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:

[Signature]

Chairperson

[Signature]

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 Although the English translation was published in 1947, the narrative in its native Couer d’Alene has remained unpublished.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 ; 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 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

\(^2\)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.4

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

---

3The 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.

4Reichard 1947 p. 80
As interesting as the story is, the focus of my project is to do some textual analysis of this Coeur d'Alene text, and as such my analysis is to be considered a preliminary attempt. Although I have spent numerous hours working on this story, I feel I have only scratched the surface. Every time I recognize a new form, I find myself rethinking previous words and going back to reanalyze previous analyses. The computer is an effective tool for this kind of analytical work. The work is very addicting, and occasionally frustrating: many items remain unanalyzed. Hopefully, my work will aid other researchers who might want to pursue further this interesting and important endeavour.
CHAPTER TWO
COYOTE STEALS SON’S WIFE
CONTINUOUS STORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.”

They cried.

---

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

They said, “You killed our father.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶See previous footnote #5 regarding Reichard 1947 p. 44.
One woman said, "Leave him alone. Your father has a hole in his moccasin near his big toe made by Black Swan."\(^7\) Coyote's son just lay there.

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

Then he heard a sound ludidi ludidi\(^8\). Spiders! There were two sitting across from one another...spinning...ludidi ludidi.\(^9\)

"It's mine" said the closest.

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

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

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

They remained quiet.

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

Silence. They didn't even look at him.

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

Silence.

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

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

\(^8\)This is the sound that spiders make while spinning. Reichard 1947 p.29.

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

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

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

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

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

“I don’t know,” said Coyote’s son, “I hope it is still in one piece.”

The spiders got a box. 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\textsuperscript{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."

\textsuperscript{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 was allowed to live. There were just three people left alive.

That is the end of the road.

---

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

[1] átswi´c xʷá smuyi´w ta̱ asqʷś sci´tEmc. [2] ttc̓á s̓El là he dwelt Coyote his son the oldest two

smi´y m̓á̱wms łuw̓á ttcná´kʷá̱í t̓Et̓aqʷi´n̓ hił là tcná´kʷá̱í q̓á̱łpyá wives that one of them Snipe and the other Black Swan

apla̱ gugwaxti´l´t. [3] hił t̓Et̓aqʷi´nut(h)aypt̓ gugwaxti´l´t.s. [4] xʷi´n had a baby and Snipe did not have a baby this

xʷa chema´ntc a̱q̓ílpyá là t̓Et̓aqʷi´n̓ lutxami´ntc. [5] náʔku là was the one liked Black Swan Snipe was not liked: he thought

smuyi´w tc̓á ta̱ tłauct̓cn̓xami´ntc át’Ét̓aqʷi´n̓ lutxam i´ntc akʷ̓kum´ x̓am i´ntc. [6] naʔ̓ku ́l̓ta Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

x̓a q̓a̱lpyá kum´ chema´ntc. [6] yo tc̓á m̓á̱1i´ əx̓i´sEn tc̓á ta’xux Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

ła̱ q̓a̱lpyá kum´ chema´ntc. [6] yo tc̓á m̓á̱1i´ əx̓i´sEn tc̓á ta’xux Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

ła̱ q̓a̱lpyá kum´ chema´ntc. [6] yo tc̓á m̓á̱1i´ əx̓i´sEn tc̓á ta’xux Black Swan and she is liked my! what (where) ought I with him to do so that he will die

ña’i´x̓i’sEn 1 ta´xux tc̓a’t̓ułta̱k”i´n̓ lutxam i´ntc. [7] hoi xʷist my child I ought to take in turn that Snipe then he went

ła̱ smuyi´w. [8] hoi tc̓atpu̱k”í ńtcEm là s̓aŋq̓á̱m̓í´ltups.s [9] əkʷn m̓á̱l̓i´ Coyote then he called his powers his dung he said what

ña’i´x̓i’sEn 1 ta´xux tc̓a’t̓ułta̱k”i´n̓ lutxam i´ntc. [7] hoi xʷist my child I ought to take in turn that Snipe then he went

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ña’i´x̓i’sEn 1 ta´xux tc̓a’t̓ułta̱k”i´n̓ lutxam i´ntc. [7] hoi xʷist my child I ought to take in turn that Snipe then he went

aña’i´x̓atcśa’tcutte’i´gwul.
so that he will climb well

[12] kum’ là ttcná´kʷá̱í əkʷn ttcłt̓cn̓xamalq̓änú´ps là ay’tscá´ıt then another said I will be golden eagle on a tree

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The nest is to be here they will sit on it two

also belonging to eagle then another said I will beckon he said

all right then went back this way he went until he arrived he said to him

XVIII IV (688) 2

la sq”a’sq”ásá’ás gwi’tcEn la malqánu’ps. [17] áku’stEm txascEni’w’ás
his son I saw it the eagle he was said to it is good to the feet

daí áku”w’á’ tcáł’usttc’i’gwulEn. [18] ákustEm á… kum’ la’ax” ná”a
unusual by you it is to be your ladder he was said to ā… then in the morning

tcunuxui.[19] hoi la” la’ax” áku’stEm xui ustcsxu’imát.[20] hoi ulxu’yulc
I will go back then in the morning he was said to go let’s go for it then again they went

hoi gwi’tcsc lc átcátp’í’ t’í” kum’ tcást’i’”tá”íl.[21] t’í” pi’stáy’t.
then they saw them sitting already then already they were about to fly they were big

[22] hoi tcttc’i’ gwul la sq”a’sq”ásá’ás. [23] hoi tcttc’i’… gwul.
then he climbed this way the son then he clim…ed

[24] ulttsí’a’ts’xEnts ë pí’ pál’ás át’uk”wi’… [25] x”í”uí’l’a’ts’a’’xEl
he looked back his father lay there thus he did again

to’rus to’rus x”íy’ã smuyi’w áku’stus tgwál’ stim’ ukuto’rs ák”n lu
he beckoned he beckoned this Coyote he said to him why are you beckoning

k”í’tc’í’nmi’nEm.[26] kum’ ni lut tcáy’tcánnmiyi’psEn kum’ utc’am’
I am worrying about am I not to be conscious of danger then just he you then
(know what is behind it)
to rs.[27] hoi lut(h)a ut ts xEnts la t i tätc (h)ngwi st kum' beckoned then he did not again look at him already high up then

tål tsi uttc'i'gwul. [28] hoi n'ulx' luw'a attc'ema sq'ut.[29] hoi from there he climbed then he went into the sky then

x'ist. [30] hoi ultcatsx'a t'p la smyi w. he went then this way he ran away Coyote:

[31] xul uttc'i'n'lu'x' là äätsätx's.[32] aku'stus x'iy'ä cä'lpyä xuc he proceeded to reenter his house: he said to her this Black Swan go

lä' kuc tcgwül ku uw'a ŋgwät hit tcäli'pap usqi l'tumx'.[33] hoi aku'stus go far off because of you it is that he left your husband then he said to them

lä stätcu'mi l'täl t's tcäli'pap x'a qaqi' tståcEm'.[34] hoi x'ä her his children he has left your little older brother then never (it is over)
tcäsgwi tctp.[35] hoi ultä'k'mi'nts là t'Et'aq'i'n.[36] hoi uusstä'mi'y'äms. will you never see then again he told Snipe then he had a wife

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

[37] hoi mä'a'mi'nts là qä'lpyä.[38] hoi là sq'a sq'äsä's xul tcatq'a't'p then he sent her away Black Swan then his son proceeded to the top

ux'älä tmi x'ul'umx'. [39] hoi x'ist x'...st.[40] gwitcts x'ä spi'ltstå'ä. just like the earth then he went he we(nt) he saw it an elk

[41] hoi t'a'pEnts.[42] hoi ts'ä'q'unts lu'pEnts hoi hunk'i'tts.[43] hoi then he shot it then he butchered it he dried it then it was night then

ucäl tca'y'i't. c̓ i tsaqi' na'ä astcint utsqu'a'äq'än'ät'.[44] hoi hoi just as he was about to sleep is when he heard people talking then
then then at once he understood it one I suppose you see people I suppose

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

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)

ta'm Ent a^a R iits'i i'En.

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’ kʷnā⁰ a’k’ n caEli’ w’ascEnts si lā⁰[57] nā⁰
go away then soon again he will say chop my leg grandson when

kwi’nts lā⁰ cā’ImEn nā⁰ cā’Entxʷ.[58] hoi dā’xuxʷ.[59] xʷā’t’pEntsut.
he (it) takes the ax you are to chop it then he was envious he ran off

[60] hoi i’Ents x”a sqilttc.[61] hoi x”ist lā smyi’w ła sq”a’sq”sā⁰’s
then he ate it the meat then he went Coyote his son he

x”ist[62] x”i’l a’xEl q’up’t hoi gul’ts’Elā’calq” hoi kum’ x”ā
went thus he did it then he stood under a tree and then while it was

y’tsq’u’p’t kum’ ā⁰si’ts’Em kum’ lā⁰ t’a’pāms x”i’l a’xEl.[63] hoi
raining then he was blanketed then his arrow thus he did: then

tcottsaqi nā⁰ hā smi’y’ām ātsmā⁰ x”mux”t hā hā hā.
he heard this way a woman laughing hā hā hā:

[64] an’āx”ti’l hānmu’lcāntc hā⁰ y’u’k”ā’k’ ās hā hā ancari’ci’l
going downstream beaver’s his older sister hā hā upstream

hānmu’lcāntc hā tsEtsi’y”ā⁰ s.[65] hoi kum’ p’atcEtcEtcE x”a⁰ xā’EntEm
beaver his younger sister and then noise of beaver’s tail it was beaten

ēslip’ hul x”a⁰ xā’EntEm āk”n hoi t’i” na’”s ła sqí’l’tumx”āt.
with the stick he was beaten he said all right he is already wet our husband

[66] hoi tc’idā’xt tcūt’tcx”i’l[67] hoi ulttcEtcEtcE’EntEm.[68] hoi
then they came this way toward here then again he was to come straight then

tcūt’Etc’i’l kum’ lā ay’tccā’t’ gul’q”unp’Entsɔ’talq” hoi kum’ x”i’l
they came near then by the tree they hid (at base of tree) and then thus

a’xEl.[69] hoi āku’stEms hā hui t’i” ku’na’”s t’i”tcālt’uy’Eni’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 5

utidá’xt tmus há gul’susx’i’lgwás á̄’áśál hänmu’lcántc.[71] x*i’iy’a tmus
day went back four each carrying on its backs two beavers these four
gul’ts’áśál anmu’lcántc.[72] hoi uttcá’cEn xu⋯t utpánà’tswi’c tá̄.
each had two beavers then again he went back along he went as far back as a dwelling
tsátx”.
house

[73] hoi ultná’pt y’ar’pqí’n’ hunmu’lcántc.[74] hoi k’ul’tsEntsu’t tá̄
then again in they went many beavers then they cooked the
hunmu’lcántc.[75] hoi itn hoi pinttc ut’s’em’ú’t.[76] gul’unmu’lcántc
beavers then they ate now always he sat they are beavers
x*i’iy’a smi’y’má’am.[77] hoi tsi’li àk’n hoi tontotú’p.[78] hoi x’ist.
these women then there he said now I am going hunting then he went

[79] hoi xul t’a’pEnts xʷá’ts’i’.[80] ná’ku’ á̄’á’sál tál’tsi’n’ x’ist.
then he proceeded to shoot it the deer he thought there were two on he went:

[81] hoi ultapt’a’pEm á̄’ná’k’wá’ex’.[82] hoi ts’a’q’Ents.[83] hoi then on the way he shot another then he butchered it then
ultc’i’sá’x’ts hoi ultcxsu’i xʷá’tát ná’k’wá’ex’.[84] tc’u⋯.
again he carried it on his back then he came back to the other it was gone

[85] tmic mi’t’tc’ádá’ex híł lu’u’k’ly’i’⋯gwt.[86] hoi ut’áni’s xul
just blood and it was stained here and there (carelessly) then again he went
ults’á’l’El’ tá’á̄’ts’á’tx’.[87] ak’n tcyá’ts’i’n’ x*i’iy’a sqi’l’tumh’at.
again he arrived at the house he said he got a deer this our man

[88] hoi kum’ k’ul’tsEntsu’i x’iltct.[89] hoi q’wált hoi kum’ i’inúc
now then they cooked they hurried (at it) then it was cooked and then they ate
limt x*i’iy’a smi’y’má’am.[90] li⋯mt.[91] hoi ak’n tcáltcstciyá’áśál.
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

they paid no attention then in the morning

XVIII IV (697) Coyote and Son’s Wife 6

he said now 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

he sat soon from above it stamped

a long a leg then also the other a long one

just legs there were the body was small

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

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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

XVII (007) Coyote and Son's Wife 7

she said it is my father he said what what is with you the matter they said it is

our father that one you killed he said why is it that you did not tell me

when I told you it was for me eaten my kill then you as a group were silent

you did not say our father he said stop crying soon he will live again

then he put on his moccasins again he got ready then he went again as to arrive

he went as far it again
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

hā utsma'x'mux't lā smi'y'mā'ām i'li'mutlc t'i'i' gwty'āsk'u'ī'l'EntEm

hā 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 utla 'ax' kum' uix'i'st.[150] hoi kum'ta'pEm then again it was morning and again he went away then he killed

tä ät's'i 'a'.[151] tric nák'w'à́luw'á uitci'sá´x'ts[152] hoi tsi'i xiits a deer just one which he carried back on his back hither then there he left it for them

hunte'u pi' lgwás t'i 'ápstutsum'i 'il'tál't nà'ku yo tsmi apl he became lonesome already he had children he thought my she used to have

gugaxti 'l't x'á' qá´lpýà.[153] hoi ták'w'mEntsut tcay' x'wáná ánqtsu't a baby Black Swan then he lay down he covered himself with blanket

á'átsi ts'EMS.[154] hoi tcutsu i 'á stutsu'm'i 'l'tál.t.s.[155] x'i'i with his blanket hen they came his children here

i 'ts'átscEn.[156] akx n tuw'á smí´y'má'ám ho iyátcu ulp'xu scEn they played she said those women let him alone his toe is perforated

aspan'qá´lpýà tsá' pi' päämp. by spouse Black Swan that your father

[157] hoi át'uk'wi' ...[158] hoi x'á'tuc.[159] hoi x'ist ná'ku then he lay then he got up then he got up the he went he thought

nà' má'áli 'á tcá' ná'á tcun'a xEl nà'á tcun'ulana qálpýà x'ist x'i'í st I wonder how I will do to get back to Black Swan he went he went

átswi c.[160] akx n im há uy'tsquq'áq'à́ls.[161] ludidi ludidi hoi xut a house he said in vain he was talking again ludidi ludidi then he proceeded
tci'n u 'tx'.[162] tuá' átsá' mut lá ttcná k'w'à́á hiit tál' x'i'í lá to go in there she was sitting one (of them) and from here (over there)

ttcná k'w'à́á guít'í k'ztuk'ít x'i'í ults'á xEl ludidi ludidi tcun'ulá. the other they were old thus ludidi ludidi it is mine

[163] kum' tuw'á tcná k'w'à́á lú txwá sunq'uda'u scEn tcun'ulá. 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

then no it's mine no I scabbed it he said that coyote my father's mothers

XVIII IV (811) Coyote steals Son's Wife 9

tcältcùnuy'u 'k'ump.[167] ugulqäm.[168] äk"n k'̌nà'lä' xa'q'EntulmEn escort me back they were silent he said I will pay you

atcätxsatsnu'm'Enmp.[169] ats'aya'R ugulqäm lutats'a'̌t's'xstEm.[170] lut something to be your clothes all remained silent he was not looked at no

äk"n hä kup'itsq"a'̌q'ä'ämEm.[171] ugulqäm ultmi'c du du. äku'stus 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

come it will be hemp I will pay you a... they spoke

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

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"  ágwá´smEn ná"á  kuxa´q'các.[178] tcáltmicná"mn'u´s
all right all right hemp   you pay us  I'll just take a chance

áts'uku´stus ni guli´PEw'ascEn tsi"  ná"á  kupgul'ná´k"nàšá.[179] hoi
he said to them is it all in one piece this one for each of you then

k"intEm x"á  mimc.[180] tsi´ItEm hunt´á´k"untEm.
it was taken a box  he was given in it he was laid

[181] áku´stEm ucí mu´s tcásttsaqtsaqi´w'ás.[182] áku´stEm lá
he was said to just four time it will stop he was told

ätmi´x"ul'umx"  ná"á  kutá´k'uk"k`iw'ná"á  kuy'tsatsaqi´nák"á  ást'á  dá"á
at the earth  when you arrive it will be you are hearing the grass

ná  'utsu´ptsEn.[183] tc'a"åqi´nt áku´stEm ná"á  kutctux"tux"i´w'ás  kum'
making its noise open it he was told when it stops  then

tál'tsi"  ná"á  kudá´x"t  ná"á  x"i`l  ku'axEl  kum`  ná"á  kudá´x"t.[184] hoi
farther  you will fall if you do thus thus (roll about) then you will fall then

Ulcan'qi´ntEm.[185] hoi  dá´x"umstEm  hoi  dux"ti'  tax"mEntsut.
again it is closed then he was lowered then he fell he stopped

[186] kum` x"i`l  a`xEl  kum`  tál'tsi  dáx"t.[187] hoi  ucí mu´s  hoi  dáx"t.
then thus he did then from there he fell then just four times he fell

[188] tál'k'uk"hóí tcíc'mi´nts  ulstá´dá"á  utschúp.[189] hoi  tc'a"åqi´nts  he landed then
he heard again grass noise wind blowing grass then he opened it

xux"i`  tmi´x"ul'umx".[190] hoi  tsá'1uc  hoi  ulcan'qi´nts.[191] hoi
that was the earth then he stood up again he put lid on then
he pulled it jerked the string rope then there it went up

the box then he went there where used to be our house then he went no one

then he saw there toward they moved then he followed he proceeded they camped

then farther they moved he went so far as to see his wife travelling carrying little property on her back

it was long she was carrying the mat house on it sat that child

then he went he approached for a purpose her there it looked this way the baby

it looked back it was said to long ago he left your papa (baby talk) no from there

like this papa she said to it no long ago he left your bababa then

here she looked here Coyote's child she said to him it is pitiful the way we are treated she said we are being sent away that your father:

Snipe he has taken again
ultami 'y'ams tâ unpi 'pâ'å. [210] äk"n kum' âtcin'å' tci'tts
his turn at wiving your father she said as for me he was sending

må'å'tåmi n'ems tçältçaslå 'kuk. [211] hoi äk"n t luw'ä smyi'w hoi
me away far I must go then he said it is that Coyote then

tä 'x'unulc. [212] äk"n ätmi'cc ttcç'i'ç kum' nâ'ä 'k"n äntså'w' lâ'kuks.
I'll kill them she said just close we come then he says ther go farther

[213] äk"n ni lutågwi ttcç x'ä tsi" tc'i'dâ'sdâs x"ìl apstq"i'l'kup.
she said did you not see it there where we camped there was a fire

[214] kum' x"ä tâtc ëkuku't tâ apstq"i'l'kup tsi'ë x"ä tcîlî'stust.
then at a distance there was a fire that was ours

[215] åku' stëm xuc nâ'ä sâ'x"tsâx" [216] kum' äk"n nâ'ä xu'ì tsiy' âtswi'c
she was said to come you will carry me on your back she said you will go to the house

lê tâtc unyar'i'p nâ'ä t'åk"'untsåx". [217] äk"n lut k"nä'
toward the back thee lay me down she said no it will be

xaxa txatEn'tsås. [218] åku' stëm lut nâ'ä kut'a'xt nâ'ä t'å 'k"'untsåx"
he will beat me she was said to no be swift put me down

kum' nâ'ä tçtar'tså'ântsåx". [219] hoi xui. [220] hoi tcàtc'tcît'ì't
untied me (in the bundle) then she went stop close she came close

åku' stëm tâtc tsi'tc täl'tsi'ì 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'å 'k"unts. [222] tçtar'tså'ânts tâ suksi'ì lgwås kum' åku' stëm tâ
to put him down she untied the bundle her pack then she was said to by

'âsmyi'w nâ'ä stim' tâ stci'tti'x"ums pa'axmi'ntëm [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

XVIII IV (817)

pi p’â’â’s.[227] hoi ta t’Et’Eq”i n’ xata pqEnts.[228] hoi taguﬁsi ntsâ’as his father then Snipe he beat her up then his brothers

he killed them then 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

pul’ya$$ha ’l’ hoi tc’am’ ttcâ’â’î li’ sulc. [232] hoi tsî’î Mole. then just the three of them that is the end of the road
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.
Coyote lived in a house with his oldest son.

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

And Snipe didn’t have his baby.

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 ʔec- is used with the root ʔwis to mean, "he lives there". In other lines of the text, 72, 159, 216 and 229 I have the prefix joined to the root with a + and I gloss as, "there is a house." Doak 4.1.1.2 #47.

2 The infix ʔ may indicate the inchoative.

3 Note that in the previous sentence, the -s 3sgen is not used with gugʷaxťtl’t.
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.

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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 ṣixes, meaning "well."
13. x"i? na?a tcaqiw'es x"i? ne?e četp'ít esol toq*
x"i? na? t+caq+iw'es x"i? ne? čet -p'ít ñesl toq*
here irr nest here irr on_surface -sit two also

ulmalqanúps.
ul -mlqn=ups
belonging_to -eagle

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

14. k"um' tê tênék"e? ek"n čéčąnentósam ek"n
k"um' tê tê -nék"+e? ?ek"un čet čn hn-tor+us-m ?ek"un
and art person-another say fut lnom loc-beckon-M say

ci? hoi utočęcx"įst (x"e) smayiw.
ci? hoi ut -čc -x"is+t x"e s+myiw
all_right then again -hither -go art coyote

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

15. x"ut utc'él'el'. x"ut ut -č'él'+l'
proceed again -hither -go art coyote

He went until he arrived back.

16. ek"ústus tə sq"ásq"esəs?es g"íčən tə malqenúps.
?ek"un -st(u) -s tə s +q"as+q"asə? -s g"íč -n tə 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 tʃasəńiw'es de?ɨ ek"uw'é
?ek"un -st(u) -m t+əs=sín+iw'es de?ɨ 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. ekústam  
   2st(u) -m  
   say -ct -nte *** and morning irr lnom again -go

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

19. hoi la?ax  
   ekústam  
   then art morning say-ct-nte go just cont-from_behind-go-M -1pgen

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

20. hoi uyelš  
   hoi gicwš  
   then again -go -pl then see-t-3serg -pl cont-above-sit already

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

21. t'i?  
   pístey't.  
   t'i?  
   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.
Then the son climbed up.

He climbed and climbed.

Again he looked down; his father lay there.

Again he looked down; his father lay there.

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

---

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

27. hoi lut(h)et? ut'ac'x'anc ;ta t'i? teč
hoi lut he ut'ac'x -n-t-s ;ta t'i? teč
then neg sub again -look_at -d-t-3serg art already toward

(h)ng'ist k'um' tél'ci? utč'íg"el.
hn -g"is+t k'um' tél' ci? ut -tč'íg"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'utx" tung'a atč'omásq'et.
hoi n'utx" tung'a -t+č'em=asq'it
then enter that prep -sky

Then he went into the sky.

29. hoi x"ist.
hoi x"is+t
then go

Then he went.

30. hoi utčocx"et'p te smeyiw.
hoi ut' -čic -x"et' -p te s+miyiw
then again -hither -run -inch art coyote

Then Coyote ran away.

31. x"ut utčin'utx" te ecetx"s.
x"ut ut' -čc -n'utx" te će -cetx"-s
proceed again -hither -enter art obl -house-3gen

He proceeded until he re-entered his house.
32. ek\^ustus x^iy'e qelpye x^u\$ lek^uk\$ tg^el'
\^ek\un -st(u) -s x^iy'e qelpye x^uy-\$ lek^+uk^-\$ tg^el'
say -ct -3serg this Black_Swan go -imp go_far_off-imp because

k^uw'\^eng\et hit \^celipep \asqil'tumx^.
k^u_\^eng\et hit \^celipep 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\^ustus te scocam'\^il'tel'ts \^celipep x\a
hoi \^ek\un -st(u) -s te s+cicem'=il't+l't -s \^celipep x\a
then say -ct -3serg art children -3gen leave art

qaqic\=c\=cem'p.
qa+qi\=c -mp
little_older_brother -2pgen

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

34. hoi x\e \^cesg\i\=ctp.
hoi x\e \^et-s -g\=i\=c -t-p
then art fut-int -see -t-2perg

"You will never see him again."

35. hoi uttek\inc te t\at'aq\in.
hoi ut -\=e+k\in -t-s te t\at'aq\in'
then again -tell -t-3serg art Snipe

Then again, he told Snipe,

36. hoi usste\m\=iy\=ems.
hoi u s -\=e? -s+miy\=em -s
then just int-*** -wife -***

"You will be my wife."
37. hoi  meʔεʔminc  ʈa  qėlpe.  
hoi  meʔ+ʔ+m+min  -t-s  ʈa  qėlpe  
then  send-away  -t-3serg  art  Black_Swan

Then he sent Black Swan away.

38. hoi  tạ  sqʔásqʔəsqʔ  xʷu†  čaqʔet’p  uʔʷέle  
hoi  tạ  s+qʷas+qʷaseʔ  -s  xʷu†  čet+qʷet’p  u  -ʔčl  
then  art  son  -3gen  proceed  top  just  -***

tmíxʷəl’umxʷ.  
t+mixʷ=ul’umxʷ  
earth

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

39. hoi  xʷist  xʷ...st.  
hoi  xʷis+t  xʷis+t  
then  go  go

Then he went. He we.....nt

40. gʷičc  xʷe  spítc’čʔ.  
gʷič  -t-s  xʷe  s+p’ɪtč’čʔ  
see  -t-3serg  art  elk

He saw an elk.

41. hoi  t’apɔnc.  
hoi  t’ap  -n-t-s  
then  shoot  -d-t-3serg

Then he shot it.

42. hoi  c’eqʷənc  lúpənc  hoi  hənkʷʔc.  
hoi  c’eqʷ  -n-t-s  lup-n-t-s  hoi  hn+kʷʔc  
then  butcher  -d-t-3serg  dry-d-t-3serg  then  nightfall

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 čeť¹ ucanc'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.
46. \( \text{hōi k}^\prime\text{um'} } \text{defecate on elk} \text{ and}

47. \( \text{then from spike into ground} \)

48. \( \text{Then hither-arrive art tall-sta art long legs loc-be_high-sta} \)

49. \( \text{He said to the oldest, "If you give my younger brother the elk, I will protect you."} \)

---

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\(^\prime\)úštus. The entire passage is confusing.
50. ek"ústus x"uiš čém'ənt ayá iic'ilən.
sek'un-st(u)-s x"uy-š čém'-n-t a+ya ii+y'c+?i+t+n
say -ct-3serg go -imp take-d-t all_kinds food

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

51. k"ne? ušit čən'čic'ěl'əl' na? čti?tiy'eq"t.
k"n+e? u+ši+ čn čc -c'čl'l na? č ti?+tiy'aq"+t
soon just inm hither -arrive irr 1pmom fight

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

52. ne? šət čɛtčəščēčən'əms ne ?ek"ústman
ne? u+ši+ čt čn s-čc+čɛn' -m-s ne? ?ek"un-st(u)-mi-n
irr just fut inm int-take_hold -M-3gen irr say -ct -2acc-1serg

šəliw'essənc hisifl? ne? k"intx' x"e slip'
šəl+iw'es=šin-t-s hn -sifl? ne? k"in-t-x' x"e slip'
chop_leg -t-3serg 1gen -grandson irr take-t-2serg art stick

x"i ne? č'ɛc'əntx' x"e šełənt14.
x"i ne? č'ɛ+č'ɛn' -n-t-x' x"e šeł -n-t
here irr one_long_object_lies-d-t-2serg art chop-d-t

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

53. ne ?ek"ústman šəliw'essənc sifl?.
ne? ?ek"un-st(u) -mi -n šəl+iw'es=šin-t -s15 sifl?
irr say -ct -2acc -1serg chop_leg -t-3serg grandson

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

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

14See note 13.

15This 3rd person construction does not match the translation given.
54. k\"um\' ne? čanudóɨq\"ancut.
k\"um\' ne? čn ut -dolq\" -ncut
and   irr Inom again -exert -reflex

And again, I will exert\(^{16}\) myself.

55. k\"um\' k\"na? dɛxt\(^{17}\).
k\"um\' k\"n+ɛ\? dɛx+t
and   future fall

And he will fall.

56. k\"um\' k\"ne? u̲te?ak\"n\(^{18}\) šələw\'esənc sile?.
k\"um\' k\"n+ɛ? ut -ɛ-nk\"un šəl+iw\'es=šin-t-s\(^{19}\) sile?
and   future again-thither-say chop_leg -t-3serg grandson

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

57. ne\? k\"inc  tɛ? šələman ne\? šələntx\".
ne\? k\"in-t-s  tɛ šəl+mən ne\? šəl -n-t-x\".
irr take-t-3serg art ax   irr chop-d-t-2serg

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

58. hoi dɛx\"ux\".
hoi dɛx\"+ux\"
then   envious

Then he was envious.

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

\(^{17}\)The original transcript translates this as, "he will fall." The typed transcript has "he went." "Fall" with the stem \̲dɛx\, makes more sense here.

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

\(^{19}\)Once again, the translation does not match the transcription.
59. *x*"et*pəncut.  
*x*"et*p +ncut  
runt_away

He ran off.

60. hoi ʃtənc  
x*a sqiltč.  
hoi ʔiʔn-t-s  
x*a s+qiltč  
then eat -t-3serg  
art meat

Then he ate the meat.

61. hoi x"ist  
⁷e səmyiəw  
ta sq"əsq"əsəʔs  
x"ist.  
hoi x"is+t  
⁷e s+myiəw  
ta s+qəs+qəsəʔ -s  
x"is+t  
then go  
art coyote  
art son -3gen  
go

Then Coyote's son went. He went.

62. x"iʔt  
áxəl q"up’t  
hoi gul’cəłəšalq"  
hoi k"um’ x*ə  
x"iʔt  
ʔaʔiəl q’up’+t  
hoi gul’+cəl’-ə -s=alq*  
hoi k“um’ x*ə  
here_is_where do rain then stand_under-prep-tree then and art  
y’cəq”up’t  
k“um’ əsɨc’əm  
k“um’ ə t’əpəməs  
y’c  -q’up’+t  
k“um’ ə-siə’+m  
k“um’ ə t’ap+min-s  
cont -rain and blanket and art arrow -3gen  
x"iʔt  
áxəl.  
x"iʔt  
ʔaʔiəl  
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 ʔətcaqíneʔ  
he smiy’em  
ɛcmɛx”məx”t  
he he he.  
hoi ʔe -t+caq=ineʔ  
he s+miy’em  
y’c -mɛx”+mɛx”+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'ačačača (sound of beaver's tail). He was beaten with a stick. She\textsuperscript{21} said "All right, our husband is already wet."

\textsuperscript{20}The original transcript translates as, "they were clubbing beaver with a stick."

\textsuperscript{21}The typed transcript glosses as, "he said" but the context calls for, "she said."
Then they came near and he hid himself at the base of a tree. And this is what he did.

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

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

These four [beavers] each had two beavers.

---

22 The original transcript has this transcribed as gut and not gul'. The latter fits the translation better.
72. hoi utčesən x"u...t utpene?cwìs te cetx".
hoi ut -čes=šin x"ut ut -pene -?ec+wiš te cetx".
then again -follow proceed again -as_far_as-house art house

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

73. hoi utčennépt y'a^tpqín' hənmûlsənč.
hoi ut -ntep ya^+p=qin hn+mul+s=ənč
then again -enter_pl many_assemble beaver

They again went in. Many beavers were assembled.

74. hoi kʷul'concút te hənmûlsənč.
hoi kʷul'=cin+ncut te hn+mul+s=ənč
then cook art beaver

Then they cooked the beavers.

75. hoi ín hoi pintč æcəmút.
hoi í'í̂n hoi pintč y'c -?em+ut
then eat then always cont -sit

Then they ate. They were always sitting.

76. gułanmûlsənč x"iyəe smiy'me?em.
guł -hn+mul+s=ənč x"iyəe s+miy'em+y'əm
plural -beaver these women

These women were beavers.

77. hoi ciʔt ek'n hoi čə̱ncətip.
hoi ciʔ+t ?ek'un hoi čn čtip
then there say then 1nom 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 he butchered it.

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

It was gone!

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There was just blood and here and there bloodstains.

Then he went back and arrived at the house.

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

Then it was cooked and they hurried at it.

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

---

23 Because of Reichard's translation, I believe this should have been transcribed with -ilš for plural.
91. hoi ek"n četčesiyel.  
hoi ?ek*un čet čn s -čc -ye? -?esl  
then say fut lnom int -hither-procure_game -two

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

92. čon'utčωcx*úi č'u* gun lutey'ing*etsiš.  
čn ut-čc -x*uy č'u gun lut he ?ec-?ing*et-ilš  
lnom again-toward_here-go gone plural neg sub cust-what-pl

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

93. ugutqem  ocmexme*mex* t guqem.  
u guq -qem y'c -mex*+mex*+t guq -qem  
just plural -quiet cont -laugh plural -quiet

They were quiet. They laughed, but remained quiet.

94. hoi ta la?ax* ek"n hoi čon'utčtip.  
hoi ta la?ax* ?ek*un hoi čn ut -čtip  
then art morning say then lnom again -hunt

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

95. hoi utx*ist.  
hoi ut *x*is+t  
then again -go

Then, again he went.

96. x*ut u*tápm u*yepek*ɛ?.  
x*ut ut -t'ap -m ut -ye? -nek*+ɛ?  
proceed again -shoot -M again -procure_game-another

He went and again shot more game.

97. ne?k*ú ne? čšet'ən.  
ne?k*un ne? č -šet' -n  
think irr hither -take_care_of -lserg  
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.
104. xʷiy'ə sqiltč uσəšil'.
   xʷiyʔə s+qiltč u+σišil'
   this body flat

This body was flat.

105. hoi tε c'ʔi? xʷiʔt ʔtək’w.
    hoi tε c'ʔi? xʷiʔt ʔtək’w
    then art deer here_is_where obl -lay

Then the deer lay there.

106. kʷum’ činičənc kʷum’ ʔɨnc.
    kʷum’ čc ʔnič’-n-t-s kʷum’ ʔɨtn-t-s
    and hither -cut -d-t-3serg and eat -t-3serg

And he cut it this way and he ate it.

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

Now he [Coyote’s son] shot it.

108. hoi t'axux.
    hoi t'εxʷ+uʔw
    then die

Then it died.

109. hoi tɛl’ciʔ xʷist.
    hoi tɛl’ ciʔ xʷis+t
    then from there go

Then he went from there.

110. hoi gʷič əc’iʔ uʔt’apənc.
    hoi gʷič ʔɛ -c’iʔ ut -t’ap -n-t-s
    then see obl -deer again -shoot-d-t-3serg
    Then he saw another deer and again he shot it.
111. hoi yë?ësl.
hoi yë? -ësl
then procure_game-two

Then he had two deer.

112. hoi c'eq"anc.
hoi c'eq" -n -t-s
then butcher-d -t-3serg

Then he butchered them.

113. hoi učisé"c.
hoi uč -čc -sëx" -t-s
then again -hither -carry_on_back-t-3serg

He then carried them on his back.

114. hoi učæcx"uí.
hoi uč -čc -x"uy
then again -hither -go

Then again he came back;

115. hoi uťpenæcëtx*. 
hoi uť -pene çëtx*
then again -as_far_as -house

then back as far as the house.

116. gutqem tuw'e smiy'me?em ac'áxël
   gut -qem tuw'e s+miy'ém+y'ém y'c -?axil
   plural -quiet that_near women cont -do
   ic'u?c'u?umš.
   y'c -c'u?+c'u'm -š
   cont -cry -cont

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'ehicn'.
just side_by_side -turn_backs

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

124. hoi itn hit ek'n he? g'icen24 pulusan cist t\a
then eat and say art see-lserg kill -int-lserg long-sta art

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

125. ucey'ek'es t c'u?c'u?um x'i'y'e smiy'me'?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?.
say 1gen -father

They said, "He was our father."

127. ek'n stim' k'upic'e\ci?nema\.
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."

---

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."
Then again he returned.

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.

He said, "You are all stupid."

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

---

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."

---

27 This is the sound made by spiders. See Reichard 1947, p.29.
163. k'um' tuw'e čněk'"e? lut x"e sæq'"ədaʔusšən čən'ulé.
k'um' tuw'e tc -něk'"+e? lut x"e s+hn+q"deʔusšən čn_(?)ul+e?
and that person-another neg art root mine

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

164. ək"n te tčněk'"e? lut čən'ulé x"i? təl' x"i' x"uxiy'a
?ək"un te tč-něk'"+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

sæq'"ədaʔusšən k'um' x"it q'i:c' utx"i?t
s+hn+q"deʔusšən k'um' x"i?+t q'ic' ut -x"i?+t
root and here_is_where grows_(veg) again-here_is_where

áxəl.
?aχil
do

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

165. k'um' lut čən'ulé lut əspəpocən 28.
k'um' lut čn_(?)ul+e? lut həə əs-p'o+p'oc'-st(u) -n
and neg it's_mine neg sub int -smash 29 -ct -lserg

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

166. ək"n t tuw'ə sməyiw he guť hasle?
?ək"un t tuw'ə s+myiw he guť hn -sille?
say the_one_who that coyote art plural 1gen -father's_mother

čətčənuy'úk"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 ʔək"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. uguțqem.
    u  gut -qem
    just plural -quiet

They were silent.

168. ek’n  k'”ne?  xaq’əntulmən  açətxacnûm’ənmp.
    əek’un  k’”n+e?  xaq’-n-t-ulmi-n  a  çet  -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’ayâ’  uguțqem  lutac’ác’xstəm.
    əec  -a+ya’  u  gut -qem  lut-əec  -əac’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’ə?q’əEləm.
    lut  əek’un  he  k’up  hn  -y’c  -q’a?q’əI  -m
neg  say  that_is_right  2pnom  1gen-cont  -speak  -M

"No" he said, "That is right30, I am speaking to you."

171. uguțqem  u’tmis  du du ek’ústus  he
    u  gut-qem  ut  -tmiš  du du  əek’un  -st(u)-s  he
just  plural-silence  again  -just  du  du  say  -ct-3serg  art

k’up’açəyc’ contentType
k’up  a  çet  s  -y’c-ət’n-mp  əə  -s+qiltə  k’”n+e?
2pnom  ***  fut  int  -cont-eat-2pgen  obl  -meat  future

---
30I 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."

172. ugutqem hoi ek"ústus k"uphasile?
u gut-qem hoi ?ek"un-st(u) -s k"up hn -sile?
just plural-silence then say -ct -3serg 2pnom 1gen-father's mother

k"uphasq"á?q"e?lom.
k"up hn s -q"a?q"e?l -m
2pnom 1gen int -speak -M

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

173. x"ui k"né? ég"ésmén ne? xáq'éntulman.
x"uy k"n+é? e -g"ésmn ne? xaq'-n-t-ulmi -n
go future prep-hemp irr pay -d-t-2pacc-1serg

"Come, I will pay you for hemp."

174. a: icq"á?q"e?l x"e sìl"e?et ni x"árəs ℹ
a.. ?e -q"a?q"e?l x"e sile?-et32 ne? x"ar -iš ℹ
a.. cust-speak art grandson-1pgen irr long_time-dev the_one_who

k"uphasq"a?q"e?lom.
k"up hn -y'c -q"a?q"e?l -m
2nom 1gen -cont -speak -M

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

---

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

32The 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 said to, "It will stop four times."

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

---

35 I am not sure how to interpret this. It might mean that he will pay them each, or maybe that the piece of hemp is from each of them.
"Open it," he was told, "when you stop, and from there you will fall further, if you do this.\(^{36}\)"

"Then close the lid again."

He was lowered down, then he fell and stopped.

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 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 approached them. The baby looked back at him.

---

39 Reichard’s original transcript has the following note: “wife was packing long house made of reeds.”
203. ek"ústam q'esp čelípep x*e inbebebe.
?ek"un-st(u)-m q'esp čelípep x*e in -bebebe
say -ct -nte long_ago leave art 2gen -papa

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

204. lut tel'ci? áxöl bebebe.
lut tel' ci? ?ašil bebebe
neg from there do papa

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

205. ek"ústus lut q'esp čelípep x*a inbebebe.
?ek"un-st(u)-s lut q'esp čelípep x*a in -bebebe
say -ct -3serg neg long_ago leave art 2gen -papa

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

206. hoi x"i?t ta?ác'x x"i? x*e č'i smøyiw.
hoi x"i?+t te -?ac'x x"i? x*e čiit s+myiw
then here_is_where thither -look_at here art child_of coyote

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

207. ek"ústus q"áy'q"iy't x*e cég"tet.
?ek"un -st(u)-s q"iy'+q"iy'+t x*e ceg"+t-t
say -ct -3serg pitiful art treated-sta

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

208. ek"n č?icme?mínems tuw' inpipe?.
?ek"un č y'c-me?+?+m+min-m-s tuw'e in -pipe?
say lpropom cont-send_away-M-3gen that 2gen -father

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

209. ek"n ta t'at'aq"ín' uttek"inc
?ek"un ta t'at'aq"in' ut -te -k"in-t-s
say art Snipe again -thither-take-t-3serg
She said, "Snipe has again taken her turn at wiving your father."

210. ęk"n  k"um'  ečin'ē  čiʔəcməʔəməms
ʔek'un  k"um'  ē -čn_?e  čet-s-y'c  -meʔ+?+m+min  -m-s
say  and  prep-1s  fut-int-cont-send_away  -M-3gen

četčəslék"uk.
čęt  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  ęk"n  t  ʧuw'e  sməyiw  hoi  tēx"ənəlš.
hoi  ʔek'un  t  ʧuw'e  s+miyw  hoi  t'ēx"  -n  -ilš
then  say  the_one_who  that  coyote  then  kill  -1serg  -pl

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

212. ękl"n  e tmisś  čč'ʔt  k"um'  ne  ʔek"n  enciʔ  lék"uks.
ʔek'un  e-tmisś  č  ċ'i+ʔ+t  k"um'  ne?  ʔek'un  hn-ciʔ  lék"+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. ękl"n  ni  luteg"ičtx"  te  ciʔ  č'ıdésdes
ʔek'un  neʔ  lut  he  g"ič-t-x"  te  ciʔ  č  čc-des+des
say  irr  not  sub  see-t-2serg  art  there  1nom  hither-camp

x"iʔ+i apstq"fl'k"up.
x"iʔ+i ʔepɬ  -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."

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"ústəm teč ci?oš
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'či? uqem x"ist x"ist x"ist.
tel' ci? u 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"uť t'ék"ənc.
hoi x"uť t'ék" -n-t-s
then proceed lay -d-t-3serg

Then she proceeded to put him down.

222. čtaríc'e?enc tε sax"ilg"es k"um'
č -tar+ic'e? -n-t-s tε sax"=ilg"es k"um'
hither-untie_wrapping-d-t-3serg art carry_little_property_on_back and

ek"ústəm tε ?esməyiw ne? stim' tε sči?atəx"əms
?ek"un-st(u)-m tε e -s+myiw ne? stim' tε ***
say -ct-nte art prep-coyote irr what art ***
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." \(^{42}\)

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

"This is what is done. I pity you, my wife."
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' ď ď' e ĝ ĥ ĵ k k' l l' l ľ m m' n n' o p p' q q' qw q'w q'" r r' s š t t' u w w' x x' x" y y' c 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+yaε  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=i[+ce'  broil meat;  /caq, solid object stands upright;  =i[t meat R 497;  -ce? all around, all over R 533.  Reichard says that when -ce? is used with -i[t it means meat or body R 497.  (1) 140

ceg"+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'e1+ε=sčint  stand under people;  cen-, under Doak 2.2.2.2.1;  /c'el, one stands ε-, prep R 371;  =sčint, people R 505.  (1) 45

ceen+k"in  protect, save;  cen- under, off of Doak 2.2.2.2.1;  /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

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

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

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

ci'+ there; demonstrative adverb with connective R 703. (2) 77, 152

 ciciy'c younger sister; ciciy'c 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'eq* deer; c'eq* deer. (7) 79, 87, 105, 110, 117, 143, 150

 c'uk'w=tē=šin 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+š step over; čet- over R 398; č*er step over person ceremonially. (1) 135

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

 čc+čenis return; čc- hither R 412; ččenis depart. (1) 144

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

 čet 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

 čem' take; čem' take hold of pl. objects. (1) 50
čěš+a’p+stq  follow against orders;  češ accompany; a’p (?); -stq in opposition to R 542. (1) 223

češ=šin  follow;  češ 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; /q’et’p  go up incline (1) 38

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

če’ ought;  R 780. (6) 5, 6, 148

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

čic  arrive; /čic arrive. (1) 134

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

čiťtes  three;  R 636. (1) 231

čc+čen’  take hold;  čc hither R 413; /čen’  take hold of a large object. (1) 52

ččip  hunt; /ččip 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

čń’e  Is; 1st person singular independent pronoun Doak 3.4, Nicodemus Dictionary. (3) 5, 142, 210

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

čes- 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; šč'am just. (3) 26, 231

č'e+č'en one long object lies; CV+CVC diminutive small subject R 604; šč'en one round object. (1) 52

č'eč'en'e small; Nicodemus Dictionary

č'eč'en'e=qin small head; small Nicodemus Dictionary; =qin head R 489. (1) 124

č'iḥ approach; šč'iḥ approach, get near. (2) 202

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

č'iḥ+č'iḥ+t come close; CVC+CVC plural reduplication R 592; šč'iḥ 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; šč'it be near. (1) 68

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

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

č'i+?+t approach; šč'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; šč'u be absent, gone, missing. (3) 84, 92, 194

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

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

dex lower; šdex lower, descend, dismount. (1) 185

dex+t fall; šdex lower, descend, dismount; -t used with some verbs of action R 301 (6) 55, 183, 185, 186, 187

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dex" + ux" envious; /dex" lower, descend, dismount; CVC+VC inchoative R 607.
(1) 58

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

de?‡ unusual; /de?‡ exceptionally, surprisingly. (1) 17

dolq" exert; /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

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

gu\=ip+ew'es=šin all in one piece; gu\ 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; /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; /g"es spin, twist thread, Nicodemus glosses this as canvas,
gunnysack. (3) 173, 176, 177

g"ey'+et+k"ul' finish; /g"ey' finish; et connector Doak 5.3.1.1; /k"ul' fix. (1)
145

g"ić see; /g"ić 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
g"is be high; /g"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+iS 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

hičę? where; /hičę? 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, 207, 132, 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+čen+čen \*x*=ups defecate on people; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; CVC+CVC plural R 592; /čen \*x* bump into; =ups anus R 456. (1) 44

hn+č’u+p=ilg*es become lonesome; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /č’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+s=ɛnɛ beaver; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /mul dip up; -s ?; =ɛnɛ hollow, belly R 493 (?). (7) 64, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76

hn+suxʷ=ɛnɛʔ+min understand; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /suxʷ be acquainted with, know; =ɛnɛʔ 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+šetʷ=ulʾumxʷ spike into ground; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /šet’ level or, one long object projects; =ulʾumxʷ ground R 486. (1) 47

hn+xʷat+p=alqs the end of the road; hn- Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /xʷat 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+yaʔrip rear of house; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /yaʔrip rear of house. (1) 216

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

hoi then, now. (141)

hoi cease; /hoi cease. (1) 132

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

hui all right; Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 69

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

ii+yʾc+ʔi̯+n food; ii that which Doak 2.2.2.1.1; yʾc continuative Doak 2.2.2.2.1; -ʔi̯ /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

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

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

kʷum’ and, then; stem list adverb, conjuncts and interjections. (38)

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

kʷup+gul’+neō’+e’ for each of you; kʷup 2pnom Doak 3.1; gul’c each R 391; ne+ kʷ one R 636 & 646; -e’ R 646. (2) 171, 178

kʷu+e’ your; predicative pronoun second person singular Doak 3.4. (1) 17

kʷuŋ”t you; predicative pronoun second person singular, "...may stand alone as predicates or may serve as emphatic adjuncts." Doak 3.4. (1) 32

kʷinš how many; interrogative Nicodemus Dictionary p. 12 #4. (1) 143

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

kʷn+e’ soon, future; R 528 & Doak 4.4.1. (9) 5, 55, 56, 132, 168, 171, 173, 182

kʷul’ fix; /kʷul’ do, make, fix. (1) 118

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

kʷkʷnía’ in a short while; stem list Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. (1) 100

laʔa̱xʷ morning; /Laʔa̱xʷ be daytime, morning, tomorrow. (4) 18, 19, 94, 149
lek" be far; \(\text{le}k\)" be far. (1) 212

lek"+uk" go far off; \(\text{le}k\)" 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; \(\text{le}k\)" be far; -ut state of R 447. (1) 214

lep'x"=\(\text{si}\)n toe perforated; \(\text{lep}'x\)" fit into (as ball and socket); =\(\text{si}\)n foot R 482. (1) 156

lim glad; \(\text{lim}\) glad. (3) 89, 90, 145

lim+t glad; \(\text{lim}\) glad. -t R 301. (1) 145

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

lup dry; \(\text{lup}\) be dry, thirsty. (1) 42

lut neg; \(\text{lut}\) be mischievous, not, negative. (25)

l'e+lek"+ut little distance; CV+CVC diminutive R 603; glottalization of l (?); \(\text{le}k\)" be far; -ut state of R 447. (1) 198

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

-t- \(\text{P}\); possessor applicative used with -t Doak 2.2.2.2.2, see also 4.2.3. (2) 130, 138

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

f\(\text{e}\) art; this is the article for something far away or less intimate R 708. (50)

f\(\text{oq}\)" also, and; and, also Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (4) 13, 101, 198, 229

f\(\text{uk}\)"+\(\text{y}'\)+\(\text{ig}\)"t bloodstained here and there; \(\text{fuk}\)" bloodstained Nicodemus Dictionary; -\(\text{y}'\) ?; -\(\text{ig}\)"t here and there. (1) 85
tuw' 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'e. (1) 28

tuw'e 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)- 1acc; first person singular object Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 129, 137, 147, 148

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

mimš box; /mimš. (2) 179, 192

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

mit'č'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

nep't enter pl; /nep't 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; /?em sit; -iš developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 99

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

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

n'utxʷ enter; √n ullxʷ 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+pit+c'i'+ixʷ=ups defecate on elk; √speč+c'i'p 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

piper父 father; √pipe父 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'acacaca p'acdcaca; 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'o'c' 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
q’esp long ago; q’esp be long time, long ago. (2) 203, 205

q’ẹ?=§m shoes; q’i? stick to; =§m foot R 482. (1) 133

q’ic’ grows (veg); q’ic’ vegetation grows. (1) 164

q’up’+t rain; q’up’ rain; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (2) 62

q’a?q’ẹ?l speak; q’a?q’ẹ?l speak, talk. (1) 172

q’iy’+t pity; q’iy’ pity; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 225

q’iy’+q’iy’+t pitiful; 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’ẹ?l talk; q’a?q’ẹ?l talk, speak; CVC+CVC reduplication for plural distribution R 592. (3) 43, 121, 160

q’ẹl+t cook; q’ẹl cook, burn; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 89

q’ẹn’p’+min+cut=alq’ hide self at base of tree; q’ẹn’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?q’ move camp; q’i?q’ 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)

sexw carry on-back; sexw carry on back, uses the lone transitivizer -t Doak 4.2.1.2. (6) 70, 83, 113, 151, 215, 222

sexw=ilg’es carry little property on back; sexw 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

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-si- 2acc; second person singular object Doak 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) 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. (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+ćint people; /s+ćint people (2) 43, 44

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

s+hn+ć’am+qs top; s- nominalizer R 373; hn- locative Doak 2.2.2.1; /ć’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 2.2.2.1; /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’em  wife, woman; /s+miy’em  wife woman; (3) 63, 200, 225

s+miy’em+y’em  women; wives; /s+miy’em  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+miy iw  coyote; /s+miy iw  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’itc’e’?  elk; /s+p’itc’e’?  elk. (3) 40, 45, 49

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

s+qiltumx”  man, husband; s- nominalizer R 373; /qiltumx”  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+si?t=mš  oldest; s- nominalizer R 373; /si?t  oldest, be first; =mš  people R 506 (3) 1, 11, 49

s+tc’ig”el  ladder; /s+tc’ig”el  Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 17

s+t’ede?  grass; /s+t’ede?  grass. (2) 182, 188

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

s+t+c’am+c’am=alq=šin  long legs; /s+t’amč’amalqšen  Nicodemus Dictionary. Sometimes this seems to be a proper name in the story. Note: There is a stem /s+t’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"il' = kup little fire; s- nominalizer R 373; -t on, part of R 393; /q"il' kindle, light, make fire; CV+CVC diminutive R 604; =kup fire R 480. (1) 198

s + x"uy + n tracks; s- nominalizer R 373; /x"uy go; -n nominalizer R 571. (1) 143

-š imp; imperative, Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (4) 32, 50, 215

-š cont; combined with y'c and -m suffix creates a continuative antipassive Doak 2.4.1.4.3. (2) 116, 127

šen' = qin close lid; šen' one flat object lies; =qin top R 489. (2) 184, 190

šec' + min hear; šec' wait; -min used for R 452. (1) 46

šel chop; šel chop. (2) 52, 57

šel + iw'es = šin chop leg; šel chop, split; -iw'es between R 537; -šin leg R 482. (3) 52, 53, 56

šel + men ax; šel chop, split 1 chop, split; -men instrumental R 452 and R 872 (1) 57

šes s.o.; some one Doak 4.2.1.3. (1) 177

šet' take care of; šet' take care of. (2) 11, 97

š = alq" tree; š ?; =alq" log, sticklike object, tree R 498. (1) 62

-t sta; intransitive suffix for resultive of stative Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (7) 48, 89, 90, 124, 145, 207

-t- tran; transitive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (61)

tač toward; Nicodemus Dictionary. This alternates with teč depending on vowel harmony. (1) 216

tal'q stamp; štal'q step on, touch with foot. (1) 100

tar + ic'ec' untie wrapping; štar untie; -ic'ec' 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+č'ɛm=asq'it heaven, sky; t- on, part of R 393; /č'ɛm be surface; =asq'it sky, atmosphere R 472. Nicodemus says this means literally "vault of the sky." (2) 10, 28

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

teč 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

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

tex"+tex"+iw’es stop; /tex" stop; CVC+CVC plural 592; -iw’es come in contact R 537 (1) 183

te+k"in tell; te- thither R 416; /k"in sing. (1) 35

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

ti?+ti?a fly; /ti? fly; CVC+CVC plural R 592. (1) 20

ti?+tiy’aq"+t fight; /tiy’aq" fight; CVC+CVC plural R 592

t+mix"=ul’umx” earth; on, part of R 393; /mix” hang in bunches (earth as it appears from sky); =ul’umx” ground R 486. (3) 38, 182, 189

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tmiš  just. (7) 85, 102, 123, 151, 171, 178, 212

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

tupen’  spider; /tupen’ spider. (1) 175

t+xes=ši+n+iw’es  good to feet; t- on, part of R 393; /xas be well, be good; =ši
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’ax+t  be swift; /t’ax be swift; -t used with some verbs of action R 301. (1) 301

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

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

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

t’ex”  kill; /t’ex” die, kill plural. (1) 211

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

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

t’i”  already, evid; already, surely, absolutely, quite R 782. (8) 20, 21, 27, 65, 69,
145, 152

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

tc’aḫ”  fault; /tc’aḫ” fault. (1) 230
tč- person; prefix used when numbers refer to people R 643. (13) 2, 12, 14, 44, 45, 123, 162, 163, 164, 231

tč'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

u† 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

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

u+š† just; u immediate Doak 2.2.3; š† 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

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

xwët’ get up, run away; šxwët’ move hurriedly. (6) 30, 59, 136, 158, 223, 224

xwëp here; demonstrative adverb R 702. (9) 4, 13, 25, 164, 206, 225

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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?+t 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

\( \text{x=ac=num'+n} \) clothing; /xac be ready, clothed, get ready; =num’ body R 461 -n ? (1) 168

\( \text{xali'} \) might; /xali’ might, used in sense of expecting something unfavorable Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections. (1) 175

\( \text{xaq’} \) pay; /xaq’ pay, reward. (3) 168, 173, 177

\( \text{xat+t’apq} \) bludgeon; /xet club; /t’apq stick pinlike object in. (2) 226, 227

\( \text{xat+xat+t’apq} \) bludgeon; /xet club; CVC+CVC reduplication plural R 592; /t’apq stick pinlike object in. (1) 228

\( \text{xa+xat+xat} \) beat; CV+CVC reduplication plural R 592; /xat club. (1) 217

\( \text{xec+min+ncut} \) get ready; /xec get ready; -min relational Doak 2.2.2.2.2.;-ncut relexive Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (1) 133

\( \text{xeminč} \) like; /xem love, Doak has the complete word /xeminč as a root on p. 194. (4) 2, 5
xes well; $\bar{x}x$es be well, be good. (1) 11

xet beat; $\bar{x}x$et club. (2) 65

$\bar{x}$it+t leave; $\bar{x}x$it leave, desert; -t used with some verbs R 301. (1) 152

xum’ut I suppose; suppose, Adverbs, Conjunctions and Interjections. (5) 44, 45, 46

$\bar{x}$“it hurry at something; $\bar{x}x$“it hurry at something. (1) 88

ya“p=qin many assemble; $\bar{y}a$“ assemble, many, crowd; -p involuntary R 306; =qin head R 489. (1) 73

yem silent; $\bar{y}y$em be silent. (1) 130

ye? procure game; $\bar{y}e$? procure game. (5) 49, 87, 91, 96, 111

yo my!; interjection Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 6

y’il$\check{\mathcal{s}}$ sleep; $\bar{y}y’il$ Nicodemus Dictionary. (1) 43

y‘c- cont; continualative Doak 2.2.2.2.1 (36)

y’uk’e? older sister; $\bar{y}y’uk$‘e? woman saying younger brother. Kinship terms are often reciprocal in Salishan languages. (1) 64

c“ec=el’=s$\check{\mathcal{c}}$i?’e?+en rope; $\bar{c}c$ec tie; =et (el’ before vowel) for use R 521; 
=es$\check{\mathcal{c}}$i?’e? horse R 495; -en that which R 571. (1) 191

cipil$\check{\mathcal{s}}$ person hides; $\bar{c}$ipil$\check{\mathcal{s}}$ person hides. (2) 99, 230

’ac’x look at; $\bar{a}c’x$ look at. (6) 24, 27, 176, 202, 206

’apf have; $\bar{a}$pf there is, have. (2) 2, 152

’asq* son; $\bar{a}$sq* son. (1) 1

’axil do; $\bar{a}$xil do, thus. (14) 6, 9, 25, 62, 68, 116, 159, 162, 164, 183, 186, 204, 225
"a+'+pf have; /?apt have, there is; -?- inchoative Doak 2.2.2.2.3. I think this might mean that she wouldn’t become pregnant. (1) 3

"e obl: oblique Doak 5.1.1.2 (14) 17, 31, 43, 44, 45, 70, 80, 81, 86, 105, 110, 145, 150, 171

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

"ec- cust; customary aspect R 323 and Doak 4.2.2.1. (11) 26, 92, 93, 122, 125, 139, 140, 147, 169, 178, 229

"ec+"axil intend; "ec actual R 384; /"axil do. (1) 230

"ec+"em=it*x" mat house; "ec actual R 384; /"em one sits; =iH* house R 496. (1) 200

"ec+hn+šar+iš+ít upstream; /ec actual R 384; hn loc Doak 2.2.2.2.1; /šar be difficult, disobedient, annoying; iš developmental Doak 2.2.2.2.2; iť -ward R 539.(1) 64

"ec+p'ën+p'ën=šin long legs lie; /ec actual R 384; CVC+CVC plural Doak 592; /p'ën stem list long objects lie; =šin leg R 482. (1) 134

"ec+šet' encircle; /ec customary R 323; /šet' surround by enemy. (1) 68

"ec+šet' tree; /ec actual R 384; /šet' one long object projects (1) 12

"ec+wiš house; /ec customary R 323; /wiš reside, dwell, poles stand up. (4) 72, 159, 216, 229

"ćin put, be the matter; /ćin do with, put, be the matter with. (2) 117, 127

"ek*un say; /ēk*un say, tell. (76)

"em sit; /ēm one sits. (4) 75, 119, 162, 201

"em+ut sit; /ēm one sits; -ut at a place directional suffix Doak 2.2.2.2.2. (3) 75, 163, 201

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'ćenis go back; 'ćenis leave, set out, go away. (3) 69, 86, 159

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

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

'icć+n play; 'icć play; -n ?. (1) 155

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

'impantry; 'impan try. (1) 160

'impan what; 'impan what, be who. (1) 92

'impan bring; 'impan bring. (1) 166

'impan+impan+n bring gradually; 'impan bring; CVC+CVC plural R 596 (1) 10
REFERENCES


