

(Kwapa Texts, Jan., 1894)

(X) *wa-x'o to-wa ti-kde*: or, The Four Women

Told by Buffalo Calf

<sup>1)</sup>  
**There were four women who lived together, they say.**

*wa-x'o to-wa*  
*waxʔó tówa*  
woman/four

*ti-kde ni-k<sup>h</sup>a*  
*ttíkde nik<sup>h</sup>á*  
to live together in same tent, set up housekeeping, dwell together, keep house+they, 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural  
continuative sitting = they were dwelling in a lodge together

*na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*  
*nq iyáwe*  
regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/to say+pluralizer = they say

<sup>2)</sup>  
**The four of them had been raised together, they say.**

*mi<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup> to-wa-wi i-ya-we*  
*mítq nqhq tówawí iyáwe*  
together, in one place together/\*four+pluralizer = they were four/they say

\* *nqhq* .... 'old, grown up, mature, raised; if, when'

<sup>3)</sup>  
**There was this grown one, this next one, this third one, and this last one, the youngest one, they say.**

*de na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*  
*dé nqhq t<sup>h</sup>q nq iyáwe*  
this/old, grown up, mature, raised/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/regularly, usually, often; past sign,  
when/they say

<sup>4)</sup>  
*de o-ba-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*  
*dé obát<sup>h</sup>q iyáwe*  
this/next, following, next in order or line/they say

<sup>5)</sup>  
*de i-da-bni i-ya-we*  
*dé idabni iyáwe*  
this/ordinal numeral marker+three = third/they say

<sup>6)</sup>  
*de we-ha-ke, de zhi<sup>n</sup>-ka t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*  
*dé wéhake, dé žíká t<sup>h</sup>q iyáwe*  
this/last, the last one in line/this/small, little; young/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/they say

<sup>7)</sup>  
**This was their names, this is how the four women who live together were called, they say.**

*ha-o, ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde*

*hao, kóišóttq waxʔó tówa ttikde*

\*/then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

\* *hao* .... ‘yes, well, ho, thank you, how are you, agreed, sign of approval as the English “Hear! Hear!”, interjection of approval, marks a change of idea as the beginning of a new paragraph in writing, used in calling to a distant person, oral period, masculine imperative’

*da-ta-i*

*dataí*

read aloud, pronounce, call, call by name, say the name of something or someone+pluralizer = they call

*ni-k<sup>h</sup>a na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we zha-zhe*

*nik<sup>h</sup>á nq iyáwe žáže*

they, 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural continuative sitting/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say/name

<sup>8)</sup>

**There was a Man Eater lurking about, he had come to eat them, however he was going to fatten them up before eating them, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e*

*kóišóttq ódot<sup>h</sup>e*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/man eater, they talked and looked like Indians, they roamed the surface of the earth in olden times, they used to see the man eaters

*shi<sup>n</sup>-wa-de*

*šjwáde*

fat, obese, plump, fleshy+to cause them = to fatten them

*hi na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*hí nq iyáwe*

to arrive, reach there, have been/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say

<sup>9)</sup>

**The four women who live together went to dig for potatoes, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde to k'e*

*kóišóttq waxʔó tówa ttikde tó kʔe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together/potato/to dig

*de-na<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*

*dé-nq-wi iyáwe*

to go+regularly, usually, often; past sign, when+pluraizer = they went/they say

<sup>10)</sup>

**When they arrived back home, they prepared many potatoes, they say.**

*to zho-hi hi ka-xa-i na<sup>n</sup>*

*tó žóhi hí káxaí nq*

potato/much, many/very, intensifier/to make, do, cause+pluraizer = they make/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*k<sup>h</sup>i-na<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*

*k<sup>h</sup>i-nq-wi iyáwe*

to arrive back at one's own+regularly, usually, often; past sign, when+pluraizer = when they arrived back home/they say

<sup>11)</sup>

**When it was evening, they cooked the potatoes themselves, they say.**

*pa-ze de na<sup>n</sup>*

*ppáze dé nq*

evening, dusk, not quite dark, close of the day+go, depart; this; causative = a little after dark, after dark, it became night/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*o-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we, to*

*ókkihqwi iyáwe, tó*

\*/they say/potato

\* *ókkihqwi* .... 'to boil or cook for oneself+pluraizer = they cooked or boiled for themselves' or 'to cook or boil several things together+pluralizer = they boiled them together'

<sup>12)</sup>

**When they had finished eating their share, when it became dark, they went to sleep, they say.**

*kda-t<sup>h</sup>e ki-ha-i na<sup>n</sup>*

*kdat<sup>h</sup>é kihái nq*

to eat one's share, to eat what is set before one, to eat one's own/finish, quit+pluraizer = they finish/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*zha<sup>n</sup>-ki-da-wi i-ya-we*

*žákkidáwi iyáwe*

sleep, lie, recline+to cause oneself+pluraizer = they went to sleep/they say

*pa-ze de na<sup>n</sup>*

*ppáze dé nq*

a little after dark, after dark, it became night/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

<sup>13)</sup>

**The next morning, that youngest one went outside, they say.**

*ka-sa-ni-a-ti e zhi<sup>n</sup>-ka t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*kásaniáti e žjká t<sup>h</sup>q*

in the morning, on the next morning/aforementioned, that, he, she, it/small, little; young/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*a-shi-ti hi i-ya-we*

*ášitti hí iyáwe*

outside, outdoors+to arrive, reach there, have been = she went outside/they say

<sup>14)</sup>

**She went outside to get wood, they say.**

*zho<sup>n</sup> di-ze hi i-ya-we*

*žq díze hí iyáwe*

wood, tree/get, take, seize/to arrive, reach there, have been/they say

15)

**When the youngest one came back, she said, “My older sister, there is truly black bear meat out there!” they say.**

*kdi na<sup>n</sup>,*

*kđí ną,*

to have come back here+regularly, usually, often; past sign, when = when she came back

*“wi-zho<sup>n</sup>-de wa-sa zho e-ti*

*“wižqđé wasá žo etti*

my older sister (female speaking)/black bear/flesh, meat/aforementioned, that, he, she, it+at, by, in, to = there, then, said of time as well as place

*ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e de,”*

*nĭk<sup>h</sup>é dé,”*

the singular, sitting; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting/really, indeed, strong affirmative, oral period

*i-ye kdi i-ya-we*

*iyé kdi iyáwe*

to say+to have come back here = she said when she came back/they say

16)

**The youngest one said to the older sister, “Go get it and bring it back here,” they say.**

*“a-ni<sup>n</sup> ki-na<sup>n</sup> de,” i-ke i-ya-we*

*“anĭ ki-ną dé,” iké iyáwe*

to have, to keep+be returning to here+\*+to go = go and bring it home/to say that to someone/they say

\* *ną, nq* .... the singular sitting; only, just, alone; habitual, regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

17)

**The older sister said, “Why didn’t you bring it here? We will eat it,” they say.**

*“ha<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>e a-ti<sup>n</sup> shki-zhi a,*

*“hát<sup>h</sup>e attĭ škiží a,*

why/you have, you keep+you be returning here+not, negation = you did not bring it here/question sign

*a<sup>n</sup>-da-t<sup>h</sup>e te-a,” i-yi i-ya-we*

*qđát<sup>h</sup>e ttéa,” iyí iyáwe*

we eat, I and one other/shall, will; allow, let, let’s/to have said+they say = they say that she said

18)

**Then, the older sister said, “I will go there for it and bring it home,” they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup>, “a-ki a-kde te-a,” i-yi i-ya-we*

*kóišqđta, “akí akdé tteá,” iyí iyáwe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/\*/shall, will; allow, let, let’s/to have said+they say = they say that she said

\* *akí akdé* ‘I will go there for it and bring it home’ substituted for *akí kde* ‘to go there for it and bring it home’

19)

**Well, when she arrived there for it, she cut off a piece of the black bear meat, then she returned with it, they say.**

*ha-o, a-ki hi na<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, akí hi nq*

well/to come or go for an object, not one's own+arrive, reach there, have been = she arrived there for it/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*a-ni<sup>n</sup> kdi i-ya-we*

*aní kdi iyáwe*

to have, to keep+to have come back here = she brought it home/they say

20)

*wa-sa zho pa-shpe a-ni<sup>n</sup> kdi i-ya-we*

*wasá žo pašpé aní kdi iyáwe*

black bear/meat/cut out a piece with a knife/to have, to keep+to have come back here = she brought it home/they say

21)

**When the meat was cooked, they cooked it with many potatoes and they ate it, they say.**

*o-ho<sup>n</sup>-i na<sup>n</sup> to-a-ta o-ki-ho<sup>n</sup>-i na<sup>n</sup> da-t<sup>h</sup>a-i ke i-ya-we*

*ohóí nq toattá okkihóí nq dat<sup>h</sup>ai ké iyáwe*

\*<sup>1</sup>/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/potato/beyond, more than, extreme, excessive/\*<sup>2</sup>/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/to eat+pluralizer = they eat/the plural standing or scattered/they say

\*<sup>1</sup> *ohóí* .... 'to cook, to boil+copula = it was boiled' or 'to cook, to boil+pluralizer = they cook'

\*<sup>2</sup> *okkihóí* .... 'to boil or cook for oneself+pluraizer = they cooked or boiled for themselves' or 'to boil several things together for oneself+copula = it was boiled together'

22)

**Well, when they had finished eating, they went to dig for potatoes again, they say.**

*ha-o, shi-na<sup>n</sup> wa-na<sup>n</sup>-bde ki-ha na<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, šinq wanqbde kihá nq*

well/again, and, also/eat, eat a meal, dine; food/finish, quit/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

\* *kihá* substituted for *kihé*

*to k'e da-we i-ya-we*

*tó kʔe dáwe iyáwe*

potato/to dig/to go+pluralizer = they went/they say

23)

**They were digging for potatoes in a ravine on the prairie, they say.**

*te-xe o-ka-xo-we de-k<sup>h</sup>e-ko<sup>n</sup> to k'e pa i i-ya-we*

*tteyé okáxowe dek<sup>h</sup>ekó to kʔe ppá-i iyawe*

prairie/\*/this+the singular lying object+as, since, so, like = this kind/potato/to dig+the plural, moving, animate objects; 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving = they were digging/declarative, period, oral stop/they say

\* *okáxowe* .... ‘locative, place at which, at a place, culmination of a certain action or state, wherein a certain thing takes place, in, inside, into+gap in mountains, ravine, hollow = a coulee, gully, ravine

24)

**Again, they prepared many potatoes, then they returned home, packing the potatoes on their back, they say.**

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> zho-hi hi ka-xa-we i-ya-we, to*

*šínq žohí hi káyawe iyáwe, tó*

again, and, also/much, many/very, intensifier/to make, do, cause+pluraizer = they make/they say/potato

25)

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> kda-we i-ya-we,*

*kóišq̄ttq̄ kdáwe iyáwe,*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/go home, to start homeward+pluralizer = they started home/they say

*ki-k’i<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>*

*kikʔí nq̄*

to carry or pack on one’s own back/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

26)

**Well, when they returned home, as it became dark, they cooked the potatoes themselves, they say.**

*ha-o, k<sup>h</sup>i na<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, k<sup>h</sup>i nq̄*

well/to arrive back at one’s own/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*pa-ze de ta<sup>n</sup>*

*ppáze dé tq̄*

evening, dusk, not quite dark, close of the day+go, depart; this; causative = a little after dark/and, when, since, as

*to o-ki-ho<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e i-ya-we*

*tó okkíh̄q̄ njk<sup>h</sup>é iyáwe*

potato/\*/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting/they say

\* *okkíh̄q̄* .... ‘to boil or cook for oneself’ or ‘to boil several things together for oneself’

27)

**When the potatoes were done cooking, they ate their share, they say.**

*ti-te-ki-de na<sup>n</sup>*

*títtekíde nq̄*

ripe, cooked, well done+to cause one’s own= caused it to be done/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*kda-t<sup>h</sup>a-we i-ya-we*

*kdat<sup>h</sup>áwe iyáwe*

to eat one’s share, to eat what is set before one, to eat one’s own+pluraizer = they ate their share/they say

28)

**After they had finished eating, when it had become dark, they went to sleep, they say.**

*wa-na<sup>n</sup>-bde ki-ha na<sup>n</sup>*

*wanq̄bde kihá nq̄*

eat, eat a meal, dine; food/finish, quit/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

\* *kihá* substituted for *kihé*

*pa-ze de na<sup>n</sup>*

*ppáze de nq*

evening, dusk, not quite dark, close of the day+go, depart; this; causative = a little after dark/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*zha<sup>n</sup>-ki-da-we i-ya-we*

*žákkidáwe iyáwe*

sleep, lie, recline+to cause oneself+pluraizer = they went to sleep/they say

<sup>29)</sup>

**Well, then, the next morning, the youngest one and the next one were standing there, when the youngest one went to get wood, they say.**

*ha-o, ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> ka-sa-ni-a-ti na<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, kóišóttq kásaniáti nq*

well/then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/in the morning, on the next morning/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*e-ti e zhi<sup>n</sup>-ka t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*étti e žiká t<sup>h</sup>q*

there, then/aforementioned, that, he, she, it/small, little; young/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*o-ba-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*obát<sup>h</sup>q t<sup>h</sup>q*

next, following, next in order or line/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*zho<sup>n</sup> di-ze hi i-ya-we*

*žq díze hí iyáwe*

wood, tree/get, take, seize/to arrive, reach there, have been/they say

<sup>30)</sup>

**When the youngest one returned, she said, “My older sister, there is black bear meat out there,” they say.**

*kdi na<sup>n</sup>, “wi-zho<sup>n</sup>-de,*

*kdi nq, “wižóde,*

to have come back here/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/my elder sister (female speaking)

*wa-sa zho e-ti ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e,”*

*wasá žo etti njk<sup>h</sup>é,”*

black bear/flesh, meat/there, then/the singular, sitting; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting

*i-ye kdi i-ya-we*

*iyé kdi iyáwe*

to say/to have come back here/they say

<sup>31)</sup>

**During the night the Man Eater had come with the black bear meat for them, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> ha<sup>n</sup> ta<sup>n</sup>*

*kóišóttq há tq*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/night+and, when, since, as = at night or during the night

*o-do-t<sup>he</sup> t<sup>hi</sup> ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*ódot<sup>he</sup> t<sup>hi</sup> nĭ iyáwe*

man eater/arrive, to have come here/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

<sup>32)</sup>

*wa-sa zho*

*wasá žo*

black bear/flesh, meat

*wa-ki-ni<sup>n</sup> t<sup>hi</sup>*

*wákinĭ t<sup>hi</sup>*

to have or keep for them+arrive, to have come here = to have arrived there with something for them

*ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*nĭ iyáwe*

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

<sup>33)</sup>

**He was planning on fattening up the four women who live together, they say.**

*wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde shi<sup>n</sup>-wa-de*

*waxʔó tówa ttíkde šĭwáde*

woman/four/dwell in a lodge together/fat, obese, plump, fleshy+to cause them = to fatten them

*di-kna<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*dikná nĭ iyáwe*

to decide, try, make effort = he planned or decided, he thought/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

<sup>34)</sup>

**Then, the youngest one said to her older sister, “Get the black bear meat!” they say.**

*na<sup>n</sup>-zha, “wa-sa zho ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*náža, “wasá žo nĭk<sup>h</sup>é*

but, then, though, although, notwithstanding, because of/black bear/flesh, meat/the singular, sitting; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting

*di-ze na<sup>n</sup> e-de, ” i-ke i-ya-we*

*dizé nq edé, ” iké iyáwe*

get, take, seize/\*/really, indeed, strong affirmative, oral period/to say that to someone/they say

\* *nq, nq* .... the singular sitting; only, just, alone; habitual, regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

<sup>35)</sup>

**Her older sister went to fetch the meat, she returned with it, when she had returned with it, they cooked the meat and ate it, they say.**

*e-zho<sup>n</sup>-de a-ki de i-ya-we*

*ežóde akí de iyáwe*

a woman's elder sister = her elder sister/to come or go for an object, not one's own+to go = to go for something not one's own, she went after it/they say

36)

*a-ni<sup>n</sup> kdi i-ya-we*

*anĭ kdi iyáwe*

to have, to keep+to have come back here = she brought it home/they say

37)

*a-ni<sup>n</sup> kdi na<sup>n</sup>*

*anĭ kdi nq*

to have, to keep+to have come back here = she brought it home/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*o-ho<sup>n</sup>-i ta<sup>n</sup> da-t<sup>h</sup>a-we i-ya-we*

*ohĭi tq dat<sup>h</sup>áwe iyáwe*

\*/and, when, since, as/to eat+pluralizer = they eat/they say

\* *ohĭi* .... ‘to cook, to boil+pluralizer = they cook’ or ‘to cook, to boil+copula = it was boiled’

38)

**Then they figured out what was happening, the Man Eater had been putting out the food to fatten them up, they knew that the Man Eater was coming for them, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> i-ki-pa-ha<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we,*

*kóišĭttq ikkipahqwi iyáwe,*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/to know for one’s self+pluralizer = they knew it for themselves/they say

*o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i ni<sup>n</sup> i-ba-ha<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*

*ódot<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i nĭ ibahqwi iyáwe*

man eater/arrive, to have come here/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/to know+pluralizer = they knew it/they say

39)

**Just as they were about to flee from the Man Eater, the old female dog gave birth to four large puppies, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> ha-za-wi i-ya-we*

*kóišĭttq házawí iyáwe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/run away, flee, to flee from danger, escape+pluralizer = they flee/they say

40)

*sho<sup>n</sup>-ke we-ta-de*

*šĭke wéttade*

dog/the plural animate objects, the subject of an action+to bear a child, to give birth = to give birth to them, she had pups

*e-ti t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*ettí t<sup>h</sup>a nq iyáwe*

there, then/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say

41)

*sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka ko-i-she ta<sup>n</sup>-ka to-wa ke i-ya-we*

*šĭžika koišé ttqká tówa ke iyáwe*

\*/aforementioned words or manner, so, that, that part/big, large/four/the plural standing or scattered/they say

\* *šóžika* .... ‘puppy, pup’, contraction of *šóke* ‘dog’ and *žika* ‘small, little; young’

42)

**Because there were only four puppies and there were four women, each woman took a puppy as they fled, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka ke na<sup>n</sup>*

*kóišóttq šóžika ke nq*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/puppy, pup/the plural standing or scattered/\*

\* *nq, nq* .... ‘only, just, alone; habitual, regularly, usually, often; past sign, when; the singular sitting’

*wa-x’o to-wa ke ta<sup>n</sup>-ha,*

*waxʔó tówa ke táha,*

woman/four/the plural standing or scattered/because

*sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka mi<sup>n</sup>-xti-na<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup> a-ni<sup>n</sup> a<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>q<sup>n</sup>*

*šóžika mǐxtinǎnq ánj áttq*

puppy, pup/one, a, an+very, real, fully+apiece, each = only one apiece/to have, to keep/when, and

*ha-ze da-we i-ya-we*

*háze dáwe iyáwe*

run away, flee, to flee from danger, escape/to go+pluralizer = they go/they say

43)

**Then, the old female dog was left sitting there alone while they fled, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup> wa-x’o zhi-ka*

*kóišóttq šó wáxʔo žika*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/dog, contraction of *šóke* ‘dog’/woman+small, little = old woman, little old lady

*ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e na<sup>n</sup>*

*nǐk<sup>h</sup>é nq*

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting/only, just, alone

*sho<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e da-we i-ya-we*

*šó nǐk<sup>h</sup>é dáwe iyáwe*

and, still, thus, yet, while, as, when/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting/to go+pluralizer = they go/they say

44)

**So, they had fled, each having a puppy, the old female dog was sitting there alone when the Man Eater arrived, they say.**

*ko<sup>n</sup> i-de t<sup>h</sup>e e-ko<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i i-ya-we*

*kq idé t<sup>h</sup>e ekq ódot<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i iyáwe*

as, since, so, like/to have gone, departed/\*that sort, like, thus, like that, so/man eater/arrive, to have come here/they say

\* *t<sup>h</sup>e* .... ‘the past act, completed action; narrative marker; the singular, standing or collection’

45)

**The old female dog was sitting there as the Man Eater arrived, they say.**

*sho<sup>n</sup> wa-x'ó zhi-ka sho<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*šó wáxʔo žika šó nĭk<sup>h</sup>é*

dog, contraction of *šóke* 'dog'/old woman, little old lady/and, still, thus, yet, while, as, when/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*t<sup>h</sup>i i-ya-we*

*t<sup>h</sup>í iyáwe*

arrive, to have come here/they say

<sup>46)</sup>

**When he arrived, he said, “Ho ho ho! Ho ho ho! The four women who live together, I have made them fat! Ho ho ho! Ho ho ho! The four women who live together, I have made them fat!” they say.**

*t<sup>h</sup>i na<sup>n</sup>, “ho ho ho! ho-ho-ho!*

*t<sup>h</sup>í ną, “ho-ho-hó! ho-ho-hó!*

arrive, to have come here/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/interjection, expressing joy/interjection, expressing joy

*wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde shi<sup>n</sup> wa-pa-xe na<sup>n</sup>!*

*wáxʔo tówa ttíkde šĭ wappáye ną!*

woman/four/dwell in a lodge together/fat, obese, plump, fleshy/I make them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*“ho ho ho! ho-ho-ho! wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde*

*“ho-ho-hó! ho-ho-hó! wáxʔo tówa ttíkde*

interjection, expressing joy/interjection, expressing joy/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

*shi<sup>n</sup> wa-pa-xe na<sup>n</sup>!”*

*šĭ wappáye ną!”*

fat, obese, plump, fleshy/I make them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*i-ye ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*iyé nĭ iyáwe*

to say/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

<sup>47)</sup>

**While he was walking about, he was saying, “Ho ho ho! The four women who live together, I have made them fat! Ho ho ho! The four women who live together, I have made them fat!” they say.**

*sho<sup>n</sup> ma<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup> a-ta<sup>n</sup>,*

*šq mąnĭ áttą,*

and, still, thus, yet, while, as, when/to walk/and, when

*“ho ho ho! ho-ho-ho! wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde*

*“ho-ho-hó! ho-ho-hó! wáxʔo tówa ttíkde*

interjection, expressing joy/interjection, expressing joy/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

*shi<sup>n</sup> wa-pa-xe na<sup>n</sup>!*

*šĭ wappáye ną!*

fat, obese, plump, fleshy/I make them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*ho ho ho! ho-ho-ho! wa-x'ó to-wa ti-kde*

*ho-ho-hó! ho-ho-hó! wáxʔo tówa ttíkde*

interjection, expressing joy/interjection, expressing joy/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

*shi<sup>n</sup> wa-pa-xe na<sup>n</sup>!*

*šj wappáye na!*

fat, obese, plump, fleshy/I make them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*i-ye ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*iyé nj iyáwe*

to say/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

48)

**The Man Eater questioned the old female dog, they say.**

*sho<sup>n</sup> wa-x'o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e i-ki-a<sup>n</sup>-xa-we i-ya-we*

*šq wáxʔo žiká nĵk<sup>h</sup>é ĩkiqyáwe iyáwe*

dog, contraction of *šóke* 'dog'/old woman, little old lady/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting/\*/they say

\* *ĩkiqyáwe* .... 'to question one's own relation+evidential marker' or 'to question one's own relation+pluralizer' .... *áwe* 'they said' is a contraction of *e* 'to say' + *awi* 'pluralizer' + *e* 'declarative', personal communication with Dr. Robert Rankin

49)

**He said, "Where have the four women who live together gone?" they say.**

*"wa-x'o to-wa ti-kde*

*"waxʔó tówa ttíkde*

woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

*ha-ki i-da-we," i-ke i-ya-we*

*hakí idáwe," iké iyáwe*

where/to have gone, departed+pluralizer = they have gone/to say that to someone/they say

50)

**The old female dog said, "I do not know where they have gone," they say.**

*"ha-ki i-da-we i-pa-ha<sup>n</sup>-zhi mi<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e," i-yi i-ya-we*

*"hakí idáwe ĩppahqži mĵk<sup>h</sup>é," iyí iyáwe*

where/they have gone/I know+not, negation = I do not know/1<sup>st</sup> person singular sitting/to have said+they say = they say that she said

*sho<sup>n</sup> wa-x'o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*šq wáxʔo žiká nĵk<sup>h</sup>é*

dog, contraction of *šóke* 'dog'/old woman, little old lady/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

51)

**The Man Eater said to the old female dog, "I said, tell me where the four women who live together have gone or I will eat you up," they say.**

*"wa-x'o to-wa ti-kde ha-ki i-da-we," i-he,*

*"waxʔó tówa ttíkde hakí idáwe, ihé,*

woman/four/dwell in a lodge together/where/they have gone/I say

*di-e wi-bda-sni<sup>n</sup> mo<sup>n</sup> te-a,*” *i-ke i-ya-we*

*díe wíbdasní mō ttéa,*” *iké iyáwe*

you/I to you+I swallow, gulp, devour = I devour you/I do, I be/shall, will; allow, let, let's/to say that to someone/they say

<sup>52)</sup>

**Again, she said to him, “I do not know where they have gone,” they say.**

*“ha-ki i-da-we i-pa-ha<sup>n</sup>-zhi mi<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e,”*

*“hakí idáwe íppahqži mīk<sup>h</sup>é,”*

where/they have gone/I know+not, negation = I do not know/1<sup>st</sup> person singular sitting

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> i-ke i-ya-we*

*šínq iké iyáwe*

again, and, also/to say that to someone/they say

<sup>53)</sup>

**Then the Man Eater chewed up the old female dog and devoured her, they say.**

*e-ti wa-x’o zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*étti wáxʔo žiká nīk<sup>h</sup>é*

there, then/old woman, little old lady/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*da-s[e] a-ta<sup>n</sup> da-sni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*das[é] á-ttq dasní iyáwe*

to bite off, to cut or chop with the mouth = he killed her by biting/and, when/to swallow, gulp, devour/they say

<sup>54)</sup>

**When he had finished devouring the old female dog, he said, “Ho ho ho! Where have the four women who live together gone,” as he was looking around for them, they say.**

*da-sni<sup>n</sup> ki-ha na<sup>n</sup>,*

*dasní kihá nq,*

to swallow, gulp, devour/finish, quit/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

\* *kihá* substituted for *kihé*

*“ho ho ho! wa-x’o to-wa ti-kde*

*“ho-ho-ho! wáx’ó tówa ttíkde*

interjection, expressing joy/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

*ha-ki i-da-i ni<sup>n</sup>,*”

*hakí idái nī,*”

where/to have gone, departed+pluralizer = they have gone/\*

\* *nī* .... the collection or class of objects, the lot; the singular moving; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving

*i-ya ta<sup>n</sup>*

*iyá ttq*

it is said/and, when, since, as

*o-wa-te ko<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*ówatte kq-t<sup>h</sup>q iyáwe*

to look for, search, or hunt them/as, since, so, like/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/they say

<sup>55)</sup>

**Then, at that time, he smelled where they had gone and he began trailing them, they say.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> da-i ke o-wa-di-bna<sup>n</sup> de i-ya-we*

*ešóttq daí ke ówadíbnq dé iyáwe*

then, at that time, and then/to go+pluraizer = they go/the plural standing or scattered/to smell them/to go/they say

<sup>56)</sup>

*o-do-wa-he de i-ya-we*

*odówahe dé iyáwe*

to trail, to track, to follow them/to go/they say

<sup>57)</sup>

**Well, when he had caught up to them, they were carrying spotted coals with them, they say.**

*ha-o, o-wa-xde i-ya-we*

*hao, ówaxdé iyáwe*

well/to chase and overtake, to pursue and overtake a person or animal+the plural animate objects, the subject of an action = he overtook them/they say

<sup>58)</sup>

*o-wa-xde na<sup>n</sup>*

*ówaxde nq*

to overtake them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*ta-xde ki-kde-zhe de-ko<sup>n</sup>*

*táxde kíkdeže dékq*

coals, charcoal, ember, fire coal/spotted, speckled; go out, as a fire; fade, to lose color/this+as, since, so, like = this sort, like this, this kind

*a-ni<sup>n</sup> pa i-ya-we*

*aní ppa iyáwe*

to have, to keep/the plural, moving, animate objects; 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving/they say

<sup>59)</sup>

**When the Man Eater had come very close to them, they each tossed their spotted coals in his direction which caused a huge fire, they say.**

*a-shka hi o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i ta<sup>n</sup>,*

*ašká hi ódot<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i tq,*

near, close/very, intensifier/man eater/arrive, to have come here/and, when, since, as

*ta-xde ki-kde-zhe*

*taxdé kíkdeže*

coals, charcoal, ember, fire coal/spotted, speckled; go out, as a fire; fade, to lose color

*de-ko<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*dekq nqk<sup>h</sup>é*

this sort, like this, this kind/the singular, sitting; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting

*ki-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-de de-de*

*kikkiǒde déde*

to throw one's own at someone+sent away, causative of go; sudden or intentional action = she threw her own away at him

*na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*nǎ iyáwe*

regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say

<sup>60)</sup>

*pe-te-shte ma<sup>n</sup>-shi hi de i-ya-we*

*ppettéšte máši hí dé iyáwe*

\*/high, above, upper, upward, heaven/very, intensifier/to go; to cause/they say

\* *ppettéšte* 'blaze' .... *ppéte*, 'fire' + a contraction of *stéte*, 'tall, long'

<sup>61)</sup>

**Then, the Man Eater suddenly stopped, he could not move forward due to the huge fire, he had to turn back, they say.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e a-ba-t'o i-na<sup>n</sup>,*

*ešǒ ódot<sup>h</sup>e ábatǒ inǎ,*

then, at length, and/man eater/to stop, to impede progress/sign of sudden effect; sentence final

*xa-da de i-ya-we*

*xáda dé iyáwe*

back, returning, back to starting point, back again to the starting point, backward, reverse/to go/they say

<sup>62)</sup>

**Then, at that time, the four women who live together quickly began to run home, they say.**

*e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*ettít<sup>h</sup>q*

from that time, at that time, from then on

*ko-e-kde pa*

*koékde ppá*

quickly, with a rush+go home, to start homeward = to start to run homeward; to start to run back to/3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving; the plural, moving, animate objects

*i-ya-we wa-x'o to-wa ti-kde*

*iyáwe waxǒ tówa ttíkde*

they say/woman/four/dwell in a lodge together

<sup>63)</sup>

**The Man Eater went around the huge fire and again he went after them, they say.**

*pe-te-shte ma<sup>n</sup>-shi hi ni<sup>n</sup>*

*ppettéšte máši hí nǐ*

blaze/high, above, upper, upward, heaven/very, intensifier/the singular moving; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving

*i-di-sha<sup>n</sup> a-ta<sup>n</sup> de i-ya-we*

*idišǎ attǎ dé iyáwe*

to circle, to go around = he went around it/and, when/to go/they say

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e ni<sup>n</sup>*

*šiną ódot<sup>h</sup>e nį*

again, and, also/man eater/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving, the singular moving

<sup>64)</sup>

**Again, as before, he had caught up to the four women who live together, they say.**

*shi-na<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup> o-wa-xde ki-ha i-ya-we*

*šinąnq ówaxde kihá iyáwe*

again, and, also/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/to overtake them/finish, quit/they say

<sup>65)</sup>

**When he had caught up to them again, they had been carrying dirt clods with them, they say.**

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> o-wa-xde na<sup>n</sup>*

*šiną ówaxdé ną*

again, and, also/to overtake them/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*ma-ni-ka ka-t<sup>h</sup>e*

*manikka kat<sup>h</sup>é*

earth, soil, ground, dirt+hump, clod, lump, clump = dirt clod

*a-ni<sup>n</sup> pa i-ya-we*

*anį ppa iyáwe*

to have, to keep+3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving; the plural, moving, animate objects = they have/they say

<sup>66)</sup>

**The Man Eater had circled around the huge fire and was there, in front of them, they tossed the dirt clods in his direction, they say.**

*o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e do-hi t<sup>h</sup>i ta<sup>n</sup>,*

*ódot<sup>h</sup>e dóhi t<sup>h</sup>i tą,*

man eater/ahead there or before (them), straight towards (them)/arrive, to have come here/and, when, since, as

*ma-ni-ka ka-t<sup>h</sup>e ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*manikka kat<sup>h</sup>é nįk<sup>h</sup>é*

earth, soil, ground, dirt+hump, clod, lump, clump = dirt clod/the singular, sitting; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting

*o<sup>n</sup>-da de-da-we i-ya-we*

*óda dédawe iyáwe*

to throw away/sent away, causative of go; sudden or intentional action+pluralizer = they sent it off/they say

<sup>67)</sup>

**Then, he became stuck in the mud, he sank into a muddy hole, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> ka-ta-te*

*kóišóttą katátte*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/stuck in the mud, to get mired; mud, mire = he got stuck

*de di- 'a-i*

*de di?ai*

to go/to fail, fall short of, to be unable to finish or accomplish+copula = he was unable

\* *diʔa = dišʔá*

*ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we,*

*nj iyáwe,*

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

*o-ka-kdo ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*okákdo nj iyáwe*

to become mired or stuck in mud+3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving = he sank in the mud hole/they say

<sup>68)</sup>

**At that time, the four women who live together were doing their best to escape, they say.**

*e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*ettít<sup>h</sup>q*

from that time, at that time, from then on

*a-zho-wa hi*

*ážowa hi*

with effort, with one's might, fast as possible+very, intensifier = with great effort, with all one's might, as fast as possible

*pa i-ya-we*

*ppá iyáwe*

the plural, moving, animate objects; 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving/they say

<sup>69)</sup>

**Well, Somehow or other, the Man Eater managed to free himself from the mud hole and went after them, they say.**

*ha-o, ha<sup>n</sup>-ni-te ka-ta-te*

*hao, hq<sup>n</sup>nitté katátte*

well/\*/stuck in the mud, to get mired; mud, mire = he got stuck

\* *hq<sup>n</sup>nitté* 'somehow or other' used here, but *hq<sup>n</sup>nj hítte* 'somehow or other' used latter in the story

*ka-xdo de*

*kaxdó dé*

by striking, by blows, by impact, by sudden application of force or sudden movement+hollow, holed through, to make a hole+to go = he got through

*i-ya-we*

*iyáwe*

they say

<sup>70)</sup>

**When he had caught up to them again, they had been carrying large thorns with them, they say.**

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> o-wa-xde i-ya-we*

*šínq ówaxde iyáwe*

again, and, also/to overtake them/they say

<sup>71)</sup>

*ha-o, e-ti to-hi ta<sup>n</sup>-ka a-ni<sup>n</sup> pa i-ya-we*

*hao, etti tóhi ttąka anj ppa iyáwe*

well/there, then/thorn/big, large/to have, to keep/the plural, moving, animate objects; 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving/they say

<sup>72)</sup>

**When the Man Eater had come very close to them, they tossed their large thorns in his direction, they say.**

*o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e a-shka hi t<sup>h</sup>i ta<sup>n</sup>*

*ódot<sup>h</sup>e áška hí t<sup>h</sup>i tą*

man eater/near, close/very, intensifier/arrive, to have come here/and, when, since, as

*to-hi ta<sup>n</sup>-ka k<sup>h</sup>e*

*tóhi ttąká k<sup>h</sup>e*

thorn/big, large/the singular lying object

*ki-ki-o<sup>n</sup>-da de-da-we*

*kíkkiqda dédawe*

to throw away one's own for or at someone+sent away, causative of go; sudden or intentional action+pluralizer = they threw their own away at him

*i-ya-we*

*iyáwe*

they say

<sup>73)</sup>

**Then, the large pointed, extremely sharp thorns, stuck into him and he was unable to pull them out, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> to-hi ta<sup>n</sup>-ka po-i hi*

*kóišqttą tóhi ttąká ppói hí*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/thorn/big, large/sharp/very, intensifier

*zi-ka a-ta-ha*

*zikka áttaha*

sharp point, sharp at the end/too, exceedingly, much

*i-ba-xdo na<sup>n</sup>*

*ibaxdo ną*

with which to, by means of; to, toward, from, due to; the place where, time when+pierce, stab, perforate = stuck in him/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*de-de di-'a-i*

*déde di?ai*

sent away, causative of go; sudden or intentional action/to fail, fall short of, to be unable to finish or accomplish+copula = he was unable

\* *di?a = diš?á*

*ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*nj iyáwe*

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

74)

**Well, somehow or other he was able to free himself and again he went after them, they say.**

*ha-o, ha<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup> hi-te shi-na<sup>n</sup> de i-ya-we*  
*hao, hq̄n̄j h̄itte šínq dé iyáwe*  
well\*/again, and, also/to go/they say

\* *h̄q̄n̄j h̄itte* ‘somehow or other’ used here, but *h̄q̄n̄itté* ‘somehow or other’ used previously in the story

75)

**Again, as before, he had caught up to the four women who live together, they say.**

*wa-x’o to-wa ti-kde o-wa-xde i-ya-we*  
*wax’ó tówa ttikde ówaxde iyáwe*  
woman/four/dwell in a lodge together/to overtake them/they say

76)

**Well, then, this time, when he had caught up to them, they put a puppy down for him, they say.**

*ha-o, e-t[i] e-zha sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka*  
*hao, ett[i] éža šq̄-žiká*  
well/then, in contrast to the preceding occurrences or results/puppy, pup

*ki-ki-kna<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*  
*kikiknq̄wi iyáwe*  
to put or set one’s own for someone+pluraizer = they put down their own for him/they say

77)

**Then, while he was sitting there eating it, they ran away, they say.**

*e-ti da-t<sup>h</sup>e sho<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*  
*étti dat<sup>h</sup>é šq̄-n̄jk<sup>h</sup>é*  
there, then/to eat/and, still, thus, yet, while, as, when/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*ta<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup> da-we i-ya-we*  
*ttq̄n̄j dáwe iyáwe*  
to run, as a person on two legs/to go+pluralizer = they go/they say

78)

**When he had devoured the entire puppy, he began chasing them, they say.**

*bdo-ka sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*  
*bdoká šq̄-žiká n̄jk<sup>h</sup>é*  
whole, entire, all, circular, round/puppy, pup/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*da-sni<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup> wa-di-xe i-ya-we*  
*dasn̄j nq̄ wadixé iyáwe*  
to swallow, gulp, devour/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/to chase, pursue or hunt them/they say

79)

**Again, as before, he had caught up to the four women who live together, they say.**

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> o-wa-xde i-ya-we*

*šínq ówaxde iyáwe*

again, and, also/to overtake them/they say

<sup>80)</sup>

**Well, then, they put the second puppy down for him, they say.**

*ha-o, sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka i-na<sup>n</sup>-pa t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, šq-žiká inqá t<sup>h</sup>q*

well/puppy, pup/second/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*ki-ki-kna<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*

*kikiknqwi iyáwe*

to put or set one's own for someone+pluraizer = they put down their own for him/they say

<sup>81)</sup>

**Then, while he was sitting there eating it, they ran away, they say.**

*e-ti da-t<sup>h</sup>e sho<sup>n</sup> ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*étti dat<sup>h</sup>é šq-njk<sup>h</sup>é*

there, then/to eat/and, still, thus, yet, while, as, when/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*ta<sup>n</sup>-ni<sup>n</sup> da-we i-ya-we*

*ttqñj dáwe iyáwe*

to run, as a person on two legs/to go+pluralizer = they go/they say

<sup>82)</sup>

**Well, again, when he had devoured it, he chased them, they say.**

*ha-o, shi-na<sup>n</sup> da-sni<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup> wa-di-xe i-ya-we*

*hao, šínq dasñj nq wádixe iyáwe*

well/again, and, also/to swallow, gulp, devour/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/to chase, pursue or hunt them/they say

<sup>83)</sup>

**He had caught up to the entire group, they say.**

*bdo-ka o-wa-xde ki-ha i-ya-we*

*bdoká ówaxde kihá iyáwe*

whole, entire, all, circular, round/to overtake them/finish, quit/they say

<sup>84)</sup>

**Well, then they put the third puppy down for him, they say.**

*ha-o, e-ti sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka i-da-bni<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, étti šq-žiká idabñj t<sup>h</sup>q*

well/there, then/puppy, pup/third/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*ki-ki-kna<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we*

*kikiknqwi iyáwe*

to put or set one's own for someone+pluraizer = they put down their own for him/they say

<sup>85)</sup>

**At that time they ran away, in a very little while he had caught up to the entire group, they say.**

*e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> da-we e-sho<sup>n</sup> bdo-ka*

*ettít<sup>h</sup>q dáwe ešq bdoká*

from that time, at that time, from then on/to go+pluraizer = they go/then, at length, and/whole, entire, all, circular, round

*o-di-o-za-hi*

*odiózáhí*

place at which, at a place, culmination of a certain action or state, wherein a certain thing takes place, in, inside, into+just now, a short time ago+very, intensifier = in a very little while

*o-wa-xde i-ya-we*

*ówaxde iyáwe*

to overtake them/they say

<sup>86)</sup>

**Well, then they put the fourth puppy, the last one down for him, they say.**

*ha-o, e-ti i-to-wa t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> o-do-ha-ke*

*hao, étti ítowa t<sup>h</sup>q odóhake*

well/there, then/fourth/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/last, final, last one, to be the last

*ki-ki-kna<sup>n</sup>-wi i-ya-we sho<sup>n</sup>-zhi-ka*

*kikiknqwi iyáwe šq-žiká*

to put or set one's own for someone+pluraizer = they put down their own for him/they say/puppy, pup

<sup>87)</sup>

**Well, at that time, the old woman, the grown one, couldn't go on any longer, she gave out, they say.**

*ha-o, e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> wa-x'o zhi<sup>n</sup>-ka ni<sup>n</sup> di-sh'a i-ya-we*

*hao, ettít<sup>h</sup>q waxqó žiká nĭ dišqá iyáwe*

well/from that time, at that time, from then on/woman/small, little/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/give out, fail, fall short, unable/they say

<sup>88)</sup>

**Then, the Man Eater devoured her, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e da-sni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*koišqttq ódot<sup>h</sup>e dasnĭ iyáwe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/man eater/to swallow, gulp, devour/they say

<sup>89)</sup>

**Well, at that time, the second one couldn't go on any longer, she gave out, they say.**

*ha-o, e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-na<sup>n</sup>-pa ni<sup>n</sup> di-sh'a i-ya-we*

*hao, ettít<sup>h</sup>q inqá nĭ dišqá iyáwe*

well/from that time, at that time, from then on/second/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/give out, fail, fall short, unable/they say

<sup>90)</sup>

**Then, the Man Eater devoured her, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e da-sni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*koišqttq ódot<sup>h</sup>e dasnĭ iyáwe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/man eater/to swallow, gulp, devour/they say

<sup>91)</sup>  
**Well, then, at that time, the third couldn't go on any longer, she gave out, they say.**

*ha-o, e-ti-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-da-bni<sup>n</sup> di-sh'a i-ya-we*

*hao, ettit<sup>h</sup>q ídabnj dišʔá iyáwe*

well/from that time, at that time, from then on/third/give out, fail, fall short, unable/they say

<sup>92)</sup>  
**The Man Eater devoured them all, only one remained, they say.**

*bdo-ka o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e da-sni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we:*

*bdoká ódot<sup>h</sup>e dasnj iyáwe:*

whole, entire, all, circular, round/man eater/to swallow, gulp, devour/they say

<sup>93)</sup>  
*mi<sup>n</sup>-xti o-shte i-ya-we*

*míxti ošté iyáwe*

one, a, an+very, real, fully = just one, exactly one/remain, be left over, the remainder, spare, remnant/they say

<sup>94)</sup>  
**Then, the only one that remained went straight to a Devil, they say.**

*e-sho<sup>n</sup> mi<sup>n</sup>-xti o-shte t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*ešó míxti ošté t<sup>h</sup>q*

then, at length, and/just one, exactly one/remain, be left over, the remainder, spare, remnant/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*sh'a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka do-ta<sup>n</sup>-ti hi i-ya-we*

*šʔa-ttáka dottátti hí iyáwe*

\*/straight+at, by, in, to = straight to him, directly to him/to arrive, reach there, have been/they say

\* *šʔa ttáka* .... 'evil spirit, a devil, later applied to the Christian personification of Satan'

<sup>95)</sup>  
**Then she said to him, "My grandfather, hide me! My grandfather, there truly is a Man Eater chasing me! My grandfather, I want you to hide me!" they say.**

*"wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>, na-xna<sup>n</sup> ki-kna<sup>n</sup>,"*

*"wittíkq, naxnq kiknq,"*

my grandfather/secretly, covertly+set, place or put one's own = hide one's own, hide one's relation

*i-ke i-ya-we*

*iké iyáwe*

to say that to someone/they say

<sup>96)</sup>  
*"o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e a<sup>n</sup>-di-xe ni<sup>n</sup> e-de,*

*"ódot<sup>h</sup>e qdixe nj edé,*

man eater/to chase, pursue or hunt me+3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving = he is chasing me/really, indeed, strong affirmative, oral period

*wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>," i-ke i-ya-we*

*wittíkq," iké iyáwe*

my grandfather/to say that to someone/they say

<sup>97)</sup>

*e-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup>, "na-xna<sup>n</sup> da-ki-kna<sup>n</sup> ko<sup>n</sup>-bda, wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>," i-ke i-ya-we*

*ešóttq, "naxnq dakiknq kkqbdá, wittiká," iké iyáwe*

then, at that time, and then/you hide me, your own relation/I want/my grandfather/to say that to someone/they say

98)

**Well, the Devil said, "So shall it be," they say.**

*ha-o, "e-ko<sup>n</sup> te," i-yi i-ya-we*

*hao, "ekq tte," iyí iyáwe*

well/that sort, like, thus, like that, so/future, shall, will be/to have said+they say = they say that he said

99)

**The Devil turned her into a small, rounded pin and stuck her into his hair, they say.**

*wa-hi-ka zhi-ka ta-sha-kna<sup>n</sup>*

*wahikka žika tášaknq*

awl+small, little+rounded, swollen, knob, knobby+to set, put, or place upon = small, rounded pin

*o-do-hi ka-xe i-ya-we, sh'a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka*

*odóhi káxe iyáwe, šʔattqka*

change into, turn into/to make, do, cause/they say/evil spirit, a devil

100)

*ni-shki-ta a-ba-xda-te*

*niškitta ábaxdátte*

back of the head/to, at, toward, in that direction/to push through

*i-t<sup>h</sup>e-de i-ya-we*

*it<sup>h</sup>éde iyáwe*

to put or place and make stand, to stand something up/they say

101)

**In a very short time, the Man Eater arrived, they say.**

*wa-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>-zhi hi*

*wat<sup>h</sup>qži hí*

the plural animate objects, the subject of an action+not of full length or measure = in a little while/very, intensifier

*o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i ki-ha i-ya-we*

*ódot<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i kihá iyáwe*

man eater/arrive, to have come here/finish, quit/they say

102)

**The Man Eater said to the Devil, "My grandfather, did you not see a woman arrive here?" they say.**

*"wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>, wa-x'o mi<sup>n</sup> de-do i-hi na<sup>n</sup>*

*"wittiká, waxʔó mį dédo ihi nq*

my grandfather/woman/one, a, an/here, this place, right here/arrive, reach the place/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*i-da-de-o<sup>n</sup>-zhi a-e," i-ke i-ya-we*

*ídadeqži ae," iké iyáwe*

you see+to do, to be+not, negation = did you not see her/question sign/to say that to someone/they say

103)

**The Devil said to the Man Eater, “I have been poking at this fire, sending off small sparks,” they say.**

*“e-ti pe-te a-ki-ba-xni<sup>n</sup>-xni<sup>n</sup>-zhe zhi-ka a<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>”*

*“étti ppéte akibaxni<sup>n</sup>xni<sup>n</sup>že žiká qt<sup>h</sup>á*

there, then/fire/I push or punch at my own often making it send out sparks/small, little/when, and

*shti-we-zhi<sup>n</sup> pa, ” i-ke i-ya-we*

*štíwežj ppá, ” iké iyáwe*

\*+the plural, moving, animate objects; 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, they moving = there were sparks/to say that to someone/they say

\* JOD writes, *štíwe žjka*, modern name for ‘sparks’, *štíwe* is also found in *žqštíwe dat<sup>h</sup>é*, a month in the Quapaw lunar calendar

104)

**The Man Eater said to the Devil, “Why! I said, my grandfather, did you not see a woman arrive here?” they say.**

*“ko! wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>, wa-x’o mi<sup>n</sup>”*

*“kó, wittiká, waxʔó mĭ*

why! interjection of surprise or anger/my grandfather/woman/one, a, an

*de-do i-hi na<sup>n</sup>*

*dédo íhi nq*

here, this place, right here/arrive, reach the place/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*i-da-de-o<sup>n</sup>-zhi a-e,*

*ídadeqží ae,*

you see+to do, to be+not, negation = did you not see her/question sign

*i-p<sup>h</sup>e ” i-ke i-ya-we*

*ip<sup>h</sup>é ” iké iyáwe*

I say/to say that to someone/they say

\* *ip<sup>h</sup>é = ihé*

105)

**The Devil was ignoring the Man Eater, he did not want to listen to him, they say.**

*a-ki-na-x’o<sup>n</sup> ko<sup>n</sup>-da-zhi*

*akkínaxʔó kqdáži*

to listen to/to want+not, negation = he did not want

*she t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*šé t<sup>h</sup>q iyáwe*

that, that visible, that visible thing/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/they say

106)

**The Devil said to the Man Eater, “I have been poking at it, sending off small sparks,” they say.**

*“a-ki-ba-xni<sup>n</sup>-xni<sup>n</sup>-zhe zhi-ka a<sup>n</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>”*

*“akíbxni<sup>n</sup>xni<sup>n</sup>že žiká qt<sup>h</sup>á*

I push or punch at my own often making it send out sparks/small, little/when, and

*shti-we-zhi<sup>n</sup> pa,* ” *i-ke na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*štíwežj ppá,* ” *iké nq iyáwe*

there were sparks/to say that to someone/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say

<sup>107)</sup>

**Just like that, the Devil kept ignoring the Man Eater and poking at the fire, the Devil was unwilling to tell the Man Eater where the woman was, they say.**

*e-ko<sup>n</sup> o-di-sh'a-ke na<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*ékó odíšžaké nq iyáwe*

that sort, like, thus, like that, so/to refuse, be unwilling, decline; lazy, be or become tired or weary of = he refused to tell him/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when/they say

<sup>108)</sup>

**The Devil had Man Eater dogs, they say.**

*sho<sup>n</sup>-ke o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e wa-ni<sup>n</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we sh'a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka*

*šǒke ódot<sup>h</sup>e wánj t<sup>h</sup>q iyáwe šǒattáka*

dog/man eater/to have, to keep them/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing/they say/evil spirit, a devil

<sup>109)</sup>

**The Devil said to his Man Eater dogs, “Oooo! I have truly lost my patience with that one, I have no sympathy for him, he talks too much, younger brothers, what are you’all doing?” and then he sicced the Man Eater dogs on him, they say.**

*“Oooo! ka-t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*“Oooo! kát<sup>h</sup>q*

pshaw, interjection of contempt or impatience/that, not visible/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

*wa-zhi<sup>n</sup>-de-a-da-zhi*

*wažǐdeádaži*

I sympathize, I empathize+not, negation = I am out of patience with him, I have no sympathy for him

*hi e-de, i-ye a-ta-ha,*

*hi edé, íye attahá,*

very, intensifier/really, indeed, strong affirmative, oral period/to say/too, exceedingly, much

*k<sup>h</sup>a-ke, ha-zho<sup>n</sup>-wi-ke,* ” *i-we-ki,*

*k<sup>h</sup>aké, hažǒwiké,* ” *iwéki,*

younger brother or friend/you do+pluralizer+the plural standing or scattered = what are you’all doing?/to say that to them

\* *iwéki* < *iwéke*

*a-ta<sup>n</sup> sho<sup>n</sup>-ke o-do-t<sup>h</sup>e wa-kda-ti<sup>n</sup>-ti<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*áttq šǒke ódot<sup>h</sup>e wákdattǐttj iyáwe*

and, when/dog/man eater/\*/they say

\* JOD’s translation for *wákdattǐttj* ‘he told them to hasten to do it’. There is also see *wákdattitti* ‘he told them often’. The following Omaha words seem to fit as well, *thadi<sup>n</sup>di<sup>n</sup>* ‘to call aloud to another; to

halloo; to bite hard on', *gthádi<sup>n</sup>di<sup>n</sup>* 'to hold his own tightly in the mouth' presumably also 'to call aloud to one's own'

110)

**When the dogs attacked, they chewed up the Man Eater, killing him, they say.**

*a-ki-da ta<sup>n</sup>*

*ákkidá tq*

attack, attack in return; return blow for blow; contend as in a fight/and, when, since, as

*da-sa-we i-ya-we,*

*dasáwe iyáwe,*

to bite off, to cut or chop with the mouth+pluraizer = they chewed him up/they say

*t'e-da-we i-ya-we*

*tʔédawe iyáwe*

to kill+pluraizer = they kill him/they say

111)

**Then the Devil retrieved the woman from his hair, they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> wa-x'o ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>e*

*kóišóttq waxʔó nɪk<sup>h</sup>é*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/woman/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

*kdi-ze i-ya-we*

*kdizé iyáwe*

to get, take, seize one's own/they say

112)

**Even though he had turned her into a small pin, he turned her back into an Indian woman, they say.**

*wa-hi-ka zhi-ka ta-sha-kna<sup>n</sup> o-do-hi ka-xe ta<sup>n</sup> ni-t<sup>h</sup>e*

*wahíkka žíka tášaknq odóhi káxe tq nit<sup>h</sup>é*

small rounded pin/change into, turn into/to make, do, cause/and, when, since, as/although, though; heretofore

*shi-na<sup>n</sup> ni-ka-shi-ka wa-x'o*

*šínq níkkašíka waxʔó*

again, and, also/person, people, a man, clan/woman

*o-do-hi-ki-de i-ya-we*

*odóhikkidé iyáwe*

change into, turn into+to cause one's own = he caused her to change into/they say

113)

**Well, then the Devil said to her, "If you want to stay with me, you shall do so, how will you address me, what will our relation be?" they say.**

*ha-o, ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> wa-ha<sup>n</sup> i-ye ha<sup>n</sup>,*

*hao, kóišóttq wahq iye hq,*

well/then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/relation, family, relatives/to say/what, how, in what manner

*"a<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup>-da-ki-sh[e] a-ta<sup>n</sup> a<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup>-ti-xe shko<sup>n</sup>-ta na<sup>n</sup>*

*“q̄n̄q̄dakiš[e] áttq̄ q̄n̄q̄ttixe šk̄q̄tta n̄q̄*

you say that to me/and, when/you stay with me, you take refuge with me/you want/regularly, usually, often;  
past sign, when

*e-ki-zho<sup>n</sup> te,” i-ke i-ya-we sh’a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka*

*ékižq̄ tté,” iké iyáwe šp̄attáka*

you do so, you do that/future, shall, will be/to sat that to someone/they say/evil spirit, a devil

<sup>114)</sup>

**He said to her, “If you want to address me as ‘my grandfather’ you will make me a grandfather,” they say.**

*“wi-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>, a<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup>-da-ki-she shko<sup>n</sup>-ta na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup>*

*“wittíkq̄, q̄n̄q̄dakišé šk̄q̄tta n̄q̄h̄q̄*

my grandfather/you say that to me/you want/if, when

*e-ti-ka<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup>-da-ki-de te,” i-ke i-ya-we*

*ettíkq̄q̄dákide tté,” iké iyáwe*

someone’s grandfather+you make or cause me = you make me a grandfather/future, shall, will be/to say that to someone/they say

<sup>115)</sup>

**He said to her again, “If you are thinking, ‘I will make him my mother’s brother as I usually do’ you will make me a mother’s brother,” they say.**

*“shi-na<sup>n</sup>, wi-te-ke-a-ki-de a<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>,*

*“šinq̄, wíttekeákide q̄m̄q̄,*

again, and, also/my mother’s brother+I cause or make = I have him for my mother’s brother/I act or do in a certain way, I act so

*i-ti-a<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup>,*

*ítitq̄ n̄q̄h̄q̄,*

you think about what precedes/if, when

*e-te-ke-a<sup>n</sup>-da-ki-de te,”*

*ettékeq̄dákide tté,”*

someone’s mother’s brother+you make or cause me = you make me a mother’s brother/future, shall, will be

*i-ke i-ya-we*

*iké iyáwe*

to say that to someone/they say

<sup>116)</sup>

**He said to her again, “If you say you want me as ‘my older brother’ you shall say ‘my older brother’,” they say.**

*“shi-na<sup>n</sup>, wi-ti-to i-she shko<sup>n</sup>-ta na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup>,*

*“šinq̄, wittítto išé šk̄q̄tta n̄q̄h̄q̄,*

again, and, also/my elder brother (female speaking)/you say/you want/if, when

*wi-ti-to i-she te,” i-ke i-ya-we*

*wittítto išé tte,” iké iyáwe*

my elder brother (female speaking)/you say/future, shall, will be/to say that to someone/they say

117)

**The woman stood there not saying a word, they say.**

*i-ya-zhi hi na<sup>n</sup>*

*íyaži hí nq*

to say+not, negation = to not speak, she spoke not/very, intensifier/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*i-ya-we wa-x'o t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*

*iyáwe waxʔó t<sup>h</sup>q*

they say/woman/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular standing; the standing

118)

**She wanted to take him for a husband, so she did not speak, they say.**

*e a-di-xe ko<sup>n</sup>-da,*

*é ádiyé kqdá,*

aforementioned, that, he, she, it+marry a man, take a man for a husband+to want = she wanted to marry him

*i-ya-zhi ni<sup>n</sup> i-ya-we*

*íyaži nì iyáwe*

to not speak or talk/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular moving; the singular moving/they say

119)

**He said to her again, “If you decide that you will take me for a husband, you shall take me for a husband!” they say.**

*“shi-na<sup>n</sup>, a<sup>n</sup>-ti-xe te i-ti-kda<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup>,*

*“šinq, qttiye tté ittikdq nqhá,*

again, and, also/you take me for your husband/future, shall, will be/you think, you decide, you plan/if, when

*a<sup>n</sup>-ti-xa te,” i-ke i-ya-we*

*qttiya tté,” iké iyáwe*

you take me for your husband/command, imperative/future, shall, will be/to say that to someone/they say

120)

**The woman said to him, “So shall it be, I will take you for my husband,” then they married each other, they say.**

*“e-ko<sup>n</sup> te,” i-yi i-ya-we*

*“ekq tte,” iyí iyáwe*

that sort, like, thus, like that, so/future, shall, will be/to have said+they say = they say that she said

121)

*“a-wi-bdi-xe te,” i-ke i-ya-we*

*“áwibdíye tté,” iké iyáwe*

I take you for my husband/future, shall, will be/to say that that someone/they say

122)

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup> ki-ki-kno<sup>n</sup>-ka-we i-ya-we*

*kóišqttq kkikkiknqkáwe iyáwe*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/reciprocal, each other+to marry a woman+pluralizer = they married each other/they say

123)

**Well, when they had married each other, they went to live in her lodge, the Devil went with her, they say.**

*ha-o, ki-ki-kno<sup>n</sup>-ka-i na<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, kkikkíknokáí nq*

well/reciprocal, each other+to marry a woman+pluralizer = they had married each other/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*sh'a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka ti e-ta t<sup>h</sup>e-ta*

*šʔattáka tti ettá t<sup>h</sup>ettá*

evil spirit, a devil/house, dwelling, lodge/his, hers, its = hers/the singular, standing or collection+to, at, toward, in that direction= to the

*zho-ki-kde a-ta<sup>n</sup> da-we i-ya-we*

*žókikde áttq dáwe iyáwe*

to be with one's own = he with her his own/and, when/to go+pluralizer = they go/they say

\*\*\*\*\* the story should end here; it appears the rest is missing \*\*\*\*\*

<sup>124)</sup>

**They arrived back to the lodge, they say.**

*ti t<sup>h</sup>e-ti*

*tti t<sup>h</sup>étti*

house, dwelling, lodge/the singular standing or collection/at, by, in, to = to the

*k<sup>h</sup>i-we i-ya-we*

*k<sup>h</sup>íwe iyáwe*

to arrive back at one's own+pluralizer = they arrived back home/they say

<sup>125)</sup>

**Well, when they arrived back to the lodge, the Devil wanted to go hunting, they say.**

*ha-o, k<sup>h</sup>i-wi ta<sup>n</sup>*

*hao, k<sup>h</sup>íwi tq*

well/to arrive back at one's own+pluralizer = they arrived back home/and, when, since, as

*e-ti ta-bde de ko<sup>n</sup>-da i-ya-we*

*étti tábde de kqdá iyáwe*

there, then/to hunt/to go/to want/they say

<sup>126)</sup>

**While he hunted, they camped, they say.**

*ta-bde e-sho<sup>n</sup> kni<sup>n</sup>-we i-ya-we*

*tábde ešq kníwe iyáwe*

to hunt/then, at length, and/sit, be sitting; be in a place, camp, dwell+pluraizer = they camped/they say

<sup>127)</sup>

**When they camped, the Devil would go hunt, they say.**

*kni<sup>n</sup>-wi ta<sup>n</sup>*

*kníwi tq*

sit, be sitting; be in a place, camp, dwell+pluraizer = they camped/and, when, since, as

*sh'a ta<sup>n</sup>-ka ta-bde de i-ya-we*

*šʔattáka tábde dé iyáwe*

evil spirit, a devil/to hunt/to go/they say

<sup>128)</sup>

**When it became dark, the Devil returned, they say.**

*pa-ze de na<sup>n</sup>*

*ppáze dé nq*

evening, dusk, not quite dark, close of the day+go, depart; this; causative = a little after dark, after dark, it became night/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*kdi i-ya-we*

*kdí iyáwe*

to have come back here = he had come back/they say

<sup>129)</sup>

**Then, the woman said, “This time when you went hunting a man came here,” they say.**

*ko-i-sho<sup>n</sup>-ta<sup>n</sup>, “ta-bde de te ta<sup>n</sup>*

*kóišóttq, “tábde de tté tq*

then, thus, accordingly, in that way, therefore/to hunt/this = this time/you go/and, when, since, as

*ni-ka-shi-ka mi<sup>n</sup> t<sup>hi</sup>, ”*

*níkkašika mĭ t<sup>hi</sup>, ”*

person, people, a man, clan/one, a, an/arrive, to have come here

*i-yi i-ya-we wa-x’o ni<sup>n</sup>-k<sup>he</sup>*

*iyí iyáwe waxʔó nĭk<sup>he</sup>*

to have said+they say = they say that she said/woman/3<sup>rd</sup> person singular continuative sitting; the singular, sitting

<sup>130)</sup>

**“He was trying hard to get me to look at him, I continued to not look at him.**

*“a-ta<sup>n</sup>-we-ki-de di-kna<sup>n</sup> ha<sup>n</sup> ha<sup>n</sup>-’e-a<sup>n</sup>-zhe*

*“atáwekkidé díknq hq hqʔeqžé,*

I look at+to cause one = to make me look at him/to decide, try, make effort = he planned or tried, he thought/\*<sup>1</sup>/\*<sup>2</sup>

\*<sup>1</sup> is this *nq, nq* .... ‘habitual, regularly, usually, often; past sign, when’ or *hq* ‘what, how, in what manner’

\*<sup>2</sup> *hóeqží* .... translated elsewhere as ‘a great deal, not a little’

*a-ta<sup>n</sup>-wa-zhi a<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>*

*atáwaži qmó*

I look at+not, negation = I did not look at him/I act or do in a certain way, I act so

<sup>131)</sup>

**When I put this piece of coal down in front of him, he said ‘Ouch! Ouch! Ouch!’ I continued to not look at him at all,”**

*ta-xde de-ko<sup>n</sup> a-ki-kna<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>,*

*taxdé dekó ákiknq nq,*

coals, charcoal, ember, fire coal/this sort, like this, this kind/I put or set my own = I put mine down, I put it down before him/regularly, usually, often; past sign, when

*a-dzhi-dzhi-dzhi-dzhi-ho! i-ye ko<sup>n</sup>*

*ádžidžidžidžihó! iyé kq,*

ouch! ouch! ouch!/to say/as, since, so, like

*e-ni-te a-ta<sup>n</sup>-wa-zhi hi a<sup>n</sup>-mo<sup>n</sup>.”*

*énitte atqwaži hí qmó.”*

although, though, notwithstanding/I look at+not, negation = I did not look at him/very, intensifier/I act or do in a certain way, I act so