Lynx: A morphological analysis and translation of Dorothy Nicodemus' Coeur d'Alene narrative

Shannon T. Bischoff

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8/98
Lynx:
A Morphological Analysis
and
Translation of
Dorothy Nicodemus' Coeur d'Alene Narrative

by
S. T. Bischoff
B.A., University of Alaska, Anchorage, 1986

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Masters of Arts
The University of Montana
2001

Approved by:

[Signatures]
Chairperson
Dean, Graduate School

1-2-02
Date
"Lynx" is one of several Coeur d'Alene narratives recorded by Gladys Reichard during the summers of 1927 and 1929. Reichard, a linguist and professor at Barnard College, spent the two summers on the Coeur d'Alene reservation collecting grammatical material and narratives. Reichard recorded two versions of Lynx while on the reservation in eastern Idaho. The version presented here is that told by Dorothy Nicodemus, one of Reichard's two primary narrators.

Reichard's work culminated in the publishing of a grammar, a word list, and the publication of the English translations of the narratives collected. The English translations were published in 1947, as the American Folklore Society Memoir titled *An Analysis of Coeur d'Alene Mythology*.

The analysis consists of an interlinearization of the text, with morpheme, gloss, and English translation lines added. All identified morphemes are catalogued in a glossary.

The interlinearization is preceded by an introduction, a grammatical sketch of Coeur d'Alene, English translations of Lynx, and facsimiles of Reichard's manuscripts. Two appendices follow the glossary.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr. Anthony Mattina, Dr. O. W. Rolfe, and Dr. Irene Applebaum. I am indebted to my advisor and coach Dr. Anthony Mattina, for his guidance and remarkable patience. I am also indebted to my colleagues John D. Stephens, Ian Clayton, Julie Pilling, and Stephan A. Jenczewski. Stephens' and Clayton's support and encouragement was much appreciated. Stephens' knowledge of translation theory was invaluable — as was Piling's knowledge of Coeur d'Alene. Jenczewski's preliminary work on sections of Lynx was of great help. I would also like to thank Dr. Deirdre Black and Dr. Nancy Mattina, my teachers. E. H. Bottoms' support and encouragement is also due a considerable thanks.

Finally I would like to thank Takae.
Preface

The purpose of this project is to present Gladys Reichard's manuscripts of Dorothy Nicodemus' Narrative *Lynx*, in one text -- in an effort to preserve her work and the Coeur d'Alene language. The focus of this thesis is the interlinearization of Dorothy Nicodemus' narrative *Lynx*, as recorded by Gladys Reichard in the late 1920's. The thesis is organized as follows: a list of abbreviations and symbols used in this thesis; an introductory chapter; a second chapter containing a brief grammatical sketch of Coeur d'Alene; a third chapter containing Reichard's continuous translation of *Lynx* beside a line by line translation of the original Coeur d'Alene text; a fourth chapter containing *Lynx* in Reichard's notebook; a fifth chapter containing *Lynx* in Reichard's monolingual typescript; a sixth chapter containing Reichard's interlinear typescript of *Lynx*; a seventh chapter comprised of the transliteration and analysis of the interlinearized text; a glossary; an appendix of Reichard's annotations of forms found in *Lynx*; an appendix explaining differences between Reichard's typed manuscript of *Lynx* and my line of Coeur d'Alene text offered in the interlinearization.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

abs  absolutive
acc  accusative
b   benefactive applicative
conn connective
cont continuative
ct  causative
cust customary
d  directive
dat  dative
det  determiner
erg  ergative
fut  future
imp  imperative
inher  inherant
instr  instrumental
irr  irrealis
int  interrogative
loc  locative
mdl  middle
nint  interrogative anticipating negative response
neg  negative
nte  nontopic ergative
pra  possessor applicative
prox  prox\(^1\)
res  resultive
rint  rhetorical interrogative
sf  stem formative
t  transitive
yint  interrogative anticipating affirmative response

\(^1\) Doak (hereafter D) does not give a full form for this abbreviation — I assume it means "proximator" as in proximally.
LIST OF SYMBOLS

V root
-morpheme boundary
+synchronically irrelevant morpheme boundary, including a derivational affix boundary
= lexical suffix
// // indicates underlying form
C consonant
V vowel
S high-sonority segment
R₁ syllabic segment
p plural
s singular
R Gladys Reichard
RG Reichard's Coeur d'Alene
D Ivy Doak
** incomplete analysis
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<td>Facsimile &quot;there&quot; typed</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Facsimile &quot;deer&quot; handwritten</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Coeur d'Alene is a member of the Salishan linguistic family of North America. It is one of twenty-three languages in the family and one of the four in the Southern Interior branch of the family. The family, with the exception of two members, ranges contiguously longitudinally from about 123° W to about 113° W, and latitudinally from about 52° to about 45° N. In the 1960's and 70's, great strides were made in the collection and analysis of data from the Salishan family in large part due to the efforts of Laurence C. Thompson and the Northwest Survey. More work has been carried out on a solo basis by several scholars. Scholars believe the family originated somewhere along the Northwest coast of the United States and Southern Canada, most likely near the mouth of the Fraser River (Thompson 1979:693), and spread inland across the Cascade Mountains and beyond, to the Rocky Mountains in Western Montana, while earlier scholars had postulated that the family had originated in the interior and had moved westward toward the coastal regions.

There are three major divisions in the Salishan family: Bella Coola; Coast, comprising the Central, Tillamook, and Tsamosan subdivisions; and Interior, which is divided into southern and northern branches. Bella Coola and Tillamook, the northernmost and southernmost Salishan languages, respectively, each have their own branch of the Salishan tree, and it is notable that these languages are geographically isolated from the others in the family.
Coeur d'Alene is a member of the Southern Interior branch of the Salishan family, along with three other members. The Kalispel-Flathead-Spokan dialect group surrounds Coeur d'Alene, spreading eastward into present-day Montana and westward into present-day eastern Washington. To the north and west of Coeur d'Alene lies Colville-Okanagan, and Moses-Columbia lies further west.

Figure 1 - A Salishan family tree showing areal distribution and genetic affinity. Languages in () are extinct. (Chart by Timothy Momler).
In the nineteenth century the Salishan languages were the subject of early anthropological research, as J. C. Pilling notes in his *Bibliography of the Salishan Languages*:

> Of the numerous stocks of Indians fringing the coast of northwest America few have been as thoroughly studied or their languages so well recorded as the Salishan.

(1893: V)

By the early twentieth century Reichard, in the first written grammar of Coeur d'Alene, remarks:

> I have of course used the published material, particularly for understanding, for I do not present much comparison.

> The articles are few and I list them here...

(1938: 522)

and lists six published articles. Of the Salishan languages Coeur d'Alene seems to have lost the attention of most anthropologists after Pilling's publication. At the request of Franz Boas, Reichard was encouraged to continue the linguistic work that Teit had started earlier, at the turn of the century. In the summer of 1927 Reichard made the first of two field trips to Northern Idaho. The second trip came in the summer of 1929 (Reichard 1938: 521).

During these summer field trips Reichard collected the bulk of the material presented in the grammar, as well as approximately forty-eight texts. The two chief narrators for Reichard were Dorothy Nicodemus and Tom Miyal. Two versions of Lynx were recorded, one from each narrator. The version presented here is that of

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Dorothy Nicodemus. Reichard published free translations of the texts in 1947; however, texts in the original Coeur d'Alene have never been published (with the exception of those that form the subject of several Masters theses produced at The University of Montana).

In the mid 1970's, the language lab of The University of Montana obtained copies of several of the notebooks, file slips, and typescripts that Reichard had produced and that were archived at the Archives of the Languages of the World at Indiana University. Some of these materials have served as data for textual editions prepared by graduate students as Masters theses. The work I present in this thesis is the interlinearized edition of one these texts, Lynx.

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CHAPTER II
GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF COEUR D'ALENE LANGUAGE

1. Phonology.

1.1. Consonants. The Coeur d’Alene inventory comprises forty-two consonants that contrast eleven places of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, lateral, labiovelar, uvular, labio-uvular, coronal pharyngeal, pharyngeal, labiopharyngeal, and laryngeal. There are six manners of articulation for the consonants: plain and glottalized voiceless stops and affricates; voiced stops and affricates; voiceless fricatives; and plain and laryngealized resonants (Doak section 2.1.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>č</th>
<th>kʷ</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>qʷ</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>c'</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>q' w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>ą'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>r'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>ą'</td>
<td>ą' w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2 Coeur d'Alene Consonant Inventory

Coeur d’Alene lacks the glottalized lateral affricate /ļ'/ that occurs in the other Salishan languages; in Coeur d’Alene this has merged with /t'/ (Thompson 1979:706). Doak notes that Coeur d’Alene phonology is also interesting for its voiced obstruents, “which are unusual among interior languages” (Doak 1997:7). According to Doak, the voiced obstruents are recent introductions to the language. Many of the words containing /b/ are either borrowed or onomatopoetic, /d gʷ j/
have wider distribution, but only /g^w/ occurs in morphemes other than roots (Doak 1997:12).

1.2. Vowels. Salishan languages vary in the number of vowels they have from three to five. Coeur d'Alene has a five vowel system distinguishing two levels of height and two degrees of backness:

```
  i  u
  e  ø  o
  a

Figure 3 Coeur d'Alene Vowels
Inventory
```

/i/ and /u/ are prototypical high vowels. /e/ appears to exhibit the greatest phonetic range: from [e] to [æ]. /o/ and /a/ are low back vowels that include elements of pharyngeal constriction. Schwa is never stressed and occurs as a reduced form of some unstressed vowels. Schwa also occurs as an inserted, or excrescent, element to break up consonant clusters. When schwa occurs as an excrescent element its use often varies from speaker to speaker (Doak 1997:12).

1.2.2. Syllables. There are four primary core syllables in Coeur d’Alene: V, VC, CV, and CVC:

- u k‘u nás ‘you are wet’ (V CV CVC) (Doak §2.1.3.)
- ul paq he ?úse? ‘Easter egg’ (VC CVC CV-CVC) (Doak §2.1.3.)

\(^2\)D (§2.1.2.) distinguishes /i/ and /u/ as [+high] vowels and the remaining vowels [-high].
Doak notes that the V and CV primary core syllables occur in word initial position in a few proclitics or prefixes, and that some syllable initial u's maybe analyzable as glides.

The sonority of segments decreases with distance from the nucleus when consonants are added to the onset of a CV(C) syllable or the coda of a (C)VC syllable. With S representing segments that are of higher sonority than C, three additional syllables are: CSV(C), (C)VSC, and CVSSC: scɛnc'mɛ'ʃɛnt 'wrist' (C-CVC-CC-CVSSC) (Doak §2.1.3.).

The resonant m surrounded by consonants, in the previous example, may serve as a syllable peak. Other syllabic resonant (R₁) can be seen in these forms:

čn nxʷɛtp 'I got out of breath' (C R₁ R₁-CVC-C³) (Doak §2.1.3.)
leʃncɛlm 'I got stung' (CVC- R₁-CVC- R₁) (Doak §2.1.3.)

2. Morphophonology.

2.1. Vowel lowering. In certain environments Coeur d'Alene vowels /u/, /i/, and /e/ lower to [ɔ], [ɛ], and [a], respectively. Doak refers to this phenomenon as “vowel harmony”. There are two types of vowel lowering in Couer d'Alene, long distance and allophonic. These can be broken down into two sub-types, regressive and progressive. The following are examples of the long distance regressive and progressive types:

---

³D appears to analyze the final p as extra syllablic material in this example.
[ə], [ɛ], and [a] occur preceding uvulars or pharyngeals as the result of regressive harmony:

qʷáq̓ən //qʷíc=qín// hat
spómal'qs //sVpum=al'qs// fur coat
c̓q̓salqʷ //Vc̓iš=alqʷ// He is tall.

(Doak §2.3.1)

Progressive harmony affects stressed suffixal /u/, /i/, and /ɛ/ following harmony roots. Some roots trigger the lowering of suffixal vowels as in these examples:

t'mt'm'yu'yɛ? //Vt'am'+CVC=yuyɛ?// snail
t'apsčq̓nt //Vt'ap-sVčq̓nt// He shot (people).

nmasmasətakʷɛ? //VhnVmasmas=ɪtkʷɛ?// Water is full of masmas.

(Doak §2.3.1)

2.2. Vowel lengthening. Vowels maybe lengthened in Coeur d'Alene as follows.

Word-level: The vowel of an open syllable is long before C₁V within a word:

2. a. [uːc̓əc'ələ] //uɬ čicVc'əl+// Again she arrived (Doak §2.3.2.)
Discourse-level: In conversation or storytelling a vowel may be lengthened for a variable amount of time to indicate extended duration or exaggeration (Doak 1997:34). Example:

3. a. c'á••w'ncut x'í? e Potty
   Potty kept washing himself  (Doak §2.3.9.2.)

A final vowel may be added to a stem for the same purpose, the stem-final -ɛ? of k'ñε? ‘soon’ is replaced with -i:

4. a. u k'ñí•• l čicx'úy . . .
   [Soon] afterwards she came . . . (Doak §2.3.9.2.)

2.3. Truncation. Truncation of post-tonic material may occur following the stressed vowel and can be detected in informal speech:

5. a. nq"q"çsmí//hn-q"Vq"çs-m=icn'=šin/
   dog (lit. with pleated soles)  (Doak:§2.3.9.1.)
2.4. /h/ loss. Morpheme initial /h/ is frequently omitted in word initial position before a consonant, or in a compound:

6. a. híčě? where

me·l'íčě? //mel'-híčě?/ from where

b. ku n ̱i amínč //k*v u ʰn-xmlinč//I love you. (Doak: §2.3.8.)

c. ənšélč //ʰn+šílč// (to) circle (Lynx 010)

2.5. Coronal sequence reduction. When two coronals occur together, the first is usually dropped. This tends to vary somewhat and generally applies only to affixes, which tend to be less stable than roots. Some suffix sequences involving /t/ and /s/, however, are preserved: for example, the transitive sequence //-t-Ø-s// merges to [c], and does not reduce to [s].

7. a. tekʷínč

Vtɛ+kʷín -n -Ł -s
receive -d -t -3abs -3erg
he received it (Lynx 025)

2.6. /s/ palatalization. The sequence /s-ʔ/ (where the hyphen marks a morpheme boundary), results in [y']: 

8. a. y'íln //sʔíln// eating (Doak §2.3.7.)
3. Morphology.

3.1. Arguments and pronominals or person marking forms.

3.1.1. Independent/predicative pronouns.

9. a. čn ṣeng’mt I/me.
   b. k"u ṣeng’mt You.
   c. céníl He/him.
   d. č lípust We/us.
   e. k"up lípust You folks/All of you.
   f. cənÍlIls They/them. (Doak 38)

3.1.2. First and second person pronouns may be truncated:

10. a. čn ṣe I/me.
    b. k"u ṣe You.
    c. č lí We/us.
    d. k"up lí You folks/All of you. (Doak 39)

---

4D notes that the roots that follow the person markers are unanalyzable.
3.1.3. Possessive predicative forms add the prefix (ʔ)ul- to the independent stems, truncated or whole:

11. a. čн ʔulɛ  It’s mine; it belongs to me
    b. kʷ(u) ʔulɛ  It’s yours.
    c. ʔulɛnɛnil  It’s his/hers.
    d. č ʔullɪpʊst  It’s ours.
    e. č ʔullɪ  It’s ours.
    f. kʷup ʔullɪpʊst  It’s yours.
    g. ʔulɛnɪlɛlɛ  It is theirs. (Doak 40)

3.2. Simple intransitive constructions. Simple intransitives consist of a subject proclitic followed by a root or stem. The subject proclitics of intransitive constructions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Subjects of intransitive:</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominative:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>čн</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>kʷu</td>
<td>kʷu+p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>absolute:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that there are gender specific person makers in Coeur d'Alene.

I use the symbol Ø to mark 3rd absolutive in this chapter. I do not identify this zero marker in the interlinearization (Chapter VII).
To distinguish plurality in the third person -ilš is used when clarity demands it.

Examples of intransitive constructions:

12a. čn- g"ič I saw. 13a. čn- ?ácqč? I went out.

b. k"u- g"ič You saw. b. k"u- ?ácqč? You went out.

c. 0g"ič He saw. c. 0- ?ácqč? He went out.

d. 0- g"ič We saw. d. 0- ?ác?qč? We went out.

e. k"up- g"ič You folks saw. e. k"up- ?ác?qč? You folks went out.

f. 0g"ičilš They saw. f. 0- ?ác?qč? They went out.

(Doak 1 ) (Doak 2)

3.3. Simple transitive constructions with person marking. Simple transitive constructions are formed by adding a transitivizing suffix (TRANS) to a stem, followed by an object suffix (O) and then a subject suffix (S):

STEM-TRANS-O-S.

The transitivizers (see §3.4.) used in most of the examples that follow are -n-t-, which Doak labels as the DIRECTIVE transitivizer (dt) and -st(u)- the CAUSATIVE transitivizer (ct).
The alternate forms of the first and second person singular accusative are determined by the transitivizer. The ‘M-set’, -mε(l) and -mi, are used with -st(u)- the causative transitivizer (examples 14a and b) and the ‘S-set’, -sε(l) and -si, are used with the -nt- directive transitivizer (examples 15a and b). Again, -ilš optionally pluralizes third person forms (see §3.4.2.). Examples of simple transitive constructions with the -n-t- DIRECTIVE transitivizer (dt), -st(u)- CAUSATIVE transitivizer (ct), and -t- possessor applicative transitivizer (pra):

14a. púlust $\textit{mel}m$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ergative (erg):</td>
<td>1 -n</td>
<td>-(mε)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 -x$^w$</td>
<td>-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 -s</td>
<td>-s (-ilš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nte</td>
<td>-m/-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Objects:

accusative (acc): 1 -sε(l)/-mε(l) -εl(i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 -si/-mi</td>
<td>-ulm(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

absolutive (abs): 3 Ø Ø (-ilš)

(Doak, table 3)
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 15

15a. c’úw’ncelm
\[\text{hit} -d -t \text{-sel} -\text{m}\]
I got hit. (Doak 8)

b. c’úw’ncis
\[\text{hit} -d -t \text{-lacc} -\text{nte}\]
(Doak 9)

16a. t’ápm
\[\text{shoot} -d -t \text{-lacc} -\text{nte}\]
I shot him. (Doak 16)

b. máq”entmet
\[\text{stack} -d -t \text{-lacc} -\text{nte}\]
We piled up rocks, stacks of wheat. (Doak 20)

c. q’ic’tce\[\text{fill} -\text{pra} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
You filled it for me. (Doak 10a)

d. q’ic’tcep
\[\text{fill} -\text{pra} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
You folks filled it for me. (Doak 10b)

d.7
\[\text{cust} -\text{see} -\text{ct} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
He sees me. (Doak 4)

e. ?acq?emstu silš
\[\text{go out} -\text{m} -\text{ct} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
He took them out. (Doak 13)

3.3.1. The final /l/ of -sɛ(l) or -mɛ(l) occurs only before the second person plural ergative -p or before the nontopic ergative -m (see examples 14a and 15a above):

17a. q’ic’tcep
\[\text{fill} -\text{pra} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
You filled it for me. (Doak 10a)

b. q’ic’tcep
\[\text{fill} -\text{pra} -\text{lacc} -\text{nte}\]
You folks filled it for me. (Doak 10b)

7D provides no line of text for this example.
8There are two agreement affixes and three logical participants in these forms. Presumably the object (it) can be expressed by a nominal.

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3.3.2. -ilš occurs only once in a transitive structure and can indicate plurality for one or both third person transitive pronouns:

18a. ?ácq?əmstusilš

\[ V^\circ \text{acq} \_m \_stu \_Ø \_s \_ilš \]

\text{go_out} \_m \_ct \_3abs \_3erg \_pl

They took it out./ He took them out./ They took them out. (Doak 13)

b. t'əx"ntx"ilš

\[ V^\circ t'\text{ax} \_n \_t \_Ø \_x" \_ilš \]

\text{kill} \_d \_t \_3\text{abs}_1 \_2\text{erg} \_pl

You kill them. (Doak 14)

3.3.3. NTE\(^9\) - nontopic ergative constructions. The nte -t and -m are variants of the same morpheme. The variant, -t or -m, is determined by the person and number of the object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Following the Object</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Doak, table 4)

Some examples of the nte:

19a. púlus\text{tm}l\text{m}

\[ V^\circ \text{pulut} \_st(u) \_-\text{mel} \_-\text{m} \]

\text{kill} \_ct \_-1\text{acc} \_-\text{nte}

I got killed. (Doak 6)

b. púlst\text{m}t\text{i}

\[ V^\circ \text{pulut} \_st(u) \_-\text{mi} \_-\text{t} \]

\text{kill} \_ct \_-2\text{acc} \_-\text{nte}

You got killed. (Doak 7)

\(^9\)The cognate forms in other Salishan languages are labeled 'passive', and 'indefinite.
3.4. Transitive markers. Transitive affixes are attached to a transitive stem and followed by the transitive pronominals in the order object-subject. Transitive markers:

- \( -t \)
- \( -n\text{-t-} \)

STEM \( -\text{st(u)-} \) OBJECT SUBJECT

- \( -\text{t-} \)
- \( -\text{š(l)-t-} \)
- \( -\text{túš-t-} \) (Doak 109)

Each of the transitive affixes has a specific function that will be discussed below.

The lone \( -t \) and the directive transitive \( -n\text{-t-} \) are utilized in basic transitive constructions. Basic transitive constructions consist of a patient object and an agent subject. Other constructions, causative and applicative transitives, assign different roles to objects.
3.4.1. Basic transitivizers.

3.4.1.1. Directive transitivizer -n-t-. Indicates that the subject is an agent in control of its actions. Some examples:

20a. nic'ntmet
    \[V n i c' -n -t -\emptyset -m e t\]
    cut \[-d -t -3a b s -1p e r g\]
    We cut it. (Doak 110)

b. q'"ic'ntp
    \[V q'" i c' -n -t -\emptyset -p\]
    fill \[-d -t -3a b s -2p e r g\]
    You folks filled it up. (Doak 111)

c. t'ápnc\textsuperscript{10}es
    \[V t' a p -n -t -s e -s\]
    shoot \[-d -t -1a c c -3e r g\]
    He shot me. (Doak 112)

d. ne? xét'ncn
    \[n e? V X é t -n -t -s i -n\]
    irr gnaw \[-d -t -2a c c -1e r g\]
    I will gnaw you. (Doak 113)

3.4.1.2. -t and -n-t-. The lone -t occurs with a limited set of Coeur d'Alene roots, listed in 21. The lone -t- and the -n-t- transitivizer are equivalent in the function and type, and Doak suggests that the lone -t transitivizer is in fact an alternate form of -n-t-.

21. a. Vg"ič see
    \[V g"i c\]
    b. Vq"il starve
    \[V q"i l\]
    c. Vg"nit call, summon
    \[V g"n i t\]
    d. Všex" carry on back
    \[V s e x"\]
    e. Vsux" know
    \[V s u x"\]
    f. V?em share
    \[V ? e m\]
    g. Vxìl leave, desert
    \[V xìl\]
    h. V?ažil do thus
    \[V ? až il\]
    i. Vk"ul' make, build
    \[V k"u l'\]

\textsuperscript{10}The t and s combine to become c as the result of coronal sequence reduction -- discussed in §2.5.
Examples:

22. a. čecgʷenitəm
   čc + Vgʷenit -t -Ø -m
   summon here -t -3abs -nte
   Someone summoned him hither. (Lynx 015)

b. gʷnitulmin
   Vgʷnit -t -ulmi -n
   call -t -2pacc -1erg
   I called you folks. (Doak 128)

c. gʷičtəm te ?ic.ukʷinəmš...
   Vgʷič -t -Ø -m te y'c- Vc{k'in -m -s
   see -t -3abs -3erg det₃ cont- run -m -cont
   He was seen running . . . (Doak 126)

3.4.2 -st(u)- 'causative'. What has been labeled causative (-ct) has three distinct functions: it marks causative constructions; customary aspect; or topical object constructions. Examples:

23. a. čtílemstus xʷε sícəm
   č + Vtil -m -st(u) -Ø -s xʷε Vsic'm
   loc+hock -m -ct -3abs -3erg det₃ blanket
   He hocked the blanket (Doak 148)
3.4.3. Applicative transitivizers. There are two primary applicative transitivizers -τ-t- and -š(l)-t-, and a third much rarer applicative -túl-t-. Applicative transitivizers introduce a third participant and alter the role of the morphosyntactic object. With all three applicatives the participant represented by the standard object pronominal serves as the dative. With the -τ-t- applicative, the standard object pronominal can serve as a possessor as well. With -š(l)-t- the object pronominal can serve as a beneficiary in addition to a dative.

3.4.3.1. Applicative transitivizer -τ-t-. In transitives with -τ-t-, the object pronominal represents a possessor. In example 26, a causative transitivizer (26a.) is compared with a possessor applicative transitivizer (26b.) to illustrate that the possessor construction carries reference to a third item (the thing filled) beside the two proninals. In the possessor construction, the agent is marked by the ergative. The accusative/absolutive refers to the possessor of the patient.

---

11 D identifies this -n as -3erg in 23a/b -- I consider her label in these examples typographical error.
3.4.3.1.1. Dative object -t-t. In the next example the -t-t- transitivizer is compared with an -n-t- transitive construction. This serves to demonstrate how -t-t- makes the object a dative. In 27a, the -n-t- transitive marks an object patient. In 27b, the -t-t- transitivizer marks an object dative.

25. a. k'"ne7 cùn'cun'm'ey'ntèlis
k'"ne7 Vcunm?+CVC -n -t -èlis -s
soon teach+aug -d -t -1pacc -3erg
He will teach us. (Doak 210a)

b. k'"ne7 cùn'cun'm'ey'ntèlis
k'"ne7 Vcunm?+CVC -t -t -èlis -s
soon teach+aug -pra -t -1pacc -3erg
He will show us (how to do it). (He will teach x to us.) (Doak 210b)

3.4.3.2. Benefactive applicative -s(i)-t. A comparison with the simple transitive -t
(28a) shows that the absolutive/accusative pronominal in the -s(i)-t transitive
construction (28b) is the beneficiary. The ergative pronominal in the -š(i)-t transitive construction marks the agent.

26. a. čič:\n    Včič -t -si -n
give -t -2acc -1erg
    I gave (endowed) to you. (Doak 219a)

b. čičšic:\n    Včič -si -t -si -n
give -b -t -2acc -1erg
    I gave you something. (Doak 219b)

3.4.3.2.1. Dative -š(i)-t-. The -š(i)-t- applicative functions in much the same way as the -t- applicative indicating that the object is recipient. Some examples:

27. a. mʼi?mʼi?šicɛlp\n    Vmʼɛyʼ+CVC -ši -t -sɛl -p
    report+aug -b -t -1acc -2erg
    You folks told me a story. (Doak 230)

b. nkʼinšic\n    Vnkʼin -ši -t -si -n
    sing -b -t -2acc -1erg
    I sang to you. (Doak 231)

3.4.3.3. Dative -tuł-t-. The dative applicative here serves to introduce an additional participant into the clause structure. In -tuł-t transitive constructions it is often difficult to determine the role of the third participant. The -tuł-t transitive
construction that marks dative is rare in Doak’s data and occurs only with third
person or nontopic pronominal arguments. A comparison with the -n-t transitive
(30a) illustrates how the -tu-t transitive construction (30b) marks a third participant.

28. a. ?ac’xnc
   Vac’x -n -t -Ø -s
   look_at -d -t -3abs -3erg
   He looked at it. (Doak 235a)

   b. ?ac’xtu tc
   Vac’x -tu -t -Ø -s
   look at -da -t -3abs -3erg
   He looked at it for him. (Doak 235b)

3.5 Genitive/Possessive markers. The first and second person singular genitive
markers are prefixes while the remaining markers are suffixes. Again, -i/š is
optionally marks third person plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hn-</td>
<td>-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>-mp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3       | -s       | -s (-iš) | (Doak, table 6)

Examples:

29 a. histiŋ b. istiŋ c. stiŋš
   hn- Vstiŋ in- Vstiŋ Vstiŋ -š
   lg- thing 2g- thing thing -3g
   It’s mine. (Doak 31a) It’s yours. (Doak 32a) It’s his/hers. (Doak 33a)
3.5.1 Double possessives. Double possessives utilize the intransitive subject clitics in conjunction with genitive marking.

30  a. kʷinpípe?
    kʷu__hn- V̱ pípe?
    2nom 1g- father
    You are my father.

    b. čismiy'ɛms
    čn__s+V̱ m iy'm -s
    1nom nom+woman -3g
    I am his wife. (Doak 36)
CHAPTER III
ENGLISH VERSIONS OF LYNX

I present first the translations of Lynx to familiarize the reader with the story line of the myth. A description of Reichard's original handwritten notebook recording of the myth is in Chapter IV and a description of Reichard's typewritten is in Chapter V. I provide on the left the translation of the text as Reichard published it in 1947. This translation has undergone editorial revisions explained by Reichard as follows:

"Considerable effort has been put forth to make the translations intelligible, sometimes by adding an explanatory phrase not in the text, sometimes by transposing the phrases and sentences and sometimes by the use of notes. The Coeur d'Alene sentences are not always clear if literally translated and besides, the informants often offered voluntary explanations." (Reichard 1947:vii)

On the right column I provide the more literal translation of the text, made to match, as far as possible, Reichard's edited version.
There was a village of which Eagle was chief. He had a daughter. Lynx took her for his wife without the chief's permission. She had a child. The chief became angry. "I wonder whose child it is," he said. Coyote said, "It must be the child of my first-born."

The child cried all the time. The chief said, "If one of you picks it up and it stops crying it will show he is the father."

The people passed it around. When it came to Coyote, he said caressingly, "My daughter's Child. You poor thing! My daughter's child."

But no! It kept on crying. Then the chief said, "Is everyone here? No one is missing. My! Lynx is not here. Go call him." Someone went to call him. He refused to come. Then the chief said, "Go call him again. If he says 'No' again tie him up." Then Lynx went reluctantly with them.

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12This is very funny showing that Coyote did not know the proper kinterm. He should have said, "My son's child."[Reichard's (hereafter R) footnote.]
| The chief ordered the child to be passed around again. When it came to Coyote he said, “My poor little daughter’s child, sh! sh!” But it did no good. Coyote passed the baby to Lynx. He took hold of it under the arms driving in his claws but even then it nearly stopped. As he quickly passed it on the people looked up in surprise. It started again “wā’a wā’a!” Right behind Lynx sat his grandmother. The baby was passed around again. Now it was crying less; it was only sobbing, “uxa uxa!” It came to Coyote but his caresses started it again. Then it came to Lynx and stopped altogether. Lynx threw it to his grandmother who ran to her home with it. The chief said, “Go get him. Lay him down in the middle of the house and jump on him.” Coyote and Raven were the first to grab Lynx. | 021 He said: "Go in a circle again. 022 They circled until in turn it came as far as Coyote. 023 He said: "My poor grandchild. My grandchild sh! sh!" 024 Coyote passed the baby to Lynx. 025 Lynx, he received it. He clawed it under the arms. It almost stopped (crying). He passed it on to someone else. 026 Then the people were surprised — again it cried it was unbearable, wā’a wā’a. 027 Right behind Lynx sat his grandmother. 028 Again it was brought near the last of the people. It was just about to stop crying. It was gently sobbing. It came to Coyote. 029 He said: "I am your grandfather." Then it came to Lynx and stopped crying. 030 From where he was, Lynx rolled his child to its grandmother. 031 She ran back to the house with it awkwardly. 032 The chief said: "Go get him. Lay him down in the middle of the room and jump on him." 033 Coyote and Raven were the first to grab Lynx. |
first to grab Lynx. They put him in the center of the house and the chief gave the word to start. Grizzly was the first to jump on him. As the people stamped on him Lynx gradually sank into the earth. Coyote Jumped from as high a position as he could. Finally nothing but limp fur was left of Lynx. Then they all left the girl there by order of the chief and set out for a new camp.

The girl sat there sadly watching the corpse of Lynx. One morning she heard a song which came faintly from a long distance. As it came nearer and nearer she realized it was Lynx singing. Soon she saw his fur begin to stand up and then his ears and body emerged from the dirt. Then his head came up and finally he jumped up. He sat down. The girl watched him. He smoothed his legs to his wrists and to his feet.

The chief's daughter sat there. She watched the corpse. Then it was morning. She heard a song from a distance. Soon Lynx's fur began to gather and protrude through the ground. He was done. He jumped up. He sat down by the girl and she watched him. He smoothed himself to his wrists and to his feet. He smoothed his legs to his ankles. He finished.
the ankles. That is why his feet now have long hair. Then he smoothed his body as far as his neck. That is why his face is not smooth, but looks "gathered up." That is also why he has no nose. Just as he was smoothing himself between the neck and chin the woman ran up to him and said, "Stop it now, I am lonesome." "But I might be ugly." "All right. I don't care if you are." So he went to his house and brought all his meat over. He had a very large amount.

Those who had left Lynx and the girl hunted but had bad luck. They tried to corral the deer but got nothing. Magpie and Rabbit had stepped as lightly as possible on Lynx and they each secured a fawn as a reward. As they took it home the woman saw them. "Rabbit and Magpie got lots of deer," the woman reported.

Then he smoothed his body as far as his chin and the middle of his head. And his face is wrinkled. He did not smooth the end of his nose. That is why he doesn't have a smooth nose.

He had smoothed himself just as far as the chin, the woman ran up to him. She said to him: "I am too lonesome!"

Lynx said: 'But I might be ugly.'

She said: "What of it? There will be ugly ones."

Then they went together back to their house.

He gathered deer there. There was deer at his house.

Then he hunted there.

They moved camp and gathered a fawn. Magpie and rabbit got a fawn because they stepped on lynx [only] a little. Because they had pity on him.

They packed things on their backs. The woman saw Rabbit and Magpie.

They said they got lots of deer.
At last all of the people became very hungry. Rabbit and Magpie said, "Let's go see Lynx." When they arrived at Lynx's house they were rewarded with much food and grease. He gave them food for their children and said, "Tomorrow you may move back here and stay with us."

That night the children of Rabbit and Magpie made much noise, the Magpie children on'an'an, the Rabbit children ots'ats'ats'at. The chief was alarmed. "You better go look. Maybe they are dying of starvation." The children were busily eating. From one side of each mouth hung a strip of meat and grease which Lynx had given their parents and from the other side hung a strip of moss. The messengers did not see the grease but only the moss, and reported to the chief. "Just moss the poor things are trying to eat."

And then still nothing. Then it was as if they were hungry those with Rabbit and Magpie. Then they said: "Let's go back and look at Lynx."

When they got there they had pity on them and they fed them again some fat.

They told them: "In the morning you move back here."

That night their children made noise.

Magpie u'nEn'En' (The magpie children went on'an'an).

Then Rabbit's went uc'Ec'Ec'E (The Rabbit's children went ots'ats'ats'at).

Then the chief said: "Go look at them."

They looked.

What is this? Moss on the side of the mouth -- [but] it's fat.

They did not see the fat, just the moss.
Then everything was quiet and the chief thought. "Perhaps they have died," so he sent someone to investigate. Raven however had gone without orders. As he flew over the house he saw something white inside. He swooped down and found grease. When he ate it he choked on it.

The chief suspected Raven and said to someone, "Go! I suppose he'll be picking out the eyes of the dead if we don't watch out." The people went and pulled the fat out of Raven's throat. They divided it and each had a very small piece. When Coyote and Raven came up to Lynx's house his wife beat them on the head and killed them.

The chief now ordered the people to contribute their most valuable possessions to compensate for the desertion of his daughter.

"Bring your valuables. We are going
to pay damages," he said. "Mine are the best," boasted Coyote. They took the best they had, tied them in a blanket and about ten of them took it to Lynx’s house and deposited it there.

Neither Lynx nor the woman paid any attention to them. "We have laid our valuables on a blanket so we will all feel better toward one another," they said to the woman.

The woman got up and untied the bundle. She looked at the contributions of Coyote, Raven and the others. One thing was missing. It was Bluebird’s necklace. Because it was blue it was very nice. "No," decided the woman, "as long as Bluebird’s necklace is not part of the payment we cannot make up." The people took the payment back to the Chief and reported, "No! she says, ‘Bluebird has not brought his contribution.’" "Go

\[086\] They stacked them. Then Coyote said: "The best goods are mine."
\[087\] It was carried. Ten people went.
\[088\] That woman paid no attention.
\[089\] Lynx paid no attention.
\[090\] They put it down. They said: "It's piled here. In the future this will be over and all will be well in our hearts."
\[091\] The woman got up and untied the bundle.
\[092\] She looked at that belonging to Coyote, Raven, and all. That belonging to Bluebird was missing from the stack. That belonging to Bluebird was nice because it was blue.
\[093\] The woman said: "No, that belonging to Bluebird is still missing."
\[094\] We'll never make up."
\[095\] They carried it back to the chief.
\[096\] They told him: "No, Bluebird’s things are missing."
\[097\] Then he said: "Go call her."\[13\]

\[13\] In R's unpublished manuscripts Bluebird is female -- in her published text male.
call him.” Bluebird was asked, “Why didn’t you put your beads in?” “No, I didn’t think they’d care for them. They are so ugly.” So he gave them.

When the woman saw them she took them, “My! Thank you!” she said.

“You may come back here to live. Come back to live in your old house. Each one will be full of meat.”

Coyote however found only bones and undesirable scraps in his house and Raven found nothing but heads.

This is the end of the road.
CHAPTER IV
LYNX IN REICHAJD'S NOTEBOOK

In this chapter I reproduce a scanned facsimile of Reichard's original handwritten notebook pages where she transcribed Lynx, as told by Dorothy Nicodemus. She used stenographic notebooks, writing in black ink, and annotating in blue, red, and black pencil.

On page 1060 of Reichard's notebook one can see, one third of the page down, the roman numeral XLIII and the title "Lynx". Penciled by the title is the annotation *Free trans. 11/16/29.* Also notable in the lines above the text, are blue pencil lines and check marks. Elsewhere one can see other annotations, including some in red ink.

Stenographic notebooks are hinged at the top, and Reichard transcribed the texts on the bottom portion of the notebook, reserving the top for other notes, as needed. One can also see that when Reichard typed the texts she rearranged their order -- the text here numbered XLIII is eventually renumbered 21 (XXI), as shown in the facsimile reproduced in the following chapter.
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 35

ca'nuus | g'ta'k | tee la'greq xun'aa
was only from there got on hands

Câmens tsa'g'tsan'm, tse'el p'ax'tas'win
the enemy had moved open they threw

sa' te'mu xuni'ci malp a se'na'tu xori
in face hot mush

xt'ax pem xe'lux xori xe'lux
he ran out not far from the log dead

XLIII Lynx

a xun'aa xuni'ci xun'aa xori
because houses many houses

pa te'x um l'aybl...xori xun'aa
Eagle was chief

ap st'um tca'xuni'ci yu'xul...xori xun'aa yu'xul
thatChief

pa te'em gtee kwel ton xun'a tca'x
Lynx took this for w. without chief

xori xuni'ci kweslwes te'lem te'lem tca'x
had child

xori xuni'ci yu'xul 25 xuni'ci yu'xul xuni'ci yu'xul
get mad chief

sa'gwaat k'ap sker ay l'as'm
wonder whose child is
correct would be - hang e'pa, my son's child
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 37

1. na xet' t'his kw's - n'a t'his ce t'amene
   it must be my child
   the child

2. xw'ap kw's - g' xwi' a t'so'mme xwi' a -
   it kept cry' g'

3. t'ito' a'na w'a w'a g' a xwi' t'sen
   the little one
   chief come

4. tem äp' t'ek' tem t'sa'ge'wat kw'skew
   come in whoever it belongs to
   it will stop cry' g'

5. na kw'mint' x' - na kw' l' a t'so'mm
   takes it to fit

6. ko'i' t'se'it' n'cäl'te kw'mint' a x's a'ld
   this way they passed it
   it was when it came

7. ko'nt' si' x' - a' m be' sel' l' g'w' a's'g'w'ent
   to cry' g'
   it is poor chief

8. l' x'sel' x - l' u' t'sem'we' t'so' mm a' xwi'
   it kept on crying chief

9. mi q' i' y'ai' t' - n' y' a t'se'g'w a kw' a't'go'
   did you all
   oh one

10. bu' t'ek'so'm' x' - w' p' a' t' e' n' l' a't'go'
    it didn't come
    oh Lynx

11. bu' t'ek' c' s'm x' - k' wi' yul t'se' i-
    go call

12. kw'mine't'u h' t'se' g'wu'mt'um l' o'tum
    he was gone for
    he said
Lynx sat in doorway
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff

1. ki yul testa gunestul nà lag o-
   go
call him again. If he says.

2. llo tem nà tec'la'te'nt ko'ut testa-
   no again arrest him

3. gunestul ko'ut testa'ni te'nt xwà
   xwà

4. ko'ut testa'ni cal' te'c'le'ul ko'ut testa-
   go pass him around again

5. ko'ut testa'ni cew sàmu. ñà ñà he sìla 11

6. ko'ut testa'ni cew sàmu. ñà ñà gun
   quiet baby

7. xwà a't. sa'ntse testa'ni te'a'ku-
   it

8. ko'utsen. ut ta' te ta' cewa reu
   nearly stopped he passed it on

9. te'k' cew. testa'nt. gat te'som
   looked with surprise the people

10. ko'utsa'en. kun à 11. gat tem
    all the more

11. ko'te'som. ta' te'c'le'ul sàmu. ñà ta' sàmu. ñà ñà
    she sat

12. ko'te'som. ta' te'c'le'ul sàmu. ñà ñà
    she sat

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 40

1. We went to the tent where you and your friend were staying.
2. I asked them to come back with you.
3. They started to sing.
4. We went back to the tent where they were staying.
5. We put them in the middle of the yard.
6. We asked them to come back with you.
7. We put them in the middle of the yard.
8. We asked them to come back with you.
9. We asked them to come back with you.
10. We asked them to come back with you.
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff

1 ay't tewhat'ang'nteem humgum ne-

all stamped on him. Smoke in

water te'am up tum teeti'ta'kte'me

ground only fur was sticky up

3g xwa'usm g t'angust te'e'ta'kte'

cop from high he jumped

xutla'angstes tsert g gwe't kelt

down on him they left they

xwa'st'ime te's kw'ayk koi' g tsert

girl by chief

kemics xwi'yak te'ime te's kw'aiye'. D operate

she sat this time the chief looked

tuwa t'im t'm ne g. te'la'ax' e'ti-

toward dead corpse

mens 11. t'so nine cni'eg'kw 11 koi' n'g

heard song of lynx

q'urne'ye te'a'xte te'a'yak t'a'spumus

soon in sight all first

10 koi xwi xoi xwi'la te a'me g a'tsat

down he jumped in sat down she

xstem te'a'ri soing t'e'te'sm tetsus

pross him 9 he smote

wana' te'a'du te'ne'at tet xwast'ets a gawp

to his whistle 7 his ft. kaw 7
my parents or Tetsuns kwe yas tetsun-

long hair. Tetsun säm, kep yun to tetsun

legs up to ankles.

Tetsun koi ut tetsuns penä sæn tds-

he was done to under

I'm pens me taq a walsgen sut, tseg wel tset

eun pressed head down on lap that's why

gat gwa tetsun sä dut ä tetsuns kwe yä-

his face is smooth not smooth

Tetsun etcam etc. tseg wel tset et but ä tetcam-

his nose that's why he has no nose

Tsegu m. ce tetsun penä sao tee me' pens tseg wel-

just at neck to chin he was

Tep intem kwa ä m. koi témiet

move up a big but cutting

ng, tene k. tég pedgwad g. ä kwi yä p...

I am lonesome

koi. kä k. tem dy ai dy at tset g. ä kwi yä

I might be ugly

ter té, fänä

tet et g. dy ai dy tas g. tset et

that all to s. if you are ugly

I went home to his own (lynx) all Tiếp
1. The deer came to the house of the family of deer.

2. They hunted the deer, and they came to see the symptoms of the disease.

3. The family called the fawn, and they went to see the symptoms of the disease.

4. They saw a strange person, and they knew that it was a disease.

5. They stepped on the disease, and they were rewarded.

6. That's why they were rewarded.

7. They packed it (fawn) and they were seen by others.

8. They were seen by others, and they were not happy.

9. They were hungry, and they went to see the symptoms of the disease.

10. They went to see the symptoms of the disease, and they were not happy.
In que's tamen tenâte, sel dîntènale tâ-

ny que's teme solitude were fed

yatsqotst mîle, dâng up lâ'k mîqul tèndêk

grasse mîle, tomorrow you can

tâmënt tâ'mënt

'neq'st yu'wâm kâ'wî's tîmënt

came back to stay

at night all made noise

Tâ'tâmënt tâ'mënt, etâ'tèle tân'm lo, lîndê

the child.

6. Lâ'k o'tâ'sat tâst koi à nêyl

6. leyu t'o ya't'se entul koi t' quotes to

â'sent

7. tce'mënne kwi a'sqwâl g. kwi tâ'te më-

ob that it moss toward

8. sprêê' pës xwa sgôst g. but à guite-

other side grace didn't see

9. tâ'mënt kwi a'sgôst tâ'mënt, sqwäl g

the grace just moss

10. Tâ le'ax te'ô'tsent nâ'quen tê'âm pô
t quite that they're dead

11. ëg'â melên xwi ai xwa t'ô'a't'sa.xa

from hunger chief tell someone

tul. g. o'aka xwi xwa mëna'kâlga.

But Buna went on his own...
Julia thinks, "I'm a' bala's is Raven. He shares food when he has enough. But just eat the dead things, I'm a' bala's is Raven."
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff

1. He swept his hands over the house, the moon shining on the snow. Something white then swooped down. Oh...
2. He climbed on it. "Xuyul, xantut xantut..."
3. I supposed he was thinking about the dead.
4. They pulled out for them.
5. They divided the grease.
6. Each had very big feet.
7. It was warm and cold.
8. With Raven.
9. "Xatapzontemle xantut xantut xat-, they were killed."
10. They were beaten or heard (came to life again).
11. All the valuable...

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff

The narrative is in the form of a dialogue, with the speaker referring to the actions of a character named Nicodemus. The text is handwritten and appears to be a record of events or a recounting of a story. The handwriting is legible, but the content is not clearly transcribed due to the format of the image. The narrative includes phrases that resemble place names or specific references, indicating that the story might be set in a particular cultural or geographical context.

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Birds were all people, after. Sugar threw.
It's around some of people. Some are. 
Now they are like, they are but. Poor thing.
Had necklace at first.
but to tás tucâ's têlcât toi utkústâ

kut sâkustem utkústem tâ tâ tuskâ.

*jut jut to tás tucâ's têlcât tâ tuskâ*

no she said gone the bluebird

gocw toi ân kui têcts a guncâ*tul voi'
go call him

ti tects toi ân tégwâl stemâ xet lut tâ tects

why did you not

kui'stâm xwâ'â an mag'we'lyâzâ (*.) jân

put yours in your heads

no I didn't think they'd care for it

dât dât toi têrt xâ'st emem xel xâ'st emem

it's roughly the guncâ'em

lât a'xâxtem xoi a'tse'êns xwâ'â

laid down

xul têrt xâ'gwe'q twânts ân kâi ya

yemâtüne xoi q tê'êrt âne mäl gege'mu

you can come

to'to jwe'ru to tâ xâ'bs tâxjâmp na gec'wâ'ênt

back here to lie your homes you go an 1070

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff

At Emotional Letto, a child of the Kali, was a chief of the Kali. St. Sha'am was chief before St. Sha'am was chief before St. Sha'am.
CHAPTER V
LYNX IN REICHARD'S MONOLINGUAL TYPESCRIPT

Reichard first typed the Coeur d'Alene texts in two copies (with a carbon), as reproduced here, probably in the same order as the notebooks. I infer that she reordered them because the original number XLIII has been crossed out and amended to XXI. Also visible are a few handwritten marks, other typed insertions, and a footnote. We also infer that she intended to submit these texts, without the translation, to some publishing concern.
Narrative of Dorothy Nicolas Lynx Bischoff

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodmus Lynx Bischoff

Spokan

1Spokan

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodmus Lynx Bischoff 56

XXI Lynx (Dorothy) 4

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodmus Lynx Bischoff 57

 día t'ii' ła'åtsátx' tsii'tz múłtsi'tzstus, kum
tsi'tz tóh'í p. xuxwi'ya 'itsáwi'tz rú'qem kum
yá'ásatúwit'it xuxwi'ya hi'pá'stá xwa twasq'í'tsemo
xáni't wá'uy xwa tóntaqi'ímk'ántsílo xuxwi'ya
pá'atah. tóhí kum hi'ng'í'tmi'úntseílo. hoi. kum
toisux'sux'í'ngátsílo xwi'ya twasq'í'tsemo hi'pá'stá
tágwá'totém xwa 'ásmi'mákm'm kum'nilo a'p'stém là
tá'í. hoi kum wá'uy lut kum kum aq'il tosqámi'ílin
xuxwi'ya. twasq'í'tsemo hi'pá'stá. kum akunílo hoi
utu'úya'tápánt xá'í pá'atah. hoi ká toiyá'átégítsílo
wá'm'úntseílo wá'm'úntseílo ká 'asqútst.

Akú'm'úntseílo la'áw nák' kupertútsa'w'í'tz. kum
luwa in'kwits ták'úntseíloak'km'úntseílo ká 'asqútst,
la'hi'pá'stá unáyé, kum ká eq'í'tsemo utéststst.
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodmus Lynx Bischoff 58

XXI

Lynx (Dorothy) -6-

hoi äk'w in za yilm'i'xum xu'yul tu'ya'ta'xentul. hoi
tu'ya'ta'xentem, toc'nome x'wia sq'wl ku' m x'w a t'ato

impis'ta'ptsis x'w a s'quat ku'm lut'ai'wetem mile x'wia
s'quat ts'io sq'wl. ku'm za la'xw t'ou'tse'm, na'â-
kun'em ti'i t'axw p atosqə'mi'men, hoi äk'w xuse
tu'ya'ta'xentul. ku'm

xui x'w a man'a'tcalqs

xu''i hinw'utsqi'izw. gw'item xu'xwia u'p â'q.

hoi dâ'xw'mentsut ku' m his'quat. ku'm i'n ku'm

gə'1'1ps. hoi äk'w in za yilm'i'xum xu'yul qumut
hîl na 'ängwitt'ou'stes. z'inw'itsâ.x'wuxw'p.

hoi xui x'wia stoint wilt's'itk'wtem x'wia
s'qui'1ps. pâ'x'wastem xu'xwia s'quat gul'tsxu'xwia''...,

zâ hoi xui lâ smiyi'w lâ ku'wa man'a'tcalqs zâ

tâto o'ë'tôn tey'xu'wetemile zâ 'Nami'wEm taitaxatxat-
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodmus Lynx (Dorothy) Bischoff

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CHAPTER VI
LYNX IN REICHARD'S INTERLINEAR TYPESCRIPT

The facsimile reproduced in this chapter shows that Reichard added the interlinear translation to the carbon copy of her typescript. So that the Coeur d'Alene line is the carbon copy, and the English is the fresh type. Here too one can see the various emendations in black and red pencil, and, on the left margin, references to the handwritten notebook pages.
Dorothy Nicodem Lynx Bischoff

then because here was a house here many houses

Bald-headed Eagle was their chief and then he had a daughter.

This chief and then this by Lynx she was taken from him

his daughter then she had a child his daughter

then he was angry the chief he said whoever

has the child then he said Coyote it might

be my child my eldest is the one who has the child

then this was crying this little (one) wâ's wâ's

then he said then come in whichever of you is the father of the child

when you take it then it will cease its crying

and then there it went around it was taken then lynx

as far as Coyote he said to it my daughter's you are pitî my child

able / daughter's child

no then it screamed crying he said then are you all he said

my! one the one game he did not come in my! it is Lynx
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodem

Lynx

Dorothy Nicodem Lynx

"It was the absent one he did not come in."

he was called hither he re- he said go call him if fused.

likewise he refuses bind him up then again he was called again.

then he came in he said go pass it about again.

then again it came as far he said my daughter's as Coyote son.

you poor thing my grand- ah sh ah child.

then from Coyote toward Lynx he took it.

then it was clawed almost it stopped crying.

again he gave it to then already they, the people then someone.

again it cried again it hurried with the mouth then he was sat behind.

by his grandmother Lynx and then again it was brought near.

the end then surely it was just about just sobbing to stop (slowly).

up as far as Coyote then he said my daughter's then up to child.

Lynx it was lost then farther to his grandmother.
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodem Lynx Bischoff

then to the house she ran with it he said this chief

go take him to the middle of the lay him down

then Coyote with Buzzard

there were the first to Lynx then he was taken

take him

to the floor

then Grizzly was the first to stamp on him

then there all he was stamped on he sank into the

ground

just his fur was showing a little then Coyote

then from high jumped down on him there then

they moved they left her his daughter the chief then

and there she sat this his daughter this chief

she looked at it that corpse then in the morning she heard it

then soon

1 Spokan
teit'le teiya's x'a spuma. hoi hoi, hoi x'um'tso
it was showing all his fur, done down, then he got up

that one sitting then he was looked at by the woman

hox kwa ti'tsantsa ti'tsantsa p'net's ant'o'to-
and then he smoothed it he smoothed as far as his

at'ont'at st'am laq'sa p'net's ant'o'to'tar atnon

he smoothed it these his legs as far as his ankles

he stopped it then again he smoothed it his chin he pressed

on the top of his because there his face is then he did not

head wrinkled smooth it

his nose there he has no nose just

as far as his chin for a purpose he was by the woman
gone for

he was told stop already very thin I am lonesome

then he said this Lynx then maybe I am ugly

and she said this woman then what of it

if you are ugly

then there again at their house then he assembled

much
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodem

Lynx (Dorothy) -5-

In the house there he made a home then there he hunted those who moved away then.

secured a fawn this Lynx because lightly they had stamped on him this Lynx because then they were pitied and then.

they carried it hither this with Rabbit Magpie on the back

they were seen by the woman they said there is much
deer and then still not then it was as if they were hungry

those with Rabbit Magpie then they said now

we will go look at lynx then as when they arrived

they were pitied again they were fed with fat

they were told in the morning you move back here and that evening they made a noise their children

Magpie under then Rabbit's
then he said the chief to look at them then

they were watched what is it? moss and toward

this

one side of the mouth fat then it was not seen this

fat just the moss then in the morning they were he
guilty

thought surely they are dead of hunger then he said go

look at them then he went Buzzard

he proceeded to pass every ridgepole was seen this one white

it

then he went down my my fat then he ate then

it got stuck in then he said the chief go I suppose

his throat

he is pronging out the eyes of those who died

then he went this person again pulled out for this

it was him

what stuck in it was put down this fat each a little

his throat

then they went Coyote that Buzzard

with

they were injured by the woman they were

beaten on the
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodem Lynx Biscohoff

Lynx (Dorothy)

and then the chief said assemble

the damages he said lay them on it

then he said Coyote mine is what is nice my damages

that woman he paid no attention

for her

good terms again then she got up the woman she untied it

she looked at it what belonged to it Coyote Buzzard all of them was

missing from that belonging to Bluebird the damages because

it was blue on the surface it was nice she said the woman

no as long as it is missing that belonging to Bluebird then

forever no we will not make up again

then it was taken back it was packed again it was to taken

the chief he was told no truly missing is that belonging to Bluebird
Lynx (Dorothy)

then he said go call her then sk'ny she came

she was asked why is it that you did not bring it

your offering then she said was I to know this

my is nice the ugly thing then there she brought it

again they took it again it was laid then she looked this woman down for her if it

this which belonged to Bluebird she took it she said my!

thank you and then there they were told

move back here your housed go back into

full of meat then that belonging to just bones Coyote

which was ugly meat then that belonging to Buzzard

just heads that is the end the end of the road
CHAPTER VII

TRANSLITERATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE INTERLINEARIZED TEXT

What follows is the three line interlinearization of Reichard's original text, Lynx.

For the purpose of this project I have transliterated Reichard's original text into modern phonemic Salish orthography. The following figures contain Reichard's Coeur d'Alene vowels (figure 4), a transliteration of Reichard's Coeur d'Alene vowels (figure 5), Reichard's graphemes (figure 6), and Coeur d'Alene phonemes (figure 7).

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
I & II & III & IV \\
\text{a} & a\text{a} & a'\text{a} & a'a \\
\text{ä} & ä\text{a} & ä'\text{a} & ä'ä \\
\& & & & \\
\text{e} & i' & i'' & i'i \\
\text{ü} & u' & u'' & u'u \\
\text{ö} & o & o' & o'ö \\
\text{ä} & & & \\
\end{array}\]

Figure 4 Reichard's Coeur d'Alene vowels

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
I & II & III & IV \\
\text{a} & a & a' & a'a \\
\text{e} & e & e' & e'ë \\
\text{ee} & i' & i'' & i'i \\
\text{ee} & u' & u'' & u'u \\
\text{ö} & o & o' & o'ö \\
\text{ä} & & & \\
\end{array}\]

Figure 5 Transliteration of Reichard's vowels

\[\text{See Barthmaier's } A \text{ Dictionary of Coeur d'Alene Salish From Gladys Reichard's File Slips and Clarence Sloat's } A \text{ Skeleton Key to Gladys Reichard's Coeur d'Alene Transcriptions.}\]
Figure 6 Reichard's Graphemes

Figure 7 Coeur d'Alene Phonemes
The interlinearization was performed using the software Shoebox\(^{15}\) and is organized as follows:

1. Line number

2. Line of text: The first line of text represents a sentence as indicated in the original text by a period, and is broken up into word units.

3. Morpheme by morpheme break: A morphological breakdown of phonetic transcription -- here a hyphen (-) represents an inflectonal affix boundary; the plus (+) represents a synchronically irrelevant morpheme boundary, including a derivational affix boundary.

4. Morpheme by morpheme gloss.

5. Free English translation.

1. 011
2. k'\text{intem} k'\text{um}' a\text{\text{"i\text{"l}}} p\text{\text{"e\text{"n}}} s\text{\text{"m}}} s\text{\text{"m}}} y\text{\text{"iw}
3. k'\text{in} -n\text{-t -m} k'\text{um}' a\text{\text{"i\text{"l}}} p\text{\text{"e\text{"n}}} s + my\text{\text{"iw}
4. take -d\text{-t -nte} then to\_do\_thus as\_far\_as Coyote

5. They took it - they did that as far as Coyote.

\(^{15}\) Shoebox, created at SIL International, is a computer program that helps linguist integrate various kinds of text data. More information about shoebox can be found at www.sil.org/computing/shoebox/.

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They lived there. Many lived there. Eagle was their Chief.

This Chief, he had a daughter.

His daughter was taken by Lynx.

His daughter had a child.

The chief was angry.

He said: "Whose child is it?"
Then Coyote said: "It might be my child, maybe it's my older child's child."

Then the chief commanded: "All of you come in here. Which ever of you is the father of this child, when you hold it then it will cease to cry."

And then they were in a circle.
012
lut k"um' uw\textsuperscript{16} i?c'ú?umš
lut k"um' u y'c- c'ú?m -mš
neg then abs cont- to_cry -cont

But no! It was crying.

013
\textit{say} \textit{then} \textit{rint} \textit{2nom} \textit{assemble} \textit{say} \textit{interj} \textit{one_person} \textit{det1} \textit{absent}

Then the chief said: "Did you assemble? Oh, one wouldn't come in. Lynx is gone. He didn't come in."

014
he x"úyul \textit{čecg\textsuperscript{1}enítul}
he x"uy -ul \textit{čc+ g\textsuperscript{1}enit -ul}
yes go -plimp \textit{summon_here -plimp}

"Yes, go summon him."

015
\textit{čecg\textsuperscript{1}enítem}
\textit{čc+ g\textsuperscript{1}enit -l -m}
\textit{summon_here -t -nte}

Someone went to summon him hither.

016
lútem
lut -m
neg -mdl

He refused.

\textsuperscript{16} "\textit{u} before a vowel becomes \textit{uw}" (RG p.546 §127).

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{ni} can be either a rhetorical (\textit{mi}) or an affirmative (\textit{yni}) / negative (\textit{nni}) interrogative. Cf \textit{ni} glossary entry.
He said: "Go summon him. If he says 'No' again . . .

"then someone bind him up."

Then he was summoned again.

This time he came and he entered.

They circled until in turn it came as far as Coyote.

He said: "My poor grandchild. My grandchild sh! sh!"
Coyote passed the baby to Lynx.

Lynx, he received it. He clawed it under the arms. It almost stopped (crying). He passed it on to someone else.

Then the people were surprised -- again it cried it was unbearable, wa'a wa'a.

Right behind Lynx sat his grandmother.
Again it was brought near the last of the people. It was just about to stop crying. It was gently sobbing. It came to Coyote.

He said: "I am your grandfather." Then it came to Lynx and stopped crying.

From where he was, Lynx rolled his child to its grandmother.

She ran back to the house with it awkwardly.

18R writes this form as *uck'uk'iy'cin* with an unrounded k -- noting, "an initial labialized palatal or velar . . . becomes consonant plus u when reduplicated" (RG p.544 §117) and "Where g, k, and k' have been written they are followed by u and must be understood to be labialized" (RG p.532 §55). 19 This is the line that R footnotes in here translation as being "you are my daughter's child" -- Cf p. 26 footnote 11.
The chief said: "Go get him. Lay him down in the middle of the room and jump on him."

Coyote and Raven were the first to grab Lynx.

They put him in the center of the room.

He said: "Okay stomp on him."

Grizzly was the first to jump on him.
As the people stamped on him Lynx gradually sank into the earth.

Finally nothing but limp fur was left of Lynx.

Coyote jumped from as high a position as he could.

Then they moved, abandoning the chief's daughter.

The chief's daughter sat there.

She watched the corpse.
Then it was morning. She heard a song from a distance. Soon Lynx's fur began to gather and protrude through the ground.

He was done.

He jumped up. He sat down by the girl and she watched him.

---

20 This is Spokane and I have not attempted to gloss this passage. "The use of foreign phrases transforms a tale from ordinary to riotous. The inclusion of a Spokan or Flathead sentence, either of which sounds like bad Coeur d'Alene, sometimes gives rise to uncontrollable laughter" (Reichard 1947:30).
He smoothed himself to his wrists and to his feet.

He smoothed his legs to his ankles. He finished.

Then he smoothed his body as far as his chin and the middle of his head. And his face is wrinkled.

He did not smooth the end of his nose.

That is why he doesn't have a smooth nose.

---

21 A genitive is expected but not present in this construction.

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He had smoothed himself just as far as the chin, the woman ran up to him.

She said to him: "I am too lonesome!"

Lynx said: "But I might be ugly."

She said: "What of it? There will be ugly ones."
056
kəumə ciyaqastus
kəumə ci+yə -st(u) -s
then gather_here -ct -3erg det3 deer det3 obl house there
me:lcı?stus
me:lcı? -st(u) -s
near_there -ct -3erg

He gathered deer there. There was deer at his house.

057
kəumə ci?l četiːp
kəumə ci?+l četiːp
then there hunt

Then he hunted there.

058
xuuxiyə? ecqci?+
uxiya ec- qci?
those cust- move_camp search -mdl then

yeeskəukstil'ı
ya_+s+kəu+kstil'
secured_a_fawn this_very_one Magpie det1 with Rabbit

sy'nit uckkəşıy'
xə catalqina?ncelə
sy'nit uck- kəu+kstil'
xə c+talqina?
because cont- go_easy det1 step_on_the_surface -d -t -3erg -3p

xuuxiyə pə?č'n'
xuuxiya pə?č'n'
this_very_one Lynx

They moved camp and gathered a fawn. Magpie and rabbit got a fawn because they stepped on lynx [only] a little.

059
tgəsl kəumə henqci?tmintemelə
kəumə hn+qci?tm+min
conj then pity -d -t -nte -3p

Because they had pity on him.22

---

22 This could be glossed Because he had pity on them. However, the context seems to suggest the gloss provided.
They packed things on their backs. The woman saw Rabbit and Magpie.

They said they got lots of deer.

And then still nothing. Then it was as if they were hungry those with Rabbit and Magpie.

Then they said: "Let's go back and look at Lynx."

When they got there they had pity on them and they fed them again some fat.
They told them: "In the morning you move back here."

That night their children made noise.

Then Rabbit's went uc'Ec'Ec'E (The Rabbit's children went ots'ats'ats'at).

Then the chief said: "Go look at them."

They looked.

---

23 "It is not proper in my opinion to call this use of sound onomatopoeia, because the sounds have no meaning apart from the characters who use them, nor do the Coeur d'Alene feel that they are the noises which the given animals necessarily make, although this may occasionally be the case." (Reichard 1947:28)
What is this? Moss on the side of the mouth -- [but] it's fat.

Then in the morning they were quiet.

He thought, "Perhaps they have starved."

He said: "Go look at them."

Raven circled. Then he went by the house.
And he saw it. It was white.

He landed. "I see, it's fat."

He ate it and choked.

The chief said: "Go! I suppose he'll be picking out the eyes of the dead."

The people went and pulled it out of his throat.

They put down a little fat and they divided it and each had a very small piece.
Then Coyote and Raven came up to Lynx.

The woman beat them on the back of their heads.

The Chief said: "Bring here valuables and things."

They stacked them. Then Coyote said: "The best goods are mine."

It was carried. Ten people went.
088
uqém  ṭuwʕ̣̈e  smíyʕ̣̈em  
u+qém  ṭuwʕ̣̈a  s+miyʕ̣̈em
ignore  that  woman

That woman paid no attention.

089
uqém  ṭə  pʔeʔɛʔɛn'  
u+qém  ṭə  pʔeʔɛʔɛn'
ignore  det3  Lynx

Lynx paid no attention.

090
hoi  xʷʔiʔ  ṭ  déxʷʕtem  əkʷústem  xʷʔiʔ  xʷa
hoi  xʷʔiʔ  ṭ  déxʷ  -t  -t  -m  əkʷn  -st(u)  -m  xʷʔiʔ  xʷʔ
then  prox1  con  drop  -pra  -t  -nte  say  -ct  -nte  prox1  det1

ʔačatmuqʷíns  čšshói
ε+č+muqʷíns  čšš-  hoi
a_pile_here  fut-  done

četčʔusenʔaseqemílgʷes
čet-  čsn+ʔas+m+ilgʷes  
fut  things_will_be_well_between_us

They put it down. They said: "It's piled here. In the future this will be over and all will be well in our hearts."

091
hoi  c'έleš  xʷe  smíyʕ̣̈em  čatarílxʷents
hoi  c'él+iš  xʷe  s+miyʕ̣̈em  č+tar+ilxʷ  -n  -t  -s
then  stand_up  det1  woman  untie_bundle  -d  -t  -3erg

The woman got up and untied the bundle.
She looked at that belonging to Coyote, Raven, and all. That belonging to Bluebird was missing from the stack. That belonging to Bluebird was nice because it was blue.

The woman said: "No, that belonging to Bluebird is still missing."

"We'll never make up."

They carried it back to the chief.
They told him: "No, Bluebird's things are missing."

Then he said: "Go call her."

Then she came.

They asked her: "Why didn't you bring the goods."

Then she said: "[Was] I to think this, oh my, is nice? The ugly thing."
This woman looked at that belonging to Bluebird.

She took it. She said: "My! thank you."

And then they told them: "You move back to your houses. Go back in, they will be full of meat."

Coyote [found] only bones and ugly meat.

And Raven found only heads.
That is the end.

The end of the road.
Entries are listed according to the following alphabetical order:

\[ a b c c' c d e e g^* h i j k^* k' l' l m m' n n' o p p' q q' q'' q''' r r' s s t t' u w w' x x' y y' y' z z' z'' z''' z'''. \]

Each entry is listed in **bold face**, and is followed by a simple gloss in *italics*. The plus symbol (+) found in a number of entries indicates either a non-inflectional affix or morpheme breaks which may be considered synchronically irrelevant, but historically significant. In entries containing the plus symbol, a gloss for each individual morpheme follows the italicized gloss for the entry. The symbol \( \wedge \) indicates what I have identified as the lexical root.

Entries identified in Reichard's *Stem List of the Coeur d'Alene Language* are marked *RS*, followed by the page number where they occur. Those forms identified in Reichard's Coeur d'Alene grammar are marked *RG* followed by the page number, and the section number (§) where found. Forms from Doak's *Coeur d'Alene Grammatical Relations* are marked *D* followed by the page number, and the section number (§). The remaining forms are marked as follow: *B*, forms found in Barthmaier's *A Dictionary of Coeur d'Alene Salish from Gladys Reichard's File Slips*; *NI*, forms found in Nicodemus' Coeur d'Alene/English Dictionary; *NII*, forms found in Nicodemus' English/Coeur d'Alene Dictionary; *RM* for Reichard's *An Analysis of Coeur d'Alene Myths*. Forms found only in the text analyzed at the end of Reichard's grammar are referenced *RA*.

I give the number of times the item occurred in the text in **[ ]** square brackets.

The specific line numbers in which the entry occurred are listed except for entries of
high frequency. (A1) through (A20) refers to the forms given in Appendix III, 1 through 20.
Glossary

**a-**
indefinite article prefix meaning "some"

**ac-**
actual aspect prefix B, RG p. 593 §384. Reichard refers to this prefix as meaning "it is . . . ed" and notes that it corresponds in form to the customary prefix but is not the same. [1] 48.

**acq'wic’**

**ac+q'wés+m+us**
wrinkled face; ac- locative; Vq'wés wrinkle; -m middle; -us face. [1] 48.

**ac’x**

**ác’+ac’x**
look at; Vác’x look at; VC'-VCC, distributive RG p. 636 §600. [1] 45.

**-alqs**
long stiff object RG p. 612 §482. [1] 47.

**=alqs**


**-áx̱ón**

**ažil**

**ayác**
collective, by all, all NI. [2] 37, 92.

**aćw**

**aćw+sqiltč**
some meat; a- article; Vsqiltč meat. [1] 104.

**a+s+q”ás+q”as+ε?**
some child; a- article; s- nominalizer; Vq”ás wrinkled; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -ε? ??. [1] 4.

**c-**
attached to but not part of, at a point, on RG p. 595 §395. [1] 46.

**can-**

**can+cl+clx”+áx̱ón**
clawed under the arm; can- under; Vclx” claw; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -áx̱ón arm (A1). [1] 25.

**can+ć’em+ip+ins**
chin; can- under; ć’em surface; -ip below; -ins teeth [1] 48, 51.

**-cék’w**

**cen-**
take hold of, under, off of RG p 596 §401. [2] 46, 47.

**cetxw**

---

*This a- may be ?ε (oblique) lowered due to the following q.*
cé + cetx
house; Vcetx house; CV-CVC diminutive

ci + cim

cínx
what is it?, What in the world are you doing here? NI. [1] 71.

ci

demonstrative adverb, hither, there, towards the speaker; Doak refers to this form as prox2 D p. 36 §2.4.1.1., RG p. 598 §412.

ci? + c + g”e=p + g”ep + šn
hairy feet; ci?- prox2; c- on; Vg”e=p hairy; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -šn feet. [1] 46.

ci? + t
there, demonstrative adverb with connective, there near thee is where; ci?-prox2; Vt connective RG p. 656 §703, 704, 707, B.

ci”

cí
mouth, sound, edge B, RG p. 611 §475. [8] 25, 26, 28, 29, 46, 47, 71, 73.

cut

c’él

c’él+iš
stand up; Vc’él stand; -iš be in the act of. [1] 91.

c’ú?m
to weep, to cry RS p. 98, NI. [4] 8, 9, 12, 26.

c-
locative prefix, on, attached to but not a part of, at a point B, NI, RG p.595 §395.

catetéqeg”et

c’c-
here, hither, near here, toward the speaker B, RG 598 §412. Lynx 014

c’c+ g”enit
summon here; c’c- here; Vg”enit summon. [3] 14, 15, 17.

c’c+k’in
take near here, bring here; c’c- here; Vk”in take. [1] 32.

c’c+pensa?
as far as here; c’c- here; Vpensa? as far as. [2] 22, 28.

c’c+t+ t’e?+t’e?č
part of protruding; c’c- hither; t- locative; Vt’e?č protrude; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592. [1] 38.

---

25 R notes that "[t]he diminutive is often used by adults to express modesty" (RG p. 637 §605)
26 Hayder glosses this form as: Vcim be small; CV-CVC, diminutive [RG p. 634] §603 (Hayter 1997:103). I have chosen to gloss the reduplication as plural due to R’s analysis of this form in s+ci+cim + ilt + e’t’ (RG p. 611-§475) Cf. A12 in Appendix I.
Čc+x"uí  
come; čc- here; Vx"uí go. [2] 20, 22.  
Cf. čc+x"úy.

Čc+x"uy  
Cf. čc+x"uí.

ččm  

ččn  
grasp NII, B, RS p 99.  

ččnulé  
mine NII. [1] 86.

ččť-  
future RG p. 666 §757-768, D p. 43  
§2.4.1.4.3. [2] 90, 94.

ččs-  

ččt-  
surface, on a surface or object  
broader than subject B, RG p. 594  

ččt+púlu  
injure on the surface; ččt - surface;  

ččt+ččxat+ččxat+ip+qn  
club on the back of the head;  
ččt - surface; Vččxat club; CVC-CVC,  
distributive RG p. 635 §596; =ip  

ččy'  
one is enduring, solid firm RS p. 98.  

ččy'+čči  
one is enduring, solid firm; Vččy' one  
is enduring; CV-CV, diminutive. RS  
p. 98.  

čči  
hither, here B, RG p. 598 §413. [9] 9,  
13, 18, 20, 21, 43, 56, 60, 64.

ččl  

ččita-  
locative prefix, hither from there RG  

ččita+k"ín  
take hither; ččita- locative; Vk"ín take.  

ččita+č+ččy'+e?  
to maternal grandmother; ččita-  

čči+lélé'  
bind here; čč- here; Vlélé' bind  

čči+népt  
to come in; čč- here; Vnépt to enter  

čči+núlx"w  
one enters here; čč- here; Vnúlx" one  

čči+sxx=sxx+ilg"es  
carry property; čč- here; Vsxx  
carry,CVC-CVC distributive RG p.  
635 §596; -ilg"es property. [1] 60.

čči+ti?č  
protrude hither; čč- here; V tu?č  

čči+yáę  
gather here, assemble here; čč- here;  
Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 100

či+yá+c+iš
be in the act of assembling here, assemble here; či- here; Výá+c assemble; -iš in the act of. [1] 85.

či+yá+c+pes+elš
arrive, gather after long trip; či- here; Výá+c congregate; -pes large; -elš motion in a horseshoe shape. [1] 64.

člip

čn
first person singular nominative
RG p. 575 §281, D p. 53 §3.1.

=čn'

čs-

čsn-

čsn+xas+es+m+ilg"es
things will be well between us; čsn-closed; Vxas be well; CVC-VC, it came to be RG p. 637 §607; -m middle; -ilg"es heart. [1] 90.

čs+q'em+iln27
to be hungry; e- preposition; čs- for a purpose (?); Vq'em cramp; -iln pertaining to food. [2] 62, 74.

čs+x"á't+p
run up to; čs- in pursuit of; Vx"á't run; -p involuntary. [1] 51.

č+cet+t'úx"+elš+ene?
jump on; č- locative; čet- surface; Vt'úx" uneven; -elš motion in a horseshoe curve; -ene? on top of but not entirely covered (A4). [1] 39.

č+céy'+e?

č+muq"w+ine?

č+nék"e?

č+s+ne?k"un
thought; č- locative; s- nominalizer; Vne?k"un think. [1] 100.

č+tal'q+ine?

č+tar+ilx"

č'am

č'am

č'am'

č'ih

č'i+č'ih

---

27 čsq'émilan to be hungry NII p. 234.

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx
Bischoff 101

č'u

č'uxw

č'uxw+uxw+aŋ? almost; Vč'uxw retires from pursuit; CVC-VC, it came to be RG p. 637 §607; -eŋ? ??. [1] 25.

č'u+cn
be quiet; Vč'u absent; -cn sound [1] 73.

déxw

déxw+mn+cut
landed; Vdëxw drop; -mn used for; -cut reflexive. [1] 78.

-elš

e-
general preposition used with nominal forms; it means many things a preposition may mean in English; locative ideas, on, in, into, at, to; instrumental, with, by means of; agent, by RG p. 591 §371. [4] 27, 58, 74, 90.

ecwiš

ek'w
say, B, NII.

el'ec'

emc
feed NII. [1] 64.

-emish

emt

-eŋaʔ
over, on top of but not entirely covered RG p. 623 §541. [1] 39. Cf. -ine?

enyemp
forever NII. [1] 94.

epl-
have NI, B. [4] 2, 6, 7, 92.

epl+st'imčəʔ28 have daughter; epl- have; Vst'imčəʔ daughter. [1] 2.

epl+s+qʷás+qʷas+eʔ have child; epl- have; s- nominalizer; Vqʷas wrinkled; CVC-CVC distributed RG p. 635 §596; -eʔ ???. [2] 6, 7.

-es-
compound connective; this connector is the combination of a reduced -el-, reduced to -e-, and the nominalizer s- B, D p. 285 §5.3.1.1. [2] 33, 36.

-et
first person plural genitive D p. 26 §2.2.2.2.1. [1] 94.

ey'nit
because NII. [3] 1, 58, 92.

28 Barthmaier and Nicodemus do not identify spl as a prefix. The the loss of t before s in espst'imčəʔ (epl+st'imčəʔ) suggests that spl is a prefix. However, Reichard does write spl as what appears to be a free morpheme in line 092.
-ʔ?
??: R notes that the meaning of this suffix can not be determined, that it is used so frequently it is difficult to classify. She also notes that it is used frequently with kin terms. RG p. 621 §528, §531. [8] 4, 6, 7, 9, 25, 27, 30, 92.

-ʔ?st

ʔ+č+muqʷ+ʔinsʔ
a pile here; ʔ- preposition; č- locative; Vmuqʷ stack; -ʔinsʔ surface. [1] 90.

ʔ+čs+qʔem+ʔilnʔ
to be hungry; ʔ- preposition; čs- for a purpose (?); Vqʔem cramp; -ʔiln pertaining to food. [1] 74.

ʔ+niʔ?+ʔem+ʔut+ʔcnʔ
sit behind; ʔ- preposition; niʔ?- locative; Vʔem sit; -ʔut position; -ʔcnʔ back. [1] 27.

gʷn

gʷenit

gʷenfxʷ
be true RS p. 100. [1] 96.

gʷʔp

gʷʔč
see NII. [3] 60, 72, 77.

gʷist

اوياء

 практически

 أتلاك

 تعليمة

 وبالتالي

 R regards ʔε as a definite article, while D refers to ʔε as a subordinator. I have chosen to use D’s label as it reflects the most recent interpretation of the morpheme.

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hn+g"ist
on high; hn- locative; Vg"ist high. [1] 39.

hn+k"i?c
in the evening; hn- locative; Vk"i?c evening. [1] 66.

hn+mí?t
in the middle; hn- locative; Vmí?t middle. [2] 32, 34.

hn+mí?t+iw'ës
be in the middle; hn- locative; Vmí?t middle; -iw'ës be in contact. [1] 32.

hn+pestë?+lp+cn
one side of the mouth; hn- locative; Vpestë? one side; -p bottom; -cn mouth. [1] 71.

hn+q"i?tm+min
pity; hn- locative; Vq"i?tm pity; -min relational NII. [1] 59.

hn+sq"uct
off of fat; hn- locative; Vsq"uct fat [1] 78.

hn+šélë
circle; hn- locative; Všélë circle. [2] 10, 21.

hn+x"át+p+alqs
end of the road; hn- locative; Vx"át end; -p involuntary; =alqs road (A9). D p. 23 2.2.2.1.2 [1] 108.

hn+x"ec+ilx"
pass by house; hn- locative; Vx"ec pass by; -ilx" house. [1] 76.

hn+šey+ilg"ës
angry; hn- locative; Všey angry; -ilg"ës stomach. [1] 5.

hoi
and, then RA p. 704.

hoi

hói+cn

-iln

-ilps

-ilg"ës
heart, stomach; "Although literally this suffix refers to the stomach, it is used to form a great many of the most figurative words, and the organ it describes is considered the seat of the mind or intelligence." RG p. 614 §490. [2] 5, 90.

-ilg"ës31

-ilë

-ilš
third person plural D p. 25 §2.2.2.2.1.


-il'š
grow, become through growth RG p. 605 §442. [1] 94.


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31 R notes that "it is impossible to detect any difference of form or function between this suffix" and the suffix for heart, "the only difference is one of meaning." (Reichard 1938:617).
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-ine?
surface, on top of but not entirely covered RG p. 623 §541. [7] 32, 35, 36, 37, 58, 86, 90. Cf. -ene?

=ip
bottom, head NII, RG p. 594 §393.[2] 71, 84.

-ins

=ip+qn
back of head; Vip back; -qn head B, RG 594 §393. [1] 84.

-iš

-iw'es
be in contact RG p.623 §537. [1] 32.

-i'ye?
playingly RG p.606 §446. [1] 43.

-i?q

jéy'+jily't

k"in

k"i?q


k"um'
then, and RS p. 104.

k"únem

k"un'
interjection; now it is clear RA p. 696 footnote 31. [2] 78, 100.

k"u+p

k"u

k"ey'

k"na?

k"u+k"iy'
go easy; Vk"ey' gently; CV+CVC, diminutive RG p. 637 §603. Cf k"ey'. [2] 28, 58.

k"u+k"iy'+cn

la?ax'


lèč'

lim+lem+iš
thank you; Vlim; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -iš be in act of NII. [1] 103.

lut32
negative NI, RG p. 664 (§750-§760).

32 R refers to lut as a clitic and D refers to lut as a free morpheme. Again, I have gone with Doak's interpretation as it reflects the most recent theory.

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connective D p. 47 §2.4.2.3.
This form occurs several times in the form ci?+t — it occurs once otherwise in line 10.

possessor applicative; in behalf of

łaq'

ł
definite article, the there, determiner
B, D p. 46 §2.4.2.1., RG p. 660 §729.

loq"w
also NII. [1] 17.

łuw'a
demonstrative adjective; that B. [6]
42, 45, 66, 80, 83, 88.

-m

-m
nontopic ergative D p. 60 §3.2.1.

-m
stem formative [1] 82.

mel-
near, from, on, close by, besides
D p. 24 §2.2.2.2.1, RG 597 §408. [1] 56.

mel+ci?
locative, near there; Vmel locative;

-met
first person plural ergative D p. 56 §3.2. [1] 63.

33 D's label.
The interrogative anticipates a negative response when it appears before k"um, affirmative response when before lut, and is rhetorical elsewhere. (RG p 668 §771-73, §811)

The interrogative anticipates a negative response when it appears before k"um, affirmative response when before lut, and is rhetorical elsewhere. (RG p 668 §771-73, §811)
q"w'ės
wrinkle NI. [1] 48. Cf. q"ašæ?

q"w'i?ł

q"w'ómqen

-s nominalizer RG p. 591 §373

-s
third person singular ergative Doak p. 56 §3.2.

-s
third person singular genitive Doak p. 69 §3.3.

-s

sc'èm'

sčint

selp
spin NII. [1] 76.

sèg"wët

sèx
carry, e.g. on back NII, NI. [3] 60, 87, 95.

sile?

smañi'ën'

spum

sqiltč

sq"wuct
fat NII. [5] 64, 71, 72, 78, 82.

stim'

-s(t(u)
causative transitivizer D p. 124 4.2.2. Lynx 056

st'ämčë?

s+cèn+cēm+cēm+cn+čt
wrist; s- nominalizer; cèn- under; včè'am extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592; -cn edge; -čt hand; NII, RG p. 611 §475 (A12). [1] 46.

s+cèn+cēm+cēm+cn+sčn
ankles; s- nominalizer; cèn- under; včè'am extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592; -cn edge; -sčn foot [1] 47.

s+ci+cim+ilt+sčlt

s+k'u+k"wet+ilt'

s+miy'ëm
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s+míy' mé?+ěm
women NII. [1] 60.

s+muq"m+w+ilg"es
stacked property, stack of property; s- nom inalizer; Vmuq"m pile/stack; -ilg"es property. [4] 85, 86, 92, 99.

s+myiw
Coyote NII.

s+q"ás+qas+ę?

s+q"el
moss; s- nom inalizer; Vq"el moss B. [2] 71, 72.

s+q"icemš

s+q'i?+ilps
choke; s- nom inalizer; Vq'i? stick in; -ilps throat. [1] 81.

s+ší?t+ęmiš+ilt

s+t+c'ám+c'am+alq's+s
end of; s- nom inalizer; t- attached to; Vč'ám extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592; -alq's long stiff object (A14). [1] 47. -s ŋ ą

s+t+c'ám+c'am+alq's+sń
end of legs; s- nom inalizer; t- attached to; Vč'ám extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592; -alq's long stiff object; -ń leg. [1] 47.

s+t+c'ám+i'q
nose, end of nose; s- nom; t- on and a part of; Vč'ám be surface; -i'qs nose beak NII. [2] 49, 50.

-š
continuous

šěč'
heard NII. [1] 43.

šěč'+mín
listen, heard; Všěč' heard; -mín relational. [1] 43.

šélč

šélč+ęč
circle; Všélč circle; C-VC, it came to be RG p. 637 §607. [1] 21.

-šęš
something; something, for someone B, D p. 120 §4.2.1.3., RG p. 626 §565 -- R notes: "When used with an intransitive verb, this suffix is used to complete the meaning and may be translated as an indefinite pronoun. If used with the transitive it means 'for someone'." (RG p. 626 §565). [1] 25.

šį?t

-šń

š...

t-

on and apart of, attached to

-t
transitivizer D p. 142 §4.2.3.1.

tal'q
**tal'q+ine?**

taq

tar

tč-

tč+uupon
*ten people; tč- persons; Vuupon ten.* [1] 87.

tć-
*directional prefix, thither; locative, toward there* D p. 24 §2.2.2.2.1., B, RG p. 598 §416. [2] 25, 60.

tč

ték"w

tel'

te+g"ič
*see there; te- locative; Vg"ič see* [1] 60.

te+k"in
*receive; te- locative; Vk"in take (A15).* [1] 25.

tg"el'

tg"el'__stim'

ti?č
*protrude* RS p. 96, NII. [1] 43.

ti?x"w

tmiš

tum

tum+tum+ni?
*corpse; Vtum corpse; CVC-CVC distributive* RG p. 635 §596; -ni? ?? [1] 42.

tu?-

tu?+ác'x
*look over there; tu?- over there; Vác'x look.* [4] 63, 69, 70, 75.

twa
*with* RS p. 104, D p. 48 §2.4.2.4. [5] 33, 55, 58, 60, 62.

t'áx

t'ék"w

t'ék"w+p+mn+cut
*made noise themselves; Vték"w cry out plural; -p involuntary; -mn instrumental; -cut reflexive.* [1] 66.

t'ěx"w

t'ěx"w+p
*die* [2] 74, 80.

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t'ëxʷᵗ'ëxʷ+pt'ëxʷ
die; Vt'ëxʷ die; CVC-CVC
distributive RG p. 635 §596; -p

t'ëʔč

t'ëʔ+t'ëʔč
protrude; CV-CVC, diminutive RG

t'ic

t'i?
emphatic particle; surely, already,
absolutely, quite RG p. 670 §782. [4]
26, 28, 52, 74.

t'úxʷ

t'úxʷ+əľś
jump, jump off; Vt'úxʷ uneven; -əľś

u
resultive D p. 45 §2.4.1.3.1.2., D p.
25 §2.2.2.2.3. [2] 54, 76.

u-
absolutive; "it is of, a part of, or
within, but not innate" RG p. 593

u
inherent GR p. 577 §294, D. p.26
§2.2.3. [1] 77.

u-
a prefix of emphasis; just, it may also
mean "just . . . and nothing more" RG

u
immediate D p. 26 §2.2.2.2.3. [1] 43.

uc-
continuative RG p. 593 §388. [2] 28,
49.

uc'ec'ec'e
onomatopoeia RM p. 29. [1] 68.

ul-
belonging to D p. 26 §2.2.3. [6] 92,
93, 96, 102, 105, 106.

ul+ə/ayáč
belonging to all; ul- belonging to;
Və/ýáč all. [1] 92.

ul+čatetéqegʷəł
belonging to Bluebird; ul- belonging
to; Včatetéqegʷəł Bluebird. [4] 92, 93,
96, 102.

ul+mnáčalqs
belonging to Raven;ul- belonging to;

ul+s+myiws+myiws
belonging to Coyote; ul- belonging to;

-ul
plural imperative D p. 25 §2.2.2.2.2.

-ul'umxʷ

ul-
again, back B, NII, RG p.597 §411.

ul+či+hn+šélč+əč
again go in a small circle; ul- again;
či- here; hn- in; Všélč circle; ; C-VC,

ul+c'ũm
cry again; ul- again; Vc'ũm to cry. [1]
26.

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\[\text{ut+cc+č'í+č'íh} \]
again get near; ut- again; čc- here; Vč'íh get near; CV-CVC, diminutive RG p. 637 §605. [1] 28.

\[\text{ut+cc+g"enit} \]
again summon here; ut- again; čc- here; Vg"enit summon. [1] 19.

\[\text{ut+cc+pene} ? \]
again as far as here; ut- again; čc- here; Vpene? as far as. [1] 22.

\[\text{ut+cc+q"enit} \]
move camp back here; ut- again; čc- here; Vq"enit move camp. [2] 65, 104.

\[\text{ut+čen+cék"w} \]
in turn go\(^{35}\), again went near here, again come; ut- again; čc- here; Včen go (A17). [1] 22.

\[\text{ut+čen+cék"w} \]
again grasp and pull; ut- again; Včen grasp; -cék" pull. [1] 081.

\[\text{ut+smc} \]
feed again; ut- again; Vsmc feed. [1] 64.

\[\text{ut+hn+t'áx+cn} \]
again an unbearable sound; ut- again; hn- locative; Vt'áx unbearable; -cn sound. [1] 26.

\[\text{ut+lut} \]
no again; ut- again; Vlut negative. [1] 17.

\[\text{ut+népt} \]
enter again; ut- again; Vnépt enter. [1] 104.

\[\text{ut+sšx} \]
carry back; ut- again; Vššx carry. [1] 95.

\[\text{ut+ṣas+t+ilš} \]
go back to growing better ut- back; s- s; Všas good/be well; -t subjective; -ilš grow (A2). [1] 94

\[\text{ut+ték"w} \]

\[\text{ut+ts+cít} \]
again give towards there; ut- again; ts- locative; Včít give. [1] 25.

\[\text{ut+tu?+ác'x} \]
look over there again; ut- again; tu?- over there; Vác'x look. [1] 63.

\[\text{ut+twa} \]
again with; ut- again; Vtwa with. [1] 55.

\[\text{ut+t'ic} \]
smooth again; ut- again; Vt'ic again. [1] 48.

\[\text{ut+xšt'+p+s} \]
run back unnaturally; ut- again; Vxšt' run; -p involuntary; -s in an unnatural way. [1] 31.

\[\text{ut+xuy} \]

\[\text{un'ene} \]

\[\text{us} \]

\[\text{-us} \]

\(^{35}\) R notes that combinations of ut- and čc- may have the meaning "in turn" (Reichard 1938:600).

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Narrative of Dorothy Nicodemus Lynx Bischoff 112

us+cn
lost sound, quiet; Vus destroyed; -cn sound. [1] 29.

ušešt
just, be fitting, exacting, sharp (as prompt) RG p. 668 §769. [1] 51.

-ut

u+tmiš
only; u- emphasis; Vtmiš only. [1] 105.

u+péq
be white; u__ inherent; Vpéq white. NII. [1] 77.

u+qém

u+spum
just fur; u- just; Vspum fur. [1] 38.

u+t+q"n+q"n38+ε?st
blue on the surface; u- absolutive; t-on and apart of; Vq"n blue; CVC-CVC, distributive RG p. 635 §596; -ε?st surface. [1] 92.

u+k"u+k"na?+iy'è?

wel+welim
valuables, metal, money, aluminum, silver, argent, coin, capital; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 635 §593; NI. [1] 85.

-wè?è

-xw

xwát
end D p. 23 §2.2.2.1.2. [1] 108.

xwè37
demonstrative article; definite article; the here; determiner one RG p. 656 §708, 726, 729, D p. 46 2.4.2.1.

xwèt'

xwìy'è
demonstrative adjective; this RG p. 656 §700. Lynx 002

xwi?
a demonstrative adverb, here; proxì38; RA p. 694, p. 656 §702 D p. 36 §2.4.1.1. [6] 1, 82, 90, 92, 100, 102.

xwúi
go RS p. 100 Cf. x"uy. [4] 20, 21, 22, 32.

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36 This may be -qn 'top' or 'surface'. R analyzes
-qn+ε?st as 'top of surface' (RG p. 618 §513). I have analyzed the form as reduplication due to the rounding of the q and the distributive quality this form of reduplication implies. Also, my reading of the narrative suggests that the entire surface, not just the top of the surface is blue.

37 R analyzes this form as a definite article (RG p. 656 §708) and later refers to this form as a demonstrative (RG p. 660 §726). I have chosen to utilize D's label determiner one for this form rather than either of R's labels. D's label is more efficient in regards to meeting the needs of this project while including the multiple glosses implied by R's two labels.

38 D's label which I have chosen to use.
x"u+x"i?
demonstrative pronoun and adverb; a little, this here; VX"i? here; CV-CV intensive, D p. 28 §2.2.4.3.; RG p. 656 §705 & p. 594 §391. [1] 82.

x"uy
go B. Cf. x"úi.

x"u+x"iya
intensive demonstrative pronoun; those, this very one; VX"iya this; CV-CV intensive, D p. 28 §2.2.4.3.; RG 656 §701. [1] 58, 62, 77, 82.

xas
be good, be well, good

xas+es
be good, be well; VXas be well; CVC-VC, it came to be RG p. 637 §607. [1] 90.

xas+t+il's
grow better; VXas be well; -t subjective; -il's grow (A19). [1] 94.

xat
cub D p. 29 §2.2.4.4., B, RG p. 594 §393. [1] 84.

xecep

xele?

xest
good, be good, be well

xít

x"ec
pass by RS p. 102. [1] 76.

yáö
assemble, congregate, gather

ya?38

ya?_s+s+k'u+k"et+ilt
gather fawn, secure a fawn; Vya? procure by hunting; e- preposition; s-nominalizer Vk"at ???, CV-CVC, diminutive RG p.636 §603-05; -ilt offspring (A20). [1] 58.

yelmix"um
chief NII. Lynx 001

yo

y'c-

ȼey

?e
oblique determiner
D p. 46 §2.4.2.1. Lynx 056

?ec-

?iln

?úpen

[cunuš šenúlex" cunuš šenúlex"]

38 R notes that "this stem incorporates any of the animal names and seems quite free." RG p. 642 §632 Cf. ya?_s+k"u+k"at+ilt (A20).
Reichard's grammar contains many examples taken directly from the texts Reichard had collected and analyzed. The source of the example is not identified in the grammar, as Reichard explains:

The editor and the writer regret that it is impossible to give text references in the grammar since so far we have not been able to publish the texts.

(Reichard 1938, p. 522)

I have recognized nineteen of the examples as forms the source of which must be the text Lynx, and I list them here, with appropriate notes. Each of these forms is identified in my glossary as one of twenty listed in the appendix, (A1) through (A20). The notes which I have provided for each of these forms are organized as this example shows:

I. Entries from the Lynx text found in Reichard's or Doak's grammar, have been identified in the glossary, with the letter "A" followed by a number corresponding to the entries in this appendix, in parenthesis:

\[
\text{can + cl + cIx}^w + \text{áx} \text{on}
\]

*clawed under the arm; can- under; } \text{cIx}^w \text{ claw; CVC-CVC}

distributive RG p. 635 §596; -áx\text{on} arm (A1).

---

40 One example comes from D's *Coeur d'Alene Grammatical Relations.*
II. The entries that follow are organized:

A. the line of text which the example comes from

B. the three line interlinearization of the example: phonetic transcription; morphological transcription; morpheme by morpheme\(^{41}\) English translation.

C. my gloss of the individual morphemes, lexical or otherwise, taken from the glossary

D. the page number followed by the sub-section of Reichard/Doak's grammar where the form was identified

E. Reichard's verbatim comments, from the sub-section -- in most cases this is simply the identification of a morpheme and its gloss(es)

F. Reichard's analysis of the form quoted from the sub-section as found in the grammar -- Reichard often gives more than one example of the form identified in the subsection, but I present only the form relevant to the Lynx text here\(^{42}\)

G. The underscore identifies the form as it is entered in my glossary.

\(^{41}\) It should be remembered that a '+' indicates a non-inflectional morpheme boundary and morphemes separated by a '+' are not glossed in the English translation of the interlinearization. Forms containing '+' boundaries are considered single lexical items for the purpose of this project.

\(^{42}\) In an attempt to simplify the analysis, I have transcribed Reichard's orthography into the standard orthography used throughout this text.
Example:

1. 025

\[ \text{can} + \text{col} + \text{clx}^w + \text{axen}^G \]

\[ \text{clawed under the arm} \]

\[ \text{can- under; } \text{clx}^w \text{ claw; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -axen arm}^C \]

RG p. 609 §457. \( \text{-axen, arm, wing: } \)

\[ \text{can- c'elx}^w \text{-axen-ts, he clawed it under the arms (can-, under; c'elx}^w, \text{ or, c'elx}^w, \text{ claw; -ts, 3-3 compl.)}^F \]

\[ \text{cancelcelx}^w\text{áxentem}^B \]

\[ \text{-m}^B -t -nte^B \]

\[ \text{can- under; } \text{clx}^w \text{ claw; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -axen arm}^C \]
1. 025  cancelcelxʷáxɛntem
   can+cel+clxʷ+áxɛn  -n -t  -m
   clawed_under_the_arm  -d -t  -nte
   can- under; Vclxʷ claw; CVC-CVC distributive RG p. 635 §596; -áxɛn arm
   RG p. 609 §457. -áxɛn, arm, wing:
   can-c'elxʷ-áxɛn-ts, he clawed it under the arms (can-, under; c'elxʷ, or,
   c'elxʷ, claw; -ts, 3-3 compl.)

2. 094  čelusxastîl'šet
   čst- ul+s+šas+t+il'š  -st
   fut- go_back_to_growing_better  -1pgen
   čst- future; ul- back; s- s; šas good/be well; -t subjective; -il'š grow
   RG p. 666 §759. čst- (Modifies the meaning of verb-complexes and clauses
   in many ways and often requires the s- form of the verb.) It is used with the
   intentional to express purpose, "to . . . in order to . . ."
   čst-u-s-xûy-il'š, so they go back (for čst-ul-s-xûy-il'š)
   RG p. 606 §442. -il'š (-el'š), grow, become through growth. This is
   evidently the causative element for subjective stems which corresponds to
   -əm, the causative for objective forms, and like it, demands customary
   pronominal suffixes in the transitive completive (see §364):
   šas-t-il'š, it grew better (šas, good; -t subjective)
3. 084 četaxatřatąpqrntemelš
   čet + ḥat + ḥat + ip + qn
   club on the back of the head
   -n -t -m -ilš

čet - surface; ḥat club; CVC-CVC, distributive RG p. 635 §596; -ip back;
-qn head

RG p. 594 §392. ṭ-on and a part of:

ᵗ-ḥat-áp-qen-tem, he was clubbed on the head (ḥat, club; -ip, back; -qen, head; -tem, 3pass compl.)

4. 039 čečet'úx'elšens?entem
   č + čet + t'úx' + elš + ens? -n -t -m
   jump on
   -d -t -nte

č- locative; čet- surface; t'úx' uneven; -elš motion in a horseshoe curve;
-ens? on top of but not entirely covered

RG p. 623-24 §541. -ins? (ens?), over, on top of but not entirely covered.

Frequently used with prefix č-, on, not part of, or čet-, on surface:
če-t'úx'- elš-ens?-en-c, he jumped on him (čet- on; t'úx'elš jump, motion in horseshoe shape; -ens tr.; -c, 3-3 compl.)
5. 082  

gʷʷul'c XML"ux"1...  
gʷʷul'c+XML"ux"1  
each a little  

gʷʷul'c each; √XML"ux"1 a little  

RG p. 594 §391. gʷʷul'c each. Perhaps a compound with gut.  
gʷʷul'c-XML"ux"1..., each a little

6. 091  

čatarílx"ents  
č+tar+lx" -n -t -s  
untie_bundle -d -t -3erg  
č- locative; Vtar untie; -lx" bundle  

RG p. 614 §491. -lx" (lx", -lx") hide, skin, mat, covering:  
če-tar/lx"-ents she untied string from bundle (tar, untie)

7. 052  

čen'änč'upílx"ss  
čn_  hn+č'u+p+lx"ss  
1sg_ to be lonesome  

hn- locative; √č'u absent; -p without volition; -lx"ss heart  

RG p. 614 §490. -lx"ss (-slx"ss), heart, stomach. Although literally this suffix refers to stomach, it is used to form a great many of the most figurative words, and the organ it describes is considered the seat of the mind or intelligence:  
či-?in-ču-p-lx"ss, I am lonesome (či-?in-hin- > či?n-; ču be gone; -p, without volition)
8. 037  *heng*"enunifšul'umx"  
$h_n+g^n+n+iš+ul'umx$  
sank into ground

 hn- locative; V*g*n below; CVC-VC, it came to be; -iš be in act of; -ul'umx"  
ground  
RG p. 613 §486. *-ul'umx" ground  
$hen-g^"un-un-iš-ul'umx", he sank gradually into the earth (g^"un, be low)

9. 108  *hent"atpalqs  
$h_n+x^"at+p+alqs$  
end of the road

 hn- locative; V*x^"at end; -p involuntary; =alqs road  
Doak p. 22-23 §2.2.2.1.2 Lexical suffixes.  
$h_n-intensiveVx^"at-p=alqs $ The end of the road.  
locative- end- involuntary=road

10. 028  *uck'uk"iy'čin'  
*uc*-  $k' unus =iy'+cn$  
cont- sobbing

 V*k"ey' gently; CV+CVC, diminutive RG p. 637 §603; -cn mouth  
RG p. 593 §388. With the continuative *ic- the significance is an interrupted  
continuative, or continual as against continuous action:  
$uc-k'u-k"iy'-cn$, continually sobbing (*k"iy', go easy, gently; *cn mouth;  
dim.)

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11. 079  q'i?ilps  
   q'i?+ilps  
   choke  

\[ Vq'i? \text{ stick in; } -ilps \text{ throat} \]

RG p. 618 §514. *-ilps (-slps)*, throat of person, back of animal's neck:  
*ic-q's-ilps-els*, (maybe) it is stuck in his throat *(q'i?, stick in)*

12. 046  scenč'emč'emcmčt  
   s+cen+č'em+č'em+cn+čt  
   wrist  

s- nominalizer; cen- under; Vč'am extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634 §592; -cn edge; -čt hand  
RG p. 611 §475. *-cin (-cen, cen)*, edge, mouth, shore. This is a common suffix which enters into numerous combinations, taking on very generalized meanings:  
*s-cen-č'em-cin-čt*, wrists *(cen-, under; č'em, extend; -čt, hand)*

13. 066  scescemiltel'tselš  
   s+ci+cim+ilt+el't  -s -ilš  
   children  -3g -3pl  

s- nominalizer; Vcim be small; CV-CV, plural RG p. 634 §601; -ilt offspring;  
suffix duplication RG p. 836 §610  
RG p. 616 §502. *-ilt (-slt, -sl't)*, offspring, child:  
*s-ci-cim-ilt-el't*, children in relation to parents *(ci-cim', be small pl.)*
14. 047  stč'ámč'amalqšes
    $s+t+č'ám+č'am+alqs+šn$  -s
    end_of_legs  -3g

$s$- nominalizer; $t$- attached to; $Vč'ám$ extend; CVC-CVC, plural RG p. 634

§592;  -alqs long stiff object

RG p. 611 §477. -alqs, end:

$s-č'ám-č'am-alqs$, end ($s$-, nominalizer; $č'ám$, extend, be surface)

15. 025  tekʷínč
    $ts+kʷín$  -n  -t  -s
    receive  -d  -t  -3erg

$ts$- locative; $Vkʷín$ take

RG p. 598 §416. $ts$- ($ta$-) thither, the opposite of $čic$-:

$ts-kʷínč$, he received it

16. 069  tuy'áć'xentul
    $tu?+áć'x$  -n  -t  -ul
    look_over_there  -d  -t  -plimp

$tu?$- over there; $Váć'x$ look

RG p. 598 §416. $ts$- ($ta$-) thither, the opposite of $čic$-:

$ta?-ešús-en-tul$, go ye look for him ($ešús$, look at; $en, tr$; $tul$, pl. imp.)
17. 022 $\text{utč secrecyúi}$
   $\text{ut+čc+xúi}$
   in turn go to

ut- again; čc- here; xúi go/one goes

RG p. 600 §427. The combinations of ut-čc-, ut-čc-te-, or ut-či-te- may have
the meaning "in turn":

ut-čc-čs-xúi-en-t, thou in turn fetch it (čs-, for purpose; xúi, one goes; -en, tr; -t, 2-3 imp.)

18. 088 $\text{uqém}$
   $\text{u+qém}$
   ignore

u- absolutive; Vqém ignore

RG p. 593 §385. u-, definitive of a class of verbs which I have termed
objective (§294, 304). It creates an absolute form which may, in cases, be
used for the three persons. This prefix, like ac-, precedes the personal
pronoun. It means "it is of, a part of, or within, but not innate.

u-čn-qém, I paid no attention
19. 094  čėlusťastilšēt
čēl+ul+s+čas+t+ilšē -ēt
 go_back_to_growing_better -1pgen

Vyčas be well; -t subjective; -ilš grow

RG p. 606 §442. -ilš (-slš), grow, become through growth. This is evidently
the causative element for subjective stems (§304) which corresponds to -m,
the causative for objective forms, and like it, demands customary pronominal
suffixes in the transitive completive (see §364):
čas-t-Ilš, it grew better (čas, good; -t, subjective)

20. 058  ysešsk'ukšetíl't
 ysa?_s+kšu+kšet+íl't
 secured_a_fawn

Vyu? procure by hunting; s- preposition; s- nominalizer Vkušet ???; CV-CVC,
diminutive RG p.636 §603-05; -ilt offspring

RG p. 642 §632. I will append a few examples of the usage with other stems,
any of which may be treated in the same way within the limitations of their
meaning:

The stem ysa?, procure by hunting, earn, incorporates any of the
animal names and seems quite free:
ysa?-ssk'ukšet-Il't, he secured a fawn
Appendix II

There are some differences between Reichard's monolingual typescript of Coeur d'Alene and my line of Coeur d'Alene text presented in the interlinearization. I have identified three primary causes for the differences: typographical errors, reanalysis of morphemes by later scholars, and errors that I consider simple oversights on the part of Reichard. I present one example of each here.

1. Typographical errors:
In the second line of text on page -2- of Reichard's typed version of Lynx the following form is found:

![Figure 8 Facsimile "call him" typed]

The same form is found in Reichard's handwritten text with an s following the second t that is not present in the typed version:

![Figure 9 Facsimile "call him" handwritten]
With the inclusion of the s it is possible to identify the form as ċc- (tcits-), a locative prefix. The following excerpt from line 017 demonstrates how this interpretation allows for a gloss similar to Reichard's.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čec} & \text{g"enitul} \\
\text{čc+ g"enit} & \text{ul} \\
\text{summon\_here} & \text{-plimp}
\end{align*}
\]

I have determined that Reichard simply failed to type the s.

2. Reanalysis of morphemes:

In Doak's 1997 *Coeur d'Alene Grammatical Relations*, the combination of the morphemes *lut* and *hs* have been reanalyzed. Where Reichard identifies the combination as "compounded . . .[and] . . . simply affixing" to a stem (RG p. 580 §313), Doak identifies the combination as two separate morphemes (D p. 47 §2.4.2.2.). Using Doak's analysis, the following form from the eighth line on page -4- of Reichard's typed text:

![Figure 10 Facsimile "no nose" typed](image)

is presented as follows in line 050 of the interlinearization:

\[
\begin{align*}
lut & \varepsilon & \text{stč'ami?qs} \\
lut & \text{hs} & s+t+č'am+i?q & -s \\
\text{neg sub} & \text{end\_of\_nose} & -3g
\end{align*}
\]

---

43 ċc- here; Vg\"enit summon
44 D refers to *hs* as *subordinator* (D p. 47 §2.4.2.2.) R refers to *hs* as *definite article* (RG p. 580 §313).
If I had used Reichard's analysis the following would have been a possible interpretation presented in the interlinearization:

\[
\text{lutestč’ami?qs} = \text{neg-sub-end_of_nose}\quad -s\quad \text{he-}s+t+č’am+i?q\quad -3g
\]

3. Oversights:

In the first line of text on page -5- of Reichard's typed text the gloss found for ci? (ts’i”) is there:

**Figure 11** Facsimile "there" typed

In Reichard's written text the gloss for this form is deer:

**Figure 12** Facsimile "deer" handwritten

ci? has a homonym meaning there and that is most likely the cause of the discrepancy. The context of the form suggest that Reichard's written gloss is the appropriate gloss and has lead me to analyze the form in line 056 as:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{det3} & \text{deer} \\
\text{ls} & \text{ci}? \\
\text{ls} & \text{ci}?
\end{array}
\]
REFERENCES


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45 This is a reproduction of the original reprint from the forty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928.