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Carolyn Fox Gibbons
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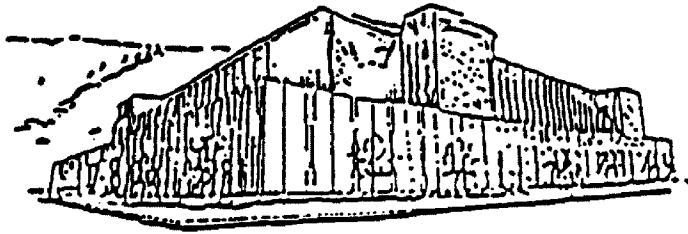
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An edition of

Coyote Steals Son's Wife

by

Carolyn Fox Gibbons
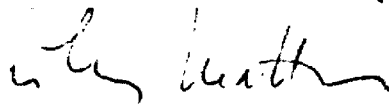
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An Edition of Coyote Steals Son's Wife

Director: Anthony Mattina   *l'm*

"Coyote Steals Son's Wife" is one of the narratives collected by Gladys A. Reichard in the first half of the twentieth century. Although the English translation was published in 1947, the narrative in its native Couer d'Alene has remained unpublished.

This thesis is organized in five parts. In the first, I describe how I prepared the original transcript for interlinearization, and I discuss briefly the myth itself. The second is my continuous English translation of the myth. The third section is a facsimile of Reichard's typed transcript of her original hand written recording of Dorothy Nicodemus' oral narrative . The fourth is a morphological parsing of the text with interlinear glosses and free English translation. The fifth is the glossary of morphemes and stems found in the text including the frequency of the morphemes.

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Coeur d'Alene Phonemes

(Reichard's symbols in brackets)

p	t	c [ts]	č [tc]		kʷ	q	qʷ
p'	t'	c' [ts']	č' [tc']		k'ʷ	q'	q'ʷ	ʔ [']

b	d		ǰ [dj]		gʷ	
		s	ɬ [ł]	š [c]		xʷ	x̌ [x]	x̌ʷ [x̣ʷ]	h
m	n	r	l	y		w		ʕ [R]	ʕʷ [ṛʷ]
m'	n'	r'	l'	y'		w'		ʕ'[R']	ʕ'ʷ[ṛ'ʷ]

i[ɩ]   u[u̩,u]

ε   (ə)[E]   ɔ[o]

a

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc	accusative
act	actual
art	article
cont	continuative
ct	causative transitive
cust	customary
d	directional
dev	developmental
erg	ergative
fut	future
gen	genitive
inch	inchoative
int	intentional
irr	irrealis
loc	locative
M	middle
neg	negative
nom	nominative
nte	non topic ergative
obl	oblique
p	possessor applicative
pl	plural
prep	preposition
reflex	reflexive
rel	relational
sta	stative
sub	subordinator
t	transitive

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Although the story of how Coyote stole his daughter-in-law was probably told for centuries among the Coeur d'Alene people of northern Idaho, it was not put down on paper until Gladys A. Reichard heard it from Dorothy Nicodemus in the late 1920's. The title is "Coyote Steals Son's Wife" on her manuscript and "Coyote Steals Daughter-in-law" in her article, "An Analysis of Coeur D'Alene Indian Myths."

In the introduction I will first describe the procedures I followed, then give a brief analysis of the myth itself. The continuous translation of the text follows the introduction in Chapter Two.

The initial task was to decipher Reichard's orthography. The original story had been told to Reichard by Dorothy Nicodemus. Reichard numbered this text XVIII, and subsequently reordered the myths renumbering it IV (the facsimile shows that the numerals were crossed out and replaced). Because her typewriter did not have the capability to type phonetic characters, she wrote these in. Examples include the iota ι; the echo vowel (raised iota); and the glottalization marks above consonants. It was difficult at times to determine what symbol was intended. For instance, it was a challenge to differentiate between stress marks and glottal stops. I relied heavily on Reichard's 1938 grammar to guide me in the decipherment of her transcriptions while typing my facsimile.

1

The sounds of the Coeur d'Alene language added to the enjoyment of creating my facsimile. Coeur d'Alene uses reduplication of the stem to denote such things as "baby talk," plurality and other inflections and derivations. Reichard states, "It is not difficult to understand how such a morphological device may affect the literary style in a marked degree, especially if the people using it play with it."[1] Onomatopoeia, and the lengthening of stressed syllables (marking extended time, such as, he we...nt, to mean he traveled a great distance over a long period of time), are used frequently also. These clues were taken into account when writing the continuous translation in Chapter Two.

I had a difficult time understanding Reichard's English interlinear version of the text. Capitalization was not used, except in the proper names for Coyote, Snipe, Black Swan and Mole, nor were any punctuation marks given, such as quotation marks, commas or periods. To give an example, here are the first few translated lines from the text: *he dwelt Coyote his son the oldest two wives that one of them Snipe and the other Black Swan had a baby and Snipe did not have a baby this was the one liked Black Swan Snipe was not liked.* Periods were in the Coeur d'Alene line, but not in the English. After using *Shoebox* (a computer program used for morpheme analysis), and parsing the words I can now understand the passage to mean "Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son. There were two wives: Snipe and Black Swan. Black Swan had a baby, and Snipe did not have a baby. Black Swan was liked. Snipe was not liked."

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[1]Reichard 1947 p. 25

Before the text was ready for parsing in *Shoebox*, the original orthography of Reichard had to be transliterated into Coeur d'Alene orthography. Once this was done, the text was loaded into *Shoebox* and the work of parsing out the morphemes began. As prefixes and suffixes were pruned away, the stems and roots were revealed. Reichard's "Stem-List of the Coeur d'Alene Language" and Nicodemus 1975 verified my results.

Another kind of problem was presented by "coyote talk". Reichard had noted at the beginning of the story that "The words in this story must be taken with qualifications since the whole story is cast in 'coyote talk'". Reichard 1938 on page 545, grammatical paragraph 120, states, "Coyote uses c^2 for s, this being a stylistic device." So in other words, Coyote talks with a lisp. Further investigation might reveal how significant a factor this trait may be.

The next step was to compile a glossary of the stems and affixes found in the text. This actually turned out to be the most useful step. I was able to search for morphemes from the the *Shoebox* interlinearized text. The study of the distribution of morphemes made it possible to correct some of the errors I had made, for example, distinguishing between the continuative y'c and the customary ʔɛc. Doak 1997 states, "Continuative: y'c-. this prefix does not occur on transitive stems. It may be used with simple intransitive stem or with genitive agent constructions."

Even with the aid of computers, my complete understanding of the story remains limited. Because I do not have sufficient background in Coeur d'Alene mythology and culture necessary to do it justice, I can do no more than point out

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[2]See phoneme chart.

what seemed to me to be universal themes. "Coyote Steals Son's Wife" is similar to

Homer's The Odyssey. Like Coyote's son, Odysseus needs to return from a far off

land, where he experiences many adventures, in order to reclaim his wife. Like

Odysseus, Coyote's son encounters man-eaters: Long Legs'[3] younger brother in

Coyote and Cyclops in the Odyssey. The Beaver Women who lull Coyote's son

into spending a long time with them remind me of Circe. Coyote's son returns

home and hides in the mat house, while Odysseus returns home disguised as an old

man. Revenge comes when Coyote's son kills everyone, except his faithful wife

and mother; and Odysseus kills all the suitors. The spinning of the spiders is

vaguely reminiscent of Penelope's weaving. Just as the story of the Odyssey has

widespread distribution in the west, so does this Coyote myth which is found in

various versions throughout the United States and Canada.[4]

The text can be viewed as illustrating a rite of passage. Coyote's son must

become a man and take charge of his life before he can return home and claim his

wife. In the first part of the story Coyote's son is being manipulated by everyone:

his father tricks him into going into the sky; Long Legs uses Coyote's son to trick

his brother; the Beaver Women use him to hunt for food. It is not until Coyote's

son stops and realizes that he is lonesome that the story changes and he exerts his

power to get home. He demands that the Spider women listen to him and then

when he returns to earth, he seeks revenge on all who did his wife harm.

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[3]The proper names Long Legs and Beaver Women are mentioned and
capitalized in Reichard 1947, but in the transcript, Coyote Steals Son's Wife, the
names are not.

[4]Reichard 1947 p. 80

As interesting as the story is, the focus of my project is to do some textual analysis of this Coeur d'Alene text, and as such my analysis is to be considered a preliminary attempt. Although I have spent numerous hours working on this story, I feel I have only scratched the surface. Every time I recognize a new form, I find myself rethinking previous words, and going back to reanalyze previous analyses. The computer is an effective tool for this kind of analytical work. The work is very addicting, and occasionally frustrating: many items remain unanalyzed. Hopefully, my work will aid other researchers who might want to pursue further this interesting and important endeavour.

CHAPTER TWO
COYOTE STEALS SON'S WIFE
CONTINUOUS STORY

Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son. His oldest son had two wives, Snipe and Black Swan. Black Swan had a baby; Snipe didn't. Black Swan was loved, but Snipe was not. Coyote thought to himself, I should love Snipe. That Black Swan is ugly. Why should she be loved? Coyote wondered what he could do so his son would die, and he could have Snipe for himself.

Coyote went and called on his powers. He asked them, "What can I do so my child will die?"

One said, "You can carry him little by little up into the sky."

Another power, the oldest, said, "I will make it possible for him to climb on me."

Another said , "I will be a golden eagle on the top of a tree. Two baby eagles will be sitting in a nest."

Then another said, "I will beckon with my eyebrows and make him rise into the sky."

Coyote left. He found his son and told him, "I saw two eagles up in a nest. There is an unusual ladder for you to use to reach them."

The son said, "Oh, I will go for them in the morning."

The next morning the son said, "Let's go for the eagles!" They found the spot and saw the eagles sitting above them. They were big. They were just about old enough to fly. The son started to climb. He climbed and climbed for a long time. When he looked down, he saw his father lying on his back. Coyote was arching his eyebrows. His son said, "Why are you arching your eyebrows?"

Coyote said, "Oh, I'm just worried about you. I don't want to worry, so I just arch my eyebrows." The son didn't look down again. He was already way up and yet he continued to climb. Finally he entered the sky.

Coyote left. He ran until he reached the house. He told Black Swan, "Leave here! Because of you, your husband has left!" Then he told his children, "Your brother has left, and you will never see him again." Then he went to Snipe and told her that she was to be his wife. Again he sent Black Swan away.

Meanwhile, the son was walking in the sky. It was just like the earth. He walked and walked. He walked a very long way. He saw an elk. He shot it. Then he butchered it. Then he dried it. Night fell. Just as he was about to fall asleep, he heard people talking. He started to understand them.

One said, "I suppose you saw that person, and you were just about to defecate on him. I suppose you will stand over that person."

Then the other said, "I suppose you saw that elk. I suppose you were going to defecate on that elk."

Then the son heard them fighting with canes. The one who killed people had human bones on his cane, and the one who ate elk had elk bones on his cane.[1] One spiked the other into the ground.

At this point, Coyote's son arrived to see the long-legged creature. He was very tall. He had long legs.

He told Coyote's son, " If you give me that elk, I will protect you."[2] He told the son, "Take all kinds of food. Then we will fight. Just when he is about to hold me down, I will say to you 'Chop my leg grandson.' You lay a stick there and chop it. I will run around like I am in pain.[3] Then he will drop down. Then again I will say, 'Chop my leg grandson.' When he takes the axe, you chop it for real. Then he will become envious, and he will run off." Long Legs ate the meat.

---

[1]There is a note in the original transcription which reads, "the oldest ate game [youngest] ate people. 'I suppose you'll defecate on man so you can eat' 'I suppose you'll defecate on elk so you can eat' Each had a cane and on it was tied a bone of every person he had killed. So there was an elk cane and a human cane."

[2]The translation uses "younger brother" in this passage. Strangers are often addressed as if they were relatives, yet in this case I am not sure if Long Legs wants the son to give the elk to the younger brother; or, if Long Legs is going to protect Coyote's son from his "younger brother." I chose the latter because it seems to make the most sense.

[3]The note in the original transcription reads "when he chopped his own he chopped stick but to coyote he chopped leg." This passage is confusing. They are obviously trying to play a trick on the other spider, but I am not sure what happens.

Coyote's son left. He stood under a tree because it began to rain. He covered his arrows under a blanket. Then he heard women laughing. Beaver's older sister is going downstream laughing "ha ha." and Beaver's younger sister is going upstream."[4]

Coyote's son heard the sound of beavers' tails beating. There was a beaver being beaten with a stick.

Then one beaver said, "All right, our husband is already wet." Then the women beavers came toward Coyote's son. They came straight at him. They came closer and closer. Coyote's son hid at the base of a tree.

The women saw him and said, "You are already wet. We will just go back." Then they left. There were four beaver women. Each carried two beavers on their backs. Coyote's son followed them back to their house. When he entered, he noticed that there were many beavers assembled there. They cooked the beavers which they had beaten and carried on their backs. Then they ate them. Then they sat around.

Coyote's son said, "I am going to go hunting." He left. He shot a deer. He thought, "Wait a minute, I remember seeing two deer back there." He went back and shot it. He brought the second deer back to where he had placed the first one. But the first one was GONE! All that was left were bloodstains and blood scattered around.

He went back to the house of the beavers.

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[4]This expression is used to alert the listener that something important is about to happen. Reichard 1947 p. 28.

One of the women said, "He got a deer! This is our man!" They quickly cooked the deer and ate it. These women were glad.

Coyote's son said, "I would have had two deer, but when I got back to where I had left it, the first one was gone!"

The women didn't say anything. They were quiet. They just laughed. They didn't say anything.

Then the next morning, Coyote's son again went hunting. He shot more game.

He thought to himself, "I will be careful with this one. I wonder what ate that one yesterday?" He hid in the bushes. In a short while, a long leg stamped down from above .... then another. There were just long legs. The body was small and flat. The long legged creature began to eat the deer. Coyote's son shot it! It died.

Then Coyote's son left. He found another deer and shot it. Now he had two deer. He butchered them and carried them back to the house on his back.

When he got there, the women were silent. They looked like they had been crying. He put the deer down. The women did not prepare them for eating. Coyote's son took off his moccasins. But the women didn't speak.[5] Coyote's son was not given anything to eat. Just one woman ate and she kept her back turned away from him.

Then Coyote's son began to eat and said, "I killed the creature with the long legs; the one with the small head."

Just when he said this, the women burst into tears. "He was our father," they cried.

---

[5]When someone is upset it is the custom to not say anything until the offender figures out what he has done. Reichard 1947 p. 44.

Coyote's son said, "What is the matter with all of you!"

They said, "You killed our father."

Then he said, "You didn't tell me who he was! I told you that something had eaten my kill, and you didn't say a word! You didn't say 'Oh, he's our father.'"

Then Coyote's son said, "Stop your crying. He will soon live again."

He left and walked until he came to where Long Legs lay. He stepped ceremoniously over him. Long Legs began to move.

Coyote's son said, "Your children didn't tell me. I told them that something had eaten my kill, but no one said, 'He is our father.'"

Then Long Legs said, "Didn't you know that I saved your life when you first got here; when you were about to broil the meat? My brother is a man-eater and he would have eaten you. I was the one who saved you." Then Long Legs said, "Come with me. Follow in my tracks."

They went, and Coyote's son shot many deer; who knows how many! Then he returned to the beaver's house.

When he reached his house, the women were happy. He said to them, "You are all stupid. You should have told me that he was your father, and then I would not have killed him. But you didn't say anything."

The next morning he left. He killed a deer. He just killed one deer. He carried it back to the house on his back. He was lonesome for his child. He remembered how he used to have a baby with Black Swan. He lay down and covered himself with his blanket.[6] His beaver children came and started to play.

_____

[6]See previous footnote #5 regarding Reichard 1947 p. 44.

One woman said, "Leave him alone. Your father has a hole in his moccasin near his big toe made by Black Swan."[7] Coyote's son just lay there.

Then he got up. He thought, "I wonder how I can get back to Black Swan's house?" He spoke in vain. He was just talking.

Then he heard a sound ludidi ludidi [8]. Spiders! There were two sitting across from one another...spinning...ludidi ludidi.[9]

"It's mine" said the closest.

"No, the root starts growing on my side," said the other.

"No, it's mine! I didn't smash it!" said the other.

Coyote's son said to the one closest to him, "My grandmother, will you bring me back?"

They remained quiet.

He said, "I will pay you for your clothing."

Silence. They didn't even look at him.

"Hey, I am speaking to you!" They were silent, just nothing! He said, "I'll give you each a sackful of meat."

Silence.

Then he said, "You are my grandmothers! I am speaking to you! I want to pay you for the hemp!"

---

[7]This is a sign that a man wants another woman. Reichard 1947 p.28 The original transcription has a note saying, "An expression to say with jealousy 'He's homesick for another woman.'"

[8]This is the sound that spiders make while spinning. Reichard 1947 p.29.

[9]A note in the original transcript reads, "one old woman was sitting on each side. They were arguing about a hemp stalk which grew a long way underground near one over to the other's side where it came out of [the] ground, hence the argument."

"Ah..." they said, "Our grandson."

"I have been trying to talk to your for a long time," he said.

Then one spider said, "As if spiders might wear clothes!"

"Oh, I see grandson. We are talking about hemp." The other said.

"All right, all right, you want to pay us for the hemp."

"I don't know," said Coyote's son, "I hope it is still in one piece."

The spiders got a box.[10] They laid Coyote's son in it. They told him that it would stop four times[11] before he would reach the earth. They said that he would hear the wind blowing through the grass when he got there.

"When you stop the first time, open the lid and you will fall again. Just close the lid."

He was lowered down. Then he fell. Then he stopped himself. He rocked back and forth [12] and fell again. He did this four times. He landed and heard the sound of the grass blowing in the wind. He was back on earth. He gave the rope a tug and up it rose, back into the sky.

He walked a ways.

"This is where our house used to be. But it isn't here any more. It's gone." He looked around. "Here is where they moved camp."

He followed the trail. He walked for a long time. "This is where they camped." There was a small fire a short distance from the main camp. It looked like they had moved camp again.

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[10] A note in the original transcription explains that the box was like a coffin.

[11] Four is a significant number in Coeur d'Alene mythology. Reichard 1947 p. 27.

[12] The motion is described in a note in the original transcription.

He traveled a little further and saw his wife. She was carrying the bundle with the sticks for the mat house[13] on her back. On top of the bundle sat the child. Coyote's son approached them.

The baby looked at him. "Papa."

His mother said, "Long ago your papa left."

The baby said, "No, Papa."

The mother said again, "No, your papa left a long time ago."

Just then she turned around and saw Coyote's son. Black Swan said, "It is pitiful the way I have been treated! Your father keeps sending us away. Your father took Snipe for his wife and sent me away. I was supposed to go far away."

Then Coyote's son said, "Now I will kill them!"

Black Swan went on, "Just as we get close, he says, 'get away, leave us!' Didn't you see where our fire was at the last camp? The one away from the main one...that was our fire."

Coyote's son said, "Here, carry me on your back. Take me to the rear of the house. Lay me down there."

Black Swan said, "No, he will beat me!"

Coyote's son said, "Hurry, you will lay me down and then untie me from the bundle."

They went. She kept getting closer. Coyote's son kept saying, "Just go quietly...keep going."

---

[13]A note in the original transcription gives this description: "wife is packing long house made of reeds."

Just as she started to lay him down and untie the bundle. Coyote yelled,
"What are you doing? We are trying to get away from you! You have followed us
against my orders."

The son began to get up. He slowly rose and began crying, "This is how
you treat my wife! I pity her."

The son grabbed a stick. He brained his father. Then he bludgeoned Snipe
to death. He also beat his brothers to death.

He went toward his mother, but she cried, "No! It wasn't my fault. I didn't
want her to be treated this way." Mole[14] was allowed to live. There were just
three people left alive.

That is the end of the road.

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[14]Mole is Coyote's wife. Reichard 1947 p 16.

CHAPTER THREE

FACSIMILE

The following is a facsimile of Gladys Reichard's text "Coyote Steals Son's Wife,"

which endeavors to reproduce faithfully Reichard's original transcription. Some of the

original lines in the typescript are longer than this facsimile depicts. A double line

represents a page break. I have added bracketed numbers which correspond to the lines of

the interlinearized text.

16

~~XVIII~~ IV (688) Coyote steals Son's Wife 1

[1] ätswi´c xʷä smɩyi´w ɬaᵃ 'asqʷs sci'´'tEmc. [2] ttc'ä´sEl ɬä
he dwelt   Coyote his son the oldest   two

smi´y'mä'ᵃms ɬuw'ä ttcnä´kʷä'ᵃ t'Et'aqʷi´n' hiɬ ɬä tcnä´kʷä'ᵃ qä´lpyä
wives   that one of them Snipe   and the other   Black Swan

apɬ gugwaxti´l't. [3] hiɬ t'Et'aqʷi´n'lut(h)ay'pɬ gugwaxti´l't.s. [4] xʷiʺ
had a baby   and Snipe did   not have a baby   this

xʷa xami´ntc aᵃqä´lpyä ɬä t'Et'aqʷi´n' lutxami´ntc. [5] nä'ᵃku´ ɬä
was the one liked Black Swan Snipe was not liked: he thought

smɩyi´w tcä'ᵃ tcɩn'ä´ tcäɬtcɩnxami´ntc ät'Et'aqʷi´n'ɬuw'äᵃ̄ sdjä´y'djiy't.s
Coyote I ought to be the one who is liked by Snipe that one is ugly

ɬaᵃ qä´lpyä kum' xami´ntc. [6] yɔ tcä'ᵃ mäᵃ̄'l'i´ axi´sEn ɬ tca'ᵃ ta'xux
Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

ɬa hɩsqʷa´ sqʷäsä'äs tcä 'uɬtäᵃ̄kʷi´nEn ɬuw'ä t'Et'aqʷi´n'.[7] hɔi xʷist
my child I ought to take in turn that Snipe   then he went

ɬä smɩyi´w.[8] hɔi tcätpukʷi´ntcEm ɬä sɩnqäᵃ̄m'i´l'tups.s [9] ᵃ̈kʷn m'äl'i´
Coyote then he called his powers his dung   he said what

na'axi´sEn na'ᵃ ta´xux ɬa hɩsqʷa´sqʷäsä'ᵃ̄. [10] äku´stEm nä' uᵘ'u´kʷnä'nntxʷ
shall I do so he will die my child he was said to carry him little by little

tatc ttc'Ema´sq'ɩt. [11] äkʷn xʷiy'ä sci´'tEmc tcäɬtci'ʺtccä´t'
to heaven   he said this oldest I will be set up

na'ᵃ xätcästcɩttc'i´gwul.
so that he will climb well

[12] kum' ɬä ttcnä´kʷä'ᵃ̄ äkʷn tcäɬtcɩnmalqänu´ps ɬä äy'tscä´t'
then another said   I will be golden eagle on a tree

ha sɪntc'a´mqɪs xʷi'ʰ[13] na'a ttsaqi´w'äs xʷi'ʰ nä'ä tcätp'i´ɬ ä´sEl
top   here   the nest is to be here they will sit on it two

ɬɔqʷ ulmalqEnu´ps.[14] kum' ɬä ttcnä´k'ʷä'ᵃ̈ äkʷn tcältcɪnɪntɔ´rsEm äkʷn
also belonging to eagle   then another said I will beckon   he said

tsi'ʰ hɔi ultcɪtsxʷi´st (xʷä) smɪyi´w.[15] xuɬ ults'ä´l'El'.[16] äku´stus
all right then went   back this way   he went until he arrived   he said to him

---

X̶V̶I̶I̶I̶ IV (688) 2

ɬa sqʷa´sqʷäsä'äs gwi´tcEn ɬa malqänu´ps. [17] äku´stEm txascEni´w'äs
his son   I saw it   the eagle he was said to it is good to the feet

dä'ᵃ̈ɬ äkuᵘw'ä´ tcäɬ'ɪsttc'i´gwulEn. [18] äkustEm ä··· kum' la´axʷ nä'ᵃ̈
unusual by you it is to be your ladder he was said to ä··· then in the morning

tcɪnuɬxui.[19] hɔi ɬaᵃ la'axʷ äku´stEm xui ustcsxu´imät.[20] hɔi uɬxu´yɪlc
I will go back then in the morning he was said to go let's go for it then again they went

hɔi gwi´tctsɪlc ätcätp'i´ɬ t'i'ʰ kum' tcäst'i´'ʰtä'ᵃ̈ɬ.[21] t'i'ʰ pi´stäy't.
then they saw them sitting already then already they were about to fly they were big

[22] hɔi tcɪttc'i´gwul ɬa sqʷa´sqʷäsä'ᵃ̈. [23] hɔi tcɪttc'i´···gwul.
then he climbed this way the son   then he clim···ed

[24] uɬtsiᶦ'a´ts'xEnts ɬä pi´pä'äs ät'uk'ʷi´····.[25] xʷi'ɬ uɬ'aᵃts'a´xEl
    he looked back his father lay there   thus he did again

tɔ´rus tɔ´rus xʷiy'ä smɪyi´w äku´stus tgwäl' stim' ukutɔ´rs äkʷn lu
he beckoned he beckoned this Coyote he said to him why are you beckoning

kʷi'ʰtc'i'ʰnmi´nEm.[26] kum' ni lut tcäy'tcsɪnmiyi´psEn kum' utc'am'
I am worrying about am I not to be conscious of danger   then just he you then
      (know what is behind it)

tɔ´rs.[27] hɔi lut(h)ä'uł'a´ts'xEnts ła t'i´ tätc (h)ngwi´st kum'
beckoned then he did not again look at him already high up then

täl'tsi'' ułttc'i´gwul. [28] hɔi n'ułxʷ łuw'a attc'Ema´sq'ʊt.[29] hɔi
from there he climbed then he went into the sky then

xʷist. [30] hɔi ułtɑtsxʷä´t'p łä smʊyi´w.
he went then this way he ran away Coyote:

[31] xuł ułtciⁱn'nu´łxʷ łä äᵃtsätxʷs.[32] äku´stus xʷiy'ä cä´lpyä xuʊc
he proceeded to reenter his house: he said to her this Black Swan go

lä´kukc tgwäl' kuᵘw'ä´ngwät hił tcäli´päp ʊsqi´l'tumxʷ.[33] hɔi äku´stus
go far off because of you it is that he left your husband then he said to them

łä stsʊtsʊm'i´l'täl't.s tcäli´päp xʷa qaqi´tstcEm'p. [34] hɔi xʷä
her his children he has left your little older brother then never (it is over)

tcäsgwi´tctp.[35hɔi ułtäᵃkʷi´nts łä t'Et'aqʷi´n.[36hɔi usstäᵃmi´y'äms.
will you never see then again he told Snipe then he had a wife

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XVIII IV (691) Coyote Steals Son's Wife 3

[37] hɔi mä'ä'ᵃmi´nts ła qä´lpyä.[38] hɔi ła sqʷa´sqʷäsä'ᵃs xuł tcatq'ä´t'p
then he sent her away Black Swan then his son proceeded to the top

uxʷälä tmi´xʷuł'umxʷ. [39] hɔi xʷist xʷ···st.[40] gwitcts xʷä spi´łts'ä'ᵃ.
just like the earth then he went he we··nt he saw it an elk

[41] hɔi t'a´pEnts.[42] hɔi ts'ä´qʷunts lu´pEnts hɔi hʊnkʷi´''ts.[43] hɔi
then he shot it then he butchered it he dried it then it was night then

ucʊł tcäᵃy'i´t.c ł ttsaqi´nä'ᵃ ästcint ʊtsquqʷa´'ᵃqʷä'ᵃl'.[44] hɔi hɔi
just as he was about to sleep is when he heard people talking then

(h)ʟnsu´xʷänä'ämEnts hä ttcnä´k'ʷä'ᵃ xum'u´t kuᵘgwi´tc ästcint xum'u´t
then then at once he understood it one I suppose you see people I suppose

tcäłkusʟntcʟntcʟntʟxu´psʊms.[45] xum'u´t tcäłkutsantsElästci´nt kʊm'
suppose you will defecate on people I suppose you will stand under people then

ułtättcnä´k'ʷä'ᵃ ułtäᵃ'äkʷn xum'u´t kuᵘgwi´tc äspi´łts'ä'ᵃ.[46] xum'´t
the other said in turn I suppose you see elk   I suppose

pʟłpʟłts'ä'i´xupsʊms hɔi kum'cʟtc'mi´nts ʟti'ʷtiy'a´qʷtäts'uk'ʷi´tcsEn.
you defecate on elk then   he heard it fighting with a cane

[47] hɔi mäl'(h)ʟncEt'u´lumxʷʊnts.[48] hɔi tci¹ts'ä´l'El' łä tsi´ctsEct hä
then he spiked him into the ground then he arrived here the long

sttc'a´mtc'EmalqcEn hʟngwi´st.[49] äkʷn łä sci´'ʷtumc hʟsEsi´n'tsä'ᵃ nä'ᵃ
legs   was tall   he said the oldest my younger brother

tci´łstäxʷ ʟsyäᵃpi´łts'ä'ᵃ nä'ᵃ tsänk'ʷi´n'EntsEn.[50] äku´stus xuʟc
give me the elk you secured and I will protect you he said to him go take them
                        (be careful with)

tcä´m'Ent aᵃya´R iits'i´łEn.
all kinds of food

[51] k'ʷnä' uciłtcʟntci¹ts'ä´l'El' na'ᵃ tcti'ʷtiy'ä´qʷt.[52] nä'ᵃ cʟł tc
   soon when I arrive   we will fight   just as he

äłtcʟstci¹tcä´n'Ems nä 'äku´stmEn cEli´w'äscEnts hi¹si´lä'ᵃ nä'ᵃ kʷintxʷ
is about to hold me I will say to you chop my leg my daughter's child take

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X̶V̶I̶I̶I̶ IV (693) Coyote Steals son's wife 4

xʷä slip' xʷi' nä'ᵃ tc'ä´ts'Entxʷ xʷäᵃ cä´lEnt.[53] nä 'äku´stmE
take a stick here lay it down then chop it I will say to you

cEli´w'äscEnts si´lä'ᵃ.[54] kum' nä'ᵃ tcʟnułdɔ´lq'ʷʊntsut.[55] k m' k'ʷna'ᵃ
chop my leg grandson   then I will again exert myself   then the will

däxt.[56] kum' k'ʷnä'ᵃ ułtäᵃ'a´kʷn cEli´w'äscEnts si´lä'ᵃ.[57] nä'ᵃ
go away then soon again he will say chop my leg grandson when

kwi´nts łä'ᵃ cä´lmEn nä'ᵃ cä´lEntxʷ.[58] hɔi dä´xuxʷ.[59] xʷät'pEntsut.
he (it) takes the ax you are to chop it   then he was envious he ran off

[60] hɔi i´łEnts xʷa sqilttc.[61] hɔi xʷist łä smɩyi´w ła sqʷa´sqʷäsä'ᵃs
then he ate it the meat   then he went Coyote his son he

xʷist[62] xʷi´'ꟼ a´xEl q'up't hɔi gul'ts'Elä´calqʷ hɔi kum' xʷä
went thus he did it rained then he stood under a tree and then while it was

y'tsq'u´p't kum' äᵃsi´ts'Em kum' łäᵃ t'a´pämɩs xʷi'ꟼ a´xEl.[63] hɔi
raining then he was blanketed then his arrow thus he did: then

tcɩttsaqi´nä'ᵃ hä smi´y'äm ätsmä´xʷmu̧xʷt hä hä hä.
he heard this way a woman   laughing hä hä hä:

[64] an'axʷti´ꟼ hänmu´lcäntc häᵃ y'u´kʷä'äs hä hä ancariᶦci´ꟼ
going downstream beaver's his older sister hä hä upstream

hänmu´lcäntc hä tsEtsi´y'ä'ᵃs.[65] hɔi kum' p'atcEtcEtcE xʷaᵃ xä´tEntEm
beaver his younger sister   and then noise of beaver's tail it was beaten

äslip' hɩł xʷaᵃ xä´tEntEm äkʷn ha hɔi t'i'ᵘ na´'ᵃs ła sqi´l'tu̧mxʷät.
with the stick he was beaten he said all right he is already wet our husband

[66] hɔi tciᶦdä´xt tcɩtätcxʷi´'ᵘ.[67] hɔi ułtcɩtcstä´łEntEm.[68] hɔi
then they came this way toward here then again he was to come straight then

tcɩtc'Etc'i´t kum' łä äy'tccä´t' gul'q'ʷu̧np'mEntsɔ´talqʷ hɔi kum' xʷi'ꟼ
they came near then by the tree they hid (at base of tree) and then thus

a´xEl.[69] hɔi äku´stEm hä hui t'i'ᵘ ku̧ᵘna´'ᵃs t'i'ᵘtcäłtc'uy'Eni´s
did then he was said to all right (ready!) already you are wet the let's go back

[70]hɔi
then

uɬdä́xt tmus hä gul'sux"i´lgwäs ä�'äsäl hänmu´lcäntc.[71] x"iy'ä tmus
they went back four each carrying on its backs two beavers these four

gul'ts'ä´säl änmu´lcäntc.[72] hɔi uɬtcä´cEn xu··-ɬ uɬpänä'ᵃtswi´c ɬä̈ᵃ
each had two beavers then again he went back along he went as far back as a dwelling

tsätx".
house

[73] hɔi uɬɩnnä́pt y'aR'pqi´n' hɩnmu´lcäntc.[74] hɔi k'ul'tsEntsu´t ɬä
then again in they went many beavers   then they cooked the

hɩnmu´lcäntc.[75] hɔi iɬn hɔi pinttc ɩts'Emu´t.[76] guɬɩnmu´lcäntc
beavers then they ate now always he sat   they are beavers

x"iy'ä smi´y'mä'äm.[77] hɔi tsi'ɬ äk"n hɔi tcɩntcɩli´p.[78] hɔi x"ist.
these women then there he said now I am going hunting then he went

[79] hɔi xuɬ t'a´pEnts x"ä̈ᵃts'i'ꞌ.[80] nä'ᵃku´ ä̈ᵃä´säl täl'tsi´ꞌ x"ist.
then he proceeded to shoot it the deer he thought there were two on he went:

[81] hɔi uɬtapt'a´pEm ä̈ᵃnä´k'"ä'ᵃ.[82] hɔi ts'ä´q"Ents.[83] hɔi
then on the way he shot another   then he butchered it then

uɬtciˡsä´x"ts hɔi uɬtcɩtsxu´i x"ä tätc nä´k'"ä'ᵃ.[84] tc'u···.
again he carried it on his back then he came back to the other it was gone

[85] tmic mi´t'tc'ädä'ᵃ hiɬ ɬu'ᵘk"ɩy'i´··gwt.[86] hɔi uɬ'äni´s xuɬ
just blood and it was stained here and there (carelessly) then again he went

uɬts'ä´l'El' ɬä 'ä̈ᵃtsä´tx".[87] äk"n tcɩyä̈ᵃts'i´ꞌ x"iy'ä sqi´l'tumx"ät.
again he arrived at the house he said he got a deer this our man

[88] hɔi kum' k'ul'tsEntsu´t x"iɬtct.[89] hɔi q'"ält hɔi kum' i´ɩnɩlc
now then they cooked they hurried (at it) then it was cooked and then they ate

limt x"iy'ä smi´y'mä'äm.[90] li···mt.[91] hɔi äk"n tcäɬtcɩstciyä̈ᵃ'ä´säl.
they were pleased these women they were glad then he said I was going to have two

[92] tcιn'uɬtcιtsxuˊi tc'u'· guɬ lutäᵃy'iˊngwät. [93] sιlc uguɬqäˊ··m

when I came back it was gone they said nothing (did not say what)they kept silence

ιtsmäˊxʷmu̟xʷt guɬqä··m. [94] hɔi ɬa la'a̟xʷ

laughing   they paid no attention then in the morning

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äkʷn hɔi tcιn'uɬtcɬiˊp.[95] hɔi uɬxʷiˊst.[96] xuɬ uɬt'aˊpEm uɬ-

he said now I am going hunting again then again he went he went as far as to shoot

yäᵃnäˊkʷʷä'ᵃ.[97] nä'ᵃkuˊ nä'ᵃ tccäˊt'En.[98] nä'ᵃ stim' hiɬ iˊɬEntEm.

another he procured in hunting he thought I will be careful I wonder by what it was eaten

[99] hɔi Riˊpιlc ni'äˊmιc.[100] k'uk'ʷEn'iˊy'ä täl' hιngwiˊst tciˡtaˊl'qEm then he hid

among (bushes) he sat soon   from above it stamped

hä tsict ha sttc'aˊmalqcEn.[101] hɔi ɬɔqʷ ɬäᵃ näˊkʷʷä'ᵃ häᵃ tsict.

a long   a leg   then also the other a long one

[102] utmiˊc sttc'aˊmtc'EmalqcEn.[103] ɬa sqiɬttc tc'ιtc'äˊn'ä'ᵃ.

just legs there were   the body was small

[104] xʷiy'ä sqiɬttc ucιciˊl'.[105] hɔi ɬä ts'i'ᷟ xʷi'ɬ äᵃtäk'ʷ.

 this body was flat   now the deer here it lay

[106] kum' tciˡniˊtc'Ents kum' iˊɬnts.[107] hɔi t'aˊpEnts.[108] hɔi ta̟ˊxu̟x̟.

 then he cut it this way then he ate it now he shot him then he died

[109] hɔi täl'tsi'ᷟ xʷist.[110] hɔi gwitc äᵃts'i'ᷟ uɬt'aˊpEnts.[111] hɔi

 then from there he went then he saw a deer again he shot it then he had

yäᵃ'äˊsäl.[112] hɔi ts'äqʷu̟nts.[113] hɔi uɬtciˡsäˊxʷts[114]   hɔi uɬtcιtsxuˊi

two then he butchered it then he carried it this way on his back then he came back hither

[115] hɔi uɬpänäᵃtsäˊtxʷ.[116] guɬqä···m ɬuw'ä smiˊy'mä'äm aᵃts'aˊxEl

then back as far as the house they were quiet those women it was as

i^lts'u´'^uts'u'umc.[117] hɔi uɬ'ätci´stus ɬä^ä ts'i'`.
if they were crying then he put it down again the deer

[118] lut(h)ä^äk'u´l'EntEm.[119] hɔi uɬ'ä´mɩc.[120] hɔi uɬk'ʷi´t'cEnEm.
it was not fixed then he sat down again then he took off his moccasins

[121] lut(h)asquqʷa´'^äqʷä'^äl's.[122] lut(h)ä'ätci´ɬtEm ɬä tcäyts'i´ɩs.
they did not speak   he was not given anything to eat

[123] utmi´c tcnä´kʷʷä'^ä huɬ i´ɩn xʷi'ɬ ugul'n'ähi´tcn'.[124] hɔi iɬn hiɬ
only one person it was who ate there they had their backs turned then he he ate and

äkʷn hä'^ä gwi´tcEn pu´lusEn tsict ɬa sttc'a´malqcEn tsiy'ä tc'ɩtc'ɩn'a'^a
said look here I saw it I killed it long leg the one with the small

qi´n'.[125] utcä^äy'ä´kʷɩs ɬ ts'u´'^uts'u'um xʷiy'ä smi´y'mä'äm.
head   just as he said this   they cried these women

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[126] äkʷn hɩnpi´pä'^ä.[127] äkʷn stim' kupits'ɩtci'nEmc.[128] äkʷn t'u'^u
she said it is my father he said what what is with you the matter they said it is

pi´pä'ät tsä^ä pu´lustxʷ.[129] äkʷn tgwäl' stim' ɬ lut(h)ä'äku´stmälp?
our father that one you killed he said why is it that you did not tell me

[130] ɬä äku´stulmEn i´ɬtsäläm ɬä hiit'ap kum' kupguɬyä´··m.
when I told you it was for me eaten my kill then you as a group were silent

[131] lut(h)äy'ɩku´nEmp pi´pä'ät.[132] äkʷn hɔ´itsEnɩl kʷnä uɬxʷä´lxʷɩlt.
you did not say our father he said stop crying soon he will live again

[133] hɔi uɬq'ä'^äci´nEm uɬxä´tsmEntsut.[134] hɔi uɬxʷist xuɬ uɬtci´tsEnts
then he put on his moccasins again he got ready then he went again as to arrive
                    he went as far it again

xʷiy'ä 'ätsp'ä´np'EncEn ɬä sttsä´stsɩcalqcEn.[135] hɔi tcatxʷä´rɩcEnts.
at the one whose legs lay about the long legs then he stepped over him

[136] hɔi xʷEt'i´c.[137] äkʷn lut()ä'äku´stmäsɩlc ɬä ɩstsɩtsɩm'i´l't.
 then he gradually got up they did not tell me   your children

[138] äku´sEnɩlc i´ɬtsäläm ɬä hiit'a´p.[139] kum' lut(h)äy'uku´sɩlc
I said to them it was eaten for me my kill then they did not say our

pi´pä'ät.[140] äkʷn hä ni lutäy'tsmä´ystxʷ tsänkʷi´ntsEn xʷä
father   he said did you not know I caught you coming down (save you)

kutsaqi´'ɬtsä'äs.[141] tsmi'ʷ tcäɬkuᵘy'i'ɬEms xʷä n'ɩlstci´nEn
when you broiled meat he was going to eat you the man-eater
(set meat up)

ätcɩn'ä´.[142] ɬ tsänkʷi´ntsEntsEn äku´stEm hähui nä'ä̈ tcɩnxʷi´st.
I am the one who saved you he was said to all right I will go away

[143] nä'ä̈ ntcɩcci´ntsäxʷ xʷä ähɩsxu´yEn hɔi xʷist t'a´pEnts xʷä̈ ts'i'ʷ
you are to follow my tracks   then he went he shot it the deer

nä̈ᵃm'n'us kʷi´nc.[144] hɔi uɬtcɩts'Eni´s.[145] hɔi xuɬ uɬn'u´ɬxʷ ä̈ᵃtsätxʷ
I don't know how many then again he returned he proceeds then again to into the house

hä ɩtsmä´xʷmuxʷt ɬä smi´y'mä'äm i'li´mtɩlc t'i'ʷ gwɩy'äsk'u´l'EntEm
hä they were laughing the women they were being glad already it was finished being
                                                                 fixed

ɬä tcäyts'i´ɬnEmp hä uɬli´mt ɬä smi´y'mä'äm [146] hɔi äkʷn
what you are to eat well again they are happy the women the[n] he said

kupguɬstc'ä´ts'ilt.[147] lutäy'uku´stmälp pi´pä'ät.
you are stupid   you did not say our father

[148] tcä 'äku´stmälp kum' tcä'ä̈ luttcäspu´lsEn.
 you ought to have told me then I would not have killed him

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[149] hɔi uɬlaˊʼᵃxʷ kum' uɬxʷiˊst.[150hɔi kum'taˊpɛm
then again it was morning and again he went away then he killed

ɫä äᵃts'iˊ".[151] tmic näkʼʷäʼᵃ ɫuw'ä uɬtciˡsäˊxʷts [152] hɔi tsiʼɬ xiɬts a deer   just one
which he carried back on his back hither then there he left it for them

hʌntc'uᵘpiˊlgwäs t'i 'äpstsʌtsʌm'iˊil'täl't näʼᵃkuˊ yɔ tsmiˊapɬ
he became lonesome already he had children he thought my! she used to have

gugaxtiˊl't xʷaᵃ qäˊlpyä.[153] hɔi tä'k'ʼʷmɛntsut tcäyʌl'xʷänäˊäntsuˊt
a baby Black Swan then he lay down he covered himself with blanket

äᵃsiˊts'ɛms.[154] hɔi tcʌtsxuˊi ɫä stsʌtsʌm'iˊl'täl't.s.[155] xʷiʼɬ
with his blanket hen they came his children   here

iˊts'ätstcɛn.[156] äkʷn ɫuw'ä smiˊy'mäʼᵃm hɔˊiyätcul ʌlʌp'xuˊscɛn
they played she said those women let him alone his toe is perforated

aspan'qäˊlpyä tsäᵃ piˊpä'ämp.
by spouse Black Swan that your father

[157] hɔi ät'uk'ʼʷiˊ···.[158] hɔi xʷäˊt'ʌc.[159] hɔi xʷist näʼᵃku
then he lay   then he got up then he got up the he went he thought

näʼᵃ mäʼᵃl'iˊtcäʼᵃ näʼᵃ tcʌn'aˊxɛl näʼᵃ tcʌn'uɬanaʼᵃqälpyä xʷist xʷiˉ·st
I wonder how I will do   to get back to Black Swan he went he went

ätswiˊc.[160] äkʷn im hä uy'tsquqʷaˊʼᵃqʷäʼᵃls.[161] ludidi ludidi hɔi xuɬ
a house he said in vain he was talking again ludidi ludidi then he proceeded

tciˡn'uˊɬxʷ.[162] ɫu'ᵘɬ äᵃts'äˊmut ɫä ttcnäˊkʷäʼᵃ hiɬ täl' xʷiʼɬ ɫä
to go in there she was sitting one (of them) and from here (over there)

ttcnäˊkʷäʼᵃ guɬt'iˊk'ʼʷt'ʌk'ʼʷt xʷiʼɬ uɬts'aˊxɛl ludidi ludidi tcʌn'uläˊ.
the other they were old thus   ludidi ludidi it is mine

[163] kum' ɫuw'ä tcnäˊk'ʼʷäʼᵃ lut xwä sʌnq'ʼʷuda'uˊscɛn tcʌn'uläˊ.
then that other no the root started on my side

[164] äk"n łä ttcnä´k'"ä'ᵃ lut tcιn'ulä´ x"i'‟ täl'x"i'‟ xux"iy'a
she said the other   no mine   right here from here this

sιnq'"uda'u´scEn kum' x"iⱡ q'i·· ts' ułx"i'ⱡ a´xEl.[165] kum' lut
root started   and here it grows again here like this then no

tcιn'ulä´ lut hιspEpɔ´tsEn'.[166] äk"n ⱡ łuw'ä smιyi´w hä guⱡ hιsi´lä'ᵃ
then no it's mine no I scabbed it he said that coyote my father's mothers

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tcäłtcιnuy'u´k"mp.[167] uguⱡqäm.[168] äk"n k'"nä'ᵃ xa´q'EntulmEn
escort me back   they were silent   he said I will pay you

atcäłxatsnu´m'Enmp.[169] ats'aya´R uguⱡqäm lutats'a´ts'xstEm.[170] łut
somthing to be your clothes all remained silent he was not looked at no

äk"n hä kup'itsq"a´'ᵃq"ä'älEm.[171] uguⱡqäm uⱡtmi´c du du. äku´stus
no he said I am talking to you they were silent just du du he said to then[m]

hä kup'atcäyts'i´łnmp äsqilttc k'"nä'ᵃ kupgul'nuk'"łt'a´qänäy'.
look here will be yours to eat meat future for each of you one sackful

[172] uguⱡqäm hɔi äku´stus kuphιsi´lä'ᵃ kuphιsq"a´'ᵃq"ä'ᵃlEm.
they paid no attention to then he said to them you are my father's sisters I am speaking
to you

[173] xui k'"nä'ᵃ ägwä´smEn nä'ᵃ xa´q'EntulmEn.[174] a·· itsq"a´'ᵃq"ä'ᵃl
   come it will be hemp   I will pay you   a·· they spoke

x"ä si´l'ä'ät ni x"a´rιc ⱡ kuphιsq"a'ᵃq"ä'ᵃlEm.[175] äk"n łuw'ä
our brother's son is it not a long long time since to you I have been speaking they said

guⱡtu´pn' xali'‟ pi´nttc hiⱡ itcatqa´l'ttcalqs.[176] hä si´lä'ᵃ tsi'‟
spiders as if always it is that (we wear) clothes yes brother's son all right

ägwä´smEn tsä'a´ts'xEn xᵛiy'ä tgwäl' gwä´smEn hił tc'atsqᵛa´'ᵃqᵛä'ᵃl.
hemp   look at it   this is the reason hemp is what we are talking about

[177] tsi'ʽ tsi'ʽ ägwä´smEn nä'ᵃ kuxa´q'cäc.[178] tcältmicnä'ᵃmn'u´s
all right all right hemp   you pay us I'll just take a chance

äts'u̱ku´stus ni gułi´pEw'äscEn tsi'ʽ nä'ᵃ kupgul'nä´kᵛ''ᵛä'ᵃ.[179] hɔi
he said to them is it all in one piece this one for each of you then

kᵛintEm xᵛä mimc.[180] tsi´łtEm hu̱nt'ä´k'ᵛuntEm.
it was taken a box he was given in it he was laid

[181] äku´stEm ucu̱ł mu´s tcästtsaqtsaqi´w'äs.[182] äku´stEm łä
he was said to just four time it will stop he was told

ätmi´xᵛul'umxᵛ nä'ᵃ kutä´k'uk'ᵛ k'ᵛnä'ᵃ kuy'tsu̱tsaqi´nä'ᵃ äst'ä´dä'ᵃ
at the earth when you arrive it will be you are hearing the grass

nä 'utsu´··ptsEn.[183] tc'a'ᵃqi´nt äku´stEm nä'ᵃ kutctuxᵛtu̱xᵛi´w'äs kum'
making its noise   open it he was told when it stops   then

täl'tsi'ʽ nä'ᵃ kudä´xᵛt nä'ᵃ xᵛi'ꟼ ku'axEl kum' nä'ᵃ kudä´xᵛt.[184] hɔi
farther you will fall if you do thus thus (roll about) then you will fall then

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ułcan'qi´ntEm.[185] hił dä´xᵛu̱mstEm hɔi duxᵛti´··· taxᵛmEntsut.
again it is closed then he was lowered then he fell he stopped

[186] kum' xᵛi'ꟼ a´xEl kum' täl'tsi däxᵛt.[187] hɔi ucu̱ł mu´s hɔi däxᵛt.
then thus he did then from there he fell then just four times he fell

[188] tä´k'uk'ᵛ hɔi tcitc'mi´nts ułstä´dä'ᵃ utsu··p.[189] hɔi tc'ä'ᵃqi´nts he landed then
he heard again grass noise wind blowing grass then he opened it

xuxᵛi'ʽ tmi´xᵛul'umxᵛ.[190] hɔi tsä´l'u̱c hɔi ułcan'qi´nts.[191] hɔi
that was the earth   then he stood up agian he put lid on then

tä´ntEnEmstus ha Rätsäl'stci´tcä'än.[192] hɔi x^wi'ʔ ɪngwi´cɪc

tä´ntEnEmstus ha Rätsäl'stci´tcä'än.[192] hɔi x"i'ʔ ɪngwi´cɪc
he pulled it jerked the string rope   then there it went up

x"a mimc.[193] hɔi x"ist ɬu'^u ätsmi'' tsätx"ät.[194] hɔi x"ist tc'u^u.
the box then he went there where used to be our house then he went no one

[195] hɔi gwitc tätc x"i'ʔ q'"i'ʔ.[196] hɔi ntcEci´nts.[197] xu··ɬ däst.
then he saw there toward they moved then he followed he proceeded they camped

[198] däst tätc x"iy'ä l'El'Eku´t hiɬ lɔq" äpstquq"il'kup.[199] hɔi
they camped toward here a little distance and also there was a little fire then

täl'tsi'' q'"i'ʔ [200] xu·ɬ gwitc ɬä smi´y'äms xux"ist äsux"i´lgwäs
then farther they moved he went so far as to see his wife travelling carrying
little property on her back

tsi··ct äsux"i´lgwäs ätsɔ´m'ɬx".[201] ätcät'Emu´t ɬuw'ä sq"a´sq"äsä'^ä.
it was long she was carrying the mat house on it sat that child

[202] hɔi x"ist tcɪtsstc'i´hEnts x"i'ʔ tcɪta^ä'a´ts'x ɬa gugwaxti´l't
then he went he approached for a purpose her there it looked this way the baby

ta'a´ts'x.[203] äku´stEm q'äsp tcäli´päp x"ä inbäbäbä.[204] lut täl'tsi''
it looked back it was said to long ago he left your papa (baby talk) no from there

a´xEl bäbäbä.[205] äku´stus lut q'äsp tcäli´päp x"a inbäbäbä.[206] hɔi
like this papa she said to it no long ago he left your bababa then

x"i'ʔ ta'a´ts'x x"i'' x"ä tc'iⁱ smɪyi´w.[207] äku´stus q"a´y'q"iy't x"ä
here she looked here Coyote's child she said to him it is pitiful the way

tsä´gwtät.[208] äk"n tc'itsmä'^ämi´nEms ɬuw' inpipä'^ä.
we are treated she said we are being sent away that your father:

[209] äk"n ɬa t'Et'Eq"i´n' uɬtäk"i´nts
        Snipe he has taken again

uitämi´y'äms iä ɩnpi´pä'ᵃ.[210] äkʷn kum' ätcin'ä´ tci'ɩts
his turn at wiving your father she said as for me he was sending

mä'ä'ᵃmi´nEms tcältcɩslä´kuk.[211] hɔi äkʷn i iuw'ä smɩyi´w hɔi
me away far I must go   then he said it is that Coyote then

tä´xʷunɩlc.[212] äkʷn ätmi´c tctc'i´'ᵗt kum' nä 'ä´kʷn äntsi´'ᶜ lä´kuks.
I'll kill them she said just close we come then he says ther go farther

[213] äkʷn ni lutägwi´tctxʷ iä tsi'ᶜ tc'i¹dä´sdäs xʷi'ᴴ apstqʷi´l'kup.
she said did you not see it there where we camped there was a fire

[214] kum' xʷä tätc luku´t ia apstqʷi´l'kup tsi'ᴴ xʷä tcili´pusɩ.
then at a   distance there was a fire that was ours

[215] äku´stEm xuɩc nä'ᵃ sä´xʷtsäxʷ[216] kum' äkʷn nä'ᵃ xu´i tsiy' ätswi´c
she was said to come you will carry me on your back she said you will go to the house

iä tatc ɩnyar'i´p nä'ᵃ t'äk'ʷuntsäxʷ.[217] äkʷn lut k'ʷnä'
toward the back thee lay me down   she said no it will be

xaxa´txatEn'tsäs.[218] äku´stEm lut na'ᵃ kut'a´xt nä'ᵃ t'ä´k'ʷuntsäxʷ
he will beat me she was said to no be swift put me down

kum' nä'ᵃ tctari´ts'ä'äntsäxʷ.[219] hɔi xui.[220] hɔi tcätc'itc'i'ᵗt
untied me (in the bundle) then she went stop close she came close

äku´stEm tätc tsi'ɩc täl'tsi'ᶜ uqäm xʷist xʷist xʷist.[221] hɔi xui
she was said toward to there be! on not a word she went she went she proceeded

t'ä´k'ʷunts.[222] tctari´ts'ä'änts iä suxʷi´lgwäs kum' äku´stEm iä
to put him down she untied the bundle her pack then she was said to by

'äsmɩyi´w nä'ᵃ stim' iä stci'ɩti´xʷums pa'axmi´ntEm [223] kum'
Coyote what is she after she was (getting) sneaked away on and

kutcaca´pstq xʷut'i´··c xʷiy'a sqʷa´sqʷäsä'äs.[224] xʷä´tɩc i¹ts'u´'umc.
then you follow in slowly he arose that his son he got up he was crying
opposition (to orders)

[225] xʷi'ⁿ ucɩł xʷi'ɬ ats'a´xEl q'ʷi'ⁿtmi´sEn xʷiy'ä hɩsmi´y'äm.
there just this is the way I treat her (meaning kindly) this my wife

[226] tsä´l'ɩc xʷa sqʷa´sqʷäsä'ä̈ tcɩtskʷi´nts xʷa siyɔ´lalqʷ xata´pqEnts
he stood up the son   he took a stick   he brained him

xʷiy'ä
this

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pi´pä'äs.[227] hɔi ła t'Et'Eqʷi´n' xata´pqEnts.[228] hɔi tagułsi´ntsä'äs
his father then Snipe he beat her up   then his brothers

ła xatxata´qEnts.[229] hɔi ła nu´nä'äs łɔqʷ tsxʷi´sEnts.[230] tä'äku´stEm
he killed them then his mother also he went toward   he was said to

łä 'änu´nä'äs lut tcitciyäRäplä'ämi´ntsut lut hiitts'a'xʷ hił
by his mother no it is not my fault she was shy about coming I did not intend to

ätsExi´sEn xʷa 'isqʷa´sqʷäsä'ä̈.[231] hɔi tc'am' ätsxʷä´lxʷult
treat him thus your son   then just she was left alive

pul'yaᵃha´l' hɔi tc'am' ttcä'ä̈łi´sɩlc. [232] hɔi tsi'ɬ
Mole.   then just the three of them   that is the

hɩnxʷa´tpalqs.
end of the road

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

The following is the interlinearized text. The first line is the phonetic transcription in the modern day Coeur d'Alene orthography. The second line is a morphological breakdown of the phonetic transcription. In this line the hyphen (-) represents either an inflectional affix boundary, or other high frequency, highly productive directional affix; the plus sign (+) is used to show other boundaries including derivational affixes; the equal sign (=) marks lexical suffixes described in Reichard 1938 paragraphs 456 - 531; asterisks (***) mark unanalyzed forms. The third line is the English gloss line. The fourth is a free English translation.

32

1. ɛcwíš   xʷɛ   sməyíw   ɬa   ʔasqʷs   sši ʔtəmš.
   ʔɛc-wiš[1] xʷɛ   s+myiw   ɬa   ʔasqʷ -s   s+ši ʔt=mš
   cust-dwell art   coyote   art   son   -3gen oldest

Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son.

2. tč'ɛ́səl   ɬɛ   smíy'mɛ ʔms   ɬuw'ɛ   tčnɛ́kʷɛ ʔ   t'ət'aqʷín'
   tč   -ʔɛ́sl ɬɛ   s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm-s ɬuw'ɛ   tč-nɛk'ʷ+ɛ ʔ   t'ət'aqʷin'
   person -two art   wives   -3gen that   person-one   Snipe

   hiɬ ɬɛ   čnɛ́k'ʷɛ ʔ   qɛ́lpyɛ apɬ   gugʷaxtíl't.
   hiɬ ɬɛ   tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛ ʔ   qɛlpyɛ ʔapɬ   gu+gʷax+t=il't
   and art person-another   Black_Swan have   baby

His wives were two; one Snipe and another Black Swan, who had a baby.

3. hiɬ t'ət'aqʷín'   lut(h)   ay'pɬ   gugʷaxtíl'ts.
   hiɬ t'ət'aqʷin'   lut   hɛ   ʔa+ʔ+pɬ[2]   gu+gʷax+t=il't-s
   and Snipe   neg sub have   baby   -3gen[3]

And Snipe didn't have his baby.

4. xʷi ʔ   xʷa   xamínč   aqɛ́lpyɛ   ɬɛ t'ət'aqʷín'   lutxamínč.
   xʷi ʔ   xʷa   xɛminč   a-   qɛlpyɛ   ɬɛ t'ət'aqʷin'   lut -xɛminč
   here art like   prep Black_Swan art Snipe   neg -like

Black Swan was liked. Snipe was not liked.

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[1] I have parsed this form two different ways. In this case I think the customary prefix ʔɛc- is used with the root /wiš to mean, "he lives there". In other lines of the text, 72, 159, 216 and 229 I have the prefix joined to the root with a + and I gloss as, "there is a house." Doak 4.1.1.2 #47.

[2] The infix ʔ may indicate the inchoative.

[3] Note that in the previous sentence, the -s 3sgen is not used with gugʷaxtíl't.

5.

nɛʔkʷú	ɬɛ	smǝyíw	čɛʔ	čǝnʔɛ⁴	čɛɬčǝnx̌amínč		ɛt'ǝt'aqʷín'.
nɛʔkʷun	ɬɛ	s+myiw	čɛʔ	čn‿ʔɛ	čɛɬ	čn x̌eminč	ɛ -t'ǝt'aqʷin'
think	art	coyote	ought	1s	fut	1nom like	prep-Snipe

ɬuw'ɛ	sǰɛy'ǰiy'ts		ɬa qɛ́lpyɛ	kʷum'	x̌amínč.	yo
ɬuw'ɛ	s+ǰɛy'ǰiy'+t-s	ɬa qɛlpyɛ	kʷum'	x̌eminč	yo
that	ugly	-3gen	art Black_Swan	and	like	my!

Coyote thought, "I should love Snipe. That Black Swan is ugly, why should she be loved? My!"

6.

čɛʔ	mɛʔl'í	ax̌ísǝn		ɬ		ča?	taʔx̌ux̌	ɬa
čɛʔ	mɛʔl'i	ʔax̌il	-st(u) -n	ɬ		čɛʔ	t'ɛx̌ʷ+ux̌ʷ	ɬa
ought	wonder	do	-ct -1serg	the_one_who	ought	die	art

hǝsqʷásqʷɛsɛʔɛs		čɛ	ʔuɬtɛʔkʷínǝn		ɬuw'ɛ
hn	-s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ -s	čɛʔ	uɬ -tɛ -kʷin	-n	ɬuw'ɛ
1gen	-child	-***	ought again -thither-take	-1serg	that

t'ǝt'aqʷín'.
t'ǝt'aqʷin'
Snipe

He wondered, "what ought I do so my son will die and I can take that Snipe."

7.

hoi	x̌ʷist	ɬɛ	smǝyíw.
hoi	x̌ʷis+t	ɬɛ	s+myiw
then	go	art	coyote

Then Coyote went.

8.

hoi	čɛtpǝkʷínčǝm	ɬɛ	sǝnqɛm'íl'tups.s.	
hoi	čɛtpkʷinč -m	ɬɛ	s+hn+q'ɛm=il't=ups	-s
then	called -M	art	power_(dung)	-3gen

Then he called his powers (his dung).

---

⁴This appears to be a false start since the first person is part of the next word.

9. ɛkʷn   m'ɛl'í   na   ʔax̌ísən   na'   táx̌ux̌   həsqʷásqʷɛsɛʔ.
   ʔɛkʷun   mɛl'+nɛʔ   naʔ   ʔax̌il-st(u)-n naʔ   t'ɛx̌ʷ+ux̌ʷ hn-s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ
   say   what   irr   do -ct -1serg   irr   die   1gen-child

He said, "What can I do so my child will die?"

10. ɛkʷústəm   nɛʔ   uʔúkʷnɛʔnntxʷ   tɛč
    ʔɛkʷun   -st(u)   -m   nɛʔ   ʔu+ʔukʷ+nɛʔn   -n-t-xʷ tɛč
    say   -ct   -nte   irr   bring_gradually -d-t-2serg toward

tč'əmásq'ət.
t+č'ɛm=asq'it
heaven

He was said to, "You can carry him little by little to heaven."

11. ɛkʷn   xʷiy'ɛ   sší ʔtəmš   čɛłčiʔčšɛt'   na'
    ʔɛkʷun   xʷiyʔɛ   s+ši ʔt=mš   čɛł   čn   ʔɛč-šɛt'   naʔ
    say   this   oldest   fut   1nom ***-take_care_of   irr

x̌ɛčɛsčətč'ígʷəl.
x̌ɛs⁵   -čɛł   -s   -čɛt   -tč'igʷɛl
well   -fut   -int   -on_surface   -climb

This the oldest said, "I will set up so that he will climb well."

12. kʷum'   łɛ   tčnɛk'ʷɛʔ   ɛkʷn   čɛłčənmalqɛnúps
    kʷum'   łɛ   tč-nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ   ʔɛkʷun   čɛł   čn   mlqn=ups
    and   art   person-another say   fut   1nom eagle

łɛ   ɛy'cšɛt'   xʷiʔ   ha   sənč'ámqəs.
łɛ   ɛ-ʔɛc+šɛt'   xʷiʔ   hɛ   s+hn+č'am+qs
art prep-tree   here   art   top

Then another said, "I will be a golden eagle on a tree top."

_____

⁵This is probably a false start, and not connected with √x̌ɛs, meaning "well."

13. xʷiʔ   naʔa   tcaqíw'ɛs   xʷiʔ   nɛʔɛ   čɛtp'íɫ   ɛ́səl   ɫoqʷ
    xʷiʔ   naʔ   ɫ+caq+iw'ɛs xʷiʔ   nɛʔ   čɛt   -p'íɫ   ʔɛsl   ɫoqʷ
    here   irr   nest   here   irr   on_surface -sit   two   also

ulmalqənúps.
ul   -mlqn=ups
belonging_to   -eagle

"Here will be a nest where two, belonging to golden eagle, will sit."

14. kʷum'   ɫɛ tčnɛ́k'ʷɛʔ   ɛkʷn   čɛɫčənəntórsəm   ɛkʷn
    kʷum'   ɫɛ tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ   ʔɛkʷun   čɛɫ čn   hn-tor+us-m   ʔɛkʷun
    and   art person-another   say   fut 1nom loc-beckon-M   say

ci ʔ   hoi   uɫčəcxʷíst   (xʷɛ)   sməyíw.
ci ʔ   hoi   uɫ   -čc   -xʷis+t   xʷɛ   s+myiw
all_right then   again -hither -go   art   coyote

And another said, "I will beckon." He said, "All right." Then again Coyote went back.

15. xʷuɫ   uɫc'ɛ́l'əl'.
    xʷuɫ   uɫ   -c'ɛl'+l'
    proceed   again -arrive

He went until he arrived back.

16. ɛkʷústus   ɫa sqʷásqʷɛsɛʔɛs   gʷíčən   ɫa malqɛnúps.
    ʔɛkʷun   -st(u) -s   ɫa s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ   -s gʷič   -n   ɫa mlqn=ups
    say   -ct   -3serg   art son   -3gen see   -1serg art eagle

He said to his son, "I saw a golden eagle."

17. ɛkʷústəm   tχasšəníw'ɛs   dɛʔɫ   ɛkʷuw'ɛ́
    ʔɛkʷun   -st(u) -m   ɫ+χɛs=šin+iw'ɛs   dɛʔɫ   ɛ   -kʷu+ʔɛ
    say   -ct   -nte   good_to_feet   unusual   prep -your

čɛł^ʔəstč'íg^wələn.

čɛł	-ʔɛ	-s+tč'ig^wɛl+n
fut	-obl	-ladder

He was said to, "Your ladder will be good to your feet, but unusual."

18. ɛk^wústəm   ɛ···   k^wum' láaX̌^w   nɛ^ʔ   čənułx^wui.

ʔɛk^wun	-st(u)	-m	ɛ...[6]	k^wum'	laʔaX̌^w	nɛ^ʔ	čn	uł	-x^wuy
say	-ct	-nte	***	and	morning	irr	1nom	again	-go

He was said to, "Oh...then in the morning I will go again."

19.

hoi	ła	laʔaX̌^w	ɛk^wústəm	x^wui	uscsx^wúimɛt.		
hoi	ła	laʔaX̌^w	ʔɛk^wun-st(u)-m	x^wuy	u y'c-čs	-x^wuy-m	-ɛt
then	art	morning	say-ct-nte	go	just cont-from_behind-go-M	-1pgen	

Then in the morning he was said to, "Let's go for it."

20.

hoi	ułx^wúyəlš		hoi	g^wíčcəlš		ɛčɛtp'íł	t'i^ʔ
hoi	uł	-x^wuy -ilš	hoi	g^wič-t-s	-ilš	y'c-čɛt-p'íł	t'i^ʔ
then	again	-go -pl	then	see-t-3serg	-pl	cont-above-sit	already

k^wum' čɛst'í^ʔtɛ^ʔł.

k^wum'	čɛł	-s	-ti^ʔ+ti^ʔł
and	fut	-int	-fly

Then again they went and saw them [the eagles] sitting above; they were already about to fly.

21. t'i^ʔ   píst'ɛy't.

t'i^ʔ	pis=t'ɛy't
evid	big

They were big.

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[6]The stem list states that if this is said with a rising tone, it means "oh", but if it is said with an even tone, it means disapproval. No tone was given in the translation. I think, "oh" would be the most appropriate.

22. hoi   čətč'íg^wəl   ła   sq^wásq^wεsε?.
    hoi   čεt   -tč'ig^wεl   ła   s+q^was+q^wasε?
    then   above -climb   art   son

Then the son climbed up.

23. hoi   čətč'í···g^wəl.
    hoi   čεt   -tč'ig^wεl
    then   above -climb

He climbed and cli...mbed.

24. ułci?ác'x̌ənc   łε pípε?εs   εt'ək'^wí···.
    uł -čc   -?ac'x̌   -n-t-s   łε pipε? -s   ε-t'εk'^w+i
    again-hither-look_at -d-t-3serg art father -3serg prep-lay

Again he looked down; his father lay there.

25. x^wi?ł   uł'ac'áx̌əl   tórus   tórus   x^wiy'ε smǝyíw
    x^wi?+ł   uł -y'c -?ax̌il tor+us tor+us x^wiy?ε s+myiw
    here_is_where again -cont -do   beckon beckon this   coyote

    εk^wústus   tg^wεl'   stim'   uk^wutórs   εk^wn   lu
    ?εk^wun -st(u) -s tg^wεl'   stim'   u k^w tor+us ?εk^wun   lut
    say   -ct   -3serg why   what   just 2nom beckon say   neg

    k^wi?č'i?nmínəm.
    k^w   hn   -y'c   -č'i+?+n -min-m[7]
    2nom 1gen -cont -worry   -rel-M
    Here Coyote kept beckoning, beckoning. He said to him, "Why do you just beckon?"
    He said, "No, I am worried about you."

26. k^wum'   ni   lut   čεy'čsənmiyípsən[8]   k^wum'
    k^wum'   nε?   lut   čεł-s -?εc -hn+miy=ip   -st(u) -n   k^wum'
    and   irr   neg   fut-int -cust -conscious_of_danger -ct -1serg and

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[7]This is an example of the continuative inversion. See Doak 4.3.2.2.

[8]The transcript translates this as both "conscious of danger" and "know what is behind it."

uč'am'   tórs.
u č'am' tor=us
just just beckon

"And I don't want to be conscious of so danger, so I just beckon."

27. hoi lut(h)ɛʔ   uɬ'ác'x̌ənc   ɬa t'í   tɛč
  hoi lut he uɬ -ʔac'x̌ -n-t-s ɬa t'iʔ tɛč
  then neg sub again -look_at -d-t-3serg art already toward

(h)ngʷíst   kʷum' tɛl'ciʔ uɬtč'ígʷəl.
hn -gʷis+t kʷum' tɛl' ciʔ uɬ -tč'igʷɛl
loc -be_high and from there again -climb

Then he did not look at him again. He was already high up. Again he climbed.

28. hoi n'uɬxʷ ɬuw'a atč'əmásq'ət.
  hoi n'uɬxʷ ɬuw'a a -t+č'ɛm=asq'it
  then enter that prep -sky

Then he went into the sky.

29. hoi xʷist.
  hoi xʷis+t
  then go

Then he went.

30. hoi uɬčəcxʷɛt'p   ɬɛ sməyíw.
  hoi uɬ -čic -xʷɛt' -p ɬɛ s+myiw
  then again -hither -run -inch art coyote

Then Coyote ran away.

31. xʷuɬ uɬčin'úɬxʷ   ɬɛ ɛcɛtxʷs.
  xʷuɬ uɬ -čc -n'uɬxʷ ɬɛ ʔɛ -cɛtxʷ-s
  proceed again -hither -enter art obl -house-3gen

He proceeded until he re-entered his house.

32.
εkʷústus			xʷiy'ε qélpyε	xʷuəš	lékʷukš	tgʷεl'
ʔεkʷun	-st(u)	-s	xʷiyʔε qεlpyε	xʷuy-š	lεkʷ+ukʷ -š	tgʷεl'
say	-ct	-3serg	this Black_Swan	go -imp	go_far_off-imp	because

kʷuw'éngʷεt	hił	čεlípεp	əsqíl'tumxʷ.
kʷu‿ʔεngʷt	hił	čεlipεp	in -s+qil'tumxʷ
you	and	leave	2gen -husband

He said to Black Swan, "Go far off! Beacause of you, your husband has left!"

33.
hoi	εkʷústus			łε scəcəm'íl'tεl'ts		čεlípεp	xʷa
hoi	ʔεkʷun	-st(u)	-s	łε s+cicεm'=il't+l't	-s	čεlipεp	xʷa
then	say	-ct	-3serg	art children	-3gen	leave	art

qaqíččəm'p.	
qa+qicč	-mp
little_older_brother	-2pgen

Then he said to his children, "Your little older brother has left."

34.
hoi	xʷε	čεsgʷíčtp.		
hoi	xʷε	čεł-s	-gʷič	-t-p
then	art	fut-int	-see	-t-2perg

"You will never see him again."

35.
hoi	ułtεkʷínc			łε t'ət'aqʷín.
hoi	uł	-tε+kʷin	-t-s	łε t'ət'aqʷin'
then	again	-tell	-t-3serg	art Snipe

Then again, he told Snipe,

36.
hoi	usstεʔmíy'εms.			
hoi	u s	-tεʔ	-s+miy'εm	-s
then	just int-***	-wife	-***

"You will be my wife."

37. hoi   mɛʔɛʔmínc   ła   qélpyɛ.

     hoi   mɛʔ+ʔ+m+min -t-s   ła   qɛlpyɛ

     then   send_away   -t-3serg art   Black_Swan

Then he sent Black Swan away.

38. hoi   ła sqʷásqʷɛsɛʔs   xʷuł   čatq'ɛt'p   ux̌ʷɛlɛ

     hoi   ła s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ -s   xʷuł   čɛt+q'ɛt'p u   -x̌ɛl

     then art son   -3gen proceed top   just   -***

tmíxʷəl'umxʷ.

t+mixʷ=ul'umxʷ

earth

Then his son proceeded to to the top, and it was just like the earth.

39. hoi   xʷist   xʷ···st.

     hoi   xʷis+t   xʷis+t

     then   go   go

Then he went. He we....nt

40. gʷičc   xʷɛ   spíłc'ɛʔ.

     gʷič -t-s   xʷɛ   s+p'iłc'ɛʔ

     see   -t-3serg   art   elk

He saw an elk.

41. hoi   t'ápənc.

     hoi   t'ap -n-t-s

     then   shoot -d-t-3serg

Then he shot it.

42. hoi   c'ɛqʷənc   lúpənc   hoi   hənkʷíʔc.

     hoi   c'ɛqʷ -n-t-s   lup-n-t-s   hoi   hn+kʷiʔc

     then   butcher -d-t-3serg dry-d-t-3serg then   nightfall

Then he butchered it; he dried it; then nightfall.

42

43. hoi   ušəɬ   čɛy'ítš   ɬ   tcaqíne?   ɛsčint
    hoi   u+šiɬ   čeɬ s   -y'itš ɬ   t+caq=ine? ?ɛ   -s+čint
    then   just   fut int -sleep the_one_who hear   obl   -people

əcqʷuqʷá?qʷɛ?l'.
y'c   -qʷu?+qʷa?qʷɛ?l
cont   -talk

Then just when he was about to sleep, he heard people talking.

44. hoi   hoi   (h)ənsúxʷɛnɛ?ɛmənc   hɛ tčnék'ʷɛ?   xum'út
    hoi   hoi   hn+suxʷ=ɛnɛ?+min-n-t-s   hɛ tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?   xum'ut
    then   then   understand   -d-t-3serg art person-one   I_suppose

kʷugʷíč   ɛsčint   xum'út   čɛɬkʷusənčənčəntəxʷúpsəms.
kʷ   gʷič   ?ɛ   -s+čint   xum'ut   čɛɬ kʷ s-hn+čɛn+čɛn'xʷ=ups -m-s
2nom see   obl   -people   I_suppose   fut 2nom int-defecate_on_people-M-3gen

Then at once he understand the person. "I suppose you saw that person and I suppose
you were about to defecate on that person."

45. xum'út   čɛɬkʷucancəlɛsčínt[9]   kʷum'
    xum'ut   čɛɬ   kʷ   cɛn+c'ɛl+ɛ=sčint[10]   kʷum'
    I_suppose   fut   2nom stand_under_people   and

uɬtɛtčnék'ʷɛ?   uɬtɛ?ɛkʷn   ·um'út   kʷugʷíč
uɬ   -tɛ   -tč   -nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?   uɬ   -tɛ -?ɛkʷun   xum'ut   kʷ   gʷič
again -thither-person -another   again -thither-say   I_suppose 2nom see

ɛspíɬc'ɛ?.
?ɛ   -s+p'iɬc'ɛ?
obl   -elk

"I suppose you will stand above people." And the other said "I suppose you see elk."

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[9]This seems to be a mistranscription for čɛɬkʷucanc'əlɛsčínt.

[10]A note in the original transcript says that this means, "they pull on him." This
could mean something like they pull up the man they have just killed, the way a
spider would.

43

46. x̌um't pəłpətc'ɛʔíx̌ʷupsəms[11]   hoi ǩʷum'
    x̌um'ut p'ił+p'iłc'ɛʔ+ix̌ʷ=ups -m-s   hoi ǩʷum'
    I_suppose defecate_on_elk   -M-3gen   then and

    šəč'mínc   ətiʔtiy'áq̌ʷt   ɛc'uk'ʷíčsən.
    šɛč'+min -n-t-s y'c   -tiʔ+tiy'aq̌ʷ+t   ɛ -c'uk'ʷtč=šin
    hear   -d-t-3serg cont -fight   prep-cane

"I suppose you defecate on his elk." Then he heard fighting with canes.

47. hoi mɛl'(h)ənšət'úlumx̌ʷənc.
    hoi mɛl' -hn+šɛt'=ul'umx̌ʷ -n-t-s
    then from -spike_into_ground -d-t-3serg

Then one spiked the other into the ground.

48. hoi čic'ɛ́l'əl'   łɛ cíšcəšt   hɛ stč'ámč'əmalqšən   hənǧʷíst.
    hoi čc -c'ɛl'+l'   łɛ ciš+ciš-t hɛ s+t+č'am+č'am=alq=šin hn-ǧʷis -t
    then hither-arrive   art tall-sta art long_legs   loc-be_high-sta

Then he arrived here. Long Legs was tall.

49. ɛǩʷn[12]   łɛ   sšíʔtəmš   həsəsín'cɛʔ   nɛʔ číłstɛx̌ʷ
    ʔɛǩʷun   łɛ   s+ši ʔt=mš   hn -si+sincɛʔ   nɛʔ čił -st(u) -x̌ʷ
    say   art oldest   1gen -younger_brother irr give-ct   -2serg

    əsyɛpíłc'ɛʔ   nɛʔ cɛnk'ʷín'əncən.
    s -yɛʔ   -p'iłc'iʔ   nɛʔ cɛn+k'ʷin'-n-t-si -n
    nom -procure_game -elk   irr protect -d-t-2acc -1serg

He said to the oldest, "If you give my younger brother the elk, I will protect you."

_____

[11]The translation from the transcript says, "you defecate on elk." I do not see the 2nom pronoun. The original transcript has many lines crossed out in this area, and rewritten.

[12]This does not make sense. Here I would expect ɛǩʷústus. The entire passage is confusing.

50. ɛkʷústus x̌ʷuiš čɛ́mʼənt¹³ ayáˤ iicʼíɫən.
    ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-s x̌ʷuy-š čɛmʼ-n-t a+yaˤ ii+yʼc+ʔiɫ+n
    say -ct-3serg go -imp take-d-t all_kinds food

He said to him, "Go take all kinds of food!"

51. kʼʷnɛʔ ušiɫ čənčicʼɛ́lʼəlʼ   naʔ čtiʔtiyʼɛ́qʷt.
    kʼʷn+ɛʔ u+šiɫ čn čc -cʼɛlʼl naʔ č tiʔ+tiyʼaqʷ+t
    soon just 1nom hither -arrive irr 1pnom fight

"Soon, just when I arrive, we will fight."

52. nɛʔ šəɫ čɛɫčəsčičɛ́nʼəms   nɛ ʔɛkʷústmən
    nɛʔ u+šiɫ čɛɫ čn s-čc+čɛnʼ -m-s nɛʔ ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-mi-n
    irr just fut 1nom int-take_hold -M-3gen irr say -ct -2acc-1serg

    šəlíwʼɛsšənc   hisílɛʔ   nɛʔ kʷintxʷ x̌ʷɛ slipʼ
    šɛl+iwʼɛs=šin-t-s hn -silɛʔ nɛʔ kʷin-t-xʷ x̌ʷɛ slipʼ
    chop_leg -t-3serg 1gen -grandson irr take-t-2serg art stick

    x̌ʷi nɛʔ čʼɛ́cʼəntxʷ   x̌ʷɛ šɛ́lənt¹⁴.
    x̌ʷi nɛʔ čʼɛ+čʼɛnʼ -n-t-xʷ   x̌ʷɛ šɛl -n-t
    here irr one_long_object_lies-d-t-2serg art chop-d-t

Just when he is about to hold me I will say to you,"Chop my leg, my grandson. You take a stick. Lay it here and chop it."

53. nɛ ʔɛkʷústmən   šəlíwʼɛsšənc   sílɛʔ.
    nɛʔ ʔɛkʷun -st(u) -mi -n šɛl+iwʼɛs=šin-t -s¹⁵ silɛʔ
    irr say -ct -2acc -1serg chop_leg -t-3serg grandson

I will say to you, "Chop my leg grandson."

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¹³Note the imperative active voice. See R 337 and Doak 2.4.1.4.2.

¹⁴See note 13.

¹⁵This 3rd person construction does not match the translation given.

54. kʷum'   nɛʔ   čənuɬdólq'ʷəncut.
    kʷum'   nɛʔ   čn   uɬ   -dolq'ʷ   -ncut
    and   irr   1nom again -exert   -reflex

And again, I will exert[16] myself.

55. kʷum'   k'ʷnaʔ   dɛx̌t[17].
    kʷum'   k'ʷn+ɛʔ   dɛx+t
    and   future   fall

And he will fall.

56. kʷum'   k'ʷnɛʔ   uɬtɛʔáǩʷn[18]   šəlíw'ɛsšənc   síle ʔ.
    kʷum'   k'ʷn+ɛʔ   uɬ -tɛ-ʔɛǩʷun   šɛl+iw'ɛs=šin-t-s[19]   silɛʔ
    and   future   again-thither-say   chop_leg -t-3serg   grandson

And then again he will say, "Chop my leg grandson."

57. nɛʔ   kʷínc   ɬɛʔ   šɛ́lmən   nɛʔ   šɛ́ləntxʷ.
    nɛʔ   kʷin-t-s   ɬɛ   šɛl+mɛn   nɛʔ   šɛl -n-t-xʷ
    irr   take-t-3serg   art   ax   irr   chop-d-t-2serg

"When he takes the ax, you chop it."

58. hoi   dɛ́xʷuxʷ.
    hoi   dɛxʷ+uxʷ
    then   envious

Then he was envious.

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[16]The orginal transcript translates this as, "move around as if hurt."

[17]The original transcript translates this as, "he will fall." The typed transcript has "he went." "Fall" with the stem √dɛx, makes more sense here.

[18]The translation in the original transcript glosses as, "I'll say it again." The transcript from the typed copy does not match this.

[19] Once again, the translation does not match the transcription.

59. xʷɛt'pəncut.
    xʷɛt'+p+ncut
    run_away

He ran off.

60. hoi   íɬənc   xʷa   sqiltč.
    hoi   ʔiɬn-t-s   xʷa   s+qiltč
    then   eat -t-3serg   art   meat

Then he ate the meat.

61. hoi   xʷist   ɬɛ smɘyíw   ɬa sqʷásqʷɛsɛʔs   xʷist.
    hoi   xʷis+t   ɬɛ s+myiw   ɬa s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ -s   xʷis+t
    then   go   art coyote   art son   -3gen   go

Then Coyote's son went. He went.

62. xʷíʔɬ   áx̣əl   q'ʷup't   hoi   gul'c'əléšalqʷ   hoi   kʷum' xʷɛ
    xʷi+ɬ   ʔax̣il q'up'+t   hoi   gul'+c'ɛl'-ɛ -š=alqʷ   hoi   kʷum' xʷɛ
    here_is_where   do   rain   then   stand_under-prep-tree   then   and   art

    y'cq'ʷup't   kʷum' ɛsíc'əm   kʷum' ɬɛ   t'ápɛmɘs
    y'c   -q'up'+t   kʷum' ɛ-sic'+m   kʷum' ɬɛ   t'ap+min-s
    cont   -rain   and   blanket   and   art   arrow -3gen

    xʷiʔɬ   áx̣əl.
    xʷiʔ+ɬ   ʔax̣il
    here_is_where   do

It began to rain. Then he stood under a tree and while it was raining he blanketed his arrows.

63. hoi   čətcaqínɛʔ   hɛ smíy'ɛm   ɛcmɛxʷməxʷt   hɛ hɛ hɛ.
    hoi   č   -t+caq=inɛʔ   hɛ s+miy'ɛm   y'c   -mɛxʷ+mɛxʷ+t   hɛ hɛ hɛ
    then   hither -hear   art woman   cont -laugh   ha ha ha

Then he heard a woman laughing, "ha ha ha."

64. an'ax̌ʷtíɬ   hɛnmúlšɛnč   hɛ y'úkʷɛʔɛs   hɛ hɛ
      a   -n'ax̌ʷ+t+iɬ   hn+mul+š=ɛnč   hɛ y'ukʷɛʔ   -s   hɛ hɛ
      prep-downstream   beaver   art older_sister   -3gen   ha ha

      anšarišíɬ   hɛnmúlšɛnč   hɛ cəcíy'ɛʔs.
      ʔɛc+hn+šar+iš+iɬ   hn+mul+š=ɛnč   hɛ ciciy'ɛʔ   -s
      upstream   beaver   art younger_sister-3gen

"Beaver's older sister is going downstream, "ha ha" and Beaver's younger sister is going upstream."

65. hoi   kʷum' *p'ačəčəčə* xʷa   x̌ɛtəntəm   ɛslip'   həɬ   xʷa
      hoi   kʷum' *p'ačəčəčə* xʷa   x̌ɛt   -n-t-m   ɛ   -slip'   hiɬ   xʷa
      then   and   *p'ačəčəčə* art   beat   -d-t-nte   prep   -stick   and   art

      x̌ɛtəntəm[20]   ɛkʷn   ha hoi   t'iʔ   náʔs   ɬa sqíl'təmxʷɛt.
      x̌ɛt   -n-t-m   ʔɛkʷun   hɛ hoi   t'iʔ   na+ʔ+s   ɬa s+qil'tumxʷ   -ɛt
      beat   -d-t-nte   say   ha then   evid   get_wet   art husband   -1pgen

And then *p'ačəčəčə* (sound of beaver's tail). He was beaten with a stick. She[21] said "All right, our husband is already wet."

66. hoi   čidéx̌t   čətɛčxʷíʔ.
      hoi   čc   -dɛx̌+t   čc   -tɛč   -xʷi
      then   hither- they_go   hither -toward   -here

Then they came toward here.

67. hoi   uɬčəčstɛ́ɬəntəm.
      hoi   uɬ   -čc   -s -tɛɬ   -n-t-m
      then   again   -hither   -int-straight   -d-t-nte

Then they came straight at him.

---

[20]The original transcript translates as, "they were clubbing beaver with a stick."

[21]The typed transcript glosses as, "he said" but the context calls for, "she said."

68. hoi   čəč'əč'ít   kʷum' łɛ ɛy'čšɛt'   gul'q'ʷənp'məncótalqʷ

      hoi   č -č'it+č'it   kʷum' łɛ ɛ -y'č+šɛt' gul' -q'ʷɛn'p'+min+cut=alqʷ

      then hither-be_near   and art prep-encircle under -hide_self_base_of_tree

      hoi   kʷumʔ   xʷiʔł   áx̌əl.

      hoi   kʷum'   xʷiʔ+ł   ʔax̌il

      then and   here_is_where do

Then they came near and he hid himself at the base of a tree. And this is what he did.

69. hoi   ɛkʷústəm   hɛ   hui   t'iʔ   kʷunáʔs

      hoi   ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m hɛ   hui   t'iʔ   kʷ   na+ʔ+s

      then say -ct -nte   that_is_right all_right evid 2nom get_wet

      t'iʔ   čɛłč'uy'ənís.

      t'iʔ   čɛł   č   u   y'c   -ʔɛnis

      evid fut 1pnom   just   cont   -go_back

Then he was said to, "All right, all right, you are already wet. We will just be going back."

70. hoi   ułdéx̌t   tmus   hɛ gul'suxʷílgʷɛs

      hoi   uł-dɛx̌+t   t-mus   hɛ gul'   -sɛxʷ=ilgʷɛs

      then again-they_go on-four art side_by_side -carry_little_property_on_back

      ɛʔɛsɛl   henmúlšɛnč.

      ʔɛ -ʔɛsl   hn+mul+š=ɛnč

      obl -two   beaver

Then they left; four beavers, each carrying two beavers on their backs.

71. xʷiy'ɛ tmus   gul'c'ɛsɛl   ɛnmúlšɛnč.

      xʷiyʔɛ t -mus   guł[22] -c   -ʔɛsl hn+mul+š=ɛnč

      these on-four   plural -*** -two   beaver

These four [beavers] each had two beavers.

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[22]The original transcript has this transcribed as guł and not gul'. The latter fits the translation better.

72. hoi   uɬčéšən   xʷu···ɬ   uɬpɛnɛʔcwíš   ɬɛ cɛtxʷ.
    hoi   uɬ   -čɛš=šin   xʷuɬ   uɬ   -pɛnɛ -ʔɛc+wiš ɬɛ cɛtxʷ
    then   again -follow   proceed   again -as_far_as-house art house

He followed them back, as far as the dwelling house.

73. hoi   uɬənnɛpt   y'aˤʷpqín'   hənmúlšɛnč.
    hoi   uɬ   -nɛpt   yaˤ+p=qin   hn+mul+š=ɛnč
    then   again -enter_pl   many_assemble   beaver

They again went in. Many beavers were assembled.

74. hoi   k'ʷul'cəncút   ɬɛ hənmúlšɛnč.
    hoi   k'ʷul'=cin+ncut   ɬɛ hn+mul+š=ɛnč
    then   cook   art beaver

Then they cooked the beavers.

75. hoi   iɬn   hoi   pintč   əc'əmút.
    hoi   ʔiɬn   hoi   pintč   y'c   -ʔɛm+ut
    then   eat   then   always   cont   -sit

Then they ate. They were always sitting.

76. guɬənmúlšɛnč   xʷiyʔɛ smíy'mɛʔɛm.
    guɬ   -hn+mul+š=ɛnč   xʷiyʔɛ s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm
    plural -beaver   these women

These women were beavers.

77. hoi   ciʔɬ   ɛkʷn   hoi   čənčəɬíp.
    hoi   ciʔ+ɬ ʔɛkʷun hoi   čn   čɬip
    then   there say   then   1nom hunt

Then he said, "I am going hunting."

78. hoi   xʷist.
    hoi   xʷis+t
    then   go
    Then he went.

79. hoi   xʷuɬ   t'ápənc   xʷɛ c'i?.
      hoi   xʷuɬ   t'ap -n-t-s   xʷɛ c'i?
      then   proceed   shoot-d-t-3serg   art deer

Then he proceeded to shoot a deer.

80. nɛ?kʷú   ɛ?ɛsɛl   tɛl'cí?   xʷist.
      nɛ?kʷun   ?ɛ -?ɛsl   tɛl'   ci?   xʷis+t
      think   obl-two   from   there   go

He thought, "There were two." He went.

81. hoi   uɬtapt'ápəm   ɛnɛk'ʷɛ?.
      hoi   uɬ   -t'ap+t'ap-m   ?ɛ -nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?
      then   again -shoot -M   obl -another

Then again, he shot another.

82. hoi   c'ɛqʷənc.
      hoi   c'ɛqʷ -n-t-s
      then   butcher -d-t-3serg

Then he butchered it.

83. hoi   uɬcisɛxʷc   hoi   uɬcəcxʷúi   xʷɛ
      hoi   uɬ -čc   -sɛxʷ   -t-s   hoi   uɬ-čc -xʷuy   xʷɛ
      then   again-hither   -carry_on_back-t-3serg   then   again-hither-go   art

      tɛč   nɛk'ʷɛ?.
      tɛč   nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?
      toward   another

Then again he carried it on his back toward the other.

84. č'u···.
      č'u
      gone

It was gone!

85. tmiš   mít'č'ɛdɛ ʔ   hiɬ   ɬu'kʷəy'í·· gʷt.
    tmiš   mit'č'ɛdɛ ʔ   hɬ   ɬukʷ+y'+igʷt
    just   blood   and   bloodstained_here_and_there

There was just blood and here and there bloodstains.

86. hoi   uɬ'ɛnís   xʷuɬ   uɬc'ɛl'əl'   ɬɛ ʔɛcɛ́txʷ.
    hoi   uɬ   -ʔɛnis   xʷuɬ   uɬ   -c'ɛl'+l'   ɬɛ ʔɛ -cɛtxʷ
    then   again -go_back   proceed again -arrive   art obl -house

Then he went back and arrived at the house.

87. ɛkʷn   čəyɛc'íʔ   xʷiy'ɛ sqíl'təmxʷɛt.
    ʔɛkʷun   č -yɛʔ -c'iʔ   xʷiyʔɛ s+qil'tumxʷ -ɛt
    say   hither-procure_game-deer   this   man   -1pgen

She said, "He got a deer, this our man!"

88. hoi   kʷum'   k'ʷul'cəncút   x̌ʷiɬčt.[23]
    hoi   kʷum'   k'ʷul'=cin+ncut   x̌ʷiɬ   -***
    then   and   cook   hurry_at_something   -***

Then it was cooked and they hurried at it.

89. hoi   q'ʷɛlt   hoi   kʷum' íɬnəlš   limt   xʷiy'ɛ smíy'mɛʔɛm.
    hoi   q'ʷɛl+t   hoi   kʷum' ʔiɬn-ilš lim-t   xʷiyʔɛ s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm
    then   cook   then   and   eat -pl   glad-sta   these women

Then they cooked, and they ate. These women were glad.

90. li···mt.
    lim   -t
    glad   -sta

They were gla..d.

_____

[23]Because of Reichard's translation, I believe this should have been transcribed with -ilš for plural.

91. hoi   ɛkʷn   čɛɬčəsčiyɛʔɛ́sɛl.

hoi	ʔɛkʷun	čɛɬ	čn	s	-čc	-yɛʔ	-ʔɛsl
then	say	fut	1nom	int	-hither-procure_game		-two

Then he said, "I was going to have two."

92. čən'uɬčəcxʷúi   č'u'· guɬ lutɛy'íngʷɛtsilš.

čn	uɬ-čc	-xʷuy	č'u	guɬ	lut	hɛ	ʔɛc-ʔingʷɛt-ilš
1nom	again-toward_here-go		gone	plural	neg	sub	cust-what-pl

"When I came back, it [the other deer] was gone." They said nothing.

93. uguɬqɛ́··m   əcmɛ́xʷməxʷt   guɬqɛ··m.

u	guɬ	-qɛm	y'c	-mɛxʷ+mɛxʷ+t	guɬ	-qɛm
just	plural	-quiet	cont	-laugh	plural	-quiet

They were quiet. They laughed, but remained quiet.

94. hoi   ɬa laʔax̌ʷ   ɛkʷn   hoi   čən'uɬčɬíp.

hoi	ɬa	laʔax̌ʷ	ʔɛkʷun	hoi	čn	uɬ	-čɬip
then	art	morning	say	then	1nom	again	-hunt

Then, in the morning he said, "Now I am going to go hunting again."

95. hoi   uɬxʷíst.

hoi	uɬ	-xʷis+t
then	again	-go

Then, again he went.

96. xʷuɬ   uɬt'ápəm   uɬyɛnɛ́k'ʷɛʔ.

xʷuɬ	uɬ	-t'ap	-m	uɬ	-yɛʔ	-nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ
proceed	again	-shoot	-M	again	-procure_game-another

He went and again shot more game.

97. nɛʔkʷú   nɛʔ   čšɛ́t'ən.

nɛʔkʷun	nɛʔ	č	-šɛt'	-n
think	irr	hither	-take_care_of	-1serg

He thought, "I will take care of this."

98. nɛʔ   stim'   hił   íłəntəm.
    nɛʔ   stim'   hił   ʔiłn-t-m
    irr   what   and   eat -t-nte

"I wonder, what [that other] one was eaten by?"

99. hoi   ʕípəlš   niʔɛ́məš.
    hoi   ʕipilš   niʔ+ʔɛm+iš
    then   person_hides   among_(bushes)

Then he hid among the bushes.

100. k'ʷuk'ʷən'íy'ɛ   tɛl'   haŋgʷíst   čitál'qəm   hɛ cišt   ha
     k'ʷk'ʷniy'ɛʔ   tɛl'   hn-gʷis+t   čc -tal'q-m   hɛ ciš+t   hɛ
     in_a_short_while   from   loc-be_high   hither-stamp-M   art long   art

stč'ámalqšən.
s+t+č'am+č'am+alq=šin
long_legs

In a short while, a long leg came from above and stamped.

101. hoi   łoqʷ   łɛ   nɛk'ʷɛʔ   hɛ cišt.
     hoi   łoqʷ   łɛ   nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ   hɛ ciš+t
     then   and   art another   art long

Then another long one.

102. utmíš   stč'ámč'əmalqšən.
     tmiš   s+t+č'am+č'am=alq=šin
     just   long_legs

There were just long legs!

103. ła sqiltč   č'əč'ɛn'ɛʔ.
     ła s+qiltč   č'ɛč'ɛn'ɛʔ
     art body   small

The body was small.

104. xʷiy'ε sqiltč   ušəšíl'.
    xʷiyʔε s+qiltč   u+šišil'
    this   body   flat

This body was flat.

105. hoi   łε c'iʔ   xʷiʔł   εtεk'ʷ.
    hoi   łε c'iʔ   xʷiʔ+ł   ʔε -t'εk'ʷ
    then   art deer   here_is_where   obl -lay

Then the deer lay there.

106. kʷum'   činíč'ənc   kʷum' íłnc.
    kʷum' čc   -nič'-n-t-s   kʷum' ʔiłn-t-s
    and   hither -cut -d-t-3serg   and   eat -t-3serg

And he cut it this way and he ate it.

107. hoi   t'ápənc.
    hoi   t'ap   -n-t-s
    now   shoot   -d-t-3serg

Now he [Coyote's son] shot it.

108. hoi   táx̌ux̌.
    hoi   t'εx̌ʷ+ux̌ʷ
    then   die

Then it died.

109. hoi   tεl'ciʔ   xʷist.
    hoi   tεl'   ciʔ   xʷis+t
    then   from   there   go

Then he went from there.

110. hoi   gʷič   εc'iʔ   ułt'ápənc.
    hoi   gʷič   ʔε   -c'iʔ   uł   -t'ap -n-t-s
    then   see   obl   -deer   again   -shoot-d-t-3serg
    Then he saw another deer and again he shot it.

111. hoi   yɛʔɛ́sɛl.
     hoi   yɛʔ   -ʔɛsl
     then   procure_game-two

Then he had two deer.

112. hoi   c'ɛqʷənc.
     hoi   c'ɛqʷ -n -t-s
     then   butcher-d -t-3serg

Then he butchered them.

113. hoi   uɬčisɛ́xʷc.
     hoi   uɬ   -čc   -sɛxʷ   -t-s
     then   again -hither   -carry_on_back-t-3serg

He then carried them on his back.

114. hoi   uɬčəcxʷúi.
     hoi   uɬ   -čc   -xʷuy
     then   again -hither   -go

Then again he came back;

115. hoi   uɬpɛnɛcɛ́txʷ.
     hoi   uɬ   -pɛnɛ   -cɛtxʷ
     then   again -as_far_as -house

then back as far as the house.

116. guɬqɛ···m   ɬuw'ɛ   smíy'mɛʔɛm   ac'áx̌əl
     guɬ -qɛm   ɬuw'ɛ   s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm   y'c   -ʔax̌il
     plural -quiet that_near women   cont   -do

     ic'úʔc'uʔumš.
     y'c   -c'uʔ+c'uʔm -š
     cont   -cry   -cont

They were quiet, those women. It was like they were crying.

117. hoi   uɬ'ɛčístus   ɬɛ c'i?.
     hoi   uɬ   -?ɛčin-st(u)-s   ɬɛ c'i?
     then   again -put   -ct -3serg art deer

Then he put the deer down.

118. lut(h)ɛk'ʷúl'əntəm.
     lut hɛ k'ʷul' -n-t-m
     neg sub fix   -d-t-nte

They were not prepared for eating.

119. hoi   uɬ'ɛməš.
     hoi   uɬ   -?ɛm   -iš
     then   again -sit_down-dev

Then he sat down again.

120. hoi   uɬk'ʷít'šənəm.
     hoi   uɬ -k'ʷit'=šin   -m
     then   again-take_off_moccasins-M

The he took off his moccasins.

121. lut(h)asqʷuqʷá?qʷɛ?l's.
     lut   hɛ   s -qʷu?+qʷa?qʷɛ?l'   -s
     neg   sub   int -talk   -3gen

They did not speak.

122. lut(h)ɛ?ɛčíɬtəm   ɬɛ čɛyc'íɬəs.
     lut hɛ ?ɛc-čiɬ   -t-m   ɬɛ čɛɬ   s -y'c   -?iɬn   -s
     neg sub cust-give -t-nte   art fut   int -cont   -eat   -3gen

He was not given anything to eat.

123. utmíš čnɛk'ʷɛ?   həɬ   íɬn   xʷi?ɬ
     tmiš   tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?   hiɬ   ?iɬn   xʷi?+ɬ
     just   person-one   and   eat   here_is_where

ugul'n'ɛhíčn'.

u	gul'	-n'ɛh=ičn'
just	side_by_side	-turn_backs

Just one person ate, and they had their backs turned towards each other.

124.

hoi	iłn	hił	ɛkʷn	hɛʔ	gʷíčən[24]	púlusən	cišt	ła
hoi	ʔiłn	hił	ʔɛkʷun	hɛ	gʷič-n	pulut -s -n	ciš-t	ła
then	eat	and	say	art	see-1serg	kill -int-1serg	long-sta	art

stč'ámalqšən	ciy'ɛ	č'əč'ən'aʔqín'.
s+t+č'am+č'am+alq=šin	ciy'ɛ	č'ɛč'ɛn'ɛʔ+qn
long_legs	that	small_head

Then he ate and said, "Look here, I killed the long legs, the one with the small head."

125.

učɛy'ɛkʷəs				ł	c'úʔc'uʔum	xʷiy'ɛ smíy'mɛʔɛm.
u	čɛł	s	-ʔɛkʷun-s	ł	c'uʔ+c'uʔm	xʷiyʔɛ s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm
just	fut	int -say	-3gen	the_one_who	cry	these women

Just as he said this, these women started to cry.

126.

ɛkʷn	hənpípɛʔ.
ʔɛkʷun	hn -pipɛʔ
say	1gen -father

They said, "He was our father."

127.

ɛkʷn	stim'	kʷupic'əčiʔnəmš.			
ʔɛkʷun	stim'	kʷup	y'c	-ʔɛčin	-m-š
say	what	2pnom	cont	-be_the_matter	-M-cont

He said, "What is the matter with all of you?"

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[24]The transcript translates this as, "look here."

128. ɛkʷn　　　t'uʔ²⁵　pípɛʔɛt　　　cɛ　　　púlustxʷ.
　　　ʔɛkʷun　　t'u　　pipɛʔ-ɛt　　　ciʔ　　　pulut　-st(u)　-xʷ
　　　say　　　t'u　　father-1pgen　there　kill　-ct　　-2serg

They said, "You killed our father."

129. ɛkʷn　　　tgʷɛl'　　stim'　　　ɬ
　　　ʔɛkʷun　　tgʷɛl'　　stim'　　　ɬ
　　　say　　　because　　what　　　the_one_who

lut(h)ɛʔɛkʷústmɛlp?
lut　　hɛ　　ʔɛkʷun　-st(u)　-mɛ(l)　-p
neg　　sub　　say　　-ct　　　-1acc　　-2perg

He said, "Why didn't you tell me who he was?"

130. ɬɛ　ɛkʷústulmɛn　　　　　　íɬcɛlɛm　　　　　　　ɬɛ　hiit'ap
　　　ɬɛ　ʔɛkʷun　-st(u)　-ulmi-n　　ʔiɬn-ɬ-t-sɛ(l)-m　　ɬɛ　hn+ii　-t'ap
　　　art　say　　-ct　　-2pacc-1serg　eat -P-t-1acc-nte　art　my　　-kill

kʷum'　kʷupguɬyɛ··m.
kʷum'　kʷup　　guɬ　　-yɛm
and　　2pnom　　plural　-be_silent

"I told you that something ate my kill and you were all silent!"

131. lut(h)ɛy'əkʷúnəmp　　　　　pípɛʔɛt.
　　　lut　　hɛ　　y'c -ʔɛkʷun　-mp　　pipɛʔ-ɛt
　　　neg　　sub　　cont-say　　-2pgen　father-1pgen

"You didn't say, 'He is our father.'"

132. ɛkʷn　　　hóicənəl　　　kʷnɛ　　　uɬxʷɛlxʷəlt.
　　　ʔɛkʷun　　hoi　-cɛnɛl　kʷ'ʷn+ɛʔ　uɬ　　-xʷɛl+xʷɛl+t
　　　say　　　cease -he　　soon　　　again　-alive

He said, "Stop crying, soon he will live again."

_____

²⁵t'u　is used when introducing an answer to a question which cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no."　See R 775.

133. hoi   uɬq'ɛʔšínəm   uɬx̌ɛcməncut.
    hoi   uɬ   -q'ɛʔ=šin-m   uɬ   -x̌ɛc+min+ncut
    then again -shoes -M   again -get_ready

Then again, he put his shoes on and got himself ready.

134. hoi   uɬxʷist   xʷuɬ   uɬčícənc   xʷiy'ɛ
    hoi   uɬ   -xʷis+t   xʷuɬ   uɬ   -čic   -n-t-s   xʷiyʔɛ
    then again -go   proceed again -arrive-d-t-3serg this

    ʔɛcp'ɛnp'ənšən   ɬɛ stcɛscəšalqšən.
    ʔɛc+p'ɛn+p'ɛn=šin ɬɛ ***
    long_legs_lie   art ***

Then again he went. He went again until he arrived at where the long legs lay.

135. hoi   čatxʷɛrəšənc
    hoi   čat+xʷɛr -iš -n-t-s
    then step_over -dev-d-t-3serg

Then he stepped over him.

136. hoi   xʷət'íš.
    hoi   xʷɛt'   -iš
    then get_up -dev

Then he gradually got up.

137. ɛkʷn   lut()ɛʔɛkʷústmɛsəlš   ɬɛ   əscəcəm'íl't.
    ʔɛkʷun lut hɛ   ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-mɛ(l)-s-ilš   ɬɛ   in   -s+c+cɛm'=il't
    say   neg sub say-ct-1acc-3serg-pl   art 2gen -children

He said, "Your children didn't tell me."

138. ɛkʷúsənəlš   íɬɬcɛlɛm   ɬɛ   hiit'áp.
    ʔɛkʷun -st(u) -n   -ilš   ʔiɬn-ɬ-t-sɛ(l)-m   ɬɛ   hn+ii -t'ap
    say   -ct   -1serg -pl   eat -P-t-1acc-nte   art my   -kill

"I said to them that my kill had been eaten."

139. kʷum'   lut(h)ɛy'əkʷúsəlš   pípɛʔɛt.
     kʷum'   lut   hɛ   ʔɛc   -ʔɛkʷun-st(u) -ilš   pipɛʔ-ɛt
     and   neg   sub   cust   -say   -ct   -pl   father-1pgen

"And they did not say, 'He is our father.'"

140. ɛkʷn   hɛ ni   lutɛy'cmɛystxʷ   cɛnkʷíncən
     ʔɛkʷun   hɛ nɛʔ   lut hɛ   ʔɛc -mɛy -st(u) -xʷ   cɛn+kʷin-t-si-n
     say   art irr   not sub   cust -know -ct   -2serg save -t-2acc-1serg

     xʷɛ   kʷucaqíʔɫcɛ'ɛs.
     xʷɛ   kʷ   caq=iɫ+cɛ'-s
     art   2nom broil_meat-***

He said, "Didn't you know that I saved you when you broiled the meat."

141. cmiʔ   čɛɫkʷuy'iʔɫəms   xʷɛ   n'əɫscínən.
     cmiʔ   čɛɫ   kʷ   y'c   -ʔiɫn -m-s xʷɛ   hn+ʔiɫn+s+čint+ɛn
     used_to_be fut   2nom cont -eat   -M-3gen art man_eater

"The man-eater was going to eat you."

142. ɛčənʔɛ   ɫ   cɛnkʷíncəncən
     ɛ -čn‿ʔɛ   ɫ   cɛn+kʷin+t+s   -n-t-si   -n
     prep-1s   the_one_who save   -d-t-2acc -1serg

     ɛkʷústəm   hɛ   hui   nɛʔ   čənxʷíst.
     ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m   hɛ   hui   nɛʔ   čn   xʷis+t
     say -ct -nte   that_is_right all_right irr   1nom   go

"I was the one who saved you." He was said to, "All right I will go away."

143. nɛʔ   nčəššíncɛxʷ   xʷɛ   ɛhəsxʷúyən   hoi   xʷist
     nɛʔ   hn-čɛš=šin-n-t-sɛ(l)-xʷ xʷɛ   hn -s+xʷuy+n   hoi   xʷis+t
     irr   loc-follow-d-t-1acc-2serg art   1gen-tracks   then   go

     t'ápənc   xʷɛ   c'iʔ   nɛm'n'us   k'ʷínš.
     t'ap   -n-t-s   xʷɛ   c'iʔ   ***   k'ʷinš
     shoot -d-t-3serg art   deer   ***   how_many
"You follow me, in my tracks." He went and shot deer; who knows how many!"

144. hoi   uɬčəc'ənís.

    hoi   uɬ   -čc+ʔɛnis

    then   again   -return

Then again he returned.

145. hoi   xʷuɬ   uɬn'úɬxʷ   ɛcɛtxʷ   hɛ   əcmɛxʷməxʷt   ɬɛ

    hoi   xʷuɬ   uɬ -n'uɬxʷ   ʔɛ-cɛtxʷ   hɛ   y'c-mɛxʷ+mɛxʷ+t   ɬɛ

    then   proceed   again-enter   obl-house   art   cont -laugh   art

    smíy'mɛʔɛm   ilímtəlš   t'iʔ   gʷəy'ɛsk'ʷúl'əntəm

    s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm   ii-lim   -t-ilš   t'iʔ   gʷɛy+ɛɬ+s+k'ʷul'-n-t-m

    women   that_which-glad-sta-3pgen   evid   finish   -d-t-nte

    ɬɛ čɛyc'íɬnəmp,   hɛ uɬlímt   ɬɛ smíy'mɛʔɛm.

    ɬɛ čɛɬ   s   -y'c-ʔiɬn-mp   hɛ uɬ   -lim-t   ɬɛ s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm

    art fut   int -cont-eat-2pgen   art again   -glad-sta   art women

Then he proceeded and again entered the house. The women were laughing and they were glad. They had finished eating and they were again glad.

146. hoi   ɛkʷn   kʷupguɬsč'ɛc'ilt.

    hoi   ʔɛkʷun   kʷup   guɬ   -s+č'ɛc=ilt

    then   say   2pnom   plural   -stupid

He said, "You are all stupid."

147. lutɛy'əkʷústmɛlp   pípɛʔɛt.

    lut   hɛ   ʔɛc   -ʔɛkʷun-st(u)   -mɛ(l)   -p   pipɛʔ   -ɛt

    not   sub   cust   -say   -ct   -1acc   -2perg father   -1pgen

"You didn't say to me 'He is our father!'"

148. čɛ   ʔɛkʷústmɛlp   kʷum'   čɛʔ

    čɛʔ   ʔɛkʷun   -st(u)   -mɛ(l)-p   kʷum'   čɛʔ

    ought say   -ct   -1acc-2perg   and   ought

lutčɛspúlsən.

lut	čɛɬ	s	-puɬut	-n
neg	fut	int	-kill	-1erg

"You ought to have told me, oughtn't you, then I would not have killed him!"

149. hoi uɬlá?x̌ʷ   kʷum' uɬx̌ʷíst.

hoi	uɬ	-la?ax̌ʷ	kʷum'	uɬ	-x̌ʷis+t
then	again	-morning	and	again	-go

Then, the next morning, he left.

150. hoi kʷum' tápəm   ɬɛ ɛc'í?.

hoi	kʷum'	t'ap-m	ɬɛ	?ɛ	-c'i?
then	and	kill-M	art	obl-deer

Then again he killed a deer;

151. tmiš nɛk'ʷɛ?   ɬuw'ɛ uɬčisɛx̌ʷc.

tmiš	nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?	ɬuw'ɛ	uɬ -čc	-sɛx̌ʷ	-t-s
just	one	that	again-hither-carry_on_back	-t-3serg

just one, which he carried on his back.

152. hoi ci?ɬ x̌iɬc   hənč'upílgʷɛs   t'i   ɛpscəcəm'íil'tɛl't

hoi	ci?+ɬ	x̌iɬ+t-s	hn+č'u+p=ilgʷɛs	t'i?	?ɛpɬ-s+cicɛm'=il't+l't
then	there	leave-3serg	become_lonesome	already	have-children

nɛ?kʷú	yo	cmí?	apɬ	gugʷax̌tíl't	x̌ʷa	qélpyɛ.
nɛ?kʷun	yo	cmi?	?apɬ	gu+gʷax̌+t=il't	x̌ʷa	qɛlpyɛ
think	my!	used_to_be	have	baby	art	Black_Swan

Then he left. He became lonesome; he already had children. He thought, "My! Black Swan used to have a baby."

153. hoi tɛ?k'ʷməncut   čɛyəl'x̌ʷɛnɛɛncút   ɛsíc'əms.

hoi	t'ɛk'ʷ	-m -ncut	čɛt+yil'x̌ʷ+ɛn	-ncut	ɛ-sic'+m-s
then	lay	-m -reflex	cover_with_material	-reflex	prep-blanket-3gen

Then he lay down and covered himself with his blanket.

154. hoi   čəcxʷúi   łɛ scəcəm'íl'tɛl'ts.
     hoi   čc   -xʷuy   łɛ s+cicɛm'=il't+l't   -s
     then hither -go   art children   -3gen

Then his children came around.

155. xʷiʔł   íc'ɛcčən.
     xʷiʔ+ł   y'c -ʔicč+n
     here_is_where   cont-play

They were playing.

156. ɛkʷn   łuw'ɛ smíy'mɛʔm   hoiyɛčul   əlǝp'x̌ússən
     ʔɛkʷun   łuw'ɛ s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm   hoi+yaR+ul ɛ -łɛp'x̌ʷ=šin
     say   that women   leave_alone   prep-toe_perforated

     aspan'qélpyɛ[26]   ce   pípɛʔɛmp.
     a -s+pan'-qɛlpyɛ   ciʔ   pipɛʔ -mp
     prep-spouse-Black_Swan there   father -2pgen

The women said, "Leave him alone, Your father has a hole in his moccasin near the
big toe made by Black Swan

157. hoi   ɛt'uk'ʷí···.
     hoi   ɛ -t'ɛk'ʷ+i
     then prep-lay

He lay there.

158. hoi   xʷɛt'əš.
     hoi   xʷɛt'   -iš
     then get_up -dev

Then he began to get up.

---

[26]This is a mean expression used by a person who is jealous. A note states, "He is
longing for some other women." See Reichard 1947, p.28.

159.
hoi	xʷist	nɛʔkʷu	nɛʔ	mɛʔl'íčɛʔ	nɛʔ	čən'áx̌əl	nɛʔ
hoi	xʷis+t	nɛʔkʷun	nɛʔ	mɛʔl'i-hičɛʔ	nɛʔ	čn ʔax̌il	nɛʔ
then	go	think	irr	wonder-where	irr	1nom do	irr

čən'uɬanaʔqɛlpyɛ			xʷist	xʷi‥st	ɛcwíš.
čn	uɬ	-ʔɛnis -qɛlpyɛ	xʷis+t	xʷis+t	ʔɛc+wiš
1nom	again	-go_back-Black_Swan	go	go	house

Then he went. He thought, "I wonder what I could do so I could go back to Black Swan's house?"

160.
ɛkʷn	im	hɛ	uy'cqʷuqʷáʔqʷɛʔls.			
ʔɛkʷun	ʔim	hɛ	u	ʔɛc	-qʷuʔ+qʷaʔqʷɛʔl -s	
say	try	ha	just	act	-talk	-3gen

He spoke in vain; it was just his talk.

161.
ludidi	*ludidi*[27]	hoi	xʷuɬ	čin'úɬxʷ.	
ludidi	*ludidi*	hoi	xʷuɬ	čc	-n'uɬxʷ
ludidi	*ludidi*	then	proceed	hither	-enter

ludidi ludidi Then he proceeded to go in.

162.
ɬuʔɬ	ɛc'ɛmut	ɬɛ tčnɛk'ʷɛʔ		hiɬ	tɛl'
ɬuʔɬ	y'c-ʔɛm+ut	ɬɛ tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ		hiɬ	tɛl'
that_is_where	cont-sit	art person-one		and	from

xʷiʔɬ	ɬɛ	tčnɛkʷɛʔ	guɬt'ík'ʷt'ək'ʷt
xʷiʔ+ɬ	ɬɛ	tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ	guɬ -t'ik'ʷ+t'ik'ʷ+ut
here_is_where	art	person-another	plural -old

xʷiɬ	uɬc'áx̌əl		*ludidi*	*ludidi*	čən'ulɛ́.
xʷiʔ+ɬ	uɬ	-y'c -ʔax̌il	*ludidi*	*ludidi*	čn‿(ʔ)ul+ɛʔ
here_is_where	again	-cont -do	*ludidi*	*ludidi*	it's_mine

One was sitting over there and another person was accross from her. They were old people. The one kept spinning, *ludidi ludidi* "it's mine."

___

[27]This is the sound made by spiders. See Reichard 1947, p.29.

163. kʷum'   łuw'ɛ čnɛ́k'ʷɛʔ   lut   xʷɛ   sənqʷʷədaʔússən   čən'ulɛ́.
     kʷum'   łuw'ɛ tč -nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ   lut   xʷɛ   s+hn+qʷʷdɛʔussn   čn‿(ʔ)ul+ɛʔ
     and   that person-another neg   art   root   mine

And the other closer person said, "No, the root is mine!"

164. ɛkʷn   łɛ tčnɛ́k'ʷɛʔ   lut   čən'ulɛ́   xʷiʔ   tɛl'   xʷi'   xʷuxʷiy'a
     ʔɛkʷun   łɛ tč-nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ   lut   čn‿(ʔ)ul+ɛʔ   xʷiʔ   tɛl'   xʷiʔ   xʷu+xʷiʔ
     say   art person-another   neg   it's_mine   here   from   here   this

sənqʷʷədaʔússən   kʷum' xʷił   q'i··c'   ułxʷiʔł
s+hn+qʷʷdɛʔussn   kʷum' xʷiʔ+ł   q'ic'   uł -xʷiʔ+ł
root   and   here_is_where   grows_(veg)   again-here_is_where

áx̌əl.
ʔax̌il
do

The other said, "No it's mine! The root started growing from here."

165. kʷum'   lut   čən'ulɛ́   lut həspəpócən'[28].
     kʷum'   lut   čn‿(ʔ)ul+ɛʔ   lut hɛ s -p'o+p'oc' -st(u) -n
     and   neg   it's_mine   neg sub int -smash[29] -ct -1serg

"No, It's mine! I didn't smash it!"

166. ɛkʷn   ł   łuw'ɛ sməyíw   hɛ guł   həsíłɛʔ
     ʔɛkʷun   ł   łuw'ɛ s+myiw   hɛ guł   hn   -siłɛʔ
     say   the_one_who   that coyote   art plural lgen -father's_mother

čɛłčənuy'úkʷmp.
čɛł   čn   y'c   -ʔukʷ -mp
fut   1nom cont -bring -2pgen

Coyote's son said to one closest to him, "My grandmothers, will you bring me back?"

---

[28]The glottalization may come from the next sentence, which begins with ʔɛkʷun.

[29]Reichard translates as, "he scabbed it." I am not familiar with this term and I could not find it in any dictionary. The root √p'oc' is glossed at smash.

167. uguɬqɛm.

u   guɬ   -qɛm
just   plural   -quiet

They were silent.

168. ɛkʷn   k'ʷnɛʔ   x̌áq'əntulmən   ačɛɬx̌acnúm'ənmp.
     ʔɛkʷun   k'ʷn+ɛʔ   x̌aq'-n-t-ulmi-n   a   čɛɬ   -x̌ac=num'+n   -mp
     say   future   pay-d-t-2pacc-1serg *** fut   -clothing   -2pgen

He said, "I will pay you for your clothing."

169. ac'ayáʕ   uguɬqɛm   lutac'ác'x̌stəm.
     ʔɛc   -a+yaʕ   u   guɬ   -qɛm   lut-ʔɛc   -ʔac'x̌ -st(u)   -m
     act   -all_kinds just plural -silence   neg-cust   -look   -ct   -nte

All were silent. He wasn't looked at.

170. lut   ɛkʷn   hɛ   kʷup'icqʷáʔqʷɛʔɛləm.
     lut   ʔɛkʷun   hɛ   kʷup   hn -y'c   -qʷaʔqʷɛʔl -m
     neg   say   that_is_right   2pnom   1gen-cont -speak   -M

"No" he said, "That is right[30], I am speaking to you."

171. uguɬqɛm   uɬtmíš   du du ɛkʷústus   hɛ
     u   guɬ-qɛm   uɬ   -tmiš   du du ʔɛkʷun   -st(u)-s   hɛ
     just plural-silence   again -just   du du say   -ct-3serg   art

kʷup'ačɛyc'íɬnmp   ɛsqiltč   k'ʷnɛʔ
kʷup   a   čɛɬ   s   -y'c-ʔiɬn-mp   ʔɛ   -s+qiltč   k'ʷn+ɛʔ
2pnom   ***   fut   int -cont-eat-2pgen   obl   -meat   future

---

[30]I chose Nicodemus' gloss in this case, because it made more sense in this context.

kʷupguľnək'ʷɨt'áqɛnɛy'.
kʷup+guľc+nɛk'ʷ+ɛʔ-ɨtaqɛnɛy'[31]
for_each_of_you-***

They were silent. Just *du du*. He said, "I will give you each a sackful of meat."

172. ugutqɛm   hoi   ɛkʷústus   kʷuphəsîlɛʔ
     u   gut-qɛm   hoi   ʔɛkʷun-st(u) -s   kʷup   hn -silɛʔ
     just plural-silence then say   -ct   -3serg 2pnom   1gen-father's_mother

kʷuphəsqʷáʔqʷɛʔləm.
kʷup   hn   s   -qʷaʔqʷɛʔl -m
2pnom   1gen int -speak   -M

They were silent. Then he said, "You are my father's mothers. I am speaking to you!"

173. xʷui k'ʷnɛʔ   ɛgʷɛsmən   nɛʔ   xáq'əntulmən.
     xʷuy k'ʷn+ɛʔ ɛ -gʷɛsmn nɛʔ   xaq'-n-t-ulmi -n
     go   future   prep-hemp   irr   pay -d-t-2pacc-1serg

"Come, I will pay you for hemp."

174. a··   icqʷáʔqʷɛʔl   xʷɛ   síľɛʔɛt   ni   xʷárəš   ɨ
     a..   ʔɛc -qʷaʔqʷɛʔl   xʷɛ   silɛʔ-ɛt[32]   nɛʔ   xʷar -iš   ɨ
     a..   cust-speak   art   grandson-1pgen irr   long_time-dev the_one_who

kʷuphəsqʷaʔqʷɛʔləm.
kʷup hn   -y'c   -qʷaʔqʷɛʔl -m
2nom 1gen -cont -speak   -M

"Ah...." they spoke, "Our grandson." "I have been trying to speak with you for a long time."

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[31]I believe this contains the ɨ applicative or dative with -t transitiviser, but I do not know how to parse the remainder.

[32]The translation says that this means, "brother's son" or nephew, but I could not find this anywhere. "Grandson" makes more sense here.

175. ɛkʷn   ɫuwʔɛ guɫtúpn'   x̌aliʔ píntč   hiɫ
ʔɛkʷun   ɫuw'ɛ guɫ -tupɛn'   x̌aliʔ pintč   hiɫ
say   that plural -spider might always and

ičatqál'tčalqs.
ii   -čɛt   -qil'tč=alqs
that_which -on_surface -clothes

The one spider said, "Spiders might always wear clothes."

176. hɛ sílɛʔ   ciʔ   ɛgʷɛ́smən   cɛʔác'x̌ən   xʷiy'ɛ tgʷɛl' gʷɛ́smən
hɛ silɛʔ   ciʔ   ɛ -gʷɛsmn   cɛ -ʔac'x̌   -n   xʷiyʔɛ tgʷɛl' gʷɛs+m+n
ha nephew[33] there prep-hemp ***-look_at -1erg this   why   hemp

hiɫ   čʔacqʷáʔqʷɛʔl.
hiɫ   č   y'c   -qʷaʔqʷɛʔl
and   1pnom cont -speak

"Ha, grandson, I see that hemp is what we are talking about."

177. ciʔ   ciʔ   ɛgʷɛ́smən   nɛʔ   kʷux̌áq'šɛš.
ciʔ   ciʔ   ɛ -gʷɛsmn   nɛʔ   kʷ x̌aq'   -šɛš
all_right all_right prep-hemp irr   2nom pay   -s.o.

"All right, all right, you want to pay us for the hemp."

178. čɛɫtmišnɛʔmn'ús[34]   ɛc'əkʷústus   ni   guɫípəw'ɛššən
čɛɫ   tmiš nɛʔmn'us   ʔɛc -ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-s   nɛʔ   guɫ=ip+ew'ɛs=šin
fut   just I_don't_know cust-say -ct -3serg   irr   all_in_one_piece

---

[33] See note #32.

[34]Reichard glosses as, "I'll just take a chance."

ci? nɛ? kʷupguɬ'nék'ʷɛ?.[35]
ci? nɛ? kʷup+guɬ'c+nɛk'ʷ+ɛ?
there irr for_each_of_you

"I'll just take a chance," he said, "that it is all in one piece from each of you."

179. hoi kʷintəm xˠɛ mimš.
hoi kʷin-t-m xˠɛ mimš
then take-t-nte art box

Then a box was taken.

180. cíɬtəm hənt'ék'ʷəntəm.
čiɬ -t-m hn -t'ɛk'ʷ -n-t-m
give-t-nte loc -lay -d-t-nte

It was given to him and he was laid in it.

181. ɛkʷústəm ušəɬ mús čɛstcaqcaqíw'ɛs.
?ɛkʷun-st(u)-m u+šiɬ mus čɛɬ s -t+caq+caq+iw'ɛs
say -ct -nte just four fut int -stop

He was said to, "It will stop four times."

182. ɛkʷústəm ɬɛ ɛtmíxʷuɬ'umxʷ nɛ? kʷuték'ʷuk'ʷ k'ʷnɛ?
?ɛkʷun -st(u)-m ɬɛ ɛ -t+mixʷ=uɬ'umxʷ nɛ? kʷ˙ t'ɛk'ʷ+uk'ʷ k'ʷn+ɛ?
say -ct -nte art prep-earth irr 2nom fall_down future

kʷuy'cəcaqínɛ? ɛst'édɛ? nɛ ?ucú··pcən.
kʷ y'c -t+caq=inɛ? ɛ -s+t'ɛdɛ? nɛ? u cup=cɛn
2nom cont -hear prep-grass irr just grass_noise

He was told, "You will hear the grass noises when you fall and reach the earth."

---

[35]I am not sure how to interpret this. It might mean that he will pay them each, or maybe that the piece of hemp is from each of them.

183. č'a?qínt   εk"ústəm   nε?   k"učtəx̌"təx̌"íw'εs   k"um'
    č'i?=qin+t   ?εk"un-st(u)-m   nε?   k"   č -tεx̌"+tεx̌"+iw'εs   k"um'
    open_lid   say   -ct-nte   irr   2nom hither-stop   and

    tεl'ci?   nε?   k"udέx"t   nε?   x̌"i?ł   k"u?ax̌əl   k"um' nε?
    tεl' ci?   nε?   k" dεx"+t   nε?   x̌"i?+ł   k" ?ax̌il k"um' nε?
    from there   irr   2nom fall   irr   here_is_where   2nom do   and   irr

    k"udέx"t.
    k" -dεx"+t
    you -fall

"Open it," he was told, "when you stop, and from there you will fall further, if you do this.[36]"

184. hoi   ułšan'qíntəm.
    hoi   uł   -šεn'=qin   -t-m
    then   again -close_lid   -t-m

"Then close the lid again."

185. hił   dέx"əmstəm   hoi   dəx"tí···   tax̌"məncut.
    hił   dεx" -m-st(u)-m   hoi   dεx"+t   tεx̌"+m+ncut
    and   lower -M-ct -nte   then   fall   stop

He was lowered down, then he fell and stopped.

186. k"um'   x̌"i?ł   áx̌əl   k"um' tεl'ci   dεx"t.
    k"um'   x̌"i?+ł   ?ax̌il   k"um' tεl'   ci?   dεx"+t
    and   here_is_where   do   and   from   there   fall

And then this is what he did [rolled from side to side][37] and fell from there.

---

[36]The transcript translates as, "roll about."

[37]According to Reichard's original transcription notes, he is to "roll around". There is also a footnote in Reichard 1947, p.80 about this motion. The motion reminds you of a spider's motion.

187. hoi   ušət   mús   hoi   dɛxʷt.
     hoi   u+šił   mus   hoi   dɛxʷ+t
     then   just   four   then   fall

Then he did this and fell four times.

188. tɛ́kʼʷukʼʷ   hoi   čičʼmínc   ułstɛ́dɛʔ
     tʼɛkʼʷ+ukʼʷ   hoi   čc   -čʼmin-n-t-s   uł   -s+tʼɛdɛʔ
     land   then   hither -hear-d-t-3serg again -grass

     ucu··p.
     u   cup
     just   grass_noise

He landed and then he heard grass blowing in the wind.

189. hoi   čʼɛʔqínc   xuxʷiʔ   tmíxʷulʼumxʷ.
     hoi   čʼiʔ=qin+t   -n-t-s   xʷu+xʷiʔ   t+mixʷ=ulʼumxʷ
     then   open_lid   -d-t-3serg this   earth

Then he opened the lid and it was earth.

190. hoi   cɛ́lʼəš   hoi   ułšanʼqínc.
     hoi   cʼɛl   -iš   hoi   uł -šɛnʼ=qin   -t-s
     then   one_stands-dev   then   again-close_lid -t-3serg

Then he stood up and again closed the lid.

191. hoi   tɛ́ntənəmstus   ha   ʕɛcɛlʼsčíčɛʔɛn.
     hoi   tɛn+tɛn-m-st(u)-s   hɛ   ʕɛc+ɛlʼ=sčiʔčɛʔ+ɛn
     then   pull   -M-ct-3serg art   rope

Then he pulled on the rope.

192. hoi   xʷiʔł   əngʷíšəš   xʷa   mimš.
     hoi   xʷiʔ+ł   hn -gʷiš+iš xʷa   mimš
     then   here_is_where   loc -rise   art   box

The the box went back up.

193. hoi   xᵂist   ɬuʔ   ɛcmiʔ   cɛtxᵂɛt.
     hoi   xᵂis+t   ɬuʔɬ   ɛ-cmiʔ   cɛtxᵂ-ɛt
     then   go   that_is_where prep-used_to_be house-1pgen

Then he went. "That is where our house used to be."

194. hoi   xᵂist   čʼu.
     hoi   xᵂis+t   čʼu
     then   go   gone

"It isn't there anymore. It's gone!"

195. hoi   gᵂič   tɛč   xᵂiʔɬ   qʼᵂiʔɬ.
     hoi   gᵂič   tɛč   xᵂiʔ+ɬ   qʼᵂiʔɬ
     then   see   toward here_is_where move_camp

Then he looked around. "Here is where they moved camp."

196. hoi   nčəšínc.
     hoi   hn   -čɛš=šin -t-s
     then   loc   -follow   -t-3serg

Then he followed this [the trail].

197. xᵂu··ɬ   dɛst.
     xᵂu..ɬ   dɛs+t
     proceed camp

He proceeded. "They camped [here]."

198. dɛst   tɛč   xᵂiyʼɛ lʼəlʼəkᵂút   hiɬ   loqᵂ
     dɛs+t tɛč   xᵂiʔ[38] lʼɛ+lɛkᵂ+ut hiɬ   ɬoqᵂ
     camp toward here little_distance and   also

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[38]xᵂiyʼɛ is transcribed, but the translation glosses as, "here." xᵂiʔ, meaning, "here," makes more sense in this context.

εpstqʷuqʷil'kʷup.
ʔεpɬ   -s+t+qʷi+qʷil' =kup
there_is -little_fire

They camped toward here. And a little distance away, there was a little fire.

199. hoi   tεl'ciʔ   q'ʷiʔɬ.
     hoi   tεl'   ciʔ   q'ʷiʔɬ
     then from   there move_camp

Then they had moved camp.

200. xʷu·ɬ   gʷič   ɬε smíy'εms   xʷuxʷist   εsəxʷílgʷεs
     xʷuɬ   gʷič   ɬε s+miy'εm-s xʷu+xʷis+t y'c-sεxʷ=ilgʷεs
     proceed see   art wife-3gen go_(modestly) cont-carry_little_property_on_back

ci··št εsəxʷílgʷεs   εcóm'ɬxʷ.
ciš+t   y'c -sεxʷ=ilgʷεs   ʔεc+ʔεm=iɬxʷ
long   cont-carry_little_property_on_back   mat_house[39]

He went a ways and saw his wife walking, carrying a mat house on her back.

201. εčεt'əmút   ɬuw'ε sqʷásqʷεsεʔ.
     ε -čεt   -ʔεm+ut   ɬuw'ε s+qʷas+qʷasεʔ
     prep -on_surface -sit   that child

On top sat the child.

202. hoi   xʷist   čəcsč'íhənc   xʷiʔɬ   čətaʔác'x̌   ɬa
     hoi   xʷis+t čc- č'ih   -n-t-s   xʷiʔ+ɬ   ***-tε -ʔac'x̌   ɬa
     then go   hither-approach-d-t-3serg   here_is_where ***-thither-look   art

gugʷax̌tíl't   taʔác'x̌.
gu+gʷax̌+t=il't tε   -ʔac'x̌
baby   thither -look_at

Then he went; he appoached them. The baby looked back at him.

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[39]Reichard's original transcript has the following note: "wife was packing long house made of reeds."

203. ɛkʷústəm   q'ɛsp   čɛlípɛp   xʷɛ   inbɛbɛbɛ.
      ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m   q'ɛsp   čɛlipɛp   xʷɛ   in   -bɛbɛbɛ
      say -ct -nte   long_ago leave   art   2gen -papa

He [the baby] was said to, "Long ago your papa left."

204. lut   tɛl'ciʔ   áx̌əl   bɛbɛbɛ.
      lut   tɛl'   ciʔ   ʔax̌il   bɛbɛbɛ
      neg   from   there   do   papa

"No" from there he did this, "papa".

205. ɛkʷústus   lut   q'ɛsp   čɛlípɛp   xʷa   inbɛbɛbɛ.
      ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-s   lut   q'ɛsp   čɛlipɛp   xʷa   in   -bɛbɛbɛ
      say -ct -3serg   neg   long_ago leave   art   2gen -papa

She said, "No, your *bɛbɛbɛ* left a long time ago."

206. hoi   xʷiʔɬ   taʔác'x̌   xʷiʔ   xʷɛ   č'i   sməyíw.
      hoi   xʷiʔ+ɬ   tɛ   -ʔac'x̌   xʷiʔ   xʷɛ   č'it   s+myiw
      then   here_is_where   thither -look_at   here   art   child_of   coyote

Then at this point, she looked back; there was Coyote's son.

207. ɛkʷústus   qʷáy'qʷiy't   xʷɛ   cégʷtɛt.
      ʔɛkʷun   -st(u)-s   qʷiy'+qʷiy'+t   xʷɛ   cɛgʷ+t-t
      say   -ct -3serg   pitiful   art   treated-sta

She said, "It is pitiful the way we are treated."

208. ɛkʷn   č'icmɛʔmínəms   ɬuw'   inpipɛʔ.
      ʔɛkʷun   č   y'c-mɛʔ+ʔ+m+min-m-s   ɬuw'ɛ   in   -pipɛʔ
      say   1pnom   cont-send_away-M-3gen   that   2gen   -father

She said, "Your father, keeps sending us away."

209. ɛkʷn ɬa t'ət'əqʷín'   uɬtɛkʷínc
      ʔɛkʷun ɬa t'ət'aqʷin'   uɬ   -tɛ   -kʷin-t-s
      say   art Snipe   again   -thither-take-t-3serg

uɬtɛmíy'ɛms   ɬɛ ənpípɛʔ.
uɬ -tɛmiy'ɛm -s   ɬɛ in   -pipɛʔ
again-***   -3serg art 2gen   -father

She said, "Snipe has again taken her turn at wiving your father."

210. ɛkʷn   kʷum'   ɛčin'ɛ   čiʔəcmɛʔɛʔmínəms
     ʔɛkʷun   kʷum'   ɛ -čṇ_ʔɛ čɛɬ-s-y'c   -mɛʔ+ʔ+m+min   -m-s
     say   and   prep-1s   fut-int-cont-send_away   -M-3gen

čɛɬčəslɛ́kʷuk.
čɛɬ   čn   s   -lɛkʷ+ukʷ
fut   1nom   int   -go_far_off

She said, "And he keeps sending me away. I must go far off."

211. hoi   ɛkʷn   ɬ   ɬuw'ɛ smǝyíw   hoi   tɛ́x̌ʷənəlš.
     hoi   ʔɛkʷun   ɬ   ɬuw'ɛ s+myiw   hoi   t'ɛx̌ʷ   -n   -ilš
     then   say   the_one_who that   coyote   then   kill   -1serg -pl

Then this coyote said, "Then I will kill them."

212. ɛkʷn   ɛtmíš   čč'íʔt   kʷum'   nɛ   ʔɛ́kʷn   ɛncíʔ   lɛ́kʷuks.
     ʔɛkʷun   ɛ-tmiš   č   č'i+ʔ+t   kʷum'   nɛʔ ʔɛkʷun   hn-ciʔ   lɛkʷ+ukʷ-s
     say   prep-just   1pnom   approach and   irr say   loc-there   go_far_off-**

She said, "Just as we come close, he says 'go farther.'"

213. ɛkʷn   ni   lutɛgʷíčtxʷ   ɬɛ ciʔ   č'idɛ́sdɛs
     ʔɛkʷun   nɛʔ   lut hɛ   gʷič-t-xʷ   ɬɛ ciʔ   č   čc-dɛs+dɛs
     say   irr   not sub   see-t-2serg   art there   1pnom   hither-camp

xʷiʔɬ   apstqʷíl'kʷup.
xʷiʔ+ɬ   ʔɛpɬ   -s+t+qʷil'=kup
here_is_where   there_is   -fire

She said, "Did you not see it there, where we camped? There was a fire."

214.

kʷum'	xʷɛ	tɛč	ləkʷút	ɫa apstqʷíl'kʷup		ciʔɫ	xʷɛ
kʷum'	xʷɛ	tɛč	lɛkʷ+ut	ɫa ʔɛpɫ -s+t+qʷil'=kup		ciʔ+ɫ	xʷɛ
and	art	toward	distance	art there_is -fire		there	art

čilípust.
č+lipust
that_was_ours

"Then, at a distance, there was a fire. That was ours."

215.

ɛkʷústəm			xʷuiš	nɛʔ	séxʷcɛxʷ.	
ʔɛkʷun-st(u)	-m		xʷuy-š	nɛʔ	sɛxʷ	-t-sɛ(l)-xʷ
say	-ct	-nte	go -imp	irr	carry_on_back	-t-1acc-2serg

She was said to, "Come[40]. You carry me on your back."

216.

kʷum'	ɛkʷn	nɛʔ	xʷúi	ciy'	ɛcwíš	ɫɛ tač	ənyar'íp
kʷum'	ʔɛkʷun	nɛʔ	xʷuy	ciʔ	ʔɛc+wiš	ɫɛ tač	hn+ya'rip
and	say	irr	go	there	house	art toward	rear_of_house

nɛʔ	t'ɛk'ʷəncɛxʷ.
nɛʔ	t'ɛk'ʷ-n-t-sɛ(l)-xʷ
irr	lay -d-t-1acc -2serg

He[41] said "Go there to the rear of the house and you will lay me down."

217.

ɛkʷn	lut	k'ʷnɛʔ	xaxátxatən'cɛs.
ʔɛkʷun	lut	k'ʷn+ɛʔ	xa+xat+xat-n-t-sɛ(l)-s
say	neg	future	beat -d-t-1acc-3serg

She said, "No, he will beat me."

218.

ɛkʷústəm			lut	naʔ	kʷut'áxt	nɛʔ
ʔɛkʷun	-st(u)	-m	lut	naʔ	kʷ t'ax+t	nɛʔ
say	-ct	-nte	neg	irr	2nom be_swift	irr

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[40]The stem list glosses as, "go" but the translation from the text uses, "come."

[41]The transcript translates as, "she," but "he" fits this context.

t'ɛ́k'ʷəncɛxʷ k ʷum' nɛʔ čtaríc'ɛʔɛncɛxʷ.

t'ɛk'ʷ -n-t-sɛ(l)-xʷ k ʷum' nɛʔ č -tar+ic'ɛʔ -n-t-sɛ(l)-xʷ

lay -d-t-1acc-2serg and irr hither-untie_wrapping-d-t-1acc-2serg

She was said to, "Be swift. You lay me down and then you will untie me (from the bundle)."

219. hoi xʷui.

hoi xʷuy

then go

Then she went.

220. hoi čɛč'ič'iʔt ɛkʷústəm tɛč ciʔəš

hoi č -č'ih+č'ih+t ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m tɛč ciʔ -ɬ

then hither -come_close say -ct -nte toward there -the_one_who

tɛl'ciʔ uqɛm xʷist xʷist xʷist.

tɛl' ciʔ u qɛm xʷis+t xʷis+t xʷis+t

from there just quiet go go go

Then she kept getting closer. She was said to by the one there, "Just go quietly." She went. She went. She went.

221. hoi xʷuɬ t'ɛk'ʷənc.

hoi xʷuɬ t'ɛk'ʷ -n-t-s

then proceed lay -d-t-3serg

Then she proceeded to put him down.

222. čtaríc'ɛʔɛnc ɬɛ səxʷílgʷɛs k ʷum'

č -tar+ic'ɛʔ -n-t-s ɬɛ sɛxʷ=ilgʷɛs k ʷum'

hither-untie_wrapping-d-t-3serg art carry_little_property_on_back and

ɛkʷústəm ɬɛ ʔɛsməyíw nɛʔ stim' ɬɛ sčiʔətíxʷəms

ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m ɬɛ ɛ -s+myiw nɛʔ stim' ɬɛ ***

say -ct-nte art prep-coyote irr what art ***

pa?aẋmíntəm.
pa?aẋ -min-t-m
*** -rel-t-nte

She untied the bundle which she carried on her back, and was said to by Coyote, "What is she after? She was (getting) sneaked away on."[42]

223. kʷum' kʷučašápstq xʷət'í··š xʷiy'a sqʷásqʷɛsɛ?ɛs.
kʷum' kʷ čɛš+a'p-stq xʷɛt' -iš xʷiy?ɛ s+qʷas+qʷasɛ?-s
and 2nom follow_against_orders get_up -dev this son -3gen

"And you follow against orders." The son got up.

224. xʷɛ́təš ic'ú?umš.
xʷɛt' -iš y'c -c'u?m-iš
get_up -dev cont -cry -dev

He slowly got up and he was crying,

225. xʷi? ušəł xʷi?ł ac'áẋəl
xʷi? u+šił xʷi?+ł y'c -?aẋil
here just here_is_where cont -do

q'ʷi?tmísən xʷiy'ɛ həsmíy'ɛm.
qʷiy'+t -min-si-n xʷiy?ɛ hn -s+miy'ɛm
pity -rel-2acc-1serg this 1gen -wife

"This is what is done. I pity you, my wife."

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[42]One would expect Coyote to speak directly to Black Swan here, but she seems to be addressed in the third person. In the next line Coyote uses the second person.

226. cɛl'əš   xʷa   sqʷásqʷɛsɛʔ   čəckʷínc   xʷa
     c'ɛl   -iš   xʷa   s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ   čc -kʷin-t-s   xʷa
     one_stands-dev   art   son   hither-take-t-3serg   art

     siyólalqʷ   xatápqənc   xʷiy'ɛ pípɛʔɛs.
     siyol=alqʷ   xat+t'apq -n-t-s   xʷiyʔɛ pipɛʔ -s
     stick   bludgeon -d-t-3serg   this   father -3gen

     The son stood up and took a stick. He brained his father.

227. hoi   ła t'ət'əqʷín'   xatápqənc.
     hoi   ła t'ət'aqʷin'   xat+t'apq -n-t-s
     then   art Snipe   bludgeon -d-t-3serg

     Then he beat Snipe.

228. hoi   tagułsíncɛʔɛs   ła xatxatáqənc.
     hoi   t -guł   -sincɛʔ   -s   ła xat+xat+t'apq   -n-t-s
     then   on -plural   -younger_brother -3gen   art bludgeon   -d-t-3serg

     Then he killed his younger brothers.

229. hoi   ła núnɛʔɛs   łoqʷ cxʷísənc.
     hoi   ła nuʔnɛʔ-s   łoqʷ ʔɛc   -xʷis   -n-t-s
     then   art mother-3gen   and   cust   -go   -d-t-3erg

     Then he went towards his mother.

230. tɛʔɛkʷústəm   łɛ ʔɛnúnɛʔɛs   lut
     tɛ   -ʔɛkʷun-st(u)-m   łɛ ɛ -nuʔnɛʔ-s   lut
     thither -say   -ct -nte   art prep-mother-3gen   neg

     čičiyɛˤɛplɛʔɛmíncut   lut   hiitc'aʔxʷ   hił   ɛcəxísən
     čičiyɛ-ˤipilš   -min-ncut   lut   hn+ii -tc'axʷ   hił   ʔɛc+ʔaxil -si-n
     ***-person_hides-rel-reflex   neg   my   -fault   and   intend   -2acc-1serg

xʷa   ʔisqʷásqʷɛsɛʔ.
xʷa   in   -s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ
art   2gen   -son

He was said to, "No. It is not my fault, I did not intend to treat her this way, my son."

231. hoi   č'am'   ɛcxʷɛlxʷəlt   pul'yahál' hoi   č'am'
hoi   č'am'   y'c   -xʷɛl+xʷɛl+t   pul'yahal hoi   č'am'
then   just   cont   -made_to_be-alive   Mole   then   just

tčɛʔɬísəlš.
tč   -čiʔɬɛs   -ilš
person   -three   -pl

Then just Mole was left alive. Then there were just three people.

232. hoi   ciʔɬ   hənxʷátpalqs.
hoi   ciʔ+ɬ   hn+xʷat+p=alqs
then   there   the_end_of_the_road

That is the end of the road.

GLOSSARY

The entries are in the following alphabetical order:

a b c c' č č' d ɛ gʷ h i ǰ kʷ k'ʷ l l' ł m m' n n' o p p' q q' qw q'ʷ r

r' s š t t' u w w' xʷ x̌ x̌ʷ y y' ʕ ʕ' ʕʷ ʕ'ʷ ʔ

The entries are in bold type. Stress marks are not used in the entries. A simple gloss in italics follows each entry. Entries with a hyphen (-) are affixes. Entries which include morpheme breaks, indicated by (+) or (=), have each morph referenced whenever possible. If the stem was found in Reichard 1939 it is either preceded by a √, with the corresponding gloss, or referenced as being in the "Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections" section of the same work. References to Nicodemus 1975 are cited as Nicodemus Dictionary. References to Doak 1997 have her name and the section number listed. Reference to Reichard 1938 are cited with R and the paragraph number. Parentheses at the end of the line include the number of times the entry is found in this text, followed by the sentence numbers in the interlinearization. When there are more than 25 occurrences for a given gloss, no line numbers are given.

a- *prep;* general preposition R 371 variation of ε-. (4) 4, 28, 64, 156

a+ya⁽ *all kinds;* a (ε-) general preposition R 371; √yaʔ, be many. (2) 50,169

a.. a..; stem list says if tone rises it means "oh" if tone is even "disapproval". (1) 174

bεbεbε *papa;* used in baby talk. (3) 203,204,205

caq=ił+cε' *broil meat;* √caq, solid object stands upright; =ił meat R 497; -cεʔ all around, all over R 533. Reichard says that when -cεʔ is used with -ił it means meat or body R 497. (1) 140

cεgʷ+t *treated;* √cεgʷ behave, have character; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 207

cεn- *under;* Doak 2.2.2.2.1.

cεnεl *he;* predicative pronoun Doak 3.4.

cεn+c'εl+ε=sčint *stand under people;* cεn-, under Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √c'εl, one stands ε-, prep R 371; =sčint, people R 505. (1) 45

cεn+kʷin *protect, save;* cεn- under, off of Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √kʷin either sing, or take hold of one small object. (2) 140, 142

cεtxʷ *house;* √cεtxʷ house. (6) 31, 72, 86, 115, 145, 193

ciš *tall;* √ciš be tall. (1) 124

ciš+ciš+t *tall;* √ciš be tall; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 48

ciš+t *long;* √ciš be tall. (4) 100, 101, 200

ciy'ε *that;* demonstrative adjective, that near thee R 700. (1) 124

ciʔ *there;* demonstrative adverb, there near thee R 702. (17) 27, 80, 109, 128, 156, 176, 178, 183, 199, 204, 212, 213, 214, 216, 220, 232

ci⁹ *all right.* (3) 14, 177

ci⁹+ɫ *there;* demonstrative adverb with connective R 703. (2) 77, 152

ciciy'ɛ⁹ *younger sister;* √ciciy'ɛ⁹ younger sister. (1) 64

cmi⁹ *used to be;* √cmi⁹ it was to be but is not. (3) 141, 152, 193

cup=cɛn *grass noise;* cup- ?; =cɛn mouth R 475. (1) 182

c'ɛl *one stands;* √c'ɛl one stands. (2) 190, 226

c'ɛl'+l' *arrive;* √c'ɛl' stand up; CVC+VC it came to be R 607. (3) 15, 48, 86

c'ɛqʷ *butcher;* √c'ɛqʷ butcher. (3) 42, 82, 112

c'i⁹ *deer;* √c'i⁹ deer. (7) 79, 87, 105, 110, 117, 143, 150

c'ukʷtč=šin *cane;* Nicodemus glosses as walking stick. (1) 46

c'u⁹+c'u⁹m *cry;* √c'u⁹um cry, weep. (2) 116, 125

č- *hither;* R 413. (8) 63, 68, 87, 97, 183, 219, 220, 222

č *Ipnom;* 1st person predicative pronoun Doak 3.4. (6) 51, 69, 176, 208, 212, 213

čat+xʷɛr+š *step over;* čɛt- over R 398; √xʷɛr step over person ceremonially. (1) 135

čc- *hither;* R 412. (7) 14, 66, 67, 83, 114, 154, 226

čc+⁹ɛnis *return;* čc- hither R 412; √⁹ɛnis depart. (1) 144

čɛlipɛp *leave;* this is cognate with Okanagan *ucklip* A. Mattina. (3) 32, 203, 205

čɛɫ *fut;* future R 757. (25) 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 26, 34, 43, 44, 52, 69, 91, 122, 125, 141, 145, 148, 166, 168, 171, 178, 181, 210

čɛm' *take;* √čɛm' take hold of pl. objects. (1) 50

čɛš+a'p+stq *follow against orders;* √čɛš accompany; a'p (?); -stq in opposition to R 542. (1) 223

čɛš=šin *follow;* √čɛš accompany; =šin leg R 482. (3) 72, 143, 196

čɛt- *above;* above, on surface Doak 2.2.2.2.1, R 398. (6) 11, 13, 20, 22, 175, 201

čɛtpkʷinč *called.* (1) 8

čɛt+q'ɛt'p *top;* čɛt- on surface, above R 398; √q'ɛt'p go up incline (1) 38

čɛt+yil'xʷ+n *cover with material;* čɛt- on surface R 398; √yil'xʷ cover with material; -n (?). (1) 153

čɛʔ *ought;* R 780. (6) 5, 6, 148

čc- *hither;* shortened form is č- R 413. (19) 24, 31, 48, 51, 66, 83, 91, 92, 100, 106, 113, 114, 151, 161, 188, 209, 213

čic *arrive;* √čic arrive. (1) 134

čił *give;* √čił give; uses the lone t transitivizer Doak 4.2.1.2. (3) 49, 122, 180

čiʔłɛs *three;* R 636. (1) 231

čc+čɛn' *take hold;* čc hither R 413; √čɛn' take hold of a large object. (1) 52

čłip *hunt;* √čłip hunt. (2) 77, 94

čn *1nom;* Doak 3.1 1st person intransitive subject (17) 5, 11, 12, 14, 18, 51, 52, 54, 77, 91, 92, 94, 142, 159, 166, 210

čṇʔɛ *1s;* 1st person singular independent pronoun Doak 3.4, Nicodemus Dictionary. (3) 5, 142, 210

čṇ(ʔ)ul+ɛʔ *it's mine;* 1st person possessive predicate Doak 3.4. (3) 162, 164, 165

čs- *from behind;* Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (1) 19

člípust *that is ours;* Doak 3.4, Table 8. (1) 214

č'am' *just;* √č'am' just. (3) 26, 231

č'ɛ+č'ɛn' *one long object lies;* CV+CVC diminutive small subject R 604; √č'ɛn' one round object. (1) 52

č'ɛč'ɛn'ɛʔ *small;* Nicodemus Dictionary

č'ɛč'ɛn'ɛʔ=qin *small head;* small Nicodemus Dictionary; =qin head R 489. (1) 124

č'ih *approach;* √č'ih approach, get near. (2) 202

č'it *child of;* R offspring, child of 377a. (1) 206

č'ih+č'ih+t *come close;* CVC+CVC plural reduplication R 592; √č'ih approach, get near; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 220

č'it+č'it *be near;* CVC+CVC plural reduplication R 592; √č'it be near. (1) 68

č'iʔ=qin *open lid;* √č'iʔ open, uncover, unveil; =qin head, tip, top R 489. (2) 183, 189

č'i+ʔ+n *worry;* √č'in dangerous; ʔ infix used for inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. (1) 25

č'i+ʔ+t *approach;* √č'it be near; ʔ infix used for inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3 (1) 212

č'min *hear;* Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 188

č'u *gone;* √č'u be absent, gone, missing. (3) 84, 92, 194

dɛs+dɛs *camp;* CVC+CVC plural R 592; √dɛs camp. (1) 213

dɛs+t *camp;* √dɛs camp; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 197, 198

dɛxʷ *lower;* √dɛxʷ lower, descend, dismount. (1) 185

dɛxʷ+t *fall;* √dɛxʷ lower, descend, dismount; -t used with some verbs of action R 301 (6) 55, 183, 185, 186, 187

dɛxʷ+uxʷ *envious;* √dɛxʷ lower, descend, dismount; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. (1) 58

dɛx̌+t *they go;* √dɛx̌ pl. go, depart, travel, this stem actually changes for the plural; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 66, 70

dɛʔɫ *unusual;* √dɛʔɫ exceptionally, surprisingly. (1) 17

dolqʼʷ *exert;* √dolqʼʷ person is strong. (1) 54

ɛ- *prep;* general preposition R 371 (21)

-ɛt *1pgen;* first person plural genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (9) 19, 65, 87, 128, 131, 139, 147, 193

gul' *side by side; under;* almost touching, under ledge, or inclined plane R 407. (3) 68, 70, 123

gul'c *each.* (1) 71

guɫ *plural;* verbalizing or demonstrative pluralizing element R 389. (16) 71, 76, 92, 93, 116, 130, 146, 162, 166, 167, 169, 172, 175, 228

guɫ=ip+ew'ɛs=šin *all in one piece;* guɫ plural R 389; =ip bottom, behind, after R 463; -ew'ɛs between, together, in contact R 537; =šin foot, leg R 482 (?). (1) 178

gu+gʷax̌+t=il't *baby;* √gʷax̌ to be young; CV+CVC diminutive R 604; also "labialization may vocalize preceding a labialized consonant" Doak 2.3.2; -t (?); =il't offspring R 502. (4) 2, 3, 152, 202

gʷɛsmn *hemp;* √gʷɛs spin, twist thread, Nicodemus glosses this as canvas, gunnysack. (3) 173, 176, 177

gʷɛy'+ɛɫ+k'ʷul' *finish;* √gʷɛy' finish; ɛɫ connector Doak 5.3.1.1; √k'ʷul' fix. (1) 145

gʷič *see;* √gʷič see, note that root requires only loan t transitivizer Doak 4.2.1.2. (11) 16, 20, 34, 40, 44,45, 110, 124, 195, 200, 213

gʷis *be high;* √gʷis be high. (1) 48

gʷis+t *be high;* √gʷis be high; -t used with some verbs of aciton R 301. (3) 27, 48, 100

gʷiš+iš *rise;* √gʷiš Nicodemus; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. (1) 192

hɛ *sub;* subordinator used with negative Doak 2.4.2.2. (14) 3, 27, 92, 118, 121, 122, 129, 131, 137, 139, 140, 147, 165, 213

hɛ *art;* definite article R 723. (20) 12, 44, 48, 63, 64, 70, 100, 124, 140, 145, 160, 166, 170, 171, 191

hɛ *that is right;* Nicodemus Dictionary (3) 69, 142, 170

hɛ hɛ *ha;* laughing sound (4) 63, 64

hičɛʔ *where;* √hičɛʔ where. (1) 159

hiɬ *and;* connective, R 801. (14) 2, 3, 32, 65, 85, 98, 123, 124, 162, 175, 176, 185, 198, 231

hn- *loc;* locative, in, on Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (8) 14, 27, 48, 100, 180, 192, 196, 212

hn- *1sgen;* first person genitive, not necessarily singular Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (13) 6, 9, 25, 49, 53, 126, 143, 166, 170, 172, 174, 225

hn+čɛn+čɛn'xʷ=ups *defecate on people;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; CVC+CVC plural R 592; √čɛn'xʷ bump into; =ups anus R 456. (1) 44

hn+č'u+p=ilgʷɛs *become lonesome;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √č'u be absent, gone, missing, empty; -p involuntary R 306; =ilgʷɛs property R 508. (1) 152

hn+ii *my;* hn- 1sgen Doak 2.2.2.2.1; ii for which R 375. (1) 130

hn+kʷiʔc *nightfall;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √kʷiʔc early in morning, dusk. Nicodemus glosses as nightfall. (1) 42

hn+miy=ip *conscious of danger;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √miy make clear, know; =ip bottom R 463. (1) 26

hn+mul+š=ɛnč *beaver;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √mul dip up; -š ?; =ɛnč hollow, belly R 493 (?). (7) 64, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76

hn+sux^w=ɛnɛ^ʔ+min *understand;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √sux^w be acquainted with, know; =ɛnɛ^ʔ ear R 473; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2. Nicodemus says this literally means "he recognized with his ear, he came to understand (a new language)". (1) 44

hn+šɛt'=ul'umx^w *spike into ground;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √šɛt' level or, one long object projects; =ul'umx^w ground R 486. (1) 47

hn+x^wat+p=alqs *the end of the road;* hn- Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √x^wɛt come to an end, be exhausted; -p involuntary R 306; =alqs end R 477. Reichard comments on page 707, footnote 220, that this is a formal ending to a story. (1) 232

hn+ya^ʔrip *rear of house;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √ya^ʔrip rear of house. (1) 216

hn+^ʔiɬn+s+čint+ɛn *man eater;* hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √^ʔiɬn eat; √s+čint person; ɛn- one who R 389. (1) 141

hoi *then, now.* (141)

hoi *cease;* √hoi cease. (1) 132

hoi+yaR+ul *leave alone;* √hoi cease; √yaR assemble; -ul habitually R 443. (1) 156

hui *all right;* Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 69

ii *that which;* that which, the one who Doak 2.2.2.1.1, R 375. (2) 145, 175

ii+y'c+^ʔiɬ+n *food;* ii that which Doak 2.2.2.1.1; y'c continuative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; -iɬ √^ʔiɬn eat; -n nominalizer R 571. (1) 50

-ilš *pl;* optional third person plural enclitic Doak 3.2. (10) 20, 89, 92, 137, 138, 139, 211, 231

-ilš *3pgen;* third person plural genitive pronominal Doak 3.3. (1) 145

in- *2gen;* inflectional prefix for second person genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (7) 31, 137, 203, 208, 209, 230

-iš *dev;* developmental, to a point or place Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (9) 119, 135, 136, 158, 174, 190, 223, 224, 226

kʷ *2nom;* intransitive nominative second person singular Doak 3.1 & Reichard 174. (19) 25, 44, 45, 69, 140, 141, 177, 182, 183, 218, 223

kʷin *catch, take;* √kʷin catch, take, take hold of one small object. (6) 6, 52, 57, 179, 209, 226

kʷum' *and, then;* stem list adverb, conjuntions and interjections. (38)

kʷup *2pnom;* intransitive nominative second person plural Doak 3.1 (8) 127, 130, 146, 170, 171, 172, 174

kʷup+gul'+nɛk'ʷ+ɛˀ *for each of you;* kʷup 2pnom Doak 3.1; gul'c each R 391; nɛ+k'ʷ one R 636 & 646; -ɛˀ R 646. (2) 171, 178

kʷu+ˀɛ *your;* predicative pronoun second person singular Doak 3.4. (1) 17

kʷu‿ˀɛngʷt *you;* predicative pronoun second person singular, "...may stand alone as predicates or may serve as emphatic adjuncts." Doak 3.4. (1) 32

k'ʷinš *how many;* interrogative Nicodemus Dictionary p. 12 #4. (1) 143

k'ʷit'=šin *take off moccasins;* √k'ʷit' take off clothes; =šin foot R 482. (1) 120

k'ʷn+ɛˀ *soon, future;* R 528 & Doak 4.4.1. (9) 5, 55, 56, 132, 168, 171, 173, 182

k'ʷul' *fix;* √k'ʷul' do, make, fix. (1) 118

k'ʷul'=cin+ncut *cook;* √k'ʷul' make; =cin mouth R 475; -ncut reflexive R 567, Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (2) 74, 88

k'ʷk'ʷníy'ɛˀ *in a short while;* stem list Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. (1) 100

laˀaẋʷ *morning;* √laˀaẋʷ be daytime, morning, tomorrow. (4) 18, 19, 94, 149

lɛkʷ *be far;* √lɛkʷ be far. (1) 212

lɛkʷ+ukʷ *go far off;* √lɛkʷ be far; CVC+VC inchoative R 607, labialization of the final consonant seems to be dropped in these cases. (3) 32, 210, 212

lɛkʷ+ut *distance;* √lɛkʷ be far; -ut state of R 447. (1) 214

lɛp'x̌ʷ=šin *toe perforated;* √lɛp'x̌ʷ fit into (as ball and socket); =šin foot R 482. (1) 156

lim *glad;* √lim glad. (3) 89, 90, 145

lim+t *glad;* √lim glad. -t R 301.(1) 145

ludidi *ludidi;* this is the sound of spiders spinning Reichard (1947) p 29. (4) 161, 162

lup *dry;* √lup be dry, thirsty. (1) 42

lut *neg;* √lut be mischievous, not, negative. (25)

l'ɛ+lɛkʷ+ut *little distance;* CV+CVC diminutive R 603; glottalization of l (?); √lɛkʷ be far; -ut state of R 447. (1) 198

ł *the one who;* connective Adverbs, Connectives and Interjections & R 799. (9) 6, 43, 125, 129, 142, 166, 174, 211, 220

-ł- *P;* possessor applicative used with -t Doak 2.2.2.2.2, see also 4.2.3. (2) 130, 138

ła *art;* this is the article for something far away or less intimate R 708, seems to be a harmonizing alternate with łɛ. (21) 1, 5, 6, 16, 19, 22, 27, 37, 61, 65, 94, 103, 124, 202, 209, 214, 227, 228, 229

łɛ *art;* this is the article for something far away or less intimate R 708. (50)

łoqʷ *also, and;* and, also Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (4) 13, 101, 198, 229

łukʷ+y'+igʷt *bloodstained here and there;* łukʷ bloodstained Nicodemus Dictionary; -y' ?; -igʷt here and there. (1) 85

ɬuʔɬ *that is where;* demonstrative R 703. (2) 162, 193

ɬuw'a *that;* demonstrative R 700. ɬuw'a seems to be in harmonic distribution with ɬuw'ɛ. (1) 28

ɬuw'ɛ *that;* demonstrative R 700. (12) 2 5, 6, 116, 151, 156, 163, 166, 175, 201, 208, 211

-m *M;* intransitive suffix for agent, middle, antipassive Doak 2.2.2.2.2 & Doak 4.1.2. (22) 8, 14, 19, 25, 44, 46, 52, 81, 96, 100, 120, 133, 141, 150, 153, 170, 173, 174, 185, 191, 208.

-m *nte;* non topic ergative Doak 3.2.1. (30)

mɛl'- *from;* from, near Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (1) 47

mɛl'+nɛʔ *what;* mel' from Doak 2.2.2.2.1; nɛʔ irrealis, conjecture Doak 4.4.2. (1) 9

mɛxʷ+mɛxʷ+t *laugh;* √mɛxʷ laugh; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -t used with some verbs of action R 607 (3) 63, 93, 145

mɛy *know;* √mɛy know (1) 140

mɛʔl'i *wonder;* I couldn't find this in the stem list, but I found it on p. 669 of Reichard 1938 (2) 6, 159

mɛʔ+ʔ+m+min *send away;* √mɛʔm send away; -ʔ- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 37, 208, 210 Doak 2.2.2.2.2

-mɛ(l)- *1acc;* first person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 129, 137, 147, 148

-mi- *2acc;* second person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (2) 52, 53

mimš *box;* √mimš. (2) 179, 192

-min- *rel;* relational derivational suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 133, 222, 230

mit'č'ɛdɛʔ *blood;* √mit'č'ɛdɛʔ blood. (1) 85

mlqn=ups *eagle;* √mlqnups eagle; Nicodemus notes this derivation: mlqn dark and =ups tail. (3) 12, 13, 16

-mp *2pgen;* second person plural genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (7) 33, 131, 145, 156, 166, 168, 171

mus *four;* √mus four. (4) 70, 71, 181, 187

-n *d;* directional Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (48)

-n *1serg;* first singular transitive subject Doak 3.2. (21) 6, 9, 16, 26, 50, 52, 53, 97, 124, 138, 140, 142, 145, 165, 168, 173, 176, 211, 230

na+ˀ+s *get wet;* √nas get wet; -ˀ- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. (2) 65, 69

-ncut *reflex;* -sut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. I'm not sure about the n- and -t preceding it. It seems to be the directional and transitive. (7) 54, 59, 133, 153, 185, 230

nɛkˀ'ʷ+ɛˀ *one, another;* nɛk'ʷ one R 636; -ɛˀ R 646. (16) 2, 12, 14, 44, 45, 81, 83, 96, 101, 123, 151, 162, 163, 164

nɛpt *enter pl;* √nɛpt plural enter. (1) 73

nɛˀ *irr;* particle indicating irrealis, or conjecture Doak 4.4.2 (25)

nɛˀkʷun *think;* √nɛˀkʷun think. (5) 5, 80, 97, 152, 159

nɛˀmn'us *I don't know;* Stem list under Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (1) 178

ničˀ *cut;* √ničˀ cut with blade and Doak 4.1.2.2 #74. (1) 106

niˀ+ˀɛm+iš *among [bushes];* niˀ amidst Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √ˀɛm sit; -iš developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 99

nuˀnɛˀ *mother;* √nuˀnɛˀ mother. (2) 229, 230

n'ax̌ʷ+t+ił *downstream;* √n'ax̌ʷ downstream; -t used with some verbs of action R 301; -ił direction "-ward" R 539. (1) 64

n'ɛh=ičn' *turn backs;* n'ɛh ?; =ičn' back R 459. (1) 123

n'uɬxʷ *enter;* √n'ulxʷ enter. (4) 28, 31, 145, 161

-p *2perg;* second person plural transitive subject Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 34, 129, 147, 148

-p *inch;* intransitive suffix, involuntary, inchoative. (2) 30, 59

pɛnɛ *as far as;* as far as R 793. (2) 72, 115

piɬ+piɬ+c'iʔ+ixʷ=ups *defecate on elk;* √spɛɬ+c'iʔ elk; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -ixʷ willingly R 455; =ups anus area R 456. (1) 46

pintč *always;* stem list under Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (2) 75, 175

pipɛʔ *father;* √pipɛʔ father. (10) 24, 126, 128, 131, 139, 147, 156, 208, 109, 226

pis=t'ɛy't *big;* √pis pl. objects are big; t'ɛy't ? R 525. (1) 21

pulut *kill;* √pulut kill, injure. (3) 124, 128, 148

pul'yahal *Mole;* proper name Doak p.148. (1) 231

p'ačəčəčə *p'ačəčəčə;* sound of beaver's tail hitting something. (1) 65

p'iɬ *sit;* √p'iɬ person sits. (2) 13, 20

p'o+p'oc' *smash;* CV+CVC reduplication for distributive "here and there" R 596 √p'oc' smash. (1) 165

qil'tč=alqs *clothes;* √qil'tč flesh, meat; =alqs clothes R 471. (1) 175

qa+qicč *little older brother;* CV+CVC use of reduplication seems to make this the diminutive little "older brother" R 603; /qicč older brother. (1) 32

qɛlpyɛ *Black Swan;* √qɛlpyɛ black swan. (8) 2, 4, 5, 32, 37, 152, 156, 159

qɛm *quiet;* √qɛm be unconcerned, pay no attention. (8) 93, 116, 167, 169, 171, 172, 220

q'ɛsp *long ago;* √q'ɛsp be long time, long ago. (2) 203, 205

q'ɛˀ=šin *shoes;* √q'iˀ stick to; =šin foot R 482. (1) 133

q'ic' *grows (veg);* √q'ic' vegetation grows. (1) 164

q'up'+t *rain;* √q'up' rain; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 62

qʷaˀqʷɛˀl *speak;* √qʷaˀqʷɛˀl speak, talk. (1) 172

qʷiy'+t *pity;* √qʷiy' pity; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 225

qʷiy'+qʷiy'+t *pitiful;* √qʷiy' pitiful; CVC+CVC distributive plural R 595; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 207

qʷuˀ+qʷaˀ+qʷɛˀl *talk;* √qʷaˀqʷɛˀl talk, speak; CVC+CVC reduplication for plural distribution R 592. (3) 43, 121, 160

q'ʷɛl+t *cook;* √q'ʷɛl cook, burn; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 89

q'ʷɛn'p'+min+cut=alqʷ *hide self at base of tree;* √q'ʷɛn'p' disappear, go out of sight; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2; -cut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2; =alqʷ tree R 498. (1) 68

q'ʷiˀɬ *move camp;* √q'ʷˀɬ moves camp, village travels. (2) 195, 199

-s *3gen;* third person genitive Doak 3.3. (30)

-s *3serg;* third person ergative Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (49)

-s- *int;* intentional Doak 2.2.2.2.1 also see Doak 4.4.4.4.4. (23)

sɛxʷ *carry on-back;* √sɛxʷ carry on back, uses the lone transitivizer -t Doak 4.2.1.2. (6) 70, 83, 113, 151, 215, 222

sɛxʷ=ilgʷɛs *carry little property on back;* √sɛxʷ carry on back; =ilgʷɛs property R 508. (4) 70, 200, 222

-sɛ(l)- *1acc;* first person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (8) 130, 138, 143, 215, 216, 217, 218

-si- *2acc;* second person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 49, 140, 142, 230

sic'+m *blanket;* √sic' to blanket; -m intransitive suffix for middle Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (2) 62, 153

silɛˀ *grandparent, grandson, mother's father;* √silɛˀ mother's father. Note that on one line in the text 176, the translation is nephew. I could not find any reference to this gloss. This could perhaps have just been a mistake when translating, because the subject referred to is clearly the grandson. (7) 52, 53, 56, 166, 172, 174, 176

sincɛˀ *younger brother;* √sincɛˀ younger brother. (1) 228

si+sincɛˀ *younger brother;* √sincɛˀ younger brother; CV+CVC possibly used for diminutive or modesty R 604, 605 since sincɛˀ already means younger brother. (1) 49

siyol=alqʷ *stick;* √siyol+alqʷ stick; =alqʷ suffix refers to a long object R 432, but is included in the root. (1) 226

slip' *stick;* √slip' be wood. (2) 52, 65

-st(u) *ct;* causative transitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (46)

s+cicɛm'=il't+l't *children;* s- nominalizer R 373; √cicɛm' are small; =il't offspring, child R 502; I am not sure about the reduplication in this case, since it seems to be reduplicating the suffix, not the root. Evidence of reduplication may also be noticed in the root itself. (3) 33, 152, 154

s+čint *people;* √s+čint people (2) 43, 44

s+č'ɛc=ilt *stupid;* s- nominalizer R 373; √č'ɛc stupid; =ilt off spring, child R 502. (1) 146

s+hn+č'am+qs *top;* s- nominalizer R 373; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √č'am be surface; -qs ? (1) 12

s+hn+q'ɛm=il't=ups *power [dung];* √s+hn+qɛˀm+il'tups dung (Coyote's powers); s- nominalizer R 373; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.1; √q'ɛm swallow; =il't offspring from R 502; =ups anus R 456. **(1) 8**

s+hn+q'ʷdɛʔussn *root;* √s+hn+q'ʷdɛʔeussn root. (2) 163, 164

s+jɛy'jɛy'+t+s *ugly;* s- nominalizer R 373; √jɛy'jɛy' be ugly, homely, unsightly.
(1) 5

s+miy'ɛm *wife, woman;* √s+miy'ɛm wife woman; (3) 63, 200, 225

s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm *women; wives* ; √s+miy'ɛm women, wife; Reduplication for plural
does not seem to follow the normal pattern. The reduplication is on the final
CVC. (8) 2, 76, 89, 116, 125, 145, 156

s+myiw *coyote;* √s+myiw coyote. (11) 1, 5, 7, 14, 25, 30, 61, 166, 206, 222

s+pan' *spouse;* s- nominalizer R 373; √pan' be spouse. (1) 156

s+p'iłc'ɛʔ *elk;* √s+p'iłc'ɛʔ elk. (3) 40, 45, 49

s+qiltč *meat, body;* s- nominalizer R 373; √qiltč flesh, meat. (4) 60, 103, 104, 171

s+qil'tumxʷ *man, husband;* s- nominalizer R 373; √qil'tumxʷ man, husband. (3) 32,
65, 87

s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ *child, son;* √s+qʷas+qʷasɛʔ child. (7) 16, 22, 38, 61, 223, 226,
230

s+ši?t=mš *oldest;* s- nominalizer R 373; √ši?t oldest, be first; =mš people R 506
(3) 1, 11, 49

s+tč'igʷɛl *ladder;* √s+tč'igʷɛl Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 17

s+t'ɛdɛʔ *grass;* √s+t'ɛdɛʔ grass. (2) 182, 188

stim' *what;* direct interrogative "what is it?" R 811. (5) 25, 98, 127, 129, 222

s+t+č'am+č'am=alq=šin *long legs;* √s+tč'amč'amalqšɛn Nicodemus Dictionary.
Sometimes this seems to be a proper name in the story. Note: There is a
stem √s+č'im' which means unidentifiable animal. (4) 48, 100, 102, 124

s+t+qʷil'=kup *fire;* s- nominalizer R 373; t- on, part of R 393; √qʷil' kindle, light
make fire; =kup fire, fuel R 480. (2) 213, 214

s+t+qʷi+qʷil'=kup *little fire;* s- nominalizer R 373; -t on, part of R 393; √qʷil' kindle, light, make fire; CV+CVC diminutive R 604; =kup fire R 480. (1) 198

s+xʷuy+n *tracks;* s- nominalizer R 373; √xʷuy go; -n nominalizer R 571. (1) 143

-š *imp;* imperative, Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 32, 50, 215

-š *cont;* combined with y'c and -m suffix creates a continuative antipassive Doak 2.4.1.4.3. (2) 116, 127

šɛn'=qin *close lid;* √šɛn' one flat object lies; =qin top R 489. (2) 184, 190

šɛč'+min *hear;* √šɛč' wait; -min used for R 452. (1) 46

šɛl *chop;* √šɛl chop. (2) 52, 57

šɛl+iw'ɛs=šin *chop leg;* √šɛl chop, split; -iw'ɛs between R 537; -šin leg R 482. (3) 52, 53, 56

šɛl+mɛn *ax;* √šɛl chop, split l chop, split; -mɛn instrumental R 452 and R 872 (1) 57

šɛš *s.o.;* some one Doak 4.2.1.3. (1) 177

šɛt' *take care of;* √šɛt' take care of. (2) 11, 97

š=alqʷ *tree;* š ?; =alqʷ log, sticklike object, tree R 498. (1) 62

-t *sta;* intransitive suffix for resultive of stative Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (7) 48, 89, 90, 124, 145, 207

-t- *tran;* transitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (61)

tač *toward;* Nicodemus Dictionary. This alternates with tɛč depending on vowel harmony. (1) 216

tal'q *stamp;* √tal'q step on, touch with foot. (1) 100

tar+ic'ɛʔ *untie wrapping;* √tar untie; -ic'ɛʔ wrapping R 533. (2) 218, 222

t+caq+caq+iw'ɛs *stop, set down;* t- on, part of R 393; √caq solid object stands upright; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -iw'ɛs have contact with R 537. Nicodemus says this means "to put down from above." (1) 181

t+caq=inɛ⁷ *hear;* t- on, part of R 393; √caq solid object stands upright; =inɛ⁷ ear 473. Nicodemus says this root means "a receptacle stands with concave side up." (3) 43, 63, 182

t+caq+iw'ɛs *nest;* t- on, part of R 393 √caq solid object stands upright; -iw'ɛs between, together, be in contact R 537. (1) 13

t+č'ɛm=asq'it *heaven, sky;* t- on, part of R 393; √č'ɛm be surface; =asq'it sky, atmosphere R 472. Nicodemus says this means literally "vault of the sky." (2) 10, 28

tɛ- *thither;* toward there Doak 2.2.2.2.1 . (8) 6, 45, 56, 202, 206, 209, 230

tɛč *toward;* Nicodemus Dictionary. (7) 27, 66, 83, 195, 198, 214, 220

tɛl' *from;* adverb for comparative degree R 821. (11) 27, 80, 100, 109, 162, 164, 183, 186, 199, 204, 220

tɛn+tɛn *pull;* √tɛn pull on a line; CVC+CVC plural 592. (1) 191

tɛx̌ʷ+m+ncut *stop;* √tɛx̌ʷ stop; -m middle Doak 2.2.2.2.2; -ncut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 185

tɛx̌ʷ+tɛx̌ʷ+iw'ɛs *stop;* √tɛx̌ʷ stop; CVC+CVC plural 592; -iw'es come in contact R 537 (1) 183

tɛ+kʷin *tell;* tɛ- thither R 416; √kʷin sing. (1) 35

tgʷɛl' *because, why;* causal clause, that is the reason R 802. (4) 25, 32, 129, 176

ti⁷+ti⁷ɬ *fly;* √ti⁷ɬ fly; CVC+CVC plural R 592. (1) 20

ti⁷+tiy'aqʷ+t *fight;* √tiy'aqʷ fight; CVC+CVC plural R 592

t+mix̌ʷ=ul'umx̌ʷ *earth;* on, part of R 393; √mix̌ʷ hang in bunches (earth as it appears from sky); =ul'umx̌ʷ ground R 486. (3) 38, 182, 189

tmiš *just.* (7) 85, 102, 123, 151, 171, 178, 212

tor=us *beckon;* √tor streach out, extend (as hand); =us eye R 478. (5) 14, 25, 26

tupɛn' *spider;* √tupɛn' spider. (1) 175

t+x̌ɛs=šin+iw'ɛs *good to feet;* t- on, part of R 393; √x̌as be well, be good; =šin feet R 482; -iw'ɛs be in contact R 537. (1) 17

t'ap *kill, shoot;* √t'ap shoot. (9) 41, 79, 96, 107, 110, 130, 138, 143, 150

t'ap+min *arrow;* √t'ap arrow; -min instrumental R 452. (1) 62

t'ap+t'ap *shoot;* √t'ap shoot; CVC+CVC plural, distributive R 592. (1) 81

t'ax̌+t *be swift;* √t'ax̌ be swift; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 301

t'ət'aqʷin' *Snipe.* (8) 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 35, 209, 227

t'ɛk'ʷ+uk'ʷ *fall down;* √t'ɛk'ʷ one lies; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. (1) 182

t'ɛk'ʷ+i *lay;* √t'ɛk'ʷ one lies; -i exageragion Doak 2.3.9.2 (1) 24

t'ɛx̌ʷ *kill;* √t'ɛx̌ʷ die, kill plural. (1) 211

t'ɛx̌ʷ+ux̌ʷ *die;* √tɛx̌ʷ kill; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. Nicodemus says that this word is only used in reference to people. (3) 6, 9, 108

t'ik'ʷ+t'ik'ʷ+ut *old;* √t'ik'ʷ old; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -ut state of R 447. (1) 162

t'iʔ *already,* evid; already, surely, absolutely, quite R 782. (8) 20, 21, 27, 65, 69, 145, 152

t'u *t'u;* necessary to introduce the answer to a question if it be not merely "yes" or "no" R 775. (1) 128

tc'ax̌ʷ *fault;* √tc'ax̌ʷ fault. (1) 230

tč- *person;* prefix used when numbers refer to people R 643. (13) 2, 12, 14, 44, 45, 123, 162, 163, 164, 231

tč'igʷel *climb;* Nicodemus Dictionary. (4) 11, 22, 23, 27

u *just;* prefix of emphasis R 386, Doak 2.2.3. (16) 19, 25, 26, 38, 70, 93, 123, 125, 160, 167, 169, 171, 172, 182, 188, 220

ul- *belonging to;* belonging to R 377, Doak 2.2.3. (1) 13

-ulmi- *2pacc;* second person plural object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 130, 168, 173

uɫ- *again;* locative or directional prefix Doak 2.2.2.2.1 (63)

u+šišil' *flat;* u inherent Doak 2.2.3; √šišil' very fine. (1) 104

-ut *at place;* directional suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (3) 75, 163, 201

u+šɫ *just;* u immediate Doak 2.2.3; √šiɫ fit, be exact, correct. (6) 43, 51, 52, 181, 187, 225 with root for "be fitting"

wiš *dwell;* √wiš dwell (1) 1

-xʷ *2erg;* second person singular transitive subject 3.2. (12) 10, 49, 52, 57, 128, 140, 143, 213, 215, 216, 218

xʷa *art;* article R 726. (11) 4, 33, 60, 65, 152, 192, 205, 226, 230

xʷar *long time;* √xʷar a very long time. (1) 174

xʷɛ *art;* article R 726. (20) 1, 14, 34, 40, 52, 62, 79, 83, 140, 141, 143, 163, 174, 179, 203, 206, 207, 214

xʷɛl+xʷɛl+t *alive;* √xʷɛl be alive, live; CVC+CVC reduplication for plural (?) R 592; -t used with some verbs R 301. (2) 132, 231

xʷɛt' *get up, run away;* √xʷɛt' move hurriedly. (6) 30, 59, 136, 158, 223, 224

xʷi' *here;* demonstrative adverb R 702. (9) 4, 13, 25, 164, 206, 225

xʷis *go;* √xʷis one travels, goes about. (1) 229

xʷis+t *go;* √xʷis one travels, goes about; -t used with some verbs R 301. (25)

xʷiy²ɛ *this, these;* demonstrative adjective R 699. (14) 11, 25, 32, 71, 76, 87, 89, 104, 125, 176, 198, 223, 225, 226

xʷi²+ɫ *here is where;* demonstrative adverb with connective R 703 (17) 25, 68, 105, 123, 155, 162, 164, 183, 186, 189, 192, 202, 206, 213, 225

xʷuy *go;* √xʷuy go. (13) 18, 19, 20, 50, 83, 92, 114, 154, 174, 215, 216, 219

xʷuɫ *proceed;* √xʷuɫ proceed to. (13) 15, 31, 38, 72, 79, 86, 96, 134, 145, 161, 197, 200, 221

xʷu+xʷis+t *go (modestly);* √xʷis go; CV+CVC diminutive to express modesty R 605. (1) 201

xʷu+xʷi² *this;* demonstrative pronoun and adverb R 705. (2) 164, 189

x̌ac=num'+n *clothing;* √x̌ac be ready, clothed, get ready; =num' body R 461 -n ? (1) 168

x̌ali' *might;* √x̌ali' might, used in sense of expecting something unfavorable Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (1) 175

x̌aq' *pay;* √x̌aq' pay, reward. (3) 168, 173, 177

x̌at+t'apq *bludgeon;* √x̌ɛt club; √t'apq stick pinlike object in. (2) 226, 227

x̌at+x̌at+t'apq *bludgeon;* √x̌ɛt club; CVC+CVC reduplication plural R 592; √t'apq stick pinlike object in. (1) 228

x̌a+x̌at+x̌at *beat;* CV+CVC reduplication plural R 592; √x̌at club. (1) 217

x̌ɛc+min+ncut *get ready;* √x̌ɛc get ready; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2.;-ncut relexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 133

x̌ɛminč *like;* √x̌ɛm love, Doak has the complete word √x̌ɛminč as a root on p. 194. (4) 2, 5

x̌ɛs *well;* √x̌ɛs be well, be good. (1) 11

x̌ɛt *beat;* √x̌ɛt club. (2) 65

x̌iɬ+t *leave;* √x̌iɬ leave, desert; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 152

x̌um'ut *I suppose;* suppose, Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. (5) 44, 45, 46

x̌ʷiɬ *hurry at something;* √x̌ʷiɬ hurry at something. (1) 88

yaˤ+p=qin *many assemble;* √yaˤ assemble, many, crowd; -p involuntary R 306; =qin head R 489. (1) 73

yɛm *silent;* √yɛm be silent. (1) 130

yɛʔ *procure game;* √yɛʔ procure game. (5) 49, 87, 91, 96, 111

yo *my!;* interjection Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 6

y'itš *sleep;* √y'itš Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 43

y'c- *cont;* continuative Doak 2.2.2.2.1 (36)

y'ukʷɛʔ *older sister;* √y'ukʷɛʔ woman saying younger brother. Kinship terms are often reciprocal in Salishan languages. (1) 64

ˤɛc=ɛl'=sči?čɛʔ+ɛn *rope;* √ˤɛc tie; =ɛɬ (ɛl' before vowel) for use R 521; =ɛsči?chɛʔ horse R 495; -ɛn that which R 571. (1) 191

ˤipilš *person hides;* √ˤipilš person hides. (2) 99, 230

ʔac'x̌ *look at;* √ʔac'x̌ look at. (6) 24, 27, 176, 202, 206

ʔapɬ *have;* √ʔɛpɬ there is, have. (2) 2, 152

ʔasqʷ *son;* √ʔasqʷ son. (1) 1

ʔax̌il *do;* √ʔax̌il do, thus. (14) 6, 9, 25, 62, 68, 116, 159, 162, 164, 183, 186, 204, 225

ʔa+ʔ+pɬ *have;* √ʔapɬ have, there is; -ʔ- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. I think this might mean that she wouldn't become pregnant. (1) 3

ʔɛ *obl;* oblique Doak 5.1.1.2 (14) 17, 31, 43, 44, 45, 70, 80, 81, 86, 105, 110, 145, 150, 171

ʔɛc- *act;* actual, made to be so R 384. Reichard says that this prefix preceeds all other prefixes. (12) 1, 26, 43, 46, 92, 122, 139, 140, 147, 160, 169, 178

ʔɛc- *cust;* customary aspect R 323 and Doak 4.2.2.1 . (11) 26, 92, 93, 122, 125, 139, 140, 147, 169, 178, 229

ʔɛc+ʔax̌il *intend;* ʔɛc actual R 384; √ʔax̌il do. (1) 230

ʔɛc+ʔɛm=iɬxʷ *mat house;* ʔɛc actual R 384; √ʔɛm one sits; =ilɬʷ house R 496. (1) 200

ʔɛc+hn+šar+iš+iɬ *upstream;* ʔɛc actual R 384; hn loc Doak 2.2.2.2.1; √šar be difficult, disobedient, annoying; iš developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2; iɬ -ward R 539.(1) 64

ʔɛc+p'ɛn+p'ɛn=šin *long legs lie;* ʔɛc actual R 384; CVC+CVC plural Doak 592; √p'ɛn stem list long objects lie; =šin leg R 482. (1) 134

ʔɛc+šɛt' *encircle;* ʔɛc customary R 323; √šɛt' surround by enemy. (1) 68

ʔɛc+šɛt' *tree;* ʔɛc actual R 384; √šɛt' one long object projects (1) 12

ʔɛc+wiš *house;* ʔɛc customary R 323; √wiš reside, dwell, poles stand up. (4) 72, 159, 216, 229

ʔɛčin *put, be the matter;* √ʔɛčin do with, put, be the matter with. (2) 117, 127

ʔɛkʷun *say;* √ʔɛkʷun say, tell. (76)

ʔɛm *sit;* √ʔɛm one sits. (4) 75, 119, 162, 201

ʔɛm+ut *sit;* √ʔɛm one sits; -ut at a place directional suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 75, 163, 201

ʔɛnis *go back;* √ʔɛnis leave, set out, go away. (3) 69, 86, 159

ʔɛpɬ *have, there is;* √ʔɛpɬ there is, have. (4) 152, 198, 213, 214

ʔɛsl *two;* √ʔɛsl two. (6) 13, 70, 71, 80, 91, 111

ʔicč+n *play;* √ʔicč play; -n ?. (1) 155

ʔiɬn *eat;* √ʔiɬn eat. (13) 60, 75, 89, 98, 106, 122, 123, 124, 130, 138, 141, 145, 171

ʔim *try;* √ʔim try. (1) 160

ʔingʷɛt *what;* √ʔingʷɛt what, be who. (1) 92

ʔukʷ *bring;* √ʔukʷ bring. (1) 166

ʔukʷ+ʔukʷ+nɛʔn *bring gradually;* √ʔukʷ bring; CVC+CVC plural R 596 (1) 10

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