicku	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar.uu	-a	
several	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be.a.number	SUB.1	

šáhiks	píta	.
cáhiks	piíta	.
persons	men	.
icaahiks	wiita	.
person	man	.

Kukúhuharusúhuks

Kukúhuuháru'							súhuks
They numbered about							five
ku-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar.uu	-0	suhuks
INDF	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.a.number	PERF	five

.	Hiruirikuháhura						,
.	Hiru	iriikúhaahúraa					,
.	There	wherever the place was					,
.	hiruu	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	huraar	-0
.	there	where	DUB	ABS	3.A	be.land	PERF

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

híahitətahúru

hi	ahiitattahúru'							
and	they were attacked by them*							
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ak-	rahur.uu	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	attack	PERF

kátahk^a ,
 kátahka
 enemy
 katahkaa
 foreign.tribe

híahitətahúru,
 hi ahiitattahúru'
 and they were attacked by them
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- rahur.uu -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P attack PERF

aahiraipiráriwit^{it}ⁿ
 a ahiirapiraáriwiitit
 and they attacked them
 a ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- wiraar.ri.wi.itik -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P begin.attacking PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

wisiríhkutitⁿ ,
 wisiríhkuutit .
 they killed him .
 wii- si- ri- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .

now DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

iwisirihkútik^a

Iwisirihkuútika

That one they killed

ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a
that now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A kill SUB.1

nikuwitísá^a

ihi

rikuwitiisá'a

ihi

that one was named

, uh ,

riku- wi- ti- 0- asar -' ihii ,

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.named EX , uh ,

Pahukátawa

Paahukaátawa .

Pahukatawa .

Paahukaatawa .

Pahukatawa .

witirahákukⁱ

Wití'

irahaákuki

He was

one of us

wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 ii- ra- t- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2

. Škiríwitⁱ .

. Ckíri wití' .

. Skiri he was .

. ickirir wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 .

. Skiri QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári'

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

hirukaraahiratáharⁱ
 hiru kara'ahiraatáhaari .
 then it was not long afterwards .
 hiruu kara- ar- ri- 0- raa.tahaari -0 .
 then NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A time.to.be.close PERF .

witíraki^a ,
 Witíraakii'a .
 It was later .
 wi- ti- 0- raa.kii -aar -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF .

hiaharahkatáætⁿ
 Hi aharaahkatá'at
 And they went hunting
 hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata.at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A go.hunting PERF

wiahakataráhka^a
 wi'ahaakataaraáhkaa'a
 when the green grass comes up (ie spring)
 wii- ar- ra- 0- a- kataar- raar- kaa.a -0
 when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A green.grass PL come.out SUB.4

hiaharahkátaætⁿ .
 hi aharaahkáta'at .
 and they went hunting .
 hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata.at -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A go.hunting PERF .

Hihirurikuahətakúwišp^a

Hi hiru riku'ahattakúwicpaa'

And then that is where the group arrived

hi hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- a- aktaku- wic.a -wa -0
and then that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A group arrive DIST PERF

iriahás^a

irii'ahaása

where he lay

irii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0
where EV ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

siahikhútik^a

si'ahihkuútika

after they killed him

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

Hiruahirahwišətⁿ

Hiru ahirahwícat

Then they arrived

hiruu ar- ri- 0- raar- wic.at -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A arrive PERF

irisiahikhútik^a

iriisi'ahihkuútika

where they killed him

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a
where DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill SUB.1

Hirihuksuwihiruahiháktiwi^u

Hi ríhuksu' wihiru ahiháktiwiiku

And only there sticks were piled

hi rihuks -u' wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- haak- riwii.kus -0

and alone NOM now there EV CONT.3A 3.A wood be.a.large.pile PERF

,

sikuhikskih^u

sikuúhikskiihu

where they had counted coups

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	uks-	kii	-hus
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	kill.in.battle	IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Awihiruahirikstəšpa

A wihiru ahirikstúcpa

And there there were arrows lying about

a	wii-	hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	riiks-	ra.uc	-wa	-0
and	now	there	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	arrow	be.lying.PL	DIST	PERF

irisikuhíkšak^u

iriisikuuhíkcaku

the ones they were shooting

irii-	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	uks-	cak	-hus
that	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	shoot	IMPF.SUB

atirakáwi^u

a tiraakáwi'u' .

and shells .
 a tiraak.awi -u' .
 and bullet NOM .

Hiwihirukukaraahikísk^u

Hi wihiru kukara'ahikísku
 And there there was not a bone
 hi wii- hiruu ku- kara- ar- ri- 0- kiis- kus -0
 and now there INDF NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A bone be.sitting PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hirusiahirirarəspihšítitⁿ

Hiru si'ahiriiraarəspihcítit
 Then they began to look for him
 hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- uur- raar- raspíi -his -itik
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P look.for PERF INCH

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

ahiruwitaruksawəštáhwari

A hiruwitaruksawactáhwari'
 And then they would even walk around
 a hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- uks- awahc- raar- warii -:hus
 and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV AOR even PL.INDV.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

hikirikisirihkisurésist^a

hi kíriki sirihkiisurásista

and they did not find bones

hi kirikii si- ra- 0- ir- kiis- huras -his -ta
and what DU ABS 3.A PL.3A bone find PERF INT

.
. .
. .
. .

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

wiaharákir^u

wi'aharaákiiru

after a long time

wii- ar- ra- 0- raa.kiir -u
when EV ABS 3.A be.long SUB.D

ahətakúwari ,

ahattakúwari

they traveled in a group

ar- ra- 0- aktaku- warii -:hus
EV ABS 3.A group be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

witiráki^a

witíraakii'a

it was a long time

wi- ti- 0- raa.kii -aar -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

irikuhuhikatíharar^u

iriikúhuuhikatíhaaráru'

however many years it was

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	rikatihaar-	raar-	uu	-0
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.a.year	PL	be	PERF

, híahuhíwiš .
hi ahuhíwic .
and he appeared .
hi ar- ra- 0- uur- hiwihc -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A PREV appear PERF .

Hiahawáku

Hi ahawáku'

And he said

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

irikúhutišís^u

iriikúhuuticiisu

one that was related to him

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

Pahukátawa ,

Paahukaátawa

Pahukatawa

Paahukaatawa

Pahukatawa

asiwituruhwakúraw^u

a siwitiiruhwakuúrawu'

and they doubted what he said
a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- wakuur- raa.wu -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV word doubt IMPF

. Iaharáki^a
. I aharaakii'a .
. And it was awhile later .
. i ar- ra- 0- raa.kii -aar -0 .
. and EV ABS 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF .

wikuháráki^a
Wikuuháraakii'a
It was a long time
wii- kuur- ra- 0- raa.kii -aar -0
now DUB ABS 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

siahawawáktiku .
si'ahawaawáktiku .
their (du) talking .
si- ar- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -hus .
DU EV ABS 3.A talk IMPF.SUB .

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

Tətpari ,
Tátpari' .
I go around .
ta- t- warii -0 .
IND.1/2A 1.A be.going.about PERF .

kakikúhurahəš

Kaakikuúhurahac

I did not die

kaaki-	ku-	hurahac	-0
NEG.IND.3A	1.P	die	PERF

nakuhúrahuš

rakuhúrahac

when I died

ra-	ku-	hurahac	-0	.	Náw ^a
ABS	1.P	die	SUB.4	.	Ráwa
				.	Now
				.	rawa
				.	now

hitírətpari

hi tirátpari

and when I go around

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

təttirahútwiⁱ

tat

I am

ta-	t-	0	-0	tii-	ra-	0-	huta	-wi
IND.1/2A	1.A	be	PERF	this	ABS	3.A	be.windy	SUB.L

tirahútwi

this wind

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

aahawáku

A ahawáku'

And he said

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

Hikitúritⁿ

Hi kítuu'u' rit .
And all I am .
hi kituu -u' rii- t- 0 -0 .
and all NOM ASSR 1.A be PERF .

rahurarahkítu tət ,
Rahuraaraahkítuu'u' tat
All the animals I am
rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' ta- t- 0 -0
animal PL all NOM IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF

atirakusuhukátəs^a

a tirakuusuhuhkátasa
and these flocks flying in the sky
a tii- ra- 0- kus.uhuur- kata- sa -0
and this ABS 3.A flock against.a.vertical.surface be.lying SUB.3

níkuškⁱ kítutət .
ríkucki kítuu'u' tat
birds all I am
rikuc -kis kituu -u' ta- t- 0 -0
bird DIM all NOM IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF

Náw^a , híihi ,
ráwa hi ihi
now and , uh ,
rawa hi , ihii ,
now and , uh ,

tirátpari kítu
tirátpari kítuu'u'

when I go around all
 tii- ra- t- warii -hus kituu -u'
 when ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB all NOM

tirahúraš^a . "
 tirahúraahca . "
 this earth . "
 tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0 . "
 this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3 . "

Wítiwawaku , "
 Witiwaawáku' "
 He said that : "
 wi- ti- 0- waa- waka'u -0 , "
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say PERF , "

Kítu tət
 Kítuu'u' tat
 All I am
 kituu -u' ta- t- 0 -0
 all NOM IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF

tirahúraš^a a
 tirahúraahca a
 this earth and
 tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0 a
 this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3 and

tirahapáwⁱ a ,
 tiráhaapaawi a
 these trees and
 tii- ra- 0- haak- waa -wi a
 this ABS 3.A wood be.upright.DIST SUB.L and

tirahíhwawⁱ ,
 tiráhihwaawi ,
 these grasses ,
 tii- ra- 0- hiir waa -wi ,
 this ABS 3.A grass be.upright.DIST SUB.L ,

kítu tirakĩšuhətⁿ
 kítuu'u' tirákiicuhat
 all this water
 kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- kiic- u.hak -0
 all NOM this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

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

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

aahawáku , " Híruha
 A ahawáku' " Hiru ha
 And he said : " There , ha
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " hiruu , ha
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " there , ha

,
 ,

,

tikaratikáispu

tikaraatikaá'ispu

my not going into the village

tii-	ka-	ra-	t-	i-	kaa-	iis.wu		-hus
this	NEG	ABS	1.A	SEQ	inside	go.out.of.sight.IMPF		IMPF.SUB

tirátpari

tirátpari

when I go about

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

ístusiahikukisikíra^u

ístu si'ahikukisikiíha'u

again when they made me alive

istu	si-	ar-	ri-	0-	ku-	kisikit	ra'uk	-0
again	DU	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	be.alive	make	SUB.3

,

,

,

hisikarahikurárurəs

hi sikaraahikuuraáruras

and they did not find mine

hi	si-	kara-	ar-	ri-	ku-	uur-	raar-	huras	-0
and	DU	NEG	EV	CONT.3A	1.P	POSS.P	3PL.INAN.P	find	PERF

pákskirar^u

. " Ahawáku

pákskíraaru'

. " Ahawáku'

brains . " He said
 paks- kiraar- -u' . " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 head liquid NOM . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF

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

tirótpari

tirátpari

when I go about

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

sikarahikuráru .

sikaraahikuuráru .

they did not give them to me .

si- kara- ar- ri- ku- raar- uh -0 .
 DU NEG EV CONT.3A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF .

Karaháwiš^a

Karaahaáwica'

He did not arrive

kara- ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0
 NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF

irikuhihukaríhəš

irikuuhikúkarihac

that one ate up mine

irii- ku- ar- ri- 0- ku- karihac -0
 that INDF EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P consume PERF

pákskirar^u .
 pákskiraaru' .
 brains .
 paks- kiraar- -u' .
 head liquid NOM .

Nikutuhá
 Rikutuuhá'
 That is the reason

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

tikaratuhwakarí^a
 tikaraatuhwákariira
 my not speaking well

tii- ka- ra- t- uur- wakar- hiir -a ,
 this NEG ABS 1.A PREV voice be.good SUB.1 ,

tikaratiwawáktiku . "
 tikaraatiwaawáktiku . "
 my not speaking . "

tii- ka- ra- t- i- waa.wak.tik -hus . "
 this NEG ABS 1.A SEQ talk IMPF.SUB . "

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

ahawáku , " Híihi ,
 ahawáku' " Hi ihi ,
 he said " And , uh ,
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 " hi , ihii ,

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

narusikuruhikurahkawáhit¹

raaruusikuruuhikuurakhkawaáhit

they just spread them in mine

raa- ruu- si- kuruur- ri- 0- ku- uur- raar- ka- waa.hik -0
just then DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P in spread PERF

páksiriⁱ káukt^u .

páksiri['] ká'uktu['] .

on the head downy feathers .

paks- -hiri['] ka'uk.ru['] .

head LOC downy.feather .

Nikutuhatikaratikáispu

Rikutuuhá[']

That is the reason

tikaraatikaá'ispu

my not entering the village

riku- ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 tii- ka- ra- t- i- kaa- iis.wu -hus
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF this NEG ABS 1.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. Náwa^a , hikuhíkuru

. Ráwa hi kuuhíkuru[']

. Now and He made me

. rawa hi kuur- ri- 0- ku- ra'uk -0

. now and DUB CONT.3A 3.A 1.P make PERF

atí^{as} tirakít^{ak}^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

ratakuharíka^a

rataakuuhaaríkaa^{'a}

for me to tell it to you

ra- t- ir- a- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P INF.B PREV tell.to SUB.4

. Náwa , i ákítar^u
. Ráwa i ákitaaru'
. Now and the tribe
. rawa i akitaar- -u'
. now and tribe NOM

nituhárikahist^a

rituuhaárikaahista

I am going to tell them

rii- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -his -ta
ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to PERF INT

tátpari ákítar^u .
tátpari' ákitaaru' .
I live tribe .
ta- t- warii -0 akitaar- -u' .
IND.1/2A 1.A be.going.about PERF tribe NOM .

Hirutatiritatiráwa

Hiru tatiiriíta

Then I know him

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

hiruu ta- t- ir- iita -0 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

áhiru kítu
a hiruu kítuu'u'
and then everything
a hiruu kituu -u'
and then all NOM

nitiráit^a

riitiráá'iita

I do know it

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

irirutawahuksuráwawⁱ

iriruutawaahaksúrahwaawi

there where the heavens border (ie where heaven and earth meet)

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	a.waa.hak.his-	huraar	-waa	-wi
where	ABS	3.A	PREV	heavens	be.land	DIST	SUB.L

. Aritiráit^a

. A riitiráá'iita

. And I do know it

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

tirawawáriki		hupírit ⁿ	.	"				
tirawaawaáriki		huupírit	.	"				
these various ones		stars	.	"				
tii-	ra-	0-	waawa-	arik	-i	huupirik	.	"
this	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2	star	.	"

Nikuwitiwákahu

Rikuwitiwákaahu'

That is what he was saying

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka	-:hus	Paahukaatawa
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	Pahukatawa

Pahukátawa

Paahukaátawa

Pahukatawa

, “
. “
. “
. ”

. "

Akituritikahurárit^a

A kítuu'u' riitiikaahuraáriita
And all I know the world
a kituu -u' rii- t- ir- kaahuraar- iita -0
and all NOM ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2a earth know PERF

a tirahúraš^a
a tirahúraahca
, and this land
, a tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0
, and this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3

nitirít^a a
riitiiriíta a
I do know it and
rii- t- ir- iita -0 a
ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF and

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

nitirít^a
riitiiriíta .
I do know it .
rii- t- ir- iita -0 .
ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

tirakíšuhətⁿ
Tirakiícuhat

This water that extends

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

tətiráit ^a						.	A
tatiraa'iita						.	A
I know it						.	And
ta-	t-	ir-		raa.iita	-0	.	a
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF		.	and

ritiráit^a
riitiraa'iita
I do know it

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

irikúhuət ⁿ							ákitar ^u	
irikúhuu'ut							ákitaaru'	
the way it goes							tribe	
irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'	akitaar-	-u'
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	EX	tribe	NOM

tirašihwari							,	"
tiracihwari							.	"
this of ours							.	"
tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii				-hus	.
this	ABS	IN.DU.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB			.	"

Náw ^a	,	rikuwitiwákah ^u					,
Ráwa		rikuwitiwákaahu'					:
Now		that was what he said					:
rawa		riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka	-.hus
now		that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say.IMPF	IMPF

“
“
“
”
”

Siahikúwaha^a

Si'ahikuwáhaa'a'

They raised me up

si- ar- ri- 0- a- ir- ku- waha.a -0
DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P lift.up PERF

nahurarakíturatakuhárikah^u

rahuraaraahkítuu'u'

all the animals

rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' rataakuuhaárikaahu
animal PL all NOM INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P INF.B ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus
tell.to IMPF.SUB

. " 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

,
,
,
,

tiwiratuharíka^a

tiwiratuuhaaríkaa'a

this that I have revealed to you

tii- wii- ra- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0

this now ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to SUB.4

tirəskurətkawawúku

tiraskuuratkawaawúku

while you have been listening

tii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka'uk -waawa -hus
this ABS 2.A INF.B PREV listen DIST IMPF.SUB

nikutiraítusitⁿ

rikutiraa'ítusit

these are the stories

riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us -ik -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A be.a.story DIST PERF

naturakətkawáwa^u

ratuuraakatkawaawa'u

what I have heard from them

ra- t- uur- ak- atka'uk -waawa -0
ABS 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P hear DIST SUB.3

kúrahus .

kúrahus .

the priests .

kurahuus .

priest .

Nikuwitarúhkit^a

Rikuwitarúhkita

That one was the reason

riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kita -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.reason PERF

Pahukátawa , witiwáruksti ,

Paahukaátawa . Witiwaáruksti' .

Pahukatawa . He was holy .
 Paahukaatawa . wi- ti- 0- waarukstii -0 .
 Pahukatawa . QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF .

witiwaku , “
 Witiwáku’ “
 He said : “
 wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Tətpáruksti . ”
 Tatpaáruksti’ .
 I am holy .
 ta- t- waarukstii -0 .
 IND.1/2A 1.A be.holy PERF .

Hirutiráspari
 Hiru tiráspari
 There while you live
 hiruu tii- ra- s- warii -hus
 there when ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kasirurapírihu^u
 kaasiruuraapírihu’u
 you must value them
 kaas- s- ir- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -’
 POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

kapáhšu tirəstarah^a,
 kápahcu’ tirástaraaha
 herbs these you have
 kapahc- -u’ tii- ra- s- raar- raah -a
 root NOM this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

nakuharihtawawi

rakuuhaarihtawaawi

when one has them under his belt

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ut-	raar-	ihta	-waa	-wi
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	have.under.one's.belt	DIST	SUB.L

nakurarúhkukⁱ

rakurarúhkuki

when he carries them

ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	ruhka'uk	-i
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	have.DIST	SUB.2

irirakuksawáhšət^a

iriirakuksawáhcata

wherever you may even go

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	at	-a	.
where	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	JUSS	even	go	SUB.1	.

tírawaruksti

Tíraawaaruksti'

It is a mysterious way

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

tirástarah^a

tirástaraaha

these you have

tii-	ra-	s-	raar-	raah	-a	kápahc-	-u'	.
this	ABS	2.A	3PL.INAN.P	have	SUB.1	root	NOM	.

"

"

"

"

"

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

nikuwitiwáku , “ Hiru
rikuwitiwáku’ “ Hiru
that one said : “ Then
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , " hiruu
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " then

tətiráit^a
tatiraá’iita
I know it
ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

kītutiráwahətⁿ
kítuu’u’ Tiráwaahat
all the Heavens
kituu -u’ tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
all NOM this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

. Irírut^a
. Iriiruuta
. The way it is
. irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
. what ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

kītutətirahétawⁱ
kítuu’u’ tat tirahútawi

all		I am				this wind				
kituu	-u'	ta-	t-	0	-0	tii-	ra-	0-	huta	-wi
all	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	be	PERF	this	ABS	3.A	be.windy	SUB.L

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

Tatirurapírihu^u

Tatiruuraapírihu'u

I value it

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

tirétpari ,
tirátpari ,
while I live ,
tii- ra- t- warii -hus ,
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

ihitirásu						šahiksíšahiks
ihi	tíraasu					cahiksícahiks
uh	, you here					Indians
ihii	, tii- ra- s- uu -0					icaahiks icaahiks
uh	, here ABS 2.A be SUB.4					person person

arík^a

aríka

One Horn ,

aríka ,

horn ,

aríkarákiharasar^u .
aríka rakiihaárasaaru .
One Horn the dance that is named .
aríka ra- 0- kiihaar- asar -u .
horn ABS 3.A be.a.dance be.named SUB.D .

Arík^a
Aríka
One Horn
aríka
horn

irikasiriratakáah^u
irikaasiriirattahkaá'aahu'
you (pl) must dance that
iríi- kaas- s- ir- ri- uur- rak- raar- kaa.a -:hus
that POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A dance IMPF

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

Wirakúrahkah^u
Wiraakúraahkaahu
When they are dancing
wii- ra- 0- a- ku- raar- kaa.a -hus
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PL.INDV.A dance IMPF.SUB

hitiraráhkuškiiš
hi tirarahkúcki'ic
, and they must be painted with white clay
, hi ti- 0- raar- raar.kuc.kiic -’

, and IND.3A 3.A PL.iNDV.A be.painted.with.white.clay EX

atirapaksk^a ihi
 a tirahpákska ihi
 and they must have the head in it uh
 a ti- 0- raar- paks- kaa -0 ihii
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.iNDV.A head be.inside PERF uh

kīwīkukīšákus^u . "
 kíwiiku' kicákusu' . "
 , buffalo bull buffalo scalp . "
 , kiwiik -u' kiic.ca.kus -u' . "
 , buffalo.bull NOM buffalo.mane NOM . "

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

Tatiwišáhist^a ,
 tatihwicáhista .
 I am going to arrive .
 ta- t- ir- wic.a -his -ta .
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A arrive PERF INT .

kakírakirukst^a
 Kaakíraakiiruksta
 It is not going to be long
 kaaki- 0- raa.kiir ra'uk -his -ta
 NEG.iND.3A 3.A be.long make PERF INT

tatiwišáhist^a
 tatihwicáhista .

I am going to arrive
 ta- t- ir- wic.a -his -ta .
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A arrive PERF INT .

witurár^u
 Wituúhaaru'
 He has planned it
 wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.uu -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.number PERF

ákitar^u
 ákitaaru'
 tribe
 akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

tirararúhətⁿ
 tíraraaruhat
 these (people extending)
 tii- ra- 0- raar- u.hak -0
 this ABS 3.A PL.iNDV.A extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tíirirəsku
 tí'iriirasku
 here where you are
 tii- irii- ra- s- kus -0
 here where ABS 2.A be.sitting SUB.4

nakúwiša
 raákuwica*
 to arrive
 ra- 0- a- ku- wic.a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B arrive SUB.4

nakuriwárik^a . "

rakuriwárika . "

to kill him . "

ra- 0- ku- ri.warik -a . "

INF.A 3.A INF.B get.rid.of SUB.1 . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa iraári' ,

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

witíraki

witíraakii

it was a long time

wi- ti- 0- raa.kiir -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF

hiahawíša .

hi ahawíca' .

and he arrived .

hi ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

Aahawáku

A ahawáku'

And he said

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

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

irisiahawawáktiku , "

iriisi'ahawaawáktiku " "

the one he was talking with :

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -hus , "

that DU EV ABS 3.A talk IMPF.SUB , "

Náw^a . " Ahawáku

Ráwa . " A ahawáku'

Now . " And he said

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

now . " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

aháwiša , " Ihi

ahaawíca , " Ihi

when he arrived : " Uh ,

ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 , " ihii ,

EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive SUB.4 , " uh ,

kusuksuhuhúwirikitⁿ šəskⁱ

kuusukuhuuuwírikít cáski'

put the fire out at last a little

kuus- 0- uks- uhur- huuwirik.ihk -0 caski'tit

POT.1/3A 3.A JUSS finally extinguish.a.fire PERF a.little

. " Ahawáku

. " Ahawáku'

! " He said

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

. " EV ABS 3.A say PERF

irisiahawawáktik^u , "

iriisi'ahawaawáktiku , "

the one he was talking with : "

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -hus , "

that DU EV ABS 3.A talk IMPF.SUB , "

Náw^a witík^u

Ráwa witiíku .

Now he sits there .
rawa wi- ti- 0- kus -0 .
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

hawiráwiša Pahukátawa
Haawiiraáwica' Paahukaátawa
Now he has arrived Pahukatawa
haa- wii- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 Paahukaatawa
here now ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF Pahukatawa

náw^a , hi šahikstahkītu
. Ráwa hi cáhikstaahkituu'u'
. Now and everyone
. rawa hi icaahiks- raar- kituu -u'
. now and person PL all NOM

ahəstətahukuht^a .
ahastattaaruúkuhta .
you are going to go inside .
ar- ra- s- rak- raar- huuk- uh -ta .
EV ABS 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A into go.INT INT .

"
"
"
"
"

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

nikuwititaiwiraráhukat^a

rikuwitiíta

this is what they did

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

iwirárahuukata

when they went inside

ii- wii- ra- 0- raar- huuk- at -a
when when ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A into go SUB.1

.
. .
. .

hiiriwikukuharátawi

Hi iriwikukuharaátawi'

And it has apparently always been that way

hi irii- wii- ku- kuur- ra- 0- raa- tawi -0
and that now INDF DUB ABS 3.A way be.among PERF

šáhiks

cáhiks

people

icaahiks

person

nakuwakúrawu

rakuhwakuúrawu

that one doubts him

ra- 0- ku- uur- wakuur- raa.wu -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV word doubt IMPF.SUB

A šáhiks nákuk^u

A cáhiks rákuuku

And a person his being

a icaahiks ra- 0- ku- uk -u

and person INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

irirakukaawašpákahu

iriirakuksawacpaákahu

whatever one might even be saying

irii- ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- waaka -hus
what INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hisitiwakúrawu

hi sitihwakuúrawu'

and they doubt his words,

hi si- ti- 0- ir- wakuur- raa.wu -:hus
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A word doubt IMPF

akihitarariks

aki hi tíraariks . Náw^a ,
and here and it is true . Ráwa
a- ki hi ti- 0- raariks -0 . rawa ,
and there and IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF . now ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

iwiahák^u

iwi'ahaáku

when he sat there

ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0
when when EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

Hiruahiwáku

hiru ahiwáku'

“ Šəskíraritⁿ

“ Caskíírarit

then he said: " Just a little bit
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 " caskii raarit
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF " a.little really

kirəsiriruháhtaw^u

kíra siriiruhaáhtawu

let the fire be brighter

kira i- s- ir- ri- uur- uhaar.ta.wuh -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A brighten PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Hiahihótirarišais

Hi ahihaáttiiraaríca'is

And he put smoldering sticks on the coals

hi ar- ri- 0- haak.tiir- raar- ica.is -0
 and EV CONT.3A 3.A firebrand PL put.on.coals PERF

hiwihiruahīk^u

hi wihiru ahiíku .
 and there he sat .
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- kus -0 .
 and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

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

tiwisiahitkússiritⁿ

tiwisi'ahitkússiirit

when they saw him seated

tii-	wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	kus	iirik	-0
when	when	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	be.sitting	see	SUB.4

šáhíkswitⁱ

cáhíks	wíti'					hi	šáhíks
a person	he was					hi	cáhíks
icaahíks	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0	hi	icaahíks
person	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	and	person

káraahi

kára'ahi'

he was not

kara-	ar-	ri-	0	-0	.
NEG	EV	CONT.3A	be	PERF	.

isiritkarahíškat^a

Isiirit karaahíckata

Plainly his face was not

isii.rik	kara-	ar-	ri-	0-	icka	-0	-ta
in.plain.sight	NEG	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	be.one's.face	PERF	INT

. Kuhaškarišauətⁿ

. Kuhaackariíca'uu'ut

. His had soot over his face

kuur-	ra-	0-	icka-	ra.ica'uuht	-'	.
DUB	ABS	3.A	face	be.sooted	EX	.

kuhəškákatiitⁿ

Kuhaackákatiit

His face was black

kuur-	ra-	0-	icka	katiit	-'	.
-------	-----	----	------	--------	----	---

DUB ABS 3.A face be.black EX ,

i sirítkarahíškat^a

isiirit karaahíckata

plain his face was not

isii.rik kara- ar- ri- 0- icka -0 -ta
in.plain.sight NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A be.one's.face PERF INT

. Aahawáku

. A ahawáku' "

. And he said: "

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

. and EV ABS 3.A say PERF "

tirətpakastaritⁿ

Tiratpaakástarit

What I am going to say

tii- ra- t- waak -as -ta -rit
this ABS 1.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT INT.SUB

šáhiks

cáhiks

person (i.e., enemy)

icaahiks

person

witúhwiš^a

witúhwica'

he has arrived to fight

wi- ti- 0- a- uur- wic.a -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV arrive.to.attack PERF

Wirutiratáhari

Wiruutiraatáhaari

Now they are close

wii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- raa.tahaari -0
now then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.close PERF

tiharašihtaharuhət¹

tihaaracihtahaáruhat

here where we are living

tii- haa- ra- aciir- tahaari u.hak -0
here here ABS IN.DU.A be.close extend.in.a.line SUB.4

.
. .
. .
. .

Iřitiřkaratakusúhuraríka^a

I riíticka'

rataakuucuhuuraaríkaa'a

And I want

for me to tell you at last

i rii- t- wicka -0 ra- t- ir- a- ku- ut- uhur- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
and ASSR 1.A want PERF INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P INF.B PREV finally tell.to SUB.4

. Náwa i irirakuwítska

. Ráwa i iriirakuwítska'a

. Now and whatever you want

. rawa i irii- ra- 0- ku- wicka -a
. now and what INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1

rákutar^a

iriirákuutaara

to do

irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -a
what INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1

hítuša
 hi tuucaá' .
 rise !
 hi ti- 0- a- uca.a -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF .

hítiwaku
 Hi tiwáku' ,
 Say : '
 hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , '
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , '

tihakustúšia
 Tihaakustúci'a . '
 I will do this . '
 tii- haa- kuus- t- ut- i- aar -0 . '
 this here POT.1/3A 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF . '

Takukararikuwakurarúhuks^a

Táku' kararikuwakuraaruúhuksa'
 Someone don't let him make an excessive demand
 taku kara- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- uur- wakuur.raaruuhuks.a -0
 LOC NEG INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PREV demand.too.much PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

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

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

ahúša						pírusk ⁱ		a
ahuúcaa'						piíraski		a
he arose						a boy		and
ar-	ra-	0-	a-	uca.a	-0	piiras-	-kis	a
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	get.up	PERF	boy	DIM	and

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

tátišk ^a						Pahukátawa		katahka
táticka'						Paahukaátawa		kátahka
I want						Pahukatawa,		an enemy
ta-	t-	wicka	-0			,	Paahukaatawa	katahkaa
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF			,	Pahukatawa	foreign.tribe

rátkuk ⁱ						.	"
rátkuuki						.	"
for me to strike						.	"
ra-	t-	ku-	kii	-0		.	"
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	strike	SUB.4		.	"

Hiahašikstiwəkt ^a							
Hi	ahaacikstiiwakta'					.	
And	he grunted					.	
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	aciks.riiwaktaa	-0	.	
and	EV	ABS	3.A	grunt	PERF	.	

kuhašikstaiit ⁿ						.	Hiósku
Kúhaaciksta'it						.	Hi ásku

He was glad . And one
kuur- ra- 0- aciks.ta'it -' . hi asku
DUB ABS 3.A be.glad EX . and one

ahúša

ahuúcaa'

he rose

ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 .
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF .

ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Pahukátawa tátišk^a pítku
Paahukaátawa táticka' pítku
Pahukatawa , I want two
Paahukaatawa , ta- t- wicka -0 pitku
Pahukatawa , IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF two

kátahka sirótkuki . "
kátahka sirátkuuki . "
enemies for me to strike them (du) . "
katakhaa si- ra- t- ku- kii -0 . "
foreign.tribe DU INF.A 1.A INF.B strike SUB.4 . "

Hawárikuwituta.

Hawá rikuwituúta

Also that is what he did:

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

Aahararitiíhaksətⁿ

a aharaaritiíhaksat

and he took them one at a time

a ar- ra- 0- raar- ri- tiihaks.at -0
and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT group.to.go PERF

, " Tátitska Pahukatáwa
. " Táticka' Paahukaátawa
. " I want , Pahukatawa ,
. " ta- t- wicka -0 , Paahukaatawa ,
. " IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF , Pahukatawa ,

táwitⁿ rətkúkarah^a , hišíkstitⁿ
táwit ratkúkaraaha hi cikstit
three for me to strike , and well
tawit ra- t- ku- karaah -a , hi cikstik
three INF.A 1.A INF.B strike SUB.1 , and well

naruitušíšiks^u

raaruu'ituciícksu'

then I'll just feel

raa- ruu- i- t- ut- i- aciks.uu -0
just then CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ feel.fine PERF

. " " Naw^a , Pahukátawa ,
. " " Ráwa Paahukaátawa
. " " Now , Pahukatawa ,
. " " rawa , Paahukaatawa ,
. " " now , Pahukatawa ,

tátiška

táticka'

I want

ta- t- wicka -0

IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

nutkúkarah ^a					škítiiks	.	"	"
ratkúkaraaha					kskiiti'iks	.	"	"
for me to strike					four	.	"	"
ra-	t-	ku-	karaah	-a	iks.kiiti'iks	.	"	"
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	strike	SUB.1	four	.	"	"

Naw ^a	,	Pahukátawa	,
Ráwa		Paahukaátawa	
Now	,	Pahukatawa	,
rawa	,	Paahukaatawa	,
now	,	Pahukatawa	,

tatitskanisar^u

táticka'					riisaaru'	
I want					a chief	
ta-	t-	wicka	-0		riisaar	-u'
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF		be.chief	NOM

nakúkuar^a

rakukú'aara					.
for me to become					.
ra-	ku-	ku-	aar	-a	.
INF.A	1.P	INF.B	become	SUB.1	.

tátiška					súhuks
Táticka'					súhuks
I want					five
ta-	t-	wicka	-0		suhuks
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF		five

nətkúkarah ^a					.	"
ratkúkaraaha					.	"

for me to strike . "

ra- t- ku- karaah -a . "

INF.A 1.A INF.B strike SUB.1 . "

Hiruwítawaku , "

Hiru witaahwáku' " "

Then he would say : "

hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "

then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Há^a , nikurakuwák^a .

Haá'a' rikurakuwaáka .

Yes , that which you said .

haa'a' , riku- ra- 0- ku- waak -a .

yes , that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 .

" Ask^u ahúša ,

" Ásku ahuúcaa' .

" One he arose .

" asku ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 .

" one EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF .

ahawáku , "

Ahawáku' " "

He said : "

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tátiška

Táticka'

I want

ta- t- wicka -0

IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

rutkúkara					skíksapiš	.	"	ósk ^u
ratkúkaraaha					ckíkksaapic	.	"	Ásku
for me to strike them					six	.	"	One
ra-	t-	ku-	karaah	-a	ickikksaapic	.	"	asku
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	strike	SUB.1	six	.	"	one

ahúša						,		
ahuúcaa'						.		
he arose						.		
ar-	ra-	0-	a-	uca.a	-0	.		
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	get.up	PERF	.		

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

Pahukátawa	tátiška							əsku
Paahukaátawa	táticka'							ásku
Pahukatawa,	I want							one
Paahukaatawa	ta-	t-	wicka	-0				asku
Pahukatawa	IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF				one

rétkuki,								
rátkuuki								
for me to strike								
ra-	t-	ku-	kii	-0				
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	strike	SUB.4				

hirikúhuruš						.	"	
hi	rikuuhúrahac					.	"	
and	I'll die					.	"	
hi	ri-	ku-	hurahac	-0		.	"	

and CONT.3A 1.P die PERF . "

Ahawáku , "

Ahawáku' " "

He said : "

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Kariritiwišk^a ,

Kariiritiwicka' ,

I do not want

karii- rii- t- i- wicka -0

EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ want PERF

iriwirəspaka ,

iriiwiraspaaka .

what you have said .

irii- wii- ra- s- waak -a .

what now ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1 .

hawakararúšia

Hawá kararúci'a

Also let him not do it

haawa kara- ri- 0- ut- i- aar -0

also NEG CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

táku . Asku ahawáku ,

táku' . " Ásku ahawáku' ,

anyone . " One he said :

taku . " asku ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ,

someone . " one EV ABS 3.A say PERF ,

" Náwa , Pahukátawa ,

" Ráwa Paahukaátawa

“ Now , Pahukatawa ,
 " rawa , Paahukaatawa ,
 " now , Pahukatawa ,

tatiškaratkúkararuksiríwar^a

táticka'				ratkúkaraaha					ruksiríwaara
I want				for me to strike him					nine
ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ku-	karaah	-a	ruksiri.waara
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	strike	SUB.1	nine

hirurikisikítⁿ

hirú	rikísiki'it				
, and then	if he is alive				
, hiruu	ri-	0-	kisikit	-'	
, then	CONT.3A	3.A	be.alive	EX	

hiituturíkətⁿ

hi	ituutuuríkut					.	"
and	then I'll take hold of him					.	"
hi	i-	t-	ut-	uurikuk	-0	.	"
and	CONT.1/2A	1.A	PREV	hold	PERF	.	"

Híruahiwáku						,	"	Náw ^a	,
Hiru	ahiwáku'						"	Ráwa	
Then	he said					:	"	Now	,
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	rawa	,
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	now	,

náw ^a	,	nurišuhú ^u					.
ráwa		ruurucuuhú'u					.
now		let it be awhile					!
rawa	ruu-	ri-	0-	ut-	uhur-	0	-'
now	then	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV	awhile	be	EX

"
"
"
"

Irísiahakuwitararikáah^u

Iriísi'ahaaku

The one sitting with him

irii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-.hus
where	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	tell.to	IMPF

witaraaríkaa'aahu'

he was telling them

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

iriwirutúšist^a

iriwirutúšista

now that is how it is going to be

irii-	wii-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-his	-ta
that	now	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	PERF	INT

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

Nikakátišk^a

Rikaakaáticka'

I do not want it

rii-	kaaka-	t-	wicka	-0
------	--------	----	-------	----

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

tiiriwírawak^a

ti'iriiwírawaaka

this that he has said

tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- waak -a
this that now ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1

nakukuwakurarúhuksa,

rakukuhwakuraaruúhuksa

when he slighted me verbally

ra- 0- a- ku- ku- uur- wakuur.raaruuhuks.a -0
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P INF.B PREV speak.caustically.to SUB.4

hirikurutárist^a

hi rikuruutárista . "

and he is going to do that . "

hi riku- ra- 0- ut- aar -his -ta . "
and that.is ABS 3.A PREV do PERF INT . "

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

aahawáku Pahukátawa , "
a ahawáku' Paahukaátawa "
and he said Pahukatawaa : "
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 Paahukaatawa , "
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF Pahukatawa , "

Wikasirakirarátətⁿ

Wikaasiraakiraraátut

You must put water in it (a bowl)

wii- kaas- s- i- rak- kiraar.raatuk -0
 now POT.2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL put.water.in PERF

kúškīš^u ríhuksu
 kúckiicu' . Ríhuksu'
 clay . Only
 kuc.kiic- -u' . rihuks -u'
 white.clay NOM . alone NOM

ráhisa

ráhiisa

when dawn comes

ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

wititəstətərəkúškirúkst^a

wititastattarahkúckiirúksta

you are going to put the clay on yourselves

witi- ta- s- rak- raar- raar.kuc.kiir.ra'uk -his -ta
 REFL IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A put.clay.on PERF INT

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

Kárisirətahkaruwətⁿ

Kariisirattahkáruuwat

Don't take them out

kara- i- s- i- rak- raar- kawat -ruu -0
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P take.out DIST PERF

arúsa	hiwirakúrihəš							
aruúsa'	hi	wirakúriihac						
the horses	and	until one finishes						
aruusaa	hi	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	riihac	-0	
horse	and	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	finish	SUB.4	

irírakukitawístaritⁿ

iriirakuukitawístarit

the one you are going to ride

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ikita	-wi	-his	-ta	-rit
that	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	ride	SUB.L	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

arús ^a	.	"
aruúsa'	.	
horse	.	
aruusaa	.	
horse	.	

Wituritataísa

Wituurihtata'íisa'

He (enemy) is coming close (to the village) to fight

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	uur-	ihtata-	iis.a	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	beside	come.into	PERF

šáhiks	.	“	Witíwišk ^a				
cáhiks	.		Witíwicka'				
person	.		He wants				
icaahiks	.		wi-	ti-	0-	wicka	-0
person	.		QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	want	PERF

rəkuriwárik^a

rakuriwárika

to kill him

ra-	0-	ku-	ri.warik	-a	,
-----	----	-----	----------	----	---

INF.A 3.A INF.B get.rid.of SUB.1 ,

hikariritíwitsk^a . "
hi kariiritíwicka' . "
and I do not want it . "
hi kari- rii- t- i- wicka -0 . "
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ want PERF . "

Aahawáku , " Níhuks^u
A ahawáku' " Ríhuksu'
And he said : " Only
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rihuks -u'
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " alone NOM

witikasirákitatutⁿ
witikaasiraákitatut
you must lay yourselves on top
witi- kaas- s- i- rak- kita.tut -0
REFL POT.2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL lay.on.top PERF

karařatakətⁿ
karaarátaakat .
on the earth lodge .
akaar- raar- ataa -kat .
dwelling PL sod LOC .

sikasúřirařiksta .
Sikaasúćiraaciksta .
You must watch .
si- kaas- s- ut- i- raa.aciks.ta -0 .
DU POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ watch PERF .

Irahwitúruhətⁿ
Iraahwiituúruhat

That ridge in the distance

ii- ra- 0- ar- wiituur- u.hak -0
that ABS 3.A EV level.ridge extend.in.a.line SUB.4

iruhurahtaráhi^u

iruuhuraahtaráhii'u

that dip/depression

ii- ra- 0- uur- huraar- tarahii -u
that ABS 3.A PREV ground be.grooved SUB.D

níhuks^u, nutára kírík^u
ríhuksu' ruutaára kíríku'
only when he does it something ,
rihuks -u' ra- 0- ut- aar -a kíríku' ,
alone NOM ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 something ,

ihi sikasúširašikst^a

ihi sikaasúciraaciksta

uh , you must watch for him

ihii , si- kaas- s- ut- i- raa.aciks.ta -0
uh , DU POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ watch PERF

níhuksu
. Ríhuksu'
. Only
. rihuks -u'
. alone NOM

nahwitúruhətⁿ

raahwiituúruhat

that prairie yonder

ra- 0- ar- wiituur- u.hak -0
ABS 3.A EV elevated.prairie extend.in.a.line SUB.4

kusiisutíritⁿ
kusi'isuutiírit
if you see any

ku- si- i- s- ut- iirik -0
INDF DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV see SUB.4

nahúrahkⁱ
rahúrahki
an animal
rahuraar -kis
animal DIM

nasáwata
raacawáta
if it comes over
ri- 0- a- icawaat- a -0
CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A over.a.point come SUB.4

irirútirasihísta
iriruutiirasihísta
there he is going to run
irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- uur- as-i -his -ta
there then IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV run PERF INT

kátuhka . Náw^a ,
kátahka . Ráwa
the enemy . Now
katahkaa . rawa
foreign.tribe . now

hitiharútəst^u
hi tihaaruútasta
and this shall be
hi tii- haa- ra- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta

and this here ABS 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

wiista kapáku ,
wi'istaakapáku .
that you will be fighting them .
wii- i- s- rak- apak -hus .
now CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL fight IMPF.SUB .

írikuruasirakašikstáit

Irikuruu'asiraakacikstá'it

Thereupon you should have your mind on it

irii- ku- ruu- aa- s- i- rak- aciks.ta'it -'
then INDF then SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL be.mindful.of EX

.
. .
. .

rakíšpiraráwa^a

Rakicipiiraráwa'a

When it sprinkles

ra- 0- a- kicipiir- raar- awa.a -0
ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.a.sprinkle PL come.down SUB.4

šuskíraritⁿ

askírarit

very little

askii raarit

a.little really

irikuruəsiratarikitáwirutitⁿ

irikuruu'asiraattaarikitawiiruútit

thereupon you should mount (your horses)

irii-	ku-	ruu-	aa-	s-	i-	rak-	raar-	ikita.wi.itik	-ruu	-0
then	INDF	then	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	mount	DIST	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

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

nihuksuwitáhis^a

rihúksu'		witáhiisa'							
only		morning	came						
rihuks-	-u'	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	hiis-	a	-0	
only	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	morning	come	PERF	

hiwiahiwúktik^u

hi	wi'ahiwáktiku'								
and	he was crying out								
hi	wii-	ar-	ri-	0-	wak.tik	-:hus			
and	now	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	cry.out	IMPF			

Náw^a,

Rawa

Now

rawa

now

wítisukstakítawawauš,
wítisukstaakitawaáwa'uc

lie down on top

witi-	i-	s-	uks-	rak-	kita-	waawa-	uc	-0
REFL	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	1/2.PL	on.top	DIST	lie.down	PERF

ákararátakət¹

akaraarátaakat

on the earth lodge

akaar-	raar-	ataa	-kat	.	"
dwelling	PL	sod	LOC	.	"

Awitiahikitawawáuš,

A witi'ahikitawaáwa'uc

And they lay down on top

a	witi-	ar-	ri-	0-	kita-	waawa-	uc	-0
and	REFL	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	on.top	DIST	lie.down	PERF

híkišⁱ

asákahkat

híkiici'

asaákaahkat

but

in the horse arbor

hi kici asaa- akaar- -kat

and but horse dwelling LOC

wiahihkawákaruk¹

wi'ahihkawaákaruku

their making (ie decorating) them

wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-hus
now	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	make.DIST	IMPF.SUB

árus^a

áruusa'

the horses

aruusaa

horse

nahkupakústaritⁿ

raahkuupakústarit

when each is going to fight

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	apak	-hus	-ta	-rit	
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	fight	IMPF.SUB	INT	INT.SUB	.

nikutišiksarihúsuk^u

Rikutiiciksaariíhusuuku'

That is what they used to do

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-i	-:hus	-uuku
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

.
. .
. .
. .

Awisiahihášikst^a

A wisi'ahiihaáciksta

And now they were watching

a	wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa.aciks.ta	-0
and	now	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	watch	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

kitúwikuhahuratarúwiš^a

Kítuu'u' wikuuhahuraahuruúwispa

All now daylight was appearing
 kituu -u' wii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar.ta.ruu.wis.wa -0
 all NOM now DUB ABS 3.A be.daybreak PERF

wikuhasákta
 Wikúhaasaáktaa'
 . Now the sun rose
 . wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- saak- ta.a -0
 . now DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun come.up PERF

. Hatakaráhis^u
 . Haa takaaraáhisu'
 . See! sud denly
 . haa takaaraahis -u'
 . see all.at.once NOM

ahawakásəkt^a , "
 ahawaakásakta' "
 he called out : "
 ar- ra- 0- waak.as.akta -0 , "
 EV ABS 3.A be.heard.saying PERF , "

Naruhuratarahí^u
 Raruuhuraahtárahii^u
 That depression in the land
 ra- 0- ar- uur- huraar- tarahii -u
 ABS 3.A EV PREV ground be.grooved SUB.D

wiririšawátaškirihtakakuš^u
 wiriiricawaáta' ckirihtaakaáhkucu'
 it is now coming over its bank a large white wolf
 wii- ri- 0- a- ir- icawaat- a -0 ickirir- taakaar -kucuu
 now CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV over.a.point come PERF wolf be.white AUG

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Nihuksurikuwitiwáku

Ríhuksu' rikuwitiwáku'
 Only he had said that
 rihuks -u' riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0
 alone NOM that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hisiahitíritⁿ , "
 hi si'ahiitiírit . "
 and they saw it . "
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- iirik -0 . "
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV see PERF . "

Hawirira

Haawiiriíra'
 Here it comes over there
 haa- wii- ri- 0- a- ir- ar- a -0
 here now CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV come PERF

. " Hiahawakásəta , "
 . " Hi ahawaakásatta' "
 ! " And he called out : "
 . " hi ar- ra- 0- waak.as.akta -0 , "
 . " and EV ABS 3.A be.heard.saying PERF , "

Wítuhar^a

Wítuuhaara'
 They (enemy) are coming to fight
 wi- ti- 0- a- ut- raar- a -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come.to.attack PERF

! "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Akiirikutihířesa

Aki irikutihířasa

And here that one was in the lead

a- ki irii- ku- ti- 0- a- ir- hiras- a -0
 and there that INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV in.the.lead come PERF

íra^a nahúrahki .
 íraa'a rahúrahki .
 that one coming animal .
 ii- ra- 0- a- a -0 rahuraar -kis .
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 animal DIM .

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

hiahirirutətáhwiš^a

hi ahiíriřuutattaahwica'

and the enemy attacked them

hi ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- ut- ak- raar- wic.a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P arrive.to.attack PERF

rakurarirúhšⁱu

šáhiks

rakuraarirúhci'u

cáhiks

there being a huge number persons
 ra- 0- ku- raar- riruhci -u icaahiks
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.numerous SUB.D person

iriahatukstákitkahahk^u
 irii'ahatukstaakítkahaahku

where the earth lodge village was

irii- ar- ra- t- uks- rak- kitka.haar- kus -0
 where EV ABS 1.A AOR 1/2.PL earth.lodge.village be.sitting SUB.4

tikítkaharasa

. Tikítkahaarasa'

. The village was named

. ti- 0- kitka.haar- asar -0
 . IND.3A 3.A earth.lodge.village be.named PERF

kitkaháhpakut^u .

Kitkahaáhpakuhtu' .

Old Village .

kitka.haar- pakuht -u' .
 earth.lodge.village be.old NOM .

Nikuwituhiwiš

Rikuwituuhiwic

That is where he appeared

riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- hiwihc -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV appear PERF

Pahukátawa . Irárⁱ ,

Paahukaátawa . Iraári' ,

Pahukatawa . Brother ,

Paahukaatawa . i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

naruwituširašawiráwa
 raaruuwituciracawiraáwaa'

then they (enemy) just came down the hill

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	i-	raar-	tawiraa.a	-wa	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	SEQ	PL.INDV.A	come.down	DIST	PERF

pituráhkitu				kátahka	.
piitaraahkítuu'u'				kátahka	.
all the men				enemy	.
wiita	raar-	kituu	-u'	katahkaa	.
man	PL	all	NOM	foreign.tribe	.

Karawitúširarišpatət
 Karawituciraaricpaátat

They did not go over the edge of the village

kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raar-	ic.waat-	at	-0
NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	PL.INDV.A	over.a.point	go	PERF

hiahuharišitaísipa

hi ahuuhaaricihta'ispaa'
 and they came to the outskirts of the village

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	raar-	icihta-	iis.a	-wa	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	PL.INDV.A	edge.of.the.village	come.into	DIST	PERF

iriwiahirapák^u

iriwi'ahiirapáku								.
where they were fighting								.
irii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	apak	-hus	.
where	now	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	fight	IMPF.SUB	.

iriruaहितuhtíhatⁿ

Iriruu'ahiituhtíhat
 Where the edge of the village was

irii-	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	ituur-	tiihak	-0
-------	------	-----	-----	----	--------	--------	----

where then EV ABS 3.A village be.the.border PERF

witírapak^u níhuks^u
witiírapaku' . Ríhuksu'
they were fighting . Only
wi- ti- 0- ir- apak -:hus . rihuks -u'
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight IMPF . alone NOM

wikuhatatatírissišpətpa
wikuuhatatatiirisicpátpaa'
they came out as a group
wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- tatatiir.his- ic.waat- wa- a -0
now DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A gathered.together over.a.point DIST come PERF

nahkutakawítawⁱ
raahkuutakaahwítawi
where the last lodge was
ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- akaar- wita -wi
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV dwelling be.last SUB.L

nahákukⁱ .
rahaákuki .
ours .
ra- t- rak- 0 -ka.uk -i .
ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2 .

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

iriwikuhasákaritⁿ
iriwikuuhásaakarit

whatever the time of day was

irii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- saak- arik -0
when now DUB ABS 3.A sun be.standing PERF

hirawitakaráhis^u

hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'

and suddenly

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

ahakišpirárawa

ahakicipiraárawaa'

it sprinkled

ar- ra- 0- a- kicipiir- raar- awa.a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.a.sprinkle PL come.down PERF

irirutáhu

iriiruútahu

the way it was

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

kukararakúškakátak^u

kukararakuckakatáku

there not being any cloud

ku- kara- ra- 0- ku- icka- kata- kus -0
INDF NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B cloud against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting SUB.4

hirarutakišpirárawa

hi raaruutakicipiraárawaa'

and then it just sprinkled

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- kicipiir- raar- awa.a -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.a.sprinkle PL come.down PERF

. Hiruahiriwákⁱ
. Hiru ahiriwáki'
. Then they said
. hiruu ar- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0
. then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF

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

wirikutuætⁿ

wírikutuu'ut

it is that way

wii- riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

iriahawák^a ,

irii'ahawaáka .

as he said .

irii- ar- ra- 0- waak -a .
when EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 .

suhuratarikitawirútitⁿ

Suhaarattaarikitawiiruútit

Mount your horses at last

i- s- uhur- rak- raar- ikita.wi.itik -ruu -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A finally 1/2.PL PL.INDV.P mount DIST PERF

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

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

pahiturawitirarikítawirutitⁿ,

pahiitu' raawitiraarikítawiiruutit

slowly they just mounted

pahiit -u' raa- wi- ti- 0- raar- ikita.wi.itik -ruu -0
be.quiet NOM just QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A mount DIST PERF

hišikašíharak^u

hici kaciíharaaku'

but on foot

hi.ci kaciiharaak -u'

and stretched.out NOM

witiahištahariwírutitⁿ

witi'ahictahaariwiíruutit

they had come against each other (to fight)

witi- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- tahaari.wi.itik -ruu -0
REFL EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV come.together.in.battle DIST PERF

. Karawitirarikita

. Karawitiraarikita

. They were not on horseback

. kara- wi- ti- 0- raar- ikita -0
. NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A ride PERF

kátaka . Kašíharak^u

kátahka . Kaciíharaaku'

the enemy . On foot

katahkaa . kaciiharaak -u'

foreign.tribe . stretched.out NOM

wítiitⁿ

wíti't

they were

wi- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

hiaharəsuhúra . (

hi aharasuhuúra . (

and it became a battle . (

hi ar- ra- 0- rasuhuur -aar -0 . (

and EV ABS 3.A be.a.battle INCH PERF . (

Tuhkuháiriiráhuraru

Tuhkuúhaari

It was a nice prairie

ti- 0- uur- kuuhaar- hiir -0 irii- ra- 0- huraar -u .
IND.3A 3.A PREV flat.ground be.good PERF where ABS 3.A be.land SUB.D .

tatuturariritⁿ .)

Tatúturaariirit .)

I saw the land .)

ta- t- ut- huraar- iirik -0 .)
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV land see PERF .)

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa , iraári' ,

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hiahirapakusitⁱⁿ

hi ahiirapákusitit

and they began fighting them

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- apak -:hus -itik
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A fight IMPF INCH

iriahá ^u						šáhiks
irii'ahá'u						cáhiks
the main one						a person
irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	icaahiks
that	EV	ABS	3.A	be	SUB.4	person

witiíkita ^a						pikarústaka
witiíkita						piikarústaaka ,
he rode it						a white stallion ,
wi-	ti-		0-	ikita	-0	piik.karuus- taakaar ,
QUOT	IND.3A		3.A	ride	PERF	stallion be.white ,

hiahutkakaráriht ^a									
hi ahutkaakaaraárihta									
and he wore a crow bustle at his waist									
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	kaakaa-	raar-	ihta	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	crow	PL	have.under.one's.belt	PERF

širunakupitísutki ⁱ						
ciru ráku'						piitiísutki
yet his being						a young man
ciruu	ra-	0-	ku-	uu	-0	wiita.isut -kis
yet	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.4	young.man DIM

ahukítawitit ⁿ						.
ahuukítawitit						.
he mounted						.
ar-	ra-	0-	ikita.wi.itik		-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	mount		PERF	.

Iriahiksawawúsuku
 Irii'ahiksawaawuúsuku
 Where they used to play games

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uks-	awuu	-waa	-hus	-uku
-------	-----	-----	----	-----	------	------	------	------	------

where EV ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR play.hoop.and.pole DIST IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

tiharakátaharuhətⁿ

tihaarakaátahaaruhat

here where the ground was level

tii- haa- ra- 0- kaata.haar- u.hak -0
here here ABS 3.A level.ground extend.in.a.line SUB.4

nutíkuhapárihitⁿ

ruutiíkuuhaahpárihit

there the prairie is smooth

ruu- ti- 0- kuuhaar- parit.rik -0
there IND.3A 3.A flat.ground be.smooth PERF

hirákuahawíriwu

hiitáku

over there

hii-

other

-taku

LOC

ahaawíriwu'

he ran into him

ar-

EV

ra-

ABS

0-

3.A

awi.ri.wuh

run.into

-0

PERF

kátahka

kátahka

the enemy

katahkaa

foreign.tribe

. Hawahítak^u

. Hawá

. Also

. haawa

. also

hiitaku

another place

hii-

other

sístu

sístu

again,

sistu

again

hiháwasiahirətəspatəsitⁿ

hi

and

hi

and

hawá

again

haawa

also

si'

they

si-

DU

ahiiratta

they

ar-

EV

ra-

they

0-

3.A

aspaátasit

back

ir-

ir-

ur-

PL.3A

ak-

ak-

raar-

PL.AN.3P

raar-

raar-

as.waat.as.ik

3PL.INAN.P

as.waat.as.ik

start

-0

PERF

hiháw^aahawíriwu

hi

haáwa'

ahaawíriwu'

and also he ran into him ,
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- awi.ri.wuh -0 ,
 and also EV ABS 3.A run.into PERF ,

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

akiwirikututaríhust^a,

aki wirikutuutariíhusta
 and here this is what he was going to be doing
 a- ki wii- riku- ti- 0- ut- aar -i -:hus -ta
 and there now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV do IMPF IMPF INT

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

hisiahirakapáha

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

kátahka
 kátahka
 the enemy
 katahkaa
 foreign.tribe

irirusirihkukútik^a

iriruusirihkukuútika

there where they killed him

irii-	ruu-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kuut.ik	-a
where	there	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	kill	SUB.1

. Hiirirákuwak^a

. Hi irirákuwaaka “

. And as one said: “

. hi irii- ra- 0- ku- waak -a ”

. and that INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 ”

tikustíkara

Tikustíkara ”

I will strike this one , ”

tii- kuus- t- i- karaah -0 , ”

this POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ strike PERF , ”

wirikuwiti^hkaríhk^u

wirikuwiti^hkaríhku’

now they were striking those various ones

wii-	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	karihk	-.hus
now	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	count.coup.on	IMPF

. Kišítirat^a

. Kici tiraáta

. But this one

. kici tii- ra- 0- at -a

. but this ABS 3.A go SUB.1

iríahararúhuks^a ,

irii’aharaaruúhuksa ,

the one who overdid it ,

irii- ar- ra- 0- a- raaruuhuks.a -0 ,

that EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A overdo SUB.4 ,

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

wiwitíkarassúhuks

wiwitíkara súhuks
he now struck them five
wii- wi- ti- 0- karaah -0 suhuks
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A strike PERF five

hiwisiahiræktiwarakaukætⁿ

hi wisi'ahiiraktiwáraaka'uukut
and they drove them into the woods
hi wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- ri- waraa- ka- uukuk -0
and now DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT woods in get.into PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Wisiwitiræktikatustáhkaætⁿ

Wisiwitiiræktikatustáhka'at

They drove them across a wooded ravine

wii- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ri- katuus- raar- ka- at -0
now DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT ravine PL in go PERF

hiahakára táwitⁿ .
hi ahakára táwit .

and he struck them three .
 hi ar- ra- 0- karaah -0 tawit .
 and EV ABS 3.A strike PERF three .

Wiwitirawitukaúketⁿ

Wiwitiiraahwiitúhka'uukut

They went onto a clearing

wii- wi- ti- 0- i- raar- wiituur- ka- uukuk -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A level.ridge in get.into PERF

hiaháki háw^a .
 hi aháki' haáwa' .
 and he struck one also .
 hi ar- ra- 0- kii -0 haawa .
 and EV ABS 3.A strike PERF also .

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

wiwitíkara ruksiríwar^a,
 wiwitíkara ruksiríwaara
 now he struck him nine
 wii- wi- ti- 0- karaah -0 ruksiri.waara
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A strike PERF nine

tírasa

tíraasa

this one

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

hiahakawíka

hi ahaakawíkaa'

and he came behind

hi ar- ra- 0- a- kawikaa.a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come.behind PERF

hiahuhnuktawaturikáhətⁿ

hi ahuuraktawaturikáhat

and he passed between them (ie, two groups of fighters)

hi ar- ra- 0- uur- ak- raar- waturika- hak -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P between pass.by PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

hiahuhruktawaturikáhətⁿ

hi ahuuraktawaturikáhat

and he went between them

hi ar- ra- 0- uur- ak- ta.waturika- hak -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P between pass.by PERF

kátahka

kátahka

the enemy

katahkaa

foreign.tribe

iríahuksukataíwari

iríi'ahuksuukata'íwari

where he was going back and forth in front of them

iríi-	ar-	ra-	0-	uks-	huukata-	-wi	warii	-hus
where	EV	ABS	3.A	AOR	across.water	SUB.L	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

witutkakarárit^a

Witutkaakaaraárihta

He wore a crow bustle

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	kaakaa-	raar-	ihta	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	crow	PL	have.under.one's.belt	PERF

hiahuruhuwaturikáhətⁿ

hi ahuuruhuwaturikáhat

and he passed between the lines

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	uhur-	waturika-	hak	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	now	between	pass.by	PERF

. Hiahútawiwitakáta

. Hi ahuúta

. And he did it :

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	,
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	,

hiwitiahuharihtaríkətⁿ

wiwitakátaa'

hi witi'ahuuhaarihtaríkut

he came up (the rise) and he took it off his belt
 wii- wi- ti- 0- a- kata.a -0 hi witi- ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- ihta rikuk -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come.up PERF and REFL EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt pull.off PERF

kakararihtáwi^u kátahka
 kaakaaraarihtáwi'u' kátahka
 the crow bustle the enemy
 kaakaa- raar- ihta -wi -u' katahkaa
 crow PL have.under.one's.belt SUB.L NOM foreign.tribe

. Hihawatirárikⁱ
 . Hi hawá tiraáriki
 . And also this one
 . hi haawa tii- ra- 0- arik -i
 . and also this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

rahákukⁱ
 rahaákuki
 ours
 ra- t- rak- 0 -ka.uk -i
 ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2

hihawaahuháriht^a
 hi hawá ahuuhaárihta
 and also he had it at his waist
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- ihta -0
 and also EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt PERF

kakararihtáwi^u
 kaakaaraarihtáwi'u'
 a crow bustle
 kaakaa- raar- ihta -wi -u'
 crow PL have.under.one's.belt SUB.L NOM

hiahatakáhəṭⁿ

hi ahatakaáhat
and he got down

hi ar- ra- 0- takaa.hak -0
and EV ABS 3.P get.down PERF

kišihiwítiraru

kici hi wítiráru
but and he gave them to him

kici hi wi- ti- 0- raar- uh -0
but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

kakararihtáwi^u

kaakaaraarihtáwi'u'
the crow bustle

kaakaa- raar- ihta -wi -u'
crow PL have.under.one's.belt SUB.L NOM

hiahaturíkəṭⁿ

hi ahuutuúrikut
and he caught him

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- uurikuk -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV catch PERF

Wíkarahišiksúəṭⁿ

Wikaraahiicíksu'at
His mind was not clear

wii- kara- ar- ri- 0- i- aciks.u.at -0
now NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ mind.to.be.clear PERF

kátahka ruwítikísikiitⁿ

kátahka . Ruuwítikísiki'it
the enemy . Then he was alive

katahkaa . ruu- wi- ti- 0- kisikit -'
the enemy . he-3.A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

foreign.tribe . then QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.alive EX

hiahuturíkætⁿ .
hi ahuutuuríkut .
and when he caught him .
hi ar- ra- 0- ut- uurikuk -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A PREV catch PERF .

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

iwiahuturíkætⁿ
iwi'ahuutuuríkut
when he caught him ,
ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- ut- uurikuk -0 ,
when now EV ABS 3.A PREV catch SUB.4 ,

hiaharáhwišætⁿ .
hi aharaáhwicat .
and they arrived .
hi ar- ra- 0- raar- wic.at -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A arrive PERF .

Híkuharasikusuhurítitⁿ i ,
Hi kúhaaraciksúhurítit i
And he was reviving and ,
hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- aciks.uhur.itik -0 i ,
and DUB ABS 3.A EV revive PERF and ,

irárⁱ ,
iraári'

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

hiahawiškakárarakuša^a

hi ahawicka' kararaakuuca'a
 and he wanted not to arise
 hi ar- ra- 0- wicka -0 kara- ra- 0- a- ku- uca.a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A think PERF NEG INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B rise SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Sirikuksawašušará^a

Sirihkuksawahcucará'a

When they even made him rise

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uks- awahc- uca.a ra- a -0
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B AOR even up PORT come SUB.4

hihitáhwiška

hihi taáhwicka'
 and he would think ' ,
 hi hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 ' ,
 and and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF ' ,

siaskukútik^a

si'aaskukuútika

you might kill me

si- aa- s- ku- kuut.ik -a ' kátahka
 DU SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P kill SUB.1 ' kátahka
 enemy
 katahkaa
 foreign.tribe

. Hiaháwiša pít^a
. Hi ahaáwica' piíta
. And he arrived the man
. hi ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 wiita
. and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF man

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

Suksuhuratahkatáhetⁿ

Suksuhuuraattaahkatáhat

Get away for a while

i- s- uks- uhur- rak- raar- katahak -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS now 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A get.away PERF

, " hiruahitaráhpitⁿ
. " Hiru ahitaráhpit
! " Then he took it off the bow
. " hiruu ar- ri- 0- tarahpik -0
. " then EV CONT.3A 3.A take.off.a.bowstring PERF

pít^u tiraskási^u .
pítku tiraakási'u' .
two bowstrings .
pítku tiraak.kasii -u' .
two bowstring NOM .

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

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

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

kátahka ahapitahkáwaritⁿ
kátahka ahapiitahkáwarit
the enemy he put it over his testicles
katakkaa ar- ra- 0- piik- raar- kawarik -0
foreign.tribe EV ABS 3.A testicle PL put.into PERF

tirakási^u .
tiraakási'u' .
the bowstring .
tiraak.kasii -u' .
bowstring NOM .

Nikuksúwihita
Rihúksu' wiruúta
Only he did it
rihuks- -u' wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
only NOM now ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

ahutasawišikətⁿ
ahuutasawíciihkut
he pulled the string ,
ar- ra- 0- ut- haas- awi.ciih.kuk -0 ,
EV ABS 3.A PREV string pull PERF ,

naruwituhurúša
raaruwituuhuruúcaa'

then he just jumped up

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- uhuur.uca.a -0
just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A jump.up PERF

. Nawititaráhkistatataætⁿ .

. Raawititaráhkistatata'at .

. He just ran following them .

. raa- wi- ti- 0- tarahkis- tatata.at -0 .
. just QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.strong follow PERF .

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

hiruásiahíširəskáisətⁿ

hiru a si'ahiiciraskaa'iisat

then and they took him back to the village

hiruu a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- ciras- kaa- iis.at -0
then and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ COM inside go.out.of.sight PERF

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

hiruirihií šústitⁿ tíhuks^u írihi
hiru irihíí cústittíhuksu' irihíí
then those old women only those
hiruu irii- hii custit rihuks -u' irii- hii
then that other old.woman alone NOM that other

asiahikútitⁿ

a	si'	ahihkuútit						.
and	they	killed	him					.
a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	kuut.ik	-0	.
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	kill	PERF	.

hirukaháhiri,					šustíkahik ^u			
Hiru	kaahaáhiri'				custíkaahiiku'			
Then	in the	lodge			aged old	women		
hiruu	kaa-	-haar	-hiri'	custit	kaahik	-u'		
then	inside	LOC	LOC	old.woman	aged	NOM		

níhuks^u

ríhuksu'								
only								
rihuks	-u'							
alone	NOM							

nikusiwitihkútitⁿ

rikusiwitihkuútit								.
they were	the ones	who	killed	him				.
riku-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	kuut.ik	-0	.
that.is	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	kill	PERF	.

ahutúrikætⁿ

Ahuutuúrikut							ih	
He captured	him						uh	,
ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	uurikuk	-0	,	ihii	,
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	catch	PERF	,	uh	,

əktár^u

witúksasa ^a								
aktaáru'	witúksasa'a							
Aktaru*	he was	named						
aktaaru'	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	asar	-'		

Aktaaru QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX

kúrahus .
 kúrahus .
 the old man .
 kurahuus .
 old.man .

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

iwiruhiwiš

iwiruuhiwic

when he appeared

ii- wii- ra- 0- uur- hiwihc -0
 when when ABS 3.A PREV appear SUB.4

Pahukátawa , náwa ,
 Paahukaátawa ráwa
 Pahukatawa , now ,
 Paahukaatawa , rawa ,
 Pahukatawa , now ,

wirusíriróših̄tis

wiruusiirácihtis

they revered him

wii- ruu- si- ri- 0- ir- uur- racihtis -0
 now then DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV respect PERF

hitírahakitətⁿ

hi tiráhaakitat

and this our village
 hi tii- ra- t- rak- itak -0
 and this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

hitiratašikskápak^{is}

hi tiitaakacikskápaakis
 and he pitied them
 hi ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P feel.pity.for PERF

nihkuharíka^a

rihkuuhaaríkaa'a

when he revealed it

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

náhkuwak^a

raáhkuwaaka

when he said

ra- 0- ar- ku- waak -a , " Nawa ,
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , " Ráwa
 , " Now
 , " rawa
 , " now

tatutašikskápak^{is}

tatuutacikskápaakis

I am pitying you

ta- t- a- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV feel.pity.for PERF

tiréspari

tiráspari .

you living here .

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

iriwitəskápak ^{is}												. Náwa ,
Iriwitaskaápaakis												. Ráwa
You are pitiful												. Now
irii- wi- ta- s- kaapaakis -0												. rawa
that QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A be.pitiful PERF												. now

witataraurəskuwarukstí^u

witataráá'u													raskuwaárukstii'u
I am giving you the way													for you to be powerful
wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0													ra- s- ku- waarukstii -u
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF													INF.A 2.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D

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

witúkstawi													šáhiks
witúkstawi'													cáhiks .
there was among them													a person .
wi- ti- 0- uks- tawi -0													icaahiks .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.among PERF													person .

witúkstawi													šáhiks
Witúkstawi'													cáhiks
There was among them													a person
wi- ti- 0- uks- tawi -0													icaahiks
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.among PERF													person

nihkurúha													Pahukátawa
ríhkuruuha													Paahukaátawa
his being given a way by him													Pahukatawa
ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a													Paahukaatawa

INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1 Pahukatawa

nakuwarukstí^u . Kahšu
rakuwaárukstii'u . Káhcu'
to be powerful . Medicines
ra- 0- ku- waarukstii -u . kahc -u'
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D . herb NOM

kítututətáihk^u,
kítuu'u' tuutatta'ihku'
all he was meaning them
kituu -u' ti- 0- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus
all NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P mean IMPF

šahiks
cáhiks
a person
icaahiks
person

nihkuksawákírawa
rihkuksawackíraawa
even when he is sick
ra- 0- ir- ku- uks- awahc- kiraawaahc -0
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B JUSS even.if be.sick SUB.4

wirahkuhurahašístar^{it},
wiraahkuhurahacístarit
when he was going to die
wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- hurahac -his -ta -rit
when INF.A 3.P EV INF.B die PERF INT INT.SUB

hiwitarúhahuru
hi witaruúhahuru'

and he doctored him
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- rahur.ra'uk -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV treat PERF

irikuaharaitustawar^u

iriku'aharaá'itustaawaaru

what his words that were left were

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- a- raa.iit.us- raar -waa -u
 what INDF EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A story do DIST SUB.D

Pahukátawa .
 Paahukaátawa .
 Pahukatawa .
 Paahukaatawa .
 Pahukatawa .

Awitáhkisitⁿ

A witaáhkisit

And he would be lively

a wi- ti- 0- ar- kisik -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV survive PERF

awitaruráhirⁱtⁿ

a witaruuraáhiiriitit

and he would get well

a wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- raa- hiir -itik -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV way be.good INCH PERF

. A Pahukátawa
 . A Paahukaátawa
 . And Pahukatawa
 . a Paahukaatawa
 . and Pahukatawa

irikukuharaítustawar^u,
irikukúhaaraa'itustaawa'

those were his stories

irii-	ku-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iit.us-	raar	-waa	-0
that	INDF	DUB	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	story	do	DIST	PERF

wisirihkúksawaškútik^a

wisirihkuksawackuútika

even if they killed him

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	kuut.ik	-a
now	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	JUSS	even.if	kill	SUB.1

kátahka .
kátahka .
an enemy .
katakkaa .
foreign.tribe .

Tirəskurətkawawúku

Tiraskuuratkawaawúku

What you are hearing from me

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

hirikuaharaitéstawa^a

hi riku'aharaa'itustaawá'a

and those are his words

hi	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iit.us-	raar	-waa	-'
and	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	story	do	DIST	EX

. “
. .
. .
. .

Iririhkuróhšítis .
 Iririhkurácihtis .
 One will notice that .
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- racihtis -0 .
 that INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B PREV notice SUB.4 .

"

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

nikuwitaráitus^{itn}
 rikuwitaraa'ítusit
 those are his words
 riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.iit.us -ik -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be.a.story DIST PERF

Pahukátawa nihkuwáha^a
 Paahukaátawa rihkuwáhaa'a
 Pahukatawa for one to be lifted up
 Paahukaatawa ra- 0- ir- ku- waha.a -0
 Pahukatawa INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B lift.up SUB.4

šáhiks . Náw^a
 cáhiks . Ráwa

a person . Now
 icaahiks . rawa
 person . now

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

irárⁱ , Pahukátawa .
 iraári' , Paahukaátawa . “
 brother , Pahukatawa . “
 i- -raar- -ri' , Paahukaatawa . ”
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , Pahukatawa . ”

Kískuhkáwi^u
 Kiskuhkáwi'u'
 Soft white plume
 kiis.kuhka.wi -u'
 soft.plume NOM

tirəstətaráh^a
 tirastáttaraaha
 this that you'll carry
 tii- ra- s- rak- raar- raah -a
 this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL 3PL.NAN.P have SUB.1

tirəsparihéstaritⁿ
 tiraspariihústarit
 when you are going to go
 tii- ra- s- warii -hus -ta -rit
 when ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

nawirakúr^u
 raawiirakuúru'
 (on) the warpath
 raawiiraak.huur -u'
 war.party NOM

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

nakútkas^a
 raakútkasa
 when it lies on (your head)
 ra- 0- ku- itka sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B sleep be.lying SUB.3

nikutuhárukst^a
 rikutuuhaáruksta
 it is the one that is going to give you the way
 riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -his -ta
 that.is IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN way make PERF INT

šáhiks kararáhurəs .
 cáhiks kararaáhuras .
 a person that he not find you .
 icaahiks kara- ra- 0- a- huras -0 .
 person NEG ABS 3.A 2.P find SUB.4 .

Nuksawáhšurəs
 Ruksawáhcuras
 Even if he were to find you
 ri- 0- uks- awahc- huras -0

CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if find SUB.4

hikararáhurəs

hi kararááhuras

and he won't find you

hi kara- ra- 0- a- huras -0
and NEG ABS 3.A 2.P find PERF

nuruksawašihtátatat^a

ruuruksawahcihtátataata

even if he were close by one there

ruu- ri- 0- uks- awahc- ihtatata.at -a
there CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if go.close.by SUB.1

hikarirusírikst^u

hi kariiruuciíriksta

but he cannot see you

hi kari- ra- 0- a- ut- iirik -his -ta
and EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A 2.P PREV see PERF INT

. Nikutuhárukst^a

. Rikutuuhaáruksta

. That is how it is going to be

. riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -his -ta
. that.is IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN way make PERF INT

tirəsítkas^a

tirasítkasa

when you have it on your head

tii- ra- s- itka sa -0 kiskukáwi^u
when ABS 2.A sleep be.lying SUB.4 kiskuhkáwi'u'
a soft white plume
kiis.kuhka.wi -u'
soft.plume NOM

.
."

. "

. "

. "

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

nikuwituhá
 rikuwituuhá'

he was the cause

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause PERF

Pahukátawa tirahákitətⁿ

Paahukaátawa tirahaákitat

Pahukatawa this our village

Paahukaatawa tii- ra- t- rak- itak -0
 Pahukatawa this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

ahiksəktarawúh^a

ahiksaktáraawuuha

his having given the way to them

ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- ak- raar- raa- wa- uh -a
 EV ABS 3.A OBV AOR PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P way DIST give SUB.1

nakuwarúksti^u

rakuwaárukstii'u

to be powerful

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

nakúrarah^a . I ,
 rakúraaraaha . I
 to possess the way . Well ,
 ra- 0- ku- raa- raah -a . i ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way have SUB.1 . and ,

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

narurukstatáwik^u
 raaruurukstaatáwiiku
 his way was just among the people
 raa- ruu- ra- 0- uks- raa- tawi kus -0
 just then ABS 3.A AOR way be.among be.sitting PERF

Pahukátawa iriríkuruh^a,
 Paahukaátawa iriiríkuruuha
 Pahukatawa what he gave me
 Paahukaatawa irii- ri- 0- ku- raa- uh -a
 Pahukatawa what CONT.3A 3.A 1.P way give SUB.1

kītutukstatawīk^u
 kítuu'u' . Tukstaátawiiku
 all . The way was among us
 kituu -u' . ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi kus -0
 all NOM . IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among be.sitting PERF

nókuwaruksti^u .
 rákuwaarukstii'u .
 to be powerful .
 ra- 0- ku- waarukstii -u .

INF.A 3.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D .

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

tatariraiwətⁿ

tatariíraa'iiwat

I am telling you

ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

iriahút^a

irii'ahuúta

how it was (ie happened)

irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
that EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

tirahákitətⁿ

tírahaakitat

this our village

tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0
this ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4 icaahiks
person

šáhiks

cáhiks

a person

ahúhiwiš

ahuúhiwic

he appeared

ar- ra- 0- uur- hiwihc -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV appear PERF

nákuwarukstí^u

rákuwaarukstii'u

one who was holy

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

nakuítawⁱ

raakuíitawi

one who knew

ra- 0- a- ku- iita -wi
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B know SUB.L

hirukítu

hiru kítuu'u'

there all

hiruu kituu -u'

there all NOM

tirawáhəṭⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Kítu

Kítuu'u'

All

kituu -u'

all NOM

nahkutirutakúkⁱ

raáhku

he was

ra- 0- ar- kus -0 tii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -ka'uk -i
ABS 3.A EV be.sitting PERF this ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 DIST SUB.2

tiruutakuúki

these things

tirashuhawíriku
 tirasuuhaawiíriku
 these things you see

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

hírahakukíah^u

hi	rahaákuki						ahú'.				
and	ourselves						he was.				
hi	ra-	t-	rak-	0	-ka.uk	-i	ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0
and	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	be	DIST	SUB.2	EV	ABS	3.A	be	PERF

skiríwitⁱ

Ckíri	wíti'										
A Skiri	he was										
ickirir	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0						
Skiri	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF						

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

iwisirirašihwítⁱs

iwisiriiracihwiitis
 now they recognized him

ii-	wii-	si-	ri-	0-	ir-	uur-	racih.wii.tis	-0
that	now	DU	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	recognize.DIST	PERF

náhir ^a	šáhiks
ráhiira'	cáhiks
some (of them)	a person
rahiira	icaahiks

further person

irirúhaukⁱ

iriruúhaa'uuki

its being that way then

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	raa-	uk	-i
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	be	SUB.2

kararakúwakurikⁱ

kararakuúwakuuriki

his not speaking

kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	wakuur.ik	-i
NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	speak.thus	SUB.2

pakuríšahiks

pakuurícahiks

human speech

wakuur- icaahiks

word person

hitiruhwakúrawu

hi tiruhwakuúrawu

and his doubting him

hi	tii-	ra-	0-	uur-	wakuur-	raa.wuu	-hus
and	this	ABS	3.A	PREV	word	doubt	IMPF.SUB

, irárⁱ

. Iraári^ʔ

. Brother

. i-

-raar-

-ri^ʔ

. 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

nikúwitirákit^u

rikuwitiraákita

that was the reason

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

áhawak^u , “ Náw^a
ahawáku’ “ Ráwa
he said : “ Now
ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ” rawa
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ” now

wikakətpariíhust^a

wikaakaatpariíhusta

I am no longer going to live

wii- kaaka- t- warii -:hus -ta
now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

títak^u tiirirátu
títaku ti’iriiraátu
right here here where I am

tii- -taku tii- irii- ra- t- uu -0
this LOC here where ABS 1.A be SUB.4

ákitar^u . Náw^a ,
ákitaaru’ . Ráwa
tribe . Now
akitaar- -u’ . rawa
tribe NOM . now

hiruhiwitatuh^a

hiru hi witátuhta
then and I am going to go

hiruu hi wii- ta- t- uh -ta
then and now IND.1/2A 1.A go.INT INT

iharaturáruhətⁿ

iharaaturaáruhat

those villages

ii-	haa-	ra-	0-	ituur-	raar-	u.hak	-0
that	here	ABS	3.A	village	PL	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

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

tuharáihku

tuuhaará'ihku'

he was meaning

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

tiraturáruhətⁿ

tiraaturaáruhat

these (other) villages

tii-	ra-	0-	ituur-	raar-	u.hak	-0
this	ABS	3.A	village	PL	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

turahkítu

turaahkítuu'u'

the entire village

ituur-	raar-	kituu	-u'
village	PL	all	NOM

tuharáihk^u

tuuhaará'ihku'

he was meaning

ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	:-hus	.	"
-----	----	-----	------------	-------	---	---

IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . "

Hirúrihiwitətparihust^a

Hiru irihiiwitatpariíhusta

There that other is where I am going to live

hiruu	irii-	hii-	wi-	ta-	t-	warii	-:hus	-ta
there	that	other	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT

,
.
.
.
.

irihisitikuráših̄tis

Irihiisitikuurácihtis

Those others recognize me

irii-	hii-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	racihtis	-0
that	other	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	PREV	recognize	PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

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

tihararakarušpáwi

tihaararaákarucpaawi

these ways lying inside

tii- haa- ra- 0- raa- kaa- ra.uc -waa -wi
this here ABS 3.A way inside be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

tiratuhaawíriku

tiratuhaawíriku

these things that I see

tii- ra- t- ut- raa- wa- iirik -hus
this ABS 1.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

hirutikušikská^a

hiru tikuucíksskaa'a'

then I think of it

hiruu ti- a- ku- aciks.kaa.a -0
then IND.3A PREV.3A 1.P think.of PERF

hirúirihi

náritⁿ

hiru irihii raárit

there those really

hiruu irii- hii raarit

there that other really

nikuhára^u

rikuuháraa'u

the ways he gave me

ri- 0- ku- ut- raar- raa- uh -0
CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 3PL.INAN.P way give PERF

kítu

kítuu'u'

all

kituu -u'

all NOM

tirətuhawíríku

tiratuuhaawiíríku

these that I am seeing

tii- ra- t- ut- raa- wa- iirik -hus
this ABS 1.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

títak^u

tíitaku

here

tii- -taku

this LOC

Irikuahušukstírahakítətⁿ

Iriku'ahucúks

That was how it used to be

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0
that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR be PERF

tírahaakitat

this village of ours

tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0
this ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

. Hiahawáku

. Hi ahawáku'

. And he said

. hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa

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

hawakakatiwihšáhist^a

hawá kaakaatihwicáhista

also I am not going to come back

haawa kaaka- t- ir- wic.a -his -ta
also NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A arrive PERF INT

páruh^tn hitiharitúkst^a

páruhit hi tihaariítuksta

quickly and I am going to be this

paruhit hi tii- haa- rii- t- uk -his -ta

quickly and this here ASSR 1.A be PERF INT .

Tirawišahístaritⁿ

Tirawicahístarit

When it is going to arrive

tii- ra- 0- a- wic.a -his -ta -rit
when ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF INT INT.SUB

nətkahar^u

tírahu

Rátkahaaru'

tiíraahu

Night

this one coming

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

nətkaharu

Rátkahaaru'

Night

ratkahaar- -u'
night NOM

nikurihahwirutikústaritⁿ

rikuriihaahwiiruutíkustarit

that is where I am going to be sitting down here and there

riku- rii- t- raar- wi.itik -ruu -hus -ta -rit
that.is ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P sit.down ITER IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

, nikutátukst^a

. Rikutaátuksta

. I will be the one

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

awítihašikst^a

a witihaáciksta

and they will be watching
a wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.aciks.ta -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

hitáhisa , "
hi táhiisa' . "
and the dawn comes . "
hi ti- 0- a- hiis- a -0 . "
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF . "

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

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

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

titakuhiruśáhiks				hirutítaku		
Tiítaku	hiru	cáhiks	hiru	tiítaku		
Right here	there	a person	then	right here		
tii-	-taku	hiruu	icaahiks	hiruu	tii-	-taku
this	LOC	there	person	then	this	LOC

tíwari					šahiks
tíwari'					cáhiks
he goes around					a person
ti-	0-	warii		:-hus	icaahiks
IND.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF	person

hirúháwit ⁿ					
hirú	haáwit				.
there	in the east				.
hiruu	haawit				.
there	east				.

sिकासुशिरिशिस						
Sikaasuciriícis						
You will learn						
si-	kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	riicis	-0
DU	POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	learn.about	PERF

hawárikutatútu						
hawá	rikutatuútu'					.
also	I am like that one					.
haawa	riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uu	-0
also	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	be.like	PERF

hirutiráwa						
Hiru	Tiráwaahat					
There	(of) the Heavens					
hiruu	tii-	ra-	0-	waa-	ahak	-0
there	this	ABS	3.A	DIST	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

táita					.	
ta'iita					.	"
he knows					.	"
ti-	0-	a-	iita	-0	.	"

IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF . "

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

nikuwitiwáku . Náw^a ,
rikuwitiwáku' . Ráwa
that is what he said . Now
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 . rawa
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF . now

iríhwaki kúrahus
i ríhwaki' kúrahus " "
and they said the old men : "
i ra- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus , "
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man , "

ikusíkarirituširisís^u

I kusikariiriituciriiciísu'
And we do not know anything of it
i ku- si- kari- rii- t- ut- i- riicis -:-hus
and INDF DU EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ learn.about IMPF

irikúhuætⁿ .
iriikúhuu'ut . "
whatever it was . "
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' . "
what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa iraári'

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

akírikutiruhú

akí rikutiruuuhú'
 and here this is the way it is
 a ki riku- ti- 0- raa.uhur -0
 and there that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way PERF

títak^u

tiítaku
 right here
 tii- -taku
 this LOC

tiwirótpari hi
 tiwirátpari hi
 my being here and
 tii- wii- ra- t- warii -hus hi
 here now ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB and

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'
 tribe
 akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

tiwiraráwiša

tiwiraraáwica
 when the time arrived
 tii- wii- ra- 0- a- raa- wic.a -0
 when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A way arrive SUB.4

kúrahus	tiwira ^h urahəš						
kúrahus	tiwira ^h urahac						
an old man	when he passed away						,
kurahuus	tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	hurahac	-0	,
old.man	when	when	ABS	3.P	die	SUB.4	,

tiwirararurahəškítu								
tiwiraraarúrahac								
when they passed away								
tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	raar-	hurahac	-0	kituu	-u'
when	when	ABS	3.P	3PL.INAN.P	die	SUB.4	all	NOM

kúrahus	.	Naw ^a	
kúrahus	.	Ráwa	
the old men	.	Now	,
kurahuus	.	rawa	,
old.man	.	now	,

tiwiratutíriku							,
tiwiratuutiíriku							
my seeing you here							,
tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	ut-	iirik	-hus	,
here	now	ABS	1.A	PREV	see	IMPF.SUB	,

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

tiwiróspari					
tiwiráspari					
now that you live					
tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	warii	-hus

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

tiráskuhárikah^u

tiraskuuhaarikaahu

this that you are telling me

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

, “ Títaku
“ Tiítaku
: “ Right here
, " tii- -taku
, " this LOC

witúkspari

witúkspari

he walked around

wi- 0- ti- uks- warii -:hus
QUOT 3.A IND.3A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

atíəs píra^u
atí'as píira'u'
father child
ati- as piira -u'
1.POSS father child NOM

kukuháha^u

kukúhaaha'

he was his offspring

ku- kuur- ra- 0- a- haa -0
INDF DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.one's.child PERF . "

Náw^a tiwiritiráit^a

Ráwa tiwiriitiraá'íta

Now I now know it
 rawa tii- wii- rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 now this now ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

akiirikutuharáik^u

aki rikutuuhará'ihku'
 and here that is what he meant
 a- ki riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

pahkút^u áhawak^a šáhiks,
 . Pakúhtu' ahawáku' cáhiks
 . Long ago he said a person
 . pakuht -u' ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 icaahiks
 . be.old NOM EV ABS 3.A say PERF person

ahikuhárika^a

ahiikuuhaaríkaa'a

when he told me
 ar- ri- 0- a- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 EV CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV tell.to SUB.4

, " Hiru háw^a tíwari
 , " Hiru haáwa' tíwari'
 : " There also he walks
 , " hiruu haawa ti- 0- warii -:hus
 , " there also IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

títak^u hirúhawitⁿ
 títaku hirú haáwit .
 here there the east .
 tii- -taku hiruu haawit .
 this LOC there east .

təsaruhíšisist^a
Tásaruuhiicísista .
You (pl) are going to learn of him .
ta- s- ar- ut- riicis -his -ta .
IND.1/2A 2.A EV PREV learn.about PERF INT .

háwárikutatutu . "
Hawá ríkatatuutu' . "
Also I am like that one . "
haawa riku- ta- t- ut- uu -0 . "
also that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be PERF . "

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

itiwiritiráit^a ,
i tiwiriitiraá'iita ,
and I do know this ,
i tii- wii- rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 ,
and this now ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF ,

irárⁱ , Pahukátawa ,
iraári' Paahukaátawa
brother : Pahukatawa
i- -raar- -ri' , Paahukaatawa
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , Pahukatawa

nikuwitiníkašar^u ,
rikuwíti' ríkacaaru'
that one is a ghost
riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 rikacaar -u'

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF ghost NOM

tirahútawi .
tirahútawi .
this wind .
tii- ra- 0- huta -wi .
this ABS 3.A be.windy SUB.L .

Nikuwitiwáku , “
Rikuwitiwáku’ “
That is what he said : “
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , “
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Tihátətⁿ .
Tihaátat .
I am this .
tii- haa- ta- t- 0 -0 .
this here IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF .

Níkašarútətⁿ ,
Ríkacaaru’ ruútat .
A ghost there I am .
rikacaar -u’ ruu- ta- t- 0 -0 .
ghost NOM there IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF .

níkašarútətⁿ ,
Ríkacaaru’ tat .
A ghost I am .
rikacaar -u’ ta- t- 0 -0 .
ghost NOM IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF .

hítiharitⁿ,
Hi tíhaarit

And I am this
 hi tii- haa- rii- t- 0 -0
 and this here ASSR 1.A be PERF

nahurarikiriwítari,
 rahuraarikiriwítaari
 the changing of the land (ie seasons)
 ra- 0- huraar- ikiriwit -aar -i
 ABS 3.A land be.different INCH IMPF.SUB

wirahuratawastakárari
 wirahuraatawastaakaarári
 when the snow turns grayish white
 wii- ra- 0- huraa- tawas.taakaar -aar -i
 when ABS 3.A snow be.grayish.white INCH IMPF.SUB

nakutikirawahákusa
 raakuutikiraawaahákusa
 when it comes whirling around
 ra- 0- a- ku- ut- ikiraa.hak -waa -hus a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV turn DIST IMPF.SUB come SUB.4

tirahútawⁱ .
 tirahútawi . "
 this wind . "
 tii- ra- 0- huta -wi . "
 this ABS 3.A be.windy SUB.L . "

Nikúwitⁱ .
 Rikúwiti' .
 That is what he is .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- -0 .
 the.one QUOT IND.3A 3.A PERF .

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

tirətúraiwatⁱ

tiratúraa'iwaati

this I am telling about

tii- ra- t- uur- raa.iwaat -i
 this ABS 1.A PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

kariríhi

kariiríhi'

it was not

karii- ri- 0- ihii -0
 EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.in.a.place/time PERF

títirⁱ

tiítiiri .

today .

tii- tiiri .

here now .

hiruiriwikuhakahíkawətⁿ

Hiru iriwikuuhakaahíkawut

Then however many died of old age

hiruu irii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- kaahik ka.wa.ut -0
 then what now DUB ABS 3.A aged die.DIST PERF

hikišiwitikuhiraitusúhus^a

hi kici witi- kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.iit.us- uh -hus a -0

and , but they passed the story on to one another

hi , kici witi- kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.iit.us- uh -hus a -0

and , but REFL DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A story give IMPF.SUB come PERF

, nahákukⁱ
 rahaákuki .
 our (people) .
 ra- t- rak- 0 -ka.uk -i .
 ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2 .

nikuwituhíwiš,
 Rikuwituuhíwic
 That one appeared
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- hiwihc -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV appear PERF

kišinaritrakukuhárikahu
 kici raárit rakukuuhaaríkaahu
 but really when he was telling me
 kici raarit ra- 0- a- ku- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus
 but really INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P INF.B PREV tell.to IMPF.SUB

arakukurúha
 a rakukúruuha
 and to give me the way
 a ra- 0- ku- ku- raa- uh -a
 and INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B way give SUB.1

nákuwaruksti^u .
 rakuwaárukstii'u .
 to be powerful .
 ra- 0- ku- waarukstii -u .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D .

Nikutirátiāhinətuh^a
 Rikutíra' ti'ahiraaruha

That was the way						this way that he gave him								
riku-	ti-	0-	raa-	0	-0	tii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	raar-	uh	-a	
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	way	be	PERF	this	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	3PL.INAN.P	give	SUB.1	

nakuwáruksti ^u						.								
rakuwaárukstii ^u						.								
to be powerful						.								
ra-	0-	ku-	waarukstii	-u		.								
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.holy	SUB.D		.								

Tirəturukstaíwāt ⁱ														
Tiratuurukstaaííwaati														
This that I have told you														
tii-	ra-	t-	a-	uur-	uks-	raa.iiwaat	-i							
this	ABS	1.A	2.P	PREV	AOR	tell.a.story	SUB.2							

tirúkšakat ^a						,								
tírukcaakata														
yesterday														
tii-	ra-	0-	uks-	saak-	at	-a								
this	ABS	3.A	AOR	day	go	SUB.1								

rəspak ^a														
raspaáka														
what you said														
ra-	s-	waak	-a											
ABS	2.A	say.SUB	SUB.1											

kiisuraíwət ⁿ														
Ki'isuraaííwat														
Tell it														
kii-	i-		s-	uur-	raa.iiwaat	-0								
HORT	CONT.1/2A		2.A	PREV	tell.a.story	PERF								

a šáhiks
 A cáhiks
 And a person
 a icaahiks
 and person

atihwáha
 atihwáhaa'
 he would raise him up

a ti- 0- a- ir- ar- waha.a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV lift.up PERF

akihirikuáhu

aki hi riku'ahú'
 and here and that was the one

a- ki hi riku- ar- ra- 0- uu -0
 and there and that.is EV ABS 3.A be PERF

Pahukátawa .
 Paahukaátawa .
 Pahukatawa .
 Paahukaatawa .
 Pahukatawa .

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

tihawiraturiwatístaritⁿ

tihawiratuuriwaatístarit

this that I am now going to tell you about

tii- haa- wii- ra- t- a- uur- iiwaat -his -ta -rit

this here now ABS 1.A 2.P PREV tell.about PERF INT INT.SUB

nikuwitúta
rikuwituúta
he did that

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

siahiwáha^a

si'ahihwáhaa'a

when they lifted him up

si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- waha.a -0
DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A lift.up SUB.4

tíhi

tí't

it was they

ti- 0- 0 -ik -0 , ihii , rikuc -kis
IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF , uh , bird DIM

níkuškⁱ

ríkucki

uh ,

uh , bird DIM

nahurarahkítu

rahuraaraahkítuu'u'

all the animals

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

níkutⁱ

Ríkuti'

He was the one

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

siahiwáha^a

si'ahihwáhaa'a

the one whom they lifted up .
 si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- waha.a -0 .
 DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A lift.up SUB.4 .

Akikutíwišk^a

Aki kutíwicka'
 And here He desired it
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- wicka -0
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A want PERF

tiráwa

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

təsiruharikáwahust^a

Tasiruuhaarikaáwaahusta

You are going to be telling different ones

ta- s- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -wa -:hus -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV tell.to DIST IMPF INT

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

nikútira
rikútira'
this is the way
riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

tirahákitətⁿ
tirahaákitat .
this village of ours .
tii- ra- t- rak- itak -0 .
this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4 .

nihkuwitaruhú^u
Rikuwitaruuhú'u
That one is the cause
riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -'
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.the.cause EX

Pahukátawa, rahurarahkítu
Paahukaátawa rahuraarahkítuu'u'
Pahukatawa all the animals
Paahukaatawa rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'
Pahukatawa animal PL all NOM

nihkútašikskapákis^u šáhiks
rihkuutacikskapaákisu cáhiks
when he is pitied by them a person,
ra- 0- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u icaahiks
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D person

šahiksísahiks
cahiksícahiks
an Indian
icaahiks icaahiks

person person

arikutušikakapákis^u

a rihkuutacikskapaákisu

and when he is pitied by them

a ra- 0- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
and INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

níkuškⁱ . kítu
ríkucki . Kítuu'u'
the birds . All
rikuc -kis . kituu -u'
bird DIM . all NOM

nikuwitaruhúritⁿ

rikuwitaruuhuúrit

these were his ways (ie powers)

riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -ik -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.the.way DIST PERF

tiraráhkasa

tiraráhkasa

these in the brush

tii- ra- 0- raar- ka- sa -0
this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.the.brush be.lying SUB.3

nahurahkirípaškⁱ kítu .
raurahkirípacki kítuu'u' .
small animals all .
rahuraar- kiripac -kis kituu -u' .
animal small DIM all NOM .

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa iraári'

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

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

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

tirətpakástaritⁿ
 tiratpaakástarit
 this that I am going to say
 tii- ra- t- waak -as -ta -rit
 this ABS 1.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT INT.SUB

Pahukátawa ! Hiru
 Paahukaátawa “ Hiru
 Pahukatawa : “ Then
 Paahukaatawa , ” hiruu
 Pahukatawa , ” then

šiksukasáširaətⁿ
 cíksu' kaasúcira'at*
 take your thoughts to him (ie be prayerful)
 aciks- -u' kaas- s- ut- i- ra- at -0
 think.of NOM POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ PORT go PERF

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

Hiruirihí túrahi
 Hiru irihiitúraahi
 There that is good
 hiruu irii- hii- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 there that other IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

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

Pahukátawa . "
 Paahukaátawa . "
 Pahukatawa . "
 Paahukaatawa . "
 Pahukatawa . "

Hiruirihituráhi
 Hiru irihiitúraahi
 There that is good
 hiruu irii- hii- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 there that other IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiráwa,
 . Tiráwaahat
 . The Heavens
 . tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0

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

irihikasúširaətⁿ šíks^u

irihiikaasucira'at cíksu'

you must take your thoughts to him

irii- hii- kaas- s- ut- i- ra- at -0 aciks -u'
that other POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ PORT go PERF think.of NOM

,

tirətuharíkah^u

tiratuuhaaríkaahu

as I tell you

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

, kakatkísikiitⁿ ,

. Kaakaatkísiki'it .

. I am not alive .

. kaaka- t- kisikit -' .

. NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.alive EX .

tətíkísiikiitⁿ

Tatkísiki'it

I am alive

ta- t- kisikit -'
IND.1/2A 1.A be.alive EX

hikariritíkísiikiitⁿ .

hi kariiriitíkísiiki'it .

and I am not alive
 hi kari- rii- t- i- kisikit -' .
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ be.alive EX .

Tət hutúr^u , híkisi
 Tat huutuúru' . Hi kici
 I am the wind . And but
 ta- t- 0 -0 huutu- -u' . hi kici
 IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF wind NOM . and but

níwišk^a
 riíwicka'
 He wants
 rii- 0- wicka -0
 ASSR 3.A want PERF

rətakuharíka^a
 rataakuuhaaríkaa'a
 for me to tell it to you
 ra- t- ir- a- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P INF.B PREV tell.to SUB.4

, nikuwituruhú^u
 rikuwituruhú'u
 that was the reason
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ruuhur -'
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX

síahikuwaha
 si'ahihkuwáhaa
 their lifting me up
 si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- waha.a -0
 DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P lift.up SUB.4

nahurarakītu . "
 rahuraaraahkītuu'u' . "
 all the animals . "
 rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' . "
 animal PL all NOM . "

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

nikutirákit^a
 rikutiraákita
 that is the reason
 riku- ti- 0- raa.kita -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

tirəskurətkawawúku
 tiraskuúratkawaawuku
 this that you are hearing from me
 tii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka'uk -waawa -hus
 this ABS 2.A 1.P PREV hear DIST IMPF.SUB

tírətpakahu
 tiratpaákahu
 this that I am saying
 tii- ra- t- waaka -hus
 this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kakuatiráítusta^a
 kaaku'aatiraa'íitusta'a
 it is not my stories
 kaaku- aa- t- ir- raa.iit.us- raa- 0 -'

NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A story way be EX

.
. .
. .

tirataríraiwatⁱ,

Tirataríraa'iiwaati

This that I tell you

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

kúrahus kutiraítustaⁱ

kúrahus kutiraa'íitusta'i

a priest it was the story he repeated

kurahuus	ku-	ti-	0-	raa.iit.us-	ta.iir	-0	.
priest	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	story	put.down	PERF	.

Sitikurírikstaiwawətⁿ

Sitikurírikstaa'iiwaawat

They used to tell me stories

si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	i-	uks-	raa.iiwaat	-wa	-0
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	SEQ	AOR	tell.a.story	DIST	PERF

,

akihirikuaharaítusta

aki hi riku'ahaaraa'íitusta'

hirusirikuráhwaritⁿ

hiru sirikuráhwarit
then they will send me
hiruu si- ri- 0- ir- ku- raar.warik -0
then DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P send PERF

tirakáhuraruhətⁿ

tirakaáhuraaruhat
(to) this earth extending

tii- ra- 0- kaahuraar- uhak -0
this ABS 3.A earth extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tirapišíhi^u

tirapiciíhi'u
where it is cold . I ,

tii- ra- 0- pici.ihí -u . i
here ABS 3.A be.very.cold SUB.D . and

hiruirihíritáritⁿ

hiru irihiiriítarit . I
there over there I do stand . I
hiruu irii- hii- rii- t- arik -0 . i
there there other ASSR 1.A be.standing PERF . and

ristapakíhust^a

riistapakíhusta , “
you are going to say : ~
rii- s- rak- waki.a -:hus -ta , ‘
ASSR 2.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF INT , ‘

Pahukátawa , atípət Pahukátawa .
Paahukaátawa atípat Paahukaátawa . ‘
Pahukatawa , grandfather Pahukatawa . ‘
Paahukaatawa , ati- paak Paahukaatawa . ‘

Pahukatawa , 1.POSS grandfather Pahukatawa . '

" Náw^a nikuwitiwáku , "
 " Ráwa rikuwitiwáku' , "
 " Now that is what he said : "
 " rawa riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 " now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Irisitəskuháihk^u

Irisitaskuuhá'ihku' .

That is how you'll be addressing me .

irii- si- ta- s- ku- ut- ra'ihk -:hus .
 that DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV say.to IMPF .

šahiksišahikstətⁿ . "

Cahiksícahiks tat . "

An Indian I am . "

icaahiks icaahiks ta- t- 0 -0 . "

person person IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tiwirətaríraiwatⁱ

tiwiratariíraa'iiwaati

this that I have now told you

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

tiraraítusku

tiraraa'íitusku

this story
 tii- ra- 0- raa.iit.us- kus -0
 this ABS 3.A story be.sitting SUB.4

tiraítuspáruksti .
 tiraa'íituspaáruksti' .
 it is a holy story .
 ti- 0- raa.iit.us- waarukstii -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A story be.holy PERF .

Šahíkstaka kukuhátawi
 Cahíkstaaka kukuuhátawi'
 White man he must be among them
 icaahiks taakaar ku- kuur- ra- 0- tawi -0
 person be.white INDF DUB ABS 3.A be.among PERF

tirakári^u šahíkstaka
 tirakári'u cahíkstaaka
 these many white men
 tii- ra- 0- kari -u icaahiks taakaar
 this ABS 3.A be.numerous SUB.D person be.white

kurihkušuksašikskapákis^u
 kurihkuucuksacikskaapaákisu
 maybe their having been pitied
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- uks- aciks.kaapaakis -u
 DUB INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV AOR feel.pity.for SUB.D

, akihírikuri ,
 . Aki hi ríkuri' .
 . And here and he is the one .
 . a- ki hi riku- ri- 0- 0 -0 .
 . and there and that.is CONT.3A 3.A be PERF .

tirahutawiwitⁱ

Tirahútawi

This wind

tii-	ra-	0-	huta	-wi	wíti'	ti-	0-	0	-0
this	ABS	3.A	be.windy	SUB.L	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

Pahukátawa		ahuhupírit ⁿ		.			
Paahukaátawa		ahú'	huupírit	.			
Pahukatawa		he is	a star	.			
Paahukaatawa	ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	huupirik	.
Pahukatawa	EV	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	star	.

Hirúwitiritⁿ

Hiru witiírit

There he stands

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	arik	-0
there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.standing	PERF

tiirirakahurakátituhətⁿ

ti'iriirakaahuraahkatiítuhat

here where the black part of the earth extends

tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit	u.hak	-0
------	-------	-----	----	-------------	--------	-------	----

here where ABS 3.A earth be.black extend.in.a.line SUB.4

- . Náwa
- . Ráwa
- . Now
- . rawa
- . now

titakurikutiraítustihətⁿ

títaku rikutiraa'ítustiihat

here this is where the story ends

tii- -taku riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us- tiihak -0
this LOC that.is IND.3A 3.A story be.the.end PERF

- .
- .
- .
- .
- .