

Skiri Narratives, Fifteen

Roaming Scout

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

nikuwitúætⁿ

rikuwituú'ut

it is that way

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

tirəstatarúwa^u ,

tirastaataruúwa'u

these things you talk about

tii- ra- s- raa- tara'u -ruu -wa -0
 this ABS 2.A way talk.about DIST DIST SUB.3

əskuharikawáhu

raskuuhaaríkaawahu

what you are telling me

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

, irárⁱ ,

. Iraári'

. Brother ,

. i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nikuwitúætⁿ ,
rikuwituú'ut .
it is that way .
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

witírariks
Witíraariks
It is true

wi- ti- 0- raariks -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF

kuhikhírawa šáhiks
kuuhikhíraawa' cáhiks
he was sick a person,
kuur- ra- ir- 0- kiraawaahc -0 icaahiks
DUB ABS OBV 3.P be.sick PERF person

hihiruiriwikuhaítætⁿ

hi hiru iriwikuuhaítat
and there wherever the camp was
hi hiruu irii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- itak -0
and there where now DUB ABS 3.A be.a.camp SUB.4

, hiahákutⁿ . Níhuks^u
hi ahákut . Rihúksu'
and he died . Only
hi ar- ra- 0- kuut -0 . rihuks- -u'
and EV ABS 3.A die PERF . only NOM

witirótkia
witirátkii'a

it had become night

wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hiahurawiúsit^u

hi ahuurawi'uúsit ,
and he was still (ie had passed away) .
hi ar- ra- 0- uur- awi.uusik -0 .
and EV ABS 3.P PREV pass.away PERF .

hirusiahišítaripap^u

Hiru si'ahiicítariipaapu
Then they tied him up (in a robe)
hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- tariik.wuh -waa -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ tie DIST PERF

naruahísa

. Raaruu'ahísa .
. He just lay there (still) .
. raa- ruu- ar- ri- 0- sa -0 .
. just then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.lying PERF .

I ahása , i
I ahaása i
And he lay and
i ar- ra- 0- sa -0 i
and EV ABS 3.A be.lying PERF and

ahása

ahaása ,
he lay .
ar- ra- 0- sa -0 .
EV ABS 3.A be.lying PERF .

hirukuruhikítawⁱ

Hiru kuruuhikítawⁱ

Then then he was the leader

hiruu kuruur- ri- 0- kita.wi -0
then DUB CONT.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

tirá^asakur^u

tiraá'a Sákuuru' .
this coming Sun .
tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u' .
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun NOM .

Hiruirukuruhíkitawⁱ

Hiru irikuruuhíkitawⁱ

Then that one was leader

hiruu irii- kuruur- ri- 0- kita.wi -0
then that DUB CONT.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

iwikúha

iwikúhaa

when he came

ii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- a -0
when when DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

hirawitakaráhis^u

hi raawitakaaraáhisu'

and suddenly

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

ahataparúpəš .

ahataparuúpac .

he moved around .

ar- ra- 0- tap.aruu.pac -0 .

EV ABS 3.A move.DIST PERF .

Hirusiahišikataríkiw^tn

Hiru si'ahiicíkatariikiwat

Then they unwrapped him

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- katariik.kiwat -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ uncover PERF

hiwihiruahikísikiitⁿ

hi wihiru ahiikísiki'it

and there he was alive

hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- i- kisikit -'
and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.alive EX

.

Kišikarakukasíspahⁱ

kici kararakuukasíspaahi

but his not having strength

kici kara- ra- 0- ku- kasis waa- -aar -i
but NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.hard DIST INCH IMPF.SUB

.

.

.

.

.

Kukarawitušiwáku^u

Kukarawituciwáka'u'

There was nothing wrong with his voice

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- waka- uu -0
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ voice be PERF

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

Káraihi kutú
 Kaára ihi kutuú
 Well , uh , it seems ,
 kaara , ihii , ku- ti- 0- uu -0 ,
 well , uh , INDF IND.3A 3.A be PERF ,

ihii nakukuksitkásititⁿ .
 ihii rakukuksitkásitit .
 uh , that I had been asleep .
 ihii , ra- ku- ku- uks- itka -as -itik .
 uh , INF.A 1.P INF.B AOR sleep IMPF.IRR INCH .

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

Túkskutⁿ ,
 Túkskut .
 You were dead .
 ti- a- uks- kuut -0 .
 IND.3A 2.P AOR die PERF .

pakúhtuturawiúsit ⁿ	.	"	I
Pakúhtu' tuurawi'uúsit	.	"	I
A long time you were still	.	"	And
pakuht -u' ti- a- awi.uusik -0	.	"	i
be.old NOM IND.3A 2.P become.still PERF	.	"	and

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

Irikúruæt ⁿ	.	"	Náwa ^a	,
Irikúruu'ut	.	"	Ráwa	
That is so	.	"	Now	,
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'	.	"	rawa	,
that DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX	.	"	now	,

iwiaháwari	,
iwi'aháwari'	,
after he went around	,
ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- warii -:hus	,
then when EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF	,

iwíahawari	
iwi'aháwari	
after he went around	
ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- warii -hus	
then when EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB	

hiahuraíw ^{^t} ⁿ	.
hi ahuraa'íwat	.
, and he told about it	.
, hi ar- ra- 0- uur- raa.iiwaat -0	.

, and EV ABS 3.A PREV tell.a.story PERF .

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

witatarirətaiwátist^a

witatarirattaa’iwaátista

now I am going to tell you (pl) the story

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

irikúkskuti

. I rikúkskuuti
. And when I died
. i ri- ku- uks- kuut -i
. and CONT.3A 1.P AOR die SUB.2

ihirurítpiš^{^t}n

i hiru rítpicat
and then I arrived
i hiruu rii- t- wic.at -0
and then ASSR 1.A arrive PERF

tiirirašíhwari ,

ti’iriiracíhwari

here where we go around

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

níkašar^u

ríkacaaru’

(as) a spirit

rikacaar -u'

ghost NOM

isíhwari . "

icíhwari . "

when we live . "

i- aciir- warii -hus . "

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

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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 . "

Kárihakitatarakuriwa

Kárihaaki' rataraakuriwa

Truly we live

karihaaki' ra- t- a- rak- hurii -waa -0

oh.gosh ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL live.PL DIST PERF

. Tatatúhka^{^tⁿ}

. Tatatúhka'at

. I went along a trail

. ta- t- hatuur- ka- at -0

. IND.1/2A 1.A road in go PERF

hiwihirurahətúhkaku

hi wihiru rahatúhkaku
and there his sitting on the trail
hi wii- hiruu ra- 0- hatuur- ka- kus -0
and now there ABS 3.A road in be.sitting SUB.4

šáhiks arítpiš^atⁿ . " A
cáhiks a rítpicat . " A
a person , and I arrived . " And
icaahiks , a rii- t- wic.at -0 . " a
person , and ASSR 1.A arrive PERF . " and

ahawáku^utíahak^u

ahawáku' tí'ahaaku
he said this one
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 tii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0
EV ABS 3.A say PERF this EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

, " Witihasir^a .
" Witihasiira' .
: " You have come .
, " wii- tiir- ra- s- ir- a -0 .
, " now INFR ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A come PERF .

" Ahawáku , " Há^u ,
" Ahawáku' " Haá'u'
" He said : " Yes ,
" ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " haa'u'
" EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " yes ,

wítatir^a . " A
wítatiira' . " A
I have come . " And
wi- ta- t- ir- a -0 . " a

QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF . " and

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

Ikarⁱrírairahi
Ikariirára' ihi
It is not the time (to join us) , uh ,
ii- kari- rii- 0- raa- 0 -0 , ihii ,
then EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A way be PERF , uh ,

náw^a hihirurisúht^a . "
ráwa hi hiru riisúhta . "
now and then you are going to go . "
rawa hi hiruu rii- s- uh -ta . "
now and then ASSR 2.A go.INT INT . "

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

Tiratúru^a
Tiraatuúru'a
This village (extending this way)
tii- ra- 0- a- ituur- u.a -0
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A village extend.this.way SUB.4

hiirirawáwu
hi iriirawaáwu

and where they are playing
 hi irii- ra- 0- awuu -waa -0
 and where ABS 3.A play.hoop.and.pole DIST SUB.4

hiirarituuhukátawⁱ
 hi iraarituuhukátawi
 and that rounded edge (curve) of the village
 hi ii- ra- 0- ar- ituur- hukata -wi
 and that ABS 3.A EV village be.a.curve SUB.L

turikárik^{^tⁿ} ,
 tuurikárikat
 in the center of the village
 ituur- iika.ri -kat
 village center LOC

nikúristakaka . "
 rikúristaakaka . "
 that is where your (pl) lodge is . "
 riku- rii- s- rak- akaa -0 . "
 that.is ASSR 2.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling PERF . "

Hihiruruahí^{tⁿ} . áka^a
 Hi hiru ruu'ahí'at . Aáka'a
 And then there he went . Oh my
 hi hiruu ruu- ar- ri- 0- at -0 . aaka'a
 and then there EV CONT.3A 3.A go PER . oh.my

,
 ,
 ,

karawítasuri šáhiks taríruhšⁱ

karawitasuuricahikstaríruhci³

there were many people indeed

kara-	wi-	ta-	s-	uur-	icaahiks-	raar-	riruhci	-0
NEG	QUOT	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	person	PL	be.numerous	PERF

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

wíturarisahiruhšⁱ

Wituraaricahikstaríruhci³

There were many people

wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raar-	icaahiks-	raar-	riruhci	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	PL.INDV.A	person	PL	be.numerous	PERF

šáhiks	.
cáhiks	.
people	.
icaahiks	.
person	.

Hiruruwitiših^{táw}ietⁿ

Hiru ruuwitiic^{ih}táwⁱ'at

Then he went there along the edge of the village

hiruu	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	icihta-	-wi	at	-0
then	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	edge.of.the.village	SUB.L	go	PERF

hírihuks^u

hi ríhuksu³

and only

hi rihuks -u³

and alone NOM

siahítkiriku .
si'ahitkiríku .
they were staring at him .
si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- kirik.kus -0 .
DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV look.at PERF .

Nahkútawihiwítawaku

Raahkútawi hi witaahwáku'
One among them and he would say
ra- 0- ar- ku- tawi -0 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.among SUB.4 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, “ Ári ká^a
“ Aárikaa'a
: “ Well, so
, " aarika'a
, " well.so

witíhasir^a . "
witíhasiira' . "
you have come . "
wii- tiir- ra- s- ir- a -0 . "
now INFR ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A come PERF . "

Hiwítahwaku , "
Hi witaahwáku' "
And he would say : "
hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Há^a wítati^a .
Haá'a' wítatiira' .

Yes, I have come .
 haa'a' wi- ta- t- ir- a -0 .
 yes QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF .

" Hiruwítahwaku , "
 " Hiru witaahwáku' "
 " Then he would say : "
 " hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
 " then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Kirukúrahakaka . "
 Kiru kurahaákaka . "
 Where is our lodge ? "
 kiruu ku- ra- t- rak- akaa -0 . "
 where INDF ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling PERF . "

Hiwítawaku , "
 Hi witaahwáku' "
 And he would say : "
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Hiruirirístakaka
 Hiru irirístaakaka
 There that is where your (pl) lodge is
 hiruu irii- rii- s- rak- akaa -0
 there there ASSR 2.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling PERF

turikárikətⁿ . "
 tuurikárikat . "
 in the center of the village . "
 ituur- iika.ri -kat . "
 village center LOC . "

Hirusiahitakarítawu

Hiru si'ahiitakaariítawu

Then they told him where the lodge was

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- akaar- iita.wuh -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV dwelling announce PERF

. Ahíruruahietⁿ .

. A hiru ruú'ahi'at .

. And then he went there .

. a hiruu ruu- ar- ri- 0- at -0 .
. and then then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF .

A ahahúkætⁿ , áka^a !

A ahahuúkat . Aáka'a !

And he entered . Oh my ,

a ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0 . aaka'a ,
and EV ABS 3.A into go PERF . oh.my ,

ahutasawáh^{^t}ⁿ . A

ahuutasawaáhat . A

they were sitting around ! And

ar- ra- 0- ut- as.a.waa.hak -0 . a
EV ABS 3.A PREV sit.all.around PERF . and

ahíhwakⁱ , “ Náwa ,

ahíhwaki' “ Ráwa

they said : “ Now

ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

ihatákusukspit^tⁿ

ihaátaku sukspiítit

here sit down

ii- haa- -taku i- s- uks- wi.itik -0

there here LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS sit.down PERF

. " žkakatⁿ
. " Uúkatat
! " On the west end
. " uukata- -t
. " west LOC

ásiahitⁿ kúsar^u

a si'ahitkúsaaru'
and they made him a seat

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- kus.haar- ra'uk -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN seat make PERF

. Hiruahiwáku ásk^u , "
. Hiru ahiwáku' ásku "
. Then he said one : "
. hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 asku , "
. then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF one , "

áka^a

Aáka'a

Oh my ,

aaka'a ,

oh.my ,

nikararakúra^u

rikararakuúraa'u

it's not being the way (ie you should not)

rii- kara- ra- 0- ku- raa- 0 -u
that NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B way be SUB.D

nikúrakuta , íhi
rikúraakuuta íhi

it's being that way , uh ,
 riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a , ihii ,
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 , uh ,

nasíhku^a . "
 rasíhku'a . "
 for you to come . "
 ra- s- ir- ku- a -0 . "
 INF.A 2.A PREV.1/2A INF.B come SUB.4 . "

Hiruahiwáku , "
 Hiru ahiwáku' , "
 Then he said : "
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Tirastápih^{^t^n}
 Tirastápihat
 You (pl) sitting here ,
 tii- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0 ,
 here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4 ,

kakatarakítawišt^a
 kaakaataraakítawicta
 we are not going to be the judge
 kaaka- t- a- rak- kita.wi -his -ta
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL be.the.leader PERF INT

, hiruiwáririks
 . Hiru iwáriiriks
 . Then his uncle
 . hiruu i- wariiriks
 . then 3.POSS.A uncle

irihitikítawišt^a ,
 irihiitikítawicta .
 that other one is going to lead .
 irii- hii- ti- 0- kita.wi -his -ta .
 that other IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF INT .

irikuruhiwákast^a
 Iriikuruuhiwaákasta
 Whatever he is going to say ,
 irii- kuruur- ri- 0- waaka -as -ta ,
 what DUB CONT.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.IRR INT ,

árikuru^{^tⁿ} .
 a ríkuruu'ut . "
 and it will be that way . "
 a riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' . "
 and that.is 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 ,

hirusiahišíhur^{^tⁿ}
 hiru si'ahiicíhurat
 then they went after him
 hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

iwáririks . A
 iwáriiriks . A
 his uncle . And
 i- wariiriks . a

3.POSS.A uncle . and

aháhuk^a,
aháhuuka'
he came in

ar- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come PERF

hiruahiwa'ku

hiru ahiwa'ku'
and then he said

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

iwáririks , "
iwáriiriks "
his uncle : "
i- wariiriks , "
3.POSS.A uncle , "

Witíhasira

Ári' witi'hasiira'
Oh , you have come

arii , wii- tiir- ra- s- ir- a -0
oh , now INFR ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A come PERF

tiwətⁿ

. Tíwaat ,
! Nephew ,
. ati- waat ,
. 1.POSS nephew/neice ,

witíhasir^a . " A
witi'hasiira' . " A

now you have come . " And
wii- tiir- ra- s- ir- a -0 . " a
now INFR ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A come PERF . " and

ahawáku , " Há^a
ahawáku' " Haá'a'
he said : " Yes,
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " haa'a'
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " yes

wítatir^a . " A
wítatiira' . " A
I have come . " And
wi- ta- t- ir- a -0 . " a
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF . " and

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

Ikaririruhú^u
I kariiríruuhú'u
And it is not the time
i kariir- rii- 0- raa.uhur -'
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.the.way EX

širurəsíhku^a ,
ciru rasíhku'a .
yet for you to come .
ciruu ra- s- ir- ku- a -0 .
yet INF.A 2.A PREV.1/2A INF.B come SUB.4 .

šírukakuətⁿ

Círu kaakuú'ut

Yet it is not

ciruu	kaaki-	0-	ut-	0	-ʔ
yet	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

tiráspari

tiráspari

as you live

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

irirahapíška^a

iriirahapícka'a

our desiring that

irii-	ra-	t-	rak-	wicka	-a
that	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	want	SUB.1

nákut^a

raáhkuuta

for it to be

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	ut-	0	-a
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PREV	be	SUB.1

šírukakasuhišís^u

Círu kaakasuuhiiciísu'

Yet you have not learned everything

ciruu	kaaka-	s-	ut-	riicis	-:hus
yet	NEG.IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	learn.about	IMPF

tíwətⁿ

tíwaat

nephew

ati- waat

1.POSS nephew/neice .

hirusistutásuht^a

Hiru	sístu	tásuhta	.			
Then	again	you are going to go	.			
hiruu	sistu	ta-	s-	uh	-ta	.
then	again	IND.1/2A	2.A	go.INT	INT	.

hirusistutásuht^a

Hiru	sístu	tásuhta	.	"	Ah			
Then	again	you are going to go	.	"	A			
hiruu	sistu	ta-	s-	uh	-ta	.	"	And
then	again	IND.1/2A	2.A	go.INT	INT	.	"	a
								and

wirúriwak^a

wiruúriwaaka

after he said it

wii-	ruu-	ri-	0-	waak	-a
when	then	CONT.3A	3.A	say.SUB	SUB.1

iwaríriks		ahawáku	,	"				
iwáriiriks		ahawáku'	,	"				
his uncle		he said	:	"				
i-	wariiriks	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"
3.POSS.A	uncle	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"

Kakasirušakusirurasíhku^a

Kaakaasirúhcaku'

It is not your day

kaaka-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	sakur	-0	ciru	rasíhku'a		
NEG.IND.1/2A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.a.day	PERF	yet	for you to come		
							yet	INF.A 2.A PREV.1/2A INF.B	come	SUB.4

títirⁱ

títiiri

now .
 ti- tiiri .
 here now .

širutírakia

Ciru tíraakii'a
 Yet it'll be a long time
 ciruu ti- 0- raa.kii -aar -0
 yet IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

tiráspari .
 tiráspari .
 your living .
 ti- ra- s- warii -hus .
 this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Nutikitawiisuhíšis

Ruutikitawi' isúhiicis
 He is the judge there when he wants you to learn
 ruu- ti- 0- kita.wi -0 i- s- ut- riicis -0
 there IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about SUB.4

irirahapíška^a

iriirahapícka'a
 what we want for you
 irii- ra- t- rak- wicka -a
 what ABS 1.A 1/2.PL want SUB.1

nákut^a . "
 rákuuta . "
 to be . "
 ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 . "

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 ,

papíšisutírak^u
 paapícisu’ tíraaku
 medal this one
 paapicis- -u’ tii- ra- 0- kus -0
 metal NOM this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

wikútasiⁱ ,
 wikútasiⁱ
 it is now yours ,
 wii- ku- ta- s- ir- 0 -’ ,
 now INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A be EX ,

papíšis tisár^u .
 paapícistiisaaru’ . "
 the chief's medal . "
 paapicis- riisaar -u’ . "
 metal be.chief NOM . "

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

iwisiririwarašiksár^a
 iwisiririwaraaciksaára
 when they became angry with him
 ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ri- waraa.aciks -aar -a

when when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT be.angry INCH SUB.1

,

akiiriwirukutitáparupəš

aki iriwiruukutitáparuupac

here that is when he moved around (ie revived)

a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- tap.aruu.pac -0
and there that when then INDF IND.3A 3.A move.DIST PERF

,

.

.

.

.

akiiriwirukutitáparupəš

Aki iriwiruukutitáparuupac

And here right there is when he moved around

a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- tap.aruu.pac -0
and there that when then INDF IND.3A 3.A move.DIST PERF

,

.

.

.

.

akiiriwirukútawat^a

Aki iriwiruukútawaata'

And here that is when he arose
a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- a- waat.a -0
and there that when then INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF

. Náwa^a i , wiahawáku
. Ráwa i wi'ahawáku'
. Now so now he said
. rawa i wii- ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
. now and now EV ABS 3.A say PERF

, “ Nárutasikirarú
“ Raaruutasiikiraarú'
: “ You just got in a hurry
, " raa- ruu- ta- s- ikiraar.huur -0
, " just then IND.1/2A 2.A be.in.a.hurry PERF

ahásira .
ahásiira .
your coming .
ar- ra- s- ir- a -0 .
EV ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.4 .

Kasiširárika
Kasiiciraaríkaa'
You must tell it to it
kaas- s- ir- ut- i- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ tell.to PERF

ákítar^u kásiwaku ,
ákitaaru' . Kaasiwáku'
the tribe . You will say :
akitaar- -u' . kaas- s- i- waka'u -0 ,
tribe NOM . POT.2A 2.A SEQ say PERF ,

“ Ákitar^u
 ‘ Ákitaaru’
 ‘ Tribe
 ‘ akitaar- -u’
 ‘ tribe NOM

išíhwari
 icíhwari
 when we go around (after death)
 i- aciir- warii -hus
 CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

karihakírírariks
 kárihaaki rííraariks
 truly it is true
 karihaaki’ ri- 0- i- raariks -0
 truly CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.true PERF

rašihkúwari
 racihkúwari
 that we go around
 ra- aciir- ku- warii -hus
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákitar^u , ”
 ákitaaru’ . ’ ”
 tribe . ’ ”
 akitaar- -u’ . ’ ”
 tribe NOM . ’ ”

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

itiwiráwari

i tiwiráwari

so when he went around

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

irikuhiharáihk^u

irikúhiihaará'ihku'

that is what they meant

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

iriwakíhu

irihwakíhu

when they were saying

ii- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus
when ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB , "

širukakúøtⁿ

Ciru kaakuú'ut

Yet it is not

ciruu kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -'
yet NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

tiráspari

tiráspari

your going around

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

irirahapiškánakut^a

iriirahapícka'a

rákuuta

what we want for it to be
 irii- ra- t- rak- wicka -a ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a
 that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL want SUB.1 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

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

hisiríhkusitⁿ ,
 hi siríhkusit
 and they picked up (ie selected) him
 hi si- ra- 0- ir- kusik -0
 and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A pick.up PERF

nísar^u
 riísaaru'
 chief ,
 riisaar -u' ,
 be.chief NOM ,

hisiríru ,
 hi siriíru'
 and they made him
 hi si- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0
 and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A make PERF

nísar^u , iwirá^u ,
 riísaaru' . Iwíra'u ,
 chief . After he was
 riisaar -u' . ii- wii- ra- 0- 0 -u
 be.chief NOM . when when ABS 3.A be SUB.D

nísar^u ,
 ríisaaru'
 chief ,
 riisaar -u' ,
 be.chief NOM ,

hikuhíra^u
 hi kúhiiraa'u
 and he was given power
 hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF way give PERF

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

hirawiráhisurí^a .
 hi raawiiraáhisu' ríí'a .
 and a warrior he became .
 hi raawiir.aah.his -u' ri- 0- aar -0 .
 and warrior NOM CONT.3A 3.A become PERF .

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

tiwikararíwari
 tiwikararíwari
 when he was no longer going around
 tii- wii- kara- ri- 0- warii -hus

when when NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hiruriktukusítitⁿ

hiru riktuúkusitit

then he began making the dance

hiruu ri- 0- ak- ra'uk -:hus -itik
 then CONT.3A 3.A PL.AN.3P make IMPF INCH

tirasiraítawⁱ

tirasiraa'ítawi

this that you know

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

tiwiritrahakawakarúku

tiwiritruuhaakawaákaruku

he was making pipestems for himself

tii- witi- ra- 0- ut- rak- kawaaka.ra'uk -:hus
 this REFL ABS 3.A BEN wood make.DIST IMPF

, nəktaraiwaríhus .
 Raktaraa'iwariíhus .
 Pipe Dance .
 rak- raar- ra.awi.warii.hus .
 wood PL waving.around .

Irikunarurúkskit^a

Irikuraaruurúkskita

That one was the cause

irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- uks- kita -0
 that INDF ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV AOR be.the.cause PERF

ákitar^u ihi

ákitaaru' ihi

tribe , uh ,
 akitaar- -u' , ihii ,
 tribe NOM , uh ,

nuksawakihahkára^u .
 ruksawakiihahkára'u .
 his having made prosperity for them .
 ra- 0- uks- awakii.haar ka.ra'uk -0 .
 ABS 3.A AOR be.prosperous make.PL.P SUB.3 .

Nikutuksaktuku
 Rikutuksaktuúku'
 That one was making the dance for them
 riku- ti- 0- uks- ak- ra'uk -:hus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR PL.AN.3P make IMPF

Pitahawírat^u ; nəktaraíwarihus ,
 Piitahaawíraata . Raktaraa'íwariihus
 the Pitahawiratas . Pipe Dance
 wiita.haa.wi.ra.at.a . rak- raar- ra.awi.warii.hus
 Pitahawirata . wood PL waving.around

piraútarurúksk^u
 piíra'u' taruurúksku
 a child he had it
 piira -u' ti- 0- a- ri- uur- uks- kus -0
 child NOM IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR be.sitting PERF

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

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

witúkskutⁿ
 Witúkskut
 He died
 wi- ti- 0- uks- kuut -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR die PERF

hitiwirətariraiwátⁱ
 hi tiwiratariiraa'iiwaáti
 and what I have now told you
 hi tii- wii- ra- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
 and this now ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

nikuahawawáku .
 riku'ahawaawáku' .
 these are things he said (ie told) .
 riku- ar- ra- 0- waa- waka'u -0 .
 that.is EV ABS 3.A DIST say PERF .

Sitirikspakuriwatúk^u
 Sitiirikspakuriwátuuku'
 They used to tell (ie repeat) his words
 si- ti- 0- ir- uur- i- uks- wakur- iiwaat -:hus -uuku
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR word tell.about IMPF HAB

.
 .
 .
 .

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

nikutúksasá^a

rikutuksasá'a

that one was named

riku- ti- 0- uks- asar -'
 that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX

Tararaítiksa

Tararaítiksa'

He Brings Them From Afar

ti- 0- a- raar- ra- iitik.his.a -0
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT come.laden PERF

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

tiirirəsihurarítawⁱ

ti'iriirasiihuraariítawi

this land (ie place) that you know

tii- irii- ra- s- ir- huraar- iita -wi
 this that ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A land know SUB.L

tiirirahakitkáhak^u

ti'iriirahaakitkáhaahku

here where the earth lodge village was

tii- irii- ra- 0- haak- kitka.haar- kus -0
here where ABS 3.A wood earth.lodge.village be.sitting SUB.4

nikúrikutⁿ

rikúriikut . Títak^u

that is where he died . Tiitaku

riku- ri- 0- kuut -0 . tii- -taku

that.is CONT.3A 3.A die PERF . this LOC

wiratirakət takúwišah^u

wiratiraakattakuwícahu

when our party arrived

wii- ra- t- ir- rak- aktaku- wic.a -hus
when ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL group arrive IMPF.SUB

tiirirahákit^{^t}ⁿ

ti'iriirahaákitat

here where our village was

tii- irii- ra- t- rak- itak -0
here where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

hirikuríkutⁿ

hi rikuriikut .

and that is where he died .

hi riku- ri- 0- kuut -0 .

and that.is CONT.3A 3.A die PERF .

Kítunarutišukstišpáwis

Kítuu'u' raaruutucukstiicpaáwiis

Everything he just learned things

kituu -u' raa- ruu- ti- 0- ut- uks- riicis -waawa -0
all NOM just then IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR learn.about DIST PERF

•
•
•
•
•