

Ethics, Five, Part A

Roaming Scout

Hiruwítahwaku “
Hiru witaahwáku’ “
Then he would say : “
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , "
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

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

atípətⁿ , "
atípat .
grandfather .
ati- paak .
1.POSS grandfather .

nawatúkskawititⁿ .
Ráwa túkskawiitit . "
Now let me bet it ! "
rawa i- t- uks- ka- wi.itik -0 . "
now CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS on sit.down PERF . "

Hisíwitarawusititⁿ
Hi síwitaarawuusitit
And they (du) began playing
hi si- wi- ti- 0- ar- a.wuu -:hus -itik

and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV play.hoop.and.pole IMPF INCH

, sírahkuwu

. Síraahkuuwu

. When they (du) were playing

. si- ra- 0- ar- ku- a.wuu -hus
DU INF.A 3.A EV INF.B play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB

,

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,

,

,

ahawawitíhkawutitⁿ

a hawá witíhkawuutit

and also he was beat

a haawa wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -wa -0
and also QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF beat DIST PERF

. Hiruwítahwaku

. Hiru witaahwáku'

. Then he would say

. hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
. then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

ipáktⁱ “ Náw^a ,

ipaákti’ “ Ráwa ,

his grandfather : “ Now ,

i- paak -tiⁱ , " rawa ,

3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , " now ,

rutuksuhuráwirətⁿ

ruutuksuhuraáwiiraat .

then let me stop awhile
ruu- i- t- uks- uhur- raawiir- at -0 .
then CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile angrily go PERF .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa ,
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

hirukasikáisətⁿ
hiru kaasikaá”iisat
then you can go home
hiruu kaas- s- i- kaa- iis.at -0
then POT.2A 2.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight PERF

kíwaritu . "
kiwariitu' . "
naked . "
kiiwariit -u' . "
naked NOM . "

Hirúwitiruša
Hiru witiíruucaa'
Then he arose
hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- ir- uca.a -0 .
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV get.up PERF .

Hiaharurapírihu^u
Hi aharuraapírihu’u
And he loved it
hi ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

wítira								húwišuskáhit ⁿ	.		
wítira								huúwi'	cuskaáhit	.	
he had it								indeed	a tomahawk	.	
wi-	ti-	0-	raah	-0				huuwi'	icus-	kaahit	.
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	have	PERF	indeed			nose	godwit	.	

Nikutatukstapakíahu

Rikutatukstaapakí'aahu'

That is what we used to call it

riku-	ta-	t-	uks-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus				
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	AOR	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF				

šuskáhitⁿ

cuskaáhit

a tomahawk

icus- kaahit

nose godwit

Hiwitarukspáku

Hi witaaruukspáku'

And he would say

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

ipákti

"

ipaákti'

"

his grandfather

:

"

i- paak

-ri'

,

"

3.POSS.A grandfather

3.POSS.B

,

"

Tátíškaréskukawititⁿ

Táticka'

raskukáwiitit

I want

for you to bet it

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	s-	ku-	ka-	wi.itik	-0	
-----	----	-------	----	-----	----	-----	-----	---------	----	--

IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF INF.A 2.A INF.B on sit.down SUB.4

,	tírəstah ^a				katáraki	.	"	
	tírastaaaha				kaatáraki	.	"	
	this that you have				axe	.	"	
tií-	ra-	s-	raah	-a	kaatara-	-kis	.	"
this	ABS	2.A	have	SUB.1	ax	DIM	.	"

Hiruwítahwaku

Hiru wítaahwáku'

Then he would say

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF

pirəsk ⁱ	,	"	I	,	atípət ⁿ		
piíraski		"	I	,	atípat	,	
the boy	:	"	And	,	grandfather	,	
piiras-	-kis	,	"	i	,	ati- paak	,
boy	DIM	,	"	and	,	1.POSS grandfather	,

ritirirapírihu^u

riitiriiraapírihu'^u

I love it

rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raapi.rihur	-'
ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	value	EX

,	iskutkáhurušuh ^a						
.	Iskutkáhuruucuha						
.	If you wager them with me						
.	i-	s-	ku	ut-	kahuur-	ra.uc.wuh	-a
.	CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	PREV	stake	put.PL.OBJ	SUB.1

nakukári^u

rakukári'^u

their being many

ra- 0- ku- kari -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.numerous SUB.D

airirúiskuwirətⁿ

a iriruú'iskuuwirat .
and thereupon you can win it from me .
a irii- ruu- i- s- ku- awi.ra.at -0 .
and then then CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P defeat PERF .

"
"
"
"
"

Airirurakuksáwahš^u

A iriruurakuksáwahcu .
And no matter what it might be .
a irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u .
and what then INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even.if be SUB.D

wiwitikitáwiris .

wiwitikitáwiiris .

he was a great gambler .

wii- wi- ti- 0- kitawi.iir.his -0 .
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.gambler PERF .

Hitíhis^a

Hi tiíhiisa'
And morning would come .
hi ti- 0- a- ir- ar- hiis- a -0 .
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV morning come PERF .

,

,

,

,

,

hiwiwitahwihahkáwari

hi wiwitaahwihaahkáwari'

and now he would go about the gaming ground

hi wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.haar- ka- warii -:hus
and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV game.ground on be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

.

.

.

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Níhuksuasitirusukskawákaru

Ríhuksu' a sitiiruucukskawaákaru'

Only and they would make (new) things for him

rihuks -u' a si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- uks- ka.waa- ka.ra'uk -0
alone NOM and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV JUSS DIST make.PL.P PERF

,

,

,

,

,

hisíwitirawiruwa

hi síwitiirawiruuwaa'

and they won things from him

hi si- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- awi- ruu- wa- a -0

	and	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	image	PORT	DIST	come	PERF
.	I	,				ipát ⁱ						
.	I					ipaátti'						
.	And			his grandfather								
.	i		i-	paak		-ri'						
.	and		3.POSS.A	grandfather		3.POSS.B						

áharuku

áharuhku

one he had

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kus	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

,

hiwiwitahwihahkáwari

hi wiwitahwihahkáwari'

and now he would go about the gaming ground

hi	wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	wi.haar-	ka-	warii	-:hus
and	now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	game.ground	on	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

.

.

.

.

Ahawawitihwihakáisa

A hawá witihwihahká''isa'

And also he would come to the gaming ground
 a haawa wi- ti- 0- a- ir- wi.haar- ka- iis.a -0
 and also QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV game.ground on come.into PERF

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

Kusikarawitišikspahíitⁿ
 Kusikarawitiicikspahíi'it
 They (du) were anxious

ku- si- kara- wi- ti- 0- aciks- pahíit -²
 INDF DU NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A mind be.quiet EX

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

Atípətⁿ
 Atípat ,
 Grandfather ,
 ati- paak ,
 1.POSS grandfather ,

wikuratúhuri . "
 wikuratuúhuri . "
 I have been waiting for you . "
 wii- ku- ra- t- a- uur- huri -0 . "
 now INDF ABS 1.A 2.P PREV wait.for PERF . "

Hihawawihiruwitarukúwutⁿ

Hi	hawá	wihiru	witaarukuúwut								
And	also	now	he would wear leggings								
hi	haawa	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	uk.ka.uuk	-wa	-0	
and	also	now	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	wear.leggings	DIST	PERF	

,	a	asúru	.								
,	a	asuúru'	.								
,	and	moccasins	.								
,	a	as.huur	-u'	.							
,	and	moccasin	NOM	.							

Hiruwítahwaku

Hiru	wítaahwáku'	.	"	Ihi							
Then	he would say	:	"	Ihi							
hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	,	"	ihii		
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF	,	"	uh		

,	atípətn	áwit									
,	atípat	,	áwit								
,	grandfather	,	first								
,	ati-	paak	,	awit							
,	1.POSS	grandfather	,	first							

kukskáwutitⁿ

kukskáwuutit	,	ihi									
beat me	,	ihi									
i-	s-	ku-	uks-	kuut.ik	-wa	-0	,	ihii			
CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	JUSS	beat	DIST	PERF	,	uh			

,	irirusí										
,	iriiruúci'										
,	what it is										
,	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	0	-0				

, what ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

rihkúksuha

rihkúksuha

their having given you

ra- 0- ir- a- ku- uks- uh -a
INF.A 3.A PL.3A 2.P INF.B AOR give SUB.1

nakutkíšawi

raákutkiicawi

to wear around the neck

ra- 0- a- ku- ut- kiica -wi
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV have.around.the.neck SUB.L

. Kišawiukíriks ,

. " Kiícawi'u' kíriks ,

. " A necklace bead ,

. " kiica -wi -u' kiriks ,

. " have.around.the.neck SUB.L NOM bead ,

kítu nikspakíhu

kítuu'u' rikspakíhu

all what they say

kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- uks- waki.a -hus
all NOM ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kirikstaríus .

kirikstarií'us .

blue beads .

kiriks- tarii'uus .

bead be.blue .

Nikutirurukstapírihu^u

Rikutiruurukstaapírihu^u

That is the one he loved

riku-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	uks-	raapi.rihur	-?
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	PHYS.POSS	PREV	AOR	value	EX

píta ,

piita

the man

wiita

man

rakutastakišawi

raakutaastaahkiicawi

to wear strung around the neck

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ut-	haas-	raar-	kiica	-wi
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PREV	string	PL	have.around.the.neck	SUB.L

akírikskatitⁿ

;

itáhi

-- a kírikkskaatit -- itaáhi'

-- and black beads -- his sisters

-- a kiriks- kaatit -- i- -taat- -ri?

-- and bead black -- 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B

sirihkúrawuh^a

sirihkúraawuuha

the things they gave him

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raa-	wa-	uh	-a	.
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	way	DIST	give	SUB.1	.

Náw^a , hiruwítahwaku

Ráwa , hiru wítaahwáku'

Now , then he would say

rawa	, hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0
now	, then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF

ipákti
 ipaákti'
 his grandfather : " " Now ,
 i- paak -ri' , " rawa ,
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , " now ,

itúawitn
 iítu'
 go ahead áwit
 first
 ii- 0- ir- ut- uu -0 awit
 SUBJ.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be PERF first

šuksastáhkawititn
 suksaastaáhkawiitit
 bet the string
 i- s- uks- haas- raar- ka- wi.itik -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS string PL on sit.down PERF

rahastakírariusu
 rahaastaahkírarii'uusu
 the blue bead necklace
 ra- 0- haas- raar- kiraar- rii'uus -u . "
 ABS 3.A string PL water be.blue SUB.D . "

Hirusiwitáhwaritn
 Hiru siwitaáhwarit
 Then they (du) would gamble
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ar- warik -0 ,
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV shoot PERF ,

asiwitarawu
 a síwitaarawu'
 and they (du) would play
 a si- wi- ti- 0- ar- a.wuu -:hus

and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV play.hoop.and.pole IMPF

,
,

asíwitarawu

a síwitaarawu'
and they (du) would play
a si- wi- ti- 0- ar- a.wuu -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV play.hoop.and.pole IMPF

.

Kišisiwititakitáwuhu

Kici siwitiitaakitáwuhu'
But they were counting the sticks for him
kici si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- haak- kita.wuh -:hus
but DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN wood count IMPF

píraski , hínahiritⁿ
piiraski , hi raahiírit
boys , and finally
piiras- -kis , hi raahiírit
boy DIM , and finally

kišiwikuharíus
kici wikuuharií'us

but now he knew how
 kici wii- kuur- ra- 0- rii'uus -0
 but now DUB ABS 3.A know.how PERF

nakuhakítawuhu .
 rakuhaakítawuhu .
 to count sticks .
 ra- 0- ku- haak- kita.wuh -hus .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B wood count IMPF.SUB .

Hawaawitihkáwutitⁿ
 Hawá a witihkáwuutit
 Also and he lost
 haawa a wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -wa -0
 also and QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF beat DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

Hiruwítahwaku
 Hiru wítaahwáku'
 Then he would say
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

pireskⁱ , " Náw^a , háw^a
 piíraski , " Ráwa , haáwa' ,
 the boy : " Now , also ,
 piiaras- -kis , " rawa , haawa ,
 boy DIM , " now , also ,

atípətⁿ
atípat ,
grandfather ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

irikuhatkawítikst^a . "
iriikuuhatkawiítiksta . "
whatever am I going to bet ? "
irii- kuur- ra- t- ka- wi.itik -his -ta . "
what DUB ABS 1.A on sit.down PERF INT . "

Hikúrahust
Hi kúrahust
And the old man
hi kurahuus
and old.man

ruwítawaku " "
ruuwitaahwáku' "
then he said : "
ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Suhuhastáhkawititⁿ
Suhuuhaastaáhkawiitit
Now bet the strings
i- s- uhur- haas- raar- ka- wi.itik -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A now string PL on sit.down PERF

rəsitástakišawⁱ
rasiitaástaahkiicawi
the strings around your neck
ra- s- ir- ut- haas- raar- kiica -wi

ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV string PL have.around.the.neck SUB.L

kírikskatitⁿ .
kírikskaatit . "
black beads . "
kiriks- kaatit . "
bead black . "

Hítahwaku , " Náw^a .
Hi taahwáku' " Ráwa .
And he would say : " Alright .
hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , " rawa .
and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , " now .

"
"
"
"
"

Hisiwitarawusítitⁿ
Hi siwitaarawuuusítit
And they (du) began playing
hi si- wi- ti- 0- ar- a.wuu -:hus -itik
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV play.hoop.and.pole IMPF INCH

.
. .
. .
. .

Ahawawitiheskáwutitⁿ
A hawá witiihaaskáwuutit

And also he lost the necklace
 a haawa wi- ti- 0- i- haas- kuut.ik -wa -0
 and also QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ string kill DIST PERF

. Hiwítahwaku
 . Hi wítaahwáku'
 . And he would say
 . hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
 . and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

ipákti' , "
 ipaákti' , "
 his grandfather : "
 i- paak -ri' , "
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , "

Suhúkawititⁿ
 Suhúhkawiitit
 Now bet it
 i- s- uhur- ka- wi.itik -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A now on sit.down PERF

ukúku . "
 ukuúku'u' . "
 the leggings . "
 uk.kuuku -u' . "
 legging NOM . "

Hirusiwitáhwaritⁿ
 Hiru siwitaáhwarit
 Then they (du) would gamble .
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ar- warik -0 .
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV shoot PERF .

Haw^a
Haáwa'
Also
haawa
also

áwitirawirətⁿ

a witiirawirat
and he won from him
a wi- ti- 0- ir- uur- awi.ra.at -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV POSS.P defeat PERF

ukúku

.
ukuúku'u'
. .
the leggings
uk.kuuku -u'
legging NOM .

Awitihkáwawutitⁿ

A withhkáwaawuutit
And he lost all them
a wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -waawa -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV kill DIST PERF

kítu ésur^u
kítuu'u' ásuuru'
. .
all (his) moccasins
kituu -u' as.huur -u'
all NOM moccasin NOM .

Hiruwítahwaku , "
Hiru wítaahwáku' "
Then he would say : "
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "

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

Suhuháskawititⁿ,

Suhuuhaáskawiitit

Now bet the string

i- s- uhur- haas- ka- wi.itik -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A now string on sit.down PERF

rəsištáhuriⁱ

rasictáhuriⁱ

the one tied around your waist

ra- s- ir- ut- tahuriik -wi
ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV have.tied.around.the.waist SUB.L

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Hiwitiruštáhuritⁿ

Hi witiructáhurit

And he wore it around the waist

hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- tahuriik -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV have.tied.around.the.waist PERF

narurahkuhasiriwirawárika

raaruuraahkuuhaasiriwiraawárika

one he had just rolled up

raa- ruu- ra- 0- ar- ku- i- haas- iriwiraa.warik -a
just then INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ string roll SUB.1

Hiruwítahwaku " "
Hiru wítaahwáku' "
Then he would say : "
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , "

Atípətⁿ
Atípat ,
Grandfather ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

ikaririruhúu
i kariiriruuuhúu
and it is not the way
i karii- rii- 0- raa.uhur -²
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.the.way EX

rətkuháskawititⁿ,
ratkuhaáskaawiitit .
for me to bet the string .
ra- t- ku- haas- ka- wi.itik -0 .
INF.A 1.A INF.B string on sit.down SUB.4 .

tatištáhuritⁿ
Tatictáhurit
I wear it around the waist
ta- t- ir- ut- tahuriik -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV have.tied.around.the.waist PERF

Hiruwítahwaku
Hiru wítaahwáku'
Then he would say :
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 ,
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF ,

Atípetn
Atípat ,
Grandfather ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

tatiškáihi
táticka' , ihí ,
I want , uh ,
ta- t- wicka -0 , ihii ,
IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF , uh ,

tuuhúruc
tuksuhúruc
let me put
i- t- uks- uhur- uc -0
CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile lay.SG.P PERF

tíshurus
tícuhúruc --
let me put it down awhile --
i- t- i- uks- uhur- uc -0 --
CONT.1/2A 1.A SEQ JUSS awhile lay.SG.P PERF --

ihí tuhúhkawítitn
ihí , tuuhúhkawiitit
uh , let me bet it now
ihii , i- t- uhur- ka- wi.itik -0

uh , CONT.1/2A 1.A now on sit.down PERF

šuskáhitn . "
cuskaáhit . "
the tomahawk . "
icus- kaahit . "
nose godwit . "

Híruahiwaku kúrahus
Hiru ahiwáku' kúrahus
Then he said the old man :
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus ,
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF old.man ,

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

itirakáhurušⁱ
i tirakáhuruuci
and these stakes
i tii- ra- 0- kahuur- ra.uc -i
and this ABS 3.A stake be.lying.PL SUB.2

wiritúkahuruš^u
wiriitúkahuruucu
now I'll put the stakes down
wii- rii- t- ut- kahuur- ra.uc.wuh -0
now ASSR 1.A BEN stake put.PL.OBJ PERF

kítu .
kítuu'u' . "

all . "
kituu -u' . "
all NOM . "

Hirusiahiwusítitⁿ

Hiru si'ahiiwuusítit
Then they (du) began playing
hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- a.wuu -:hus -itik
then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A play.hoop.and.pole IMPF INCH

aahihkawútitⁿ

a ahihkawuútit
and he lost
a ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF

pírəskⁱ . Híruahiwaku
piíraski . Hiru ahiwáku'
the boy . Then he said
piiras- -kis . hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka^u -0
boy DIM . then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kúrahus , " Náw^a ,
kúrahus " Ráwa ,
the old man : " Now ,
kurahuus , " rawa ,
old.man , " now ,

wirutatáwirətⁿ , náw^a
wiruutataáwirat . Ráwa
now I have beat you . Now
wii- ruu- ta- t- a- awi.ra.at -0 . rawa
now then IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P defeat PERF . now

,

,

,

,

,

hiruirikuhakahúhkaruš

hiru	iri	kuuh	kahahúh	kaaruc				
then	wherever	the stakes	are inside					
hiruu	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	kahuur-	kaa-	ra.uc	-0
then	where	DUB	ABS	3.A	stake	inside	be.lying.PL	PERF

suksakarítaw^u

suksakaariítawu	.	"					
name the lodge	!	"					
i-	s-	uks-	akaar-	iita.wuh	-0	.	"
CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	dwelling	announce	PERF	.	"

Híruahiwaku

Hiru	ahiwáku'		pírəsk ⁱ
Then	he said		piíraski
hiruu	ar-	ri-	the boy
then	EV	CONT.3A	the boy
		3.A	:

"

"

"

"

"

Irakawirakárihuru

Irákaawi		raakárihuuru
That	lodge	the big lodge
ii-	ra-	0-
aka	aa	-wi
		ra-
		0-
		akaar-
		rihur
		-u

that ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L ABS 3.A dwelling be.big SUB.D

, hirúrikutiruš
-- hiru rikutíruc
-- there that is where they are
-- hiruu riku- ti- 0- ra.uc -0
-- there that.is IND.3A 3.A be.lying.PL PERF

ukúku éšuru
ukuúku'u' , ásuuru' ,
the leggings , the moccasins ,
uk.kuuku -u' , as.huur -u' ,
legging NOM , moccasin NOM ,

akatárák*i* .
a kaatáraki . "
and the axe . "
a kaatara- -kis . "
and ax DIM . "

Hiruahitaráhkisətⁿ ,
Hiru ahitaráhkisat
Then he ran
hiruu ar- ri- 0- tarahkis- at -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong go PERF

kahurawaríhus .
kahuraawariíhus .
the stakes carrier .
kahuur- ra- a.warii -hus .
stake PORT go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Ahawáku “
Ahawáku’ “

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

Títakuahakahurušpáwi

Tíitaku ahakahurucpaáwi
 Here the stakes
 tii- -taku ar- ra- 0- kahuur- ra.uc -waa -wi
 here LOC EV ABS 3.A stake be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

tatitkahuráwa

tatitkahuraáwaa'

I have come for the stakes

ta- t- ir- ut- kahuur- raar- wa- a -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A BEN stake PL DIST come PERF

. " Tíkⁱ
 . " " Tíki ,
 . " " Sonny ,
 . " " tikis ,
 . " " sonny ,

takikurakahúrawa^a

takí kurakahúraawa'a

whose stakes are they

takii ku- ra- 0- a- kahuur- raar- 0 -wa -²
 someone INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A stake PL be DIST EX

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

tatiritkahurawáihí
 tatiritkahuraawaá'
 I came for his stakes , ihí
 ta- t- ir- ri- ut- kahuur- raar- wa- a -0 , ihii
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV stake PL DIST come PERF , uh

piríšaraaks . "
 , Piiriícara'aks . "
 , Crazy Child . "
 , piira- icaraks . "
 , child be.mischievous . "

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

títak^u ,
 tiítaku
 here
 tii- -taku
 here LOC

kukakáhukahusuku
 kukaakaáhuukahusuuku'
 he never comes in
 ku- kaaki- 0- a- huuk- a -:hus -uuku
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A into come IMPF HAB

, hirukuhuharáiku
 . Hiru kúhuuhhaará'ihku'
 . There he must mean it
 . hiruu kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus

. there DUB ABS 3.A PREV mean IMPF

irírakariku . "

iriíraakáriku . "

where his home was . "

irií- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0 . "

that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Hiruahušia

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 ahataráhkisətn
piíraski ahataráhkisat
the boy : he ran .
piiras- -kis , ar- ra- 0- tarahkis- at -0 .
boy DIM , EV ABS 3.A be.strong go PERF .

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

Kukarawitikahúhku
Kukarawitiíkahuhku
There were no stakes there

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- kahuur- kus -0
INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ stake be.sitting PERF

. " Áhawaku piríšaraaks
. " Ahawáku' Piiriicara'aks

.	"	He said					Crazy Child
.	"	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	piira- icaraks
.	"	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	child be.mischievous
	"	Ári	!				
	"	Ári'					
:	"	Why	,				
,	"	arii	,				
,	"	oh	,				

hirutikahúhkaruš

hiru tikahúhkaaruc

there the stakes are inside

hiruu	ti-	0-	kahuur-	kaa-	ra.uc	-0	.
there	IND.3A	3.A	stake	inside	be.lying.PL	PERF	.

Taraítašuraki

Taraá'iita						cuúraki
She knows						the girl
ti-	0-	a-	raa.iita	-0	icuura-	-kis
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	know	PERF	girl	DIM

nahukítəs^a

rahuukítasa

the one lying on (the bed)

ra- 0- huukita- sa -0
 ABS 3.A on.top be.lying SUB.4

irirakáhurušⁱ

iriirakáhuruuci

where the stakes are

irii-	ra-	0-	kahuur-	ra.uc	-i	.	"
where	ABS	3.A	stake	be.lying.PL	SUB.2	.	"

Hiruahitaráhkisət
Hiru ahitaráhkisat
Then he ran
hiruu ar- ri- 0- tarahkis- at -0 wiita
then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong go PERF man

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

Títakúrikuwitirušpa
Tíitaku rikuwitirúcpa
Here it is where they are
tii- -taku riku- wi- ti- 0- ra.uc -waa -0
here LOC that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF

Witaraítəšurakiiraku
Witaraá'iita cuúraki íraaku
She knows girl that one
wi- ti- a- raa.iita -0 icuura- -kis ii- ra- 0- kus -0
QUOT IND.3A PREV.3A know PERF girl DIM that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4
. " Nuwítiwaku
. " Ruuwítiwáku'
. " Then she said
. " ruu- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0

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

šustíra^u " "
custíra'^u "
the mother : "
custit ra- 0- a- 0 -u , "
old.woman ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , "

Hirusukstušpákaru

Hiru sukstucpaákaru'

Then pick them up

hiruu i- s- uks- ra.uc -waa ka.ra'uk -0
then CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.lying.PL DIST make.PL.P PERF

, hikirikiríkruutⁿ

. Hi kirikí ruu'ut

! And why is it

. hi kirikii ra- 0- ut- 0 -³
. and what ABS 3.A PREV be EX

karaaraítawⁱ

kara'araá'iita

that she does not know

kara- ii- 0- a- raa.iita -0 . "
NEG SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV.3A know SUB.4 . "

Híkišⁱ iahawáta

Hi kici i'ahawaáta

And but when she got up

hi kici ii- ar- ra- 0- a- waat.a -0
and but when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up SUB.3

šúraki ,

cuúraki ,

the girl ,
icuura- -kis ,
girl DIM ,

hiwitikarahu riškahíkaru
hi witikaraahuurickahiíkaru'
and she had not washed her face
hi witi- kara- ar- ra- 0- uur- icka- hii ka.ra'uk -0
and REFL NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV face wash PERF

- . Witihwakiah^u "
- . Witihwakí'aahu' "
- . They were saying : "
- . wi- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , "
- . QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

Tiharésiwata ,
Tihaarásihwaata
When you got up here
tii- haa- ra- s- ir- waat.a -0
here here ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A get.up SUB.3

kikáruskətⁿ ,
kiikáruskat ,
early in the morning ,
kiikarus -kat ,
early.in.the.morning LOC ,

təsuksiškarišaúutⁿ . "
tasuksickariica'uú'ut . "
you had a face blackened with soot . "
ta- s- uks- icka- ra.ica.uuht -² . "
IND.1/2A 2.A AOR face be.sooted EX . "

Šurakisiwitiháiku										
Cuúraki		siwitiihá'ihku'								
The girl		they meant her								
icuura	-kis	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	ra'ihk	-:hus	
female	DIM	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	mean	IMPF	

Wiruriwíška ^a						šúraki			
Wiruuriíwicka'						cuúraki			"
Now she thought						the girl	:		"
wii-	ruu-	rii-	wicka	-0		icuura-	-kis	,	"
now	then	ASSR	think	PERF	girl	DIM	,		"

hikukariritiriráita											
Hi	kukariiriitiriiraá’iita										
And	I do not know anything about it										
hi	ku-	karii-	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa.iita	-0		
and	INDEF	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	know	PERF		

Irihíwirurahirurahiwišíkstaritⁿ
Irihii wiruraahiwihcíkstarit
That now he is going to bring it out into the open
irii- hii wii- ruu- ra- 0- uur- hiwihc -ik -his -ta -rit

that other now then ABS 3.A PREV appear CAUS PERF INT INT.SUB

,

tirutkahuráwari

tirutkahuraáwari

this one who goes for the stakes

tií- ra- 0- ut- kahuur- raa.warii -hus
this ABS 3.A PREV stake go.around.to.get IMPF.SUB

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

kariritiriráita

Kariitiitiriiraá'iita

I do not know anything about it

karii- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.iita -0
EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV know PERF

" (Šúraki) "
, " cuúraki . "
, " the girl . "
, " icuura- -kis . "
, " girl DIM . "

Kariritiriráita

Kariitiitiriiraá'iita

I do not know anything about it

karii- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.iita -0
EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV know PERF

. " Pirəskiístu
. " Piíraski ístu
. " The boy again
. " piiras- -kis istu
. " boy DIM again

rúahi taráhkisətⁿ

ruu'ahitaráhkisat

then he ran

ruu- ar- ri- 0- tarahkis- at -0 .
then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong go PERF .

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Karawitírus

Karawitiíruc

They are not there

kara- wi- ti- 0- i- ra.uc -0 .
NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying.PL PERF .

kukarawítiruš

Kukarawítiruc

There is nothing there

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- ra.uc -0 .
INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying.PL PERF .

"
"
"
"

Ipatíruahiwaku

Ipaátti' ruu'ahiwáku'
His grandfather then he said
i- paak -ri' ruu- ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

" Ári ! hiruhíasas ,
" Ari' hiru hi ásas
: " Why , then and your mother
, " arii , hiruu hi a- sas
, " oh , then and 2.POSS mother

irirakárik^u

iriiraakáriku ,
where her home is
iri- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

kúhihi ,
kúhiihi' ,
it must be the place ,
kuur- ra- 0- ihii -0 ,
DUB ABS 3.A be.in.a.place/time PERF ,

irirasakáriku . "
iriiraasakáriku . "
where your home is . "
iri- ra- s- akaar- ri- kus -0 . "

where ABS 2.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Híruahiwaku pírəskⁱ,
Hiru ahiwáku' piíraski
Then he said the boy :
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 piiras- -kis ,
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF boy DIM ,

" Ikariríhi
" I kariiríhi'
" And it is not there
" i karii- ri- 0- ihii -0
" and EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.in.a.place/time PERF

;

.

.

.

hirurikutikahuhkárušpa

Hiru rikutikahuhkaárucpa
Then that is where the stakes are inside
hiruu riku- ti- 0- kahuur- kaa- ra.uc -waa -0
then that.is IND.3A 3.A stake inside be.lying.PL DIST PERF

tíirírawu . "

ti'iíraawu . "

here where he has been going . "

tií- irii- ra- 0- wuu -hus . "
here where ABS 3.A go.IMPF IMPF.SUB . "

Ahawáku " "
Ahawáku'

He said : "

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Isuksurarítawu
Isuksuraariítawu
You'll tell him the place

i- s- uks- huraa- iita.wuh -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS earth describe.to PERF

irikúharuš
iriikuúharuc
wherever they are ! "
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ra.uc -0 . "
where DUB ABS 3.A be.lying.PL PERF . "

Ahawáku áka !
Ahawáku' " Aáka
He said : " Oh my ,
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " aaka'a ,
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " oh.my ,

taraíta šúrakⁱ
taraá'iita cuúraki
she knows the girl
ti- 0- a- raa.iita -0 icuura- -kis
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF girl DIM

irírarušⁱ
iriíraruuuci
where they are .
irii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i .
where ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 .

Irírarišáwihar^u
Iriirariicáwihaaru
Where the pillow is
irii- ra- 0- riica.wi.haar -u ,
where ABS 3.A be.the.head.of.the.bed SUB.D ,

taráita
taraá'iita
she knows
ti- 0- a- raa.iita -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF

rarúši , ukúku
raruúci ukuúku'u'
their being the leggings
ra- 0- ra.uc -i uk.kuuku -u'
ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 legging NOM

áasuru akatárakⁱ
a ásuuru' -- a kaatáraki
and the moccasins -- and the axe
a as.huur -u' -- a kaatara- -kis
and moccasin NOM -- and ax DIM

nikurísa .
rikuriísa .
that is where it lies .
riku- ri- 0- sa -0 .
that.is CONT.3A 3.A be.lying PERF .

Hiruahitaráhkišetⁿ píta .
Hiru ahitaráhkisat piíta .
Then he ran the man .
hiruu ar- ri- 0- tarahkis- at -0 wiita .

then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong go PERF man .

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

nikuwitirúš titaku
rikuwitíruc tiítaku
it is where they are right here
riku- wi- ti- 0- ra.uc -0 tii- -taku
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.lying.PL PERF here LOC

, šurakírahku
, cuúraki iriiraáhku
, the girl where she sits
, icuura- -kis irii- ra- 0- ar- kus -0
, girl DIM that ABS 3.A EV be.sitting SUB.4

ihí
, ihí ,
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

aharurišáwiharu
aharuuriicáwihaaru
where her pillow is
ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- riica.wi.haar -u
EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.the.head.of.the.bed SUB.D

nikuwitirúšpa . "
rikuwitirúcpa . "

that is where they are
riku- wi- ti- 0- ra.uc -waa -0 . "
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF . "

Híastⁱ
Hí'aasti'
Her father
i- as -ri^j
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

wiahakák^u,
wi'ahakaáku
who was now inside
wii- ar- ra- 0- kaa- kus -0
now EV ABS 3.A inside be.sitting SUB.4

híruahiwaku " Ári ,
hiru ahiwáku' " Ári'
then he said : " Why ,
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , " arii ,
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , " oh ,

šiksúša ,
siksuúcaa'
get up !
i- s- ir- uks- uca.a -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS rise PERF .

šiksúša ,
Siksuúcaa'
Get up !
i- s- ir- uks- uca.a -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS rise PERF .

sukstušpákaru

Sukstucpaákaru'

Pick them up

i- s- uks- ra.uc -waa ka.ra'uk -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.lying.PL DIST make.PL.P PERF

, hirusukstáwa^u

, hiru sukstaáwa'^u

, then give them to him

, hiruu i- s- uks- raa- wa- uh -0
then CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS way DIST give PERF

. Hiruahúšia

. " Hiru ahúci'a

! " Then she did it

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

šúraki ahúša^a

cuúraki ahuúca'a'

the girl : she arose

icuura- -kis , ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0
girl DIM , EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF ,

hiwihirurikuahuširarišáiwahətⁿ

hi wihiyu riku'ahuciraariicá'iwaahat

and there they were there under the pillow

hi wii- hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- i- raar- riica.wi- waa- hak -0
and now there that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A pillow DIST pass.by PERF

, katáraki ukúku

kaatáraki , ukuúku'u'

the axe , the leggings ,

kaatara- -kis , uk.kuuku -u' ,

ax DIM , legging NOM ,

áasuru .
a ásuuru' .
and the moccasins .
a as.huur -u' .
and moccasin NOM .

Ruwitúšia

Ruuwitúci'a

Then she did it

ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

ahararawawárika .

aharaarawaawárika .

her throwing them away .

ar- ra- 0- raaar- a.warik -waa -a .
EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P throw.away DIST SUB.1 .

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kurahúsa" "

kurahuúsa'" "

her father : "

kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u , " "
old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , "

Sukstušpákaru

Sukstucpaákaru'

Pick them up

i- s- uks- ra.uc -waa ka.ra'uk -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.lying.PL DIST make.PL.P PERF

, ári ! kakúrahi
. Ári' kaakúraahi
! Ah , it is not good
. arii , kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
. oh , NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

sukstáwa^u

. Sukstaáwa'u
. Give them to him
. i- s- uks- raa- wa- uh -0
. CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS way DIST give PERF

iriruhawáhu

iriruuhaawáhu

the one who came for them

irii- ra- 0- a- ut- raa- wa- a -hus
that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV way DIST come IMPF.SUB

"
"
!"
"
"
"

Kukarawítirušpákaru

Kukarawítirucpaakaru'

She did not pick any of them up

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- ra.uc waa.ka.ra'uk -0
INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying.PL pull.up.PL.P PERF

- . Hišústit
- . Hi cús tit
- . And the old woman
- . hi custit
- . and old. woman

rúahuša							
ruu'ahuúcaa'							
then	she	arose					
ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	uca.a	-0	
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	rise	PERF	

aaharušpákaru							
a	aharucpaákaru'						
and	she	picked	them	up			
a	ar-	ra-	0-	ra.uc	waa.ka.ra'uk	-0	
and	EV	ABS	3.A	be.lying.PL	pull.up.PL.P	PERF	

Hiruahíat ⁿ						šústít ⁿ
Hiru	ahí'at					cústít
Then	she went					the old woman
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0	custit
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF	old.woman

aaharáwa <u>u</u>								
a	aharaáwa'u							
and	she	gave	him	the	things			
a	ar-	ra-	0-	raa-	wa-	uh		-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	way	DIST	give	PERF	

iríráu
iriiráu
his being the one
irii- ra- 0- 0 -11

that ABS 3.A be SUB.D

kahuráruwahus

kahuuráruuwaahus

the one who brings stakes

kahuur- raar- ruu- wa- a -hus
stake PL PORT DIST come IMPF.SUB .

Hirúpít^a

Hiru piíta

Then the man

hiruu wiita

then man

ruahiritaráhkisp^a

ruu'ahiritaráhkispa

then he ran with the things

ruu- ar- ri- 0- raar- ri- tarahkis- war -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.strong go.DU PERF .

. Aharušpáw^u

. Aharucpaáwu

. He put them down

. ar- ra- 0- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
. EV ABS 3.A put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF .

Ahawákupit^a

Ahawáku' piíta "

He said the man : "

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

isárariks

,

Isáraariks

He was truthful
 i- s- ar- raariks -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A EV be.true PERF .

hirurikuisirurúšpa
 Hiru riku'isiruurúcpa
 There she was the one who had the things
 hiruu riku- i- s- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -waa -0
 there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF

, irišúrakⁱ
 iríí cuúraki
 there girl
 irii icuura- -kis
 there girl DIM

narúhkusar^u
 rarúhkusaaru
 (by) her bed
 ra- 0- a- ri- uur- kus.haar -u
 ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.bed SUB.D

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

ipáktⁱ
 ipaákti'
 his grandfather : "
 i- paak -riⁱ , " rawa ,
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , " now ,

rəktíkⁱ
raktiíki
grandchild
rak- tiikis
grandchild sonny ,

kušukstaríka
kucukstaaríka'
tell me

i- s- ir- ku- ut- uks- raa.rí.kaa.a -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PREV JUSS tell.to PERF

, kukawírəsuta
. Ku ka wírasuuta
! Do you ever do it
. ku- ka- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -0
. INDF Y/N.INTER now ABS 2.A PREV do PERF

kíriku rakuwíška^a
kíriku' rakuwicka'a
perhaps to think
kirikuu ra- 0- ku- wicka -a
anything ABS 3.A INF.B think SUB.1

rakuharáiku
rakuháaráiku
to be married . ?
ra- 0- ku- haa- raar- ri- kus -0 .
INF.A 3.A INF.B child PL PORT be.sitting SUB.4 .

" Ahawáku pírəskⁱ "
" Ahawáku' piíraski "
" He said the boy : "
" ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 piiras- -kis , "

" EV ABS 3.A say PERF boy DIM , "

Kišírikuritukskak^u

Kici rikuriítukskaaku
But that is where I was staying
kici riku- rii- t- uks- kaa- kus -0 .
but that.is ASSR 1.A AOR inside be.sitting PERF .

irihúšpaw^u

I rihúcpaawu
And I put them there
i rii- t- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0 .
and ASSR 1.A put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF .

tiráita

Tiiraá'iita
They knew it
ti- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF .

nikutahušpáw^u

rikutahucpaáwu
That is where I put them
riku- ta- t- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0 . " "
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF . "

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

ipáktⁱ " Ári ! híkirⁱ
ipaákti' " Ári' híkiiri

his grandfather : " Why , indeed
 i- paak -ri^p , " arii , hikiiri
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B , " oh , indeed

rarúkarurëskúšiar^a

raaruúkaru' raskúci'aara

you should not have just done it

raa-	ruu-	ka-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	ra-	s-	ku-	ut-	i-	aar	-a
just	then	NEG	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	INF.A	2.A	INF.B	PREV	SEQ	do	SUB.1

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

Atípətⁿ,
 Atípat ,
 Grandfather ,
 ati- paak ,
 1.POSS grandfather ,

ikaririkururarëtkúšiar^a

i kariirii' kuraaruuratkúci'aara
 and I was not able to just do anything

i	karii-	rii-	0-	i-	0	-0	ku-	raa-	ruu-	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	i-	aar	-a
and	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	3.A	SEQ	be	PERF	INDF	just	then	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	SEQ	do	SUB.1

- . Tiráita
- . Tiiraá'iita
- . They knew it
- . ti- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0
- . IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

natúkskaku
 , i ,
 ratúkskaaku
 , i ,
 my having been inside
 , and ,
 ra- t- uks- kaa- kus -0 , i ,
 ABS 1.A AOR inside be.sitting SUB.4 , and ,

atípətⁿ , naríksisu
 atípat , raaríksisu'
 grandfather , truly
 ati- paak , raariks -his -u'
 1.POSS grandfather , be.true PERF NOM

nikururapírihuu
 riikuruuraapírihu'u
 she loves me
 rii- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -²
 ASSR 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

kíši ,
 . Kici
 . But
 . kici
 . but

tikururapírihuu
 tikuruuraapírihu'u
 she loves me
 ti- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raapi.rihur -²
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV value EX

šúraki .
 cuúraki . "
 the girl . "
 icuura- -kis . "

girl DIM . "

Náw ^a	,
Ráwa	,
Now	,
rawa	,
now	,

hawákukarawitiwaku

hawá kukarawitiwáku'

also he did not say anything more

haawa	ku-	kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0
also	INDF	NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF

ipát ⁱ			.	Náw ^a	,
ipaátti'			.	Ráwa	,
his grandfather			.	Now	,
i-	paak	-ri'	.	rawa	,
3.POSS.A	grandfather	3.POSS.B	.	now	,

pírəskiwiruša

piiraski		wiiruúcaa'						
the boy		now he arose						
piiras-	-kis	wii-	ra-	0-	a-	uca.a	-0	
boy	DIM	now	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	rise	PERF	

nakururapírihuru

Rakuruuraapírihuuru

Its being the way he liked

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	raapi.rihur	-u
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	value	SUB.D

, níhuksu

, ríhuksu'

, just
, rihuks -u'
, alone NOM

níhkawata ,
ríhkwaata ,
when he got up ,
ra- 0- a- ir- ku- waat.a -0 ,
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B get.up SUB.3 ,

hiwititariškarišaútkarukítu
hi wititaarickariica'útkaru' kítuu'u'
and he blackened his face with soot entirely
hi wití- ti- 0- ar- icka- ra.ica'uuht -ka.ra'uk -0 kituu -u'
and REFL IND.3A 3.A EV face be.sooted CAUS.PL.P PERF all NOM

Áaruwititarišautⁿ katárikitⁿ

A raaruuwititaariica'utkataarikit
And he made black sooty spots on his body
a raa- ruu- witi- ti- 0- ar- ra.ica'uuht kata.arik -ihk -0
and just then REFL IND.3A 3.A EV be.sooted be.spots.on CAUS PERF

, Náw^a , hikišišúrakⁱ
. Ráwa , hi kici cuúraki
. Now , and but the girl
. rawa , hi kici icuura- -kis
. now , and but girl DIM

hirusiahi šistiwititⁿ

hiru si'ahiicistiwítit

then she was questioned by them [the family]

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- as.rí.wí.itik -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ question PERF

, híastⁱ a
hi'aasti' a
her father and
i- as -riⁱ a
3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B and

isástⁱ . " Kíra !
isaásti' . " Kíra
her mother . " Perhaps
i- saas -riⁱ . " kira
3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B . " perhaps

sikarəspawúktik^u . "
sikaraspaaawáktiiku' . "
were you (du) talking ? "
si- ka- ra- s- waa.wak.tik -:hus . "
DU Y/N.INTER ABS 2.A talk IMPF . "

Hišurakiwítawaku

Hi cuúraki wítaahwáku'

And the girl she said

hi icuura- -kis wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
and girl DIM QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, " Kusikakatpawúktik^u .
" Kusikaakatpaawáktiiku' .
: " He and I were not talking .
, " ku- si- kaaka- t- waa.wak.tik -:hus .

, " INDF DU NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A talk IMPF .

"

" "

" "

" "

" "

Ariikírikiruhawi^u

Ári' , i kirikí ruuhaáwi'
Why , and what was the reason
arii , i kirikii ra- 0- ut- raa.wi.uu -0
oh , and what ABS 3.A PREV be.thus PERF

tírəsihwata ,

tírasihwaata

when you got up

ti- ra- s- ir- waat.a -0
when ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A get.up SUB.3

hiwihirurisiškarišauutⁿ

hi wihiuru riisickariíca'uu'ut . "
and there your face was blacked with soot ? "
hi wii- hiruu rii- s- icka- ra.ica'uuht -? . "
and now there ASSR 2.A face be.sooted EX . "

Ašúrakⁱ

A cuúraki
And the girl
a icuura- -kis
and girl DIM

hiruwitatahúriwititⁿ

hiru witaahkahúriwiitit .

then she put her head down
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- tahuri.wi.itik -0 .
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV put.one's.head.down PERF .

Hiruwitáhwiska šúrakⁱ
 Hiru witaáhwicka' cuúraki
 Then she thought the girl
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 icuura- -kis
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF girl DIM

, "
 : "
 , "
 , "

hikukaritaráít^a
 Hi kukariiritaaraá'iita
 And I don't know anything about you
 hi ku- karii- rii- t- ir- a- i- raa.iita -0
 and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P SEQ know PERF

. Akíkiši ápar^u
 . " Aki kici ápaaru'
 . " And here but secretly
 . " a- ki kici apaar- -u'
 . " and there but secret NOM

kuhiharišárikitⁿ
 kuhiíhariicárikit
 they apparently had been put under the pillow by him
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar ra.ica.arik.ihk -0
 DUB ABS 3.A OBV PREV 3PL.INAN.P put.under.someone's.head.PL.P PERF

,
,

hirutarikstašawihétihipirëski

hiru	taarikstacawíhat						,	ihi	,	piíraski
then	he would rub his hands						,	uh	,	the boy
hiruu	ti-	0-	ar-	iks-	raar-	ta.wi.hak	-0	ihii	,	piiras-
then	IND.3A	3.A	EV	hand	PL	wipe	PERF	uh	,	-kis
							,	boy		DIM

, raškátawí
raackátwi
(on) her face
ra- 0- icka- ta -wi
ABS 3.A face be.hanging SUB.L .

kúhëtka šúrakí
Kuúhatka cuúraki
She slept the girl
kuur- ra- 0- itka -0 icuura- -kis
DUB ABS 3.A sleep PERF girl DIM ,

hirarutarušikstarapitawahëtn

hi	raaruutáruucikstaarapitaawaáhat											
and	then he had rubbed his hands all over											
hi	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	ut-	iks-	raar-	apitaa.hak	-waa	-0
and	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	hand	PL	turn.around	DIST	PERF

, škáhiri .
ckáhiri' .
on the face .
icka- -hiri? .

face	LOC	.						
Náw ^a	,	wírahwaku						
Ráwa	,	wíraahwáku'						
Now	,	now he said						
rawa	,	wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	
now	,	now	ABS	3.A	EV	say	PERF	
kurahúsra <u>u</u>				,	"	Náw ^a	,	
kurahuúsa'u					"	Ráwa	,	
her father				:	"	Now	,	
kurahuus	ra-	0-	a-	0	-u	,	"	rawa
old.man	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be	SUB.D	,	"	now
šíkstit ⁿ	,	tátiška						
cíkstit		táticka'						
well		I want						
cikstik	ta-	t-	wicka	-0				
well	IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF				
hírakuta				.	Náw ^a	,		
hiírakuuta				.	Ráwa	,		
that it be the other way				.	Now	,		
hii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	0	-a	.	rawa
other	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be	SUB.1	.	now
sukspáku								
sukspáku'				.				
say it				!				
i-	s-	uks-	waka'u	-0				
CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	say	PERF	.			
tatiškahíšíkstit ⁿ								
Táticka'		hi	cíkstit					

I want and well
ta- t- wicka -0 hi cikstik
IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF and well

hínakut^a .
hiírakuuta .
that it be the other way .
hii- ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a .
other INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 .

Karétkápakis
Karatkaápaakis
I am not poor
ka- ra- t- kaapaakis -0
NEG ABS 1.A be.poor PERF

hiraruušíhi , ihi ,
hi raaruu'úci' ,
and would that it just be , uh ,
hi raa- ra- 0- ut- i- 0 -0 , ihii ,
and just ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF , uh ,

káraurahir^a . "
kára'uraahiira . "
that it would not be good . "
kara- ii- 0- uur- raa- hiir -a . "
NEG SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV way be.good SUB.1 . "

Ahawáku šúraki , "
Ahawáku' cuúraki "
She said the girl : "
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 icuura- -kis , "
EV ABS 3.A say PERF girl DIM , "

Atíes

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

kukakatiráit^a

kukaakaatiraá'iita . " "
I do not know anything of it . "
ku- kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 . "
INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . "

Náw^a , išúraki rahíritⁿ
Ráwa , i cuúraki raahiírit
Now , and the girl finally
rawa , i icuura- -kis raahiírit
now , and girl DIM finally

karahiwawúktik^u . Náw^a ,
kara'ahiwaawáktiiku' . Ráwa ,
she was not talking . Now ,
kara- ar- ri- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus . rawa ,
NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A talk IMPF . now ,

hiruahiwáku ,
hiru ahiwáku' --
then he said --
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 --
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF --

hiruahiwákukúrahus
hiru ahiwáku' kúrahus
then he said the old man :
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus ,

then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF old.man ,

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

tatuhaikaikúhi

tatuuhhaará'ihku' , ihi ,
I mean it , uh ,
ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus , ihii ,
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF , uh ,

šústitⁿ

cústit
the old woman
custit
old.woman

hirukirararáhwa

hiru kíra raraáhwaa'
then let them come
hiruu kira ri- 0- a- raar- wa- a -0
then perhaps CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A DIST come PERF

, iwaríriks a iráštⁱ .
iwaríriks a iraácti' .
her uncles and her brothers .
i- wariiriks a i- raac -ri' .
3.POSS.A uncle and 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B .

"
"

"
"
"

Hirusiahišikáksawa

Hiru	si'ahiiciikáksawa'
Then	they called them
hiruu	si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- kaksaa -waa -0
then	DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ call DIST PERF

.

.

.

.

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru	ahiwáku'	kúrahus
Then	he said	kúrahus
hiruu	ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0	the old man :
then	EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF	kurahuus , old.man ,

"
"
"
"
"

Tirəsirátahuka

Tirasiiraáttahuuka

You who have come in here

ti-	ra-	s-	ir-	rak-	raar-	huuk-	a	-0
here	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	into	come	SUB.3

- , tátiska
- , táticka'
- , I want
- , ta- t- wicka -0
- , IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

nəskúhatiís							
raskuúhaattiicis							
for you to know							
ra-	s-	ku-	ut-	rak-	riicis	-0	
INF.A	2.A	INF.B	PREV	1/2.PL	learn.about	PERF	

tátiškarurakurarihašara													
Táticka'													
I want													
ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	uhur-	raa-	riihac	-aar	-a	
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	then	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	finally	way	finish	INCH	SUB.1	

,	tirəšakárik ⁱ					
	tirasaákariki					
	this day					
	tií-	ra-	0-	saak-	arik	-i
	this	ABS	3.A	sun	be.standing	SUB.2

tírak ^u					
tíraaku					
this one					
tií-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	

íriwiarutar ^a
iriwi'áruutaara
if she has done that
irii- wii- ii- 0- ar- ut- aar -a

that now SEQ 3.A EV PREV do SUB.1

tirasirúrak^u

tirasiruúraaku

this one who is yours

tií-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rak-	kus	-0
this	ABS	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	1/2.PL	be.sitting	SUB.4

áwat ⁿ	aatat ⁿ	.
áwaat	a átaat	.
your niece	and your sister	.
a- waat	a a- taat	.
2.POSS nephew/neice	and 2.POSS sister	.

Titakuráwari

Títaku ráwari

Here the one going around

tií-	-taku	ra-	0-	warii	-hus
here	LOC	ABS	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

pírəsk ⁱ	,
pííraski	,
boy	,
piiras- -kis	,
boy DIM	,

siahirawirúwar^a,

si'ahíirawiruúwara,

they won things from him,

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	awi.ruu.war	-a	,
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	defeat.DU	SUB.1	,

hitítaku

hi tiítaku

and right here
hi tii- -taku
and here LOC

niruharúpa .
riruuhaaruúpa .
they came in for his things .

ra- 0- ir- ut- raar- huuk- war -0 .
ABS 3.A OBV BEN PL.INDV.A into go.DU PERF .

Akitítaku
Aki tiítaku
And here right here
a- ki tii- -taku
and there here LOC

isiruharišáiwahətⁿ ,
isiiruuhariicá'iwaahat
they were under her pillow
isiiruu- ar- ra- 0- riica.wi- waa- hak -0
plainly EV ABS 3.A pillow DIST pass.by PERF

tírakušurakⁱ . “
tíraaku cuúraki .
this one girl .
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icuura- -kis .
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 girl DIM .

Náw^a , irítiška , titiri
Ráwa , i riiticka' titiiri
Now , and I want today
rawa , i riiticka' t- wicka -0 tii- tiiri
now , and ASSR 1.A want PERF here now

nurakúšia^a

ruurakúci'a

for it to be

ruu- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- 0 -a
then INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ be SUB.1

sirihkutúrət^a

sirihkutúrata

for them to go for him

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

" Kurahúsa^u

" Kurahuúsa'ū

" Her father

" kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u
" old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D

rikuwitiwáku

rikuwitiwáku'

that is what he said

riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

Arusiahisíhurətⁿ

A ruusi'ahiicíhurat

And then they went for him

a ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0
and then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

pírəskⁱ

píiraski

the boy

piiras- -kis .

boy DIM .

Hiruiríahakarik^u

Hiru irii'ahaakáriku

There where his home was

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

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

Tatituriárahk^u

Tatiitúri'a'

I came for him

ta-	t-	ir-	ut-	huri	a	-0	ra-	0-	ar-	kus	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	wait.for	come	PERF	ABS	3.A	EV	be.sitting	PERF

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

Širurikuwitiwákah^u,

Ciru rikuwitiwákaahu'

Yet that is what he was saying ,

ciruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka	-hus	,
yet	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	,

hiahawáku "

hi ahawáku'

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

Piríšaraaks , pírəskⁱ . Náw^a ,
Piiriícara'aks , piíraski " Ráwa ,
Crazy Child , the boy : " Now ,
piira- icaraks , piiras- -kis , " rawa ,
child be.mischievous , boy DIM , " now ,

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

karaskuháihku ? "
Karaskuuhá'ihku' . "
Are you meaning me ? "
ka- ra- s- ku- ut- ra'ihk -:hus . "
Y/N.INTER ABS 2.A 1.P PREV mean IMPF . "

Ahawáku , " Ha^a !
Ahawáku' , " Haá'a'
He said : " Yes ,
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " haa'a' ,
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " yes ,

nikutatuháihku . "
rikutatuuhá'ihku' . "
I mean you are the one . "
riku- ta- t- a- ut- ra'ihk -:hus . "
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV mean IMPF . "

Hiruahiríwak ⁱ									"
Hiru	ahiriíwaki'								"
Then	they said							:	"
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0	,	"
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF	,	"

Náw ^a	,	tíki	,	náw ^a	,	híru	.	"
Ráwa	,	tíki	,	ráwa	,	híru'	.	"
Now	,	son	,	now	,	go on	!	"
rawa	,	tikis	,	rawa	,	hiru'	.	"
now	,	sonny	,	now	,	go.on	.	"

Híast ⁱ		a	isást ⁱ
Hí'aasti'		a	isaásti'
His father		and	his mother
i-	as	-ri'	a i- saas -ri'
3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B	and 3.POSS.A mother 3.POSS.B

sia'hawáku							"
si'ahawáku'							"
they (du) said						:	"
si-	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"

Kutuhakuésuta													
Kutuu						kuku'ásuuta							
It seems							that you have done something now						
ku-	ti-	0-	uu	-0	ku-	ku-	aa-	s-	ut-	aar	-0		
INDF	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	INDF	INDF	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	PERF		

"	Aahawáku	"
"	A ahawáku'	"
"	And he said	:
"	a ar- ra- O- waka'u -0	"

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

Atíra

Atíra'
Mother
ati- raa
1.POSS mother

ikukariritúšjá

i kukariiitúci'a
and I have not done anything
i ku- karii- rii- t- ut- i- aar -0
and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

. Kišiatira

. Kici , atíra'
. But , mother
. kici , ati- raa
. but , 1.POSS mother

sikuhikutkáksahú

sikuuhikutkáksaahu'

I guess they are (just) calling me

si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- kaksaa -:hus
DU DUB ABS 3.A PL3.A 1.P PREV call IMPF

. " Híhiasti
. " Hi hí'aasti'
. " And his father
. " hi i- as -ri'
. " and 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

ruahiwáku

ruu'ahiwáku'

"

then he said : "

ruu- ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , "

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

kasarúksuhu taráhkisa ,
 Kaasaruksuhuhtaráhkisa .

You must be strong (ie normal) .

kaas- s- ar- uks- uhur- tarahkis -aar -0 .

POT.2A 2.A EV JUSS now be.strong INCH PERF .

irirəsutpakúrukⁱ ,
 Iriirasutpakúruuki
 The odd way of speaking of yours .

irii- ra- s- ut- wakuur- uu -uk -i

that ABS 2.A PREV word be DIST SUB.2

kukarisahwáku ,
 kukariisaahwáku' .

do not say that .

ku- karii- i- s- ar- waka'u -0 .

INDF EMPH.NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A EV say PERF .

sikuhakáruruk^u . "

Sikuhaakaáruruuku' . "

They might feed you . "

si- kuur- ra- 0- a- kaaruur- ra'uk -:hus . "

DU DUB ABS 3.A 2.P meal make IMPF . "

" Ha^a ! atíra
 " Haá'a' , atíra' ,
 " Yes , mother ,
 " haa'a' , ati- raa ,
 " yes , 1.POSS mother ,

sikuhikukáruruku

sikuuhikukaáruruuku'

they must be feeding me

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kaaruur-	ra'uk	-:hus
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	meal	make	IMPF

a	atíəs	.	"		
a	atí'as	.	"		
,	and	father	.	"	
,	a	ati-	as	.	"
,	and	1.POSS	father	.	"