

Ethics, Two

Roaming Scout

Hirutíuriritⁿ

Hiru tí'uuriirit

Then he stood

hiruu ti- 0- uuriirik- -0
then IND.1/2A 3.A stand.up PERF

nakukirikawúsititⁿ

rakukirikawuúsitit

to begin examining it

ra- 0- 0- ku- kirikaa.at -hus -itik
INF.A 3.A 3.P INF.B examine IMPF.SUB INCH

Asiahiruririkítpit^a

A si'ahiiruuriírikít

And they stood him up

a si- ar- ri- 0- 0- ir- uuriirik -0 piíta
and DU EV CONT.3A 3.A 3.P 3.A.PL stand.up PERF man
the man

, ahawáku

. Ahawáku'

. He said

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

wiahutəsarírit

wii'ahuutasaariírit

when he saw the pole

wii- ar- ra- 0- ut- asaar- iirik -0 :
: " " " "

now EV ABS 3.A PREV game.piece see PERF : “

tāskaru . "
Tāskaru' . "
You won them . "
ta- s- 0- ka- ra'uk -0 . "
IND.1/2A 2A 3.P DIST win PERF . "

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

wiahutasarírit ,

wi'ahuutasaariirit

when he saw the pole :

wii- ar- ra- 0- asaar- ut- iirik -0 ,
when EV ABS 3.A game.piece PREV see SUB.4 ,

“ tāskaru . "

“ Tāskaru' . "

“ You won them . "

" ta- s- ka.ra'uk -0 . "

" IND.1/2A 2.A make.PL.P PERF . "

Hiruahiwákuihi

Hiru ahiwáku' ihi

Then he said , uh ,

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii ,

then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , uh ,

irikúahasar^u

iriikú'ahaasaaru

the one who owned the pole

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- a- asaar- 0 -u
that INDF EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A game.piece be SUB.D

. “ Irítawiratⁿ ,
“ I riitáwirat .
: “ And I did beat him .
, “ i rii- t- awirat -0 .
, “ and ASSR 1.A outdo PERF .

wirutatikáwutitⁿ . ”

Wiruutatikáwuutit . ”

Now I won them . ”

wii- ruu- ta- t- i- ka.wa.ut.ik -0 . ”
now then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ win.stakes PERF . ”

Hiruahiwakuirisiríhkaruku

Hiru ahiwáku’ iriisiríhkaruku
Then he said the one winning them

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 irii- si- ra- 0- ir- ka.ra’uk -hus
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF that DU ABS 3.A OBV make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

“ Šíru !
“ Círu
: “ Yet
, “ ciru
, “ still

sikarisuksuhurəsakúsitⁿ

sikariisuksuhurasaáhkusit

don't pick up the pole for him

si- kara- i- s- uks- uhur- asaar- kusik -0
DU NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS now game.piece pick.up PERF

. Āka^a !
 . Aāka'a
 . Oh my ,
 . aaka'a ,
 . oh.my ,

iriwitāsikis
 iriwitāsihkiis
 you are a liar

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|----------|-----|-----------|-------------------------|------|
| irii- | wi- | ta- | s- | ir- | kiis | -0 |
| that | QUOT | IND.1/2A | 2.A | PREV.1/2A | be.one.who.prevaricates | PERF |

. " Šikstithíahauriritⁿ
 . " Cíkstit hi aha'uuriirit .
 . " Well and he stood up .
 . " cikstik hi ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 .
 . " well and EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF .

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|--------|------|----------------------|
| ahawáku | | | | | " Āka ^a ! |
| Ahawáku' | | | | | " Aāka'a |
| He said | | | | : | " Oh my , |
| ar- | ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | , " aaka'a , |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | say | PERF | , " oh.my , |

iriwitaskiskítawⁱ
 iriwitaskiiskítawⁱ
 you are a leading liar

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|----------|-----|-------------------------|---------------|------|
| irii- | wi- | ta- | s- | kiis | kita.wi | -0 |
| that | QUOT | IND.1/2A | 2.A | be.one.who.prevaricates | be.the.leader | PERF |

, kukakíkaru .
 . Kukaakiíkaru' .
 . He did not win them .
 . ku- kaaki- 0- i- ka.ra'uk -0 .

. INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ make.PL.P PERF .

Nahurikakíratihatⁿ . "
Raáhuri kaakíraatiihat . "
It did not reach it . "
raa.hurii kaaki- 0- raa- tiihak -0 . "
far.off NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF . "

Hiruahiwáku

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

Ahárik^u ,

aháriku
the one sitting with it
ar- ra- 0- ri- kus -0
EV ABS 3.A PORT be.sitting SUB.4

iríahušuksasariríku

irí'ahucuksasaariiríku
the one seeing the pole
irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- asaar- iirik -hus
that EV ABS 3.A PREV JUSS game.piece see IMPF.SUB

,

wiwitawíhakak^u

wiwitaahwíhaahkaku

it was there on the game ground

wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.haar- ka- kus -0
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV game.ground on be.sitting PERF

“ xka^a !
“ líka’a
: “ Oh my ,
, “ iika’a ,
, “ oh.my ,

irúhkaru . "
iirúhkaru' . "
that one won them from you . "
ii- ra- 0- a- uur- ka.ra’uk -0 . "
that ABS 3.A 2.P PREV make.PL.P PERF . "

Hipitaruahiwítitⁿ

Hi píita ruu’ahiwítit .
And the man then he sat down .
hi wiita ruu- ar- ri- 0- wi.itik -0 .
and man then EV CONT.3A 3.A sit.down PERF .

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

iihikaririsíwətiks

I ihi kariirisiíwattiks
And , uh , you are not truthful
i , ihii , kari- rii- s- i- wak.rik.his -0
and , uh , EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

; kakíkaru .
 . Kaakiíkaru' .
 . He did not win .
 . kaaki- 0- i- ka.ra'uk -0 .
 . NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ make.PL.P PERF .

Hitiwirarurikúwirətn

Hi tiwiraaruriikuúwirat
 And here he has just beat me
 hi tii- wii- raa- ruu- rii- 0- ku- awirat -0
 and here now just then ASSR 3.A 1.P outdo PERF

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

iriwirurakára^u . "
 iriwiruurakára'u . "
 (of) the one who won : "
 irii- wii- ruu- ra- 0- ka.ra'uk -0 , "
 that now then ABS 3.A make.PL.P SUB.3 , "

Irúhkaru ,
 Iirúhkaru' .
 That one won from you .
 ii- ra- 0- a- uur- ka.ra'uk -0 .
 that ABS 3.A 2.P PREV make.PL.P PERF .

irakáwutit . "
 Iiraakáwuutit . "
 That one beat you . "
 ii- ra- 0- a- ka.wa.ut.ik -0 . "

that ABS 3.A 2.P win.stakes PERF . "

Hiruahiwáku pít^a “
Hiru ahiwáku’ píita “
Then he said the man : “
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 wiita , “
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF man , ”

Hawakarisiwáku ,
Hawá kariisiwáku’ .
Also don't say it .
haawa kara- i- s- i- waka’u -0 .
also NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ say PERF .

rurušukstaru
Ruurucukstáru’
Let that be all
ruu- ri- 0- ut- uks- raar- uu -0
then CONT.3A 3.A PREV JUSS 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

. Hištaahíahawaku
. Hicta’aáhii’ ahawáku’
! Nevertheless he said
. hi cta’aahii ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0
. and nevertheless EV ABS 3.A say PERF

pít^a . “ Iritíwatiks
píita “ I ritiíwattiks
the man : “ And I am truthful
wiita , “ i rii- t- i- wak.rik.his -0
man , “ and ASSR 1.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

. “
. “

. "
. "
. "

Hiruahirušápit^a

Hiru ahuucaá' piíta
Then he arose the man
hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 wiíta
then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF man

aahawiháhka^a

a ahaawihaáhkaa'
and he came on the game ground
a ar- ra- 0- a- wi.haar- ka- a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A game.ground on come PERF

, iriahakúpit^a

irií'ahaaku piíta
where he sat the man
irii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0 wiíta
where EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 man

kišihiwitíwišətⁿ

kici hi witiwícat ,
but and he arrived
kici hi wi- ti- 0- wic.at -0
but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A arrive PERF

híahakawatⁿ

hi ahakáwat níšikⁱ .
and he took it out riíiki .
and he took it out a knife .
hi ar- ra- 0- kawat -0 riici -kis .
and EV ABS 3.A take.out PERF knife DIM .

Aahirisahakatarúwa

A ahiirisahahkataruúwaa'

And he stabbed him several times in the ribs

a ar- ra- 0- a- ir- risat- raar- kata- ruu- wa- a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV rib PL against.a.vertical.surface PORT DIST come PERF

,
.
.
.
.

wihiruwitahkutpiháhkasa

Wihiru witaahkutpihaáhkasa

Now then he lay dead on the game ground

wii- hiruu wii- ti- 0- ar- kuut- wi.haar- ka- sa -0
now then now IND.3A 3.A EV dead game.ground on be.lying PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Hikišiahiruwáwaəs

Hi kici ahiruuwaáwa'as

And but they ran in different directions

hi kici ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ruu- waawa- as-i -0
and but EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV DIST DIST DIST run PERF

šahikstahkítu

cahikstaahkítuu'u'

everyone

icaahiks raar- kituu -u'

person PL all NOM .

Ahawáku ,

Ahawáku'

He said

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

ahawakárarut^a , “

ahawakaráruuta “

when he called out : “

ar- ra- 0- wakaraar- u.at -a , “
EV ABS 3.A voice extend.in.a.line SUB.1 , ”

Wiwititarákut^tⁿ

Wiwititaraákuutit

We have killed one of our own

wii- witi- ta- t- a- rak- kuut.ik -0
now REFL IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL kill PERF

. “
. “
. “
. “
. “

Iriahatarakítkaharuhatⁿ

Irii'ahataraakítkaharuhat

Where our village extended

irii- ar- ra- t- a- rak- kitka.haar- u.hak -0
where EV ABS 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL earth.lodge.village extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, hínisar^u
hi riisaaru'

and the chiefs
 hi riisaar -u'
 and be.chief NOM

áhihwaki " Šíru !
 ahíhwaki' " Círu .
 they said : " Wait !
 ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " ciru .
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " still .

šírupahit^u ! pahít^u !
 Círu . Pahiítu' . Pahiítu' .
 Wait ! Quiet ! Quiet !
 ciru . pahiit -u' . pahiit -u' .
 still . be.quiet NOM . be.quiet NOM .

kararušuksuhú^u ,
 Kararuucuksuhú'u .
 Let it be awhile !
 kara- ri- 0- ut- uks- uhur- 0 -' .
 NEG CONT.3A 3.A PREV JUSS awhile be EX .

ruruksuhúhwari
 Ruuruksuhúhwari'
 Let him go around awhile
 ruu- ri- 0- uks- uhur- warii -:hus
 then CONT.3A 3.A JUSS awhile be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. " Na !
 . " Ra'
 ! " Now
 . " rawa
 . " now

nikuwitirúhkit^a

rikuwitiirúhkita

those were the cause

riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- kita -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.cause PERF

nísar^u

riísaaru'

the chiefs

riisaar -u'
be.chief NOM

sikarahirikútik^a

sikaraahiriikuútika

that they did not kill him

si- kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- kuut.ik -a
DU NEG EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ kill SUB.1

. Karahirípak^a .

karaahiriípaka .

, that they did not fight .

, kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- apak -a .
, NEG EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ fight SUB.1 .

Irikuháratihætⁿ ,

Irikuuháraatiihat

Whenever the time was

irii- kur- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -0
that DUB ABS 3.A way be.the.end PERF

hirukuhariškawiraætⁿ

hiru kúhaarickawiíra'at

then he went west

hiruu kuur- ra- 0- ar- ickawiira- at -0

then DUB ABS 3.A EV in.a.westward.direction go PERF

píta
piíta
the man
wiita
man

nuwitariškawíraetⁿ

Ruuwitaarickawiíra'at

Then he went west

ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ickawiira- at -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV in.a.westward.direction go PERF

. Kuháráki ,
. Kuuháraakii
. It was a long time
. kuur- ra- 0- raa.kiir -0
. DUB ABS 3.A be.long PERF

híkukawiš^a

hi kúhaawica' .
and he came back .
hi kuur- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 .
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

kuhašíksurahaš ,

Kúhaaciksuráhac

He forgot it

kuur- ra- 0- aciks- hurahac -0
DUB ABS 3.P mind disappear PERF

hikuháwiša .

hi kuhaáwica' .

and he came back .
 hi kuur- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 .
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

Hiruahiráwirakətⁿ

Hiru ahiraáwiiraakat .
 Then he went on the warpath .
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- raawiiraak- at -0 .
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A on.the.warpath go PERF .

arusáaahakarikstíwiš^a

Aruúsa' a ahaakarikstíwica'
 Horses and he brought back a herd
 aruusaa a ar- ra- 0- a- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
 horse and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT arrive PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

Siwitíkarikstíwiš^a

Siwitiíkarikstíwica'

They brought back a herd

si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT arrive PERF

hiirikuhahkítawi

hi irikuhaahkítawi' pít^a
 and that one was leader of them piíta
 hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- ar- kita.wi -0 wiíta
 and that DUB ABS 3.A EV be.the.leader PERF man

,
.
.
.
.

nikuhahírasa

Rikuuhaahírasa'

That one was the leader

rii- kuur- ra- 0- a- hiras- a -0
that DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A in.the.lead come PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Hiwisirihkuhašikstawawⁱ

Hi wisirihkuuhaacikstawaawi

And when they were watching over them

hi wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa- aciks.ta -waa -wi
and when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV way watch.over DIST SUB.L

, šahikstáka
cahíkstaaka
the white men
icaahiks taakaar
person be.white

wikuhuhakašikstawa

wikúhuuhaakacíkstawa

he was watching over them

wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ut- rak- aciks.ta -waa -0

now DUB ABS 3.A 2.P PREV 1/2.PL watch.over DIST PERF

náhikuš^u , kišišahiksíšahiks a
 raáhikucu' , kici cahiksícahiks a
 the braves , but the Indians and
 raahikuuc -u' , kici icaahiks icaahiks a
 be.brave NOM , but person person and

nisár^u .
 riisaáru' .
 a chief .
 riisaar -u' .
 be.chief NOM .

Wituksasá^a Hákararus
 Wituksasá'a Haákararus
 He was named Beard
 wi- ti- 0- uks- asar 0 haaka- raruus
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF mouth be.furry

Aháhwakⁱ
 . Ahíhwaki' " " " " " "
 . They said : " " " "
 . ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 , " " " "
 . EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " " " "

šahíkstaka
 Cahíkstaaka
 A white man
 icaahiks taakaar
 person be.white

kukutíhara^a
 kukutíhaara'a

they are his

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-------|-----|-----|---------|------------|----|----|
| ku- | ku- | tiir- | ra- | 0- | a- | raar- | 0 | -ʻ |
| INDF | INDF | INFR | ABS | 3.A | POSS.3A | 3PL.INAN.P | be | EX |

tirawáriki

tirawaáriki

these

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

Híruahiwaku

Hiru ahiwákuʻ

Then he said

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------|-----|--------|------|--------|----------|
| hiruu | ar- | ri- | 0- | wakaʻu | -0 | haaka- | raruus |
| then | EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | say | PERF | mouth | be.furry |

Hákararus

Haákararus

Beard

“

“

: “

, ”

, ”

Hirusisišiksukširəs^a

Hiru sisiiciksakcírasaʻ

Then bring them here

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----------|-----|-----------|------|-----|------|----------|--------|------|------|
| hiruu | si- | i- | s- | ir- | ut- | i- | uks- | ak- | ciras- | a | -0 |
| then | DU | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | PREV.1/2A | PREV | SEQ | JUSS | PL.AN.3P | COM | come | PERF |

.
.
!
.
.

Asiahirutešírasa

A si'ahiiruutaccírasa'

And they brought them

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

, iriahakárik^u

irii'ahaakáriku

where his home was

irii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, Hákararus . Ahawáku ,

Haákararus . Ahawáku'

Beard . He said :

haaka- raruus . ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ,

mouth be.furry . EV ABS 3.A say PERF ,

“ Tiwárikist^a títaku
“ Tiwaárikista tiítaku
“ They are to stand right here
" ti- 0- waa- arik -his -ta tii- -taku
" IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF INT here LOC

šahíkstaka

. Cahíkstaaka

. White men

. icaahiks taakaar

. person be.white

kutirá^a .

kutiirá'a .

they are theirs .

ku- ti- 0- a- ir- raar- 0 -' .

INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P be EX .

Hirusikússiritⁿ tət

Hiru sikuússirittat

Then they will take them

hiruu si- kuus- 0- ir- i- ak- ra- at -0
then DU POT.1/3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go PERF

. Asawakiwitítawi

. " Asaáwaki' witítawi'

. " A pinto it was among them

. " asaa- awakir wii- ti- 0- tawi -0

. " horse be.strange now IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

, ahawáku píta , “

. Ahawáku' piíta “

. He said the man : “

. ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , ”

. EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , ”

Kakátiška

Kaakaáticka'

I do not want

kaaka- t- wicka -0
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

rəskusirásat^a ,

raskucirásata

for you to take it

ra- s- ku- ut- ciras- at -a
INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV COM go SUB.1

tírarikⁱ , asáwakⁱ

tíraariki asaáwaki'

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-------------|-------|--|-------|------------|
| this one | | | | | | pinto | |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | arik | -i | | asaa- | awakir |
| this | ABS | 3.A | be.standing | SUB.2 | | horse | be.strange |

,
.
.
.
.

tátirirarikista

Tátiriirarikista

I am going to keep it

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----------|--|-----------|--------|-------------|------|-----|
| ta- | t- | ir- | | ri- | uur- | arik | -his | -ta |
| IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be.standing | PERF | INT |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|----------|-----|--------|------------|----------------|---|
| . | Ahawáku | | | | Hákararus | , | |
| . | " | Ahawáku' | | | Haákararus | | |
| . | " | He said | | | Beard | : | |
| . | " | ar- ra- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | haaka- raruus | , |
| . | " | EV ABS | 3.A | say | PERF | mouth be.furry | , |

" irítiška

" I riíticka'

" And I want

" i rii- t- wicka -0

" and ASSR 1.A want PERF

rətkuširásata

ratkucirásata

for me to take it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|------|--------|----|-------|---|---|
| ra- | t- | ku- | ut- | ciras- | at | -a | " | . |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | PREV | COM | go | SUB.1 | " | . |

Kuruharasákipu

Kuruuhaaracákipu

Thereupon he called them together

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|------------|-----------|------|
| kuruur- | ra- | 0- | ar- | raar- | takik.wuh | -0 |
| DUB | ABS | 3.A | EV | 3PL.INAN.P | gather | PERF |

naripákus^u

raaripákusu'

the soldiers

raa- ri.apak

way oppose.relinquishing

-hus

-u'

IMPF.SUB

NOM

Hákarárus

Haákararus

Beard

haaka- raruus

mouth be.furry

níkuwitikitawi

rikuwitikítawi'

that one was leader

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

nisár^u

riisaáru'

the chief

riisaar -u'

be.chief NOM

hirikuaharašákipu

hi riku'aharacákipu

and that one gathered them

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-----|----|-------|-----------|----|
| hi | riku- | ar- | ra- | 0- | raar- | takik.wuh | -0 |
|----|-------|-----|-----|----|-------|-----------|----|

and that.is EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P gather PERF

naripákus^u .
 raaripákus^u .
 the soldiers .
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Awítawaku , “ Náw^a
 A witaahwáku’ “ Ráwa
 And he would say : “ Now
 a wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , " rawa
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , " now

hirusisišišíras
 hiru sisiiccírasa’
 then bring it
 hiruu si- i- s- ir- ut- i- ciras- a -0
 then DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ COM come PERF

Pitawitawáku
 . " Piíta witaahwáku’
 ! " The man he would say
 . " wiita wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0
 . " man QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

“

: “
, ”
, ”

tatituriátirarikⁱ

Tatiituri’a’

I came for it

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----------|------|----------|------|------|------|-----|-----|-------------|-------|
| ta- | t- | ir- | ut- | huri | a | -0 | tii- | ra- | 0- | arik | -i |
| IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | PREV | wait.for | come | PERF | this | ABS | 3.A | be.standing | SUB.2 |

tiraáriki

this one

.
.
.
.
.
.

Hiwitawákupit^a

Hi witaahwáku’

And he would say

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|--------|------|---------|
| hi | wii- | ti- | 0- | ar- | waka’u | -0 | piíta |
| and | now | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | say | PERF | the man |

“
“
“
”
”

Ikaririsušiširəsuht^a

I kariirisucicirásuhta

And you are not going to take it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|------|-----|------|-----|--------|--------|-----|
| i | karii- | rii- | s- | ut- | i- | ciras- | uh | -ta |
| and | EMPH.NEG | ASSR | 2.A | PREV | SEQ | COM | go.INT | INT |

IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ' ,

hiruruksáarisit

Hiru rúksa' ariísit
Then let him come himself
hiruu ri- 0- a- uks- a -0 ariisit
then CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A JUSS come PERF one's.own

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

rutušíra^u . "

ruutucíraa'u' . "

that is alright . "

ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0 . "
that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF . "

Hiruahúša

Hiru ahuúcaa'

Then he arose

hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0
then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF

Hákararus

Haákararus .

Beard .

haaka- raruus .

mouth be.furry .

wihíruaharətⁿ

Wihiru ahaárat

Now then he went over there
 wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- at -0
 now then EV ABS 3.A EV go PERF

iriaharutətširasáriki
 irii'aharuutaccirasáriki
 where he stood holding them

irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- ak- ciras- arik -i
 where EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P COM be.standing SUB.2

, pít^a , arús^a .
 piita aruúsa' .
 the man the horses .
 wiita aruusaa .
 man horse .

Aaháwišətⁿ .

A ahawícat .
 And he arrived .
 a ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF .

Aahawáku Ihi
 A ahawáku' " Ihi ,
 And he said : " Uh ,
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " ihii ,
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " uh ,

náw^a
 ráwa
 now
 rawa
 now

tatituriátirariki

tatiitúri'a'

I came for it

ta- t- ir- ut- huri a -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV wait.for come PERF

tiraáriki

this one

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

asawáki .

asaawáki' . "

pinto . "

asaa- awakir . "

horse be.strange . "

Ahawáku

píta . "

Ahawáku'

piíta . "

He said

the man : "

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , "

EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , "

Irikúritpaku ,

Irikúriitpáku' .

That is what I said .

irii- ku- rii- t- waka'u -0 .

that INDF ASSR 1.A say PERF .

tətpáku ,

Tətpáku' ' ,

I said : ' ,

ta- t- waka'u -0 , ' ,

IND.1/2A 1.A say PERF , ' ,

hirúruksa

Hiru rúksa' . ' ,

Then let him come ! ' ,

hiruu ri- 0- a- uks- a -0 . ' ,

then CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A JUSS come PERF . ' .

Nišikutš^u arusírasət
 Ríicikucu' a ruucírasat
 Big Knife he can take it
 riici -kucuu a ra- 0- ut- ciras- at -0
 knife AUG and ABS 3.A PREV COM go PERF

arísitⁿ . Ahawáku " "
 ariísit . " Ahawáku' " "
 himself . " He said : " "
 ariísit . " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " "
 one's.own . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " "

Irikurítišk^a . " "
 Irikuriíticka' . " "
 That is what I want . " "
 irii- ku- rii- t- wicka -0 . " "
 that INDF ASSR 1.A want PERF . " "

Ahawákupit^a " "
 Ahawáku' piíta " "
 He said the man : " "
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , " "
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , " "

ríikutatišk^a
 Rikutáticka'
 That is what I want
 riku- ta- t- wicka -0
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

rasíhkua ,
 rasíhku'a

for you to come

ra- s- ir- ku- a -0
INF.A 2.A PREV.1/2A INF.B come SUB.4

tiiriratárikⁱ

ti'iriiraatáriki

here where I am standing

tii- irii- ra- t- arik -i . "
here where ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2 . "

Akiiriwirukutisíurikətⁿ

Aki iriwiruukutiicí'uurikut

And here thereupon he took hold of him

a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uurikuk -0
and there then now then INDF IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV SEQ hold PERF

, Hakarárus .
Haákararus .
Beard .
haaka- raruus .
mouth be.furry .

Ahituríkətⁿ

Ahiituuríkut

He took hold of him

ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uurikuk -0 .
EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV hold PERF .

Kuharíkskawətⁿ

Kúhaaríkskawatat

(One of) his hand(s) got free

kuur- ra- 0- ar- iks- kawatak -0 .
DUB ABS 3.A EV hand get.out PERF .

kuhirašikskawarúšətⁿ

Kuhiiracikskawaaruúcat

He stabbed him repeatedly at the base of the throat

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|---------|--------|------|------|------|
| kuur- | ra- | 0- | ir- | aciks- | ka.cak | -waa | -ruu | -0 |
| DUB | ABS | 3.A | OBV | trachea | stick | DIST | DIST | PERF |

,
.
.
.
.

raruwitáhkutpiət

Raaruuwitaáhkutpii'at

Then he just fell over dead

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------|-----|-----|-------|--------------|------|
| raa- | ruu- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | kuut- | wii.at | -0 |
| just | then | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.P | EV | dead | bend.forward | PERF |

. Híahirəs ,
, hi ahiíras
, and they ran
, hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0
, and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF

túhkitu , “
tuhkítuu'u' . “
the entire village . “
ituur- kituu -u' . ”
village all NOM . ”

Ihawatakurákutitⁿ

I hawá tatakuraákuutit

And also he killed ours

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-----|----|----|-----|------|---------|----|
| i | haawa | ta- | t- | a- | ku- | rak- | kuut.ik | -0 |
|---|-------|-----|----|----|-----|------|---------|----|

and also IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.A 1.P 1/2.PL kill PERF

, "
.
.
.
.
.

Skatakawitúksasa^a

Ckataáka witúksasa'a
White Face he was named
icka- taakaar wi- ti- 0- uks- asar -'
face be.white QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX

Hiahířastuhkitu

Hi ahiíras tuhkituu'u'
And they ran the entire village
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0 ituur- kituu -u'
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF village all NOM

, " Wisitíhkutitⁿ

. " Wisitíhkuutit

. " They have killed him

. " wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0
. " now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

nišíkuš^u . "

Riicíkucu' . "

Big Knife . "

riici -kucuu . "

knife AUG . "

Akikutuháhkusak^u

Aki kutuuhaáhkusaahku

And here a group was waiting
a- ki ku- ti- 0- ut- raar- kus.haar- kus -0
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A seat be.sitting PERF

,

irikuhtakišis^u
iriikúhuutaakíciisu'
the ones related to him
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -:hus
that DUB ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF

. Na
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

iriruwítiripətⁿ
iriruwítiriipət
thereupon they fought
irii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- apak -0
then then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ fight PERF

.
.
.
.
.

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

kakúrahi ,
 kaakúraahi ,
 it was not good ,
 kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

hiarísit siía
 hi ariísit si'í'a
 and themselves if it were they (du)
 hi ariísit si- ii- 0- 0 -a
 and one's.own DU SUBJ.3A 3.A be SUB.1

hisíipak^u .
 hi si'íipaku .
 and if they (du) were fighting .
 hi si- ii- 0- apak -hus .
 and DU SUBJ.3A 3.A fight IMPF.SUB .

Iriruwítiripətⁿ
 Iriruwítiríipət
 Thereupon they fought
 irii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- apak -0
 then then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ fight PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

Asiahirətahukiwihkaúkut

A si'ahiirattaahuhkiwihka'uukut

And they chased them onto a sandbar

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ak- raa.uhuur- kiwihk- ka- uukuk -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P way sandbar on get.into PERF

. Iríaha^u

. Irii'aha'u

. The one

. irii- ar- ra- 0- 0 -u
. that EV ABS 3.A be SUB.D

asiahihkásap^tn

a si'ahihkaásapit

and they broke his leg

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kaas- apic.k -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A leg break PERF

asiahihkuutukiwihkauš

a si'ahihkuutuukiwihka'uc

and they left him dead on the sand

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut- huukiwihk- ka- uc -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A dead sandbar on lay.SG.P PERF

. Kusiwitiirahú^u

. Kusiwitiirahú'u

. They treated him

. ku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- rahur -'
. INDF DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A grieve EX

irárⁱ

iraári'

, kátahka .

, kátahka .

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

Kitusiahihpakskiškahúkar^u

Kítuu'u' si'ahihpakskickahuúkaru'

All they smashed his head

kituu -u' si- ar- ra- 0- ir- paks- kic.kahuu -ka.ra'uk -0
 all NOM DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A head be.crushed CAUS.PL.P PERF

. Hihírawu

. Hi híraawu

. And the others

. hi hii- ra- 0- wuu -hus

. and other ABS 3.A go.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hisiahirakápah^a

hi si'ahiiraakapáhaa'

and they chased them

hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- aak.apaha.a -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A drive.back PERF

. Kúšihí

. Kici ihi

. But , uh ,

. kici , ihii ,

. but , uh ,

wiruwitirikaúketⁿ

wiruwitiríka'uukut

then they drove them into the woods

wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- ri- ka- uukuk -0
 now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT in.the.brush get.into PERF

| | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|----------|------|--|------------------------|--|
| , | kahurahkišúšiskət ⁿ | | | | hihawáəsk ^u | |
| | kahuraahkicuúciskat | | | | hi hawá ásku | |
| | in thick woods | | | | and also one | |
| | ka.huraar- | kicuucis | -kat | | hi haawa asku | |
| | be.a.brushy.area | be.dense | LOC | | and also one | |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| siahitišárikít ⁿ | . |
| si'ahiiticaárikít | . |
| they shot him all over | . |
| si- ar- ra- 0- ir- | . |
| DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A | . |

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

| | |
|---|---|
| karawitúrahi | . |
| karawitúraahi | . |
| it was not good | . |
| kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 | . |
| NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF | . |

| | | |
|------------------|---|----------|
| Náw ^a | , | aháwa |
| Ráwa | | a haáwa' |
| Now | | and also |
| rawa | | a haawa |
| now | | and also |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| witiahahakútit ⁿ | . |
| witi'ahaahakuútit | . |
| we killed our own | . |
| witi- ar- ra- 0- t- rak- kuut.ik -0 | . |

REFL EV ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL kill PERF .

Hiaharurákit^a

Hi aharuuraákita

And it was the reason

hi ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- raa- kita -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV way be.the.reason PERF

atawátiks^a

ihi ,

aatawáttiksa

. Ihi ,

I want to be truthful

. Uh ,

aa- t- a- wak.rik.his -a . ihii ,
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P be.truthful SUB.1 . uh ,

witukskarikstiwišápit^a

witukskarikstíwica'

piíta

he had arrived with a herd

a man

wi- ti- 0- a- uks- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0 wiita
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A AOR herd PORT arrive PERF man

, wituksasá^a

. Wituksasá'a

. He was named

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

Skiriškatáka

.

Ckirickataáka

.

White Faced Wolf

.

ickirir- icka- taakaar .

wolf face be.white .

Hiahúhasikstawa

Hi ahúhaacikstawa .

And he watched everything
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -waa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV way watch DIST PERF

wituksasá^a nišíkuš^u
 Wituksasá'a Riicíkucu'
 He was named Big Knife
 wi- ti- 0- uks- asar 0 riici -kucuu
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF knife AUG

. Sahíkstaka
 . Cahíkstaaka
 . White men
 . icaahiks taakaar
 . person be.white

wikuharirirətapírihu^u
 wikúhaaririirattaapírihu'u
 he loved them
 wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -'
 now DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value EX

Nikuwitihá^a
 Rikuwitihá'a
 Those were the cause of it
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raar -'
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.cause EX

. Naw^a , írasa
 . Ráwa íraasa
 . Now , that one lying
 . rawa , ii- ra- 0- sa -0
 . now , that ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4

iwirakawášaks^u ,
 iwirakawaácaksu
 when he was stabbed
 ii- wii- ra- 0- ka.cak -waa -his -u
 when when ABS 3.A stick DIST PERF SUB.D

akikutikísikiit .
 aki kutikísiki'it .
 and here he was alive .
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- kisikit -' .
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A be.alive EX .

Hisikuhirušaríkut
 Hi sikuhiiruhcaríkut
 And they took it out from him
 hi si- kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV pull.out PERF

,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hikuhahkíškara wiritpat^u
 hi kuhaahkickaraawírit paátu'
 and the liquid ran out blood
 hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- kic.karaa.wirik -0 paat- -u'

and DUB ABS 3.A EV liquid.to.run.out PERF blood NOM

. Sikuhiriripítatⁿ

. Sikúhiiriripítat

. They turned him over face down

. si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- irik.wiitat.k -0

. DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A turn.on.the.stomach PERF

,

,

,

,

hikitukuharašiksuhurítitⁿ

hi kítuu'u' kuhaaraciksúhuritit

and all he revived

hi kituu -u' kuur- ra- 0- ar- aciks.uhur.itik -0

and all NOM DUB ABS 3.A EV revive PERF

, hirawitakaráhis^u

, hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'

, and suddenly

, hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'

, and just now all.at.once NOM

ahataparúpaš

ahataparúpac

he moved around

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

EV ABS 3.A move.DIST PERF

hiahakisikíta

. Náwa^a

hi ahakisikíta

. Ráwa

and he became alive . Now
 hi ar- ra- 0- kisikit -aar -0 . rawa
 and EV ABS 3.A be.alive INCH PERF . now

akikarahihuráhəš

aki karaahiihuráhac
 and here he did not die
 a- ki kara- ar- ri- 0- i- hurahac -0
 and there NEG EV CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF

. Ihárəsa
 . Iháraasa
 . That (other) one lying
 . ii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0
 . that here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4

škárawisitíhkutitⁿ .

ckára wisitíhkuutit .
 alone they killed him .
 ckara wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .
 alone now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Náw^a nikuwitúksasa
 Ráwa rikuwitúksasa'
 Now that one was named
 rawa riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- asar -0
 now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

škiriškatáka

Ckirickataáka

White Faced Wolf

ickirir- icka- taakaar
 wolf face be.white

iwisirihkútik^a .
 iwisirihkuútika .
 the one they killed .
 ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a .
 that now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A kill SUB.1 .

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

, irirəsuharíhku ;
 iriirasuuhaaríhku --
 that which you mean --
 irii- ra- s- ut- raa.ra'ihk -hus --
 that ABS 2.A PREV mean IMPF.SUB --

ətakuhúru
 attakuhuúru'
 a moving party
 aktaku.huur- -u'
 pack NOM

rakúwəririhkurárəspi
 rakúwari rihkuráraspi
 when it went about when they looked for them
 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- raspíi -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P look.for SUB.4

tárah^a . Irarⁱ ,
 táraha' , iraári' ,
 buffalo , brother ,
 tarahaa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

karawiturúkstahi

karawituurúkstaahi

it was bad

kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF

, hišəskⁱ ritúhairitⁿ ,
, hi caskí rituúhaa'iirit .
, and a little I saw it .
, hi caskii rii- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 .
, and a.little ASSR 1.A PREV way see PERF .

kakúrahi .

Kaakúraahi .

It was not good .

kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Naripákusu

Raaripákusu'

Soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

wirakuwárikⁱ ,

wirakuwaárikⁱ

when they were posted ,

wii- ra- 0- ku- waa- arik -i ,
when INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

naripákus^u .

raaripákusu'

soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

Hawakakítaku

hawá kaakí' táku' hítaku
also it was not someone hiitaku
haawa kaaki- 0- 0 -0 taku hii- -taku
also NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF someone other LOC

raruíta

raaruu'íta

were he just to go

raa- ruu- ii- 0- at -a
just then SUBJ.3A 3.A go SUB.1

rakurakútik^a

rakuraakuútika

to kill them

ra- 0- ku- raa- kuut.ik -a kírík^u .
INF.A 3.A INF.B way kill SUB.1 kíriku' .
anything .
kirikuu .
anything .

Niát

Ri'aát

Summer

ri'aat

summer

tihitatúhairitⁿ

tíhi'

it was

ti- 0- ihii -0 . Tatuúhaa'iirit
IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place/time PERF . I saw it
ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF

Niáttihi .
 . Ri'aát tíhi' .
 . Summer it was .
 . ri'aat ti- 0- ihii -0 .
 . summer IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place/time PERF .

Hiríhwakⁱ ,
 Hi ríhwaki' “
 And they said : “
 hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Kíwiku
 Kíwiiku'
 Buffalo bulls
 kiwiik -u'
 buffalo.bull NOM

tihariraráhətⁿ
 tihaariiraárahət .
 they were passing by there .
 tii- haa- rii- 0- raar- a.hak -0 .
 here here ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A extend.in.a.line PERF .

kísaškⁱ
 Kísacki
 Meat
 kisaac -kis
 meat DIM

kusiríhkura^a
 kusirihkúra'a
 you will bring it
 ku- si- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ra- a -0

INDF DU INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF INF.B PORT come SUB.3

.
.
.
.
.
.

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

hikišipitakuharawarúkstir^u

hi kici piíta kuuharaawaarúkstiiru'
 and but a man he consecrated it
 hi kici wiita kuur- ra- 0- raa- waarukstii -ra'uk -0
 and but man DUB ABS 3.A way be.holy CAUS PERF

irirušúksahu .
 iriirucúksahu .
 the way it used to be .
 irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus .
 that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB .

Hinaripákus^u

Hi raaripákusu'
 And soldiers
 hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

wiriwár^{itn}
 wiiriiwaárit

they now stood

wii- rii- 0- waa- arik -0
now ASSR 3.A DIST be.standing PERF

kararakuhuriwáwⁱ

kararakuuhuriiwaáwi

their not going around

kara- ra- 0- ku- i- hurii -waa -wi
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

kírik^u . Hikišíkiwik^u

kíriku' . Hi kici kíwiiku'

anything . And but a buffalo bull

kirikuu . hi kici kiwiik -u'

anything . and but buffalo.bull NOM

sikuhihahkahúhurəs

sikúhiihaahkahúhuras

they found it in a hollow

si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- haahka.huur- huras -0
DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A hollow find PERF

. Sikuhíhkutitⁿ

. Sikuuhíhkuutit

. They killed it

. si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0
. DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

iriwiruriwíšet^a

iriwiruuriwícata

whereupon he arrived there

irii- wii- ruu- ri- 0- wic.at -a
when when there CONT.3A 3.A arrive SUB.1

Kišiwitatiráit^a

Kici witatiráá'iita

But I knew of it

kici wii- ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
but now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hikišikaratašikskas^a

hi kici karaátacikskasa

and but I was not sensible

hi kici ka- ra- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 ciruu .
and but NEG ABS 1.A be.sensible PERF yet .

Nihuksutatuhákirik^u

Ríhuksu' tatuuhaákiriku

Only I looked at it

rihuks -u' ta- t- ut- rak- kirik.kus -0
alone NOM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL look.at PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hisikuhihakákuskus

Hi sikúhiihaahkákuskus

And they set the parfleche down

hi si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar.ka.kus- kus.k -0
and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN parfleche put PERF

. Hinaripákus^u

. Hi raaripákusu'

. And the soldiers

. hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'

. and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

riwáritⁿ .
riwaárit .
they stood .
rii- 0- waa- arik -0 .
ASSR 3.A DIST be.standing PERF .

Tihwakíah^u , “
Tihwakí’aahu’ “
They were saying : “
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , ”
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , ”

Asakípiriru tíka^a . ”
Asaakípiriiru’ tíkaa’a . ”
A Young Dog it is the lodge . ”
asaa- kipiriir -u’ ti- 0- akaa -’ . ”
dog young NOM IND.3A 3.A be.a.dwelling EX . ”

Nihuksuraripákus^u .
Ríhuksu’ raaripákusú’ .
Only soldiers .
rihuks -u’ raa- ri.apak -hus -u’ .
alone NOM way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hípitk^u
Hi pítku
And two
hi pitku
and two

sikuruhirikúsitⁿ ,
sikuruuhiriikúsit .

then they selected them (du) .
 si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- kusik -0 .
 DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ pick.up PERF .

“ Kuhihwaki
 Kuuhíhwaki’
 They said
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

naripákus^u “
 raaripákusu’ “
 the soldiers : “
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u’ , “
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM , ”

hirusikstəktarakísaškⁱ
 Hiru síkstaktaraa’ kísacki
 Then bring it meat
 hiruu i- s- ir- uks- rak- raar- ra- a -0 kisaac -kis
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF meat DIM

áharušⁱ . “
 áharuuci . “
 its lying over yonder ! “
 ar- ra- 0- ar- ra.uc -i . “
 EV ABS 3.A EV be.lying.PL SUB.2 . ”

Pitkurusikuruhirikúsitⁿ
 Pítku síkuruuhiriikúsit
 Two then they selected them (du)
 pitku si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- kusik -0
 two DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ pick.up PERF

, sikararakukirikáhur^u .
sikararakuukirikaáhuuru .
, ones (du) who were mean .
si- kara- ra- 0- ku- kirik.kaa.huur -u .
DU NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.kind SUB.D .

Hítakaráhis^u ríhwakⁱ
Hi takaaraáhisu' ríhwaki'
And suddenly they said
hi takaaraahis -u' ra- 0- ir- waki -0
and all.at.once NOM ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

“ Witírapət . ”
“ Witiírapat . ”
: “ They are fighting . ”
, “ wi- ti- 0- ir- apak -0 . ”
, “ QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF . ”

Akiírak^u pít^a
Aki íraaku piíta
And here that one man
a- ki ii- ra- 0- kus -0 wiita
and there that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 man

irikúrəra^u
iriikuráraa'u
the one who owned it
irii- ku- ra- 0- a- raa- 0 -u
that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A way be SUB.D

wiahuhahúkət^a
wi'ahuhaáhuukata
after they rushed inside
wii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- huuk- at -a

when EV ABS 3.A BEN PL.INDV.A into go SUB.1

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

Kisaškitatíhatar^a

Kísacki tatiíhattaara’
 Meat we came for it
 kisaac -kis ta- t- ir- ut- rak- raar- a -0
 meat DIM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A BEN 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A come PERF

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

Ahawákupita , “
 Ahawáku’ piíta “
 He said the man : “
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 wiita , “
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , ”

Isikaririsiraráhuht^a

I sikariirisiiraráhuhta
 And you (du) cannot take it
 i si- kari- rii- s- i- raar- ra- uh -ta
 and DU EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.INT INT

, tirawáruksti .
 . Tiraawaáruksti’ . ”

. It is holy . "

. ti- 0- raa- waarukstii -0 . "

. IND.3A 3.A way be.holy PERF . "

Ahawáku " "

Ahawáku' " "

He said :

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Isiriharáhuhta^a .

I siriharáhuhta .

And we are going to take it !

i si- rii- t- raar- ra- uh -ta .

and DU ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.INT INT .

Náwa^a nikurihwakiáh^u ,

" Ráwa rikurihwaki'aahu' ,

" Now that is what they were saying ,

" rawa riku- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus ,

" now that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF ,

tiraíwətⁿ .

tiiraa'íwat . "

they were telling (ie agreeing) . "

ti- 0- ir- raa.iiwaat -0 . "

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A tell.a.story PERF . "

Karurakuwíšət^a

Karú' ratkuwícata

Can I get there

ka- ra- 0- uu -0 ra- t- ku- wic.at -a

Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be PERF INF.A 1.A INF.B arrive SUB.1

. Tatiraitaríhuksa
 . Tatiraá'iita ríhuksu'
 ? I knew of it just
 . ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 rihuks -u'
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF alone NOM

tatúhairitⁿ
 . Tatuúhaa'iirit
 . I saw it
 . ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF

hišikarurakutaitukút^a

kici karú' rakutá'ituukuuta
 but can he get through the crowd
 kici ka- ra- 0- uu -0 ra- 0- ku- ta'ituuku.at -a
 but Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B make.one's.way.through SUB.1

.
 . "
 ? "
 . "
 . "

Arawitak^aráhis^u

A raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 And suddenly
 a raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 and just now all.at.once NOM

áhirapət . " Naw^ahá ,
 áhiirapat . Ráwa haa ,
 they fought (over it) . Now see ,
 ar- ra- 0- ir- apak -0 . rawa haa ,

EV ABS 3.A PL.3A fight PERF . now see ,

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

kakúrahi
kaakúraahi .
it was not good .
kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

níšikⁱ
Ríiciki
Knives
riici -kis
knife DIM

hikuhirahkáruwətⁿ
hi kuuhiraahkáruuwat
and they took them out
hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- raar- kawat -ruu -0
and DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P take.out DIST PERF

. Tirarikípit^a
. Tiraáriki piíta
. This one man
. tii- ra- 0- arik -i wiita
. this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 man

hisikuhihkákawakətⁿ
hi sikuuhihkákawaakat

and they stabbed him several times
 hi si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A ITER cut.up DIST PERF

,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hiirurárihitⁿ

hi iriruuraárihit
 and that one being alone
 hi irii- ruu- ra- 0- a- i- rihik -0
 and that then ABS 3.A PREV.3A SEQ be.the.only.one PERF

,

hiitarurikstaúkətⁿ

hi iritaaruurikstá'uukut
 and that one would reach for his
 hi irii- ti- 0- ar- uur- iks- ra- uukuk -0
 and that IND.3A 3.A EV POSS.P hand PORT get.into PERF

, atáhkakətⁿ

a taahkákát .
 and he would stab him .
 a ti- 0- ar- ka.ukac.k -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV cut.up PERF .

Takarahisurirápøt ,
Takaaraáhisu' riirápat ,
Suddenly they fought ,
takaaraahis -u' rii- 0- ir- apak -0 ,
all.at.once NOM ASSR 3.A PL.3A fight PERF ,

hiririkaruwátøtⁿ šápatⁿ
hi riirikáruuwatat cápaat
and they ran outside the women
hi rii- 0- ir- ri.kawatak -ruu -0 icapaak
and ASSR 3.A PL.3A run.outside DIST PERF woman

, rutirahkíkøtⁿ ,
. Ruutíraahkikat ,
. Then they cried ,
. ruu- ti- 0- raar- kikak -0
. then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A cry PERF

píra^u ;
piíra'u' .
the children .
piira -u' .
child NOM .

rutatikukstawiæt " "
Ruutatikukstawi'at
Then I ran among them
ruu- ta- t- i- kuks- tawi at -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ fleeing be.among go PERF

. Hírirapøt
. Hi riirápat
. And they fought
. hi rii- 0- ir- apak -0

. and ASSR 3.A PL.3A fight PERF

irírutahu .

iriíruutahu .

the way it used to be .

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

Wiruwiturahkúrit^a

Wiruuwitiirahkúrita

Now they were bloody all over

wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- raar- kurita -0
now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A be.bloody PERF

. Tirára

níšikⁱ

. Tírara

riíciki

. They had them

knives

. ti- 0- ir- raar- raah -0 riici -kis
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF knife DIM

, ikirikirutárist^a

i kiriki ruutárista .

and who could do anything ?

i kirikii ra- 0- ut- aar -his -ta .
and what ABS 3.A PREV do PERF INT .

nahkurikskáwatətⁿ ,

Raahkuurikskáwatat

When he dropped his knife

ra- 0- ar- ku- i- riiks- kawatak -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ arrow get.out SUB.4

arutíhkakətⁿ .

a ruutíhkakat .

and then he was cut by him .
a ruu- ti- 0- ir- ka.ukac.k -0 .
and then IND.3A 3.A OBV cut.up PERF .

Hikuháwišət , nísar^u ,
Hi kuuháwicat riisaaru' .
And he arrived the chief .
hi kuur- ra- 0- wic.at -0 riisaar -u' .
and DUB ABS 3.A arrive PERF be.chief NOM .

“ Náwa^a
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

nisarúwiritirarupapákusititⁿ

riisaaru' witiiraaruupaapákusitit
the chief he began to stop their fighting
riisaar -u' witi- rii- 0- raar- ruu- apaa.apak -:hus -itik
be.chief NOM REFL ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P DIST fight.DIST IMPF INCH

, náhikuš^u .
raáhikuucu' .
the braves .
raahikuuc -u' .
be.brave NOM .

Ákaririripətⁿ

A kariiriiríriipət
And they did not fight anymore
a kari- rii- 0- ir- ri- ri- i- apak -0
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ fight PERF

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

awitikariririkáwutitⁿ

a witikariiriiriikáwuutit

and they did not kill each other

a witi- kari- rii- ir- ri- ri- i- ka.wa.ut.ik -0
 and REFL EMPH.NEG ASSR PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ kill.DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nihuksuwititihkákawakətⁿ

Ríhuksu' wititihkákawaakat

Only they stabbed each other

rihuks -u' witi- ti- 0- ir- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0
 alone NOM REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A ITER cut.up DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

\ Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
 \ Ráwa , iraári' ,
 \ Now , brother ,
 \ rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

kakúrahi ,
kaakúraahi .
it was not good .
kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

kakurúkstahi
Kaakuurúkstaahi
It was not good
kaaki- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF

ákitar^u
ákitaaru'
the tribe
akitaar- -u'
tribe NOM

tiratúkspari .
tiratúkspari .
when I was living .
tii- ra- t- uks- warii -hus .
when ABS 1.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Hiruwitiratakú
Hiru witiraátaku
Then it happened
hiruu wi- ti- 0- raa- ta kus -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.hanging be.sitting PERF

áwitⁿ
áwit

first
awit
first

nakurariruar^a .
rakuraríru'aara .
when they became frightened .
ra- 0- ku- raar- riru -aar -a .
INF.A 3.P INF.B PL.INDV.P be.frightened INCH SUB.1 .

Pirəskⁱ , ihi , áwit
Píiraski , ihi , áwit
A boy , uh , first
piiras- -kis , ihii , awit
boy DIM , uh , first

kukúhipāritⁿ
kukúhiiparit
he shot something
ku- kuur- ra- 0- i- ak- warik -0
INDF DUB ABS 3.A SEQ PL.AN.3P shoot PERF

hikuruharārahirəs
hi kuruuhaararaa' hiras
and he brought it at night
hi kuruur- ri- 0- a- raar- ra- a -0 hiras
and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF at.night

,
.
.
.
.

hirəsakuhararíwiš^a

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|---------------------------|-----|-----|---------|------------|------|--------|-------|
| Híras | a | kuuhaararíwica' | | | | | | | |
| At night | and | he arrived with it (meat) | | | | | | | |
| hiras | a | kuur- | ra- | 0- | a- | raar- | ri- | wic.a | -0 |
| at.night | and | DUB | ABS | 3.A | PREV.3A | 3PL.INAN.P | PORT | arrive | PERRF |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Arihikuhihíšis

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------|----------------|-----|-----|-------|------|-------------|------|
| Ári' | hi | kuhíhiicis | | | | | | | |
| Why | , | and | they found out | | | | | | |
| arii | , | hi | kuur- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ut- | riicis | -0 |
| oh | , | and | DUB | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | learn.about | PERF |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------|--------|------|---|--|---|
| | kuhíhwak ^u | | | | | | | | “ |
| . | Kuuhíhwaki' | | | | | | | | “ |
| . | They said | | | | | | : | | “ |
| . | kuur- | ra- | 0- | ir- | waki | -0 | , | | ” |
| . | DUB | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL | PERF | , | | ” |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|-----|-----|---------------|--|-------|--------|---------------------|
| tiharákaw ⁱ | | | | | | | | kísašk ⁱ |
| Tihaarákaawi | | | | | | | | kísacki |
| This lodge | | | | | | | | meat |
| tii- | haa- | ra- | 0- | akaa | | -wi | kisaac | -kis |
| this | here | ABS | 3.A | be.a.dwelling | | SUB.L | meat | DIM |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----|----|-----|--------|---|----|---|
| tiharihwáwa ^a | | | | | | | | . |
| tiharihwaáwa'a | | | | | | | | . |
| they are eating here | | | | | | | | . |
| tii- | haa- | ra- | 0- | ir- | waawa- | a | -0 | . |

here here ABS 3.A PL.3A DIST eat PERF . "

Kuruhiríwakⁱ

Kuruuhiríwaki'

Then they said

kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0
DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF

naripákus^u

raaripákusu' "

the soldiers :

raa- ri.apak -hus -u' , "

way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM , "

Hirukístətahwišətⁿ

Hiru kístattahwícat

There you (pl) go there

hiruu kii- i- s- rak- raar- wic.at -0
there HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A arrive PERF

. Hikuruhirárətⁿ

. " Hi kuruuhiraárat

! " And then they went

. " hi kuruur- ri- 0- raar- at -0

. " and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A go PERF

naripákus^u

raaripákusu' .

the soldiers .

raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .

way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hiwihirukisaškiraahíriwik^u

Hi wihiru kísacki raa'ahíriwiiku

And now meat there was just a pile
 hi wii- hiruu kisaac -kis raa- ar- rii- 0- riwii.kus -0
 and now then meat DIM just EV ASSR 3.A be.a.large.pile PERF

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

aahuháhukətⁿ

a ahuhaáhuukat
 and they rushed inside
 a ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- huuk- at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A into go PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

kituásiahirakakakawakətⁿ

Kítuu'u' a si'ahiiraakakaahkákawaakat
 All and they cut up their lodge
 kituu -u' a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ak- akaar- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0
 all NOM and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A POSS.P PL.AN.3P dwelling ITER cut.up DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Kituasiahíhkapitⁿ

Kítuu'u' a si'ahíhkapit
 All and they broke it up
 kituu -u' a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.apic.k -0
 all NOM and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A break.up PERF

tírak^u a tírak's , pířaskⁱ .
 tíraaku' a tíraakis piíraski .
 the gun and the bow the boy .
 tiraak -u' a tiraak -kis piiras- -kis .
 gun NOM and bow DIM boy DIM .

Asakuhíhkutut

A sikuuhíhkuutuc
 And they whipped him until he fell
 a si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- kuut.uc -0
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A whip.severely PERF

Rarakítawⁱ

raraakítawi
 its being the reason
 ra- 0- raa- kita -wi
 ABS 3.A way be.the.reason SUB.L

áwittukukaraasihakáwaəs

áwit táku' kara'aasihaákawa'ac
 first someone their not wanting him to eat
 awit taku kara- aa- s- i- haakawahc -0
 first someone NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ eat SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .

Rikutisikstarúruut

Rikutiicikstaarúruu'ut

That is what they used to do

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----|-------|------|-----|------|----------|----|------|------|
| riku- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | i- | uks- | raaruur- | uu | -uk | -0 |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | SEQ | AOR | deed | be | DIST | PERF |

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

nikutíhuta

rikutíhuuta

this is what He must have done

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| riku- | tiir- | ra- | 0- | ut- | aar | -0 |
| that.is | INFR | ABS | 3.A | PREV | do | PERF |

akitarutířǽtpari

ákitaaru'

tirátpari

tribe

when I went about

akitaar-

-u'

tii-

ra-

t-

warii

-hus

tribe

NOM

this

ABS

1.A

be.going.about.IMPF

IMPF.SUB

. Aharatiwawárik^a

. Aharaatiiwaawárika

. Things could happen
 . ar- ra- 0- raa- tii.warik -waa -a
 . EV ABS 3.A way measure DIST SUB.1

Kararakúraahir^a ,
 kararakúraahiira
 its not being good
 kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

arakúraahir^a .
 a rakúraahiira .
 and its being good .
 a ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a .
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 .

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

wihirutirátawi
 wihiru tiiraátawi'
 now it was the way among us
 wii- hiruu ti- 0- i- raa- tawi -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A SEQ way be.among PERF

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

wihirutirátawi ,
 Wihiru tiiraátawi'
 Now then it was the way among us
 wii- hiruu ti- 0- i- raa- tawi -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A SEQ way be.among PERF

ššpat ,
 cápaat
 a woman
 icapaak
 woman

nihkurítpiua
 rihkuritpí'uu'a
 if she favored him
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- wi.uu -a
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV favor SUB.1

píta ,
 piíta ,
 a man ,
 wiita ,
 man ,

hi[ru]aparusiwítitahkíturu
 hiru apaáru' siwítitaahkítuuru'
 then secretly they (du) would meet each other
 hiruu apaar- -u' si- witi- ti- 0- ar- kituu.ra'uk -0
 then secret NOM DU REFL IND.3A 3.A EV come.together PERF

, siwítitahkítur^u
 . Siwítitaahkítuuru'
 . They (du) would meet each other
 . si- witi- ti- 0- ar- kituu.ra'uk -0

. DU REFL IND.3A 3.A EV come.together PERF

ápar^u . Kiših
ápaaru' . Kici hi
secretly . But and
apaar- -u' . kici hi
secret NOM . but and

kararaitapítárar^u

kararaá'iita piitára'u
he didn't know the husband
ka- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -0 wiita ra- 0- 0 -u
NEG ABS 3.A PREV.3A know PERF man ABS 3.A be SUB.D

,
.
.
.
.

kararaitapitarákuku

Kararaá'iita piíta rákuuku
He didn't know the man his being
ka- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -0 wiita ra- 0- ku- uk -u
NEG ABS 3.A PREV.3A know PERF man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

.

Akiaparusitarutári

aki ápaaru' sitaruutári'

níhuks^u ,
 Ríhuksu'
 Only
 rihuks -u'
 alone NOM

atírutirit
 a tiiruutiírit
 and he saw him
 a ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- iirik -0
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV see PERF

hirutahwiška , “
 hiru taahwícka’ “
 then he would think : “
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , “
 then IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , “

Tuuskiriwiskírar^{it}ⁿ . “
 Tuuskíriwiski’ raárit . “
 Let me trick him really ! “
 i- t- uks- kiriwis.ki -0 raarit . “
 CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS cheat PERF really . “

Átirutašikst^a ,
 A tíruutaciksta ,
 And he watched her ,
 a ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- aciks.ta -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV watch PERF ,

hiháwataru ,
 hi haáwa’ táruu[tiirit] .
 and also he would [see him] .
 hi haawa ti- 0- ar- ut- iirik -0 .

and also IND.3A 3.A EV PREV see PERF .

hítarutiritⁿ pít^a .
Hi táruutiirit piíta .
And he would see him the man .
hi ti- 0- ar- ut- iirik -0 wiita .
and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV see PERF man .

Hihiruirirutárətⁿ
Hi hiru iriruutaárat
And then he would go over there
hi hiruu irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- at -0
and then there there IND.3A 3.A EV go PERF

píta , hípít^a
piíta . Hi piíta
the man . And the man
wiita . hi wiita
man . and man

irirútarətⁿ ,
iriruútaarat
he would go over there
irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- at -0
there there IND.3A 3.A EV go PERF

iriaparusráhtári
irii ápaaru' siruutári
where secretly they (du) would be doing it
irii apaar- -u' si- ra- 0- ut- aar -i
where secret NOM DU ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF.SUB

. Náwa
. Ráwa

. Now
 . rawa
 . now

wisirahkúsaw^a

wisiraahkuúsawa

when they (du) lay together

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|----------|------|-------|
| wii- | si- | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | i- | sa | -waa | -0 |
| when | DU | INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | SEQ | be.lying | DIST | SUB.4 |

, kahúrahkətⁿ

kahúraahkat

in the woods

ka.huraar- -kat

be.a.brushy.area LOC

rúksihikⁱ

rúksihiiki

where there were places

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|---------------|------|-------|--|
| ra- | 0- | uks- | ihii | -ik | -i | |
| ABS | 3.A | AOR | be.in.a.place | DIST | SUB.2 | |

hisitahkásawa

hi sitaahkásawa

and they (du) lay in the woods

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|--------------|----------|------|------|
| hi | si- | ti- | 0- | ar- | ka- | sa | -waa | -0 |
| and | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | in.the.brush | be.lying | DIST | PERF |

, híkišⁱ táhwišətⁿ

, hi kici taáhwicat

, and but he would arrive

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|--------|------|
| , | hi | kici | ti- | 0- | ar- | wic.at | -0 |
| , | and | but | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | arrive | PERF |

irirírətaku^u .
 iririúráttaku'u .
 the one who was her husband .
 irii- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u .
 that ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D .

Hitáhwišətⁿ .
 Hi taáhwicat .
 And he would arrive .
 hi ti- 0- ar- wic.at -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV arrive PERF .

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

kakurúkstahi
 kaakuurúkstaahi .
 it was not good .
 kaaki- 0- uur- uks- raa- hiir -0 .
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR way be.good PERF .

hirútahakirit
 Hiru taahaakírit
 Then he picked up a club
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- haak- iriik -0
 then IND.3A 3.A EV wood pick.up.long.object PERF

irikuraúšapatⁿ ,
 iriikúraa'u cápaat
 the one who had her the woman
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -u icapaak

that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D woman

pitáirirurətáhurahəs

piíta iriruurrattáhurahac

man the one who eloped with her

wiita irii- ruu- ra- 0- ak- ra- hurahac -0
man that then ABS 3.A PL.AN.3P PORT disappear SUB.4

, ararutahpákspir^u

a raaruutaahpákpiru'

and then he just whipped his head

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- paks- piru -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A EV head whip PERF

. Atarakahtarihú^u

. A taaraakatárihu'u

. And it was a terrible thing

. a ti- 0- ar- raa- kata.rihur -'
. and IND.3A 3.A EV way be.wide EX

nahkutahukákətka

raahkutahuhkákátka

when he cut his pate up

ra- 0- ar- ku- tahuur- ka.ukac.k -a
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B tough.skin cut.up SUB.1

Hítarašiksta^a

Hi taaracíksta'a

And he hurt his feelings

hi ti- 0- ar- aciks- ra.aar -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV mind hurt PERF

iriwisirihkútik^a

iriwisirihkuútika

when that one was beaten ,
 irii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -a ,
 that when DU ABS 3.A OBV beat SUB.1 ,

hitáhwiška ,
 hi taáhwicka' " ,
 and he thought : "
 hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , "
 and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , "

ipítaritⁿ .
 I píita rit . "
 And a man I am . "
 i wiita rii- t- 0 -0 . "
 and man ASSR 1.A be PERF . "

Hitarišárisa .
 Hi taaricárisa .
 And he became angry .
 hi ti- 0- ar- icaris -aar -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV be.mean INCH PERF .

Hitiirikúra^u
 Hi ti'riikúraa'u
 And this one who had her
 hi tii- irii- ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -u
 and this that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D

šápatⁿ hiirirutawáku
 cápaat hi iriruutaahwáku'
 woman and then he would say
 icapaak hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
 woman and then then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, " Náw^a , wiritákutitⁿ .
 " Ráwa wiriitákuutit .
 : " Now I'll whip you .
 , " rawa wii- rii- t- a- kuut.ik -0 .
 , " now now ASSR 1.A 2.P beat PERF .

" Hiirirutahkáwætⁿ
 " Hi iriruutaahkáwat
 " And thereupon he took it out
 " hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- kawat -0
 " and then then IND.3A 3.A EV take.out PERF

níšikⁱ .
 riíciki .
 a knife .
 riici -kis .
 knife DIM .

Irarⁱ , híšikstit^u
 Iraári' , hi cíkstit
 Brother , and well
 i- -raar- -ri' , hi cikstik
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and well

irirutarurara huríruhšⁱ
 iriruutaruuraarahuríruhci'
 thereupon he did it severely
 irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- uur- raa- ratur- riruhci -0
 then then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV way do be.powerful PERF

nakuškakákawakət^a .
 rakuckakákawaakatka .
 when he cut his face up .
 ra- 0- ku- icka- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -a .

INF.A 3.A INF.B face ITER cut.up DIST SUB.1 .

Nikutukstakítawa

Rikutukstaakítawa

That is what was the reason

riku- ti- 0- uks- raa- kita -waa -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.the.reason DIST PERF

, rihkuwákihu

rihkúwakihu

when they say

ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

iraškakíšis^u

iraackakíciisu

that scarred face

ii- ra- 0- icka- kiciis -u
that ABS 3.A face be.a.scarred.area SUB.D

tihá^a

tiruhú^u

Tiihaá'a

tiruhú'u

This

it was the reason

tii- haa ti- 0- raa.uhur -'
this here IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason EX

tiruhúšapatⁿ

Tiruhú'

She was the reason

cápaat

the woman

ti- 0- raa.uhur -0 icapaak
IND.3A 3.A be.the.reason PERF woman

Akihirikuahukstakítawa

Aki hi riku'ahukstaakítawa

And here and this is what the reason was
a- ki hi riku- ar- ra- 0- uks- raa- kita -waa -0
and there and that.is EV ABS 3.A AOR way be.the.reason DIST PERF

. Šápatⁿ
. Cápaat
. The woman
. icapaak
. woman

hawaawitáhkuutitⁿ .
hawá a witaáhkuutit .
also and he whipped her .
haawa a wi- ti- 0- ar- kuut.ik -0 .
also and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV beat PERF .

Apəšhawawitukstátawi
Ápac hawá witukstaátawi'
Both also it was the custom
apac haawa wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
both also QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

apəšsirakukútik^a .
ápac sirakukuútika .
both to whip them (du) .
apac si- ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a .
both DU INF.A 3.A INF.B beat SUB.1 .

Kakatuharáihku
Kaakatuuhaará'ihku'
I do not mean it
kaaka- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

kuharíksis^u ,
kuuhaaríksisu ,
to be real ,
ra- 0- ku- kuut- raariks -his -u ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B dead be.true PERF SUB.D ,

širíhuksu
ci ríhuksu'
but just
ci rihuks -u'
but alone NOM

sirahkurawákisa .
siraahkuraawaáhkisa .
for him to bruise them (du) .
si- ra- 0- ar- ku- raawaahkis -a .
DU INF.A 3.A EV INF.B abuse SUB.1 .

Híapəš rusitaruhuráhətⁿ
Hi ápac ruusitaaruhuráhat
And both then he let them (du) go
hi apac ruu- si- ti- 0- ar- uhur.ra.hak -0
and both then DU IND.3A 3.A EV release PERF

, píta a šápətⁿ .
piíta a cápaat .
the man and the woman .
wiita a icapaak .
man and woman .

A , irári ,
A , iraári' ,
And , brother ,
a , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

awihirukariruráhihaw^a

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------|-----------------|-----|-----|------|------|---------|------|--------|
| a | wihiru | | kariirúraahi | | | | | | | haáwa' |
| and | now | | it was not good | | | | | | | also |
| a | wii- | hiruu | karii- | ra- | 0- | uur- | raa- | hiir | -0 | haawa |
| and | now | then | EMPH.NEG | ABS | 3.A | PREV | way | be.good | PERF | also |

, hírukakurahi

, hiru kaakúraahi

, then it was not good

| | | | | | | |
|--------|------------|-----|------|------|---------|------|
| , hiru | kaaki- | 0- | uur- | raa- | hiir | -0 |
| , then | NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way | be.good | PERF |

tirikuwĩsuksar^a

tirikuwícaksaara

when I became aware

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----|--------------|-------|---------|
| tii- | ri- | ku- | wicaks.aar | -a | icapaak |
| when | CONT.3A | 1.P | come.to.mind | SUB.1 | woman |

šápatⁿ

cápaat

a woman

iriratuharihkúšapatⁿ

iriiratuúhaarhku

what I mean

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|------------|----------|
| irii- | ra- | t- | ut- | raa.ra'ihk | -hus |
| what | ABS | 1.A | PREV | mean | IMPF.SUB |

nakuwiška^a

rakuwicka'a

when one wanted

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|---|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | wicka | -a | ' |
| ABS | 3.A | INF.B | want | SUB.1 | ' |

aturəktipārára

aatuuraktipaaraára

that I hide you from them

aa- t- a- uur- ak- ri- paar.aar -a
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV PL.AN.3P PORT hide SUB.1

píta ,
piíta ,
' a man ,
' wiita ,
' man ,

hitáripara .

hi taáripaara .
and she would hide him .
hi ti- 0- ar- ri- paar.aar -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A EV PORT hide PERF .

Hihirurutíhwaki

Hi hiru ruutíhwaki'
And then then they said
hi hiruu ruu- ti- 0- ir- waki -0
and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

irirutakišisu

iriruutaakícisu

the ones related to her

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

šápatⁿ , “ Ihi
cápaat “ Ihi ,
the woman : “ Uh ,
icapaak , " ihii ,
woman , " uh ,

hirusisišitšírəs^u

hiru sisiiccírasa'

then bring him

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

.
. !
.
.

Hirušisišitšírəs^a

Hiru sisiiccírasa'

Then bring him

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

. " Náw^a
. " Ráwa
! " Now
. " rawa
. " now

hirusitirušíhurətⁿ

hiru sitiiruucíhurat

then they would go after him

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|-------|------|----|------|
| hiruu | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ar- | ut- | i- | uhur- | ra- | at | -0 |
| then | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | EV | PREV | SEQ | now | PORT | go | PERF |

,
.
.
.

Pitahikaráwitir^a

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-------------------|------|--------|-----|---------|-----|-----|------|------|
| Píita | hi | karáwitiira' | | | | | | | | |
| The man | and | he would not come | | | | | | | | |
| wiita | hi | kara- | wi- | ti- | 0- | a- | ir- | ar- | a | -0 |
| man | and | NEG | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | OBV | EV | come | PERF |

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

hirusitirušíhurətⁿ

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|-------|------|----|------|
| hiru | sitiiruucíhurat | | | | | | | | | | |
| then | they would go after him | | | | | | | | | | |
| hiruu | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ar- | ut- | i- | uhur- | ra- | at | -0 |
| then | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | EV | PREV | SEQ | now | PORT | go | PERF |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------|-----|-----|--------|------|---------------------|------|
| , | hirútawaku | | | | | | pírəsk ⁱ | |
| , | hiru | taahwáku' | | | | | piíraski | |
| , | then | he would say | | | | | the boy | |
| , | hiruu | ti- | 0- | ar- | waka'u | -0 | piiras- | -kis |
| , | then | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | say | PERF | boy | DIM |

, “ Náw^a
“ Ráwa

: " Now
 , " rawa
 , " now

hiruwirusisišutšírəsətⁿ

hiru wiruusiisicuccírasat
 then take her

hiruu wii- ruu- si- i- s- ir- ut- uks- ciras- at -0
 then now then DU CONT.1/2A 2.A OBV PREV JUSS COM go PERF

, náw^a kústiətⁿ . " Awitⁿ
 . Ráwa kústi'at . " Áwit
 ! Now I will go . " First
 . rawa kuus- t- i- at -0 . " awit
 . now POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ go PERF . " first

šúraki
 cuúraki
 the girl
 icuura- -kis
 girl DIM

asiwiriturušírəsət

a siwitiiruucírasat
 and they would take her

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- ciras- at -0
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV COM go PERF

hirúirirutakíšis^u

hiru iriruutaakícisu
 then the ones related to her

hiruu irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
 then that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

šúráki
 cuúráki
 the girl
 icuúra- -kis
 girl DIM

Nakurúhwihət
 raakurúhwihat
 where hers lived

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------|-------|-----------|--------|---------------|-------|
| ra- | 0- | a- | ku- | ri- | uur- | wi.hak | -0 |
| INF.A | 3.A | POSS.3A | INF.B | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be.sitting.PL | SUB.4 |

iráštⁱ
 iraácti'
 her brother ,
 i- raac -ri'
 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B ,

ipaktⁱ a
 ipaákti' , a
 her grandfather , and
 i- paak -ri'
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , and

híastⁱ .
 hí'aasti' .
 her father .
 i- as -ri'
 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B .

Kirikurakúhir^a

Kíriku' rakúhiira
 Perhaps its being nights
 kirikuu ra- 0- ku- hiir -a

anything INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.night.that.elapses SUB.1

pitk^u ,
pítku ,
two ,
pitku ,
two ,

hisiwítirúturətⁿ

hi siwítiruúturat
and they would go after him

hi si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- huur.ra.at -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV go.to.get PERF

, hiwítahwaku

, hi witaahwáku'
, and he would say

, hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
, and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

pírəski , " Náwa kústiətⁿ
píraski " Ráwa kústi'at
the boy : " Now I will go
piiras- -kis , " rawa kuus- t- i- at -0
boy DIM , " now POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ go PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Hikárawitir^a

Hi kárawitiira'

And he would not come
 hi kara- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- a -0
 and NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV come PERF

. Náw^a
 . Ráwa ,
 . Now ,
 . rawa ,
 . now ,

hirusiturušihurət

hiru sitiiruucíhurat
 then they would go after him
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- uhur- ra- at -0
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ now PORT go PERF

hawakararakúrahira^a

hawá kararakúraahiira
 also its not being good
 haawa kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
 also NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

. Náw^a , rirúhiri
 . Ráwa , rirúhiri'
 . Now , by means of fright
 . rawa , riru -hiri'
 . now , be.frightened LOC

asitirúširəsišákaətⁿ

a sitiiruucirasicáhka'at
 and they would take him through the village
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- ciras- icahka- at -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV COM village go PERF

. Asiwitíhkus ;
 . A siwitíhkus .
 . And they set him down .
 . a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .
 . and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

asiwitíhkus .
 A siwitíhkus .
 And they set him down .
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

Awiwitáhk^u .
 A wiwitaáhku .
 And now he would sit there .
 a wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- kus -0 .
 and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.sitting PERF .

Hiwitárahkairirutakišiš^u
 Hi witaáraahka iriruutaakícisu
 And now they would be inside the ones related to her
 hi wii- ti- ar- raar- kaa -0 irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
 and now IND.3A EV PL.INDV.A be.inside PERF that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

šúráki .
 cuúráki .
 the girl .
 icuura- -kis .
 girl DIM .

Hiruwitíhwakⁱ . “
 Hiru witíhwaki’ . “
 Then they said : “
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Náw^a ,
Ráwa ,
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

rikutatukstápišk^a ;
rikutatukstaápicka' .
this is what we want .
riku- ta- t- uks- rak- wicka -0 .
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL want PERF .

tatukstapišk^a
Tatukstaápicka'
We want
ta- t- uks- rak- wicka -0
IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL want PERF

tirakutíahəstiparara
tíraaku tí'ahastipaaraara
this one this one whom you stole
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 tii- ar- ra- s- ri- paar.aar -a
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 this EV ABS 2.A PORT hide SUB.1

, nəskušírəsah^a
raskucírasaaha
for you to take her
ra- s- ku- ut- ciras- aah -a
INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV COM be SUB.1

rəsihkutaku^u .
rásihkuttaku'u .

for you to marry her
 ra- s- ir- ku- aktaku -u
 INF.A 2.A POSS.1/2A INF.B have.as.a.wife SUB.D

Nikutatukstápišk^a

Rikutatukstaápicka'

That is what we wanted

riku- ta- t- uks- rak- wicka -0
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL want PERF

kišiwikariritirápišk^a

kici wikariiritiiraápicka'

but now we do not want it

kici wii- kari- rii- t- i- rak- wicka -0
 but now EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL want PERF

. Asiwitihkútik^u
 . " A siwitihkuútiku'
 . " And they were whipping him
 . " a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus
 . " and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF

, asiwitihkútik^u ,
 , a siwitihkuútiku' ,
 , and they were whipping him ,
 , a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus ,
 , and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF ,

hiwitarúhkuksəs

hi witarúhkuksas

and he would run away

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- kuks- as-i -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV fleeing run PERF

píta .
 piíta .
 the man .
 wiita .
 man .

Asiwitihkutíkusititⁿ

A siwitihkuutíkusitit
 And they began to whip him
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus -itik
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF INCH

,
 ;
 ;
 ,
 ,

[asiwitihkutíkusititⁿ,]

a siwitihkuutíkusitit
 and they began to whip him
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus -itik
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A beat IMPF INCH

;
 ;
 ,
 ,

asiwitirurahurírušⁱ

a siwitirurahuríruhci'
 and they did it excessively
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- rahur- riruhci -0

and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV do be.powerful PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Karawitiraruurətarípak^a

Karawiti' raaruu'uúrattaarípaka

One could not stop them doing it

kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ii- 0- uur- ak- raa- ripak -a
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF just then SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P way oppose.someone.having.something SUB.1

,

nišuksawaštaíriku

ricuksawactaa'íiriku

even if they were seeing it

ri- 0- ir- ut- uks- awahc- raa- iirik -hus
CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV JUSS even.if way see IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Upirúwiturawarítⁿ

Upiíru' wituuráwarit

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|------|--------|-----|------|---------|------|--|
| Wrong | | | he did | | | | | |
| uupir | -u' | wi- | ti- | 0- | uur- | a.warik | -0 | |
| be.different | NOM | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | throw | PERF | |

| | | | |
|----------|------|---|--|
| pīrəski | , | | |
| pīraski | . | | |
| the boy | . | | |
| pīiras- | -kis | . | |
| boy | DIM | . | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|--------------|-----|--------------|--------|-----|------|---------|------|
| pirəskiupiruwituráwarit | | | | | | | | | |
| Pīraski | | uupīru' | | wituuráwarit | | | | | |
| The boy | | wrong | | he did | | | | | |
| pīiras- | -kis | uupir | -u' | wi- | ti- | 0- | uur- | a.warik | -0 |
| boy | DIM | be.different | NOM | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | throw | PERF |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-------|-----|-------|-------|------|-------|---|
| . | Arihkuwíška ^a | , | | | | | | |
| . | A rihkuwícka'a | , | | | | | | |
| . | And when they wanted | , | | | | | | |
| . | a ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | wicka | -a | , | |
| . | and | INF.A | 3.A | PL.3A | INF.B | want | SUB.1 | , |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|--------|-----|-------|----------|--------|------|---|
| asitikisíkir ^u | | | | | | | | . |
| a | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | kisikit | -ra'uk | -0 | . |
| and | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | be.alive | CAUS | PERF | . |

| | | | |
|------------------|---|--------|------|
| Náw ^a | , | híkisi | |
| Ráwa | , | hi | kici |
| Now | , | and | but |
| rawa | , | hi | kici |
| and | , | and | but |

siwítirúwa^a .
 wiwítiruúwa'a .
 they hurt him .
 wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ra.aar -wa -0 .
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A hurt DIST PERF .

Nikuwítusuks
 Rikuwítucuks
 That is how it was
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF

tírahakitətⁿ .
 tírahaakitat .
 (in) this our village .
 tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0 .
 this ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4 .

Šúraki nakuwíška^a píraški
 Cuúraki rakuwícka'a píiraski
 A girl when he wanted a boy
 icuura -kis ra- 0- ku- wicka -a piiras- -kis
 female DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 boy DIM

káraatata ,
 kara'átaata
 ' that I not go '
 ' kara- aa- t- at -a '
 ' NEG SUBJ.1/2A 1.A go SUB.1 '

wítirahkutasikusuhurihúrari
 wítiraahkuutacikusuhurihúraari
 when he thinks of himself
 witi- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aciks- uhuur- rihur -aar -i

REFL INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV mind way be.big INCH IMPF.SUB

, šápatⁿ nakuksáwaš^u
 , cápaat rakuksáwahcu
 , a woman even if it were
 , icapaak ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 , woman INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

, šápat a šúrakⁱ ,
 , cápaat a cuúraki ,
 , a woman or the girl ,
 , icapaak a icuura- -kis ,
 , woman or girl DIM ,

šurakiráku^u ,
 cuúraki ráku'u ,
 a girl her being ,
 icuura- -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,
 girl DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

širusikararikuktúku^u
 ciru sikararikuktáku'u
 yet her not being married
 ciruu si- kara- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- aktaku -u
 yet DU NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B have.as.a.wife SUB.D

, hiwitárahurahəš
 , hi witaaráhurahac
 , and he would elope with her
 , hi wi- ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0
 , and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF

, hítarahurahəš
 , hi taaráhurahac

, and he would elope with her
 , hi ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0
 , and IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF

píræski , píræski
 piíraski . Piíraski
 the boy . The boy
 piiras- -kis . piiras- -kis
 boy DIM . boy DIM

awitaráhurahəš .
 a witaaráhurahac .
 and he would elope with her .
 a wi- ti- 0- ar- ra- hurahac -0 .
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT disappear PERF .

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

nikutihwakíahu ,
 rikutihwakí'aahu' :
 that is what they say :
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus :
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF :

hirusiwítirušíhurətⁿ
 hiru siwitiiruucíhurat
 then they would go after him
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

. Awitíhwakⁱ , ihi
. A witíhwaki' ihi
. And they said , uh
. a wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ihii
. and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , uh

,
,
,

wisirihkutúrat^a

wisirihkuutúrata

when they went after him

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- huur.ra.at -a
when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV go.to.get SUB.1

náwaihi
“ Ráwa ihi
: “ Now , uh ,
, " rawa , ihii ,
, " now , uh ,

siwitásiwahist^a

siwitásihwaahista

you (du) are going to come

si- wi- ta- s- ir- wa- a -his -ta
DU QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A DIST come PERF INT

. I , pířaskⁱ
. " I piíraski
. " And the boy
. " i piiras- -kis

. " and boy DIM

karakatawitíkstahaw^a , [haáwa']
karakatawiitíksta , haáwa'
he would not refuse , also
ka- ra- 0- kata.wi.itik -his -ta , haawa
NEG ABS 3.A refuse PERF INT , also

asiwítahw^a .
a siwítaahwa' .
and they (du) would go .
a si- wi- ti- 0- ar- war -0 .
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV go.DU PERF .

Šúrakⁱ , širuráhku^u
Cuúraki ciru raáhku'u
A girl yet if she would be
icuurá -kis ciruu ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u
female DIM yet INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

nakurahúrahəs . Náw^a ,
rakurahúrahac ráwa ,
when he eloped with her , now ,
ra- 0- ku- ra- hurahac -0 , rawa ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B PORT disappear SUB.4 , now ,

asitírəktaku
a sitiiraktaku'
and they (du) married
a si- ti- 0- a- ir- aktaku -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife PERF

, nutušíra^u ,
. Ruutucíraa'u' .

. Then it was alright .
 . ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0 .
 . that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF .

rutušíra^u

Ruutucíraa'u'

Then it was fine

ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0
 that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF

atiróktaku

a tiiráktaku'

and he married her

a ti- 0- a- ir- aktaku -0
 and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife PERF .

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

kararahkuwíška^a

kararaahkúwicka'a

if he would not want to

kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a piiraski
 NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 boy -kis
 DIM

hikakáhwiška

, hi kaakaáhwicka'

, and he would not want to

, hi kaaki- 0- ar- wicka -0 ,
 , and NEG.IND.3A 3.A EV want PERF ,

ríkuwitusuks ,
 ríkuwitucuks ,
 that is how it was ,
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be PERF ,

hikituusiwitiirúhkariks kúsit

hi kítuu'u' ruusiwitiirúhkarikskusit
 and all then they would take his herd
 hi kituu -u' ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- kariiks- kusik -0
 and all NOM then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV POSS.P herd pick.up PERF

árus^a . Arusakítu
 áruusa' . Aruusa' kítuu'u'
 horses . Horses all
 aruusaa . aruusaa kituu -u'
 horse . horse all NOM

asiwitiirúrarətⁿ

a siwitiiruúrarat
 and they would take them away from him
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- raar- ra- at -0
 and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV 3PL.INAN.P PORT go PERF

. Awitíhwakⁱ , "
 . A witíhwaki' "
 . And they said : "
 . a wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 . and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Kakasirətakúkst^a

Kaakasiirattakúksta

You are not going to get married to her

kaaka- s- ir- aktaku uk -his -ta

NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A have.as.a.wife be PERF INT

háwa . " Níhuksu
haáwa' . " Ríhuksu'
again . " Only
haawa . " rihuks -u'
also . " alone NOM

asiwitihkípi^u

a siwitihkípi^u
and they took everything from him
a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kipis.ra'uk -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A strip.someone.of.possessions PERF

píræski . Kararakuwíška^a
piíraski . Kararakuwícka'a
the boy . If he did not want to
piiras- -kis . kara- ra- 0- ku- wicka -a
boy DIM . NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1

nakutáku .
raakuttáku' .
to be married .
ra- 0- a- ku- aktaku -u .
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B have.as.a.wife SUB.D .

Hawasiwitihipiru ,
Hawá siwitihipiru' ,
Also they whipped him ,
haawa si- wi- ti- 0- ir- piru -0 ,
also DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip PERF ,

siwitihipiru . Kátu
siwitihipiru' . Kaátu'

they whipped him . Because
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- piru -0 . kaatu'
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip PERF . because

witurətahukapakⁱs
 wituurattahuhkápaakis
 he wronged theirs

wi- ti- 0- uur- ak- rahur- kaapaakis -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.P PL.AN.3P do be.pitiful PERF

šúráki . Tukstarihú^u
 cuúráki . Tukstaárihu'u
 the girl . It was a big matter
 icuura- -kis . ti- 0- uks- raa- rihur -'
 girl DIM . IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.big EX

sirihkurakukət^a
 sírhkuurakuukata

when they went into a lodge for her
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- huuk- at -a
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B POSS.P PL.AN.3P into go SUB.1

tirətukstakuriwáwi
 tiratukstaákuriwaáwi

when we used to go around
 tii- ra- t- uks- rak- hurii -waa -wi
 when ABS 1.A AOR 1/2.PL go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, nikuwitúkstárihu^u .
 . Rikuwitukstaárihu'u .
 . That used to be a big matter .
 . riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- rihur -' .
 . that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.big EX .

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------|-----|------|------|------|-------|------|--|
| I | šəsk ⁱ | ritúhawírit ⁿ | | | | | | | |
| I | caskí | rituúhaawiirit | | | | | | | |
| And | a little | I saw it | | | | | | | |
| i | caskii | rii- | t- | ut- | raa- | wa- | iirik | -0 | |
| and | a.little | ASSR | 1.A | PREV | way | DIST | see | PERF | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|---|--|
| . | Nakuwíšká ^a | | | | | píta | , | |
| | rakuwícka'a | | | | | píta | , | |
| | when he wanted | | | | | a man | , | |
| | ra- | 0- | ku- | wicka | -a | wiita | , | |
| | ABS | 3.A | INF.B | want | SUB.1 | man | , | |

šúraki ,
cuúraki
a girl
icuura- -kis
girl DIM

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|---------|-----|-------|----------------|----|------|------|-------|
| | sirikutakúksar ^a | | | | | | | | | |
| | sirikuttakúksaara | | | | | | | | | |
| | for them (du) to get married | | | | | | | | | |
| si- | ra- | 0- | a- | ir- | ku- | aktaku | uk | -his | -aar | -a |
| DU | INF.A | 3.A | PREV.3A | OBV | INF.B | have.as.a.wife | be | PERF | INCH | SUB.1 |

,
,
,
,

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----|----|-----|-----|--------|----|------|------|----|
| | sirikutakáksar ^a | | | | | | | | | |
| | sirikuttakúksaara | | | | | | | | | |
| | for them (du) to get married | | | | | | | | | |
| si- | ra- | 0- | a- | ir- | ku- | aktaku | uk | -his | -aar | -a |

DU INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B have.as.a.wife be PERF INCH SUB.1

šúrakⁱ . Hiitušúraki
 cuúraki . Hi , ihi , cuúraki
 a girl . And , uh , the girl
 icuura- -kis . hi , ihii , icuura- -kis
 girl DIM . and , uh , girl DIM

hawahitakútaruta

hawá hiítaku' taruúta
 also another she would do it
 haawa hii- taku ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0
 also other someone IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF

píræskⁱ ,
 piíraski ,
 the boy ,
 piiras- -kis ,
 boy DIM ,

hisitíhuræs .

hi sitíhuras .
 and they found out .
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- huras -0 .
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A find PERF .

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

kakúrahi
 kaakúraahi

it was not good

kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

irírutakišisu

iríruutaakicisu

the one who were her relatives

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

rihkuwáki^a

rihkuwáki'a

when they said

ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a kustáwihšú
INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1 son.in.law -u'
son-in-law

, iririrətáku^u

, iríriirattaku'u

, the one married to her

, irii- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u
, that ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D

šúráki ,

cuúráki ,

the girl ,

icuurá- -kis ,

girl DIM ,

hítahwahu ,

hi witaahwáku' ,

and he would say :

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , " rawa

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , " now

, kukakúutⁿ , ihi ,
 kukaakuú'ut , ihi ,
 there is nothing wrong , uh ,
 ku- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -' , ihii ,
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX , uh ,

tirátuhišis ,
 tirátuuhiicis ,
 since I found out ,
 tii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 ,
 when ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 ,

hikisitirəstápihət
 hi kici tirastápihat
 and but , you sitting here
 hi kici , tii- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0
 and but , here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4

irisirəsutíšisu
 iriisirasuutícisu ,
 , you who are her relatives ,
 , irii- si- ra- s- ut- icis -hus ,
 , that DU ABS 2.A PREV be.related.to IMPF.SUB ,

təstakítawⁱ arísitⁿ . "
 tastakítawⁱ ariísit . "
 you are the judges yourselves . "
 ta- s- rak- kita.wi -0 ariisit . "
 IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.the.leader PERF one's.own . "

Nikúwitusuks .
 Rikuwítucuks .
 That was how it was .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -0 .

girl
 icuura- -kis
 girl DIM

irirutakíšis^u .
 íriruutaakícisu .
 the ones related to her .
 irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus .
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB .

Awitáhupu
 A witaáhuupu'
 And they would go inside
 a wi- ti- 0- ar- huuk- wuu -:hus
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV into go.IMPF IMPF

pírəskⁱ ,
 píraski ,
 the boy ,
 piiras- -kis ,
 boy DIM ,

pírəskiirirəkuhar^u
 píraski iriiraáhkuuhaaru
 boy the one who did it
 piiras- -kis irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- raar -u
 boy DIM that INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV do SUB.D

. Šúráki tuhá^a
 . Cuúráki tuuhá'a
 . A girl it is the reason
 . icuura -kis ti- 0- ut- raar -'
 . female DIM IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

širuráku^u ,
 ciru ráku'u ,
 yet her being ,
 ciruu ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,
 yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

hikakiruratúkisitⁿ

hi kaakiruuraatukiisit
 and he would not anger easily
 hi kaaki- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raatukiis.ik -0
 and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV be.easily.angered PERF

, pitára^u . Náw^a ,
 piitára'u . Ráwa ,
 the husband . Now ,
 wiita ra- 0- 0 -u . rawa ,
 man ABS 3.A be SUB.D . now ,

irihikakúrahi ,
 irihiikaakúraahi .
 that was not good .
 irii- hii- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
 that other NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

irirutakísisu ,

Íriruutaakícisu

The ones who were her relatives

irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

ásiwitiikutitⁿ ,

a siwitiikuutit

and they killed him

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0

and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

pírəski .
piíraski .
the boy .
piiras- -kis .
boy DIM .

Rurakukuháriks^a ,

Ruurakukuuhaárikxa

Its being a real death

ruu- ra- 0- ku- kuut- raariks -a
then INF.A 3.A INF.B dead be.true SUB.1

asiwitíhkutitⁿ .

a siwitíhkuutit .

and they killed him .

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Náw^a , híkiši ,

Ráwa hi kici

Now and but

rawa hi kici

now and but

irirákuhar^u

iriirákuuhaaru

the one who did it

irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u
that INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do SUB.D

hiirirutákukstakətⁿ

hi iriruutaáhkukstákut

and thereupon he would flee
 hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- kuks- takuk -0
 and then then IND.3A 3.A EV fleeing run PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

hirukírikuatahkuksətⁿ

Hiru kíriku' a taáhkuksat
 Then somewhere and he would flee
 hiruu kirikuu a ti- 0- ar- kuks- at -0
 then anything and IND.3A 3.A EV fleeing go PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

níkuwitišuks

Ríkuwitiicuks

That is how it used to be

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV AOR be PERF

. Akakírapətⁿ ,
 . A kaakiírapat .
 . And they did not fight .
 . a kaaki- 0- ir- apak -0 .
 . and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF .

kakírapətⁿ ,
 Kaakiírapat .
 They did not fight .
 kaaki- 0- ir- apak -0 .
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF .

tatiraitáask^u , šápat
 Tatiraá'iita ásku cápaat
 I knew her one woman
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 asku icapaak
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF one woman

rirurakítawawⁱ
 riruuraakítawaawi
 her being the cause of things
 ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raa- kita -waa -wi
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV way be.the.cause DIST SUB.L

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Rikutirurakítawa
 Rikutaruuraakítawa
 That one was the cause of things
 riku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raa.kita -waa -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.way.on.top DIST PERF

šápatⁿ ,
 cápaat ,
 the woman ,
 icapaak ,

woman ,

nikutirukítawa

rikutaruuraakítawa

that one was the cause of things

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----|---------|-----------|------|-------------------|------|------|
| riku- | ti- | 0- | a- | ri- | uur- | raa.kita | -waa | -0 |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | PHYS.POSS | PREV | be.the.way.on.top | DIST | PERF |

. Kakúrahi ,

. Kaakúraahi .

. It was not good .

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|------|------|---------|------|---|
| . kaaki- | 0- | uur- | raa- | hiir | -0 | . |
| . NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way | be.good | PERF | . |

tirapírihu^u

Tiraapírihu'u

It was desirable

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-------------|----|--------------------|---|
| ti- | 0- | raapi.rihur | -' | šápat ⁿ | . |
| IND.3A | 3.A | value | EX | cápaat | |
| | | | | a woman | |
| | | | | icapaak | |
| | | | | woman | |

Írirutahušápatⁿ

iriíruutahu

its being the way

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|----|-------|----------|---------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ut- | 0 | -a | -hus | cápaat |
| that | ABS | 3.A | PREV | be | SUB.1 | IMPF.SUB | a woman |
| | | | | | | | icapaak |
| | | | | | | | woman |

nakúhurəs

rakúhuras

to find her

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----------------------|---|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | huras | -0 | úrarisit ⁿ | , |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | find | SUB.4 | uúrarisiit | |
| | | | | | directly | |
| | | | | | uurariisik | |
| | | | | | straight.forward | |

nusiwitrakušišíksu^a

ruusiwiraakuciicíksuu'a

their (du) thinking

ruu- si- witi- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aciks- uu -a
then DU REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ mind be SUB.1

, úrarisit ,
, uúrariisit
, directly
, uurariisik
, straight.forward

rusiwitarakušišīksu^a

ruusiwitiraakuciicīksuu'a

their (du) thinking

ruu- si- witi- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- aciks- uu -a
then DU REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ mind be SUB.1

šápət a pīt^a ,
cápaat a piíta .
a woman and a man .
icapaak a wiita .
woman and man .

hisitíkarik^u

Hi sitiíkariku

And they (du) have a home

hi si- ti- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting PERF

hišahiksitarúhkarⁱ

hi cáhiks sitarúhkari'

and people they (du) have many

hi icaahiks si- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kari -0
and person DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.numerous PERF

,
,
,
,

šahiksitarúhkarⁱ

cáhiks sitarúhkari'

people they (du) have many

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|---------|-----------|--------|-------------|------|
| icaahiks | si- | ti- | 0- | a- | ri- | uur- | kari | -0 |
| person | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be.numerous | PERF |

sírakukarik^u

sírakuukáriku

when they (du) have their home

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|----------|------|------------|-------|---|
| si- | ra- | 0- | ku- | akaar- | ri- | kus | -0 | . |
| DU | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | dwelling | PORT | be.sitting | SUB.4 | . |

Akitutihwakíahu

A kítuu'u' tihwakí'aahu'

And all they say

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-------------|-------|
| a | kituu | -u' | ti- | 0- | ir- | waki.a | --hus |
| and | all | NOM | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF |

, " Áka^a !
, " Aáka'a ,
: " Oh my ,
, " aaka'a ,
, " oh.my ,

iriwisituhi

iriwisítuuhi

they (du) are good

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|-----|----|------|------|----|
| irii- | wii- | si- | ti- | 0- | uur- | hiir | -0 |
|-------|------|-----|-----|----|------|------|----|

that now DU IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF

tisírak^u . "
tisíraaku . "
these (du) . "
tii- si- ra- 0- kus -0 . "
this DU ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Hihirurakurahkawípit^a

Hi hiru rakúraahkaawi piíta
And then when they were inside men
hi hiruu ra- 0- ku- raar- kaa -wi wiita
and then INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L man

hihirukirikutarutášapatⁿ

hi hiru kíriku' taruúta cápaat
and then something she would do it the woman
hi hiruu kirikuu ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0 icapaak
and then anything IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF woman

nahkuráhupu

raahkuráhuupu

when they went inside

ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- huuk- wuu -hus
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PL.INDV.A into go.IMPF IMPF.SUB

irirakukárik^u

iriirakuukáriku

the one who has the lodge

irii- ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0
where INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

hi , pitára^u
, hi piitára'u

, and the husband
 , hi wiita ra- 0- 0 -u
 , and man ABS 3.A be SUB.D

táruhišis ,
 táruuhiicis ,
 he would find out about her ,
 ti- 0- ar- ut- riicis -0 ,
 IND.3A 3.A EV PREV learn.about PERF ,

hitahwáku , “ xka^a !
 hi taahwáku’ “ líka’a ,
 and he would say : “ Oh my ,
 hi ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , “ iika’a ,
 and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , “ oh.my ,

iriwitúrahi
 iriwitúraahi
 that is good
 irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiwirōtuhišis . "
 tiwirātuuhiicis . "
 my finding this out . "
 tii- wii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 . "
 this now ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 . "

Nakuhihkúšapatⁿ
 Raáhkuuhihku cápaat
 His meaning her the woman
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- ra’ihk -hus icapaak
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV mean IMPF.SUB woman

. “ xka^a !
 . “ líka’a ,
 . “ Oh my ,
 . ” iika’a ,
 . ” oh.my ,

iriwitúrahi
 iriwitúraahi
 that is good

irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiwirétuhišis . Náw^a
 tiwirátuuhiicis . Ráwa
 my finding this out . Now
 tii- wii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 . rawa
 this now ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 . now

,

tatarurapírihu^u
 tataruuraapírihu`u
 I love you

ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -’
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

si- ra- 0- ku- waa.wak.tik -hus
 . sirakuwawáktiku ,
 . Sirakuwaawáktiku
 . The ones talking
 . si- ra- 0- ku- waa.wak.tik -hus

. DU INF.A 3.A INF.B talk IMPF.SUB

tírutasuhətⁿ pířəskⁱ
tíruutasuuhat piíraski
these sitting around boys
tii- ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0 piiras- -kis
this ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4 boy DIM

tatirurətapírihu^u
tatiruurattaapírihu^u
I love them
ta- t- ir- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -'
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value EX

, iriwitúrahi
. Iriwitúraahi
. That is good
. irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
. that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

tiwirətuhišis .
tiwirātuuhiicis .
my finding this out .
tii- wii- ra- t- ut- riicis -0 .
this now ABS 1.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 .

Kakíruhu
Kaakíruuhu'
It is not the way
kaaki- 0- raa.uhur -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.the.way PERF

kuratakútawirahətⁿ ,
kurataakútawiirahat .

for me to touch you .
ku- ra- t- a- ku- tawiira.hak -0 .
INDF INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B brush.against SUB.4 .

ákirikukaririruhú^u

A kíriku' kariiriruu^u'u
And anything it is not the way
a kirikuu kari- rii- 0- raa.uhur -'
and anything EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.the.way EX

pītarətkutawírahətⁿ

piita ratkutawiírahət .
the man for me to touch him .
wiita ra- t- ku- tawiira.hak -0 .
man INF.A 1.A INF.B brush.against SUB.4 .

Ahikíhi , súətⁿ ,
Ahiki' ihi , cuú'at ,
But , uh , daughter ,
a hi ki , ihii , cuu'at ,
and and there , uh , daughter ,

kaskušišikskápak^s

kaskuuciicikskaa^{paakis} .
you should pity me .
kaas- s- ku- ut- i- aciks.kaapaakis -0 .
POT.2A 2.A 1.P PREV SEQ feel.pity.for PERF .

Hā ! natutakíšisu

Haa ratuutaakícisu

Ha , my relatives

haa , ra- t- ut- ak- icis -hus
ha , ABS 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL value EX

píra^u . "
 píra'u' . "
 the children . "
 piira -u' . "
 child NOM . "

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

nahkukáriu ,
 raahkukári'u
 their being many
 ra- 0- ar- ku- kari -u
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.numerous SUB.D

nakúwihətⁿ ,
 rakúwihat
 their sitting
 ra- 0- ku- wi.hak -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sitting.PL SUB.4

tuharáihk^u .
 tuuhaará'ihku' .
 he means .
 ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF .

Náhkusiksúpīta^a
 Raáhkuciksu piíta

His having thoughts a man
 ra- 0- ar- ku- aciks -hus wiita
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B think.of IMPF.SUB man

rakuráriks^a ,
 rakuuraárikxa
 its being true ' ,
 ra- 0- ku- i- raariks -a ' ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.true SUB.1 ' ,

atarasikstawáwⁱ :
 aatáraacikstawaawi ,
 that I love them , ' ,
 aa- t- a- raa- aciks.ta -waa -wi , ' ,
 SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P way value.highly DIST SUB.L , ' ,

pírəskⁱ
 píraski
 boys ' ,
 piiras- -kis ' ,
 boy DIM ' ,

atətarasíkstawi ,
 aatáraacikstawi ,
 that I love them , ' ,
 aa- t- a- raa- aciks.ta -wi , ' ,
 SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P way value.highly SUB.L , ' ,

kitúkurahus , šápatⁿ ,
 kítuu'u' kúrahus , cápaat ,
 all the old men , the women ,
 kituu -u' kurahuus , icapaak ,
 all NOM old.man , woman ,

nikutihwakiahúpī^a
rikutihwaki'aahu' piīta
that is what they say man :
riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus wiita ,
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPf IMPF man ,

iriwitiśkaskasa .
“ Iriwitićkaskasa .
“ That is sensible .
" irii- wi- ti- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
" that QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sensible PERF .

Iriwitiśkstárahkis .
Iriwitićkstárahkis . "
He has a strong mind . "
irii- wi- ti- 0- aciks- tarahkis -0 . "
that QUOT IND.3A 3.A mind be.strong PERF . "

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

tatariraiwawatⁿ
tatariiraa'iiwaawat
I am telling you stories
ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -waa -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story DIST PERF

, irirúśuksa
iriiruúćuksa
the way it used to be
irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a

that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1

ákitar^u ,
ákitaaru'
tribe
akitaar- -u'
tribe NOM

ratúkspari .
ratúkspari .
when I went about .
ra- t- uks- warii -hus .
ABS 1.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Iritiwirutpišihíú^a
Iritiwirutpicihí'uu'a
When it was this cold weather
irii- tii- wii- ra- 0- ut- picí.ihí uu -a
when this when ABS 3.A PREV be.very.cold be SUB.1

tarahárətkurárəspi .
tárahá' ratkurárəspi .
buffalo when we went hunting .
tarahaa ra- t- ku- raar- raspíi -0 .
buffalo INF.A 1.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P look.for SUB.4 .

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

iririšiksuhúru^a
iriričikstuuhúruu'a

its having been that way

irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- raa.uhur- uu -a
that ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR way be SUB.1

kúrahus ,
kúrahus
the old men
kurahuus
old.man

wirikuwakíhu ,
wirihkuwakíhu
when they would say :
wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus ,
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

“ Náwa ,
“ Ráwa
“ Now
" rawa
" now

witašihawíriku ,
witaciihaawiíriku'
we'll be seeing things
wii- ta- aciir- ut- raa- wa- iirik -:hus
now IND.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV way DIST see IMPF

Wirikúkusirahu
wirihkúkusirahu
when the herd is coming
wii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- kusiir- a -hus
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B group.to.run come IMPF.SUB

. Hikúrahus
 . " Hi kúrahus
 . " And the old men
 . " hi kurahuus
 . " and old.man

hirutaráhukətⁿ ,
 hiru taaráhuukat ,
 then they would go inside ,
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- raar- huuk- at -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A into go PERF ,

hikúrahus
 hi kúrahus
 and the old men
 hi kurahuus
 and old.man

rutirúši^a ,
 ruutiirúci'a
 then they did it :
 ruu- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ do PERF ,

ihipírəskⁱ
 ihi píiraski
 uh , boys
 ihii , piiras- -kis
 uh , boy DIM

rukspiwahətⁿ ,
 rukspíwaahat ,
 where they were sitting about ,
 ra- 0- uks- wi.hak -waa -0 ,

ABS 3.A AOR be.sitting.PL DIST SUB.4 ,

ahitíhwakⁱ kúrahus
a hi tíhwaki' kúrahus
and and they said the old men
a hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus
and and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man

, tíraaku
“ Tíraaku
: “ This one
, " tii- ra- 0- kus -0
, " this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

kirakíriki síriritasiksu
kíra kíriki síriitaciksu'
let's see what He thinks of him

kira kirikii si- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- aciks -:hus
perhaps what DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV think.of IMPF

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

tiharáwahəṭⁿ .
Tihaaráwaahat .
the Heavens .
tii- haa- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 .
this here ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 .

Kirahirurikusiiisutátəṭⁿ

Kíra hiru rikúsi' isutaáttata

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|---------------------|-----------|-----|-----|----|------|----------------------|-----|------|-------|------|----|-------|
| Perhaps | then | you will be the one | | | | | | if you take the pipe | | | | | | |
| kira | hiruu | riku- | i- | s- | i- | 0 | -0 | i- | s- | ut- | haak- | ra- | at | -a |
| perhaps | then | that.is | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | SEQ | be | PERF | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | PREV | wood | PORT | go | SUB.1 |

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------|--------------------------|------|----------|------|--|--|
| Náw ^a | , | tirá ^a tawi | | | | | |
| Ráwa | | tiraá ^a tawi' | | | | | |
| Now | | maybe | | | | | |
| rawa | ti- | 0- | raa- | tawi | -0 | | |
| now | IND.3A | 3.A | way | be.among | PERF | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|---|---|------------------|
| nakuwíška ^a | | | | | , | " | Náw ^a |
| rakuwícka'a | | | | | | " | Ráwa |
| when he wanted | | | | | : | " | Now |
| ra- | 0- | ku- | wicka | -a | , | " | rawa |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | want | SUB.1 | , | " | now |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|-------|-------|------|----|
| irikutihíhwiška ^a | | | | | | | . |
| irikutihíhwicka' | | | | | | | ." |
| that is what they want | | | | | | | ." |
| iriku- | tiir- | ra- | 0- | ir- | wicka | -0 | ." |
| that.is | INFR | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | want | PERF | ." |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--------------------------------------|-----|---------|-----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|-------|--|--|
| Atirá ^a raruhakukítas ^a | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Atí ^a | | raruuhaakuukítasa | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mother | | the one having the pipe lying on top | | | | | | | | | | |
| ati- | raa | ra- | 0- | a- | ri- | uur- | haak- | huukita- | sa | -0 | | |
| 1.POSS | mother | ABS | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | wood | on.top | be.lying | SUB.4 | | |

nutáwiskar^u .
 rattaáwiskaaru' .
 pipe .
 rak.raawis.kaar- -u' .
 pipe NOM .

Hiruwitarahkáwaritⁿ

Hiru witaaraahkáwarit
 Then he filled it up
 hiruu wi- ti- ar- raar- ka.warik -0
 then QUOT IND.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF

kúrahus irirakukitáwi^u .
 kúrahus iriirakukitáwi'u .
 old man the one who was leader .
 kurahuus irii- ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u .
 old.man that INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D .

Hirutihatúša

Hiru tahaattuúcaa'
 Then he arose with the pipe
 hiruu ti- 0- a- haak- ra- uca.a -0
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT get.up PERF

, hirupíraski ,
 , hiru píiraski
 , then the boy
 , hiruu piiras- -kis
 , then boy DIM

irirakukáriku

iriirakuukáriku
 where his lodge was
 irii- ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0

where INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, kararakukapákisu ,
kararakuukaapaákisu
his not being poor
kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.poor SUB.D

arikuwítahátahukətⁿ

a rikuwítahaáttahuukat
and that is where he took the pipe inside
a riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- haak- ra- huuk- at -0
and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV wood PORT into go PERF

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

awítahwítitⁿ

a wítaahwítit ,
and he sat down
a wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.itik -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV sit.down PERF

kúrahús . Náwa^a ,
kúrahús . Ráwa ,
the old man . Now ,
kurahuús . rawa ,
old.man . now ,

iriríhku^u . “ Náwa^a
iriríhku'u . “ Ráwa

whatever he is to him : “ Now
 irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- 0 -u , ” rawa
 what INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B be SUB.D , ” now

tatiškairatira

tatícka’

I want

íratíira

when I came

ta- t- wicka -0 ii- ra- t- ir- a -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF when ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.3

iriwirirurašiksár^a

iriwiriruuráciksaara

what they think of you

irii- wii- ra- 0- a- ir- a- ri- uur- aciks.aar -a
 what now ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV consider SUB.1

,
,
,
,
,

iriwisirəturašiksara

iriwisiraturáciksaara

what we think of you

irii- wii- si- ra- t- a- uur- aciks.aar -a
 what now DU ABS 1.A 2.P PREV consider SUB.1

ákitar^u

ákitaaru’

tribe

akitaar- -u’

tribe NOM

tiwirəšíhwari ,
 tiwiracíhwari ,
 when we go around ,
 tii- wii- ra- aciir- warii -hus ,
 here now ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

ihí ákítar^u
 ihí ákitaaru'
 uh , tribe
 ihii , akitaar- -u'
 uh , tribe NOM

rəskuksuhurukírawu .
 raskuksuhuruukíraawu .
 for you to support me .
 ra- s- ku- uks- uhur- raa.ikiraa.wuu -hus .
 ABS 2.A 1.P JUSS now support IMPF.SUB .

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

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

rahirarahkutakúrikutⁿ
 ráhiira' raahkutaakuúrikut
 sometimes when he takes the pipe
 rahiira ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- haak- uurikuk -0

and then they stand all around
 hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- waawa- uuri.arik -0
 and there then IND.3A 3.A DIST stand.upright PERF

naripákusu
 raaripákusu'
 the soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

tukuhawakararakút^a
 táku' hawá kararakuúta
 no one else going

taku haawa kara- ra- 0- ku- at -a
 someone also NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B go SUB.1

hirótaku . Irárⁱ
 hiirátaku . Iraári'
 over there . Brother
 hii- ra- -taku . i- -raar- -ri'
 other ABS LOC . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

, tárah^a
 , táraha'
 , buffalo
 , tarahaa
 , buffalo

wirakukáriar^a
 wirakukári'aara
 there being many

wii- ra- 0- ku- kari -aar -a
 now INF.A 3.A INF.B be.numerous INCH SUB.1

irirúrakutətⁿ

iriruúakuutat

there where the village was

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
| irii- | ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | itak | -0 |
| where | there | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | be.a.camp | SUB.4 |

hitarahataráhwiš^a

hi táraha' taraáhwica'
and buffalo they came there

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------|-----|---------|-----------|--------|------|
| hi | tarahaa | ti- | 0- | a- | raar- | wic.a | -0 |
| and | buffalo | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | PL.INDV.A | arrive | PERF |

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

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|-----|--|---------------------|------|
| Šápatkitu | | | | pírəsk ⁱ | |
| cápaat | kítuu'u' | | | piíraski | |
| the women | all | | | boys | |
| icapaak | kituu | -u' | | piiras- | -kis |
| woman | all | NOM | | boy | DIM |

tisiksarihúsuku

tiiciksaariíhusuuku'

they used to do it

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-------|------|-----|------|-----|------|-------|-------|
| ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | i- | uks- | aar | -i | -:hus | -uuku |
| IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | SEQ | AOR | do | IMPF | IMPF | HAB |

,

nakuhukitaháwari
 rakuhuukitahaáwari
 to skate on the ice

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|----------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | huukita- | haa- | warii | -hus |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | on.top | in.water | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

iririšiksawahihúsuku
 iririiciksáwaahiihusuku
 the way they used to do

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|------|-----|------|----------|----------|---------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ut- | i- | uks- | aar | -waa | -i | -hus | -uku |
| that | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | SEQ | AOR | do | DIST | IMPF.SUB | IMPF.SUB | HAB.SUB |

píræskⁱ , ášapatⁿ
 piiraski a cápaat
 boys and the women
 piiras- -kis a icapaak
 boy DIM and woman

rakisrikuháat^a

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------------------------|-----|-------|-------|------|-----------|-------|
| rákis | | rihkuuhaá'ata | | | | | | |
| wood | | when they went after it | | | | | | |
| rak | -kis | ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | ut- | raa.at | -a |
| wood | DIM | INF.A | 3.A | PL.3A | INF.B | PREV | go.to.get | SUB.1 |

, híkiši raripákusu
 , hi kici raaripákusu'
 , and but the soldiers
 , hi kici raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 , and but way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

taruháhkawatətⁿ .
 taruhaáhkawatat .

they would get out .
 ti- 0- ar- ut- raar- kawatak -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A EV PREV PL.INDV.A get.out PERF .

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

hiruwirihkuhúraiwa
 hiru wirihkuuurá'íwa
 then when they came bringing it
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- huur.awi.a -wa -0
 then when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B PREV return.laden DIST SUB.3

šápatⁿ náki's
 cápaat rákis
 the women wood
 icapaak rak -kis
 woman wood DIM

hiraripákusu
 hi raaripákusu'
 and the soldiers
 hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

hitaráhwisətⁿ .
 hi taaráhwicat .
 and they arrived .
 hi ti- 0- ar- raar- wic.at -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A arrive PERF .

Atirurətaruwakatárákⁱ

A tiiruurattáruuwa kaatáráki
And they would take them away from them the axes
a ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- ak- raar- ruu.war -0 kaatara- -kis
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P take.away.DU PERF ax DIM

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

tiksišírarihusuku

tiksiciíraariihusuuku'

they used to tease them

ti- 0- ir- uks- iciira.aar -i -:hus -uuku
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR become.mischievous IMPF IMPF HAB

, nihkutár^a
rihkuutaára
when they did it

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aar -a
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV do SUB.1

hitirakaskáruwətⁿ

hi tiiraakaskáruuwat

and they would take their moccasins off

hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ak- as- kawat -ruu -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PL.AN.3P foot take.out DIST PERF

šápatⁿ ; asúrakata əskíwarit^u .
cápaat , asúrahkata askíwariitu' .
the women , yellow moccasins barefoot .
icapaak , as.huur- rahkataar as- kiiwariit -u' .

woman , moccasin be.yellow foot naked NOM .

Aráhir^a ihi
A ráhiira' , ihi
And sometimes , uh ,
a rahiira , ihii ,
and further , uh ,

kararakukiríhkahur^u
kararakuukiríkaahuuru
there being one who is mean
kara- ra- 0- ku- i- kirik.kaa.huur -u
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.kind SUB.D

naripákusú
raaripákusú'
a soldier
raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

ararutarúhaskakət^u
a raaruutaruuhaáskakat
and he would just cut her ropes
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- uur- haas- ka.ukac.k -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A EV POSS.P rope cut.up PERF

həskararíkaks^u . Nəkⁱsawas
haskararíkaaksu' . Rákis áwas
rawhide rope . Wood left behind
haas.kararikaaks -u' . rak -kis awas
rawhide.rope NOM . wood DIM left.behind

atirúriwik^u
a tiiruúriwiiku

and it would be piled there
a ti- 0- a- ir- ar- ri- uur- riwii.kus -0
and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.large.pile PERF

. Ahuskararíkaks^u
. A haskararíkaaksu'
. And rawhide rope
. a haas.kararikaaks -u'
. and rawhide.rope NOM

nihkurakastarúwar^a
rihkuurakaastarúwara
when they took the rope away from them

ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- haas- raar- ruu.war -a
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P rope PL take.away.DU SUB.1

, ruhár^u
ruuhaáru
their doing it
ra- 0- ut- raar -u
ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D

karaasihatiwaktawáriku
kara'asiihaattiiwaktawaáriku
so that the wood would not sound

kara- aa- s- i- haak- rii.waktaa.rik -waa -hus
NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ wood make.the.sound.of.an.impact DIST IMPF.SUB

. Nuhár^u táraha
, ruuhaáru táraha'
, their doing it buffalo
, ra- 0- ut- raar -u tarahaa
, ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D buffalo

wirurakutahúhrawi ,
 wiruurakuutahúrahwi
 when they were close by
 wii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- ta.hurah -wi
 when then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.close.to SUB.L

irirətkurákitətⁿ .
 iriirátkuraakitat .
 where we were camped .
 irii- ra- t- ku- rak- itak -0 .
 where INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4 .

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

hiruatirarúwišp^a
 hiru a tiiraruúwicpaa'
 then and they would take everything there
 hiruu a ti- 0- a- ir- ar- raar- ruu- wic.a -wa -0
 then and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive DIST PERF

naripákusu
 raaripákusu'
 the soldiers
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

irirakukáwi .
 iriirakúkaawi .
 where the lodge is .
 irii- ra- 0- ku- akaa -wi .

where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Ahirurikutirarahúpa

A hiru rikutiiraráhuupa

And then that is where they would take them inside

a hiru riku- ti- 0- ir- ar- raar- ra- huuk- war -0
and then that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P PORT into go.DU PERF

katáarakⁱ , ahuskararíkuks^u
kaatáaraki , a haskararíkaaksu'
the axes , and rawhide ropes
kaatara- -kis , a haas.kararikaaks -u'
ax DIM , and rawhide.ropes NOM

aasurúšapatⁿ

a asuúru' cápaat
and moccasins the women
a as.huur -u' icapaak
and moccasin NOM woman

rirasuwúkuhu .

riirasuuwuúkuhu .

the moccasins they wear .

ra- 0- ir- as.uuk -waa -i -hus .
ABS 3.A PL.3A wear.on.the.feet DIST SUB.2 IMPF.SUB .

Kararakutáhipⁱ

Karakuutáhipi

One's not touching it

kara- ra- 0- ku- i- tahik -wi
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ strike.with.an.object SUB.L

wituhá^a ,

wituhá'a

that is the reason

wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -'
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

hihítiraskarúwætⁿ

hi hiitiiraskaruúwat

and they took their moccasins off

hi hii- ti- 0- ir- as- kawat -ruu -0
and other IND.3A 3.A PL.3A foot take.out DIST PERF

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

hiruirirakúkawⁱ

hiru iriirakúkaawi

then where her lodge was

hiruu irii- ra- 0- ku- akaa -wi
then where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hítahukatⁿ

hi taáhuukat

and she would enter

hi ti- 0- ar- huuk- at -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV into go PERF

hitáhwaku

hi taahwáku'

and she would say

hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

Hirúkatáráki

Hiru kaatáráki
 There the axe
 hiruu kaatara- -kis
 there ax DIM

wisitíkurətⁿ

wisitíkuurat
 they have taken it from me
 wii- si- ti- 0- ir- ku- uur- ra- at -0
 now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV PORT go PERF

naripákusu . "
 raaripákusu' . "
 the soldiers . "
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u' . "
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM . "

Hiruirakárik^u

Hiru iriiraakáriku
 There the one who had the home
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
 there that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

hirutarúši^a

hiru taruúci'a
 then he would do it :
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF ,

nawiskar^u

raawískaaru' atáhkawətⁿ
 tobacco a taáhkawat
 and he would take it out
 raawis.kaar- -u' a ti- 0- ar- kawat -0

tobacco NOM and IND.3A 3.A EV take.out PERF

. “ Náw^a
. “ Ráwa
. “ Now
. ” rawa
. ” now

hirusikstakatárákⁱ

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----|-----------|------|------|------|------|----------|-----------|--|
| hiru | síkstaa’ | | | | | | | | kaatáraki | |
| then | bring it | | | | | | | | the axe | |
| hiruu | i- | s- | ir- | uks- | ra- | a | -0 | kaatara- | -kis | |
| then | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | PREV.1/2A | JUSS | PORT | come | PERF | ax | DIM | |

, surúksaku
! Saruksaáku
! Give him the pipe
. i- s- ar- uks- haak- uh -0
. CONT.1/2A 2.A EV JUSS wood give PERF

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|----------|-----|--|--|--|--|--|----|
| naripákusu | | | | | | | | | | |
| raaripákusu’ | | | | | | | | | | .” |
| the soldier | | | | | | | | | | !” |
| raa- ri.apak | | | -hus | -u’ | | | | | | .” |
| way oppose.relinquishing | | | IMPF.SUB | NOM | | | | | | .” |

Iripíræskⁱ ,

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Iripíraski | | | | | | | | | | |
| The boys | | | | | | | | | | |
| irii- piiras- | -kis | | | | | | | | | |
| that boy | DIM | | | | | | | | | |

irahákukⁱ
írahaakuki

those of ours

ii- ra- t- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i
that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2

nətkuratarukitaháwari

ratkuraattaaruukitahaáwari

when we skated around on ice

ra- t- ku- rak- raar- huukita- haa- warii -hus
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A on.top in.water be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

,
,
,
,
,

nəkurápakaraiwari

ratkuraápakaara'iwari

when we were going around making noise

ra- t- ku- rak- wakaara -wi warii -hus
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.noisy SUB.L be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

.
--
--
--
--

Kitutatisukstakawahihúsuku

kituu'u' taticukstaakáwaahiihúsuku'

everything we used to do (ie play)

kituu -u' ta- t- ir- ut- uks- rak- aar -waa -i -:hus -uuku
all NOM IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PREV AOR 1/2.PL do DIST IMPF IMPF HAB

. Nasít^u
 . Raasiítu'
 . Ice
 . raasit- -u'
 . ice NOM

hitihutáiwu

hi tiihuhtá'iwu'
 and he was sliding on it
 hi ti- 0- uhuur- tawii wuu -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A way be.sloping.upward go.IMPF IMPF

píraski ,
 piiraski ,
 a boy ,
 piiras- -kis ,
 boy DIM ,

hiraripákusu

hi raaripákusu'
 and the soldiers
 hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

tahkíhawahətⁿ ,

taahkiíhaahwaahat

they passed in groups

ti- 0- ar- kiihaar- waa- hak -0
 IND.3A 3.A EV in.a.group DIST pass.by PERF

nakukurakaturiwirútítⁿ

rakukuuraakaturiwiruutit

their blocking our path

ra- 0- ku- ku- uur- rak- hatuur- ri- wi.itik -ruu -0

INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B POSS.P 1/2.PL road PORT sit.down DIST SUB.4

. Hirawitakaráhisu
 . Hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 . And suddenly
 . hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 . and just now all.at.once NOM

tuhahkišpótpa
 tuuhaahkiicpátpaa'
 they came out of the brush

ti- 0- a- ut- raar- kiic.waat.a -wa -0
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come.out.of.the.brush DIST PERF

, hitaturétúwaəs .
 , hi taturaattuúwa'as .
 , and we ran away .
 , hi ta- t- uur- rak- ruu.wa.as-i -0 .
 , and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL run.away PERF .

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

nikutatišúkstakuhuru
 rikutaticukstaakuhúru'
 that is what we used to do

riku- ta- t- ir- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -0
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does PERF

, []
 ratukstaákuriiwaawi

when we were living

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|--------|--------------|------|-------|
| ra- | t- | uks- | rak- | hurii | -waa | -wi |
| ABS | 1.A | AOR | 1/2.PL | go.around.PL | DIST | SUB.L |

nikurətarəsawahətⁿ

rikuuraattarasáwaahat

when we grew up

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|--------|-----------|---------|------|-------|
| ri- | ku- | i- | rak- | raar- | rasahat | -waa | -0 |
| CONT.3A | 1.P | SEQ | 1/2.PL | PL.INDV.P | grow.up | DIST | SUB.4 |

. Kitupírəskⁱ

. Kítuu'u' piíraski

. All the boys

. kituu -u' piiras- -kis

. all NOM boy DIM

atitətárurikutⁿ

a titattáruurikut

and they caught them

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-------|------|----------|-----------|---------|------|
| a | ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | ak- | raar- | uurikuk | -0 |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | PL.AN.3P | PL.INDV.P | catch | PERF |

. Hitíhwaki

. Hi tíhwaki'

. And they said

. hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "

. and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Sukstapáuriritⁿ

Sukstaapá'uuriirit

Stand still

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|------|--------|------|---------------|------|
| i- | s- | uks- | rak- | wa- | uuri.arik | -0 |
| CONT.1/2A | 2.A | JUSS | 1/2.PL | DIST | stand.upright | PERF |

,
.
!
.
.

kakatarátaahirust^a

Kaakaataraattaahpirusta

We are not going to whip you

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|--------|-----------|------|-------|-----|
| kaaka- | t- | a- | rak- | raar- | piru | -:hus | -ta |
| NEG.IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | 1/2.PL | PL.INDV.P | whip | IMPF | INT |

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

nikutatišukstakuhúru

rikutatucukstaakuhúru'

those were our ways

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|-----|------|------|--------|---------------------|------|
| riku- | ta- | t- | ut- | uks- | rak- | uhuur.uu | -0 |
| that.is | IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV | AOR | 1/2.PL | be.the.way.one.does | PERF |

.
.
.
.
.

Hirusitirəsakúsitⁿ

Hiru sitiiracakúsit

Then they took off their robes

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-------|----------|----|
| hiruu | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | uur- | raar- | ta.kusik | -0 |
|-------|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-------|----------|----|

then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P take.off PERF

,
,
,
,
,

rusitirəšakúsitⁿ

ruusitiirácakusit

then they took off their robes

ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- uur- raar- ta.kusik -0
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A POSS.P 3PL.INAN.P take.off PERF

,
,
,
,

hirusitikarušuhúra^u

hiru sitihkaruucu
 then they put on it

húraa`u`

hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ka- ra.uc.wuh -0 huraa- -u`
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A on put.PL.OBJ PERF snow NOM

niškúhkətⁿ

rickuhkat

on the fur

ra.ickuur- -kat
 animal.fur LOC

, harík's .
 hariíkis .
 calf (robe) .
 harii -kis .
 calf DIM .

Hirútiwaku

Hiru tiwáku`

, “ Náw^a
 “ Ráwa

Then he said : " Now
 hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " now

siwitisukstawiḥurətⁿ .
 siwitisukstaawiḥurat .
 you (du) wrestle .
 si- witi- i- s- uks- taawihurahk -0 .
 DU REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS wrestle PERF .

" Píraskⁱ
 " Piíraski
 " Boys
 " piiras- -kis
 " boy DIM

asiwitiṭitawihurətⁿ .
 a siwitaawiḥuurat .
 and they (du) threw each other down .
 a si- witi- ti- 0- taawihurahk -0 .
 and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A wrestle PERF .

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

akišisiwitiṭirahurakáwari
 a kici siwitiṭirahuraakáwari'
 and but they rolled around together on the snow
 a kici si- witi- ti- 0- raar- huraa- ka- warii -:hus
 and but DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A snow on be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

, siwitikarakútik^u
 . Siwitikarakuúniku'
 . They were not fighting
 . si- witi- ka- ra- 0- kuut.ik -:hus
 . DU REFL NEG ABS 3.A beat IMPF

kisirarusirakukusísari

kici raaruusirakuukusísaari
 but their (du) just playing

kici raa- ruu- si- ra- 0- ku- i- kusion.aar -i
 but just then DU INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ play IMPF.SUB

, hikiwaritusiti^a

, hi kiíwariitu' síti'a
 , and naked they (du) were
 , hi kiiwariit -u' si- ti- 0- aah -0
 , and naked NOM DU IND.3A 3.A be PERF

Hirusiturušísahukⁱ

Hiru sitiirúcit cahuúki
 Then they picked them up robes
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ruuci.ik -0 cahuu -kis
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A pick.up PERF robe DIM

naripákus^u

raaripákusu'
 the soldiers
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

asitirahwítatitⁿ

a sitirahwítattit
 and they put them on them
 a si- ti- 0- ir- raar- witak.rik -0

and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P put.over.someone's.shoulders PERF

, hihúra^u
, hi húraa'u'
, and snow
, hi huraa- -u'
, and snow NOM

rusitátaris .
ruusitaátaris .
they were heavy with it .
ruu- si- ti- 0- a- taris -0 .
then DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.heavy PERF .

Ararutikišáiwa
A raaruutikictá'íwa
And then water just ran down them
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- kiic.tawi.war -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A water.to.run.down.DU PERF

,

wirarusirakuwárikⁱ
wiraaruusirakuwaárikⁱ
while they just stood there
wii- raa- ruu- si- ra- 0- ku- wa- arik -i
when just then DU INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.standing SUB.2

. Hirútiwaku
. Hiru tiwáku'

. Then he said
 . hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0
 . then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hírariki , "
 hiíraariki "
 another : "
 hii- ra- 0- arik -i , "
 other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , "

Sík^a . "
 Síksa' . "
 Come ! "
 i- s- ir- uks- a -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS come PERF . "

Hirútirisparauš

Hiru sitirispaára'uc
 Then they laid him down on his back
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- i- aspaara- uc -0
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ on.one's.back lay.SG.P PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Akišihtih^tatukitahaiwáriku

A kici tihtaatuukitaha'iwáriku'
 And but they were causing him to slide on his back
 a kici ti- 0- ir- taat- huukita- ha- -wi war -ik -:hus
 and but IND.3A 3.A PL.3A back on.top in.water SUB.L go.DU CAUS IMPF

. Árahiritⁿ tíhkiša
. A raáhiirit tíkica
. And finally there was water
. a raahiirit ti- 0- kica -0
. and finally IND.3A 3.A be.watery PERF

iririhkutatukitahaiwáriku

iriirihkutaatuukitaha'iwáriku

where he was being dragged on his back

irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- taat- huukita- ha- -wi war -ik -hus
where INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B back on.top in.water SUB.L go.DU CAUS IMPF.SUB

.
.
.
.
.

Náwa^a , híhaw^a rútiwaku
Ráwa , hi haáwa' ruutiwáku'
Now , and also then he said
rawa , hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- waka'u -0
now , and also then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hirakúriki , “ Náwa^a
hiirakuúriki “ Ráwa
another one : “ Now
hii- ra- 0- ku- arik -i , " rawa
other INF.A 3.A INF.B be.standing SUB.2 , " now

sisikspa

sisíkspaa'

you (du) come

si- i- s- ir- uks- wa- a -0

DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS DIST come PERF

, hisírəsparikⁱ . "
 , hiisíraspaariki . "
 , you (du) others ! "
 , hii- si- ra- s- wa- arik -i . "
 , other DU ABS 2.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 . "

Hirusitišíksurikətⁿ

Hiru sitiicíksuurikut

Then they caught them (du)

hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uurikuk -0
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR catch PERF

, hírariki ,
 . Hiíraariki
 . Another
 . hii- ra- 0- arik -i
 . other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

hítiwaku . " Arísⁱtⁿ
 hi tiwáku' " Ariísit
 and he said : " Yourselves
 hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " ariisit
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " one's.own

siwitišíšukstahúru

siwitiisicukstahúru'

do it to yourselves (du)

si- witi- i- s- ir- ut- uks- rahur.ra'uk -0
 DU REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS do.to PERF

. " Arísⁱt pířəskⁱ
 . " Ariísit pířaski

! " Themselves the boys
 . " ariisit piiras- -kis
 . " one's.own boy DIM

siwitrakuhahúruku
 siwitrakuuhahúruuku
 their doing it to themselves

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|-----|-------|------|-------------|----------|
| si- | witi- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | rahur.ra'uk | -hus |
| DU | REFL | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | PREV | do.to | IMPF.SUB |

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hititikstárurikətⁿ

Hi tiicikstáruurikut

And they held his hands

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-------|------|------|-------|---------|------|
| hi | ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | iks- | raar- | uurikuk | -0 |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | hand | PL | hold | PERF |

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

atírikstarakus

a tírikstaarakus

and they put his hands in the water

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-------|------|-------|----------|-------|------|
| a | ti- | 0- | ir- | iks- | raar- | ha- | kus.k | -0 |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | hand | PL | in.water | put | PERF |

. Arahiritⁿ títawi
. A raáhiirit títawi'
. And finally he was among them
. a raahiirit ti- 0- tawi -0
. and finally IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

nəkuwakaráhkaəs .
rakuwakaráhka'as .
his crying .
ra- 0- ku- wakaraar- kaas -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B voice break SUB.4 .

Hirutirihuráhətⁿ .
Hiru tirihuráhat .
Then he turned him loose .
hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- uhur.ra.hak -0 .
then IND.3A 3.A OBV SEQ turn.loose PERF .

Híkišihaw^a
Hi kici haáwa'
And but also
hi kici haawa
and but also

irirakušuksakikstárahətⁿ
iriirakuucukstaakikstaárahut
the one who held his hands
irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- uks- rak- iks- raar- ahuk -0
that ABS 3.A 1.P PREV AOR 1/2.PL hand PL hold SUB.4

,

hikiširusitíšikstáruurikət¹

hi kici ruusitiicikstáruurikut
and but then they held his hands

hi kici ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- ut- iks- raar- uurikuk -0
and but then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV hand PL hold PERF

,
,
,
,
,

hawárusitirikstara¹

hawá ruusitiirikstaára'i
also then they put his hands in water

haawa ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- iks- raar- ha.iir -0
also then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A hand PL put.in.water PERF

,

nəkuhurakíšuhət¹

rakuuhúraakiicuhət
where the snow water extends

ra- 0- ku- i- huraa- kiic- u.hak -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ snow water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

,
,

,
,
,

nəkukišukitaháwari
rakukicuukitahaáwari

where the water is on top of the ice

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-------|----------|----------|---------------------|--|--|--|----------|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | kiic- | huukita- | haa- | warii | | | | -hus |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | water | on.top | in.water | be.going.about.IMPF | | | | IMPF.SUB |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nikutatišukstakuhúruøtⁿ

Rikutatucukstaakuhúruu'ut

That is what used to be our way

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|--|-----|------|------|--------|--------|----|------|------|
| riku- | ta- | | t- | ut- | uks- | rak- | uhuur- | uu | -uk | -0 |
| that.is | IND.1/2A | | 1.A | PREV | AOR | 1/2.PL | way | be | DIST | PERF |

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

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--|----------|--|--|---|---------------------|-----|--|--|
| Irár ⁱ | | | | | | , | ákitar ^u | | | |
| Iraári' | | | | | | , | ákitaaru' | | | |
| Brother | | | | | | , | the tribe | | | |
| i- | -raar- | | -ri' | | | , | akitaar- | -u' | | |
| 3.POSS.A | same.sex.sibling | | 3.POSS.B | | | , | tribe | NOM | | |

nakúwaritirə̀pišihí^u

rakúwari

when it went about

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tiratpiciíhi'u

when I was wintry

tii- ra- t- pici.ihí -u
when ABS 1.A be.winter SUB.D

a ,

a

and

a

and

kakuksrarurakúwari

kaakúks raaruurakuúwari

one could not just go anywhere

kaaki- 0- uks- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- warii -hus
NEG.IND.3A 3.A AOR be PERF just then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ihí , šáhiks ,
, ihí , cáhiks
, uh , a person
, ihii , icaahiks
, uh , person

narurakúwari

raaruurakuúwari

when one just went about

raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- warii -hus
just then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

parís^u .
, paariisu' .
, a hunter .
, paariis- -u' .

, hunter NOM .

Kakuksrarurakúwari

Kaakúks raaruurakuúwari

One could not just go anywhere

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|------|----|------|------|------|-------|-----|-------|-----|---------------------|----------|
| kaaki- | 0- | uks- | 0 | -0 | raa- | ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | i- | warii | -hus |
| NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | AOR | be | PERF | just | then | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | SEQ | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

kištíkuš^u

kictíkucu'

far off

kii.ac.ri -kucuu

far AUG

Nakúharu

rakuúhaaru

his doing it

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|------|--------------|-------|---------|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | raar | -u | táraha |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | PREV | be.the.cause | SUB.D | tarahaa |
| | | | | | | buffalo |

níhkuhašikstawⁱ

rihkuuhaacíkstawi

when they are watching

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------|-------|------|--------------|-------|
| ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | ut- | raa.aciks.ta | -wi |
| INF.A | 3.A | 3.INDF | INF.B | PREV | be.watchful | SUB.L |

naripákus^u

raaripákusu'

the soldiers

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------|-----|
| raa- | ri.apak | -hus | -u' |
| way | oppose.relinquishing | IMPF.SUB | NOM |

nakúhuriwawⁱ

rakuhúriiwaawi

when they are around
 ra- 0- ku- hurii -waa -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

Nikutihikusukstatuhukawákaru
 Rikutiihikucukstaattuuhukawaákaru'
 That is what He must have planned for us

riku- tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- uks- rak- raa.uhur- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
 that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN AOR 1/2.PL way make.DIST PERF

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

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

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

Nikutihikuhatuhukáru
 Rikutiihikuuhaattuhukáru'
 That is what he must have planned for us

riku- tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- rak- raa.uhur- ka.ra'uk -0
 that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 1/2.PL way make.PL.P PERF

tiráwah .
 Tiráwaahat . “
 the Heavens . “
 tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 . ”
 this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 . ”

Kiširikuásut^a ,
 Kici riku’ásuuta ,
 But that you be thus ,
 kici riku- aa- s- ut- aar -0 ,
 but that.is SUBJ.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF ,

ákitar^u áspari
 ákitaaru’ áaspari
 the tribe that you go about
 akitaar- -u’ aa- s- warii -hus
 tribe NOM SUBJ.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, hiraripákusu
 , hi raaripákusu’
 , and the soldiers
 , hi raa- ri.apak -hus -u’
 , and way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

tíwawaritⁿ .
 tíwaawaarit
 they stand about (ie posted)
 ti- 0- waawa- arik -0
 IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF

Awitnarukaraasitahuriwáwi
 áwit raaruukara’asittáhuriiwaawi
 first that you should not chase them
 awit raa- ruu- kara- aa- s- i- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi

first just then NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, wituhaaráihk^u ,
" Wituuhaará'ihku'
" It means
" wi- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
" QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

awitnarukaraasitahuriwáwi

áwit raaruukara'asittáhuriwaawi

first that you should not chase them

awit raa- ruu- kara- aa- s- i- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
first just then NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

táraha .
táraha' .
buffalos .
tarahaa .
buffalo .

Awitnakutáhuriwawi

Áwit rakuttáhuriwaawi

First if one chases them

awit ra- 0- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
first INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

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

asiwítihkutuš

a siwítihkuutuc

and they whipped him severely
a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.uc -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip.severely PERF

;
,
,
,
,

asiwiritirakapápitⁿ

a siwitiiruhtiraákapaapit
and they broke his bow and arrows
a si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- tiraak- apic.k -waa -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.1/2A PL.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A bow break DIST PERF

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

Nikutihwakíah^u

Rikutihwakí'aahu'

That is what they say

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

awitnakurəsihítika .

áwit rakuurasíhittika .

first when one ran his (horse) .

awit ra- 0- ku- uur- as-i -hik.rik -a .
first INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV run CAUS SUB.1 .

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

wisirikurarahurirúhš^u

wisirihkuuraarahurirúhci'u

when they killed a great number

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raar- rahur- riruhci -u
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P do be.numerous SUB.D

táraha ,
 táraha' ,
 buffalos ,
 tarahaa ,
 buffalo ,

wisirihkurətahurirúhš^u

wisirihkuurattahurirúhci'u

when they took a huge number

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- ak- rahur- riruhci -u
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P do be.numerous SUB.D

, nihkukawútik^u

, rihkukawuútik^u

, when they were killing them

, ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus
 , INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB

hiwiturarisahiruhšⁱ

hi wituraariisahíruhci'

and there was a large number of them

hi wi- ti- 0- uur- raar- riisat riruhci -0

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.large be.numerous PERF

níškus^u .
rickuusu' .
skins .
ickus- -u' .
skin NOM .

Awitirakarahkátatutⁿ

A witiraakaraahkátatut

And they put up a shelter

a wi- ti- 0- ir- akaar- raar- katatuhk -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A dwelling PL line PERF

, hiarusá
, hi aruúsa'
, and the horses
, hi aruusaa
, and horse

nikutirahkáwa .

rikutiraahkáwa .

that is where they were inside .

riku- ti- 0- raar- ka -waa -0 .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.in DIST PERF .

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

,

atíkarətíririkstapíwahətⁿ

atíka'

grandmothers

ati-

kaa

1.POSS

grandmother

ratíriirikstaapíwaahat

the ones of mine that used to be

ra-

t-

ir-

PREV.1/2A

ri-

PHYS.POSS

uur-

POSS.A

i-

SEQ

uks-

AOR

rak-

1/2.PL

wi.hak

be.sitting.PL

-waa

DIST

-0

SUB.4

, hirútiwaku

, hiru tiwáku'

, then she said

, hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0

, then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

, " Náwa

, " Ráwa

: " Now

, " rawa

, " now

hirukišikušuhurára

hiru kici kucuuhuráaa'

then but bring them to me at last

hiruu kici

i-

s-

ir-

then but CONT.1/2A

2.A

PREV.1/2A

ku-

1.P

ut-

PREV

i-

SEQ

uhur-

finally

raar-

3PL.INAN.P

ra-

PORT

a

come

-0

PERF

kīs^u

kiisu'

bones

kiis -u'

bone NOM

. Tutatáihku

. Tuutattá'ihku'

. She meant them

. ti- 0- ut- ak-

. IND.3A 3.A PREV

PL.AN.3P

ra'ihk

mean

-.hus

IMPF

ríštak^u

ríctaaku'

backbones

rictaak- -u'

back NOM

. Náwa

. Ráwa

. Now

. rawa

. now

atətiraráah^u

a tatirará'aahu'
and I brought them
a ta- t- ir- raar- ra- a -:hus
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P PORT come IMPF

ríštak^u . Na ,
ríctaaku' . Ra' ,
backbones . Now ,
rictaak- -u' . rawa ,
back NOM . now ,

hirútiwaku ,
hiru tiwáku' “
then she said : “
hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , ”
then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

hirukəskušihákta

Hiru kaskucihaáktaa'
Then you must bring me a stick
hiruu kaas- s- ir- ku- ut- i- haak- ra- a -0
then POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PREV SEQ wood PORT come PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Witatútkispisust^a

Witatútkiispisusta

I am going to pound the bones for you

wii- ta- t- a- ut- kiis- wa.is -:hus -ta

now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN bone pound IMPF INT

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Náw^a

Ráwa

Now ,

rawa ,

now ,

hirikutatútanətihku háta^a

hi rikutatuúta
and that is what I did

ratihkuhaátta'a
my bringing the stick

hi riku- ta- t- ut- aar -0 ra- t- ir- ku- haak- ra- a -0
and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A INF.B wood PORT come SUB.3

,

nətkukistarukitáwuhu

ratkukiistaaruukitáwuhu

for me to put the bones on top

ra- t- ku- kiis- raar- huukita- wuh -hus
INF.A 1.A INF.B bone PL on.top put IMPF.SUB

. Irárⁱ ,

. Iraári' ,

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

wirikutahapakíah^u
 wirikutahapaki'aahu'
 that is what we say

wii- riku- ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
 now that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

kiśáhit^u ,
 kiicáhihtu' . "
 bone grease . "
 kiic- ahiht -u' . "
 liquid grease NOM . "

wirikutatuhukst^a
 Wirikutatuuhúksta

Now that is what I am going to make for you

wii- riku- ta- t- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta
 now that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Atikárikutiwakah^u

Atíka' rikutiwákaahu'
 My grandmother that is what she said

ati- kaa riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus
 1.POSS grandmother that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

, “ Witətuhúksta^a
. “ Witatuuhúksta
. “ Now I am going to make it for you
. " wii- ta- t- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta
. " now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

kišáhit^u rəskurah^a .
kiicáhihtu' raskúraaha
bone grease for you to have ,
kiic- ahiht -u' ra- s- ku- raah -a ,
liquid grease NOM INF.A 2.A INF.B have SUB.1 ,

Wirakurakatárihur^u
" wirakuraakatárihuuru
" when there were many
" wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- kata.rihur -u
" when INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.wide SUB.D

sirihkukúniku tárah^a
sirihkukuúniku táraha'
their killing buffalos
si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut.ik -hus tarahaa
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill IMPF.SUB buffalo

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

hiatikairirutikispišusítitⁿ
hi atíka' iriruutikiispišusitit
and my grandmother thereupon she began breaking up the bones
hi ati- kaa irii- ruu- ti- 0- kiis- wa.is -:hus -itik

and 1.POSS grandmother then then IND.3A 3.A bone pound IMPF INCH

. Tisakúhkari
 . Tisakúhkari'
 . It was many days
 . ti- 0- sakur- kari -0
 . IND.3A 3.A day be.numerous PERF

atikarakukispisu

atika' rakúkiispisu
 my grandmother her pounding the bones
 ati- kaa ra- 0- ku- kiis- wa.is -hus
 1.POSS grandmother INF.A 3.A INF.B bone pound IMPF.SUB

, hikírikupitkuwiritihəš
 , hi kíriku' pítku wítiriihac
 , and perhaps two she finished
 , hi kirikuu pitku wi- ti- 0- riihac -0
 , and anything two QUOT IND.3A 3.A finish PERF

kišáhit^u .
 kiicáhihtu' .
 bone grease .
 kiic- ahiht -u' .
 liquid grease NOM .

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

titahakítawⁱ .
 titahakítawi' .

it is delicious .
 ti- 0- taha- kita.wi -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A flavor be.the.leader PERF .

Tahapakíah^u , ihi ,
 Tahapaki'aahu' , ihi ,
 We say , uh ,
 ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus , ihii ,
 IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF , uh ,

kiskís^u .
 kiiskiícu' .
 bone liquid .
 kiis- kiic -u' .
 bone liquid NOM .

Tirahápakihu
 Tirahápakihu
 This that we say
 tii- ra- t- rak- waki.a -hus
 this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kiskíš^u ,
 kiiskiícu' ,
 bone liquid ,
 kiis- kiic -u' ,
 bone liquid NOM ,

kisúrikutíitⁿ , táraha
 kíisu' rikutíit táraha'
 bones they are the ones buffalo
 kiis- -u' riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0 tarahaa
 bone NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF buffalo

, tirakistahkátus .
 tirakiistahkátus .
 these bones spread out .
 tii- ra- kiis- raar- katuus -0 .
 this ABS bone PL be.flat SUB.4 .

Nihkukispísu

Rihkukiispísu

One's pounding bones

ra- 0- ir- ku- kiis- wa.is -hus
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B bone pound IMPF.SUB

nikutuharáihk^u

rikutuhaará'ihku'

that is what she meant

riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -hus . A ,
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . A ,
 . And ,
 . a ,
 . and ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

kišiatik^a

kici atíka'

but my grandmother

kici ati- kaa

but 1.POSS grandmother

nikøtituhúru

rikutiituhúru'

that is their way

riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- uhuur.uu -0

that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.way.one.does PERF

šústítⁿ ,
cústit .
the old women .
custit .
old.woman .

nikutituhúruhaw^a

Rikutiituhúru'

That was their way

riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- uhuur.uu -0 haáwa'
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.way.one.does PERF also
haawa

, atikíspawis^u .
a tikiíspaawiisu' .
and one pounds the bones .
a ti- 0- kiis- waa- wa.is -:hus .
and IND.3A 3.A bone DIST pound IMPF .

Kitutirapahikskískəs^a

Kítuu'u' tiraahikskískasa

All

kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- paahiks- kiis- ka- sa -0
all NOM this ABS 3.A throat bone in be.lying SUB.4

ihí , táraha ,
, ihí , táraha'
, uh , buffalo
, ihii , tarahaa
, uh , buffalo

hiruatirahwarukítu

hiru a tiráhaaru kítuu'u'

then and she blew them all
 hiruu a ti- 0- raar- waarur-i -0 kituu -u'
 then and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P blow PERF all NOM

paahíkskis^u . Akikišáhit^u
 paahíkskiisu' . Aki kiicáhihtu'
 throat cartilage . And here bone grease
 paahiks- kiis- -u' . a- ki kiic- ahiht -u'
 throat bone NOM . and there liquid grease NOM

nikutihkiškawawárikust^a

rikutihkickawaawárikusta

that is what they are going put into it

riku- ti- 0- ir- kiic- ka.warik -waa -:hus -ta
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A liquid put.in DIST IMPF INT

. Kiturihkuwáki^a

. Kítuu'u' rihkuwáki'a

. All when they said

. kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a
 . all NOM INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1

“
 , “
 , “
 , ”
 , ”

Hirutirəsirištarahístaritⁿ

Hiru tirasiriictaraahístarit

Then these intestines you are going to bring

hiruu tii- ra- s- ir- riic- raar- ra- a -his -ta -rit
 then this ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A intestine PL PORT come PERF INT INT.SUB

kīsiwirikusitatuhúksta^a

kici wirikusitatuuhúksta

but that is what we are now going to make for you

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---------|-----|----------|-----|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|
| kici | wii- | riku- | si- | ta- | t- | a- | ut- | ra'uk | -his | -ta |
| but | now | that.is | DU | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | BEN | make | PERF | INT |

| | | |
|-----------|-----|---|
| nīšu | . | |
| riícu' | , | |
| intestine | , | |
| riic- | -u' | , |
| intestine | NOM | , |

Tiraríštahkawawi

tirariíctaahkaawaawi

these intestines inside

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

| | |
|---------|---|
| táraha | . |
| táraha' | . |
| buffalo | . |
| tarahaa | . |
| buffalo | . |

Nətkuriškarúwati

Ratkuriickaruúwati

When I took the intestine out

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----------|----------|------|-------|
| ra- | t- | ku- | riic- | kawat | -ruu | -i |
| INF.A | 1.A | INF.B | intestine | take.out | DIST | SUB.2 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------|------|---|
| irár ⁱ | , | | |
| iraári' | , | | |
| brother | , | | |
| i- | -raar- | -ri' | , |

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

aratatiririštiwík^u

a raatatiriiriictíwiiku

and I just had the intestines piled up

a raa- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- riic- riwii.kus -0
and just IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A intestine be.a.large.pile PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiirirutatušihatšakátauš

Hi iriruutatucihaaccakáta'uc

And thereupon I put them on a stick

hi irii- ruu- ta- t- ut- i- haak- ca kata- uc -0
and then then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ wood be.upright against.a.vertical.surface lay.SG.P PERF

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

Arikutikutkarukúatika

A rikutikutkaruúku'

And that is what she made for me

atíka'

my grandmother

a riku- ti- 0- ku- ut- ka.ra'uk -:hus ati- kaa
and that.is IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN make.PL.P IMPF 1.POSS grandmother

, ihi tihwakíah^u
, ihi , tihwakí'aahu'

, uh , they say
 , ihii , ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 , uh , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

nĩš^u
 riicu'
 the intestine
 riic- -u'
 intestine NOM

akútiwətⁿ
 a kútiwaat
 and it was long
 a ku- ti- 0- i- waa- ak -0
 and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

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

hirutikušíkar^u
 hiru tikuucíkaru'
 then she made it for me
 hiruu ti- 0- ku- ut- i- ka.ra'uk -0
 then IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ make.PL.P PERF

iriwirətkurarahístariⁿ
 iriwiratkuraraahístari^t
 the ones I was going to carry
 irii- wii- ra- t- ku- raar- raah -his -ta -rit
 that now INF.A 1.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P have PERF INT INT.SUB

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|-------------|------------------|------------|-----|
| atík ^a | . | Kirikupítku | nīš ^u | | |
| atika' | . | Kíriku' | pítku | riícu' | |
| my grandmother | . | Perhaps | two | intestines | |
| ati- kaa | . | kirikuu | pitku | riic- | -u' |
| 1.POSS grandmother | . | anything | two | intestine | NOM |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| atikuritkátauš | . | | | | |
| a tikuurítkáta'uc | , | | | | |
| and she laid it over the fire for me | , | | | | |
| a ti- 0- ku- uur- itkata- uc -0 | , | | | | |
| and IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV by.a.fire lay.SG.P PERF | , | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| Nakukatárihuru | , | | | | |
| rakukatárihuuru | | | | | |
| its being wide | | | | | |
| ra- 0- ku- kata.rihur -u | | | | | |
| INF.A 3.A INF.B be.wide SUB.D | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| asirakúrihuru | . | | | | |
| a sirakúrihuuru | . | | | | |
| and their (du) being big | . | | | | |
| a si- ra- 0- ku- rihur -u | . | | | | |
| and DU INF.A 3.A INF.B be.big SUB.D | . | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Hirutikurišikatárikít ⁿ | | | | | |
| Hiru tikuriicikataárikít | | | | | |
| Then she patched it for me | | | | | |
| hiruu ti- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- i- kata.arik -ihk -0 | | | | | |
| then IND.3A 3.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ be.patched CAUS PERF | | | | | |

| | | |
|---|--------------------|---|
| , | kirikutáraha | , |
| | kiriíku' táraha' | , |
| | an eye buffalo | , |
| | kirik- -u' tarahaa | , |

eye NOM buffalo ,

arikutikiritahkátasa

a rikutikirittaahkátasa

and that is what the eyes lined

a riku- ti- 0- kirik- raar- kata- sa -0
and that.is IND.3A 3.A eye PL against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF

, híihi kirikupahíkskis^u
, hi ihi , kíriku' paahíkskiisu'
, and , uh , perhaps throat cartilage
, hi , ihii , kirikuu paahiks- kiis- -u'
, and , uh , anything throat bone NOM

wirurutuširóšáku

wiru ruutucíracaku

there then they hang

wii- ruu ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raar- ta.kus -0
now there then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A hang.down PERF

, ikárikətⁿ , kišáhit^u .
ikárikat kiicáhihtu' .
in the middle the bone grease .
iika.ri -kat kiic- ahiht -u' .
center LOC liquid grease NOM .

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

nikutatišukstakuhúru

rikutatucukstaakuhúru'

those were our ways

riku- ta- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -0
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does PERF

, ákítar^u ,
ákitaaru'
tribe
akitaar- -u'
tribe NOM

tiratúkspari

tiratúkspari

this of mine that lived

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

ahíkura^u

ahikúra'u

when he made me

ar- ri- 0- ku- ra'uk -0 ati- as
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P make SUB.3 1.POSS father

atíəs

Atí'as

our Father

tirakítak^u

tirakítaku

this one above

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

ákítar^u

ákitaaru'

the tribe

akitaar- -u'
tribe NOM

Áhawiška^a

Ahawicka'

He thought

ar- ra- 0- wicka -0
EV ABS 3.A think PERF

,

,

“

“

”

”

tahasúkspari

Tihaasúkspari'

Live here

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|-----|------|---------------------|-------|
| tii- | haa- | i- | s- | uks- | warii | -:hus |
| here | here | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | JUSS | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF |

hirutítaku

hiru tiítaku

then right here

hiruu tii- -taku

then here LOC

tirahúrahš^a

tirahúrahca

this earth

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------|----------|-------|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | huraar- | sa | -0 | . |
| this | ABS | 3.A | earth | be.lying | SUB.4 | . |

Iriratáwikukist^a

I ríraatáwiikuukista

And the ways are going to be among you

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|------|----------|--------|------|-----|
| i | rii- | 0- | raa- | tawi | -ka'uk | -his | -ta |
| and | ASSR | 3.A | way | be.among | DIST | PERF | INT |

kítu

kítuu'u' . "

everything . "

kituu -u' . "

all NOM . "

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------|---------------------|---|----------|-----|
| \ | Irár ⁱ | , | ákitar ^u | | | |
| \ | Iraári' | , | ákitaaru' | | | |
| \ | Brother | , | tribe | | | |
| \ | i- | -raar- | -ri' | , | akitaar- | -u' |

\ 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , tribe NOM

tirátpari

tirátpari

when I went about

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

nikutihikúharu

rikutihikuúhaaru'

that is the way he made for me

riku- tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN way make PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

atías

Atí'as

our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

ahikuharíwahəs

ahikuhaariíwaahac

he finished everything for me

ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- raar- riihac -waa -0
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN 3PL.INAN.P finish DIST PERF

, “

. “

. “
 . ”
 . ”

Tihakusušihúruætⁿ

Tihaakuusuciihúruu'ut

It will have these ways

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|-----|------|-----|---------------------|------|------|
| tii- | haa- | kuus- | 0- | ut- | i- | uhuur.uu | -uk | -0 |
| this | here | POT.1/3A | 3.A | PREV | SEQ | be.the.way.one.does | DIST | PERF |

kisitiráwari

kici tiráwari

but this one going around

| | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|-----|---------------------|----------|
| kici | tii- | ra- | 0- | warii | -hus |
| but | this | ABS | 3.A | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

ákitar^u

" tíratku

ákitaaru'

, " tíratku

tribe

, " this one of mine

akitaar-

-u'

, " tii- ra- t- kus -0

tribe

NOM

, " this ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4

škiriákitar^u

,

Ckíri ákitaaru'

Skiri tribe

ickirir

akitaar-

-u'

Skiri

tribe

NOM

tatuharáihk^u

.

tatuuhaará'ihku'

.

I mean it

.

ta-

t-

ut-

raa.ra'ihk

-:hus

.

IND.1/2A

1.A

PREV

mean

IMPF

.

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

tukstarihú^u pířaskⁱ ,
 tukstaárihu'u pířaski ,
 it was important a boy ,
 ti- 0- uks- raa- rihur -' pířas- -kis ,
 IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.big EX boy DIM ,

pířaskirakurəsahátu ,
 pířaski rakurəsahatu ,
 a boy when he was growing up ,
 pířas- -kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus ,
 boy DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB ,

rurakurakáwitat^a
 ruurakuuraakáwitaata
 when he did displeasing things
 ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- raa- kawitaat -a
 then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ way be.disagreeable SUB.1

piranisaruráku^u .
 pířáriisaaru' ráku'u .
 a chief's child his being .
 pířa- riisaar- -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
 child chief NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Hitíhwaki
 Hi tíhwaki' “
 And they said : “
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

tiharakupíraskiⁱ

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|----------|--|
| Tiháaaku | | | | | | piíraski | |
| This one | | | | | | boy | |
| tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 piiras- -kis | | | | | | | |
| this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 boy DIM | | | | | | | |

kakírapa^a

kaakírapaa'a

it is not hidden

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|------|-----------|----|--|
| kaaki- | 0- | raa- | raa.apaar | -' | |
| NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.hidden EX | | | | | |

iriwirutasiksú^a

iriwiruutaciksuú'a

what he thinks

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- aciks.uu -a | | | | | | | |
| what now ABS 3.A PREV think SUB.1 | | | | | | | |

Áka^a !

Aáka'a ,

Oh my ,

aaka'a ,

oh.my ,

Kitutaruratapírihuritⁿ

kítuu'u' taruurattaapírihuurit

all

he loves them

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| kituu -u' ti- 0- a- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -ik -0 | | | | | | | | | |
| all NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value DIST PERF | | | | | | | | | |

píraski

, rarasáhatu

piíraski

rarasáhatu

--

| | | | |
|---------|------|--------------------------|----|
| boys | | when he is growing up | -- |
| piiras- | -kis | ra- 0- rasahat -hus | -- |
| boy | DIM | ABS 3.P grow.up IMPF.SUB | -- |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| rarasáhatu | . |
| rarasáhatu | . |
| when he is growing up | . |
| ra- 0- rasahat -hus | . |
| ABS 3.P grow.up IMPF.SUB | . |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--------------|---|
| Hitírasahət ⁿ | | pírəski | , |
| Hi tírasahat | | piíraski | |
| And he grew up | | the boy | |
| hi ti- 0- rasahat -0 | | piiras- -kis | |
| and IND.3A 3.P grow.up PERF | | boy DIM | |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| isiritárarutik ^u | | | | | | | |
| isiirit | a | raarutiíku | | | | | |
| prominently | and | he just lived | | | | | |
| isii.rik | a | raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0 | | | | | |
| in.plain.sight | and | just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF | | | | | |

,
.
.
.
.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| isiritárarutik ^u | | | | | | | |
| Isiirit | a | raarutiíku | | | | | |
| Prominently | and | he just lived | | | | | |
| isii.rik | a | raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0 | | | | | |
| in.plain.sight | and | just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF | | | | | |

;
.
.
.
.

širukararakuharáriku

Ciru kararakuuhaaráriku

Yet when he was not married

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|------|------------|-------|
| ciruu | kara- | ra- | 0- | ku- | haa- | raar- | ri- | kus | -0 |
| yet | NEG | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | child | PL | PORT | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

, hi ,
, hi
, and
, hi
, and

isiritwírarutik^u

isiirit wiraarútiiku

prominently now he just lived

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|------|------|--------|-----|------------|------|
| isii.rik | wii- | raa- | ruu- | ti- | 0- | kus | -0 |
| in.plain.sight | now | just | then | IND.3A | 3.A | be.sitting | PERF |

. Kararakukapákis^u

. Kararakuukaápaakisu

. His not being poor

| | | | | | |
|---------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
| . kara- | ra- | 0- | ku- | kaapaakis | -u |
| . NEG | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | be.poor | SUB.D |

nókuhar^u

rakuúhaaru

its being the reason

| | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|-----|------|----|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | raar | -u |
|-----|----|-----|-----|------|----|

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

Nakurúwihətⁿ

raakurúhwihat

his having them

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

híastⁱ

hí'aasti'

his father

i- as -ri' á ,
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B a
and

ísastⁱ

isaásti'

his mother

i- saas -ri' .
3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B ,
,

Nakurúwihətⁿ

raakurúhwihat

his having them

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

itáh^a

itaáhi'

his sisters

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

Hiisiritwírarutik^u

Hi isiírit wíraarutiiku

And prominently now he just lived
 hi isii.rik wii- raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0
 and in.plain.sight now just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

hirutáhwiška ,
 hiru taáhwicka' ,
 then he thought ,
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF ,

wirarihášara pírəskⁱ
 wirariihácaara piíraski
 when he had matured the boy :
 wii- ra- 0- riihac -aar -a piiras- -kis ,
 when ABS 3.A finish INCH SUB.1 boy DIM ,

kiratiháituta
 “ Kíra tihaá'ituuta
 “ I think I'll do this
 " kira tii- haa- i- t- ut- aar -0
 " perhaps this here CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF

.
 . " "
 . " "
 . " "
 . " "

Taraháiratiruruksuriíwawi

Tárahá' iratiruruksuriíwawi

Buffalos those I used to have going about

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|--------|------|--------------|------|-------|
| tarahaa | ii- | ra- | t- | ir- | ri- | uur- | uks- | hurii | -waa | -wi |
| buffalo | that | ABS | 1.A | POSS.1/2A | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | AOR | go.around.PL | DIST | SUB.L |

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

ahikutkára^u

ahikutkára'u

the ones he made for me

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-------|
| ar- | ri- | 0- | ku- | ut- | ka.ra'uk | -0 |
| EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | 1.P | BEN | make.PL.P | SUB.3 |

Hitarahatáhkutitⁿ

Hi tárahá' taáhkuutit

And a buffalo he would kill

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------|-----|-----|---------|------|
| hi | tarahaa | ti- | 0- | ar- | kuut.ik | -0 |
| and | buffalo | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | kill | PERF |

pírəskⁱ

piíraski

the boy its sitting there prominently (ie was special)

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|----------|-----|----|-----|-----|----|
| piiras- | -kis | isiiruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | kus | -0 |
|---------|------|----------|-----|----|-----|-----|----|

boy DIM plainly INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sitting SUB.4

; hitarastahwíritⁿ

, hi taarastahwírit

, and he would lay it on its back, feet upward

, hi ti- 0- ar- as.raar.wiira.ik -0

, and IND.3A 3.A EV put.on.its.back.feet.upward PERF

tárah^a ,

tárah^a ,

, the buffalo ,

, tarahaa ,

, buffalo ,

tarahihkituhítar^u

tarahihkituu'u'

a whole buffalo carcass

hi taáru'

and he would make it

tarahaa- iir- kituu -u' hi ti- 0- ar- ra'uk -0

buffalo corpse all NOM and IND.3A 3.A EV make PERF

,

,

,

,

,

tarúhašahp^u

taruúhacahpu

he put it on

ti- 0- ar- ut- raar- taahk.wuh -0

IND.3A 3.A EV PREV 3PL.INAN.P put.on.one's.back PERF

kaháhkiš .

kahaáhkic .

a mule .
 itkahaar- kii'ac .
 ear be.long .

Híhikirisitiritⁿ

Hi híkiiri sitiitiirit
 And indeed they saw him
 hi hikiiri si- ti- 0- ir- ut- iirik -0
 and indeed DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV see PERF

, hirurihiratáhwakⁱ , “
 , hiru ríhiira' taáhwaki' “
 , then beyond they would say : “
 , hiruu rihiraa ti- 0- ar- waki -0 , “
 , then beyond IND.3A 3.A EV say.PL PERF , ”

Áka^a ! iriwikurawišká^a
 Aáka'a iriwikurawicka'a
 Oh my , that is what he wanted '
 aaka'a , irii- wii- ku- ra- 0- wicka -a '
 oh.my , that now INDF ABS 3.A want SUB.1 '

átuta
 aátuuta
 that I do it '
 aa- t- ut- aar -0 '
 SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF '

tiráhatpirəskⁱ .
 tiiraáhat piiraski . "
 this one passing boy . "
 tii- ra- 0- hak -0 piiras- -kis . "
 this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 boy DIM . "

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

pirəskiríkutira

piiraski ríkutira'
 a boy that is his way
 piiras- -kis riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 boy DIM that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

rarurukstasahátu ,

raaruurukstasáhatu ,

when he just grew up ,

raa- ruu- ra- 0- uks- rasahat -hus ,
 just then ABS 3.P AOR grow.up IMPF.SUB ,

pířəskⁱ rakurasáhat^u .
 piiraski rakurasáhatu .
 a boy when he grew up .
 piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus .
 boy DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB .

Akíiriwirutiriška

Akí iriwiruutiíriickaa'

And here thereupon he came to an age

a ki irii- wii- ruu- ti- 0- a- ir- raa- icka- a -0
 and there then now then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV way end come PERF

,

wisirihkutpawáktiku
 wisirihkutpaawáktiku
 when they talked to him

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-------------|----------|
| wii- | si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | ut- | waa.wak.tik | -hus |
| when | DU | INF.A | 3.A | PL.3A | INF.B | BEN | talk | IMPF.SUB |

kúrahus ,
 kúrahus .
 the old men .
 kurahuus .
 old.man .

hawakakirahuráwaritⁿ .

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|-----|-----------|---------|------|--|--|--|
| Hawá | kaakíraahuuráwarit | | | | | | | |
| Also | he did not fail to heed it | | | | | | | |
| haawa | kaaki- | 0- | raa.huur- | a.warik | -0 | | | |
| also | NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | way | throw | PERF | | | |

Hirusititpákararawu

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| Hiru | sititpákararawu' | | | | | | | |
| Then | they prayed for him | | | | | | | |
| hiruu | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | wakaraar- | a.wuu | -.hus |
| then | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | BEN | voice | go.in.a.line.IMPF | IMPF |

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

Nikutuhá^a
 Rikutuuhá'a

That is the reason

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

wikarariraítusu rawárik^a

wikarariiraaíitusuurawárika

he did not fail to heed their advice

wii- kara- ra- 0- ir- raa.iit.us- huur- a.warik -a
now NEG ABS 3.A OBV story way throw.away SUB.1

tiwírurahurətka^u

tiwiruúraakuuratka'u

what he heard from them

tii- wii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- uur- atka'uk -0
this now then INF.F 3.A INF.B PREV hear SUB.3

, piréskiráku^u

piíraski ráku'u .

a boy his being .

piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .

boy DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Akiiriwirutáratihətⁿ

Aki iriwiruutaáraatiihat

And here that would the end of it

a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- raa- tiihak -0
and there that now then IND.3A 3.A EV way be.the.end PERF

. Hihawatiraták^u

. Hi hawá tirátaku

. And also right here

. hi haawa tii- ra- 0- -taku

. and also here ABS 3.A LOC

hihawatíhwakⁱ "

hi hawá tíhwaki' "

and also they said : "

hi haawa ti- 0- ir- waki -0 "

and also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Hā !

Haa

Ha ,

haa ,

ha ,

ihawarirəstahwírara

i hawá riirastahwiiráaa'

and also he is bringing it with feet upward

i haawa ra- 0- a- ir- as- raar- wiiraar- ra- a -0

and also ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV foot PL in.a.row PORT come PERF

pírəski . " Nakurəsáhatu

piiraski . " Rakurasáhatu

the boy . " When he grew up

piiras- -kis . " ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus

boy DIM . " INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB

, nakúrahíra

rakúraahiira

his being good

ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

pírəski . Hitírəsahətⁿ

piiraski , hi tírasahat

a boy , and he grew up

piiras- -kis , hi ti- 0- rasahat -0

boy DIM , and IND.3A 3.P grow.up PERF

hirutirakáwitətⁿ

hiru tiraakaáwiitit

then he follows his way

hiruu ti- 0- raa- kaa- wi.itik -0
then IND.3A 3.A way inside sit.down PERF

pirarisarunéku^u

piírariisaaru' ráku'u ,
a chief's son his being ,
piira- riisaar- -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,
child chief NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

hūisirit "

hi isiirit

and prominently

hi isii.rik

and in.plain.sight

wirarútik^u

wiraarútiiku . Naw^a

he was just living . Ráwa

wii- raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0 . Now

now just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF . rawa

, a , irárⁱ ,

, a , iraári' ,

, and , brother ,

, a , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

arikurúha^u

a rikuruúhaa'u

and that is the way
a riku- ra- 0- ut- raa- 0 -u
and that.is ABS 3.A PREV way be SUB.D

šurakⁱ
cuúraki
a girl
icuura- -kis
girl DIM

nihkúruk^u
rihkúruhku
when they had her
ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, hitírəsahat^u ,
, hi tirasáhaatu' ,
, and she was growing up ,
, hi ti- 0- rasahat -:hus ,
, and IND.3A 3.P grow.up IMPF ,

hitírəsahat^u ;
hi tirasáhaatu' ,
and she was growing up ,
hi ti- 0- rasahat -:hus ,
and IND.3A 3.P grow.up IMPF ,

hísititasikst^a ,
hi síitiitaciksta
and they watched over her
hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

hísititasikst^a

hi síitiitaciksta

and they watched over her

hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

nəkurəsáhatu

súrakⁱ .

rakurasáhatu

cuúraki .

when she grew up

the girl .

ra- 0- ku- rasahat -hus icuura- -kis .
INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up IMPF.SUB girl DIM .

Iriaharótirahətⁿ

Irii'aharaatiírahət

When he took her to the age

irii- ar- ra- 0- raa- tii.ra.hak -0
when EV ABS 3.A way take.to.the.end SUB.4

atíəs

Atí'as

our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

tirašíhwari

tiracíhwari

these of ours living

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

kiśísapatⁿ

tiráhuriwawⁱ

kici cápaat tirahúriiwaawi

but women these living

kici icapaak tii- ra- 0- hurii -waa -wi

but woman this ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, šúráki
, cuúráki
, a girl
, icuura- -kis
, girl DIM

hitarutasítípat^u

hi taruutásítit paátu'
and it would happen blood
hi ti- 0- ar- ut- asitik -0 paat- -u'
and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV happen PERF blood NOM

, tahpaharáhisítit .
, taahpaaharáhisítit .
, she would begin to carry blood .
, ti- 0- ar- paat- raar- raah -his -itik .
, IND.3A 3.A EV blood PL have PERF INCH .

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

hawásikakiruhurišakawárik^u

hawá sikaakiiruhuricakawáriku'
also they did not let her go astray
haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- uhuur.icaka.warik -:hus
also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A lose.track.of IMPF

.
.

.
. .

Asitiširəsawašitik^u

A sitiicirasawacítiiku'

And they were taking her outside

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|-------|------|--------|----------|-------|
| a | si- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ut- | ciras- | awacitik | -.hus |
| and | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | COM | go.out | IMPF |

wirakupáharah^a

wirakupaáharaaha

when she was carrying blood

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|---|
| wii- | ra- | 0- | ku- | paat- | raar- | raah | -a | . |
| when | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | blood | PL | have | SUB.1 | . |

Hihiruukáhkakⁿ

Hi hiru uukaáhkak

And then outside

hi hiruu uukaahkakat

and then outside

hiikarisitísawa

hi ikaári'

and her grandmother

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------|----------|-----|--------|-----|----------|------|------|
| hi | i- | kaa | -ri' | si- | ti- | 0- | sa | -waa | -0 |
| and | 3.POSS.A | grandmother | 3.POSS.B | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | be.lying | DIST | PERF |

.
. .
. .
. .

Ikárirakúruhku

Ikaári'

Her grandmother

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|-------|-----|---------|-------|-----------|--------|------------|-------|
| i- | kaa | -ri' | ra- | 0- | a- | ku- | ri- | uur- | kus | -0 |
| 3.POSS.A | grandmother | 3.POSS.B | INF.A | 3.A | POSS.3A | INF.B | PHYS.POSS | POSS.A | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

rahiráísastⁱ

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|--------|----------|---|
| , | ráhiira' | isaásti' | , | | |
| , | sometimes | her mother | , | | |
| , | rahiira | i- | saas | -ri' | , |
| , | further | 3.POSS.A | mother | 3.POSS.B | , |

hisitihsawaisástⁱ

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------|-----|----------|------|------------|----------|--------|----------|
| hi | sitiísawa | | | | | isaásti' | | | |
| and | they (du) lay | | | | | her mother | | | |
| hi | si- | ti- | 0- | sa | -waa | -0 | i- | saas | -ri' |
| and | DU | IND.3A | 3.A | be.lying | DIST | PERF | 3.POSS.A | mother | 3.POSS.B |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Kakírarurakuhuriśakawárik^a

Kaaki' raaruurakuuuhuricakawárika

One would not just let her go astray

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|----|------|------|------|-------|-----|-------|-------------------|-------|
| kaaki- | 0- | 0 | -0 | raa- | ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | uhuur.icaka.warik | -a |
| NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | be | PERF | just | then | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | lose.track.of | SUB.1 |

.
. .
. .
. .

.

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

kitutiírirətpawakahu

kítuu'u' tí'iriiratpaawaakahu
all this that I am saying

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|----------|
| kituu | -u' | tii- | irii- | ra- | t- | waa- | waaka | -hus |
| all | NOM | this | that | ABS | 1.A | DIST | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

hiwihirurikuriratáwik^u

hi wihiru rikuriiraatáwiiku

and now that was the way among us

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|---------|------|-----|------|----------|------------|------|
| hi | wii- | hiruu | riku- | rii- | 0- | raa- | tawi | kus | -0 |
| and | now | then | that.is | ASSR | 3.A | way | be.among | be.sitting | PERF |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nurakurákawitat^a

Ruurakuuraakáwitaata

When it is disagreeable

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----------------|-------|
| ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | i- | raa- | kawitaat | -a |
| then | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | SEQ | way | be.disagreeable | SUB.1 |

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------|---|
| pírəsk ⁱ | širuráku | . |
| píiraski | ciru ráku'u | . |

| | | | |
|---------|------|-----------|--------------------------|
| a boy | yet | his being | . |
| piiras- | -kis | ciruu | ra- 0- ku- 0 -u |
| boy | DIM | yet | INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D |

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

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----|-----|---------------------|------|---------|------|---|---|
| hitáwiška | | | | pírəsk ⁱ | , | | | | |
| hi | taáhwicka' | | | piíraski | “ | | | | |
| and | he thought | | | a boy | : | | | | |
| hi | ti- | 0- | ar- | wicka | -0 | piiras- | -kis | , | " |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | think | PERF | boy | DIM | , | " |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------|---------|-----|------------|-------|
| hirutitakuráku | | | | | | |
| Hiru | títaku | | raáku | | | |
| Then | right here | | the one | | | |
| hiruu | tii- | -taku | ra- | 0- | kus | -0 |
| then | here | LOC | ABS | 3.A | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| šúrak ⁱ | , |
| cuúraki | |
| girl | |
| icuura- | -kis |
| girl | DIM |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|----------|-----|-----------|-----------|------|------|------|--|
| iriwitatíristi | | | | | | | | | |
| iriwitatíricti' | | | | | | | | | |
| I like that one | | | | | | | | | |
| irii- | wi- | ta- | t- | ir- | ri- | ut- | tii | -0 | |
| that | QUOT | IND.1/2A | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | PHYS.POSS | PREV | like | PERF | |

,
 . " "
 . " "
 . " "

hírutarušihkaksa

Hiru táruuciikaksa'

Then he would call them

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|-----|-----|------|-----|----------|--------|------|
| hiruu | ti- | 0- | ar- | ut- | i- | ak- | kaksaa | -0 |
| then | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | PREV | SEQ | PL.AN.3P | call | PERF |

irirutakíšisu

iriruutaakícisu

his relatives

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|---------------|----------|---|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ut- | ak- | icis | -hus | . |
| that | ABS | 3.A | PREV | PL.AN.3P | be.related.to | IMPF.SUB | . |

Híastihitáhwišk^a

Hí'aasti'

His father

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------|----------|-----|--------|-----|-----|-------|------|
| i- | as | -ri' | hi | ti- | 0- | ar- | wicka | -0 |
| 3.POSS.A | father | 3.POSS.B | and | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | think | PERF |

, náw^a ,
 " Ráwa . "
 : " Now . "
 , " rawa . "
 , " now . "

hirútahwaku

Hiru taahwáku'

Then he would say

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|-----|--------|----|--------|
| hiruu | ti- | 0- | ar- | waka'u | -0 | " rawa |
|-------|-----|----|-----|--------|----|--------|

" náw^a
 " Ráwa
 " Now
 " rawa

then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF " now

witikusíkskatitari

witikuucíkskatiitári' ,

I have my mind set on her ,

wi- ti- ku- aciks- katiit -aar -i ,
 QUOT IND.3A 1.P mind be.black INCH IMPF ,

atíəs a atípətⁿ , ihi
 atí'as a atípat , ihi ,
 father and grandfather , uh ,
 ati- as a ati- paak , ihii ,
 1.POSS father and 1.POSS grandfather , uh ,

šúráki titakúrak^u .
 cuúráki tiítaku raáku .
 girl right here the one .
 icuura- -kis tii- -taku ra- 0- kus -0 .
 girl DIM here LOC ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 .

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Hirutíhwakⁱ

Hiru tíhwaki' "

Then they said :

hiruu ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

iriwitúrahi " .

Iriwitúraahi " .

That is good " .
 irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 " .
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF " .

Hirutahwákuhiastⁱ

Hiru taahwáku' hi'aásti'
 Then he would say his father
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 i- as -ri'
 then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

" Náwa , náwa , irítiška
 " Ráwa , ráwa , i ríiticka'
 : " Now , now , and I want
 , " rawa , rawa , i rii- t- wicka -0
 , " now , now , and ASSR 1.A want PERF

sirəskukurú širaišahkata

siraskukuruucirasícahkaata

for you to lead us through the village

si- ra- s- ku- ku- ri- ut- ciras- icahka- at -a
 DU INF.A 2.A 1.P INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV COM village go SUB.1

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Ipatisiríhku^u

Ipátti' siríhku'u
 His grandfathers their being
 i- pak -ri' si- ra- 0- ir- ku- 0 -u
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B be SUB.D

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

hirutarúši^a ,
 hiru taruúci'a ,
 then he would do it :
 hiruu ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF ,

kúrahus
 kúrahus
 old man
 kurahuus
 old.man

Askuawitahíresa
 ásku a witaahírasa
 one and he would walk in the lead
 asku a wi- ti- 0- ar- hiras- aah -0
 one and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV in.the.lead be PERF

hipíraskitarutíka^a
 hi píraski taruutiíka'a
 and the boy he would go in the middle
 hi píras- -kis ti- 0- ar- ut- iika- aah -0
 and boy DIM IND.3A 3.A EV PREV center be PERF

, aaskukúrahus
 , a ásku kúrahus
 , and one old man
 , a asku kurahuus

, and one old.man

witahatúhka^a .
witahatúhka'a' .
he came behind .
wi- ti- 0- a- hatuur- ka- a -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A road in come PERF .

Hiruatáhwu ,
Hiru a taáhwu'
Then and they would go
hiruu a ti- 0- ar- wuu -:hus
then and IND.3A 3.A EV go.IMPF IMPF

šúrakⁱ
cuúraki
girl
icuura- -kis
girl DIM

iriraríšti^u
iriiraríctii'u
the one he loved
irii- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- tii -u
that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV like SUB.D

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiruarikuwitáhupu
Hiru a rikuwitaáhuupu'

Then and that is where they would enter
hiruu a riku- wi- ti- 0- ar- huuk- wuu -:hus
then and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV into go.IMPF IMPF

. Awitarárirətⁿ
. A witaaraárirat
. And they would sit down
. a wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- ri.ra.at -0
. and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF

. Karawitíraki
. Karawitiíraakii
. It was not long
. kara- wi- ti- 0- i- raa.kiir -0
. NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.long PERF

híistu
hi ístu
and again
hi istu
and again

witirišahkáah^u
witiiricahká'aahu'
they came through the village
wi- ti- 0- a- ir- icahka- a -:hus
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A village come IMPF

. Híkišišurakⁱ
. Hi kici cuúraki
. And but girl
. hi kici icuura- -kis
. and but girl DIM

irirutakíšis^u

iriruutaakícisu

the ones related to her

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|---------------|----------|
| irii- | ra- | 0- | ut- | ak- | icis | -hus |
| that | ABS | 3.A | PREV | PL.AN.3P | be.related.to | IMPF.SUB |

hirusíwitiirapira

hiru síwitiirapira
then they gathered

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|--------|-----|--------|----------|--------------|------|
| hiruu | si- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ak- | piraah | -0 |
| then | DU | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | 3.INDF | PL.AN.3P | pick.up.PL.P | PERF |

,
,
,
,
,

ruwitiirahukahusítitⁿ

ruuwitiirahuukáhusitit

then they began entering

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| ruu- | wi- | ti- | 0- | a- | ir- | raar- | huuk- | a | -:hus | -itik |
| then | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV.3A | OBV | PL.INDV.A | into | come | IMPF | INCH |

. Hawawítahwu ,

. Hawá wítaahwu' ,

. Also they would go ,

. haawa wi- ti- 0- ar- wuu -:hus ,

. also QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV go.IMPF IMPF ,

hiwitáhupu

hi witaáhuupu'
and they would enter

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| hi | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | huuk- | wuu | -:hus |
|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-------|-----|-------|

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV into go.IMPF IMPF

hiwihiruwitárahka

hi wihiru witaáraahkaa

and then they would be inside

hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- kaa -0
and now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PL.INDV.A be.inside PERF

. Karawítukstapa^a ,
. Karawítukstaapaa'a ,
. The matter was not hidden ,
. kara- wi- ti- 0- uks- raa.apaar -' ,
. NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.hidden EX ,

irárⁱ , kúrahus
iraári' . Kúrahus
brother . The old men
i- -raar- -ri' . kurahuus
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B . old.man

iríahawihətⁿ ,
irí'ahawihat
where they were sitting
irii- ar- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
where EV ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

hiwihiruwitahíh^tⁿ

hi wihiru witaahíhit

and now there would be spread out

hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- hihit -0
and now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.spread.out PERF

kirikúpít^k^u rawíhtaka
kíriku' pítku raawíhtaaka ,

perhaps two blankets ,
 kirikuu pitku raawiir- taakaar ,
 anything two cloth be.white ,

náhku^u šahúkⁱ . A
 raáhku'u cahuúki . A
 maybe its being robes . And
 ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u cahuu -kis . a
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D robe DIM . and

kúrahus wirusitahwáku
 kúrahus wiruusitaahwáku'
 old men then they (du) would say
 kurahuus wii- ruu- si- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
 old.man now then DU IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

“ Náwairi . ”
 “ Ráwa iri . ”
 : “ Now then . ”
 , “ rawa irii . ”
 , “ now then . ”

Hirúwirituša
 Hiru witiiruúcaa'
 Then he arose
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- ir- uca.a -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV get.up PERF

,

irisirihkukitawíra^u

iriisirihkuukitawíra'u

the one who was made judge

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-------|---------------|--------|-------|
| irii- | si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | kita.wi | -ra'uk | -0 |
| that | DU | INF.A | 3.A | 3.INDF | INF.B | be.the.leader | CAUS | SUB>3 |

hiruwitarahkáwaritⁿ

. Hiru witaaraahkáwarit

. Then he would fill it up

| | | | | | | |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------------|----------|------|
| . hiruu | wi- | ti- | ar- | raar- | ka.warik | -0 |
| . then | QUOT | IND.3A | EV | 3PL.INAN.P | put.in | PERF |

raktáwiskr^u

raktaáwiskaaru'

the pipe

| | | | |
|------|-------------|-----|---|
| rak- | raawis.kaar | -u' | . |
| wood | smoke.pipe | NOM | . |

Awitarárir^u

A witaaráriiru'

And he would light it

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|--------|--------|------|---|
| a | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | rariit | -ra'uk | -0 | . |
| and | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | be.hot | CAUS | PERF | . |

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

hirúawitiwitirawisawárik^u

hiru áwit iwitiraawisawaawáriku'

then first he blows smoke in the directions

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|----|---------|---------|------|-------|
| hiruu | awit | ii- | wi- | ti- | 0- | raawis- | a.warik | -waa | -.hus |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|----|---------|---------|------|-------|

then first then QUOT IND.3A 3.A smoke throw DIST IMPF

hirútirawahətⁿ

hiru Tiráwaahat
there the Heavens

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

atíəs

Atí'as

our Father

ati- as
1.POSS father

tiiriahákitak^u

ti'irii'ahakítaku a
here where is above a
tii- irii- ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0 a
here where EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 and

tirahúraahca

tirahúraahca .
this earth .
tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0 .
this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4 .

Hiruwitiháta^a

Hiru witihátta'a'
Then he carried the pipe

hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- ir- haak- ra- a -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV wood PORT come PERF

, kúrahus
. Kúrahus

. The old man
 . kurahuus
 . old.man

iriahakusíræsk^u

irii'ahakusírasku

where he sat at the head

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| irii- | ar- | ra- | 0- | kus | hiras- | kus | -0 |
| where | EV | ABS | 3.A | be.sitting | in.the.lead | be.sitting | SUB.4 |

,

witirutakátaw^u

witiiruutaakátawu

he would extend the pipe to him

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|----------------------------|-----|------|
| wi- | ti- | 0- | ir- | ar- | ut- | haak- | kata- | wuh | -0 |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | OBV | EV | BEN | wood | against.a.vertical.surface | put | PERF |

. Kúrahus
 . Kúrahus
 . The old man
 . kurahuus
 . old.man

awitarašikstihú^u

a witaaracikstiihú'u

and he would be glad

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|--------------|----------------|---|
| a | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | aciks.tiihur | - ² | . |
| and | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | be.happy | EX | . |

Hipíræskⁱ

Hi piíraski
And the boy
hi piíras- -kis
and boy DIM

rætkætruwitahakátaw^u

rátkat ruuwitaahaakátawu
next then he would be given the pipe
rat- -kat ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- haak- kata- wuh -0
afterwards LOC then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV wood against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

, hawahíraku kúrahus .
, hawá hiíraaku kúrahus .
, also the other one old man .
, haawa hii- ra- 0- kus -0 kurahuus .
, also other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 old.man .

Nikuwitisiksuhúru

Rikuwitiiciksuhúru

That was their way

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- uhuur.uu -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR be.the.way.one.does PERF

tírætku ákítar^u .
tíratku ákitaaru' .
this one of mine tribe .
tii- ra- t- kus -0 akitaar- -u' .
this ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4 tribe NOM .

Arusá

Aruúsa'

Horses

aruusaa

horse

witúkskarik^u

witúkskariiku'

there were many

| | | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----|------|-------------|--------|------|
| wi- | ti- | 0- | uks- | kari | -ka'uk | -0 |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | AOR | be.numerous | DIST | PERF |

nahkurariwarikapíræskⁱ

raahkurariwárika

that he would lose them

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-------|------------|----------|-------|----------|------|
| ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | raar- | ri.warik | -a | piíraski | |
| INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | 3PL.INAN.P | lose | SUB.1 | boy | -kis |

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Aahúkskarikúarus^a

A ahúkskariiku'

And there were many

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------------|--------|------|---------|
| a | ar- | ra- | 0- | uks- | kari | -ka'uk | -0 | aruúsa' |
| and | EV | ABS | 3.A | AOR | be.numerous | DIST | PERF | horse |

wisirihkuraruhasístu

wisiríhkuraaruha

when they gave them

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|------------|------|-------|-------|
| wii- | si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ku- | raar- | uh | -a | sístu |
| when | DU | INF.A | 3.A | PL.3A | INF.B | 3PL.INAN.P | give | SUB.1 | again |

iriwírutakak^u

iriwíruutakaaku

the ones who were his in-laws

irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- ak- kaa.kus -0
that now ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.an.in-law SUB.4

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiruwitarətáru

Hiru witaarattáru

Then he would give them to them

hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- ak- raar- uh -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

, híastⁱ
hí'aasti'
her father

i- as -ri'
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

iriahakárik^u

irii'ahaakáriku

where his home was

irii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

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

nikuwituráhi
 rikuwítúraahi .
 that was a good way .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

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

nikuwituráhi .
 rikuwítúraahi .
 that was a good way .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Isiarusíwitaahku
 Isiiruusíwitaahku
 Then they (du) lived prominently
 isiiruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ar- kus -0
 plainly DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.sitting PERF

siwítírahkukitura^u
 siwítíraahkukituura'u
 after they (du) got together
 si- witi- ra- 0- ar- ku- kituu -ra'uk -0
 DU REFL INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.whole CAUS SUB.3

.
 ,
 ,
 ,

Kusikararahkuráruhkuuki
 kusikararaahkuuraáruhkuuki
 their (du) not doing anything bad

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|-----------|-------|
| ku- | si- | kara- | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | i- | raa- | ruhka'uk | -i |
| INDF | DU | NEG | INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | SEQ | way | have.DIST | SUB.2 |

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

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|----------|------|------|--|---------------------|------|--|--|---|
| titariktáári | | | | | | pírəsk ⁱ | | | | |
| titariktá'aari' | | | | | | piíraski | | | | , |
| he was growing up | | | | | | a boy | | | | , |
| ti- | 0- | tarikta- | -aar | -i | | piiras- | -kis | | | , |
| IND.3A | 3.P | body | INCH | IMPF | | boy | DIM | | | , |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------|-----------------------|-----------|-----|-------|----|-------|--|--|---|
| pírəsk ⁱ | | širuráku ^u | | | | | | | | , |
| piíraski | | ciru | ráku'u | | | | | | | , |
| a boy | | yet | his being | | | | | | | , |
| piiras- | -kis | ciruu | ra- | 0- | ku- | 0 | -u | | | , |
| boy | DIM | yet | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | be | SUB.D | | | , |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-------|------|--------|-------------|--|--|-------|--|
| hitiksawašpakíah ^u | | | | | | | | | | |
| hi | tiksawacpakí'aahu' | | | | | | | | | |
| and | they were even saying | | | | | | | | | |
| hi | ti- | 0- | ir- | uks- | awahc- | waki.a | | | -:hus | |
| and | IND.3A | 3.A | PL.3A | AOR | even | say.PL.IMPF | | | IMPF | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|--------|--|------------|--|--|--|--|
| nisár ^u | | | hiwihiruúrarisit ⁿ | | | | | | | |
| riisaáru' | | " | Hi | wihiru | | uúrariisit | | | | |

the chiefs : “ And then straight
 riisaar -u’ , ” hi wii- hiruu uurariisik
 be.chief NOM , ” and now then straight.forward

kakušihúru
 kaakuuciihúru’ .
 he does not have ways .
 kaaki- 0- ut- i- uhuur.uu -0 .
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be.the.way.one.does PERF .

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

nakúhuhkutikⁱ
 rakuúhuhkuutiki
 his doing unsocial things
 ra- 0- ku- uhuur- kuut.ik -i
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way kill SUB.2

rakútaut^u . A
 rakúta’uutu , a
 for him to steal , and
 ra- 0- ku- ta’uut -hus , a
 INF.A 3.A 1.PAT steal IMPF , and

isirukararákururakawi
 isiiruukararaákuruurakaawi
 his not having a particular home
 isiiruu- kara- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- akaa -wi
 plainly NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hihirukurarutarišahkawarihusətⁿ

hi hiru kuraaruutaaricahkawarihusat

and then he would just go wandering (from one lodge to another) through the village

hi hiruu ku- raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- icahka- warii -hus at -0
and then INDF just then IND.3A 3.A EV village be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB go PERF

,
,
,
,
,

hitaruhwihatⁿ

hi taruhwihat

and he had them

hi ti- 0- a- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
and IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL PERF

nəkutakišis^u

rakuutaakicisu

ones who were relatives

ra- 0- ku- ut- ak- icis -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

, hísikakitasikst^a

, hi sikaakiítaciksta

, and they did not pay attention to him

, hi si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
, and DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Kakaririraitúsiwa

Kaakaaririiraa'itúsiwa

They did not have good words for him

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|---------|-----------|-----------|------|-------------|--------------|------|
| kaaki- | 0- | a- | ri- | ri- | uur- | raa.iit.us- | hi.wa.ar | -0 |
| NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | PHYS.POSS | PREV | story | be.good.DIST | PERF |

.
.
.
.
.

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

kakaririraitúsiwa

kaakaaririiraa'itúsiwa

they did not have good words for him

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|---------|-----------|-----------|------|-------------|--------------|------|
| kaaki- | 0- | a- | ri- | ri- | uur- | raa.iit.us- | hi.wa.ar | -0 |
| NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | POSS.3A | PHYS.POSS | PHYS.POSS | PREV | story | be.good.DIST | PERF |

,

kararakuruhúriwara

kararakuuruhúriwaara

when his ways were not good

kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- uhuur- hi.wa.ar -a
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good.DIST SUB.1

, ihi sáhiks
, ihi , cáhiks
, uh , a person
, ihii , icaahiks
, uh , person

nakutariktar^a

rakutaríktaara

when he was growing up

ra- 0- ku- tarikta- -aar -a píras- -kis ,
INF.A 3.P INF.B body INCH SUB.1 boy DIM .
piiraski ,
piiraski .
a boy .

nakútaut^u

Rakúta'uutu

When he stole

ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB

kakaririraitúsiwa

kaakaaririiraa'iitúsiwa

they did not have good words for him

kaaki- 0- a- ri- ri- uur- raa.iit.us- hi.wa.ar -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV story be.good.DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Rikutuharihwakíhu

Rikutuuhá'

That is why

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----|------|------|----|------|-----|-----|-------|-------------|----------|
| riku- | ti- | 0- | ut- | raa- | 0 | -0 | ra- | 0- | ir- | waki.a | -hus |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way | be | PERF | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

rihwakíhu

their saying

| | | |
|-------------|---------|----------------------------|
| kúrahus | šikstit | wirakurásahət ⁿ |
| kúrahus | cíkstit | wirakurásahat |
| the old men | well | when he grew up |
| kurahuus | cikstik | wii- ra- ku- rasahat -0 |
| old.man | well | when ABS 1.P grow.up SUB.4 |

pírəskⁱ

piiraski “

a boy : “

piiras- -kis , ”

boy DIM , ”

šikstitšúkspari

Cíkstit súkspari' .

Well live !

cikstik i- s- uks- warii -:hus .

well CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

“

Hitakúkari suširášikst^a

Hiitaku kariisuciraáciksta

Another don't pay heed to it

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|----|----|-----|----|------|----------|----|
| hii- | -taku | kara- | i- | s- | ut- | i- | raa- | aciks.ta | -0 |
|------|-------|-------|----|----|-----|----|------|----------|----|

other LOC NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ way watch PERF

tirarátawi

tiraraátawi

this way among us

tii- ra- 0- raa- tawi -0
this ABS 3.A way be.among SUB.4

rakútautu .

rakúta'uutu .

when one steals .

ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus .
INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB .

Karisuširášiksta

Kariisuciraáciksta

Don't pay heed to it

kara- i- s- ut- i- raa- aciks.ta -0
NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ way watch PERF

tirarátawi

tiraraátawi

this way among us

tii- ra- 0- raa- tawi -0
this ABS 3.A way be.among SUB.4

nakukiriwiskíhu šáhiks . "

rakukíriwiskiihu cáhiks . "

when one cheats him a person . "

ra- 0- ku- kiriwis.ki -hus icaahiks . "
INF.A 3.A INF.B cheat IMPF.SUB person . "

Nikutihwakíah^u kúrahus

Rikutihwakí'aahu' kúrahus

That is what they say the old men
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus kurahuus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF old.man

nihkutpawáktiku .
 rihkutpaawáktiku .
 when they talk to him .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus .
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF.SUB .

Naruisikiriwiskíhu
 “ Raaruu’isikiriwiskíhu
 “ If you just cheat him
 " raa- ruu- i- s- i- kiriwis.ki -hus
 " just then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ cheat IMPF.SUB

karawitúrahi
 karawitúraahi .
 it is not good .
 kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

nikutihwakíah^u
 " Rikutihwakí’aahu’
 " That is what they said
 " riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 " that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

kúrahus .
 kúrahus . “
 the old men . “
 kurahuus . ”
 old.man . ”

Karawitúrahi

Karawitúraahi

It is not good

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------|-----|------|------|---------|------|
| kara- | wi- | ti- | 0- | uur- | raa- | hiir | -0 |
| NEG | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | way | be.good | PERF |

raruíšikiriwiskíhu

raaruu'isikiriwiskíhu

if you just cheat him

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|-----|-----|------------|----------|
| raa- | ruu- | i- | s- | i- | kiriwis.ki | -hus |
| just | then | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | SEQ | cheat | IMPF.SUB |

šáhiks .

cáhiks .

a person .

icaahiks .

person .

Akaraahuráhi

A kara'ahuraáhi

And it is not good

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|---------|------|
| a | kara- | ar- | ra- | 0- | uur- | raa- | hiir | -0 |
| and | NEG | EV | ABS | 3.A | PREV | way | be.good | PERF |

nakútautu

rakúta'uutu

when one steals

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|--------|----------|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | ta'uut | -hus |
| INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | steal | IMPF.SUB |

nakúwari .

rakúwari .

to go about .

| | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|-------|------|---|
| ra- | 0- | ku- | warii | -hus | . |
|-----|----|-----|-------|------|---|

INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Tuhkitúirirarutaši šahkawariíhust^a

Tuhkítuu'u' iriraaruutasiicahkawariíhusta

The entire village there you are just going to roam around the village

ituur- kituu -u' irii- raa- ruu- ta- s- i- icahka- warii -:hus -ta
village all NOM there just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ village be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

.
.
.
.
.
.

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

hawakakúrahi

hawá kaakúraahi

also it was not good

haawa kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
also NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

nakukíšari .

rakukícaari .

to be silly .

ra- 0- ku- kihc- -aar -i .
INF.A 3.A INF.B clown INCH IMPF.SUB .

Irári ,

Iraári' ,

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

hawasikakitašikst^a

hawá sikaakiítaciksta
 also they did not pay attention to him
 haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
 also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiastirakururuksáwəšk^u

Hí'aasti' rakuruuruksáwacku
 His father even if his was living
 i- as -ri' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- uks- awahc- kus -0
 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR even.if be.sitting SUB.4

a isástⁱ .
 a isaásti' .
 and his mother .
 a i- saas -ri' .
 and 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B .

Hihawasikaririššikst^a

Hi hawá sikariirićiciksta
 And also they did not care for him
 hi haawa si- kari- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- aciks.ta -0
 and also DU EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ value.highly PERF

. Wirakútaut^u .
 wirakúta'uutu ,
 if he stole ,
 wii- ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -hus ,
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB ,

Wisiríhkutišis
 wisiríhkuuticis
 when they knew him
 wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- icis -0
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV know SUB.4

ákitar^u .
 ákitaaru' .
 the tribe .
 akitaar- -u' .
 tribe NOM .

Awirakukíšari
 A wirakukícaari
 And when he was silly
 a wii- ra- 0- ku- kihc- -aar -i
 and when INF.A 3.A INF.B clown INCH IMPF.SUB

hawasikakítašikst^a
 hawá sikaakiítaciksta
 also they did not pay attention to him
 haawa si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0
 also DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV watch PERF

, irirakárik^u
 iriiraakáriku
 where his home was
 irii- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0

that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

hihirukirikurarusitirirahwawaríkusititⁿ

hi hiru kíriku' raarusitiriirahwaawárikusitit
and then somewhere then they just sent him off (on errands)

hi hiruu kirikuu raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- ri- uur- raar.warik -waa -:hus -itik
and then anything just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV send DIST IMPF INCH

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hirukiriku ararutáhwari

Hiru kíriku' a raarutaáhwari'
Then somewhere and then he would go about

hiruu kirikuu a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- warii -:hus
then anything and just then IND.3A 3.A EV be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

tiráturarawahətⁿ

tiraáturaarawaahat
these villages scattered about

tii- ra- 0- ituur- raar- a.hak -waa -0
this ABS 3.A village PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

.
. .
. .
. .
. .