

Skiri Narratives, Twenty-six

Roaming Scout

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

tataríraiwatist^a

tataríraa'iiwaatista

I am going to tell you a story

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

húwi iriahutár^a

huúwi' irii'ahuútaara

indeed what He did

húwi'	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-a
indeed	what	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	SUB.1

atí^{^s}

tirakítak^u

Atí^{'as}

tirakítaku

our Father

this one above

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

Híru úkat^{^tⁿ}

hirukúrahús

úkat^{tⁿ}

Híru uúkatat

hiru

kúrahús

uúkatat

There in the west

there

the old men

in the west

hiruu uukata- -t

hiruu

kurahuús

uukata- -t

there west LOC there old.man west LOC

tiráwih^{^t}ⁿ

tiráwihat

these

tii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
this ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tiwíhatⁿ

tiwíhat

they sit

ti- 0- wi.hak -0 kúrahus
IND.3A 3.A be.sitting.PL PERF old.man .
old men .
kurahuus .

witatúhišis

Witatuúhiicis

I know it

wii- ta- t- ut- riicis -0
now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about PERF .

Irárⁱ

Iraári'

Brother

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

witatutákiritⁿ

witatuutákiirit

I have seen them

wii- ta- t- ut- ak- iirik -0
now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P see PERF

iráwih^{^tⁿ}

iráwihat aki
those sitting aki
ii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0 a- ki
that ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4 and there

rikuisarakita

riku'isaraákita

that is the reason

riku- i- s- ar- raa.kita -0
that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV be.the.way.on.top PERF

iráwih^{^tⁿ}

iráwihat

those sitting

ii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
that ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

isikuruhiritúš^u

isiikuruuhirittuúcu

He put them there plainly

ii- si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- i- ak- ra.uc.uh -0
there DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A OBV SEQ PL.AN.3P put.PL.P PERF

káhikurakukⁱ

kaáhiiku' rákuuki ,
aged their being ,
kaahik -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -uk -i ,
aged NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be DIST SUB.2 ,

nikurakúhar^u ,
rikurakuúhaaru ,
their being the ones who caused it ,
riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- raar -u ,
that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.the.cause SUB.D ,

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

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

tirašíhwawəktiku , hiru
tiracihwaawáktiku . Hiru
this our talking . There
tii- ra- aciir- waa.wak.tik -hus . hiruu
this ABS IN.DU.A talk IMPF.SUB . there

rikuisíruhá^a .
riku'isíruuhá'a .
those are the cause of it .
riku- ii- si- ra- 0- ut- raar -' .
that.is that DU ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX .

Irárⁱ ,
Iraári' ,
Brother ,
i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hirurikuisarakíta

hiru riku'isaraákita

there that one is the reason

hiruu riku- i- s- ar- raa.kita -0
there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV be.the.way.on.top PERF

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tirašíraraha

tiracíraraaha

this one we have

tii- ra- aciir- raar- raah -a , ihi ,
this ABS IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 , ihii ,
uh ,

átira^a

Atíra'

Mother

ati- raa tii- ra- t- raar- raah -a
1.POSS mother this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

tiráharah^a

tiráharaaha

this one I have

hiru
. Hiru
. There
. hiruu
. there

rikuisarák^u

riku'isaaraáku

. A

. A

that is where the source was . And
 riku- i- s- ar- raa- kus -0 . a
 that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV way be.sitting PERF . and

hirurikuisaráku

hiru riku'isaaraáku

there that is where the source is

hiruu riku- i- s- ar- raa- kus -0
 there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV way be.sitting PERF

, irári' , kúrahus ,
 iraári' kúrahus
 , brother , old men
 , i- -raar- -ri' , kurahuus
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , old.man

tiráwih^{^t}

tiráwihat

these

tii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

hirurikuisaráku

hiru riku'isaaraáku

there that is where the way is

hiruu riku- i- s- ar- raa- kus -0
 there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV way be.sitting PERF

nakuratariktáar^a

rakuraatariktá'aara

to create growth

ra- 0- ku- raa- tarikta- aar -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way body become SUB.1

nəkirik^u
 rákiriiku'
 seeds
 rak- kirik -u'
 wood eye NOM

tirəšíarah^a . A ,
 tiracíraaha . A
 these that we have . And ,
 tii- ra- aciir- raar- raah -a . a ,
 this ABS IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 . and ,

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

hirúrikuisarak^u
 hiru riku'isaaraáku
 there that is where the way is
 hiruu riku- i- s- ar- raa- kus -0
 there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV way be.sitting PERF

tirawah^{^tⁿ} kúrahus
 Tiráwaahat kúrahus
 the Heavens old men
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 kurahuus
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 old.man

tiiriráwih^{^tⁿ} , tárah^a
 ti'iriiráwihat , táraha'
 there where they sit buffalos
 tii- irii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0 tarahaa

here where ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4 buffalo

tiratiriríksuriwawⁱ

tiratiriiríksuriwaawi

these that I formerly had roaming

tii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- hurii -waa -wi
this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, nahurarahkítu . I ,
rahúraaraahkituu'u' . I
all animal kind . And ,
rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' . i ,
animal PL all NOM . and ,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

iráwih^{^tⁿ}

iráwihat

those

ii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0 kúrahus
that ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4 kurahuus
old men
old.man

irətpákahu , “

iratpaákahu

that that I am saying

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

Sirihkusaririwisistaukátak^u

sirihkusaaririwisista'uukátaku

their station sits diagonally in the west

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	kus.haar-	iriwis	-his	ra-	uukata-	kus	-0
DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	seat	be.across	PERF	PORT	west	be.sitting	PERF

. "

.

.

.

.

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

wiritúhišis					.	A	,	
wirítuuhiicis					.	A	,	
I understand it now					.	And	,	
wii-	rii-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0	.	a	,
now	ASSR	1.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF	.	and	,

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

wirituhišis						šápat ⁿ
wirítuuhiicis						cápaat
I do understand it now						a woman
wii-	rii-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0	icapaak
now	ASSR	1.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF	woman

sirikskuskúsuku

sirikskuskúsuku

when they used to set her down

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	uks-	kus.k	-hus	-uku
DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	put	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

, nakuitkiškáiru ,
raku'itkická'iiru .
to drop her milk into it .
ra- 0- ku- iit- kiic- ka.iir -hus .
INF.A 3.A INF.B breast liquid put.in IMPF.SUB .

hawawirikutatúhišis

Hawá wirikutatuúhiicis

Also I now understand that

haawa	wii-	riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0
also	now	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF

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

wirítuhišis

wirítuuhiicis

I do understand now

wii-	rii-	t-	ut-	riicis	-0
now	ASSR	1.A	PREV	learn.about	PERF

tiratiriritšahu

tiratiriíriccahu

this carcass I had lying

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	iit-	sa	-hus
------	-----	----	-----	-----	------	------	----	------

this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A body be.lying IMPF.SUB

tárahihkitū

tárahihkituu'u'

a whole buffalo carcass

tarahaa iit- kituu -u'
buffalo body all NOM

iríahuta

irí'ahuuta

the way it was

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

iriahikuhára^u

irí'ahikuhaára'u

that way which He made for me

irii- ar- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
that EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV way make SUB.3

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

hawirisúhišis

haawiirísuuhiicis

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

kukakuátira
 Kukaaku'aátira'
 It is not my way

ku- kaaku- aa- t- ir- raa- 0 -0
 INDF NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A way be PERF

šahisíšahiksu
 cahiksícahiksu'

Indian people

icaahiks icaahiks -u'
 person person NOM

tirótpari

ákitar^u

tirátpari

ákitaaru'

these of mine

tribe

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

tirótpari

. Tirátpari

. My living here

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

kakuátiruhu^u

kaaku'aátiruuhu'u

it is not my way

kaaku- aa- t- ir- raa.uhur -'
 NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be.the.way EX .

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

hirutihá^a atí^{^s}
 hiru tuuhá'a Atí'as
 then it is the reason our Father
 hiruu ti- 0- ut- raar -' ati- as
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX 1.POSS father

hirutirakítaku
 hiru tirakítaku
 there this one above
 hiruu tii- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 there this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

ahawíška^a títak^u
 ahawícka'a " Tiítaku
 his thinking: " Here
 ar- ra- 0- wicka -a " tii- -taku
 EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 " this LOC

súkspari .
 súkspari' . "
 go about ! "
 i- s- uks- warii -:hus . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF . "

I , askurúrit
 I askuruúrit
 And together
 i asku ra- 0- uur- ik -0

and one ABS 3.A PREV look.like PERF

kuhášákuru
kuuhácakuru'
He made us

kuur- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0
DUB ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P make PERF

itirišihwari

i tiiriicíhwari'

and we do go about here

i tii- rii- aciir- warii -:hus
and here ASSR IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

əskurúritⁿ

askuruúrit

together

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

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

sikakiráit^a

sikaakiráá'iita

they did not know

si- kaaki- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0
DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

kúrahus ,
kúrahus

old men
 kurahuus
 old.man

hiruiriruahiríra^u

hiru iriruu'ahiriíra'u
 then when He was made
 hiruu irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- ra'uk -0
 then when then EV ABS 3.A OBV SEQ make SUB.3

iriruahiríra^u

iriruu'ahiriíra'u

, when He was made
 , irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- ra'uk -0
 , when then EV ABS 3.A OBV SEQ make SUB.3

áhawiška^a

áhawicka'a

, his thinking: " "
 , ar- ra- 0- wicka -a "
 , EV ABS 3.A think SUB.1 "

súksparitítak^u

Súkspari' tiítaku
 Go about here
 i- s- uks- warii -:hus tii- -taku
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.going.about.IMPF IMPF here LOC

ákitar^u

ákitaaru' .
 tribe !
 akitaar- -u' .
 tribe NOM .

witatáhuraru
 Witatáhuraaru .
 Now I give you the earth .
 wii- ta- t- a- huraar- uh -0 .
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P earth give PERF .

witatarakawákaru
 Witataraakawaákaru'
 I have now made you
 wii- ta- t- a- rak- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P 1/2.PL make.DIST PERF

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

títak^u . Ikuharasáhat^u
 tíitaku . " I kuuharasáhaatu'
 here . " And he was growing
 tii- -taku . " i kuur- ra- 0- rasahat -:hus
 here LOC . " and DUB ABS 3.A grow.up IMPF

, ikuharasáhat^u ,
 i kuuharasáhaatu' .
 and he was growing .
 i kuur- ra- 0- rasahat -:hus .
 and DUB ABS 3.A grow.up IMPF .

wiwikuharáritis ,
 Wiwikuuharaárittis ,
 Now he was older ,
 wii- wii- kuur- ra- 0- raariktis -0 ,

now now DUB ABS 3.A be.older PERF ,

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

wikuruhirakítawⁱ
wikuruuhiraakítawⁱ
then it was the reason
wii- kuruur- ri- 0- raa.kita.wi -0
now DUB CONT.3A 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF

ahitakarušíra^u
ahitaakaruucíra'u
his making the bundle sticks
ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- haak- ka- ra.uc -i ra'uk -0
EV ABS 3.A OBV BEN wood in be.lying.PL SUB.2 make SUB.3

tárah^a
táraha'
buffalo
tarahaa
buffalo

ahihašakárah^{^tⁿ}
ahiihacakaárah^a
when they were dropped
ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar- takaa.ra.hak -0
EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF BEN 3PL.INAN.P drop SUB.4

taraháwiahitkára^u
táraha' wi'ahitkára'u

buffalos after He made them for them
 tarahaa wii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ka.ra'uk -0
 buffalo when EV ABS 3.A OBV BEN make.PL.P SUB.3

hikuruhiwáku , “
 hi kuruuhiwáku’
 and then He said : “
 hi kuruur- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , ”
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Tihakasisuhúra

Tihaakasiicuhúra

You must do it this way

tii- haa- kaas- s- ir- ut- uhur- aar -0
 this here POT.2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PREV way.of.doing do PERF

, təstaráhist^a
 . Tastaraáhistá
 . You are to have it
 . ta- s- raar- raah -his -ta
 . IND.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF INT

tiráspari

tiráspari .

while you go about .

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

taspakáhurst^a “ atíra ,
 Taspakáhurstá Atíra’ .
 You are going to say Mother .
 ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta ati- raa .
 IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT 1.POSS mother .

" nikutustaráhist^a
 Rikutastaraáhistá
 That is the one you are to have
 riku- ta- s- raar- raah -his -ta
 that.is IND.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF INT

hirikurirakitáwist^a
 hi rikuriiraakitáwista
 and that is going to be the reason
 hi riku- rii- 0- raa.kita.wi -his -ta
 and that.is ASSR 3.A be.the.primary.way PERF INT

ísparíakitar^u
 íspari ákitaaru'
 your going around tribe
 i- s- warii -hus akitaar- -u'
 CONT.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB tribe NOM

šíkstitⁿ .
 cikstit . "
 well . "
 cikstik . "
 well . "

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

iwiahihuhukawakára^u
 iwi'ahihuuhukawaakára'u
 when He made various plans for him
 ii- wii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa.uhur- kawaaka.ra'uk -0

when when EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV way make.DIST SUB.3

kúrahus hiahawáku
 kúrahus hi ahawáku'
 the old man , and He said
 kurahuus , hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 old.man , and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

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

tiharárah^t
 Tihaaraárawaahat
 This Heavens yonder
 tii- haa- raa- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0
 this here just ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

tasutárist^a
 tasuutárista
 you are going to do it
 ta- s- ut- aar -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF INT

isurawiraríhkara^u
 isuraawiraríhkara'u
 when you make a drawing
 i- s- uur- ra- awi- rariir- ka.ra'uk -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV PORT image marking make.PL.P SUB.3

.
 . "

. "

. "

. "

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

nukuruhúšia
 ruukuruuhúci'a
 thereupon he did it

ruu-	kuruur-	ri-	0-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

kúrahus
 kúrahus
 the old man
 kurahuus
 old.man

wiahitkára^u
 wi'ahitkara'u
 when he made them for Him

wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ka.ra'uk	-0	,
when	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	BEN	make.PL.P	SUB.3	,

ihi		ahawáka						
ihi		ahawaáka					"	
uh	,	after he said				:	"	
ihii	,	ar-	ra-	0-	waak	-a	,	"
uh	,	EV	ABS	3.A	say.SUB	SUB.1	,	"

atíra witəskarúkst^a
 Atíra' witaskarúksta
 Mother now you are to make her
 ati- raa wii- ta- s- ka.ra'uk -his -ta
 1.POSS mother now IND.1/2A 2.A make.PL.P PERF INT

, hitiharisutárist^a
 hi tihaarísuutárista
 and this is what you are going to do:
 hi tii- haa- rii- s- ut- aar -his -ta
 and this here ASSR 2.A PREV do PERF INT

təsparúkstirukst^a
 taspaarúkstiiruksta
 you are going to consecrate it ,
 ta- s- waarukstii -ra'uk -his -ta ,
 IND.1/2A 2.A be.holy CAUS PERF INT ,

hikaririštataraha
 hi kariirícta táraha'
 and it shall not be a buffalo cow
 hi kari- rii- 0- 0 -his -ta tarahaa
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be PERF INT buffalo

.
 .
 .
 .

tištáihikúwik^u
 Tícta ihi kíwiiku'
 It is going to be , uh , a buffalo bull
 ti- 0- 0 -his -ta , ihii , kiwiik -u'

IND.3A 3.A be PERF INT , uh , buffalo.bull NOM

isparukstíra^u .
ispaarukstiíra'u .
when you consecrate it .
i- s- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A be.holy CAUS SUB.3 .

Hirúisušⁱa
Hiru isúci'a .
Then you'll do it .
hiruu i- s- ut- i- aar -0 .
then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF .

hiruisirúwa
Hiru isirúwa .
Then you'll take it off .
hiruu i- s- i- ruwaah -0 .
then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ remove PERF

kišákus^u níhuks^u
kicákusu' . Ríhuksu'
a buffalo scalp . Only
kiic.ca.kus -u' . rihuks -u'
buffalo.mane NOM . alone NOM

stiháhirikišákus^u ,
ctihaáhiri' kicákusu'
top of the head buffalo scalp
astiihaar- -hiri' kiic.ca.kus -u'
top.of.the.head LOC buffalo.mane NOM

hiiruisurúwa ,
hi iriruu'isurúwa .

and then you'll take it off .
 hi irii- ruu- i- s- uur- ruwaah -0 .
 and then then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV remove PERF .

“ Hā^a !
 Haá'a .
 Ha !
 haa'a .
 ha .

tasirihukitákust^a

Tasiriihuukitákusta

You are to have it placed on top

ta- s- ir- ri- uur- huukita- kus -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A on.top be.sitting PERF INT

, " nikuwitiwáku , “
 . " Rikuwitiwáku' “
 . " That is what He said : “
 . " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , “
 . " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Tasirihukitákust^a

Tasiriihuukitákusta

You are to have it sitting on top

ta- s- ir- ri- uur- huukita- kus -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A on.top be.sitting PERF INT

, “

atirairasirirəšawístaritⁿ

Atíra' irasiriiracawístarit

Mother this one you are going to have hanging up

ati- raa ii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- raar- ta -wi -his -ta -rit
1.POSS mother that ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.hanging SUB.L PERF INT INT.SUB

,
.
.
.
.

witatahakarúši^u

Witatahaakaaruúci'u

I am giving you the bundle sticks

wii- ta- t- a- haak- kaa- ra.uc -i uh -0
now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P wood inside be.lying.PL SUB.2 give PERF

. Witatará^u

. Witataraá'u

. I am giving you the way

. wii- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0
. now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

nəskuraráh^a

raskuraraáha

for you to have them

ra- s- ku- raar- raah -a
INF.A 2.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

nakurakárah^u

rakuraakárah^u

to be fastidious

ra- 0- ku- raa- karahaar -u

INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.neat SUB.D

nakuraraših̄tis^u

rakuraaracih̄tis^u

to revere it

ra- 0- ku- uur- raa.racih̄tis -u
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.reverent SUB.D

nasikururaukátawⁱ

rasih̄kuruuraa'uukátawⁱ

for you to have them hanging on the west wall

ra- s- ir- ku- ri- uur- raa- uukata -wi
INF.A 2.A POSS.1/2A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A way hang.on.the.west.wall SUB.L

. " Nikuwitiwáku

. " Rikuwitiwáku'

. " That is what He said

. " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0

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

tiráwah .

Tiráwaahat .

the Heavens .

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

Ahawáku , "

Ahawáku' "

He said :

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

Tihakasúš^{ia}

Tihaakaasúci'a

This you will do :
 tii- haa- kaas- s- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 this here POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

tiharáwahə́tⁿ
 Tihaaráwaahat
 these Heavens
 tii- haa- ra- 0- a.hak -waa -0
 this here ABS 3.A extend.in.a.line DIST SUB.4

tasawahukskakúskist^a
 taasawaahakskakuskista .
 you are to place the Heavens in it .
 ta- s- a.waa.hak.his- ka- kus.k -his -ta .
 IND.1/2A 2.A heavens in put PERF INT .

tasurárirukst^a
 Tasuráriiruksta
 You are going to mark it
 ta- s- uur- rariir -ra'uk -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be.marked CAUS PERF INT

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

tirawawárikⁱ ,
 tirawaawaáriki
 these various ones
 tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i
 this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

híhiruiriráku^u

hi hiru iriraáku
and then that one
hi hiruu irii- ra- 0- kus -0
and then that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

kiśákus^u

kicákus^u
buffalo scalp
kiic.ca.kus -u'
buffalo.mane NOM

hiruisikákus

hiru isikákus . "
there you'll place it inside . "
hiruu i- s- i- ka- kus.k -0 . "
there CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ in put PERF . "

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

tirətpawákahu

tiratpaawaákahu
these things I am saying
tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus
this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hikukariritíruruhú^u

hi kukariiriitíruruuhú'u
and it is not my plan
hi ku- kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.uhur -'

and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.the.way EX

šahiksíšahiks^u ,
 cahiksícahiksu' .
 Indian people .
 icaahiks icaahiks -u' .
 person person NOM .

hiruati[^]stirakítak^u

Hiru Atí'as tirakítaku
 There our Father this one above
 hiruu ati- as tii- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 there 1.POSS father this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

nikuwitaruhú^u

rikuwitaruuhú'u .
 that is his way .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -' .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.the.cause EX .

nikuwitiwáku .

Rikuwitiwáku' .
 That is what He said .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

Hiruahúšia

Hiru ahúci'a kúrahus
 Then he did it kúrahus
 the old man
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 kurahuus
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF old.man

wiahiraítustaruh^a

wi'ahiraa'íitustaaruha

when He gave him stories

wii- ar- ra- 0- ir- raa.iit.us- raar- uh -a
when EV ABS 3.A OBV story PL give SUB.1

hikuruhuraríru

hi kuruuhurariíru'
and then he made marks

hi kuruur- ri- 0- uur- rariir -ra'uk -0
and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV be.marked CAUS PERF

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

tihawirasírihk^u

tihaawirasírihku

this that you now have

tii- haa- wii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- kus -0
this here now ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

níkutⁱ

. Ríkuti'

. It is the one

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

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tirakatít^u
 tirakatiítu
 this black one
 tii- ra- 0- katiit -u
 this ABS 3.A be.black SUB.D

irutkatištákaku ,
 irutkatictaákaku ,
 that one with the black ring around it ,
 ii- ra- 0- ut- katiit- taaka.kus -0 ,
 that ABS 3.A PREV black sit.in.a.circle SUB.4 ,

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

nikuwitíihitirutawahəksúrahwawⁱ
 Rikuwítí' ihi tiruutawaahaksúrahwaawi
 That is the one , uh , this one with the Heavens touching the earth
 riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii , tii- ra- 0- ut- a.waa.hak.his- hurah
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh , this ABS 3.A PREV heavens
 hang.down.touching.the.earth DIST SUB.L

hirunikuwitiwáku
 . Hiru rikuwitiwáku'
 . Then that is what He said
 . hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0
 . then that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

atí[^]s .
 Atí'as .
 our Father .

ati- as .
 1.POSS father .

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

kuhawáku atíəs
 kuuhawáku' Atí'as “
 He must have said our Father : “
 kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as , “
 DUB ABS 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father , ”

tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ ikárikətⁿ
 Tiráwaahat ikárikat
 The Heavens in the center
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 iika.ri -kat
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 center LOC

tasuhtariwískista
 tasuhtariwískista
 you are to mark a line
 ta- s- uur- ta.riwis.k -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV put.a.mark.on PERF INT

hirukahuraririwísis^u
 hiru kaahuraaririwísisu' .
 there diagonally across the world .
 hiruu kaa.huraar- iriwis -his -u' .
 there earth be.across PERF NOM .

kususíwi^u

Kuusucíwi'u'

It will face it

kuus- 0- ut- i- wi.uu -0
POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ be.facing PERF

hirispakáhust^a

hi rispákaahusta

and you are to say

hi rii- s- waka -:hus -ta
and ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

tiisutaríwisk^a

ti'isuhtaríwiska

this line you mark

tii- i- s- uur- ta.riwis.k -a , "
this CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV put.a.mark.on SUB.1 , "

Hawiruharutúruh^{^t}

Haawiruuhaaruutúruuhat

Here the Trail Of Dust extends

haa- wii- ra- 0- ut- raar.huutu- u.hak -0
here now ABS 3.A PREV trail.of.dust extend.in.a.line PERF

. "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

Hirurikuwitihahurasáhkaru

Hiru rikuwitiihaahuurasaáhkaru'

There that is when He named them

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- huur.asar- ka.ra'uk -0
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV BEN 3PL.INAN.P name make.PL.P PERF

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

Aahawáku						atí^s	,	"
A	ahawáku'					Atí'as		"
And	He said					our Father	:	"
a	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	ati-	as	,
and	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	1.POSS	father	,

Atihawiriráhka
 A tihaawiriiráhka
 And here they are on it
 a tii- haa- wii- rii- 0- raar- ka -0
 and here here now ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A be.in PERF

nísar^u
 Riisaaru' .
 the Chiefs .
 riisaar -u' .
 be.chief NOM .

hirutitawišt ^a						nísar ^u		
Hiru	titáwicta					riisaaru'		
There	he is to be among them					the chief		
hiruu	ti-	0-	tawi	-his	-ta	riisaar	-u'	
there	IND.3A	3.A	be.among	PERF	INT	be.chief	NOM	

tirəsíhwari ,
 " tiracíhwari .
 , " our living here ,

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

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

tirəšihwari
 tiracihwari "
 our living here, "
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus "
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB "

tiras^u nísar^u .
 tíraasu riísaaru' . "
 your being a chief . "
 tii- ra- s- 0 -u riisaar -u' . "
 this ABS 2.A be SUB.D be.chief NOM . "

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

Tiráwah^tⁿ
 Tiráwaahat
 The Heavens
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hirutihariráhka

hiru	tihaariírahka						
there	here they are on it						
hiruu	tii-	haa-	rii-	0-	raar-	ka	-0
there	here	here	ASSR	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.in	PERF

nísar ^u	
Riisaaru'	.
the Chiefs	.
riisaar	-u'
be.chief	NOM

irikasúši ^a							
Irikaasúci'a							
You will do that	:						
irii-	kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	,
that	POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	,

tiwirasuráriruku							
tiwirasuráriiruku							
when you are marking them							
tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	uur-	rariir	-ra'uk	-hus
when	when	ABS	2.A	PREV	be.marked	CAUS	IMPF.SUB

ikárikət ⁿ	awahaksikárikət ⁿ		
ikárikat	Awaahaksikárikat		
in the center	in the center of the Heavens		
iika.ri	-kat	a.waa.hak.his-	iika.ri -kat
center	LOC	heavens	center LOC

kasiwawaurírikít ⁿ							
kaasiwaawaa'uuriírikít	.						
you will stand them here and there	.						
kaas-	s-	i-	waawaa-	uuri.arik	-ihk	-0	.
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	DIST	stand.upright	CAUS	PERF	.

hupiríitiit ⁿ						.	"
Huupírit	tí'it					.	"
Stars	they are					.	"
huupirik	ti-	0-	0	-ik	-0	.	"
star	IND.3A	3.A	be	DIST	PERF	.	"

Akúhawaku						atí^s	,
A	kuuhawáku'					Atí'as	,
And	He must have said					our Father	,
a	kuur-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	ati-	as
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	1.POSS	father

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

Atihátaku							
A	tihaátaku						
And	here						
a	tii-	haa-		-taku			
and	here	here		LOC			

tirakahuráhkatiit ^u							
tirakaahuraáhkatiitu							
this black earth							
tii-	ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit	-u		
this	ABS	3.A	earth	be.black	SUB.D		

nikurisuririkíkist ^a							
rikuriisuuriirikíhkista							
that is where you are to stand it							

riku-	rii-	s-	uuri.arik	-ihk	-his	-ta
that.is	ASSR	2.A	stand.upright	CAUS	PERF	INT

húpirit ⁿ		kāsi <u>ru</u>				
huúpirit	.	Kaásiru'				.
a star	.	You will make it				.
huupirik	.	kaas-	s-	i-	ra'uk	-0
star	.	POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	make	PERF

tasisáskust^a

Tasisaáskusta

You are going to name it

ta-	s-	hisaask	-.:hus	-ta
IND.1/2A	2.A	call.by.name	IMPF	INT

karariwari					.	"
Karariiwari					.	"
Does Not Move					.	"
kara-	ri-	0-	warii	-hus	.	"
NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	.	"

Hiruati^{^s}

Hiru	Ati'as
Then	our Father
hiruu	ati- as
then	1.POSS father

nikuwitihaitúskaru

rikuwitihaa'ítuskaru'

He is the one who made stories

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa.iit.us-	ka.ra'uk	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	BEN	story	make.PL.P	PERF

kúrahus	nahkút ^a	.
---------	---------------------	---

kúrahus	raahkútka						.
the old man	when he slept						.
kurahuus	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	itka	-0	.
old.man	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	sleep	SUB.4	.

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

Hitíiriráriki							
Hi	ti’iriiraáriki						
And	here where it stands						,
hi	tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	,
and	here	where	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	,

híaškæt ⁿ						
hi	áckat					
and	above					
hi	ac	-kat				
and	above	LOC				

hiisurírikit ⁿ							.
hi	isuuriírikit						.
and	you’ll stand it						”
hi	i-	s-	uuri.arik	-ihk	-0		.
and	CONT.1/2A	2.A	stand.upright	CAUS	PERF		”

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

hirikuahawáku , “
 hi riku’ahawáku’ “
 and that is what He said : “
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Atíhiihtutⁿ
 A tí’ , ihi , ihtat
 And it is , uh , more
 a ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii , ihtat
 and IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh , some.more

hawákiripəškⁱ
 hawá kírpacki .
 also small ones .
 haawa kiripac -kis .
 also small DIM .

hawakasúšⁱa
 Hawá kaasúci’a
 Also you must do it :
 haawa kaas- s- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 also POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

ísuráwuh^a , “
 isuuráwuha
 when you draw an image ,
 i- s- uur- awi.wuh -a ,
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV draw SUB.1 ,

hirispakáhust^a , “
 hi rispaakáhusta
 and you are going to say

hi	rii-	s-	waaka	:-hus	-ta
and	ASSR	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	INT

Narukitkiripəšk ⁱ				.	"	A	,
Raarukitkíripacki				.	"	A	
Small Stretcher				.	"	And	,
raar.huka.iit	kiripac	-kis		.	"	a	,
stretcher	small	DIM		.	"	and	,

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

nikuahawáku							,	"
riku'ahawáku'								"
that is what He said							:	"
riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0		,	"
that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF		,	"

Sitištakahákust^a
Sítictaakarahaákusta

They (du) are going to move around it

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	taaka.ra.hak	:-hus	-ta
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	circle.around	IMPF	INT

irárik ⁱ							,
iraáriki							.
that one							.
ii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i			.
that	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2			.

sitištakahákust^a

Sitictaakarahaákusta

They are going to move around it

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	taaka.ra.hak	:-hus	-ta
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	circle.around	IMPF	INT

kararíwari

Karariíwari

Does Not Move

kara-	ri-	0-	warii	-hus
NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

sitištakarahákust^a

Sitictaakarahaákusta

They (du) are going to move around it

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	taaka.ra.hak	:-hus	-ta
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	circle.around	IMPF	INT

narúkai^u

Raarúka'íitu'

Stretcher

raar.huka.iit	-u'
stretcher	NOM

tisírirarikⁱ

tisíriraariki

these (du) standing holding it

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

Náw^a

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

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

nikuwitiwáku						atí^s	
rikuwitiwáku'						Atí'as	
that is what He said						our Father	
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0	ati-	as
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF	1.POSS	father

, “
: “
, ”
, ”

Atiharawárik ⁱ							
A	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	wa-	arik	-i
And	this	here	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2
a	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	wa-	arik	-i
and	this	here	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2

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

tirarahkírus ^u							
tirarahkíruusu							
these close together							
tii-	ra-	0-	raar-	kiruus-	0	-u	
this	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	group	be	SUB.D	

kasiwákah ^u		húpirit ⁿ
kaasiwákaahu'		huúpirit
you must say --		stars

kaas- s- i- waka -:hus huupirik
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF star

tóskarukst^a

táskaruksta

you are going to make them

ta- s- ka.ra'uk -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A make.PL.P PERF INT

hirisakisáskust^a

hi riisakisaáskusta

and you are going to name them

hi rii- s- ak- hisaask -:hus -ta
 and ASSR 2.A PL.AN.3P call.by.name IMPF INT

šaká^a ' nikutəspakáhust^a

Cakaá'a . Rikutaspákaahusta

Pleiades . That is what you are going to say

cakaa'a . riku- ta- s- waka -:hus -ta
 Pleiades . that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

šaká^a ' .

Cakaá'a .

Pleiades .

cakaa'a .

Pleiades .

tirarahkirusárikⁱ .

tirarahkirusáriki .

these standing close together .

tii- ra- 0- raar- kiruus- arik -i .
 this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A group be.standing SUB.2 .

"

ii- ra- 0- a- a -0
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

Sakúru^u , "
 Sakuúru' .
 Sun .
 sakur -u' .
 sun NOM .

nikutəspakáhust^a “

Rikutaspaakáhusta

That is what you are going to say

riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta
 that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

sakúru^u . "
 Sakuúru' . "
 Sun . "
 sakur -u' . "
 sun NOM . "

Aahawáku atí[^]s , “
 A ahawáku' Atí'as “
 And He said our Father : “
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as , "
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father , "

Arisurawíst^a

A risuurawísta

And you are going to draw it

a rii- s- uur- awi.wuh -his -ta
 and ASSR 2.A PREV draw PERF INT

hiruiwiráhísahu

hiru iwirahiísahu
 there when the dawn comes
 hiruu ii- wii- ra- 0- a- hiis- a -hus
 there when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A morning come IMPF.SUB

hirikuisuhtáriwis
 hi riku'isuhtáriwis
 and that is where you'll draw a line
 hi riku- i- s- uur- ta.riwis.k -0
 and that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV put.a.mark.on PERF

wirikutiruhú^u
 . Wirikutiruhú'u
 . Now that is the way
 . wii- riku- ti- 0- raa.uhur -'
 . now that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX

nakúhisa a
 raakúhiisa a
 when dawn comes and
 ra- 0- a- ku- hiis- a -0 a
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B morning come SUB.4 and

írahu sakúr^u
 íraahu Sakuúru'
 that one coming Sun
 ii- ra- 0- a- a -hus sakur -u'
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB sun NOM

hiruwiratáhkawitikúsuku
 hiruwiratáhkawititikusuku
 there when it begins to appear
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- taahka.wi.itik -hus -uku
 there when ABS 3.A appear.in.the.distance IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

híawitⁿ

hi áwit
and first
hi awit
and first

hiruštakunaruhkawítitⁿ

hi ructakuraruhkawiítit
and when the sun fully appears
hi ra- 0- ut- sakur- raar- uhka.wi.itik -0
and ABS 3.A PREV sun ITER fully.appear SUB.4

híawitⁿ

nasákurar^a

hi áwit rasákuraara
and first when the suns come
hi awit ra- 0- a- sakur- raar- a -0
and first ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun PL come SUB.4

tuspakáhust^a

taspaakáhusta
you are to say --
ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta -
IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT -

tuspákahust^a

taspaakáhusta ~
you are to say : ~
ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta , '
IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT , '

witasakuráru^a

Witasakuraáru'a'
Now suns come in a line

wii- ti- 0- a- sakur- raar- u.a -0
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A sun PL extend.this.way PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

sakururikutuhárukst^a

Sakuúru' rikutuuhaáruksta
 Sun that one is going to be the cause
 sakur -u' riku- ti- 0- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -his -ta
 sun NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN way make PERF INT

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

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

nakahurahkatítuh^{^tⁿ}

rakaahuraahkatiituhāt

its being black earth

ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit-	u.hak	-0
ABS	3.A	earth	black	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

nispakáhust^a

rispaakáhusta

you are to say

rii-	s-	waaka	-.hus	-ta	huupirik	kaatiit	.
ASSR	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	INT	star	be.black	.

hupírikatitⁿ

Huupíríkaatit

Black Star

A naruhukatítkuš^u

A Huupírit Raruuhuhkatítkucu'

And Big Black Meteor Star

a	huupirik	raruuhuur-	katiit	-kucuu	.
and	star	meteor	be.black	AUG	.

nikutəspakáhust^a

Rikutaspaakáhusta

That is what you are to say

riku-	ta-	s-	waaka	-.hus	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	INT

isírawarikiⁱ

isírawaariki

those (du)

ii-	si-	ra-	0-	wa-	arik	-i	hupírit
that	DU	ABS	3.A	DIST	be.standing	SUB.2	huupírit
							stars
							huupirik
							star

sítəstukst^a

sítastuksta

you are to make them (du)

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

A tirəsákaku
 A tirasaákaku
 And where the sun passes ,
 a tii- ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0 ,
 and here ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4 ,

tirəsákaku
 tirasaákaku
 where the sun passes ,
 tii- ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0 ,
 here ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4 ,

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

irirahakúsakur^u ,
 iriiraáhaku Sakuúru'
 where it passes Sun
 irii- ra- 0- hak -hus sakur -u'
 where ABS 3.A pass.by IMPF.SUB sun NOM

irárikⁱ
 iraáriki
 that one
 ii- ra- 0- arik -i
 that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

nikutísa^a
 rikutiisá'a
 that one is named

riku-	ti-	0-	asar	-'
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.named	EX

təspakáhusta					hupírit ⁿ
taspaakáhusta					huupírit
you are going to say					star
ta-	s-	waaka	-.hus	-ta	huupirik
IND.1/2A	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	INT	star

kásir ^u				
kaásiru'				
you will make it				
kaas-	s-	i-	ra'uk	-0
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	make	PERF

híispakah ^u				
hi	ispákaahu'			
and	you'll say			
hi	i-	s-	waka	-.hus
and	CONT.1/2A	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF

Škirítiuħš					,
Ckirí Ti'uuhac					,
Wolf Was Fooled					,
ickirir	ti-	0-	uuhac	-0	,
wolf	IND.3A	3.A	be.fooled	PERF	,

škiríhtiuħš					.
Ckirí Ti'uuhac					.
Wolf Was Fooled					.
ickirir	ti-	0-	uuhac	-0	.
wolf	IND.3A	3.A	be.fooled	PERF	.

Tirəsákaku

Tirasaákaku

Where the sun passes

tii- ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0
here ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4

hiírararu^a

hi iraraáru'a
and those extending

hi ii- ra- 0- a- raar- u.a -0
and that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A extend.this.way SUB.4

wirikúriitⁿ

wirikúrii'it

they are the ones

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

tiwirətararuh^a

tiwirataraáruha

these I have given you

tii- wii- ra- t- a- raar- uh -a
this when ABS 1.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1

étira

Átira'

Mother

ati-

raa

1.POSS

mother

wírikutiitⁿ

Wírikutii'it

They are the ones

wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
now that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

wirátararuh^a

wirátaraaruha

the ones I have given you

wii-	ra-	t-	a-	raar-	uh	-a
now	ABS	1.A	2.P	3PL.INAN.P	give	SUB.1

ótira

škirítuuhəš

Atíra'

Ckirí Ti'uuhac

Mother

Wolf Was Fooled

ati-	raa	ickirir	ti-	0-	uuhac	-0
1.POSS	mother	wolf	IND.3A	3.A	be.fooled	PERF

hiruirirutúšira

Hiru iriruutúcira'

Then he is the one whose way it was

hiruu	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raar	-0
then	that	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

hirukúrahus

tirárikⁱ

hiru kúrahus

tiraáriki

then an old man

this

hiruu	kurahuus	tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i
then	old.man	this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2

tiwirasutákiritⁿ

tiwirasuutákiirit

when you see them

tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	ut-	ak-	iirik	-0
when	when	ABS	2.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	see	SUB.4

ótir^a

Átira'

Mother

ikaríkat . Ikaríkat
 in the center . In the center
 iika.ri -kat . iika.ri -kat
 center LOC . center LOC

irárikⁱ
 iraáriki
 that one
 ii- ra- 0- arik -i
 that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

nikutiškúkaha^u
 rikutí' ckúkahaaru'
 it is the one the fireplace.
 riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 ckuka.haar -u'
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF fireplace NOM

tasutárist^a
 Tasuutárista
 You are going to perform it
 ta- s- ut- aar -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF INT

nakúrawaruksti^u .
 rakuraawaárukstii'u .
 to be a holy way .
 ra- 0- ku- raa- waarukstii -u .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.holy SUB.D .

Təskahutákipist^a
 Taskaahuhtákipista*
 You are to gather the world into it
 ta- s- kaa.huur- takik.wuh -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A world gather PERF INT

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

Hiruisiriháktarikata

Hiru isiriihaáktarikataa'

Then you'll bring up poles

hiruu	i-	s-	ir-	i-	haak-	raar-	ri-	kata.a	-0
then	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	SEQ	wood	PL	PORT	come.up	PERF

, škítiiks ;
 ckiiti'iks .
 four .
 iks.kiiti'iks .
 four .

nakahuráhkatituhətⁿ

Rakaahuraáhkatiituhat

The black earth (ie north side)

ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit-	u.hak	-0
ABS	3.A	earth	black	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

kasihakáti^h

kaasihaakátiihu' .

you will blacken the pole .

kaas-	s-	i-	haak-	katiit	-ra'uk	-0
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	wood	be.black	CAUS	PERF

airakahuráhkatituh^htⁿ

A irakaahuraáhkatiituhat

And that black earth

a	ii-	ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit-	u.hak	-0
and	that	ABS	3.A	earth	black	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

irəsakuríspu

irasakuríspu

where the sun sets

ii-	ra-	0-	sakur-	iis.wuu	-hus
where	ABS	3.A	sun	go.out.of.sight.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

hiisaktahkátar^u

hi isáaktahkátaaru'

and you'll make the pole yellow

hi	i-	s-	haak-	rahkataar	-ra'uk	-0
and	CONT.1/2A	2.A	wood	be.yellow	CAUS	PERF

a irasákaku

A irasaákaku

And where the sun passes

a	ii-	ra-	0-	saak-	hak	-hus
and	where	ABS	3.A	sun	pass.by	IMPF.SUB

irirəsakurispu

irirəsakurispu

where the sun sets

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

kasihakisawátar^u

kaasihaakiisawátaaru'

you will make the pole white

kaas-	s-	i-	haak-	kiis.awataar	-ra'uk	-0
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	wood	be.pure.white	CAUS	PERF

airəsákaku

A irasaákaku
 And where the sun passes
 a ii- ra- 0- saak- hak -hus
 and where ABS 3.A sun pass.by IMPF.SUB

nuharírahar^u
 ruuhaarírahaaru
 on the other side
 ra- 0- ut- raarira.haar -u
 ABS 3.A PREV be.the.side SUB.D

irahápi
 irahaápi
 that tree
 ii- ra- 0- haak- wi -0
 that ABS 3.A wood be.upright SUB.4

kásihapahah^u .
 kaásihaapáhaahu' .
 you will make it red .
 kaas- s- i- haak- pahaat -ra'uk -0 .
 POT.2A 2.A SEQ wood be.red CAUS PERF .

Náwa ,
 Ráwa
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

wirikutəspakáhu^a
 wirikutaspaakáhu^a
 this is what you are going to say
 wii- riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta
 now that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

tiwirətuharíka^a

tiwiratuuhaaríkaa'a

this that I have told you

tii-	wii-	ra-	t-	ir-	a-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-0
this	now	ABS	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PREV	tell.to	SUB.4

	húpirit ⁿ	táskarukst ^a						
.	Huúpirit	táskaruksta						
.	Stars	you are going to make them						
.	huupirik	ta-	s-	ka.ra'uk	-his	-ta		
.	star	IND.1/2A	2.A	make.PL.P	PERF	INT		

títak^u

tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ

tiítaku

Tiráwaahat

here

the Heavens

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

hiwirikurispakáhust^a

hi wirikurispakáhusta

and this is what you are to say

hi	wii-	riku-	rii-	s-	waaka	-.hus	-ta	,
and	now	that.is	ASSR	2.A	say.IMPF	IMPF	INT	,

kárikis^u

Kaárikisu'

Karikisu

ka.arik.his -u'

Four.Pole.Ceremony NOM

karikisuraruháktawi

Kaárikisu'

Raruuhaáktawi

Karikisu

Its Upright Pole

ka.arik.his	-u'	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	haak-	ca	-wi
Four.Pole.Ceremony	NOM	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	wood	be.upright	SUB.L

, ' nikutəspakáhust^a .
 . * Rikutaspaakáhusta .
 . That is what you are going to say .
 . riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta .
 . that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT .

Witətara ^u	nákuš ^u
Witatáraa'u	raákucu'
I have given it to you	a great way
wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0	raa- -kucuu
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF	way AUG

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Nikuwitiwáku	,
Rikuwitiwáku'	,
That is what he said	,
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0	,
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF	,

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

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

tirə́tpari
tirátpari
this of mine

ákítar^u

ákitaaru'

tribe

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

. Aahawáku , “
. A ahawáku’ “
. And He said : “
. a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ”
. and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Tírak^u

tirətíraš^a

Tíraaku'

tiratíracca

Bow

this bow

tiraak -u' tii- ra- 0- tiraak- sa -0
gun NOM this ABS 3.A bow be.lying SUB.3

nakahuráhkatituhətⁿ

rakaahuraáhkatituhət

the black earth

ra- 0- kaa.huraar- katiit- u.hak -0
ABS 3.A earth black extend.in.a.line SUB.4

irətíraš^a

irátiracca

that bow

ii- ra- 0- tiraak- sa -0
that ABS 3.A bow be.lying SUB.3

tiiriráspari
 ti'iriiráspari
 here where you live
 tii- irii- ra- s- warii -hus
 here where ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikutatiškaratakutiraktáruh^a
 rikutáticka' rataakutiraktaáruha
 I want that for me to give you the bow and arrows
 riku- ta- t- wicka -0 ra- t- a- ku- tiraak- raar- uh -a
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B bow PL give SUB.1

hitiráwah^{^t^n}
 hi Tiráwaahat
 , and the Heavens
 , hi tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 , and this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hihúpiritⁿ nískarukst^a
 hi huúpirit rískaruksta .
 and stars you are to make them .
 hi huupirik rii- s- ka.ra'uk -his -ta .
 and star ASSR 2.A make.PL.P PERF INT .

hā^a ! tirəsuháiriku
 Haá'a ! tirsuuhaa'íiriku
 Ha ! these things you see
 haa'a , tii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -hus
 ha , this ABS 2.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB

tiráwah^{^t^n}
 Tiráwaahat
 the Heavens

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

tirátirakš^a
 tiratírakca
 this bow

tii- ra- 0- tiraak- sa -0
 this ABS 3.A bow be.lying SUB.3

wirikutatatiráku
 wirikutatatíraaku
 this is the bow I am giving you

wii- riku- ta- t- a- tiraak- uh -0
 now that.is IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P bow give PERF

šahiksíšahiks
 cahiksícahiks
 Indians
 icaahiks icaahiks
 person person

rəskuktáhuriwawⁱ
 raskuktáhuriwaawi
 for you to run them in droves

ra- s- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
 INF.A 2.A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

witirəskuhakútik^a
 witiraskuuhaakuútika
 for you to kill them for yourself

witi- ra- s- ku- ut- raa- kuut.ik -a
 REFL INF.A 2.A INF.B BEN way kill SUB.1

Náw^a , wírikutira

Ráwa wírikutira'
 Now that is the way
 rawa wii- riku- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0
 now now that.is IND.3A 3.A way be PERF

nəskukawútku
 raskukawuútika
 for you to kill them
 ra- s- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -a
 INF.A 2.A INF.B kill.DIST SUB.1

irirurəskuwíška^a
 iriruuraskuwícka'a
 whatever you desire
 irii- ruu- ra- s- ku- wicka -a
 what then INF.A 2.A INF.B want SUB.1

kirətihaitutašíkxa
 Kíra tíhaa'ituútacikxa
 Let me do this
 kira tii- haa- i- t- ut- aciks.aar -0
 perhaps this here CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV consider PERF

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

tuharáihk^u
 tuuhaará'ihku'
 He means it
 ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

witirakətkútik^a

witirakutkuútika

when he kills it for himself

witi-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	kuut.ik	-a
REFL	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	BEN	kill	SUB.1

nahúrahkⁱ

rahúrahki

an animal

rahuraar

animal

hítiwarukstir^u

hi tiwaarúkstii ru'

and he'll consecrate it

-kis	hi	ti-	0-	waarukstii	-ra'uk	-0
DIM	and	IND.3A	3.A	be.holy	CAUS	PERF

a

tárahá

nakukútik^a

.

A

tárahá'

rakukuútika

.

And

a buffalo

when he kills it

.

a

tarahaa

ra-

0-

ku-

kuut.ik

-a

.

and

buffalo

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

kill

SUB.1

hítiwarukstir^u

hi tiwaarúkstii ru'

and he'll consecrate it

hi ti- 0- waarukstii -ra'uk -0

and IND.3A 3.A be.holy CAUS PERF

Nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku'

That is what He said

riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS as father

atí^s

Atí^sas

our Father

' "

"

: "

, "
, "

Tihátasutawarihust^a

Tihaátasuutawaahíihusta

This is what you are going to do

tii-	haa-	ta-	s-	ut-	aar	-waa	-i	-:hus	-ta
this	here	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	DIST	IMPF	IMPF	INT

. " Iharisuháiriku

. " Ihaarisuuhaa'íiriku'

. " There you do see them

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

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

(in) the Heavens

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

haritírakša

haariitírakca

there is the bow

haa-	ri-	0-	tiraak-	sa	-0	.
here	CONT.3A	3.A	bow	be.lying	PERF	.

Aahawáku

A ahawáku'

And He said

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

Tiiríótirukš^a

Ti'iriiratírakca

Here where the bow is

tii- irii- ra- tiraak- sa -0
here where ABS bow be.lying SUB.3

hitiharakahuráhkatituhətⁿ

hi tihaarakaahuraáhkatiituhət
and this black earth

hi tii- haa- ra- 0- kaahuraar- katiit uhak -0
and this here ABS 3.A earth be.black extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tiháatak^u

tihaátaku

right here

tii- haa- -taku
here here LOC

isiritrarutíkust^a

isiirit raaruutiíkusta
plainly it'll just be sitting there

isii.rik raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -his -ta
in.plain.sight just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF INT

húpiritⁿ

. Huúpirit

. Stars

. huupirik

. star

tasurawawíst^a

tasuurawaáwista

you are going to draw them

ta- s- uur- awi.wuh -waa -his -ta
IND.1/2A 2.A PREV draw DIST PERF INT

hirispakáhust^a .
 hi rispakaáhusta ' ,
 and you are going to say : ' ,
 hi rii- s- waka -:hus -ta , ' ,
 and ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT , ' ,

Parusháwirik^u

Párus háwiiriiku
 A rabbit there it is sitting
 warus haa- wii- ri- 0- kus -0
 rabbit here now CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

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

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

isírítⁿ

isiírit
 plainly
 isii.rik
 in.plain.sight

narururawikatáku
 raaruuruurawikatáku
 the image is just on it

raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	uur-	awi-	kata-		kus	-0
just	then	ABS	3.A	PREV	image	against.a.vertical.surface		be.sitting	PERF

tiráwah^{^t^n} Párus
 Tiráwaahat párus
 the Heavens a rabbit

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

hihupiritníitⁿ . Kúrahus
 hi huúpirit rí'it . Kúrahus
 and stars they are . The old man
 hi huupirik rii- 0- 0 -ik -0 . kurahuus
 and star ASSR 3.A be DIST PERF . old.man

ahihuhukawakára^u
 ahihuhukawaakára'u
 when He made the ways for him
 ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa.uhur- kawaaka.ra'uk -0
 EV ABS 3.A OBV BEN way make.DIST SUB.3

witatariráwatⁿ
 witatariiraáíwat
 I have told you his story
 wi- ta- t- ir- a- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -0
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

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

tiráwah .

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

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

kakiráitawa
kaakiraa'ítawa
they do not know
kaaki- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -waa -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know DIST PERF

kúrahus tirawawárikⁱ
kúrahus tirawaawaáriki
the old men these various ones ,
kurahuus tii- ra- 0- waawa- arik -i ,
old.man this ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2 ,

níhuks^u
ríhuksu'
only
rihuks -u'
alone NOM

tihikuhaitúskaru
tíhikuuhaa'itúskaru'
He must have made the stories for me
tiir- ri- 0- ku- ut- raa.iit.us- ka.ra'uk -0
INFR CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV story make.PL.P PERF

atirakahuráruhətⁿ
. A tirakaahuraáruhat
. And this earth extending
. a tii- ra- 0- kaahuraar- uhak -0
. and this ABS 3.A earth extend.in.a.line SUB.4

nəsákaku
rasaákaku
where the sun passes
ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0
ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4

hirutíritⁿ šáhiks . A
hiru tírit cáhiks . A
there it stands a person . And
hiruu ti- 0- arik -0 icaahiks . a
there IND.3A 3.A be.standing PERF person . and

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

nikuwitiwáku atíəs
rikuwitiwáku' Atí'as
this is what He said our Father
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father

“ Hirurótaku
“ Hiru rátaku
: “ Then there

, " hiruu ra- 0- ta kus -0
 , " then ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

nárikⁱ

raárikⁱ

the one standing

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

tiirirəsákaku

ti'iriirasaákaku

here where the sun passes

tii- irii- ra- 0- saak- hak -hus
 here where ABS 3.A sun pass.by IMPF.SUB

rurušiwahuksúrahwi

ruuruciwaahaksúrahwi

there where the Heavens touch the ground

ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- a.waa.hak.his- hurah -wi
 there ABS 3.A PREV SEQ heavens hang.down.touching.the.earth SUB.L

táhus^a

taáhus^a

it is going to be coming

ti- 0- a- a -:hus -ta
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF INT

hirisisáskust^a

Hi riisisaáskusta

And you are going to call it

hi rii- s- hisaask -:hus -ta
 and ASSR 2.A call.by.name IMPF INT

Hupurikahuriríwis'

Huupirikaahuriríwis	.	"
Star Across The World	.	"
huupirik	kaa.huur-	iriwis
star	world	be.across

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

nikusitihisásku
rikusitihisaásku'
that is what they call it

riku-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	hisaask	:-hus
that.is	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	call.by.name	IMPF

šahiksíšahiks	.	A	,
cahiksícahiks	.	A	
Indians	.	And	,
icaahiks	icaahiks	.	a
person	person	.	and

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

iruharuturíškat^a
iruuhaarutuuríckaata
that end of the Trail Of Dust

ii-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar.huutuur-	icka.at	-a
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	trail.of.dust	be.the.end	SUB.1

tirəsákaku
 tirasaákaku
 this passing sun
 tii- ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0
 here ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4

tirašihwákahu
 tiracihwaákahu
 this one we say
 tii- ra- aciir- waaka -hus
 this ABS IN.DU.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tiwisiráhak^u
 tiwisiráhaku
 these (du) sitting on water
 tii- wii- si- ra- 0- ha- kus -0
 this now DU ABS 3.A in.water be.sitting SUB.4

níkuškⁱ kíwaks hiahawáku
 ríkucki kiiwaaks hi ahawáku'
 birds ducks* and He said
 rikuc -kis kiiwaaks hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 bird DIM duck and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

atí[^]s , “
 Atí'as “
 our Father : “
 ati- as , ”
 1.POSS father , ”

Nikutəstapakíhust^a
 Rikutastapakíhusta
 This is what you are going to say

riku-	ta-	s-	rak-	waki.a	-:hus	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	1/2.PL	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	INT

kiwuks , '

Kiiwaaks .

Duck .

kiiwaaks .

duck .

hawisiraháku

Haawisiraháku

There they (du) sit on water

haa-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ha-	kus	-0
here	now	DU	ABS	3.A	in.water	be.sitting	PERF

kiwuks' . "

kiiwaaks . "

the Ducks . "

kiiwaaks . "

duck . "

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

tirəsákaku

tirasaákaku

this sun passing

tii-	ra-	0-	saak-	ka-	kus	-0
here	ABS	3.A	sun	in	be.sitting	SUB.4

irasiraítawi , “

irasiraa'ítawi "

that one you know : "

ii- ra- s- ir- raa.iita -wi , "

that ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A know SUB.L , "

Irahúhupiritⁿ

Íraahu huupírit

That one coming star

ii- ra- 0- a- a -hus huupirik

that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB star

kasíkaru

kaasíkaru'

you are to make them

kaas- s- i- ka.ra'uk -0

POT.2A 2.A SEQ make.PL.P PERF

hírispakáhust^a

hi rispaakáhusta

and you are to say

hi rii- s- waaka -:hus -ta

and ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT

Nutpakstaríksis^u ,

Rutpakstaaríksisu' .

Real Headed Snake .

rut paks- raariks -his -u' .

snake head be.true PERF NOM .

nutpakstaríksis^u ,

Rutpakstaaríksisu' .

Real Headed Snake .

rut paks- raariks -his -u' .

snake head be.true PERF NOM .

nikutəpakáhust^a .
rikutaspaakáhusta .
that is what you are to say .
riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta .
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT .

Suhuriwáriki
Suúhuri' rawaáriki
Over here the ones
suuhuri' ra- 0- wa- arik -i
over.here ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

kasúši^u hupíritⁿ
kaasúci'a huupírit
you will do it stars
kaas- s- ut- i- aar -0 huupirik
POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF star

ispawauririkihk^a
ispaawa'uuriirikihka .
when you stand them here and there .
i- s- waawa- uuri.arik -ihk -a .
CONT.1/2A 2.A DIST stand.upright CAUS SUB.1 .

hírispakáhust^a , “
Hi rispaakáhusta ,
And you are to say :
hi rii- s- waaka -:hus -ta ,
and ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT ,

Witapáksta
Witapákstaa'
The head comes up

wi- ti- 0- a- paks- ta.a -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A head come.up PERF

awítíhi nutpákskaris . "

áwit ihi Rutpákskaris . ' "

first , uh , Weak Headed Snake . ' "

awit , ihii , rut paks- kariis . ' "

first , uh , snake head be.awkward . ' "

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hirutiráwah^{tⁿ}

hiru Tiráwaahat

there the Heavens

hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0

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

nikuwitihaitústaruhurá^a

rikuwitiihaa'itustaaruhurá'a

that is where the stories originated

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.iit.us- raar- ruu- hurar -[']

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF PREV story PL PORT be.where.one.comes.from EX

tirətpawakahu kúrahus

tíratpaawaakahu kúrahus

these things I am saying an old man

tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus kurahuus

this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB old.man

iriahiruharíka

irii'ahiruuhaaríkaa'a

those he had been told by Him

irii- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
who EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV tell.to SUB.4

,
.
.
.
.

nikuwitaraitusta

Rikuwitaraa'íitusta'

These are his stories

riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.iit.us- raar- 0 -0
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A story PL be PERF

.
.
.
.
.

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

tirárikⁱ úkatətⁿ
tiraárikⁱ uúkatat
this one in the west ,
tii- ra- 0- arik -i uukata- -t ,
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 west LOC ,

tirárik ⁱ						hupírit ⁿ
tiraárik						huupírit
this one						star
tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i		huupirik
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2		star

nakiširikistihúr ^u						,
rakiciirikistihuúru						
the big bright one						
ra-	0-	kica.irikis	rihur	-u		
ABS	3.A	be.shiny	be.big	SUB.D		

nikuwitiwáku						,	“
rikuwitiwáku’							“
this is what He said						:	“
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waka’u	-0	,	”
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,	”

Tirárik						
Tiraárik						
This one						
tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i		
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2		

kasiruúkatət ⁿ							hupírit ⁿ
kaásiru’						uúkatat	huupírit
you will make it						in the west	a star
kaas-	s-	i-	ra’uk	-0	uukata-	-t	huupirik
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	make	PERF	west	LOC	star

təstúkst^a
. Tastúksta
. You are to make it

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

hírispakáhust^a , Páruksti
 hi rispaakáhusta Paáruksti'
 and you are to say Holy Being
 hi rii- s- waaka -:hus -ta waarukstii
 and ASSR 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT be.holy

. ' təspakáhust^a , Páruksti
 . Taspakáhusta Paáruksti'
 . You are to say Holy Being
 . ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta waarukstii
 . IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT be.holy

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

Hiwírikuri

Hi wirikurí'
 And now this is the one
 hi wii- riku- rii- 0- 0 -0
 and now that.is ASSR 3.A be PERF

tirašú^a ,
 tiraacuú'a ,
 this rain ,
 tii- ra- 0- a- acuu.a -0 ,
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A rain SUB.4 ,

tirašú^a . "

tiraacuú'a	.	"
this rain	.	"
tii- ra- 0- a- acuu.a -0	.	"
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A rain SUB.4	.	"

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

tiraškararušáhu	
tiraackaraaruúcahu	
these rising clouds	
tii- ra- 0- a- icka- raar- uca.a -hus	
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A cloud PL rise IMPF.SUB	

níkuwit ⁱ	.
ríkuwiti'	.
this is the one	.
riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0	.
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF	.

Aahawáku	,	"	Títak ^u
A ahawáku'		"	Tiítaku
And He said	:	"	Here
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0	,	"	tii- -taku
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF	,	"	here LOC

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

nikutiraitustuwaríhust^a

rikutiraa'itustuuwariíhusta

it is the one who is to carry news around

riku-	ti-	0-	raa.iit.us-	ruu-	warii	-.hus	-ta
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	story	PORT	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT

hirutiiriwirəsparihústaritⁿ

hiru ti'iriwirasparihústarit

then here where you are going to go around

hiruu	tii-	irii-	wii-	ra-	s-	warii	-.hus	-ta	-rit
then	here	where	now	ABS	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT	INT.SUB

hitiráwah^{^t}ⁿ

hi Tiráwaahat

and the Heavens

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

nikuriraitustuwaríhust^a

rikuriiraa'itustuuwariíhusta

it is the one who is to carry news about

riku-	rii-	0-	raa.iit.us-	ruu-	warii	-.hus	-ta
that.is	ASSR	3.A	story	PORT	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF	INT

tirawawárikⁱ

. Tirawaawaáriki

. These various ones

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

nikutikitawíšt^a

rikutikitawícta

it is going to be the leading one

kítu

kítuu'u'

all

riku-	ti-	0-	kita.wi	-his	-ta	kituu	-u'
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF	INT	all	NOM

.
.
.
.
.

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

nikuwitíharu
rikuwitíhaaru'

that is how it was made for him

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	BEN	way	make	PERF

iriahawawák^a

irii'ahawaawaáka

the things He said

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	waa-	waak	-a
that	EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	say.SUB	SUB.1

ahihuhukawakára^u

ahihuuhukawaakára'u

the ways that were made for him

ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	raa.uhur-	kawaaka.ra'uk	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	BEN	way	make.DIST	SUB.3

. Náw^a nikuwitiwáku , “

. Ráwa rikuwitiwáku' "

. Now that is what He said : "

. rawa riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "

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

Hitihairirárikⁱ

Hi tihaa'iriiraárikí

And the one that stands here ,

hi tii- haa- irii- ra- 0- arik -i ,

and here here that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

tihairirárikⁱ

tihaa'iriiraárikí

the one that stands here

tii- haa- irii- ra- 0- arik -i

here here that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

niskarúksta^a hupírit škítiiks

riskarúksta huupírit ckiíti'iks

you are going to make them stars four

rii- s- ka.ra'uk -his -ta huupirik iks.kiiti'iks

ASSR 2.A make.PL.P PERF INT star four

nakuháru^a

rakuháruu'a .

their numbering .

ra- 0- ku- ut- raar.uu -a .

INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.a.number SUB.1 .

wirikutíikist^a

Wirikutíikista kúrahus

They are to be the ones kúrahus

old men

wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -his -ta kurahuus

now that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF INT old.man

iriraituskarukústaritⁿ

iriiraa'ituskaruukústarit

the ones who are to be making stories

irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	raa.iit.us-	ka.ra'uk	-hus	-ta	-rit
that	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	story	make.PL.P	IMPF.SUB	INT	INT.SUB

hirutiiriráspari

hiru ti'iriiráspari

then here where you go around

hiruu	tii-	irii-	ra-	s-	warii	-hus
then	here	where	ABS	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

iriruharikawahústaritⁿ

iriruuhaarikaawaahústarit

what they are going to be telling you

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	a-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-wa	-hus	-ta	-rit
what	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	2.P	PREV	tell.to	DIST	IMPF.SUB	INT	INT.SUB

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

wituharáihku

wituuhaará'ihku'

He was meaning

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

tirəšihwawaktiku

tiracihwaawaktiku

this that we were speaking about

tii- ra- aciir- waa.wak.tik -hus
 this ABS IN.DU.A talk IMPF.SUB

irirakúra^u
 irirakúraa'u
 what the way is

irii- ra- 0- ku- raa- 0 -u
 what INF.A 3.A INF.B way be SUB.D

hitiratára^u

hi tiratáraa'u
 and this way I gave to you

hi tii- ra- t- a- raa- uh -0
 and this ABS 1.A 2.P way give PERF

Ahawáku , “ Ikárikətⁿ
 Ahawáku' “ Ikárikat
 He said : “ In the center
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " iika.ri -kat
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " center LOC

títaku
 tiítaku
 here
 tii- -taku
 here LOC

kasisurírikítⁿ
 kaasuci'uuriírikít
 you will stand it

kaas- s- ut- i- uuri.arik -ihk -0
 POT.2A 2.A BEN SEQ stand.upright CAUS PERF

hupíritⁿ kasiwákah^u

huupírit	.	Kaasiwákaahu'	.	"
a star	.	You will be saying	.	"
huupirik	.	kaas- s- i- waka -:hus	.	"
star	.	POT.2A 2.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF	.	"

Ahawáku					ikárikæt ⁿ
Ahawáku'					" Ikárikat
He said			:		" In the center
ar- ra- 0-	waka'u	-0	,		" iika.ri -kat
EV ABS 3.A	say	PERF	,		" center LOC

tiiriráwihæt ⁿ					
ti'iriiráwihat					
here where they sit					
tii- irii- ra- 0-	wi.hak	-0			
here where ABS 3.A	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4			

irahkataháhiri					
irahkataháhiri'					
in front					
irahkata-	-haar	-hiri'			
in.front	LOC	LOC			

nikutasuririkíhkista							
rikutasuuriirikíhkista							
that is where you are to stand it							
riku- ta- s- uuri.arik -ihk -his -ta							,
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A stand.upright CAUS PERF INT							,

ihi		hupírit ⁿ
ihi		huupírit
uh	,	the star
ihii	,	huupirik
uh	,	star

hirihwakáhusta , “
 hi rihwaakáhusta .
 and they are going to say
 hi ra- 0- ir- waaka -:hus -ta
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.IMPF IMPF INT

Kúсарu
 Kúсаарu’
 Station
 kus.haar- -u’
 seat NOM

siríhkusaririwisistaukátaku
 siríhkusaaririwisista’uukátaku
 Their Station Sitting Diagonally in the West
 si- ra- 0- ir- kus.haar- iriwis -his ra- uukata- kus -0
 DU ABS 3.A PL.3A seat be.across PERF PORT west be.sitting PERF

, " híraku ihi
 . Híiraaku ihi
 . Another one , uh ,
 . hii- ra- 0- kus -0 , ihii ,
 . other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

hurahwíhiri
 hurahwíhiri’
 below
 hurah -wi -hiri’
 hang.down.touching.the.earth SUB.L LOC

kasiurírikitⁿ hupíritⁿ
 kaasi’uúriirikit huupírit .
 you will stand it the star .

kaas-	s-	i-	uuri.arik	-ihk	-0	huupirik	.
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	stand.upright	CAUS	PERF	star	.

wírikutišápatⁿ

Wírikuti'	cápaat
It is now the one	a woman
wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -0	icapaak
now that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF	woman

irirutarihústaritⁿ

iriruutariihústarit	the one who is to do it
irii- ra- 0- ut- aar -i -hus -ta -rit	
that ABS 3.A PREV do IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB	

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

Tirárikⁱ

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

nikutuhárukst^a

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

hupíritⁿ kásiru

. Huupírit kaásiru'
 . A star you will make it
 . huupirik kaas- s- i- ra'uk -0
 . star POT.2A 2.A SEQ make PERF

nakúrihur^u

rakúrihuuru

to be big

ra- 0- ku- rihur -u
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.big SUB.D

hiwiríkuri

hi wiríkuri'

and it is the one

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

iwirəsiriħuriwawⁱ

iwirasiriħuriiwaawi

those you now have roaming

ii- wii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- hurii -waa -wi
 that now ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

tárah^a . Nikutəspakáħust^a ,

táraha' . Rikutaspaakáħusta

buffalos . That is what you are to say :

tarahaa . riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta ,

buffalo . that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT ,

“ Narahúhkitawi^u

rarahúhkitawi'u'

the leading bundle

rarahuur- kita.wi -u'

bundle be.the.leader NOM

sirirarahuraukátak^u

siriirarahura'uukátaku

they have the bundle in the west

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	rarahuur-	ra-	uukata-	kus	-0
DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	bundle	PORT	west	be.sitting	PERF

. " Nikutəspakáhust^a ,
. Rikutaspaakáhusta
. That is what you are to say :
. riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta ,
. that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT ,

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

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

nikúwiti

rikúwiti'

it is the one

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	-0	hupírit ⁿ
the.one	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PERF	huupírit
					star
					huupirik
					star

nárihur^u

rárihuuru

the large one

ra-	0-	rihur	-u	.	"
ABS	3.A	be.big	SUB.D	.	"

A irakúšapatⁿ

A íraaku

And that

cápaat

woman

a ii- ra- 0- kus -0 icapaak
 and that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 woman

nikuaharaitus

riku'aharaa'iitus

that one is her story

riku- ar- ra- 0- a- raa.iit.us -0
 that.is EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A be.a.story PERF

áhawak^a

áhawaaka “

His saying :

ar- ra- 0- waak -a , “
 EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

təspakáhust^a . Náw^a ,

Taspaakáhusta ráwa

You are going to say of it now

ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta rawa
 IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT now

tarahkitáwi^u

raaraahkitáwi'u'

the leading one

raa- raar- kita.wi -u'
 way PL be.the.leader NOM

nihtararaukátak^u

rihtaarara'uukátaku

their having the bundle hanging in the west

ra- 0- ir- taa.raar- ra- uukata- kus -0
 ABS 3.A PL.3A bundle PORT west be.sitting SUB.4

" Tirakúšapatⁿ

.	Tíraaku					cápaat
.	This					woman
.	tii- ra- 0- kus -0					icapaak
.	this ABS 3.A		be.sitting		SUB.4	woman

wirikutəspakáhust ^a	.
wirikutaspaakáhusta	.
now this is what you are going to say	.
wii- riku- ta- s- waaka -:hus -ta	.
now that.is IND.1/2A 2.A say.IMPF IMPF INT	.

Náw ^a , tihátira	.
Ráwa tihaátira'	.
Now this was the way	.
rawa tii- haa- ti- 0- raa- 0 -0	.
now this here IND.3A 3.A way be PERF	.

tihatiruhú ^u	
Tihaátiruuhú'u	
This was the plan	
tii- haa- ti- 0- raa.uhur -'	
this here IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX	

tiirirəsakúrispu	
ti'iriirasakúrispu	
here where the sun sets	
tii- irii- ra- 0- sakur- iis.wuu -hus	
here where ABS 3.A sun go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF.SUB	

tiraauririkúšapat ⁿ	
tira'uuriíriku	cápaat
this one standing	woman
tii- ra- 0- uuri.arik -hus	icapaak
this ABS 3.A stand.upright IMPF.SUB	woman

tiráwah^{^t}
 Tiráwaahat
 the Heavens

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

tirárik ⁱ					títak ^u			
tiraárik ⁱ					tiítaku		“	
this one					here	:	“	
tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	tii-	-taku	,	”
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	here	LOC	,	”

tiwiráspari
 Tiwiráspari
 Where you live

tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	warii	-hus
here	now	ABS	2.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

títaku
 tiítaku
 here
 tii- -taku
 here LOC

wirikutəsuhárukst^a
 wirikutasuuhaáruksta
 you are to be the one who is the cause

wii-	riku-	ta-	s-	ut-	raar	uk	-his	-ta
now	that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	be.the.cause	be	PERF	INT

hisirahisáskust^a
 hi sirahisaáskusta
 and they are to call her

hi	si-	ra-	0-	hisaask	-:hus	-ta
and	DU	ABS	3.A	call.by.name	IMPF	INT

tiwurahuriwáwi
 tiwurahuriwaawi
 these going around

tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	hurii	-waa	-wi
this	now	ABS	3.A	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L

šahiksíšahiks		Atíra				
cahiksícahiks		Atíra'				
Indians		Mother				
icaahiks	icaahiks	ati-	raa			
person	person	1.POSS	mother			

kušuksasikskápakⁱs
 Kucuksacikskaaápaakis
 Pity me

i-	s-	ku-	ut-	uks-	aciks.kaapaakis	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	1.P	PREV	JUSS	feel.pity.for	PERF

	Atíra					
	Atíra'					
,	Mother!		!			
,	ati-	raa	,			
,	1.POSS	mother	,			

hisirahisáskust ^a						Pa	,	
hi	sirahisaáskusta					Pah	.	
and	they are to call her					Moon	.	
hi	si-	ra-	0-	hisaask	-:hus	-ta	paa	.
and	DU	ABS	3.A	call.by.name	IMPF	INT	moon	.

' nikutiwakíhust^a

Rikutihwakiíhusta

That is what they are to say

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	-ta
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	INT

Pa	.	'
Pah	.	
Moon	.	
paa	.	
moon	.	

Hirutiirirəsakuríspu

Hiru ti'iriirasákurispu

There here where the sun sets

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

tirauríriku

tira'uuriíriku

this one standing upright

tii-	ra-	0-	uuri.arik	-hus	,
this	ABS	3.A	stand.upright	IMPF.SUB	,

irári

iraári'

brother

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	tii-	-taku
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	here	LOC

wirikutuháhuratirawahækstáhkatarári
wirikutuuhaáhura'

this is where it originated

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

tirawaahakstáhkataarári

this Heavens becoming yellow

tii- ra- 0- a.waa.hak.his- rahkataar -aar -i
this ABS 3.A heavens be.yellow INCH SUB.2

, tirawahækstáhkatarári
tirawaahakstáhkataarári

, this Heavens becoming yellow

, tii- ra- 0- a.waa.hak.his- rahkataar -aar -i
, this ABS 3.A heavens be.yellow INCH SUB.2

. Wírikutira

. Wírikutira'

. That is where the way is

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

tirarataríktawahi

tiraraataríktawaahi

when they give birth to them

tii- ra- 0- raa.tarikta.aar -wa -i
when ABS 3.A body.to.take.form DIST IMPF.SUB

píra^u

piíra'u'

babies

piira -u'

baby NOM

witirítkarúku

witirítkaruku

when they are bearing their own

witi- ra- 0- ir- ut- ka.ra'uk -hus ,
 REFL ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN make.PL.P IMPF.SUB ,

Nahurarahkítu pír^u
 rahuraaraahkítuu'u' píira'u'
 all animal kind babies
 rahuraar- raar- kituu -u' píira -u'
 animal PL all NOM baby NOM

witirítkaruku .
 witirítkaruku .
 when they are bearing their own .
 witi- ra- 0- ir- ut- ka.ra'uk -hus .
 REFL ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN make.PL.P IMPF.SUB .

Irikuruhuširahuraráru
 Iriikuruuhucirahuraaráru'
 All different kinds of animals
 irii- kuruur- ri- 0- ut- i- rahuraar- raar.uu -0
 that DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV SEQ animal be.a.number PERF

kítu tárah^a nahúrahkⁱ pa
 kítuu'u' táraha' rahúrahki páh
 all buffalo , animals , elk ,
 kituu -u' tarahaa , rahuraar -kis , pah ,
 all NOM buffalo , animal DIM , elk ,

tapáh^t tákatitⁿ Aská^a
 taapáhat taakátit askaa'a
 whitetail deer , mule deer , antelopes ,
 taa- pahaat , taa- katiit , askaa'a ,
 deer red , deer be.black , antelope ,

kítu nahúrahkⁱ

kítuu'u' rahúrahki
all animals
kituu -u' rahuraar -kis
all NOM animal DIM

tiraráhkas^a
tiraráhkasa
these in the woods
tii- ra- 0- raar- ka- sa -0
this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.the.brush be.lying SUB.3

kítu tírakísuh^{t1}
kítuu'u' tirakiícuhat
all this running water
kituu -u' tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
all NOM this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

tiraráras^a
tiraraárasa
these in the water
tii- ra- 0- raar- ha- sa -0
this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in.water be.lying SUB.3

nahúrahkiⁱ
rahúrahki
animals
rahuraar -kis
animal DIM

kitúpirustirakári^u
kítuu'u' piirus tirakári'u
all bugs , these many ones
kituu -u' piirus , tii- ra- 0- kari -u
all NOM worm , this ABS 3.A be.numerous SUB.D

. " Nikuwitiwáku , “
. " Rikuwitiwáku’ “
. " That is what He said : “
. " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
. " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Títak^u

Tiítaku

Here

tii- -taku

here LOC

wírikutiratariktaanihust^a

wirikutiraatarikta’ariíhusta

this is where life is now going to begin

wii- riku- ti- 0- raa.tarikta.aar -i -:hus -ta
now that.is IND.3A 3.A body.to.take.form IMPF IMPF INT

nikuturáhi . ”

. Rikutúraahi . ”

. That is good . ”

. riku- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . ”
. that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . ”

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

tirəšihwari

tiracíhwari

we who are living here ,

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

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

tiwirəsíhwari
 tiwiracíhwari
 we who are living here
 tii- wii- ra- aciir- warii -hus
 here now ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

tiwirətuhárikah^u
 tiwiratuuhaárikaahu
 this that I am telling you
 tii- wii- ra- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus
 this now ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to IMPF.SUB

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

kakašihkítawⁱ
 kaakacihkítawⁱ .
 we are not the leaders .
 kaaka- aciir- kita.wi -0 .
 NEG.IND.1/2A IN.DU.A be.the.leader PERF .

hirúatí^s

Hiru Atí'as
 There our Father
 hiruu ati- as
 there 1.POSS father

tirakítak^u
 tirakítaku
 this one above
 tii- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

hiruirihitikítawⁱ
 hiru irihiitikítawi'
 there that one is the leader
 hiruu irii- hii- ti- 0- kita.wi -0
 there that other IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

tirašíhwari .
 tiracíhwari .
 we who live here .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Nahkutasikskapákis^u ,
 Raahkuutacikskápaakis
 He might pity one ,
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u ,
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D ,

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

aišakušiksisawišparitⁿ .
a icakuuciksicawícparit .
and then he will cause us to live to an old age .
a ii- 0- aca- ku- aciks.icawic.warik -0 .
and SUBJ.3A 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P reach.an.old.age PERF .

Kúrahus a ísaku^a
Kúrahus a ísaku'a
Old men and we'll become
kurahuus a i- aca- ku- aar -0
old.man and CONT.1/2A IN.DU.P 1.P become PERF

atiwitiřsirihaíriku
a tiwitiřasiriihaa'ířiku
and when you will be seeing yours
a tii- witi- ra- s- ir- ri- ut- raa- iirik -hus
and when REFL ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV way see IMPF.SUB

píra^u a šápatⁿ .
piíra'u' a cápaat .
children and woman .
piira -u' a icapaak .
child NOM and woman .

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

nakururaktapířihuru
raakuruuraktaapířihuuru
you must love them

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -u
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value SUB.D

atír^a

Atíra'

Mother

ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

tiharəstárik^u

tihaarastáriku

this one you have

tii- haa- ra- s- raar- ri- kus -0
 this here ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.sitting SUB.4

. Tirahukitákusu

. Tirahuukitákusu

. This one that always sits on top it ,

. tii- ra- 0- huukita- kus -hus ,

. this ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting IMPF.SUB ,

ihikišakusutáraha

ihí kicákusu' táraha'

uh , scalp buffalo

ihii , kiic.ca.kus -u' tarahaa

uh , buffalo.mane NOM buffalo

nakururaktapírihur^u

raakuruuraktaapírihuuru

you must love them

ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- ak- raapi.rihur -u
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV PL.AN.3P value SUB.D

. Irárⁱ , hirúihi

awahəksúrikuti
 . Awaáhaksu' ríkuti' .
 . The Heavens it is the one .
 . a.waa.hak.his- -u' riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 .
 . heavens NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

ihawirisúhišis
 Ihaawiirisuuhiicis .
 There you do now know it .
 ii- haa- wii- rii- s- ut- riicis -0 .
 there here now ASSR 2.A PREV learn.about PERF .

hawirisurararíhkaruk^u
 Haawiriisuraararíhkaruuku'
 Now you have drawn marks
 haa- wii- rii- s- uur- raar- rariir ka.ra'uk -:hus
 here now ASSR 2.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P be.marked make.PL.P IMPF

.
 !
 .
 .

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

wisiríhkuwarukstirúkstaritⁿ
 wisirihkuwaarukstirúkstarit
 when they are going to consecrate it

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- waarukstii -ra'uk -his -ta -rit
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B be.holy CAUS PERF INT INT.SUB

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

sikarawitiriwarukstirukúihi
 sikarawitiriiwaarukstiiruuku'
 they do not consecrate it

si- kara- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- waarukstii -ra'uk -:hus ,
 DU NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.holy CAUS IMPF , ihii
 , uh

taraharáku^u

tárahá' ráku'u
 , a buffalo its being
 , tarahaa ra- 0- ku- 0 -u ,
 , buffalo INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D ,

kiwikunáku^u

kíwiiku' ráku'u
 a buffalo bull its being
 kiwiik -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 buffalo.bull NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

siwítihwarukstirúk^u

siwítihwaarukstiiruúku'
 they are consecrating it
 si- wi- ti- 0- ir- waarukstii -ra'uk -:hus
 DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.holy CAUS IMPF

,

tiwisəstarikuátir^a

tiwirastáriku

this one that you now have

tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	raar-	ri.kus	-0	ati-	raa
this	now	ABS	2.A	3PL.INAN.P	sit.holding	SUB.4	1.POSS	mother

Atíra'

Mother

.
. .
. .
. .

Akihiwisítiruwahist^a

Aki hi wisítiruwáhista

And here and they are going to take it off

a-	ki	hi	wii-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ruwaah	-his	-ta
and	there	and	now	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	remove	PERF	INT

irahukítak^u

irahuukítaku

that one sitting on top

ii-	ra-	0-	huukita-	kus	-0
that	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.sitting	SUB.4

kišákus^u

.

kicákusu'

.

buffalo scalp

.

kiic.ca.kus

-u'

.

buffalo.mane

NOM

.

Kítusitírukstahúsuku

Kítuu'u' sitiirukstaahúsuuku'

All of it they used to bring it

kituu	-u'	si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	uks-	ra-	a	-:hus	-uuku
all	NOM	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	AOR	PORT	come	IMPF	HAB

úrutišiks .

uúruticiks .

? .

. .

. .

Náw^a i , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa i iraári'

Now and , brother ,

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

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

nikuahúta

riku'ahuúta

that is what He did

riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-0
that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	PERF

tiráwah

Tiráwaahat . "

the Heavens . "

tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 . "

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

tihatəspakáhust^a

Tihaataspaakáhusta .

This is what you are going to say .

tii-	haa-	ta-	s-	waaka	-:hus	-ta	.
this	here	IND.1/2A	2.A	say.IMPf	IMPf	INT	.

tihatásutaríhust^a

Tihaatasuutariíhusta

This is what you are going to be doing

tii-	haa-	ta-	s-	ut-	aar	-i	-:hus	-ta
this	here	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	IMPf	IMPf	INT

nəskurúwah^a

raskurúwaaha

when you take it off

ra-	s-	ku-	ruwaah	-a	kišákus ^u	
INF.A	2.A	INF.B	remove	SUB.1	buffalo.mane	-u'

kišákus^u

kicákusu'

the buffalo scalp

wirákuruwah^a

wirákuruwaaha

when one takes it off

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ruwaah	-a	.	"
when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	remove	SUB.1	.	"

Náw^a

,

irárⁱ

,

Ráwa

iraári'

Now

,

brother

,

rawa

,

i-

-raar-

-ri'

,

now

,

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

,

nikuwitúətⁿ

rikuwituú'ut

that is how it was

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

Iharítətkaruk^u

,

Ihaariitatkaruuku'

I am telling you that

ii-	haa-	rii-	t-	a-	atka.ra'uk	:-hus	,
that	here	ASSR	1.A	2.P	notify	IMPF	,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

tikuraitustaruráh^s

Tikuuraa'iitustaarúrahac

I am forgetting the stories

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

kítu	.	Hi	,
kítuu'u'	.	Hi	,
all	.	And	,
kituu	-u'	hi	,
all	NOM	and	,

irár ⁱ	,	níhuks ^u			
iraári'	,	ríhuksu'			
brother	,	only			
i-	-raar-	-ri'	,	rihuks	-u'
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,	alone	NOM

nituhataríkihku

rituuhaataríkihku'

I am touching them here and there

rii-	t-	ut-	raa-	ta.arik.ihk	:-hus	.
ASSR	1.A	PREV	way	hang.up	IMPF	.

Nikuwiška^a kúrahus
 Rihkuwícka'a kúrahus
 When they wanted the old men
 ra- 0- ir- ku- wicka -a kurahuus
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B want SUB.1 old.man

irikuriraítus^u
 iriikuriiraa'ítusu
 the story that was theirs
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.iit.us -u
 that INF.B ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A be.a.story SUB.D

“
 , “
 , ”
 , ”

kíraiskuhakírⁱtⁿ
 Kíra iskúhaakiirit
 You must see us
 kira i- s- ku- ut- rak- iirik -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL see PERF

,
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

akiwisitakuhánikahist^a
 Aki wisitikuuhaárikaahista
 And here now they (du) were going to tell me

a- ki wii- si- ti- 0- a- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -his -ta
 and there now DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV tell.to PERF INT

kíriku .
 kíriku' .
 something .
 kiriku' .
 something .

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

ihiwitšiksarihusuk^u

ihí witićiksaariihúsuuku'
 uh , they used to do it
 ihii , wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- aar -i -:hus -uuku
 uh , QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR do IMPF IMPF HAB

.
 .
 .
 .

witikstarukúsuuk^u

Witikstaaruukúsuuku'

They used to sing

wi- ti- 0- ir- uks- raa.ra'uk -:hus -uuku
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR sing IMPF HAB

, irárⁱ ,

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

wisiríhkuruwahⁱ
 wisiríhkuruwaáhi
 when they took it off it
 wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ruwaah -i
 now DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B remove SUB.2

kišákus^u . Hi ,
 kicákusu' . Hi
 the buffalo scalp . And ,
 kiic.ca.kus -u' . hi ,
 buffalo.mane NOM . and ,

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

karatíhtawiit^a
 karatíhtawi'iita .
 I do not know the song .
 ka- ra- t- ir- tawi- iita -0 .
 NEG ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A song know PERF .

kakatirárit^a
 Kaakaatiraá'iita .
 I do not know it .
 kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

kakatiraitúsit^a .
 Kaakaatiraa'itúsiita .
 I do not know the story .
 kaaka- t- ir- raa.iit.us- iita -0 .
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A story know PERF .

Pakúht^u kuharáhurah^{^š} .
 Pakúhtu' kuuharaáhurahac .
 Long ago the way was lost .
 pakuht -u' kuur- ra- 0- raa- hurahac -0 .
 be.old NOM DUB ABS 3.P way disappear PERF .

Kukakátuhišis súhurⁱ
 Kukaakátuuhiicis suúhuri'
 I did not learn it this way
 ku- kaaka- t- ut- riicis -0 suuhuri'
 INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV learn.about PERF over.here

kasiihwarukstíra^u
 kasi'ihwaarukstiíra'u
 if they ever consecrated it
 ka- si- ii- 0- ir- waarukstii -ra'uk -0
 Y/N.INTER DU SUBJ.3A 3.A PL.3A be.holy CAUS SUB.3

tiwirátpari
 tiwirátpari
 while I was living
 tii- wii- ra- t- warii -hus
 here now ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

hiirák^u
 hi íraaku
 and that one

hi ii- ra- 0- kus -0
 and that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

tirasutírik^u

tiwirasuutiíriku

what you see here

tii- wii- ra- s- ut- iirik -hus
 here now ABS 2.A PREV see IMPF.SUB

hírušahiks pakúht^u pakúht^u
 hiru cáhiks pakúhtu' pakúhtu'
 then a person long ago, long ago
 hiruu icaahiks pakuht -u' pakuht -u'
 then person be.old NOM be.old NOM

irísikuhir^u

irísikuuhiru'

they must have made that

irii- si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0
 that DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A make PERF

Awitⁿ

Áwit

First

awit

first

nikuwitisiksarihúsuk^u

rikuwitiiciksaariihúsuuku'

that is what they used to do

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

Witikstiraktaritawuhúsuk^u

Witikstiraktaritawuuhúsuuku'

They used to raise the bow and arrows up

wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	uks-	tiraak-	raar-	ri-	ta.wuu	-.hus	-uuku
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	bow	PL	PORT	climb.IMPF	IMPF	HAB

nihkúraruku

rihkúraaruku

when they were singing

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raa.ra'uk	-hus	kúrahus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	sing	IMPF.SUB	old.man

hiwitihtiraktarítawuh^u

hi witihtiraktarítawuuhu'

and now they were raising the bow and arrows up

hi	wii-	ti-	0-	ir-	tiraak-	raar-	ri-	ta.wuu	-.hus
and	now	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	bow	PL	PORT	climb.IMPF	IMPF

tirətiráktarah^a

tiratiráktaraaha

this bow and arrows he had

tii-	ra-	0-	tiraak-	raar-	raah	-a
this	ABS	3.A	bow	PL	have	SUB.1

iríruhar^u

iríruuhaaru

the one who did it

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-u
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	SUB.D

tiriwárika
 tiriwárika .
 the one shooting it .
 tii- ra- 0- i- warik -a .
 this ABS 3.A SEQ shoot SUB.1 .

tirawarukstiruku .
 Tiraawaarukstiiruuku' .
 He was consecrating it .
 ti- 0- raa- waarukstii -ra'uk -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A way be.holy CAUS IMPF .

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

kariskuwakúraw^u
 kariskuhwakuúrawu'
 don't doubt my words
 kara- i- s- ku- uur- wakuur- raawuu -:hus
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV word doubt IMPF

kakatiráit^a
 . Kaakaatiraá'iita .
 . I do not know .
 . kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
 . NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

kukakatihtawíit^a
 Kukaakaatihtawí'iita .
 I do not know the lyrics .

ku-	kaaka-	t-	ir-	tawi-	iita	-0	.
INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	song	know	PERF	.

nihúksuhi

Rihúksu'	hi
Only	and
rihuks-	-u' hi
only	NOM and

tatuhārikáah^u

tatuuhaarikaá'aahu'

I am telling you

ta-	t-	ir-	a-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	:-hus
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	2.P	PREV	tell.to	IMPF

ruhúr^u

ruuhuúru'

the ritual*

raa.uhur-	-u'
way	NOM

iririhwawákia

iriirihwaawáki'a

what they talked about

irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	waa-	waki	-a	kúrahus
what	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	DIST	say.PL	SUB.1	the old men
							kurahuus
							old.man

, " Títak^u

. " Tíitaku

. " Here

. " tii- -taku

. " here LOC

tiharáwahətⁿ

Tihaaráwaahat

this Heavens

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

tiharakútiharasutkírik^u

tiháraaku

this one here

tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 tii- haa- ra- s- ut- kirik.kus -0
this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 this here ABS 2.A PREV look.at SUB.4

tihaarasutkíriku

this that you are looking at

tirutiráhkatak^u

tiruutiráhkataku

this one sitting in front

tii- ra- 0- ut- irahkata- kus -0
this ABS 3.A PREV in.front be.sitting SUB.4

nihkətkúku

rihkutkúku

be (pl) listening

ra- 0- ir- ku- atka'uk -hus
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B listen IMPF.SUB

nikutiwáhakskaku

rikutiwaáhakskaku

that is the one with the Heavens on it

riku- ti- 0- a.waa.hak.his- ka- kus -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A heavens in be.sitting PERF

tiráwah^{^t}n

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Awahuksutirasuhakirik^u

Awaáhaksu' tirasuuhaakiriku
The Heavens these you are looking at
a.waa.hak.his- -u' tii- ra- s- ut- raa.kirik.kus -0
heavens NOM this ABS 2.A PREV look.at SUB.4

,
,
,

hirikuriwáhukskaku

hi rikuriwaáhakskaku
and that one has the Heavens on it
hi riku- ri- 0- a.waa.hak.his- ka- kus -0
and that.is CONT.3A 3.A heavens in be.sitting PERF

. " Kúrahus
. " Kúrahus
. " Old men
. " kurahuus
. " old.man

nikutihwakiáh^u

rikutihwakí'aahu' .
that is what they said .
riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Náw^a , akíisaráriks
Ráwa aki isaraáriks
Now and here it is true

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

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

itiwirətpawák^u

i tiwiratpaawáku
 and this that I have said
 i tii- wii- ra- t- waa- waka'u -0
 and this now ABS 1.A DIST say PERF

hihirurikuruháhura

hi hiru rikuruuhaáhura'
 and there that is where they originated
 hi hiruu riku- ra- 0- ut- raa- hurar -0
 and there that.is ABS 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ

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

tírak^u

tíraaku
 this one
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

tirahukítak^u

tirahuukítaku

this on top

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

kiśákus^u

kicákusu'

buffalo scalp

kiic.ca.kus -u'

buffalo.mane NOM

Hirurikuwítutətiráwah

Hiru rikuwítuúta

There that is what He did

hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

ahiruhárikah^u

ahiruuhaárikaahu

when He told him

ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -hus
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV tell.to IMPF.SUB

šahiksíśahiksu

cahiksícahiksu'

the Indian

icaahiks icaahiks -u'

person person NOM

. Kúrahus

. Kúrahus

. An old man

. kurahuus

. old.man

iiriruašuśí^a

i iriruu'ahúci'a

and thereupon he did that

i irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
and that then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

ahurararíhkara^u

ahuraararíhkara'u

when he made markings

ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	raar-	rariir	ka.ra'uk	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	be.marked	make.PL.P	SUB.3

.
. .
. .
. .

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

tirətaríraiwat^a

tiratariíraa'iiwaati

this that I am telling you about

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

háwanahúrahkⁱ

haáwa' rahúrahki

also animals

haawa rahuraar -kis

also animal DIM

kitúrikuwitúəⁿ

kítuu'u' rikuwituú'ut

all that is how it was

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

. Nikuwitiwáku
 . Rikuwitiwáku'
 . That is what he said

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

atí^s	,	“
Atí'as		“
our Father	:	“
ati-	as	,
1.POSS	father	,

Nahuráhkiwirikutúətⁿ

Rahúrahki wirikutuú'ut
 The animal it is now that way

rahuraar	-kis	wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'
animal	DIM	now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

irírəsut^a

iríirasuuta
 the way you are

irii-	ra-	s-	ut-	0	-a
that	ABS	2.A	PREV	be	SUB.1

šahiksíšahiksu

cahiksícahiksu'

Indian people

icaahiks	icaahiks	-u'
person	person	NOM

nakuraítawⁱ

raakuraa'ítawi

to know it

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	raa.iita	-wi
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	know	SUB.L

tiráwah^{^t}n

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Náw^a

,

irárⁱ

,

Ráwa

iraári'

Now

,

brother

,

rawa

,

i-

-raar-

-ri'

,

now

,

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

,

škírihk

Ckírihki

Wolf

ickirir-

-kis

wolf

DIM

wihiruwitikurahústaruk^u

wihiru

witikurahústaaruuku'

there

he was singing old man songs

wii-

hiruu

wi-

ti-

0-

kurahus-

raa.ra'uk

-.hus

now

there

QUOT

IND.3A

3.A

old.man

sing

IMPF

.
. .
. .
. .

wihiruwitikurahústaruk^u

Wihiru witikurahústaaruuku'

There he was singing old man songs

wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- kurahus- raa.ra'uk -:hus
now there QUOT IND.3A 3.A old.man sing IMPF

škírihk .

Ckírihki .

Wolf .

ickirir- -kis .

wolf DIM .

Witətkáwahak^u

Witikaawáhaaku'

He was walking back and forth inside

wi- ti- 0- kaa- wa- hak -:hus
QUOT IND.3A 3.A inside DIST pass.by IMPF

hikaraaharuhákakusk^u

hi kara'aharuuhaakákusku

and he did not have a seat

hi kara- ar- ra- 0- a- ri- ut- raa.ka.kus- kus -0
and NEG EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS BEN special.seat be.sitting PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

witarúhk^u

Witarúhku

He had it

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

nahúrahki ⁱ	nakuwarukstíra ^u
rahúrahki	rakuwaarukstiíra'u
an animal	the one he had consecrated

rahuraar	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	waarukstii	-ra'uk	-0
animal	DIM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.holy	CAUS	SUB.3

.
.
.
.
.

Aahawáku

A ahawáku'
And he said

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

tiaharáruku	,	"	Náwa ^a	,
ti'aharaáruku		"	Ráwa	
this one singing		:	Now	,
tii- ar- ra-	0-	raa.ra'uk	-hus	,
this EV ABS	3.A	sing	IMPF.SUB	,
			"	rawa
			"	now

kúrahus

kúrahus

old men ,

kurahuus ,

old.man ,

tiharésuhakasut^a

tiharásuuhaakasuuta

these of you sitting around

tii- haa- ra- s- ut- rak- as.u.at -a
this here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.1

tatiráit^a

tatiraá'iita

, I know it

, ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
, IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tírəspari

tíraspari

you living here

tii- ra- s- warii -hus
here ABS 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ákitar^u

aritiráit^a

ákitaaru'

a riitiraá'iita

tribe

and I do know it

akitaar- -u' a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
tribe NOM and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Nikuwitiwáku

škírihk .

Rikuwitiwáku'

Ckírihki .

That is what he said

Wolf .

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

Náwa^a ,
 “ Ráwa
 “ Now
 " rawa
 " now

tatiráitawakítu
 tatiraa’ítawa
 I know things
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -waa -0 kituu’u’
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know DIST PERF all NOM

. Nikuwitiwáku .
 . " Rikuwitiwáku’ .
 . " That is what he said .
 . " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 .
 . " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

Witiwaku , “
 Witiwáku’ “
 He said : “
 wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Tətiráit^a
 Tatiraá’iita
 I know it
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirahúrahš^a
 tirahúrahca . ”
 this earth . ”

tii-	ra-	0-	huraar-	sa	-0	.	"
this	ABS	3.A	earth	be.lying	SUB.3	.	"

Hurarutuháihk^u , “
Huraáru’ tuuhá’ihku’ . “
The earth he meant it . “
huraar -u’ ti- 0- ut- ra’ihk -:hus . “
be.land NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . “

Tatiráit^a , “
Tatiraá’iita . “
I know it . “
ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 . “
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . “

nikuwitiwáku .
Rikuwitiwáku’ .
That is what he said .
riku- wi- ti- 0- waka’u -0 .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

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

Tatiráit^a
Tatiraá’iita
I know it
ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirahapáwi

tirahaapaáwi								.	"
these upright woods								.	"
tii-	ra-	0-	haak-	waa			-wi	.	"
this	ABS	3.A	wood	be.upright.DIST			SUB.L	.	"

nák'is		tuháihku						.	
Rákis		tuuhá'ihku'						.	
Wood		he meant it						.	
rak	-kis	ti-	0-	ut-	ra'ihk		:-hus	.	
wood	DIM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean		IMPF	.	

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

Tatiráita ^a									
Tatiraá'iita									
I know it									
ta-	t-	ir-		raa.iita	-0				
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF					

tirakĩšuh ^{^tⁿ}								.	"
tirakiícuhat								.	"
this running water								.	"
tii-	ra-	0-	kiic-	uhak			-0	.	"
this	ABS	3.A	water	extend.in.a.line			SUB.4	.	"

Aahawáku									ihí
A	ahawáku'								ihí
A	he said							,	uh
a	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0			,	ihii
and	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF			,	uh

škírihkih , “
 Ckírihki “
 Wolf : “
 ickirir- -kis , ”
 wolf DIM , ”

Tatiraitáihi
 Tatiraá'iita , ihi
 I know it , uh ,
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -O , ihii ,
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF , uh ,

tirəšíraraharəkirik^u
 tiracíraaha , rákiriiku'
 these we have , planting seeds
 tii- ra- aciir- raar- raah -a rak- kirik -u'
 this ABS IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1 wood eye NOM

" níkís^u
 . " Rikiísu'
 . " Corn
 . " rikiis- -u'
 . " corn NOM

tutatáihk^u .
 tuutattá'ihku' .
 he meant them .
 ti- 0- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P mean IMPF .

Ahawáku , “
 Ahawáku' “
 He said : “

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita

And I do know it

a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0

and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tírahušuhúru

tíraahu

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus cuhuúru'

this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB rainstorm

rain -u'

NOM

tatiríta

. Tatiiriíta

. I know it

. ta- t- ir- iita -0

. IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . "

Nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku'

That is what he said

riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tatiráita

Tatiraá'iita

I know it

ta-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

wirakukišpiráru^a

wiraakukicpiiraáru'a

when it sprinkles

wii-	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	kiic.wiir-	raar-	u.a	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	INF.B	sprinkle	PL	fall.down	SUB.4

títak^u

tiítaku

here

tii- -taku

here LOC

tiirirəsíhwari

ti'iriiracíhwari

here where we live

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

wirašakukutkirəsarawáwuha

wiracakukutkiracaraawaáwuha

when the water pours on us

wii-	ra-	0-	a-	aca-	ku-	ku-	ut-	kiraar-	ta.raawuh	-waa	-a
when	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	IN.DU.P	1.P	INF.B	PREV	water	pour.on	DIST	SUB.1

; tatiráit^a

. Tatiraá'iita

. I know it

. ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 . "

. IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . "

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

Arítirit^a
 A rítiiriita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirahútawi
 tirahútawi .
 this wind .
 tii- ra- 0- huta -wi .
 this ABS 3.A be.windy SUB.L .

tətiráit^a
 Tatiraá’iita
 I know it
 ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirahútawiⁱ . ”
 tirahútawi . ”
 this wind . ”
 tii- ra- 0- huta -wi . ”
 this ABS 3.A be.windy SUB.L . ”

Nikuwitiwáku .
 Rikuwitiwáku’ .
 That is what he said .

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

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

Aritiráit^a
 A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirahurótkuhar^u
 tíraahu rátkahaaru'
 this one coming night
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus ratkahaar- -u'
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB night NOM

tatiríta .
 . Tatiiriíta . ”
 . I know it . ”
 . ta- t- ir- iita -0 . ”
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . ”

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

Aritiráit^a ihi

A riitiraá'iita ihi
 And I do know it , uh ,
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 , ihii ,
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF , uh ,

tírasakáriku .
 tirasaakáriki .
 this standing sun .
 tii- ra- 0- saak- arik -i .
 this ABS 3.A sun be.standing SUB.2 .

Aritiraít^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirasiríhkihahk^u

tirasiríhkihaahku
 this room of yours
 tii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- kiihaar- kus -0
 this ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A room be.sitting SUB.4

, " kiháhiri tuharáiku
 . " Kiihaáhiri' tuuhaará'ihku'
 . " In a room he meant it
 . " kiihaar -hiri' ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 . " be.a.room LOC IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá’iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

tirəsiríhkusar^u

tirasiríhkusaaru
 this bed of yours
 tii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- kusaar -u
 this ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.bed SUB.D

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

Aritiráita

A riitiraá’iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

irírut^a

iríruuta
 how it is

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

iraháturarət^a .
 iraháturaarata .
 that extending trail .
 ii- ra- 0- hatuur.haar- at -a .
 that ABS 3.A trail go SUB.1 .

Aritiráita
 A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

iríruta
 iríruuta
 the way it is
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

irawákahku . "
 irawákaahku . "
 those voices . "
 ii- ra- 0- wakar- kus -0 . "
 that ABS 3.A voice be.sitting SUB.4 . "

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

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

iríruta
 iríruuta
 the way it is

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

tirətarušⁱ ,
 tiratáruuci ,
 this fire ,
 tii- ra- 0- ta.ra.uc -i ,
 this ABS 3.A be.fire SUB.2 ,

tirətarušⁱ . "
 tiratáruuci . "
 this fire . "
 tii- ra- 0- ta.ra.uc -i . "
 this ABS 3.A be.fire SUB.2 . "

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

Aritiráit^a
 A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

iríruta

iriíruuta

the way it is

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

tirakurištáhu

tirakurictáhu

this rising flame

tii-	ra-	0-	a-	kuriit-	ta.a	-hus	.	"
this	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	flame	come.up	IMPF.SUB	.	"

Nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku'

That is what he said

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita

And I do know it

a	rii-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
and	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

nahíwaturut^a

rahíwaturuuta

the extending entrance

ra- 0- hiwatur- u.at -a .
 ABS 3.A doorway extend.in.a.line SUB.1 .

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wirəskuwášit^tn ,
 wiraskuuwáçitit ,
 when you go out ,
 wii- ra- s- ku- awacitik -0 ,
 when INF.A 2.A INF.B go.out SUB.4 ,

nakuwašit^tn . "
 rakuuwáçitit . "
 when one goes out . "
 ra- 0- ku- awacitik -0 . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B go.out SUB.4 . "

Nikuwitiwáku .
 Rikuwitiwáku' .
 That is what he said .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF .

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

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wíraakuwašítiksa
 wiraakuuwacítiksa
 when he comes outside

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- awacitik -his a -0
 when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B go.out PERF come SUB.4

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

tatiraitawirakūrir^tn

Tatiraá'iita

I know it

ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wiraku'uúriirit

when he stands up

wii- ra- 0- ku- uuri.arik -0
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B stand.upright PERF

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

. " Aritiráita ihi
 . " A riitiraá'iita ihi
 . " And I do know , uh
 . " a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 , ihii
 . " and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF , uh

wirakuríwatar^a .
 wirakuríwataara .
 , when he looks .
 , wii- ra- 0- ku- riiwat.aar -a .
 , when INF>A 3.A INF.B look.in.a.direction SUB.1 .

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wirakuriwətpah^a .

wirakuríwatpaaha .
 when he looks all around .
 wii- ra- 0- ku- riiwat.aar -wa -a .
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B look.in.a.direction DIST SUB.1 .

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

Aritiráita ihi
 A riitiraá'iita ihi
 And I do know it , uh ,
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0 , ihii ,
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF , uh ,

wirakukírira^a . "
 wirakukírira . "
 when it shakes (ie thunders) . "

wii- ra- 0- ku- kirir -a . "
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B thunder SUB.1 . "

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

Aritiráit^a
 A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wiráku^a .
 wiraáku'a .
 when he comes .
 wii- ra- 0- a- ku- a -0 .
 when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B come SUB.4 .

Aritiráita
 A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wirakúwiša . "
 wiraakúwica . "
 when he arrives . "
 wii- ra- 0- a- ku- wic.a -0 . "
 when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B arrive SUB.4 . "

Nikuwitiwawákah^u .

Rikuwitiwaawákaahu' .
 That is what he was saying .
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus .
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF .

“ Aritiráita
 “ A riitiraá’iita
 “ And I do know it
 " a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 " and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wirakúwiša
 wiraakúwica
 when he arrives
 wii- ra- 0- a- ku- wic.a -0
 when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B arrive SUB.4

tiirirašihwari ;
 ti’iriiracihwari
 here where we live ,
 tii- irii- ra- aciir- warii -hus ,
 here where ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

hiruwirakúšahkāt^a ;
 hiru wirakuúcaahkaata
 then when he goes through the village ,
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ku- icahka- at -a ,
 then when INF.A 3.A INF.B village go SUB.1 ,

hiruwirakušpátət^a
 hiru wirakucpaátata
 then when he goes to the edge of the village
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ku- ic.waat.at -a
 then when INF.A 3.A INF.B go.to.the.edge.of.the.village SUB.1

tətiráita						.	"
tatiraá'iita						.	"
I know it						.	"
ta-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0		.	"
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF		.	"

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

Aritiráit^a

A	riitiraá'iita						
And	I do know it						
a	rii-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0		
and	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF		

hiruwirakutáhawit ⁿ							.
hiru	wírakuuta					haáwit	.
there	when he goes					east	.
hiruu	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	at	-a	haawit
there	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	go	SUB.1	east

Aritiráit^a

A	riitiraá'iita						
And	I do know it						
a	rii-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0		
and	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF		

wirakuwíšet ^a				hirúhawit ⁿ	.
wirakuwícata				hiru	haáwit
when he arrives				there	east

wii- ra- 0- ku- wic.at -a hiruu haawit .
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B arrive SUB.1 there east .

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

Aritiráit^a

A riitiraá'iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hiruwirakukirirísət^a

hiru wirakukiririísata
 then when the thunder travels off
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ku- kirir- iis.at -a
 then when INF.A 3.A INF.B thunder go.out.of.sight SUB.1

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Arakuwawapišúsət^a

A rakuwaawaapicúsata
 And when the lightning streaks
 a ra- 0- ku- waawaapic -hus at -a
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B lightning IMPF.SUB go SUB.1

.

Hiruwirakuwawapišusurúwahəš

Hiru wirakuwaawaapicusuruúwaahac

Then when the lightning disappears

hiruu	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	waawaapic	-hus	hurahac	-ruu	-waa	-0
then	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	lightning	IMPF.SUB	disappear	DIST	DIST	SUB.4

Wirakukirirusawíusit¹

Wirakukirirusawí'uusit

When the thunder subsides

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	kirir	-hus	awi.uusik	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	thunder	IMPF.SUB	become.still	SUB.4

.	"	Witiwákah ^u	,	"
.	"	Witiwákaahu'	,	"
.	"	He was saying	:	"
.	"	wi- ti- 0- waka -:hus	,	"
.	"	QUOT IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF	,	"

Tətiráit^a . "

Tatiraá'iita . "

I know it . "

ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 . "

IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . "

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

Aritiráit^a
 A riitiraá’iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hiruwirakuwísət^a .
 hiru wirakuwícata .
 then when he arrives .
 hiruu wii- ra- 0- ku- wic.at -a .
 then when INF.A 3.A INF.B arrive SUB.1 .

Aritiráita
 A riitiraá’iita
 And I do know it
 a rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

wirakúwit^{tñ} . ”
 wirakúwiitit . ”
 when he sits down . ”
 wii- ra- 0- ku- wi.itik -0 . ”
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B sit.down SUB.4 . ”

Irári ,
 Iraári’
 Brother ,

kuhiihaakawaákaru' .
 He made them .
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa- kawaaka.ra'uk -0 .
 DUB ABS 3.A OBV BEN way make.DIST PERF .

Ahawáku škírihkⁱ “
 Ahawáku' Ckírihki “
 He said : Wolf : “
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ickirir- -kis , “
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , wolf DIM , ”

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

tətirít^a . “
 tatiiriíta . “
 I know Him . “
 ta- t- ir- iita -0 . “
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . ”

Akírikuisaruət
 Aki riku'isáruu'ut
 And here that is how it was
 a- ki riku- i- s- ar- ut- 0 -'
 and there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV be EX

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

irihíhikirⁱ táit^a
 irihíí rikutá'iita
 that one he is the one who knows of it ,
 irii- hii riku- ti- 0- a- iita -0 ,
 that other that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF ,

škirihkⁱ tiráwahət
 Ckirihki Tiráwaahat
 Wolf the Heavens
 ickirir- -kis tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 wolf DIM this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

. Hā^a ! harisuháirik^u
 . Haá'a haarísuuhaa'iiriku'
 . Ha ! now you do see them
 . haa'a , haa- rii- s- ut- raa- iirik -:hus
 . ha , here ASSR 2.A PREV way see IMPF

hirurátaku
 hiru ráahtaku
 there yonder :
 hiruu ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0 ,
 there ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 ,

náriki
 raáriki
 the one standing
 ra- 0- arik -i
 ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

nikúwitⁱ .
 rikúwiti' . "
 that is the one . "

riku- wi- ti- 0- -0 . "
 the.one QUOT IND.3A 3.A PERF . "

Kuhiruharíka
 Kúhiiruuharíkaa'
 He told him that

kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV tell.to PERF

. Tihwakíah^u
 Tihwakí'aahu'

. They say

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

škirítiuhəš .

Ckirí Ti'uuhac .

Fools The Wolf .

ickirir ti- 0- uuhac -0 .
 wolf IND.3A 3.A be.fooled PERF .

Akirikuhiriraiwatⁿ

Aki rikuuhiriiraa'íwat

And here that is what he told him about it

a- ki riku- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -0
 and there that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story PERF

škiríhk .

Ckiríhki .

Wolf .

ickirir- -kis .
 wolf DIM .

Akí , irárⁱ ,

Aki				iraári'			
And here	,			brother			,
a- ki	,	i-	-raar-		-ri'		,
and there	,	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B		,

kutuharáihk^u
kutuuhaaráihku'
he apparently meant them

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

tiráwawakahu
tiráwaawaakahu
these things he is saying

tii-	ra-	0-	waa-	waaka	-hus
this	ABS	3.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

hirútirahu
hiru tíraahu
there this one coming

hiruu	tii-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-hus
there	this	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	IMPF.SUB

Páruksti
Paáruksti' .
Holy Being .
waarukstii .
be.holy .

akírikutuhaihku .
Aki rikutuuháihku' .
And here he was the one he meant .
a- ki riku- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:-hus .
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF .

Akírikutuháihku

Aki rikutuuhá'ihku'
And here he is the one he meant
a- ki riku- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

ahawawákahu

ahawaawaákahu “
the one he was talking about : “
ar- ra- 0- waa- waaka -hus , ”
EV ABS 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , ”

tətiráit^a

Tatiraá'iita .
I know about it .
ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

tətirít^a

Tatiiriíta , ”
I know him . ”
ta- t- ir- iita -0 . ”
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF . ”

akíirikutuháihk^u

Aki i rikutuuhá'ihku'
And here and that is the one he meant
a- ki i riku- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
and there and that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

, irárⁱ , šuhúru
iraári' cuhuúru'
, brother , rainstorm

, i- -raar- -ri' , acuhuur -u'
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , rain NOM

nakukirirusa
 raakukirirusa
 when it thunders

ra- 0- a- ku- kirir -hus a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B thunder IMPF.SUB come SUB.4

nikutuharâihk^u .
 . Rikutuuhaarâ'ihku' .
 . That is what he meant .
 . riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
 . that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF .

Kitúahawawákahu , "
 Kítuu'u' ahawaawákaahu' . "
 All he was talking of things : "
 kituu -u' ar- ra- 0- waa- waka -:hus , "
 all NOM EV ABS 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF , "

Tətiráit^a
 Tatiraá'iita
 I know of it

ta- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

nakuwawáktiku
 rakuwaawáktiku .
 when he talks .

ra- 0- ku- waa.wak.tik -hus .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B talk IMPF.SUB .

tətirít^a . "

Tatiiriíta . "

I know him . "

ta-	t-	ir-	iita	-0	.	"
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF	.	"

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

tiharəšihwawátiku ,

tiharacihwaawáttiku

this our speaking

tii-	haa-	ra-	aciir-	waa.wak.tik	-hus
this	here	ABS	IN.DU.A	talk	IMPF.SUB

hirúrikuwitiwaku

hiru rikuwitiwáku'

there that is what he said

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

škírihk	,	"	
Ckírihki		"	
Wolf	:	"	
ickirir-	-kis	,	"
wolf	DIM	,	"

Tihátu^{^tⁿ}

Tihátuu'ut

This is how it is

tii-	haa-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'
this	here	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

tiharawawáktiku .
 tihaarawaawáktiku .
 this one speaking .
 tii- haa- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -hus .
 this here ABS 3.A talk IMPF.SUB .

Hirurutikítawⁱ
 Hiru ruutikítawi'
 There he is the leader
 hiruu ruu- ti- 0- kita.wi -0
 there then IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

tiharawuwáktiku ,
 tihaarawaawáktiku
 this one speaking
 tii- haa- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -hus
 this here ABS 3.A talk IMPF.SUB

nakahurarikiriwítari . "
 rakaahuraarikiriwítaari . "
 when the season changes . "
 ra- 0- kaa.huraar- ikiriwit -aar -i . "
 ABS 3.A earth be.different INCH IMPF.SUB . "

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

wirahurahkiwátaku
 wirahuraahkiwátaku
 when the season changes

wii-	ra-	0-	huraar-	kiwat.ak	-hus
when	ABS	3.A	earth	fade	IMPF.SUB

tuharáik ^u	.				
tuuhaará'ihku'	.				
he meant it	.				
ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	:-hus	.
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	.

Nikuwitaráitus
Rikuwitaraá'ituis
That is his story

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	raa.iit.us	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	be.a.story	PERF

škírihk	.	Náwa	iahawáku						
Ckírihki	.	Ráwa	i ahawáku'						
Wolf	.	Now	and he said						
ickirir-	-kis	.	rawa	i	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0
wolf	DIM	.	now	and	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF

	raw ^a	.
“	Ráwa	.”
:	Now	.”
,	rawa	.”
,	now	.”

Akitírətpawakahu	,							
Aki	tiratpaawaákahu							
And here	these things I am saying							
a-	ki	tii-	ra-	t-	waa-	waaka	-hus	,
and	there	this	ABS	1.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	,

irárⁱ ,

hirurétakuparuksti

hiru	ráaku						Paáruksti'
then	there						Holy Being
hiruu	ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0		waarukstii
then	ABS	3.A	be.hanging	be.sitting	SUB.4		be.holy

witíwari

witíwari'

he walked around

wi-	ti-	0-	warii	-:hus		
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF		

hirurikuwitúkspari

Hiru rikuwitúkspari'

There that is where he walked around

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	warii	-:hus
there	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

hirutiráwah^{t1}

hiru Tiráwaahat

there the Heavens

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

Aharáha

Aharaáha

What he had

ar-	ra-	0-	raah	-a	káruus ^u	-u'	
EV	ABS	3.A	have	SUB.1	sack	NOM	

ahásukiⁱ

ahásuuki

the ones he wore on his feet

ar-	ra-	0-	as.uuk	-i
EV	ABS	3.A	wear.on.the.feet	SUB.2

ahasuhkatárihurikⁱ

ahaasuhkatárihuuriki

their being wide moccasins

ar-	ra-	0-	as.huur-	kata.rihur	-ik	-i
EV	ABS	3.A	moccasin	be.wide	DIST	SUB.2

šahúkⁱ

aháwit^{^tⁿ}

cáhuuki

ahawítat

a robe

he wore

cahuu	-kis	ar-	ra-	0-	witak	-0
robe	DIM	EV	ABS	3.A	wear.over.the.shoulders	PERF

Akiirakarustiriwístah^a

Aki

irakarustiiriwístaaaha

And here

that bag he carried across his back

a-	ki	ii-	ra-	0-	karuus-	ta	iriwis	raah	-a
and	there	that	ABS	3.A	bag	be.hanging	be.across	have	SUB.1

, irárⁱ

iraári'

, brother

, i-

-raar-

-ri'

, 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

nikutiákitar^u

rikuti'

ákitaaru'

it was the one

tribe

riku-

ti-

0-

0

-0

akitaar-

-u'

that.is

IND.3A

3.A

be

PERF

tribe

NOM

akiirikuti

Aki		írikuti'					
And here		it was the one					
a-	ki	ii-	riku-	ti-	0-	0	-0
and	there	that	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF

kítahka	.
kátahka	.
an alien tribe	.
katahkaa	.
foreign.tribe	.

Náw ^a	,	wírikuti'						,
Ráwa		wírikuti'						,
Now		he was the one						,
rawa		wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	0	-0	,
now		now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	,

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

íwiriṛəstət ^a							
íwiriirastata							
when he was tracked							
ii-	wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	as.ra.at	-a
when	when	ABS	3.A	3.INDF	PREV	follow.someone's.tracks	SUB.1

.
.
.
.
.

Akiirikutuharáihk^u

Aki irikutuuhaará'ihku'

And here that is what he meant

a- ki ii- riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
and there that that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

tiwirəturaiwátⁱ

tiwiraturaa'iiwaati

when I tell the story of him

tii- wii- ra- t- uur- raa.iiwaat -i
when when ABS 1.A PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

škírihk .

Ckírihki .

Wolf .

ickirir- -kis .

wolf DIM .

Hiwitikúhaus

Hi witikuúha'uc

And he must have lain down

hi witi- kuur- ra- 0- uc -0 waarukstii
and REFL DUB ABS 3.A lie.down PERF be.holy

páruksti

Paáruksti'

Holy Being

kuhətkasi^{it}ⁿ

. Kuuhátkasitit

. He must have gone to sleep

. kuur- ra- 0- itkas.itik -0 . hi kici

. DUB ABS 3.A fall.sleep PERF . and but

. Híkiši

. Hi kici

. And but

hirukuhúrástətⁿ

hiru kúhuurastat

then he must have trailed him

hiruu kuur- ra- 0- uur- as.ra.at -0
 then DUB ABS 3.A PREV follow.someone's.tracks PERF

škírihk .
 Ckírihki .
 Wolf .
 ickirir- -kis .
 wolf DIM .

Ahúštahuša

Ahúctahuuca

When he came up a hill

ar- ra- 0- a- ut- ta.huuca.a -0
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV come.up.to.the.top SUB.4

hiwihiruahitkáhša

hi wihiru ahitkáhca
 and there he lay there asleep

hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- itka -his sa -0
 and now there EV ABS 3.A sleep PERF be.lying PERF

. Híruahuš^a

. Hiru ahúci'a

. Then he did it :

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

. then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

kararuhkiriwistíruhši

kararuhkiriwistíruhci'

he was the most deceitful

kara- ra- 0- uur- kiriwis riruhci -0
 NEG ABS 3.A PREV be.deceitful be.powerful PERF

škírihk

Ckírihki .
 Wolf .
 ickirir- -kis .
 wolf DIM .

híruahuhkiškatusúk^{^tⁿ}

Hiru ahuhkickatuusúkut

Then he got down flat

hiruu ar- ra- 0- uur- kiic.katuus ukuk -0
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV be.flat drop.down PERF

, híruahirikís^{^tⁿ}

hiru ahaarikisat

, then he crawled

, hiruu ar- ra- 0- irikis- at -0
 , then EV ABS 3.A crawl go PERF

hiruiriahutpakspiua

hiru irii'ahutpakspi'uú'a

there where his head pointed

hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- paks- wi.uu -a
 there where EV ABS 3.A PREV head be.facing SUB.1

híahuta

hi ahuúta

and he did it

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

hiahutətatawítitⁿ

hi ahuutihatawítit .

and he sat down by him .

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- ihtata- wi.itik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV beside sit.down PERF .

wihiruahítka

Wihiru ahítka

There he slept

wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- itka -0
now there EV ABS 3.A sleep PERF

nakurakatárihur^u

rakuraakatárihuuru

its being a wide way (ie soundly)

ra- 0- ku- raa.katarihur -u
INF.A 3.P INF.B be.a.serious.matter SUB.D

írirutah^u

íriruutahu

the way it is

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

nakútk^a

rakútk^a

when he sleeps

ra- 0- ku- itka -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B sleep SUB.4

Hiruahuší^a

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it

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

škírihk

Ckírihki

Wolf :

ickirir- -kis ,
wolf DIM ,

aahapakstúša^a

a ahaapakstuúca'a'
and he lifted his head up

a ar- ra- 0- a- paks- ra- uca.a -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A head PORT get.up PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Aahutkasiríšakus^{^tⁿ}

A ahuutitkasiriícakusit

And he took it out from under him as he slept

a ar- ra- 0- ut- itka -his i- ra- ica- kus -ik -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV sleep PERF SEQ PORT on.the.end be.sitting CAUS PERF

,

pahiturawitíuš

pahiítu' . Raawití'uc

gently . He just lay it down

pahiit -u' . raa- wi- ti- 0- uc -0
be.quiet NOM . just QUOT IND.3A 3.A lay.SG.P PERF

hišiahakasiráwihutⁿ

hici ahakasiiraáwihut .
 and he ran off with the bag .
 hi.ci ar- ra- 0- kasii- ra- awi.huk -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A bag PORT gallop PERF .

nuahikasirawitaráhkisa

Ruu'ahikasiiraawitaráhkisat

Then he ran away with the bag

ruu- ar- ri- 0- kasii- ra- awi- tarahkis- at -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A bag PORT image be.strong go PERF

.
.

Hiruwituhwárari

Hiru wituhwaárari

Then there were nice hills

hiruu wi- ti- 0- uur- waa- raar- hiir -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV hill PL be.good PERF

wituhkuhári

. Wituhkuuhaári

. It was a nice meadow

. wi- ti- 0- uur- kuuhaar- hiir -0
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV flat.ground be.good PERF

híhpahat^u

híhpahaatu' .

red grass .

hiir- pahaat -u' .

grass be.red NOM .

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

Pistuksákawaaš ”
 Pis tuksaákawa’ac . ”
 Quickly let me eat ! ”
 wis i- t- uks- haakawahc -’ . ”
 quickly CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS eat EX . ”

škírihkⁱ . Hiruahiwítitⁿ
 Ckírihki hiru ahiwiítit
 Wolf then he sat down
 ickirir- -kis hiruu ar- ri- 0- wi.itik -0
 wolf DIM then EV CONT.3A 3.A sit.down PERF

. Wiwitík^u
 . Wiwitiíku
 . Now he sat there
 . wii- wi- ti- 0- kus -0
 . now QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

hiahutaahutkarustarikíwat^a
 hi ahuúta ahutkarustariikíwat a
 and he did it : he untied the sack and
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 , ar- ra- 0- ut- karuus- tarii.kiwat -0 a
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF , EV ABS 3.A PREV bag untie PERF and

, ahutakátarikiwətⁿ
 ahutaakátariikiwat
 he untied the mouth

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	haaka-	tarii.kiwat	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	mouth	untie	PERF

arawitakaráhis^u

a raawiitakaaraáhisu'

and suddenly

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

siahararawíkawatatⁿ

si'aharaarawíkawatat

they jumped out

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	raar-	awi.kawat.ak	-0
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	jump.out	PERF

hukáwik ⁱ s	.	Irári	,			
huukáwikis	.	Iraári'	,			
lances	.	Brother	,			
huka.wi	-kis	.	i-	-raar-	-ri'	,
lance	DIM	.	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	,

níkuwitiitⁿ

ríkuwiti'it

they were the ones

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-ik	-0
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	DIST	PERF

tirətirinətášawi

tiratiriirattácawi

these we have among us

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	rak-	raar-	tawi	-0
this	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	be.among	SUB.4

tahapakíah^u

“

tahapakí'aahu'

we call

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

Híštasa , "

híctasa

feathers hanging from it ,

hiit- ta sa ,

feather be.hanging be.lying ,

nutikarikíkatit^u

ruutiikaáriki

its being in the middle

ra- 0- ut- iika- arik -i kátiitu'
ABS 3.A PREV center be.standing SUB.2 be.black -u'
NOM

, níkuwitiitⁿ

. Ríkuwiti'it

. They were the ones

. riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
. that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

hiahirarawíkawatətⁿ

hi ahiraarawíkawatat .

and they jumped out .

hi ar- ri- 0- raar- awi.kawat.ak -0 .
and EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A jump.out PERF .

Wiwitúhkuksəs

Wiwitúhkuksas .

Now he ran away .

wii- wi- ti- 0- uur- kuks.as -0 .
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV run.away PERF .

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

Hituraritnúksta . “
 Hiru raárit rúksta . “
 Then really let him have it ! “
 hiruu raarit ri- 0- uks- raah -0 . “
 then really CONT.3A 3.A JUSS have PERF . ”

Škírihkihakatuspítitⁿ
 Ckírihki ahakatuspítit .
 Wolf he got down flat .
 ickirir- -kis ar- ra- 0- katus- wi.itik -0 .
 wolf DIM EV ABS 3.A flat sit.down PERF .

aharəšihtispítitⁿ .
 Aharacíhtispiítit .
 He sat down dignifiedly .
 ar- ra- 0- racihtis wi.itik -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A respect sit.down PERF .

Hírətkətⁿ ,
 Hi rátkat
 And later
 hi rat- -kat
 and afterwards LOC

híahuta
 hi ahuúta
 and she did it :

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hiahararáhətⁿ

hi ahararáhat
 and she carried it by
 hi ar- ra- 0- raar- ra- hak -0
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT pass.by PERF

átira^a ,
 Átira' .
 Mother .
 ati- raa .
 1.POSS mother .

hiwihirurikuahiraráatira

Hi wihiru riku'ahirará Atíra'
 And there that is what she carried Mother
 hi wii- hiruu riku- ar- ri- 0- raar- raah -0 ati- raa
 and now there that.is EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF 1.POSS mother

, šurakíripaškⁱ
 cuurakíripacki
 , a small girl
 , icuura- kiripac -kis
 , girl small DIM

hiwihiruahiraráatira

hi wihiru ahírara Atíra'
 and then she carried her Mother
 hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- raar- raah -0 ati- raa
 and now then EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF 1.POSS mother

. Irárⁱ ,

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

wírikutiitⁿ

wírikuti'it

this is the one

wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

tirətirírušⁱ

tiratiriíruuci

this one I have

tii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -i
 this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

étira ,

Atíra'

Mother ,

ati- ra ,

1.POSS mother ,

kurátirar^u

kurátiraaru

mine

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

iwirárah^a

iwiráraaha

that one she carried

ii- wii- ra- 0- raar- raah -a
 that now ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

šúrakⁱ
 cuúrakⁱ
 the girl
 icuura- -kis
 girl DIM

iwíra^a ,
 iwíraa'a .
 when she came .
 ii- wii- ra- 0- a- a -0 .
 when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 .

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

witikspakihúsuku,
 witikspakiihúsuuku'
 they used to say
 wi- ti- 0- ir- uks- waki.a -:hus -uuku
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR say.PL.IMPF IMPF HAB

“ Nikstáhis^u , ”
 Rikstaáhiisu' .
 Dried Ear Of Corn .
 riiks- taahiis -u' .
 unshelled.corn be.dry NOM .

tuharáihk^u
 Tuuhaará'ihku'
 He meant it

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

štikstáhis ^u				naráha			
Ctikstaáhiisu'				raraáha			
Dried Ear Of Corn Woman				the one she had			
c-	riiks-	taahiis	-u'	ra-	0-	raah	-a
FEM	unshelled.corn	be.dry	NOM	ABS	3.A	have	SUB.1

šuráki		níks ^u	
cuúraki		ríksu'	
the girl	,	an ear of corn	
icuura-	-kis	riiks-	-u'
girl	DIM	unshelled.corn	NOM

nikutuharáihku					.	
rikutuhaará'ihku'					.	
that is what he meant					.	
riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-:hus	.
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	.

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

hírøtkøt		
hi	rátkat	
and	later	
hi	rat-	-kat
and	afterwards	LOC

hiahawašitíksah^u

hi ahaawacitíksaahu'
 and they came outside
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- awacitik -his a -:hus
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF come IMPF

kúrahus ;
 kúrahus .
 old men .
 kurahuus .
 old.man .

hiwihirurikuahúširar^u

Hi wihiru riku'ahuciráru'
 And then they were the ones
 hi wii- hiruu riku- ar- ra- 0- ut- i- raar- uu -0
 and now then that.is EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ PL.INDV.A be PERF

kúrahus
 kúrahus
 old men
 kurahuus
 old.man

aharahkatíhaksa
 aharahkatíhaksa'
 they came abreast

ar- ra- 0- a- raar- ka.tiihak -his a -0
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A be.so.wide PERF come PERF

škítiiks . Náwa
 ckiíti'iks . Ráwa
 four . Now
 iks.kiiti'iks . rawa
 four . now

wiahawašítiku kúrahus
 wi'ahaawacítiku kúrahus
 when they came outside the old men
 wii- ar- ra- 0- awacitik -hus kurahuus
 when EV ABS 3.A go.out IMPF.SUB old.man

nuwitiirarahpahaštakúrihitⁿ
 ruuwitiirarahpahactakúrihit
 then they had bright red paint on
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- raar- raar- pahaat takurit.rik -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A ITER be.red be.bright.red PERF

hísurakⁱ
 hi cuúraki
 and the girl
 hi icuura- -kis
 and girl DIM

ahahírəs^a
 ahaahírasa'
 she came in the lead .
 ar- ra- 0- a- hiras- a -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A in.the.lead come PERF .

atirawitírara
 Atíra' witírara
 Mother she carried her
 ati- raa wi- ti- 0- raar- raah -0
 1.POSS mother QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.iNAN.P have PERF

hihukáwik^s
 hi huukáwikis
 and the lances

hi huka.wi -kis
and lance DIM

siahahírəsa
si'ahaahírasa'
they (du) came in the lead

si- ar- ra- 0- a- hiras- a -0
DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A in.the.lead come PERF

raripákus^u .
raaripákusu' .
soldiers .
raa- ri.apak -hus -u' .
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM .

Hiahihatarawáširutitⁿ

Hi ahiihaattaraawáciruutit
And they took the poles out

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- haak- raar- ra- awacitik -ruu -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A wood PL PORT go.out DIST PERF

nuktahkáwarik^u hírətkətⁿ
raktahkáwariku . Hi rátkat
javelins . And later
rak- raar- ka.warik -hus . hi rat- -kat
wood PL put.into IMPF.SUB . and afterwards LOC

ahatakúkawatətⁿ ,

ahattakúkawatat .
the group came out .

ar- ra- 0- aktaku- kawatak -0 .
EV ABS 3.A group get.out PERF .

nuwitiriwótik^u

Ruuwitiriiwáttiiku'

Then they were crying out

ruu- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- wak.tik -:hus
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ cry.out IMPF

kúrahus . " Náwa ,
kúrahus " Ráwa
the old men : " Now
kurahuus , " rawa
old.man , " now

sukstaktahkátawa

sukstaktahkátawa

climb up the hill

i- s- uks- rak- raar- kata- wa -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go.DU PERF

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

wirihkuháiritⁿ

wirihkuuhaá'irit

after one sees it

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa- iirik -0
when INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B PREV way see SUB.4

ihi
ihi
, uh ,
, ihii ,
, uh ,

ihawatatarakákawašist^a

i hawá tatarakaákawahcista
and also we are going to eat

i haawa ta- t- a- rak- haakawahc -his -ta
and also IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL eat PERF INT

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Ahatakukawátak^u

Ahattakukawátaaku'

The group was getting out

ar- ra- 0- aktaku- kawatak -:hus
EV ABS 3.A group get.out IMPF

iriahuhúrarirar^a

irii'ahuuhúriira

where the land was nice

irii- ar- ra- 0- uur- huraar- hiir -a
where EV ABS 3.A PREV earth be.good SUB.1

witihwakíahu

Witihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

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

áka^a !
aáka'a .
, oh my !

, aaka'a .
 , oh.my .

irikakutarihúsuku

Irikaakuutariihúsuuku'

One does not do that

irii-	kaaki-	0-	ut-	aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku
that	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

tíriwirutar^a

tí'iriiwiruutaara

this that he has done

tii-	irii-	wii-	ra-	0-	ut-	aar	-a	.	"
this	that	now	ABS	3.A	PREV	do	SUB.1	.	"

Hihpahatikárikətⁿ

Hihpahaatikárikat

In the middle of the red grass

hiir-	pahaat	iika.ri	-kat
grass	be.red	center	LOC

naruwítiwihətⁿ

raaruwítiwihat

they were just seated

raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	wi.hak	-0	.
just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting.PL	PERF	.

Aharahkátawawa

Ahaarahkátawaawaa'

They came up the hills here and there

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	raar-	kata-	waawa-	a	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	DIST	come	PERF

píriks^u

piiriksu'
 on-lookers
 wa- iirik -his -u'
 DIST see PERF NOM

ahawaráruhətⁿ
 ahawaaraáruhat .
 the hills extending .
 ar- ra- 0- waa- raar- u.hak -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A hill PL extend.in.a.line SUB.4 .

naruwitikitawáwaritⁿ
 Raaruwitikitawaáwaarit
 They just stood in groups on top
 raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- kita- waawa- arik -0
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A on.top DIST be.standing PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Kukarawítiši
 Kukarawítiici'
 It was not at all
 ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- 0 -0
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF PREV SEQ be PERF

iríahutahunihkúkaruwahu
 irí'ahuutahu
 as it always was
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ukaa.ra.a -wa -hus
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF INF.B throw.up.in.the.air DIST IMPF.SUB
 rihkúkaaruuwahu
 when one throws it here and there

.
.
.
.
.

Aahíhwak ⁱ							,	“	Náw ^a
A	ahíhwaki’							“	Ráwa
And	they	said					:	“	Now
a	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,	”	rawa
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,	”	now

, náw^a ,
 ráwa
 , now
 , rawa
 , now

nikakutáhu									ihí
rikaakuutaáhu’								.	Ihí
that	is	not	the	way				.	Uh
rii-	kaaki-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-.hus	.	.	ihii
that	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF	.	.	uh

nukakušíšiksu									.
ruukaakuuciíciksu’								.	.
,	he	does	not	feel	good	about	it	.	.
,	ruu-	kaaki-	0-	ut-	i-	aciks.uu	-0	.	.
,	then	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	feel.fine	PERF	.	.

pisisisišírəs^a
 Pis sisiicicírasa’
 Hurry bring him

wis si- i- s- ir- ut- i- ciras- a -0
 hurry DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ COM come PERF

pisruksákawaəš . "
 . Pis ruksaákawa'ac . "
 ! Quickly let him eat ! "
 . wis ri- 0- uks- haakawahc -' . "
 . quickly CONT.3A 3.A JUSS eat EX . "

Arúsiahišihurətⁿ

A ruusi'ahiicīhurat
 And they then went after him
 a ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0
 and then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

asiahirūšírəs^a

a si'ahiiruucírasa'
 and they brought him
 a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- ciras- a -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV COM come PERF

. Hiruakahkitawihíri
 . Hiru akaahkitawíhiri'
 . There in the leading lodge
 . hiruu akaar- kita.wi -hiri'
 . there dwelling be.the.leader LOC

nikuwitíhi

rikuwitíhi'

that is where it was

riku- wi- ti- 0- ihii -0
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

ásiahihkus .

a si'ahíhkus .
 and they placed him .
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

Nikusiwitiiráhkatakus

Rikusiwitiiráhkatakus

They set that one in front

riku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- irahkata- kus.k -0
 that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV in.front put PERF

. Ahíhwaki kúrahus ,
 . Ahíhwaki' kúrahus
 . They said the old men :
 . ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus ,
 . EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man ,

“ Náwa , pisruksákawaəš
 “ Ráwa pis ruksaákawa'ac
 “ Now quickly let him eat
 " rawa wis ri- 0- uks- haakawahc -'
 " now quickly CONT.3A 3.A JUSS eat EX

. Náwa ihi
 . Ráwa ihi
 ! Now , uh ,
 . rawa , ihii ,
 . now , uh ,

kusiwakuirikúhuətⁿ

kuusiwáku'

he will say

iriikúhuu'ut

whatever it is

kuus- 0- i- waka'u -0 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -'
 POT.1/3A 3.A SEQ say PERF what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX

. nutírawiusíh^{itn}
 . " Ruutiiraawi'uusíhit
 . " Then they were all quiet
 . " ruu- ti- 0- ir- awi.uusik -rik -0
 . " then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A become.still DIST PERF

. "
 .
 .
 .
 .

Tiahák^u
 Ti'ahaáku
 This one sitting
 tii- ar- ra- 0- kus -0
 this EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

hisiahiruhaharirú^a
 hi si'ahiruuhahaarirú'a'
 and they brought a bowl to him
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- raahaar.it- ruu- a
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A BEN bowl.of.cooked.food PORT come

tápaharus áka^a !
 tápaharus . Aáka'a
 pemmican . Oh my ,
 tapaht raruus . aaka'a ,
 be.fine be.furry . oh.my ,

kuwítirarawaritⁿ
 kuwítiraarawarit
 it seemed he threw it away

ku- wi- ti- 0- raar- a.warik -0
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P throw.away PERF

hítak^u . Ahíhwakⁱ
 híitaku . Ahíhwakⁱ
 the other way . They said

hii- -taku . ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0
 other LOC . EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

, “ Tihúhašaus
 “ Tihuúhaca’us .
 : “ He must be hungry .
 , “ tiir- ra- 0- ut- raca’us -0 .
 , “ INFR ABS 3.A PREV be.hungry PERF .

kuháwasišiksarəsta

Ku háwa siciksarásta^a
 Some also bring him food

ku haawa i- s- ir- ut- i- uks- aras- ra- a -0
 INDF also CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A BEN SEQ JUSS cooked.food PORT come PERF

.
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

Kisihiwitakaríhuš

Kici hi witikaríhac arúsa
 But and he ate them up aruúsa'
 horses
 kici hi wi- ti- 0- karihac -0 aruusaa
 but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A consume PERF horse

siahirətúwawarikⁱ

si'ahiirattuúwaawaariki

while they were herding them around

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	ruu-	waa-	waar	-ik	-i
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	DIST	go.DU.A	CAUS	SUB.2

hiahawakásukta

hi ahawaakásakta'

and he spoke

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	waak.as.akta	-0	,	"
and	EV	ABS	3.A	be.heard.saying	PERF	,	"

Šahikswitahatúhka^a

Cáhiks witahatúhka'a'

A person he comes on the trail

icaahiks	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	hatuur-	ka-	a	-0
person	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	road	in	come	PERF

irirətarakatakúhu

iriiratarakattakúhu

where our group was coming

irii-	ra-	t-	a-	rak-	aktaku-	a	-hus
where	ABS	1.A	IN.PL.P	1/2.PL	group	come	IMPF.SUB

hiahakíkətⁿ

hi ahakíkat

and he is crying

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	kikak	-0	,	"
and	EV	ABS	3.A	cry	PERF	,	"

Hiruruwiritiríwakⁱ

Hiru wiritiríwaki'

Then they said

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF

“ Iritakúraku
 “ Íritaku raáku
 “ There the one sitting
 " irii- -taku ra- 0- kus -0
 " there LOC ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

sikarisihurisakáwaritⁿ
 sikariisiihuuricakáwarit
 don't let him out of your sight

si- kara- i- s- i- uhuur.icaka.warik -0
 DU NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ lose.track.of PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

sikarisihuráh^{^t}ⁿ
 Sikariisiihuráhat
 Don't let him go

si- kara- i- s- i- uhur.ra.hak -0
 DU NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ keep.a.close.watch.over PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Arusiwiriturušíšikst^a

A ruusiwitiiruuciíciksta
 And then they were watching him closely

a ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- aciks.ta -0
 and then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ watch.over PERF

nahkuksáwašpāk^a ,

raahkuksáwacpaaka :

even when he would say :

ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- awahc- waak -a ,

INF.A 3.A EV INF.B JUSS even.if say.SUB SUB.1 ,

“ Kítawašítitⁿ . ”

“ Kíitawacítit . ”

“ Let me go outside ! ”

" kii- i- t- awacitik -0 . "

" HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A go.out PERF . "

Hiwitíhwakⁱ , “

Hi witíhwaki’ “

And they said : “

hi wi- ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Kakúri

Kaakúri .

Not at all .

kaaki- 0- uur- hiir -0 .

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF .

sukskáš^u íritaku . ”

Sukskaácu’ íritaku . ”

Urine there ! ”

i- s- uks- kaacuuh -0 irii- -taku . ”

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS urinate PERF there LOC . ”

Kuhararikítáwirut^tⁿ

Kuhaaraarikitáwiiruutit

Different ones would mount (horses)

kuur-	ra-	0-	ar-	raar-	ikita.wi.itik	-ruu	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	EV	3PL.INAN.P	mount	DIST	PERF

híkuhirurəš

hi kúhiiruuras

and they ran

hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ar-	uur-	as-i	-0
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	run	PERF

Hiruiri ahá^a

hiru irii'ahaá'a

there whence he came

hiruu	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0
there	where	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	SUB.4

hiirihiwihirurikúahi

Hi irihíi

wihiru

rikú'ahi'

And that then he was the one

hi	irii-	hii	wii-	hiruu	riku-	ar-	ri-	0-	0	-0
and	that	other	now	then	that.is	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	be	PERF

, irárⁱ

iraári'

, brother

, i-

-raar-

-ri'

, 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

tiirihahirakakítarah^a

ti'

he was

irihíi

that

ahiirakaahkítawiraaha

where they had him in the leading lodge

ti-	0-	0	-0	irii-	hii	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	akaar-	kita.wi	raah	-a
IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	that	other	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	dwelling	be.the.leader	have	SUB.1

Hiahawakaráru^a

Hi ahaawakaraáru'a'

And he called out

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	wakaraar-	u.a	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	voice	extend.this.way	PERF

, " Iratakuráku

, " Íritaku raáku

: " There the one

, " irii- -taku ra- 0- kus -0

, " there LOC ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

sikasušuuríkətⁿ

sikaasuci'uuríkut .

you must take hold of him .

si-	kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	uurikuk	-0	.
DU	POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	hold	PERF	.

ihahíra

Ihaahíraa'

There he came with it

ii-	haa-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ra-	a	-0
there	here	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	PORT	come	PERF

ákitar^u

ákitaaru'

tribe

akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

natakúrətah^a .
 racakuúhattaaha . "
 the one we have . "
 ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- rak- raah -a . "
 ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN 1/2.PL have SUB.1 . "

Wírikuti ,
 Wírikuti'
 He was the one ,
 wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 ,
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF ,

irárⁱ , páruksti
 iraári' Paáruksti'
 brother , Holy Being
 i- -raar- -ri' , waarukstii
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , be.holy

tirahúšuhūr^u
 tíraahu cuhuúru'
 this one coming rainstorm
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus acuhuur -u'
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF.SUB rain NOM

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Asiahihturíkətⁿ

A si'ahiituuríkut
 And they captured him
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uurikuk -0
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV catch PERF

awísiahitíritⁿ

a wisi'ahiitírit
 and when they saw him
 a wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- iirik -0
 and when DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV see SUB.4

kárawitasirašikskápak^s
 kárawitasiraacikskápaakis
 they did not feel sorry for him

kara- wi- ta- s- i- raa- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 NEG QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ way feel.pity.for 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

hiruisíritahuksku

hiru i síhiitahuksku
 then and they sat holding him
 hiruu i si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ahuk -his kus -0
 then and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV hold PERF be.sitting PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

síhitahuksk^u

Síhiitahuksku

They sat holding him

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ahuk	-his	kus	-0
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	hold	PERF	be.sitting	PERF

hiruahuš^ía

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

ásiahihkutitⁿ

a	si'	ahihkuútit							.
and	they	killed him							.
a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	kuut.ik	-0		.
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	kill	PERF		.

Wirikutí

Wírikuti'

Now he was the one

wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	0	-0				,
now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF				,

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

i-	-raar-		-ri'			škirihk ⁱ	-kis		,
3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling		3.POSS.B			wolf	DIM		,

aki

aki

and here

,	irár ⁱ	,
,	iraári'	,
,	brother	,

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

kuturakarúsiritⁿ

kutuú'u rakaruúsirit
 it seemed he picked up the bag
 ku- ti- 0- uu -' ra- 0- karuus- iriik -0
 INDF IND.3A 3.A be EX ABS 3.A bag pick.up.long.object PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiihawihirúaha

Hi ihaá wihiru ahaá'
 And there then he came
 hi ii- haa wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- a -0
 and then here now then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

ahakítarah^a

ahaakítaaraaha .
 what tribe he had .
 ar- ra- 0- akitaar- raah -a .
 EV ABS 3.A tribe have SUB.1 .

kuhuhakárus^u

Kúhuuha káruusu'
 He had it the bag .
 kuur- ra- 0- ut- raah -0 karuus -u' .
 DUB ABS 3.A BEN have PERF bag NOM .

Hiruahiší^a

Hiru ahiíci'a
 Then they did it :
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

nasihihšahúruwa
 raasi'ahihcahúruuwa
 they just combed his hair

raa- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- cahu.ruu.waar -0
 just DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV comb.someone's.hair PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

kítusiahipaksiwáwaritⁿ

Kítuu'u' si'ahihpaksiwaáwaarit

All they fixed up his head nicely

kituu -u' si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- paks- hi.wa.ar -waa -ik -0
 all NOM DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV head be.good.DIST DIST CAUS PERF

kítu . Áhuta

kítuu'u' . Ahuúta

all . He did it

kituu -u' . ar- ri- 0- ut- aar -0
 all NOM . EV CONT.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

irikúhuta

iriikúhuuta .

whatever he did .

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 .
 what DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF .

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

suhuraktahkátaw^a
 suhuuraktahkátawa
 climb hills at last

i- s- uhur- rak- raar- kata- waar -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A finally 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go.DU.A PERF

. ”
 . ”
 ! ”
 . ”
 . ”

Ahawáku
 Ahawáku’
 He said

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

tirarikipáruksti , “
 tiraáriki Paáruksti’ “
 this one Holy Being : “
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i waarukstii , ”
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 be.holy , ”

Náwa^a , tiháras^a ihi
 Ráwa tiháraasa ihi
 Now this one lying , uh

rawa tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0 , ihii
 now this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 , uh

tiharótak^u
 tihaarátaku

, over here
 , tii- haa- ra- 0- ta kus -0
 , here here ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

sisišuksirahkátāēš
 siisicuksirahkátā'uc
 lay him down in front

si- i- s- ir- ut- uks- irahkata- uc -0
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV AOR in.front lay.SG.P PERF

. " Aahawáku
 . " A ahawáku'
 ! " And he said
 . " a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
 . " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

wiaharahkatawára
 wi'aharahkátawara
 after they had all climbed the hill

wii- ar- ra- 0- raar- kata- war -a
 when EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A against.a.vertical.surface go.DU SUB.1

, "
 , "
 : "
 , "
 , "

Witukaruwáh^u

Wituukaaruwaá'aahu'

He is throwing it up repeatedly

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ukaa.ra.a	-waa	-:hus
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	throw.up.in.the.air	DIST	IMPF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Kiturawitíhwakⁱ

Kítuu'u' raawitíhwaki'

All they just said

kituu	-u'	raa-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki	-0
all	NOM	just	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF

, " áka^a !

, " Aáka'a

: " Oh my ,

, " aaka'a ,

, " oh.my ,

irihírutahu

irihíruutahu

that being the way

irii-	hii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus	,
that	other	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB	,

irihírutahu

irihíruutahu

that being the way

irii-	hii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus	.	"
that	other	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB	.	"

Karawitíraki^a hi
 Karawitíraakii'a hi
 It was not long and
 kara- wi- ti- 0- raakii -aar -0 hi
 NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.long INCH PERF and

ahihkusihtawiráwa
 ahihkusihtawiraáwa
 the crowd went down
 ar- ra- 0- ir- kusiir- tawiraa- war -0
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A group.to.run down go.DU PERF

. Ahíhwakⁱ , “ Náw^a
 . Ahíhwaki' “ Ráwa
 . They said : “ Now
 . ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa
 . EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

, taraha
 táraha'
 buffalos
 tarahaa
 buffalo

tihawiruritíhətⁿ
 tihawiruuriitíhat
 here now they are ranging
 tii- haa- wii- ra- 0- uur- i- tiihak -0
 here here now ABS 3.A PREV SEQ be.the.border PERF

. "
 . "
 . "

. "

Airiruwitiríka

A iriruwitiríkaa'

And thereupon they brought it back

a irii- ruu- wii- wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- kaa- a -0
and then then now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PORT inside come PERF

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

hiruwítihi

hiru wítihi'

there it was the place

hiruu wi- ti- ihii -0
there QUOT IND.1/2A be.in.a.place/time PERF

tiráwah^{^t}n . Náwa ,
Tiráwaahat . Ráwa
the Heavens . Now
tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 . rawa
this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 . now

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 ,

tarahihítu

tarahihkítuu'u'
 a whole buffalo carcass
 tarahaa iit- kituu -u'
 buffalo body all NOM

sikúhiru
 sikuúhiru' .
 they made it .
 si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ra'uk -0 .
 DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A make PERF .

akahkitáwihirⁱ
 Akaahkitawíhiri'
 In the leading lodge
 akaar- kita.wi -hiri'
 dwelling be.the.leader LOC

sikuhiríwišətⁿ .
 sikuuhiríwícat .
 they took it there .
 si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ri- wic.at -0 .
 DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT arrive PERF .

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

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

hi	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	sa	-0
and	this	here	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3

wirikurikitawⁱ

wirikuriikítawi'

it is now the leading one

wii-	riku-	rii-	0-	kita.wi	-0	.
now	that.is	ASSR	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF	.

wirikutikitawⁱ

Wirikutikítawi'

It is now the leading one

wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	kita.wi	-0	.	"
now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF	.	"

Akikutuharáihk^u

Aki kutuuhaará'ihku'

And here he was apparently meaning

a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-.hus
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

tiharətpariákitar^u

tihaarátpari

this one of mine living here

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

.
. .
. .

Tihatakúahikura^u

Tihaátaku ahikúra'u
Here when He created me
tii- haa- -taku ar- ri- 0- ku- ra'uk -0
here here LOC EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P make SUB.3

ákítar^u , atí^s
ákitaaru' Atí'as
tribe our Father
akitaar- -u' ati- as
tribe NOM 1.POSS father

nikutuharáihk^u ,
rikutuhaará'ihku' .
that is what he meant .
riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF .

kutíkuruksta
Kutikuúruksta
He had mine
ku- ti- 0- ku- uur- uks- raah -0
INDF IND.3A 3.A 1.P POSS.P AOR have PERF

ákítar^u . Aahawáku
ákitaaru' . A ahawáku'
tribe . And he said
akitaar- -u' . a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
tribe NOM . and EV ABS 3.A say PERF

Páruksti “ Náwa^a ,
 Paáruksti’ “ Ráwa
 Holy Being : “ Now
 waarukstii , " rawa
 be.holy , " now

nikutútəst^a

rikutuútasta

this is the way it is going to be

riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta ,
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT ,
 ,

kúrahus tihárəs^a

kúrahus tiháraasa

old men : this one lying here

kurahuus , tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0
 old.man , this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

nikutikitawíšt^a

rikutikitawícta

it is the one to be leader

riku- ti- 0- kita.wi -his -ta ,
 that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF INT ,
 ,

tihárasa

tiháraasa

this one lying

tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0 rahúraar -kis
 this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 animal DIM

nahúraahkⁱ

rahúraahki

animal

Ákitar^u

ákitaaru’

the tribe

akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

tiwinikuririkstikúksəsⁱ
 tiwirikuriirikstikúksasi

when he ran away with ours (bag)

tii-	wii-	ri-	0-	ku-	ri-	uur-	i-	uks-	ri-	kuks.as	-i
when	when	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	POSS.P	SEQ	AOR	PORT	run.away	SUB.2

. Hitiháras^a

. Hi tiháraasa

. And this one lying

. hi	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	sa	-0
. and	this	here	ABS	3.A	be.lying	SUB.3

nikurikítawišt^a

rikuriikítawicta

he is the one to be the leader

riku-	rii-	0-	kita.wi	-his	-ta	ickirir-	-kis
that.is	ASSR	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF	INT	wolf	DIM

škírihkⁱ

Ckírihki

Wolf

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

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

nikutátiška ,

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

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

nikurakúta .
 rikurakuúta . "
 for it to be . "
 riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a . "
 that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1 . "

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

nikuhušuksarihúsuku
 riikuuhucuksariihúsuuku'
 whatever he used to do
 rii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- uks- aar -i -:hus -uuku
 that DUB ABS 3.A PREV AOR do IMPF IMPF HAB

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

suhuráktahuk^{^t}ⁿ

suhuuraáktahuukat

you'll go inside at last

i-	s-	uhur-	rak-	raar-	huuk-	at	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	finally	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	into	go	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Hiruahirahupusítitⁿ

Hiru ahirahuupuusítit

Then they began to enter

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	raar-	huuk-	wuu	:-hus	-itik
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	into	go.IMPf	IMPf	INCH

,

.

.

.

.

hiruruahirarupusítitⁿ

Hiru ruu'ahiraruupuusítit

Then then they began entering

hiruu	ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	raar-	huuk-	wuu	:-hus	-itik
then	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	into	go.IMPf	IMPf	INCH

kítu .

kítuu'u' .

all .

kituu -u' .
all NOM .

Aaháh^u áwitⁿ
A ahaá'aahu' . Áwit
And they were coming . First
a ar- ra- 0- a- a -hus . awit
and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF . first

iriahihkitáwa^u
irii'ahihkitáwi'u
the leading ones
irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- kita.wi -u
that EV ABS 3.A PL.3A be.the.leader SUB.D

naripákus^u
raaripákusu'
soldiers
raa- ri.apak -hus -u'
way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

ahárahúkætⁿ šúraki
ahaárahuukat . Cuúraki
they entered with them . The girl
ar- ra- 0- ra- huuk- at -0 . icuura -kis
EV ABS 3.A PORT into go PERF . female DIM

nuwitiwíra^akúrahus
ruuwitiwíra'at . Kúrahus
then she followed . Old men
ruu- wi- ti- 0- awiira- at -0 . kurahuus
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A behind go PERF . old.man

nuwitarawíra^a .

ruuwitiraarawiira'at .
then they followed .
ruu- wi- ti- 0- raar- awiira- at -0 .
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A behind go PERF .

Hírətkətⁿ
Hi rátkat
And afterwards
hi rat- -kat
and afterwards LOC

hiahihaktárahukətⁿ
hi ahihaaktárahuukat
and they carried the sticks inside
hi ar- ra- 0- ir- haak- raar- ra- huuk- at -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A wood PL PORT into go PERF

nuktahkáwariku kítu
raktahkáwariku kítuu'
the javelins , all
rak- raar- ka.warik -hus , kituu -u'
wood PL put.into IMPF.SUB , all NOM

nuktahkáwarik^u hírətkətⁿ
raktahkáwariku hi rátkat
the javelins and afterwards
rak- raar- ka.warik -hus hi rat- -kat
wood PL put.into IMPF.SUB and afterwards LOC

ahətakuuhúsititⁿ .
ahattakuuhúsitit .
the group began entering .
ar- ra- 0- a- aktaku- a -hus -itik .
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A group come IMPF INCH .

Hiruahušikárustarip^u

Hiru ahucikárustariipu

Then he tied up the bag

hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	karuus-	tariik.wuh	-0
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	bag	tie	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiruwitiahurahiwaritⁿ

Hiru witi'ahuraahiwaarit

Then he fixed himself up nicely

hiruu	witi-	ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	raa-	hi.wa.ar	-ik	-0
then	REFL	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	be.good.DIST	CAUS	PERF

šahúkⁱ

. Cahuúki

. A robe

. cahuu -kis

. robe DIM

wítiwítitⁿ

wítiwítat

he wore it

wi-	ti-	0-	witak	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	wear.over.the.shoulders	PERF

witutkišakirahkátarutⁿ

Wítutkiica

He had it around his neck

hiiráhkataaru'

yellow grass

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	kiica	-0	hiir-	rahkataar	-u'
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PREV	have.around.the.neck	PERF	grass	be.yellow	NOM

hikiskuhkawi^u

hi	kiskuhkáwi'u'
and	a downy plume
hi	kiis.kuhka.wi -u'
and	soft.plume NOM

iriruwitiahušikiskúhkawu

iriruwiti'ahucikiskúhkawu

thereupon he placed the plume on his head

irii-	ruu-	witi-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	kiiskuhka	wuh	-0
then	then	REFL	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	have.a.plume.on.one's.head	put	PERF

.
.

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.

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Witátkiskuhk^a

Witútkiskuhka

He wore the plume on his head

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	kiiskuhka	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	have.a.plume.on.one's.head	PERF

Páruksti	.
Paáruksti'	.
Holy Being	.
waarukstii	.
be.holy	.