

Skiri Narratives, Thirty-three

Roaming Scout

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

irikuhašákuhuhur^u

iriikuuhacákuuhuhuru'

that is what He planned for us

irii- kuur- ra- 0- aca- ku- ut- raa.uhur- ra'uk -0
 that DUB ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P BEN way make PERF

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

Škarakarasírirawakⁱ

Ckára karaacíiraawaki' kíriku'

Alone we have no difference

ckara ka- ra- aciir- ir- ri- uur- raa- awakir -0 kirikuu
 alone NEG ABS IN.DU.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.strange PERF anything

.
 .
 .
 .

irikuhəsiriratihətⁿ

Iriikuahasiriiraatiihat

Whenever you had your beginning

irii-	kuur-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raa-	tiihak	-0
when	DUB	ABS	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	be.the.end	PERF

, kuhawışaksa ,

kuuhawıcaksa

you must have become aware

kuur-	ra-	0-	wicaks.aar	-0
DUB	ABS	3.P	come.to.mind	PERF

hikuhasúhawir^{it}ⁿ

hi kuuhasuúhaawiirit

and you must have seen things

hi	kuur-	ra-	s-	ut-	raa-	wa-	iirik	-0
and	DUB	ABS	2.A	PREV	way	DIST	see	PERF

Ápətⁿ

Ápat

Your grandfathers

a-	paak
2.POSS	grandfather

kuhasutákiritⁿ

kuuhasuutákiirit

you must have seen them

kuur-	ra-	s-	ut-	ak-	iirik	-0
DUB	ABS	2.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	see	PERF

hawarikurítu^{ut}ⁿ

Hawá rikuriituu'ut

Also I am that way
 haawa riku- rii- t- ut- 0 -' .
 also that.is ASSR 1.A PREV be EX .

Hikiširisírurukiwi

Hi kici riisíruuruukiwi
 And but your ways are different
 hi kici rii- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- ikiwir -0
 and but ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.different PERF

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

Hiruirikuruhawíšaksa ,

Hiru iriikuruuhaawícaksa ;
 Then thereupon you became aware ;
 hiruu irii- kuruur- ra- a- wicaks.aar -0 ,
 then then DUB ABS 2.P come.to.mind PERF ,

irikuruhušiwáwaktit

iriikuruuhuciwaáwaktit
 thereupon he talked to you
 irii- kuruur- ra- 0- a- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -0
 then DUB ABS 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ talk PERF

ápətⁿ ,
 ápat .
 your grandfather .
 a- pak .
 POSS.2 grandfather .

ikúhararu

I kúhaararu

And he gave them to you

i kuur- ra- 0- a- raar- uh -0
and DUB ABS 3.A 2.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

nawihakáraitⁿ

raawiihaakáraa'it

papers

raawiir- taakaar raa.iit
cloth be.white knowing

tírarušⁱ

tíraruuci

these

tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i
this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

Arírukiwi

A ríruukiwi

And it was different

a ri- 0- raa- ikiwir -0
and CONT.3A 3.A way be.different PERF

tirətpawáktiku

tiratpaawáktiku

this that I am talking about

tii- ra- t- waa.wak.tik -hus
this ABS 1.A talk IMPF.SUB

atípətⁿ

atípat

my grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

nikuharíka^a

irikuuhaaríkaa'a

what he told me

ii-	ri-	0-	a-	ku-	ut-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-0
what	CONT.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	1.P	PREV	tell.to	SUB.4

. Tirikuwĩšaksar^a ,

. Tirikuwícaksaara

. When I became aware ,

tii-	ri-	ku-	wicaks.aar	-a	
when	CONT.3A	1.P	come.to.mind	SUB.1	,

tirikuwĩšaksar^a ,

tirikuwícaksaara

when I became aware ,

tii-	ri-	ku-	wicaks.aar	-a	
when	CONT.3A	1.P	come.to.mind	SUB.1	,

híatipətⁿ

hi atípat

and grandfathers

hi ati- paak

and 1.POSS grandfather

wihiruritiriwíhətⁿ

wihiru riitirihwíhat

then I did have several

wii-	hiruu	rii-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-0
now	then	ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	PERF

. Irári ,

. Iraári'

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

hisitikutpawáktik^u

hi sitikutpaawáktiiku'
 and they talked to me
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

akitiharawíhətⁿ

aki tihaaráwihat
 and here these sitting
 a- ki tii- haa- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
 and there this here ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

tihawirikutpawáktiku

tihaawirikutpaawáktiku

these who were telling me

tii- haa- wii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
 this here now ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN talk IMPF.SUB

sikutíkuruhist^a
sikutíkuruuhista
they were going to give me something
si- ku- ti- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -his -ta
DU INDF IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P way give PERF INT

, nekúrahir^a ;
rakúraahiira
its being good
ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

ratáakutpawaktik^u ,
rataakutpaawáktiku .
what I am telling you .
ra- t- a- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus .
INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B BEN talk IMPF.SUB .

nikutiruhú^u .
Rikutiruuhú'u
That is the reason ,
riku- ti- 0- ruuhur -' ,
that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX ,

Iráriⁱ ,
iraári'
brother ,
i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tirikurásahətⁿ

tirikurásahat

when I grew up

tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

tiwirikuwíšəksar^a

tiwirikuwícaksaara

when I had become aware

tii- wii- ri- ku- wicaks.aar -a
when when CONT.3A 1.P come.to.mind SUB.1

atípətⁿ

atípat

grandfathers

ati- paak
1.POSS grandfather

tiratiríhwih^{^t}ⁿ

tiratiríhwihat

these of mine

tii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
this ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

, hiəskururiwáku

hi ásku ruuriiwáku'
and one then he did say

hi asku ruu- rii- 0- waka'u -0
and one then ASSR 3.A say PERF

kurahúskahik^u

;

kurahúskaahiiku'

an aged old man
 kurahuus kaahik -u'
 old.man aged NOM

šírúirirutahu

ciru	iriiruútahu							kúrahus
yet	its being that way							the old man
ciruu	irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-hus	kurahuus
yet	that	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF.SUB	old.man

nakuwitaráhkisu								,
rakuuwitaráhkiisu								,
for him to be strong								,
ra-	0-	ku-	awi-	tarahkis	-u			,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	image	be.strong	SUB.D			,

híwítikahik ^u								,
hi	wítikaáhiiku'							.
and	he was aged							.
hi	wi-	ti-	0-	kaahik	-:hus			.
and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	aged	IMPF			.

hirútiwaku								,	“	Náwa	,
Hiru	tiwáku'								“	Ráwa	
Then	he said							:	“	Now	,
hiruu	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0				,	"	rawa	,
then	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF				,	"	now	,

siksapákstihu^u

sík ^{sa}										Pákstihu'u'		
come										Big Head		
i-	s-	ir-		uks-	a	-0				paks-	rihur	-'
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A		JUSS	come	PERF				head	be.big	EX

,
,
,
,

hirukišiharawúhuspa^a

hiru ki'icihaarawúhuspa

then let's go fishing

hiruu	kii-	i-	aciir-	ut-	raarawuh	-hus	waar	-0
then	HORT	CONT.1/2A	IN.DU.A	PREV	fish	IMPF.SUB	go.DU.A	PERF

. "
. "
! "
. "
. "

Hihirurusitátiwa

Hi hiru ruusitátiwa

And then he and I went there

hi	hiruu	ruu-	si-	ta-	t-	i-	waar	-0
and	then	there	DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	go.DU.A	PERF

, tiirakíshuh^{tⁿ}

ti'iriirakiícuhat

here where the creek passed

tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	kiic-	u.hak	-0
here	where	ABS	3.A	water	extend.in.a.line	SUB.4

. Hiruawitⁿ ,

. Hiru áwit

. Then first

. hiruu awit

. then first

akusitátkutitⁿ

a	kusitátkuutit							kíriku'
and	we killed it							one
a	ku-	si-	ta-	t-	kuut.ik	-0		kirikuu
and	INDF	DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	kill	PERF		anything

, irikis ,
iirikis
a mouse
iirikis
mouse

tirakáhuriwawⁱ

tirakaáhuriiwaawi

these going in the ground

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

akirikusitataruharawúhust^a

Aki rikusitataruuhaarawúhusta

And here that is what we were going to fish with

a-	ki	riku-	si-	ta-	t-	ar-	ri-	ut-	raarawuh	:-hus	-ta
and	there	that.is	DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	EV	PHYS.POSS	PREV	fish	IMPF	INT

.
.
.
.
.
.

Hiruasiatukatáwirutitⁿ

Hiru a sitatukaatáwiiruutit

Then and we sat down on the bank
hiruu a si- ta- t- hukaata- wi.itik -ruu -0
then and DU IND.1/2A 1.A on.a.bank sit.down DIST PERF

atípətⁿ wírakurah^a
atípat wírakuraaha
my grandfather when he had it
ati- paak wii- ra- 0- ku- raah -a
1.POSS grandfather when INF.A 3.A INF.B have SUB.1

írikis kísaški . Hirútiwaku
íirikis kísacki . Hiru tiwáku'
mouse meat . Then he said
iirikis kisaac -kis . hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0
mouse meat DIM . then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

, tašiharawúhust^a .
“ Taciihaarawúhusta .
: “ We are going to fish .
, " ta- aciir- ut- raarawuh -:hus -ta .
, " IND.1/2A IN.DU.A PREV fish IMPF INT .

"
"
"
"

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

hirusitatuširarawúhusítitⁿ

hiru sitatuciraarawúhusitit

then we began to fish

hiruu	si-	ta-	t-	ut-	i-	raarawuh	-.hus	-itik
then	DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	SEQ	fish	IMPF	INCH

. Atípətⁿ

. Atípat

. My grandfather

. ati- paak

. 1.POSS grandfather

nətkutkírik^u

ratkutkíriku

when I looked at him

ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	kirik.kus	-0
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	look.at	SUB.4

hikášikⁱ

hi káciiki

and the fish

hi kacii -kis

and fish DIM

irikuhitarihúsuku

iriikuhiitariihúsuuku'

whatever they usually do

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	aar	-i	-.hus	-uuku
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	do	IMPF	IMPF	HAB

hitakaráhis^u

hi takaaraáhisu'

and suddenly

hi takaaraahis -u'

and all.at.once NOM

tutpatisáwišihkutⁿ .
tutpaatisáwichkut .
it pulled on the line .
ti- 0- ut- waatis- awi.ciih.kuk -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PREV line pull PERF .

Tipátisitⁿ ihi
Tipaátisit ihi
It was a line , uh ,
ti- 0- paatis- 0 -ik -0 , ihii ,
IND.3A 3.A line be DIST PERF , uh ,

arusanitkuús^u ;
aruúsa' ritkuu'uusu'
horse tail hair ;
aruusaa ritku- uus- -u' ,
horse tail hair NOM ,

asaritkuusúrikutⁱ
asaáritkuu'uusu' ríkuti'
horse tail hair it was the one
asaa- ritku- uus- -u' riku- ti- 0- 0 -0
horse tail hair NOM that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF

ihi atípatⁿ
ihi atípat
, uh , my grandfather
, ihii , ati- paak
, uh , 1.POSS grandfather

tirapatistáhak^u
tirapaatistáhaku

this line he had in the water

tii- ra- 0- paatis- ra- ha- kus -0
this ABS 3.A line PORT in.water be.sitting SUB.4

. Tiarusarítku^u

. Tí' aruúsa' rítkuu'u'
. It was horse tail
. ti- 0- 0 -0 aruusaa ritku -u'
. IND.3A 3.A be PERF horse tail NOM

tirasapátis^u

tíraasa paátisu' .
this line .
tii- ra- 0- sa -0 waatis- -u' .
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 line NOM .

Hitiwarítatipétihi

Hi tíwarit atípat ihi
And he threw it my grandfather , uh
hi ti- 0- a.warik -0 ati- paak , ihii
and IND.3A 3.A throw PERF 1.POSS grandfather , uh

kášikⁱ ,
káciiki .
, the fish .
, kacii -kis .
, fish DIM .

rikuwitírəsa^a ;

Rikuwitíraasa'a .

That is what it was named .

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- asar -' .
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF way be.named EX .

hitaháwihtakətⁿ ,
 Hi tahaáwihtakut
 And I ran ,
 hi ta- t- raawiir- takuk -0 ,
 and IND.1/2A 1.A angrily run PERF ,

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

kišihiatiwikitáwawahš^u ,
 kici hi atiiwikitáwaawaahcu'
 but and it would jump up and down
 kici hi ar- ti- 0- awi.kita.waahc -waa -:hus
 but and EV IND.3A 3.A jump.around DIST IMPF

hitatuturíkətⁿ ,
 hi tatuutuuríkut
 and I caught it
 hi ta- t- ut- uurikuk -0
 and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV catch PERF

hiwitatuturikátakus
 hi wtitatuuturikátakus
 and I put the fish under my arm
 hi witi- ta- t- ut- arikata.kus.k -0
 and REFL IND.1/2A 1.A PREV put.under.one's.arm PERF

.
 .
 .
 .

Aruwititatuširarurikatákusk^u

A ruuwititatućiraarurikatákusku'

And then I was putting them under my arm

a	ruu-	witi-	ta-	t-	ut-	i-	raar-	arikata.kus.k	-.hus
and	then	REFL	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	put.under.one's.arm	IMPF

. Akukakatúruru

. A kukaakaatúruru'

. And I was not afraid of it

a	ku-	kaaka-	t-	uur-	riru	-0
and	INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	be.afraid.of	PERF

tiharakutuhurawáhi

tihaarakuutuhuraáwaahi

while it jumped up and down here

tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	uhuraawaah	-i
here	here	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	flop.around	SUB.2

, širurakukísikit^u

ciru rakukísikiitu

yet while it was alive

ciruu	ra-	0-	ku-	kisikit	-u
yet	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.alive	SUB.D

Hirútiwaku

atípətⁿ

Hiru tiwáku'

atípat

Then he said my grandfather :
 hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak ,
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather ,

" Ihi ,
 " Ihi
 " Uh ,
 " ihii ,
 " uh ,

hawawitikarisuširarurikatákusk^u

hawá witikariisuciraarurikatákusku'

also don't be putting them under your arm

haawa witi- kara- i- s- ut- i- raar- arikata.kus.k -:hus
 also REFL NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.under.one's.arm IMPF

. Sukstušuhuhurárirí

. Sukstuúcuhu' huraárirí'
 . Be placing them on the ground
 . i- s- uks- ra.uc.wuh -:hus huraar -hiri'
 . CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS put.PL.OBJ IMPF ground LOC

. Kuruasiríkaha

. Kuruu'asiriíkaha'

! You'll have the odor of it

. ruu- kaas- s- ir- i- kahaa -0
 . then POT.2A 2.A PREV.1/2A SEQ have.an.odor PERF

ihí kisihis . "
 ihí kisihis . "
 , uh , fish odor . "
 , ihii , kisihis . "
 , uh , odor.of.blood . "

Rikutiwakahúatipətⁿ

Rikutiwaawákaahu'

That is what he was saying

riku-	ti-	0-	waa-	waka	-:hus	atípat	paak
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF	1.POSS	grandfather

hikirikiisirətíwišk^a

hi kíriki isiiratiíwicka'

, and I did not think anything of it

, hi	kirikii	isii-	ra-	t-	i-	wicka	-0
, and	what	plainly	ABS	1.A	SEQ	think	PERF

Nəkutariátipətⁿ

rakuútari

when he was doing it

ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	aar	-i	atípat	paak
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	do	IMPF.SUB	1.POSS	grandfather

kašikirakukuharikátahaku

káciiki rakukuuharikatáhaku

fish when he was catching them for me

kacii	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	ku-	ut-	arikata.hak	-hus
fish	DIM	INF.A	3.A	1.P	INF.B	BEN	catch.under.the.arm	IMPF.SUB

, náw^a , i
. Raáhiirit i
. Finally , and
. raahiirit , i
. finally , and

rətakuwirakusakáriki

raáhtaku

there

ra-	0-	ar-	ta	kus	-0	wirakusaakáriki	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	saak-	arik	-i
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ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 when INF.A 3.A INF.B sun be.standing SUB.2

, kíriku . nka^a !
 kíriku' . líka'a
 somewhere . Oh my ,
 kirikuu . iika'a ,
 anything . oh.my ,

rakúrihur^u

rakúrihuuru

its being big

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

nəkurikátah^{^tⁿ}

rakurikátahat

if he would take it out

ra- 0- ku- ri- kata.hak -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PORT get.away SUB.4

atípətⁿ kášikⁱ áka^a !
 atípat káciiki . Aáka'a
 my grandfather a fish ! Oh my ,
 ati- paak kacii -kis . aaka'a ,
 1.POSS grandfather fish DIM . oh.my ,

takuakutikuráhuhta

táku' a kutikuuráhuhta

someone might take it from me

taku a ku- ti- 0- ku- uur- ra- uh -ta
 someone and INDF IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV PORT go.INT INT

,

arutatihukatáhpira .
a ruutatihukataáhpíira .
and so I carried it in my arms .
a ruu- ta- t- i- hukataahpii.raah -0 .
and then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ carry.in.one's.arms PERF .

Hirútiwaku atípətⁿ
Hiru tiwáku' atípat
Then he said my grandfather: :
hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak ,
then IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather ,

" Kawirúhašaus .
" Ka wiiruúhaca'us .
" Are you hungry ?
" ka- wii- ra- a- ut- raca'us -0 .
" Y/N.INTER now ABS 2.P PREV be.hungry PERF .

" Hirutátiwaku , "
" Hiru tatiwáku' "
" Then I said : "
" hiruu ta- t- i- waka'u -0 , "
" then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF , "

Hā^u . " Hirútiwaku
Haá'u' . " Hiru tiwáku'
Yes . " Then he said
haa'u' . " hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0
yes . " then IND.3A 3.A say PERF

atípətⁿ
 atípat “
 my grandfather : “
 ati- paak , ”
 1.POSS grandfather , ”

ikiištaruš^u . ”
 I ki'ictaruúcu . ”
 And I ought to make a fire . ”
 i kii- i- t- ta.ra.uc.wuh -0 . ”
 and HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A make.a.fire PERF . ”

Hirutítarušu		atípət ⁿ
Hiru títaruucu		atípat
Then he made a fire		my grandfather
hiruu ti- 0- ta.ra.uc.wuh -0		ati- paak
then IND.3A 3.A make.a.fire PERF		1.POSS grandfather

, hitiritpahkátusca
 hi tiritpaahkátusca
 and there was a bed of coals
 hi ti- 0- ritpaar- katuus- sa -0
 and IND.3A 3.A coal flat be.lying PERF

hiatípətⁿ
 hi atípat
 and my grandfather
 hi ati- paak
 and 1.POSS grandfather

nutirarítkáhkaⁱ
 ruutiraarítkáhkaⁱ
 then he put them over the fire
 ruu- ti- 0- raar- itkaar.ka.iir -0

then IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.on.the.fire PERF

kášikⁱ ;
káciiki .
the fish .
kacii -kis .
fish DIM .

arutirahkirapáhah^{i+tⁿ}

A ruutiiraahkiraahpáhahit

And then they were brown all over

a ruu- ti- 0- i- raar- kirar pahaat -rik -0
and then IND.3A 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A be.light.brown be.red DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hitirəstaríkatah^{^tⁿ}

Hi tiirastaríkatahat

And he took them off the fire cooked

hi ti- 0- aras- raar- ri- kata.hak -0
and IND.3A 3.A cooked.food PL PORT get.away PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nihuksuarikusitətpahisítkataku^u

Rihúksu' a rikusitatpaahisítkataku

Only and that is what we sat by the fire eating
 rihuks- -u' a riku- si- ta- t- waa- a -his itkata- kus -0
 only NOM and that.is DU IND.1/2A 1.A DIST eat PERF by.a.fire be.sitting PERF

. Wirakusakurawíšat^a
 . Wirakusakurawícata
 . When the sun was going down
 . wii- ra- 0- ku- sakur- a- wic.at -a
 . when INF.A 3.A INF.B sun in.a.line arrive SUB.1

hirusitatikáisp^a
 hiru sitatikaá'ispa
 then we went home
 hiruu si- ta- t- i- kaa- iis.waar -0
 then DU IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight.DU PERF

. Atípatⁿ
 . Atípat
 . My grandfather
 . ati- paak
 . 1.POSS grandfather

atirarahurakášikⁱ ;
 a tirárahura káciiki
 and he carried the bundle fish
 a ti- 0- rarahuur- raah -0 kacii -kis
 and IND.3A 3.A bundle have PERF fish DIM

hisitəpátist^a .
 hi sitatpaátista .
 and I carried the line .
 hi si- ta- t- waatis- raah -0 .
 and DU IND.1/2A 1.A line have PERF .

Awiraratihaksa

A wiraraatiihaksa'
 and now the way was coming on
 a wii- ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
 and now ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come PERF

,
 ;
 ,
 ,

wiraratihaksa

wiraraatiihaksa'
 now the way was coming on
 wii- ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
 now ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come PERF

hiatipətⁿ

hi atípat
 , and my grandfather
 , hi ati- paak
 , and 1.POSS grandfather

wikariríkiriikutⁿ ,

wikariiriikiriikut
 he did not see well
 wii- karii- rii- 0- kirik.uk -0

now EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A see.well PERF

hiatipətⁿ

hi atípat

and my grandfather

hi ati- paak

and 1.POSS grandfather

tatastáwira

tataastáwira

I led him

ta- t- haas- ta -wi raah -0
IND.1/2A 1.A rope be.hanging SUB.L have PERF

hirútiwaku

Hiru tiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak
then IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather

atípatⁿ

atípat

my grandfather :

" Hirukíšihw^a ,

" Hiru kiicíhwa

" There let's go ,

" hiruu kii- i- aciir- waar -0 ,

" there HORT CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A go.DU.A PERF ,

hirukiiskušírəsətⁿ

hiru ki'iskuucírasat

there lead me

hiruu kii- i- s- ku- ut- ciras- at -0
there HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV COM go PERF

,

hiruratákurakawⁱ

hiru	rátaku						rákaawi		
there	over there						the lodge		
hiruu	ra-	0-	ta	kus	-0	ra-	0-	akaa	-wi
there	ABS	3.A	be.hanging	be.sitting	SUB.4	ABS	3.A	be.a.dwelling	SUB.L

. Hirutatušiširəsətⁿ

. " Hiru tatucicírasat

. " Then I led him

. " hiruu ta- t- ut- i- ciras- at -0

. " then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ COM go PERF

asitatuhúrup^a

a sitaatuhúruupa

and we entered quickly

a si- ta- t- uhur- huuk- waar -0

and DU IND.1/2A 1.A now into go.DU.A PERF

áka^a !

Aáka'a

Oh my ,

aaka'a ,

oh.my ,

pitairirahkukárik^u

piíta iriiraahkuukáriku

man the one who had the lodge

wiita irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0

man that INF.A 3.A EV INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, hítiwaku “ áka^a !
 hi tiwáku’ “ Aáka’a
 and he said : “ Oh my ,
 hi ti- 0- waka’u -0 “ aaka’a ,
 and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , “ oh.my ,

ipatirirušírəsa

ipaátti’

his grandfather

riruucírasa’

that one leading him

i- paak -ri’ rii- ra- 0- a- ut- ciras- a -0
 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B that ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV COM come PERF

. “ Rətaku ,

. “ Rátaku

! “ Over there

. “ ra- 0- ta kus -0

. “ ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

arusítatik^u

a ruusítátikus

and then they gave us a seat

a ruu- si- ta- t- i- kus.k -0
 and then DU IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ put PERF

irirurihíwatur^u .

iriruurihíwatuuru .

there where the entry was .

irii- ruu- ri- 0- hiwatur -u .
 where there CONT.3A 3.A be.a.doorway SUB.D .

Akitahkúhira^a

Aki taahkuúhira’a

And here it was done for my benefit

a- ki ti- 0- a- ar- ku- ut- ri- raar -’

and there IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A EV 1.P PREV PORT do EX

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

asakáwaəš

asaakáwa'ac

that you should eat

aa- s- haakawahc -0
 SUBJ.1/2A 2.A eat SUB.4

rátuh

. Atípətⁿ

raátu

. Atípat

I

. My grandfather

ra- t- 0 -u . ati- paak

ABS 1.A be SUB.D . 1.POSS grandfather

asititkarutapahárushisítíruharu^a

a sitítkaru'

tapahárus hi sitiíruuharu'u'

and they made it for him

pemmican and they brought them to him

a si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ka.ra'uk -0 tapaht raruus hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- raar- ruu- a -0

and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN make.PL.P PERF be.fine be.furry and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A BEN 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF

. Hiirirútiwaku

, "

. Hi iriruutiwáku'

, "

. And then he said

: "

. hi irii- ruu- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , "

. and then then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Tiharakutatíhira^a

Tiháraaku

tatiíhira'a'

This one						I brought him							
tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 ta- t- ir- ut- ri- raar -ʼ													
this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A BEN PORT do EX													

, niwáhtikuətⁿ . "

riwáhtiikuuʼat . "

the starving one . "

riwahtii kuut -ʼ . "

be.starved die EX . "

Nəkuwak^a “

Rákuwaaka “

When he said : “

ra- 0- ku- waak -a , "													
INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , "													

Hirukíšihw^a

Hiru kícihwa

Then let's go

hiruu kii- i- aciir- waar -0					
then HORT CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A go.DU.A PERF					

nətikíirirətiríwih^{^t}ⁿ

rattiiki iriiratrírhwihat									
grandchildren where mine are									
rak- tiikis irii- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -0									
grandchild sonny where ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4									

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Šápatⁿ tutataihku
 Cápaat tuutatta'ihku'
 Women he meant them
 icapaak ti- 0- ut- ak- ra'ihk -:hus
 woman IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P mean IMPF

arakuúpit^a . n'ka^a
 a ráku'u piíta . " líka'a
 and its being men . " Oh my
 a ra- 0- ku- 0 -u wiita . " iika'a
 and INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D man . " oh.my

!

,
,
,

atipətiriwitatášikst^a

atípat iriwitataáciksta
 our grandfather I love you
 ati- paak irii- wi- ta- t- a- aciks.ta -0
 1.POSS grandfather that QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P value.highly PERF

. Atatuširəsáwašit^tⁿ
 . " A tatucirasáwacitit
 ! " And I led him out
 . " a ta- t- ut- ciras- awacitik -0
 . " and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV COM go.out PERF

, hirútiwaku atípətⁿ
 . Hiru tiwáku' atípat
 . Then he said my grandfather
 . hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak

. then IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather

“ Ihi

“ Ihi

: “ Uh ,

, " ihii ,

, " uh ,

kustiřirariřak^u

kustiicirarićaku

I'll put them under my pillow to sleep on them

kuus- t- ir- ut- i- raar- ra.ica.kus -0
POT.1/3A 1.A POSS.1/2A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P have.under.one's.head PERF

, hítasir^a ,

hi tásiira' .

and you'll come .

hi ta- s- ir- a -0 .

and IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/.2A come PERF .

hirutasíwa^a . "

Hiru tacíhwa . "

Then we'll go . "

hiruu ta- aciir- waar -0 . "

then IND.1/2A IN.DU.A go.DU.A PERF . "

Atípatⁿ

Atípat

Grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

nikututpakúruetⁿ .

rikututpakúruu'ut .

that is how he talked
 riku- ti- 0- ut- wakur- uu -uk -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV word be DIST PERF

Hínahiritⁿ níkúrəsah^tⁿ ,
 Hi raáhiirit rikúrasahat
 And finally I grew up
 hi raahiirit ri- ku- rasahat -0
 and finally CONT.3A 1.P grow.up PERF

išíruriku
 i ciru riiku
 and yet he lived
 i ciruu ri- 0- kus -0
 and yet CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

atípətⁿ , hirikúrəsah^tⁿ
 atípat hi rikúrasahat
 my grandfather and I grew up
 ati- paak hi ri- ku- rasahat -0
 1.POSS grandfather and CONT.3A 1.P grow.up PERF

. Kituhirúihi ,
 . Kítuu'u' hiru ihi
 . All then , uh ,
 . kituu -u' hiruu , ihii ,
 . all NOM then , uh ,

tiwirikurəsah^tⁿ ,
 tiwirikurásahat
 when I grew up
 tii- wii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
 when when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

nətkukusíspari ,
 ratkukusíspari ,
 when I played ,
 ra- t- ku- kusion.warii -hus ,
 INF.A 1.A INF.B play.around.outside IMPF.SUB ,

nətkukusíspari ,
 ratkukusíspari ,
 when I played ,
 ra- t- ku- kusion.warii -hus ,
 INF.A 1.A INF.B play.around.outside IMPF.SUB

wirihikúniətⁿ .
 wiríhi'u rí'aat .
 when it was summer .
 wii- ra- 0- ihii -u rí'aat .
 when ABS 3.A be.in.a.place/time SUB.D summer .

Nətkurakakúhtakupirəskⁱ
 Ratkuraakakúhtaku piíraski
 When we played together [it was] boys
 ra- t- ku- rak- ak.uhtaku -0 piiras- -kis
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL play SUB.4 boy DIM

. áka^a !
 . Aáka'a
 . Oh my ,
 . aaka'a ,
 . oh.my ,

hitatiratakawáh^u
 hi tatiraattaahkaawá'ahu'
 and we were dancing
 hi ta- t- ir- rak- raar- kaa.a -wa -:hus

and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A dance DIST IMPF

,

,

,

,

kiturarurətkúširakawahi

kituu'u' raaruuratkuciraakáwaari
all our just doing various things

kituu -u' raa- ruu- ra- t- ku- ut- i- rak- aar -waa -i
all NOM just then INF>A 1.A INF.B PREV SEQ 1/2.PL do DIST IMPF.SUB

; níətⁿ
. Rí'aat
. Summer
. ri'aat
. summer

wirakuhíhi^u
wirakuuhiíhi'u
when it was

wii- ra- 0- ku- ut- raa- ihii -u
when INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.in.a.place/time SUB.D

hirutatirápakⁱ

hiru tatiraápakí'

then we would say

hiruu ta- t- i- rak- waki -0 ,
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL say.PL PERF ,

“

“

:

“

”

Kituhataətⁿ

Ki'ituuhaátta'at

Let's go after them

kii-	i-	t-	ut-	rak-	ra-	at	-0
HORT	CONT.1/2A	1.A	PREV	1/2.PL	PORT	go	PERF

kísušakas ^u				,	"
kísušakas ^u				.	"
grape vines				.	"
kisuhc-	haak-	haas-	-u'	.	"
grape	wood	rope	NOM	.	"

Hirutatiratáhkaukætⁿ

Hiru tatiraattaáhká'uukut

Then we went into the brush

hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	rak-	raar-	ka-	uukuk	-0
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	in.the.brush	get.into	PERF

,	kitupirəski			,	
	kítuu'u'	piíraski		.	
	all	the boys		.	
	kituu	-u'	piiras-	-kis	.
	all	NOM	boy	DIM	.

hitihwakíahu						ihi	,	
Hi	tihwakí'aahu'					ihi		
And	they said					uh	,	
hi	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	:-hus	,	ihii	,
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	,	uh	,

irirakurarahukára^u

iriirakurarahukára'u

for one to make bundles

irii-	ra-	0-	ku-	rarahuur-	ka.ra'uk	-0	.
that	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	bundle	make.PL.P	SUB.3	.

rawáruksti .
 Rawaáruksti' .
 It was holy .
 ra- 0- waarukstii -0 .
 ABS 3.A be.holy PERF .

Kisušakasúihi ,
 Kísuhcaakasu' ihi ,
 The grapevines , uh ,
 kisuhc- haak- haas- -u' , ihii ,
 grape wood rope NOM , uh ,

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

ararutatiratawikarúku
 a raaruutatiraattaawikaruúku'
 and we just were pretending
 a raa- ruu- ta- t- i- rak- raa- awi- ka.ra'uk -:hus
 and just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL way image make.PL.P IMPF

pirəskíripəškⁱ ;
 piiraskíripahki
 little boys '
 piiras- kiripah.kis '
 boy small '

atarawarukstíra^u .
 aataraawaarukstíra'u .
 that I consecrate it . '
 aa- t- ar- raa- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 . '

SUBJ.1/2A 1.A EV way be.holy CAUS SUB.3 . ' .

Akirikutatirirátawi

Aki rikutatiriiraátawi'

And here that was the custom we had among us

a- ki riku- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi -0
and there that.is IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among PERF

ákitar^u .

ákitaaru' .

the tribe .

akitaar- -u' .

tribe NOM .

Kiškuatirarahúrara .

Kícku' a tirarahúrara .

Several and he had bundles .

kicku a ti- 0- rarahuur- raar- raah -0 .
several and IND.3A 3.A bundle PL have PERF .

Irirákuwaka “

Iriirákuwaaka “

That one saying : “

irii- ra- 0- ku- waak -a , ”

that INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Tihararáhuku ,

Tiraráhuhku

This bundle

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

tihakustušitaráhura

tihaakustuciraráhura

I will carry this bundle for him

tii- haa- kuus- t- ut- i- rarahuur- raah -0
this here POT.1/3A 1.A BEN SEQ bundle have PERF

. " Nətkurakakúhtaku ,
. " Ratkuraakakúhtaku
. " Our playing together
. " ra- t- ku- rak- ak.uhtaku -0
. " INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL play SUB.4

tiharáihku .
tiihaará'ihku' .
they mean it .
ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF .

Hirutátiwaku , “
Hiru tatíwaku' “
Then I would say : “
hiruu ta- t- i- waka'u -0 , ”
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF , ”

Kišítiharakuihi ,
Kici tihaáraaku , ihi
But this one , uh ,
kici tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 , ihii ,
but this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

tihararáhuk^u ,
tirararáhuhku
this bundle
tii- ra- 0- rarahuur- kus -0
this ABS 3.A bundle be.sitting SUB.4

rawáruksti					,	kišiatipət ⁿ	
rawaáruksti'						kici atípat	
it is holy					,	but my grandfather	
ra-	0-	waarukstii	-0		,	kici ati- paak	
ABS	3.A	be.holy	PERF		,	but 1.POSS grandfather	

tatuharahuráhist ^a							,
tatuuharahuraáhistá							.
I am going to take the bundle for him							.
ta-	t-	ut-	rarahuur-	raah	-his	-ta	.
IND.1/2A	1.A	BEN	bundle	have	PERF	INT	.

tatuharahurikaísuht ^a							
Tatuuharahurikaa'íisuhta							
I am going to take the bundle home for him							
ta-	t-	ut-	rarahuur-	ri-	kaa-	iis.uh	-ta
IND.1/2A	1.A	BEN	bundle	PORT	inside	go.out.of.sight.INT	INT

,	kišikusíkarihəš						.	"
.	Kici kuusíkarihac						.	"
.	But he will eat it up						.	"
.	kici kuus-	0-	i-	karihac	-0		.	"
.	but POT.1/3A	3.A	SEQ	consume	PERF		.	"

Kísuhšakasu				
Kísuhcaakasu'				
Grapevines				
kisuhc-	haak-	haas-	-u'	
grape	wood	rope	NOM	

rətkutatíhku							.
ratkuutattíhku							.
my meaning them							.
ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	ak-	ra'ihk	-hus	.

INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV PLAN.3P mean IMPF.SUB .

Hirutatirarikáisətⁿ

Hiru tatirarikaá'íisat

Then I would take them home

hiruu ta- t- i- raar- ri- kaa- iis.at -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT inside go.out.of.sight PERF

wirakurátkiar^a

wirakurátkii'aara

when it became dark

wii- ra- 0- ku- ratkii -aar -a .
when INF.A 3.A INF.B be.night INCH SUB.1 .

Hírahiritⁿ

Hi raáhiirit

And finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

, hirikurəsáhətⁿ

hi rikurásahat

and I grew up

hi ri- ku- rasahat -0

and CONT.3A 1.P grow.up PERF .

Hírahiritⁿ

Hi raáhiirit

And finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

, witatašíkskasa

witaatacíkskasa

I was sensible

wii- ta- t- aciks.ka.sa -0

now IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF

, hírahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit

and finally

hi raahiirit

and finally

rutátiwaku

ruutatiwáku'

“

“

then I would say : “
 ruu- ta- t- i- waka'u -0 , ”
 then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF , ”

Atípətⁿ

Atípat

Grandfather ,

ati- paak ,

1.POSS grandfather ,

witatašíkaskasa

witaatacíkaskasa .

I am sensible now .

wii- ta- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 .

now IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF .

tatúharahista

Tatuúharaahista

I am going bring them for you

ta- t- ir- a- ut- raar- ra- a -his -ta
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P BEN 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF INT

kisúsitⁿ íka^a !

kisuúsit . líka'a

artichokes . Oh my ,

kisuusit . iika'a ,

Jerusalem.artichoke . oh.my ,

wituháhkítar^{it}ⁿ

wituuhaáhkitaarit

their tops are growing

wi- ti- 0- a- ut- raar- kita- arik -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P on.top be.standing PERF

. " Hirútiwaku "

. " Hiru tiwáku' "

. " Then he said : "

. " hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 "

. " then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Hirusikstáratikⁱ

Hiru síkstaa' rattíiki

Then bring them , grandchild

hiruu i- s- ir- uks- ra- a -0 , rak- tiikis

then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS PORT come PERF , grandchild sonny

, nikutuhtáhari .

. Rikutuhtáhari . "

! Those taste good . "

. riku- ti- 0- uur- taha- hiir -0 . "

. that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV flavor be.good PERF . "

Hirutatitaráhkis^{^tⁿ}

Hiru tatitaráhkisat .

Then I would run .

hiruu ta- t- i- tarahkis- at -0 .

then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ be.strong go PERF .

Tišukstákitariki

Tuucukstaáhkitaarikit

The tops were growing

ti- 0- a- ut- uks- raar- kita- arik -ik -0

IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PREV AOR 3PL.INAN.P on.top be.standing DIST PERF

, kisús^{tⁿ} . Kiríku , pítku ,

kisuúsit . Kíríku' pítku

artichokes . Sometimes two

kisuusit . kirikuu pitku

Jerusalem.artichoke . anything two

atəturaráhuru

a tatuuharáhuru'

and I made a bundle for him

a ta- t- ut- rarahuur- ra'uk -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A BEN bundle make PERF

akutiráhwiətⁿ

a kutiiraáhwí'at

and it was a big pile of them

a ku- ti- 0- raar.wi.ak -0
and INDF IND.3A 3.A be.a.pile.so.high PERF

Hirutatirirára

Hiru tatiriiráraa'

Then I brought them to him

hiruu ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raar- ra- a -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF

atipétirirak^u

atípat iriíraaku

my grandfather where he was

ati- paak irii- ra- 0- kus -0
1.POSS grandfather where ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

Atatiriraríkaruku

A tatiriiraariíkaruuku'

And I was washing them for him

a ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raar- hii.ka.ra'uk -:hus
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV 3PL.INAN.P wash IMPF

.
.

.
. .

Hirútiwaku , atípatⁿ
Hiru tiwáku' atípat
Then he said my grandfather:
hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak
then IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather

" Ihi
" Ihi
: " Uh ,
, " ihii ,
, " uh ,

karisiráharu
kariisiraáharu'
don't boil them
kara- i- s- i- raahaar -ra'uk -0
NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.cooking.by.boiling CAUS PERF

tuhkišaháriwa
. Tuhkicaháriwa
. They taste good
. ti- 0- uur- kica.haar- hi.wa.ar -0
. IND.3A 3.A PREV liquid be.good.DIST PERF

nətkuwaətahisu . "
ratkuwá'a taahiisu' . "
when I eat them dry . "
ra- t- ku- wa- a -0 taahiis -u' . "
INF.A 1.A INF.B DIST eat SUB.3 be.dry NOM . "

Atípətⁿ

Atípat

My grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

hitatuhárəspi

hi tatuuháraspi'

and I hunted them for him

hi ta- t- ut- raar- raspíi -0

and IND.1/2A 1.A BEN 3PL.INAN.P look.for PERF

híširuriku

hi ciru riiku

and yet he lived

hi ciruu ri- 0- kus -0

and yet CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

atípətⁿ

atípat

my grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

hikišiwikarákirikutⁿ

hi kici wikarákiriikut

and but he could not see well

hi kici wii- ka- ra- 0- kirík.uk -0

and but now NEG ABS 3.A see.well PERF

Hirutátiwaku

Hiru tatiwáku'

Then I would say

hiruu ta- t- i- waka'u -0

, " I ,
" I
: " And ,
, " i ,

then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF , " and ,

atípətⁿ

atípat

grandfather ,

ati- paak ,

1.POSS grandfather ,

kitiraraətikurar^u

kiitíraara'

I'll bring them

kii-	i-	t-	ir-	raar-	ra-	a	-0	atiik	huraar	-u'
HORT	CONT.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	PERF	bean	earth	NOM

atíkuraaru'

ground beans

.
.

.

.

tuháhkítarⁱⁿ

Tuuhaáhkitaarit

Their tops are growing

ti-	0-	a-	ut-	raar-	kita-	arik	-0
IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	on.top	be.standing	PERF

. " Hítiwaku atípətⁿ
 . " Hi tiwáku' atípat
 . " And he said my grandfather
 . " hi ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak
 . " and IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather

“
“

: “
, ”
, ”

Hirusikstára

Hiru sikstáara’
Then bring them
hiruu i- s- ir- uks- raar- ra- a -0
then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF

. ” Akutiráhwiætⁿ
. ” A kutiiraáhwi’at
! ” And there was a big pile of them
. ” a ku- ti- 0- raar.wi.ak -0
. ” and INDF IND.3A 3.A be.a.pile.so.high PERF

natihkurára

ratihkuráara
what I brought
ra- t- ir- ku- raar- ra- a -0
INF.A 1.A PREV.1/2A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P PORT come SUB.4

nətkuháhkitira^u
ratkuuhaáhkitiira’u
what I wrapped up
ra- t- ku- ut- raar- kitii.ra’uk -0
INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV 3PL.INAN.P wrap.up SUB.3

Hirutátiwaku

Hiru tatiwáku’
Then I would say
hiruu ta- t- i- waka’u -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ say PERF

Atipətⁿ

Atípat

Grandfather

ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

hawiríruš . "

haawiiríruc . "

here they are . "

haa- wii- ri- 0- ra.uc -0 . "
here now CONT.3A 3.A be.lying.PL PERF . "

Hirurútiwaku “

Hiru ruutiwáku’ “

There then he said: :

hiruu ruu- ti- 0- waka’u -0 , "
there then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , "

Kušukstáharu

Kucukstaáharu’

Boil them for me

i- s- ku- ut- uks- raahaar -ra’uk -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P BEN JUSS be.cooking.by.boiling CAUS PERF

. "

. "

! "

. "

. "

Atatuháharu

A tatauhaáharu’

And I boiled them for him

a ta- t- ut- raahaar -ra’uk -0

and IND.1/2A 1.A BEN be.cooking.by.boiling CAUS PERF

atipətatatuhahkuštíkatah^{^tⁿ}

atípat a tatuuhaahkuctíkatahat
my grandfather and I took the kettle of them off
ati- paak a ta- t- ut- raar- kuc- ri- kata.hak -0
1.POSS grandfather and IND.1/2A 1.A BEN 3PL.INAN.P kettle PORT get.away PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Aratiwahísku

A raatiwaahísku
And he just sat eating them
a raa- ti- 0- waa- a -his kus -0
and just IND.3A 3.A DIST eat PERF be.sitting PERF

. Átiwaku , “
. A tiwáku’ “
. And he said : “
. a ti- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
. and IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Nikutatiháriraa

Rikutatihaáriraa’

That is what I desired

riku- ta- t- ir- ut- raar- ri- raar -’
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV 3PL.INAN.P PORT do EX

,
.

nikutatiháirira^a

Rikutatihaáirira'a'

That is what I desired

riku-	ta-	t-	ir-	ut-	raar-	ri-	raar	-'
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	do	EX

širutírət^u

ciru tíratku

yet while I live

ciruu	tii-	ra-	t-	kus	-0
yet	this	ABS	1.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

tirətutpawáktiku

tiratutpaawáktiku

this my telling you things

tii-	ra-	t-	a-	ut-	waa.wak.tik	-hus
here	ABS	1.A	2.P	PREV	talk	IMPF.SUB

tirá^atawi

Tirá^atawi'

It may be

ti-	0-	raa-	tawi	-0
IND.3A	3.A	way	be.among	PERF

nihkukahurišawíšat^a

rihkukaahuuricawícata

for one to live to an old age

ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	kaahuur.ica.wic.at	-a
INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	live.to.an.old.age	SUB.1

tirátwi
 Tiraátawi'
 It may be
 ti- 0- raa- tawi -0
 IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF

nətákuruh^a ,
 rataákuruuha
 my giving you
 ra- t- a- ku- raa- uh -a
 INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B way give SUB.1

tiratutpawáktiku
 tiratutpaawáktiku
 these things I tell you
 tii- ra- t- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
 here ABS 1.A 2.P PREV talk IMPF.SUB

rakúrahira^a .
 rakúraahiira .
 its being a good way .
 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 .

lkariritušiwawákitiku
 I kariirituciwaawáktiiku'
 And I do not tell you things
 i kari- rii- t- a- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A 2.P BEN SEQ talk IMPF

narurəskupákuspari
 raaruuraskuupákuspari
 for you to just go around fighting
 raa- ruu- ra- s- ku- apak -hus warii -hus

just then INF.A 2.A INF.B fight IMPF.SUB be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, arəskútaut^u ,
 . A raskúta'uutu
 . And for you to steal
 . a ra- s- ku- ta'uut -hus
 . and INF.A 2.A INF.B steal IMPF.SUB

kakatutpawáktiku .
 kaakatutpaawáktiiku' .
 I am not talking to you .
 kaaka- t- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus .
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN talk IMPF .

Kakatutpawáktikunárurəskušiará
 Kaakatutpaawáktiiku' raaruuraskúci'aara
 I am not talking to you for you to just do something (bad)
 kaaka- t- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus raa- ruu- ra- s- ku- ut- i- aar -a
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN talk IMPF just then INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV SEQ do SUB.1

, kíriku .
 kíriku' .
 something .
 kirikuu .
 anything .

Tatutpawáktikušíkstitⁿ
 Tatutpaawáktiiku' cikstit
 I tell you things well
 ta- t- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus cikstik
 IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P BEN talk IMPF well

hirəsakúwari
 hi rasaahkúwari

and for you to live
 hi ra- s- ar- ku- warii -hus
 and INF.A 2.A EV INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Akikutiwakawírariks

Aki kutiiwakaawíraariks
 And here his words were true
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- i- wakaara -wi raariks -0
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.noisy SUB.L be.true PERF

, atípatⁿ
 atípat
 my grandfather
 ati- paak
 1.POSS grandfather

tirikutpawáktik^u .
 tirikutpaawáktiku .
 when he was talking to me .
 tii- ri- 0- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus .
 when CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN talk IMPF.SUB .

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

iwirikurásah^{^t}ⁿ ,
 iwirikurásahat
 when I grew up
 ii- wii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
 when when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

hirurikušikskáwa .
 hiru rikuucikskaaáwaa' .
 then I thought about all the things .
 hiruu ri- ku- aciks.kaa.a -wa -0 .
 then CONT.3A 1.P think.of DIST PERF .

Tatiríhwiwah^{^t}ⁿ
 Tatirihwíwaahat
 I had various ones
 ta- t- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -waa -0
 IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

atípatⁿ ,
 atípat .
 my grandfathers .
 ati- paak .
 1.POSS grandfather .

sitikutpawáktik^u .
 Sitikutpaawáktiiku' .
 They talked to me .
 si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus .
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk IMPF .

Hirurikušikskáwa , “
 Hiru rikuucikskaaáwaa' . “
 Then I thought of things . “
 hiruu ri- ku- aciks.kaa.a -wa -0 . ”

then CONT.3A 1.P think.of DIST PERF . "

Iharī

Íhaarii'

That is it

ii- haa- rii- 0- 0 -0 .
that here ASSR 3.A be PERF .

tiharíhi

Tíhaarii'

This is it

tii- haa- rii- 0- 0 -0 , " hi
this here ASSR 3.A be PERF , " and

atípatⁿ

atípat

my grandfather

ati- paak

1.POSS grandfather

nukspawahúsku .

rukspaawahúsku .

all the things that he used to say .

ra- 0- uks- waa- waaka -hus -uku .
ABS 3.A AOR DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári'

Brother ,

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

tiwirikurásah^tⁿ

tiwirikurásahat

when I grew up
 tii- wii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
 when when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

hirutatúši^a ,
 hiru tatúci'a
 then I did it
 hiruu ta- t- ut- i- aar -0
 then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

širukaratašíkkskasa ,
 ciru karaatacíkkskasa .
 yet I was not mature .
 ciruu ka- ra- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
 yet NEG ABS 1.A be.sensible PERF .

karaštirátara .
 Karactiraáttara .
 I did not have a bow and arrows .
 ka- ra- t- tiraak- raar- raah -0 .
 NEG ABS 1.A bow PL have PERF .

Hikírikuihi
 Hi kíriku' ihi
 And something , uh ,
 hi kirikuu , ihii ,
 and anything , uh ,

sitíhkutitⁿ , ihi
 sitíhkuutit ihi
 they killed it , uh ,
 si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 , ihii ,
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF , uh ,

kíwiku
 kíwiiku'
 a male buffalo
 kiwiik -u'
 buffalo.bull NOM

akutaraharáku^u ,
 aku táraha' raáhku'u ,
 or a female buffalo its being ,
 aku tarahaa ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u ,
 or buffalo INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D ,

hisitíkuniškⁱ
 hi sitíkuráru rícki
 and they gave them to me guts
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- ku- raar- uh -0 riic -kis
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF intestine DIM

, hirutatúšⁱa ,
 . Hiru tatúci'a
 . Then I did it
 . hiruu ta- t- ut- i- aar -0
 . then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

asitíku^u ,
 a sitíku'u
 and they gave it to me
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ku- uh -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P give PERF

irirárarutətkišúšisikⁱ .
 iriiráraruutatkišúšisiki .
 where the thickest waste matter was .
 irii- ra- 0- raar.uu.ataat- kicuucis -ik -i .

where ABS 3.A waste.matter be.dense DIST SUB.2 .

Akitíhwiška ,

Aki tíhwicka'

And here they thought

a- ki ti- 0- ir- wicka -0
and there IND.3A 3.A PL.3A think PERF

kuruasikátih^{^t} ,

kuruu'asiikátiihat

that you'll have it all over yourself

ruu- kaas- s- i- ka.tiihak -0
then POT.2A 2.A SEQ have.all.over.oneself PERF

hiisáhwiš^{^t} .

hi isaáhwicat .

and you'll arrive .

hi i- s- ar- wic.at -0
and CONT.1/2A 2.A EV arrive PERF

Kiwikuráku^u

Kíwiiku' ráku'u

A bull its being

kiwiik -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
buffalo.bull NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

hirusitikurišikistáhkarip^u

hiru sitikuriicikistaáhkariipu

then they tied the bones for me

hiruu si- ti- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- i- kiis- raar- kariik.wuh -0
then DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ bone PL tie.up PERF

nisátkis^u ,

risátkiisu'

rib bones

risat- kiis- -u'
rib bone NOM

hisitikuritkátauš

hi sitikuritkáta'uc

and they put them on my back

hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- kata- uc -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV against.a.vertical.surface lay.SG.P PERF

nískⁱ

rícki

the entrails

riic -kis

intestine DIM

Hirutatírarawihətⁿ

Hiru tatíraawihut

Then I would carry them

hiruu ta- t- i- raar- ra.awi.huk -0
then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P carry PERF

, ataharíwišətⁿ

a taharíwícat

and I arrived with them

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

irírahakakawⁱ

iriírahaakakaawi

where our lodge was

irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi
where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hiwikarakúatipetⁿ

hi wíkaraaku atípat
and he was not now living my grandfather
hi wii- ka- ra- 0- kus -0 ati- paak
and now NEG ABS 3.A be.sitting PERF 1.POSS grandfather

. Hirutiríwaki ,
. Hiru tiriíwaki'
. Then they would say
. hiruu ti- 0- ir- i- waki -0
. then IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF

atí^s , a , atíra , “
atí'as a atíra' “
my father and mother : “
ati- as a ati- raa , ”
1.POSS father and 1.POSS mother , ”

áka^a !
Aáka'a
Oh my ,
aaka'a ,
oh.my ,

irirukspawakahusukúipati

iriirukspaawaakahúsuku ipaátti'
those (were the) things he used to say his grandfather
irii- ra- 0- uks- waa- waaka -hus -uku i- paak -ri'
that ABS 3.A AOR DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB HAB.SUB 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B

, wirutíkatih^tⁿ

. Wiruutiíkatiihat
. There he has it all over him
. wii- ruu- ti- 0- i- ka.tiihak -0

. now there IND.3A 3.A SEQ have.all.over.oneself PERF

tirawiríkisa .
 tirawiríkisa . "
 what he has brought in . "
 tii- ra- 0- a- wirikis.a -0 . "
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A bring.back.a.load SUB.4 . "

Atahisétkistuš^u

A tahisátkiistuucu
 And I laid the rib bones down ,
 a ta- t- risat- kiis- ra.uc.wuh -0 ,
 and IND.1/2A 1.A rib bone put.PL.OBJ PERF ,

nihuksunisətkišúkiwiku .
 rihuksu' risátkiisu' kíwiiku' .
 only rib bones buffalo bull .
 rihuks -u' risat- kiis- -u' kiwiik -u' .
 alone NOM rib bone NOM buffalo.bull NOM .

Irárⁱ , hínahiritⁿ
 Iraári' hi raáhiirit
 Brother , and finally
 i- -raar- -ri' , hi raahiirit
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and finally

hirikuwíšəksa . Hínahiritⁿ
 hi rikuuwícaksa . Hi raáhiirit
 and I became mature . And finally
 hi ri- ku- wicaks.aar -0 . hi raahiirit
 and CONT.3A 1.P come.to.mind PERF . and finally

,

sirikuštirákarukusititⁿ

siriikuctiraákaruukusitit

they began making me a bow and arrows

si-	rii-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	tiraak-	ka.ra'uk	-:hus	-itik
DU	ASSR	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	BEN	bow	make.PL.P	IMPF	INCH

škúšaku	.	Hínahirit ⁿ	,
ckuúcaku	.	Hi raáhiirit	
blunt arrows	.	And finally	
ickuc.cak.hus	.	hi raahiirit	
blunt.arrow	.	and finally	

nitapawaríkusititⁿ

riitapaawaríkusitit

I began shooting them

rii-	t-	ak-	waa-	warik	-:hus	-itik
ASSR	1.A	PL.AN.3P	DIST	shoot	IMPF	INCH

níkušk ⁱ	.	nka ^a	!	níkušk ⁱ	,
ríkucki	.	líka'a		ríkucki	
birds	.	Oh my	,	a bird	
rikuc	-kis	iika'a	,	rikuc	-kis
bird	DIM	oh.my	,	bird	DIM

wirətkukútika	,	íka ^a	!					
wiratkuukuútika		iika'a						
when I killed it	,	oh my	,					
wii-	ra-	t-	ku-	kuut.ik	-a	,	iika'a	,
when	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	kill	SUB.1	,	oh.my	,

takuakutikuráhuhta

táku' a kutikuuráhuhta
someone and it seemed he was going to take it from me
taku a ku- ti- 0- ku- uur- ra- uh -ta
someone and INDF IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV PORT go.INT INT

,

aruwítitátušihawu

a ruuwítitátucihtawu
and then I put it under my belt
a ruu- witi- ta- t- ut- i- ihta wuh -0
and then REFL IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ have.under.one's.belt put PERF

. Nətkukawútku
. Ratkukawuútku
. When I was killing them ,
. ra- t- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus ,
. INF.A 1.A INF.B kill.DIST IMPF.SUB ,

wirikuriusisar^a

wirikurii'uusisaara
when I was learning
wii- ri- ku- rii'uus -his -aar -a
when CONT.3A 1.P be.knowledgeable PERF INCH SUB.1

níkuški . áka^a !
ríkucki . Aáka'a
birds . Oh my ,
rikuc -kis . aaka'a ,

bird DIM . oh.my ,

nikuškiwirət̄kukawútik^a

rikucki wiratkukawuútika

birds when I killed them

rikuc -kis wii- ra- t- ku- ka.wa.ut.ik -a
bird DIM when INF.A 1.A INF.B kill.DIST SUB.1

, wírahius^u

wírahii'uusú'

now I knew how

wii- ra- t- rii'uus -:hus
now ABS 1.A know.how IMPF

nakuwáriku

níkuškⁱ .

rakuuwáriku

rikucki .

to shoot it

a bird .

ra- 0- ku- warik -hus rikuc -kis .
INF.A 3.A INF.B shoot IMPF.SUB bird DIM .

Náhira karatkuriwárik^a

Ráhiira' karatkuuriwárika

Sometimes when I would not miss it

rahiira ka- ra- t- ku- i- ri.warik -a
further NEG INF.A 1.A INF.B SEQ miss SUB.1

, nakúrihur^u ,

rakúrihuuru

a big one ,

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

takuakutikuráhuht^a

táku' a kutikuuráhuhta

someone	and	it seemed he would take it from me							
taku	a	ku-	ti-	0-	ku-	uur-	ra-	uh	-ta
someone	and	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	PORT	go.INT	INT

,
,
,

hirutatirarikáísətⁿ

hiru	tatirrikaá'íisat								
then	I took them home								
hiruu	ta-	t-	i-	raar-	ri-	kaa-	iis.at	-0	
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	inside	go.out.of.sight	PERF	

.
. .
. .
. .

Hikarariwihótatipətⁿ

Hi	karariiwíwaahat						atípat		
And	there they sat						my grandfathers		
hi	kara-	rii-	0-	wi.hak	-waa	-0	ati-	paak	
and	NEG	ASSR	3.A	be.sitting.PL	DIST	PERF	1.POSS	grandfather	

,

!
,
,

arasitikurahurasíkstaiitⁿ

a raasitikurahuuracíksta'ii'it
and they were just glad to see me with them
a raa- si- ti- 0- ir- ku- rahuur.aciks.ta'it -'
and just DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P be.happy.to.see EX

,

,

,

,

arasitikutikstawiáhu

a raasitikuutikstawi'aáhu'
and they were just stroking me
a raa- si- ti- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -:hus
and just DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PREV hand brush.against IMPF

, nikuškiwirətkawúniku .
ríkucki wiratkawuúniku .
the birds my having killed them .
rikuc -kis wii- ra- t- ka.wa.ut.ik -hus .
bird DIM now ABS 1.A kill.DIST IMPF.SUB .

Iríkuruhiratih^{^tⁿ}

Iriikuruuhiraatiíhat

Right there was the beginning :
irii- kuruur- ri- 0- raa- tiihak -0 ,
there DUB CONT.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF ,

witahíus

witahí'us

I now knew how

wii- ta- t- rii'uus -0

now IND.1/2A 1.A know.how PERF

nəkukútika níkuškⁱ ,
rakukuútika ríkucki .
to kill it a bird .
ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a rikuc -kis .
INF.A 3.A INF.B kill SUB.1 bird DIM .

híritkutitⁿ níkuškⁱ ,
Hi rítkuutit ríkucki
And I killed it a bird
hi rii- t- kuut.ik -0 rikuc -kis
and ASSR 1.A kill PERF bird DIM

rarárhkatar^u .
rarárhkataaru .
the yellow kind .
ra- 0- raar- rahkataar -u .
ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.yellow SUB.D .

Irárⁱ , rarárhkataru
Iraári' rarárhkataaru
Brother , the yellow kind
i- -raar- -ri' ,
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

níkuškⁱ rúhiwar^a
ríkucki ruúhiwaara
bird the pretty ones ,
rikuc -kis ra- 0- uur- hi.wa.ar -a ,
bird DIM ABS 3.A PREV be.good.DIST SUB.1 ,

íka^a !
íika'a

oh my ,
 iika'a ,
 oh.my ,

iriwítawakⁱ .
 iriwítaawaki' .
 that one was different .
 irii- wi- ti- 0- a- awakir -0 .
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.strange PERF .

Hirihitakətⁿ
 Hi riihitákut
 And I ran with it
 hi rii- t- ri- takuk -0
 and ASSR 1.A PORT run PERF

irirahakakáwⁱ .
 irirahaakakaáwi .
 where our lodge was .
 irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi .
 where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Hirúriwaku atí[^]s , “
 Hiru riiwáku' atí'as “
 Then he said my father : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as , ”
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father , ”

Witəskútitⁿ níkuškⁱ
 Witaskuútit ríkucki
 You have killed it a bird
 wii- ta- s- kuut.ik -0 rikuc -kis
 now IND.1/2A 2.A kill PERF bird DIM

irírawakira ,
 iriíraawakira .
 one that is unusual .
 irii- ra- 0- a- awakir -a .
 that ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.strange SUB.1 .

hirusuhúrətⁿ ihi
 Hiru suhuúrat ihi
 Then take it , uh
 hiruu i- s- uhur- ra- at -0 , ihii
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A now PORT go PERF , uh

hirusúkst^t ,
 hiru súkstat
 , there take it
 , hiruu i- s- uks- ra- at -0
 , there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS PORT go PERF

títaku kúrahustik^u ,
 tiítaku kúrahus tiíku .
 here an old man he lives .
 tii- -taku kurahuus ti- 0- kus -0 .
 here LOC old.man IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

ihi ,
 Ihi
 Uh ,
 ihii ,
 uh ,

sitiraruhuníkuškⁱ
 sitiraruúhu' ríkucki
 they always give them to him birds
 si- ti- 0- ir- raar- uh -:hus rikuc -kis

DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF bird DIM

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

hihirururítirətⁿ .

hi hiru ruuriítirat .
and then I took them there .
hi hiruu ruu- rii- t- i- ra- at -0 .
and then there ASSR 1.A SEQ PORT go PERF .

Hikúrahus ritáku “
Hi kúrahus rittáku’ “
And the old man I said : “
hi kurahuus rii- t- taka’u -0 , ”
and old.man ASSR 1.A say PERF , ”

Tiharakúihi ,
Tiháraaku ihi
This one , uh ,
tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 , ihii ,
this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

atípatⁿ

atípat
grandfather ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

tihároku ihi
tiháraaku ihi

this one , uh ,
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0 , ihii ,
 this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

tátkutit níkuški . nka^a
 tátkuutit ríkucki . " líka'a
 I killed it bird . " Oh my
 ta- t- kuut.ik -0 rikuc -kis . " iika'a
 IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF bird DIM . " oh.my

! kúrahus
 kúrahus
 , the old man
 , kurahuus
 , old.man

natikstárawiku .
 raatikstaárawiku .
 he held his hands up .
 raa- ti- 0- iks- raar- awi- kus -0 .
 just IND.3A 3.A hand PL image be.sitting PERF .

Akitirakukúrahus
 Aki tíraaku kúrahus
 And here this one old man
 a- ki tii- ra- 0- kus -0 kurahuus
 and there this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 old.man

hiruhawarikusitiraruhuníkuškⁱ
 hiru hawá rikusitiraruúhu' ríkucki
 there also he is the one they gave them to birds
 hiruu haawa riku- si- ti- 0- ir- raar- uh -:hus rikuc -kis
 there also that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P give IMPF bird DIM

irírakuwakira .
 iriiraakuuwákira .
 ones that were unusual .
 irii- ra- 0- a- ku- awakir -a .
 that INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B be.strange SUB.1 .

Akikutiraráatira

Aki kutírara Atíra'
 And here he possessed it Mother
 a- ki ku- ti- 0- raar- raah -0 ati- raa
 and there INDF IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have PERF 1.POSS mother

hawairakúkarusi

hawá iriirakúkaruuci
 also where they were in it
 haawa irii- ra- 0- ku- ka- ra.uc -i
 also where INF.A 3.A INF.B in be.lying.PL SUB.2

, níkuštahkítu . Hísuhurⁱ ,
 ríkuctaahkituu'u' . Hi suúhuri'
 all kinds of birds . And later
 rikuc raar- kituu -u' . hi suuhuri'
 bird PL all NOM . and over.here

híhawarítkutitⁿ

hi hawá rítkuutit níkuški
 and again I killed it a bird .
 hi haawa rii- t- kuut.ik -0 rikuc -kis .
 and also ASSR 1.A kill PERF bird DIM .

háwatawakⁱ

Hawá taáwaki' .
 Also it was spotted .
 haawa ti- 0- a- awakir -0 .

also IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.strange PERF .

nikuhšáras^u ,

Rikuhcárasu'

An oriole

rikuhc- araas -u'
bird be.cooked NOM

tihwakíah^u

áka^a !

tihwakí'aahu'

. Aáka'a

they say

. Oh my ,

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

. aaka'a ,

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

. oh.my ,

natirasiskatihákkatar^tn

ruutiirasiskatihaáhkataarit

it just was orange on black

ruu- ti- 0- araas -his katiit raar- kata- arik -0
then IND.3A 3.A be.cooked PERF be.black ITER against.a.vertical.surface be.standing PERF

. Hihawairiruriwáku

. Hi hawá iriruuriwáku'

. And also then he did say that

. hi haawa irii- ruu- rii- 0- waka'u -0

. and also that then ASSR 3.A say PERF

atí[^]s , “

atí[']as “

my father : “

ati- as , ”

1.POSS father , ”

Hirusukstətⁿ . ”

Hiru súkstat . ”

There take it ! "
 hiruu i- s- uks- ra- at -0 . "
 there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS PORT go PERF . "

Hihawairururítirətⁿ

Hi hawá iruruurítirat
 And also then I took it there
 hi haawa irii- ruu- rii- t- i- ra- at -0
 and also there then ASSR 1.A SEQ PORT go PERF

. Hirúasku^u kúrahus
 . Hiru ásku'u' kúrahus
 . There the same old man
 . hiruu asku -u' kurahuus
 . there one NOM old.man

hiháwaritu . nka^a !
 hi hawá riitu . líka'a
 and again I gave it to him . Oh my ,
 hi haawa rii- t- uh -0 . iika'a ,
 and also ASSR 1.A give PERF . oh.my ,

ratikstárawiku ,

raatikstaárawiku

he just held his hands outward

raa- ti- 0- iks- raar- awi- kus -0
 just IND.3A 3.A hand PL image be.sitting PERF

arutikúsikstaiwaah^u

a ruutikuúciksta'iwa'aahu'
 and then he was stroking me
 a ruu- ti- 0- a- ku- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -:hus
 and then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV hand brush.against DIST IMPF

. " Tíkⁱ
 . " Tíki
 . " Sonny ,
 . " tikis ,
 . " sonny ,

irirákuhir^a

iriiraáhkuuhiira

the pretty ones

irii-	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	uur-	hiir	-a
that	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PREV	be.good	SUB.1

níkuškⁱ

ríkucki

birds

rikuc -kis

bird DIM

nikutasiraráhust^a

rikutasiraraáhusta

those are the ones you are to bring me

riku-	ta-	s-	ir-	raar-	ra-	a	-.hus	-ta
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	come	IMPF	INT

. " Hinahiritⁿ ,

. " Hi raáhiirit

. " And finally

. " hi raahiirit

. " and finally

hirikúrasah^tⁿ

hi rikúrasahat

and I grew up

hi ri- ku- rasahat -0

. Hínahiritⁿ

. Hi raáhiirit

. And finally

. hi raahiirit

and CONT.3A 1.P grow.up PERF . and finally

ritparawahakírusititⁿ ,
ritpaarawaahaahkiírusitit
I began to sneak away at various times ,
rii- t- paarawaahaahkiir -:hus -itik ,
ASSR 1.A sneak.around.hiding IMPF INCH ,

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

Kírikuparisu
Kíriku' paariísu'
Some a hunter
kirikuu paariis- -u'
anything hunter NOM

rakuráhwari^{pít}^a
rakuraáhwari piíta
when they were going out men
ra- 0- ku- raar- warii -hus wiita
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB man

,

hirarutatuširirar^tⁿ
hi raaruutatucíriraarat

and then I just followed him
 hi raa- ruu- ta- t- ut- i- ri.raar.at -0
 and just then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ go.after PERF

. Pitarákuparisət^a ,
 . Piíta rákupaariisata
 . Men when they went hunting
 . wiita ra- 0- ku- paariis- at -a
 . man INF.A 3.A INF.B hunter go SUB.1

atikuksáwaštíwarasiksári

a tikuksawactíwaraaciksári'
 and he was even scolding me
 a ti- 0- ku- uks- awahc- ri- waraa.aciks -aar -i
 and IND.3A 3.A 1.P JUSS even PORT be.angry INCH IMPF

, hikařtpiruhu^u ,
 hi karátpiruuhu'u
 and I was determined
 hi ka- ra- t- wiruu.hur -'
 and NEG ABS 1.A be.determined EX

nətku tatatāt^a . Hínahiri
 ratkuctátataata . Hi raáhiirit
 for me to follow him . And finally
 ra- t- ku- ut- tatata.at -a . hi raahiirit
 INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV follow SUB.1 . and finally

tíhwaki

tíhwaki'

they said

ti- 0- ir- waki -0
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF

irirakúhuriwⁱ , “
 iriirakúhuriwi “
 the ones who were going around : “
 irii- ra- 0- ku- hurii -wi , ”
 that INF.A 3.A INF.B go.around.PL SUB.L , ”

Rúruks^a . ”
 Ruúruksa’ . ”
 Let him come on ! ”
 ruu- ri- 0- a- uks- a -0 . ”
 then CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A JUSS come PERF . ”

Hínahiritⁿ ,
 Hi raáhiirit
 And finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

kirikusitíhkutitⁿ
 kíriku’ sitíhkuutit
 sometimes they killed it
 kirikuu si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0
 anything DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

nahúrahkⁱ .
 rahúrahki .
 a deer .
 rahuraar -kis .
 animal DIM .

Hihawasitíhkutitⁿ ,
 Hi hawá sitihkuútit
 And also they killed it
 hi haawa si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0

and also DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill PERF

hitihkáwutitⁿ

hi tihkáwuutit

and they killed them

hi ti- 0- ir- ka.wa.ut.ik -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill.DIST PERF

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

i-

-raar-

-ri'

3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

, hínahiritⁿ

, hi raáhiirit

, and finally

, hi raahiirit

, and finally

kusitíkuraru

kusitíkuraru

they gave something to me

ku- si- ti- 0- ir- ku- raar- uh -0
INDF DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

ihi nakúrarah^a

ihi rakúraaha

, uh , to carry

, ihii , ra- 0- ku- raar- raah -a

, uh , INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P have SUB.1

Náw^a

, irárⁱ

Ráwa

, iraári'

Now

, brother

rawa

, i-

-raar-

-ri'

now

, 3.POSS.A

same.sex.sibling

3.POSS.B

tukstátawi

parísu

tukstaátawi'

paariísu'

it was the way hunters
 ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0 paariis- -u'
 IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF hunter NOM

nakuharáhir^a

rakuuhaaráhiira

for them to stay overnight

ra- 0- ku- ut- raar- raa- hiir -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV PL.INDV.A way stay.overnight SUB.1

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hikišiwisiwitaahkuriwátik^u

Hi kici wisiwitaahkuriwátiiiku'

And but they were crying out for me

hi kici wii- si- wi- ti- 0- ar- ku- ri- wak.tik -:hus
 and but now DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV 1.P PORT cry.out IMPF

, nakutúrut^a ,

rakuutúruuta

the village extending

ra- 0- ku- ituur- u.at -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B village extend.in.a.line SUB.1

nihkúwakihu “

rihkúwakihu “

their saying :

ra- 0- ir- ku- waki.a -hus , “
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB , ”

Pirəskⁱ tirátawi
 Piiraski tiraátawi'
 Boy it may be
 piiras- -kis ti- 0- raa- tawi -0
 boy DIM IND.3A 3.A way be.among PERF

takurəsku kúrihakíritⁿ

táku' raskukurihaakiirit

for someone to have seen ours

taku ra- s- ku- ku- ri- ut- rak- iirik -0
 someone INF.A 2.A 1.P INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL see SUB.4

. " Asitahkúrəspi .
 . " A sitaahkúraspi' .
 . " And they would look for me .
 . " a si- ti- 0- ar- ku- raspíi -0 .
 . " and DU IND.3A 3.A EV 1.P look.for PERF .

Hikirikuwitihiis^a,

Hi kíríku' witiíhiisa'
 And sometimes dawn came
 hi kiríkuu wi- ti- 0- a- ir- hiis- a -0
 and anything QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV morning come PERF

hitáhwišətⁿ

hi taáhwicat iríihi
 and he would arrive one , uh ,
 hi ti- 0- ar- wic.at -0 irii , ihii ,
 and IND.3A 3.A EV arrive PERF that , uh ,

wisirihkuraahwárik^a

wisirihkuraahwárika

one they had sent

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raar.warik -a

now DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B send SUB.1

nətkurákuriwi

ratkuraákuriwi

where we were going around

ra- t- ku- rak- hurii -wi
INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

wirətkurákariksk^u

wiratkuraákariksku

where our group was

wii- ra- t- ku- rak- kariiks- kus -0
now INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL bunch be.sitting SUB.4

. Hitahwáku , “
. Hi taahwáku’ “
. And he'd say : “
. hi ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0 , ”
. and IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF , ”

Pírəski

Píraski

The boy

piiras- -kis

boy DIM

hiruihátakutík^u

hiru ihaátaku tiíku ,

then there he is .

hiruu ii- haa- -taku ti- 0- kus -0 .

then there here LOC IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

kisaškiwitírara

Kísacki witírara

Meat he is carrying it
 kisaac -kis wi- ti- 0- raar- raah -0
 meat DIM QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3PL.iNAN.P have PERF

hínahiritⁿ ,
 . " Hi raáhiirit
 . " And finally ,
 . " hi raahiirit ,
 . " and finally ,

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

hiraratíhaksa
 hi raraatíhaksa'
 and time came on
 hi ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come SUB.4

hínahiritⁿ ihi ,
 hi raáhiirit ihi
 and finally , uh ,
 hi raahiirit , ihii ,
 and finally , uh ,

witiráhiparawahakiru .
 wiraahipaaraawaahaáhkiiru .
 my sneaking myself away often .
 witi- ra- t- ri- paarawaahaahkiir -hus .
 REFL ABS 1.A PORT sneak.around.hiding IMPF.SUB .

Náhira akakirátara ,
 Ráhiira' a kaakiraátara'
 Sometimes and there was no doubt ,
 rahiira a kaaki- 0- raa.taraa -0 ,
 further and NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.in.doubt PERF ,

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

witirətkúriparara ,
 witiratkúripaaraara ,
 after I hid myself ,
 witi- ra- t- ku- ri- paar.aar -a ,
 REFL INF.A 1.A INF.B PORT hide SUB.1 ,

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

hitətpiš^{^tⁿ}
 hi tátpicat
 and I arrived
 hi ta- t- wic.at -0
 and IND.1/2A 1.A arrive PERF

irirətkurakakawⁱ ,
 iriirátkuraakakaawi
 where our lodge was
 irii- ra- t- ku- rak- akaa -wi

where INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L

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

asitikúpiru .
a sitikúpiru' .
and they whipped me .
a si- ti- 0- ir- ku- piru -0 .
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P whip PERF .

Asitikúpiru
A sitikúpiru'
And they whipped me
a si- ti- 0- ir- ku- piru -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P whip PERF

nakurakatárihur^u .
rakuraakatárihuuru .
its being an excessive way .
ra- 0- ku- raa.katarihur -u .
INF.A 3.P INF.B be.a.serious.matter SUB.D .

Hikakíraki
Hi kaakíraakii
And it was not long
hi kaaki- 0- raa.kiir -0
and NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF

hisistusitikuríkakis
hi sístu sitikuríkakis

and again they caressed me
 hi sistu si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ri- kakiis -0
 and again DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PORT be.elated PERF

. Hirútiwaku ihi
 . Hiru tiwáku' ihi
 . Then he said , uh ,
 . hiruu ti- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii ,
 . then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , uh ,

atí^s , atí^s
 atí'as , atí'as
 my father , father
 ati- as , ati- as
 1.POSS father , 1.POSS father

irírätiru ,
 iriíratiiuru
 the one who was mine
 irii- ra- t- ir- 0 -u
 that ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A be SUB.D

rútiwaku “
 ruutiwáku' “
 then he said : “
 ruu- ti- 0- waka'u -0 , ”
 then IND.3A 3.A say PERF , ”

Nihkušíkstihurúhi ,
 Rihkuucíkstiihuuru , hi
 One must be thankful , and
 ra- 0- ir- ku- aciks.tiihur -u , hi
 INF.A 3.A 3.INDF INF.B be.thankful SUB.D , and

rusirikurahuráwi^u

ruusirihkuurahuuráwi^u

then don't be severe with him

ruu-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	i-	rahuur.awi	-u
then	DU	INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	SEQ	show.restraint.in.punishing.someone	SUB.D

,	tiwíšəksarist ^a	,	hā	!				
.	Tiwícaksaarista	.	Haa					
.	He is going to become mature	.	Ha	,				
.	ti-	0-	wicaks.aar	-his	-ta	.	haa	,
.	IND.3A	3.A	come.to.mind	PERF	INT	.	ha	,

witutuhúru

wituutuhúru'

he acts that way

wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	uhur.uu	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	act	PERF

irírutahu

iriíruutahu

its being that way

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

karašakurakətkawakarukústaritⁿ

karaacakuuraakatkawaakarukústarit

his not going to be listening to us

ka-	ra-	0-	aca-	ku-	uur-	rak-	atka-	-kawaaka.ra'uk	-hus	-ta	-rit
NEG	ABS	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	PREV	1/2.PL	hear	CAUS.DIST	IMPF.SUB	INT	INT.SUB

hirukíriku

.	Hiru	kíriku'
.	Then	sometime
.	hiruu	kirikuu

. then anything

árarurar^{^tⁿ} . "
a raaruuraárat . "
and then he'll just go off . "
a raa- ruu- ra- 0- ar- at -0 . "
and just then ABS 3.A EV go PERF . "

Atí^{^s} árikutiwaku
Atí^{'as} a rikutiwáku'
My father and that is what he said
ati- as a riku- ti- 0- waka'u -0
1.POSS father and that.is IND.3A 3.A say PERF

,

akírikuisarutəst^a
a kíriku' isaruútasta
and perhaps it was going to be that way
a kirikuu i- s- ar- ut- 0 -as -ta
and anything CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

.

.

.

.

.

Náw^a , irárⁱ ,
Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,
 rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

hirikuriúsisa

hi rikurii'uúsisa .
 and I became knowledgeable .
 hi ri- ku- rii'uus -his -aar -0 .
 and CONT.3A 1.P be.knowledgeable PERF INCH PERF .

Irárⁱ

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

tarahawisirikutáhuriwawⁱ

táraha' wisirihkuttáhuriiwaawi
 buffalo when they attacked them (buffalo)
 tarahaa wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
 buffalo when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, hihirutəštaráhkisətⁿ

hi hiru tactaráhkisat .
 and then I ran .
 hi hiruu ta- t- tarahkis- at -0 .
 and then IND.1/2A 1.A be.strong go PERF .

Tarahawírakurušpawⁱ

Táraha' wirákurucpaawi

Buffalos when they were lying all around

tarahaa wii- ra- 0- ku- ra.uc -waa -wi
buffalo when INF.A 3.A INF.B be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

širurakuhukáwirah^a

ciru rakuhukáwiraaha

yet when it had an arrow in it

ciruu ra- 0- ku- hukaa -wi raah -a
yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be.stuck.in SUB.L have SUB.1

,

hitatúhšarikəthikírikurarutatíkukstakutⁿ

hi tatúhcarikut

and I pulled it out

hi ta- t- uur- ca.ri.kuk -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A PREV pull.out PERF

hi kíriku' raaruutatíkukstakut

and somewhere then I would just run off

hi kirikuu raa- ruu- ta- t- i- kuks.takuk -0
and anything just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ run.away PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hiwiturəttíksta

Hi witatuurattíksta

And I carried their arrow

hi wi- ta- t- uur- ak- riiks- raah -0

and QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.P PL.AN.3P arrow have PERF

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

akikarisarúrahi

aki kariisarúraahi

and here it was not good

a- ki kara- i- s- ar- uur- raa- hiir -0
and there NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV way be.good PERF

, akirikutirákit^a

aki rikutiraákita

, and here that was the reason

, a- ki riku- ti- 0- raa.kita -0
, and there that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way.on.top PERF

tarahaparasiríhkurapak^a

táraha' para siríhkuraapaka

buffalo almost their fighting

tarahaa para si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- apak -a
buffalo perhaps DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B way fight SUB.1

, híkisi ,

. Hi kici

. And but

. hi kici

. and but

hiruwitəštarahkiskáisətⁿ

hiru witactarahkiskaá'isat

then I now ran home
 hiruu wii- ta- t- tarahkis- kaa- iis.at -0
 then now IND.1/2A 1.A be.strong inside go.out.of.sight PERF

sístu .
 sístu
 again
 sistu
 again

Natkurættíkstiparari
 ratkuurættíkstipaarari
 when I was hiding their arrow

ra- t- ku- uur- ak- riiks- ri- paar.aar -i
 INF.A 1.A INF.B POSS.P PL.AN.3P arrow PORT hide IMPF.SUB

. Ataníkstarah^a ,
 aataríkstaraaha
 , my wanting to have arrows
 , aa- t- ar- riiks- raar- raah -a
 , SUBJ.1/2A 1.A EV arrow PL have SUB.1

nakukawiháhkawi
 rakutkawiháhkawi
 for it to have a good point

ra- 0- ku- ut- kawi.haar.ka -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV have.a.projectile.on.the.end.of.a.shaft SUB.L

, tatuharáihk^u .
 Tatuuhaará'ihku' .
 . I am meaning them .
 . ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF .

Hitótpišəthisistusitikuníkstətⁿ

Hi	tatpícat				hi	sístu	sitikuuríkstat										
And	I arrived				and	again	they took the arrow from me										
hi	ta-	t-	wic.at	-0	hi	sístu	si- ti- 0- ir-	ku-	uur-	riiks-	ra-	at	-0				
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	arrive	PERF	and	again	DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A	1.P	PREV	arrow	PORT	go	PERF				

.

,

,

,

Nihkuwakiáirari

rihkuwáki'a						iraári'											
their saying						my brother											
ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	waki	-a	i-	-raar-	-ri'									
INF.A	3.A	3.INDF	INF.B	say.PL	SUB.1	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B									

akustáwihš^u

a	kústawihcu'																
or	my brother																
a	kus.tawihc	-u'															
and	son.in.law	NOM															

Iriwitúniksi

Iriwitúriksi

That's a good arrow

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

tahikstáhist^a

Tahikstaáhista

I am going to keep the arrow

ta-	t-	riiks-	raah	-his	-ta	.	"										
-----	----	--------	------	------	-----	---	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

IND.1/2A 1.A arrow have PERF INT . "

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

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit
and finally
hi raahiirit
and finally

naratíhæksa

raraatíihaksa'

time passed on

ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come SUB.4

. Hírahiri

. Hi ráhiiri'

. And sometimes

. hi raahiirit

. and finally

raratíhaksa

raraatíihaksa'

time came on

ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come SUB.4

irikuháwiška

iriikuuháwiccka'

whatever He wanted

irii- kuur- ra- 0- wicka -0
what DUB ABS 3.A want PERF

nátkuhišis

rátkuuhiicis

for me to know

ra- t- ku- ut- riicis -0
INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV learn.about SUB.4

Hirahiritsirikurítpi^u

Hi raáhiirit siriikurítpi'u'

And finally they favored me

hi raahiirit si- rii- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- wi.uu -0
and finally DU ASSR 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV be.facing PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Wiwitirikúrikahu

Wiwitirihkuúrikaahu

When they were going to bring back meat

wii- witi- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- uur- ri.kaa.a -hus
when REFL INF.A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A INF.B PREV bring.meat.home IMPF.SUB

, hitíhwakⁱ

hi tíhwaki'

and they said

hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , "

and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Siksáihi

Síkxa'

Come

i-	s-	ir-	uks-	a	-0	.	Ihi	,
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	come	PERF	.	ihii	,
						.	uh	,

kušuksastáwira

kucuksaastáwiraa'

you must lead it for me

i-	s-	ir-	ku-	ut-	uks-	haas-	ta	-wi	ra-	a	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	PREV	JUSS	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	PORT	come	PERF

arús^a

aruúsa'

the horse

aruusaa

horse

Atatuhəstáwirasih^u

A tatuuhaastáwiraasihú'

And I was running as I led it

a	ta-	t-	uur-	haas-	ta	-wi	ra-	as-i	-:hus
and	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	PORT	run	IMPF

. Hirusitikukítaw^u

. Hiru sitikuukítawu

. Then they put me astride it

.	hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ku-	ikita	wuh	-0
.	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	ride	put	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Aratatihkispahi

A raatatihkispahi'

And I was just proud

a raa- ta- t- ir- kiis -waa -aar -i
and just IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A be.proud DIST INCH IMPF

, wíratku kítawita .

wiratkuukítawiita .

when I went riding it .

wii- ra- t- ku- ikita -wi at -a .
when INF.A 1.A INF.B ride SUB.L go SUB.1 .

Kišihíatirəs ,

Kici hi atíiras

But and they'd run

kici hi ar- ti- 0- ir- as-i -0
but and EV IND.3A 3.A PL.3A run PERF

irárⁱ ,

iraári'

brother ,

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

wirətuhátihurukukⁱ .

wiratuuhaátiihuruukuuki .

while I was taking interest in the activities .

wii- ra- t- ut- raa- tiihuruu -ka'uk -i .
when ABS 1.A PREV way be.around DIST SUB.2 .

Kišihíatirəs ,

Kici hi atíiras

But and they'd run
 kici hi ar- ti- 0- ir- as-i -0
 but and EV IND.3A 3.A PL.3A run PERF

hitíhwakⁱ “
 hi tíhwaki’ “
 and they said : “
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Tiharáriki

Tihaaraáriki

This one

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

kasarikitawítitⁿ . ” áka^a !
 kasaarikitawiítit . ” Aáka’a
 you must mount it . ” Oh my ,
 kaas- s- ar- ikita.wi.itik -0 . ” aaka’a ,
 POT.2A 2.A EV mount PERF . ” oh.my ,

hitatikítawititⁿ ,

hi taatikítawiitit
 and I mounted I mounted
 hi ta- t- ikita.wi.itik -0
 and IND.1/2A 1.A mount PERF

hitíhwakⁱ “
 hi tíhwaki’ “
 and they said : “
 hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Kásarəttətⁿ

Kásaarattat

You must drive them

kaas-	s-	ar-	ak-	ra-	at	-0
POT.2A	2.A	EV	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go	PERF

kaháhkíš . "

kahaáhkíic . "

the mules . "

itkahaar- kii'ac . "

ear be.long . "

Kišihiatatəspátəs^{itn}

Kici hi a taataspaátasit

But and and I started out

kici	hi	a	ta-	t-	as.waat.as.ik	-0
but	and	and	IND.1/2A	1.A	start.out	PERF

nətkutáhpíru

ratkuttaáhpíru

when I whipped them

ra-	t-	ku-	ak-	raar-	píru	-0
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.P	whip	SUB.4

hisitíhákstúwa

hi sitiitíhákstuúwaa'

and they were bringing them

hi	si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	tíihak	-his	ruu-	wa-	a	-0
and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	be.the.border	PERF	PORT	DIST	come	PERF

táraha . Iráⁱ ,

táraha' . Iraári' ,

the buffalos . Brother ,

tarahaa . i- -raar- -rí' ,

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

hirarutatiraruhuráh^tn

hi raaruutatiraaruhuráhat

and then I just let them go

hi raa- ruu- ta- t- i- raar- uhur.ra.hak -0
and just then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P release PERF

, hihíharik^s , haripahaháhkata ,
hihi hariíkis hariipahaháhkata
and a calf , a tawny calf
hi hi harii -kis , harii pahaat rahkataar
and and calf DIM , calf be.red be.yellow

tátiška ,

táticka'

I wanted

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

takurətkutúrikutⁿ .

táku' ratkuutuúrikut .

one for me to catch it .

taku ra- t- ku- ut- uurikuk -0 .
someone INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV catch SUB.4 .

ⁿka^a ! haripahaháhkata^a ,

líka'a hariipahaháhkata

Oh my , the little tawny calf

iika'a , harii pahaat rahkataar

oh.my , calf be.red be.yellow

wirurakuhakakátaku

wiruurakuhaakakátaku

its being close to me

wii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- haaka- kata- kus -0
now then INF.A 3.A INF.B mouth against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting SUB.4

hišihitírarurutkawi

hici hi tíraaruurukawi
but and these stuck in mud

hi.ci hi tii- ra- 0- ar- huuruht- ka -wi
and and this ABS 3.A EV mud be.in SUB.L

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

ratuksikítawⁱ ,

ratuksikítawi

the one I rode

ra- t- uks- ikita -wi
ABS 1.A AOR ride SUB.L

kakátutašiksta ,

kaakátuutaciksta

I did not watch it

kaaka- t- ut- aciks.ta -0
NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV watch.over PERF

kaháhkiš

kahaáhkiic

the mule

itkahaar-
ear

kii'ac
be.long

hiharipahahaháhkata^a

hi hariipahahaháhkata

and the little tawny calf

hi harii pahaat raar- rahkataar
and calf be.red ITER be.yellow

rituhitkúurikətⁿ .
 rituuhitkuú'uurikut .
 I caught its tail .
 rii- t- ut- ritku- uurikuk -0 .
 ASSR 1.A PREV tail catch PERF .

Kuhikakatiwárik^u
 Kuhiikaakatiwáriku'
 I was not shooting the other
 ku- hii- kaaka- t- i- warik -:hus
 INDF other NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ shoot IMPF

hihisiritapakúspari
 hi hisiriitapakúspari'
 and I was fighting with it
 hi hii- si- rii- t- apak -hus warii -:hus
 and other DU ASSR 1.A fight IMPF.SUB be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

,

hisistutəštárustaháhkaukutⁿ
 hi sístu tactarustahaáhka'uukut
 and again I dragged it into a depression
 hi sistu ta- t- tarus- ra- haahka- uukuk -0
 and again IND.1/2A 1.A dragging PORT in.a.ravine get.into PERF

,

hisistutaháhurutkaukutⁿ

hi sistu tahahuúrutka'uukut
and again I took it into the mud

hi sistu ta- t- ra- huuruht- ka- uukuk -0
and again IND.1/2A 1.A PORT mud in get.into PERF

. Hirištiráktara húwi .
. Hi rictiraáktara huúwi' .
. And I had a bow and arrows indeed .
. hi tii- t- tiraak- raar- raah -0 huuwi' .
. and this 1.A bow PL have PERF indeed .

Natuksikitawíkahahkiš

Ratuksikitawi kahaáhkiic
The one I rode mule
ra- t- uks- ikita -wi itkahaar- kii'ac
ABS 1.A AOR ride SUB.L ear be.long

hiruirikuhákuks^{^t}ⁿ

hiru irikuuhákuksat ,
then that one ran away .
hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- kuks.at -0 .
then that DUB ABS 3.A run.away PERF .

tahíwaritⁿ

Tahíwarit . Hihíharik's
I lost it . Hihí hariíkis
ta- t- ri.warik -0 . hi hi harii -kis
IND.1/2A 1.A lose PERF . and and calf DIM

nitutəstaháwari

rituutastahaáwari'

I fought it in the water

rii- t- ut- as- raar- haa- warii -:hus
ASSR 1.A PREV foot PL in.water be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. Hirawišápita
. Hi raawíca' píita
. And he arrived a man
. hi ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 wiita
. and ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF man

híritpaku , “
hi ritpáku’ “
and I said : “
hi rii- t- waka'u -0 , ”
and ASSR 1.A say PERF , ”

Kirətiráku

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

iskótkutitⁿ ,

iskútkuutit

you'll kill for me

i- s- ku- ut- kuut.ik -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P BEN kill PERF

haripáh^{^tⁿ} . ”
hariípahat . ”
the calf . ”
harii pahaat . ”
calf be.red . ”

Arišikskás^{^tⁿ} ,
 A riicikskácat .
 And he cut its throat .
 a ri- 0- aciks- ka.cak -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A trachea cut PERF .

tihátaku ,
 Tihaátaku
 Right here
 tii- haa- -taku
 here here LOC

rišikskás^{^tⁿ} .
 riicikskácat .
 he cut its throat .
 ri- 0- aciks- ka.cak -0 .
 CONT.3A 3.A trachea cut PERF .

Híruriwaku “
 Hiru riiwáku’ “
 Then he said : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Kakúراسي ? “
 Ka kúراسي . “
 Is it yours ? “
 ka- ku- ra- s- ir- 0 -0 . “
 Y/N.INTER INDF ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A be PERF . ”

Aritáku , “ hā^u !
 A rittáku’ “ Haá’u’ . “
 And I said : “ Yes . “
 a rii- t- taka’u -0 , “ haa’u’ . “

and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " yes . "

hirurikušitarustikátaətⁿ

Hiru rikucitarustikáta'at

Then he dragged it up the bank for me

hiruu ri- 0- ku- ut- i- tarus- ri- kata- at -0
then CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ dragging PORT against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

. áka^a !

. Aáka'a

. Oh my ,

. aaka'a ,

. oh.my ,

ritkatáwišətⁿ

ritkatáwicat

I got up the bank

rii- t- kata- wic.at -0 . áka^a
ASSR 1.A against.a.vertical.surface arrive PERF . Aáka'a
. Oh my
. aaka'a
. oh.my

!

,

,

,

rutíhuraparih^tⁿ

ruutiíhuraahpárihit

then the land was nice and bare

ruu- ti- 0- i- huraar- parit -rik -0
then IND.3A 3.A SEQ earth be.smooth DIST PERF

, kahahkiširiratuhráhetⁿ

kahaáhkiic iriiraatuhráhat

mule						where I left it	
itkahaar-	kii'ac	irii-	ra-	t-	uhur.ra.hak	-0	
ear	be.long	where	ABS	1.A	leave	SUB.4	

.
.
.
.
.

Ratátirar^{itⁿ}

Raatátiraarit

I just stood with it there

raa-	ta-	t-	i-	ra-	arik	-0
just	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	PORT	be.standing	PERF

hikírikiraha

hi kíriki ráha

and I did not have it

hi	kirikii	ra-	t-	raah	-0	riici	-kis
and	what	ABS	1.A	have	PERF	knife	DIM

irárⁱ

iraári'

brother

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

Hirutatúš^{i^a}

Hiru tatúci'a

Then I did it

hiruu	ta-	t-	ut-	i-	aar	-0
then	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF

nətkutəstarúrik^htⁿ ,
 ratkuutastaruúrikut
 when I took hold of the feet
 ra- t- ku- ut- as- raar- uurikuk -0
 INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV foot PL hold SUB.4

atatiríwisk^a ,
 aatatiiríwiska
 wanting that I put it across my back
 aa- t- ar- ta iriwis.k -a
 SUBJ.1/2A 1.A EV be.hanging put.across SUB.1

hihawaširukaraštarákis .
 hi hawá ciru karactaráhkis .
 and also yet I was not strong .
 hi haawa ciruu ka- ra- t- tarahkis -0 .
 and also yet NEG ABS 1.A be.strong PERF .

Ararutikuriskátati .
 A raaruutikuriiskátati .
 And then I fell with it .
 a raa- ruu- ti- ku- ri.as.katatiir -0 .
 and just then IND.3A 1.P fall.with PERF .

Hínahiritⁿ , nituhuráh^htⁿ .
 Hi raáhiirit riituhuráhat .
 And finally I left it .
 hi raahiirit rii- t- uhur.ra.hak -0 .
 and finally ASSR 1.A leave PERF .

Hínahiritⁿ nurítíətⁿ ,
 Hi raáhiirit ruuríiti'at
 And finally then I went
 hi raahiirit ruu- rii- t- i- at -0

and finally then ASSR 1.A SEQ go PERF

arusairaharuhúrah^{at}n

aruúsa' iriirahaaruhúrahat

the horse where I had let them go

aruusaa irii- ra- t- raar- uhur.ra.hak -0
horse where ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P release SUB.4

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiwihirurairisirōšatira

Hi wihiru a irisiráctira

And there and I was with that one

hi wii- hiruu a irii- si- ra- t- tir -a
and now there and that DU ABS 1.A be.together SUB.1

. Híruriwaku “
. Hiru riiwáku’ “
. Then he said : “
. hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
. then ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Kirukuráætⁿ kaháhkiš ?

Kiru kurá’at kahaáhkiic .

Where is it the mule ?

kiruu ku- ra- 0- at -0 itkahaar- kii’ac .
where INDF ABS 3.A go PERF ear be.long .

" Híritpaku

" Hi ritpáku’ “

" And I said : "
 " hi rii- t- waka'u -0 , "
 " and ASSR 1.A say PERF , "

tatušukstiráwari
 Tatucukstiraáwari'
 I was chasing after it

ta- t- ut- uks- ri- raa.warii -:hus
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR PORT go.around.to.get IMPF

harík^{is} ,
 hariíkis
 a calf
 harii -kis
 calf DIM

hikuhikuríhkuksəs

hi kuuhikuríhkuksas
 and it must have run away from me
 hi kuur- ri- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kuks.as -0
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV run.away PERF

. Tóštakah^{^t} ,
 . Tactakaáhat
 . I got down
 . ta- t- takaa.hak -0
 . IND.1/2A 1.A get.down PERF

hikuhikuríhkuksəs

hi kuuhikuríhkuksas
 and it must have run away from me
 hi kuur- ri- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kuks.as -0
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV run.away PERF

. Niwáku ,
 . " Riiwáku' "
 . " He said : "
 . " rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 . " ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

iiriwirisúharurišir^u

I iriwirisuuhaaruuríciiru'
 And you have done wrong
 i irii- wii- rii- s- ut- raaruuriciira'uk -0
 and that now ASSR 2.A PREV do.wrong PERF

, tarahatəparúkstirupitk^u
 . Táraha' tatpaarúkstiiru* pítku
 . Buffalo I consecrated it two
 . tarahaa ta- t- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 pitku
 . buffalo IND.1/2A 1.A be.holy CAUS PERF two

hirikurirarawíhuhta

hi rikuriiraraawíhuhta
 and that one is going to carry it
 hi riku- rii- 0- raar- ra- awi- uh -ta
 and that.is ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT image go.INT INT

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Akisiísiruturikətⁿ

Aki si'isiruutuúrikut
 And here then they (du) caught it
 a- ki si- i- s- ir- ri- ut- uurikuk -0

and there DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV catch PERF

kaháhkiš . Wisitikúwaru
 kahaáhkiiic . Wisitikuúwaaru'
 the mule . They (du) butchered it
 itkahaar- kii'ac . wii- si- ti- 0- kuuwar -:hus
 ear be.long . now DU IND.3A 3.A butcher IMPF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

hítihawihiruraah^u

Hi tihaa wihiru raá'aahu'
 And here now they were coming
 hi tii- haa wii- hiruu ra- 0- a- a -:hus
 and here here now then ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF

hiwihíruriitⁿ

hi wihiru rí'it
 and there they were
 hi wii- hiruu rii- 0- 0 -ik -0
 and now there ASSR 3.A be DIST PERF

tuháwitⁿ .

Tuhaáwit .

East Villagers .

ituur- haawit .

village east .

Hiwihirurikusirišišírəsa

Hi wihiru rikusiriicírasa'

And there they led that one
 hi wii- hiruu riku- si- 0- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- i- ciras- a -0
 and now there that.is DU 3.A ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV SEQ COM come PERF

. Sistuasi^u
 . Sístu a siriiku'u
 . Again and they gave it to me
 . sistu a si- rii- 0- ir- ku- uh -0
 . again and DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P give PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 Iriraráti^hⁿ .
 Iriiraraáti^h
 At the beginning ,
 irii- ra- 0- raa.tiihak -0 ,
 where ABS 3.A be.the.end SUB.4 ,

Irá^rⁱ , hi
 iráá^rⁱ , hi
 brother , and
 i- -raar- -ri' , hi
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and

siríwarukstiru
 siríwaarukstiiru' .
 they (du) consecrated it .
 si- 0- rii- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 .
 DU 3.A ASSR be.holy CAUS PERF .

piraukutátiha

Piira'u' kutátiha'
Child he was my child
piira -u' ku- ta- t- ir- haa -0
child NOM INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be.one's.child PERF

irisirawarukstíra^u tárah^a
iriisirawaarukstiíra'u táraha'
the ones (du) who consecrated it the buffalo
irii- si- ra- 0- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 tarahaa
that DU ABS 3.A be.holy CAUS SUB.3 buffalo

. Tarahihkitúpitk^u kahakiš
tarahihkituu'u' . Pítku kahaáhkiic
, a whole buffalo . Two mules
, tarahaa iit- kituu -u' . pitku itkahaar- kii'ac
, buffalo body be.all NOM . two ear be.long

pitkusíti^a .
pítku siti'a .
two there were (du) .
pitku si- ti- 0- aah -0 .
two DU IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Hirurušírəsaahpawu

Hiru ruucíracaaahpaawu
Then then he packed it on its back
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- raar- taahk.wuh -waa -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.on.one's.back DIST PERF

. óka^a !
. líka'a
. Oh my ,
. iika'a ,

. oh.my ,

natatihastawirikíspahi
raatatihaastawirikíspaahi'

I just led it proudly

raa-	ta-	t-	i-	haas-	ta	-wi	ri-	kiis	wa-	-aar	-i
just	IND.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	PORT	be.proud	DIST	INCH	IMPF

ratastáwiraha

rataastáwiraaha

when I led it

ra-	t-	haas-	ta	-wi	raah	-a
ABS	1.A	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	have	SUB.1

nka^a ! siritiśahkawaúkutⁿ

líka'a siriiticaahkawa'uúkut

Oh my , we went through the village

iika'a	,	si-	rii-	t-	icahka-	wa-	uukuk	-0
oh.my	,	DU	ASSR	1.A	village	DIST	get.into	PERF

ariwáku

a riiwáku'

and he said

a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	ati-	as	,	"
and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	1.POSS	father	,	"

hirusikspararakawⁱ

Hiru cíksparaarákaawi

Then let's go the lodge yonder

hiruu	i-	aciir-	uks-	paar.aar	akaa	-wi
then	CONT.1/2A	IN.DU.A	JUSS	hide	be.a.dwelling	SUB.L

. " óka^a !

. " líka'a

! " Oh my ,
 . " iika'a ,
 . " oh.my ,

ratətkaškawawuh^u ,
 raatatkaackawaawuhu'
 I was just turning my head back and forth
 raa- ta- t- kaacka.wuh -waa -:hus
 just IND.1/2A 1.A look.back DIST IMPF

natiška^a
 raticka'a " : "
 my thinking : "
 ra- t- wicka -a , "
 ABS 1.A want SUB.1 , "

kuhasihwakíah^u ,
 Kuuhasihwaki'aahu' ,
 You must be saying : '
 kuur- ra- s- ir- waki.a -:hus , '
 DUB ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , '

nka^a ! iriwitiríus ,
 líka'a iriwitirií'us ,
 Oh my , that one knows how ,
 iika'a , irii- wi- ti- 0- rii'uus -0 ,
 oh.my , that QUOT IND.3A 3.A know.how PERF

iriratapírəskⁱ ,
 íriraata piíraski .
 that one going boy .
 irii- ra- 0- at -a piiras- -kis .
 that ABS 3.A go SUB.1 boy DIM .

tihakútit ⁿ					tárahá	.		
Tiihakuútit					tárahá'	.	'	"
He must have killed it					a buffalo	.	'	"
tiir-	ra-	0-	kuut.ik	-0	tarahaa	.	'	"
INFR	ABS	3.A	kill	PERF	buffalo	.	'	"

Akihíritastawira

Aki	hi	riitaastáwira							
And here	and	I led it							
a-	ki	hi	rii-	t-	haas-	ta	-wi	raah	-0
and	there	and	ASSR	1.A	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	have	PERF

,
.
.
.
.

tatutastawiráihi

Tatuutaastáwira										ihí
I led it for him										, uh
ta-	t-	ut-	haas-	ta	-wi	raah	-0			, ihii
IND.1/2A	1.A	BEN	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	have	PERF			, uh

	pít ^a	.
	piíta	.
,	the man	.
,	wiita	.
,	man	.

Arihastawiríwisətⁿ

A	rihaastawiríwícat								
And	I arrived leading it								
a	ri-	0-	haas-	ta	-wi	ri-	wic.at	-0	

and CONT.3A 3.A rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT arrive PERF

akahkitáwihiri . Hawáæsku ,
akaahkitáwihiri' . Hawá ásku
the leading lodge . Also one
akaar- kita.wi -hiri' . haawa asku
dwelling be.the.leader LOC . also one

hitakurihastawiriwišətⁿ

hiítaku' rihaastawiriwícat
someone else he arrived leading it
hii- taku ri- 0- haas- ta -wi ri- wic.at -0
other someone CONT.3A 3.A rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT arrive PERF

. Asiútpišpa ,
. A sirítpicpa ,
. And then we arrived ,
. a si- rii- t- wic.waar -0 ,
. and DU ASSR 1.A arrive.DU PERF ,

híruriwaku , “ Atí[^]s
hiru riiwáku' atí'as
then he said my father
hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as
then ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father

hirusuhúrətⁿ

“ Hiru suhuúrat
: “ Then go now
, " hiruu i- s- uhur- ra- at -0
, " then CONT.1/2A 2.A now PORT go PERF

irírəstakakawⁱ . "
iriírastaakakaawi . "

where your lodge is . "

irii-	ra-	s-	rak-	akaa	-wi	.	"
where	ABS	2.A	1/2.PL	be.a.dwelling	SUB.L	.	"

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

iraratihaks^a
 iraraatiihaksa'
 time came on

ii-	ra-	0-	a-	raa-	tiihak	-his	a	-0
that	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	way	be.the.end	PERF	come	PERF

, hínahiritⁿ
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

raratihaksa
 raraatiihaksa'
 time came on

ra-	0-	a-	raa-	tiihak	-his	a	-0
ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	way	be.the.end	PERF	come	SUB.4

, hínahiritⁿ
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

nitutuharawahíhusititⁿ .
 rituutihuraawaahiíhusitit .
 I began doing different things .
 rii- t- ut- uhur.aar -waa -i -:hus -itik .
 ASSR 1.A PREV do DIST IMPF IMPF INCH .

Hínahiritⁿ hiriharahuritíkusititⁿ
 Hi raáhiirit hi rihaarahuritíkusitit
 And finally and I began doing good deeds
 hi raahiirit hi rii- t- raa.ra.huritik -:hus -itik
 and finally and ASSR 1.A do.a.good.deed IMPF INCH

. Rahirarətkuwíška^a
 . Ráhiira' ratkuwícka'a " "
 . Sometimes my thinking : "
 . rahiira ra- t- ku- wicka -a , "
 . further ABS 1.A INF.B think SUB.1 , "

kirótihatakuraruitaətⁿ
 Kíra , tihaátaku raaruú'ita'at
 Why , here I'll just go off
 kira , tii- haa- -taku raa- ruu- i- t- ha- at -0
 perhaps , here here LOC just then CONT.1/2A 1.A in.water go PERF

,
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

hiwihirutihakarihahušaku
 Hi wihiru tiihakarihaahuúcaku
 And then here there was a patch on the bank
 hi wii- hiruu tiir- ra- 0- kari.haar huuca.kus -0

and now then INFR ABS 3.A be.a.patch.of.something.planted be.on.a.stream.bank PERF

, káripik^u níətⁿ .
kaáripiku' rí'aat .
milkweed summertime .
kaaripiik -u' rí'aat .
milkweed NOM summer .

Akutatihataráhuhtih^{^t}ⁿ

A kutatihaattaráhuhtiihat

And I piled the limbs up

a ku- ta- t- i- haak- raar- ra.hur- tiihak -0
and INDF IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ wood PL carrying be.the.border PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Atatatarahu ríwišətⁿ

A tataattarahuríwicat

And I arrived carrying the limbs

a ta- t- haak- raar- ra.hur- ri- wic.at -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A wood PL carrying PORT arrive PERF

. áka^a ! nahíritⁿ
. Aáka'a raáhiirit
. Oh my , finally
. aaka'a , raahiirit
. oh.my , finally

sítikušikst^a

sítikuuciksta

they thought a lot of me

si- ti- 0- ir- ku- aciks.ta -0
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P value.highly PERF

irírahakakawⁱ .

iriírahaakakaawi .

the ones at our lodge .

irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi .
where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Nihuksukaripikákus^u ,

Ríhuksu' kaaripiikákusu'

Only milkweed tops

rihuks -u' kaaripiik ka- kus -u'
alone NOM milkweed in be.sitting NOM

nətkúraruwahi .

ratkurarúwaahi .

my taking them off .

ra- t- ku raar- ruwaah -i .
INF.A 1.A INDF 3PL.INAN.P remove SUB.2 .

Hikiriratíhaksa

Híkiiri raraatíhaksa'

And so time came on

hikiiri ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
indeed ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come PERF

, híšahiks

hi cáhiks

and a person

hi icaahiks

and person

hiwihiruruširirara

hi	wihiru		ruucíriraarat						
and	now		he chased it						
hi	wii-	hiruu	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	ri.raar.at	-0	
and	now	then	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	go.after	PERF	

nahúrahk ⁱ		;	širúiratu						
rahúrahki			ciru	raátu					
a deer			yet	my being					
rahuraar	-kis		ciruu	ra-	t-	0	-u		
animal	DIM		yet	ABS	1.A	be	SUB.D		

pirəskíri pašk ⁱ		.	n ^h ka ^a	!					
piiraskíripacki		.	líka'a						
a little boy		.	Oh my	,					
piiras-	kiripac	-kis	.	iika'a	,				
boy	small	DIM	.	oh.my	,				

hirikutit ⁿ		.							
hi	riíkuutit								
and	he killed it								!
hi	rii-	0-	kuut.ik	-0	.				
and	ASSR	3.A	kill	PERF	.				

Hipitawihiruruširirarahrahúrahkⁱ

Hi	piíta	wihiru		ruucíriraarat						rahúrahki	
And	the man	there		he chased it						a deer	
hi	wiíta	wii-	hiruu	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	ri.raar.at	-0	rahuraar	-kis
and	man	now	there	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	go.after	PERF	animal	DIM

,	wírikusitašti										
	wírikusitacti										
	I was with that one										
	wii-	riku-	si-	ta-		t-	tir		-0		

now that.is DU IND.1/2A 1.A be.together PERF

tíraku Asaúkatak^u
tíraaku Asaa'uúkataku
this one Horse Sitting In West
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 asaa- uukata- kus
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 horse west be.sitting

, širusikakatašíkksasa .
. Ciru sikaakaatacíkksasa .
. Yet we were not sensible .
. ciruu si- kaaka- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
. yet DU NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF .

Širusikakatasíkksasa
Ciru sikaakaatacíkksasa
Yet we were not sensible
ciruu si- kaaka- t- aciks.ka.sa -0
yet DU NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF

irírutahu .
iriíruutahu .
the way it is .
irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus .
that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB .

Wisitəštiratárhku
Wisitactiraattárhku'
We had our bows and arrows
wii- si- ta- t- tiraak- raar- ruhka'uk -0
now DU IND.1/2A 1.A bow PL have.DIST PERF

, škúšak^u .
ckuúcaku .

blunt arrows .
 ickuc.cak.hus .
 blunt.arrow .

Tuhirárahukətⁿ

Tuuhiraára'uukut

He chased it into the water

ti-	0-	ut-	ri.raar		ha-	uukuk	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be.one's.intention.that.someone.do		in.water	get.into	PERF

hisiritawišáisp^a

hi	siriitawiicá'ispa						.
and	we reached the bank						.
hi	si-	rii-	t-	awiica-	iis.waar	-0	.
and	DU	ASSR	1.A	on.the.edge	go.out.of.sight.DU	PERF	.

Hiwihiruritarustíkatah^{^t}ⁿ

Hi	wihiru		riitarustíkatahat				
And	there		he was dragging it out (of the water)				
hi	wii-	hiruu	rii-	0-	tarus-	ri-	kata.hak -0
and	now	there	ASSR	3.A	dragging	PORT	get.away PERF

.	nka ^a	!	kuhawíriwu				
.	líka'a		kuhaawíriwu'				.
.	Oh my	,	he had run into it				.
.	iika'a	,	kuur-	ra-	0-	awi.ri.wuh	-0 .
.	oh.my	,	DUB	ABS	3.A	run.into	PERF .

atipétati

Atípat		tatíi					
Grandfather		he was mine					
ati-	paak	ta-	t-	ir-	0	-0	
1.POSS	grandfather	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	be	PERF	

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

híruriwaku “ Pákskuš^u
 Hiru riiwáku’ “ Pákskucu’
 Then he said : “ Big Head
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “ paks- -kucuu
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ head AUG

, narurəskúwari
 raaruuraskuúwari
 , you are just going around
 , raa- ruu- ra- s- ku- a.warii -hus
 , just then INF.A 2.A INF.B go.around.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Nitáku “
 Rittáku’ “
 I said : “
 rii- t- taka’u -0 , "
 ASSR 1.A say PERF , "

Ariirituhaiḥwiša
 Ári’ i rituuhaa’íwica’
 Well , and I came in time to see you
 arii , i rii- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ii.wic.a -0

oh , and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV arrive.in.time.to.see PERF

. " Híruriwaku " Náw^a ,
. " Hiru riiwáku' " Ráwa ,
. " Then he said : " Now ,
. " hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,
. " then ASSR 3.A say PERF , " now ,

iwirisíwatiks . Náw^a
iwirisíwattiks . Ráwa
you are truthful . Now
ii- wii- rii- s- i- wak.rik.his -0 . rawa
that now ASSR 2.A SEQ be.truthful PERF . now

,
,
,
,

witəskuhaíhwiša
witaskuuhaa'íiwica'
you have come to see me do it
wii- ta- s- ir- ku- ut- raa.ii.wic.a -0
now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A 1.P PREV arrive.in.time.to.see PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Paraisahúrahtahiskətⁿ
Pára íisa

huraahtaáhiskat

If it had lain on dry ground
 para ii- 0- sa -0 huraar- taahiis -kat
 perhaps SUBJ.3A 3.A be.lying SUB.3 ground be.dry LOC

, parakústiwarukstir^u
 pára kustiwaárukstiiru'
 , I would have consecrated it
 , para kuus- t- i- waarukstii -ra'uk -0
 , perhaps POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ be.holy CAUS PERF

. Kišisirišihkuwárust^a ,
 . Kici siriicihkuuwárusta
 . But you and I are going to skin it
 . kici si- rii- aciir- kuuwar -:hus -ta
 . but DU ASSR IN.DU.A butcher IMPF INT

tíhasa .
 tíraasa . "
 this one lying . "
 tii- ra- 0- sa -0 . "
 this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 . "

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

sikakiksparúkstirukusuku
 sikaakikspaarúkstiiruukusuuku'
 we did not usually consecrate it
 si- kaaki- 0- ir- uks- waarukstii -ra'uk -:hus -uuku
 DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF AOR be.holy CAUS IMPF HAB

, nahúrahki ,
 rahúrahki
 an animal
 rahuraar -kis
 animal DIM

rakúhasa
 rakúhasa
 when it lay in water
 ra- 0- ku- ha- sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B in.water be.lying SUB.3

nakukútika .
 rakukuútika .
 when one killed it .
 ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B kill SUB.1 .

Sikakiksparúkstiruk^u
 Sikaakikspaarúkstiiruuku'
 We did not consecrate it
 si- kaaki- 0- ir- uks- waarukstii -ra'uk -:hus
 DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF AOR be.holy CAUS IMPF

, tirakíšuhætⁿ ,
 tirakiícuhat
 this stream
 tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
 this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

nakúhasa .
 rakúhasa .
 when it lay in water .
 ra- 0- ku- ha- sa -0 .

INF.A 3.A INF.B in.water be.lying SUB.3 .

Hírurikuwarusitit¹ .

Hiru riikuuwárusitit .

Then he began skinning it .

hiruu rii- 0- kuuwar -:hus -itik .

then ASSR 3.A butcher IMPF INICH .

Hirurúši^a .

Hiru ruúci'a .

Then he did it .

hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 . " rawa

then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF . " now

, tiharasárikⁱ ,
tiharaasáriki ,
, you standing here ,
, tii- haa- ra- s- arik -i ,
, here here ABS 2.A be.standing SUB.2 ,

tíharisiri ríštakša

tíhaariisiriiríctaakca

here you have the backbone

tii- haa- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- rictaak- ca -0
here here ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A back be.upright PERF

. " Ahírariki ,

. " A hííraariki

. " And the other one

. " a hii- ra- 0- arik -i

. " and other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

níhkasu

ríhkaasu

he gave him a leg
 ra- 0- ir- kaas- uh -0
 ABS 3.A OBV leg give PERF

Asaúkataku . áka^a !
 Asaa'uúkataku . Aáka'a
 Horse Sitting In West . Oh my ,
 asaa- uukata- kus . aaka'a ,
 horse west be.sitting . oh.my ,

sitáhahwitətⁿ

sitaháhwitat

we wore over our shoulders

si- ta- t- raar- witak -0
 DU IND.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P wear.over.the.shoulders PERF

tákar^u ,
 taákaaru'
 sheets ,
 taakaar -u' ,
 be.white NOM ,

hirusiritirariwiráwaritⁿ

hiru siriitiraaririwiraáwarit

then we rolled them in them

hiruu si- rii- t- i- raar- iriwiraa.warik -0
 then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P roll PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Wisitaháripa

Wisitaháripa

We did it secretly

wii-	si-	ta-	t-	raar-	ri-	paar	-0
now	DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	be.a.secret	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirusiritiraráwih^{tⁿ}

Hiru siriitiraraawíhut

Then we carried them

hiruu	si-	rii-	t-	i-	raar-	ra.awi.huk	-0
then	DU	ASSR	1.A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	carry	PERF

,	hirusirítiwa	.
	hiru siriítiwa	.
,	then we went	.
,	hiruu si- rii- t- i- wa -0	.
,	then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ go.DU PERF	.

Hirúriwaku

Hiru riiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0
then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF

tirárikⁱ

tiraárikⁱ

this one

tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	,	"
------	-----	----	------	----	---	---

this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , "

Təkukarišakúrarətⁿ

Táku' kariicakuúrarat

Don't let anyone take it from us

taku	ka-	ri-	0-	aca-	ku-	uur-	raar-	ra-	at	-0
someone	NEG	CONT.3A	3.A	IN.DU.P	1.P	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	go	PERF

,
.
.
.
.

kiturakótkitirahpuh^a

Kítuu'u' rakútkitiirahpuha

All wrap it up in it

kituu	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	ut-	kita.irahk.wuh	-a
all	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	wrap.up	SUB.1

,	hitihukatáhpír ^a	.
hi	tihukataáhpíira	. "
and	carry it in your arms	. "
hi	ti- 0- hukataahpii.raah	-0 . "
and	IND.3A 3.A carry.in.one's.arms	PERF . "

Hisiriharíwiš^{^t}ⁿ

Hi siriiharíwícat

And we arrived with it

hi	si-	rii-	t-	raar-	ri-	wic.at	-0
and	DU	ASSR	1.A	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	arrive	PERF

irirakúkawi	.	n ¹ ka ^a
iriirakúkaawi	.	Ííka'a

where his lodge was . Oh my
 irii- ra- 0- ku- akaa -wi . iika'a
 where INF.A 3.A INF.B be.a.dwelling SUB.L . oh.my

! wisiritíritⁿ
 wisiriitiúrit
 , they saw it
 , wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ut- iirik -0
 , now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV see PERF

iríihi nətpák^a “
 iríi ihi ratpaáka “
 when , uh , I said : “
 irii , ihii , ra- t- waak -a , ”
 when , uh , ABS 1.A say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Kisaškítikaku .
 Kísacki tikaáku . ”
 Meat it is in here ! ”
 kisaac -kis ti- 0- kaa- kus -0 . ”
 meat DIM IND.3A 3.A inside be.sitting PERF . ”

nka^a !
 líka'a
 Oh my ,
 iika'a ,
 oh.my ,

rusítikusikstaiwaah^u
 ruusitikuuciksta'iwá'aahu'
 then they stroked me in thanks
 ruu- si- ti- 0- a- ir- ku- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -:hus
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 1.P PREV hand brush.against DIST IMPF

. Hiruriwáku , atiós
 . Hiru riiwáku' ati'as
 . Then he said my father
 . hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as
 . then ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father

, " Hā !
 " Haa
 : " See !
 , " haa ,
 , " see ,

iriwirutíratihⁿ

iriwiruutíraatiihat

now this is the end

irii- wii- ruu- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -0
 that now then IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF

nikurutuhúrukistaritⁿ

rikuruutihúruukistarit

that being how he is going to do

riku- ra- 0- ut- uhuur- ra'uk -his -ta -rit
 that.is ABS 3.A PREV way make PERF INT INT.SUB

,

ratakurakaruhkarukústaritⁿ

rataakuraakaaruhkaruukústarit

so that we are going to make meals

ra- t- a- ku- rak- kaaruur- ka.ra'uk -hus -ta -rit

INF.A 1.A IN.PL.P INF.B 1/2.PL meal make.PL.P IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Araratíhaksa

A raaatíhaksa'

And time passed on

a ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come PERF

, iráⁱ , hínahiritⁿ
 iraári' hi raáhiirit
 , brother , and finally
 , i- -raar- -ri' , hi raahiirit
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , and finally

, hínahiritⁿ níhwakⁱ ,
 hi raáhiirit ríhwaki'
 , and finally, they said --
 , hi raahiirit ra- 0- ir- waki -0 -
 , and finally ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF -

hínahiritⁿ riwáku atí[^]s
 hi raáhiirit riiwáku' atí[']as
 and finally he said my father
 hi raahiirit rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as
 and finally ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father

" Ihi
 " Ihi

: " Uh ,
 , " ihii ,
 , " uh ,

wirutúši^u

wiruutúci'u'

he is now at the age

wii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- uu -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF

nakutáhuriwawi

rakuttáhuriwaawi

to run after buffalo

ra- 0- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

. " "
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .

Witásətahhuriwawist^a

Witaásattahuriwaawista

Now you can run after buffalo

wii- ta- s- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi -his -ta
 now IND.1/2A 2.A PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L PERF INT

. " Hirurikunikstáru

. " Hiru riikurikstáru

. " Then he gave me arrows

. " hiruu rii- 0- ku- riiks- raar- uh -0
 . " then ASSR 3.A 1.P arrow PL give PERF

, arisítati^s
 ariísit atí'as
 himself my father ,
 ariísit ati- as ,
 one's.own 1.POSS father ,

hirusiritiráihwa .
 hiru siriitiraá'ihwa .
 then we went hunting .
 hiruu si- rii- t- i- raawiir- waar -0 .
 then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ angrily go.DU.A PERF .

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

híruriwaku atí^s “
 hiru riiwáku' atí'as “
 then he said my father : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as , ”
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father , ”

Náwaha
 Ráwa ha
 Now , ha ,
 rawa , ha ,
 now , ha ,

witəsiwarikustatárah^a .
 witasiwárikusta táraha' .
 now you are going to shoot it the buffalo .
 wii- ta- s- i- warik -:hus -ta tarahaa .

now IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ shoot IMPF INT buffalo .

Witasiwáriksta . "

Witasiiwáriksta . "

Now you are going to shoot it . "

wi- ta- s- i- warik -his -ta . "

QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ shoot PERF INT . "

Hiritirakapáha

Hi ritiiraakapáhaa' .

And I frightened them .

hi rii- t- ir- aak.apaha.a -0 .

and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A drive.back PERF .

tuhtarahararíruhšⁱ .

Tuhtarahaararíruhci' .

There were many buffalos .

ti- 0- uur- tarahaa- raar- riruhci -0 .

IND.3A 3.A PREV buffalo PL be.numerous PERF .

áka^a !

Aáka'a

Oh my ,

aaka'a ,

oh.my ,

irikúhutah^u ,

irikúhuutaahu'

that is how it was done

irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -:hus

that DUB ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF

hitihátaku tikatírititⁿ

hi tiháátaku tikatíriitit

and right here one goes alongside it
 hi tii- haa- -taku ti- 0- kata.iri.itik -0
 and here here LOC IND.3A 3.A get.alongside PERF

atí^s
 atí'as
 my father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

iriratətpihkawí^a
 iriiratutpihkawí'uu'a
 where my right side is
 irii- ra- t- ut- wiir.ka.wi.uu -a
 where ABS 1.A PREV be.one's.right.side SUB.1

hítitakət , tāraha ,
 hi titákut , tāraha' .
 and it ran , the buffalo .
 hi ti- 0- takuk -0 tarahaa .
 and IND.3A 3.A run PERF buffalo .

nikutikátasa
 Rikutikátasa
 One is at the side of that one
 riku- ti- 0- kata- sa -0
 that.is IND.3A 3.A against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF

. Árahitⁿ
 . A raáhiirit
 . And finally
 . a raahiirit
 . and finally

tikuritaárisuht^a ,
tikuritaíirisuhta
it was going to take me into the herd
ti- 0- ku- ri- ta.iir.his.uh -ta
IND.3A 3.A 1.P PORT go.among.INT INT

hínahiritⁿ
hi raáhiirit
and finally
hi raahiirit
and finally

narutatuh pírusəs
raaruutatuhpírusas
I just whipped it as it ran
raa- ruu- ta- t- uur- piru -hus as-i -0
just then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV whip IMPF.SUB run PERF

, ratikítawⁱ ,
raatikítawi
the one I rode
ra- t- ikita -wi
ABS 1.A ride SUB.L

hitátukukstakətⁿ ,
hi tátkukstakut
and I ran from it
hi ta- t- kuks.takuk -0
and IND.1/2A 1.A run.away PERF

karaatawárika .
kara'ataawárika .
my not wanting to shoot it .
kara- aa- t- a- warik -a .

NEG SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P shoot SUB.1 .

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

Aríšiksa .
A riíciksa .
And let them do it !
a ra- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- 0 -a .
and ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ JUSS be SUB.1 .

"
"
"
"
"

Hihawasisturutétiatⁿ
Hi hawá sístu ruutáti’at
And also again then I went
hi haawa sistu ruu- ta- t- i- at -0
and also again then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ go PERF

. áka^a !
. Aáka’a
. Oh my ,
. aaka’a ,
. oh.my ,

tikátariratikitawⁱ .
tikátarii raatikítawi .

. " Kišihítuta ,
. " Kici hi tuúta
. " But and he did it
. " kici hi ti- 0- ut- aar -0
. " but and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

hitakúraru riwarik^a

hi táku' raaruuriwárika
and when he aimed at one
hi taku raa- ruu- ri- 0- i- warik -a
and someone just then CONT.3A 3.A SEQ shoot SUB.1

, isirúisawiška ;
, i ciru isaáhwicka' .
, and yet he wanted that .
, i ciruu i- s- ar- wicka -0 .
, and yet CONT.1/2A 2.A EV want PERF .

hirurítiwaku " Nawa ,
Hiru riitiwáku' " Ráwa
Then I said : " Now
hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , " rawa
then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , " now

witatúhairitⁿ

witatuúhaa'iirit
I have seen what you did ,
wii- ta- t- a- ut- raa- iirik -0 ,
now IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV way see PERF ,

atí[^]s

atí'as .
father .
ati- as .

1.POSS father .

witatiwárikst^a . "

Witatiwáriksta . "

Now I am going to shoot it . "

wii- ta- t- i- warik -his -ta . "

now IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ shoot PERF INT . "

Nihuksutaráit^a

Ríhuksu' taraá'iita

Only he knew

rihuks -u' ti- 0- a- raa.iita -0

alone NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF

nətuhiaráhkuukətⁿ

ratuuhiraáraahkuukut

my running it into a depression

ra- t- ut- ri.raar haahka- uukuk -0

ABS 1.A PREV be.one's.intention.that.someone.do ravine get.into SUB.4

hiširikátaətⁿ ,

hici riikáta'at

and he went up a hill ,

hi.ci rii- 0- kata- at -0 ,

and ASSR 3.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF ,

irárⁱ ,

iraári'

brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hirituhuráh^tⁿ táraha ,

hi riituhuráhat táraha'

and I let it go the buffalo ,
 hi rii- t- uhur.ra.hak -0 tarahaa ,
 and ASSR 1.A leave PERF buffalo ,

atí^s rawišká^a
 atí'as rawicka'a " : "
 my father his thinking : "
 ati- as ra- 0- wicka -a , "
 1.POSS father ABS 3.A think SUB.1 , "

askútik^a ,
 Askuútika . "
 Would that you kill it . "
 aa- s- kuut.ik -a . "
 SUBJ.1/2A 2.A kill SUB.1 . "

hihíritkataət^n
 Hihi ritkáta'at
 And I climbed it
 hi hi rii- t- kata- at -0
 and and ASSR 1.A against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

hiwihiruhariipáh^t^n ,
 hi wihiru hariipahat
 and then new born calves
 hi wii- hiruu harii pahaat
 and now then calf be.red

narurikirúsawarit^n ,
 raaruuriikiruusáwari' .
 the group was just milling around .
 raa- ruu- rii- 0- kiruus- a.warii -:hus .
 just then ASSR 3.A group go.around.IMPF IMPF .

rarutiširaikáhuriwa

Raaruuucirariikáhuriwa

Then they would go in among them

raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raar-	iika-	hurii	-waa	-0
just	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	center	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF

, hiritirakapáha .
. Hi ritiiraakapáhaa' .
. And I made them run ahead .
. hi rii- t- ir- aak.apaha.a -0 .
. and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A drive.back PERF .

Irári

Iraári'

Brother

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

arísakuhətⁿ

a riísakuhət

and the sun passed

a	rii-	0-	sakur-	hak	-0
and	ASSR	3.A	sun	pass.by	PERF

hiritatahuríwa

hi riiitattahuríwa

and I ran after them

hi	rii-	t-	ak-	ra-	hurii	-waa	-0
and	ASSR	1.A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF

haripahahákat^a

hariipahaháhkata

the tawny calves

harii pahaat rahkataar

calf be.red be.yellow .

Káratutasiksta

Káratuutaciksta

I did not watch it

ka- ra- t- ut- aciks.ta -0
NEG ABS 1.A PREV watch PERF

nəkúrihur^u .

rakúrihuuru .

the big one .

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

Hiruritikuwawárusititⁿ .

Hiru rii-kuuwaawárusitit .

Then I began butchering it .

hiruu rii- t- i- kuuwar -waa -:hus -itik .
then ASSR 1.A SEQ butcher DIST IMPF INCH .

Sitikuhaitáwuhu .

Sitikuuhaa'itáwuhu' .

They were teaching me .

si- ti- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.iita.wuh -:hus .
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV teach IMPF .

Atí^{as}

Atí'as

Father

ati- as
1.POSS father

tatipíraskⁱ

tátii píiraski

I had him , a boy
 ta- t- ir- 0 -0 , piiras- -kis
 IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF , boy DIM

sítəšti ,
 sítacti .
 we were together .
 si- ta- t- tir -0 .
 DU IND.1/2A 1.A be.together PERF .

irikurikuhaitáwuhu .
 Irikuriikuuhaa'itáwuhu' .
 That one was teaching me .
 irii- ku- rii- 0- ku- ut- raa.iita.wuh -:hus .
 that INDF ASSR 3.A 1.P PREV teach IMPF .

Táwitⁿ aritiškaríharuwa ;
 Táwit a riitickariíharuwa .
 Three and I took hides off .
 tawit a rii- t- ickariit- raar- ruwaah -0 .
 three and ASSR 1.A hide PL remove PERF .

hiruritušiškarihašáhp^u
 Hiru riituciickariihacaáhp^u
 Then I packed the hides on its back
 hiruu rii- t- ut- ickariit- raar- taahk.wuh -0
 then ASSR 1.A PREV hide PL put.on.one's.back PERF

. Hirusirítiwa .
 . Hiru siríitiwa .
 . Then we went on .
 . hiruu si- rii- t- i- waar -0 .
 . then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ go.DU PERF .

Kišihitirótki^a

Kici hi tirátkii'a
But and it became night
kici hi ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
but and IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hisirítpišp^a

hi sirítpicpa
and we arrived
hi si- rii- t- wic.waar -0
and DU ASSR 1.A arrive.DU PERF

Natiwakahúati^{^s}

Raatiwákaahu' atí'as
He just said my father :
raa- ti- 0- waka -:hus ati- as ,
just IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF 1.POSS father ,

Ári ! kiruhíkuraku
Ári' kiru hiíkuraaku
Why , where is it
arii , kiruu hii- ku- ra- 0- kus -0
oh , where other INDF ABS 3.A be.sitting PERF

irihirəskutikatárah^a

irihiraskuútika táraha'
the one you killed buffalo ?
irii- hii- ra- s- kuut.ik -a tarahaa
that other ABS 2.A kill SUB.1 buffalo .

Nitáku

Rittáku'
I said :
rii- t- taka'u -0 ,

ASSR 1.A say PERF , "

tikúraəs

Tikuúra'as

It ran after me,

ti- 0- ku- uur- ra- as-i -0
IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV PORT run PERF

hiruritihuráh^{^t}

hiru ritiihúrahat . "
then I let it go . "
hiruu rii- t- i- uhur.ra.hak -0 . "
then ASSR 1.A SEQ release PERF . "

Akihiraruritiwákah^u

Aki hi raaruuriitiwákaahu'
And here and then I was just saying
a- ki hi raa- ruu- rii- t- i- waka -:hus
and there and just then ASSR 1.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF

. áka^a ! híruriwaku
. Aáka'a hiru riiwáku'
. Oh my , then she said
. aaka'a , hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
. oh.my , then ASSR 3.A say PERF

atíra " nka^a ! "
atíra' " líka'a . "
my mother : " Oh my ! "
ati- raa , " iika'a . "
1.POSS mother , " oh.my . "

Atiráruririríwakⁱ

Atíra' ruuriiriríwaki'

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

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

hiraratíhəks^a

hi raraatíhaksá'
 and time came on
 hi ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come PERF

, hínahiritⁿ
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

wiratatáhuriwawⁱ

wiratattáhuriwaawi
 when I chased them
 wii- ra- t- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
 when ABS 1.A PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

, hínahiritⁿ atí[^]s
 hi raáhiirit atí[']as
 , and finally my father
 , hi raahiirit ati- as

, and finally 1.POSS father

nikuhuhurítawaw^u

rikuuhuhuuriítawaawu

he taught me many things

ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa.uhuur-	iita.wuh	-waa	-0
CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	way	describe.to	DIST	PERF

. “

. “

. “

. ”

. ”

Asarutašiksarístaritⁿ

Aasaruutaciksaarístarit

If you should decide to do it

aa-	s-	ar-	ut-	aciks.aar	-his	-ta	-rit
SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	EV	PREV	consider	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

, kíriku ,
kíriku’
some way
kirikuu
anything

tihátutah^u

tihátuutaahu’

this is how one does it

tii-	haa-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-.hus	.	”
this	here	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF	.	”

hínahiritⁿ

Hi raáhiirit

And finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

hiritatahuriwákiwik^u

hi	riitattahúriwa								kíwiiku'	
and	I chased them								buffalo bulls	
hi	rii-	t-	ak-	ra-	hurii	-waa	-0		kiwiik	-u'
and	ASSR	1.A	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go.around.PL	DIST	PERF		buffalo.bull	NOM

. Hurárika ,
 . Huraáriika
 . Springtime
 . huraa- iika
 . earth be.in.the.middle

takukararikutikúసుకు .
 táku' karariikuutikúసుుకు' .
 no one killed it .

taku	kara-	rii-	0-	kuut.ik	-.hus	-uuku	.
someone	NEG	ASSR	3.A	kill	IMPF	HAB	.

Hiwihiruriháhkawaritkíwiku

Hi	wihiru		rihaáhkawaarit						kíwiiku'	
And	then		there they stood in a ravine						buffs	
hi	wii-	hiruu	ri-	0-	haahka-	wa-	arik	-0	kiwiik	-u'
and	now	then	CONT.3A	3.A	in.a.ravine	DIST	be.standing	PERF	buffalo.bull	NOM

hiritirakapáha .

hi	ritiiraakapáhaa'									
and	I chased them									
hi	rii-	t-	ir-		aak.apaha.a	-0				
and	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A		drive.back	PERF				

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

hiritkútitkiwiku .
 hi ritkuútit kíwiiku' .
 and I killed it a bull .
 hi rii- t- kuut.ik -0 kiwiik -u' .
 and ASSR 1.A kill PERF buffalo.bull NOM .

Šihiwitátkutitⁿ ,
 Cihi witátkuutit
 But I had killed it
 ci- hi wii- ta- t- kuut.ik -0
 but and now IND.1/2A 1.A kill PERF

hiraráhwiš^a .
 hi raaraáhwica' .
 and they arrived .
 hi ra- 0- a- raar- wic.a -0 .
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A arrive PERF .

Hirurítiwaku “
 Hiru riitiwáku’ “
 Then I said : “
 hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , ”
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , ”

Sikaskuširušúara^u
 Sikaskuciruúcu áraa'u'
 You must put it down back meat
 si- kaas- s- ku- ut- i- ra.uc.wuh -0 araa- -u'

DU POT.2A 2.A 1.P BEN SEQ put.PL.OBJ PERF tenderloin NOM

, witahawarúkstir^u .
 . Witahaawaarúkstiiru' .
 . I have consecrated it .
 . wii- ta- t- raa- waarukstii -ra'uk -0 .
 . now IND.1/2A 1.A way be.holy CAUS PERF .

Sikaskušihátkarikutⁿ

Sikaskucihátkarikut

You must take out the tongue

si- kaas- ku- ut- i- hat- ka- ri.kuk -0
 DU POT.2A 1.P BEN SEQ tongue in remove PERF

apíš^u . "
 a piícu' . "
 and heart . "
 a wiic- -u' , "
 and heart NOM , "

Aríhwaki “
 A ríhwaki' “
 And they said : “
 a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Náwatikⁱ

Ráwa tíki
 Now , son ,
 rawa , tikis ,
 now , sonny ,

nikututáh^u . "
 rikutuutaáhu' . "

that is how one does it . "

riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -a -:hus . "

that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF . "

Asiríkuhuš^u

A siríkuuhuucu

And they put them aside for me

a si- 0- rii- 0- ir- ku- ut- ra.uc.wuh -0

and DU 3.A ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN put.PL.OBJ PERF

.

.

.

.

.

Hirurituširəšáhpa

Hiru riituciracaahpa

Then I packed on its back

hiruu rii- t- ut- i- raar- taahk.wuh -0

then ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P put.on.one's.back PERF

hiruritikáisətⁿ

hiru riitikaá'isat

, then I went home

, hiruu rii- t- i- kaa- iis.at -0

, then ASSR 1.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight PERF

" akahkitáwihiri , "

Akaahkitáwihiri'

The leading lodge

akaar- kita.wi -hiri'

dwelling be.the.leader LOC

tihwakíah^u ,
 tihwakí'aahu'
 they say (ie call it)
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

hirurítíetⁿ , hirúaris^tⁿ
 hiru ríiti'at . Hiru ariísit
 then I went . Then myself
 hiruu rii- t- i- at -0 . hiruu ariisit
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ go PERF . then one's.own

, irári , arísitⁿ ,
 iraári' ariísit
 , brother , myself
 , i- -raar- -ri' , ariisit
 , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , one's.own

kurótírar^u
 kurátiraaru
 my own
 ku- ra- t- ir- raar- 0 -u
 INDF ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be SUB.D

atíra , haripahótⁿ ,
 Atíra' Hariípahat
 Mother , Calf
 ati- raa , harii pahaat
 1.POSS mother , calf red

irákarūsⁱ
 irákaruuci
 that bundle ,
 ii- ra- 0- ka- ra.uc -i ,

that ABS 3.A in be.lying.PL SUB.2 ,

hirikurihariwiš^{^tⁿ}

hi rikuriihariwícat

and that is where I arrived with it

hi riku- rii- t- raar- ri- wic.at -0
and that.is ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive PERF

híruriwaku

atí^{^s}

. Hiru riiwáku'

atí^{^as}

. Then he said

my father :

. hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- as ,

. then ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS father ,

iriwitúrahi

“ Iriwitúraahi

“ That is good

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

, “ Sukstúš^u . "

. Sukstuúcu . "

. Put it down ! "

. i- s- uks- ra.uc.wuh -0 . "

. CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS put.PL.OBJ PERF . "

Arirəšakarah^{^tⁿ} ,

A riíhacakaarahat

And I unloaded them

a rii- t- raar- takaa.ra.hak -0
and ASSR 1.A 3PL.INAN.P unload PERF

arirús^u

. Hikúrahus

a riihuúcu

. Hi kúrahus

and I put them down . And old men
 a rii- t- ra.uc.wuh -0 . hi kurahuus
 and ASSR 1.A put.PL.OBJ PERF . and old.man

iriruráah^u .
 iriruuraá'aahu' .
 then they were coming .
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- a- a -:hus .
 then then ABS 3.A PREV.3A come IMPF .

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

irikúhitarikusuk^u
 iriikúhiitariihúsuuku'
 whatever they used to do
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i -:hus -uuku
 what DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF IMPF HAB

,

kurahúsirikuhitariihúkusuk^u
 kúrahús iriikúhiitariihúsuuku'
 old men whatever they used to do
 kurahuus irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i -:hus -uuku
 old.man what DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF IMPF HAB

. Kurahúsrurirahkáwarit^h
. Kúrahus ruuriiraahkáwarit
. The priest then he filled a pipe
. kurahuus ruu- rii- 0- raar- ka.warik -0
. old.man then ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF

hiwisirikutaskiškitaw^h

hi wisirikuutaaskiickítawu
and now they tied it on me
hi wii- si- ri- 0- ir- ku- ut- haas- kiic- kita- wuh -0
and now DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV rope neck on.top put PERF

;
.
.
.
.

wisitihkátauš

Wisitihkaáta'uc

They put it by the wall

wii- si- ti- 0- ir- kaata- uc -0
now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A along.the.wall lay.SG.P PERF

;
. úhuks
. Úhuks
. Half
. uhuks
. half

araúwírutik^h

áraa'u'

back meat

araa-

-u'

wíruutiiku

there it sat

wii-

ruu-

ti-

0-

kus

-0

tenderloin NOM now there IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF

, áesku ará^u ,
a ásku áraa'u'
and one (another) back meat
a asku araa- -u'
and one tenderloin NOM

hisirikutástawaw^u

hi siriikuutaástawaawu
and they tied it up for me

hi si- rii- 0- ir- ku- ut- haas- ta waa- wuh -0
and DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV rope be.hanging DIST put PERF

. Hiiruriritirawihətⁿ

. Hi iriruuriitiraáwihut

. And thereupon I trotted with it

. hi irii- ruu- rii- t- i- ra.awi.huk -0
. and then then ASSR 1.A SEQ carry PERF

, hirurítirətⁿ ,

hiru riítirat

, then I took it

, hiruu rii- t- i- ra- at -0
, then ASSR 1.A SEQ PORT go PERF

hiruirirakáwi ,

hiru iriirákaawi

there where the lodge was

hiruu irii- ra- 0- akaa -wi
there where ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

akahkitawiraríksis^u .

akaahkitawiraaríksisu' .

the real leading lodge
 akaar- kita.wi raariks -his -u'
 dwelling be.the.leader be.true PERF NOM

Irirutahurakukitáwi^u

Iriruútaahu'

That is how it was

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

rakukitáwi'u

its being a leading one

ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D

, tírarušⁱ

tíraruuci

this one

tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i
 this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

, átira

Atíra'

Mother

ati- raa
 1.POSS mother

níwirusák^u

Ríwiruucáku

Rounded End

riwiruu.ica.kus

be.rounded.on.the.end

Nikutišúksah^u

Rikutucúksaahu'

That is the way it used to be

riku- ti- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -:hus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF

hihiruatirarahkítu

hi hiru atiraaraahkítuu'u'

and then all the Mothers

hi hiruu ati- raa raar- kituu -u'
 and then 1.POSS mother PL all NOM

nikutihaktáriwu
rikutihaaktáriwu'

that is where they take them

riku-	tiir-	ra-	0-	ak-	raar-	ri-	wuu	-:hus
that.is	INFR	ABS	3.A	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.P	PORT	go.IMPf	IMPf

,	wirihkukawútik ^a	.					
	wirihkukawuútika	.					
	when they killed them	.					
wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ka.wa.ut.ik	-a	.
when	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	kill.DIST	SUB.1	.

áka ^a	!	natihwakiáhu	
Aáka'a		raatihwaki'aahu'	
Oh my	,	they just say	:
aaka'a	,	raa- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus	,
oh.my	,	just IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPf IMPf	,

“ Hā !
“ Haa
“ Ha ,
" haa ,
" ha ,

natapíra ^u	,
raátaa'	piíra'u'
he is just coming	a child
raa- ti- 0- a- a -0 piira -u'	.
just IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF child NOM	.

wirutuhúruhu^u
Wituutihúru'
He is doing it for a reason

wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	uhur.uu	-0
-----	-----	----	-----	---------	----

QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV act PERF

irirutahu

iriiruutahu

the way one does

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

kurahkutasiksaristaritⁿ

kuraahkuutaciksaaristarit

when one is going to think of something

ku- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- aciks.aar -his -ta -rit
INDF INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV consider PERF INT INT.SUB

. Náw^a ,
. " Ráwa
. " Now ,
. " rawa ,
. " now ,

hiruasirítpišpa ,

hiru a sirítpicpa .
then and we arrived .
hiruu a si- rii- t- wic.waar -0 .
then and DU ASSR 1.A arrive.DU PERF .

kurahustikušírəsa .

Kúrahus tikucírasa .
The priest he led me .
kurahuus ti- 0- ku- ut- ciras- aah -0 .
priest IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM be PERF .

Hiritatarətáwiskar^u

Hi riítaatta rattaáwiskaaru'

And I had a pipe the pipe
 hi rii- t- haak- raah -0 rak.raawis.kaar- -u'
 and ASSR 1.A wood have PERF pipe NOM

hikúrahus
 hi kúrahus
 , and the priest
 , hi kurahuus
 , and old.man

nawira .
 raawiíraa' .
 now he just followed (me) .
 raa- wii- ra- 0- a- a -0 .
 just now ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF .

Hirurúsi^a
 Hiru ruúci'a
 Then he did it
 hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

akahkitawiraríksis^u ,
 akaahkitawiraaríksisu'
 the real leading lodge
 akaar- kita.wi raariks -his -u'
 dwelling be.the.leader be.true PERF NOM

irirákawⁱ ,
 iriirákaawi
 where the lodge is
 irii- ra- 0- akaa -wi
 where ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L

arušáihi

a ruucaá' ihí
and he arose , uh ,
a ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 ihii ,
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF , uh ,

tarušúhus ,
táruucúhus
the errand man ,
ta.ra.uc.uh.hus ,
errand.man ,

hirurúšj^a

hiru rúci'a
then he did it
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

kisaškíarikuruwa .

kísacki a riikurúwa .
the meat and he took it off me .
kisaac -kis a rii- 0- ku- ruwaah -0 .
meat DIM and ASSR 3.A 1.P remove PERF .

Hiruriwáku “

Hiru riiwáku' “
Then he said : “
hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , “
then ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Iritakušúkskus . "

Íritaku súkskus . "
There put it ! "
irii- -taku i- s- uks- kus.k -0 . "

there LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS put PERF . "

Tarušúhus , irariki
 Táruucúhus iraáriki
 Errand man that one
 ta.ra.uc.uh.hus ii- ra- 0- arik -i
 errand.man that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

aríkus .
 a riíkus .
 and he put it .
 a rii- 0- kus.k -0 .
 and ASSR 3.A put PERF .

Híruriwaku kúrahus
 Hiru riiwáku' kúrahus
 Then he said the priest
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man

nikušírəsah^a "
 rikucírasaaha "
 the one who led me : "
 ri- 0- ku- ut- ciras- aah -a , "
 CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM be SUB.1 , "

Hirútasakuhist^a
 Hiru tasaakúhista
 There you are to give him the pipe
 hiruu ta- s- haak- uh -his -ta
 there IND.1/2A 2.A wood give PERF INT

hirúrahku ,
 hiru raáhku

there the one yonder
 hiruu ra- 0- ar- kus -0
 there ABS 3.A EV be.sitting PERF

nətáwiskar^u tírəsatah^a
 rattaáwiskaaru' tírasaattaaha
 pipe this pipe you have
 rak.raawis.kaar- -u' tii- ra- s- haak- raah -a
 pipe NOM this ABS 2.A wood have SUB.1

, kúrahus , hirúrahku
 . Kúrahus hiru raáhku
 . Priest there the one yonder
 . kurahuus hiruu ra- 0- ar- kus -0
 . priest there ABS 3.A EV be.sitting PERF

tasakúhist^a . "
 tasaakúhista . "
 you are going to give him the pipe . "
 ta- s- haak- uh -his -ta . "
 IND.1/2A 2.A wood give PERF INT . "

Hirusiritiw^a
 Hiru siriítiwa
 Then we went
 hiruu si- rii- t- i- waar -0
 then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ go.DU PERF

kurahúsiririkušírəsah^a
 kúrahus iriirikuucírasaaha
 priest the one who led me
 kurahuus irii- ri- 0- ku- ut- ciras- aah -a
 old.man that CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM be SUB.1

. Kurahuskitáwi^u
 . Kúrahuskitáwi'u'
 . The leading priest
 . kurahuus kita.wi -u'
 . priest be.the.leader NOM

iríraku ,
 iríiraaku
 where he sat
 irii- ra- 0- kus -0
 where ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

híriwaku , "
 hi riiwáku' "
 and he said : "
 hi rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Tihatákusisukspirut^tⁿ

Tihaátaku sisukspiiruútit
 Right here sit down
 tii- haa- -taku si- i- s- uks- wi.itik -ruu -0
 here here LOC DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS sit.down DIST PERF

. "
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

Tihairēsákakurutkihararírahar^u

Tihaa'iriirasaákaku rutkiihaaraarírahaaru
 Here where the sun passes the side of the room
 tii- haa- irii- ra- 0- saak- hak -hus ra- 0- ut- kiihaar- raarira.haar -u

here here where ABS 3.A sun pass.by IMPF.SUB ABS 3.A PREV room be.the.side SUB.D

, nikusirítpirut^tn .
 rikusirítpiiruutit .
 that is where we sat down .
 riku- si- rii- t- wi.itik -ruu -0 .
 that.is DU ASSR 1.A sit.down DIST PERF .

Híruriwaku “ Náwa . ”
 Hiru riiwáku’ “ Ráwa . ”
 Then he said : “ Now . ”
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “ rawa . ”
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ now . ”

Kurúšj^a
 Kurúci’a
 Then he did it
 ku- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 INDF ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

arušakúrahus ,
 a ruucaá’ kúrahus .
 and he arose the priest .
 a ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 kurahuus .
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF old.man .

kurahúsaruša .
 Kúrahus a ruucaá’ .
 The priest and he arose .
 kurahuus a ra- 0- a- uca.a -0 .
 old.man and ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF .

Kurahustirárikⁱ ,
 Kúrahus tiraáriki

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

híarisitⁿ

hi ariisit
 and himself
 hi ariisit
 and one's.own

tirótatarikⁱ

tiraátkataariki
 when he stood by the fireplace
 tii- ra- 0- itkata- arik -i
 when ABS 3.A by.a.fire be.standing SUB.2

hirurirárir^u

hiru riiráriiru'
 then he lit it
 hiruu rii- 0- rarit -ra'uk -0
 then ASSR 3.A be.lit CAUS PERF

Hiruriwakararawariíhusit^{it}ⁿ

Hiru riwakaraarawariíhusitit
 Then he began praying to different directions
 hiruu rii- 0- wakaraar- a.warii -:hus -itik
 then ASSR 3.A voice go.around.IMPF IMPF INCH

;

tiirirətuha káritirəsuhairikúsku

ti'iriirátuuhaakari

this way that we do

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

tirasuuhaa'iirikúsku

this one you usually see

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

, nakuhatáwari
rakuhaattaáwari
to offer the pipe

ra- 0- ku- haak- raa.warii -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B wood offer.in.prayer IMPF.SUB

nətáwiskar^u . Kúrahus
rattaáwiskaaru' . Kúrahus
the pipe . Priest
rak.raawis.kaar- -u' . kurahuus
pipe NOM . old.man

tiráriki

tiraáriki

this one

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

wirikuisakuhaitáwuhu

wiriku'isaahkuuhaa'iitáwuhu'

this was the one teaching me

wii- riku- i- s- ar- ku- ut- raa.iita.wuh -:hus
now that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV 1.P PREV teach IMPF

, kurahuskítáwi^u .
kurahuskítáwi'u' .
the leading priest .
kurahuus kita.wi -u' .

priest be.the.leader NOM .

Hikišítirik^u

Hi kici tiriíku

And but he sat here

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

iririkušírësa

iriirikuucírasaaha

the one who led me

irii- ri- 0- ku- ut- ciras- aah -a
that CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM be SUB.1

kúrahus , híriwakah^u , “

kúrahus hi riiwákaahu’ “

priest and he was saying : “

kurahuus hi rii- 0- waka -:hus , ”

old.man and ASSR 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ”

Nəkuhakírik^u

Rakuuhaakíriku

When you look at them

ra- 0- ku- ut- raa- kirik.kus -0
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way look.at SUB.4

sukstišawišpárik^u

sukstiicawicpárik^u

take note of everything

i- s- uks- raa.ica.wic.warik -:hus . ”
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS observe.everything IMPF . ”

Akitiráriki

Aki tiraáriki

kúrahus

kúrahus

nikutiháæt¹

Rikutiháá'at

That was the pipe

riku- ti- 0- haak- 0 -'
that.is IND.3A 3.A wood be EX

raráwis^a

raráwisa

the one he smoked

ra- 0- raawis- a -0
ABS 3.A smoke eat SUB.3

Hiruraháta^a

Hiru rahaátta'a'

Then he brought the pipe

hiruu ra- 0- a- haak- ra- a -0
then ABS 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT come PERF

kurahushirakúarihaku

kúrahus híiraaku a ríihaaku
priest the other one and he gave him the pipe

kurahuus hii- ra- 0- kus -0 a rii- 0- ir- haak- uh -0
old.man other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 and ASSR 3.A OBV wood give PERF

. Hirurúši^a

. Hiru ruúci'a

. Then he did it

. hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
. then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

ruhøtkahuririkarøtáwiskar^u

ruuhatkaahuriírika

his cleaning the pipestem

ra- 0- uur- hatkaahuur- hiir -ik -a rattaáwiskaaru'
rak.raawis.kaar- -u'

ABS 3.A PREV elongated.hole be.good CAUS SUB.1 pipe NOM

, híšikst^{tn}
 hi cíkstit
 , and well
 , hi cikstik
 , and well

rurirahkáwaritⁿ ,
 ruuriiraahkáwarit .
 then he filled the pipe .
 ruu- rii- 0- raar- ka.warik -0 .
 then ASSR 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF .

hirurúš^a ,
 Hiru rúci'a
 Then he did it
 hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

aríkuhaku . “ Náw^a
 a riíkuhaaku . Ráwa
 and he gave me the pipe . Now
 a rii- 0- ku- haak- uh -0 . rawa
 and ASSR 3.A 1.P wood give PERF . now

, witikutpawáktik^u .
 witikutpaawáktiiku' .
 , he was talking to me .
 , wi- ti- 0- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus .
 , QUOT IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN talk IMPF .

“ Náw^a , náwatikⁱ ,
 “ Ráwa , ráwa tíki

“ Now , now , son ,
 " rawa , rawa , tikis ,
 " now , now , sonny ,

tihawírəsuhairitⁿ ,
 tihaawírasuuhaa’iirit
 what you have seen here
 tii- haa- wii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -0
 here here now ABS 2.A PREV way see SUB.4

tíhawírəsuhairitⁿ
 tihaawírasuuhaa’iirit
 what you have seen here
 tii- haa- wii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -0
 here here now ABS 2.A PREV way see SUB.4

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

, hiruirihi
 hiru irihii
 there that
 hiruu irii- hii
 there that other

wituháhura
 wituuhaáhura’
 that is the source of them
 wi- ti- 0- ut- raa- hurar -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

, tiwirəsuháiritⁿ,
 tiwirasuuhaá'irit
 these things you have seen
 tii- wii- ra- s- ut- raa- iirik -0
 this now ABS 2.A PREV way see SUB.4

tiwirəskutir^{it}ⁿ .
 tiwiraskuútiirit .
 your having seen me .
 tii- wii- ra- s- ku- ut- iirik -0 .
 this now ABS 2.A 1.P PREV see SUB.4 .

Hirurikuwituháhura
 Hiru rikuwituhaáhura'
 There that one is the source of things
 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

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

hirúrikuwitikitak^u
 Hiru irikuwitikítaku
 There that one sits above
 hiruu irii- ku- wi- ti- 0- kita- kus -0
 there that INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A on.top be.sitting PERF

iriahúhar^u
 irii'ahuúhaaru
 that one who is the cause
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ut- raar -u

that EV ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause SUB.D

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

Nikutiwákahu

Rikutiwákaahu'

That is what saying he was saying

riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus
that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

tirarikikúrahus

tiraáriki kúrahus
this one old man
tii- ra- 0- arik -i kurahuus
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 old.man

wirikutpawáktiku .

wirikutpaawáktiku .

when he was talking to me .

wii- ri- 0- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus .
when CONT.3A 3.A 1.P BEN talk IMPF.SUB .

" Náwaitikⁱ ,

" Ráwa iitiki ,

" Now , son ,

" rawa , uu.tikis ,

" now , sonny ,

tiwirətuhahkawárik^a

tiwiratuuhaahkawárika

now that I have filled the pipe for you

tii- wii- ra- t- a- ut- raar- ka.warik -a
 here now ABS 1.A 2.P BEN 3PL.INAN.P put.in SUB.1

hirukišiatirakurésirar^u

hiru kici Atíra'
 , there but Mother
 , hiruu kici ati- raa
 , there but 1.POSS mother

wirikutəstawišáhista

kurásiraaru

yours (pl)

ku- ra- s- ir- raar- 0 -u
 INDF ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be SUB.D

wirikutastaawisáhista

now that is what you are going to smoke

wii- riku- ta- s- raawis- a -his -ta
 now that.is IND.1/2A 2.A smoke eat PERF INT

, títirⁱ . "
 tíítiiri . "
 now . "
 tii- tiiri . "
 here now . "

Nikuisaruharáihku

Riku'isaruuhaára'ihku'

That is what he was meaning

riku- i- s- ar- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV mean IMPF

kúrahus nókuwakahu , "
 kúrahus rákuwaakahu , "
 the priest when he was saying : "
 kurahuus ra- 0- ku- waaka -hus , "
 priest INF.A 3.A INF.B say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , "

Karisuksuhuráwisa

Kariisuksuhuuraáwisa

You must not smoke yet

kara-	i-	s-	uks-	uhur-	raawis-	a	-0
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	now	smoke	eat	PERF

.
.
!
.
.

Akikutuharáihku

Aki kutuuhaará'ihku'

And here he was meaning that

a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-:hus	,
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	,

ihí áwitⁿ ,
ihí áwit
uh, , first
ihii , awit
uh , first

nikuésut^a ,

riku'ásuuta

that you do that

riku-	aa-	s-	ut-	aar	-0
that.is	SUBJ.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	PERF

wirakurásah^{^t}ⁿ ,

wirakurásahat .

when I grow up .

wii-	ra-	ku-	rasahat	-0	.
------	-----	-----	---------	----	---

when ABS 1.P grow.up SUB.4 .

hiriráwisa ,
Hi riiraáwisa .
And he smoked .
hi rii- 0- raawis- a -0 .
and ASSR 3.A smoke eat PERF .

wirutatawisawáriku

Wiruutahaawisawáriku'

Now then I offered smoke to it

wii- ruu- ta- t- raawis- a.warik -:hus
now then IND.1/2A 1.A smoke throw IMPF

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

Iirutukstatih^{tⁿ} ,
Iriiutukstaatííhat ,
That is the only occasion ,
irii- ruu- ti- 0- uks- raa- tiihak -0 ,
that then IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.the.end PERF ,

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

nəkuráwisa pířəskⁱ .
rakuraáwisa pííraski .

when he smokes a boy .
 ra- 0- ku- raawisa -0 piiras- -kis .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B smoke SUB.4 boy DIM .

Tirikuratarəsahatupírəskⁱ

Tirikurattarasáhatu piíraski
 While we are growing up boys
 tii- ri- ku- rak- raar- rasahat -hus piiras- -kis
 when CONT.3A 1.P 1/2.PL PL.INDV.P grow.up IMPF.SUB boy DIM

. Suhúrikakirawisakírik^u
 . Suúhuri' kaakiiraáwisa kíriku'
 . This way he does not smoke at all
 . suuhuri' kaaki- 0- raawis- a -0 kirikuu
 . over.here NEG.IND.3A 3.A smoke eat PERF anything

. Ipátⁱ
 . Ipaátti'
 . A grandfather
 . i- paak -ri'
 . 3.POSS.A grandfather 3.POSS.B

nakúruh^u

raakúruhku
 if he has him
 ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, hitiráwisa ,
 hi tiraáwisa
 and he smokes
 hi ti- 0- raawis- a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A smoke eat PERF

hitiwákah^u “
 hi tiwákaahu’ “
 and he says : “
 hi ti- 0- waka -:hus , ”
 and IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ”

Narukakasirawisáhist^a
 Raaruukaakaasiraawisáhista
 You are not just to smoke

raa- ruu- kaaka- s- i- raawis- a -his -ta
 just then NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ smoke eat PERF INT

, hā !
 . Haa
 . Ha ,
 . haa ,
 . ha ,

kišikurahuswitətⁿ ,
 kici kúrahus wítat .
 but an old man I am .
 kici kurahuus wii- ta- t- 0 -0 .
 but old.man now IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF .

kuwiisutašiksar^a
 Kuwiisuutacíksaara
 When you have good thoughts ,

ku- wii- i- s- ut- aciks.aar -a ,
 INDF when CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV consider SUB.1 ,

hiruirirutiratíhəksta

hiru iriruutiraatíhəksta
 then that is going to be the time
 hiruu irii- ruu- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -his -ta

then that then IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF INT

istáwisa . "
istaáwisa . "
if you smoke . "
i- s- raawis- a -0 . "
CONT.1/2A 2.A smoke eat SUB.3 . "

Akiiriwirukutíratih^{^tⁿ}

Aki iriwiruukutíraatiihat
And here right there was the beginning
a- ki irii- wii- ruu- ku- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -0
and there there now then INDF IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF

, tiiriwírətutar^a
ti'iriiwíratuutaara
this that I had done ,
tii- irii- wii- ra- t- ut- aar -a ,
this what now ABS 1.A PREV do SUB.1 ,

ihi atiráarisitⁿ
ihi Atíra' ariísit
uh , Mother herself
ihii , ati- raa ariisit
uh , 1.POSS mother one's.own

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

Náw^a ,
Ráwa

Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

hiruaritátahukətⁿ .
hiru a riitaáttahuukat .
then and I took the pipe inside .
hiruu a rii- t- haak- ra- huuk- at -0 .
then and ASSR 1.A wood PORT into go PERF .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

kišihiruirakáwihətⁿ ,
kici hiru irakaáwihat
but then those sitting inside
kici hiruu ii- ra- 0- kaa- wi.hak -0
but then that ABS 3.A inside be.sitting.PL SUB.4

kúrahus
kúrahus
priests
kurahuus
old.man

sikariráræspi .
sikariiraáraspi' .
they did not look for the way .
si- ka- rii- 0- ir- raa- raspii -0 .
DU NEG ASSR 3.A PL.3A way look.for PERF .

Híruriwaku						“	Náwatik ⁱ	
Hiru	riiwáku’					“	Ráwa	tíki
Then	he said				:	“	Now	, son
hiruu	rii-	0-	waka’u	-0	,	”	rawa	, tikis
then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	,	”	now	, sonny

,	náw ^a	,	irikúhawaku					
	ráwa		irikuuhawáku’					
,	now	,	that is what he said					
,	rawa	,	irii- kuur- ra-	0-	waka’u	-0		
,	now	,	that DUB ABS	3.A	say	PERF		

kúrahus	,	náw ^a	,
kúrahus		ráwa	
the priest	,	now	,
kurahuus	,	rawa	,
old.man	,	now	,

witəstawisáhist ^a								.	”
witastaawisáhista								.	”
you are going to smoke								.	”
wii- ta-	s-	raawis-	a	-his	-ta			.	”
now	IND.1/2A	2.A	smoke	eat	PERF	INT		.	”

Ahirutirakáwihətⁿ

A	hiru	tirakaáwihat						
And	then	these sitting inside						
a	hiruu	tii- ra-	0-	kaa-	wi.hak	-0		
and	then	this ABS	3.A	inside	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4		

iriratakárik ^u					kúrahus
iriiraatakáriku					kúrahus
where my house was					priest
irii-	ra-	t-	akaar.ri.kus	-0	kurahuus

where ABS 1.A have.a.home SUB.4 old.man

wirawawáktiku “
wirawaawáktiiku’ “
now he was talking : “
wii- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus , ”
now ABS 3.A talk IMPF , ”

Náwatikⁱ , náwatikⁱ
Ráwa tíki ráwa tíki
Now , son , now , son ,
rawa , tikis , rawa , tikis ,
now , sonny , now , sonny ,

tihawirəstawisahístaritⁿ

tihaawirastaawisahístarit

here when you are going to smoke

tii- haa- wii- ra- s- raawis- a -his -ta -rit
here here when ABS 2.A smoke eat PERF INT INT.SUB

tikⁱ , hirúawitⁿ
tíki hiru áwit
, son , there first
, tikis , hiruu awit
, sonny , there first

ahasutíritⁿ , hirúawitⁿ

ahasuutiírit hiru áwit

the one you saw , there first

ar- ra- s- ut- iirik -0 , hiruu awit
EV ABS 2.A PREV see SUB.4 , there first

təstawisawáriksta

tastaawisawáriksta

you are going to blow smoke

ta-	s-	raawis-	a.warik	-his	-ta
IND.1/2A	2.A	smoke	throw	PERF	INT

hiruúrarisitⁿ ,

hiru uúrariisit

there straight

hiruu uurariisik

there straight.forward

hirutiráwah^t

hiru Tiráwaahat

there the Heavens

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

Iriahasutíritⁿ

Irii'ahasuutírit

The one you saw

irii-	ar-	ra-	s-	ut-	iirik	-0
that	EV	ABS	2.A	PREV	see	SUB.4

tasutarist^a

tasuutárista

you are going to do it

ta-	s-	ut-	aar	-his	-ta
IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	PERF	INT

Hiruirirætutíritⁿ

Hiru iriiratuutírit

There what I saw

hiruu	irii-	ra-	t-	ut-	iirik	-0
there	what	ABS	1.A	PREV	see	SUB.4

arítutawa . Náw^a ,
a rítuutawa . Ráwa
and I did them . Now
a rii- t- ut- aar -waa -0 . rawa
and ASSR 1.A PREV do DIST PERF . now

kararíkuhurarišákawu ,
kararíkuuhuraaricákawu'
I certainly made mistakes
kara- ri- ku- uhur- raar- icaka.wuu -:hus
NEG CONT.3A 1.P now ITER be.confused IMPF

hitíhwakⁱ , síru
hi tihwáki' " Ciru
and they said : " Yet
hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , " ciruu
and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " yet

iharahtákukakutari
ihaaraáhtaku kaakuutári'
over yonder there don't do it
ii- haa- ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0 kaaki- 0- ut- aar -i
there here ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV do IMPF

. Ariwáku kúrahus , "
. " A riiwáku' kúrahus "
. " And he said the priest : "
. " a rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , "
. " and ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Náwa , suhúririr^{tⁿ} ,
Ráwa suhuúruuriirit
Now stand awhile
rawa i- s- uhur- uuri.arik -0

now CONT.1/2A 2.A awhile stand.upright PERF

hiruúrarisitⁿ . "
hiru uúrariisit . "
there straight . "
hiruu uurariisik . "
there straight.forward . "

Arituríritⁿ ,

A rituuriirit
And I stood
a rii- t- uuri.arik -0
and ASSR 1.A stand.upright PERF

wisirikuhaítawawuhu
wisirikuuhaaíitawaawuhu
while they were teaching me

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.iita.wuh -waa -hus
when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV teach DIST IMPF.SUB

“ Hirutiráwahətⁿ
“ Hiru Tiráwaahat
: “ There the Heavens
, “ hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
, “ there this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

sisukstawisáwaritⁿ , "
sisukstaawisáwarit . "
blow whiffs (du) ! "
si- i- s- uks- raawis- a.warik -0 . "
DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke throw PERF . "

arihawisáwaritⁿ .
A riihaawisáwarit .

And I blew a whiff .
 a rii- t- raawis- a.warik -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A smoke throw PERF .

Híruriwaku kúrahus “
 Hiru riiwáku’ kúrahus “
 Then he said the priest : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , “
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , “

Hirusukstawisawarítⁿ ,

Hiru sukstaawisáwarit
 There blow a whiff
 hiruu i- s- uks- raawis- a.warik -0
 there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke throw PERF

háwitⁿ , “
 haáwit . “
 east ! “
 haawit . “
 east . “

hiruhawitruritirawisáwaritⁿ

Hiru haáwit ruuriitiraawisáwarit
 There east then I did blow a whiff
 hiruu haawit ruu- rii- t- i- raawis- a.warik -0
 there east then ASSR 1.A SEQ smoke throw PERF

. Híru riwaku kúrahus “
 . Hiru riiwáku’ kúrahus “
 . Then he said the priest : “
 . hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , “
 . then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , “

Hirusukstawistawáritⁿ ,
 Hiru sukstaawisáwarit
 There blow a whiff
 hiruu i- s- uks- raawis- a.warik -0
 there CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke throw PERF

hiruáškætⁿ ,
 hiru áckat
 there above
 hiruu ac -kat
 there above LOC

irirəsakuríspu ;
 iriirasakuríspu .
 where the sun sets !
 irii- ra- 0- sakur- iis.wuu -hus .
 where ABS 3.A sun go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

ruritirawisáwaritⁿ .
 " Ruuriitiraawisáwarit .
 " Then I did blow a whiff .
 " ruu- rii- t- i- raawis- a.warik -0 .
 " then ASSR 1.A SEQ smoke throw PERF .

Híruriwaku kúrahus , “
 Hiru riiwáku’ kúrahus “
 Then he said the priest : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , “
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , “

Hirúhawitⁿ sístu
 Hiru haáwit sístu
 There east again
 hiruu haawit sistu

there east again

sukstawisáwaritⁿ ; "
sukstaawisáwarit . "
blow a whiff ! "
i- s- uks- raawis- a.warik -0 . "
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke throw PERF . "

hirururitirawisáwaritⁿ .
Hiru ruuriitiraawisáwarit .
There then I did blow a whiff .
hiruu ruu- rii- t- i- raawis- a.warik -0 .
there then ASSR 1.A SEQ smoke throw PERF .

Híruriwaku kúrahus “
Hiru riiwáku’ kúrahus “
Then he said the priest : “
hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , "
then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Hiruirirakahuráhkatituh^{^t}ⁿ
Hiru iriirakaahuraáhkatiituhat
There where the dark earth is
hiruu irii- ra- 0- kaa.huraar- katiit u.hak -0
there where ABS 3.A earth be.black extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, tiirapíšihi^u ,
ti’iriirapiciíhi’u
, here where winter is ,
, tii- irii- ra- 0- pici.ihí -u ,
, here where ABS 3.A be.very.cold SUB.D ,

hirutáwitⁿ
hiru táwit

there three
 hiruu tawit
 there three

sukstawistaráwaritⁿ . "
 sukstaawistaaráwarit . "
 blow whiffs of smoke ! "
 i- s- uks- raawis- raar- a.warik -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke PL throw PERF . "

Hiruriwaku kúrahus
 Hiru riiwáku' kúrahus "
 Then he said the priest : "
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , "
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

tiirirəsakaku ,
 Ti'iriirasaákaku
 Here where the sun passes
 tii- irii- ra- 0- saak- hak -hus
 here where ABS 3.A sun pass.by IMPF.SUB

sukstawisáwaritⁿ , pítk^u
 sukstaawisáwarit , pítku
 blow a whiff , two
 i- s- uks- raawis- a.warik -0 , pitku
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke throw PERF , two

, híruriwaku kúrahus "
 . " Hiru riiwáku' kúrahus "
 ! " Then he said the priest : "
 . " hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , "
 . " then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Sukstawisáwaritⁿ

Sukstaawisáwarit

Blow a whiff

i-	s-	uks-	raawis-	a.warik	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	smoke	throw	PERF

ihaúkatət ⁿ				,	tihátaku
ihaá		uúkatat		.	Tihaátaku
there		west		!	Here
ii-	haa	uukata-	-t	.	tii- haa- -taku
then	here	west	LOC	.	here here LOC

rarusukstawisáwaritⁿ

raaruusukstaawisáwarit

then just blow a whiff

raa-	ruu-	i-	s-	uks-	raawis-	a.warik	-0
just	then	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	smoke	throw	PERF

,	ihaúkatət ⁿ			.		
	ihaá		uúkatat	.	"	
	there		west	!	"	
	ii-	haa	uukata-	-t	.	"
	then	here	west	LOC	.	"

Aríharihəš

A		ríhaariihac			,	
And		I finished			.	
a	rii-	t-	raa-	riihac	-0	.
and	ASSR	1.A	way	finish	PERF	.

híruriwaku				kúrahus	"		
Hiru		riiwáku'		kúrahus	"		
Then		he said		the priest	:	"	
hiruu	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	kurahuus	,	"

then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Hurarikárikatⁿ

Huraarikárikat

In the middle of the ground

huraar- iika.ri -kat
earth center LOC

sukstawisuráhš^{^t}ⁿ

sukstaawisuráhcat

blow a whiff to the ground

i- s- uks- raawis- huraar- cak -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke earth shoot PERF .

" Híruriwaku kúrahus "

" Hiru riiwáku' kúrahus "

" Then he said the priest :

" hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , "

" then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Iriraréšihətⁿ

Iriiraráciihat

Where the base is

irii- ra- 0- raar- tiihak -0
where ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.the.border PERF

átira

Átira'

Mother

ati- ra
1.POSS mother

sukstawísurahšətⁿ

sukstaawísurahcat

blow a whiff down to it !
 i- s- uks- raawis- huraar- cak -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS smoke earth shoot PERF .

" Ah ! híruriwaku kúrahus
 " Aa hiru riiwáku' kúrahus
 " Ah , then he said the priest
 " aa , hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus
 " ah , then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man

áwitⁿ iriraúharipahətⁿ
 " Áwit irirá'u hariípahat
 : " First that one calf
 , " awit irii- ra- 0- 0 -u harii pahaat
 , " first that ABS 3.A be SUB.D calf be.red

, tirapákstawi ,
 tirapákstawi
 this head
 tii- ra- 0- paks- ta -wi
 this ABS 3.A head be.hanging SUB.L

hirúawitⁿ šúsiri
 hiru áwit cúsiri'
 there first on the nose
 hiruu awit icus- -hiri'
 there first nose LOC

kasuširawístaiwi
 kaasuciraawísta'íwi
 you must put smoke on it
 kaas- s- ut- i- raawis- ta.iir -wa -0
 POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ smoke put.down DIST PERF

škítiiks	,	škítiiks	.	nka ^a	!
ckiiti'iks		ckiiti'iks	.	"	líka'a
four (times)	,	four	.	"	Oh my
iks.kiiti'iks	,	iks.kiiti'iks	.	"	iika'a
four	,	four	.	"	oh.my

širurukararukstahkátarik^u

ciru ruukararukstahkátariku
yet its being yellowish indeed

ciruu	ruu-	kara-	ra-	0-	uks-	rahkataar	-ik	-hus
yet	then	NEG	ABS	3.A	JUSS	be.yellow	DIST	IMPF.SUB

, nakúkaruši
rakúkaruuci

where they were placed

ra-	0-	ku-	ka-	ra.uc	-i
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	inside	be.lying.PL	SUB.2

Sitíksparukstirukusuk^u

sitikspaarukstiiruúkusuuuku'

they used to consecrate it

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	uks-	waarukstii	-ra'uk	-.hus	-uuku
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	AOR	be.holy	CAUS	IMPF	HAB

.	Ariwáku				"	Náwa	,
.	A	riiwáku'			"	Ráwa	
.	And	he said			:	"	Now
.	a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	"	rawa
.	and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	"	now

atiráawitⁿ

Atíra'		áwit	.	"
Mother (Corn)		first	!	"
ati-	raa	awit	.	"

1.POSS mother first . "

Tisirakasáwaniks^u

Tisirakásawa

These (du) lying on it

tii-	si-	ra-	0-	ka-	sa	-waa	-0	ríksu'	
this	DU	ABS	3.A	in	be.lying	DIST	SUB.4	ears of corn	
								riiks-	-u'
								corn	NOM

situhaihku

situuhá'ihku'

he meant them (du)

si-	ti-	0-	ut-	ra'ihk	-.hus	.
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	.

" Náwa , páhuru ,
" Ráwa páhuru'
" Now owls
" rawa wahur -u'
" now owl NOM

irisirásawa

iriisiraásawa

the ones (du) lying

irii-	si-	ra-	0-	sa	-waa	-0	.	"
that	DU	ABS	3.A	be.lying	DIST	SUB.4	.	"

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They were saying

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

kurahuskítawi^u

kurahuskítawi'u'

the leading priests .
 kurahuus kita.wi -u' .
 priest be.the.leader NOM .

níkusiti^a . Náwa ,
 Ríkusiti'a . Ráwa
 Those (du) are the ones . Now
 riku- si- ti- 0- aah -0 . rawa
 that.is DU IND.3A 3.A be PERF . now

ríhwaki ,
 ríhwaki' " ,
 they said : "
 ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
 ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

tihatakusiksatahukatáwi^a
 Tihaátaku siksaattahuukatáwi'a'
 Here pass the pipe
 tii- haa- -taku i- s- ir- uks- haak- ra- hukata -wi a -0
 here here LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS wood PORT be.a.curve SUB.L come PERF

tihátak^u . Ah !
 tihaátaku . " Aa
 here ! " Ah ,
 tii- haa- -taku . " aa ,
 here here LOC . " ah ,

širukakatpákah^u ha^a .
 ciru kaakatpákaahu' há'a
 yet I have not said , have I ,
 ciruu kaaka- t- waka -:hus , haa ,
 yet NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A say.IMPF IMPF , TAG ,

Kurahúsirirawak^a .
 kúrahus iriirawaaka .
 the priest what he said .
 kurahuus irii- ra- 0- waak -a .
 old.man what ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 .

Ariwáku kúrahus “
 A riiwáku’ kúrahus “
 And he said the priest: : “
 a rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , ”
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , ”

Tihatákusikssata

Tihaatáku siksaáttaa’
 Right here bring the pipe
 tii- haa- -taku i- s- ir- uks- haak- ra- a -0
 here here LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS wood PORT come PERF

, tiharákiharuh^t
 tihaarákiihaaruhat
 this side of the room
 tii- haa- ra- 0- kiihaar- u.hak -0
 this here ABS 3.A be.a.room extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, irirakahurákipirir^u
 iriirakaahuraahkípiriiru
 where the young earth is ,
 irii- ra- 0- kaa.huraar- kipiriir -u ,
 where ABS 3.A earth young SUB.D ,

hirusistutiharákiharuh^t

hiru sístu tihaarákiihaaruhat
 then again this side of the room
 hiruu sistu tii- haa- ra- 0- kiihaar- u.hak -0

then again this here ABS 3.A be.a.room extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, nāpišīhi^u . "
rapiciīhi'u . "
where it is cold ! "
ra- 0- pici.ihi -u . "
ABS 3.A be.very.cold SUB.D . "

Ariwákukúrahus “
A riiwáku' kúrahus “
And he said the priest : “
a rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , "
and ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , "

Hiruráhku
Hi ruuraáhku
And that one sitting yonder
hi ruu- ra- 0- ar- kus -0
and that ABS 3.A EV be.sitting SUB.4

ruhuhakátaw^u
ruhuhaakátawu
let him put the pipe in his mouth
ri- 0- uhur- haak- kata- wuh -0
CONT.3A 3.A now wood against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

, aīhatak^u ,
a ihaátaku
and there
a ii- haa- -taku
and there here LOC

náhtaku
raáhtaku

over yonder

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

ruhuhakátawu

ruhuhaakátawu

let him put the pipe in his mouth

ri- 0- uhur- haak- kata- wuh -0
CONT.3A 3.A now wood against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

, tirákiharut^a . "
tirákiihaaruuta . "
this room . "
tii- ra- 0- kiihaar- u.at -a . "
this ABS 3.A room extend.in.a.line SUB.1 . "

Riwáku ;

Riiwáku' “

He said : “

rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

hiruráhku

Hi ruuraáhku

And that one yonder

hi ruu- ra- 0- ar- kus -0
and that ABS 3.A EV be.sitting SUB.4

ruhuhakátaw^u

ruhuhaakátawu

let him put the pipe in his mouth

ri- 0- uhur- haak- kata- wuh -0
CONT.3A 3.A now wood against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

. "

. "

! "

. "

. "

Irári ,

Iraári'

Brother ,

i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

tiwirəstarikúatira

tiwirastáriku Atíra'

this one that you now have Mother

tii- wii- ra- s- raar- ri.kus -0 ati- raa

this now ABS 2.A 3PL.INAN.P sit.holding SUB.4 1.POSS mother

nikutarúhkusa^a

rikutarúhkusaa'a

that is its station

riku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- kus.haar -'

that.is IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.seat EX

ráhtak^u

raáhtaku .

yonder .

ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0 .

ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 .

híruriwaku , " Náwa ,

Hiru riiwáku' " Ráwa

Then he said : " Now

hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa

then ASSR 3.A say PERF , " now

sihuháta

siihuhaáttaa'

bring the pipe at last

i- s- ir- uhur- haak- ra- a -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A finally wood PORT come PERF

,

ihairirəsiríhkusaru

iha'iriirasiríhkusaaru

there where your station is

ii- haa- irii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- kus.haar -u
there here where ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.a.seat SUB.D

.

.

.

.

ruhuhakátaw^u

Ruhuhaakátawu

Let him put the pipe in his mouth

ri- 0- uhur- haak- kata- wuh -0
CONT.3A 3.A now wood against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

, írahku

íraahku

.
."

that one yonder ! "
 ii- ra- 0- ar- kus -0 . "
 that ABS 3.A EV be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Ariwáku " Náwa ,
 A riiwáku' " Ráwa
 And he said : " Now
 a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , " now

wirutušihakuhuráru
 wiruutucihaakuhuráru'
 now this is all of the pipe offering

wii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- haak- uhur- raar- uu -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ wood way.of.doing PL be PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

ihatákusuhuhatáhətⁿ

Ihaátaku suhuhaattáhat
 There take the pipe
 ii- haa- -taku i- s- uhur- haak- ra- hak -0
 there here LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A now wood PORT pass.by PERF

irirakahurakhípirir^u ,

iriirakaahuraahkípiriiru .
 where the earth is young .
 irii- ra- 0- kaa.huraar- kipiriir -u .
 where ABS 3.A earth young SUB.D .

hiruirikasihatahukatáwiætⁿ

Hiru irikaasihaattahukatáwihat

There that is where you will pass the pipe along

hiruu	irii-	kaas-	s-	i-	haak-	ra-	hukata	-wi	hak	-0
there	that	POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	wood	PORT	be.a.curve	SUB.L	pass.by	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Akikutikuhaitawáwuhu

Aki kutikuuhaa'itawaáwuhu'

And here he was teaching me

a-	ki	ku-	ti-	0-	ku-	ut-	raa.iita.wuh	-waa	:-hus
and	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	teach	DIST	IMPF

,

tirikutuhuruwahúruku

tirikuutuhuruuwahúruuku

when he was telling me what to do

tii-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	uhuruuwahura'uk	-hus
when	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	PREV	instruct	IMPF.SUB

. Ríharihəš ,

. Ríhaariihac ,

. I finished ,

. rii- t- raa- riihac -0 ,

. ASSR 1.A way finish PERF ,

híruriwaku “
hiru riiwáku’ “
then he said : “
hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
then ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Ihataku ,
Ihaátaku
Over there
ii- haa- -taku
there here LOC

hirusuhuhatahukatawíhətⁿ

hiru suhuhaattahuukatawíhat
then you'll pass the pipe along
hiruu i- s- uhur- haak- ra- hukata -wi hak -0
then CONT.1/2A 2.A now wood PORT be.a.curve SUB.L pass.by PERF

. " Aríharihaš ,
. " A ríhaariihac ,
. " And I finished ,
. " a rii- t- raa- riihac -0 ,
. " and ASSR 1.A way finish PERF ,

híruriwaku , “
hiru riiwáku’ “
then he said : “
hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
then ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Hirusišukskawatətítⁿ

Hiru sucukskawátattit

Then empty yours
 hiruu i- s- ut- uks- kawatak -rik -0
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS get.out CAUS PERF

, nahkutarahápəks^u
 raáhku tarahaápaksu'
 where it sits yonder the buffalo skull
 ra- 0- ar- kus -0 tarahaa- paks- -u'
 ABS 3.A EV be.sitting PERF buffalo head NOM

. "
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

Arikuritišaúhkaraw^u

A rikuriitiica'úhkaraawu
 And that is where I emptied the ashes
 a riku- rii- t- i- ica'uukt- ka.raawuh -0
 and that.is ASSR 1.A SEQ ashes pour.out PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiruritisikstaíwa

Hiru riitiicikstaíwaa'
 Then I stroked it
 hiruu rii- t- ir- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -0
 then ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV hand brush.against DIST PERF

. Tiwáku " Škítiiks . "

. Tiwáku' " Ckiiti'iks . "

. He said : " Four (times) . "

. ti- 0- waka'u -0 , " iks.kiiti'iks . "

. IND.3A 3.A say PERF , " four . "

Hiruritíri^a

Hiru riitírii'a'

Then I did come

hiruu rii- t- ir- i- a -0

then ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ come PERF

ariwáku "

a riwáku' "

and he said :

a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "

and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Hurarikárikatⁿ ,

Huraarikárikat

In the middle of the ground (ie lodge)

huraar- iika.ri -kat

earth center LOC

suksikssúrahwititⁿ

suksiksúrahwiitit

put your hand on the ground

i- s- uks- iks- hurah -wi -itik -0

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS hand hang.down.touching.the.earth SUB.L INCH PERF

,

!

,

,

airirurirǽšihətⁿ

a iriruuriiráciihat

and right there at the base

a	irii-	ruu-	rii-	0-	raar-	tiihak	-0		
and	there	there	ASSR	3.A	PL.INDV.A	be.the.end	PERF		

,

.

.

.

.

ótirahawakásikssurahwititⁿ

Atíra' hawá kaasiksúrahwiitit

Mother also you must put your hand on her

ati-	raa	haawa	kaas-	s-	iks-	hurah	-wi	-itik	-0
1.POSS	mother	also	POT.2A	2.A	hand	hang.down.touching.the.earth	SUB.L	INCH	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Irírawawaka

Iriírawaawaaka

These things he said

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

riwáku

riiwáku'

, hirúiritaku ,

“ Hiru íritaku

he said : “ Then over there
 rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ” hiruu irii- -taku
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , ” then there LOC

haríkⁱs irirapákstawi ,
 hariíkis iriirapákstawi
 the calf where the head is
 harii -kis irii- ra- 0- paks- ta -wi
 calf DIM where ABS 3.A head be.hanging SUB.L

sišikspəksikstaíwa
 siicikspaksikstaíwaa’
 you must stroke the head

i- s- ir- ut- i- uks- paks- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ JUSS head hand brush.against DIST PERF

nakutišuspararúrikətⁿ
 . Rakuuticuspaaráuurikut
 . Grasp its nostrils
 . ra- 0- ku- ut- icus.waa.raar- uurikuk -0
 . INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV animal.nostrils hold PERF

Atiratisirakásaw^a

Atíra’ tisírakasawa
 Mother (Corns) these (du) lying in (the bundle)
 ati- raa tii- si- ra- 0- ka- sa -waa -0
 1.POSS mother this DU ABS 3.A in be.lying DIST SUB.4

kurahústisirásawa
 kúrahus tisiraásawa
 ; priests these (du)
 , kurahuus tii- si- ra- 0- sa -waa -0
 , old.man this DU ABS 3.A be.lying DIST SUB.4

, páhuru . " Ariwáku
 páhuru' . " A riiwáku'
 owls . " And he said
 wahur -u' . " a rii- 0- waka'u -0
 owl NOM . " and ASSR 3.A say PERF

, " Náwa ,
 " Ráwa
 : " Now
 , " rawa
 , " now

witišukssikstáíwa
 witiisucuksikstá'íwa
 stroke yourself

witi- i- s- ut- uks- iks- ta.wi.war -0
 REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS hand brush.against.DU PERF

. "
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

Hiruwitiritusikstáíwa

Hiru witiiriitiicikstá'íwaa'

Then I stroked myself

hiruu witi- rii- t- ir- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -wa -0

then REFL ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV hand brush.against DIST PERF

. Ariwáku " Náw^a ,
. A riiwáku' " Ráwa
. And he said : " Now
. a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
. and ASSR 3.A say PERF , " now

siksáta

siksaáttaa'

bring the pipe

i- s- ir- uks- haak- ra- a -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS wood PORT come PERF

. " Kúrahusariwítitⁿ .
. " Kúrahus a riiwiítit .
! " The priest and he sat down .
. " kurahuus a rii- 0- wi.itik -0 .
. " old.man and ASSR 3.A sit.down PERF .

Ariwáku "
A riiwáku' "
And he said : "
a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Witikasušitáhurikiw^t

Witikaasucitáhuriikiwat

You will untie yourself (ie your belt)

witi- kaas- s- ut- i- tahuriikiwat ki.wat -0
REFL POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ have.tied.around.the.waist unravel PERF

, híisastuš^u
hi isaastuúcu

and put the strings down
 hi i- s- haas- ra.uc.wuh -0
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A string put.PL.OBJ PERF

títaku
 tiítaku
 here
 tii- -taku
 here LOC

hiruráhtaku
 hi ruuraáhtaku
 and over yonder
 hi ruu- ra- 0- ar- ta kus -0
 and there ABS 3.A EV be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4

kasuksuhúhwit^{tn} .
 kaasuksuhúhwiitit .
 you must sit down finally .
 kaas- s- uks- uhur- wi.itik -0 .
 POT.2A 2.A JUSS finally sit.down PERF .

Kakírakirukst^a ,
 Kaakíraakiiruksta
 It is not going to be long
 kaaki- 0- raa.kiir ra'uk -his -ta
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.long make PERF INT

təspákast^a ,
 taspáákasta
 you are going to say
 ta- s- waak -as -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT

irirəpakástar ⁱ t ⁿ								.	"
iriirəspaakástarit								.	"
what you are to say								.	"
irii-	ra-	s-	waak	-as	-ta	-rit		.	"
what	ABS	2.A	say.SUB	IMPF.IRR	INT	INT.SUB		.	"

Aritpít ⁱ t ⁿ								.
A	ritpíítit							.
And	I sat down							.
a	rii-	t-	wi.itik	-0				.
and	ASSR	1.A	sit.down	PERF				.

Hiruriwawəktíkúsitit ⁿ									kúrahus	.
Hiru	riwawaktíkúsitit								kúrahus	.
Then	he began talking								the priest	.
hiruu	ri-	0-	waa.wak.tik	-.hus	-itik				kurahuus	.
then	CONT.3A	3.A	talk	IMPF	INCH				priest	.

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

ariwáku								
a	riiwáku'							
and	he said							
a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0				
and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF				

tirakukúrahus									"
tíraaku					kúrahus				"
this					priest	:			"
tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	kurahuus	,			"

this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 old.man , "

Náwaitikⁱ . Náwaitikⁱ's
Ráwa tíki . Ráwa tiki
Now , son . Now , sonny ,
rawa , tikis . rawa , tikis ,
now , sonny . now , sonny ,

širuirikakásutu

ciru irikaakásuutu'
yet you are not at the age
ciruu irii- kaaka- s- ut- 0 -:hus
yet that NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be IMPF

iríhi

irí ihi
there , uh ,
irí , ihí ,
there , uh ,

irirusúksahu ,

iriruucúksahu

how it used to be
irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus
what ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

wirakuwišáksar^a

wirakuwicáksaara

when one became mature

wii- ra- 0- ku- wicaks.aar -a
when INF.A 3.P INF.B come.to.age.of.consciousness SUB.1

. Náwaitikⁱ

. Ráwa íttiki

. Now , son ,
 . rawa , iit- tikis ,
 . now , body sonny ,

narusíkarašikst^u ,
 raaruusíkaraacikstu'
 they did not just make your thought ,
 raa- ruu- si- ka- ra- 0- aciks- ra'uk -0 ,
 just then DU NEG ABS 3.A mind make PERF ,

kisihirútirawahətⁿ
 kici hiru Tiráwaahat
 but there the Heavens
 kici hiruu tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0
 but there this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

, sikúhašikstu ,
 sikúhaacikstu' .
 they made your thought .
 si- kuur- ra- 0- aciks- ra'uk -0 .
 DU DUB ABS 3.A mind make PERF .

atí[^]s ,
 Atí'as
 Our Father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

hirutitakúahakitak^u
 hiru títaku ahakitaku
 there here the one above
 hiruu tii- -taku ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 there here LOC EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

, kúhašikst^u .
 kúhaacikstu' .
 he made your thought .
 kuur- ra- 0- aciks- ra'uk -0 .
 DUB ABS 3.A mind make PERF .

Náwatikⁱ ,
 Ráwa tíki
 Now , son ,
 rawa , tikis ,
 now , sonny ,

tiiriwírəsutaratikⁱ
 ti'riiwírasuutaara , tíki
 this that you have done , son
 tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -a , tikis
 this that now ABS 2.A PREV do SUB.1 , sonny

,
 ,
 ,

nikutaširurátawi
 raakutaciiruuraátawi'
 we just have the way among us
 raa- ku- ta- aciir- ir- ri- uur- raa- tawi -0
 just INDF IND.1/2A IN.DU.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.among PERF

, ákitarú
 ákitaaru'
 tribe
 akitaar- -u'

tribe NOM

tírəšihk^u .
tiracihku .
this of ours .
tii- ra- aciir- ir- kus -0 .
this ABS IN.DU.A POSS.1/2A be.sitting SUB.4 .

Atirarikutiruhú^u

Atíra' rikutiruu^u'u
Mother that was her plan
ati- raa riku- ti- 0- raa.uhur -' .
1.POSS mother that.is IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX

tiharasírurušⁱ

tihaarasíruuci
this one of yours lying
tii- haa- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -i
this here ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

, nikutaruhú^u .
; rikutaruu^u'u .
; that was her plan .
, riku- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -' .
, that.is IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be.the.way EX .

Náwaitikⁱ ,
Ráwa íitiki ,
Now , son ,
rawa , uu.tikis ,
now , sonny ,

tihawirəstáwis^a ,
tihaawirastaáwisa ;

now you have smoked this ;
 tii- haa- wii- ra- s- raawis- a -0 ,
 this here now ABS 2.A smoke eat PERF ,

tihawirəstáwis^a ,
 tihaawirastaáwisa
 now you have smoked this ;
 tii- haa- wii- ra- s- raawis- a -0 ,
 this here now ABS 2.A smoke eat PERF ,

iriwiruríratihətⁿ ,
 iriwiruuríraatiihat
 now it is the beginning
 irii- wii- ruu- ri- 0- raa- tiihak -0
 that now then CONT.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF

istawisahístar^{it}ⁿ .
 istaawisahístarit .
 when you are going to smoke .
 i- s- raawis- a -his -ta -rit .
 CONT.1/2A 2.A smoke eat PERF INT INT.SUB .

Tikirikutihírása
 Tíki rikutihírása
 Son , that is the leading way
 tikis , riku- ti- 0- raa- hiras.aah -0
 sonny , that.is IND.3A 3.A way be.in.the.lead PERF

, tiiriwírəsutar^a .
 ti'riiwírásuutaara .
 this that you have done .
 tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -a .
 this that now ABS 2.A PREV do SUB.1 .

Tihítaku , hã ! háas
 Tihíitaku haa haá'as
 Over here , see , your father
 tii- hii- -taku , haa , a- as
 here other LOC , see , 2.POSS father

haríku , hã !
 haariíku . Haa
 here he sits . Ha ,
 haa- ri- 0- kus -0 . haa ,
 here CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF . ha ,

kuhuharikáah^u
 kuhuuhaarikaá'aahu'
 he must be telling you
 kuur- ra- 0- a- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -:hus
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A 2.P PREV tell.to IMPF

, kuhutpawáktik^u .
 . Kuuhutpaawáktiiku' .
 . He must be talking to you .
 . kuur- ra- 0- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus .
 . DUB ABS 3.A 2.P BEN talk IMPF .

Kuhawákah^u ;
 Kuuhawákaahu' "
 He must be saying : "
 kuur- ra- 0- waka -:hus , "
 DUB ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , "

kurarukarisiráwisa
 Kuraaruukariisiraawisa
 You must not just smoke
 ku- raa- ruu- kara- i- s- i- raawis- a -0

INDF just then NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ smoke eat PERF

kíriku .
kíriku' .
for no purpose .
kirikuu .
anything .

Hirurutikítawi

Hiru ruutikítawi'
There then he is the leader
hiruu ruu- ti- 0- kita.wi -0
there then IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader PERF

kúisutašiksar^a

ku'isuutaciksaara
whatever the thoughts are
ku- i- s- ut- aciks.aar -a
INDF CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV decide SUB.1

isasiksparúkstiar^a

isacikspaarúkstii'aara
when your thoughts become holy
i- s- aciks- waarukstii -aar -a
CONT.1/2A 2.A mind be.holy INCH SUB.1

irirurukssáwəšta^u

iriruuruksáwactaa'u
no matter what it may be
irii- ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- raa- 0 -u
what then ABS 3.A JUSS even.if way be SUB.D

, irirutiratihətⁿ
iriruutiraatíhat

then that is the beginning

irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	raa-	tiihak	-0
that	then	IND.3A	3.A	way	be.the.end	PERF

istawisahístarit ⁿ	.	"						
istaawisahístarit	.	"						
when you are going to smoke	.	"						
i-	s-	raawis-	a	-his	-ta	-rit	.	"
CONT.1/2A	2.A	smoke	eat	PERF	INT	INT.SUB	.	"

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

nikutatúta	,					
rikutátuuta	.					
that is what I did	.					
riku-	ta-	t-	ut-	aar	-0	.
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	do	PERF	.

hiruriwáku		kúrahus	"	Náw ^a			
Hiru	riiwáku'	kúrahus	"	Ráwa			
Then	he said	the priest	:	" Now			
hiruu	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	kurahuus	,	" rawa
then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	priest	,	" now

,	siksúša	,					
	siksuúcaa'	.					
,	rise	!					
,	i-	s-	ir-	uks-	uca.a	-0	.
,	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	rise	PERF	.

kásiwaku

Kaasiwáku'

You must say

kaas-	s-	i-	waka'u	-0
POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	say	PERF

tirəsirušahístaritⁿ

tirasiirucaahístarit

when you are going to rise

tii-	ra-	s-	ir-	uca.a	-his	-ta	-rit
when	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	rise	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

.	"	Náwa		kúrahus	,	náwa
	'	Ráwa		kúrahus		ráwa
:	'	Now,	,	priest	,	now
,	'	rawa	,	kurahuus	,	rawa
,	'	now	,	priest	,	now

wiriháwisa

wirihaáwisa

I have smoked

wii-	rii-	t-	raawis-	a	-0	.	'
now	ASSR	1.A	smoke	eat	PERF	.	'

Hihiruruisiwašítitⁿ

Hi hiru ruu'isiwacitit

And there then you'll go outside

hi	hiruu	ruu-	i-	s-	i-	awacitik	-0
and	there	then	CONT.1/2A	2.A	SEQ	go.out	PERF

.	Náwa	,
.	"	Ráwa
.	"	Now
.	"	rawa

. " now

irikúrituta ,
irikúriituuta
that is what I did ,
irii- ku- rii- t- ut- aar -0 ,
that INDF ASSR 1.A PREV do PERF ,

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

Aritáku " Náwa
A rittáku' " Ráwa
And I said : " Now ,
a rii- t- taka'u -0 , " rawa ,
and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " now ,

kúrahus ,
kúrahus
old men
kurahuus
old.man

tirəsuhakasuhətⁿ
tirasuuhaákasuuhat
these of you sitting around ,
tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 ,
this ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 ,

kúrahus , náw^a tatuharáihku
kúrahus ráwa tatuuhaaráihku'

old men	,	now	I am meaning to say				
kurahuus	,	rawa	ta-	t-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	:-hus
old.man	,	now	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF

,	náw ^a	,	náwa	,
	ráwa		ráwa	
,	now	,	now	
,	rawa	,	rawa	
,	now	,	now	

wiriháwisa					.	Náwa	,
wirihaáwisa					.	Ráwa	
I have smoked					.	Now	,
wii-	rii-	t-	raawis-	a	-0	.	rawa
now	ASSR	1.A	smoke	eat	PERF	.	now

kúrahus		nawa	,
kúrahus		ráwa	
old men	,	now	
kurahuus	,	rawa	
old.man	,	now	

witatáwašitikst ^a					.		
witaatáwacitiksta					.	"	
I am going to go outside					.	"	
wii-	ta-	t-	awacitik	-his	-ta	.	"
now	IND.1/2A	1.A	go.out	PERF	INT	.	"

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

nikutúutⁿ ,
rikutuú'ut
it was thus
riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

tirətpawáktiku
tiratpaawáktiku .
this I am telling .
tii- ra- t- waa.wak.tik -hus .
this ABS 1.A talk IMPF.SUB .

tirətpawáktiku
Tiratpaawáktiku
This I am telling
tii- ra- t- waa.wak.tik -hus
this ABS 1.A talk IMPF.SUB

nikutúutⁿ
rikutuú'ut
it was that way
riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

rakurásah^{^t}ⁿ ,
rakurásahat
when one grew up ,
ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0 ,
INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4 ,

rakurásah^{^t}ⁿ ;
rakurásahat
when one grew up
ra- 0- ku- rasahat -0

INF.A 3.P INF.B grow.up SUB.4

irirakuwíška^a , títaku
irirakuwícka'a tiítaku
what one wanted here
irii- ra- 0- ku- wicka -a tii- -taku
what INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 here LOC

akitihá^a
aki tiihá'a
and here they did it
a- ki ti- 0- ir- ut- raar -'
and there IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV be.the.cause EX

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

nahkuwíška^a
raahkuwícka'a " : "
when he thought : "
ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , "
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B think SUB.1 , "

kirótiharak^u
Kíra tiháraaku
Let this one
kira tii- haa- ra- 0- kus -0
perhaps this here ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

kusiiširá^u ,
kusi'iciraá'u

we will give him a way

ku- si- i- aciir- raa- uh -0
INDF DU CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A way give PERF

nakúrahir^a

rakúraahiira , "

its being a good way . "

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

hisitíra^u

Hi sitíraa'u .

And they gave him a way .

hi si- ti- 0- ir- raa- uh -0 .
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way give PERF .

Irárⁱ

Iraári' ,

Brother ,

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

tirikurásahətⁿ

tirikurásahat ,

when I grew up

tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0
when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4

irirahátirah^{^t}ⁿ

iriirahaátiirahat , títaku

that is the extent of what I would do tiítaku

irii- ra- t- raa.tii.ra.hak -0 tii- -taku
that ABS 1.A set.a.procedure PERF here LOC

natúraiwatⁱ . Hi ,
 ratuúraa'iiwaati . Hi
 what I have told you about . And ,
 ra- t- a- uur- raa.iiwaat -i . hi ,
 ABS 1.A 2.P PREV tell.a.story SUB.2 . and ,

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

tiwirikuwísaksar^a
 tiwirikuwicúksaara
 when I became mature
 tii- wii- ri- ku- wicaks.aar -a
 when when CONT.3A 1.P come.to.age.of.consciousness SUB.1

, tirótpari .
 tirátpari .
 as I was going around .
 tii- ra- t- warii -hus .
 this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Hiruritíwiška ihi
 Hiru rii'tíwicka' ihi
 Then I thought , uh ,
 hiruu rii- t- i- wicka -0 , ihii ,
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ think PERF , uh ,

wirikuriúsisar^a
 wirikurii'uúsisaara
 when I became knowledgeable
 wii- ri- ku- rii'uus -his -aar -a

when CONT.3A 1.P be.knowledgeable PERF INCH SUB.1

taraháarakukútik^a .
tárahá' rakukuútika .
a buffalo to kill it .
tarahaa ra- 0- ku- kuut.ik -a .
buffalo INF.A 3.A INF.B kill SUB.1 .

Hiruritíwiska

Hiru riitíwicka' “
Then I thought : “
hiruu rii- t- i- wicka -0 , ”
then ASSR 1.A SEQ think PERF , ”

kirakirikírəsuutⁿ ,
Kíra kíriki rasuú'ut .
I wonder why it is that way ?
kira kirikii ra- s- ut- 0 -' ,
perhaps what ABS 2.A PREV be EX ,

kirakirikírəsuutⁿ
kíra kíriki rasuú'ut
I wonder why it is that way
kira kirikii ra- s- ut- 0 -' ,
perhaps what ABS 2.A PREV be EX

tirahápakihu
tirahápakihu
these we say ' ,
tii- ra- t- rak- waki.a -hus ' ,
this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB ' ,

nisár^u .
riisaáru' . ”

chief ? ' "
 riisaar -u' . ' "
 be.chief NOM . ' "

Iwirikuríusisar^a

Iwirikurii'uusisaara

After I became knowledgeable

ii- wii- ri- ku- rii'uus -his -aar -a
 when when CONT.3A 1.P be.knowledgeable PERF INCH SUB.1

hiruritúši^a

hiru riitúci'a

then I did it

hiruu rii- t- ut- i- aar -0
 then ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF

taraharətkútik^a

táraha' ratkuútika

a buffalo my killing it

tarahaa ra- t- kuut.ik -a
 buffalo ABS 1.A kill SUB.1

Hiruritirukisaškítu

Hiru riítiru' kisackítuu'u'

Then I took it off all the meat

hiruu rii- t- i- ra'uk -0 kisaac kituu -u'
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ make PERF meat all NOM

irírutahu

ihi

iríruutahu

ihi

the way it used to be

, uh ,

irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus , ihii ,
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB , uh ,

iririšikssarihúsuku
 iriiriiciksariihúsuku
 the way it used to be done

irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	uks-	aar	-i	-hus	-uku
that	ABS	3.A	3.INDF	PREV	SEQ	AOR	do	IMPF	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

, šahiksišahiks
 cahiksícahiks
 an Indian
 icaahiks icaahiks
 person person

kisaškirakúraukítu

kísacki										
meat										
kisaac	-kis	ra-	0-	ku-	ra'uk	-0		kituu	-u'	
meat	DIM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	make	SUB.3		all	NOM	

.	Hiruritíwiška									híru
.	Hiru	riitíwicka'								Hiru
.	Then	I thought						:		" There
.	hiruu	rii-	t-	i-	wicka	-0		,		" hiruu
.	then	ASSR	1.A	SEQ	think	PERF		,		" there

nisaruširutatutətíwišuht^a

riisaáru'		ciru												
the chiefs		yet I am going to take it to them												
riisaar	-u'	ciruu						ta-	t-	ut-	ak-	ri-	wic.uh	-ta
be.chief	NOM	yet						IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	PORT	arrive.INT	INT

.	Kirakírikiruut ⁿ										
.	Kíra kíriki ruú'ut										"
.	Let's see what it is										"
.	kira	kirikii	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'				"

. perhaps what ABS 3.A PREV be EX . "

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

witirótki^a ,
witirátki'a
it became night
wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hirihíwišətⁿ , iríihi
hi riihíwicat iríi ihi
and I took it there where , uh
hi rii- t- ri- wic.at -0 irii , ihii
and ASSR 1.A PORT arrive PERF where , uh

,
,
,

nisarutatíririksku
riisaáru' tatiríiriksku
chief mine lived there
riisaar -u' ta- t- ir- ri- uur- i- uks- kus -0
be.chief NOM IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ AOR be.sitting PERF

.

.
. .

atípətatiks

Atípat		tátiks					
Grandfather		I had					
ati-	paak	ta-	t-	ir-	uks-	0	-0
1.POSS	grandfather	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	AOR	be	PERF

,
. .
. .
. .

tatíksatípətⁿ

Tátiks						atípat	
I had						grandfather	
ta-	t-	ir-	uks-	0	-0	ati-	paak
IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	AOR	be	PERF	1.POSS	grandfather

. Áritaku " Ihi
. A rittáku' " Ihi
. And I said : " Uh ,
. a rii- t- taka'u -0 , " ihii ,
. and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " uh ,

atípətⁿ ,
atípat ,
grandfather ,
ati- paak ,
1.POSS grandfather ,

tírararariki ,
 tírararaariki
 this one standing with it
 tii- ra- 0- raar- ra- arik -i
 this ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.standing SUB.2

kísaškⁱ ,
 kísacki
 meat
 kisaac -kis
 meat DIM

nisaruširutátiška
 riisaáru' ciru táticka'
 chiefs yet I want
 riisaar -u' ciruu ta- t- wicka -0
 be.chief NOM yet IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF

nihkuhakáwaəš . "
 rihkuhaakáwa'ac . "
 for them to eat it . "
 ra- 0- ir- ku- haakawahc -0 . "
 INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B eat SUB.4 . "

Hiširukarirítisikskasa
 Hi ciru kariirítiicikskasa
 And yet I was not sensible
 hi ciruu kari- rii- t- i- aciks.ka.sa -0
 and yet EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ be.sensible PERF

wírakušikskasa ,
 wírakuucikskasa ,
 when one is mature ,
 wii- ra- 0- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0 ,

now INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sensible SUB.3 ,

kišiwítahius

kici wítahii'us

but I knew how

kici wii- ta- t- rii'uus -0

but now IND.1/2A 1.A know.how PERF

nakutáhuriwawⁱ

rakuttáhuriwaawi

to chase buffalo

ra- 0- ku- ak- ra- hurii -waa -wi
INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

. Iwírikuruha^a

. I wirikuruuhá'a

. And that is the reason

. i wii- riku- ra- 0- ut- raar -'
. and now that.is ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tiwirətkútika

tárah^a .

tiwiratkuútika

táraha' .

my killing it

a buffalo .

tii- wii- ra- t- kuut.ik -a tarahaa .
this now ABS 1.A kill SUB.1 buffalo .

Áriwaku

atípatⁿ “

A riiwáku'

atípat “

And he said

my grandfather : “

a rii- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak , ”

and ASSR 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather , ”

Iriwitúrahi . ”

Iriwitúraahi . ”

That is good . "

irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . "

that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . "

Ariwáku ihi

A riiwáku' ihi

And he said , uh ,

a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , ihii ,

and ASSR 3.A say PERF , uh ,

atípətⁿ " Náwatikⁱ

atípat " Ráwa tíki

my grandfather : " Now , son ,

ati- paak , " rawa , tikis ,

1.POSS grandfather , " now , sonny ,

širukaraharahwišpáah^u

ciru karaahaarahwicpá'aahu'

yet they are not arriving back

ciruu kara- ar- ra- 0- a- raar- wic.a -wa -:hus

yet NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A arrive DIST IMPF

, hirəstahurawíhust^a

. Híras tahuurawíhusta

. Tonight he is going to bring in meat

. hiras ti- 0- a- huur.awi.a -:hus -ta

. at.night IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A return.laden IMPF INT

,

,

,

iširúkaraharahwišpaahu

i ciru karaahaaraahwicpá'aahu'
and still they are not arriving back

i ciruu kara- ar- ra- 0- a- raar- wic.a -wa -:hus
and yet NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A arrive DIST IMPF

, ikarirušíst^a

i kariirúcista

and it is not going to be

i kari- ra- 0- ut- 0 -his -ta
and EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV be PERF INT

titírⁱ , kíkarskətⁿ
títiiri . Kíikarskat
today . Early in the morning
tii- tiiri . kiikarus -kat
here now . early.in.the.morning LOC

irihítutəst^a

irihítuutasta . "
that is going to be . "
irii- hii- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta . "
that other IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT . "

Nikutiwáku atípətⁿ ,
Rikutiwáku' atípat --
That is what he said my grandfather --
riku- ti- 0- waka'u -0 ati- paak --
that.is IND.3A 3.A say PERF 1.POSS grandfather --

áwitⁿ nítpišətⁿ ,
áwit rítpicat
first I arrived
awit rii- t- wic.at -0

first ASSR 1.A arrive PERF

irírahakakawⁱ

iriírahaakakaawi

where our lodge was

irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi
where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L

aritáku

a rittáku'

and I said

a rii- t- taka'u -0
and ASSR 1.A say PERF , " ihii ,
uh ,

atí[^]s

atí'as

father

ati- as
1.POSS father ,

nisarutatutətiwišətⁿ

riisaáru' tatuutattiwícat

the chiefs I brought it for them

riisaar -u' ta- t- ut- ak- ri- wic.at -0
be.chief NOM IND.1/2A 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P PORT arrive PERF

nihkuhakáwaəš

rihkuhaakáwa'ac

for them to eat

ra- 0- ir- ku- haakawahc -0
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B eat SUB.4 , ihii ,
uh ,

kísaškⁱ

kísacki

íihi ,
I ihi

meat . And , uh ,
 kisaac -kis . i , ihii ,
 meat DIM . and , uh ,

niwákahu , “
 riiwákaahu’
 he said : ‘
 rii- 0- waka -:hus , ‘
 ASSR 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ‘

Karisiría

Kariisirií’a’

Don't come

kara- i- s- ir- i- a -0
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A SEQ come PERF

titírⁱ . "
 títiiri .
 now .
 tii- tiiri .
 here now .

Nihuksuráhisa

Ríhuksu’ ráhiisa

Only when dawn comes

rihuks -u’ ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
 alone NOM ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

irihíwítutəst^a

irihiiwituútasta

that is going to be

irii- hii- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta
 that other QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT

.		Ariwáku						atí [^] s	
.	'	"	A	riiwáku'				atí'as	
.	'	"	And	he said				my father	
.	'	"	a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	ati-	as
.	'	"	and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	1.POSS	father

“ Náwa ”
 “ Ráwa
 : “ Now
 , “ rawa
 , “ now

hiréstuharahurawíhu

híras	tuuhá'							rahuurawíihu		
at night	he did it							his coming in laden		
hiras	ti-	0-	ut-	raar	-0	ra-	0-	a-	huur.awi.a	-hus
at.night	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	return.laden	IMPF.SUB

,	--	arahurawíah ^u							.	
,	--	a	rahuurawí'aahu'						.	"
,	--	and	he was coming in laden						.	"
,	--	a	ra-	0-	a-	huur.awi.a	-:hus		.	"
,	--	and	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	return.laden	IMPF		.	"

Hirirétki^a

Hi	riirátkii'a								,
And	it became night								
hi	rii-	0-	ratkii	-aar	-0				
and	ASSR	3.A	be.night	INCH	PERF				

hiwitírituš

hi	witíriituc								.
and	I lay down								.
hi	witi-	rii-	t-	uc	-0				.

and REFL ASSR 1.A lie.down PERF .

Witikiraráwata^a

Witikiraarawátaa'a

It was daybreak

wii- ti- 0- kiraar- awataar -'
now IND.3A 3.A liquid be.bright EX

hiríhwakⁱ

hi ríhwaki'

and they said

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

witásiwatahist^a

Witásihwaatahista

You are going to get up

wii- ta- s- ir- waat.a -his -ta . "
now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A get.up PERF INT . "

Áriwaku

A riiwáku'

And he said

a rii- 0- waka'u -0 tarušúhus
and ASSR 3.A say PERF tátuucúhus
the errand man
ta.ra.uc.uh.hus
errand.man

iwiráwiša

iwiráwica

when he arrived

ii- wii- ra- 0- a- wic.a -0
when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive SUB.4

wirikutúri^a

wirikutúri'a

when he came for me

wii- ri- 0- a- ku- ut- huri a -0
when CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P BEN wait.for come SUB.4

iriráunisaru

irirá'u riisaáru' tárušuhus
that one chief errand man
irii- ra- 0- 0 -u riisaar -u' ta.ra.uc.uh.hus
that ABS 3.A be SUB.D be.chief NOM errand.man

“
“
:
,
,
”
”

Ihiwiwītəsuhúwahurukst^a

Ihi wiwititasuuhuúwahuruksta

Uh , outfit yourself nicely

ihii , wii- witi- ta- s- ut- ruuwahuruu -uk -his -ta
uh , now REFL IND.1/2A 2.A PREV attire DIST PERF INT

. Karisírarúksta

. Kariisírarúksta

. Don't take a tobacco pouch

. kara- i- s- i- raruks- raah -0
. NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ tobacco.pouch have PERF

. " Nikutiwákah^u

. " Rikutiwákaahu'

. " That is what he was saying

. " riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus
. " that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

Ariwákutárušuhus “
 A riiwáku’ táruucuhus “
 And he said the errand man : “
 a rii- 0- waka’u -0 ta.ra.uc.uh.hus , ”
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF errand.man , ”

Karisirarúksta .
 Kariisirarúksta .
 Don't bring a tobacco pouch .
 kara- i- s- i- raruks- raah -0 .
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ tobacco.pouch have PERF .

”
 ”
 ”
 ”

Tihakutíraætⁿ
 Tihaakutiíraa’at
 Here it was a short time
 tii- haa- ku- ti- 0- i- raa- ak -0
 here here INDF IND.3A 3.A SEQ way be.a.certain.length PERF

, híra
 hi raá’
 and he came
 hi ra- 0- a- a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

wirəsáta^a ,
 wirasaátta’a
 when the sun rose
 wii- ra- 0- a- saak- ta.a -0

when ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun come.up SUB.4

híriwaku “
hi riiwáku’ “
and he said : “
hi rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Wiwitásirahist^a

Wiwitásiirahista

Now you are going to come

wii- wi- ta- s- ir- a -his -ta
now QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A come PERF INT

. " Hirurítíatⁿ
. " Hiru ríiti’at
. " Then I went
. " hiruu rii- t- i- at -0
. " then ASSR 1.A SEQ go PERF

arítpiš^{^t}ⁿ

a rítpicat .
and I arrived .
a rii- t- wic.at -0 .
and ASSR 1.A arrive PERF .

Ariwáku kúrahus
A riiwáku’ kúrahus
And he said the priest
a rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus
and ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man

irirakitáwi^u nisár^u “
iriirakitáwi’u riisaáru’ “

the leading one					a chief	:	“
irii-	ra-	0-	kita.wi	-u	riisaar	-u'	,
that	ABS	3.A	be.the.leader	SUB.D	be.chief	NOM	,

Náw ^a	,	súhuri
Ráwa		suúhuri'
Now		this way
rawa		suuhuri'
now		over.here

siksasúhuri							
sík ^a						.	Suúhuri'
come						!	This way
i-	s-	ir-	uks-	a	-0	.	suuhuri'
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	come	PERF	.	over.here

sík ^a						.	"
sík ^a						.	"
come						!	"
i-	s-	ir-	uks-	a	-0	.	"
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	JUSS	come	PERF	.	"

Tirakahuráhkati ^u						,
Tirakaahuraáhkatiitu						
This dark earth						
tii-	ra-	0-	kaa.huraar-	katiit	-u	
this	ABS	3.A	earth	be.black	SUB.D	

tiirirapišíhi ^u					
ti'riirapiciíhi'u					
here where it is cold					
tii-	irii-	ra-	0-	pici.ihi	-u
here	where	ABS	3.A	be.very.cold	SUB.D

nakíharuh^t ,
 rakiíhaaruhát
 the room extending
 ra- 0- kiihaar- u.hak -0
 ABS 3.A room extend.in.a.line SUB.4

irikurahusrëtarúpakihu
 irií kúrahus rataraápakihu
 where old men we say
 irii kurahuus ra- t- a- rak- waki.a -hus
 where old.man ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, kusëksiháhiri írihi
 kusaksiihaáhiri' írihii
 on the left there
 kusaksii -haar -hiri' irii- hii
 left.side LOC LOC there other

ariíkukus .
 a riíkukus .
 and he placed me .
 a rii- 0- ku- kus.k -0 .
 and ASSR 3.A 1.P put PERF .

Tiharétuharírahar^u
 Tihaarutkiihaarírahaaru
 This side of the room
 tii- haa- ra- 0- ut- kiihaar- rirahaar -u
 this here ABS 3.A PREV room be.the.side SUB.D

, arikuríkukus .
 a rikuriíkukus .
 and that is where he placed me .
 a riku- rii- 0- ku- kus.k -0 .

and that.is ASSR 3.A 1.P put PERF .

Ariwáku “ Atí^s
A riiwáku’ “ Atí’as
And he said : “ Father ,
a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “ ati- as ,
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ 1.POSS father ,

tihátaku
tihaátaku
here
tii- haa- -taku
here here LOC

nikutasirirákusa^a
rikutasiriiraákusaa’a
this is where you have your seats
riku- ta- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- kus.haar -’
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.a.seat EX

tiwírəsutašiksar^a ,
. Tiwírasuutaciksaara
. When you are thinking of it
. tii- wii- ra- s- ut- aciks.aar -a
. when when ABS 2.A PREV consider SUB.1

tiráwih^tn nisár^u ,
tiráwihat riisaáru’
these chiefs
tii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0 riisaar -u’
this ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4 be.chief NOM

wirihakawašístar^tn
wirihaakawahcístarit

when they are going to eat

wii- ra- 0- ir- haakawahc -his -ta -rit
when ABS 3.A PL.3A eat PERF INT INT.SUB

. Tihátak^u

. Tihaátaku

. Here

. tii- haa- -taku

. here here LOC

hirutirirutkiháhwi^u

hiru tirirutkiihaáhwi'u'

then it is their (place in the) room

hiruu ti- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- ut- kiihaar- wi.uu -0
then IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV roomm be.facing PERF

nisár^u

riisaáru' . "

chiefs . "

riisaar -u' . "

be.chief NOM . "

Iwirárahukahu

Iwirárahuukahu

When they were coming in

ii- wii- ra- 0- a- raar- huuk- a -hus
when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A into come IMPF.SUB

nihuksuátiwit^{itⁿ}

ríhuksu' a tiwíitit ,

only and he sat down ,

rihuks -u' a ti- 0- wi.itik -0 ,

alone NOM and IND.3A 3.A sit.down PERF ,

hirutúšja^a ,
 hiru tuci'a
 then he did it :
 hiruu ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

atirəhkáwaritⁿ ,
 a tiraahkáwarit
 and he filled a pipe
 a ti- 0- raar- ka.warik -0
 and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P put.in PERF

ataháta ,
 a tahaáttaa'
 and he brought the pipe
 a ti- 0- a- haak- ra- a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT come PERF

atikutukítawu .
 a tikuutuukítawu .
 and he lit the pipe for me .
 a ti- 0- ku- ut- huukita.wuh -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A 1.P BEN light.a.pipe PERF .

Hirutətirawisáhisit^tⁿ .
 Hiru tatiraawisáhisitit .
 Then I began to smoke .
 hiruu ta- t- i- raawis- a -his -itik .
 then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ smoke eat PERF INCH .

Atiwáku, kúrahus
 A tiwáku' kúrahus
 And he said old man
 a ti- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus

and IND.3A 3.A say PERF old.man

tisírətk^u “
tisíratku “
these (du) our sitting : “
tii- si- ra- t- kus -0 , ”
this DU ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4 , ”

Irirəskuiskawátəⁿ

Iriírasku iskawátat
Where you sit you'll empty it
irii- ra- s- kus -0 i- s- kawatak -0
where ABS 2.A be.sitting SUB.4 CONT.1/2A 2.A get.out PERF

ikairírəsk^u ,
. Ihaa'iriírasku
. There where you sit
. ii- haa- irii- ra- s- kus -0
. there here where ABS 2.A be.sitting SUB.4

hiruisušihakirahkátauš

hiru isucihaakirahkáta'uc
there you'll lay the pipe in front
hiruu i- s- ut- i- haak- irahkata- uc -0
there CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ wood in.front lay.SG.P PERF

, irirurəsik^u .
iriiruurásiiku .
there where you sit .
irii- ruu- ra- s- i- kus -0 .
where there ABS 2.A SEQ be.sitting SUB.4 .

Hirunisaruarísitⁿ

Hiru riisaáru' arísit

Then the chief himself
 hiruu riisaar -u' ariisit
 then be.chief NOM one's.own

kúsa
 kúsaá' .
 he will come .
 kuus- 0- a- a -0 .
 POT.1/3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF .

irikúrahak^u
 Iriikúrahaaku ,
 That is his pipe
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- haak- 0 -u
 that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A wood be SUB.D

arihakíritⁿ
 a rihaakírit
 and he'll pick up the pipe
 a ri- 0- haak- iriik -0
 and CONT.3A 3.A wood pick.up.long.object PERF

nətáwiskar^u . "
 rattaáwiskaaru' . "
 the pipe . "
 rak.raawis.kaar- -u' . "
 pipe NOM . "

Akirikuisirutaríhusta
 Aki riku'isiruutariíhusta
 And here that is what they were to do
 a- ki riku- i- s- ir- ri- ut- aar -i -:-hus -ta
 and there that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV do IMPF IMPF INT

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nihuksuátahuk^a

Ríhuksu'	a	tahuúka'							
Only	and	he entered							
rihuks	-u'	a	ti-	0-	a-	huuk-	a	-0	
alone	NOM	and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	into	come	PERF	

nisár ^u	,	
riisaáru'		
a chief		
riisaar	-u'	
be.chief	NOM	

hirutirahkáwarit ⁿ	,				
hiru	tiraahkáwarit				
then	he filled a pipe				
hiruu	ti-	0-	raar-	ka.warik	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	put.in	PERF

hirutíkuhaku	.					
hiru	tíkuhaaku					
then	he gave me the pipe					
hiruu	ti-	0-	ku-	haak-	uh	-0
then	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	wood	give	PERF

Ašiharárahukah^u

Aki	haaráraahuukaahu'								
And here	here they were coming in								
a-	ki	haa-	ra-	0-	a-	raar-	huuk-	a	-:hus

and there here ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A into come IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

kituarárahuk^a

Kítuu'u' ráraahuuka'
All they came in

kituu	-u'	ra-	0-	a-	raar-	huuk-	a	-0
all	NOM	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.INDV.A	into	come	PERF

.	Hiriwakásət ^a					,	“	Náwa
.	Hi	riiwaakásatta'					“	Ráwa
.	And	he spoke out				:	“	Now
.	hi	rii-	0-	waakasakta		-0	,	" rawa
.	and	ASSR	3.A	be.an.audible.voice		PERF	,	" now

,

wirutúširaru
wiruutúciráru'
that is all

wii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	raar.uu	-0
now	that	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	be.a.number	PERF

.	"	híruriwaku		kúrahus
.	"	Hiru riiwáku'		kúrahus

. " Then he said old man
 . " hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus
 . " then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man

tisírætk^u " Náw^a ,
 tisíratku " Rawa
 these (du) of us : " Now
 tii- si- ra- t- kus -0 , " rawa
 this DU ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4 , " now

irukstáwiš^a ,
 i rukstaáwiica' ,
 so let the time arrive ,
 i ri- 0- a- uks- raa- wic.a -0 ,
 and CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A JUSS way arrive PERF ,

ihí ,
 ihí
 uh ,
 ihii ,
 uh ,

iríkarahi hákawaəš
 iriikaraahihaákawa'ac
 the ones who have not eaten
 irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- haakawahc -0
 that NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A eat SUB.4

tiwírahuka ,
 tiwírahuuka
 this one coming in --
 tii- wii- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0 -
 this now ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come SUB.4 -

tiwírahuka ,
 tiwírahuuka .
 this one coming in .
 tii- wii- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0 .
 this now ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come SUB.4 .

iríkarahi hákawaəš . "
 iríikaraahihaakawa'ac . "
 ones who have not eaten . "
 irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- haakawahc -0 . "
 that NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A eat SUB.4 . "

Hiruriwáku " Tarušúhus
 Hiru riiwáku' " Táruucúhus
 Then he said : " Errand man ,
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " ta.ra.uc.uh.hus ,
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , " errand.man ,

kíraiskutisətⁿ kírík^u
 kúra iskuúticat kíríku'
 roast it for me some
 kira i- s- ku- ut- icat.k -0 kíríkuu
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P BEN roast PERF anything

. " Tirakukísaškⁱ
 . " Tíraaku kísacki
 . " This one the meat
 . " tii- ra- 0- kus -0 kisaac -kis
 . " this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 meat DIM

iríihirá^u ,
 iríí , ihí , rá'u
 where , uh , the one
 iríí , ihíí , ra- 0- 0 -u

where , uh , ABS 3.A be SUB.D

awisikuhírauirikuhararáhurukst^a

a wisikuu híraa'u irikuuharaaráhuuruksta
and when they gave it to him he was the one who was going to do it
a wii- si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0 irii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- rahur- uk -his -ta
and when DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A way give PERF that DUB ABS 3.A way do be PERF INT

. Asíritiš^{^tⁿ} ,
. A síriitícat .
. And they roasted it for him .
. a si- ra- 0- ir- ut- ícat.k -0 .
. and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN roast PERF .

tírak^u irihí , áwitⁿ
Tíraaku irihí áwit
This one that first
tii- ra- 0- kus -0 irii- hii awit
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 that other first

, ariwáwa^a .
a riiwaáwa'a .
and he ate .
a rii- 0- waawa- a -0 .
and ASSR 3.A DIST eat PERF .

Hiširukariririráharuku

Hi ciru kariiriiriraáharuuku'
And yet they had not boiled it
hi ciruu kari- rii- 0- ir- i- raahaar -ra'uk -:hus
and yet EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.cooking.by.boiling CAUS IMPF

. Hiruwitiríra^u
. Hiru witiríraa'u

. Then he took it upon himself
 . hiruu witi- rii- 0- raa- uh -0
 . then REFL ASSR 3.A way give PERF

irikúhu ,
 iriikuúhu'
 whoever it was
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- uu -0
 who DUB ABS 3.A be PERF

hiruriririráharukusititⁿ
 hiru riiririiraáharuukusitit
 then then they began boiling it
 hiruu rii- ri- 0- ir- i- raahaar -ra'uk -:hus -itik
 then then CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ be.cooking.by.boiling CAUS IMPF INCH

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Arirarəstarikatáh^{^t}ⁿ
 A riirarastarikatáhat
 And he took the cooked meat out
 a ra- 0- ir- aras- raar- ri- kata.hak -0
 and ABS 3.A OBV cooked.food PL PORT get.away PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hirurítíwišk^a

Hiru riitíwicka'

Then I thought

hiruu rii- t- i- wicka -0
then ASSR 1.A SEQ think PERF

natutásku

ratuutásku

as I sat there

ra- t- ut- as.kus -0
ABS 1.A PREV be.sitting.astonished SUB.4

hirisihwakhúsuku

hi riisihwakiihúsuuku'

and they usually say

hi rii- s- ir- waki.a -:hus -uuku , "
and ASSR 2.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF HAB , "

Áwitⁿ

Áwit

First

awit

first

tihawakawúsuk^u

tiihaahwaakawuúsuku'

they make an offering of it

ti- 0- ir- ut- raar- waak- a.wuu -:hus -uuku
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P saying go.in.a.line.IMPF IMPF HAB

. Náw^a ,

. " Ráwa

. " Now ,

. " rawa ,

. " now ,

arirəstarikatáh^{^tⁿ}

a riirastarikatáhat

and he took the cooked meat out

a	ri-	0-	aras-	raar-	ri-	kata.hak	-0
and	CONT.3A	3.A	cooked.food	PL	PORT	get.away	PERF

, hírətkətⁿ

hi rátkat

and later

hi rat- -kat

and afterwards LOC

ruríšia

ruuriíci'a

then they did it

ruu-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	:
then	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	,

wirirarəsirúku

wiriirarasiiruúku'

now he distributed the cooked meat

wii-	ra-	0-	ir-	aras-	ii.ra'uk	-:hus	.
now	ABS	3.A	OBV	cooked.food	distribute	IMPF	.

Irírutahu

Iriíruutahu

The way it was

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

arirəstuš páw^u

a riirastucpaáwu

and he put the cooked meat down .
a ri- 0- aras- ra.uc.wuh -waa -0 .
and CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food put.PL.OBJ DIST PERF .

Hiruirisirakitáwi^u

Hiru iriisirakitáwi'u

Then the leading ones (du)

hiruu irii- si- ra- 0- kita.wi -u
then that DU ABS 3.A be.the.leader SUB.D

asirirarəstáwa^u

a siriirarastaáwa'u

and he gave them (du) cooked meat

a si- ra- 0- ir- aras- raa- wa- uh -0
and DU ABS 3.A OBV cooked.food way DIST give PERF

; hawá pitatákus^u

hawá piitatákusu'

, also the adjoining men

, haawa wiita ta kus -u'

, also man be.hanging be.sitting NOM

sirirarəstáwa^u

siriirarastaáwa'u

they gave them cooked meat

si- ra- 0- ir- aras- raa- wa- uh -0
DU ABS 3.A PL.3A cooked.food way DIST give PERF

, skítiiks .

ckiiti'iks .

four .

iks.kiiti'iks .

four .

Hírurarəsta

Hiru raárástaa'

Then he brought cooked meat

hiruu ra- 0- a- aras- ra- a -0
then ABS 3.A PREV.3A cooked.food PORT come PERF

hitihásírətkuskítúwik^u

hi tihaasíratkuskítúwiku

and this one sitting here with me

hi tii- haa- si- ra- t- kus kituu -wi kus -0
and this here DU ABS 1.A be.sitting be.all SUB.L be.sitting SUB.4

kúrahús hírirəs^u

kúrahús hi riirasu

old man and he gave to him cooked meat

kurahuus hi ri- 0- aras- uh -0
old.man and CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food give PERF

Hírurihət^u

Hiru riihat

Then he passed

hiruu ri- 0- hak -0
then CONT.3A 3.A pass.by PERF

rəsákaku

rasaákaku

where the sun passes

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

ariwáku

a riiwáku'

and he said

a rii- 0- waka'u -0

and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Irirasákaku

Iriirasaákaku

Where the sun passes

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

rarutkuspitáwiku

raarutkuspitáwiku

the one yonder on the end

ra- 0- ar- ut- kus wita -wi kus -0
ABS 3.A EV PREV be.sitting be.last SUB.L be.sitting SUB.4

nikásirasu . "

rikasiírasu . "

you must give him cooked meat . "

rii- kaas- s- i- aras- uh -0 . "
that POT.2A 2.A SEQ cooked.food give PERF . "

Hirurirəskúsi^{tⁿ} ,

Hiru riiraskúsi^t

Then he picked up cooked meat

hiruu ri- 0- aras- kusik -0
then CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food pick.up PERF

ararárəsu . Náwa^a ,

a raarárəsu . Ráwa

and he gave the meat to him . Now

a ra- 0- ar- aras- uh -0 . rawa
and ABS 3.A EV cooked.food give PERF . now

hirurirəstarahukatawih^{^tⁿ}

hiru riirastarahuúkatawihat

then he passed the cooked meat around
 hiruu ri- 0- aras- raar- ra- huuk- kata- -wi hak -0
 then CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food PL PORT into against.a.vertical.surface SUB.L pass.by PERF

. Kakátukspaku ,
 . Kaakatukspáku'
 . I did not say
 . kaaka- t- uks- waka'u -0
 . NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A AOR say PERF

tihikuraitúsurahəš .
 tihikuuraa'itúsurahac .
 I must have forgotten the story .
 tiir- ri- ku- i- raa.iit.us- hurahac -0 .
 INFR CONT.3A 1.P SEQ story disappear PERF .

Iwirárəstušpawⁱ
 Iwiraárastucpaáwi
 After he had placed the meat around
 ii- wii- ra- 0- aras- ra.uc.wuh -waa -wi
 when when ABS 3.A cooked.food put.PL.OBJ DIST SUB.L

, hirurúš^a
 hiru ruúci'a
 then he did it :
 hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

arirəskúsitⁿ .
 a riiraskúsit .
 and he picked up cooked meat .
 a ri- 0- aras- kusik -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A cooked.food pick.up PERF .

Hírurušia

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

hiruruširahwákuætⁿ

hiru ruciraahwaáku'at
then he offered it in prayer
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- raar- waak- u.at -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P saying extend.in.a.line PERF

. Irikuhíitⁿ

. Irikuhíit

. That is the way they are (ie do)

. irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- 0 -'
. that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV be EX

nisarutiráwih^{^t}ⁿ

riisaáru' tiráwihat
chiefs these sitting
riisaar -u' tii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0
be.chief NOM this ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

Aruhahwákuætⁿ

a ruuhaahwaáku'at
and he offered it in prayer
a ra- 0- ut- raar- waak- u.at -0
and ABS 3.A PREV 3PL.INAN.P saying extend.in.a.line PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirutiúrarisítⁿ

Hiru tí' uúrariisit
Then it was straight
hiruu ti- 0- 0 -0 uurariisik
then IND.3A 3.A be PERF straight.forward

hiruóškatⁿ

hiru áckat
there above
hiruu ac -kat
there above LOC

rarutaruhurúka,

raaruutaruuhuurúkaa'

then he just raised it upward

raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- ra- uhuur- u- kaa.a -0
just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT way in.a.line come.out PERF

aríkus

a riíkus
and he put it down
a rii- 0- kus.k -0
and ASSR 3.A put PERF

Hirurúšia

Hiru ruúci'a
Then he did it
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

rararáwar^a

raraaráwara

the ones sitting ,
 ra- 0- raar- a.war -a ,
 ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A go.in.a.line.DU SUB.1 ,

híruruš^a

hiru ruúci'a
 then he did it
 hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

tiráhurahš^a .

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

Arírarihəš .

A ríraarihac .
 And he finished .
 a ri- 0- raa.riihac -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A finish PERF .

Hírətkətⁿ

Hi rátkat
 And afterwards
 hi rat- -kat
 and afterwards LOC

ruíririrəsir^u

ruuriiririirasiiru'
 then they distributed the cooked meat
 ruu- irii- ra- 0- ir- i- aras- ii.ra'uk -0
 then then ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ cooked.food distribute PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Kituariakarəstáwa^u

Kituu'u' a rii'aakarastaáwa'u
 All and he distributed the cooked meat to them
 kituu -u' a rii- 0- ak- aras- raa- wa- uh -0
 all NOM and ASSR 3.A PL.AN.3P cooked.food way DIST give PERF

. Tárušuhus pitkusíti^a
 . Táruucúhus pítku síti'a .
 . Errand men two there were (du) .
 . ta.ra.uc.uh.hus pitku si- ti- 0- aah -0 .
 . errand.man two DU IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

kukakúutⁿ

Kukaakuú'ut

There is nothing

ku- kaaki- 0- ut- 0 -'
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

iriatúrara šíhtis^u

iri'aturaaracíhtisu

for it to be sacred

irii- aa- t- uur- raa.racihtis -u
 that SUBJ.1/2A 1.A PREV be.reverent SUB.D

šíhtis^u

riisaáru'

chiefs

riisaar -u' tii- ra- 0- raar- kaa -wi

nisarutirárahkawⁱ
 tiráraahkaawi
 these meeting inside

be.chief NOM this ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside SUB.L

.
. .
. .
. .

Akikišiiirikúhitətuhuru

Aki kici irikúhiitattuuhuru'

And here but that is how he made it for them

a- ki kici irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raa.uhur- ra'uk -0
and there but that DUB ABS 3.A OBV BEN PL.AN.3P way make PERF

atí^s tirákitak^u .

Atí'as tirakítaku .

our Father this one above .

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

Arihataráwašititⁿ .

A riihattaaráwacitit .

And we went outside .

a rii- t- rak- raar- awacitik -0 .
and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A go.out PERF .

Arihataráwašititⁿ .

A riihattaaráwacitit .

And we went outside .

a rii- t- rak- raar- awacitik -0 .
and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A go.out PERF .

Ihirúwiritku

Ihi ruúwiritku

Uh , now I sat there
 ihii , ruu- wii- rii- t- kus -0
 uh , there now ASSR 1.A be.sitting PERF

irírahakakawⁱ ,
 iriírahaakakaawi
 where our lodge was
 irii- ra- t- rak- akaa -wi
 where ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.dwelling SUB.L

hikúrahus
 hi kúrahus
 and the priest
 hi kurahuus
 and old.man

ruritušíkaks^a .
 ruuriitucíkaksa' .
 then I called him .
 ruu- rii- t- ut- i- kaksaa -0 .
 then ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ call PERF .

Aritáku hi “ Tíkⁱ ,
 A rittáku' ihi “ Tíki ,
 And I said , uh : “ Son ,
 a rii- t- taka'u -0 , ihii , " tikis ,
 and ASSR 1.A say PERF , uh , " sonny ,

kutátiha ,
 " kutátiha'
 " I had him as a child ,
 " ku- ta- t- ir- haa -0 ,
 " INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be.one's.child PERF ,

tirətuháiritⁿ ,
 “ tiratuuhaá’iirit
 “ what I saw
 " tii- ra- t- ut- raa- iirik -0
 " this ABS 1.A PREV way see SUB.4

kástukiwi
 kastuúkiwi
 it is so different
 kaas- s- raa- ikiwir -0
 POT.2A 2.A way be.different PERF

nisarutirásasaru^u ,
 riisaáru’ tiraásasaaru .
 chief you who are named .
 riisaar -u’ tii- ra- s- asar -u .
 be.chief NOM this ABS 2.A be.named SUB.D .

kíispaku
 Ki’ispáku’
 Say
 kii- i- s- waka’u -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A say PERF

irikúhuutⁿ .
 iriikúhuu`ut . "
 however it is . "
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -’ . "
 what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX . "
 . "

Ariwáku “
 A riiwáku’ “
 And he said : “
 a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , "

and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Nikutúut^u , atí[^]s
 Rikutuú'ut , atí'as
 It is that way , my father
 riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' , ati- as
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX , 1.POSS father

nisarutirá^u ,
 riisaáru' tiraátasaaru .
 , a chief this my being named .
 , riisaar -u' tii- ra- t- asar -u .
 , be.chief NOM this ABS 1.A be.named SUB.D .

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

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

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

Nikuwitaruhú^u ,
 Rikuwitaruuhú'u .

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

píra^u
 ' Piíra'u'
 ' Children
 ' piira -u'
 ' child NOM

kutatarákara
 kutataraákaaraa'
 you are my offspring

ku- ta- t- ir- a- rak- haa- raar- 0 -0
 INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 2.P 1/2.PL child PL be PERF

, tatarákaru .
 . Tataraákaru' .
 . I made you .
 . ta- t- a- rak- ka.ra'uk -0 .
 . IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P 1/2.PL make.PL.P PERF .

Nikutatuhá ,
 Rikutatuuhaá'
 I am the one who is the cause
 riku- ta- t- ut- raar -0
 that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be.the.cause PERF

tírət^u ,
 tíratku
 I sitting here
 tii- ra- t- kus -0
 this ABS 1.A be.sitting SUB.4

nətarakára^u . I ,
 rataraakára'u . I
 my making you . And
 ra- t- a- rak- ka.ra'uk -0 . i
 ABS 1.A 2.P 1/2.PL make.PL.P SUB.3 . and

nisarutíwiras^u ,
 riisaáru' tíwiraasu
 chief this being you
 riisaar -u' tii- wii- ra- s- 0 -u
 be.chief NOM this now ABS 2.A be SUB.D

kukakasirúrašitísukst^a
 kukaakaasiruuracihitísuksta
 you are not going to have sacred ways
 ku- kaaka- s- ir- ri- uur- racihtis uk -his -ta
 INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.awesome be PERF INT

.
 .
 .
 .

hirurutarárihikst^a
 Hiru ruutaáaraárihiksta
 Then there is going to be a single way
 hiruu ruu- ti- 0- a- raa- rihik -his -ta
 then then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.only.one PERF INT

,
 “
 : “
 , ”

, "

hituksawahšákawaəš

Hi tuksawahcaákawa'ac

And let me even eat

hi	i-	t-	uks-	awahc-	haakawahc	-0
and	CONT.1/2A	1.A	JUSS	even	eat	PERF

áwitⁿ . "

áwit . "

first ! "

awit . "

first . "

Kukakátutasiksušt^a .

Kukaakátuutaciksucta .

I am not to have any bad feelings .

ku-	kaaka-	t-	ut-	aciks.uu	-his	-ta	.
INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	feel.fine	PERF	INT	.

Kutatarákara

Kutataraákaaraa'

I have you as children

ku-	ta-	t-	ir-	a-	rak-	haa-	raar-	0	-0
INDF	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	2.P	1/2.PL	child	PL	be	PERF

. Nikututáh^u ,

. Rikutuutaáhu'

. That is the way it is

. riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	0	-a	-:hus
. that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	be	SUB.1	IMPF

píra^u .

píira'u'

children ,
 piira -u' ,
 child NOM ,

Pirauiwitirəsútkaruku

piira'u' iwitirasutkaru
 children when you make them for yourself
 piira -u' ii- witi- ra- s- ut- ka.ra'uk -0
 child NOM when REFL ABS 2.A BEN make.PL.P SUB.3

.
 .
 .
 .

hipíra^u niwáku , “
 Hi piira'u' riiwáku' ,
 And a child he says : '
 hi piira -u' rii- 0- waka'u -0 , '
 and child NOM ASSR 3.A say PERF , '

Atí[^]s
 Atí'as
 Father ,
 ati- as ,
 1.POSS father ,

kiiskúrasu ,
 ki'iskuúrasu
 give me food
 kii- i- s- ku- aras- uh -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P cooked.food give PERF

nasarəstik ^u	.	"	Áwit ⁿ
raasarástiku	.	'	Áwit
the food you have	.	'	First
ra- s- aras- ri- kus -0	.	'	awit
ABS 2.A cooked.food PORT be.sitting SUB.4	.	'	first

aisárəsupíra ^u								
a isárasu						piíra'u'		
and you'll give him bread						the child		
a i- s- aras- uh -0						piira -u'		
and CONT.1/2A 2.A cooked.food give PERF						child NOM		

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

hirurikuwitaruhú ^u								
hiru rikuwitaruuhú'u								
there that was his plan								
hiruu riku- wi- ti- 0- a- raa.uhur -'								
there that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.the.cause EX								

,	hirúati [^] s	títaku	,
	hiru Atí'as	tíitaku	
	there our Father	here	
	hiruu ati- as	tii- -taku	
	there 1.POSS father	here LOC	

ahakítak ^u	.	"
ahakítaku	.	"
the one sitting above	.	"
ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0	.	"

EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Nikutiwakahukúrahus .

Rikutiwákaahu' kúrahus " .

That is what he was saying an old man : " .

riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus kurahuus , " .
that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF old.man , "

Atí^s hírətkətⁿ

Atí'as hi rátkat

Father , and afterwards

ati- as , hi rat- -kat

1.POSS father , and afterwards LOC

isusuksawaštawáhkuətⁿ

isucuksawactaahwaáku'at

you'll offer it in prayer

i- s- ut- uks- awahc- raar- waak- u.at -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV JUSS even.if 3PL.INAN.P saying extend.in.a.line PERF

piraútəs

. Piíra'u' tas .

. A child you are .

. piira -u' ta- s- 0 -0 .

. child NOM IND.1/2A 2.A be PERF .

tíratətⁿ

Tíraatat

This village

tii- ra- 0- itak -0

this ABS 3.A be.a.camp SUB.4

pirautəs .

piíra'u' tas . "

a child		you are				.	"
piira	-u'	ta-	s-	0	-0	.	"
child	NOM	IND.1/2A	2.A	be	PERF	.	"

Nikutiwakáhu						kúrahus
Rikutiwákaahu'						kúrahus
That is what he said						the old man
riku-	ti-	0-	waka	-:hus		kurahuus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	say.IMPF	IMPF		old.man

Irisá ^a				.	Náw ^a	,	íritak ^u
Iriisaá'a				.	Ráwa	,	íritaku
Were He Chief				.	Now	,	there
ii-	0-	riisaar	-'	.	rawa	,	irii- -taku
SUBJ.3A	3.A	be.chief	EX	.	now	,	there LOC

nikutatiškarétkuhišis												
rikutáticka'						rátkuuhiicis						
that is what I wanted						for me to know						
riku-	ta-	t-	wicka	-0	ra-	t-	ku-	ut-	riicis	-0		
that.is	IND.1/2A	1.A	want	PERF	INF.A	1.A	INF.B	PREV	learn.about	SUB.4		

.	Ariwáku					"	Atí ^{^s}
.	A	riiwáku'				"	Atí ^{'as}
.	And	he said				:	" My father
.	a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	" ati- as
.	and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	,	" 1.POSS father

kukakatúhurəšihtis						
kukaakatuúruhuracihtis						
I am not sacred						
ku-	kaaka-	t-	uur-	uhur-	racihtis	-0
INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	now	be.awesome	PERF

, irírut^a . Náw^a ,
 iriíruuta . Ráwa
 the way it is . Now ,
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a . rawa ,
 that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 . now ,

tirakuiriráraraših^{ti}s^u

tíraaku iriiraraaracíhtisu
 this one his having sacred ways
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 irii- ra- 0- raa- racihtis -u
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 that ABS 3.A way be.awesome SUB.D

,

hikukariríti huróših^{ti}s

hi kukariirítihurácihtis
 and I am not at all sacred
 hi ku- kari- rii- t- i- uhur- racihtis -0
 and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ now be.awesome PERF

.

. "

. "

. "

. "

Širurutətirakit^{^t}

Ciru ruutátiraakitat
 Yet it was our village there
 ciruu ruu- ta- t- ir- rak- itak -0

yet there IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 1/2.PL be.a.camp PERF

, hírikutkasit^{tn} .
hi rikútkasitit .
and I fell asleep .
hi ri- ku- itka -his -itik .
and CONT.3A 1.P sleep PERF INCH .

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

nikutatúhaetⁿ ,
rikutatuúhaa'at
that is the way we are ,
riku- ta- t- ut- rak- 0 -' ,
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2..PL be EX ,

tirahakuriwawⁱ
tirahákuriwaawi
these of us going around
tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -waa -wi
this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL DIST SUB.L

šahiksíšahiks .
cahiksícahiks .
Indians .
icaahiks icaahiks .
person person .

Nikuhára^u
Riikuuháraa'u

He gave us the way
 rii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- uh -0
 that DUB ABS 3.A way give PERF

náhkuwak^a
 raáhkuwaaka
 when he would say ,
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waak -a ,
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 ,

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

ráhkuwak^a “
 raáhkuwaaka “
 when he would say : “
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waak -a , ”
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 , ”

Kiraruhašáus . ”
 Kíra ruuhacá’us . ”
 Let him hunger . ”
 kira ri- 0- ut- raca’us -0 . ”
 perhaps CONT.3A 3.P PREV be.hungry PERF . ”

Hiwihirutáhkitaaritⁿ
 Hi wihiru taáhkitaarit
 And there he would stand on top
 hi wii- hiruu ti- 0- ar- kita- arik -0
 and now there IND.3A 3.A EV on.top be.standing PERF

. Hitíhwakⁱ “
. Hi tíhwaki’ “
. And they said : “
. hi ti- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
. and IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Witúhaitⁿ

Wituúha’it

He has dreamed

wii- ti- 0- ut- raa.itk -0
now IND.3A 3.A PREV dream PERF

nárarikⁱ . ”
raárariki . ”
the one standing yonder . ”
ra- 0- ar- arik -i . ”
ABS 3.A EV be.standing SUB.2 . ”

Akikutihósuħuřah^{^t}ⁿ

Aki kutiihasuħucahat

And here (empty)

a- ki ku- ti- 0- ir- ut- rasuħuur- ta.hak -0
and there INDF IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV body.of.warriors lie.around PERF

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

hirikutkasít^tⁿ

hi riikútkasitit .
and I fell asleep .
hi rii- ku- itka -his -itik .

and ASSR 1.P sleep PERF INCH .

širurutátirakitətⁿ

Ciru ruutátiraakitat

Yet it was our village there

ciruu ruu- ta- t- ir- rak- itak -0
yet there IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 1/2.PL be.a.camp PERF

irinisaruratutətariwíšat^a

irií riisaáru' ratuutattariwícata

where chiefs my having taken it to them

irii riisaar -u' ra- t- ut- ak- raar- ri- wic.at -a
where be.chief NOM ABS 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P PORT arrive SUB.1

kísaškⁱ , hírititk^a ,
kísacki . Hi riítitka
meat . And I slept
kisaac -kis . hi rii- t- itka -0
meat DIM . and ASSR 1.A sleep PERF

hirikuharíka

hi rikuuhaaríkaa'

and He told me

hi ri- 0- a- ku- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
and CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV tell.to PERF

, rətakuúkatətⁿ

rátaku

there

ra- 0- ta kus -0 uukata- -t
ABS 3.A be.hanging be.sitting SUB.4 west LOC

narutawákararu^a

raarutaawákaraaru'a'

then his voice just came

raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0
just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A voice extend.this.way PERF

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

Ariwákutiwirawákararu^a

A riiwáku' tiwirawákaraaru'a
And He said when his voice came
a rii- 0- waka'u -0 tii- wii- ra- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0
and ASSR 3.A say PERF when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A voice come.this.way SUB.4

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

tiúraris^tⁿ “
ti' uúrarisit “
He was straight (above) : “
ti- 0- 0 -0 uurariisik , ”
IND.3A 3.A be PERF straight.forward , ”

Náwatik^s tíkis ,
Ráwa tíkis tíkis
Now , sonny , sonny ,
rawa , tikis , tikis ,
now , sonny , sonny ,

níkutásišk^a

rikutásicka'

this is what you wanted

riku- ta- s- wicka -0
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A want PERF

tiiriwínasutar^a

ti'iriiwírasuutaara

this that you have done

tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -a
this that now ABS 2.A PREV do SUB.1

nikúřeskuwiška^a

rikuraskuwicka'a

your having wished that

riku- ra- s- ku- wicka -a
that.is INF.A 2.A INF.B want SUB.1

Hítikⁱsanikusirúhar^u

Hi tíkis a rikusiruúhaaru'

And , sonny , and that is the way they made for you

hi , tikis , a riku- si- ra- 0- ir- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
and , sonny , and that.is DU ABS 3.A PL.3A 2.P BEN way make PERF

, tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

rikusitúhar^u

Rikusituúhaaru'

That is the way they made for you

riku- si- ti- 0- ir- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0

that.is DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 2.P BEN way make PERF

rikúræskutar^a . "
 rikuraskuútaara . "
 for you to do that . "
 riku- ra- s- ku- ut- aar -a . "
 that.is INF.A 2.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1 . "

Ariwáku , hítik^s
 A riiwáku' " Hi tíkis
 And He said : " And , sonny
 a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " hi , tíkis
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , " and , sonny

" Tiiriwírutar^a .
 ti'iriiwíruutaara
 , this that he has done ,
 , tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -a ,
 , this that now ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 ,

" Tiháihk^u ,
 " tuuhá'ihku'
 " He was meaning
 " ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
 " IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

tiiriwirətuhiwíšat^a
 ti'iriiwiratuuhiwícata
 here when I took it to him
 tii- irii- wii- ra- t- ut- ri- wic.at -a
 here there when ABS 1.A BEN PORT arrive SUB.1

kísaškⁱ ariwáku "
 kísacki . A riiwáku' "

the meat . And He said : “
 kisaac -kis . a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 meat DIM . and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Tíkis
 Tíkis
 Sonny ,
 tikis ,
 sonny ,

wituraráhuru
 wituuraaraáhuru’
 he has spoiled it for you

wi- ti- 0- a- uur- raa- raahur -ra’uk -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A 2.P PREV way be.spoiled CAUS PERF

, upirúwituta
 . Uupíru’ wituúta
 . Wrong he has done
 . uupir -u’ wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 . be.different NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

. " Tuharáihku
 . " Tuuhaará’ihku’
 . " He was meaning
 . " ti- 0- ut- raa.ra’ihk -:hus
 . " IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

nihuksurihkuriwiša

ríhuksu’ rihkuriwica
 only when one arrives with it
 rihuks -u’ ra- 0- a- ir- ku- wic.a -0
 alone NOM INF.A 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF INF.B arrive SUB.4

.kísaškⁱ
.kísacki
meat,
kisaac -kis
meat DIM

hiwitiháka^waəš .
hi witihaákawa'ac .
and they eat .
hi wi- ti- 0- ir- haakawahc -0 .
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A eat PERF .

Tiwákah^u “
Tiwákaahu’ “
He was saying : “
ti- 0- waka -:hus , ”
IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ”

Nikutatutatúhuru
Rikutatuutaattuúhuru'
That is the way I made for them
riku- ta- t- ut- ak- raa.uhur- ra'uk -0
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P way make PERF

. ”
.
.
.
.

Kakuhahurírihu ,
Kaakuhaahuurírihu'
It is not to sit overnight
kaaki- 0- ut- raar.huur.hiir -i -:hus

NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV remain.out.overnight IMPF IMPF

tiiriwirásutar^a , tík'is
ti'iriiwirásuutaara , tíkis
this that you have done , sonny
tii- irii- wii- ra- s- ut- aar -a , tikis
this that now ABS 2.A PREV do SUB.1 , sonny

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiupirúwisiraririrawaritⁿ

Hi uupiúru' wisiraaririírawarit
And wrong they did you wrong
hi uupir -u' wii- si- ra- 0- a- ir- a- ri- ri- uur- a.warik -0
and be.different NOM now DU ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A 2.P PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS PREV throw PERF

. Tíkis
. Tíkis
. Sonny ,
. tikis ,
. sonny ,

paratúrahi , ihi
pára túraahi , ihi
it would have been good , uh
para ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 , ihii
perhaps IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF , uh

,

,
,
,

nihuksurəsiríwiša

ríhuksu'

only

rihuks
alone

-u'
NOM

rasiríwica

when you came with it

ra-
ABS

s-
2.A

ir-
PREV.1/2A

ri-
PORT

wic.a
arrive

-0
SUB.4

kísaškⁱ

kísacki

the meat

kisaac -kis

meat DIM

iriwíwírasašíksta^u

iriwíwírasacíksta'u

after you had made up your mind

irii-
when

wii-
when

witi-
REFL

ra-
ABS

s-
2.A

aciks.ra'uk
decide

-0
SUB.3

,
,
,
,

hírəs

híras

at night

hiras

at.night

hiruirəšákipit^{itn}

hiru

iiracákipiitit

then

if they had gathered

hiruu

ii-
SUBJ.3A

0-
3.A

raar-
PL.INDV.A

takipi.itik
gather.together

-0
SUB.4

nisār^u ,
 riisaáru'
 the chiefs
 riisaar -u'
 be.chief NOM

aihákawaəš . Tíkis
 a iihaákawa'ac . Tíkis
 and if they had eaten . Sonny
 a ii- 0- ir- haakawahc -0 . tikis
 and SUBJ.3A 3.A PL.3A eat SUB.4 . sonny

hiirirəsíška^a
 hi iriirasícka'a
 , and what you wanted
 , hi irii- ra- s- wicka -a
 , and what ABS 2.A want SUB.1

nakúrahir^a ,
 rakúraahiira
 its being good
 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

rusiára^u .
 ruusi'áraa'u .
 then they would give you a way .
 ruu- si- 0- ii- ir- a- raa- uh -0 .
 then DU 3.A SUBJ.3A PL.3A 2.P way give PERF .

" Nikutiwákah^u
 " Rikutiwákaahu'
 " That is what He was saying
 " riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus

" that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

tiharáwahətⁿ

Tihaaráwaahat

these Heavens

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

wirikutpákararu^a

wirikutpákaraaru'a

when He talked to me

wii- ri- 0- a- ku- ut- wakaraar- u.a -0
when CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV voice come.this.way SUB.4

, tátitka ,
. Taátitka .
. I slept .
. ta- t- itka -0 .
. IND.1/2A 1.A sleep PERF .

hikáratutirik^u

Hi karatuutiiriku'

And I didn't see him

hi ka- ra- t- ut- iirik -:hus ,
and NEG ABS 1.A PREV see IMPF ,

kiširarutawákararu^a

kici raaruutaawákaraaru'a'

but then he just spoke

kici raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0
but just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A voice come.this.way PERF

. Híriwaku “

. Hi riiwáku’ “

. And He said : “
 . hi rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 . and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Kasúširišistítirⁱ ,
 Kaasúciiriicis tíitiiri .
 You will know now .
 kaas- s- ut- i- riicis -0 tii- tiiri .
 POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ learn.about PERF here now .

situraráhuru
 Situuraaraáhuru’
 They spoiled it for you
 si- ti- 0- ir- a- uur- raa- raahur -ra’uk -0
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A 2.P PREV way be.spoiled CAUS PERF

. ” Arikukiríka^a nahuritótⁿ
 . ” A rikukiríka’a raáhuriitat
 . ” And when I woke up all the time
 . ” a ri- ku- kirika.aar -0 raahuriitat
 . ” and CONT.3A 1.P wake.up SUB.4 always

šiksútatuuⁿ .
 cíksu’ tatuú’ut . “
 I thought about it . “
 aciks -u’ ta- t- ut- 0 -’ . ”
 think.of NOM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX . ”

Náw^a, kirakirikírarak^u ,
 Ráwa kára kíriki rarááku .
 Now let’s see what will happen .
 rawa kira kirikii ra- 0- raa- kus -0 .
 now perhaps what ABS 3.A way be.sitting PERF .

kirakiríkírəsutast^a

Kíra kíriki rasuútasta

I wonder what is going to be

kira	kirikii	ra-	s-	ut-	0	-as	-ta
perhaps	what	ABS	2.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT

tirótpari

tirátpari

as I go around here

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

Nirituráhuru

Riirituraáhuru'

They broke camp

rii-	0-	ir-	ituur-	raahur	-ra'uk	-0	.
ASSR	3.A	PL.3A	village	be.spoiled	CAUS	PERF	.

nirituráhuru

Riirituraáhuru'

They broke camp

rii-	0-	ir-	ituur-	raahur	-ra'uk	-0	.
ASSR	3.A	PL.3A	village	be.spoiled	CAUS	PERF	.

suhurítatirakatakuah^u

Suúhuri' tatiraákattaku'aahu'

This way we were coming as a group

suuhuri'	ta-	t-	ir-	rak-	aktaku-	a	-:hus
over.here	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	1/2.PL	group	come	IMPF

, níhuksu

. Ariwáku

ríhuksu'

. A riiwáku'

just

. And He said

rihuks -u'

. a rii- 0- waka'u -0

alone NOM . and ASSR 3.A say PERF

tirawákararu^a

tirawákaraaru'a

this one whose voice came

tii- ra- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A voice come.this.way SUB.4

, “ Tíkis ,
“ Tíkis
: “ Sonny ,
" tikis ,
" sonny ,

nisarúiriraha^u

riisaáru' iriiráha'u
the chief the one whom I made

riisaar -u' irii- ra- t- ra'uk -0
be.chief NOM that ABS 1.A make SUB.3

irirətáwi

iriirátawi

the one who is among them

irii- ra- 0- tawi -0 ákitar^u
that ABS 3.A be.among SUB.4 akitaaru'
tribe NOM

irinarúwari

iriiraruúwari

the one who cares for it

irii- ra- 0- ruu- warii -hus
that ABS 3.A PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nisár^u

riisaáru'

tíkis ,

tíkis

the chief , sonny ,
 riisaar -u' , tikis ,
 be.chief NOM , sonny ,

kukakárurak^u

kukaakáruuraaku

he does not have any way

ku- kaaki- 0- a- ri- uur- raa- kus -0
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be.sitting PERF

, kíriku nákurišaraks^u
 kíriku' rákuriicaraaksu
 anything to be troublesome
 kirikuu ra- 0- ku- raa- icaraks -u
 anything INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.mischievous SUB.D

, nisaruiríra^u .
 riisaáru' iriíra'u .
 chief the one .
 riisaar -u' irii- ra- 0- 0 -u .
 be.chief NOM that ABS 3.A be SUB.D .

Nutíwakawirariks

Ruutiiwakaawíraariks

His words are true

ruu- ti- 0- i- wakaara- -wi raariks -0
 then IND.3A 3.A SEQ noise SUB.L be.true PERF

, irirákuwak^a .
 iriirákuwaaka .
 what he says .
 irii- ra- 0- ku- waak -a .
 that INF.A 3.A INF.B say.SUB SUB.1 .

Itíkis

I tíkis
And , sonny ,
i , tikis ,
and , sonny ,

tiiríwirut^a

ti'iríwiruuta

this way it was

tii- irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a
this that now ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1

parárikuut^a

pára riku'uúta

if it had been that way

para riku- ii- 0- ut- 0 -a
perhaps that.is SUBJ.3A 3.A PREV be SUB.1

parətúrahi

pára túraahi

it would have been good

para ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
perhaps IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

parətúrahi

Para túraahi

It would have been good

para ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
perhaps IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

Nikuríraiwatⁱ

Rikuriíraa'iiwaati

What he was telling me

ri- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- raa.iiwaat -i

CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV tell.a.story SUB.2

nikutatuharáihku
rikutatuuhaará'ihku'

that is what I am meaning

riku- ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
that.is IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

rátitk^a

raátitka

when I slept

ra- t- itka -0
ABS 1.A sleep SUB.4

kisaškíratutətaunisar^u

kísacki ratuutatta'u
the meat what I took it to them

riisaáru'
the chiefs

kisaac -kis ra- t- ut- ak- ra'uk -0 riisaar -u'
meat DIM ABS 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P make SUB.3 be.chief NOM

- . Šúhuri
- . Suúhuri'
- . This way
- . suuhuri'
- . over.here

rihuksútatirakátakuah^u

rihuksu'
only we were coming as a group

tatiraakáttaku'aahu'
we were coming as a group

rihuks -u' ta- t- ir- rak- aktaku- a -:hus
alone NOM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL group come IMPF

- .
- .

.
. .

Witətpákas táihi ,
Witatpaákasta ihii ,
Now I am going to say , uh ,
wii- ta- t- waak -as -ta , ihii ,
now IND.1/2A 1.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT , uh ,

ruwitiratíriparar^a ,
ruuwitiratíriparaara
then when I sneaked myself off
ruu- witi- ra- t- i- ri- paar.aar -a
then REFL ABS 1.A SEQ PORT hide SUB.1

ruratírawirakat^a .
ruuratiíraawiiraakata .
when I went on a war party .
ruu- ra- t- i- raawiiraak- at -a .
then ABS 1.A SEQ on.the.warpath go SUB.1 .

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

wirikuwíšaksar^a
wirikuwícaksaara
after I had matured
wii- ri- ku- wicaks.aar -a
when CONT.3A 1.P come.to.age.of.consciousness SUB.1

nətkuwíška^a ; “
 ratkuwícka’a “
 my thinking : “
 ra- t- ku- wicka -a , ”
 ABS 1.A INF.B think SUB.1 , ”

kuirirósakut^a
 Ku’iriirásaahkuuta
 I wonder what happens
 ku- irii- ra- s- ar- ku- ut- 0 -a
 INDF what INF.A 2.A EV INF.B PREV be SUB.1

náwirakuru ,
 raáwiirakuuru’
 warriors
 raawiiraak.huur -u’
 war.party NOM

tírahuriwawⁱ . I
 tírahuriiwaawi . ” I
 these going around ? ” And
 tii- ra- 0- hurii -waa -wi . ” i
 this ABS 3.A go.around.PL DIST SUB.L . ” and

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

hirurikuritpákast^a . A
 hiru rikuritpaákasta . A
 then that is what I am going to tell . And
 hiruu riku- rii- t- waak -as -ta . a

then that.is ASSR 1.A say.SUB IMPF.IRR INT . and

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

tiriwistarawašítíkúsititⁿ .
tiiriwistaarawacítikusitit .
warriors began going out .
ti- 0- iriwis- raar- awacitik -:hus -itik .
IND.3A 3.A war.party PL go.out IMPF INCH .

Iriřúksahu ,
Iriirucúksahu
The way it used to be
irii- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus
that ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

tiriwistarawašítik^u ;
tiiriwistaarawacitiiku' .
warriors were going out .
ti- 0- iriwis- raar- awacitik -:hus .
IND.3A 3.A war.party PL go.out IMPF .

hirahukatíraku
Hi ráhuuka' tíraaku
And he came inside this one
hi ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0 tii- ra- 0- kus -0
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come PERF this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

, Asaúkatakú
Asaa'uúkatakú

Horse Sitting In West

asaa- uukata- kus
horse west be.sitting

híriwaku , “
hi riiwáku’ “
and he said : “
hi rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Witáhawirakuhta . “
Witáhaawiirakuhta . “
I am going on the warpath . “
wi- ta- t- raawiiraak- uh -ta . “
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A on.the.warpath go.INT INT . “

Hikírikirətirirušpaširu

Hi kíriki ratiriúrcpa círu’
And I had nothing yet
hi kirikii ra- t- ir- ri- uur- ra.uc -waa -0 ciruu
and what ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF yet

. Híruriwaku , “
. Hiru riiwáku’ “
. Then he said : “
. hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
. then ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Karésuhta ?
Karásuhta . “
Are you going ? “
ka- ra- s- uh -ta . “
Y/N.INTER ABS 2.A go.INT INT . “

Híruritiwaku “ hā^a !
 Hiru riitiwáku’ “ Haa’a’
 Then I said : “ Yes
 hiruu rii- t- i- waka’u -0 , “ haa’a’
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , “ yes

tatiškarəšihkúwara

Táticka’ racihkúwara
 I want for you and I to go
 ta- t- wicka -0 ra- aciir- ku- war -a
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF INF.A IN.DU.A INF.B go.DU SUB.1

. “ Ariwáku “
 . “ A riwáku’ “
 . “ And he said : “
 . “ a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “
 . “ and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Ihiwitikasušíikauš

Ihi witikaasucií’iika’uc
 Uh , you must lie in the center
 ihii , witi- kaas- s- ut- i- iika- uc -0
 uh , REFL POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ center lie.down PERF

, híitihuk^a
 hi itíhuuka’
 and then I’ll come in
 hi i- t- ir- huuk- a -0
 and CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A into come PERF

, hiruiširiwaširútitⁿ

hiru iciriiwaciruútit
 , then we’ll go out
 , hiruu i- aciir- i- awacitik -ruu -0

, then CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A SEQ go.out DIST PERF

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

wititətúriparari .
wititətúripaarári' .
I was sneaking myself off .
witi- ta- t- uur- i- paar.aar -i .
REFL IND.1/2A 1.A PREV SEQ hide IMPF .

Isirúkakatírawirapu
Isiiruukaakaatíraawirapu'
I was not going openly on the warpath
isiiruu- kaaka- t- i- raawiiraak- wuu -:hus
plainly NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ on.the.warpath go.IMPf IMPF

. Ariwáku “
. A riiwáku' “
. And he said : “
. a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , “
. and ASSR 3.A say PERF , “

Kukasahestəšárikətⁿ
Kukasaahaastacárikut
You must take some ropes off
ku- kaas- s- ar- haas- raar- ta.rikuk -0
INDF POT.2A 2.A EV rope PL take.off PERF

həšiškarit^u . " Hi ,
hasíckariitu' . " Hi

rawhide ropes . " And ,
 haas- ickariit -u' . " hi ,
 rope hide NOM . " and ,

irárⁱ , kustáwihšu
 iraári' , kustáwihcu'
 brother , brothers law
 i- -raar- -ri' , kus.tawihc -u'
 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , son.in.law NOM

ritíriwih^{tⁿ}
 riitírihwihat
 I had them

rii- t- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -0
 ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL PERF

, híəsku kustáwihšu ,
 hi ásku kustáwihcu'
 , and one brother lying
 , hi asku kus.tawihc -u'
 , and one son.in.law NOM

tihararúhastahša,
 tihaararuúhaastaahca
 (empty)

tii- haa- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- haas- raar- sa -0
 this here ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A rope PL be.lying SUB.3

hasiškarit^u
 hasíckariitu' .
 rawhide ropes .
 haas- ickariit -u' .
 rope hide NOM .

hiruritúši^a ,
 Hiru riitúci'a a
 Then I did it : and
 hiruu rii- t- ut- i- aar -0 , a
 then ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ do PERF , and

arituhestášarikətⁿ ,
 rituuhaástacárikut
 I took off ropes ,
 rii- t- uur- haas- raar- ta.rikuk -0 ,
 ASSR 1.A POSS.P rope PL take.off PERF ,

hiruwitiritušihástahkišaw^u
 hiru witiriitucihaástaahkiicawu
 then I put them around my neck
 hiruu witi- rii- t- ut- i- haas- raar- kiic.a.wuh -0
 then REFL ASSR 1.A PREV SEQ rope PL put.around.the.neck PERF

. Hi witirítuš ;
 . Hi witiriituc
 . And I lay down
 . hi witi- rii- t- uc -0
 . and REFL ASSR 1.A lie.down PERF

hiritastarikúkiška .
 hi riitaastarikúkiicka .
 and I had the ropes over my shoulder .
 hi rii- t- haas- raar- riku.kiic.kaa -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A rope PL wear.over.one's.neck PERF .

Iirutahuwirakurawiša
 Iriíruutahu wiraakuraáwiica
 The way it was when the time approached
 irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus wii- ra- 0- a- ku- raa- wiic.a -0

that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B way approach SUB.4

nakuriwisawašitíkstaritⁿ

rakuuriwisawacitíkstarit

when the warriors would go out

ra- 0- ku- iriwis- awacitik -his -ta -rit
 INF.A 3.A INF.B war.party go.out PERF INT INT.SUB

, hiráhuka

hi ráhuuka'

and he came in

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

tihároku

tiháraaku

this one

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

asaúkatak^u

Asaa'uúkatak

Horse Sitting In West

asaa- uukata- kus
 horse west be.sitting

Hawawitúkstawirakətⁿ

Hawá witúkstaawiiraakat

Also he had already gone on the warpath

haawa wi- ti- 0- uks- raawiiraak- at -0
 also QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR on.the.warpath go PERF

. Ariwáku

“ Náw^a ,

. A riiwáku'

“ Ráwa

. And he said : “ Now
 . a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ” rawa
 . and ASSR 3.A say PERF , ” now

síhuhwat^a . ”
 siihuhwaáta’ . ”
 get up at last . ”
 i- s- ir- uhur- waat.a -0 . ”
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A finally get.up PERF . ”

Rutátirihuririwat^a
 Ruutátiriihuuririwaata’
 Then I quickly arose

ruu- ta- t- ir- i- uhuur- iri.waat.a -0
 then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ quickly get.up.from.a.lying.position PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

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

kirukurətirirəsúhku
 kirú kuratiriirasúhku
 where were my moccasins

kiruu ku- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- as.huur- kus -0
 where INDF ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A moccasin be.sitting PERF

akirukurətirirawášusa

a kiru ratiriiraawácuusa

and where was my quiver

a	kiruu	ra-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raawacuu-	sa	-0
and	where	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	quiver	be.lying	PERF

, kukakahawášura ,

. Kukaakahaawácuura .

? I did not have a quiver .

.	ku-	kaaka-	t-	raawacuu-	raah	-0	.
.	INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	quiver	have	PERF	.

kukakaštirátara ,

Kukaakaactiraáttara .

I did not have a bow and arrows .

ku-	kaaka-	t-	tiraak-	raar-	raah	-0	.
INDF	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	bow	PL	have	PERF	.

híritawašititⁿ .

Hi riitáwacitit .

And I went out .

hi	rii-	t-	awacitik	-0	.
and	ASSR	1.A	go.out	PERF	.

Nihuksutətpitátⁿ

Ríhuksu' tatpítat

Only I was wearing it

rihuks	-u'	ta-	t-	witak	-0
alone	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	wear.over.the.shoulders	PERF

, harik's ,

hariíkis

a calf (skin robe)

harii -kis

calf DIM

awiritástara

a wiritáastara

and now I had ropes

a wii- rii- t- haas- raar- raah -0
and now ASSR 1.A rope PL have PERF

hasíškarit^u ;

hasíckariitu' .

rawhide ropes .

haas- ickariit -u' .

rope hide NOM .

kastawihšuwitatu hastóšarikætⁿ

Kustáwihcu' witatuuhaastácarikut

Brother-in-law I had taken his ropes

kus.tawihc -u' wii- ta- t- uur- haas- raar- ta.rikuk -0
son.in.law NOM now IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.P rope PL take.off PERF

. Náwa ,

. Ráwa

. Now ,

. rawa ,

. now ,

hiirusirítiwa .

hi irirusiriítiwa .

and then we went .

hi irii- ruu- si- rii- t- i- war -0 .
and there then DU ASSR 1.A SEQ go.DU PERF .

Hiwihirurirarišíhtəsa

Hi wihiru riiraaricíhtasa

And there the party was on the outskirts of the village
 hi wii- hiruu rii- 0- raar- icihta- sa -0
 and now there ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A edge.of.the.village be.lying PERF

. Hiriwaku
 . Hi riiwáku'
 . And he said
 . hi rii- 0- waka'u -0
 . and ASSR 3.A say PERF

Asaúkatak^u , “ Ihi ,
 Asaa'uúkatakú , “ Ihi
 Horse Sitting In West : “ Uh ,
 asaa- uukata- kus , " ihii ,
 horse west be.sitting , " uh ,

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

súksta šatkátus^u
 súksta caátkatuusu'
 carry it parfleche
 i- s- uks- raah -0 caat- katuus -u'
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS have PERF bundle be.flat NOM

. "
 . "
 ! "
 . "
 . "

Akitirakuisahkuhikáwira

Aki	tiraáku'	isaahkuuhikaáwira											
And here	a gun	he had hidden for me in it											
a- ki	tiraak	-u'	i-	s-	ar-	ku-	ut-	ri-	kaa-	-wi	raah	-0	
and there	gun	NOM	CONT.1/2A	2.A	EV	1.P	BEN	PORT	inside	SUB.L	have	PERF	

,

tihakúrakukⁱ

tihaakúraakuuki

its being short

tii-	haa-	ku-	ra-	0-	ku-	ak	-i	
this	here	INDF	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.a.certain.length	SUB.2	

,	tirá ^u	.						
	tíraaku'	.						
	the gun	.						
	tiraak	-u'	.					
	gun	NOM	.					

Hiruirirutíku^u

Hiru iriruutíku'u

Then thereupon he gave it to me

hiruu	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ku-	uh	-0	.
then	then	then	IND.3A	3.A	1.P	give	PERF	.

Hiruritirakiríwisætⁿ

Hiru riítiraakiriwisat

Then we warriors went off

hiruu	rii-	t-	i-	rak-	iriwis-	at	-0	.
-------	------	----	----	------	---------	----	----	---

then ASSR 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL war.party go PERF .

Hirutirəsákaku

Hiru tirasaákaku

Then where the sun passes (ie south)

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

tikiškítasa ,

tikickítasa

there is a river

ti- 0- kic- kita- sa -0
IND.3A 3.A water on.top be.lying PERF

ihiruwirikurihatár^t

ihi ruuwirikuriíhattaarat

uh , then that is where we now went

ihii , ruu- wii- riku- rii- t- rak- raar- at -0
uh , then now that.is ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A go PERF

, hiríhwakⁱ , “

hi rihwáki’ “

and they said : “

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Kitaratárirah^t

Kiítaraattaarírahát

Let us stop (to rest)

kii- i- t- a- rak- raar- rirahak -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF

. ” Wítasəta

. ” Wítasaáttaa’

. " The sun had risen
. " wii- ti- 0- a- saak- ta.a -0
. " now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A sun come.up PERF

,
.
.
.
.

witasakuhkatáwiš^a

Witasakuhkatáwica'

The sun had climbed high

wii- ti- 0- a- sakur- kata- wic.a -0
now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A sun against.a.vertical.surface arrive PERF

. Ah ! híkišⁱ kúhahukətⁿ
. Aa hi kici kuúhahuukat
. Ah , and but she entered
. aa , hi kici kuur- ra- 0- huuk- at -0
. ah , and but DUB ABS 3.A into go PERF

, šápatⁿ hikúhawaku “
cápaat hi kuuhawáku’ “
a woman and she said : “
icapaak hi kuur- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
woman and DUB ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Karasáihi

Káraasa

Is he lying

ka- ra- 0- sa -0 , ihi ,
Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A be.lying PERF , uh ,

píræski
 piíraski
 boy
 piiras- -kis
 boy DIM

kurásirak^u . "
 kurásiraaku . "
 yours ? "
 ku- ra- s- ir- rak- 0 -u . "
 INDF ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A 1/2.PL be SUB.D . "

Hikúhawaku atíra
 Hi kuuhawáku' atíra'
 And she said my mother :
 hi kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ati- raa ,
 and DUB ABS 3.A say PERF 1.POSS mother ,

" Iritakutiša . "
 " Íritaku tiísa . "
 " Over there he lies . "
 " irii- -taku ti- 0- i- sa -0 . "
 " there LOC IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying PERF . "

Iahawákušapatⁿ "
 I ahawáku' cápaat "
 And she said the woman : "
 i ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 icapaak , "
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF woman , "

Kakíša . "
 Kaakísa . "
 He is not lying . "
 kaaki- 0- sa -0 . "

NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.lying PERF . "

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

witətuhakasúhətⁿ

witatuuhaakasuúhat

we were sitting all around

wii- ta- t- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0
now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around PERF

, hiríhwaki , hā !
hi ríhwaki' " Haa
and they said : " Ha ,
hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " haa ,
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " ha ,

nihtaráhkisaihi

rihtaráhkisa'

he comes running

ra- 0- a- ir- tarahkis- a -0 , ihi
ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV be.strong come PERF , ihii
, uh

kúrahus . "
kúrahus . "
, an old man . "
, kurahuus . "
, old.man . "

Iwikaririútⁿ

I wikariiri'út

And it was not far
 i wii- kari- ra- 0- i'uut -0
 and now EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A be.far PERF

hiríhwakⁱ “
 hi ríhwaki’ “
 and they said : “
 hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , “
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Áritikⁱ ,
 Ári’ tiki
 Ah , son ,
 arii , tikis ,
 oh , sonny ,

wituturiáhaas
 wituúuri’a’ haá’as
 he has come for you your father
 wii- ti- 0- a- a- ut- huri a -0 a- as
 now IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A 2.P BEN wait.for come PERF 2.POSS father

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hirusikasikáispa
 Hiru sikaasikaá’ispa
 Then you (du) must go home
 hiruu si- kaas- s- i- kaa- iis.war -0
 then DU POT.2A 2.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight.DU PERF

. " Aráwiš^a ,
. " A raáwica' .
. " And he arrived .
. " a ra- 0- a- wic.a -0 .
. " and ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF .

hiwihirurikúri ,
Hi wihiru rikúri'
And here he was the one
hi wii- hiruu riku- ri- 0- 0 -0
and now there the.one CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

atí[^]s
atí[']as .
my father .
ati- as .
1.POSS father .

hirurušipawaktíkusi^ttⁿ
Hiru rucipaawaktíkusitit
Then he began talking to them
hiruu ri- 0- ut- i- ak- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik
then CONT.3A 3.A BEN SEQ PL.AN.3P talk IMPF INCH

. Tihířesaihi
. Tihíiraasa ihi
. This other one lying , uh ,
. tii- hii- ra- 0- sa -0 , ihii ,
. this other ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.4 , uh ,

tísa^a ,
tiisá'a
he was named
ti- 0- asar ->

IND.3A 3.A be.named EX

Tikitawírihku .
Tikitawírihku' .
He Is Leader At Times .
ti- 0- kita.wi -rihk -u' .
IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader DIST NOM .

Arihirəsátiša^a

A riihírasa tiisá'a
And he was leader he was named
a rii- 0- hiras- aah -0 ti- 0- asar -'
and ASSR 3.A in.the.lead be PERF IND.3A 3.A be.named EX

Tahastawirikawáah^u

Tahaastawirikaawá'aahu'
He Comes Leading Horses Into It
ti- 0- a- haas- ta -wi ri- kaa- wa- a --hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT inside DIST come IMPF

. Pítkutiriwisur^a .
. Pítku tiiriwísura .
. Two there were war parties .
. pitku ti- 0- iriwis.huur- aah -0 .
. two IND.3A 3.A war.party be PERF .

Turišáhiks táriruhšⁱ .

Tuuricahikstaáriruhci' .
There were many people (in them) .
ti- 0- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -0 .
IND.3A 3.A PREV person PL be.numerous PERF .

Iriwirutapáwaktiku

Iriwiruutapaáwaktiiku'

There he was talking to them

irii- wii- ra- 0- ut- ak- waa.wak.tik -hus
 there now ABS 3.A BEN PL.AN.3P talk IMPF

, atí^s . Ápəs
 atí'as . Ápac
 my father . Both
 ati- as . apac
 1.POSS father . both

iwahísita

iwaáhi' sitá'
 his nephews they (du) were
 i- waat -ri' si- ti- 0- a- 0 -0
 3.POSS.A nephew/neice 3.POSS.B DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be PERF

. Sirutpawáktik^u
 . Sirutpaawáktiku
 . The ones (du) he talked to
 . si- ra- 0- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus
 . DU ABS 3.A BEN talk IMPF.SUB

irísirari nihkit^a ,
 iriísiraari rihkita
 those (du) being war leaders
 irii- si- ra- 0- aar -i rihkita
 that DU ABS 3.A become IMPF.SUB leader

iwahísita

iwaáhi' sitá'
 nephews they (du) were his
 i- waat -ri' si- ti- 0- a- 0 -0
 3.POSS.A nephew/neice 3.POSS.B DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A be PERF

; iatí^s
 i atí'as
 and fathers
 i ati- as
 and 1.POSS father

síritiih .
 síriitii .
 I had them (du) as .
 si- rii- t- ir- 0 -0 .
 DU ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF .

Híruriwaku níhkit^a ,
 Hiru riiwáku' ríhkita " "
 Then he said the leader : "
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 rihkita , "
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF leader , "

hirukasikáisətⁿ .
 Hiru kaasikaá'iisat .
 Then you must go home .
 hiruu kaas- s- i- kaa- iis.at -0 .
 then POT.2A 2.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight PERF .

Tuhá^a
 " Tuuhá'a
 " It was the cause
 " ti- 0- ut- raar -' .
 " IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

wirawakáati^s "
 wírawaaka atí'as "
 his saying my father : "
 wii- ra- 0- waak -a ati- as , "

now ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 1.POSS father , "

Tikⁱ ,

Tiki

Son ,

tikis ,

sonny ,

kukakastirátara ,

kukaakaastiraáttara .

you do not have a bow and arrows .

ku- kaaka- s- tiraak- raar- raah -0 .
INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A bow PL have PERF .

širutirahkasárawirakur^u

Ciru tiraáhkasa raáwiirakuuru'
Yet they are there war parties
ciruu ti- 0- raar- ka- sa -0 raawiiraak.huur -u'
yet IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A in be.lying PERF war.party NOM

, wíkuhásiška
. Wíkuuhásicka'
. If you wish

. wii- kuur- ra- s- wicka -0
. now DUB ABS 2.A want PERF

nakúrawirakat^a ,

rakuraawiiraakata

to go with a war party

ra- 0- ku- raawiiraak- at -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B on.the.warpath go SUB.1

hititirátara ,

hi titiraáttara

and one has a bow and arrows
 hi ti- 0- tiraak- raar- raah -0
 and IND.3A 3.A bow PL have PERF

aispašúra ,
 a ispacuúra
 and you'll have a quiver
 a i- s- wacuu- raah -0
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A quiver have PERF

áihi
 a ihi
 and , uh ,
 a , ihii ,
 and , uh ,

nakurárukukⁱ ,
 rakuraáruhkuuki .
 to carry (other) things .
 ra- 0- ku- raar- ruhka'uk -i .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2 .

hasíškarit^u
 Hasíckariitu'
 Rawhide ropes
 haas- ickariit -u'
 rope hide NOM

tihastárah^u .
 tihaastáraahu' .
 one usually has ropes .
 ti- 0- haas- raar- raah -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A rope PL have IMPF .

Akukarirísisutⁿ

A kukariirísiisut

And you have no moccasins

a ku- kari- rii- s- i- as.uuk -0
and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 2.A SEQ wear.on.the.feet PERF

. Hā^a !

. Haá'a

. Ha ,

. haa'a ,

. ha ,

rutásirisukurarihⁱtⁿ

ruutásiriisuukurarihit

there you have a single pair of moccasins

ruu- ta- s- ir- i- as.uuk.u- raar- rihik -0
there IND.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A SEQ moccasin PL be.the.only.one PERF

, tirásasukⁱ .

tiraásasuuki .

these you wear on the feet .

tii- ra- s- as.uuk -i .

this ABS 2.A wear.on.the.feet SUB.2 .

Kitutirarúhkuki

Kítuu'u' tirarúhkuuki

All one must carry various things

kituu -u' ti- 0- raar- ruhka'uk -i
all NOM IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

nəkúrawirakat^a .

rakúraawiiraakata .

when he goes on the warpath .

ra- 0- ku- raawiiraak- at -a .

INF.A 3.A INF.B on.the.warpath go SUB.1 .

Irikúruha^a

Irikúruuhá'a

That is the cause

irii- ku- ra- 0- ut- raar -' .
that INDF ABS 3.A PREV be.the.cause EX

tírətira

tíratiira .

my coming here .

tii- ra- t- ir- a -0 .
here ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come SUB.4 .

kukakásta .

Kukaakásta .

You have nothing .

ku- kaaka- s- raah -0 .
INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A have PERF .

Irinihuksuišikaíspara

Irií ríhuksu' icihkaa'íspara

There only when we go home

irii rihuks -u' i- aciir- kaa- iis.war -a
there alone NOM CONT.1/2A IN.DU.A inside go.out.of.sight.DU SUB.1

, ristawirákuht^a . "

ristaawiirákuhta . "

you are going to go on a war party . "

rii- s- raawiiraak- uh -ta . "

ASSR 2.A on.the.warpath go.INT INT . "

Hiruririríwakikitu

Hiru riiriríwaki'

kituu'u'

Then they said all
 hiruu rii- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0 kituu -u'
 then then CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF all NOM

“ Náw^a , náwatikⁱ ,
 “ Ráwa ráwa tiki ,
 : “ Now , now , son ,
 , " rawa , rawa , tikis ,
 , " now , now , sonny ,

hirusukskáis^{^t}ⁿ

hiru sukskaá'isat
 then go home
 hiruu i- s- uks- kaa- iis.at -0
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS inside go.out.of.sight PERF

. Nikutúætⁿ , tikⁱ ,
 . Rikutuú'ut tiki .
 ! It is that way , son .
 . riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' , tikis .
 . that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX , sonny .

kukakásta .
 Kukaakásta .
 You have nothing .
 ku- kaaka- s- raah -0 .
 INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A have PERF .

Kitutiráruhkuwirakúrawirakat^a

Kituu'u'	tirarúhkuuki						wirakúraawiiraakata						
All	one must carry various things						when one goes with a war party						
kituu	-u'	ti-	0-	raar-	ruhka'uk	-i	wii-	ra-	0-	ku-	raawiiraak-	at	-a
all	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	have.DIST	SUB.2	when	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	on.the.warpath	go	SUB.1

. " Náw^a , hirurítiwaku
. " Ráwa hiru riitiwáku'
. " Now , then I said
. " rawa , hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0
. " now , then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF

" Náwahíru . "
" Ráwa híru' . "
: " Now let's go . "
, " rawa híru' . "
, " now go.on . "

Arararúša ,
A ráraarucaa' .
And they arose .
a ra- 0- a- raar- uca.a -0 .
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A get.up PERF .

tíraki
Tíraakii
It was a long time ,
ti- 0- raa.kiir -0 ,
IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF ,

hirunararawihúrahaš híši
hiru raraarawihúrahac hici
then they disappeared over the hill but
hiruu ra- 0- raar- awi- hurahac -0 hi.ci
then ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A image disappear PERF and

atí[^]s níkatpawáktik^u
atí'as riikutpaawáktiiku'
my father he was talking to me
ati- as rii- 0- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus

1.POSS father ASSR 3.A 1.P BEN talk IMPF

. Hirurítiwaku " Náwa^a
 . Hiru riitiwáku' " Ráwa
 . Then I said : " Now
 . hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 . then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , " now

, híruati^{^s} . " Hi atí^{as}
 híru' atí^{as} . " Hi atí^{as}
 , go on , father ! " And my father
 , hirú' , ati- as . " hi ati- as
 , go.on , 1.POSS father . " and 1.POSS father

rurispátas^{itⁿ} ,

ruuriispaátasit
 then he started off

ruu- ri- 0- as.waat.as.ik -0
 then CONT.3A 3.A start.out PERF

ikuháwiška ,

i kuuháwicka' " : "
 and he thought : "
 i kuur- ra- 0- wicka -0 , "
 and DUB ABS 3.A think PERF , "

kuhikutawíra

Kuuhikuutawiíraa'

He must be following me

kuur- ri- 0- a- ku- ut- awiira.a -0
 DUB CONT.3A 3.A PREV.3A 1.P PREV follow.behind PERF

.
 . "

. "

. "

. "

Akípahituraritirəsawa

Aki	pahiitu'			raaritiirásawa						
And here	quietly			I just stepped away from him						
a-	ki	pahiit	-u'	raa-	rii-	t-	ir-	as.a	-waa	-0
and	there	be.quiet	NOM	just	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	leave.a.track	DIST	PERF

,	hiritkásispa			,	
	hi	ritkásispa			
	and	I ran			
	hi	rii-	t-	kasispaar	-0
	and	ASSR	1.A	run	PERF

hiruirirariwísat^a

hiru	iriiraariwísata								
there	where the war party went								
hiruu	irii-	ra-	0-	iriwis-	at	-a			
there	where	ABS	3.A	war.party	go	SUB.1			

hikuhutirikarahətati[^]s

Hi	kúhuutirikaraahat						atí'as	
And	he turned around (to look)						my father	
hi	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	irikaraa.hak	-0	ati-	as
and	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	turn.around	PERF	1.POSS	father

,

hihiruwihirukuhətataráhkis , pituhkáətⁿ

hi hiru wihiru kuuhataahtarahkispiituhká'at
and then there I must have run yonder over the prairie
hi then wii- hiruu kuur- ra- t- ar- tarahkis- wiituur- ka- at -0
and now there DUB ABS 1.A EV be.strong elevated.prairie in go PERF

. Atí^s
. Atí'as
. My father
. ati- as
. 1.POSS father

awastiwakarakáəs ,

áwas tiwakaraahká'as
left behind he cried ,
awas ti- 0- wakaraar- kaas -0 ,
left.behind IND.3A 3.A voice break PERF ,

hirituhúrisətⁿ .

hi riituhúriisat .
and I quickly disappeared .
hi rii- t- uhuur- iis.at -0 .
and ASSR 1.A quickly go.out.of.sight PERF .

Hiritkatáwíš^tⁿ ,

Hi ritkatáwicat
And I arrived at the top
hi rii- t- kata- wic.at -0
and ASSR 1.A against.a.vertical.surface arrive PERF

hiritištáhuša

hi riitictáhuucaá'
and I looked over it
hi rii- t- ir- ut- ta.huuca.a -0

and ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV come.up.to.the.top PERF

, hihirukuhahpáritkətⁿ ,
hi hiru kuuhaahpáritkat
and there on a flat prairie
hi hiruu kuuhaar- parit -kat
and there flat.ground be.smooth LOC

wihirúraririwisətⁿ .
wihiru raáririwisat .
there the war party went yonder .
wii- hiruu ra- 0- ar- iriwis- at -0 .
now there ABS 3.A EV war.party go PERF .

Híritⁿ kásispa .
Hi ritkásispa .
And I ran .
hi rii- t- kasispaar -0 .
and ASSR 1.A run PERF .

Hikuhíhwakⁱ “ Hā^a
Hi kuuhíhwaki’ “ Haa’a’
And they must have said : “ Ha
hi kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ” haa’a’
and DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ” ha

!

,
,
,

ihawatataráhkis^a
i hawá tataráhkisa’

and also he comes running
i haawa ti- 0- a- tarahkis- a -0
and also IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A be.strong come PERF

istutirapíræskⁱ

istú tíraa'a piíraski
again this one coming boy
istu tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 piiras- -kis
again this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 boy DIM

. " Hírarárirah^{^t}n .
. " Hí raraárirahat .
. " And they stopped .
. " hí ra- 0- raar- rirahak -0 .
. " and ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF .

Arítpiš^{^t}n

A rítpicat .
And I arrived .
a rii- t- wic.at -0 .
and ASSR 1.A arrive PERF .

Aríhwakⁱ

A ríhwaki' " Ari ,
And they said : " Ári' ,
a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " arii ,
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " oh ,

kirikiræsihar^a

kíriki rasiíhaara'
what did you come after
kirikii ra- s- ir- ut- raar- a -0
what ABS 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV PL.INDV.A come PERF

,
.
?
.
.

arirutušira^u

A riruutucíraa'u'

And it was alright

a rii- ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- raa- uu -0
and that then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ way be PERF

hiruiskaísat^a

hiru iskaa'iisata

there if you go home

hiruu i- s- kaa- iis.at -a . "
there CONT.1/2A 2.A inside go.out.of.sight SUB.1 . "

Hiruríiwaku

Hiru riitiwáku'

Then I said

hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , "
then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , "

Irítiška,

I ríiticka'

And I want

i rii- t- wicka -0 kici
and ASSR 1.A want PERF but

rətkurawirákat^a

ratkuraawiiraákata

for me to go on the warpath

ra- t- ku- raawiiraak- at -a . "

INF.A 1.A INF.B on.the.warpath go SUB.1 . "

Hiruririríwakⁱ ,
 Hiru riiriríwaki'
 Then they said :
 hiruu rii- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0 ,
 then then CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF ,

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Sisuhurušótkatus^u

Sisuuhúru caátkatuusu'
 Give it to him a bundle
 si- i- s- uhur- uh -0 caat- katuus -u'
 DU CONT.1/2A 2.A now give PERF bundle be.flat NOM

, nakúrihur^u . "
 rakúrihuuru . "
 its being large . "
 ra- 0- ku- rihur -u . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.big SUB.D . "

Hirusíriku^u

Hiru síriiku'u
 Then they gave it to me they gave it to me
 hiruu si- rii- 0- ir- ku- uh -0
 then DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P give PERF

šatkátus^u ,
 caátkatuusu'

a bundle
 caat- katuus -u'
 bundle be.flat NOM

hirurítirawihutⁿ . Akí
 hiru riitiraawíhut . Aki
 then I carried it . And here
 hiruu rii- t- i- ra.awi.huk -0 . a- ki
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ carry PERF . and there

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

isaruhahúhtawi .
 isaruuhaahúhtawi'
 it was in fact difficult
 i- s- ar- ut- raa- huhtawii -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV way be.difficult PERF

Širutikaratitaráhkis^u ,
 ciru tikaraatitaráhkiisu .
 yet my not being strong .
 ciruu tii- ka- ra- t- i- tarahkis -u .
 yet this NEG ABS 1.A SEQ be.strong SUB.D .

akí
 Aki
 And here
 a- ki
 and there

isaruhahúhtawi ,
 isaruuhaahúhtawi'
 it was in fact difficult
 i- s- ar- ut- raa- huhtawii -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV way be.difficult PERF

širutikaratitaráhkis^u .
 ciru tikaraatitaráhkiiisu .
 yet my not being strong .
 ciruu tii- ka- ra- t- i- tarahkis -u .
 yet this NEG ABS 1.A SEQ be.strong SUB.D .

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

hirirótki^a ,
 hi riirátkii'a
 and it became night
 hi rii- 0- ratkii -aar -0
 and ASSR 3.A be.night INCH PERF

hisirikuhuhurítawawuhusit^{tⁿ}
 hi siriikuuhuhuuriítawaawuhusitit
 and they began teaching me the ways
 hi si- rii- 0- ir- ku- ut- raa.uhur- iita.wuh -waawa -:hus -itik
 and DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV way describe.to DIST IMPF INCH

. Rirótki^a ,
 . Riirátkii'a
 . It became night
 . rii- 0- ratkii -aar -0

. ASSR 3.A be.night INCH PERF

híriwaku kúrahus “
hi riiwáku’ kúrahus “
and he said an old man : “
hi rii- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , ”
and ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , ”

Kiráihi

Kíra ihi
Let's , uh ,
kira , ihii ,
perhaps , uh ,

sirihkátaⁱ ,
sirihkátaⁱ .
let them sing .
si- ri- 0- ir- kata.iir-i -0 .
DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A sing PERF .

kisapákaru

Kiisaapaákaru’

Pick them

kii- i- s- ak- waa.ka.ra’uk -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PL.AN.3P pull.up.PL.P PERF

kítapat^u . ” Niwáku “
kítapaatu’ . ” Riiwáku’ “
willows . ” He said : “
kitapaat -u’ . ” rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
willow NOM . ” ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Tawíksapiš kasihatáhwirikutⁿ

Tawíksaapic kaasihaattaáhwirikut

Eight you must pull up sticks
 tawiksaapic kaas- s- i- haak- raar- wirikuk -0
 eight POT.2A 2.A SEQ wood PL pull.up PERF

. " Šahukiruritikús^{itⁿ}
 . " Cahuúki ruuriitikúsit
 . " A buffalo robe then I picked it up
 . " cahuu -kis ruu- rii- t- i- kusik -0
 . " robe DIM then ASSR 1.A SEQ pick.up PERF

, arisitkútatiⁱ .
 ariisit kútatiiⁱ .
 myself it was mine .
 ariisit ku- ta- t- ir- 0 -' .
 one's.own INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be EX .

Aríhwakⁱ “
 A ríhwaki’ “
 And they said : “
 a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Wiisihatára^a
 Wi'isihaattára'a
 When you bring the sticks
 wii- i- s- ir- haak- raar- ra- a -0
 when CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A wood PL PORT come SUB.4

, hiiskíwætⁿ ,
 hi iskíwat
 and you'll bark
 hi i- s- kiwak -0
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A bark.shrilly PERF

iriisuksapakára^u

irii'suksaapaakára'u

where you will pull them up

irii-	i-	s-	uks-	ak-	waa.ka.ra'uk	-0
where	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	PL.AN.3P	pull.up.PL.P	SUB.3

.	"	Aríhwaki	,	"		
.	"	A ríhwaki'		"		
.	"	And they said	:	"		
.	"	a ra- 0-	ir- waki	-0	,	"
.	"	and ABS 3.A	PL.3A say.PL	PERF	,	"

Hiháwasúhurⁱ

Hi hawá suúhuri'
And also closer
hi haawa suuhuri'
and also over.here

iskíwætⁿ

iskíwat	.	"			
you'll bark	.	"			
i-	s-	kiwak	-0	.	"
CONT.1/2A	2.A	bark.shrilly	PERF	.	"

Nuriwáku

Ruuriiwáku'

Then he said

ruu-	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"
then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	,	"

Hiwíisihuk^a,

Hi wí'sihuúka

And when you come in

hi	wii-	i-	s-	ir-	huuk-	a	-0
----	------	----	----	-----	-------	---	----

and when CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A into come SUB.4

hiiskíwətⁿ . "
hi iskiwat . "
and you'll bark . "
hi i- s- kiwak -0 . "
and CONT.1/2A 2.A bark.shrilly PERF . "

Niwaku "
Riiwáku' "
He said : "
rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Hiruriisutatúšuh^a
Hiru irii'sutaattuúcuha
Then where you lay the sticks
hiruu irii- i- s- ut- haak- ra.uc.wuh -a
then where CONT.1/2A 2.A BEN wood put.PL.OBJ SUB.1

hiisuríritⁿ
hi isuuriirit
and you'll stand
hi i- s- uuri.arik -0
and CONT.1/2A 2.A stand.upright PERF

hiiskíwətⁿ . "
hi iskiwat . "
and you'll bark . "
hi i- s- kiwak -0 . "
and CONT.1/2A 2.A bark.shrilly PERF . "

Nakúkiwətⁿ , skítiiks . "
Rakúkiwat ckiíti'iks . "

Bark						four (times)	.	"
ra-	0-	ku-	kiwak	-0		iks.kiiti'iks	.	"
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	bark.shrilly	SUB.4		four	.	"

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

nikúrituta						skítiiks	,	
rikúriituuta						ckiiti'iks		
that is what I did						four		
riku-	rii-	t-	ut-	aar	-0	iks.kiiti'iks		
that.is	ASSR	1.A	PREV	do	PERF	four		

arítúhtapiwar ⁱ t ⁿ							,	
a	riitúhtaapiiwarit							
and	I made it shrill							
a	rii-	t-	uur-	taapii.warik	-0			
and	ASSR	1.A	PREV	make.a.shrill.sound	PERF			

nətkukíwət ⁿ							.	
ratkukíwat							.	
when I barked							.	
ra-	t-	ku-	kiwak	-0			.	
INF.A	1.A	INF.B	bark.shrilly	SUB.4			.	

Hiruiririkətkatairístarit ⁿ									
Hiru	iriirikutkata'iirístarit								
Then	where he was going to sing for me								
hiruu	irii-	ri-	0-	ku-	ut-	kata.iir-i	-his	-ta	-rit
then	where	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	BEN	sing	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

, aritútatuš^u .
 a riitútaattuucu .
 and I put the sticks down .
 a rii- t- ut- haak- ra.uc.wuh -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A PREV wood put.PL.OBJ PERF .

Ariturišararaiwáwaritⁿ .
 A rituuricaraara'íwaáwarit .
 And I shook his chin .
 a rii- t- uur- icaraar- awi.warik -waa -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A PREV chin shake DIST PERF .

“ Náwa , kúrahus tátiška
 “ Ráwa kúrahus táticka'
 “ Now , old man, I want ,
 " rawa , kurahuus ta- t- wicka -0 ,
 " now , old.man IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF ,

ihi
 ihi
 uh ,
 ihii ,
 uh ,

nəskukušuksuhukatáir^a
 raskukucuksuhukatá'íira
 for you to sing for me awhile
 ra- s- ku- ku- ut- uks- uhur- kata.iir-i -a
 INF.A 2.A 1.P INF.B PREV JUSS awhile sing SUB.1

, kirakawirətkáwakiitⁿ ,
 . Kíra kawiratkaáwakiit'it .
 . Let's see if I am full .
 . kira ka- wii- ra- t- kaawakit -' .

. perhaps Y/N.INTER now ABS 1.A be.full EX .

kirakawirətətkararu
 Kíra kawiratutkaáruru'
 Let's see if I fed you

kira ka- wii- ra- t- a- ut- kaaruur- ra'uk -0
 perhaps Y/N.INTER now ABS 1.A 2.P BEN meal make PERF

. " Níhwakⁱ " Náwa . "
 . " Ríhwaki' " Ráwa . "
 . " They said : " Now . "
 . " ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " rawa . "
 . " ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " now . "

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

hirusirikušikátaⁱ
 hiru siriikucikátaⁱ
 then they sang

hiruu si- rii- 0- ir- ku- ut- i- kata.iir-i -0
 then DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P BEN SEQ sing PERF

, narístaka . áka^a !
 Raarístaaka . Aáka'a
 White Lance . Oh my ,
 raaris- taakaar . aaka'a ,
 lance be.white . oh.my ,

irárⁱ ,
 iraári'

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

arutátiriwikawí^a

a ruutatiriiwikaáwi'a'
 and then I came (inside) dancing a hopping step
 a ruu- ta- t- ir- i- awi.kaa.wi.a -0
 and then IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A SEQ come.dancing.in.a.hopping.step PERF

irirurirəšarárut^a

iriruuriiracaráruuta
 there along the edge of them
 irii- ruu- ra- 0- i- raar- taraar- u.at -a
 there there ABS 3.A SEQ PL.INDV.A straight extend.in.a.line SUB.1

. Hitaráhka ,
 . Hi taraáhkaa' .
 . And they danced .
 . hi ti- 0- a- raar- kaa.a -0 .
 . and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A dance PERF .

túkstahkahusuk^u

Tukstahkaahúsuuku'
 They used to dance
 ti- 0- a- uks- raar- kaa.a -:hus -uuku
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A AOR PL.INDV.A dance IMPF HAB

, narístaka .
 Raarístaaka .
 White Lance .
 raaris- taakaar .
 lance be.white .

Arutihuráhwak^u

A ruutihuraáhwaku'

And then the ground vibrated

a ruu- ti- 0- huraar- waka'u -0
and then IND.3A 3.A earth say PERF

irirurákušihurukⁱ

iriruurakuciihúruuki

the ways they danced

irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- ut- i- uhuur.uu -uk -i
that then INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV SEQ be.the.way.one.does DIST SUB.2

. Hínahisa

. Hi ráhiisa

. And the next morning

. hi ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
. and ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

hirihətárəspatas^{itⁿ}

hi riihaattaaraspaátasit

and we started out

hi rii- t- rak- raar- as.waat.as.ik -0
and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A start.out PERF

hiruríhakiriwisətⁿ

hiru ríhaakiriwisat

then our war party went

hiruu rii- t- rak- iriwis- at -0
then ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL war.party go PERF

Hiruhurarikárikətⁿ

Hiru huraarikárikat

Then in the middle of the land

hiruu huraar- iika.ri -kat

then earth center LOC

hiriparikusít^{tn}

hi riiparikúsitit

and he began shooting

hi rii- 0- ak- warik -:hus -itik
and ASSR 3.A PL.AN.3P shoot IMPF INCH

uskukúrahus .

ásku kúrahus .

one old man .

asku kurahuus .

one old.man .

Arítakasít^{tn}

A riítakaasit

And he discharged it

a rii- 0- ta.kaas -ik -0 tíraaku
and ASSR 3.A discharge CAUS PERF gun NOM

akuhúhtahurukəš .

a kuuhúhtahuurukac .

and it must have burst on him .

a kuur- ra- 0- uur- tahuur.ukac -0 .
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV burst.on PERF .

Awitikuhawíhtararir^u

A witikuuhawihtáriru'

And he burned his arm

a witi- kuur- ra- 0- wiir- tararit -ra'uk -0
and REFL DUB ABS 3.A arm be.burned CAUS PERF

. Hiruririríwakⁱ

. Hiru riiriríwaki'

. Then they said
 . hiruu rii- ri- 0- ir- i- waki -0
 . then then CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ say.PL PERF

, “
 “
 : “
 ’ ”
 , ”

Witahakaíspust^a

Witahakaa’ispusta

Now we are going to go home

wii- ta- t- rak- kaa- iis.wuu -:hus -ta
 now IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL inside go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF INT

. " Hirurušipitáhak^u ,
 . " Hiru ruciipitaáhaaku’
 . " Then they were turning back
 . " hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- apitaa.hak -:hus
 . " then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ turn.around IMPF

tiráhaku .

tiraáhaku .

these passing by .

tii- 0- ra- 0- hak -hus .
 this 3.A ABS 3.A pass.by IMPF.SUB .

Hiiraríwistat^a ,

Hi iraaríwistata

And that one taking the warriors

hi ii- ra- 0- iriwis- ra- at -a
 and that ABS 3.A war.party PORT go SUB.1

hiruritikásispa .
 hiru riitikásispa .
 there I ran .
 hiruu rii- t- i- kasis.paar -0 .
 there ASSR 1.A SEQ run PERF .

Hirurarárahætⁿ .
 Hiru raraárirahat .
 Then they sat down .
 hiruu ra- 0- raar- rirahak -0 .
 then ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF .

Arítpiš^{^t}ⁿ .
 A rítpicat .
 And I arrived .
 a rii- t- wic.at -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A arrive PERF .

Híruriwaku
 Hiru riiwáku'
 Then he said
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF

irirakitáwi^u , “
 irirakitáwi'u “
 the one who was leading : “
 irii- ra- 0- kita.wi -u , ”
 that ABS 3.A be.the.leader SUB.D , ”

Kišihírutəspari ,
 Kici hiru táspari' .
 But there you are going around !
 kici hiruu ta- s- warii -:hus .

but there IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF .

iriwitəspirarəhwakuətⁿ .
Iriwitaspiiraraāhwakuu'at .
You are a spoiled child .
irii- wi- ta- s- piira- raar.wak.kuu'at -0 .
that QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A child be.spoiled PERF .

"
"
"
"
"

Kituarikuhuhúrawa

Kítuu'u' a rikuuhuúwaawa'it
All and he called me names
kituu -u' a ri- 0- ku- ut- ruuwa.ihk -waa -0
all NOM and CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV say.mean.things.to DIST PERF

, hiati[^]s ,
hi atí'as
and father
hi ati- as
and 1.POSS father

nítiⁱ .
rítiⁱ .
I had him as .
rii- t- ir- 0 -' .
ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A be EX .

Hiruriwáku “
Hiru riiwáku’ “

Then he said : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Kakatapírusta ,
 Kaakaatapírusta .
 I am not going to whip you .
 kaaka- t- a- piru -:hus -ta .
 NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P whip IMPF INT .

hirusukskáis^{^t}

Hiru sukskaá’iisat
 Now then , go home
 hiruu , i- s- uks- kaa- iis.at -0
 then , CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS inside go.out.of.sight PERF

. ” Aríhwakⁱ “ Hā^a
 . ” A ríhwakⁱ “ Haá’a’
 ! ” And they said : “ Hah
 . ” a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ” haa’a’
 . ” and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ” yes

!

,
 ,
 ,

rariwisuharahkuháhkawu

raáriwiicu’ haaraahkuuhaáhkawu’
 right now there they go yonder on the prairie
 raáriwiicu’ haa- ra- 0- ar- kuuhaar- ka- wuu -:hus
 right.now here ABS 3.A EV flat.ground in go.IMPF IMPF

, wirakáispu .
 wirakaá'ispu .
 as they go home .
 wii- ra- 0- kaa- iis.wuu -hus .
 when ABS 3.A inside go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Hiiriruritiwakarašáhukaæs

Hi iriruuriitiwakaracáhuhka'as
 And thereupon I burst out crying
 hi irii- ruu- rii- t- i- wakaraar.tahuur.kaas -0
 and then then ASSR 1.A SEQ burst.out.crying PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hiiriruritikásispa

Hi iriruuriitikaá'ispa
 And thereupon I went home
 hi irii- ruu- rii- t- i- kaa- iis.war -0
 and then then ASSR 1.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight.DU PERF

, irírahwu ,
 iriíraahwu .
 where they were going yonder .
 irii- ra- 0- ar- wuu -hus .

where ABS 3.A EV go.IMPF IMPF.SUB .
 rutátikikətⁿ .
 Ruutátikikat .
 Then I cried .
 ruu- ta- t- i- kikak -0 .
 then IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ cry PERF .
 Aritatuhkáwiš^tⁿ .
 A riitatuhkáwícat .
 And I arrived behind (them) .
 a rii- t- hatuhka- wic.at -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A behind arrive PERF .
 Kuhíhwakⁱ “ Hā^a !
 Kuuhihwaki’ “ Haá’a’
 They must have said : “ See ,
 kuur- ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , “ haa’a’ ,
 DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “ yes ,
 witáirira
 witaá’ iriíra
 He comes that one coming that one coming
 wi- ti- 0- a- a -0 irii- ra- 0- a- a -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4
 . “ Hiruriráirah^tⁿ ,
 . “ Hiru riiraáirahat
 . “ Then they sat down ,
 . “ hiruu rii- 0- raar- rirahak -0 ,
 . “ then ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF ,
 híritpiš^tⁿ .
 hi ritpícat .

and I arrived .
 hi rii- t- wic.at -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A arrive PERF .

Hiruriwaku ,
 Hiru riiwáku'
 Then he said
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF

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

iriwiwítiraks^{š^tⁿ} . “
 iriwiwítiraakcat “
 the one who shot his own (hand) : “
 irii- wii- witi- ra- 0- ak.cak -0 , ”
 that now REFL ABS 3.A shoot SUB.4 , ”

Tátiškaihi níhkit^a ,
 Táticka' ihi ríhkita
 I want , uh , leader ,
 ta- t- wicka -0 , ihii , rihkita ,
 IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF , uh , leader ,

nətakurápišpu ,
 rataakuraápicpu
 for us to go there
 ra- t- a- ku- rak- wic.wuu -hus
 INF.A 1.A IN.PL.P INF.B 1/2.PL arrive.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Pasúhara tíiririt^tⁿ ,
 Pasuúhara tí'iriiriitat
 Oto here where the village is
 pasuuhara tii- irii- ra- 0- itak -0
 Oto.tribe here where ABS 3.A be.a.camp SUB.4

hiarusáitaratautⁿ

hi aruúsa' itaraátta'ut
 and horses then we'll steal them
 hi aruusaa i- t- a- rak- ta'uut -0
 and horse CONT.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL steal PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Sitaturuksətawawautúarus^a

Sitatuuruksattawaawá'uutu' aruúsa'
 We used to steal them from various ones horses
 si- ta- t- uur- uks- ak- ta'uut -waawa -:hus aruusaa
 DU IND.1/2A 1.A PREV AOR PL.AN.3P steal DIST IMPF horse

šahikstahkítu .

cahikstaahkítuu'u' .

all people .

icaahiks raar- kituu -u' .
 person PL all NOM .

Nuriwáku

Ruuriiwáku'

Then he said

ruu- rii- 0- waka'u -0 níhkit^a " Náw^a
 rihkita " Ráwa
 the leader : " Alright
 rihkita , " rawa

then ASSR 3.A say PERF leader , " now

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Iriruritírakiriwisuhawíraatⁿ

Iriuruutiraakiriwisuuhawíraa'at

Thereupon our war party went east

irii- ruu- rii- t- i- rak- iriwis- huuha.wi.raa- at -0
then then ASSR 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL war.party eastward go PERF

. Aríhakiriwisætⁿ .

. A ríhaakiriwisat .

. And we warriors went .

. a rii- t- rak- iriwis- at -0 .
. and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL war.party go PERF .

Tiráta ,

Tiraáta

This one going

tii- ra- 0- at -a
this ABS 3.A go SUB.1

wirikutihíresa

wirikutihírasa

he was the one who led

wii- riku- ti- 0- hiras- aah -0
now that.is IND.3A 3.A in.the.lead be PERF

túksasa

túksasa'

he was named

ti- 0- uks- asar -0
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

Tikitawírihk^u

Tikitawírihku'

He Is Leader At Times

ti- 0- kita.wi -rihk -u'
IND.3A 3.A be.the.leader DIST NOM

Ahiwirariwístat^a

A hiiwiraariwístata

And the other one leading a party

a hii- wii- ra- 0- iriwis- ra- at -a
and other now ABS 3.A war.party PORT go SUB.1

nisá^a

riisá'a

he was named

ri- 0- asar -'
CONT.3A 3.A be.named EX

Tahəstawirikawáah^u

Tahaastawirikaawá'aahu'

He Comes Leading Horses In

ti- 0- a- haas- ta -wi ri- kaa- wa- a -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A rope be.hanging SUB.L PORT inside DIST come IMPF

. Hiruaríhakiriwisət^u

. Hiru a ríhaakiriwisat

. Then and we warriors went

. hiruu a rii- t- rak- iriwis- at -0
. then and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL war.party go PERF

, arikúhaki
 a rikuúhaaki
 and we stayed overnight
 a ri- ku- ut- rak- hiir -0
 and CONT.3A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL stay.overnight PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hihawaráhis^a

Hi hawá ráhiisa
 And also the coming day
 hi haawa ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
 and also ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

, hihawaríhakiriwisətⁿ
 hi hawá ríhaakiriwisat
 and also we warriors went
 hi haawa ri- t- rak- iriwis- at -0
 and also ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL war.party go PERF

. Hurarikárikətⁿ ,
 . Huraarikárikat
 . Halfway
 . huraar- iika.ri -kat
 . earth center LOC

hírusa^a

hi ruusaá'a'
 and it snowed ,
 hi ra- 0- a- usaa- a -0 ,

and ABS 3.A PREV.3A snow come PERF ,

hihawarikúhaki

hi hawá rikuúhaaki

and also we stayed overnight

hi haawa ri- ku- ut- rak- hiir -0

and also CONT.3A 1.P PREV 1/2.PL stay.overnight PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiruiriahakitkaháhk^u

Hiru irii'ahakitkahaáhku

Then where the earth lodge village was

hiruu irii- ar- ra- 0- kitka.haar- kus -0

then where EV ABS 3.A earth.lodge.village be.sitting SUB.4

Pasúhar^a

Pasuúhara

Oto

pasuuhara

Oto.tribe

witahakuhawíraw^u

witahaakuuhawíraawu'

we were going east

wii- ta- t- rak- huuha.wi.raa- wuu -:hus

now IND.1/2A 1.A 1/2.PL eastward go.IMPF IMPF

. Tihatáruh^{^t}¹
. Tihaattaáruh'at

. There were trees extending
 . ti- 0- haak- raar- u.hak -0
 . IND.3A 3.A wood PL extend.in.a.line PERF

hihawarihətárir^tⁿ

hi hawá rihaattaárirat
 and again we stopped
 hi haawa rii- t- rak- raar- ri.ra.at -0
 and also ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF

. Níhwakⁱ “
 . Ríhwaki’ “
 . They said : “
 . ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”
 . ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Witahuráhwiš^a

Witahuraáhwiica’

It is getting close

wi- ti- 0- a- huraar- wiic.a -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A earth approach PERF

" Aráhis^a

" A ráhiisa

" And the coming day

" a ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
 " and ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

aríhwaki

a ríhwaki’

and they said

a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ” rawa
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ” now

kásišuhurakawa
 kaasucuuhúraakawa
 you must get ready

kaas-	s-	ut-	i-	uhur-	raa.ka	-waa	-0
POT.2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	now	be.outstanding	DIST	PERF

,

,

,

,

hiruiriwirutatara píšpust^a
 hiru iriwiruutataraapícusta
 then now we are going to arrive

hiruu	irii-	wii-	ruu-	ta-	t-	a-	rak-	wic.wuu	-.hus	-ta
then	then	now	then	IND.1/2A	1.A	IN.PL.P	1/2.PL	arrive.IMPF	IMPF	INT

irirítat ⁿ	.	"
iriiriítat	.	"
where the village is	.	"
irii- ra- 0- itak -0	.	"
that ABS 3.A be.a.camp SUB.4	.	"

Nuritiratašaráhkisa
 Ruuriitirattacaráhkisat
 Then we ran there

ruu-	rii-	t-	i-	rak-	raar-	tarahkis-	at	-0
then	ASSR	1.A	SEQ	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	be.strong	go	PERF

,	tipíšihi	;
.	Tipícihi'	
.	It was wintry	,
.	ti- 0- pici.ihí -0	,

. IND.3A 3.A be.very.cold PERF ,

tirírutahu ,

tiriíruutahu

this being how it is

tii- irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -hus
this what ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

wirakuhurahkíwatətⁿ ,

wirakuhuraahkíwatat

when the season changes

wii- ra- 0- ku- huraar- kiwat.ak -0
when INF.A 3.A INF.B earth fade PERF

usáhuhkiš^u .

usaáhuhkiicu' .

slushy snow .

usaa.huur- kiic -u'
snow liquid NOM .

Níhwakⁱ “ Náwa

Ríhwaki' “ Ráwa

They said : “ Now

ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ” rawa

ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ” now

hawirihiratúru^a

haawirihiiraatúruu'a'

now there extends the village

haa- wii- rii- hii- ra- 0- a- ituur- u.a -0
here now there other ABS 3.A PREV.3A village extend.this.way PERF

. ” Nihətárirah^{^t}ⁿ .

. ” Rihaattaárirahat .

. " We stopped there .
 . " rii- t- rak- raar- rirahak -0 .
 . " ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A stop.to.rest PERF .

Asatauturuririritušíkusi^tn

Asaáta'uutu' ruusiriiriktuciíkusi^tt
 Horse stealer then they began picking them out
 asaa- ta'uut -u' ruu- si- irii- ri- 0- ir- i- ak- ruciik -:hus -itik
 horse steal NOM then DU then CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ PL.AN.3P pick.out IMPF INCH

, irikúhutah^u ;
 iriikúhuutaahu' .
 the way it used to be .
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a -:hus .
 that DUB ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 IMPF .

hikišinihkit^a

Hi kici ríhkita
 And but the leader
 hi kici rihkita
 and but leader

karikuhuráhak^u ,

karikuuhuráhaaku' .
 he watched me closely .
 ka- ri- 0- ku- uhur.ra.hak -:hus .
 NEG CONT.3A 3.A 1.P keep.a.close.watch.over IMPF .

atiástatiⁱ .

Atí'as táti'i' .
 Father I had him as .
 ati- as ta- t- ir- 0 -' .
 1.POSS father IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be EX .

Arirárəspatəs^{tñ} ,
 A riiraáraspaatasit .
 And they started out .
 a rii- 0- raar- as.waat.as.ik -0 .
 and ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A start.out PERF .

turišahikstaríruhšⁱ .
 Tuuricahikstaríruhci' .
 There were many people .
 ti- 0- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV person PL be.numerous PERF .

Hiruriwáku níhkit^a “
 Hiru riiwáku' ríhkita “
 Then he said the leader : “
 hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 rihkita , ”
 then ASSR 3.A say PERF leader , ”

Kustíratarir^{^tñ} ,
 Kustíraattaarirat
 We will stop
 kuus- t- i- rak- raar- ri.ra.at -0
 POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF

tihairirutatawirahkítak^u
 tihaa'iriruutataawiraahkítaku
 here where the burial ground is on the hill
 tii- haa- irii- ra- 0- ut- ataa.wi- raar- kita- kus -0
 here here where ABS 3.A PREV burial PL on.top be.sitting SUB.4

, nikutituruh^{^tñ} . ”
 . Rikutiitúruuhat . ”
 . That is the village . ”
 . riku- ti- 0- ituur- u.hak -0 . ”

. that.is IND.3A 3.A village extend.in.a.line PERF . "

Hiruritírapu ,
Hiru riitírapu' .
Then we went .
hiruu rii- t- i- rak- wuu -:hus .
then ASSR 1.A SEQ 1/2.PL go.IMPF IMPF .

tárušuhus ,
Táruucúhus
Errand men
ta.ra.uc.uh.hus
errand.man

taturətaríruhšⁱ
tatuuraattaaríruhci'
there were many of us
ta- t- uur- rak- raar- riruhci -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A be.numerous PERF

, tárušuhus .
táruucúhus .
, errand men .
, ta.ra.uc.uh.hus .
, errand.man .

Nihətárir^{^tⁿ} .
Rihaattaárirat .
We stopped .
rii- t- rak- raar- ri.ra.at -0 .
ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF .

Tutatáwa , Pasúhar^a
Tuutatáwa Pasuúhara

There were graves here and there	Oto
ti- 0- ut- ataa -waa -0	pasuuhara
IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.grave DIST PERF	Oto.tribe

,

hiwihirunirarišáwa	
hi wihiru riiraaricáwa	
and here there were things hanging from poles	
hi wii- hiruu rii- 0- raar- icaa -waa -0	
and now there ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A hang.on.a.pole DIST PERF	

. Nihətárir ^h t ⁿ	.
. Rihaattaárirat	.
. We stopped	.
. rii- t- rak- raar- ri.ra.at -0	.
. ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A sit.down PERF	.

Hihawariratúšit ⁿ	
Hi hawá riirattúcit	
And again he picked them	
hi haawa rii- 0- ir- ak- ruciik -0	
and also ASSR 3.A OBV PL.AN.3P pick.out PERF	

, asátaut ^h	.
asaáta'uutu'	.
horse stealers	.
asaa- ta'uut -u'	.
horse steal NOM	.

Hawairiruríwu

Hawá iriruuríwu'

Also thereupon they went

haawa irii- ruu- rii- 0- wuu -:hus
also then then ASSR 3.A go.IMPF IMPF

Asátaut^u

asaáta'uutu'

the horse stealers

asaa- ta'uut -u' . kaaki- 0- raa.kiir -0
horse steal NOM . NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.long PERF

hiríhwakⁱ

hi ríhwaki'

and they said

hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Wisitikaríksta

Wisitiikaríkstaa'

Now they are bringing a herd

wii- si- ti- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ra- a -0
now DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT come PERF

nihkit^a , "

ríhkita "

, leader , "

, rihkita , "

, leader , "

asirikaríkstíwiš^a

a

and they (du) arrived with a herd

a

siriikaríkstíwica'

they (du) arrived with a herd

si- rii- 0- a- i- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0

and DU ASSR 3.A PREV.3A SEQ herd PORT arrive PERF

. Hípitku
 . Hi pítku
 . And two
 . hi pitku
 . and two

wihirusiriašáhiks ,
 wihiru sírii'a cáhiks .
 there they were (du) persons .
 wii- hiruu si- rii- 0- aah -0 icaahiks .
 now there DU ASSR 3.A be PERF person .

šahikspitkuwihirusíri^a
 Cáhiks pítku wihiru sírii'a
 Persons two there they were (du)
 icaahiks pitku wii- hiruu si- rii- 0- aah -0
 person two now there DU ASSR 3.A be PERF

. n^hka^a !
 . líka'a
 . Oh my ,
 . iika'a ,
 . oh.my ,

iriwituhiwásiahatautⁱ
 iriwituúhiwa si'ahatá'uuti
 they were beautiful the ones they (du) stole
 irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- hi.wa.ar -0 si- ar- ra- 0- ta'uut -i
 that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good.DIST PERF DU EV ABS 3.A steal SUB.2

. Hírariki
 . Hiiraáriki

. The other one
 . hii- ra- 0- arik -i
 . other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

wihirutihastáwira

wihiru tihaastáwira
 there he led it on a rope he led it on a rope
 wii- hiruu ti- 0- haas- ta -wi raah -0
 now there IND.3A 3.A rope be.hanging SUB.L have PERF

pákskatitⁿ tipáasi .
 pákskaatit . Tipá'aasi' .
 a black head . It was bobtailed .
 paks- kaatit . ti- 0- pa'aasii -0 .
 head black . IND.3A 3.A be.bobtailed PERF .

ⁿka^a ! tipikaruskítawⁱ
 líka'a tipikaruskítawⁱ
 Oh my , it was a beautiful gelding
 iika'a , ti- 0- piik.karuus- kita.wi -0
 oh.my , IND.3A 3.A gelding be.beautiful PERF

ahírarikⁱ ,
 a híraariki
 and the other one
 a hii- ra- 0- arik -i
 and other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

asišahíkstaka .
 asiicahíkstaaka .
 a white man's horse .
 asaa- icaahiks- taakaar .
 horse person be.white .

Aríhwakⁱ , “ Ihi
 A ríhwaki’ “ Ihi
 And they said : “ Uh ,
 a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " ihii ,
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " uh ,

witahísah^u ,
 witahiísaahu’ .
 dawn is coming .
 wi- ti- 0- a- hiis- a -:hus .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come IMPF .

turuhurátaas .
 Tuuruhuúraattuwa’as .
 Let's run away .
 i- t- uur- uhur- rak- ruu.wa.as-i -0 .
 CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV now 1/2.PL run.away PERF .

"
 "
 "
 "

Hiruritírirakah^u
 Hiru riitíiraakaahu’
 Then we started off
 hiruu rii- t- ir- ri- uur- rak- kaa.a -:hus
 then ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL come.out IMPF

. Pah
 . Pah
 . Moon
 . paa

. moon

narutíkitar^tn

raaruutíkitaarit

it was just on top

raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	kita-	arik	-0	.
just	then	IND.3A	3.A	on.top	be.standing	PERF	.

Irirətúšukstakasuh^tn

Iriiratúcukstaakasuuhat

Where we had sat (ie camped)

irii-	ra-	t-	ut-	uks-	rak-	as.uu.hak	-0
where	ABS	1.A	PREV	AOR	1/2.PL	be.sitting.around	SUB.4

,

tihatahkitáwiuh^tn

tihaattaahkitáwi'uuhat

there was a cluster of trees on top

ti-	0-	haak-	raar-	kita	-wi	u.hak	-0
IND.3A	3.A	wood	PL	be.on.top	SUB.L	extend.in.a.line	PERF

, hirikurihapáurir^tn

hi rikuriihapá'uuriirit

and that is where we stopped

hi	riku-	rii-	t-	rak-	wa-	uuri.arik	-0
and	that.is	ASSR	1.A	1/2.PL	DIST	stop	PERF

.

.

Hiruirirétirakahu

Hiru iriirátiraakahu

There where we were coming

hiruu irii- ra- t- ir- rak- a -hus
there where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 1/2.PL come IMPF.SUB

hiriwakásat^a

hi riwaakásatta' ,
and he spoke out he spoke out :
hi ri- 0- waakasakta -0 ,
and CONT.3A 3.A be.an.audible.voice PERF ,

" Níhkit^a tihurahwáktah^u .
" Ríhkita tihuraahwáktaahu' .
" Leader, , the ground is vibrating .
" rihkita , ti- 0- huraar- wak.taa -:hus .
" leader , IND.3A 3.A earth make.a.noise IMPF .

" Rawitakaráhis^u ,
" Raawiitakaaraáhisu'
" Suddenly
" raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
" just now all.at.once NOM

naritkaruhúrišpatətⁿ

raaritkaaruhuúricpatat

dust was just rising

raa- ra- 0- itkaar- uhur- ic.waat.at -0
just ABS 3.A particulate.matter finally go.past.a.point PERF

tihatarúšasa .
 tihaattaaruúcasa .
 there was a coulee with trees .
 ti- 0- haak- raar- huuca.sa -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A wood PL float.across.water PERF .

Hiríhwakⁱ , “ Níhkit^a ,
 Hi ríhwaki’ “ Ríhkita
 And they said : “ Leader ,
 hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , “ ríhkita ,
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , “ leader ,

arusawisitíkariksta
 aruúsa’ sitiíkarikstaa’
 horses they are bringing a herd
 aruusaa si- ti- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ra- a -0
 horse DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT come PERF

. "
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Hirararuhúrišpat^{^tⁿ} .
 Hi raaraaruhuúricpatat .
 And they just came in sight .
 hi raa- ra- 0- ar- uhur- ic.waat.at -0 .
 and just ABS 3.A EV finally go.past.a.point PERF .

Ikakísararišahiks .
 I kaakiisaraarícaahiks .
 And there were many horses indeed !
 i kaaki- 0- asaa- raar- icaahiks -0 .

and NEG.IND.3A 3.A horse PL be.many.ANIM PERF .

Nihkitáruriætⁿ .
Ríhkita ruurí'at .
The leader then he went .
rihkita ruu- ri- 0- at -0 .
leader there CONT.3A 3.A go PERF .

Nikutíutⁿ ,
Rikutí'ut
That was quite a distance
riku- ti- 0- i'uut -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A be.far PERF

narahkáhaku
raraahkáhaku
where they passed by
ra- 0- raar- ka- hak -hus
ABS 3.A PL.INDV.A in pass.by IMPF.SUB

hisirahwáurirⁱtⁿ ,
hi siraahwa'uuriirit .
and they stopped .
hi si- ra- - ar- wa- uuri.arik -0 .
and DU ABS - EV DIST stop PERF .

hiriwakásøta níhkit^a ,
Hi riwaakásatta' ríhkita
And he spoke out the leader ,
hi ri- 0- waakasakta -0 rihkita ,
and CONT.3A 3.A be.an.audible.voice PERF leader ,

arusawikúhiru ,
aruúsa' wikúhiiru

a horse he had given him ,
 aruusaa wii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- uh -0 ,
 horse now DUB ABS 3.A OBV give PERF ,

hiriwakásæt^a , “
 hi riwaakásatta’ “
 and he spoke out : “
 hi ri- 0- waakasakta -0 , “
 and CONT.3A 3.A be.an.audible.voice PERF , “

Ka rátirirarⁱtⁿ

Ka rátiriirarit

Is mine standing

ka- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- arik -0
 Y/N.INTER ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.standing PERF

, píra^u . “
 piíra’u’ . “
 child ? “
 piira -u’ . “
 child NOM . “

Tikuháihk^u .

Tikuuhá’ihku’ .

He meant me .

ti- 0- ku- ut- ra’ihk -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV mean IMPF .

Irárⁱ ,

Iraári’

Brother ,

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

hiriháwihtakətⁿ ,
 hi rihaáwihtakut .
 and I ran there joyfully .
 hi rii- t- raawiir- takuk -0 .
 and ASSR 1.A angrily run PERF .

atióstati ,
 Atí'as tátii ,
 Father I had him as
 ati- as ta- t- ir- 0 -0
 1.POSS father IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF

tiwíarakariksta^a
 tiwíarakariksta'a
 this one who had brought the herd
 tii- wii- ra- 0- a- kariiks- ra- a -0
 this now ABS 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT come SUB.4

. Aritutawikišuríkətⁿ .
 . A rituutawikiicuurikut .
 . And I grabbed his neck .
 . a rii- t- ut- awi- kiic- uurikuk -0 .
 . and ASSR 1.A PREV image neck hold PERF .

Ariwáku “ Tikⁱ ,
 A riiwáku’ “ Tíki
 And he said : “ Son ,
 a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " tikis ,
 and ASSR 3.A say PERF , " sonny ,

harisirihtawiótasihari
 haariisirihtáwi'at asiíhari'
 here you have among them a colt
 haa- rii- s- ir- ri- uur- tawi at -0 asaa- iharii

here ASSR 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.among go PERF horse young

, tíkira^a ,
 . Tíkira'a
 . It is brown .
 . ti- 0- kirar -' .
 . IND.3A 3.A be.light.brown EX .

nutíparih^{tⁿ} .
 Ruutiíparihit . "
 It is so smooth (ie fat) . "
 ruu- ti- 0- i- parit -rik -0 . "
 then IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.smooth DIST PERF . "

Atiástati ,
 Atí'as tátii
 Father I had him as
 ati- as ta- t- ir- 0 -0
 1.POSS father IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF

arikú^u hirúarus^a
 a riikú'u hiru aruúsa' .
 and he gave it to me there the horse .
 a rii- 0- ku- uh -0 hiruu aruusaa .
 and ASSR 3.A 1.P give PERF there horse .

hirurikušihástaw^u
 Hiru riikucihaástawu
 Then he roped it for me
 hiruu rii- 0- ku- ut- i- haas- ta.wuh -0
 then ASSR 3.A 1.P BEN SEQ rope tie.on PERF

iririkuširéspari
 iriirikuuciráspari

the one who was leading me around

irii- ri- 0- ku- ut- ciras- warii -hus
that CONT.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ariwáku

. A riiwáku' "
. And he said : "
. a rii- 0- waka'u -0 , "
. and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Tihararikitasikitáwist^a

Tihaáraariki

taasikitáwista

This one standing

you are going to ride it

tii- haa- ra- 0- arik -i ta- s- ikita -wi -his -ta
this here ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 IND.1/2A 2.A ride SUB.L PERF INT

, asišahíkstaka ,
. " Asiicahíkstaaka .
. " A white man's horse .
. " asaa- icaahiks- taakaar .
. " horse person be.white .

rutíparih^tⁿ

Ruutiíparihit

It was so smooth

ruu- ti- 0- i- parit -rik -0 .
then IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.smooth DIST PERF .

Kakírahkutarahkisišísət^a

Kaakí' rakutarahkisišísata

It could not tire easily

kaaki- 0- 0 -0 ra- 0- ku- tarahkis- iciisat -a
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B be.strong be.tired SUB.1

. áka^a !
 . Aáka'a
 . Oh my ,
 . aaka'a ,
 . oh.my ,

turəsararíruhš
 tuurasaararíruhci'
 there were many horses

ti- 0- uur- asaa- raar- riruhci -0
 IND.3A 3.A PREV horse PL be.numerous PERF

iwisirikarikstíwiša
 iwisiriikarikstíwica
 when they arrived with the herd

ii- wii- si- ra- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
 when when DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT arrive SUB.4

.
 .
 !
 .
 .

Hiruraríhitⁿ šáhiks
 Hiru raaríhit cáhiks
 There he was alone the person
 hiruu ra- 0- a- rihik -0 icaahiks
 there ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.the.only.one PERF person

túksasa
 . Túksasa'
 . He was named
 . ti- 0- uks- asar -0

. IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

turakúša

Tuuraakuúcaa'

He Arose For Them

ti- 0- a- uur- ak- uca.a -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.AN.3P get.up PERF

tiwirákarikstiwiša

Tiwirakarikstíwica

When he arrived with the herd

tii- wii- ra- 0- a- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
when when ABS 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT arrive SUB.4

túksasa

túksasa'

he was named

ti- 0- uks- asar -0
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

Turakúša

Tuuraakuúcaa'

He Arose For Them

ti- 0- a- uur- ak- uca.a -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.AN.3P get.up PERF

Hirusirituhkaríkstaas

Hiru siriituhkaríksta'as

Then we ran the herd

hiruu si- rii- t- uur- kariiks- ra- as-i -0
then DU ASSR 1.A PREV herd PORT run PERF

. áka^a !

. Aíka'a

. Oh my ,
 . aika'a ,
 . oh.my ,

tuhtarušúhus taríruhši
 tuhtaruucúhustaaríruhci'
 there were many errand men

ti-	0-	uur-	ta.ra.uc.wuh.hus-	raar-	riruhci	-0
IND.3A	3.A	PREV	errand.man	PL	be.numerous	PERF

. nihətašarāhkisa ,
 . Rihaattacarāhkisa .
 . We were running .
 . rii- t- rak- raar- tarahkis- aah -0 .
 . ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A be.strong be PERF .

nihkitárikutihirəsa

Ríhkita rikutihírasa
 The leader that one was in the lead

rihkita	riku-	ti-	0-	hiras-	aah	-0
leader	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	in.the.lead	be	PERF

arikuritutawíra^a

a rikuriituutawiíraa'
 and that is the one I followed

a	riku-	rii-	t-	ir-	ut-	awiira.a	-0
and	that.is	ASSR	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	follow.behind	PERF

. Tihararátkahrət^a .

tihaararátkahaarata .

when the night passed .

tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	ratkahaar-	at	-a
when	here	ABS	3.A	night	go	SUB.1

Kakíraki^a

Kaakíraakii'a

It was not long

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

hiriwakásət^a

hi riwaakásatta'

and he spoke out

hi ri- 0- waakasakta -0 , "
and CONT.3A 3.A be.an.audible.voice PERF , "

Witúhtaka

Wituhtákaa'

His is tiring

wi- ti- a- 0- uur- takaa.a -0
QUOT IND.3A PREV.3A 3.P POSS.P tire PERF

tíra^a

tíraa'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 arúsa^a . "
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 aruúsa' . "
horse . "
aruusaa . "
horse . "

Kúrahkaš ,

Kúrahkaac

A gray horse

kurah.kaac

gray.horse

asišahíkstaka ,

asiicahíkstaaka

a white man's horse

asaa- icaahiks- taakaar

horse person be.white

hiwihírurarar^tn

hi wihiru

and there

hi wii- hiruu

raárarit

it stood yonder

ra- 0- ar- arik -0

and now there ABS 3.A EV be.standing PERF .

Hirusirišihástaw^u

Hiru siriicihaástawu

Then they roped it

hiruu si- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- haas- ta.wuh -0
then DU CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ rope tie.on PERF

. Witahísah^u ;

. Witahiísaahu'

. It was dawning

. wi- ti- 0- a- hiis- a -:hus
. QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A morning come IMPF

hihawariwáku “

hi hawá riiwáku' “

and again he said :

hi haawa rii- 0- waka'u -0 , ”

and also ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Wituhtakahírāt^a

Wituhtákaa'

It has tired

wi- ti- a- 0- uur- takaa.a -0 hii- ra- 0- at -a
QUOT IND.3A PREV.3A 3.P POSS.P tire PERF other ABS 3.A go SUB.1

hiíraata

the other one going

. ” Hiruriwáku níhkit^a “

. ” Hiru riiwáku' rihkita “

. ” Then he said the leader: “

. ” hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 rihkita ”

. ” then ASSR 3.A say PERF leader ”

Kituwisitəskurašakaráarus^a

Kítuu'u' wisitaskuuracakaáaraa'

aruúsa'

All			you	are	tiring	mine						horses
kituu	-u'	wii-	si-	ta-		s-	ku-	uur-	raar-	takaa.ra.a	-0	aruusaa
all	NOM	now	DU	IND.1/2A		2.A	1.P	POSS.P	3PL.INAN.P	tire	PERF	horse

.
.
.
.
.

Suhuratarástarikətⁿ

Suhuuraattaaraástarikut

Take the ropes off them awhile

i-		s-	uhur-	rak-	raar-	haas-	raar-	rikuk	-0
CONT.1/2A		2.A	awhile	1/2.PL	3PL.INAN.P	rope	PL	pull.off	PERF

. " Tarušúhustahkítu ,
. " Taruucúhustaahkítuu'u'
. " All the errand men
. " ta.ra.uc.wuh.hus- raar- kituu -u'
. " errand.man PL all NOM

hirirarástarikətⁿ

hi riraaraástarikut

and they turned them loose

hi	ra-	0-	ir-	raar-	haas-	raar-	rikuk	-0
and	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	rope	PL	pull.off	PERF

. Təkukaráraku kítawⁱ ,
. Táku' karárakuukitawi
. Not one riding on it
. taku kara- ra- 0- ku- ikita -wi
. someone NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B ride SUB.L

tarušúhus . Niwáku “
 táruucúhus . Riiwáku’ “
 the errand men . He said : “
 ta.ra.uc.uh.hus . rii- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 errand.man . ASSR 3.A say PERF , ”

Sukstaktikiríkis^{^tⁿ}

Sukstaaktikiiríkisat

Run them into the brush

i- s- uks- rak- ri- ka- irikis- at -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL PORT in.the.brush crawl go PERF

. ”
 . ”
 ! ”
 . ”
 . ”

Atióstati ;

Atí’as tátii
 Father I had him as I had him as
 ati- as ta- t- ir- 0 -0
 1.POSS father IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF

akaririkutákarah^{^tⁿ}

a kariirikuutákaarahat
 and he did not put me off it
 a kari- ri- 0- ku- i- takaa.ra.hak -0
 and EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A 1.P SEQ unload PERF

, aasaúkatak^u

a Asaa’uúkataku
 and Horse Sitting In West
 a asaa- uukata- kus

and horse west be.sitting

kaririritákarah^{^tⁿ}

kariiriiriitákaarahat

they did not put him off

karii-	rii-	0-	ir-	ri-	ri-	i-	takaa.ra.hak	-0
EMPH.NEG	ASSR	3.A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	PHYS.POSS	SEQ	unload	PERF

. Tutišísu níhkita

. Tuuticiísu' ríhkita

. He was related to him leader

. ti- 0- a- ut- icis -:hus rihkita

. IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PREV be.related.to IMPF leader

iríra^u

iriíra'u

the one

irii- ra- 0- 0 -u

that ABS 3.A be SUB.D

Hirusiritúhkarikstaæs

Hiru siriitúhkariksta'as

Then we ran the herd

hiruu si- rii- t- uur- kariiks- ra- as-i -0

then DU ASSR 1.A PREV herd PORT run PERF

. Hináhisa ,

. Hi ráhiisa

. And the coming day

. hi ra- 0- a- hiis a -0

. and ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

hirihøtašaráhkisa

hi rihaattacaráhkisa

and we ran
 hi rii- t- rak- raar- tarahkis- aah -0
 and ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PL.INDV.A be.strong be PERF

, kiših
 kici hi
 but and
 kici hi
 but and

wirutísakuris^{^t^n} ,
 wiruutísákuriisat
 then the sun set
 wii- ruu- ti- 0- sakur- iis.at -0
 now then IND.3A 3.A sun go.out.of.sight PERF

hihirurihatíwiš^{^t^n}
 hi hiru rihaattíwícat
 and then we arrived with them
 hi hiruu rii- t- rak- ri- wic.at -0
 and then ASSR 1.A 1/2.PL PORT arrive PERF

iririkurakiriwisuhkakáus
 iriirikuraakiriwisuhkakaá'as
 where our war party had split up
 irii- ri- ku- rak- iriwis.huur- ka- ka'us -0
 where CONT.3A 1.P 1/2.PL war.party ITER split SUB.4

. Híruriwaku níhkita “
 . Hiru riiwáku' ríhkita “
 . Then he said the leader : “
 . hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 rihkita , ”
 . then ASSR 3.A say PERF leader , ”

Náw^a , tatuharáihku
 Ráwa tatuuhaará'ihku'
 Now I am meaning,
 rawa ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

tirəstápih^{^t} .
 tirastápihat .
 you sitting here .
 tii- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0 .
 here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4 .

Náw^a ,
 Rawa
 Now
 rawa
 now

kiširukstátiuhura
 kici rukstaátiuhura
 but let's settle them
 kici ri- 0- uks- raa- tii.hur -aar -0
 but CONT.3A 3.A JUSS way be.measured.correctly INCH PERF

tirətarápih^{^t}
 tirataraápihat .
 we sitting here !
 tii- ra- t- a- rak- wi.hak -0 .
 here ABS 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4 .

Kišinihkitairíra^u ,
 " Kici ríhkita iriíra'u
 " But leader the one the one
 " kici rihkita irii- ra- 0- 0 -u

" but leader the one ABS 3.A be SUB.D

kúsa

kúsaá'

he will come

kuus- 0- a- a -0
 POT.1/3A 3.A PREV.3A come PERF

kišiharíkariksk^u

kici haariíkariksku

but there is this herd

kici haa- rii- 0- kariiks- kus -0
 but here ASSR 3.A herd be.sitting PERF

Iriarusáawitⁿ

irií aruúsa' áwit

ones horses first

irií aruusaa awit

that horse first

sirákariks tíwiša

siraakarikstíwica

their arriving with the herd

si- ra- 0- a- kariiks- ri- wic.a -0
 DU ABS 3.A PREV.3A herd PORT arrive SUB.4

Ariwáku

"

" A riiwáku'

"

" And he said :

"

" a rii- 0- waka'u -0 ,

"

" and ASSR 3.A say PERF ,

"

Kúruasikit^a

. "

Kuruu'asiíkita

. "

You'll ride that one . "

ruu-	kaas-	s-	i-	ikita	-0	.	"
that	POT.2A	2.A	SEQ	ride	PERF	.	"

Nisitirarukítu

Risitiiráru

They (du) gave them to him

rii-	si-	ti-	0-	i-	raar-	uh	-0	kítuu'u'	-u'
that	DU	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	give	PERF	all	NOM

. Híruriwaku " "

. Hiru riiwáku' " "

. Then he said : " "

. hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " "

. then ASSR 3.A say PERF , " "

Tiráriki

Tiraáriki

This

tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	paks-	kaatit
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	head	black

irasikítawi

iraasikítawi

that one you ride

ii-	ra-	s-	ikita	-wi
that	ABS	2.A	ride	SUB.L

nəskuhákuruasirírar^{itn}

ráskuuha

your having given me

ra-	s-	ku-	uh	-a	ruu-	kaas-	s-	ir-	ri-	uur-	arik	-0
ABS	2.A	1.P	give	SUB.1	that	POT.2A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.standing	PERF

kuruu'asiriírarit

you can have that one

. Ahírak^u
. " A híraaku
. " And the other one
. " a hii- ra- 0- kus -0
. " and other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

níwaku " "
riiwáku' " "
he said : " "
rii- 0- waka'u -0 , " "
ASSR 3.A say PERF , " "

Iráriki kukátitⁿ
Iraáriki kukátit
That one buckskin
ii- ra- 0- arik -i ritku- katiit
that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 tail be.black

wikútasiⁱ . "
wikútasiⁱ'i . "
it is now yours . "
wii- ku- ta- s- ir- 0 -' . "
now INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A be EX . "

Hirurúšia^a
Hiru ruúci'a
Then he did it
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

irikurákariks^u
iriikurákariksu
the one who owned the herd :
irii- ku- ra- 0- a- kariiks- 0 -u ,

that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A herd be SUB.D ,

“ Arísitⁿ šukskítawi
 “ Ariísit sukskítawi’
 “ Yourself be the leader

" ariisit i- s- uks- kita.wi -0
 " one's.own CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.the.leader PERF

irikuhasikitáwist^a . "

iriikuhaasikitáwista . "

the one you are going to ride ! "

irii- kuur- ra- s- ikita -wi -his -ta . "
 that DUB ABS 2.A ride SUB.L PERF INT . "

Ariwáku “

A riiwáku’ “

And he said :

a rii- 0- waka’u -0 , "

and ASSR 3.A say PERF , "

Irárikⁱ ,

Iraárika

That one

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

kústikit^a

kústiikita

I will ride

kuus- t- i- ikita -0
 POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ ride PERF

asapahatkíripaškⁱ .

asaapahatkíripacki . "

small bay horse	.	"
asaa- pahaat kiripac -kis	.	"
horse be.red small DIM	.	"

Hiruriwáku		kúrahus
Hiru riiwáku'		kúrahus
Then he said		old man
hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0		kurahuus
then ASSR 3.A say PERF		old.man

hírak ^u	,	"
híiraaku	:	"
the other one	:	"
hii- ra- 0- kus -0	,	"
other ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4	,	"

Tirarikíasisahíkstaka

Tiraárika		asiicahíkstaaka
This one		white man's horse
tii- ra- 0- arik -i		asaa- icaahiks- taakaar
this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2		horse person be.white

wikútasii ⁱ	.	"
wikútasii'i	.	"
it is now yours	.	"
wii- ku- ta- s- ir- 0 -'	.	"
now INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A be EX	.	"

Hiruriwáku		"	Náw ^a	,
Hiru riiwáku'		"	Ráwa	
Then he said		:	"	Now
hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0		,	"	rawa
then ASSR 3.A say PERF		,	"	now

tatuharáihku ,
 tatuuhaará'ihku'
 I mean you
 ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF

tiharəstápih^tⁿ
 tihaarastápihat
 you sitting here ,
 tii- haa- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0 ,
 here here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4 ,

tárušuhus
 táruucúhus
 errand men
 ta.ra.uc.uh.hus
 errand.man

tiharətirihkupīra^u
 tihaaratirihku piira'u'
 this one of mine child
 tii- haa- ra- t- ir- ri- uur- kus -0 piira -u'
 this here ABS 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4 child NOM

kárisusi^a
 káriisuci'a
 don't do it
 kara- i- s- ut- i- aar -0
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ do PERF

iríihirákuh^a ,
 irí , ihi , rákuuha ,
 the one , uh , his giving it to him
 irii , ihii , ra- 0- ku- uh -a

that , uh , INF.A 3.A INF.B give SUB.1

pirautiharəsíruku

piira'u' tihaarasiirúku

child while you are giving them away

piira -u' tii- haa- ra- s- ii.ra'uk -hus
child NOM when here ABS 2.A distribute IMPF.SUB

, tiharəstahúrit^tn ,
tihaarastahúritit .
here you did a good deed .
tii- haa- ra- s- rahur.itik -0 .
here here ABS 2.A gratify PERF .

rútirariksista ,

Ruútiraariksista

That is to be real

ruu- ti- 0- raariks -his -ta
that IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF INT

tiwirəstahúrit^tn . "
tiwirastahúritit . "
this kind act you did . "
tii- wii- ra- s- rahur.itik -0 . "
this now ABS 2.A gratify SUB.4 . "

Hiriháwihtakətⁿ ,

Hi rihaáwihtakut

And I ran there

hi rii- t- raawiir- takuk -0
and ASSR 1.A angrily run PERF

iriwisiratitikstawíhu

iriwisiratiítikstawíhu

where I was stroking them (du)

irii- wii- si- ra- t- ir- ut- iks- ta.wi.a -hus
where now DU ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV hand brush.against IMPF.SUB

atí^s . Tiháihku
atí'as . Tiihá'ihku'
my father . He said

ati- as . ti- 0- ir- ut- ra'ihk -:hus
1.POSS father . IND.3A 3.A OBV PREV say.to IMPF

Asaúkatak^u " Náwa ,
Asaa'uúkatakú " Ráwa
Horse Sitting In West : " Now ,
asaa- uukata- kus , " rawa ,
horse west be.sitting , " now ,

rətík^s iráriki
rattík^s iraáriki
sonny , that one
rak- tikis , ii- ra- 0- arik -i
grandchild sonny , that ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

tətkuutíhari ,
tatkuutíhari'
little colt
tat.kuut- iharii
horse young

wikútasí . "
wikútasíi . "
it is now yours . "
wii- ku- ta- s- ir- 0 -' . "
now INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A be EX . "

Hawáariru . Nawa ,
Hawá a riíru . Ráwa
Also and he was given it . Now ,
haawa a ra- 0- ir- uh -0 . rawa ,
also and ABS 3.A 3.INDF give PERF . now ,

asirikuráru
a siriikuráru
and he gave them to us (du)
a si- rii- 0- ku- raar- uh -0
and DU ASSR 3.A 1.P 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

arús^a .
aruúsa' .
horses .
aruusaa .
horse .

Hínahis^a
Hi ráhiisa
And the coming morning
hi ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

hisiritkarikstəspatas^{itn}
hi siritkarikstaaspaátasit
and we started out with the herd
hi si- rii- t- kariiks- ra- as.waat.as.ik -0
and DU ASSR 1.A herd PORT start.out PERF

.
.
.
.

.

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

irirusirihkuhurəsáhkíwətⁿ

iriruusirihkuuuruasaáhkiwat

thereupon they changed my name

irii-	ruu-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	huur.asar-	ki.wat	-0
then	then	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	1.P	POSS.P	name	take.apart	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Širutətraríksísutatⁿ

Ciru	tat				raaríksisu'			tat			
Yet	I was				really			I was			
ciruu	ta-	t-	0	-0	raaríks	-his	-u'	ta-	t-	0	-0
yet	IND.1/2A	1.A	be	PERF	be.true	PERF	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	be	PERF

kírípaškⁱ ,
kírípacki
little
kiripac -kis
small DIM

kararakurakutaráhki^u

káraraku'u rakutaráhkiisu

its not being								to be strong		
kara-	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u	ra-	0-	ku-	tarahkis	-u
NEG	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.strong	SUB.D

.	Ariwaku					níhkit ^a		“
.	A	riiwáku’				ríhkita		“
.	And	he said				the leader	:	“
.	a	rii-	0-	waka’u	-0	rihkita	,	”
.	and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	leader	,	”

Náwatik ⁱ	,
Ráwa	tíki
Now	, son ,
rawa	, tikis ,
now	, sonny ,

nikutihútəst ^a							
rikutihúutasta							
that must be how it will be							
riku-	tii-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-as	-ta
that.is	INFR	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT

tiwirarásah ^{^tⁿ}	.					
tiwirarásahat	.					
when one grows up	.					
tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	rasahat	-0	.
when	when	ABS	3.P	grow.up	SUB.4	.

Tiwirəstawirákat ^a	,					
Tiwirastaawiiraákata						
Now that you have gone on the warpath						
tii-	wii-	ra-	s-	raawiiraak-	at	-a
here	now	ABS	2.A	on.the.warpath	go	SUB.1

hitiwirurisihurésarus^a

hi	tii	wii-	ruu-	rii-	s-	i-	huras	-0	aruúsa'
and	now	you	have	found	it				a horse
hi	tii-	wii-	ruu-	rii-	s-	i-	huras	-0	aruusaa
and	here	now	then	ASSR	2.A	SEQ	find	PERF	horse

. Nikutíhutast^a

. Rikutíhuutasta

. That must be how it is going to be

. riku-	tiir-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-as	-ta	.
. that.is	INFR	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	IMPF.IRR	INT	.

sitiharirítpi^u

Sitihaarirítpi'u'

They turn towards (ie favor) you

si-	tiir-	ra-	0-	ir-	a-	ri-	ri-	ut-	wi.uu	-0
DU	INFR	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.facing	PERF

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Nikutpawáktiku

Riikutpaawáktiiku'

He was talking to me

rii-	0-	ku-	ut-	waa.wak.tik	-:hus	.	Náw ^a
ASSR	3.A	1.P	BEN	talk	IMPF	.	Ráwa
							Now
							rawa
							now

, hiníhkit^a

hi ríhkita

, and the leader

, hi rihkita

, and leader

irirurikuhurəsáhkiwətⁿ

iriruurikuuhuurasaahkiwat

thereupon he changed my name

irii-	ruu-	ri-	0-	ku-	uur-	huur.asar-	ki.wat	-0
then	then	CONT.3A	3.A	1.P	POSS.P	name	take.apart	PERF

. Sakurikárikətⁿ ,

. Sakuurikárikat

. Midday

. sakur- iika.ri -kat

. day center LOC

hiwiriहतárir^{^t}ⁿ

hi wirihaattaárirat

and we stopped now

hi	wii-	rii-	t-	rak-	raar-	ri.ra.at	-0
and	now	ASSR	1.A	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	sit.down	PERF

. Sitátkarikstiwit^tⁿ ,

. Sitatkarikstíwiitit

. We stopped with the herd

. si-	ta-	t-	kariiks-	ri-	wi.itik	-0
. DU	IND.1/2A	1.A	herd	PORT	sit.down	PERF

hisiritutəspari

hi siriituutáspari'

and we went around

hi	si-	rii-	t-	ut-	as.warii	-.hus
and	DU	ASSR	1.A	PREV	work.at.IMPF	IMPF

sirahakáruruku .

sirahaakaáruruku .

while we were cooking .
 si- ra- t- rak- kaaruur- ra'uk -hus .
 DU ABS 1.A 1/2.PL meal make IMPF.SUB .

Akihiwiisiwišah^u

Aki hi wi'isihwícaahu'
 And here and now they were arriving
 a- ki hi wii- i- s- ir- wic.a -:hus
 and there and now CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A arrive IMPF

,

,

,

,

hirutihírarara

hiru tihírarara
 there these others who were coming
 hiruu tii- hii- ra- 0- a- raar- a -0
 there this other ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A come SUB.4

.

.

.

.

.

Wiišahkuratitakus^a

Wi'saahkuraattitákusa'

Now they caught up with us

wii- i- s- ir- ar- ku- rak- ri- takus.a -0
 now CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A EV 1.P 1/2.PL PORT come.up PERF

, irirahákuriwi
 iriirahákuriwi
 the ones with us
 irii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi
 that ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

kúrahus airíruhar^u
 kúrahus a iriiruúhaaru
 the old man and the one who did it
 kurahuus a irii- ra- 0- ut- raar -u
 old.man and that ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.D

nahatautíarus^a .
 rahátta'uuti aruúsa' .
 our stealing them horses .
 ra- t- rak- ta'uut -i aruusaa .
 ABS 1.A 1/2.PL steal SUB.2 horse .

Hirawitakarahĩsu
 Hi raawiitakaaraáhisu'
 And suddenly
 hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u'
 and just now all.at.once NOM

riwáku , “ Hā^a !
 riiwáku' “ Haa'a
 he said : “ Ha ,
 rii- 0- waka'u -0 , “ haa'a ,
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ ha ,

irirawih^{^t^n} .
 iriiráwihat .
 there they sit !
 irii- ra- 0- wi.hak -0 .

there ABS 3.A be.sitting.PL PERF .

Pakúhtutihawišah^u .

Pakúhtu' tihaawícaahu' .
Long ago they must have arrived .
pakuht -u' tiir- ra- 0- a- wic.a -:hus .
be.old NOM INFR ABS 3.A PREV.3A arrive IMPF .

" Rútiwaku níhkita , "
" Ruutiwáku' ríhkita "
" Then he said the leader : "
" ruu- ti- 0- waka'u -0 rihkita , "
" then IND.3A 3.A say PERF leader , "

Náw^a tikakiráætⁿ

Ráwa tikaakíraa'at
Now it is not long
rawa tii- kaaki- 0- raa- ak -0
now this NEG.IND.3A 3.A way be.a.certain.length PERF

tiratíhwiša ,

tiratíhwica

since I arrived

tii- ra- t- ir- wic.a -0
when ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A arrive SUB.4

hikaraiririwášpakⁱ

hi kara'iririiwácpaki'

and they did not even say

hi ka- ra- 0- ir- ri- ri- i- awahc- waki -0
and NEG ABS 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ even say.PL PERF

, náwa . " Ariwáku
' Ráwa . ' " A riiwáku'

:	'	Now	.	'	"	And	he	said		
,	'	rawa	.	'	"	a	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0
,	'	now	.	'	"	and	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF

níhkit ^a		"
ríhkita		"
the leader	:	"
rihkita	,	"
leader	,	"

Ikarahatáriwaæt ⁿ									
I	karahattáriiwa'	at							.
And	we	weren't	looking						.
i	ka-	ra-	t-	rak-	raar-	riiwat	-'		.
and	NEG	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	PL.INDV.A	be.looking	EX		.

sikakátutir ⁱ ⁿ									"
Sikaakátuutiirit									"
We	did	not	see	you					"
si-	kaaka-	t-	a-	ut-	iirik	-0			"
DU	NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	PREV	see	PERF			"

Hirurútiwaku									
Hiru	ruutiwáku'								
Then	then	he	said						
hiruu	ruu-	ti-	0-	waka'u	-0				
then	then	IND.3A	3.A	say	PERF				

tiraríkinihkit ^a									,	"
tiraáriki						ríhkita			,	"
this	one					leader	:		,	"
tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	rihkita				,	"
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	leader				,	"

Kitukasiratarástarikutⁿ

Kítuu'u' kaasiraattaaraástarikut
 All you must take the ropes off them
 kituu -u' kaas- s- i- rak- raar- haas- raar- ri.kuk -0
 all NOM POT.2A 2.A SEQ 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P rope PL remove PERF

arús^a
 aruúsa' .
 horses .
 aruusaa .
 horse .

takukarisušiířesa

Táku' kariisucicírasa'
 Don't anyone lead one off
 taku kara- i- s- ir- ut- i- ciras- a -0
 someone NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV SEQ COM come PERF

. Kutátira
 . Kutátira'
 . They are mine
 . ku- ta- t- ir- raar- 0 -0
 . INDF IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

tátuha^a ,
 . Tátuuha'a
 . I am the cause
 . ta- t- ut- raar -'
 . IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be.the.cause EX

ikurítira^a

i kuriítira'
 so they are mine
 i ku- rii- t- ir- raar 0 -0

and INDF ASSR 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

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

Hirusiririraruhusítitarus^a

Hiru	siriiriiraarúhusitit											aruúsa'
Then	they began giving them to him											the horses
hiruu	si- rii- 0- ir- ri- ri- i- raar-	uh	-.hus	-itik								aruusaa
then	DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS SEQ 3PL.INAN.P	give	IMPF	INCH								horse

níhkita	,	hirakukúrahus										
ríhkita		hiíraaku					kúrahus					
the leader	,	the other one					old man					
rihkita	,	hií- ra- 0- kus	-0				kurahuus					
leader	,	other ABS 3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4			old.man					

. Híruriwaku
 . Hiru riiwáku'
 . Then he said
 . hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
 . then ASSR 3.A say PERF

irírikuha “
 iriírikuuha “
 the one who gave it to me:
 irii- ri- 0- ku- uh -a
 that CONT.3A 3.A 1.P give SUB.1

Tikiarusasisukstáru
 Tíki aruúsa' síkusstaru

Son , the horses you (du) give them to him
tikis , aruusaa si- i- s- uks- raar- uh -0
sonny , horse DU CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 3PL.INAN.P give PERF

. " Híruriwaku
. " Hiru riiwáku'
! " Then he said
. " hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
. " then ASSR 3.A say PERF

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

asaúkatak^u , " Híkiri
Asaa'uúkatakú " Híkiiri
Horse Sitting In West " Anyhow
asaa- uukata- kus " hikiiri
horse west be.sitting " indeed

kirikisirətirihátat^{^t}
kíriki siratiriihaátatat
we don't have anything to do with them
kirikii si- ra- t- ir- ri- ut- raa.tatat -0
what DU ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV have.an.interest.in PERF

,

hisiaharúarus^a

hi si'aaháru aruúsa'
and we should give them back horses
hi si- aa- t- raar- uh -0 aruusaa
and DU SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 3PL.INAN.P give PERF horse

. Sikaratúkstautⁿ ,
. Sikaraatúksta'ut .
. We did not steal one .
. si- ka- ra- t- uks- ta'uut -0 .
. DU NEG ABS 1.A AOR steal PERF .

sikakurétira^a

Sikaaku'aátira'

They are not ours (du)

si- kaaku- aa- t- ir- raar- 0 -0
DU NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

, arúsa^a . " Híruriwaku
aruúsa' . " Hiru riiwáku'
horses . " Then he said
aruusaa . " hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0
horse . " then ASSR 3.A say PERF

Asaúkatak^u , “

Asaa'uúkatakú . “

Horse Sitting In West : “

asaa- uukata- kus , “

horse west be.sitting , “

Witašihkaispáhuht^a

Wítacihkaa'ispáhuhta .

Now we are going to go home .

wii- ta- aciir- kaa- iis.wahuh -ta .

now IND.1/2A IN.DU.A inside go.out.of.sight.DU.INT INT .

"
"
"
"

hirukituwiritirótarətⁿ

Hiru	kítuu`u`		witiírattarat								
Then	all		now they drove them								
hiruu	kituu	-u`	wii-	ti-	0-	ir-	ak-	raar-	ra-	at	-0
then	all	NOM	now	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.P	PORT	go	PERF

,	arús ^a	.	"	Hipíræski	,
	aruúsa`	.		Hi piíraski	
	the horses	.		And boys	
	aruusaa	.		hi piiras-	-kis
	horse	.		and boy	DIM

pitkusiráwa											
pítku	siráwa										
two	they (du)	went									
pitku	si-	ra-	0-	war	-0						
two	DU	ABS	3.A	go.DU	PERF						

hirusiriwáku											"
hiru	siriiwáku`										"
then	they (du)	said:									:
hiruu	si-	rii-	0-	waka`u	-0						"
then	DU	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF						"

Witatarakáispu
Witaraakaá'ispu`

We are going home

wi- ta- t- a- rak- kaa- iis.wuu -:hus
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.P 1/2.PL inside go.out.of.sight.IMPF IMPF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Sikakatiráit^a

Sikaakaatiraá'iita

We (du) did not know

si- kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0
DU NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

rihkuúra^u ;

rihku'íira'u .

when they divided them up .

ra- 0- ir- ku- ii.ra'uk -0 .
INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B distribute SUB.3 .

narusitatirarúhurahətⁿ

Raarusitatiraarúhurahat

We (du) merely turned them loose

raa- ruu- si- ta- t- i- raar- uhur.ra.hak -0
just then DU IND.1/2A 1.A SEQ 3PL.INAN.P turn.loose PERF

ésihari ,

asiíhari'

the colts

asaa- iharii

horse young

hihisiritkásispa .
hihi siritkásispa .
and we (du) ran .
hi hi si- rii- t- kasispaar -0 .
and and DU ASSR 1.A run PERF .

Asiritihkaísipa

A siriitihkaa'ispaa'
And we (du) came home
a si- rii- t- ir- kaa- iis.a -wa -0
and DU ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A inside come.into DIST PERF

. Asiritpəku ,
. A siritpáku' "
. And we (du) said : "
. a si- rii- t- waka'u -0 , "
. and DU ASSR 1.A say PERF , "

tihawisirikaríksta^a

Tihaawisirikaríksta'a'

Here they bring a herd

tii- haa- wii- si- rii- 0- a- ir- kariiks- ra- a -0
here here now DU ASSR 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A herd PORT come PERF

, arúsa . Ah !
aruúsa' . " Aa
horses . " Ah ,
aruusaa . " aa ,
horse . " ah ,

hiruritiwaku ,

hiru riitiwáku'

then I said ,

hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 ,

then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF ,

Asaúkatak^u

Asaa'uúkatak^u

Horse Sitting In West

asaa- uukata- kus

horse west be.sitting

tatuháihku

tatuuhá'ihku'

I meant

ta- t- ut- ra'ihk -:hus ,

IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF ,

Širusikararikurukstáriwu

ciru sikararikuurukstáriwu

yet they had not taken them from us

ciruu si- kara- ri- 0- ir- ku- uur- uks- raar- ri- wuu -:hus
yet DU NEG CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV AOR 3PL.INAN.P PORT go.IMPF IMPF

“ Nakúsiⁱ

“ Raakúsi'

: “ Partner ,

, " raa.kus.i' ,

, " wife ,

tiwirəšakurahúrit^tn

tiwiracakahúritit

since He gave us good luck

tii- wii- ra- 0- aca- ku- rahur.itik -0
when when ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P gratify SUB.4

tiráwah^{^t}n

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

kirikírəsutasiksu ,
kíriki rasuútaciksu' .
what do you think of it ?

kirikii ra- s- ut- aciks -:hus .
what ABS 2.A PREV think.of IMPF .

širúati^s

Ciru atí'as
Yet fathers
ciruu ati- as
yet 1.POSS father

taširúhwiwah^tⁿ

taciiruhwíwaahat
ours are living
ta- aciir- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -waa -0
IND.1/2A IN.DU.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

aširuatirariširúhwiwah^tⁿ

a ciru atí'ra' riciiruhwíwaahat
and yet mothers ours are living
a ciruu ati- raa rii- aciir- ir- ri- uur- wi.hak -waa -0
and yet 1.POSS mother ASSR IN.DU.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL DIST PERF

,

aširuitahiriširuhwiwah^t

a	ciuru	itaáhi'				riciiruhwíwaahat							
and	yet	sisters				ours are living							
a	ciuruu	i-	-taat-	-ri'	rii-	aciir-	ir-	ri-	uur-	wi.hak	-waa	-0	
and	yet	3.POSS.A	sister	3.POSS.B	ASSR	IN.DU.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting.PL	DIST	PERF	

. Kišíirárⁱ
. Kici iraári'
. But brothers
. kici i- -raar- -ri'
. but 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

irírahakukⁱ

iriírahaakuki

those who are mine

irii-	ra-	t-	rak-	0	-ka'uk	-i
that	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	be	DIST	SUB.2

hiruwitírawirapu

hiru witíraawiirapu'

there they have gone on the warpath

hiruu	wii-	ti-	0-	ir-	raawiiraak-	wuu	-.hus
there	now	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	on.the.warpath	go.IMPF	IMPF

, hitirakáwih^t . "
hi tirakaáwihat . "
but these sitting inside . "
hi tii- ra- 0- kaa- wi.hak -0 . "
and this ABS 3.A inside be.sitting.PL SUB.4 . "

Hiruriwáku

Hiru riiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0
-------	------	----	--------	----

then ASSR 3.A say PERF

Asaúkatak^u , “ Náwa , ihi , náw^a
Asaa'uúkatakú , “ Ráwa , ihi , ráwa
Horse Sitting In West : “ Now , uh , now
asaa- uukata- kus , " rawa , ihii , rawa
horse west be.sitting , " now , uh , now

, nariwišu , tašakúrəsa^htⁿ
raáriwiicu' tacakúrasahat
just now we are growing up ,
raariwiicu' ti- aca- ku- rasahat -0 ,
right.now IND.3A IN.DU.P 1.P grow.up PERF ,

šikúrahus

ci kúrahus
and the old men
ci kurahuus
but old.man

narúsi^ruksk^u

raaruúsi^ruksku

let them just sit there

raa- ruu- si- ri- 0- uks- kus -0
just then DU CONT.3A 3.A JUSS be.sitting PERF

aatirararúsi^ruksku

a atíra' raaruúsi^ruksku
and mothers let them just sit there

a ati- raa raa- ruu- si- ri- 0- uks- kus -0
and 1.POSS mother just then DU CONT.3A 3.A JUSS be.sitting PERF

, hiruitáhi

. Hiru itaáhi'

! Then our sisters
 . hiruu i- -taat- -ri'
 . then 3.POSS.A sister 3.POSS.B

írikasiritawa^u

irikaasiriittaáwa'u

we must give ours to them

irii- kaas- s- ir- ri- i- ak- raa- wa- uh -0
 that POT.2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS SEQ PL.AN.3P way DIST give PERF

, arusa ,
 aruúsa' .
 horses .
 aruusaa .
 horse .

asiharitiitⁿ

Asiihári' tí't . "
 Colts they are . "
 asaa- iharii ti- 0- 0 -ik -0 . "
 horse young IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF . "

Hirurítiwaku " Náwa^a ,
 Hiru riitiwáku' " Ráwa
 Then I said : " Now
 hiruu rii- t- i- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 then ASSR 1.A SEQ say PERF , " now

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

Hihátuhkətⁿ

Hi hátuhkat
And afterward
hi hatuhka.t
and in.the.rear

hisirikúrarətⁿ

hi siriikuúrarat
and they took them from us
hi si- rii- 0- ir- ku- uur- raar- ra- at -0
and DU ASSR 3.A PL.3A 1.P PREV 3PL.INAN.P PORT go PERF

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

sikakátitətⁿ širaskáisa

sikaakatiitatciraskaá'iisa'

we did not bring them home

si- kaaka- t- ir- ut- ak- ciras- kaa- iis.a -0
DU NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PREV PL.AN.3P COM inside come.into PERF

,
. ,
. ,
. ,
. ,

siritihkaís^a

Siriitihkaa'iispa'a'

We came home

si- rii- t- ir- kaa- iis.a -wa -0

DU ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A inside come.into DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .