

ahiwáku						“	Náwa	,
Ahiwáku’						“	Ráwa	
She said					:	“	Now	,
ar-	ri-	0-	waka’u	-0	,	”	rawa	,
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,	”	now	,

náwatik <sup>i</sup>	,	a	šúət <sup>n</sup>	
ráwa	tíki	a	cuú’at	
now	,	son	and	daughter
rawa	,	tíkis	a	cuu’at
now	,	sonny	and	daughter

wítatutətíwišət<sup>n</sup>  
wítatuutattiwicat  
I have arrived with it for them

wii-	ta-	t-	ut-	ak-	ri-	wic.at	-0
now	IND.1/2A	1.A	BEN	PLAN.3P	PORT	arrive	PERF

	ihí	kúrahus	kísašk <sup>i</sup>		há	!
	ihí	kúrahus	kísacki	.	Haa	
,	uh	,	the old men	meat	.	Ha
,	ihii	,	kurahuus	kisaac	-kis	haa
,	uh	,	old.man	meat	DIM	ha

nikututáhu		.					
rikutuutaáhu’		.					
that is how one does		.					
riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-a	:-hus	.
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF	.

Wítikakahakahirəsu karukúsu<sup>k<sup>u</sup></sup>  
Witikaakihaakahirasuhkaruukúsuuku’  
One does not put his mouth first (ie eat the meat first)

witi- kaaki- 0- haaka- hiras- uh -ka.ra'uk -:hus -uuku  
 REFL NEG.IND.3A 3.A mouth in.the.lead go.INT CAUS.PL.P IMPF HAB

. Híruhā<sup>a</sup> ,  
 hi ruuhá'a  
 and it is the cause  
 hi ra- 0- ut- raar -'  
 and ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

nariwišutiratarakawutik<sup>a</sup>  
 raáriwiicu' tirataraakawuútika  
 right now our having killed them  
 raariwiicu' tii- ra- t- a- rak- ka.wa.ut.ik -a  
 right.now this ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL kill.DIST SUB.1

, íritiška ,  
 i riíticka' ,  
 , and I thought : '  
 , i rii- t- wicka -0 , '  
 , and ASSR 1.A think PERF , '

karikurasútəst<sup>a</sup> ,  
 Karikurasuútasta  
 You are not going to be the one  
 ka- riku- ra- s- ut- 0 -as -ta  
 NEG that.is ABS 2.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

asihkaruhírasaha  
 aasihkaaruhírasaaha  
 that you should have the first food  
 aa- s- ir- kaaruur- hiras.aah -a  
 SUBJ.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A meal be.in.the.lead SUB.1

píra<sup>u</sup> . " Nətiki

.	'	"	Piira'u'		rattiiki	
.	'	"	The child		her grandchild	
.	'	"	piira -u'		rak- tiikis	
.	'	"	child NOM		grandchild sonny	

aháruhku

aháruhku

his being hers

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kus	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	CONT.3A	PREV	be.sitting	SUB.4

ahawáku

ahawáku'

she said

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

Kasúširašikst<sup>a</sup>

Kaasúciraaciksta

You must watch

kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	raa.aciks.ta	-0	.
POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	watch	PERF	.

Arakusuhurišakāt<sup>a</sup>

A rakusuhuurícaahkaata

And go through the village awhile

a	ra-	0-	ku-	uks-	uhur-	icahka-	at	-a
and	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	JUSS	awhile	village	go	SUB.1

, nahuraiwišpáwa<sup>a</sup>

. Rahuura'iwicpaáwa'a

. They will arrive laden

.	ra-	0-	a-	huur.awi.wic.a	-waawa	-0
.	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	arrive.laden	DIST	SUB.4

kirakísaški

kíra kísacki  
perhaps meat  
kíra kisaac -kis  
perhaps meat DIM

kirikusikúsa<sup>u</sup>

kíriku' sikúsaá'u . "  
some they will give you . "  
kirikuu si- kuus- 0- a- i- uh -0 . "  
anything DU POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P SEQ give PERF . "

Akawáwa ,  
Aakawaáwaa'  
My goodness ,  
aakawaawaa ,  
my.goodness ,

nihkúra<sup>a</sup>

rihkúra'a  
when he came with it  
ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ra- a -0  
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B PORT come SUB.4

kísašparuksti híraš  
kísacpaaruksti' híras  
the holy meat at night  
kisaac- waarukstii hiras  
meat be.holy at.night

hiwítahwaku kúrahus  
hi witaahwáku' kúrahus  
and he would say the priest :

hi wii- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 kurahuus ,  
 and now IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF old.man ,

“ Iiráku, rurihira  
 “ Iiraáku ruuríhiira'  
 “ That one further on  
 " irii- ra- 0- kus -0 ruurihiira'  
 " that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 farther

šukstárustuæt<sup>n</sup> ,  
 sukstárustuu'at  
 drag it over

i- s- uks- tarus- ruu- at -0  
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS dragging PORT go PERF

hisuhúriiskus . " áka<sup>a</sup>  
 hi suúhuri' ískus . " Aáka'a  
 and this side you'll set it . " Oh my  
 hi suuhuri' i- s- kus.k -0 . " aaka'a  
 and over.here CONT.1/2A 2.A put PERF . " oh.my

!

,  
 ,  
 ,

rahiriruwitušihakakustáhšak<sup>a</sup>

raáhiirit ruuwitucihaakakustáhcaaka  
 finally then it was filled to the doorway

raahiirit ruu- wi- ti- 0- ut- i- haaka- kus raar- caaka -0  
 finally then QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ mouth be.sitting PL stick.out PERF

.

Ahirariwíshahu

ahiirariwícahu

when they were arriving with it

ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	raar-	ri-	wic.a	-hus
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	arrive	IMPF.SUB

kísašparuksti	,	witísutki	.
kísacpaaruksti'		wiitiísutki	
the holy meat		the young men	,
kisaac-	waarukstii	wiita.isut	-kis
meat	be.holy	young.man	DIM

Kuríhkutkarātih

Kuríhkutkaraati

its being thick

ku-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	karaat	-i	.
INDF	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	be.thick	SUB.2	.

Wiwitiraruhukítawu

Wiwitiraaruhukítawu'

They were overflowing

wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	raar-	uhur-	kita-	wuu	-.hus
now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	way.of.doing	on.top	go.IMPF	IMPF

,	aahíhwaki							"
	a	ahíhwaki'						"
	and	they said				:		"
	a	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,
	and	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,

Rurihirárahk<sup>u</sup>

Ruuríhiira' raáhku  
Farther on the one yonder  
ruurihiira' ra- 0- ar- kus -0  
farther ABS 3.A EV be.sitting PERF

rurihirasisukstikuháhkæt<sup>n</sup>

ruurihiira' sisukstikuuhaáhká'at  
farther on take it onto the prairie  
ruurihiira' si- i- s- uks- ri- kuuhaar- ka- at -0  
farther DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS CONT.3A flat.ground on go PERF

,  
.  
!  
.  
.

rurihirasisukskuháhkakus

Ruuríhiira' sisukskuuhaáhkakus  
Farther on put it in the valley  
ruurihiira' si- i- s- uks- kuuhaar- ka- kus.k -0  
farther DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS flat.ground on put PERF

ruríhir<sup>u</sup> kísašk<sup>i</sup> ,  
ruurihiira' kísacki . "  
farther on the meat ! "  
ruurihiira' kisaac -kis . "  
farther meat DIM . "

irirák<sup>u</sup>,  
Iriraáku  
That one

irii- ra- 0- kus -0  
 that ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

ruwitihástawa  
 ruuwitihaástawa  
 there it was tied

ruu- wi- ti- 0- haas- ta -waa -0  
 there QUOT IND.3A 3.A string be.hanging DIST PERF

.  
 .  
 .  
 .  
 .

Náwa , ikawáwa , píra<sup>u</sup>  
 Ráwa iikawaáwaa' piíra'u'  
 Now , my goodness , children  
 rawa , iikawaawaa , piíra -u'  
 now , oh.my , child NOM

aharúhwih<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 aharúhwihat

the ones she had  
 ar- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- wi.hak -0  
 EV ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

. “ Šúat<sup>n</sup>  
 “ Cuú'at  
 : “ Daughters ,  
 , " cuu'at ,  
 , " daughter ,

rakusuhurarišakírit<sup>i</sup><sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup>



rakusuhuuraaricaahkíriitit

walk around in the village awhile

ra- 0- ku- uks- uhur- raar- icahka.iri.itik -0  
INF.A 3.A INF.B JUSS awhile PL.INDV.A walk.around.a.village SUB.4

. Witahuraiwíšpa

. Witahuura'iwícpaá'

! They are arriving laden

. wii- ti- 0- a- huir.awi.wic.a -wa -0  
. now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive.laden DIST PERF

, hikirikusitíru ,

hi kíriku'

and some

hi kirikuu

and anything

kirikuáwit<sup>11</sup>

sitiíru

they'll give you

si- ti- 0- ir- ar- uh -0  
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV give PERF

sirašikuhístarit<sup>11</sup>

kíriku' áwit siracihkuuhístarit

some first what we are going to eat

kirikuu awit si- ra- aciir- ku- a -his -ta -rit  
anything first DU INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B eat PERF INT INT.SUB

. " Wiahawáku "

. " Wi'ahawáku' "

. " Now she said : "

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

. " now EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Hirušúət<sup>n</sup> , pískuš<sup>u</sup>  
 Híru' cuú'at . Pískucu' .  
 Go on , daughters ! Hurry !  
 hiru' , cuu'at . wis -kucuu .  
 go.on , daughter . hurry AUG .

witaharihášista . " áka<sup>a</sup>  
 Witahaariihácista . " Aáka'a  
 I am going to finish it . " Oh my  
 wii- ta- t- raa- riihac -his -ta . " aaka'a  
 now IND.1/2A 1.A way finish PERF INT . " oh.my

!

,  
 ,  
 ,

wiruwitirapahaštakúrihit<sup>n</sup>  
 wiruuwitiiraahpahactakúrihit  
 now she was painted bright red all over  
 wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- raar- pahaat takurihik -0  
 now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ ITER be.red be.bright.red PERF

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

Kušukstuáihi  
 Kucukstuú'a'  
 Bring it to me

i-	s-	ir-	ku-	ut-	uks-	ruu-	a	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PREV	JUSS	PORT	come	PERF

,	nətík <sup>i</sup>		pákus <sup>u</sup>					
"	rattiíki		Pákuusu'					
,	her grandchild		Belly					
,	rak-	tiikis	pakuus-	-u'				
,	grandchild	sonny	belly	NOM				

ahuhíhku								“
ahuuhíhku'								“
she meant								“
ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	ra'ihk	:-hus			,
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF			,

Kušukstuáarak<sup>u</sup>

Kucukstuú'a'

Bring it to me

i-	s-	ir-	ku-	ut-	uks-	ruu-	a	-0	ra-	0-	kus	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PREV	JUSS	PORT	come	PERF	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

raáku  
the one

nahkákus<sup>u</sup>

rahkákusu'

parfleche .

raar.ka.kus -u' .

parfleche NOM .

nikutatirihkášahuk<sup>i</sup>

Rikutatirihka

That is where mine is inside

riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	kaa	-0	cáhuuki	-kis
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.inside	PERF	robe	DIM

cáhuuki  
robe

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Ahutáahakawat<sup>i</sup>

Ahuúta

She did it

ar-	ri-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	ar-	ra-	0-	kawat	-i
EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	EV	ABS	3.A	take.out	SUB.2

ahakawáti

her taking it out

hawískatit <sup>u</sup>	,	ikawáwa
haawískatiitu'	.	iikawaáwaa'
a robe dyed black	.	My goodness ,
ha.wiis katiit -u'	.	iikawaawaa ,
be.dyed be.black NOM	.	oh.my ,

ruwitikisaškátiht<sup>n</sup>

ruuwitiikisackátihit

now the meat was very black

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	i-	kisaac-	katiit	-rik	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	meat	be.black	DIST	PERF

.	Hawáku	,	hā	!
.	Ahawáku'		"	Haa
.	She said	:	"	Ha ,
.	ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0	,	"	haa ,
.	EV ABS 3.A say PERF	,	"	ha ,

kiširikutatutuhúru

kici rikutatuutuhúru'

but this is the way I do

kici	riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	uhur-	uu	-0
but	that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	way.of.doing	be	PERF

nətkúšiksparukstiar <sup>a</sup>	.	"
ratkuucikspaarukstii'aara	.	"
when I become holy in mind	.	"
ra- t- ku- aciks- waarukstii -aar -a	.	"
INF.A 1.A INF.B mind be.holy INCH SUB.1	.	"

Wiruwitihrapáhaštakúrihit <sup>n</sup>	
Wiruuwitiiraahpahactakúrihit	
Now she was painted bright red all over	
wii- ruu- wi- ti- 0- i- raar- pahaat takurihik -0	
now then QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ ITER be.red be.bright.red PERF	

, hiháwis<sup>u</sup>  
 hi haáwiisu'  
 and a black dyed robe  
 hi ha.wiis -u'  
 and be.dyed NOM

wiahawítət <sup>n</sup>	.
wi'ahawítat	.
she wore over her shoulders	.
wii- ar- ra- 0- witak -0	.
now EV ABS 3.A wear.over.the.shoulders PERF	.

Hihawa  
 Hi hawá  
 And also  
 hi haawa  
 and also

wiahutukawíku  
 wi'ahuutuukawíku  
 she sat wearing a dress

wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	uuka.wi-	kus	-0
now	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	dress	be.sitting	PERF

háwis <sup>u</sup>							
haáwiisu'	.						"
a black dyed hide	.						"
ha.wiis	-u'	.					"
be.dyed	NOM	.					"

sišukstatákiriku  
 Sicukstaattaákiriku  
 Look at them

i-	s-	ir-	ut-	uks-	rak-	raa-	kirik.kus	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	JUSS	1/2.PL	way	look.at	PERF

kúrahus		witihwawáktiku					
kúrahus	.	Witihwaawáktiiku'					
the old men	!	They are speaking					
kurahuus	.	wii- ti-	0-	ir-	waa.wak.tik	-:hus	
old.man	.	now IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	talk	IMPF	

.	"	Piráuruk <sup>i</sup>					
.	"	Píira'u'	ruúki				
.	"	Children	the ones				
.	"	piira	-u'	ra-	0-	0	-uk -i
.	"	child	NOM	ABS	3.A	be	DIST SUB.2

ahararišahkáwari,  
 aharaaricaahkáwari'  
 they walked through the village

ar-	ra-	0-	raar-	icahka-	warii	-:hus
EV	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	village	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

iriahakikaráruta

irii'ahakiikaráruuta

where the fires extended

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	kiika-	raar-	u.at	-a
where	EV	ABS	3.A	fire	PL	extend.in.a.line	SUB.1

kúrahus

. Kúrahus

. The old men

. kurahuus

. old.man

kuhíhtarušpaw<sup>u</sup>

kuuhíhtarucpaawu

they had made fires

kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ta.ra.uc.wuh	-waa	-0
DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	make.a.fire	DIST	PERF

páruksti                   tiráwawariki

paáruksti'               . Tiráwaawaariki

holy                       . These various ones standing around

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

sikuhirətawáuh<sup>u</sup>

sikúhiirattaawá'uuhu'

they were giving it to them

si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ak-	raa-	wa-	uh	-:hus
DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	way	DIST	give	IMPF

kísašk<sup>i</sup>

kísacki

meat

kisaac   -kis

meat   DIM

sirihkutitkahkakúsk<sup>a</sup>

sirihkuutitkaahkakúska

when they put it on the fire

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	itkaar-	ka-	kus.k	-a
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	particulate.matter	on	put	SUB.1

.  
. .  
. .

šurakíahirarahupakísašk<sup>i</sup>

Cuúráki ahiirarahuúpaá'

Girls they were taking it inside

icuura	-kis	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	raar-	ra-	huuk-	wa-	a	-0	kísacki
female	DIM	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	into	DIST	come	PERF	meat
													-kis
													meat
													DIM

siríhkuh<sup>a</sup>

siríhkuuha

what they gave her

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uh	-a	.
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	give	SUB.1	.

Aahahúka

A ahahuúka'

And she came inside

a	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	huuk-	a	-0
and	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	into	come	PERF

šurak<sup>i</sup>

cuúráki

a girl

, aahawáku  
a ahawáku'  
and she said



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

šúrak<sup>i</sup> “  
 cuúrak<sup>i</sup> “  
 the girl : “  
 icuurá- -kis , “  
 girl DIM , ”

Nətakurákawisitikúksu

Rátaku rákaawi sitíkuksu  
 There the lodge they gave it to me  
 ra- 0- ta kus -0 ra- 0- akaa -wi si- ti- 0- ir- ku- uks- uh -0  
 ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P AOR give PERF

kísašk<sup>i</sup> . " áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 kísacki . " Aáka'a  
 meat . " Oh my ,  
 kisaac -kis . " aaka'a ,  
 meat DIM . " oh.my ,

kuwituštakárusu ,

kuwituctakárusu'  
 it was a large piece  
 ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- ta.karus.uu -0  
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.large.pile PERF

kísašk<sup>i</sup> “ Íka<sup>a</sup> !  
 kísacki . Íika'a  
 the meat ! Oh my ,  
 kisaac -kis . iika'a ,  
 meat DIM . oh.my ,

Šustinawitíwari

custíra'u							witiíwari'					
the old woman							she was walking around					
custit	ra-	0-	a-	0	-u		wi-	ti-	0-	i-	warii	-.hus
old.woman	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be	SUB.D		QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

.	Ahawáku						“	Atíra				
.	Ahawáku'						“	Atíra'				
.	She said					:	“	Mother				
.	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	ati-	raa			
.	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	1.POSS	mother			

,

,

,

tiháirirətárakakaw <sup>i</sup>										
tihaa'iriiratáraakakaawi										
here where our lodge is										
tii-	haa-	irii-	ra-	t-	a-	rak-	akaa		-wi	
here	here	where	ABS	1.A	IN.PL.A	1/2.PL	be.a.dwelling		SUB.L	

,

tihasihtárusta										
tahaasirihtárusta										
here they are dragging it										
tii-	haa-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	tarus-	ra-	aah	-0	
here	here	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	dragging	PORT	be	PERF	

rutíkitu					kísašk <sup>i</sup>		.
ruutíkitu'					kísacki		.
it is whole					the meat		.
ruu-	ti-	0-	kituu	-0	kisaac	-kis	.
then	IND.3A	3.A	be.whole	PERF	meat	DIM	.

Asák <sup>i</sup>		sititárusta						
Asaáki		sititárusta						
Dogs		they are dragging it						
asaa-	-kis	si-	ti-	0-	tarus-	ra-	aah	-0
dog	DIM	DU	IND.3A	3.A	dragging	PORT	be	PERF

,	sitíra						.
	Sítira						"
.	They have it						"
.	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	raah	-0	"
.	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	have	PERF	"

Ruahiwáku					šústit <sup>n</sup>		,
Ruu'ahiwáku'					cústit		
Then she said					the old woman		:
ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	custit	,
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	old.woman	,

“  
“  
“  
”  
”

Hirukiraístikawirauh<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
Híru' . Kíra ístiikawira'uuhat  
Go on ! Move the door aside

hiru' . kira i- s- riika- -wi ra- u.hak -0  
 go.on . perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A door SUB.L PORT extend.in.a.line PERF

. " Hiahuhurišpat^t<sup>n</sup> "  
 . " Hi ahuhuuricpaátat . "  
 . " And it appeared in sight . "  
 . " hi ar- ra- 0- uhuur.ic.waat.ak -0 . "  
 . " and EV ABS 3.A go.into.sight PERF . "

Ā šúat<sup>n</sup>  
 Aa cuú'at  
 Ah , daughter ,  
 aa , cuu'at ,  
 ah , daughter ,

iriwitúrahi ,  
 iriwitúraahi .  
 that is good .  
 irii- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .  
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

kišašpáruksti  
 Kísacpaaruksti'  
 Holy meat  
 kisaac- waarukstii  
 meat be.holy

tirirariwíšahu  
 tiiriirariwícaahu'  
 they are arriving with it  
 ti- 0- a- ir- i- raar- ri- wic.a -:hus  
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive IMPF

wírikut<sup>i</sup> .

. Wírikuti' .  
 . What is what it is .  
 . wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 .  
 . now that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Siširukstarústahuk<sup>a</sup>  
 Siciirukstárustahuuka'  
 Let's drag it inside

si- i- aciir- ir- uks- tarus- ra- huuk- a -0  
 DU CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV.1/2A JUSS dragging PORT into come PERF

. " Áihi  
 . " A ihi  
 ! " And , uh ,  
 . " a , ihii ,  
 . " and , uh ,

ahuharáwašitit<sup>n</sup> , áka<sup>a</sup>  
 ahuuhaaráwacitit . Aáka'a  
 they rushed outside . Oh my  
 ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- awacitik -0 . aaka'a  
 EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A go.out PERF . oh.my

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

hisiahiriwihákust<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>  
 hi si'ahiiriwiihákustat  
 and they barely carried it  
 hi si- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- wiihak- -hus ra- at -0  
 and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ stagger IMPF.SUB PORT go PERF

.  
. .  
. .  
. .  
. .

Asiahírahuk<sup>a</sup>,

A si'ahiírahuka'

And they brought it inside

a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ra- huuk- a -0  
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3a PORT into come PERF

, síahihkus .

. Si'ahíhkus .

. They set it down .

. si- ar- ra- 0- ir- kus.k -0 .  
. DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A put PERF .

Hiruahušíáahahəskiškitárikut<sup>n</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 ,

ahahaaskickitárikut

she took the rawhide strings off

, ar- ra- 0- haas- kiic- kita- ri.kuk -0  
, EV ABS 3.A string liquid on.top remove PERF

. Nihuksúwituta

. Ríhuksu' wituúta

. Only she did it

. rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0  
. alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

ahutírikarah<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

ahuutírikaraarahat .

she turned it over .

ar- ra- 0- ut- irikaraa.ra.hak -0 .  
 EV ABS 3.A PREV turn.over PERF .

“ Ā kúrahus táhwakut<sup>u</sup> ,  
 “ Aa kurahustaáhwakuutu’ .  
 “ Ah , rotten old men !  
 " aa , kurahuus- raar- wa- kuu’at -u’ .  
 " ah , old.man PL DIST be.dead NOM .

kurahustáhwakut<sup>u</sup> , áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 Kurahustaáhwakuutu’ . Aáka’a  
 Rotten old men ! Oh my ,  
 kurahuus- raar- wa- kuu’at -u’ . aaka’a .  
 old.man PL DIST be.dead NOM . oh.my .

štúriritətktu<sup>u</sup>  
 ctuu[ri]riítatkuutu’ .  
 such rotten excrement !  
 ctuu- rii- 0- atat- kuu’at -:hus .  
 certainly ASSR 3.A excrement be.dead IMPF .

kúrahus tahwakútkuš<sup>u</sup> . Šúat<sup>n</sup>  
 Kurahustaahwakúkucu’ . Cuú’at  
 Big rotten old men ! Daughters,  
 kurahuus- raar- wa- kuu’at -kucuu . cuu’at  
 old.man PL DIST be.dead AUG . daughter

tihároku  
 tiháraaku  
 this one  
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0  
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

nikutířətparukstira<sup>u</sup> . "

rikutiratpaarukstiíra'u	.	"
this is one my having consecrated	.	"
riku-    tii-    ra-    t-    waarukstii   -ra'uk   -0	.	"
that.is   this   ABS   1.A   be.holy   CAUS   SUB.3	.	"

Híškusu  
Hi    íckuusu'  
And   skin  
hi    ickus-   -u'  
and   skin    NOM

nihuksúahukiwik <sup>u</sup>									
ríhuksu'	ahú'						kíwiiku'		
only	it was						buffalo bull		
rihuks   -u'	ar-   ra-   0-   uu   -0						kiwiik   -u'		
alone    NOM	EV   ABS   3.A   be   PERF						buffalo.bull	NOM	

.  
.  
.  
.  
.

Hikúškahikuwit <sup>i</sup>								
Hikúckaahiiku'			wíti'					
An old bull			it was					
hikuc           kaahik   -u'			wi-    ti-    0-   0   -0					
old.buffalo.bull	aged    NOM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF		

.  
.  
.  
.  
.



Hišiwíraahiruruksk<sup>u</sup>

Hici wiraa'ahiruúruksku

But it was just the piece she had had

hi.ci	wii-	raa-	ar-	ri-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	uks-	kus	-0
and	now	just	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	be.sitting	PERF

. Rúahiwaku

. Ruu'ahiwáku'

. Then she said

. ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	icuura-	-kis
. then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	girl	DIM

šúraki

cuúraki

the girl

"	Atíra	"	apakúsu
"	Atíra'	"	A Pákuusu'
:	" Mother	"	And Belly
,	" ati- raa	"	a pakuus- -u'
,	" 1.POSS mother	"	and belly NOM

ahawáku

ahawáku'

he said

ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	:	"	ati- kaa
EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	1.POSS grandmother

" Atík<sup>a</sup>

" Atíka'

: " Grandmother

, áka<sup>a</sup> !

aáka'a

, oh my ,

, aaka'a ,

, oh.my ,

iwirírawaəš

iwiríraahwa'ac

now they have dispersed

ii-      wii-      rii-      0-      raar-      wahc      -0      .  
 then    now    ASSR    3.A    PL.INDV.A    scatter    PERF    .

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

kisaškiratirarúwari

kísacki              tiraruúwari'  
 the meat            they are carrying the meat  
 kisaac    -kis    ti-      0-      ir-      raar-      ruu-      warii                      -:hus  
 meat      DIM    IND.3A    3.A    PL.3A    3PL.INAN.P    PORT    be.going.about.IMPF    IMPF

hiruraritúruta

hiru      raaritúruuta                      .  
 there    the village                      .  
 hiruu    ra-      0-      ar-      ituur-      u.at                      -a                      .  
 there    ABS    3.A    EV    village    extend.in.a.line    SUB.1                      .

ihi      ,      kúrahus  
 Ihi      ,      kúrahus  
 Uh      ,      the old man  
 ihii     ,      kurahuus  
 uh      ,      old.man

wíwitrawahukísaški<sup>i</sup>

wíwitraawa'uuhu'                      kísacki  
 he has given it out                    the meat  
 wii-    wi-      ti-      0-      raa-    wa-    uh      -:hus    kisaac    -kis  
 now    QUOT    IND.3A    3.A    way    DIST    give    IMPF    meat      DIM

,    iwirírahwaš                      .    "

. Iwiriíraahwa'ac . "

. Now they have dispersed . "

. ii- wii- rii- 0- raar- wahc -0 . "

. then now ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A scatter PERF . "

áka<sup>a</sup> ! kurahusupírikuš<sup>u</sup> ,

“ Aáka'a kúrahusuupíríkucu’

“ Oh my , dirty old men

" aaka'a , kurahuus- huupirik -kucuu

" oh.my , old.man star AUG

širutatatuwaríhust<sup>a</sup>

ciru taatattuuwariihusta

yet I am going to chase them around

ciruu ta- t- ak- ruu- warii -:hus -ta

yet IND.1/2A 1.A PL.AN.3P PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

.

.

.

.

.

Širutahawirukahkaísut<sup>a</sup>

Ciru tahaawiiruukaahka'íisuhta

Yet I am going to go charging to their door

ciruu ta- t- raawiir- uukaahka- iis.uh -ta

yet IND.1/2A 1.A angrily entrance go.out.of.sight.INT INT

. áka<sup>a</sup> !

. Aáka'a

. Oh my ,

. aaka'a ,

. oh.my ,

rutirikurahuskáwitət<sup>n</sup>

ruutiriikurahuskáwitaat

those rascalish old men

ruu-	ti-	0-	ir-	i-	kurahuus-	kawitaat	-0
that	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	old.man	be.rascalish	PERF

. Širukararáhka

. Ciru káraraahka

. Yet are they inside

ciruu	ka-	ra-	0-	raar-	kaa	-0
yet	Y/N.INTER	ABS	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.inside	PERF

. "	Ahawáku				pírəsk <sup>i</sup>		"
. "	Ahawáku'				piíraski		"
?	"	He said			the boy	:	"
. "	ar-	ra-	0-	waka'u	-0	piiras-	-kis , "
. "	EV	ABS	3.A	say	PERF	boy	DIM , "

Širutiráhka

Ciru tíraahka

Yet they are inside

ciruu	ti-	0-	raar-	kaa	-0	.	"
yet	IND.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.inside	PERF	.	"

Hiaharáwihtakut

Hi aharaáwihtakut

And she ran angrily

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	raawiir-	takuk	-0	šústit <sup>n</sup>
and	EV	ABS	3.A	angrily	run	PERF	cústit
							the old woman
							old.woman

, naruwitihuráh<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

. Raaruuwitiihúrahat

. She just left it

. raa- ruu- wi- ti- 0- uhur.ra.hak -0  
 . just then QUOT IND.3A 3.A leave PERF

kísaškí " Šúət<sup>n</sup> ,  
 kísacki . " Cuú'at  
 the meat . " Daughters ,  
 kisaac -kis . " cuu'at ,  
 meat DIM . " daughter ,

wisisarukskákawak<sup>^t</sup><sup>n</sup>

wisiisarukskákawaakat

cut it up

wii- si- i- s- ar- uks- ka.ukac.k -waa -0  
 now DU CONT.1/2A 2.A EV JUSS cut.up DIST PERF

; taštakáskarukst<sup>a</sup> . "  
 . Tactaakáskaruksta . "  
 ! I am going to make dry meat . "  
 . ta- t- taakaas- ka.ra'uk -his -ta . "  
 . IND.1/2A 1.A dried.meat make.PL.P PERF INT . "

Aharáwihtakut<sup>n</sup>

Aharaáwihtakut

She ran angrily

ar- ra- 0- raawiir- takuk -0  
 EV ABS 3.A angrily run PERF

kurahusiríaharahkawi

kúrahus irii'aharahkaawi

the old men where they were inside

kurahuus irii- ar- ra- 0- raar- kaa -wi  
 old.man where EV ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

. Ahawáku

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

wiaharawirukahkáisət<sup>a</sup>

wi'aharaawiiruukaahka'ísata

when she ran angrily to the outside of the lodge

wii- ar- ra- 0- raawiir- uukaahka- iis.at -a  
 when EV ABS 3.A angrily outside go.out.of.sight SUB.1

. " nka<sup>a</sup> !  
 . " Íika'a  
 . " Oh my ,  
 . " iika'a ,  
 . " oh.my ,

iriwirutasirakurahuskáwitət<sup>n</sup>

iriwiruutasiraakurahuskáwitaat

there you old men are rascals

irii- wii- ruu- ta- s- i- rak- kurahuus- kawitaat -0  
 there now then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL old.man be.rascalish PERF

, ári !  
 . Ári'  
 ! Oh ,  
 . arii ,  
 . oh ,

hawakitíit<sup>n</sup>

hawá aki tí'it  
 also and here they are  
 haawa a- ki ti- 0- 0 -ik -0  
 also and there IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

kíkakskūət<sup>n</sup> .  
 kíkakskuú'at .  
 rotten criers .  
 kikak -his kuu'at .  
 cry PERF be.dead .

Inawíwahət kúrahus .  
 Irawíwaahat kúrahus  
 Those sitting about old men ,  
 ii- ra- 0- wi.hak -waa -0 kurahuus ,  
 that ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL DIST SUB.4 old.man ,

Takurarúkakasik<sup>u</sup>  
 táku' raaruukaakásiiku  
 there is not one of you sitting  
 taku raa- ruu- kaaka- s- i- kus -0  
 someone just then NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.sitting PERF

. Hikirúhawi  
 hi kiruuhaawit\* .  
 and what happened (Prob. kiikií ruuhaawi'u') ?  
 hi kiiki ra- 0- ut- raa.wi.uu -0 .  
 and what ABS 3.A PREV be.thus PERF .

áwit<sup>n</sup>  
 Áwit  
 First  
 awit  
 first

tatiraríwiš<sup>a</sup>  
 tatiraríwica'  
 I arrived with it

ta-	t-	ir-	raar-	ri-	wic.a	-0
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	arrive	PERF

áwit<sup>n</sup> ,  
 . Áwit  
 . First  
 . awit  
 . first

asitikútkaksa <sup>a</sup>									"
a sitikútkaksa'									. "
you should call me									. "
a	si-	ti-	0-	ku-	ut-	kaksaa	-0		. "
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	call	PERF		. "

"	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,	náw <sup>a</sup>	iritú <sup>u</sup> t <sup>n</sup>					
"	Ráwa	,	ráwa	irituú'ut					.
"	Now	,	now	that is so					.
"	rawa	,	rawa	irii-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'
"	now	,	now	that	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX

nikutú <sup>u</sup> t <sup>n</sup>						šústit <sup>n</sup>			. "
Rikutuú'ut						cústit			
That is so						old woman			,
riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-'	, custit			,
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	EX	, old.woman			,

Štu <sup>u</sup>	.	"	Náw <sup>a</sup>	,
Ctú'u'	.		Ráwa	
Witch	.		Now	,
c.tu'u'	.		rawa	,
witch	.		now	,

iritú <sup>u</sup> t <sup>n</sup>		šústit <sup>n</sup>
-----------------------------------	--	---------------------



irituú'ut    cústit    .  
 that is so    ,    old woman    .  
 irii-    ti-    0-    ut-    0    -'    ,    custit    .  
 that    IND.3A    3.A    PREV    be    EX    ,    old.woman    .

tihikurakasiksuráhəš    .  
 Tiihikuraakaciksuráhac    .  
 We must have forgotten    .  
 tiir-    ri-    ku-    rak-    aciks-    hurahac    -0    .  
 INFR    CONT.3A    1.P    1/2.PL    mind    disappear    PERF    .

Isikariritušíkusirit<sup>n</sup>  
 I    sikariiriitucíkusiirit  
 And    we did not see it sitting  
 i    si-    karii-    rii-    t-    ut-    i-    kus    iirik    -0  
 and    DU    EMPH.NEG    ASSR    1.A    PREV    SEQ    be.sitting    see    PERF

.    Kiráasak<sup>i</sup>  
 .    Kíra    asaáki  
 .    Perhaps    the dogs  
 .    kira    asaa-    -kis  
 .    perhaps    dog    DIM

hirukukawisírirət<sup>n</sup>  
 hiru    kukawisírirat  
 there    they must have taken it somewhere  
 hiruu    ku-    ka-    wii-    si-    ra-    0-    ir-    ra-    at    -0  
 there    INDF    Y/N.INTER    now    DU    ABS    3.A    PL.3A    PORT    go    PERF

.    "    Akihišustit<sup>n</sup>  
 .    "    Aki    hi    cústit  
 .    "    And here    and    the old woman  
 .    "    a-    ki    hi    custit  
 .    "    and    there    and    old.woman

wirikuahawawahísta,  
 wiriku'ahawaawaahísta

now that was what she was going to eat

wii-	riku-	ar-	ra-	0-	waawa-	a	-his	-ta
now	that.is	EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	eat	PERF	INT

sístu	.	nka <sup>a</sup>	!	kúrahus
sístu	.	líka'a		kúrahus
again	.	Oh my	,	the old men
sistu	.	iika'a	,	kurahuus
again	.	oh.my	,	old.man

ahurapawáku

ahuurapaawáku'

she scolded them

ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	ak-	waa-	waka'u	-0	
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	DIST	say	PERF	

. " " " "

nka <sup>a</sup>	!	ā		ī	hawáhi
líka'a		aa		ii	hawá hi
Oh my	,	ah	,	and	also and
iika'a	,	aa	,	ii	haawa hi
oh.my	,	ah	,	and	also and

kurihkušihtáwik<sup>u</sup>

kurihkucihtáwiku

when it is among them

ku-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	icihta-	-wi	kus	-0
INDF	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	edge.of.the.village	SUB.L	be.sitting	SUB.4

rútkuš <sup>u</sup>	.	"
rútkucu'	.	"
a big snake	.	"

rut -kucuu . "  
 snake AUG . "

Wiwititapitaruhuriráh<sup>^t</sup>  
 Wiwitiitapitaaruuurírahát  
 Now she castigated them

wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- ak- apitaar- uhuur- riraar.hak -0  
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV PL.AN.3P turn.around way pursue PERF

kúrahús . " áka<sup>a</sup> !  
 kúrahús . " Aáka'a  
 the old men . " Oh my ,  
 kurahuús . " aaka'a ,  
 old.man . " oh.my ,

tátarakita  
 tátaraakiita  
 I know you

ta- t- ir- a- rak- iita -0  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P 1/2.PL know PERF

írirəsutu<sup>a</sup> ,  
 iriírasuutuu'a  
 the way you are ,  
 irii- ra- s- ut- uu -a ,  
 what ABS 2.A PREV be SUB.1 ,

irirəsuhakú<sup>a</sup> . "  
 iriírasuuhaakuu'a . "  
 the way you (pl) are . "  
 irii- ra- s- ut- rak- uu -a . "  
 what ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be SUB.1 . "

Híkiši kúrahús

Hi kici kúrahus  
 And but the old men  
 hi kici kurahuus  
 and but old.man

nihuksuwíwítaruraiwu

ríhuksu' wiwítaruurá'íwu'  
 only now they would be shaking  
 rihuks -u' wii- wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- awi.wuu -:hus  
 alone NOM now QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV shake.IMPF IMPF

nahkúwasku . "  
 raahkuúwasku . "  
 when they were laughing . "  
 ra- 0- ar- ku- awask -hus . "  
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B laugh IMPF.SUB . "

Tátuha ,  
 Tátuuha' .  
 I did it .  
 ta- t- ut- raar -0 .  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF .

tátarakit<sup>a</sup>

Tátaraakiita  
 I know you  
 ta- t- ir- a- rak- iita -0  
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P 1/2.PL know PERF

irirásuhaku<sup>a</sup> . " nka<sup>a</sup>  
 iriirásuuhaakuu'a . Iíka'a  
 the way you are . Oh my  
 irii- ra- s- ut- rak- uu -a . iika'a  
 what ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be SUB.1 . oh.my

!

,  
,  
,

nikutasirihátati

rikutasiriihaáttaati'

that is what you always like to do

riku-	ta-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	rak-	raa-	tii	-O
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	way	like	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Wiwiturapawákahu

Wiwituurapaawákaahu'

Now she was saying things to them

wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	uur-	ak-	waa-	waka	-:hus
now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF

. ǵi

. " li'i

. " Oh ,

. " ii'i ,

. " oh ,

tasirihátati

tasiriihaáttaati'

you always want to do it

ta-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	rak-	raa-	tii	-0
IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	way	like	PERF

,

nihuksurakururuksawáštaruksku

ríhuksu' raakuruuruksawactáruksku  
 only when one sits with his tobacco pouch

rihuks	-u'	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	uks-	awahc-	raruks-	kus	-0
alone	NOM	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	JUSS	even	tobacco.pouch	be.sitting	SUB.4

hitəsáhwiška

kisáški

hi tasaáhwicka'

kísacki

, and you apparently think

meat

, hi	ta-	s-	ar-	wicka	-0	kisaac	-kis
, and	IND.1/2A	2.A	EV	think	PERF	meat	DIM

sikuasirurákuhir<sup>a</sup>

siku'ásiiru

' that you should give it

' si-	ku-	aa-	s-	ii.ra'uk	-0
' DU	INDF	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	distribute	PERF

rákuuhiira

. "

' its being good

. "

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