

## Ethics, Four, Part A

### Roaming Scout

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

nikuwitúksuri

rikuwitúksuri

they were the ones going about

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	hurii	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	go.around.PL	PERF

Šaká <sup>a</sup>	.	Šáka <sup>a</sup>
Cakaá'a	.	Cákaa'a
Pleiades	.	Pleiades
cakaa'a	.	cakaa'a
Pleiades	.	Pleiades

kuhahírəsa

kuhaahírasa

he was the leader

kuur-	ra-	0-	hiras-	aah	-0	hi	icaahiks
DUB	ABS	3.A	in.the.lead	be	PERF	and	person

híšahiks

hi cáhiks

and a person

hisiahirít<sup>u</sup>rəs

hi si'ahiiríturaas

and they found a body lying there

hi	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	iit-	huras	-0	.
----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	------	-------	----	---



And they found the body lying there .  
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- iit- huras -0 .  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A body find PERF .

Hištaahiahárarirət<sup>n</sup>

Hicta'aahii' aharaáirat  
 Nevertheless they stopped  
 hi cta'aahii ar- ra- 0- raar- ri.ra.at -0  
 and nevertheless EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF

, ahawáka “  
 , ahawaáka “  
 , when he said : “  
 , ar- ra- 0- waak -a , ”  
 , EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Kutátarakut<sup>n</sup> . ”

Kutátaraakut . ”

You are one of us . ”

ku- ta- t- a- rak- uk -0 . ”  
 INDF IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.A 1/2.PL be PERF . ”

Tuhawitwíitiit<sup>n</sup> .

Tuhaáwit wíti'it .  
 East band they were .  
 ituur- haawit wi- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0 .  
 village east QUOT IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF .

Akirikuruksíria

Aki rikuruksíri'a  
 And here that one was the same  
 a- ki riku- ra- 0- uks-  
 and there that.is ABS 3.A AOR

tisírak <sup>u</sup>							.
tisíraaku							.
these (du)							.
tii-	si-	ra-	0-	kus	-0		.
this	DU	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4		.

Ahíhwak <sup>i</sup>								“	
Ahíhwaki'								“	
They said							:	“	
ar-	ri-		0-	ir-	waki	-0		,	”
EV	CONT.3A		3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF		,	”

Kukararíhuriwa									
Kukarariíhuriwa									
Are they roaming around									
ku-	kara-	ra-	0-	i-	hurii	-waa	-0		
INDF	NEG	ABS	3.A	SEQ	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF		

títak <sup>u</sup>		táraha	.				
tiítaku		táraha'	.		”		
here		buffalos	?		”		
tii-	-taku	tarahaa	.		”		
here	LOC	buffalo	.		”		

Ahawáku					Kirikúruks		títak <sup>u</sup>		
Ahawáku'					Kirikúruks		tiítaku		
He said					the Wichita		here		
ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	kirik-	kuuruks	tii-	-taku	
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	eye	bear	here	LOC	

“  
:  
,

, "

tatuksəktahuríwa

Tatuksaktahuríwa

I was chasing them

ta-	t-	uks-	ak-	ra-	hurii	-waa	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	AOR	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF

títiri	.		Ahawáihi				
títiiiri	.	"	A	hawá	ihii	,	
today	.	"	And	also	uh	,	
tii-	tiiri	.	"	a	haawa	ihii	,
here	now	.	"	and	also	uh	,

tirahákuriwawi

tirahákuriiwaawi

these of us living

tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	hurii	-waa	-wi	,
this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L	,

irár <sup>i</sup>						šahiksíšahiks	,
iraári'						cahiksícahiks	,
brother						Indians	,
i-	-raar-		-ri'			icaahiks	icaahiks
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			person	person

nikutatirurukstaktatáwik<sup>u</sup>

rikutatiruurukstaktaatáwiiku

that is the way it used to be among us

riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	uks-	rak-	raa-	tawi	kus	-0
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	1/2.PL	way	be.among	be.sitting	PERF

; hírəs rakúwari  
-- híras rakúwari

-- at night to go about  
 -- hiras ra- 0- ku- warii -hus  
 -- at.night INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPf IMPF.SUB

; [hírəs rakúwari]  
 -- hiras rakúwari  
 -- at night to go about  
 -- hiras ra- 0- ku- warii -hus  
 -- at.night INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPf IMPF.SUB

íhi šápat<sup>n</sup> rakúrəspi  
 ihi , cápaat rakúraspi  
 , uh , a woman to look for  
 , ihii , icapaak ra- 0- ku- raspíi -0  
 , uh , woman INF.A 3.A INF.B look.for SUB.4

. Hitíwišk<sup>a</sup>  
 . Hi tiwícka' , "  
 . And he thought , "  
 . hi ti- 0- wicka -0 , "  
 . and IND.3A 3.A want PERF , "

kirakukustaráhuras ,  
 Kíra kukustaaraáhuraas  
 Perhaps I will find one  
 kira ku- kuus- t- ar- raa- huras -0  
 perhaps INDF POT.1/3A 1.A EV way find PERF

híras rakúwari .  
 híras rakúwari .  
 at night to go about .  
 hiras ra- 0- ku- warii -hus .  
 at.night INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPf IMPF.SUB .

Píta            hirikuahúta  
 Piíta        hi        riku'ahuúta  
 The man    and    that is what he did  
 wiita        hi        riku-    ar-    ra-    0-    ut-    aar    -0  
 man        and    that.is   EV    ABS    3.A    PREV   do    PERF

.	Ahašáhkaət <sup>n</sup>	.	Šápat <sup>n</sup>
.	Ahaacáhka'at	.	Cápaat
.	He went through the village	.	A woman
.	ar-    ra-    0-    icaħka-    at    -0	.	icapaak
.	EV    ABS    3.A    village    go    PERF	.	woman

sikuhawáwaktit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 sikuuhawaáwaktit ,  
 they (du) spoke ,  
 si-    kuur-    ra-    0-    waa.wak.tik    -0 ,  
 DU    DUB    ABS    3.A    talk            PERF    ,

ikúhawaku  
 i        kuúhawaku'            "  
 and    she said                :    "  
 i        kuur-    ra-    0-    waka'u    -0    ,    "  
 and    DUB    ABS    3.A    say        PERF    ,    "

kasírihuk<sup>a</sup>  
 Kasíriihuuka'  
 You will come in  
 kaas-    s-    ir-            i-    huuk-    a    -0  
 POT.2A   2.A    PREV.1/2A    SEQ    into    come    PERF

náħisa ,  
 ráħiisa  
 tomorrow  
 ra-    0-    a-            ħiis            a    -0

ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

rirótkiar<sup>a</sup> .  
rirátkii'aara . "  
when it becomes night . "  
ri- 0- ratkii -aar -a . "  
CONT.3A 3.A be.night INCH SUB.1 . "

Híruahiət<sup>n</sup>

Hiru ahí'at .  
Then he went .  
hiruu ar- ri- 0- at -0 .  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF .

taráit<sup>a</sup> píta ,  
Taraá'iita piíta  
He knew the man  
ti- 0- a- raa.iita -0 wiita  
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF man

irikuharúhkusa

iriikuhaarúhkusaa

where her bed was

irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- kus.haar -0  
where DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A CONT.3A PREV be.a.bed PERF

šápat<sup>n</sup> hípíta  
cápaat hi piíta  
the woman and men  
icapaak hi wiita  
woman and man

áharahka

áharaahka



they were inside

ar- ra- 0- raar- kaa -0  
EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside PERF

rakúrakir<sup>u</sup>

rakúraakiiru

its being a long time

ra- 0- ku- raa.kiir -u  
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.long SUB.D

Híahaæt<sup>n</sup>

Hi ahá'at

And he went

hi ar- ra- 0- at -0  
and EV ABS 3.A go PERF

tiráta<sup>a</sup>

tiraáta

this one

tii- ra- 0- at -a wiita  
this ABS 3.A go SUB.1 man

pīta<sup>a</sup>

píita

man

man

ahahúkat<sup>n</sup>

Ahahuúkat

He entered

ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0  
EV ABS 3.A into go PERF

šapatiríahas<sup>a</sup>

cápaat

the woman

icapaak

woman

irí'ahaasa

where she lay

irii-

where

ar-

EV

ra-

ABS

0-

3.A

sa

be.lying

-0

SUB.4

hiwitiaháuš .  
 hi witi'ahá'uc .  
 and he lay down .  
 hi witi- ar- ra- 0- uc -0 .  
 and REFL EV ABS 3.A lie.down PERF .

Kišihiwítikuhauš  
 Kici hi wítikuuha'uc  
 But and he lay down  
 kici hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- uc -0  
 but and REFL DUB ABS 3.A lie.down PERF

hípítara<sup>u</sup>  
 hi piitára'u  
 and the husband  
 hi wiita ra- 0- 0 -u  
 and man ABS 3.A be SUB.D

híkuha .  
 hi kúhaa' .  
 and he came .  
 hi kuur- ra- 0- a- a -0 .  
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF .

Kirikurakúrahkawi  
 Kíriku' rakúraahkaawi  
 Perhaps when they were meeting  
 kirikuu ra- 0- ku- raar- kaa -wi  
 anything INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

hírəs irikúhuút<sup>n</sup> .  
 híras iriikúhuu'ut .  
 at night whatever it was .  
 hiras irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' .

at.night what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX .

Ikuharêstarapít<sup>a</sup>

I kuhaarástara piíta  
And he brought food the man  
i kuur- ra- 0- aras- raar- raah -0 wiita  
and DUB ABS 3.A cooked.food PL have PERF man

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hiruiríaharuhša

Hiru irií'aharuhca  
Then where his lay  
hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- sa -0  
then where EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying SUB.4

šápat<sup>n</sup> , ahawáku , “  
cápaat ahawáku’ , “  
woman he said : “  
icapaak ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ”  
woman EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Harírøstuš

Haariirastuc . “  
Here is food (to eat) . “  
haa- ri- 0- aras- ra.uc -0 . “  
here CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food be.lying.PL PERF . ”

Akípít<sup>a</sup>

Aki piíta

And here a man  
a- ki wiita  
and there man

kutarukátasa  
kutaruhkaátasa

he lay in back of his

ku-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kaata-	sa	-0
INDF	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	behind	be.lying	PERF

tírasa					šápat <sup>n</sup>	.
tíraasa					cápaat	.
this one					woman	.
tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	icapaak	.
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	woman	.

Ahawaku					“	Náwa <sup>a</sup>
Ahawáku’					“	Ráwa
He said					:	“
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0	,	”
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	”
						now

šírururihirasuksuhúhwišət<sup>n</sup>

ciru ruuríhiira’ suksuhúhwiicat  
yet move back a little now

ciruu	ruu-	rihiiraa	i-	s-	uks-	uhur-	wiic.at	-0
yet	then	beyond	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	now	go.that.way	PERF

,								
.	”	“						
!	”	“						
.	”	”	i-	t-	uks-	uhur-	takaa.hak	-0
.	”	”	CONT.1/2A	1.A	JUSS	now	get.down	PERF

. Ahatakáhət<sup>n</sup> .  
. " Ahatakaáhat .  
! " She got down .  
. " ar- ra- 0- takaa.hak -0 .  
. " EV ABS 3.A get.down PERF .

Ahatakáhət<sup>n</sup> .  
Ahatakaáhat .  
She got down .  
ar- ra- 0- takaa.hak -0 .  
EV ABS 3.P get.down PERF .

Wiwitiutétakar<sup>i</sup><sup>n</sup>  
Wiwiti'uttátakaarit  
Now she stood on the floor  
wii- wi- ti- 0- uktata- ka- arik -0  
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A bottom on be.standing PERF

, hiahakusáhkišiwakt<sup>a</sup>  
, hi ahakusaahkiciiwakta'  
, and the bed creaked  
, hi ar- ra- 0- kus.haar- kicii.wak.ta -0  
, and EV ABS 3.A bed be.a.creaking.sound PERF

. Kuwituruhú<sup>u</sup>  
. Kuwituruhú'u  
. It appeared thus  
. ku- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa.uhur -'  
. INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV appear EX

hawarákus<sup>a</sup> .  
hawá rákuusa .  
also his lying there .  
haawa ra- 0- ku- sa -0 .



She said : “ Yes . ”  
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ” haa’u’ . ”  
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ” yes . ”

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

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

irikúhəs . Náwa ,  
 iriikuúhas . Ráwa ,  
 whoever you are . Now ,  
 irii- kuur- ra- s- 0 -0 . rawa ,  
 who DUB ABS 2.A be PERF . now ,

witatákutit<sup>n</sup> . ” Píta  
 witatákuutit . ” Píita  
 now I’ll kill you . ” The man  
 wii- ta- t- a- kuut.ik -0 . ” wiita  
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P kill PERF . ” man

nutukstahurahúritət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 ruutúkstaahu' raahúriitat  
 he used to have it all the time  
 ruu- ti- 0- uks- raah -:hus raahuriitat  
 then IND.3A 3.A JUSS have IMPF always

níšiwruksti .  
 riíciwaaruksti' .  
 a sword .  
 riici- waarukstii .  
 knife be.holy .

Hiahárit<sup>n</sup> níšiwruksti  
 Hi ahaárit riíciwaaruksti'  
 And he picked it up the sword  
 hi ar- ra- 0- arik -0 riici- waarukstii  
 and EV ABS 3.A be.standing PERF knife be.holy

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

Kístətaruš<sup>u</sup> ,  
 Kístattaruucu .  
 You (pl) make a fire !  
 kii- i- s- rak- ta.ra.uc.wuh -0 .  
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL make.a.fire PERF .

šáhiks  
 Cáhiks  
 A person  
 icaahiks



person

titakutíhahuk<sup>a</sup>

títaku                    tíihaahuuka'  
here                    he must have come inside  
tii-    -taku    tiir-    ra-    0-    a-            huuk-    a            -0  
here    LOC    INFR    ABS    3.A    PREV.3A    into    come    PERF

.   "   Hiruirarahíwatur<sup>u</sup>                    ,  
.   "   Hiru    iriirahíwatuuru  
.   "   Then    where the doorway was  
.   "   hiruu    irii-    ra-    0-    hiwatur            -u  
.   "   then    where    ABS    3.A    be.a.doorway    SUB.D

hiwiaháritpít<sup>a</sup>

hi    wi'ahaárit                    piíta            .  
and   he stood                    the man            .  
hi    wii-    ar-    ra-    0-    arik            -0    wiita            .  
and   now    EV    ABS    3.A    be.standing    PERF    man            .

wítira                    níšiwáruksti            .  
Wítira                    riíciwaaruksti'            .  
He had it                    the sword            .  
wi-    ti-            0-    raah    -0    riíci-    waarukstii            .  
QUOT    IND.3A    3.A    have    PERF    knife    be.holy            .

Ahawáku                    "   Náwa<sup>a</sup>            ,  
Ahawáku'                    "   Ráwa            ,  
He said                    :   "   Now            ,  
ar-    ra-    0-    waka'u    -0            ,   "   rawa            ,  
EV    ABS    3.A    say        PERF            ,   "   now            ,

witatákutit<sup>n</sup>                    .   "            .  
witatákuutit                    .   "            .

now I'll kill you . "

wii- ta- t- a- kuut.ik -0 . "

now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P kill PERF . "

Ahihtariwíkus ,

Ahihtariwíkus ,

A big fire was made ,

ar- ra- 0- ir- ta.riwii.kus.k -0 ,

EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF make.a.large.fire PERF ,

hiwihirúaharar<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

hi wihiru ahaárarit

and there he stood over there

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- arik -0

and now there EV ABS 3.A EV be.standing PERF

íka<sup>a</sup> !

, iíka'a ,

, oh my ,

, iika'a ,

, oh.my ,

kuwítih<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup> .

kuwítíihat .

he was tall .

ku- wi- ti- 0- u.hak -0 .

INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A extend.in.a.line PERF .

Hiwiahakíkat<sup>n</sup> ,

Hi wi'ahakíkat

And now he cried

hi wii- ar- ra- 0- kikak -0

and now EV ABS 3.A cry PERF

níhuksukuhutírit<sup>n</sup>

ríhuksu'		kúhuutiirit					
just		he saw it					
rihuks	-u'	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	iirik	-0
alone	NOM	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	see	PERF

níšiwruksti		,					
riíciwaaruksti'		,					
the sword		,					
riici-	waarukstii	,					
knife	be.holy	,					

hiahawakarahkáaspīta								,
hi	ahawakaraahká'as					piíta		,
and	he he cried loudly					the man		,
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	wakaraar-	kaas	-0	wiita	,
and	EV	ABS	3.A	voice	break	PERF	man	,

iriwíahakikət <sup>n</sup>							Náw <sup>a</sup>	,
iriwí'ahakikat							Ráwa	,
the one who cried							Now	,
irii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	kikak	-0	rawa	,
there	now	EV	ABS	3.A	cry	PERF	now	,

híruahapīt <sup>a</sup>								
hiru	ahaá'					piíta		,
then	he came					the man		,
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0	wiita	,
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF	man	,

ahitiksuríkut <sup>n</sup>								.
ahiitiksuuríkut								.
he took hold of his hand								.
ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	iks-	uurikuk	-0	.

EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV hand hold PERF .

Híahuta

Hi ahuúta

And he did it :

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

híahitišis .

hi ahiíticis .

and he recognized him .

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- icis -0 .  
and EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV know PERF .

Hiáhawaku “ Ári !

Hi ahawáku’ “ Ári’

And he said : “ Why ,

hi ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ” arii ,

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ” oh ,

itítiriasišakahúr<sup>u</sup>

i títiiri asiicakahuúru’

and today Wild Horse Dance

i tii- tiiri asuu- icakahur -u’

and here now dog be.reckless NOM

riskiharišahkáhət<sup>n</sup> ,

riskiihaaricahkáhat ,

you dancers went through the village ,

rii- s- kiihaar- icahka- hak -0 ,

ASSR 2.A dancer village pass.by PERF ,

hiwiikíkat<sup>n</sup> . xka<sup>a</sup> !

hi wi’iikíkat . Íka’a

and now you would cry ! Oh my ,  
 hi wii- ii- 0- kikak -0 . iika'a ,  
 and now SUBJ.3A 3.A cry SUB.4 . oh.my ,

iriwitəskusətkitaw<sup>i</sup> ,  
 iriwitaskusatkitaw<sup>i</sup> .  
 now you are the biggest berdache .  
 irii- wii- ta- s- kusaat- kita.wi -0 .  
 then now IND.1/2A 2.A berdache be.the.leader PERF .

nihuks<sup>u</sup> hitaku  
 " Rihuksu' hiitaku  
 " Only the other way  
 " rihuks -u' hii- -taku  
 " alone NOM other LOC

kuwitiwirikisət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 kuwitiwirikisat ,  
 he moved over a little ,  
 ku- wi- ti- 0- wirikis.at -0 ,  
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A move.over PERF ,

hiahakukstakutpīt<sup>a</sup> .  
 hi ahakukstakut piita .  
 and he ran away the man .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- kuks.takuk -0 wiita .  
 and EV ABS 3.A run.away PERF man .

Aahuhurawašitit<sup>n</sup> .  
 A ahuuhuurawacitit .  
 And he fled outside .  
 a ar- ra- 0- uhuur- awacitik -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A quickly go.out PERF .



. that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF

wirəskáksawa ,  
 wiraskáksawa .  
 your whooping now .  
 wii- ra- s- kaksaa -waa -0 .  
 now ABS 2.A call DIST SUB.4 .

karihakipitáwuru . "

Karíhaaki' piíta wíru' . "

Oh my , a man he now is . "

karihaaki' , wiita wii- ra- 0- uu -0 . "

oh.gosh , man now ABS 3.A be PERF . "

Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,

Ráwa , iraári' ,

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

nikuwitúta .

rikuwituúta .

this is what he did .

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 .

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF .

Hípita

Hi piíta

And the man

hi wiita

and man

hiruahušía ,

hiru ahúci'a

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

awitíahauš .

a wítí'aha'uc  
 and he lay down  
 a witi- ar- ra- 0- uc -0  
 and REFL EV ABS 3.A lie.down PERF

Rutáhu

ruútahu

the way it is

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

rarátkaharawirištuku ;

rarátkahaarawirictuku ,

when it is a warm night ,

ra- 0- a- ratkahaar- awirit.ta'uk -hus ,  
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A night be.hot IMPF.SUB ,

wirakurarišakaísət<sup>a</sup>

wirakuraaricahka'íisata

when they returned to the village

wii- ra- 0- ku- raar- icahka- iis.at -a  
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A village go.out.of.sight SUB.1

kitkaháhiri .

kitkahaáhiri' .

in the earth lodge village .

kitka.haar- -hiri' .

earth.lodge.village LOC .



Rahiwaturawúsuku ,  
 Rahíwatuurawuúsuku  
 Where the entry passage extends  
 ra- 0- hiwatur- a.wuu -hus -uku  
 ABS 3.A doorway go.in.a.line.IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

hiiriwitikúharuš .  
 hi iriwitikuúharuc .  
 and there he lay down with them .  
 hi irii- witi- kuur- ra- 0- ra.uc -0 .  
 and there REFL DUB ABS 3.A be.lying.PL PERF .

Hiaharáita  
 Hi ahaaraá'iita  
 And he knew it  
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A know PERF

iríahutar<sup>a</sup> ;  
 irii'ahuutaara .  
 what he had done .  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a .  
 what EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 .

híahutawitíahuš<sup>a</sup>  
 Hi ahuúta witi'ahuuca  
 And he did it when he lay down  
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 witi- ar- ra- 0- uc -aar -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF REFL EV ABS 3.A lie.down INCH PERF

: tukskirahkawáwuhu  
 tukskiraahkaawaáwuhu'  
 : one used to put water in it  
 , ti- 0- uks- kiraar- kaa- waa- wuh -:hus

, IND.3A 3.A AOR water inside DIST put IMPF

škárušk<sup>i</sup> .  
ckárucki ,  
a paunch ,  
ickaruuc- -kis ,  
bladder.bag DIM ,

Hikuhahkatáhkarit<sup>n</sup>

hi kuuhahkatáhkaarit  
and he turned it inside out

hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- katahkaa -rik -0  
and DUB ABS 3.A EV be.inside.out CAUS PERF

hiwitikuhahpakiskáwarit<sup>n</sup>

hi witikuuhahpaakiskáwarit  
and he put it over his knee

hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- ar- paa- kiis- ka.warik -0  
and REFL DUB ABS 3.A EV knee bone put.on PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Kuhaparahwiriritit<sup>n</sup>

Kuuhapaaraáhwiririitit

He lay down flexing his knees upward

kuur- ra- 0- paa.raar.wiriri.itik -0  
DUB ABS 3.A lie.down.on.one's.back.with.one's.knees.flexed PERF

, hikuhirahwí<sup>a</sup>

, hi kuhiiraahwí<sup>a</sup>

, and he dozed off  
 , hi kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- raar.wii.a -0  
 , and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV doze.off PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .

kuwiritawirahət<sup>n</sup>

Kuwiriitawiirahat

It seemed that he was touched

ku- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- tawiira.hak -0  
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF SEQ brush.against PERF

; híahuta

. Hi ahuúta

. And he did it :

. hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,  
 . and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

ahakírikaar<sup>a</sup> , hī !

ahakírika'aara , hiii ,

when he awoke , eee ,

ar- ra- 0- kirika.aar -a , hiii ,

EV ABS 3.A wake.up SUB.1 , eee ,

hiwihiruahihətətátár<sup>itn</sup>

hi wihiru ahihtatataárit

and there he stood by him

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- tatata- arik -0

and now there EV ABS 3.A OBV close.by be.standing PERF

, kišahúruks<sup>u</sup>  
 , kicahúruksu'  
 , a scalped man  
 , kica.hur.uk.his -u'  
 , scalped.person NOM

hiwihiruahihitátárit<sup>n</sup>

hi wihiru ahihatatataárit  
 and there he stood by him  
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- tatata- arik -0  
 and now there EV ABS 3.A OBV close.by be.standing PERF

. Núwitiwaku  
 . Ruuwitiwáku'  
 . Then he said  
 . ruu- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0  
 . then QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

tíras<sup>a</sup> "  
 tíraasa "  
 this one lying : "  
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 , "  
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 , "

Wiritákutit<sup>n</sup> . "  
 Wiriitákuutit . "  
 I'll whip you . "  
 wii- rii- t- a- kuut.ik -0 . "  
 now ASSR 1.A 2.P beat PERF . "

Hiahárisa

Hi ahárisa  
 And he had it as he lay  
 hi ar- ra- 0- ri- sa -0

and EV ABS 3.A PORT be.lying PERF

kírakaru							rəktárahí
kíra karú'							raktárahí'
perhaps it was							a wooden war club
kira	ka-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	rak-	tarahii
perhaps	Y/N.INTER	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	wood	be.grooved

,	Áiriar <sup>u</sup>						;
,	a	iríí'aaru					--
,	and	whatever it was					--
,	a	iríi-	ii-	0-	ar-	0	-u
,	and	what	SUBJ.3A	3.A	EV	be	SUB.D

pahitúrawitirit <sup>n</sup>							
pahiítu'		raawitiírit					
slowly		he just picked it up					
pahiit	-u'	raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	iriik	-0
be.quiet	NOM	just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	pick.up.long.object	PERF

rakiskirákaru							,
rákis		kíra karú'					.
a stick		perhaps it was					.
rak	-kis	kira	ka-	ra-	0-	uu	-0
wood	DIM	perhaps	Y/N.INTER	ABS	3.A	be	PERF

pahitúrawitirit <sup>n</sup>							
Pahiítu'		raawitiirit					
Slowly		he just picked it up					
pahiit	-u'	raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	iriik	-0
be.quiet	NOM	just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	pick.up.long.object	PERF

,	hiahúta						
,	hi	ahuúta					

, and he did it :  
 , hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,  
 , and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

ahakašihapah<sup>a</sup>

ahakaciihapaaha

when he straightened up

ar- ra- 0- kacihaak wa- -aar -a  
 EV ABS 3.A be.straight DIST INCH SUB.1

ruwitihakta .

ruuwitíhaakta .

there he held the club .

ruu- wi- ti- 0- haak- raah -0 .  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A wood have PERF .

Akištáahi

Aki ctá'aahii'

And here nevertheless

a- ki cta'aahii

and there nevertheless

ahapararíwiar<sup>a</sup>

ahapaararíwii'aara

when he flexed his knees

ar- ra- 0- paa- raar- riwii -aar -a  
 EV ABS 3.A knee PL be.clenched INCH SUB.1

ikúahu ,

hi kú'ahuu

and its seeming

hi ku- ar- ra- 0- uu -0  
 and INDF EV ABS 3.A be SUB.4

rihkutawatatawitíkstarit<sup>n</sup>

rihkuutawatatawiitíkstarit

that he was going to fall on him

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	awatata.wi.itik	-his	-ta	-rit
INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	PREV	fall.on.top.of	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hiahutaahahaktiwáta

Hi ahuúta

And he did it

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	,	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	haak-	ri-	wat.a	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	,	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	wood	PORT	get.up	PERF

, hitakaráhis<sup>u</sup>  
, hi takaaraáhisu'  
, and suddenly  
, hi takaaraahis -u'  
, and all.at.once NOM

ahawakahútawa

ahaawakahuútawaa'

he raised his voice

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	wakar-	huuta.a	-wa	-0	:
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	voice	rise	DIST	PERF	,

“ Ariwitátákuutit<sup>n</sup>

“ Ári' wítatákuutit

“ Why, now I'll kill you

" arii wii- ta- t- a- kuut.ik -0

" oh now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P kill PERF . "

Iirikuruhahákiwat<sup>a</sup>

I irikuruuhaahaákiwata'

And thereupon he raised the club

i irii- kuruur- ri- 0- a- haak- ri- wat.a -0  
and then DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT get.up PERF

, híahapakskas<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup> .

, hi ahapákskaasit .

, and he split his head .

, hi ar- ra- 0- paks- kaas -ik -0 .

, and EV ABS 3.A head break CAUS PERF .

Kuwiwikásapit<sup>n</sup> .

Kuwiwitiikaásapit .

It seemed he broke his own leg .

ku- wii- witi- ti- 0- kaas- apic.k -0 .

INDF now REFL IND.3A 3.A leg break PERF .

Akikutipákiska

Aki kutipaákiiska

And here it was over the kneecap

a- ki ku- ti- 0- paa- kiis- ka -0  
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A knee bone be.on PERF

škárušk<sup>i</sup> . Hitakaráhisu

ckárucki . Hi takaaraáhisu'

the paunch . And suddenly

ickaruuc- -kis . hi takaaraahis -u'

bladder.bag DIM . and all.at.once NOM

ahawakarəšahuhkáas .

ahawakaracahuhká'as .



he cried out  
 ar- ra- 0- wakaraar.tahuur.kaas -0  
 EV ABS 3.A burst.out.crying PERF

Hiahíwaki “ Ári !  
 Hi ahíhwaki’ “ Ári’ ,  
 And they said : “ Why ,  
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , “ arii ,  
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “ oh ,

wiwititíkutit<sup>n</sup> . "  
 wiwititíkuutit . "  
 he has hit himself ! "  
 wii- witi- ti- 0- kuut.ik -0 . "  
 now REFL IND.3A 3.A beat PERF . "

Hiahawakarašahuhkáas hírəs  
 Hi ahawakaracahuhká’as híras  
 And he cried out at night  
 hi ar- ra- 0- wakaraar.tahuur.kaas -0 híras  
 and EV ABS 3.A burst.out.crying PERF at.night

nakukatištátət<sup>a</sup> .  
 rakukatictátata .  
 when it was dark .  
 ra- 0- ku- katiit tatat -a .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.black be.attached.to SUB.1 .

Hiwitikuharutuhuhkatawirawárit<sup>n</sup>  
 Hi witikuuharuutuhuhkataawiraáwaarit  
 And he quickly rolled himself down the side  
 hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- uhuur- kata.awiraa.warik -0  
 and REFL DUB ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV quickly roll.down.the.side.of PERF

, ihi  
 , ihi ,  
 , uh ,  
 , ihii ,  
 , uh ,

rukstahkatawúsuku  
 rukstahkatawuúsuku  
 where they used to climb up

ra-	0-	uks-	raar-	kata-	wuu	-hus	-uku
ABS	3.A	AOR	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	go.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

nakúkawi  
 rakúkaawi  
 where the lodge was

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

akararáta<sup>u</sup> .  
 akaraaráta'u' .  
 the earth lodge .  
 akaar- raar- ataa -u' .  
 dwelling ITER sod NOM .

Hirukuruharuhurúkæt<sup>n</sup>

Hiru	kuruuhaaruhúruukat
Then	thereupon he went inside quickly
hiruu	kuruur- ri- 0- ar- uhuur- huuk- at -0
then	DUB CONT.3A 3.A EV quickly into go PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hikišiahatətətírís<sup>a</sup>píta

Hi	kici	ahatatatiírísá'							piíta
And	but	a crowd gathered							men
hi	kici	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	tatatiir.his-	a	-0	wiíta
and	but	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	gathered.together	come	PERF	man

,	"	Titakurikutíhi							
	"	Tiítaku	rikutíhi'						
:	"	Here	it is where it is						
,	"	tii-	-taku	riku-	ti-	0-	ihii	-0	
,	"	here	LOC	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.in.a.place	PERF	

rawakarákaas	.	"				
rawakaráhka'as	.	"				
where the cry was	.	"				
ra-	0-	wakaraar-	kaas	-0	.	"
ABS	3.A	voice	break	SUB.4	.	"

Nasiwítírárəspi

Raasiwítiraáraspi'

They just looked around

raa-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	raa-	raspii	-0
just	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	way	look.for	PERF

Hiruahušía

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it

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

tirárik<sup>i</sup>

tiraárikí

this one :  
 ti- ra- 0- arik -i ,  
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

hiaháwašitit<sup>n</sup> .  
 hi ahaáwacitit .  
 and he went outside .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- awacitik -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A go.out PERF .

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

ruwitiúkahkarit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 ruuwiti'uúkaahkaarit ,  
 then he stood outside ,  
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- uukaahka- arik -0 ,  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A outside be.standing PERF ,

hitarahkísiri  
 hi tarahkísiri'  
 and barely  
 hi tarahkis- -hiri'  
 and be.strong LOC

ahakaspírit<sup>n</sup> .  
 ahakaaspiirit .  
 he stood on his (one) leg .  
 ar- ra- 0- kaas- wi arik -0 .  
 EV ABS 3.A leg be.upright be.standing PERF .

Ahíhwaki , “  
 Ahíhwaki’ “  
 They said : “  
 ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”  
 EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Tihararikírikututkíkaksu

Tihaaraáriki rikututkíkaksu’  
 This one standing it was the cry of this one  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- arik -i riku- ti- 0- ut- kikak -his uu -0  
 this here ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV cry PERF be PERF

, tihátaku rawakaráhkaas  
 tihaátaku rawakaráhka’as  
 right here where the cry was  
 tii- haa- -taku ra- 0- wakaraar- kaas -0  
 here here LOC ABS 3.A voice break SUB.4

. ”  
 . ”  
 . ”  
 . ”  
 . ”

Hiruwítahwakupíta

Hiru witaahwáku’ piíta  
 Then he would say the man :  
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 wiita ,  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF man ,

“ Ári !  
 “ Ári’  
 “ Why ,  
 ” arii ,

" oh ,

arariwišutiritirawašítiks<sup>a</sup>

a raariwiicu' tiritiirawacítiksa'

and right now here I came outside

a raariwiicu' tii- rii- t- ir- awacitik -his a -0  
and right.now here ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A go.out PERF come PERF

,

tirasirapakaraiwíša

tirasiraapakaará'iwica

when you arrived making a noise

tii- ra- s- ir- rak- wakaara -wi wic.a -0  
when ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL be.noisy SUB.L arrive SUB.3

, irikúhuut<sup>n</sup> . " "  
, iriikúhuu'ut . " "  
, whatever it is . " "  
, irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' . " "  
, what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX . " "

Ári ! rakúsi<sup>i</sup>  
Ári' raakúsi<sup>i</sup>  
Why , one seated  
arii , raa.kus.i'  
oh , wife

nikutútpaka<sup>u</sup>  
rikutútpaka'u'

títaku  
tíitaku



Akihiwirikuri

Aki hi wirikuri'  
And here and he was the one  
a- ki hi wii- riku- ri- 0- 0 -0  
and there and now that.is CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

wiwitirápakskasik<sup>a</sup>

wiwitiraahpakskaasika

when he split his own head

wii- witi- ra- 0- ar- paks- kaas -ik -a  
when REFL ABS 3.A EV head break CAUS SUB.1

pakis<sup>u</sup>

paákiisu'

kneecap

paa- kiis- -u'

knee bone NOM

Hitakarahísu

Hi takaaraáhisu'

And suddenly

hi takaaraahis

and all.at.once

ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

ar- ra- 0- waka'u

EV ABS 3.A say

-0

PERF

:

,

,

“ Ári ! hihirikutíwak<sup>u</sup>

“ Ári' hihi rikutiwáku'

“ Ah , and that is what he said

" arii , hi hi riku- ti- 0- waka'u -0

" oh , and and that.is IND.3A 3.A say PERF

. Ásiahihurəs

. " A si'ahiíhuraas

. " And they found him out

. " a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- huras -0



. " and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A find PERF .

Akirikututást<sup>a</sup>

Aki rikutuutásta

And here that is what was going to be

a- ki riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta  
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

,

iwiaharahkatát<sup>a</sup>

iwi'aharaahkataáta

when they went onto the prairie

ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -a  
when when EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go SUB.1

,

.

.

.

.

hawáwítirakátaæt<sup>n</sup>

Hawá wítiraahkáta'at

Also they went onto the prairie

haawa wi- ti- 0- raar- kata- at -0  
also QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

. Hihíru

. Hi hiru

. And then  
 . hi hiruu  
 . and then

sirirətahuriwáwuhu  
 siriirattáhuriwaáwuhu'  
 they chased them

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	ra-	hurii	-waa	-wi	:-hus
DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L	IMPF

táraha ,  
 táraha' .  
 buffalos .  
 tarahaa .  
 buffalo .

rakurariréspara ,  
 Rakuraaríraspara  
 The ones going ahead

ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	hiras-	war	-a
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	in.the.lead	go.DU	SUB.1

híkiwiku  
 hi kíwiiku'  
 and a buffalo bull  
 hi kiwiik -u'  
 and buffalo.bull NOM

sitíhkitit<sup>n</sup> .  
 sitíhkuutit .  
 they killed it .  
 si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .  
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF .

Hihiruirikuhirutətahúru

Hi hiru irikuhiruutattahúru'

And there that is where they were attacked

hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ar- ut- ak- rahur.uu -0  
and there there DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF EV PREV PL.AN.3P attack PERF

,

rakurišahikstarirúši<sup>u</sup>

rakuuricahikstarirúhci'u

its being a huge number of people

ra- 0- ku- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -u  
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV person PL be.numerous SUB.D

. Ráhukət<sup>n</sup>  
. Hátuhkat  
. In the rear  
. hatuhka.t  
. in.the.rear

kuhirápirariwirutit<sup>n</sup>

kuhiirapiraariwiiruútit

they attacked them here and there

kuur- ra- 0- ir- ak- wiraar.ri.wi.itik -ruu -0  
DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P begin.attacking DIST PERF

, kátahka . Rahákuki  
kátahka , ráhaakuki  
the enemy , ourselves  
katakkaa , ra- t- rak- uk -i

enemy , ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be SUB.2

sahiksíśahiks .  
cahiksícahiks .  
Indians .  
icaahiks icaahiks .  
person person .

Híaskutihasiahiwirára

Hi ásku tihaasi'ahiiwiraáraa'

And one they surrounded him as he moved here

hi asku tii- haa- si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- wiraar- ra- a -0  
and one here here DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A angrily PORT come PERF

asiahiwirára

a si'ahihwiraáraa'

and they surrounded him

a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- wiraar- ra- a -0  
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A angrily PORT come PERF

. Irisiahukstíra

. Iriisi'ahukstíra

. The one he had been with

. irii- si- ar- ra- 0- uks- tir -a  
. that DU EV ABS 3.A AOR be.together SUB.1

híahuhkuksəs

hi ahúhkuksas

and he ran away

hi ar- ra- 0- uur- kuks- as-i -0  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV fleeing run PERF .

Hitirárik<sup>i</sup>

Hi tiraáriki



Witikukásapit<sup>n</sup> .  
 Witikukaásapit . "

I have broken my leg . "

wii- ti- ku- kaas- apic.k -0 . "  
 now IND.3A 1.P leg break PERF . "

Hiruahušía  
 Hiru ahúci'a  
 Then he did it :

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

ahawáta  
 ahaawaáta'  
 he arose

ar- ra- 0- a- waat.a -0  
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF

hiwihirukaraahikasapíiš  
 hi wihiru kara'ahikaasapí'ic  
 and now his leg was not broken

hi wii- hiruu kara- ar- ri- 0- kaas- apic -'  
 and now then NEG EV CONT.3A 3.P leg break EX

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirurušihuhkatawíraæt<sup>n</sup>  
 Hiru ruucihuhkataawíraa'at  
 Then he rolled down (the hill)

hiruu ra- ut- i- uhuur- kata.awiraa.at -0

then ABS PREV SEQ quickly roll.down.the.side.of PERF

. Rarašatátkusu  
. Raracaatátkusu'  
. A clump of dogwood  
. ra- 0- raar- tat- kus -:hus  
. ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A stalk be.sitting IMPF

hirikuahakáwitit<sup>n</sup> ,  
hi riku'ahakáwiitit ,  
and that is where he sat in it ,  
hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ka- wi.itik -0 ,  
and that.is EV ABS 3.A in sit.down PERF ,

hišiahuharawišáisa  
hici ahuuhaarawiicá'iisa'  
but they charged to the bank  
hi.ci ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- awiica- iis.a -0  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A on.the.edge come.into PERF

kátahka .  
kátahka .  
the enemy .  
katakkaa .  
enemy .

Awítirutarihkuraruátirak<sup>u</sup>

A wítiiruuta rihkúraruu'a  
And they did it their pointing them  
a wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- aar -0 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- raar- ra- u.a -0 tiraak -u'  
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV do PERF INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P PORT extend.this.way SUB.3 gun NOM

iriaháriki ,  
irii'ahaáriki ,

where he stood ,  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- arik -i ,  
 where EV ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

hiwitaahwakarašáhuhkaas

hi witaahwakaracáhuhka'as

and he would scream

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- wakaraar.tahuur.kaas -0  
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV burst.out.crying PERF

. Náwa , kišiarisit<sup>n</sup>  
 . Ráwa , kici ariísit  
 . Now , but himself  
 . rawa , kici ariisit  
 . now , but one's.own

tikuriraíwat<sup>n</sup>

tikuriiraa'íiwat

he told me the story

ti- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -0  
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

. Tiwáku “  
 . Tiwáku’ “  
 . He said : “  
 . ti- 0- waka'u -0 , ”  
 . IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Nihuksuátirak<sup>u</sup>

Ríhuksu' a tíraaku'  
 Only and the gun  
 rihuks -u' a tiraak -u'  
 alone NOM and gun NOM



tarú<sup>a</sup>

taaruú'a'

he would point it

ti-	0-	a-	ar-	ra-	u.a	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	EV	PORT	extend.this.way	PERF

hitətpakarašahúhkaas

hi tatpakaracahúhka'as

and I screamed

hi	ta-	t-	wakaraar.tahuur.kaas	-0	.	Ái <sup>i</sup>
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	burst.out.crying	PERF	.	Aá'ii'i
					.	Oh my
					.	aa'ii
					.	oh.my

! witikúkutit<sup>n</sup>

witikúkuutit

! now he'll kill me

,	wii-	ti-	0-	ku-	kuut.ik	-0	.
,	now	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	kill	PERF	.

Kusikaririkúksparit<sup>n</sup>

Kusikariirikúksparit

They never did shoot at me

ku-	si-	karii-	ri-	0-	ir-	ku-	uks-	warik	-0
INDF	DU	EMPH.NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	AOR	shoot	PERF

háw<sup>a</sup>

hírirəs

haáwa'

hi ríiras

also and they ran

haawa	hi	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	as-i	-0	.
also	and	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	run	PERF	.

Akikúta

Aki kútaa'

And here he came

a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	a-	a	-0
----	----	-----	-----	----	----	---	----

and there INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

háw<sup>a</sup> hítak<sup>u</sup>  
 haáwa' hiítaku  
 also the other way  
 haawa hii- -taku  
 also other LOC

rátarakuk<sup>i</sup> . "  
 rá taraakuki . "  
 one of us . "  
 ra- t- a- rak- 0 -ka'uk -i . "  
 ABS 1.A PREV.3A 1/2.PL be DIST SUB.2 . "

Niwáku "  
 Riiwáku' "  
 He said : "  
 rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

híkišitirəšt<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Hi kici tíracta ,  
 And but while I lay there ,  
 hi kici tii- ra- t- sa -0 ,  
 and but when ABS 1.A be.lying SUB.4 ,

hirurituhiškátusukət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 hiru riituhkickátuusukut ,  
 then I lay down flat on my stomach ,  
 hiruu rii- t- uur- kiic.katuus uukuk -0 ,  
 then ASSR 1.A PREV be.flat get.into PERF ,

híruriritirikisət<sup>n</sup> ;  
 hiru riitírikisat --

then I crawled --  
 hiruu rii- t- irikis- at -0 --  
 then ASSR 1.A crawl go PERF --

ritirikisušawíraet<sup>n</sup> .  
 riitirikisuucawíraa'at . "  
 I crawled down into a depression . "  
 rii- t- irikis- huuca.wiraa- at -0 . "  
 ASSR 1.A crawl into.a.ravine go PERF . "

Híruriwaku "  
 Hiru riiwáku' "  
 Then he said : "  
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Atawakaráru<sup>a</sup>  
 A tawakaraáru'a'  
 And he called out  
 a ti- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A voice extend.this.way PERF

'  
 : '  
 , '  
 , '

takukárasikaku  
 Táku' karaásikaku  
 Anyone are you in the brush  
 taku ka- ra- s- i- ka- kus -0  
 someone Y/N.INTER ABS 2.A SEQ in.the.brush be.sitting PERF

. " Atátətkuk<sup>u</sup>  
 ? ' A taátatkuuku'  
 ? ' And I heard  
 . ' a ta- t- atka'uk -:hus  
 . ' and IND.1/2A 1A listen IMPF

hitátišk<sup>a</sup>  
 hi táticka'  
 and I thought  
 hi ta- t- wicka -0  
 and IND.1/2A 1.A think PERF

kuhuskátahka  
 Kuúhas kátahka  
 You must be an enemy  
 kuur- ra- s- 0 -0 katahkaa  
 DUB ABS 2.A be PERF enemy

Hirutátiwaku " " " "  
 Hiru tátiwaku'  
 Then I said  
 hiruu ta- t- i- waka'u -0  
 then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF

Iriahusuksáhu  
 Irií'ahucuksahu  
 The way one used to be  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus  
 that EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

rakuríru<sup>u</sup> šáhiks  
 rakuríru'u cáhiks  
 to be scary a person  
 ra- 0- ku- uur- riru -u icaahiks

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.afraid.of SUB.D person

rakutawíšitit<sup>n</sup>

rakutawíhčitit

one that would be among them

ra- 0- ku- tawi.ihc.itik -0  
INF.A 3.A INF.B appear.among SUB.4

rakuríru<sup>u</sup>

rakuríru'u

to be scary

ra- 0- ku- uur- riru -u  
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.afraid.of SUB.D

Hištáahi

tiwáku

, "

Hictá'aahii'

tiwáku'

'

Nevertheless

he said

:

hi

cta'aahii

ti-

0-

waka'u

-0

, '

and

nevertheless

IND.3A

3.A

say

PERF

, '

Ítik<sup>i</sup>

rikúruut<sup>n</sup>

! "

Íitiki

,

rikúruu'ut

'

Sonny

,

it is that way

! '

uu.tikis

,

riku-

ra-

0-

ut-

0

ɔ'

'

sonny

,

that.is

ABS

3.A

PREV

be

EX

'

Ariwáku

"

A

riiwáku'

"

And

he said

:

"

a

rii-

0-

waka'u

-0

,

"

and

ASSR

3.A

say

PERF

,

"

Aritirikisušawíraæt<sup>n</sup>

,

A

riitirikisuucawíraa'at

,

And I crawled down through a depression ,  
 a rii- t- irikis- huuca.wiraa- at -0 ,  
 and ASSR 1.A crawl into.a.ravine go PERF ,

aritiririkisušawíraæt<sup>n</sup>

a riitiririkisuucawíraa'at  
 and I crawled down through a depression  
 a rii- t- ir- irikis- huuca.wiraa- at -0  
 and ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A crawl into.a.ravine go PERF

niwákah<sup>u</sup> , “  
 . " Riiwákaahu' “  
 . " He was saying : “  
 . " rii- 0- waka -:hus , “  
 . " ASSR 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , “

Wiruisirituráhuru

Wiruu'isiirituraáhuru'

Now they broke camp

wii- ruu- isii- ii- 0- ir- ituur- raahur -ra'uk -0  
 now then plainly SUBJ.3A 3.A PL.3A village be.spoiled CAUS PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Wiisiráhwa

Wi'isiiraáhwa'

Now they were coming

wii- isii- ii- 0- a- raar- wa- a -0  
 now plainly SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A DIST come PERF

hukáwihur<sup>u</sup> ,  
 huukaáwihuuru' ,  
 the bottoms ,  
 huukaa.wi.huur- -u' ,  
 bottomland NOM ,

hiširuritirikisušawiraæt<sup>n</sup> ,  
 hi ciru riitirikisuucawíraa'at .  
 and yet I crawled through the depression .  
 hi ciruu rii- t- irikis- huuca.wiraa- at -0 .  
 and yet ASSR 1.A crawl into.a.ravine go PERF .

kā ! hírikuhurəššáhiks .  
 Ka' , hi riikúhuras cáhiks .  
 What , and he found me a person .  
 ka' , hi rii- 0- ku- huras -0 icaahiks .  
 what , and ASSR 3.A 1.P find PERF person .

"  
 "  
 "  
 "  
 "

Ariwáku " Náwa ,  
 A riiwáku' " Ráwa ,  
 And he said : " Now ,  
 a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,  
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , " now ,

witirituráhuru  
 witiirituraáhuru'  
 they have broken camp  
 wi- ti- 0- ir- ituur- raahur ra'uk -0





they did not kill him .  
 si- kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- kuut.ik -0 .  
 DU NEG EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ kill PERF .

Kišíhiruwiarət<sup>n</sup> akukátawu

Kici hiru wi'arattakukátawu  
 But then if the group had gone onto the prairie  
 kici hiruu wii- ii- ar- aktaku- kata- wuu -hus  
 but then when SUBJ.3A EV group against.a.vertical.surface go.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, aariwáhtikut<sup>n</sup> .  
 , a aariwahtiíkut .  
 , and he would have starved to death .  
 , a ii- 0- ar- riwahtii kuut -0 .  
 , and SUBJ.3A 3.P EV be.starved die PERF .

Karawíšuht<sup>a</sup> ,

Karaawícuhta .  
 He would not have arrived .  
 ka- ra- 0- ar- wic.uh -ta .  
 NEG ABS 3.A EV arrive.INT INT .

kuhihpakísapit<sup>n</sup> .

Kuuhihpaakiísapit .  
 His kneecap was broken .  
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- paa- kiis- apic.k -0 .  
 DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF knee bone break PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> , tirúkspari

Ráwa , tirúkspari'  
 Now , he lived  
 rawa , tii- ra- 0- uks- warii -:hus  
 now , here ABS 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

kúrahus		kúrahus
kúrahus	,	kúrahus
old man	,	an old man
kurahuus	,	kurahuus
old.man	,	old.man

aahíkisit <sup>n</sup>								,
a	ahiíkisit							,
and	he survived							,
a	ar-	ra-	0-	i-	kisik	-0		,
and	EV	ABS	3.A	SEQ	survive	PERF		,

itirúkspari								.
i	tiirúkspari'							.
and	he lived [a long time]							.
i	tii-	ra-	0-	uks-	warii	-:hus		.
and	here	ABS	3.A	AOR	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF		.

Ásku <sup>u</sup>		kúrahus
Ásku'u'		kúrahus
The same one		old man
asku	-u'	kurahuus
one	NOM	old.man

ahatákuwu							
ahattákuwu'							
the group was traveling							
ar-	ra-	0-	aktaku-	wuu	-:hus		
EV	ABS	3.A	group	go.IMPF	IMPF		

níatnakuhíhi <sup>u</sup>								
ri'aat	rakuuhiíhi'u							
summer	when it was							
ri'aat	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa-	ihii		-u

summer INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.in.a.place/time SUB.D

, akupíšikət<sup>n</sup> .  
 , aku píciakat .  
 , or wintertime .  
 , aku pici- -kat .  
 , or wintry LOC .

Witítakuwu ,  
 Witiittákuwu' ,  
 The group was traveling ,  
 wi- ti- 0- aktaku- wuu -:hus ,  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A group go.IMPF IMPF ,

hipírau ahatakústa  
 hi píira'u' ahatakústa  
 and a baby he packed on his back  
 hi piira -u' ar- ra- 0- takus- raah -0  
 and baby NOM EV ABS 3.A hang.down have PERF

. Hikuháhwiška “  
 . Hi kuhaáhwicka’ “  
 . And he thought : “  
 . hi kuur- ra- 0- ar- wicka -0 , ”  
 . and DUB ABS 3.A EV think PERF , ”

Kiráiha takurarúitaət<sup>n</sup>  
 Kíra ihaátaku raaruú'ita'at  
 Perhaps that way I'll just go there  
 kira ii- haa- -taku raa- ruu- i- t- ha- at -0  
 perhaps there here LOC just then CONT.1/2A 1.A in.water go PERF

. ”  
 . ”

. "

. "

. "

Piraurakutákustah<sup>a</sup> .

Piira'u' rakutákustaaha ,

The baby while he packed it on his back ,

piira -u' ra- 0- ku- takus- raah -a ,

baby NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B hang.down have SUB.1 ,

Hikuruhiukawítit<sup>n</sup>

hi kuruuhi'uukaawítit

and then he went down into a depression

hi kuruur- ri- 0- huukaa- wi.itik -0

and DUB CONT.3A 3.A along.a.stream.course sit.down PERF

. Kišitítaku

. Kici tiítaku

. But here

. kici tii- -taku

. but here LOC

kuhətákuwu híkiši

kuuhaattákuwu' hi kici

the group was going and but

kuur- ra- 0- aktaku- wuu -:hus hi kici

DUB ABS 3.A group go.IMPF IMPF and but

hítak<sup>u</sup> kúhaət<sup>n</sup> .

hiítaku kuúha'at .

the other way he went .

hii- -taku kuur- ra- 0- at -0 .

other LOC DUB ABS 3.A go PERF .

Hiruwitikatúsuæt<sup>n</sup> ,  
 Hiru witikatuúsu'at ,  
 There there was a ravine ,  
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- katuus- u.at -0 ,  
 there QUOT IND.3A 3.A ravine extend.in.a.line PERF ,

hihiruahahúšaæt<sup>n</sup> .  
 hi hiru ahahuúca'at .  
 and then he went down the ravine .  
 hi hiruu ar- ra- 0- huuca- at -0 .  
 and then EV ABS 3.A level.plain go PERF .

Pirauwítitákusta .  
 Piíra'u' wítitákusta .  
 The baby he packed on his back .  
 piira -u' wi- ti- 0- takus- raah -0 .  
 baby NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A hang.down have PERF .

Hiruirikúhihi  
 Hiru iriikúhihi'  
 Then wherever it was  
 hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ihii -0  
 then where DUB ABS 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

hiwihírunahúrahk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 hi wihiru rahúrahki  
 and there a deer  
 hi wii- hiruu rahuraar -kis  
 and now there animal DIM

ahakúša ráriwiš<sup>u</sup> .  
 ahahuúcaa' raáriwiicu' .  
 it got up just then .  
 ar- ra- 0- a- huuca.a -0 raariwiicu' .

EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A surface PERF right.now .

Híruahiwiškáihi

Hiru ahiwícka' ihi "  
Then he thought , uh : "  
hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , ihii , "  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , uh , "

túksparit<sup>n</sup> .

Túksparit . "

Let me shoot it ! "

i- t- uks- warik -0 . "  
CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS shoot PERF . "

Híruahiwiška

Hiru ahiwícka' "  
Then he thought : "  
hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , "  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , "

hípirau

títaku

Hi píra`u' títaku

And the baby right here

hi piira -u' tii- -taku

and baby NOM here LOC

witiaturuhúrahət<sup>n</sup> ,

witi'atuuruhúrahət ,

if I were to put it down ,

witi- aa- t- uur- uhur.ra.hak -0 ,

REFL SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV release PERF ,

hišíru karírishiškaskasa

hi ciru kariíriisicikskasa

and	yet	you are not sensible						
hi	ciruu	karii-	rii-	s-	i-	aciks.ka.sa	-0	
and	yet	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	2.A	SEQ	be.sensible	PERF	

,	kutataariwáriksta							.	
,	kutataariwáriksta							.	
,	I might lose you							.	
,	ku-	ta-	t-	a-	i-	ri.warik	-his	-ta	.
,	INDF	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	SEQ	lose	PERF	INT	.

"  
"  
"  
"  
"

Híruahiet <sup>n</sup>								.
Hiru	ahí'at							.
Then	he went							.
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0			.
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF			.

Ruwititákusta								.
Ruuwititákusta								.
Then	he packed him on his back							.
ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ta.kus-	raah	-0		
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	hang.down	have	PERF		

Hirahúrahk <sup>i</sup>								aha
Hi	rahúrahki							ahaá'a'
And	the deer							it came
hi	rahuraar	-kis	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0
and	animal	DIM	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF

, kuwítíət<sup>n</sup>  
 . Kuwítí'at .  
 . It went on .  
 . ku- wi- ti- 0- at -0 .  
 . INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A go PERF .

aháhətnahúrahk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Ahaáhat rahúrahki ,  
 It passed by the deer ,  
 ar- ra- 0- hak -0 rahuraar -kis ,  
 EV ABS 3.A pass.by PERF animal DIM ,

híahakawət<sup>n</sup> tírak<sup>u</sup> .  
 hi ahakáwat tíraaku' .  
 and he took it out a gun .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- kawat -0 tiraak -u' ..  
 and EV ABS 3.A take.out PERF gun NOM ..

Kárawitiut<sup>n</sup>  
 Kárawitii'ut  
 It was not far  
 kara- wi- ti- 0- i'uut -0  
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.far PERF

aháhət<sup>n</sup> .  
 ahaáhat .  
 when it passed .  
 ar- ra- 0- hak -0 .  
 EV ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 .

Ruwititakustapíra<sup>u</sup>  
 Ruuwititákusta piíra'u'  
 Then he packed him on his back the baby  
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- ta.kus- raah -0 piira -u'



then QUOT IND.3A 3.A hang.down have PERF baby NOM

hiahutpahúrahwitit<sup>n</sup>

hi ahutpaahúrahwiitit

and he kneeled on one knee

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- paa- hurah -wi -itik -0  
and EV ABS 3.A PREV knee hang.down.touching.the.earth SUB.L INCH PERF

. Ahatakásit<sup>n</sup> .

. Ahatakaásit .

. He fired it .

. ar- ra- 0- takaas.ik -0 .

. EV ABS 3.A shoot PERF .

Ruwitíriwuhət<sup>n</sup>

Ruuwitíriwi'uuhət

Then he brought it down

ruu- wi- ti- 0- ri- wi.uuhak -0  
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PORT fall PERF

nahúrahki<sup>i</sup> . Akihíruhawa píra<sup>u</sup>  
rahúrahki . Aki hiru hawá píra'u'  
the deer . And here then also the baby  
rahuraar -kis . a- ki hiruu haawa piira -u'  
animal DIM . and there then also baby NOM

hawawikutirirúkut<sup>n</sup>

hawá wikutirirúkut

also he scared him to death

haawa wii- ku- ti- riru kuut -0  
also now INDF IND.3A be.frightened die PERF

ratákustah<sup>a</sup> .

ratákustaaha .

the one he packed on his back .  
 ra- 0- ta.kus- raah -a .  
 ABS 3.A hang.down have SUB.1 .

Híahawíšat<sup>n</sup>

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

iríahasa nahúrahk<sup>i</sup> .  
 iríi'ahaasa rahúrahki .  
 where it lay the deer .  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0 rahuraar -kis .  
 where EV ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4 animal DIM .

Híahuta

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

pírauatakusk<sup>a</sup>

piira'u' aatákuska ,  
 the baby ' that I put you down , '  
 piira -u' ' aa- t- a- kus.k -a , '  
 baby NOM ' SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P put SUB.1 , '

nahúrahk<sup>i</sup>

rahúrahki atakúwaru  
 the deer ' aatakuúwaaru  
 rahuraar -kis ' aa- t- a- kuuwaaru -0  
 animal DIM ' SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P butcher SUB.4

. Hihawapíra<sup>u</sup>  
 . Hi hawá piíra'u'  
 . ' And also the baby  
 . ' hi haawa piira -u'  
 . ' and also baby NOM

wihirukaraahikísikiit<sup>n</sup>

wihiru kara'ahiikísiki'it  
 now it was not alive  
 wii- hiruu kara- ar- ri- 0- i- kisikit -'  
 now then NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.alive EX

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Tiwákah<sup>u</sup> “  
 Tiwákaahu’ “  
 He was saying : “  
 ti- 0- waka -:hus , ”  
 IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ”

Iriwiratutəstúwari

Iriwratuutastuúwari’

There I was working with it

irii- wii- ra- t- ut- as- ruu- warii -:hus  
 there now ABS 1.A PREV foot PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

nətkituwárusu ,  
 ratkituuwáruusu ,  
 when I was sucking it here and there ,  
 ra- t- kituus -waa -ruu -hus ,

ABS 1.A suck DIST DIST IMPF.SUB ,

natiška<sup>a</sup> " Ári !  
 raticka'a ' Ári'  
 my thinking : ' Why ,  
 ra- t- wicka -a , ' arii ,  
 ABS 1.A want SUB.1 , ' oh ,

iriwirititáhahu<sup>u</sup> . "

iriwirititáhahu'u . ' "

now I have caused myself grief . ' "

irii- wii- witi- ta- t- rahur -' . ' "  
 then now REFL IND.1/2A 1.A grieve EX . ' "

Niwáku " " " " " "  
 Riiwáku' " " " " " "  
 He said : " " " " " "  
 rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " " " " " "  
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , " " " " " "

Ahawárarutatiriwakarəša

A hawá raaruutatiriiwakarácaa'  
 And also then I just burst out crying  
 a haawa raa- ruu- ta- t- ir- i- wakaraar- ta.a -0  
 and also just then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ voice come.up PERF

. Aripíra<sup>u</sup>  
 . Ári' piíra'u'  
 . Why , baby  
 . arii , piira -u'  
 . oh , baby NOM

wiwititatúhikutit<sup>n</sup> . "  
 wiwititatúhkuutit . "

I have killed mine  
 wii- witi- ta- t- uur- kuut.ik -0 . "  
 now REFL IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.P kill PERF . "

Niwáku " "  
 Riiwáku' " "  
 He said : " "  
 rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Hiruritúsi<sup>a</sup>  
 Hiru rii-túci'a  
 Then I did it ,  
 hiruu rii- t- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

tíkskuritkirakukarakiša .  
 tíkskurit kára kukarákica .  
 nearby perhaps is there any water .  
 tíkskurit kira ku- ka- ra- kic.a -0 .  
 nearby perhaps INDF Y/N.INTER ABS be.water PERF .

"  
 "  
 "  
 "

Kukarawitirakúkisi<sup>i</sup> kitára  
 Kukarawiti' rakukisikitaára  
 He was not able to revive  
 ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- kisikit -aar -a  
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B be.alive INCH SUB.1

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Iriwiahutəstahakāwari

Iriwi'ahuútastahaahkāwari'

Now he was working on him (the child) as he was in the depression

irii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	as-	ra-	haahka-	warii	-:hus
then	now	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	foot	PORT	in.a.ravine	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

,  
,  
,  
,  
,

hihawararuwitawakarašahukāəs

hi hawá raaruuwitaahwakaracahuhká'as

and also then he was just crying out

hi	haawa	raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	wakaraar.tahuur.kaas	-0
and	also	just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	burst.out.crying	PERF

. Kuhukstírukut<sup>n</sup>

. Kuuhukstírukut

. It must have been scared to death

. kuur-	ra-	0-	uks-	riru	kuut	-0
. DUB	ABS	3.P	AOR	be.frightened	die	PERF

píra<sup>u</sup>

piíra'u'

the baby

piira -u'

baby NOM

rakurakatárihur<sup>u</sup> .  
rakuraakatárihuuru .  
its being in a big way .  
ra- 0- ku- raa.katarihur -u .  
INF.A 3.P INF.B be.a.serious.matter SUB.D .

Hínahirit<sup>n</sup>

Hi raáhiirit  
And finally  
hi raahiirit  
and finally

tihakuwitúha<sup>u</sup>

tahaakuwituúhaa'u'  
here it was the way  
tii- haa- ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- uu -0  
here here INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF

, hiahašikstápěš .  
hi ahaacikstápac .  
and his chest moved .  
hi ar- ra- 0- aciks- tapac -0 .  
and EV ABS 3.A trachea move PERF .

Ahašikskituwárusu ,

Ahaacikskituuwáruusu' ,

He sucked lightly at the base of the throat here and there ,

ar- ra- 0- aciks- kituus -waa -ruu -:hus ,  
EV ABS 3.A trachea suck DIST DIST IMPF ,

hínahirit<sup>n</sup> ahášikstapěš .  
hi raáhiirit ahaácikstapac .

and	finally	his chest moved							.
hi	raahiirit	ar- ra- 0-	aciks-	tapac	-0				.
and	finally	EV ABS 3.A	trachea	move	PERF				.

Áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 Aáka'a  
 Oh my ,  
 aaka'a ,  
 oh.my ,

rawitikstaraíwari  
 raawitikstaara'íwari'

he just waved his hands up in thanks

raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	iks-	raar-	awi-	warii		-.hus
just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	hand	PL	image	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	

, wiahašikstapəš ,  
 wi'ahaacíkstapac ,  
 when its chest moved ,  
 wii- ar- ra- 0- aciks- tapac -0 ,  
 when EV ABS 3.A trachea move SUB.4 ,

hiširukarakísikiit<sup>n</sup> .

hi	ciru	karakísiki'it							.
and	yet	it was not alive							.
hi	ciruu	ka- ra- 0-	kisikit	-'					.
and	yet	NEG ABS 3.A	be.alive	EX					.

Ahutəstúwari

Ahuutastuúwari'

He was working with him

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	as-	ruu-	warii		-.hus
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	foot	PORT	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	



, ahətkirašaráwuhu .  
 ahutkiracaraáwuhu' .  
 : he was pouring water on him .  
 , ar- ra- 0- ut- kiraar- ta.raawuh -:hus .  
 , EV ABS 3.A PREV water pour.on IMPF .

Ahírahir<sup>t</sup>n

Aa hi raahiirit  
 Ah , and finally  
 aa , hi raahiirit  
 ah , and finally

hiahasiksúhurititpíra<sup>u</sup>

hi ahaaciksúhuritit piíra'u'  
 and his feeling got better the baby  
 hi ar- ra- 0- aciks- uhuur- 0 -itik piira -u'  
 and EV ABS 3.A mind way be INCH baby NOM

, hínahirit<sup>n</sup>

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

híahahiksta

hi ahaahíkstaa' .  
 and he breathed (normally) .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- hiks- ta.a -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A breath come.up PERF .

Wíahahiksta<sup>a</sup> ,

Wí'ahaahiksta'a ,

When he breathed ,

wii- ar- ra- 0- a- hiks- ta.a -0 ,

when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A breath come.up SUB.4 ,

nawitirarukúspari

raawitiraaruukúspari'

he just went around singing

raa- wi- ti- 0- raa- ra'uk -hus warii -:hus  
just QUOT IND.3A 3.A way make IMPF.SUB be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

rakúrahir<sup>a</sup>

rakúraahiira

its being good

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

kisáka<sup>u</sup>

kiisaáka'u'

a victory song

kiis- haaka- -u'  
bone mouth NOM .

Taturuhúriwæt<sup>n</sup>

Tatuuruhúriiwat

I told about him

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

nawískiharu

raawískiihaaru'

Smokey Valley

raawis- kiihaar- -u'  
smoke room NOM .

Náw<sup>a</sup> , irár<sup>i</sup> ,

Ráwa , iráári' ,

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

hawapitárikuwituta

hawá piíta rikuwituúta  
 also a man this is what he did  
 haawa wiita riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0  
 also man that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

, ahatakásik<sup>a</sup> ,  
 ahatakaásika ,  
 when he fired it ,  
 ar- ra- 0- takaas.ik -a ,  
 EV ABS 3.A shoot SUB.1 ,

hihipíra<sup>u</sup>

hihi piíra'u'  
 and the child  
 hi hi piira -u'  
 and and child NOM

witíahurirukutit<sup>n</sup>

wití'ahurirukuutit  
 he frightened his to death  
 witi- ar- ra- 0- uur- riru kuut.ik -0  
 REFL EV ABS 3.A POSS.P be.frightened kill PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Tirakúrikut<sup>i</sup>

Tiraáku

This one

tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	riku-	ti-	0-	0	-0
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF

ríkuti'

he is the one

Kúra <sup>u</sup>		rakitáwi <sup>u</sup>		.	Náwa <sup>a</sup>	,		
Kúraa'u'		Rakitáwi'u		.	Ráwa	,		
Doctor		Leading one		.	Now	,		
kuraa	-u'	ra-	0-	kita.wi	-u	.	rawa	,
doctor	NOM	ABS	3.A	be.the.leader	SUB.D	.	now	,

hiiriruahiraráwihət<sup>n</sup>

hi iriruu'ahiraraáwihut

and then he packed meat on his back

hi	irii-	ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	raar-	ra.awi.huk	-0
and	then	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	carry	PERF

nahúrahk <sup>i</sup>	,	hipíra <sup>u</sup>
rahúrahki	,	hi piíra'u'
a deer	,	and the child
rahuraar	-kis	hi piira -u'
animal	DIM	and child NOM

ahutikitáku

ahuutikitáku

he sat on top

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	ikita	kus	-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	ride	be.sitting	PERF	.

Hiruiriwiahawítiku

Hiru iriwi'ahawítiku

Then where they were camping

hiruu	irii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	wi.itik	-hus	,
-------	-------	------	-----	-----	----	---------	------	---

then where now EV ABS 3.A sit.down IMPF.SUB ,

aahawirikíspišət<sup>n</sup> .  
 a ahawirikíspicat .  
 and he arrived with it .  
 a ar- ra- 0- wirikis.wic.at -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A arrive.with.a.load PERF .

Karawakutítatuta

Karawáku' " Títatuuta  
 He didn't say : " I did this  
 ka- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " tii- ta- t- ut- aar -0  
 NEG ABS 3.A say PERF , " this IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF

. Ikuhára<sup>a</sup>  
 . " I kuuháraakii'a  
 . " And it must have become a long time  
 . " i kuur- ra- 0- raakii -aar -0  
 . " and DUB ABS 3.A be.long INCH PERF

hikuhararíka

hi kuhaaraaríkaa' .  
 and he told it .  
 hi kuur- ra- 0- a- raa.ri.kaa.a -0 .  
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A tell.to PERF .

Kuwikarahušíhuruət<sup>n</sup>

Kuwikaraahuciihúruu'ut

There was nothing wrong with its ways

ku- wii- kara- ar- ra- 0 ut- i- uhuur.uu -uk -0  
 INDF now NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be.the.way.one.does DIST PERF

píra<sup>u</sup> .  
 píra'u' .

the child .  
 piira -u' .  
 child NOM .

[Kuhararíka] .  
 Kuhaaraaríkaa' .  
 He told it .  
 kuur- ra- 0- a- raa.ri.kaa.a -0 .  
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A tell.to PERF .

Náwaháwa	Asku <sup>u</sup>	kúrahus
Ráwa haáwa'	ásku'u'	kúrahus
Now also	the same	old man
rawa haawa	asku -u'	kurahuus
now also	one NOM	old.man

aharakataat<sup>n</sup>  
 aharaahkatá'at  
 they went onto the prairie  
 ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -0  
 EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

ritskuk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 ríckuhki ;  
 in autumn ;  
 rickuur -kis ,  
 fur DIM ,

aharahkátaæt<sup>n</sup>  
 aharaahkáta'at  
 they went onto the prairie  
 ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- at -0  
 EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

ríškuki .  
 ríckuhki .  
 in autumn .  
 rickuur -kis .  
 fur DIM .

Hiirirušúksahu

Hi iriirucúksahu

And the way it used to be

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

, nápikt<sup>u</sup> ,  
 , rápiktu'  
 , sumac  
 , rapik.ru'  
 , sumac

wirakurašákahət<sup>n</sup>

wirakuracákaahat

when they fell off

wii- ra- 0- ku- raar- takaa.hak -0  
 when INF.A 3.P INF.B PL.INDV.P fall.off SUB.4 ,

hiširurutirašakúrihit<sup>n</sup>

hi ciru ruutiiracakúrihit

and yet they were bright red

hi ciruu ruu- ti- 0- i- raar- takurihik -0  
 and yet then IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A be.bright.red PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .

Nikutísiksuhuru  
 Rikutíciksuhúru'  
 That was their way

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	uhuur.uu	-0
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	AOR	be.the.way.one.does	PERF

kúrahus ,  
 kúrahus ,  
 the old men ,  
 kurahuus ,  
 old.man ,

hitipiráihi							nópikt <sup>u</sup>
hi	tipirá					ihii	, rápiktu'
and	one gathered	them				uh	, sumac
hi	ti-	0-	piraah	-0		ihii	, rapik.ru'
and	IND.3A	3.A	pick.up.PL.P	PERF		uh	, sumac

Hirətikurakušírəsah<sup>a</sup>

Hi	rattiiki		rakucírasaaha						
And	a grandchild		his taking	him					
hi	rak-	tiikis	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	ciras-	aah	-a
and	grandchild	sonny	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	COM	be	SUB.1

, rətíkita .  
 , rattíiki ta' .



, a grandchild it was his .  
 , rak- tiikis ti- 0- a- 0 -0 .  
 , grandchild sonny IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be PERF .

Kuhawáku “  
 Kuuhawáku’ “  
 He said : “  
 kuur- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “  
 DUB ABS 3.A say PERF , “

Kĩšipira nápikt<sup>u</sup>  
 Kíicihpira rápiktu’ ,  
 Let's gather them sumac ,  
 kii- i- aciir- piraah -0 rapik.ru’ ,  
 HORT CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A pick.up.PL.P PERF sumac ,

tík<sup>i</sup> . “ Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 tíki . “ Ráwa ,  
 son . “ Now ,  
 tikis . “ rawa ,  
 sonny . “ now ,

isikuhápira nápikt<sup>u</sup> .  
 i sikuuhápira rápiktu’ .  
 and they (du) gathered them sumac .  
 i si- kuur- ra- 0- piraah -0 rapik.ru’ .  
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A pick.up.PL.P PERF sumac .

Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Ráwa ,  
 Now ,  
 rawa ,  
 now ,



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

Wikuhirituríhəš .

Wikúhiirituriihac .

They had finished the camp .

wii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ituur- riihac -0 .  
now DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A village finish PERF .

Hikuhawítaks<sup>u</sup> kítasa

Hi kuuhawitaksuukítasa

And he had a blanket on top of another

hi kuur- ra- 0- witak -his huukita- sa -0  
and DUB ABS 3.A wear.over.the.shoulders PERF on.top be.lying PERF

rawihtakahkisáwata . Ráriwiš<sup>u</sup>

raawihtaakaahkiisáwata . Raáriwiicu'

a white blanket . Just then

raawiir- taakaar kiisawataar . raariwiicu'

cloth be.white . right.now

witukuhawítətít<sup>n</sup>

witikuuhawítattit

he had put it on

witi- kuur- ra- 0- witak -rik -0  
REFL DUB ABS 3.A wear.over.the.shoulders CAUS PERF

. Tiwákah<sup>u</sup> ,

. Tiwákaahu' " "

. He said : " "

. ti- 0- waka -:hus , " "

. IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , " "

tikiráhpahaat . "

Tikiraáhpahaa'at . "

It was pink  
 ti- 0- kiraar- pahaat -' . "  
 IND.3A 3.A liquid be.red EX . "

Hikuhirušakúrahus

Hi kúhiiruúcaa' kúrahus  
 And he got up the old man  
 hi kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- ra- uca.a -0 kurahuus  
 and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PORT get.up PERF old.man

, hikuruhikáisa

, hi kuruuhikaá'iisat  
 , and then he went back to camp  
 , hi kuruur- ri- 0- kaa- iis.at -0  
 , and DUB CONT.3A 3.A inside go.out.of.sight PERF

, népikt<sup>u</sup> wirararah<sup>a</sup> .  
 rápiktu' wiráraaha .  
 sumac as he was carrying it .  
 rapik.ru' wii- ra- 0- raar- raah -a .  
 sumac when ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 .

Híkiši ruríwiška

Hi kici ruuriíwicka'  
 And but then he thought  
 hi kici ruu- ri- 0- wicka -0  
 and but then CONT.3A 3.A think PERF

rətíkis

rattiíkis " "  
 his grandchild : "  
 rak- tiikis , "  
 grandchild sonny , "

hirutuksuhuhušákašet<sup>n</sup> .  
 Hiru tuksuhuuuucákacat .  
 There let me go swimming now .  
 hiruu i- t- uks- uhur- huuca.kac.at -0 .  
 there CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS now go.swimming PERF .

Ahwítiwaku  
 " Ahwitiwáku' " .  
 " He said : " .  
 " ar- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " .  
 " EV QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " .

arusakawirasišuksákirit<sup>n</sup>  
 Aruúsa' ka wirasucuksákiirit  
 Horses have you checked on them  
 aruusaa ka- wii- ra- s- ut- uks- ak- iirik -0  
 horse Y/N.INTER now ABS 2.A PREV AOR PL.AN.3P see PERF

.  
 . " .  
 ? " .  
 . " .  
 . "

Ahawáku pířask<sup>i</sup> , " .  
 Ahawáku' pířaski " .  
 He said the boy : " .  
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 piiras- -kis , " .  
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF boy DIM , " .

Kakúri . " .  
 Kaakúri' . " .  
 No . " .  
 kaaki- 0- uur- i- 0 -0 . " .

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF . "

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

Hirúrakut<sup>a</sup>

Hiru rakuúta  
There go  
hiruu ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a  
there INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

hitišuksuhurákirit<sup>n</sup>

hi tucuksuhuurákiirit  
and look after them now  
hi ti- 0- ut- uks- uhur- ak- iirik -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PREV JUSS now PLAN.3P see PERF

. "  
. "  
! "  
. "  
. "

Pirəskirúahitarahkisət<sup>n</sup>

Piiraski ruú'ahitarahkisat  
The boy then he ran  
piiras- -kis ruu- ar- ri- 0- tarahkis- at -0  
boy DIM then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong go PERF

. Karawitíwišət<sup>n</sup>  
. Karawitíwicat

. He did not arrive there  
 . kara- wi- ti- 0- i- wic.at -0  
 . NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ arrive PERF

arusáiriahawáriki

áruusa' irii'ahawaáriki  
 the horses where they stood  
 aruusaa irii- ar- ra- 0- wa- arik -i  
 horse where EV ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

hiahatirahpíraæt<sup>n</sup>

hi ahatiirahpíraa'at  
 and he went around it  
 hi ar- ra- 0- tiirahk -wi raa- at -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A be.around SUB.L way go PERF

ipát<sup>i</sup>

ipaátti'  
 his grandfather  
 i- paak -ri'  
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B

irisiahúkskak<sup>u</sup>

iriisi'ahúkskaku  
 where they had sat in the brush  
 irii- si- ar- ra- 0- uks- ka- kus -0  
 where DU EV ABS 3.A AOR in.the.brush be.sitting SUB.4

. Hiwihiruahákait<sup>a</sup>

. Hi wihiru aháka'iitat  
 . And there it lay stretched out  
 . hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ka.iit.at -0  
 . and now there EV ABS 3.A be.in.a.line PERF

rawíhtaka .  
 raawíhtaaka .  
 the blanket .  
 raawiir- taakaar .  
 cloth be.white .

Hirúahuši<sup>a</sup>

Hiru ahúci'a  
 Then he did it :  
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

píraski ahakúsit<sup>n</sup>  
 píiraski ahakúsit  
 the boy he picked it up  
 piiras- -kis ar- ra- 0- kusik -0  
 boy DIM EV ABS 3.A pick.up PERF

rawíhtaka  
 raawíhtaaka ,  
 the blanket ,  
 raawiir- taakaar ,  
 cloth be.white ,

ruwituširípap<sup>u</sup>

ruuwitucirípaapu  
 then he rolled it up  
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- iriik.wuh -waa -0  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ fold.up DIST PERF

híaharitakut<sup>n</sup> ,  
 , hi aharitákut  
 , and he ran with it  
 , hi ar- ra- 0- ri- takuk -0



, and EV ABS 3.A PORT run PERF

iríahakaw<sup>i</sup> .  
 irii'ahákaawi .  
 where his lodge was .  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- akaa -wi .  
 where EV ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Aahárahukət<sup>n</sup> .  
 A ahárahuukat .  
 And he took it inside .  
 a ar- ra- 0- ra- huuk- at -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A PORT into go PERF .

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

atíka tírak<sup>u</sup>  
 atíka' , tíraaku  
 grandmother , this one  
 ati- kaa , tii- ra- 0- kus -0  
 1.POSS grandmother , this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

rawíhtaka tírak<sup>u</sup>  
 raawíhtaaka , tíraaku  
 blanket , this one  
 raawiir- taakaar , tii- ra- 0- kus -0  
 cloth be.white , this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

tátukskusit<sup>n</sup> . "  
 tátukskusit . "

I picked it up						.	"
ta-	t-	uks-	kusik	-0		.	"
IND.1/2A	1.A	AOR	pick.up	PERF		.	"