

Skiri Narratives, Four

Roaming Scout

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

nikuwituhá

rikuwituuhá'

He is the one who did it

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

tirətpari

tirátpari

my living here

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

ákitar^u

a

ákitaaru'

a

tribe

and

akitaar-

-u'

a

tribe

NOM

and

tírəspari

tiráspari

your living here

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

ákítar^u . Askurúritⁿ
 ákitaaru' . Askuruúrit
 tribe . Together (ie the same)
 akitaar- -u' . asku ra- 0- uur- ik -0
 tribe NOM . one ABS 3.A PREV look.like PERF

tašíra .
 taciíra .
 we are .
 ta- aciir- aah -0 .
 IND.1/2A IN.DU.A be PERF .

Ahašakuhakakúsik^a
 Ahácakuuhaakakúsika
 He provided us the way

ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa- ka- kusik aar -0
 EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P PREV way in pick.up do PERF

našihkuwaruksti^u ,
 racihkuwaárukstii'u .
 for us to be holy .
 ra- aciir- ku- waarukstii -u .
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D .

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

írahu
 íraahu
 that one coming

ii- ra- 0- a- a -hus
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB

tirawaruksti^u
 tirawaárukstii'u
 this holy one

tii- ra- 0- waarukstii -u
 this ABS 3.A be.holy SUB.D

nikuwituhá
 rikuwituuhá'
 that one made it

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

tíratukspáruksti ^u		ákitar ^u	,
tiratukspaárukstii'u		ákitaaru'	.
this my having been holy		tribe	.
tii- ra- t- uks- waarukstii -u		akitaar- -u'	.
this ABS 1.A AOR be.holy SUB.D		tribe NOM	.

šáhiks nawitakaráhis^u
 Cáhiks raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 A person suddenly

icaahiks raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 person just now all.at.once NOM

nakuhúrahuš
 rakuhúrahac
 when he died

ra- 0- ku- hurahac -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.dead SUB.4

nakuharukawíra^u

rákuuhaaru							kaawíra'u'
its being caused by it							jealousy
ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar	-u	kaa.wi.ra-	-u'
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be.the.cause	SUB.D	jealousy	NOM

sirihkukútik^a
sirihkukuútika
when he was killed by them

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

hisíwirititaw^a
hi siwitiirítaawa'
and they left his body behind

hi	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	iit-	aawaa	-0
and	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	body	abandon	PERF

. hitiihwiša
. Hi tiihíhwica'
. And it would come there
. hi tii- ra- 0- ir- wic.a -0
. and this ABS 3.A PL.3A arrive PERF

nahúrahk ⁱ									
rahúrahki									
an animal									
iriráhku									
iriiraáhku'									
whatever it might be									
rahuraar	-kis	irii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	uu	-0	
animal	DIM	what	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	be	SUB.4	

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.
.

Hirikuwitarúhá

Hi rikuwitaruuhá'

And that one would be the cause

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

nihkuwahá

rihkuwáha

for him arising

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	waha.a	-0
INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	lift.up	SUB.4

wirahkuksawašúrahuš

wiraahkuksawahcúrahac

even if he were dead

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	hurahac	-0
now	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	JUSS	even.if	be.dead	SUB.4

hiwítiwāt^a

hi wítawaata'

and he arises

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	waat.a	-0
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	get.up	PERF

Naritnakuhúrahuš

Raárit rakuhúrahac

Really after he was dead

raarit	ra-	0-	ku-	hurahac	-0
really	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.dead	SUB.4

hiwítihwāt^a

hi wítihwaata'

and he arose

hi wi- ti- 0- ir- waat.a -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV get.up PERF

hiwihirukukarawitarúšiu

hi wihiru kukarawitarúci'u'
 a then there would be nothing (wrong with him)

hi wii- hiruu ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- uu -0
 and now then INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ be PERF

. Hiruwitira

. Hiru witiíra'

. Then there he came

. hiruu wi- ti- 0- ir- a -0
 . then QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV come PERF

iriahatúkstakitkaháhk^u

irii'ahatukstaakitkahaáhk^u

where our earth lodge village was

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

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 .
 .

Witukskitkahárasa

Witukskitkahaarasá'

The earth lodge village was named

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

kitkahapákut^u

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

Hiruarikuhatárikta

Hiru a rikuuhataríkta'a
 There and that is where he was born
 hiruu a riku- ar- ra- 0- tarikta.aar -0
 there and that.is EV ABS 3.A be.born PERF

šáhiks kararakuspátasⁱtⁿ
 cáhiks kararakuspaátasit
 a person his never moving off
 icaahiks kara- ra- 0- ku- as.waat.as.ik -0
 person NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B start.out SUB.4

tirustapakíhu , pári ,
 tiraspakíhu Paári .
 this you call Pawnee .
 tii- ra- s- waki.a -hus paari .
 this ABS 2.A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB Pawnee .

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

nikuwitirakit^a

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

tirətpákahu ákitar^u ,
 tiratpaákahu ákitaaru' .
 this my saying tribe .
 tii- ra- t- waaka -hus akitaar- -u' .
 this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe NOM .

tiwarúksti a ,
 tihwaarúksti' . A
 it was holy . And ,
 ti- 0- ir- waarukstii -0 . a ,
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.holy PERF . and ,

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

hirurahkuksawašurakatárihur^u
 hiru raahkuksawahcuraahkatárihuuru
 there even if it were a far off place
 hiruu ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- awahc- huraar- kata.rihur -u
 there INF.A 3.A EV INF.B JUSS even.if place be.wide SUB.D

, tirahurarawáhə^tⁿ
 tirahuraarawaáhat
 these plains
 tii- ra- 0- huraar- ahak -waa -0
 this ABS 3.A earth extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

hirusirihkukútika .
 hiru sirihkukuútika
 then if he were killed by them ,

hiruu si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut.ik -a ,
 then DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill SUB.1 ,

Hitihwiša nahúrahkⁱ
 hi tihwíca' rahúrahki
 and it came there an animal
 hi ti- 0- ir- wic.a -0 rahuraar -kis
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV arrive PERF animal DIM

nikušírasahístaritⁿ
 rihkucírasahístarit
 when it was going to lead him back
 ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ciras- a -his -ta -rit
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B PREV COM come PERF INT INT.SUB

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 .
 .
 .
 .

Awitirušíras^a
 A witiiruucírasa'
 And it led him back
 a wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- ciras- a -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV COM come PERF

nahúrahkⁱ nahku^u
 rahúrahki raáhkuu'u
 the animal any kind
 rahuraar -kis ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u
 animal DIM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

kítu kúruks kítu nahúrakⁱ

kítuu'u'		kúruks	kítuu'u'		rahúrahki	
all		bears	all		animals	
kituu	-u'	kuuruks	kituu	-u'	rahuraar	-kis
all	NOM	bear	all	NOM	animal	DIM

irirurušíraru^a

iriruuruciráruu'a

different kinds

irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	raar.uu	-a
that	then	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	be.a.number	SUB.1

nahúrak ⁱ	.	I	,
rahúrahki	.	I	
animals	.	And	,
rahuraar	-kis	.	i
animal	DIM	.	and

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

hitíwiša

witíhwica'

he came there

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	wic.a	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	arrive	PERF

nikuraítawⁱ

rihkuraa'ítawi

when he knew of it

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raa.iita	-wi
INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	know	SUB.L

nakuhúrahuš
 rakuhúrahac .
 that he was dead .
 ra- 0- ku- hurahac -0 .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.dead SUB.4 .

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

kítu
 kítuu'u'
 all
 kituu -u'
 all NOM

sirihkušárikətⁿ
 sirihkuhcárikut
 when they would pull the arrow out
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV pull.out SUB.4

hisikakirušárikətⁿ
 hi sikaakiruhcárikut
 and they could not pull it out
 hi si- kaaki- 0- ir- ar- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
 and DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV pull.out PERF

katáhka arísitⁿ
 kátahka . Aríisit
 the enemy . Himself

katahkaa . ariisit
 foreign.tribe . one's.own

hiwilitirarahšarikutⁿ

hi wilitiraarúhcarikut
 and he would pull it out of himself
 hi wii- witi- ra- 0- ar- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
 and now REFL ABS 3.A EV PREV pull.out PERF

hiwitaahkipisápiš .

hi witaahkipisapic .
 and the arrow shaft would break .
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- kipis- apic -0 .
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV arrow.shaft break PERF .

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

nikutirákit^a

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

irahapákihu

irahapákihu
 our saying
 ii- ra- t- rak- waki.a -hus
 that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

iriwitiwáruksti

iriwitiwaáruksti'

that one was holy

irii- wi- ti- 0- waarukstii -0
that QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF

nihku^a

ríhku'a

when he came

ra- 0- ir- ku- a -0 . " A
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B come SUB.4 . " And
and

witahurahašist^a

witahurahácista

now you are going to die

wii- ta- s- hurahac -his -ta , " ,
now IND.1/2A 2.A die PERF INT , "

hihiruwitawišətⁿ

hihiru

witaawíca'

and then

he arrived back

hi hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- wic..a -0
and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF

iriratukstakitkahák^u

iriiratukstaakitkahaáhku

where our village was

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

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. .
. .
. .
. .

Hiwihiruwitarikskáwira

Hi wihiru witaarikskaáwira
And now then he would have the arrowhead in him
hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- riiks- kaa -wi raah -0
and now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV arrow be.inside SUB.L have PERF

hirukisikítiri .
hiru kisikítiri' .
there in his body .
hiruu kisikit -hiri' .
there be.alive LOC .

Hiruirihiasiwitihkipískawət

Hiru irihii'asiwitihipískawat
Then they took the arrow shaft out
hiruu irii- hii- a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kipsis- kawat -0
then that other and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A arrow.shaft take.out PERF

hiruiraríkskawirət^a

hiru irarikskaáwiraaha
there that arrow he had in him
hiruu ii- ra- 0- riiks- kaa -wi raah -a
there that ABS 3.A arrow be.inside SUB.L have SUB.1

,

hirutirakahuraruhətⁿ

hiru tirakaáhuraaruhat .
there this country extending .

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

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

nikutirákit^a

rikutiraákita

that is the reason

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

irahapakíhu

irahápakihu

our saying

ii-	ra-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-hus
that	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

iriwítíwaruksti

iriwítíwaaruksti'

that one is holy

irii-	wi-	ti-	0-	waarukstii	-0
that	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.holy	PERF

Hirútirahu

Hiru tíraahu

Then this one coming

hiruu	tii-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-hus
then	this	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	IMPF.SUB

níkuwítuhá.

rikuwituuhá'

that one is the cause of it

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

Nahúruhki

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

tiraráhkas^a

tiraráhkasa

these in the brush

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

nahurarahkítu

rahuraaraahkítuu'u'

all the animals

rahuraar- raar- kituu -u'

animal PL all NOM person

šahiks

cáhiks

people

icaahiks

person

nihkuwá ha

rihkuwáha

their making them rise

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	waha.a	-0	.
INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	lift.up	SUB.4	.

Arikuaharákit^a

A riku'aharaákita

And that is the reason

a	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	raa.kita	-0
and	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	be.the.way.on.top	PERF

irár ⁱ				,	níkušk ⁱ	
iraári'					rikucki	
brother				,	bird	
i-	-raar-		-ri'	,	rikuc	-kis
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B	,	bird	DIM

nikutašikskapákis ^u						,
rihkuutacikskapaákisu						
when it took pity on him						,
ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	aciks.kaapaakis	-u	,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	feel.pity.for	SUB.D	,

aturuhurarúk ^u						.
a	tuuruhuraaruúku'					.
and	he would be imitating it					.
a	ti-	0-	uur-	uhur.raa.ra'uk	-.hus	.
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	imitate	IMPF	.

Hirurutirakíraw ⁱ						
Hiru	ruutiraakítawi'					
Then	that is where it began					
hiruu	ruu-	ti-	0-	raa.kita.wi	-0	
then	that	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.primary.way	PERF	

isiríhšaku						
isiríhcaku						
when he was shot						,
ii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	cak	-hus
when	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	shoot	IMPF.SUB

ihíširuratukstakapakúsuku						
i	hici	ruuratukstaakapakúsuku				
and	but	then when we used to fight them				

i hi.ci ruu- ra- t- uks- rak- apak -hus -uku
 and and then ABS 1.A AOR 1/2.PL fight IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

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 ,
 ,

ihitiraturarawáhatⁿ

ihi tiraaturaarawaáhat
 uh , these villages all around (ie other tribes)
 ihii , tii- ra- 0- ituur- raar- ahak -waa -0
 uh , this ABS 3.A village PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

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 .

Hiruiruwitirakítawⁱ

Hiru iriwiruwitiraakítawⁱ
 There that is where it began
 hiruu irii- wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- raa.kita.wi -0
 there that now there QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF

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

hiwitáruhiwiš

hi witáruuhiwic
 and he would appear
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- hiwihc -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV appear PERF

Nahkuruhurarúku
 raahkuuruhuraarúku
 when he would be imitating it
 ra- 0- ar- ku- uur- uhur.raa.ra'uk -hus
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV imitate IMPF.SUB

níkuškⁱ .
 ríkucki .
 the bird .
 rikuc -kis .
 bird DIM .

Hiwitarurarirúši
 Hi witaruuraaríruhci'
 And it (the wound) would be severe
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- raa.riruhci -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV be.dangerous PERF

hiwiriturúris^a
 hi witiiruutúriisa'
 and daylight came upon him
 hi wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- huriis.a -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV daylight.to.come.upon PERF

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

háwakukakátutəst^a

Hawá kukaakátuutasta

Also there isn't going to be anything (wrong) with me

haawa	ku-	kaaka-	t-	ut-	0	-as	-ta
also	INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT

"
, "
, "
, "

arikuwitaruətⁿ

a rikuwitaruú'ut

and that is how it would be

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

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

tatariráiwətⁿ

tatariiraá'iiwat

I am telling you

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

tirəspákahu

tiraspaákahu

this that you are saying

tii- ra- s- waaka -hus
 this ABS 2.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

natuksparukstí^u ákítar^u
 ratukspaárukstii'u ákitaaru'
 when I was holy tribe
 ra- t- uks- waarukstii -u akitaar- -u'
 ABS 1.A AOR be.holy SUB.D tribe NOM

túrirí
 tuúrirí'
 in the village
 ituur- -hiri'
 village LOC

nakuháhwíša
 raakuuhaáhwíca
 when they came to attack
 ra- 0- a- ku- ut- raar- wic.a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV PL.INDV.A arrive.to.attack SUB.4

hišahiks
 hi cáhiks
 and people
 hi icaahiks
 and person

hitirəktahwášəⁿ
 hi tiiraktaahwaáruucat
 and different ones were shot
 hi ti- 0- ir- ak- raar- waa- ruu- cak -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P DIST DIST shoot PERF

. Náwa , irárⁱ ,

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

tatariraíwætⁿ

tatariiraa'íiwat

I am telling you

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

irirasítska^a

iriirasícka'a

what you want

irii-	ra-	s-	wicka	-a	.
what	ABS	2.A	want	SUB.1	.

Wituháhwiš^a

Wituuhaáhwica'

The enemy came to attack

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	raar-	wic.a	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	PL.INDV.A	arrive.to.attack	PERF

hihi

hi		ihi	
and	,	uh	,
hi	,	ihii	,
and	,	uh	,

aharəsihúra

ahaarasíhura

they were in a line

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ar-	asuhuur.a	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	EV	come.in.a.line	SUB.4

Náwa
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

iahi, kurəktahwásətⁿ

i'ahiikuuraktaahwaáruucat

different ones of ours were shot

ii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	rak-	raar-	waa-	ruu-	cak	-0
that	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	POSS.P	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	DIST	then	shoot	PERF

hisíahiraki

hi sí'ahiiraki

and they conquered them

hi	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	kii	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	kill.in.battle	PERF

šárarət ⁿ	.	Náwa	,	i	,
cáráraat	.	Ráwa		i	
the enemy	.	Now		so	,
icararaat	.	rawa		i	,
enemy	.	now		and	,

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

nikuritariraiwátist^a

rikuriitariiraa'iiwaátista

I am going to tell you about that

riku-	rii-	t-	a-	ri-	uur-	raa.iiwaat	-his	-ta
that.is	ASSR	1.A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	tell.a.story	PERF	INT

tirətpawákahu ,
 tiratpaawaákahu ,
 this that I am saying ,
 tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

hiaharakaisp^a
 hi ahaaraahkaa'ispaa'
 and they came home
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- raar- kaa- iis.a -wa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A inside come.into DIST PERF

šáksu
 cáksu'
 the wounded .
 cak -his -u' .
 shoot PERF NOM .

witikariaharakaíspa^a
 Witíkari' aharahkaa'ispa'a'
 There were many . They came home
 wi- ti- 0- kari -0 . ar- ra- 0- a- raar- kaa- iis.a -wa -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.numerous PERF . EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A inside come.into DIST PERF

šáksu . I ,

cáksu' . I
 the wounded . And ,
 cak -his -u' . i ,
 shoot PERF NOM . and ,

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

siahirušírəsa .
 si'ahiruucírasa .
 they brought him back .
 si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ciras- a -0 .
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV COM come SUB.4 .

Wituruhurarúk^u
 Wituuruhúraaruuku'
 He was imitating it
 wi- ti- 0- uur- uhur.raa.ra'uk -:hus
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV imitate IMPF

škírihkⁱ , škírihkⁱ
 ckírihki . Ckírihki
 a wolf . A wolf
 ickirir- -kis . ickirir- -kis
 wolf DIM . wolf DIM

wituruhúraruk^u ,
 wituuruhúraaruuku'
 he was imitating it ,
 wi- ti- 0- uur- uhur.raa.ra'uk -:hus ,
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV imitate IMPF ,

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

wiwitašitáisa

Wiwitaacihtá'iisa'

He came to the edge of the village

wii- wi- ti- 0- a- icihta.iis.a -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come.to.the.edge.of.the.village PERF

hisistuahákukstakətⁿ .

hi sístu ahákukstakut .
 and again he ran away .
 hi sistu ar- ra- 0- kuks.takuk -0 .
 and again EV ABS 3.A run.away PERF .

Witúriturirua

Wituurituríru'a

He feared the village

wi- ti- 0- uur- ituur- riru -aar -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV village be.afraid.of INCH PERF

. Nawa , iahawáku
 . Ráwa i ahawáku'
 . Now so he said
 . rawa i ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 . now and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

škirihkⁱ irúraruku
 ckírihki irúraaruku
 the wolf that one imitating it

ickirir- -kis ii- ra- 0- uur- raa.ra'uk -hus
 wolf DIM that ABS 3.A PREV imitate IMPF.SUB

“
 : “
 , “
 , “

kirasiiskuhakirik^u

Kíra si'iskúhaa' kíriku'
 Maybe you'll bring it to me some
 kira si- i- s- ir- ku- ut- ra- a -0 kiriku'
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P BEN PORT come PERF something

ihí kišáhitu náwa ,
 ihí kiicáhihtu' . " Ráwa
 , uh , fat . " And ,
 , ihii , kiic- ahiht -u' . " rawa ,
 , uh , liquid grease NOM . " now ,

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

rusiahirušíra

ruusi'ahirucíraa'
 then they brought it

ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- ra- a -0
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN SEQ PORT come PERF

kišáhit^u a ,

kiicáhihtu'				a
fat				and
kiic-	ahiht	-u'		a
liquid	grease	NOM		and

ahahkaríhəš					.
ahaahkaríhac					.
he ate it up					.
ar-	ra-	0-	ar-	karihac	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	EV	consume	PERF

Hirúahašitáisa^a

Hiru	ahaacihtá'iisa'					
Then	he came to the edge of the village					
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	icihta.iis.a	-0
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come.to.the.edge.of.the.village	PERF

wirakáriuš					kišáhihtu	
wirakaríhac					kiicáhihtu'	.
after he ate it up					the fat	.
wii-	ra-	0-	karihac	-0	kiic-	ahiht
when	ABS	3.A	consume	SUB.4	liquid	grease
					NOM	.

šáhiks
Cáhiks
The person
icaahiks
person

witišahiksišáhiks						
wíti'					cahiksícahiks	.
he was					an Indian	.
wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0	icaahiks	icaahiks
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	person	person

akikititkapákistⁱ

Aki kutitkaapaákisti
And here it had pitied him
a- ki ku- ti- 0- ir- ut- kaapaakis tii -0
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV be.pitiful care.for PERF

škírihkⁱ .
ckírihki .
a wolf .
ickirir- -kis .
wolf DIM .

Naruwiritirisašahuhkakús^{itⁿ}

Raaruuwiritiriisaacahuhkakúsit
They just took a chunk of rib flesh
raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- uur- risat- tahuur- ka- kusik -0
just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV rib tough.skin in pick.up PERF

kararakurakúwarišáhiks

karakuú rakúwari cáhiks
his not being able for him to walk around the person
kara- ra- 0- ku- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus icaahiks
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.4 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB person

awiahašiksawíus^{itⁿ}

a wi'ahaaciksawí'uusit
, and now he rested
, a wii- ar- ra- 0- aciks.awi.uusik -0
, and now EV ABS 3.A rest PERF

aahawáku. Náwa ,
a ahawáku' " Ráwa
and he said : " Now ,

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

náw^a ,
 ráwa
 now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

siskušuhukísta
 siskuucuhuhkístaa'
 you may bring me a bone

si- i- s- ir- ku- ut- uhur- kiis- ra- a -0
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P BEN now bone PORT come PERF

, tahapakíahu
 . " Tahapaki'aahu'
 . " We call it
 . " ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
 . " IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

kistiwiru , táraha
 kistíwiru' , táraha'
 round bone , buffalo
 kiis- riwii.ruu , tarahaa
 bone be.round , buffalo

tirawitawáwⁱ
 tirawíhtawaawi
 its arms (ie forelegs)

tii- ra- 0- wiir- ta -waa -wi
 this ABS 3.A arm be.hanging DIST SUB.L

nákis tiwirušárikⁱ

iríahas^a .
 irí'ahaasa .
 where he lay .
 irii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0 .
 where EV ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 .

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

kuwitúrahu^u
 kuwitúrahu'u
 he treated it like it
 ku- wi- ti- 0- uur- rahu.u -0
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV treat.like PERF

káhukīsu .
 kaáhu' kīisu' .
 a mushroom the bone .
 kaahuur kiis -u' .
 mushroom bone NOM .

Naruwitiáwaruksti
 Raaruuwí'ti'a
 Then he just ate it
 raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- a -0
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A eat PERF

,
 . Tiwaáruksti' .
 . He was holy .

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

nikutirahúrasa

Rikutiraahírasa .

That was the first time .

riku- ti- 0- raa- hiras.aah -0 .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A way be.in.the.lead PERF .

tirətpákahu

Tiratpaákahu

This that I say

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

witikúksta^u,

witikúkstaa'u

he gave me the way

wi- ti- 0- ku- uks- raa- uh -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A 1.P AOR way give PERF

nákuwāruksti^u

rákuwaarukstii'u .

to be holy .

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

kituaahakiskaríhuš

Kítuu'u'

a ahakiskaríhac

All and he ate up the bone

kituu -u' a ar- ra- 0- kiis- karihac -0
 all NOM and EV ABS 3.A bone consume PERF

. Kiskápikt^u .

kiskápiktu' .
 broken bone .
 kiis- ka.apitk -u' .
 bone break.up NOM .

Hiruahiwáku náwa^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

witətišakaisúht^a
 witaaticahkaa'íisuhta . "

I am going to go into the village . "

wi- ta- t- icahka- iis.uh -ta . "

QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A village go.out.of.sight.INT INT . "

hiruahašakaísa
 Hiru ahaacahkaa'íisa'
 Then he came into the village
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- icahka- iis.a -0
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A village come.into PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

nikutirahapakihutuksasá^a

rikutirahapakíhu

this one we are talking about

riku-	tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-hus	ti-	0-	uks-	asar	-’
the.one	this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.named	EX

tuksasá’a

he was named

píta witúksasa

píita wituksasá’

man he was named

wiita	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	asar	-0
man	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.named	PERF

Wititurawís^a

Witituurawiisa

He Shakes Himself

witi-	ti-	0-	uur-	awi.usar	-0
REFL	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	shake	PERF

škírihkⁱ witurarúk^u

Ckírihki wituraaruúku’

A wolf he imitated it

ickirir-	-kis	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.ra’uk	-:hus
wolf	DIM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	imitate	IMPF

Aahíkisitⁿ

A ahiíkisit

And he got well

a	ar-	ra-	0-	i-	kisik	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	SEQ	survive	PERF

hawákukararakúšia

hawá kukararakúci’a

also there being nothing (wrong with him)

haawa ku- kara- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- 0 -a
 also INDF NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ be SUB.1

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

, hawáasku^u
 hawá ásku
 , also one
 , haawa asku
 , also one

siahirikáis^a

si'ahiirikaá'iisa'

they brought him back

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- kaa- iis.a -0
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT inside come.into PERF

kararakúrahir^a ,

kararakúraahiira

his not being well ,

kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a ,
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 ,

irárⁱ .

iraári' .

brother .

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

Kitukuhipiktahkátawarāritⁿ

Kítuu'u' kuuhihpiktahkátawaaraarit
 All his testicles were torn wípe open
 kituu -u' kuur- ra- 0- ir- piik- raar- katawaa.ara.arik -0
 all NOM DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A testicle PL be.wide.open PERF

, tirakáwi^u,
 tiraakáwi'u'
 the bullet
 tiraak.awi -u'
 bullet NOM

karahiríkarihurariwíšətⁿ
 karaahiriikariihuraariwícat
 it did not reach the penis
 kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- karii- huraar.iwic.at -0
 NEG EV ABS 3.A OBV SEQ penis reach.a.destination PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Kišíkuhatpiktaruhúhkirahi
 Kici kuuhutpiktaaruhúhkiraahi
 But his testicles were dangling
 kici kuur- ra- 0- ut- piik- raar- uhur.kiraa -0 hi
 but DUB ABS 3.A PREV testicle PL dangle PERF and

kitukuhírásətⁿ
 kítuu'u' . Kúhiiráhcat
 all . They were shot
 kituu -u' . kuur- ra- 0- ir- raar- cak -0
 all NOM . DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P shoot PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Iwisiahiríwiša

Iwisi'ahiiríwica

When they brought him back

ii-	wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ri-	wic.a	-0
that	when	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	arrive	PERF

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

,	kúra ^u		,	náw ^a	,
	kúraa'u'			ráwa	
,	doctor			now	
,	kuraa	-u'		rawa	
,	doctor	NOM		now	

kirakukusikuriširuhú^a

kíra kukuusikuuriciruúhuru'

see if you can do something for me

kira	ku-	kuus-	s-	ir-	ku-	ri-	ut-	i-	raa.uhur.ra'uk	-0
perhaps	INDF	POT.1/3A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	BEN	SEQ	set.up	PERF

.
. .
. .

Kirasiiskuháræspi

Kíra si'iskuhaáraspi'

Try to hunt them for me

kira	si-	i-	s-	ku-	ut-	raar-	raspii	-0
perhaps	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	look.for	PERF

pítar^u nakahkáríkⁱ

pítaru' raakaahkaáriki

ants several hills

pitaruu	ra-	0-	akaar-	ka-	arik	-i
ant	ABS	3.A	dwelling	in.the.brush	be.standing	SUB.2

. Nawa,

. " Ráwa

. " Now

. " rawa

. " now

hiruahíririt^{tⁿ}

hiru ahiraaríiritit

then they put them into water

hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	raar-	ri.iri.itik	-0
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	put.down	PERF

šáhiks

cáhiks

a person

icaahiks

person

awitakíparu

a witaahkíparu'
and he would wet it ,
a wi- ti- 0- ar- kipaar ra'uk -0 ,
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.wet make PERF ,

ihikírik^u
ihi kíriku'
uh , anything
ihii , kiriku'
uh , something

narahkakⁱ
raáraahkuuki
things
ra- 0- raar- 0 -ka'uk -i
ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be DIST SUB.2

katakáhiri ,
katakaáhiri'
a hide tanned on the underside ,
katahkaa -hiri' ,
be.inside.out LOC ,

iriruruksawáhš^u
iriruuruksawáhcu
whatever it might even be ,
irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- uk -0 ,
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.4 ,

hiwítakípar^u
hi witaahkíparu'
and he would wet it .
hi wi- ti- 0- ar- kipaar ra'uk -0 .
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.wet make PERF .

witiraritaráhkisa,
 Witiiraritaráhkisa'
 They ran with them

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	ri-	tarahkis-	a	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	be.strong	come	PERF

pítaru rurihkutáris^u
 pítaru' ruurihkutárisu
 the ants its being heavy (with water)

pitaruu	ruu-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	taris	-u
ant	then	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	be.heavy	SUB.D

šáhūk ⁱ	.	Irár ⁱ					
cáhuuki	.	Iraári'					
the robe	.	Brother					,
cahuu	-kis	.	i-	-raar-		-ri'	,
robe	DIM	.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B	,

araruwitaahatkataíwu

a raaruuwitaahatkataíwu'
 and he would just move his tongue over it

a	raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	hat-	kata.wi.wu	-.hus
and	just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	tongue	go.against.IMPF	IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Aruwitarahkirahwáku

A ruuwitaarahkiráhwaku'
 And then he would crunch them

a ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- kirar.waka'u -0
 and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P crunch PERF

pítaru , nahkúwa^a .
 pítaru' raahkúwa'a .
 the ants as he ate them .
 pitaruu ra- 0- ar- ku- wa- a -0 .
 ant INF.A 3.A EV INF.B DIST eat SUB.3 .

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

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

náw^a witikušikskatarihura
 ráwa witikuucikskatárhura
 now I am getting stronger
 rawa wi- ti- ku- aciks- kata.rihur -aar -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 1.P mind be.wide INCH PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Ihtətsikstaktara

Íhtat	sikstaktáraa'									
Even more	bring them									
ihtat	i-	s-	ir-	uks-	rak-	raar-	ra-	a	-0	
some.more	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	PERF	

pítaru	.	Náw ^a	,
pítaru'	"	Ráwa	
ants	!	"	Now
pitaruu	!	"	rawa
ant	!	"	now

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

aahawáku					
a	ahawáku'				
and	he said				,
a	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF

wíahawa ^a ,						pítaru	
wí'ahawa'a						pítaru'	"
while he was eating them						ants	:
wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	wa-	a	-0	pitaruu
when	EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	eat	SUB.3	ant

náw ^a	ósk ^u	wituráíwiš					
Ráwa	ásku	wituraa'íiwic					
Now	one	there remains a thing					
rawa	asku	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.hiwihc	-0
now	one	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way.to.appear	PERF

. Kúra^u
 . " Kúraa'u'
 . " The doctors
 . " kuraa -u'
 . " doctor NOM

siwitihaahúruk^u

siwitihaahúruuku'

they were treating him

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raahur.ra'uuk	-.hus
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	doctor	IMPF

. Ahawáku						śsk ^u	
. Ahawáku'						“ Ásku	
. He said					:	“ One	
. ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	“ asku	
. EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	“ one	

ituraíwiš

wituraa'íwic

there remains a matter

wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.hiwihc	-0	,
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way.to.appear	PERF	,

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

Hiruruwitikítawi

Hiru ruuwitikítawi'

There then he is a leader

,
 . "
 . "

hiruu ruu- wi- ti- 0- kita.wi -0 . "

there then QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF . "

irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

wiaháhisa

wi'aháhiisa

when daylight came ,

wii- ar- ra- 0- a- hiis- a -0 ,

when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF ,

wiahá^a sakúru^u

wi'ahaá'a sákuuru'

when it came the sun

wii- ar- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u'

when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.3 sun NOM

.

,

,

,

Hirurikuahətкуспиúa

hiru riku'ahutкуспи'uu'a

there where he was facing that one

hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- kus wi.uu -a

there that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting be.facing SUB.1

, sakúru

sákuuru'
 the sun
 sakur -u'
 sun NOM

iwira
 iwíraa
 when it came ,
 ii- wii- ra- 0- a- a -0 ,
 when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 ,

hirikuahətkuspiúa
 hi riku'ahutkuspi'uu'a
 and where he sat facing that one
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- kus wi.uu -a
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting be.facing SUB.1

. Hiahətkuspiúa
 . Hi ahutkuspi'uu'a
 . And when he sat facing it
 . hi ar- ra- 0- ut- kus wi.uu -a
 . and EV ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting be.facing SUB.1

hiahawahisit^{tn} pítaru
 hi ahawaahísitit pítaru'
 , and he began to eat them ants
 , hi ar- ra- 0- wa- a -his -itik pitaruu
 , and EV ABS 3.A DIST eat PERF INCH ant

aahakaríhuš
 a ahakaríhac
 , and he ate them up
 , a ar- ra- 0- karihac -0
 , and EV ABS 3.A consume PERF

aahawáku , “ Náwa ,
a ahawáku’ “ Ráwa ,
and he said : “ Now ,
a ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ rawa ,
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ now ,

kúra^u ,
kúraa’u’
doctor ,
kuraa -u’ ,
doctor NOM ,

háwakirikiratutæsta
háwa kíriki ratuútasta .
also what am I going to be like ?
haawa kirikii ra- t- ut- 0 -as -ta .
also what ABS 1.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT .

hirutíraa
Hiru tíraa’a
There this one coming
hiruu tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
there this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

nikutuhá^a
rikutuuhá’a
that one is the cause
riku- ti- 0- ut- raar -’
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tiwiratikisík^a . "
tiwiratiikísika . "
my being alive here . "

tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	i-	kisik	-a	.	"
here	now	ABS	1.A	SEQ	survive	SUB.1	.	"

Akikutúraruk^u

Aki									
And here									
a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.ra'uk		-:hus	
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	imitate		IMPF	

kúruks	.
kúruks	.
a bear	.
kuuruks	.
bear	.

Naruwitipiktašahakarák^u

Raaruuwitipiktacahaakaáraku

His scrotum was just wide open

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	piik-	raar-	ta		haaka.ara.kus	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	testicle	PL	be.hanging		be.wide.open	PERF

.
.

.

.

.

Iirusiwítirihuráhætⁿ

Iirusiwítiriihuráhat

Then they left him

irii-	ruu-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	uhur.ra.hak	-0
that	then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	leave	PERF

kúra^u

kúraa'u'
 the doctors
 kuraa -u'
 doctor NOM

sikararihkuširahúruku
 sikararihkucirahúruuku
 their not doctoring him

si-	kara-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	i-	raahur.ra'uk	-hus
DU	NEG	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	SEQ	doctor	IMPF.SUB

háw ^a	.	Náw ^a	,	a	,
haáwa'	.	Ráwa		a	
also	.	Now		and	,
haawa	.	rawa		a	,
also	.	now		and	,

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

hawasiahirikáis^a

hawá si'ahiirikaá'iisa'

also they brought him back home

haawa	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ri-	kaa-	iis.a	-0
also	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	inside	come.into	PERF

šáhiks		áka ^a	!
cáhiks	.	Aáka'a	
a person	.	Oh my	,
icaahiks	.	aaka'a	,
person	.	oh.my	,

witurarirúšⁱ ,
 wituraaríruhci' .
 it was terrible !
 wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.riruhci -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.dangerous PERF .

tihwakíahu
 Tihwakí'aahu
 They say
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

hirukuhirahkawikatawáraritⁿ
 hiru kuuhiraahkawikátaawaraarit
 then the bullet tore him wide open
 hiruu kuur- ra- 0- ir- raar- kawi- katawaa.ara.arik -0
 then DUB ABS 3.A OBV PL.INDV.A cartridge be.wide.open PERF

kítu .
 kítuu'u' .
 all .
 kituu -u' .
 all NOM .

Hikukaraahikasapiiš
 Hi kukara'ahikaásapi'ic
 And his leg was not broken
 hi ku- kara- ar- ri- 0- kaas- apiic -'
 and INDF NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A leg be.broken EX

kisurakup^{iš^u}
 kíisu' rakúpiicu .
 the bone to be broken .

kiis	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	apiic	-u	.
bone	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.broken	SUB.D	.

hikuhiwáhaw^u

Hi kuuhihwaáhawu

And it went (in) at an angle

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	waaha	wu	-.hus
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	OBV	be.an.angle	go.IMPF	IMPF

hitakukuhakawátətⁿ

hiítaku kuuhakawátat

the other side it came out

hii-	-taku	kuur-	ra-	0-	kawatak	-0
other	LOC	DUB	ABS	3.A	get.out	PERF

nisaharikárikətⁿ

risahaarikárikat

in the middle of the ribs

risat-	raar-	iika.ri	-kat	.
rib	PL	center	LOC	.

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

wisiahíriwiša

wisi'ahíriwica

when they brought him back

wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ri-	wic.a	-0
when	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	arrive	SUB.4

, “ Náw^a ,

“ Ráwa
 : “ Now ,
 , “ rawa ,
 , “ now ,

kirakukusikuriširuhúra

kíra kukuusikuriiciruuuhúra

let's see if some thing good will happen to me

kira	ku-	kuus-	0-	i-	ku-	ri-	ut-	i-	ruuhur.aar	-0
whether	INDF	POT.1/3A	3.A	SEQ.sk	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	SEQ	appear	PERF

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

túksakawaəš . "

túksaakawa'ac . "

let me eat ! "

i-	t-	uks-	haakawahc	-ʼ	. "
CONT.1/2A	1.A	JUSS	eat	EX	. "

Asiahiharahúhkus

A si'ahiiharahúhkus

And they placed a bundle by him

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	rarahuur-	kus.k	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	BEN	bundle	put	PERF

. Nuwitirarahúhkitu .

. Ruuwitirarahúhkitu' .

. It was an entire bundle .

. ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	rarahuur-	kituu	-0	.
. then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	bundle	be.whole	PERF	.

Nihuksusiwítitəstakíriwətⁿ

Ríhuksu' siwitiitaastaahkiíriwat
Only they unlaced the strings

rihuks -u' si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- haas- raar- ka.iriwat -0
alone NOM DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV string PL pull.out.from.under PERF

,
,
,

nihuksusiwítitahahkáš^tn

ríhuksu' siwítitahaakáhciit
only they opened it up

rihuks -u' si- wi- ti- 0- ir- tahaakahc -ik -0
alone NOM DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.open CAUS PERF

nahkákus^u

rahkákusu'
the parfleche

raar.ka.kus -u'
parfleche NOM

hiahawawahisít^tn

hi ahawaawaahisítit
and he began eating

hi ar- ra- 0- waawa- a -his -itik
and EV ABS 3.A DIST eat PERF INCH ,

irárⁱ

iraári'
brother

. Kitu
. Kítuu'u'
. Everything

i- -raar- -ri' . kituu -u'
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B . all NOM

aahararahuhkaríhəš .
 a ahararahuhkaríhac .
 and he consumed the bundle .
 a ar- ra- 0- rarahuur- karihac -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A bundle consume PERF .

Nihuksurawitiškuskárəš

Ríhuksu' raawitickuskáruc
 Only the skin just lay there
 rihuks -u' raa- wi- ti- 0- ickus- ka- ra.uc -0
 alone NOM just QUOT IND.3A 3.A skin in be.lying.PL PERF

. Ahawáku , “ átira
 . Ahawáku' , “ Atíra'
 . He said : “ Mother
 . ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , “ ati- raa
 . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ 1.POSS mother

 sukstúətⁿ nahkákus^u
 sukstuú'at rahkákusu'
 , move it the parfleche
 , i- s- uks- ruu.at -0 raar.ka.kus -u'
 , CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS take PERF parfleche NOM

 háwakirikiratutəst^a .
 . Háwa kíriki ratuútasta .
 ! Also what am I going to be ?
 . haawa kirikii ra- t- ut- 0 -as -ta .
 . also what ABS 1.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT .

átira

Atíra'								
Mother		,						
ati-	raa	,						
1.POSS	mother	,						
witəparihust ^a								.
witatpariíhusta								"
I am going to be going around (ie live)								"
wi-	ta-	t-	warii		-:hus	-ta		.
QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF	INT		"
Irár ⁱ								
Iraári'								
Brother		,						
i-	-raar-		-ri'					,
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B					,
akikutúraruk ^u								
aki	kutúraaruuku'							
and here	he imitated it							
a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.ra'uk	-:hus	
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	imitate	IMPF	
kúruks								
kúruks								
a bear								
kuuruks								
bear								
tiwirarahuhkárihəš								.
tiwirarahuhkárihac								.
when he ate up the bundle								.
tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	rarahuur-	karihac	-0		.
when	when	ABS	3.A	bundle	consume	SUB.4		.

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

iritúšuksirⁱtⁿ kǎši .
 i riitúcuksiirit kiíci' .
 and I saw him but .
 i rii- t- 0- ut- uks- iirik -0 kici .
 and ASSR 1.A 3.A PREV AOR see PERF but .

Atipətati
 Atípat tátii
 Grandfather he is mine
 ati- paak ta- t- ir- 0 -0
 1.POSS grandfather IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF

. Tatutírⁱtⁿ .
 . Tatuutiírit .
 . I saw him .
 . ta- t- ut- iirik -0 .
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV see PERF .

Tukspáruksti .
 Tukspaáruksti' .
 He was holy .
 ti- 0- uks- waarukstii -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A AOR be.holy PERF .

Nikutira ,
 Rikutirá'
 That is the way it was ,

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

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

tirasətkawawúk^u .
 tiraasatkawaawúku
 this that you are hearing ,
 tii- ra- s- atka'uk -waawa -hus ,
 this ABS 2.A hear DIST IMPF.SUB ,

Ahuspák^a
 ahaspaáka “
 when you said : “
 ar- ra- s- waak -a , “
 EV ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1 , “

kirikirarákit^a
 Kíriki raraákita
 What is the reason
 kirikii ra- 0- raa.kita -0
 what ABS 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

nahkuwarúkti^u .
 raahkuwaarúkstii'u . "
 when one is holy ? "
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waarukstii -u . "
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.holy SUB.D . "

Irárⁱ ,

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

witátuksparuksti . Ásk^u
 witátukspaaruksti' . Ásku
 I was holy . One
 wi- ta- t- uks- waarukstii -0 . asku
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A AOR be.holy PERF . one

hawasiahiríwiš^a
 hawá si'ahiiríwica'
 also they brought it back
 haawa si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- wic.a -0
 also DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT arrive PERF

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

Ahikirasiiskúha
 Ahi kára si'iskú'u
 Ah , give me
 a hi , kára si- i- s- ku- uh -0
 and and , perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P give PERF

ukáatawiiríku .
 uká'aatawi'iiriku . "
 the looking glass . "
 uuka'aata -wi iirik -hus . "
 be.a.shadow SUB.L see IMPF.SUB . "

Ukáatawiiriku

Uká'aatawi'irku

A looking glass

uuka'aata -wi iirik -hus
be.a.shadow SUB.L see IMPF.SUB

witaráhku

wítaruhku

he had

wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kus -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.sitting PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Asiahihikatawíatⁿ

A si'ahirikátawi'at

And they passed it along

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- kata- -wi at -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L go PERF

ahiahirúha

ahi ahiíruha

and their giving it to him

a hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uh -a
and and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A give SUB.1

Hiwítiahutír^tⁿ

Hi witi'ahuutiírit

And he saw himself

hi witi- ar- ra- 0- ut- iirik -0 .
 and REFL EV ABS 3.A PREV see PERF .

kuhíhkirikšətⁿ

Kuuhíhkirikcat

He was shot in the eye

kuur- ra- 0- ir- kirik- cak -0
 DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF eye shoot PERF

hiwitiahutír^{it}ⁿ

hi witi'ahuutiírit

and he saw himself

hi witi- ar- ra- 0- ut- iirik -0
 and REFL EV ABS 3.A PREV see PERF

hiahawáku

hi ahawáku'

and he said

hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " Náwa,
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " Ráwa
 : " " Now
 , " rawa
 , " now

witatəspatəsikst^a

witaataspaatásiksta .

now I am going to start .

wii- ta- t- as.waat.as.ik -his -ta .
 now IND.1/2A 1.A start PERF INT .

siskuhurupuráhətⁿ

Si'iskuúhurahat páruhit .

Turn me loose quickly .

si- i- s- ku- uhur.ra.hak -0 paruhit .
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P turn.loose PERF quickly .

"

"
"
"
"

Nasiwitráirus^a

Na siwitráirusa

And they carried it in front

ra	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ra-	hiras-	a	-0
and	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PORT	in.the.lead	come	PERF

ukáatawiirik^u

uká'aatawi'iriku

the looking glass

uuka'aata	-wi	iirik	-hus
be.a.shadow	SUB.L	see	IMPF.SUB

hiahakáisa

hi ahaakaá'iisa'

and he came home

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	kaa-	iis.a	-0	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	inside	come.into	PERF	.

Hiahihahúru

Hi ahiihahúru'

And he was doctored by him

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	rahur.uu	-0	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	PREV	doctor	PERF	.

nakuwáruksti^u

rakuwaárukstii'u

his being holy

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

šáhiks	.
cáhiks	.
the person	.

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

Iriwikakuspáruksti , “
 Iriwikaakaaspaáruksti’ . “
 You are not holy . “
 irii- wii- kaaka- s- waarukstii -0 . “
 that now NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.holy PERF . “

ahawáku,
 Ahawáku’
 He said
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF

irisiahihkirišətⁿ ,
 irisi’ahihkírícicat
 the one shot in the eye :
 irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kirik- cak -0 ,
 that DU EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF eye shoot SUB.4 ,

“ Náwa ,
 “ Ráwa
 “ Now
 “ rawa
 “ now

irítiškarəskukuhahúru^a
 i riíticka’ raskukuuhahúruu’a
 and I want it for you to doctor me

i	rii-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	s-	ku-	ku-	ut-	rahur.uu	-a
and	ASSR	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	2.A	1.P	INF.B	PREV	doctor	SUB.1

hípis	.	"	Ahawáku	,	"
hi	pís	.	Ahawáku'	,	"
and	quickly	!	He said	:	"
hi	wis	.	ar- ra- 0- waka'u	-0	,
and	quickly	.	EV ABS 3.A say	PERF	,

Náw ^a	,	ha	kákatpáruksti	
Ráwa		ha	kaakaatpaáruksti'	.
Now	,	ha	!	I am not holy
rawa	,	ha	!	kaaka- t- waarukstii -0
now	,	ha	!	NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.holy PERF

tiharíhi
Tihaaríhi'

Right here is where it is

tii-	haa-	ri-	0-	ihii	-0
here	here	CONT.3A	3.A	be.in.a.place	PERF

natutár ^a	.	"				
ratuutaára	.	"				
my doing it	.	"				
ra-	t-	ut-	aar	-a	.	"
ABS	1.A	PREV	do	SUB.1	.	"

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

ahawáku

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

kišitiharíhirəttu^a
 Kici tihaaríhi' ratuúta
 And right here is where it is my doing it
 kici tii- haa- ra- 0- ihii -0 ra- t- ut- aar -0
 but here here ABS 3.A be.in.a.place PERF ABS 1.A PREV do PERF

tirətparukstí^u .
 tiratpaárukstii'u . "
 my being powerful . "
 tii- ra- t- waarukstii -u . "
 this ABS 1.A be.holy SUB.D . "

Tiahurarúku
 Ti'ahúraaruku
 This one who imitated it
 tii- ar- ra- 0- uur- raa.ra'uk -hus
 this EV ABS 3.A PREV imitate IMPF.SUB

tíra^a
 tíraa'a
 this one who came
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

irášuks^u níkutskⁱ
 iraácaksu ríkucki
 that one who was shot a bird ,
 ii- ra- 0- cak -his uu -0 rikuc -kis ,
 that ABS 3.A shoot PERF be SUB.4 bird DIM ,

hinikuškíruáhikus^{tⁿ}

hi	rikucki		ruu'	ahikúsit				
and	a bird		then	he	picked	it	up	
hi	rikuc	-kis	ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	kusik	-0
and	bird	DIM	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	pick.up	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

nikuwituhá^a

rikuwituuhá'a

it is the one that did it

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

ahihkirikáwuha

ahihkirikaáwuha

its putting the eye in

ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	kirik-	kaa-	wuh	-a	.
EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	eye	inside	put	SUB.1	.

níkutskⁱ

nikuwituhá^a

Ríkucki

rikuwituuhá'a

The bird

it is the one that did it

rikuc -kis riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -'
 bird DIM that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

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

iriwáruksti .
 i riiwaáruksti' .
 and he was holy .
 i ri- 0- waarukstii -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A be.holy PERF .

Hiruahiwáku

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

iriahahušáwisu , “
 irii'ahahuucáwisu “
 the one who was doctoring : “
 irii- ar- ra- 0- huuca.wiis -hus , “
 that EV ABS 3.A have.a.doctor.dance IMPF.SUB , “

Nawa , ha
 Ráwa ha .
 Now , see !
 rawa , ha .
 now , ha .

wirískutir^{itn}

Wirískuutiirit .
 Now you see me .
 wii- rii- s- ku- ut- iirik -0 .
 now ASSR 2.A 1.P PREV see PERF .

nikutatuætⁿ
 Rikutatuú'ut
 I am that way
 riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -' .
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX

tirətpáruksti^u
 tiratpaárukstii'u .
 my being holy here .
 tii- ra- t- waarukstii -u .
 this ABS 1.A be.holy SUB.D .

təsparíhust^a . " Náwa
 Tasparíhusta . " Ráwa
 You are going to go around (ie live) . " Now
 ta- s- warii -:hus -ta . " rawa
 IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . " now

, irárⁱ , háwa ésk^u
 , iraári' , háwa ásku
 , brother , also one
 , i- -raar- -ri' , haawa asku
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , also one

siahirikaís^a
 si'ahiirikaá'iisa'
 they brought back home
 si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- kaa- iis.a -0
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT inside come.into PERF

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

aahawáku, “
 a ahawáku' “
 and he said “
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 “
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF “

Kirasiiskúšikskátih^u
 Kira si'iskuúciikskátiihu'
 Blacken my spirit

kira si- i- s- ku- aciks- katiit ra'uk -0
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P mind be.black make PERF

tiratašiksúhkas^a
 tiraataciksúhkasa
 this my windpipe

tii- ra- t- aciks.uur.ka.sa -0
 this ABS 1.A be.one's.windpipe SUB.3

hisiiskutikstakatištiⁱ ruwahətⁿ

hi si'iskuutikstahkatictiíruuwaahat
 and blacken my hands in a certain way

hi si- i- s- ku- ut- iks- raar- katiit tiihak -ruu -waa -0
 and DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV hand PL be.black be.the.end DIST DIST PERF

kítu . " Nawa ,
 kítuu'u' . " Ráwa
 all . " Now ,

kituu -u' . " rawa ,
 all NOM . " now ,

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

nikusiwi tíhahuru
 rikusiwitiihahúru'
 they did that for him

riku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- rahur.uu -0
 that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN do.to PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Akiihisikutirikskítáwuh^u

Aki ihi sikutiirikskítáwuhu'
 And here , uh , they apparently bounced the bullet off him
 a- ki , ihii , si- ku- ti- 0- ir- uur- riiks- kita.wuh -:hus
 and there , uh , DU INDF IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV bullet glance.off IMPF

níhuks^u . Nawa ,
 ríhuksu' . Ráwa
 only . Now ,
 rihuks -u' . rawa ,
 alone NOM . now ,

irárⁱ ,

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

rurihkuksawəštara*ri*á*u*

ruurihkuksawactara*ri*á*u*

even though he had been burned

ruu-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	tararit.ra'uk	-0
then	INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	AOR	even.if	burn	SUB.3

hiwitiiruhkítá*u*

hi witiiruhkítawu

and it dropped off (ie had no effect)

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	kita.wuh	-0	.
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	PREV	glance.off	PERF	.

Náwa , irá*ri*

Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

níhuksu

ríhuksu'

only

rihuks -u'

alone NOM

nikuwitúta

rikuwituúta

that is what he did

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

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

Sikušukstahkáwaritⁿ
 Sikucukstaahkáwarit
 Fill a pipe for me

i- s- i- ku- ut- uks- raar- kawarik -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ.sk 1.P BEN JUSS 3PL.INAN.P put.into PERF

. “
 . “
 ! “
 . “
 . “

Asiahihahkáwaritⁿ
 A si’ahiihaahkáwarit

And they filled a pipe
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- raar- kawarik -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P put.into PERF

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

ruahirawisahisítⁿ

ruu'ahiraawisahisítit .
 then he began smoking .
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- raawis- a -his -itik .
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A smoke eat PERF INCH .

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

aharawiskaríhəš .
 aharaawiskaríhac .
 he smoked it all up .
 ar- ra- 0- raawis- karihac -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A smoke consume PERF .

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

witikutaráhkis^a .
 witikutaráhkisa .
 I have become strong .
 wi- ti- ku- tarahkis -aar -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 1.P be.strong INCH PERF .

Hiruwirurikítawⁱ
 Hiru wiruuriikítawi'
 Then it'll be the one in authority
 hiruu wii- ruu- rii- 0- kita.wi -0
 then now then ASSR 3.A be.the.leader PERF

tirasakúr ^u									.	"
tíraa						Sakuúru'			.	"
this one coming						Sun			.	"
tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u'									.	"
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun NOM									.	"

Nihuksuwititahkawít^{itn}

Ríhuksu'		wititaáhkawiitit								
Only		it showed up yonder								
rihuks -u'		wi- ti- 0- taahka.wi.itik -0								
alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A appear.in.the.distance PERF										

aháhisa

aháhiisa

when daylight came

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

ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

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

Siskušukstuhkáwaritⁿ

Siskucukstaahkáwarit

Fill the pipe for me

si- i- s- ku- ut- uks- raar- kawarik -0										
DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV JUSS 3PL.INAN.P put.into PERF										

. "

. "

! "

. "

Siahihakáwaritⁿ

Si'ahiihaahkáwarit

They filled the pipe

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	raar-	kawarik	-0	.
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	put.into	PERF	.

hirunikuwitungpí^u

Hiru rikuwitungpí'u'

Then he faced that one

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	wi.uu	-0	.
then	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.facing	PERF	.

tiirirahusakór^u

ti'iriíraahu

here where it was coming

tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-hus	sakur	-u'
here	where	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	IMPF.SUB	be.a.day	NOM

Sakuúru'

Sun

. Aharawisáhisititⁿ

. Aharaawisáhisitit

. He began smoking

ar-	ra-	0-	raawis-	a	-his	-itik	.
EV	ABS	3.A	smoke	eat	PERF	INCH	.

aharuwískarihəš

Aharaawiskaríhac

He smoked it up

ar-	ra-	0-	raawis-	karihac	-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	smoke	consume	PERF	.

irárⁱ

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

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

kúra^u ,
 kúraa'u'
 doctors ,
 kuraa -u' ,
 doctor NOM ,

hawakiríkiratutóst^a
 hawá kíriki ratuútasta
 also how am I going to be
 haawa kirikii ra- t- ut- 0 -as -ta
 also what ABS 1.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

tirikušúksirírahaku
 tirikucuksiriiráhaku
 here where I was staggering
 tii- ri- ku- ut- uks- irii.ra.hak -hus
 here CONT.3A 1.P PREV AOR stagger.around IMPF.SUB

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

nikutirairutpákahu

rikutíra'

that is the way it was

riku-	ti-	0-	raa-	0	-0	ii-	ra-	t-	waaka	-hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	way	be	PERF	when	ABS	1.A	say.IMPf	IMPf.SUB

iratpaákahu

as I am saying

tətukspáruksti

tətukspaáruksti'

I was holy

ta-	t-	uks-	waarukstii	-0	ákitar ^u	.	
IND.1/2A	1.A	AOR	be.holy	PERF	ákitaru'	.	
					tribe	.	
					akitaar-	-u'	.
					tribe	NOM	.

Wítiwaku páruksti

Witihwákuhpaaruksti'

Their words were powerful

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	wakur-	waarukstii	-0	.
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	word	be.holy	PERF	.

witətara^u

Witátaraa'u

Now I give you the way

wi-	ta-	t-	a-	raa.uh	-0
QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	give	PERF

nuskuwarúksti^u

raskuwaárukstii'u

for you to be holy

ra-	s-	ku-	waarukstii	-u	.
INF.A	2.A	INF.B	be.holy	SUB.D	.

akirikutiráhkitawa

Aki rikutiráhkitawa

And here it was on account of these

a- ki riku- ti- 0- raar- kita- 0 -wa -0
 and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A on.top be DIST PERF

nahúrahkⁱ
 rahúrahki
 animals
 rahuraar -kis
 animal DIM

tiwikararihuriwáwi
 tiwikararihúriiwaawi
 these who do not go around now
 tii- wii- kara- ra- 0- ir- hurii -waa -wi
 this now NEG ABS 3.A PL.3A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

kúruks nahkútawi
 . Kúruks raahkútawi
 . A bear it would be among them
 . kuuruks ra- 0- ar- ku- tawi -0
 . bear INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.among SUB.4

nihkuhúrəs
 rihkúhuras
 when it found him
 ra- 0- ir- ku- huras -0
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B find SUB.4

atirutašikskápakⁱ .
 a tiiruutacikskápaakis .
 and it pitied him .
 a ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV feel.pity.for PERF .

Arihkúhurəs, títaku

A rihkúhuras tiitaku
 And when it found him here
 a ra- 0- ir- ku- huras -0 tii- -taku
 and INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B find SUB.4 here LOC

rúksuriwawⁱ tárah^a
 rúksuriwaawi táraha'
 when they roamed buffalo ,
 ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi tarahaa ,
 ABS 3.A AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L buffalo ,

hiwitisutašikskápakⁱs
 hi witiiruutacikskápaakis
 and it pitied him
 hi wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV feel.pity.for PERF

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

šahiksiwitišətⁿ
 cáhiks i witišcat
 a person and he was shot
 icaahiks i wi- ti- 0- ir- cak -0
 person and QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF shoot PERF

arisitkararakúrakúwari
 ariísit kararakú' rakuúwari
 himself his not being able to walk
 ariisit kara- ra- 0- ku- uu -0 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
 one's.own NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.4 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Naruwiritakaráhšətⁿ

Raaruuwitiirarittaakárahcat

Then he was just shot under the arm

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ariktaaka.raar-	cak	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	3.INDF	under.arm	shoot	PERF

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

Kirəsiisinawikárákúratárah^a

Kíra si’isiirawikaárah

Perhaps you’ll sing a song

kira	si-	i-	s-	ir-	awi.kaara.a	-0	kuraa	tarahaa
perhaps	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	start.a.song	PERF	doctor	buffalo

Kuraatárahah

Buffalo Doctor

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Hirusiahírawikārah

Hiru si’ahiirawikaárah

Then they sang the song

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- awi.kaara.a -0
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A start.a.song PERF

. Tirāāšāhiks
 . Tíraa'a cáhiks
 . This one coming person
 . tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 icaahiks
 . this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 person

hirahiritⁿ , ahuhúra ,
 hi raáhiirit ahuuhúra
 and finally he was by himself
 hi raahiirit ar- ra- 0- uhurah -0
 and finally EV ABS 3.A be.alone PERF

irirutáhu
 iriiruútahu
 as ones does
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

nakutawarukári .
 rakutawarukaári .
 when one is performing .
 ra- 0- ku- tawaruk.aar -i .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B perform IMPF.SUB .

Kiwík^u wíwitiuhúrari
 Kiwiíku' wíwitiuhúraari'
 A buffalo bull he was imitating it
 kiwiik -u' wii- wi- ti- 0- uhur.aar -i
 buffalo.bull NOM now QUOT IND.3A 3.A imitate IMPF

. Náwa , irári ,

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

hiruahiwáku , “ šápətⁿ
 hiru ahiwáku' “ Cápaat
 then he said : “ A woman
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , “ icapaak
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , “ woman

sisišihušírəs^a

siisiciihuhcírasa'

you must bring her

si- i- s- ir- ut- i- uhur- ciras- a -0
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ now COM come PERF

. " Šápətⁿ
 . " Cápaat
 ! " A woman
 . " icapaak
 . " woman

asiahirušíras^a

a si'ahiiruucírasa'

and they brought her

a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- ciras- a -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV COM come PERF

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

sukstaktahkatáhətⁿ

sukstaktahkatáhat

move back

i-	s-	uks-	rak-	raar-	kata.hak	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	get.away	PERF

.
!
.
.

natákukusiurír^{it}ⁿ

Ratáku ruksuhuruurírit

Over there let her stand awhile

raa-	-taku	ri-	0-	uks-	uhur-	uuri.arik	-0
just	LOC	CONT.3A	3.A	JUSS	now	stand.upright	PERF

.
!
.
.

Sisuruksurahátaw^u

Sisuuruksuraahátawu

You dig a hole

si-	i-	s-	uur-	uks-	huraar-	hata.wuh	-0
DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	JUSS	earth	make.a.hole	PERF

. "
.
!
"

. "

Asiahihurahátaw^u

A si'ahiihuraahátawu

And they dug a hole

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	huraar-	hata.wuh	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	earth	make.a.hole	PERF

tirahúrahš^a

tirahúraahca

this ground

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

Hiruahihətsəpətⁿ

Hiru ahí'at cápaat .

Then she went the woman .

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0	icapaak	.
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF	woman	.

hiruahikāš^u

Hiru ahikaácu'.

Then she urinated.

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	kaacuu	-0
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	urinate	PERF

nuwitikíškitak^u

Ruuwitikíckitaku

Then the hole was full

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	kiic-	kita-	kus	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	liquid	on.top	be.sitting	PERF

hiruahiwáku , “ Náwa,

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

sukstuktáhkatahətⁿ
sukstaktáhkatahat
move away

i-	s-	uks-	rak-	raar-	kata.hak	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	get.away	PERF

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

karisiwišk^a
kariisiwicka'
don't think

kara-	i-	s-	i-	wicka	-0
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	SEQ	think	PERF

kuharaít^a
kuhaaraá'iita

I must know everything

kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iita	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	know	PERF

kišisitikuharikawáh^u

kici sitikuhaarikaawá'aahu'

but they told this to me

kici	si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-wa	-:hus
but	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	1.P	PREV	tell.to	DIST	IMPF

tiwiratariráiwātⁱ

tiwiratariiraá'iiwaati

this I am telling you

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

iriahušúks^a

irii'ahucúksa

the way it used to be

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	uks-	0	-a
there	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	AOR	be	SUB.1

ahatukspáruksti^u

ahatukspaárukstii'u

when I was holy

ar-	ra-	t-	uks-	waarukstii	-u	ákitaar-	-u'	.
EV	ABS	1.A	AOR	be.holy	SUB.D	tribe	NOM	.

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'

tribe

tribe

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

siwiritikáis^a

siwitiirikaá'iisa'

they brought him home

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	kaa-	iis.a	-0
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PORT	inside	come.into	PERF

ésk ^u	sáhiks	.
ásku	cáhiks	.
one	person	.

asku icaahiks .
 one person .

Narukuruhiriwáhaw^u

Raaruukuruuhiriiwaáhawu

Then it just grazed him on the side

raa-	ruu-	kuruur-	ri-	0-	ir-	i-	waaha	wu	-.hus
just	then	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	OBV	SEQ	be.an.angle	go.IMPF	IMPF

. hikuharašiksuhurít^{it}ⁿ .

. Hi kuhaaraciksúhuritit .

. And he revived .

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	aciks.uhur.itik	-0	.
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	revive	PERF	.

hiahawáku

Hi ahawáku'

And he said

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

tiwirašiksuhúrititⁿ

tiwiraaciksuhúritit

when he revived

tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	aciks.uhur.itik	-0	wiita	,
when	when	ABS	3.A	revive	SUB.4	man	,

pít^a,
 piíta
 the man :
 ,
 ,

“ Náwa ,

“ Ráwa

“ Now ,

“ rawa ,

“ now ,

hirusiskúksai

hiru si'iskúksa'i
 there put me in water
 hiruu si- i- s- ku- uks- ha.iir -0
 there DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P JUSS put.in.water PERF

. "
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

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

hiruasiahíha'i
 hiru a si'ahíha'i
 then and they put him in water
 hiruu a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ha.iir -0
 then and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put.in.water PERF

witikiwahahk^u
 . Witikiwahaahku .
 . There was a pond .
 . wi- ti- 0- kiwa.haar- kus -0 .
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A body.of.water be.sitting PERF .

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

Hirukasarətakáisətⁿ

Hiru kaasaraaktaahkaá'isat

Then you (pl) must go home

hiruu	kaas-	s-	ar-	rak-	raar-	kaa-	iis.at	-0
then	POT.2A	2.A	EV	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	inside	go.out.of.sight	PERF

. " Nawa , irárⁱ ,

. " Ráwa iraári'

. " Now , brother ,

. " rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

irikuruhíhasa .

iriikuruuhíhasa .

that one then lay in the water .

irii-	kuruur-	ri-	0-	ha-	sa	-0	.
that	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	in.water	be.lying	PERF	.

Hiríwakⁱ ,

Hi ríhwaki'

And they said ,

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 ,

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

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hiríwakⁱ

hi ríhwaki'

and they said ,

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 ,
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF ,

hiwihiruahīr^a

hi wihiru ahiíra'
 and there he came
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- ir- a -0
 and now there EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV come PERF

aaháwiša

a ahaáwica' .
 and he arrived .
 a ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

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

siskúšuksīritⁿ

si'iskúcuksiirit .
 see me !
 si- i- s- ku- ut- uks- iirik -0 .
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV JUSS see PERF .

kiraširukarataháhtaku

Kíra ciru karataháhtaku

See if it is still an open wound

kira ciruu ka- ra- 0- tat.raar.ta.kus -0
 whether yet Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be.a.wound PERF

irisiríkášətⁿ

. "

iriisiríkuucat . "

where they shot me . "

irii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- cak -0 . "

where DU ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P shoot SUB.4 . "

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

asiahitiríkusit^{it}ⁿ

a si'ahiitiiríkusitit

and they began looking at him

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- iirik -:hus -itik

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV see IMPF INCH

.

.

.

.

kukarawitiraták^u

Kukarawitiiraatáku

There was nothing

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- raa.ta.kus -0

INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ come.up PERF

nakukishapahaštak^u

rakukicapaháctaku

to be open flesh hanging

ra- 0- ku- kica.pahaat- ta kus -0

INF.A 3.A INF.B raw.flesh be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

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

akikutúraruk^u

aki kutúraaruuku'
 and here he imitated it
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- uur- raa.ra'uk -:hus
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV imitate IMPF

tirárikⁱ íšas . Náwa ,
 tiraáriki ícaas . Ráwa
 this one a turtle . Now
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i icaas . rawa
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 turtle . now

háw^a , irárⁱ ,
 haáwa' iraári'
 again , brother ,
 haawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 also , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hawašahiks hawaíhtətⁿ háw^a ,
 hawá cáhiks hawá íhtat haáwa'
 also a person also more also
 haawa icaahiks haawa ihtat haawa
 also person also some.more also

nikuwitiháhur^u

rikuwitiháhuru'
 that one doctored him

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- rahur.uu -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV doctor PERF

áwitⁿ áwitⁿ
 áwit . Áwit
 first . First
 awit . awit
 first . first

kuharáhwíšaukətⁿ
 kuhaarawiica'uukut
 he apparently got to the bank

kuur- ra- 0- ar- awiica- uukuk -0
 DUB ABS 3.A EV on.the.edge get.into PERF

itihakukúhiətⁿ

i tihaakukuúhi'at
 and here he must have gone

i tii- haa- ku- kuur- ri- 0- at -0
 and here here INDF DUB CONT.3A 3.A go PERF

kuhawišáís^a

. Kuhaawiica'iisa'

. He came to the bank

. kuur- ra- 0- a- awiica- iis.a -0
 . DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A on.the.edge come.into PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

ruwitiritararíru

Ruuwitiriitaráiru'

Then it burned him

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	tararit.ra'uk	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	SEQ	burn	PERF

.

Aahirikukistahuhkakusitⁿ

a ahiirikukistahúhkakusit

and it took a piece of his breast off

a	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	riku.kiis-	tahuur-	ka-	kusik	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	sternum	tough.skin	in	pick.up	PERF

.

Urarísitⁿ

urariísit

straight

uurariisit

straight

tiiriratarapiškatárikⁱ

ti'iriirataapickataáriki

here where our hearts are

tii-	irii-	ra-	t-	a-	rak-	wiic-	kata-	arik	-i
here	where	ABS	1.A	IN.PL.P	1/2.PL	heart	against.a.vertical.surface	be.standing	SUB.2

ruwítisa

.

Ruuwítiisa

.

There he lay

.

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	sa	-0
there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.lying	PERF

.

Asiahirákⁱ

A si'ahiiráki
And they killed them
a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- kii -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P kill.in.battle PERF

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

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

siahiririwirárahətⁿ .
si'ahiiriwiraárahət .
they rolled him over .
si- ar- ra- 0- ir- iriwiraa.ra.hak -0 .
DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A roll.over PERF .

Sikúhiriripítətⁿ
Sikúhiiripiítat
They put him on his stomach
si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- irik.wiitat.k -0
DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A turn.on.the.stomach PERF

hikuhahkiškawátətⁿ
hi kuuhaahkickawátat
and the liquid must have come out

hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- kiic- kawatak -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A EV liquid get.out PERF

hitakaráhis^u ahatús^a .
 hi takaaraáhisu' ahatuúsa' .
 and suddenly he exhaled deeply .
 hi takaaraahis -u' ar- ra- 0- tuus.a -0 .
 and all.at.once NOM EV ABS 3.A sigh PERF .

Hiahíhwakⁱ
 Hi ahíhwaki'
 And they said
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

kiraiahawák^u
 kúra , i'ahawáku'
 well , he said
 kira , ii- ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 perhaps , that EV ABS 3.A say PERF

iahás^a . " Náwa ,
 i'ahaása " Ráwa
 that one lying : " Now ,
 ii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0 , " rawa ,
 that EV ABS 3.A be.lying PERF , " now ,

ihiwitikušiksuhurit^{†n} ,
 ihi witikuuciksúhurutit .
 uh , now my mind is clear .
 ihii , wii- ti- ku- aciks.uhur.itik -0 .
 uh , now IND.3A 1.P mind.to.become.clear PERF .

náwa,

Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

itiwirikušiksuhurít¹n

i tiwirikuuciksúhuritit

and now that my mind is clear

i tii- wii- ri- ku- aciks.uhur.itik -0
and here now CONT.3A 1.P mind.to.become.clear PERF

.

Kirasiskuharitaráhkis^a

kíra si'iskuuharitaráhkisa'

perhaps you'll run bring them for me

kira si- i- s- ir- ku- ut- raar- ri- tarahkis- a -0
perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P BEN 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.strong come PERF

naruwí^u

raaruúwi'u'

algae

raar.ruu.wi- -u'

algae NOM

Nakukiwáhahk^u

rakukiwáhaahku

where a pond is

ra- 0- ku- kiwahaar- kus -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B pond be.sitting SUB.4

nakuraruwíhətⁿ . "
 rakuraruuwíhat . "
 to gather it off the water . "
 ra- 0- ku- raar.ruu.wi.hak -0 . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B gather.off.a.surface PERF . "

Nuahírəs

Ruu'ahiiras

Then they ran

ruu- ar- ra- 0- ir- as-i -0
 then EV ABS 3.A PL.3A run PERF

araruahirípira

a raaruu'ahiriípira

and then they just gathered it

a raa- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ir- riipi.raah -0
 and just then EV ABS 3.A PL.3A gather PERF

. Naruwitíwa^a .
 . Raaruuwitíwa'a .
 . Then he just ate them .
 . raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- wa- a -0 .
 . just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF .

Naruwitíwa^a

Raaruuwitíwa'a

Then he just ate them

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- wa- a -0 .
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF .

Ahawáku . " Náwa ,

Ahawáku' " Ráwa

He said : " Now

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

witətiwatáhist^a .
 witatihwaatáhista .
 I am going to get up .
 wi- ta- t- ir- waat.a -his -ta .
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A get.up PERF INT .

Náwa
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

hihiruirikuhahkiwaháhk^u
 hi hiru iriikuuhakiwahaáhku
 and there wherever the pond is
 hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- kiwahaar- kus -0
 and there where DUB ABS 3.A pond be.sitting PERF

sikaskúhauš . "
 sikaskuúha'uc . "
 you will lay me in the water . "
 si- kaas- s- ku- ha- uc -0 . "
 DU POT.2A 2.A 1.P in.water lay.SG.P PERF . "

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

hirikuahíta .

hi riku'ahiíta .
and that is what they did :
hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -0 .
and that.is EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF .

Hirusiahírírətⁿ

hiru si'ahíírat
then they carried him
hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- ra- at -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ PORT go PERF

hiruiriahakiwaháhk^u

hiru irii'ahakiwahaáhku
there where there was a pond
hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- kiwahaar- kus -0
there where EV ABS 3.A pond be.sitting SUB.4

. Asiahiruš .
. A si'ahiíruc .
. And they laid him down .
. a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uc -0 .
. and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A lay.SG.P PERF .

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

hihiruiriruahirikisaúkətⁿ

hi hiru iriruu'ahiirikísa'uukut
and then he crawled into the water there
hi hiruu irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- irikis- ha- uukuk -0
and then there then EV ABS 3.A crawl in.water get.into PERF

iriwiahaháwari

iriwi'ahahaáwari

where he went about in the water

irii- wii- ar- ra- 0- ha- a.warii -hus
where now EV ABS 3.A in.water go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB

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

Witírakiⁱ

Witíraakii'i

It was a long time

wi- ti- 0- raa.kiir -'
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.long EX

hiahakáta

hi ahaakátaa'

and he came up the bank

hi ar- ra- 0- a- kata- a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A against.a.vertical.surface come PERF

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

hawakirikiratutəst^a .

háwa kíriki ratuútasta .

also how am I going to be ?

haawa	kirikii	ra-	t-	ut-	0	-as	-ta	.
also	what	ABS	1.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT	.

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

hiruwitətkaísuht^a

hiru	witakaa	iísuhta						
then	I am going to go home							
hiruu	wi-	ta-	t-	kaa-	iis.uh			-ta
then	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	inside	go.out.of.sight.INT			INT

. "

. "

. "

. "

naruwitiririkukistahuhkakúsitⁿ

Raaruuwitiriirikukistahúhkakusit

Then it had just taken a piece of his breast off

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ri-	uur-	riku.kiis-	tahuur-	ka-	kusik	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	sternum	tough.skin	in	pick.up	PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Kukarawitušíra^u

Kukarawitucíraa'u'

There was nothing wrong with him

ku-	kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raa.uu	-0
INDF	NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	way.to.be.thus	PERF

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

akikutúraruku

aki kutúraaruuku'

and here he imitated it

a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	uur-	raa.ra'uk	-:hus
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	imitate	IMPF

íšus	.	íšus	.	Nawa	,
ícaas	.	Ícaas	.	Ráwa	
a turtle	.	A turtle	.	Now	,
icaas	.	icaas	.	rawa	,
turtle	.	turtle	.	now	,

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

títakuwirikutiraitəstíhətⁿ

títaku wirikutiraa'itustííhat

here this is the end of the story

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

•
•
•
•