

Skiri Narratives, One

Roaming Scout

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

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

tiwirətaruh^a
tiwirataruuha
this that I have given you
tii- wii- ra- t- a- raa+ uh -a
this now ABS 1.A 2.P way give SUB.1

tiwirəstárik^u
tiwirastáriku
this which you now hold
tii- wii- ra- s- raar- ri+ kus -0
this now ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting SUB.4

kuratíra^u .
kuratíra^ʔu
the one that was mine ,
ku- ra- t- ir- raa+ 0 -u ,

INDF ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A way be SUB.D ,

Irárⁱ

iraári^ʔ

brother ,

i- raar -rii ,

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

hirutaháhura

hiru tuuhaáhura^ʔ

there it derived from him

hiruu ti- 0- ut- raa+ hurar -0

there IND 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

atíəs

tirakítak^u

Atí^ʔas

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

ahikuráruh^a

tárah^a .

ahikuraáruha

táraha^ʔ .

when He gave them to me

buffalos .

ar- ra- 0- ku- raar- uh -a tarahaa .

EV ABS 3.A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1 buffalo .

I , irárⁱ

I , iraári^ʔ

And , brother ,

i , i- raar -rii ,

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

sukstaíraritⁿ

sukstaa^ʔiírarit .

ponder it !
 i- s- uks- raa+ iirarihk -0 !
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS way measure PERF !

hirutiráwahətⁿ

Hiru Tiráwaahat
 There the Heavens

hiruu tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
 there this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

tíra^a

tíraa'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.3

Ihariwáhukskak^u

ihaariiwaáhakskaku

there the Heavens reside in it

ii- haa- rii- 0- a+ waa+ hak -his+ ka+ kus -0
 there here ASSR 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by FORM.PERF in be.sitting PERF

. Háwíristik^u .

. Haawíristíku .

. Now you have it !

. haa- wii- rii- s- ri+ kus -0 .
 . here now ASSR 2.A PORT be.sitting PERF .

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

hiruirihíšiksúrákut^a

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------------------|-------|-----|-------|------|----|-------|
| hiru | irihii | | cíksu' | rákuuta | | | | | | |
| then | there | | you | must be thinking of | him | | | | | |
| hiruu | irii- | hii | aciks | -u' | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | 0 | -a |
| then | there | other | mind | NOM | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | PREV | be | SUB.1 |

tiráwahətⁿ

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---------|-----|-----------|------|---------|-------|--|--|--|---|
| Tiráwaahat | | | | | | | | | | . |
| the | Heavens | | | | | | | | | . |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -0 | | | | . |
| this | ABS | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | SUB.4 | | | | . |

irihituháhura

Irihiituuhaáhura'

That one is the source of everything

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|------|-------------------------|--|--|------|
| irii- | hii- | ti- | 0- | ut- | raa+ | hurar | | | -0 |
| that | other | IND | 3.A | PREV | way | be.where.one.comes.from | | | PERF |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| . | Atíəs | | | | | | | | | |
| . | Atí'as | | | | | | | | | |
| . | Our | Father | | | | | | | | |
| . | ati- | as | | | | | | | | |
| . | 1.POSS | father | | | | | | | | |

irihítirakawákaruk^u

irihitiraakawaákaruuku'

He is the one who made all things

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|---------|-----------|-------|
| irii- | hii- | ti- | 0- | raa+ | ka.waa+ | ka.ra.uk | -:hus |
| that | other | IND | 3.A | way | DIST | make.PL.P | IMPF |

tirakítak^u

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------|-------|-----|----|--|--|--|--|---|
| tirakítaku | | | | | | | | | | . |
| this | one | above | | | | | | | | . |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kita+ | kus | -0 | | | | | . |

this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 .

Nikutaratiwirəskurárik^u

Ríkutara^ʔ

It came from him

tiwiraskuuraáriku

this which you now have from me

irii.ku- ti- 0- a- ra+ a -0 tii- wii- ra- s- ku- uur- raar- ri+ kus -0
that.is IND 3.A PREV.3A PORT come PERF this now ABS 2.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting SUB.4

. Iráriⁱ ,
. Iraári^ʔ ,
. Brother ,
. i- raar -rii ,
. 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nakurášikstawi .

rakuraácikstawi .

watch over it .

ra- 0- ku- raa+ aciks+ ta -wi .
INF.A 3.A INF.B way mind be.suspended SUB.L .

Narukariskuráru

Raaruukariskuuruuári^ʔ

Don't just be moving mine around

raa.ruu- kari- i- s- ku- uur- raar- ruu+ warii -:hus
just EMPH.NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

,

.

.

.

.

narukariskurarawawarik^u

Raaruukariskuuraarawaawáriku^ʔ

Don't just be throwing mine around

raa.ruu- kari- i- s- ku- uur- raar- a+ waa+ war +ik -:hus
just EMPH.NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P in.a.line DIST go.DIST CAUS IMPF

. Šikstitⁿ ,
. Cíkstit
. Well
. aciks +rik
. mind DIST

nikututəst^a .
rikutuútasta .
that is going to be for you .
irii.ku- ti- 0- a- ut- 0 -as -ta .
that.is IND 3.A 2.P PREV be IMPF.IRR INT .

Atíəs irirawíška^a
Atí'as iriirawícka'a
Our Father His wanting that
ati- as irii- ra- 0- wicka -a
1.POSS father that ABS 3.A want SUB.1

hísikstitⁿ
hi cíkstit
and well
hi aciks +rik
and mind DIST

išiksuhúhwari
iciksuhúhwari'
we'll live awhile
i- aciir- uks- uhur- warii -:hus
CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A JUSS awhile be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

tirašíraha .
 tiraciíraaha .
 while we are here .
 tii- ra- aciir- aah -a .
 here ABS IN.DU.A be SUB.1 .

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

sukstaíraritⁿ
 sukstaa'írarit
 ponder it
 i- s- uks- raa+ iirarihk -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS way measure PERF

tirəskúřətⁿ kawawúku
 tiraskuúratkawaawuku
 this that you hear from me
 tii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka.uk +waawa -hus
 this ABS 2.A 1.P PREV hear DIST IMPF.SUB

, atiratašiksúhkas^a
 tiraataciksúhkasa
 my mind here
 tii- ra- t- aciks.hur+ ka+ sa -0
 here ABS 1.A mind in be.lying SUB.4

tirəspákahu , hiru
 tiraspaákahu . Hiru
 this that you were saying . Then
 tii- ra- s- waak -a+ -hus . hiruu

this ABS 2.A say.SUB FORM.1 IMPF.SUB . then

atíəs

Atí'as

Our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

wirikutikušikstíhaš^u

wirikutikuucikstíhaacu'

He is the one making up my mind

wii- irii.ku- ti- 0- ku- aciks+ riihac -:hus
now that.is IND 3.A 1.P mind finish IMPF

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

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

tiratútpawaktik^u

tiratutpaawáktiku

as I talk to you here

tii- ra- t- a- ut- waa+ wak +rik -hus
here ABS 1.A 2.P PREV DIST say DIST IMPF.SUB

, aríkuruháa

. A rikuruuhá'a

. And He is the one who did it

. a irii.ku- ra- 0- ut- rar -'
. and that.is ABS 3.A PREV do EX

tiratuharíkawah^u

tiratuuhaaríkaawahu

these things I am revealing to you

tii- ra- t- ir- a- ut- raa+ ri+ kaa+ wa+ a -hus
this ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV way PORT inside DIST come IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

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

witasúhaahutⁿ ,
witasuúhaa'aahut
now you have them (the bundle)

wii- ta- s- ut- raa+ ahuk -0
now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV way hold PERF

tirótpari

tirátpari

here where I am

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

ahaśákuraruha

ahacákuraaruha

the things that He gave us

ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- raar- uh -a
EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|--|
| ákitar ^u | | | | | | | | | | |
| ákitaaru' | . | | | | | | | | | |
| tribe | . | | | | | | | | | |
| akitaar | -u' | . | ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | raa+ | uh | -0 | |
| tribe | NOM | . | EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | way | give | PERF | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-------|---|--|--|--|
| ahikurúha | . | | | | | | | | | |
| ahikuruúha | . | | | | | | | | | |
| what He gave me | . | | | | | | | | | |
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | raa+ | uh | -a | . | | | |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | way | give | SUB.1 | . | | | |

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

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|--|--|----------|--|--|--|--|
| tiróspari | | | | | | | | | | |
| tiróspari | | | | | | | | | | |
| yours who are living | | | | | | | | | | |
| tii- | ra- | s- | warii | | | -hus | | | | |
| here | ABS | 2.A | be.going.about.IMPF | | | IMPF.SUB | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|------|------|-------|--|--|--|--|--|
| áharuh ^a | | | | | | | | | | |
| áharuuha | | | | | | | | | | |
| what He gave him | | | | | | | | | | |
| ar- | ra- | 0- | raa+ | uh | -a | | | | | |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | way | give | SUB.1 | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|----|-------|--|--------|----|--|--|--|--|
| tiróstarah ^a | | | | | | | | | | |
| tirástaraaha | | | | | | | | | | |
| this that you have | | | | | | | | | | |
| tii- | ra- | s- | raar- | | ra.aah | -a | | | | |

this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

nawihakaráitⁿ

raawihaakáaraa'it

paper

raawiir+ taakaar+ raa+ iit
cloth white way story

nakurašíkstawi

rakuraacíkstawi .

take care of it .

ra- 0- ku- raa+ aciks+ ta -wi .
INF.A 3.A INF.B way mind be.suspended SUB.L .

atíəs

tirakítak^u

Atí'as

tirakítaku

Our Father

this one above

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

kútara^a .

kútara'a .

it belongs to him .

ku- ti- 0- a- raar- 0 -' .
INDF IND 3.A POSS.3A 3PL.INAN.P be EX .

Náw^a , i irárⁱ ,

Ráwa i iraári'³

Now so , brother ,

rawa i , i- raar -rii ,

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

tírarušⁱ

tíraruuci

these things

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

tiwirasúhah^{atn}

tiwirasuúhaa'aahut

this which you now hold

tii- wii- ra- s- ut- raa+ ahuk -0
this now ABS 2.A PREV way hold SUB.4

tirákahur^u

tiihakaáhuru'

he made the earth

tiir- ra- 0- kaa.hur+ ra.uk -0
INFR ABS 3.A earth make PERF

iripítarut^a

iri piíta ruúta
that a man its being

irii wiita ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
that man ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

irírut^a

iriíruuta

its being thus

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

narákak^u

raraákaku

what is in it

ra- 0- raa+ ka+ kus -0
ABS 3.A way in be.sitting SUB.4

tikák^u

tikáku

it is inside (the bundle)

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|------------|------|
| ti- | 0- | ka+ | kus | -0 |
| IND | 3.A | in | be.sitting | PERF |

iríahaháwiruku

irii'ahahaáwiruku

what he made a copy of

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|----------|
| irii- | ar- | ra- | t- | raa+ | awi+ | ra.uk | -hus |
| what | EV | ABS | 1.A | way | image | make | IMPF.SUB |

tirakahúrak^u

tirakaáhuraahku

this earth

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|--------|---------|------------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kaa+ | huraar+ | kus | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | inside | earth | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

tirótpari

tirátpari

we who go about

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

tiráhkata^a

Tiráhkataa'a

It is yellow

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------------|----|----------|-----|
| ti- | 0- | raar.kataar | -' | paapicis | -u' |
| IND | 3.A | be.yellow | EX | metal | NOM |

papíšis^u

paapícisu'

metal

tikák^u

Tikáku

It is in it

| | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|-----|----|
| ti- | 0- | ka+ | kus | -0 |
|-----|----|-----|-----|----|

IND 3.A in be.sitting PERF .

kasúširišís .

Kaasúciiriicis .

You will learn about it .

kaas- s- ut- i- raa+ icis -0 .
POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ way learn.of PERF .

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

atírak^u

a tíraaku

and this

a tii- ra- 0- kus -0
and this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

kišákus^u

kicákusu'

buffalo scalp

kiic+ ca+ kus -u'
neck upright be.sitting NOM

nikusirišiksparukstirukusuk^u

rikusiriicikspaarukstiiruukúsuuku'

they used to consecrate

irii.ku- si- 0- rii- 0- i- aciks+ waarukstii +ra.uk -hus+ -uuku
that.is DU 3.A ASSR 3.A SEQ mind be.holy CAUS FORM.IMPF HAB

rurakukítu

ruurakuukítuu'u

its being whole there

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----|----------|-------|
| ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | i- | kituu | -u |
| there | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | SEQ | be.whole | SUB.D |

kiwīk^u

kíwiiku'

a buffalo bull

kiwiik -u'

buffalo.bull NOM

sirīhkukutik^a

sirīhkukuutika

when they killed it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|---|
| si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | kuut | +ik | -a | - |
| DU | INF.A | 3.A | PL.3A | INF.B | be.dead | CAUS | SUB.1 | - |

pákⁱs

paákis

a young bull

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------|-------|-----|-----|----|--------|-------|
| paak | -kis | irii- | ra- | 0- | 0 | -uk | -i |
| young.bull | DIM | that | ABS | 3.A | be | FORM.D | SUB.2 |

irirúkⁱ

iriiruúki

that kind

hisitíwaruks tir^u

hi sitihwaárukstiiru'

and they consecrated it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|------------|--------|------|---|
| hi | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | waarukstii | +ra.uk | -0 | . |
| and | DU | IND | 3.A | PL.3A | be.holy | CAUS | PERF | . |

I irárⁱ

I iraári'

And , brother ,

i , i- raar -rii ,

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

niku raitúsurahuš
tikuuraa'iitusúrahac

I have forgotten the story

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|------|-------|-----------|-----------|------|
| ti- | ku- | uur- | raa+ | iit | -hus+ | hurahac | -0 |
| IND | 1.P | PREV | way | story | FORM.IMPF | disappear | PERF |

iririkspakíhu

iririkspakiíhu

what they used to tell

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|--------|--------|----------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ir- | uks- | wak.i | -a+ | -hus |
| what | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | AOR | say.PL | FORM.1 | IMPF.SUB |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|------------------|---|---------------------|------------------|--|----------|
| kúrahus | . | Náw ^a | , | irár ⁱ | | | |
| kúrahus | . | Ráwa | | iraári ^ʔ | | | |
| the old men | . | Now | , | brother | | | |
| kurahuus | . | rawa | , | i- | raar | | -rii |
| old.man | . | now | , | 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | | 3.POSS.B |

, tirašíwari

tiracíhwari

, when we are here

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

tirətpákahu

tiratpaákahu

this that I am telling

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------|--------|----------|---|
| tii- | ra- | t- | waak | -a+ | -hus | , |
| this | ABS | 1.A | say.SUB | FORM.1 | IMPF.SUB | , |

irárⁱ

iraári^ʔ

brother

| | | | |
|----|------|------|---|
| i- | raar | -rii | , |
|----|------|------|---|

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

kuwikakatutárist^a

kuwikaakatuutárista

I cannot do anything

ku- wii- kaaka- t- ut- aar -his+ -ta
INDF now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do FORM.PERF INT

. Witíraki

. Witíraakii

. It is a long time

. wii- ti- 0- raa.kiir -0
. now IND 3.A be.long PERF

iwiríku raitustáruhutš

iwiríkuraa'itustaarúrahac

now I have forgotten the stories

ii- wii- ra- ku- uur- raa+ iit -hus+ raar+ hurahac -0
there now ABS 1.P PREV way story FORM.IMPF PL disappear PERF

. Hiruha^a

. Hi ruuhá'a , atíəs

. And He did it Atí'as

. hi ra- 0- ut- rar -' Our Father

. and ABS 3.A PREV do EX ati- as
1.POSS father

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

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

nawiška^a

rawícka'a

kira šuskíraritⁿ

kíra cuskiírarit

tirətuhárikahu

tiratuuhaárikaahu

this that I am telling you

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|------|------|------|--------|------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | t- | ir- | a- | ut- | raa+ | ri+ | kaa+ | a | -hus |
| when | ABS | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | 2.P | PREV | way | PORT | inside | come | IMPF.SUB |

, ahikuhara^u

ahíkuhaara'u

the way He made for me

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | raa+ | ra.uk | -0 |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | way | make | SUB.3 |

tirétpari

tirátpari

my living here

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

šahiksíšahiks

.

cahiksícahiks

.

Indian

.

icaahiks+ icaahiks

.

person person

.

Náw^a

,

irárⁱ

,

Ráwa

iraári^ʔ

Now

,

brother

,

rawa

,

i-

raar

-rii

,

now

,

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

,

tiiriwirótpak^a

ti^ʔiriwirátpaaka

this that I have said

| | | | | | | |
|------|-------|------|-----|----|------|----|
| tii- | irii- | wii- | ra- | t- | waak | -a |
|------|-------|------|-----|----|------|----|

this that now ABS 1.A say.SUB SUB.1

əskururitⁿ

áskuruurit

together

asku+ ra- 0- uur- 0 +ik -0
one ABS 3.A PREV be DIST SUB.4

witašákura

witacákuru'

He has made us

wi- ti- 0- aca- ku- ra.uk -0
QUOT IND 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P make PERF

əskururitⁿ

Áskuruurit

Together

asku+ ra- 0- uur- 0 +ik -0
one ABS 3.A PREV be DIST SUB.4

witašakuhakakúsitⁿ

witácakuuhaakakusit

He has picked up the ways for us

wi- ti- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa+ ka+ kusik -0
QUOT IND 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way in pick.up PERF

tirašihawírik^u

tiraciihaawiiriku

these things we see

tii- ra- aciir- ut- raa+ wa+ iirik -hus
this ABS IN.DU.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

tiraširaruhkukⁱ

tiracíaruhkuuki

these things that we have .
 tii- ra- aciir- raar- ruu.aah.ka'uk -i .
 this ABS IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 .

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

harisuhaírik^u
 haarisuuhaa'iíriku'
 here you see things .
 haa- rii- s- ut- raa+ iirik -:hus .
 here ASSR 2.A PREV way see IMPF .

wírarutətirawirúk^u
 Wiraaruutátiraawirúku'
 I now just imagine them
 wii- raa.ruu- ta- t- i- raa+ awi+ ra.uk -:hus
 now just IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ way image make IMPF

tárah^a
 táraha'
 buffalos
 tarahaa
 buffalo

natiriríksuriwawⁱ
 ratariiríksuriwaawi
 the ones that we used to have roaming
 ra- t- a- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- hurii +waa -wi
 ABS 1.A IN.PL.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

hitirasušířəsah^a

hi tirsuucířasaaha
and this one that you led

hi tii- ra- s- ut- ciras+ aah -a
and this ABS 2.A PREV COM be SUB.1

tarahátak^a

tarahaátaaka

cattle

tarahaa+ taakaar
buffalo be.white

wíraruritirawirúk^u

wiraaruuriitiraawiruúku'

now I just imagine them

wii- raa.ruu- rii- t- i- raa+ awi+ ra.uk -:hus
now just ASSR 1.A SEQ way image make IMPF

.
. .
. .

iriwirarutatirawirúk^u

Iriwiraaruutátiraawiruuku'

Now I just imagine those

irii- wii- raa.ruu- ta- t- i- raa+ awi+ ra.uk -:hus
that now just IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ way image make IMPF

, tirawáhətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0

this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

tiwiratətpákararaw^u

tiwiratutpákaraarawu^ʔ

when I pray to him

tii- wii- ra- t- ut- wakaraar+ a+ wuu -:hus
when when ABS 1.A PREV voice in.a.line go.IMPF IMPF

šəskíraritⁿ

caskiúrarit

a little

caskii+ raarit

a.little really

tiratətkáksah^u

tiratutkáksahu

when I call out to him

tii- ra- t- ut- kaksaa -hus

when ABS 1.A PREV call IMPF.SUB

, páruksti šíkstitⁿ

Paáruksti^ʔ cíkstit

Holy Being well

waarukstii aciks +rik

be.holy mind DIST

iríahikušukstára^u

irii^ʔahikucukstaára^ʔu

the way he used to make for me

irii- ar- ra- 0- ku- ut- uks- raa+ ra.uk -0
what EV ABS 3.A 1.P BEN AOR way make SUB.3

šíkstitnutkúkspari

cíkstit ratkúkspari

well that I lived

aciks +rik ra- t- ku- uks- warii -hus

mind DIST INF.A 1.A INF.B AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákitar^u

ákitaaru^ʔ

tribe ,
akitaar -u' ,
tribe NOM ,

šikstitnutkúwari

cíkstit ratkúwari
well that I live
aciks +rik ra- t- ku- warii -hus
mind DIST INF.A 1.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

.
.
.
.
.

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

iriwíraruriraítustušpa

iriwiraaruuriiraa'íitustucpa

these stories are just lying there

irii- wii- raa- ruu- ri- 0- i- raa+ iit -hus+ ra.uc +waa -0
that now just there CONT 3.A SEQ way story FORM.IMPF be.lying.PL DIST PERF

naituspákuht^u

raa'íituspákuhtu'

the old stories

raa+ iit -hus+ pakuht -u' .
way story FORM.IMPF be.old NOM .

witikuraká¹sətⁿ

Witikuuraakaá¹iisat

Now I am forgetting them

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|--------|------|--------|--------------|----|------|
| wii- | ti- | ku- | uur- | raa+ | kaa+ | iis+ | at | -0 |
| now | IND | 1.P | POSS.P | way | inside | out.of.sight | go | PERF |

kítu

kítuu'u' .

all .

kituu -u' .

all NOM .

túhawirikuruhuruš

Tuuhá'

He made it

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| ti- | 0- | ut- | rar | -0 |
| IND | 3.A | PREV | do | PERF |

wirikuuruuhúrahac

now mine have disappeared

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| wii- | ra- | ku- | ri- | uur- | hurahac | -0 |
| now | ABS | 1.P | PHYS.POSS | PREV | disappear | PERF |

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar

animal

atíəs

Atí'as

Our Father

ati-

1.POSS

as

father

ahikušúkskawakár^a

ahikucukskawaakára'u

the different ones that He made for us

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|---------|-----------|-------|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | uks- | ka.waa+ | ka.ra.uk | -0 |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | AOR | DIST | make.PL.P | SUB.3 |

, irárⁱ ,

. Iraári'

. Brother

. i- raar -rii ,

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

kitutatuksparuksti rukusuk^u

kítuu'u' tatukspaarukstiiruukúsuuku'

all I used to consecrate it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----------|-----|------|------------|--------|-----------|-------|
| kituu | -u' | ta- | t- | uks- | waarukstii | +ra.uk | -hus+ | -uuku |
| all | NOM | IND.1/2A | 1.A | AOR | be.holy | CAUS | FORM.IMPF | HAB |

tirétpari

tirátpari

mine that lives

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------------------|----------|---------------------|-----|
| tii- | ra- | t- | warii | -hus | ákítar ^u | |
| here | ABS | 1.A | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB | ákitaaru' | |
| | | | | | tribe | |
| | | | | | akitaar | -u' |
| | | | | | tribe | NOM |

iriahikutkára^u

irii'ahikutkára'u

ones He made for me

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-------|
| irii- | ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | ka.ra.uk | -0 |
| that | EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | make.PL.P | SUB.3 |

| | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------------|---|-----|
| atíəs | , | tárah ^a | ; | a |
| Atí'as | | táraha' | . | A |
| Father | | buffalos | . | And |
| ati- | as | tarahaa | . | a |
| 1.POSS | father | buffalo | . | and |

ahikətkaru

ahikutkáru'

He made them for me

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|------|-----|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | ka.ra.uk | -0 | pah |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | make.PL.P | PERF | elk |

narikúrikⁱ

rarihuúriki

| | |
|---|----------|
| . | Atíəs |
| . | A Atí'as |

the large ones . And Our Father
 ra- 0- rihur +ik -i . a ati- as
 ABS 3.A be.big DIST SUB.2 . and 1.POSS father

ahikət̚kara^u tapáhətⁿ
 ahikutkáraʼu taapáhat
 his making them for me white tail deer
 ar- ra- 0- ku- ut- ka.ra.uk -0 taa+ pahaat
 EV ABS 3.A 1.P BEN make.PL.P SUB.3 deer be.red

irinatumstawarukstirukusuk^u
 iriiratumstaawarukstiiruukúsuku
 the ones that I used to consecrate
 irii- ra- t- uks- raa+ waarukstii +ra.uk -hus+ -uku
 that ABS 1.A AOR way be.holy CAUS FORM.IMPF HAB.SUB

kúrahus
 kúrahus
 the old men
 kurahuus
 old.man

nikúraruku .
 rihkúraaruku .
 so they would sing .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raa+ ra.uk -hus .
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way make IMPF.SUB .

Iskúřetka^u
 Iskuúratkaʼu
 When you hear from me
 i- s- ku- uur- atka.uk -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV hear SUB.3

atira tiwirarušⁱ
 Atíra' tiwíraruuci
 Mother these things
 ati- raa tii- wii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i
 1.POSS mother this now ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

hiru raráhkawawⁱ
 hiru raráhkaawaawi
 there the ones inside (bundle)
 hiruu ra- 0- raar- kaa +waa -wi
 there ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside DIST SUB.L

atíəs
 Atí'as
 Father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

nikutihikúhar^u
 rikutihiikuúhaaru'
 that is what He planned for me
 irii.ku- tiir- ra- 0- ku- ut- raa+ ra.uk -0
 that.is INFR ABS 3.A 1.P BEN way make PERF

nikuratkúharawari
 rikuratuúharaawari
 for me to offer that up to him
 irii.ku- ra- t- ku- ut- raar- ra+ a+ warii -hus
 that.is INF.A 1.A INF.B BEN 3PL.INAN.P PORT in.a.line be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

wirətkurárik^u
 wiratkuraáriku
 when I sit with them (the bundle)
 wii- ra- t- ku- raar- ri+ kus -0

when INF.A 1.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting SUB.4

hirikutaharáwari

hi rikutaharaáwari'

and those are what I wave around (ie offer)

hi irii.ku- ta- t- raar- ra+ a+ warii -:hus
and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT in.a.line be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

iritirakarúšpawⁱ

iritirakarúcpaawi

those things lying in it (bundle)

irii- tii- ra- 0- ka+ ra.uc +waa -wi .
that this ABS 3.A in be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L .

Tirawawárikⁱ

Tirawaawaáriki

These various ones standing

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

tirawáhətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0 , há^a
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4 , haá'a
, see
, haa'a
, see

!
!
!
!
!

nətkutuktaráwari

ratkuutaaktaraáwari

the ones that I offered the pipe to

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|------|-----------|---------------------|----------|
| ra- | t- | ku- | ut- | haak+ | raar+ | ra+ | a+ | warii | -hus |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | BEN | wood | PL | PORT | in.a.line | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

,

nikutirúhkit^a

rikutiirúhkita

that is the reason

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | a- | ar- | ri- | uur- | kita | -0 |
| that.is | IND | 3.A | PREV.3A | EV | PHYS.POSS | PREV | be.on.top | PERF |

ahíkušuksá karušúha

ahíkucuksakaaruúcuha

He placed them in the lodge for me

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|----------|-------------|------|-------|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | uks- | akaar+ | ra.uc | +wuh | -a |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | AOR | dwelling | be.lying.PL | CAUS | SUB.1 |

šikskaít^u

cikska'ítu'

the heart line

| | | | | |
|--------|-----|------|-----|---|
| aciks+ | ka+ | iit | -u' | , |
| mind | in | body | NOM | , |

nahútkawi

rahátkawi

the tongue

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-------|-------|
| ra- | 0- | hat+ | ka | -wi |
| ABS | 3.A | tongue | be.in | SUB.L |

nətkurarawárikukⁱ

ratkuraarawaawarikuuki

the things I am throwing around (ie offering)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|------------|-----------|------|---------|------|--------|-------|
| ra- | t- | ku- | raar- | a+ | waa+ | war | +ik | +ka.uk | -i |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | 3PL.INAN.P | in.a.line | DIST | go.DIST | CAUS | DIST | SUB.2 |

| | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---------------------------|----------|
| . | I | , | irár ⁱ | , |
| . | I | | iraári ^ʔ | |
| . | And | , | brother | , |
| . | i | , | i- raar | -rii |
| . | and | , | 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling | 3.POSS.B |

nikuriti šukstarawakawúsuku

rikuriiticukstaarawaakawuúsuku^ʔ

they are the ones I used to offer in prayer

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----------|------|------|------------|------|--------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------|
| irii.ku- | rii- | t- | ir- | ut- | uks- | raar- | ra+ | waak+ | a+ | wuu | -hus+ | -uuku |
| that.is | ASSR | 1.A | POSS.1/2A | PREV | AOR | 3PL.INAN.P | PORT | speech | in.a.line | go.IMPf | FORM.IMPf | HAB |

tirəstarah^a

tirástaraaha

these that you have

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

atíra

Atíra^ʔ

Mother (bundle)

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----|-----------|-----------|------|
| . | tíraka | , | | | |
| . | Tírahka | | | | |
| . | There is inside | | | | |
| . | ti- | 0- | raar- | kaa | -0 |
| . | IND | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.inside | PERF |

tətpakah^u

tətpákaahu^ʔ

I call it

| | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|-----|-------|
| ta- | t- | wak | -a+ | :-hus |
|-----|----|-----|-----|-------|

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

nawiskarišahiks ,
raawiskaarícahiks .
Indian tobacco .
raawis+ kar+ icaahiks .
smoke relish person .

nikutatišukstašarikikusuk^u

Rikutaticukstacaarikihkúsuuku'

That is what I used to tie them onto them

irii.ku- ta- t- ir- ut- uks- raar- ta+ arik +ihk -hus+ -uuku
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV AOR 3PL.INAN.P suspended be.standing CAUS FORM.IMPF HAB

, a , paksiškus^u ;
a paksíckuusu'
and scalps
a paks+ ickuus -u'
and head skin NOM

šáhiksnakukišáhuritⁿ

cáhiks rakukicáhurit

a person one who has been scalped

icaahiks ra- 0- ku- kica.hurik -0
person INF.A 3.A INF.B scalp SUB.4

atarúka

a tarúhka

and he has it in it

a ti- 0- a- ri- uur- ka -0
and IND 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.in PERF

paksiškus^u

paksíckuusu'

the scalp

paks+ ickuus -u'
head skin NOM

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

(for) the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0 ,
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4 ,

tirawawárikⁱ

tirawaawaáriki

these various ones (stars)

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

kíriks ,

kíriks

beads ,

kiriks ,

bead ,

kirikstírakirarius

kíriks tirahkírarii^{us}

beads these that are light green

kiriks tii- ra- 0- ar- kiraar+ rii^{us} -0
bead this ABS 3.A EV liquid be.blue SUB.4

nikutirurahkáwa

rikutiruurahkáwa

they are the ones they have inside (the bundles)

irii.ku- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raar- ka +waa -0
that.is IND 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.in DIST PERF

iriratišuksəktarawarihusuku

iriiraticuksaktaraawariihúsuku

the ones that I used to offer to them

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|------|----------|------------|------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| irii- | ra- | t- | ir- | ut- | uks- | ak- | raar- | ra+ | a+ | warii | -hus+ | -uku |
| that | ABS | 1.A | POSS.1/2A | BEN | AOR | PL.AN.3P | 3PL.INAN.P | PORT | in.a.line | be.going.about.IMPF | FORM.IMPF | HAB.SUB |

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|------|---------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -0 | , |
| this | ABS | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | SUB.4 | , |

tirawawárikⁱ

tirawaawaáriki

these various ones

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

Náw^a

, irárⁱ

Ráwa

, iraári^ʔ

Now

, brother

rawa

, i-

raar

-rii

now

, 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

, 3.POSS.B

kuwikarirítušiaríst^a

kuwikariiriitucí^ʔaarista

I cannot do anything

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------|------|----|-----|----|-----|-------|-----|
| ku- | wii- | karii- | rii- | t- | ut- | i- | aar | -his+ | -ta |
|-----|------|--------|------|----|-----|----|-----|-------|-----|

INDF now EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ do FORM.PERF INT

tiratarirawatⁱ

tiratariíraa'iiwaati

these things I am telling you about

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

, níhuks^u

. Ríhuksu'

. Only

. rihuks -u'

. only NOM

iriwirutararih^{tⁿ}

iriwiruutaaraaríhit

that is the only thing

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

tirataríraⁱwátⁱ

tiratariíraa'iiwaati

these things that I am telling you about

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

. Kítá tirahúrahš^a

. Kítuu'u' tirahúraahca

. Everything this earth

. kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- huraar+ sa -0

. all NOM this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4

átira

Átira'

Mother (bundle)
 ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

kitutúkstakawa

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------|-------|------|------|--|--|
| kituu'u' | | | | | | | | | | |
| everything | | | | | | | | | | |
| kituu | -u' | ti- | 0- | uks- | raar- | ka | +waa | -0 | | |
| all | NOM | IND | 3.A | AOR | PL.INDV.A | be.in | DIST | PERF | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----|-----|----|-------|-------|------|--|---------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | iríra ^u | | | | | | | | úskəšk ⁱ |
| | iriúra'u | | | | | | | | ackácki |
| : | that one | | | | | | | | sinew |
| , | irii- | ra- | 0- | 0 | -u | ackac | -kis | | |
| , | that | ABS | 3.A | be | SUB.D | sinew | DIM | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-----|-----|----|-------|------------|------|--|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | tíra ^u | | | | | | | | pák ⁱ s |
| | tíra'u | | | | | | | | paákis |
| | this one | | | | | | | | young bull |
| | tii- | ra- | 0- | 0 | -u | paak | -kis | | |
| | this | ABS | 3.A | be | SUB.D | young.bull | DIM | | |

kiturikutarurúkstahkawa

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|----------|-----|-----|---------|-----------|--------|------|------------|-------|------|------|--|
| kituu'u' | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| all | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| kituu | -u' | irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | a- | ri- | uur- | uks- | raar- | ka | +waa | -0 | |
| all | NOM | that.is | IND | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | AOR | 3PL.INAN.P | be.in | DIST | PERF | |

,
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .

kitutúkstaruhk^u

Kítuu'u' túkstaruhku'
All she used to have them
kituu -u' ti- 0- uks- raar- ruu.aah.ka'uk -0
all NOM IND 3.A AOR 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST PERF

, a
a
and
a
and

hirúiruritišúksapakararawarihúsuk^u

hiru iruruiriticusapakaraarawarihúsuu'ku'
then I used to throw my voice to them (ie recite rituals)
hiruu irii- ruu- rii- t- ir- ut- uks- ak- wakaraar+ a+ warii -hus+ -uuku
then then then ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A BEN AOR PL.AN.3P voice in.a.line be.going.about.IMPF FORM.IMPF HAB

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens
tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

tirawawárikⁱ

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

irirətktuktawiruhk^a

iriiratkuutaaktahwi'uúruhka
when I pointed the pipe in each direction
irii- ra- t- ku- ut- haak+ raar+ wi.uu +ruhk -a

when INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV wood PL be.facing CAUS SUB.1

, ha irirukstatawi
ha irirukstaátawi
, see , that having been the way (ie custom) among us
, ha , irii- ra- 0- uks- raa+ tawi -0
, ha , that ABS 3.A AOR way be.among SUB.4

tiiriwirəskurətka^u ,
ti^ʔiriwiraskuúratka^ʔu .
this that you have now heard from me .
tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ku- uur- atka.uk -0 .
this that now ABS 2.A 1.P PREV hear SUB.3 .

hiru
Hiru
Then
hiruu
then

iriarutatíhisas
iri^ʔaruutatíhísaas
I would call the name of each one
irii- ar- ruu- ta- t- i- hisaask -0
that EV then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ call.by.name PERF

tirawawárikⁱ
tirawaawaáriki

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

tirawáhəṭⁿ .
 Tiráwaahat .
 the Heavens .
 tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0 .
 this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4 .

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

hawákaki
 hawá kukaaki^ʔ
 again I cannot
 haawa ku- kaaki- 0- 0 -0
 also INDF NEG.IND 3.A be PERF

hawakurətkutar^a ,
 hawá kuratkuútaara ,
 also also do anything ,
 haawa ku- ra- t- ku- ut- aar -a ,
 also INDF INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1 ,

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

tirəspak^a
 tiraspaaka " "
 when you said : "
 tii- ra- s- waak -a , "
 when ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1 , "

kírahiruirihíšiksu isúta
 Kíra hiru irihii cíksu' isuúta
 Perhaps then there be prayerful
 kira hiruu irii- hii aciks -u' i- s- ut- aar -0
 perhaps then there other mind NOM CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF

kakúri ,
 . " Kaakúri'
 . " No ,
 . " kaaki- 0- uur- i- 0 -0 ,
 . " NEG.IND 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF ,

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

kukakírətkutar^a
 kukaakí' ratkuútaara
 I cannot do anything
 ku- kaaki- 0- 0 -0 ra- t- ku- ut- aar -a
 INDF NEG.IND 3.A be PERF INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1

, a ,
 a
 and
 a

and

kaririširikitawⁱ ,
kariiriiciriikítawi^ʔ .
we are not in authority .
karii- rii- aciir- i- kita.wi -0 .
EMPH.NEG ASSR IN.DU.A SEQ be.the.leader PERF .

hiru atíəs
Hiru Atíʔas
There Our Father
hiruu ati- as
there 1.POSS father

irihiiharakitak^u
irihii ihaarakítaku
that other one the one who sits there above
irii- hii ii- haa- ra- 0- kita+ kus -0
that other that here ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

irihitikítawⁱ .
irihitikítawi^ʔ .
that one is the ruler .
irii- hii- ti- 0- kita.wi -0 .
that other IND 3.A be.the.leader PERF .

Witašakuharukítu
Witacakuúhaaru^ʔ kítuuʔuʔ
He made (ie planned) it for us everything
wi- ti- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa+ ra.uk -0 kituu -uʔ
QUOT IND 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way make PERF all NOM

, a
a

and
a
and

irirutəstaritⁿ

iriruútastarit

what is going to be

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|----|----------|-----|---------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ut- | 0 | -as | -ta | -rit |
| what | ABS | 3.A | PREV | be | IMPF.IRR | INT | INT.SUB |

tirəšihwawáktiku

tiracihwaawáktiku

this way we speak

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|------|-----|------|----------|
| tii- | ra- | aciir- | waa+ | wak | +rik | -hus |
| this | ABS | IN.DU.A | DIST | say | DIST | IMPF.SUB |

tiharašihrarukukⁱ

tiharacihraáruhkuuki

these things we have

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|---------|------------|---------------|-------|
| tii- | haa- | ra- | aciir- | raar- | ruu.aah.ka'uk | -i |
| this | here | ABS | IN.DU.A | 3PL.INAN.P | have.DIST | SUB.2 |

tirəšínaitustarah^a

tiraciraa'itustáraaha

these stories that we have

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | aciir- | raa+ | iit | -hus+ | raar+ | ra.aah | -a |
| this | ABS | IN.DU.A | way | story | FORM.IMPF | PL | have | SUB.1 |

.
. .
. .
. .

witaratihaks^a

Witaraatiihaksa^ʔ

The things are coming this way

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------|------|------------|-----------|------|------|
| wii- | ti- | 0- | a- | raa+ | tii.hak | -his+ | a | -0 |
| now | IND | 3.A | PREV.3A | way | be.the.end | FORM.PERF | come | PERF |

iriahutástaritⁿ

irii'ahuutástarit

the ones that are going to be (ie happen)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|----|----------|-----|---------|---|
| irii- | ar- | ra- | 0- | ut- | 0 | -as | -ta | -rit | . |
| that | EV | ABS | 3.A | PREV | be | IMPF.IRR | INT | INT.SUB | . |

Náw^a

i , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa

i iraári^ʔ ,

Now

, so , brother ,

rawa

, i , i- raar -rii ,

now

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

kaskuriširaáhətⁿ

kaskuriiciraá'aahut

you must hold onto mine (bundle)

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-----|-----------|------|-----|------|------|------|
| kaas- | s- | ku- | ri- | ut- | i- | raa+ | ahuk | -0 |
| POT.2A | 2.A | 1.P | PHYS.POSS | PREV | SEQ | way | hold | PERF |

pískuš^u ,

pískucu^ʔ

quickly

wis -kucuu

quickly AUG

tiwirəskurárik^u

tiwiraskuuraáriku

since you now have mine

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|----|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|----|
| tii- | wii- | ra- | s- | ku- | uur- | raar- | ri+ | kus | -0 |
|------|------|-----|----|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|----|

when now ABS 2.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, tahāšikst^a

. Tahaáciksta

. I love her

. ta- t- raa+ aciks+ ta -0

. IND.1/2A 1.A way mind be.suspended PERF

tatiriruktapírihu^u

Tatiriiraktaapírihu^u

We hold her in esteem

ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raak- raapi.rihur -^o
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL value EX

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nikútirašiksurətut^a

Rikutirá^o

That is the reason

cíksu^o ratuúta

my having it prayerfully in mind

irii.ku- ti- 0- raa+ 0 -0 aciks -u^o ra- t- ut- 0 -a
 that.is IND 3.A way be PERF mind NOM ABS 1.A PREV be SUB.1

tiratašikukasa

tiraataciksúhkasa

my mind being on this

tii- ra- t- aciks.hur+ ka+ sa -0

here ABS 1.A mind in be.lying SUB.4 and

hiru atíəs

hiru Atí^oas

there Our Father
 hiruu ati- as
 there 1.POSS father

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

nikuríruhu
 rikuriíruuhu'
 that is how He planned it :
 irii.ku- rii- 0- raa+ uhur -0 ,
 that.is ASSR 3.A way be.the.way PERF ,

šiksuratuta atíəs
 cíksu' ratuúta Atí'as
 I'll have it prayerfully in mind Our Father
 aciks -u' ra- t- ut- aar -0 ati- as
 mind NOM ABS 1.A PREV do PERF 1.POSS father

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

irihikútara
 irihiikútara'
 they are his
 irii- hii- ku- ti- 0- a- raar- 0 -0
 that other INDF IND 3.A POSS.3A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

níhuks^u
ríhuksu[']
only
rihuks -u[']
only NOM

witatariraiwət
witatariiraá'iiwat
I am telling you

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----|-----------|-----|-----------|------|------|------------|------|
| wii- | ta- | t- | ir- | a- | ri- | uur- | raa+ | iiwaat | -0 |
| now | IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | 2.P | PHYS.POSS | PREV | way | tell.about | PERF |

,

irirarakarušpáwi
iriirarahkarucpaáwi
the things that are inside (the bundle)

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|-------|-----|-------|------|-----|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | ka+ | ra.uc | +waa | -wi |
|-------|-----|----|-------|-----|-------|------|-----|

that ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

tirəstárikukⁱ

tirastaáruhkuuki

these that you have

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

irírut^a

iriíruuta

the way it is

irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
what ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

ahikušúkstakawakara^u

ahikucukstaakawaákara'u

the things that He made for me

ar- ra- 0- ku- ut- uks- raa+ ka.waa+ ka.ra'uk -0
EV ABS 3.A 1.P BEN AOR way DIST make.PL.P SUB.3

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

irárⁱ

iraári^p

brother

i- raar -rii
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

kukariruráhihaw^a

kukariirúraahi

haáwa'

they are not at all good (ie are ruined) also
ku- karii- ra- 0- uur- raa+ hiir -0 haawaa
INDF EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF also

kitutirarahkawawⁱ

kítuu'u' tirárahkaawaawi
all these things that are inside (the bundle)
kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- raar- kaa +waa -wi
all NOM this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside DIST SUB.L

tiwirasuháiritⁿ

tiwirasuuhaá'iirit .
these things that you have seen .
tii- wii- ra- s- ut- raa+ iirik -0 .
this now ABS 2.A PREV way see SUB.4 .

títak^u

hirutikak^u

Títaku hiru tikáku
Here then there is inside her
tii- -taku hiruu ti- 0- ka+ kus -0
here LOC then IND 3.A in be.sitting PERF

šasnihwakíhu

caas ríhwakihu
a turtle , the one they call
icaas , ra- 0- ir- wak.i -a+ -hus
turtle , ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL FORM.1 IMPF.SUB

íšas , a , skápirus ,
ícaas a ckaápirus .
a turtle , and a clam shell .
icaas , a ickaa.piruuus .
turtle , and shell .

nikutirahkawa

Rikutirahkáwa

They are the ones inside it

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----------|-------|------|------|
| irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | raar- | ka | +waa | -0 |
| that.is | IND | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.in | DIST | PERF |

atíra

Atíra'

Mother

| | |
|--------|--------|
| ati- | raa |
| 1.POSS | mother |

tirararušpáwⁱ

tiraraárucpaawi

these things that are (in her)

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-------------|------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | ra.uc | +waa | -wi |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.lying.PL | DIST | SUB.L |

kiširiku tirúra

kici rikutiruúhara'

but those are what they use

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----|-----|---------|-------|------|------------|-----|------|
| kici | irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | a- | ir- | ut- | raar- | rar | -0 |
| but | that.is | IND | 3.A | PREV.3A | PL.3A | PREV | 3PL.INAN.P | use | PERF |

tiraráhkawawⁱ

tiraráhkaawaawi

these things inside

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | kaa | +waa | -wi |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.inside | DIST | SUB.L |

kúra^u

tirótawi

, a

kúraa'u'

tirátawi

a

doctor (society) this one among us

and

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-----|----|------|----|
| kuraa | -u' | tii- | ra- | 0- | tawi | -0 |
|-------|-----|------|-----|----|------|----|

a

doctor NOM this ABS 3.A be.among SUB.4 and

, kúra^u tirúštawi .
kúraa'u' tiráctawi .
doctor this one I belong to .
kuraa -u' tii- ra- t- tawi -0 .
doctor NOM this ABS 1.A be.among SUB.4 .

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

tiwíratariraiwat^a

tiwiratariiraa'iiwaáti

this that I am now telling you about

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

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

tiwiráhátara^u

tiwirahaatára'u

this that I am now talking about

tii- wii- ra- t- raa+ tara.u -0
this now ABS 1.A way talk.about SUB.3

atíra tírarušⁱ húwi
Atíra' tíraruuci huúwi'

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|-----|-----|-------------|-------|--------|
| Mother | | these | | | | | indeed |
| ati- | raa | tii- | ra- | 0- | ra.uc | -i | huuwi' |
| 1.POSS | mother | this | ABS | 3.A | be.lying.PL | SUB.2 | indeed |

, tiráwah ,
 Tiráwaahat
 the Heavens

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|------|---------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | SUB.4 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|---|
| atiəs | | ahawíška ^a | | | | | |
| Atí'as | | ahawícka' | | | | | " |
| Our Father | | He thought | | | | : | " |
| ati- | as | ar- | ra- | 0- | wicka | -0 | , |
| 1.POSS | father | EV | ABS | 3.A | think | PERF | , |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|-----|-----|----|------|--|---|
| wirikut ⁱ | | | | | | | , |
| Wirikuti' | | | | | | | . |
| This is the one | | | | | | | . |
| wii- | irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | 0 | -0 | | . |
| now | that.is | IND | 3.A | be | PERF | | . |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|-----|-------|------|-------|
| wirikutáh ^u | | | | | | píta |
| Wirikutáhu' | | | | | | piíta |
| This is the one I made | | | | | | a man |
| wii- | irii.ku- | ta- | t- | ra.uk | -0 | wiita |
| now | that.is | IND.1/2A | 1.A | make | PERF | man |

| | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| kiwiku | | , |
| kíwiiku' | | . |
| a bull | | . |
| kiwiik | -u' | . |
| buffalo.bull | NOM | . |

hirurikutásukst^a

Hiru rikutásuksta

Then you are going to be the one

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|----------|-----|----|--------|-----------|-----|
| hiruu | irii.ku- | ta- | s- | 0 | -uk | -his+ | -ta |
| then | that.is | IND.1/2A | 2.A | be | FORM.D | FORM.PERF | INT |

hiru

hiru

there

hiruu

there

riwahúkskakústarⁱ⁺ⁿ

riwaahakskakústarit

when the Heavens are to be placed in it

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----------|------|---------|-----------|-----|------------|-----------|-----|---------|
| ri- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -his+ | ka+ | kus | -his+ | -ta | -rit |
| CONT | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | FORM.PERF | in | be.sitting | FORM.PERF | INT | INT.SUB |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|----|---------------------------|----------|---|
| . | I | , | irár ⁱ | , | |
| . | " | I | iraári ['] | , | |
| . | " | So | brother | , | |
| . | " | i | i- raar | -rii | , |
| . | " | so | 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling | 3.POSS.B | , |

hawirisuhišis

haawirisuúhiicis

now you have found out

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|-----|------|------|----------|------|---|
| haa- | wii- | rii- | s- | ut- | raa+ | icis | -0 | . |
| here | now | ASSR | 2.A | PREV | way | learn.of | PERF | . |

tiwiristaríhura

Tiwiristariíhura

Here you now have the writing (ie story)

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|----|-------------|--------|----|-------|
| tii- | wii- | rii- | s- | rariir.hur+ | ra.aah | -0 | hiru |
| | | | | | | | there |
| | | | | | | | hiruu |

here now ASSR 2.A marking have PERF there

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

níkutⁱ

ríkuti^ʔ

that is the one

irii.ku- ti- 0- 0 -0 ,
that.is IND 3.A be PERF ,

tirawawarikⁱ

tirawaawaáriki

these various ones

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

tiwiraruši

tiwíraruuci

this one here

tii- wii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i atira
this now ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 Atíra'
Mother
ati- raa
1.POSS mother

.

.

.

.

.

Náw^a i , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa i iraári^ʔ

Now so , brother ,
 rawa i , i- raar -rii ,
 now and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nituharikáhist^a

rituuhaárikaahista

I am going to reveal to you

rii- t- ir- a- ut- raa+ ri+ kaa+ a -his+ -ta
 ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV way PORT inside come FORM.PERF INT

tirawahəkskak^u

tirawaahakskaku

these heavenly powers in her

tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -his+ ka+ kus -0
 this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by FORM.PERF in be.sitting SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiruhawirisiráit^a

Hiru haawiriisiraá'iita

Then now you know it

hiruu haa- wii- rii- s- ir- raa+ iita -0
 then here now ASSR 2.A PREV.1/2A way know PERF

,

haruharawakák^u
 haaruuhaarawakáku
 they are sitting in a circle
 haa- ra- 0- ut- raar- awaka+ kus -0
 here ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A in.a.circle be.sitting PERF

, iriahikitawi^u
 irii'ahihkitáwi'u
 the ones who are leaders ,
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- kita.wi -u ,
 that EV ABS 3.A PL.3A be.the.leader SUB.D ,

tiráwahəṭⁿ ,
 Tiráwaahat
 the Heavens
 tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
 this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

aharara^u lisár^u
 aharára'u riisaaru'
 his having made them chiefs
 ar- ra- 0- raar- ra.uk -0 riisaar -u'
 EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3 chief NOM

tiráwah
 Tiráwaahat
 (in) the Heavens
 tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0
 this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4

tirarákak^u
 tiraráhkaaku
 these sitting inside
 tii- ra- 0- raar- kaa+ kus -0

this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A inside be.sitting SUB.4

lisár^u
riisaáru' .
chiefs .
riisaar -u' .
chief NOM .

nikuwitíra
Rikuwitíra'
That is the reason

irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ 0 -0
that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be PERF

tirótpari lisár^u
tirátpari riisaáru'
these of mine living chiefs
tii- ra- t- warii -hus riisaar -u'
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB chief NOM

tirátasar^u ákitar^u .
tiraátasaaru ákitaaru' .
these of mine named tribe .
tii- ra- t- asar -u akitaar -u' .
this ABS 1.A be.named SUB.D tribe NOM .

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

tiwirisúhairitⁿ
tiwirisuúhaa'iirit

now you see them here

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|-----|------|------|-------|------|
| tii- | wii- | rii- | s- | ut- | raa+ | iirik | -0 |
| here | now | ASSR | 2.A | PREV | way | see | PERF |

tirawáhəṭⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|------|---------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -0 | . |
| this | ABS | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | SUB.4 | . |

nikutiit

Ríkuti'it

They are the ones

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|------|------|--------|--------|
| irii.ku- | ti- | 0- | 0 | +ik | -0 | ati- | raa |
| that.is | IND | 3.A | be | DIST | PERF | 1.POSS | mother |

átira

Átira'

Mother

tiwiritpíhurárikⁱ

tiwiritpiíhuurárik

these standing in a line

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| tii- | witi- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ut- | wi.uhur+ | arik | -i |
| this | REFL | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | in.a.line | be.standing | SUB.2 |

siratakísask^u

siraatakísaasku

our calling them

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|----------|--------------|----------|
| si- | ra- | t- | ak- | hisaask | -hus |
| DU | ABS | 1.A | PL.AN.3P | call.by.name | IMPF.SUB |

nahúrahkⁱ

Rahúrahki

Deer

| | | |
|----------|------|---|
| rahuraar | -kis | . |
|----------|------|---|

| | | |
|--------|-----|---|
| animal | DIM | . |
|--------|-----|---|

sitatakisask^u

Sitaatakísaasku' .

We call them .

| | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----|----------|--------------|-------|---|
| si- | ta- | t- | ak- | hisaask | -.hus | . |
| DU | IND.1/2A | 1.A | PL.AN.3P | call.by.name | IMPF | . |

irikúriit

Irikúri'it

They are the ones

átira

Átira'

Mother

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------|-----|----|------|------|--------|--------|
| ii- | irii.ku- | rii- | 0- | 0 | +ik | -0 | ati- | raa |
| that | that.is | ASSR | 3.A | be | DIST | PERF | 1.POSS | mother |

tiraharuətⁿ

tiraraáru'at .

these are in a row .

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|----|------|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | u+ | at | -0 | . |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | in.a.line | go | PERF | . |

Náw^a

,

irárⁱ

,

Ráwa

iraári'

Now

,

brother

,

rawa

,

i-

raar

-rii

,

now

,

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

,

tiwirasuháiritⁿ

tiwirasuuhaá'irit

these that you now see

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

tirawákahu

,

tiirawaákahu

this one says of them

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|------|-----|------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | waak | -a+ | -hus |
|------|-----|----|------|-----|------|

this ABS 3.A say.SUB FORM.1 IMPF.SUB

iriruharawakak^u

iriruuhaarawákaku

the ones sitting in a circle

irii- ra- 0- ut- raar- awaka+ kus -0
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A in.a.circle be.sitting SUB.4

, ruhāruásuhuks

ruuháruu'a

their numbering

ra- 0- ut- raar+ uu -a súhuks ,
ABS 3.A PREV ITER be SUB.1 five ,

íkaríkutⁿ

, narikⁱ

ikárikat

raárikiki .

in the center

its standing .

iika.ri -kat

ra- 0- arik -i .

center LOC

ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 .

nikətiihikušukstara^u

Ríkuti'

, ihi rikucukstára'u

That is the one

, uh , its having told (ie taught) us

irii.ku- ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii ,

ra- 0- ku- ut- uks- tara.u -0

that.is IND 3.A be PERF , uh ,

ABS 3.A 1.P PREV AOR talk.about SUB.3

asirítarušⁱ

a sirihtáruucuha

and where they make a fire

a si- ra- 0- ir- ta.ra.uc +wuh -a

be.fire CAUS SUB.1

and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A

tirətpari

ákitar^u

tirátpari

ákitaaru'

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| nákuš ^u | , | |
| raákucu' | | " |
| the great way (ie ritual) | , | " |
| raa -kucuu | , | " |
| way AUG | , | " |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|------|------|--------|------|---|---|
| sukstára | | | | | | | |
| Sukstaára | | | | | | | " |
| You have the way | | | | | | ! | " |
| i- | s- | uks- | raa+ | ra.aah | -0 | ! | " |
| CONT.1/2A | 2.A | JUSS | way | have | PERF | ! | " |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|--|----------|--|---|
| tirətpari | | | | | | | , |
| tirátpari | | | | | | | . |
| my (our) being here (on earth) | | | | | | | . |
| tii- | ra- | t- | warii | | -hus | | . |
| here | ABS | 1.A | be.going.about.IMPF | | IMPF.SUB | | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--|------|
| tatukstapakíahukiš ⁱ | | | | | | | | |
| Tatukstaapakí'aahu' | | | | | | | | kici |
| We used to call it | | | | | | | | but |
| ta- | t- | uks- | raak- | wak.i | -a+ | -:hus | | kici |
| IND.1/2A | 1.A | AOR | 1/2.PL | say.PL | FORM.1 | IMPF | | but |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-----------|--|-----|--|--|---|
| kārikís ^u | | | | | | | |
| Kaarikiísu' | | | | | | | . |
| Four Pole Ceremony | | | | | | | . |
| ka+ | arik | -his | | -u' | | | . |
| in | be.standing | FORM.PERF | | NOM | | | . |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|-----------|----|---|-----|----|---|
| nakistíit ⁿ | | | | | | | , |
| Rákis | | tí't | | | | | |
| Wood | | they were | | | | | |
| rak | -kis | ti- | 0- | 0 | +ik | -0 | |

wood DIM IND 3.A be DIST PERF

hiiruhəktahšaruwáwis

hi iruuhaktacáruuwaawis

and those poles were painted

hi ii- ra- 0- uur- haak+ raar+ ta.raawis +waa -0
and that ABS 3.A PREV wood PL be.painted DIST PERF

, tiwíraruši ,

. Tiwíraruuci .

. These things (ie bundle) ,

. tii- wii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i ,
. this now ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári^ʔ

brother ,

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

nikátaruhákatiitⁿ

rikutaruuhaákatii^ʔit

that one's pole is black

irii.ku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- haak+ katiit -^ʔ
that.is IND 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A wood be.black EX

, sitihakátihuk^u ,

. Siihaakátiihuuku^ʔ .

. They were painting it black .

. si- ti- 0- ir- haak+ katiit +ra.uk -:hus .
. DU IND 3.A PL.3A wood be.black CAUS IMPF .

sitihtariwisk^u

Sitihtariwisku^ʔ

They were marking (ie painting) it
 si- ti- 0- ir- uur- ta.riwis.k -:hus
 DU IND 3.A PL.3A PREV put.a.mark.on IMPF

nakikarikətⁿ , a ,
 raakíkarikat . A
 in the center of the pole . And ,
 rak+ iika.ri -kat . a ,
 wood center LOC . and ,

irárⁱ ,
 iráári^p
 brother ,
 i- raar -rii ,
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hírak^u
 híraaku
 the other one
 hii- ra- 0- kus -0
 other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

tiruhákšawi
 tiiruuuhákcawi
 this pole standing
 tii- ra- 0- uur- haak+ ca -wi
 this ABS 3.A PREV wood be.upright SUB.L

rasákaku
 rasaákaku
 on the southwest side
 ra- 0- saak+ ka+ kus -0
 ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4

. and

tirakahurakatituhətⁿ

tirakaahuraáhkatituhət

(on) this dark land side (northwest)

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|--------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kaa+ | huraar+ | katiit+ | u+ | hak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | inside | earth | black | in.a.line | pass.by | SUB.4 |

, úkatətⁿ

uúkatat

west

uukata-

west

-t

LOC

, tihatⁿ

tíhaa'at

there is a pole

ti-

IND

0-

3.A

haak+

wood

0

be

-'

EX

tihətákata^a

tihattáhkataa'a

the pole is yellow

ti-

IND

0-

3.A

haak+

wood

raar.kataar

be.yellow

-'

EX

ikárikətⁿ

ikárikat

in the center

iika.ri

center

-kat

LOC

hiru

Hiru

There

hiruu

there

tiruširahákitətⁿ

tíruc

they are

ti-

IND

0-

3.A

ra.uc

be.lying.PL

-0

PERF

iriirahaákitat

where our village is

irii-

where

ra-

ABS

t-

1.A

raak-

1/2.PL

itak

be.a.camp

-0

SUB.4

, a tirásakak^u

. A tirasaákaku

. And (on) the southwest

. a

. and

tii-

here

ra-

ABS

0-

3.A

saak+

sun

ka+

in

kus

be.sitting

-0

SUB.4

irirasakúrisp^u

iriirasakúrispu

where the sun sets

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|----------|--------------|---------|----------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | sak.hur+ | iis+ | wuu | -hus |
| where | ABS | 3.A | sun | out.of.sight | go.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

nihət

riihaa'at

there is a pole

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|----|----|
| rii- | 0- | haak+ | 0 | -' |
| ASSR | 3.A | wood | be | EX |

tihətaka

tiháttaakaa

the pole is white

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|----------|------|---|
| ti- | 0- | haak+ | taakaar | -0 | . |
| IND | 3.A | wood | be.white | PERF | . |

nikuwiturasatirawarikⁱ

Rikuwitiirasá'

That is what they are named

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|-------|----------|------|------|-----|-----|------|-------------|-------|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ir- | asar | -0 | tii- | ra- | 0- | wa+ | arik | -i |
| that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | PL.3A | be.named | PERF | this | ABS | 3.A | DIST | be.standing | SUB.2 |

tirawaáriki

these

. Átira

Atíra'

Mothers

| | |
|--------|--------|
| ati- | raa |
| 1.POSS | mother |

iriritkitawi^u

iriirihkitáwi'u

their being the leading ones

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-------|---------------|-------|----------|---|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ir- | kita.wi | -u | škítiiks | . |
| that | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | be.the.leader | SUB.D | four | . |

škítiiks

kskiíti'iks

four

iks.kiiti'iks

four

| | | | |
|------|-------|-------|--------------------|
| Nawa | iširu | | táwit ⁿ |
| Ráwa | i | ciru | táwit |
| Now | so | yet | three |
| rawa | i | ciruu | tawit |
| now | so | yet | three |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------|-----|-------------|--|------|--|---|
| tihíriruš | | | | | | | | , |
| tihíiríruc | | | | | | | | |
| they are here | | | | | | | | , |
| tii- | hii- | rii- | 0- | ra.uc | | -0 | | , |
| here | other | ASSR | 3.A | be.lying.PL | | PERF | | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|--|--|----------|--|--|--|---|
| irár ⁱ | | | | | | | | , |
| iraári ^ʔ | | | | | | | | |
| brother | | | | | | | | , |
| i- | raar | | | -rii | | | | , |
| 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | | | 3.POSS.B | | | | , |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|--------|-----------|--|-------|---|-----|
| tiirirahakitət ⁿ | | | | | | | | , | a |
| ti ^ʔ iriirahaakítat | | | | | | | | | a |
| here in our village (ie tribe) | | | | | | | | , | and |
| tii- | irii- | ra- | t- | raak- | itak | | -0 | , | a |
| here | where | ABS | 1.A | 1/2.PL | be.a.camp | | SUB.4 | , | and |

, ásk^u
 ásku
 one
 asku
 one

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------|------|----|-----|------|-------|--|-----|-----|----|
| tiwirisku rarík ^u | | | | | | | | | | |
| tiwiriskuuraáriku | | | | | | | | | | |
| now you have mine here | | | | | | | | | | |
| tii- | wii- | rii- | s- | ku- | uur- | raar- | | ri+ | kus | -0 |

here now ASSR 2.A 1.P POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

nikuwitiruhu

rikuwirituuhú'

that is what He planned

irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ uhur -0
that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be.the.way PERF

atíəs tirakítak^u

Atí'as tirakítaku

Our Father this one above

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

ahašákətkahuratukarahatⁿ

ahácakutkaahuraahtakaárahahat

He dropped the earth (ie season) for us

ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- kaa+ huraar+ takaa+ ra+ hak -0
EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P PREV inside earth down PORT pass.by PERF

tirašíhwari ,

tiracíhwari .

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

irárⁱ ,
 Iraári'
 Brother ,
 i- raar -rii ,
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

irahapⁱ
 írahaapi
 that pole
 ii- ra- 0- haak+ wi -0
 that ABS 3.A wood be.upright SUB.4

nahaktakar^u
 rahaáktaakaaru
 the white pole
 ra- 0- haak+ taakaar -u
 ABS 3.A wood be.white SUB.D

nikuwitiruhu
 rikuwituuhú'
 that is what He planned
 irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ uhur -0
 that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be.the.way PERF

tirapišiki^u ,
 tirapiciíhi'^u
 this winter
 tii- ra- 0- pici+ iihi -u
 this ABS 3.A cold.weather be.a.time SUB.D

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------|-----|-----|--------|----------|-------|-----|---|
| tiwinahuras ^a | | | | | | | a | , |
| tiwira ^h uraasa | | | | | | | a | |
| when snow lies on the ground | | | | | | | and | , |
| tii- | wii- | ra- | 0- | huraa+ | sa | -0 | a | , |
| when | when | ABS | 3.A | snow | be.lying | SUB.4 | and | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|--|--|----------|--|--|--|---|
| irár ⁱ | | | | | | | | , |
| iraári ^ʔ | | | | | | | | |
| brother | | | | | | | | , |
| i- | raar | | | -rii | | | | , |
| 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | | | 3.POSS.B | | | | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-------------|--|-------|--|--|--|
| iráriki | | | | | | | | |
| iraáriki | | | | | | | | |
| that one | | | | | | | | |
| ii- | ra- | 0- | arik | | -i | | | |
| that | ABS | 3.A | be.standing | | SUB.2 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------|-------------|--|-------|--|--|--|
| nahaktahkatar ^u | | | | | | | | |
| rahaaktáhkataaru | | | | | | | | |
| the yellow pole | | | | | | | | |
| ra- | 0- | haak+ | raar.kataar | | -u | | | |
| ABS | 3.A | wood | be.yellow | | SUB.D | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|------------|----|--------|--|
| nikuaharuhúu | | | | | | | níət | |
| riku'aharuuhú'u | | | | | | | ri'aat | |
| that was its way (ie represents it) | | | | | | | summer | |
| irii.ku- | ar- | ra- | 0- | raa+ | uhur | -' | ri'aat | |
| that.is | EV | ABS | 3.A | way | be.the.way | EX | summer | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|----|--|---------|-------|------|---|-------|------|
| nakatárahkahusuk ^u | | | | | | | | | |
| rakataárahkaahusuku | | | | | | | | | |
| when the green grass comes up | | | | | | | | | |
| ra- | 0- | a- | | kataar+ | raar+ | kaa+ | a | -hus+ | -uku |

ABS 3.A PREV.3A green.grass PL inside come FORM.IMPF HAB.SUB

, tətⁿ pákahu níətⁿ ,
. Tatpákaahu' rí'aat
. I call it summer
. ta- t- wak -a+ -:hus ri'aat
. IND.1/2A 1.A say FORM.1 IMPF summer

rahaktahkataru , a ,
rahaaktáhkataaru . A
its being a yellow pole . And ,
ra- 0- haak+ raar.kataar -u . a ,
ABS 3.A wood be.yellow SUB.D . and ,

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

nikuaharuhu
riku'aharuuhú'
that was its way (represents it)
irii.ku- ar- ra- 0- raa+ uhur -0
that.is EV ABS 3.A way be.the.way PERF

tirárikⁱ
tiraárikⁱ
this one
tii- ra- 0- arik -i
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

nahákatit^u ,
rahaákatitiu

its being a black pole ,
 ra- 0- haak+ katiit -u ,
 ABS 3.A wood be.black SUB.D ,

nikuwitiruhu
 rikuwituuhú'
 that was its way

irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ uhur -0
 that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be.the.way PERF

tirahurətkahar^u

tíraahu rátkahaaru'
 this one coming night
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus ratka.haar -u'
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB be.nighttime NOM

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

irárikⁱ
 iraárikⁱ
 that one

ii- ra- 0- arik -i
 that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

nahápahat^u

rahaápahaatu
 its being a red pole
 ra- 0- haak+ pahaat -u
 ABS 3.A wood be.red SUB.D

nikuwitiruhú

rikuwirituuhú'

that was its way

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|------|------------|------|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | raa+ | uhur | -0 |
| that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | way | be.the.way | PERF |

tirakáhuraruhətⁿ

tirakaáhuraaruhat

this land extending

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|--------|---------|-----------|---------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kaa+ | huraar+ | u+ | hak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | inside | earth | in.a.line | pass.by | SUB.4 |

tirasákak^u

tirasaákaku

where the sun passes

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | saak+ | ka+ | kus | -0 |
| here | ABS | 3.A | sun | in | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

nahápahat^u

rahaápahaatu

its being a red pole

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|--------|-------|---|
| ra- | 0- | haak+ | pahaat | -u | . |
| ABS | 3.A | wood | be.red | SUB.D | . |

Nikuwiti kúhar^u

Rikuwitikuuhaáru'

That is the way He made it for me

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|------|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ku- | ut- | raa+ | ra.uk | -0 |
| that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | way | make | PERF |

tirətpari

tirátpari

mine living here

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|-------|------|---------------------|-----|
| tii- | ra- | t- | warii | -hus | ákitar ^u | -u' |
| | | | | | ákitaaru' | |
| | | | | | tribe | |
| | | | | | akitaar | |

here ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe NOM

tiraháruhkuukⁱ

tirahaáruhkuuki

these things that I have

tii- ra- t- raar- ruu.aah.ka'uk -i
this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

nakúrawáruksti^u

rakuraawaárukstii'ú

the mysterious ones

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

Náw^a , i , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa i iraári^ʔ

Now so , brother ,

rawa i , i- raar -rii ,

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

sišukstišis

sicúkstiiciis

know it

i- s- ir- ut- uks- raa+ icis -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS way learn.of PERF

!

!

!

hirutiirírasakuríspu

hiru ti'iriirasakúrispu

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|--------------|-----|----------|--------------|---------|----------|
| there | here | where | the sun sets | | | | | |
| hiruu | tii- | irii- | ra- | 0- | sak.hur+ | iis+ | wuu | -hus |
| there | here | where | ABS | 3.A | sun | out.of.sight | go.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

,
,
,

hirutiirasakuríspu

hiru ti'iriirasakúrispu

there here where the sun sets

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|-----|-----|----------|--------------|---------|----------|
| hiruu | tii- | irii- | ra- | 0- | sak.hur+ | iis+ | wuu | -hus |
| there | here | where | ABS | 3.A | sun | out.of.sight | go.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

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

nikuwituháhura

rikuwituuhaáhura'

that is where they originated

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|------|------|-------------------------|------|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | raa+ | hurar | -0 |
| that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | PREV | way | be.where.one.comes.from | PERF |

tirašiwari

tiracíhwari

our living here

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

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

hirurikusiwitihašíksta^a

Hiru rikusiwitiíhaaciksta

Then they are the ones who watch over everything

hiruu irii.ku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa+ aciks+ ta -0
 then that.is DU QUOT IND 3.A PL.3A PREV way mind be.suspended PERF

, hiru kúrahus títak^u
 hiru kúrahus títaku
 there old men here
 hiruu kurahuus tii- -taku
 there old.man here LOC

wi tiukatawíhətⁿ

witi'uukatawíhat

they sit in the west

wi- ti- 0- uukata+ wi.hak -0
 QUOT IND 3.A west be.sitting.PL PERF

hiruiriahašiturawi

hiru irii'ahaciíturaawi

there where we originated

hiruu irii- ar- ra- aciir- ut- hurar -wi
 there where EV ABS IN.DU.A PREV be.where.one.comes.from SUB.L

tirašíwari ,

tiracíhwari .

we who are living here .

tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .

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

škitiks wituháru .
Kskiítiks wituuháru' .
Four they number .
iks.kiiti'iks wi- ti- 0- ut- raar+ uu -0 .
four QUOT IND 3.A PREV ITER be PERF .

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

rikuwítira ,
rikuwítira'
that is the reason ,
irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ 0 -0
that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be PERF

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

hirurikuwitutúra
Hiru rikuwitútura'
There that is where it came from
hiruu irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- hurar -0
there that.is QUOT IND 3.A PREV be.where.one.comes.from PERF

káhurar^u
kaáhuraaru' .

the earth .
 kaa+ huraar -u' .
 inside earth NOM .

hirurikuahútura

Hiru riku'ahútura'

There that is where it came from

hiruu irii.ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- hurar -0
 there that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV be.where.one.comes.from PERF

tíras^a

tíraasa

this

tii- ra- 0- sa -0 kaatu.haar -u'
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4 timber NOM

katúhar^u

kaātuhaaru'

timber

Atíəs

Atí'as

Our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

iriahútar^a

irii'ahuútaara

the one who did that

irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a
 that EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

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

hirurikúwitutura

Hiru rikuwítutura'

There that is whence it came

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

tirašúahu

tiraacuú'ahu

this rain that comes

tii- ra- 0- a- acuu+ a -hus
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A rain come IMPF.SUB

ahirurikuahuháhura

A hiru riku'ahúhaahura'

And there that is where they came from

a hiruu irii.ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa+ hurar -0
and there that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

nəkirikutiráharah^a

rákiriiku'

tiráharaaha

seeds

these that I have

rak+ kirik -u' tii- ra- t- raar- ra.aah -a
wood eye NOM this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

. A , tiréstarah^a

a tirástaraaha

, and these that you have

, a tii- ra- s- raar- ra.aah -a
, and this ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

nəkirík^u

rákiriiku'

seeds

rak+ kirik -u'

wood eye NOM .

A , kiⁱsaruh^u

Aki isaruuhú[']

And here it was that way

a+ ki i- s- ar- raa+ uhur -0
and there CONT.1/2A 2.A EV way be.the.way PERF

nikurakurara^u

rikurakuraára[']u

that being the way He made

irii.ku- ra- 0- ku- raa+ ra.uk -0
that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B way make SUB.3

ə́tíus

, hirutítak^u

Atí[']as

hiru tiítaku

Our Father

then here

ati- as

hiruu tii- -taku

1.POSS father

then here LOC

nikusitariktári

šáhiks

rikuusitariktá'aari[']

cáhiks

that one will take form

people

irii- kuus- 0- i- tarikta+ aar -ii icaahiks
that POT 3.A SEQ body become IMPF person

nikuwituháhura

rikuwituhaáhura[']

that is whence they came

irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa+ hurar -0
that.is QUOT IND 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

irirasakuríspu

iriirasákurispu

where the sun sets

irii- ra- 0- sak.hur+ iis+ wuu -hus
where ABS 3.A sun out.of.sight go.IMPf IMPF.SUB

,
.
.
.
.

nikuwitiratiirawahukstahkatarari

Rikuwitíra'

That is the way it was

ti'iriiráwaahakstahkatarari

here where the Heavens become yellow

irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- raa+ 0 -0 tii- irii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -his+ raar.kataar +aar -i
that.is QUOT IND 3.A way be PERF here where ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by FORM.PERF be.yellow INCH IMPF.SUB

.
.
.
.
.

Nawahá , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa há iraári'³
Now see ! brother ,
rawa haa ! i- raar -rii ,
now see ! 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hiruihaháwitⁿ

hiru ihaá haáwit
then there east
hiruu ii- haa haawit
then there here east

hiruiharəsuhakírik^u

hiru ihaarasuuhaakiiriku

then the things you see there

hiruu ii- haa- ra- s- ut- raak- iirik -hus
then there here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL see IMPF.SUB

hiruhawitítak^u

hiru haáwit títaku

there east here

hiruu haawit tii- -taku

there east here LOC

hirutítak^u

hiru títaku

then here

hiruu tii- -taku

then here LOC

tāhu

taá'aahu'

it comes

ti- 0- a- a -:hus
IND 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF

tisá

tiisá'

it is named

ti- 0- asar -0
IND 3.A be.named PERF

hupirikuš^u

Huupirikucu'

Morning Star

huupirik -kucuu .
star AUG .

a

A

And

a

and

tíra^a

tíraa'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sak.hur -u'
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.3 sun NOM

sakúr^u

Sakuúru'

Sun

arisa

a riisá'

and it is named

a ra- 0- i- asar -0

and ABS 3.A SEQ be.named PERF .

hiruukákætⁿ tāhu
Hiru uúkatat taá'aahu' .
There west it comes .
hiruu uukata -t ti- 0- a- a -:hus .
there west LOC IND 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF .

tísa

Tiisá'

It is named

ti- 0- asar -0
IND 3.A be.named PERF

škiríhtiuħš . Ahiru
Ckirí Ti'uuúhac . A hiru
Wolf Was Fooled . And there
ickirir ti- 0- uuħac -0 . a hiruu
wolf IND 3.A be.fooled PERF . and there

hawitrāhu

haáwit raá'ahu

east the one that comes

haawit ra- 0- a- a -hus
east ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB

tahapakíah^u

tahapakí'aahu'

we call it

ta- t- raak- wak.i -a+ -:hus
IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL FORM.1 IMPF

šahiksíšahiks hupírikatitⁿ .
cahiksícahiks Huupiríkaatit .

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|
| Indians | | Black Star | . |
| icaahiks+ | icaahiks | huupirik+ | kaatiit |
| person | person | star | be.black |

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

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------|------------|-----|---------|--------|------|---|
| hirurikuwiritarihəš | | | | | | | | , |
| hiru | rikuwiraariihac | | | | | | | |
| there | that is | where | everything | was | planned | | | |
| hiruu | irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | raa+ | riihac | -0 | |
| there | that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | way | finish | PERF | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-----|---------|--------|---------|--------|----------|--|
| tiirirašiwawakahu | | | | | | | | |
| ti'iriiracihwaawaákahu | | | | | | | | |
| this | that | we | call | things | | | | |
| tii- | irii- | ra- | aciir- | waa+ | waak | -a+ | -hus | |
| this | that | ABS | IN.DU.A | DIST | say.SUB | FORM.1 | IMPF.SUB | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----|--|--|---|
| naítustahkítu | | | | | | | | . |
| raa'itustaahkítuu'u' | | | | | | | | . |
| all | the | words | | | | | | . |
| raa+ | iit | -hus+ | raar+ | kituu | -u' | | | . |
| way | story | FORM.IMPF | PL | all | NOM | | | . |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|---------------|------------|-----|------|---------|-----|-----|------|-------|-----------|-----------|------|
| Hirúirihi witašakuha təskar ^u | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hiru | irihii | witacakuuhaa' | iítuskaru' | | | | | | | | | | |
| Then | there | is | where | he | made | words | for | us | | | | | |
| hiruu | irii- | hii- | wi- | ti- | 0- | aca- | ku- | ut- | raa+ | iit | -hus+ | ka.ra'uk | -0 |
| then | there | other | QUOT | IND | 3.A | IN.DU.P | 1.P | BEN | way | story | FORM.IMPF | make.PL.P | PERF |

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

Tirašiwawakahu

Tiracihwaawaakahu

This way we call things

tii- ra- aciir- waa+ waak -a+ -hus
 this ABS IN.DU.A DIST say.SUB FORM.1 IMPF.SUB

naⁱtustahkítu

raa'iitustaahkítuu'u'

all words

raa+ iit -hus+ raar+ kituu -u'
 way story FORM.IMPF PL all NOM

irihiwitira^tus kawakaru

irihiiwitiraa'iituskawaákaru'

there is where He made words

irii- hii- wi- ti- 0- raa+ iit -hus+ ka.waa+ ka.ra'uk -0
 there other QUOT IND 3.A way story FORM.IMPF DIST make.PL.P PERF

. A , šíkstitⁿ ,
 . A cíkstit
 . And well
 . a aciks +rik
 . and mind DIST

tikaraširiwari .

tikaraaciriwari .

our not being well (ie sickness) .

tii- ka- ra- aciir- uur- hiir +wa -i .

this NEG ABS IN.DU.A PREV be.good DIST SUB.2 .

Hiruirihisiwitararíhəš

Hiru irihiisiwitarariihac

There that is where they completed things

hiruu irii- hii- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raa+ riihac -0
there where other DU QUOT IND 3.A PL.3A way finish PERF

narahkítu .

raaraahkítuu'u' .

everything .

raa+ raar+ kituu -u' .

way PL all NOM .

Nawahá , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa ha iraári^p

Now , see ! brother ,

rawa , ha ! i- raar -rii ,

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

tuháhura ,

tuuhaáhura'

everything originated there :

ti- 0- ut- raa+ hurar -0 ,

IND 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF ,

hiruhawitⁿ ahirárihəš ,

hiru haáwit ahiraariihac

there east he completed things

hiruu haawit ar- ri- 0- raa+ riihac -0

there east EV CONT 3.A way finish PERF

ríət .

rí'aat .

summer .
 ri'aat .
 summer .

Hiruirihisiwiritirarihə

Hiru irihiisiwiritiraariihac

There there is where they completed things

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|-----|-----|-------|------|--------|------|
| hiruu | irii- | hii- | si- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ir- | raa+ | riihac | -0 |
| there | where | other | DU | QUOT | IND | 3.A | PL.3A | way | finish | PERF |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------|--------|-------|---|--|
| , | háwit ⁿ | , | ahiwákia ^a | | | | | | | |
| | haáwit | | ahihwákia | | | | | | | |
| | east | | their saying | | | | | | : | |
| | haawit | | ar- | ra- | 0- | ir- | wak.i | -a | , | |
| | east | | EV | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL | SUB.1 | , | |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------|--|
| | títak ^u | | |
| " | Títaku | | |
| " | Here | | |
| " | tii- | -taku | |
| " | here | LOC | |

tiraráhkawi

tiraráhkaawi

these sitting in council

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | kaa | -wi |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.inside | SUB.L |

irikusiriwakíah^u

irikusirihwákí'aahu'

that is what they'll call it

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| irii.ku- | si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | wak.i | -a+ | -:hus |
| that.is | DU | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL | FORM.1 | IMPF |

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|------------------|
| nīsár ^u | | urarísit |
| riisaáru' | | uúrariisit |
| chiefs | | straight |
| riisaar | -u' | uurariisik |
| chief | NOM | straight.forward |

tiirírətpari ,
ti'iriíratpari
here where we walk (ie live)

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|---------------------|----------|
| tii- | irii- | ra- | t- | warii | -hus |
| here | where | ABS | 1.A | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

tiraráhkawikítak^u
tirarahkaawíkitaku
these sitting up above in council

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|------------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | raar- | kaa | -wi+ | kita+ | kus | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PL.INDV.A | be.inside | FORM.L | on.top | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

, tirawáhətⁿ .
Tiráwaahat . "
the Heavens . "
tii- ra- 0- a+ waa+ hak -0 . "
this ABS 3.A in.a.line DIST pass.by SUB.4 . "

Náwa ,
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

nikuwituhaⁱtúsura
rikuwituhaaⁱitúsura'
that is where the story originated

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-----|-------|-------|----|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | raa+ | iit | -hus+ | hurar | -0 |
|----------|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-----|-------|-------|----|

that.is QUOT IND 3.A PREV way story FORM.IMPF be.where.one.comes.from PERF

háwitⁿ
 haáwit
 east
 haawit
 east

tirárikiahira^u

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-------------|-------|--|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| tiraárikiki | | | | | | ahiraá'u | | | | | | |
| this one | | | | | | he gave him the way | | | | | | |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | arik | -i | | ar- | ra- | 0- | ir- | raa+ | uh | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | be.standing | SUB.2 | | EV | ABS | 3.A | OBV | way | give | PERF |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| kura ^u | . |
| kúraa'u' | . |
| the doctor | . |
| kuraa -u' | . |
| doctor NOM | . |

Hiruirikusuširašíksta^a

| | |
|-------|--|
| Hiru | irikuusuciraáciksta |
| Then | that one will watch over them |
| hiruu | irii- kuus- 0- ut- i- raa+ aciks+ ta -0 |
| then | that POT 3.A PREV SEQ way mind be.suspended PERF |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| kúra ^u | . |
| kúraa'u' | . |
| doctors | . |
| kuraa -u' | . |
| doctor NOM | . |

| | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|---|
| Náwa | , | irár ⁱ | , |
| Ráwa | | iraári' | |

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

hirunikusiwítiraru

hiru rikusiwítiráru

then those are the ones they gave to them

hiruu irii.ku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raar- uh -0
 then that.is DU QUOT IND 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

ahawák^a

táraha

ahawaáka

" Táraha'

when he said

: " Buffalos

ar- ra- 0- waak -a , "

" tarahaa

EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , "

" buffalo

tiwírahuriwawístarit^D

tiwírahuriiwaawístarit

these that are now going to be roaming around (ie here on earth)

tii- wii- ra- 0- hurii +waa -wi+ -his+ -ta -rit
 this now ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST FORM.L FORM.PERF INT INT.SUB

tihakusušⁱ

.

tihaakuúsuci[?]

. "

this is how it will be

. "

tii- haa- kuus- 0- ut- i- 0 -0 . "

. "

this here POT 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF . "

. "

Irárⁱ

,

Iraári[?]

Brother

,

i- raar -rii ,

,

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

,

nikuwitətkiháhura
rikuwitutkiihaáhura'

that is where the dance originated

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|------|----------|-------------------------|------|
| irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | kiihaar+ | hurar | -0 |
| that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | PREV | dance | be.where.one.comes.from | PERF |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|------------------------|--------|---|
| kúra | tárahá | hirúhawit ⁿ | . | |
| kuraatárahá' | hiru | haáwit | . | |
| Buffalo Doctors | there | east | . | |
| kuraa+ | tarahaa | hiruu | haawit | . |
| doctor | buffalo | there | east | . |

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

ahirara^u ,
áhiraraa'u
He gave the way to them

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|------|------|------|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | ir- | raar- | raa+ | uh | -0 |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | OBV | 3PL.INAN.P | way | give | PERF |

tiráwahət
Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----------|------|---------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a+ | waa+ | hak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | in.a.line | DIST | pass.by | SUB.4 |

tirakihahk^u
tirakiihaáhku
this dance

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|----------|-----|----|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kiihaar+ | kus | -0 |
|------|-----|----|----------|-----|----|

this ABS 3.A dance be.sitting SUB.4

tahapakíah^u kúruks
tahapaki'aahu' Kúruks .
we call it Bear .
ta- t- raak- wak.i -a+ -:hus kuuruks .
IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL FORM.1 IMPF bear .

hiru
Hiru
There
hiruu
there

rikuwitətkiháhura
rikuwitutkiihaáhura'
that is where the dance originated
irii.ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- kiihaar+ hurar -0
that.is QUOT IND 3.A PREV dance be.where.one.comes.from PERF

háwitⁿ .
haáwit .
east .
haawit .
east .

Náwa , irárⁱ , hiru
Ráwa , iraári'³ , hiru
Now , brother , there
rawa , i- raar -rii , hiruu
now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , there

háwitⁿ
haáwit

east
haawit
east

hirurikuwitətkiháhura

hiru rikuwitutkiihaáhura'

there that is where the dance originated

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|------|-----|-----|------|----------|-------------------------|------|
| hiruu | irii.ku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | kiihaar+ | hurar | -0 |
| there | that.is | QUOT | IND | 3.A | PREV | dance | be.where.one.comes.from | PERF |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .