

Skiri Narratives, Thirty-four

Roaming Scout

Tihwakíah ^u									ihí
Tihwakí'aahu'									ihí
They say									uh ,
ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus					ihii ,
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF					uh ,
nakúrihuru						šáhiks		nisár ^u	
rakúrihuuru						cáhiks		riisaáru'	
his being great						a person		a chief	
ra-	0-	ku-	rihur	-u		icaahiks		riisaar	-u'
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.big	SUB.D		person		be.chief	NOM
ráku ^u									.
ráku'u									.
his being									.
ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u					.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D					.
Nisaruráku ^u									
Riisaaru'									
A chief									
riisaar	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	0	-u			
be.chief	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be	SUB.D			
hitihúrakioš,									
hi	tihuúrakii'ac								
and	he was tall								
hi	ti-	0-	huur.ak	kii'ac	-0				

and IND.3A 3.A be.so.tall be.long PERF

hitírihu^u .

hi tírihu'u .

and he was large .

hi ti- 0- rihur -' .

and IND.3A 3.A be.big EX .

Hiwihirurikutísa^a ,

Hi wihiru rikutiísa'a

And there that one was named

hi wii- hiruu riku- ti- 0- asar -' .

and now there that.is IND.3A 3.A be.named EX

sískatapi . nka^a ! tírihu^u ,

Sískatapi . líka'a tírihu'u .

Siskatapi . Oh my , he was large !

siskatapi . iika'a , ti- 0- rihur -' .

Siskatapi . oh.my , IND.3A 3.A be.big EX .

atipətəti

Atípat tátii

Grandfather he was mine

ati- paak ta- t- ir- 0 -0

1.POSS grandfather IND.1/2A 1.A POSS.1/2A be PERF

, atí[^]s

. Atí'as

. My father

. ati- as

. 1.POSS father

hiástita

hi'aásti' ta'

his father				he was his child				
i-	as	-ri'	ti-	0-	a-	0	-0	
3.POSS.A	father	3.POSS.B	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	be	PERF	

,	Pirášahuru			atías			
.	Piirácaahuuru'			atí'as			
.	A brother's child (nephew)			my father			
.	piira.caahuur	-u'	ati-	as			
.	nephew	NOM	1.POSS	father			

tíhu				,	iatípət ⁿ		
tíhu'					i	atípat	
he was					and	my grandfather	
ti-	0-	0	-.hus		i	ati-	paak
IND.3A	3.A	be	IMPF		and	1.POSS	grandfather

níti ⁱ				.
riíti'i				.
he was mine				.
rii-	t-	ir-	0	-'
ASSR	1.A	POSS.1/2A	be	EX

Hiwihírurik ^u				.	Náw ^a			
Hi	wihiru		riíku	.	Ráwa			
And	there		he lived	.	Now			
hi	wii-	hiruu	ri-	0-	kus	-0	.	rawa
and	now	there	CONT.3A	3.A	be.sitting	PERF	.	now

,	kukakiráitusk ^u						
	kukaakiraa'íitusku						
	there was no story						
ku-	kaaki-	0-	raa.iit.us-	kus	-0		
INDF	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	story	be.sitting	PERF		

INF.A 3.A INF.B into go SUB.1 .

Kišiširutətrururakusíspari

Kici ciru tat raaruurakukusíspari
But yet yet I was to be just playing

kici ciruu ta- t- 0 -0 raa- ruu- ra- 0- ku- kuis.warii -hus
but yet IND.1/2A 1.A be PERF just then INF.A 3.A INF.B play.around.outside IMPF.SUB

ukáhkətⁿ .
uukaáhkat .
outside .
uukaahkat .
outside .

Iriwikukuhátihurətⁿ

Iriwikukuuhátiihuurat

I was about the height of this one

irii- wii- ku- kuur- ra- t- ir- huur.ak -0
that now INDF DUB ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A be.so.tall PERF

takatírak^u .

Taáka tíraaku .
Whitey this one .
taakaar tii- ra- 0- kus -0 .
be.white this ABS 3.A be.sitting SUB.4 .

Aríhwaki , “

A ríhwaki’ “

And they said : “

a ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , ”

and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , ”

Witikutⁿ sískatapi ,

Wítikut Sískatapi .

He has died Siskatapi .
 wi- ti- 0- kuut -0 siskatapi .
 QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF Siskatapi .

wiwítikətⁿ . " Náw^a ,
 Wiwítikut . " Ráwa
 He has died . " Now ,
 wii- wi- ti- 0- kuut -0 . " rawa ,
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.P die PERF . " now ,

hikuruhišⁱ
 hi kuruuhišⁱ
 and then they did it
 hi kuruur- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0
 and DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

,

asikuhíš^taripap^u
 a sikuuhíš^tariipaapu
 and they tied him up
 a si- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- tariik.wuh -waa -0
 and DU DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV tie DIST PERF

. Kurihišⁱ
 . Kuruuhišⁱ
 . Then they did it
 . kuruur- ri- 0- ir- ut- i- aar -0
 . DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ do PERF

arúsa^a ,
 aruúsa'
 : a horse --
 , aruusaa -
 , horse -

arusakuhishahkatárikítⁿ

aruúsa' kuuhictaahaahkataárikít
 a horse they saddled it
 aruusaa kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- taahaar- kata- arik -ihk -0
 horse DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV bundle against.a.vertical.surface be.standing CAUS PERF

,

hisikuruhirišawátkaⁱ

hi sikuruuhiriicawátka'i
 and then they put him across
 hi si- kuruur- ri- 0- ir- icawat.ka.iir -0
 and DU DUB CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A drape.over PERF

. Karatiráita ,
 . Karatiraá'iita
 . I did not know
 . ka- ra- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 . NEG ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hírihwaki “ Hā^a !
 hi ríhwaki' “ Haa'a
 and they said: “ Ha ,
 hi ra- 0- ir- waki -0 " haa'a ,

and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF " ha ,

hiruwisiririkátaætⁿ

hiru wisiriirikáta'at

there they are taking him up

hiruu wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ri- kata- at -0
there now DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PORT against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

. "
. "
. "
. "
. "

Náw^a ,

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

wisírirætⁿ ,

wisíirat

they took him ,

wii- si- 0- ri- 0- ir- ra- at -0 ,
now DU 3.A CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT go PERF ,

hiruritaráhkis^{^t}ⁿ .

hiru riititaráhkisat .

then I ran .

hiruu rii- t- i- tarahkis- at -0 .
then ASSR 1.A SEQ be.strong go PERF .

Turišahikstaríruhsⁱ .

Tuuricahikstaaríruhci' .

There were many people .
 ti- 0- uur- icaahiks- raar- riruhci -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV person PL be.numerous PERF .

Kukarawitiwakahusuku
 Kukarawitiiwaakahúsuuku'

He did not say anything

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- waaka -:hus -uuku
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF HAB

, nihkukírawa .
 rihkukíraawa .
 when he was sick .
 ra- 0- ir- ku- kiraawaahc -0 .
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B be.sick SUB.4 .

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

kukarawítiwakahúsuk^u
 kukarawitiiwaakahúsuuku'

he did not say anything

ku- kara- wi- ti- 0- i- waaka -:hus -uuku
 INDF NEG QUOT IND.3A 3.A SEQ say.IMPF IMPF HAB

. Kišiširukuhawawáktik^u ,
 . Kici ciru kuuhawaawáktiiku' ,
 . But still he was talking ,
 . kici ciruu kuur- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus ,
 . but yet DUB ABS 3.A talk IMPF ,

ihi nakutaráhkis^u
 ihi rakutaráhkiisu
 uh , when he was strong ,
 ihii , ra- 0- ku- tarahkis -u ,
 uh , INF.A 3.A INF.B be.strong SUB.D ,

hiwítitarawikirikaætⁿ ,
 hi wititaarawikirikaá'at
 and he would think of himself
 hi witi- ti- 0- ar- awi- kirik.kaa.at -0
 and REFL IND.3A 3.A EV image examine PERF

hítarutapawáktik^u
 hi taruutapaawáktiiku'
 and he was talking to them
 hi ti- 0- ar- ut- ak- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A EV BEN PL.AN.3P talk IMPF

irirahkutakíšisu
 iriiraahkuutaakícisu
 those he was related to
 irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- ak- icis -hus
 that INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Píraurakurúhwih^{^t}ⁿ
 Píira'u' raakurúhwihat
 Children the ones he had
 piira -u' ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- wi.hak -0

child NOM INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting.PL SUB.4

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

Sirihkutatarašikstawipíra^u

Sirihkuutattaaracíkstawi

You must watch over them

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	ak-	raar-	aciks.ta	-wi	piira’u’
DU	INF>A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	PREV	PL.AN.3P	PL.INDV.A	watch.over	SUB.L	children
										piira -u’
										child NOM

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Witatarakurawáhist^a

Witaraakuraawaáhista

Now I am going to leave you behind

wii-	ta-	t-	a-	rak-	huraawaa	-his	-ta
now	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	1/2.PL	leave.behind	PERF	INT

, " nikuwitiwákah^u .
 . " Rikuwitiwákaahu’ . “
 . " That is what he was saying . “
 . " riku- wi- ti- 0- waka -:hus . ”
 . " that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF . ”

Pirauwitatutətahurawáhist^a

Píira’u’ wítatuutattahuraawaáhista

Children I am going to leave it for them
 piira -u' wi- ta- t- ut- ak- raar- huraawaa -his -ta
 child NOM QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A BEN PL.AN.3P 3.INDV.A leave.behind PERF INT

kirikurakúrahir^a

kíriku' rakúraahiira
 something its being good
 kirikuu ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
 anything INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

,
 "
 ,
 "
 ,
 "
 ,
 "

hirurutakíšisu

hiru ruutaakícisu
 there his relatives
 hiruu ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
 there ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

, níhuks^u . Náw^a ,
 ríhuksu' . Ráwa
 only . Now ,
 rihuks -u' . rawa ,
 alone NOM . now ,

nitiráita

riitiraá'iita

I learned of it

rii- t- ir- raa.iita -0
 ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF

hiruwirətpišət^a ,
 hiru wiratpícata .
 then when I arrived .
 hiruu wii- ra- t- wic.at -a .
 then when ABS 1.A arrive SUB.1 .

hiwihirurísa ,
 Hi wihiru riísa ,
 And there he lay
 hi wii- hiruu ri- 0- sa -0
 and now there CONT.3A 3.A be.lying PERF

irisiahitatawístar^tn
 iriisi'ahiitataawístarit
 where they were going to bury him
 irii- si- ar- ra- 0- ir- ut- ataa.wuh -his -ta -rit
 where DU EV ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV bury PERF INT INT.SUB

. Tírəsa
 . Tíraasa
 . This one lying
 . tii- ra- 0- sa -0
 . this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

túštaripətⁿ ,
 túctariipaata .
 he was tied .
 ti- 0- ut- tariik -waa -0 .
 IND.3A 3.A PREV be.tied DIST PERF .

tutkištaritⁿ .
 Tutkiúctariit .
 His neck was tied .
 ti- 0- ut- kiic- tariik -0 .

IND.3A 3.A PREV neck be.tied PERF .

Aikárikətⁿ

A ikárikat
And in the middle
a iika.ri -kat
and center LOC

tihatakurúštaritⁿ

tiháátaku rúctariit .
right here he was tied .
tii- haa- -taku ra- 0- ut- tariik -0 .
here here LOC ABS 3.A PREV be.tied PERF .

Sitihihaskíkauš

Sitiihihaaskíhka'uc

They wove a rope around him

si- tiir- ra- 0- ir- haas- kiir- ka- uc -0
DU INFR ABS 3.A PL.3A rope string in lay.SG.P PERF

. Hawáikarikətⁿ , hawahiruníhiri .
. Hawá ikárikat hawá hiru riíhiri' .
. Also in the middle also there the loins .
. haawa iika.ri -kat haawa hiruu rii.hiri' .
. also center LOC also there loin .

Tirasaratutkírík^u

Tíraasa ratutkíríku
This one lying when I looked at him
tii- ra- 0- sa -0 ra- t- ut- kirik.kus -0
this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3 ABS 1.A PREV look.at SUB.4

rikutúutⁿ

rikutuú'ut

it was that way

riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

núštaripapⁱ . həskⁱ ,
rúctariipaapi . Háski ,
his being tied up . Strings ,
ra- 0- ut- tariik -waa -wi . haas- -kis ,
ABS 3.A PREV be.tied DIST SUB.L . string DIM ,

həskitíhasitⁿ .
háski tíhaasit .
strings they were strings .
haas- -kis ti- 0- haas- 0 -ik -0 .
string DIM IND.3A 3.A string be DIST PERF .

Iiwisirihurahatáwuhu

I iwisiriahatáwuhu

And when they dug the hole

i ii- wii- si- ra- 0- ir- uur- huraar- hata.wuh -hus
and when when DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV earth make.a.hole IMPF.SUB

. áka^a ! pít^a
aáka'a piíta
, oh my , men
, aaka'a , wiita
, oh.my , man

turišáikstaríruhšⁱ ,

tuuricáikstaaríruhci'

there were many persons

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

irisirihurahatáwuhu
 iriisiriihuraahatáwuhu

there where they were digging the hole

irii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	huraar-	hata.wuh	-hus
where	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	earth	make.a.hole	IMPF.SUB

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Kuiriwikuhihətáwiətⁿ
 Ku'iriwikúhiihatáwi'at

The hole was deep enough

ku-	irii-	wii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	i-	hata	-wi	ak	-0
INDF	that	now	DUB	ABS	3.A	SEQ	be.a.hole	SUB.L	be.a.certain.length	PERF

	hiruríši ^a									,
	hiru	riíci'a								
,	then	they did it								:
,	hiruu	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	i-	aar	-0		,
,	then	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF		,

hirusiriririkarúrakⁱs

hiru siriiririíkaru'
 then they made a lodge

hiruu	si-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	akaar-	ra'uk	-0	rákis	
then	DU	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	dwelling	make	PERF	wood	-kis

. Nókis
 . Rákis
 . Wood
 . rak -kis

. wood DIM

hisirirákaru .

hi síirakaru' .

and they made a lodge .

hi si- ra- 0- ir- akaar- ra'uk -0 .
and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A dwelling make PERF .

Siriráhir^{itn}

Siriiraáhiirit

They fixed it nicely

si- ra- 0- ir- uur- raa- hiir -ik -0
DU ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV way be.good CAUS PERF

; hiruríši^a ,

. Hiru riíci'a

. Then they did it :

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

utáu

nirəšáwuh^a

uutaá'u'

riiracáwuha

sods

their putting on it

uutaa -u' ra- 0- ir- raar- ta.wuh -a
sod NOM ABS 3.A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P set.up SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .

Kuturakukáriku

Kutuú

rakuukáriku

It seemed his having a lodge
ku- ti- 0- uu -0 ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0
INF.B IND.3A 3.A be PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

, ákar^u .
ákaar['] .
a lodge .
akaar -u['] .
dwelling NOM .

Ruriririrašáwuhusititⁿ

Ruuriiririiracáwuhusitit

Then they began putting them on it

ruu- ra- 0- a- ir- ri- ri- uur- raar- ta.wuh -:hus -itik
then ABS 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PHYS.POSS POSS.A 3PL.INAN.P set.up IMPF INCH

. Kutikitaritⁿ ihi
. Kutikítaarit ihi
. It seemed it stood on top , uh
. ku- ti- 0- kita- arik -0 , ihii
. INDF IND.3A 3.A on.top be.standing PERF , uh

kurakúkitarik¹

kurakukitaáriki

, its seeming to be standing on a hill
, ku- ra- 0- ku- kita- arik -i
, INDF INF.A 3.A INF.B on.top be.standing SUB.2

kíwik^u .
kíwiiku['] .
a buffalo bull .
kiwiik -u['] .
buffalo.bull NOM .

Skárararutušitawikit^a

Ckára raaruutuciitaawíkita

Alone the grave was just on top

ckara	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	ut-	i-	ataa	-wi	kita	-0
alone	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	SEQ	be.buried	SUB.L	be.on.top	PERF

kištíkuš^u .

kictíkucu' .

far off .

kii.ac.ri -kucuu .

far AUG .

Kišipakuhtútatir^a

Kici pakúhtu' tatiíra'

But long ago I came

kici	pakuht	-u'	ta-	t-	ir-	a	-0
but	be.old	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	come	PERF

. Kuhírarihəš .

. Kuuhíraariihac .

. They had apparently finished .

. kuur- ra- 0- ir- raa.riihac -0 .

. DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A finish PERF .

Híwihirurirah^u

Hi wihiru riiraáhu'

And now then they were coming

hi	wii-	hiruu	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	a	-:hus
and	now	then	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	PL.3A	come	IMPF

, tírahkikətⁿ .

. Tírahkikat .

. They were crying .

. ti- 0- raar- kikak -0 .

. IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A cry PERF .

Tukstahkíkak^u

Tukstaahkíkaaku'

They used to cry

ti- 0- uks- raar- kikak -:hus
IND.3A 3.A AOR PL.INDV.A cry IMPF

pitaáihi

šápatⁿ

piita a ihi cápaat
men and , uh , women
wiita a , ihii , icapaak
man and , uh , woman

nakutatatirísat^a

rakutatatiirísata

when the crowd went there

ra- 0- ku- tatatiir.his- at -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B gathered.together go SUB.1

tuhá

Tuuhá'

It was the cause

ti- 0- ut- raa- 0 -0
IND.3A 3.A PREV way be PERF

nisarura^u

riisaáru' rá'u

a chief his being

riisaar -u' ra- 0- 0 -u
be.chief NOM ABS 3.A be SUB.D

nukutikúkstakiturara

Ruukútikukstaakituúrara

That one used to have the village

ruu- ku- ti- 0- ku- uks- rak- ituur- raar- raah -0
then INDF IND.3A 3.A 1.P AOR 1/2.PL village PL have PERF

, nikutukskítawi

. Rikutukskítawi'

. That one was the leader

. riku- ti- 0- uks- kita.wi -0
. that.is IND.3A 3.A AOR be.the.leader PERF

nísar^u

riisaaru'

chief

riisaar -u'

be.chief NOM

Hirikurušúksah^u

Hi rikuruúcuksaahu'

And that is how it used to be

hi riku- ra- 0- ut- uks- 0 -a -:hus
and that.is ABS 3.A PREV AOR be SUB.1 IMPF

nisarurakukítawi^u

riisaáru' rakukítawi'u

a chief when he was leader

riisaar -u' ra- 0- ku- kita.wi -u
be.chief NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B be.the.leader SUB.D

akitutirára^a

a kítuu'u' tiiráraa'

and all they brought him

a kituu -u' ti- 0- a- ir- raar- ra- a -0
and all NOM IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A 3PL.INAN.P PORT come PERF

, ákitar^u ,
 ákitaaru'
 the tribe
 akitaar- -u'
 tribe NOM

asitírikikətⁿ ,
 a sitírikikat
 and they cried for him
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ri- kikak -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PORT cry PERF

akitarurakuráhkikətⁿ
 ákitaaru' rakuraáhkikat
 the tribe when they cried
 akitaar- -u' ra- 0- ku- raar- kikak -0
 tribe NOM INF.A 3.A INF.B PL.INDV.A cry SUB.4

. Iiwirákutⁱ ,
 . I iwirákuuti
 . And after he died ,
 . i ii- wii- ra- 0- kuut -i ,
 . and when when ABS 3.P die SUB.2 ,

iwirákutⁱ ,
 iwirákuuti
 after he died
 ii- wii- ra- 0- kuut -i
 when when ABS 3.P die SUB.2

kusirihkutpawákt^tⁿ
 kusirihkutpaáwaktit
 some of them talked to him
 ku- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- waa.wak.tik -0

INDF DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN talk SUB.4

,

akusikararihkušiwáwəktⁱ⁺ⁿ

a kusikararihkuciwaáwaktit

and some did not talk to him

a ku- si- kara- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- i- waa.wak.tik -0
 and INDF DU NEG INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B BEN SEQ talk SUB.4

, tirákutⁱ .
 tirákuuti .
 this dead one .
 tii- ra- 0- kuut -i .
 this ABS 3.P die SUB.2 .

Kusikakišikspawaktikúsuku

Kusikaakicikspaawaktikúsuuku'

They did not usually talk to one

ku- si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- i- uks- waa.wak.tik -:hus -uuku
 INDF DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV SEQ AOR talk IMPF HAB

sáhiks nakúkutⁱ . Kíšⁱ ,
 cáhiks rakúkuuti . Kici
 a person when he died . But ,
 icaahiks ra- 0- ku- kuut -i . kici ,
 person INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.2 . but ,

irárⁱ ,
 iraári'

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

sirihkukútika šárarətⁿ ,
 sirihkukuútika Cáraraat
 when they killed him a Sioux
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- kuut.ik -a icararaat
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B kill SUB.1 enemy

sirihkurawahkisa
 sirihkuraawáhkisa
 when they tortured him
 si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raawaahkisaar -0
 DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B torture SUB.4

šárarətⁿ ,
 Cáraraat
 a Sioux
 icararaat
 enemy

irihi , siwiti^upawáktik^u
 irihiisiwiti^upaawáktiiku'
 they were talking to that one
 irii- hii- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- waa.wak.tik -:hus
 that other DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A BEN talk IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Irihi tihwakahukúrahus

Irihiitihwakí'aahu'

That is what they used to say

irii-	hii-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	kúrahus
that	other	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	the old men
							kurahuus
							old.man

, áirihi kúrahus
a irihii kúrahus
, and those old men
, a irii- hii kurahuus
, and that other old.man

narurirahwakišahkáwari

raaruuriraahwaakicaahkáwari'

then they just went through the village crying out

raa-	ruu-	ri-	0-	raar-	waak-	icahka-	warii	-:hus
just	then	CONT.3A	3.A	PL.INDV.A	saying	village	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

nótikⁱ

rátiiiki

his grandchild

rak-	tiikis
grandchild	sonny

níhkuks^u

ríhkuksu

his having been his

ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	uks-	0	-u
INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	INF.B	AOR	be	SUB.D

isiarutiwápari

isii'aaruutiwápari'

then he would just be talking plainly as he walked around

isiiruu-	ar-	ti-	0-	waak-	warii	-:hus
----------	-----	-----	----	-------	-------	-------

plainly EV IND.3A 3.A saying be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

“ Náw^a ,
 “ Ráwa
 : “ Now ,
 , “ rawa ,
 , “ now ,

wiskušurakuhatariwíhahkukətⁿ

wískucu’ rakuhaattariwíhaahkuukut
 hurry , you should take the poles to the game ground
 wis -kucuu , ra- 0- ku- haak- raar- ri- wi.haar- ka- uukuk -0
 hurry AUG , INF.A 3.A INF.B wood PL PORT game.ground in get.into PERF

nótikⁱ . “
 ráttiiki “
 , grandson , “
 , rak- tiikis ,
 , grandchild sonny ,

Íriraku^u pířæski
 iriíraahku pířraski
 that one the boy
 irii- ra- 0- ar- kus -0 píiras- -kis
 that ABS 3.A EV be.sitting SUB.4 boy DIM

nəkuhúrah^{ʌš} “
 rakuhúrahac . “
 after he died . “
 ra- 0- ku- hurahac -0 . “
 INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.4 . “

Tasirurapírihu^u
 Tasiruuraapírihu’u

You love it

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

,
.
.
.
.

tasirurapírihu^u

Tasiruuraapírihu'u

You love it

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

nakúwu

rakuúwu

to play

ra-	0-	ku-	a.wuu	-hus	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	play.hoop.and.pole	IMPF.SUB	.

pískušu

Pískucu'

Quickly

wis -kucuu

quickly AUG

atihatariwiháhkaukutⁿ

a tihaattariwihaáhka'uukut

and you must take the poles to the game ground

a	ti-	0-	haak-	raar-	ri-	wi.haar-	ka-	uukuk	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	wood	PL	PORT	game.ground	in	get.into	PERF

. "

. "

. "

. "

. "

Nakuwatikúspari

Rakuwattikúspari

When he went around crying

ra-	0-	ku-	wak.tik	-hus	warii	-hus	kúrahus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	cry.out	IMPF.SUB	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	the old man
							kurahuus
							old.man

“ Árátiki

“ A rattíiki

: “ And , grandchild ,

, “ a , rak- tiikis ,

, “ and , grandchild sonny ,

pitarísüks ,

piíta riísuks .

a man you were .

wiita rii- s- uks- 0 -0 .

man ASSR 2.A AOR be PERF .

kariritarikíkakst^a .

Kariiritaarikíkaksta .

I am not going to cry for you .

karii- rii- t- a- ri- kikak -his -ta .

EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A 2.P PORT cry PERF INT .

"

"

"

"

"

Hiirirútirəšikska^a

Hi iriruutiíracikskaa'a'

And then he thought about him

hi	irii-	ruu-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	aciks.kaa.a	-0
and	that	then	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	OBV	think.of	PERF

,

iririhkušukskaruruwahúruku

iriirihkucukskaaruruuwahúruuku

when he used to feed him things

irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	uks-	kaaruur-	raa.uhur	-wa	ra'uk	-hus
when	INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	PREV	AOR	meal	be.the.way	DIST	make	IMPF.SUB

,

airirihkušukstúwahuruku

a iriirihkucukstuúwahuruuku

and when he did things for him

a	irii-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	uks-	raa.uhur	-wa	ra'uk	-hus
and	when	INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	BEN	AOR	be.the.way	DIST	make	IMPF.SUB

,

,
,
,

narurihkuwitáktik^a

raaruurihkuuwitáktika

when he just put it on him

raa-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	witak		-rik	-a
just	then	INF>A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	wear.over.the.shoulders		CAUS	SUB.1

,	nawíhtaka	,	ákušahuk ⁱ	.
	raawíhtaaka		aku cahuúki	.
	a blanket		or a robe	.
	raawiir- taakaar		aku cahuu -kis	.
	cloth be.white		or robe DIM	.

Hítirasikska^a

Hi tiiracíkskasa

And he had been thoughtful of him

hi	ti-	0-	ir-	aciks-	ka-	sa	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	mind	in	be.lying	PERF

kúrahus ,
kúrahus
the old man
kurahuus
old.man

nəkuwaktikusišáhkawu

rakuwaktikusicaáhkawu

when he went crying out through the village

ra-	0-	ku-	wak.tik	-hus	icahka-	wuu	-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	cry.out	IMPF.SUB	village	go.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

, hínahiritⁿ kúrahus
 hi raáhiirit kúrahus
 and finally the old man
 hi raahiirit kurahuus
 and finally old.man

raruwítariwakaráša

raaruuwítaraariwakarácaa'

then he just made himself cry out

raa-	ruu-	witi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	wakaraar-	ta.a	-0
just	then	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	PREV.3A	PORT	voice	come.up	PERF

. Nahkušikpírut^{tⁿ} .

raahkuucikspíruutit .

when he felt despondent .

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	aciks.wii.ruu.tik	-0	.
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	feel.despondent	SUB.4	.

Katuwikakíwari

Kaátu' wikaakíwari'

Because he was not living

kaatu'	wii-	kaaki-	0-	i-	warii	-.hus
because	now	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

híritara^u .

hi riitára'u' .

and he talked about him .

hi	rii-	0-	tara'u	-0	.
and	ASSR	3.A	talk.about	PERF	.

Nahirakíwaritu

Ráhiira' kíiwariitu'

Sometimes naked

rahiira kíiwariit -u'

and he no longer lived .
 hi wii- kaaki- 0- kus -0 .
 and now NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

Akitarúharu^u

Aki taruúhaaru'u
 And here it was the reason
 a- ki ti- 0- a- ri- ut- raaruur- 0 -'
 and there IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS PREV deed be EX

iririhkusukstuwahúruku

iriirihkucukstuuwáhuruuku

the way he was treated by him

irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- uks- raa.uhur -wa ra'uk -hus
 when INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN AOR be.the.way DIST make IMPF.SUB

náhkuwaka “

raáhkuwaaka “

when he would say :

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

Atípat

Grandfather ,

ati- paak ,

1.POSS grandfather ,

Taritírarušⁱ ,

tári' tíraruuci ,

here , these things

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

witišuksésukt^{it}n

witisuksásuktit

put them on your feet

witi-	i-	s-	uks-	as.uuk	-rik	-0
REFL	CONT.1/2A	2.A	JUSS	wear.on.the.feet	CAUS	PERF

,	aúkúku	.	"	
	a ukuúku'u'	.	"	
	and leggings	!	"	
	a uk.kuuku -u'	.	"	
	and legging	NOM	.	"

Arahkuwitáktik^a

A raahkuwitáktika

And when he would put it on his shoulders

a	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	witak	-rik	-a
and	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	wear.over.the.shoulders	CAUS	SUB.1

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Akirikuisirəšikskawáah^u

Aki riku'isiiracikskaaawá'aahu'

And here that is the one he was reminiscing about

a-	ki	riku-	i-	s-	ir-	aciks.kaa.a	-wa	-:hus
and	there	that.is	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	think.of	DIST	IMPF

kúrahus tirawáktiku

kúrahus tiwirawáktiku

old man this one crying out

kurahuus	tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	wak.tik	-hus
----------	------	------	-----	----	---------	------

old.man this now ABS 3.A cry.out IMPF.SUB

hišihiruwítahša

hici hiru wítaahca

but there he lay yonder

hi.ci hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- sa -0
and there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying PERF

nahkuhúrah^š

wiraahkuhúrahac

after he died

wii- ra- 0- ar- ku- hurahac -0
when INF.A 3.P EV INF.B die SUB.4

Náw^a , hiruiríihi

Ráwa hiru irii ihi

Now , then where , uh ,

rawa , hiruu irii , ihii ,

now , then where , uh ,

nihkururúkstušpawⁱ

rihkuruúrukstucpaawi

the things he had owned

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- uks- ra.uc -waa -wi
INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

,

hítašahka

hi taáricaahkaa'

and he came through the village
 hi ti- 0- a- ri- icaḥka- a -0
 and IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PORT village come PERF

kúrahus hitiráihku
 kúrahus hi tirarihku
 the old man and he carried them
 kurahuus hi ti- 0- raar- ruhka'uk -0
 old.man and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST PERF

pirəskirahkuhúraḥaš ,
 piiraski raahkuhúraḥac
 the boy when he died
 piiras- -kis ra- 0- ar- ku- hurahac -0
 boy DIM INF.A 1.P EV INF.B die SUB.4

nihkurúrukstušpawⁱ
 rihkuruúrukstucpaawi
 the things that he had owned
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- uks- ra.uc -waa -wi
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

nətahšu , húruksəs .
 ráttahcu' huúruksas .
 shield , spear ,
 rak.tahc -u' , huuruksas ,
 shield NOM , spear ,

Kítuirirakukstáruhkuⁱ
 kítuu'u' iriirakukstáruhkuuki
 all those things he used to have
 kituu -u' irii- ra- 0- ku- uks- raar- ruhka'uk -i
 all NOM that INF.A 3.A INF.B AOR 3.PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

. Kitápatkišawi^u
 . Kitaápatkiicawi'u'
 . An otter collar
 . kitaapat kiic.awi -u'
 . otter collar NOM

nukstátawi, páhukas^a ,
 rukstaátawi Paáhukasa
 what used to be among us Roached Head
 ra- 0- uks- raa- tawi -0 waa.huka.sa
 ABS 3.A AOR way be.among SUB.3 roach.hairstyle

nakúraahkah^u .
 raakúraahkaahu .
 when they danced .
 ra- 0- a- ku- raar- kaa.a -hus .
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PL.INDV.A dance IMPF.SUB .

Kúrahus áratirahwatik^u
 Kúrahus a raatiraahwáttiiku'
 Old men and they would be crying out
 kurahuus a raa- ti- 0- raar- wak.tik -:hus
 old.man and just IND.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A cry.out IMPF

. Hínahiritⁿ
 . Hi raáhiirit
 . And finally
 . hi raahiirit
 . and finally

titawirakúkikətⁿ
 títawi' rákukikat
 there he would be his crying
 ti- 0- tawi -0 ra- 0- ku- kikak -0

IND.3A 3.A be.among PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B cry SUB.4

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

Akiwítitašikskaruwáah^u

Aki wititaacikskaaruuwá'aahu'

And here he was making himself reminisce

a- ki witi- ti- 0- a- aciks.kaa.a -ruu -wa -:hus
and there REFL IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A think.of DIST DIST IMPF

. " Náwa ,
. " Ráwa
. " Now
. " rawa
. " now

witikušikskawáahust^a

witikuucikskawaáahusta

I am going to think of past things

wi- ti- a- ku- aciks.kaa.a -wa -:hus -ta
QUOT IND.3A PREV.3A 1.P think.of DIST IMPF INT

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

witikúhašuskist^a

witikuuhacúskista

I am going to be hungry ,
 wi- ti- ku- ut- raca'usk -his -ta ,
 QUOT IND.3A 1.P PREV be.hungry PERF INT ,

nətikⁱ ,
 rattiki
 grandson ,
 rak- tiikis ,
 grandchild sonny ,

wikaratušiiirikústar^tⁿ
 wikaraatuci'iirikústarit
 since I am not going to see you

wii- kara- aa- t- a- ut- i- iirik -hus -ta -rit
 when NEG SUBJ.1/2A 1.A 2.P PREV SEQ see IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

. Wikakatakawawáhšust^a

. Wikaakataakawaawáhcusta

. I am not going to eat

. wii- kaaka- t- haakawahc -waa -:hus -ta
 . now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A eat DIST IMPF INT

, nahúritətⁿ . "
 raahúriitat . "
 all the time . "
 raahuriitat . "
 always . "

Hiruiririhkušukstuwahúruku

Hiru iriirihkuucukstuwahúruuku

Then the way he was treated by him

hiruu irii- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- uks- raa.uhur -wa ra'uk -hus
 then that INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN AOR be.the.way DIST make IMPF.SUB

, arikutiwawákah^u
 a rikutiwaawákaahu'
 and that is what he was talking about
 a riku- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus
 and that.is IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF

kúrahus .
 kúrahus
 the old man
 kurahuus
 old.man

Nətikiríhku^u
 rattíiki ríhkuu'u
 grandchild when he had him
 rak- tiikis ra- 0- a- ir- ku- 0 -u
 grandchild sonny INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B be SUB.D

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Irihítihí ,
 Irihiítiihi'
 It was there ,
 irii- hii- ti- 0- ihii -0 ,
 there other IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF ,

irihítihí ,
 irihiítiihi'
 it was there ,
 irii- hii- ti- 0- ihii -0

there other IND.3A 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

nətuháiritⁿ ihi
ratuuhaá'irit ihi
what I saw , uh ,
ra- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 , ihii ,
ABS 1.A PREV way see SUB.4 , uh ,

rihwawaktikúakitar^u .
rihwaawáktiku ákitaaru' .
when they were speaking the tribe .
ra- 0- ir- waa.wak.tik -hus akitaar- -u' .
ABS 3.A PL.3A talk IMPF.SUB tribe NOM .

Pitkutiriwísurah^š
Pítku tiiriwísurahac
Two war parties died
pitku ti- 0- iriwis- hurahac -0
two IND.3A 3.P war.party die PERF

takukararakúwiša
táku' kararaakúwica
no one arriving back
taku kara- ra- 0- a- ku- wic.a -0
someone NEG INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B arrive SUB.4

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

takukákawiša .
Táku' kaakaáwica' .

No one arrived back
 taku kaaki- 0- a- wic.a -0
 someone NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A arrive PERF

Hirawakišáhka ,
 Hi raawaakicaáhkkaa'
 And he came through the village crying :
 hi ra- 0- a- waak- icahka- a -0 ,
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A saying village come PERF ,

“ Náwa ,
 “ Ráwa
 “ Now
 " rawa
 " now

witihwawáktikst^a
 witihwaawáktiksta
 they are now going to talk
 wii- ti- 0- ir- waa.wak.tik -his -ta
 now IND.3A 3.A PL.3A talk PERF INT

náhisa . "
 ráhiisa . "
 tomorrow . "
 ra- 0- a- hiis a -0 . "
 ABS 3.A PREV.3A be.morning come SUB.4 . "

Akitahkítu , tikárihu^u
 Akitaahkítuu'u' tiikárihu'u
 The entire village it was a large lodge
 akitaar- kituu -u' ti- 0- akaar- rihur -'
 tribe all NOM IND.3A 3.A dwelling be.big EX

. Hiritatátírisukətⁿ .
 hi riitatatírisuukat .
 and groups went inside .
 hi rii- 0- tatatiir.his- huuk- at -0 .
 and ASSR 3.A gathered.together into go PERF .

Hirurikusitikušírəsukətⁿ

Hiru rikusitikuucírasuukat
 Then that is where they took me inside
 hiruu riku- si- ti- 0- ku- ut- ciras- huuk- at -0
 then that.is DU IND.3A 3.A 1.P PREV COM into go PERF

. Širukakatasíkškasa ,
 . Ciru kaakaatacíkškasa
 . Yet I was not mature
 . ciruu kaaka- t- aciks.ka.sa -0
 . yet NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF

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

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

hiwihírurirahka

hi wihiru riíraahka
 and there they met inside
 hi wii- hiruu rii- 0- raar- kaa -0

and now there ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A be.inside PERF

šahikstáhkuš^u ,
cahikstaáhkucu'
many people
icaahiks raar- -kucuu
person PL AUG

irirurihkuriširáru^a
iriruurihkuriiciráruu'a
those who were related to him

irii- ruu- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- ut- i- raar- uu -a
that then INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P be SUB.1

šáhiks
cáhiks
people
icaahiks
person

širurakuruhuríwi

ciru raakuruuhuríwi
yet his who were living
ciruu ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- hurii -wi
yet INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A go.around.PL SUB.L

,

hiwitrakuráhəš
hi witiirakuráhac

and theirs died
 hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- 0- ak- hurahac -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A 3.P PL.AN.3P die PERF

šáhiks . Náwa , iráí'
 cáhiks . Ráwa iraári'
 people . Now , brother
 icaahiks . rawa , i- -raar- -ri'
 person . now , 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B

, irihitatúhair^t
 irihiitatuúhaaⁱirit
 , there I saw them
 , irii- hii- ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0
 , there other IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF

rutásuh^t
 ruutásuuhat
 the ones who were sitting around
 ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0
 ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4

Isiritkikaksútiitⁿ
 Isiirit kíkaksu' tí'it
 Clearly mourners they were
 isii.rik kikak -his -u' ti- 0- 0 -ik -0
 in.plain.sight cry PERF NOM IND.3A 3.A be DIST PERF

. Pitáirirukⁱ ,
 . Piíta iriiruúki
 . Men those
 . wiita irii- ra- 0- 0 -uk -i
 . man that ABS 3.A be DIST SUB.2

hitikatahkárara ,
 hi tikatahkaárara .
 and they had them fur side out .
 hi ti- 0- katahkaa raar- raah -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A be.inside.out PL have PERF .

kukakúrahi .
 Kukaakúraahi .
 It was not good .
 ku- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0 .
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF .

Nakutahuríwik^u
 Rakutahuríwiku
 When sitting with bowed head
 ra- 0- ku- tahuri -wi kus -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B have.one's.head.bowed SUB.L be.sitting SUB.4

karutarikawášapatⁿ
 karuutaríkawa cápaat
 her hair was not braided women
 ka- ra- 0- a- ut- arika -waa -0 icapaak
 NEG ABS 3.A POSS.3A PREV wear.a.braid DIST PERF woman

. A kúrahus
 . A kúrahus
 . And old men
 . a kurahuus

. and old.man

hirururiwíhⁿ

hiru ruuriwíhat

then there they sat

hiruu ruu- ri- 0- wi.hak -0 ,

then there CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting.PL PERF ,

hirururahkisarákawi

hiru ruuraahkiisarákawi

there there where the wall by the door was

hiruu ruu- ra- 0- ar- kiis.araaka -wi

there there ABS 3.A EV be.the.area.on.either.side.of.the.door SUB.L

. Kúrahus tútəsuhətⁿ

. Kúrahus tuútasuuhat

. Old men they sat around

. kurahuus ti- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0

. old.man IND.3A 3.A PREV be.sitting.around PERF

kurahúskahik^u

kurahúskaahiiku'

aged old men

kurahuus kaahik -u'

old.man aged NOM

Hihiruirikuhirápirušuhu

Hi hiru irikuuhiraapiruúcuhu'

And then they were putting goods there

hi hiruu irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- raapi- ra.uc.wuh -:hus

and then there DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A goods put.PL.OBJ IMPF

, úkatətⁿ

uúkatat

in the west .
 uukata- -t .
 west LOC .

Hirurikurarutasuhótpit^a

Hiru rikuraaruutasuúhat piíta
 There that is where they just sat around men
 hiruu riku- raa- ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0 wiita
 there that.is just ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around PERF man

. Hítirutasuh^{^t}ⁿ ,
 . Hi tiruutasuúhat
 . And these sitting
 . hi tii- ra- 0- ut- as.uu.hak -0
 . and this ABS 3.A PREV be.sitting.around SUB.4

takiraruríhupu

takiiraaruuríhuupu'

someone must go inside with it

taku ii- 0- a- ir- ar- ri- uur- i- huuk- wuu -:hus
 someone SUBJ.3A 3.A POSS.3A 3.INDV EV PHYS.POSS POSS.A SEQ into go.IMPF IMPF

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

iriruráku^u

iriruuráku'u

different kinds

irii- ruu- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
 that there INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

rákurah ^a					,	nawíhtaka				,
rákuraaha						raawíhtaaka				
one's having it						a blanket				,
ra-	0-	ku-	raah	-a		raawiir-	taakaar			,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	have	SUB.1		cloth	be.white			,

náwir ^u		.
raáwiiru'		.
broadcloth		.
raawiir-	-u'	.
cloth	NOM	.

Kutirapiráhwiætⁿ

Kutiiraapiraáhwi'at

Goods were piled there

ku-	ti-	0-	i-	raapi-	raar.wi.ak
INDF	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	goods	be.a.pile.so.high

ášahuk ⁱ		.	
a	cahuúki	.	
and	robes	.	
a	cahuu	-kis	.
and	robe	DIM	.

Híiritirurukstušpa

Hi iritiruurukstúcpa

And these were things he had owned

hi	irii-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	uks-	ra.uc	-waa	-0
and	that	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	be.lying.PL	DIST	PERF

nakuhúrahəš

raahkuhúrahac

when he died

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	hurahac	-0
-----	----	-----	-----	---------	----

INF.A 1.P EV INF.B die SUB.4

hiwihirurikutirúšpa

hi wihiru rikutiirúcpa
and there that is where he placed them
hi wii- hiruu riku- ti- 0- i- ra.uc -waa -0
and now there that.is IND.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying.PL DIST PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Náw^a , hirúirihi
Ráwa hiru irihí
Now , then there
rawa , hiruu irii- hii
now , then there other

tatúhairitⁿ

tatuúhaa'irit

I saw that

ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0
IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF

wirihwawaktikústar^{it}ⁿ

wirihwaawaktikústarit

when they were going to speak

wii- ra- 0- ir- waa.wak.tik -hus -ta -rit
when ABS 3.A PL.3A talk IMPF.SUB INT INT.SUB

. Híruruša
. Hiru ruucaá'

. Then he rose
 . hiruu ra- 0- a- uca.a -0
 . then ABS 3.A PREV.3A rise PERF

irikuhakítawⁱ kúrahus ,
 iriikuuhakítawⁱ kúrahus .
 he was leading the one priest .
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- kita.wi -0 kurahuus .
 who DUB ABS 3.A be.a.leader PERF old.man .

ruriwawaktíkusi^tn .
 Ruuriwaawaktíkusi^tit .
 Then he began talking .
 ruu- ri- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus -itik .
 then CONT.3A 3.A talk IMPF INCH .

Níwaku “ Náwa ,
 Riiwáku’ “ Ráwa
 He said : “ Now
 rii- 0- waka’u -0 , “ rawa
 ASSR 3.A say PERF , “ now

tatuharáihk^u
 tatuuhaará’ihku’
 I mean you ,
 ta- t- ut- raa.ra’ihk -:hus ,
 IND.1/2A 1.A PREV mean IMPF ,

tírəsuhakasuh^{^t}n
 tirasuuhaakásuuhat
 you who are sitting around ,
 tii- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0 ,
 here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4 ,

tihárušpawⁱ
 tihaárušpaawi
 these things lying about
 tii- haa- ra- 0- ra.uc -waa -wi
 this here ABS 3.A be.lying.PL DIST SUB.L

píra^u tíhi
 piíra'u' ti' ihi
 child he was , uh ,
 piira -u' ti- 0- 0 -0 , ihii ,
 child NOM IND.3A 3.A be PERF , uh ,

wirikuuhúrahəš ,
 wirikuuhúrahac
 when mine die
 wii- ri- ku- uur- hurahac -0
 when CONT.3A 1.P POSS.P die SUB.4

tirarahurawahákir^a ,
 tiraraahuraawaahaáhkira
 these personal effects that he left
 tii- ra- 0- raar- huraawaa.haahkir -a
 this ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P leave.personal.effects SUB.1

kurasiraktuhúrikⁱ
 kurasiraaktuuhuúriki
 the ones that your (pl) use
 ku- ra- s- ir- rak- raa.uhur -ik -i
 INDF ABS 2.A POSS.3A 1/2.PL be.the.way DIST SUB.2

pírəskⁱ . Iiriťišk^a ,
 piíraski . I iriíticka'
 boys . And I want that
 piiras- -kis . i ii- rii- t- wicka -0

boy DIM . and that ASSR 1.A want PERF

nikurəskuraktárhkukⁱ
rikuraskuraaktáruhkuuki
for you to have these things

riku- ra- s- ku- rak- raar- ruhka'uk -i
that.is INF.A 2.A INF.B 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

pírəski
piíraski
boys
piiras- -kis
boy DIM

irírəstakukⁱ . "
iriírastaakuki . "
those of you who are . "
irii- ra- s- rak- 0 -uk -i . "
that ABS 2.A 1/2.PL be.a.relative DIST SUB.2 . "

Níhwakⁱ " Iarís^{i'tn}
Ríhwaki' " I ariísit
They said : " And yourself
ra- 0- ir- waki -0 , " i ariísit
ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL PERF , " and one's.own

niskítawⁱ . " Náw^a ,
riskítawi' . " Ráwa
you are leader . " Now ,
rii- s- kita.wi -0 . " rawa ,
ASSR 2.A be.the.leader PERF . " now ,

rurušakúrahus
ruruucaá' kúrahus

kitāpattihúkitak^u .
kítaapat tihuúkitaku .
an otter it was on top .
kitaapat ti- 0- huukita- kus -0 .
otter IND.3A 3.A on.top be.sitting PERF .

Rurúšja ,
Ruuruúci'a
Then he did it :
ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

arikúsitⁿ ,
a riikúsit
and he picked it up ,
a ri- 0- i- kusik -0 ,
and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ pick.up PERF ,

hawairikúhupirəskⁱ
hawá iriikuúhu' píiraski
also whoever he was a boy
haawa irii- kuur- ra- 0- uu -0 piiras- -kis
also who DUB ABS 3.A be PERF boy DIM

asíriru .
a siriíru .
and they gave it to him .
a si- ra- 0- ir- uh -0 .
and DU ABS 3.A PL.3A give PERF .

Hirurúšja
Hiru rúci'a
Then he did it:
hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0

then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

tušukstahpəkstášaripuh^u

tucukstaahpakstacariípuhu'

they used to tie them to the heads

ti- 0- ut- uks- raar- paks- raar- tariik.wuh -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV AOR 3PL.INAN.P head PL tie IMPF

páhukas^a ,

paáhukasa

a roach ,

waa.huka.sa ,

roach.hairstyle ,

hikakahawátutkiša

hi kaáka' hawá tutkiíca

and a crow also he had around his neck

hi kaakaa haawa ti- 0- ut- kiica -0
and crow also IND.3A 3.A PREV have.around.the.neck PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Nírušpakar^u

Hiru riirucpaákaru'

Then he gathered them up

hiruu ri- 0- i- ra.uc -waa ka.ra'uk -0
then CONT.3A 3.A SEQ be.lying.PL DIST make.PL.P PERF

, haw^a ,
hawá

, also
 , haawa
 , also

asíriuhíraku

a	síiriuru						hiíraaku				
and	they gave it to him						an other one				
a	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	uh	-0	hii-	ra-	0-	kus	-0
and	DU	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	give	PERF	other	ABS	3.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Irikukuhúkstawa^a

Irikukuuhukstaawá'a

Those were the things that had belonged to him

irii-	ku-	kuur-	ra-	0-	a-	uks-	raar-	0	-waa	-'
that	INDF	DUB	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	AOR	3PL.INAN.P	be	DIST	EX

irikuahurahóšpit^a

irikuuháhurahac						piíta	.
the one who had died						man	.
irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	hurahac	-0	wiita	.
that	DUB	ABS	3.P	die	SUB.4	man	.

Náw ^a	,	híruriwaku				
Ráwa		hiru	riiwáku'			
Now	,	then	he said			
rawa	,	hiruu	rii-	0-	waka'u	-0
now	,	then	ASSR	3.A	say	PERF

tirarikikúrahus .
 tiraáriki kúrahus “
 this old man : “
 tii- ra- 0- arik -i kurahuus , ”
 this ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 old.man , ”

Náwa^a , witútəsta .
 Ráwa wituútasta .
 Now it is going to be .
 rawa wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -as -ta .
 now QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be IMPF.IRR INT .

” Náwa^a , hirurúšia^a
 ” Ráwa hiru ruúci’a
 ” Now , then he did it
 ” rawa , hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 ” now , then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

hirarikípit^a ,
 hiíraariki piíta
 another one man :
 hii- ra- 0- arik -i wiita ,
 other ABS 3.A be.standing SUB.2 man ,

hiruríhakiritⁿ
 hiru ríhaakirit
 then he picked up the pipe
 hiruu ri- 0- haak- iriik -0
 then CONT.3A 3.A wood pick.up.long.object PERF

nətáwiskar^u ,
 rattaáwiskaaru’
 pipe
 rak.raawis.kaar- -u’

pipe NOM

arutatítakah^tn

a ruutaattítaakahat

and he carried the pipe in a circle

a ra- 0- ut- haak- ri- taaka.hak -0
and ABS 3.A PREV wood PORT go.around PERF

hirukúrahus

náhwih^tn

hiru kúrahus raáhwihat

there old.men where they sat

hiruu kurahuus ra- 0- ar- wi.hak -0
there old.man ABS 3.A EV be.sitting.PL SUB.4

hirukúrahus

ráhwih^tn

hiru kúrahus raáhwihat

there old men where they sat

hiruu kurahuus ra- 0- ar- wi.hak -0
there old.man ABS 3.A EV be.sitting.PL SUB.4

hikúhuta

hi kúhuuta

and he did it

hi kuur- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

irikuháwišk^a

iriikuuháwicka'

whichever one he wanted

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

nəkuwawáktiku

kúrahus

rakuwaawáktiku

kúrahus

for him to speak										the old man
ra-	0-	ku-	waa.wak.tik	-hus						kurahuus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	talk	IMPF.SUB						old.man

Kurahúsiriahukstahikuškitáwi^u

Kúrahus irii'ahukstaahikuckitáwi'u

Old man the one who had been a leading warrior

kurahuus	irii-	ar-	ra-	0-	uks-	raahikuuc	kita.wi	-u
old.man	that	EV	ABS	3.A	AOR	be.brave	be.the.leader	SUB.D

,

arutatawíurirⁱn

a ruutaattaawi'uuriirit

and he stood with pipe held out

a	ra-	0-	ut-	haak-	ra-	awi-	uuri.arik	-0
and	ABS	3.A	PREV	wood	PORT	image	stand.upright	PERF

. Hirurušiakúrahus

. Hiru ruúci'a kúrahus

. Then he did it the old man

. hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 kurahuus

. then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF old.man

arútakurikutⁿ

a rutaakuuríkut

: and he took hold of the pipe

,	a	ra-	0-	ut-	haak-	uurikuk	-0	.
,	and	ABS	3.A	PREV	wood	hold	PERF	.

Hiníhwak ⁱ						“	Náwa ^a	,
Hi	ríhwaki’					“	Ráwa	
And	they said					:	Now	,
hi	ra-	0-	ir-	waki	-0	,	"	rawa
and	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL	PERF	,	"	now

náwairi	.	"
ráwa	iri	.
now	that	.
rawa	irri	.
now	that	.

Hirurápit ^a								
Hiru	raá’						piíta	
Then	he came						a man	
hiruu	ra-	0-	a-	a	-0		wiita	
then	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	come	PERF		man	

áriwítit ⁿ								.
a	riiwítit							.
and	he sat down							.
a	ri-	0-	i-	wi.itik	-0			.
and	CONT.3A	3.A	SEQ	sit.down	PERF			.

Šikúrahus		rúruša						
Ci	kúrahus	rúruucaá’						
But	the old man	then he rose						
ci	kurahuus	ruu-	ra-	0-	a-	uca.a	-0	
but	old.man	then	ABS	3.A	PREV.3A	rise	PERF	

,

ukatótariuriritⁿ

uúkatat a ri'uuriírit
in the west , and he stood up
uukata- -t , a ri- 0- uuri.arik -0
west LOC , and CONT.3A 3.A stand.upright PERF

, úkatətⁿ , irárⁱ ,
. Uúkatat . Iraári'
. In the west . Brother ,
. uukata- -t . i- -raar- -ri'
. west LOC . 3.POSS.A same.sex.sibling 3.POSS.B ,

tiwiraúrir^tⁿ ,

tiwira'uúriirit .
when he stood up
tii- wii- ra- 0- uuri.arik -0
when when ABS 3.A stand.upright SUB.4

kukakahatúša

kukaakahaattuúcaa'

he did not raise the pipe

ku- kaaki- 0- a- haak- ra- uca.a -0
INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A wood PORT rise PERF

, tiráwah^{^t}ⁿ ,

Tiráwaahat
the Heavens

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

akukaririhátuəⁿ

a kukariirihaáttuu'at

and he did not extend the pipe anywhere
a ku- kari- ri- 0- haak- ra- u.at -0
and INDF EMPH.NEG CONT.3A 3.A wood PORT extend.in.a.line PERF

hítaku .
hiítaku .
anywhere else .
hii- -taku .
other LOC .

Tírikututa kúrahus
Tiirikutuuta kúrahus
This is what he did the old man
tii- riku- ti- 0- ut- aar -0 kurahuus
this that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF old.man

našahpiúrir^{tn} ,
raacaahpi'uúriirit ,
: he stooped over ,
, ra- 0- icahk.wi- uuri.arik -0 .
, ABS 3.A stooped.over stand.upright PERF .

hirurutirarahúrariks
hiru ruutiiraarahúraariks
then he proceeded to do it
hiruu ruu- ti- 0- i- raa- rahur- raariks -0
then then IND.3A 3.A SEQ way do be.true PERF

, tirahúrahša ,
tirahúraahca ,
this earth
tii- ra- 0- huraar- sa -0
this ABS 3.A earth be.lying SUB.3

nahatitahuráhwiit^u ,
 rahaattitahúraahwiitit
 he pointed the pipe to the earth
 ra- 0- haak- ri- ta.hurah wi.itik -0
 ABS 3.A wood PORT be.close.to sit.down PERF

tiirirarawískarahu
 ti'iriiraraawískaarahu
 here where one draws the smoke
 tii- irii- ra- 0- a- raawis- kaa- ra- a -hus
 here where ABS 3.A PREV.3A smoke inside PORT come IMPF.SUB

. Náwa , kakátətkekuk^u
 . Ráwa kaakaátatkuuku'
 . Now I did not hear
 . rawa kaaka- t- atka'uk -:hus
 . now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A hear IMPF

irikúhawakahu , kúrahus .
 iriikuuhawákaahu' kúrahus .
 whatever he was saying the old man .
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- waka -:hus kurahuus .
 what DUB ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF old.man .

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

Kuhawawáktiku , páhit^u .
 kuuhawaawáktiiku' páhiitu' .
 he was speaking softly .
 kuur- ra- 0- waa.wak.tik -:hus pahiiit -u' .

DUB ABS 3.A talk IMPF be.quiet NOM .

Arírarihəš .
A ríraariihac .
And he finished .
a ri- 0- raa.riihac -0 .
and CONT.3A 3.A finish PERF .

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

aríhətⁿ ,
a ríihat
and he passed by
a ri- 0- hak -0
and CONT.3A 3.A pass.by PERF

awitirutukítaw^u
a wirituutuukítawu'
and he lit the pipe for himself
a witi- ra- 0- ut- huukita.wuh -0
and REFL ABS 3.A PREV light.a.pipe PERF

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

Hisistururúši^a
Hi sístu ruurúci'a

And again then he did it:
 hi sistu ruu- ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0
 and again then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF

arikáh^{^t^n}
 a riikaáhat
 and he walked around
 a ri- 0- i- kaa- hak -0
 and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ inside pass.by PERF

hítaku .
 hiítaku .
 the other side .
 hii- -taku .
 other LOC .

Iriruksatitahúrahwi
 Iriiruksaattitahúraahwi
 Where the pipe was pointed down
 irii- ra- 0- uks- haak- ri- ta.hurah -wi
 where ABS 3.A AOR wood PORT be.close.to SUB.L

, hisistúrikuruta ,
 hi sístu ríkuruuta ,
 and again that is what he did :
 hi sistu riku- ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 and again that.is ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

araráwiskara
 a raraáwiskaaraa'
 and he drew smoke
 a ra- 0- a- raawis- kaa- ra- a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A smoke inside PORT come PERF

, arirawísuraš^{^t}n .
 a riraawisúrahcat .
 and he blew smoke on the ground .
 a ri- 0- raawis- huraar- cak -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A smoke earth shoot PERF .

Hihawasístu

Hi hawa sístu
 And also again
 hi haawa sistu
 and also again

hirarawiskára

hi raraawiskaáraa'
 and he drew smoke
 hi ra- 0- a- raawis- kaa- ra- a -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV.3A smoke inside PORT come PERF

,
 ,
 ,

hawaarirawísuraš^{^t}n

hawá a riraawisúrahcat
 also and he blew smoke on the ground
 haawa a ri- 0- raawis- huraar- cak -0
 also and CONT.3A 3.A smoke earth shoot PERF

. Hawasísturuta

. Hawá sístu ruúta
 . Also again he did it :
 . haawa sistu ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,

. also again ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

rarawiskára^a ,
raraawiskaára'a'
he drew smoke ,
ra- 0- a- raawis- kaa- ra- a -0 ,
ABS 3.A PREV.3A smoke inside PORT come PERF ,

hawaarirawísurahš^{^t}ⁿ
hawá a riraawisúrahcat
also and he blew smoke on the ground
haawa a ri- 0- raawis- huraar- cak -0
also and CONT.3A 3.A smoke earth shoot PERF

. Háwaruta
. Hawá ruúta
. Also he did it :
. haawa ra- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
. also ABS 3.A PREV do PERF ,

narawiskára^a
raraawiskaára'a'
he drew smoke ,
ra- 0- a- raawis- kaa- ra- a -0 ,
ABS 3.A PREV.3A smoke inside PORT come PERF ,

hawaarirawísuraš^{^t}ⁿ
hawá a riraawisúrahcat
also and he blew smoke on the ground
haawa a ri- 0- raawis- huraar- cak -0
also and CONT.3A 3.A smoke earth shoot PERF

. Skítiiks . Kakiráwisa ,
. Ckiíti'iks . Kaakiraáwisa .

. Four (times) . He did not smoke .
 . iks.kiiti'iks . kaaki- 0- raawis- a -0 .
 . four . NEG.IND.3A 3.A smoke eat PERF .

híruruš^a

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

arikawátət^{tⁿ}

a riikawátattit ,
 and he emptied it
 a ri- 0- i- kawatak -rik -0
 and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ get.out CAUS PERF

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

Kukakutairáwis^a

Kukaákuuta iraáwisa
 He did none his smoking
 ku- kaaki- 0- ut- aar -0 ii- 0- raawis- a -0
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF SUBJ.3A 3.A smoke eat SUB.3

, arikawátət^{tⁿ}

a riikawátattit .
 and he emptied it .
 a ri- 0- i- kawatak -rik -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ get.out CAUS PERF .

Nikawátətitⁿ .
 Riikawátattit .
 He emptied it .
 ri- 0- i- kawatak -rik -0 .
 CONT.3A 3.A SEQ get.out CAUS PERF .

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

ariksurahwíhətⁿ ,
 a riiksurahwíhat
 and he touched (ie placed hand on) them
 a ra- 0- iks- huraar- wi.hak -0
 and ABS 3.A hand earth be.sitting.PL PERF

ráwiskar^u
 raáwiskaaru'
 the tobacco (ashes)
 raawis.kaar- -u'
 tobacco NOM

iriwírarušⁱ
 iriiwíraruuci
 where they lay
 irii- wii- ra- 0- ra.uc -i
 where now ABS 3.A be.lying.PL SUB.2

ariksurahwíhətⁿ .
 a riiksurahwíhat .
 and he touched them .
 a ra- 0- iks- huraar- wi.hak -0 .

and ABS 3.A hand earth be.sitting.PL PERF .

Kuwitikakutikstáwahⁿ

Kuwitikaakuutikstawaáhat

He did not stroke himself

ku- witi- kaaki- 0- ut- iks- ta waa- hak -0
INDF REFL NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV hand be.hanging DIST pass.by PERF

, hirurúsi^a

. Hiru rúci'a

. Then he did it :

. hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
. then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

ariətkúrahus

a rií'at kúrahus
and he went an old man
a ri- 0- i- at -0 kurahuus
and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ go PERF old.man

aríhakuš ,

a ríhaakuc .
and he put the pipe down .
a ri- 0- haak- uc -0 .
and CONT.3A 3.A wood lay.SG.P PERF .

wikútahaatⁿ .

Wikútahaa'at .

It was now his pipe .

wii- ku- ti- 0- a- haak- 0 -' .
now INDF IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A wood be EX .

Irirukúisihaatⁿ

Iriruukú'isihaa'at

That was then his pipe

irii-	ruu-	ku-	i-	s-	ir-	haak-	0	-ʼ
that	then	INDF	CONT.1/2A	2.A	POSS.1/2A	wood	be	EX

nətáwiskar^u

rattaáwiskaaruʼ

pipe

rak.raawis.kaar- -uʼ

pipe NOM

tirárikikurahus

tiraáriki

this one

tii-	ra-	0-	arik	-i	kúrahus
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing	SUB.2	old man
					kurahuus
					old.man

tiwiraráwis^a

tiwiraraáwisa

this one who smoked

tii-	wii-	ra-	0-	raawis-	a	-0	,
this	now	ABS	3.A	smoke	eat	SUB.3	.

irikuhawákah^u

Iriikuuhawákaahuʼ

Whatever it was he said

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	waka	-:hus
what	DUB	ABS	3.A	say.IMPF	IMPF

kakátətkuk^u

kaakaátatkuukuʼ

I did not hear

kaaka-	t-	atkaʼuk	-:hus
NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	hear	IMPF

tirárikikurachus								.
tiraáriki						kúrahus		.
this one						old man		.
tii-	ra-	0-	arik		-i	kurahuus		.
this	ABS	3.A	be.standing		SUB.2	old.man		.

Hirurúsi^a

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

akíisakíræsa

aki		isaahkírása						
and here		there was a bowl of water						
a-	ki	i-	s-	ar-	kiraar-	sa		-0
and	there	CONT.1/2A	2.A	EV	water	be.lying		PERF

kírarasit^u

kiiraraasiitu'								
cold water								,
kiirar-	raasit	-u'						,
water	be.cold	NOM						,

rurúši^a

ruuruúci'a								
then he did it								
ruu-	ra-	0-	ut-	i-	aar	-0		
then	ABS	3.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF		

arikiráiritⁿ

a	riikíraaririit							
and	he picked up the water							
a	ri-	0-	i-	kiraar-	iriik			-0

and CONT.3A 3.A SEQ water pick.up.long.object PERF

. Hiruirinihkitáwi^u
. Hiru iriirihkitáwi'u
. Then those who are leaders
. hiruu irii- ra- 0- ir- kita.wi -u
. then that ABS 3.A PL.3A be.the.leader SUB.D

ararahukátawi^a

a raarahukatáwi'a'
and he came along with it
a ra- 0- a- ra- hukata -wi a -0
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A PORT be.a.curve SUB.L come PERF

šahikstáhkuš^u ,

cahikstaáhkucu'
the crowd
icaahiks raar- -kucuu
person PL AUG

hirarahukatáwi^a

hi raarahukatáwi'a'
and he came along with it
hi ra- 0- a- ra- hukata -wi a -0
and ABS 3.A PREV.3A PORT be.a.curve SUB.L come PERF

. Awítatuta ,

. Awít a tuúta
. First and he did it .
. awit a ti- 0- ut- aar -0 .
. first and IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF .

nəkukikārik^a

Rakukikaárika

kúrahus

kúrahus

When he gave him water the old man
 ra- 0- ku- kiikaa -rik -a kurahuus
 INF.A 3.A INF.B drink CAUS SUB.1 old.man

híawitⁿ tikíkarⁱⁿ ,
 hi áwit tikíkaarit
 and first he gave him water
 hi awit ti- 0- kiikaa -rik -0
 and first IND.3A 3.A drink CAUS PERF

hírætkætⁿ
 hi rátkat
 and afterwards
 hi rat- -kat
 and afterwards LOC

nutúšj^a
 ruutúci'a
 then he did it :
 ruu- ti- 0- ut- i- aar -0 ,
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV SEQ do PERF ,

hiruturiškahíkaru .
 hiru tuurickahiíkaru' .
 then he washed his face .
 hiruu ti- 0- uur- icka- hiika.ra'uk -0 .
 then IND.3A 3.A PREV face wash.clean PERF .

Tirarawihkátaitu
 Tirá raawihkáta'iitu'
 He had it calico
 ti- 0- raah -0 raawiir- kata- iit- -u'
 IND.3A 3.A have PERF cloth against.a.vertical.surface body NOM

,
.
.
.
.

turakiškararíkaruku
Tuuraakickaraariíkaruuku'
He was washing their faces

ti- 0- uur- ak- icka- raar- hiika.ra'uk -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P face PL wash.clean IMPF

, šahikstahkítu ,
cahikstaahkítuu'u'
all of the people
icaahiks raar- kituu -u'
person PL all NOM

arírarih^š . Kúrahus
a ríraariihac . Kúrahus
and he finished . The old man
a ri- 0- raa.riihac -0 . kurahuus
and CONT.3A 3.A finish PERF . old.man

nikututári ,
rikutuutári'
that is what he was doing :
riku- ti- 0- ut- aar -i ,
that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV do IMPF ,

turakiškararíkaruku
tuuraakickaraariíkaruuku'
he was washing their faces

ti- 0- uur- ak- icka- raar- hiika.ra'uk -:hus

IND.3A 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P face PL wash.clean IMPF

, arísitⁿ .
ariisit .
himself .
ariisit .
one's.own .

Ah !

Aa

Ah ,

aa ,

ah ,

Hirurušiikáuriritⁿ

hiru ruuci'iiká'uuriirit

then he stood up right in the center

hiruu ra- 0- ut- i- iika- uuri.arik -0
then ABS 3.A PREV SEQ center stand.upright PERF

, kúrahus . Náwa ,
kúrahus . Ráwa
the old man . Now ,
kurahuus . rawa ,
old.man . now ,

hiruriwáku kúrahus , “ Náwa
hiru riiwáku' kúrahus “ Ráwa
then he said the old man : “ Now
hiruu rii- 0- waka'u -0 kurahuus , " rawa
then ASSR 3.A say PERF old.man , " now

, tatuharáihku
tatuuhaará'ihku'

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

tirasuhakásuhətⁿ

tirasuuhaakásuuhat

these of you sitting around

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

witísutkⁱ ,
 wiitiísutki
 young men ,
 wiita.isut -kis ,
 young.man DIM ,

atírasuhakasuh^{^t}ⁿ

a tirasuuhaakásuuhat

and these of you sitting around

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

nisár^u , ášapatⁿ ,
 riisaáru' a cápaat
 chiefs , and women
 riisaar -u' , a icapaak
 be.chief NOM , and woman

tiharésuhakasuh^{^t}ⁿ

tihaarasuuhaakásuuhat

these of you sitting around

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

,	apíra ^u	.	Náwa	,	akúrahus	.
	a piíra'u'	.	Ráwa		a kúrahus	.
	and children	.	Now	,	and old men	.
	a piira -u'	.	rawa	,	a kurahuus	,
	and child NOM	.	now	,	and old.man	,

Náwa	,	nikuwitúæt ⁿ					
Ráwa		rikuwituú'ut					
Now		that is the way it is					
rawa		riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'					
now		that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX					

tirəšihwari
tiracihwari
our living here

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

ahašakúra^u
ahacakúra'u
his having made us

ar-	ra-	0-	aca-	ku-	ra'uk	-0
EV	ABS	3.A	IN.DU.P	INF.B	make	SUB.3

atí[^]s
Atí'as
our Father

ati-	as
1.POSS	father

titakuahakítaku ,
títaku ahakítaku ,
here who is above ,
tii- -taku ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0 ,

here LOC EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4 ,

ahašakúra^u . "
ahacakúra'u . "
his having made us . "
ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0 . "
EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P INF.B make SUB.3 . "

Kúrahus wirikutiwákah^u
Kúrahus wirikutiwákaahu'
The old man now that is what he was saying :
kurahuus wii- riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus ,
old.man now that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF ,

hiatí^s
“ Hi Atí'as
“ And our Father
" hi ati- as
" and 1.POSS father

kuhašákuru
kuuhacákuru'
He made us
kuur- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0
DUB ABS 3.A IN.DU.P 1.P make PERF

kararakurahurítat^a ,
kararakuuraahuriitata
for it to be not always the way
kara- ra- 0- ku- raahuriit.at -a
NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B always.be.the.way SUB.1

nakúwari .
rakúwari

to live ,
 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

Kararakuráriks^a

kararakuuraárikxa

for it not to be permanent

kara- ra- 0- ku- raariks -a
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.true SUB.1

nakúwari .

rakúwari .

to live ,

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

Kararakúrakir^u

kararakuúraakiiru

for it not to be long

kara- ra- 0- ku- raa.kiir -u
 NEG INF.A 3.A INF.B be.long SUB.D

nakúwari ,

rakúwari .

to live .

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus .
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

hiáti^{as}

Hi Atí'as

And our Father

hi ati- as

and 1.POSS father

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

titakúahakitaku ,
 tiítaku ahakítaku
 here the one sitting above
 tii- -taku ar- ra- 0- kita- kus -0
 here LOC EV ABS 3.A on.top be.sitting SUB.4

ahawák^a “
 ahawaáka ‘
 when He said : ‘
 ar- ra- 0- waak -a , ‘
 EV ABS 3.A say.SUB SUB.1 , ‘

Tihakasušíari . ”
 Tihaakaasúci’aari’ . ‘
 This is what you will be doing . ‘
 tii- haa- kaas- s- ut- i- aar -i . ‘
 this here POT.2A 2.A PREV SEQ do IMPF . ‘

Náw^a ,
 Ráwa
 Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

tiharəsuhakásuh^{^t}ⁿ
 tihaarasuuhaakásuuhat
 these of you sitting around,
 tii- haa- ra- s- ut- rak- as.uu.hak -0

here here ABS 2.A PREV 1/2.PL be.sitting.around SUB.4

witísutkⁱ , nisár^u , akúrahus
 wiitiísutki , riisaáru' a kúrahus
 young men , chiefs , and old men,
 wiita.isut -kis , riisaar -u' , a kurahuus
 young.man DIM , be.chief NOM , and old.man

ásəpatⁿ , ah !
 a cápaat aa
 and women , ah ,
 a icapaak , aa ,
 and woman , ah ,

hawákukarisušíšiks^u

hawá kukariisuciíciksu'
 also you must not feel any way
 haawa ku- kara- i- s- ut- i- aciks -:hus
 also INDF NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV SEQ feel IMPF

. Kakuášira
 . Kaaku'aácira'
 . It is not our way
 . kaaku- aa- aciir- raar- 0 -0
 . NEG.POSS SUBJ.1/2A IN.DU.A 3PL.INAN.P be PERF

tirəšihwari ,
 tiracihwari .
 these of us living .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

hiruatí[^]s tikítawi
 Hiru Atí'as tikítawi'

There	our Father		He is the leader				
hiruu	ati-	as	ti-	0-	kitawi	-0	
there	1.POSS	father	IND.1/2A	3.A	be a leader	PERF	

titakúahakitak^u

tiítaku		ahakítaku					
here		the one above;					
tii-	-taku	ar-	ra-	0-	kita-	kus	-0
here	LOC	EV	ABS	3.A	on.top	be.sitting	SUB.4

hiruúrihitikítawⁱ

hiru	irihiitikítaw ⁱ						
there	that one is leader						
hiruu	irii-	hii-	ti-	0-	kita.wi	-0	
there	that	other	IND.3A	3.A	be.the.leader	PERF	

Kusušíraru

Kusuucíraaru'

He will plan it for you

kuus-	0-	a-	ut-	i-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
POT.1/3A	3.A	2.P	BEN	SEQ	way	make	PERF

rahwíšk^a

raahwícka'

He would think

ra-	0-	ar-	wicka	-0		
ABS	3.A	EV	think	PERF	,	'

Witaturaráhuru

Witatuuraaraáhuru'

I have ruined it for you

wi-	ta-	t-	a-	uur-	raa-	raahur	-ra'uk	-0
QUOT	IND.1/2A	1.A	2.P	PREV	way	be.spoiled	CAUS	PERF

. "

. ' .

. ' .

. ' .

. ' .

Sistukusaririráhiritⁿ

Sístu kusaaririiraáhiirit

Again He will make it right for you

sistu	kuus-	0-	a-	a-	ri-	ri-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-ik	-0
again	POT.1/3A	3.A	PREV.3A	2.P	PHYS.POSS	PHYS.POSS	PREV	way	be.good	CAUS	PERF

. Náwa ,

. Ráwa

. Now

. rawa

. now

nikuwitutáati^s

rikuwituúta

that is what He does

riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	ut-	aar	-0	ati-	as
that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	do	PERF	1.POSS	father

Atí'as
our Father

, hiruširupiraúri^u

hiru	ciru	piíra'u'		rí'u
there	yet	a child		when he is

, hiruu	ciruu	piira	-u'	ri-	0-	0	-u
, there	yet	child	NOM	CONT.3A	3.A	be	SUB.D

. širuríhukawi ,

, ciru rihúkaawi ,

, yet when he is in the womb ,

, ciruu ri- 0- hukaa -wi ,

, yet CONT.3A 3.A be.in.a.body.cavity SUB.L ,

širukaríriruku ,

ciru karariíruku ,

yet when he is not born

ciruu kara- ri- 0- ir- ra'uk -hus

yet NEG CONT.3A 3.A 3.INDF make IMPF.SUB

hiriraráhuru ,

hi riraaraáhuru' ,

and He ruins it ,

hi ri- 0- raa- raahur -ra'uk -0 ,

and CONT.3A 3.A way be.spoiled CAUS PERF ,

arirárahupa .

a riraaraáhuru' .

and He ruins it .

a ri- 0- raa- raahur -ra'uk -0 .

and CONT.3A 3.A way be.spoiled CAUS PERF .

Náw^a , wiriwíška^a ' ,

Ráwa wiriwíčka'a ' ,

Now when He thinks : ' ,

rawa wii- ri- 0- wicka -a , ' ,

now when CONT.3A 3.A think SUB.1 , ' ,

tuhúhkawatət¹ ,

Tuuhúhkawatat ' ,

Let me come out , ' ,

i- t- uhur- kawatak -0 , ' ,

CONT.1/2A 1.A finally get.out PERF , ' ,

hirirárahura ,

hi riraaraáhuru' ,

and He ruins it
 hi ri- 0- raa- raahur -ra'uk -0
 and CONT.3A 3.A way be.spoiled CAUS PERF

árikuruutⁿ . Nawahá !
 a ríkuruu't . Ráwa haa
 and that is how it'll be . Now ha !
 a riku- ra- 0- ut- 0 -' . rawa haa ,
 and that.is ABS 3.A PREV be EX . now ha ,

kukakirahuráhkit^a .
 kukaakiraahuraáhkita .
 there is no certainty (in life) .
 ku- kaaki- 0- raa- huraar- kita -0 .
 INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A way earth be.on.top PERF .

Hiríwiška , náwa ,
 Hi ríwicka' ' Ráwa
 And He wishes : ' Now
 hi rii- 0- wicka -0 , ' rawa
 and ASSR 3.A want PERF , ' now

rukstaríta^a ,
 rukstarítta'a . '
 let him be born ! '
 ri- 0- uks- tarikta- -aar -0 . '
 CONT.3A 3.A AOR body INCH PERF . '

kakitaritáari
 Kaakiitarittá'aari'
 He is not getting life
 kaaki- 0- i- tarikta- -aar -i
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A SEQ body INCH IMPF

nahkuwíška^a , “
 raahkuwícka’a ’
 when he wishes : ’
 ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , ’
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , ’

Kárisitarita^a . ”
 Kariisitaritta’a . ’
 Don't be born . ’
 kara- i- s- i- tarikta- -aar -0 . ’
 NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ body INCH PERF . ’

Širurutariririkíspari

Ciru ruutaaririkíspari
 Yet when he would be crawling
 ciruu ruu- ti- 0- ar- irikis- warii -hus
 yet then IND.3A 3.A EV crawl be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, níkas^a
 ríkasa
 if he is lying on it
 ri- 0- ka- sa -0
 CONT.3A 3.A in be.lying SUB.3

hirirarahúra ,

hi riraaraáhura
 and it becomes ruined
 hi ri- 0- raa- raahur -aar -0
 and CONT.3A 3.A way be.spoiled INCH PERF

aríhurah^š .

a riihúrahac .
 and he dies .
 a ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 .

and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF .

Wírut^a

Wíruuta

When it is that way

wii- ra- 0- ut- aar -0
now ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

wírikustius^u

wírikustii'uusu

when he knows how to sit

wii- ri- 0- kus rií'uus -u
when CONT.3A 3.A be.sitting know.how SUB.D

hiráhwiška

hi raáhwicka'

and He would think

hi ra- 0- ar- wicka -0
and ABS 3.A EV think PERF ,

ruksuráh^š

Ruksuráhac

Let him die

ri- 0- uks- hurahac -0
CONT.3A 3.P JUSS die PERF ,

aríhurah^{aš}

a riíhurahac

and he dies

a ri- 0- i- hurahac -0
and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF .

Wiririkískawari

Wiriirikiskaáwari

When he is crawling around inside

wii- ri- 0- irikis- kaa- warii -hus
when CONT.3A 3.A crawl inside be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

, hiráhwiška

hi raáhwicka'

and He would wish

hi ra- 0- ar- wicka -0

and ABS 3.A EV think PERF

aríhurah^š

a riíhurahac

and he dies

a ri- 0- i- hurahac -0

and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF

Híruta

Hi ruúta

And he does it

hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0

and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF

wiriuríríku

wiri'uuriíríku

when he stands up

wii- ri- 0- uuri.arik -hus

when CONT.3A 3.A stand.upright IMPF.SUB

wiriuríríku

wiri'uuriíríku

when he stands up

wii- ri- 0- uuri.arik -hus

when CONT.3A 3.A stand.upright IMPF.SUB

when CONT.3A 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

píra^u wirikátarir^u ,
píra'u' wirikátariiru
a baby when he walks fast
piira -u' wii- ri- 0- katariir -u
baby NOM when CONT.3A 3.A be.fast SUB.D

hiráhwiška ,
hi raáhwicka' ,
and He would think : '
hi ra- 0- ar- wicka -0 , '
and ABS 3.A EV think PERF , '

šuksuráh^š ,
Suksuráhac
Die !
i- s- uks- hurahac -0 ,
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS die PERF ,

' kariiriwari'
' he does not live ,
' kari- rii- 0- warii -:hus ,
' EMPH.NEG ASSR 3.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF ,

aríhurah^š .
a riíhurahac .
and he dies .
a ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 .
and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF .

Hiruríwiška ,
Hiru riíwicka' ,

Then He thinks : '
 hiruu rii- 0- wicka -0 , '
 then ASSR 3.A think PERF , '

kiraisúhišis ,

Kíra isúhiicis

Let him find out

kira i- s- ut- riicis -0
 perhaps CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about SUB.4

píræski tiirirára^u ,

piíraski ti'iriiráraa'u

the boy this way that is ,

piiras- -kis tii- irii- ra- 0- raa- 0 -u ,
 boy DIM this that ABS 3.A way be SUB.D ,

tirétpawáktiku .

' tiratpaawáktiku .

' this I am talking about .

' tii- ra- t- waa.wak.tik -hus .

' this ABS 1.A talk IMPF.SUB .

Nahwíška^a , “

Raáhwicka'a , '

When he would think : '

ra- 0- ar- wicka -a , '

ABS 3.A EV think SUB.1 , '

Kisúhišis ,

Kí'isúhiicis

You'll realize it

kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

níhuks^u ,
 ríhuksu'
 only
 rihuks -u'
 alone NOM

nəkutiráktarah^a ,
 rakutiraáktaraaha ' ,
 to have a bow and arrows ,
 ra- 0- ku- tiraak- raar- raah -a ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B bow PL have SUB.1 ,

hiríhurah^š . "
 hi rííhurahac .
 and he dies .
 hi ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 .
 and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF .

Ariwíška^a "
 A ríwicka'a ' ,
 And when He thinks : ' ,
 a ri- 0- wicka -a ,
 and CONT.3A 3.A think SUB.1 ,

Kisúhišis
 Ki'isúhiicis
 You'll realize it
 kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

tiwirətatírəktaruh^a ,
 tiwiratatíraktaaruha ,
 the bow and arrows I have given you ,
 tii- wii- ra- t- a- tiraak- raar- uh -a ,

here now ABS 1.A 2.P bow PL give SUB.1 ,

nikuškiwirikútiku

' ríkucki wiriikuúniku'
 ' a bird he is killing it
 ' rikuc -kis wii- ri- 0- i- kuut.ik -:hus
 ' bird DIM now CONT.3A 3.A SEW kill IMPF

, hiríhurah^s . Hā !
 hi riíhurahac . Haa
 and he dies . Ha !
 hi ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 . haa ,
 and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF . ha ,

kakiráriks ,

kaakíraariks

it is not real

kaaki- 0- raariks -0
 NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF

tirəšíhwari . "

tiracíhwari . "

this our living . "

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

Nikutiwakahúkurahus , "

Rikutiwákaahu' kúrahus , "

That is what he was saying the old man : "

riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus kurahuus , "
 that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF old.man , "

Hirutariwíška

Hi ruúta riíwicka'

And He does it : He thinks
 hi ra- 0- ut- aar -0 , rii- 0- wicka -0
 and ABS 3.A PREV do PERF , ASSR 3.A think PERF

, kisúhišis
 ' Ki'isúhiicis
 : ' You'll realize it
 , ' kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0
 , ' HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

tiwirətahákarušuh^a

tiwiratahaákaaruucuha

these poles I have put inside

tii- wii- ra- t- ar- haak- kaa- ra.uc.wuh -a
 this now ABS 1.A EV wood inside put.PL.OBJ SUB.1

; kirakuistaráhurit^tn

. Kira ku'istaaráhuritit

. Let you do a good deed

. kira ku- i- s- raa- rahur.itik -0
 . perhaps INDF CONT.1/2A 2.A way gratify PERF

; .
 .
 .
 .
 .

sirihkutašíkstihur^u

Sirihkuutacíkstiihuuru

Their being thankful

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	aciks.tiihur	-u
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	BEN	be.thankful	SUB.D

nakuráhurəs

rakuraáhuras

when he finds

ra-	0-	ku-	raa-	huras	-0
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	way	find	SUB.4

kirikuhákawašis^u

kíriku' haákawaahcisu'

something food

kirikuu	haakawaahc	-his	-u'
anything	eat	PERF	NOM

hítirasikstihu^u

hi tiiracikstiihú'u

and they are thankful

hi	ti-	0-	ir-	aciks.tiihur	-'	.	"
and	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	be.thankful	EX	.	"

Niwáku

Riiwáku'

He said

rii-	0-	waka'u	-0	,	"	rawa
ASSR	3.A	say	PERF	,	"	now

sukstáatkuk^u

sukstaáatkuuku'

listen

i-	s-	uks-	rak-	atka'uk	-:hus
----	----	------	------	---------	-------

CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL listen IMPF

tirəšakušiksiširaar^a .
tiracakuuciksiciira'aara .
since we have experienced disappointment !
tii- ra- aca- ku- aciks.iciira.aar -a .
when ABS IN.DU.P 1.P feel.disappointment SUB.1 .

Tiwirarak^u ,
Tiwiraraaku
This that has happened
tii- wii- ra- 0- raa- kus -0
this now ABS 3.A way be.sitting SUB.4

irihirikuwitúta
irihii rikuwituúta
that that is what He did
irii- hii riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- aar -0
that other that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

, atí^s šáhiks
Atí^{as} cáhiks
our Father a person
ati- as icaahiks
1.POSS father person

sirihkurawáhkisa
sirihkuraawaáhkisa
when they tortured him
si- ra- 0- ir- ku- raawaahkisaar -0
DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B torture SUB.4

tiwirətutpawáktiku .
tiwiratutpaawáktiku .

this I have been talking of to you .
 tii- wii- ra- t- a- ut- waa.wak.tik -hus .
 this now ABS 1.A 2.P BEN talk IMPF.SUB .

" Kúrahus nikutiwákah^u "
 " Kúrahus rikutiwákaahu' "
 " The old man that is what he was saying: "
 " kurahuus riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus "
 " old.man that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF "

Nakuwíška^a ,
 Rakuwicka'a
 When he desires
 ra- 0- ku- wicka -a
 ABS 3.A INF.B want SUB.1

wirakušíkskas^a
 wirakuucíkskasa
 when he is mature
 wii- ra- 0- ku- aciks.ka.sa -0
 now INF.A 3.A INF.B be.sensible SUB.3

wirakuraráhuriwaúsikⁱ
 wirakuraaráhuriwa'uusiki
 when he knows how to do things
 wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- rahur- rii'uus -wa -ik
 when INF.A 3.A INF.B way do know.how DIST DIST

,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,

tuhurətáhuriwa

Tuhaarattáhuriwa

Let me chase after them

i- t- uhur- ak- ra- hurii -waa -0
CONT.1/2A 1.A finally PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST PERF

hititáhuriwa

hi tittáhuriwa

and he chases them

hi ti- 0- ak- ra- hurii -waa -0
and IND.3A 3.A PL.AN.3P PORT go.around.PL DIST PERF

, aratirasikstihú^u ,

a raatiiracikstiihú^u

and they were just thankful

a raa- ti- 0- ir- aciks.tiihur -'
and just IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.thankful EX

wirakurára^a

wiraakurára'a

when he brought it

wii- ra- 0- a- ku- raar- ra- a -0
when INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B 3PL.INAN.P PORT come SUB.4

kíšaškⁱ ; náwahá !

kísacki . Ráwa haa

meat . Now ha !

kisaac -kis . rawa haa ,

meat DIM . now ha ,

hirihuráh^š .
hi riíhurahac . "
and he died . "
hi ri- 0- i- hurahac -0 . "
and CONT.3A 3.P SEQ die PERF . "

Nikutihwawákah^u .
Rikutihwaawákaahu' .
That is what they were saying .
riku- ti- 0- ir- waa- waka -:hus .
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A DIST say.IMPF IMPF .

Hitáhwišk^a
Hi taáhwicka' "
And He would think : "
hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , "
and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , "

kiistarahuríusispa
Ki'istarahurí'uusispa
Let you learn how to do things
kii- i- s- raar- rahur- rii'uus -his -waa -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A 3PL.INAN.P do know.how PERF DIST PERF

,
. "
. "
. "
. "

nihuksuatirarahuríusispa
Rihuksu' a tirarahurí'uusispa

Only and he learned to do things
 rihuks- -u' a ti- 0- raar- rahur- rii'uus -his -waa -0
 only NOM and IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P do know.how PERF DIST PERF

, hitíhurahě
 hi tihúrahac
 and he died
 hi ti- 0- hurahac -0
 and IND.3A 3.P die PERF

Kuhárar^u atí[^]s
 Kuuháraaru' Atí'as
 He made it that way our Father
 kuur- ra- 0- raa- ra'uk -0 ati- as
 DUB ABS 3.A way make PERF 1.POSS father

nahkuwíška^a . Náw^a ,
 raahkuwícka'a ' Ráwa
 when He wished : ' Now ,
 ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , ' rawa ,
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , ' now ,

náw^a , suhúhwari
 ráwa suhúhwari'
 now live awhile.
 rawa i- s- uhur- warii -:hus
 now CONT.1/2A 2.A awhile be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

kísuhišis ,
 Kí'súhiicis .
 Learn .
 kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0 .
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF .

sišuhúrišis

sicuksuhuúriiciis

Learn it awhile

i-	s-	ir-	ut-	uks-	uhur-	riicis	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	PREV	JUSS	awhile	learn.about	PERF

nəkúwari

rakúwari

to go about

ra-	0-	ku-	warii	-hus
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

náwirakur ^u	.		Hã	!
raáwiirakuuru'	.	'	Haa	
(on) the warpath	.	'	Ha	,
raawiiraak.huur	-u'	.	haa	,
war.party	NOM	.	ha	,

uskatírawirapu

ásku tíraawiirapu'

once he was going on the warpath

asku	ti-	0-	raawiiraak-	wuu	:-hus
one	IND.3A	3.A	on.the.warpath	go.IMPF	IMPF

hitíhurah^š

hi tihúrahac

and he dies

hi	ti-	0-	hurahac	-0	.
and	IND.3A	3.P	die	PERF	.

Hitáhwiška

Hi taáhwicka'

And He would think

hi	ti-	0-	ar-	wicka	-0	,	'
----	-----	----	-----	-------	----	---	---

and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , ' ,

kísuhišis

Kiisúhiicis

You'll learn

kii- i- s- ut- riicis -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about PERF

náwirakur^u

raáwiirakuuru'

(on) the warpath

raawiiraak.huur -u'

war.party NOM , ' ,

atúkspari

a túkspari'

and he went around

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

hitíhurah^š

hi tihúrahac

and he dies

hi ti- 0- hurahac -0

and IND.3A 3.P die PERF .

Ikuruharatíhaksahu

I kuruuharaatíhaksahu'

And then time was coming on

i kuruur- ra- 0- a- raa- tiihak -his a -:hus
and DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A way be.the.end PERF come IMPF

, hitáhwiška

hi taáhwicka'

and He would think : '
 hi ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 , '
 and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF , '

Kituharurakúrahira

Kiitúhaaru'

Let me make a way

kii- i- t- ut- raa- ra'uk -0
 HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV way make PERF

rakúraahiira

to be a good way

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

, hitararáhurititⁿ

. ' Hi taaraaráhuritit

. ' And they were thankful for it

. ' hi ti- 0- ar- raar- rahur.itik -0
 . ' and IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P gratify PERF

,

nihkukitaíwiša

rihkuukitaíwica

when he arrived riding it

ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ikita -wi wic.a -0
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A OBV INF.B ride SUB.L arrive SUB.4

, arúsa . áka^a ,

aruúsa' . Aáka'a

a horse . Oh my ,

aruusaa . aaka'a ,

horse . oh.my ,

asitirahurašíkstaitⁿ .
a sitiirahuuracíksta'it .
and they were happy to see him .
a si- ti- 0- ir- rahuur.aciks.ta'it -' .
and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.happy.to.see EX .

Irikúhara

Iriikuúharaa'

Whatever it was he brought

irii- kuur- ra- 0- a- ra- a -0
what DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PORT come PERF

sirirahurašíkstait^u , arúsa^a

sirirahuuracíksta'itu aruúsa'

their being glad to see it a horse

si- ra- 0- ir- rahuur.aciks.ta'it -u aruusaa
DU ABS 3.A PL.3A be.happy.to.see SUB.D horse

, nəkukitaíwiša

raakuukita'iwica

when he arrived riding it

ra- 0- a- ku- ikita -wi wic.a -0
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B ride SUB.L arrive SUB.4

, hitihurahəš , kawíra^u

hi tíhurahac . Kaawíra'u'

and he died . Jealousy

hi ti- 0- hurahac -0 kaa.wi.ra- -u'
and IND.3A 3.P die PERF . jealousy NOM

, sitihkútik^u . Píta ,

sitihkuútikú' . Piíta

they killed him . A man ,

si- ti- 0- ir- kuut.ik -:hus . wiita ,

DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A kill IMPF . man ,

pitárihaəš ,
 piitáriihaa'ac
 a fully grown man
 wiita riihac -'
 man be.mature EX

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

witusuksikiráwaritⁿ ,
 Witusuksikiraáwarit . '
 Hurry yourself ! '
 witi- i- s- uks- ikiraa.warik -0 . '
 REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS hurry PERF . '

hisitíra^u ,
 Hi sitíraa'u ,
 And they gave him a way
 hi si- ti- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A way give PERF

nəkúrahir^a . Hā !
 rakúraahiira . Haa
 to be good . Ha ,
 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a . haa ,
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1 . ha ,

hitíhurah^š .
 hi tíhurahac .

and he died !
 hi ti- 0- hurahac -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.P die PERF .

Atúkspari

A túkspari'
 And he lived
 a ti- 0- uks- warii -:hus
 and IND.3A 3.A AOR be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

hitáarakusitⁿ

hi taáraakusit ,
 and he would acquire it
 hi ti- 0- ar- raa- kusik -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV way pick.up PERF

nəkúrahira^a

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

nawiráhis^u

raawiiraáhisu' , " . '
 a warrior . '
 raawiir.aah.his -u' . '
 warrior NOM . '

Kirakirikirəsíhwiška

Kíra kiriki rasíhwicka'
 Let you see what you want
 kira kirikii ra- s- ir- wicka -0
 perhaps what ABS 2.A POSS.1/2A want PERF

tirə́tpari	.	"
tirátpari	.	'
while I go around	.	'
tii- ra- t- warii -hus	.	'
this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB	.	'

Hitaririwistáwašit ^{it} n	.	.
Hi taaririwistaáwacitit	.	.
And he would take warriors out	.	.
hi ti- 0- ar- iriwis- ra- awacitik -0	.	.
and IND.3A 3.A EV war.party PORT go.out PERF	.	.

Náwahā ! atíhurahəš	.	.
Ráwa haa a tíhurahac	.	.
Now ha ! and he died	.	.
rawa haa , a ti- 0- hurahac -0	.	.
now ha , and IND.3A 3.P die PERF	.	.

ašahikstiraríwar ^{it} n	.	.
a cáhiks tiraríwarit	.	.
and people he lost them	.	.
a icaahiks ti- 0- raar- ri.warik -0	.	.
and person IND.3A 3.A 3PL.INAN.P lose PERF	.	.

Hā ! kukakírariks	.	.
Haa kukaakíraariks	.	.
Ha , nothing is true	.	.
haa , ku- kaaki- 0- raariks -0	.	.
ha , INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF	.	.

tirəšíhwari	.	.
tiracíhwari	.	.
this our living	.	.
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus	.	.

this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Atáwiška

A taáhwicka'

And He would think

a ti- 0- ar- wicka -0
and IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF ,

kiraitašiksišawišparitⁿ

Kíra itaciksicawícparit

Let me take him to an old age

kira i- t- aciks.icawic.warik -0
perhaps CONT.1/2A 1.A cause.to.reach.an.old.age PERF

ikárikətⁿ

ikárikat . ' Haa

half way . ' Ha !

iika.ri -kat . ' haa ,

center LOC . ' ha ,

hitirakápakis^a

hi tiraakaápaakisa

and the way becomes pitiful

hi ti- 0- raa- kaapaakis -aar -0
and IND.3A 3.A way be.pitiful INCH PERF .

Náwahā !

Ráwa haa

Now ha !

rawa haa ,

now ha ,

tiwírəskutkírík^u

tiwiraskutkíríku

when you look at me ,
 tii- wii- ra- s- ku- ut- kirik.kus -0 ,
 when when ABS 2.A 1.P PREV look.at SUB.4 ,

hā !
 haa
 ha !
 haa ,
 ha ,

kuwíkatutárísta ,
 kuwikaakatuutárísta .
 now I cannot do anything .
 ku- wii- kaaka- t- ut- aar -his -ta .
 INDF now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF INT .

irihiwikakatašikskásahikiri
 Irihiiwikaakaatacíkskasa híkiiri
 Now I am not sensible so it is
 irii- hii- wii- kaaka- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 hikiiri
 then other now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF indeed

. Nahkuwiška^a
 . Raahkuwícka'a ' : '
 . When He thought : '
 . ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a , '
 . INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1 , '

tuksašiksišawíšparitⁿ .
 Tuksaciksicawícparit ' ! '
 Let me take him to an old age ! '
 i- t- uks- aciks.icawic.warik -0 , '
 CONT.1/2A 1.A JUSS cause.to.reach.an.old.age PERF , '

Náwahā !
 ráwa haa
 now ha !
 rawa haa ,
 now ha ,

kuwikakatasíkskasa ,
 kuwikaakaatacíkskasa .
 now I am no longer at all sensible .
 ku- wii- kaaka- t- aciks.ka.sa -0 .
 INDF now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.sensible PERF .

kuwíkkakurahi
 Kuwikaakúraahi
 It is no longer any good
 ku- wii- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 INDF now NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

, tirótpari .
 tirátpari .
 this my living .
 tii- ra- t- warii -hus .
 this ABS 1.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Irihiwikakúraahi
 Irihiwikaakúraahi
 That is no longer any good
 irii- hii- wii- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 that other now NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

. Širurarasáhatu ,
 . Ciru rarasáhatu
 . Yet when one is growing up ,
 . ciruu ra- 0- rasahat -hus ,

. yet ABS 3.P grow.up IMPF.SUB ,

irihiisarúrahi

irihii'isarúraahi

that is good

irii-	hii-	i-	s-	ar-	uur-	raa-	hiir	-0
that	other	CONT.1/2A	2.A	EV	PREV	way	be.good	PERF

. Hā !

. Haa

. Ha !

. haa ,

. ha ,

hasiriskútkirik^u

haasiriskútkiriku

now you are looking at me

haa-	si-	rii-	s-	ku-	ut-	kirik.kus	-0
here	DU	ASSR	2.A	1.P	PREV	look.at	PERF

húwi . Hā !

huúwi' ha

indeed , ha

húwi' , ha

indeed , ha

wiwitirətúhkustiwíhaku

wiwitiratuhkustiiwíhaku

when I am struggling to get up

wii-	witi-	ra-	t-	uur-	kus	riiwi.hak	-hus
now	REFL	ABS	1.A	PREV	be.sitting	struggle.with	IMPF.SUB

. Hā !

. Haa

. Ha !
 . haa ,
 . ha ,

hírarutikusiriwir^{it}ⁿ

hi raaruutikukusíriwirit
 and then I just fall when getting up
 hi raa- ruu- ti- ku- kus.iri.wirik -0
 and just then IND.3A 1.P fall.getting.up.from.a.seat PERF

, kuwikakátkasis .
 . Kuwikaakaátkasis .
 . I am no longer solid .
 . ku- wii- kaaka- t- kasis -0 .
 . INDF now NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A be.hard PERF .

Kuwíkakihuwi ,

Kuwikaaki' huúwi'
 It is not indeed
 ku- wii- kaaki- 0- 0 -0 huuwi'
 INDF now NEG.IND.3A 3.A be PERF indeed

kurətkutara .
 kuratkuútaara .
 for me to do anything .
 ku- ra- t- ku- ut- aar -a .
 INDF INF.A 1.A INF.B PREV do SUB.1 .

Nikutihárar^u ,

Rikutiiháraaru'
 That is how He made it
 riku- tiir- ra- 0- raar- ra'uk -0
 that.is INFR ABS 3.A 3PL.INAN.P make PERF

tirəšihwari .
 tiracihwari .
 this our living .
 tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
 this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Nakurusikurawiúsit¹
 Raakuruusikurawi'uúsit
 I am just apt to expire

raa- ruu- kuus- i- ku- uur- awi.uusik -0
 just then POT.1/3A SEQ.sk 1.P PREV pass.away PERF

, irikuharatihəksta
 iriikuuharaatiihaksta

whenever the end is to come

irii- kuur- ra- 0- raa- tiihak -his -ta
 when DUB ABS 3.A way be.the.end PERF INT

. " Akíisawatiks

. " Aki isaáhwattiks

. " And here he was truthful

. " a- ki i- s- ar- wak.rik.his -0

. " and there CONT.1/2A 2.A EV be.truthful PERF

,
 .
 .
 .
 .

akiisakahikútist^a

Aki isaahkaahikuútista

And here he was to die of old age

a- ki i- s- ar- kaahik kuut -his -ta

and there CONT.1/2A 2.A EV aged die PERF INT

.
. .
. .

“ Náw^a ,
“ Ráwa
“ Now
" rawa
" now

witusuksašiksúhurah^{^t}n .
witusuksaciksúhurahat .
don't think about it !
witi- i- s- uks- aciks- uhur.ra.hak -0 .
REFL CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS mind release PERF .

Karisikíkatⁿ .
Kariisikíkat .
Don't cry .
kara- i- s- i- kikak -0 .
NEG CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ cry PERF .

Kakírariks
Kaakíraariks
It is not real
kaaki- 0- raariks -0
NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.true PERF

tiráspari ,
tiráspari .

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

narutasiwari

Raaruutasiwari'

You'll just go around

raa- ruu- ta- s- i- warii -:hus
 just then IND.1/2A 2.A SEQ be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

. Náwa^a ,
 . " Ráwa
 . " Now
 . " rawa
 . " now

atiharihi

a tiharihi'

and it is here

a tii- haa- ra- 0- ihii -0
 and here here ABS 3.A be.in.a.place PERF

áhuutar^a ,

ahuútara .

what He did .

ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a .
 EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1 .

tiharihiahutar^a

Tiharihi'

It is here

ahuútara

what He did

tii- haa- ra- 0- ihii -0 ar- ra- 0- ut- aar -a
 here here ABS 3.A be.in.a.place PERF EV ABS 3.A PREV do SUB.1

, atisirəskutkiriku
 a tisiraskutkíriku
 and now you are looking at me
 a tii- si- ra- s- ku- ut- kirik.kus -0
 and here DU ABS 2.A 1.P PREV look.at PERF

, irirarátihatⁿ ,
 iriiraraatiíhat
 where the end is
 irii- ra- 0- raa.tiihak -0
 where ABS 3.A be.the.end SUB.4

tirikurasahatⁿ .
 tirikurásahat . "
 this my growing up . "
 tii- ri- ku- rasahat -0 . "
 when CONT.3A 1.P grow.up SUB.4 . "

Nikutúutⁿ
 Rikutuú'ut
 That is how it was
 riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -'
 that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX

tiirirawawákahu ,
 ti'iriirawaawaákahu .
 these things he was saying .
 tii- irii- ra- 0- waa- waaka -hus .
 this that ABS 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

irárⁱ ,
 Iraári'
 Brother ,
 i- -raar- -ri' ,

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

škarakakátuutⁿ .
ckára kaákatuu'ut .
alone I am not .
ckara kaaka- t- ut- 0 -' .
alone NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV be EX .

Šahikstahkítu , kahuráhkitu
Cahikstaahkítuu'u' kaahuraahkítuu'u'
All people the entire earth
icaahiks raar- kituu -u' kaa.huraar- kituu -u'
person PL all NOM earth all NOM

.

,

,

,

Akitarahkitutašakuhuráhaš^u
akitaaraahkítuu'u' tacakuhuráhaacu'
all tribes we all die
akitaar- raar- kituu -u' ti- aca- ku- hurahac -:hus
tribe PL all NOM IND.3A IN.DU.P 1.P die IMPF

. Tiirirətpawákahu
. Ti'iriiratpaawaákahu
. This that I am saying
. tii- irii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus
. this that ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nikuríwawaku , kúrahus .
rikuriiwaawáku' kúrahus .

that is what he said							the old man	.
riku-	rii-	0-	waa-	waka'u	-0		kurahuus	.
that.is	ASSR	3.A	DIST	say	PERF		old.man	.

Awiaharúratih^{ti}

A wi'aharuraatiíhat

And now he had his beginning

a	wii-	ar-	ra-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	raa-	tiihak	-0
and	now	EV	ABS	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	way	be.the.end	PERF

, náwiška^a
 raáhwicka'a " " " "
 when he thinks : " " " "
 ra- 0- ar- wicka -a , " " "
 ABS 3.A EV think SUB.1 , " "

tuhúhwari

Tuhúhwari'

Let me go at last

i-	t-	uhur-	warii	-:hus
CONT.1/2A	1.A	finally	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

náwirakur ^u			kíripašk ⁱ
raáwiirakuuru'			" kíripacki
(on) the warpath		,	" young
raawiiraak.huur	-u'	,	" kiripac -kis
war.party	NOM	,	" small DIM

náku^u

ráku'u

when he was

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

Hawakakasašíkspahiitⁿ ,
 Hawá kaakaasacíkspahi'it .
 Also you are anxious .
 haawa kaaka- s- aciks- pahiit -' .
 also NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A mind be.quiet EX .

kakasašíkspahiitⁿ , háw^a .
 Kaakaasacíkspahi'it haáwa' .
 You are anxious also .
 kaaka- s- aciks- pahiit -' haawa .
 NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A mind be.quiet EX also .

Wiisihkáisa
 Wi'isihkaá'iisa
 When you come home
 wii- i- s- ir- kaa- iis.a -0
 when CONT.1/2A 2.A PREV.1/2A inside come.into SUB.4

hihawasisturuisiwíška
 hi hawá sístu ruu'isiwícka'
 and also again then you think
 hi haawa sistu ruu- i- s- i- wicka -0
 and also again then CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ think PERF

wirinarikátak^u
 wiriraarítátaku
 when they are sitting by the fire
 wii- ri- 0- raar- itkata- kus -0
 when CONT.3A 3.A PL.INDV.A by.a.fire be.sitting SUB.4

kírahawaitaætⁿ .
 ' Kíra hawá itá'at . '
 : ' Perhaps also I'll go . '
 , ' kira haawa i- t- at -' . '

, ' perhaps also CONT.1/2A 1.A go EX . '

Nikutasutáripirəskⁱ

Rikutasuutári'

That is what you are doing

riku-	ta-	s-	ut-	aar	-i	piiras-	-kis
that.is	IND.1/2A	2.A	PREV	do	IMPF	boy	DIM

piíraski

boy

íriras^u

íriiraasu

when you are

irii-	ra-	s-	0	-u	
when	ABS	2.A	be	SUB.D	.

nikutašítⁿ

Rikutacíít

That is how we are

riku-	ta-	aciir-	ut-	0	-'	
that.is	IND.1/2A	IN.DU.A	PREV	be	EX	.

Kárisuší^a

Káriisuci'a

Don't do it

kara-	i-	s-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	.

Kárisuší^a

Káriisuci'a

Don't do it

kara-	i-	s-	ut-	i-	aar	-0	
NEG	CONT.1/2A	2.A	PREV	SEQ	do	PERF	.

Rarutaširíwari

Raaruuaciríwari'

That is just the way we live

raa-	ruu-	ta-	aciir-	i-	warii	-:hus
just	then	IND.1/2A	IN.DU.A	SEQ	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

.	Nakúwari	,			
	rakúwari				
	to go around	,			
ra-	0-	ku-	warii	-hus	,
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	,

píræsk ⁱ	,
piíraski	
a boy	
piiras-	-kis
boy	DIM

nakúwari	.				
rakúwari	.				
to go around	.				
ra-	0-	ku-	warii	-hus	.
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB	.

Širukíripaškiri ^u	,		
Ciru	kíripacki	rí'u	
Yet	small	when he is	
ciruu	kiripac	-kis	ri- 0- 0 -u
yet	small	DIM	CONT.3A 3.A be SUB.D

hiriwiška	,				
hi	riíwicka'	"			
and	He thinks	:			
hi	rii-	0-	wicka -0	,	"
and	ASSR	3.A	think PERF	,	"

istáwirakat^a ,
 Istaawiiraákata
 When you go on the warpath ,
 i- s- raawiiraak- at -a ,
 CONT.1/2A 2.A on.the.warpath go SUB.1 ,

ruisiráwirakat^a ,
 ruu'isiraawiiraákata
 there when you go on the warpath
 ruu- i- s- i- raawiiraak- at -a
 there CONT.1/2A 2.A SEQ on.the.warpath go SUB.1

kiistaráhurit^{t'n} ,
 ki'istaaráhuritit .
 let you be gratified .
 kii- i- s- raa- rahur.itik -0 .
 HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A way gratify PERF .

kitaraurakúrahir^a
 Ki'itáraa'u rakúraahiira
 Let me give you a way its being a good way
 kii- i- t- a- raa- uh -0 ra- 0- ku- uur- raa- hiir -a
 HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A 2.P way give PERF INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way be.good SUB.1

. Tarušuhuskíripəškⁱ
 . " Táruucuhuskíripacki
 . " A small errand man
 . " ta.ra.uc.wuh -hus kiripac -kis
 . " make.a.fire IMPF.SUB small DIM

nihkutaútiarus^a ,
 rihkúta'uuti aruúsa'
 when they steal (them) horses
 ra- 0- ir- ku- ta'uut -i aruusaa

INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B steal SUB.2 horse

asiwitíruarus^a

a siwitiíru aruúsa'
and they gave it to him a horse
a si- wi- ti- 0- ir- uh -0 aruusaa
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A give PERF horse

.
. .
. .
. .

Hiwítirušírəskáis^a

Hi witiiruuciraskaá'iisa'
And he would bring it home
hi wi- ti- 0- a- ir- ar- ut- ciras- kaa- iis.a -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A OBV EV PREV COM inside come.into PERF

, irírutakišisu
iriíruutaakicisu
those to whom he is related
irii- ra- 0- ut- ak- icis -hus
that ABS 3.A PREV PL.AN.3P be.related.to IMPF.SUB

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

sitírahurasikstaiⁱtⁿ
sitírahuuraciksta'í't

. Náwa
. Ráwa

they were glad to see him . Now ,
 si- ti- 0- ir- rahuur.aciks.ta'it -' . rawa ,
 DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A be.happy.to.see EX . now ,

hawa
 hawá
 also
 haawa
 also

wiríku wíratíh^tn

wirikuwítiraatíhat

now that was the beginning

wii- riku- wi- ti- 0- raa- tiihak -0
 now that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A way be.the.end PERF

tírarawíšóksari .

tíraawicákksari .

this his becoming mature .

tii- ra- 0- raa- wic.hak.his.aar -i .
 this ABS 3.A way come.to.consciousness IMPF.SUB .

Wirawíšóksari

Wíraawicákksari'

Now he was becoming mature

wii- ra- 0- wic.hak.his.aar -i
 now ABS 3.A come.to.consciousness IMPF

nihkuhára^u

rihkuuhaára'u

when he made it for him

ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raar- ra'uk -0
 INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3

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

ásuhišis , kítu
 ásuuhiicis , kítuu'u'
 that you should learn ' everything
 aa- s- ut- riicis -0 ' kituu -u'
 SUBJ.1/2A 2.A PREV learn.about SUB.4 ' all NOM

. Náwa , wiráhwari
 . Ráwa , wiraáhwari'
 . Now he was going around
 . rawa , wii- ra- 0- ar- warii -:hus
 . now , now ABS 3.A EV be.going.about.IMPF IMPF

, hírahiiritnuta
 hi raáhiirit tuúta
 and finally he does it
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

hínahiritⁿ ,
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

nirakataríhuru
 riiraakataríhuru'
 he performs a great deed
 rii- 0- raa- kata- rihur ra'uk -0

ASSR 3.A way against.a.vertical.surface be.big make PERF

. Hinahiritruta
. Hi raáhiirit tuúta
. And finally he did it
. hi raahiirit ti- 0- ut- aar -0
. and finally IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

tarušúhus ,
táruucúhus
the errand man :
ta.ra.uc.uh.hus ,
errand.man ,

witiku híkstiparawahahkirúsuk^u
witiku uhikstipaarawaahaahkiirúsuuku'
they used to sneak themselves around hiding
witi- kuur- ra- 0- ir- uks- ri- paarawaahaahkiir -:hus -uuku
REFL DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A AOR PORT sneak.around.hiding IMPF HAB

. " Nikutiwawakáhu
. " Rikutiwaawákaahu'
. " That is what he was saying
. " riku- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus
. " that.is IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF

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

Hínahiritnuta ,
“ Hi raáhiirit tuúta

“ And finally he did it :
 " hi raahiirit ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
 " and finally IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hiwitiáripara ,
 hi witiáripara
 and he would hide himself (ie steal away)
 hi witi- ti- 0- ar- ri- paar.aar -0
 and REFL IND.3A 3.A EV PORT hide PERF

hitahkásispa
 hi taáhkásispa
 and he would run
 hi ti- 0- ar- kasispaar -0
 and IND.3A 3.A EV run PERF

irírakuturuh^{^t}ⁿ ,
 iriirakuutúruuhat
 where a village would be
 irii- ra- 0- ku- ituur- u.hak -0
 where INF.A 3.A INF.B village extend.in.a.line SUB.4

hínahiritⁿ , arusatáhtautⁿ
 hi raáhiirit aruúsa' taáhta'ut
 and finally a horse he would steal it
 hi raahiirit aruusaa ti- 0- ar- ta'uut -0
 and finally horse IND.3A 3.A EV steal PERF

, híširutā^a
 hi ciru taá'a
 and yet he would be
 hi ciruu ti- 0- ar- 0 -'
 and yet IND.3A 3.A EV be EX

pirəskírípəškⁱ . Akihíhiru
 piiraskírípəckⁱ . Aki hi hiru
 a small boy . And here and there
 piiras- kiripac -kis . a- ki hi hiruu
 boy small DIM . and there and there

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

kuisíra .
 ku'isíra' .
 that was his way .
 ku- i- s- ir- raa- 0 -0 .
 INDF CONT.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A way be PERF .

Akiwitíra^u
 Aki witíraa'u
 And here He gave him a way (power)
 a- ki wi- ti- 0- ir- raa- uh -0
 and there QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV way give PERF

, kararakukapákis^u .
 karakuukaapaákisu .
 for him not to be poor .
 kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u .
 NEG ABS 3.A INF.B be.poor SUB.D .

Aiwirarasáhatu ,
 A iwirarasáhatu
 And when he was growing up
 a ii- wii- ra- 0- rasahat -hus

and when when ABS 3.P grow.up IMPF.SUB

hínahiritⁿ hirúhišis ,
hi raáhiirit hi rúhiicis .
and finally and he learned .
hi raahiirit hi ra- 0- ut- riicis -0 .
and finally and ABS 3.A PREV learn.about PERF .

hinahíritnuta ,
Hi raáhiirit tuúta ,
And finally he did it :
hi raahiirit ti- 0- ut- aar -0 ,
and finally IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF ,

hínahiritⁿ ,
hi raáhiirit
and finally
hi raahiirit
and finally

arusáritawawaútusititⁿ ,
aruúsa' rítawaawa'uútusitit .
horses he began stealing various ones .
aruusaa rii- 0- ta'uut -waawa -:hus -itik .
horse ASSR 3.A steal DIST IMPF INCH .

isírítnarutik^u .
Isiirit raarútiiku .
Prominent then he just was .
isii.rik raa- ruu- ti- 0- kus -0 .
in.plain.sight just then IND.3A 3.A be.sitting PERF .

Tihwakíah^u íka^a !
Tihwakí'aahu' ' Íka'a

They were saying	:	'	Oh my	,
ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus	,	'	iika'a	,
IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF	,	'	oh.my	,

tirakupíræski

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

iriwísitirasiksta

iriwisiúraciksta

they are watching over him

irii- wii- si- ti- 0- ir- aciks.ta -0						
that now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A watch.over						PERF

tiráwah^{^t}n

Tiráwaahat

the Heavens

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

Hínahiritⁿ

táhwiška

Hi raáhiirit

taáhwicka'

And finally he would think

hi raahiirit ti- 0- ar- wicka -0						
and finally IND.3A 3.A EV think PERF						

kirakírikiruutⁿ

Kíra kiriki ruú'ut

Let me see what it is

kira kirikii ra- 0- ut- 0 -'					
perhaps what ABS 3.A PREV be EX					

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

arisitnuréti^u
 ariísit ruuráti'u
 myself my being there
 ariisit ruu- ra- t- i- 0 -u
 one's.own there ABS 1.A SEQ be SUB.D

Hínahiritⁿ
 Hi raáhiirit
 And finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

nawirahisútara
 raawiiraáhisu' taára
 a warrior he would become
 raawiir.aah.his -u' ti- 0- ar- aar -0
 warrior NOM IND.3A 3.A EV become PERF

Híhikiri sitiráhurititⁿ
 Hi híkiiri sitiráhuritit
 And so it is they gave him something good
 hi hikiiri si- ti- 0- ir- rahur.itik -0
 and indeed DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A gratify PERF

hihíkiri ruríhira,
 hi híkiiri ruuríhiira'
 and so it is beyond
 hi hikiiri ruurihiira'

and indeed farther

sitíruhar^u

sitiíruuhaaru'

they made him a way

si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	BEN	way	make	PERF

nəkúrahir^a

rakúraahiira

its being a good way

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

Hinahirítaruta

Hi	raáhiirit	táruuta						
And	finally	he would do it						
hi	raahiirit	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	aar	-0	
and	finally	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	do	PERF	

Hinahirítaruta

Hi	raáhiirit	táruuta						
And	finally	he would do it						
hi	raahiirit	ti-	0-	ar-	ut-	aar	-0	
and	finally	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PREV	do	PERF	

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They said

ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	raawiir.aah.his	-u'
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	warrior	NOM

nawiráhisu

raawiiraáhisu'

a warrior

,	náku ^u	,	isírit ⁿ	,
	ráku'u		isíirit	

Kakihkápakis					šəskirarít ⁿ	,
Kaakihkaápaakis					caskiírarit	.
They are not pitiful					a little bit	.
kaaki-	0-	ir-	kaapaakis	-0	caskii raarit	.
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	be.pitiful	PERF	a.little really	.

tatutákirit ⁿ						.
Tatuutákiirit						.
I see them						.
ta-	t-	ut-	ak-	iirik	-0	.
IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	see	PERF	.

Akawáwa !
Aakawaáwaa'
Oh, my goodness ,
aakawaawaa ,
my.goodness ,

isirítnarutiwiwah ^{^t} ⁿ							
isiírit	raaruutiwíwaahat						
plainly	they just sit about						
isii.rik	raa-	ruu-	ti-	0-	wi.hak	-waa	-0
in.plain.sight	just	then	IND.3A	3.A	be.sitting.PL	DIST	PERF

,	kakahkapáakis ^{it} ⁿ						
.	Kukaakihkaapaákisit						
.	They are not pitiful						
.	ku-	kaaki-	0-	ir-	kaapaakis	-ik	-0
.	INDF	NEG.IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	be.pitiful	DIST	PERF

.
.
.

akírikuhirukutarúhkariks tihótarus^a

Aki	riku	hiru	kutarúhkarikstiihat							aruúsa'			
And here	that one	there	he had a large herd							horses			
a-	ki	riku	hiruu	ku-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	kariiks-	tihak	-0	aruusaa
and	there	that.is	there	INDF	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	herd	be.the.border	PERF	horse

.	Hikararíkari							šáhiks	.
.	Hi	karariíkari'						cáhiks	.
.	And	there were many						people	.
.	hi	kara-	rii-	0-	kari		-0	icaahiks	.
.	and	NEG	ASSR	3.A	be.numerous		PERF	person	.

Takuhururakúhuriwawⁱ

Takuhuúru'													
Belongings													
takuhuur	-u'	ra-	0-	ku-	hurii			-waa		-wi			
belongings	NOM	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	go.around.PL			DIST		SUB.L			

Árataruritətⁿ

a	raataruurítat												
and	his village would just be there												
a	raa-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-			uur-	itak		-0		
and	just	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS			POSS.A	be.a.camp		PERF		

irírakukarik^u

iriirakuukáriku

where his lodge was

irii- ra- 0- ku- akaar- ri- kus -0
where INF.A 3.A INF.B dwelling PORT be.sitting SUB.4

.

Nihkutatarihkúkⁱ

rihkuutattaruhkuúki

when they carried their belongings

ra- 0- ir- ut- ak- raar- ruhka'uk -i
INF.A 3.A PL.3A PREV PL.AN.3P 3PL.INAN.P have.DIST SUB.2

arusairarúhkariksk^u

aruúsa' iraruhkaríksku

horses that herd of his

aruusaa ii- ra- 0- a- ri- uur- kariiks- kus -0
horse that ABS 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A herd be.sitting SUB.4

. Tiratará^u

. Tiraatára'u'

. He talked of it

. ti- 0- raa- tara'u -0
. IND.3A 3.A way talk.about PERF

tirahurahášu

šáhiks ,

tirahúrahacu

cáhiks

this one dying

a person

tii- ra- 0- hurahac -hus icaahiks

this ABS 3.P die IMPF.SUB person

árikuhara^u

a rihkuuhaára'u
and when he was provided a way
a ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- raar- ra'uk -0
and INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3

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

širurakúwari
ciru rakúwari
yet when he went about
ciruu ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
yet INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

Nikutiwawákahu kúrahus
Rikutiwaawákaahu' kúrahus
That is what he was saying the old man
riku- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus kurahuus
that.is IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF old.man

Ašsturihkuširára^u

A ctuurihkuuciraára'u
And when he really provided for him
a ctuu- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- i- raar- ra'uk -0
and certainly INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B BEN SEQ 3PL.INAN.P make SUB.3

narahkítu
raaraahkítuu'u'
all things
raa- raar- kituu -u'

way PL all NOM

tuharáihk^u

tuhaará'ihku'

he meant it

ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus
IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

tiwiritasikskapákis^u

tiwiriitacikskapaákisu

since he had been pitied

tii- wii- ra- 0- ir- ut- aciks.kaapaakis -u
when when ABS 3.A 3.INDF PREV feel.pity.for SUB.D

; arusarakutawawáutu

aruúsa' rakutawaawá'uutu

horses when he was stealing them

aruusaa ra- 0- ku- ta'uut -waawa -hus
horse INF.A 3.A INF.B steal DIST IMPF.SUB

. Awinákuar^a

. A wiráku'aara

. And when he had become

. a wii- ra- 0- ku- aar -a
. and when INF.A 3.P INF.B become SUB.1

rawiráhis^u

raawiiraáhisu'

a warrior

raawiir.aah.his -u'
warrior NOM

Nikutuharáihk^u

rikutuhaará'ihku'

hínahiritⁿ

hi raáhiirit

that is what he meant						and	finally
riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-.hus	hi	raahiirit
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	and	finally

nisarúsítihkusit ⁿ							.
riisaáru'		sitíhkusit					.
a chief		they chose him					.
riisaar	-u'	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	kusik	-0
be.chief	NOM	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	pick.up	PERF

Hínahiritⁿ

Hi	raáhiirit
And	finally
hi	raahiirit
and	finally

hituhariráhkaat ⁿ							.	“
hi	tuhaariraáhkaa'at						.	“
and	he determined to do it						:	“
hi	ti-	0-	ut-	raa-	riraar.kaa.at	-0	,	”
and	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	way	be.determined	PERF	,	”

Kíra	ákitar ^u	
Kíra	ákitaaru'	
Perhaps	the tribe	
kira	akitaar-	-u'
perhaps	tribe	NOM

itáræspi						,	píra ^u	.
itáræspi'							piira'u'	.
I'll look for it							a child	.
i-	t-	ar-	raspii	-0			piira	-u'
CONT.1/2A	1.A	EV	look.for	PERF			child	NOM

Kitaturətaraiwaríhus

Kí'taattu'

Let me make the pipe

kii- i- t- haak- ra'uk -0
HORT CONT.1/2A 1.A wood make PERF

Rattaraa'iwariíhus

Pipe Dance

rak- raar- ra- awi- warii -hus
wood PL PORT image be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

. Nikutuharáihk^u

. " Rikutuhaará'ihku'

. " That is what he meant

. " riku- ti- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus

. " that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV mean IMPF

nawákahu

“

rawaákahu

“

when he said

:

“

ra- 0- waaka -hus , "

ABS 3.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , "

Kíturíhkuruh^a

Kítuu'u'

ríhkuruuha

All

his being given it by Him

kituu -u' ra- 0- ir- ku- raa- uh -a

all NOM INF.A 3.A OBV INF.B way give SUB.1

tiráwah^{^tⁿ}

.

Tiráwaahat

.

"

the Heavens

.

"

tii- ra- 0- waa- ahak -0

.

"

this ABS 3.A DIST extend.in.a.line SUB.4

.

"

Kátu ,

Kaátu'

Because

kaatu'

because

kītutuharaihku							táraha
kítuu'u'		tuhaará'ihku'					táraha'
all		he meant					buffalos
kituu	-u'	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-.hus	tarahaa
all	NOM	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF	buffalo

narawarukstíkaruku							;
raraawaarukstiíkaruku							.
when he was consecrating them							.
ra-	0-	raa-	waarukstii	-ka.ra'uk	-hus	.	
ABS	3.A	way	be.holy	CAUS.PL.P	IMPF.SUB	.	

kīturikutuharaíhk ^u							
Kítuu'u'		rikutuharará'ihku'					
All		that is what he meant					
kituu	-u'	riku-	ti-	0-	ut-	raa.ra'ihk	-.hus
all	NOM	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PREV	mean	IMPF

.	Náwa ^a	,	tirára ^u				,	
.	Ráwa		tiráraaku					
.	Now	,	this way					
.	rawa	,	tii-	ra-	0-	raa-	kus	-0
.	now	,	this	ABS	3.A	way	be.sitting	SUB.4

tirára ^u							
tiráraaku							
this way							
tii-	ra-	0-	raa-	kus	-0		
this	ABS	3.A	way	be.sitting	SUB.4		

aharára ^u				,	atí [^] s
aharaára'u					Atí'as

súkstawi .
súkstawi' . "

be among them ! "

i- s- uks- tawi -0 . "
CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS be.among PERF . "

Hikuharatawíškaru

Hi kuuharaatawíckaru'

And He put those ways among us

hi kuur- ra- 0- raa- tawi -his ka.ra'uk -0
and DUB ABS 3.A way be.among PERF make.PL.P PERF

. Pírəskⁱ nahkurəsah^{^tⁿ}
. Píiraski raahkurásahat
. A boy when he would grow up
. piiras- -kis ra- 0- ar- ku- rasahat -0
. boy DIM INF.A 3.P EV INF.B grow.up SUB.4

hirarutihwáah^u

hi raaruutihwá'aahu'

and they would just be coming

hi raa- ruu- ti- 0- a- ir- wa- a -:hus
and just then IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A DIST come IMPF

sikararihkurahurítiku

sikararihkurahurítiku

their not having gratified him

si- kara- ra- 0- ir- ku- rahur.itik -hus

DU NEG INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B gratify IMPF.SUB

. Ikararahurawíhuht^a .
. I kararaahuurawíhuhta .
. And he was not going to give up .
. i ka- ra- 0- raa- rahuur.awi.uh -ta .
. and NEG ABS 3.A way quit.INT INT .

Ikirikuwisirikukstahurítitⁿ

I kíriku' wisirihkukstáhuritit
And something when they gratified him
i kirikuu wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- uks- rahur.itik -0
and anything when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B AOR gratify SUB.4

hisitirúhahuru

hi sitiiruúhahuru'
and they did it for him
hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ri- ut- rahur.ra'uk -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PHYS.POSS PREV do.to PERF

sistuasitirahkarikstatⁿ

sístu a sitiiraahkaríkstat
again and they took a herd
sistu a si- ti- 0- ir- ar- raar- kariiks- ra- at -0
again and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV 3PL.INAN.P herd PORT go PERF

, kíwarit^u ,
. Kíwariitu'

. Naked
 . kiiwariit -u'
 . naked NOM

awitíhwiša .
 a witíhwica' .
 and he arrived back .
 a wi- ti- 0- ir- wic.a -0 .
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A OBV arrive PERF .

Árahiritⁿ

A raáhiirit
 And finally
 a raahiirit
 and finally

narutarəsikspirútitⁿ

raaruutaaracikspiiruútit
 he would just feel dejected
 raa- ruu- ti- 0- ar- aciks.wii.ruu.tik -0
 just then IND.3A 3.A EV feel.despondent PERF

pírəski . "
 piiraski . "
 the boy . "
 piiras- -kis . "
 boy DIM . "

Kuirirəsahkuta ,

Ku'iriirásaahkuuta

Whatever is wrong

ku- irii- ra- s- ar- ku- ut- 0 -a
 INDF what INF.A 2.A EV INF.B PREV be SUB.1

tirə́tpari							.	"
tirátpari							.	"
this my living							?	"
tii-	ra-	t-	warii				-hus	.
this	ABS	1.A	be.going.about.IMPF				IMPF.SUB	.

Árahirit ⁿ		wiwitárikikət ⁿ						
A	raáhiirit	wititaárikikat						
And	finally	he would cry for himself						
a	raahiirit	witi-	ti-	0-	ar-	ri-	kikak	-0
and	finally	REFL	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PORT	cry	PERF

nahkuurawíriku								,
raahku`uurawiíriku								
when he would stop here and there alone								
ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	uuri.arik	-waa	-hus		
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	stop	DIST	IMPF.SUB		

rahwaráruhət ⁿ								,
raahwaaraáruhat								
the hills yonder								
ra-	0-	ar-	waa-	raar-	u.hak		-0	
ABS	3.A	EV	hill	PL	extend.in.a.line		SUB.4	

hítahkikət ⁿ								,	hínahirit ⁿ		,
hi	taáhkikat								hi	raáhiirit	
and	he would cry								and	finally	
hi	ti-	0-	ar-	kikak	-0				hi	raahiirit	
and	IND.3A	3.A	EV	cry	PERF				and	finally	

tirə́sakutkawasítiku								
tiracakutkawaasítiku								
when we go to sleep								
tii-	ra-	aca-	ku-	itka	-waa	-his	-itik	-hus

when ABS IN.DU.P 1.P sleep DIST PERF INCH IMPF.SUB

,

hiruritirurákit^a

hiru iritaruuraákita

there that is the reason

hiruu irii- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- raa.kita -0
there that IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PHYS.POSS PREV be.the.way.on.top PERF

,

hisitiruharíka

hi sitiiruuhaaríkaa'

and they told him

hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- raa.ri.kaa.a -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV tell.to PERF

. Hirutíhwakⁱ

. Hiru tíhwaki'

. Then they said

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

ítkasaru^u

" Tikⁱs ,

ítkasaaru'

" Tíkis

(in his) sleep : “ Sonny ,
 itkas.haar -u’ , ” tikis ,
 dream NOM , ” sonny ,

kakasírura

kaakaasúruura’

you have no obstacle

kaaka- s- ir- ri- uur- raa- 0 -0
 NEG.IND.1/2A 2.A POSS.1/2A PHYS.POSS POSS.A way be PERF

tiráspari

tiráspari

this your living,

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

ihinikurákuta

ihi rikurákuuta

uh , for it to be that way

ihii , riku- ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a
 uh , that.is INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

Hiruiharúrahi

Hiru ihaarúraahi

There that is good

hiruu ii- haa- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
 there that here ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

. Kurautirátawi ,

. Kúraa’u’ tirátawi

. Doctor this one among us

. kuraa -u’ tii- ra- 0- tawi -0
 . doctor NOM this ABS 3.A be.among SUB.4

hiruirihitúrahi

hiru irihiitúraahi

there that other is good

hiruu irii- hii- ti- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
there that other IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

. Tik¹s ,

. Tíkis

. Sonny ,

. tikis ,

. sonny ,

hirúirihi tuháhura

hiru irihiituhaáhura'

there that other one is the source

hiruu irii- hii- ti- 0- ut- raa- hurar -0
there that other IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.where.one.comes.from PERF

tiróspari ,

tiráspari

this your living

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

kararakukapákis^u . "

kararakuukaapaákisu . " Náw^a

that one not be poor . " Ráwa

kara- ra- 0- ku- kaapaakis -u . " Now

NEG ABS 3.A INF.B be.poor SUB.D . " rawa

now

, hirutáhwiska , pít^a

hiru taáhwicka' píta

, then he would think man

, hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 wiita

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

rakútawi . “ Náwa^a ,
 raahkútawi . “ Ráwa
 his being among us : “ Now
 ra- 0- ar- ku- tawi -0 , " rawa
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.among SUB.4 , " now

tiratuhaíriku ,
 tiratuuhaa'íiriku ,
 this that I see ,
 tii- ra- t- ut- raa- iirik -hus ,
 this ABS 1.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB ,

tirətuhaíriku ihi
 tiratuuhaa'íiriku ihi
 this that I see , uh ,
 tii- ra- t- ut- raa- iirik -hus , ihii ,
 this ABS 1.A PREV way see IMPF.SUB , uh ,

tirəstárik^u
 tirastaáiriku
 what you have here
 tii- ra- s- raa- ri- kus -0
 here ABS 2.A way PORT be.sitting SUB.4

nakuraurósta^u . "
 raakúraa'u' wirásta'u
 the doctoring way what you made ,
 raa- kuraa -u' wii- ra- s- ra'uk -0 ,
 way doctor NOM now ABS 2.A make SUB.3 ,

Kirakirikírəsuətⁿ .
 kúra kirikí rasuu't . "

let's see what it is . "

kira kirikii ra- s- ut- 0 -' . "

perhaps what ABS 2.A PREV be EX . "

Hirakawítihur^u

Hi raakawitíhuuru'

And it would so happen

hi raa- ka- wi- ti- 0- uhuur.uu -0

and just Y/N.INTER QUOT IND.3A 3.A be.the.way.one.does PERF

nahkutíšisu ,

raahkuutícisu .

to be one related to him .

ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- icis -hus .

INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.related.to IMPF.SUB .

hirutáhwiška " Náwa ,

Hiru taáhwicka' " Ráwa

Then he would think: " Now

hiruu ti- 0- ar- wicka -0 " rawa

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

kirətiháituta .

kíra tihaá'ituuta .

this is what I'll do .

kira tii- haa- i- t- ut- aar -0 .

perhaps this here CONT.1/2A 1.A PREV do PERF .

"

"

"

"

"

Ataruriritⁿ

A taaruuririt

And he picked up his

a	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	uur-	iriik	-0
and	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	pick.up.long.object	PERF

. “ Tikⁱs ”
. “ Tíkis ”
. “ Son , ”
. “ tikis , ”
. “ sonny , ”

iriruríhku^u

iriruuríhkuu’u

whatever he is to him

irii-	ruu-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	0	-u
what	then	INF.A	3.A	OBV	INF.B	be	SUB.D

ipáti					áku	atí [^] s
ipaátti’					aku	atí’as
his grandfather					or	my father
i-	paak		-ri’		aku	ati- as
3.POSS.A	grandfather		3.POSS.B		or	1.POSS father

, “ Náwaatí[^]s
“ Ráwa atí’as
, “ Now , father ,
, “ rawa , ati- as ,
, “ now , 1.POSS father ,

tátiškaihi

táticka’

I want

ta-	t-	wicka	-0		ihii	
-----	----	-------	----	--	------	--

IND.1/2A 1.A want PERF , uh ,

tirəstáriku , ihi
tirastaáriku ihi
this way you have , uh ,
tii- ra- s- raa- ri- kus -0 , ihii ,
here ABS 2.A way PORT be.sitting SUB.4 , uh ,

tirətkapákis^u
tiratkaapaákisu
since I am pitiful
tii- ra- t- kaapaakis -u
when ABS 1.A be.pitiful SUB.D

kirikurətakurətka^u
kíriku' rátaakuratka'u
something that I hear from you
kirikuu ra- t- a- ku- uur- atka'uk -0
anything INF.A 1.A 2.P INF.B PREV hear SUB.3

. " Náw^a , hirútahwaku
. " Ráwa hiru taahwáku'
. " Now , then he would say
. " rawa , hiruu ti- 0- ar- waka'u -0
. " now , then IND.3A 3.A EV say PERF

, irirəhku^u kúrahus
iriiraáhku'u kúrahus
whoever it might me the old man
irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u kurahuus
who INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D old.man

, " Ha^a !
" Haa'a' "

: " Yes , "
 , " haa'a' , "
 , " yes , "

nahkutíšisu ,
 raahkuutícisu
 the one who would be related to him
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- icis -hus
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.related.to IMPF.SUB

kuiwáririks
 ku iwáriiriks
 perhaps his uncle
 ku i- wariiriks
 INDF 3.POSS.A uncle

níhku^u .
 ríhku'u .
 his being .
 ra- 0- a- ir- ku- 0 -u .
 INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B be SUB.D .

Šáhiks tirašakuhuráhašu ;
 Cáhiks tiracakuhuráhacu
 People when one of us died
 icaahiks tii- ra- aca- ku- hurahac -hus
 person here ABS IN.DU.P 1.P die IMPF.SUB

tírahakit^{^tⁿ}
 tírahaakitat
 this village of ours
 tii- ra- 0- t- rak- itak -0
 this ABS 3.A 1.A 1/2.PL be.a.camp SUB.4

nikuwitúutⁿ ,
 rikuwituú'ut
 that was the way it was ,
 riku- wi- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' ,
 that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX ,

kišíkukakatúhairitⁿ .
 kici kukaakatuúhaa'iirit .
 but I did not see anything .
 kici ku- kaaka- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 .
 but INDF NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF .

Kišítaturakatkáwawuk^u

Kici tatuuraakatkáwaawuuku'
 But I used to hear things
 kici ta- t- uur- ak- atka'uk -waawa -:hus
 but IND.1/2A 1.A PREV PL.AN.3P hear DIST IMPF

.
 .
 .
 .
 .

Šahiksnahkurawiúsitⁿ

Cáhiks raahkuurawi'uúsit
 A person when he would die
 icaahiks ra- 0- ar- ku- uur- awi.uusik -0
 person INF.A 3.P EV INF.B PREV pass.away SUB.4

pitaráhku^u .

piíta raáhku'u
 a man maybe his being
 wiita ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u

man INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

Tihwakíah^u

tihwakí'aahu'

they say

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

sitirahpáhahukusuku

sitiiraahpáhaahuukúsuuku'

they used to paint him red

si- ti- 0- ir- raar- pahaat -ra'uk -:hus -uuku
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A ITER be.red CAUS IMPF HAB

;
.
.
.
.

hisiwitiriškarahpahátkaru

Hi siwitiirickaraahpahátkaru'

And they painted his face red all over

hi si- wi- ti- 0- ir- uur- icka- raar- pahaat -ka.ra'uk -0
and DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A POSS.P face ITER be.red CAUS.PL.P PERF

.
.
.
.
.

Siwitirahiwáriku

Siwitiiraahiwaáriku'

They dressed him nicely

si- wi- ti- 0- ir- uur- raa- hi.wa.ar -ik -:hus
DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way be.good.DIST CAUS IMPF

. Níkutihwakiah^u .

. Rikutihwaki'aahu' .

. That is what they said .

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

Tihwakiah^u

Tihwaki'aahu'

They said

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

sitirahiwáriku

sitiiraahiwaáriku'

they dressed him nicely

si- ti- 0- ir- uur- raa- hi.wa.ar -ik -:hus
DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV way be.good.DIST CAUS IMPF

kítu .

kítuu'u'

entirely

kituu -u'

all NOM

Tirúkuwukⁱ ,

tiirúkuuwuuki ,

these leggings he wore ,

tii- ra- 0- uk.ka.uuk -wa -i ,
this ABS 3.A wear.leggings DIST SUB.2 ,

.
Siwitiirahkasíkaruk^u

Siwitiirahkasíkaruuku'

They put a shirt on him

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	rahkasii		-ka.ra'uk	-:hus
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	wear.a.garment		CAUS.PL.P	IMPF

.
Hirusitirušírahkišawawu

Hiru sitiiruucíraahkiicawaawu

Then they put them around his neck

hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	raar-	kiic.a.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	3PL.INAN.P	put.around.the.neck	DIST	PERF

.
Irikurihkúkstawarupī^a

iriikurihkúkstaawaaru

those that were his

irii-	ku-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	uks-	raar-	0	-waa	-u	piíta
that	INDF	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	INF.B	AOR	3PL.INAN.P	be	DIST	SUB.D	the man
												wiita
												man

.
. .

Hirusiwitirušikitirapap^u

Hiru siwitiirucikitiíraahpaapu

Then they wrapped him up

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	kita.iraahk.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	wrap.up	DIST	PERF

,
;
,
,

hirusiwitirušikitirapap^u

hiru siwitiirucikitiíraahpaapu

then they wrapped him up

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	kita.iraahk.wuh	-waa	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	SEQ	wrap.up	DIST	PERF

.
. .
. .

Kiškurahkuráhwitətⁿ

Kícku' raahkuraáhwhitat

Several he would have wraps over him

kicku	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	raar-	witak	-0
several	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	3PL.INAN.P	wear.over.the.shoulders	PERF

. Náwa^a ,
 . Ráwa
 . Now ,
 . rawa ,
 . now ,

hiruwitirúšj^a

hiru witiiruúci'a
 then they would do it

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

,

awitihastaruhúhkauš

a witihaastaruhúhkaa'uc
 and they put ropes under him

a wi- ti- 0- ir- haas- raar- uhuur.kaa.uc -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A rope PL put.under PERF

. Tihwakíah^u ,

. Tihwakí'aahu'

. They say

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

hitakútawitⁿ ,

hiítaku táwit
 the other side three

hii- -taku tawit

ahitakútawitⁿ ,

a hiítaku táwit
 and the other side three

a hii- -taku tawit

other LOC three and other LOC three

šáhiks
cáhiks
persons
icaahiks
person

hirusiwítiriširawihutⁿ

hiru siwitiiriciiraawíhut
then they would carry him

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	iciir.ra.awi.huk	-0
then	DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	carry	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Hikišiwitirúštaripətⁿ

Hi kici wiwitiiructariipət
And but he would be tied

hi	kici	wii-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	tariik	-waa	-0
and	but	now	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	OBV	EV	PREV	be.tied	DIST	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .

Tihwakíah^u

Tihwakí'aahu'

They say

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

hirusitíriwu

hiru sitíriwu'
then they took him

hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ri-	wuu	-:hus
then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PORT	go.IMPF	IMPF

irísikuhitatawist^a

iriisikuhitataawista

where they were going to bury him

irii-	si-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	ataa.wuh	-his	-ta
where	DU	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	bury	PERF	INT

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now ,
. rawa ,
. now ,

ahirusitírutataw^u

a hiru sitiíruutataawu
and then they would bury him

a	hiruu	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	ataa.wuh	-0
and	then	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	EV	PREV	bury	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Iriihkurúrukstušpawⁱ

Iriihkuruúrukstucpaawi

The things he used to have

irii-	ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	uks-	ra.uc	-waa	-wi
that	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	be.lying.PL	DIST	SUB.L

,

hihiruwihirurikutarárišawa

hi	hiru	wihiru		rikutaaraarícawa
and	then	there		those are what would hang from poles

hi	hiruu	wii-	hiruu	riku-	ti-	0-	ar-	raar-	icaa	-waa	-0
and	then	now	there	that.is	IND.3A	3.A	EV	PL.INDV.A	hang.on.a.pole	DIST	PERF

.
. .
. .
. .
. .

Nahirarakuksúihi

Ráhiira'	raahkúksu										ih
Sometimes	when he had been										uh
rahiira	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	uks-	0	-u				ihii
further	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	AOR	be	SUB.D				uh

	nísar ^u										
	riísaaru'										
,	a chief										
,	riisaar	-u'									

, be.chief NOM ,

sirihkuktukusuku

sirihkukstuukusuku

when they used to make one (as a child)

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uks-	ra'uk	-hus	-uku
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	AOR	make	IMPF.SUB	HAB.SUB

ih

ih

, uh ,

, ihii ,

, uh ,

nətaraiwarihus

Rattaraa'iwariihus

Pipe Dance

rak-	raar-	ra-	awi-	warii	-hus
wood	PL	PORT	image	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

hiwihirutahatariša^a

hi wihiru taahaattaáricaa'a
and there the sticks would hang on a pole

hi	wii-	hiruu	ti-	0-	ar-	haak-	raar-	icaa	-'
and	now	there	IND.3A	3.A	EV	wood	PL	hang.on.a.pole	EX

. Nikutitári .

. Rikutitári' .

. That is what they did .

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

Airinikuru'ruksku

A iriirihkuru'ruksku

And the one that he had owned
a irii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- uks- kus -0
and that INF.A 3.A POSS.3A OBV INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A AOR be.sitting SUB.4

rahkuksašikstawⁱ ,
raahkuksacikstawi
what he had valued highly
ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- aciks.ta -wi
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B AOR value.highly SUB.L

awíhirutariša^a ,
a wihiru taáricaa'a
and there it would hang on a pole
a wii- hiruu ti- 0- ar- icaa -'
and now there IND.3A 3.A EV hang.on.a.pole EX

iriráku^u .
iriiraáhku'u .
whatever it was .
irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u .
who INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D .

Tirikuhuráhašu
Tirikuhuráhacu
When one of mine was dying
tii- ri- ku- uur- hurahac -hus
when CONT.3A 1.P POSS.P die IMPF.SUB

nikuwititári ,
rikuwitiitári'
that is what they did ,
riku- wi- ti- 0- ir- ut- aar -i ,
that.is QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF ,

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

Kukakatúhairit ⁿ							,	kísi
Kukaakatuúhaa'iirit								kici
I did not see anything								but
ku-	kaaka-	t-	ut-	raa-	iirik	-0		kici
INDEF	NEG.IND	1.A	PREV	way	see	IDP		but

nihúksu		tatətkáwawuk ^u					.
rihúksu'		taatatkáwaawuuku'					.
only		I heard things					.
rihuks-	-u'	ta-	t-	atka'uk	-waawa	:-hus	.
only	NOM	IND.1/2A	1.A	hear	DIST	IMPF	.

Tihwakíah ^u							"
Tihwakí'aahu'							
They used to say							
ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a			:-hus	
IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF			IMPF	

Sitirahpáhahuku							,
sitiraahpáhaahuuku'							
they painted him red							
si-	ti-	0-	ir-	raar-	pahaat	-ra'uk	:-hus
DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	ITER	be.red	CAUS	IMPF

šáhiks	nakúkut ⁱ						.	Šapat ⁿ	,
cáhiks	rakúkuuti						.	Cápaat	
a person	when he died						.	A woman	
icaahiks	ra-	0-	ku-	kuut	-i		.	icapaak	

person INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.2 . woman

nahkušikstáwis^u
raahkuucikstáwisu
one who was loved

ra- 0- ar- ku- aciks.ta -wi -his 0 -u
INF.A 3.A EV INF.B value.highly SUB.L PERF be SUB.D

, nakukutíšapatⁿ ,

rakúkuuti cápaat
when she died a woman

ra- 0- ku- kuut -i icapaak
INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.2 woman

nikusiwitirahpahahúkuhaw^a

rikusiwitiraahpáhaahuuku'

they painted that one red

riku- si- wi- ti- 0- ir- raar- pahaat -ra'uk -:hus haáwa'
that.is DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A ITER be.red CAUS IMPF also
haawa

ahawáirikúhutak^u

a hawá iriikúhuutaku'
and also whatever clothing she had on

a haawa irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- aka'uk -0
and also what DUB ABS 3.A PREV be.clothed PERF

ihi

ihi

, uh ,

, ihii ,

, uh ,

siahirahiwárik^u

si'ahiiraahiwaawaáriku'

they dressed her nicely

si-	ar-	ra-	0-	ir-	uur-	raa-	hi.wa.ar	-waa	-ik	-:hus
DU	EV	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	way	be.good.DIST	DIST	CAUS	IMPF

,
.
.
.
.

siwítihitiririku

Siwitiirituriíriku'

They fixed the body nicely

si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	uur-	iit-	u-	hiir	-ik	-:hus
DU	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	body	in.a.line	be.good	CAUS	IMPF

,	hawášapat ⁿ	ráku ^u								
	hawá	cápaat	raáhku'u							
	also	a woman	her being							
	haawa	icapaak	ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	0	-u		
	also	woman	INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	be	SUB.D		

, náwa
. Ráwa
. Now
. rawa
. now

hawárikuwitaríha^u

hawá rikuwitaríhaa'u'

also that was the same way

haawa	riku-	wi-	ti-	0-	a-	ri-	ut-	raa-	uu	-0
also	that.is	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	way	be	PERF

kukakíruriwi ,
 . Kukaakíruukiwi .
 . It was not any different .
 . ku- kaaki- 0- raa.ikiwir -0 .
 . INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.different PERF .

əskuraútira .
 Askúraa'u' tíra' .
 The same way it was .
 asku raa- -u' ti- 0- raa- 0 -0 .
 one way NOM IND.3A 3.A way be PERF .

Ašitirúštaripap^u
 A sitiirúctariipaapu
 And they would tie her up
 a si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ut- tariik.wuh -waa -0
 and DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV tie DIST PERF

hirusitiruhastaruhúhkauš
 hiru siwitiiruuhaastaruhúhkaa'uc
 then they put ropes under her
 hiruu si- wi- ti- 0- ir- ar- uur- haas- raar- uhuur.kaa.uc -0
 then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV rope PL put.under PERF

. Šápatⁿ hawaráku^u
 . Cápaat hawá raáhku'u
 . A woman also when it was
 . icapaak haawa ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u

. woman also INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

aháwa

a hawá

and also

a haawa

and also

wihirusitirikátaætⁿ

wihiru sitiirikáta'at

there they took her up the hill

wii- hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- ar- ri- kata- at -0
now there DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PORT against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

, šahiksurrárirⁱ .
cahiksuraárirⁱ .
on foot .
icaahiks- huraar- -hiri' .
person earth LOC .

Hirusitišíraruwa

Hiru sitiiruuciraruúwaa'

There they brought things for her

hiruu si- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- i- raar- ruu- wa- a -0
there DU IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A PREV SEQ 3PL.INAN.P PORT DIST come PERF

, šápatⁿ nákuks^u .
cápaat raáhkukusu .
a woman when it was .
icapaak ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- 0 -u .
woman INF.A 3.A EV INF.B AOR be SUB.D .

Nihkururukskusáriki

Rihkuruúrukskusaariki

The things she had on her bed

ra-	0-	a-	ir-	ku-	ri-	uur-	uks-	kus.haar-	0	-ik	-i
INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	OBV	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	AOR	bed	be	DIST	SUB.2

kítu , kawiriwísis^u
 kítuu'u' kaawiiriwísisu'
 all cross sticks of the bed

kituu	-u'	kaa	-wi	iriwis	-his	-u'
all	NOM	be.inside	SUB.L	be.across	PERF	NOM

.

Hirukitúrikusitiharūwari

hiru kítuu'u' rikusitiiharuúwari'
 then all they took those belongings of hers

hiruu	kituu	-u'	riku-	si-	ti-	0-	ir-	ut-	raar-	ruu-	warii	-:hus
then	all	NOM	that.is	DU	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	PORT	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF

.

.

.

.

.

Hiruiwisiirihkutatáwuh^a

Hiru iriwisiirihkuutataáwuha
 There where they buried her

hiruu	irii-	wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	ataa.wuh	-a
there	where	now	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	bury	SUB.1

hihirurikutarurúšpa

hi hiru rikutaruurúcpa

and there that is where her things lay

hi hiruu riku- ti- 0- a- ri- uur- ra.uc -waa -0
and there that.is IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.lying.PL DIST PERF

, háwakišⁱ , šápatⁿ
háwa kiici' cápaat
also but a woman
haawa kici icapaak
also but woman

iriráku^u .

iriiráku'u .

that one being .

irii- ra- 0- ku- 0 -u .
that INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D .

Náw^a ,

Ráwa

Now

rawa

now

nikutihwawakíah^u ,

rikutihwaawakí'aahu'

these things are what they said

riku- ti- 0- ir- waa- waki.a -:hus
that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A DIST say.PL.IMPF IMPF

tirótpawakahu ,

tirátpaawaakahu ,

this I am saying ,

tii- ra- t- waa- waaka -hus ,

this ABS 1.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF.SUB ,

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

Tirararuráhašu ,
Tiraraaruráhacu ,
When they die ,
tii- ra- 0- raar- hurahac -hus ,
when ABS 3.P 3PL.INAN.P die IMPF.SUB ,

hiwisititətáw^u
hi wisitiitataáwu
and they buried him
hi wii- si- ti- 0- ir- ut- ataa.wuh -0
and now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV bury PERF

. Áwirakus^a
. A wírakuusa
. And when he lies there
. a wii- ra- 0- ku- i- sa -0
. and when INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.lying SUB.3

, širurakúkas^a ,
ciru rakúkasa
yet when he lies on it
ciruu ra- 0- ku- ka- sa -0
yet INF.A 3.A INF.B in be.lying SUB.3

wisirihkuhúwahuru^a
wisirihkuhuuwahúruu'a

after they have dressed him up

wii- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- ut- ruuwahuruu -a
 when DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B PREV attire SUB.1

. Tihwakíah^u “ Náwa
 tihwakí'aahu' “ Ráwa
 they say : “ Now
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " rawa
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , " now

" (Iriráku^u ,
 , " iriiraáhku'u
 , " whoever it is
 , " irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- 0 -u
 , " who INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be SUB.D

iríkuriru šáhiks
 iríkuriiuru cáhiks
 those he had people
 irii- ku- ra- 0- a- ir- 0 -u icaahiks
 that INDF ABS 3.A POSS.3A OBV be SUB.D person

) . Tihwakíahu , “
 tihwakí'aahu' “
 , they say : “
 , ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , "
 , IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

Náw^a ,
 ráwa
 now
 rawa
 now

witəskurakúraw^a ,
 witaskuraakúraawa'
 you have left us ;
 wi- ta- s- ku- rak- huraawaa -0 ,
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL leave.behind PERF ,

náw^a ,
 ráwa
 now
 rawa
 now

witəskurakúraw^a ;
 witaskuraakúraawa'
 you have left us
 wi- ta- s- ku- rak- huraawaa -0
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL leave.behind PERF

širutirahákuriwi ,
 ciru tirahákuriwi
 yet these of us going around
 ciruu tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi
 yet this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

tirahakapákis^u . Náw^a ,
 tirahakaapaákisu . Ráwa
 these of us who are pitiful . Now
 tii- ra- t- rak- kaapaakis -u . rawa
 this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL be.pitiful SUB.D . now

kišihiruwitás^{tⁿ} ,
 kici hiru witaásat
 but there you have gone
 kici hiruu wi- ta- s- at -0

but there QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A go PERF

irikarahirakapákis^u

iriikaraahiraakaapaákisu

where there is no pitifulness

irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u
where NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D

. " Náw^a ,

. " Ráwa

. " Now

. " rawa

. " now

nikutihwakíah^u ,

rikutihwakí'aahu'

that is what they said

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

tirətpákahu . "

tiratpaákahu . "

this I am saying . "

tii- ra- t- waaka -hus . "

this ABS 1.A say.IMPF IMPF.SUB . "

Kišihirúwitasutikaukətⁿ

Kici hiru witasuutiíka'uukut

But there you have gone among them

kici hiruu wii- ta- s- ut- iika- uukuk -0
but there now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV center get.into PERF

irirurasíhku^u

iriruurasíhkuu'u

your different relatives ,
 irii- ruu- ra- s- ir- ku- 0 -u ,
 that then INF.A 2.A POSS.1/2A INF.B be SUB.D ,

kíšiwitasutapir^{it}ⁿ
 kici witasuutapiirit
 but now you see them
 kici wii- ta- s- ut- ak- wa- iirik -0
 but now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV PL.AN.3P DIST see PERF

. " Nikutihwakiáh^u .
 . " Rikutihwaki'aahu' .
 . " That is what they said .
 . " riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -hus .
 . " that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Kuhiráita
 Kuhiiraá'iita
 They perhaps know
 kuur- ra- 0- a- ir- raa.iita -0
 DUB ABS 3.A PREV.3A PL.3A know PERF

irinákuraw^u .
 iriirákuraawu .
 the one who is a disbeliever .
 irii- ra- 0- ku- raa.wuu -hus .
 that INF.A 3.A INF.B doubt IMPF.SUB .

Karatiraráita ,
 Karaatihaaraá'iita .
 We do not know it .
 ka- ra- t- ir- raar- raa.iita -0 .
 NEG ABS 1.A PREV.1/2A 3PL.INAN.P know PERF .

takukakaráita .
 Táku' kaakaraá'iita .
 No one knows it .
 taku kaaki- 0- a- raa.iita -0 .
 someone NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV.3A know PERF .

Nihuksurikutátatkuk^u .
 Rihúksu' rikutaátatkuuku' .
 Only that is what I heard .
 rihuks- -u' riku- ta- t- atka'uk -:hus .
 only NOM that.is IND.1/2A 1.A hear IMPF .

Arihwakíah^u “ Náw^a
 A rihwaki'aahu' “ Ráwa
 And they said : “ Now
 a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " rawa
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , " now

tiwirəskúrakurawa
 tiwiraskúraakuraawa
 since you have left us
 tii- wii- ra- s- ku- rak- huraawaa -0
 when when INF.A 2.A INF.B 1/2.PL leave.behind SUB.4

, ahikíhi
 ahiki hi
 and here and
 a hi ki hi

and and there and

šiksukurakukúrihaka

cíksu' rakukúriihaaka

you must give thought to us

aciks	-u'	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ku-	ri-	ut-	rak-	aar	-0
think.of	NOM	INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	1.P	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	do	PERF

,	tirahákuriwaw ⁱ	.					
	tirahákuriwaawi	.					
	these of us going around (on earth)	.					
tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	hurii	-waa	-wi	.
this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L	.

Nakukurihakirikaráhaku

Rakukurihaakirikaraáhaku

You must turn around for us

ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ku-	ri-	ut-	rak-	irikaraa.hak	-hus
INF.A	3.A	PREV.3A	1.P	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	PREV	1/2.PL	turn.around	IMPF.SUB

.	Náwa	,	a	aráriks ^a	,			
.	Ráwa		a	aaraáriksa				
.	Now	,	and	if it is real (ie true)				
.	rawa	,	a	ii-	0-	ar-	raariks	-a
.	now	,	and	SUBJ.3A	3.A	EV	be.true	SUB.1

raráriksa

raaraáriksa

if it is true

ri-	0-	ar-	raariks	-a
CONT.3A	3.A	EV	be.true	SUB.1

tíwirasat^a

tíwiraasata

since you have gone

tii- wii- ra- s- at -a
when when ABS 2.A go SUB.1

nəskúwari

raskúwari

that you live

ra- s- ku- warii -hus
INF.A 2.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

ahikíhi

ahikíhi

and here

a hi ki hi
and and there and

širutirahákuriwi

ciru tirahákuriwi

yet these of us living

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

hikuiskušúksuhuratakus

hi ku'iskucuksuhuuraáttaakus

and you'll place a way (ie send it to) us

hi ku- i- s- ku- ut- uks- uhur- rak- raa- kus.k -0
and INDF CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P PREV JUSS finally 1/2.PL way put PERF

, nakúrahir^a

rakúraahiira

its being good

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

tirahákuriwi
 tirahákuriwi
 these of us living
 tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi
 this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

hiiskuráta^u
 hi iskurátaa'u
 and give us a way
 hi i- s- ku- rak- raa- uh -0
 and CONT.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL way give PERF

Arárikxa
 aaraárikxa
 if it is true
 ii- 0- ar- raariks -a
 SUBJ.3A 3.A EV be.true SUB.1

nakúwari . Hā
 rakúwari . " Haa
 that one lives . " Ha
 ra- 0- ku- warii -hus . " haa
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB . " ha

! níkutihwakiah^u .
 rikutihwaki'aahu' .
 ! that is what they said .
 , riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus .
 , that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF .

Arihwakíahu " Náw^a
 A rihwaki'aahu' " Ráwa
 And they said : " Now
 a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " rawa

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

, útikⁱs , pītaráku^u
uútikis , " piíta ráku'u
, son , " a man its being
, uu.tikis , " wiita ra- 0- ku- 0 -u
, sonny , " man INF.A 3.A INF.B be SUB.D

. Náwatikⁱs náwa
" ráwa tikis ráwa
, " now , sonny , now
, " rawa , tikis , rawa
, " now , sonny , now

hirukišitiwirósat^a

hiru kici tiwiraásata
there but since you have gone
hiruu kici tii- wii- ra- s- at -a
there but when when ABS 2.A go SUB.1

irikarahirakapákis^u

iriikaraahiraakaapaákisu

where there is no poorness

irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u
where NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D

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

tiwiwitarasiritapiríkstarⁱtⁿ

tiwiwitasiriitapiiríkstarit

since you are going to see your own (relatives)

tii-	wii-	witi-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	ak-	wa-	iirik	-his	-ta	-rit
when	when	REFL	ABS	2.A	POSS.1/2A	PHYS.POSS	PREV	PL.AN.3P	DIST	see	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

. " tihwakíah^u “
: tihwakí'aahu' “
, " they said : “
: " ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , “
: " IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , “

Ahikíhi

ahikíhi

and so

a hi ki hi
and and there and

tiwiwitrəsiritapiríkstaritⁿ

tiwiwitrəsiriitapiiríkstarit

since you are going to see your own

tii-	wii-	witi-	ra-	s-	ir-	ri-	ut-	ak-	wa-	iirik	-his	-ta	-rit
this	now	REFL	ABS	2.A		CONT.3A	PREV	PL.AN.3P	DIST	see	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

, ahikíhi ,
ahikíhi
and so
a hi ki hi
and and there and

kaskuširátar^u

kaskuciraáttaaru'

you must make a way for us

kaas-	s-	ku-	ut-	i-	rak-	raa-	ra'uk	-0
POT.2A	2.A	1.P	BEN	SEQ	1/2.PL	way	make	PERF

, kíriku ,
 kíriku'
 something
 kirikuu
 anything

nəskukuhataríka^a
 raskukuuhaattaaríkaa'a
 for you to tell us

ra-	s-	ir-	ku-	ku-	ut-	rak-	raa.ri.kaa.a	-0
INF.A	2.A	PREV.1/2A	1.P	INF.B	PREV	1/2.PL	tell.to	SUB.4

	nákuwaka						“
	rákuwaaka						'
,	you must say				:		'
,	ra-	0-	ku-	waak	-a	,	'
,	INF.A	3.A	INF.B	say.SUB	SUB.1	,	'

Isárariks
 Isaraáriks
 It is real

i-	s-	ar-	raariks	-0
CONT.1/2A	2.A	EV	be.true	PERF

tirahákuriwawi						.
tirahákuriiwaawi						'
this our living						'
tii-	ra-	t-	rak-	hurii	-waa	-wi
this	ABS	1.A	1/2.PL	go.around.PL	DIST	SUB.L

" Nikutihwakíah^u ,
 " Rikutihwakí'aahu'
 " That is what they were saying
 " riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus

" that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

wisirihkutpawaktiku

wisirihkutpaawáktiku

when they were talking to him

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	waa.wak.tik	-hus
when	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	BEN	talk	IMPF.SUB

, wirakúkušt^a .
wirakúkucta .
when the dead one lay there .
wii- ra- 0- ku- kuut sa -0 .
when INF.A 3.A INF.B die be.lying SUB.3 .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

nəkušikstáwis^u

rakuucikstáwisu

when one was highly regarded

ra-	0-	ku-	aciks.ta	-wi	-his	0	-u
INF.A	3.A	INF.B	value.highly	SUB.L	PERF	be	SUB.D

, nikutiwawákah^u . “
rikutiwaawákaahu’ . “
that is what they were saying : “
riku- ti- 0- waa- waka -:hus , ”
that.is IND.3A 3.A DIST say.IMPF IMPF , ”

Náw^a ,
Ráwa

Now ,
 rawa ,
 now ,

witaskurakurawáihi
 witaskuraakúraawa' ihi
 you have left us , uh
 wi- ta- s- ku- rak- huraawaa -0 , ihii
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL leave.behind PERF , uh

, tirahákuriwi ,
 tirahákuriwi
 , these of us living
 , tii- ra- t- rak- hurii -wi
 , this ABS 1.A 1/2.PL go.around.PL SUB.L

nətkurakapákis^u . "
 ratkuraakaapaákisu . "
 we who are pitiful . "
 ra- t- ku- rak- kaapaakis -u . "
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.pitiful SUB.D . "

Irihi , nikutiwákah^u
 Irihii rikutiwákaahu'
 That that is what he was saying
 irii- hii riku- ti- 0- waka -:hus
 that other that.is IND.3A 3.A say.IMPF IMPF

tirakísikit^u . "
 tirakísikiitu "
 this one who was alive : "
 tii- ra- 0- kisikit -u , "
 this ABS 3.A be.alive SUB.D , "

Witəskurakúrawa ,
 Witaskuraakúraawa'
 Now you have left us
 wi- ta- s- ku- rak- huraawaa -0
 QUOT IND.1/2A 2.A 1.P 1/2.PL leave.behind PERF

nətkurakapákis^u .
 ratkuraakaapaákisu . "
 we who are pitiful . "
 ra- t- ku- rak- kaapaakis -u . "
 INF.A 1.A INF.B 1/2.PL be.pitiful SUB.D . "

Hihirutíras^a
 Hi hiru tíraasa
 And there this one lying
 hi hiruu tii- ra- 0- sa -0
 and there this ABS 3.A be.lying SUB.3

tiwikararikísikit^u ,
 tiwikarariikísikiitu ,
 this one is not alive ,
 tii- wii- kara- ra- 0- i- kisikit -u ,
 this now NEG ABS 3.A SEQ be.alive SUB.D ,

hiwirihwakíah^u ,
 hi wirihwakí'aahu' "
 and they were now saying : "
 hi wii- ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , "
 and now ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , "

hiruwitəsúhawiritⁿ
 Hiru witasuúhaawirit
 There you have seen it
 hiruu wii- ta- s- ut- raa- wa- iirik -0

there now IND.1/2A 2.A PREV way DIST see PERF

,

irikarahirakapákis^u

iriikaraahiraakaapaákisu

where there is no poorness

irii- kara- ar- ri- 0- raa- kaapaakis -u
where NEG EV CONT.3A 3.A way be.pitiful SUB.D

, hiwitíkušta .
" Hi witíkucta .
" And he lay there dead .
" hi wi- ti- 0- kuut sa -0 .
" and QUOT IND.3A 3.A die be.lying PERF .

Náw^a ,
Ráwa
Now ,
rawa ,
now ,

kiširikutihwakíah^u

kici rikutihwakí'aahu'

but that is what they were saying

kici riku- ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
but that.is IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

šahíks , nahkuwíška^a ,
cáhiks raahkuwícka'a " "

a person	when He would think	:	“
icaahiks	ra- 0- ar- ku- wicka -a	,	”
person	INF.A 3.A EV INF.B want SUB.1	,	”

kíispari			
Kí'ispari'		.	”
You'll live		.	”
kii- i- s- warii -:hus		.	”
HORT CONT.1/2A 2.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF		.	”

širuwitukstatákit ^{^t}			
Ciru witatukstaákitat			
Yet we were camped			
ciruu wi- ta- t- uks- rak- itak -0			
yet QUOT IND.1/2A 1.A AOR 1/2.PL be.a.camp PERF			

.
.
.
.
.

Hiwisitirawíšauš			
Hi wisitiirawiíca'uc			
And they laid him on the edge (of the grave)			
hi wii- si- ti- 0- ir- awiica- uc -0			
and now DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A on.the.edge lay.SG.P PERF			

,

wisirihkuhakawaríkstar^{it}ⁿ

wisirihkuhaahkawaríkstarit

when they were going to put him in it

wii-	si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	ut-	raar-	ka.warik	-his	-ta	-rit
when	DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	3PL.INAN.P	put.in	PERF	INT	INT.SUB

,

sirihkuhuraahatáwuh^a

sirihkuuhuraahatáwuha

after they dug a hole

si-	ra-	0-	ir-	ku-	uur-	huraar-	hata.wuh	-a
DU	INF.A	3.A	PL.3A	INF.B	PREV	earth	make.a.hole	SUB.1

,

hitakaráhis^u

hi takaaraáhisu'

and suddenly

hi takaaraahis -u'

and all.at.once NOM

witahtáparupəš

witahtáparuupac

he would move around

wi-	ti-	0-	ar-	tap.aruu.pac	-0	.
QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	EV	move.DIST	PERF	.

Hirusiwitirušítarikiwətⁿ

Hiru siwitiiruucítariikiwat

Then they would untie him

hiruu	si-	wi-	ti-	0-	ir-	ar-	ut-	i-	tarii.kiwat	-0
-------	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	----	-------------	----

then DU QUOT IND.3A 3.A PL.3A EV PREV SEQ untie PERF

,

hiwihiruwitaríwətⁱ

hi wihiru witaariíwati
and there he would be looking
hi wii- hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- riiwat -i
and now there QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be.looking SUB.2

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

hikistihuksúwita^a

hi kístihuksu' wítaa'a
and only bone he would be
hi kiis- rihuks -u' wi- ti- 0- ar- 0 -'
and bone alone NOM QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV be EX

. Tihwakíah^u
. Tihwakí'aahu'
. They say
. ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus
. IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF

hínahirituta

hi raáhiirit tuúta

and finally he did it
 hi raahiirit ti- 0- ut- aar -0
 and finally IND.3A 3.A PREV do PERF

nákuwata , ihi ,
 raákuwata , ihi
 when he rose , uh ,
 ra- 0- a- ku- waat.a -0 , ihii ,
 INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B get.up SUB.4 , uh ,

nakutikstaruhuráwahi
 rakuutikstaaruhuraáwaahi
 when he was making motions with his hands
 ra- 0- ku- ut- iks- raar- uhuraawaah -i
 INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV hand PL move.fleetingly SUB.2

, náhkuwakahu “
 raáhkuwaakahu “
 when he would be saying : “
 ra- 0- ar- ku- waaka -hus , ”
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B say.IMPF IMPF.SUB , ”

Sukstaktarúwa
 Sukstaaktarúwa
 Take them off
 i- s- uks- rak- raar- ruwaah -0
 CONT.1/2A 2.A JUSS 1/2.PL 3PL.INAN.P remove PERF

tiraháhwitətⁿ .
 tirahaáhwitat .
 these I have on !
 tii- ra- t- raar- witak -0 .
 this ABS 1.A 3PL.INAN.P wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4 .

"
"
"
"

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

kišírikutuætⁿ , šahiks
kici rikutuú'ut cáhiks
but that is how it was a person
kici riku- ti- 0- ut- 0 -' icaahiks
but that.is IND.3A 3.A PREV be EX person

nakuhúrah^{^š} .
rakuhúrahac .
when he died .
ra- 0- ku- hurahac -0 .
INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.4 .

Nurakurariksáihi
Ruurakuuraárikxa , ihi
Then its being real , uh ,
ruu- ra- 0- ku- i- raariks -a , ihii ,
then INF.A 3.A INF.B SEQ be.true SUB.1 , uh ,

šapatnákuruhk^u
cápaat raákuruhku
a woman when he had her (as a wife)
icapaak ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0

woman INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

, rihkukáruhkaruku
 rihkukaáruhkaruku
 when she cooked for him

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

, híawitⁿ tíhurah^š píta .
 hi áwit tihúrahac piíta .
 and first he died the man .
 hi awit ti- 0- hurahac -0 wiita .
 and first IND.3A 3.P die PERF man .

Hirusitiritárust^t

Hiru sitiriitárustat
 Then they dragged him

hiruu si- ti- 0- ir- i- tarus- ra- at -0
 then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ dragging PORT go PERF

,

ararusitirihahkáwaritⁿ

a raaruusitiriihaahkáwarit
 and then they just threw him into a hole

a raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- haahka- warik -0
 and just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ in.a.ravine shoot PERF

hataipákuhtu
 hata'ipákuhtu'

an old hole

hata -wi pakuht -u'
be.a.hole SUB.L be.old NOM

nakuhátwi

raakuhátwi

where there was a hole

ra- 0- a- ku- hata -wi
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B be.a.hole SUB.L

. Šahiks
. Cáhiks
. A person
. icaahiks
. person

takuwikararakúruk^u

táku' wikararaakúruhku

when he had no one

taku wii- kara- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
someone when NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

; hínahiritⁿ ,
 hi raáhiirit
 and finally
 hi raahiirit
 and finally

narusítiriritⁿ

raaruusítiriiriit

then they just picked him up

raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- iriik -0
just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A pick.up.long.object PERF

, wirakúkutⁱ ,
 wirakúkuuti
 when he died
 wii- ra- 0- ku- kuut -i
 when INF.A 3.P INF.B die SUB.2

nakúkušt^a
 rakúkucta
 when he lay there dead
 ra- 0- ku- kuut sa -0
 INF.A 3.A INF.B die be.lying SUB.3

rakúrakir^u . Hínahiritⁿ
 rakúraakiiru . Hi raáhiirit
 its being a long time . And finally
 ra- 0- ku- raa.kiir -u . hi raahiirit
 INF.A 3.A INF.B be.long SUB.D . and finally

narusitiritárustišpat^{tⁿ}
 raaruusitiriitárusticpaatat
 they just dragged him beyond the village
 raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- tarus- ri- ic.waat.at -0
 just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ dragging PORT go.to.the.edge.of.the.village PERF

; kirikukárikⁱ
 kíriku' káritki
 somewhere rocks
 kirikuu karit- -kis
 anything rock DIM

ararusitirikátauš
 a raaruusitiriikáta'uc
 and they just laid against it
 a raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- kata- uc -0
 and just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ against.a.vertical.surface lay.SG.P PERF

, tirakárihušpawⁱ .
 tirakárihucpaawi .
 these rocks lying around .
 tii- ra- 0- karit- ra.uc -waa -wi .

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

Ararutikatasáisir^{tñ}

A raaruutikátasa

And he just lay (partly exposed)

a raa- ruu- ti- 0- kata- sa -0 isiirit
and just then IND.3A 3.A against.a.vertical.surface be.lying PERF in.plain.sight

. Wirakurakapákis^u

. Wirakuraakaapaákisu

. When it was pitiful

. wii- ra- 0- ku- raa- kaapaakis -u
. when INF.A 3.A INF.B way be.pitiful SUB.D

nəkúwari

rakúwari

when he lived

ra- 0- ku- warii -hus
INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB

nurakúrih^{tñ}

ruuraakuúrihit

when he was alone

ruu- ra- 0- a- ku- i- rihik -0
then INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B SEQ be.the.only.one SUB.4

šáhiks nəkúwari .

cáhiks rakúwari .

a person when he lived .

icaahiks ra- 0- ku- warii -hus .
person INF.A 3.A INF.B be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Ararusirihkutarústata^a

A raarusirihkutarústata

And when they just dragged him
 a raa- ruu- si- ra- 0- ir- ku- tarus- ra- at -a
 and just then DU INF.A 3.A PL.3A INF.B dragging PORT go SUB.1

,

takuwikararakúruhku^u
 táku' wikararaakúruhku
 when he had no one living
 taku wii- kara- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
 someone when NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

,

ararusitirihurukakáwaritⁿ
 a raaruusitiriihuurukakaáwarit
 and they just threw him over the bank
 a raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- uhuur.hukakaa- warik -0
 and just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ over.the.bank shoot PERF

,

tirakíšuh^{^tⁿ}
 tirakícuhat
 this stream
 tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
 this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

náakawawi .
 rá'aahkawaawi .
 its banks .
 ra- 0- aahka -waa -wi .
 ABS 3.A be.a.vertical.bank DIST SUB.L .

Ararusítirihurukakawarítⁿ

A raarusitiriihuurukakaáwarit
 And then they just threw him over the bank
 a raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- uhuur.hukakaa- warik -0
 and just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ over.the.bank shoot PERF

. Hirutírakišuh^tⁿ ,
 . Hiru tirakiícuhat
 . There this stream
 . hiruu tii- ra- 0- kiic- uhak -0
 . there this ABS 3.A water extend.in.a.line SUB.4

átarutawihiiitítⁿ

a taruutáwihiiitit .
 and he would submerge .
 a ti- 0- ar- ut- awi.hi'ititik -0 .
 and IND.3A 3.A EV PREV submerge PERF .

Akitutíirihi

A kítuu'u' tí'irii ihi
 And all this which , uh ,
 a kituu -u' tii- irii , ihii ,
 and all NOM this what , ,

rasíška^a

rasícka'a

your wanting

ra- s- wicka -a

ABS 2.A want SUB.1

rákut^a

rákuuta

for it to be

ra- 0- ku- ut- 0 -a
INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV be SUB.1

Nakurarišahkáisa

raakuraaricaahkaá'iisa

when they came into the village

ra- 0- a- ku- raar- icahka- iis.a -0
INF.A 3.A PREV.3A INF.B PL.INDV.A village come.into SUB.4

, hiiritutatáwa

hi iriituutataawa

and there were graves

hi irii- ti- 0- ut- ataa -waa -0
and there IND.3A 3.A PREV be.a.grave DIST PERF

hiwihirutáhtarušpa

hi wihiru

taáhtaručpa

and there there would be fires here and there

hi wii- hiruu ti- 0- ar- ta.ra.uc -waa -0
and now there IND.3A 3.A EV be.fire DIST PERF

nahkurakátawara

raahkuraahkátawara

when they went up the hill

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	raar-	kata-	waar	-a
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PL.INDV.A	against.a.vertical.surface	go.DU.A	SUB.1

,

nakusuksíšis^u

raahkucuksícisu

the ones he was related to

ra-	0-	ar-	ku-	ut-	uks-	icis	-hus
INF.A	3.A	EV	INF.B	PREV	AOR	be.related.to	IMPF.SUB

. Náwa ,
. Ráwa
. Now ,
. rawa ,
. now ,

irikúhitari

iriikúhiitári'

that is what they were doing

irii-	kuur-	ra-	0-	ir-	ut-	aar	-i	,
that	DUB	ABS	3.A	PL.3A	PREV	do	IMPF	,

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

Kirakusikariritkahkaíru

Kíra kusikariiritkaahka'íiru'
 Perhaps they were putting it in the fire
 kira ku- si- ka- ri- 0- ir- itkaahka.iir -:hus
 perhaps INDF DU NEG CONT.3A 3.A PL.3A put.on.a.fire IMPF

, áhitkⁱ .
 áhitki .
 fat .
 ahiht -kis .
 grease DIM .

Irikúhitari

Iriikúhiitári'
 Whatever they were doing
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ir- ut- aar -i
 that DUB ABS 3.A PL.3A PREV do IMPF

nakutárušpawi .
 raahkutárucpaawi .
 there being fires here and there .
 ra- 0- ar- ku- ta.ra.uc -waa -wi .
 INF.A 3.A EV INF.B be.fire DIST SUB.L .

Nihuksutatuháiritⁿ

Rihúksu' tátuuháá'iirit ,
 Only I saw it ,
 rihuks- -u' ta- t- ut- raa- iirik -0 ,

only NOM IND.1/2A 1.A PREV way see PERF ,

hikariritiriráita

hi kariiritiriiraá'iita

and I do not know

hi kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.iita -0
 and EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV know PERF

, irikuhuharáihk^u .
 iriikúhuuhaará'ihku' .
 whatever its meaning is .
 irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus .
 what DUB ABS 3.A PREV mean IMPF .

Arihwakíahu “

A rihwakí'aahu' “

And they said : “

a ra- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , ”
 and ABS 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPF IMPF , ”

Arirahkuštikátawu

A riiraahkuctikátawu'

And they took a kettle of it up the hill

a rii- 0- raar- kuc- ri- kata- wuu -:hus
 and ASSR 3.A PL.INDV.A kettle PORT against.a.vertical.surface go.IMPF IMPF

, náwarit^u hu^u
 raáwariitu' huú'u'
 roasted corn , mush
 raa- wariit -u' , huu- -u'
 way be.warm NOM , mush NOM

nuksawášikⁱ .

ruksawáhchiki .

they even might be
 ra- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -ik -i .
 ABS 3.A JUSS even be DIST SUB.2 .

Hiwitaráhkaraw^u

Hi witaaraáhkaraawu
 And they would pour it
 hi wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- ka.raawuh -0
 and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P pour.out PERF

,

iriríhkururirisira

iriiríhkuruuririsira

where theirs was buried below

irii- ra- 0- a- ir- ku- ri- uur- iri.si.ir -a
 where INF.A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.buried SUB.1

, šáhiks .
 cáhiks .
 person .
 icaahiks .
 person .

Arahkuhúra^u

A raahkuhuúra'u

And after they made mush

a ra- 0- ar- ku- huu- ra'uk -0
 and INF.A 3.A EV INF.B mush make SUB.3

hiruwitarakəštikátaətⁿ

hiru witaaraahkuctikáta'at
then they took the kettle up
hiruu wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- kuc- ri- kata- at -0
then QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P kettle PORT against.a.vertical.surface go PERF

hu^u .
huú'u' .
mush .
huu- -u' .
mush NOM .

Awitaráhkaraaw^u

A witaaraáhkaraawu
And they would pour it
a wi- ti- 0- ar- raar- ka.raawuh -0
and QUOT IND.3A 3.A EV 3PL.INAN.P pour.out PERF

irirahkutatáwⁱ .
iriiraahkuutataáwi .
where he would be buried .
irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- ut- ataa -wi .
where INF.A 3.A EV INF.B PREV be.buried SUB.L .

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

hikukariritiriraitúsit^a

hi kukariiriitiriiraa'itúsiita
and I do not know the story
hi ku- kari- rii- t- ir- ri- uur- raa.iit.us- iita -0

and INDF EMPH.NEG ASSR 1.A PREV.1/2A PHYS.POSS PREV story know PERF

, irirakúharar^u
 iriirakuúhaaraaru
 the reason they do it
 irii- ra- 0- ku- ut- raa- raar -u
 that INF.A 3.A INF.B PREV way do SUB.D

tíihi , wirahatahkáwuh^a
 ti ihi wirahaataahkáwuha
 this , uh , my mentioning it
 tii , ihii , wii- ra- t- raa.taahka.wuh -a
 this , uh , now ABS 1.A mention SUB.1

. Kakatiráita .
 . Kaakaatiráá'iita .
 . I do not know .
 . kaaka- t- ir- raa.iita -0 .
 . NEG.IND.1/2A 1.A PREV.1/2A know PERF .

Tihwakíah^u “ Ihi ,
 Tihwakí'aahu' “ Ihi
 They said : “ Uh ,
 ti- 0- ir- waki.a -:hus , " ihii ,
 IND.3A 3.A PL.3A say.PL.IMPf IMPF , " uh ,

hiruirirakuritatáwⁱ
 hiru iriiraakuriitátaawi
 there where theirs is buried
 hiruu irii- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- ut- ataa -wi
 there where INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS PREV be.buried SUB.L

, šáhiks , hitirawúhu^u .
 cáhiks hi tíraawuhu' .

a person	and	she spills it	.
icaahiks	hi	ti- 0- raawuh	-.hus .
person	and	IND.3A 3.A spill	IMPF .

Aráwarit^u

A	raáwariitu'
And	roasted corn
a	raa- wariit -u'
and	way be.warm NOM

nókuhišuh ^a	.
rákuuhuucuha	.
her placing it for him	.
ra- 0- ku- ut- ra.uc.wuh -a	.
INF.A 3.A INF.B BEN put.PL.OBJ SUB.1	.

Kakatiráita ,

Kaakaatiraá'iita

I do not know

kaaka-	t-	ir-	raa.iita	-0
NEG.IND.1/2A	1.A	PREV.1/2A	know	PERF

irikuuharáihku	.
iriikúhuuhaará'ihku'	.
whatever it is they mean	.
irii- kuur- ra- 0- ut- raa.ra'ihk -:hus	.
what DUB ABS 3.A PREV mean	IMPF .

Arakawítihu ,

A	raakawítihu'
And	it just happens
a	raa- ka- wi- ti- 0- 0 -:hus
and	just Y/N.INTER QUOT IND.3A 3.A be
	IMPF

sáhiks ,
 cáhiks
 person
 icaahiks
 person

takuwikararakúruhk^u
 táku' wikararaakúruhku
 when he had no one living

taku	wii-	kara-	ra-	0-	a-	ku-	ri-	uur-	kus	-0
someone	when	NEG	INF.A	3.A	POSS.3A	INF.B	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	be.sitting	SUB.4

,	kirik ^u	irár ⁱ	.		
	kíriku'	iraári'	.		
	any	brother	.		
	kirikuu	i-	-raar-	-ri'	.
	anything	3.POSS.A	same.sex.sibling	3.POSS.B	.

Nihuksuasitirihtákipap^u

Rihúksu' a sitiirihtákipaapu
 Only and they gathered him

rihuks-	-u'	a	si-	ti-	0-	a-	ir-	ri-	uur-	takik.wuh	-waa	-0
only	NOM	and	DU	IND.3A	3.A	POSS.3A	PL.3A	PHYS.POSS	POSS.A	gather	DIST	PERF

, áwəs ,
 áwas
 , left behind
 , awas
 , left.behind

atarišáhkasa^a

a	taaricaáhkasa	.					
and	he would lie in the village	.					
a	ti-	0-	ar-	icahka-	sa	-0	.

and IND.3A 3.A EV village be.lying PERF .

Nihuksuirirakúkspit^t

Ríhuksu' iriiraahkúkspitat

Only the wrap that he had worn

rihuks -u' irii- ra- 0- ar- ku- uks- witak -0
alone NOM that INF>A 3.A EV INF.B AOR wear.over.the.shoulders SUB.4

,

hisitirútkitirapap^u

hi sitiirútkitiiraahpaapu

and they would gathered his around him

hi si- ti- 0- a- ir- ut- kitirahk.wuh -waa -0
and DU IND.3A 3.A POSS.3A PL.3A PREV wrap.around DIST PERF

, áwəs átahša .
áwas a taáhca .
, left behind and he would lie there .
, awas a ti- 0- ar- sa -0 .
, left.behind and IND.3A 3.A EV be.lying PERF .

Narixsisúiritaku , wikararakúruhku

Raárixsisu' irii táku' wikararaakúruhku

Truly when one had no one living

raariks -his -u' irii taku wii- kara- ra- 0- a- ku- ri- uur- kus -0
be.true PERF NOM when someone when NEG INF.A 3.A POSS.3A INF.B PHYS.POSS POSS.A be.sitting SUB.4

. Sikakitatawuh^u

sikaakiitataáwuhu'

they did not bury him .
 si- kaaki- 0- ir- ut- ataa.wuh -:hus .
 DU NEG.IND.3A 3.A PL.3A PREV bury IMPF .

Kiširarusítirihurahak^u

Kici raaruusitiriihúrahaaku'

But then they merely left him behind

kici raa- ruu- si- ti- 0- ir- i- uhur.ra.hak -:hus
 but just then DU IND.3A 3.A PL.3A SEQ leave IMPF

. Nuksáwahš^u šápətⁿ ,
 . Ruksáwahcu cápaat
 . Even if it was a woman
 . ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u icapaak
 . CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D woman

aruksawahšúpíta

a ruksáwahcu píta .
 or even if it was a man ,
 a ri- 0- uks- awahc- 0 -u wiita ,
 or CONT.3A 3.A JUSS even.if be SUB.D man ,

Nikutitári

rikutiitári'

that is what they did

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

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

karawitírariks
karawitiíraariks

it is not true

kara-	wi-	ti-	0-	i-	raariks	-0
NEG	QUOT	IND.3A	3.A	SEQ	be.true	PERF

tirəšíhwari

tiracíhwari

this our living

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

Nikutihwakiahúkurahus

Rikutihwakí'aahu'

That is what they said

riku-	ti-	0-	ir-	waki.a	-:hus	kúrahus
that.is	IND.3A	3.A	PL.3A	say.PL.IMPF	IMPF	the.old.men

' " " " " "

Kakírarikstirəšíhwari

Kaakíraariks

It is not real

kaaki-	0-	raariks	-0	tii-	ra-	aciir-	warii	-hus
NEG.IND.3A	3.A	be.true	PERF	this	ABS	IN.DU.A	be.going.about.IMPF	IMPF.SUB

. " " " "

. "

Hihirúirihikarirúrahi

Hi hiru irihiikariirúraahi

And there that is not good

hi hiru irii- hii- kari- ra- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
and there that other EMPH.NEG ABS 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

, hiru kúrahus ,

hiru kúrahus

then an old man

hiruu kurahuus

then old.man

wirákuar^a ,

wiráku'aara .

when he becomes .

wii- ra- 0- ku- aar -a .
when INF.A 3.P INF.B become SUB.1 .

irihiwikakúrahi

Irihiwikaakúraahi

That is not good

irii- hii- wii- kaaki- 0- uur- raa- hiir -0
that other now NEG.IND.3A 3.A PREV way be.good PERF

. Irihiwikakišíkksasa

. Irihiwikaakiicíkksasa

. Then he has no sense

. irii- hii- wii- kaaki- 0- aciks.ka.sa -0
. that other now NEG.IND.3A 3.A be.sensible PERF

híkiri .

híkiiri .

indeed .
hikiiri .
indeed .

Akíríkuisaruutⁿ .
A kíriku' isaruú't .
And something there is (to it) .
a kirikuu i- s- ar- ut- 0 -' .
and anything CONT.1/2A 2.A EV PREV be EX .

Kukakirahuráhkit^a ,
Kukaakiraahuraahkita ,
There is nothing permanent to it ,
ku- kaaki- 0- raa- huraar- kita -0 ,
INDF NEG.IND.3A 3.A way earth be.on.top PERF ,

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

tirəšihwari .
tiracihwari .
this our living .
tii- ra- aciir- warii -hus .
this ABS IN.DU.A be.going.about.IMPF IMPF.SUB .

Narutihašákuru
Raaruutiihacákuru'
He merely created us
raa- ruu- tiir- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0
just then INFR ABS 3.A IN.DU.P INF.B make PERF

atí[^]s ,
 Atí'as
 our Father
 ati- as
 1.POSS father

ahášakura^u .
 ahácakura'u .
 when He created us .
 ar- ra- 0- aca- ku- ra'uk -0 .
 EV ABS 3.A IN.DU.P INF.B make SUB.3 .