

## Skiri Narratives, Nineteen

### Roaming Scout

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

tatariráiwat<sup>n</sup>

tatariiraa'íiwat

I am telling you about it

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

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tirəsuhawíriku

tirasuuhaawiíriku

these things you see

tii- ra- s- ut- raa- wa- iirik -hus  
this ABS 2.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

tirawawáriki

tirawaawaáriki

these here and there

tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i

this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat .

(in) the Heavens .

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

atíəs

Atí'as

Our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

hirurikuwitúta

hiru rikuwituúta

there that is what He did

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

tirakítak<sup>u</sup> hi ,

tirakítaku hi

this one above and

tii- ra- 0- kita- kus -0 hi  
this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 and

tirašihwari

tiracihwari

we who live here

tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus  
here ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ahašakuhára<sup>u</sup>

ahacakuhaára'u

He planned it for us

ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0  
EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way make SUB.3

tirašihwari

tiracihwari

we who live here

tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus  
here ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákitar<sup>u</sup>

ákitaaru'

tribe

akitaar- -u'  
tribe NOM

našihkúwari

racihkúwari

where we live

ra- aciir- ku- warii -hus  
INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Hirukuišihawirik<sup>u</sup>

hiru ku'icihaawiiriku

there that we should see things

hiruu ku- i- aciir- ut- raa- wa- iirik -hus  
there INDF CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

(in) the Heavens

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

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

háwiriskutišís

haawiriskuuticis

you now know me

haa-	wii-	rii-	s-	ku-	ut-	icis	-0
here	now	ASSR	2.A	1.P	PREV	know	PERF

ákitar<sup>u</sup>

ákitaaru'

tribe

akitaar- -u'

tribe NOM

nikutihíkurita

rikutiihíkuriita

that is how He did it 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

tiráwa

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Tírawarík<sup>i</sup>

Tírawaariki

These

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

tahapakíah<sup>u</sup> šaká<sup>a</sup>,  
tahapakí'aahu' cakaá'a  
we say Pleides  
ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus cakaá'a  
IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF Pleiades

hitírawarik<sup>i</sup> íhi  
hi tírawaariki ihi  
and these , uh  
hi tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i , ihii  
and this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 , uh

nikurihwakíahu Kúrahus  
rikurihwakí'aahu' kúrahus  
, that is what they say the old men  
, riku- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus kurahuus  
, that.is ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF old.man

, “ Tírawarik<sup>i</sup>  
. Tírawaariki  
. These  
. tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i  
. this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

šúrak<sup>i</sup>  
cuúraki  
girls  
icuura- -kis  
girl DIM

wítuharuihi  
wituuháru' ihi

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

súhuks , šúraki súhuks ,  
 súhuks . Cuúraki súhuks  
 five . Girls five  
 suhuks . icuura -kis suhuks  
 five . female DIM five

wítuháru ,  
 wituuháru'  
 they number  
 wi- ti- 0- ut- raar.uu -0  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.number PERF

aahuháruihi  
 a ahuuháru' , ihii  
 and they number , uh  
 a ar- ra- 0- ut- raar.uu -0 , ihii  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV be.a.number PERF , uh

pirəski hawá súhuks . "  
 piiraski hawá súhuks .  
 , boys also five .  
 , piiras- -kis haawa suhuks .  
 , boy DIM also five .

Pirəskírípətsk<sup>i</sup> a súrakírípətsk<sup>i</sup>  
 Piiraskírípəcki a cuúrakírípəcki  
 Little boys and little girls  
 piiras- kiripac -kis a icuura- kiripac -kis  
 boy small DIM and girl small DIM

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat  
the Heavens

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

hirurikuwitirət<sup>u</sup>

hiru rikuwitiiraktu'  
there he made them

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ak- ra'uk -0  
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PL.AN.3P make PERF

nikurikuruhkítaw<sup>i</sup>

rikuriikuruhkítawi  
those being the cause

riku- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- kita -wi  
that.is INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.cause SUB.L

tiwitiraširahiwásəsku

tiwitiraciraahiwaasasku

our calling one another by kin terms

tii- witi- ra- aciir- raa.hisaask -waa -hus  
this REFL ABS IN.DU.A call.by.one's.kin.terms DIST IMPF.SUB

.  
. .  
. .

hirurikuwituharúhura<sup>a</sup>

Hiru rikuwituuhaaruúhura'a  
Then that is the origin of the way

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- ruu- hurar -'  
this ABS 3.A DIST IMPF.SUB

then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way DIST be.where.one.comes.from EX

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

(in) the Heavens

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

tirawawárik<sup>i</sup>

ihí

tirawaawaárikí

ihí

these here and there

, uh ,

tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i , ihii ,  
this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 , uh ,

tírəšihwakahu

ihí ,

tiracihwaawaákahu

ihí

these that we call

, uh ,

tii- ra- aciir- waa- waaka -hus , ihii ,  
this ABS IN.DU.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , uh ,

" Atík<sup>a</sup> , " a "  
atíka' a  
Grandmother and  
ati- kaa a  
1.POSS grandmother and

atípət<sup>n</sup>

. "

atípat

.

Grandfather

.

ati- paak

.

1.POSS grandfather .

Nikusiwitihírəs<sup>a</sup>

Rikusiwitihírása



Those (du) were in the lead

riku- si- wi- ti- 0- hiras- aah -0  
that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A in.the.lead be PERF

siahíra<sup>u</sup> . Náwa<sup>a</sup> ,

si'ahíra'u . Ráwa

when they (du) were made . Now

si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0 . rawa  
DU EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF make SUB.3 . now

hirikuruæt<sup>n</sup> ,

hi ríkuruu'ut ,

and that is what was ,

hi riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'  
and that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX

irár<sup>i</sup> , híkiši

iraári' hi kici

brother , and but

i- -raar- -ri' , hi kici

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

kuhašákuhukiriwíh<sup>u</sup>

kuuhacakuuhuukiriwíhu'

he changed our ways

kuur- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa- ikiriwit ra'uk -0  
DUB ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way be.different make PERF

tirétpari

tirátpari

I who live here

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



1.POSS grandfather and 1.POSS grandmother ,

" airašihwákahu , "  
a iracihwaákahu  
and that which we call  
a ii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus  
and that ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nətík<sup>i</sup>s " a , " tíwaširik<sup>s</sup> .  
rattíik<sup>i</sup>s a tíwacirik<sup>s</sup>  
Grandchild and Uncle ;  
rak- tiik<sup>i</sup>s a ati- wacirik<sup>s</sup> ,  
grandchild sonny and 1.POSS uncle ,

" Airəšihwákahu , "  
a iracihwaákahu  
and that which we call  
a ii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus  
and that ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

itáh<sup>i</sup> " a , "  
itaáhi<sup>ʔ</sup> a  
Sister and  
i- -taat- -ri<sup>ʔ</sup> a  
3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B and

tíwət<sup>n</sup> , "  
tíwaat  
Nephew ,  
ati- waat ,  
1.POSS nephew/neice ,

airəšihwákahu , "  
a iracihwaákahu

and that which we call  
a ii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus  
and that ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

píra<sup>u</sup> , " a , "  
píira'u' a  
Child and  
piira -u' a  
child NOM and

irár<sup>i</sup> . "  
iraári' .  
Brother .  
i- -raar- -ri' .  
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B .

Hirutírawarík<sup>i</sup>

Hiru tírawaariki  
There these  
hiruu tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i  
there this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

tahapakíahu šaká<sup>a</sup> ,  
tahapakí'aahu' cakaá'a .  
we always say Pleides .  
ta- t- rak- waki.a -:hus cakaá'a .  
IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF Pleiades .

hirunikuwitíharuhura<sup>a</sup>

Hiru rikuwitíhaaruúhura'a  
There that was the origin of the way  
hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa- ruu- hurar -'  
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV way DIST be.where.one.comes.from EX

tiwitiwásasku  
 tiwitiwaásasku

our calling one another by kin terms

tii-	witi-	ra-	t-	hisaask	-waa	-hus
this	REFL	ABS	1.A	call.by.name	DIST	IMPF.SUB

ákítar <sup>u</sup>		,	a	,
ákitaaru'			a	
tribe			and	,
akitaar-	-u'		a	,
tribe	NOM		and	,

irár <sup>i</sup>		,	škára
iraári'			ckára
brother		,	alone
i-	-raar-		-ri'
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B
		,	alone

karasíirawak<sup>i</sup>  
 karaasiriiraáwaki'  
 you have yours different

ka-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa-	awakir	-0
NEG	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	be.strange	PERF

,	hirunikutuháhura	,
.	Hiru rikutuuhaáhura'	.
.	There that is where it originated	.
.	hiruu riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0	.
.	there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF	.

irár <sup>i</sup>		,
Iraári'		
Brother		,
i-	-raar-	
		-ri'
		,

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

hirunikutuháhura

hiru rikutuuhaáhura'

there that is where it all originated

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

hirutiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

hiru Tiráwaahat

there the Heavens

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

tiráspari

hi ,

tiráspari

. Hi

you who live here

. And ,

tii- ra- s- warii -hus

. hi ,

this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. and ,

irári<sup>i</sup>

,

iráári'

brother

,

i- -raar- -ri'

,

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

hisíahira<sup>u</sup>

hi sí'ahíra'u'

and when they (du) were made

hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0  
and DU EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF make SUB.3

tirášihwákahu

atíra ,

tiracihwaákahu

atíra'

this that we call Mother ,  
 tii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus ati- raa ,  
 this ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB 1.POSS mother ,

a tirəšihwákahu  
 a tiracihwaákahu  
 and this that we call  
 a tii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus  
 and this ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

atíəs ,  
 atí'as  
 Father ,  
 ati- as ,  
 1.POSS father ,

hihirurikuaharáru  
 hi hiru riku'aharaáru'  
 and there that is how He made it  
 hi hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- raa- ra'uk -0  
 and there that.is EV ABS 3.A way make PERF

šápat<sup>n</sup> , nákuruku ,  
 cápaat rákuruku .  
 woman to be making .  
 icapaak ra- 0- ku- ra'uk -hus .  
 woman INF.A 3.A INF.B make IMPF.SUB .

harír<sup>u</sup> .  
 Ha riíru' .  
 See , she made it .  
 ha , rii- 0- ra'uk -0 .  
 see , ASSR 3.A make PERF .

A atíəs  
 A atí'as  
 And Father  
 a ati- as  
 and 1.POSS father

ahášakur<sup>u</sup>  
 ahácakuru'  
 He made us  
 ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0  
 EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P make PERF

hihiruirikuharáru  
 hi hiru irikuuháraaru'  
 and there that is how He made it  
 hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- ra'uk -0  
 and there that DUB ABS 3.A way make PERF

atíəs  
 atí'as  
 my father  
 ati- as  
 1.POSS father

siwítirakuktakúksar<sup>a</sup>  
 siwítirakuktakúksaara  
 when they (du) would take each other in marriage  
 si- witi- ra- 0- a- ku- aktakuk.his.aar -a  
 DU REFL INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B marry.a.female SUB.1

,



sirakuksawáhšari  
 sirakuksawáhcarì  
 even if they (du) were

si-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	aar	-i
DU	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	JUSS	even.if	become	IMPF.SUB

híast <sup>i</sup>				aisást <sup>i</sup> ,			
hi'aásti'				a	isaásti'		
his father				and	his mother		
i-	as	-ri'		a	i-	saas	-ri'
3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B		and	3.POSS.A	mother	3.POSS.B

hisiwítititaktákuksa

hi	siwítitaaktákuksa						
and	they would take each other in marriage						
hi	si-	witi-	ti-	0-	a-	aktakuk.his.aar	-0
and	DU	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	marry.a.female	PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Asirakuksawaš kítuu<sup>u</sup>

A	sirakuksawackítuu'u							
And	even if they (du) were related							
a	si-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	awahc-	kituu	-u
and	DU	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	JUSS	even.if	be.closely.related	SUB.D

itáh <sup>i</sup>		,	a	,
itaáhi'			a	

his sister and  
i- -taat- -ri' a  
3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B and

irášt<sup>i</sup> hi  
iraácti' hi  
her brother and  
i- raac -ri' hi  
3.POSS.A brother 3.POSS.B and

siwítitaktakúksa .  
siwítitaaktakúksa .  
they would take one another in marriage .  
si- witi- ti- 0- a- aktakuk.his.aar -0 .  
DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A marry.a.female PERF .

Hirurikuwitiit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru rikuwitiit  
There they are the ones  
hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- 0 -'  
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be EX

.  
.  
.  
.

tirawáriki  
Tírawaariki  
These  
tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i  
this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

nikúwitita .  
rikúwitiita .  
that is what they did .  
riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -0 .  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do PERF .

Nikúwitira  
Rikuwitíra'  
That is the reason  
riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

tiwitiṛəširahiwásasku  
tiwitiṛaciraahiwaásasku  
our calling one another by kin terms  
tii- witi- ra- aciir- raa.hisaask -waa -hus  
this REFL ABS IN.DU.A call.by.one's.kin.terms DIST IMPF.SUB

iwáhi  
iwaáhi'  
his niece  
i- waat -ri'  
3.POSS.A nephew/neice 3.POSS.B

nakuksáwahš<sup>u</sup>  
rakuksáwahcu  
his even being  
ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u  
INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

hisiwitiṭaktakúksa  
hi siwitiṭaaktakúksa  
and they (du) take one another in marriage  
hi si- witi- ti- 0- a- aktakuk.his.aar -0

and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A marry.a.female PERF

a rakuksáwahš<sup>u</sup>

a rakuksáwahcu

, and its even being

, a ra- 0- ku- uks- awahc- 0 -u

, and INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS even be SUB.D

nəktík<sup>i</sup>

raktíiki

a grandchild

rak- tiikis

grandchild sonny

hisiwítitaktakuxsa

hi siwítitaaktakúksa

and they (du) take one another in marriage

hi si- witi- ti- 0- a- aktakuk.his.aar -0

and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A marry.a.female PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Kurakuksawáhš<sup>a</sup><sup>u</sup>

Kuraakuksawáhcaa'u

Even if it was your child

ku- ra- 0- a- ku- uks- awahc- haa -u

INDF INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B JUSS even.if be.one's.child SUB.D

píra<sup>u</sup>

píra'u'

child  
 piira -u'  
 child NOM

hisiwítitaktakuxsa

hi siwítitaaktakúksa

and they (du) take one another in marriage

hi si- witi- ti- 0- a- aktakuk.his.aar -0  
 and DU REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A marry.a.female PERF

. Hirurikuwítúæt<sup>n</sup>

. Hiru rikuwítuú'ut

. There it was that way

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

tírawarik<sup>i</sup>

tírawaariki

these

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

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

tirəsuhawíriku

tirasuuhaawíriku

these things that you see

tii- ra- s- ut- raa- wa- iirik -hus  
 this ABS 2.A PREV way DIST see IMPF.SUB

tiráwahəṯ<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

hirúirihituháhura

hiru irihiituuhaáhura'

there that one is the source

hiruu	irii-	hii-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.hurar	-0
there	that	other	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.the.origin	PERF

.  
. .  
. .

hirúirihituháhura

Hiru irihiituuhaáhura'

There that one is the source

hiruu	irii-	hii-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.hurar	-0
there	that	other	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.the.origin	PERF

tirašíhwari

tiracíhwari

our living here

tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii		-hus	
this	ABS	IN.DU.A	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB	

Náw<sup>a</sup> i , irár<sup>i</sup> ,

Ráwa i , iraári'

Now and , brother ,

rawa i , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tiwirəskutíšis

tiwiraskuutícis

now you realize me

tii- wii- ra- s- ku- ut- icis -0  
here now ABS 2.A 1.P PREV know PERF

ákítar<sup>u</sup> , irar<sup>i</sup> ,  
ákitaaru' irarári'  
tribe , brother ,  
akitaar- -u' , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
tribe NOM , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikútira

rikútira'

that is how it is

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

tirətirurákak<sup>u</sup>

tiratiruurákaaku

these I have in my lodge

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

nətirurətapírihur<sup>u</sup>

ratiruurattaapírihuuru

my having love for them

ra- t- ir- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -u  
ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value SUB.D

tirákarušpaw<sup>i</sup> ,

tirákarucpaawi .

these that are placed in it  
 tii- ra- 0- ka- ra.uc -waa -wi .  
 this ABS 3.A in be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L .

nikutiruhú<sup>u</sup>

Rikutiruuhú'u

That is the way it is supposed to be

riku- ti- 0- ruuhur -'  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX

nətiruratapírihur<sup>u</sup>

ratiruurattaapírihuuru

my having love for them

ra- t- ir- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -u  
 ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value SUB.D

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirurikuwituháhura

Hiru rikuwituuhaá'hura'

There that one is the source

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0  
 there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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



tirawawárik<sup>i</sup>

tirawaawaáriki

these here and there

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

tirahápakihu

šaká<sup>a</sup> .

tirahápakihu

cakaá'a .

these that we call

Pleides .

tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	waki.a	-hus	cakaa'a
this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	Pleiades

Tiiriwíræskurætka<sup>u</sup>

Ti'iriwiraskuúratka'u

This that you now hear from me

tii-	irii-	wii-	ra-	s-	ku-	uur-	atka'uk	-0
this	that	now	ABS	2.A	1.P	PREV	hear	SUB.3

nikuwitúæt<sup>n</sup>

,

rikuwituú'ut

.

that is how it is

.

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

hirurikuwituuháhura

Hiru rikuwituuhaáhura'

There that one is the source

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.hurar	-0
there	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.the.origin	PERF

. I háwirisuhišis

. Ihaawirisuúhiicis

. Now you do know this

. ii-	haa-	wii-	rii-	s-	ut-	riicis	-0
-------	------	------	------	----	-----	--------	----

. that here now ASSR 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

, irá<sup>i</sup> ,  
iraári'  
, brother ,  
, i- -raar- -ri' ,  
, 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

kurariráwiruhu<sup>u</sup> .  
karariiraáwiruuhu'u .  
it is solid (ie permanent) .  
kara- rii- 0- raa.awi.ruuhur -' .  
NEG ASSR 3.A be.solid EX .

Tirasašiksúhkas<sup>a</sup> ,  
Tiraasaciksúhkasa  
This mind of yours  
tii- ra- s- aciks.uur.ka.sa -0  
this ABS 2.A be.one's.mind SUB.3

siruruksaktapírihu<sup>u</sup>  
siruuruksaktaapírihu'u  
you esteem them  
i- s- ir- ir- uur- uks- ak- raapi.rihur -'  
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV JUSS PL.AN.3P value EX

atíra ,  
Atíra'  
Mothers  
ati- raa  
1.POSS mother

kurətírar<sup>u</sup>  
kurátiraaru .

mine (pl)  
ku- ra- t- ir- raar- 0 -u .  
INDF ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be SUB.D .

hawárikutatatuæt<sup>n</sup>  
Hawá rikutátuu'ut .  
Also I am that way .  
haawa riku- ta- t- ut- 0 -' .  
also that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX .

átiratírarušpaw<sup>i</sup>  
Átira' tírarucpaawi  
Mothers these  
ati- raa tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -waa -wi  
1.POSS mother this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

tətirurətapírihu<sup>u</sup>  
tatiruurattaapírihu'u  
I love them  
ta- t- ir- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -'  
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value EX

akíhi  
aki hi  
and here and  
a- ki hi  
and there and

nikuahúharuhura<sup>a</sup>  
riku'ahuúhaaruuhura'a  
that is the source of them  
riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- raa- ruu- hurar -'  
that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV way DIST be.where.one.comes.from EX

hirútirawárik<sup>i</sup> .  
 hiru tirawaáriki .  
 there these .  
 hiruu tii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i .  
 there this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 .

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

kakuášira  
 kaaku'aácira'  
 it is not ours  
 kaaku- aa- aciir- raar- 0 -0  
 NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

tirašihwari ,  
 tiracihwari  
 these of us  
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus  
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

atíás nikutíhuta  
 Atí'as rikutíhuuta  
 our Father He did that  
 ati- as riku- tiir- ra- 0- ut- aar -0  
 1.POSS father that.is INFR ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

ahawawauriríkihka<sup>a</sup>  
 ahawaawa'uuriiríkihka  
 when He placed them there  
 ar- ra- 0- waawa- uuri.arik.ihk -a

EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	cause.to.stand.upright	SUB.1				
tiráwahət <sup>n</sup>									
Tiráwaahat									
the Heavens									
tii-	ra-	0-	waa-	ahak	-0				
this	ABS	3.A	DIST	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4				
irár <sup>i</sup>									
Iraári'									
Brother									
i-	-raar-			-ri'					
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling			3.POSS.B					
tiwirásuhšis									
tiwirásuuhiicis									
you now know this									
tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	ut-	riicis	-0			
this	now	ABS	2.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF			
tihawirásuhišis									
tihaawirásuuhiicis									
this now you know									
tii-	haa-	wii-	ra-	s-	ut-	riicis	-0		
this	here	now	ABS	2.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF		
ahíkuritára									
ahíkuriitaára									
what He did for me									
ar-	ri-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	ut-	aar	-a	
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	do	SUB.1	
tiráwah									
Tiráwaahat									

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

Atiratíraruš<sup>i</sup>

Atíra' tíraruuci  
 Mother this  
 ati- raa tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i  
 1.POSS mother this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

irisuksawáhakskaku

iriruksawaáhakskaku

there the Heavens are inside

irii- ra- 0- uks- a.hak -waa -his ka- kus -0  
 there ABS 3.A JUSS extend.in.a.line DIST PERF in be.sitting PERF

i hawirísuhišis

. Ihaawirísuuhiicis

. Now you do know that

. ii- haa- wii- rii- s- ut- riicis -0  
 . that here now ASSR 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

i tiráwah

I Tiráwaahat

. And the Heavens

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

harikáku .

haariikáku .

it is there in it .

haa- ri- 0- i- ka- kus -0 .  
 here CONT.3A 3.A SEQ in be.sitting PERF .

Irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Iraári'  
 Brother ,  
 i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

irasuháiriku  
 irasuuhaa'íiriku  
 those things that you see  
 ii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -hus  
 that ABS 2.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB

irawákahu  
 irawaákahu  
 what He said  
 ii- ra- 0- waaka -hus  
 what ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nahurakíitiit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 rahúrahki tí't  
 animals they are ,  
 rahuraar -kis ti- 0- 0 -ik -0 ,  
 animal DIM IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF ,

irár<sup>i</sup> , akíhi  
 iraári' aki hi  
 brother , and here and  
 i- -raar- -ri' , a- ki hi  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and there and

, nikarúšpa  
 riikarúcpa  
 they are inside  
 rii- 0- ka- ra.uc -waa -0

ASSR 3.A in be.lying.PL DIST PERF

nahúrahki<sup>i</sup> . Títawi  
rahúrahki . Títawi'  
the animals . There is among them  
rahuraar -kis . ti- 0- tawi -0  
animal DIM . IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF

atíra  
Atíra'  
Mothers  
ati- ra  
1.POSS mother

tirarahkaítət<sup>a</sup>  
tiraraahka'iítata .  
these inside them .  
tii- ra- 0- raar- ka.iit.at -a .  
this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.in.a.line SUB.1 .

títawi nahúrahki  
Títawi' rahúrahki  
There is among them animals  
ti- 0- tawi -0 rahuraar -kis  
IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF animal DIM

nakurúhkaruš<sup>i</sup>  
raakurúhkaruuci  
her having his inside  
ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- ka- ra.uc -i  
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A in be.lying.PL SUB.2

irikuhúha<sup>u</sup>  
. Irikuhúhaa'u



. That is the way it is  
 . irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa- uu -0  
 . that DUB ABS 3.A PREV way be PERF

atíəs áhawak<sup>a</sup>  
 Atí'as áhawaaka " "  
 our Father his saying , "  
 ati- as ar- ra- 0- waak -a , "  
 1.POSS father EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , "

tirawawáriki hupírít<sup>n</sup>  
 Tirawaawaáriki huupírít  
 These various ones stars  
 tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i huupirik  
 this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 star

kusiriwakíah<sup>u</sup> , "  
 kuusiriiwakí'aahu'  
 they will call (them)  
 kuus- 0- ir- i- waki.a -:hus  
 POT.1/3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Nahúrahk<sup>i</sup> . "  
 rahúrahki . "  
 animals . "  
 rahuraar -kis . "  
 animal DIM . "

Akihíritawi  
 Aki hi riítawi'  
 And here and it is among them  
 a- ki hi rii- 0- tawi -0  
 and there and ASSR 3.A be.among PERF



ABS 3.A PL.3A JUSS sing.DIST IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

kúrahus . Irisiráita  
kúrahus . I riisiraa'íita  
the priests . And you do know that  
kurahuus . i rii- s- ir- raa.iita -0  
priest . and ASSR 2.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

:  
,  
,

witikuraítustárurahəš  
witikuuraa'íitustaarúrahac  
I am forgetting my stories

wi- ti- ku- uur- raa.iit.us- raar- hurahac -0  
QUOT IND.3A 1.P PREV story PL disappear PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Tisirikuhárikaah<sup>u</sup>

Tisirikuuhaárikaa'ahu

What they revealed to me

tii- si- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus  
this DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PREV reveal.to IMPF.SUB

nakurátak<sup>u</sup>

rakuraátaku

once in a while

ra- 0- ku- raa.ta.kus -0  
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.once.in.a.while SUB.4

nákukušiksurahaš<sup>u</sup>

rákukuuciksurahacu

what I was forgetting

ra- ku- ku- aciks- hurahac -hus ,  
INF.A 1.P INF.B mind disappear IMPF.SUB ,

hisitikuharíka

hi sitikuuhaaríkaa'

and they revealed to me

hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0  
and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PREV reveal.to PERF

kúrahus

kúrahus

the old men

kurahuus

old.man

iriríruksta ítawaw<sup>i</sup>

iririirukstaa'ítawaawi

the ones who used to know

irii- ra- 0- a- ir- uks- raa.iita -waa -wi  
that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A AOR know DIST SUB.L

tiruksuríwawi

tiruksuriiwaáwi

these who were living

tii- ra- 0- uks- hurii -waa -wi .  
this ABS 3.A AOR live.PL DIST SUB.L .

Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	ha		irá <sup>i</sup>		,
Ráwa		há		iraári'		
Now		see	!	brother		,
rawa		haa	,	i-	-raar-	-ri'
now		see	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B

harisiráit<sup>a</sup>

haariisiraá'iita

now you do know

haa-	rii-	s-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
here	ASSR	2.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

tiráwarik<sup>i</sup>

tiráwaariki

these

tii-	ra-	0-	wa-	arik	-i	rahuraa	-kis
this	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2	animal	DIM

nahúrahki

rahúrahki

animals

tirətpákahu

tiratpaákahu

these that we call

tii-	ra-	t-	waaka	-hus
this	ABS	1.A	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

tirawárik<sup>i</sup>

tirawaáriki

these

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

nuharawákaku

ruuhaarawákaku

the ones in a circle

ra-	0-	ut-	raar-	awaka.kus	-0	,
-----	----	-----	-------	-----------	----	---

ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.seated.in.a.circle SUB.4 ,

ahikušúkstara<sup>u</sup>

ahikucúkskara'u

the ones He made for me

ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- uks- ka.ra'uk -0  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN AOR make.PL.P SUB.3

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

rihwakíhu , "

rihwakihu

they say (ie call it)

ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus  
ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Kárikis<sup>u</sup> . "

Kaárikisu' .

Karikisu .

ka.arik.his -u' .

Four.Pole.Ceremony NOM .

Iháwirisuhíšis ,

Ihaáwirisuúhiicis .

You now do know that .

ii- haa- wii- rii- s- ut- riicis -0 .  
that here now ASSR 2.A PREV learn.about PERF .

hirurikutuháhura

Hiru rikutuuhaáhura'

There that is where she came from  
hiruu riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.hurar -0  
there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.origin PERF

atíra  
Atíra' .  
Mother .  
ati- raa .  
1.POSS mother .

harurirašáhura  
Há ruuriiracáhura  
See ! she (the bundle) touches (ie derives from) them  
haa , ruu- rii- 0- raar- ta.hurah -0  
see , then ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P be.barely.touching PERF

tiirirawáriki,  
ti'riirawaáriki  
here where they stand  
tii- irii- ra- 0- wa- arik -i  
here where ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

ruháru<sup>a</sup> súhuks, ikárikæt<sup>n</sup>  
ruuháruu'a súhuks ikárikat  
their numbering five in the center  
ra- 0- ut- raar.uu -a suhuks iika.ri -kat  
ABS 3.A PREV be.a.number SUB.1 five center LOC

ikárikæt<sup>n</sup> iráriki  
. Ikárikat iraáriki  
. In the center that one  
. iika.ri -kat ii- ra- 0- arik -i  
. center LOC ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

skítiiks	tiráwihət <sup>n</sup>					hupírit <sup>n</sup>
kskiíti'iks	tiráwihat					huupírit
four	these					stars
iks.kiiti'iks	tii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0					huupirik
four	this ABS 3.A		be.sitting.PL		SUB.4	star

,	ikárikət <sup>n</sup>	iráriki				
	ikárikat	iraáriki				
,	in the center	that one				
,	iika.ri -kat ii- ra- 0- arik -i					
,	center LOC that ABS 3.A	be.standing			SUB.2	

rikuwitatirú<sup>u</sup>

rikuwitatiiruú'u

that is the one I had

riku-	wi-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	0	-'
that.is	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be	EX

. Natukstarušuhúsuku

. Ratukstaruucuhúsuku

. When I used to make fires

.	ra-	t-	uks-	ta.ra.uc.wuh	-hus	-uku
.	ABS	1.A	AOR	make.a.fire	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

wirət kut<sup>n</sup> pákararawu

wirat kut pákaraarawu

when I was praying

wii-	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	wakaraar.a.wuu	-hus
------	-----	----	-----	-----	----------------	------



when INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV pray.to IMPF.SUB

hi ikárikət təšaruš<sup>u</sup> ,  
 hi ikárikat táctaruucu  
 and in the center I made a fire  
 hi iika.ri -kat ta- t- ta.ra.uc.wuh -0  
 and center LOC IND.1/2A 1.A make.a.fire PERF

nikuwitíikárikət<sup>n</sup>  
 rikúwiti' ikárikat  
 that is the one in the center  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- -0 iika.ri -kat  
 the.one QUOT IND.3A 3.A PERF center LOC

irárik<sup>i</sup> hupírit<sup>n</sup> .  
 iraáriki huupírit .  
 that star .  
 ii- ra- 0- arik -i huupirik .  
 that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 star .