

1891

The Rabbit and the Black Bears: a Dhegiha (q̃ẽgiha) myth, told in Kwapa by  
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recorded by James Owen Dorsey

**Story in English**

(further explanation)

*Story in Quapaw using phonetic spelling*

*Story in Quapaw using Siouan IPA*

Literal translation of Quapaw words

**Rabbit and his grandmother, the both of them lived together, it is said.**

*ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke e-ka<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>-pa ti-kde ni-k<sup>h</sup>a na<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*mašt̑ike ek̑ nápa ttikdé nik<sup>h</sup>a nq, iyá.*

rabbit/his grandmother/two, both/to live together in same tent, to set up housekeeping/3pl continuative sitting/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Do not go to the village of the black bears!” his grandmother said to him, it is said.**

*“wa-sa ti-kde ke ta e-ti te na-ha!” i-ke i-ya e-ka<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.*

*“wasá ttikdé ke tta étti tté nahá!” iké iyá ek̑ ník<sup>h</sup>e.*

black bear/collection of lodges, village/the plural, standing, inanimate/to, at, toward, in that direction/there/you go/prohibitive, beware lest/say (the preceding) to someone/quotative, hearsay evidential/his grandmother/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**“The black bears make fun of mankind, they are extremely cruel to mankind.**

*wa-sa ke ni-ka-shi-ka i-xa-xa ta<sup>n</sup>-da he-we di-si-si-ke hi-ni<sup>n</sup>-ha 'o<sup>n</sup>-we.*

*wasá ke nikkašíka íxaxa ttáda héwe disísike hínjhá ?ówe.*

black bear/the plural, standing, animate/people/laugh often, make fun of/very, too/?/mistreat, abuse/to do one's utmost, to the limit/pluralizer

**You do not go there! They will sure enough abuse you.**

*e-ti te na-ha! i-di-si-si-ke hi ta-i e-de.*

*étti tté nahá! idísísike hi ttai edé.*

there/you go/prohibitive, beware lest/you mistreated, you abused/very/will, plural/really, indeed

**The black bear chief dwells in a lodge beyond yonder distant bluff.**

*wa-sa ka-hi-ke ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e a-ni koi-hi-de-ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ti ti-kde ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.*

*wasá kahíke ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e áni kóihidéník<sup>h</sup>e tti ttikdé ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e.*

black bear/chief/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/hill/that remote singular, sitting, visible/at, by, in, locative/to set up housekeeping, to live together in same tent, collection of lodges, village/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**You do not go there!" it is said that his grandmother said.**

*e-ti te na-ha!" i-yi i-ya e-ka<sup>n</sup>-ki-da-i.*

*étti tté nahá!" iyí iyá ekákídal.*

there/you go/prohibitive, beware lest/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/the one whom he had for his grandmother

**Then, after some time, rabbit took his bow and went there, it is said.**

*hor<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-hi ma<sup>n</sup>-te kdi-ze na<sup>n</sup> e-ti de i-ya ma-shi<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*hót<sup>h</sup>qhi mótté kdíze nq étti dé iyá maštíke.*

then, at length/bow/take one's own/when/there/he go/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**The rabbit arrived there, to where the black bear chief resides, it is said.**

*wa-sa ka-hi-ke ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ti e-ti hi na<sup>n</sup> i-ya ma-shi<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*wasá kahíke ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e ti étti hi nq iyá maštíke.*

black bear/chief/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/at, by, in, locative/there/arrive, reach there/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**Rabbit arrived at the entrance of the lodge and stood there, pretending to cry, it is said.**

*ti-zhe ti hi na-zhi<sup>n</sup> a-ta<sup>n</sup> xa-ke ko<sup>n</sup>-ze t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup> i-ya ma-shi<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*ttižé tti hi naží attq yaké kóze t<sup>h</sup>q nq iyá maštíke.*

door, entrance to a lodge/at, by, in, locative/arrive, reach there/stand/and/cry, weep/pretend, feign/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**“Rabbit, why are you crying?” it is said that the black bear said.**

“ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke, ho<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> da-xa-ke e” i-yi i-ya wa-sa ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.

“mašt̑ke, honj̑tt̑q̑ dayáke e” iyí iyá wasá ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e.

rabbit/why/you cry/question sign/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/black bear/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**“Yes, my uncle,**

ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-te-ke,

hq, witteke

yes/my uncle, my mother’s brother

**my grandmother scolded me and said, ‘go to your uncle, the black bear!’**

i<sup>n</sup>-ka<sup>n</sup> ‘di-te-ke wa-sa ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ta e-ti da!’ i-ye na<sup>n</sup> a<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup>-ho-sa na<sup>n</sup>,

jkk̑ ‘ditteke wasá ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e tta étti dá!’ iyé nq qnáhosá na<sup>n</sup>,

my grandmother/your uncle, your mother’s brother/black bear/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/to, at, toward, in that direction/there/command to go/she said/when/she scolded me/when

**so I have been coming here,” it is said that the the rabbit said.**

p<sup>h</sup>i a-ni-he, ” i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke.

p<sup>h</sup>i anihé, ” iyí iyá mašt̑ke.

I coming here/1sg continuative moving/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit

**Then, “Sit over there on the other side of the lodge,” it is said the black bear said.**

ho<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-hi, “i-ka-xa-ta koi-ta kni<sup>n</sup>” i-yi i-ya wa-sa ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.

hóqt̑qhi, “ikaxátt̑a kóitta kní” iyí iyá wasá ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e.

then, at length/on opposite side of something/there, in that place/command to sit/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/black bear/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**Then the rabbit sat there, it is said.**

*hor<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-hi ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke e-ti kni<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e, i-ya.*

*hót<sup>h</sup>qhi maštíke étti kní ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e, iyá.*

then, at length/rabbit/there/sit/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/quotative, hearsay evidential

**When it was night, rabbit went outside, it is said.**

*hor<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>e-ti, ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke a-shi-ti hi, i-ya.*

*hó t<sup>h</sup>étti, maštíke ášitti hi, iyá.*

night/when/rabbit/outside, outdoors/he arrived, he went/quotative, hearsay evidential

**When the rabbit went outside, he defecated all around the entrance of the lodge, it is said.**

*a-shi-ti hi t<sup>h</sup>e-ti, ti-zhe o-ka-ki-xe-xti zhe i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>.*

*ášitti hi t<sup>h</sup>étti, ttíže okákixe-xti že iyá maštíke nj.*

outside, outdoors/he arrived, he went/when/door, entrance to a lodge/he go around something at a distance/very, real, fully/he had a bowel movement/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**“Ho, my feces,**

*“hau, i<sup>n</sup>-kde wi-ta,*

*“hau, jkdé wítta,*

ho, well, yes/dung, manure/my, mine

**as soon as day arrives, you'all will give the scalp yell," rabbit said to them, it is said.**

*har<sup>n</sup>-ba o-ta<sup>n</sup>-ka hi ta<sup>n</sup> o-da-kda-x'a-x'a ta-i,” i-we-ke i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*hába otáka hi ttá odákdax?áx?átaí,” iwéke iyá maštíke.*

day, daytime/as soon as/it arrives, it comes/when/you whoop, you give the scalp yell/will, plural/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**As soon as it was day,**

*har<sup>n</sup>-ba o-ta<sup>n</sup>-ka hi ta<sup>n</sup>,*

*hába otáka hi ttá,*

day, daytime/as soon as/it arrives, it comes/when

**at that time, a great many people gave the scalp yell, it is said.**

*ho<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-hi, ni-ka-shi-ka zho-hi hi o-kda-x'a-x'a-we, i-ya.*

*hót<sup>h</sup>qhi, níkkašíka žóhi hi okdáx?ax?áwe, iyá.*

then, at length/person, people/much, many/very/they whoop, they give the scalp yell/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“My uncle, many people are here and will dislodge us,” it is said the rabbit said.**

*“wi-te-ke, ni-ka-shi-ka zho-hi hi shko<sup>n</sup>-wa-da-we,” i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.*

*“witteke, níkkašíka žóhi hi škowadáwe,” iyí iyá maštíke ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e.*

my uncle, man’s mother’s brother/person, people/much, many/very/they cause us to move/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**“I have been dwelling here a very long time.**

*“de-do ti-a<sup>n</sup>-hi ka<sup>n</sup> mi<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e mo<sup>n</sup>.*

*“dédo ttiáhi ká mjk<sup>h</sup>é mó.*

here/a long time/I have been sitting so, I was so for awhile/I do (I used)

**How could it be possible for anyone to make me move?” it is said the black bear said.**

*ho<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> shko<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup>-de ni-ho<sup>n</sup>,” i-yi i-ya wa-sa ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.*

*hóníttq škóqdé nihó, ” iyí iyá wasá ni<sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e.*

why/they cause me to move/improbability/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/black bear/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**But there were a great many people, the entire group gave the scalp yell, it is said.**

*e-de ni-ka-shi-ka zho-hi hi o-kda-x'a-x'a-we i-ya bdo-ka hi.*

*edé níkkašíka žóhi hi okdáx?ax?áwe iyá bdóka hi.*

but, sign of past time/person, people/much, many/very/they whoop, they give the scalp yell/quotative, hearsay evidential/whole, entire, circular, round/very

**Then the black bear went outside, it is said,**

*koi-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> a-shi-ti hi i-ya wa-sa ni<sup>n</sup>,*

*kóisq̤tq ášitti hi iyá wasá nj,*

thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/outside, outdoors/arrive, reach there/quotative, hearsay evidential/black bear/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**because he thought it was people, it is said.**

*ni-ka-shi-ka-we i-we-ni<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup> ta<sup>n</sup>-ha, i-ya.*

*nikkašikawe iwéniq táha, iyá.*

person, people/pluralizer/he thought about them/because, clause finally/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Just as soon as black bear went outside, rabbit killed black bear, it is said.**

*a-shi-ti hi o-ta<sup>n</sup>-ka hi ta<sup>n</sup> ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t'e-de i-ya wa-sa.*

*ášitti hi otq̤ka hi tq̤ mašt̤ke t̤ede iyá wasá.*

outside, outdoors/he arrived, reached there/as soon as/very/when/rabbit/kill/quotative, hearsay evidential/black bear

**My uncle, you have surely been killed, it is said that the rabbit said.**

*"wi-te-ke t'e-di-de ta e-de," i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>.*

*"witteke t̤édidé tta edé," iyí iyá mašt̤ke nj.*

my uncle, man's mother's brother/they kill you/really, indeed/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**Having killed him, the rabbit started back home, it is said.**

*t'e-da-ta<sup>n</sup> kde na<sup>n</sup> i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>.*

*t̤ede attq kdé nq iyá mašt̤ke nj.*

kill/and/go home, to start homeward/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential/ rabbit/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**After sometime, he reached his home, it is said.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup>, ti t̤e-ta k̤bi na<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*ešó, tti t̤etta k̤bi nq, iyá.*

then, at length/house, tent, dwelling/to the, at the/arrive back at one's own/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“My grandmother, I have killed the black bear chief, it is said that the rabbit said.**

“*i<sup>n</sup>-ka<sup>n</sup>-e, wa-sa ka-hi-ke t’e-a-de,*” *i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>.*

“*jkká-e, wasá kahíke t<sup>h</sup>eáde,*” *iyí iyá maštíke t<sup>h</sup>q.*

my grandmother/black bear/chief/I kill/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**“How could you possibly kill him?**

“*ho<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> t’e-da-de ni-ho<sup>n</sup>,*

“*hqñíttq t<sup>h</sup>édade nihó,*

why/you kill/improbability post clitic

**It would be difficult to kill him,” it is said that she said.**

*t’e-de o-te-xi,*” *i-yi i-ya.*

*t<sup>h</sup>ede óttexi,*” *iyí iyá.*

kill/difficult to do/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths

**“My grandmother, I have sure enough killed him!**

“*i<sup>n</sup>-ka<sup>n</sup>-e t’e-a-de e-de!*

“*jkká-e t<sup>h</sup>eáde edé!*

my grandmother/I kill/really, indeed

**Let’s go,” it is said that the rabbit said.**

*a<sup>n</sup>-ka-de te,*” *i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>.*

*qkáde tte,*” *iyí iyá maštíke t<sup>h</sup>q.*

we dual, I and one other go/future, potential or optative marker, shall/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**The old woman arrived there with him, it is said.**

*wa-x’o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup> zho-kde e-ti hi na<sup>n</sup>,* *i-ya.*

*wax<sup>h</sup>óžiká nj žokdé étti hi nq,* *iyá.*

old woman, little old lady/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/with, be with someone/there/arrive, reach there/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“My grandmother, that’s him,” it is said that the rabbit said.**

“*i<sup>n</sup>-ka<sup>n</sup>-e she i<sup>n</sup>,*” *i-yi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>.*

“*íkká-e šé j,*” *iyí iyá maštíke t<sup>h</sup>q.*

my grandmother/that visible object/oral stop, period/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/rabbit/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**“Yes, my grandchild,**

“*ho<sup>n</sup>, wi-to-shpa,*

“*hq, wittóšpa,*

yes/my grandchild

**that will do,” it is said the old woman said.**

“*sho<sup>n</sup> i<sup>n</sup>,*” *i-yi i-ya wa-x’o zhi-ka t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>.*

“*šq j,*” *iyí iyá wax?óžiká t<sup>h</sup>q.*

the end, enough/oral stop, period/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths/old woman, old female animal, little old lady/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**She butchered the carcass, packed it on her back, and carried it home, it is said.**

“*pa-te ta<sup>n</sup> k’i<sup>n</sup> kde, i-ya.*

“*pátte tq k?j kdé, iyá.*

butcher, to carve, cut up, dissect a dead body/when/carry, pack on the back/go home, to start homeward/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Upon returning home, the rabbit took the black bear’s scrotum and left, it is said.**

“*k’i ta<sup>n</sup> ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup> wa-sa sho<sup>n</sup>-te a-ni<sup>n</sup> a-ta<sup>n</sup> de, i-ya.*

“*k’i tq maštíke nj wasá šqté anj attq dé, iyá.*

arrive back at one’s own/when/rabbit/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/black bear/testicles/have, keep/and/he go/quotative, hearsay evidential

**When he arrived at the black bear village,**

*wa-sa ti-kde ke-ti hi na<sup>n</sup>,*

*wasá ttikdé ke-tti hi nq,*

black bear/collection of lodges, village/the plural standing animate or inanimate/at, by, in; locative/arrive, reach there/when

**they said to one another, “Rabbit has come!, Rabbit has come!” it is said.**

*“ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t<sup>hi</sup> e-de! ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke t<sup>hi</sup> e-de!” i-ke-ya-we ni<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*“maštjke t<sup>hi</sup> edé! maštjke t<sup>hi</sup> edé!” ikeyáwe nj, iyá.*

rabbit/arrive, to have come here/really, indeed/rabbit/arrive, to have come here/really, indeed/they said to someone/the class?/quotative, hearsay evidential

**They made a great uproar, it is said.**

*x'a-na<sup>n</sup> e-hi-we, i-ya.*

*x?ánq éhiwé, iyá.*

they make a lot noise, they make a lot of noise talking/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Yes, I have come, I have come to tell you something,” rabbit said to them, it is said.**

*“ho<sup>n</sup>, a-t<sup>hi</sup>i, o-wi-ki-bda-ke a-t<sup>hi</sup>,” i-we-ke i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*“hq, at<sup>hi</sup>, ówikibdáke at<sup>hi</sup>,” iwéke iyá maštjke.*

yes/I arrive, I have come here/I tell you something/I arrive, I have come here/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**“Ho, rabbit says that he has come to tell us something,” they said to one another, it is said.**

*“hau, ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke o-da-ke t<sup>hi</sup> i-ye,” i-ke-ya-we ni<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*“hau, maštjke odáke t<sup>hi</sup> iyé,” ikeyáwe nj, iyá.*

ho, well, yes/rabbit/he tell about something/he arrive, he has come here/he says/they said the preceding to (one)/the class?/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Everyone of the black bears went there (to the lodge where the rabbit was), it is said,**

*wa-sa be-ni-zhi e-ti hi-we, i-ya,*

*wasá béníži étti híwe, iyá,*

black bear/everyone/there/they arrive, they reach there/quotative, hearsay evidential

**they went to the lodge, crowding together, sitting upon one another, packing themselves in, it is said.**

*a-k<sup>h</sup>i-kni<sup>n</sup>-xti ti t<sup>h</sup>e-ta hi-we, i-ya.*

*ak<sup>h</sup>ikn<sup>j</sup>-xti tti t<sup>h</sup>etta hiwe, iyá.*

crowding together upon one another, sitting upon one another/very, real, fully/house, tent, dwelling/to the/they arrive, they reach there/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“They’ve arrived! Tell it!” they said, it is said.**

*hi-we! o-da!” i-ya-we, i-ya.*

*hiwé! odá!” iyáwe, iyá.*

they come/tell something/they say, they said/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Yes, I will tell you’all,” rabbit said to them, it is said.**

*ho<sup>n</sup>, o-wi-ki-bda-ke tai mi<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e,” i-we-ke i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*hq, ówikibdáke tai mjk<sup>h</sup>é,” iwéke iyá maštjke.*

yes/I tell you something/will, plural/1sg continuative sitting/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**“It is said that a great many people went to the black bear principal chief and there they killed him,” the rabbit said to them, it is said.**

*wa-sa ka-hi-ke ta<sup>n</sup>-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ni-ka-shi-ka zho-hi hi e-ti hi-wi na<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>e-da-we, i-ya,” i-we-ke, i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e.*

*wasá kahike ttáka njk<sup>h</sup>e níkkašíka žóhi hi étti híwi ná t<sup>h</sup>édawé, iyá,” iwéke, iyá maštjke njk<sup>h</sup>e.*

black bear/chief/big, large/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/person, people/much, many/very/there/they arrive, reach there/when/they kill/quotative, hearsay evidential/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate

**The black bears said, “Our chief, they have killed our relation, he (Rabbit) said,” it is said.**

*ka-hi-ke o<sup>n</sup>-ko-ta-we, t<sup>h</sup>e-wa-ki-da-we, i-ya,” i-ya-we, i-ya wa-sa ke.*

*kahike qkóttawe, t<sup>h</sup>éwakidáwe, iyá,” iyáwe, iyá wasá ke.*

chief/our, ours (plural)/they have killed our relation/quotative, he said/they say, they said/quotative, hearsay evidential/black bear/the plural standing animate or inanimate

**Everyone of the black bears cried, it is said.**

*wa-sa be-ni-zhi xa-ka-we, i-ya.*

*wasá béníži yakawe, iyá.*

black bear/everyone/they cry, weep/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“You’all whose principal chief has been killed, here is his scrotum,”**

*“ka-hi-ke ta<sup>n</sup>-ka t’e-di-ki-de ni-k<sup>h</sup>a-she, shon-te ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e she i<sup>n</sup>,”*

*“kahíke tták̤a t?édikidé nik<sup>h</sup>áše, šqté ník<sup>h</sup>e šé j, ”*

chief/big, large/your relation was killed/2pl continuative sitting/testicles/the plural standing animate or inanimate/that visible object/oral stop, period

**having said this to them, he struck them with it (the scrotum), it is said.**

*i-we-ki ta<sup>n</sup> we-kda-sa, i-ya.*

*iwéki tq wékdásá, iyá.*

he said it to them/when/he hit them with what belonged to their kinsman/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Ho, the rabbit is the guilty one.**

*“hau, ma-shtin<sup>n</sup>-ke e-wa<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>.*

*“hau, maštjke éwq nj.*

ho, well, yes/rabbit/to be cause of trouble, be blameworthy/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**Chase him and they kill him!” he said to them, it is said.**

(You’all chase him and kill him!” one of the bears said to them, it is said.)

*di-xa a-ta<sup>n</sup> t’e-da-we, ” i-we-ke, i-ya.*

*dixá attq t?édawé, ” iwéke, iyá.*

chase, pursue, hunt (command form)/and/they kill/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential

**He went a long distance, when he was overtaken, they killed him, it is said.**

*ko-zhi hi ta<sup>n</sup>, o-xde na<sup>n</sup>, t’e-da-we, i-ya.*

*kkóži hi tq, oxdé nq, t?édawé, iyá.*

far/arrive, reach there/when/overtook him/and/they kill/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Tearing his entire body to pieces, they scattered the pieces all around, it is said.**

*zho-i-ka bdo-ka di-shpa-shpa ta<sup>n</sup> o<sup>n</sup>-da-we, i-ya.*

*žoíka bdóka dišpášpa attq qdáwe, iyá.*

body/entire, whole, circular, round/tear into pieces/and/they throw away/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The rabbit had not returned to his grandmother for a long time, it is said.**

*e-ka<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e-ti ti-a<sup>n</sup>-hi k<sup>h</sup>i-zhi i-ya ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke.*

*eká njk<sup>h</sup>e-tti ttiáhi k<sup>h</sup>i-ži iyá maštíke.*

his grandmother/the singular sitting animate or inanimate/at, by, in, locative/for a long time/he arrive back at his own/negative, not, negation/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit

**Then his grandmother wanted to go look for him, it is said.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup> e-ka<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e o-ki-te de ko<sup>n</sup>-da, i-ya.*

*ešó eká njk<sup>h</sup>e okítte dé kqdá, iyá.*

then, at length/his grandmother/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/to look for her own/to go/he or she want, desire, wish/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The old woman took her sewing bag**

*wa-x'o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e wa-ba-t<sup>h</sup>e o-zhi-ha ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e kdi-ze*

*wax?óžiká njk<sup>h</sup>e wabát<sup>h</sup>e óžiha njk<sup>h</sup>e kdíze*

old woman, old female animal, little old lady/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/sew/bag, sack, pocket/the sg. si. an. or in./take her own

**when she went to look for rabbit, it is said.**

*na<sup>n</sup> ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke o-ki-te de, i-ya.*

*nq maštíke okítte dé, iyá.*

and/rabbit/to look for her own/to go/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The old woman said, “I will look for him wherever they may have killed him,” it is said.**

*“ho-wa-t<sup>h</sup>e-ti t'e-dai t<sup>h</sup>e i-te i-da-ki-de te,” i-ye ni<sup>n</sup>, i-ya wa-x'o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>.*

*“hówa tʰettí tʰédai tʰe itté idákide tte,” iyé nj, iyá waxpóžiká nj.*

where/to the/they killed him/past, completive aspect/potential modality in past/I see, find my own/future, potential or optative marker, shall/he or she say/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/quotative, hearsay evidential/old woman, old female animal, little old lady/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**When she arrived there, the torn pieces were scattered about.**

*e-ti hi na<sup>n</sup>, di-shpa-shpa ke.*

*étti hi nq, dišpášpa ke.*

there/arrive, reach there/when/tear into pieces/the plural standing animate or inanimate

**She walked around picking up the pieces, filling her sewing bag, it is said.**

*ki-ba-hi a-ta<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-tʰe o-zhi-ha ni<sup>n</sup>-kʰe o-ki-zhi ma<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*kibáhi attq wabátʰe óžiha nijkʰe ókiži mqní nj, iyá.*

she picked up her own/and/sewing bag/the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/she filled her own/she walk/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate

**“Yes, rabbit you have been disobedient,**

*“ho<sup>n</sup>, ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni-xi-te di-ni-ke,*

*“hq, maštjke niyítte dinike,*

yes/rabbit/inner ear, hearing/you have none, you are lacking (you do not hear=you are disobedient)

**those lodges over there, they are disobedient,**

*ti koi-ke, ni-xi-te ni-ka-we,*

*tti kóike, niyítte nikáwe,*

lodge/yonder ones/inner ear, hearing/they have none (they do not hear=they are disobedient)

**you do not go there! I've been saying,**

*e-ti te na-ha! i-he na<sup>n</sup>,*

*étti tté nahá! ihé nq,*

there/you go/prohibitive, beware lest/I say/habitual

**then you went and thus, they killed you,” she was saying, it is said.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup> shi e-ko<sup>n</sup>, t'e-di-da-we, ” i-ye ni<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*ešó ší ekó, t'édidawé, ” iyé nj, iyá.*

then, at length/you arrive, you reach there/thus, so, like, like that/she say/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The old woman went home carrying her sewing bag upon her back, it is said.**

*wa-x'o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup> wa-ba-t<sup>h</sup>e o-zhi-ha ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ki-k'i<sup>n</sup> kde, i-ya.*

*waxdóžiká nj wabát<sup>h</sup>e óžiha ník<sup>h</sup>e kik?í kdé, iyá.*

old woman, old female animal, little old lady/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/sewing bag/the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/carry on her own back, pack/she go home, she start homeward/quotative, hearsay evidential

**When she reached home, she emptied the bag and**

*k<sup>h</sup>i ta<sup>n</sup>, o-zhi-ha ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e ba-po a-kda<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>,*

*k<sup>h</sup>i tq, óžiha ník<sup>h</sup>e bapó ákdq nj nq,*

arrive back at her own/when/bag, sack/the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/she emptied the bag/put, place upon a surface/3sg continuative moving; the singular, moving, animate/when

**the rabbit came back to life, it is said.**

*ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ki-ti-ta, i-ya.*

*maštjke kitittá, iyá.*

rabbit/came to life again/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“You do not go second time! Those lodges, they are disobedient,” it is said that she said.**

*“i-na<sup>n</sup>-pa<sup>n</sup> te na-ha! ti ke, ni-xi-te ni-ka-we, ” i-yi iya.*

*“ínqapá tté nahá! tti ke, niyítte nikáwe, ” iyí iyá.*

second time, again/you go/prohibitive, beware lest/house, tent, dwelling/the plural standing animate or inanimate/inner ear, opening of the ear, hearing/they have none, they are lacking (they do not hear=they are disobedient)/quotative embedded, it is said, he or she said in myths

**The rabbit thought, “I will go,” it is said.**

*ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e, “bde ta mi<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e,” i-ni<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*maštjéke ník<sup>h</sup>e, “bdé tta mýk<sup>h</sup>é,” ínjá, iyá.*

rabbit/3sg continuative sitting; the singular, sitting, animate or inanimate/I go/future tense/1sg continuative sitting/he think (what precedes)/quotative, hearsay evidential

**He took his bow and went, it is said.**

*ma<sup>n</sup>-te kdi-ze ta<sup>n</sup> de, i-ya.*

*mátte kdíze tq dé, iyá.*

bow/he took his own/when/he go/quotative, hearsay evidential

**When he arrived at the black bear lodges,**

*wa-sa ti-kde ke-ti hi tar<sup>n</sup>,*

*wasá ttikdé ke-tti hi tq,*

black bear/village, collection of lodges/the plural standing animate or inanimate/at, by, in, locative/he arrived, reached there/when

**one of the black bears had a dream, it is said.**

*wa-sa mi<sup>n</sup> ho<sup>n</sup>-bde, i-ya.*

*wasá mí hóbde, iyá.*

black bear/one/dream/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The black bear was crying all by himself, it is said.**

*wa-sa t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> xa-ke na<sup>n</sup>-hi t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*wasá t<sup>h</sup>q yaké nqhí t<sup>h</sup>q, iyá.*

black bear/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate/he cry, weep/alone, all alone/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Then, the others said to him, “What is the matter with you?” it is said.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup>, “ho<sup>n</sup> da-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-she,” i-ke-ya-we, i-ya.*

*ešó, “hó dáthqšé,” ikeyáwe, iyá.*

then, at length/what, how, in what manner/2sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate/they said the preceding to (one)/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“I’ve been dreaming, I dreamed a very bad dream.**

*“ho<sup>n</sup>-a-bde a-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-he shi-ke-xti i-da-ho<sup>n</sup>-bde.*

*“hóabde at<sup>h</sup>qhé šike-xti idáhqbde.*

I dream/Isg continuative auxiliary, singular standing, animate/bad/very, real, fully/I dreamed about, I dreamed that

**I dreamed that they killed us all, every single one of us.**

*za-ni-xti t’e-a-wa-da-we i-da-ho<sup>n</sup>-bde.*

*zani-xti t’ewadawé idáhqbde.*

all/very, real, fully/they killed us/I dreamed about, I dreamed that

**I dreamed that they killed me too,” he said, it is said.**

*wi-e-ho<sup>n</sup> t’e-a<sup>n</sup>-da-we i-da-ho<sup>n</sup>-bde, ” i-ye t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*wiehq t’eqdawé idáhqbde, ” iyé t<sup>h</sup>q, iyá.*

I too, me too/they kill me/he say/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“There is no reason for you to have such a dream.**

*o-x’ a<sup>n</sup> ni-ke da-ho<sup>n</sup>-bde.*

*óx?q niké dahqbde.*

for nothing, without cause/you dream

**How could anyone kill all of us?”, the black bears said, it is said.**

*ho<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> za-ni t’e-a-wa-dai ni-ho<sup>n</sup>, ” i-ya-we i-ya wa-sa ke.*

*honíttq zani t’ewadaí nihó, ” iyáwe iyá wasá ke.*

why/all/they kill us/improbability post clitic/they say, they said/quotative, hearsay evidential/black bear/the plural standing animate or inanimate

**The black bears only ate Indians, they ate no other kind of food, it is said.**

*wa-sa ke ni-ka-shi-ka e-na<sup>n</sup>-xti wa-da-t<sup>h</sup>e-we, i-ya.*

*wasá ke nikkašika énq-xti wádat<sup>h</sup>ewe, iyá.*

black bear/the plural standing animate or inanimate/person, people/only that, him, her, it/very, real, fully/they eat them/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Therefore rabbit, who sided with the Indians,**

*e-to<sup>n</sup> ma-shi<sup>n</sup>-ke, ni-ka-shi-ka o-do-wa-ki e-ka<sup>n</sup>,  
ettó maštjke, níkkašika odówaki eká,*

and, but/rabbit/person, people/he sided with them/like that, like, so, thus

**wanted to kill all of the black bears, it is said.**

*za-ni-xti t'e-wa-de ko<sup>n</sup>-da na<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*zani-xti t?éwade kóda nq, iyá.*

all, all of the/very, real, fully/to kill them/he want, desire, wish/past sign/quotative, hearsay evidential

**He (Rabbit) arrived at the black bear lodges.**

*wa-sa ti-kde ke-ti hi na<sup>n</sup>.*

*wasá ttikdé ke-tti hi nq.*

black bear/village, collection of lodges/the plural standing animate or inanimate/at, by, in, locative/he arrived, reached there/when

**At night, he defecated all around the lodges, it is said.**

*ho<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>e-ti ti-kde ke o-ka-ki-xe-xti zhe, i-ya.*

*hq t<sup>h</sup>etti ttikdé ke okákixe-xti že, iyá.*

night/at the standing object, to the/village, collection of lodges/the plural standing animate or inanimate/go around something at a distance/very, real, fully/to have a bowel movement/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Ho, my feces.**

*hau, i<sup>n</sup>-kde wi-ta.*

*hau, jkdé witta.*

ho, well, yes/dung, manure/my, mine

**When it is daybreak,**

*ha<sup>n</sup>-ba sa<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup> ti-he ta<sup>n</sup>,*

*hába sáhq tihé tq,*  
day, daytime/whitish, grayish/to have become suddenly/when

**you'all will give the scalp yell.**

*o-da-kda-x'a-x'a ta-i.*  
*odákdx?áx?á tai.*

you whoop, you give the scalp yell/will, plural

**Let's kill all the black bears.**

*wa-sa ke za-ni hi t'e-a"-wa-de ta-i.*  
*wasá ke zaní hi t?eáwade tai.*  
black bear/the plural standing animate or inanimate/all, all of the/very/we kill them/will, plural

**I will give the attack cry first,**

*wi-ta"-ni" hi wa-te-pa" ta mi"-k"e,*  
*wittqnj hi wattéppq tta mjk"é,*  
I ahead, I first/very/I give the attacking cry/future/1sg continuative sitting

**At that time you must give the scalp yell," the rabbit said to them, it is said.**

*e-ti-t"a" o-kda-x'a-x'a-we ka," i-we-ke i-ya ma-shti"-ke t"a".*  
*ettít"q okdákx?ax?á-we ká," iwéke iyá maštíke t"q.*  
from then on/whoop, give the scalp yell/command/he said it to them/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**As soon as day arrived,**

*ha"-ba o-ta"-ka hi ta",*  
*hába otáka hi tq,*  
day/as soon as/arrive, reach there/when

**the rabbit gave the attack signal, it is said.**

*wa-te-ba" i-ya ma-shti"-ke t"a",*

*wattébá iyá mašt̄ke tʰq,*

to give the attack signal/quotative, hearsay evidential/rabbit/3sg continuative auxiliary, singular, standing, animate; the standing, animate

**All of the people gave the scalp yell, it is said.**

*za-ni hi o-kda-x'a-x'a-we i-ya ni-ka-shi-ka ke.*

*zaní hi okdáx?ax?áwe iyá nikkašika ke.*

all, all of the/very/they give the scalp yell/quotative, hearsay evidential/person, people/the plural standing animate or inanimate

**All of the black bears came outside of their lodges, it is said.**

*wa-sa za-ni hi a-shi-ti hi-we, i-ya.*

*wasá zaní hi ášitti híwe, iyá.*

black bear/all, all of the/very/outside, outdoor/they arrive, they reach there/quotative, hearsay evidential

**All of the black bears were killed, it is said.**

*wa-sa-pa za-ni hi t'e-wa-de, i-ya.*

*wasá apa zaní hi t?éwade, iyá.*

black bear/the, definite article for pl. mv. an. objects/all, all of the/very/them killed/quotative, hearsay evidential

**Only one male and only one female, two were left after the striking down of the others, it is said.**

*ni-ka mi<sup>n</sup>-xti wa-x'o mi<sup>n</sup>-xti na<sup>n</sup>-pa o-ka-shte, i-ya.*

*nikka mí-xti wax?ó mí-xti nápa okášté, iyá.*

man, male animal/a, one, indefinite article/very, real, fully/woman, also female animal/a, one, indefinite article/very, real, fully/two, both, also, too/remain, be left over after striking/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The rabbit took hold of the two black bears, it is said.**

*ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke wa-sa na<sup>n</sup>-pa ni-kʰa o-wa-na<sup>n</sup>, i-ya.*

*mašt̄ke wasá nápa nikʰa ówanq, iyá.*

rabbit/black bear/two, both, also, too/3pl continuative sitting/he take hold of, seize, grasp them/quotative, hearsay evidential

**The rabbit spoke to the two black bears, it is said.**

*ma-shti<sup>n</sup>-ke wa-sa na<sup>n</sup>-pa ni-k<sup>h</sup>a o-wa-ki-e, i-ya.*

*maštjke wasá nápa nik<sup>h</sup>a ówakkie, iyá.*

rabbit/black bear/two, both, also, too/3pl continuative sitting/he speaks, talks to them/quotative, hearsay evidential

**“Because you’all have been bad, you’all shall eat nothing but insects in the future.**

*di-shi-ka-we ta<sup>n</sup>-ha, wa-kdi-shka e-na<sup>n</sup>-xti da-t<sup>h</sup>e ta-i-t<sup>h</sup>e.*

*“díšikáwe táha, wakdiška énq-xti dat’é tait<sup>h</sup>é.*

you bad, plural/because, clause finally/insect, reptile/only that, him, her, it/very, real, fully/eat, chew/shall, plural

**You’all shall be without a soul.**

*wa-na-xe di-ni-ke ta-i-t<sup>h</sup>e.*

*wanáye dinike tait<sup>h</sup>é.*

spirit, ghost/you have none, you be lacking/shall, plural

**My mother, my uncle, their offspring, they will eat you.**

(Men and women, the whole human race, they will eat you.)

*i<sup>n</sup>-da, wi-te-ke, e-ta-we, di-da-t<sup>h</sup>e ta-i-t<sup>h</sup>e.*

*jídá, witteke, ettáwe, dídat<sup>h</sup>é tait<sup>h</sup>é.*

my mother/my uncle, man's mother's brother/their, theirs/(they) eat you/shall plural

**You’all begone!”**

*da-we-ka!”*

*dáwe ka!”*

go, command/pluralizer/male command

**enough, the end**

*sho<sup>n</sup>*

*šq*

the end, enough