

## Skiri Narratives, Twenty-two

### Roaming Scout

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

tirétpawakahu ,  
tíratpaawaakahu  
this that I am saying ,  
tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,  
this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

kakuatiruhú<sup>u</sup>  
kaaku'aatiruuuhú<sup>u</sup>  
it is not my way  
kaaku- aa- t- ir- raa.uhur -<sup>2</sup>  
NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be.the.way EX

tirétpawakahu  
tíratpaawaakahu  
this that I am saying ,  
tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,

this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks

Indians

icaahiks icaahiks

person person

tirašíhwari

tiracíhwari

we who live here

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

kakuaruhú<sup>u</sup>

kaaku'aruuhú<sup>u</sup>

it was not his way

kaaku- ii- a- raa.uhur -<sup>2</sup> .  
NEG.POSS SUBJ.3A POSS.3A be.the.way EX .

Hirutirakítak<sup>u</sup>

Hiru tirakítaku

There this one above

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

atí^s

Atí'as

our Father

ati- as

1.POSS father

nikuwitiruhuhkawákaru

rikuwitiruuuhuhkawaákaru'

He is the one who made the ways  
riku- wi- ti- 0- raa.uhur kawaaka.ra'uk -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.way make.DIST PERF

tiwírasuhišis  
tiwirásuuhiicis  
this that you now know  
tii- wii- ra- s- ut- riicis -0  
this now ABS 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

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

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

wíritukstara<sup>u</sup>  
iwiratukstára'u  
the one I have talked about  
ii- wii- ra- t- uks- tara'u -0  
that now ABS 1.A AOR talk.about SUB.3

nísar<sup>u</sup>  
riísaaru'  
the chief  
riisaar -u'  
be.chief NOM

nikuwituhá<sup>a</sup>

rikuwituuhá<sup>a</sup>

he is the cause of it

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

nísar<sup>u</sup>

ahirá<sup>u</sup>

riísaaru'

ahíra'<sup>u</sup>

the chief

his being made

riisaar -u' ar- ri- 0- ra'uk -0  
be.chief NOM EV CONT.3A 3.A make SUB.3

tirikuruwari

tirikuruúwari

his caring for us

tií- ri- 0- ku- ruu- warii -hus  
this CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákitar<sup>u</sup>

nísar<sup>u</sup>

ákitaaru'

Ríisaaru'

the tribe

The chief

akitaar- -u' . riisaar -u'  
tribe NOM . be.chief NOM

nikuwituhá<sup>a</sup>

rikuwituuhá<sup>a</sup>

He is the one who is the cause

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

Aahawáku

,

"

A ahawáku'

"

And He said

:

"

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

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tiwírətarau<sup>u</sup> nísaar<sup>u</sup>  
Tiwirátara'u riisaaru'  
When I made you a chief  
tii- wii- ra- t- a- ra'uk -o riisaar -u'  
when when ABS 1.A 2.P make SUB.3 be.chief NOM

tírəstikawarihustar<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup>  
tirastikaawariihustarit  
now that you are going to care for them  
tii- ra- s- ri.kaa.warii -hus -ta -rit  
here ABS 2.A care.for.in.this.world IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
ákitaaru'  
the tribe  
akitaar- -u'  
tribe NOM

hítiharətíraktus<sup>i</sup>  
hi tihaaratiarktuuci  
and this bow (and arrows)  
hi tii- haa- ra- tiraak- ra.uc -i  
and this here ABS bow be.lying.PL SUB.2

wíritatíraktaru .  
wiriitatíraktáru .  
I now give you the bows .  
wii- rii- t- a- tiraak- raar- uh -o .  
now ASSR 1.A 2.P bow PL give PERF .

witatátiraku a  
Witatátiraaku a

I now give you the bow , and  
wii- ta- t- a- tiraak- uh -0 , a  
now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P bow give PERF , and

níks<sup>u</sup> . "  
ríksu' . "  
arrows . "  
riiks- -u' . "  
arrow NOM . "

Irári<sup>i</sup> , tírak<sup>i</sup>s  
Iraári<sup>'</sup> tíraakis  
Brother , bow  
i- -raar- -ri' , tiraak -kis  
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , bow DIM

tíras<sup>a</sup>  
tíraasa  
this one  
tii- ra- 0- sa -0  
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

witírak<sup>i</sup>s  
wití' rákis .  
it was wood .  
wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 rak -kis .  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF wood DIM .

nəkíswit<sup>i</sup>  
Rákis wítí' .  
Wood it was .  
rak -kis wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 .  
wood DIM QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

nahápahatik<sup>i</sup>

Rahaapáhaatiki

Its being red wood

ra- 0- haak- pahaat -ik -i  
ABS 3.A wood be.read DIST SUB.2

nahápakihu

tírapah<sup>^t^n</sup>

rahápakihu

tíraapahat

we call it

red bow

ra- t- rak- waki.a -hus tiraak- pahaat  
ABS 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB bow be.red

nikuwitiati<sup>s</sup>

Atí'as

. Rikuwítí'

our Father

. He was the one

atí-

. riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 ati- as

as

. that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF 1.POSS father

ahíhtirakuha

ahíhtiraakuha

His giving him the bow

ar- ra- 0- ir- tiraak- uh -a  
EV ABS 3.A OBV bow give SUB.1

tirətirəktik<sup>u</sup>

tiratíraktiku

this bow that he sits holding

ti- ra- 0- tiraak- ri- kus -0  
this ABS 3.A bow PORT be.sitting SUB.4

nísar<sup>u</sup>

.

riísaaru'

.

the chief

.

riisaar -u'

.

be.chief NOM .

I , irári<sup>i</sup> ,  
I irári<sup>i</sup>  
And , brother ,  
i , i- -raar- -ri<sup>i</sup> ,  
and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tirátpari

tirátpari

my living here

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

híirkuruuhušia

hi irikuruúhuci'a  
and thereupon He did that  
hi irii- kuruur- ri- 0- ut- i- aar -0  
and then DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

, " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
. " Ráwa  
. " Now  
. " rawa  
. " now

atiharisutárista

a tihaarísuutárista  
and you are going to do this  
a tii- haa- rii- s- ut- aar -his -ta  
and this here ASSR 2.A PREV do PERF INT

íspari

íspari

when you go around

i- s- warii -hus .  
CONT.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

téstikstukst<sup>a</sup>

Tástikstuksta

You are going to make an arrow

ta- s- riiks- ra'uk -his -ta  
IND.1/2A 2.A arrow make PERF INT

hiriskawihahkawísta

hi riskawihaahkawísta

and you are going to fit the arrow head into it

hi rii- s- kawi- haahka -wi -his -ta  
and ASSR 2.A arrowhead be.attached.to SUB.L PERF INT

tahúr<sup>u</sup> Náwahá<sup>a</sup>

tahuúru' . Ráwa há'a  
flint . Now , ha !  
tahuur -u' . rawa , haa ,  
flint NOM . now , ha ,

hawirisirihkáwisa

hawiiriisirihkáwisa

now here your arrowhead lies

haa- wii- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- kawi- sa -0  
here now ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A arrowhead be.lying PERF

tahúr<sup>u</sup> ,  
tahuúru' .  
flint .  
tahuur -u' .  
flint NOM .

átihawirisiriša

A tihaariisiríhca  
And here yours lies

a	tiī-	haa-	rii-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	sa	-0
and	here	here	ASSR	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.lying	PERF

níšik <sup>i</sup>		tahúrut <sup>i</sup>							
riíciki	.	Tahuúru'		ti'					.
knife	.	Flint		it is					.
riici	-kis	.	tahuur	-u'	ti-	0-	0	-0	.
knife	DIM	.	flint	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	.

atihawirisiríhša

A tihawiiriisiríhca  
And here yours lies now

a	tiī-	haa-	wii-	rii-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	sa	-0
and	here	here	now	ASSR	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.lying	PERF

irirarakitáwi<sup>u</sup>

iriiraraakitáwi<sup>u</sup>

the leading thing

irii-	ra-	0-	raa-	kita.wi	-u					
that	ABS	3.A	way	be.the.leader	SUB.D					

wírətuh<sup>a</sup>

wíratuuha

what I have given you

wii-	ra-	t-	a-	uh	-a	.	"			
now	ABS	1.A	2.P	give	SUB.1	.	"			

Irár<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

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

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

nikuwititiratawirákəks<sup>u</sup>

rikuwití'			tirátawi		rákaaksu'
that is the one			this one that is among us		war club
riku-	wi-	ti-	0- 0 -0	0- tawi -0	rakaaks-
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A be	PERF	war.club
			ti- ra-	3.A be.among	SUB.4
					NOM

nikuwitítahur<sup>u</sup>

Ríkuwiti'			tahuúru'	
That is the one			flint	
riku-	wi-	ti-	0- 0 -0	tahuur -u'
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A be	PERF flint NOM

nákəks<sup>u</sup>

tirátawi

,

Rákaaksu'			tirátawi	
War club			this one that is among us	
rakaaks-	-u'	ti- ra-	0- tawi -0	
war.club	NOM	this ABS	3.A be.among	SUB.4

iharísutiriku'

ihaarísuumiiriku'

there you see it

ii-	haa-	rii-	s-	ut-	iirik	-:hus
there	here	ASSR	2.A	PREV	see	IMPF

nákist<sup>i</sup>

rákis		ti'	
wood		it is	
rak	-kis	ti-	0- 0 -0
wood	DIM	IND.3A	3.A be
			PERF .

Hirikúahatáwiruk<sup>u</sup>

Hi riku'ahatawiruúku'

And that is the one He made to be among us  
hi riku- ar- ra- 0- tawi -ra'uk -:hus  
and that.is EV ABS 3.A be.among CAUS IMPF

nakistirétwi  
rákis tirátwi  
wood this one among us  
rak -kis tii- ra- 0- tawi -0  
wood DIM this ABS 3.A be.among SUB.4

hiruahikúrarawuh<sup>a</sup>  
hiru ahikuraraawúuha  
then the ones He gave to us  
hiruu ar- ri- ku- raar- raa- wa- uh -a  
then EV CONT.3A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P way DIST give SUB.1

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

nuahikúruh<sup>a</sup>  
ruu'ahikúruuha ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
then when He gave it to me ákitaaru'  
ruu- ar- ri- ku- raa- uh -a akitaar- -u'  
then EV CONT.3A 1.P way give SUB.1 tribe NOM

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

wiritatírikstaíwawatn  
wiriitariirkstaa'iwaáwaat

I have been telling you things

wii-	rii-	t-	ir-	a-	ri-	uur-	i-	uks-	raa.iwaat	-waa	-0
now	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	SEQ	AOR	tell.a.story	DIST	PERF

,  
,  
,  
,

kituwitataríraíwawatn

kítuu'u'	witataríraa'iíwaawat										
all	I have told them to you										
kituu	-u'	wi-	ta-	t-	ir-	a-	ri-	uur-	raa.iwaat	-waa	-0
all	NOM	QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	tell.a.story	DIST	PERF

híruiriahuháhurawí

hiru	irii'ahuuháhuraawi						
there	where they had their source						
hiruu	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	raa.hurar	-wi
there	where	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.the.origin	SUB.L

tíraruší	tírakís	,					
tíraruuci	tíraakis	.					
these	bows	.					
tií-	ra-	0-	ra.uc	-i	tiraak	-kis	.

this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2 bow DIM .

hiruati<sup>s</sup>

Hiru Atí'as

There our Father

hiruu ati- as

there 1.POSS father

tirakítak<sup>u</sup>

tirakítaku

this one above

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

nikuwituháhura

rikuwituuháhura'

that one is the source

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

tíras<sup>a</sup>

tírak<sup>i</sup>s

tíraasa

tíraakis

this

bow

ti- ra- 0- sa -0

tiraak -kis .

this ABS 3.A be.lying

SUB.3 bow DIM .

iharisiráit<sup>a</sup>

Ihaariisiraá'iita

You know about that

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

tiráwah<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

## the Heavens

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

harutirakawikátasa

## haaruuutiraakawikátasa

the bow there in the sky

haa-	ra-	0-	uur-	tiraak-	awi-	kata-	sa	-0
here	ABS	3.A	PREV	bow	image	against.a.vertical.surface	be.lying	SUB.3

, nikuwitikúu

## Rikuwitikú'u

. That is what He gave me

.	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ku-	uh	-0
.	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	give	PERF

our Father                    this one above

ati-	as	ti-	ra-	0-	kita-	kus	-0
1.POSS	father	this	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.sitting	SUB.4

## šahiksíšahiks<sup>u</sup>

cahiksícahiksu'

## Indians

icaahiks      icaahiks      -u'  
 person      person      NOM

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

kúha<sup>u</sup>

kúhaa'u

He must have given it to you

kuur-      ra-      0-      a-      uh      -0  
DUB      ABS      3.A      2.P      give      PERF

tírestaha						tírak <u>u</u>	
tírastaaha						tíraaku'	
this one that you have						gun	
tií-	ra-	s-	raah	-a	tiraak	-u'	
this	ABS	2.A	have	SUB.1	gun	NOM	

iharísta							tírak <u>u</u>
Ihaarísta							tíraaku'
You have that							gun
ii-	haa-	rii-	s-	raah	-O	tiraak	-u'
that	here	ASSR	2.A	have	PERF	gun	NOM

kišiku hikutírətaru

kici      kuúhikutirattáru

but He must have given me the bow and arrows

kici	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	tiraak-	raar-	uh	-0
but	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	bow	PL	give	PERF

iharisuhaíriku

## Ihaarisuuhaa'ííriku'

### Those you do see

.	ii-	haa-	rii-	s-	ut-	raa-	iirik	-:hus
.	that	here	ASSR	2.A	PREV	way	see	IMPF

tiráwah<sup>^t</sup>n

Tiráwaahat

## the Heavens

ti-      ra-      o-      waa-      aha-

this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

haruhtirakawikátasa

haaruhtiraakawikátasa

the image of the bow there in the sky

haa- ra- 0- uur- tiraak- awi- kata- sa -0  
here ABS 3.A PREV bow image against.a.vertical.surface be.lying SUB.3

Irikuahútaruuahikúrau

Iriku'ahuutári'

That is what He did

ahikúra'u

when He made mine

iri- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -i ar- ri- 0- ku- ra'uk -0  
that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P make SUB.3

ákitaru, a

ákitaaru' a

tribe and

akitaar- -u' a

tribe NOM and

tiréspari

tiráspari

you going around here

ti- ra- s- warii -hus  
this ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nuahárau

ruu'ahára'u

when He made you then

ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ra'uk	-0	.
then	EV	ABS	3.A	2.P	make	SUB.3	.

Kituwitikətkawákaru

Kítuu'u'                witikutkawaákaru'

Everything              He made them for me

kituu	-u'	wi-	ti-	0-	ku-	ut-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0
all	NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	make.DIST	PERF

kâtarak*i*                "

kaatáraki                "

axes                        "

kaatara-                -kis                "

ax                        DIM                "

Tiháras<sup>a</sup>

Tiháraasa

This one lying

tií-	haa-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	
this	here	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	

nikutasihárrukst<sup>a</sup>

rikutasiháárruksta

you are going to use that

riku-	ta-	s-	ir-	ut-	raar	-uk	-his	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	use	DIST	PERF	INT

nakuhakákətku

rakuhaakákatku

to be cutting wood

ra-	0-	ku-	haak-	ka.ukac.k	-hus	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	wood	cut.up	IMPF.SUB	.

aírihi ahutahūu  
A            irihii'ahu'  
And        that is the one  
a            irii-        hii-  
and        that        other

kātaraki	.	"
kaatáraki	.	"
axe	.	"
kaatara-	-kis	.
ax	DIM	.

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

kuhíku	kuuhíkuuhu'	kuuhíkuuhu'	ahikúraru										
kuuhíkuuhu'	ahikúraru												
He made it for me		He gave them to me											
kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	ra'uk	-0	ar-	ri-	0-	ku-	haar-	uh	-0
DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	make	PERF	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	3PL.INAN.P	give	PERF

naháris <sup>u</sup>	
raahárisu'	
hoes	
raaharis	-u'
hoe	NOM

SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 , '

hirīt<sup>n</sup> tarahakíškaahis  
hi riī'it tarahaakícka'aahis  
and they are buffalo shoulder blades  
hi rii- 0- 0 -ik -0 tarahaa kiic.ka.aah.his  
and ASSR 3.A be DIST PERF buffalo shoulder

ahikuráruha  
ahikuraáruha  
when He gave them to me

ar- ri- 0- ku- raar- uh -a  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

naháris<sup>u</sup> šápat<sup>n</sup>  
raaháris<sup>u</sup> cápaat  
hoes women  
raaharis -u<sup>3</sup> icapaak  
hoe NOM woman

kuríra<sup>u</sup> .  
kuriíra'<sup>u</sup> .  
its being theirs .  
ku- ra- 0- a- ir- raa- 0 -u .  
INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A way be SUB.D .

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

nikuahūet<sup>n</sup>  
riku'ahuú'ut

it was that way

riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	- <sup>2</sup>
that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	EX

tirawah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

ahikutkawakára<sup>u</sup>

ahikutkawaakára<sup>u</sup>

when He made them for me

ar-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0	.
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	make.DIST	SUB.3	.

I , irári<sup>i</sup>

I iraári'

And , brother , and

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

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

hirupákut<sup>u</sup>

hiru pákuhtu'

then long ago

hiruu pakuht -u'

then be.old NOM

hirukuhikurahuráh<sup>s</sup>

hiru kuuhikuuraahuráhac

then I forgot the ways

hiruu	kuur-	ri-	ku-	uur-	raa-	hurahac	-0
then	DUB	CONT.3A	1.P	PREV	way	disappear	PERF

suhúrikuharatirah<sup>t</sup>n

Suúhuri' kuuharaatiíwaahat

Later the ways have ended

suuhuri' kuur- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -waa -0  
over.here DUB ABS 3.A way be.the.end DIST PERF

nakúkuhukiriwihau

rakúkuuhuukiriwiíha'u

His having changed things for us

ra- 0- ku- ku- ut- raa- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0  
INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B BEN way be.different CAUS SUB.3

iirkúruhətuširíšis

I irikuruuhátuciriicis

And then I did know that

i irii- kuruur- ra- t- ut- i- riicis -0  
and then DUB ABS 1.A PREV SEQ learn.about PERF

súhuriwiaharatusikiriwíhau

suúhuri' wi'aharaa'iitusikiriwiíha'u

later when He changed the story

suuhuri' wii- ar- ra- 0- raa.iit.us- ikiriwit -ra'uk -0

over.here    when    EV    ABS    3.A    story              be.different    CAUS    SUB.3

atí<sup>a</sup>s                    ,

Atí'as

our Father                ,

ati-        as            ,

1.POSS    father        ,

iirikuruheskútiraku

i        iirkuruuhaskútiraaku

and    thereupon you gave me the gun

i        irii-    kuruur-    ra-    s-    ku-    tiraak-    uh    -0

and    then    DUB        ABS    2.A    1.P    bow        give    PERF

tírestah<sup>a</sup>

tírastaaha

this which you have

ti-        ra-        s-        raah        -a

this    ABS    2.A    have    SUB.1

tiréspari

tiráspari

you living here

ti-        ra-        s-        warii                    -hus            .

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

sáhikstak<sup>a</sup>hi ku<sup>u</sup>

Cáhikstaaka                tikú'u

White man                    he gave me

icaahiks    taakaar    ti-        0-        ku-        uh        -0

person    be.white    IND.3A    3.A    1.P    give    PERF

tíraku                    .

tíraaku'                    .

the gun  
tiraak -u'  
gun NOM .

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

tíras<sup>a</sup> tirakis  
tíraasa tíraakis  
this one bow  
tii- ra- 0- sa -0 tiraak -kis  
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 bow DIM

ahikúh<sup>a</sup> atí^s  
ahikuúha Atí'as  
the one He gave me our Father  
ar- ri- 0- ku- uh -a ati- as  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P give SUB.1 1.POSS father

hiiriahárúhkita<sup>a</sup>  
hi irii'ahárúhkita  
and it was because of it  
hi irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- kita -0  
and that EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.reason PERF

táraha ,  
táraha'  
the buffalo  
tarahaa  
buffalo

ahikutkára<sup>u</sup>

ahikutkára'<sup>u</sup>

His making them for me

ar-      ri-      0-      ku-      ut-      ka.ra'uk      -0      ,  
EV      CONT.3A    3.A    INF.B    PREV    make.PL.P    SUB.3    ,

aahikutkára<sup>u</sup>

a      ahikutkára'<sup>u</sup>

and      His making them for me

a      ar-      ri-      0-      ku-      ut-      ka.ra'uk      -0  
and    EV      CONT.3A    3.A    INF.B    PREV    make.PL.P    SUB.3

pa

pá

elk      ,

pah      ,

elk      ,

aahikutkára<sup>u</sup>

a      ahikutkára'<sup>u</sup>

and      His making them for me

a      ar-      ri-      0-      ku-      ut-      ka.ra'uk      -0  
and    EV      CONT.3A    3.A    INF.B    PREV    make.PL.P    SUB.3

tapáh<sup>t</sup>n      a

taapáhat      a

whitetail deer      and

taa-      pahaat      a

deer      red      and

ahikutkára<sup>u</sup>

ahikutkára'<sup>u</sup>

His making them for me

ar-      ri-      0-      ku-      ut-      ka.ra'uk      -0

EV CONT.3A 3.A INF.B PREV make.PL.P SUB.3

tákatit<sup>n</sup>

taákaatit

mule deer

taa- kaatit  
deer black

aahikutkára<sup>u</sup>

a ahikutkára'<sup>u</sup>

and His making them for me

a ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- ka.ra'uk -0  
and EV CONT.3A 3.A INF.B PREV make.PL.P SUB.3

aská<sup>a</sup> nahurarahkítu

askaá'a rahuraaraahkítuu'<sup>u</sup>

antelopes , all the animals

askaa'a , rahuraar- raar- kituu -u<sup>3</sup>  
antelope , animal PL all NOM

ahikutkawakára<sup>u</sup>

. "

ahikutkawaakára'<sup>u</sup>

. "

His making them for me

. "

ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- kawaaka.ra'uk -0 . "  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN make.DIST SUB.3 . "

Tiwirətatírəktaruha

Tiwiratatíraktaaruha

Now that I have given you the bow

ti- wii- ra- t- a- tiraak- raar- uh -a  
here now ABS 1.A 2.P bow PL give SUB.1

hirúrikutuhárrukst<sup>a</sup>

hiru rikutuuhaárruksta

then this is going to be the cause  
 hiruu riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -his -ta  
 then that.is IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN way make PERF INT

tiwirəstirəktarah<sup>a</sup>  
 tiwirastíraktaraaha  
 your now having the bow  
 tii- wii- ra- s- tiraak- raar- raah -a  
 here now ABS 2.A bow PL have SUB.1

witíisuhakútiku .  
 witi'isuuhakuútiku .  
 that you will kill them for yourself .  
 witi- i- s- ut- rak- kuut.ik -hus .  
 REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A BEN 1/2.PL kill IMPF.SUB .

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

nikurítušuks .  
 rikuriítucuks .  
 I was that way .  
 riku- rii- t- ut- uks- 0 -0 .  
 that.is ASSR 1.A PREV AOR be PERF .

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

kurətkút<sup>a</sup>  
 kuratkuúta  
 when I went somewhere , hi níkutsk<sup>i</sup>  
 ku- ra- t- ku- at -a , hi ríkucki  
 INDF INF.A 1.A INF.B go SUB.1 , and a bird  
 and bird DIM

tuksawášku  
 tuksawáčku  
 it would even sit  
 ti- 0- uks- awahc- kus -0  
 IND.3A 3.A JUSS even be.sitting PERF

ararutatikiškaráhš<sup>t</sup>n  
 a raaruutatikickaraáhc<sup>a</sup>  
 and then I just shot it in the belly  
 a raa- ruu- ta- t- i- kiic- karaar- cak -0  
 and just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ liquid stomach shoot PERF

atátkutit<sup>n</sup>  
 a tákuutit  
 and I killed it  
 a ta- t- kuut.ik -0  
 and IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF

atátpáwa<sup>a</sup>  
 a tatpaáwa'a  
 and I ate it  
 a ta- t- waawa- a -0 .  
 and IND.1/2A 1.A DIST eat PERF .

Nikutuhá<sup>a</sup>  
 Rikutuuhá'a  
 That one was the cause  
 riku- ti- 0- ut- raar -?

that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tíras <sup>a</sup>						tírak <sup>i</sup> s
tíraasa						tíraakis
this one						bow
tií-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	tiraak	-kis
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	bow	DIM

tiráwah<sup>at</sup>n

Tiráwaahat

## the Heavens

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

tirúhtirakawi

## tirúhtiraakawi

this image of a bow

ti-	ra-	0-	uur-	tiraak-	awi-	0	-0
this	ABS	3.A	PREV	bow	image	be	SUB.4

Akíati^s

Aki Atí'as

And here our Father

a-            ki            ati-            as

and there 1.POSS father

## iriwiku hikú har<sup>u</sup>

iriwikuuhikuúhaaru'

He is the one who made the way for me

irii-	wii-	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
that	now	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	way	make	PERF

- . Akítu atí^s
- . A kítuu'u' Atí'as

. And all our Father  
. a kituu -u' ati- as  
. and all NOM 1.POSS father

ahikúharuša

ahikúhaaruuca

He put them in the water for me

ar- ri- 0- ku- haa- ra.uc.uh -0  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P in.water put.PL.P PERF

nahúrahki<sup>i</sup>

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

hirarutatúšja

hi raaruutatúci'a

and then I would just do it

hi raa- ruu- ta- t- ut- i- aar -0  
and just then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

nətkutirəktakáwat<sup>i</sup>

ratkutiraktahkáwati

for me to take out my bow and arrows

ra- t- ku- tiraak- raar- kawat -i  
INF.A 1.A INF.B bow PL take.out SUB.2

nahúrahki<sup>i</sup>

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar -kis

animal DIM

tiraráras<sup>a</sup>

tiraraárasa

these in the water

tií-	ra-	0-	raar-	ha-	sa	-0
this	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	in.water	be.lying	SUB.3

hirarutatušíšakus,

hi raaruutatuciícakus

and then I just shot it

hi	raa-	ruu-	ta-	t-	ut-	i-	ica.kus.k	-0
and	just	then	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	SEQ	shoot	PERF

atátkutit<sup>n</sup>

a tátkuutit

and I killed it

a	ta-	t-	kuut.ik	-0
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	kill	PERF

atahíkatah<sup>^t</sup>n

a tahíkatahat

and I took it out (of the water)

a	ta-	t-	ri-	kata-	hak	-0
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PORT	against.a.vertical.surface	pass.by	PERF

atátpáwa<sup>a</sup>

a tatpaáwa'a

and I ate it

a	ta-	t-	waawa-	a	-0	.
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	DIST	eat	PERF	.

Nikutuhá<sup>a</sup>

tírakís

Rikutuuhá'a

tíraakis

It was the cause

bow

riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raar	-?	tiraak	-kis
-------	-----	----	-----	------	----	--------	------

that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX bow DIM

tíras<sup>a</sup> . A ,  
tíraasa . A  
this . And ,  
tii- ra- 0- sa -0 . a ,  
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 . and ,

irári , tárah<sup>a</sup>  
iraári' táraha'  
brother , buffalo  
i- -raar- -ri' , tarahaa  
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , buffalo

ahikuráruh<sup>a</sup>  
ahikuraáruha  
His giving them to me

ar- ri- 0- ku- raar- uh -a  
EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

atí^s nikúruha ,  
Atí'as rikúruuha  
our Father His giving them to me ,  
ati- as ri- 0- ku- raa- uh -a ,  
1.POSS father CONT.3A 3.A 1.P way give SUB.1 ,

"  
"  
"  
"  
"

Tihasišúksari  
Tihaasicúksaari'

Do this

ti- haa- i- s- ir- ut- uks- aar -i  
this here CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS do IMPF

, atiharispakáhust<sup>a</sup>

. A tihhaarispakaáhusta

! And you are going to be saying this

. a tii- haa- rii- s- waka -:hus -ta .  
. and this here ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT .

Təspakáhusta

Taspakaáhusta

You are going to be saying

ta- s- waka -:hus -ta  
IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

wirəskuwárík<sup>a</sup>

wiraskuuwáríka

when you shoot it

wii- ra- s- ku- warik -a , ,  
when INF.A 2.A INF.B shoot SUB.1 , ,

Tatíriwāruksti

Tatírihwaaruksti'

I have it holy

ta- t- ir- ri- uur- waarukstii -0  
IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.holy PERF

, " nikutuhá

. ' " Rikutuhá'

. ' " That one is the cause

. ' " riku- ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0  
. ' " that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF

tíras <sup>a</sup>						tírak's	
tíraasa						tíraakis	
this						bow	
tií-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	tiraak	-kis	
this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	bow	DIM	

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

nikutíhuta							
rikutíhuuta							
it was He who did it							
riku-	tiir-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	
that.is	INFR	ABS	3.A	PREV	do		PERF

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

tirátpari					
tirátpari					
when I lived here					
tií-	ra-	t-	warii		-hus
this	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	SUB

ahikútakawakára <u>u</u>								
ahikutkawaakára'u								
His making them for me								
ar-      ri-                0-      ku-      ut-            kawaaka.ra'uk      -0								

EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN make.DIST SUB.3 .

hiruiriruruksáwahš<sup>u</sup>

Hiru iriruuruksawahcu

There no matter what it may be

hiruu irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u  
there what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

pírus

piírus

bugs

piirus

worm

tirakáhuriwaw<sup>i</sup>

tirakáhuriwaawi

these going around in the woods

ti- ra- 0- ka- hurii -waa -wi  
this ABS 3.A in.the.brush go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

nirišarísik<sup>i</sup>

riircariísiki

those that are mean

ra- 0- ir- icaris -ik -i  
ABS 3.A PL.3A be.mean DIST SUB.2

hirutahitirətáhkawat<sup>n</sup>

hiru tahitirattáhkawat

then I would take out my bow and arrows

hiruu ta- t- ri- tiraak- raar- kawat -0  
then IND.1/2A 1.A PORT bow PL take.out PERF

natkutír<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

ratkuutiírit

when I saw it

ra- t- ku- ut- iirik -0  
INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV see SUB.4

atátkutit<sup>n</sup>

a tátkuutit .  
and I killed it .  
a ta- t- kuut.ik -0 .  
and IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF .

atátkutit<sup>n</sup>

A tátkuutit  
And I killed it  
a ta- t- kuut.ik -0  
and IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF

nétkúwaš<sup>t</sup>n

ratkúwaacat

when I shot it several times

ra- t- ku- waa- cak -0  
INF.A 1.A INF.B DIST shoot SUB.4

awihirutáhkušta

a wihiru taáhkucta  
and there it would lie dead  
a wii- hiruu ti- 0- ar- kuut- sa -0  
and now there IND.3A 3.A EV dead be.lying PERF

, nirišarísiki

riircariísiki

ones that are mean

ra- 0- ir- icaris -ik -i  
ABS 3.A PL.3A be.mean DIST SUB.2

nahúrahki	.	A	nahúrahki		
rahúrahki	.	A	rahúrahki		
animal	.	And	animal		
rahuraar	-kis	.	a	rahuraar	-kis
animal	DIM	.	and	animal	DIM

nikúrawira  
 rihkúraawiira  
 when it came angrily

ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	raawiir-	a	-0
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	INF.B	angrily	come	SUB.4

iriririšarísik<sup>i</sup>  
 iriiriicariísiki  
 those that were angry

irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	icaris	-ik	-i
that	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	be.mean	DIST	SUB.2

hirutúšia<sup>a</sup>  
 hiru túci'a  
 then he did it :  
 hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hirutitiréktáhkawat<sup>n</sup> a  
 hiru titiraktáhkawat a  
 then he took out his bow and arrows and  
 hiruu ti- 0- tiraak- raar- kawat -0 a  
 then IND.3A 3.A bow PL take.out PERF and

širutaráwira<sup>a</sup>  
 ciru taraáwiira'  
 yet it came angrily (charged)  
 ciruu ti- 0- a- raawiir- a -0

yet IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A angrily come PERF

kišikakitiréktara

kici kaakiitiráktara

but it did not have a bow and arrows

kici kaaki- 0- i- tiraak- raar- raah -0 .  
but NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ bow PL have PERF .

nahúrahk<sup>i</sup> tíšaris

Rahúrahki tiícaris

The animal it was angry

rahuraar -kis ti- 0- icaris -0  
animal DIM IND.3A 3.A be.mean PERF

hikariritiráktara

hi kariitiitiráktara

and it did not have a bow and arrows

hi karii- rii- 0- tiraak- raar- raah -0 ,  
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A bow PL have PERF ,

atutišárikit

a tuuticaárikit

and he stuck it in it

a ti- 0- ut- ica- arik -ik -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PREV on.the.end be.standing CAUS PERF

atíkutit<sup>n</sup>

a tíkuutit

and he killed it

a ti- 0- kuut.ik -0  
and IND.3A 3.A kill PERF

awihirutísá

a wihiyu tiísa .

and there it lay  
 a wii- hiruu ti- 0- i- sa -0 .  
 and now there IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying PERF .

Kúruks tatutaktaíhk<sup>u</sup>  
 Kúruks tatuutaktaíhku'  
 Bears I mean them  
 kuuruks ta- t- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus  
 bear IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P mean IMPF

akítu ihi pakstítkukiš  
 a kítuu'u' ihi pakstítkukic  
 and all , uh , mountain lions ,  
 a kituu -u' , ihii , paks- ritku- kii'ac ,  
 and all NOM , uh , head tail be.long ,

škírihk kítu škírihkāpirətn  
 ckírihki kítuu' ckírihkaapiraat  
 wolves , all wolves  
 ickirir- -kis , kituu ickirir- kaapiraat  
 wolf DIM , all wolf crazy

nakúrawira  
 raakúraawiira  
 when it charged  
 ra- 0- a- ku- raawiir- a -0  
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B angrily come SUB.4

hitutišákus  
 hi tuuticákus  
 and he shot it  
 hi ti- 0- ut- ica.kus.k -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV shoot PERF

atíkutitn						.
a	tíkuutit					.
and	he killed	it				.
a	ti-	0-	kuut.ik	-0		.
and	IND.3A	3.A	kill	PERF		.

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

nikutarúhkítá									
rikutarúhkita									
that is the reason for it									
riku-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kita		-o	
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.the.cause		PERF.	

tírak <sup>i</sup> s		tíras <sup>a</sup>	.				
tíraakis		tíraasa	.				
bow		this one	.				
tiraak	-kis	tií-	ra-	0-	sa	-0	.
bow	DIM	this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3	.

Atí^s  
Atí'as  
Our Father  
ati- as  
1.POSS father

nikutihikuhuhúhkarutíras <sup>a</sup>														
rikutiihikuuhuuuhúhkaru'												tíraasa		
He is the one who made the plans for me												this one		
riku-	tiir-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa.uhur-	ka.ra'uk	-0	tiis-	ra-	0-	sa		-0

that.is	INFR	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	way		make.PL.P	PERF	this	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3
tírak <sup>i</sup> s		tirøštiráktarah <sup>a</sup>												
tíraakis		tiractiráktaraaha												
bow		bow	and	arrows	that	I have								
tiraak	-kis	tií-	ra-	t-	tiraak-	raar-	raah	-a						
bow	DIM	this	ABS	1.A	bow	PL	have	SUB.1						

.

.

.

.

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

hawirisiraíta  
 hawiiriisiraá'iita  
 now you know this :

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

kuwikakatiríhwari  
 kuwikaakaatiríhwari'  
 I do not have any roaming

ku-	wii-	kaaka-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	warii	-hus						
INDF	now	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF						

nahúrahki                    røtkuwáriku  
 rahúrahki                    ratkuúwariku

animal for me to be shooting at it  
 rahuraar -kis ra- t- ku- warik -hus  
 animal DIM INF.A 1.A INF.B shoot IMPF.SUB

iwirikuráhurah^š . A  
 i wirikuraáhurahac . A  
 and I have lost those ways . And

i wii- ri- ku- raa- hurahac -o . a  
 and now CONT.3A 1.P way disappear PERF . and

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

kuwíkariritirúwari  
 kuwíkariiriitirihwari'  
 I do not have any going around  
 ku- wii- karii- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- warii -:hus  
 INDF now EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

tárahá nətkuwáriku  
 táraha' ratkuuwáriku .  
 buffalo for me to be shooting at it .  
 tarahaa ra- t- ku- warik -hus .  
 buffalo INF.A 1.A INF.B shoot IMPF.SUB .

kítu  
 Kítuu'u'  
 All  
 kituu -u'  
 all NOM

witikurárurah^š

witikuuraárurahac

I have lost mine

wii-	ti-	ku-	uur-	raar-	hurahac	-0	.
now	IND.3A	1.P	POSS.P	3PL.INAN.P	disappear	PERF	.

A , irári<sup>i</sup>

A iraári'

And , brother

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

kuwikariritirihuríwa

kuwikariiitirihuríwa

I do not have any roaming around any longer

ku-	wii-	karii-	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	huri	-waa	-0
INDF	now	EMPH.NEG	ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF

pírus

piírus .

bugs .

piirus .

worm .

nukstahkáwari

Rukstahkáwari

If they were going about in the woods

ri-	0-	uks-	raar-	ka-	warii	-hus	.
CONT.3A	3.A	AOR	PL.INDV.A	in.the.brush	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	.

hirarutatušíšakus

hi raaruutatuciícakus

and then I would just shoot it

hi	raa-	ruu-	ta-	t-	ut-	i-	ica.kus.k	-0
----	------	------	-----	----	-----	----	-----------	----

and just then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ shoot PERF

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

kuwikakatiríhuriwa

kuwikaakaatiriíhuriwa

I do not have any roaming around

ku- wii- kaaka- t- ir- ri- uur- hurii -waa -0  
INDF now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A go.around.PL DIST PERF

iwikarirititiráktara

I wikariiititiráktara

And now I do not have a bow and arrows

i wii- karii- rii- t- i- tiraak- raar- raah -0  
and now EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ bow PL have PERF

Náwahá ! irár<sup>i</sup>  
 Ráwa ha iráári'  
 Now , ha ! brother  
 rawa , ha , i- -raar- -ri'  
 now , ha , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

a atí^s  
 a Atí'as  
 and our Father  
 a ati- as  
 and 1.POSS father

ahikuháruš<sup>a</sup>  
 ahikuhaáruuca  
 He put them in the water for me

ar- ri- 0- ku- haa- ra.uc.uh -0  
 EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P in.water put.PL.P PERF

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

hawakirukuratutirkst<sup>a</sup>  
 Hawá kirú kuratuutiíriksta  
 Also I probably will not see it anymore  
 haawa kiruu ku- ra- t- ut- iirik -his -ta  
 also where INDF ABS 1.A PREV see PERF INT

tiraráras<sup>a</sup>

tiraraárasa

these in the water

tií-      ra-      0-      raar-      ha-      sa      -0  
this      ABS      3.A      PL.INDV.A      in.water      be.lying      SUB.3

nahúrahki

rahúrahki

animals

rahuraar      -kis  
animal      DIM

irirétpari

iriirátpari

where I go around

irii-      ra-      t-      warii      -hus      ,  
where      ABS      1.A      be.going.about.IMPF      IMPF.SUB      ,

šiširurukstáras<sup>a</sup>

ci      ciru      rukstaárasa

but      yet      if they were in the water

ci      ciruu      ri-      0-      uks-      raar-      ha-      sa      -0  
but      yet      CONT.3A      3.A      JUSS      PL.INDV.A      in.water      be.lying      SUB.3

hirarutatitirétkawət<sup>n</sup>

hi      raaruutatitirattáhkawat

and      then I would just take out a bow and arrows

hi      raa-      ruu-      ta-      t-      i-      tiraak-      raar-      kawat      -0  
and      just      then      IND.1/2A      1.A      SEQ      bow      PL      take.out      PERF

atótkutit<sup>n</sup>

a      tátkuutit

and      I would kill it

a      ta-      t-      kuut.ik      -0

and IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF

atahíkatah<sup>t</sup>n

a tahíkatahat

and I would take it away

a ta- t- ri- kata- hak -0  
and IND.1/2A 1.A PORT against.a.vertical.surface pass.by PERF