

Skiri Narratives, Eighteen

Roaming Scout

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

nətak^uwitirakarík^u

rátaku					witiirakáriku					
there					they had a lodge					
ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	akaar.ri.kus	-0
ABS	3.A	be.hanging	be.sitting	SUB.4	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	have.a.home	PERF

	šápat		šúrak ⁱ
.	Cápaat		cuúraki
.	A woman	--	a girl
.	icapaak	-	icuura-
.	woman	-	girl
			-kis
			DIM

witíruhku^u

witiíruhku

they had

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

	itáh ⁱ
.	Itaáhi'
.	A sister
.	i-
	-taat-
	-ri'

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

irikuruharíhitⁿ

irikuruuhaaríhit

they had that single one

irii-	kuruur-	ri-	0-	a-	rihik	-0
that	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	be.the.only.one	PERF

itáhiⁱ

itaáhi[']

a sister

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

ahíhruk^u

ahíiruhku

their having her

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

hiahirakarík^u

hi ahiirakáriku .

and they had a home .

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	akaar.ri.kus	-0	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	have.a.home	PERF	.

witirasá^a

Witiirasá'a

They were named

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

Pitakáwahar^u

Piitakáwahaaru'

, Pitakawahar^u ,
, Piitakáwahaaru' .

náhkuwak^a

raáhkuwaaka

when she would say

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	waak	-a
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	say.SUB	SUB.1

tirakušúrakⁱ

tíraaku					cuúraki		,	"
this					girl		:	"
tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	icuura-	-kis	,	"
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	girl	DIM	,	"

Náw^a

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

suhuraktíkskar^u

suhuuraaktíkskaru'

at last you (pl) make arrows

i-	s-	uhur-	rak-	riiks-	ka.ra'uk	-0	,
CONT.1/2A	2.A	at.last	1/2.PL	arrow	make.PL.P	PERF	,

iráš^u

iraácti'			.	"
my brothers			.	"
i-	raac	-ri'	.	"
3.POSS.A	brother	3.POSS.B	.	"

hiruwitirikskarúkusit^t

Hiru witiirikskaruúkusitit

Then they began making arrows

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	riiks-	ka.ra'uk	-.hus	-itik
-------	-----	-----	----	-----	--------	----------	-------	-------

then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A arrow make.PL.P IMPF INCH

awitiríkskaruk^u

a witiiríkskaruuku'

and now they were making arrows

a wii- ti- 0- ir- riiks- ka.ra'uk -:hus
and now IND.3A 3.A PL.3A arrow make.PL.P IMPF

awiwitirikstarihəš

a wiwitirikstarihac

and now the arrows were finished

a wii- wi- ti- 0- riiks- raar- riihac -0
and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A arrow PL finish PERF

. Hitirákušúrakⁱ

. Hi tíraaku cuúraki

. And this girl

. hi tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icuura- -kis

. and this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 girl DIM

hiwítaruta

hi wítaruuta

and she would do it

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- aar -0

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF

irirahkutár^a

iriiraahkuútaara

what she did

irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aar -a

what INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV do SUB.1

rihkúša^a

rihkuúca'a

when she got up ,
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- uca.a -0 ,
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B get.up SUB.4 ,

nahkukústapěš
 raahkukústapac

when she moved where she sat

ra- 0- ar- ku- kus tapac -0
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.sitting move SUB.4

nahkuwášititⁿ

raahkuuwácitit

when she went out

ra- 0- ar- ku- awacitik -0
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B go.out SUB.4

hiwíwitaahwáku , “

hi wiwitaahwáku’ “

and she would now say :

hi wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- waka’u -0 , “
 and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , ”

Náw^a ,

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

suhúraktikstušpaw^u

suhuúraktikstucpaawu

you may at last put the arrows in different piles

i- s- uhur- rak- riiks- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A at.last 1/2.PL arrow put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF

irirəskurapawárikⁱ

iriiraskuraapaawaárikⁱ

where you stand around here and there

irii-	ra-	s-	ku-	rak-	waawa-	arik	-i
where	INF.A	2.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2

. " Wítuharu

. " Wituuháru'

. " They numbered

. "	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raar.uu	-0
-----	-----	-----	----	-----	---------	----

. "	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.a.number	PERF
-----	------	--------	-----	------	-------------	------

tawíksapiš iráštⁱ .

tawíksaapic iraácti' .

eight brothers .

tawiksaapic i- -raac- -ri' .

eight 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B .

Tarah^a

Táraha'

Buffalo

tarahaa

buffalo

hiwitíhwiš^a ,

hi witíhwica'

and they arrived ,

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	wic.a	-0	,
----	-----	-----	----	----	-----	-------	----	---

and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	arrive	PERF	,
-----	------	--------	-----	---------	-------	--------	------	---

irárⁱ ,

iraári' ,

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hitiritkahkáwa

hi tiiritkaahkáwaa'

and the dust rose

hi ti- 0- a- ir- itkaar- kaa.a -wa -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A particulate.matter come.out DIST PERF

iríahakawⁱ

hi ,

iríi'ahákaawi

hi

where the lodge was,

and

iríi- ar- ra- 0- akaa -wi hi
where EV ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L and

táraha

táraha'

the buffalo

tarahaa

buffalo

witíwiš^a

witíihwica'

they arrived

wi- ti- 0- a- ir- wic.a -0 .
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A arrive PERF .

asiwítirakákšak^u

A siwítíiraakákcaaku'

And they were shooting them

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ak.cak -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P shoot IMPF

,

,
,
,

asiwiritakákšak^u

a siwítiraakákcaaku'

and they were shooting them

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- rak- ak- cak -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1/2.PL PL.AN.3P shoot IMPF

,
,
,
,

asiwiritakákšak^u

a siwítiraakákcaaku'

and they were shooting them

a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ak.cak -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P shoot IMPF

,
. . . .

ikarirakuhuhkitáhuhta^a

I kari' rakuuhuhkitáhuhta

And it wasn't for anyone to be left out

i ka- ri- 0- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- uhuur.kita.uh -ta
and NEG CONT.3A 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B be.left.out.INT INT

- . Wahíritⁿ
- . Raahíirit
- . Finally
- . raahiirit
- . finally

arawitarutitásuhətⁿ

a raawitaruutiitásuuhət

and the carcasses would just be (lying) around

a	raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	iit-	as.uu.hak	-0
and	just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	body	be.sitting.around	PERF

tárah^a

táraha'

buffalos

tarahaa

buffalo

iriruwirahkusakárikⁱ

iriruuwiraahkuusaakáriki

whatever the time of day was

irii-	ruu-	wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	saak-	arik	-i
what	then	now	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	day	be.standing	SUB.2

hiwitururuwáwaəs

hi witiiruuruuwaáwa'as

and they all ran off

hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	ruu.wa.as-i	-ruu	-waa	-0
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	run.away	DIST	DIST	PERF

tárah^a

táraha'

the buffalos

tarahaa

buffalo

awihiruwitariškawíraw^a

a	wihiru		witaaríckawíirawa						
and	there		they went westward						
a	wii-	hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ickawíira.wa	-0	
and	now	there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	go.west.DU	PERF	

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hiruwitihkuwawárusit^{tⁿ}

Hiru	witihkuuwaawárusitit								
Then	they began	butchering	them						
hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	kuuwaaru	-waa	-.hus	-itik	
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	butcher	DIST	IMPF	INCH	

,	irášt ⁱ								nka ^a !
	iraácti'								líka'a
	her brothers								Oh my ,
	i-	-raac-	-ri'						iika'a ,
	3.POSS.A	brother	3.POSS.B						oh.my ,

wituhkarikstíruhšⁱ

wituhkaarikstíruhci'

there was a huge amount of meat hanging

wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	kaariks-		ríruhci	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	meat.hanging.to.dry		be.numerous	PERF

.	Ahakáarak ^u					šúrak ⁱ	
.	Ahaakáriku					cuúraki	

. Where her home was the girl ,
 . ar- ra- 0- akaar.ri.kus -0 icuura- -kis ,
 . EV ABS 3.A have.a.home SUB.4 girl DIM ,

áka^a
 aáka'a
 oh my ,
 aaka'a ,
 oh.my ,

wituhkarikstíruhšⁱ
 wituhkaarikstíruhci'

there was a huge amount of meat hanging

wi- ti- 0- uur- kaariks- riruhci -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV meat.hanging.to.dry be.numerous PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

náw^a a irikúhawaku
 Ráwa a irikuuhawáku'
 Now and that one said --
 rawa a irii- kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 -
 now and that DUB ABS 3.A say PERF -

šúrakⁱ kuhahwáku , "
 cuúraki kuuhaahwáku' "
 the girl it is what she said : "
 icuura- -kis kuur- ra- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , "
 girl DIM DUB ABS 3.A EV say PERF , "

Sišuhurakipístaætⁿ

Sucuuhuurakipístaa'at

Go after arrow shafts

i-	s-	ut-	uhur-	rak-	kipis-	raa.at	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	now	1/2.PL	arrow.shaft	go.to.get	PERF

tíkⁱs
tíkis .
, sonnies .
, tikis .
, sonny .

wikuharakarusáwi^atⁿ

Wikuuharaakaruusáwi'at

They are diminishing in quantity

wii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	raa.karuus.awi.at	-0
now	DUB	ABS	3.A	supply.to.diminish	PERF

narušpáwⁱ . Náw^a ,
rarucpaáwi . " Ráwa
these things . " Now
ra- 0- ra.uc -waa -wi . " rawa
ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L . " now

hihiruruahišikipístaætⁿ

hi hiru ruu'ahiikipístaa'at

and then they went after arrow shafts

hi	hiruu	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	kipis-	raa.at	-0
and	then	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	arrow.shaft	go.to.get	PERF

.
. .
.

wikarahirikskáriitⁿ

Wikaraahirikskári'it

Now there were not many arrows

wii-	kara-	ar-	ri-	0-	riiks-	kari	-ik	-0
now	NEG	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	arrow	be.numerous	DIST	PERF

ahanikstušpáwⁱ

aharikstucpaáwi

the arrows placed here and there

ar-	ra-	0-	riiks-	ra.uc	-waa	-wi
EV	ABS	3.A	arrow	be.lying.PL	DIST	SUB.L

Híkišⁱ

škírihk

Hi kici Ckírihki

And but Coyote

hi kici ickirir- -kis

and but wolf DIM

tiháaha

tiháa'ahaa'

here he came

tii-	haa-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0
here	here	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF

škírihk

ahá

Ckírihki ahaá'

Coyote he came

ickirir-	-kis	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0
wolf	DIM	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF

hitakaráhis^u

hi takaaraáhisu'

and suddenly
 hi takaaraahis -u'
 and all.at.once NOM

aharikawírauh^{^tⁿ} ,
 ahariikawíra'uuhat
 he moved the door flap aside
 ar- ra- 0- riikawira.uuhak -0
 EV ABS 3.A move.the.door.flap.aside PERF

aahawáku škírihk , “
 a ahawáku' Ckírihki “
 and he said Coyote : “
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ickirir- -kis , “
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF wolf DIM , ”

ári ! āka^a ! nətíkⁱs
 Ári' . Aáka'a rattíikis
 Oh ! Oh my , my grandchild ,
 arii . aaka'a , rak.tikis ,
 oh . oh.my , grandchild ,

skáarakutásikak^u
 skára kutásikaaku
 alone you seem to be living
 skara ku- ta- s- i- kaa- kus -0
 alone INDF IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ inside be.sitting PERF

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

šúrakⁱ , “ Ha^u ! atípətⁿ
 cuúraki “ Haá’u’ atípat
 the girl : “ Yes , grandfather ,
 icuura- -kis , “ haa’u’ , ati- paak ,
 girl DIM , “ yes , 1.POSS grandfather ,

harítkak^u , “
 haariítkaaku . “
 I am living here . “
 haa- rii- t- kaa- kus -0 . “
 here ASSR 1.A inside be.sitting PERF . “

hiruahiwáku , “ Ah
 Hiru ahiwáku’ “ Aá
 Then he said : “ Ah ,
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , “ aa ,
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , “ ah ,

kirukúrawu ároš .
 kiru kúraawu’ áraac .
 where did they go your brothers ?
 kiruu ku- ra- 0- wuu -:hus a- raac .
 where INDF ABS 3.A go.PL IMPF 2.POSS brother .

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

Hirutíhaətⁿ ihi
 Hiru tííhaa’at ihi
 There they went after them ; uh
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.at -0 , ihii

there IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV go.to.get PERF , uh

titkipístaətⁿ

titkipistaa'at

, they went after arrow shafts

, ti- 0- ir- ut- kipis- raa.at -0
 , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV arrow.shaft go.to.get PERF

, hiwiríraki

. Hi wiríraakii

. And now it is a long time

. hi wii- ri- 0- raa.kiir -0
 . and now CONT.3A 3.A be.long PERF

wikuhāh^u

wikúhaa'aahu'

they ought to be coming back

wii- kuur- ra- 0- a- a -:hus . "
 now DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF . "

Hiruahiwákuihi

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said , ihi ,

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii ,

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

nəktašurarurəspíhahkatak^u

Ráktahcu' Raruuraspiíhaahkatak

His Shield With Claws Hanging From It

rak.tahc -u' ra- 0- a- ri- uur- as.wit- raar- kata- kus -0
 shield NOM ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A claw PL against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting SUB.4

. Ári ! nətíkⁱ

" Ári' . Rattíki

: " Oh ! Grandchild ,
 , " arii . rak.tikis ,
 , " oh . grandchild ,

tatiškarətkuhakáwaəš

táticka'

I want

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ku-	haakawahc	-'
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	eat.a.meal	EX

ratkuhaakáwa'ac

to eat a meal

. " A ahawáku šúrakⁱ
 . " A ahawáku' cuúraki
 . " And she said the girl
 . " a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 icuura- -kis
 . " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF girl DIM

, " I ,
 " I
 : " Ee ,
 , " i ,
 , " ee ,

iririrarahurúšpa .

iririirarahurúcpa ,

there are parfleches lying around here and there .

irii-	rii-	0-	rarahuur-	ra.uc	-waa	-0	.
there	ASSR	3.A	tied.bundle	be.lying.PL	DIST	PERF	.

arísitⁿ

sukskítawⁱ

Ariísit

sukskítawⁱ'

Yourself

you be the leader

ariisit	i-	s-	uks-	kita.wi	-0
one's.own	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	be.the.leader	PERF

iríkuruhasiratáwatist^a

iriikuruuhasiracaáwatista

whichever one you are going to choose

irii-	kuruur-	ra-	s-	i-	raar-	taawat	-his	-ta
what	DUB	ABS	2.A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	choose	PERF	INT

nakuhəšarikiwatⁱ

. Rakuuhacariikiwati

. Untie it

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar-	tarii.kiwat	-i
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	untie	SUB.2

atiwáwa

. A tiwaáwaa

. Eat

a	ti-	0-	waawa-	a	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	eat	PERF

nakúrahir^a

rakúraahiira

in a good way

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

, ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

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

Nəktašurarurəspīhahkatak^u

Ráktahcu' Raruuraspiíhaahkatak^u

His Shield With Claws Hanging From It

rak.tahc	-u'	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	as.wit-	raar-	kata-	kus	-0
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shield NOM ABS 3.A PREV.3A CONT.3A PREV claw PL against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting SUB.4

, “ Iritiškaraṭikⁱ ,
 “ I riiticka’ rattiki ,
 : “ And I want , grandchild ,
 , “ i rii- t- wicka -0 , rak.tikis ,
 , “ and ASSR 1.A want PERF , grandchild ,

nakukuhkaruriritⁿ

rakukuhkaahuriiritit .

for me to eat well .

ra- ku- ku- uur- kaa.huriiritik -0 .
 INF.A 1.P INF.B PREV eat.well SUB.4 .

náw^ahá

nótikⁱ

Ráwa ha ráttiiki
 Now , look , grandchild ,
 rawa , ha , rak.tikis ,
 now , ha , grandchild ,

wikakatahtaráhkisitⁿ

wikaakatahtaráhkisit .

I don't have strong teeth .

wii- kaaka- t- aar- tarahkis -ik -0 .
 now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A tooth be.strong DIST PERF .

kusikuáhwiritⁿ

Kusiku'aáhwirit .

My tooth might be pulled out .

kuus- 0- ir- ku- aar- wi.riik -0 .
 POT.1/3A 3.A 3.INDF 1.P tooth pull.up PERF .

kusikuawáhkaru

Kusiku'aahwaákaru'

My teeth might be pulled out

kuus-	0-	ir-	ku-	aar-	waa	ka.ra'uk	-0
POT.1/3A	3.A	3.INDF	1.P	tooth	be.upright.DIST	make.PL.P	PERF

, itpáwa^a
itpaáwa'a
if I eat it

i-	t-	waawa-	a	-0
CONT.1/2A	1.A	DIST	eat	SUB.3

takastahís^u

taakastaahiisu'

dry jerked meat

taakas taahiis -u'

dried.meat be.dry NOM

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then she said

hiruu

ar- ri-
EV CONT.3A

0-
3.A

waka'u
say

-0
PERF

šúrakⁱ

cuúraki

the girl:

icuura-

-kis
DIM

girl

ikusuksuhuhwíšahu

Ii . Kusuksuhuhwícaahu'

Ee ! They will be coming back

ii .

kuus-
POT.1/3A

0-
3.A

a-
PREV.3A

uks-
JUSS

uhur-
now

wic.a
arrive

-.hus
IMPF

iráštⁱ

iraácti'

my brothers

i-

raac
brother

-ri'
3.POSS.B

. Atípətⁿ

. Atípat

. Grandfather,

. ati-

paak
grandfather

. 1.POSS

nusúksk^u
 ruusúksku .
 be seated .
 ruu- i- s- uks- kus -0 .
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.sitting PERF .

nawahá
 Ráwa ha
 Now see !
 rawa ha ,
 now ha ,

iririkatásáihi
 iririikátasa , ihi paárikucu'
 there it lies , uh , a big horn spoon
 irii- rii- 0- kata- sa -0 , ihii , paarik -kucuu
 there ASSR 3.A against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF , uh , horn AUG

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

A ahawáku škírihk . "
 A ahawáku' Ckírihki "
 And he said Coyote : "
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ickirir- -kis , "
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF wolf DIM , "

Náw^a nótikⁱ
 Ráwa rattíki
 Now , grandchild ,
 rawa , rak.tikis ,

now , grandchild ,

tatiškarətkuhakáwaəš

táticka'

I want

ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ku-	haakawahc	-'
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	eat.a.meal	EX

ratkuhaakáwa'ac

for me to eat

.	"	A	ahawáku	,	"	
.	"	A	ahawáku'	,	"	
.	"	And	she said	:	"	
.	"	a	ar- ra- 0-	waka'u -0	,	"
.	"	and	EV ABS 3.A	say PERF	,	"

Kasihákawaəš

Kaasihaákawa'ac

You will eat

kaas-	s-	i-	haakawahc	-'
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	eat	EX

wikuháahu

Wikúhaá'aahu'

They must be coming

wii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-:hus
now	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	IMPF

irášti	.	"	A		
íraacti'	.	"	A		
my brothers	.	"	And		
i-	raac	-ri'	.	"	a
3.POSS.A	brother	3.POSS.B	.	"	and

ahawáku	,	"
ahawáku'	,	"

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

Irisasapárikuš^u

Iriisaáhca paárikucu' .
 There it lies a big horn spoon .
 ii- rii- s- ar- sa -0 paarik -kucuu .
 there ASSR 2.A EV be.lying PERF horn AUG .

sukstahušákaš^{tⁿ} hi ,
 Sukstahuucákacat hi
 Take it to the creek and ,
 i- s- uks- ra- huuca.kac.at -0 hi ,
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS PORT go.swimming PERF and ,

ihi
 ihi
 uh ,
 ihii ,
 uh ,

isihkírara,
 isihkíraraa'
 bring water in it
 i- s- ir- kiirar- ra- a -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A water PORT come PERF

arutihákawahš^u

a ruutihaákawahcu'
 and then you'll be eating
 a ruu- ti- 0- haakawahc -:hus
 and then IND.3A 3.A eat IMPF

hitikíkah^u .
 hi tikiikaahu' . "
 and you'll be drinking . "
 hi ti- 0- kiikaa -:hus . "
 and IND.3A 3.A drink IMPF . "

Hiruahiritpárikuš^u

Hiru	ahiiriit						paárikucu'
Then	he took it up						the big horn spoon
hiruu	ar- ri-	0-	iriik		-0	paarik	-kucuu
then	EV CONT.3A	3.A	pick.up.long.object		PERF	horn	AUG

aharahušákaš^{^tⁿ},
 . Aharahuucákacat
 . He took it to the creek
 . ar- ra- 0- ra- huuca.kac.at -0
 . EV ABS 3.A PORT go.swimming PERF

akuháhkarihəš .
 a kuuhaahkaríhac .
 and he ate it (the spoon) up .
 a kuur- ra- 0- ar- karihac -0 .
 and DUB ABS 3.A EV consume PERF .

Hiruahiwák ^u							“ Náv ^a
Hiru	ahiwáku'						“ Ráwa
Then	he said					:	“ Now ,
hiruu	ar- ri-	0-	waka'u		-0	,	" rawa ,
then	EV CONT.3A	3.A	say		PERF	,	" now ,

nətíkⁱ
 rattíiki
 grandchild ,
 rak- tiikis ,

grandchild sonny ,

witikuhuhawiátparikuš^u

witikuuhuháwi'at

mine floated downstream

wi- ti- 0- ku- uur- huuha.wi- at -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A 1.P POSS.P downstream go PERF

paarikúcu'
the big horn spoon
paarik -kucuu
horn AUG

. " A ahawáku ihi
. " A ahawáku' ihi "
. " And he said, well : "
. " a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ihii , "
. " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF uh , "

irirətíška^a

Iriiratícka'a

What I want

irii- ra- t- wicka -a , nətíkⁱ
what ABS 1.A want SUB.1 , rattiiki
rak- tiikis ,
grandchild ,
grandchild sonny ,

sukspáku

sukspáku'

say it

i- s- uks- waka'u -0 . "
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS say PERF . "
! "

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

She said

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " Atípətⁿ
EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " Atípat
: " Grandfather
ati- paak
" 1.POSS grandfather

tuhahúhtawi

tuuhaahúhtawi'

, it is difficult .
 , ti- 0- ut- raa.huhtawii -0 .
 , IND.3A 3.A PREV be.difficult PERF .

kakiwihótⁿ

Kaakiiwíhat

They are not here

kaaki- 0- wi.hak -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.sitting.PL PERF

iráštⁱ .

iraácti' . "

my brothers . "

i- raac -ri' . "

3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B . "

Ahawáku , “ Ári !

Ahawáku' “ Ári'

He said : “ Oh ,

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " oh ,

iritišk^a

i riíticka'

and I want

i rii- t- wicka -0

and ASSR 1.A want PERF

nəskuwák^a . "

ráskuwaaka . "

for you to say . "

ra- s- ku- waak -a . "

INF.A 2.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 . "

Ahawáku					,	“	Náw ^a	i		ihi
Ahawáku’						“	Ráwa	i		ihi
She said						“	Now	and	,	uh
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0		”	rawa	i	,	ihii
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF		”	now	and	,	uh

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

wirisákawašist ^a						.	Náw ^a	hi
wirisaákawahcista						.	Ráwa	hi
now you are going to eat						.	Now	and
wii-	rii-	s-	haakawahc	-his	-ta	.	rawa	hi
now	ASSR	2.A	eat	PERF	INT	.	now	and

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

kasitárahkis						.	atípət
kaasitárahkiis						.	Atípat
you must be strong						.	Grandfather
kaas-	s-	i-	tarahkis	-0		.	ati- paak
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	be.strong	PERF		.	1.POSS grandfather

sukstíkšušpaw^u
sukstiíkstucpaawu
, place arrows here and there
, i- s- uks- riiks- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0

, CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS arrow put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF

, tiiriráwawarikⁱ
ti'iriirawaawaáriki

here where they stand all around

tii- irii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i
here where ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

iráštⁱ

iraácti'

my brothers

i- raac -ri'
3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B . "

Hiwítahwaku

Hi witaahwáku'

And he would say

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , " arii
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , " oh

!

.

!

.

.

nahurikuruhíši^u

Raáhuri' kuruuhiíci'u'

Far off behind they are that way

raa.hurii kuruur- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- uu -0
far.off DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ be PERF

ihi nətíkⁱ

ihi ráttiiki

, uh , grandchild ,
 , ihii , rak- tiikis ,
 , uh , grandchild sonny ,

irihitétpīt^a

irihitāt piīta .
 instead I am a man .
 irii- hii- ta- t- 0 -0 wiita .
 then other IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF man .

irihipītətətⁿ

Irihii piīta tat . "
 Instead a man I am . "
 irii- hii wiita ta- t- 0 -0 . "
 that other man IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF . "

Hiruahirikstušpāw^u

Hiru ahirikstucpaáwu
 Then he placed the arrows here and there
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- riiks- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A arrow put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

nihuksuirikuhutkúsuhura

Ríhuksu' iriikuuhutkúsuhura
 Only however she moved
 rihuks -u' irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- kus uhur.aar -0
 alone NOM what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting change.direction PERF

šápatⁿ , nka^a ;
 cápaat iika'a
 the woman , oh ,
 icapaak , iika'a ,
 woman , oh ,

híahətka^a

hi ahaatkaáhkaa'a'
 and the dust rose

hi ar- ra- 0- a- itkaar- kaa.a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A particulate.matter come.out PERF

tárah^a ,
 táraha' .
 buffalos .
 tarahaa .
 buffalo .

kuharítəs^tⁿ

Kuhaariítasitit

That is how it happened for her

kuur- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- asitik -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV happen PERF

:
 ,
 ,

naruwitahawíra

raaruuwitahuuhawíraa'

then it just came downstream

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- huuha.wi.raa- a -0

just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A downstream come PERF

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

atípatⁿ kasitárahkis
atípat kaasitárahkiis
grandfather , you must be strong
ati- paak , kaas- s- i- tarahkis -0
1.POSS grandfather , POT.2A 2.A SEQ be.strong PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Tihakuwitíraætⁿ,
Tihaakuwitiíraa’at
Here it was a short time
tii- haa- ku- wi- ti- 0- i- raa- ak -0
here here INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ way be.a.certain.length PERF

hiahatkáhwišpa
hi ahaatkaáhwicpaa’
and the dust came from all directions
hi ar- ra- 0- a- itkaar- wic.a -wa -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A particulate.matter arrive DIST PERF

. Akawáwa
. Aakawaáwaa’

. My goodness ,
 . aakawaawaa ,
 . my.goodness ,

hiaharáwikatáikətⁿ

hi aharaáwihkáta'uukut

and he went up against them

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	raawiir-	kata-		uukuk	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	angrily	against.a.vertical.surface		get.into	PERF

škírihk

Ckírihki .

Coyote .

ickirir- -kis .

wolf DIM .

nuwitikaksáwah^u

a

Ruuwitikaksáwaahu'

a

There he was yelling

and

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	kaksaa	-waa	-.hus	a
there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	call	DIST	IMPF	and

ahutáspari

ahuutáspari'

he was going around doing it

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	as.warii	-.hus
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	work.at.IMPF	IMPF

awítarutišakus

a witaruúticakus

and he would shoot it

a	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	ica.kus.k	-0
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	shoot	PERF

and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV PORT against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L entrance come.into PERF

. Hirahíritⁿ ihi
. Hi raahiírit ihi
. And finally , well ,
. hi raahiírit , ihii ,
. and finally , uh ,

sikuhinakukuksáwari

sikuúhiru' rakukuksáwari

they made him run here and there

si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0 ra- 0- ku- kuks- a.warii -hus
DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A make PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B fleeing go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ihí
ihí
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

wisirihkukatətkištaritⁿ

wisirihkukatatkístarit

when they were going to hook him

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- katatk -his -ta -rit
when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3a INF.B hook PERF INT INT.SUB

škírihk,

Ckírihki

Coyote

ickirir- -kis

wolf DIM

kišihíwituta

kici hi wituúta

but and he did it :
 kici hi wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

ahakuksawíhətⁿ,
 ahakuksawíhat
 he jumped out of the way
 ar- ra- 0- kuks- awii.hak -0
 EV ABS 3.A fleeing jump PERF

karahiríkatətⁿ ,
 karaahiriíkatat .
 so he was not hooked .
 kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- katatk -0 .
 NEG EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ hook PERF .

hiaharáwihukətⁿ
 Hi aharaawíhuukat
 And it charged inside
 hi ar- ra- 0- raawiir- huuk- at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A angrily into go PERF

pakisukíripəškⁱ ,
 paakisukíripacki .
 a small young bull .
 paak.kis kiripac -kis .
 young.buffalo.bull small DIM .

hiruiríahak^u
 Hiru irii'ahaaku
 There where she was sitting
 hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0
 there where EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

šúrakⁱ
 cuúra^{ki}
 the girl
 icuura- -kis
 girl DIM

naruwitarušítakah^{^tⁿ}
 raaruuwitaruucítaakahat
 then it just went around

raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- taaka.hak -0
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ go.around PERF

kúhiruša
 . Kúhiiruucáa'
 . They lifted her up
 . kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- ra- uca.a -0
 . DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PORT get.up PERF

a ahiráwašítitⁿ
 a ahiraáwacítit
 and it took her out
 a ar- ri- 0- ra- awacítik -0
 and EV CONT.3A 3.A PORT go.out PERF

pakisukíripaškⁱ
 paakisukíripacki .
 the small young bull .
 paak.kis kiripac -kis .
 young.buffalo.bull small DIM .

wihiruwitaritkáhwa
 Wihiru witaaritkaáhwaa'
 There the dust came up
 wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- a- ar- itkaar- wa- a -0

: “
, ”
, ”

Iriwitatuharuríšir^u

Iriwitatuuhaaruuríciiru’

I have done wrong

irii-	wi-	ta-	t-	ut-	raaruu.iciira’uk	-0	.
that	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	do.wrong	PERF	.

nə́tík ⁱ	witahíwarit	.
---------------------	-------------	---

Rattiíki	witahíwarit	.
----------	-------------	---

My grandchild	I have lost her	.
---------------	-----------------	---

rak-	tiikis	wi-	ta-	t-	ri.warik	-0	.
grandchild	sonny	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	lose	PERF	.

"
"
"
"
"

Hiwihíruahírahu

Hi wihiru ahiíraahu’

And then they were coming

hi	wii-	hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	a	-.hus
and	now	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	come	IMPF

irášt ⁱ	.	n _{ka} ^a			
iraácti’	.	líka’a			
her brothers	.	Oh my ,			
i-	raac	-ri’	.	iika’a	,
3.POSS.A	brother	3.POSS.B	.	oh.my	,

aharušpáw ⁱ						tárah ^a
aharucpaáwi						táraha'
while they lay here and there						buffalos
ar- ra- 0- ra.uc				-waa	-wi	tarahaa
EV ABS 3.A be.lying.PL				DIST	SUB.L	buffalo

əspihá ^a			
Aspiihaá'a			
Claws			
as.wit- raar- 0 -'			
claw PL be EX			

hiruahiráwihtakət ⁿ						
hiru ahiraáwihtakut						.
then he ran there						.
hiruu ar- ri- 0- raawiir- takuk -0						.
then EV CONT.3A 3.A angrily run PERF						.

ahutakikstáiwahu									
Ahuutaakikstá'iwaahu'									
He passed his hands over them (in blessing)									
ar- ra- 0- a- ut- ak- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -:hus									
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.AN.3P hand brush.against DIST IMPF									

nətík ⁱ		irášt ⁱ		.	A
rattiiki		iraácti'		.	A
his grandchildren		her brothers		.	And
rak- tiikis i- raac -ri'				.	a
grandchild sonny 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B				.	and

aháhukət ⁿ				,	"	Náwa ^a	,
aháhuukat				.	"	Ráwa	
he went inside				.	"	Now	
ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0				.	"	rawa	

EV ABS 3.A into go PERF . " now

síkstakah^u

síkstaakaahu'

come (inside)

i- s- ir- uks- rak- a -:hus ,
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS 1/2.PL come IMPF ,

nətíkⁱ

náw^a

rattiiki

. Ráwa

grandchildren!

! Now

rak-

tiikis

. rawa

grandchild

sonny

. now

síkstakah^u

síkstaakaahu'

come (inside)

i- s- ir- uks- rak- a -:hus .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS 1/2.PL come IMPF .

aharárirətⁿ

. " Ari

" Aharaárirat

. " Ári'

" They sat down

. " Oh

" ar-

ra-

0-

raar-

ri.ra.at

-0

. " arii

" EV

ABS

3.A

PL.INDV.A

sit.down

PERF

. " oh

iriwitəskurátahu^u

iriwitaskuraáttahú'u

, you have grieved us

, irii-

wi-

ta-

s-

ku-

rak-

rahur

-'

, then

QUOT

IND.1/2A

2.A

1.P

1/2.PL

grieve

EX

atípətⁿ

,

atípat

.

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

atípatiriwitəskurátahú^u

Atípat iriwitaskuraáttahú'u
 Grandfather , you have grieved us
 ati- paak , irii- wi- ta- s- ku- rak- rahur -'
 1.POSS grandfather , then QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL grieve EX

.
 .
 .
 .

itahiwitihəskuratáwašititⁿ

Itaáhi' witihaskuurattaáwacitit
 Sister you must have taken ours outside
 i- -taat- -ri' wii- tiir- ra- s- ku- uur- rak- ra- awacitik -0
 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B now INFR ABS 2.A 1.P POSS.P 1/2.PL PORT go.out PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

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

Ikariruširahúhtawi

I kariiruciraahúhtawi'

And it is not difficult

i karii- ra- 0- ut- i- raa.huhtawii -0
and EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be.difficult PERF

nətíkⁱ

rattiíki .

, grandchildren .

, rak- tiikis .

, grandchild sonny .

tuksuhuhákawaəš . "

Tuksuhuuhaákawa'ac . "

Let me eat first ! "

i- t- uks- uhur- haakawahc -' . "
CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS now eat EX . "

Ahawáku , " Náwa^a

Ahawáku' , " Ráwa

He said : " Now ,

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

atípatⁿ

atípat

grandfather ,

ati- paak ,

1.POSS grandfather ,

suksákawaəš . " áka^a

suksaákawa'ac . " Aáka'a

eat ! " Oh my ,

i- s- uks- haakawahc -' . " aaka'a ,

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS eat EX . " oh.my ,

kukarawitirašikstáhi

kukarawitiiraacikstáhi

they were not feeling at all good

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- ir- uur- aciks ta hiir -0
INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mind be.hanging be.good PERF

itáhⁱ

itaáhi[']

their sister

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

karahíruh^u

karaahíruhku

their not having her

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

pít^a , tawiksápiš
píita . Tawiksaápic
the men . Eight
wiita . tawiksaapic
man . eight

wítuharu

wituuháru[']

they numbered

wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.uu -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.number PERF

iráštⁱ .

iraácti['] .

her brothers .
 i- raac -ri' .
 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B .

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

kakuhahúhtawi
 kaakuuhaahúhtawi'
 it is not difficult ,
 kaaki- 0- ut- raa.huhtawii -0 ,
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be.difficult PERF ,

nátikⁱs
 rattíkis .
 grandchildren .
 rak- tiikis .
 grandchild sonny .

sukstáktíkstarihəš
 Sukstáktíkstariihac
 Finish your arrows
 i- s- uks- rak- riiks- raar- riihac -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL arrow PL finish PERF

,
 .
 !
 .
 .

tatiširasáhist^a

Tatiicirasáhista

I'll lead her back

ta-	t-	ir-	ut-	ciras-	a	-his	-ta
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	COM	come	PERF	INT

átət ⁿ	.	"
átat	.	"
your sister	.	"
a- taat	.	"
2.POSS sister	.	"

Karawitíraki

Karawitíraakii

It was not long

kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	raa.kiir	-0
NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.long	PERF

hiahinikstarihəš

hi	ahirikstariihac	.
and	they finished the arrows	.
hi	ar- ra- 0- ir- riiks- raar- riihac -0	.
and	EV ABS 3.A PL.3A arrow PL finish PERF	.

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

witahápust^a

witahápusta	.	"
we're going to go	.	
wi- ta- t- rak- wuu -:hus -ta	.	

QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF INT .

Náw^a
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

irikuhésuhakarihúsuk^u

iriikuuhásuuhaakariihúsuuku'

whatever the way you always do is

irii- kuur- ra- s- ut- rak- aar -i -:hus -uuku
what DUB ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL do IMPF IMPF HAB

níhkutar^a

ríhkuutaara

, do that

, ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aar -a .
, INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV do SUB.1 .

wisitatuturáhuht^a

Wisitatuturáhuhta

We're going to go after her

wii- si- ta- t- ut- huur.ra.uh -ta
now DU IND.1/2A 1.A PREV go.to.get.INT INT

átətⁿ

átat . " Náw^a

your sister . " Ráwa

a- taat . " rawa

2.POSS sister . " now

hiruahúši^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

Úspihakatak^u a
 Áspiihaahkatak^u a
 Claws Hanging From It : and
 as.wit- raar- kata- kus , a
 claw PL against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting , and

ahakúsit ihi kíwak^u
 ahakúsit ihi kíwaku'
 he picked it up , uh , a fox
 ar- ra- 0- 0- kusik -0 , ihii , kiwakuu
 EV ABS 3.A 3.A pick.up PERF , uh , fox

, kíwakuaahakúsitⁿ ,
 . Kíwaku' a ahakúsit .
 . A fox and he picked it up .
 . kiwakuu a ar- ra- 0- 0- kusik -0 .
 . fox and EV ABS 3.A 3.A pick.up PERF .

hiruahúši^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

aahakúsitⁿ ihi
 a ahakúsit ihi
 and he picked it up , uh ,
 a ar- ra- 0- 0- kusik -0 , ihii ,
 and EV ABS 3.A 3.A pick.up PERF , uh ,

and EV ABS 3.A pick.up PERF blackbird .

hiruahikúsitⁿ, šúhkatus .
Hiru ahikúsit cúhkatus .
Then he picked it up a badger .
hiruu ar- ri- 0- kusik -0 cuur.katuus .
then EV CONT.3A 3.A pick.up PERF badger .

Náw^a
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

hirúahiriwist^tⁿ ,
hiru ahiiriwístat .
then he took his warriors .
hiruu ar- ri- 0- iriwis- ra- at -0 .
then EV CONT.3A 3.A war.party PORT go PERF .

náw^a
Ráwa
Now
rawa
now

hiruwirariríwist^tⁿ ,
hiru wiraariríwístat .
then now he took his warriors .
hiruu wii- ra- 0- ar- iriwis- ra- at -0 .
then now ABS 3.A EV war.party PORT go PERF .

hiruwirikusitíturətⁿ
Hiru wirikusitíturat

Then they went after that one
hiruu wii- riku- si- ti- 0- ir- ut- huur.ra.at -0
then now that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV go.to.get PERF

šúrakⁱ .
cuúraki .
the girl .
icuurá- -kis .
girl DIM .

akítirat^a šúhkatus
Akí tíraata cúhkatus
And here this badger
a ki tii- ra- 0- at -a cuur.katuus
and there this ABS 3.A go SUB.1 badger

tiwirákusitⁿ
tiwirákusit
the one he picked up
tii- wii- ra- 0- kusik -0
this now ABS 3.A pick.up SUB.4

kišiwirikutuhárira^a
kici wirikutuuhaárira'a
but that is its way (to do)
kici wii- riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raa- ri.raar -'
but now that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV way be.one's.intention.that.someone.do EX

nakuurahətawáwuhu
rakuuhuraahatawaáwuhu
to dig holes in the earth
ra- 0- ku- uur- huraa- hata.wuh -waa -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV earth make.a.hole DIST IMPF.SUB

, náhkuwituruhətⁿ
 . Raáhkuwiituúruhat
 . Where there was a ridge
 . ra- 0- ar- ku- wiituur- u.hak -0
 . INF.A 3.A EV INF.B level.ridge extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hiwitaruhátaw^u

hi witaruuhátawu
 and he would dig a hole
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- hata.wuh -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV make.a.hole PERF

hihiruhítak^u

hi hiru híitaku
 and then on the other side
 hi hiruu hii- -taku
 and then other LOC

witáhkawatətⁿ

witaáhkawatat . A
 he would come out . A
 . And
 wi- ti- 0- ar- kawatak -0 . a
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV get.out PERF . and

ahawáku , “

ahawáku’ “

he said : “

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

Irikusirátiwah^tⁿ

Irikuusiraátiwaahat . ”
 There will be certain distances . ”
 irii- kuus- 0- i- raa.tiihak -waa -0 . ”

there POT.1/3A 3.A SEQ be.the.end DIST PERF . "

Naw^ahiruwisirirúturətⁿ

Ráwa hiru wisiriiruúturat

Now then they went after her

rawa hiruu wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ar- ut- huur.ra.at -0
now then now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A EV PREV go.to.get PERF

hiruirikuhahúrahtihətⁿ

hiru iriikúhaahuraahat

there wherever the end of the land (ie location) was

hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ar- huraar- tiihak -0
there where DUB ABS 3.A EV earth be.the.end PERF

kuhárarihəš

kuuháaraarihac

they finished

kuur- ra- 0- raar- riihac -0
DUB ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A finish PERF

hiwihiruahtahtararúhətⁿ

hi wihiru ahahtaraáruhat

and there they were in a line over there

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- tarar.uu.hak -0
and now there EV ABS 3.A EV extend.in.a.line PERF

. Nuwutihurarawiikískaru

. Ruuwitihuraarawi'íikískaru'

. Then he set the distances

. ruu- wi- ti- 0- huraar.awi.iikis.ka.ra'uk -0
. then QUOT IND.3A 3.A set.the.distance.PL.P PERF

.
.

náw^a
 " Ráwa
 " Now
 " rawa
 " now

wirurarúšja^a .
 wiruurarúci'a .
 now then he did it .
 wii- ruu- ra- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -0 .
 now then ABS 3.A EV PREV SEQ do PERF .

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

nuruksurárawitihətⁿ
 ruuruksuraarawitiíhat
 let it be the extent of the distance
 ri- 0- uur- uks- huraar- awi- tiihak -0
 CONT.3A 3.A PREV JUSS earth image be.the.end PERF

títak^u
 títaku .
 here .
 tii- -taku .
 here LOC .

irirutatišiksáwi^u
 Iriruutatiiciksáwi'u'
 That is where I anticipate it
 irii- ruu- ta- t- i- aciks.awi.uu -0

that there IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ anticipate PERF

nakukutarahkisišísət^a .
 rakukutarahkisičísata . "

for me to tire out . "

ra- ku- ku- tarahkis- iciisat -a . "
 INF.A 1.P INF.B be.strong be.tired SUB.1 . "

Ihawihiruahátihətⁿ

Ihaá wihiru ahátiihat
 There there they ranged

ii- haa wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- tiihak -0
 there here now there EV ABS 3.A be.the.border PER

tárah^a . Hihirururiətⁿ
 táraha' . Hi hiru ruurí'at
 the buffalos . And then there he went

tarahaa . hi hiruu ruu- ri- 0- at -0
 buffalo . and then there CONT.3A 3.A go PERF

škírihk áka^a
 Ckírihki . Aáka'a
 Coyote . Oh my ,
 ickirir- -kis . aaka'a ,
 wolf DIM . oh.my ,

hiwihiruraahíriwu

hi wihiru raa'ahíriiwu'
 and here they were just playing

hi wii- hiruu raa- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- a.wuu -:hus
 and now there just EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ play.hoop.and.pole IMPF

, witírawawu
 . Witiírawaawu'

. They were throwing them back and forth
 . wi- ti- 0- ir- a.wuu -waa -:hus
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A throw.a.spear DIST IMPF

pitkúsukit^a , a kápas^u .
 pitkusuúkita a kápasu' .
 the game spears and hoop .
 pitkus.huukita a kapas- -u' .
 game.spear and hoop NOM .

Irakataháhirⁱ
 Irahkatahaáhiri'
 In front
 irahkata- -haar -hiri'
 in.front LOC LOC

híwihiruraahiríwu
 hi wihiru raa'ahiriíwu'
 and there they just played
 hi wii- hiruu raa- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- a.wuu -:hus
 and now there just EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ play.hoop.and.pole IMPF

kíwik^u hiharíkis
 kíwiiku' hi hariíkis
 buffalo bulls , and a calf
 kiwiik -u' , hi harii -kis
 buffalo.bull NOM , and calf DIM

witahkátəsa
 witaahkátasa
 it would be beside it (its grandfather)
 wi- ti- 0- ar- kata- sa -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF

aritáhš^a
 . Ári' taáhca
 . Oh , it would lie there
 . arii , ti- 0- ar- sa -0
 . oh , IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying PERF

ipətirakuširəsawu

ipaátti'

his grandfather

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

rakucirásawu

when he took him to play

ra- 0- ku- ciras- a.wuu -hus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B COM play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB

, nətíkⁱ
 rattíiki
 his grandchild
 rak- tiikis
 grandchild sonny

sirahkúwu

siraahkuúwu

when they (du) were playing ,

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

a pakisukíripaškⁱ pířəškⁱ
 a paakisukíripacki pířraski
 and small young bulls boys
 a paak.kis kiripac -kis piiras- -kis
 and young.buffalo.bull small DIM boy DIM

sírahkuri

síraahkuuri

their (du) being together

si- ra- 0- ar- ku- aar -i

DU INF.A 3.A EV INF.B become IMPF.SUB

hisíwitaraw^u

hi síwitaarawu'

and they would be playing

hi si- wi- ti- 0- ar- a.wuu -:hus
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV play.hoop.and.pole IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiruruahišihtáwiætⁿ

Hiru ruu'ahiicihtáwi'at

Then there he went around the edge of the village

hiruu ruu- ar- ra- 0- icihta- -wi at -0
then there EV ABS 3.A edge.of.the.village SUB.L go PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Nuwitiahihurúhu

Ruuwiti'ahiihurúhu'

Then he put mud over himself

ruu- witi- ar- ri- 0- i- huuruht- ra'uk -0
then REFL EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ mud make PERF

.

.
. .
.

naruwitiahíhuruh^u

Raaruuwiti'ahiíhuuruhu'

Then he just put mud over himself

raa-	ruu-	witi-	ar-	ri-	0-	i-	huuruht-	ra'uk	-0
just	then	REFL	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	SEQ	mud	make	PERF

škírihk		,	kurahúskahik ^u						
Ckírihki		.	Kurahúskaahiiku'						
Coyote		.	An aged old man						
ickirir-	-kis	.	kurahuus	-kaahik	-u'				
wolf	DIM	.	old.man	aged	NOM				

wiwititíwuru								áka ^a	
wiwititíwuru'								Aáka'a	.
he turned himself into him								Oh my	.
wii-	witi-	ti-	0-	awi.ra'uk	-0			aaka'a	.
now	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	transform.into	PERF			oh.my	.

!

,
,
,

nuwitíhurutkitahistⁱtⁿ

ruuwitííhuurutkitahístit

there the mud (on his fur) was rough all over

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	i-	huuruht-	kita.hiis	-rik	-0
there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	mud	be.rough	DIST	PERF

witiraritáiwuhurut^u
 . Witiraritá'iwu' huurúhtu'
 . He rubbed it down (over himself) mud
 . witi- ra- 0- ri.tawi.wuu -:hus huuruht- -u'
 . REFL ABS 3.A rub.down.IMPF IMPF mud NOM

hiruiriahawihariškát^a

Hiru irii'ahawihaaríckaata
 There where the end of the game ground was
 hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- wi.haar- icka.at -a
 there where EV ABS 3.A game.ground be.the.end SUB.1

úkatətⁿ . áškətⁿ
 uúkatat . Áckat
 in the west . Above (ie west)
 uukata- -t . ac- -kat
 west LOC . above LOC

nikuwitutpiháhwi^u

rikuwitutpiháhwi'u'
 that is where the game ground faced
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- wi.haar- wi.uu -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV game.ground be.facing PERF

hirunikuahawítitⁿ .
 . Hiru riku'ahawítit .
 . There that is where he sat down .
 . hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- wi.itik -0 .

. there that.is EV ABS 3.A sit.down PERF .

Witihwakíah^u

Witihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

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

tirírawu , “

tiiriírawu . “

these playing : “

tii- ra- 0- ir- a.wuu -hus , ”
this ABS 3.A PL.3A play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB , ”

Ah áka ! atípətⁿ

Aa aáka atípat

Ah , oh my , grandfather,

aa , aaka'a , ati- paak

ah , oh.my , 1.POSS grandfather

kakíruhutítak^u

kaakíruuhu' tiítaku

it is not the way here

kaaki- 0- raa.uhur -0 tii- -taku
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.the.way PERF here LOC

nəskúwítitⁿ

raskúwiitit .

for you to sit down .

ra- s- ku- wi.itik -0 .

INF.A 2.A INF.B sit.down SUB.4 .

tahəktarúah^u

Tahaaktaarú'aahu'

The sticks come flying

ti-	0-	a-	haak-	raar-	u.a	-:hus
IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	wood	PL	come.flying	IMPF

hikaririsiwitaráhkis

hi	kariirisiwitaráhkis	,					
and	you are not strong	.					
hi	karii-	rii-	s-	i-	awi.tarahkis	-0	.
and	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	2.A	SEQ	be.strong	PERF	.

sikusakáš^tⁿ

Sikusaakácat	.	"					
They will stick you	.	"					
si-	kuus-	0-	a-	ka.cak	-0	.	"
DU	POT.1/3A	3.A	2.P	stick	PERF	.	"

Hiruahiwáku

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

tírak^u

tíraaku	,	"	I				
this one	:	"	And				
tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	,	"	i
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	,	"	and

šírurištaráhkis

ciru	rictaráhkis	.	"			
yet	I am strong	.	"			
ciruu	rii-	t-	tarahkis	-0	.	"
yet	ASSR	1.A	be.strong	PERF	.	"

Aruahiríwakⁱ

A ruu'ahiriíwaki'

And then they said

a ruu- ar- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0
and then EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF

tíahirawu

ti'ahiírawu

these who were playing

tii- ar- ra- 0- ir- a.wuu -hus
this EV ABS 3.A PL.3A play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB

“ Naw^a atípatⁿ tákušəskiraritⁿ
“ Ráwa atípat táku caskiírarit
“ Now , grandfather, a place a little bit
" rawa , ati- paak taku caskii raarit
" now , 1.POSS grandfather LOC a.little really

kušpišətⁿ . "
ku'áspiicat . "
would that you move over . "
ku- aa- s- wiic.at -0 . "
INDF SUBJ.1/2A 2.A go.that.way PERF . "

Náw^a

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

hiruahikuspišətⁿ

hiru ahikuspiícat .
then he moved over while seated .
hiruu ar- ri- 0- kus wiic.at -0 .

then EV CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting go.that.way PERF .

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

Hiratirak^u

Kíra tíraaku
Well , this
kíra , tii- ra- 0- kus -0
perhaps , this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

nihkuwáki^a

rihkuwáki’a ‘
you ought say: ‘
ra- 0- ir- ku- waki -a ‘
INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B say.PL SUB.1 ‘

kískurihakasaríritⁿ

Kiskuurihaakasaariirit

Look at our game stick (and hoop)

kii- i- s- ku- ri- ut- rak- asaar- iirik -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL game.piece see PERF

. ‘
. ‘
. ‘
. ‘

hiruirikišiiirirut^a

Hiru iri kici íriuuta

There that , and the way it is
 hiruu irii , kici irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
 there that , but that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

kíšⁱ ákítar^u irírətk^u
 kici ákitaaru' iriíratku
 , but tribe where I live
 , kici akitaar- -u' irii- ra- t- kus -0
 , but tribe NOM where ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4

tírahakawu
 tírahaakawu
 when we play hoop and pole
 tii- ra- t- rak- a.wuu -hus
 when ABS 1.A 1/2.PL play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB

irikiširutatiihi
 iri kici ruuta ti ihi
 that and the way it is , this , uh
 irii kici ra- 0- ut- 0 -a , tii , ihii
 that but ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 , this , uh

tíraratíwah^{tⁿ}
 tíraraatíwaahat
 , these limits (ie ends)
 , tii- ra- 0- raa.tiihak -waa -0
 , this ABS 3.A be.the.end DIST SUB.4

tirutikstirúwawis
 tiruutikstiiruúwaawis
 these having marks painted around them
 tii- ra- 0- ut- iks- tiiriwis -ruu -waa -0
 this ABS 3.A PREV hand have.a.mark.around DIST DIST SUB.4

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

tiriráwu , "
tiiriírawu , "
these who were playing : "
tii- ra- 0- ir- a.wuu -hus , "
this ABS 3.A PL.3A play.hoop.and.pole IMPF.SUB , "

ári ! nakúsiⁱ tíwatiks
Ári' raákusiⁱ tíwattiks
Oh , my partner he is truthful
arii , raa.kus.i^ʔ ti- 0- i- wak.rik.his -0
oh , wife IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.truthful PERF

.
.
.
.

kítakuhutaitawu
Kicakuuhaattaa'ítawu
Let him teach us
kii- ii- 0- aca- ku- ut- rak- raa.iita.wuh -0
HORT SUBJ.3A 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P PREV 1/2.PL teach PERF

irikúhuətⁿ
iriikúhuu'ut
the way it is
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' ,
,

what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX ,

tiihinutikstirúwawis

ti ihi ruutikstiiruúwaawis

this , uh , one with marks painted around it

tii , ihii , ra- 0- ut- iks- tiiriwis -ruu -waa -0
this , uh , ABS 3.A PREV hand have.a.mark.around DIST DIST SUB.4

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

A

A

And

a

and

ahahəktáru^a

ahaahaaktaáru'a'

the sticks came flying

ar- ra- 0- a- haak- raar- u.a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A wood PL come.flying PERF

íka^a ! táwirus
. líka'a taáwirus
. Oh my , the hoop
. iika'a , taawirus
. oh.my , hoop

siwitiirawarikús^{^tⁿ}

siwitiirawárikusat

they rolled it
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- a.warik -hus at -0
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A throw IMPF.SUB go PERF

hiahahakítus^tⁿ
 hi ahahaakiítusit .
 and the stick landed there .
 hi ar- ra- 0- haak- iit.uusik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A wood land PERF .

hiruwitáhk^u táwirus
 Hiru witaáhku taáwirus
 Then it would be sitting the hoop
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- kus -0 taawirus
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.sitting PERF hoop

hiruuhúriškətⁿ uhúriškətⁿ
 hiruu uhuúrickat . Uhuúrickat
 there on the end . On the end
 hiruu uhuur.icka.t . uhuur.icka.t
 there on.the.end . on.the.end

núrihakiškāt^a
 ruúrihaakickaata
 there where the end of the pole was
 ruu- ri- 0- haak- icka.at -a
 there CONT.3A 3.A wood be.the.end SUB.1

nikuwitík^u .
 rikuwitiíku .
 that is where it sat .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- kus -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

Hiruahiríwakⁱ , “
 Hiru ahiriíwaki’ , “
 Then they said : “
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- i- waki -0 , ”
 then EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF , ”

Náw^a atípətⁿ , náw^a
 Ráwa atípat ráwa
 Now , grandfather , now
 rawa , ati- paak , rawa
 now , 1.POSS grandfather , now

kiraiskurihakasaríritⁿ
 kúra iskuurihaakasaariirit

perhaps you'll look at our game poles and hoop

kira i- s- ku- ri- ut- rak- asaar- iirik -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL game.piece see PERF

. " áka^a !
 . " Aáka'a
 . " Oh my ,
 . " aaka'a ,
 . " oh.my ,

híahuša , “ Náw^a
 hi ahuúcaa’ . “ Ráwa
 and he arose . “ Now
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 . “ rawa
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A get.up PERF . “ now

, náw^a ,
 ráwa
 , now
 , rawa

, now

nikúrihkuwaki^a

rikurihkuwaki'a

that being what you want to say

riku-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	waki	-a	,
that.is	INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	say.PL	SUB.1	,

nóktikⁱ

náw^a

ráttiiki

ráwa

grandchildren

, now

rak-

tiikis

, rawa

grandchild

sonny

, now

witasúhətišisist^a

witasuúhaattiícisista

you are going to find out

wi-	ta-	s-	ut-	rak-	riicis	-his	-ta
QUOT	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	1/2.PL	learn.about	PERF	INT

irírut^a

iriíruuta

the way it is

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

tírak^u

táwirus

tíraaku

taáwirus

this

hoop

tii-

ra-

0-

kus

-0

taawirus

this

ABS

3.A

be.sitting

SUB.4

hoop

atíras^a

nókⁱs

a

tíraasa

rákis

and this pole
a tii- ra- 0- sa -0 rak -kis
and this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 wood DIM

tirutikstirúwawis

tiruutikstiiruúwaawis

the ones with marks painted around it

tii- ra- 0- ut- iks- tiiriwis -ruu -waa -0
this ABS 3.A PREV hand have.a.mark.around DIST DIST SUB.4

.
. "
. "
. "
.

Híruahušia

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it :

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

átuhkaku

a tuhkáku

and it sat there on the ground

a ti- 0- uur- ka- kus -0
and IND.3A 3.A PREV in be.sitting PERF

híahauríritⁿ

hi aha'uuriírit

and he stood up

hi ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 iika.ri -kat
and EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF center LOC

ikárikətⁿ

ikárikat

in the center

tirahúrikaku ;
 tirahúrikaaku .
 this ring of spectators .
 tii- ra- 0- hurii kaa- kus -0 .
 this ABS 3.A go.around.PL inside be.sitting SUB.4 .

ikárikətⁿ
 Ikárikat
 In the center
 iika.ri -kat
 center LOC

hirikuaháuriritⁿ .
 hi riku'ahá'uuriirit .
 and that is where he stood .
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0 .
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF .

Híruahusi^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 ,

híahauríritⁿ
 hi aha'uuriirit
 and he stood up
 hi ar- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0
 and EV ABS 3.A stand.upright PERF

irísirəkstahurawⁱ
 iriísiraakstahúrahwi
 where his hands were touching it
 irii- si- ra- 0- iks- ta.hurah -wi

where DU ABS 3.A hand be.barely.touching SUB.L

áškatⁿ

áckat

above

ac -kat

above LOC

irisirakstahúrahwiⁱ

iriisiraakstahúrahwi

where the hands were touching

irii- si- ra- 0- iks- ta.hurah -wi
where DU ABS 3.A hand be.barely.touching SUB.L

hírəsurirⁱ

hírasuuriri[']

in front

hiras.huur- -hiri[']

in.front LOC

hiruahúši^u

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it:

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

hiahapaksurahwítitⁿ

hi ahapaksurahwítit

and he bowed his head

hi ar- ra- 0- paks- huraar- wi.itik -0
and EV ABS 3.A head earth set.down PERF

páraruwitikusitⁿ

Paára ruúwikusit

He almost picked it up there
 para ruu- wi- ti- 0- kusik -0
 perhaps then QUOT IND.3A 3.A pick.up PERF .

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

nakúsiipáarakututa
 raakúsi’i paára kútuuta
 partner* he almost did it
 raa.kus.i’ para ku- ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 wife perhaps INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

. “
 . “
 . “
 . “

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

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

ipátⁿ “
 ipaátti’ “
 grandfather: “
 i- paak -ri’ ”
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B ”

Atiritpákah^u

A tiritpákaahu’
 And this I am saying ,
 a tii- rii- t- waka -:hus ,
 and this ASSR 1.A say.IMPF IMPF ,

sukstaktakirikáwarⁱ

sukstaaktaakirikaáwari’ .
 notice everything !
 i- s- uks- rak- raa.kirik.kaa.warii -:hus .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL notice.IMPF.DIST IMPF .

há^a !
 Haá’a .
 See !
 haa’a .
 see .

širuwititaturarikisíriku

Ciru wititaturarikisíriku’
 Yet I am poisoning myself
 ciruu witi- ta- t- uur- arik -his hiir -ik -:hus
 yet REFL IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be.standing PERF be.good CAUS IMPF

irírutah^u

iríruutahu
 the way it is
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus

that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

nahakuhúriškat^a
rahaakuhuúrickaata
at the end of the stick

ra- 0- haak- uhur.icka.at -a
ABS 3.A wood be.the.end SUB.1

írak^u táwirus ,
íiraaku taáwirus
that hoop
ii- ra- 0- kus -0 taawirus
that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 hoop

tahapakíah^u , “
tahapakí’ahu’
we call it

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

Kírahkaš " , ikstarikárikətⁿ
Kírahkaac . Ikstaarikárikat
Gray Water . In the middle of the hands
kiirar- kaac . iks- raar- iika.ri -kat
water be.gray . hand PL center LOC

hirikusiahakstašahúraw^u

hi rikusi’ahaakstacahúrahwu
and that is where one puts his hands

hi riku- si- ar- ra- 0- iks- raar- ta.hurah wuh -0
and that.is DU EV ABS 3.A hand PL be.barely.touching put PERF

irutikstíriwis

. Iruutikstíriwis

. There one lays the hand across
 . ii- ra- 0- ut- iks- tiiriwis -0
 . there ABS 3.A PREV hand be.across.one's.back PERF

hiahāšahpítitⁿ

. " Hi ahaacahpiítit .
 . " And he stooped over .
 . " hi ar- ra- 0- icahk.wi.itik -0 .
 . " and EV ABS 3.A bend.over PERF .

hiruruwítawaku ,

Hiru ruuwítaahwáku' ,

Then there he said :

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

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Iriwirutatikásispahista

Iriwiruutatikásispaahista

Now I am going to run

irii- wii- ruu- ta- t- i- kasispaar -his -ta
 then now then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ run PERF INT

.
 .
 .
 .

wirikutatutúri^a

Wirikutatuutúri'a'

Now you are the one I am coming after

wii-	riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	a-	ut-	uri.a	-0
now	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PREV	come.after	PERF

, " Tírakutáwirus

. " Tíraaku taáwirus

. " This hoop

. " tii- ra- 0- kus -0 taawirus

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

wituháihku . Náw^a

wituuhá'ihku' . " Ráwa

he meant it . " Now

wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus . " rawa

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . " now

iriwirutatikásispahista

iriwiruutatikásispaahista

now I am going to run

irii-	wii-	ruu-	ta-	t-	i-	kasispaar	-his	-ta
then	now	then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	run	PERF	INT

tiháwiratišusurahwitíkstaritⁿ

tihawiraaticusurahwiítikstarit

while my nose is going to be lowered (towards the ground)

tii-	haa-	wii-	ra-	t-	icus-	huraar-	wi.itik	-his	-ta	-rit
here	here	now	ABS	1.A	nose	earth	set.down	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

. " Kišihíwituta

. " Kici hi wituúta

. " But and he did it,

. " kici hi wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0

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

ihí ahawák^a ,
ihí ahawaáka " ,
uh , his saying : "
ihí , ar- ra- 0- waak -a , "
uh , EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , "

Nawahá^a !
Ráwa haá'a
Now see !
rawa haa'a ,
now see ,

sišukstaktásikst^a
sicukstaaktaáciksta
you (pl) watch

i- s- ir- ut- uks- rak- raa.aciks.ta -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS 1/2.PL watch PERF

ha !
. Haa
! See ,
. haa ,
. see ,

tihárikututah^u

tiharikutuútaahu' .

this is the way .

tii- haa- riku- ti- 0- ut- aah -:hus .
this here that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF .

šéskⁱ
Cáski

A little
caski
a.little

kúwitistaruhukítawat^t
kuwitistaaruhukítawaatat

he overstepped it

ku-	wi-	ti-	0-	as-	raar-	uhuur.kita.waat.at	-0
INDF	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	foot	PL	overstep	PERF

hiahášusúrawítitⁿ

hi ahaacusúrahwiitit

and he lowered his nose (to the ground)

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	icus-	huraar-	wi.itik	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	nose	earth	set.down	PERF

hírawitakaráhis^u

hi raawitakaaraáhisu'

and all of a sudden

hi	raa-	wii-	takaaraahis	-u'
and	just	now	all.at.once	NOM

aharikukstákətⁿ

aharikukstákut

he ran away with it

ar-	ra-	0-	ri-	kuks-	takuk	-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	PORT	fleeing	run	PERF	.

ahutahkahrawítitⁿ

Ahuutaahkaraahwiítit

He clenched it in his mouth

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar-	karaar-	wi.itik	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	tooth	stomach	set.down	PERF

tírak^u táwirus . A
 tíraaku taáwirus . A
 this one hoop . And
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 taawirus . a
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 hoop . and

aharikukstákætⁿ .
 aharikukstákut .
 he ran away with it .
 ar- ra- 0- ri- kuks- takuk -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A PORT fleeing run PERF .

Níhuksuwituræs^a
 Ríhuksu' wiwituúrusa
 Only he shook himself
 rihuks -u' wii- wi- ti- 0- uur- usar -0
 alone NOM now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV shake PERF

naruwitarutaráruætⁿ
 raaruuwitaruutaaraáru'at
 then it (the mud) just flew around
 raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- huutaa- raar- u.at -0
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV dirt.clod PL extend.in.a.line PERF

, áhuksu kúrahus
 . Áhuksu kúrahus
 . As he was the old man ,
 . ar- ra- 0- uks- 0 -u kurahuus ,
 . EV ABS 3.A AOR be SUB.D old.man ,

ikawáwa !
 iikawaáwaa'
 oh my ,
 iikawaawaa ,

oh.my ,

nuwítiráriust^tn
ruuwítiraarii'ustit
then it was blue

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	raa-	rii'uus	-rik	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	way	be.blue	DIST	PERF

hiahárikukstákətⁿ táwirus
hi aharikukstákut taáwirus
and he ran off with it the hoop
hi ar- ra- 0- ri- kuks- takuk -0 taawirus
and EV ABS 3.A PORT fleeing run PERF hoop

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hiahətkahkáwa

Hi ahaatkaahkaáwaa'
And the dust arose

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	itkaar-	kaa.a	-wa	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	particulate.matter	come.out	DIST	PERF

tárah^a , " Ári !
táraha' ári'
buffalos , oh ,
tarahaa , arii ,
buffalo , oh ,

iririhwakíhu
iririhwakíhu

“

as they were saying : “
 irii- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus , ”
 when ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB , ”

kututárist^a . ” Hi
 Kutuutárista . ” Hi
 He is going to do something . ” And
 ku- ti- 0- ut- aar -his -ta . ” hi
 INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF INT . ” and

siahíraæs .
 si’ahiíra’as .
 they ran .
 si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ra.as-i -0 .
 DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV chase PERF .

Kahurahkítu
 Kaahuraahkítuu’u’
 The entire earth
 kaa.huraar- kituu -u’
 earth all NOM

narúkuruhi
 raaruukuruuhaaraáhwaa’
 then they just came from everywhere
 raa- ruu- kuruur- ri- 0- a- raar- wa- a -0
 just then DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A DIST come PERF

tárah^a ,
 táraha’ .
 buffalos .
 tarahaa .
 buffalo .

ahótkakawa

Ahaátkaahkaawaa'

The dust arose everywhere

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	itkaar-	kaa.a	-wa	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	particulate.matter	come.out	DIST	PERF

. Ásiahihirárətⁿ

. A si'ahiíhiraarat

. And they ran after him

. a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ri.raar.at	-0
. and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	go.after	PERF

,
,
,

ásiahihirár^t

a si'ahiíhiraarat

and they ran after him

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ri.raar.at	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	go.after	PERF

,
,
,

ásiahihirar^t

a si'ahiíhiraarat

and they ran after him

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ri.raar.at	-0	.
---	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	------------	----	---

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV go.after PERF .

Iwikuhatarahkisišísətⁿ

I wikuuhatarahkisíciisat

And now he was tiring

i wii- kuur- ra- 0- tarahkis- iciisat -0
and now DUB ABS 3.A be.strong be.tired PERF

hiwikuhahšakúrispu

hi wikuhaahcakúrispu'

and now the sun was setting

hi wii- kuur- ra- 0- ar- sakur- iis.wuu -:hus
and now DUB ABS 3.A EV sun go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF

. Sakurikárikətⁿ

hírahiritⁿ

. Sakuurikárikat

hi raáhiirit

. At noon

and finally

. sakur- iika.ri -kat hi raahiirit

. day center LOC and finally

hisiahituráwišətⁿ

hi si'ahiituraáwicat

and they caught up with him

hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- huraa.wic.at -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV overtake PERF

.

.

.

.

wisiwiritákusətⁿ

Wisiwitiiritákusat

They were drawing close to him

wii-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ri.takus.at	-0
now	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	draw.close.to	PERF

hiahiruhírah^{^tⁿ}

hi	ahiruúhirahat	.						
and	they were (still) chasing him	.						
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	riraar.hak	-0	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	chase	PERF	.

Kišihi

Kici	hi
But	and
kici	hi
but	and

wirusiwitišihuráwišə^{tⁿ}

wirusiwitiicihuraáwicat

now they overtook him

wii-	ruu-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	huraa.wic.at	-0
now	then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	overtake	PERF

híaha^u

hi	ahá'u	kiwak ^u					
and	he gave it to him	kiwaku'	.				
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	uh	-0	kiwakuu	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	give	PERF	fox	.

hiaharitákə^{tⁿ}

Hi	aharitákut	kiwak ^u						
And	he ran with it	kiwaku'	.					
hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ri-	takuk	-0	kiwakuu	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PORT	run	PERF	fox	.

hišikuharuhurúkætⁿ

Hici kuhaaruhuruúkat

And he ran into it

hi.ci	kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	uhur-	huuk-	at	-0
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	now	into	go	PERF

škírihk

Ckírihki

Coyote

ickirir- -kis

wolf DIM

tirahurahátawawⁱ

tirahuraahátawaawi

(one of) these holes

tii-	ra-	0-	huraar-	hata	-waa	-wi	.
this	ABS	3.A	earth	be.a.hole	DIST	SUB.L	.

Hirúsiahihirar^{^t}ⁿ

Hiru si'ahiíhiraarat

Then they chased him

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ri.raar.at	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	go.after	PERF

,
,
,

ásiahihirárætⁿ

a si'ahiíhiraarat

and they chased him

a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ri.raar.at	-0
---	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	------------	----

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV go.after PERF

,
,
,

ási'ahihirárətⁿ

a si'ahiíhiraarat

and they chased him

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ri.raar.at -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV go.after PERF

kíwak^u .
kíwaku' .
the fox .
kiwakuu .
fox .

Kišihiwiruwitirátki^a

Kici hi wiruwitirátkii'a

But and now then it became night

kici hi wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
but and now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hihawa ahatarakisišísətⁿ

hi hawá ahatarahkisišísat

and also he tired

hi haawa ar- ra- 0- tarahkis- iciisat -0
and also EV ABS 3.A be.strong be.tired PERF

kíwak^u ,
kíwaku' .

the fox .
 kiwakuu .
 fox .

hawahiwisiahiritákus^{^tⁿ}

Hawá hi wisi'ahiiritákusat
 Also and now they were drawing close to him
 haawa hi wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ri.takus.at -0
 also and now DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A draw.close.to PERF

hiahúta

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

hiahírurihwakíhu

hi ahíru rihwakíhu
 and it was given to him what we say (ie call)
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uh -0 ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus
 and EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF give PERF ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kás^{itⁿ} , kás^{itⁿ}
 kaásit . Kaásit
 a blackbird . The blackbird
 kaasit . kaasit
 blackbird . blackbird

hiirirúahikíškaetⁿ

hi iriruu'ahikíicka'at
 and thereupon he put it around his neck
 hi irii- ruu- ar- ri- 0- kiic- ka- at -0
 and there then EV CONT.3A 3.A neck in go PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

kišihiwitirətárahkis

Kici hi witiraatárahkiis
But and they were strong
kici hi wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- tarahkis -0
but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way be.strong PERF

tárah^a

táraha' .
the buffalos .
tarahaa .
buffalo .

ahurarawíhuku,
Ahuraarawíhuuku'
They were galloping

ar- ra- 0- uur- raar- awi.huk -:hus
EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A gallop IMPF

hikišiwitarahukítawititⁿ

hi kici witaarahuukítawiitit
and but it sat down on top of it with it
hi kici wi- ti- 0- ar- ra- huukita- wi.itik -0
and but QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PORT on.top sit.down PERF

tátkætⁿ

taátkat
on its back
taat- -kat

back LOC

arawitarahúkitak^u

a raawitaarahuúkitaku

and it just sat on top with it

a	raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ra-	huukita-	kus	-0
and	just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PORT	on.top	be.sitting	PERF

kíraruškətⁿ táwirus .

kíraruckat taáwirus .

on its neck hump the hoop .

kiraruuc -kat taawirus .

buffalo.hump LOC hoop .

Aharataráhkis

Aharaataráhkis

They were strong

ar-	ra-	0-	raa-	tarahkis	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	way	be.strong	PERF

hiaháhis^a

hi aháhiisa'

and daylight came

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	hiis-	a	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	morning	come	PERF

hiaharataráhkis .

hi aharaataráhkis .

and they were strong .

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	raa-	tarahkis	-0	.
and	EV	ABS	3.A	way	be.strong	PERF	.

Kišihiwiruwitirátki^a

Kici hi wiruwitirátkii'a

But and now it became night
 kici hi wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 but and now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

híhaw^a ahurišísətⁿ ,
 hi hawá ahuuriciísat .
 and also he tired .
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- uur- iciisat -0 .
 and also EV ABS 3.A PREV be.tired PERF .

ut híru ahi^u
 Ut hiru ahí'u
 A prairie chicken then he gave it to him
 ut hiruu ar- ri- 0- uh -0
 prairie.chicken then EV CONT.3A 3.A give PERF

hiiriruahiritákətⁿ
 hi iriruu'ahiritákut
 and thereupon he ran with it
 hi irii- ruu- ar- ri- 0- ri- takuk -0
 and there then EV CONT.3A 3.A PORT run PERF

ut ,
 ut
 prairie chicken
 ut
 prairie.chicken

hišiaharataráhkis tárah^a
 hi ci aharaataráhkis táraha'
 and but they were strong buffalos
 hi ci ar- ra- 0- raa- tarahkis -0 tarahaa
 and but EV ABS 3.A way be.strong PERF buffalo

.
. .
. .

kahuráhkítúwit¹ .
 Kaahuraahkítuu'u' wíti' .
 The entire earth it was .
 kaa.huraar- kituu -u' wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 .
 earth all NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Hawaahahís^a
 Hawá ahahiísa'
 Also daylight came
 haawa ar- ra- 0- a- hiis- a -0
 also EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF

híaharəthíaharətⁿ
 hi ahárat hi ahárat
 and he took it and he took it
 hi ar- ra- 0- ra- at -0 hi ar- ra- 0- ra- at -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PORT go PERF and EV ABS 3.A PORT go PERF

,
. .
. .

wiwítísakuris^{^t}ⁿ
 Wiwítísakuriisat
 Now it was sunset
 wii- wi- ti- 0- sakur- iis.at -0

now QUOT IND.3A 3.A sun go.out.of.sight PERF

hihaw^a ahurišís^{^tⁿ} .
hi hawá ahuuriciísat .
and also he tired .
hi haawa ar- ra- 0- uur- iciisat -0 .
and also EV ABS 3.A PREV be.tired PERF .

Kutáwikuš^u híahiru
Kutáwikucu' hi ahiíru
The hawk and it was given to him
rikutawi- -kucuu hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uh -0
tail AUG and EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF give PERF

. kutáwikušu
. Kutáwikucu'
. The hawk
. rikutawi- -kucuu
. tail AUG

hiirihaharikukstákətⁿ
hi irihii'aharikukstákut
and it was the one to run with it
hi irii- hii- ar- ra- 0- ri- kuks- takuk -0
and that other EV ABS 3.A PORT fleeing run PERF

táwirus . Naw^a
taáwirus . Ráwa
the hoop . Now
taawirus . rawa
hoop . now

sítaširit^a
sitacíiriita

we know

si-	ta-	aciir-	ir-	iita	-0
DU	IND.1/2A	IN.DU.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

túhkusihuriruhšⁱ

túhkusiipuríruhci'

he is the fastest runner

ti-	0-	uur-	kusiipuur-	riiruhci	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	running	be.powerful	PERF

Awítarutuhutirititⁿ

A wítaruutuhutiriitit

And it would fly sideways

a	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	uhuur.tiiriitik	-0
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	fly.sideways	PERF

irikúhasakaritⁿ

iriikuuhasaákarit

wherever the sun stood*

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	saak-	arik	-0
where	DUB	ABS	3.A	sun	be.standing	PERF

hihirúahariwiš^{^t}ⁿ

hi hiru aháriwícat

and then he arrived with it

hi	hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ri-	wic.at	-0
and	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PORT	arrive	PERF

itáhi

itaáhi'

their sister

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

there where EV ABS 3.A AOR be.sitting SUB.4

hiruarikusiahíhkus

hiru a rikusi'ahíhkus

then and they set that one down

hiruu a riku- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kus.k -0
then and that.is DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put PERF

. n'ka^a !
. líka'a
. Oh my ,
. iika'a ,
. oh.my ,

nuwitipakstápaharust^{tⁿ}

ruuwitipakstápaharustit

there she had a fine woolly head

ruu- wi- ti- 0- paks- tapaharus -rik -0
there QUOT IND.3A 3.A head pounded.dried.meat DIST PERF

sikúhirišarəkst^u

. Sikuúhiriicaraakstu'

. They ruined her appearance

. si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- raa.icaraks.ra'uk -0
. DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A make.a.mess.of.things PERF

isihiksawawáriku

isihiksawaawáriku

as they threw it around

ii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- a.warik -waa -hus
when DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR throw DIST IMPF.SUB

táwirus nikutíšapətⁿ

taáwirus . Rikutí' cápaat .

the hoop . That was the one the woman .
 taawirus . riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 icapaak .
 hoop . that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF woman .

Hiahatkahwĩšpa^a

Hi ahaatkaahwícpa'a'

And dust came flying

hi ar- ra- 0- a- itkaar- wic.a -wa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A particulate.matter arrive DIST PERF

ášiha ,

. A cihaa

. And there

. a ci- haa

. and but here

siahirakákšak^u

si'ahiiraakákcaaku'

they shot at them

si- ar- ri- 0- ir- ak- ak.cak -:hus
 DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PL.AN.3P shoot IMPF

iráštⁱ

iraácti'

her brothers

i- raac -ri'
 3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B

iríahituakísⁱ

irí'ahiituú'a

their being that way

iríi- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uu -a kici
 that EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV be SUB.1 but

šihiwitisakutáwiráh^t

cihi wíwitisakuhtáwiraahat

and it was now mid afternoon

ci- hi wii- wi- ti- 0- sakur- tawiraa- hak -0
but and now QUOT IND.3A 3.A day down pass.by PERF

hiahirúwaəs

hi ahiruúwaawa'as

and they ran away

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- ruu.wa.as-i -waa -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run.away DIST PERF

tárah^a .

táraha' .

the buffalos .

tarahaa .

buffalo .

Hiwihiruwitiahiširaráwatətⁿ

Hi wihiru witi'ahiiciraaráwatat

And now then they were falling on one another

hi wii- hiruu witi- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar- awatat.k -0
and now then REFL EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV ITER pile.one.on.another PERF

. Náw^a

. Ráwa

. Now

. rawa

. now

hiruahahukáh^u

hiru aháhuukaahu' .

then they were entering .

hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -:hus .

then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come IMPF .

áka^a itáhⁱ
Aáka'a itaáhi'
Oh my , sister
aaka'a , i- -taat- -ri'
oh.my , 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B

ahíruh^u

ahíruhku

the one they had

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

nuwitipákspas^a

ruuwitipákspaasa

there her head was bushy

ruu- wi- ti- 0- paks- waasar -0
there QUOT IND.3A 3.A head be.bushy PERF .

Náw^a , nikuwitiruhú^u ,
Ráwa rikuwitiruhú'u ,
Now , that was the plan ,
rawa , riku- wi- ti- 0- ruuhur -' ,
now , that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX ,

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

tírakuaharáwihukat^a

tíraaku aharaawíhuukata

this one when it charged into the lodge
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 ar- ra- 0- raawiir- huuk- at -a
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 EV ABS 3.A angrily into go SUB.1

pákⁱs
 paákis
 young bull
 paak -kis
 young.bull DIM

hitirutaritarírahar^u
 hi tiruutarittaarírahaaru
 and this horn on one side
 hi tii- ra- 0- ut- arik- raarira.haar -u
 and this ABS 3.A PREV horn be.the.side SUB.D

irirutpihkawí^a
 iriirutpihkawí'uu'a
 on the right side
 irii- ra- 0- ut- wiir.ka.wi.uu -a
 there ABS 3.A PREV be.one's.right.side SUB.1

hirikuahaparikáætⁿ
 hi riku'ahapaarikaá'at
 and it is the horn he put into her
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- waa.arik- kaa- at -0
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A horn inside go PERF

tírak^u šúrakⁱ ,
 tíraaku cuúraki .
 this one girl .
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 icuura- -kis .
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 girl DIM .

níkuwitⁱ táwirus,
 Ríkuwiti' taáwirus
 She was the one the hoop
 riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 taawirus
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF hoop

nətišukstətawiráhu
 raticukstattaawíraawu
 the one we used to roll

ra- t- ir- ut- uks- rak- tawiraa.wuu -hus
 ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV AOR 1/2.PL roll.IMPF IMPF.SUB

táwirusríkuwitⁱ
 . Taáwirus ríkuwiti'
 . The hoop it was the one
 . taawirus riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0
 . hoop that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF

šúráki .
 cuúráki .
 the girl .
 icuúra- -kis .
 girl DIM .

Tírapaštak^u
 Tírapaactaku
 This vagina

tii- ra- 0- paac- ta kus -0
 this ABS 3.A vagina be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

nikutuharáihku táwirus .
 rikutuuhará'ihku' taáwirus .
 that is the one it means the hoop .
 riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus taawirus .

that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF hoop .

A tíras^a

A tíraasa

And this one

a tii- ra- 0- sa -0
and this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

irakítawⁱ

irakítawi

that forked one

ii- ra- 0- kita -wi
that ABS 3.A be.a.branch SUB.L

nikuruharáihku

rikuruuhaará'ihku'

that is what it means

riku- ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
that.is ABS 3.A PREV mean IMPF paak -kis
young.bull DIM

pákⁱs

paákis

the young bull

ahirarikát^a

Ahiirrikaáta

when it (the horn) hooked her

ar- ra- 0- ir- arik- kaa- at -a . asku
EV ABS 3.A OBV horn inside go SUB.1 . one

. Úsk^u

. Ásku

. One

tukskitáwuh^u

tukskitáwuhu'

it forked out

ti- 0- uks- kita wuh -:hus
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.a.branch put IMPF

hirikuahirarikáætⁿ

hi riku'ahiirrikaá'at

and that is the one (horn) that went into it
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- arik- kaa- at -0
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A OBV horn inside go PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Náw^a wírikuwitíra
 Ráwa wirikuwitíra'
 Now that is the way it was
 rawa wii- riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 now now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

iwisirirahúra^u
 iwisiriraahúra'u
 when they spoiled her
 ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- raahur ra'uk -0
 when when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A be.spoiled make SUB.3

wirakahúrəhkahurahkawawárikstar^{it}ⁿ
 wirakaahuraahkawaawárikstarit
 when they were going to roam all over the earth
 wii- ra- 0- kaa.huraar- ka- warik -waa -his -ta -rit
 when ABS 3.A earth in shoot DIST PERF INT INT.SUB

kítu tárah^a
 kítuu'u' táraha' .
 all the buffalos .
 kituu -u' tarahaa .
 all NOM buffalo .

man be.fortunate NOM . and

aháwiš^a

ahaáwica'

he arrived

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	wic.a	-0	.
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	arrive	PERF	.

ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

atípətⁿ

atípat

grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS

grandfather

,	náw ^a	,	atípət ⁿ
.	Ráwa	.	atípat
.	Now	,	grandfather,
.	rawa	,	ati- paak
.	now	,	1.POSS grandfather

iriwitúrahi

iriwitúraahi

it is good

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

sistutiwisírətutiritⁿ

sístu tiwisiratuutiírit

again that we now see her

sistu	tii-	wii-	si-	ra-	t-	ut-	iirik	-0
again	this	now	DU	ABS	1.A	PREV	see	SUB.4

itáhⁱ

itaáhi'

.	Náw ^a	,	hi
.	Ráwa	.	hi

our sister . Now , and ,
 i- -taat- -ri' . rawa , hi ,
 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B . now , and ,

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

wiriskítawi , nawahá^a
 wiriskítawi' . Ráwa haá'a
 you are leader . Now see !
 wii- rii- s- kita.wi -0 . rawa haa'a ,
 now ASSR 2.A be.the.leader PERF . now see ,

hawirisiríitⁿ,
 haawirisirí'it
 now you have it
 haa- wii- rii- s- ir- ri- ut- 0 -'
 here now ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV be EX

irikuhásiškarakut^a
 iriikuuhásicka' rakuúta
 whatever it is that you want to be
 irii- kuur- ra- s- wicka -0 ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a
 what DUB ABS 2.A want PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

tirutəsawáh^{^t} tárah^a . "
 tiruutásawaahat táraha' . "
 these lying all around buffalos . "
 tii- ra- 0- ut- as.a.waa.hak -0 tarahaa . "
 this ABS 3.A PREV sit.all.around SUB.4 buffalo . "

Wiahihkawútika

Wi'ahihkawuútika

After they had killed them

wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ka.wa.ut.ik	-a
when	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	kill.DIST	SUB.1

tuharáihk^u

tuuhaará'ihku'

it means

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

Náw^a

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

irirusiwitirikitáwuru

irirusiwítiriikitáwuru'

then that is when they made him leader

irii-	ruu-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kita.wi	ra'uk	-0
that	then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	be.the.leader	make	PERF

pitakáwahar^u

Piitakáwahaaru'

Lucky Man

wiita	kawahaar	-u'	,	atípat ⁿ	.	
man	be.fortunate	NOM	,	atípat	.	
			,	my grandfather	.	
			,	ati-	paak	.
			,	1.POSS	grandfather	.