

Ethics, Five, Part B

Roaming Scout

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa ,
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

hiruahišírəsətⁿ

hiru ahiicírasat
 then he was taken
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- ciras- at -0
 then EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV SEQ COM go PERF

, hiruahahúkətⁿ

, hiru a ahahuúkat
 , there and he entered
 , hiruu a ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0
 , there and EV ABS 3.A into go PERF

pírəskⁱ . Ahawáku “
 píras^{ki} . Ahawáku’ “
 the boy . He said : “
 píras- -kis . ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , ”
 boy DIM . EV ABS 3.A say PERF , ”

Náw^a , háwira .
 Ráwa , háwiiraa’a’ .
 Now , here he comes .
 rawa , haa- wii- ra- 0- a- a -0 .

now , here now ABS 3.A PREV.3A come PERF .

" Hiaharikawírauhatⁿ ,

" Hi ahariikawíra'uuhat

" And he moved the door flap aside

" hi ar- ra- 0- riikawira.uuhak -0

" and EV ABS 3.A move.the.door.flap.aside PERF

Piríšaraaks ,

Piiriícara'aks ,

Crazy Child ,

piira- icaraks ,

child be.mischievous ,

hiahúhurukətⁿ .

hi ahuúhuruukat .

and he entered quickly .

hi ar- ra- 0- uhuur- huuk- at -0 .

and EV ABS 3.A quickly into go PERF .

Ahawáku " Náwa , súhuri

Ahawáku' " Ráwa , suúhuri'

He said : " Now , over here

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

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

, náwa^a , súhuri , tíki . "

. Ráwa , suúhuri' , tíki . "

! Now , over here , son . "

. rawa , suuhuri' , tikis . "

. now , over.here , sonny . "

Nihuksurikuwitiwáku

Ríhuksu' rikuwitiwáku'

Only that is what he said
 rihuks -u' riku- wi- ti- 0- waka'u -0
 alone NOM that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say PERF

hiahawáku , “ Náwa ,
 hi ahawáku' “ Ráwa ,
 and he said : “ Now ,
 hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa ,
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " now ,

náwa ,
 ráwa ,
 now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

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

náwairi
 Ráwa iri .
 Now then .
 rawa irii .
 now then .

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

“ Naw^a , ihátaku , tíkⁱ . ”
 “ Ráwa , ihaátaku , tíki . ” “
 “ Now , there , son ! ” “
 “ rawa , ii- haa- -taku , tikis . ” “
 “ now , there here LOC , sonny . ” “

Náwa , náwairi , títak^u
 Ráwa , ráwa iri , tiítaku
 Now , now that , right here
 rawa , rawa irii , tii- -taku
 now , now that , here LOC

karikurətpítikst^a . ”
 karikuratpiítiksta . ”
 is that where I am to sit ? ”
 ka- riku- ra- t- wi.itik -his -ta . ”
 Y/N.INTER that.is ABS 1.A sit.down PERF INT . ”

Ha^a ! tíkⁱ ,
 “ Haá’a’ , tíki ,
 “ Yes , son ,
 “ haa’a’ , tikis ,
 “ yes , sonny ,

iritakusukspítitⁿ . ”
 íritaku , sukspiítit . ”
 there , sit down ! ”
 irii- -taku i- s- uks- wi.itik -0 . ”
 there LOC CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS sit.down PERF . ”

Náwa
 “ Ráwa ,
 “ Now ,
 “ rawa ,

" now ,

iriwitúrahi . "

iriwitúraahi . "

that is good . "

irii- wi- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . "

that QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . "

Náwa , taturáihku

" Ráwa , tatuhaará'ihku' ,

" Now , I mean to say ,

" rawa , ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus ,

" now , IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF ,

tíkⁱ ,

tíki ,

son ,

tikis ,

sonny ,

tiharətútkaksa ,

tihaaratútkaksa' .

I called you here .

tii- haa- ra- t- a- ut- kaksaa -0 .

here here ABS 1.A 2.P PREV call PERF .

tihátiruhú^u . " Náwa

Tihaátiruuhú'u . " " Ráwa

This is the reason . " " Now

tii- haa- ti- 0- raa.uhur -' . " " rawa

this here IND.3A 3.A be.the.way EX . " " now

, irikúruutⁿ ,

, irikúruu'ut .

, it is that way .
 , irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' .
 , that DUB ABS 3.A PREV be EX .

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

Náwa , nikutúutⁿ
 Ráwa , rikutuú'ut
 Now , it is that way
 rawa , riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
 now , that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

iriwírəspak^a kúrahus .
 iriwíraspaaka , kúrahus .
 what you have said , old man .
 irii- wii- ra- s- waak -a , kurahuus .
 what now ABS 2.A say.SUB SUB.1 , old.man .

" Náwa , irítiška
 " " Ráwa , i riíticka'
 " " Now , and I want
 " " rawa , i rii- t- wicka -0
 " " now , and ASSR 1.A want PERF

irirətíška^a ,
 iriiratícka'a
 what I want
 irii- ra- t- wicka -a
 what ABS 1.A want SUB.1

nakúrahira								.	"	
rakúraahiira								.	"	"
that it be good								.	"	"
ra-	0-	ku-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-a		.	"	"
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	PREV	way	be.good	SUB.1		.	"	"

Náwa	,	náwa	,
Ráwa	,	ráwa	,
Now	,	now	,
rawa	,	rawa	,
now	,	now	,

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

kúrahus	;	kusúrahi								.
kúrahus	.	Kuusúraahi								.
old man	.	It will be good								.
kurahuus	.	kuus-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0			.
old.man	.	POT.1/3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF			.

"
"
"
"
"

Hiruahirušírarawa

Hiru ahiruucíraawaa'

Then things were brought for him

hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	a-		ir-	ut-	i-	raar-		ra-	wa-	a	-0
-------	-----	-----	----	----	--	-----	-----	----	-------	--	-----	-----	---	----

then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A 3.INDF BEN SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come PERF

; hiruahuší^a

. Hiru ahúci'a

. Then he did it

. hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,

. then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

aahitástakišaw^u

a ahiitaástaahkiicawu

and he put strings around his neck

a ar- ra- 0- a- ir- ut- haas- raar- kiica wuh -0

and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A OBV PREV string PL have.around.the.neck put PERF

kiriksətkahúrawus .

kiriksətkahúraawis .

tubular glass beads .

kiriks.atkahur.raawis .

smoked.hole.beads .

Hiruahuší^a ,

Hiru ahúci'a

Then he did it

hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,

then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

papíšistisar^u

paapícistiisaaru'

a chief's medal

paapicis- riisaar -u'

metal be.chief NOM

híahitkišawu

hi ahitkiíicawu

and he hung from his neck
 hi ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- kiic.a.wuh -0
 and EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV put.around.the.neck PERF

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

aahihkawáwaritⁿ
 a ahikhawaáwarit
 and he put leggings on him
 a ar- ra- 0- ir- ka.warik -waa -0
 and EV ABS 3.A OBV put.on DIST PERF

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

Ahihuwahúruku ,
 Ahihuuwahúruuku' .
 He outfitted him .
 ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ruuwahuruu -uk -:hus .
 EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV attire DIST IMPF .

wiwitirahkásir^u
 Wiwitirahkásiiru'
 He put a shirt on him
 wii- wi- ti- 0- ir- rahkasii -ra'uk -0
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV wear.a.garment CAUS PERF

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

ahihwítətitⁿ
 ahihwítattit
 he put it on him
 ar- ra- 0- ir- witak -rik -0
 EV ABS 3.A OBV wear.over.the.shoulders CAUS PERF

šahúkⁱ , šahutakar^u .
 cahuúki , cahuútaakaaru' .
 a robe , a white robe .
 cahuu -kis , cahuu- taakaar -u' .
 robe DIM , robe be.white NOM .

Nihuksuwitihwítətitⁿ
 Ríhuksu' witihwítattit
 Only he put it on him
 rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- ir- witak -rik -0
 alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV wear.over.the.shoulders CAUS PERF

a
 a
 and
 a
 and

iwiríhahkišawawuh^a
 iwiriíhaahkitawaawuha
 when he tied his leggings to his belt
 ii- wii- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar- kita.wuh -waa -a

when when ABS 3.A OBV PREV 3PL.INAN.P tie.a.legging.to.one's.belt DIST SUB.1

. Áka^a !
 . “ Aáka’a ,
 . “ Oh my ,
 . ” aaka’a ,
 . ” oh.my ,

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

Ah íka^a !
 Aa , iíka’a ,
 Ah , oh my ,
 aa , iika’a ,
 ah , oh.my ,

iriwitətirihasiwatiráhastušⁱ
 iriwitatiriihaásiwa tiráhaastuuci
 I now have nice strings these strings
 irii- wii- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- haas- hi.wa.ar -0 tii- ra- 0- haas- ra.uc -i
 that now IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A string be.good.DIST PERF this ABS 3.A string be.lying.PL SUB.2

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

iriwitatírihi
 iriwitatíriihi

I now have a nice one

irii-	wii-	ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	hiir	-0
that	now	IND.1/2A	1.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	be.good	PERF

tirátitkišawⁱ

tirátitkiicawi

this one I have on my neck

tii-	ra-	t-	ir-	ut-	kiica	-wi
this	ABS	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	have.around.the.neck	SUB.L

. Nikuwitiwawákah^u

. " Rikuwitiwaawákaahu'

. " That is what he was saying

. "	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	waa-	wak.a	-:hus
. "	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	DIST	say.IMPF	IMPF

Pirišaraaks .

Piiriícara'aks .

Crazy Child .

piira- icaraks .

child be.mischievous .

\ Náw^a , irárⁱ ,

\ Ráwa , iraári' ,

\ Now , brother ,

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

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

tataríraiwətⁿ

tataríraa'iiwat

I am telling you the story

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

ahitašikskapákisu
 ahiitacikskapaákisu
 when he was pitied by it

ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	aciks.kaapaakis	-u
EV	ABS	3.A	3.INDF	PREV	feel.pity.for	SUB.D

níkuškⁱ .
 ríkucki .
 a bird .
 rikuc -kis .
 bird DIM .

Nikutitiratúriwatⁱ

Rikutí'					tiratuúriwaati					
He is the one					this one I am telling about					
riku-	ti-	0-	0	-0	tii-	ra-	t-	uur-	iiwaat	-i
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	be	PERF	this	ABS	1.A	PREV	tell.about	SUB.2

píræskⁱ .
 piíraski .
 a boy .
 piiras- -kis .
 boy DIM .

Piræskiwitúksasa^a

Piíraski		witúksasa'a						
The boy		he was named						
piiras-	-kis	wi-	ti-	0-	uks-	asar	-'	
boy	DIM	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	AOR	be.named	EX	

Pirišaraaks ,
 Piiriícara'aks
 Crazy Child
 piira- icaraks

child be.mischievous

tiwisirihuwahúru^a

tiwisiriihuuwahúruu'a

this one they had dressed up

tii-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ruuwahuruu	-a
this	now	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	attire	SUB.1

,
--
--
--
--

tiwisirihuwahúru^a

tiwisiriihuuwahúruu'a

this one they had dressed up

tii-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ruuwahuruu	-a
this	now	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	attire	SUB.1

;
,
,
,
,
,

wirutakakústaritⁿ

wiruutakaakústarit

when he was going to be an in-law

wii-	ra-	0-	ut-	ak-	kaa.kus	-his	-ta	-rit
when	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	be.an.in-law	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

,

tiwisirihuwahúru^a

tiwisiriihuuwahúruu'a

this one they had dressed up

tii-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ruuwahuruu	-a
this	now	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	attire	SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hiahihúwahuruku

Hi ahiihuúwahuruuku'

And he was being dressed up by him

hi	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ruuwahuruu	-uk	-.hus
and	EV	ABS	3.A	OBV	PREV	attire	DIST	IMPF

kúrahus	.
kúrahus	.
the old man	.
kurahuus	.
old.man	.

Hiruwítahwaku

Hiru witaahwáku'

Then he would say

hiruu	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	waka'u	-0	:	"
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	say	PERF	,	"

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

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

kúrahus , íka^a ;
 kúrahus . líka'a ,
 old man . Oh my ,
 kurahuus . iika'a ,
 old.man . oh.my ,

iriwitatirírahi
 iriwitatiriíraahi
 that is good for me
 irii- wii- ta- t- ir- ri- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that now IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV way be.good PERF

. " Nikutiharáihk^u
 . " Rikutiihaará'ihku'
 . " That is what was meant
 . " riku- ti- 0- ir- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
 . " that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV mean IMPF

:
 ,

,

ruahušiwakuráru
ruu'ahuciwakuráru'

then it was the end of his words

ruu-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	wakuur-	raar.uu	-0
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	word	be.a.number	PERF

“	Náw ^a	,	náwatik ⁱ	,			
.	“	Ráwa	,	ráwa	,	tíki	,
.	“	Now	,	now	,	son	,
.	"	rawa	,	rawa	,	tikis	,
.	"	now	,	now	,	sonny	,

tiharákušurakⁱ

tiharaáku

this one

tii-	haa-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	icuura-	-kis
this	here	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	girl	DIM

cuúraki

girl

rikáarušuksawahš^a

irikára'aruucuksáwahca

even if that is not thus

irii-	kara-	ii-	ar-	ut-	uks-	awahc-	0	-a
that	NEG	SUBJ.3A	EV	PREV	JUSS	even.if	be	SUB.1

, hikisiirikúhuutⁿ

, hi kici irikúhuu'ut

, and but it is that way

,	hi	kici	irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ut-	0	-'
,	and	but	that	DUB	ABS	3.A	PREV	be	EX

tiwiratúhatišis

tiwiratuúhaattiicis

this that we have learned

tii- wii- ra- t- a- ut- rak- riicis -0
this now ABS 1.A IN.PL.A PREV 1/2.PL learn.about SUB.4

. Náwatikⁱ ,
. Ráwa , tíki ,
. Now , son ,
. rawa , tikis ,
. now , sonny ,

wikútasⁱ

wikútasiiⁱ .

she is yours now .

wii- ku- ta- s- ir- 0 -' .
now INDF IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A be EX .

wítasirətaku . "

Wítasiirattaku' . "

She is your wife now . "

wii- ta- s- ir- aktaku -0 . "
now IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A have.as.a.wife PERF . "

Kitúasiahihuhuru

Kituu'u' a si'ahiihuuwahúru'

All and they dressed him up

kituu -u' a si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ruuwahuruu -0
all NOM and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV attire PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hirarukariširuwahúruk^u

Hi raaruukariiriiciruwáhuruuku'

And he was not just being dressed up

hi	raa-	ruu-	karii-	0-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	ruuwahuruu	-uk	-:hus
and	just	then	EMPH.NEG	3.A	ABS	3.A	3.INDF	PREV	SEQ	attire	DIST	IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

iriruwitušiwáku ráru

Iriruuituciwákuráru'

Thereupon it was all he said

irii-	ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	wakuur-	raar.uu	-0
then	then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	word	be.a.number	PERF

. " xka^a !
" líka'a ,
: " Oh my ,
, " iika'a ,
, " oh.my ,

iriwitúrahi

iriwitúraahi

that is good

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

Wisiahitastasárikik^u

Hi si'ahiitaastacaárikihku

And when they were putting the strings on him

hi	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	haas-	raar-	ta	arik	-ihk	-hus
----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-------	-------	----	------	------	------

and DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV string PL be.hanging be.standing CAUS IMPF.SUB

kiriksətkahúrawis . Áka^a !
 kiriksətkahúraawis , “ Aáka’a
 tubular glass beads , “ Oh my ,
 kiriks.atkahur.raawis , “ aaka’a ,
 smoked.hole.beads , “ oh.my ,

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

Náw^a , hiruahiwáku
 Ráwa , hiru ahiwáku’
 Now , then he said
 rawa , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0
 now , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kúrahus , “ Nawatikⁱ
 kúrahus , “ Ráwa , tíki ,
 the old man : “ Now , son ,
 kurahuus , “ rawa , tikis ,
 old.man , “ now , sonny ,

hirusuksətⁿ
 hiru súksat
 then go
 hiruu i- s- uks- at -0
 then CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS go PERF

irirasakárik^u . “
 iriiraasakáriku . “

where your home is							!	"
irii-	ra-	s-	akaar-	ri-	kus	-0	.	"
where	ABS	2.A	dwelling	PORT	be.sitting	SUB.4	.	"

Hawakarakapákis								kíši
Hawá	karakaapaákis							kici
Also	he was not poor							but
haawa	ka-	ra-	0-	kaapaakis	-0			kici
also	NEG	ABS	3.A	be.poor	PERF			but

tirakupíraski								
tíraaku								piíraski
this one								boy
tii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0	piiras-	-kis		
this	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4	boy	DIM		

hikiširuhá ^a								
hi	kici	ruuhá'a						
and	but	it was the cause						
hi	kici	ra-	0-	ut-	raar	-'		
and	but	ABS	3.A	PREV	be.the.cause	EX		

tirihwáku								
tirihwaákahu								
this his saying								
tii-	ra-	0-	ir-	waak.a	-hus			
this	ABS	3.A	OBV	say.IMPF.SUB	IMPF.SUB			

rarihšakawáriku								,
rariicakawáriku								,
its leading him astray								,
ra-	0-	ar-	i-	icaka.warik	-hus			,
ABS	3.A	EV	SEQ	lead.astray	IMPF.SUB			,

iriahitašikskapákis^u

irii'ahiitacikskapaákisu

the one that had blessed him

irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
that EV ABS 3.A OBV PREV bless SUB.D

. Náwa^a , wírarətⁿ pířeskⁱ
. Ráwa , wíraarat pířaski
. Now , he now went the boy
. rawa , wii- ra- 0- ar- at -0 piiras- -kis
. now , now ABS 3.A EV go PERF boy DIM

, wirarawašítitⁿ . Ikawáwa
-- wiraarawacítit . Iikawaáwaa'
-- he now went out . Oh my goodness
-- wii- ra- 0- ar- awacitik -0 . iikawaawaa
-- now ABS 3.A EV go.out PERF . oh.my

, ikárawiti
, i kárawiti'
, and he was indeed
, i kara- wi- ti- 0- 0 -0
, and NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF

šahiksíšahiks .
cahiksícahiks .
an outstanding person .
icaahiks icaahiks .
person person .

Náwa^a , hiruwirahúkətⁿ ,
Ráwa , hiru wirahuúkat
Now , then he entered
rawa , hiruu wii- ra- 0- huuk- at -0

now , then now ABS 3.A into go PERF

isəstiiriahakáwi

isásti'

his mother

i-
3.POSS.A

saas
mother

-ri'
3.POSS.B

irii'ahákaawi

where her lodge was

irii- ar- ra-
where EV ABS

0-
3.A

akaa
be.a.dwelling

-wi
SUB.L

a híasti'
-- a hí'aasti'
-- and his father
-- a i- as -ri'
-- and 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

irisiaháku^u

iriisi'ahaáku

where they (du) lived

irii- si- ar- ra- 0- kus -0
where DU EV ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

wírahukətⁿ

wírahuukat

now he entered

wii- ra- 0- huuk- at -0
now ABS 3.A into go PERF

Nihuksúwititiritⁿ

Ríhuksu'

Only

rihuks
alone

-u'
NOM

witiitiírit

she saw him

wi- ti-
QUOT IND.3A

0-
3.A

ir-
OBV

ut-
PREV

iirik
see

-0
PERF

šustíra^u

custíra'u

the mother
 custit ra- 0- a- 0 -u ,
 old.woman ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D ,

hiahawák^u , “ Híi !
 hi ahawáku’ “ Hiii’i
 and she said : “ Ooh my ,
 hi ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ hiii’i ,
 and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ ooh.my ,

Kirakírikiwiruta . “
 kírira kíríkí wiruúta . “
 what has he done ? “
 kira kirikii wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 . “
 perhaps what now ABS 3.A PREV do PERF . “

Hiruahiwákupíræski ,
 Hiru ahiwáku’ píiraski
 Then he said the boy :
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka’u -0 píiras- -kis ,
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF boy DIM ,

“ Kirakírikiwiruta ,
 “ Kírira kíríkí wiiruúta .
 “ What has he done ?
 " kira kirikii wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 .
 " perhaps what now ABS 3.A PREV do PERF .

šitatuhakuhúruutⁿ
 Ci tatuuhaakuhúruu’ut
 But it is our custom
 ci ta- t- a- ut- rak- uhuur.uu -uk -0
 but IND.1/2A 1.A IN.PL.A PREV 1/2.PL be.the.way.one.does DIST PERF

irirótuhakuhurukⁱ
 iriiratuuhaakúhuruuki

the things we do

irii-	ra-	t-	a-	ut-	rak-	uhuur.uu	-uk	-i
that	ABS	1.A	IN.PL.A	PREV	1/2.PL	be.the.way.one.does	DIST	SUB.2

. " Ári !
 . " " Ári'
 . " " Why ,
 . " " arii ,
 . " " oh ,

karasiráita
 karasiraá'iita
 you don't know

ka-	ra-	s-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
NEG	ABS	2.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

áhasutakukⁱ
 ahasuútakeuuki

the way you are dressed

ar-	ra-	0-	s-	ut-	aka'uk	-i
EV	ABS	3.A	2.A	PREV	be.clothed	SUB.2

iríahuta

irí'ahuuta

how it is

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

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0
-------	-----	-----	----	--------	----

then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

šustíra^u , “
 custíra’u , “
 the mother : “
 custit ra- 0- a- 0 -u , “
 old.woman ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , ”

Irikurituharáihku tíkⁱ .
 Irikuriituuhaará’ihku’ , tíki .
 That is what I am meaning , son .
 iriku- rii- t- ut- raa.ra’ihk -:hus , tikis .
 that.is ASSR 1.A PREV mean IMPF , sonny .

" “ Áka^a !
 " “ Aáka’a
 " “ Oh my ,
 " " aaka’a ,
 " " oh.my ,

karúrahi . "
 karúraahi . "
 it is indeed fine . "
 ka- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 . "
 NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF . "

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

šustíra^u , “ Há^u
 custíra’u , “ Haá’u’

the mother : “ Yes
 custit ra- 0- a- 0 -u , ” haa’u’
 old.woman ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , ” yes

! Áka^a ! atíra
 aáka’a , atíra’ ,
 , oh my , mother ,
 , aaka’a , ati- raa ,
 , oh.my , 1.POSS mother ,

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

Hiastísikuruhirušíhurətⁿ

Hí’aasti’ sikuruuhiiruucíhurat
 His father then they went after him
 i- as -ri’ si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- ar- ut- i- huur.ra.at -0
 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ go.to.get PERF

ə irárⁱ .
 , a iraári’ .
 , and his brothers .
 , a i- -raar- -ri’ .
 , and 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B .

Hirusiahişikúruwa

Hiru si’ahiiciikúruuwa
 Then they invited his (relatives)
 hiruu si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- ak- huur.ruu.war -0
 then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ PL.AN.3P go.to.get.DU PERF

. Híasti
 . Hí'aasti'
 . His father
 . i- as -ri'
 . 3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B

aháhuka .
 aháhuuka' . "
 he entered . "
 ar- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0 . "
 EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come PERF . "

Kírakírikiwiruta ? "
 Kíra kirikí wíruuta . "
 What has he done ? "
 kira kirikii wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 . "
 perhaps what now ABS 3.A PREV do PERF . "

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

Nikutúutⁿ atíəs ,
 Rikutuú'ut , atí'as .
 It is that way , father .
 riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' , ati- as .
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX , 1.POSS father .

atíəs ,
 Atí'as ,
 Father ,
 ati- as ,

1.POSS father ,

nótakuwisitikúštir^u

rátaku

over there

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

wisitikúctiiru'

I have married her

wii- si- ti- 0- ku- ut- tiir.ra'uk -0
now DU IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV marry PERF

. " Híahara

. " Hi ahára

. " And he had it

. " hi ar- ra- 0- raah -0

. " and EV ABS 3.A have PERF

Pirísaraaks

wítira

Piiriícara'aks

-- wítira

Crazy Child

-- he had it

piira- icaraks
child be.mischievous

-- wi- ti- 0- raah -0
QUOT IND.3A 3.A have PERF

tahapakíah^u

šuskáh^{itⁿ} .

tahapakí'aahu'

cuskaáhit --

we say

a tomahawk --

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

icus- kaahit --
nose godwit --

Narítkururikⁱ

raárit kuruúriki

really their looking like

raarit ku- ra- 0- uur- ik -i
really INDF ABS 3.A PREV look.like SUB.2

níšiki . Hiruahiwáku

riíciki . Hiru ahiwáku'

a knife . Then he said
 riici -kis . hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
 knife DIM . then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kurahúusra^u ,
 kurahuúsa'u " : "
 his father : "
 kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u , "
 old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , "

hawakarisiratírastah^a
 Hawá kariísira tírastaaha
 Also don't take it this that you have
 haawa kari-i- i- s- i- raah -0 tii- ra- s- raah -a
 also EMPH.NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ have PERF this ABS 2.A have SUB.1

.
 . "
 . "
 . "
 . "

Hiruahiwákupíraskⁱ
 Hiru ahiwáku' piíraski
 Then he said the boy :
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 piiras- -kis ,
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF boy DIM ,

" Atías
 " Atí'as ,
 " Father ,
 " ati- as ,
 " 1.POSS father ,

tatirirapírihu^u

tatiriiraapírihu'u

I cherish it

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raapi.rihur	-ʻ
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	value	EX

,
.
.
.
.

tatirirapírihu^u

Tatiriiraapírihu'u

I cherish it

ta-	t-	ir-	ri-	uur-	raapi.rihur	-ʻ
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	value	EX

tíras^a

tíraasa

this one

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

Hiruahiwáku

Hiru ahiwáku'

Then he said

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	waka'u	-0	:	"
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	say	PERF	,	"

suksuhuraruwáhaki

Suksuhuúraruwaáhaahki'

Take your clothes off awhile

i-	s-	uks-	uhur-	raar-	ruwaah.aahkiir	-0
----	----	------	-------	-------	----------------	----

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS awhile 3PL.INAN.P remove.DIST PERF

. Hiruahušĩ^a
. " Hiru ahúci'a
! " Then he did it
. " hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
. " then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

píræski
piíraski
the boy
piiras- -kis
boy DIM

ahararuwaháhkira
ahararuwaahaáhkiira .
his taking the clothes off .
ar- ra- 0- raar- ruwaah.aahkiir -a .
EV ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P remove.DIST SUB.1 .

rawitaruráriwiritⁿ
Raawitaruuraáriwiirit
He just had many articles (of clothing) piled there
raa- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raar- riwii.arik -0
just QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P be.a.large.pile.DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Náw^a , hiruahiwáku
Ráwa , hiru ahiwáku'

Now , then he said
 rawa , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
 now , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kurahúsa^u , “ Ihi ,
 kurahuúsa'u -- ihi ,
 his father -- uh ,
 kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u -- ihii ,
 old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D -- uh ,

šústitⁿ wituháihku ,
 cústit wituuhá'ihku'
 the old woman he meant her :
 custit wi- ti- 0- ut- ra'ihk -:hus ,
 old.woman QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF ,

kísətⁿ
 “ Kísat .
 “ Go .
 " kii- i- s- at -0 .
 " HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A go PERF .

kirakarírariks . "
 Kíra kariíraariks . "
 See if it is true ! "
 kira ka- ra- 0- i- raariks -0 . "
 perhaps Y/N.INTER ABS 3.A SEQ be.true PERF . "

Náwa šustítnuahietⁿ
 Ráwa cústit ruu'ahí'at
 Now the old woman then she went
 rawa custit ruu- ar- ri- 0- at -0
 now old.woman then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF

, hiruaháhwisətⁿ
 , hiru ahaáhwicat
 , then she arrived yonder
 , hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- wic.at -0
 , then EV ABS 3.A EV arrive PERF

šurákiiriahakárik^u

cuúraki irii'ahaakáriku
 the girl where her home was
 icuura- -kis irii- ar- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
 girl DIM where EV ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

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

Ihitakukírarawašitiks^a

Ihi , táku’ kúra raawacítiksa’
 Uh , someone perhaps she will come outside
 ihii , taku kira ra- 0- a- awacitik -his -a -0
 uh , someone perhaps ABS 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF SUB.1 PERF

. ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

Ahawašitiksášapatⁿ

Ahaawacítiksa’ cápaat
 She came outside a woman
 ar- ra- 0- a- awacitik -his a -0 icapaak

EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A go.out PERF come PERF woman

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

Sitatuhwakúrawu

Sitatuhwakuúrawu’

We doubted his word

si- ta- t- uur- wakuur- raa.wuu -:hus
 DU IND.1/2A 1.A PREV word doubt IMPF

tírahukat^a ;

tírahuukata .

when he entered .

tii- ra- 0- huuk- at -a .
 when ABS 3.A into go SUB.1 .

karírariks

Kariíraariks

Is it true

ka- ra- i- 0- raariks -0 títaku
 Y/N.INTER ABS SEQ 3.A be.true PERF here LOC
 tii- -taku

wirakuharárik^u

wirakuhaaráriku

his having been married

wii- ra- 0- ku- haa- raar- ri- kus -0
 now INF.A 3.A INF.B child PL PORT be.sitting SUB.4

. ”
 . ”

? "
 . "
 . "

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

Hā^a !
 Haá'a' .
 Yes !
 haa'a' .
 yes .

Šurakíwitataku
 Cuúraiki witaáttaku'
 The girl he is married to her
 icuura -kis wi- ti- 0- a- aktaku -0
 female DIM QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A have.as.a.wife PERF

, tírak^u . "
 tíraaku . "
 this one . "
 tii- ra- 0- kus -0 . "
 this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 . "

Nisarúwitiitírak^u
 Riisaaru' witi' tíraaku
 A chief he was this one
 riisaar -u' wi- ti- 0- 0 -0 tii- ra- 0- kus -0
 be.chief NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A be PERF this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

pít^a irihkuhakítawⁱ .
 piíta -- irikuuhakítawⁱ .
 man -- that one was the leader .
 wiita -- irii- kuur- ra- 0- kita.wi -0 .
 man -- that DUB ABS 3.A be.the.leader PERF .

Náw^a , irikúritir^a
 “ Ráwa , irikúriitiira’
 “ Now , that is what I came for
 " rawa , iriku- rii- t- ir- a -0
 " now , that.is ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF

, tiwáku kúrahus “
 . Tiwáku’ kúrahus ’
 . He said the old man : ’
 . ti- 0- waka’u -0 kurahuus , ’
 . IND.3A 3.A say PERF old.man , ’

Hirukiraisarúhišis

Hiru kára isarúhiicis
 Then perhaps you can find out
 hiruu kira i- s- ar- ut- riicis -0
 then perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV learn.about PERF

. " Náw^a ,
 . ' " Ráwa ,
 . ' " Now ,
 . ' " rawa ,
 . ' " now ,

híruahiatšústitⁿ

hiru ahí’at cústit ,
 then she went the old woman ,
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- at -0 custit ,

then EV CONT.3A 3.A go PERF old.woman ,

áhahukætⁿ .
 aháhuukat .
 she entered .
 ar- ra- 0- huuk- at -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A into go PERF .

Ahawáku “ Kúrahus
 Ahawáku’ “ Kúrahus ,
 She said : “ Old man ,
 ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 , “ kurahuus ,
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF , “ old.man ,

isaráriks , šúráki
 isáraariks . Cuúráki
 it is true . Girl
 i- s- ar- raariks -0 . icuura -kis
 CONT.1/2A 2.A EV be.true PERF . female DIM

irarúhku
 irarúhku
 that one of his
 ii- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- kus -0
 that ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

irakáriku
 irakáriku
 (in) that home of his
 ii- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
 that ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

nisár^u
 riisaáru’

the chief
 riisaar- -u'
 chief NOM

wiisiretak^u . "
 wi'isiirattaku' . "
 he is now married to her . "
 wii- i- s- ir- aktaku -0 . "
 now CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A have.as.a.wife PERF . "

Ahawáku kúrahus
 Ahawáku' kúrahus
 He said old man
 ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus
 EV ABS 3.A say PERF old.man

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

hawakarakápakis , " Áka^a
 hawá karakaápaakis " Aáka'a
 also he was not poor : " Oh my
 haawa ka- ra- 0- kaapaakis -0 , " aaka'a
 also NEG ABS 3.A be.poor PERF , " oh.my

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

iriwitúrahi
Iriwitúraahi
That is good

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

píra^u
piíra'u'
the child
piira -u'
child NOM

wisiahikuritasikskapákis^u
wisi'ahikuriitacikskapaákisu
that they have pitied mine

wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ku- ri- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
now DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Híruahiwaku
Hiru ahiwáku'
Then he said

hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kurahúusra^u ,
kurahuúsa'u ,
his father ,
kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u ,

old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D ,

aharúhwihət¹

aharúhwihat

the ones he had

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

, irárⁱ ,

, iraári'

, his brother

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

aiwáririks , “

a iwáriiriks “

and his uncles : “

a i- wariiriks , ”

and 3.POSS.A uncle , ”

Tatuharáihku ,

Tatuuhaará'ihku' ,

I mean to say ,

ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus ,
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF ,

tirəsuhakasúhət¹ ,

tirasuuhaakasuúhat ,

these of you sitting about ,

tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 ,
this ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 ,

tírarušpawⁱ ,

tírarucpaawi

these things

tii- ra- 0- ra.uc -waa -wi
this ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

kakítiraku

kaaki'

it is not

kaaki- 0- 0 -0 tii- ra- 0- kus -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4

tíraaku

this one

rakutakúkⁱ

rakuutakuúki

to wear them

ra- 0- ku- ut- aka'uk -i ,
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be.clothed SUB.2 ,

Witisukstaktáwa^u

Witisukstaktaáwa'u

Distribute them among yourselves

witi- i- s- uks- rak- raa- wa- uh -0
REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL way DIST give PERF

. Há^a ! iríruta ,
. Haá'a , iríruuta ,
! See , the way he is ,
. haa'a , irii- ra- 0- ut- 0 -a ,
. see , that ABS 3.A PREV be SUB.1 ,

rihuksuráhisa

ríhuksu'

only

rihuks -u' ra- 0- a- hiis a -0
alone NOM ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4

ráhiisa

tomorrow

hirawihahkaúkətⁿ ,
 hi rawihaahka'uúkut ,
 and he'll go to the game ground ,
 hi ra- 0- wi.haar- ka- uukuk -0 ,
 and ABS 3.A game.ground on get.into PERF ,

kītuasirirawirúwa
 kītuu'u' a siriirawiruwáwa
 all and they'll take them from him
 kituu -u' a si- ra- 0- ir- uur- awi.ra.at -0
 all NOM and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV defeat PERF

. Hipitkúahj^a
 . " Hi pítku ahí'a
 . " And two there was
 . " hi pitku ar- ri- 0- aah -0
 . " and two EV CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

papíšistisar^u .
 paapícistiisaaru' .
 a chief's medal .
 paapicis- riisaar -u' .
 metal be.chief NOM .

Hiruwitiahiriráwau
 Hiru witi'ahiriiraáwa'u
 Then they gave them to each other
 hiruu witi- ar- ra- 0- ir- i- raa- wa- uh -0
 then REFL EV ABS 3.A PL.3A SEQ way DIST give PERF

, irári , a
 iraári' a
 his brothers and
 i- -raar- -ri' a

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

iwáririks .
 iwáriiriks .
 his uncles .
 i- wariiriks .
 3.POSS.A uncle .

Náw^a , hiruahiwáku
 Ráwa , hiru ahiwáku'
 Now , then he said
 rawa , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0
 now , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF

kurahúsa^u " Náwa ,
 kurahuúsa'u " Ráwa ,
 his father : " Now ,
 kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u , " rawa ,
 old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , " now ,

náw^a , tatuharáihku
 ráwa , tatuuhaará'ihku' ,
 now , I mean to say ,
 rawa , ta- t- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus ,
 now , IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF ,

tirəstápihətⁿ ,
 tirastápihat ,
 these of you sitting ,
 tii- ra- s- rak- wi.hak -0 ,
 here ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.sitting.PL SUB.4 ,

iriwitúrahi ,
 iriwitúraahi ,

that is good

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

irikuháwiška

irikuuháwicka'a

what he wanted

irii- kuur- ra- 0- wicka -a
what DUB ABS 3.A want SUB.1

tirakárik^u

tiraakáriku

this home of his

tii- ra- 0- akaar- ri- kus -0
this ABS 3.A dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

nísaru

riísaaru'

the chief

riisaar -u'

be.chief NOM

Tiwirəšakurihakašikskapákisu

tiwiracakúriihaakacikskapaákisu

when he has pitied ours

tii- wii- ra- 0- aca- ku- ri- ut- rak- aciks.kaapaakis -u
when when ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL feel.pity.for SUB.D

, tírak^u .

, tíraaku .

, this one .

, tii- ra- 0- kus -0 .

, this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 .

Hikáriririhkutasikstawi

Hi káriirii' rihkuutacíkstawi

And he is not fit for him to recognize him

hi kari- rii- 0- i- 0 -0 ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- aciks.ta -wi
and EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A SEQ be PERF INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B PREV watch SUB.L

tírak^u

tíraaku

this one

tii- ra- 0- kus -0 . Náw^a ,
this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 . Ráwa ,
. Now ,
. rawa ,
. now ,

kusiwíšuksa

kuusíwicaksa

he will mature

kuus- 0- i- wicaks.aar -0
POT.1/3A 3.A SEQ come.to.age.of.consciousness PERF

kítu

kítuu'u'

(in) all (ways)

kituu -u'

all

Kišiisirura^u

Kici isiiruura'u

But the noted one

kici isiiruu- ra- 0- 0 -u
but plainly ABS 3.A be SUB.D

aruwitarušiwakurarúhuruutⁿ

a ruuwitaruciwákuraaruhúruu'ut

and then he would imitate their words

a ruu- wi- ti- 0- ar- ut- i- wakuur- raar- uhuur.uu -uk -0

and then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV PREV SEQ word PL be.the.way.one.does DIST PERF

. “ Náw^a ,
. “ Ráwa ,
. “ Now ,
. ” rawa ,
. ” now ,

irikúsuši ,
irikuúsuci’ ,
it will be thus ,
irii- kuus- 0- ut- i- 0 -0 ,
that POT.1/3A 3.A PREV SEQ be PERF ,

atíəs ,
atí’as --
father --
ati- as --
1.POSS father --

kusikuwišaksa
kuusikuuwícaksa
I will become mature
kuus- i- ku- i- wicaks.aar -0
POT.1/3A SEQ.sk 1.P SEQ come.to.age.of.consciousness PERF

rawitakaráhis^u ,
raawiitakaaraáhisu’ ,
suddenly ,
raa- wii- takaaraahis -u’ ,
just now all.at.once NOM ,

awihirururahiitíwari
a wihiru rúraahi itíwari

and	then		it'll be good							when I go around				
a	wii-	hiruu	ra-	0-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0	i-	t-	i-	warii	-hus	
and	now	then	ABS	3.A	PREV	way	be.good	PERF	CONT.1/2A	1.A	SEQ	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	

.	Atiəs			šikstit
.	Ati'as		,	cikstit
.	Father		,	nicely
.	ati-	as	,	cikstik
.	1.POSS	father	,	well

awihiruituširiku

a	wihiru		ituci'iiriku'									
and	then		I'll be seeing you									
a	wii-	hiruu	i-	t-	a-	ut-	i-	iirik	-:hus			
and	now	then	CONT.1/2A	1.A	2.P	PREV	SEQ	see	IMPF			

.	"	Náwa	,	tatuharáihku								
.	"	Ráwa	,	tatuuhaará'ihku'								
.	"	Now	,	I mean to say								
.	"	rawa	,	ta-	t-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-:hus				
.	"	now	,	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	mean	IMPF				

,	tirəstápihət ⁿ												,
,	tirastápihat												,
,	these of you sitting												,
,	tii-	ra-	s-	rak-	wi.hak	-0						,	
,	here	ABS	2.A	1/2.PL	be.sitting.PL	SUB.4						,	

arusakírahirusirikariksta

aruúsa'	kíra hiru siriikaríkstaa'											
the horses	perhaps you'll have the herd brought											
aruusaa	kira	hiruu	si-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	kariiks-	ra-	a	-0	
horse	perhaps	then	DU	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	3.INDF	herd	PORT	come	PERF	

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Pirəskihastíra^u

Píraski		hí'aasti'			rá'u				
The boy		his father			the one				
piiras-	-kis	i-	as	-ri'	ra-	0-	0	-u	
boy	DIM	3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B	ABS	3.A	be	SUB.D	

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

Asiahirutətšírəsa

A	si'	ahiruutacírasa'									
And	they	brought	them								
a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ut-	ak-	ciras-	a	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	COM	come	PERF

. Hiruahiríwak ⁱ											
. Hiru	ahiriíwaki'										
. Then	they	said									:
. hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	i-	waki	-0				,
. then	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	say.PL	PERF				,

"

"

"

"

"

Hirusisišitšírəsa

Hiru sisiiccírasa'

Then bring her

hiruu	si-	i-	s-	ir-	ut-	i-	ciras-	a	-0
then	DU	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	SEQ	COM	come	PERF

súraki . "

cuúraki . "

the girl ! "

icuura- -kis . "

girl DIM . "

Hirusiahíšihurətⁿ

Hiru si'ahiicíhurat

Then they went for her

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	huur.ra.at	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	go.to.get	PERF

šúrakⁱ .

cuúraki .

the girl .

icuura- -kis .

girl DIM .

Šustiraúruahikasispa

Custirá'u

His mother

ruu'ahikásispa

then she ran

custit	ra-	0-	a-	0	-u	ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	kasis	war	-0
old.woman	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be	SUB.D	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	be.hard	go.DU	PERF

.

.

Karawítuširikawa

Karawítuciirikawa

Her hair was not braided

kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ut-	i-	arika	-waa	-0
NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PREV	SEQ	wear.a.braid	DIST	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Hirusiahisháruwa

Hiru si'ahihcahúruuwa

Then they combed her hair

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	cahu.ruu.war	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	come.someone's.hair.DU	PERF

;
,
,
,
,
,

hirusiahishírikawaw^u

hiru si'ahiiciirikawaawu

then they braided her hair

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	arika.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	braid	DIST	PERF

. Kuhahikahúriku

šúrakⁱ

. Kuuhahiikahúriiku'

cuúraki

. She was bashful

girl

. kuur- ra- 0- hiikahurik -:hus icuura- -kis

. DUB ABS 3.A act.bashful IMPF girl DIM

tiwíraku ,
 tiwíraaku --
 this one sitting --
 tii- wii- ra- 0- kus -0 --
 this now ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 --

wirirətáku^u
 wiiriirattáku'u
 now he was her husband
 wii- 0- ra- 0- a- ir- aktaku -u
 now 3.A ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV have.as.a.wife SUB.D

Pirišaraaks .
 Piiriícara'aks .
 Crazy Child .
 piira- icaraks .
 child be.mischievous .

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

kurahústra^u “
 kurahuúsa'u “
 his father : “
 kurahuus ra- 0- a- 0 -u , ”
 old.man ABS 3.A POSS.3A be SUB.D , ”

Šústitⁿ
 Cústit ,

Old woman ,
 custit ,
 old.woman ,

sišukstətkátakus
 sicukstaatkátakus
 put a saddle on it

i- s- ir- ut- uks- taat- kata- kus.k -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A PREV JUSS back against.a.vertical.surface put PERF

, iriráriki ihi
 iriraáriki , ihi ,
 the one standing there , uh ,
 irii- ra- 0- arik -i , ihii ,
 there ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 , uh ,

asišapátasawaki . "
 asiúcapaat asaáwaki' . "
 the mare pinto ! "
 asaa- icapaak asaa- awakir . "
 horse woman horse be.strange . "

Hiruahušitahahkatarikítihi

Hiru ahucitaahaahkataárikít , ihi
 Then she put the saddle on it , uh
 hiruu ar- ra- 0- ut- i- taat- raar- kata- arik -ihk -0 , ihii
 then EV ABS 3.A PREV SEQ back PL against.a.vertical.surface be.standing CAUS PERF , uh

šústitⁿ .
 , cústit .
 , the old woman .
 , custit .
 , old.woman .

Hiruahušⁱa

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

aahətkasirəšauš

a ahutkasiiráca'uc
and she laid bags on it
a ar- ra- 0- ut- kasii- raar- ta uc -0
and EV ABS 3.A PREV bag PL be.hanging lay.SG.P PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hišiwisiahuhuwahúru

Hici wisi'ahuhuuwahúru'
And now they dressed her up
hi.ci wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ut- ruuwahuruu -0
and now DU EV ABS 3.A PREV attire PERF

šúrakⁱ . Nawíhtakisəš ,
cuúraki . Raawíhtakísac --
the girl . Red strouding --
icuura- -kis . raawiir.takisac --
girl DIM . red.strouding --

nihuksúwitipahaətⁿ

ríhuksu' wítipahaa'at .
just it was red .
rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- pahaat -' .

alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.red EX .

Kuwituhašakarusuutšuspašáwi^u

Kuwituuhačakarúsuu'ut

They were so large

cuspacáwi'u'

ear bobs

ku- wi- ti- 0- ut- raar- ta.karus.uu -uk -0
 INDF QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.a.large.pile DIST PERF

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

Karawitásišurəskítawⁱ

Karawitaásicuuraaskítawⁱ

She was a beautiful girl indeed

kara- wi- ta- s- icuuraas- kita.wi -0
 NEG QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A young.woman be.beautiful PERF

. Ahawákupit^a " Náw^a
 . Ahawáku' piíta " Ráwa
 ! He said the man : " Now
 . ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 wiita , " rawa
 . EV ABS 3.A say PERF man , " now

, šúatⁿ
 , cuú'at ,
 , daughter ,
 , cuu'at ,
 , daughter ,

iriwitúrahi
 iriwitúraahi

that is good

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

wirəskurihakasikskapákisu

wiraskurihaakacikskapaákisu

your having pitied ours

wii- ra- s- ku- ri- ut- rak- aciks.kaapaakis -u
now ABS 2.A 1.P PHYS.POSS PREV 1/2.PL feel.pity.for SUB.D

pirəski náwa ,
piiraski . Ráwa ,
boy . Now ,
piiras- -kis . rawa ,
boy DIM . now ,

šiksašúatⁿ

síkxa' , cuú'at
come , daughter
i- s- ir- uks- a -0 , cuu'at
CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A JUSS come PERF , daughter

. " Hirúahuša

. " Hiru ahuucaá'

! " Then she arose

. " hiruu ar- ra- 0- a- uca.a -0
. " then EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF

súrakⁱ .
cuúraki .
the girl .
icuura- -kis .
girl DIM .

Hirusiahišiširəsáwašititⁿ

Hiru si'ahiicirasáwacitit

Then they led her outside

hiruu	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	ciras-	awacitik	-0
then	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	COM	go.out	PERF

; asiahirikítaw^u

, a si'ahiirikítawu

, and they put her on it

,	a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	ikita	wuh	-0
,	and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	ride	put	PERF

ásawakⁱ

.

ásaawaki'

.

the pinto

.

asaa- awakir

.

horse be.strange

.

Hišustitahawíraatⁿ

Hi cústit ahawiíra'at

,

And the old woman she followed her

.

hi custit ar- ra- 0- awiira- at -0

.

and old.woman EV ABS 3.A behind go PERF

.

witirašákusta

Witiracákusta

She carried on her back

wi-	ti-	0-	raar-	ta.kus-	raah	-0
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	3PL.INAN.P	hang.down	have	PERF

átira ; híhaw^a

Átira' -- hi haáwa'

Mother -- and also

ati- raa -- hi haawa

1.POSS mother -- and also

ahahastáwira

ahahaastáwira

she was leading it

ar-	ra-	0-	haas-	ta	-wi	raah	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	rope	be.hanging	SUB.L	have	PERF

arúsa^a ,

aruúsa' .

a horse .

aruusaa .

horse .

hititakuirirúahiatⁿ

Hi tiítaku iriruú'ahi'at

And right here there he came

hi	tii-	-taku	irii-	ruu-	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0
and	here	LOC	there	then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF

híasti ,

hí'aasti' .

his father .

i- as -ri' .

3.POSS.A father 3.POSS.B .

witíra

Witíra

He had it

wi-	ti-	0-	raah	-0	caat-	kis	--
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	have	PERF	bundle	DIM	--

šátkⁱ ,

caátki --

a medicine bundle --

hihawaahahastawiráarus^a

hi hawá ahahaastáwira

aruúsa'

and also he was leading it a horse
 hi haawa ar- ra- 0- haas- ta -wi raah -0 aruusaa
 and also EV ABS 3.A rope be.hanging SUB.L have PERF horse

;
 .
 .
 .
 .

arusáwituštahákatar^tn

Aruúsa' wituctaahaáhkataarit

The horse it had a saddle on it

aruusaa wi- ti- 0- ut- taat- raar- kata- arik -0
 horse QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV back PL against.a.vertical.surface be.standing PERF

, hirétašu a húruksəs ,
 , hi ráttahcu' a huúruksas
 , and a shield and a spear
 , hi rak.tahc -u' a huuruksas
 , and shield NOM and spear

apakstarúkawirətⁿ

a pakstaarúkawiirat

and a war bonnet

a paks- raar- huka- wiir- at
 and head ITER on arm go

ahúhašar^tn

ahuúhacaarit

they were hanging from it

ar- ra- 0- ut- raar- ta arik -0
 EV ABS 3.A PREV PL.INDV.A be.hanging be.standing PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Hitítaku	,	irári	,
Hi tiítaku	,	iraári'	,
And right here	,	brother	,
hi tii- -taku	,	i- -raar-	-ri' ,
and here LOC	,	3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B ,

irirúahata
iriruú'ahaattata
then they drove them

irii- ruu- ar- ra- 0- ak- ra- at -a
then then EV ABS 3.A PL.AN.3P PORT go SUB.1

asarakítu	.	A
asaaraahkítuu'u'	.	A
all the horses	.	And
asaa- raar- kituu -u'	.	a
horse PL all NOM	.	and

aháwišpu		irišúráki
aháwicpu'		irii cuúráki
they arrived there		where the girl
ar- ra- 0- wic.wu -:hus irii icuura- -kis		
EV ABS 3.A arrive.PL IMPF where girl DIM		

ahákawi	.	Híšapat ⁿ
ahákaawi	.	Hi cápaat
its being her lodge	.	And the women
ar- ra- 0- akaa -wi	.	hi icapaak

EV ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L . and woman

ahararawašítiksa
ahaaraarawacítiksa'
they came outside

ar- ra- 0- a- raar- awacitik -his a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.INDV.A go.out PERF come PERF

. A ,
. A
. And
. a
. and

ahiharawáurikutⁿ
ahiihaarawá'uurikut
they took hold of the things

ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- raar- awa- uurikuk -0
EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV 3PL.INAN.P DIST hold PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Arusakišírarusiwitiritahukətⁿ

Aruúsa' kici raaruusiwitirittáhuukat
The horses but then they just herded them inside

aruusaa kici raa- ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- i- ak- ra- huuk- at -0
horse but just then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ PL.AN.3P PORT into go PERF

, ásakakatⁿ . Náwa^a , šúrakⁱ
ásaakaahkat . Ráwa , cuúraki

in a corral				.	Now	,	the girl	
asaa-	akaar-	-kat		.	rawa	,	icuura-	-kis
horse	dwelling	LOC		.	now	,	girl	DIM

iriahutakíšisu

irii'ahuutaakícisu

the ones related to her

irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	ak-	icis	-hus
that	EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB

hiruahirəšakipítitⁿ

hiru ahiracakipiítit

then they assembled

hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	raar-	takik.wi.itik	-0
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	gather.together	PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Arusaawitiahiráwa^u

Aruúsa' a witi'ahiraáwa'u

The horses and they were distributed among themselves

aruusaa	a	witi-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	raa-	wa-	uh	-0
horse	and	REFL	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	way	DIST	give	PERF

kišíətira

a šátkⁱ

kici Atíra'

a caátki

but the Mother (bundle) and the medicine bundle

kici	ati-	raa	a	caat-	kis
but	1.POSS	mother	and	bundle	DIM

ahíarahukətⁿ ,
 ahirárahúukat ,
 she took them inside ,
 ar- ri- 0- raar- ra- huuk- at -0 ,
 EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT into go PERF ,

a ,
 a
 and
 a
 and

ahirarukátawaw^u
 ahiraaruukátawaawu
 she hung them on the wall
 ar- ri- 0- raar- uukata waa- wuh -0
 EV CONT.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P hang.on.a.wall DIST put PERF

. Pirišaraaks
 . Piiriícara'aks ,
 . Crazy Child ,
 . piira- icaraks ,
 . child be.mischievous ,

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

wiaháhuka
 wi'aháhuuka
 after he had come inside
 wii- ar- ra- 0- a- huuk- a -0

when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A into come SUB.3

paraaahikútitⁿ .
pára a ahihkuútit .
almost and he was whipped .
para a ar- ra- 0- ir- kuut.ik -0 .
perhaps and EV ABS 3.A 3.INDF beat PERF .

Tihiwiaháhisa

Tihiiwi'aháhiisa

When this other morning came

tii- hii- wii- ar- ra- 0- a- hiis- a -0
this other when EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A morning come SUB.3

hi , Pirišaraaks
hi Piiriícara'aks
and Crazy Child
hi piira- icaraks
and child be.mischievous

rusiahišišírəsətⁿ

ruusi'ahiicicírasat

then they took him there

ruu- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- i- ciras- at -0
then DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ COM go PERF

irišurákirakawⁱ

irii cuúraki rákaawi .
where the girl its being her lodge .
irii icuura- -kis ra- 0- akaa -wi .
where girl DIM ABS 3.A be.a.dwelling SUB.L .

Wiahahawíra

skítiiks

Wi'ahahawíra

ckiíti'iks

iriruratáku^u

iriruurataáku'u

ones who are my kinsmen

irii-	ruu-	ra-	t-	ir-	a-	ku-	0	-u
that	then	ABS	1.A	POSS.1/2A	2.P	INF.B	be	SUB.D

tátiška

, táticka'

, I want

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

arusákusirəšihkuakuhaarús^a

aruúsa' kusiracihku'aákuha

horses for us to give away some

aruusaa	ku-	si-	ra-	aciir-	ku-	aak.uh	-a	aruúsa'
horse	INDF	DU	INF.A	IN.DU.A	INF.B	give.away	SUB.1	horse

, kustáwihšu

kustáwihcu'

son-in-law

kus.tawihc -u'

son.in.law NOM

irírutakišisu

iríruutaakicisu

the ones who are his relatives

irii-	ra-	0-	ut-	ak-	icis	-hus	.
that	ABS	3.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB	.

"

"

"

"

"

Hiruahirirěšákipuarus^a

Hiru	ahiriiracákipu								aruúsa'
Then	they gathered them								horses
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	i-	raar-	takik.wuh	-0	aruusaa
then	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	gather	PERF	horse

;
,
,
,
,

asiahíraru

a	si'ahiráru							
and	they gave them to him							
a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	raar-	uh	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	3PL.INAN.P	give	PERF

Pirišaraaks	.
Piiriícara'aks	.
Crazy Child	.
piira- icaraks	.
child be.mischievous	.

Hiruahitětiriahákawⁱ

Hiru	ahíttat								irii'ahákaawi					
Then	he herded them								where his lodge was					
hiruu	ar-	ra-	0-	i-	ak-	ra-	at	-0	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	akaa	-wi
then	EV	ABS	3.A	SEQ	PL.AN.3P	PORT	go	PERF	where	EV	ABS	3.A	be.a.dwelling	SUB.L

.	Náwa ^a	,	piřask ⁱ
.	Ráwa	,	piíraski

. Now , the boy
 . rawa , piiras- -kis
 . now , boy DIM

wirihárariku .
 wirihaárariku .
 now he was married .
 wii- ri- 0- haa- raar- ri- kus -0 .
 now CONT.3A 3.A child PL PORT be.sitting PERF .

Níhuksuawitíhis^a
 Ríhuksu' a witiíhiisa'
 Only and morning came
 rihuks -u' a wi- ti- 0- a- ir- hiis- a -0
 alone NOM and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV morning come PERF

,
 ,
 ,
 ,

hiruwitawihahkáisətⁿ
 hiru witaahwihaahká'isat
 then he would go to the game ground
 hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- wi.haar- ka- iis.at -0
 then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV game.ground on go.out.of.sight PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Hirusiwitárawu sitit

Hiru siwitaárawuusitit

Then they (du) would begin playing

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	a.wuu	-:hus	-itik
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	play.hoop.and.pole	IMPF	INCH

ipátⁱ

ipaátti'

his grandfather

i-	paak	-ri'	.
3.POSS.A	grandfather	3.POSS.B	.

Kítuáwitarawiruw^a

Kítuu'u a witaarawiruúwa

All and he would lose them to him

kituu	-u'	a	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	awi.ruu.war	-0
all	NOM	and	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	defeat.DU	PERF

ipátⁱ

ipaátti'

his grandfather

i-	paak	-ri'	.
3.POSS.A	grandfather	3.POSS.B	.

Náw^a , hiráhirⁱ upirúpit^a

Ráwa , hi raáhiirit uupíru' píita

Now , and finally different men

rawa , hi raahiirit uupir -u' wiita

now , and finally be.different NOM man

hisiwitáhwáritⁿ ,

hi siwitaáhwárit ,

and they (du) would gamble ,

hi	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	warik	-0	,
----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-------	----	---

and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV shoot PERF ,
awitarawirúwa .
a witaarawiruuúwa .
and he would lose them to him .
a wi- ti- 0- ar- awi.ruu.war -0 .
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV defeat.DU PERF .

Náhirit
Raáhiirit
Finally
raahiirit
finally

rawitaruráriwiritⁿ
raawitaruuráriwiirit
he just had many articles

raa- wi- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raar- ri- riwii.arik -0
just QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P PORT be.a.large.pile.DIST PERF

, iriruráku^u
iriruuráku'u .
its being different kinds .
irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
that then ABS 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

wiwitíraki
Wiwitíraakii
Now it was a long time

wii- wi- ti- 0- raa.kii -0
now QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.a.long.time PERF

ahaharáriku ,
ahahaaráriku ,

his being married ,
 ar- ra- 0- haa- raar- ri- kus -0 ,
 EV ABS 3.A child PL PORT be.sitting SUB.4 ,

hiahariwisáwašititⁿ .
 hi ahaariwisáwacitit .
 and a war party went out .
 hi ar- ra- 0- iriwis- awacitik -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A war.party go.out PERF .

Witurišahikstarírušⁱ

Wituuricahikstaríruhci^ʔ

It was a large group of people

wi- ti- 0- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -0
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV person PL be.numerous PERF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Awitíhis^a

A witiíhiisa^ʔ

And morning came

a wi- ti- 0- a- ir- hiis- a -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV morning come PERF

hipíraskⁱ

hi píiraski

and the boy

hi piiras- -kis

and boy DIM

ruwitaahwihaahká'ísatⁿ

ruwitaahwihaahká'ísat

then he would go to the game ground

ruu-	wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	wi.haar-	ka-	iis.at	-0
then	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	game.ground	on	go.out.of.sight	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Atakukarawitiwihahkáisa

A táku' karawitiwihahká'íisa'

And anyone he did not come to the game ground

a	taku	kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	wi.haar-	ka-	iis.a	-0
and	someone	NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	game.ground	on	come.into	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Táwitwíwítíhawi

Táwit wíwítíhawi

Three the nights passed

tawit	wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	ha.wa.ir	-0
three	now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	night.to.elapse.DIST	PERF

hiahawáku	,	"	Rakúsi	,
hi ahawáku'		"	Raakúsi'	,
and he said	:	"	One sitting	,
hi ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0	,	"	raa.kus.i'	,

and EV ABS 3.A say PERF , " wife ,

"
"
"
"

ahuhihkúšapara^u

ahuuhíhku'

he meant her

cápaara'u

his wife

ar-	ra-	0-	ut-	ra'ihk	-:hus	capaak	ra-	0-	a-	0	-u
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	woman	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	be	SUB.D

, hírukisirišpətp^a . "
 , " hiru kíiciiricpatpa . "
 , " there let's go to the outskirts . "
 , " hiruu . "
 , " there . "

Hiruwisiwitišpətp^a

Hiru wisíwiticpatpa

Then now they (du) went to the outskirts

hiruu	wii-	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ic.waat.war	-0
then	now	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	go.to.the.edge.of.town.DU	PERF

, hiruahiwáku , " Náwa^a
 , hiru ahiwáku' " Ráwa
 , then he said : " Now
 , hiruu ar- ri- 0- waka'u -0 , " rawa
 , then EV CONT.3A 3.A say PERF , " now

, šúətn ,
 , cuú'at ,

, young lady ,
 , cuu'at ,
 , daughter ,

wítahawirakətⁿ . "
 witáhaawiiraakat . "
 I am now going on the warpath . "
 wii- ta- t- raawiiraak- at -0 . "
 now IND.1/2A 1.A on.the.warpath go PERF . "

Wisiahawárikⁱ
 Wisi'ahawaáriki
 While they (du) stood there
 wii- si- ar- ra- 0- wa- arik -i
 when DU EV ABS 3.A DIST be.standing SUB.2

hišúrakⁱ ahutíritⁿ
 hi cuúraki ahuutiírit
 and the girl she looked at him
 hi icuura- -kis ar- ra- 0- ut- iirik -0
 and girl DIM EV ABS 3.A PREV see PERF

pirəskⁱ , áka^a !
 piíraski . Aáka'a ,
 the boy . Oh my ,
 piiras- -kis . aaka'a ,
 boy DIM . oh.my ,

wítuhi
 wítuuhi .
 he was good looking .
 wi- ti- 0- uur- hiir -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be.good PERF .

witíkiwⁱ .
 Witiúkiwi .
 He was different .
 wi- ti- 0- ikiwir -0 .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.different PERF .

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

Titirihirúkurustiwišətⁿ

Tiítiiri hiru kurustíwicat
 Today there then I’ll arrive
 tii- tiiri hiruu ruu- kuus- t- i- wic.at -0
 here now there then POT.1/3A 1.A SEQ arrive PERF

. ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”
 . ”

Wisiwitiahúsúksahutⁿ

Wisiwiti’ahucúksahut
 Now they held each other
 wii- si- witi- ar- ra- 0- ut- uks- ahuk -0
 now DU REFL EV ABS 3.A PREV AOR hold PERF

, hirawitakaráhis^u
 , hi raawiitakaaraáhisu’
 , and suddenly
 , hi raa- wii- takaaraahis -u’

, and just now all.at.once NOM

ahawáku pirəskⁱ , “
ahawáku’ piíraski , “
he said the boy : “
ar- ra- 0- waka’u -0 piiras- -kis , “
EV ABS 3.A say PERF boy DIM , ”

Witátətⁿ . “
Witaátat . “
I am going now . “
wi- ta- t- at -0 . “
QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A go PERF . ”

Hiwiaharatki^a
Hi wi’aharatkií’a
And now it became night
hi wii- ar- ra- 0- ratkii -aar -0
and now EV ABS 3.A be.night INCH PERF

híahuta šúráki
hi ahuúta cuúráki
and she did it the girl :
hi ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 icuura- -kis ,
and EV ABS 3.A PREV do PERF girl DIM ,

hiwihiruaháruətⁿ
hi wihiru ahaáru’at
and there it went flying
hi wii- hiruu ar- ra- 0- ar- u.at -0
and now there EV ABS 3.A EV extend.in.a.line PERF

, níkuškⁱ .
ríkucki .

a bird .
 rikuc -kis .
 bird DIM .

Kišihiwitiwihuráhəťš ,
 Kici hi witiwihurahac ,
 But and it disappeared ,
 kici hi wi- ti- 0- awi- hurahac -0 ,
 but and QUOT IND.3A 3.P image disappear PERF ,

hišúrakⁱ
 hi cuúraki
 and the girl
 hi icuura- -kis
 and girl DIM

ruahikáisəťⁿ .
 ruu'ahikaá'isat .
 then she went home .
 ruu- ar- ri- 0- kaa- iis.at -0 .
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A inside go.out.of.sight PERF .

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

Pirišaraaks
 Piiriícara'aks
 Crazy Child
 piira- icaraks
 child be.mischievous

hiruwitírawirakətⁿ .
 hiru witíraawiiraakat . "

then he has gone on the warpath . "

hiruu wii- ti- 0- raawiiraak- at -0 . "
 then now IND.3A 3.A on.the.warpath go PERF . "

Iriwisiahihwakúrawu
 Iriwisi'ahihwakuúrawu'
 They doubted that one

irii- wii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- uur- wakuur- raa.wuu -:hus
 that now DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV word doubt IMPF

. Kišihiwitirətki^a ,
 . Kici hi witrátkii'a ,
 . But and it became night now ,
 . kici hi wi- ti- 0- ratkii -aar -0 ,
 . but and QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.night INCH PERF ,

hihiruaháwišətⁿ .
 hi hiru aháwicat .
 and then he arrived there .
 hi hiruu ar- ra- 0- wic.at -0 .
 and then EV ABS 3.A arrive PERF .

Hiruahiuríritⁿ
 Hiru ahi'uuriírit
 Then he stopped
 hiruu ar- ri- 0- uuri.arik -0
 then EV CONT.3A 3.A stop PERF

iriahišúksahu
 irii'ahicúksahu
 they way they used to do
 irii- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- uks- 0 -a -hus

that EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF.SUB

, uwatkáwi^u náku^u
, uuwatkáwi'u' ráku'u
, the outer ring of the camp its being
, uuwatka- -wi -u' ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
, border SUB.L NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

. Hiahakíspət^a
. Hi ahakiícpaata'
. And he came out of the brush
. hi ar- ra- 0- a- kiic.waat.a -0
. and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A come.out.of.the.brush PERF

Pirišaraaks
Piiriícara'aks .
Crazy Child .
piira- icaraks .
child be.mischievous .

akírikuah^u .
Aki riku'áhu' .
And here he was the one .
a- ki riku- ar- ra- 0- uu -0 .
and there that.is EV ABS 3.A be PERF .

Ahawáku tarušúhus , “
Ahawáku' táruucúhus “
He said an errand man : “
ar- ra- 0- waka'u -0 ta.ra.uc.uh.hus , ”
EV ABS 3.A say PERF errand.man , ”

Níhkit^a ,
Ríhkita ,

Leader ,
 rihkita ,
 leader ,

tikispatah^u .
 tihkicipataahu' .
 he is coming out of the brush .
 ti- 0- a- ir- kiic.waat.a -:hus .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV come.out.of.the.brush IMPF .

"
 "
 "
 "
 "

Ahawakaráruætⁿ níhkit^a
 Ahawakaraáru'at rihkita
 He called out the leader
 ar- ra- 0- wakaraar- u.at -0 rihkita
 EV ABS 3.A voice extend.in.a.line PERF leader

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

šúkspekt^a . "
 súkspakta' . "
 cry out ! "
 i- s- uks- wak.taa -0 . "
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS make.a.noise PERF . "

Hiruahíæt ⁿ						níhkit ^a	
Hiru	ahí'at					ríhkita	
Then	he went					the leader	
hiruu	ar-	ri-	0-	at	-0	rihkita	
then	EV	CONT.3A	3.A	go	PERF	leader	

ásiahawauririt ⁿ							
a	si'ahawaa'uuriirit						
and	they (du) stood facing each other						
a	si-	ar-	ra-	0-	waa-	uuri.arik	-0
and	DU	EV	ABS	3.A	DIST	stand.upright	PERF

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

ahuróšihtis						níhkit ^a	.
ahuurácihtis						ríhkita	.
he recognized him						the leader	.
ar-	ra-	0-	uur-	racihtis	-0	rihkita	.
EV	ABS	3.A	PREV	recognize	PERF	leader	.

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

tatihatúhka ^a							.
tatiihatúhka'a'							.
I came behind							.
ta-	t-	ir-		hatuhka-	a	-0	.

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

Tuharikušiksawátu

Tuuhá'

It is the cause

ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 ri- ku- aciks- awatu -hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF CONT.3A 1.P mind be.lonesome.for IMPF.SUB

nətkuwíhahkukutⁿ

ratkuwíhaahkuukut

when I go to the game ground

ra- t- ku- wi.haar- ka- uukuk -0
INF.A 1.A INF.B game.ground on get.into SUB.4

atakukakatutíritⁿ

a táku' kaakatuutiírit
and anyone I do not see him

a taku kaaka- t- ut- iirik -0
and someone NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV see PERF

irítíšk^a

I rííticka' : "
And I thought : "
i rii- t- wicka -0 : "
and ASSR 1.A think PERF : "

tuhuhátúhkaətⁿ

Tuhuuhatúhka'at

Let me go behind at last

i- t- uhur- hatuhka- at -0 . " a ,
CONT.1/2A 1.A finally behind go PERF . " and ,

hiwihirúrikuahi

hi wihiru ríku'ahi'

and now he was the one
 hi wii- hiruu riku- ar- ri- 0- 0 -0
 and now then that.is EV CONT.3A 3.A be PERF

Pirišaraaks .
 Piiriicara'aks .
 Crazy Child .
 piira- icaraks .
 child be.mischievous .

Ahawakararuətⁿ níhkit^a
 Ahawakaraáru'at ríhkita
 He called out the leader
 ar- ra- 0- wakaraar- u.at -0 rihkita
 EV ABS 3.A voice extend.in.a.line PERF leader

níhkita
 . Ríhkita
 . The leader
 . rihkita
 . leader

rusiwitíwaritⁿ ,
 ruusiwitíwaarit ,
 then they (du) stood there ,
 ruu- si- wi- ti- 0- wa- arik -0 ,
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A DIST be.standing PERF ,

hiahawakararuətⁿ .
 hi ahawakaraáru'at .
 and he called out .
 hi ar- ra- 0- wakaraar- u.at -0 .
 and EV ABS 3.A voice extend.in.a.line PERF .

Hikišiahakikarahkái^a

Hi kici ahakiikaraáhka'íitat
And but there were fires all along the length of the camps
hi kici ar- ra- 0- kiika- raar- ka- itak -0
and but EV ABS 3.A fire PL on be.a.camp PERF

šahikstáhkuš^u .
cahikstaáhkucu' .
a large group of people .
icaahiks raar- -kucuu .
person PL AUG .

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

nawirakuhkitáwi^u
raawiirakuhkitáwi'u' ,
leading warriors ,
raawiirakuur- kita.wi -u' ,
warring be.the.leader NOM ,

tiwákah^u , " Náwa ,
tiwákaahu' ' Ráwa ,
he says : ' Now ,
ti- 0- waka -:hus , ' rawa ,
IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF , ' now ,

tuhakawihisátawitⁿ
tuuhaakawíhisat táwit
you left nights ago three
ti- 0- a- ut- rak- ha.wa.ir -his at -0 tawit

IND.3A 3.A 2.P PREV 1/2.PL night.to.elapse.DIST PERF go PERF three

hínahiritⁿ nikušiksawátu
hi raahiirit rikuucíksawátu'
and finally I was lonesome
hi raahiirit ri- ku- aciks- awatu -:hus
and finally CONT.3A 1.P mind be.lonesome.for IMPF

, hínahiritⁿ nítir^a
, hi raahiirit rítiira'
, and finally I came
, hi raahiirit rii- t- ir- a -0
, and finally ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A come PERF

arutiritihatúhka

a ruutiriitiihatúhkaa'
and then here I came behind
a ruu- tii- rii- t- ir- hatuhka- a -0
and then here ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A behind come PERF

,
.
.
.
.

itakusiwitikariritihúras^u

I táku' siwitikariiritiihúrasu'
And anyone we did not find each other
i taku si- witi- kari- rii- t- i- huras -:hus
and someone DU REFL EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A SEQ find IMPF

; hínahiritⁿ
. Hi raahiirit

. And finally
 . hi raahiirit
 . and finally

tiwiritíhwiš^a .
 tiwiriitíhwica' --
 here I arrived --
 tii- wii- rii- t- ir- wic.a -0 --
 here now ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A arrive PERF --

Natíška^a “ Áka^a
 ratícka'a ' Aáka'a ,
 my thinking : ' Oh my ,
 ra- t- wicka -a , ' aaka'a ,
 ABS 1.A want SUB.1 , ' oh.my ,

škaraitakáwari
 ckára itakaáwari'
 alone I'll go about in it
 ckara i- t- ar- kaa- warii -:hus
 alone CONT.1/2A 1.A EV inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

hihítaku wirisíriwisətⁿ
 hi hiítaku wiriisíriwisat
 and the other way the war party had gone
 hi hii- -taku wii- rii- s- iriwis- at -0
 and other LOC now ASSR 2.A war.party go PERF

šahikstahkítu .
 cahikstaahkítuu'u' .
 everyone .
 icaahiks raar- kituu -u' .
 person PL all NOM .

Ararúitakak^u

A raaruú'itakaaku

And I would just be in the camp

a raa- ruu- i- t- ar- kaa- kus -0
and just then CONT.1/2A 1.A EV inside be.sitting PERF

híkaristaatⁿ

hi káristaa'at

and why should I go

hi ka- rii- s- raa.at -0
and Y/N.INTER ASSR 2.A go.to.get PERF

Nikutuhatiratihátúhka^a

Rikutuuhá'

That is the reason

riku- ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0 tii- ra- t- ir- hatuhka- a -0
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF here ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A behind come SUB.3

.
.
.
.
.
.

tiratiihatúhka'a

my coming here last

Ahawákararu^a

Ahaawákaraaru'a'

He called out

ar- ra- 0- a- wakaraar- u.a -0
EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A voice extend.this.way PERF

, " Náw^a , rikutúutⁿ ,
" Ráwa , rikutuú'ut
: " Now , it is that way
, " rawa , riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'

, " now , that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

tiiriwírətpak^a . Náw^a ,
 ti'iriwíratpaaka . Ráwa ,
 this that I have said . Now ,
 tii- irii- wii- ra- t- waak -a . rawa ,
 this that now ABS 1.A say.SUB SUB.1 . now ,

wirikutíhi
 wirikutí' , ihi ,
 he is now the one , uh ,
 wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii ,
 now that.is IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh ,

Pirišaraaks . "
 Piiriícara'aks . "
 Crazy Child . "
 piira- icaraks . "
 child be.mischievous . "

Kítukúhirətkuku
 Kítuu'u' kúhiiratkuuku'
 All they were listening
 kituu -u' kuur- ra- 0- ir- atka'uk -:hus
 all NOM DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A listen IMPF

hiahuharuhurúša
 hi ahuuhaáruhuuruúcaa'
 and they all jumped up
 hi ar- ra- 0- a- ut- raar- uhuur.uca.a -0
 and EV ABS 3.A PREV.3A PREV PL.INDV.A jump.up PERF

. Wirikutítⁿ
 . Wirikutí't

. Now they were the ones
 . wii- riku- ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
 . now that.is IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

irírutakak^u .
 iriiruutakaaku .
 the ones who were his in-laws .
 irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- kaa.kus -0 .
 that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.an.in-law SUB.4 .