

Skiri Narratives, Eleven

Roaming Scout

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

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|-----|------|----|----|---|
| rikutúæt ⁿ | , | | | | | |
| rikutuú'ut | | | | | | |
| it is thus | , | | | | | |
| riku- | ti- | 0- | ut- | 0 | -' | , |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | be | EX | , |

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

| | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|----------|
| tiirirəspawákahu | | | | | | |
| ti'iriirəspaawaákahu | | | | | | |
| this that you have been speaking about | | | | | | |
| tii- | irii- | ra- | s- | waa- | waaka | -hus |
| this | that | ABS | 2.A | DIST | say.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|-------|----|---|
| nasiška ^a | | | | |
| rasícka'a | | | | |
| your wanting | | | | |
| ra- | s- | wicka | -a | ' |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----|------|-------------|-------|---|---|-------------------|---|
| ABS | 2.A | want | SUB.1 | ' | | | | |
| átuhišis | | | | | . | | Náwa ^a | , |
| aátuuhiicis | | | | | . | | Ráwa | |
| that I know | | | | | . | ' | Now | , |
| aa- | t- | ut- | riicis | -0 | . | ' | rawa | , |
| SUBJ.1/2A | 1.A | PREV | learn.about | SUB.4 | . | ' | now | , |

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

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-----|------|----|----------------|---|----------|--|
| nikutuə ⁿ | | | | | . | | Šahiks | |
| rikutuú ['] ut | | | | | . | | Cáhiks | |
| it was thus | | | | | . | | A person | |
| riku- | ti- | 0- | ut- | 0 | - ['] | . | icaahiks | |
| that.is | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | be | EX | . | person | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|---------|-----|------|------|------|--|--|
| tihíra ^u | | | | | | | | |
| tihíraa ['] u | | | | | | | | |
| it gave him a way | | | | | | | | |
| tii- | ar- | ri- | 0- | raa- | uh | -0 | | |
| this | EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | way | give | PERF | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|---------|-------|-------|-----------------|----------------------|---|
| tírahət | | | | | | | sákur ^u | , |
| tíraahat | | | | | | | Sákuuru ['] | . |
| this one passing | | | | | | | Sun | . |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | hak | -0 | sakur | -u ['] | | . |
| this | ABS | 3.A | pass.by | SUB.4 | sun | NOM | | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| sakurutíra ^a | | | | | | | | |
| Sákuuru ['] | tíraa ['] a | | | | | | | |

Sun this one coming
 sakur -u' tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
 sun NOM this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

ríkuwiⁱ . Hi šáhiks
 ríkuwiti' . Hi cáhiks
 that was the one . And a person
 riku- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 . hi icaahiks
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF . and person

kuháhkitarⁱtⁿ
 kuuhaáhkitaarit
 he stood on top
 kuur- ra- 0- ar- kita- arik -0
 DUB ABS 3.A EV on.top be.standing PERF

nakukapákis^u
 rakukaapaákisu
 his being pitiful,
 ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.pitiful SUB.D

nakuwíška^a
 rakuwicka'a " "
 his wanting: " "
 ra- 0- ku- wicka -a "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B want SUB.1 "

kirakusikušišikskápakis
 Kíra kusikuciicikskaaápakis
 Let something pity me
 kira kuus- 0- i- ku- ut- i- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 perhaps POT.1/3A 3.A SEQ.sk 1.P PREV SEQ feel.pity.for PERF

. Witukstátawi
 . " Witukstaátawi'
 ! " It used to be the way
 . " wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
 . " QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

nakukitárikⁱ
 rakukitaáriki
 to stand on top

ra- 0- ku- kita- arik -i
 INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be.standing SUB.2

tirawararúta
 tirawaaráruuta
 these hills

tii- ra- 0- waa- raar- u.at -a
 this ABS 3.A hill PL extend.in.a.line SUB.1

tírahahkitətⁿ

tírahaakitat
 our village here

tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0
 here ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

nákuhitkⁱ

rákuuhitki
 his dreaming

ra- 0- ku- ut- raa.itkii -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV dream SUB.4

hitahkitáuriritⁿ

hi taahkitá'uuriirit

and he would stand up on top

hi ti- 0- ar- kita- uuri.arik -0

and IND.3A 3.A EV on.top stand.upright PERF .

Náw^a hitíra^a
Ráwa hi tíraa'a
Now , and this one coming
rawa , hi tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
now , and here ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

irikúhu sákur^u
irikuúhu' Sákuuru'
that was the one Sun ,
irii- kuur- ra- 0- uu -0 sakur -u' ,
that DUB ABS 3.A be PERF sun NOM ,

hikuhawáku, "
hi kuuhawáku' "
and he said: "
hi kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 "
and DUB ABS 3.A say PERF "

Kiskitauriritⁿ
Kí'iskita'uuriirit .
Stand up on top !
kii- i- s- kita- uuri.arik -0 .
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A on.top stand.upright PERF .

kirakaraisihákawaəš .
Kíra kara'isihaákawa'ac .
Don't eat .
kira kara- i- s- i- haakawahc -' .
perhaps NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ eat EX .

Náw^a ,
" Ráwa

" Now
 " rawa
 " now

hiruahikitaúirit^u .
 hiru ahikíta'úuriirit .
 then he stood up on top .
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- kita- uuri.arik -0 .
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A on.top stand.upright PERF .

Náwa^a
 Ráwa
 Now
 rawa
 now

iwirakitarikiwituháksaw^u
 iwirakitaáriki wituuhaákcawu
 when he stood on top he put a stake in the ground
 ii- wii- ra- 0- kita- arik -i wi- ti- 0- uur- haak- ca.wuh -0
 when when ABS 3.A on.top be.standing SUB.2 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV wood put.upright PERF

ihí hik^u
 ihí hííku'
 , uh a stick
 , ihii haak- -u'
 , uh wood NOM

iríaharikⁱ . Náwa ,
 irí'ahaariki . Ráwa
 where he stood . Now
 irii- ar- ra- 0- arik -i . rawa
 where EV ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 . now

irikuhuštákuraru
 iriikuuhuctákuraru'
 however many days it was

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|--------|-------------|------|
| irii- | kuur- | ra- | 0- | ut- | sakur- | raar.uu | -0 |
| what | DUB | ABS | 3.A | PREV | day | be.a.number | PERF |

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

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------|-----|--------|-------|--------|------|----------|
| witisakurarihəš | | | | | | | rúksiri |
| witisakurariíhac | | | | | | | rúksiri' |
| the days ended | | | | | | | ten |
| wi- | ti- | 0- | sakur- | raar- | riihac | -0 | ruksirii |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | day | PL | finish | PERF | ten |

hiwikaraahitarakísari
 hi wikara'ahitarahkísaari'
 and he was not strong

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|------|------|
| hi | wii- | kara- | ar- | ri- | 0- | tarahkis | -aar | -i |
| and | now | NEG | EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | be.strong | INCH | IMPF |

nakuhákawaəš .
 rakuhaákawa'ac .
 to eat .
 ra- 0- ku- haakawahc -0 .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B eat SUB.4 .

Hiruahiwiška^a
 Hiru ahiwícka' " "
 Then he thought : "
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- wicka -0 , "

then EV CONT.3A 3.A think PERF , "

akuksawaštiwahtíkutⁱ

Aahkuksawactiwahtiíkuuti

Even if I should starve to death

i- ar- ku- uks- awahc- riwahtii kuut -i
SUBJ.3A EV 1.P JUSS even.if be.starved die SUB.2

. Hiaháritⁿ ,
" Hi ahaárit
" And he stood ,
" hi ar- ra- 0- arik -0 ,
" and EV ABS 3.A be.standing PERF ,

hiáharitⁿ .
hi ahaárit .
and he stood .
hi ar- ra- 0- arik -0 .
and EV ABS 3.A be.standing PERF .

Witisakúraríhəš

Witisakurariíhac

He finished the days

wi- ti- 0- sakur- raar- riihac -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A day PL finish PERF

ruksiri a škítiiks ,

rúksiri' a kskiíti'iks

ten and four

ruksirii a iks.kiiti'iks

ten and four

hiwikáraahitarakísari

hi wikara'ahitarahkísaari'

and he was getting weak
 hi wii- kara- ar- ri- 0- tarahkis -aar -i
 and now NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A be.strong INCH IMPF

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

wirakítaritⁿ
 wirakítaarit
 he still stood on top
 wi- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
 QUOT ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

hihawaahasakurarihəš
 hi hawá ahasakurariíhac
 and again he completed the days
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- sakur- raar- riihac -0
 and also EV ABS 3.A day PL finish PERF

škítiiks, irárⁱ ,
 kskiíti'iks iraári^ʔ .
 four, brother .
 iks.kiiti'iks i- -raar- -ri^ʔ .
 four 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B .

nikutiwakíah^u kúrahus
 Rikutihwaki'aahu' kúrahus
 That is what they said the old men
 riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus kurahuus
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF old.man

witisakúrarihuš
 . Witisakúrariihac
 . He finished the days
 . wi- ti- 0- sakur- raar- riihac -0
 . QUOT IND.3A 3.A day PL finish PERF

rúksiri a tawíksapiš
 rúksiri' a tawíkسااپىع
 ten and eight
 ruksirii a tawíkسااپىع
 ten and eight

hiahawiúhətⁿ
 hi ahawi'uúhat
 and he fell
 hi ar- ra- 0- wi.uuhak -0
 and EV ABS 3.P fall PERF

nakuriwahtíkutⁱ húwi .
 rakuriwahtiíkuuti huúwi' .
 when he was starving indeed .
 ra- 0- ku- riwahtii kuut -i huuwi' .
 INF.A 3.P INF.B be.starved die SUB.2 indeed .

Hiiriahárikⁱ
 Hi irii'ahaárik
 And where he stood
 hi irii- ar- ra- 0- arik -i
 and where EV ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2

ahakitárikⁱ
 ahakitaárik
 his standing on top
 ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -i

EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing SUB.2

hiahakiwaháhk^u

hi ahakiwahaáhku

and there was a small lake there

hi ar- ra- 0- kiwahaar- kus -0
and EV ABS 3.A pond be.sitting PERF

hiwitaahwáku

hi witaahwáku'

and he would say

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF person

nihku^a,

ríhku'a

when he came:

ra- 0- ir- ku- a -0
INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B come SUB.4 "

Kukakásurəsist^a

Kukaakaasurásista

You are not going to find anything

ku- kaaka- s- huras -his -ta
INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A find PERF INT .

hirutiharákiš^a

Hiru tihaarákica

Then this water here

hiruu tii- haa- ra- 0- kic.a -0
then this here ABS 3.A be.water SUB.4

sukskík^a

sukskiika'

drink it !
i- s- uks- kiikaa -0 .
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS drink PERF .

nakurusariwáhtikutⁿ

raakuruusaariwáhtiikut .

You just might starve to death .

raa- ruu- kuus- a- ar- riwahtii kuut -0 .
just then POT.1/3A 2.P EV be.starved die PERF .

hikarawitáhwišk^a .

" Hi karawitaáhwicka' .

" And he did not want to .

" hi kara- wi- ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 .

" and NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV want PERF .

Hirutáhwiška

Hiru taáhwicka' "

Then he thought :

hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , "

then IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , "

asakuksawaštíwahtíku^t

Aahkuksawactíwahtíkuuti

I don't even care if I starve

i- ar- ku- uks- awahc- riwahtii kuut -i
SUBJ.3A EV 1.P JUSS even.if be.starved die SUB.2

. Náwa iahawiúhətⁿ

. " Ráwa i ahawi'uúhat .

. " Now so he fell down .

. " rawa i ar- ra- 0- wi.uuhak -0 .

. " now and EV ABS 3.P fall PERF .

hi
 Hi
 And
 hi
 and

arusásiritakurúwarihúsuku

aruúsa' siriitakuruuwariihúsuuku'
 horses they used to go after them,

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-------|------|----------|----------------|-------|-------|
| aruusaa | si- | ra- | 0- | ir- | ut- | ak- | huur.ruu.warii | -.hus | -uuku |
| horse | DU | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | PREV | PL.AN.3P | go.to.get.DIST | IMPF | HAB |

hi pířeskⁱ ruahiətⁿ
 hi pířaski ruu'ahí'at
 and a boy he went there

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|----|-----|
| hi | piiras- | -kis | ruu- | ar- | ri- | 0- | at | -0 |
| and | boy | DIM | there | EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | go | PER |

áhawiška^a

áhawicka'a " "

his thinking " "

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|---|
| ar- | ra- | 0- | wicka | -a | " |
| EV | ABS | 3.A | think | SUB.1 | " |

wíkakirit

Wikaakiirit . "

He is not standing now . "

| | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----|-------------|------|---|
| wii- | kaaki- | 0- | arik | -0 | " |
| now | NEG.IND.3A | 3.A | be.standing | PERF | " |

hiruahiətⁿ

Hiru ahí'at

Then he went

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| hiruu | ar- | ri- | 0- | at | -0 |
|-------|-----|-----|----|----|----|

then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF

hiwihiruahísa .
hi wihiru ahísa .
and there he lay .
hi wii- hiruu ar- ri- 0- sa -0 .
and now there EV CONT.3A 3.A be.lying PERF .

Hiwihiruríhuks^u

Hi wihiru ríhuksu'
And there only
hi wii- hiruu rihuks -u'
and now there alone NOM

ahihakatákuk^u

ahihaakatákuku'
his mouth was jerking
ar- ri- 0- haaka- ta.kuk -:hus
EV CONT.3A 3.P mouth twitch IMPF

arašiksúhkasa^a

a raaciksúhkasa . Hi
and his spirit was lying . Hi
a ra- 0- aciks- uur.ka.sa -0 . And
and ABS 3.A mind lie.in PERF . hi
and . and

pírəskiⁱ

piiraski
the boy
piiras- -kis
boy DIM

ruahahkáis^a

ruu'ahakaá'iisa' .

then he came back home .
 ruu- ar- ra- 0- a- kaa- iis.a -0 .
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A inside come.into PERF .

witikítawit^{it}n i
 Witiikítawiitit i
 He mounted and
 wi- ti- 0- ikita.wi.itik -0 i
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A mount PERF and

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

Witihariwáhtik^u
 Witiiháriwahtiikut .
 He must have starved to death .
 wii- tiir- ra- 0- riwahtii kuut -0 .
 now INFR ABS 3.P be.starved die PERF .

íharahš^a
 Íihaaraáhca
 Yonder he lies
 ii- haa- ra- 0- ar- sa -0
 there here ABS 3.A EV be.lying PERF

hiširurikísikiitⁿ . “
 hi ciru riikísiki’it . “
 and yet he is alive . “
 hi ciruu rii- 0- kisikiit -’ . “
 and yet ASSR 3.A be.alive EX . “

Hirusiahiširáətⁿ

Hiru si'ahiicíra'at

Then they went after him

hiruu si- ar- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- ra- at -0
then DU EV CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ PORT go PERF

. Asiahihkáuš

a si'ahihká'uc

and they laid him on it

a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ka- uc -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A in lay.SG.P PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Asiahirahukáta

A si'ahiirahuukátaa'

And they brought him across

a si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ra- huukata- a -0
and DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PORT across.water come PERF

hiwiahahakawáəš

hi wi'ahahaakáwa'ac

and he ate

hi wii- ar- ra- 0- haakawahc -0
and now EV ABS 3.A eat PERF

hiahataráhkisa

hi ahataráhkisa

and he became strong

hi ar- ra- 0- tarahkis -aar -0

and EV ABS 3.A be.strong INCH PERF .

Hiruahiwáku , “ Náwa ,
 Hiru ahiwáku’ “ Ráwa ,
 Then he said : “ Now ,
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 , " rawa ,
 then EV CONT 3.A say PERF , " now ,

náw^a , atíra tiwákah^u ,
 ráwa atíra’ tiwákaahu’ ,
 now , my mother, he says
 rawa , ati- raa ti- 0- waka -:hus
 now , 1.POSS mother IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

tíra^a Sákaru
 tíraa’a Sákuuru’
 this one coming Sun :
 tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 sakur -u’ ,
 this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun NOM ,

sítuhukst^a
 Sítuuhuksta
 They are going to make it for you ,
 si- ti- 0- a- ut- ra’uk -his -ta ,
 DU IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT ,

íhi náktahš^u náktahš^u
 ihi ráktahcu’ . Ráktahcu’
 uh , a shield . A shield
 ihii , rak.tahc -u’ . rak.tahc -u’
 uh , shield NOM . shield NOM

sítuhukst^a ,
 sítuuhuksta ,

they are going to make for you
 si- ti- 0- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta ,
 DU IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT ,

hirikuiskuřakuhkákus

hi riku'iskucakuhkákus

and you are the one to set me, the sun, on it

hi riku- i- s- ku- cakur- ka- kus.k -0
 and that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P sun in put PERF

. Náwa , wítatará^u
 . Ráwa wítataraa'u
 . Now , I'll give you the way
 . rawa , wi- ta- t- a- raa.uh -0
 . now , QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P give PERF

rəskuwáruksti^u . Náwa
 raskuwaárukstii'u . ' " Ráwa
 for you to be powerful . ' " Now
 ra- s- ku- waarukstii -u . ' " rawa
 INF.A 2.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D . ' " now

i iráⁱ ,
 i iráá^{ri}'
 so , brother ,
 i , i- -raar- -ri' ,
 and , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

nikusiahíhu

rikusi'ahíhu'

they made that one for him

riku- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ra'uk -0
 that.is DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A BEN make PERF

náktahš^u . aahawáku ,
 ráktahcu' . A ahawáku'
 shield . And he said :
 rak.tahc -u' . a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ,
 shield NOM . and EV ABS 3.A say PERF ,

“
 “
 “
 ”
 ”

Wisiiskurawikakúsk^a

Wisi'iskurawikakúska

After they put me on it

wii- si- i- s- ku- uur- awi- ka- kus.k -a
 when DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV image in put SUB.1

hirutiirirəsakúrah^u

hiru ti'iriirasakuúrahu

then here where the sun comes (up)

hiruu tii- irii- ra- 0- a- sakur- a -hus
 then here where ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun come IMPF.SUB

iríratirahu

iriiratiírahu

where I come from

irii- ra- t- ir- a -hus
 where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come IMPF.SUB

sikasušiwíurutⁿ

sikaasuciwí'uurut

you must turn it to face it

si- kaas- s- ut- i- wi.uu.ruhk -0

DU POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ turn.to.face PERF

náktahš^u nakútawi .
ráktahcu' rakútawi .
the shield when it hangs .
rak.tahc -u' ra- 0- ku- ta -wi .
shield NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be.hanging SUB.L .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

asiruhúkst^a

a siruuhúksta
and they are going to make it for you
a si- ra- 0- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta
and DU ABS 3.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

šahúkⁱ ,
cahuúki .
a robe .
cahuu -kis .
robe DIM .

šahukisítuhúkst^a

Cáhuuki situuhúksta
A robe they are going to make it for you
cahuu -kis si- ti- 0- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta
robe DIM DU IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

, hihawárikuisúta
hi hawá riku'isuúta

and also this is what you'll do
 hi haawa riku- i- s- ut- aar -0
 and also that.is CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV do PERF

. Kirítiri , katahkáhiri ,
 . Kirítiri' katahkaáhiri'
 : On the nape inside out
 . kiiriit- -hiri' katahkaa -hiri'
 . nape LOC be.inside.out LOC

iskusakúkakus . "
 iskucakúhkakus . "
 you'll place me the sun on it . "
 i- s- ku- caktur- ka- kus.k -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P sun in put PERF . "

Aahawáku , " Náw^a ,
 A ahawáku' " Ráwa
 And he said : " Now ,
 a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now ,

tírak^u šahúkⁱ
 tíraaku cahuúki
 this robe
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 cahuu -kis
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 robe DIM

narukakasiwítækst^a
 raaruukaakaasiwítæksta
 you are not going to wear it for no purpose
 raa- ruu- kaaka- s- i- witak -his -ta
 just then NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ wear.over.the.shoulders PERF INT

.
.
.
.

təsirihkust^a

Tasirihkusta

You are going to have it

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

šahurakárahār^u

cahuurakárahāaru'

a proud robe

| | | |
|-------|-------------|-----|
| cahuu | ra.karahaar | -u' |
| robe | be.proud | NOM |

, tiwáruksti

. Tiwaáruksti'

. It is holy

| | | | |
|--------|-----|------------|------|
| ti- | 0- | waarukstii | -0 |
| IND.3A | 3.A | be.holy | PERF |

tírak^u

tíraaku

this one

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|------------|-------|---|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kus | -0 | . | " |
| this | ABS | 3.A | be.sitting | SUB.4 | . | " |

Aahawáku

A ahawáku'

And he said

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

Witataráú

Witatáraa'u

I am giving you the way

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|----|------|----|----|
| wi- | ta- | t- | a- | raa- | uh | -0 |
|-----|-----|----|----|------|----|----|

kúra^u

kúraa'u'

a doctor

| | |
|-------|-----|
| kuraa | -u' |
|-------|-----|

QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF doctor NOM

nəsku^u

rásku'u

to be

ra- s- ku- uu -0
INF.A 2.A INF.B be SUB.4

witatará^u

Witatáraa'u

I am giving you the power

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

nəskuwáruksti^u

raskuwaárukstii'u

for you to be powerful

ra- s- ku- waarukstii -u
INF.A 2.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Tirakuráktahš^u,

Tíraaku

This

tii- ra- 0- kus -0 rak.tahc -u'
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 shield NOM

nakúpaku

rakuúpaku

when one is fighting

ra- 0- ku- apak -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B fight IMPF.SUB

ruuksawaštaraíra^u

ruksawactarariíra'u

if he is even burned

ra- 0- uks- awahc- tararit.ra'uk -0
ABS 3.A JUSS even.if burn SUB.3

tirákirⁱ

tiraákiri'

with a gun (powder)

tiraak -hiri'

gun LOC

hiruhkítawist^a

hi ruhkítawista

and it is going to bounce off him

hi ra- 0- uur- kita.wuh -his -ta . "
and ABS 3.A PREV glance.off PERF INT . "

Nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku'

That is what he said

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

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|------------|-------|--|--------------------|------|
| tírak ^u | | | | | | šahúk ⁱ | |
| tíraaku | | | | | | cahuúki | |
| this | | | | | | robe | |
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kus | -0 | | cahuu | -kis |
| this | ABS | 3.A | be.sitting | SUB.4 | | robe | DIM |

wiruksawašúrahəš
wiruksawahcúrahac
even if you were to die ,

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----|------|---------|---------|-------|---|
| wii- | ri- | a- | uks- | awahc- | hurahac | -0 | |
| now | CONT.3A | 2.P | JUSS | even.if | die | SUB.4 | , |

siruksawáškakawakətk^a
siruksawackákawaakatka
even if they were to cut you into pieces

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----|------|---------|-----------|-------|--|
| si- | ri- | 0- | uks- | awahc- | ka.ukac.k | -a | |
| DU | CONT.3A | 3.A | JUSS | even.if | cut.up | SUB.1 | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|--------|-------|---------|----------------------------|--|
| kítu | | | | | kisaštašápaht ^u | |
| kítuu'u' | | | | | kísactacápahtu' | |
| all | | | | | bits of flesh | |
| kituu | -u' | kisaac | raar- | tapaht | -u' | |
| all | NOM | meat | PL | be.fine | NOM | |

wiisuksawətstušpáwⁱ,
wi'isuksawactucpaáwi
even if you put them in different piles,

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----|------|---------|-------------|------|-------|
| wii- | i- | s- | uks- | awahc- | ra.uc | -waa | -wi |
| now | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | JUSS | even.if | be.lying.PL | DIST | SUB.L |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|-----|----|-----|---------|------------|
| hitarakúšahuk ⁱ | | | | | | |
| hi | tíraaku | | | | cahuúki | |
| and | this | | | | robe | |
| hi | tii- | ra- | 0- | kus | -0 | cahuu -kis |

and this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 robe DIM

nikúri
rikúri'
it is the one
riku- ri- 0- 0 -0
the.one CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

nikusirakarúš^u
Rikusirakaruúcu
That is where they'll place them in it
riku- si- ra- 0- ka- ra.uc.uh -0
that.is DU ABS 3.A in put.PL.P PERF

Kítuasirutkitirahpáp^u
Kítuu'u' a sirutkitiíraahpaapu
All and they'll wrap it up
kituu -u' a si- ra- 0- ut- kita.irahk.wuh -waa -0
all NOM and DU ABS 3.A PREV wrap.up DIST PERF

, hiruiriiisa
. Hiru iriíssa
. Then you'll lie there
. hiruu irii- i- s- sa -0
. then there CONT.1/2A 2.A be.lying PERF

hiruiriaruník^u
Hiru iri'aruuriíku
Then that is where it will be sitting
hiruu irii- a ruu- rii- 0- kus -0
then where and there ASSR 3.A be.sitting PERF

šahúkⁱ
cahuúki

the robe
cahuu -kis
robe DIM

wiiskarušpawikísətašápaht^u

wiiskarucaáwi

when you are placed in it

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----|-----|-------------|------|-------|--------|-------|---------|-----|
| wii- | i- | s- | ka- | ra.uc | -waa | -wi | kisaac | raar- | tapaht | -u' |
| when | CONT.1/2A | 2.A | in | be.lying.PL | DIST | SUB.L | meat | PL | be.fine | NOM |

kísactacápahtu'

bits of flesh

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

Nikutasikisikst^a

Rikutasiikísiksta

That is way you are going to live

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|-----|-----|---------|------|-----|---|---|
| riku- | ta- | s- | i- | kisik | -his | -ta | . | " |
| that.is | IND.1/2A | 2.A | SEQ | survive | PERF | INT | . | " |

Ahawáku

Ahawáku'

He said

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

Tirá^a

tíraa'a

this coming

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------|------|-------|-------|-----|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | a- | a | -0 | sakur | -u' | , |
| this | ABS | 3.A | PREV.3A | come | SUB.4 | sun | NOM | , |

sákur^u ,

Sákuuru'

Sun :

“
“
“
”
”

Hirituharikáhist^a

Hi rituuhaárikaahista

And I'm going to tell you

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-----------|-----|------|--------------|------|-----|
| hi | rii- | t- | ir- | a- | ut- | raa.ri.kaa.a | -his | -ta |
| and | ASSR | 1.A | PREV.1/2A | 2.P | PREV | tell.to | PERF | INT |

tiréspari

tiráspari

as you live here

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

tirakíshuhətⁿ

tirakiícuhat

by this creek

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-------|------------------|-------|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | kiic- | uhak | -0 |
| this | ABS | 3.A | water | extend.in.a.line | SUB.4 |

nikakasurahkitáwist^a

rikaakaasúrahkitawista

you are not going to have a chance

| | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----|---------|--------|------------|------|-----|
| rii- | kaaka- | s- | huraar- | kita- | wi | -his | -ta |
| then | NEG.IND.1/2A | 2.A | place | on.top | be.upright | PERF | INT |

. Sirakútik^a

. Sirakuútika

. If you are killed

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|----|---------|----|
| . si- | ra- | 0- | a- | kuut.ik | -a |
|-------|-----|----|----|---------|----|

. DU ABS 3.A 2.P kill SUB.1

tirakišuhətⁿ

tirakiícuhat

(by) this creek

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

kakasparíhust^a

kaakaasparíhusta

you are not going to live

kaaka- s- warii -:hus -ta
NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

tahurahášist^a

Tahurahácista

You are going to die

ti- a- hurahac -his -ta
IND.3A 2.P die PERF INT

nikuwitiwáku

Rikuwitiwáku'

That is what he said

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

Náw^a

,

ahawáku

,

“

Ráwa

ahawáku'

“

Now

he said

:

“

rawa

ar- ra-

0-

waka'u

-0

,

”

now

EV

ABS

3.A

say

PERF

,

”

Tihawírətaruh^a

Tihaawírataruuha

This way that I am giving to you
 tii- haa- wii- ra- t- a- raa- uh -a
 this here now ABS 1.A 2.P way give SUB.1

witatará^u (
 witatáraa'u . "
 I am giving you the way . "
 wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0 . "
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF . "

tuharáihk^u)
 Tuuhaará'ihku'
 He was meaning it
 ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

nákuwaruksti^u
 rakuwaárukstii'u
 to be mysterious
 ra- 0- ku- waarukstii -u
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D

nakutawarúkari .
 rakutawarúkaari .
 to be performing sleight-of-hand
 ra- 0- ku- tawaruk.aar -i .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B perform IMPF.SUB .

Irikuahušúks^a rihúsuk^u
 Iriku'ahucúksaariihúsuuku'
 that is the way he used to do
 irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- aar -i -:hus -uuku
 that INDF EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR do IMPF IMPF HAB

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|--|
| nahúrahk ⁱ | | nahkúra ^u | | | | | | |
| rahúrahki | | raahkúra'u | | | | | | |
| animal | | his making (ie performing) it | | | | | | |
| rahuraar | -kis | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | ra'uk | -0 | |
| animal | DIM | INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | make | SUB.3 | |

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----|---|
| narúkaat ^u | | . |
| raruúka'aatu' | | . |
| imaginary | | . |
| raar.uuka'aat | -u' | . |
| imaginary | NOM | . |

Arawitahkáwari

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|--------|-----|-----|--------|---------------------|-------|
| A | raawitaahkaáwari' | | | | | | | |
| And | there would just be walking around inside | | | | | | | |
| a | raa- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | kaa- | warii | -.hus |
| and | just | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | inside | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF |

| | | |
|-----------------------|------|--------------------|
| nahúrahk ⁱ | . | Hihaw ^a |
| rahúrahki | . | Hi hawá |
| an animal | . | And also |
| rahuraar | -kis | hi haawa |
| animal | DIM | and also |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----------------------|-----|
| wítaru | | | | | | narúkaat ^u | |
| wítaaru' | | | | | | raruúka'aatu' | |
| he would make it | | | | | | imitation | |
| wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | ra'uk | -0 | raar.uuka'aat | -u' |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | make | PERF | imaginary | NOM |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----------------|---------------------|--|
| hurətkiš ^u | | , | hihawawihiru | | |
| huurutkiícu' | | , | hi hawá wihiru | | |
| mud | | , | and also there | | |
| huuruht | kiic | -u' | , | hi haawa wii- hiruu | |

be.muddy liquid NOM , and also now there

witahkáwari

witaahkaáwari'

he would be going around inside

| | | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----|-----|--------|---------------------|-------|
| wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | kaa- | warii | -:hus |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | inside | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF |

ráhuraríhari

ráhuraarihari'

young animals

rahuraar iharii

animal young

nahkuharúwari.

raahkuuharuúwari.

his going around with them.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|------------|------|---------------------|----------|
| ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | ut- | raar- | ruu- | warii | -hus |
| INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | PREV | 3PL.INAN.P | PORT | be.going.about.IMPF | IMPF.SUB |

Irihwakíah^u

I rihwaki'aahu'

So they said:

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------------|-------|---|
| i | ra- | 0- | ir- | waki.a | -:hus | " |
| and | ABS | 3.A | PL.3A | say.PL.IMPF | IMPF | " |

tiwáruksti

Tiwaáruksti'

He is powerful

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|------------|------|---|---|
| ti- | 0- | waarukstii | -0 | . | " |
| IND.3A | 3.A | be.holy | PERF | . | " |

Arahkúra^u

A raahkúra'u

And when he would make it
a ra- 0- ar- ku- ra'uk -0
and INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make SUB.3

nahkúra^u níkuškⁱ
raahkúra'u ríkucki
when he would make it a bird
ra- 0- ar- ku- ra'uk -0 rikuc -kis
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make SUB.3 bird DIM

arawitarawikatawihák^u
a raawitaarawikátawihaaku'
and it would just fly around
a raa- wi- ti- 0- ar- awi.kata.wi.hak -:hus
and just QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV fly.around.inside IMPF

kúrakətⁿ
kúraakat
in the medicine lodge
kuraa -kat
doctor LOC

nahkukurárahkawⁱ
raahkukuraáraahkaawi
when the doctors met inside
ra- 0- ar- ku- kuraa- raar- kaa -wi
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B doctor PL be.inside SUB.L

hiwítaru níkuškⁱ
hi wítaaru' ríkucki
and he would make it a bird
hi wi- ti- 0- ar- ra'uk -0 rikuc -kis
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV make PERF bird DIM

arawitahkatawíhak^u

a raawitaahkatawíhaaku'

and it would just fly around

a raa- wi- ti- 0- ar- kata.wi.hak -:hus
and just QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV fly.around.inside IMPF

híwitawaritⁿ,

hi witaáhwarit

and he would shoot at it

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- warik -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV shoot PERF

arawitahukawirikáwari

a raawitaahukawirikaáwari'

and he would just walk around inside with it stuck in it

a raa- wi- ti- 0- ar- hukaa -wi ri- kaa- warii -:hus
and just QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.stuck.in SUB.L PORT inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

níkuškⁱ

níhwakihu

ríkucki

ríhwakihu

the bird

what they call

rikuc -kis ra- 0- ir- waki.a -hus
bird DIM ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF.SUB

kás^tⁿ .

kaásit .

blackbird .

kaasit .

blackbird .

Irirurakušiar^a

Iriuurakúci'aara

When he would do things

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|-----|-------|------|-----|-----|-------|
| irii- | ruu- | ra- | 0- | ku- | ut- | i- | aar | -a |
| that | then | INF.A | 3.A | INF.B | PREV | SEQ | do | SUB.1 |

títak^u

tirahúrákš^a

tiítaku

tirahúraahca

here

this ground

tii- -taku

tii- ra-

0-

huraar-

sa

-0

here

LOC

this

ABS

3.A

earth

be.lying

SUB.3

kaháhiri

huráhkiskatⁿ

kaahaáhiri'

huraáhkiskat

inside the lodge

on the bare ground

kaa- -haar

-hiri'

huraar-

kiis

-kat

inside

LOC

LOC

ground

bone

LOC

hiraruwitarasukáætⁿ

hi raaruwitaárasukaa'at

and then he would just put his foot in it

hi raa-

ruu-

wi-

ti-

0-

ar-

as-

hukaa.at

-0

and

just

then

QUOT

IND.3A

3.A

EV

foot

go.into

PERF

, títak^u

. Tiítaku

. Here

. tii- -taku

. here LOC

aruwitaruši kahšiihætⁿ

a ruuwitarucikaáhci'iihat

and his leg would sink into it
a ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- kaas- ci'ii.hak -0
and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ leg be.half.submerged PERF

tirahuráhkkihš^a

tirahuraáhkkihca

this bare ground

tii- ra- 0- huraar- kiis- sa -0
this ABS 3.A ground bone be.lying SUB.3

hiwitarasurətkawátətⁿ

hi witaarasuurutkawátat

and he would take his foot out of the mud

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- as- huuruht- kawatak -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV foot mud get.out PERF

,

hiwitiškišparúka

hi witiškišparuúkaa'

and the water came up

hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- kiic- waruu.kaa.a -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A water bubble.up PERF

. Iriwakíah^u

. I rihwaki'aahu' "

. And they said: "

. i ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus "

. and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF "

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|------------|------|--|---|--|---|
| tiwáruksti | | | | | . | | |
| Tiwaáruksti' | | | | | . | | " |
| He is powerful | | | | | . | | " |
| ti- | 0- | waarukstii | -0 | | . | | " |
| IND.3A | 3.A | be.holy | PERF | | . | | " |

Arahkutár^a

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|-------|
| A | raahkuutaára | | | | | | |
| And | when he would do it | | | | | | |
| a | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | ut- | aar | -a |
| and | INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | PREV | do | SUB.1 |

nahkuhakšáwuh^a

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|-------|-------------|-------|
| raahkuuhaakcáwuha | | | | | | | |
| when he would plant a tree | | | | | | | |
| ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | uur- | haak- | ca.wuh | -a |
| INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | PREV | wood | put.upright | SUB.1 |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|------|----------------------|-----|--|---|
| nakíripəšk ⁱ | | | táwašak ^u | | | |
| rakíripacki | | | táwahcaaku' | | | |
| a small tree | | | cedar | | | , |
| rak | kiripac | -kis | tawahc.haak | -u' | | , |
| wood | small | DIM | cedar | NOM | | , |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|------|----------------------|-----|--|---|
| nakíripašk ⁱ | | | táwašak ^u | | | |
| rakíripacki | | | táwahcaaku' | | | |
| a small tree | | | cedar | | | , |
| rak | kiripac | -kis | tawahc.haak | -u' | | , |
| wood | small | DIM | cedar | NOM | | , |

hiwítaruta

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----|----|-----|-----|--------|
| hi | wítaruuta | | | | | |
| and | he would do it: | | | | | |
| hi | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | ut- | aar -0 |

and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV do PERF

hiwitaruhákšaw^u

hi witaruuhaákawu

and he would put a stick in the ground

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- haak- ca.wuh -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV wood put.upright PERF

náhku hakkiška^u

raákuhaakicka'u

a stick that was pointed

ra- 0- ar- ku- haak- icka.u -0
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B wood be.pointed SUB.3

hiwitaru hakšaríkətⁿ

hi witaruúhaakcarikut

and he would pull the stick out

hi wi- ti- 0- ar- uur- haak- ca.ri.kuk -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV wood pull.out PERF

hiwihiruwitahakapəštahkatúk^u

hi wihiru witaahakapactahkatáku

and there there would be roots on it

hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- haak- kapahc- raar- kata- kus -0
and now there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV wood root PL against.a.vertical.surface be.sitting PERF

. Awiahašawáwuhu

. A wi'ahaacawaáwuhu

. And when he doctored them

. a wii- ar- ra- 0- ica.wuh -waa -hus
. and when EV ABS 3.A doctor DIST IMPF.SUB

šáhiks

cáhiks

persons
icaahiks
person

wirahkúksawa
wiraahkúksawa

when he was nearly

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|--------|----|-------|
| wii- | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | uks- | awahc- | 0 | -0 |
| when | INF.A | 3.A | EV | INF.B | JUSS | even | be | SUB.4 |

,

wirahkuksawašurahahšístaritⁿ

wiraahkuksawahcurahacístarit

when one was even going to die

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|--------|---------|------|-----|---------|
| wii- | ra- | 0- | ar- | ku- | uks- | awahc- | hurahac | -his | -ta | -rit |
| when | INF.A | 3.P | EV | INF.B | JUSS | even | die | PERF | INT | INT.SUB |

hiwitarúhahuru

hi witaruuhaahúru'

, and he would doctor him

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------|-----|-----|------|----------|------|
| , hi | wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | ut- | rahur.uu | -0 |
| , and | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | PREV | doctor | PERF |

awitáhkisitⁿ

a witaáhkisit .

and he would be well .

| | | | | | | |
|----------|--------|-----|-----|---------|------|---|
| a wi- | ti- | 0- | ar- | kisik | -0 | . |
| and QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | EV | survive | PERF | . |

iwísiahirít^a

I wisi'ahiiriíta
And now they knew him
i wii- si- ar- ra- 0- a- ir- iita -0
and now DU EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

 wítiwáruksti . Náwa^a ,
. Witiwaáruksti' . Ráwa
. He was holy . Now ,
. wi- ti- 0- waarukstii -0 . rawa ,
. QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.holy PERF . now ,

irárⁱ , háwa śáhiks
iraári' , hawá cáhiks
brother , also a person,
i- -raar- -ri' , haawa icaahiks
3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B , also person

hihawaahakitár^tn

hi hawá ahakitaárit
and also he stood on top (of a hill)
hi haawa ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
and also EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

hihawaahawáku

hi hawá ahawáku'
and also he said
hi haawa ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0
and also EV ABS 3.A say PERF

tírahətⁿ , “ Náwa^a ,
tíraahat , “ Ráwa
this one passing : “ Now
tii- ra- 0- hak -0 , " rawa

this ABS 3.A pass.by SUB.4 , " now

sirutihatutawírist^a

ciru tihatuuatawírista

yet you are going to stay here nights

ciruu tii- ar- ra- t- ut- ha.wa.ir -his -ta
yet here EV ABS 1.A PREV night.to.elapse.DIST PERF INT

tiharəskitarikⁱ

tihaaraskitaárika

for you to stand here on top

tii- haa- ra- s- kita- arik -i
here here ABS 2.A on.top be.standing SUB.2

hiruisikáísətⁿ

Hiru isikaá'íisat

Then you'll go home

hiruu i- s- i- kaa- iis.at -0
then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ inside go.out.of.sight PERF

"
"
"
"
"

Aahištákuruš^u

A ahictákuruucu

And it was days

a ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- sakur- ra.uc.uh -0
and EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV day put.PL.P PERF

skítiiks kararáhkukika

kskiíti'iks kararaahkuúkiika

four for him not to drink,
 iks.kiiti'iks kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- kiikaa -0
 four NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B drink SUB.4

kararahkuhakáwaš .
 kararaahkuuhaakáwac .
 for him not to eat .
 kara- ra- 0- ar- ku- haakawahc -0 .
 NEG INF.A 3.A EV INF.B eat SUB.4 .

Hiruahikitaúritⁿ
 Hiru ahikita'uuúrit
 Then he stood up on top
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- kita- uuri.arik -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A on.top stand.upright PERF

pít^a . Náw^a , híhaw^a
 píta . Ráwa hi hawá
 the man . Now , and also
 wiita . rawa , hi haawa
 man . now , and also

irikúhuta ,
 irikúhuuta
 that is what he did
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
 what DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

hihawakuhítašikskápak^{is}
 hi hawá kuhiítacikskápaakis
 and also he was given a blessing
 hi haawa kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -0
 and also DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV bless PERF

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

Tirəskitárikⁱ

Tiraskitaáriki

You standing here on top,

tii- ra- s- kita- arik -i
 here ABS 2.A on.top be.standing SUB.2

witasíwaktiks

witasiíwaktiks

you are truly earnest

wi- ta- s- i- wak.rik.his -0
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.truthful PERF . Náv^a ,
 . Ráwa
 . Now
 . rawa
 . now

witatuhist^a

witatuúhista

I am going to give you

wi- ta- t- a- uh -his -ta
 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P give PERF INT

náktahš^u

ráktahcu’

a shield

rak.tahc -u’

shield NOM

naktahšusítuhukst^a

Ráktahcu’

sítuuhuksta

A shield

they are going to make it for you

rak.tahc -u’ si- ti- 0- a- ut- ra’uk -his -ta

shield NOM DU IND.3A 3.A 2.P BEN make PERF INT

.
. .
. .
. .

Tisiruhúkstar^{it}ⁿ

Tisiruuhúkstarit

When they are going to make it for you

tii- si- ra- 0- a- ut- ra'uk -his -ta -rit
when DU ABS 3.A 2.P PREV make PERF INT INT.SUB

núktahš^u

ráktahcu'

a shield

rak.tahc -u'

shield NOM

hirisuparikarárawist^a

hi riisuhpaarikaraárawista

and you are going to draw horns on it

hi rii- s- uur- waa.arika raar- awi.wuh -his -ta
and ASSR 2.A PREV be.horned PL draw PERF INT

ihí , árikatəs
ihí , árikatus
, uh , bighorn ,
, ihii , arika.tus ,
, uh , bighorn ,

naritahkatit^u

raaríktahkatiitu

nahurahkⁱ

rahúrahki .

hihiruirirutasuširitakáhətⁿ

hi hiru iriruutasucirítakaahat
and there then you'll take it down

hi hiruu irii- ruu- ta- s- ut- i- ri- takaa.hak -0
and there that then IND.1/2A 2.A BEN SEQ PORT get.down PERF

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

háw^a nikuwitirá^u

haáwa' rikuwitíraa'u
also that is the one he gave the way to

haawa riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- uh -0
also that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way give PERF

píta . A ahawáku , "
piíta . A ahawáku' "
the man . And he said : "
wiita . a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
man . and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tirasirikuréktahšu

Tirasírhku

This one of yours

tii- ra- s- ir- ri- uur- kus -0 ráktahcu'
this ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4 shield -u'
shield NOM

hihawaisiríhku

hi hawá isiríhku
and also you'll have it

hi haawa i- s- ir- ri- uur- kus -0

and also CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting PERF

árikatus nakúwitət^u

árikatus rakúwitat

bighorn to wear it

arika.tus ra- 0- ku- witak -0

bighorn INF.A 3.A INF.B wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4

hawárikuaharuk^u

. " Hawá riku'aharuúku' . "

. " Also that is what he was making .

. " haawa riku- ar- ra- 0- ra'uk -:hus .

. " also that.is EV ABS 3.A make IMPF .

Náwa , irárⁱ ,

Ráwa iraári'

Now , brother ,

rawa , i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

hihawárikuahihuhuru

hi hawá riku'ahiihuúhuru'

and also that is what was planned for him

hi haawa riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ruuhur.ra'uk -0

and also that.is EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF BEN plan PERF

, witáruk^u šahúkⁱ

. Wítuuhuuku' cahuúki

. He was making it for him a robe

. wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'uk -:hus cahuu -kis

. QUOT IND.3A 3.A BEN make IMPF robe DIM

árikatus ihí

árikatus ihi

bighorn , uh ,
 arika.tus , ihii ,
 bighorn , uh ,

rakúwitətⁿ .
 rakúwitat . "
 to wear . "
 ra- 0- ku- wítak -0 . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4 . "

Nuruksawəštátúhkat
 Ruuruksawahcatúhkat

Let him even go down the trail

ruu- ra- 0- uks- awahc- hatuur- ka- at -0
 then ABS 3.A JUSS even road in go PERF

. I , ahawáku,
 . I ahawáku' "
 ! " And he said:x "
 . " i ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 "
 . " and EV ABS 3.A say PERF "

Tiwirətuhara^uwitatára^u,

Tiwiratuuhaára'u

Now that I have made the way for you

tii- wii- ra- t- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0 wi- ta- t- a- raa- uh -0
 here now ABS 1.A 2.P BEN way make SUB.3 QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF

witatáraa'u

I am giving you the way

nəskuwaruksti^u .

raskuwaárukstii'u . "

for you to be powerful . "

ra- s- ku- waarukstii -u . "
 INF.A 2.A INF.B be.holy SUB.D . "

Witírak^u árikatus
 Hi tíraaku árikatus
 And this bighorn
 hi tii- ra- 0- kus -0 arika.tus
 and this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 bighorn

wituuháihk^u ,
 wituuhá'ihku' . "
 he meant it . "
 wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus . "
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF . "

tirəstahístarⁱtⁿ
 Tirastaahístarit
 This that you are going to have
 tii- ra- s- raah -his -ta -rit
 this ABS 2.A have PERF INT INT.SUB

nikutəstuwaríhust^a
 rikutastuuwariíhusta
 that is the one you are going to carry around
 riku- ta- s- ruu- warii -:hus -ta
 that.is IND.1/2A 2.A PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

, ihi ,
 , ihi ,
 , uh ,
 , ihii ,
 , uh ,

rasišawawuhústaritⁿ árikatus
 raasícawaawuuhustarit árikatus
 when you are going to doctor big horn
 ra- s- ica.wuh -waa -hus -ta -rit arika.tus

ABS 2.A doctor DIST IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB bighorn

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|--------------------|-----|---------|------|---|---|
| | íhi | | nítku ^u | | šahúki | | . | " |
| | ihii | | rítkuu'u' | | cahuúki | | . | " |
| , | uh | , | tail | | robe | | . | " |
| , | ihii | , | ritku | -u' | cahuu | -kis | . | " |
| , | uh | , | tail | NOM | robe | DIM | . | " |

Aahawáku , "

A ahawáku' "

And he said :

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

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Tiwirətuh^a náktahš^u

Tiwíratuuha ráktahcu'

This that I have given you shield

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|----------|-----|
| tii- | wii- | ra- | t- | a- | uh | -a | rak.tahc | -u' |
| this | now | ABS | 1.A | 2.P | give | SUB.1 | shield | NOM |

rusiruksawáštaku

ruusiruksawáctaku

even if they shoot you

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|-----|-----|------|---------|-------|----------|
| ruu- | si- | ri- | 0- | a- | uks- | awahc- | cak | -hus |
| then | DU | CONT.3A | 3.A | 2.P | JUSS | even.if | shoot | IMPF.SUB |

,

,

,

siruksawáštaku

siruksawáctaku

even if they shoot you

si- ri- 0- a- uks- awahc- cak -hus
DU CONT.3A 3.A 2.P JUSS even.if shoot IMPF.SUB

hikaririruhú^u

hi kariiriiruhú'u

, and it won't be planned

, hi kari- rii- 0- ruuhur -'
, and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.the.way EX

sirákušətⁿ

. Náwa

siraákuucat

. Ráwa

for them to pierce you

. Now

si- ra- 0- a- ku- cak -0 . rawa
DU INF.A 3.A 2.P INF.B shoot SUB.4 . now

sirašókstar^tⁿ

siraacákstarit

when they are going to shoot you

si- ra- 0- a- cak -his -ta -rit
DU ABS 3.A 2.P shoot PERF INT INT.SUB

nikutasutpiúarista

rikutasutpi'uú'arista

that is the way you are going to face

riku- ta- s- ut- wi.uu -aar -his -ta
that.is IND.1/2A 2.A PREV be.facing INCH PERF INT

tiiriratət^a,

ti'iriiraátata

here where I go

tii- irii- ra- t- at -a
here where ABS 1.A go SUB.1

hiihatakuruisušiwíuá

hi ihaátaku ruu'isuciwí'uu'a
and there then you'll face it
hi ii- haa- -taku ruu- i- s- ut- i- wi.uu -aar -0
and there here LOC then CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ be.facing INCH PERF

iharasákak^u

iharasaákaku
there where the sun is
ii- haa- ra- 0- saak- ka- kus -0
there here ABS 3.A sun in be.sitting SUB.4

sisturikutəsparíhust^a

Sístu rikutasparíhusta
Again that is where you are going to go around
sistu riku- ta- s- warii -:hus -ta
again that.is IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

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

Tatuhárikahist^a

Tatuuhaárikaahista
I am going to tell you
ta- t- ir- a- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -his -ta
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A 2.P PREV tell.to PERF INT

kakasuráhkit^a

. Kaakaasuraáhkita .
. You are not here forever .
. kaaka- s- huraa.r.kita -0 .

. NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.permanent PERF .

iskúkætⁿ

Iskuúkut

If you go in woods

i- s- ka- uukuk -0
CONT.1/2A 2.A in.the.brush get.into SUB.4

siruhirahkukætⁿ

ciru hi raahkuúkut

yet and if you go in the woods

ciruu hi ri- 0- ar- ka- uukuk -0
yet and CONT.3A 3.A EV in.the.brush get.into PERF

tirakáhuraruhætⁿ

tirakáhuraaruhat

this woods

tii- ra- 0- kahuraar- uhak -0
this ABS 3.A brushy.area extend.in.a.line SUB.4

kahuráhkætⁿ

kahuraáhkát

in the woods

kahuraar- -kat si- ra- 0- a- kuut.ik -a
brushy.area LOC DU ABS 3.A 2.P kill SUB.1

sirakútik^a

sirakuútika

when they kill you

kakasparíhust^a

kaakaasparíhusta

you are not going to be going around

kaaka- s- warii -:hus -ta .
NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT .

Kišiáhatak^u

Kici a haátaku

But and there
 kici a haa- -taku
 but and here LOC

sirakútik^a

sirakuútika

if they kill you

si- ra- 0- a- kuut.ik -a
 DU ABS 3.A 2.P kill SUB.1

kitahahpáritkætⁿ

kitahaahpáritkat

on a bare hilltop

kita.haar- parit -kat
 hilltop be.smooth LOC

sistutəsparíhust^a

sistú tasparíhusta

again you are going to go around

sistu ta- s- warii -:hus -ta
 again IND.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

Itiwiratuhára^u

I tiwiratuuhaára'u

And now that I have made this way for you

i tii- wii- ra- t- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
 and this now ABS 1.A 2.P BEN way make SUB.3

tihawiratuhára^u

tahaawiratuuhaára'u

now that I have made this way for you

tii- haa- wii- ra- t- a- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
 this here now ABS 1.A 2.P PREV way make SUB.3

sikusúšikus
sikuusúcikus . "

they will set it down for you . "

si- kuus- 0- a- ut- i- kus.k -0 . "
DU POT.1/3A 3.A 2.P BEN SEQ put PERF . "

íhi wituhaihkúihi
Ihi wituuhá'ihku' ihi
Uh , he was meaning it , uh
ihii , wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus , ihii
uh , QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF , uh

šáhūkⁱ . Naw^a háwa píta ,
cáhuuki . Ráwa haáwa' piíta
, the robe . Now another man ,
, cahuu -kis . rawa haawa wiita ,
, robe DIM . now also man ,

hawápīt^a tiirírətpakahu
hawá piíta ti'iriiratpaakahu
another man, this one I am saying
haawa wiita tii- irii- ra- t- waaka -hus
also man this that ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

witukstátawi
witukstaátawi'
it used to be that way
wi- ti- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR way be.among PERF

rakúkitarikⁱ
rakúkitaariki
to stand on it
ra- 0- ku- kita- arik -i

INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be.standing SUB.2

ráhkuhitkⁱ ,
raáhkuuhitki .
for one to dream .
ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- raa.itkii -0 .
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV dream SUB.4 .

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

Kiskitaurír^tn
Kiskita’uuriirit
Stand up on it
kii- i- s- kita- uuri.arik -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A on.top stand.upright PERF

tiráwak^u ,
tiráwaaku .
this hill .
tii- ra- 0- waa- kus -0 .
this ABS 3.A hill be.sitting SUB.4 .

širukakasákawašist^a
Ciru kaakasaákawahcista
Yet you are not going to eat
ciruu kaaka- s- haakawahc -his -ta
yet NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A eat PERF INT

nakustaku núšuh^a . ”
rakuctakuruúcuha . ”

to be so many days
 ra- 0- ku- ut- sakur- ra.uc.uh -a . "
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV day put.PL.P SUB.1 . "

Hawáruahikitaúíⁱtⁿ

Hawá ruu'ahikita'uúíirit
 Also then he stood up on top
 haawa ruu- ar- ri- 0- kita- uuri.arik -0
 also then EV CONT.3A 3.A on.top stand.upright PERF

aháwaahakitáⁱtⁿ

a haáwa' ahakitaárit
 and also he stood on top
 a haawaa ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
 and also EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

aháwa ahakitáⁱtⁿ ,

a haáwa' ahakitaárit
 and also he stood on top
 a haawaa ar- ra- 0- kita- arik -0
 and also EV ABS 3.A on.top be.standing PERF

irikuhištákurašírahətⁿ

irikuuhictákuraciúrahət
 whenever the end of the days was
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- sakur- raar- tiirahak -0
 when DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV day PL be.the.end PERF

aahararíhəš

a ahararíhac . Náwa^a
 and he completed them . Ráwa
 a ar- ra- 0- raar- riihac -0 . rawa
 and EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P finish PERF . now

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------|--------------|-----|---------|-----|--------|------|--|
| , | híhaw ^a | | ruahiwáku | | | | | | |
| | hi | haáwa' | ruu'ahiwáku' | | | | | | |
| , | and | also | then he said | | | | | | |
| , | hi | haawaa | ruu- | ar- | ri- | 0- | waka'u | -0 | |
| , | and | also | then | EV | CONT.3A | 3.A | say | PERF | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------|---|------------------|---|-----------|-----|--|--|
| , | " | Náw ^a | , | náw ^a | , | róktahšu | | | |
| | " | Ráwa | | ráwa | | ráktahcu' | | | |
| : | " | Now | , | now | | a shield | | | |
| , | " | rawa | , | rawa | | rak.tahc | -u' | | |
| , | " | now | , | now | | shield | NOM | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|-----|------|------|--|----------------------|-----|--|
| witóta ^u | | | | | | | nóktahš ^u | | |
| witáta'u | | | | | | | Ráktahcu' | | |
| I am giving it to you | | | | | | | A shield | | |
| wi- | ta- | t- | a- | uh | -0 | | rak.tahc | -u' | |
| QUOT | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | give | PERF | | shield | NOM | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|-----|------|------|--|---|--|--|
| witóta ^u | | | | | | | " | | |
| witáta'u | | | | | | | " | | |
| I am giving it to you | | | | | | | " | | |
| wi- | ta- | t- | a- | uh | -0 | | " | | |
| QUOT | IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | give | PERF | | " | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|----------------------|-----|--|
| Tiwíratuha | | | | | | | nóktahš ^u | | |
| Tiwíratuuha | | | | | | | ráktahcu' | | |
| This that I am giving you | | | | | | | the shield | | |
| tii- | wii- | ra- | t- | a- | uh | -a | rak.tahc | -u' | |
| this | now | ABS | 1.A | 2.P | give | SUB.1 | shield | NOM | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|------|-------|---------|------|-----|--|--|------|
| təsupáksawist ^a | | | | | | | | | íhi |
| tasuhpáksawista | | | | | | | | | ihi |
| you are to draw a head on it | | | | | | | | | uh |
| ta- | s- | uur- | paks- | awi.wuh | -his | -ta | | | ihii |

IND.1/2A 2.A PREV head draw PERF INT , uh

a tasurawíst^a
a tasuurawísta
, and you are going to draw it
, a ta- s- uur- awi.wuh -his -ta
, and IND.1/2A 2.A PREV draw PERF INT

hupír^{it}ⁿ íkarikətⁿ
huupírít íkarikat
a star in the middle
huupirik iika.arik -kat
star stand.in.the.middle LOC

narurakúkak^u ,
raaruurakúkaku
to be just on it
raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- ka- kus -0
just then INF.A 3.A INF.B in be.sitting SUB.4

hitikítawa
hi tikítawa
and it'll branch out
hi ti- 0- kita -waa -0
and IND.3A 3.A be.a.branch DIST PERF

nakukápirarikⁱ . "
rakukaapiraáriki . "
to be zigzagging . "
ra- 0- ku- kaa.pira.arik -i . "
INF.A 3.A INF.B zigzag SUB.2 . "

Ahawáku , "
Ahawáku' "

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

Wisiistarawísta^u
 Wisi'istaraawísta'u
 When you smoke it

wii- si- i- s- raar- raawis- ra'uk -0
 when DU CONT.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P smoke make SUB.3

hihirurikusiiisutpiúrutⁿ

hi hiru rikusi'isutpi'uúrut
 and there that is the way you'll face it
 hi hiruu riku- si- i- s- ut- wi.uu.ruhk -0
 and there that.is DU CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV turn.to.face PERF

tiirirəsakúrahu
 ti'iriirasakuúrahu
 here where the sun comes

tii- irii- ra- 0- a- sakur- a -hus
 here where ABS 3.A PREV.3A sun come IMPF.SUB

tiirirətírahu
 ti'iriiratiírahu

here where I come . "
 . "
 . "
 tii- irii- ra- t- ir- a -hus . "
 here where ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A come IMPF.SUB . "

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

tətúhist^a

tatuúhista

I am going to give you

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|
| ta- | t- | a- | uh | -his | -ta |
| IND.1/2A | 1.A | 2.P | give | PERF | INT |

iriratuhístar^{tⁿ}

iriiratuuhístarit

what I am going to give you

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|---------|---|---|
| irii- | ra- | t- | a- | uh | -his | -ta | -rit | . | " |
| what | ABS | 1.A | 2.P | give | PERF | INT | INT.SUB | . | " |

Witíru

Witiíru

He was given it by him

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----|-----|------|------|
| wi- | ti- | 0- | ir- | uh | -0 |
| QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | OBV | give | PERF |

tahapakíah^u

tahapakí'aahu'

we call it

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

tiráwahətⁿ

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

tirarúšpawⁱ

tirarúcpaawi

these different ones

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|-------|------|-----|---------|------|---|
| tii- | ra- | 0- | ra.uc | -waa | -wi | káritki | , | |
| | | | | | | káritki | , | |
| | | | | | | stones | , | |
| | | | | | | karit- | -kis | , |

this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L rock DIM ,

naruhúr^u
raruuhuúru'
a meteorite
raruuhuur -u'
meteorite NOM

hiirikúhiru .
hi irikúhiiru .
and that is what was given to him .
hi irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- uh -0 .
and what DUB ABS 3.A 3.INDF give PERF .

Aahawaku , "
A ahawáku' "
And he said : "
a ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Ihitiwírətuh^a
Ihi tiwíratuuha
Eh , what I have given you
ihii , tii- wii- ra- t- a- uh -a
uh , this now ABS 1.A 2.P give SUB.1

tásasarukst^a ihi
taásasaaruksta ihi
you are going to be named , uh ,
ta- s- asar uk -his -ta , ihii ,
IND.1/2A 2.A be.named be PERF INT , uh ,

rəktahšurárah^a . " Náw^a
Ráktahcu' Ráraaha . " Ráwa

Carrying the Shield . " Now
rak.tahc -u' ra- 0- raah -a . " rawa
shield NOM ABS 3.A have SUB.1 . " now

irikurúksasa^a kúrahus ,
irikurúksasa'a kúrahus .
he was named that an old man .
irii- ku- ra- 0- uks- asar -' kuruhuus .
that INDF ABS 3.A AOR be.named EX old.man .

kurahúskahikátⁱ
Kurahuskaahiiku' ti'
A very old man he was
kuruhuus kaahik -u' ti- 0- 0 -0
old.man aged NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF

nətuutírítⁿ .
ratuutiírit .
when I saw him .
ra- t- ut- iirik -0 .
ABS 1.A PREV see PERF .

Hiríhwakⁱ , "
Hi ríhwaki' "
And they said : "
hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , "
and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , "

Tuksasá^a
Tuksasá'a
He was named
ti- 0- uks- asar -'
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named EX

náktahš^u rárah^a . "

Ráktahcu' Ráraaha . "

Carrying the Shield . "

rak.tahc -u' ra- 0- raah -a . "

shield NOM ABS 3.A have SUB.1 . "

Nikuwitihúrasaru

Rikuwitihúrasaru'

That was the one who named him

riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- huur.asar -:hus

that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV be.named IMPF

hirútirah^u

hiru tíraahu

then this one coming

hiruu tii- ra- 0- a- a -hus

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

sakúr^u . Ahawáku , "

Sakuúru' . Ahawáku' , "

Sun . He said ; "

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

sun NOM . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Kasisá^a nátkətⁿ

Kasiísá'a rátkat

You will be named later

kaas- s- i- asar -' rat- -kat

POT.2A 2.A SEQ be.named EX afterwards LOC

Tarariwák^a . "

Tarariwaáka' . "

He Comes Bringing Thunder . "

ti- 0- a- ra- rii.wak a -0 . "

IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT sound come PERF . "

Nikuwituháihk^u

Rikuwituuhá'ihku'

That is the one he meant

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------|--------|-------|--|
| riku- | wi- | ti- | 0- | ut- | ra'ihk | -.hus | |
| that.is | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | PREV | mean | IMPF | |

naruhúr^u

nukstáh^a

raruuhuúru'

rukstaáha

a meteorite

his having had it

raruuhuur

-u'

ra-

0-

uks-

raah

-a

meteorite

NOM

ABS

3.A

AOR

have

SUB.1

Hiwihirurikúrisa

Hi wihiru

rikuriisá'

And then

that was his name

hi wii- hiruu

riku-

0-

ri-

0-

asar

-0

and

now

then

that.is

3.A

CONT.3A

3.A

be.named

PERF

iratutirⁱn

iratuutiirit

when I saw him

ii-

ra-

t-

ut-

iirik

-0

when

ABS

1.A

PREV

see

SUB.4

kúrahuswitⁱ

Kúrahus

wíti'

An old man

he was

kurahuus

wi-

ti-

0-

0

-0

old.man

QUOT

IND.3A

3.A

be

PERF

nikutúksasa

Rikutúksasa'

That is what he was named

riku- ti- 0- uks- asar -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR be.named PERF

Tararíwak^a

Tararíwaaka'

He Comes Bringing Thunder

ti- 0- a- ra- rii.wak a -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT sound come PERF

Háwarikuwititašikskápak's

Haáwa' rikuwitiitacikskápaakis

Also that one was pitied by it

haawa

also

tirá^asákur^u

tiraá'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0 Sákuuru'
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 sun -u'
sun NOM

Hawáaahirá^u

Hawá ahiraá'u

Also he was given the power

haawa ar- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
also EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF way give PERF

kúra^u

kúraa'u'

a doctor

kuraa -u'
doctor NOM

kúra^u

kúraa'u'

, a doctor

, kuraa -u'
, doctor NOM

iahukišawáwuhusúku

i'ahuksicawaáwuhusúku

when he used to treat different ones

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|------|---------|------|----------|---------|
| ii- | ar- | ra- | 0- | uks- | ica.wuh | -waa | -hus | -uku |
| when | EV | ABS | 3.A | AOR | doctor | DIST | IMPF.SUB | HAB.SUB |

. Karawitukskápakⁱs .

. Karawitukskaápaakis .

. He was not poor .

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|--------|-----|------|-----------|------|-----|
| . kara- | wi- | ti- | 0- | uks- | kaapaakis | -0 | . . |
| . NEG | QUOT | IND.3A | 3.A | AOR | be.poor | PERF | . . |

I iwíra^u

kúrahus

I iwíra'u

kúrahus

And when he was

an old man

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------|-----|-----|----|-------|----------|
| i ii- | wii- | ra- | 0- | uu | -0 | kurahuus |
| and when | when | ABS | 3.A | be | SUB.4 | old.man |

hihinítutir^{tⁿ}

hi ihi rítuutiirit .

and , uh , I saw him .

hi , ihii , rii- t- 0- ut- iirik -0 .

and , , ASSR 1.A 3.P PREV see PERF .

witikápakⁱs

kúrahus ,

Witikaápaakis

kúrahus .

He was pitiful

the old man .

wi- ti- 0- kaapaakis -0 kurahuus .

QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.pitiful PERF old.man .

kurahuskahikúwītⁱ

Kurahuškaahiíku'

wíti'

A very old man

he was

kurahuus kaahik -u' wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 .

old.man aged NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

hawárikuwitirá^u

hawá rikuwitiráá'u

also that one was given the way

haawa riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
also that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A 3.INDF way give PERF

kúra^u .
kúraa'u' .
a doctor .
kuraa -u' .
doctor NOM .

Witúkspari

Witúkspari'

He had been

wi- ti- 0- uks- warii -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF PERF

nawiráhis^u .
raawiiraáhisu' .
a warrior .
raawiir.aah.his -u' .
warrior NOM .

Irikúhawaku , "
Irikuuhawáku' "

He said that : "
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , "
 that DUB ABS 3.A say PERF , "

Təstuwaríhust^a

Tastuuwariíhusta

You are going to carry it around

ta- s- ruu- warii -:hus -ta
 IND.1/2A 2.A PORT be.going.about.IMPF IMPF INT

tírak^u naruhúr^u .
 tíraaku raruuhuúru' .
 this meteorite .
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 raruuhuur -u' .
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 meteorite NOM .

Nawiráhis^u tásukst^a . "
 Raawiiraáhisu' tásuksta . "
 A warrior you are going to be . "
 raawiir.aah.his -u' ta- s- uk -his -ta . "
 warrior NOM IND.1/2A 2.A be PERF INT . "

Irikúahišuks

Iríku'ahicuks

That is what he used to be

irii- ku- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -0
 that INDF EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV AOR be PERF

, širúahukskipirir^u .
 ciru ahukskípiriiru .
 yet when he was young .
 ciruu ar- ra- 0- uks- kipiriir -u .
 yet EV ABS 3.A AOR young SUB.D .

Hirarukaráahúkspaah^u

Hi raaruukará'ahukspa'aahu'

And he did not ever just come (without it)

hi raa- ruu- kara- ar- ra- 0- a- uks- wa- a -:hus
and just then NEG EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A AOR DIST come IMPF

, hirusitírahurit^tn

. Hiru sitiráhuritit

. Then they gave him something good

. hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- rahur.itik -0
. then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A gratify PERF

tiráwahə^tn

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Nahkúwariarís^tn

Raahkúwari

When he went around

ra- 0- ar- ku- warii -hus ariísit
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB IMPF.SUB one's.own

nawirahis^u

raawiiraáhisu'

a warrior

raawiir.aah.his -u'
warrior NOM

Tihwakíah^u

tihwakí'aahu'

they say

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

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

túkspari

túkspari'

he used to go around

ti- 0- uks- warii -:hus
IND.3A 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

nawiráhis^u

raawiiraáhisu'

(as) a warrior

raawiir.aah.his -u'
warrior NOM

Nikuhíra^u

Rikuuhíraa'u

That is what he was given

riku- ar- ra- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
that.is EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF way give PERF

tiráwa

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

nəkurahír^a

rakúraahiira

its being good

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

Tiiriwírətpak^a

Ti'iriwíratpaaka

This that I have said

tii- irii- wii- ra- t- waak -a
this that now ABS 1.A say.SUB SUB.1

tíra^a

tíraa'a

this one coming

tii- ra- 0- a- a -0
this ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4

nikuwituhá^a

rikuwituuhá'a

he was the one who did it

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

sákur^u

Sákuuru'

Sun

sakur -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a
be.a.day NOM INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1

níhkuruh^a

ríhkuruuha

their being given it by him

ihí níktahš^u
ihí ráktahcu'
, uh , shield
, ihii , rak.tahc -u'
, uh , shield NOM

tirəkári^u

tirakári'u

these many

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

Iharituhawírik^u .
 Ihaarituuhaawiíriku' .
 I have seen those things .
 ii- haa- rii- t- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0 .
 that here ASSR 1.A PREV way DIST see PERF .

A íra^a ihi
 A ííraa'a ihi
 And that one coming , uh ,
 a ii- ra- 0- a- a -0 , ihii ,
 and that ABS 3.A PREV.3A come SUB.4 , uh ,

hupiríkuš^u
 huupirikucu'
 Morning Star
 huupirik -kucuu
 star AUG

nikuwituhá^a
 rikuwituuhá'a
 that is what it did
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar -'
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do EX

nihkutašikskapákiš^u
 rihkuutacikskapaákisu
 when it pitied him
 ra- 0- ku- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

náktahš^u ráhkuruku .
 ráktahcu' raáhkuruku .
 a shield when he was making it .
 rak.tahc -u' ra- 0- ar- ku- ra'uk -hus .

shield NOM INF.A 3.A EV INF.B make IMPF.SUB .