Edition of Coyote steals son's wife

Carolyn Fox Gibbons

The University of Montana

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An edition of

Coyote Steals Son's Wife

by

Carolyn Fox Gibbons

B.A., University of California at Berkeley 1975

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Montana

1999

Approved by:

Chairperson

Dean, Graduate School

12-29-99

Date
An Edition of Coyote Steals Son's Wife

Director: Anthony Mattina

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 Although the English translation was published in 1947, the narrative in its native Couer d'Alene has remained unpublished.

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

(Reichard's symbols in brackets)

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

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

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

The initial task was to decipher Reichard’s orthography. The original story had been told to Reichard by Dorothy Nicodemus. Reichard numbered this text XVIII, and subsequently reordered the myths renumbering it IV (the facsimile shows that the numerals were crossed out and replaced). Because her typewriter did not have the capability to type phonetic characters, she wrote these in. Examples include the iota ı; the echo vowel (raised iota): and the glottalization marks above consonants. It was difficult at times to determine what symbol was intended. For instance, it was a challenge to differentiate between stress marks and glottal stops. I relied heavily on Reichard’s 1938 grammar to guide me in the decipherment of her transcriptions while typing my facsimile.
The sounds of the Coeur d'Alene language added to the enjoyment of creating my facsimile. Coeur d'Alene uses reduplication of the stem to denote such things as "baby talk," plurality and other inflections and derivations. Reichard states, "It is not difficult to understand how such a morphological device may affect the literary style in a marked degree, especially if the people using it play with it."^ Onomatopoeia, and the lengthening of stressed syllables (marking extended time, such as, he we...nt, to mean he traveled a great distance over a long period of time), are used frequently also. These clues were taken into account when writing the continuous translation in Chapter Two.

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

---

1Reichard 1947 p. 25
Before the text was ready for parsing in *Shoebox*, the original orthography of Reichard had to be transliterated into Coeur d'Alene orthography. Once this was done, the text was loaded into *Shoebox* and the work of parsing out the morphemes began. As prefixes and suffixes were pruned away, the stems and roots were revealed. Reichard's "Stem-List of the Coeur d'Alene Language" and Nicodemus 1975 verified my results.

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

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

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

\[2^{\text{See phoneme chart.}}\]
what seemed to me to be universal themes. "Coyote Steals Son's Wife" is similar to Homer's The Odyssey. Like Coyote's son, Odysseus needs to return from a far off land, where he experiences many adventures, in order to reclaim his wife. Like Odysseus, Coyote's son encounters man-eaters: Long Legs' younger brother in Coyote and Cyclops in the Odyssey. The Beaver Women who lull Coyote's son into spending a long time with them remind me of Circe. Coyote's son returns home and hides in the mat house, while Odysseus returns home disguised as an old man. Revenge comes when Coyote's son kills everyone, except his faithful wife and mother; and Odysseus kills all the suitors. The spinning of the spiders is vaguely reminiscent of Penelope's weaving. Just as the story of the Odyssey has widespread distribution in the west, so does this Coyote myth which is found in various versions throughout the United States and Canada.\(^3\)

The text can be viewed as illustrating a rite of passage. Coyote's son must become a man and take charge of his life before he can return home and claim his wife. In the first part of the story Coyote's son is being manipulated by everyone: his father tricks him into going into the sky; Long Legs uses Coyote's son to trick his brother; the Beaver Women use him to hunt for food. It is not until Coyote's son stops and realizes that he is lonesome that the story changes and he exerts his power to get home. He demands that the Spider women listen to him and then when he returns to earth, he seeks revenge on all who did his wife harm.

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

\(^4\)Reichard 1947 p. 80
As interesting as the story is, the focus of my project is to do some textual analysis of this Coeur d'Alene text, and as such my analysis is to be considered a preliminary attempt. Although I have spent numerous hours working on this story, I feel I have only scratched the surface. Every time I recognize a new form, I find myself rethinking previous words, and going back to reanalyze previous analyses. The computer is an effective tool for this kind of analytical work. The work is very addicting, and occasionally frustrating: many items remain unanalyzed. Hopefully, my work will aid other researchers who might want to pursue further this interesting and important endeavour.
Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son. His oldest son had two wives, Snipe and Black Swan. Black Swan had a baby; Snipe didn't. Black Swan was loved, but Snipe was not. Coyote thought to himself, I should love Snipe. That Black Swan is ugly. Why should she be loved? Coyote wondered what he could do so his son would die, and he could have Snipe for himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then the other said, "I suppose you saw that elk. I suppose you were going to defecate on that elk."
Then the son heard them fighting with canes. The one who killed people had human bones on his cane, and the one who ate elk had elk bones on his cane.¹ One spiked the other into the ground.

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

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

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

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

³The note in the original transcription reads “when he chopped his own he chopped stick but to coyote he chopped leg.” This passage is confusing. They are obviously trying to play a trick on the other spider, but I am not sure what happens.
Coyote’s son left. He stood under a tree because it began to rain. He covered his arrows under a blanket. Then he heard women laughing. Beaver’s older sister is going downstream laughing “ha ha.” and Beaver’s younger sister is going upstream.4

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

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

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

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

He went back to the house of the beavers.

4This expression is used to alert the listener that something important is about to happen. Reichard 1947 p. 28.
One of the women said, "He got a deer! This is our man!" They quickly cooked the deer and ate it. These women were glad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

5When someone is upset it is the custom to not say anything until the offender figures out what he has done. Reichard 1947 p. 44.
Coyote’s son said, “What is the matter with all of you!”

They said, “You killed our father.”

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

Then Coyote’s son said, “Stop your crying. He will soon live again.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶See previous footnote #5 regarding Reichard 1947 p. 44.
One woman said, “Leave him alone. Your father has a hole in his moccasgin near his big toe made by Black Swan.” Coyote’s son just lay there.

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

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

“It’s mine” said the closest.

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

“No, it’s mine! I didn’t smash it!” said the other.

Coyote’s son said to the one closest to him, “My grandmother, will you bring me back?”

They remained quiet.

He said, “I will pay you for your clothing.”

Silence. They didn’t even look at him.

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

Silence.

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He walked a ways.

"This is where our house used to be. But it isn't here any more. It's gone."

He looked around. "Here is where they moved camp."

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

---

10 A note in the original transcription explains that the box was like a coffin.
11 Four is a significant number in Coeur d'Alene mythology. Reichard 1947 p. 27.
12 The motion is described in a note in the original transcription.
He traveled a little further and saw his wife. She was carrying the bundle with the sticks for the mat house\(^{13}\) on her back. On top of the bundle sat the child. Coyote's son approached them.

The baby looked at him. "Papa."

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

The baby said, "No, Papa."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{13}\)A note in the original transcription gives this description: "wife is packing long house made of reeds."
Just as she started to lay him down and untie the bundle, Coyote yelled.

“What are you doing? We are trying to get away from you! You have followed us against my orders.”

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

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

He went toward his mother, but she cried, “No! It wasn’t my fault. I didn’t want her to be treated this way.” Mole\textsuperscript{14} was allowed to live. There were just three people left alive.

That is the end of the road.

\textsuperscript{14}Mole is Coyote’s wife. Reichard 1947 p 16.
CHAPTER THREE
FACSIMILE

The following is a facsimile of Gladys Reichard’s text “Coyote Steals Son’s Wife,” which endeavors to reproduce faithfully Reichard’s original transcription. Some of the original lines in the typescript are longer than this facsimile depicts. A double line represents a page break. I have added bracketed numbers which correspond to the lines of the interlinearized text.
XVIII IV (688) Coyote steals Son’s Wife

[1] átswi’c x"ā smuyi’w ñ asq’s sci’"tEmc. [2] ttc’ā’sE t lä he dwelt Coyote his son the oldest two

smi’y’mā*ā.ms luw’ā tcnā’k”w’ā t’Et’aq’i’n’ hiit lä tcnā’k”w’ā qa’lpyā wives that one of them Snipe and the other Black Swan

apl gugwaxti’l’t. [3] hii t’Et’aq’i’n’lut(h)ay’ptl gugwaxti’l’t.s. [4] x”i’n had a baby and Snipe did not have a baby this

x”a ḥami’ntc a”q’lpyā lä t’Et’aq’i’n’ lutmami’ntc. [5] nā’āku’ lä was the one liked Black Swan Snipe was not liked: he thought

smuyi’w tcā”ā tcnā’ tcáltcunxami’ntc āt’Et’aq’i’n’luw’ā sjā’ydjī’t.s Coyote I ought to be the one who is liked by Snipe that one is ugly

la”q’lpyā kum’ ḥami’ntc. [6] yo tcā”ā mā’l’i’ axi’sEn ī tca’ā ta’xux Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

la husq’a’ sq”āsā’ā ts ca’ ultā”k”i’nEn luw’ā t’Et’aq’i’n’.[7] hoi x’ist my child I ought to take in turn that Snipe then he went

lā smuyi’w.[8] hoi tcātpuk’i’ntcEm lā sanqā’ā m’i’ltups.s [9] āk’n m’āl’i’ Coyote then he called his powers his dung he said what

na’axi’sEn na’ā tă’xux lā husq’a’sq”āsā’ā. [10] āku’stEm nā’ u’u’ k”nā’nntx” shall I do so he will die my child he was said to carry him little by little

ttc ttc’Ema’sq’ūt. [11] āk’n x’iy’ā sci’"tEmc tcáltci’tcā”t’ to heaven he said this oldest I will be set up

na”ā xātcāstcutc’y’gwul.
so that he will climb well

[12] kum’ lā tcnā’k”w’ā āk’n tcáltcunmalqānu’ps lā āy’tscā”t’ then another said I will be golden eagle on a tree
ha suntca'ímqsi'x'ina'[13] na'a tsaqí'w'ás x'í'í'1 ná'á tçátp'i'i'í á'sél
top here the nest is to be here they will sit on it two

dq' umalqEnu'ps.[14] kum' tá ttcná'k'w'á ák'n tçátcununço'tsEm ák'n
also belonging to eagle then another said I will beckon he said

I will go back then in the morning he was said to go let's go for it then again they went

then they saw them sitting already then already they were about to fly they were big

[22] hoi tçttc'i'gwul la sq'á sq'as'á'á. [23] hoi tçttc'i'gwul.
then he climbed this way the son then he climbed

[24] ultsì'a'ts'xEnts tâ pi'pá'ás át'uk'w'í'. [25] x'í'í'ul'á'ts'á'x'El
he looked back his father lay there thus he did again

he beckoned he beckoned this Coyote he said to him why are you beckoning

I am worrying about am I not to be conscious of danger then just he you then
(know what is behind it)
to rs. [27] hoi lut(h)a'ut'a'tsxEnts la t'i' tætc (h)ngwi'st kum'
beckoned then he did not again look at him already high up then
tælt'si' uttc'iwül. [28] hoi n'utx'juw'a attc'ema'sq'ut.[29] hoi
from there he climbed then he went into the sky then
x'ist. [30] hoi utcutsx'ä't'p lä smyi'w.
he went then this way he ran away Coyote:

[31] xul utcï'n'nu'ix'lä ä'ştsätx's.[32] aku'stus x'i'yä că'lpýä xuc
he proceeded to reenter his house: he said to her this Black Swan go
lä'kukc tgwäl' ku'w'a'ngwät hit tcäli'päp tsqi'1'tumx'. [33] hoi aku'stus
go far off because of you it is that he left your husband then he said to them
tä stsätsum'i'1'tál't.s tcäli'päp x'a qaqi'tstcEm'p. [34] hoi x'ä
her his children he has left your little older brother then never (it is over)
tcäsgwi'tctp.[35] hoi ultäk'ins tsä t'Et'aq'ii'n.[36] hoi usstäämi'y'äms.
will you never see then again he told Snipe then he had a wife

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

[37] hoi màä'mi'nts la qā'lpýä.[38] hoi la sq'a'sq'äsä's xut tcätq'ä't'p
then he sent her away Black Swan then his son proceeded to the top
ux'alä tmi'x'ul'umx'. [39] hoi x'ist x'...st.[40] gwitcts x'ä spi'itts'ä'ä.
just like the earth then he went he we...nt he saw it an elk

[41] hoi t'a'pEnts.[42] hoi ts'à'q'unts lu'pEnts hoi hunk'ii'ts.[43] hoi
then he shot it then he butchered it he dried it then it was night then
ucl tcä'y'i'tc i tsqai'na'äestcint uitsqu'as'q'a'ä]. [44] hoi hoi
just as he was about to sleep is when he heard people talking then

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then at once he understood it one I suppose you see people I suppose then

the other said in turn I suppose you see elk I suppose

you defecate on elk then he heard it fighting with a cane

then he spiked him into the ground then he arrived here the long

legs was tall he said the oldest my younger brother
give me the elk you secured and I will protect you he said to him go take them (be careful with)

all kinds of food

soon when I arrive we will fight just as he is about to hold me I will say to you chop my leg my daughter’s child take

XVIII IV (693) Coyote Steals son’s wife 4

take a stick here lay it down then chop it I will say to you

chop my leg grandson then I will again exert myself then the will
däxt.[56] kum' k"nä'ä ultä'ä a'k"n cÉli'w'ascEnts si 'lÀ'ä.[57] nÀ'ä
go away then soon again he will say chop my leg grandson when

kwì'nts lÀ'ä cá 'lmÉn nÀ'ä cá 'lEntx".[58] hoi dá 'xuX".[59] x"Êt'pEntsut.
he (it) takes the ax you are to chop it then he was envious he ran off

[60] hoi i 'lEnts x"a sqilttc.[61] hoi x"ist lÀ' smuyi'w lÀ sq"a 'sq"asà'ä's
then he ate it the meat then he went Coyote his son he

x"ist[62] x"i'í l à'xÉl q'up't hoi gUL'ts'Elá'calq" hoi kum' x"ä
went thus he did it then he stood under a tree and then while it was

y'tsq'ú'p't kum' à'si 'ts'Em kum' lÀ' t'a'páms x"i'í l à'xÉl.[63] hoi
raining then he was blanketed then his arrow thus he did: then

t÷tsaqi' nÀ'ä hÀ smi' y'äm åtsmà' x"mùx"t hÀ hÀ hÀ.
he heard this way a woman laughing hÀ hÀ hÀ:

[64] an'ax*ti 'I hÀnmu' ìcàntc hÀ y'u'k"à'as hÀ hÀ ìncàrìci 'I
going downstream beaver's his older sister hÀ hÀ upstream

hÀnmu' ìcàntc hÀ tsÉtsí' y'ä's.[65] hoi kum' p'atcÉtctcÉ x"a' xÀ'EntÉm
beaver his younger sister and then noise of beaver's tail it was beaten

äslìp' hú x"a' xÀ'EntÉm ìk"n hÀ hoi t'í'í' na'ä's lÀ sqí'1'tùmx"ät.
with the stick he was beaten he said all right he is already wet our husband

[66] hoi tci'dà'xt t÷tcxtcm"i'í'.[67] hoi uLtcxtstá'ìEntÉm.[68] hoi
then they came this way toward here then again he was to come straight then

t÷tcÉtcÉt' kum' lá ay'tccà' t' gUL'q"ìntstó'stalq" hoi kum' x"i'í'
they came near then by the tree they hid (at base of tree) and then thus

a'xÉl.[69] hoi ìku'stÉm hÀ hui t'í'í' kù'nà'ä's t'í'tcàltc'uy'Énì's
did then he was said to all right (ready!) already you are wet the let's go back

[70] hoi
then
XVIII IV (695) Coyote and Son’s Wife

They went back four each carrying on its backs two beavers these four.

each had two beavers then again he went back along he went as far back as a dwelling.

house

[73] then again in they went many beavers then they cooked the.

[74] then they ate now always he sat they are beavers.

these women then there he said now

I am going hunting then he went.

then he proceeded to shoot it the deer he thought there were two on he went:

again he carried it on his back then he came back to the other it was gone.

just blood and it was stained here and there (carelessly) then again he went

again he arrived at the house he said he got a deer this our man

now then they cooked they hurried (at it) then it was cooked and then they ate

they were pleased these women they were glad then he said I was going to have two
When I came back it was gone they said nothing (did not say what) they kept silence

Laughing they paid no attention then in the morning

XVIII IV (697) Coyote and Son’s Wife

When I am going hunting again then again he went he went as far as to shoot another he procured in hunting he thought I will be careful I wonder by what it was eaten just legs there were the body was small

This body was flat now the deer here it lay then he cut it this way then he ate it now he shot him then he died then from there he went then he saw a deer again he shot it then he had two then he butchered it then he carried it this way on his back then he came back hither then back as far as the house they were quiet those women it was as
if they were crying then he put it down again the deer

it was not fixed then he sat down again then he took off his moccasins

they did not speak he was not given anything to eat

only one person it was who ate there they had their backs turned then he he ate and

said look here I saw it I killed it long leg the one with the small

head just as he said this they cried these women
at the one whose legs lay about the long legs then he stepped over him

then he gradually got up they did not tell me your children

I said to them it was eaten for me my kill then they did not say our

father he said did you not know I caught you coming down (save you)

when you broiled meat he was going to eat you the man-eater (set meat up)

I am the one who saved you he was said to all right I will go away

you are to follow my tracks then he went he shot it the deer

I don’t know how many then again he returned he proceeds then again to into the house

they were laughing the women they were being glad already it was finished being fixed

what you are to eat well again they are happy the women the[n] he said

you are stupid you did not say our father

you ought to have told me then I would not have killed him
Coyote steals Son's Wife

[149] hoi ulla^x^x^ kum' uix^i^.`st.[150] hoi ulla^x^ sup
then again it was morning and again he went away then he killed
lå äts'î`i.`[151] tmic nák`w^a` tuw'û ultci'sâ`x^ts [152] hoi tsi`i xiîts a deer just one
which he carried back on his back hither then there he left it for them

hontc'u^pi `lgwâs t'i `apstutsu^m'î il`ti`l'î ná`ku^` yo tsmi`apl
he became lonesome already he had children he thought my! she used to have
gugaxti`I`t x`a`â qä`lp'yä.[153] hoi tâ`k`w`mEntsut tcây`l`x`ánâ `ånts`î`t
a baby Black Swan then he lay down he covered himself with blanket
ås`î ts`Ems.[154] hoi tcâtsxu`i lá stutsu^m`î `l`tâl`t.s.[155] x`i`î
with his blanket hen they came his children here
i`ts`âtstcEn.[156] âk`n tuw`a smî`y`mä`âm hör`iyâtcul ulu`x`u `scEn
they played she said those women let him alone his toe is perforated
aspan`qä`lp'yä tsä`â pi`pä`âmp.
by spouse Black Swan that your father
[157] hoi ât'uk`w^i`..[158] hoi x`a`t`uc.[159] hoi x`ist ná`ku
then he lay then he got up then he got up the he went he thought
nâ`mä`l`î tcâ`nâ` tcû`a`xEl ná`u tcû`ul`âna`qä`lp'yä x`ist x`i`î st
I wonder how I will do to get back to Black Swan he went he went
ätswi`c.[160] âk`n im há uy`tsqu`â`q`â`âls.[161] ludidi ludidi hoi xuî
a house he said in vain he was talking again ludidi ludidi then he proceeded
tcî`n`u `tx`.[162] tu`ûl`â`ts`â` mut`û tcû`k`w`hîl tâl` x`i`î li lá
to go in there she was sitting one (of them) and from here (over there)
tcû`k`w`â` guilt`î `k``t`uk`w`t x`i`î`l` uîts`a`xEl ludidi ludidi tcû`ul`â`
the other they were old thus ludidi ludidi it is mine
[163] hoi tuw`a tcû`k`w`â` lut xwä`sunq`w`uda`u `scEn tcû`ul`â`
then that other no the root started on my side

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she said the other no mine right here from here this

root started and here it grows again here like this then no
	heno it’s mine no I scabbed it he said that coyote my father’s mothers

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tcâltctnuy’u ’kmp.[167] ugułqäm.[168] äk’n k’nä’ä xa ˈq’Entulmen escort me back they were silent he said I will pay you

they were silent he was not looked at no

then no he said I am talking to you they were silent just du du he said to then[m]

look here will be yours to eat meat future for each of you one sackful

they paid no attention to then he said to them you are my father’s sisters I am speaking to you

our brother’s son is it not a long long time since to you I have been speaking they said

our brother’s son all right

spiders as if always it is that (we wear) clothes yes brother’s son all right
"hemp look at it this is the reason hemp is what we are talking about

[177] tsi" tsi" āgwāśmEn nāłā kuxa´q’cāc.[178] tcāltmicnāłāmn’u’s
all right all right hemp you pay us I’ll just take a chance

āts’uku´stus ni gulì ’Pew’ascEn tsi” nāłā kupgul’nā k’wāłā.[179] hoi
he said to them is it all in one piece this one for each of you then

k’wāłmicn’u’s x’ā mimc.[180] tsi´itEm hunt’ā k’wuntEm.
it was taken a box he was given in it he was laid

[181] āku´stEm ucī mu´s tcāsttsaqtsaqi´w’ās.[182] āku´stEm tā
he was said to just four time it will stop he was told

ātmī’x’ul’umx’nāłā kutā´k’uk’nā k’wāłā kuy’tsatsaqi´nāłā āst’à´dāłā
at the earth when you arrive it will be you are hearing the grass

nā’utsu´ptsEm.[183] tc’añqi´nt āku´stEm nāłā kucttxú’txú’i´w’ās kum’
making its noise open it he was told when it stops then

tāl’tsi” nāłā kudā´x’t nāłā x’i’l ku’axEl kum’ nāłā kudā´x”t.[184] hoi
farther you will fall if you do thus thus (roll about) then you will fall then

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ulcan’qi´ntEm.[185] hoi dā’x”umstEm hoi dux”ti’···· tax”w’mEntsut.
again it is closed then he was lowered then he fell stopped

[186] kum’ x’i’l a’xEl kum’ tāl’tsi dāx”t.[187] hoi ucī mu´s hoi dāx”t.
then thus he did then from there he fell then just four times he fell

[188] tā´k’uk” hoi tcic’tmi´nts ulstā´dāłā utsu´p.[189] hoi tc’añqi´nts he landed then
he heard again grass noise wind blowing grass then he opened it

xux”i” tmi’x”ul’umx”.[190] hoi tsā’luc hoi ulcan’qi´nts.[191] hoi
that was the earth then he stood up agian he put lid on then
tä'ntEnEmstus ha Rätsä'stci'tcä'än.[192] hoi x"i'i'î ungwi'cuc
he pulled it jerked the string rope then there it went up

x"a mimic.[193] hoi x"ist tu'u åtsmi" tsätx"ät.[194] hoi x"ist tc'u'.
the box then he went there where used to be our house then he went no one

[195] hoi gwitc tätc x"i'î q"i'î'.[196] hoi ntcEci'nts.[197] xu· t däst.
then he saw there toward they moved then he followed he proceeded they camped

[198] däst tätc x"iy'ä l'El'Ekü't hif lóq" āpstquq"il'kup.[199] hoi
they camped toward here a little distance and also there was a little fire then

täl'tsi" q"i'î[200] xu· gwitc tä smi'y'ëms xux"ixist äsux"i'glwäś
then farther they moved he went so far as to see his wife travelling carrying
little property on her back

tsi·ct äsux"i'glwäś ätsó'm'lx".[201] ätcät'Emu't luw'ä sq"a'sq"äsä rá.
it was long she was carrying the mat house on it sat that child

[202] hoi x"ist tcststc'i' hEnts x"i'î tcuâ'ta'ä ts'x la gugwaxti 'l't
then he went he approached for a purpose her there it looked this way the baby

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

a'xEl bäbabä.[205] aku'stus lut q'âsp tcäli'päp x"a inbäbabä.[206] hoi
like this papa she said to it no long ago he left your bababa then

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

tsä'gwätät.[208] ak'n tc'itsmä rá'm'nEms luw' inpipá rá.
we are treated she said we are being sent away that your father:

[209] ak'n t'a t'Et'Eq"i'n' ultäk"i'nts
Snipe he has taken again  

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ultämi y’äms tå unpi pâ'ä.[210] äk’n kum’ ätcin’ä. tci’ts
his turn at wiving your father she said as for me he was sending

mä’ä’äm n’ems tcälctašlä’kuk.[211] hoi äk’n t luw’a smyi’w hoi
me away far I must go then he said it is that Coyote then
tä’x’unulc.[212] äk’n atm’c ttc’i’tt kum’ näʼ ’k’n ânts’ ’lä’kuks.
I’ll kill them she said just close we come then he says ther go farther

[213] äk’n ni lutägwi ttcx’ lå tsi’n tc’i’dä’esdä’s x’i’l apstq’i’l’küp.
she said did you not see it there where we camped there was a fire

[214] kum’ x’ä ttc luku’t tå apstq’i’l’küp tsi’t x’ä tcili’пуст.
then at a distance there was a fire that was ours

[215] aku’stEm xuç nä’ä x’tsa’x’[216] kum’ äk’n nä’ä xu’i tsiy’ âtswi’c
she was said to come you will carry me on your back she said you will go to the house

tä ttc unyar’i’p nä’ä t’äk’untsa’x’.[217] äk’n lut k’’nä’
toward the back thee lay me down she said no it will be

xaxa’txatEn’tsås.[218] aku’stEm lut nä’ä kuta’xt nä’ä t’ä’k’untsa’x’
he will beat me she was said to no be swift put me down

kum’ nä’ä tctari’ts’äânts’x’.[219] hoi xui.[220] hoi ttc’itc’i’t’t
untied me (in the bundle) then she went stop close she came close

äku’stEm ttc tsi’tc täl’tsi’n uqäm x’ist x’ist x’ist.[221] hoi xui
she was said toward to there be! on not a word she went she went she proceeded

t’a’k’unts.[222] tctari’ts’äânts’ lå sux’i’lgwäs kum’ äku’stEm tå
to put him down she untied the bundle her pack then she was said to by

’tämuyi’w nä’ä stim’ lå stc’ut’x’ums pa’axmi’ntEm [223] kum’
Coyote what is she after she was (getting) sneaked away on and
then you follow in slowly he arose that his son he got up he was crying
opposition (to orders)

there just this is the way I treat her (meaning kindly) this my wife

he stood up the son he took a stick he brained him

this

pi'pâ'äs. his father then Snipe he beat her up then his brothers

his mother also he went toward he was said to

by his mother no it is not my fault she was shy about coming I did not intend to

treat him thus your son then just she was left alive

then just the three of them that is the

end of the road
CHAPTER FOUR
INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

The following is the interlinearized text. The first line is the phonetic transcription in the modern day Coeur d'Alene orthography. The second line is a morphological breakdown of the phonetic transcription. In this line the hyphen (-) represents either an inflectional affix boundary, or other high frequency, highly productive directional affix; the plus sign (+) is used to show other boundaries including derivational affixes; the equal sign (=) marks lexical suffixes described in Reichard 1938 paragraphs 456 - 531; asterisks (*** ) mark unanalyzed forms. The third line is the English gloss line. The fourth is a free English translation.
1. ēcwīs xʷe sməyíw ṭa ?asqʷs ssiiʔtamš.
   cust-dwell art coyote art son -3gen oldest

Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son.

2. tē'esəl ṭe smiy'meʔms təw'ee tcneḵʷeʔ tət'at'aqʷín'
   person -two art wives -3gen that person-one Snipe

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

3. hit ṭe čnēkʷeʔ qēlpye aʔt gugʷaxtʃ'it's.
   hit ṭe tət'aqʷín' lut hə aʔ+ʔ+ʔ² gu+gʷaʔ+t=il't-s

And Snipe didn’t have his baby.

4. xʷiʔ xʷa xamínč aqelpye ṭe tət'at'aqʷín' lutxamínč.
   xʷiʔ xʷa xəminč a- qēlpye ṭe tət'at'aqʷín' lut -xəminč

Black Swan was liked. Snipe was not liked.

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

2 The infix ṭ may indicate the inchoative.

3 Note that in the previous sentence, the -s 3sgen is not used with gugʷaxtʃ'it'.
Coyote thought, "I should love Snipe. That Black Swan is ugly, why should she be loved? My!"

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

Then Coyote went.

---

4This appears to be a false start since the first person is part of the next word.
He said, "What can I do so my child will die?"

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

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

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

---

5This is probably a false start, and not connected with /xes/, meaning "well."
13. x'i? na? a tcaqw' es x'i? ne?e cęt p'i? esl toq' x'i? na? t + caq + iw' es x'i? ne? cęt - p'i? 'esl toq' here irr nest here irr on_surface - sit two also

ulmalqənúps.
ul -mlqn=ups
belonging_to -eagle

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

14. k'm um' tɛ tɛnɛk'*ɛ? ek'n cętčənəntɔrɔsəm ek'n
k'm um' tɛ tɛ -nek'*+ɛ? ?ek'un cęt čn hn-tor+us-m ?ek'un
and art person-another say fut 1nom loc-beckon-M say

ci? hoi uxtɕɛx'ɪst (x'*e) sməyìw.
ci? hoi u t -čc -x'is+t x'*e s+myìw
all_right then again -hither -go art coyote

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

15. x'u t u t c'ɛl'əl'.
x'u t u t -c'ɛl'+1'
proceed again -arrive

He went until he arrived back.

16. ek'ústus ta sq'ásq*e se?es g*ɨcən ta malqənúps.
?ek'un -st(u) -s ta s + q*as + q*ase? -s g*ič -n ta mlqn=ups
say -ct -3serg art son -3gen see -1serg art eagle

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

17. ek'ústəm təsəsənìw'es de?l ek'uw'έ
?ek'un -st(u) -m t + əs=ʃi + iw' es de?l e -k" u + ?e
say -ct -nte good_to_feet unusual prep -your
He was said to, "Your ladder will be good to your feet, but unusual."

18. ek'ústəm  e...  k'um'  láaɔx'  ne?  čənutx'ui.
    "ek'un  -st(u)  -m  e...  k'um'  la'ax'  ne?  čn  ut  -x'uy
say  -ct  -nte  ***  and  morning  irr  inom  again  -go

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

19. hoi  ta  la'aɔx'  ek'ústəm  x'ui  uscsx'úimet.
    hoi  ta  la'ax'  ?ek'un-st(u)-m  x'uy  u  y'c-Čs  -x'uy-m  -et
then  art  morning  say-ct-nnte  go  just  cont-from_behind-go-M  -1pgen

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

20. hoi  uťx'úyølš  hoi  g'icxølš  ećept'it  t'ı?
    hoi  ut  -x'uy  -ilš  hoi  g'ic-t-s  -ilš  y'c-ćept-p'it  t'ı?
then  again  -go  -pl  then  see-t-3serg  -pl  cont-above-sit  already

k'um'  čest'ifw?ıt.
k'um'  čeť  -s  -t'ı?+t'ı?
and  fut  -int  -fly

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

21. t'ı?  píst'ey'ıt.
t'ı?  pis=t'ey'ıt
evid  big

They were big.

---

6The stem list states that if this is said with a rising tone, it means "oh", but if it is said with an even tone, it means disapproval. No tone was given in the translation. I think, "oh" would be the most appropriate.
22. hoi  čətɛ́'ɪɡʷəl  ŋa  sqʰærəsq. hoi  čɛt  -tɛ́'ɪɡʷəl  ŋa  s+qʰas+qʰasə.
    then above -climb art son

    Then the son climbed up.

23. hoi  čətɛ́'ɪɡʷəl. hoi  čɛt  -tɛ́'ɪɡʷəl
    then above -climb

    He climbed and climbed.

24. uṭciʔáxənc  tə  pípʔes  etʔəkʷə́ -i.
    uł -čə -ʔac'x -n-t-s  tə  pípʔ -s  e-təkʷə́ +i
    again-hither-look at -d-t-3serg art father -3serg prep-lay

    Again he looked down; his father lay there.

25. xʷiʔət  uł  ac'áxəl  tórus  tórus  xʷiyε  sməyw
    xʷiʔət  yč  -ʔaxil  tor+us  tor+us  xʷiyε  s+myiw
    here_is where again -cont -do beckon beckon this coyote

    ekʷústus  tgʷə́l'  stim'  ukʷútors  ekʷn  lu
    ?ekʷun  -st(u)  -s  tgʷə́l'  stim'  u  kʷ  tor+us  ?ekʷun  lut
    say -ct  -3serg why what just 2nom beckon say neg

    kʷiʔɛ́nminəm.
    kʷ  hn  -yč  -či+?+n  -min-m
    2nom 1gen -cont -worry -rel-M

    Here Coyote kept beckoning, beckoning. He said to him, "Why do you just beckon?"
    He said, "No, I am worried about you."

26. kʷum'  ni  lut  čey'čənmiyɨpsən  kʷum'
    kʷum'  neʔ  lut  čɛt-s  -ʔɛc  -hn+miy= ip  -st(u)  -n  kʷum'
    and irr neg fut-int -cust -conscious_of_danger -ct -1serg and

---

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

8The transcript translates this as both "conscious of danger" and "know what is behind it."
uč'am'  tôrs.
just  just  beckon

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

27. hoi  lut(h)e?  uť'áć'x̂ənc  ňa  t'i  tęč
hoi  hut  he  uť -řac'x̂  -n-t-s  ňa  t'i?  tęč
then  neg  sub  again  -look_at  -d-t-3serg  art  already  toward
(h)ng'ıst  k"um'  tël'ci?  uťtę'igung'el.
hn  -g'is+t  k"um'  tël'  ci?  uť  -tę'igung'el
loc  -be_high  and  from  there  again  -climb

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

28. hoi  n'utxʷ  ňuw'a  atč'əmasq'at.
hoi  n'utxʷ  ňuw'a  a  -t+č'em=asq'it
then  enter  that  prep  -sky

Then he went into the sky.

29. hoi  xʷist.
hoi  x'is+t
then  go

Then he went.

30. hoi  uťčəcxʷ'et'p  te  smęyw.
hoi  ut  -čic  -xʷet'  -p  te  s+myiw
then  again  -hither  -run  -inch  art  coyote

Then Coyote ran away.

31. x"uľ  uťčin'útxʷ  te  ecətxʷs.
x"uľ  ut  -čə  -n'utxʷ  te  ęe  -cətxʷ-s
proceed  again  -hither  -enter  art  obl  -house-3gen

He proceeded until he re-entered his house.
32. ek*ústus x*iy’e qélpýe x*uəš lék*ukš tg*êl’
    ʔek’un -st(u) -s x*iy’e qélpýe x*uy-š lek”+uk” -š tg*êl’
say -ct -3serg this Black_Swan go -imp go_far_off-imp because

k’uw’êng*et hit čeřipep əsqif’tumx*.
k’u*êng*t hit čeřipep in -s+qil’tumx*
you and leave 2gen -husband

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

33. hoi ek*ústus  ʔe scəcəm’îl’têl’ts čeřipep x”a
    hoi ʔek’un -st(u) -s ʔe s+cicem’=il’t+l’t -s čeřipep x”a
then say -ct -3serg art children -3gen leave art

qaqicdam’p.
qa+qič -mp
little_older_brother -2pgen

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

34. hoi x*e čeśg*ičtp.
    hoi x*e čet-s -g*ič -t-p
then art fut-int -see -t-2perg

"You will never see him again."

35. hoi uťek’înc ʔe t’at’aq”în.
    hoi uť -t째+k”în -t-s ʔe t’at’aq”în’
then again -tell -t-3serg art Snipe

Then again, he told Snipe,

36. hoi ussteʔmîy’êms.
    hoi u s -tеж -s+miy’em -s
then just int-*** -wife -***

"You will be my wife."
Then he sent Black Swan away.

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

He saw an elk.

Then he butchered it; he dried it; then nightfall.
Then just when he was about to sleep, he heard people talking.

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

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

---

9This seems to be a mistranscription for čeťk'ućanc'alesčint.

10A note in the original transcript says that this means, "they pull on him." This could mean something like they pull up the man they have just killed, the way a spider would.
"I suppose you defecate on his elk." Then he heard fighting with canes.

Then one spiked the other into the ground.

Then he arrived here. Long Legs was tall.

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

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

12This does not make sense. Here I would expect ek*ústus. The entire passage is confusing.
50. ek\text{"ústus} x\text{"uš} čem\text{"ant}\text{\textsuperscript{13}} ay\text{\textsuperscript{c}} iiic\text{"fän}. \\
say -ct-3serg go -imp take-d-t all_kinds food

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

51. k\text{"m} ne\text{\textsuperscript{2}} uš\text{\textsuperscript{4}} čančic\text{"é}l\text{"al} na\text{\textsuperscript{2}} čti\text{"tiy\text{"eq}t. \\
k\text{"n} + e\text{\textsuperscript{2}} u + šišt čn čc -c\text{"él}l na\text{\textsuperscript{2}} č t\text{\textsuperscript{2}} + tiy\text{"aq} + t \\
soon just lnom hither -arrive irr lnom fight

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

52. ne\text{\textsuperscript{2}} šešt četičasčič\text{"én}ams ne \text{"ek\text{"ústman} \\
ne\text{\textsuperscript{2}} u + šišt čt čn s-čc+čen' -m-s ne\text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{"ek\text{"un-st(u)-mi-n} \\
irr just fut lnom int-take_hold -M-3gen irr say -ct -2acc-1serg

\text{\textsuperscript{13}}Note the imperative active voice. See R 337 and Doak 2.4.1.4.2.

\text{\textsuperscript{14}}See note 13.

\text{\textsuperscript{15}}This 3rd person construction does not match the translation given.
54. k"um' ne? čənutdölq'ʷəncut.
k"um' ne' čə ut -dölq'ʷ -ncut
and irr Inom again -exert -reflex

And again, I will exert\textsuperscript{16} myself.

55. k"um' k"na? dëxt\textsuperscript{17}.
k"um' k"n+ε? dëx+t
and future fall

And he will fall.

56. k"um' k"nε? ušte?ák'n\textsuperscript{18} šəlìw'essənc sileʔ.
k"um' k"n+ε? ut -ɛ-ʔšək'un šəl + iw'əs = šin-t-s\textsuperscript{19} sileʔ
and future again-thither-say chop_leg -t-3serg grandson

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

57. ne? k"ɪnc tɛ? šələmən ne? šələntxʷ.
ne? k"in-t-s tɛ šəl + mən ne? šəl -n-t-xʷ
irr take-t-3serg art ax irr chop-d-t-2serg

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

58. hoi dëx"ux".
hoi dëx"+ux"
then envious

Then he was envious.

\textsuperscript{16}The original transcript translates this as, "move around as if hurt."

\textsuperscript{17}The original transcript translates this as, "he will fall." The typed transcript has "he went." "Fall" with the stem /dëx, makes more sense here.

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

\textsuperscript{19}Once again, the translation does not match the transcription.
59. x*et'pəncut.
   x*et'+p+ncut
run_away

He ran off.

60. hoi ftənc x*a sqilté.
oi 'itn-t-s x*a s+qilté
then eat -t-3serg art meat

Then he ate the meat.

61. hoi x*ist ťe sməyǐw ťa sq*s=ásq*esθ's x*ist.
oi x*is+t ťe s+myiw ťa s+q*as+q*aseθ -s x*is+t
then go art coyote art son -3gen go

Then Coyote's son went. He went.

62. x"iŋ+i āḵəl q"up' t hoi gül'cəlēšalq" hoi k"um' x*e
x"i+i t'āxil q'up'+ t hoi gül'+c'el'ε -š=alq* hoi k"um' x*e
here_is_where do rain then stand_under-prep-tree then and art
y'cq"up't k"um' esíc'əm k"um' ťe t'āpəməs
y'c -q'up'+ t k"um' e-sic'+m k"um' ťe t'ap+min-s
cont -rain and blanket and art arrow -3gen
x"iŋ+i āḵəl.
x"i+i t'āxil
here_is_where do

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

63. hoi čətcaq'ineʔ? he smiy'əm ecmex"max"t he he he.
oi č -t+caq=ineʔ he s+miy'əm y'c -mex"+mex"+t he he he
then hither -hear art woman cont -laugh ha ha ha

Then he heard a woman laughing, "ha ha ha."
"Beaver's older sister is going downstream, "ha ha" and Beaver's younger sister is going upstream."

And then p'akahëkë (sound of beaver's tail). He was beaten with a stick. She said "All right, our husband is already wet."
68. hoi čeč'č'ít kʻum' te ēy'čšēt' gul'q'ənp'mancótalq'
hoi č'it+č'it kʻum' te ēy'č+šet' gul' q'ənp'+min+cut=alq'
then hither-be_near and art prep-encircle under hide_self_base_of_tree

hoi kʻum? x'i?+t áxəl.
hoi kʻum' x'i?+t ?a̱xil
then and here_is_where do

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

69. hoi eki̱ústam he hui t'i? kʻuná?s
hoi ?ek'un-st(u)-m he hui t'i? k' na+ʔ+s
then say -ct -nte that_is_right all_right evid 2nom get_wet
t'i? čeč'uy'ənís.
t'i? čeč' u y'c -ʔenís
evid fut 1pnom just cont -go_back

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

70. hoi utdéxt t-mus he gul'sux'ílg'es
hoi ut-deš+t t-mus he gul' -sex'=ílg'es
then again-they_go on-four art side_by_side -carry_little_property_on_back
εʔesel henmūšenč.
ʔe -ʔesl hn+mul+š=ənč
obl -two beaver

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

71. x'iy'e t-mus gul'c'ésel enmūšenč.
x'iy'e t-mus gul'22 -c -ʔesl hn+mul+š=ənč
these on-four plural -*** -two beaver

These four [beavers] each had two beavers.

22The original transcript has this transcribed as gut and not gul'. The latter fits the translation better.
72. hoi utčešən xₜu...t utpene'cwɨʃ tə ceťx*. hoi ut -čeʃ=šin xₜu ut -pene' -ec+wiš tə ceťx*
then again -follow proceed again -as_far_as-house art house

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

73. hoi utennépt y'a'pqín' hənмuɫšənč. hoi ut -nep t ya'o+p=qin hn+mul+s=ɛnč
then again -enter_pl many_assemble beaver

They again went in. Many beavers were assembled.

74. hoi k"ul'cəncút te hənмuɫšənč. hoi k"ul'=cin+ncut te hn+mul+s=ɛnč
then cook art beaver

Then they cooked the beavers.

75. hoi i'n hoi pintə əc'əmút. hoi ?i'n hoi pintə y'c -əm+ut
then eat then always cont -sit

Then they ate. They were always sitting.

76. gu'tənмuɫšənč x"iy'e smiy'me'ɛm. guft -hn+mul+s=ɛnč x"iy'e s+miy'ɛm+y'ɛm plural -beaver these women

These women were beavers.

77. hoi ciʔt ek'n hoi čənčətíp. hoi ciʔ+t ?ek"un hoi čn čtíp
then there say then lnom hunt

Then he said, "I am going hunting."

78. hoi x"ist. hoi x"is+t
then go
Then he went.
Then he proceeded to shoot a deer.

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

Then again, he shot another.

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

It was gone!
85. tmiš mit‘č’ede? hit tuk“ay’i’· g“t.
  tmiš mit‘č’ede? hit tuk“+y’+ig“t
just blood and bloodstained_here_and_there

There was just blood and here and there bloodstains.

86. hoi ut‘enis x“ut utc’el’al’ tē ṭecêtx“.
  hoi ut -’enis x“ut ut -c’el’+l’ tē ṭe -cêtx“
then again -go_back proceed again -arrive art obl -house

Then he went back and arrived at the house.

87. ek“n čayeč’i? x“iy’e sqil’tamx“et.
say hither-procure_game-deer this man -lpge

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

88. hoi k“um’ k“ul’cconcút x“iitch.23
  hoi k“um’ k“ul’=cin+ncut x“iť -***
then and cook hurry_at_something -***

Then it was cooked and they hurried at it.

89. hoi q“elt hoi k“um’ ṭnlš limt x“iy’e smiy’mēʔem.
  hoi q“el+t hoi k“um’ ṭnl-iš lim-t x“iy?e s+miy’em+y’em
then cook then and eat -pl glad-sta these women

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

90. li····mt.
  lim -t
  glad -sta

They were gla..d.

23Because of Reichard’s translation, I believe this should have been transcribed with -ilš for plural.
Then he said, "I was going to have two."

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

They were quiet. They laughed, but remained quiet.

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

He went and again shot more game.

He thought, "I will take care of this."
"I wonder, what [that other] one was eaten by?"

Then he hid among the bushes.

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

Then another long one.

There were just long legs!

The body was small.
This body was flat.

Then the deer lay there.

And he cut it this way and he ate it.

Now he [Coyote's son] shot it.

Then it died.

Then he went from there.

Then he saw another deer and again he shot it.
Then he procured two deer.

Then he butchered them.

He then carried them on his back.

Then again he came back; then back as far as the house.

They were quiet, those women. It was like they were crying.
Then he put the deer down.

They were not prepared for eating.

Then he sat down again.

The he took off his moccasins.

They did not speak.

He was not given anything to eat.

just person-one and eat here_is_where
ugul’n’ehíč’n’.

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

124. hoi itn hit ek’n he? g’íč’n 24 púlusán cišt ta
hoi ʔitn hit ʔek’un he g’íč-n pulut -s -n cišt-t ta
then eat and say art see-1serg kill -int-1serg long-sta art

sté’amalqšon ciy’e č’eč’en’aʔqín’.
st’+t+c’am+c’am+alq = šin ciy’e č’eč’en’e?+qn
long_legs that small_head

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

125. učey’ekəs t c’ú?c’u’um x’iy’e smý’meʔem.
u ɛst s -ʔek’un-s t c’u?+c’u’m x’iy’e s+miy’em+y’em
just fut int -say -3gen the_one_who cry these women

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

126. ek’n hanpipe?.
ʔek’un hn -pipe?
say 1gen -father

They said, "He was our father."

127. ek’n stim’ k’upic’əči’nəm’s.
ʔek’un stim’ k’up y’c -ʔečin -m-ʃ
say what 2pnom cont -be_the_matter -M-cont

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

24 The transcript translates this as, "look here."
They said, "You killed our father."

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

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

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

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

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25"t'u is used when introducing an answer to a question which cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no." See R 775.
Then again, he put his shoes on and got himself ready.

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

Then he stepped over him.

Then he gradually got up.

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

"I said to them that my kill had been eaten."
"And they did not say, 'He is our father.'"

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

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

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

"You follow me, in my tracks." He went and shot deer; who knows how many!"
144. hoi utćeć'anis.
  hoi ut -će-ćenis
then again -return

Then again he returned.

145. hoi x"ut utn'utx* ćećtx* he ćemex*maex*t te
hoi x"ut ut -n'utx* će-ćetx* he y'c-mex*+mex*+t te
then proceed again-enter obl-house art cont -laugh art

smiy'me?em ilímtałš t'i? g"ey'esk"úl'ant₄m
s+miy'em+y'em ii-lim -t-il₄ t'i? g"ey+et+s+k"ul'-n-t-m
women that_which-glad-sta-3pgen evid finish -d-t-nte

te ćeyc'itänt₄mp, he utlim₄t te smiy'me?em.
te ćeł s -y'c-ćiın₄mp he ut -lim₂t te s+miy'em+y'em
art fut int -cont-eat-2pgen art again -glad-sta art women

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

146. hoi ćek"n k"upgufsć'će'ilt.
hoi ćek"un k"up gut -s+ć'će=ilt
then say 2pnom plural -stupid

He said, "You are all stupid."

147. lutey'ak"ùstmel₄ pǐpe?et.
lut he ćeć -ćek"un-st(u) -mex(l) -p pǐpe? -et
not sub cust -say -ct -1acc -2perg father -1pgen

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

148. će ćek"ùstmel₄ k"um 'će?
će? ćek"un -st(u) -mex(l)-p k"um 'će?
ought say -ct -1acc-2perg and ought
"You ought to have told me, oughtn't you, then I would not have killed him!"

Then, the next morning, he left.

Then again he killed a deer;

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

Then he lay down and covered himself with his blanket.
Then his children came around.

They were playing.

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

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26 This is a mean expression used by a person who is jealous. A note states, "He is longing for some other women." See Reichard 1947, p.28.
Then he went. He thought, "I wonder what I could do so I could go back to Black Swan's house?"

He spoke in vain; it was just his talk.

Then he proceeded to go in.

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

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27 This is the sound made by spiders. See Reichard 1947, p.29.
65

163. k’um’ t’uw’e čněk’’e? lut x’e sənq’’ədaʔúxšən čən’ulé. k’um’ t’uw’e tč -nek’’+e? lut x’e s+hn+q’’deʔusšn čn_(?)+ul+e? and that person-another neg art root mine

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

164. ek’n tč tčnek’’e? lut čən’ulé x’i? təl’ x’i’ x’une’iy’a ?ek’un tč -nek’’+e? lut čn_(?)+ul+e? x’i? təl’ x’i? x’u+x’i? say art person-another neg it’s mine here from here this sənq’’ədaʔúxšən k’um’ x’i? q’i:’c’ uťx’i?ː s+hn+q’’deʔusšn k’um’ x’i?ː q’ic’ uť -x’i?ː root and here_is_where grows_(veg) again-here_is_where

áx’el. ʔax’il do

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

165. k’um’ lut čən’ulé lut həspəpəcən28. k’um’ lut čn_(?)+ul+e? lut he s-p’o+p’oc’ -st(u) -n and neg it’s mine neg sub int -smash29 -ct -lserg

"No, It’s mine! I didn’t smash it!"

166. ek’n t t’uw’e smayiw he guť həsile? ʔek’un t t’uw’e s+myiw he guť hn -sile? say the_one_who that coyote art plural 1gen -father’s_mother čətčənuy’uk’mp. čət čn y’c -ʔuk’’-mp fut 1nom cont -bring -2pgen

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

28The glottalization may come from the next sentence, which begins with ʔek’un.

29Reichard translates as, "he scabbed it." I am not familiar with this term and I could not find it in any dictionary. The root /p’oc’ is glossed at smash.
167. uguitqem.
   u gut -qem
   just plural -quiet

   They were silent.

168. ek"n k"n+e\? x\aq'\ontulm\an a\ct\acnum\unmp.
   \ek\un k\un+e\? x\aq'-\nt-ulmi-n a \ct -\xac=num\+n -mp
   say future pay-d-t-2pacc-1serg *** fut -clothing -2pgen

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

169. ac'ay\90 ugu\tqem lutac'\ac'\xst\anm.
   \ec -a+y\90 u gu\+ -qem lut-\ec -?ac\'\x -st(u) -m
   act -all_kinds just plural -silence neg-cust -look -ct -nte

   All were silent. He wasn't looked at.

170. lut ek\n he k\up'icq\9q\9\e\el\anm.
   lut \ek\un he k\up \hn -y\c -q\a\q\9\e\l -m
   neg say that_is_right 2pnom 1gen-cont -speak -M

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

171. uguitqem utm\9\i\9 du du ek\ústus he
   u gu\-qem ut -tmi\9 du du \ek\un -st(u)-s he
   just plural-silence again -just du du say -ct-3serg art

   k\up'a\ceyc\hotnmp esqilt\9 k"n+e\?
   k\up a \ct s -y\c\-\t\9\tn-mp \e -s+qilt\9 k"n+e\?
   2pnom *** fut int -cont-eat-2pgen obl -meat future

---

\30 I chose Nicodemus' gloss in this case, because it made more sense in this context.
They were silent. Just *du du*. He said, "I will give you each a sackful of meat."

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

"Come, I will pay you for hemp."

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

---

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

32 The translation says that this means, "brother's son" or nephew, but I could not find this anywhere. "Grandson" makes more sense here.
The one spider said, "Spiders might always wear clothes."

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

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

---

33 See note #32.

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

Then a box was taken.

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

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

---

35I am not sure how to interpret this. It might mean that he will pay them each, or maybe that the piece of hemp is from each of them.
č’i?=qin+t ʔek“un-st(u)-m ne? k“ č -təx“+təx“+iw’es k“um’
open_lid say -ct-nte irr 2nom hither-stop and
tel’ ci? ne? k“udex“t ne? x“i?+t k“u?axəl k“um’ ne?
tel’ ci? ne? k“ dex“+t ne? x“i?+t k“ ?axil k“um’ ne?
from there irr 2nom fall irr here_is_where 2nom do and irr
k“udex“t.
k“ -dex“+t
you -fall

"Open it," he was told, "when you stop, and from there you will fall further, if you do this.\(^{36}\)

184. hoi utšan’qintəm.
hoi ut -šen’=qin -t-m
then again -close_lid -t-m

"Then close the lid again."

185. hit dex“əmstəm hoi dex“tf… taχ“məncut.
hit dex“ -m-st(u)-m hoi dex“+t təx“+m+ncut
and lower -M-ct -nte then fall stop

He was lowered down, then he fell and stopped.

186. k“um’ x“i?+t āxəl k“um’ tel’ ci? dex“t.
k“um’ x“i?+t ?axil k“um’ tel’ ci? dex“+t
and here_is_where do and from there fall

And then this is what he did [rolled from side to side]\(^{37}\) and fell from there.

\(^{36}\)The transcript translates as, "roll about."

\(^{37}\)According to Reichard’s original transcription notes, he is to "roll around". There is also a footnote in Reichard 1947, p.80 about this motion. The motion reminds you of a spider’s motion.
Then he did this and fell four times.

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

Then he opened the lid and it was earth.

Then he stood up and again closed the lid.

Then he pulled on the rope.

The box went back up.
Then he went. "That is where our house used to be."

"It isn’t there anymore. It’s gone!"

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

Then he followed this [the trail].

He proceeded. "They camped [here]."

---

38x"iy'e is transcribed, but the translation glosses as, "here." x"i?', meaning, "here," makes more sense in this context.
They camped toward here. And a little distance away, there was a little fire.

Then they had moved camp.

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

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

39 Reichard's original transcript has the following note: "wife was packing long house made of reeds."
He [the baby] was said to, "Long ago your papa left."

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

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

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

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

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

210. ęk"n  k"um'  ečin'ę  čiʔəcmeʔəm'ınams  
?ek"un  k"um'  e  -čn_ʔe  čet-s-y'c  -meʔ+ʔ+m+min  -m-s  
say  and  prep-1s  fut-int-cont-send_away  -M-3gen  
četčaslék"uk.  
čet  čn  s  -lek"+uk"  
fut  1nom  int  -go_far_off  
She said, "And he keeps sending me away. I must go far off."

211.  hoi  ęż"n  t  .thumb's  səmyiw  hoi  teč"ənałš.  
hoi  ?ek"un  t  .thumb's  s+myiw  hoi  t'ęx"  -n  -iš  
then  say  the_one_who  that  coyote  then  kill  -1serg  -pl  
Then this coyote said, "Then I will kill them."

212. ęk"n  etmiš  ęč'iɬt  k"um'  ne  ?će"n  enčiʔ  łęk"uks.  
?ék"un  e-tmiš  ę  ęč'i+ʔ+t  k"um'  ne?  ?će"n  hn-ciʔ  łęk"+uk"-s  
say  prep-just  1nom  approach  and  irr  say  loc-there  go_far_off-*  
She said, "Just as we come close, he says 'go farther.'"

213. ęk"n  ni  lukęg"ičtxʷ  tə  ciʔ  ęč'idésdes  
?ék"un  neʔ  lut  he  g"ič-t-xʷ  tə  ciʔ  ęč  ęč-des+des  
say  irr  not  sub  see-t-2serg  art  there  1nom  hither-camp  
x"iʔt  apstq"fl'k"up.  
x"iʔ+ʔ  ?ẹpt  -s+t+q"il"=kup  
here_is_where  there_is  -fire  
She said, "Did you not see it there, where we camped? There was a fire."
"Then, at a distance, there was a fire. That was ours."

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

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

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

---

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

41 The transcript translates as, "she," but "he" fits this context.
She was said to, "Be swift. You lay me down and then you will untie me (from the bundle)."

219. hoi x*ui.
hoi x*uy
then go

Then she went.

220. hoi ččč'ič'i?t ek*ústom teč ci?øš
hoi č -č'ih+č'ih+t ?ek*un-st(u)-m teč ci? t
then hither -come_close say -ct -nte toward there -the_one_who

tel'ci? uqem x*ist x*ist x*ist.
tel' ci? qem x*is+t x*is+t x*is+t
from there just quiet go go go

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

221. hoi x*u† t'ék'*enc.
hoi x*u† t'ék' -n-t-s
then proceed lay -d-t-3serg

Then she proceeded to put him down.

222. čtaric'ë?enc te sax*ilg*es k*um'
č -tar+ic'ë -n-t-s te sex*=ilg*es k*um'
hither-untie_wrapping-d-t-3serg art carry_little_property_on_back and

ek*ústom te ?esmøyîw ne? stim' te scî'atix*øms
?ek*un-st(u)-m te e -s+myîw ne? stim' te ***
say -ct-nte art prep-coyote irr what art ***
paʔaχmíntəm.
maʔaχ -min-t-m
*** -rel-t-nte

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

223. kʷum' kʷučašápstq xʷət'í·iš xʷiy'a sqʷásq'əseʔəs.
kʷum' kʷ češ+a³-p-stq xʷet' -iš xʷiyʔə s+qʷas+qʷəseʔ-s
and 2nom follow_against_orders get_up -dev this son -3gen

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

224. xʷetəš ic'úʔumš.
xʷet' -iš y'c -c'uʔ-m-iš
get_up -dev cont -cry -dev

He slowly got up and he was crying,

225. xʷiʔ ušát xʷiʔ t ac'áxəl
xʷiʔ u+šišt xʷiʔ + t y'c -ʔəxəl
here just here_is_where cont -do

qʷiʔtmíšən xʷiyʔə hasmiʔ'əm.
qʷiy'+ t -min-si-n xʷiyʔə hν -s+miyʔəm
pity -rel-2acc-1serg this 1gen -wife

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

42One would expect Coyote to speak directly to Black Swan here, but she seems to be addressed in the third person. In the next line Coyote uses the second person.
The son stood up and took a stick. He brained his father.

Then he beat Snipe.

Then he killed his younger brothers.

Then he went towards his mother.
He was said to, "No. It is not my fault, I did not intend to treat her this way, my son."

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

That is the end of the road.
The entries are in the following alphabetical order:

a b c c' č č' d e g* h i j k* k' l l' m m' n n' o p p' q q' qw q'* r r' s š t t' u w w' x* ť x* y y' ė ė' c' c'* c'* ?

The entries are in bold type. Stress marks are not used in the entries. A simple gloss in italics follows each entry. Entries with a hyphen (−) are affixes. Entries which include morpheme breaks, indicated by (+) or (=), have each morph referenced whenever possible. If the stem was found in Reichard 1939 it is either preceded by a /, with the corresponding gloss, or referenced as being in the "Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections" section of the same work. References to Nicodemus 1975 are cited as Nicodemus Dictionary. References to Doak 1997 have her name and the section number listed. Reference to Reichard 1938 are cited with R and the paragraph number. Parentheses at the end of the line include the number of times the entry is found in this text, followed by the sentence numbers in the interlinearization. When there are more than 25 occurrences for a given gloss, no line numbers are given.
a- prep; general preposition R 371 variation of ε-. (4) 4, 28, 64, 156

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

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

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

caq = if + ce' broil meat; /caq, solid object stands upright; =it meat R 497; -ce? all around, all over R 533. Reichard says that when -ce? is used with -it it means meat or body R 497. (1) 140

cegw + t treated; /ceg' behave, have character; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 207

cen- under; Doak 2.2.2.1.

cenel he; predicative pronoun Doak 3.4.

cen + c'el + e = scint stand under people; cen-, under Doak 2.2.2.1; /c'el, one stands ε-, prep R 371; =scint, people R 505. (1) 45

cen + k"in protect, save; cen- under, off of Doak 2.2.2.1; /k"in either sing, or take hold of one small object. (2) 140, 142

cetx" house; /cetx" house. (6) 31, 72, 86, 115, 145, 193

ciš tall; /ciš be tall. (1) 124

cliš + t tall; /cliš be tall; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 48

cliš + t long; /cliš be tall. (4) 100, 101, 200

ciy'e that; demonstrative adjective, that near thee R 700. (1) 124

ci? there; demonstrative adverb, there near thee R 702. (17) 27, 80, 109, 128, 156, 176, 178, 183, 199, 204, 212, 213, 214, 216, 220, 232

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ci'\, all right. (3) 14, 177

ci'\,+\, t \, there; demonstrative adverb with connective R 703. (2) 77, 152

cici'y\, e \, younger sister; \,/cici'y\, e \, younger sister. (1) 64

cmi\, used to be; \,/cmi\, it was to be but is not. (3) 141, 152, 193

cup\,=\, cen \, grass noise; \, cup\, \, ?; \, =cen mouth R 475. (1) 182

c'el \, one stands; \,/c'el\, one stands. (2) 190, 226

c'el\,+\, l\, arrive; \,/c'el\, stand up; CVC+VC it came to be R 607. (3) 15, 48, 86

c'eq\, butcher; \,/c'eq\, butcher. (3) 42, 82, 112

c'i\, deer; \,/c'i\, deer. (7) 79, 87, 105, 110, 117, 143, 150

c'uk\, \,t\, c\,=\, sin \, cane; \, Nicodemus glosses as walking stick. (1) 46

c'u\,+\, c'u\, m \, cry; \,/c'u\,um \, cry, weep. (2) 116, 125

č- \, hither; \, R 413. (8) 63, 68, 87, 97, 183, 219, 220, 222

č \, Ipnom; \, 1st person predicative pronoun Doak 3.4. (6) 51, 69, 176, 208, 212, 213

čat\,+\, x\,er\,+\, ŝ \, step over; \, čet- \, over R 398; \,/x\,er \, step over person ceremonially. (1) 135

čě- \, hither; \, R 412. (7) 14, 66, 67, 83, 114, 154, 226

čě\,+\, ěnis \, return; \, čć- \, hither R 412; \,/ěnis depart. (1) 144

čelipep \, leave; \, this is cognate with Okanagan ucklip \, A. Mattina. (3) 32, 203, 205

čěř \, fut; \, future R 757. (25) 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 26, 34, 43, 44, 52, 69, 91, 122, 125, 141, 145, 148, 166, 168, 171, 178, 181, 210

čěm' \, take; \,/čěm' \, take hold of pl. objects. (1) 50
češ+a’p+stq follow against orders; ʃčeš accompany; a’p (?); -stq in opposition to ʃ R 542. (1) 223

češ=šin follow; ʃčeš accompany; =šin leg R 482. (3) 72, 143, 196

čet- above; above, on surface Doak 2.2.2.2.1, R 398. (6) 11, 13, 20, 22, 175, 201

četpk”inč called. (1) 8

čet+q’et’p top; čet- on surface, above R 398; ʃq’et’p go up incline (1) 38

čet+yil’x”+n cover with material; čet- on surface R 398; ʃyil’x” cover with material; -n (?). (1) 153

če” ought; R 780. (6) 5, 6, 148

čc- hither; shortened form is č- R 413. (19) 24, 31, 48, 51, 66, 83, 91, 92, 100, 106, 113, 114, 151, 161, 188, 209, 213

čic arrive; ʃčic arrive. (1) 134

čiť give; ʃčiť give; uses the lone t transitivizer Doak 4.2.1.2. (3) 49, 122, 180

či”tes three; R 636. (1) 231

čč+ččen’ take hold; čč hither R 413; ʃčen’ take hold of a large object. (1) 52

ččtip hunt; ʃččtip hunt. (2) 77, 94

čn Inom; Doak 3.1 1st person intransitive subject (17) 5, 11, 12, 14, 18, 51, 52, 54, 77, 91, 92, 94, 142, 159, 166, 210

čn” ʃ Is; 1st person singular independent pronoun Doak 3.4, Nicodemus Dictionary. (3) 5, 142, 210

čn”ul+če” it’s mine; 1st person possessive predicate Doak 3.4. (3) 162, 164, 165

čs- from behind; Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (1) 19

člipust that is ours; Doak 3.4, Table 8. (1) 214

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č'am' just; ʃč'am' just. (3) 26, 231

č'è+č'èn' one long object lies; CV+CVC diminutive small subject R 604; ʃč'èn' one round object. (1) 52

č'èč'èn'è? small; Nicodemus Dictionary

č'èč'èn'è?=qin small head; small Nicodemus Dictionary; =qin head R 489. (1) 124

č'ih approach; ʃč'ih approach, get near. (2) 202

č'it child of; R offspring, child of 377a. (1) 206

č'ih+č'ih+t come close; CVC+CVC plural reduplication R 592; ʃč'ih approach, get near; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 220

č'it+č'it be near; CVC+CVC plural reduplication R 592; ʃč'it be near. (1) 68

č'i?=qin open lid; ʃč'i? open, uncover, unveil; =qin head, tip, top R 489. (2) 183, 189

č'i+?+n worry; ʃč'in dangerous; ? infix used for inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. (1) 25

č'i+?+t approach; ʃč'it be near; ? infix used for inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3 (1) 212

č'min hear; Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 188

č'u gone; ʃč'u be absent, gone, missing. (3) 84, 92, 194

des+des camp; CVC+CVC plural R 592; ʃdes camp. (1) 213

des+t camp; ʃdes camp; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 197, 198

dex" lower; ʃdex" lower, descend, dismount. (1) 185

dex"+t fall; ʃdex" lower, descend, dismount; -t used with some verbs of action R 301 (6) 55, 183, 185, 186, 187
**dex**+**ux** envious; \( \sqrt{\text{dex}} \) lower, descend, dismount; CVC+VC inchoative R 607.

(1) 58

**dex**+t they go; \( \sqrt{\text{dex}} \) pl. go, depart, travel, this stem actually changes for the plural; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 66, 70

**dehit** unusual; \( \sqrt{\text{dehit}} \) exceptionally, surprisingly. (1) 17

**dolq**+ exert; \( \sqrt{\text{dolq}} \) person is strong. (1) 54

**e- prep**; general preposition R 371 (21)

-**et** Ipgen; first person plural genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (9) 19, 65, 87, 128, 131, 139, 147, 193

**gul** side by side; under; almost touching, under ledge, or inclined plane R 407. (3) 68, 70, 123

**gul’c** each. (1) 71

**gult** plural; verbalizing or demonstrative pluralizing element R 389. (16) 71, 76, 92, 93, 116, 130, 146, 162, 166, 167, 169, 172, 175, 228

**gult=ip+ew’es=šin** all in one piece; gut plural R 389; =ip bottom, behind, after R 463; -ew’es between, together, in contact R 537; =šin foot, leg R 482 (?). (1) 178

**gu+g”ax+t=il’t** baby; \( \sqrt{\text{g”ax}} \) to be young; CV+CVC diminutive R 604; also "labialization may vocalize preceding a labialized consonant" Doak 2.3.2; -t (?) =il’t offspring R 502. (4) 2, 3, 152, 202

**g’esmn** hemp; \( \sqrt{\text{g’es}} \) spin, twist thread, Nicodemus glosses this as canvas, gunnysack. (3) 173, 176, 177

**g”ey’+et+k”ul’** finish; \( \sqrt{\text{g”ey’}} \) finish; et connector Doak 5.3.1.1; \( \sqrt{\text{k”ul’}} \) fix. (1) 145

**g”ič** see; \( \sqrt{\text{g”ič}} \) see, note that root requires only loan t transitivizer Doak 4.2.1.2. (11) 16, 20, 34, 40, 44,45, 110, 124, 195, 200, 213
(gs) be high; /gs is be high. (1) 48

g^is+t be high; /g^is be high; -t used with some verbs of aciton R 301. (3) 27, 48, 100

g^is+i^s rise; /g^is Nicodemus; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. (1) 192

he sub; subordinator used with negative Doak 2.4.2.2. (14) 3, 27, 92, 118, 121, 122, 129, 131, 137, 139, 140, 147, 165, 213

he art; definite article R 723. (20) 12, 44, 48, 63, 64, 70, 100, 124, 140, 145, 160, 166, 170, 171, 191

he that is right; Nicodemus Dictionary (3) 69, 142, 170

he he ha; laughing sound (4) 63, 64

hiče? where; /hiče? where. (1) 159

hit and; connective, R 801. (14) 2, 3, 32, 65, 85, 98, 123, 124, 162, 175, 176, 185, 198, 231

hn- loc; locative, in, on Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (8) 14, 27, 48, 100, 180, 192, 196, 212

hn- Isgen; first person genitive, not necessarily singular Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (13) 6, 9, 25, 49, 53, 126, 143, 166, 170, 172, 174, 225

hn+ćen+ćen*x*=ups defecate on people; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; CVC+CVC plural R 592; /ćen*x* bump into; =ups anus R 456. (1) 44

hn+ć'u+p=ilg*es become lonesome; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /ć'u be absent, gone, missing, empty; -p involuntary R 306; =ilg*es property R 508. (1) 152

hn+ii my; hn- Isgen Doak 2.2.2.2.1; ii for which R 375. (1) 130

hn+k"i?c nightfall; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /k"i?c early in morning, dusk. Nicodemus glosses as nightfall. (1) 42

hn+miy=ip conscious of danger; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /miy make clear, know; =ip bottom R 463. (1) 26

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hn + mul + š = eņč beaver; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /mul dip up; -š ?; =eņč hollow, belly R 493 (?). (7) 64, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76

hn + suxʷ = eņeʔ + min understand; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /suxʷ be acquainted with, know; =eņeʔ ear R 473; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2. Nicodemus says this literally means "he recognized with his ear, he came to understand (a new language)". (1) 44

hn + šet’ = ul’umxʷ spike into ground; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /šet’ level or, one long object projects; =ul’umxʷ ground R 486. (1) 47

hn + xʷ at + p = alqs the end of the road; hn- Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /xʷet come to an end, be exhausted; -p involuntary R 306; =alqs end R 477. Reichard comments on page 707, footnote 220, that this is a formal ending to a story. (1) 232

hn + yaʔ rip rear of house; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /yaʔ rip rear of house. (1) 216

hn + ʔitn + s + čint + eņ man eater; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /ʔitn eat; /s + čint person; eņ- one who R 389. (1) 141

hoi then, now. (141)

hoi cease; /hoi cease. (1) 132

hoi + yaR + ul leave alone; /hoi cease; /yaR assemble; -ul habitually R 443. (1) 156

hui all right; Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 69

ii that which; that which, the one who Doak 2.2.2.1.1, R 375. (2) 145, 175

ii + y’c + ʔi + n food; ii that which Doak 2.2.2.1.1; y’c continuative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; -iʔ /ʔitn eat; -n nominalizer R 571. (1) 50

-ilš pl; optional third person plural enclitic Doak 3.2. (10) 20, 89, 92, 137, 138, 139, 211, 231

-ilš 3pgen; third person plural genitive pronominal Doak 3.3. (1) 145
in- 2gen; inflectional prefix for second person genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.1. 
(7) 31, 137, 203, 208, 209, 230

-iš dev; developmental, to a point or place Doak 2.2.2.2. 
(9) 119, 135, 136, 158, 174, 190, 223, 224, 226

k" 2nom; intransitive nominative second person singular Doak 3.1 & Reichard 174. 
(19) 25, 44, 45, 69, 140, 141, 177, 182, 183, 218, 223

k"in catch, take; /k"in catch, take, take hold of one small object. 
(6) 6, 52, 57, 179, 209, 226

k"um' and, then; stem list adverb, conjunctions and interjections. 
(38)

k"up 2pnom; intransitive nominative second person plural Doak 3.1 
(8) 127, 130, 146, 170, 171, 172, 174

k"up+gul'+nêk"'+ê' for each of you; k"up 2pnom Doak 3.1; gul’c each R 391; 
nê+k" one R 636 & 646; -ê' R 646. 
(2) 171, 178

k"u+ê' your; predicative pronoun second person singular Doak 3.4. 
(1) 17

k"u’ve’eng’t you; predicative pronoun second person singular, 
"...may stand alone as predicates or may serve as emphatic adjuncts." Doak 3.4. 
(1) 32

k"inš how many; interrogative Nicodemus Dictionary p. 12 #4. 
(1) 143

k"it’=šin take off moccasins; /k"it’ take off clothes; =šin foot R 482. 
(1) 120

k"n+ê' soon, future; R 528 & Doak 4.4.1. 
(9) 5, 55, 56, 132, 168, 171, 173, 182

k"ul’ fix; /k"ul’ do, make, fix. 
(1) 118

k"ul’=cin+ncut cook; /k"ul’ make; =cin mouth R 475; -ncut reflexive R 567, 
Doak 2.2.2.2.2. 
(2) 74, 88

k"k’infeld’e’ in a short while; stem list Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. 
(1) 100

la’ax’ morning; /la’ax’ be daytime, morning, tomorrow. 
(4) 18, 19, 94, 149

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lek”  
be far;  
lek” be far.  
(1) 212

lek”+uk”  
go far off;  
lek” be far;  
CVC+VC inchoative R 607;  
labialization of the  
final consonant seems to be dropped in these cases.  
(3) 32, 210, 212

lek”+ut  
distance;  
lek” be far;  
ут state of R 447.  
(1) 214

lep’x”=šin  
toe perforated;  
lep’x” fit into (as ball and socket);  
šin foot R 482.  
(1) 156

lim  
glad;  
lim glad.  
(3) 89, 90, 145

lim+t  
glad;  
lim glad.  
-т R 301.  
(1) 145

ludidi  
ludidi;  
is this the sound of spiders spinning  
Reichard (1947) p 29.  
(4) 161, 162

lup  
dry;  
lup be dry, thirsty.  
(1) 42

lut  
neg;  
lut be mischievous, not, negative.  
(25)

l’e+lek”+ut  
little distance;  
CV+CVC diminutive R 603;  
glottalization of l (?);  
lek” be far;  
ут state of R 447.  
(1) 198

†  
the one who;  
connective Adverbs, Connectives and Interjections & R 799.  
(9) 6, 43, 125, 129, 142, 166, 174, 211, 220

-†-  
P;  
possessor applicative used with -т Doak 2.2.2.2.2, see also 4.2.3.  
(2) 130, 138

†a  
art;  
is this the article for something far away or less intimate R 708, seems to be a  
harmonizing alternate with †e.  
(21) 1, 5, 6, 16, 19, 22, 27, 37, 61, 65, 94, 103, 124, 202, 209, 214, 227, 228, 229

†e  
art;  
is this the article for something far away or less intimate R 708.  
(50)

†oq”  
also, and;  
and, also Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections.  
(4) 13, 101, 198, 229

†uk”+y’+ig”t  
bloodstained here and there;  
†uk” bloodstained Nicodemus  
Dictionary;  
y’?;  
-ig”t here and there.  
(1) 85
that is where; demonstrative R 703. (2) 162, 193

tuw'a that; demonstrative R 700. tuw'a seems to be in harmonic distribution with tuw'c. (1) 28

tuw'c that; demonstrative R 700. (12) 2 5, 6, 116, 151, 156, 163, 166, 175, 201, 208, 211

-m M; intransitive suffix for agent, middle, antipassive Doak 2.2.2.2.2 & Doak 4.1.2. (22) 8, 14, 19, 25, 44, 46, 52, 81, 96, 100, 120, 133, 141, 150, 153, 170, 173, 174, 185, 191, 208.

-m nte; non topic ergative Doak 3.2.1. (30)

mel'- from; from, near Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (1) 47

mel'+ne? what; mel' from Doak 2.2.2.2.1; ne? irrealis, conjecture Doak 4.4.2. (1) 9

mex"+mex"+t laugh; /mex" laugh; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -t used with some verbs of action R 607 (3) 63, 93, 145

mey know; /mey know (1) 140

me?l'i wonder; I couldn't find this in the stem list, but I found it on p. 669 of Reichard 1938 (2) 6, 159

me?+?+m+min send away; /me?m send away; -?+ inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 37, 208, 210 Doak 2.2.2.2.2

-me(l)- lacc; first person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 129, 137, 147, 148

-mi- 2acc; second person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (2) 52, 53

mimš box; /mimš. (2) 179, 192

-min- rel; relational derivational suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 133, 222, 230

mit'č'ede? blood; /mit'č'ede? blood. (1) 85
mlqn = ups eagle; /mlqnups eagle; Nicodemus notes this derivation: mlqn dark and =ups tail. (3) 12, 13, 16

-mp 2pgen; second person plural genitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (7) 33, 131, 145, 156, 166, 168, 171

mus four; /mus four. (4) 70, 71, 181, 187

-n d; directional Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (48)

-n Iserg; first singular transitive subject Doak 3.2. (21) 6, 9, 16, 26, 50, 52, 53, 97, 124, 138, 140, 142, 145, 165, 168, 173, 176, 211, 230

na + ? + s get wet; /nas get wet; -?- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. (2) 65, 69

-n cut reflex; -sut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. I'm not sure about the n- and -t preceding it. It seems to be the directional and transitive. (7) 54, 59, 133, 153, 185, 230

nek' + e? one, another; nek' one R 636; -e? R 646. (16) 2, 12, 14, 44, 45, 81, 83, 96, 101, 123, 151, 162, 163, 164

nept enter pl; /nept plural enter. (1) 73

ne? irr; particle indicating irrealis, or conjecture Doak 4.4.2 (25)

ne? k'un think; /ne?k'un think. (5) 5, 80, 97, 152, 159

ne? mn'us I don't know; Stem list under Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (1) 178

nič' cut; /nič' cut with blade and Doak 4.1.2.2 #74. (1) 106

ni? + ?em + iš among [bushes]; ni? amidst Doak 2.2.2.2.1; i?em sit; -iš developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 99

nu? ne? mother; /nu?ne? mother. (2) 229, 230

n'a č' + t + it downstream; /n'a č' downstream; -t used with some verbs of action R 301; -i? direction "-ward" R 539. (1) 64
n'eh=ičn' turn backs; n'eh ičn' back R 459. (1) 123

n'utxʷ enter; n'ulxʷ enter. (4) 28, 31, 145, 161

-p 2perg; second person plural transitive subject Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 34, 129, 147, 148

-p inch; intransitive suffix, involuntary, inchoative. (2) 30, 59

pene as far as; as far as R 793. (2) 72, 115

pič+c'i?+ixʷ=ups defecate on elk; /speč+c'i? elk; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -ixʷ willingly R 455; =ups anus area R 456. (1) 46

pintč always; stem list under Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (2) 75, 175

pipe? father; /pipe? father. (10) 24, 126, 128, 131, 139, 147, 156, 208, 109, 226

pis=t'ey't big; /pis pl. objects are big; t'ey't? R 525. (1) 21

pulut kill; /pulut kill, injure. (3) 124, 128, 148

pul'yahal Mole; proper name Doak p.148. (1) 231

p'acahaca p'acahaca; sound of beaver's tail hitting something. (1) 65

p'il sit; /p'il person sits. (2) 13, 20

p'o+p'oc' smash; CV+CVC reduplication for distributive "here and there" R 596 /p'oc' smash. (1) 165

qil'tč=alqs clothes; /qil'tč flesh, meat; =alqs clothes R 471. (1) 175

qa+qicč little older brother; CV+CVC use of reduplication seems to make this the diminutive little "older brother" R 603; /qicč older brother. (1) 32

qelpye Black Swan; /qelpye black swan. (8) 2, 4, 5, 32, 37, 152, 156, 159

qem quiet; /qem be unconcerned, pay no attention. (8) 93, 116, 167, 169, 171, 172, 220

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q'esp  long ago; \(\sqrt{q}\)esp be long time, long ago. (2) 203, 205

q'\(\varepsilon\)=\(\sin\)  shoes; \(\sqrt{q}\)\(\varepsilon\) stick to; \(=\sin\) foot R 482. (1) 133

q'ic'  grows (veg); \(\sqrt{q}\)ic' vegetation grows. (1) 164

q'up'+t  rain; \(\sqrt{q}\)up' rain; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 62

q''a?q''e?l  speak; \(\sqrt{q}a?q'e?l\) speak, talk. (1) 172

q''iy'+t  pity; \(\sqrt{q}''iy'\) pity; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 225

q''iy'+q''iy'+t  pitiful; \(\sqrt{q}''iy'\) pitiful; CVC+CVC distributive plural R 595; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 207

q''u'+q''a'+q''e?l  talk; \(\sqrt{q}a?q'e?l\) talk, speak; CVC+CVC reduplication for plural distribution R 592. (3) 43, 121, 160

q''el+t  cook; \(\sqrt{q}''el\) cook, burn; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 89

q''en'p'+min+cut=alq''  hide self at base of tree; \(\sqrt{q}'en'p'\) disappear, go out of sight; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2; -cut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2; =alq'' tree R 498. (1) 68

q''i?l  move camp; \(\sqrt{q}''i?l\) moves camp, village travels. (2) 195, 199

-s  3gen; third person genitive Doak 3.3. (30)

-s  3serg; third person ergative Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (49)

-s-  int; intentional Doak 2.2.2.2.1 also see Doak 4.4.4.4.4. (23)

sex''  carry on-back; \(\sqrt{sex}''\) carry on back, uses the lone transitivizer -t Doak 4.2.1.2. (6) 70, 83, 113, 151, 215, 222

sex''=ilg''es  carry little property on back; \(\sqrt{sex}''\) carry on back; \(=ilg''es\) property R 508. (4) 70, 200, 222

-se(l)-  1acc; first person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (8) 130, 138, 143, 215, 216, 217, 218
-si- 2acc; second person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 49, 140, 142, 230

sic'+m blanket; /sic' to blanket; -m intransitive suffix for middle Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (2) 62, 153

sile* grandparent, grandson, mother’s father; /sile? mother’s father. Note that on one line in the text 176, the translation is nephew. I could not find any reference to this gloss. This could perhaps have just been a mistake when translating, because the subject referred to is clearly the grandson. (7) 52, 53, 56, 166, 172, 174, 176

since? younger brother; /since? younger brother. (1) 228

si+since? younger brother; /since? younger brother; CV+CVC possibly used for diminutive or modesty R 604, 605 since since? already means younger brother. (1) 49

siyol=alq* stick; /siyol+alq* stick; =alq* suffix refers to a long object R 432, but is included in the root. (1) 226

slip’ stick; /slip’ be wood. (2) 52, 65

-st(u) ct; causative transitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (46)

s+cicem*=il’t+l’t children; s- nominalizer R 373; /cicem’ are small; =il’t offspring, child R 502; I am not sure about the reduplication in this case, since it seems to be reduplicating the suffix, not the root. Evidence of reduplication may also be noticed in the root itself. (3) 33, 152, 154

s+cint people; /s+cint people (2) 43, 44

s+c’ec=ilt stupid; s- nominalizer R 373; /c’ec stupid; =ilt offspring, child R 502. (1) 146

s+hn+c’am+qs top; s- nominalizer R 373; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /c’am be surface; -qs ? (1) 12

s+hn+q’em=il’t=ups power /dung/; /s+hn+q’em+il’tups dung (Coyote’s powers); s- nominalizer R 373; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /q’em swallow; =il’t offspring from R 502; =ups anus R 456. (1) 8
s+hn+q'"de'usšn root; /s+hn+q'"de'usšn root. (2) 163, 164

s+jey'jey'+t+s ugly; s- nominalizer R 373; /jey'jey' be ugly, homely, unsightly. (1) 5

s+miy'ėm wife, woman; /s+miy'ėm wife woman; (3) 63, 200, 225

s+miy'ėm+y'ėm women; wives; /s+miy'ėm women, wife; Reduplication for plural does not seem to follow the normal pattern. The reduplication is on the final CVC. (8) 2, 76, 89, 116, 125, 145, 156

s+miyw coyote; /s+miyw coyote. (11) 1, 5, 7, 14, 25, 30, 61, 166, 206, 222

s+pan' spouse; s- nominalizer R 373; /pan' be spouse. (1) 156

s+p'itič'ė' elk; /s+p'itič'ė' elk. (3) 40, 45, 49

s+qiltč meat, body; s- nominalizer R 373; /qiltč flesh, meat. (4) 60, 103, 104, 171

s+qil'tumx* man, husband; s- nominalizer R 373; /qil'tumx* man, husband. (3) 32, 65, 87

s+q"as+q"ase* child, son; /s+q"as+q"ase* child. (7) 16, 22, 38, 61, 223, 226, 230

s+ši'?mš oldest; s- nominalizer R 373; /ši'?mš oldest, be first; =mš people R 506 (3) 1, 11, 49

s+tč'ig"el ladder; /s+tč'ig"el Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 17

s+t'ėde? grass; /s+t'ėde? grass. (2) 182, 188

stim' what; direct interrogative "what is it?" R 811. (5) 25, 98, 127, 129, 222

s+t+č'am+č'am=alq=šin long legs; /s+t'č'amč'amalqšen Nicodemus Dictionary. Sometimes this seems to be a proper name in the story. Note: There is a stem /s+t'č'im' which means unidentifiable animal. (4) 48, 100, 102, 124

s+t+q"il'=kup fire; s- nominalizer R 373; t- on, part of R 393; /q"il' kindle, light make fire; =kup fire, fuel R 480. (2) 213, 214
\[s + t + q^i + q^i\hat{l} = \text{kup} \quad \text{little fire;} \quad \text{s- nominalizer R 373; -t on, part of R 393; /q^i\hat{l} \quad \text{kindle, light, make fire; CV+CVC diminutive R 604; =kup fire R 480. (1) 198}

\[s + x^wuy + n \quad \text{tracks;} \quad \text{s- nominalizer R 373; /x^wuy go; -n nominalizer R 571. (1) 143}

\[-\hat{s} \quad \text{imp;} \quad \text{imperative, Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 32, 50, 215}

\[-\hat{s} \quad \text{cont;} \quad \text{combined with y’c and -m suffix creates a continuative antipassive Doak 2.4.1.4.3. (2) 116, 127}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}n’=\text{qin} \quad \text{close lid;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}n’ one flat object lies; =qin top R 489. (2) 184, 190

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}\hat{c}’+\text{min} \quad \text{hear;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}\hat{c}’ wait; -\text{min used for R 452. (1) 46}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}l \quad \text{chop;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}l \text{ chop. (2) 52, 57}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}l+i\hat{w}’es=\text{\hat{s}in} \quad \text{chop leg;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}l \text{ chop, split; -i\hat{w}’es between R 537; -\text{\hat{s}in leg R 482. (3) 52, 53, 56}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}l+\text{men} \quad \text{ax;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}l \text{ chop, split 1 chop, split; -men instrumental R 452 and R 872 (1) 57}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}\hat{s} \quad \text{s.o.; some one Doak 4.2.1.3. (1) 177}

\[\hat{s}\hat{e}\hat{t}’ \quad \text{take care of;} \quad \hat{s}\hat{e}\hat{t}’ take care of. (2) 11, 97

\[\hat{s}=\text{alq”} \quad \text{tree;} \quad \hat{s} \, ?; =\text{alq” log, sticklike object, tree R 498. (1) 62}

\[-\hat{t} \quad \text{sta;} \quad \text{intransitive suffix for resultive of stative Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (7) 48, 89, 90, 124, 145, 207}

\[-\hat{t}- \quad \text{tran;} \quad \text{transitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (61)}

\[\text{tač} \quad \text{toward;} \quad \text{Nicodemus Dictionary. This alternates with teč depending on vowel harmony. (1) 216}

\[\text{tal’q} \quad \text{stamp;} \quad \text{tal’q step on, touch with foot. (1) 100}

\[\text{tar+ic’e?} \quad \text{untie wrapping;} \quad \text{tar untie; -ic’e? wrapping R 533. (2) 218, 222}
t+caq+caq+iw'es stop, set down; t- on, part of R 393; /caq solid object stands upright; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -iw'es have contact with R 537. Nicodemus says this means "to put down from above." (1) 181

t+caq=ine? hear; t- on, part of R 393; /caq solid object stands upright; =ine? ear 473. Nicodemus says this root means "a receptacle stands with concave side up." (3) 43, 63, 182

t+caq+iw'es nest; t- on, part of R 393 /caq solid object stands upright; -iw'es between, together, be in contact R 537. (1) 13

t+c'ep=asq'it heaven, sky; t- on, part of R 393; /c'ep be surface; =asq'it sky, atmosphere R 472. Nicodemus says this means literally "vault of the sky." (2) 10, 28

të- thither; toward there Doak 2.2.2.2.1. (8) 6, 45, 56, 202, 206, 209, 230

tëë toward; Nicodemus Dictionary. (7) 27, 66, 83, 195, 198, 214, 220

tel' from; adverb for comparative degree R 821. (11) 27, 80, 100, 109, 162, 164, 183, 186, 199, 204, 220

ten+ten pull; /ten pull on a line; CVC+CVC plural 592. (1) 191

tëxʷ+m+ncut stop; /texʷ stop; -m middle Doak 2.2.2.2.2; -ncut reflexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 185

tëxʷ+tëxʷ+iw'es stop; /texʷ stop; CVC+CVC plural 592; -iw'es come in contact R 537 (1) 183

të+kʷin tell; tê- thither R 416; /kʷin sing. (1) 35

tgʷel' because, why; causal clause, that is the reason R 802. (4) 25, 32, 129, 176

tiʔ+tiʔt fly; /tiʔt fly; CVC+CVC plural R 592. (1) 20

tiʔ+tiy'aqʷ+t fight; /tiy'aqʷ fight; CVC+CVC plural R 592

t+mixʷ=ul'umxʷ earth; on, part of R 393; /mixʷ hang in bunches (earth as it appears from sky); =ul'umxʷ ground R 486. (3) 38, 182, 189
tmíš  *just.* (7) 85, 102, 123, 151, 171, 178, 212

tor=us  *beckon;* /tor streach out, extend (as hand); =us eye R 478. (5) 14, 25, 26

tupen'  *spider;* /tupen' spider. (1) 175

t+ixes=ši+n+iw’es  *good to feet;* t- on, part of R 393; /šas be well, be good; =šin feet R 482; -iw’es be in contact R 537. (1) 17

t’ap  *kill, shoot;* /t’ap shoot. (9) 41, 79, 96, 107, 110, 130, 138, 143, 150

t’ap+min  *arrow;* /t’ap arrow; -min instrumental R 452. (1) 62

t’ap+t’ap  *shoot;* /t’ap shoot; CVC+CVC plural, distributive R 592. (1) 81

t’aš+t  *be swift;* /t’aš be swift; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 301

t’at’aq’in’  *Snipe.* (8) 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 35, 209, 227

t’ek’w+uk’w  *fall down;* /t’ek’w one lies; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. (1) 182

t’ek’w+i  *lay;* /t’ek’w one lies; -i exageragion Doak 2.3.9.2 (1) 24

t’ešw  *kill;* /t’ešw die, kill plural. (1) 211

t’ešw+ušw  *die;* /t’ešw die; CVC+VC inchoative R 607. Nicodemus says that this word is only used in reference to people. (3) 6, 9, 108

t’ik’w+t’ik’w+ut  *old;* /t’ik’w old; CVC+CVC plural R 592; -ut state of R 447. (1) 162

ti’o  *already, evid;* already, surely, absolutely, quite R 782. (8) 20, 21, 27, 65, 69, 145, 152

tu  *t’u;* necessary to introduce the answer to a question if it be not merely "yes" or "no" R 775. (1) 128

t’ašw  *fault;* /t’ašw fault. (1) 230
tče-  person; prefix used when numbers refer to people R 643. (13) 2, 12, 14, 44, 45, 123, 162, 163, 164, 231

tče'ig'el  climb; Nicodemus Dictionary. (4) 11, 22, 23, 27

u  just; prefix of emphasis R 386, Doak 2.2.3. (16) 19, 25, 26, 38, 70, 93, 123, 125, 160, 167, 169, 171, 172, 182, 188, 220

ul-  belonging to; belonging to R 377, Doak 2.2.3. (1) 13

-ulmi-  2pacc; second person plural object Doak 2.2.2.2. (3) 130, 168, 173

uɬ-  again; locative or directional prefix Doak 2.2.2.2.1 (63)

u+šišil'  flat; u inherent Doak 2.2.3; šišil' very fine. (1) 104

-ul  at place; directional suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2 (3) 75, 163, 201

u+št  just; u immediate Doak 2.2.3; št fit, be exact, correct. (6) 43, 51, 52, 181, 187, 225 with root for "be fitting"

wiš  dwell; šwiš dwell (1) 1

-xʷ  2erg.; second person singular transitive subject 3.2. (12) 10, 49, 52, 57, 128, 140, 143, 213, 215, 216, 218

xʷa  art; article R 726. (11) 4, 33, 60, 65, 152, 192, 205, 226, 230

xʷar  long time; šxʷar a very long time. (1) 174

xʷe  art; article R 726. (20) 1, 14, 34, 40, 52, 62, 79, 83, 140, 141, 143, 163, 174, 179, 203, 206, 207, 214

xʷel+xʷel+t  alive; šxʷel be alive, live; CVC+CVC reduplication for plural (?) R 592; -t used with some verbs R 301. (2) 132, 231

xʷet'  get up, run away; šxʷet' move hurriedly. (6) 30, 59, 136, 158, 223, 224

xʷi'  here; demonstrative adverb R 702. (9) 4, 13, 25, 164, 206, 225
x**is go; ∃x**is one travels, goes about. (1) 229

x**is+t go; ∃x**is one travels, goes about; -t used with some verbs R 301. (25)

x**iy**e this, these; demonstrative adjective R 699. (14) 11, 25, 32, 71, 76, 87, 89, 104, 125, 176, 198, 223, 225, 226

x**i?+† here is where; demonstrative adverb with connective R 703 (17) 25, 68, 105, 123, 155, 162, 164, 183, 186, 189, 192, 202, 206, 213, 225

x**uy go; ∃x**uy go. (13) 18, 19, 20, 50, 83, 92, 114, 154, 174, 215, 216, 219

x**u† proceed; ∃x**u† proceed to. (13) 15, 31, 38, 72, 79, 86, 96, 134, 145, 161, 197, 200, 221

x**u+x**is+t go (modestly); ∃x**is go; CV+CVC diminutive to express modesty R 605. (1) 201

x**u+x**i? this; demonstrative pronoun and adverb R 705. (2) 164, 189

xac= num’+n clothing; ∃xac be ready, clothed, get ready; =num’ body R 461 -n ? (1) 168

xali’ might; ∃xali’ might, used in sense of expecting something unfavorable Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (1) 175

xaq’ pay; ∃xaq’ pay, reward. (3) 168, 173, 177

xat+t’apq bludgeon; ∃xat club; ∃t’apq stick pinlike object in. (2) 226, 227

xat+xat+t’apq bludgeon; ∃xat club; CVC+CVC reduplication plural R 592; ∃t’apq stick pinlike object in. (1) 228

xa+xat+xat beat; CV+CVC reduplication plural R 592; ∃xat club. (1) 217

xecc+min+ncut get ready; ∃xecc get ready; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2.;-ncut relexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 133

xeminč like; ∃xeminč love, Doak has the complete word ∃xeminč as a root on p. 194. (4) 2, 5
Ses  well; /Ses be well, be good. (1) 11

\textit{beit}  beat; /\textit{beit} club. (2) 65

\textit{ixt} +t  leave; /\textit{ixt} leave, desert; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 152

\textit{umut}  I suppose; suppose, Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. (5) 44, 45, 46

\textit{ixit}  hurry at something; /\textit{ixit} hurry at something. (1) 88

\textit{ya}+p=qin  many assemble; /\textit{ya} assemble, many, crowd; -p involuntary R 306; =qin head R 489. (1) 73

\textit{iem}  silent; /\textit{iem} be silent. (1) 130

\textit{ye}  procure game; /\textit{ye} procure game. (5) 49, 87, 91, 96, 111

\textit{yo} my!;  interjection Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 6

\textit{yits}  sleep; /\textit{yits}  Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 43

\textit{yc-}  cont; continuative Doak 2.2.2.2.1 (36)

\textit{yuk"e}  older sister; /\textit{yuk"e} woman saying younger brother. Kinship terms are often reciprocal in Salishan languages. (1) 64

\textit{c}=\textit{el'}=\textit{schi"e}+\textit{en}  rope; /\textit{c} tie; =\textit{et} (\textit{el'} before vowel) for use R 521; =\textit{schi"e} horse R 495; -\textit{en} that which R 571. (1) 191

\textit{cipil"s}  person hides; /\textit{cipil"s} person hides. (2) 99, 230

\textit{ac"x}  look at; /\textit{ac"x} look at. (6) 24, 27, 176, 202, 206

\textit{apt}  have; /\textit{apt} there is, have. (2) 2, 152

\textit{asq"}  son; /\textit{asq"} son. (1) 1

\textit{axil}  do; /\textit{axil} do, thus. (14) 6, 9, 25, 62, 68, 116, 159, 162, 164, 183, 186, 204, 225

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"a+?+p[ ] have; /?ap[ ] have, there is; -?- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. I think this might mean that she wouldn't become pregnant. (1) 3

\[\text{e obi}; \text{oblique Doak 5.1.1.2 (14) 17, 31, 43, 44, 45, 70, 80, 81, 86, 105, 110, 145, 150, 171}\]

\[\text{ec- act}; \text{actual, made to be so R 384. Reichard says that this prefix preceeds all other prefixes. (12) 1, 26, 43, 46, 92, 122, 139, 140, 147, 160, 169, 178}\]

\[\text{ec- curst}; \text{customary aspect R 323 and Doak 4.2.2.1. (11) 26, 92, 93, 122, 125, 139, 140, 147, 169, 178, 229}\]

\[\text{ec+axil intend; } \text{ec actual R 384; /axil do. (1) 230}\]

\[\text{ec+em=it\textasciitilde x\textasciitilde mat house; } \text{ec actual R 384; /em one sits; =ih\textasciitilde house R 496. (1) 200}\]

\[\text{ec+hn+\textasciitilde sar+i\textasciitilde if upstream; } \text{ec actual R 384; hn loc Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /\textasciitilde sar be difficult, disobedient, annoying; i\textasciitilde developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2; it -ward R 539. (1) 64}\]

\[\text{ec+p\textasciitilde en+p\textasciitilde sn=\textasciitilde sin long legs lie; } \text{ec actual R 384; CVC+CVC plural Doak 592; /p\textasciitilde en stem list long objects lie; =\textasciitilde sin leg R 482. (1) 134}\]

\[\text{ec+\textasciitilde set' encircle; } \text{ec customary R 323; /\textasciitilde set' surround by enemy. (1) 68}\]

\[\text{ec+\textasciitilde set' tree; } \text{ec actual R 384; /\textasciitilde set' one long object projects (1) 12}\]

\[\text{ec+wi\textasciitilde house; } \text{ec customary R 323; /wi\textasciitilde reside, dwell, poles stand up. (4) 72, 159, 216, 229}\]

\[\text{ecin put, be the matter; /ecin do with, put, be the matter with. (2) 117, 127}\]

\[\text{ek\~un say; /ek\~un say, tell. (76)}\]

\[\text{em sit; /em one sits. (4) 75, 119, 162, 201}\]

\[\text{em+ut sit; /em one sits; -ut at a place directional suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 75, 163, 201}\]
enis go back;  enim leave, set out, go away. (3) 69, 86, 159

epf have, there is;  epf there is, have. (4) 152, 198, 213, 214

esl two;  esl two. (6) 13, 70, 71, 80, 91, 111

icč+n play;  icč play; -n ?. (1) 155

in eat;  in eat. (13) 60, 75, 89, 98, 106, 122, 123, 124, 130, 138, 141, 145, 171

im try;  im try. (1) 160

ing*et what;  ing*et what, be who. (1) 92

uk" bring;  uk" bring. (1) 166

uk"+uk"+ne+n bring gradually;  uk" bring; CVC+CVC plural R 596 (1) 10
REFERENCES


