

Skiri Narratives, Seventeen

Roaming Scout

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

tatariraiwatⁿ

tatariíraa'iiwat

I am telling you a story

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

húwi

huúwi' .

indeed .

húwi' .

indeed .

natakuwitiítatⁿ

Rátaku

There

ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0	wi-	ti-	0-	itak	-0
ABS	3.A	be.hanging	be.sitting	SUB.4	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.a.camp	PERF

witiítat

there was a village

,	úkatat ⁿ	ahirúhawit ⁿ
	uúkatat	a hiru haáwit
	in the west	and there in the east
	uukata-	-t a hiruu haawit

west LOC and there east

hawaahaítətⁿ . A
hawá ahaítat . A
also there was a village . And
haawa ar- ra- 0- itak -0 . a
also EV ABS 3.A be.a.camp PERF . and

ahawáku
ahawáku'
he said

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

írak^u úkatətⁿ ,
íraaku uúkatat .
that one in the west .
ii- ra- 0- kus -0 uukata- -t .
that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 west LOC .

witísá^a
Witiísá'a

He was named

wi- ti- 0- asar -'
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.named EX

nákiriwis^u a
Rákiriwisu . A
Cheater . And
ra- 0- kiriswis -u . a
ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D . and

hírak^u ukáhkətⁿ
híraaku uukaáhkət

that other one outside
 hii- ra- 0- kus -0 uukaahkat
 other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 outside

áhasa^a ihi
 ahaasá'a ihi
 he was named , uh ,
 ar- ra- 0- asar -' , ihii ,
 EV ABS 3.A be.named EX , uh ,

narašiksuruwáras^u .
 Raaraciksuruuwaárasu .
 Mind Reader .
 ra- 0- ar- aciks- huras -ruu -waa -hus .
 ABS 3.A EV mind find DIST DIST IMPF.SUB .

Hiruahiwiška^a
 Hiru ahiwícka' “
 Then he thought : “
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , ”
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , ”

kitahuhawíraætⁿ
 Kitahuuhawíraa'at
 Let me go downstream
 kii- i- t- ar- huuha.wi.raa- at -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A EV downstream go PERF

iriahésku
 irii'ahásku
 where you live
 irii- ar- ra- s- kus -0
 where EV ABS 2.A be.sitting SUB.4

narašiksuruwáras^u .
 Raaraciksuruuwaárasu .
 Mind Reader .
 ra- 0- ar- aciks- huras -ruu -waa -hus .
 ABS 3.A EV mind find DIST DIST IMPF.SUB .

Hiihátaku
 " Hi ihaátaku
 " And over there
 " hi ii- haa- -taku
 " and there here LOC

ahák^u ukáhkətⁿ
 ahaáku uukaáhkat
 where he lived outside
 ar- ra- 0- kus -0 uukaahkat
 EV ABS 3.A be.sitting PERF outside

nuahiwíšk^a
 ruu'ahiwicka' "
 then he thought: "
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 "
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF "

kíitətⁿ
 Kí'itat
 Let me go
 kii- i- t- at -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A go PERF

iríahəsk^u
 irí'ahasku
 where you live
 irii- ar- ra- s- kus -0

where EV ABS 2.A be.sitting SUB.4

nókiriwis^u .
Rákiriwisu . "
Cheater . "
ra- 0- kiriwis -u . "
ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D . "

Hiruahikitawítitⁿ ,
Hiru ahiikitawiítit .
Then he mounted .
hiruu ar- ri- 0- ikita.wi.itik -0 .
then EV CONT.3A 3.A mount PERF .

kítu a
Kítuu'u' a
Everything and
kituu -u' a
all NOM and

ahuštahahkatárikítⁿ .
ahuctaahaahkataárikít .
he saddled it (his horse) .
ar- ra- 0- ut- taahaar- kata.arik.ihk -0 .
EV ABS 3.A PREV bundle put.on PERF .

ⁿka^a !
Íika'
Oh my ,
iika'a ,
oh.my ,

ahahakárahkawawⁱ .
ahahaakárahkawaawi .

he bridled it
 ar- ra- 0- haaka- raar- kaa -waa -wi .
 EV ABS 3.A mouth ITER be.inside DIST SUB.L .

tírak^u
 Tíraaku'
 A gun
 tiraak -u'
 gun NOM

wituháśakus škawirikaráhaku
 wituuhácakusksawirikaraáhaku
 he hung them (to his saddle)

wi- ti- 0- ut- raar- ta kus.k -his awi.irikaraa.hak -:hus
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P be.hanging put PERF swing.around IMPF

. Húrarikaríkətⁿ
 . Huraaríkarikat
 Midway (between the villages)
 huraar- iika.ri -kat
 land center LOC

hisiwítiahakitúr^u
 hi siwiti'ahakítuuru'
 and they (du) came together
 hi si- witi- ar- ra- 0- kituu.ra'uk -0
 and DU REFL EV ABS 3.A come.together PERF

hurarikaríkətⁿ a
 huraarikaríkat . A
 midway . And
 huraar- iika.ri -kat . a
 land center LOC . and

ahawáku
 ahawáku'
 he said

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

tirárikⁱ
 tiraáriki
 this one

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

iríahukítawⁱ

iríi'ahuukítawi

the one who was riding

iríi-	ar-	ra-	0-	ikita	-wi	,	"
that	EV	ABS	3.A	ride	SUB.L	,	"

Kirukurasetⁿ

Kirú kuraásat

Where are you going

kiruu	ku-	ra-	s-	at	-0	.	"	A
where	INDF	ABS	2.A	go	PERF	.	"	and

ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

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

tatətítaku

taátat

I am going

ta-	t-	at	-0	tii-	-taku
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títaku
 this place

IND.1/2A 1.A go PERF this LOC

ahítətⁿ úkakətⁿ . "
ahiítat uúkaahkat . "
where the village is in the east . "
ar- ra- 0- itak -0 uukaahka.t . "
EV ABS 3.A be.a.camp SUB.4 in.the.east . "

Hírarikⁱ

Híraariki

The other one

hii- ra- 0- arik -i
other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

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

iriahukítawⁱ

irii'ahuukítawi

the one who was riding:

irii- ar- ra- 0- ikita -wi " Ihi ,
that EV ABS 3.A ride SUB.L " ihii ,
" uh ,

íritət

i riítat

and I am going

i rii- t- at -0 tii- haa- -taku
and ASSR 1.A go PERF here here LOC

ahítətⁿ

ahiítat

úkatətⁿ

uúkatat .

Tirárikⁱ

Tiraárikⁱ

This one

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

nuahiáwas

ruu'ahi'áwas

then he laughed

ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	awask	-0
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	laugh	PERF

hiruahi^{wáku}

Hiru ahi^{wáku}'

Then he said

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

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

Iritišk^{rət}ku^{tí}ritⁿ

I ri^{tí}cka'

And I want

i	rii-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	iirik	-0
and	ASSR	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	see	SUB.4

ratkuuti^írit

for me to see him

, ih^ataku

iha^ataku

that place over there

ii- haa- -taku

ahⁱtətⁿ

ahiⁱtət

where the village is

ar- ra- 0- itak -0

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

Irikúritⁿ .
 Irikúrit . ”
 I am the one . ”
 ii- riku- rii- t- 0 -0 . ”
 that that.is ASSR 1.A be PERF . ”

Hiruahiwáku , “ ká^a ,
 Hiru ahiwáku’ “ Kaá’a
 Then he said : “ Oh ,
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , ” kaa’a ,
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ” oh ,

iriwitrakiskawárəsiitⁿ . ”
 iriwitiraakiskawaárasit’it . ”
 that is surprising ! ”
 irii- wi- ti- 0- raa.kiiskawaarasit -’ . ”
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.astonishing EX . ”

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

tirárikⁱ áka^a !
 tiraárikí “ Aáka’a
 this one: “ Oh my ,
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i ” aaka’a ,
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 ” oh.my ,

iriwítirakítawⁱ
 iriwítiraakítawⁱ
 that is great

irii- wi- ti- 0- raa.kita.wi -0
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF

tiwítirašihurasⁱ títak^u
 tiwítiracihúrasⁱ tiítaku
 our finding one another here
 tii- wii- witi- ra- aciir- huras -i tii- -taku
 this now REFL ABS IN.DU.A find SUB.2 this LOC

, tiratárikⁱ
 tiraatárikⁱ .
 I who stand here !
 tii- ra- t- arik -i ,
 here ABS 1.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

níkatətⁿ
 Ríkatat
 I am the one
 riku- ta- t- 0 -0
 the.one IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF

nátasar^u. Nakíriwis^u
 raátasaaru Rakíriwisu
 I who am named Cheater
 ra- t- asar -u ra- 0- kiriwis -u
 ABS 1.A be.named SUB.D ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D

, úkatətⁿ
 . " Uúkatat
 . " West
 . " uukata- -t

! " Then he said : "
 . " hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 . " then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , "

áka^a híihi
 Aáka'a hi ihi
 Oh , and , uh ,
 aaka'a , hi , ihii ,
 oh , and , uh ,

kaririútⁿ
 kariiri'ut
 it is far
 kari- ri- 0- i.uut -0
 EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A be.far PERF

tiháiriratihkáta^a
 tiháa'iriiratihkáta'a
 here where I came up.
 tii- haa- irii- ra- t- ir- kata.a -0
 here here where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come.up SUB.4

tihariútⁿ
 Tihaarii'itat
 Here the village is
 tii- haa- rii- 0- itak -0
 here here ASSR 3.A be.a.camp PERF

kiširiútⁿ
 kici rií'ut
 and it is far
 kici ra- 0- i.uut -0
 but ABS 3.A be.far PERF

INF.A 1.A INF.B cheat SUB.4 person .

kakáha .
Kaakáha . "
I don't have it . "
kaaka- t- raah -0 . "
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A have PERF . "

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

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

tirárikⁱ , " nka^a !
tiiraárikⁱ " líka'a
this one : " Oh my !
tii- ra- 0- arik -i , " iika'a .
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " oh.my .

káriutⁿ . " A
ká rii'ut . " A
Is it far ? " And
ka- ra- 0- i.uut -0 . " a
Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be.far PERF . " and

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

Kakíutⁿ há^a ,
Kaakíi'ut . Haa'a

It is not far . See !
kaaki- 0- i.uut -0 . haa'a ,
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.far PERF . see ,

tihairirətira
tihaa'iriiratiira

here where I came

tii- haa- irii- ra- t- ir- a -0
here here where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.4

asihkatáwiša

aasihkatáwica

if you had come up there

aa- s- ir- kata- wic.a -0
SUBJ.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A against.a.vertical.surface arrive SUB.4

áwitⁿ hiiskutíritⁿ

áwit hi iskuutiírit

first and you would have seen me

awit hi i- s- ku- ut- iirik -0
first and CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV see PERF

iriratihkáta^a

iriiratihkáta'a

where I climbed up

irii- ra- t- ir- kata.a -0
where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come.up SUB.4

nikutahakítətⁿ

Rikutahaakítat

That is where our village is

riku- ta- t- rak- itak -0 . "
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp PERF . "

hišiahawáku

Hici ahawáku'

And he said

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

tihírariki , “

tihíraariki , “

this other one : “

tii- hii- ra- 0- arik -i , “
this other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , “

Tíut

Tí'ut

It is far

ti- 0- i.uut -0
IND.3A 3.A be.far PERF

irírahakitətⁿ . " Náw^a

iriírahaakitat . " Ráwa

where our village is . " Now

irii- ra- t- rak- itak -0 . " rawa
where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4 . " now

, hiruahiwáku

hiru ahiwáku'

then he said

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

tirárikⁱ , “ áka^a

tiiraáriki , “ Aáka'a

this one : “ Oh my !

tii- ra- 0- arik -i , “ aaka'a ,

this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " oh.my ,

šurarawiškáraharikⁱ

cturaraawickárahaariki

when its being a coincidence

ctuu- ra- 0- a- raa.wic.karahaar -ik -i
certainly ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.a.thwarting.coincidence DIST SUB.2

narutátíətⁿ

raaruutátí'at

I just would go

raa- ruu- ta- t- i- at -0
just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ go PERF

natiška^a

ratícka'a

my wanting

ra- t- wicka -a
ABS 1.A want SUB.1

kuatuksuhuhwíhahkak^u

ku'aatuksuhuhwíhaahkaku

that I be on a game ground awhile

ku- aa- t- uks- uhur- wi.haar- ka- kus -0
INDF SUBJ.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile game.ground in be.sitting SUB.4

,

hiisiwihahkáis^a

hi isihwihaahká'iisa'

and then you'll come to the gambling place
 hi i- s- ir- wi.haar- ka- iis.a -0
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A game.ground in come.into PERF

,

hiišiwihahkâwirutitⁿ

hi icihwihaahkâwiiruutit
 and we'll sit down on the game ground
 hi i- aciir- wi.haar- ka- wi.itik -ruu -0
 and CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A game.ground in sit.down DIST PERF

. " Nikuwitiwâkah^u
 . " Rikuwitiwâkaahu'
 . " That is what he was saying
 . " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka -:hus
 . " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

nakirîwis^u .
 Rakîriwisu .
 Cheater .
 ra- 0- kiriwis -u .
 ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D .

Hiruahiwâku

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

tírarik ⁱ						Náw ^a	,
tíraariki						“ Ráwa	
this one					:	“ Now	,
tii- ra-	0-	arik		-i	,	" rawa	,
this ABS	3.A	be.standing		SUB.2	,	" now	,

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

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

tirárik ⁱ						“ Náw ^a	,
tiraárik ⁱ						“ Ráwa	
this one					:	“ Now	,
tii- ra-	0-	arik		-i	,	" rawa	,
this ABS	3.A	be.standing		SUB.2	,	" now	,

áka ^a	!	iriskítawiíhi					
aáka'a		iriiskítawi'					ih ⁱ
oh my	!	you are leader					uh
aaka'a	,	ii- rii-	s-	kita.wi		-0	ih ⁱⁱ
oh.my	,	that	ASSR 2.A	be.the.leader		PERF	uh

	tirasikítaw ⁱ					íhi	
	tiraasikítaw ⁱ					ih ⁱ	
,	you riding this one					uh	,
,	tii- ra- s-	ikita		-wi	,	ih ⁱⁱ	,

, this ABS 2.A ride SUB.L , uh ,

hiatúksuhu rikítawititⁿ

hi aatuksuuhurikítawiitit

and I'd like to ride it awhile

hi aa- t- uks- uhur- ikita.wi.itik -0
and SUBJ.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile mount PERF

hiaturəsíhittitⁿ

hi aatuurasíhittit

and I'd like to make it run

hi aa- t- uur- as.i.hiktik -0 . hi
and SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV make.run PERF . and

itíra

itíraa'

I'll bring it

i- t- ir- ra- a -0
CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PORT come PERF

hiisútiritⁿ

hi isuútiirit

and you'll see it

hi i- s- ut- iirik -0
and CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV see PERF

irirətirir^u

iriirátiriiru

what I use

irii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- 0 -u
that ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be SUB.D

nákukíriwiskihu

rakukíriwiskiihu

to cheat him (ie someone)

ra- 0- ku- kiriwis.ki -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B cheat IMPF.SUB

aisutír-ⁱtⁿ ,
a isuutiírit .
and you'll see it .
a i- s- ut- iirik -0 .
and CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV see PERF .

asahwíška^a
Asaahwícka'a
If you want

aa- s- ar- wicka -a
SUBJ.1/2A 2.A EV want SUB.1

nákutiritⁿ
rákuutiirit

to see it ,
ra- 0- ku- ut- iirik -0 ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV see SUB.4 ,

aisutír-ⁱtⁿ .
a isuutiírit . "
and you'll see it . "
a i- s- ut- iirik -0 . "
and CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV see PERF . "

Hiruahiwáku

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

tirárikⁱ , “
 tiraárikⁱ , “
 this one : “
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i , “
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , ”

Káriutⁿ . ” A
 Ká rii’ut . ” A
 Is it far ? ” And
 ka- ra- 0- i.uut -0 . ” a
 Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be.far PERF . ” and

ahawáku , “
 ahawáku’ , “
 he said : “
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Kakíutⁿ
 Kaakii’ut
 It is not far
 kaaki- 0- i.uut -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.far PERF

tiharahuráhwarušuhətⁿ
 tihaarahuraáhwaruucuhət
 here its being a level ridge top
 tii- haa- ra- 0- huraar- waruuc- u.hak -0
 here here ABS 3.A ground ridge extend.in.a.line SUB.4

nikutitúruhətⁿ
 . Rikutiitúruuhat
 . That is where the village extends
 . riku- ti- 0- ituur- u.hak -0

. that.is IND.3A 3.A village extend.in.a.line PERF

utatákətⁿ . "
úttatakat . "
at the base of it . "
uktataka.t . "
at.the.base . "

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

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

tirárikⁱ , " Náwa
tiraárikⁱ " Ráwa
this one : " Now
tii- ra- 0- arik -i , " rawa
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " now

irítiškarətktúritⁿ

i ríticka' ratkuutiírit
so I do want for me to see him
i rii- t- wicka -0 ra- t- ku- ut- iirik -0
and ASSR 1.A want PERF INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV see SUB.4

nakíriwis^u . "
Rakíriwisu . "
Cheater . "
ra- 0- kiriswis -u . "
ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D . "

Hiruahiwáku , " Náwa ,
Hiru ahiwáku' " Ráwa

Then he said : “ Now
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , ” rawa
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ” now

irísutírikst^a

i rísuutiíriksta .
 so you are going to see him .
 i rii- s- ut- iirik -his -ta .
 and ASSR 2.A PREV see PERF INT .

tíksta^a

Tíkstaa’a’ .
 Let me bring him !
 i- t- ir- uks- ra- a -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A JUSS PORT come PERF .

hiruahiwáku

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

tirárikⁱ , “ Náw^a ,
 tiraáriki “ Ráwa
 this one : “ Now
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i , ” rawa
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , ” now

irísirahist^a

i ríisiraahista
 and you are going to bring him
 i rii- s- ir- ra- a -his -ta
 and ASSR 2.A PREV.1/2A PORT come PERF INT

hiitutíritⁿ , "

hi ituutírit . "

and I'll see him . "

hi i- t- ut- iirik -0 . "

and CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV see PERF . "

híruahitakahətⁿ .

Hiru ahitakaáhat .

Then he dismounted .

hiruu ar- ri- 0- takaa.hak -0 .

then EV CONT.3A 3.A dismount PERF .

Hiruahuší^a

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it :

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,

then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hiahukítawit^t ,

hi ahuukítawiitit .

and he mounted .

hi ar- ra- 0- ikita.wi.itik -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A mount PERF .

nákiriwís^u

Rakíriwisu

Cheater

ra- 0- kiriwis -u

ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D

wírikuwitⁱ

wírikuwiti' .

he was the one .

wii- riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 .

now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

wirurarikitawít^{tn} ,

Wiruuraarikitawiítit

Now he mounted it

wii- ruu- ra- 0- ar- ikita.wi.itik -0
now then ABS 3.A EV mount PERF

hiirárikⁱ

hi iraárikⁱ

and that one

hi ii- ra- 0- arik -i
and that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

wíraruriritⁿ .

wiraaruuríirit .

now he just stood there .

wii- raa- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 .
now just ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF .

Ahawák^u , “ Náwa páruh^{tn} .

Ahawáku’ “ Ráwa páruhit .

He said : “ Now hurry !

ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ rawa paruhit .
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ now quickly .

" Ahawáku , “

" Ahawáku’ “

" He said : “

" ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “

" EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “

Nihúksuiskutíritⁿ

Ríhuksu’ iskuutiírit

Only when you see me
 rihuks -u' i- s- ku- ut- iirik -0
 alone NOM CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV see PERF

náhtaku
 raáhtaku
 over yonder
 ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0
 ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

irirutatirikatahist^a
 iriruutatiriikataáhistá
 then I am going to climb up (to the ridge)
 irii- ruu- ta- t- ir- i- kata.a -his -ta
 there then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ come.up PERF INT

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

nákiriwis^u
 Rakíriwisu
 Cheater.
 ra- 0- kiriwis -u
 ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D

wiwitikítawititⁿ
 Wiwitiikítawiitit
 He had mounted
 wii- wi- ti- 0- ikita.wi.itik -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A mount PERF

hiahúta

hi ahuúta

and he did it

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0

and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

ahírikawari

ahirikáwari'

it went around

ar- ri- 0- ri- ka- warii -:hus

EV CONT.3A 3.A PORT in.the.brush be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

íhi aturasihítik^a .

ihi aatuurasihíttika .

, uh , his wanting 'that I make it run .

, ihii , aa- t- uur- as.i.hiktik -a .

, uh , SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV make.run SUB.1 .

Kisíhiwitúta

Kici hi wituúta

' But and it did it:

' kici hi wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0

' but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

ahúrawihatⁿ

ahuurawíhut

it trotted

ar- ra- 0- uur- awi.huk -0

EV ABS 3.A PREV gallop PERF

hياهوštakáhətⁿ .

hi ahuctaakáhat .

and he went in a circle .

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- taaka.hak -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A PREV go.around PERF .

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

Kišírikutatúətⁿ

Kici rikutatuú’ut
But I am that way
kici riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -’
but that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX

tírətkiwíwí^u , há ,
tíratkíríwíwí . Haa
I who cheat here . See ,
tíi- ra- t- kíwíwí -u . haa ,
here ABS 1.A be.deceitful SUB.D . see ,

háwiriskutíšis

háawírískuutícis .
now, you know me .
háa- wíi- ríi- s- ku- ut- ícis -0 .
here now ASSR 2.A 1.P PREV know PERF .

nikutatúətⁿ

Rikutatuú’ut
I am that way ,
riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -’ ,
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX ,

tírətkiwíwí^u ári !
tíratkíríwíwí ári’

I who cheat here , oh ,
 tii- ra- t- kiriwis -u , arii ,
 here ABS 1.A be.deceitful SUB.D , oh ,

nətirirárikⁱ
 ratiriiraáriki

my standing here with it

ra- t- ir- ri- uur- ra- arik -i
 ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A PORT be.standing SUB.2

. " A
 . " A
 . " And
 . " a
 . " and

ahiriririkitawikúksəs
 ahiriiririkítawikuksas

it ran away astride with his

ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- uur- ikita -wi kuks.as -0
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV ride SUB.L run.away PERF

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

wirikutisiahiririkitawikúksəsⁱ

wírikuti'

it was the one

si'ahiriiririkítawikuksasi

their running away astride with his

wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- ikita -wi kuks.as -i
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV ride SUB.L run.away SUB.2

íhi ,
 ihi
 , uh ,
 , ihii ,
 , uh ,

šahíkstakaráku^u

cahíkstaaka		ráku'						.
a white person		his being						.
icaahiks	taakaar	ra-	0-	ku-	uu	-0		.
person	be.white	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.4		.

atirárikⁱ

A	tiraáriki							
And	this one							
a	tii-	ra-	0-	arik		-i		
and	this	ABS	3.A	be.standing		SUB.2		

ahušahiksíšahiks,

ahú'						cahiksícahiks		
he was						an Indian		
ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	icaahiks	icaahiks		
EV	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	person	person		

hياهوškírihk

hi	ahú'					ckírihki		;
and	he was					a coyote		.
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	uu	-0	ickirir-	-kis	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	be	PERF	wolf	DIM	.

witikuhaáwírúškírihk

Witikuhaáwíru'						ckírihki		
He transformed himself into it						a coyote		
witi-	kuur-	ra-	0-	awi.ra'uk		-0	ickirir-	-kis

REFL DUB ABS 3.A transform.into PERF wolf DIM

. Arikuahúta .
. A riku'ahuúta
. And that is what he did ,
. a riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
. and that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

Wiwiturəsihit^{tn}
wiwituúrasihittit .
he made it run .
wii- wi- ti- 0- uur- as.i.hiktik -0 .
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV make.run PERF .

hiruahiwáku , “ Ari !
Hiru ahiwáku’ “ Ári’
Then he said : “ Oh ,
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , " arii ,
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , " oh ,

kaskúrahu^u ;
kaaskúrahu’u .
you'll grieve me .
kaas- s- ku- rahur -’ .
POT.2A 2.A 1.P grieve EX .

karihakírírariks
Kárihaaki’ riíraariks
My , it is true
karihaaki’ , ri- 0- i- raariks -0
oh.gosh , CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.true PERF

nakukíriwis^u ,
rakukíriwisu .

his being a cheater !
 ra- 0- ku- kiriwis -u .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.deceitful SUB.D .

iriwikakahíus

Iriwikaakaahí'us

I do not know how

irii- wii- kaaka- t- rii'uus -0
 what now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A know.how PERF

nakuhúræs šíks^u .
 rakuhúras cíksu' . "
 to find it a mind . "
 ra- 0- ku- huras -0 aciks -u' . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B find SUB.4 think.of NOM . "

A

A

And

a

and

ahiriritawíkuksæs

ahiriirikítawikuksas

he ran away astride his

ar- ra- 0- ir- ri- uur- ikita -wi kuks.as -0
 EV ABS 3.A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV ride SUB.L run.away PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Wawitiširiwisisurawiríkusətⁿ

Wa witiiciriwisisuraahwírikisat

Now it was prancing sideways as it gained ground

wa	wi-	ti-	0-	ic.iriwis-	-his	huraar-	wirikis.at	-0
now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	prancing.sideways	PERF	ground	move.over	PERF

. " " nka^a ,
. " " líka'a ,
. " " Oh ,
. " " iika'a ,
. " " oh ,

tirétirirət^a

tiratiriúrata

this one I have going

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	at	-a
this	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	go	SUB.1

iriwitikuskítawⁱ

iriwitikuskítawⁱ'

it's a beautiful one

irii-	wi-	ti-	0-	kus.kita.wi	-0	.	"	rawa
that	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.beautiful	PERF	.	"	now

, nikuwitiwáku

rikuwitiwáku'

that is what he said

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

nəkíriwis^u

Rakíriwisu

Cheater

ra-	0-	kiriwis	-u	.
-----	----	---------	----	---

ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D .

nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku' .

That is what he said .

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

nikúwituta . A

Rikuwituúta a

That is what he did : and

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 , a
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF , and

ahakíriwiski

šáhiks .

ahakíriwiski

cáhiks .

his cheating him

a person .

ar- ra- 0- kiriwis.ki -0 icaahiks .
EV ABS 3.A cheat SUB.4 person .

Akiisahurasárariks

Aki isaahuurasaraáriks

And here that was his real name

a- ki i- s- ar- huur.asar- raariks -0
and there CONT.1/2A 2.A EV name be.true PERF

nákusar^u

rakuusaáru

what he was named

ra- 0- ku- asar -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.named SUB.D

nəkiríwis^u ,

Rakiríwisu .

Cheater .
 ra- 0- kiriwis -u .
 ABS 3.A be.deceitful SUB.D .

hihírarikⁱ
 Hi hiíraariki
 And the other one
 hi hii- ra- 0- arik -i
 and other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

karahišíkuraš .
 karaahiicíksuras .
 he did not find his mind (ie read his intentions) .
 kara- ar- ri- 0- aciks- huras -0 .
 NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A mind find PERF .

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

Kišírikutatúət . ”
 Kici rikutatuú’ut . ”
 But I am that way . ”
 kici riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -’ . ”
 but that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX . ”

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

ihírarikⁱ , “
 ihíraariki , “
 that other one : “
 ii- hii- ra- 0- arik -i , “
 that other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , ”

Nikutíhasuætⁿ ,
 Rikutíhasuu'ut .
 That is the way you are .
 riku- tiir- ra- s- ut- 0 -' .
 that.is INFR ABS 2.A PREV be EX .

witírariks , náw^a
 Witiíraariks . Ráwa
 Now it is true . Now
 wi- ti- 0- raariks -0 . rawa
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF . now

witəskukíriwiskⁱ . Náw^a i
 witaskukíriwiski . Ráwa i
 you have cheated me . Now and
 wi- ta- s- ku- kiriwis.ki -0 . rawa i
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P cheat PERF . now and

kariríkurətkutar^a
 kariiri' kuratkuutaára
 I cannot do anything
 kari- ri- 0 -0 ku- ra- t- ku- ut- aar -a
 EMPH.NEG CONT.3A be PERF INDF INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1

. Náw^a , suksuríritⁿ
 . Ráwa suksuuriirit .
 . Now stop !
 . rawa i- s- uks- uuri.arik -0 .

. now CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS stop PERF .

witišišiksíksurikətⁿ

Witiiciikisíksuurikut

Let's shake hands

witi-	i-	aciir-	ut-	i-	uks-	iks-	uurikuk	-0
REFL	CONT.1/2A	IN.DU.A	PREV	SEQ	JUSS	hand	catch	PERF

. "	Aahawáku					,	"	Híkir ⁱ	
. "	A	ahawáku'					"	Híkiiri	
!	"	And	he said			:	"	Oh my	
. "	a	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	hikiiri
. "	and	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	indeed

karátpari

karátpari'

, I am walking around

,	ka-	ra-	t-	warii		-0
,	NEG	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF		PERF

takuwitrəšikutiksúrikətⁿ

táku' witiiracihkuutiksuúrikut

someone for us to shake hands

taku	witi-	ra-	aciir-	ku-	ut-	iks-	uurikuk	-0
someone	REFL	INF.A	IN.DU.A	INF.B	PREV	hand	catch	SUB.4

kišiwitatətⁿ

kici witaátat

, but I'm going

,	kici	wi-	ta-	t-	at	-0
,	but	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	go	PERF

irírahakitətⁿ

. "

iriírahaakitat

. "

where our village is . "

irii-	ra-	t-	rak-	itak	-0	.	"
where	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	be.a.camp	SUB.4	.	"

Náw^a , nikuwitúta
 Ráwa rikuwituúta
 Now that is what he did:

rawa	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	aar	-0
now	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF

naruwitáhkitāritⁿ
 raaruuwitaáhkitaarit
 he just stood on top (of a hill)

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	kita-	arik	-0
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	on.top	be.standing	PERF

hikišiahakáisətⁿ .
 hi kici ahakaá'iisat .
 and but he went home .
 hi kici ar- ra- 0- kaa- iis.at -0 .
 and but EV ABS 3.A inside go.out.of.sight PERF .

Nawitihwakiáh^u
 Raawitihwaki'aahu'
 They were just saying

raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	:-hus
just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF

wisiahitíritⁿ
 wisi'ahiitírit
 when they saw him

wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	iirik	-0
when	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	see	SUB.4

irirakítahku

iriiraakítaahku

where the band was

irii-	ra-	0-	akitaar-	kus	-0
where	ABS	3.A	tribe	be.sitting	SUB.4

Nəkíriwis^u

Rakíriwisu

Cheater

ra-	0-	kiriwis	-u	:	"	aaka'a	,
ABS	3.A	be.deceitful	SUB.D	:	"	oh.my	,

ihawatihésurəs

i hawá tiihásuras

and also you must have found it

i	haawa	tii-	ra-	s-	huras	-0
and	also	INFR	ABS	2.A	find	PERF

tírəsirikitawi^a

tírasiirikitawi'a

this one you are coming riding upon

tii-	ra-	s-	ir-	ikita	-wi	a	-0	.
this	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	ride	SUB.L	come	SUB.4	.

" Ahawáku

" Ahawáku'

" He said

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

nikutúətⁿ

rikutuú'ut

it is that way

riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'	.	tii-	haa-	-taku
-------	-----	----	-----	---	----	---	------	------	-------

tihátaku

Tihaátaku

Here

that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX . here here LOC

šáhiks siwítáturəs ,
 cáhiks siwítáturaas .
 person we found each other .
 icaahiks si- witi- ta- t- huras -0 .
 person DU REFL IND.1/2A 1.A find PERF .

iriwáku , “
 I riiwáku’ ~
 And he said : ~
 i rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ’
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ’

Kišikitawítitⁿ ,
 Kiisikitawiítit .
 You should mount it !
 kii- i- s- ikita.wi.itik -0 .
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A mount PERF .

kisurəsihit^tn . "
 Kiísuurasihittit . '
 You should run it hard ! '
 kii- i- s- uur- as.i.hiktik -0 . '
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV make.run PERF . '

Náw^a iriturəsíhit^tn . "
 Ráwa i riituurasíhittit . "
 Now and I did run it hard . "
 rawa i rii- t- uur- as.i.hiktik -0 . "
 now and ASSR 1.A PREV make.run PERF . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
 Ráwa iraári’

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

tataríraiwətⁿ

tatariíraa'iiwat

I am telling you a story

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

hi tirawáhətⁿ

hi Tiráwaahat

and the Heavens

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

kuraraítusta^a

kuraraa'ítustá'a

it is His story

ku- ra- 0- a- raa.iit.us- raar -'
 INDF ABS 3.A PREV.3A story do EX

witatariraiwətⁿ

witariíraa'iiwat

I am telling you the story

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

nihkukáriku ,

. Rihkuukáriku ,

. When they had a lodge ,

. ra- 0- ir- ku- akaar.ri.kus -0 ,
 . INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B have.a.home SUB.4 ,

nihkukáriku							,	píta
rihkuukáriku								piíta
where they had a lodge								men
ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	akaar.ri.kus	-0			wiita
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	have.a.home	SUB.4			man

rihkukáriku								píta
rihkuukáriku								piíta
where they had a lodge								men
ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	akaar.ri.kus	-0			wiita
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	have.a.home	SUB.4			man

wituháru								tawíksapiš
wituuháru'								tawíkسااپىع
there were								eight
wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raar.uu	-0			tawíkسااپىع
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.a.number	PERF			eight

.
.
.
.
.

Hiruahiruríh ^{itn} ,									
Hiru	ahiruuríhit								
There	they had a single one								
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rihik	-0
there	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.the.only.one	PERF

itáhi				
itaáhi'				.
sister				.
i-	-taat-	-ri'		.

3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B .

itahiwítiruk^u

Itaáhi'
A sister

wítiruhku
they had

i- -taat- -ri' wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- kus -0
3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting PERF

, nuwítarihⁱtⁿ

. Ruuwitaaríhit

. She was the only one

. ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- rihik -0
. then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.the.only.one PERF

hiahirasá^a

. Hi ahiirasá'a

. And they were named

. hi ar- ra- 0- ir- asar -'
. and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A be.named EX

Pitakáwahar^u

Piitakáwahaaru'

Lucky Man

wiita kawahaar -u'
man be.fortunate NOM .

Hiruahiwáku,

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

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

Káwahar^u

Káwahaaru'

Good Luck

, ruahiwáku , " Náwa^a
ruu'ahiwáku' " Ráwa

, then he said : “ Now
 , ruu- ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , ” rawa
 , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ” now

, ihitátiškaihi
 , ihi táticka’ ihi
 , uh , I want , uh ,
 , ihii , ta- t- wicka -0 , ihii ,
 , uh , IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF , uh ,

našihkuhúrəspi ihí ,
 racihkuuhuúraspi . Ihi
 for us to look for it . Uh ,
 ra- aciir- ku- uhur- raspil -0 . ihii ,
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B now look.for SUB.4 . uh ,

tátiška
 táticka’
 I want
 ta- t- wicka -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

nəšihkuhúrəspi ihí
 racihkuuhuúraspi ihi
 for us to look for it , uh ,
 ra- aciir- ku- uhur- raspil -0 , ihii ,
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B now look.for SUB.4 , uh ,

škírihk našihkuhukútik^a
 ckírihki racihkuuhuhkuútika
 a coyote for us to kill it now
 ickirir- -kis ra- aciir- ku- uhur- kuut.ik -a
 wolf DIM INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B now kill SUB.1

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

Páruksti , nikutíihi
 Paáruksti' . Rikutí' ihi
 , Holy Being . He was the one, , uh
 , waarukstii . riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii
 , be.holy . that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh

Híkus^u , " Náw^a ,
 Hííkusu' . " Ráwa
 , Breath . " Now
 , hiik.hus -u' . " rawa
 , hiccough NOM . " now

irurušíra^u .
 iruurucíraa'u .
 that is alright .
 ii- ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- raa.uu -0 .
 that then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ way.to.be.thus PERF .

" Hirusiahíwa,
 " Hiru si'ahíwa
 " Then they (du) went
 " hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- wa -0
 " then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A go.DU PERF

nakuhšakuráwirir^a ,
 rakuhcakuuráwiriira .
 its being a nice day .
 ra- 0- ku- uur- sakur.awi.hiir -a .

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.a.nice.day SUB.1 .

hirúsiahíwa .

Hiru si'ahíwa .

Then they (du) went .

hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- wa -0 .

then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A go.DU PERF .

Hirusiahahuhawiráwa .

Hiru si'ahahuuhawíraawa .

Then they (du) went downstream (ie went east) .

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- huuha.wi.raa- wa -0 .

then DU EV ABS 3.A downstream go.DU PERF .

Witiwátariusk^u

Witiwaatarii'úsku .

There was a blue hill .

wi- ti- 0- waa- tarii'uus kus -0 .

QUOT IND.3A 3.A hill be.blue be.sitting PERF .

witúhwari

Witúhwaari

It was a nice hill

wi- ti- 0- uur- waa- hiir -0

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV hill be.good PERF

hirikusiahakitawauriritⁿ

hi rikusi'ahakitawa'uuriirit

and that is the one they (du) stood on

hi riku- si- ar- ra- 0- kita- wa- uuri.arik -0

and that.is DU EV ABS 3.A on.top DIST stand.upright PERF

siahakitawauriritⁿ

. Si'ahakitawa'uuriirit

. They (du) stood on it
 . si- ar- ra- 0- kita- wa- uuri.arik -0
 . DU EV ABS 3.A on.top DIST stand.upright PERF

, Híkiši šáhiks
 . Hi kici cáhiks
 . And but a person
 . hi kici icaahiks
 . and but person

kutítkahša
 kutítkahca .
 he lay sleeping .
 ku- ti- 0- itka -his sa -0 .
 INDF IND.3A 3.A sleep PERF be.lying PERF .

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

tirárikⁱ , “ Náwa^a hā^a
 tiraárikⁱ “ Ráwa haá'a
 this one : “ Now look
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i , " rawa haa'a
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " now see

! hā^a ! istiwáta
 haá'a Istiiwáta
 ! look ! Look
 , haa'a . i- s- riiwat.aar -0
 , see . CONT.1/2A 2.A look.at PERF

iráhwak^u
 iraáhwaaku
 that hill
 ii- ra- 0- ar- waa- kus -0 ,
 that ABS 3.A EV hill be.sitting SUB.4 ,

iráhwak^u
 iraáhwaaku
 that hill
 ii- ra- 0- ar- waa- kus -0 ,
 that ABS 3.A EV hill be.sitting SUB.4 ,

harahturáhkatawíhətⁿ
 haa raahkuraahkatawíhat
 look ! where they are going along the side of the hill
 haa , ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- kata- -wi hak -0
 see , INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L pass.by SUB.4

irirašírəspi
 iriiracíraspi
 the one we are looking for
 irii- ra- aciir- raspíi -0
 that ABS IN.DU.A look.for SUB.4

nikutútu . " Náwa ,
 rikutuútu' . " Ráwa
 that one looks like it . " Now
 riku- ti- 0- ut- uu -0 . " rawa
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be PERF . " now

hiruahiwáku
 hiru ahiwáku'
 then he said
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0

then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

hi nárikⁱ . Ah !
hiiraáriki “ Aa
the other one : “ Ah ,
hii- ra- 0- arik -i , " aa ,
other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , " ah ,

irírariks

i ríraariks
and it is true
i rii- 0- raariks -0
and ASSR 3.A be.true PERF

hihahírahətⁿ

hi ihaa hiiraahat
but there the other one passing ,
hi ii- haa hii- ra- 0- hak -0 ,
and there here other ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 ,

híkirⁱ nikuskitawⁱ . " A
híkiiri riikuskítawⁱ . " A
oh my , it is beautiful . " And
hikiiri , rii- 0- kus.kita.wi -0 . " a
indeed , ASSR 3.A be.beautiful PERF . " and

híruahuš^a

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

tíras^a šáhiks
tíraasa cáhiks

this						person
tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0		icaahiks
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3		person

ahakírika ^a						.
ahakírika'a						.
he awoke						.
ar-	ra-	0-	kirika.aar	-0		.
EV	ABS	3.A	wake.up	PERF		.

Hisiaharatiwawárik ^u							.
Hi	si'	aharaatiiwaawáriku'					.
And	they (du)	were making plans					.
hi	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	raa.tii.warik	-waa	-.hus
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	plan	DIST	IMPF

Írawak ^u						,	"
I	rawáku'						"
And	he	said				:	"
i	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0		,	"
and	ABS	3.A	say	PERF		,	"

Iwirakatawíšət ⁿ							
Iwirakatawícat							
That one that	has	climbed to the top					
ii-	wii-	ra-	0-	kata-		wic.at	-0
that	now	ABS	3.A	against.a.vertical.surface		arrive	PERF

	híkir ⁱ		
	híkiiri		
,	oh my	,	
,	hikiiri	,	
,	indeed	,	

iriwítuh ⁱ								.	"
iriwítuuhi								.	"
it is nice								.	"
irii-	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	hiir	-0		.	"
that	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.good	PERF		.	"

Tírasarúriwišk^a

Tíraasa										
This one										
tii-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	ruu-	ri-	0-	wicka	-0	
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	then	CONT.3A	3.A	think	PERF	
										ruuriíwicka'
										then it thought

,	"	Iríruhíhku						.	íka ^a
,	"	Iriíruuhihku						.	iika'a
:	"	The one he is talking about						,	oh my
,	"	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	ra'ihk	-hus	,	iika'a
,	"	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF.SUB	,	oh.my

!	nikutatútu							,	
	rikutatuútu'							.	
,	I look like that one							.	
,	riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uu	-0		.	
,	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	be	PERF		.	

nutatikírariust ^{tⁿ}								.	"
Ruutatikiírarii'ustit								.	"
I am just green								.	"
ruu-	ta-	t-	i-	kirarii'uus	-rik	-0		.	"
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	be.green	DIST	PERF		.	"

Hiruahiwáku								,	"	ári	!
Hiru	ahiwáku'							,	"	Ári'	
Then	he said							:	"	Oh	,
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0			,	"	arii	,

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

kusitásiwaritⁿ

kusitásiwaarit

it seems you (du) are standing here

ku- si- ta- s- i- wa- arik -0
 INDF DU IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ DIST be.standing PERF

? " Hitisírawarikiⁱ

. " Hi tisírawaariki

! " And these (du)

. " hi tii- si- ra- 0- wa- arik -i
 . " and this DU ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

nusíahiwaku , "

ruusi'ahiwáku' "

then they (du) said :

ruu- si- ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Úri ! " Ahawáku , "

Uúri . " Ahawáku' , "

Well, there ! " He said : "

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

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

Kusitásiwaritⁿ

Kusitásiwaarit

It seems you (du) are there

ku- si- ta- s- i- wa- arik -0
 INDF DU IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ DIST be.standing PERF

? " Siahawáku

Si'ahawáku'

! " They (du) said
 . " si- ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 . " DU EV ABS 3.A say PERF

tisírawarikⁱ , "
 tisírawaariki , "
 these (du) : "
 tii- si- ra- 0- wa- arik -i , "
 this DU ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 , "

Há^a ! tisíritparⁱtⁿ
 Haá'a . Tisíritpaarit
 Ha ! Here we are
 haa'a . tii- si- rii- t- wa- arik -0
 ha . here DU ASSR 1.A DIST be.standing PERF

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

ári !
 Ári'
 Oh ,
 arii ,
 oh ,

iirikariríra
 i irikariiríra'
 and that is not the way (it should be) ,
 i irii- kari- ri- 0- raa- 0 -0 ,
 and that EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A way be PERF ,

ihi šáhiks siutíriku
 ihi cáhiks si'uutiíriku
 uh person he should not be seeing you (du)
 ihii icaahiks si- ii- 0- ut- iirik -hus
 uh person DU SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV see IMPF.SUB

utəsparíihi
 uutáspari ihi
 whatever you are doing , uh ,
 ii- 0- ut- as.warii -hus , ihii ,
 SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV work.at.IMPF IMPF.SUB , uh ,

sikaraušiwəštarušáhu
 sikara'uuciiwactaruucáhu
 that we would not even be lifting them
 si- kara- ii- 0- a- ut- i- awahc- raar- ruuca.a -hus
 DU NEG SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV SEQ even 3PL.INAN.P lift.up IMPF.SUB

. " Hirú siahiwáku
 . " Hiru si'ahiwáku'
 . ' " Then they (du) said
 . ' " hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
 . ' " then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

tisírawarik¹ , "
 tisírawaariki , "
 these (du) : "
 tii- si- ra- 0- wa- arik -i , "

this DU ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 , "

áka^a kahuhkíripaškⁱ
 Aáka'a kaahuhkíripacki
 Oh , a small power
 aaka'a , kaa.huur- kiripac -kis
 oh , power small DIM

karatíhi

karaatíhi'

he must not be

kara- ti- 0- ihii -0
 NEG IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

tírak^u šáhiks . "
 tíraaku cáhiks . "
 this person ! "
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icaahiks . "
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 person . "

Hiruahiwáku

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

Hātahāriwu

Haá tahāriwu'
 Ha ! I am carrying them
 haa , ta- t- raar- ri- wu -:hus
 ha , IND.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.IMPF IMPF

káritkⁱ

káritki

rocks
karit- -kis
rock DIM

nahkuhárut^a
raahkuúhaaruuta
that level area

ra- 0- ar- kuuhaar- u.at -a
ABS 3.A EV flat.ground extend.in.a.line SUB.1

nahkarihahkuháhkaku
raahkárihaahkuuhaahkaku
the rocks on that prairie

ra- 0- ar- karit- raar- kuuhaar- ka- kus -0
ABS 3.A EV rock PL flat.ground in be.sitting SUB.4

,
.
.
.
.

hirurikutaháriwu

Hiru rikutaháriwu'

There that is where I am carrying them

hiruu riku- ta- t- raar- ri- wuu -:hus
there that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.IMPF IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

tatiškarakúrahira

Táticka'

I want

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	0-	ku-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-a
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	way	be.good	SUB.1

nətkutár^a

ratkuutaára

what I do

ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	aar	-a	.	"
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	do	SUB.1	.	"

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

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

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

Širíkskukspəs

Ciiriíkskukspaas

Let's run away!

i-	aciir-	uur-	i-	uks-	kuks.as	-wa	-0
CONT.1/2A	IN.DU.A	PREV	SEQ	JUSS	run.away	DIST	PERF

kašakúkutitⁿ

Kaacakuúkuutit

! He might kill us

.	ka-	ii-	0-	aca-	ku-	kuut.ik	-0
---	-----	-----	----	------	-----	---------	----

. Y/N.INTER SUBJ.3A 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P kill PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Hirusiahúhkukspəs

Hiru si'ahúhkukspaas

Then they (du) ran away

hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- uur- kuks.as -wa -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PREV run.away DIST PERF

. Ásiahariruhətⁿ

kiših

. A si'aharíruhaat

kici hi

. And he scared them (du)

but and

. a si- ar- ra- 0- riruhaahk -0 kici hi
. and DU EV ABS 3.A frighten PERF but and

siwitúkukspəs

siwitúhkukspaas

they (du) ran away from him

si- wi- ti- 0- uur- kuks.as -wa -0
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV run.away DIST PERF

híkisiahakuksuhuríriwat^a

Hi ki si'ahaakuksuhuríriwaata'

And here they (du) jumped up and ran off

hi ki si- ar- ra- 0- a- kuks- uhuur.iriwaat.a -0
and there DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A fleeing jump.up PERF

hiahakukstúkətⁿ

. Náwa^a

hi ahakukstákut

. Ráwa

and he ran . Now
 hi ar- ra- 0- kuks.takuk -0 . rawa
 and EV ABS 3.A run.away PERF . now

hiruirisukúhawa^a ,
 hiru iriisikuúhawa .
 then wherever they (du) went .
 hiruu irii- si- kuur- ra- 0- wa -0 .
 then where DU DUB ABS 3.A go.DU PERF .

wihirusiwitúhkukspa
 Wihuru siwitúhkukspa
 Then they (du) ran away from him
 wii- hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- uur- kuks.wa -0
 now then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV run.away.DU PERF

hikišihawairíkuksətⁿ .
 . Hi kici hawá i ríkuksat .
 . And but also and that one ran away .
 . hi kici haawa i rii- 0- kuks.at -0 .
 . and but also and ASSR 3.A run.away PERF .

Náw^a iwisirakúkspara
 Ráwa iwisirakúkspara
 Now when they (du) ran away
 rawa ii- wii- si- ra- 0- kuks.war -a
 now when when DU ABS 3.A run.away.DU SUB.1

hiwírikuri
 hi wírikuri'
 and he was the one
 hi wii- riku- ri- 0- 0 -0
 and now that.is CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

isirakúkspara ihi
 isirakúkspara ihi
 these (du) who ran off , uh ,
 ii- si- ra- 0- kuks.war -a , ihii ,
 that DU ABS 3.A run.away.DU SUB.1 , uh ,

Páruksti a Káwahaar^u
 Paáruksti' a Káwahaaru' .
 Holy Being and Good Luck .
 waarukstii a kawahaar -u' .
 be.holy and be.fortunate NOM .

siráræspi ihi škírihk
 Siraáraspi' ihi Ckírihki
 They looked for it , uh , Coyote
 si- ra- 0- raspíi -0 , ihii , ickirir- -kis
 DU ABS 3.A look.for PERF , uh , wolf DIM

ašihkútika^a ihi
 aacihkuútika ihi
 ' our wanting to kill him , ' uh ,
 ' aa- aciir- kuut.ik -a , ' ihii ,
 ' SUBJ.1/2A IN.DU.A kill SUB.1 , ' uh ,

nakuháwašurakatæs^a
 rakuuhaáwacuuraahkátasa
 for a quiver to lie in front of it
 ra- 0- ku- ut- raawacuu- raar- kata- sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV quiver PL against.a.vertical.surface be.lying SUB.3

hitíras^a
 . Hi tíraasa
 . And this one lying
 . hi tii- ra- 0- sa -0

. and this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

wirikúri

wirikúri'

that is the one

wii- riku- ri- 0- 0 -0
now that.is CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

irisiahárəspi

iriisi'aháraspi

the one they were looking for

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- raspíi -0
that DU EV ABS 3.A look.for SUB.4 . now

šíkstitⁿ nusiahíwa

cíkstit ruusi'ahíwa

well there they (du) went

cikstik ruu- si- ar- ri- 0- wa -0
well then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A go.DU PERF .

náw^a šíkstitⁿ núsiahiwa

Ráwa cíkstit ruusi'ahíwa

Now well there they (du) went

rawa cikstik ruu- si- ar- ri- 0- wa -0
now well then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A go.DU PERF

. Iriiahúharik^u

. Iriisi'ahuuhaaríhku

. There where they (du) meant

. irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -hus
. there DU EV ABS 3.A PREV mean IMPF.SUB

hisiahakatawíšpa,

hi si'ahaakatawícpaá'

and they climbed up to the top of the hill
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- kata- wic.a -wa -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A against.a.vertical.surface arrive DIST PERF

hiwihiruahíhetⁿ .
 hi wihiru ahííhat .
 and there it passed by .
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- hak -0 .
 and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A pass.by PERF .

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

tírahatⁿ
 tíraahat
 this one passing by
 tii- ra- 0- hak -0
 this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4

wirutúši^u
 wiruutúci’u’
 it is just right
 wii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- uu -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

našihkuhukútik^a . Náwa^a
 racihkuuhuhkuútika . “ Ráwa
 for us to kill it now . “ Now
 ra- aciir- ku- uhur- kuut.ik -a . “ rawa
 INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B now kill SUB.1 . “ now

irísikuhuta
 iriisikúhuuta
 that is what they (du) did :
 irii- si- kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 that DU DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hisikuhúraæs ,
 hi sikuuhúra'as .
 and they (du) ran after it .
 hi si- kuur- ra- 0- uur- ra- as-i -0 .
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PREV PORT run PERF .

náw^a ásihákutitⁿ
 Ráwa a si'ahákuutit .
 Now and they (du) killed it .
 rawa a si- ar- ra- 0- kuut.ik -0 .
 now and DU EV ABS 3.A kill PERF .

síahákutitⁿ ,
 Si'ahákuutit .
 They (du) killed it .
 si- ar- ra- 0- kuut.ik -0 .
 DU EV ABS 3.A kill PERF .

nusiahiráwihətⁿ .
 Ruusi'ahiraáwihut .
 Then they (du) carried it .
 ruu- si- ar- ri- 0- ra.awi.huk -0 .
 then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A carry PERF .

Hirusiahírətⁿ
 Hiru si'ahírat
 Then they (du) took it
 hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- ra- at -0

then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PORT go PERF

hiruirisiahakárik^u

hiru iriisi'ahaakáriku .
there where they (du) had their lodge .
hiruu irii- si- ar- ra- 0- akaar.ri.kus -0 .
there where DU EV ABS 3.A have.a.home SUB.4 .

hiruasiaharahúkætⁿ

Hiru a si'ahárahúukat
Then and they (du) carried it inside
hiruu a si- ar- ra- 0- ra- huuk- at -0
then and DU EV ABS 3.A PORT into go PERF

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

nikutátitsk^a

rikutáticka'
this is what I want
riku- ta- t- wicka -0
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

tíras^a ,

tíraasa
this one
tii- ra- 0- sa -0
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

nikuráku^u ihi
rikuráku'u ihi

for it to be this way , uh ,
 riku- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u , ihii ,
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D , uh ,

iriratíška^a
 iriiratícka'a
 what I want

irii- ra- t- wicka -a
 what ABS 1.A want SUB.1

nakúta . "
 rakuúta . "
 to be thus . "
 ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 . "

Ahawákuhirárikⁱ

Ahawáku'	hiiraárik ⁱ
He said	the other one
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 hii- ra- 0- arik -i	
EV ABS 3.A say PERF other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2	

, " I , nurúši^u
 " I ruurúci'u'
 : " Well , it's just right
 , " i , ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- uu -0
 , " and , then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

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

hirusiahurišakáwətⁿ

hiru si'ahuúricakawat

then they (du) peeled it (ie skinned it)

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	icaka.wat	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	peel	PERF

híšikstitⁿ

hi cíkstit

and nicely

hi cikstik

and well

nusiahúši^a

ruusi'ahúci'a

then they (du) did it

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

síahara^u

si'ahára'u

their (du) making it

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ra'uk	-0	.
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	make	SUB.3	.

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

nikuwitíihi

ríkuwiti'							ihí	,
it was the one							uh	,

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0	,	ihii	,
-------	-----	-----	----	---	----	---	------	---

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh ,

škírihk ,
Ckírihki
Coyote
ickirir- -kis
wolf DIM

tiráwari ,
tiráwari
this one walking around
tii- ra- 0- warii -hus
this ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tirasuhaíriku ,
tirasuuhaa'íiriku .
these that you see .
tii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -hus .
this ABS 2.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB .

nikuwitiruhú^u
Rikuwituuhú'u
That was the intention
riku- wi- ti- 0- ruuhur -' .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX

atirákatⁿ
atiraákat
on Mother
ati- raa -kat
1.POSS mother LOC

tirahukítəs^a . Náw^a
tirahuukítasa . Ráwa

this one lying on it . Now
 tii- ra- 0- huukita- sa -0 . rawa
 this ABS 3.A on.top be.lying SUB.3 . now

wiriwáku Páruksti , “ Náw^a
 wiriwáku’ Paáruksti’ “ Ráwa
 he said Holy Being : “ Now
 wii- rii- 0- waka’u -0 waarukstii , " rawa
 now ASSR 3.A say PERF be.holy , " now

, irikurítišk^a
 irikuriíticka’
 that is what I want
 irii- ku- rii- t- wicka -0
 that INDF ASSR 1.A want PERF

tiháras^a
 tihaáraasa
 this one lying here
 tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0
 this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

nikurákukitáwi^u ,
 rikurakukitáwi’u
 for this one to be foremost (ie the main power)
 riku- ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D

atiratihawiraširətáruh^a
 Atíra’ tihaawiraciirattaáruha
 Mother since we gave it to her
 ati- raa tii- haa- wii- ra- aciir- ak- raar- uh -a
 1.POSS mother this here now ABS IN.DU.A PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

, tiháras^a
 . Tihaáraasa
 . This one lying here
 . tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0
 . this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

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

nəkukitáwi^u . " A
 rakukitáwi'u . " A
 for it to be the foremost one . " And ,
 ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u . " a ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D . " and ,

ihī ahawáku Káwahaar^u,
 ihī ahawáku' Káwahaaru'
 uh , he said Good Luck:
 ihī , ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 kawahaar -u'
 uh , EV ABS 3.A say PERF be.fortunate NOM

“ Náwa^a wirikutatíšk^a ,
 “ Ráwa wirikutatícka'
 “ Now that is what I want ;
 " rawa wii- riku- ta- t- wicka -0 ,
 " now now that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF ,

wirikutúhi ; náwa^a
 wirikutúhi . Ráwa
 that is fine . Now
 wii- riku- ti- 0- uur- hiir -0 . rawa

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

, hi , kurusikítawⁱ
 hi kuruusikítawⁱ
 and it'll be the foremost one
 hi ruu- kuus- 0- i- kita.wi -0
 and then POT.1/3A 3.A SEQ be.the.leader PERF

, tíras^a ,
 tíraasa .
 this one .
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 .
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 .

iritikítawíšt^a škírihk,
 Iritikítawicta Ckírihki
 It is going to be the leader Coyote
 irii- ti- 0- kita.wi -his -ta ickirir- -kis
 that IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF INT wolf DIM

tiwira^hukitasahístaritⁿ
 tiwira^huukitasahístarit
 this one that is going to lie on top of the bundle
 tii- wii- ra- 0- huukita- sa -his -ta -rit
 this now ABS 3.A on.top be.lying PERF INT INT.SUB

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
 Ráwa iraári'

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

nikuwítira
 rikuwítira'

that one has it

riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

atíra

Atíra'

Mother

ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

tirətirirəšawi

tiratiriirácawi

this one I have hanging

tii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- raar- ta -wi
 this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.hanging SUB.L

tirakuhukítas^a

tirakuhuukítasa

this one lying on it

tii- ra- 0- ku- huukita- sa -0
 this INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be.lying SUB.3

škírihk

Ckírihki .

Coyote .

ickirir- -kis .

wolf DIM .

nikusiwitaruhú^u

Rikusiwitaruuhú'u

That was their (du) way (ie power)

riku-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	raa.uhur	-'
that.is	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	be.the.way	EX

,	Páruksti	,	a	ihi	Káwakar ^u	.
	Paáruksti'		a	ihi	Káwahaaru'	.
	Holy Being		and	, uh	, Good Luck	.
	waarukstii		a	, ihii	, kawahaar	-u' .
	be.holy		and	, uh	, be.fortunate	NOM .

Irikurirákit^a

Irikuriiraákita

That was their way

ii-	riku-	rii-	0-	raa.kita	-0
that	that.is	ASSR	3.A	be.the.way.on.top	PERF

rakitáwi^u

rakitáwi'u

the leader

ra-	0-	kita.wi	-u
ABS	3.A	be.the.leader	SUB.D

tirahukítəs^a

tirahuukítasa

this one lying on top

tii-	ra-	0-	huukita-	sa	-0	ákitar ^u	
this	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.lying	SUB.3	ákitaaru'	
						akitaar-	-u'
						tribe	NOM

tirótpari

tirátpari

ours

tii-	ra-	t-	warii	-hus	škírihk	-kis
					Ckírihki	
					Coyote	
					ickirir-	

this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB wolf DIM

, iriwirakúrak^u
iriwirakúraaku
when there is a way
irii- wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- kus -0
there when INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.sitting SUB.4

hi atíra
hi Atíra'
, uh , Mother
, hi , ati- raa
, and , 1.POSS mother

tirašáhakahš^tn
tirácahaakaahcit
one opens her
ti- 0- raar- ta.haakaahc.ik -0
IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P open.up PERF

hirúrikutⁱ
hiru rikutí'
then he is the one
hiruu riku- ti- 0- 0 -0
then that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF

tirahukítas^a
tirahuukítasa
this one lying on top
tii- ra- 0- huukita- sa -0
this ABS 3.A on.top be.lying SUB.3

siahakútik^a ihi
si'ahakuútika ihi

the one they (du) killed , uh ,
 si- ar- ra- 0- kuut.ik -a , ihii ,
 DU EV ABS 3.A kill SUB.1 , uh ,

Páruksti siahakútik^a
 Paáruksti' si'ahakuútika
 Holy Being , the one they (du) killed
 waarukstii , si- ar- ra- 0- kuut.ik -a
 be.holy , DU EV ABS 3.A kill SUB.1

škírihk a ihi , Káwaha^u .
 Ckírihki a ihi , Káwahaaru' .
 Coyote and , uh , Good Luck .
 ickirir- -kis a , ihii , kawahaar -u' .
 wolf DIM and , uh , be.fortunate NOM .

Níkusiwitaruhú^u
 Rikusiwitaruuhú'u
 That is their (du) way
 riku- si- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -'
 that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be.the.way EX

tiwisiraruhukítas^a
 tiwisiraruuhuukítasa
 this one that is theirs (du) lying on top
 tii- wii- si- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- huukita- sa -0
 this now DU ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A on.top be.lying SUB.3

atíra
 Atíra'
 Mother
 ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

tirətiriratašawáwikukⁱ

tiratiriiraattacawaáwikuuki

these things that we have hanging up

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rak-	raar-	ta	-waa	-wi	-ka'uk	-i
this	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	be.hanging	DIST	SUB.L	DIST	SUB.2

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

Irarihi

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

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

hiruríhi

hiru ríhi' ,
 there it is
 hiruu ri- 0- ihii -0
 there CONT.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

hirurikuwituháhura

hiru rikuwituhaáhura'

there that is where the ways originated

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.hurar	-0
-------	-------	-----	-----	----	-----	-----------	----

there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

tíras^a

tíraasa
this

tii- ra- 0- sa -0 škírihk
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 wolf -kis
DIM

iríahawak^a

irí'ahawaaka
what he said

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

rəsiraitusítawⁱ

Rasiraa'itusiítawi
You know the story

ra- s- ir- raa.iit.us- iita -wi áwitⁿ
ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A story know SUB.L first
,
áwit
first

rətarírikstaiwátⁱ

ratarírikstaa'iiwaáti
my telling you the story

ra- t- ir- a- ri- uur- i- uks- raa.iiwaat -i
ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ AOR tell.a.story SUB.2

iriahutár^a

irí'ahuutaára

škírihk
Ckírihki
,
.

what he did Coyote .
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a ickirir- -kis .
 what EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 wolf DIM .

hirutiráwahətⁿ

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

nikuwititiwira hukítas^a

rikuwíti' tiwira huukítasa
 it is the one this one lying on top
 riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 tii- wii- ra- 0- huukita- sa -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF this now ABS 3.A on.top be.lying SUB.3

Páruksti wirakútik^a a
 Paáruksti' wirakuútika a
 Holy Being when he killed it , and
 waarukstii wii- ra- 0- kuut.ik -a , a
 be.holy when ABS 3.A kill SUB.1 , and

Káwahaar^u .
 Káwahaaru' .
 Good Luck .
 kawahaar -u' .
 be.fortunate NOM .

Nikuwitarurákit^a

Rikuwitaruuraákita
 This was the reason
 riku- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raa.kita -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.way.on.top PERF

siahariruháhk^a ,
 si'aharirúhaahka .
 when he scared them (du) .
 si- ar- ra- 0- riruhaahk -a .
 DU EV ABS 3.A frighten SUB.1 .

hirusiríwiška , “
 Hiru siriíwicka' “
 Then they (du) thought : “
 hiruu si- rii- 0- wicka -0 , ”
 then DU ASSR 3.A think PERF , ”

Asiritáwiška náritⁿ
 A siriitáwicka' raárit
 And we want you really
 a si- rii- t- a- wicka -0 raarit
 and DU ASSR 1.A IN.PL.P want PERF really

nikúraku^u
 rikurakú'u
 that it be
 riku- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

nakuhukítəs^a
 rakuhuukítasa
 for it to lie on top
 ra- 0- ku- huukita- sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be.lying SUB.3

atiratiririrətašawáwikukⁱ
 Atíra' tiratiriiraattacawaáwikuuki
 Mother these different things we have hanging up
 ati- raa tii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- rak- raar- ta -waa -wi -ka'uk -i

1.POSS mother this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P be.hanging DIST SUB.L DIST SUB.2

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

nikuwitúætⁿ .
 rikuwituú'ut .
 it was that way .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX .

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

nakuraítuskírikawu .
 rakuraa'ituskíríkaawu .
 remember this story .
 ra- 0- ku- raa.iit.us- kirik.kaa.wuu -hus .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B story examine.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

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

nikutihíkurita
 rikutihíkurita

this is what He did for me

riku- tiir- ri- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- aar -0
that.is INFR CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV do PERF

tiráwahət

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tirət̄pari

tirát̄pari

mine living

tii- ra- t- warii -hus ákitaaru^u
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe
akitaaru'
tribe -u'
NOM

hitirət̄pari

hi tirát̄pari

and when I live here

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

tiraháruhkuⁱ

tirahaáruhkuuki

these different things I have [and do]

tii- ra- t- raar- ruhka'uk -i
this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

hikukariritírira

hi kukariiritírira'

and it is not mine

hi ku- kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- 0 -0
and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be PERF

, tirétpari
 tirátpari
 mine living
 tii- ra- t- warii -hus
 this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

šahiksíšahiks , hiruatíəs
 cahiksícahiks . Hiru Atí'as
 Indians . Then our Father
 icaahiks icaahiks . hiruu ati- as
 person person . then 1.POSS father

tihikúharihəš ,
 tiihikuuhaariihac .
 He finished everything for me .
 tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa.riihac -0 .
 INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN finish PERF .

hirutiráwahətⁿ
 Hiru Tiráwaahat
 There the Heavens
 hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 there this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tuháhura ,
 tuuhaáhura' .
 everything originated there .
 ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF .

hirurikutuháhura
 Hiru rikutuuhaáhura'
 There that is where everything originated
 hiruu riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0

there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

hirutiirirəsakuríspu

hiru ti'iriirasákurispu

there here where the sun sets

hiruu tii- irii- ra- 0- sakur- iis.wuu -hus
there here where ABS 3.A sun go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikutuháhura

. Rikutuuhaáhura'

. That is where everything originated

. riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0
. that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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