

Skiri Narratives, Sixteen

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

nikutúøtⁿ
 rikutuú'ut
 it is thus

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

tirəšpawákuhu ,
 tiraspaawaákahu
 these things you are saying
 tii- ra- s- waa- waaka -hus
 this ABS 2.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

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

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

ahikukstuharakurawarúksti^u

ahikukstuúha

the way He gave me

ar- ri- 0- ku- uks- raa- uh -a
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P AOR way give SUB.1

rakuraawaarúkstii^u

to be powerful

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

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

nitukspáruksti

riitukspaáruksti'

I was powerful

rii- t- uks- waarukstii -0
ASSR 1.A AOR be.holy PERF

tirótpari

tirátpari

when I went around

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

tinikurásahətⁿ

tirikurásahat

when I was maturing

tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

tuhá^a

Tuuhá'a

He was the cause

ti- 0- ut- rar -0

IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause PERF

tirátuksparuksti^u

tirátukspaarukstii'u

my having been powerful

tii- ra- t- uks- waarukstii -u
this ABS 1.A AOR be.holy SUB.D

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tírah^u

tíraahu

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus šákur^u
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB sakur -u'
sun NOM

nikutuhá^a

rikutuuhá'a

he was the cause

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

Iwirituhurišakáwaritⁿ

I witiriituhuuricakáwarit

And I was going around through the village

i witi- rii- t- uhuur.ica.kawarik -0 .
and REFL ASSR 1.A cause.oneself.to.go.astray PERF .

irárⁱ

Iraári'

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

tikurárahka
 tikuraáraahka
 doctors were (meeting) inside
 ti- 0- kuraa- raar- kaa -0
 IND.3A 3.A doctor PL be.inside PERF

hiwiritarísta
 hi wiriitárista
 and they were going to do it
 hi wii- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -his -ta
 and now ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF INT

iriritarihúsuku
 iririitarihúsuku
 what they usually did
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i -hus -uku
 what ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

, sáksikətⁿ ,
 sáksikat
 in the daytime
 saksi- -kat
 daytime LOC

witirihkúšaku .
 witirihkuúcaku .
 when they were shooting one another .
 witi- ra- 0- ir- ku- cak -hus .
 REFL INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B shoot IMPF.SUB .

Witikahurahkískaw^a

Witikaahuraahkískawa

The world became lively

wi- ti- 0- kaa.huraar- kiska -wa -aar -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A earth enjoy.oneself DIST INCH PERF

, títuk^u

tiítuhku .

there was a village .

ti- 0- ituur- kus -0 .
IND.3A 3.A village be.sitting PERF .

kitūwitatətirisahistaráhisa

Kítuu'u' witatatiirisáhista

All they were going to come in groups

ráhiisa

when morning came

kituu -u' wi- ti- 0- a- tatiir.his- a -his -ta ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
all NOM QUOT IND.3A3.A PREV.3A in.a.group come PERF INT ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

šáhiks , hi , irárⁱ

cáhiks . Hi , iraári'

people . And , brother

icaahiks . hi , i- -raar- -ri'

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

, hiruritiwáku ,

hiru riitiwáku'

, then I did say

, hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0

, then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF

witikihararišáhkasa

witikiihaaraaricáhkasa

groups of dancers were in the village

wi- ti- 0- kiihaar- raar- icahka- sa -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A dancer PL village be.lying PERF

híihi Híkuštárus
hi ihi Híkuctarus
, and , uh , Scabby Bull
, hi , ihii , hikuc tarus
, and , uh , old.buffalo.bull be.mangy

nikutahákuri

rikutahákuri

we were with that one

riku- ta- t- rak- hurii -0 ,
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL PERF ,

Híkuštárus hī níšikⁱ
Híkuctarus . Hi riíciki
Scabby Bull . And a knife
hikuc tarus . hi riici -kis
old.buffalo.bull be.mangy . and knife DIM

níra , níšikⁱ ,
ríira riíciki .
he had , a knife .
rii- 0- raah -0 , riici -kis .
ASSR 3.A have PERF , knife DIM .

niwáku ,

Riiwáku'

He said

rii- 0- waka'u -0
ASSR 3.A say PERF

tirárikⁱ , “ Ihí
tiraárikⁱ “ Ihí

this one : “ Uh ,
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i , " ihii ,
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " uh ,

tiwatⁿ tátišk^a
 tíwaat táticka'
 nephew, I want
 ati- waat ta- t- wicka -0
 1.POSS nephew/neice IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

natakusuhukarahkásik^a
 rataakusuhuhkaraahkaásika
 for me to cut open your belly now
 ra- t- a- ku- uks- uhur- karaar- kaas.ik -a
 INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B JUSS now stomach break SUB.1

nššikⁱ . "
 riíciki . "
 (with) the knife . "
 riici -kis . "
 knife DIM . "

Hiruritiwáku , “
 Hiru riitiwáku' “
 Then I did say : “
 hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , "
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , "

Tatuharáihk^u
 Tatuuhaará'ihku'
 I am meaning
 ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

tirəstapárikⁱ
 tirastapaáriki
 you (pl) who stand here ,
 tii- ra- s- rak- wa- arik -i ,
 here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

tíwatⁿ
 tíwaat
 nephew
 ati- waat
 1.POSS nephew/neice

nurúksaritⁿ
 ruurúksarit .
 let him stand there !
 ruu- ri- 0- uks- arik -0 .
 there CONT.3A 3.A JUSS be.standing PERF .

tatíška
 Tatícka'
 I want
 ta- t- wicka -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

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

irárⁱ
 iraári'
 my brother ,
 i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nakukukárahkasik^a .
rakukukáraahkaasika . "
to slit my belly open . "
ra- 0- ku- ku- karaar- kaas.ik -a . "
INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B stomach break SUB.1 . "

Naw^a híruriwaku , " Há^a
Ráwa hiru riiwáku' " Haá'a'
Now , then he said : " Yes
rawa , hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " haa'a'
now , then ASSR 3.A say PERF , " yes

, náw^a , "
ráwa . "
, now . "
, rawa . "
, now . "

hiruritirakíhahukətⁿ

Hiru riitiraakíhaahuukat
Then we dancers entered the lodge
hiruu rii- t- i- rak- kiihaar- huuk- at -0
then ASSR 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL dancer into go PERF

. Kakiksitkáwah^u
. Kaakiksitkáwaahu'
. They were not sleeping
. kaaki- 0- ir- uks- itka -waa -:hus
. NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR sleep DIST IMPF

wirikutawarukatístaritⁿ
wirihtawarukaarístarit

when they were going to perform sleight-of-hand

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	tawaruk.aar	-his	-ta	-rit
when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	perform	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

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

nikutikúhahuru

rikutikuuhahúru'

this is what he did to me

riku-	ti-	0-	ku-	ut-	rahur.uu	-0
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	do.to	PERF

Hiriwakásakta

Hi riiwaakásakta'

And he did say

hi	rii-	0-	waak.as.akta	-0	,
and	ASSR	3.A	be.heard.saying	PERF	,

Síksuhur^a

Síksuhuura'

Come awhile

i-	s-	ir-	uks-	uhur-	a	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	awhile	come	PERF

súhuri . "

suúhuri' . "

close ! "

suuhuri' . "

over.here . "

Hiruriritiríša

Hiru riitiriícaa' .

Then I did rise .

hiruu rii- t- ir- i- uca.a -0 .

then ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ rise PERF .

nuriritiríša ,

Ruuriitiriícaa' ,

Then I did rise ,

ruu- rii- t- ir- i- uca.a -0 ,

then ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ rise PERF ,

aritúkætⁿ

a rítuukat

and I did enter

a rii- t- huuk- at -0

and ASSR 1.A into go PERF

irirákak^u ,

iriirákaaku .

where he sat inside .

irii- ra- 0- kaa- kus -0 .

where ABS 3.A inside be.sitting SUB.4 .

wihirúrikuti ,

Wihiru rikúti'

Now then he was the one

wii- hiruu riku- ti- 0- 0 -0

now then that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF

Híkuštárus .
Híkuctarus .
Scabby Bull .
hikuc tarus .
old.buffalo.bull be.mangy .

Arítukætⁿ .
A rítuukat .
And I entered .
a rii- t- huuk- at -0 .
and ASSR 1.A into go PERF .

Ariwáku , “
A riiwáku’ “
And he did say : “
a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Iritakusukspítitⁿ . ”
Íritaku sukspíitit . ”
There sit down ! ”
irii- -taku i- s- uks- wi.itik -0 . ”
there LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS sit.down PERF . ”

Ariwáku , “
A riiwáku’ “
And he said : “
a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Tarítírak^u šahúkⁱ
Tári’ tíraaku cahuúki

Here it is	this					robe	
tarii	tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	cahuu	-kis
here	this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	robe	DIM

.
.
.
.

witiskspítaktitⁿ

Witiskspítaktit

Put it on yourself

witi-	i-	s-	uks-	witak.rik		-0
REFL	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	put.over.someone's.shoulders		PERF

,	hirukasiwíæt ⁿ					.
.	Hiru	kasiwí'at				"
!	Then	you will jump				"
.	hiruu	kaas-	s-	i-	awii.at	-0
.	then	POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	jump	PERF

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

nihuksutikuwítæktitⁿ

ríhuksu'		tikuwítaktit				
only		he put it on me				
rihuks	-u'	ti-	0-	ku-	witak.rik	-0
alone	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	put.over.someone's.shoulders	PERF

hirituhuráwašititⁿ ,
 hi riituhuúrawacitit .
 and then I ran out .
 hi rii- t- uhur- awacitik -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A now go.out PERF .

natətkaurawírik^u
 Raatatka'uurawiiriku'
 I just was standing up here and there
 raa- ta- t- ka- uuri.arik -wa -:hus
 just IND.1/2A 1.A in stand.upright DIST IMPF

naturuhurakarúku íhi
 ratuuruhuraakarúku ihi
 when I was imitating it , uh
 ra- t- uur- uhur- raa.ka.ra'uk -hus , ihii
 ABS 1.A PREV now imitate.PL.P IMPF.SUB , uh

nahúrahkⁱ . Iráⁱ
 rahúrahki . Iraári'
 , a deer . Brother
 , rahuraar -kis . i- -raar- -ri'
 , animal DIM . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

,
 ,
 ,

witatutkihatakárahətⁿ
 witatutkiihaahtaakaráhat
 I went around the room
 wi- ta- t- ut- kiihaar- taaka.ra.hak -0

QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV room circle.around PERF

,

hirirawašitiks^a

hi riirawacítiksa'

and he did come out

hi rii- 0- a- ir- awacitik -his a -0
and ASSR 3.A PREV.3A OBV go.out PERF come PERF

híwihíuraturáktara

hi wihiru ratiraáktara

and now then he had a bow and arrows

hi wii- hiruu ra- 0- tiraak- raar- raah -0
and now then ABS 3.A bow PL have PERF

Kakirarišikⁱ

Kaakíra

He did not have it

kaaki- 0- raah -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A have PERF

hihiwihiruraturáktara

riíciki hi wihiru ratiraáktara

a knife , and now then he had a bow and arrows

riici -kis , hi wii- hiruu ra- 0- tiraak- raar- raah -0
knife DIM , and now then ABS 3.A bow PL have PERF

.

.

.
. .

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

níkututa
rikutuúta
that is what he did :
riku- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

atutkiharišákus ,
a tutkiihaaricákus .
and he shot it into the floor of the lodge .
a ti- 0- ut- kiihaar- ica.kus.k -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A PREV room shoot PERF .

naturíkšawa
Raaturikcawa
Arrows were just sticking up
raa- ti- 0- uur- riiks- ca -waa -0
just IND.3A 3.A PREV arrow be.upright DIST PERF

nákiharuhətⁿ,
rákiihaaruhət
on the floor
ra- 0- kiihaar- u.hak -0
ABS 3.A room extend.in.a.line SUB.4

húrahtahiskætⁿ .
 hurahtaáhiskat .
 on dry ground .
 huraar- taahiis -kat .
 ground be.dry LOC .

Araturíkš^a ,
 A raaturíkca .
 And an arrow was just sticking up .
 a raa- ti- 0- uur- riiks- ca -0 .
 and just IND.3A 3.A PREV arrow be.upright PERF .

hirutuhšaríkætⁿ .
 Hiru tuhcaríkut .
 Then he pulled it out .
 hiruu ti- 0- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0 .
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV pull.out PERF .

Ariwáku , “ Náwa^a
 A riiwáku’ “ Ráwa
 And he did say : “ Now
 a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “ rawa
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ now

ihatakusuksuríritⁿ
 ihaá táku’ suksuuriírit
 there someone stand up
 ii- haa taku i- s- uks- uuri.arik -0
 there here someone CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS stand.upright PERF

, irárⁱ ,
 . “ Iraári’
 ! “ Brother ,
 . “ i- -raar- -ri’ ,

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

tirasákaku

tirasaákaku

in the south

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

nəkiharúhətⁿ,

rakiihaarúhat

the room extending

ra- 0- kiihaar- u.hak -0
ABS 3.A room extend.in.a.line SUB.4

nikutiku urírikítⁿ

rikutiku'uuriírikít

that is where he stood me

riku- ti- 0- ku- uuri.arik -ik -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A 1.P stand.upright CAUS PERF

hihirúrikutpíurutⁿ

hi hiru riikutpí'uurut

and then he placed me facing

hi hiruu ri- 0- ku- ut- wi.uu.ruhk -0
and then CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV point PERF

háwitⁿ , tətópítətⁿ

haáwit . Tatpítat

the east . I wore it

haawit . ta- t- witak -0
east . IND.1/2A 1.A wear.over.the.shoulders PERF

háwis^u ,

haáwisu'

a dyed robe ,
 hawis -u' ,
 black.dyed.robe NOM ,

hiruhitkúrašarⁱtⁿ

hi ruuhitkúracaarit
 and it had tails hanging
 hi ra- 0- ut- ritku- raar- ta arik -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV tail PL be.hanging be.standing PERF

tákatitⁿ

taákaatit .
 mule deer .
 taa- kaatit .
 deer black .

hírawakáhta

Hi raawakaáhtaa' .
 And everyone cried out .
 hi ra- 0- a- wakaar.ta.a -0 .
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A shout PERF .

hiriwáku , “ Náwa , ”
 Hi riiwáku' “ Ráwa . ”
 And he did say : “ Now . ”
 hi rii- 0- waka'u -0 , “ rawa . ”
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ now . ”

hirikásisp^a

Hi riikásispa
 And he did run
 hi rii- 0- kasispaar -0
 and ASSR 3.A run PERF

iriratárikⁱ
 iriiraatáriki .
 where I stood .
 irii- ra- t- arik -i .
 where ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2 .

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

kišihitətiráit^a
 kici hi tatiraa'iita
 but and I knew
 kici hi ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 but and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

nikutišakúsk^a
 rikuuticakúska
 when he shot me
 ri- 0- ku- ut- ica.kus.k -a
 CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV shoot SUB.1

hikuhikúwiuhətⁿ .
 hi kuuhikúwi'uuhat .
 and I must have fallen .
 hi kuur- ri- ku- wi.uu.hak -0 .
 and DUB CONT.3A 1.P fall.over PERF .

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

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

hawakakatiráit^a

hawá kaakaatiraá'iita ,
also I did not know it
haawa kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0
also NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

híkuhuta

hi kúhuuta
and he must have done it
hi kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

Hikuštárus

Híkuctarus

Scabby Bull

hikuc tarus
old.buffalo.bull be.mangy

hikuhuhšaríkətⁿ

hi kuuhuhcaríkut .
and he must have pulled it out .
hi kuur- ra- 0- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0 .
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV pull.out PERF .

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

hikuhuhšaríkətⁿ

hi kuuhuhcaríkut

and he must have pulled it out
 hi kuur- ra- 0- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV pull.out PERF

hikariritiriráit^a

hi kariiriitiriiraá'iita
 and I did not know it
 hi kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.iita -0
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV know PERF

hisikuhikúrahukətⁿ

hi sikuuhikúrahuukat
 and they must have taken me into it
 hi si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ku- ra- huuk- at -0
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P PORT into go PERF

škikáarakətⁿ .
 ckiikáraakat .
 among the leaves .
 ikskiikaraak- -kat .
 leaf LOC .

Akaratiráit^a

A karatiraá'iita ,
 And I did not know
 a ka- ra- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and NEG ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

kuhikutkiškatáah^u

kuuhikutkickatá'aahu'
 I must have been throwing up
 kuur- ra- a- ku- ut- kiic.kata.a -:hus
 DUB ABS PREV.3A 1.P PREV vomit IMPF

pát^u . Irárⁱ ,
 paátu' . Iraári' ,
 blood . Brother ,
 paat- -u' . i- -raar- -ri' ,
 blood NOM . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kuhararukətkurarahkítu

kuuháaruukat kuraaraahkítuu'u'
 they went inside all the doctors
 kuur- ra- 0- raar- huuk- at -0 kuraa- raar- kituu -u'
 DUB ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A into go PERF doctor PL all NOM

hikuhatatətírís^a

hi kuuhatatatiírísá' .
 and all the people came in a group .
 hi kuur- ra- t- a- tatiir.his- a -0 .
 and DUB ABS 1.A PREV.3A in.a.group come PERF .

Irikuhírawi^u

Iriikúhiiraawi'u ,
 However long the time was ,
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- i- raa.wi.u -0 ,
 what DUB ABS 3.A SEQ be.a.time PERF ,

irárⁱ

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

irikúhirətkaharawi^u

iriikúhiirətkahaarawi'u'
 whatever the time of night was
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- i- ratkahaar- raa.wi.u -0

what DUB ABS 3.A SEQ night be.a.time PERF

, hi kurikukírika
hi kurikukírika
, and I seemed to awaken
, hi ku- ri- ku- kirika.aar -0
, and INDF CONT.3A 1.P wake.up PERF

hiwihirurušísuhətⁿ

hi wihiru ruciúsuhat
and there they were seated around
hi wii- hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- as.uu.hak -0
and now there ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be.sitting.around PERF

a atíra
a atíra'
and my mother
a ati- raa
and 1.POSS mother

wihírurik^u .
wihiru ríiku .
there she sat .
wii- hiruu ri- 0- kus -0 .
now there CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

Ariwáku , “
A riiwáku’ “
And she said : “
a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Nikiharít^{ku}

Tíki haarítku .

Sonny , here I sit .
tikis , haa- rii- t- kus -0 .
sonny , here ASSR 1.A be.sitting PERF .

karasašíksuətⁿ
Karaasacíksu'at .
Is your mind clear ?
ka- ra- s- aciks.u.at -0 .
Y/N.INTER ABS 2.A mind.to.be.clear PERF .

harítku^u . "

Haarítku . " "

Here I sit . " "

haa- rii- t- kus -0 . " "

here ASSR 1.A be.sitting PERF . " "

Atira , ha
Atíra' ha
My mother , ha!
ati- raa , ha
1.POSS mother , ha

tatašíksuətⁿ . " Atira
taatacíksu'at . Atíra'
my mind is clear . Mother
ta- t- aciks.u.at -0 . ati- raa
IND.1/2A 1.A mind.to.be.clear PERF . 1.POSS mother

,

,

,

,

kirasirikúha

kíra sirikuúhaa'

let them bring it to me

kira	si-	ri-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ut-	ra-	a	-0
perhaps	DU	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	1.P	BEN	PORT	come	PERF

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

an animal

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

natírikawⁱ

ratírihkaawi

my having it inside

ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	kaa	-wi
ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.inside	SUB.L

nahuraríhari .

ráhuraarihari' . "

a young animal ! "

rahuraar iharii . "

animal young . "

Tatirírukska

Tatiriírikska

I had it inside

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	i-	uks-	kaa	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	SEQ	AOR	be.inside	PERF

, irárⁱ ,

. Iraári'

. Brother ,

. i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tukspáruksti .
tukspaáruksti' .
it was holy .
ti- 0- uks- waarukstii -0 .
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.holy PERF .

Hirusirikušíra

Hiru siriikuucíraa'

Then they brought it for me

hiruu si- ri- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- i- ra- a -0
then DU CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P BEN SEQ PORT come PERF

,

hikišitiharíta

hi kici tihaariíta
and but they did this

hi kici tii- haa- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -0
and but this here ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF

irárⁱ

iraári'

: brother

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

nararikstakawúsititⁿ

raraarikstahkawuúsitit

they began putting their hands in it

ra- 0- raar- iks- raar- ka- wuh -:hus -itik
ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P hand PL in put IMPF INCH

kúra^u

kúraa'u'

the doctors

kuraa -u'

doctor NOM

tihairirəštaks^u

tihaa'iriiractáksu

here where I was shot

tii- haa- irii- ra- t- cak -his uu -0
here here where ABS 1.A shoot PERF be SUB.4

hirikiškarawíritⁿ

hi riickkaraawírit

and the liquid poured out

hi ri- 0- i- kiic.karaa.wirik -0
and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ liquid.to.pour.out PERF

pát^u

paátu' .

blood .

paat- -u' .

blood NOM .

hihikirinikušikskatárihura

Hi híkiiri riikuucikskatárihura

And so it was my mind broadened (became clearer)

hi hikiiri rii- ku- aciks- kata.rihur -aar -0
and indeed ASSR 1.P mind be.wide INCH PERF

hiwirakiškarawiritⁿ pát^u
 hi wirakickaraawirit paátu'
 and the liquid poured out blood
 hi wii- ra- 0- kiic.karaa.wirik -0 paat- -u'
 and now ABS 3.A liquid.to.pour.out PERF blood NOM

, hirikušikskatárhura
 . Hi riikuucikskatárhura
 . And my mind became clear
 . hi rii- ku- aciks- kata.rihur -aar -0
 . and ASSR 1.P mind be.wide INCH PERF

kítu . Hiruritiwáku
 kítuu'u' . Hiru riitiwáku'
 all . Then I did say
 kituu -u' . hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0
 all NOM . then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF

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

kirawitítuhakahíkaru
 kúra witi'ítuuhaakahíkaru'
 let me wash my mouth
 kira witi- i- t- uur- haaka- hii.ka.ra'uk -0
 perhaps REFL CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV mouth wash PERF

.
 !
 .

kísihistatihakákaha

Kísiihis tatihaakákaha'

The odor of blood my mouth has the odor of it

kísiihis	ta-	t-	ir-	haaka-	kahaa	-0
odor.of.blood	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	mouth	have.an.odor	PERF

.
.
.
.
.
.

Hiwirituhakahíkaru

Hi witiriituuhaakahiíkaru'

And then I did wash my mouth

hi	wii-	tii-	rii-	t-	uur-	haaka-	hii.ka.ra'uk	-0
and	now	here	ASSR	1.A	PREV	mouth	wash	PERF

. Hiruritiwáku	,	"	Náw ^a
. Hiru riitiwáku'		"	Ráwa
. Then I did say	:	"	Now
. hiruu riit- t- i- waka'u -0	,	"	rawa
. then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF	,	"	now

atíra	,
atíra'	
, mother	,
, ati- raa	,
, 1.POSS mother	,

kuuskáru^u

kuuskaáruru'

feed me !
 i- s- ku- uks- kaaruur- ra'uk -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P JUSS meal make PERF .

tuksákawaəš . "
 Tuksaákawa'ac . "
 Let me eat ! "
 i- t- uks- haakawahc -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS eat PERF . "

Hirusirikušihuru

Hiru siriikuucihuuru'

Then they made mush for me

hiruu si- ri- 0- ir- ku- ut- i- huu- ra'uk -0
 then DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN SEQ mush make PERF

níkis^u ,
 . Rikiisu'
 . Corn
 . rikiis- -u'
 . corn NOM

sirikútur^u

siriikuútuuru'

they made mush for me

si- ri- 0- ir- ku- ut- huu- ra'uk -0
 DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN mush make PERF

. Aritakawašusítitⁿ

. A ritaakawahcusítit

. And then I began eating

. a rii- t- haakawahc -:hus -itik
 . and ASSR 1.A eat IMPF INCH

aritpáku , “ Naw^a
a ritpáku’ “ Ráwa
and I did say : “ Now ,
a rii- t- waka’u -0 , " rawa ,
and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " now ,

kúra^u ásk^u
kúraa’u’ ásku
doctors , one
kuraa -u’ , asku
doctor NOM , one

witúraiwíš ,
witúraa’iwic .
there remains a matter .
wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiwihc -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way appear PERF .

hiruwirutikítawⁱ
Hiru wiruutikítawi’
There now it is in authority
hiruu wii- ruu- ti- 0- kita.wi -0
there now then IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

nahístaritⁿ
raahístarit
when it is going to come
ra- 0- a- a -his -ta -rit
ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF INT INT.SUB

tíra^a šakúr^u ,
tíraa’a sákuuru’ .
this coming sun .
tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u’ .

this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun NOM .

nikutiritⁿ

Rikuutiirit

When it sees me

ri- 0- ku- ut- iirik -0
CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV see SUB.4

irirutatikísikst^a

iriruutatiikísiksta

that is when I shall be healed

irii- ruu- ta- t- i- kisk -his -ta
that then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ survive PERF INT .

Híkíšⁱ

" Hi kici

" And but

" hi kici

" and but

wisiríkuha

wisirikuúha

after they had given it to me

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uh -a
when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P give SUB.1

náhurahkⁱ

ráhuraahki

an animal

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

i-

3.POSS.A

-raar-

same.sex.sibling

-ri'

3.POSS.B

tatíriikska

tatíriikska

I had it inside

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	i-	uks-	kaa	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	SEQ	AOR	be.inside	PERF

,	nahurakíripæk ⁱ		nahuraríhari					
	rahuraahkíripahki		ráhuraarihari'					.
	a small animal		a young animal					.
	rahuraar	kiripah.kis	rahuraar	iharii				.
	animal	small	animal	young				.

tíwaruksti

Tíwaaruksti'

It was mysterious

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

Tiirirəštaks^u

Ti'iriiráctaksu

Here where I was shot

tii-	irii-	ra-	t-	cak	-his	uu	-0
here	where	ABS	1.A	shoot	PERF	be	SUB.4

hirikusiríkuštari^u

hi rikusiriíkuuctariípu

and that is where they tied it to me

hi	riku-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	tariik.wuh	-0
and	that.is	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	PREV	tie	PERF

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

Kutúkukaratkúši^a

Kutuú

It seemed

ku-	ti-	0-	uu	-0	ku-	ka-	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	i-	0	-a
INF.B	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	INDF	NEG	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	SEQ	be	SUB.1

kukaraatkúci'a

I had nothing wrong

wiratištarípi

wiratictariípi

after I had it tied

wii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ut-	tariik	-wi	.
when	ABS	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	be.tied	SUB.L	.

Ariwáki

A rihwáki' , " Náwa^a

And they said : " Ráwa

a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa

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

witahísah^u

witahiísaahu'

dawn is coming

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	hiis-	a	-:hus	.	"
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	morning	come	IMPF	.	"

Níhuksu

Ríhuksu'

Only

rihuks	-u'	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus
alone	NOM	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB

irírutah^u

iriiruútahu

its being that way

, irárⁱ ,
iraári'
, brother ,
, i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tuhisurúhaksitit

tuuhiisúruuhaksitit

it was beginning to dawn

ti-	0-	ut-	riisuur-	u.hak	-his	-itik
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	dawn.twilight	extend.in.a.line	PERF	INCH

, hiritawašítitⁿ ,

hi riitawacítit

and I went out

hi rii- t- awacitik -0

and ASSR 1.A go.out PERF

irírawak^a

iriirawaáka

what he said

irii-	ra-	0-	waak	-a	ariisit	sákuuru'		
what	ABS	3.A	say.SUB	SUB.1	one's.own	sun	-u'	NOM

irírawak^a

iriirawaaka

what he said

irii-	ra-	0-	waak	-a	,	"
what	ABS	3.A	say.SUB	SUB.1	,	"

Kasušiwíua

Kaasuciwí'uu'a

You must turn in the direction

kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	wi.uu.aar	-0
POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	turn.to.face	PERF

tiirirəsakáhu

ti'iriirasaakahu

here where the sun is coming

tii- irii- ra- 0- a- saak- a -hus
here where ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun come IMPF.SUB

. " Nikutatutpiú^a ,
. " Rikutatutpi'uú'a ,
. " That is the direction in which I turned ,
. " riku- ta- t- ut- wi.uu.aar -0 ,
. " that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV turn.to.face PERF ,

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

hirušakuríwiš ,
hi ruhcakúriwic ,
and the sun appeared ,
hi ra- 0- uur- sakur- hiwihc -0 ,
and ABS 3.A PREV sun appear PERF ,

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

narutisakuhkataúkutⁿ

raaruutisakuhkáta'uukut

then the sun just struck (ie shone on) it

raa- ruu- ti- 0- sakur- kata- uukuk -0
just then IND.3A 3.A sun against.a.vertical.surface get.into PERF

iriróštuks^u ,
 iriiráctaksu .
 where I was shot .
 irii- ra- t- cak -his uu -0 .
 where ABS 1.A shoot PERF be SUB.4 .

hírætkætⁿ nitutpíu^a
 Hi rátkat riitutpí'uu'a
 And after wards I did turn around
 hi rat- -kat rii- t- ut- wi.uu.aar -0
 and afterwards LOC ASSR 1.A PREV turn.to.face PERF

, irírira ,
 iriíriira ,
 where it was coming ,
 irii- ra- 0- a- ir- a -0 ,
 where ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV come SUB.4 ,

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

narutikušisakuhúkuætⁿ
 Raaruutikucisakuhuúku'at
 Then the sun just went into my mouth
 raa- ruu- ti- 0- ku- ut- i- sakur- huuk.u.at -0
 just then IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ sun go.into.one's.mouth PERF

,
 .
 .
 .

hawákukaratkúši^a

Hawá kukaraatkúci'a

Also there was nothing wrong with me

haawa ku- ka- ra- t- ku- ut- i- 0 -a
also INDF NEG INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV SEQ be SUB.1

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

Hiruirirutótiwaku ,

Hiru iriruutatiwáku'

Then thereupon I did say :

hiruu irii- ruu- ta- t- i- waka'u -0 ,
then then then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF ,

“ Náwa , kúra^u
“ Ráwa kúraa'u'
“ Now , doctors,
" rawa , kuraa -u'
" now , doctor NOM

suhurətáwaruka ,

suhuurattáwaruka .

you can at last have sleight-of-hand .

i- s- uhur- rak- tawaruk.aar -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A finally 1/2.PL perform PERF .

hawákukarisirákašiks

Hawá kukariisiraákaciks

Also Don't think anything of it
 haawa ku- kara- i- s- i- rak- aciks -0
 also INDF NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL think.of PERF

witatíkisitⁿ
 . Witatiíkisit .
 . I am alive now .
 . wii- ta- t- i- kisik -0 .
 . now IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ survive PERF .

witəparihust^a .
 Witatparihusta . "
 I am going to walk around . "
 wi- ta- t- warii -:hus -ta . "
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . "

Náw^a , kúra^u
 Ráwa kúraa'u'
 Now doctors
 rawa kuraa -u'
 now doctor NOM

hiratatatiríspiš^a
 hi raatatatiirípica'
 and groups of people just arrived
 hi raa- ti- 0- a- tatiir.his- wic.a -0
 and just IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A in.a.group arrive PERF

,

wisirikutiksuri^u

wisirikuutiksuurikuku

when they were shaking my hand

wii-	si-	0-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	iks-	uurikuk	-hus
when	DU	3.A	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	PREV	hand	catch	IMPF.SUB

,	iritáku	,	“	Títak ^u					
.	I	rittáku’	“	Tiitaku					
.	And	I did say	:	“	Here				
.	i	rii-	t-	taka’u	-0	,	“	tii-	-taku
.	and	ASSR	1.A	say	PERF	,	“	this	LOC

kakatkasahist^a

kaakatkaasáhista

I am not going to lie inside

kaaka-	t-	kaa-	sa	-his	-ta	.
NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	inside	be.lying	PERF	INT	.

hirutátuht^a

Hiru tátuhta

There I am going to go

hiruu	ta-	t-	uh	-ta
there	IND.1/2A	1.A	go.INT	INT

iriratakárik^u

iriiraatakáriku

where I have my home

irii-	ra-	t-	akaar.ri.kus	-0	hi
where	ABS	1.A	have.a.home	SUB.4	and

irihítkasa

irihii’itkaasa

I’ll lie inside that other one

irii-	hii-	i-	t-	kaa-	sa	-0	.	“
-------	------	----	----	------	----	----	---	---

that other CONT.1/2A 1.A inside be.lying PERF . "

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

nikutatúta ,

rikutatuúta

that is what I did

riku- ta- t- ut- aar -0
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF

aritíkisitⁿ ,

a riitíkisit ,

and I was alive ,

a rii- t- i- kisik -0 ,

and ASSR 1.A SEQ survive PERF ,

irárⁱ .

iraári' .

brother .

i- -raar- -ri' .

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

Kakatpáku ,

Kaakaatpáku' .

I did not say it .

kaaka- t- waka'u -0 .

NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A say PERF .

iwiahušárikutⁿ,

Iwi'ahuhcárikut

When he pulled it out

ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
when when EV ABS 3.A PREV pull.out SUB.4

hikuha kawiháhkawiritⁿ

hi kuuhakawihaáhkawirit

and the arrowhead fell off

hi kuur- ra- 0- kawi- haahka wirik -0
and DUB ABS 3.A arrowhead be.attached.to fall.out PERF

.
. .
. .

akiwirukutikáwika

Aki wiruukutikáwika

And here now the arrowhead was inside

a- ki wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- kawi- kaa -0
and there now then INDF IND.3A 3.A arrowhead be.inside PERF

, tirətkisikířtawⁱ.

tiratkisikířtawⁱ.

here on my body.

tii- ra- t- kisikit- ta -wi
here ABS 1.A torso be.hanging SUB.L

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nikutikúhahuru ,
rikutikuúhahuru'
that is what he did to me
riku- ti- 0- ku- ut- rahur.uu -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV do.to PERF

kirakawirikútawi
kíra kawirikútawi
it was perhaps nights for me
kira ka- wii- ri- 0- ku- ut- ha.wa.ir -0
perhaps Y/N.INTER now CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN night.to.elapse.DIST PERF

tawíksapiš .
tawíkŕaapic .
eight .
tawíkŕaapic .
eight .

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

iwirátkas^a
iwirátkaasa
when I lay inside
ii- wii- ra- t- kaa- sa -0
when when ABS 1.A inside be.lying SUB.3

hirararúkahusítitⁿ
hi raraaruukáhusítit
and they began coming inside
hi ra- 0- a- raar- huuk- a -:hus -itik

and ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A into come IMPF INCH

hiriraíwawətⁿ ,
 hi ríraa'íwaawat .
 and they told stories .
 hi ra- 0- ir- raa.iiwaat -waa -0 .
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A tell.a.story DIST PERF .

tihtáwarukari .
 Tihtáwarukaari' .
 They were performing sleight-of-hand .
 ti- 0- ir- tawaruk.aar -i .
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A perform IMPF .

Aríhwaki íhi ,
 A ríhwaki' “ Ihi ,
 And they said: “ Uh ,
 a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 " ihii ,
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF " uh ,

wisitikišahuritⁿ kátahka
 wisitihkícahurit kátahka
 they scalped him an enemy
 wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kica.hurik -0 katahkaa
 now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A scalp PERF enemy

, paksíškus^u
 . " Paksíckuusú'
 . " The scalp
 . " paks- ickuus -u'
 . " head skin NOM

nasiwiritirikáhak^u
 raasiwiritirikaáhaaku'

they were just carrying it around inside

raa- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- kaa- hak -:hus
just DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT inside pass.by IMPF

siahihkišahúritⁿ

. Si'ahihkicahúrit

. They had scalped him

. si- ar- ri- 0- ir- kica.hurik -0
. DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A scalp PERF

katahka ,

kátahka .

an enemy .

katahkaa .

enemy .

hirirarúkaat^u

Hi ríí' raruúka'aatu' .

And it was a spirit (lit shadow) .

hi rii- 0- 0 -0 raar.uuka'aat -u' .

and ASSR 3.A be PERF imaginary NOM .

kakikísikítitⁿ .

Kaakiikísikitit .

He was not alive .

kaaki- 0- i- kisikit -ik -0 .

NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.alive DIST PERF .

Aríhwakⁱ ,

A ríhwaki' " škíriihkⁱ

And they said : " Ckírihki

a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " ickirir- -kis

and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " wolf DIM

hawasitítíšakus

hawá sitiíticakus .
also they shot it .
haawa si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ica.kus.k -0 .
also DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV shoot PERF .

škíriihkⁱ ahuruhurarúku
Ckírihki ahuurúhuraaruuku'
The wolf he was imitating it
ickirir- -kis ar- ra- 0- uur- uhur- raa.ra'uk -:hus
wolf DIM EV ABS 3.A PREV now imitate IMPF

.
. .
. .

hawásiahitíšákus

Hawá si'ahiitícakus
Also they pierced him
haawa si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ica.kus.k -0
also DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV pierce PERF

háwakišⁱ

. Hawá kici
. Also but
. haawa kici
. also but

kírikirutuhúruætⁿ

kíriki ruutuhúruu'ut .
there was nothing wrong with him .
kirikii ra- 0- ut- uhuur.uk -' .

what ABS 3.A PREV be.the.way.one.does.DIST EX .

tiwáruksti .
 Tiwaáruksti' . "
 He was mysterious . "
 ti- 0- waarukstii -0 . "
 IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF . "

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

irikuhiúksta^u
 irikuuhikúksta^u
 that is the power He gave me
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ku- uks- raa- uh -0
 that DUB ABS 3.A OBV 1.P AOR way give PERF

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

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

hiruwirétkas^a
 hiru wirátkaasa

there while I lay inside
hiruu wii- ra- t- kaa- sa -0
there when ABS 1.A inside be.lying SUB.3

iriratakárik^u
iriiraatakáriku
where my home was ,
irii- ra- t- akaar.ri.kus -0 ,
where ABS 1.A have.a.home SUB.4 ,

hikúra^u
hi kúraa'u'
and the doctors
hi kuraa -u'
and doctor NOM

wisirikuhahúruk^u
wisiriikuuhahúruuku'
they were treating me
wii- si- rii- 0- ir- ku- ut- rahur.ra'uk -:hus
now DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV treat IMPF

witətatírís^a
. Witatatiírísá'
. They came in groups
. wi- ti- 0- a- tatiir.his- a -0
. QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A in.a.group come PERF

kúra^u . Nakurótki^u
kúraa'u' . Rakurátkii'u
the doctors . When it was night
kuraa -u' . ra- 0- ku- ratkii -u
doctor NOM . INF.A 3.A INF.B be.night SUB.D

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

isaruhahúhtawi
isaruuhaahúhtawi'
things were difficult

i- s- ar- ut- raa- huhtawii -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV way be.difficult PERF

hátuhkətⁿ . Irári
hátuhkat . Iraári'
later . Brother, ,
hatuhka.t . i- -raar- -ri' ,
in.the.rear . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kirakawírikurikutati

kíra wirikuútawi
perhaps the nights passed for me

kira wii- ri- 0- ku- ut- ha.wa.ir -0
perhaps now CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV night.to.elapse.DIST PERF

tawíksapiš
tawíksaapic
eight
tawiksaapic
eight

hiirirutáhu

hi iriiruútahu
and its being that way

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

wirakúrahkut^u

wirakúrahkuutu

when it was mattering

wii- raa- ku- ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u
when just INDF INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

nakukiškawátaku

rakukickawátaku

when liquid came out

ra- 0- ku- kiic- kawatak -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B liquid get.out IMPF.SUB

hihirukuhaspatasitⁿ

hi hiru kuuhaaspaátasit

and then it must have moved

hi hiruu kuur- ra- 0- as.waat.as.ik -0
and then DUB ABS 3.A start.out PERF

káwi^u

káwi'u'

the arrowhead

kawi- -u'

arrowhead NOM

hiruwikuhakíškakíškut^u

Hiru wikuuhakícka

There liquid must have been inside

hiruu wii- kuur- ra- 0- kiic- kaa -0 kiic- kuut -u'
there now DUB ABS 3.A liquid be.inside PERF liquid die NOM

kíckuutu'

rotten liquid

, hikuhekawispátasitⁿ

hi kuuhakawiispaátasit

and the arrowhead moved

hi kuur- ra- 0- kawi- as.waat.as.ik -0
and DUB ABS 3.A arrowhead start.out PERF

híkuha ,
 hi kúhaa'
 and it was coming
 hi kuur- ra- 0- a- a -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

hikuhatápaš ,
 hi kuuhatápac ,
 and it moved ,
 hi kuur- ra- 0- tapac -0 ,
 and DUB ABS 3.A move PERF ,

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

hirikušiksuraáhuš .
 hi riikuuciksuraáhac .
 and I did blank out .
 hi rii- ku- aciks- hurahac -0 .
 and ASSR 1.P mind disappear PERF .

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

nikútīta kúra^u
 rikutiīta kúraa'u'
 that is what they did the doctors
 riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -0 kuraa -u'

that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF doctor NOM

, kahšu ,
. Káhcu'
. Medicine
. kahc -u'
. herb NOM

ararutiwikatawítitⁿ

a raaruutiiwíkatawiitit ,
and then he just threw it against me
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- awi.kata.wi.itik -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A throw.against PERF

arútatitkuk^u

a ruutaátatkuuku' .
and then I listened .
a ruu- ta- t- atka'uk -:hus .
and then IND.1/2A 1.A listen IMPF .

hítiwaku , “ Náwa ,
Hi tiwáku' “ Ráwa
And he said : “ Now
hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " now

nikutæskuhæktahúrukš^a

rikutaskuuhaaktáhuruksta
you are going to do that to us
riku- ta- s- ku- ut- rak- rahur.ra'uk -his -ta
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL do.to PERF INT

, tæskurakiriwískiš^a .
. Taskuraakiriwískicta . "

. You are going to cheat us . "

. ta- s- ku- rak- kiriwis.ki -his -ta . "

. IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL cheat PERF INT . "

Irári ,

Iraári'

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

kītuariraráwašititⁿ

kítuu'u' a riiraarāwacitit

all and they went out

kituu -u' a rii- 0- raar- awacitik -0

all NOM and ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A go.out PERF

hikuhīhwaki , "

hi kuuhīhwaki' "

and they said ; "

hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "

and DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Witīhurahəš . "

Witīhurahac . "

He has died . "

wi- ti- 0- hurahac -0 . "

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

Hiratatatīrisuk^a

Hi raatatatīrisuuka'

And groups just came (back) inside

hi raa- ti- 0- a- tatiir.his- huuk- a -0

and just IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A in.a.group into come PERF

, irirətutakíšisu
 iriiratuutaakícisu
 those who were my relatives
 irii- ra- t- ut- ak- icis -hus
 that ABS 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

, atíəs ,
 atí'as
 my father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

natiraktár^u ,
 ratiiraktaáru .
 the ones who were mine .
 ra- t- ir- ak- raar- 0 -u .
 ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.A be SUB.D .

šíru atíəs
 Ciru atí'as
 Yet my fathers
 ciruu ati- as
 yet 1.POSS father

tatiriríkskari
 tatiriiríkskari'
 I had many
 ta- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- kari -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR be.numerous PERF

a , tíwat a ,
 a tíwaat a
 , and my nephews, and
 , a ati- waat a

, and 1.POSS nephew/neice and

atípətⁿ ,
atípat
my grandfathers ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

širutatiriríkškaria

ciru tatiriiríkškari' a
yet I had many and
ciruu ta- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- kari -0 a
yet IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR be.numerous PERF and

itáhⁱ .
itaáhi' .
, sisters .
, i- -taat- -ri' .
, 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B .

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

atihakutíraətⁿ

a tihaakutíraa'at
and here the time went
a tii- haa- ku- ti- 0- raa- at -0
and here here INDF IND.3A 3.A way go PERF

hitikušikstaríwisətⁿ

hi tikuucikstaríwisat

and my mind became clear
 hi ti- ku- aciks- ta.ri.wis.at -0
 and IND.3A 1.P mind move.off PERF

hihawasístuhitahkahwí^a

hi hawá sístu hi taahkawí'a'
 and also again and the arrowhead would come
 hi haawa sistu hi ti- 0- a- ar- kawi- a -0
 and also again and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A EV arrowhead come PERF

, híhawasístutikætⁿ

hi hawá sístu
 and also again
 hi haawa sistu
 and also again

kataríp^u

tikutkatáriipu .
 I blacked out .
 ti- ku- ut- katariik.wuh -0 .
 IND.3A 1.P PREV cover PERF .

Akiwikutakawíwiša

Aki wikutakawíwica'
 And here the arrowhead came to it
 a- ki wii- ku- ti- 0- a- kawi- wic.a -0
 and there now INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrowhead arrive PERF

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

atíra		nitatatáku,					irí
atíra'		rihtatatáku					irii
my mother		she was sitting close					that
ati-	raa	ra-	0-	ihtatata-	kus	-0	irii
1.POSS	mother	ABS	3.A	close.by	be.sitting	PERF	that

atirá		nátir ^u					.
atíra'		rátiiru					.
my mother		mine					.
ati-	raa	ra-	t-	ir-	0	-u	.
1.POSS	mother	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	be	SUB.D	.

Kutú^u

Kutuú'u

It seemed

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

nakutáwi ^a						pírus	,
raakutáwi'a						piirus	.
to be crawling downward						a worm	.
ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ta.wi.a	-0	piirus	.
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	slide.down	SUB.4	worm	.

narutawaríhusa

Raaruuataawariíhusa'

Then it was just coming down wriggling

raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	a-	warii	-hus	a	-0
just	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	come	PERF

híritaku

Hi rittáku'

And I said

hi	rii-	t-	taka'u	-0	.
----	------	----	--------	----	---

and ASSR 1.A say PERF .

Hirarutítakahətⁿ ,

Hi raaruutítakaahat

And then it just dropped

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- takaa.hak -0
and just then IND.3A 3.P fall.off PERF

úrarisitⁿ ,

iriratíšihitⁿ

uúrariisit

iriiratiícihit .

straight

where I lay on it .

uurariisik

irii- ra- t- ic.ihit -0 .

straight.forward

where ABS 1.A lay.on SUB.4 .

narutítakahətⁿ .

Raaruutítakaahat .

Then it just dropped .

raa- ruu- ti- 0- takaa.hak -0 .
just then IND.3A 3.P fall.off PERF .

Hiruritiwáku , “

Hiru riitiwáku’ “

Then I did say : “

hiruu rii- t- i- waka’u -0 , ”
then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , ”

Atíra

Atíra’

Mother ,

ati- raa ,

1.POSS mother ,

tihairirəšt^a

tihaa’iriiracta

here where I lie
 tii- haa- irii- ra- t- sa -0
 here here where ABS 1.A be.lying SUB.3

kiraisiksúhətⁿ
 kúra isiksuúhat
 reach out your hand
 kira i- s- iks- u.hak -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A hand extend.in.a.line PERF

hiúraris^{it}ⁿ
 hi úrariisit
 and straight
 hi uurariisik
 and straight.forward

isiksurahwítitⁿ
 isiksuraahwítit
 reach your hand down
 i- s- iks- huraar- wi.itik -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A hand ground set.down PERF

kirakírikirutiwirátakahətⁿ
 kúra kíriki ruutiwirátakaahat
 to see what has fallen down
 kira kirikii ruu- tii- wii- ra- 0- takaa.hak -0
 perhaps what then this now ABS 3.P fall.off SUB.4

. " Híruta
 . " Hi ruúta
 . " And she did it
 . " hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 . " and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

híriritⁿ

hi ríirit
and she picked it up
hi ra- 0- iriik -0
and ABS 3.A pick.up.long.object PERF

híriwaku atir^a
hi riiwáku' atíra' "
and she said my mother: "
hi rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- raa "
and ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS mother "

tíkⁱ , kawí^utí
Tíki káwi'u' tí' .
Sonny , an arrowhead it is .
tikis , kawi- -u' ti- 0- 0 -0 .
sonny , arrowhead NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

kawíutⁱ , tíkⁱ .
Káwi'u' tí' tiki . "
An arrowhead it is , sonny . "
kawi- -u' ti- 0- 0 -0 , tikis . "
arrowhead NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF , sonny . "

Hakuštarustík^u

Híkuctarus tiíku
Scabby Bull he sat there
hikuc tarus ti- 0- kus -0
old.buffalo.bull be.mangy IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

arikú atíəs
a riíku atí'as
and he sat my father
a ri- 0- kus -0 ati- as

and CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF 1.POSS father

tati nitakaškátit¹
tatií riitahkackaátit
he is mine Black Eagle
ta- t- ir- 0 -0 riitaar.kaac kaatit
IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF golden.eagle black

tísa^a ,
tiisá'a .
he is named .
ti- 0- asar -' .
IND.3A 3.A be.named EX .

hiritáku , atíəs
Hi rittáku' " Atí'as
And I did say : " Father,
hi rii- t- taka'u -0 , " ati- as
and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " 1.POSS father

siksuhúr^a ,
siksuhuúra' .
come now !
i- s- ir- uks- uhur- a -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS now come PERF .

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

tirasakírákírikir^u
tíraasa kúra kíriki ru'

ti-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	kira	kirikii	ra-	0-	uu	-0
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	perhaps	what	ABS	3.A	be	PERF

	witíkawatət ⁿ									
.	Witíkawatat									"
.	It has come out									"
.	wii-	ti-	0-	kawatak	-0					"
.	now	IND.3A	3.A	get.out	PERF					"

Nihuksututuríkətⁿ

Ríhuksu'		tuutuuríkut					
Only		he took hold of it					
rihuks	-u'	ti-	0-	ut-	uurikuk	-0	
alone	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	catch	PERF	

hiriwáku						,	"
hi	riiwáku'						"
and	he did say					:	"
hi	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0		,	"
and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF		,	"

Ahahāhíruutik ¹ s						,	náwairi
Ahahaá	a	hiru	úttikis		ráwa	iri	
Ah ha	,	and	there	,	my dear son	,	now alright
ahahaa	,	a	hiruu	,	uu.tikis	,	rawa irii
ah.ha	,	and	there	,	sonny	,	now there

	witəsparíhust ^a									
	witəsparíhusta									
,	now you are going to go around									.
,	wii-	ta-	s-	warii	-:hus	-ta				.
,	now	IND.1/2A	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT				.

.	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	SUB.D	then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF
	náw ^a	,	náwairi	,	náwairi	.					
"	Ráwa	,	ráwa iri	.	Ráwa iri	.	"				
"	Now	,	now alright	.	Now alright	.	"				
"	rawa	,	rawa irii	.	rawa irii	.	"				
"	now	,	now there	.	now there	.	"				

Roaming Scout