

Skiri Narratives, Two

Roaming Scout

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

tasirá^ta

tasiraáⁱita

you know

ta-	s-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

tirətpákahu

tiratpaákahu

what I am saying

tii-	ra-	t-	waaka	-hus
this	ABS	1.A	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

witikura^ttustarurahəš

witikuraaⁱitustaarúrahac

I have now forgotten the stories

wii-	ti-	ku-	raa.iit.us-	raar-	hurahac	-0
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now IND.3A 1.P story PL disappear PERF .

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

kaririratákitət

kariiri' raahúriitat
it was not often
karii- ri- 0 -0 raahuriitat
EMPH.NEG CONT.3A be PERF always

naturuksakatkáwawuku

ratuuruksaakatkáwaawuku

what I used to hear from them

ra- t- uur- uks- ak- atka'uk -waawa -hus
ABS 1.A PREV AOR PLAN.3P hear DIST IMPF.SUB

kúrahus . I , I ,
kúrahus . I I
the old men . And , And ,
kurahuus . i , i ,
old.man . and , and ,

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

tiwirəspak^a

tiwíraspaaka

this that you have spoken of

tii- wii- ra- s- waak -a
this now ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

sitirít^a,

sitiiriíta

they knew of it

si- ti- 0- ir- iita -0 kúrahus ,
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A know PERF kurahuus
old men
old.man

tiruksuriwi

tirúksuriiwi

these who lived

tii- ra- 0- uks- hurii -wi ákitar^u .
this ABS 3.A AOR live.PL SUB.L akitaaru' .
tribe .
tribe NOM .

Sitihísask^u

Sitiihísaasku'

They called it

si- ti- 0- ir- hisaask -:hus
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A call.by.name IMPF

karariwari . Hi

Karariiwari . Hi

One That Does Not Move . And

kara- ri- 0- warii -hus . hi
NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . and

nísaru		nikuahu						
riisaaru'		riku'ahú'						
the chief		he was the one						
riisaar	-u'	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	
be.chief	NOM	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	

nikuwitará^a
rikuwitará'a
he owns that one

riku-	wi-	ti-	a-	raa-	0	-'
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	POSS.3A	way	be	EX

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

túšťtatut.

Túctatat.

It was attached to her

ti-	0-	ut-	tatat	-0	
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.attached.to	PERF	.

Tihwakíah^u,

Tihwakí'aahu'

They call it

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

tiwiratuharíka^a

tiwiratuuhaaríkaa'a

this that I am telling you

tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	ir-	a-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-0
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this now ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to SUB.4

hukawíškiria witisá^a
 Hukawíckiiri'a' witiisá'a
 Covered Lance it was named
 huka.wi icka.iri.a wi- ti- 0- asar -'
 lance face.to.be.covered QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.named EX

 Kūwitú^u hukáwikⁱs
 Kuwituú'u hukáwikis
 . It looks like a lance
 . ku- wi- ti- 0- uu -' huka.wi -kis
 . INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.like EX lance DIM

. Aki hirikuštakítu
 . Aki hi rikuctaahkítuu'u'
 . And here and all the birds
 . a- ki hi rikuc raar- kituu -u'
 . and there and bird PL all NOM

ahakusúhura
 ahakusúhura
 it had a flock of them
 ar- ra- 0- kusuhuur- raah -0
 EV ABS 3.A flock have PERF

iriruruširikuštaru^a
 iriruurucirikuctáruu'a
 their being different kinds of birds
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- rikuc- raar.uu -a
 there then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ bird be.a.number SUB.1

. Náwa i , irárⁱ ,
 . Ráwa i , iraári'

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

nikuruutⁿ

rikuruu'ut

it is that way

riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
 that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this

tii- ra- 0- arik -i hiruu ati- as
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 then 1.POSS father

hiru atías
 hiru Atí'as
 then our Father

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

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

kuhawáku

kuuhawáku'

He said

kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ,
 DUB ABS 3.A say PERF ,

“
 : “
 , “
 , “

kakasparíhust^a

Kaakasparíhusta

You are not going to walk around

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

tiharisutust^a

Tihaarísuutasta

This is how you are going to be

tii-	haa-	ar-	i-	s-	ut-	0	-as	-ta
this	here	EV	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT

tirasárikⁱ

tiraasáriki

here where you stand

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

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

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

irikúhiru

irikuúhiru'

He made that one

ii-	riku-	ar-	ri-	0-	ra'uk	-0
that	that.is	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	make	PERF

tirakitak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

tii-	ra-	0-	kita-	kus	-0	atí ^{as}
						Atí'as
						our Father
						ati- as

this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 1.POSS father

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this (star)

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

tahapakiáh^u

tahapaki'aahu'

we call it

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

kararíwari

. Hi

Karariíwari

. Hi

One That Does Not Move

. And

kara- ri- 0- warii -hus . hi
NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . and

hiru atíəs

hiru Atí'as

then our Father

hiruu ati- as

then 1.POSS father

tiraruráwiskahuhírasa

tiraruuraawiskahuuhírasa

He got the first whiff of smoke

tii- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- raawis- kahuur hiras.aah -0
this ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A smoke whiff/puff be.in.the.lead PERF

. Ha ! a

. Ha a

. Ha ! and
 . ha ! a
 . ha ! and

tirawawárikⁱ

tirawaawaáriki .

these different ones .

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

nikuwitíhar^u

Rikuwitíhaaru'

That is how He planned it (for him)

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	BEN	way	make	PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

nətkətⁿ

rátkat

afterwards

rat-

afterwards

-kat

LOC

,

,

nətkətⁿ

rátkat

afterwards

rat-

afterwards

-kat

LOC

tiwiaharáwis^a

tiwi'aharaáwisa

after He has smoked

tii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	raawis-	a	-0
when	when	EV	ABS	3.A	smoke	eat	SUB.3

nikuwitiráwiskahu

rikuwitiraáwiskaahu'

that one was smoking

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	raawis-	kaa.a	-.hus
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	smoke	come.out	IMPF

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'

tribe

akitaar- -u'

tribe NOM

tirətpari

tirátpari

ours

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

nísar^u

iri kiši

riísaaru'

iri kici

the chief

where but

riisaar -u'

irii- kici

be.chief NOM

where but

ahaririturahwiu^a

ahaaririiturahwí'uu'a

the side he faces

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	ri-	ut-	huraar-	wi.uu	-a
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EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV place be.facing SUB.1

.

Nikuwitaahakukataiwarík^u
 rikuwitaahaakukata'iwari'ku'
 that one was passed around

riku- wi- ti- 0- a- haak- huukata.wi.warik -:hus
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood pass.around IMPF

nəktáwiskar^u . Náwa ,
 raktaáwiskaaru' . Ráwa ,
 the pipe . Now ,
 rak- raawis.kaar -u' . rawa ,
 wood smoke.pipe NOM . now ,

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

kukakatiiráit^a hawa
 kukaakaatiraá'iita hawá
 I don't know anything also
 ku- kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 haawa
 INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF also

hitak^u tiwirətpáka kišⁱ
 hiítaku tiwiratpaáka kiíci'

other		this I have said							but
hii-	-taku	tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	waak	-a	kici	
other	LOC	this	now	ABS	1.A	say.SUB	SUB.1	but	

taturákətk ^h								kúrahus
tatuuraákatku'								kúrahus
I heard them								the old men
ta-	t-	uur-	ak-		atka'uk	-0		kurahuus
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P		hear	PERF		old.man

	tihawituut ⁿ							
.	Tihaawituú'ut							
.	This is the way it was							
.	tii-	haa-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'
.	this	here	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

irikuahuut ⁿ	,							
Iriku'ahuú'ut	,							
That is the way it was	,							
ii-	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'	,
that	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	EX	,

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

nikuwitiit ⁿ								
rikuwíti't								
that was how they were								
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	0	-'	
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	be	EX	

ahiriksasihúsuku
 ahiriksasihúsuuku'

when they used to run a race

ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	i-	uks-	as-i	-hus	-uku
EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	run	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

širu	karahatuksk ^u								.
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ciru	karaahatúksku								.
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yet	when I was not born								.
-----	---------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

ciruu	kara-	ar-	ra-	t-	uks-	kus	-0		.
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yet	NEG	EV	ABS	1.A	AOR	be.sitting	SUB.4		.
-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	------------	-------	--	---

Hi	wítirurəs								.
----	-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

Hi	wítiiruuras								.
----	-------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

And	they ran								.
-----	----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	as-i	-0		.
----	-----	-----	----	-----	------	------	----	--	---

and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	run	PERF		.
-----	------	--------	-----	-------	------	-----	------	--	---

Kísaškⁱ

Kísacki

Meat

kisaac	-kis
--------	------

meat	DIM
------	-----

siríhkurasⁱ

siríhkuurasi

when they ran for it

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	as-i	-i
-----	-----	----	-----	-----	------	------	----

DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	run	SUB.2
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nikuwítiitⁿ

rikuwíti'it

they were the ones

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	0	-'	šáhiks
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icaahiks

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be EX person

wituharúk^u skitiiks .
wituuharuúku' kskiíti'iks .
they numbered four .
wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.uk -:hus iks.kiiti'iks .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.number IMPF four .

Witušúkstaruk^u píta
Witucukstáruuku' piíta
There used to be men
wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- raar.uk -:hus wiita
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be.a.number IMPF man

.
. .
. .
. .

Siwitihástawaw^u
Siwitihaástawaawu
They tied them together
si- wi- ti- 0- ir- haas- ta.wuh -waa -0
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A string tie.on DIST PERF

. Siwitirawirúk^u
. Siwitiiraawiruúku'
. They were pretending to do it
. si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raa.awi.ra'uk -:hus
. DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A imagine IMPF

siahihəstawawuh^a
si'ahiihaástawaawuha

where they tied it in different places

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- haas- ta.wuh -waa -a
DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A string tie.on DIST SUB.1

tiirirátuhak^a

ti'iriirátuuhaaka

this way that we are

tii- irii- ra- t- ut- rak- 0 -a
this that ABS 1.A PREV 1/2.PL be SUB.1

tirətarapítawawⁱ

tirataraapíhtawaawi

here where our arms are

tii- ra- t- a- rak- wiir- ta -waa -wi
here ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL arm be.hanging DIST SUB.L

. Hiru rikuwitíra

. Hiru rikuwitíra'

. Then this is how it was :

. hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 ,

. then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF ,

siahiritkákairu

si'ahiiritkahka'íru'

they put it over the fire

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- itkaar.ka.iir -:hus
DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put.on.the.fire IMPF

kísaškⁱ . Hi ákitar^u kítu hi
kísacki . Hi akitaaraahkítuu'u' hi
the meat . And the entire tribe and
kisaac -kis . hi akitaar- raar- kituu -u' hi
meat DIM . and tribe PL all NOM and

hiru rikuahatatatírispu .
 hiru riku'ahatatatiírispu' .
 then groups of people went over there .
 hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- tatat.iir.his.wu -:hus .
 then that.is EV ABS 3.A congregate.IMPF IMPF .

Hiru atira
 Hiru Atíra'
 Then Mothers
 hiruu ati- raa
 then 1.POSS mother

nikuwititatatírispu,
 rikuwititatatatiírispu'
 that is where groups congregated
 riku- wi- ti- 0- tatat.iir.his.wu -:hus
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A congregate.IMPF IMPF

nihkurarawítik^u .
 rihkuraarawiítiku .
 where they held them over the smoke .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- ra.wi.itik -hus .
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P thurify IMPF.SUB .

kítu šáhikstahkitu
 Kítuu'u' cahikstaahkítuu'u'
 All everybody
 kituu -u' icaahiks raar- kituu -u'
 all NOM person PL all NOM

wiwitirarawítiku .
 wiwititiraarawiítiku' .
 they placed themselves over the smoke .
 wii- witi- ti- 0- raar- ra.wi.itik -:hus .

now REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A thurify IMPF .

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

kakatiráit^a
kaakaatiraá'iita .
I do not know .
kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

kakatuhaíritⁿ ,
Kaakatuuhaa'iirit
I did not see things ,
kaaka- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 ,
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF ,

irárⁱ . Hi rihuksu
iraári' . Hi ríhuksu'
brother . And only
i- -raar- -ri' . hi rihuks -u'
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B . and alone NOM

tiwirituharíka^a
tiwirituuhaaríkaa'a'
here I have revealed it to you
tii- wii- rii- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
here now ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV reveal.to PERF

. Títaku
. Títaku

. Here
 . tii- -taku
 . this LOC

nikutiraítus t'ihətⁿ . Náwa
 rikutiraa'ítustiihat . Ráwa
 this is the end of the story . Now
 riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us- tiihak -0 . rawa
 that.is IND.3A 3.A story be.the.end PERF . now

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

witatariraíwatista
 witatariiraa'íwaatista
 I am going to tell you about it
 wii- ta- t- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF INT

háw^a,
 haáwa'
 also
 haawa
 also

iríahutatirətpari
 irí'ahuuta tirátpari
 the way it was for us
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a tii- ra- t- warii -hus
 that EV ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 when ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, átira
 Atíra'
 Mother
 ati- ra
 1.POSS mother

tiráharah^a . Náwa ,
 tiráharaaha . Ráwa ,
 this one I have . Now ,
 tii- ra- t- raar- raah -a . rawa ,
 this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 . now ,

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

tiharákahuráhkatiituhətⁿ
 tihaarakaahuraáhkatiituhət
 this dark land (ie north)
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kaahuraar- katiit uhak -0
 this here ABS 3.A earth be.black extend.in.a.line SUB.4

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

tahapakíah^u šahiksíšahiks
 tahapakí'aahu' cahiksícahiks
 we call Indians
 ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus icaahiks icaahiks

IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF person person

kararíwari .
Karariíwari .
One That Does Not Move .
kara- ri- 0- warii -hus .
NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Nikusitirít^a
Rikusitiiriíta
They know that one
riku- si- ti- 0- ir- iita -0
that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A know PERF

akitar^a .
akitaaraahkítuu'u' .
all the bands .
akitaar- raar- kituu -u' .
tribe PL all NOM .

Kitúsitirít
Sitiiriíta
They knew it
si- ti- 0- ir- iita -0
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A know PERF

ákitar^u kítu . I kiši
akitaaraahkítuu'u' . I kíci
all the bands . And but
akitaar- raar- kituu -u' . i kici
tribe PL all NOM . and but

sirítisásk^u škiri,
siriitísaasku' Ckíri

they call it								the Skiris
si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	hisaask		:-hus	ickirir
DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	call.by.name		IMPF	Skiri

kararíwari								,
Karariíwari								.
One That Does Not Move								.
kara-	ri-	0-	warii				-hus	.
NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF				IMPF.SUB	.

nīsār ^u		rikúwit ⁱ						.
Riisaaru'		rikúwiti'						.
Chief		it is the one						.
riisaar	-u'	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	-0		.
be.chief	NOM	the.one	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PERF		.

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

nikuwituhkústaruk ^u								
rikuwituhkústaaruuku'								
that one imitates the way He sits								
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	kus	raa.ra'uk	:-hus	
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.sitting	imitate	IMPF	

átias,		hiru	títaku				
Atí'as		hiru	títaku				
our Father		there	here				
ati-	as	hiruu	tii-	-taku			
1.POSS	father	there	this	LOC			

ahakítak^u,
 ahakítaku
 his sitting above
 ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

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

tikarárispatásik^u
 tikararispaa^tásiku
 his not starting off (for some other place)
 tii- kara- ra- 0- i- as.waat.as.ik -hus
 this NEG ABS 3.A SEQ start.out IMPF.SUB

hupírítⁿ ,
 huupírít
 star
 huupirik
 star

nikuwituhkuštaruk^u
 rikuwituhkústaaruuku'
 that one imitates his sitting
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- kus raa.ra'uk -:hus
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.sitting imitate IMPF

. I, irárⁱ ,
 . I iraári'
 . And, brother ,
 . i i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nituhárikahist^a

rituuhaárikaahista

I am going to tell you

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

tihwakiáh^u

tihwaki'aahu'

they say

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

tirárikⁱ

tiraáriki

this one

tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	kúrahus,
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	old.man

nikuwitára

rikuwitára'a

it is the one that owns it

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	raa-	0	-'	,
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	way	be	EX	,

ihí , tírarušⁱ ,

ihí , tíraruuci

uh , this

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

haripáhətⁿ , tihwakiáh^u

Hariipáhat . Tihwaki'aahu'

Calf	.	They say					
harii	pahaat	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	
calf	red	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	

hukawiškirí ^a	.					
Hukawickiiri'a'	.					
Covered Lance	.					
huka.wi	icka.iri.a	.				
lance	face.to.be.covered	.				

Nikuwitura ^a						
Rikuwitará'a						
It is the one that owns it						
riku-	wi-	ti-	a-	raa-	0	-'
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	POSS.3A	way	be	EX

tikarariwari	.					
tikararíwari	.					
this one that does not walk around (bundle)	.					
tii-	kara-	ri-	0-	warii	-hus	.
this	NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	.

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

nikutira					áwit ⁿ	,
rikutíra'					áwit	
that is the reason					first	
riku-	ti-	0-	raa-	0	-0	awit
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	way	be	PERF	first

átias,
 Atí'as
 our Father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

tirarawiskahuhírəsah^a
 tiraraawiskahuuhírasaaha
 his having the first whiff of smoking
 tii- ra- 0- raawis- kahuur hiras.aah -a
 this ABS 3.A smoke whiff/puff be.in.the.lead SUB.1

wirakurawis^a ,
 wirakuraáwisa .
 when He smokes .
 wii- ra- 0- ku- raawis- a -0 .
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B smoke eat SUB.3 .

nikutiruhú^u . Nawa ,
 Rikutiruuuhú'u . Ráwa ,
 That was the way He made it . Now ,
 riku- ti- 0- ruuhur -' . rawa ,
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX . now ,

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

nətəkətirótpari
 rátkat tirátpari
 afterwards my living here
 rat- -kat tii- ra- t- warii -hus

afterwards LOC when ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

šahiksíšahiks ,
cahiksícahiks
Indians
icaahiks icaahiks
person person

tirarahkawarik^u
tirarahkawáriku
after they fill it (the pipe with tobacco)
tii- ra- 0- raar- kawarik -hus
when ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.into IMPF.SUB

nətkətⁿ šahiksíšahiks
rátkat cahiksícahiks
afterwards Indians
rat- -kat icaahiks icaahiks
afterwards LOC person person

nikuwitutirahawis^a
rikuwituú'ut tirahaáwisa
that is the way it is when I smoke
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' tii- ra- t- raawis- a -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX when ABS 1.A smoke eat SUB.3

nīsar^u tirəštawi
riīsaaru' tiráctawi
chiefs my belonging to them
riisaar -u' tii- ra- t- tawi -0
be.chief NOM this ABS 1.A be.among SUB.4

nīsar^u . Nawa ,
riīsaaru' . Ráwa

the chiefs . Now ,
 riisaar -u' . rawa ,
 be.chief NOM . now ,

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

nikuwitiitⁿ
 rikuwitiít
 that is how it (they are) is
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- 0 -' ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be EX

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

ahikusukstatawiškara^u
 ahikucukstaattawickára'u
 the things He put among us
 ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- uks- rak- tawi -his ka.ra'uk -0
 EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.among PERF make.PL.P SUB.3

kītu átíəs,
 kītuu'u' Atí'as
 all our Father
 kituu -u' ati- as
 all NOM 1.POSS father

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

rikuahúətⁿ nīsar^u ,
 riku'ahuú'ut riisaaru' .
 that is how it is chief .
 riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' riisaar -u' .
 that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV be EX be.chief NOM .

nikuharíka^a
 Rikuuhaaríkaa'a'
 He told me (ie us)
 ri- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 CONT.3A 3.A OBV 1.P PREV tell.to PERF

nahkutka^a nīsar^u ,
 raáhkutka riisaaru'
 when he slept the chief ,
 ra- 0- ar- ku- itka -0 riisaar -u' ,
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B sleep SUB.4 be.chief NOM ,

hi witiwakararu^a ,
 hi witawakaraáru'a'
 and He called down
 hi wi- ti- 0- a- wakaraar.u.a -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A call.out PERF

tiráwah “
 Tiráwaahat “
 the Heavens : “
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 , “

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

Kira hawa siisitkahká¹

Kíra hawá si'isitkahká'i

You must place it upon the fire again

kira	haawa	si-	i-	s-	itkaar.ka.iir	-0
perhaps	also	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	put.on.the.fire	PERF

kísaškⁱ

kísacki .

the meat .

kisaac -kis .

meat DIM .

kira siiskuhawisawaríksta

Kíra si'iskuhaawisawáriksta

You must send the smoke to me

kira	si-	i-	s-	ku-	ut-	raawis-	a.warik	-his	-ta
perhaps	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	PREV	smoke	throw	PERF	INT

háwa . Nawa i ,

haáwa' . " Ráwa i

again . " Now so

haawa . " rawa i

also . " now and

nikuahišiksarihúsuku

riku'ahiciksaariihúsuuku'

that is what they used to do

riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku
that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

. Wtirataráhkis

. Wtiraaatárahkiis

. It was difficult
 . wi- ti- 0- raa- tarahkis -0
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.strong PERF

wirahkuwáktiku,
 wiraahkuwáktiku
 when he spoke
 wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- wak.tik -hus
 when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B announce IMPF.SUB

nahkuwákahu
 raahkuwaákahu “
 when he was saying : “
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waaka -hus , “
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , “

witasúrawirasihist^a
 Witasuurawirasíhista
 You are going to run
 wi- ta- s- uur- raawiir.as-i -his -ta
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A PREV run.charging PERF INT

Náwihu wáruksti . Nawa há^a
 raawíhuhwaaruksti’ . Ráwa há’a
 the holy race . Now , ha ,
 raawiir.huur- waarukstii . rawa , haa ,
 race be.holy . now , ha ,

nikuwitaruutⁿ
 rikuwítaruu’ut
 that is how it used to be :
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- 0 -’ ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV be EX ,

asiwiritətahuríwa

a siwitiirattahuríwa

and they chased them

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ra- hurii -waa -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST PERF

, irirurahkurawi^u

iriiruuraahkuúraawi'u

whenever it would be the time

irii- ruu- ra- 0- ar- ku- raa.wi.u -0
when then INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.a.time SUB.4

. nahkurárihəš

hi

. Raahkuraáriihac

hi

. When they finished

and

. ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- riihac -0 hi
. INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PL.INDV.A finish SUB.4 and

witarutišawatkaⁱ

witaruuticáwatka'i

he would put it over his

wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- icawat.ka.iir -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV put.over.one's.shoulder PERF

kísaškⁱ hi

kísacki hi

the meat and

kisaac -kis hi

meat DIM and

witaritákətⁿ

witaaritákut

he ran with it

wi- ti- 0- ar- ri- takuk -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT run PERF

awíhukus^u . Arús^a
awíhukusu' . Aruúsa'
loping . Horse
awihuk.hus -u' . aruusaa
loping NOM . horse

irinakutarahkīs^u arús^a, awit
irirakutaráhkīisu aruúsa' áwit
the one that was strong horse first
irii- ra- 0- ku- tarahkis -u aruusaa awit
that INF.A 3.A INF.B be.strong SUB.D horse first

nikuwitariwišah^u
rikuwitariwícaahu'
that one arrives there with it
riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- wic.a -:hus
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT arrive IMPF

, nikuwítara
. Rikuwítáaa'
. That one brought it
. riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ra- a -0
. that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT come PERF

nikuwitikítawⁱ . A ,
rikuwitikítawⁱ' . A
that one was leader . And ,
riku- wi- ti- 0- kita.wi -0 . a ,
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF . and ,

irárⁱ ,
iraári'

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

hihisiyahiksitkakaⁱrusú^u

hi ihi si'ahiksitkahkaⁱirúsuku
 and , uh , when they used to put it over the fire
 hi , ihii , si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- itkaar.ka.iir -hus -uku
 and , uh , DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR put.on.the.fire IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

kítu átira , rahkitu
 kítuu'u' Atíra' raahkítuu'u'
 all Mothers , all of them
 kituu -u' ati- raa , raar- kituu -u'
 all NOM 1.POSS mother , PL all NOM

tirarawitík^u ,
 tirarawítiku'
 they turned them over the smoke ,
 ti- 0- ir- raar- ra.wi.itik -:hus ,
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P thurify IMPF ,

kitu rarahkawáwⁱ
 kítuu'u' rarahkaawaáwi
 all the things inside
 kituu -u' ra- 0- raar- kaa -waa -wi
 all NOM ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside DIST SUB.L

piruskíripaškⁱ
 piiraskíripacki
 the little boys
 piiras- kiripac -kis
 boy small DIM

nikutikstarukukirahira

rikutikstaáruhkuuki

those are all the things they had

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	uks-	raar-	ruhka'uk	-i
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	3PL.INAN.P	have.DIST	SUB.2

páhur^u ,

ráhiira'

some

rahiira

further

nakutákus

páhuru'

an owl

wahur

owl

rakutákustaaha

his having on his back

ra-

INF.A

0-

3.A

ku-

INF.B

takus-

hang.down

raah

have

-a

SUB.1

nakutakustah^a

rakutákustaaha

, his having on his back

, ra-

, INF.A

0-

3.A

ku-

INF.B

takus-

hang.down

raah

have

-a

SUB.1

páhur^u

páhuru'

an owl

wahur

owl

piruskíripaškⁱ

piiraskíripacki

a little boy

piiras-

boy

kiripac

small

-kis

DIM

a

a

and

a

and

kítu

kítuu'u'

and

a

all

kituu

all

-u'

NOM

irakarushpáwⁱ

irakarucpaáwi

those different things in it

ii-

ra-

0-

ka-

ra.uc

-waa

-wi

nikuš^k,

ríkucki

birds

rikuc

-kis

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

hi tirətkitasa

hi tirutkitasa

and this one lay on his head

hi tii- ra- 0- ut- kita- sa -0
and this ABS 3.A PREV on.top be.lying SUB.3

piruskiripaškⁱ

. Kítu

piiraskiripacki

. Kítuu'u'

a little boy

. Everything

piiras- kiripac -kis . kituu -u'

boy small DIM . all NOM

rarahkawawⁱ

raraahkaáwaawi

the things in them

ra- 0- raar- kaa -waa -wi
ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P be.inside DIST SUB.L

nikuwitirárik^u

rikuwitaráiku

those are what he had

riku- wi- ti- 0- raar- ri.kus -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P sit.holding PERF

piruskiripaškⁱ

. Kiši átira,

piiraskiripacki

. Kici Atíra'

a little boy

. And Mothers

piiras- kiripac -kis . kici ati- raa

boy small DIM . but 1.POSS mother

irikuríhkurar^u

irikuríhkuraaru

whoever they belonged to

irii-	ku-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raar-	0	-u
who	INDF	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	be	SUB.D

nikururúši

rikuruurúci'

that is the way it was

riku-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	0	-0
that.is	then	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	be	PERF

ákítar ^u	.	Nawa	,
ákitaaru'	.	Ráwa	
the band	.	Now	,
akitaar-	-u'	rawa	,
tribe	NOM	now	,

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

awitarahuhtaætⁿ

a witararahúhtaa'

and he carried the bundle on his back

a	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	rarahuur-	ta	a	-0
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	bundle	be.hanging	come	PERF

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

tirətpawákah^u ,
 tiratpaawaákahu
 these things that I am saying (ie telling)
 tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tirahukítak^u ,
 tirahuukítaku
 this one on top
 tii- ra- 0- huukita- kus -0
 this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

nikutíkasa
 rikutíkasa
 that one is lying in it
 riku- ti- 0- ka- sa -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A in be.lying PERF

nikuštahurarahkitu
 rikuctahúraaraahkítuu'u'
 all of the different birds
 rikuc rahuraar raar- kituu -u'
 bird animal PL all NOM

iriruruširikuštaru^a
 iriruurucirikuctáruu'a
 different kinds of birds
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- rikuc- raar.uu -a
 there then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ bird be.a.number SUB.1

kítu níkuškíripaškⁱ
 kítuu'u' rikuckíripacki
 all little birds
 kituu -u' rikuc kiripac -kis

all NOM bird small DIM

nikutikusuhuhtakípira.

rikutikusuuhtakípira.

that is the one with a flock of birds

riku-	ti-	0-	kusuhuur-	takipir	raah	-0
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	flock	be.gathered.together	have	PERF

.
. .

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

wirihkurasihístaritⁿ

wirihkuurasihístarit

when they were going to run (ie race)

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	as-i	-his	-ta	-rit
when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	run	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

šahikstahkítu

cahikstaahkítuu'u'

all the people

icaahiks	raar-	kituu	-u'
person	PL	all	NOM

witutasiraháhk^u

wituutasirahaáhku

they were sitting around

wi- ti- 0- ut- asirahaar.kus -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV sit.around PERF

irirakututihətⁿ

iriirákuutuhtiihat

where the end of the village was

irii- ra- 0- ku- ituur- tiihak -0
where INF.A 3.A INF.B village be.the.end SUB.4

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

wirikusiwitirar^tⁿ

wirikusiwitiraárit

now they would stand there holding that one

wii- riku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ra- arik -0
now that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT be.standing PERF

tahapakíah^u

tahapakí'aahu'

we say

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

hukawiškiría' , hi kitu
Hukawickiirí'a' . Hi kítuu'u'
Covered Spear . And all
huka.wi icka.iri.a . hi kituu -u'
lance face.to.be.covered . and all NOM

wiwitíruhašarikitⁿ

wiwitiiruúhacaarikit

now they had put them hanging on it

wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ri-	ut-	raar-	ta	arik	-ik	-0
now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	be.hanging	be.standing	CAUS	PERF

nikuš tahurara kítu

. Rikuctahuraaraahkítuu'u'

. All the different birds

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

witikusúhura

. Hi

witikusúhura

. Hi

it had the flock

. And

wi-	ti-	0-	kusuhuur-	raah	-0	. hi
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	flock	have	PERF	. and

wirikuwitaruhirakatáritⁿ

wirikuwitaruutirahkataárit

now that one stood in front with it

wii-	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	ut-	irahkata-	arik	-0
now	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	in.front	be.standing	PERF

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

wititarušuh^u

əškətⁿ

witítaruucuhu'

áckat

he was building a fire

ahead

wi-	ti-	0-	ta.ra.uc.uh	-.hus	ac	-kat
-----	-----	----	-------------	-------	----	------

QUOT IND.3A 3.A make.a.fire IMPF above LOC .

hiru rikuwitrakítawi

Hiru rikuwiraakítawi'

Then that was the primary thing

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- raa.kita.wi -0
then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF

iahitarúšuhu

i'ahitaruúcuhu

there where he was making the fire

ii- ar- ri- 0- ta.ra.uc.uh -hus
there EV CONT.3A 3.A make.a.fire IMPF.SUB

əškətⁿ

áckat

ahead

ac -kat

above LOC

irirakuturuhətⁿ .

iriirakuutuúruhat .

where the village extended .

irii- ra- 0- ku- ituur- uhak -0 .
where INF.A 3.A INF.B village extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

Hi hiru hi úkatətⁿ

Hi hiru hi uúkatat

And there and in the west

hi hiruu hi uukata- -t
and there and west LOC

nikuahi tarušuhu .

riku'ahitaruúcuhu' .

that is where he was making the fire .
 riku- ar- ri- 0- ta.ra.uc.uh -:hus .
 that.is EV CONT.3A 3.A make.a.fire IMPF .

Siwitíriwu

Siwitíriwu'

They carried it

si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- wu -:hus
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT go.IMPF IMPF

skítiiks wítuharu
 kskiíti'iks wituuháru'
 four there were

iks.kiiti'iks wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.uu -0
 four QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.number PERF

pít^a hi
 píita hi
 men and
 wiita hi
 man and

ahirahkatahkárara

ahirahkatahkaárara

they had them inside out

ar- ra- 0- ir- raar- katahkaa ra- raah -0
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P be.inside.out PORT have PERF

. Kitú
 . Kítuu'u'
 . All
 . kituu -u'
 . all NOM

witihastawa
 witihaástawa
 there were strings

wi-	ti-	0-	haas-	ta	-wa	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	string	be.hanging	DIST	PERF

kísaškⁱ .
 kísacki .
 the meat .
 kisaac -kis .
 meat DIM .

Nikuwitišiksarihúsuk^u
 Rikuwiticiksaariihúsuuku'
 That is what they used to do

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

	tirawíhtawaw ⁱ								hi
	tirawíhtawaawi								hi
:	these arms								and
,	tii-	ra-	0-	wiir-	ta	-waa	-wi		hi
,	this	ABS	3.A	arm	be.hanging	DIST	SUB.L		and

sitiritkarúwætⁿ
 sitiritkáruuwat
 they made holes in them

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ritkawat	-ruu	-0
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	make.a.hole	DIST	PERF

akastárirí				hi
a	kaastaárirí'			hi
and	on the legs			and
a	kaas-	raar-	-hiri'	hi

and leg PL LOC and

siwítirətⁿ

siwítirat

they took it

si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ra- at -0
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A ABS go PERF

ruwituktíh^t

ruuwitaktíhit

it was only them

ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- ak- rihik -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.AN.3P be.the.only.one PERF

škítiiks

hi

siahíra

kskiíti'iks

hi

si'ahíra

four

and

they carried it

iks.kiiti'iks

hi

si-

ar-

ra-

0-

ir-

raah

-0

four

and

DU

EV

ABS

3.A

PL.3A

have

PERF

kísaškⁱ

.

Hiru

pákut^u

kísacki

hiru

pakúhtu'

the meat

,

then

long ago

kisaac

-kis

,

hiruu

pakuht

-u'

meat

DIM

,

then

be.old

NOM

nahkutatatirísət^a

,

hiru

raahkutatatiiriísata

hiru

when they had already congregated

there

ra-

0-

ar-

ku-

tatat.iir.his.at

-a

hiruu

INF.A

3.A

EV

INF.B

congregate

SUB.1

there

iriahatarúšuhu

šápatⁿ

irii'ahataruúcuhu

cápaat

where he made the fire						women
irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ta.ra.uc.uh	-hus	capaak
where	EV	ABS	3.A	make.a.fire	IMPF.SUB	woman

kítu		ətíra		šātk ⁱ		kitu
kítuu'u'		Atíra'		caátki		kítuu'u'
all		Mothers		medicine bags		all
kituu	-u'	ati-	raa	caat-	kis	kituu
all	NOM	1.POSS	mother	bundle	DIM	all

ráwīs ^u	.	A
raáwiisu'	.	A
smoke	.	And
raawis-	-u'	a
smoke	NOM	and

siwítiriwišət ⁿ							híru
siwítíriwícat							hiru
they arrived with it							then
si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ri-	wic.at	-0
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	arrive	PERF
							then

kúrahus	
kúrahus	.
old men	.
kurahuus	.
old.man	.

nikuwitiwárit ⁿ						
Rikuwitiwaárit						
They were the ones standing there						
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	wa-	arik	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	be.standing	PERF

háw^a . A
 haáwa' . A
 also . And
 haawa . a
 also . and

siwiritiwĩšetⁿ .
 siwitiiríwicat .
 they arrived with it .
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- wic.at -0 .
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT arrive PERF .

A
 A
 And
 a
 and

siwirituhítakawáhətⁿ
 siwitiiruhítaakawaahat
 they carried it around
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- ut- ri- taaka.hak -waa -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PORT go.around DIST PERF

skítiiks iriruškukáhahk^u
 kskiiti'iks iriiraackukáhaahku*
 four (times) where the fireplace was
 iks.kiiti'iks irii- ra- 0- ckuka.haar- kus -0
 four where ABS 3.A fireplace be.sitting SUB.4

skítiiks hiru
 kskiiti'iks . Hiru
 four (times) . Then
 iks.kiiti'iks . hiruu

four . then

witawauriritⁿ

witaahwa'uuriirit

they would stop

wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	wa-	uuri.arik	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	DIST	stop	PERF

ikárikət ⁿ	úkatət ⁿ	.	Hiru		
ikárikat	uúkatat	.	Hiru		
in the center	on the west	.	Then		
iika.ri	-kat	uukata-	-t	.	hiruu
center	LOC	west	LOC	.	then

siwiritkahkáⁱ

siwitiiritkáhkaⁱ

they put it over the fire

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	itkaar.ka.iir	-0
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	put.on.the.fire	PERF

Núhuksu	a	
Ríhuksu'	a	
Only	and	
rihuks	-u'	a
alone	NOM	and

siwiritkakáⁱ

siwitiiritkáhkaⁱ

they put it over the fire

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	itkaar.ka.iir	-0
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	put.on.the.fire	PERF

hi	irikuháratihət ⁿ	hi
hi	iriikuuháraatiihat	hi

and it is the end of that one and
 hi irii- kur- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -0 hi
 and that DUB ABS 3.A way be.the.end PERF and

witárætⁿ

witaárit

he stood there

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

irirarášihætⁿ

iriiraráciihat

where they stood around it

irii- ra- 0- raar- tiihak -0
 where ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.the.border PERF

šáhiks

cáhiks

people

icaahiks
 person

nikuwitarurí^tⁿ

rikuwitaaruuriirit

that is where he would stop

riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- uuri.arik -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV stop PERF and

hi

hi

and

hi
 and

witirukára

witiirukaáaraa'

he would throw it up

wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ukaa.ra.a -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV EV throw.up.in.the.air PERF

Hiru aharutasuhætⁿ

Hiru aharuútasuuhat

Then they would be sitting around

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- ut- as.uu.hak -0
 then EV ABS 3.A EV PREV be.sitting.around PERF

túriri		hi	witírəs						
tuúrirí'		hi	witííras						
in the village		and	they ran						
ituur-	-hiri'	hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	as-i	-0	
village	LOC	and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	run	PERF	

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

ruwítirakitaw ⁱ									
ruuwítiraakitawí'									
it is the primary way									
ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	raa.kita.wi				-0	
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.primary.way				PERF	

tirárarik ⁱ									
tiráraariki									
this one holding it (the spear)									
tii-	ra-	0-	ra-	arik				-i	
this	ABS	3.A	PORT	be.standing				SUB.2	

rurišisət ^a					hi				
ruuriciísata					hi				
when he tired					and				
ra-	0-	uur-	ic.iis.at	-a	hi				
ABS	3.A	PREV	be.tired	SUB.1	and				

witáhkatirikisət ⁿ									. Hawa
witaáhkatiirikisat									. Hawá
he would pass by him									. Also
wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kata.irikis.at				-0	. haawa

QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV squeeze.by PERF . also

nakukatariru hi
rakukátariiru hi
a fast one and
ra- 0- ku- katariir -u hi
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.fast SUB.D and

irihiwitirurətⁿ

irihiiwitiíruurat

another one took it from him

irii- hii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- ra- at -0
that other QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV PORT go PERF

hāwa .
haáwa' .
also .
haawa .
also .

Nikuwitišiksarihúsukⁿ

Rikuwiticiksaariihúsuuku'

That was what they always did

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

. karáwiti

. Karawití'

. It was not

. kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0
. NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF

tukⁿ rarurakušihurirakatahutⁿ

táku' raaruurakuciihuurirahkátahat

for just anyone to go in front of it

taku	raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	i-	uhur-	irahkata-	hak	-0
someone	just	then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	SEQ	now	in.front	pass.by	PERF

,

kararírah^a

karariíraaha

his does not have the way (ie right)

ka-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	raah	-a
NEG	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	have	SUB.1

. Nuwitikítawⁱ

. Rikuwitikítawⁱ

. That one was leader

. riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	kita.wi	-0
. that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF

hukáwikis	tíras ^a	. Náwa
-----------	--------------------	--------

hukáwikis	tíraasa	. Ráwa
-----------	---------	--------

spear	this	. Now
-------	------	-------

huka.wi	-kis	tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	. rawa
---------	------	------	-----	----	----	----	--------

lance	DIM	this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	. now
-------	-----	------	-----	-----	----------	-------	-------

, irár ⁱ	, títak ^u
, iraári ⁱ	, tíitaku

, brother	, here
-----------	--------

, i-	-raar-	-ri ⁱ	, tii-	-taku
------	--------	------------------	--------	-------

, 3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	, this	LOC
------------	------------------	----------	--------	-----

nikutatitáⁱtusit^a .
 rikutatiraaⁱtusiita .
 this is the story I know .
 riku- ta- t- ir- raa.iit.us- iita -0 .
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A story know PERF .

Títak^u
 Títaku
 Here
 tii- -taku
 this LOC

nikutiraⁱtustihətⁿ .
 rikutiraaⁱtustiihat .
 this is the end of the story .
 riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us- tiihak -0 .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A story be.the.end PERF .