

Skiri Narratives, Thirteen

Roaming Scout

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

nikutú ^{^t} n	,					
rikutuú'ut						
that is the way it is	,					
riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'	,
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX	,

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

ahašakúra ^u						
ahacakúra'u						
He created us						
ar-	ra-	0-	aca-	ku-	ra'uk	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	make	SUB.3

tírašihwari				
tiracíhwari				
we who live here				
tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii	-hus

this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

əskurúritⁿ

askuruúrit

the same

asku ra- 0- uur- ik -0
one ABS 3.A PREV look.like PERF , hi ,
, and ,

irári

iraári'

brother

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

kuhuhukiriwíhu

kúhuuhuukiriwíhu'

He changed the way

kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa- ikiriwit ra'uk -0
DUB ABS 3.A PREV way be.different make PERF

tíras^u

tíraasu

this of yours

tii- ra- s- uu -0 kúra^u
here ABS 2.A be SUB.4 doctor -u'
doctor NOM .

tasírurukiwⁱ

Tasíruuruukiwi

You have a different way

ta-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa-	ikiwir	-0
IND.1/2A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	be.different	PERF

,

,

,

,

aritírurukiwⁱ

a riitíruuruukiwi

and I have a different way

a	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	ikiwir	-0
and	ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.different	PERF

tirétpari

tirátpari

these of mine living

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

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks

Indian

icaahiks icaahiks

person person

kuraútirat^u

kúraa'u' tíraatu .

doctor this my being .

kuraa -u' tii- ra- t- uu -0 .

doctor NOM this ABS 1.A be SUB.4 .

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

nikutihúta
 rikutihuuta
 He must have done this

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

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

Tihawáku , - atíəs
 Tiihawáku' - Atí'as
 He must have said - our Father
 tiir- ra- 0- waka'u -0 - ati- as
 INFR ABS 3.A say PERF - 1.POSS father

tihawáku , "
 tiihawáku' "
 He must have said : "
 tiir- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 INFR ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Hirutiiwiráwari
 Hiru ti'iriiwiráwari
 There here where it lives
 hiruu tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- warii -hus

there here where now ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákítar^u hiru nahúrahki
ákitaaru' hiru rahúrahki
tribe then animals
akitaar- -u' hiruu rahuraar -kis
tribe NOM then animal DIM

witaháhkakus ,
witaháhkaakus
I set them on it
wi- ta- t- raar- kaa- kus.k -0
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P in put PERF

awirihakakúsihi
a wiriháhkaakus , ihi
and I have set them on it , uh
a wii- rii- t- raar- kaa- kus.k -0 , ihii
and now ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P in put PERF , uh

níkutskⁱ . Náwa ,
ríkucki . Ráwa
, birds . Now ,
, rikuc -kis . rawa ,
, bird DIM . now ,

tirəstapawárikⁱ
tirastapaawaáriki
you different ones ,
tii- ra- s- rak- waawa- arik -i ,
this ABS 2.A 1/2.PL DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

hiruirikásušišikst^a
hiru irikaasucíćiksta

there	you'll watch over it							
hiruu	irii-	kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	aciks.ta	-0	
there	that	POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	watch.over	PERF	

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

nakutašikskapákis ^u								,
rakuutacikskapaákisu								
to have pity on him								,
ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	aciks.kaapaakis	-u			,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	feel.pity.for	SUB.D			,

nákuruh^a
 rákuruuha
 to give him a way
 ra- 0- ku- raa- uh -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way give SUB.1

nakurawáruksti ^u						.	"	Náw ^a
rakuraawaárukstii'u						.	"	Ráwa
to be holy						.	"	Now
ra-	0-	ku-	raa-	waarukstii	-u	.	"	rawa
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	way	be.holy	SUB.D	.	"	now

, irikúahuta
 irikú'ahuuta
 that is what he did :
 irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

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

wituhašaus	,					
wituúhaca'us						
he was hungry	,					
wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raca'us	-0	,
QUOT	IND.3A	3.P	PREV	be.hungry	PERF	,

hiahakitár ⁱ t ⁿ							a
hi	ahakitaárit						a
and	he stood on top						and
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	kita-	arik	-0	a
and	EV	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.standing	PERF	and

ahakitár ⁱ t ⁿ	,					
ahakitaárit	.					
he stood on top	.					
ar-	ra-	0-	kita-	arik	-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.standing	PERF	.

witutawi						
Witútawi						
He stayed nights	,					
wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	ha.wa.ir	-0	,
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	night.to.elapse.DIST	PERF	,

irár ⁱ		ihí			
iraári'		ihi			
brother		uh			
i-	-raar-	-ri'	,	ihii	,

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

nakúkit^a

rakúkita

when he was on top

ra- 0- ku- kita- 0 -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be SUB.4

hiahariwahtiwiúh^{^tⁿ}

hi ahariwahtiiwi'uúhat

and he fell over from hunger

hi ar- ra- 0- riwahtii wi.uu.hak -0 . Náw^a
and EV ABS 3.P be.starved fall.over PERF . Ráwa
 . Now
 . rawa
 . now

,

,

,

,

wirusirirahukáta^{^tⁿ}

wirusiriirahuukáta'at

they then took him across the water

wii- ruu- si- ra- 0- ir- ar- ra- huukata- at -0
now then DU ABS 3.A PL.3A EV PORT across.water go PERF

, širurakukísikit^u

ciru rakukísikiitu

yet his being alive

ciruu ra- 0- ku- kisikit -u . náw^a
yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be.alive SUB.D . Ráwa
 . Now
 . rawa
 . now

,

,
,
,

wisirirahkišítkaruk^u

wisiriirahkicítkaruuku'

they were rubbing him with fat

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ar-	raar.kicit	ka.ra'uk	-:hus
now	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	EV	be.greasy	make.PL.P	IMPF

, náw ^a	,	wirahtaráhkisa						
. Ráwa		wiraahtaráhkisa						
. Now	,	he became strong						
. rawa	,	wii- ra- 0- ar- tarahkis -aar -0						
. now	,	now ABS 3.A EV be.strong INCH PERF						

. Náw ^a	,	nikuwitiwáku						
. Ráwa		rikuwitiwáku'						
. Now	,	that one said						
. rawa	,	riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0						
. now	,	that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF						

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

tirásakur^u

tíraa'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0						Sákuuru'		
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4						Sun		
						sakur -u'		
						sun NOM		

nikuwitiwáku	.	“	Náw ^a
rikuwitiwáku’		“	Ráwa
that one said	:	“	Now
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0	,	”	rawa
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF	,	”	now

, tíkⁱs ,
tikis
, sonny ,
, tikis ,
, sonny ,

witətutašikskápak ⁱ s	,
witatuutacikskápaakis	.
I will take pity on you now	.
wii- ta- t- a- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0	.
now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV feel.pity.for PERF	.

náw^a , tíkⁱs
Ráwa , tikis
Now , sonny ,
rawa , tikis ,
now , sonny ,

witatará ^u
witataráá’u
I’ll give you a way
wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

náskuwaruksti ^u	,	náw ^a	,
ráskuwaarukstii’u	.	Ráwa	
for you to be holy	.	Now	,
ra- s- ku- waarukstii -u	.	rawa	,

INF.A 2.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D . now ,

atik¹s

a tíkis
and , sonny ,
a , tíkis ,
and , sonny ,

awiritára^u

awiriitáraa'u

and now I am giving you a way

a wii- rii- t- a- raa- uh -0
and now ASSR 1.A 2.P way give PERF

nəskúwari

raskúwari

for you to go around

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

nawirakúr^u

raawiirakuúru'

(on) the warpath

raawiiraak.huur -u'
war.party NOM

hiisiraruwáah^u

hi isiiraruuwá'aahu'

and then you'll bring things back

hi i- s- ir- ar- raar- ruu- wa- a -:hus
and CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A EV 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come IMPF

. " Náw^a ,

. " Ráwa

. " Now ,
 . " rawa ,
 . " now ,

nikuwitúta ,
 rikuwituúta
 that one did it :
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hiahatawarupahihusít^{itⁿ}
 hi ahatawarupaahiihusítit
 and he began performing feats
 hi ar- ra- 0- tawaruk.aar -wa -i -:hus -itik
 and EV ABS 3.A perform DIST IMPF IMPF INCH

píta
 píta
 man
 wiita
 man

iriwíritasiksah
 iriwíriitaciksta .
 that one was watched over .
 irii- wii- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.ta -0 .
 that now ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV watch.over PERF .

híahawáku šákur^u
 Hi ahawáku' Sákuuru' "
 And he said Sun : "
 hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 sakur -u' , "
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF sun NOM , "

nóktahš^u
 Ráktahcu'
 A shield
 rak.tahc -u'
 shield NOM

sikusúšir^u ,
 sikusuúciru' .
 they will make it for you .
 si- kuus- 0- a- ut- i- ra'uk -0 .
 DU POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ make PERF .

nóktahš^u hiikárik^{^tⁿ}
 Ráktahcu' hi ikárikat
 The shield and in the center
 rak.tahc -u' hi iika.ri -kat
 shield NOM and center LOC

hiririkusirikuhšakúhkakus
 hiru rikusirikuhcakúhkakus
 there that is where they'll put a sun for me
 hiruu riku- si- ri- 0- ir- ku- uur- sakur- ka- kus.k -0
 there that.is DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P POSS.P sun in put PERF

. Witiwáruksti nóktahš^u
 . Witiwaáruksti' ráktahcu'
 . It is holy shield
 . wi- ti- 0- waarukstii -0 rak.tahc -u'
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF shield NOM

tírak^u . A
 tíiraaku . "
 this . "
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 . " a

this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 . " and

ahawáku sákur^u , “
ahawáku’ Sákuuru’ “
he said Sun : “
ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 sakur -u’ , “
EV ABS 3.A say PERF sun NOM , ”

Šahúkⁱ
Cahuúki
A robe
cahuu -kis
robe DIM

sikusúšir^u
sikusuúciru’
they will make it for you
si- kuus- 0- a- ut- i- ra’uk -0
DU POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ make PERF

híhaw^a níkusisuta .
hi hawá rikú’isuuta .
and also that is what you’ll do .
hi haawa riku- i- s- ut- aar -0 .
and also that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF .

Hiruihirištákikarikətⁿ

Hiru ihi rictaákikarikat
Then , uh , in the middle of the back
hiruu , ihii , rictaak- iika.ri -kat
then , uh , back center LOC

hihawaiskušakúkakus

hi hawá iskuhcakúhkakus

and also you'll put a sun on it for me
 hi haawa i- s- ku- uur- sakur- ka- kus.k -0
 and also CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P POSS.P sun in put PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Narúku rarukuruasiríhk^u

Raaruukuruu'asiríhku

You must just keep it

raa- ruu- ruu- kaas- s- ir- ri- uur- kus -0
 just then then POT.2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting PERF

šahúkiⁱ

cahuúki .
 the robe .
 cahuu -kis .
 robe DIM .

nuksawašuráh^š

Ruksawahcúrahac

Even if you die

ri- a- uks- awahc- hurahac -0
 CONT.3A 2.P JUSS even.if die PERF

hirarusiruksawaškákwak^{tⁿ}

hi raarusiruksawackákawaakat

and even if they cut you up into pieces,

hi raa- ruu- si- ri- 0- ir- a- uks- awahc- ka.ukac.k -waa -0
 and just then DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 2.P JUSS even.if cut.up DIST PERF

hirikusirakarušpáw^u

hi rikusirakarucpaáwu

and one must place the pieces in that one (robe)

hi riku- si- ra- 0- ka- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
and that.is DU ABS 3.A in put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF

kisaštašápat^u

kisactacápahtu'

the pieces of flesh

kisaac- raar- tapaht -u'
meat PL be.fine NOM

kakahurahášist^a

Kaakaahurahácista

You are not going to die

kaaki- a- hurahac -his -ta
NEG.IND.3A 2.P die PERF INT

sistutəsparíhust^a

Sístu tasparíhusta

Again you are going to live

sistu ta- s- warii -:hus -ta
again IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

A ahawáku

A ahawáku'

And he said

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

hírituharikáhist^a

Hi rituuhaarikaáhista

And I am going to reveal to you

hi rii- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -his -ta

and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV reveal.to PERF INT

tirəsparihústaritⁿ

tirasparihústarit

that you are going to be here on earth

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

kakasurahkitáwist^a

. Kaakaasuraahkitawista

. You are not going to survive

. kaaka- s- huraar.kita -wi -his -ta
. NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.permanent SUB.L PERF INT

tirakíšuh^tⁿ

tirakiícuhat

(in) this stream of water

tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

Sirakútik^a

Sirakuútika

If they kill you

si- ra- 0- a- kuut.ik -a
DU ABS 3.A 2.P kill SUB.1

tirakíšuh^tⁿ

tirakiícuhat

(in) this stream of water

tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tahurahášist^a

tahurahácista

you're going to be dead .
 ti- a- hurahac -his -ta .
 IND.3A 2.P die PERF INT .

kakasparihust^a . "
 Kaakaaspariuhusta . "
 You are not going to live . "
 kaaka- s- warii -:hus -ta . "
 NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT . "

Náw^a , irikuahúta
 Ráwa iriku'ahuúta
 Now , that is what he did
 rawa , irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 now , that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

nóktahšu
 ráktahcu'
 : a shield
 , rak.tahc -u'
 , shield NOM

siwitišakúkakus
 siwitičakúhkakus
 they put a sun on it
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- sakur- ka- kus.k -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A sun in put PERF

a šahúkⁱ
 a cáhuuki
 and a robe
 a cahuu -kis
 and robe DIM

naruwítaruhk^u

raaruuwítaruhku

he just had it

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kus	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting	PERF

	šahúk ⁱ		nakárahár ^u						.
	cáhuuki		rakáraháaru						.
,	a robe		its being fancy						.
,	cahuu	-kis	ra-	0-	a-	karahaar	-u		.
,	robe	DIM	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	be.neat	SUB.D		.

" a ahawáku , "

A ahawáku' "

And he said : "

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

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Atíra			nóktahšu						
Atíra'			ráktahcu'						
Mother			shield						
ati-	raa		rak.tahc	-u'					
1.POSS	mother		shield	NOM					

tiratírihk^u

tiratírihku

this one that I have

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	kus	-0
this	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

nurakuštaiwiúruk^a

ruurakucta'íwi'uúruhka

turn it towards it as it hangs

ruu-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	ta	-wi	wi.uu.ruhk	-a
------	-----	----	-----	-----	----	-----	------------	----

then INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.hanging SUB.L turn.to.face SUB.1

wirakusákta^a

wiraakusaákta'a

when the sun rises

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- saak- ta.a -0
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B sun come.up SUB.4

a tirasákuh^{^tⁿ}

. A tirasákuhat

. And as this sun passes

. a tii- ra- 0- sakur- hak -0
. and this ABS 3.A sun pass.by SUB.4

hirutušitawirikararáhak^u

hiru tucitawirikaraaráhaaku'

there you must turn it the way it goes as it hangs

hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- ta -wi iri.karaa.ra.hak -:hus
there IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be.hanging SUB.L turn.around IMPF

. " Nikuwitú^{^tⁿ}

. " Rikuwituú'ut

. " That is how it was

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

tirašákur^u

tíraa Sákuuru'

this coming Sun

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u'
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun NOM

A ahahúk^{^tⁿ}

kúra^u

A ahahuúkat

kúraa'u'

And he went in a doctor .
a ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0 kuraa -u' .
and EV ABS 3.A into go PERF doctor NOM .

naruwítitarúpa^{hi}

Raaruuwítitarúpa^{hi}

Then he just was performing

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- tawaruk.aar -wa -i
just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A perform DIST IMPF

nahúrahkⁱ nahkúra^u .
rahúrahki raahkúra'u .
an animal when he made it .
rahuraar -kis ra- 0- ar- ku- ra'uk -0 .
animal DIM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make SUB.3 .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

irikúahuta

irikú'ahuuta

that is what he did

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 , iraári'
that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF , 3.POSS.A brother
, -raar- -ri'
, same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

,
,
,

wiahakáwari

wi'ahakaáwari

when he went inside (the lodge)

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

kúra^u,

kúraa'u'

(as) a doctor

kuraa -u'

doctor NOM

wirakutáwarukāri,

wirakutáwarukaari

when he was performing

wii- ra- 0- ku- tawaruk.aar -i
when INF.A 3.A INF.B perform IMPF.SUB

hiraruwítárawi^u katai

hi raaruuwitaárawi'uukata'i

and he would just throw it against the wall

hi raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- awi.uu.kata.iir -0
and just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV throw.against.a.wall PERF

níkuškⁱ ,

ríkucki .

a bird .

rikuc -kis .

bird DIM .

arawitahkáwari

A raawitaahkaáwari'

And it would just go around inside

a raa- wi- ti- 0- ar- kaa- warii -:hus

and just QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

níkuškⁱ
rikucki
the bird
rikuc -kis
bird DIM

nahkuwikatawíhak^u
raahkuuwi'uukatawíhaku
as it would fly around inside
ra- 0- ar- ku- awi.uu.kata.wi.hak -hus
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B fly.around.inside.against.the.walls IMPF.SUB

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

huráhkiskətⁿ
huraáhkiskat
on bare ground
huraar- kiis -kat
ground bone LOC

hiraruwitakasuhúruk^{^t}
hi raaruuwitaahkaasuhúruukat
and his leg would just sink into it (the ground)
hi raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- kaas- uhur.huuk.at -0
and just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV leg sink.into PERF

tirahuráhkiš^a
tirahuraáhkiicca

this muddy ground

tii- ra- 0- huraar- kiic- sa -0
this ABS 3.A ground liquid be.lying SUB.3

hiwitasurutkawátⁿ

hi witaahkaasuurútkawatat

and he would take the leg out of the mud

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- kaas- huuruht- kawatak -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV leg mud get.out PERF

hiwitihiškawihúka

hi witihiškawihúkaa'

and now water spurted up

hi wii- ti- 0- ir- a- kiic.ka.wi.hukaa.a -0
and now IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV.3A water.to.spurt.up PERF

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

niwáruksti

riiwaáruksti'

he was holy

ri- 0- waarukstii -0 . A ,
CONT.3A 3.A be.holy PERF . a ,
. and ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári' ,

brother ,

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

tirahuráhkiša

tirahuraáhkiicca

this muddy ground

tii- ra- 0- huraar- kiic- sa -0
this ABS 3.A ground liquid be.lying SUB.3

hiraruwitaruhákšaw^u

hi raaruuwitaruuhaákcauwu

and he would just shove a stick in the ground

hi raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- haak- ca.wuh -0
and just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV wood put.upright PERF

nákiška^u

raákicka'u'

a sharp stick

rak- icka -u'
wood be.pointed NOM

hiwitaruhákšarik^{^tⁿ}

hi witaruuhaakcaríkut

and he would pull the stick out

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- haak- ca.ri.kuk -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV wood pull.out PERF

,
.
.
.
.

aruwitahakapaštáhkatak^u

A raawitahaakapactáhkataku

And the stick would just have roots on it

a raa- wi- ti- 0- ar- haak- kapahc- raar- kata- kus -0

and just QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV wood root PL against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting PERF

.
.

.

.

.

Arasiwituruhákirik^u

A raasiwitiiruuhaákiriku

And they just looked at the stick

a raa- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- rak- kirik.kus -0
and just DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV wood look.at PERF

náriwatuks^u , áka^a
ráriiwaatuksu' . Aáka'a
the onlookers . Oh my ,
raar- riivaat.uk.his -u' . aaka'a ,
PL look NOM . oh.my ,

witiwáruksti .
witiwaáruksti' .
he was holy !
wi- ti- 0- waarukstii -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF .

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

karahirakí^a

karaahíraakii'a

it was not a long time

kara- ar- ri- 0- raa.kii -a
NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A be.a.long.time SUB.1

hiaharakataætⁿ

hi aharaahkáta'at

and they went up (on the prairie)

hi ar- ra- 0- raar- kata.at -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A go.hunting PERF

píšikætⁿ

píšik[^]tⁿ

pícikat . Pícikat

in the winter . Wintertime

pici- -kat . pici- -kat

wintry LOC . wintry LOC

wítihi ,

wítihi' .

it was .

wi- ti- ihii -0 .

QUOT IND.1/2A be.in.a.place/time PERF .

hiruirikuháhura^a ,

Hiru iriikuuháhuraa'a ,

Then wherever the place was ,

hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- huraar -' ,

then where DUB ABS 3.A be.land EX ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári' ,

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

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

hiruwirikuwitiit^t
 hiru wirikuwiti'itat
 then now that is where the camp was
 hiruu wii- riku- wi- ti- 0- itak -0
 then now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.camp PERF

. Wiwitihkawútitⁿ
 . Wiwitihkawuútit
 . Now they killed them
 . wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0
 . now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF

tárah^a naháhkukⁱ .
 táraha' raahaáhkukuiki .
 buffalos the kind we used to have .
 tarahaa ra- t- raar- 0 -ka'uk -i .
 buffalo ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P be DIST SUB.2 .

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

hiahuháhwisa
 hi ahuuhaáhwica'
 and the enemy attacked them
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- wic.a -0

and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P arrive.to.attack PERF

witírasiitⁿ

. Witíraasi't .
. There was ice .
. wi- ti- 0- raasit -' .
. QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.ice EX .

witirásitkasⁱs

Witiraásitkasis .
It was solid ice .
wi- ti- 0- raasit- kasis -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A ice be.hard PERF .

hiahuháhwíš^a

Hi ahuuhaáhwica'
And the enemy attacked them
hi ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- wic.a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P arrive.to.attack PERF

,
. .
. .
. .

nawitirasuhuhukitáhasa

Raawitiirasuhuhuukítahasa

They were just on top of the ice

raa- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- as- uhur- huukita- ha- sa -0
just QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV foot way.of.doing on.top in.water be.lying PERF

. Irinawarúksti^u

. Iiriirawaarúkstii'u

. The one who was holy
 . irii- ra- 0- waarukstii -u
 . that ABS 3.A be.holy SUB.D

hukitaháhiri ,
 huukitahaáhiri'
 on top (of a knoll)
 huukita- -haar -hiri'
 on.top LOC LOC

narusiwitiríkut^{it}ⁿ
 raaruusiwitiriíkuutit
 they just killed him
 raa- ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- kuut.ik -0
 just then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ kill PERF

. Witúksasa^a ,
 . Wituksasá'a
 . He was named ,
 . wi- ti- 0- uks- asar 0 ,
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF ,

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

škarakuškiškarah^a .
 Ckarahkuckickaraha .
 Proud Clayed Face .
 icka- raar.kuc.kiic karahaar .
 face be.painted.with.white.clay be.proud .

Irikúhíhurasaru

Irikuúhíhuurasaru

Whoever give him the name

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- huur.asar- uh -0
who DUB ABS 3.A OBV name give PERF

šákár^u . Kúhawaku , “
Sákuuru’ . Kuuhawáku’ “
Sun . He said : “
sakur -u’ . kuur- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “
sun NOM . DUB ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Kasisá^a

Kasiisá’a

You’ll be named

kaas- s- i- asar -’
POT.2A 2.A SEQ be.named EX

šakrakuškiškarah^a . " I
Ckarahkuckíckaraha . " I
Proud Clayed Face . " And
icka- raar.kuc.kiic karahaar . " i
face be.painted.with.white.clay be.proud . " and

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

Witíhurahəš ihí
Witíhurahac ihí
He has died , uh ,
wi- ti- 0- hurahac -0 , ihii ,

QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF , uh ,

škarakuškiškarah^a . "
 Ckarahkuckickaraha . "
 Proud Clayed Face . "
 icka- raar.kuc.kiic karahaar . "
 face be.painted.with.white.clay be.proud . "

Awahkiswítuks

Awáhkis wítuks
 A younger child he was
 awaah.kis wi- ti- 0- uks- 0 -0
 youngest QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be PERF

híhaw^a ahakasíspa
 hi hawá ahakásispa .
 and also he ran there .
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- kasispaar -0 .
 and also EV ABS 3.A run PERF .

hiruraruwitataítuku^{atn}

Hiru raaruwitaaha^{ta}ítuuku^{'at}
 There then he just made his way through
 hiruu raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ta.ituuku.at -0
 there just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV make.one's.way.through PERF

irárⁱ,

iraári[']

his brother

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

iriahás^a .

irii'ahaása .

where he lay
 irii- ar- ra- 0- sa -0
 where EV ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

hiaharahkatáh^{^tⁿ}

Hi iraári' aharahkatáhat
 And , brother , they moved back
 hi , i- -raar- -ri' , ar- ra- 0- raar- katahak -0
 and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A get.away PERF

hiwihirurusiahitára

hi wihiru ruusi'ahiitári'
 and there then they did it
 hi wii- hiruu ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i
 and now there then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF

. Irári' , ápəš
 iraári' ápac
 : brother , both
 , i- -raar- -ri' , apac
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , both

siwitíhkutitⁿ

siwitíhkuutit
 they killed them (du)
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

siwitíhkutitapəš

Siwitíhkuutit ápac
 They killed them (du) both
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 apac
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF both

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

hiruahiwáku						šústit ⁿ
hiru	ahiwáku'					cústit
then	she said					the old woman
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	custit
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	old.woman

isást ⁱ			,	"	Náw ^a
isaásti'				"	Ráwa
his mother			:	"	Now
i-	saas	-ri'	,	"	rawa
3.POSS.A	mother	3.POSS.B	,	"	now

tirəsuhakasúh ^{^t} ⁿ						,
tirasuúhaakasuuhat						
these of you	around	here				,
tii-	ra-	s-	ut-	rak-	as.uu.hak	-0
this	ABS	2.A	PREV	1/2.PL	be.sitting.around	SUB.4

píra ^u		witikúhurah ^{^š}					
píra'u'		witikuúhurahac					
child		I have lost mine					
piira	-u'	wi-	ti-	ku-	uur-	hurahac	-0
child	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	1.P	POSS.P	disappear	PERF

Škarakuškíškarah ^a	
Ckarakhuckíckaraha	.
Proud Clayed Face	.
icka-	raar.kuc.kiic
	karahaar

face be.painted.with.white.clay be.proud .

tirahukitáhəs^a

Tirahuukitáhasa

(On) this ice on the water

tii- ra- 0- huukita- ha- sa -0
this ABS 3.A on.top in.water be.lying SUB.3

wirikutihuráh^{^š}

wirikutihuráhac

that is where he died

wii- riku- ti- 0- hurahac -0
now that.is IND.3A 3.P die PERF .

Tiwáku

Tiwáku'

He said

ti- 0- waka'u -0 , ' ati- raa ,
IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ' 1.POSS mother ,

kakaturáhkita

kaakaaturaáhkita

I won't survive

kaaka- t- huraar.kita -0
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.permanent PERF

tirakíšuh^{^tⁿ}

tirakiícuhat

(on) this stream

tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0 . ' "
this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4 . ' "

A ahawáku

A ahawáku'

šustitⁿ , "

cústit "

And she said the old woman : “
a ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 custit , ”
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF old.woman , ”

Párais^a

Paára íisa

If he had lain on it

para ii- 0- sa -0
perhaps SUBJ.3A 3.A be.lying SUB.3

húrahtahisk^{^t}n . ” Tiwáku
húraahtaahiskat . Tiwáku’
on dry land . He said
huraar- taahis -kat . ti- 0- waka’u -0
land LOC . IND.3A 3.A say PERF

, “ Atíra ihi kísaškⁱ
, ~ Atíra’ ihi kísacki
: ~ Mother , uh , flesh
, ‘ ati- raa , ihii , kisaac -kis
, ‘ 1.POSS mother , uh , meat DIM

naruataruksawaškarušpáwⁱ

raaruu’aataruksawackarucpaáwi

even if I am just scattered on it

raa- ruu- aa- t- ar- uks- awahc- ka- ra.uc -waa -wi
just then SUBJ.1/2A 1.A EV JUSS even.if in be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

,
,
,

hiruisahkukarušpáw^u

hiru isaahkukáru CPAAWU

there you'll place the pieces of me on it

hiruu i- s- ar- ku- ka- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
there CONT.1/2A 2.A EV 1.P in put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF

šáhūkⁱ

tírak^u

a

cáhuuki

tiraáku

a

robe

this

and

cahuu

-kis

tii-

ra-

0-

kus

-0

a

robe

DIM

this

ABS

3.A

be.sitting

SUB.4

and

iriruitáhk^u

iriruu'itaáhku

then I will remain there

irii-

ruu-

i-

t-

ar-

kus

-0

there

then

CONT.1/2A

1.A

EV

be.sitting

PERF

atíra

Atíra'

Mother

ati-

raa

1.POSS

mother

sistukustíri^a

sístu

kustírii'a'

again

I will come

sistu

kuus-

t-

ir-

i-

a

-0

again

POT.1/3A

1.A

PREV.1/2A

SEQ

come

PERF

Nikuwitiwáku

"

Rikuwitiwáku'

"

That is what she said

"

riku-

wi-

ti-

0-

waka'u

-0

" that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

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

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

ruahiríwakⁱ pít^a
 ruu'ahiríwaki' píta
 then they said men
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0 wiita
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF man

, " Nawa šústítⁿ
 , " Ráwa cústit
 : " Now , old woman ,
 , " rawa , custit ,
 , " now , old.woman ,

kišiwitíhurah^š
 kici witíhurahac .
 but h e has died .
 kici wi- ti- 0- hurahac -0 .
 but QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF .

kirárikurúøtⁿ
 Kíra rikuruú'ut

Let's see if it is that way

kira riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
perhaps that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX

iriahawák^a

irii'ahawaáka

what he said

irii- ar- ra- 0- waak -a
when EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1

kírararusiiširíkaəš

Kíra raaruusi'iciriika'uc

Let's just lay him in it

kira raa- ruu- si- i- aciir- i- ka- uc -0
perhaps just then DU CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A SEQ in lay.SG.P PERF

. " Ah šústitⁿ
. " A cústit
. " And the old woman
. " a custit
. " and old.woman

karaahíwišk^a

kara'ahiiwícka'

she didn't want it

kara- ar- ri- 0- i- wicka -0
NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ want PERF
. Hā !
. Haa
. Ha ,
. haa ,
. ha ,

hirusiahiririkáis^{^tⁿ}

hiru si'ahiriirikaá'isat

then they carried him to the village

hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- ri- kaa- iis.at -0
then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV PORT inside go.out.of.sight PERF

	ápəš	,	irár ⁱ	,	
.	Ápac		iraári'		
.	Both		brothers		
.	apac		i-	-raar-	-ri'
.	both		3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

siwitíhurah^ʔ
 siwitíhurahac
 they (du) died

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	hurahac	-0
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.P	die	PERF

asiahitatáw^u
 a si'ahiitataáwu
 and they buried them (du)

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ataa.wuh	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	bury	PERF

Nikusiwitarawiháhkasa
 Rikusiwitarawaahaáhkasa
 That is where they (du) lay together in the grave

riku-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	taraa	-wi	haahka-	sa	-0
that.is	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.together	SUB.L	in.a.ravine	be.lying	PERF

škarahkuškíškarah^a
 Ckarahkuckíckaraha
 Proud Clayed Face

icka-	raar.kuc.kiic	karahaar	a
face	be.painted.with.white.clay	be.proud	and

awáhkisa^u
 awáhkisa'u'
 the younger one

awáhkisa	-u'	ar-	ra-	0-	asar	-'
the younger one		he was named				

youngest NOM EV ABS 3.A be.named EX

Tiwíhištáp^š .
Tiwíhictapac .
Hanging Feather Moves .
ti- 0- awi- hiit- tapac -0 .
IND.3A 3.A image feather move PERF .

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

nuwiahararišakaísət^a
ruuwi'aharaaricahka'íisata
after they went into the village

ruu- wii- ar- ra- 0- raar- icahka- iis.at -a
then when EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A village go.out.of.sight SUB.1

hiahiraráhkaru ,
hi ahiraaraáhkaru'
and they planted things
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- raaraar- ka.ra'uk -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A garden make.PL.P PERF

i ahiraríh^š ,
i ahiraariíhac
and they finished ,
i ar- ri- 0- raar- riihac -0 ,
and EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P finish PERF ,

hiruahirahkáta^tⁿ
hiru ahiraahkáta'at

then they went up onto (the prairie)
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- raar- kata- at -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

hiruwikuhikawútik^u

hiru wikuuhikawuútikú'
 then now they were killing them
 hiruu wii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -:hus
 then now DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST IMPF

níat .
 rí'aat .
 summertime .
 rí'aat .
 summer .

Hiahararuhawíra,

Hi aharaaruuhawíraa'
 And they came downstream
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- raar- huu.hawi.raa- a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A downstream.alongside.the.water come PERF

hiahararíšakáís^a

hi ahaaraaricahká'iisa'

and they came into the village

hi ar- ra- 0- a- raar- icahka- iis.a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A village come.into PERF

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

nikutisiksarihúsuk^u

rikuticiksaariihúsuuku'

that is what they used to do

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

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks .

Indians .

icaahiks icaahiks .

person person .

nihuksuatararišakáísa

Ríhuksu' a taraaricahká'iisa'

Only and they came into the village

rihuks -u' a ti- 0- a- raar- icahka- iis.a -0
alone NOM and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A village come.into PERF

, hirutirahwáəš

hiru tirahwá'ac

then they scattered

hiruu ti- 0- raar.wa'ac -0

then IND.3A 3.A scatter PERF

iririkuruhúrak^u

iriirihkuruuhúraahku

where their gardens were

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	huraar-	kus	-0
where	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	land	be.sitting	SUB.4

. Náw^a

. Ráwa

. Now ,

. rawa ,

. now ,

hiruirikuharuhuráhk^u

hiru iriikuhaaruuhúraahku

then wherever her field was

hiruu	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	huraar-	kus	-0
then	where	DUB	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	land	be.sitting	SUB.4

itahíwita

itaáhi'

his sister

i-	-taat-	-ri'
3.POSS.A	sister	3.POSS.B

witaá'

she came

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	a	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF

hiahuturaríriks^{^tⁿ}

hi ahuturaariíriksat

and she went to see her field

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	huraar-	iirik	-his	at	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	land	see	PERF	go	PERF

, wiwitíkaætⁿ

. Wiwitíka'at

. She now went in it
 . wii- wi- ti- 0- ka- at -0
 . now QUOT IND.3A 3.A in go PERF

tətkišk^{^t}ⁿ hirawitakaráhis^u
 tatkíckat hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 among the (corn) stalks and all of a sudden
 taat- kiic- -kat hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 stalk water LOC and just now all.at.once NOM

aharawirawí^a
 aharaawiirawii'a'
 it jumped at it
 ar- ra- 0- a- raawiir- awii.a -0
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A angrily jump.down PERF

kúruks
 kúruks
 a bear
 kuuruks
 bear

hiahuštətkištárurik^{^t}ⁿ
 hi ahuctatkictaruuríkut
 and it caught corn stalks
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- taat- kiic- raar- uurikuk -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV stalk water PL catch PERF

hišiahakawátət šápat .
 . Hici ahakawátat cápaat .
 . But she got out the woman .
 . hi.ci ar- ra- 0- kawatak -0 icapaak .
 . and EV ABS 3.A get.out PERF woman .

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

hiruwiraraítust^{^tⁿ} .
 hiru wiraraa'ítustat .
 then she took the story .
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- raa.iit.us- ra- at -0 .
 then now ABS 3.A story PORT go PERF .

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

Natakukuruks
 Rátaku kúruks
 There a bear
 ra- 0- ta kus -0 kuuruks
 ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 bear

tikáku ,
 tikáku
 it is in it
 ti- 0- ka- kus -0
 IND.3A 3.A in be.sitting PERF

irirətirihúrahk^u
 iriiratiriihúraahku
 where my garden is
 irii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- huraar- kus -0

where ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A land be.sitting SUB.4

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

hiruahuši nahkawátətⁿ

hiru ahuciraahkawátat

then they came out

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- raar- kawatak -0
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A get.out PERF

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

šahikstahkítu .

cahikstaahkítuu'u' .

all the people .

icaahiks raar- kituu -u' .

person PL all NOM .

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

nikuwitúta .

rikuwituúta .

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

iriaharaitawⁱ

irii'aharaa'ítawi

the one who told it

irii- ar- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -wi , "
 that EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A know SUB.L , "

Pítíšutkⁱ

Piitíšutki

Young man

wiita.isut -kis
 young.man DIM

kukarisiwáku

kukariisiwáku'

don't say anything

ku- kara- i- s- i- waka'u -0
 INDF NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ say PERF

pakurišákahur^u

pakuuriicákahuuru'

foolish words

wakuur- icakahur -u'
 word be.reckless NOM

nahuráhkiti
 Rahúrahki ti' .
 An animal it is .
 rahuraar -kis ti- 0- 0 -0 .
 animal DIM IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

iraráit^a
 Iraraá'iita .
 That one that knows .
 ii- ra- 0- a- raa.iita -0 .
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A know PERF .

titkúk^u . " Píræskⁱ ,
 Titkuúku' . " Piíraski
 It is listening . " A boy
 ti- 0- atka'uk -:hus . " piiras- -kis
 IND.3A 3.A listen IMPF . " boy DIM

kuhawáku , " "
 kuuhawáku' " "
 he must have said : " "
 kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " "
 DUB ABS 3.A say PERF , " "

Iširúsiwiritaruturíkukst^a
 I ciru siwiriitaruutuuríkuksta
 And yet it and I are going to wrestle
 i ciruu si- witi- rii- t- ar- ut- uurikuk -his -ta
 and yet DU REFL ASSR 1.A EV PREV hold PERF INT

. " Akikutitkúk^u
 . " Aki kutitkuúku'
 . " And here it was listening
 . " a- ki ku- ti- 0- atka'uk -:hus

. " and there INDF IND.3A 3.A listen IMPF

kúruks , aki kuruks
 kúruks . Aki kúruks
 the bear . And here the bear
 kuuruks . a- ki kuuruks
 bear . and there bear

kútikaku

kutikáku .

it sat there in it .

ku- ti- 0- ka- kus -0 .
 INDF IND.3A 3.A in be.sitting PERF .

naruwitirarawíšasa,

Raaruuwitihuraarawiícasa

Her field was just there along the bank

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- huraar- awiica- sa -0
 just there QUOT IND.3A 3.A ground on.the.edge be.lying PERF

hirahírⁱn ahíhwakⁱ , "
 hi raahíirit ahíhwaki' , "
 and finally they said : "
 hi raahíirit ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 and finally EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Náw^a íka^a wískuš^u . "
 Ráwa iíka'a wískucu' . "
 Now , oh my , hurry ! "
 rawa , iika'a , wis -kucuu . "
 now , oh.my , hurry AUG . "

Hiruahuširakaúk[^]tⁿ

Hiru ahuciraahka'uúkut

Then they went into it
hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- raar- ka- uukuk -0
then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A in get.into PERF

pírəskⁱ
. Piiraski
. The boys
. piiras- -kis
. boy DIM

ruwitkatahúrahwa .
ruuwitkatahúrahwa .
there they were all together .
ruu- wi- ti- 0- kata.hurah -waa -0 .
there QUOT IND.3A 3.A abut DIST PERF .

Witikísuhšakask^u
Witikísuhcaakasku
clump of grape vines were there
wi- ti- 0- kisuhc- haak.haas- kus -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A grape vine be.sitting PERF

akiirikutikawíku
aki irikutikaawíku
and here that one was sitting under it
a- ki irii- ku- ti- 0- kaa- -wi kus -0
and there that INDF IND.3A 3.A inside SUB.L be.sitting PERF

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

ahuhkahuráhkiri,
ahuhkahuraáhkiri
the bushes shook

ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	ka.huraar-	kirir	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.a.brushy.area	thunder	PERF

hiruiriahawák^a pírəskⁱ
hiru irii'ahawaáka piíraski
then the one who said the boy
hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- waak -a piiras- -kis
then when EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 boy DIM

, “
“
:
“
”
”
”

Siwitataturíkəkst^a

Siwitatatuutuuríkuksta

We are going to take hold of one another

si-	witi-	ta-	t-	a-	ut-	uurikuk	-his	-ta
DU	REFL	IND.1/2A	1.A	IN.PL.P	PREV	hold	PERF	INT

;
”
”
”
”
”

híahitawatatawít^{tⁿ}

hi ahiitawatatawiítit
and it fell on him

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	awatata.wi.itik	-0
----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----------------	----

and EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV fall.on.top.of PERF

šahiksíšahiks^u

cahiksícahiksu' .

Indian .

icaahiks icaahiks -u' .

person person NOM .

wititurík^{tⁿ} .

Witiituuríkut .

It caught him .

wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- uurikuk -0 .

QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV catch PERF .

Hiahiruwáwa^s .

Hi ahiruuwaáwa'as .

And they ran away .

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ruu.wa.as-i -waa -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A run.away DIST PERF .

Naruwitušísawah^{tⁿ}

Raaruuwituciísawaahat

They were just standing around

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- as.a.waa.hak -0

just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ sit.all.around PERF

hiahíhwakⁱ , “

. Hi ahíhwaki' “

. And they said : “

. hi ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

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

Kirakawirákut^{tⁿ} .

Kíra kawirákuutit .

Well , has it killed him ?
 kira , ka- wii- ra- 0- kuut.ik -0 .
 perhaps , Y/N.INTER now ABS 3.A kill PERF .

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

Kukakikúhahuruk^u ,
 Kukaakikuúhahuruuku’ .
 It is not doing anything to (ie hurt) me .
 ku- kaaki- 0- ku- ut- rahur.ra’uk -:hus .
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV treat IMPF .

narutikúšiahutⁿ .
 Raaruutikuúci’aahut .
 It just held me .
 raa- ruu- ti- 0- ku- ut- i- ahuk -0 .
 just then IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV SEQ hold PERF .

" Ahirikurúkspak^u .
 " A hiirikuurukspáku’ .
 " And that is what he said .
 " a hii- riku- ra- 0- uks- waka’u -0 .
 " and other that.is ABS 3.A AOR say PERF .

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

witahətakákusiksta .
 witahattakákuusiksta .
 we are going to shoot it .
 wi- ta- t- rak- taka.ku.as.ik -his -ta .
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL shoot.DIST PERF INT .

" Ahawáku píta , " I
 " Ahawáku' píita " I
 " He said the man : " And
 " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , " i
 " EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , " and

irihísiriskukútikst^a ,
 irihiisiriskukuútiksta .
 you are going to kill me instead .
 irii- hii- si- rii- s- ku- kuut.ik -his -ta .
 then other DU ASSR 2.A 1.P kill PERF INT .

irihisitaskukútikst^a
 Irihiisitaskukuútiksta
 You are going to kill me instead
 irii- hii- si- ta- s- ku- kuut.ik -his -ta
 then other DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P kill PERF INT

, istətakakúsik^a . "
 istattakakuúsika . "
 if you shoot it . "
 i- s- rak- taka.ku.as.ik -a . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A 1/2.PL shoot.DIST SUB.1 . "

Witíraki^a
 Witíraakii'a
 It was a long time
 wi- ti- 0- raa.kii -aar -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time INCH PERF

ahitáwatatak^u ,
ahiitáwatataku .
its sitting on him .
ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- awatata- kus -0
EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV on.top.of be.sitting SUB.4

ahawákararu^a ,
Ahawákaraaru'a' .
He called out .
ar- ra- 0- a- wakaraar.u.a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A call.out PERF .

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

Kukakikutahatákusk^u ,
Kukaakiikutahaatákusku' .
It is not putting a wound on me .
ku- kaaki- 0- ku- tat.raar.ta.kus.k -:hus
INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A 1.P wound IMPF .

narutikúšiah^{tⁿ} .
Raaruutikuúci'aahut .
It is just holding me .
raa- ruu- ti- 0- ku- ut- i- ahuk -0
just then IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV SEQ hold PERF .

" Náwa , hirahír^{tⁿ}
" Ráwa hi raáhiirit

" Now , and finally
 " rawa , hi raahiirit
 " now , and finally

kuhirakašikstaráhwi^a
 kúhiiraakacikstaraáhwii'a
 they became worried for him

kuur- ra- ir- 0- rak- aciks.taraah.wii -aar -0
 DUB ABS OBV 3.P 3PL.PASS be.gravely.worried INCH PERF

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

Witahətakakásikst^a .

Witahattakakaásiksta .

We are going to shoot them .

wi- ta- t- rak- taka.ku.as.ik -his -ta .
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL shoot.DIST PERF INT .

" Hikarahiwáwaktitⁿ .

" Hi karaahiwaáwaktit .

" And he did not speak .

" hi kara- ar- ri- 0- waa.wak.tik -0 .
 " and NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A talk PERF .

hiahihtakakúsitⁿ ,

Hi ahihtakakuúsit .

And they all shot .

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- taka.ku.as.ik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A shoot.DIST PERF .

akíapəš

Aki ápac
And here both
a- ki apac
and there both

wisikutihašárat^t

wisikúhiihacáraatat

they shot them (du)

wii- si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar.taraatat.k -0
now DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV attack PERF

. Ahawakaráru^a ,

. Ahawakaraáru'a' .

. He called out .

. ar- ra- 0- a- wakaraar.u.a -0 .
. EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A call.out PERF .

ahawáku , “

Ahawáku' “

He said : “

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

Irihiwisitəskúkut^t

Irihiwisitaskúkuutit

Instead you have killed me

irii- hii- wii- si- ta- s- ku- kuut.ik -0
then other now DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P kill PERF

, wisítəskuš^atⁿ . ”

. Wisítaskuucat . ”

. You (du) have shot me . ”

. wii- si- ta- s- ku- cak -0 . ”

. now DU IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P shoot PERF . "

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

nikuwitikúhakurik^{^tⁿ}

rikuwitikuúhaakuurikut

it was the one that caught one of us

riku- wi- ti- 0- ku- ut- rak- uurikuk -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL catch PERF

íritaku . Naw^a kúruks
íritaku . Ráwa kúruks
at that place . Now the bear
irii- -taku . rawa kuuruks
there LOC . now bear

wisiríhku^{tⁱtⁿ}

a

wisiríhkuutit

a

they now killed it

and

wii- si- ri- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 a
now DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF and

píræskⁱ

piiraski

the boy

piiras- -kis

boy DIM

siahirikáis^{^tⁿ}

si'ahiirikaá'isat

they took him home

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ri- kaa- iis.at -0
DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV PORT inside go.out.of.sight PERF

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

hiruwiráhkas^a

hiru wiiraáhkaasa .
then he lay inside there .
hiruu wii- ra- 0- ar- kaa- sa -0 .
then now ABS 3.A EV inside be.lying PERF .

Kúruks
Kúruks
The bear
kuuruks
bear

hisikuhiriškaríštawu

hi sikuhiirickaríctawu
and they hung the hide up
hi si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ickariit- ta.wuh -0
and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A hide hang.up PERF

irirákus^a

iriirákuusa pířaskⁱ .
where he lay pířaski .
the boy .
irii- ra- 0- ku- sa -0 piiras- -kis .
where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying SUB.3 boy DIM .