

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

hirupákuhtu , atika  
 hiru pákuhtu' atíka'  
 then long ago my grandmothers  
 hiruu pakuht -u' ati- kaa  
 then be.old NOM 1.POSS grandmother

iriahisiksarihúsuku  
 irii'ahiciksaariihúsuku  
 what they used to do

irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- aar -i -hus -uku  
 what EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR do IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

,

hiruiriahukstátawi

hiru irii'ahukstaátawi  
 then the way that used to be current  
 hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0  
 then that EV ABS 3.A AOR way be.among SUB.4

; hirupákuhtu  
 hiru pákuhtu'  
 then long ago

hiruu pakuht -u'  
 then be.old NOM

iriahikúkstuh<sup>a</sup>

irii'ahikúkstuuha

that way that He gave me

irii- ar- ri- 0- ku- uks- raa- uh -a  
 that EV CONT.3A 3.A 1.P AOR way give SUB.1

nakukawákaruku

raahkukawaákaruku

to make them

ra- 0- ar- ku- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus  
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make.DIST IMPF.SUB

atíka

atíka'

grandmother

ati- kaa

1.POSS grandmother

,

kuštáratk<sup>u</sup>

kuctaáraatku'

earthen pots

kuc.taaraatk-

earthen.pot

-hus

IMP.F.SUB

.

.

.

.

Kítu

Kítuu'u'

All

kituu

all

-u'

NOM

hiwítar<sup>u</sup>

hi

and

hi

and

wítaaru'

she would make it,

wi-

QUOT

ti-

IND.3A

0-

3.A

ar-

EV

ra'uk

make

-0

PERF

ihi

ihi

, uh

, ihii

, uh

nakáarak<sup>i</sup>

rakáraaki

a dish

rakaraa-

dish

-kis

DIM

,

hurutkīš<sup>u</sup>

huurutkiícu'

clay

huuruht

be.muddy

kiic

liquid

-u'

NOM

aruwitahtahúrust<sup>it</sup><sup>n</sup>

a ruuwitaahťaahúrústit  
 and then it would be perfectly round  
 a ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- taahurus -rik -0  
 and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.round DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hawaatikárikuwitihkaruk<sup>u</sup>

Hawá atíka' rikuwitihkaruuku'  
 Also our grandmothers that is what they made  
 haawa ati- kaa riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus  
 also 1.POSS grandmother that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

šápat<sup>n</sup> kuštáratk<sup>u</sup> ,  
 cápaat kuctaáraatku'  
 women earthen pots  
 icapaak kuc.taaraatk- -u'  
 woman earthen.pot NOM

tukstihúriki ,  
 rukstihuúriki  
 their being large  
 ra- 0- uks- rihur -ik -i  
 ABS 3.A AOR be.big DIST SUB.2

hirikuahiksukawiruwahakúsuku

hi riku'ahiksuukawiruuahakúsuku'  
 and that is where they stirred mush  
 hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- huu- ka- -wi ruu- hak -:hus -uuku  
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR mush in SUB.L PORT pass.by IMPF HAB

. Arisiráita , skára  
. A riisiraá'iita ckára  
. And you know alone  
. a rii- s- ir- raa.iita -0 ckara  
. and ASSR 2.A PREV.1/2A know PERF alone

tiwirəsirurátawi

tiwirasiruuraátawi

your having the way among you

tii- wii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi -0  
here now ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among SUB.4

, káritk<sup>i</sup> ,  
káritki  
stone  
karit- -kis  
rock DIM

tirəskawákarukuihi

tiraskawaákaruku ihi

when you make them , uh ,

tii- ra- s- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus , ihii ,  
this ABS 2.A make.DIST IMPF.SUB , uh ,

kúšk<sup>i</sup> .

kúcki .

pots .

kuc- -kis .

kettle DIM .

Kararáwuruhú<sup>u</sup> ,

Kararaawiruu<sup>u</sup>'u

They were very sturdy

ka- ra- 0- raa- 0- awi.raa.uhur -'  
 NEG ABS 3.A way 3.A be.sturdy EX

hírikuahisuks

hi riku'áhicuks  
 and that was the way

hi riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0  
 and that.is EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV AOR be PERF

, ihi,  
 ihi  
 , uh,  
 , ihii  
 , uh

nuahiratarítaar<sup>a</sup>

ruu'ahiraatarítta'aara

then when He created the way

ruu- ar- ri- 0- raa- tarikta- -aar -a  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A way body INCH SUB.1

atikarahkukawakarukukítu

atíka'  
 grandmother

raahkukawaákaruku  
 when she would make them

kítuu'u'  
 all

ati- kaa ra- 0- ar- ku- kawaaka.ra'uk -hus kituu -u'  
 1.POSS grandmother INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make.DIST IMPF.SUB all NOM

. Atika  
 . Atíka'  
 . A grandmother  
 . ati- kaa  
 . 1.POSS grandmother

rikuwitukskarukusukukuštáratk<sup>u</sup>

rikuwitukskaruukúsuuku'									kuctaáraatku'	
she was the one who made them									earthen pots	
riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus	-uuku		kuc.taaraatk-	-u'
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	make.PL.P	IMPF	HAB		earthen.pot	NOM

. Kuhukstátihu<sup>u</sup>,  
. Kúhukstaátiihu'u  
. There must have been a special one  
. kuur- ra- 0- uks- raa- tii.hur -'  
. DUB ABS 3.A AOR way be.measured.correctly EX

hurúht<sup>u</sup> ,  
huurúhtu'  
mud  
huuruht- -u'  
mud NOM

irikúhukspa  
iriikúhukspa  
wherever it was  
irii- kuur- ra- 0- uks- waa- aah -0  
where DUB ABS 3.A AOR DIST be PERF

irikuhurúksiwa,  
iriikúhuurúksiwa  
wherever it was good  
irii- kuur- ra- 0- uur- uks- hi.wa.ar -0  
where DUB ABS 3.A PREV AOR be.good.DIST PERF

arikuwitiirúhawu  
a rikuwitiiruúhaawu'  
and that is what they went after  
a riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- raa.wuu -:hus  
and that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV go.to.get.IMPF IMPF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

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

hawaatikarikuahikskarukúsuk<sup>u</sup>

hawá atíka' riku'ahikskaruukúsuuku'  
also grandmothers they were the ones who used to make them  
haawa ati- kaa riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- uks- ka.ra'uk -:hus -uuku  
also 1.POSS grandmother that.is EV ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR make.PL.P IMPF HAB

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

Kaíhš<sup>u</sup> . " " Kaíhšu , "  
ka'ihcu' . Ka'ihcu'  
baskets . Basket  
ka'iihc- -u' ka'iihc- -u'  
straw.basket NOM straw.basket NOM

tahapakíah<sup>u</sup> ,  
tahapakí'aahu'  
we say

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

hiikawáwa

hi		iikawaáwaa'	
and	,	oh my	,
hi	,	iikawaawaa	,
and	,	oh.my	,

hitarurárir<sup>u</sup>

hi	taruuráiriuru'								
and	she would draw on it								
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	uur-	rariir	-ra'uk	-0		
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	be.marked	CAUS	PERF		

Nahkuhaskatatparəsikárahir<sup>a</sup>

Raahkuhaaskatatpaarásika

When she boiled the strips of bark

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	haas.kataat-	waa-	araas	-ik	-a	ráhiira'
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	bark.strip	DIST	be.cooked	CAUS	SUB.1	sometimes
									rahiira
									further

.

Arutihaskatahašakúrihit<sup>n</sup>

a ruutihhaaskatahacakúrihit

and the strips of bark were bright red

a	ruu-	ti-	0-	i-	haas.kataat-	raar-	takurihik	-0
and	then	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	bark.strip	PL	be.bright.red	PERF

.



.  
. .  
. .

Kaihsuáratuari

Ka'ihcu'                    a        raatúarii  
A basket                    and     it was just painted  
ka'iihc-                -u'     a        raa-    ti-        0-        uur-     rariir        -0  
straw.basket    NOM    and     just     IND.3A   3.A    PREV    be.marked   PERF

,  
,  
,  
,

šapatnihkutáwahi

cápaat     rihkuutáwaari  
women     when they do it  
icapaak    ra-        0-        ir-        ku-        ut-        aar     -waa     -i  
woman     INF.A    3.A     PL.3A    INF.B    PREV    do     DIST    IMPF.SUB

,     nihkutáwari  
      rihkuutáwaari  
      when they do it  
      ra-        0-        ir-        ku-        ut-        aar     -waa     -i  
      INF.A    3.A     PL.3A    INF.B    PREV    do     DIST    IMPF.SUB

,     nihkurušpáwuhu  
      rihkurucpaáwuhu  
      when they put them down  
      ra-        0-        ir-        ku-        ra.uc.wuh     -waa     -hus  
      INF.A    3.A     PL.3A    INF.B    put.PL.OBJ    DIST    IMPF.SUB

ihi , tihwakíahu “  
 ihi tihwakí'aahu'  
 , uh , they say  
 , ihii , ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 , uh , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Níšu " kitúihi ,  
 riícu' kítuu'u'  
 gut , all ,  
 riic- -u' , kituu -u' ,  
 intestine NOM , all NOM ,

kišáhitunésarak's, a ,  
 ihi kiicáhihtu' rásaraakis a  
 uh , tallow EMPTY and  
 ihii , kiic- ahiht -u' a  
 uh , liquid grease NOM and

tarahákiriku .  
 tárahakiriíku' .  
 buffalo eyes .  
 tarahaa kirik -u' .  
 buffalo eye NOM .

Nikutikstušpawuhúsuku

Rikutikstucpaawuhúsuuku'

Those are what they used to put down

riku- ti- 0- ir- uks- ra.uc.wuh -waa -:hus -uuku  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A AOR put.PL.OBJ DIST IMPF HAB

šápat<sup>n</sup> . Áihi kíraruš<sup>u</sup> ,  
 cápaat . A ihi kíraruucu'  
 women . And , uh , shoulder meat

icapaak . a , ihii , kiraruuc- -u'  
 woman . and , uh , buffalo.hump NOM

witirihkuwiriwúšapat<sup>11</sup>

witirihkuúwiriwu cápaat  
 when they were winning each other women  
 witi- ra- 0- ir- ku- awi- ri- wuu -hus icapaak  
 REFL INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B image PORT go.IMPF IMPF.SUB woman

. Hikaíhšu  
 . Hi ka'ihcu'  
 . And baskets  
 . hi ka'iihc- -u'  
 . and straw.basket NOM

nawititiruhukítáwu

raawititiiruhukítawu'

they were just outdoing each other

raa- witi- ti- 0- ir- uur- uhuur.kita.wuu -:hus  
 just REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV outdo.IMPF IMPF

nikurarukawáhu

rihkuraarukaawáhu

when they were bouncing up in the air

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- raar- ukaa.a -wa -hus  
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PL.INDV.A jump DIST IMPF.SUB

. Hiruhawaatikarikutirəsákaruku ,  
 . Hiru hawá atíka'  
 . Then also grandmothers  
 . hiruu haawa ati- kaa  
 . then also 1.POSS grandmother

tirəsarašapirúwari

rikutiirasaahkaruúku'

they were the ones who made the seeds

riku- ti- 0- ir- asaar- ka.ra'uk -:hus  
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A game.seed make.PL.P IMPF

tirasaaracapiruúwari

when she scraped the seeds

tii- ra- 0- asaar- raar- tapi.ruu.warii -hus  
when ABS 3.A game.seed PL scrape.around IMPF.SUB

. " Ásar<sup>u</sup> "  
. Ásaaru'  
. Seeds  
. asaar- -u'  
. game.seed NOM

tihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

tihwakí'aahu'

they say

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

. Niwáharit<sup>n</sup>

. Riwáharit

. Plums

. riwaharik

. plum

tiruuskári<sup>u</sup>

tiruuskári'u

these that were plentiful

tii- ra- 0- uks- kari -u  
this ABS 3.A AOR be.numerous SUB.D

nikutirəsahkarúku

rikutiirasaahkaruúku'

those were the seeds they made

riku- ti- 0- ir- asaar- ka.ra'uk -:hus  
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A game.seed make.PL.P IMPF

šápat<sup>n</sup> .  
cápaat .  
women .  
icapaak .  
woman .

Aratirasarahwiraríhkaruk<sup>u</sup>

A raatiirasaaraahwiraríhkaruuku'

And they just drew figures on the seeds

a	raa-	ti-	0-	ir-	asaar-	raar-	wi	rariir	-ka.ra'uk	-.:hus
and	just	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	game.seed	PL	be.upright	be.marked	CAUS.PL.P	IMPF

. Irirurahkuwíška<sup>a</sup>

iriruuraahkuwícka'a

“

whatever she wanted

“

irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	wicka	-a	"
what	then	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	want	SUB.1	"

kirótihaitaritəsaru<sup>u</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

Kíra tihaa'itaritásaaru'u't

Let my seed be this way

kira	tii-	haa-	i-	t-	ir-	a-	ri-	ut-	asaar-	uk	-'
perhaps	this	here	CONT.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	game.seed	be	EX

.  
"  
,  
,  
,  
,  
"

Nakusárarahašapat<sup>n</sup>

rakuusáraaha

when she had seeds

cápaat

a woman

ra-	0-	ku-	asaar-	raar-	raah	-a	icapaak
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	game.seed	PL	have	SUB.1	woman

náhira	,	hupírit <sup>n</sup>	,
ráhiira'		huupírit	
sometimes		stars	

rahiira huupirik  
 further star

rakurarawíkaku  
 rakuraarawíkaku  
 their images being painted on it

ra- 0- ku- raar- awi- ka- kus -0  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P image on be.sitting SUB.4

, anáhira , pah ,  
 a ráhiira' pah  
 and sometimes the moon  
 a rahiira pah  
 and further elk

nakurawikáwi .  
 rakuurawikáwi .  
 its image being on it .

ra- 0- ku- uur- awi- ka -wi .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV image be.on SUB.L .

Irár<sup>i</sup> , šapat<sup>n</sup>  
 Iraári' cápaat  
 Brother , women  
 i- -raar- -ri' , icapaak  
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , woman

kúriruhur<sup>u</sup> ,  
 kúriiruuhuuru  
 their ways  
 ku- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.uhur -u  
 INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A be.the.way SUB.D

nikutataríraiwat<sup>n</sup>

rikutatariíraa'iiwat

those are what I am telling you about

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

- . Šápat<sup>n</sup>
- . Cápaat
- . Women
- . icapaak
- . woman

wirakukataráhka<sup>a</sup>

wiraakukataaraáhkaa'a

when the grass came up

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- kataar- raar- kaa.a -0  
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B green.grass PL come.out SUB.4

, hitíruhasiksta<sup>a</sup>

hi tíruuhaaciksta

and they would watch them

hi ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- aciks.ta -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV watch PERF

.

Sistatuwirakuwírihūriki

sístaatu'

bulrushes

siis- tat- -u' wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- awi- rihur -ik -i  
awl stalk NOM when INF.A 3.A EV INF.B image be.big DIST SUB.2

, wírakukíšik<sup>i</sup> ,  
wíraahkukiiciki ,  
, where they were tall ,  
, wii- ra- 0- ar- ku kii'ac -ik -i ,  
, when INF.A 3.A EV INDF be.long DIST SUB.2 ,

hitihwakíšapat<sup>n</sup> , “  
hi tíhwaki' cápaat “  
and they said women : “  
hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 icapaak , ”  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF woman , ”

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

wirutušíuut<sup>n</sup> ,  
wiruutuci'uu'ut .  
now they are just right .  
wii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- uu -uk -0 .  
now then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be DIST PERF .

wirútiwiwət<sup>n</sup>  
Wiruutiíwiwaat  
Now that is the length  
wii- ruu- ti- 0- awi- waa- ak -0  
now then IND.3A 3.A image DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

, witíwikišít<sup>n</sup> . ”  
. Witíwikiicit . ”  
. Now they are long . ”



. wii- ti- 0- awi- kii'ac -ik -0 . "

. now IND.3A 3.A image be.long DIST PERF . "

Hitikawatót šápat<sup>n</sup> ,  
 Hi tikáwatat cápaat  
 And she would come out a woman  
 hi ti- 0- kawatak -0 icapaak  
 and IND.3A 3.A get.out PERF woman

nihkurarastawíraraha  
 rihkuraaraastawíraaha  
 when they led them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- haas- ta -wi raar- raah -a  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P rope be.hanging SUB.L PL have SUB.1

arús<sup>a</sup> .  
 aruúsa' .  
 horses .  
 aruusaa .  
 horse .

Hiruirakutpitákarik<sup>i</sup>

Hiru iriirakutpitákaariki  
 Then where they stood close together in bunches  
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- witaka.arik -i  
 then where INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV stand.close.together.in.bunches SUB.2

, atihwákarusistāt<sup>u</sup> ,  
 a tihwaákaru'  
 and they pulled them up  
 a ti- 0- ir- waa.ka.ra'uk -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A pull.up.PL.P PERF

áratiriwir<sup>it<sup>n</sup></sup>

sistaátu' a raatiriwiirit  
bulrushes and there were just big piles  
siis- tat- -u' a raa- ti- 0- riwii riwii.arik -0  
awl stalk NOM and just IND.3A 3.A be.clenched be.standing PERF

, nəkúriwirik<sup>i</sup>  
rákuriwiiriki  
, there being big piles  
, ra- 0- ku- riwii arik -i  
, INF.A 3.A INF.B be.clenched be.standing SUB.2

sistát<sup>u</sup> .  
sistaátu' .  
bulrushes .  
siis- tat- -u' .  
awl stalk NOM .

Hirutíši<sup>a</sup> ,  
Hiru tíici'a  
Then they did it :  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hirutiširahki  
hiru tiiciraáhki'  
then they tied them  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raar- kiir -0  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P tie PERF

, tírahpak<sup>u</sup> ;  
. Tíraahpaaku  
. They were piled  
. ti- 0- raar- waa- kus -0  
. IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A hill be.sitting PERF

hiarusarutišírəšatut<sup>n</sup>

hi aruúsa' ruutiicíracatut

and horses then they laid them on its side

hi aruusaa ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raar- tatat -0  
and horse then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P be.attached.to PERF

. Hirutahuraíwa

. Hiru taahuuraíwaa'

. Then they came back laden

. hiruu ti- 0- a- huur.awi.a -wa -0  
. then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A return.laden DIST PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hiruatihuraíwišp<sup>a</sup>

Hiru a tiihuuraíwicpaa'

Then and they arrived laden

hiruu a ti- 0- a- i- huur.awi.wic.a -wa -0  
then and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A SEQ arrive.laden DIST PERF

kitkaháhir<sup>i</sup> .

kitkahaáhiri' .

at the earth lodge village .

kitka.haar- -hiri' .

earth.lodge.village LOC .

Hirutísi<sup>a</sup> ,

Hiru tíci'a

Then they did it :

hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hirutirítarušpaw<sup>u</sup>

hiru tiriítaručpaawu  
 then they built fires

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ta.ra.uc.wuh -waa -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ make.a.fire DIST PERF

nihkutarušpáwuha

rihkutaručpaáwuha

when they were building fires

ra- 0- ir- ku- ta.ra.uc.wuh -waa -a  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.a.fire DIST SUB.1

ukáhkat<sup>n</sup> .

uukaáhkát .

outside .

uukaahkat .

outside .

Hirutiriraráhkiwi

Hiru tiriiraráhkiwi

Then they roasted them

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- raar- raar.kiwir -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P roast.corn PERF

.

Nikurəšaríriruku

rihkuracaráriiruku

when they were scorching them

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	raar-	tararit	-ra'uk	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	be.burned	CAUS	IMPF.SUB

,

irirarárukawaw<sup>i</sup>

iriiraraarúkawaawi

where the bases were

irii-	ra-	0-	raar-	huka	-waa	-wi
where	ABS	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	be.a.base.set.in	DIST	SUB.L

,	kiwáhak <sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup>	.
	kiwahaahkat	.
	in the pond	.
	kiwahaar-	-kat .
	pond	LOC .

Arutiriraririwáhiku

A ruutiriiraaririwáhiku'

And then they spread them on the ground

a	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	iriwa.hik	-:hus
and	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	spread.out	IMPF

,

nihkuhahkaripápuhu  
 rihkuuhaahkariipaápuhu  
 when they tied them up

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raar-	kariik.wuh	-waa	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	tie.up	DIST	IMPF.SUB

,  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Atiráriwahəškītu

A	tiraáriwaahac							kítuu'u'	
And	they were finished							all	
a	ti-	0-	ir-	raa-	riihac	-waa	-0	kituu	-u'
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	way	finish	DIST	PERF	all	NOM

hi  
 hi  
 and  
 hi  
 and

kituwirutakahtáris

kítuu'u'		wiruutaakaahtáris							
all		now the lodge was heavy (with them)							
kituu	-u'	wii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	a-	akaar-	taris	-0
all	NOM	now	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	dwelling	be.heavy	PERF

,	akahtáhitkət <sup>n</sup>	,	sístāt <sup>u</sup>	.
	akaahtaáhitkat		sístaatu'	.
	on the lodge roof		bulrushes	.

akaar- taahiht- -kat siis- tat- -u' .  
 dwelling roof LOC awl stalk NOM .

Hihawarutiširaæt<sup>n</sup>

Hi hawá ruutiicíraa'at

And also then they went after them

hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raa.at -0  
 and also then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

tihwakíahu , “

tihwakí'aahu'

they say

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

Sistótas<sup>u</sup> . ”

sistátaasu' .

bulrush strings .

siis- tat- haas- -u' .  
 awl stalk string NOM .

Ahawatahuraíwa

A hawá taahuura'íwaa'

And also they came laden individually

a haawa ti- 0- a- huur.awi.a -wa -0  
 and also IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A return.laden DIST PERF

, nihkuwawakára<sup>u</sup> ,

rihkuwaawaakára'u

when they picked all of them

ra- 0- ir- ku- waa.ka.ra'uk -waa -0  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B pull.up.PL.P DIST SUB.3

sistótas<sup>u</sup>

sistátaasu'  
bulrush strings  
siis- tat- haas- -u'  
awl stalk string NOM

tíwíkišít<sup>n</sup> .  
tíwíkiicit .  
they were long .  
ti- 0- awi- kii'ac -ik -0 .  
IND.3A 3.A image be.long DIST PERF .

Tihwakíahu “ Kísít<sup>u</sup>  
Tihwakí'aahu' kisiitu'  
They say swamp grass  
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus kisiit- -u'  
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF flat.reed NOM

. "  
. .  
. .  
. .

Náwahawarutíši<sup>a</sup>  
Ráwa hawá ruutiíci'a  
Now also then they did it  
rawa haawa ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
now also then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

, nihkurarahkíwira  
rihkuraraahkíwira  
when they roasted them  
ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- raar.kiwir -a  
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P roast.corn SUB.1



.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hawarutiriraririwáwahit<sup>n</sup>

Hawá ruutiriiraaririwaáwaahit

Also then they spread them all out

haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	iriwa.hik	-waa	-0
also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	spread.out	DIST	PERF

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

irihikakíraaki<sup>a</sup> ,

irihikaakíraakii'a

that was not long

irii-	hii-	kaaki-	0-	raa.kii	-aar	-0
that	other	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be.a.long.time	INCH	PERF

hitírəšahis .

hi tirácahis .

and they were dry .

hi	ti-	0-	raar-	taahiis	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.dry	PERF

Atírəšahis

A tirácahis

And they were dry ,

a ti- 0- raar- taahiis -0 ,  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A be.dry PERF ,

hirutiriraraháís<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup>

hiru tiriirarahá'iisat

then they took them into the water

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ra- ha- iis.at -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT in.water go.out.of.sight PERF

,

hihavarutirirahkíparu

hi hawá ruutiriiraahkíparu'

and also then they wet them

hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raar- kipaar -ra'uk -0  
 and also then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P be.wet CAUS PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hiirutiriháskarukusitit<sup>n</sup>

Hi iriruutiriihaaskaruúkusitit

And thereupon they began making strings

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- haas- ka.ra'uk -:hus -itik  
 and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ string make.PL.P IMPF INCH

, irár<sup>i</sup> ,

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

tihwakíahu , “

tihwaki'aahu'

they say

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

Həsikirátirir<sup>u</sup> .

haasikiraátiriiru' .

twisted string .

haas- ikiraati.hir -u' .

string be.twisted NOM .

Harutútiit<sup>n</sup> ,

Haaruútu' tí't

Grass they are

haaruut -u' ti- 0- 0 -ik -0  
 dry.grass NOM IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

hihəsikirátirir<sup>u</sup>

hi haasikiraátiriiru'

and twisted strings

hi haas- ikiraati.hir -u' ti- 0- ka.ra'uk -:hus

and string be.twisted NOM IND.3A 3.A make.PL.P IMPF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Nəkutarirakúhastuku

Rakuutári

What one does

ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -i  
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do IMPF.SUB

rakúhaastuku

when one makes strings

ra- 0- ku- haas- ra'uk -hus  
INF.A 3.A INF.B string make IMPF.SUB

hítuta

hi tuúta

and she did it

hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

tiirirəsuhaakarihúsuku

ti'iriirasuuhaakariíhusuku

this way that you usually do

tii- irii- ra- s- ut- rak- aar -i -hus -uku  
this that ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL do IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB

tákít<sup>u</sup>

tákiitu'

thread

takiit- -u'

thread NOM

aruwítušiskitirápuhu

a ruuwítuciskitiiráhpuhu

and then she was winding the string around her foot

a ruu- witi- ti- 0- ut- i- kitiirahk.wuh -hus  
and then REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ wrap.around IMPF.SUB

tiirirutəstarúrahwi

ti'iriiruutastaarúrahwi

here where her feet were flat

tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	as-	raar-	hurah		-wi
here	where	ABS	3.A	PREV	foot	PL	hang.down.touching.the.earth		SUB.L

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Nihuksuakutuštakárusu

Ríhuksu' a kutuctakárusu'

Only and it was so large

rihuks	-u'	a	ku-	ti-	0-	ut-	ta.karus.uu	-0
alone	NOM	and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.a.large.pile	PERF

,	hirusitírisap <sup>u</sup>							.
	hiru	sitíriisaapu						.
	then	she put up stakes (du)						.
	hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	riisaak.wuh	-0		.
	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	stake	PERF		.

Híšikstit<sup>n</sup>

Hi cíkstit

And well

hi cikstik

and well

nutušihaskitírahpap<sup>u</sup>

ruutucihaaskitiírahpaapu

then she wrapped the string around them

ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	haas-	kitiirahk.wuh	-waa	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	string	wrap.around	DIST	PERF

.

.  
. .  
. .

Akiširutirakítawihaw<sup>a</sup>

Aki	ciro	tiraakítawi'						haáwa'
And here	yet	it was the leading way						also
a-	ki	ciroo	ti-	0-	raa-	kita.wi	-0	haawa
and	there	yet	IND.3A	3.A	way	be.the.leader	PERF	also

,

sistatuwirakurəšawáhis

sístaatu'			wirakuracaawaáhis							
bulrushes			when they were dry							
siis-	tat-	-u'	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	taahiis	-waa	-0
awl	stalk	NOM	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	be.dry	DIST	SUB.4

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

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

hihavarutirirahkipáhkaru

hi hawá ruutiriiraahkipaáhkaru'

and also then they wet them

hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	kipaar	-ka.ra'uk	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	be.wet	CAUS.PL.P	PERF

, sístát<sup>u</sup> .  
 sístaatu' .  
 the bulrushes .  
 siis- tat- -u' .  
 awl stalk NOM .

Ahavarutirirahkipáhkaru

A hawá ruutiriiraahkipaáhkaru'

And also then they wet them

a	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	kipaar	-ka.ra'uk	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	be.wet	CAUS.PL.P	PERF

, sístát<sup>u</sup> .  
 sístaatu' .  
 the bulrushes .  
 siis- tat- -u' .  
 awl stalk NOM .

Hirutirihatárawaw<sup>u</sup>

Hiru tiriihaastaárawaawu

Then they put the strings across

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	haas-	raar-	a.wuh		-waa	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	string	PL	stretch.out.on.a.frame		DIST	PERF

. Irá*r*<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Iraá*r*<sup>i</sup>' ,  
 . Brother ,

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

asitihakaspítpu

a sitihaakaspítpu

and they put up forked sticks (du)

a si- ti- 0- haakaspiit.wuh -0  
 and DU IND.3A 3.A set.a.forked.piece.of.wood.upright PERF

, hiruukáhkæt<sup>n</sup> hawatitakusúhuri .  
 hiru uukaáhkát hawá tiítaku suúhuri' .  
 there outside , also here this way .  
 hiruu uukaahkat , haawa tii- -taku suuhuri' .  
 there outside , also here LOC over.here .

Hihirurikutihəstahwasiwárik<sup>u</sup>

Hi hiru rikutihaastahwasiiwáriku'

And then that is where she strung them

hi hiruu riku- ti- 0- haas- raar- wasii.warik -:hus  
 and then that.is IND.3A 3.A string PL stretch.across IMPF

, həstahkítu  
 hastaahkítuu'u'  
 all the strings

haas- raar- kituu -u'  
 string PL all NOM

wikurakúrik<sup>i</sup> ,

wikurakuúriki

while she stands

wii- ku- ra- 0- ku- arik -i  
 when INDF INF.A 3.A INF.B be.standing SUB.2

hitihəstahwasiwárik<sup>u</sup> .



hi tihaastahwasiiwáriku' .  
 and she put the strings across .  
 hi ti- 0- haas- raar- wasii.warik -:hus .  
 and IND.3A 3.A string PL stretch.across IMPF .

Atírarih^š ;  
 A tíraariihac  
 And she finished it ,  
 a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0 ,  
 and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF ,

arutihəstašakásistit<sup>n</sup>  
 a ruutihaastacakásistit  
 and then the strings were close together  
 a ruu- ti- 0- haas- raar- ta.kasis -rik -0  
 and then IND.3A 3.A string PL be.close.together DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirutirarikáta  
 Hiru tiirarikátaa'  
 Then they brought them up  
 hiruu ti- 0- a- ir- raar- ri- kata.a -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PL PORT come.up PERF

, sístāt<sup>u</sup> .  
 sístaatu' .  
 bulrushes .  
 siis- tat- -u' .  
 awl stalk NOM .

Hirutirarikáta

Hiru tiirarikátaa'

Then they brought them up

hiruu	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	raar-	ri-	kata.a	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PL	PORT	come.up	PERF

sístāt<sup>u</sup> ;

sístaatu'

bulrushes

siis-	tat-	-u'
awl	stalk	NOM

hiirirutirárir<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup> .

hi iriruutiraáirat .

and thereupon they sat down .

hi	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	raar-	ri.ra.at	-0	.
and	that	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	sit.down	PERF	.

Hitakuásitikupitk<sup>u</sup>

Hiítaku a sítiiku pítku

Over there and they (du) sat two

hii-	-taku	a	si-	ti-	0-	kus	-0	pítku
other	LOC	and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting	PERF	two

, ahawahiratakúpitk<sup>u</sup>

a hawá hiirátaku pítku ; skítiiks

and also over there two . Kskiíti'iks

a haawa hii- ra- -taku pítku . iks.kiiti'iks

and also other ABS LOC two . four

átuharu .

a tuuháru' .

and there were .

a ti- 0- ut- raar- uu -0 .  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be PERF .

Apəšarusitiritihákspa

Ápac a ruusitiriiritiíhákspa

Both and then they worked toward the others

apac a ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- ri- tiihak -his war -0  
 both and then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ PORT be.the.end PERF go.DU PERF

wisiríhkuruku .

wisiríhkuruku .

when they were making them .

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ra'uk -hus .  
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make IMPF.SUB .

Irári ,

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

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

kakúkstaki<sup>a</sup> ;

kaakúkstaakii'a

it was not long

kaaki- 0- uks- raa.kii -aar -0  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A AOR be.a.long.time INCH PERF

širukíriku

ciru kíriku'

yet sometime

ciruu kirikuu

yet anything

wirakuhihíari

wirakuuhiihí'aari

when it was becoming

wii- ra- 0- ku- ut- raa- ihii -aar -i  
when INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.in.a.place/time INCH IMPF.SUB

, sakurikárikət<sup>n</sup> ,  
sakuurikárikat  
midday  
sakur- iika.ri -kat  
day center LOC

hisítirih<sup>š</sup>

hi sítiriihac .  
and they finished it .  
hi si- ti- 0- ir- riihac -0 .  
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A finish PERF .

Hihawasisturutiríhastarawu

Hi hawá sístu ruutiriihaastaárawu  
And also again then they put the strings across  
hi haawa sistu ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- haas- raar- a.wuh -0  
and also again then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ string PL stretch.out.on.a.frame PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hawairutíši<sup>a</sup>

Hawá iriruutíci'a  
Also thereupon they did it  
haawa irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
also then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

, kišihiatirétki<sup>a</sup>  
 kici hi a tirátkii'a  
 but and and it became night  
 kici hi a ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0  
 but and and IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hihawasítirihəš

hi hawá sítiriihac  
 and also they finished it  
 hi haawa si- ti- 0- ir- riihac -0  
 and also DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A finish PERF

sístāt<sup>u</sup> .  
 sístaatu' .  
 a mat .  
 siis- tat- -u' .  
 awl stalk NOM .

Šapətirikuriruhúrik<sup>i</sup>

Cápaat iriikuriiruuhuúriki  
 Women that is what they did  
 icapaak irii- ku- ra- 0- ir- uhuur.ik -i  
 woman that INDF ABS 3.A PL.3A be.proficient SUB.2

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Arutiriraririwirawárik<sup>u</sup>

A ruutiriiraaririwiraawáriku'  
 And then they rolled them up

a ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raar- iriwiraa.warik -:hus  
 and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P roll IMPF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Árahiritkutuháru

A raáhiirit kutuuháru'  
 And finally there were  
 a raahiirit ku- ti- 0- ut- raar- uu -0  
 and finally INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be PERF

skíksapiš, rihkúkaruku  
 kskíkسااپك rihkúkaruku  
 six when they were making them  
 iks.kiksaapic ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus  
 six INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

. Arutišári  
 . A ruutiicí'aari'  
 . And then they would do it  
 . a ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -i  
 . and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do IMPF

nihkuhiwahítku .  
 rihkuhiwaahítku .  
 their spreading them out .  
 ra- 0- ir- ku- hihit.k -waa -hus .  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B spread.out DIST IMPF.SUB .

Akararətauhisitihurakhísir<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup>



nəkurahkátəsa

rakuraahkátasa

where they lay on it

ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	kata-	sa	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	be.lying	SUB.4

,

,

,

,

iririrurukskusárik<sup>i</sup>

iriiriuruukskusaáriki

where their beds used to be

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	uks-	kus.haar	-ik	-i
where	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	be.a.bed	DIST	SUB.2

,	hiutətakət <sup>n</sup>	,
	hi uttátakat	
,	and at the base	
,	hi uktataka.t	
,	and at.the.base	

kitutíhiwahit<sup>n</sup>

kítuu'u'

all

kituu  
all

tiíhiwaahit

they spread them

-u'	ti-	0-	ir-	hihit.k	-waa	-0
NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	spread.out	DIST	PERF

sístāt<sup>u</sup>

sístaatu'

the mats



siis- tat- -u'  
awl stalk NOM

wirihkurárih^š .  
wirihkuraáriihac .  
when they finished them .  
wii- ra- 0- ir- ku raa- riihac -0 .  
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INDF way finish SUB.4 .

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

hihawarutirahkáisət<sup>n</sup>  
hi hawá ruutiraahká'isat  
and also then they went into the woods  
hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- raar- ka- iis.at -0  
and also then IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A in.the.brush go.out.of.sight PERF

, šápat<sup>n</sup> ,  
cápaat  
the women  
icapaak  
woman

kurahkuhətíwahət<sup>n</sup>  
kuraahkuuhattíwaahat  
where there would be a big tree  
ku- ra- 0- ar- ku- i- haak- tiihak -waa -0  
INDF INF.A 3.A EV INF.B SEQ wood be.the.border DIST PERF

,



.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Akirikukutihakatuskátiwah<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

A	kíriku'	kútihaakatuskátiiwaahat									
And	some	they were flat boards so wide									
a	kirikuu	ku-	ti-	0-	i-	haak-	katuus	ka-	tiihak	-waa	-0
and	anything	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	wood	be.flat	in.the.brush	be.the.border	DIST	PERF

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

hirutihatəširiwis túwa

hiru	tihaattaciíriwistuúwa										
then	she carried the boards across her back										
hiruu	ti-	0-	haak-	raar-	ta	iriwis	ruu-	waa-	aah	-0	
then	IND.3A	3.A	wood	PL	be.hanging	be.across	PORT	DIST	be	PERF	

,	šápat <sup>n</sup>	,
	cápaat	
	a woman	
	icapaak	
	woman	

ahirukúti<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

a	hiru	kútihaakat
and	then	the board was the length

a	hiruu	ku-	ti-	0-	i-	haak-	ak	-0
and	then	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	wood	be.a.certain.length	PERF

,

irirukskúsawaki  
 iriirukskúsaahwaaki  
 as long as the bed was

irii-	ra-	0-	uks-	kus.haar-	waa-	ak	-i
when	ABS	3.A	AOR	bed	DIST	be.a.certain.length	SUB.2

, arútiət<sup>n</sup>

a ruútiit'at  
 and it was that length

a	ruu-	ti-	0-	i-	ak	-0
and	then	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.a.certain.length	PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirutirikusáhkaru

Hiru tiriikusaáhkaru'  
 Then they made beds

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kus.haar-	ka.ra'uk	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	bed	make.PL.P	PERF

,

.  
. .  
. .

nutirikusáhkaru

Ruutiriikusaáhkaru'

Then they made beds

ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kus.haar-	ka.ra'uk	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	bed	make.PL.P	PERF

. Kítapāt<sup>u</sup> ,  
. Kítapaatu'  
. Willows  
. kitapaat -u'  
. willow NOM

hirutirára

hiru tírara

then she carried them

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	raah	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	have	PERF

nakúhiwar<sup>a</sup>

rakuúhiwaara

their being nice

ra-	0-	ku-	uur-	hi.wa.ar	-a	
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	be.good.DIST	SUB.1	

kítapāt<sup>u</sup> ,

kítapaatu'

willows

kitapaat -u'

willow NOM

nakúrihurik<sup>i</sup>

rakúrihuuriki

their being large

ra-	0-	ku-	rihur	-ik	-i
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.big	DIST	SUB.2

. Hirutiríkaru ,  
 . Hiru tiriíkaru'  
 . Then they made them  
 . hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ka.ra'uk -0  
 . then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ make.PL.P PERF

hihítki<sup>u</sup>  
 hihítkii'u'  
 a mat  
 hihit kii- -u'  
 be.spread.out line NOM

Irirakuruhihitistarit<sup>n</sup>  
 iriiraakuruuhihitistarit  
 what he will have laid down (to lie on)  
 irii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- hihit -his -ta -rit  
 what INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.spread.out PERF INT INT.SUB

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Kituatirarahúwiš<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 Kítuu'u' a tiraarahúwicat  
 All and she fixed it perfect  
 kituu -u' a ti- 0- raar- rahuuwic.at -0  
 all NOM and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P clean.in.a.prescribed.manner PERF

, nakukúsaruku ,  
 rakukúsaaruku  
 when she makes the bed

ra-	0-	ku-	kus.haar-	ra'uk	-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	bed	make	IMPF.SUB

sirihkutkíriku

sirihkutkíriku

while they watched them

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	kirik.kus	-0
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	look.at	SUB.4

šápat <sup>n</sup>	.	nka <sup>a</sup>	!
cápaat	.	Íika'a	
the women	.	Oh my	,
icapaak	.	iika'a	,
woman	.	oh.my	,

irirakukstarúhuriwausu

iriirakukstaaruhuriwa'uusu

the one who knew how to do it

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	raar-	uhur-	rii'uus	-wa	-u
that	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	AOR	3PL.INAN.P	way.of.doing	know.how	DIST	SUB.D

,

arasitiširéspari

a raasitiiciráspari'

and they just took her around

a	raa-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	ciras-	warii	-:hus
and	just	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	COM	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

. “

. “  
. “  
. ”  
. ”

Kirətihaiskuríta

Kíra tihaa'iskuriíta

Perhaps you'll do this for me

kira	tii-	haa-	i-	s-	ir-	ku-	ri-	ut-	aar	-0
perhaps	this	here	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PHYS.POSS	PREV	do	PERF

. ”  
. ”  
. ”  
. ”  
. ”

Irári

Iraári'

Brother

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

atikúsarih^š

a tikúsaariihac

and she finished the bed

a	ti-	0-	kus.haar-	riihac	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	bed	finish	PERF

hihawakítapāt<sup>u</sup>

hi hawá kítapaatu'

and also willows

hi haawa kitapaat -u'

and also willow NOM



rutirarišauš ,  
 ruutiraaríca'uc  
 then she lay them across  
 ruu- ti- 0- raar- ica.uc -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P lay.across PERF

arutirahpárihit<sup>n</sup>  
 a ruutiiraahpárihit  
 and then they were nice and smooth  
 a ruu- ti- 0- i- raar- parit.rik -0  
 and then IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A be.smooth PERF

, ihtat<sup>n</sup>  
 . Íhtat  
 . Some  
 . ihtat  
 . some.more

tikitapaháhkiruk<sup>u</sup> ,  
 tikitapahahkiiruúku'  
 she strung small willow limbs  
 ti- 0- kitapaat- raar- kiir -ra'uk -:hus  
 IND.3A 3.A willow PL tie CAUS IMPF

haskíškatāt<sup>u</sup> ,  
 haskíckataatu' .  
 bark strips .  
 haas.kiic.katat- -u' .  
 corn.husk NOM .

hirututés<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup> ihi  
 Hiru tuutásat ihi  
 Then she worked at it , uh ,

hiruu ti- 0- ut- as- at -0 , ihii ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV foot go PERF , uh ,

nakurahkikušihəskíškatāt<sup>u</sup>

rákurahkihkuci

when she strung them together

ra-	0-	ku-	raar-	kiir	ka-	uc	-i	haskíckataatu'	
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	tie	on	lay.SG.P	SUB.2	bark strips	
								haas.kiic.katat-	-u'
								corn.husk	NOM

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

atihkusárarihuš

a tihkusaárariihac

and they finished the bed

a	ti-	0-	ir-	kus.haar-	raar-	riihac	-0	
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	bed	PL	finish	PER	

hirutiríwaki

hiru tiríwaki'

then they said

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0		šapat <sup>n</sup>
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF		cápaat
								women
								icapaak
								woman

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

tišuhurakitapáhaət<sup>n</sup>

ticuhoodraakitapáhaa'at  
let's finally go after willows

i-	t-	ir-	ut-	uhur-	rak-	kitapaat-	raa.at	-0
CONT.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	finally	1/2.PL	willow	go.to.get	PERF

, kitapətkíripəški ,  
kitapatkíripacki  
small willows  
kitapaat- kiripac -kis  
willow small DIM

nakitahpahahkiráhpahāt<sup>u</sup>

rakitapahahkiraáhpahaatu

the willows being reddish brown

ra-	0-	kitapaat-	raar-	kiraar-	pahaat	-u	.	"
ABS	3.A	willow	PL	liquid	be.red	SUB.D	.	"

Ahirukutikitapaháhwíwət<sup>n</sup>

A hiru kutiikitapahaáhwíwaat

And then there was a large pile of willows

a	hiruu	ku-	ti-	0-	i-	kitapaat-	raar-	wi	waa-	ak	-0
and	then	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	willow	PL	be.upright	DIST	be.a.certain.length	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Akiwirikutíhkaruksta

Aki wirikutíhkaruksta

And here they are what they are going to make

a-	ki	wii-	riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	ka.ra'uk	-his	-ta
and	there	now	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	make.PL.P	PERF	INT

kawiriwísis<sup>u</sup> ,  
kaawiriwísisu'  
partitions  
kaa- wiriwis -his -u'  
inside be.a.partition PERF NOM

irirakurúhkusaru  
iriiraakurúhkusaaru  
where one's bed is  
irii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus.haar -u  
where INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B CONT.3A PREV be.a.bed SUB.D

nakukawíriwis .  
rakukaawíriwis .  
to be a partition .  
ra- 0- ku- kaa- wiriwis -0 .  
INF.A 3.A INF.B inside be.a.partition SUB.4 .

Hirutihkitapatíwar<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup>  
Hiru tihkitapahtíwaarit  
Then they cleaned the willows  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- uur- kitapaat- hi.wa.ar -ik -0  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV willow be.good.DIST CAUS PERF

, kitapatkíripəšk<sup>i</sup> ,  
kitapatkíripacki  
the small willows  
kitapaat- kiripac -kis  
willow small DIM

irirúhiwar<sup>a</sup> .  
iriiruúhiwaara .  
those that were good .

irii-	ra-	0-	uur-	hi.wa.ar	-a	.
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.good.DIST	SUB.1	.

Hirutirihapaw<sup>u</sup>

Hiru tirihaapaawu

Then they stood the sticks up

hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	haak-	wuh	-waa	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	wood	put	DIST	PERF

.  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.

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

híhaw<sup>a</sup>

hi haáwa'

and also

hi haawa

and also

nutihkitapatiwar<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

ruutihkitapahtíwaarit

then they cleaned the willows

ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	kitapaat-	hi.wa.ar	-ik	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	willow	be.good.DIST	CAUS	PERF

,

nihkukitapaharišakáwati  
rihkukitapahaaricakáwati  
when they peeled the bark off

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kitapaat-	raar-	icaka.wat	-i
INF.A	3.A	PL.3	INF.B	willow	PL	peel	SUB.2

hiráhira

hi ráhiira'  
and sometimes  
hi rahiira  
and further

tihkitapaharapáhah<sup>u</sup>  
tihkitapahaaraahpáhaahu'  
they reddened the willows

ti-	0-	ir-	kitapaat-	raar-	raar-	pahaat	-ra'uk	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	willow	PL	ITER	be.red	CAUS	PERF

,

nakukitapaharahpaháha<sup>u</sup>  
rakukitapahaaraahpahaáha'u  
when she painted the willows red

ra-	0-	ku-	kitapaat-	raar-	raar-	pahaat	-ra'uk	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	willow	PL	ITER	be.red	CAUS	SUB.3

. Árahir<sup>a</sup>  
 . A ráhiira'  
 . And sometimes  
 . a rahiira  
 . and further

nakurahkatíha<sup>u</sup> ,  
 rakuraahkatíiha'u .  
 when she painted them black .  
 ra- 0- ku- raar- katiit -ra'uk -0 .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P be.black CAUS SUB.3 .

akirikutaruharíkaríkista  
 A kíriku' taruuhaariikaaríkista  
 And sometimes she would put one in the middle  
 a kirikuu ti- 0- ar- ut- raar- iika- arik -his -ta  
 and anything IND.3A 3.A EV PREV 3PL.INAN.P center be.standing PERF INT

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

hirutišiaríhusitit<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru tiici'aaríhusitit  
 then they began doing it  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -i -:hus -itik  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do IMPF IMPF INCH

,

wisirihkətkawiríwisku

wisirihkutkaawiríwisku

when they put the partition up

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	kaa-	wiriwis.k	-hus
when	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	inside	put.up.a.partition	IMPF.SUB

	ihí		šápat <sup>n</sup>						
	ihí		cápaat						
,	uh	,	the woman						
,	ihii	,	icapaak						
,	uh	,	woman						

wirakukawiríwisk<sup>u</sup>

wirakukaawiríwisku

when she put the partition up

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	kaa-	wiriwis.k	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	inside	put.up.a.partition	IMPF.SUB

,	kítapāt <sup>u</sup>			,	kitapatkíripahk <sup>i</sup>	.	
	kítapaatu'				kitapatkíripahki	.	
	willows			,	small willows	.	
	kitapaat	-u'		,	kitapaat-	kiripah.kis	.
	willow	NOM		,	willow	small	.

Arutiratararúhur<sup>itn</sup>

A ruutiiraataraarúhurit

And then they were perfectly straight

a	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	raa-	taraar.uhur	-ik	-0
and	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	way	be.straight	DIST	PERF

.



Iriarutušikáwi<sup>u</sup>

Irii'aaruutucikaáwi'u

Its just being that big inside

irii-	ar-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	kaa-	-wi	0	-u
that	EV	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	inside	SUB.L	be	SUB.D

irinəkukahútarit<sup>n</sup>

iriirakukaahúhtarit

where one was going to go inside

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	kaa-	uh	-ta	-rit
where	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	inside	go.INT	INT	INT.SUB

hirikutihiwatuhkatih<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

hi rikutihiwatuhkatih<sup>i</sup>hat

and that was how wide the entry was

hi	riku-	ti-	0-	i-	hiwatur-	ka.tiihak	-0
and	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	doorway	be.so.wide	PERF

Hiruiriritiratahištíhaku

Hiru iriitirataahictihaku

There where the roof ends

hiruu	irii-	tii-	ra-	0-	taahiht-	tiihak	-hus
there	where	this	ABS	3.A	roof	be.the.end	IMPF.SUB

,

hiruairutikatáhura

hiru a iriruutikatáhura  
there and then it is up against it

hiruu a irii- ruu- ti- 0- kata- hurah -0  
there and then then IND.3A 3.A against.a.vertical.surface hang.down.touching.the.earth PERF

ihi

ihi

, uh ,

, ihii ,

, uh ,

wirakuruhkawíriwis

wiraakuruhkaawíriwis

when he has a partition

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kaa- wiriwis -0  
when INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A inside be.a.partition SUB.4

.

.

.

.

.

Šapatnikutitáwari

Cápaat rikutiitáwari'

Women that is what they were doing

icapaak riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -waa -i  
 woman that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do DIST IMPF

. Nawahíhaw<sup>a</sup>  
 . Ráwa hi haáwa'  
 . Now , and also  
 . rawa , hi haawa  
 . now , and also

nutíši<sup>a</sup>

ruutíci'a

then they did it

ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

atiraríhəš

a tíraarihac

and they finished them

a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0 hi haawa  
 and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF and also

hihawarútiwu

hi hawá

and also

atikahawairirutáwari

ruútiwu'

then they went

ruu- ti- 0- i- wuu -:hus ati- kaa hawá iriruutáwaari  
 then IND.3A 3.A SEQ go.IMPF IMPF 1.POSS grandmother also that is where she worked  
 haawa irii- ra- 0- ut- aar -waa -i  
 also where ABS 3.A PREV do DIST IMPF.SUB

. Hirutíši<sup>a</sup>

. Hiru tíci'a

. Then they did it

. hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 . then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

atahákakət<sup>n</sup>

a taahaákakat .  
and she would cut a log .  
a ti- 0- ar- haak- ka.ukac.k -0 .  
and IND.3A 3.A EV wood cut.up PERF .

tihákakət<sup>n</sup>

Tihaákakat

She cut the wood up

ti- 0- haak- ka.ukac.k -0  
IND.3A 3.A wood cut.up PERF

hitihətaríwiša

hi tiihaattáriwica'

and they arrived with the wood

hi ti- 0- a- ir- haak- raar- ri- wic.a -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A wood PL PORT arrive PERF

,

akutíhapət<sup>n</sup>

a kutíhaapat

and the logs were so long

a ku- ti- 0- i- haak- waa- ak -0  
and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ wood DIST be.a.certain.length PERF

; hirutihákakət<sup>n</sup>

. Hiru tirihaákakat

. Then they cut the wood

. hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- haak- ka.ukac.k -0  
. then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ wood cut.up PERF

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

wírikutihkaruk<sup>u</sup>

wirikutihkaruúku'

now those are what they were making

wii- riku- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus  
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF

hawákitut<sup>u</sup>

hawá kítuutu'

also mortars

haawa kituut- -u'

also mortar NOM

Atikarihkukaiwášaku

atíka'

grandmothers

ati- kaa

1.POSS grandmother

rihkuka'iwaácaku

for them to pound it (corn)

ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.wi.cak -waa -hus

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B grind DIST IMPF.SUB

. Náwa ,

. Ráwa ,

. Now ,

. rawa ,

. now ,

hirutiritparari kaíwirutit<sup>n</sup>

hiru tiriiritpaararika'iwiíruutit

then they each put coals on (the end of) it

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ritpaar- raar- ri- ka- -wi wi.itik -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ coal PL PORT on SUB.L sit.down PERF

, nakuwaruríhusk<sup>u</sup>  
 rakuwaaruríhusku  
 when she sat and blew

ra- 0- ku- waarur-i -hus kus -0  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B blow.on IMPF.SUB be.sitting SUB.4

, tiwarúrihu  
 . Tiwaarúrihu'  
 . She blew

. ti- 0- waarur-i -:hus  
 . IND.3A 3.A blow.on IMPF

hiruiriruhətáwuhu

hiru iriiruuhətáwuhu  
 there where she was making a hole

hiruu irii- ra- 0- uur- hata.wuh -hus  
 there where ABS 3.A PREV make.a.hole IMPF.SUB

nikisuirirarahkawarikústar<sup>it</sup><sup>n</sup>

ríkiiisu' iriirarahkawarikústarit  
 corn where one is going to put them inside

rikiis- -u' irii- ra- 0- raar- ka.warik -hus -ta -rit  
 corn NOM where ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.into IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

,  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

nihkuritpararikataíwahət<sup>n</sup>

Rihkuritpaarakataĩwaahat

When they stirred the coals around

ra- 0- ir- ku- ritpaar- raar- ri- kata- -wi hak -0  
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B coal PL PORT against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L pass.by SUB.4

,

atikaarutiwarúrihu

atíka' a ruutiwaarúrihu'  
our grandmothers and then she blew (on them)

ati- kaa a ruu- ti- 0- waarur-i -:hus  
1.POSS grandmother and then IND.3A 3.A blow.on IMPF

. Nakuritparahwarúrihu

. Rakuritpaaraahwaarúrihu

. When she was blowing on the coals

. ra- 0- ku- ritpaar- raar- waarur-i -hus  
. INF.A 3.A INF.B coal PL blow.on IMPF.SUB

;

akihirurikuisaruhá<sup>a</sup>

aki hiru riku'isaruuhá'a  
and here there that was the cause

a- ki hiruu riku- i- s- ar- ut- raar -'  
and there there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV be.the.cause EX

, nəkuhatáwitit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 rakuhatawiítit  
 its becoming a hole  
 ra- 0- ku- hata -wi -itik  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.hole SUB.L INCH

kitutuiriráari .  
 kítuutu' iriirá'aari .  
 a mortar that one becoming .  
 kituut- -u' irii- ra- 0- aar -i .  
 mortar NOM that ABS 3.A become IMPF.SUB .

Nahiritahirukutihətáwiət<sup>n</sup>  
 Raáhiirit a hiru kutiihatáwi'at  
 Finally and then it was deep  
 raahiirit a hiruu ku- ti- 0- i- hata -wi ak -0  
 finally and then INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.a.hole SUB.L be.a.certain.length PERF

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

atirarihəš atík<sup>a</sup>  
 a tíraarihac atíka'  
 and she finished it my grandmother  
 a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0 ati- kaa  
 and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF 1.POSS grandmother

.  
 .  
 .



Tirakiarakukísuruku

Tíraakii

It was a long time

ti-

0-

raa.kiir

-0

a

and

a

rakukísuruku

to make the point

and

ra-

0-

ku-

kisu

-ra'uk

-hus

IND.3A

3.A

be.long

PERF

and

INF.A

3.A

INF.B

be.slender

CAUS

IMPF.SUB

, tuhá<sup>a</sup>

tuuhá'a

it is the cause

ti-

0-

ut-

raar

-'

IND.3A

3.A

PREV

do

EX

nəkiparúra<sup>u</sup>

rákipaaru'

a green log

rak-

kipaar

-u'

rá'u

its being

ra-

0-

0

-u

wood

be.damp

NOM

ABS

3.A

be

SUB.D

Atírarihəš

A

tíraarihac

And she finished it

a

ti-

0-

raa-

riihac

-0

and

IND.3A

3.A

way

finish

PERF

hirutikitutəstaw<sup>u</sup>

hiru

tikituutəstawu

then she put a foot on the mortar

hiruu

ti-

0-

kituut-

as-

ta

wuh

-0

then

IND.3A

3.A

mortar

foot

be.hanging

put

PERF

; katarahíri

kaataráhiri'  
 with an ax  
 kaatara- -hiri'  
 ax LOC

nakutári  
 rakuutári  
 when she did it  
 ra- 0- ku- ut- aar -i  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV do IMPF.SUB

nəkuhkíšuširiku ,  
 rakuhkícuuciriiku  
 when she was trimming it  
 ra- 0- ku- uur- kicuuciriik -hus  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV trim.off IMPF.SUB

árahirit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 a raáhiirit  
 and finally  
 a raahiirit  
 and finally

hirukutísət<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru kutiísat  
 then the foot was so long  
 hiruu ku- ti- 0- i- as- ak -0  
 then INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ foot be.a.certain.length PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

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

hirusitihkitúštawu  
 hiru sitihkitúctawu  
 then they stood the mortar up  
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- kituut- ta.wuh -0  
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A mortar set.up PERF

hawahítaku , hawahítaku ;  
 hawá hiítaku hawá hiítaku  
 also over there , also over there ,  
 haawa hii- -taku , haawa hii- -taku ,  
 also other LOC , also other LOC ,

hawahirutkihararírahar<sup>u</sup>  
 hawá hiirutkiihaaraarírahaaru  
 also the other side of the room  
 haawa hii- ra- 0- ut- kiihaar- raarira.haar -u  
 also other ABS 3.A PREV room be.the.side SUB.D

. Tuhá<sup>a</sup>  
 . Tuuhá'a  
 . It was the cause  
 . ti- 0- ut- raar -'  
 . IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

rukškariúšapat<sup>n</sup> .  
 rukškári'u cápaat .  
 their being many women .

ra-	0-	kus-	kari	-u	icapaak	.
ABS	3.A	AOR	be.numerous	SUB.D	woman	.

Awítikakikituhúwari

A witikaakihkituhuúwari'

And they did not use the other's mortar

a	witi-	kaaki-	0-	ir-	kituut-	ruu-	warii	-:hus
and	REFL	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	mortar	PORT	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

,

íšətaurihkúkaruku

ícataa'u' rihkúkaruku

bread when they made it

icataa-	-u'	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.ra'uk	-hus
bread	NOM	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	make.PL.P	IMPF.SUB

.  
.
   
.
   
.
   
.

Hihawarutirihákaru

Hi hawá ruutiriihaákaru'

And also then they made the stick

hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	haak-	ka.ra'uk	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	wood	make.PL.P	PERF

, tihwakíahu

“

tihwakí'aahu'

we say

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

Hikskáwišak<sup>u</sup>

hikskáwicaku

pestle

hiks-        ka.wi.cak        -hus  
breath        grind            IMPF.SUB

Irári<sup>i</sup>

Iraári'

Brother

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

hiruiriruhúriškat<sup>a</sup>

hiru        iriiruhuúrickaata

then        where the end was

hiruu        irii-        ra-        0-        uur-        huuricka-        at        -a  
then        where        ABS        3.A        PREV        in.front        go        SUB.1

hitiríwurušak<sup>u</sup>

hi        tiríwuruucaku

and        it was round on the end

hi        ti-        0-        riwiruu-        ica-        kus        -0  
and        IND.3A    3.A        be.round        on.the.end        be.sitting        PERF

atihikstiwírušak<sup>u</sup>

a        tihikstíwuruucaku

and        the hand was round on the end

a        tiir-        ra-        0-        iks-        riwiruu-        ica-        kus        -0  
and        INFR        ABS        3.A        hand        be.round        on.the.end        be.sitting        PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Ákutišakupapíšis<sup>u</sup>

A	kutiicáku							paapísisu'
And	it seemed	it was	on the end					iron
a	ku-	ti-	0-	ica-	kus	-0	paapicis-	-u'
and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	on.the.end	be.sitting	PERF	metal	NOM

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hihiruihararahkiškáhuruku,

Hi	hiru	ihaararahkickáhuuruku							
And	then	there where one ground them							
hi	hiruu	ii-	haa-	ra-	0-	raar-	kic.kahuu	-ra'uk	-hus
and	then	there	here	ABS	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	be.crushed	CAUS	IMPF.SUB

níkis <sup>u</sup> ,		akakírihu <sup>u</sup>						.
rikiisu'		a	kaakiírihu'u					.
corn		and	it was not big					.
rikiis-	-u'	a	kaaki-	0-	i-	rihur	-'	.
corn	NOM	and	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.big	EX	.

Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
Ráwa  
Now ,

rawa ,  
now ,

atiráriwahəš ,  
a tiraáriiwaahac .  
and they finished them .  
a ti- 0- ir- raar- riihac -waa -0 .  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P finish DIST PERF .

hirutíši<sup>a</sup> ,  
Hiru tíci'a  
Then they did it  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

wirihkukítutpawuha  
wirihkukítutpaawuha  
when they stood the mortars up  
wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- kituut- waa wuh -a  
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B mortar be.upright.DIST put SUB.1

. Náwa ,  
. Ráwa  
. Now  
. rawa  
. now

hirutiriwakíatika  
hiru tiriíwaki' atíka'  
then they said our grandmothers  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 ati- kaa  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF 1.POSS grandmother

, “ Náwa ,

“ Ráwa  
 : “ Now  
 , " rawa  
 , " now

tuhurákaru  
 tuhuraákaru'  
 let's finally make

i-	t-	uhur-	rak-	ka.ra'uk	-0
CONT.1/2A	1.A	finally	1/2.PL	make.PL.P	PERF

húwi	.	
huúwi'	.	"
mush cakes	.	"
huuwi'	.	"
indeed	.	"

Nihkukaiwášaku  
 Wirihkuka'íwaácaaku  
 When they ground them

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.wi.cak	-waa	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	grind	DIST	IMPF.SUB

nikískipaš <sup>u</sup>	.		
rikískipaacu'	.		
milky corn		--	
rikiis-	kipaac	-u'	--
corn	be.raw	NOM	--

Atihkaiwašakunikískipaš<sup>u</sup>

a	tihka'íwaácaaku'						rikískipaacu'		
and	they ground them						milky corn		
a	ti-	0-	ir-	ka.wi.cak	-waa	-:hus	rikiis-	kipaac	-u'
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	grind	DIST	IMPF	corn	be.raw	NOM



. Hirutúši<sup>a</sup>  
 . Hiru túci'a  
 . Then she did it  
 . hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0  
 . then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

wirihkukarúkstarit<sup>n</sup>

wirihkukarúkstarit

when they were going to make it

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -his -ta -rit  
 when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.PL.P PERF INT INT.SUB

, íšəta<sup>u</sup> .  
 ícataa'u' .  
 bread .  
 icataa- -u' .  
 bread NOM .

Hirutuširarísihi

Hiru tucírariis , ihi  
 Then she mixed it with it , uh  
 hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- rar.iis.k -0 , ihii  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ mix PERF , uh

páhuks . Pakúksrahira  
 páhuks , páhuks ráhiira'  
 , squash , squash sometimes  
 , wahuks , wahuks rahiira  
 , squash , squash further

rəkuhárisk<sup>a</sup>

rakuuháriiska

when she mixed them

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	rar.iis.k	-a
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	mix	SUB.1

arahirarakuhariskáatit<sup>n</sup>

a	ráhiira'	rakuuháriiska						átit
and	sometimes	when she mixed them						beans
a	rahiira	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	rar.iis.k	-a	atiik
and	further	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	mix	SUB.1	bean

.  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.

Hirutihaskiškatahakíparu

Hiru tihaaskickataahkíparu'

Then she wet the shucks

hiruu	ti-	0-	haas.kiic.katat-	raar-	kipaar	-ra'uk	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	corn.husk	PL	be.wet	CAUS	PERF

, haskíškatat<sup>u</sup>  
haskíckataatu'  
shucks  
haas.kiic.katat- -u'  
corn.husk NOM

niksúiriraráhwitət<sup>n</sup>

ríksu'		iriiraráhwhitat					
corn the ones they wore		the ones they wore					
riiks-	-u'	irii-	ra-	0-	raar-	witak	-0
unshelled.corn	NOM	that	ABS	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	wear.over.the.shoulders	SUB.4

. Atihastakíparu

. A tihaastaahkíparu'  
 . And she wet the shucks  
 . a ti- 0- haas- raar- kipaar -ra'uk -0  
 . and IND.3A 3.A string PL be.wet CAUS PERF

, hirutihastáhkauš  
 hiru tihaastaáhka'uc  
 , then she laid a shuck on it  
 , hiruu ti- 0- haas- raar- ka- uc -0  
 , then IND.3A 3.A string PL on lay.SG.P PERF

, ihtathəskíškata<sup>u</sup> .  
 íhtat haskíckataatu' .  
 some shucks .  
 ihtat haas.kiic.katat- -u' .  
 some.more corn.husk NOM .

Hiirutiharikítkauš

Hi iriruutiharikítka'uc  
 And thereupon she put the dough in it  
 hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- harikiit- ka- uc -0  
 and then then IND.3A 3.A dough in lay.SG.P PERF

. Nakukatárihur<sup>u</sup>  
 rakukatárihuuru  
 its being a wide one  
 ra- 0- ku- kata.rihur -u  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.wide SUB.D

hitutkawiúktawaw<sup>u</sup>

hi tutkawi'úktawaawu  
 and she joined them together  
 hi ti- 0- ut- kawi.ukta.wuh -waa -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV join.together DIST PERF

haskíškatat<sup>u</sup> ,  
 haskíckataatu'  
 the shucks  
 haas.kiic.katat- -u'  
 corn.husk NOM

akútiət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 a kútii'at .  
 and it was so long .  
 a ku- ti- 0- i- ak -0 .  
 and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.a.certain.length PERF .

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

hirutikás<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup> šápat<sup>n</sup> .  
 hiru tikaácat cápaat .  
 then she roasted it in coals the woman .  
 hiruu ti- 0- ka- icat.k -0 icapaak .  
 then IND.3A 3.A in roast PERF woman .

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

atiríkatah<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 a tiríkatahat  
 and she took it out

a ti- 0- ri- kata.hak -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PORT get.away PERF

hitihaskiškataharúwa ,

hi tihaaskickataharúwa  
 and she took the shucks off

hi ti- 0- haas.kiic.katat- raar- ruwaah -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A corn.husk PL remove PERF

arutiarəskiráhpahah<sup>itn</sup>

a ruutii'araskiraahpáhahit  
 and there it was cooked nice and brown

a ruu- ti- 0- i- aras- kiraar- pahaat -rik -0  
 and there IND.3A 3.A SEQ cooked.food liquid be.red CAUS PERF

; išitauríhkaruku

ícataa'u' ríhkaruku  
 the bread their making

icataa- -u' ra- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus  
 bread NOM ABS 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

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

níhkaruku húwi .

ríhkaruuku'					huúwi'	.
they were making them					mush cakes	.
ra-	0-	ir-	ka.ra'uk	-.hus	huuwi'	.
ABS	3.A	PL.3A	make.PL.P	IMPF	indeed	.

Huwitíhkaruku						.
Huúwi'	tíhkaruuku'					.
Mush cakes	they were making					.
huuwi'	ti-	0-	ir-	ka.ra'uk	-.hus	.
indeed	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	make.PL.P	IMPF	.

Hi	witutkíracaku					
And	it had water hanging (over a fire)					
hi	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	kiraar-	ta.kus
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	water	hang.down
						-0
						PERF

,	kuštahkatáhkuš <sup>u</sup>	,	
	kuctahkataáhkucu'		
	a big brass kettle		
	kuc-	rahkataar	-kucuu
	kettle	be.yellow	AUG

hi	rikutiráharuk <sup>u</sup>					
and	that is where she boiled them					
hi	riku-	ti-	0-	raahaar	-ra'uk	-.hus
and	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be.cooking.by.boiling	CAUS	IMPF

,	húwi	.
	huúwi'	.
	mush cakes	.
	huuwi'	.
	indeed	.

Nahkutarirakukátustuku

Raahkuutári

When she was doing it

ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aar -i  
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV do IMPF.SUB

rakukátustuku

when she was flattening them

ra- 0- ku- katuus -ra'uk -hus  
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.flat CAUS IMPF.SUB

, tirákstawawí  
tiraákstawaawi  
these hands of hers

tii- ra- 0- iks- ta -waa -wi  
this ABS 3.A hand be.hanging DIST SUB.L

hitirikúhuwi

hi tiriíku  
and here it sat

hi tii- ri- 0- kus -0  
and here CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

, huúwi'  
a mush cake  
huuwi'  
indeed

nihkukarukúhuwi

rihkúkaruku  
when she was making them

ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus  
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

huúwi'  
mush cakes  
huuwi'  
indeed

. Tihwakíah<sup>u</sup>  
. Tihwakí'aahu'  
. They say

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

huwihát<sup>u</sup>

huúwi' haátu'  
mush cakes tongues

huuwi' hat- -u' .  
indeed tongue NOM .

Tarahairirútatuki

Tárahaha' iriirútaatuuki

Buffalo their being (shaped) like tongues

tarahaa irii- ra- 0- ut- hat- 0 -uk -i  
buffalo that ABS 3.A PREV tongue be DIST SUB.2

, rihkúkaruku .  
rihkúkaruku .  
when they were making them .  
ra- 0- ir- ku- ka.ra'uk -hus .  
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.PL.P IMPF.SUB .

Hirutúšia

Hiru túci'a

Then she did it

hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0  
then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

nihkurárukiraruš<sup>a</sup>

rihkuraarúkiraaruca

when the soup rises (to the top)

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- raar- huu- kiraar- huuca.a -0  
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PL.INDV.A mush water surface SUB.4

. Hirutihaskiškáwarit<sup>n</sup> ,  
hiru tihuskickáwarit  
: then she put the mush gravy in it  
, hiruu ti- 0- hus.kic- ka.warik -0  
, then IND.3A 3.A soupy.mush put.in PERF

wirakuwáras

húwi



wirakuwaáras								huúwi'
for them to cook								the mush
wii- ra- 0- ku- waa- aras -0								húuwi'
now INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.cooked SUB.4								indeed

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hurutihukawirahákusitit<sup>u</sup>

Hiru tihukawirahákusitit								
Then she began stirring it								
hiruu ti- 0- huka- -wi ra- hak -:hus -itik								
then IND.3A 3.A in SUB.L PORT pass.by IMPF INCH								

atíka	.
atíka'	.
my grandmother	.
ati- kaa	.
1.POSS grandmother	.

Hawaatíkatihkaruk<sup>u</sup>

Hawá atíka'			tíhkaruuku'
Also my grandmothers			they made them
haawa ati- kaa		ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus	
also 1.POSS grandmother	IND.3A 3.A PL.3A	make.PL.P IMPF	

hukawírahak<sup>u</sup>

hukawírahaku				
paddles				
huka- -wi ra- hak -hus				
in SUB.L PORT pass.by IMPF.SUB				

akutikatíh^t<sup>n</sup> .  
a kutiikatíihat .  
and it was so wide .  
a ku- ti- 0- i- ka.tiihak -0 .  
and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.so.wide PERF .

#### Akutúihi

A kutuú ihi  
And it looked like uh ,  
a ku- ti- 0- uu -0 ihii ,  
and INF.B IND.3A 3.A be PERF uh ,

tihwakíah<sup>u</sup> nókaks<sup>u</sup> ,  
tihwaki'aahu' rákaaksu'  
they say a war club ,  
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus rakaaks- -u' ,  
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF war.club NOM ,

árikutut<sup>u</sup> .  
a ríkuutu' .  
and that is what it resembled .  
a riku- ti- 0- ut- uu -0 .  
and that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be PERF .

#### Hítikiaš

Hi tikií'ac  
And it was long  
hi ti- 0- kii'ac -0  
and IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF

hukawirahak<sup>u</sup> . A ,  
hukawírahaku . A  
the paddle . And ,

huka- -wi ra- hak -hus . a ,  
 in SUB.L PORT pass.by IMPF.SUB . and ,

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

nakuhukawiráhaku  
 rakuhukawiráhaku  
 when she was stirring  
 ra- 0- ku- huka- -wi ra- hak -hus  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B in SUB.L PORT pass.by IMPF.SUB

atíka ,  
 atíka'  
 , my grandmother  
 , ati- kaa  
 , 1.POSS grandmother

wirakukuhúku ,  
 wirakukuuhúku  
 when she was making it for me  
 wii- ra- 0- ku- ku- ut- ra'uk -hus  
 when INF.A 3.A 1.P INF.B BEN make IMPF.SUB

hurakúškus<sup>u</sup> ,  
 huuraahkúckusu'  
 thick mush  
 huu- raar- kuc- kus -u'  
 mush PL kettle be.sitting NOM

wirakukuhúku ,

wirakukuuhúku

when she was making it for me

wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ku-	ut-	ra'uk	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	1.P	INF.B	BEN	make	IMPF.SUB

hirutúšia

hiru túci'a  
then she did it

hiruu	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

atíka

atíka'

my grandmother:

ati-	kaa
1.POSS	grandmother

nakurahukáwatət<sup>n</sup>

rakurahukáwatat

when she took it out

ra-	0-	ku-	ra-	hukawatak	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PORT	get.out	PERF

hukawírahak<sup>u</sup>

hukawírahaku

the paddle

huka-	-wi	ra-	hak	-hus
in	SUB.L	PORT	pass.by	IMPF.SUB

hitíku<sup>u</sup>

hi	tíku'u	.				
and she gave it to me	she gave it to me	.				
hi	ti-	0-	ku-	uh	-0	.
and	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	give	PERF	.

Hirútiwaku “  
 Hiru tiwáku’ “  
 Then she said : “  
 hiruu ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”  
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Sukstuhúhkawa  
 Sukstuuhúhkaawa  
 Thrust it under it  
 i- s- uks- ra- uhuhkaa- war -0  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS PORT under go.DU PERF

arítakáhiri áihi  
 aríttaakáhiri’ a ihi  
 the armpit and , uh ,  
 ariktaaka- -hiri’ a , ihii ,  
 armpit LOC and , uh ,

hirukastarakawíhiri ,  
 hiruu kaastaaraakaawíhiri’  
 there between the thighs  
 hiruu kaas- raar- raa- kaa -wi -hiri’  
 there leg PL way be.inside SUB.L LOC

hiisawáhak<sup>u</sup> . ”  
 hi isawaáhaaku’ . ”  
 and be dodging it . ”  
 hi i- s- a.hak -waa -:hus . ”  
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A extend.in.a.line DIST IMPF . ”

Irári’ ,  
 Iraári’  
 Brother ,



Rikutasuutariihusta

That is what you are going to be doing

riku-	ta-	s-	ut-	aar	-i	-.hus	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	IMPF	IMPF	INT

sirawirariwitiit<sup>1</sup>

sirawiraariwiitit

when they attack you

si-	ra-	0-	a-	wiraar-	ri-	wi.itik	-0
DU	ABS	3.A	2.P	angrily	PORT	sit.down	SUB.4

hiišawáhak<sup>u</sup>

hi isawaáhaaku'

and you'll dodge

hi	i-	s-	a.hak	-waa	-.hus	.
and	CONT.1/2A	2.A	extend.in.a.line	DIST	IMPF	.

Nikutasáwiruk<sup>u</sup>

Rikutaasáwiruuku'

That is what you'll be imitating

riku-	ta-	s-	awi-	ra'uk	-.hus
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	image	make	IMPF

hukawírahak<sup>u</sup>

hukawírahaku

the ladle

huka-	-wi	ra-	hak	-hus	.
in	SUB.L	PORT	pass.by	IMPF.SUB	.

nikutastawirúk<sup>u</sup>

Rikutastaawirúku'

That is what you'll be imitating

riku-	ta-	s-	raa-	awi-	ra'uk	-.hus	.	"
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	way	image	make	IMPF	.	"

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

hirutušíáatik<sup>a</sup>

hiru	túci'a							atíka'
then	she did it							my grandmother
hiruu	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	ati-	kaa
then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	1.POSS	grandmother

nakukutkákusk<sup>a</sup> ,

ra-	0-	ku-	ku-	ut-	ka-	kus.k	-a
INF.A	3.A	1.P	INF.B	BEN	in	put	SUB.1

when she put it in (a bowl) for me

hírəs wirakurótkiar<sup>a</sup>

híras	wirakurátkii'aara						
at night	when it became night						
híras	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	ratkii	-aar	-a
at.night	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.night	INCH	SUB.1

. Hirutikúsatika

Hiru	tíkus						atíka'
Then	she set it down						my grandmother
hiruu	ti-	0-	kus.k	-0	ati-	kaa	
then	IND.3A	3.A	put	PERF	1.POSS	grandmother	

kúšk<sup>i</sup>

kúcki  
 the kettle ,



kuc- -kis ,  
 kettle DIM ,

hirutusíkatariipihkus

hiru tucikataríipihkus

then she put a cover over it

hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- katariik wiir- kus.k -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be.covered arm put PERF

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

nihuksuatáhis<sup>a</sup>

ríhuksu' a táhiisa'  
 only and morning came

rihuks -u' a ti- 0- a- hiis- a -0  
 alone NOM and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come PERF

hitararítaru

hi tararítaru' ihi  
 and she would warm it , ihi  
 hi ti- 0- a- ar- rarita.ra'uk -0 , ihii  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A EV warm PERF , uh

hurahkúškus<sup>u</sup> .

huuraahkúckusu' .

, a thick mush .  
 , huu- raar- kuc- kus -u' .  
 , mush PL kettle be.sitting NOM .

Kirikurakuhíhitk<sup>a</sup> ,



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

hihawarutíši<sup>a</sup>

hi	hawá	ruutiíci'a							
and	also	then they did it							
hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

,

:

,

,

hirutirirahkatiríkusitit<sup>n</sup>

hiru	tiriiraahkatiriíkusitit								
then	they began peeling them								
hiruu	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	kata.iriik	:-hus	-itik	
then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	scrape.off	IMPF	INCH	

,	atík <sup>a</sup>	ašápat <sup>n</sup>	.
	atíka'	a cápaat	.
	my grandmother	and women	.
	ati- kaa	a icapaak	.
	1.POSS grandmother	and woman	.

Nakuhašákahət<sup>n</sup>

Rakuuhacaákahat

When she turned it around

ra- 0- ku- ut- raar- taaka.hak -0  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P go.around SUB.4

hirutirirəšápirət<sup>n</sup>

hiru tiriiracápirat  
 then they scraped them

hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- raar- tapi.ra.at -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P scrape PERF

, páhuks . Nišik<sup>i</sup>,  
 páhuks . Rićiki  
 squash . Knives  
 wahuks . riici -kis  
 squash . knife DIM

tirúhara<sup>a</sup>

tiiruúhara'a  
 they used them

ti- 0- a- ir- ut- raar- raar -'  
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P use EX

. Witirahkatírik<sup>u</sup>

. Witiraahkatíriiku'

. They were peeling them

. wii- ti- 0- ir- raar- kata.iriik -:hus  
 . now IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.off IMPF

ihí nahukítəs<sup>a</sup> ihí  
 ihí rahuukítasa ihí  
 , uh , the one lying on top , uh  
 , ihii , ra- 0- huukita- sa -0 , ihii  
 , uh , ABS 3.A on.top be.lying SUB.4 , uh

pahuksnahukítəs<sup>a</sup>

páhuks      rahuukítasa  
 ,    the squash    the one lying on top  
 ,    wahuks      ra-    0-    huukita-    sa      -0  
 ,    squash      ABS    3.A    on.top      be.lying    SUB.4

škúsu<sup>u</sup>      .  
 ckuúsu'      .  
 peeling      .  
 ickus-    -u'      .  
 skin      NOM      .

Wirikutirahkatírik<sup>u</sup>

Hi      rikutiraahkatíriiku'  
 And    those are what they were peeling off  
 hi      riku-      ti-      0-      ir-      raar-      kata.iriik    -:hus  
 and    that.is    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    3PL.INAN.P    scrape.off    IMPF

hirarutiríkaruš<sup>u</sup>

hi      raaruutiríkaruucu  
 and    then they just put them on it  
 hi      raa-      ruu-      ti-      0-      ir-      i-      ka-      ra.uc.wuh    -0  
 and    just      then    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    SEQ    on      put.PL.OBJ    PERF

,

sirihkukahíhitk<sup>a</sup>

sirihkuukahíhitka

after they spread out skins

si-      ra-      0-      ir-      ku-      i-      ka-      hihit.k      -a  
 DU    INF.A    3.A    PL.3A    INF.B    SEQ    on      spread.out    SUB.1

, tihwakíah<sup>u</sup> , “  
 tihwakí'aahu'  
 they say  
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Katíríksu . "  
 katíríksu' .  
 peelings .  
 kata.iriik -his -u' .  
 scrape.off PERF NOM .

Atirəšapíriwu ,  
 A tiracapíriwu'  
 And she scraped them  
 a ti- 0- ir- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -:hus  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF

atíka ,  
 atíka'  
 my grandmother ,  
 ati- kaa ,  
 1.POSS grandmother ,

atirašapíriwu ,  
 a tiracapíriwu'  
 and she scraped them  
 a ti- 0- ir- raar- tapi.ri.wuu -:hus  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P scrape.IMPF IMPF

atírarih<sup>š</sup> .  
 a tíraariihac .  
 and she finished them .

a ti- 0- raar- riihac -0 .  
 and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P finish PERF .

(empty)

Hiru tiriihaakarácaraahaaku'

Then they were slicing them (the squash) into rings

hiruu ti- ir- i- haaka- raar- ta.ra.hak -:hus  
 then IND.3A PL.3A SEQ mouth PL slice IMPF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hirutirihakərəšarah<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

Hiru witiriihaakarácarahat

Then they had sliced them into rings

hiruu wii- ti- 0- ir- i- haaka- raar- ta.ra.hak -0  
 then now IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ mouth PL slice PERF

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

kutúrit<sup>n</sup>

ihi

kutuúrit

ihi

they looked like

, uh ,

ku- ti- 0- uur- 0 -ik -0 , ihii ,  
 INDF IND.3A 3.A PREV be DIST PERF , uh ,

táwirus .

taáwirus .  
 hoops .  
 taawirus .  
 hoop .

Hirutirihakarahkáwarit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tirihaakaraahkáwarit  
 Then they put the rings on it  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- haaka- raar- ka.warik -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ mouth PL put.on PERF

,

wirihkuhatářišuš<sup>a</sup>

wirihkuhaattaáricuuca  
 after they lay the poles across  
 wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- haak- raar- ica.uc -a  
 when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B wood PL lay.across SUB.1

, nótihət<sup>n</sup> .  
 ráttihaat .  
 tipi poles .  
 rak- tiihak .  
 wood be.the.border .

Hirutirirahkawaríkusitit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tiriiraahkawaríkusitit  
 Then they began putting them on  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ka.warik -hus -itik  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.on IMPF INCH



aratihətárišatus

a raatihaattaáricatus

and there were just poles lying across

a raa- ti- 0- haak- raar- ica.tus -0  
and just IND.3A 3.A wood PL be.lying.across PERF

, páhuks .  
páhuks .  
squash .  
wahuks .  
squash .

Atiharirikararuwáhaku

A tiihaaririkaraaruwaáhaaku'

And they turned them over and over

a ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- irikaraa.ra.hak -waa -:hus  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P turn.over DIST IMPF

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hihawarutiriráhkiruku

Hi hawá ruutiriiraahkiiruúku'

And also then they laced them together

hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	kiir	-ra'uk	-.hus
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	tie	CAUS	IMPF

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Atikatihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

Atíka'		tihwakí'aahu'								
My grandmothers		they said,								
ati-	kaa	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a					-.hus
1.POSS	grandmother	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF					IMPF

	ihí	,	“	Pakuksíškus <sup>u</sup>	,					
	ihí			pahuksíckuusu'						
,	uh	,		squash skins	,					
,	ihii	,		wahuks ickus-	-u'	,				
,	uh	,		squash skin	NOM	,				

pahuksíškus <sup>u</sup>	.
pahuksíckuusu'	.
squash-skins	.
wahuks ickus-	-u'
squash skin	NOM

Atikárikutihkaruku

Atíka'		rikutihkaruúku'								
My grandmothers		those are what they made								
ati-	kaa	riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	ka.ra'uk				-.hus
1.POSS	grandmother	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	make.PL.P				IMPF

, pahuksíškus<sup>u</sup>

pahuksíckuusu'  
 squash skins  
 wahuks ickus- -u'  
 squash skin NOM

akutítiwah<sup>t</sup>  
 a kutiitiíwaahat .  
 and they were large .  
 a ku- ti- 0- i- tiihak -waa -0 .  
 and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.the.border DIST PERF .

Hirusitiríhap<sup>u</sup>  
 Hiru sitiriíhaapu  
 Then they put up a pole  
 hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- i- haak- wuh -0  
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ wood put PERF

nakuhakitawikári<sup>u</sup>  
 rakuhaakitawikári'u  
 its being a pole with many limbs  
 ra- 0- ku haak- kita -wi kari -u  
 INF.A 3.A INDF wood be.a.branch SUB.L be.numerous SUB.D

, rurakuhaktahwásar<sup>a</sup>  
 ruurakuhaaktaahwaásara  
 a pole with many limbs  
 ruu- ra- 0- ku- haak- raar- waasar -a  
 then INF.A 3.A INF.B wood PL be.bushy SUB.1

,

hirikutirahkawárik<sup>u</sup>

hi rikutiraahkawaawárikú'

and that is what they put them on

hi riku- ti- 0- ir- raar- ka.warik -waa -:hus  
and that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P put.in DIST IMPF

pahuksíškus<sup>u</sup> .

pahuksíckuusu' .

the squash peels .

wahuks ickus- -u' .

squash skin NOM .

Áratihapa

A raatíhaapa

And the poles just stood

a raa- ti- 0- haak- waa -0  
and just IND.3A 3.A wood be.upright.DIST PERF

ukáhkət<sup>n</sup> ;

uukaáhkət .

outside .

uukaahkət .

outside .

atikairíritawahi

Atíka'

My grandmothers

ati- kaa  
1.POSS grandmother

iririitáwaari'

they did it there

irii- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -waa -i  
there ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do DIST IMPF

. Hirutíši<sup>a</sup> ,

. Hiru tíci'a

. Then they did it

. hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
 . then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

wirakurašáhis ,  
 wirakuracaáhis

when they were dry

wii- ra- 0- ku- raar- taahis -0  
 when INF.A 3.P INF.B PL.INDV.A be.dry SUB.4

páhuks ,  
 páhuks  
 the squash  
 wahuks  
 squash

hihawarutírihastárawaw<sup>u</sup>

hi hawá ruutiriihaastaárawaawu  
 and also then they wove the strips

hi haawa ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- haas- raar- a.wuh -waa -0  
 and also then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ string PL stretch.out.on.a.frame DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .

witihkarukutihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

Witihkaruuku'

They were making them

wi- ti- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -:hus ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tihwakí'aahu'

they say

“ Nikašit<sup>u</sup> , ” íka<sup>a</sup> !

ríkaciitu'	.	Ííka'a
squash mats	.	Oh my ,
riikac.iit-	-u'	iika'a ,
squash.mat	NOM .	oh.my ,

tirikstaruhúriwa  
 tíirikstaaruhúriwa  
 they did fine work with their hands

ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	iks-	raar-	uhur-	hi.wa.ar	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	hand	PL	way.of.doing	be.good.DIST	PERF

. Atatuhákiriku ,  
 . A tatuuhaákiriku  
 . And I watched them  
 . a ta- t- ut- rak- kirik.kus -0  
 . and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL look.at PERF

hitirisapa ,  
 hi tiriisaapa  
 and there were stakes  
 hi ti- 0- riisaak- waa -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A stake be.upright.DIST PERF

hitiraruhuhkaráhak<sup>u</sup>  
 hi tiraaruhuhkaaráhaaku'  
 and they were putting them underneath  
 hi ti- 0- ir- raar- uhuhkaa- ra- hak -:hus  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P under PORT pass.by IMPF

, ruksákararišat<sup>us</sup>  
 ruksaakaraarícatus  
 the rings that were on the poles  
 ra- 0- uks- haaka- raar- ica.tus -0  
 ABS 3.A AOR mouth PL be.lying.across SUB.4

. n̄ka<sup>a</sup> ! tiríus,  
. Ííka'a tirií'us  
. Oh my , they knew  
. iika'a , ti- 0- ir- rii'uus -0  
. oh.my , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.knowledgeable PERF

irikúhitari .  
iriikúhiitari' .  
whatever they did .  
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i .  
what DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF .

Atírarihəš ,  
A tíraariihac ,  
And they finished them ,  
a ti- 0- raa- riihac -0 ,  
and IND.3A 3.A way finish PERF ,

hirutiriríwikus  
hiru tiriiríwiikus  
then they put them in a pile  
hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- riwii kus.k -0  
then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.clenched put PERF

, akutiráhwiət<sup>n</sup>  
a kutiiráhwi'at  
and they were so high  
a ku- ti- 0- i- raar.wi.ak -0  
and INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.a.pile.so.high PERF

tihwakíah<sup>u</sup> níkašit<sup>u</sup> .  
tihwakí'aahu' ríkaciitu' .  
they say squash mat .

ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	:-hus	riikac.iit-	-u'	.
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	squash.mat	NOM	.

"

Wirihkurárihəš

Wirihkuraáriihac

When they finished them

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku	raa-	riihac	-0
when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INDF	way	finish	SUB.4

nikutihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

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

Níkašit<sup>u</sup>

ríkaciitu'

squash mat

riikac.iit-

squash.mat NOM

Hihawarutiríwak<sup>i</sup>

Hi hawá

ruutiríwaki'

And also then they said

hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF

, atíka

, " Náwa



atíka'				“	Ráwa
my grandmothers	:			“	Now
ati-	kaa	,		"	rawa
1.POSS	grandmother	,		"	now

tuhurakíkaru

tuhuraakiíkaru'

let's finally string them

i-	t-	uhur-	rak-	kii-	ka.ra'uk	-0
CONT.1/2A	1.A	finally	1/2.PL	corn.chain	make.PL.P	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Hihawarutirikíkaru

Hi hawá ruutiriikiíkaru'

And also then they strung them

hi	haawa	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kii-	ka.ra'uk	-0
and	also	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	corn.chain	make.PL.P	PERF

. Həskíŝkatāt<sup>u</sup>

. Haskíckataatu'

. Corn shucks

. haas.kiic.katat- -u'

. corn.husk NOM

kararakuwakaraukítu

kararakuuwaakára'u

when she had not pulled them off

kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	i-	waa.ka.ra'uk	-0	kítuu'u'	
NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	SEQ	pull.up.PL.P	SUB.3	all	NOM

nəkuhaskiškataharúwahi ,  
 rakuhaaskickataharúwaahi  
 when she was taking the shucks off  
 ra- 0- ku- haas.kiic.katat- raar- ruwaah -i  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B corn.husk PL remove SUB.2

híšask<sup>i</sup> turáriwit<sup>n</sup>  
 hi cáski turáriiwit  
 and a little she saved them  
 hi caskii ti- 0- uur- raar- iiwic.k -0  
 and a.little IND.3A 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P save PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Híhawairirutirikíkaru  
 Hi hawá iriruutiriikiíkaru'  
 And also thereupon they strung them  
 hi haawa irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- kii- ka.ra'uk -0  
 and also then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ corn.chain make.PL.P PERF

,

kurakuharəstahkaripíruk<sup>i</sup>  
 kurakuuhaarastaahkariipíruuki  
 when one tied them in bundles with strings

ku-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar-	haas-	raar-	kariik	-wi	-ra'uk	-i
INDF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	string	PL	be.tied.in.a.bundle	SUB.L	CAUS	SUB.2
	ihi	níks <sup>u</sup>									
	ihi	ríksu'									
,	uh	, corn									
,	ihii	, riiks-		-u'							
,	uh	, unshelled.corn		NOM							

Atikairirihkawákaruku

Atíka'

iriirihkawaákaruku

My grandmothers

their being the ones who made them

ati-

kaa

irii-

ra-

0-

ir-

kawaaka.ra'uk

-hus

1.POSS

grandmother

that

ABS

3.A

PL.3A

make.DIST

IMPF.SUB

.  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.

Nihuksuatírarihəš

Ríhuksu'

a

tíraariihac

Only

and

they finished them

rihuks

-u'

a

ti-

0-

raar-

riihac

-0

alone

NOM

and

IND.3A

3.A

3PL.INAN.P

finish

PERF

,

hirutirikirahkatátawaw<sup>u</sup>

hiru tiriikiiraahkatátawaawu  
 then they hung the braids up  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- kii- raar- kata- ta.wuh -waa -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ corn.chain PL against.a.vertical.surface hang.up DIST PERF

. Tuksapáwuhu ,  
 . Tuksaapaáwuhu' .  
 . She was putting the poles up .  
 . ti- 0- uks- haak- waa- wuh -:hus .  
 . IND.3A 3.A AOR wood DIST put IMPF .

tuksapáwuhu ihi  
 Tuksaapaáwuhu' ihi  
 She was putting the poles up , uh ,  
 ti- 0- uks- haak- waa- wuh -:hus , ihii ,  
 IND.3A 3.A AOR wood DIST put IMPF , uh ,

kataháhir<sup>i</sup> .  
 kaatahaáhiri' .  
 by the wall .  
 kaata- -haar -hiri' .  
 behind LOC LOC .

Aratikirahkatátawa

A raatikiiraahkatátawa  
 And the braids would just hang  
 a raa- ti- 0- kii- raar- kata- ta -waa -0  
 and just IND.3A 3.A corn.chain PL against.a.vertical.surface be.hanging DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Atikairirituhúru<sup>a</sup>

Atíka'

My grandmothers

ati- kaa  
1.POSS grandmother

iriirituhúruu'a

those being their way

irii- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- uhuur.uu -a  
that ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PREV be.the.way.one.does SUB.1

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hihawatihóšariwarit<sup>n</sup>

Hi hawá tiihacarihwarit

And also they put them together

hi haawa ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- tariir.warik -0  
and also IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P sew PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Irári ,

Iraári'

Brother ,

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

nakuhurakatárihuru ,

rakuhuraahkatárihuuru

when a field was large

ra- 0- ku- huraar- kata.rihur -u  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B earth be.wide SUB.D

niksuhiruwirikuruhrárisatk<sup>u</sup>

riksu' hiru wirihkuruuraáriisatku'  
 corn then that one had an abundance  
 riiks- -u' hiruu wii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- raar- riisat kus -0  
 unshelled.corn NOM then now INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.large be.sitting PERF

,

hiruirirakuruhúrahku

hiru iriiraakuruuhúraahku  
 there where one had her field  
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- huraar- kus -0  
 there where INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A earth be.sitting SUB.4

. Hipíræski ,  
 . Hi piíraski  
 . And boys  
 . hi piiras- -kis  
 . and boy DIM

hirutiritašákipu

hiru tiriittacákipu  
 then she gathered them  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ak- raar- takik.wuh -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A OBV SEQ PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P gather PERF

;

,  
,  
,

hihiruatikatúturarašikst<sup>a</sup>

hi	hiru	atíka'					tutúraaraciksta			
and	then	grandmother					she watched the field			
hi	hiruu	ati-	kaa		ti-	0-	ut-	huraar-	aciks.ta	-0
and	then	1.POSS	grandmother		IND.3A	3.A	PREV	earth	watch	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hirutatiratarikitáwiøt<sup>1</sup>

Hiru	tatiraattaarikitáwi'at									
Then	we went riding									
hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	rak-	raar-	ikita	-wi	at	-0	
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.P	ride	SUB.L	go	PERF	

,

nahkakuwiriškuhašaríik<sup>a</sup>

rahkákusu'											
parfleches											
raar.ka.kus	-u'	wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raar-	ta.arik.ihk	-a	
parfleche	NOM	when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	pack	SUB.1	

, arúsa' .  
 aruúsa' .  
 the horses .  
 aruusaa .  
 horse .

Hiruirirakuríwik<sup>u</sup>

Hiru irirakuríwiiku  
 Then where a pile was  
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- ku- riwii kus -0  
 then where INF.A 3.A INF.A be.clenched be.sitting SUB.4

níkis<sup>u</sup> ,  
 ríkiisu'  
 corn  
 rikiis- -u'  
 corn NOM

hitahatáhwiš<sup>^t</sup>n .  
 hi tahattáhwicat .  
 and we arrived there .  
 hi ta- t- rak- raar- wic.at -0 .  
 and IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A arrive PERF .

Hiatarutirirakawawaríkusitit<sup>n</sup>

Hi atíka' ruutiriiraahkawaawárikusitit  
 And our grandmothers then they began filling them  
 hi ati- kaa ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ka.warik -waa -:hus -itik  
 and 1.POSS grandmother then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.into DIST IMPF INCH

nahkákus<sup>u</sup> .  
 rahkákusu' .  
 parfleches .



raar.kā.kus -u' .  
 parfleche NOM .

Akirikutirahkawawárikust<sup>a</sup>

Aki rikutiraahkawaawárikusta

And here those were what they were to put them in

a- ki riku- ti- 0- ir- raar- ka.warik -waa -:hus -ta  
 and there that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P put.in DIST IMPF INT

níks<sup>u</sup> . Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 ríksu' . Ráwa  
 corn . Now ,  
 riiks- -u' . rawa ,  
 unshelled.corn NOM . now ,

hiirirutíši<sup>a</sup>

hi iriruutiíci'a

and thereupon they did it

hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
 and then then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

nihkurahkatətawáwuh<sup>u</sup>

rihkuraahkatatawáwuhu

their packing them on them

ra- 0- ir- ku- raar- kata- ta.wuh -waa -hus  
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P against.a.vertical.surface hang.up DIST IMPF.SUB

nahkákus<sup>u</sup> , arúsa  
 rahkákusu' aruúsa'  
 the parfleches horses  
 raar.kā.kus -u' aruusaa  
 parfleche NOM horse

nəkuwawárik<sup>i</sup> .

rakuwaawaáriki .  
 the ones standing around .  
 ra- 0- ku- waawa- arik -i .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B DIST be.standing SUB.2 .

Hirutirirahkawárikusitit<sup>n</sup>

Hiru tiriiraahkawárikusitit  
 Then they began putting it in them  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ka.warik -:hus -itik  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.on IMPF INCH

níks<sup>u</sup> .  
 ríksu' .  
 corn .  
 riiks- -u' .  
 unshelled.corn NOM .

Hitakuaskurakúštak<sup>u</sup>

Híitaku ásku rakúctaku  
 Over there one its hanging  
 hii- -taku asku ra- 0- ku- ut- ta kus -0  
 other LOC one INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

nahkákus<sup>u</sup> hawahitakúask<sup>u</sup> ápəš  
 rahkákusu' hawá híitaku ásku ápac  
 a parfleche , also over there one , both  
 raar.ka.kus -u' , haawa hii- -taku asku , apac  
 parfleche NOM , also other LOC one , both

arutirirahkawawáriku

a ruutiriiraahkawaawáriku'  
 and then they put it in them  
 a ruu- ti- 0- ir- i- raar- ka.warik -waa -:hus  
 and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.in DIST IMPF

akiatikakišiwitiruhətətkištiwik<sup>u</sup>

Aki            atíka'            kici    witiiruhtatkictiwiíku  
And here    my grand mother    but    she would have a pile of stalks  
a-   ki-    ati-    kaa            kici    wi-    ti-    0-    a-            ir-    ar-    ri-            uur-    tat-    kiic-    riwii            kus            -0  
and there    1.POSS grandmother    but    QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A EV    PHYS.POSS POSS.A stalk    water be.clenched be.sitting PERF

.    Tətkiš<sup>u</sup>            ,  
  tatkíicu'            ,  
  stalks            ,  
  tat-    kiic-    -u'            ,  
  stalk    water    NOM            ,

kuraakūraráhu<sup>h</sup>wik<sup>i</sup>

kurakuurarahúhwiiki

the bundles being so high

ku-    ra-    0-    ku-    i-    rarahuur-    wi            ak            -i  
INDF    INF.A    3.A    INF.B    SEQ    bundle    be.upright    be.a.certain.length    SUB.2

tətkiš<sup>u</sup>            .    áka<sup>a</sup>    !  
tatkíicu'            .    Aáka'a  
stalks            .    Oh my    ,  
tat-    kiic-    -u'            .    aaka'a    ,  
stalk    water    NOM            .    oh.my    ,

túrukstahi            ,  
tuurúkstaahi            .  
they were good            .

ti-	0-	uur-	uks-	raa-	hiir	-0	.
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	AOR	way	be.good	PERF	.

turukskišaháriwa

Tuurukskicaháriwa

Their juice tasted good

ti-	0-	uur-	uks-	kiic-	taha-	hi.wa.ar	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	AOR	liquid	flavor	be.good.DIST	PERF

, tatukstapáahu .  
 . Tatukstaapaá'aahu' .  
 . We used to be eating them .  
 . ta- t- uks- rak- waa- a -:hus .  
 . IND.1/2A 1.A AOR 1/2.PL DIST eat IMPF .

Atatirakurairiwáhu

A tatiraakuuraíwaahu'

And we were coming individually laden

a	ta-	t-	ir-	rak-	huur.awi.a	-wa	-:hus
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	1/2.PL	return.laden	DIST	IMPF

,

wirətKurətašákipapuhu

wiratKuraattacákipaapuhu

when we were gathering things

wii-	ra-	t-	ku-	rak-	raar-	takik.wuh	-waa	-hus
when	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	gather	DIST	IMPF.SUB

kítu .

kítuu'u' .  
 all .  
 kituu -u' .  
 all NOM .

Aatikarakuturarasíkstawi

A atíka' rakuturaaracíkstawi  
 And grandmother when she watched the field  
 a ati- kaa ra- 0- ku- ut- huraar- aciks.ta -wi  
 and 1.POSS grandmother INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV earth watch SUB.L

;

akihiruwirikutiruhša

aki hiru wirikutiíruhca  
 and here there that is what she had lying  
 a- ki hiruu wii- riku- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- sa -0  
 and there there now that.is IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A OBV PHYS.POSS POSS be.lying PERF

nəkáraki ihi išastát<sup>u</sup>  
 rakáraaki ihi icaastaátu'  
 a bowl , uh , turtle shell  
 rakaraa- -kis , ihii , icaas taat- -u'  
 dish DIM , uh , turtle back NOM

hiwihirurikutarúhša

hi wihiru rikutáruhca  
 and there that is what she had lying  
 hi wii- hiruu riku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- sa -0  
 and now there that.is IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying PERF

,	nəkáarak <sup>i</sup>	.	Atáraharik <sup>i</sup>	,
	rakáraaki	.	A tárahaariki	
	a bowl	.	And a spoon	
	rakaraa-	-kis	.	a tarahaa- arik- -kis
	dish	DIM	.	and buffalo horn DIM

hiwihiruatikatáruruš

hi	wihiru		atíka'		táruuruc						
and	there		my grandmother		hers (pl) lay there						
hi	wii-	hiruu	ati-	kaa	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	ra.uc	-0
and	now	there	1.POSS	grandmother	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.lying.PL	PERF

,	ihi	,	škápirus	,
	ihi		ckaápirus	
,	uh	,	mussel shells	
,	ihii	,	ickaa.piruuš	
,	uh	,	shell	

tiraráras<sup>a</sup>

tiraraárasa

these lying in the water

tii-	ra-	0-	raar-	ha-	sa	-0
this	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	in.water	be.lying	SUB.4

škápirus ,  
ckaápirus  
mussel shells  
ickaa.piruuš  
shell

nahkurarírika

raahkuraaríríika

what she would pick up in the water

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	raar-	iriik	-a
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	pick.up.long.object	SUB.1

, atík<sup>a</sup> .  
 atíka' .  
 my grandmother .  
 ati- kaa .  
 1.POSS grandmother .

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

kitutihikúksta<sup>u</sup>

kítuu'u'		tiihikúkstaaktaa'u	
all		He must have given us the way	
kituu	-u'	tiir- ri-	0- ku- uks- rak- raa- uh -0
all	NOM	INFR CONT.3A	3.A 1.P AOR 1/2.PL way give PERF

nákirik<sup>u</sup> ,

rákiriiku'  
 seeds  
 rak- kirik -u'  
 1/2.PL eye NOM

irikuúhúkusstararu

iriikuúhucukstaararu'

whatever kinds they were

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	uks-	raa-	raar-	uu	-0
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	AOR	way	PL	be	EPERF

, tirahákuriwi ,

tirahákuriwi  
 these of us living

tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi  
 this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

ákitar<sup>u</sup> ihi “ Pári " ákitar<sup>u</sup>  
 ákitaaru' ihi Paári ákitaaru'  
 tribe , uh , Pawnee tribe  
 akitaar- -u' , ihii , paari akitaar- -u'  
 tribe NOM , uh , Pawnee tribe NOM

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Atatirətahkuskísah<sup>u</sup>

A tatiraattaahkuskísaahu'

And we were coming in with loads

a ta- t- ir- rak- raar- kus.kis.a -:hus  
 and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P come.with.loads IMPF

,  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

tatirətahkuskísah<sup>u</sup>

Tatiraattaahkuskísaahu'

We were coming in with loads

ta- t- ir- rak- raar- kus.kis.a -:hus  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P come.with.loads IMPF



.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Akitutiratákipāp<sup>u</sup>

A	kítuu'u'		tiraatákipaapu						
And	all she gathered things		she gathered things						
a	kituu -u'		ti- 0- raa-	takik.wuh	-waa	-0			
and	all NOM		IND.3A 3.A way	gather	DIST	PERF			

,  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

kituatirətákipāp<sup>u</sup>

Kítuu'u'	a	tiraatákipaapu							
All	and	they gathered things							
kituu -u'	a	ti- 0- ir- raa-	takik.wuh	-waa	-0				
all NOM	and	IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way	gather	DIST	PERF				

kítu	.
kítuu'u'	.
all	.
kituu -u'	.
all NOM	.

Atiráriwah<sup>š</sup>

A	tíraariiwaahac
And	they finished everything

a ti- 0- ir- raar- riihac -waa -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P finish DIST PERF

kítu .  
 kítuu'u' .  
 all .  
 kituu -u' .  
 all NOM .

Ahirutiríwaki

A hiru tiriíwaki'  
 And then they would say ,  
 a hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0 ,  
 and then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF ,

ihi atík<sup>a</sup> , " Náw<sup>a</sup> ihi ,  
 ihi atíka' " Ráwa ihi  
 uh , my grandmothers : " Now , uh ,  
 ihii , ati- kaa , " rawa , ihii ,  
 uh , 1.POSS grandmother , " now , uh ,

tuhuraktahákskaru

tuhuraaktahákskaru'

let's make cache pits

i- t- uhur- rak- tahak -his ka.ra'uk -0  
 CONT.1/2A 1.A now 1/2.PL be.a.cache.pit PERF make.PL.P PERF

. " Tirahúrahša ,  
 . " Tirahúraahca  
 . " This ground  
 . " tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0  
 . " this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.4

nihkuhótawawuhu ,

rihkuhátaawaawuhu

when they were digging holes

ra- 0- ir- ku- hata.wuh -waa -hus  
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B make.a.hole DIST IMPF.SUB

aratikirúsarit<sup>n</sup>

a raatikiruúsarit

and there just was a group

a raa- ti- 0- kiruus- arik -0  
and just IND.3A 3.A group be.standing PERF

wirihkutahákskaruku

wirihkutahákskaruku

when they were making cache pits

wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- tahak -his ka.ra'uk -hus  
when INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B be.a.cache.pit PERF make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Atiráriwahəš

A tíraariwaahac

And they finished them

a ti- 0- ir- raar- riihac -waa -0  
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P finish DIST PERF

, hirutíši<sup>a</sup>

. Hiru tíci'a

. Then they did it

. hiruu ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
. then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

híharut<sup>u</sup> ,  
 hi haaruútu'  
 and hay  
 hi haaruut -u'  
 and dry.grass NOM

rutišíraw<sup>a</sup>  
 ruutiicíraawa  
 then they went for them  
 ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- raa.war -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ go.to.get.DU PERF

. Tihwakíah<sup>u</sup> , “  
 . Tihwakí'aahu'  
 . They say  
 . ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus  
 . IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Harutkísit<sup>u</sup> . "  
 haarutkísiitu' .  
 joint grass .  
 haaruut- kisiit- -u' .  
 dry.native.grass flat.reed NOM .

Arutušírahkaripíhtiwa  
 A ruutuciraahkariipíhtiwa  
 And then they tied them nicely in bundles  
 a ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raar- kariik.wuh hi.wa.ar -0  
 and then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P tie.up be.good.DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .

.  
.

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

hiatíkarutíši<sup>a</sup>

hi atíka' ruutiíci'a  
and my grandmothers then they did it  
hi ati- kaa ruu- ti- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0  
and 1.POSS grandmother then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

, hirutiritawáhət<sup>n</sup>  
hiru tiriitawaáhəttit  
: then they cached it  
, hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- ta.waa.hak.rik -0  
, then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ store.in.a.cash.pit PERF

níkis<sup>u</sup> .  
ríkiisu' .  
corn .  
rikiis- -u' .  
corn NOM .

Akihirurikutirahkatatúhkust<sup>a</sup>

Aki hiru rikutiiraahkatatúhkusta  
And here then these are what they were going to line  
a- ki hiruu riku- ti- 0- ir- raar- katatuhk -:hus -ta  
and there then that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P line IMPF INT

. Karaasahkáwut<sup>i</sup> .

	kara'asaahkáwuuti									
'	that you should not rot									'
'	kara- aa- s- ar- ka.wa.ut -i									'
'	NEG SUBJ.1/2A 2.A EV die.DIST SUB.2									'

Atikairikuriruhúrawar<sup>u</sup>

Atíka'		iriikúriiruuhúraawaaru								
Grandmothers		those were their ways								
ati- kaa		irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.uhur.aawaar -u								
1.POSS grandmother	that	INDF ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A	be.one's.ways							SUB.D
, ihi	šapát <sup>n</sup>	íriruk <sup>i</sup>								
, ihi	cápaat	íiriiruuki								
, uh	, women	those								
, ihii	, icapaak	irii- ra- 0- 0 -uk -i								
, uh	, woman	that ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2								

iríkuriruhurawar<sup>u</sup>

iriikúriiruuhúraawaaru										
those were their ways										
irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.uhur.aawaar -u										
that INDF ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A	be.one's.ways									SUB.D

.  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.

Kituatiráriwah<sup>š</sup>

Kítuu'u'	a	tíraariwaahac								
All	and	they finished them								
kituu -u'	a	ti- 0- ir- raar- riihac -waa -0								
all NOM and	IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P	finish DIST PERF								

kítu . Náwa<sup>a</sup> ,  
 kítuu'u' . Ráwa  
 all . Now ,  
 kituu -u' . rawa ,  
 all NOM . now ,

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

hirutiritkararawat<sup>t</sup>

hiru tiitkaraarawatat  
 then they covered it with dirt  
 hiruu ti- 0- ir- itkaar- raar- awatat.k -0  
 then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A particulate.matter PL cover PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

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

tirataríraiwawāt<sup>i</sup>

tirataríraa'iiwaawaati  
 these things I am telling you

tii-	ra-	t-	a-	ri-	uur-	raa.iiwaat	-waa	-i
this	ABS	1.A	2.P	CONT.3A	PREV	tell.a.story	DIST	SUB.2

hirurikuwituhaáhura

hiru rikuwituhaáhura'

there that one is the source of everything

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa-	hurar	-0
there	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.where.one.comes.from	PERF

tiráwah<sup>^t</sup>n

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Tiharəšíhwari

Tihaaracíhwari

We who live here

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

kukarawitáširuhurawa<sup>a</sup>

kukarawitaciiruuhúraawa'a

we did not make our ways

ku-	kara-	wi-	ta-	aciir-	ir-	raa.uhur.aawaar	-'
INDF	NEG	QUOT	IND.1/2A	IN.DU.A	POSS.1/2A	be.one's.ways	EX

,

Aškarakariritiriratáwiku



a ckára kariiriitiriiraatáwiiku  
 and alone I do not have the ways among (us)  
 a ckara kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi kus -0  
 and alone EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among be.sitting PERF

, hawá , irár<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Hawá iraári'  
 . Also , brother ,  
 . haawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,  
 . also , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

təsiriratáwiku,  
 tasiriiraatáwiiku  
 you have the ways among you

ta- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi kus -0  
 IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among be.sitting PERF

kitutirétpawakahu .

kítuu'u' tirátpaawaakahu .  
 all these things I am saying .  
 kituu -u' tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus .  
 all NOM this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Hišahiksísahiks

Hi cahiksícahiks  
 And Indian  
 hi icaahiks icaahiks  
 and person person

hawairikúhuta

hawá iriikúhuuta  
 also whatever He did  
 haawa irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0  
 also what DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

hawakuhikutáwišt<sup>u</sup>

hawá kuuhikutáwictu'

also He put her among us

haawa	kuur-	ri-	0-	ku-	tawi	-his	-ra'uk	-0
also	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	be.among	PERF	CAUS	PERF

stúuraku<sup>u</sup>,

Ctú'u' ráku'u

Witch her being

c.tu'u'	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u	icaahiks	icaahiks
witch	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D	person	person

šahiksíšahiks

cahiksícahiks

Indians

tirátpari

tirátpari

mine living here

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

Hihiruahuhá<sup>a</sup>

Hi hiru ahuuhá'a

And then He was the cause

hi	hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-'
and	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.the.cause	EX

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

iríahuhahurawaw<sup>i</sup>

irí'ahuhaahúraawaawi

where everything originated

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	raar-	hurar	-waa	-wi
where	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.INDV.A	be.where.one.comes.from	DIST	SUB.L

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

Štuúwitik<sup>u</sup> ,  
 Ctú'u' witiíku .  
 Witch she lived .  
 c.tu'u' wi- ti- 0- kus -0 .  
 witch QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

Štuúwitik<sup>u</sup> ,  
 Ctú'u' witiíku .  
 Witch she lived .  
 c.tu'u' wi- ti- 0- kus -0 .  
 witch QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

witikarikustú<sup>u</sup> .  
 Witiikárikú .  
 She had a home .  
 wi- ti- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0 .  
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A dwelling CONT.3A be.sitting PERF .

áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 Aáka'a  
 Oh my ,  
 aaka'a ,  
 oh.my ,

witaruhkarikstíruhš<sup>i</sup>

witaruhkaarikstíruhci'

she had much meat

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kaariks-	riruhci	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	meat.hanging.to.dry	be.numerous	PERF

,  
.  
.  
.  
.

witaríhkaarikstíruhš'i

Witaruhkaarikstíruhci'

She had much meat

wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kaariks-	riruhci	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	meat.hanging.to.dry	be.numerous	PERF

,	ahakaríkuštu <sup>u</sup>	.				
	ahaakáriku	Ctú'u'				
	where she had her home	Witch				
ar-	ra-	0-	akaar.ri.kus	-0	c.tu'u'	.
EV	ABS	3.A	have.a.home	SUB.4	witch	.

Tihwakíah<sup>u</sup>

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

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

hirurikuwitíhi

hiru rikuwitíhi'

there that is where it was

hiruu	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ihii	-0	,
there	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be.in.a.place	PERF	,

hā !  
 haa  
 ha ,  
 haa ,  
 ha ,

hirutiirirəsakúrispu

hiru ti'iriirasakúrispu

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

. Iriwakíah<sup>u</sup> ,  
 . I riiwaki'aahu'  
 . And they say  
 . i rii- 0- waki.a -:hus  
 . and ASSR 3.A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

hiahuširásku

hi ahucirásku

and she lived with him

hi ar- ra- 0- ut- ciras- kus -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV COM be.sitting PERF

nótík<sup>i</sup> ,  
 rattíiki .  
 her grandchild .  
 rak- tiikis .  
 grandchild sonny .

nətíkíwita

Rattíiki wíta'  
 A grandchild she had

rak-	tiikis	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	0	-0
grandchild	sonny	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	be	PERF

.	Irirutahúihi						
.	Iriiruutahu						ihi
.	Her being that way					,	uh
.	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus
.	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB
						,	uh

,

,

,

ikariráku <sup>u</sup>							
ikaári'							ráku'u
his grandmother							her being
i-	kaa		-ri'	ra-	0-	ku-	0
3.POSS.A	grandmother		3.POSS.B	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be
							SUB.D

,	hitikútihur <sup>^t</sup>						
	hi	tikutiihuúrat					
,	and	he was so tall					
,	hi	tii-	ku-	ti-	0-	i-	huur.ak
,	and	here	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.so.tall
							PERF

rakušírəsa <sup>a</sup>							
rakucírasaaha							
when she led him							
ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	ciras-	aah	-a	
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	COM	be	SUB.1	

Nikuwitušírəsku

Rikuwitucirásku

He was the one she had living with her

riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- ciras- kus -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV COM be.sitting PERF

nátik<sup>i</sup> .  
rattiiki .  
her grandchild .  
rak- tiikis .  
grandchild sonny .

Itiahakárik<sup>u</sup>

I ti'ahaakáriku

And where her lodge was

i tii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0  
and where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, štú<sup>u</sup> katu<sup>u</sup>  
Ctú'u' kaátu' ií'u  
Witch because if she were  
c.tu'u' kaatu' ii- 0- 0 -u  
witch because SUBJ.3A 3.A be SUB.D

tiráwahət<sup>n</sup>

Tiráwaahat

(in) the Heavens

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

hikaraarurárisat<sup>it</sup><sup>n</sup>

hi kara'aaruuraáriisaatit

and she had huge amounts

hi kara- ii- 0- a- ri- uur- raar- riisat -ik -0  
and NEG SUBJ.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.large DIST PERF

, hakawáhšis<sup>u</sup> .  
 haakawáhcisu' .  
 food .  
 haakawahe -his -u' .  
 eat PERF NOM .

Kituraruwitarurúšpa

Kítuu'u' raaruuwitaruurúcpa

All her things just lay around

kituu	-u'	raa-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	ra.uc	-waa	-0
all	NOM	just	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.lying.PL	DIST	PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	aháwišət <sup>n</sup>						pírəski	,	
Ráwa		aháwicat						piíraski	.	
Now		he arrived						a boy	.	
rawa		ar- ra-	0-	wic.at	-0			piiras-	-kis	.
now		EV ABS	3.A	arrive	PERF			boy	DIM	.

pirəskiwíti

Piíraski wíti'

A boy he was

piiras-	-kis	wi-	ti-	0-	0	-0
boy	DIM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF

hiaháwišət<sup>n</sup>

hi aháwicat  
 and he arrived





ahaawacítiksa

when he came outside

ar- ra- 0- a- awacitik -his a -0 ,  
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF come SUB.4 ,

ihi pířaski “

ihi pířaski “

uh , the boy :

ihii , piiras- -kis , ”

uh , boy DIM , ”

Atikatiřirit<sup>n</sup>

Atíka’ tiriířit

Grandma , here he stands

ati- kaa , tii- ri- 0- arik -0  
1.POSS grandmother , here CONT.3A 3.A be.standing PERF

, píta ,

piíta .

a man .

wiita .

man .

pitótiriřit<sup>n</sup>

Piíta tiriířit . ”

A man here he stands . ”

wiita tii- ri- 0- arik -0 . ”

man here CONT.3A 3.A be.standing PERF . ”

Aharisiráita ,

A haariisiraá’iita

And now you do know

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

wititirawikarúku ,  
 wititiirawikaruúku'  
 they turn themselves into  
 witi- ti- 0- ir- awi- ka.ra'uk -:hus  
 REFL IND.3A 3.A PL.3A image make.PL.P IMPF

tirawahótkítu  
 Tiráwaahat kítuu'u'  
 the Heavens all  
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0 kituu -u'  
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4 all NOM

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

hirukáhahir<sup>i</sup> " nka<sup>a</sup> ! tik<sup>i</sup> ,  
 hiru kaahaáhiri' " líka'a tíki ,  
 there inside : " Oh my , son ,  
 hiruu kaa- -haar -hiri' , " iika'a , tikis ,  
 there inside LOC LOC , " oh.my , sonny ,

tik<sup>i</sup>  
 tíki  
 son ,  
 tikis ,  
 sonny ,

irakušírəsa  
 iraakuucírasa  
 you should bring him

ii- ra- 0- a- ku- ut- ciras- a -0  
 there INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PREV COM come SUB.4

hīiríkuh<sup>u</sup> ,

hi iriikuúhu'  
 and whoever he is

hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- uu -0  
 and who DUB ABS 3.A be PERF

tihákawaəš . "

rihaákawa'ac . "

he'll eat . "

ri- 0- haakawahc -0 . "

CONT.3A 3.A eat PERF . "

Aaháwašitit<sup>n</sup> , pířəski ,

A ahaáwacitit pířaski .

And he went outside the boy .

a ar- ra- 0- awacitik -0 pířas- -kis .

and EV ABS 3.A go.out PERF boy DIM .

tihwakíah<sup>u</sup> , "

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

Pakustáariit<sup>n</sup> . "

Pakustáari'it .

Scorched Belly .

pakuus- tararit .

belly be.burned .

Wititiráktara

Wititiráktara

He had a bow and arrows

wi- ti- 0- tiraak- raar- raah -0  
QUOT IND.3A 3.A bow PL have PERF

niksiškatárarit<sup>u</sup>

riksickatáraritu'

burnt arrow points

riiks- icka tararit -u'  
arrow be.pointed be.burned NOM

nahkuraritkahkíriwirarah<sup>a</sup>

raahkuraaritkaahkiiriwíraraha

after he rolled them in the coals

ra- 0- ar- ku- raar- itkaar- ka.iriwira.raah -a  
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B 3PL.INAN.P particulate.matter roll.over.coals SUB.1

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Nikuwitikipistara

Rikuwitikipístara

Those are the arrow shafts he had

riku- wi- ti- 0- kipsis- raar- raah -0  
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A arrow.shaft PL have PERF

pakustárarit<sup>n</sup>

Pakustárarit'

Scorched Belly

pakuus- tararit  
belly be.burned

; Stuúrætik<sup>i</sup>

Ctú'u' rattíiki

, Witch her grandson

, c.tu'u' rak- tiikis  
witch grandchild sonny

Áhawaku							“	Witásihukahist <sup>a</sup>
Ahawaku’							“	Witásihuukahista
He said						:	“	You are to come inside
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0			,	”
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF			,	”

.	”	Aharikípita					,	
.	”	Ahaáriki						piíta
.	”	The one						man
.	”	ar-	ra-	0-	arik	-i		wiita
.	”	EV	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2		man

hirúahihukət <sup>n</sup>								píta	.
hiru		ahihuúkat						piíta	.
then		he entered						the man	.
hiruu	ar-	ri-		0-	huuk-	at	-0	wiita	.
then	EV	CONT.3A		3.A	into	go	PERF	man	.

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

Hirúutik <sup>i</sup> s								
Hiru		uútikis						
Then	,	sonny	,					
hiruu	,	uu.tikis	,					
then	,	sonny	,					

irirəsáhku <sup>u</sup>								.
iriirasaáhku’u								.
whoever you are								.

irii- ra- s- ar- ku- 0 -u .  
 who INF.A 2.A EV INF.B be SUB.D .

Ihaúkatət<sup>n</sup>

Ihaá uúkatat  
 There in the west

ii- haa uukata- -t  
 then here west LOC

sukspítit<sup>n</sup> . "

sukspiítit . "

sit down ! "

i- s- uks- wi.itik -0 . "  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS sit.down PERF . "

Náwahípit<sup>a</sup>

Ráwa hi piíta  
 Now , and the man

rawa , hi wiita  
 now , and man

ruahíh<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup> ,

ruu'ahiíhat

then he passed by

ruu- ar- ri- 0- i- hak -0  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A SEQ pass.by PERF

aahawítit<sup>n</sup> " Náw<sup>a</sup> ,

a ahawiítit . " Ráwa ,

and he sat down . " Now ,

a ar- ra- 0- wi.itik -0 . " rawa ,

and EV ABS 3.A sit.down PERF . " now ,

náw<sup>a</sup> , tírətira ,

ráwa	tíратиira						
now	when I came						
rawa	tii- ra- t- ir- a -0						
now	this ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.4						

nikutatiškatítaku							
rikutáticka'					tiítaku		
that is what I wanted					here		
riku- ta- t- wicka -0					tii- -taku		
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF					here LOC		

nətihkúksuhúra							
ratihkúksuhúra							
for me to come awhile							
ra- t- ir- ku- uks- uhur- a -0							
INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A INF.B JUSS awhile come SUB.4							

,	nətkuksuhuhakáwaəš						.
	ratkuksuhuuhaakáwa'ac						.
,	for me to eat finally						.
,	ra- t- ku- uks- uhur- haakawahc -0						.
,	INF.A 1.A INF.B JUSS finally eat SUB.4						.

"	Ahawákupīt <sup>a</sup>					,	"	Náw <sup>a</sup>
"	Ahawáku'				piíta		"	Ráwa
"	He said				the man	:	"	Now
"	ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0				wiita	,	"	rawa
"	EV ABS 3.A say PERF				man	,	"	now

,



nikutatiratítaku									
rikutatiíra'								tíitaku	
this is where I came								here	
riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	a	-0	tii-	-taku		
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	come	PERF	here	LOC		

, šústit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 cústit  
 , old woman ,  
 , custit ,  
 , old.woman ,

nətkuksuhuhakáwaəš								.	
ratkuksuhuuhaakáwa'ac								.	"
for me to eat finally								.	"
ra-	t-	ku-	uks-	uhur-	haakawahc	-0		.	"
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	JUSS	finally	eat	SUB.4		.	"

Híruahiwaku								Štú <sup>u</sup>	,
Hiru	ahiwáku'							Ctú'u'	
Then	she said							Witch	:
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0			c.tu'u'	,
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF			witch	,

" áka<sup>a</sup> ! tik<sup>i</sup> ,  
 " Aáka'a tíki  
 " Oh my , son ,  
 " aaka'a , tikis ,  
 " oh.my , sonny ,

iriwitúrahi									,
iriwitúraahi									.
that is good									!

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

íka<sup>a</sup> ! hítik<sup>i</sup>  
 líka'a hi tíki  
 Oh my , and , son ,  
 iika'a , hi , tikis ,  
 oh.my , and , sonny ,

hitiharakupírəsk<sup>i</sup>  
 hi tiháraaku piíraski  
 and this one boy  
 hi tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 piiras- -kis  
 and this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 boy DIM

karirisikskása ,  
 kariiriicíkskasa  
 he does not have sense  
 kari- rii- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0  
 EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.sensible PERF

nakurakarurir<sup>a</sup>  
 rakuraakaáruriira  
 to be a good meal  
 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- kaaruur- hiir -a  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way meal be.good SUB.1

, rəkurakarúra<sup>u</sup> .  
 rakuraakaarúra'u .  
 to cook a meal .  
 ra- 0- ku- raa- kaaruur- ra'uk -0 .  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B way meal make SUB.3 .

Náwatik<sup>i</sup> , arís<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

Ráwa	tíki	ariísit
Now	, son	, yourself
rawa	, tikis	, ariisit
now	, sonny	, one's.own

witiaskarúra<sup>u</sup>

witi'askaarúra'u

I wish you would cook for yourself

witi-	aa-	s-	kaaruur-	ra'uk	-0
REFL	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	meal	make	SUB.3

irikuhasiriháwi<sup>u</sup>

iriikuhasiriihaáwi'u'

however it is that you favor it

irii-	kuur-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	raa-	wi.uu	-0
what	DUB	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	way	favor	PERF

ráku<sup>u</sup>

ráku'u

to be

ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u	.	haa	,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D	.	ha	,

.	Hā	!
.	Haa	
.	Ha	,
.	haa	,
.	ha	,

harisuháiriku

haarisuuhaa'íiriku'

there you see them

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

hariraráhuraruhət<sup>n</sup>

haariarahúraaruuhət

the bundles extending

haa-	ra-	0-	ir-	rarahuur-	raar-	u.hak	-0
here	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	bundle	PL	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

. " Ahawákuštu<sup>u</sup> "
  
. " Ahawáku' Ctú'u' "
  
. " She said Witch : "
  
. " ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 c.tu'u' , "
  
. " EV ABS 3.A say PERF witch , "

Tuhatikukiritaráari

Tuuhá'a

It is the cause

tikukirittará'aari'

my eyes are hurting

ti- 0- ut- raar -' ti- ku- kirik- raar- ra.aar -i
  
IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX IND.3A 1.P eye PL hurt IMPF

, títir<sup>i</sup> ,
  
tiítiiri
  
now
  
tii- tiiri
  
here now

ikariríruhu<sup>u</sup>

i kariiríruuhu'u

and it is not the way

i kari- rii- 0- raa.uhur -'
  
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.the.way EX

nətkutkikáir<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup>

ratkutkiiká'iirit

for me to see the flame

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

Náwatik<sup>i</sup>s

Ráwa tíkis

Now , sonny ,

rawa , tikis ,  
 now , sonny ,

irikuhəsiriháwi<sup>u</sup>

iriikuuhasiriihaáwi'u'

however it is that you favor it

irii-	kuur-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	raa-	wi.uu	-0
what	DUB	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	way	favor	PERF

sukspáku

sukspáku'

say it

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	Náwa <sup>a</sup>	,
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	Ráwa	
							Now	
							rawa	
							now	

tátiška

táticka'

I want

ta-	t-	wicka	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF

nətkuhahkawaəš

ratkuhaákawa'ac

for me to eat

ra-	t-	ku-	haakawahc	-ʹ	,
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	eat.a.meal	EX	,

kirikurətkúksuhur<sup>a</sup>

kíriku'	ratkúksuhuura						
something	for me to eat it at last						
kirikuu	ra-	t-	ku-	uks-	uhur-	a	-0
anything	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	JUSS	finally	eat	SUB.3

nīšu	aihi							
riícu'	a ihí							
intestine	and , uh ,							
riic-	-u'	a , ihii ,						
intestine	NOM	and , uh ,						

tatuhaikukíraruš <sup>u</sup>								.
tatuuhá'ihku'	kíraruucu'							.
I mean it	hump meat							.
ta-	t-	ut-	ra'ihk	-:hus	kiraruuc-	-u'	.	
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	buffalo.hump	NOM	.	

" áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 " Aáka'a  
 " Oh my ,  
 " aaka'a ,  
 " oh.my ,

witaríhkarikstíruhši								
witaruhkaarikstíruhci'								
she had a huge amount of meat								
wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kaariks-	riruhci	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	meat.hanging.to.dry	be.numerous	PERF

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

nkaatik<sup>i</sup> !  
 líka'a tiki  
 Oh my , son ,  
 iika'a , tikis ,  
 oh.my , sonny ,

iriwíturahi . "  
 iriwitúraahi . "  
 that is good ! "  
 irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . "  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . "

Pirəskiruwituširaríka

Píraski ruuwituciraaríkaa'  
 The boy then she told him  
 piiras- -kis ruu- wi- ti- 0- a- ut- i- raa.ri.kaa.a -0  
 boy DIM then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV SEQ tell.to PERF

, Pakustáariiit<sup>n</sup> . " Náwatiki  
 Pakustáarii't " Ráwa tiki  
 Scorched Belly : " Now , son ,  
 pakuus- tararit , " rawa , tikis ,  
 belly be.burned , " now , sonny ,

kísirit<sup>n</sup> ihi  
 kíisirit ihi  
 pick it up , uh ,  
 kii- i- s- iriik -0 , ihii ,  
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A pick.up.long.object PERF , uh ,

níš<sup>u</sup>  
 riícu'  
 intestine

riic- -u'  
intestine NOM

nahtakurakátaruš<sup>i</sup>

raáhtaku

there yonder

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

rakaátaruuci

the one lying in back

ra- 0- kaata- ra.uc -i  
ABS 3.A behind be.lying.PL SUB.2

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

Sikstaráhuru<sup>a</sup>

Sikstárahuruu'a'

Bring the bundle

i- s- ir- uks- rarahuur- ruu- a -0  
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS bundle PORT come PERF

,

!

,

,

nahtakurararáhuhk<sup>u</sup>

raáhtaku

there yonder

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

raráhuhku

the bundle

ra- 0- rarahuur- kus -0  
ABS 3.A bundle be.sitting SUB.4

ihi , nárahkaw<sup>i</sup>



	ihii		ráraahkaawi				
,	uh	,	the one inside				
,	ihii	,	ra-	0-	raar-	kaa	-wi
,	uh	,	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.inside	SUB.L

takasu	
taákaasu'	.
dried meat	.
taakaas-	-u'
dried.meat	NOM .

tatutataihku							ihii
Tatuutatta'ihku'							ihii
I am meaning them						,	uh ,
ta-	t-	ut-	ak-	ra'ihk	-:hus	,	ihii ,
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	mean	IMPF	,	uh ,

kíraruš <sup>u</sup>	.	
kíraruucu'	.	"
hump meat	.	"
kíraruuc-	-u'	.
buffalo.hump	NOM	.

Ahirarahúru						
Ahirarahúru						
He gave her the bundle	,					
ar-	ri-	0-	rarahuur-	uh	-0	,
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	bundle	give	PERF	,

hirúahuširašarikiwət <sup>n</sup>							
hiru	ahucíracariikiwat						
then	she untied it						
hiruu	ar-	ra-	ut-	i-	raar-	tarii.kiwat	-0
then	EV	ABS	PREV	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	untie	PERF

, šúst<sup>t</sup>n .  
 cústit .  
 the old woman .  
 custit .  
 old.woman .

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

híruahiwakušúst<sup>t</sup>n  
 hiru ahiwáku' cústit  
 then she said the old woman :  
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 custit ,  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF old.woman ,

" Náwatik<sup>i</sup> !  
 " Ráwa tíki  
 " Now , son ,  
 " rawa , tikis ,  
 " now , sonny ,

sikstitpahpíra .  
 sikstitpaahpíraa' .  
 spread the coals !  
 i- s- ir- uks- ritpaar- píra.a -0 .  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS coal rake PERF .

" Pakusuwítuháihku  
 " Pákuusu' wítuuhá'ihku'  
 " Belly she meant

" pakuus- -u' wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus  
 " belly NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

. " Náwa , áwit<sup>n</sup>  
 . " Ráwa áwit  
 . " Now first  
 . " rawa awit  
 . " now first

nukspawaaništárarit<sup>u</sup>

rukspaáwa'a rictáariiitu'  
 let him eat it burnt intestine  
 ri- 0- uks- waawa- a -0 riic- tararit -u'  
 CONT.3A 3.A JUSS DIST eat PERF intestine be.burned NOM

.  
 . "  
 ! "  
 . "  
 . "

Irikararukstakítaw<sup>i</sup>

Irikararukstaakítaw<sup>i</sup>

That used to be a leading one

irii- kara- ra- 0- uks- raa- kita.wi -0  
 that NEG ABS 3.A AOR way be.the.leader PERF

ništárarit<sup>u</sup> . Áwit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 rictáariiitu' . Áwit  
 burnt intestine . First  
 riic- tararit -u' . awit  
 intestine be.burned NOM . first

aahararitkáhka<sup>i</sup> ,

a aharaaritkaáhká'i  
 and she put them on the fire ,  
 a ar- ra- 0- raar- itkaahka.iir -0 ,  
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.on.a.fire PERF ,

nuwítiwakah<sup>u</sup> , “  
 ruuwitiwákaahu’ “  
 then she was saying : “  
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- waka -:hus , “  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A say.IMPf IMPF , ”

ákaatik<sup>i</sup>  
 Aáka'a tiki  
 Oh my , son ,  
 aaka'a , tikis ,  
 oh.my , sonny ,

sišúkstašikst<sup>a</sup> ,  
 sucúkstaaciksta .  
 watch them !  
 i- s- ut- uks- raa- aciks.ta -0 .  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS way watch PERF .

karistirašararíru  
 Karistiracarariíru'  
 I don't want to burn them  
 kari- as- t- i- raar- tararit -ra'uk -0  
 EMPH.NEG NEG.IMP 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P be.burned CAUS PERF

, " Pakustáariit<sup>n</sup> tuháihk<sup>u</sup>  
 . " Pakustáari'it tuuhá'ihku'  
 . " Scorched Belly she meant  
 . " pakuus- tararit ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus  
 . " belly be.burned IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

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

#### Atikawitirahkiráhpahaət<sup>n</sup>

Atíka' , witiraahkiraáhpahaa'at

Grandma , they are nicely brown

ati- kaa , wi- ti- 0- raar- kiraar- pahaat -'
  
1.POSS grandmother , QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A liquid be.red EX

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

#### sukstaríkatah<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

sukstaríkatahat

take them up

i- s- uks- raar- ri- kata- hak -0
  
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 3PL.INAN.P PORT against.a.vertical.surface pass.by PERF

. "
  
. "
  
! "
  
. "
  
. "

#### Aahararikətáh<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>

A ahararikatahat

And he took them up

a	ar-	ra-	0-	raar-	ri-	kata-		hak	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	against.a.vertical.surface		pass.by	PERF

,

pitaáahihuš<sup>u</sup>

piíta	a	ahiihuúcu							
the man	and	he put them down for him							
wiita	a	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ra.uc.wuh	-0	
man	and	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	BEN	put.PL.OBJ	PERF	

.	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	hírətkət <sup>n</sup>		
.	Ráwa		hi	rátkat	
.	Now	,	and	later	
.	rawa	,	hi	rat-	-kat
.	now	,	and	afterwards	LOC

irirúahuš<sup>i</sup>

iriruu'ahúci'a									
thereupon she did it									:
irii-	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	,
that	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	,

tákask<sup>i</sup>

taákaski	
dried meat	
taakas	-kis
dried.meat	DIM

aaharahkávət<sup>n</sup>

a aharaahkáwat .  
 and she took it out .  
 a ar- ra- 0- raar- kawat -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P take.out PERF .

Arakapiktúiriruk<sup>i</sup>

Araakápiktu' iriiruúki  
 Tenderloin that kind  
 araa.kapikt- -u' irii- ra- 0- 0 -uk -i  
 tenderloin NOM that ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2

naruwitíwuh<sup>u</sup> štu<sup>u</sup> .  
 raaruuwitíwuuhu' Ctú'u' .  
 then she just put it on it Witch .  
 raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- wuh -:hus c.tu'u' .  
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A put IMPF witch .

Hiruahuší<sup>a</sup> ,

Hiru ahúci'a  
 Then she did it :  
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,  
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

naruwitirahkatahúritit<sup>u</sup>

raaruuwitiraahkatahuúrittit  
 then she just heated it  
 raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- raar- kata- huurik -rik -0  
 just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P against.a.vertical.surface get.burned CAUS PERF

sítu . Ahawáku “  
 síitu' . Ahawáku' “  
 fat . She said : “  
 siit- -u' . ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , ”  
 fat NOM . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Tik<sup>i</sup>  
 Tiki  
 Son ,  
 tikis ,  
 sonny ,

sišúkstasikst<sup>a</sup> ,  
 sucukstaáciksta .  
 watch it !  
 i- s- ut- uks- raa- aciks.ta -0 .  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS way watch PERF .

kararitárarita . "  
 Karariitárarita . "  
 Don't let it burn . "  
 kara- ri- 0- i- tararit -aar -0 . "  
 NEG CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.burned INCH PERF . "

Ah ! híruahiwaku " "  
 Aa hiru ahiwáku' " "  
 Ah , then she said : "  
 aa , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , "  
 ah , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Náwatik<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Ráwa tíki  
 Now , son ,  
 rawa , tikis ,  
 now , sonny ,

náwasuksákawaəš , pis ,  
 ráwa suksaákawa'ac . Pis .  
 now eat ! Hurry !



rawa i- s- uks- haakawahc -' . wis .  
 now CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS eat EX . hurry .

íka<sup>a</sup> ! híruutik<sup>i</sup>s  
 líka'a hiru uútikis  
 Oh my , then , sonny ,  
 iika'a , hiruu , uu.tikis ,  
 oh.my , then , sonny ,

iriwitúrahi  
 iriwitúraahi  
 that is good

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

ahásiška<sup>a</sup>  
 ahásicka'a ' : '  
 your thinking : '  
 ar- ra- s- wicka -a , '  
 EV ABS 2.A think SUB.1 , '

kíraitæ<sup>n</sup>  
 Kíra íta'at  
 Let me go

kira i- t- at -'  
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 1.A go EX

atikairírak<sup>u</sup> .  
 atíka' iriúraaku .  
 my grandmother where she lives .  
 ati- kaa irii- ra- 0- kus -0 .  
 1.POSS grandmother where ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 .

Kararaitətirakúpita

Kararaá'iita

He did not know

ka-	ra-	0-	a-	raa.iita	-0	tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	piíta
NEG	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	know	PERF	this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	man

atikátati'h

Atíka'

A grandmother

ati-	kaa	ta-	t-	ir-	0	-'	.
1.POSS	grandmother	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	be	EX	.

tati'i

I have her

Náwa ,

Ráwa

Now ,

rawa ,

now ,

atiháarak<sup>u</sup>

a tiháraaku

and this one

a	tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	kus	-0
and	this	here	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

nətkuwákahu						“	Pirəski	
ratkuwaákahu						'	Píiraski	
when I say					:	'	Boy	
ra-	t-	ku-	waaka	-hus	,	'	piiras-	-kis
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	say.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	,	'	boy	DIM

,

,

,

,

nakuukakáwari						
raku'uukaahkáwari						
when he goes about outside						
ra-	0-	ku-	uukaahka-	warii		-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	outside	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF.SUB

šáhiks	tiráhwari				
cáhiks	tiraáhwari'				
people	they are going around				
icaahiks	ti-	0-	raar-	warii	-.hus
person	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

,

atušírəsuk <sup>a</sup>	
a	tuucírasuuka'
and	you'll bring him inside

a ti- 0- a- ut- ciras- huuk- a -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV COM into come PERF

naukahkáisa

. Raa'uukaahká'iisa

. When he comes near the lodge

. ra- 0- a- uukaahka- iis.a -0  
 . ABS 3.A PREV.3A entrance come.into SUB.4

atušírəsuk<sup>a</sup>

a tuucírasuuka'

and you'll bring him inside

a ti- 0- a- ut- ciras- huuk- a -0  
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV COM into come PERF

. " n'ka<sup>a</sup> !

. ' " Íika'a

. ' " Oh my ,

. ' " iika'a ,

. ' " oh.my ,

ruwitiwirútik<sup>u</sup>

ruuwitiwi'iiruúniku'

then she was rocking forward

ruu- wi- ti- 0- awi- wi.itik -ruu -:hus  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A image sit.down DIST IMPF

Hiruwitarusári

Hiru witaruucí'aari'

Then she would be doing it

hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- aar -i  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ do IMPF

tihátaku

tiháataku  
 right here  
 tii- haa- -taku  
 here here LOC

rihkurihtáhu  
 rihkúrihtahu  
 when she was raising it up  
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- ta.a -hus  
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV come.up IMPF.SUB

, úkawik<sup>i</sup> ,  
 uúkawiki  
 (her) dress '  
 uuka.wi- -kis '  
 dress DIM '

naruaskuhpakísiwiš  
 raaruu'askuhpaakiísiwic  
 that my knee just show  
 raa- ruu- aa- s- ku- uur- paa- kiis- hiwihc -0  
 just then SUBJ.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV knee bone appear SUB.4

. Akíkukaki  
 . Aki kukaakií'  
 . ' And here she was not  
 . ' a- ki ku- kaaki- 0- i- 0 -0  
 . ' and there INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ be PERF

tiháarak<sup>u</sup> šúst<sup>t</sup>n ,  
 tiháraaku cústit .  
 this one old woman .  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 custit .  
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 old.woman .

akikukakuihkiritaraári

Aki kukaaku'ihkirittará'aari'  
And here she did not have sore eyes  
a- ki ku- kaaku- ii- ir- 0- kirik- raar- ra.aar -i  
and there INDF NEG.POSS SUBJ.3A OBV 3.P eye PL hurt IMPF

,  
.  
.  
.  
.

akirarukutiwákah<sup>u</sup>

Aki raaruukutiwákaahu'  
And here she was just saying that  
a- ki raa- ruu- ku- ti- 0- waka -:hus  
and there just then INDF IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

. Akikutikiriwíšari

. Aki kutikiriwísaari'  
. And here she was deceiving  
. a- ki ku- ti- 0- kiriwis -aar -i  
. and there INDF IND.3A 3.A be.deceitful INCH IMPF

. Akikutíwiška

. Aki kutíwicka'  
. And here she wanted  
. a- ki ku- ti- 0- wicka -0  
. and there INDF IND.3A 3.A want PERF

atašawišpárikapīt<sup>a</sup>

aátaacawicpárika piíta  
that I examine you the man

aa- t- a- ica.wic.warik -a wiita . '
   
SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P examine SUB.1 man . '

Ahawakuštú<sup>u</sup> "
   
Ahawáku' Ctú'u' "
   
She said Witch : "
   
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 c.tu'u' , "
   
EV ABS 3.A say PERF witch , "

Náwaítik<sup>i</sup> ! ihi
   
Rawa i tíki ihi
   
Now and , son , uh ,
   
rawa i , tikis , ihii ,
   
now and , sonny , uh ,

kirikuirikúhəstakitət<sup>n</sup>
  
kíriku' iriikuúhastakitat
   
wherever your village is
   
kirikuu irii- kuur- ra- s- rak- itak -0
   
anything where DUB ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp PERF

,

,

,

,

irikuhasákarik<sup>u</sup>
  
iriikuhaasakárik<sup>u</sup>
  
wherever you have your home
   
irii- kuur- ra- s- akaar- ri- kus -0
   
where DUB ABS 2.A dwelling PORT be.sitting PERF

hikirikutihákawaəš ,

hi kíriku'  
 , and something  
 , hi kirikuu  
 , and anything

hikirikúihi  
 tihaákawa'ac hi  
 you must eat and  
 ti- 0- haakwahc -0 hi  
 IND.3A 3.A eat PERF and

ístar^t<sup>n</sup>  
 kíriku' ihi istárat  
 some , uh , you'll take it  
 kirikuu , ihii , i- s- raar- ra- at -0  
 anything , uh , CONT.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go PERF

, kirikúistarət<sup>n</sup>  
 . Kíriku' istárat  
 . You'll take some  
 . kirikuu i- s- raar- ra- at -0  
 . anything CONT.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT go PERF

tákask<sup>i</sup>  
 taákaski  
 dried meat  
 taakas -kis  
 dried.meat DIM

irikúhəstákaka . "  
 iriikuúhastáakaka . "  
 wherever your lodge is . "  
 irii- kuur- ra- s- rak- akaa -0 . "  
 where DUB ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling PERF . "



Ahawákupita <sup>a</sup>							“	nka <sup>a</sup>	!
Ahawáku’					piíta		“	Iíka’a	
He said					the man	:	“	Oh my	,
ar-	ra-	0-	waka’u	-0	wiita	,	"	iika’a	,
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	man	,	"	oh.my	,

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

atíka <sup>a</sup>		.	"
atíka’		.	"
grandma		.	"
ati-	kaa	.	"
1.POSS	grandmother	.	"

Nuwitipákspas <sup>a</sup>									,
Ruuwitipákspaasa									.
There her head was unkempt									.
ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	paks-	waasar	-0	.		.
there	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	head	be.bushy	PERF	.		.

áka <sup>a</sup>	!
Aáka’a	
Oh my	,
aaka’a	,
oh.my	,

ruwitipákspas <sup>a</sup>									,
ruuwitipákspaasa									.
there her head was unkempt									.

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

witiahapakstahkawíruwahu

witi'ahaapakstaahkawíruuwahu

as she ran her fingers through her hair

witi- ar- ra- 0- a- paks.raar.kawira.a -wa -hus  
 REFL EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A run.one's.fingers.through.the.hair DIST IMPF.SUB

šústít<sup>n</sup> . nka<sup>a</sup> !  
 cústit . líka'a  
 the old woman . Oh my ,  
 custit . iika'a ,  
 old.woman . oh.my ,

ruwituhkiriwistahkatusirúhkuk<sup>u</sup>

ruuwituhkiriwistaahkatuusirúhkuku'

then she was moving about bowing deceptively

ruu- wi- ti- 0- uur- kiriwis raar- katuus.iruhkuk -:hus  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.deceitful ITER go.down.flat.DIST IMPF

. " Tík<sup>i</sup> hawakikáruskət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 . " Tíki hawá kiikáruskat  
 . " Son , also early in the morning  
 . " tikis , haawa kiikarus -kat  
 . " sonny , also early.in.the.morning LOC

hawakuráku<sup>a</sup> .

hawá kuraáku'a .

also you must come .

haawa ku- ra- 0- a- ku- a -0 .  
 also INDF INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B come SUB.4 .

"

"  
"  
"  
"

Akikútirawikiriwískih<sup>u</sup>

Aki kutiraawikiriwískiihu'  
And here she was deceiving him  
a- ki ku- ti- 0- raa- awi- kiriwis.ki -:hus  
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A way image cheat IMPF

. Akikutíwiška  
. Aki kutíwicka' "  
. And here she thought : "  
. a- ki ku- ti- 0- wicka -0 , "  
. and there INDF IND.3A 3.A want PERF , "

ihi  
Ihi  
Uh ,  
ihii ,  
uh ,

kirakukustušihúrahuru  
kíra kukustuciihúrahuru'

let's see if I can do something to you  
kira ku- kuus- t- a- ut- i- uhur- rahur.ra'uk -0  
perhaps INDF POT.1/3A 1.A 2.P PREV SEQ now do.to PERF

, híihi ,  
hi ihi  
and , uh ,  
hi , ihii ,  
and , uh ,

iskútak<sup>u</sup> . "

iskúttaku' . "

you'll marry me . "

i- s- ku- aktaku -0 . "

CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P have.as.a.wife PERF . "

Ahawákupit<sup>a</sup> “

Ahawáku' piíta “

He said the man : “

ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , ”

EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , ”

Náwaatik<sup>a</sup>

Ráwa atíka'

Now , grandma ,

rawa , ati- kaa ,

now , 1.POSS grandmother ,

nikutátir<sup>a</sup> ,

rikutátiira' .

this is where I came .

riku- ta- t- ir- a -0 .

that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF .

iwirítuht<sup>a</sup> .

I wirítuhta .

And now I am going to go .

i wii- rii- t- uh -ta .

and now ASSR 1.A go.INT INT .

Iriwitúrahi ,

Iriwitúraahi ,

That is good

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

tiwiráskuraruh<sup>a</sup>

tiwiráskuraaruha

this you have given me

tii- wii- ra- s- ku- raar- uh -a ,  
 this now ABS 2.A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give SUB.1 ,

ihí tákask<sup>i</sup> . "  
 ihí taákaski . "  
 uh , dried meat . "  
 ihii , taakas -kis . "  
 uh , dried.meat DIM . "

Aahawášitit<sup>n</sup>

A ahaáwacitit . Pakus<sup>u</sup>  
 And he went outside . Pákuusu'  
 a ar- ra- 0- awacitik -0 . pakuus- -u'  
 and EV ABS 3.A go.out PERF . belly NOM

hítak<sup>u</sup>

hiítaku

over there

hii- -taku

other LOC

wítaruhk<sup>u</sup>

wítaruhku

hers sat

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

, nətík<sup>i</sup> ,

rattiiki  
her grandchild ,  
rak- tiikis ,  
grandchild sonny ,

híruahiwaku “  
hiru ahiwáku’ “  
then she said : “  
hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , ”  
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Kiistiwáta  
Ki’istiiwáta .  
Look .  
kii- i- s- riiwat.aar -0 .  
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A look.in.a.direction PERF .

kirahirukawíraæt<sup>n</sup> .  
Kíra hiru kawíra’at .  
See if he has gone .  
kira hiruu ka- wii- ra- 0- at -0 .  
perhaps then Y/N.INTER now ABS 3.A go PERF .

" Ahawáku pákus<sup>u</sup> , “  
" Ahawáku’ Pákuusu’ “  
" He said Belly : “  
" ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 pakuus- -u’ , ”  
" EV ABS 3.A say PERF belly NOM , ”

Atikahirupakuhtútiæt<sup>n</sup>  
Atíka’ hiru pakúhtu’ tí’at  
Grandma , there long ago he went  
ati- kaa , hiruu pakuht -u’ ti- 0- at -0  
1.POSS grandmother , there be.old NOM IND.3A 3.A go PERF

.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Akikišikututapitahótpit<sup>a</sup>

Aki	kici	kutuutapítaahat						piíta	
And here	but	he had turned around						the man	
a-	ki	kici	ku-	ti-	0-	ut-	apitaa.hak	-0	wiita
and	there	but	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	turn.around	PERF	man

iriwiahatkahariwirúniku

iriwi'ahatkahaariwiiruúniku

where he was now listening

irii-	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	itkahaar-	ri-	wi.itik	-ruu	-hus
where	now	EV	ABS	3.A	ear	PORT	sit.down	DIST	IMPF.SUB

. Hiruahiwákuštu <sup>u</sup>									“
. Hiru	ahiwáku'						Ctú'u'		“
. Then	she said						Witch	:	“
. hiruu	ar-	ri-		0-	waka'u	-0	c.tu'u'	,	"
. then	EV	CONT.3A		3.A	say	PERF	witch	,	"

óka <sup>a</sup>	!	kárəkskut <sup>u</sup>		,
Íika'a		cáراكskuutu'		
Oh my	,	a rotten, ornery person		
iika'a	,	icaraks	kuu'at	-u'
oh.my	,	be.mischievous	be.dead	NOM

tíharāt<sup>a</sup>

tihaaraáta

this one going

tii- haa- ra- 0- at -a .  
 this here ABS 3.A go SUB.1 .

Akihirikurikúšiksu

Aki hi rikuriikuúciksu'  
 And here and that is the one whom I want  
 a- ki hi riku- rii- ku- aciks -:hus  
 and there and that.is ASSR 1.P think.of IMPF

tírat<sup>a</sup> .

tíraata .

this one going .

tii- ra- 0- at -a .  
 this ABS 3.A go SUB.1 .

Akihirikurikúšiksu,

Aki hi rikuriikuúciksu'  
 And here and that is the one whom I want  
 a- ki hi riku- rii- ku- aciks -:hus  
 and there and that.is ASSR 1.P think.of IMPF

tírat<sup>a</sup> ,

tíraata

this one going

tii- ra- 0- at -a  
 this ABS 3.A go SUB.1

nəšakukušiwáštáruwahu,

racakukuuciwactaruúwahu

so that he might bring things for us

ra- 0- aca- a- ku- ku- ut- i- awahc- raar- ruu- wa- a -hus  
 INF.A 3.A IN.DU.P PREV.3A 1.P INF.B PREV SEQ even 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come IMPF.SUB

iriruráku<sup>u</sup> . "



iriiruurákuu'u . "  
 its being different things . "  
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u . "  
 that then INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D . "

Nətikiwituharikáahu

Rattiíki wituuhaarikaá'aahu'  
 Her grandchild she was telling him  
 rak- tiikis wi- ti- 0- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -:hus  
 grandchild sonny QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV tell.to IMPF

" Hau<sup>i</sup> !  
 " Haá'u'  
 : " Yes ,  
 , " haa'u' ,  
 , " yes ,

tiratárikut<sup>i</sup>

i tíraata ríkuti'  
 and this one going he is the one  
 i tii- tii- ra- 0- at -a riku- ti- 0- 0 -0  
 and this this ABS 3.A go SUB.1 that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF

Pitakáwaha<sup>u</sup> tírat<sup>a</sup> . "  
 piitakáwahaaru' tíraata . "  
 a lucky man this one . "  
 wiita kawahaar -u' tii- ra- 0- at -a . "  
 man be.fortunate NOM this ABS 3.A go SUB.1 . "

Nikuwitiwawakáhu

Rikuwitiwaawákaahu' Štu<sup>u</sup>  
 Those are the things she was saying Ctú'u'  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus c.tu'u'  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF witch

. Aahawákuštu<sup>u</sup> , “  
. A ahawáku’ Ctú’u’ “  
. And she said Witch : “  
. a ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 c.tu’u’ , “  
. and EV ABS 3.A say PERF witch , ”

Kasúširasikst<sup>a</sup>

Kaasúciraaciksta .

You must watch .

kaas- s- ut- i- raa.aciks.ta -0 .  
POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ watch PERF .

kirakusarahísa

Kira kúsaa’

ráhiisa

You’ll see if he comes

tomorrow

kira kuus- 0- a- a -0 ra- 0- a- hiis a -0  
perhaps POT.1/3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

. “ Hiruahíətpit<sup>a</sup> .

. “ Hiru ahí’at piíta .

. “ Then he went the man .

. “ hiruu ar- ri- 0- at -0 wiita .

. “ then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF man .

Hišiahuhuráwašitit<sup>n</sup> ,

Hici ahuuhuuráwacitit .

But she hurried outside .

hi.ci ar- ra- 0- uhuur- awacitik -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A quickly go.out PERF .

ikawáwa ! aháwari .

Iikawaáwaa’ aháwari’ .

Oh my , she went around !

iikawaawaa , ar- ra- 0- warii -:hus .  
 oh.my , EV ABS 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

Kukárawitišustit<sup>n</sup>

Kukárawiti' cústit  
 She was not an old woman  
 ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 custit  
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF old.woman

, ahúksušustit<sup>n</sup> .  
 ahúksu cústit .  
 as she had been an old woman .  
 ar- ra- 0- uks- 0 -u custit .  
 EV ABS 3.A AOR be SUB.D old.woman .

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

Pírakut<sup>u</sup>

Pírakuutu’  
 Rotten Child ,  
 piira- kuu’at -u’ ,  
 child be.dead NOM ,

kukarisiwáku

kukariisiwáku’  
 don't say anything  
 ku- kara- i- s- i- waka’u -0  
 INDF NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ say PERF

kíriku ,



kirakukašakuširáhurəs

Kíra kukaacakuuciraáhuras

Let's see if he can find a way for us

kira	ku-	ka-	ii-	0-	aca-	ku-	ut-	i-	raa-	huras	-0
perhaps	INDF	Y/N.INTER	SUBJ.3A	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	BEN	SEQ	way	find	PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .

Kirakašákurukiráwari

Kíra kaacakuuruukiraáwari'

Let's see if he'll provide for us

kira	ka-	ii-	0-	aca-	ku-	raa.ikiraa.warii	-.hus
perhaps	Y/N.INTER	SUBJ.3A	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	provide.for.DIST	IMPF

. "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

. ' "

Nikuwitiwawahúšust<sup>1t<sup>n</sup></sup>

Rikuwitiwaawákaahu'

Those are the things she was saying

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waa-	waka	-.hus	cústit
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF	the old woman
							custit
							old.woman

štu<sup>u</sup> , Štū<sup>u</sup> !  
Ctú'u' Ctú'u' .  
Witch , Witch !

c.tu'u' , c.tu'u' .  
 witch , witch .

Ahawakutikitatúhira<sup>a</sup>

Ahawaku' " Tíki tatuúhira'a  
 She said : " Son , I do it for you  
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " tikis , ta- t- a- ut- ri.raar -'  
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " sonny , IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN be.one's.intention.that.someone.do EX

tikarásirius<sup>u</sup>

tikaraásirii'uusu  
 since you do not know how  
 tii- ka- ra- s- i- rii'uus -u  
 when NEG ABS 2.A SEQ know.how SUB.D

tirəstirátaraha

tirastiraáttaraaha  
 this bow and arrows you have  
 tii- ra- s- tiraak- raar- raah -a  
 this ABS 2.A bow PL have SUB.1

nakutirákaruku

rakutiraákaruku  
 to make bows  
 ra- 0- ku- tiraak- ka.ra'uk -hus  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B bow make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

arakuníkskaruku

a rakuríkskaruku ,  
 and to make arrows .  
 a ra- 0- ku- riiks- ka.ra'uk -hus .  
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B arrow make.PL.P IMPF.SUB .

hau<sup>i</sup>

Haá'u' i  
 Yes , and  
 haa'u' i  
 yes , and

kusušinikskawákaruku  
 kusuucirikskawaákaruuku'  
 he will make arrows for you  
 kuus- 0- a- ut- i- riiks- kawaaka.ra'uk -:hus  
 POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ arrow make.DIST IMPF

akusušitirakawákaruk<sup>u</sup>  
 a kusuucitiraakawaákaruuku'  
 and he will make bows for you  
 a kuus- 0- a- ut- i- tiraak- kawaaka.ra'uk -:hus  
 and POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ bow make.DIST IMPF

. í turíruši  
 . Uu turíruhci'  
 . Oh , he is powerful !  
 . uu , ti- 0- uur- riruhci -0 .  
 . be , IND.3A 3.A PREV be.powerful PERF .

tirusiskítaw<sup>i</sup>  
 Tirii'uusiskítawi'  
 He is highly knowledgeable  
 ti- 0- rii'uus -his kita.wi -0  
 IND.3A 3.A be.knowledgeable PERF be.the.leader PERF

tiharatápit<sup>a</sup> ihi  
 tihaaraáta piíta . Ihi  
 this one going man . Uh ,  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- at -a wiita . ihii ,  
 this here ABS 3.A go SUB.1 man . uh ,

sitihísask<sup>u</sup>  
 sitiihísaasku'  
 they call him  
 si- ti- 0- ir- hisaask -:hus  
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A call.by.name IMPF

Pitakáwahar<sup>u</sup> . "  
 Piitakáwahaaru' . "  
 Lucky Man . "  
 wiita kawahaar -u' . "  
 man be.fortunate NOM . "

Nikuwitiwawákahuštu<sup>u</sup>  
 Rikuwitiwaawákaahu' Ctú'u'  
 Those things are what she was saying Witch  
 riku- wi- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus c.tu'u'  
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF witch

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Hiruwítahwaku  
 Hiru witaahwáku'  
 Then he would say  
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

Pakustáariit<sup>n</sup> , " Iatík<sup>a</sup>  
 Pakustáariit' " I atíka'  
 Scorched Belly : " And , grandma



pakuus- tararit , " i , ati- kaa  
 belly be.burned , " and , 1.POSS grandmother

íka<sup>a</sup> !  
 iíka'a  
 , oh my ,  
 , iika'a ,  
 , oh.my ,

iriwiruhitiratapīta

iriwirúhi							tíraata						piíta
that one is good looking							this one going						man
irii- wii- ra- 0- uur- hiir -0							tii- ra- 0- at -a						wiita
that now ABS 3.A PREV be.good PERF							this ABS 3.A go SUB.1						man

. íka<sup>a</sup> ! atíka  
 . Iíka'a atíka'  
 . Oh my , grandma ,  
 . iika'a , ati- kaa ,  
 . oh.my , 1.POSS grandmother ,

rarawášurah<sup>a</sup>

raraawácuuraaha

the quiver he has

ra- 0- raawacuu- raah -a
ABS 3.A quiver have SUB.1

rutírariks								, íka <sup>a</sup>
ruutiíraariks								iíka'a
it is real								, oh my
ruu- 0- ti- 0- i- raariks -0								, iika'a
then 3.A IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.true PERF								, oh.my

! pakstítkukiš . nka<sup>a</sup> !

, pakstítkukic . Ííka'a  
 , mountain lion ! Oh my ,  
 , paks- ritku- kii'ac . iika'a ,  
 , head tail be.long . oh.my ,

iriwitirawašukítaw<sup>i</sup> .  
 iriwitiraawacuukítaw<sup>i</sup> .  
 that is the finest quiver .  
 irii- wi- ti- 0- raawacuu- kita.wi -0 .  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A quiver be.the.leader PERF .

" " ū ! kárakskuə<sup>n</sup>  
 " " Uu cárakskuu'at  
 " " Oh , ornery thing ,  
 " " uu , icaraks kuu'at ,  
 " " be , be.mischievous be.dead ,

skarakarastawašuráhist<sup>a</sup>  
 ckára karastaawacuuraáhist<sup>a</sup>  
 alone you are not going to have a quiver  
 ckara ka- ra- s- raawacuu- raah -his -ta  
 alone NEG ABS 2.A quiver have PERF INT

akusarawášu<sup>u</sup> ,  
 a kusaaraawácuu'u ,  
 and he might give you the quiver ,  
 a kuus- 0- a- ar- raawacuu- uh -0 ,  
 and POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P EV quiver give PERF ,

tík<sup>i</sup> . "  
 tíki . "  
 son . "  
 tikis . "  
 sonny . "

Nikuwitiwawakáhustu<sup>u</sup>

Rikuwitiwaawákaahu'

That is what she was saying

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waa-	waka	-:hus	
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF	c.tu'u'
							witch

Ctú'u'

Witch

.	Náwa <sup>a</sup>	,	wirahwákupīt <sup>a</sup>				
.	Ráwa		wiraahwáku'				piíta
.	Now	,	now he said over there				the man
.	rawa	,	wii- ra- 0- ar- waka'u	-0			wiita
.	now	,	now ABS 3.A EV say	PERF			man

wirawířat<sup>a</sup>

wiraahwícata

when he arrived

wii-	ra-	0-	ar-	wic.at	-a	:	"	nka <sup>a</sup>	!
when	ABS	3.A	EV	arrive	SUB.1	,	"	Íka'a	
							"	Oh my	,
							"	iika'a	,
							"	oh.my	,

takaskitíkuraru

taákaski

dried meat

taakas

dried.meat

tikuráru

she gave me

-kis	ti-	0-	ku-	raar-	uh	-0
DIM	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	3PL.INAN.P	give	PERF

natákurakarikuřust<sup>it<sup>n</sup></sup>

rátaku

there

raakáriku

the one having a home

cústit

old woman

ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0	ra-	0-	akaar-	ri-	kus	-0	custit
ABS	3.A	be.hanging	be.sitting	SUB.4	ABS	3.A	dwelling	PORT	be.sitting	SUB.4	old.woman

. " áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 . Aáka'a  
 . Oh my ,  
 . aaka'a ,  
 . oh.my ,

karawitásirisikstihu<sup>u</sup> .  
 karawitáciriicikstiihu'u .  
 we must be very thankful !  
 kara- wii- ta- aciir- i- aciks.tiihur -' .  
 NEG now IND.1/2A IN.DU.A SEQ be.thankful EX .

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

iahatúrut<sup>a</sup> ,  
 i'ahaatúruuta  
 that camp  
 ii- ar- ra- 0- ituur- u.at -a  
 that EV ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.1

ahatúrut<sup>a</sup>  
 ahaatúruuta  
 where the camp extended  
 ar- ra- 0- ituur- u.at -a  
 EV ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.1

hiruahiwáku ,

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

ahatúrut<sup>a</sup> , “ Náw<sup>a</sup>  
ahaatúruuta , “ Ráwa  
where the camp extended : “ Now  
ar- ra- 0- ituur- u.at -a , " rawa  
EV ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.1 , " now

,

širuwititasirátikahist<sup>a</sup>

ciru witiiraattikaáhist<sup>a</sup>  
yet you are going to bring it  
ciruu witi- ta- s- ir- rak- ri- kaa.a -his -ta  
yet REFL IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL PORT come.out PERF INT

,

.

.

.

.

širuwititasirátikahist<sup>a</sup>

Ciru witiiraattikaáhist<sup>a</sup>  
Yet you are going to bring it  
ciruu witi- ta- s- ir- rak- ri- kaa.a -his -ta  
yet REFL IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL PORT come.out PERF INT

. " Hiruahiwákušust<sup>tn</sup>  
. " Hiru ahiwáku' cústit  
. " Then she said old woman  
. " hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 custit  
. " then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF old.woman

tisirakarikupákus<sup>u</sup>

tisiraakáriku

this one having a home with him

Pákuusu'

Belly

tii- si- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0 pakuus- -u'  
this DU ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4 belly NOM

" Tik<sup>i</sup> , tik<sup>i</sup> , ihi  
" Tíki , tíki , ihi  
: " Son , son , uh ,  
, " tikis , tikis , ihii ,  
, " sonny , sonny , uh ,

kasišíksuhurakširəs<sup>a</sup>

kasiiciksuhuurakcírasa'

you must at last bring them

kaas- s- ir- ut- i- uks- uhur- rak- ciras- a -0  
POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ JUSS finally 1/2.PL COM come PERF

hirúihi , ásas píra<sup>u</sup> .  
hiru ihi , ásas píira'u' . "  
there uh , your mothers children ! "

hiruu ihii , a- sas piira -u' . "  
 there uh , 2.POSS mother child NOM . "

Kukuháhara<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Kukuhaáhaara'a .  
 Perhaps they were her children .  
 ku- kuur- ra- 0- a- haa- raar- 0 -' .  
 INDF DUB ABS 3.A POSS.3A child PL be EX .

kuwitáhara<sup>a</sup>  
 Kuwitáhaara'a  
 They were her offspring  
 ku- wi- ti- 0- a- haa- raar- 0 -'  
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A child PL be EX

, píra<sup>u</sup> "  
 piíra'u' . "  
 children . "  
 piira -u' . "  
 child NOM . "

Sikasišiksuhurakšírəs<sup>a</sup>  
 Sikasiiciksuhurakcírasa'  
 You must bring them at last  
 si- kaas- s- ir- ut- i- uks- uhur- rak- ciras- a -0  
 DU POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ JUSS finally 1/2.PL COM come PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Tihatakukusuksúhurarirət<sup>n</sup>

Tihaátaku										
Right here										
tii- haa- -taku	kuus-	0-	uks-	uhur-	raar-	ri.ra.at	-0			
here here LOC	POT.1/3A	3.A	JUSS	awhile	PL.INDV.A	stop.to.camp	PERF			

. Širúihi ,  
. Ciru ihi  
! Yet , uh ,  
. ciruu , ihii ,  
. yet , uh ,

širutahawíhuht <sup>a</sup>									
ciru tahaawíhuhta									
yet I am going to go hunting									
ciruu ta- t- raawiir- uh -ta									
yet IND.1/2A 1.A angrily go.INT INT									

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

pakus <sup>u</sup>	
Pákuusu'	
Belly	
pakuus- -u'	
belly NOM	

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

ikústušikurət <sup>n</sup>								
i kustuciíkurat								
and I will go after them								
i kuus- t- ut- i- ak- huur.ra.at -0								
and POT.1/3A 1.A PREV SEQ PL.AN.3P go.to.get PERF								



.	"	"	Širútiki <sup>i</sup>					
.	"	"	Ciru	tíki				
.	"	"	Yet	,	son,	,		
.	"	"	ciruu	,	tikis	,		
.	"	"	yet	,	sonny	,		

tatutašiksarista<sup>a</sup> ,  
tatuutaciksárista  
I am going to do it  
ta- t- ut- aciks- aar -his -ta  
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mind do PERF INT

irírətutasiksu<sup>a</sup>.  
iriíratuutaciksuu'a  
the way I am inclined  
irii- ra- t- ut- aciks- uu -a  
that ABS 1.A PREV mind be SUB.1

Irírətutasiksparukstiuki<sup>i</sup> .  
iriíratuutacikspaarukstii'uuki .  
the ways I am feeling holy .  
irii- ra- t- ut- aciks- waarukstii uk -i .  
that ABS 1.A PREV mind be.holy be SUB.2 .

" Nikuwitiwákuštu<sup>u</sup> .  
" Rikuwitiwáku' Ctú'u' .  
" That is what she said Witch .  
" riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0 c.tu'u' .  
" that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF witch .

Náwa , híruahiət<sup>n</sup> ,  
Ráwa hiru ahí'at  
Now then she went

rawa	hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0
now	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF

kišihiwitirikáah<sup>u</sup>

kici	hi	wiwitiirikaá'aahu'							
but	and	she was bringing back meat							
kici	hi	wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri.kaa.a	-:hus
but	and	now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	bring.meat.home	IMPF

,  
,  
,  
,

hikišiahutatširəspišapírəski<sup>i</sup>

hi	kici	ahuutaccíraspica'									piíraski	
and	but	he arrived with them									the boy	
hi	kici	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ut-	ak-	ciras-	wic.a	-0	piiras-	-kis
and	but	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	PLAN.3P	COM	arrive	PERF	boy	DIM

	kuhiráhwarit <sup>n</sup>	.	Náwa	,			
.	Kuuhiráhwarit	.	Ráwa				
.	She sent him	.	Now				
.	kuur-	ri-	0-	raar.warik	-0	.	rawa
.	DUB	CONT.3A	3.A	send	PERF	.	now

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

Karaisiriapáruhit<sup>n</sup>

Kára'isirii'a							páruhit
If you do not come							soon
kara-	i-	s-	ir-	i-	a	-0	paruhit
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	SEQ	come	SUB.4	quickly

kustírawirət <sup>n</sup>							. "	Náwa	,
kustíraawiirat							. "	Rawa	
I will go hunting							. "	Now	,
kuus-	t-	i-	raawiir-	at	-0	. "	rawa	,	
POT.1/3A	1.A	SEQ	angrily	go	PERF	. "	now	,	

hiruahiwákupirəsk <sup>i</sup>									,
hiru	ahiwáku'						piíraski		
then	he said						the boy	:	
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	piiras-	-kis	,	
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	boy	DIM	,	

"	Náwa	,	"
"	Ráwa	,	"
"	Now	,	"
"	rawa	,	"
"	now	,	"

piraúaharuhwih <sup>^t</sup> <sup>n</sup>									
piíra'u'					aharúhwihat				
children					the ones he had				
piira	-u'	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-0
child	NOM	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4

"
"
,
"
,
"
,

Witatuksuhurápusta

witatuksuhuuraápusta

we are to go there awhile

wii- ta- t- uks- uhur- rak- wuu -:hus -ta  
now IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF INT

ihí atíra ,  
ihí atíra'  
, uh , my mother ,  
, ihii , ati- raa ,  
, uh , 1.POSS mother ,

iriatikarakárik<sup>u</sup>

irii atíka' raakáriku  
where my grandmother her having a home  
irii ati- kaa ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0  
where 1.POSS grandmother ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

. Irísiratakarik<sup>u</sup>

. Iriisiraatakáriku

. Where she and I have a home

. irii- si- ra- t- akaar- ri- kus -0  
. where DU ABS 1.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

witatuksuhurápust<sup>a</sup>

witatuksuhuuraápusta

we are now going to go there awhile

wii- ta- t- uks- uhur- rak- wuu -:hus -ta  
now IND.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF INT

hiitüksuhúrapih<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup>

hi itüksuhuúraapihat

and we'll stay awhile

hi i- t- uks- uhur- rak- wi.hak -0  
 and CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS awhile 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL PERF

.  
 .  
 !  
 .  
 .

Atikawitirawíhuht<sup>a</sup>

Atíka' witiraawíhuhta  
 My grandmother she is going to go hunting  
 ati- kaa wii- ti- 0- raawiir- uh -ta  
 1.POSS grandmother now IND.3A 3.A angrily go.INT INT

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

,

pírauirikarahirirarítis<sup>it<sup>n</sup></sup>

piíra'u' iriikaraahiriiraaríttisit  
 children the ones who were youngest  
 piira -u' irii- kara- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- raariktis -ik -0  
 child NOM that NEG EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.older DIST PERF

. " Náw<sup>a</sup> , ihíru

“ Ráwa i híru’ .  
: “ Now and go on !  
, " rawa i hiru’ .  
, " now and go.on .

kustárapu . " Náw<sup>a</sup>  
Kustaáraapu’ . " Ráwa  
We will go there . " Now  
kuus- t- ar- rak- wuu -:hus . " rawa  
POT.1/3A 1.A EV 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF . " now

, hiruaháah<sup>u</sup> ,  
hiru ahaá’aahu’  
, then they were coming  
, hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- a -:hus  
, then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF

hikišiwiahahuhtáriwis<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup>  
hi kici wi’ahaahuhtáriwisat  
and but they had already gone by  
hi kici wii- ar- ra- 0- uhur- ta.ri.wis.at -0  
and but now EV ABS 3.A finally move.off PERF

, wítiahírət<sup>a</sup> .  
witi’ahiírata .  
when they had taken themselves .  
witi- ar- ra- 0- ir- ra- at -a .  
REFL EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT go SUB.1 .

Ikawáwa !  
Iikawaáwaa’  
My goodness ,  
iikawaawaa ,  
oh.my ,

tiahutəsúh<sup>^t</sup>n

ti'ahuutasuúhat

here where they were around

tii- ar- ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0  
here EV ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4

táraha , witikihahwítik<sup>u</sup>

táraha' witikiihaahwiítiku'

buffalos the group was sitting down

tarahaa wii- ti- 0- kiihaar- wi.itik -:hus  
buffalo now IND.3A 3.A in.a.group sit.down IMPF

ahakihahkitawítik<sup>u</sup>

. Ahakiihaahkitawíitiku' .

. The group sat down on a hill .

. ar- ra- 0- kiihaar- kita- wi.itik -:hus .  
. EV ABS 3.A in.a.group on.top sit.down IMPF .

ahatatatírisət<sup>n</sup> .

Ahatatatiirisat .

The men went in groups .

ar- ra- 0- tatatiir.his- iis.at -0 .  
EV ABS 3.A gathered.together go.out.of.sight PERF .

Hikišišúst<sup>t</sup>n

tirāt<sup>a</sup>

Hi kici cústit tíraata

And but old woman this one going

hi kici custit tii- ra- 0- at -a  
and but old.woman this ABS 3.A go SUB.1

aháwišət<sup>n</sup> , “

aháwicat . “

she arrived . “

ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 . "  
 EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF . "

Arutəšúh<sup>t</sup>n

Aa ruutasuúhat ,  
 Ah , you sitting around ,  
 aa , ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0 ,  
 ah , ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4 ,

wirarutasaruširakasúh<sup>t</sup>n

wiraaruutasaruciraakasuúhat

now you are merely sitting around

wii- raa- ruu- ta- s- ar- ut- i- rak- as.uu.hak -0  
 now just then IND.1/2A 2.A EV PREV SEQ 1/2.PL be.sitting.around PERF

, hirutasirápak<sup>i</sup> ,  
 . Hiru tasiraápak<sup>i</sup>  
 . Then you always say :  
 . hiruu ta- s- i- rak- waki -0 ,  
 . then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL say.PL PERF ,

ašúst<sup>t</sup>n

' Aa cústit ,  
 ' Ah , old woman ,  
 ' aa , custit ,  
 ' ah , old.woman ,

kakikirikunóskuwak<sup>a</sup>

kaaki'

kíriku' ráskuwaaka

you are

not able to say anything

kaaki- 0- 0 -0 kirikuu ra- s- ku- waak -a  
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF anything INF.A 2.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1

, hā !



. ' Haa  
 . ' Ha ,  
 . ' haa ,  
 . ' ha ,

rarawáhæt<sup>n</sup>

raaraahwaáhat

the ones yonder

ra- 0- ar- raar- waa- hak -0 ,  
 ABS 3.A EV PL.INDV.A DIST pass.by SUB.4 ,

asitirətariwirikisasúhuri<sup>i</sup>

a sitiirattariwiríkisa'

and you should drive them (buffalos)

a si- i- t- ir- rak- raar- ri- wirikis.a -0 suúhuri'  
 and DU CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P PORT bring.back.a.load PERF over.here

, náhtak<sup>u</sup> , hā  
 raáhtaku Haa  
 over yonder Ha  
 ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0 haa  
 ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 ha

!

,  
 ,  
 ,

askuarutušísuhæt<sup>n</sup>

ásku a ruutucísuuhat

one and those sitting around

asku a ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- as.uu.hak -0  
 one and that IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be.sitting.around SUB.4

,	irisiráku					,	tíihi	
	iriisíraaku						ti	ihi
	where they (du) sit						this	uh
	irii-	si-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	tii	ihii
	where	DU	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	this	uh

,	sáwus				áihi			
	ksáwus				a		ihi	
,	hand raiser				and	,	uh	,
,	iks-	a.wuu			-hus	a	,	ihii
,	hand	go.in.a.line.IMPF			IMPF.SUB	and	,	uh

rariwətiku  
rariwattiku  
the one who cries out

ra-	0-	ar-	i-	wak.tik	-hus	,
ABS	3.A	EV	SEQ	cry.out	IMPF.SUB	,

narawiríhkus .  
raraawiiríhkus . "

the one who holds the hunters . "

ra-	0	raawiir-	rih.kus	-0	.	"
ABS	be	angrily	hold.DIST	SUB.4	.	"

áka<sup>a</sup> !  
Aáka'a  
Oh my ,  
aaka'a ,  
oh.my ,

iriruwítuš<sup>i</sup> ,  
iriruwítuci'  
then that was

irii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- 0 -0  
 that then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

híahirəs

hi ahíiras  
 and they ran

hi ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- as-i -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV run PERF

naripákus<sup>u</sup>

raaripákusu'

the soldiers

raa- ri.apak -hus -u'  
 way oppose.relinquishing IMPF.SUB NOM

witiahihkarúku

witi'ahihkarúku

when they imitated them

witi- ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.ra'uk -hus  
 REFL EV ABS 3.A PL.3A make.PL.P IMPF.SUB

asíahirətariwiša

a si'ahirattariwiša'

and they drove them towards it

a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ak- raar- ri- wiic.a -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P PORT approach PERF

, iríhi

irí ihí  
 where , uh ,  
 irii , ihii ,  
 where , uh ,

ahakúksawus

ahaáku						ksáwus				
his sitting						the hand raiser				
ar-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	iks-	a.wuu			-hus	
EV	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	PERF	hand	go.in.a.line.IMPF			IMPF.SUB	

.  
.
  
.
  
.
  
.

Hikišiwiraruahuširahkataíwari

Hi kici wiraaruu'ahuciirahkataíwari'

And but now she was just going back and forth in front of them

hi	kici	wii-	raa-	ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	irahkata-	-wi	warii		-:hus
and	but	now	just	then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	in.front	SUB.L	be.going.about.IMPF		IMPF

, witiwátikuštu<sup>u</sup>

. Witiwátiiiku' Ctú'u' .

. She was crying out Witch .

. wii- ti- 0- wak.tik -:hus c.tu'u' .

. now IND.3A 3.A cry.out IMPF witch .

Štuuwitutapa watikúrahur<sup>u</sup>

Ctú'u' wituutapaawáttiku'

Witch she was talking to them

rahuúru'

the hunters

c.tu'u'	wii-	ti-	0-	ut-	ak-		waa.wak.tik	-:hus	rahuur-	-u'
witch	now	IND.3A	3.A	BEN	PL.AN.3P	talk		IMPF	carrying	NOM

. Ahíhwaki , náwa<sup>a</sup>

. Ahíhwaki' " Ráwa

. They said : " Now

. ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa

. EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now

, náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 ráwa  
 , now  
 , rawa  
 , now

wiráriksuət<sup>n</sup> “  
 wiraáriksu’at .  
 he is pointing (to them) .  
 wii- ra- 0- ar- iks- u.at -0 .  
 now ABS 3.A EV hand extend.in.a.line PERF .

Náw<sup>a</sup> , títak<sup>u</sup>  
 Ráwa , tiítaku  
 Now , here  
 rawa , tii- -taku  
 now , here LOC

kúsarakíharət<sup>n</sup>  
 kusaaraakiíhaarat  
 a group of you must go ,  
 kuus- 0- a- ar- rak- kiihaar- at -0 ,  
 POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P EV 1/2.PL in.a.group go PERF ,

ihi kítāpət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 ihi kítaapat  
 uh , the otter  
 ihii , kitaapat  
 uh , otter

tihataruhuratúhka<sup>u</sup>  
 tihaattaaruuuratúhka’a  
 they’ll follow it

tiir-	ra-	0-	a-	ak-	raar-	uhuur-	hatuhka-	a	-0
INFR	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.P	way	behind	come	PERF

	ih		tarahĩkĩtu <sup>u</sup>			.	"
	ih		tarahihkĩtuu'u'			.	"
,	uh	,	a whole buffalo			.	"
,	ihii	,	tarahaa	iit-	kituu	-u'	"
,	uh	,	buffalo	body	all	NOM	"

Iriahaksawu

Irii'ahaaksawu

The one who was pointing

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	iks-	a.wuu	-hus	:
that	EV	ABS	3.A	hand	go.in.a.line.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	,

" Tĩtak<sup>u</sup>

" Tiitaku

" Here

" tii- -taku

" here LOC

kusarakĩharət<sup>n</sup>

kusaaraakiĩhaarat

a group of you must go

kuus-	0-	a-	ar-	rak-	kiihaar-	at	-0
POT.1/3A	3.A	2.P	EV	1/2.PL	in.a.group	go	PERF

paksiškáriwir<sup>u</sup>

paksickáriwiru'

a bobcat

paks-	icka-	riwiruu
head	face	be.round

hirihataruhuratúhka<sup>a</sup>

hi riihaattaruuuratúhka'a  
and they'll follow it  
hi rii- ar- ra- 0- a- ak- raar- uhuur- hatuhka- a -0  
and that EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P way behind come PERF

tárahikítu<sup>u</sup> .  
tarahihítuu'u' . "  
a whole buffalo . "  
tarahaa iit- kituu -u' . "  
buffalo body all NOM . "

Hikišiwiraruahuširahkataíwari

Hi kici wiraaruu'ahuciirahkataíwari'  
And but now she was just going about in front (of) them  
hi kici wii- raa- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ut- i- irahkata- -wi warii -:hus  
and but now just then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ in.front SUB.L be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

Štu<sup>u</sup> , akawáwa ,  
Ctú'u' . Aakawaáwaa'  
Witch . My goodness ,  
c.tu'u' . aakawaawaa ,  
witch . my.goodness ,

nuwitikaritarawítak<sup>a</sup>

ruuwitikarittaaarawítahka  
then she ran exposing her vulva  
ruu- wii- ti- 0- kariktaar- awi.taahka -0  
then now IND.3A 3.A vulva be.partially.visible PERF

, íka<sup>a</sup> !  
. líka'a  
. Oh my ,  
. iika'a ,  
. oh.my ,

iriahukikúrahus , “  
 irií’ahuuki kúrahus “  
 those who were there old men : “  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- 0 -uk -i kurahuus , “  
 that EV ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2 old.man , ”

Iriirasutkúsihuru<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Iriirasutkusiihúruu’a  
 As fast as you are running ,  
 irii- ra- s- ut- kusiihuur- uu -a ,  
 what ABS 2.A PREV running be SUB.1 ,

nakurihtáwa  
 raakurihtáwaa  
 pull up your skirt  
 ra- 0- a- a- ku- ri- uur- ta.a -0  
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A come.up SUB.3

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Sitiratiwiáhist<sup>a</sup>  
 Sitiirattiwii’aáhistá  
 They are going to drive them  
 si- ti- 0- a- ir- ak- ri- awii.a -his -ta  
 DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT jump.down PERF INT

súhūri . “ Náw<sup>a</sup> ,  
 suúhuri’ . “ Ráwa  
 this way . “ Now



suuhuri' . " rawa  
 over.here . " now

wirakiháhwa .  
 wiraahkiihaáhwa .  
 the groups went off .  
 wii- ra- 0- ar- kiihaar- war -0 .  
 now ABS 3.A EV in.a.group go.DU PERF .

Hirúahakihah<sup>n</sup> ,  
 Hiru ahakiíhaahat  
 Then a group passed by  
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- kiihaar- hak -0  
 then EV ABS 3.A in.a.group pass.by PERF

hísuhurisiahirətara  
 hi suúhuri' si'ahiirattaára'  
 and this way they drove them  
 hi suuhuri' si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ak- raar- ra- a -0  
 and over.here DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PL.INDV.P PORT come PERF

, tárah<sup>a</sup> . Hikišišústit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 táraha' . Hi kici cústit  
 the buffalo . And but the old woman  
 tarahaa . hi kici custit  
 buffalo . and but old.woman

kuhúhawiuataraha  
 kúhuuhahwí'uu'a táraha'  
 when they turned that way the buffalo  
 kuur- ra- 0- ut- raar- wi.uu -aar -0 tarahaa  
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.facing INCH PERF buffalo

hikisiirikuruhikukstákut<sup>n</sup>

hi kici irikuruuhikukstákut  
 and but thereupon she ran away (from them)  
 hi kici irii- kuruur- ri- 0- kuks.takuk -0  
 and but then DUB CONT.3A 3.A run.away PERF

iriahatúruh<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 irii'ahaatúruuhat  
 where the village was  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ituur- u.hak -0  
 where EV ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.4

šústít<sup>n</sup> . Kuháwišk<sup>a</sup>  
 cústit . Kuuháwicka'  
 the old woman . She thought : "  
 custit . kuur- ra- 0- wicka -0 , "  
 old.woman . DUB ABS 3.A think PERF , "

tíkari táraha  
 Tíkari' táraha' .  
 There are many buffalos .  
 ti- 0- kari -0 tarahaa .  
 IND.3A 3.A be.numerous PERF buffalo .

kusítikuwiriwist<sup>a</sup>  
 Kusítikuwiriwista  
 Perhaps they are going to run into me  
 ku- si- ti- 0- ir- ku- awi.ri.wuh -wi -his -ta  
 INDF DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P run.into SUB.L PERF INT

. "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "  
 . "

Aahakukstákut<sup>n</sup> .  
 A ahakukstákut .  
 And she ran away .  
 a ar- ra- 0- kuks.takuk -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A run.away PERF .

Kišihiwirúwitiwiš<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 Kici hi wiruuwitíwícat  
 But and whereupon she arrived  
 kici hi wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- wic.at -0  
 but and when then QUOT IND.3A 3.A arrive PERF

, iriahatúhtih<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 irii'ahaatúhtiihat  
 where the village ended  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ituur- tiihak -0  
 where EV ABS 3.A village be.the.end SUB.4

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

Wisitirət<sup>n</sup> titawiráwa  
 Wisitiirattitawiraáwaa'  
 Now they are driving them down  
 wii- si- ti- 0- a- ir- ak- ri- tawiraa.a -wa -0  
 now DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PL.AN.3P PORT come.down DIST PERF

táraha . " <sup>n</sup>kawáwa štu<sup>u</sup>  
 táraha' . " iikawaáwaa' Ctú'u'  
 the buffalo . " My goodness , Witch

tarahaa . " iikawaawaa , c.tu'u'  
 buffalo . " oh.my , witch

rawitíwari ,  
 raawitíwari'  
 she was just going about  
 raa- wi- ti- 0- warii -:hus  
 just QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

ahatúrut<sup>a</sup> , "  
 ahaatúruuta . "  
 where the village was . "  
 ar- ra- 0- ituur- u.at -a . "  
 EV ABS 3.A village extend.in.a.line SUB.1 . "

Hikúrahus  
 Hi kúrahus  
 And , old men ,  
 hi , kurahuus ,  
 and , old.man ,

kuhastakáiwahət<sup>n</sup>  
 kuuhastakaa'íwaahat  
 you must be sitting inside  
 kuur- ra- s- rak- kaa- wi.hak -waa -0  
 DUB ABS 2.A 1/2.PL inside be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

,  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

nakuhakarúwat<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

Rakuuhaahkarúwatat

You should get out

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	raar-	kawatak	-ruu	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	BEN	PL.INDV.A	get.out	DIST	SUB.4

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Hawisirirətitawiráwa

Haawisiriirattitawiraáwaa'

There they drive them down

haa-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ak-	ri-	tawiraa.a	-wa	-0
here	now	DU	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	come.down	DIST	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Akihihirurikuahúksar<sup>t</sup>n

Aki                    hi    hiru    riku'ahúksarit  
And here            and   there   that is where she stood

a-	ki	hi	hiruu	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	uks-	arik	-0
and	there	and	there	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	AOR	be.standing	PERF

,

iriahukskíhahk<sup>u</sup> .  
 irii'ahukskiíhaahku .  
 where the group was .  
 irii- ar- ra- 0- uks- kiihaar- kus -0 .  
 where EV ABS 3.A AOR in.a.group be.sitting SUB.4 .

Hiahutkuksirikaráh<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup> .  
 Hi ahutkuksirikaraáhat .  
 And she turned and fled .  
 hi ar- ra- 0- ut- kuks- irikaraa.hak -0 .  
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV fleeing turn.around PERF .

nka<sup>a</sup> !  
 líka'a  
 Oh my ,  
 iika'a ,  
 oh.my ,

tihasiahirúhirara  
 tihaasi'ahiruuhiraára'  
 here they (du) chased it  
 tii- haa- si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- ri.raar.a -0  
 here here DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV chase PERF

, pířask<sup>i</sup> ,  
 piíraski .  
 boys .  
 piiras- -kis .  
 boy DIM .

tihasiahihwirarákiwik<sup>u</sup>  
 Tihaasi'ahihwíraaraa'  
 Here they (du) attacked it

kíwiiku'  
 a buffalo bull

tii-	haa-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	wiraar-	ra-	a	-0	kiwiik	-u'
here	here	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	angrily	PORT	come	PERF	buffalo.bull	NOM

, hikúškahiku  
 Híkuckaahiiku'  
 . An old bull  
 hikuc kaahik -u'  
 old.buffalo.bull aged NOM

akíkut<sup>i</sup> .  
 aki kutí' .  
 and here it was .  
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- 0 -0 .  
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Iriuahituhtíh<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup> ,  
 Iriiruu'ahiituhtíhat  
 There where the end of the village was  
 irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ituur- tiihak -0  
 where there EV ABS 3.A village be.the.end SUB.4

hisiahikútit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 hi si'ahikuútit  
 and they (du) killed it  
 hi si- ar- ri- 0- kuut.ik -0  
 and DU EV CONT.3A 3.A kill PERF

kíwik<sup>u</sup> . áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 kíwiiku' . Aáka'a  
 a buffalo bull . Oh my ,  
 kiwiik -u' . aaka'a ,  
 buffalo.bull NOM . oh.my ,

áhaawišət šúst<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup> .

áhawicat					cústit	.
she arrived					the old woman	.
ar-	ra-	0-	wic.at	-0	custit	.
EV	ABS	3.A	arrive	PERF	old.woman	.

Wisiwitirisawiríkisp<sup>a</sup>

Wisiwitiriicawirikíspaa'

They were removing the hide

wii-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ra.icawirikis.a	-0
now	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	move.along.a.surface	PERF

,  
.  
.  
.  
.

sikuhihpakuškúskiwik<sup>u</sup>

Sikuúhihpaakuckus

They set it on its belly

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	pakuus-	kus.k	-0	kiwiik	-u'
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	belly	put	PERF	buffalo.bull	NOM

.	Kúrahus	a	pirəskiríripəšk <sup>i</sup>
.	Kúrahus	a	piiraskiripacki
.	Old men	and	small boys
.	kurahuus	a	piiras- kiripac -kis
.	old.man	and	boy small DIM

sikuhirišawirikispari

sikuuhiriicawirikíspari'

they were removing the hide

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ra.icawirikis.warii	-:hus
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	move.along.a.surface.DIST	IMPF



hišústit<sup>n</sup> aháwiš<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup> ,  
 hi cústit aháwicat .  
 and the old woman she arrived .  
 hi custit ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 .  
 and old.woman EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF .

ruwitiwihíksk<sup>u</sup> “  
 Ruuwitiwihíkskut . “  
 Then she was out of breath . “  
 ruu- wi- ti- 0- awi.hiks.kus -0 . ”  
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A sit.out.of.breath PERF . ”

Kíra ! witiisutk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Kíra witiisutki  
 Well , young man ,  
 kira , wiita.isut -kis ,  
 perhaps , young.man DIM ,

kirikukawirəsutašiksa  
 kíriku' kawírasuutaciksa  
 what do you think about it  
 kirikuu ka- wii- ra- s- ut- aciks.aar -0  
 anything Y/N.INTER now ABS 2.A PREV consider PERF

pitisutk<sup>i</sup> , kišikurahús  
 piitiisutki kici kúrahus  
 , young man , but the old men  
 , wiita.isut -kis , kici kurahuus  
 , young.man DIM , but old.man

tiríwawar<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup> . ”  
 tiríwaawaarit . ”  
 they'll stand around . ”

ti- 0- ir- i- waawa- arik -0 . "

IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ DIST be.standing PERF . "

Ahihwakipírəsk<sup>i</sup>

Ahíhwaki' piíraski

They said the boys :

ar- ri- 0- ir- waki -0 piiras- -kis ,

EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF boy DIM ,

" Kakúri ,

" Kaakúri'

" No ,

" kaaki- 0- uur- i- 0 -0 ,

" NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF ,

atík<sup>a</sup>

atíka'

grandma ,

ati- kaa ,

1.POSS grandmother ,

kakíihi

kaakí' ihi

it is not , uh ,

kaaki- 0- 0 -0 , ihii ,

NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh ,

kurakútasiksar<sup>a</sup> . "

kurakuútaciksaara . "

for one to think about it . "

ku- ra- 0- ku- ut- aciks.aar -a . "

INDF INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV consider SUB.1 . "

Hiruahiwáku šúst<sup>itn</sup> ,

Hiru ahiwáku' cústit  
 Then she said the old woman :  
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 custit ,  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF old.woman ,

ā rutásuh^t<sup>n</sup> ,  
 “ Aa ruutásuuhat  
 “ Ah , the ones around  
 " aa , ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0  
 " ah , ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4

witísutk<sup>i</sup> hā ! hirutítaku ,  
 piitíisutki haa hiru tiítaku  
 young men , ha , then here  
 wiita.isut -kis , haa , hiruu tii- -taku  
 young.man DIM , ha , then here LOC

rikutuharuhurá<sup>a</sup>  
 rikutuhaarúhura'a  
 that is where everything originated  
 riku- ti- 0- ut- raar- uhuur- raar -'  
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A way be.the.cause EX

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

tiráwah^t<sup>n</sup> ,  
 Tiráwaahat  
 the Heavens  
 tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0  
 this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hihkukaraušisiksa

hi kukara'uucićiksa

and you should thiknk about it

hi	ku-	kara-	ii-	ut-	i-	aciks.aar	-0
and	INDF	NEG	SUBJ.3A	PREV	SEQ	consider	PERF

.	Náwahá		!	witísutk <sup>i</sup>			
.	Ráwa	haa		wiitiísutki			
.	Now	,	ha	,	young men	,	
.	rawa	,	haa	,	wiita.isut	-kis	,
.	now	,	ha	,	young.man	DIM	,

takukarasiwiška

táku' karaasiíwicka'

does not any of you want

taku	ka-	ra-	s-	i-	wicka	-0
someone	Y/N.INTER	ABS	2.A	SEQ	want	PERF

rakusiksparúkstiar<sup>a</sup>

rakuucikspaarukstii'aara

to have holy feelings

ra-	0-	ku-	aciks-	waarukstii	-aar	-a	.	"
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	mind	be.holy	INCH	SUB.1	.	"

Ahíhwak<sup>i</sup>

Ahíhwaki'

They said

ar-	ri-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	piiras-	-kis	"
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	boy	DIM	"

pirəski

piíraski

the boys

hā <sup>u</sup>	.	"	Ahawáku		"	Náw <sup>a</sup>
Haá'u'	.	"	Ahawáku'		"	Ráwa
Yes	.	"	She said	:	"	Now

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

, witísutk<sup>i</sup>  
 wiitiísutki  
 , young men ,  
 , wiita.isut -kis ,  
 , young.man DIM ,

širutiháras<sup>a</sup>

ciru tiháraasa  
 yet this one lying  
 ciruu tii- haa- ra- 0- sa -0  
 yet this here ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

tahawíhukst<sup>a</sup> ,

tahaawíhuksta

I am going to carry it

ta- t- ra.awi.huk -his -ta  
 IND.1/2A 1.A carry PERF INT

kisašpáruksti . "  
 kisacpaáruksti' . "  
 (as) holy meat . "  
 kisaac- waarukstii . "  
 meat be.holy . "

Ahihwakikúrahus

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 ,

Ráwa  
Now  
rawa  
now

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

Áihi píraski “ Nawa ,  
" A ihi piíraski “ Ráwa  
" And , uh , the boys : “ Now  
" a , ihii , piiras- -kis , " rawa  
" and , uh , boy DIM , " now

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

šústít<sup>n</sup> .  
cústit . "  
old woman . "  
custit . "  
old.woman . "

Asiahiríhtakawah<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup>  
A si'ahirihtakaawaáhat  
And they took (the hide) off  
a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- uur- takaa.hak -waa -0  
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV get.down DIST PERF

, asiahiririwiraráh<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup>  
 a si'ahiiririwiraaráhat  
 and they rolled it over  
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- iriwiraa.ra.hak -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A roll.over PERF

irirutahukísašk<sup>i</sup>  
 iriiruutahu kísacki  
 the way it was meat  
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus kisaac -kis  
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB meat DIM

nakúra<sup>u</sup>  
 rakúra'u  
 when one prepared it  
 ra- 0- ku- ra'uk -0  
 INF.A 3.A INF.B make SUB.3

hirikusiahihahúru  
 hi rikusi'ahiihahúru'  
 and that is what they did  
 hi riku- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- rahur.uu -0  
 and that.is DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do.to PERF

:

,  
,

hiruirirurušistarúhraw<sup>i</sup>,

hiru iriruucistaarúhtawi

there there where the foot joints were

hiruu	irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	as-	raar-	ukta	-wi
there	where	there	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	foot	PL	be.a.joint	SUB.L

naruwitirikap<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

raaruutiriikapit

then they just broke them

raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	ak-	apic.k	-0
just	then	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	PL.AN.3P	break	PERF

. Asiahiririwiraráh<sup>^</sup>t<sup>n</sup>

. A si'ahiiririwiraaráhat

. And they rolled it over

.	a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	iriwira.ra.hak	-0
.	and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	roll.over	PERF

, kisašpáruksti .  
kisacpaáruksti' .  
the holy meat .  
kisaac- waarukstii .  
meat be.holy .

Hirusiahišihástawaw<sup>u</sup>

Hiru si'ahiicilhaástawaawu

Then they tied it for her

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	haas-	ta.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	string	tie.on	DIST	PERF

, šúst<sup>i</sup>t<sup>n</sup> .



cústit .  
 the old woman .  
 custit .  
 old.woman .

Hiiriruahiwikatíritit<sup>n</sup>

Hi iriruu'ahiiwikatíriitit

And thereupon she took it on her back

hi irii- ruu- ar- ri- 0- awi.kata.iri.itik -0  
 and then then EV CONT.3A 3.A carry.running PERF

. Aahíhwak<sup>i</sup> “  
 . A ahíhwaki’ “  
 . And they said : “  
 . a ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”  
 . and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Náwa , šústit ,  
 Ráwa cústit  
 Now , old woman ,  
 rawa , custit ,  
 now , old.woman ,

sikstihtawáukawik<sup>i</sup>

sikstihtáwaa’

raise it up

i- s- ir- uks- ri- uur- ta.a -wa -0 uúkawiki  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS PHYS.POSS PREV come.up DIST PERF (your) dress  
 dress -kis  
 DIM

,  
 .  
 !  
 .  
 .

nikutasawikusísukst<sup>a</sup>

Rikutaasawikusísuksta

That way you are going to be lighter

riku-	ta-	s-	awi.kusis	uk	-his	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	be.light.on.one's.feet	be	PERF	INT

.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hawaaruwitarahkiritaruhuhkáhak<sup>u</sup>

Hawá a ruuwitaaraahkirittaaruhuhkaáhaaku'

Also and then they looked under her (skirt)

haawa	a	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	raar-	kirik-	raar-	uhuhkaa-	hak	-:hus
also	and	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	3PL.INAN.P	eye	PL	under	pass.by	IMPF

, kúrahus,  
kúrahus  
the old men  
kurahuus  
old.man

wisiahiruhušahu,

wisi'ahiruuhuucáhu

when they were lifting it up for her

wii-	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ut-	ruuca.a	-hus
when	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	BEN	lift.up	IMPF.SUB

kísašk<sup>i</sup> . Nawa ,  
kísacki . Ráwa  
the meat . Now ,

kisaac -kis . rawa ,  
 meat DIM . now ,

šustítruahiráwihut<sup>n</sup> ,

cústit ruu'ahiraawíhut .  
 the old woman then she carried it off .  
 custit ruu- ar- ri- 0- ra.awi.huk -0 .  
 old.woman then EV CONT.3A 3.A carry PERF .

Štuuruahiráwihut<sup>n</sup> ,

Ctú'u' ruu'ahiraawíhut .  
 Witch then she carried it off .  
 c.tu'u' ruu- ar- ri- 0- ra.awi.huk -0 .  
 witch then EV CONT.3A 3.A carry PERF .

kišašpáruksti .  
 kisacpaáruksti' .  
 the holy meat .  
 kisaac- waarukstii .  
 meat be.holy .

Hiiriruahiritákut<sup>n</sup>

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

šústít<sup>n</sup> kisašparuksti . Ikawáwa<sup>a</sup> !  
 cústit kisaacpaaruksti' . iikawaáwaa'a  
 the old woman the holy meat . My goodness ,  
 custit kisaac- waarukstii . iikawaawaa ,  
 old.woman meat be.holy . oh.my ,

wiaharíšakāt<sup>a</sup> ,

wi'ahaarícaahkaata

when she went through the village

wii- ar- ra- 0- ar- icaška- at -a  
when EV ABS 3.A EV village go SUB.1

rawitihwakháhúšapat<sup>n</sup>

raawitihwaki'aahu'

they were just saying

raa- wi- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus cápaat  
just QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF the women  
icapaak  
woman

,  
"  
:  
"  
"  
"

Šturušišiksuk<sup>i</sup>

Ctuurucíciksuuki

The one always thinking of it

ctuu- ra- 0- ut- i- aciks -uk -i  
certainly ABS 3.A PREV SEQ think.of DIST SUB.2

tiráhət<sup>n</sup>

tíraahat

this one passing

tii- ra- 0- hak -0 šústit<sup>n</sup> ,  
this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 cústit  
old woman  
custit  
old.woman

atík<sup>a</sup>

atíka'

our grandmother

ati- kaa . "  
1.POSS grandmother . "

Wiruwitiwikiškakúsis ,  
 Wiruuwitiwikickakuúsis  
 Now she was perspiring  
 wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- awi.kic.ka.kuus.his -0  
 now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.sweaty PERF

hiaháriwiš<sup>t<sup>n</sup></sup> ,  
 hi ahariwícat  
 and she arrived with it  
 hi ar- ra- 0- ri- wic.at -0  
 and EV ABS 3.A PORT arrive PERF

akahkitawiraríksis<sup>u</sup> ,  
 akaahkitawiraaríksisu' .  
 the truly leading lodge .  
 akaar- kita.wi raariks -his -u' .  
 dwelling be.the.leader be.true PERF NOM .

ahákaw<sup>i</sup> ,  
 Ahákaawi  
 Where the lodge was  
 ar- ra- 0- akaa -wi  
 EV ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

ahíhwaki kúrahus  
 ahíhwaki' kúrahus  
 they said priests  
 ar- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 kurahuus  
 EV ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF old.man

irisiahihašíkstawi  
 iriisi'ahiihaacíkstawi  
 those who were watching

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raa- aciks.ta -wi  
 that DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV way watch SUB.L

“ Náwa , náwairi šústit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 “ Ráwa ráwa iri cústit  
 : “ Now , now that , old woman  
 , " rawa , rawa irii , custit  
 , " now , now that , old.woman

irihiwitasurakuhukíta<sup>n</sup>  
 irihiiwitasuuraakuhukíta'at  
 you have beat those others

irii- hii- wii- ta- s- uur- rak- uhuur.kita.at -0  
 that other now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV 1/2.PL defeat PERF

witísutk<sup>i</sup> ,  
 wiitíisutki  
 young men ,  
 wiita.isut -kis ,  
 young.man DIM ,

kiširəsiraítəw<sup>i</sup>

kici rasiraa'íitawi  
 but your knowing it  
 kici ra- s- ir- raa.iita -wi  
 but ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A know SUB.L

rásuhišis ,  
 rásuuhicis  
 you found out

ra- s- ut- riicis -0  
 ABS 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

isparúksti<sup>u</sup> . "

ispaarúkstii'u . "

when you are holy . "

i- s- waarukstii -u . "

CONT.1/2A 2.A be.holy SUB.D . "

Aaharíkut<sup>n</sup> . "

A aharíkut . "

And she took it off . "

a ar- ra- 0- ri.kuk -0 . "

and EV ABS 3.A remove PERF . "

Áirikúruut<sup>n</sup> , kúrahus

A iriikúruu'ut , kúrahus

And that is how it is , priests

a irii- ku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' , kurahuus

and that INDF ABS 3.A PREV be EX , old.man

karikušikskiwátakst<sup>a</sup> ,

. Karikuucikskiwátaksta

. I am not going to forget

. ka- ri- ku- aciks- kiwat.ak -his -ta

. NEG CONT.3A 1.P mind unravel PERF INT

tiratašikspárukstik<sup>i</sup> ,

tiraatacikspaárukstiiki

these holy feelings of mine

tii- ra- t- aciks- waarukstii -ik -i

this ABS 1.A mind be.holy DIST SUB.2

tirátpari ,

tirátpari

as I live here

tii- ra- t- warii -hus

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

tirikurásah<sup>^t<sup>n</sup></sup> .  
 tirikurásahat .  
 when I am growing .  
 tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0 .  
 when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4 .

Iriruruksáwahšu  
 Iriiruuruksáwahcu  
 Whatever kind it may even be  
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u  
 what then ABS 3.A JUSS even be SUB.D

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

hiitparukstir<sup>u</sup>  
 hi itpaarukstiíru' .  
 and I'll consecrate it .  
 hi i- t- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 .  
 and CONT.1/2A 1.A be.holy CAUS PERF .

rurikítu<sup>u</sup> ,  
 Ruurikítuu'u  
 Even if it is whole  
 ruu- ri- 0- kituu -u  
 then CONT.3A 3.A be.whole SUB.D

hiištíriwis . “  
 hi ictíriwis . ” “  
 and I'll carry it across my back . ” “



hi i- t- ta.iriwis -0 . " "  
 and CONT.1/2A 1.A be.across.one's.back PERF . " "

Hā<sup>u</sup> , náwa , nikutasúut<sup>n</sup>  
 Haá'u' . Ráwa rikutasuú'ut  
 Yes . Now that is how you are  
 haa'u' . rawa riku- ta- s- ut- 0 -'  
 yes . now that.is IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be EX

šústit<sup>n</sup> . "  
 cústit . "  
 , old woman . "  
 , custit . "  
 , old.woman . "

Asiahíhkus,  
 A si'ahíhkus  
 And they set it down  
 a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kus.k -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put PERF

kisašpáruksti . Híšustit<sup>n</sup>  
 kisacpaáruksti' . Hi cústit  
 the holy meat . And the old woman  
 kisaac- waarukstii . hi custit  
 meat be.holy . and old.woman

rúahiet<sup>n</sup>  
 ruú'ahi'at  
 then she went  
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- at -0  
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF

iriahakáriku ,

irii'ahaakáriku								.
where she had her home								.
irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	akaar-	ri-	kus	-0	.
where	EV	ABS	3.A	dwelling	PORT	be.sitting	SUB.4	.