

Ethics, Three

Roaming Scout

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

hikarírariks ,
hi kariiríraariks ,
and it was not truly so ,
hi kari- ri- 0- raariks -0 ,
and EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.true PERF ,

hitahwíšaksa ,
hi taahwícaksa ,
and he would come to his senses ,
hi ti- 0- ar- wicaks.aar -0 ,
and IND.3A 3.P EV come.to.mind PERF

wirakurásahətⁿ .
wirakurásahat .
when he grew up .
wii- ra- ku- rasahat -0 .
when ABS 1.P grow.up SUB.4 .

Hírutirasikska^a
Hiru tíracikskaa'a'
Then he thought of it
hiruu ti- 0- a- ir- aciks- kaa.a -0

then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV mind come.out PERF

“ Áka^a ! Íharⁱ tikúrasahətⁿ
“ Aáka’a íhaari’ tikúrasahat
: “ Oh my , think of it I grew up
, “ aaka’a , ihaari’ ti- ku- rasahat -0
, “ oh.my , think.of.it IND.3A 1.P grow.up PERF

karasúrahir^a ,

karaasúraahiira

its not being good

ka- ra- s- uur- raa- hiir -a
NEG ABS 2.A PREV way be.good SUB.1

nakútaut^u . "

rakúta’uutu . "

when one steals . "

ra- 0- ku- ta’uut -hus . "
INF.A 3.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB . "

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári’ ,

Brother ,

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

hiirirútaruhurahətⁿ

hi iriruutaáruuhurahat

and thereupon he would let the way go

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ar- raa- uhur.ra.hak -0
and then then IND.3A 3.A EV way release PERF

. Hihítirawahat

. Hihi Tiráwaahat

. Instead the Heavens
 . hi hi tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0
 . and and this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

hitirúhakusitⁿ

hi tiiruúhaakusit
 and he chose a way for him
 hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- raa- kusik -0
 and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV BEN way pick.up PERF

nakúrahir^a

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

hiwihiruisiritrarútik^u

hi wihiru isiirit raarútiiku
 and now prominently he just lived
 hi wii- hiruu isii.rik raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0
 and now then in.plain.sight just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

, nakúkarik^u

rakuukáriku
 where his home was
 ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

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

níhkuruh^a .
ríhkuruuha .
after the way was given to him .
ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a .
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1 .

Hiwihiruisiritnarútik^u
Hi wihiru isiirit raarútiiku
And then prominently he just lived
hi wii- hiruu isii.rik raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0
and now then in.plain.sight just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

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

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

nihkúwakihu “ Ah !
ríhkúwakihu “ Aa
when they say “ Ah ,
ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus " aa ,

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB " ah ,

ḫka^a !
iika'a
oh my ,
iika'a ,
oh.mu ,

tirəstakawáhetⁿ ,
tirastaakawaáhat
you (pl) in the Heavens
tii- ra- s- rak- a.hak -waa -0
this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

iriwitəstakítawⁱ .
iriwitastakítawⁱ .
you (pl) are the authorities .
irii- wi- ta- s- rak- kita.wi -0 .
that QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.the.leader PERF .

"
"
"
"
"

Tiráku šáhiks
Tiraáku cáhiks
This one person
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icaahiks
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 person

narurírəsaḥətⁿ ,
raaruurírasahat ,

he just grew up ,
 raa- ruu- rii- 0- rasahat -0 ,
 just then ASSR 3.P grow.up PERF ,

hitiwirikítawⁱ .
 hi tiwiriikítawⁱ .
 and he was a leader .
 hi tii- wii- rii- 0- kita.wi -0 .
 and this now ASSR 3.A be.the.leader PERF .

Kiturikutihwawakíah^u

Kítuu'u' rikutihwaawakí'aahu'
 All that is what they say
 kituu -u' riku- ti- 0- ir- waa- waki.a -:hus
 all NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A DIST say.PL.IMPF IMPF

. Hitarúhišis ,
 . Hi taruúhiicis ,
 . And he would learn ,
 . hi ti- 0- ar- ut- riicis -0 ,
 . and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV learn.about PERF ,

hitarúhišis ,
 Hi taruúhiicis ,
 And he would learn ,
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- riicis -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV learn.about PERF ,

ákutu

a kutuú
 and it seems
 a ku- ti- 0- uu -0
 and INF.B IND.3A 3.A be PERF

tihairikurakúrakⁱ

tihaa'irikurakúraaki

its being a certain length of time here

tii- haa- iriku- ra- 0- ku- raa- ak -i
here here that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.a.certain.length SUB.2

, hitakaráhis^u
, hi takaaraáhisu'
, and suddenly
, hi takaaraahis -u'
, and all.at.once NOM

hikuturawákuwa

hi kuturaawákuriwa

and he spoke sensibly

hi ku- ti- 0- uur- raa- wakur- hi.wa.ar -0
and INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV way word be.good.DIST PERF

takaráhis^u híti^a ,
takaaraáhisu' hi tí'a
suddenly and he became
takaaraahis -u' hi ti- 0- aar -0
all.at.once NOM and IND.3A 3.P become PERF

šáhiks isíritnakuk^u .
cáhiks isiírit rakuúku .
a person prominently his living .
icaahiks isii.rik ra- 0- ku- uk -u .
person in.plain.sight INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Hírahiritⁿ isiíritⁿ
Hi raáhiirit isiírit
And finally prominently
hi raahiirit isii.rik

and finally in.plain.sight

sítirunaripákus^u

sítiru'

they made him

si- ti- 0- ir- ra'uk -0

DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make PERF

raaripákusu'

a soldier

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'

way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

wisirihkuuririkihk^u

wisirihku'uuriirikihku

when they stood him up

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uuri.arik -ihk -hus

when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B stand.upright CAUS IMPF.SUB

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'

the tribe

akitaar- -u'

tribe NOM

nakuraspíihi

rákuraspi

when one hunted

ra- 0- ku- raspíi -0

INF.A 3.A INF.B look.for SUB.4

, ihi

, uh

, ihii

, uh

tárahá .

tárahá' .

, búffalo .

, tarahaa .

, búffalo .

Isíritⁿ

Isíirit

Prominently

isii.rik

in.plain.sight

árarutik^u

a raarútiiku

and he just lived

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0

and just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

hitarukskápakⁱs

hi tarukskápaakis

and he would have been pitiful
 hi ti- 0- ar- uks- kaapaakis -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV AOR be.pitiful PERF

nəkurəsahətⁿ ,
 rakurásahat ,
 when he grew up ,
 ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0 ,
 INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 ,

hiwitarúkstauətⁿ ,
 hi witarúksta'uu'ut ,
 and he would have been a thief ,
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uks- ta'uut -' ,
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV AOR steal EX ,

hiwitírukskis
 hi witiírukskiis
 and he would have lied
 hi wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uks- kiis -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV EV AOR be.one.who.prevaricates PERF

. Hínahiritⁿ
 . Hi raáhiirit
 . And finally
 . hi raahiirit
 . and finally

tirúhar^u
 tiiruúhaaru'
 he made the way for him
 ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
 IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV way make PERF

tirárawahət
Tiraárawaahat .
the Heavens yonder .
tii- ra- 0- ar- a.hak -waa -0 .
this ABS 3.A EV extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 .

nikuwituhá^a ,
Rikuwituuhá'a ,
That one is the cause ,
riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -' ,
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX ,

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

tirúhar^u
tiiruúhaaru' ,
he made the way for him ,
ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- raa- ra'uk -0 ,
IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV way make PERF ,

hírahirit nisár^u ,
hi raáhiirit riisaáru'
and finally a chief
hi raahiirit riisaar- -u'
and finally chief NOM

sítihkusitⁿ .
sítihkusit ,
they picked him up ,
si- ti- 0- ir- kusik -0 ,

DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A pick.up PERF ,

Nuhár^u
ruuhaáru
their doing it

ra- 0- ut- raar -u
ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D

kararakukapákis^u ,
kararakuukapaákisu
his not being poor

kara- ra- 0- ku- i- kaapaakis -u
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.poor SUB.D

ríhkuruh^a .
ríhkuruuha .
what was given to him .

ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a .
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1 .

Hihirutirakápakis

Hi hiru tiraakaápaakis
And then the way was poor

hi hiruu ti- 0- raa- kaapaakis -0
and then IND.3A 3.A way be.poor PERF

nakurásahətⁿ .

rakurásahat .

when he grew up .

ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0 .
INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

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

tirukiriwítitⁿ
tiruukiriwiítit
the way was different
ti- 0- raa- ikiriwit -ik -0
IND.3A 3.A way be.different DIST PERF

titakurihkuhára^u
tiítaku rihkuuhaára'u
here when a way was made for him
tii- -taku ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raar- ra'uk -0
here LOC INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3

pirarisaruráku^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

nakurásahətⁿ
rakurásahat
when he grew up
ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0
INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4

hitirúhar^u
hi tiiruúhaaru'
and he made the way for him
hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
and IND.3A 3.A OBV EV PREV way make PERF

úrarisitⁿ
 uúrariisit
 straight
 uurariisik
 straight.forward

karaasuššiksukⁱ
 kara'asuuciicíksuuki
 his not having proper thoughts

kara-	aa-	s-	ut-	i-	aciks-	uu	-uk	-i
NEG	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	mind	be	DIST	SUB.2

, pita
 , piíta
 , a man
 , wiita
 , man

karaasišiksikⁱ
 kara'asiiciksiiki
 his not having the feelings of

kara-	aa-	s-	ir-	ut-	aciks-	0	-ik	-i
NEG	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PREV	mind	be	DIST	SUB.2

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

tikapakísuk^u ,
 tikaapaakísuuku' ,
 he was usually poor ,
 ti- 0- kaapaakis -0 -uuku ,

IND.3A 3.A be.poor PERF HAB ,

hipirarisarutúksawəs

hi piirariisaaru' túksawac
and a chief's son he would even be
hi piira- riisaar- -u' ti- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -0
and child chief NOM IND.3A 3.A JUSS even be PERF

hitikápak¹s .

hi tikaápaakis .
and he was poor .
hi ti- 0- kaapaakis -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A be.poor PERF .

Aisisikakiriritašikstiwáhəⁿ .

A isiisikaakiiriritacikstíwaahat .
And they did not think well of him .
a .
and .

Hitíhwaki “

Hi tíhwaki' “
And they said : “
hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Isikararušišikstíwahəⁿ

Isiikararuuciicikstíwaahat

He does not think well

isii- kara- ra- 0- ut- i- aciks- tii.hak -waa -0
plainly NEG ABS 3.A PREV SEQ mind be.the.end DIST PERF

. " Nikutiwakíahu .
. " Rikutiwakí'aahu' .

. " That is what they said .
 . " riku- ti- 0- waki.a -:hus .
 . " that.is IND.3A 3.A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

A pířeski nakurásahətⁿ
 A pířaski rakurásahat
 And a boy when he grew up
 a piiras- -kis ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0
 and boy DIM INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4

hiisirutuksawášku
 hi isiiruutuksawácku
 and he would even live prominently
 hi isiiruu- ti- 0- uks- awahc- kus -0
 and plainly IND.3A 3.A JUSS even be.sitting PERF

nakurásahətⁿ pířeskⁱ
 rakurásahat pířaski
 when he grew up a boy
 ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0 piiras- -kis
 INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 boy DIM

hihawárikusitiriritašiksa
 hi hawá rikusitiiririítaciksa
 and also that is the way they judged him
 hi haawa riku- si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ri- ri- ut- aciks.aar -0
 and also that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV decide PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hawarikutihiwakíahu

Hawá rikutiriiwaki'aahu'

Also that is what they would say

haawa riku- ti- 0- ir- i- waki.a -:hus
also that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL.IMPF IMPF

“
:
,
,

isi kararusisikstíwahətⁿ

Isiikararuuciicikstíwaahat

He does not think well

isii- kara- ra- 0- ut- i- aciks- tii.hak -waa -0
plainly NEG ABS 3.A PREV SEQ mind be.the.end DIST PERF

. " Hikakikápak^{is} .
. Hi kaakiikaápaakis .
. And he was not poor .
. hi kaaki- 0- i- kaapaakis -0 .
. and NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.poor PERF .

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

tirətparíakitar^u

tirátpari

this of mine living

tii- ra- t- warii -hus ákitaaru'
akitaar- -u'

this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe NOM

hirukituširutatiririkš tatawiku

hiru kítuu'u' ciru tatiriirikstaatáwiiku'

then all yet I (we) used to have ways among us

hiruu kituu -u' ciruu ta- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- raa- tawi -ka'uk -0
then all NOM yet IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR way be.among DIST PERF

;
,
,
,
,

širupirəškíripəškiraku^u

ciru piiraskíripacki ráku'u

yet a little boy his being

ciruu piiras- kiripac -kis ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
yet boy small DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

. Nariškiri
. Raríckiri'
. A ball
. rariickirir
. ball

rətkurú wari ;

ratkuruúwari ,

when I carried it around ,

ra- t- ku- ruu- warii -hus ,

INF.A 1.A INF.B PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

aratkuštatawišak^u

a ratkuctaatáwiicaku

and when I pierced a target
a ra- t- ku- ut- taat.awi- cak -hus
and INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV target shoot IMPF.SUB

, rətkutirətarah^a ,
ratkutirattaraaha ,
my having a bow and arrows ,
ra- t- ku- tiraak- raar- raah -a ,
INF.A 1.A INF.B bow PL have SUB.1 ,

tíraakis a kípís^u ,
tíraakis a kípísu' ,
the bow and arrows ,
tiraak -kis a kípís- -u' ,
bow DIM and arrow.shaft NOM ,

nihuksúrakukⁱ ,
rihúksu' rakuúki ,
only their being ,
rihuks- -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -uk -i ,
only NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be DIST SUB.2 ,

atatuštatawišak^u .
a tatuctaatáwiicaku' .
and I pierced the target .
a ta- t- ut- taat.awi- cak -:hus .
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV target shoot IMPF .

Akitúiratkutari
A kítuu'u' iratkuutári
And all what I did
a kituu -u' ii- ra- t- ku- ut- aar -i
and all NOM what INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV do IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Kitapatururakukitapatkipárikⁱ

Kítapaatu'									
Willows									
kitapaat	-u'	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	kitapaat-	kipaar	-ik	-i
willow	NOM	then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	willow	be.green	DIST	SUB.2

,	hitatutári								
,	hi	tatuutári'							
,	and	I did it							
,	hi	ta-	t-	ut-	aar	-i			
,	and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	do	IMPF			

hitihwakíahu									"
hi	tihwakí'aahu'								
and	they say								"
hi	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus				"
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF				"

Sawarík ^u									"
ksawaríku									.
throwing									"
iks-	a.warik	-hus							"
hand	throw	IMPF.SUB							.

wititiksawárik ^u									,
Wititiksawáriku'									,
One threw it									,
witi-	ti-	0-	iks-	a.warik	-:hus				,

REFL IND.3A 3.A hand throw IMPF ,

hitikitapatawárik^u .

hi tikitapaatawárik^u .

and one threw the willow stick .

hi ti- 0- kitapaat- a.warik -:hus .

and IND.3A 3.A willow throw IMPF .

Kiturikutatiríraritⁿ

Kítuu'u' rikutatiriíraarit

All those were the ways I had

kituu -u' riku- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- arik -0
all NOM that.is IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.standing PERF

, irarⁱ , píraš^k

, irarári' , piíraski

, brother , a boy

, i- -raar- -ri' , piiras- -kis

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

nətpari

rátpari

when I went about

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

wirikurásahətⁿ ,

wirikurásahat ,

when I grew up ,

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

hikískir^u

hi kískiiru'

and a netted hoop
 hi kiskiir- -u'
 and netted.hoop NOM

hisítikuhuk^u ,
 hi sitíkuuhuuku' ,
 and they made it for me ,
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- ra'uk -:hus ,
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN make IMPF ,

asitikútkaru
 a sitikútkaru'
 and they made them for me
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- ka.ra'uk -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN make.PL.P PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Atótiharit^a
 A tatihaárihta
 And I had them under my belt
 a ta- t- ir- ut- raar- ihta -0
 and IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PREV 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.belt PERF

. Širuwitaturiwátista
 . Ciru wtitatuuriwaátista
 . Yet I am going to tell about myself
 . ciruu witi- ta- t- uur- iiwaat -his -ta
 . yet REFL IND.1/2A 1.A PREV tell.about PERF INT

tirikurásahətⁿ

tirikurásahat

when I grew up

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

irirarátihətⁿ

iriiraraátiihat

when the time was reached

irii-	ra-	0-	raa.tiihak	-0
where	ABS	3.A	be.the.end	SUB.4

rétuhišis

rátuuhiicis

my learning

ra-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0	.
ABS	1.A	PREV	learn.about	SUB.4	.

Kituhirupírəskⁱ

Kituu'u'		hiru	piiraski	
All		then	boys	
kituu	-u'	hiruu	piiras-	-kis
all	NOM	then	boy	DIM

wirətkuratarukiwíhkas^a

wiratkurattaaruukiwíhkasa

when we were on the sandbar

wii-	ra-	t-	ku-	rak-	raar-	huukiwihk-	ka-	sa	-0
when	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	sandbar	on	be.lying	SUB.4

tiháwarahku

tiháwaaraahku

there are islands

tiir-	ra-	0-	waa-	raar-	kus	-0
-------	-----	----	------	-------	-----	----

INFR ABS 3.A hill PL be.sitting PERF

Pahák^u .
Paaháku .
Mound On Water .
waa- ha- kus .
hill in.water be.sitting .

Hirikutahatarukíwihkáwari

Hi rikutahattaaruukiwihkáwari'

And that is where we went about on the sandbar

hi riku- ta- t- rak- raar- huukiwihk- ka- warii -:hus
and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A sandbar on be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Širukarətkurakašíkaskas^a

Ciru karatkuuraakacíkaskasa

Yet when we were not sensible

ciruu ka- ra- t- ku- i- rak- aciks.ka.sa -0
yet NEG INF.A 1.A INF.B SEQ 1/2.PL be.sensible SUB.4

hítahakitur^u

hi tahaákituru' .

and we made a village .

hi ta- t- rak- ituur- ra'uk -0 .

and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL village make PERF .

Kurauwirətkurətáhkawawⁱ

Kúraa'u' wiratkuraattaáhkawaawi

Doctors when we met inside
 kuraa -u' wii- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- kaa -waa -wi
 doctor NOM when INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A be.inside DIST SUB.L

, kítapat^u
 , kítapaatu'
 , willow
 , kitapaat -u'
 , willow NOM

nətkurakakahkawakarúku
 ratkuraakakaahkawaákaruku
 when we made booths

ra- t- ku- rak- akaar- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL dwelling make.DIST IMPF.SUB

. Atihtáwarukari ,
 , a tihtáwarukaari' ,
 , and they were performing magic ,
 , a ti- 0- ir- tawaruk.aar -i ,
 , and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A perform IMPF ,

ararutišiáwahi

a raaruutiici'aáwaahi'
 and they would just do things

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -waa -i
 and just then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do DIST IMPF

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

Wirətkurətawarúpaahi

Hi ratkuraattawaruúpaahi

And when we performed magic

hi ra- t- ku- rak- tawaruk.aar -waa -i
and INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL perform DIST IMPF.SUB

hitahátaratahapakíah^u

hi tahaáttara

and we had sticks

hi ta- t- rak- raar- raah -0 ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P have PERF IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tahapakí'aahu'

we say

tirətakásikus . "

tiraattakaásikus .

a popgun .

tiraak- takaas.ik -hus .

bow shoot IMPF.SUB .

Hitahákaruhihóskatat^u

Hi tahákaru'

And we made them

hi ta- t- rak- ka.ra'uk -0 , hi háskataatu'
and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL make.PL.P PERF , and bark
hi haas- kataat- -u'
and string bark NOM

nutihəskataharúwa ,

ruutihaaskataaharúwa ,

then one took the bark off ,

ruu- ti- 0- haas- kataat- raar- ruwaah -0 ,

then IND.3A 3.A string bark PL remove PERF ,

hítuta

hi tuúta

and he did it

hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0

and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

irisirikušákstaritⁿ

iriisirihkuucákstarit

where it was going to be pierced

irii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- i- cak -his -ta -rit

where DU INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B SEQ shoot PERF INT INT.SUB

,

,

,

,

,

hisitíhahkukatakus

hi sitihaahkuhkátakus

and they put soft feathers on it

hi si- ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- ka'ukt- ka- ta.kus.k -0

and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P downy.feather on hang.on PERF

,

,

,

,

,

hitutarakurítakətⁿ

hi tuúta

rakurítakut

and he did it (performed) his running with it
 hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ra- 0- ku- ri- takuk -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B PORT run SUB.4

, tiratakásikus ,
 , tiraattakaásikus ,
 , the popgun ,
 , tiraak- takaas.ik -hus ,
 , bow shoot IMPF.SUB ,

atinísahašetⁿ ,
 a tirísahaahcat ,
 and he shot it in the ribs ,
 a ti- 0- risat- raar- cak -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A rib PL shoot PERF ,

aratiriwiráwari
 a raatiiriwiraáwari'
 and he just rolled around
 a raa- ti- 0- iriwiraa- warii -:hus
 and just IND.3A 3.A rolling be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

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

arakutára
 a rakuutaára
 and when he did it
 a ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -a
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1

hítiwaku “
 hi tiwáku’ “
 and he said : “
 hi ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Witatapakskiráhšakst^a

Witatapakskiraáhcaaksta

Now I am going to shoot your brains

wii- ta- t- a- paks- kiraar- cak -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P head liquid shoot PERF INT

. ” Hiwitíkihahətⁿ

. ” Hi witíkiihaahat

. ” And the dancers moved on

. ” hi wi- ti- 0- kiihaar- hak -0

. ” and QUOT IND.3A 3.A dancer pass.by PERF

pírəskikúrar^u

piiraski kúraa’u’

the boys doctors

piiras- -kis kuraa -u’

boy DIM doctor NOM

nihkúraruku .

rihkúraaruku .

when they were singing .

ra- 0- ir- ku- raa.ra’uk -hus .

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B sing IMPF.SUB .

Hítutahitiwítitⁿ

Hi tuúta

hi tiwiítit

And he did it

and he sat down

hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0 hi ti- 0- wi.itik -0

and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF and IND.3A 3.A sit.down PERF

,
,
,
,
,

hitírahkukatak^u

hi tíraahkuhkataku

and soft feathers were on it

hi ti- 0- raar- ka'ukt- ka- ta.kus -0
and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P downy.feather on hang.down PERF

, ihi níkákiri ,
, ihi , rikákiri' ,
, uh , on the forehead ,
, ihii , rikak- -hiri' ,
, uh , forehead LOC ,

hitíritakutⁿ

hi tíritakut

and he ran with it

hi ti- 0- ri- takuk -0
and IND.3A 3.A PORT run PERF

tirátakasikus .

tiraáttakaasikus .

the popgun .

tiraak- takaas.ik -hus .

bow shoot IMPF.SUB .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

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

tukstakasístihuritⁿ

tukstakaasistíhuurit

he discharged it loudly

ti- 0- uks- ta.kaas -his rihur -ik -0
 IND.3A 3.A AOR discharge PERF be.big CAUS PERF

hítutapiróski

hi tuúta

-- and he did it piíraski
 the boy :

-- hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0 piiras- -kis ,
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF boy DIM ,

hititakasitⁿ

hi títakaasit

and he shot it

hi ti- 0- takaas.ik -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A shoot PERF ,

aratikutiriwirawari

a raarikutiiriwiraáwari'

and that one just rolled around

a raa- riku- ti- 0- iriwiraa- warii -:hus
 and just that.is IND.3A 3.A rolling be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

wirikupakskiráhšætⁿ

wirihkupakskíraahcat

when he was shot in the brains

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- paks- kiraar- cak -0
 when INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B head liquid shoot SUB.4

, hihawa
 . Hi hawá
 . And also
 . hi haawa
 . and also

tutarakukihahət¹

tuúta											
he did it					rakukiihaahat						
ti-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	kiihaar-	hak	-0	
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	dancer	pass.by	SUB.4	

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

hítiwaku

hi	tiwáku'										
and	he said				:						
hi	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0							
and	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,						

náwawitatahakaratawísəkst^a

Ráwa	witatahaakaratawícaksta										
Now	I am going to shoot you in the mouth										
rawa	wii-	ta-	t-	a-	haaka-	hata	-wi	cak	-his	-ta	
now	now	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	mouth	be.a.hole	SUB.L	shoot	PERF	INT	

. "
 . "
 . "

. "

Atikauktašírətⁿ

A tika'uktaciírat

And he had feathers around it

a ti- 0- ka'ukt- raar- tiirahk -0
and IND.3A 3.A downy.feather PL be.around PERF

hakáhiri

haakáhiri'

in the mouth

haaka- -hiri'

mouth LOC

hitiwitətⁿ

hi tiwítat

and he wore a robe

hi ti- 0- witak -0
and IND.3A 3.A wear.over.the.shoulders PERF

hihawátiritakətⁿ

hi hawá tiritakut

and also he ran with it

hi haawa ti- 0- ri- takuk -0
and also IND.3A 3.A PORT run PERF

tiratakásikus ,

tiraattakaásikus ,

the popgun ,

tiraak- takaas.ik -hus ,

bow shoot IMPF.SUB ,

hitihakakátusa ,

hi tihaakakátuusa ,

and he flattened his mouth ,
 hi ti- 0- haaka- katuus -aar -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A mouth be.flat INCH PERF ,

hítiwaku

hi tiwáku' " ,
 and he said : " ,
 hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " ,
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

suksákarititⁿ . "

Suksaákaariitit . "

Open your mouth ! "

i- s- uks- haaka.ara.itik -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS open.one's.mouth PERF . "

Hitihákarititⁿ ,

Hi tihaákaariitit ,

And he opened his mouth ,

hi ti- 0- haaka.ara.itik -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A open.one's.mouth PERF ,

hitíritakətⁿ

hi tíritakut

and he ran with it

hi ti- 0- ri- takuk -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PORT run PERF

tirətakásikus ,

tiraattakaásikus ,

the popgun ,

tiraak- takaas.ik -hus ,
 bow shoot IMPF.SUB ,

atihakaótawišətⁿ

a tihaakarátawicat

and he shot him in the mouth

a ti- 0- haaka- hata -wi cak -0
and IND.3A 3.A mouth be.a.hole SUB.L shoot PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Ašihatutkatatakúspari

A tihaatutkatatakúspari'

And here he went around choking on it

a tii- haa- ti- 0- ut- kata- ta kus warii -:hus
and here here IND.3A 3.A PREV against.a.vertical.surface be.hanging be.sitting be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

.

Nakútkatat^a

rakútkataata

when he swallowed it

ra- 0- ku- ut- kata- at -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV against.a.vertical.surface go SUB.1

hirutirakáwiu .

hiru tiraakáwi'u' .

there the bullet .

hiruu tiraak.awi -u' .

there bullet NOM .

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

iriratíšukstakuhurukⁱ
iriiratucukstaakúhuruuki
the way we used to do

irii- ra- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -uk -i
that ABS 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does DIST SUB.2

píræskⁱ ,
piiraski
boys
piiras- -kis
boy DIM

tatariraiwat
tatariíraa'iiwat

I am telling you the story

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

, hirukítu .
hiru kítuu'u' ,
there all ,
hiruu kituu -u' ,
there all NOM ,

Hiruwiraku tituhtákaku
hiru wirakuutituhtaákaku

there when the camp was in a circle
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ku- ut- ituur- taaka.kus -0
 there when INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV village sit.in.a.circle SUB.4

pírəski nətukurakakúhtaku
 piiraski ratkuraakakúhtaku
 the boys when we would play
 piiras- -kis ra- t- ku- rak- ak.uhtaku -0
 boy DIM INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL play SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Pahakutihawarárəs^a

Paaháku tihawaaraárasa
 Mound On Water there were little islands
 waa- ha- kus tiir- ra- 0- waa- raar- ha- sa -0
 hill in.water be.sitting INFR ABS 3.A hill PL in.water be.lying PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

tihuhkiwíhkahahkatárihur^{itn}

Tiihuhkiwihkahaahkatárihuurit

The sandbars were rather wide

tiir- ra- 0- uur- kiwihk.ka.haar- kata.rihur -ik -0
 INFR ABS 3.A PREV sandbar be.wide DIST PERF

;
,
,
,
,
,

hirikutahatawarupáhi

hi rikutahattawarupaáhi
and that is where we performed

hi riku- ta- t- rak- tawaruk.aar -waa -i
and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL perform DIST IMPF.SUB

.
. .
. .
. .

Hihawarutatuširatahkaúk“tⁿ

Hi hawá ruutatuciraattaahka’uúkut
And also then we went in the brush

hi haawa ruu- ta- t- ut- i- rak- raar- ka- uukuk -0
and also then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A in.the.brush get.into PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Irárⁱ
Iraári’
Brother

i- -raar- -ri’ ,
,
,
,

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

tahapakíah^u , “
tahapakí’ahu’
we say
ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus
IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Kisuhšákas^u " ;
kisuhcaákasu’ ,
grapevines ,
kisuhc- haak- haas- -u’ ,
grape wood rope NOM ,

hirutuhíwaritⁿ .
hiru tuuhíwaarit .
then one cleaned them .
hiruu ti- 0- uur- hi.wa.ar -ik -0 .
then IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good.DIST CAUS PERF .

Natkuwítahatawirukuparís^u
Raátku’ wítahaktaawiruuku’ paariisu’
Merely we were impersonating them a hunter
raatkuu wii- ta- t- rak- raa- awi- ra’uk -:hus paariis- -u’
merely now IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL way image make IMPF hunter NOM

ihí
, ihí ,
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

rukstahparisparihúsuku
rukstaahpaarispariihúsuku

when we used to go hunting

ra-	0-	uks-	raar-	paariis-	warii	-hus	-uku
ABS	3.A	AOR	PL.INDV.A	hunter	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

áwitⁿ .
áwit ,
formerly ,
awit ,
first ,

Hitatiratarahúrikišpat^a

hi tatirattarahúrikicpaata'

and we carried the bundles out from the woods

hi	ta-	t-	ir-	rak-	rarahuur-	ri-	kiic.waat.a	-0
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	1/2.PL	bundle	PORT	come.out.of.the.brush	PERF

.
,
,
,
,
,

Nahirakurakuhahkaripíarah^a

ráhiira' kurakuuhahkariipíraaha

sometimes one's having them tied in bundles

rahiira	ku-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar-	kariik	-wi	raar-	raah	-a
further	INDF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	be.tied.in.a.bundle	SUB.L	PL	have	SUB.1

, kutawíksapiš . Áka^a !
, ku tawíksaapic . Aáka'a
, perhaps eight . Oh my ,
, ku tawíksaapic . aaka'a ,
, INDF eight . oh.my ,

irirurušikíharáru^a

iriruucikiíhaaráruu'a

as many dances as there were

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

,
,
,
,
,

hikitusitatutátara huríhku rawáruksti

hi kítuu'u' sitatuutattarahuurára'aahu'

and all we were bringing the bundles for him

rihkuraawaárukstii'u

for them to be holy

hi kituu -u' si- ta- t- ut- ak- rarahuur- raar- ra- a -:hus ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- waarukstii -u
and all NOM DU IND.1/2A 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P bundle PL PORT come IMPF INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way be.holy SUB.D

.
. .
. .
. .

Akihirikusiritakawíkaruk^u

Aki hi rikusiriitaakawíkaruuku'

And here and we were pretending these were the ones

a- ki hi riku- si- rii- t- haak- ka.wi ka.ra'uk -:hus
and there and that.is DU ASSR 1.A wood outstanding make.PL.P IMPF

kisušákas^u

kisuhcaákasu'

grapevines

kisuhc- haak- haas- -u' ,

grape wood rope NOM ,

Nókuwaka “
rákuwaaka “
when one said : “
ra- 0- ku- waak -a , ”
INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Wítahawarukstir^u .
Wítahaawaarukstiiru’ .
Now I have made it holy .
wii- ta- t- raa- waarukstii -ra’uk -0 .
now IND.1/2A 1.A way be.holy CAUS PERF .

Akututakastašakárusu
A kutú taakastacakárusu’
And they seemed a bundle of flat dried meat
a ku- ti- 0- uu -0 taakaas- raar- ta.karus -u’
and INDF IND.3A 3.A be PERF dried.meat PL be.deflated NOM

,
,
,
,
,

hituhašáripira
hi tuuhacáriipira
and he carried them tied
hi ti- 0- ut- raar- tariik -wi raah -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P be.tied SUB.L have PERF

. Irirurakúkiharu
. iriurakuúkihaaru

. whichever dance it was
 . irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- kiihaar -u
 . what then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.a.dance SUB.D

, kítu kúra^u , kuratárahaha ,
 kítuu'u' kúraa'u' , kuraatárahaha' ,
 all doctors , buffalo doctors ,
 kituu -u' kuraa -u' , kuraa tarahaa ,
 all NOM doctor NOM , doctor buffalo ,

kúruks ,
 kúruks ,
 bear ,
 kuuruks ,
 bear ,

kituirikurikiháraru

kítuu'u' iriikuuhutkiihaáraru'
 all however many dances there were
 kituu -u' irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- kiihaar- raar.uu -0
 all NOM what DUB ABS 3.A PREV dance be.a.number PERF

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

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

hirutatiratáhkaukətⁿ

hiru tatiraattaáhka'uukut

then we went in the brush

hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	rak-	raar-	ka-	uukuk	-0
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	in.the.brush	get.into	PERF

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

witítaturuhúriwətⁿ

wititatuuruhúriiwat

I am telling about myself

witi-	ta-	t-	uur-	uhur-	iiwaat	-0
REFL	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	now	tell.about	PERF

piraskíripaškⁱ

piiraskíripacki

a little boy

piiras-	kiripac	-kis	ciruu	ra-	t-	uks-	0	-u
boy	small	DIM	yet	ABS	1.A	AOR	be	SUB.D

širurétuks^u

ciru rátuksu

yet while I was

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

hiwítitəhákarak^u

hi wititahaákaruuku'

and we imitated them

hi	witi-	ta-	t-	rak-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus	,
----	-------	-----	----	------	----------	-------	---

and REFL IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL make.PL.P IMPF ,

hiwiritahákaruku

hi wititahaákaruuku'

and we imitated them

hi witi- ta- t- rak- ka.ra'uk -:hus

and REFL IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL make.PL.P IMPF

píraski arúsa . Áka !

piiraski aruúsa' . Aáka'a

boys horses . Oh my ,

piiras- -kis aruusaa . aaka'a ,

boy DIM horse . oh.my ,

hitatiratapiahu .

hi tatiraattaapi'aahu' .

and we raced .

hi ta- t- ir- rak- raak.wi.a -:hus .

and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL race IMPF .

Nihkutastarúrikutⁿ

Rihkuutastaruúrikut

When one's feet were grabbed

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- as- raar- uurikuk -0
INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B PREV foot PL hold SUB.4

hirúihataku ,

hiru ihaatáku ,

then there ,

hiruu ii- haa- -taku ,

then there here LOC ,

narurihkuhakarawkawárik^a

raaruurihkuhaakaraahkawárika

when the bridle was just put on one's mouth

raa- ruu- ra- 0- ir- ku- haaka- raar- ka.warik -a
just then INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B mouth ITER put.on SUB.1

, hikutiraráwiətⁿ

, hi kutiraaráwi'at

, and they hung

, hi ku- ti- 0- raar- awi- at -0
, and INDF IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A image go PERF

táwi^u

táwi'u'

(?)

ta -wi -u'
be.hanging SUB.L NOM ,

Astaráwikišu

hastaraáwikiicu'

the neck rope

haas- taraa -wi kiic- -u'
rope be.together SUB.L neck NOM ,

hakarahkúku

haakaraahkuúku'u'

the bit

haaka- raar- kuuku -u'
mouth ITER cover NOM .

Atatiratapíah^u

A tatirattaapí'aahu'

And we raced

a ta- t- ir- rak- raak.wi.a -:hus
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL race IMPF .

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

hitirašawíra

hi tiiracawíraa'
 and they came down
 hi ti- 0- a- ir- raar- tawiraa- a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV PL.INDV.A down come PERF

háwa kíši šúrak' .
 haáwa' kici cuúraki .
 also but girls .
 haawa kici icuura- -kis .
 also but girl DIM .

Hitíhwak' " "
 Hi tíhwaki' " "
 And they said : " "
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Tihawirirakúhtaku

Tihaawiiriirakúhtaku'

Here they are playing

tii- haa- wii- ra- 0- ir- ak.uhtaku -:hus
 here here now ABS 3.A PL.3A play IMPF

šúrak' . " Náwa ,
 cuúraki . " Ráwa ,
 the girls . " Now ,
 icuura- -kis . " rawa ,

girl DIM . " now ,

hihawarútiatⁿ .

hi hawá ruúti'at .

and also one went there .

hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- at -0 .

and also there IND.3A 3.A go PERF .

Irári ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hirutiríwaki , “

hiru tiríwaki' “

then they said :

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 , “

then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF , ”

Hirutirakúruksətⁿ

Hiru tíraaku rúksat

There this one let him go

hiruu tii- ra- 0- kus -0 ri- 0- uks- at -0

there this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 CONT.3A 3.A JUSS go PERF

, hiriakátkaru . ”

, hi ri'aakátkaru' . ”

, and he can notify them ! ”

, hi ri- 0- ak- atka.ra'uk -0 . ”

, and CONT.3A 3.A PL.AN.3P notify PERF . ”

Irírutarihwakíhu

iríruuta

rihwakíhu

the way it is						their saying				
irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	ra-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-hus
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

“
:
,
,

wítuhar^a
Wítuuhaara'
A war party comes

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

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

hirutátíøt ⁿ	,					
hiru	táti'at	,				
then	I went	,				
hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	at	-0	,
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	go	PERF	,

arikutíut ⁿ		šúraki					
a	rikutií'ut	cuúraki					
and	that was a distance off	the girls					
a	riku-	ti-	0-	i'uut	-0	icuura-	-kis
and	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.far	PERF	girl	DIM

nihkukúhtaku ,
 rihkuukúhtaku ,
 where they played ,
 ra- 0- ir- ku- ak.uhtaku -hus ,
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B play IMPF.SUB ,

hirarutatikiskatawatáhusititⁿ

hi raaruutatikiskatawattaáhusitit
 and then I just neighed
 hi raa- ruu- ta- t- i- kiis- kata- wak.taa -:hus -itik
 and just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ bone against.a.vertical.surface make.a.noise IMPF INCH

. Hí šúraki
 . Hi cuúraki
 . And the girls
 . hi icuura- -kis
 . and girl DIM

tuharírikarahətⁿ

tuuhaariríkaraahat ,
 they all turned around ,
 ti- 0- ut- raar- irikaraa.hak -0 ,
 IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A turn.around PERF ,

hirutarašaráhkis^a

hiru taaracaráhkisa'
 then they would come running toward him
 hiruu ti- 0- a- raar- tarahkis- a -0
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A be.strong come PERF

“
 . “
 . “
 . ”

. "

Arusáihawíra

Aruúsa' ihawíraa'

A horse there it comes

aruusaa ii- haa- wii- ra- 0- a- a -0
horse there here now ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

.
.
.
.
.
.

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

asitikuhikapástaruríkətⁿ

a sitikuuhikapactáruurikut

and they grabbed me by the forelock

a si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- rikak.wac.raar- uurikuk -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV forelock hold PERF

wisirakukuhastawirət^a

wisirakukuhaastawírata

when they led me

wii- si- ra- 0- ku- ku- haas- ta -wi ra- at -a
when DU INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT go SUB.1

.
.

.
. .

Asirakukutkíriharahətⁿ

A sirakukutkiirihaárahut

And while they held me by the nape

a	si-	ra-	0-	ku-	ku-	ut-	kiiriit-	raar-	ahuk	-0
and	DU	INF.A	3.A	1.P	INF.B	PREV	nape	PL	hold	SUB.4

.
,
,
,
,

Asitikuširəspišətⁿ

a sitikuciráspicat

and they led me there

a	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	ciras-	wic.at	-0
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	PREV	COM	arrive	PERF

, irišúraki
irii cuúraki
where the girls
irii icuura- -kis
where girl DIM

nakútətⁿ

rakuútat

its being the camp

ra-	0-	ku-	itak	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.a.camp	SUB.4

Hirutátiwaku								“	Ihi	
Hiru	tátiwaku’							“	Ihi	,
Then	I said						:	“	Uh	,
hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	waka’u	-0		,	"	ihii	,
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	say	PERF		,	"	uh	,

nakúsi ⁱ		ihátaku								
raakúsi ⁱ	,	ihaátaku								
one seated	,	there								
raa.kus.i [’]	,	ii-	haa-	-taku						
wife	,	there	here	LOC						

atarapítik ^u										,
aataraápiitiku										.
we ought to camp										.
aa-	t-	a-	rak-	wi.itik	-hus					.
SUBJ.1/2A	1.A	IN.PL.A	1/2.PL	sit.down	IMPF.SUB					.

titakukakuhúrari										
Tiítaku		kaakuuhúrari								
Here		the place is not good								
tii-	-taku	kaaki-	0-	uur-	huraar-	hiir	-0			
here	LOC	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	earth	be.good	PERF			

,

tiirirótarakitət ^ñ										
ti’iriirátaraakitət										
here	where	we are	camped							
tii-	irii-	ra-	t-	a-	rak-	itak	-0			

here where ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

. " Akihítatiška
. " Aki hi táticka'
. " And here and I thought :
. " a- ki hi ta- t- wicka -0 ,
. " and there and IND.1/2A 1.A think PERF ,

"
"
"
"

wirikutuharáhista

Wirikutuuhaaráhista

The war party is going to come

wii- riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raar- a -his -ta
now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come PERF INT

ihí píraskⁱ .
, ihí , piíraski . "
, uh , boys . "
, ihii , piiras- -kis . "
, uh , boy DIM . "

Nøtkúrakakútaku .

ratkuraakakúhtaku .

when we were playing .

ra- t- ku- rak- ak.uhtaku -0 .
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL play SUB.4 .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

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

hihitakuríhuksu
 hi hiítaku ríhuksu'
 and over there just
 hi hii- -taku rihuks -u'
 and other LOC alone NOM

tahákituru
 tahaakitúru'
 we made camp
 ta- t- rak- ituur- ra'uk -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL village make PERF

hitakarahisutahápakⁱ
 hi takaaraáhisu' tahápakí'
 and suddenly we said
 hi takaaraahis -u' ta- t- rak- waki -0
 and all.at.once NOM IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL PERF

"
 : "
 , "
 , "

ariwítuhar^a
 Ári' wítuuhaara'
 Why , a war party comes
 arii , wi- ti- 0- a- ut- raar- a -0
 oh , QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come.to.attack PERF

. " Áka^a ! irárⁱ ,
. " Aáka'a iraári' ,
. " Oh my , brother ,
. " aaka'a , i- -raar- -ri' ,
. " oh.my , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hirutatiráwitakətⁿ

hiru tatiraáwihtakut

then I charged

hiruu ta- t- i- raawiir- takuk -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ angrily run PERF

iriwirákuharapírəskⁱ

iriwiiraákuuhara

where the war party came

irii- wii- ra- 0- a- ku- ut- raar- a -0 piíraski
where now INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV PL.INDV.A come SUB.3 boys
piiras- -kis
boy DIM

. Arahírahšúrakⁱ ,

. A ráhiira' cuúraki

. And sometimes the girls

. a rahiira icuura- -kis

. and further girl DIM

hitiharáruhku

hi tihattáruhku'

and they carried sticks

hi ti- 0- ir- haak- raar- ruhka'uk -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A wood PL have.DIST PERF

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hitikuhatarawáurikətⁿ

hi tikuuhaattaarawá'uurikut

and they captured some of us

hi ti- 0- ku- ut- rak- raar- awa- uurikuk -0
and IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL PL.INDV.P DIST catch PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

hitikurakáru

hi tikuraakáru'

and they made us

hi ti- 0- ir- ku- rak- ka.ra'uk -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P 1/2.PL make.PL.P PERF

wirakukuhatarúrikətⁿ

wirakukuuhaattaruurikut

after they captured us

wii- ra- 0- ku- ku- ut- rak- raar- uurikuk -0
when INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B PREV 1/2.PL PL.INDV.P catch SUB.4

, hiwírikutəštawi

, hi wírikutactawi'

, and I was one among them ,
 , hi wii- riku- ta- t- tawi -0 ,
 , and now that.is IND.1/2A 1.A be.among PERF ,

hitikurákawakarukúrahwa

hi tikuraákawaakaruuku' ráhwa
 and they were making us slaves
 hi ti- 0- ir- ku- rak- kawaaka.ra'uk -:hus rahwa
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P 1/2.PL make.DIST IMPF captive

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

iriratusúkstakuhurukⁱ

iriíratucukstaakuhúruuki

the ways that used to be among us

irii- ra- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -uk -i
 that ABS 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does DIST SUB.2

, tirikurəsahət kīšⁱ . I
 tirikurásahat kiíci . I
 when I grew up but . And
 tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0 kii.ci . i
 when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4 but . and

,

Askukuwikariritirirátawi

ásku kuwikariiriitiriiraátawi'

one none of the ways is among us any longer

asku	ku-	wii-	karii-	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa-	tawi	-0
one	INDF	now	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	be.among	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

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

hitarahwišapirəski

hi taráhwica'

and they came there

hi	ti-	0-	a-	raar-	wic.a	-0	piíraski	
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.INDV.A	arrive	PERF	the boys	
							piiras-	-kis
							boy	DIM

. Áka^a ! šúraki
. Aáka'a , cuúraki
. Oh my , girls
. aaka'a , icuura- -kis
. oh.my , girl DIM

iririhkuríšti^u

iriirihkuríctii'u

the ones they liked

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	ut-	tii	-u
-------	-----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----

that INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV like SUB.D

hirusiwititatakúksa

hiru siwitiirattákuksa

then they got married

hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- aktaku uk -his -aar -0
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A have.as.a.wife be PERF INCH PERF

. Širusikararakušíkksas^a

. Ciru sikararakuucíkksasa

. Yet their not being sensible

. ciruu si- kara- ra- 0- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0
 . yet DU NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sensible SUB.4

, híšikarirariks ,

hici kariíraariks --

but it is not real --

hi.ci ka- rii- 0- raariks -0 --

and NEG ASSR 3.A be.true PERF --

tišiharísari .

tiiciiharísaari' .

they are teasing (ie imitating) .

ti- 0- ir- ut- ciiharis -aar -i .
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.a.teaser INCH IMPF .

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa , iraári' ,

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hihawakiširutatiratukiriwíhu

hi hawá kici ruutatírattuukiriwíhu'

and also but then we changed the way
 hi haawa kici ruu- ta- t- i- rak- raa- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0
 and also but then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL way be.different CAUS PERF

, hirutiríwakⁱ , “
 , hiru tiriíwaki’ , “
 , then they said : “
 , hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 , ”
 , then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF , ”

Tuhúrapu
 Tuhúraapu’
 Now let's go

i- t- uhur- rak- wuu -:hus
 CONT.1/2A 1.A now 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF

irirətarurákurahku
 iriirataruuraakúraahku
 where our place is

irii- ra- t- a- ir- ri- uur- rak- huraaar- kus -0
 where ABS 1.A IN.PL.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 1/2.PL earth be.sitting SUB.4

. ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

Hihirurutatirapu

Hi hiru ruutatíraapu’
 And then we went there
 hi hiruu ruu- ta- t- i- rak- wuu -:hus
 and then there IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF

irirətirakuráhku
 iriiratiiraakúraahku
 where our campground was

irii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rak-	huraar-	kus	-0
where	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	1/2.PL	earth	be.sitting	SUB.4

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

hirutatirákaru

hiru	tatiraákaru'	,					
then	we made them	,					
hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	rak-	ka.ra'uk	-0	,
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	make.PL.P	PERF	,

ihipáhukas^a

ihí	paahúkasa	,	ihí	,
uh	, a roach	,	uh	,
ihii	, waa.huka.sa	,	ihii	,
uh	, roach.hairstyle	,	uh	,

naruwitarakupakspáhukuš^a

raaruuwitirakupakspaahúkasa

for one to merely wear on the head

raa-	ruu-	witi-	ra-	0-	ku-	paks-	waa-	huka-	sa	-0
just	then	REFL	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	head	DIST	on	be.lying	SUB.4

,	hirətahš ^u	,	tíra
,	hi ráttahcu'	,	tíra
,	and a shield	,	he had it
,	hi rak.tahc -u'	,	ti- 0- raah -0

, and shield NOM , IND.3A 3.A have PERF

húruksəs . Haskíškatat^u
huúruksas -- haskíckataatu'
a spear -- corn husks
huuruksas -- haas.kiic.katat- -u'
spear -- corn.husk NOM

hitatuhákawa

hi tatuuhaákawa
and we did the work
hi ta- t- ut- rak- aar -waa -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL do DIST PERF

kítu . Irárⁱ ,
kítuu'u' . Iraári' ,
all . Brother ,
kituu -u' . i- -raar- -ri' ,
all NOM . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

iriratušukstakuhúrukⁱ

iriiratucukstaakuhúruuki

the ways that used to be ours

irii- ra- t- ut- uks- rak- uhuur.uu -uk -i
that ABS 1.A PREV AOR 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does DIST SUB.2

. Hitahatarikítawititⁿ

. Hi tahattaarikítawiitit

. And we mounted

. hi ta- t- rak- raar- ikita.wi.itik -0
. and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A mount PERF

; arús^a
aruúsa'

the horses
 aruusaa
 horse

sirətkutətšírəspiwahətⁿ
 siratkuutacciraspiwaahat
 while we held their ropes

si-	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	ak-	ciras-	wi.hak	-waa	-0
DU	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	PL.AN.3P	COM	be.sitting.PL	DIST	SUB.4

. Hatakaráhis^u
 . Ha takaaraáhisu'
 . Ha , suddenly
 . ha , takaaraahis -u'
 . ha , all.at.once NOM

hitáturakəs
 hi táturaakas
 and we ran

hi	ta-	t-	uur-	rak-	as-i	-0
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	1/2.PL	run	PERF

Šáhikstakuráku^a

cáhiks táku' raáku'a
 person someone when he came

icaahiks	taku	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	a	-0
person	someone	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	come	SUB.4

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

Wituharakátahka

Wítuuhaara'

A war party comes

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	raar-	a	-0	kátahka
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	PL.INDV.A	come.to.attack	PERF	enemy

. " Akihíarusa

. " Aki hi áruusa'

. " And here and the horses

. " a- ki hi aruusaa

. " and there and horse

sitátatiku

sitaátattiku

we herded them

si-	ta-	t-	ak-	ri-	kus	-0
DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	be.sitting	PERF

pirəskíripəškⁱ .

piiraskíripacki .

the little boys .

piiras- kiripac -kis .

boy small DIM .

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa , iraári' ,

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hínahiritⁿ

hi raahiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

sitatarutíwišət ⁿ							šáhiks
sitataruutiíwícat							cáhiks
we came across him							a person
si- ta- t- ar- ut- ii.wic.at -0							icaahiks
DU IND.1/2A 1.A EV PREV come.upon PERF							person

sirətkuriruháhk ^a							, hínahirit ⁿ
siratkurirúhaahka							, hi raahiirit
one we frightened							, and finally
si- ra- t- ku- riruhahk -a							, hi raahiirit
DU INF.A 1.A INF.B frighten SUB.1							, and finally

sitatarutíwisət ⁿ							
sitataruutiíwícat							
we came across him							
si- ta- t- ar- ut- ii.wic.at -0							
DU IND.1/2A 1.A EV PREV come.upon PERF							

kararakukiríkahur ^u							píta .
kararakukiríkaahuuru							píita --
one who is mean							a man --
kara- ra- 0- ku- kirik.kaa.huur -u							wiita --
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.kind SUB.D							man --

Píta wiráku							
píita wirákuu							
a man when he is							
wiita wii- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u							
man when INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D							

wirakušíkskas ^a							.
wirakuucíkskasa							.

when he is mature .
 wii- ra- 0- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
 now INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sensible SUB.3 .

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

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

nətihkuratakusísari
 ratihkurattahkusísaari
 when we were playing
 ra- t- ir- ku- rak- raar- kuis.aar -i
 INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A play IMPF.SUB

, tiirətpawákahu .
 , ti'iriiratpaawaákahu .
 , these things I am saying .
 , tii- irii- ra- t- waa- waak.a -hus .
 , this that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB .

Kituatahatárikh^u
 Kítuu'u' a tahaattáruhku'
 All and we carried things
 kituu -u' a ta- t- rak- raar- ruhka'uk -0
 all NOM and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST PERF

nótahš^u ,
 ráttahcu'
 shields
 rak.tahc -u'
 shield NOM

nətkurakawákaruk^u .
 ratkuraakawaákaruku ,
 when we made them ,
 ra- t- ku- rak- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus ,
 INF.a 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL make.DIST IMPF.SUB ,

Ahúruksəs
 a huúruksas
 and spears
 a huuruksas
 and spear

arakupakstarúkawirət^a
 a rakupakstaarúkawiirata
 and one's wearing war bonnets with trailers
 a ra- 0- ku- paks- raar- huka- wiir- at -a
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B head ITER on arm go SUB.1

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hisitətaríruhətⁿ
 Hi sitaatattaríruhaat
 And we frightened them
 hi si- ta- t- ak- raar- riruhahk -0

and DU IND.1/2A 1.A PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P frighten PERF

sáhiks . Irári' ,
cáhiks . Iraári' ,
people . Brother ,
icaahiks . i- -raar- -ri' ,
person . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hírutarikitawititⁿ ,
hiru taarikítawiitit ,
then he would mount ,
hiruu ti- 0- ar- ikita.wi.itik -0 ,
then IND.3A 3.A EV mount PERF ,

hitikurapáha ,
hi tikuraapáhaa' ,
and he scattered us ,
hi ti- 0- a- ku- rak- waha.a -0 ,
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P 1/2.PL lift.up PERF ,

ararutišikisaštahkitírapap^u
a raaruutiicikisactahkitiírahpaapu
and then he just wrapped his whip around him
a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- kisaac- raar- kitiirahk.wuh -waa -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV SEQ meat PL wrap.around DIST PERF

. Širútahakətⁿ
. Ciru táhaakut
. Yet we were
. ciruu ta- t- rak- 0 -uk -0
. yet IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL be DIST PERF

pirəskíripəškⁱ
piiraskíripacki

little boys

piiras- kiripac -kis
boy small DIM

ikirikirutárist^a

i kiriki ruutárista ,
and what was he going to do ,
i kirikii ra- 0- ut- aar -his -ta ,
and what ABS 3.A PREV do PERF INT ,

áratikikaksirikispari

a raatikikaksirikíspari'
and he just rolled around crying
a raa- ti- 0- kikak -his irikis- warii -:hus
and just IND.3A 3.A cry PERF crawl be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. Hirutiwaku “
. Hiru tiwáku’ “
. Then he said : “
. hiruu ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
. then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Hawákarisuširaka

Hawá kariisuciraaka
Also do not do it
haawa kara- i- s- ut- i- rak- aar -0
also NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ 1/2.PL do PERF

. ”
. ”
. ”
. ”
. ”

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

níhkuwáki ^a		,	"				
ríhkuwáki'a		,	"				
when they said		:	"				
ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	waki	-a	,	"
INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	say.PL	SUB.1	,	"

Arusaihasirirətíkuhawa

Aruúsa'	ihaasiriirattíku										haáwa'
Horses	they herded them over there										also
aruusaa	ii-	haa-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	ri-	kus	-0	haawa
horse	there	here	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	be.sitting	PERF	also

,

,

,

,

,

hawahasirirətíkúarus^a

hawá	haasiriirattíku										aruúsa'
also	they herded them here										horses
haawa	haa-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	ri-	kus	-0	aruusaa	
also	here	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	be.sitting	PERF	horse	

.

"

.

"

.

"

.

"

. "

Hisitiriratíwaritⁿ

Hi sitiriirattíwarit

And they lost it to them

hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- ak- ri.warik -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P lose PERF

. Hitíhwakⁱ ihi

. Hi tíhwaki' , ihi

. And they said , uh :

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

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

"

"

"

"

kasišírətar^a

Kaasiicíraattaara'

You must charge us

kaas- s- ir- ut- i- rak- raar- a -0
POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P come PERF

; hawáihi

. Hawá ihi

. Also , uh ,

. haawa , ihii ,

. also , uh ,

kustušíratarətn

kustucíraattaarat

we will charge at them

kuus- t- ut- i- rak- raar- at -0
POT.1/3A 1.A PREV SEQ 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P go PERF

. "
. .
. .
. .

Kitukasúširaætⁿ

Kítuu'u' kaasúciraa'at ,
All you must have them on you .
kituu -u' kaas- s- ut- i- rak- 0 -' .
all NOM POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ 1/2.PL be EX .

nihkutakúki

" Rihkuutakuúki

" What they wore

" ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aka'uk -i
" INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV be.clothed SUB.2

tuharáihku ,

tuuhaará'ihku' ,

he means ,

ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus ,
IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF ,

nihkutakúkiirirušúksahu

rihkuutakuúki

what they wore

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aka'uk -i irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV be.clothed SUB.2 that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

katahkárihku pákstaritⁿ

kátahka rihkuupákstarit

the enemy when they were going to fight

katahkaa ra- 0- ir- ku- apak -his -ta -rit
enemy INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B fight PERF INT INT.SUB

hiarusatíhkaru

hi aruúsa' tíhkaru'

and the horses they painted them

hi aruusaa ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -0
and horse IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P PERF

Akíturíhkuukára^u

A kítuu'u' ríhkuukawaakára'u

And everything when they made them

a kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
and all NOM INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.DIST SUB.3

ihinátahš^u

, ihi ráttahcu' áihi
, uh , shields and , uh ,
, ihii , rak.tahc -u' a , ihii ,
, uh , shield NOM and , uh ,

pakstarukawírətⁿ

pakstaarúkawiirat

war bonnets

paks- raar- huka- wiir- at a , ihii ,
head ITER on arm go and , uh ,

asišakahururaráhpakskawawⁱ

Asiicákahuuru'

Wild Horse society

asuu- icakahur -u' raraahpákskawaawi
ra- 0- raar- paks- ka -waa -wi

dog be.reckless NOM ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P head be.on DIST SUB.L

tisiksarihúsuk^u

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

. Hā ! takaráhis^u
. Haa takaaraáhisu'
. Ha , suddenly
. haa , takaaraahis -u'
. ha , all.at.once NOM

tikurirákarikstaæs

tikuriiraákariksta'as

they drove our herd away

ti-	0-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	rak-	kariiks-	ra-	as-i	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	herd	PORT	run	PERF

. Hitahatarikítawititⁿ

. Hi tahattaarikítawiitit

. And we mounted

hi	ta-	t-	rak-	raar-	ikita.wi.itik	-0
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	mount	PERF

wiratihkurataítawⁱ

wiratihkuraattaa'íitawi

when we knew

wii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ku-	rak-	raa.iita	-wi
when	INF.A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	INF.B	1/2.PL	know	SUB.L

kišiwirihkukarukúarus^a

kici wirihkúkaruku aruúsa'

but	when they decorated them							the horses
kici	wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus aruusaa							
but	when INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB horse							

,
,
,
,
,

hitahət tarikitáwirutitⁿ

hi tahattaarikitáwiruutit

and we mounted them

hi	ta- t- rak- raar- ikita.wi.itik -ruu -0							
and	IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P mount DIST PERF							

hisitatirakapáha

hi sitatiiraakapáhaa'

and we chased them

hi	si- ta- t- ir- rak- ak- waha.a -0							
and	DU IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL PL.AN.3P lift.up PERF							

.
. .
. .
. .

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

hituhariríkarahətⁿ .
 hi tuuhaariríkaraahat .
 and they all turned around .
 hi ti- 0- ut- raar- irikaraa.hak -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A turn.around PERF .

Nawahá^a irárⁱ ,
 Ráwa haá'a , iraári' ,
 Now , oh , brother ,
 rawa , haa'a , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 now , ha , 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 ,

hitihkitapáhara .
 hi tihkitapáhara .
 and they had willows .
 hi ti- 0- ir- kitapaat- raar- raah -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A willow PL have PERF .

Hitikurapáha
 Hi tikuraapáhaa'
 And he scattered us
 hi ti- 0- a- ku- rak- waha.a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P 1/2.PL lift.up PERF

ararutuširarikáis^a
 a raaruutuucirariiká'iisa'
 and then they just came among us
 a raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- ut- i- raar- iika- iis.a -0

and just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A center come.into PERF

, atihkisáštapir^u .
, a tihkisáctahpiru' .
, and they whipped the (naked) flesh .
, a ti- 0- ir- kisaac- raar- piru -0 .
, and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A meat ITER whip PERF .

Hikišituhariríkarahətⁿ

Hi kici tuuhaariríkaraahat
And but they all turned around
hi kici ti- 0- ut- raar- irikaraa.hak -0
and but IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A turn.around PERF

háw^a kīsⁱ .
-- haáwa' kiici ,
-- also but ,
-- haawa kii.ci ,
-- also but ,

Arikutatúhakari

a rikutatúhaakari'
and that is what we were doing
a riku- ta- t- ut- rak- aar -i
and that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL do IMPF

witirətkuraktáhpuru

witiratkuraaktáhpuru

when we whipped each other

witi- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- piru -0
REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL ITER whip SUB.4

nətkurətasíhuhša

ratkuraakusúhuhca

when we were in a party ,
 ra- t- ku- rak- kus.uhuur- sa -0 ,
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL flock be.lying SUB.4 ,

witirətkurákaruku
 witiratkuraákaruku ,
 when we impersonated them ,
 witi- ra- t- ku- rak- ka.ra'uk -hus ,
 REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL make.PL.P IMPF.SUB ,

ihí kátaka . Hí ,
 ihí , kátahka . Hí ,
 uh , the enemy . And ,
 ihii , katahkaa . hí ,
 uh , enemy . and ,

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

karirúrahi
 kariirúraahi
 it was not good
 kari- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

hiiritirúrat^u
 hi iritiiruúraatu'
 and one got angry
 hi irii- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raa.ta'u -0
 and that IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF PHYS.POSS PREV become.angry PERF

nihkúra
rihkúra'aara
when he got hurt
ra- 0- ir- ku- ra.aar -a
INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B hurt SUB.1

nihkúpakskasik^a .
rihkúpakskaasika .
when he was clubbed on the head .
ra- 0- ir- ku- paks- kaas -ik -a .
INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B head break CAUS SUB.1 .

Tikskitapahárah^u ,
Tikskitapaháraahu' ,
They used to carry willows ,
ti- 0- ir- uks- kitapaat- raar- raah -:hus ,
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR willow PL have IMPF ,

hínahiritⁿ , hítirapətⁿ
hi raahiirit hi tiirápat
and finally and they fought
hi raahiirit hi ti- 0- ir- apak -0
and finally and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A fight PERF

, hínahiritⁿ
, hi raahiirit
, and finally
, hi raahiirit
, and finally

rutatirakápatⁿ .
ruutatiraakápat .
we fought .
ruu- ta- t- i- rak- apak -0 .

then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL fight PERF .

Nətkuratašákahətⁿ

Ratkuraattacákaahat

When he dismounted

ra- t- ku- rak- raar- takaa.hak -0
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A dismount SUB.4

pirəskíripəškⁱ

piiraskíripacki

little boys

piiras- kiripac -kis

boy small DIM

Hikárahakapak^u

hi kárahaakapaku'

and we weren't fighting

hi ka- ra- t- rak- apak -:hus

and NEG ABS 1.A 1/2.PL fight IMPF

nəkuráriks^a

rakuraáriksa

its being real

ra- 0- ku- raariks -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.true SUB.1

kišisiwítirakúpiru

kici siwítirakúpiru

but we whipped each other

kici si- witi- ra- 0- ku- piru -0
but DU REFL INF.A 3.A INF.B whip SUB.4

kítapat^u

kítapaatu'

(with) willows .
 kitapaat -u' .
 willow NOM .

Hitahatášakahətⁿ ,
 Hi tahattácakaahat ,
 And we dismounted ,
 hi ta- t- rak- raar- takaa.hak -0 ,
 and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A dismount PERF ,

hisitiráripətⁿ
 hi sitiiraáripat
 and they stopped them doing it
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- raar- ripak -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P oppose.someone.having.something PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nikutatišúkstakuhúru
 Rikutatiicukstaakuhúru'
 That is the way 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

pirəskíripaškⁱ .
 piiraskíripacki .
 little boys .
 piiras- kiripac -kis .
 boy small DIM .

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

hihavarutiritirákar^u

hi	hawá	ruutiritiraákaru'
and	also	then they made bows (and arrows)
hi	haawa	ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- tiraak- ka.ra'uk -0
and	also	then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ bow make.PL.P PERF

.	Pákuš	wírakuk ⁱ
.	Pákuc	wíraakuuki
.	Straw	when they already were
.	pakuhc	wii- ra- 0- ku- 0 -uk -i
.	joint.grass	when INF.A 3.A INF.B be DIST SUB.2

hawarutiritirákaru

hawá	ruutiritiraákaru'
also	then they made bows (and arrows)
haawa	ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- tiraak- ka.ra'uk -0
also	then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ bow make.PL.P PERF

,	hi	,	irár ⁱ	,		
,	hi	,	iraári'	,		
,	and	,	brother	,		
,	hi	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'	,

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

hiwihirúrihikarirúrahi

hi wihiru irihiikariirúraahi

and now these others were not good (i.e. worse)

hi wii- hiruu irii- hii- kari- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
and now then that other EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

witirətkurətáhšaku

witiratkuraattáhcaaku

when we shot each other

witi- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- cak -hus
REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A shoot IMPF.SUB

pakúhširⁱ . Irárⁱ ,
pakúhciri' . Iraári' ,
with straw . Brother ,
pakuhc -hiri' . i- -raar- -ri' ,
joint.grass LOC . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

ná^a hiráihi ,
ráhiira' ihi ,
sometimes , uh ,
rahiira , ihii ,
further , uh ,

hirukakúrahi ,

hiru kaakúraahi ,

then it was not good ,

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

hitihkawiháhkawaw^u

hi tihkawihaáhkawaawu

and they put them on the ends as arrowheads
 hi ti- 0- ir- kawi- haahka- waa- wuh -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A arrowhead in.a.groove DIST put PERF

ihí pír ahatus .
 , ihí , píirahaatus .
 , uh , cockleburr needles .
 , ihí , píirahaatus .
 , uh , burr .

Irihiwihírúkarirurahi

Irihii wihiru kariirúraahi
 That now it was not good
 irii- hii wii- hiruu kari- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that other now then EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Wiwitirət kurətáhšakupákuš

Wiwitirat kuraattáhcahu pákucu
 When we shot each other straw
 wii- witi- ra- t- ku- rak- raar- cak -hus pakuhc -u'
 when REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A shoot IMPF.SUB joint.grass NOM

, hitariškákaru
 , hi taarickákaru'
 , and they would sharpen them
 , hi ti- 0- ar- icka -ka.ra'uk -0
 , and IND.3A 3.A EV be.pointed CAUS.PL.P PERF

hiruuhúriškætⁿ ,
 hiru uhuúrickat
 there on the end of it
 hiruu uhuur.icka.t
 there on.the.end

nakutkatakaksákawawuh^a
 rakutkatakaaksaáhkawaawuha
 when one whittled its sides

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	kata-	kaaks.aar	ka-	waa-	wuh	-a
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	against.a.vertical.surface	become.frayed	on	DIST	put	SUB.1

. Kíwaritu
 . Kíwariitu'
 . Naked
 . kiiwariit -u'
 . naked NOM

rótkurakukⁱ
 ratkúraakuki
 when we were

ra-	t-	ku-	rak-	0	-uk	-i
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	be	DIST	SUB.2

hítitišakus ,

hi tiitícakus ,
 and one was shot ,
 hi ti- 0- ir- ut- ica.kus.k -0 ,
 and IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF PREV shoot PERF ,

atihtáhparitⁿ .

a tihtáhparit .
 and it grazed the skin .
 a ti- 0- ir- tahk.warik -0 .

and IND.3A 3.A OBV graze PERF .

Hiirirutíši^u

Hi iriruutiíci'u'

And then they were thus

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uu -0
and that then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ be PERF

. Nihkutišakúska

. Rihkuuticakúska

. When one was shot

. ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ica.kus.k -a
. INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B PREV shoot SUB.1

pírahatus ,
piirahaatus ,
cockleburr needle ,
piirahaatus ,
burr ,

arutihukáwira ,

a ruutihuukáwira ,

and then it stuck in him ,

a ruu- ti- 0- huka -wi raah -0 ,
and then IND.3A 3.A be.in SUB.L have PERF ,

hirihuksutarúhšarikətⁿ

hi rihuksu' tarúhcarikut

and just he would extract it

hi rihuks -u' ti- 0- ar- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
and alone NOM IND.3A 3.A EV PREV pull.out PERF

ihí pákuš .
, ihí , pákucu .

, uh , straw .
 , ihii , pakuhc -u' .
 , uh , joint.grass NOM .

Náw^a , rikutúətⁿ ,
 Ráwa rikutuú'ut ,
 Now that is how it was ,
 rawa riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' ,
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX ,

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

tirətúraiwatⁱ
 tiratúraa'iiwaati
 this that I am telling
 tii- ra- t- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
 this ABS 1.A PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

tirətaríraiwatⁱ
 tiratariíraa'iiwaati
 this that I tell you
 tii- ra- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
 this ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

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

kukaririširuhúritⁿ ,
 kukariiriiciruuhuúrit ,
 they were not our ways ;
 ku- kari- rii- aciir- raa.uhur -ik -0 ,
 INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR IN.DU.A be.the.way DIST PERF ,

hirurikutihutatiráwahæt
 hiru rikutíhuuta Tiráwaahat
 then that is what he must have done the Heavens
 hiruu riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0
 then that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

tirəšihwari .
 tiracíhwari .
 while we were living .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Harisiriratáwik^u
 Haariisiriiraatáwiiku'
 Here you have the way among you
 haa- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi -ka'uk -0
 here ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among DIST PERF

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

škáarakaratiriratáwik^u
 ckára karaatiriiraatáwiiku'
 alone I do not have the way among us
 ckara ka- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi -ka'uk -0

alone NEG ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among DIST PERF

, ruhurišira^u
 ruhuuriciíraa'u
 one's doing displeasing things
 ra- 0- uhuur- iciira'u -0
 ABS 3.A way be.mischievous SUB.3

tirəšihwari
 tiracihwari
 these of us living
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

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

ahášakura^u atíəs
 ahácakura'u Atí'as
 when he made us our Father
 ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0 ati- as
 EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P make SUB.3 1.POSS father

, hihawárikurituə^t¹
 , hi hawá rikuriítuu'ut
 , and also I am that way
 , hi haawa riku- rii- t- ut- 0 -'
 , and also that.is ASSR 1.A PREV be EX

šahiksíšahiks^u .
 cahiksícahiksu' .

the Indian .
 icaahiks icaahiks -u' .
 person person NOM .

Kuhúətirikúhwətⁿ

Kuhuú'ut iriikúhuu'ut
 It may be whyevery it is
 kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX

sírihkuhwakurawú
 sirihkúhwakuurawu
 when they doubt his word

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- wakuur- raa.wuu -hus
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV word doubt IMPF.SUB

tiráwahə

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Arakuksawaštáriks^a

A rakuksawactaárikxa

And even if it is true

a ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- raariks -a
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even.if be.true SUB.1

nakúrawaruksti^u

rakúraawaarukstii'u

its being a holy way

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

tirəsihwari ,
 tiracihwari ,
 these of us living
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hiTURAWU ,
 hi turaawu' ,
 and he doubts it ,
 hi ti- 0- uur- raa.wuu -:hus ,
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV doubt IMPF ,

hisitihwakurawu .
 hi sitihwakuurawu' .
 and they doubt his word .
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- wakuur- raa.wuu -:hus .
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A word doubt IMPF .

Irikuriraət
 Irikuriira'at
 Whatever the length of time is
 iriku- ri- 0- i- raa- ak -0
 that.is CONT.3A 3.A SEQ way be.a.certain.length PERF

tirətpawakahu .
 tirətpaawaakahu .
 what I am saying .
 tii- ra- t- waa- waak.a -hus .
 this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB .

Irari
 Iraari'
 Brother
 i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

šáhikswítuhíwiš

cáhiks wítuuhíwic

a person he appeared

icaahiks wi- ti- 0- uur- hiwihc -0
person QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV appear PERF

hirušahikspákuhtu ,

hiru cahikspákuhtu' ;

there , an old person ;

hiruu , icaahiks pakuht -u' ,

there , person be.old NOM ,

sahikspákuhtu

cahikspákuhtu'

an old person

icaahiks pakuht -u'
person be.old NOM

wítuhiwis ,

wítuuhíwic ,

he appeared ,

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

kararakukírikahur^u

kararakuukiríkaahuuru

his being mean

kara- ra- 0- ku- i- kirik.kaa.huur -u
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.kind SUB.D

tihwakíah^u ,

tihwakí'aahu' .

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

tátətkekú
 Taátatkuuku'
 I heard it
 ta- t- atka'uk -:hus
 IND.1/2A 1A listen IMPF

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

Hitikaraahikírikahur^u
 Hi tikara'ahikírikaahuuru
 And this one who was mean
 hi tii- kara- ar- ri- 0- kirik.kaa.huur -u
 and this NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A be.kind SUB.D

; hiahuhá^a
 -- hi ahuuhá'a
 -- and it was the reason
 -- hi ar- ra- 0- ut- raar -'
 -- and EV ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tiirirətpawakahu
 ti'iriirátpaawaakahu
 this that I am saying
 tii- irii- ra- t- waa- waak.a -hus
 this that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB

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

wirahkurukírawu .
 wiraahkuruukíraawu .
 when he would show support .
 wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- raa.ikiraa.wuu -hus .
 when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B support IMPF.SUB .

Nakúkatata
 Raahkúkataata
 When it went onto the prairie
 ra- 0- ar- ku- kata- at -a
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B against.a.vertical.surface go SUB.1

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

hiraruwítáru
 hi raaruwítáaru'
 and then he would just appoint himself
 hi raa- ruu- witi- ti- 0- ar- ra'uk -0
 and just then REFL IND.3A 3.A EV make PERF

naripákus^u ,
 raaripákusu'
 a soldier
 raa- ri.apak -hus -u'

way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

rahkutahpápiru

raahkuttahpaápiru

when he would whip different ones

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	ak-	raar-	waa-	piru	-0
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.P	DIST	whip	SUB.4

,	píta ^a		píræsk ⁱ		.
,	piíta	,	piíraski		.
,	men	,	boys		.
,	wiita	,	piiras-	-kis	.
,	man	,	boy	DIM	.

Hisiahitíšis

Hi si'ahiíticis

And they learned of it

hi	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	icis	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	learn.of	PERF

iwiaharəšahətⁿ

iwi'aharásahat

when he grew up

ii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	rasahat	-0
when	when	EV	ABS	3.P	grow.up	SUB.4

hikarahuráhi

hi karaahuráhi

and it was not good

hi	kara-	ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0
and	NEG	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

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

kituwíturawari
 kítuu'u' wíturaawari'
 everything he doubted things
 kituu -u' wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.warii -:hus
 all NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV doubt.DIST.IMPF IMPF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

kítukarawítuhikítuwíturawari
 Kítuu'u' karawítuuhi Kítuu'u' wíturaawari'
 All he was not good . All he doubted things
 kituu -u' kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- hiir -0 . kituu -u' wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.warii -:hus
 all NOM NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF . all NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV doubt.DIST.IMPF IMPF

,

kurahkúksawašta^u
 kuraahkuksawáctaa'u
 even if it is something
 ku- ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- awahc- raa- 0 -u
 INDF INF.A 3.A EV INF.B JUSS even.if way be SUB.D

. Píšikət
 . Píciikat
 . Wintertime
 . pici- -kat
 . wintry LOC

kirakarihipíšikətⁿ

kira káriihi'

perhaps it was

kira	ka-	ra-	0-	ihii	-0	pici-	-kat
perhaps	Y/N.INTER	ABS	3.A	be.in.a.place/time	PERF	wintry	LOC

píciikat
 wintertime

a kirikuníatⁿ .
 , a kíriku' rí'aat .
 , and perhaps summer .
 , a kirikuu ri'aat .
 , and anything summer .

Híahihkawutitⁿ

Hi ahihkawuútit

And they killed them

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ka.wa.ut.ik	-0	tárahaa	,
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	kill.DIST	PERF	buffalo	.

tárahaa ,

tárahaa' .

buffalos .

tarahaa .

buffalo .

siwiritətahuriwa

Siwitirattáhuriwa

They chased them

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

, híahihkawutitⁿ ,
 , hi ahihkawuútit .
 , and they killed them .
 , hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0 .

, and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF .

híruahuš^{ia}

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it :

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

kaháhkiš ,

kahaáhkiic

a mule

itkahaar- kii'ac

ear be.long

hiruahuširóšahp^a

hiru ahucirácaahpa

then he loaded it on its back

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- raar- taahk.wuh -wa -0
then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.on.one's.back DIST PERF

, (tiirirətpawákahu)

, ti'iriiratpaawaákahu

, this that I am saying

, tii- irii- ra- t- waa- waak.a -hus

, this that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMP.F.SUB IMP.F.SUB

tarahawáruksti

tarahaawaáruksti' ,

a holy buffalo ,

tarahaa- waarukstii ,

buffalo be.holy ,

nəkuwarukstíra^u

tárahá ,

rakuwaarukstíra'u

tárahá' .

one that was made holy						a buffalo	.
ra-	0-	ku-	waarukstii	-ra'uk	-0	tarahaa	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.holy	CAUS	SUB.3	buffalo	.

hiruahuširəsáhp^a

Hiru ahuciracaáhpá

Then he loaded it on its back

hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	raar-	taahk.wuh	-wa	-0
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	put.on.one's.back	DIST	PERF

.	Náw ^a	,	wirirára	.				
.	Ráwa		wiiriirára	.				
.	Now		now it carried it	.				
.	rawa	wii-	rii-	0-	raar-	raah	-0	.
.	now	now	ASSR	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	have	PERF	.

Tahapakíah^u

“

Tahapaki'aahu'

“

We say

“

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

Witastahwírara

. "

Witaastaahwiírara

. "

Now it carries it with the feet upward

. "

wii-	ti-	0-	as-	raar-	wiiraar-	raah	-0	.	"
now	IND.3A	3.A	foot	PL	in.a.row	have	PERF	.	"

Tišiksastawiurukúsuk^u

Tiiciksastaahwi'uuruuhkúsuuku'

They used to turn its feet upward

ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	as-	raar-	wi.uu.ruhk	-:hus	-uuku
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	foot	PL	point	IMPF	HAB

tiráwahət ⁿ							taraha
Tiráwaahat							táraha'
the Heavens							the buffalo
tii- ra- 0-	a.hak	-waa	-0				tarahaa
this ABS 3.A	extend.in.a.line	DIST	SUB.4				buffalo

tirástawaw ⁱ							.
tiraástawaawi							.
its feet							.
tii- ra- 0-	as- ta	-waa	-wi				.
this ABS 3.A	foot be.hanging	DIST	SUB.L				.

Irikúhihi							
Iriikúhihi'							,
Wherever it was							,
irii- kuur- ra- 0-	ihii	-0					,
where DUB ABS 3.A	be.in.a.place	PERF					,

irikuháhura							,
iriikuuháhuraa							,
wherever the place was							,
irii- kuur- ra- 0-	huraar	-0					,
where DUB ABS 3.A	be.earth	PERF					,

hikaháhkiš							
hi kahaáhkiiic							
and the mule							
hi itkahaar- kii'ac							
and ear be.long							

kuhurišisət ⁿ							,
kúhuuriciisat							,
it tired							,
kuur- ra- 0-	uur- iciisat	-0					,

DUB ABS 3.A PREV be.tired PERF ,

kaháhkiš . Híkahakis
kahaáhkiiic . Hi kahaáhkiiic
the mule . And the mule
itkahaar- kii'ac . hi itkahaar- kii'ac
ear be.long . and ear be.long

híkuhawititⁿ ,
hi kuuháwiitit .
and he sat down .
hi kuur- ra- 0- wi.itik -0 .
and DUB ABS 3.A sit.down PERF .

kaháhkiš
Kahaáhkiiic
The mule
itkahaar- kii'ac
ear be.long

wikúhurišisətⁿ .
wikúhuuriciisat .
now it tired .
wii- kuur- ra- 0- uur- iciisat -0 .
now DUB ABS 3.A PREV be.tired PERF .

Náw^a , híruahiwaku ,
Ráwa , hiru ahiwáku' " ,
Now , then he said : " ,
rawa , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , " ,
now , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , "

wituksawaštíruhətⁿ ,
Wiituksawactíruhaat .

Let me try to frighten it !
 wii- i- t- uks- awahc- riruhahk -0 .
 now CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS at.least frighten PERF .

híkaruš^a ,
 " Hi káruucaá' .
 " And it didn't get up .
 " hi ka- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 .
 " and NEG ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF .

taróšaris

Tarácaris

It was heavy

ti- 0- a- raar- taris -0
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A be.heavy PERF

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

Híkuruhiwaku , “

Hi kuruuhiwáku' “

And then he said :

hi kuruur- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , “
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Arihikiritirakukawirikústaru

Ári'	híkiiri	tíraaku						kawirikústaru									
Why	, so it is	, this one						it didn't give me the feet									
arii	, hikiiri	, tii- ra-	0-	kus	-0	ka-	wii-	ri-	0-	ku-	as-	raar-	uh	-0			
oh	, indeed	, this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	NEG	now	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	foot	PL	give	PERF		

, hikárušaaḥ^u .
 . " Hi káruuca'aahu' .
 . " And it was not getting up .
 . " hi kara- ra- 0- a- uca.a -:hus .
 . " and NEG ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up IMPF .

" Hiruahinikstáhkawətⁿ
 Hiru ahirikstáhkawat
 Then he took out arrows
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- riiks- raar- kawat -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A arrow PL take.out PERF

, kahákiš
 . Kahaákiic
 . The mule
 . itkahaar- kii'ac
 . ear be.long

ruwitáriku
 ruuwitáriku
 there it sat with it
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- raar- ri- kus -0
 there QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting PERF

tárahawaruksti
 tárahaawaaruksti'
 the holy buffalo
 tarahaa- waarukstii
 buffalo be.holy

hiahutišárikitⁿ ,
 hi ahuuticaárikit
 and he shot him (with arrows)
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- ica.arik.ihk -0

and EV ABS 3.A PREV shoot.ITER PERF

aahutišárikitⁿ

a ahuuticaárikit

and he shot him (with arrows)

a ar- ra- 0- ut- ica.arik.ihk -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV shoot.ITER PERF

ruwitírara

Ruuwitírara

There it carried it

ruu- wi- ti- 0- raar- raah -0
there QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF

tárahihkitu

tárahihkituu'u'

a whole buffalo carcass

tarahaa- iir- kituu -u'
buffalo corpse all NOM

. Náw^a

. Ráwa

. Now

. rawa

. now

wiahapišíhiar^a

wi'ahapicíhi'aara

when it became winter

wii- ar- ra- 0- picí.ihí -aar -a
when EV ABS 3.A be.winter INCH SUB.1

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

irárⁱ

iraári'

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

wiahapišihiar^a

wi'ahapiciíhi'aara

when it became winter

wii- ar- ra- 0- pici.ihí -aar -a
 when EV ABS 3.A be.winter INCH SUB.1

híaha rakatá"tⁿ

hi aharaahkatá'at

and they went onto the prairie

hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

wiahapišihiar^a

wi'ahapiciíhi'aara

when it became winter

wii- ar- ra- 0- pici.ihí -aar -a ,
 when EV ABS 3.A be.winter INCH SUB.1 ,

hiaharahkátaætⁿ

hi aharaahkáta'at

and they went onto the prairie

hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

nikutišúksah^u

rikutucúksaahu'

that is how it used to be

riku- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -:hus
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF

sirihkuktáhuriwawⁱ

sirihkuktáhuriiwaawi

when they chased them

si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, hikututkáhurar^a

, hi kututkaáhuraari'

, and the weather changed

, hi ku- ti- 0- ut- kaa.huur- aar -i
, and INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV world do IMPF

, akakúrahi

, a kaakúraahi

, and it was not good

, a kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0

, and NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Náw^a , wirihkáwutitⁿ
 Ráwa wirihkáwuutit
 Now when they killed them
 rawa wii- ra- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0
 now when ABS 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF

táraha , wiahapišíhiar^a
 táraha' , wi'ahapiciíhi'aara
 buffalos , when it became winter
 tarahaa , wii- ar- ra- 0- pici.ihí -aar -a
 buffalo , when EV ABS 3.A be.winter INCH SUB.1

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

tiiriratúhíhku sáhíks ,
 ti'iriiratuúhíhku cáhíks ,
 this one I am meaning person ,
 tii- irii- ra- t- ut- ra'íhk -hus icaahíks ,
 this that ABS 1.A PREV mean IMPF.SUB person ,

hirikuahaspárəš .
 hi riku'ahaaspaárac .

and that one's feet froze .
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- as- waa- arac -0 .
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A foot DIST freeze PERF .

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

aahastáwawiritⁿ

a ahaastáwaawirit
 and his feet fell off
 a ar- ra- 0- as- ta waa- wirik -0
 and EV ABS 3.A foot be.hanging DIST fall.out PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Nihuksuwituhárura

Ríhuksu' wituuhaárura'
 Only it was the beginning
 rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- ut- raar- hurar -0
 alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.where.one.comes.from PERF

ihí , néšakt^u ,
 , ihí , rácaktu'
 , uh , marrow bones
 , ihii , racakt- -u'
 , uh , marrow.bone NOM

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

hihirukítu
 hi hiru kítuu'u'
 and then all
 hi hiruu kituu -u'
 and then all NOM

kuhastáwawiritⁿ ,
 kuuhaastáwaawirit
 his feet fell off
 kuur- ra- 0- as- ta waa- wirik -0
 DUB ABS 3.A foot be.hanging DIST fall.out PERF

hiruirirástawawⁱ .
 hiru iriiraástawaawi .
 there where the feet are .
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- as- ta -waa -wi .
 there where ABS 3.A foot be.hanging DIST SUB.L .

Iwíahawarihiwiahastašárikuš^u

Iwí'ahawari hi iwi'ahaastacárikuucu
 When he went around and when he was feetless
 ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- warii -hus hi ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- as- raar- tarikuc -u
 then when EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB and when when EV ABS 3.A foot PL short SUB.D

, hiwitíhwakⁱ
 , hi witíhwaki'
 , and they said
 , hi wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0

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

ákítar^u , “ Náwa íhtat
ákitaaru’ , “ Ráwa íhtat
the tribe : “ Now even more
akitaar- -u’ , " rawa ihtat
tribe NOM , " now some.more

nakukútik^a kaháhkiš ,
rakukuútika kahaáhkiic ,
kill it the mule ,
ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a itkahaar- kii’ac ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B kill SUB.1 ear be.long ,

aihtétrákuwak^a , “
a íhtat rákuwaaka , ‘
and even more say it : ‘
a ihtat ra- 0- ku- waak -a , ‘
and some.more INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , ‘

Tíraku
Tíraaku
This one

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

híkirikawirikústaru

híkiiri kawirikústaru
indeed it didn't give me the feet
hikiiri ka- wii- ri- 0- ku- as- raar- uh -0
indeed NEG now CONT.3A 3.A 1.P foot PL give PERF

. " . ' "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

Náw^a , nikutiraitústawi
 Ráwa , rikutiraa'itústawi'
 Now , that is the story among them
 rawa , riku- ti- 0- raa.iit.us- tawi -0
 now , that.is IND.3A 3.A story be.among PERF

. Aháwari ,
 . Aháwari' ,
 . He lived ,
 . ar- ra- 0- warii -:hus ,
 . EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF ,

ikararúrahir^a ,
 ikararúraahiira ,
 its not being good ,
 ii- kara- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -a ,
 that NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good SUB.1

iwikáraristawawⁱ
 iwikáriistawaawi
 since he had no feet
 ii- wii- kara- ra- 0- i- as- ta -waa -wi
 when when NEG ABS 3.A SEQ foot be.hanging DIST SUB.L

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hihikirikaraahúhi

hi hikiiri kara'ahúhi
and indeed he was not good
hi hikiiri kara- ar- ra- 0- uur- hiir -0
and indeed NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV be.good PERF

. Irá*r*ⁱ ,
. Iraá*r*ⁱ ,
. Brother ,
. i- -raar- -r*i*' ,
. 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

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

rihkúraiwatⁱ

rihkuúraa'iiwaati .
when they told of it .
ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- raa'iiwaat -i .
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV tell.a.story SUB.2 .

Hihawáarus^a

Hi hawá aruúsa'
And also horses
hi haawa aruusaa
and also horse

ahíhtautⁿ

ahíhta'ut . Arahku
they were stolen . Árahu'
ar- ra- 0- ir- ta'uut -0 . Kansas
arahuu

EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF steal PERF . Kansa

kúhautⁿ .
kuúha'ut .
they were .
kuur- ra- 0- 0 -uk -0 .
DUB ABS 3.A be DIST PERF .

Hísiahirurakatuhka

Hi si'ahiiruuraakatúhkaa'

And they came following their trail

hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- ak- hatuur- kaa.a -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P road come.out PERF

kikáruskætⁿ , híawitⁿ
kiikáruskat , hi áwit
early in the morning , and first
kiikarus -kat , hi awit
early.in.the.morning LOC , and first

irikúha , áwitⁿ
iriikuuhá'at , áwit
whoever went , first
irii- kuur- ra- 0- at -0 , awit
who DUB ABS 3.A go PERF , first

irikúharikitawititⁿ .
iriikúhaarikitawiitit .
whoever mounted .
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ar- ikita.wi.itik -0 .
who DUB ABS 3.A EV mount PERF .

Irikuháhura súhurⁱ
Iriikuuháhuraa suúhuri'

Wherever the place was this side
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -0 suuhuri'
 where DUB ABS 3.A be.earth PERF over.here

tirakiráruhətⁿ ,
 tirakiiraáruhat ,
 these creeks ,
 tii- ra- 0- kiir- raar- u.hak -0 ,
 this ABS 3.A water PL extend.in.a.line SUB.4 ,

híahuštahuša
 hi ahuctáhuucaá'
 and he peeped over
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- ut- ta.huuca.a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV come.up.to.the.top PERF

hiwihiruahikaríkstətⁿ
 hi wihiru ahikaríkstat
 and there he was taking a herd
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- kariiks- ra- at -0
 and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A herd PORT go PERF

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

rurakuríhitⁿ
 ruuraakuúrihit
 his being the only one there
 ruu- ra- 0- a- ku- i- rihik -0
 then INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B SEQ be.the.only.one SUB.4

šáhiks . Kuhawihuráhəš ,
 cáhiks . Kuuhaawíhurahac ,
 person . He disappeared ,
 icaahiks . kuur- ra- 0- awi- hurahac -0 ,
 person . DUB ABS 3.P image disappear PERF ,

híahurəsihit¹ⁿ .
 hi ahuurasíhittit .
 and he galloped .
 hi ar- ra- 0- uur- as-i -hik.rik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV run CAUS PERF .

Ahúštahuša ,
 Ahúctahuucaá' ,
 He peeped over it ,
 ar- ra- 0- a- ut- ta.huuca.a -0 ,
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV come.up.to.the.top SUB.4 ,

hiwihirukaraahíut
 hi wihiru kara'ahíí'ut
 and there it was not far
 hi wii- hiruu kara- ar- ra- 0- i'uut -0
 and now there NEG EV ABS 3.A be.far PERF

ahít^a .
 ahiíta .
 where he went .
 ar- ri- 0- at -a .
 EV CONT.3A 3.A go SUB.1 .

Witiutátauhət¹ⁿ ,
 Witi'uttáta'uuhat ,
 There was a level area ,
 wi- ti- 0- uktata- u.hak -0 ,

QUOT IND.3A 3.A bottom extend.in.a.line PERF ,

hihitaku

hi hiitaku

and another way

hi hii- -taku

and other LOC

ahúrəsihitⁱtⁿ .

ahuurasihittit .

he galloped .

ar- ra- 0- uur- as-i -hik.rik -0 .

EV ABS 3.A PREV run CAUS PERF .

Kišihiwititawíraətⁿ ,

Kici hi wititawíraa'at ,

But and he went down (the hill) ,

kici hi wi- ti- 0- tawíraa- at -0 ,

but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A down go PERF ,

híahurəsihitⁱtⁿ ,

hi ahuurasihittit ,

and he galloped ,

hi ar- ra- 0- uur- as-i -hik.rik -0 ,

and EV ABS 3.A PREV run CAUS PERF ,

híahuturáwišətⁿ .

hi ahuturáwicat .

and he overtook him .

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- huraa.wic.at -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A PREV overtake PERF .

Witikuháhpáriitⁿ .

Witikuuhaáhpári't .

It was a level valley .
 wi- ti- 0- kuuhaar- parit -' .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A flat.ground be.smooth EX .

Kuhurúkskuksəs ,
 Kuhuúrukskuksas

He ran off
 kuur- ra- 0- uur- uks- kuks- as-i -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV AOR fleeing run PERF

kuháhkətⁿ ,
 kuuhaáhkət ,
 in the valley ,
 kuuhaar- -kat ,
 flat.ground LOC ,

hiaharitákusətⁿ .
 hi aharitákusət .
 and he drew up close to him .
 hi ar- ra- 0- ri- takus- at -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PORT hang.down go PERF .

Hikišiháhuta
 Hi kici hi ahuúta
 And but and he did it :
 hi kici hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 and but and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

ahaúrirⁱtⁿ . Árahu ,
 aha'uúriirit . Árahu
 he stopped . The Kansa
 ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 . arahuu
 EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF . Kansa

híahurəsihit^{tn} .
 hi ahuurasíhittit .
 and he galloped .
 hi ar- ra- 0- uur- as-i -hik.rik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV run CAUS PERF .

Hihirúkuruhirawiukst^u

Hi hiru kuruuhíraawi'ukstu'
 And there then he timed it right
 hi hiruu kuruur- ri- 0- raa- awi- uk -his -ra'uk -0
 and there DUB CONT.3A 3.A way image be PERF CAUS PERF

, hirawitakaráhis^u
 , hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 , and suddenly
 , hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 , and just now all.at.once NOM

ahutawíkahətⁿ ,
 ahuutawíkaahat .
 he jumped off (his horse) .
 ar- ra- 0- ut- awi.kaa.hak -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A PREV jump.off PERF .

hiruiruwitušíurikətⁿ

Hiru iruuwituci'uurikut
 Then there is where he caught him
 hiruu irii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- uurikuk -0
 then there there QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ catch PERF

,
 ;
 ;
 ,

,

hiruiriruwitušíurikætⁿ

hiru iriruwituci'uurikut

then there is where he caught him

hiruu	irii-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	uurikuk	-0
then	there	there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	catch	PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Kišisiwitikuhúhukirahætⁿ

Kici siwitikúhuuhuukiraahat

But they jerked each other around

kici	si-	witi-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	raa-	ikiraa.hak	-0
but	DU	REFL	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	turn	PERF

,

,

,

,

,

hikuhutawatətawirútitⁿ

hi kuhuútawatatawiiruútit

and he got on top of him

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	awatata.wi.itik	-ruu	-0
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	fall.on.top.of	DIST	PERF

.

.

.
. .

Tikukararakurakⁱ

Tikukararakuuraakiiru

Its not being a short time

tii-	ku-	kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	raa.kiir	-u
this	INDF	NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	be.long	SUB.D

siahapakúspari

si'ahaapakúspari'

they were fighting around

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	apak	-hus	warii		-.hus
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	fight	IMPF.SUB	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF

, hiahahukítas^a

, hi ahahuukítasa

, and he lay on top of him

, hi	ar-	ra-	0-	huukita-	sa	-0
, and	EV	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.lying	PERF

Astašaríkuš ,

Astacaríkuc .

No Feet .

as- raar- tarikuc .

foot PL short .

nátarakukⁱ

Rátaraakuki

One of us

ra-	t-	a-	rak-	0	-ka'uk	-i
ABS	1.A	PREV.3A	1/2.PL	be	DIST	SUB.2

witihukítasa .
 witihuukítasa .
 he lay on top of him .
 wi- ti- 0- huukita- sa -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A on.top be.lying PERF .

Hiruirikúhuhar^a

Hiru iriikúhuuhaara'
 Then the war party was coming
 hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- a -0
 then that DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A come PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

irikuuharírəs^a

Iriikúhuuhaarirasa
 Whoever was in the lead of the war party
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar- hiras- aah -0
 who DUB ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P in.the.lead be PERF

;
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hiahuštahúš^a

hi ahuctáhuuca'
 and he peeped over
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- ut- ta.huuca.a -0

and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV come.up.to.the.top PERF

, hiaháwaku “ Hā !
, hi ahawáku’ “ Haa
, and he said : “ Ha ,
, hi ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ haa ,
, and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ ha ,

arúsasirahwarikⁱ ,
aruúsa’ siraahwaáriki ,
horses where they (du) stand there ,
aruusaa si- ra- 0- ar- wa- arik -i ,
horse DU ABS 3.A EV DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

hisuhuritiríkariksətⁿ . “
hi suúhuri’ tiriíkariksət . “
and this side the herd is going . “
hi suuhuri’ tii- rii- 0- kariiks- at -0 . “
and over.here this ASSR 3.A herd go PERF . “

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

aahuharuhukítawat^a
a ahuuhaaruhukítawaata’
and he came beyond them
a ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- uhuur- kita- waat.a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P way on.top get.up PERF

arusáirisiahawarikⁱ
aruúsa’ iriisi’ahawaáriki

the horses	where they (du) stood							
aruusaa	irii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	wa-	arik	-i
horse	where	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2

,
,
,
,
,

hiwihirusiahíkasawa

hi	wihiru	si'ahiikasawa									
and	now	they (du) lay in the brush									
hi	wii-	hiruu	si-	ar-	ri-	0-	i-	ka-	sa	-waa	-0
and	now	then	DU	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	SEQ	in.the.brush	be.lying	DIST	PERF

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

Nawawiskuš ^u	.										
Ráwa	wiskucu'	.									
Now	hurry	!									
rawa	wis	-kucuu	.								
now	hurry	AUG	.								

Witikutarahkisišísət ⁿ	.											”
Witikutarahkisiíciisat	.											”
My strength is giving out	.											”
wi-	ti-	ku-	tarahkis-	iciisat	-0	.						”
QUOT	IND.3A	1.P	be.strong	be.tired	PERF	.						”

Kuhárihu^u šáhiks ,
 Kuuhárihu'u cáhiks .
 He was big a person .
 kuur- ra- 0- rihur -' icaahiks .
 DUB ABS 3.A be.big EX person .

kuhárihu^u šáhiks ,
 Kuuhárihu'u cáhiks ,
 He was big a person ,
 kuur- ra- 0- rihur -' icaahiks ,
 DUB ABS 3.A be.big EX person ,

hitirakástawawⁱ
 hi tirakaástawaawi
 and these legs of his
 hi tii- ra- 0- kaas- ta -waa -wi
 and this ABS 3.A leg be.hanging DIST SUB.L

tikáristawawⁱ
 tikáristawawⁱ
 this one with no feet
 tii- kara- ra- 0- i- as- ta -waa -wi
 this NEG ABS 3.A SEQ foot be.hanging DIST SUB.L

,

hihiruirikuhúštaripu
 hi hiru irikuuhúctariipu
 and there he was tied up (i.e. bandaged)
 hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- tariik.wuh -0

and there that DUB ABS 3.A PREV tie PERF

kastárirⁱ . Hitítaku
kaastaárirⁱ . Hi tiítaku
on the legs . And right here
kaas- raar- -hiri³ . hi tii- -taku
leg PL LOC . and here LOC

tiahútahutⁿ ,
ti'ahuútahut ,
here he was holding him ,
tii- ar- ra- 0- ut- ahuk -0 ,
here EV ABS 3.A PREV hold PERF ,

hipískus^u
hi píckucu'
and tightly
hi pic -kucuu
and hated AUG

kúhut pirašatataihtahutⁿ
kuuhutpiiracatáta'ihahut
he held his arms against his sides
kuur- ra- 0- a- ut- wiir- raar- tatata- ihta ahuk -0
DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV arm PL close.by have.under.one's.belt hold PERF

,
,
,
,
,

irarusíkuruhisawa
i raarusíkuruuhiisawa

and then they just lay there
i raa- ruu- si- kuruur- ri- 0- i- sa -waa -0
and just then DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying DIST PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Ahuharawítakahətⁿ

Ahuuhaarawítakaahat

They jumped off their horses

ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- awi- takaa.hak -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A image dismount PERF

, asiahituríkətⁿ

, a si'ahiituuríkut

, and they captured him

, a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uurikuk -0
, and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV catch PERF

. Árahu

. Árahu

. A Kansa

. arahuu

. Kansa

wihirunikúwitⁱ

wihiru rikúwiti'

now he was the one

wii- hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0
now now the.one QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF

Ásiahihkutitⁿ ,
 A sí'ahihkuutit ,
 And they killed him ,
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 ,
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill PERF ,

hišiahawat^a ,
 hici ahaawaáta' ,
 but he got up ,
 hi.ci ar- ra- 0- a- waat.a -0 ,
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF

astasaríkuš .
 Astacaríkuc .
 No Feet .
 as- raar- tarikuc .
 foot PL short .

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

karawítuhi
 karawítuuhi
 he was not good
 kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- hiir -0
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF

irárusiwitiríru^a
 i raaruusiwitiríru'a
 and then they just became afraid of him
 i raa- ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- riru -aar -0

and just then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.afraid.of INCH PERF

ákítar^u .
ákitaaru' ,
the tribe ,
akitaar- -u' ,
tribe NOM ,

Irírutahu

iriíruutahu

its being that way

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

wirakurahkatat^a

wirakuraáhkataata

when they went up on the prairie

wii- ra- 0- ku- raar- kata- at -a
when INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go SUB.1

,
.
.
.
.

híaharahkataætⁿ

Hi aharaahkatá'at

And they went onto the prairie

hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

hinaripákus^u

hi raaripákusu'

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

tiaháwari
 ti'aháwari
 this one going around
 tii- ar- ra- 0- warii -hus
 this EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hiwísiririru
 hi wisiriíruru'
 and now they were afraid of him
 hi wii- si- ra- 0- ir- uur- riru -0
 and now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV be.afraid.of PERF

Astašaríkuš .
 Astacaríkuc .
 No Feet .
 as- raar- tarikuc .
 foot PL short .

Irirutáhu
 Iriíruutahu
 Its being that way
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

nihkurəsíhu ,
 rihkuurasíhu ,
 for them to run ,
 ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- as-i -hus ,
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV run IMPF.SUB ,

hituharukatáiwahətⁿ

hi tuuhaaruukatá'iwaahat

and they were lined up to charge

hi ti- 0- ut- raar- huukata- wi.hak -waa -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A along.the.bank be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

, tiharáihku

. Tiihaará'ihku'

. They mean them

. ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

nakuráhikuš^u

rakuraáhikuucu

the one who is brave

ra- 0- ku- raahikuuc -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.brave SUB.D

Ahurəsíhit^t

Ahuurasíhittit

He galloped

ar- ra- 0- uur- as-i -hik.rik -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV run CAUS PERF

ruwituhtáwiətⁿ

ruwituhtáwi'at

then he went past him

ruu- wi- ti- 0- uur- ta.wi.at -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV brush.against PERF

híahawaku

hi ahawáku'

and he said

hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " iika'a ,

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " oh.my ,

nakuwašúriritⁿ . "
rakuuwahcuúriirit ! "
at least stop ! "
ra- 0- ku- awahc- uuri.arik -0 . "
INF.A 3.A INF.B at.least stop PERF . "

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

Ihawárikuritutu ,
I hawá rikuriítuutu' .
And also I am just like that one .
i haawa riku- rii- t- ut- uu -0 .
and also that.is ASSR 1.A PREV be PERF .

naripakúsutətⁿ
Raaripákusu' tat
A soldier I am
raa- ri.apak -hus -u' ta- t- 0 -0
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF

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

Ikariritúši^u
I kariiritúci'u'

And I am not like that
i kari- rii- t- ut- i- uu -0
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ be PERF

irikúrəsutu^a . "
iriikúrasuutuu'a . "
the way you are . "
irii- ku- ra- s- ut- uu -a . "
that INDF ABS 2.A PREV be SUB.1 . "

Akiiriwirukutikawətⁿ
Aki iriwiru kutikawat
And here there he took it out
a- ki irii- wii- ruu ku- ti- 0- kawat -0
and there there now there INDF IND.3A 3.A take.out PERF

níšikⁱ
riíciki
a knife
riici -kis
knife DIM

aahihkawarúšətⁿ .
a ahihkawaaruúcat .
and he was stabbed .
a ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.cak -waa -ruu -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF stick DIST DIST PERF .

Astašaríkuš
Astacaríkuc
No Feet
as- raar- tarikuc
foot PL short

witikáwarušətⁿ . Náw^a
 witikáwaaruucat . Ráwa
 he stabbed him . Now
 wi- ti- 0- ka.cak -waa -ruu -0 . rawa
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A stick DIST DIST PERF . now

aahihkawútitⁿ táraha .
 a ahihkawuútit táraha' .
 and they killed them buffalos .
 a ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0 tarahaa .
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF buffalo .

Pítaahawaku

Piíta ahawáku'
 The man he said
 wiita ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 man EV ABS 3.A say PERF

iwirakawášuks^u

iwirakukawaácaksu
 the one who was stabbed
 ii- wii- ra- 0- ku- ka.cak -waa -his -u
 that now INF.A 3.A INF.B stick DIST PERF SUB.D

; karawitiríikutitⁿ
 -- karawitiríkuutit
 -- he did not kill him
 -- kara- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- kuut.ik -0
 -- NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV SEQ kill PERF

. Ahawáku “
 -- ahawáku' “
 -- he said : “
 -- ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ”

-- EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Rutikítawirikurahirititⁿ

Ruutikítawi'

Then he is leader

rikuraahiíriitit

until I get well

ruu-	ti-	0-	kita.wi	-0	ri-	ku-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-a	-itik
then	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.leaer	PERF	CONT.3A	1.P	PREV	way	be.good	SUB.1	INCH

. " Náw^a ,

. " Ráwa ,

. " Now ,

. " rawa ,

. " now ,

iwiráwari

iwiraáhwari

when he went about

ii-	wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	warii	-hus
when	when	ABS	3.A	EV	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

, wirahwáku
wiraahwáku'
now he said

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

iríahukskitawi^u

iríí'ahukskitawi'u

the one who was leader

iríi-	ar-	ra-	0-	uks-	kita.wi	-u	--
that	EV	ABS	3.A	AOR	be.the.leader	SUB.D	--

tararikawáah^u

Tararikaawá'aahu'

He Was Bringing Things Back

ti-	0-	a-	raar-	ri-	kaa-	wa-	a	-:hus
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	inside	DIST	come	IMPF

witúksasa						.	“	Náw ^a
witúksasa'						.	“	Ráwa
he was named						.	“	Now
wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	asar	-0	.	"	rawa
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.named	PERF	.	"	now

,

sišuksiriharahú^u
 siicúksiriihaarahú'u
 be prepared for anything

i-	s-	ir-	ut-	uks-	irihaara.hur	-'
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	JUSS	be.prepared	EX

,	tiráspari					.	"
	tiráspari						"
	as you go about					!	"
tii-	ra-	s-	warii		-hus	.	"
this	ABS	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB	.	"

Ahawáku				Astašaríkuš		“			
Ahawáku'				Astacaríkuc		“			
He said				No Feet	:	“			
ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	as-	raar-	tarikuc	,	"
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	foot	PL	short	,	"

Irikurisúhawa

Irikuriisuúhaawaa'

You are the cause

iriku-	rii-	s-	ut-	raar	-waa	-0
that.is	ASSR	2.A	PREV	be.the.cause	DIST	PERF

tírətutawahi

tíratuutáwaahi

this way I do things

tii-	ra-	t-	ut-	aar	-waa	-i
this	ABS	1.A	PREV	do	DIST	IMPF.SUB

nəskuwáwakahu

raskuwaáwaakahu

when you say things

ra-	s-	ku-	waa-	waak.a	-hus
INF.A	2.A	INF.B	DIST	say.IMPF.SUB	IMPF.SUB

nəskukuhwakuhtáwahi

raskukuhwakuhtáwaahi

when you say mean things of me

ra-	s-	ku-	ku-	uur-	wakuur-	ta	-aar	-waa	-i
INF.A	2.A	1.P	INF.B	PREV	word	be.hanging	INCH	DIST	IMPF.SUB

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

iririkúruətⁿ

Iririkúruu'ut

That is the way it is

irii-	riku-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'	.
-------	-------	-----	----	-----	---	----	---

that that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX .

tatíška

Taticka'

I want

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

šíkstithířeskutawahi

cíkstit hiiraskuutáwaahi

well for you to do other things

cikstik hii- ra- s- ku- ut- aar -waa -i
well other INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV do DIST IMPF.SUB

. Ahuráhirititⁿ

. " Ahuraáhiiriitit

. " He got well

. " ar- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -a -itik
. " EV ABS 3.A PREV way be.good SUB.1 INCH

pīt^a . Witikáruruku

piíta . Witikaáruruuku'

the man . He made a feast

wiita . wi- ti- 0- kaaruur- ra'uk -:hus
man . QUOT IND.3A 3.A meal make IMPF

áha^u

áha'u

the one

ar- ra- 0- uh -0
EV ABS 3.A give PERF

Tararikawáah^u

Tararikaawá'aahu'

He Was Bringing Things Back

ti-	0-	a-	raar-	ri-	kaa-	wa-	a	-:hus
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	inside	DIST	come	IMPF

.
.
.
.
.

Akikuháwiškarakuwak^a

Aki		kuuháwicka'					rákuwaaka				
And here		he wanted					to say				
a-	ki	kuur-	ra-	0-	wicka	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	waak	-a
and	there	DUB	ABS	3.A	think	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	say.SUB	SUB.1

šíkstit ⁿ	nísaru	.
cíkstit	riisaaru'	.
well	the chief	.
cikstik	riisaar	-u'
well	be.chief	NOM

Aharahúpusititⁿ

Aharahuúpuusitit

They began going inside

ar-	ra-	0-	raar-	huuk-	wuu	-:hus	-itik	.
EV	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	into	go.IMPF	IMPF	INCH	.

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

rakuráhikuš^u ,
 rakuraáhikuucu ,
 the one who was brave ,
 ra- 0- ku- raahikuuc -u ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.brave SUB.D ,

irisiahíhkawašətⁿ ,
 iriisi'ahíhkawaacat ,
 the one who was stabbed ,
 irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.cak -waa -0 ,
 that DU EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF stick DIST SUB.4 ,

hihirusiahišírasukətⁿ
 hi hiru si'ahiicírasuukat
 and then they took him inside
 hi hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ciras- huuk- at -0
 and then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV COM into go PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiruahiawuktíkusititⁿ
 Hiru ahiwaawaktíkusitit
 Then he began to talk
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A talk IMPF INCH

iriahirakáruruku
 irii'ahiirakaáruruku
 the one who was making the feast
 irii- ar- ri- 0- ir- ak- kaaruur- ra'uk -hus

that EV CONT.1/2A 3.A OBV PL.AN.3P meal make IMPF.SUB

nísar^u . Ahawáku “
 riisaaru’ . Ahawáku’ “
 chief . He said : “
 riisaar -u’ . ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 be.chief NOM . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa ,
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

tiharósuhakasuhatⁿ

tihaarásuuhaakasuuhat

these of you sitting around

tii- haa- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0
 this here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

tiharašihakawašistaritⁿ

tihaaraciihaákawahcistarit

these of us who are going to eat

tii- haa- ra- aciir- haakawahc -his -ta -rit
 this here ABS IN.DU.A eat PERF INT INT.SUB

, tátišk^a huwíšikstitⁿ .
 , táticka’ huúwi’ cíkstit .

, I want indeed well .
 , ta- t- wicka -0 huuwi' cikstik .
 , IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF indeed well .

Tirakutiwirətutúriku

Tíraaku tiwiratuutiíriku'
 This one now I see him here
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 tii- wii- ra- t- ut- iirik -:hus
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 here now ABS 1.A PREV see IMPF

. " Kišiwitíikisitⁿ
 . " Kici wiwitiíkisit
 . " But he had survived
 . " kici wii- wi- ti- 0- i- kisik -0
 . " but now QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ survive PERF

, karawitíhurahəš . "
 . Karawitíhurahac . "
 . He did not die . "
 . kara- wi- ti- 0- i- hurahac -0 . "
 . NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF . "

Náw^a , irítíšk^a "
 Ráwa , i riíticka' ' "
 Now , and I want ' "
 rawa , i rii- t- wicka -0 ' "
 now , and ASSR 1.A want PERF ' "

(iríkuhawitirahiwásəsku)

iriikuúha' witiraahiwaásasku'
 whatever he was he called him by a kin term
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- 0 -0 wi- ti- 0- raa- hisaask -waa -:hus
 what DUB ABS 3.A be PERF QUOT IND.3A 3.A way call.by.name DIST IMPF

	“	Nítišk ^a				útik ^{is}	
,	“	riúticka’				úttikis	,
,	“	I want				my son	,
,	”	rii- t- wicka -0				uu.tikis	,
,	”	ASSR 1.A want PERF				sonny	,

tiwirəsparihústaritⁿ

tiwirəspariihústarit

since you are going to live

tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	warii		-hus	-ta	-rit
when	when	ABS	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB	INT	INT.SUB

, Tatiška

, táticka’

, I want

,	ta-	t-	wicka	-0
,	IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF

šikstitnəskúwari

cikstit raskúwari

well that you go about

cikstik	ra-	s-	ku-	warii		-hus
well	INF.A	2.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB

Tatiškahírakuta

Táticka’

I want

híirakuuta

that it be the other way

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	hii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	0	-a
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	other	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be	SUB.1

tirəspari

tiráspari

as you go about

tii-	ra-	s-	warii		-hus
------	-----	----	-------	--	------

this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

rakúrahira . "
rakúraahiira . "
that it be good . "
ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a . "
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 . "

Náw^a ,
Ráwa ,
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

hiruahiawaktíkusititⁿ

hiru ahiwaawaktíkusitit
then he began to talk
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik
then EV CONT.3A 3.A talk IMPF INCH

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

Irihwawáktiku

Irihwaawáktiku

When they were talking

ii- ra- 0- ir- waa.wak.tik -hus
when ABS 3.A PL.3A talk IMPF.SUB

hisiahitpawáktik^u

hi si'ahitpaawáktiiku'

and they were talking to him
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV talk IMPF

, píta
 piíta
 man
 wiita
 man

siahikskáwašətⁿ .
 si'ahikskáwaacat .
 the one who had been stabbed .
 si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- ka.cak -waa -0 .
 DU EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF AOR stick DIST SUB.4 .

Hikišíahaku .
 Hi kici ahaáku
 And but he was sitting
 hi kici ar- ra- 0- kus -0
 and but EV ABS 3.A be.sitting PERF

Astašaríkuš .
 Astacaríkuc .
 No Feet .
 as- raar- tarikuc .
 foot PL short .

Aahiraríhəš .
 A ahiraaríhac .
 And they finished .
 a ar- ri- 0- raar- riihac -0 .
 and EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P finish PERF .

Ahəwákupit^a “ Náw^a
 Ahawáku’ piíta “ Ráwa ,
 He said the man : “ Now ,
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 wiita , " rawa ,
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , " now ,

tirəsuhakasúhət "
 tirasuuhaákasuuhat ,
 these of you sitting around ,
 tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 ,
 this ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 ,

nísaru arakuráhikuš^u
 ríisaaru’ a rakuraáhikuucu
 chiefs and the one who is brave
 riisaar -u’ a ra- 0- ku- raahikuuc -u
 be.chief NOM and INF.A 3.A INF.B be.brave SUB.D

. Harísuhakasúhətⁿ
 , haariisuúhaakasuuhat
 , you are sitting about here
 , haa- rii- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0
 , here ASSR 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around PERF

nihuksuráhikuš^u ,
 ríhuksu’ raáhikuucu’ ,
 just the braves ,
 rihuks -u’ raahikuuc -u’ ,
 alone NOM be.brave NOM ,

nihuksutəstákətⁿ ,
 ríhuksu’ tastaákut
 just you (pl.) are
 rihuks -u’ ta- s- rak- 0 -uk -0

alone NOM IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be DIST PERF

náhikuš^u . Náw^a , nísar^u
raáhikuucu' . Ráwa , riísaaru' ,
the braves . Now , chiefs ,
raahikuuc -u' . rawa , riisaar -u' ,
be.brave NOM . now , be.chief NOM ,

tátətuku

taátatkuuku'

I am hearing

ta- t- atka'uk -:hus
IND.1/2A 1A listen IMPF

tiiriwirəstapáki^a .

ti'iriwirastapáki'a .

this that you have said .

tii- irii- wii- ra- s- rak- waki -a .
this that now ABS 2.A 1/2.PL say.PL SUB.1 .

Tuhá

Tuuhá'

It is the cause

ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF

tihəstápiška

tiihastápicka' " "

you must think :

tiir- ra- s- rak- wicka -0 ,
INFR ABS 2.A 1/2.PL think PERF ,

írisuks

Írisuks

You be the one

ii- rii- s- uks- 0 -0
that ASSR 2.A JUSS be PERF

nakurarukiráwari

rakuraaruukiraáwari

to take care of things

ra- 0- ku- raar- raa.ikiraa.warii -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P provide.for.DIST IMPF.SUB

ákítar^u

nakurukírawuh^u

ákitaaru'

rakuruukíraawuhu

the tribe

to support it

akitaar- -u' ra- 0- ku- raa.ikiraa.wuu -hus
tribe NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B support IMPF.SUB

, rakúrahir^a

rakúraahiira

that it be good

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

nəkuwáwa

. Náw^a ,

rakuwaáwaa

. ' Ráwa ,

to eat

. ' Now ,

ra- 0- ku- waawa- a -0 . ' rawa ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.4 . ' now ,

hirisirahpakawiraríksist^a

hi riisiraapakaawiraaríksista

and your words are going to come true

hi rii- s- i- rak- wakaara- -wi raariks -his -ta
and ASSR 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL noise SUB.L be.true PERF INT

. Witiháihku
 . " Witihá'ihku'
 . " He was meaning
 . " wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
 . " QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV mean IMPF

Astašaríkuš ,
 Astacaríkuc .
 No Feet .
 as- raar- tarikuc .
 foot PL short .

irikuhiháihk^u .
 Irikúhiihá'ihku' .
 That is the one he was meaning .
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- ra'ihk -:hus .
 that DUB ABS 3.A OBV PREV mean IMPF .

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

Rakúsiⁱ , Kístawak^u " ,
 Raakúsiⁱ' , Kíístawaku' " --
 One sitting , Rattling Bones " --
 ra- 0- kus -0 , kiis- ta.wak- -u' " --
 ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , bone rattling NOM " --

(nikuwitúksasa^a
 rikuwitúksasa'a
 that one was named
 riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- asar -'

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX

Astašaríkuš) “ Náw^a , náw^a ,
 Astacaríkuc -- “ Ráwa , ráwa ,
 No Feet -- “ Now , now ,
 as- raar- tarikuc -- " rawa , rawa ,
 foot PL short -- " now , now ,

witasíki^sitⁿ náw^a ,
 witasíki^sit Ráwa ,
 you are alive . Now ,
 wi- ta- s- i- kisi^k -0 . rawa ,
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ survive PERF . now ,

náw^a , witəsparíhust^a
 ráwa , witasparíhusta
 now , now you are going to live
 rawa , wii- ta- s- wariⁱ -:hus -ta
 now , now IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

. Hā
 . Haa ,
 . Ha ,
 . haa ,
 . ha ,

tirəsurakətkúku
 tirasuuraákatkuuku ,
 these whom you are hearing ,
 tii- ra- s- uur- ak- atka'uk -hus ,
 this ABS 2.A PREV PL.AN.3P hear IMPF.SUB ,

tiráwihətⁿ nísar^u ,
 tiráwihat ríisaaru' ,

these					chiefs		,
tii-	ra-	0-	wi.hak	-0	riisaar	-u'	,
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4	be.chief	NOM	,

kišitaturákatku							;
kici	tatuuraákatku'						:
but	I hear them						:
kici	ta-	t-	uur-	ak-	atka'uk	-0	:
but	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	hear	PERF	:

iwirisparíhust ^a							,
i	wirisparíhusta						.
and	now you are going to go about						.
i	wii-	rii-	s-	warii		-.hus	-ta
and	now	ASSR	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT	.

paratáhurahəš							.
Pára	táhurahac						.
Almost	you were dead						.
para	ti-	a-	hurahac	-0			.
perhaps	IND.3A	2.P	die	PERF			.

Šikstitkakáspari							;
Cíkstit	kaakaáspari'						.
Well	you were not living						.
cikstik	kaaka-	s-	warii			-.hus	.
well	NEG.IND.1/2A	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF			.

paratatakutíttitiri							.
Pára	tatákuutit				tiítiiri		.
Almost	I killed you				today		.
para	ta-	t-	a-	kuut.ik	-0	tii-	tiiri
perhaps	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	kill	PERF	here	now

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa ,
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

kišiwíkarirušist^a

kici wikariiruucísta
 but it is not going to be so
 kici wii- kari- ra- 0- ut- i- 0 -as -ta
 but now EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be IMPF.IRR INT

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

witəsparíhust^a

witasparíhusta . "
 now you are going to live . "
 wii- ta- s- warii -:hus -ta . "
 now IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . "

Kistawakúaha^u

Kiístawaku' áha'u ,
 Rattling Bones the one
 kiis- ta.wak- -u' ar- ra- 0- uh -0
 bone rattling NOM EV ABS 3.A give PERF

ruwítiwaku " Náw^a ,
 ruuwitiwáku' " Ráwa ,
 then he said : " Now ,
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,

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

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

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

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

šikstitkaširíwari
číkstit kaaciriíwari'
well you and I will live
číkstik ka- i- aciir- i- warii -:hus
well NEG CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. "
. "

. "

. "

. "

Akikukakíwətiks

Aki kukaakiíwattiks
 And here he was not truthful
 a- ki ku- kaaki- 0- i- wak.rik.his -0
 and there INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

. Náwa^a , irikuháhura^a
 . Ráwa , iriikuuháhuraa'a --
 . Now , wherever the place was --
 . rawa , irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -' --
 . now , where DUB ABS 3.A be.land EX --

irikuháhura

iriikuuháhuraa

wherever the place was

irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -0
 where DUB ABS 3.A be.earth PERF

rakiwíktuta

rakiwíktuuta

where the sandhills were

ra- 0- kiwikt- u.at -a
 ABS 3.A sand extend.in.a.line SUB.1

iriratukstákuriwawⁱ

iriiratukstaákuriwaawi

where we used to travel

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

ruríhir^a .
 ruuríhiira' --
 farther on --
 ruuríhiira' --
 farther --

Híhirurikuahatakuhukawu

hi hiru riku'ahaattakuhuukawu'
 and then that is where the party was going through (the sandhills)
 hi hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- aktaku- huuk- a.wuu -:hus
 and then that.is EV ABS 3.A group into go.in.a.line.IMPF IMPF

, irikuháhura ,
 , iriikuuháhuraa ,
 , wherever the place was ,
 , irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraa -0 ,
 , where DUB ABS 3.A be.earth PERF ,

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

Asahúrahaš^u ,
 Asaahúrahaacu'
 Mustangs
 asaa- hurahac -u'
 horse disappear NOM

rihkarík^{sa} . ”
 rihkarík^{sa}' ! ”
 there a herd comes . ”
 ra- 0- a- ir- kariiks- a -0 . ”

ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV herd come PERF . "

Hiahírawaas

Hi ahírawa'as

And they ran off

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ra- wa- as-i -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV PORT DIST run PERF

asahúrašaš^u ,
asaahúrahaacu' .
mustangs .
asaa- hurahac -u' .
horse disappear NOM .

irikuharahkátari

Iriikuuharahkátarii

Whichever were fast runners

irii- kuur- ra- 0- raar- katariir -0 arús^a
what DUB ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.fast PERF aruúsa'
horse

hitahatuhkáwišətⁿ .

hi taahatuhkáwicat .

and he overtook the trail .

hi ti- 0- ar- hatuur- ka- wic.at -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A EV road on arrive PERF .

Atahkiškáwaritⁿ

A taahkiickáwarit

And he would rope its neck

a ti- 0- ar- kiic- ka.warik -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV neck put.on PERF

asaríru , asahúrašaš^u ,
asaaríru' . Asaahúrahaacu'

a mustang . The wild horse
 asaa- riru . asaa- hurahac -u'
 horse be.frightened . horse disappear NOM

rusiwítišišərasapitáhaku

ruusiwitiicicirasapitaáhaaku'

then it was turning round and round as they led it

ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- ciras- apitaa.hak -:hus
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ COM turn.around IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hirusiwitirətikiwíhkaətⁿ

Hiru siwitiirattíkiwihka'at

Then they chased them over the sandhills

hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ri- kiwikt- ka- at -0
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT sand on go PERF

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

iwiaharáhwa^a

iwi'ahaaraáhwa'a

when they came back

ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- a- raar- wa- a -0
 when when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A DIST come SUB.4

, hiəsaħúrahaš^u
 , hi asaahúrahaacu'
 , and a wild horse
 , hi asaa- hurahac -u'
 , and horse disappear NOM

sirikušírəsa

sirihkucírasa

when they lead it

si- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- ciras- a -0
 DU INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B PREV COM come SUB.4

, hisiwitíhpiru

, hi siwitíhpiru'

, and they whipped it

, hi si- wi- ti- 0- ir- piru -0
 , and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A whip PERF

hínahiritⁿ

hi raahiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

witaruhutíhaka

witaaruhutíhaaka

it would straighten up

wi- ti- 0- ar- uhur- tiihaak -aar -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV now be.straight INCH PERF

Hikišihiruirikúha

Hi kici hiru iriikúhaa'

And but there wherever he came from

hi kici hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- a -0

and but there where DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

, witúksasa
 -- witúksasa'
 -- he was named
 -- wi- ti- 0- uks- asar -0
 -- QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

kístawakⁿ . Asahúrahaš^u
 Kíístawaku' -- asaahúrahaacu'
 Rattling Bones -- a wild horse
 kiis- ta.wak- -u' -- asaa- hurahac -u'
 bone rattling NOM -- horse disappear NOM

siwítirušírəs^a
 siwítiruucírasa'
 they were bringing it
 si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- ciras.a -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV bring PERF

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

Kirasíisu šírósuritⁿ
 Kíra si'isucirasuuriírit
 Why don't you stop with it
 kira si- i- s- ut- ciras- uuri.arik -0
 perhaps DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV COM stop PERF

.
 . "

. "

. "

. "

Siahiširésuririt¹

Si'ahiicirásuuriirit

They stopped with it

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ciras-	uuri.arik	-0
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	COM	stop	PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Áhawak^u

Ahawáku'

He said

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

" ihi

" Ihi ,

: " Uh ,

, " ihii ,

, " uh ,

tətiškaratihkururárikⁱ

táticka'

I want

ratihkuruurárikⁱ

for me to keep it

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	arik	-i
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.standing	SUB.2

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

takíkura ?
 Takii kurá' . "
 Who does it belong to ? "
 takii ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -0 . "
 someone INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A be PERF . "

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

Kutairárikⁱ
 Kutá' iraáriki
 It belong to him that one
 ku- ti- 0- a- 0 -0 ii- ra- 0- arik -i
 INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be PERF that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

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

hiwikararikuherəsáhuruwahəš
 hi wkararikuuhurasaáhuruuwaahac
 and I have forgotten the names
 hi wii- kara- ri- ku- i- huur.asar- hurahac -ruu -waa -0
 and now NEG CONT.3A 1.P SEQ name disappear DIST DIST PERF

kítu . Pítaráku^u
 kítuu'u' . Piíta ráku'u
 all . The man his being
 kituu -u' . wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u

all NOM . man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

nakuráhikuš^u .
rakuraáhikuucu ,
one who was brave ,
ra- 0- ku- raahikuuc -u ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.brave SUB.D ,

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

Tətiriraríkist^a

Tatiriiraríkista

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

,
.
.
.
.

siksaastáwiru^a

Siksaastáwiruu’a’

Lead it here

i- s- ir- uks- haas- ta -wi ruu- a -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT come PERF

. Áhawaku pita , “
. ” Ahawáku’ piíta ”

! " He said the man : "
 . " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , "
 . " EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , "

Iwiritirituríkutⁿ

I wiritirituríkut

And I caught it for myself

i witi- rii- t- ir- ri- ut- uurikuk -0
 and REFL ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV catch PERF

, ikişikúritiⁱ . "
 , i kici kúriitiiⁱ . "
 , and but it is mine . "
 , i kici ku- rii- t- ir- 0 -' . "
 , and but INDF ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A be EX . "

Ahawáku "

Ahawáku' "

He said :

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

Iritiráita ,

I riitiraá'iita .

And I do know it .

i rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

tasuturíkətⁿ ,

Tasuutuuríkut ,

You caught it ,

ta- s- ut- uurikuk -0 ,
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV catch PERF ,

hiširítiška

hici riíticka'

but I want

hi.ci rii- t- wicka -0

and ASSR 1.A want PERF

ratíhkururarikⁱ

ratíhkuruurariki

for me to have it

ra- t- ir- ku- ri- uur- arik -i
INF.A 1.A POSS.1/2A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.standing SUB.2

, tatírišti

. Tatíricti'

. I like it

. ta- t- ir- ri- ut- tii -0
. IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV like PERF

. Naráhirit

. " Ra raahiirit

. " Now finally

. " ra raahiirit

. " now finally

siaharataráhkistu .

si'aharaataráhkistu' .

they argued .

si- ar- ra- 0- raa- tarahkis -ra'uk -0 .
DU EV ABS 3.A way be.strong CAUS PERF .

Astašaríkuš

Astacaríkuc

No Feet

as- raar- tarikuc

foot PL short

aahúrəttətⁿ

a ahuúrattat

and he took it from them

a ar- ra- 0- uur- ak- ra- at -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P PORT go PERF

Ahawáku píta , “ Náw^a ,

Ahawáku' piíta “ Ráwa ,

He said the man : “ Now ,

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , " now ,

hirukasiríraritⁿ

hiru kaasiriírarit

then you will have it

hiruu kaas- s- ir- ri- uur- arik -0
then POT.2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.standing PERF

. Astašaríkuš

, Astacaríkuc . "

, No Feet . "

, as- raar- tarikuc . "

, foot PL short . "

wihiruwítahəstawirukitákusətⁿ

Wihiru wítahaastawiruukitákusat

Now then he rode off leading it

wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- haas- ta -wi ra- ikita kus at -0
now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT ride be.sitting go PERF

, asahurahaš^u .

asaahúrahaacu' .

the wild horse .
 asaa- hurahac -u' .
 horse disappear NOM .

Áhawaku píta “ Náw^a ,
 Ahawáku' piíta “ Ráwa ,
 He said the man “ Now ,
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita " rawa ,
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF man " now ,

hirukirákatu
 hiru kirá kaatu'
 then let's see
 hiruu kira kaatu'
 then perhaps see

kísiriraritⁿ
 kísiriirarit
 if you'll have it
 kii- i- s- ir- ri- uur- arik -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.standing PERF

. Wítuta ,
 . Wítuuta
 ! He has done it
 . wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

irírutu^a .
 iríruutu'u'a . "
 his being that way . "
 irii- ra- 0- ut- uu -a . "
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 . "

Áhawaku					Astašaríkuš				“
Ahawáku’					Astacaríkuc				“
He said					No Feet			:	“
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0	as-	raar-	tarikuc	,	”
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	foot	PL	short	,	”

Irikúruət ⁿ								.	”
Irikúruu’ut								.	”
It is that way								.	”
irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-’		.	”
that	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	EX		.	”

Hiruwikuhirituríhəš
 Hiru wikúhiirituríhac
 Then they had finished (putting up) the camp

hiruu	wii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ituur-	riihac	-0
then	now	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	village	finish	PERF

hikišiahušírəspišətⁿ

hi	kici	ahucíraspicat						.
and	but	he arrived leading it						.
hi	kici	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	ciras-	wic.at	-0
and	but	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	COM	arrive	PERF

Áhawaku					Astašaríkuš			,
Ahawáku’					Astacaríkuc			“
He said					No Feet			:
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0	as-	raar-	tarikuc	,
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	foot	PL	short	,

rətakusisuksákaw^u
 Rátaku siisuksaákawu
 There you (pl.) stake it

ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0	si-	i-	s-	uks-	haak-	ka-	wuh	-0
-----	----	----	-----	----	-----	----	----	------	-------	-----	-----	----

ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS wood in put PERF

.
.
!
.
.

Tirarikítaturətətⁿ

Tiraáriki

tatuúrattat

This one

I took it from them

tii- ra- 0- arik -i ta- t- uur- ak- ra- at -0
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P PORT go PERF

, táhist^a ,
. Taáhistá .
. He is going to come .
. ti- 0- a- a -his -ta .
. IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF INT .

tuturíhist^a

Tuturíhista

He is going to come for it

ti- 0- a- ut- uri.a -his -ta . "
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV come.after PERF INT . "

Irahkataháhiri

Irahkataháhiri'

In front (of the tipi)

irahkata- -haar -hiri'
in.front LOC LOC

hírikuahahakawu

hi riku'ahahaákawu

and that is where he put the picket
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- haak- ka- wuh -0
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A wood in put PERF

asahúrahaš^u .
 asaahúrahaacu' .
 wild horses .
 asaa- hurahac -u' .
 horse disappear NOM .

Hiirirášustaraiwusuku

Hi iriiraácustaara'iwuusuku
 And where the tops hung down
 hi irii- ra- 0- icus- raar- awi- wuu -hus -uku
 and where ABS 3.A nose PL image go.IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

;
 --
 --
 --
 --

tuksakárahkatásahu

tuksakaraahkatásahu

the lodges were covered

ti- 0- uks- akaar- raar- kata- sa -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A AOR dwelling PL against.a.vertical.surface be.lying IMPF

níatⁿ ,
 rí'aat ,
 summer ,
 ri'aat ,
 summer ,

hítikarahkatasa

hi tiikaraahkátasa

and the lodges were covered (with hides)

hi ti- 0- akaar- raar- kata- sa -0
and IND.3A 3.A dwelling PL against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF

. Hiirašustarawíeta

-- hi iraacustaarawí'ata

-- and where the tops hung low

-- hi ii- ra- 0- icus- raar- awi- at -a
-- and that ABS 3.A nose PL image go SUB.1

,
,
,
,
,

hiirikuhákaruša

hi iriikúhaakaruuca'a

and that is where he raised the cover

hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- akaar- ra- uca.a -0
and where DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A tipi.cover PORT rise PERF

. Hiahúhasikst^a

. Hi ahuúhaaciksta

. And he watched

. hi ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -0
. and EV ABS 3.A PREV way watch PERF

witúhašikst^a

Wituúhaaciksta

He watched

wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way watch PERF .

Witíraki ,
Witíraakii ,
It was a long time ,
wi- ti- 0- raa.kiir -0 ,
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF ,

kuhíhwíśah^u ,
kuuhíhwícaahu' ,
they must have been arriving ,
kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- wica.a -:hus ,
DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A arrive IMPF ,

hikuruhápit^a
hi kúruuhaa' piíta
and then he came the man
hi kuruur- ri- 0- a- a -0 wiita
and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF man

. Kuhíhwakⁱ
. Kuuhíhwaki'
. They must have said
. kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0
. DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

irírutakiśisu ,
iriíruutaakicisu
the ones who were his relatives :
irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus ,
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB ,

hirútukstapu
“ Hiru tukstaápu'

“ There let's go
 " hiruu i- t- uks- rak- wuu -:hus
 " there CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF

.
 !
 .
 .

sišišīrəsa

Siciiccírasa'

Let's lead it back

si- i- aciir- ir- ut- i- ak- ciras- a -0
 DU CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ PLAN.3P COM come PERF

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

hirikuahúta ,

hi riku'ahuúta

and that is what he did :

hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hisiahirutúri^a

hi si'ahiiruutúri'a'

and they came for it

hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- uri.a -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV come.after PERF

. Híahawauririt
 . Hi ahawaa'uuriirit
 . And they stopped
 . hi ar- ra- 0- waa- uuri.arik -0
 . and EV ABS 3.A DIST stop PERF

irisiritiśisutirarikípa

iriisíriiticisu								tiraáriki					piíta
the ones related to him								this					man
irii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	icis	-hus	tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	wiita
that	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB	this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	man

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiahíhwak ¹								“
Hi ahíhwaki'								“
And they said							:	“
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0							,	”
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF							,	”

Hirusukssastáwikusitⁿ

Hiru suksaastáwikusit										
There fetch the one tied										
hiruu i- s- uks- haas- ta -wi kusik -0										
there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS rope be.hanging SUB.L pick.up PERF										

. " Hiirakataháhiri
 . " Hi irahkataháhiri'
 ! " And in front
 . " hi irahkata- -haar -hiri'

. " and in.front LOC LOC

ahahəstawíku
ahahaastawíku
it was tied

ar- ra- 0- haas- ta -wi kus -0
EV ABS 3.A rope be.hanging SUB.L be.sitting PERF

. Kukarutirikaráhətⁿ ,
. Kukaruutirikaraáhat ,
. He didn't even turn around ,
. ku- ka- ra- 0- ut- irikaraa.hak -0 ,
. INDF NEG ABS 3.A PREV turn.around PERF ,

kišíraruwitušia

kici raaruuwitúci'a
but then he just did it

kici raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0
but just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

ahawítitⁿ ,

ahawítit

: he sat down

, ar- ra- 0- wi.itik -0
, EV ABS 3.A sit.down PERF

iríahahapi

iríí'ahahaapi ,

where the stake was ,

iríi- ar- ra- 0- haak- wi -0 ,
where EV ABS 3.A wood be.upright SUB.4 ,

ahutətarikiwətⁱ ;

, ahutaattariikiwati ,

, when he untied it ,
 , ar- ra- 0- ut- ak- tarii.kiwat -i ,
 , EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P untie SUB.2 ,

ikáruhašikst^a .

i káruuhaaciksta .
 and he wasn't watching .
 i ka- ra- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -0 .
 and NEG ABS 3.A PREV way watch PERF .

Hikíšihiruirakak^u

Hi kici hiru iraáhkaaku
 And but then that one inside
 hi kici hiruu ii- ra- 0- ar- kaa- kus -0
 and but then that ABS 3.A EV inside be.sitting SUB.4

, hikuhaníksiritⁿ

hi kuuharíksirit
 and he took an arrow
 hi kuur- ra- 0- riiks- iriik -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A arrow pick.up.long.object PERF

; iriahutátarikiwati

. Irii'ahutaattariíkiwati

. The one who was untying it

. irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- ak- tarii.kiwat -i
 . that EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P untie SUB.2

aahutišákus .

a ahuutícakus .
 and he pierced him .
 a ar- ra- 0- ut- ica.kus.k -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV pierce PERF .

Nihuksuwititišákus ,
 Ríhuksu' witiícakus ,
 Only he was pierced ,
 rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- ica.kus.k -0 ,
 alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A pierce PERF ,

hihiruírawarik¹ ,
 hi hiru írawaariki ,
 and then those ,
 hi hiruu ii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i ,
 and then that ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

hiahawakáhta ,
 hi ahaawakaáhta' ,
 and they raised a cry :
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- wakar- ta.a -0 ,
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A voice come.up PERF ,

“ Witíhkutit . ”
 “ Witíhkuutit . ”
 “ He has been killed . ”
 " wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 . ”
 " QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF kill PERF . ”

Kitútiraturuta
 Kítuu'u' tiraatúruuta
 All this village
 kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- ituur- u.at -a
 all NOM this ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.1

hiahíhwaki “
 hi ahíhwaki' “
 and they said : “
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

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

Ariwitíhkutitⁿ . "

Ári' witíhkuutit . "

Why , he has been killed . "

arii , wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 . "

oh , QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF kill PERF . "

Hiahíræs .

Hi ahiíras .

And they ran .

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF .

Ahíhwaki " Náwa

Ahíhwaki' " Ráwa

They said : " Now

ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa

EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

nuhúhurahəš . "

ruuhuúhurahac . "

let him die at last . "

ri- 0- uhur- hurahac -0 . "

CONT.3A 3.P finally die PERF . "

Hirusiahirikáwirariwitiⁿ

Hiru si'ahiriikaáwiraariwiitit

Then they went at him where he was inside

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- kaa- wiraar.ri.wi.itik -0

then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ inside begin.attacking PERF

. Ástašaríkuš ,

. Astacaríkuc

. No Feet
 . as- raar- tarikuc
 . foot PL short

wísitihkahuhwírariku
 wisitihkaahuhwíraariku

they surrounded him where he was inside

wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kaa- uhuur- wiraar.ri.kus -0
 now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A inside quickly be.attacking PERF

. Tihwakíah^u , xka^a !
 . Tihwakí'aahu' , iika'a
 . They say , oh my ,
 . ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , iika'a ,
 . IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , oh.my ,

turíruhšⁱ ,
 turíruhci' .
 he was fierce .
 ti- 0- uur- riruhci -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV be.powerful PERF .

kuhuhákšaw^u
 Kuuuhaákcawu
 He set his pole upright

kuur- ra- 0- uur- haak- ca.wuh -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV wood put.upright PERF

náktiĥətⁿ , kawíhiri ,
 ráktiĥaat , kaawíhiri' ,
 tent pole , in the center ,
 rak- tiihaak , kaa- -wi -hiri' ,
 wood be.straight , inside SUB.L LOC ,

hiwítirawíhta

hi wítiraawíhta'

and he climbed it angrily

hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- raawiir- ta.a -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV angrily come.up PERF

,
.
.
.
.

šiárusiwítihwariku

Ci a raaruusiwítihwariku'

But and then they just were shooting

ci a raa- ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- warik -:hus
but and just then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A shoot IMPF

hurárirⁱ hišiáškatⁿ ,
huraárirí' hici áckat
on the ground but above
huraar -hiri' hi.ci ac -kat
ground LOC and above LOC

witáhtaku .

witaáhtaku .

he would be sitting on it .

wi- ti- 0- ar- ta kus -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting PERF .

Hihawawítarihtakahətⁿ

Hi hawá witaaríhtakaahat

And also he would climb down

hi haawa wi- ti- 0- a- ar- ri- uur- takaa.hak -0

and also QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A get.down 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

wiahakukísirikitawi^a

wi'ahaaku

when he was sitting

wii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0 , " kii- i- s- ir- ikita -wi a -0
when EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , " HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A ride SUB.L come PERF

kúratiruarus^a

kúратиiru

it mine

ku- ra- t- ir- 0 -u aruúsa'
INDF ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A be SUB.D horse

Ariwítasuta

Ári' wítasuuta

Why , you have done it

arii , wii- ta- s- ut- aar -0 ,
oh , now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF ,

Tararikawaáhu

Tararikaawa'aáhu'

He Was Bringing Things Back

ti- 0- a- raar- ri- kaa- wa- a -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT inside DIST come IMPF

, nikutasuha^a

. Rikutasuuhá'a

. You are the cause
 . riku- ta- s- ut- raar -'
 . that.is IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tiirirut^a
 ti'iriiruuta . "
 this way it is . "
 tii- irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a . "
 this that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 . "

Ikáruhašikst^a
 I káruuhaaciksta
 And he wasn't watching
 i ka- ra- 0- ut- raa- aciks.ta -0
 and NEG ABS 3.A PREV way watch PERF

Tararikawáah^u
 Tararikaawá'aahu'
 He Was Bringing Things Back
 ti- 0- a- raar- ri- kaa- wa- a -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT inside DIST come IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hikišiahuhahwišətⁿ
 Hi kici ahuuhaáhwicat
 And but they went there aggressively
 hi kici ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- wic.at -0
 and but EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A arrive PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Kišihisiwitiwirárititⁿ

Kici hi siwitiwiraáriwiitit
But and they surrounded him
kici hi si- wi- ti- 0- ir- wiraar.ri.wi.itik -0
but and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A begin.attacking PERF

hiahiruwáwaəs

hi ahiiruuwaáwa'as
and they ran in different directions
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ruu- waawa- as-i -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV DIST DIST run PERF

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

Hiahirituhwiruwáhətⁿ

Hi ahiirituhwiruuwaáhat
And they took the lodges down
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ituur- wi.ra.hak -waa -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A village knock.down DIST PERF

;
,
,
,

,

hiruwihiruwitirahuhawírawa

hiru	wihiru	witiirahuuhawíraawaa'										
then	there	everyone came eastward with them										
hiruu	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raar-	huuha.wi.raa-	wa-	a	-0
then	now	there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	PL.INDV.A	eastward	DIST	come	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hikišisiahikhahuwírariku

Hi	kici	si'ahihkaahuhwíraariku									
And	but	they were surrounding him									
hi	kici	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	kaa-	uhuur-	wiraar.ri.kus	-0	
and	but	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	inside	quickly	be.attacking	PERF	

. Píræski
 . Píraski
 . The boys
 . piiras- -kis
 . boy DIM

siwítawahætⁿ

siwitiitawaahut

they held him

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	ahuk	-waa	-0	
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	hold	DIST	PERF	

,
,

,
,
,

hawáirisikukuhaha^u

hawá iriisikukú'aháhaa'u

also the ones (du) who were his children

haawa	irii-	si-	ku-	ku-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	haa	-u
also	that	DU	INDF	INDF	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be.one's.child	SUB.D

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Witíhwaki

“

Witíhwaki'

“

They said

:

“

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,	”
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,	”

Sikarisišišírəs^a

Sikariisiicírasa'

Do not bring it for him

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

arús^a .
aruúsa' .
the horse .
aruusaa .
horse .

Hirurusirihúkutitⁿ .
 Hiru ruusirihúhkuutit .
 Then let them kill him finally .
 hiruu ruu- si- ri- 0- uhur- kuut.ik -0 .
 then then DU CONT.3A 3.A finally kill PERF .

"
 "
 "
 "

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

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 .

karawituruksi ;
 Karawituúruksi ,
 He was not good ,
 kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- uks- hiir -0 ,
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be.good PERF ,

ásiahihkutitⁿ .
 a si'ahihkuutit .
 and they killed him .
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Awawitáarakarišáhkaku

Áwas witaarakaaricáhkaku

Left behind his lodge was left in the village

awas wi- ti- 0- ar- akaar- icaška- kus -0
left.behind QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV dwelling village be.sitting PERF

iríwikuhakasa ;

, iriwikuuhákasa .

, wherever he lay in it .

, irii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- ka- sa -0 .

, where now DUB ABS 3.A in be.lying PERF .

kituasiahikákawakətⁿ

Kítuu'u' a si'ahihkákawaakat

All and they cut him up into pieces

kituu -u' a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ka- ka.ukac.k -waa -0
all NOM and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A ITER cut.up DIST PERF

.

,

,

,

,

Kusirihkúrahur^u

kusirihkuuráhuuru

their treating him

ku- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uur- rahur- 0 -u
INDF DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV do be SUB.D

kátahka .

kátahka .

(as) an enemy .
 katahkaa .
 enemy .

Iirusiwitiríikutitⁿ
 Iirusiwitiriíkuutit
 There they killed him

irii-	ruu-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kuut.ik	-0
there	there	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	kill	PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hikariritiriráit^a
 Hi kariiritiriiraá'íta

And I do not know it

hi	karii-	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa.iita	-0
and	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	know	PERF

. Kirakaraút

-- kára kára'ut

-- perhaps he was

-- kira ka- ra- 0- ut- 0 -0

-- perhaps Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A PREV be PERF

šawíi ,
 Cawí'í ,
 a Chawi ,
 icawiir ,
 Chawi ,

akukirakáraitⁿ

aku	kíra	kára'ut						
or	perhaps	he was						
aku	kira	ka-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-0	
or	perhaps	Y/N.INTER	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	PERF	

Kitkahahk ⁱ	.	
Kítkaahki	.	
a Kitkahahki	.	
kitka.haar-	-kis	.
earth.lodge.village	DIM	.

Irikuháit ⁿ							šáhiks	.
Irikuhá'ut							cáhiks	.
Whatever he was							person	.
irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-0	icaahiks	.
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	PERF	person	.

Náw ^a	,	títaku	
Ráwa	,	tiítaku	
Now	,	right here	
rawa	,	tii-	-taku
now	,	here	LOC

nikutiratíhət ⁿ	.					
rikutíraatiihat	.					
this is the end of it	.					
riku-	ti-	0-	raa-	tii.hak	-0	.
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	way	be.the.end	PERF	.

Ahurúksiwiš						
Ahuurúksiwic						
He appeared						
ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	uks-	hiwihc	-0

EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR appear PERF

sáhikskararákuhira

cáhiks kararákuuhiira

a person his not being good

icaahiks kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- hiir -a
person NEG INF.A 3.P INF.B PREV be.good SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .

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

híhaw^a šáhiks híhawa
hi haáwa' cáhiks hi hawá
and also a person and also
hi haawa icaahiks hi haawa
and also person and also

ahatawihšítitⁿ .
ahatawihcítit .
he became prominent .
ar- ra- 0- tawi.ihc.itik -0 .
EV ABS 3.A appear.among PERF .

Tiirirətpawákahu ,
Ti'iriiratpaawaákahu ,

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

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

ruksáwahşu
 ruksáwahcu
 even if it is
 ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
 CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D

tiráwahətⁿ iríihi
 Tiráwaahat irí ihí
 the Heavens that , uh
 tii- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0 irii , ihii
 this ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 that , uh

rihwakuhtarúwa^u
 , rihwakuhtaruúwaa'u
 , when one speaks his words
 , ra- 0- ir- wakuur- tara'u -waa -0
 , ABS 3.A 3.INDF word talk.about DIST SUB.3

hirúhwakurawu ,
 hi rúhwakuurawu' ,
 and one doubts him ,
 hi ra- 0- uur- wakuur- raa.wuu -:hus ,
 and ABS 3.A PREV word doubt IMPF ,

Tasiráit^a .
 tasiráá'iita .
 you know .
 ta- s- ir- raa.iita -0 .
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

Aruksawašparukstí^u
 A ruksawacpaárukstii'u
 And even if he is holy
 a ra- 0- uks- awahc- waarukstii -u
 and ABS 3.A JUSS even.if be.holy SUB.D

šahíksnik^u ,
 cáhiks riíku ,
 person the one living ,
 icaahiks ri- 0- kus -0 ,
 person CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF ,

hisiríhwakurawu .
 hi siríhwakuurawu' .
 and they doubt him .
 hi si- ra- 0- ir- wakuur- raa.wuu -:hus .
 and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A word doubt IMPF .

Awitiruksawášta^u
 A witiruksawácta'u ,
 And even if he made himself ,
 a witi- ra- 0- uks- awahc- ra'uk -0 ,
 and REFL ABS 3.A JUSS even.if make SUB.3 ,

ihí , šahíksnik^u niwarúksti^u
 ihí , cáhiks rikuriwaárukstii'u
 uh , a person one that is holy
 ihii , icaahiks riku- ri- 0- waarukstii -u

uh , person that.is CONT.3A 3.A be.holy SUB.D

,
,
,
,
,

hisirišiksawáškirik^u

hi siriiciksawackíriku

and even if they did look at him

hi si- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- awahc- kirik.kus -0
and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ JUSS even.if look.at SUB.4

, hirihwakíahu “
, hi rihwakí’ahu’ “
, and they always say : “
, hi ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , ”
, and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , ”

Kakíwətiks . ”
Kaakíiwattiks . ”
He is not truthful . ”
kaaki- 0- i- wak.rik.his -0 . ”
NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.truthful PERF . ”

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

kiturikuwitukstatáwiku

kítuu’u’ rikuwitukstaatáwiikup

everything that was the way among us
 kituu -u' riku- wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -ka'uk -0
 all NOM that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among DIST PERF

. Hišáhiks
 . Hi cáhiks
 . And a person
 . hi icaahiks
 . and person

hikuhatarítta^a
 hi kuuhatarítta'a
 and he was born
 hi kuur- ra- 0- tarikta- aar -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A body become PERF

Hirurahkuksawášpari
 Hiru raahkuksawácpari
 Then when he would even go around
 hiruu ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- awahc- warii -hus
 then INF.A 3.A EV INF.B JUSS even be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, hirúrawirakur^u ;
 hiru raawiirakuúru' --
 there (on) a war party --
 hiruu raawiiraak.huur -u' --
 there war.party NOM --

hirurawirakuru
 hiru raawiirakuúru'
 there (on) a war party
 hiruu raawiiraak.huur -u'
 there war.party NOM

rahkuwari .
 raahkúwari .
 when he would go about .
 ra- 0- ar- ku- warii -hus .
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Kitusitihtarúwa^u

Kítuu'u' sitihtaruúwaa'u'
 All they talked about him
 kituu -u' si- ti- 0- ir- tara'u -waa -0
 all NOM DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A talk.about DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hítahwaku ,

Hi taahwáku'
 And he would say
 hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

wirihkutətašáus

wirihkuutattacá'us

when they were hungry

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ak- raca'us -0
 when INF.A 3.P OBV INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P be.hungry SUB.4

. Hítahwaku níhkit^a
 -- hi taahwáku' ríhkita
 -- and he would say the leader
 -- hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 rihkita

-- and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF leader

ráhku^uairiruruksáwahšú

raáhku'u

his being

a iriiruuruksáwahcu
or whoever it might even be

ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u a irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D or what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

kúrahus , pīta ,
kúrahus , piíta ,
an old man , a man ,
kurahuus , wiita ,
old.man , man ,

kararurawakuráwari

kararuraawakuuráwari

one who did not doubt things

kara- ra- 0- uur- raa- wakuur- raa.warii -hus
NEG ABS 3.A PREV way word doubt.DIST.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. Hítahwaku “ ɣka^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

! tirəstakawáhətⁿ ,
tirastaakáwaahat ,
, you (pl) in the Heavens ,
, tii- ra- s- rak- a.hak -waa -0 ,
, this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4 ,

təstakítawⁱ
tastakítawi’

you are the judges

ta- s- rak- kita.wi -0
IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.the.leader PERF

tirátpari .

tirátpari .

as I go about .

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

Hírítišk^a

Hi riíticka'

And I want

hi rii- t- wicka -0
and ASSR 1.A want PERF

kíririkurətkuksuhuhakáwaəš

kíriku' kuratkuksuhuuhaakáwa'ac

something that I eat at last

kirikuu ku- ra- t- ku- uks- uhur- haakawaħc -0
anything INDF INF.A 1.A INF.B JUSS finally eat SUB.4

. " Airikuahaširá^a

. " A iriku'ahacíra'a

. " And that is his way

. " a iriku- ar- ra- aciir- raa- 0 -'
. " and that.is EV ABS IN.DU.A way be EX

Káwaha^u . " Náw^a , Káwaha^u
Káwahaaru' . " Ráwa , Káwahaaru'
Fortune . " Now , Fortune
kawahaar -u' . " rawa , kawahaar -u'
be.fortunate NOM . " now , be.fortunate NOM

kiraitákawaəs						kírik ^u
kíra itaákawa'ac						kíriku'
perhaps I'll eat						something
kira	i-	t-	haakawahc	-0		kirikuu
perhaps	CONT.1/2A	1.A	eat	PERF		anything

títiri	.	ɣka ^a	!
tiítiiri	.	líka'a	
today	.	Oh my	,
tii- tiiri	.	iika'a	,
here now	.	oh.my	,

witikutarahkisíšisət ⁿ	.	
witikutarahkisíciisat	.	"
I am exhausted now	.	"
wi- ti- ku-	tarahkis-	iciisat -0
QUOT IND.3A 1.P	be.strong	be.tired PERF
	.	"

Nikutihwawakíáh ^u	
Rikutihwaawakí'aahu'	
That is what they say	
riku- ti- 0- ir- waa- waki.a -:hus	
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A DIST say.PL.IMPF IMPF	

irikararurawakúrawu	
iriikararuraawakuúrawu	
the one who does not doubt him	
irii- kara- ra- 0- uur- raa- wakuur- raa.wuu -hus	
that NEG ABS 3.A PREV way word doubt IMPF.SUB	

,
.
.
.

nikutitpakurúutⁿ

Rikutitpakúruu'ut

That is the way they talked

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	wakuur-	uu	-uk	-0
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	word	be	DIST	PERF

Ašíirirurawakurawu

A ci iriiruraawakuúrawu

And but the one who doubts him

a	ci	irii-	ra-	0-	uur-	raa-	wakuur-	raa.wuu	-hus
and	but	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	word	doubt	IMPF.SUB

hiruwítaxwaku

hiru witaahwáku'

then he would say

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	:	"
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF	,	"

Ári !

Ári'

Why ,

arii ,

oh ,

nakurariwatírahi

rakurariiwatíraahu

be looking around

ra- 0- ku- raar- riiwatir -a -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A look.around SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

. Hihirusitəsitára^u

. Hi hiru sitasitára'u'

. And then you (pl) talk of him

. hi hiruu si- ta- s- i- tara'u -0

. and then DU IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ talk.about PERF

Káwaha^u

. Náw^a Káwaha^u

Káwahaaru'

. Ráwa Káwahaaru'

Fortune

. Now Fortune

kawahaar -u'

. rawa kawahaar -u'

be.fortunate NOM

. now be.fortunate NOM

kirukúraritⁿ

. Nawa

kiru kúraarit

. Ráwa

where stands he

? Now

kiruu ku- ra- 0- arik -0

. rawa

where INDF ABS 3.A be.standing PERF

. now

kirúkuraritⁿ

kiru kúraarit

where stands he

kiruu ku- ra- 0- arik -0

where INDF ABS 3.A be.standing PERF

Káwaha^u

,

Káwahaaru'

,

Fortune

,

kawahaar -u'

,

be.fortunate NOM

,

kišiharitarápiwahətⁿ

kici haariitaraápiwaahat

but here we sit around

kici haa- rii- t- a- rak- wi.hak -waa -0
but here ASSR 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

. Hawitirituhákiriku

. Haawitiriituuhaákiriku

. Here we look at each other

. haa- witi- rii- t- ut- rak- kirik.kus -0
. here REFL ASSR 1.A PREV 1/2.PL look.at PERF

. Iirihíri

. I iriihiiri'

. And it is the other one

. i irii- hii- ri- 0- 0 -0
. and that other CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

tírətpakahu

tíratpaakahu

this that I say

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

rakurariwátir^a

rakurariiwátira

you should look around

ra- 0- ku- raar- riiwatir -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A look.around SUB.1

Hísiisutiritkírík^u

Hi si'isuutiirit

And you'll see it

hi si- i- s- ut- iirik -0 kíriku'
kirikuu something

and DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV see PERF anything

rakuwáwa^a , náwa^a
rakuwaáwa'a . Ráwa
to eat . Now
ra- 0- ku- waawa- a -0 . rawa
ABS 3.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.4 . now

asiiskútitⁿ .
a si'iskuútit .
and you'll kill it !
a si- i- s- kuut.ik -0 .
and DU CONT.1/2A 2.A kill PERF .

Aahawáku ihi níhkita
A ahawáku' , ihi , ríhkita
And he said , uh , the leader
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii , rihkita
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , uh , leader

, " Irikúruutⁿ
" Irikúruu'ut
: " It is that way
, " irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
, " that DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX

tirəšihwari
tiracihwari
while we were living
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus
this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kakašikítawⁱ ;
kaakaacihkítawⁱ .

we are not judges
kaaka- aciir- kita.wi -0
NEG.IND.1/2A IN.DU.A be.the.leader PERF

hirutiráwahətⁿ

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

tíhiru Káwahaar^u ;
tíhiru' Káwahaaru' ,
he made it Fortune ,
tiir- ri- 0- ra'uk -0 kawahaar -u' ,
INFR CONT.3A 3.A make PERF be.fortunate NOM ,

nikurakúhawar^u

rikurakúhaawaaru
his being the one who causes things
riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -waa -u
that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause DIST SUB.D

tirəšihwari

tiracihwari
while we are living
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus
this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

rəšihkuhakawáhš^u ;

racihkuhaakawáhcu --
for us to eat --
ra- aciir- ku- haakawahc -hus --
INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B eat IMPF.SUB --

rakuhákawaəš
 rakuhaákawa'ac

to eat

ra-	0-	ku-	haakawahc	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	eat	SUB.4

nawitəkaráhis^u

raawiitakaaraáhisu'

suddenly

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

Nikuwitiwawákah^u

Rikuwitiwaawákaahu'

That is what he always says

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waa-	waka	-.hus
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	say.IMPf	IMPf

iriruwakawíriwar^a

iriruhwakaawíriwaara

the one who has good words

irii-	ra-	0-	uur-	wakaara-	-wi	hi.wa.ar	-a
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	noise	SUB.L	be.good.DIST	SUB.1

; kárarurawari

, káraruuraawaari

, he who believes things

,	kara-	ra-	0-	uur-	raa.warii	-hus	.
,	NEG	ABS	3.A	PREV	doubt.DIST.IMPf	IMPf.SUB	.

Náw^a , ruaháahu

Ráwa , ruu'ahaá'ahu

Now , those who were coming

rawa	,	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-hus
------	---	------	-----	-----	----	----	---	------

now , that EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB

,

wiwititatəšáus

wiwitiitattacá'us

they were hungry

wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- raca'us -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.P OBV PREV PL.AN.3P be.hungry PERF

Aahawáku

hā !

. A ahawáku' " Haa

. And he said : " Ha ,

. a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " haa ,

. and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " ha ,

irirír^{itn}

,

iríriirit , "

there it stands , "

irii- rii- 0- arik -0 , "

there ASSR 3.A be.standing PERF , "

kúaru

kíwiku ,

kú'aaru kíwiiku' ,

perhaps its being a buffalo bull ,

ku- ii- 0- ar- 0 -u kiwiik -u' ,

INDF SUBJ.3A 3.A EV be SUB.D buffalo.bull NOM ,

áku

nahúrahkⁱ .

a ku rahúrahki .

or perhaps a deer .
 a ku rahuraar -kis .
 or INDF animal DIM .

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

náwairi Káwaha^u . "
 ráwa iri , Káwahaaru’ . "
 now there , Fortune . "
 rawa irii , kawahaar -u’ . "
 now there , be.fortunate NOM . "

Nikutatušukstakuhúru

Rikutatucukstaakuhúru’

That is the way we used to do

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

. Sirihkutíritⁿ

. Sirihkuutiírit

. When they saw it

. si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- iirik -0
 . DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV see SUB.4

nəkuwáwa^a ,

rakuwaáwa’a ,

to eat ,

ra- 0- ku- waawa- a -0 ,
 ABS 3.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.4 ,

hiirirútiwaku									“	Naw ^a
hi iriruutiwáku’									“	Ráwa
and thereupon he said								:	“	Now
hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- waka’u -0								,	”	rawa
and then then IND.3A 3.A say PERF								,	”	now

,	náw ^a iri	,	Káwaha ^u							
,	ráwa iri	,	Káwahaaru’							
,	now there	,	Fortune							
,	rawa irii	,	kawahaar -u’							
,	now there	,	be.fortunate NOM							

tírəstakawahə ⁿ										;
tírastaakawaahat										,
you Heavens here										,
tii- ra- s- rak- a.hak -waa -0										,
here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4										,

Náw ^a	,	wiritákawašist ^a							.	”
ráwa	,	wiritaákawahcista							.	”
now	,	we are going to eat now							.	”
rawa	,	wii- rii- t- haakawahc -his -ta							.	”
now	,	now ASSR 1.A eat PERF INT							.	”

Ahihwawáktiku									.
Ahihwaawáktiku’									.
They were talking									.
ar- ra- 0- ir- waa.wak.tik -:hus									.
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A talk IMPF									.

Ahíhwak ⁱ									,	“	Náw ^a	,
Ahíhwaki’									,	“	Ráwa	,
They said									:	“	Now	,
ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0									,	”	rawa	,

EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now ,

Šaká^a súksparitⁿ

Cakaá'a súksparit . "

Pleiades shoot it shoot it ! "

cakaa'a i- s- uks- warik -0 . "

Pleiades CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS shoot PERF . "

Ahawáku Šaká^a “

Ahawáku' Cakaá'a “

He said Pleides : “

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF Pleiades , "

Kakúri ,

Kaakúri' ,

No ,

kaaki- 0- uur- i- 0 -0 ,

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF ,

kakatiwárikst^a ;

kaakatiwáriksta .

I am not going to shoot it .

kaaka- t- i- warik -his -ta .

NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ shoot PERF INT .

hirukáwaha^u

Hiru Káwahaaru'

There Fortune

hiruu kawahaar -u'

there be.fortunate NOM

rúksparitⁿ . "

rúksparit . "

let him shoot it ! "
 ri- 0- uks- warik -0 . "
 CONT.3A 3.A JUSS shoot PERF . "

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

Kakúri
 Kaakúri' ,
 No ,
 kaaki- 0- uur- i- 0 -0 ,
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF ,

núrišuks
 ruúricuks
 let it be
 ruu- ri- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0
 then CONT.3A 3.A OBV PREV JUSS be PERF

iriwírəspak^a ;
 iriwíraspaaka .
 what you have said .
 irii- wii- ra- s- waak -a .
 what now ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1 .

tuhahúhtawi ,
 Tuuhaahúhtawi' .
 It is difficult .
 ti- 0- ut- raa.huhtawii -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV be.difficult PERF .

witašakúhašaus .
 Witacakuúhaca'us .
 We are hungry .
 wi- ti- aca- ku- ut- raca'us -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A IN.DU.P 1.P PREV be.hungry PERF .

Náw^a , šúskparitⁿ . "
 Ráwa súkparit . "
 Now shoot it ! "
 rawa i- s- uks- warik -0 . "
 now CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS shoot PERF . "

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

Iwiritiwárikst^a . "
 I wiritiiwáriksta . "
 And now I am going to shoot it . "
 i wii- rii- t- i- warik -his -ta . "
 and now ASSR 1.A SEQ shoot PERF INT . "

Híruahietⁿ .
 Hiru ahí'at ,
 Then he went ,
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- at -0 ,
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF ,

Aahatakásitⁿ .
 a ahatakaásit .
 and he shot .
 a ar- ra- 0- takaas.ik -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A shoot PERF .

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

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

ruwitiriwíuhətⁿ

ruuwitiriwí'uuhət

then he brought it down

ruu- wi- ti- 0- ri- wi.uuhak -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PORT fall PERF .

Hiwihiruahíra

Hi wihiru ahiíra'

And then he came

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- ir- a -0
and now then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV come PERF

. Híkiši

. Hi kici

. And but

. hi kici

. and but

aharəšarakísa

ahaaracarahkísa'

they came running

ar- ra- 0- a- raar- tarahkis- a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A be.strong come PERF

.

.

.
. .
.

Ahawáku " Náwairi
Ahawáku' " Ráwa íiri ,
He said : " Now then ,
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa irii ,
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now then ,

wirísa
wirísa . "
now it lies there . "
wii- ri- 0- sa -0 . "
now CONT.3A 3.A be.lying PERF . "

wikuhitatəšáus
Wikuhiitattacá'us
Now they were hungry
wii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raca'us -0
now DUB ABS 3.P OBV PREV PL.AN.3P be.hungry PERF

. " Aahárahwišətⁿ .
. A ahárahwícat .
. And they arrived there .
. a ar- ra- 0- raar- wic.at -0 .
. and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A arrive PERF .

Aahawáku šaká^a "
A ahawáku' Cakaá'a "
And he said Pleides : "
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 cakaá'a , "
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF Pleiades , "

Nawahá !
 Ráwa haa
 Now see ,
 rawa haa ,
 now see ,

hawirisuhətíšis ;
 haawirisuuhaattiícis .
 here you have learned .
 haa- wii- rii- s- ut- rak- riicis -0 .
 here now ASSR 2.A PREV 1/2.PL learn.about PERF .

nawahá ! kirúkurar^{tⁿ}
 Ráwa haa kirú kuraarit
 Now see , where is he
 rawa haa , kiruu ku- ra- 0- arik -0
 now see , where INDF ABS 3.A be.standing PERF

Káwaha^u ,
 Káwahaaru'
 Fortune
 kawahaar -u'
 be.fortunate NOM

tiwirakútik^a . Hā !
 tiwirakuútika . Haa
 when he killed it ? Ha ,
 tii- wii- ra- 0- kuut.ik -a . haa ,
 when when ABS 3.A kill SUB.1 . ha ,

harítar^{tⁿ} , hā !
 haariítarit . Haa
 here I stand . Ha ,
 haa- rii- t- arik -0 . haa ,

here ASSR 1.A be.standing PERF . ha ,

tiratárikⁱ

tiraatáriki

I who stand here

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

tatuhátiwiras^a

tatuuhá'a

I caused it

ta- t- ut- raar -' tii- wii- ra- 0- sa -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be.the.cause EX this now ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4

tiwíraasa

this one lying

tiwirəšihakawašistar^{tⁿ}

tiwiraciihaákawahcistarit

this one that we are going to eat

tii- wii- ra- aciir- haakawahc -his -ta -rit
this now ABS IN.DU.A eat PERF INT INT.SUB

. Aahíhwakⁱ

. A ahíhwaki'

. And they said

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

Irísuha^a

I rísuuha'a

And you did cause it

i rii- s- ut- raar -'
and ASSR 2.A PREV be.the.cause EX

hikiširuhá

hi kici ruuhá'a

and	but	he caused it					
hi	kici	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-ʼ	
and	but	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.the.cause	EX	

Káwaha^u ,
 Káwahaaru'
 Fortune
 kawahaar -u'
 be.fortunate NOM

rahkuwíška ^a							
raahkuwícka'a						:	"
when he thought						:	"
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	wicka	-a	,	"
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	want	SUB.1	,	"

suhuhákawaəš						.	"
Suhuuhaákawa'ac						.	"
Eat it now						.	"
i-	s-	uhur-	haakawahc	-0		.	"
CONT.1/2A	2.A	now	eat	PERF		.	"

Irár ⁱ						,	tiratár ^{it} ⁿ
Iraári'						,	tiraataárit
Brother						,	every now and then
i-	-raar-		-ri'			,	tiraataarit
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			,	every.now.and.then

nahkuwíška ^a							Káwaha ^u
raahkuwícka'a							Káwahaaru'
when he thought							Fortune
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	wicka	-a		kawahaar -u'
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	want	SUB.1		be.fortunate NOM

“
:
,
,

kirakarisihákawaəš .
 Kíra kariisihaákawa’ac .
 Perhaps you won't eat .
 kira kara- i- s- i- haakawahc -0 .
 perhaps NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ eat PERF .

"
"
"
"

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

atariwáhtikutⁿ .
 a taariwáhtiikut .
 and one would starve to death .
 a ti- 0- ar- riwahtii kuut -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.P EV be.starved die PERF .

Nikutihwakiáh^u .
 Rikutihwaki’aahu’ .
 That is what they say .
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .

that.is IND.3A 3.P PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Awitariwáhtikutⁿ

A witaariwáhtiikut

And he would starve to death

a wi- ti- 0- ar- riwahtii kuut -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.P EV be.starved die PERF

šáhiks

cáhiks

a person

icaahiks

person

ararutarurawiúsit

a raaruutáruurawi'uusit

and then he would just expire

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- uur- awi.uusik -0
and just then IND.3A 3.A EV PREV pass.away PERF

. Tuhahuhtáwi

. Tuhaahúhtawi'

. It was difficult

. ti- 0- ut- raa- huur.tawi -0
. IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.difficult PERF

rakuhósaus .

rakuuháca'us .

to be hungry .

ra- 0- ku- ut- raca'us -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.hungry SUB.4 .

Híhikiri kakawíška

Hi híkiiri kaakaahwícka'

And so it was he did not want it
 hi hikiiri kaaki- 0- ar- wicka -0
 and indeed NEG.IND.3A 3.A EV want PERF

Káwaha^u ;
 Káwahaaru' .
 Fortune .
 kawahaar -u' .
 be.fortunate NOM .

ikarahákawašist^a ,
 I karahaákawahcista ,
 And he was not going to eat ,
 i ka- ra- 0- haakawahc -his -ta ,
 and NEG ABS 3.A eat PERF INT ,

atariwáhtikutⁿ . Náwa ,
 a taariwáhtiikut . Ráwa ,
 and one would starve to death . Now ,
 a ti- 0- ar- riwahtii kuut -0 . rawa ,
 and IND.3A 3.P EV be.starved die PERF . now ,

hiruahiriraráwihutⁿ
 hiru ahiriiraraawihut
 then they packed it on their backs
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- i- raar- ra.awi.huk -0
 then EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P carry PERF

hiruahírarətⁿ ,
 , hiru ahíraarat ,
 , then they went ,
 , hiruu ar- ri- 0- raar- at -0 ,
 , then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A go PERF ,

aahawítik^u .
a ahawiítiku' .
and he would stop .
a ar- ra- 0- wi.itik -:hus .
and EV ABS 3.A sit.down IMPF .

Aharárirətⁿ . xka^a !
Aharaárirat . líka'a
They sat down . Oh my ,
ar- ra- 0- raar- ri.ra.at -0 . iika'a ,
EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF . oh.my ,

ahihkarukíšpahi
ahihkaaruhkícpaahi'
they were joking as they ate
ar- ra- 0- ir- kaaruur- kihc- wa- aar -i
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A meal clown DIST become IMPF

;
--
--
--
--

ahihkarukíšpahi
ahihkaaruhkícpaahi'
they were joking as they ate
ar- ra- 0- ir- kaaruur- kihc- wa- aar -i
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A meal clown DIST become IMPF

.
.
.
.

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

Nawahá !
 Ráwa haa
 Now see ,
 rawa haa ,
 now see ,

kiširikutatuutⁿ . " I ,
 kici rikutátuu’ut . " I ,
 but that is how I am . " And ,
 kici riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -’ . " i ,
 but that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX . " and ,

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

ritirítatatúšuksiritⁿ
 ritiiriíta : tatúcuksiirit
 I knew him : I saw him
 rii- t- ir- iita -0 , ta- t- ut- uks- iirik -0
 ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF , IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR see PERF

. Ahawíšahu , hi ,
 . Ahaawícaahu’ , hi

. They were arriving , and
 , ar- ra- 0- a- wic.a -:hus , hi
 , EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive IMPF , and

píra^u
 píra'u'
 child
 piira -u'
 child NOM

Kahuhkiráwašititⁿ ;
 kuuhuhkíraáwaahcitit --
 his became ill --
 kuur- ra- 0- uur- kiraawaahc -0 -itik --
 DUB ABS 3.P POSS.P be.sick PERF INCH --

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

píraskihikuhuhkiráwašititⁿ
 Píraski hi kuuhuhkíraáwaahcitit
 The boy and his became ill
 piiras- -kis hi kuur- ra- 0- uur- kiraawaahc -0 -itik
 boy DIM and DUB ABS 3.P POSS.P be.sick PERF INCH

. Tihwakíah^u “
 . Tihwakí'aahu'
 . They say
 . ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 . IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Witirarítis					pirəsk ⁱ		.
witiraaríttis					piíraski		.
he was older					the boy		.
wi-	ti-	0-	raariktis	-0	piiras-	-kis	.
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.older	PERF	boy	DIM	.

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

hiruwitarúši ^a								
hiru	witaruúci'a							
then	he would do it							
hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

Šaká^a ,
Cakaá'a
Pleides :
cakaa'a
Pleiades

atirawitírara							
Atíra'		witírara					
Mother (bundle)		he carried					
ati-	raa	wi-	ti-	0-	raar-	raah	-0
1.POSS	mother	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	3PL.iNAN.P	have	PERF

,	hiruwitarúši ^a								
,	hiru	witaruúci'a							
,	then	he would do it							
,	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	aar	-0

, then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF

, Šaká^a “ Náw^a
 Cakaá’a “ Ráwa
 Pleides “ Now
 cakaá’a ” rawa
 Pleiades ” now

tirəstaukátawⁱ , náw^a
 tirasta’uukátawi , ráwa
 you hanging here in the west , now
 tii- ra- s- raa- uukata -wi , rawa
 here ABS 2.A way hang.on.the.west.wall SUB.L , now

witəstapáruksti ,
 witastaapaáruksti’ .
 you are supposed to be holy .
 wi- ta- s- rak- waarukstii -0 .
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.holy PERF .

[]
 witastaapaáruksti’
 You are supposed to be holy
 wi- ta- s- rak- waarukstii -0
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.holy PERF

irítíšk^a píra^u
 i riíticka’ píira’u’
 and I want child
 i rii- t- wicka -0 píira -u’
 and ASSR 1.A want PERF child NOM

nakukurirahírititⁿ
 rakukuriiraahíriitit

that mine get well

ra- ku- ku- ri- uur- raa- hiir -a -itik
INF.A 1.P INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.P way be.good SUB.1 INCH

. " Nikuwitiwawákahu

. " Rikuwitiwaawákaahu'

. " That is what he was saying

. " riku- wi- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus

. " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF

, rahkutkírík^u

raahkutkíríku

when he would look at him

ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- kirik.kus -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV look.at SUB.4

pírau . Irikuháhura^a

píra'u' . Irikuuháhuraa'a

the child . Wherever the place was

piira -u' . irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -'
child NOM . where DUB ABS 3.A be.land EX

hírihwakⁱ

hi ríhwaki'

and they said

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 cakaá'a píra^u
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF Pleiades piira'u'
Pleiades child

wiwítuhkutⁿ

wiwítuhkut

his had died

wii- wi- ti- 0- uur- kuut -0 .
now QUOT IND.3A 3.P POSS.P die PERF .

Hikuruhuší^a ,
 Hi kuruuhúci'a
 And then he did it :
 hi kuruur- ri- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

ahárawiruta
 aharaáwiiruuta
 his going there angrily
 ar- ra- 0- raawiir- u.at -a
 EV ABS 3.A angrily extend.in.a.line SUB.1

átira
 Átira'
 Mother
 ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

aharurəšawⁱ
 aharuurácawi
 where his hung
 ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- raar- ta -wi
 EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.hanging SUB.L

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hikuruhirəšaríkutⁿ
 hi kuruuhiiracaríkut
 and then he took it down
 hi kuruur- ri- 0- ir- uur- raar- ta.rikuk -0

and DUB CONT.3A 3.A OBV PREV 3PL.INAN.P take.off PERF

;

aaharəšawíhurətⁿ .
 a aharacaawíhurat .
 and he threw it down on the ground .
 a ar- ra- 0- raar- taawihurahk -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P throw.to.the.ground PERF .

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

aaharəšawíhurətⁿ .
 a aharacaawíhurat .
 and he threw it down on the ground .
 a ar- ra- 0- raar- taawihurahk -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P throw.to.the.ground PERF .

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

Aríahihwarúksti^u ,
 Ári' ahihwaarúkstii'u

Ah , it's supposed to be holy
 arii , ar- ra- 0- ir- waarukstii -u
 oh , EV ABS 3.A OBV be.holy SUB.D

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

Aahuharukáwa

A ahuuhaarukaáwaa'
 And he stamped on it
 a ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- ukaa.a -wa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P jump DIST PERF

;
,
,
,
,

ahuharukáwa

a ahuuhaarukaáwaa'
 and he stamped on it
 a ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- ukaa.a -wa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P jump DIST PERF

átira .
 Átira' .
 Mother .
 ati- raa .
 1.POSS mother .

Karawítuhi .
 Karawítuuhi .
 He was not good .
 kara- wi- ti- 0- uur- hiir -0 .
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF .

Kitúiriruuksawəšta^u

Kítuu'u' iriru'úksawactaa'u
 All whatever the ways might even have been
 kituu -u' irii- ra- 0- uks- awahc- raa- 0 -u
 all NOM what ABS 3.A JUSS even way be SUB.D

hirurawakuráwari

hi ruraawakuuráwari'
 and he doubted them
 hi ra- 0- uur- raa- wakuur- raa.warii -:hus
 and ABS 3.A PREV way word doubt.DIST.IMPF IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Kítukakirakurawakuriwiríksiku

Kítuu'u' kaakí' rakuraawakuuriwiríksiku
 All he was not able to believe in anything at all
 kituu -u' kaaki- 0- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- raa- wakuur.riiriks.ik -wa -hus
 all NOM NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B way believe.in DIST IMPF.SUB

píta .
 piíta .
 the man .
 wiita .

man .

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

ritiráit^a ,
riitiraá'iita
I do know it :
rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 ,
ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF ,

araruriritkáruwatətⁿ ,
a raaruuriiritkáruuwatat ,
and then he just broke out all over ,
a raa- ruu- rii- 0- rit.kawatak -ruu -0 ,
and just then ASSR 3.A develop.a.hole DIST PERF ,

hirutirástawawⁱ .
hiru tiraástawaawi .
there his feet .
hiruu tii- ra- 0- as- ta -waa -wi .
there this ABS 3.A foot be.hanging DIST SUB.L .

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

hikuhapikáruwatətⁿ .
hi kuuhapiikáruuwatat .

and his testicles broke out .
 hi kuur- ra- 0- piik- kawatak -ruu -0 .
 and DUB ABS 3.A testicle get.out DIST PERF .

Tirapiktóšaku

Tirapiktácaku

His testicles

tii- ra- 0- piik- raar- ta kus -0
 this ABS 3.A testicle PL be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

,

hikuhapiktašáhakaəš

hi kuuhapiktacáhaaka'ac

and his testicles opened up

hi kuur- ra- 0- piik- raar- ta.haakahc -0
 and DUB ABS 3.A testicle PL be.opened.up PERF

, hikuhapiktáhkawatətⁿ

, hi kuuhapiktáhkawatat

, and his testicles dropped out

, hi kuur- ra- 0- piik- raar- kawatak -0
 , and DUB ABS 3.A testicle PL get.out PERF

.

.

.

.

.

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

arirahurápita ,
 a ríraahura piíta ,
 and he became rotten the man ,
 a ri- 0- raahur -aar -0 wiita ,
 and CONT.3A 3.A be.spoiled INCH PERF man ,

aríkutn .
 a riíkut .
 and he died .
 a ri- 0- i- kuut -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF .

Nikurarakítawí
 Rikuraraakítawí
 That being the reason
 riku- ra- 0- raa- kita -wi
 that.is ABS 3.A way be.the.reason SUB.L

níkuahutar^a ;
 ríku'ahuutaara ,
 that that he did ,
 riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a ,
 that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 ,

atíra tírarušpawí
 Atíra' tírarucpaawi
 Mother (bundle) this one
 ati- raa tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -waa -wi

1.POSS mother this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

ahuharukawahúspari

ahuhaarukaawaahúspari'

he went around stomping on it

ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- ukaa.a -wa -hus warii -:hus
EV ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P jump DIST IMPF.SUB be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. Ahawáku “

. Ahawáku’ “

. He said “

. ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ”

. EV ABS 3.A say PERF ”

Kakástaparuksti .

Kaakaástapaaruksti' .

You (pl) are not holy .

kaaka- s- rak- waarukstii -0 .

NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL be.holy PERF .

Atírəstakawahətⁿ

A tírastaakawaahat

And , you (pl) in the Heavens

a , tii- ra- s- rak- a.hak -waa -0

and , this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

,

,

,

iriwikaririsúrakti

iriwikariiriisúrakti

you (pl) are not good

irii- wii- kari- rii- s- uur- rak- hiir -0
there now EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.good PERF

.
,
,
,
,

Ahəstápiška^asuksuriwa

ahastápicka'a

when you thought

ar- ra- s- rak- wicka -a , " Súksuriwa
EV ABS 2.A 1/2.PL think SUB.1 , " Live (on earth)
" i- s- uks- hurii -waa -0
" CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS go.around.PL DIST PERF

. Witiwawaku

. " Witiwaawáku'

! " He said things

. " wi- ti- 0- waa- waka'u -0
. " QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say PERF

kararakuhwakawiriwar^a

kararakuhwakaawiriwaara

words that were not good

kara- ra- 0- ku- uur- wakaara- -wi hi.wa.ar -a
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV noise SUB.L be.good.DIST SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

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

nikutihwakíah ^u					.
rikutihwakí'aahu'					.
that is what they say					.
riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus
that.is	IND.3A	3.P	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF

Aharahparísət ⁿ						.
Aharaahpaariísat						.
They went hunting						.
ar-	ra-	0-	raar-	paariis-	at	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	hunter	go	PERF

witírahparísət ⁿ						,
Witíraahpaariísat						--
They went hunting						--
wi-	ti-	0-	raar-	paariis-	at	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	hunter	go	PERF

aháparísət ⁿ						Šaká ^a	.
ahápaariísat						Cakaá'a	.
he went hunting						Pleides	.
ar-	ra-	0-	paariis-	at	-0	cakaa'a	.
EV	ABS	3.A	hunter	go	PERF	Pleiades	.

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

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

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

tiraíwatⁿ .
tiiraa'íwat .
they tell it .
ti- 0- ir- raa.iiwaat -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A tell.a.story PERF .

Hiruirikuháhura^a
Hiru iriikuuháhuraa'a
There wherever the place was
hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -'
there where DUB ABS 3.A be.land EX

hiahitətahúru
hi ahiitattahúru'
and they were attacked
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- rahur.uu -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P attack PERF

Atakuhúr^u .
attakuhuúru' .
the traveling party .
aktaku.huur- -u' .
party.on.the.move NOM .

Akúhiraki
A kúhiiraki

And they were massacred
a kuur- ra- 0- ir- ak- kii -0
and DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF PL.AN.3P kill.in.battle PERF

. Híiri Šaká^a , Šaká^a ,
. Hi iri Cakaá'a -- Cakaá'a --
. And that Pleides -- Pleides --
. hi irii cakaa'a -- cakaa'a --
. and that Pleiades -- Pleiades --

hikuharíru^a

hi kuuharíru'a
and he became frightened
hi kuur- ra- 0- riru -aar -0
and DUB ABS 3.P be.frightened INCH PERF

tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

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

hikuharíru^a

hi kuuharíru'a
and he became frightened
hi kuur- ra- 0- riru -aar -0
and DUB ABS 3.P be.frightened INCH PERF

ruwitikiškárust^tn

Ruuwitiikickárustit

Then he became weak

ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- kiic- karuus -rik -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ liquid deflate DIST PERF

Hiruwitarušiášapāra^u

Hiru	witarúci'a								capaára'u					
Then	she	would	do	it					his	wife				
hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	capaak	ra-	0-	a-	0	-u
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	woman	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be	SUB.D

;	awitirikítaw ^u													
	a	witiirikítawu												
:	and	she	put	him	on	the	horse							
,	a	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ikita	wuh	-0						
,	and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	ride	put	PERF						

áraruwitatiríwiraħətⁿ

a	raaruuwitaariríwiraahat													
and	then	he	would	just	roll	off								
a	raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	iriwiraa.hak	-0						
and	just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	roll.over	PERF						

.	Hínahirit ⁿ	šápat ⁿ												
.	Hi	raáhiirit	cápaat											
.	And	finally	the	woman										
.	hi	raahiirit	icapaak											
.	and	finally	woman											

hiahášárisa

hi	ahaacárisa													
and	she	became	angry											
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	icaris	-aar	-0								

and EV ABS 3.A be.mean INCH PERF .

Áhawaku , “ Kárihakⁱ
Ahawáku’ , “ Kárihaaki
She said : “ Oh, I see ,
ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ karihaaki’ ,
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ oh.gosh ,

rarurikurahuhkapákis^{itⁿ}

raaruurikuurahuhkaapaákisiki

you have just mistreated me

raa- ruu- ri- 0- ku- rahur- kaapaakis -ik -i
just then CONT.3A 3.A 1.P do be.pitiful CAUS SUB.2

. Áripīta tíhəs
. Ári’ píita tíihas
. Ah, a man you must be
. arii wiita tiir- ra- s- 0 -0
. oh man INFR ABS 2.A be PERF

tírak^u .
tíraaku . "
this one . "
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 . "
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Naruwítiriškawawis^u

Raaruuwítirickawaawisu’

Then she just slapped his face all over

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- icka- waawa- is -:hus
just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV face DIST hit IMPF

. Iriřkawawísu
. Iriřickáwaawisu

. While she was slapping his face
 . irii- ra- 0- icka- waawa- is -hus
 . when ABS 3.A face DIST hit IMPF.SUB

hínahiritⁿ hikuwahwíšaks^a
 hi raáhiirit hi kuuhawícaksa
 and finally and he revived
 hi raahiirit hi kuur- ra- 0- wicaks.aar -0
 and finally and DUB ABS 3.P come.to.mind PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Šápátⁿ nikuwituhá^a
 Cápaat rikuwituuhá'a
 The woman that one was the cause
 icapaak riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -'
 woman that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

; áhihwišaksik^a ;
 ahihwícaksika .
 when he revived .
 ar- ra- 0- ir- wicaks.ik -a .
 EV ABS 3.A OBV revive SUB.1 .

šápatwitiškútik^u
 Cápaat witiškuúniku'
 The woman she was beating him ,
 icapaak wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus ,
 woman QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV beat IMPF ,

hirahirikuhawíšaks^a .
 hi raáhiirit kuuhawícaksa .
 and finally he revived .
 hi raahiirit kuur- ra- 0- wicaks.aar -0 .
 and finally DUB ABS 3.P come.to.mind PERF .

Siwitítkirik^u
 Siwitítkiriku
 They watched him
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- kirik.kus -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV look.at PERF

kítu šahikstahkítu . Šaká^a
 kítuu'u' cahikstaahkítuu'u' Cakaá'a
 all everyone Pleides
 kituu -u' icaahiks raar- kituu -u' cakaa'a
 all NOM person PL all NOM Pleiades

wíahariruar^a . “
 wí'ahariru'aara . “
 when he became frightened . “
 wii- ar- ra- 0- riru -aar -a . ”
 when EV ABS 3.P be.frightened INCH SUB.1 . ”

Áka^a ! tihásírariks
 Aáka'a tiihasiíraariks
 Oh my , he must truly be
 aaka'a , tiir- ra- s- i- raariks -0
 oh.my , INFR ABS 2.A SEQ be.true PERF

pītatírak^u
 piíta tíraaku
 man this one
 wiita tii- ra- 0- kus -0

man this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

ráku^u .
ráku'u .
his being !
ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Arihírarutušiwakúruut

Ári' hi raaruutuciwakúruu't

Why, and so he is just a talker

arii hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- wakuur- uu -uk -0
oh and just then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ word be DIST PERF

kararuhwakawíriwar^a

kararuhwakaawíriwaara

whose words are not good

kara- ra- 0- uur- wakaara- -wi hi.wa.ar -a
NEG ABS 3.A PREV noise SUB.L be.good.DIST SUB.1

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

akuhiriríkisítⁿ

a kuhiiriiríkisit
and his saved him

a kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- i- kisik -0
and DUB ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ survive PERF

. Itirúkspari .
. I tirúkspari' .

. And here he lived .
 . i tii- ra- 0- uks- warii -:hus .
 . and here ABS 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

[]

Tirúkspari'

Here he lived

tii- ra- 0- uks- warii -:hus
 here ABS 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

Suhurítirihi

Suúhuri' tíriihi'

Beyond here it was

suuhuri' tii- ra- 0- ihii -0
 over.here here ABS 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

rarahúrar^a

raraahúraara

when he became rotten

ra- 0- raahur -aar -a . I šápatⁿ
 ABS 3.A be.spoiled INCH SUB.1 . I cápaat
 . And the woman
 . i icapaak
 . and woman

irihiririkskítawⁱ

irihiiriirikskítawⁱ

that one was in charge of him

irii- hii- ra- 0- ir- i- uks- kita.wi -0
 that other ABS 3.A OBV SEQ AOR be.the.leader PERF

. Irárⁱ ,

. Iraári' ,

. Brother ,

. i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

kakukskítawipít^a ,
kaakukskítawi' piíta .
he was not in charge the man .
kaaki- 0- uks- kita.wi -0 wiita .
NEG.IND.3A 3.A AOR be.the.leader PERF man .

irihitukskítawⁱ
Irihiitukskítawi'
That one was in change
irii- hii- ti- 0- uks- kita.wi -0
that other IND.3A 3.A AOR be.the.leader PERF

šápatⁿ .
cápaat .
the woman .
icapaak .
woman .

Ruharurikuahiririkísik^a
Ruúhaaru riku'ahiiriirikísika
Its being the cause her being the one who saved him
ra- 0- ut- raar -u riku- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- i- kisik -a
ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause SUB.D that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ survive SUB.1

, ikúrašta .
i kúraacta .
and he was going to be hers .
i ku- ra- 0- a- 0 -a -ta .
and INDF ABS 3.A PREV.3A be SUB.1 INT .

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

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

irirutíkarus ,
iriruutíkarus .
then that one was deflated .
irii- ruu- ti- 0- karuus -0 .
that then IND.3A 3.A deflate PERF .

irirutíkarus
Iriruutíkarus
Then that one was deflated
irii- ruu- ti- 0- karuus -0
that then IND.3A 3.A deflate PERF

kúrakuruihi
kúrakuuru , ihi ,
his being like , uh ,
ku- ra- 0- ku- uur- 0 -u , ihii ,
INF.B ABS 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.D , uh ,

kusirihkušikirítahətⁿ
kusirihkuucikiiriítahut
when they held him by the nape
ku- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- i- kiiriit- ahuk -0
INDF DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV SEQ nape hold PERF

asakirakuksisáris^u .
asaáki rakuksicáriisu .
a dog one that was mean .
asaa- -kis ra- 0- ku- uks- icaris -u .
dog DIM INF.A 3.A INF.B AOR be.mean SUB.D .

Rakuksáwašu
Rakuksáwahcu

Even if it was

ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

pirəskíripəški ,
piiraskíripacki ,
a little boy ,
piiras- kiripac -kis ,
boy small DIM ,

hiparatíhkutitⁿ

hi pára tíhkuutit .
and almost he was whipped .
hi para ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .
and perhaps IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF beat PERF .

Akihiwisirirít^a

Aki hi wisiriiriíta
And here and now they knew him
a- ki hi wii- si- ra- 0- a- ir- iita -0
and there and now DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

; rikutihá

. Rikutuuhá'

. That was the reason

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

kararuwakawíriwar^a

kararuhwakaawíriwaara

his words not being good

kara- ra- 0- uur- wakaara- -wi hi.wa.ar -a
NEG ABS 3.A PREV noise SUB.L be.good.DIST SUB.1

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

rikuwitutpakúruut¹

rikuwitutpakúruu'ut

that is the way he used to talk

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	wakuur-	uu	-uk	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	word	be	DIST	PERF

- .
- .
- .
- .
- .