THE NARRATIVE OF PETER J. SEYMOUR BLUE JAY AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW WOLF

Preliminary version

IX International Conference on Salishan Languages Vancouver, B.C. Canada August 12-14, 1974

Anthony Mattina University of Montana Introduction English version Abbreviations Colville text Footnotes Glossary

This is the story of Blue Jay, the unpromising newcomer who turns out to be a better hunter than the tribal leader, Wolf. He comes out of nowhere, joins the tribe, marries the old chief's youngest daughter and outperforms Wolf, who is married to the chief's oldest daughter.

The tale should be of interest to the anthropological and literary folklorist as well as to the aesthetician. It contains information on traditional and acculturated items; on the day to day life of the Colvilles; on group system and value structures. I find in it many fine artistic elements.

It is about 3,500 words in length and I have done a minimum of editing. At one point, when the narration had resumed after an interruption, the preceding episodes were briefly summarized. I have left that intact as well. I have left in even errors of the type "he saw her...no, I mean, he didn't see her." These are linguistically interesting, if nothing else.

The tale was recorded on August 8, 1968, and it was transcribed in the summer of 1972. After the transcription

i

I have not had an opportunity to check any of the forms which I cannot associate with a known root; nor have I had an opportunity to verify several forms which phonetically or grammatically look suspicious. My transcribing aide, Mrs. Madeline DeSautel, does a minimum of editing herself...to the point of not regularizing the n-1 alternation typical of the narrator, but not of herself. There are, undoubtedly, errors and imperfections in the text.

The interlinear translation deviates only slightly from the running translation which precedes the text. Most cases of departure involve word order. I did not feel that standardizing the translation would be an improvement, either in terms of clarity or form. The advantage that I saw to the practice was the familiarity with the style that the reader would soon acquire, and, hopefully, the appreciation of this style. I do have strong feelings about the running translation. In my opinion, the original translation should not be tampered with. It reflects^a particular dialect of English with its own stylistic and grammatical features.

Narrators are not always effective story tellers. It is probably for this reason that they are often neglected. In the case of Peter J. Seymour there is no doubt. He is the "embroiderer" <u>par excellence</u>, gifted and tasteful. He has the ability of turning into an artistic performance what in the mouth of others is a three minute fragmented master-plot. The narratives of Peter J. Seymour deserve to be collected and made known. The narration of this text lasted about 45 minutes. Mr. Seymour speaks with a pleasantly deep voice in a cadence of about 15 sentences per minute. He seldom hesitates or backtracks. He uses several characteristic hand gestures to punctuate the actions of the story. They deserve description, but I have not yet been able to do a systematic survey of these nor have I had the opportunity to record the same tale told by Pete Seymour on different occasions.

The differences found between two versions of the same tale, one by Mr. Seymour and a second by other narrators are, so far, very marked and uninteresting-- the latter are often no more than skeleton plots containing gaps. It is possible, theoretically, that Mr. Seymour has filled in gaps and "embroidered" his tales to suit my taste, but I do no believe this to be the case. In any event, these matters are best left for the folklorist to decide, at a more appropriate time and place.

My edition needs these comments. Words are segmented and a morpheme by morpheme translation is provided directly below these, along with a freer translation. Underlying forms accompany the segmented forms in the early pages of the text whenever the surface forms are different enough to warrant such a procedure. Parenthesized numbers refer to the sentence in which the same or a related form first appeared. A glossary is appended with numbers referring, again, to sentence numbers. I expect to have a list of errata corrige by Conference time.

ii

iii

My research on Colville has been sponsored by the National Science Foundation through the Universities of Kansas and Hawaii; the University of Montana; the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma; and the National Endowment for the Humanities. I wish to acknowledge gratefully this support.

iv

Yes, this here Blue Jay and his brother-in-law Wolf, that's what I'm going to tell. This here Wolf was married to the oldest one. And he was their leader. There is also another tribe, and the chief's daughter, and the chief's law relations. And long time ago for the people that's what comes first, their riches. ...those who are good at getting things to eat, fish, or this here deer; and at that time they didn't know what money was, they put them [the providers] above everything else. Yes, those who get grub, that's who they put above everything else. They are the highest.

And so that's when Wolf proposed to the chief for his daughter, and he consented because Wolf is smart in getting things to eat, deer. And [the chief] told him: "All right." And so they married, he and his daughter. And when they go hunting they put Wolf on the head.

And at that time the people didn't stay alone but in a group. Yes, they stick together in winter time; they winter places; they call it wintering. They don't have buckskin tipis. They use all kinds of things to cover their houses, this here tules; they use this here tree bark; or just anything, boughs, these here cedar boughs; those that sprout from the limbs that's what they call "palm" boughs. They grow from cedar trees. That's why, look at this here fir, they call it fir bough, that's how it grows. And this here that grows from the cedar... Well, no, I can't say [don't remember it] what grows from cedar. That's what they use to cover their houses. And they don't get wet, and it's warm. And those houses that are boarded up, that's bark; that's what's boarded houses'.

Well, Blue Jay got to them. Well, he proposed to the chief. The youngest one had grown up too. They say in Indian she was a maiden. She had grown up. She wants a man. Well [Blue Jay] started to flirt. He likes the chief's daughter. Blue Jay got stuck on her and she told her father: "You better consent." Her father tried to tell her: "But we don't know him. We don't know in what things he's smart, in getting things to eat, maybe you will suffer from it. It might not be long and you'll throw him away if he's good for nothing. Get the one that'll do us good, take that one for your man." But no, his daughter. "He's going to be my husband, not your husband. Even if I got hard up, it's me who gets hard up." He told her: "Well, all right, if that's how you feel."

That was that, and they gave Blue Jay his answer. Well, he got married. And Blue Jay went on a honeymoon. And they were all together, Wolf and his woman, and this here Blue Jay and his wife, and his law relations, the rejal couple the chief and his mate. There are all together there in one house, I don't know how many tipis put together, maybe four, maybe three, because there are three couples. Well, all Blue Jay does is play with his wife. He sleeps till noon, then he wakes up, he gets up with his wife, because they're on their honeymoon. Everybody is gone by that time.

v

They hunt, get things to eat, and Wolf is their leader because he sure is smart in getting things to eat. He knows where the wintering places for the deer are, and he is very good on snow shoes. When they make a drive for the deer Wolf chases them. The deer don't go far and then he catches up with them and then he slaughters them. Then he overtakes his relations, and the other people, and he gives the deer to the others. And then they drag them home, they don't even have to shoot and then they get meat. That's when he gives it to them to eat, Wolf. Because he is great, smart in hunting. That's why he is their leader.

Well, his oldest daughter started eating her feelings, getting cross, Wolf's wife. She is always watching her brother-in-law. She hates her brother-in-law. She even said to her younger sister: "What's the matter with you? It's been many days, and you two are still honeymooning. You should already be getting tired of one another. And he should be getting things to eat, your husband. And all you do is play. But no. You know that your brother-in-law sure gets tired that all you do is play. Even if he doesn't shoot, just so he goes along. And his brother-in-law would feel good. I guess he has all kinds of different thoughts."

Well, she kept nagging at her younger sister. Finally she believed her. First she tried to take up for her husband; finally she believed, she understood. "That's true, my older sister is telling the truth." The parents never say anything. They tried to stop their oldest daughter when she hates her brother-in-law and she backbites him. Well, she [the younger daughter] told her Blue Jay: "Listen here. It has been too many days, and we are still on our honeymoon. Listen, think about getting some grub. We have sponged on them too much. Maybe they are getting tired of us. Look at your sister-in-law. They hate us very much. And they are your law relations. They tried to take up for you. They tried to stop their daughter, the oldest one. They said to her: 'Just leave your brother-in-law alone. "" He [Blue Jay] said to his wife: "Give me a piece of skin, [since] you complain with me. I haven't got any snow shoes, nor have I got any bow and arrow. I am going to prepare myself."

Well, he got a bow, Blue Jay. Well, the bow he made, it wasn't even that, it was awful. It wasn't any good. And the arrows he got, they are just the same. And even when he put the feathers on those arrows, he just stuck them on. And the arrows weren't good enough. He doesn't make things well enough; his snow shoes, no, they are bad, and they were weak. It was just new shoots that he made the frame with. Well it's not even fit.

Well she finally asked her mother some skin for weaving [thread]. She said to her: "What's that for?" She said, "Your son-in-law, the one I'm married to, well, he's going with the hunters and he has no snow shoes, and now he's got sticks ready, and he's made frames but he has nothing to lace them in. That's what he told me, and I intrerpret him to you, maybe you got some hide." She told her: "Well, yes, I keep some in stock. I will give you some." So she started cutting it.

Blue Jay then started stringing the shoes. Well, it took him one whole day to fix his bow and arrow and his snow shoes. And those that are used to fixing them it takes them a good many days to finish shoework or arrow-work. But he, in one day and already he had finished his arrow and his snow shoes. Surely, they're not good enough. They took pains, the ones that know how to fix them. The sticks for the arrows have to be dry, and then they straighten them. Then they fix the feathers on the arrow and the bow the same way. They dry the sticks: when they get dry they whittle them, and they wipe them. Then they use something... I don't know... to make it shine in the center of the bow. And then they wrap it with a string, with sinew, and they pitch it. And it doesn't come lose, it's solid. Then it's good and strong. And maybe Blue Jay has got weak arms, because what he made is no good.

The next day it was still dark, and Wolf hollered: "Daylight will overtake us, we will be too late, we're going far. Get up!" Goodness, the people got up, the young folks. They ate, they drinked, they were all ready. He hollered, Wolf was hollering: "All right, we're going." All the young folks started coming out. Blue Jay is there too. He come out.

Blue Jay was still inside, and he coaxed his wife to put his snow shoes on him because he doesn't even know how to tie his shoes with the loops around the ankle, that's what we call it. Well, this woman put his snow shoes on him right from inside he put his shoes on. These here young folks that are used to it, they go far, like where there is no road. And then they put their snow shoes on. My, and how they made fun of him. They laughed at him because he put his snow shoes on from inside. He just takes one step and he hooks on something, Blue Jay. He has to protect himself with his hands. It must be from the snow, and his hands get really cold. I don't suppose he had gloves on and he started sucking his fingers because they're cold.

Then the young ones said: "No, maybe he'll just get out of sight and then he'll go back [home] because he's way behind. He'll give up [take his head and hang it down] and he'll go back. He's just making us lose time." They walked away. This here Wolf is way ahead. He is making the trail, he fixes the trail for his friends. They go, then they find tracks, and then they scatter. Wolf'll point where to go. This here Wolf is the leader. he is the smartest of all. He goes where the deer goes. Because he is smart and strong. He can go fast.

They were going, and then they see the tracks. Lots of deer where they were feeding. They scattered. There were lots of deer. He stopped. There is a hollow place, it's a big place. The deer must be there. "We didn't scared them. Here are their tracks, they might be still eating." It was broad daylight then. They stopped and he told them: "Are you all here?" They said: "Yes, we are here. Just your brother-in-law Blue Jay. he hasn't come in sight yet. Just as we left, he was falling around because he doesn't know anything about snow shoes, he might have turned back. Let's not wait for him. We're wasting time." Wolf said: "Well, that's right, we saw these tracks, deer tracks, fresh tracks. I don't

think they went anywhere [i.e. far]. Maybe they are in that hollow, in them slate rocks. We'll scatter. Just when you get to the top there's a saddle. That's where we'll all get back together. If they've already gone over that, then we'll think more how we're going to scatter again."

They agreed. He told them, he pointed to go to drive the deer. "And half will walk under, on the outside, and half will go to where they'll be watching for the deer." And he said, "I'll be from this half, I'll be on the outside. I'm going to walk under."

Only the smart ones can be on the outside, because they are doing their best to get to where the deer go. That's where they always go. It's a low place where there is the deer and these here that drive the deer take their time when they see [tracks] and follow them. They drive it, and the deer will go right straight for that pass, that low pass, and the ones that are watching [for the deer], they kill them. When the driver gets accidentally a glimpse of it, he kills it; or sometimes when they [the deer] come down, and turm around, they see the ones that are watching for them, so they come back on their same tracks, and they run across them others. So they kill them. That's when they kill their own deer, the ones that's driving. And the others that's what's called in the language 'the ones that go and sets up to watch', the smart ones, selx'usem.

They said: "Maybe Blue Jay when he comes out of sight [of his home], he gets tired, his hands'll get cold, he might turn back. He doesn't know anything about his snowshoes. He'll just make us loose too much time if we wait for him." So they scattered, "You know where I told you to go and we'll all get together again." So they scattered.

Blue Jay has been watching for them. He saw his friends all scatter. And he must have good hearing, he heard every word of it. The brother-in-law is the one that's going to watch. Blue Jay was just putting on, and that's why he fell deep in the snow as if he didn't know his snow shoes. Blue Jay just rised up, kicked the trees. The wind started blowing. The snow on the trees came down to the ground. The snow was floating around the earth. They ran up the hill, these here deer. The same thing happened with the air, they done their best to get where they could get shelter, to a place for shelter where there's no air, and where the snow and the wind didn't reach, and where it's still. Blue Jay went up the hill. He went. He got there to the top of the mountain where that low place is. The deer had already gone over. His partner his brother-in-law he's already went over behind. He started following and he was right in the tracks of his brother-inlaw.

Wolf hadn't gone very far, and he heard something. He got the chills. He looked behind him, well, he was being overtaken by his brother-in-law Blue Jay. Then he runs, he's doing his very best. He thought: "Ah, and we thought he couldn't make it, and here I am, the best in hunting, and he overtakes me. It won't be far now, he'll give out." Until he overtakes the deer that's when he'll turn back this here Wolf. Well, then Wolf run down the hill. His snow shoes go dust, dust, dust, dust; with the corner of his eyes he saw his brother-in-law. His snow shoes too go dust, dust, dust, dust. He had got used to his snow shoes. He [Wolf] didn't get to the bottom and he got give out. But he [Blue Jay], it isn't for nothing that he is Blue Jay. Wolf

But he [Blue Jay], it isn't for nothing that he is Blue Jay. Wolf never used to get tired. He just overtakes the deer, slaughters them, and he don't get tired. Then he gets back, I suppose. Maybe Blue Jay turned him around [did something to him] and that's why he's tired. Wolf just tried, couldn't make it and turned around. He was too tired. He told his brother-in-law: "Go ahead, maybe you're a little better off than I am. I'm plum to the end, I'm done tired. Maybe you are stronger," he said. Wolf gave him the way, he stepped aside. Blue Jay made another jump. Just like Wolf never made a move. He started to go. Just like that Blue Jay was out of sight.

Wolf tried his best and finally got to the bottom, because he always tracks the deer. Blue Jay's tracks are right along. It got dark, and it was dusk when he got to the bottom. Deers is laying all over. Well, he [Blue Jay] was busy doing something. That was the last [deer]. And Blue Jay had got done taking the guts out. And that's when he overtook him. He's got them all killed, the deer. Wolf thought: "From the time I was born, from the time I got my senses nobody could step in front of me. And now this here brother-in-law of mine stepped in front of me. I'm not going to believe it. Maybe I'm just dreaming."

Blue Jay told him: "Well, now let's turn back. We might be too late. Our women are still far away yet, and so is our staying place." Wolf thought, and he figured it's all uphill, and then to the top, then it's all downhill to their houses, and he said: "No, I fear it. I have no more breath from fatigue. All I could do was overtake [catch up with] you. I can't make it to go up the hill. I'm going to camp here."

Blue Jay had already figured out what to do. The biggest, the leader of the deer that he killed, it had a lot of fat inside of it, he thought. Well he had buried the deer-gift down [deer he gave to the other guy]. Well, they dug it up until the deer come in sight. He broke up the stitches on the deer, because he had twisted a stick and he had stitched up the deer. He told his brother-in-lau: "You go in here, in this here deer." He told him. "And then you'll live. Well, look how clear it is, it'll be very cold. You'll freeze. What can you do to make fire? What can you do to get wood? Look at all this snow. What can you do to get fir boughs, in the dark, and you're tired besides. That's the only way you can save your life. Don't refuse. If you refuse, you'll die. Don't you get stingy of your wife? You want to stay alive!"

He coaxed his brother-in-law. The he [Wolf] believed him. He thought: "Well, I'm too tired to even try to get fire; and even if I make fire, I still have to get wood. No, I won't. And it's night besides. I got to have something under me. I'm all in from tired. What he told me is true." He said: "Yes, I'll take your advice." He told him: "Well, get in." Well he went into the deer, because it was big and he stitched the deer back, and he put snow back [on the deer]. Well, after he got snow on top, Wolf got warmed up because he still wasn't too cold. He got very hot, sweated; he hadn't got too chilled before. He really liked how he was getting warm. It was really warm. But he's very hungry. He felt something, the fat. He cut some off, and then he ate. That was delicious. He cleaned all the inside of his gift deer. In a little while since it's fresh deer, he got diarrhea. There's no way of him getting out, because he's sewed up there. Right then Wolf shat himself, he that used to be boss.

Blue Jay run up the hill. He ru...n, got to the top, he run down the hill.

Well, I'm going to splice [join] my fairy tale story. This here the Blue Jay group with Wolf, they are brothers-in-law. They were hunting when Wolf got tired out. And Blue Jay was newly wed. He didn't get tired, and he was lonesome [for his wife]. He didn't want to camp right by his partner, his brother-in-law. So he picked out the biggest and fattest deer. That's where he put his brother-in-law. And he said: "You might freeze, and you are tired and there is nothing you can do to make fire or get wood or break the boughs [to put under you]. It's too cold. You'll freeze. You'll be nice and comfortable in this place." Wolf thought: "He's telling the truth." He said: "Yes." He put him into that big deer. He sewed him up with this twisted twig, and then he put lots of snow on him. In a little while Wolf felt warm, I guess it's from his breath, and there is no [cold] air in this here deer, in his insides, and besides he had lots of snow on.

Blue Jay run up the hill, got to the top he run down the hill. He got half way; he got closer to home. Then he hollered and hollered, because that's the way the hunters go when they get late, because their relatives don't go to sleep. They always wait up for them. They are setting up. Nobody showed up yet and if it gets daylight, they'll go look for them. Something could have happened to them; they's either hurt or give out.

They heard. He was hollering. They answered him. They thought: "This is Wolf." This here Wolf's wife pushed her younger sister. She said: "Hah, hurry, fix the fire! Stir it for him! That might be your man that's hollering. Put the coffee on! He must be awful hungry." She's making fun of her younger sister. Because he started to put his snow shoes on right from inside, Blue Jay. He didn't know nothing about snow shoes. He was falling around, and then he got out of sight. Because the oldest one is sure that her husband is the smartest. That's why she was kidding her little sister. The younger sister got up, stood up. She fixed the fire. And she started supper. She warmed up some leftovers, some soup what was cooked for them. She warmed it over. The hollering continued. They answered it. Then she rushed her younger sister. She said: "Fix that fire, it's your man." Their parents tried to stop her from making fun, because they knew for sure that she's making fun of her sister when she says: "That's your man." Because it never come close to their minds. They thought: "Blue Jay

is the one that gave up, because he's new at hunting since he got married."

Well they heard him, because the snow shoes are loud, because it's frozen. pax, pax, pax, pax. That's snow shoes. The sound is good [not as if tired]. Well, he came in. He raised the curtain. He came in. He still had snow shoes on. And he sat down.

His wife rushed to him. She put her arm around his neck, and kissed him. She told him: "I bet you're tired." He said: "Yee, yes, I am tired. I've traveled around far. I was all in [Lired] when I got back. Take my snow shoes off." She took his snow shoes off, and he said: "and my moccasins too, because my feet are wet." Because he had moccasins on. "[I got wet when] I covered the deer with snow." Well she took his moccasins off. She started drying them. She gave him bedroom slippers. She set dishes up [on the ground], because they don't have a table, so she set dishes for him. She just spread something down for him. And then put dishes for him, a whole pot of food.

Blue Jay was just about to eat and he pulled something from his vest. And he throwed it at his father-in-law. He said: "Take it, look at this. Then you'll know what this is, you'll wonder what it is." His father-in-law took it. He started to unwrap it. "What part of the deer?" He laid it down, he done like that, and shook it, and put it down; he can't figure out what it is. It doesn't come out right.

Blue Jay started to eat, he ate. He got done eating. His sisterin-law had a frown on her face, she that made fun of him, his sister-inlaw. And sure enough he did come in and she was making fun of her younger sister. And said: "Your husband is coming! Fix that fire." And for sure here came in Blue Jay. She really got disappointed, her sister-in-law. She got ashamed, felt cheap when she made fun of her brother-in-law. Blue Jay got done eating.

The old man went out, because he's the boss, and yelled. Everybody is listening for the news. It was all of them and they said: "Ah, the chief is talking. It's important." He told them: "Come on in. My son-in-law Blue Jay came back. And he gave me this, it was tied up. And I can't get them together, and I can't get it right. I want you to figure it for me, that's why I am asking you." My, the people run over there because that's surprising news. Well, they all come in the chief's tipi. And it was a full house, the young folks. And the chief gave it to them. They tried to figure it out. No, they couldn't figure out this here ear. They know it's a deer's ear; but it wouldn't match. They no, it didn't match.

Then they asked Blue Jay. They told him: "We are puzzled. What is wrong with this ear, and it won't mate [match]?" Blue Jay just laughed and laughed at them, and he told them: "You got no sense. You know it won't mate. And each one [deer] has one ear. And I marked all of them, just one ear on one side. And if it comes out right, then it will show. And it'll be easy to count." That's when they all agreed. They understood, and they knowed about the ears. They counted them. There was lots of deer if there is that many ears.

Maybe she got over her shame this here the oldest one, his sisterin-law, and she asked him, "What became of your brother-in-law? Didn't you see him?" He said: "Yes, we scared a bunch of deer, then I did my best to where they're going to a low place where it joins the little mountain: that's where the deer went. And he CWOlf] went on the outside of those that drive deer. I got there. The deer is gone. I went over the mountain, I was too late. He was behind the deer too. I guess he didn't even get a shot at him, then he started chasing the deer. Many of them. And I started chasing too. I followed the tracks. They hadn't got to the bottom yet on the other side of the mountain. That's in the other mountain, and there was a bigger valley; they didn't get to the bottom yet. They was gone half way when I overtook my brother-inlaw. He didn't go far, and made room for me to pass him. He told me: 'Boy, I'm getting give out. I'll never get near to them. You go ahead, it's up to you Cit's not me, it's youl.'

"I just went ahead of him. I left him. The deer had just got down to the bottom and I overtook them. I killed them, finished them all. As many as there are ears. I just got done gutting them, I was going to bury them, when my brother-in-law overtook me. He's just played out with tiredness, he's just walking. That's when he told me: 'You overtook them and cleaned them out the deer.' And I said: 'Yes.' And he told me: 'Well, with me, I got tired. I got give out. And I can't make it, I'm discouraged to go back. And I'll just camp here with them deer. 'And I told him: 'No.' He told me: 'I'm too tired.' I told him: 'No. You'll freeze to death. It's already late, and dark.' My, the stars were brightened up. I said: 'Well you just said you're tired and give out. And what can you do to make fire. And even if you did make fire, what can you do to get wood in this dark night. And also things to put under you?' And I told him: 'You'll freeze to death.' told him, you want to camp, so I'll put you away in here in the biggest of the deer, because they're all open. I'll put you in here and you won't freeze to death. The deer is quite warm, he's still warm. And then I'll bury you, and you won't freeze to death.' I put him there, and seved him up. I twisted a stick. I seved the deer up. I tromped snow. It made a hole there. I stuck him in there, and I buried the it with snow. And then I stepped away."

Then he told the chief. He told his father-in-law. Blue Jay told them: "All of you that are related will get up early, the women folks too. We're going after the dead deer. Because it's far." They said: "OK." They never even went to sleep the folks. The morning come, and they woke up, they started hollering. They got up, and got done eating. Then the chief went out. "Now we walk." They told him: "We're all ready." It got broad daylight. "Here, you women folks, those that had men gone along." Because they're smart women with snow shoes, and that's the only way they can travel, anyway, because they don't have horses. Who does in wintertime. That's all they travel in, on snow shoes. Especially the North Halfs [Colvilles]. xiii

They went. And they got a leader, Blue Jay. Blue Jay is really smart on snow shoes. He didn't used to know how. And they made fun of him. Blue Jay's wife had also gone along. And his sister-in-law was right behind too, also his mother-in-law and father-in-law, they're behind. And then the rest of the folks, they string along. They went there in a big valley, and at the end there's a little mountain, that's where the low place is. They went right over that hill. Then they went down the hill. They got to the bottom. He told them: "It's right here."

There is lumps all over where the deer is buried. He told his father-in-law: "You are the boss, my father-in-law. You give the meat away. The whole deer." The father-in-law said: "No, even if I'm the chief. You're the one that killed it, you are the one that worked hard. You pass it around. And here I was just setting down, laying on my back; pulling my whiskers with tweezers. And for me to take the lead to pass it around... You do it!" He said: "OK."

He passed it around. He knows where he put him [Wolf] in the deer. He told his sister-in-law: "That's what [I'm going to] give you this lump. You dig that out, do what you please, drag it home or skin it, pack it back, do anything. Whatever you think." My, this sister-inlaw was glad; I suppose she kissed Blue Jay, his sister-in-law was so tickled. She used to hate him, his sister-in-law, because he was good for nothing. She started digging that deer up. When she got all the snow off, she got to the deer. It was seved up with the sprig he had twisted. She undid them stitches. She done like that, she opened it where it was cut opened and seved up. She opened it. And all of a sudden out come her man. He's nothing but shit. Goodness, the stink hit the woman in the nose. It really stunk, her husband. She tried to fix things. She's going to try to skin it. She couldn't stand it. This here deer is nothing but shit.

And this here her husband got give out, and people get hungry when they get give out. He got warmed up there when he got rested like, and then he thought of being hungry. He felt around; and felt of fat. He cut it off there and he ate it. It bulged out here and there, it's fresh meat. In the while after he was done eating he started to ache with diarrhea. He tried to get out. He couldn't. It's sewed from the outside, there isn't anything he could do to get out. He come to the end. He crapped right in there in the deer. He crapped until daylight in the deer. That's why it's nothing but shit that it smelled. Goodness!

The woman just stood there frowning. She got after her husband. She said: "You've done something too awful. Why, that was our eats, and you messed it up." "Ha," he told his wife: "You talk pitiful. I didn't mean it. I got give out; I was tired. If I hadn't slept inside of that deer... He done my thinking, my brother-in-law. I'd been froze to death. He left me. In a little while I got rested, that's when I felt hungry. And I ate the fat. That's what done me bad and I got diarrhea. There is no way of me getting out. That's when I done that pitiful thing inside there, I didn't do it on purpose."

They started packing the deer. And Blue Jay got to be the boss. They got all the dead deer back home. They got to drying meat, the men folks to roasting. And the women cutting it open, they started drying it over the fire. Lots of deer meat, each one gets a whole deer. And this here Wolf's woman, I don't think she'll throw it away, whatever she did with it. Maybe she washed the deer. She aired it out till it smelled no more. and then she roasted it.

And because it's just fairy tales, I say: "The sun is coming up high, it's late, and I'm going to end, like they say in Moses language. With us, we say: 'It's the end of the story.'"

xv

ABBREVIATIONS

absolute abs act actual atv active ben benefactive causative caus cislocative cisloc compound formative com for connective con cylindr obj cylindrical object diminutive dim dirct directional dirtv directive dub dubitative evid evidential expressed goal expr goal future fut imperative imp inchoative inch indefinite indef instrumental instr interrogative inter interj interjection lg language 1oc locative mid middle ncon noncontrol number no person plural p1 primary \mathbf{pr} progressive progr purposive purp reciprocal rec ref1 reflexive resultive--reduplicative suffixation res resultative--prefix res sequential seq stative stat sub subordinate superlative superl transitive tran unrealized unr volitive vo1

р

1. way, ?axà? q^vasqi? la?ł nk^vəlmut-s^{*} ncicen,^{**}
Well, this here Blue Jay and his brother-in-law Wolf,
?ixì? i-k-s-captik^vl-əm /in-kł-s-captik^vl-m/.
that('s what) I am going to tell /my-unr-abs-recount-mid/.

1

?axà? ncicen 1 s-x?it-x
 This here Wolf with /in/ the oldest one /abs-first-person/

ki? əc-m rīm. (it was) that (he) was married /act-medicine/.

- ?uł ?ixl? s-xe?t-ús-c-əlx /s-x?it-ús-s-lx/.
 And this one was their leader /abs-first-face-his-pl/.
- 4. ?axà?
 yi ŋ-k^vən-cəw-11x^v-t-ən
 There were (also) others
 - /n-k^win-caw-**i**lx^w-t-an/,^{*} (t)ex^w /loc-indef no-cover-people-stat-instr/, such as

qəi-yəlmix "əm, ** yəlmix "əm yi the chief's children /prole-chief/, (and) the chief('s)

s-n-lyam-t-an-s.

law-relations /abs-loc-law relations-stat-instr-his/.

5. ?uł ?ałi? dosa-p-i? y'i And so long time ago /long-ncon-past/ (for) the s-qilx^{u*} ?ixi? y'i x?it-s-olx, people /abs-people/ that's what comes first /first-his-pl/

2 vi q^wəy-ulax^w-s-əlx... their riches /enough-earth-his-pl/... 6. yi say-say-us Those who are good /find out-find out-eve/ s-t x^w-cen-sut, ?axa? 1 qaqx"alx. providers /abs-obtain-food-ref1/, /this/ of /in/ fish, ska?cinem. ?ul ?ali? nak"-a? kəm ?axa? 1 or /this/ /in/ deer, and since did not /evid-not/ c-may-s-t-is-alx they know /act-find out-caus-tran-3rd-p1/ ; yi pen-icl? saeláw. mal ?ixi? at that time /time-that/ what /the/ money (was), thus c-xət-əm-s-t-is-əlx. they put them (i.e. the providers) above all else /actfirst-mid-caus-tran-3rd-p1/. ?axa? yi s-t_x"-con-sut, ?ixi? yi 7. way ti Yes indeed those providers (6), these c-xət-əm-s-t-is-əlx. they put above all else (6). 8. ?ixi? yi x?it-s-əlx. They (are) the highest (5).

9. ?ui s-c-?xil-x And this being so /abs-act-like-progr/

	3		4	
	[?] ul-i?		xə [?] t-ùs-əm-s-əlx	ņcicən.
	that (is) when /and-past/		they put him at the head /first-eye-mid-his-pl	/ Wolf.
	n-səw-cən-ən-i-st-əm-ən-t-əm /n-siw-cin-n-i-sut-m-n-t-m/	13.	?ul ?all? yi sqilx" pən-icl? /pin-ici?/	
	it was proposed /loc-ask-mouth-?-purp-refl-mid-atv-tran- indef/		Because the people at that time /time that	t/
	t ncicən ?axa? ya yəlmix"əm 1		nak"-a? ti c-kmáx,*	
	by Nolf /this/ (to) the chief for /in/		didn't /indeed-not/ /evidential/ stay alone /ac	ct-only/,
	s-təmkə ² -ilt-s, ² uli ² xə ² -ina ²		?ixì? ņ-k [∀] ən-cəw-îlx [∀] -t-ən.	
	his daughter /abs-daughter-child-his/, and the consented		[but] in a group (4).	
	°a±i? səy-səy-ús-t	14.	?ui waý ti ?ilì? c-?ulùs-əlx	
	/?-ear/ because (he) is smart /find out-find out-eye-stat/		And yes, /there/ they stick together /act	-together-p1/
	ņčicən ļ s-t_x ^w -cən-sùt, ?axà? ļ sła?cinəm.		l ?istk-əm; c-?istk-əm-əlx;	
	Nolf at getting food (6), at (getting) deer.		in winter time /winter-mid/; they winter /act-	winter-mid-
10.	?ixì? ?u≟ cũ-n-t-əm:		cù-s-əlx /cəw-n-t-is-lx/*	
	This one [Wolf] /and/ was told /say-atv-tran-indef/		pl/; they call it /say-atv-tran-he-pl/	
	"way."		s-ən- [?] İstk-t-ən.	
	(by the chief): "All right."		wintering place /abs-loc-winter-stat-instr/.	
11.	^{?ul} ^{?ixl?} c-m_rlm-əlx-i? la [?] ł	15.	lùt-əm t sipə?-iłx"-ə	lx.
	And so they married /act-medicine-pl-past/ (he) with		They don't have /not-mid/ /instr/ buckskin tip: house-pI /	is /skin-
	s-təmkə?-11t-s.	16.	°ixi? təx৺ xəl-i±xĞ-əm-əlx,	
	his daughter /abs-daughter-child-his/.		Then /evid/ they use all kinds of things to o	cover their
12.	way ?ul ?ixl? la? c-pix-əm		kən ?axa?	tk"tán;*
	And so when they go hunting /act-hunt-mid/		houses /cover-house-mid-pl/, maybe /or/ these l	here tules;

· · · · ·

Ann

5 xəl-iix"-əm-əlx ?axa? vi t kil-ilx". /instr/ tree bark /?-cover/. they use as cover /this/ vi t a^vilcan. sút-en. /instr/ anything /entity-instr/, boughs, ?axa? vi ?astk^{w***} vi məx^w-ilp: tex" way vi boughs /?-plant/; /evid/ cedar s-k-pəl-əl-ikst-s****

those which sprout (from) /abs-dirty-grow-res-branch-their/

vi s-t-kəl-kəlx-əm-iks-t-ən.

the limbs /abs-dirtv-hands-hands-?-branch-stat-instr/,

yi ?ixi? ?ul s-cu-s-t-s-alx these they call /abs-say-caus-tran-his-pl/

q"ilcən.

kəm yi t

or

these

"palm boughs."

s-c-k-pəl-əl-ikst-x. 17. təl ?astk" ki?

From cedar trees (that) they grow /abs-act-dirtv-grow-resbranch-progr/.

?axa? vi coilp:** 18. scxilx,* Sac-an-t That's why, look at /look-atv-tran/ fir trees;

?ul ?ixi? s-cu-s-t-s-alx k-cqalp-ikst; those they call (16) fir boughs /dirtv-fir-branches/;

?iti? cxii*** k-pəl-əl-ikst.

that's how it grows (17).

yi ?astk" yi s-k-pəl-əl-ikst-s ... 19. ?ul ?axa? And that (on) the cedar which grows (i.e. its boughs) (17) ...

6

i-k-s-?əm-əm-nun-əm* 20. way, lùt. lut Well, no. (can) not I call it (i.e. remember its name)

/in-kl-s-?um-um-nún-em/ ?ixi? ?astk" la? /my-unr-abs-name-reslt-success-mid/ the cedar when

k-s-k-pəl-əl-ikst /kł-s-pəl-əl-ikst/. it has boughs /have-abs-grow-res-branch/.

- məl $1-cq^{\vee}-ilx^{\vee}-am-s-t-s-alx$. 21. ?ixi? they cover their houses /back-cover-house-That's (how) mid-caus-tran-his-p1/.
- 22. ?ul lut ta c-1?at-alx. ?u1 And not /evid/ they get wet /act-wet-pl/, and

k"á…1-t.

it is warm /warm-stat/.

23. [?]uł [?]axa[?] yi s-xəl-iłx", And those that are board houses /abs-lay across-house/,

kil-ilx"; 'ixi' c-xəl-s-t-is-əlx, sut-ən

- that's (16) bark (16); these they board up /act-lay across
 - məl kl-xəl-s-t-is-əlx.

caus-tran-he-pl/, and they board them on top, too /downward-etc/.

- 24. ?uł ?ixi? s-cù-s-t-s-əlx s-xel-iłx".
 And then they call them (16) boarded houses.
- 25. way kic-ən-t-əm-əlx t Zell, he got to them /reach-atv-tran-indef-pl/ /by/

q°ásqi?.

Blue Jay.

26. way n-sew-cen-mi-st-em-en-t-em Well, he proposed to /loc-ask-mouth-purp-refl-mid-atv-tran-

?axa? ÿ́i ÿ́əlmìx om. indef/ the chief.

27. way 'ul 'ali' 'axa' yi s-tə'iwt-x
Yes, since the youngest one /abs-last-progr/

nix ləxa-p.

also had grown up /grow-ncon/.

28. cak^v cù-s /cəw-n-t-is/ yi

One should say /say-atv-tran-he/

ņ-qilx^v-cən way ⁹uł sta⁹kəmix.

in Indian /loc-people-tongue/ she was a young maiden.

29. sta?kəmx-wilx.

She had grown up /maiden-develop/.

30. way n-xəlwə?-ils.

Yes, she wants a man /loc-husband-vol/.

- vaý dox"á-x".
 Uell [Blue Jay] began flirting /flirt(?)-res/.
- 32. xəmink-s^{*} ?axa? yı s-təmkə?-ilt-s ?axa? ya^{**}
 lie likes his daughter (9) the
 qəl-yəlmix^wən, q^wasqi?.
 chief's daughter (4), Blue Jay.
- 33. ndemscin-em-s, ^{*} ²ul cu-s ^{*} ²yi mistem-s:
 He got stuck on her, and she said to her father:

"way k^w xə?-ina?." "Had better you consent (9)."

34. ?iwá?cù-n-t-əmýi tTo no avail it was said /say-atv-tran-indef/by

místəm-s: "?ałi? lùt tə her father: "But not indeed

- súx^w-s-t-əm. we don't know him /recognize-caus-tran-we/.
- 35. lut to c-moy-s-t-im l
 Not indeed we knc /act-find out-caus-tran-we/ in
 stim soy-soy-us, l s-t_x"-con-sut,
 what things he's smart (6), in getting things to eat (6)
 pna? c-may* ?ixi?
 maybe it will be that /act-find out/

a-k1-ən-q^wən-q^wən-t-án.

you will suffer from it /your-unr-loc-pitiful-pitifulstat-instr/.

məł

36. cəm ti lùt

It might not [be long] and then

x"əl-x"əll-ilca?*

he'll be thrown away [by you] /discard-discard-meat/

ninewi?

yi t

if (it turns out that he is) /instr/

s-x[™]up-t-s.

good for nothing /abs-worthless-stat-his/.

37. [?]axa? t kl-ən-x s-t-an-tət,

The one who will do us good /unr-loc-good-stat-instr-

k^w k^wni-m yi t a-k-s-qəltmix^w."^{*} our/, you take him /take-mid/ for your man /your-unrabs-man/."

- 38. lút, ?axa? ýi s-ťəmkə?-ílt-s.
 [But] no, his daughter.
- 37. "t inca?" i-k-s-xilwi?,

"/it is I/ he's going to be my husband /my-unr-abs-

nak^w-a? a-k-s-xilwi?; ?iwa? husband/, not your husband; even if ņ-q^wən-q^wən-t-mi-n

?u1

I got hard up /loc-pitiful-pitiful-stat-purp-I/ (36)

inca? yi kən k-s-q"ən-q"an-t-a?x.**

it is I who /I/ would get hard up /unr-abs-pitifulpitiful-stat-inch/."

- 40. cú-n-t-əm: "way, way, mət He told her (34): "Well, all right, if that's /dub/
 - a-s-pə?ús."*

how you feel /your-abs-heart/."

41. húy, kəl-məp-ci-n-t-əm
 That was that, he got his answer /back to-say(?)-mouth

q^wàsqi?. atv-tran-indef/ Blue Jay.

- 42. way 'ixi' s-c-m_rim-s.Well, he got married /abs-act-medicine-his/.
- 43. ?ixi? siscelq"-em* t q"àsqi?.
 And so he went on honeymoon /by/ Blue Jay.
- 44. ?ul ?ali? ti ?ilì? c-?ulus-əlx, ncicən Indeed together /there/ they were (14), Wolf

la? tkłmilx"-s, "?uł ?axa? q"ásqi? la? tkłmilx"-s, with his wife, and this here Blue Jay with his wife,

- 'ul 'axa' yı s-on-lxəm-t-an-s, ya
- and his law relations (4), the

	11	12
	nəx ^u -nəx ^u -iws ya yəlmix ^u əm.	la ² ł tkłmilx ^w -s, way ² ałi? ² uł
	[regal] wife and /spouse-spouse-center/ the chief (4).	and /with/ his wife (44), because
45.	?ui ti ?ili? c-?ulus-olx,	siscəlq ^w -a ² x.
	And there they are all together,	they're honeymooning /honeymoon-inch/ (43).
	naqs-ilx"-əlx, mət	48. ?axa? pən-ici? yı sux"-əx".
	in one house /one-house-p1/, I don't know /dub/	(By) that time (6) they are gone /go(?)-res/.
	ņ-k"ənx-qən-əlx,	49. s-c-pix,
	in how many tipis put together /loc-indef no-head-pl/,	They hunt /abs-act-hunt/,
	mət ņ-más-qon-olx, tox mət	s-c-t_x ^v -cən-sút-x-əlx,
	maybe in four /loc-four-head-pl/, /evid/ maybe	they get things to eat Abs-act-obtain-food-ref1-progr-p1/
	n-ka?ial-qən,** ?ui ?aii?	?ui ?axa? pćicon yi xo?t-ús-c ?ai?
	three tipis put together, since	and this here Wolf is their leader (3) because
	ka?iəl-əl-nəx ^v -nəx ^v -iŵs-əm-ən-əlx.	wonix səy-səy-üs 1
	there are three couples /three-res-spouse-spouse-center- mid-instr-pl/.	he sure is /it's true/ smart (6) in
46.	way 'ali' q'àsqi' kmix	s-t_x ^w -con-sut-s.
	Well, Blue Jay /only/ all he does is	getting things to eat (6).
	c-pu [?] -cki [?] -s-t-sút.	50. c-məy-s-t-is la [?] kin
	play with his wife /act-mate-play-caus-tran-refl/.	He knows /act-find out-caus-tran-he//in/ /what/ where
47.	k-s-?i···tx moł n-tox"-ox"-qin,	s-ən-?İstk-t-ən-s
	he sleeps /has-abs-sleep/ until noon /loc-?-res-head/,	their wintering places are /abs-loc-winter-stat-instr-his/
	mi qilt. x ^v ət-lilx-əlx ?axa?	yı ska?cinən, ?uł səy-səy-ùs l s-yriwa-xən.
	then /fut/ he wakes, they get up /up-?-p1/ he	the deer's (6), and he is swart with snow shoes /abs- round(?)-feet/.

	14
	/cuk ^v -iłća?-n-t-is-lx/, lut tə
-caus-tran-he-p1/	/pull-meat-atv-tran-he-pl/, they don't even
	c-t ^c pá-m-əlx, məł way
-atv-tran-indef-p1/	have to shoot /act-shoot-mid-p1/, and
	tax"-siq"-əlx.*
	they get meat /obtain-neat-pl/.
yı ska ² cinəm,	56. [?] ixi? ła? c-?am-s-t-ìm-əlx
nis/ the deer,	That's when they are given it to eat /act-feed-caus-tran-
	t ncicon.
ch-atv-tran-indef-p1/;	indef-pl/ by Wolf.
	57. ⁹ uł ⁹ ałi? xá?-xa?, səy-səy-ùs l
atv-tran-indef-p1/.	That's because he's great, he's shart (6) at
ca? yi	s-pix-əm.
-	hunting /abs-hunt-mid/.
sqilx".	58. s-c-?xil-x ?uł-i? xo?t-ús-c-olx.*
people.	That's why (9) /and-past/ he was their leader (3).
	59. way 'ui 'axa' n-k'ə?-əls-ən-t-sút [*]
en-tran-indef-p1/	Well, she started eating her feelings (getting
	?axa? ýi s-x?it-x
	cross) /loc-cranky-vol-atv-tran-ref1/ the oldest (2)
-s-əlx	ýi s-ťonko?-ílt, ťox∀ ?nxá? nčicon ýi
the meat (home)	daughter (9), indeed Wolf's

- 51. 4a? c-qix^w-s-t-s-alx When they make a drive for /act-drive-caus-tran-he-pl/

yi ska?cinom, kil-on-t-om-olx the deer, they are chased /chase-atv-tran

t ncican.

by Wolf.

52. lut k-s-c-x^wùy-s yı ska?cinəm, They don't go far /unr-abs-cisloc-go-his/ the deer,

məl n-kəcnik-ən-t-əm-əlx,

and he catches up with them /loc-reach-atv-tran-indef-pl/:

mol ?ixi? lax "-on-t-im-olx.

and he slaughters them /kill-atv-tran-indef-pl/.

53. ml sic n-kocnikon ?axa? yi /Fut/ Then /new/ he overtakes (52)

s-ən-lxən-t-án-s, yı k'lkət yı sqilx". his law-relations (4), the other people.

54. way mol ?ixi? mil-x-t-om-olx And then he gives them /give-ben-tran-indef-pl

yi ska?cinom.

the deer.

55. way mol ?ixi? sic c_k"-ilca?-s-alx And Chon (SS) they drag the next (home) tkimilx"-s.

- wife /wife-his/ (44).
- 60. way ti kiw-ùs-əm-s

- yi
- She's always watching /?-eye-mid-her/

sa?stam-s.

her brother-in-law.

61. 'iwa' cù-s /cəw-n-t-is/ 'yi She even said to /say-atv-tran-she/ (28)

łcəcə?úps-c: "way ?uł k" s-c-?kin-x ?
her younger sister: /you/ What's the matter
with you /abs-act-what-progr/ (cf. 50)?

- 62. way [?]uł x^wə[?]-ás-əsqət, [?]uł pintk^{*} It's been many days /many-days-days/, and still
 - p c-siscəlq^w-əm.

you two are honeymooning /act-honeymoon-mid/ (43).

63. cak^w way k^{w*} k-s-pa-phaw-em-enwix^w-a?x.

You should /you/ be getting tired of one another /unrabs-tired-tired-mid-rec-inch/.

64. [?]uł cak^w way t_x^w-cən-sùt, [?]ixi?

And he should get things to eat (6),

a-s-geltmix".

your husband (37).

65. way [?]ul ti kmix р all (you do) /only/ /you pl/ And c-?ic-ackan. is play /act-play(?)-play(?)/. 66. [?]ul lut way. But no. 67. c-may-s-t-ix" ?axa? You know that /act-find out-caus-tran-you/ tali...? c-?ayx"t:* a-sa?stàn your brother-in-law (60) very much gets tired /act-tired/; c-?ic-ackan. way ti kmix р all (you) do /you pl/ is play (65). to s-t x^w-con-sut. 68. [?]ul lut And (he) doesn't get things to eat (6). 69. cak^w c-kax-s-t-is. He should be going /act-go-caus-tran-he/. s-tspá-m. 70. cak^w ?iwà? lut ?u1 If even (he) doesn't shoot /abs-shoot-mid/, ?iti? c-kxan. just so he goes along /act-go/ (69). 71. [?]ul ti xas-t yi spa?ús-c ?axa? And sure good he would feel /heart-his/

	17	18
	nk"əlmùt-s.	77. ?axa? yi kəx-əx-kxà-p lut tə
	his brother-in-law /brother in law-his/ (1).	The parents /grow-res-grow-monc/ never /not/
72.	mət vay tali? c-x ^w a?-1-kə1-pa?xá-m."	c-cint-əlx.
	I guess /dub/ /very much/ she has all kinds of different thoughts /act-many-com for-around-think-mid/."	say anything /act-say what-p1/.
	9 9 UN X 9 N 9	78. win c-x('i) ensise-olx ?axa?
73.	way kəxk"ù "n-əm-s" yı icəcə?ùps-c."	They tried to /in vain/ stop /act-?-pl/
	Well, she kept nagging at /?-mid-his/ her younger sister /younger sister-her/.	?lwa?** yı s-xo?t-mix-lt-s-olx
74.	way 'ixi' s-nunx"-ina'-s.	/to no avail/ their oldest daughter /abs-first-?***-
	Well, she believed her /abs-believe-sar-her/.	ła? c-kiń-s-t-s yi
75.	la c-x?it ?iwa?-m [*]	child-his-pl/ when she hates /act-hate-caus-tran-she/
	At /when/ first /act-first- (cf. 2) she tried to /to no	sa?stan-s, wik ^v -con-h-s.****
	kəl-qix"-s /kl-qix"-n-t-is/	her brother-in-law, she backbites him /hide-mouth-mid-she/
	avail-mid/ (cf. 3%) take up for him /around-drive-atv-tran-	73. waý ?ixi? cù-s /cow-n-t-is/
	yı s-xılwı?-s; way ?ixi? ?ul	Well, she [the younger daughter] told /say-atv-tran-
	she/ her husband /abs-husband-she/;	ýi q ^v ásqi?-s: "uný ?uyá?.
	sic nunx"-ina?, n-súx"-na?.	she/ her Blue Jay /Blue Jay-her/: "Listen here.
	finally /new/ she believed /believe-ear/ she understood /loc-recognize-ear/.	80. waý myàł x ⁴ 0?-ásậət,
76.	"way wənix", way s-c-vənix"-əx"	/topmuch, many/ It has been too many days /many-days/,
	That's true, she's telling the truth /abs-act-	n-yki-p k [™] u
i-ikikxa?."*		and (we) are still /loc-time-nonc(always)/ /we/
	true-res/ my older sister /my-older sister/."	s-ciscəlq"-a?x.
		on our honeymoon /abs-honeymoon-inch/.

x b

	12	20
81.	waý, [?] uyá [?] , koł-pyá-x ýi la	89. cú-s-əlx: 'way' ?uyá?,
	Liston, think about /around-think-imp/ /at/	They said to her: 'Just /listen/
	k-s-t_x ^w -con-sút.	kəw-p-mi-n-t a-sa ⁷ stám.'"
	getting some grub (6).	leave alone /gone-nonc-purp-atv-tran/ your brother-in-law.'"
82.	way myàł k ^w u ła? c-on-śəłn-cin. [*]	90. waý cù-s ýi tkłmilx"-s: "waý k"u
	It's too much (that) we /when/ have sponged on them /act-loc-eat-food/.	He said (14) to his wife:
0.7		x ^w i_c'-x-t-x ^w t sipi?,
83.	way mət k ^u n-xə [?] -ils-m-ən-t-əm.	"Give me /give-ben-tran-2nd sg/ /instr/ a piece of skin,
	Naybe us they are getting tired of /loc-hate-vol- mid-atv-tran-impers/.	?ali? ?ul k [™] u q [₩] ən-cin-m-ən-t-x [™] .
34.	mfan fàc-ən-t [*] ?axa? t ^{**} a-sa?stám.	since you complain with me (?) /complain-mouth- mid-atv-tran-you/.
	Just look at /look-atv-tran/ your sister-in-law.	91. way lut kən tə k-s-yriwaxən,
85.	way tali? k ^w u n-xo?-ils-m-on-t-om.	/not/ I haven't any snowshoes /have-abs-
	Very much us they hate (83).	kəm lut kən tə k1-cəq-ilən.
86.	?ui kmix ?axa? t [*] a-s-on-ix∍n-t-án.	snowshoes/, nor /or/ /not/ I have any bow and arrow
	And /only/ they are your law relations (4).	/have-hit-weapon/.
87.	?iwa? c-kəl-qiw-st-əm-s-olx.*	92. way tox" ?ixi? i-s-t_x"-1s-cút."
	/to no avail/ They tried to take up for you /act-around-?- refl-mid-3rd-pl/.	I am going to prepare myself /my abs- obtain-vol-refl/."
88.	[?] iwa? c-x(h)ənsisc-t-s-əlx [*] yı s-tənkə?-ilt-s-əlx,	93. way 'ixi' s-t_x ^w -1-ck ^w ink-əm-s [*]
	They tried to stop (78) their daughter (9),	Well, he get a bow /abs-obtain-con-bow-mid-his/,
	?axa? yi s-x?it-x.	q ^w àsqi?.
	the oldest one (2).	Blue Jay.

•

2

1

.

	21			
94.	waý ýi s-k ^w ol-ck ^w ińk-s, ?uł			
	Well, the bow he made /abs-make-bow-his/,			
	lut [?] it-1?, ýi s-kás-t-s.			
	it wasn't even that, it was awful /abs-bad-stat-his/.			
95.	lùt-əm yı txixi?.*			
	It wasn't /not-mid/ any good /anything/.			
96.	[?] uł [?] axa? ÿi s-t_x ^v -ł-cəq ² -ilən-s,			
	And the arrows he got /abs-obtain-con-hit-			
	way nix ti pùt c-?xil-t-s.			
	weapon-his/, they are /also/ just the same /act- same-stat-his/.			
97.	?ul ?axa? nix [₩] ?iwa? vət-ən-t-is [*] yi			
	And /also/ even when he put /put-atv-tran-he/			
k-s-tqpi's-t-ən ^{**} 'axa' l cəq-ilən,				
	the feathers on arrows (91),			
	k-copq-on-t-is.			
	he just stuck them on /res-stick-atv-tran-he/.			
98.	way ?ul lut txixi? ?axa? yi kl-coq-ilon-s.			
	And /not/ good enough his arrows weren't (91).			
99.	way kəs-əls-cút;			

v

,

He doesn't make things well enough /bad-vol-self/;

22				
	?axa? yı s-yriwaxən way ?ul lút,			
	his snowshoes (91) no,			
	s-kəs-kəs-alq ^v -s, [?] uł sic			
	they are bad /abs-bad-bad-cylindr-obj-his/, and /new/			
	təltüt-əm s-wit			
	they were weak it was just /abs-who,what/			
	s-pə-p ^f ac-ála?q ^v			
	new shoots /abs-shoot out-shoot out-dimin cylindr obj/			
	?ali? s-c-yər-yark"-s.**			
	that he made the frame with /abs-act-round-?-his/.			
100.	waý [?] uł lut ti mi?-útya?.*			
	Well, it's not even fit,			
101.	way 'ixi' xlit-x-t-s 'axa'			
	Jell she finally asked /ask-ben-tran-she/			
	yi tum-s t n-?iy-xən-t-ən-s*			
	her mother /mother-her/ /instr/ some skin for lacing			
	t sipi?.			
	[thread] /loc-lace-foot-stat-instr-his/ /instr/ /skin/.			
102.	cú-n-t-əm: "?uł ha k-stim?"			
	He said to her (10): /inter/ "What's that for /resit-what/?"			
103.	cú-s: "a-s-níkəłx", i-s-ən-k"əł-mrím,			
	She said (14): "Your son-in-law, the one I'm married to			

	23
	way k-s-kxən-mi-xa?x
	/my-abs-loc-?-medicine/, well, he's going with /unr-abs-
	k-s-pix-a ² x ² ul
	follow-purp-inch/ the hunters /unr-abs-hunt-inch/ and
	lut to k-s-yriwaxon,
	he doesn't have snowshoes /have-abs-snowshoes/ (91),
	?ul way Sapna? x"il-xon-om
	and now he's got sticks ready /whittle-foot-mid/
	?uł way yrik"-xən-əm ?uł lut naxəmi tə
	and he's made frames (99) /not/ but
	kł-ən-?iy-xən.
	he has (nothing) to lace them in /have-loc-tie-foot/ (101)
104.	scxil-x ki? k ^u cú-s, ?ul
	That's what (13) /that/ /me/ he told me (14), and
	ņ-məy-cin-t-s-ən /n-may-cin-n-t-s-in/,
	I interpret him to you /loc-teach-mouth-atv-tran-you-I/,
	pna? k" k-sipi?."
	maybe you got hide /have-hide/ (90)."
105.	cú-n-t-əm: "way təx" kən c-kəl-cə-cəx"ən-sút.
	She told her (10): "Well, yes, I keep some in stock /act-down-dim-?-refl/.
106.	way tox" ?ixi? x"ic-I-t-s-on."
	I will give you some tain
	tran-you-I/."

	24			
107.	?ixi? kor-ən-t-is.			
	So she started cutting it /cut-atv-tran-she/.			
108.	q"àsqi? ?ixi? s-ən- ⁷ iy-xon-əm-s.			
	Blue Jay then started stringing the shoes (cf. 101).			
109.	way k-s-kəlx -s-t-is ?axa? yi			
	Well, it took him all day /unr-abs-evening-mid-caus-tran-he/			
	s-c-k"ul-ast-s ?ul			
	to fix his bow and arrow /abs-act-make-weapon-his/ and			
	?axa? 'yi k-s-yriwaxən-s.			
	his snowshoes (91).			
110.	?ul tam [*] ?axa? ya k-s-q [∀] a?-m-1kst, ^{**}			
	And those that are used to fixing them /have-abs-			
	ta* k ^w ənx-àsqət			
•	accustomed-?-hand/, it takes them a good many days			
	miwyús-xon kəm yi			
	/indef no-days/ to finish shoe-work /?-foot/ or			
	s-c-k ^v əl-s-cəq-ilən.			
	arrow work /abs-act-make-conn-hit-weapon/.			
111.	cniłc [*] ti 1 k-s-kəláx ^w , ?uł way			
	But he, in one day /unr-abs-evening/, and already			
	wi?-s-t-is yi			
he had finished /finish-caus-tran-he/				

IJ

25	26		
ki-coq-ilon-s yi k-s-yriwa-xon-s.** 116.	xəw-ən-t-is-əlx xəv-w-alq", x ^w ək-n-t-i-s-əlx		
his arrow /unr-hit-weapon-his/ and his snowshoes (91).	They dry (cf 114) the sticks dry (114), they whittle it		
112. ⁹ uł ⁹ ałi? lut txixi?.	məi ?ip-s.		
Surely /because/ they're not good enough (98).	they wipe it.		
113. [°] axa [°] m s-c-xs-ikst-əm-s-əlx, 117.	c-k-tlq ^w -əlq ^w -s-t-s-əlx		
They took pains /abs-act-good-hand-mid-his-pl/,	They make it shine /act-res-shine-cylindr-obj-caus-tran-		
ya k-s-q ^u a?-m-ikst.	?axa? yı́ l n-do?-do?-iws,		
the ones that know how to fix them (119).	he-pl/ in the center of the bow /loc-hit-hit-		
114. xəw-w-àlq	məl ?ixi? k-əlk-àlq"-s-əlx /k-lak-alq"-n-t-is-lx/		
The sticks have to be dry /dry-res-cylindr-obj/	center/, and then they wrap it with a string /res-tic-		
kł-cəq-ilən-s-əlx, məł	yi t tínx, mel ?ixi?		
for the arrows /unr-hit-weapon-his-pl/, and then	cylindr obj-atv-tran-he-pl/ with sinew, and		
tl-əm-s-t-1s-əlx.*	ýi t tić tíl-s-əlx,		
they straighten them /straight-?-caus-tran-his-p1/.	/with/ they pitch it (where) it's split /split-it-pl/		
115. mi sic t-k"úl-ast-əm-ə1x,	məl lut k-s-t-k ^v áx ^v -əx ^v -əlqs,		
Then /fut/ /new/ they fix the feathers on /res-make-	and it doesn't come loose /unr-abs-res-loose-res-clothes/		
t-k ^v əl-k ^v ùl-s yı	?uł ti y_sac, ** ?ixi? ?uł c-yəw-yàws-t		
feather-mid-pl/, /res-make-make-(atv-tran)-his/ the	it's solid, then it's good and strong /act		
cəq-ilən, məl 'axa' yi ck"ink 'ili?	yi c-k-yəw-yəw?-ink,***		
arrow (91), and the bow (93)	<pre>strong-strong-stat/ /act-res-strong-strong-bow/,</pre>		
čxił.	?uł ?ałi? q'asqi? moł s-x"p-t-áxon-x,		
the same way (18).	and Blue Jay maybe has got weak arms /abs-		

• • • •

	27	28
?u⊥ way		?ixi? wi?-nu-m-t-∂lx.
	worthless-stat-arms-p/ (cf. 36) because what he made	they were all ready (cf. 111).
	c-kos-als-cút.	121. way tək"-cin, wa?-wa?-m
	is no good /act-bad-vol-refl/.	He hollered (118), was proclaiming /?-?-mid/
118.	way xlà-p put-i?	ņčīcən.
	The next day /light-nonc/ it was still /still-past/	Wolf.
	kim-lax" way tek"-cin ?axa?	122. "wấy, wấy.
	dark /dark-earth/ he hollered (?-mouth)	"All right.
	ņčicən: "way cəm ku kəl-xəl-xla-p,	123. k ^u u tk ^u ə?üt." [*]
	Wolf: /might/ /us/ "Daylight will overtake us	We're going."
	k [∀] u ņ-was-núx [∀] ,*	124. way ?uł c-?àcqa?-ə1x ?axa? yi
	/around-light-light-nonc/ we will be too late,	All started coming out /cislos-out-pl/ the
	ļk≝ut ýi k-s-x ^w úý-t-∂n-t∂t,	s-plá-1.
	/far-?/ we're going far /unr-abs-go-stat-instr-our/,	young folks (119).
	way x ^w ət-lilx-wi?."**	125. way ?ui nix q ^w àsqi? ti
	get up /nove- ? -imp/!"	/also/ Blue Jay is there too
119.	nikx na?, ?axa? ýi sqilx", x"ət-ilx ýi	c-?ácqa?.
	Goodness, the people got up (118) the	he came out (124).
	s-plá-1.	126. way ?axa? q"àsqi? ti la p-yx"út,
	young felks /abs-grow-res/.	Blue Jay was still /loc/ inside /loc-inside/
120.	way 1-?ilon-olx, tip-m-olx, ** way	?u‡ ?ixi? k?aw-qən-mÌ-st-əm-s
	They ate /?-eat-pl/, they drank /?-mid-pl/,	he hired (coaxed) /greet-head-purp-refl-mid-

. ą <u>v</u>

yi tkimilx"-s k-s-lit"-1-t-am his/ his wife to put /unr-abs-insert-expr goal-atv-

?axa? yi s-y riwaxən-s, ?uł ?ałi? his snowshoes on him (91), indef/ because

1 k-s-Səc-n-t-is lut to c-moy-s-t-is he doesn't even know how to tie /unr-abs-tie-

vi s-cew-xan-s,

his shoes on /abs-?-foot-his/, atv-tran-he/

ləq∀-cin-xən,

the loops around the ankle /loop-mouth-foot/,

c-?úm-s-t-am. that's what we call it (20).

ki? litw-l-t-əm yi 127. way yi tkimilx"-s (it was) his woman /who/ put (126) Wall.

> way ti t-la n-yx^wùt s-yriwaxən-s, snowshoes on him, right from /source-loc/ inside (126)

?ul c-yriwaxən.

he put his shoes on.

yi s-pla-1 ya 128. ?axa?m These here (113) young folks (119) that

> k-s-q^wə?a-m... are used to it (110)...

	30			
129.	k-əlk ^w -ak ^w -əlx,	scxił	lut	11
	They go far /res-far-res-pl/,	like (cf.)) /not/	where
	ki-xovii,	mol sic y	riwaxən•	-əm-əlx.
	there is no road /have-road/, snowshoes on /snowshoes-mid-pl	and then t L/.	hey put	their
130.	nikxəna?, 1-i? kə?.	-kə?a-u-s-э1	x.	
,	My, and /seq-past/ how bad lg-mid-his-pl/.	they made f	un of hi	im /bad 1 ₅ .
131.	k-Voy-n-t-sut-om-s-olx yi	t sçi	1x ^w	
	They laughed at him -the	/agent/ peo	ple (bee	cause)
	tla n-yx "ùt	tə1	s-yriwa:	kən-əm-s;
	from inside he	put /from/	his snow	vshoes on;
	way ti nəqs-i?pust-xən-əm			mə l
	he just takes one sto	ep /one-?-fo	ot-nid/	and
	t-qəl-qəlx"us-xən		q"asqi	?, məł
	he'll 'nook it on something /res-?-?-foot/ Blue Jay,			
	yi kol-kilx-s	kə1-tq	-ən-t-si	.t-əm-s.**
	with his hands /hand-hand-hinsolf.	-his/ he has	to pro	tect
132.	way ?ul ?ali? mət		təx" y:	i t
	It must have	been /dub/		from
	s-mik ^w t, ?ui ?aii	i? kəy-?-ik	st [*]	
	the snow /abs-snow/, and	his hand.	s get re	eally cold

~ ~

	32
134.	way sta? k ^w u c-xar-kst-əm-s-t-əm."
	/us/ he's just making us lose time /act-waste time-hand-mid-caus-tran-indef/."
135.	?ixi? s-tk"a?út-s-alx, ?ul ?axa?
	They walked away /abs-walk-his-pl/, and this
	?ata? ņcicon s-c-xo?t-mi-x,
	here Wolf is way ahead /abs-act-first-purp-p/,
	kəl-qəx-ən-t-is yi s-lx-ex-lax-t-s
	he fixes /around-fix-atv-tran-he/ the trail for his friend /abs-friend-res-friend-stat-his/.
136.	?ixi? nin wi? kali? kəl-wik-xən-əlx,
	(They go), then /to there/ they find tracks
	?ixi? məł px [∀] -əm-ən-t-sút-əlx.
	/down-sec-foot-pl/, then they scatter /scatter- pr -atv-tran-ref1-pl/.
137.	caq"-lax"-on, șcicon, ⁹ ul
	He'll point where to go /point-land-mid/, Wolf,
	⁹ axa ⁹ ta ņčicən xə ⁹ t-ús, yi
	this here dolf is the leader (3),
	s-ən-səy-səy-üs-c-əlx ?uł ?ixi? ÿi c-kəl-x"uğ
	he is the smartest of all (6) and then he goes /act
	'yi kəl k-s-x [₩] ùy-t-ən-s yı ska?cinən.
	down-go/ where goes (cf. 118) the deer.

?ul ?ali? mina

- /cold-inch-hand/, I don't suppose
- k-sp-ikst, məł ?ixi? he had gloves on /have-glove-hand/,

cəm-cəm-n-t-fàs^{**} yı kəl-kılx-s təl he started sucking his fingers (131) because

kəy-?-ikst.

they're cold (132).

133. váý ?uł cù-t-olx ?axa? ýi s-plá-l:"waýThensaidthe young ones (11?):"Ho

lút, com 'uc koł-ko-łax" no, maybe /dub/ he'll just get out of sight /down-

cəm ?itli? məl disappear-disappear-earth//maybe/ and then l-c-pəlk-ús-ən ?ul ?ali? he'll come back/back-cisloc-turn-?-mid/ because ciw-t q"ásqi? com ?ikli?

he's way behind /last-stat/ /Blue Jay/ /dub/ there

mi kəmax-qən-mi-st, he will give up (take his head and hang it down) /?-head-

mi 4-c-pəlk-ús-om. purp-refl/, and hə'll come back (133). 138. ?uł ?ałi? təl səy-səy-ús-c kwəc-kwac-t. Because he is smart (6) and strong /strongstrong-stat/.

- 139. ?uł kax-t ła? c-x^wúy.
 Then fast /fast-stat/ /when/ he can go (137).
- 140. way c-x wuy-olx.

They were going (137).

- 141. huy, kəł-wik-xən. Then, they see the tracks (136).
- 142. way x⁴0?it ska?cinom s-on-?iion-t-on-s. Lots of deer where they were feeding /mbs-loceat-stat-instr-his/.
- 145. [?]ixi? [?]ul px^W-om-on-t-sat.
- They scattered (136).
- 144. ?ul tali? x^oo?it yi ska?cinam. There were /very/ lots (142) of deer.
- 145. way kəla-p.
- He stopped /still-ncon/.
- 146. way mat ?axa? c-on-q"o?-úlax", /dub/ There is a hollow place /act-loc-?-land/,

səlx"ə?-úlax".

it's a big place /big-land/.

- 34 sha?cinom: "lut ?alà? yi 147. way mot (The deer) must be there /the/ /deer/ /not/ dix"-an-t-am. "We didn't scare them /drive-atv-tran-indef/. 148. ?axa? yi s-tk"-tk"?út-en-s-elx. are their tracks /abs-walk-walk-instr-his-pl/ Here vi s-c-?itan-x-alx." nət they might be still eating /abs-act-eat-progr-pl/." 149. ?ixi? ?ut way xho-p-úlax". It was broad daylight then / completencon-land/. 150. way kola-p ?ul cu-n-t-on-clx: "157? They stopped (145) and he told them (10): /Inter/ c-vas ?" way ?ala? p /here/ /you pl/ "Are you all (gathered) here /actgather/?" "way way k"u c-yar. 151. cú-t-əlx: They said (14): "Yes, we are here (150). 152. knix an-k"ol mut a"ásai?
 - Just your brother-in-law /your-brother in law/ Blue Jay

lùt-i? to c-kol-?iq".

he hasn't /not-past/ come in sight yet /act-aroundappear/.

	35	36
153.	?ali? ti ?ixi? k ^u u c-tk ^u ə?út, ?ixi? ?ul	yi la c-s-cix".
	Just as we left (123),	in those slate rocks /act-abs-slate/.
	c-ən-1p-1sápak, [*] ?ul ?ali? lut tə c-məy-s-t-is	159. way k'u k-s-px"-əm-ən-t-sút-a?x.
	he was falling around, because /not/ he doesn't	We are going to scatter (cf. 136).
	yı s-yriwaxən, way mət	160. ?ikəli? kəl s-qil-t
	know anything about (67) snowshoes, he might	/to there/ /to/ Just when you get to the top /abs-step-
	1-pəlk-ús-əm.	c-ən-x"ət-ús.
	turn back (133).	stat/ there's a hollow /act-loc-hollow-surface/.
154.	lut k-s-kə1-?in-ən-t-əm.	161. ?ikəlì? mi k [∨] u 1-?ulus.
	<pre>/not/ Let's not wait for him /unr-abs-around-wait-atv- tran-indef/.</pre>	That's where /fut/ we all get back together /back- together/ (cf. 14).
155.	k ^u u xár-kst-m-ən-t-əm.'	162. ninwi? ?iti? 1 s-c-q11-t-s-ə1x,
	We are wasting time (134)."	If /that one/ /sub/ they've already gone over that
156.	cù-t pcicon: "way, way wonix",	məl ?itli? kəl-px-ən-t-im
	Said (10) Wolf: "Well, that's right /true/ (49),	(160), then we'll think /around-think-atv-tran-
	way wik-ən-t-əm ?axa? yı s-x"uy-t-ən-s	nix" ?itli? yı k-s-px"-m-on-t-sut-s."
	we saw /see-atv-tran-we/ these tracks (137),	we/ more /from there/ how they are going to scatter again (cf. 136)."
	yı ska?cinəm, sic-xən.	163. cú-t-əlx: "way, way."
	deer tracks, fresh tracks /new-foot/.	They agreed (10): "/yes/ /yes/."
157.	lùt mət ka ⁹ kin.	

?axa?

/not/ I don't think /dub/ /tc/ they went anywhere /where/.

they are in that hollow (146),

?ala? c-ən-q"ə?-úlax",

158. ?axa? mət

Maybe

164. məy-ulax^w-1-t-om-olx He pointed (to them) to the ground (to go) /show-land-

37	38
yi k-s-yxis-a?x.	ko1
expr goal-tran-indef-pl/ to drive the deer /unr-abs- drive deer-inch/.	/abs-act-res-effort-purp-refl-progr-pl/ to
165. "?uł ?axa? ýi k-s-t-kom-áxən, "And these ones here on the outside /unr-abs-res-	s-x"ùý-t-ən-s ýi ska?cínəm; ?ixi? get to where (118) the deer (go); that's s-x"ə?-x"ùý-t-ən-s ýa c-ən-x"ə-x"əř-ús
s-k ^w ùt yi k-s-kàw-s back-arm/, half of them /abs-half/ will go to where	s-x"@?-x"uy-t-on-s ya c-on-x"o-x"@r-us where they always go (118) it's a low place where there
kol-cah-ml-xa?x	yi ska?clnom, ?ul ?ali? ?axa? yi is (160) the deer, and these here that
/unr-abs-gone-his/ they'll be watching (for deer) /around- k-s-kəł-x"úy-a?x:	s-c-yxis-x, [?] axa? qom-s-t-sút-olx; drive the deer (164), take their time /be-cous-
decipher-purp-inch/ to walk under (below) /unr-abs-down-	waý koł-wik-x-s-olx,
go inch/ there will be two of them /act-?-person-	tran-refl-pl/; (when) they see (tracks) (cf. 136), upl ti n-?p-?úcx-s-plx.
?ui inca?, ?ixa? təl two-two/; and as for me, (I'll be) from	they follow them /loc-follow-follow-his-pl/.
	7. húy, məl qîx ⁴ -s-ɔlx, məl ti ?ikəli? /finished/ They drive it (51),
kon $k-s-k\partial 1-x'' \hat{u}\hat{y}-a?x.''$	tl-om-on-t-sùt ?axa will go right straight /straight-pr-atv-tran-rufl/
I'm going to walk under (165). 166. ?uł ?ałi? ÿi soy-soy-ùs ÿi t-kon-áxon. (Only) the smart ones (6) can be on the	yi ska?clnon ?ixi? s-x"o?-x"dy-t-on-s yi ka the deer tracks to
outside (165), because they are doing their best	c-ən-x"ə-x"ər-ús, ?ul vay ?ili? yı s-?by-s that low pass (166), and the ones that wen

the ones that went

?axa?

ę

160
170
171

And

	40
	yi s-c-yxis-t-x.
	the ones that are driving (164).
167.	?ul ?ixi? ?axa? yı s-?um-s yı t
	And that's what's called (20) in
	n-q ^w əl-q ^w il-t-ən 'yı
	the language /loc-talk-talk-stat-inst/ 'the
	s-c-kow-s-koł-coh-mi-x',
	ones that go and set up to watch /abs-act-go-con-down-
	yi səy-səy-ús,
	decipher-purp-progr/ (89) (165)', the smart ones (6),
	s-əlx"-üs-əm.
	those who watch /abs-watch-eye-mid/.
170.	way, cú-t-əlx: "wáy, mət q ^w àsqi? [?] ixi?
	They said (10): "Maybe Blue Jay
	mi c-kəi-kə-lax", ni
	when he comes out of sight (of his home) (cf. 133)
	c-?áyx"t, mi kəy-əy-iks, cəm
	gets tired, his hands'11 get cold (132), he might
	?itli? mi ≟-pəlk-ús-əm.
	turn back (133).
171.	nak"-əm lút c-məy-s-t-is yi
	/evid-mid/ (6), He doesn't know anything about (6)

	41	42
	s-yriwaxon.	178. ?uł ?sźi? met k-yew-yew-ina,
	snowshoes (91).	And he must have good hearing /res-strong-
172.	vný avžt coň k ^u u	?ul ?ali? s-t-xo-xÅ-ina-m-st-s.
	/too much/ (He'll just make) /dub/ us	strong-ear/ (117), he heard every word of it /abs-res-complete-complete-ear-pr-refl-his/ (cf. 149)
	xar-kst-əm-ən-t-əm 1 kel-?im-ən-t-əm."	179. way nk olmut yi k-s-olx -us-u?x.
	lose too much time (134) if /sub/ we wait for him (154)."	The brother-in-law is the one that's going to watch (169).
173.	[?] ixi [?] s-px ^v -əm-ən-sút-s-olx.	
	They scattered (136).	180. nak"-om ti s-c-k"o?-k"ùl-om-s q"ásqi?,
174.	cú-n-t-əm-əlx: "way c-məy-s-t-ip yi	(171) He was just putting on (cf. 91) Blue Jay,
	He told them (10): "You know (6)	?ul yn c-ən-lp-lsának, lut
	nəy-úlax"-1-əm-ən, ?ikəli?	and that's why he fell deep in the snow (153),
	where I told you to go /teach-land-?-?-I/, and	c-məy-s-t-is yrivaxən.
	ni k ^w u ya ^k -ni-1x."*	he didn't know (his) snowshoes.
	we'll all get together again /gather-purp-p1/ (150)."	181. [?] axa [?] n-wis-əlx q ^w asqi [?] ,
175.	way ⁹ uł s-px ^w -om-on-sùt-s-olx.	(Blue Jay) just rose /loc-high-pl/ /Blue Jay/
	They scattered (136).	k-təkq-iks-əs yı s-col-cal.
176.	nak"-ən ?axa? c-kəl-xə-xəlsàs-ən	he kicked /res-kick-branch-his/ the trees /abs-stand- stand/.
	(171) He has been watching for them /act-	182. nta? ki? nivt s-tràqu
	q"ásqi?.	The wind started blowing it came down /abs-?
	around-?-?-mid/ Blue Jay.	ýi s-kəmk [™] ú?-qən yı s-mik [™] ət yı kəl
177.	way wik-s px"-əm-ən-sùt yı s-ləx-lax-t-s.	on the trees /abs-?-head/ the snow (132) to
	He saw scatter (136) his friends (135).	

• •

43	44
təmx ^w -úlax ^w .	s-niŵt q ^{'u} uy-q ^{'u} uy-lax ^w .
the ground /earth-land/.	wind /abs-wind/ (182) it's still.
q ^w əl-əm-ən-t-sùt, yı 186.	way t-xrùt-əm q ^w asqi?.
The snow was floating around /?-pr-atv-tran-ref1/ the	(Blue Jay) went up the hill (184) /Blue Jay/
təmx"-úlax". 187.	\mathbf{x} " $\mathbf{\hat{u}}$ · · · $\mathbf{\hat{y}}$.
earth (182).	He went.
?ixi? s-t-xrùt-om-s. 188.	kic-x [?] ikali? n-qəl-t-ùs
labs-res-uphill-mid-his/He went up the hill.	He got (25) there to the top of the mountain (160)
?ili? xìl-əm yı təmx"-úlax",	yi kəla? c-ən-x"ə-x"ər-us.
The same thing (happened) (9) there (182),	where that low place is (160).
məl [?] ixi [?] s-k-swit-mi-st-s-əlx yı 189.	way 'iti' yi s-ka'cinəm yı s-x"üy-i'-t-ən-s.*
they did their best (166) (to get)	The deer had already gone over.
kəl s-ən-kəl-q'úy-st-ən-s-əlx, 190.	way [?] iti? yı s-làx-t-s yı nk ^w əlmút-s,
where they could get shelter /abs-loc-down-still-refl-	His partner (135) his brother-in-law
c-?xil-c yı s-ən-təws-sqaxa?-t-ən,	way k-s-kəl-kəl-ənwix ^w -t-ən
instr-his-pl/, /like/ (9) to a place for shelter	he's already gone over /have-abs-chase-chase-rec-
°ul	t s-?iw-t.
/abs-loc-shelter(?)-animal-stat-instr/, and	stat-instr/ behind /abs-last-stat/.
q ^u uy-q ^u uy-lax ^u lut ?ili? tə 191.	way ?itli? n-?úcx-s,*
there's no air /still-land/ there where	He started following /loc-go down-his/,
c-kic-x yı s-mik"ət; təx yı	ņ-qicəlx-əm-s ^{**} yı ņk ^v əlmút-s.
didn't reach (25) the snow; the	and he was right in the tracks of his brother-in-law.

_1010

183.

184.

185.

	45
192.	ti lut s-k-s-c-x ^w ùỳ-əs ?axa? ncicən, He didn't go very far (52) Wolf,
	waý kəl-nixəl. he heard something /around-hear/.
193.	c-?xil-t k-s-xp-ica?. /like/ (9) He got the chills /have-abs-?-cover/.
194.	n-îac-əx-kən-sút, sta, He looked behind him /loc-look-?-back-refl/, well,
	k-way, c-ən-kc-n-ikən-t-əm he was being overtaken /act-loc-reach-?-back-
	ÿi t ņk"əlmút-s, t q"ásqi?. tran-indef∕ by his brother-in-law, by Blue Jay.
195.	<pre>?itli? qicəlx, k-swit-mi-st. Then he runs (191), he's doing his best (166).</pre>
196.	ņ-st-ils: "ta···, ņtá?. He thought /loc-think-vol/: "Ah.
197.	<pre>?ul c-kol-túnilxt-om. And we thought he couldn't make it /act-down-?-we/.</pre>
198.	?ul ?axa?yikənx?it1s-pix-əmAnd hereI'm the best /first/ in hunting (12)
	<pre>?u1-i? k^wu 1-c-ən-kc-n-iki-s.* and here /and-past/ /me/ he overtakes me (194).</pre>

	46
199.	way ninwi? ?akolà? Di
	/when/ It won't be far /there/, he'll /fut/
	k-s-?ayx"t-ayon."*
	give out /have-abs-tired-instr/."
200	put n-kc-n-iki-s yı ska?cinəm, ka?
2001	Until he overtakes (194) the deer that's when
	to c-polk-us-om ?axa? ncicon.
	he'll turn back (133) this here Wolf.
201.	hi?, ?itli? ?uckəl-ìp-əm [*]
	Well, then he run down the hill /run-lower end-mid/
	ņčicon.
	Wolf.
202.	q ^w úł, q ^w úł, q ^w úł ýi s-yriwaxən-s; ⁹ uł
	Dust, dust, dust (go) his snowshoes,
	n-wək-napana-qən-əm-s
	with the corner of his eyes he saw /loc-see-?-head-mid-
	ya nk™əlmüt-s.
	ya nk einut-s. his/ his brother-in-law.
203.	way nix" ti $c^{-2}x^{1}i + t q^{-1}u^{1}i$, $q^{-1}u^{1}i$
	/Also/ /like/ (9) dust, dust, dust (go)
	yı s-yriwaxon-s.
	his snowshoes.

	47	4 8	
204.	way [?] uł q ^w ə?-m-is yı s-yriwaxon-s.	way ti wim, ?ul	
	He had got used to (128) his snowshoes.	hesjust tired (78), couldn't make it and	
205.	way ?ul lut s-ən-tikl-t-s	?ixi? s?xəl-om-ən-t-sùt-s ?axa? nċicən.	
	He didn't get to the bottom /abs-loc-	he turned around (cf. 207) this here Wolf.	
	[?] uł k-s-?ayx ^w t-áyən, ?ałi? bottom(?)-stat-his/ and he got give out (67),	208. way ?uł ?ałi? ņ-?ayx ^w t-ils. He was too tired (67).	
	mina? tannùs ki? q ^w ásqi?.	209. cù-s ÿi nk∀əl̂mút-s: "x∀úÿ-əx,	
	it isn't for (cf. 100, 132) nothing that he is Blue Jay	He told (14) his brother-in-law: "Go ahead,	
206.	?ul ?ixi? lam lut to c-?ayx"t	anwi? pna? k ^w čakən-úlax ^w .	
	He never used /not/ to get tired (67)	you're maybe a little better off (than I am) /?- earth/.	
	ņčicən.	210. way [?] uł kən k-s-xə?1?	
	Wolf.	I'm plum to the end /have-abs-?/ (cf. 83?)	
207.	put n-kc-n-iki-s yi sia?cinəm,	ýi t s-?áyx ^v t.	
	He just overtakes (194) the deer,	I'm done tired (67).	
	Aəx ^w -ən-t-is, [?] ul nix ^w lut tə slaughters them (52), and (he) don't	211. anwi? k ^w yow?-p-yáw-t."	
	staughters them (32), and (he) ton t	(Maybe) you are stronger /strong-nonc-strong-stat/.	
	c-?áyx ^w t, məl l-c-kic-x ?ul ?ali? mət	212. way cú-s.	
	get tired, then he gets back (25) I suppose	He said.	
	s?xəl-ikst-əm	213. ⁹ uł ⁹ ałi? keł-xq-en-t-im	
	maybe (Blue Jay) turned him around (changed him) /?-	He gave him the way /down-aside-atv-tran-	
	t q ^w asqi?, ?ul-i? ?áyx ^w t;	to ncicon.	
	hand-mid/ /Blue Jay/, that's why () he's tired;	indef/ Wolf (stepped aside).	

49	50
?itli? n-wls-əlx	219. way ?uł n-k"ə-k"ə?ac, kip-úlax"
(Blue Jay) made another jump /loc-high-?/	It got dark /loc-dark-dark/, it was dusk /?-
q ^w ásqi?.	ki? ņ-tīki.
/Blue Jay/.	land/ when he got to the bottom (205).
x ^w um lut [?] itli [?] tə s-yum-mi-st [*]	220, nta? way qə-qom-nə?-iwa_t
Just like he never made a move /abs-move-	Laying all over /be-be-?-dim here and there/
tə ncicən.	ýi sla?cínem.
purp-refl/ Wolf.	are deer.
?itli? ?iwà? x'úy.	221. way ?axa? ?əx-əx1-i1x.*
/to no avail/ He started to go.	Well, he was busy doing something /like-like-?/.
ti ta ?x11-əm, ?u1 kə1-kə-lax"*	222. ?ixi? ?uł ya číw-t.
But just like that (?), he was out of sight /around	That (was) the last (deer) /last-stat/.
q™ásqi?; wáy k-swit-mí···-st.	223. ?ui wi? s-on-tolk ^w -iica?-s
disappear-earth/ 31ue Jay; he tried his best (217)	And he got done (111) taking the guts out /abs-loc-
?ixi? ?uł n-tlkł ncicon, ?ałi?	q ^v ásqi?.
Finally got to the bottom (205) Molf, because	gut-meat-his/, Blue Jay.
?axa? n-y'ip c-ən-?ucx-s-t-s yı ska?cinəm;	224. ?ixi? ?ul-i? ņ-kckn-álq.
he always (30) tracks (166) the deer;	And that's when (9) he overtook him (52).
n-y ^t ip ?iti? s-x ^u ùy-t-an-s	225. way nak"-om p-kaw-lax"-s-t-s
right along (80) (are Blue Jay's) tracks	He's got them all killed /loc-gone-earth-caus-tran-
q ^w ásqi?.	yi sla?cinom.
/Plue Jay/.	his/, the deer.

• i

214.

215.

216.

217.

218.

	51	52
226.	ha? n-st-ils ncicon: "tol i-s-c-k ^w ul	232. lk ^w -ùt k ^w a yi s-ma-mə?im-tət,
	/inter/ thought (196) Molf: "From the time I was	Far away yet (113) /interj/ are our women /abs-
	təl i-s-tax ^v -s-px-páx-t,	yi s-on-ili-t-on-tot."
	born /my-abs-act-born/, from the time I got my senses	women-women-our/, our staying place /abs-loc-there loc-instr-our/."
	lut s-wit	233. cù-n-t-om t ncicon, ?ul ?ali? mə?-ils-om-s*
	/my-abs-obtain-con-think-think-stat/, nobody	Told him (10) Wolf, and he figured /find
	k ^u u tə c-kəl-xə [?] t-x-t-is.	[?] uł ya-yat-t
	/me/ could step in front of me /act-down-first-caustran-he/.	out-vol-mid-his/ it's all /all-all-stat/
227.	Sapna? ?3xa? t i-ņk"əlmùt ki?	c-xì-əm-ús, [?] uł t qəl-t-ikən,
	And now this here brother-in-law-of mine (1)	uphill /act-up-pr-surface/, and then to the top (188),
	k ^u u 1-kə1-xə [?] t-ən-t-is.	?ixi? ?uł s-x ^w ə-x ^w əst-ùs yi then it's all doumhill /abs-?-?-surface/
	that stepped in front of me (226).	
228.	way ?ui lut i-k-s-nunx"-ina?.	kəl citx ^w -s-əlx, cú-s: "way, lút.
	I'm not going to believe it /my-unr-abs- believe-ear/ (74).	to their houses /house-his-pl/, he said: "No.
		234. way kən ?im-ən-s-t-sút.*
229.	way ha? mət kən s-c-púl-pəl-t-x."	I fear it /wait-wait-caus-tran-ref1/.
	/inter/ Maybe I'm just dreaming /abs-act-dream- dream-stat-progr/."	235. ?ixi? ?uł kən cəs-pis-kit
230.	cù-n-t-əm t q"ásqi?: "hu-húy, k"u pəlk-ús-əm.	I have no more breath /gone-?-breath/
	Told him (10) Blue Jay: "Well now /us/ let's turn back (133).	yi t s-?ayx"t.
231.	vaý com tali? k ^w u 1 n-k ^w ác-nux ^w .	from fatigue (67).
	We might be too /we/ /sub/ late /loc-late-?/.	236. ta wonix k(i) axa? yi c-ən-kc-n-ikən-t-s-ən
		All /true/ I could do was overtake you (52).

) r

	53	54
237.	waý lut tə qəl-nù-n l	243. way ?ixi? tk"-ol-t-ls
	I can't make it /manage-success-I/	Well he laid it down /drop-expr goal-tran-he/
	i-kl-əl-xik-ən.	k-s-ən-q ^w əlt-áqs-c.
	to go up the hill (233).	the deer-gift (deer he gave to the other guy) /unr-abs- loc-pack-prize-his/.
233.	way ti ?ala? kən púlx."	244. vay ?ixi? k-ciq-na?-s-əlx ya
	I'm going to camp here."	244. WayfixionR-clq-na/-s-aixyaMell,they dug /res-dig-?-he-pl/ it up
239.	"ha?."	?xi? c-1-?iq" yi
240.	cu-n-t-ən: "wáy," ?ul ?ali? way wi?	until come in sight /act-back-appear/ (152) the
	He told him: "OK," and /finish/ (111)	sła ² cinəm.
	s-kəl-pa ² x-s	deer.
	(Blue Jay) had already figured out what to do (72)	245. way 1-m?aw-1-t-s ?axa?
	q ^w ásqi?.	He broke up /back-break-expr goal-tran-he/
	/Blue Jay/.	yi k-lu?x"-ù-l-t-s yi
241.	way, yı s-xə?-imi sılx"a?	the stitches /res-ring-surface-expr goal-tran-he/
	The /abs-great-super1/ (cf. 57) biggest /big/	sła?cinəm, ?ałi? ?i-?ilwi?-əm
	ýi xə?t-us ýi ska?cínəm, ?ixi? púl-s-t-s.	on the deer, because he had twisted a stick /twist-twis
	the leader (2) of the deer, he killed it /kill- caus-tran-he/.	?ixi? yı k-łu?x [∨] -ùs-əs yı ska?cin∋m.
242.	?ul ?ali? tali? k-s-q'"is-əs ya	mid/ and he had stitched up (245) the deer.
	Because it had a lot of fat /have-abs-fat-his/ the	246. cu-s yi nk əlmut-s: "way ?ala? k a?
	ņ-x ^w t-íłča [?] , way ņ-st-íls.	We told his brother-in-law: "Here /interj/
	inside of it (126), he thought (196).	

.

* 4

55 k[™] n-?úłx[₩] ?axa? 1 ska?cinem." you go in this /loc-enter/ here deer.

- 247. cu-n-t-an. lie told him.
- 248. "?ixi? mi k۳ x"əl-x" ál-t. then /fut/ you'll live /live-live-stat/. "And
- 249. nta?, Sac-en-t k"a? ?iti? kay-ic-asgat. Well, look (18) /interi/ how clear it is (it will
 - tali? be cold) /cold-cover-day/ it's very cold /cold-stat/.

cal-t.

- 250. uav ti k^{W} k-s-cal-əl-t. You'11 freeze (249).
- 251. k^{\vee} x-kin-əm, mi k^w ?ur-isəlp-ən* What can you do (50) to make fire /fire-wood-

k^w x-³kin-əm. mi k^w k-s-lip. mid/, what can you do to get wood?

- 252. ?axa? yi muk" yi s-mik"et. /?/ Look at all this snow /snow/.
- 253. k^w x⁻kin-əm ni k^w tx^w-sq^w-iip-əm What can you do to get fir boughs /abtain-fir-

?axa? 1 s-on-k"o-k"o?ac. branches-mid/, in the dark (213).

- 254, 25?ayx"t. you're tired besides. And
- 255. way ?ixi? ?axa? a-kl-on-x"ol-x"ol-t-an.
 - That's the only way you can save your life /your-unr-loc-live-live-stat-instr/.
- 256. lut a-k-s-lut-am,

Don't refuse /your-unr-abs-not-mid/.

- 257. ninwi? k" lút-om, mi k" kolá-1.
 - If you refuse, you'll die.
- dix-ox-om-on-t-x" 258. lut ha? /inter/ Don't you get stingy /stingy-stingy-pr-atv
 - vi an-tklmilx" ?
 - tran-you/ of your wife (44)?
- 259. k^{W} n-x^Wəl-x^Wəl-t-ils." You want to stay alive (248):"
- 260. way kəx-k"un-əm-s yı nk"əlmut-s. He coaxed (73) his brother-in-law.
- 261. way nunx^w-ina?-m-en-t-em. Then he believed him (74).
- 262. n-st-ils: "k-way, myał kan ?ayx"t. He thought: "Well. I'm too tired.
- 263. way lut gəl-nu-n i-k-s-?ur-isləp-əm; kəm To even try to (237) get fire (251); and

- 57 càk^v ?iwa? kən ła? ?ur-Ísləỷ-əm, ?uł waỷ even if I make fire,
- køn k-s-k-slip-a?-x.*
- I still have to get wood (251).
- 264. ?uł way lut.

No, I won't.

- 265. sic l s-on-k^wo-k^wo?ác. /new/ And it's night besides (219).
- 266. ?uł way kon k-s-k-s-q"ilp-a?x.*
 - I got to have something under me.
- 267. [?]uł way kən húy tə s-?áyx^wt. I'm all in /finished/ (41) from tired (67).
- 268. way wanix yi ku kal-p_x-xi-t-s." /true/ /me/ What he told me is true /aroundthink-ben-tran-he/ (72)."
- 269. cú-s: "way, k"i-i-t-s-on He said: "Yes, I'll take /take-expr goal-tran-you-I/
 - a-s-kəl-pax."

your advice /your-abs-around-think/."

- 270. cū-n-t-əm: "k^wa? n-?ūłx^w-əx^w." He told him: "Well, get in (246)."
- 271. way s-ən-?ùłx^w-s l sła?cinəm, ?uł ?ałi? Well he went into (246) the deer, because

58

it was big (241).

sílx[™]a?.

- 272. way ?ixi? 1-kəl-ən-xpi-p-s
 - And he stitched it back /back-around-loc-stitch
 - vi ska?cínem, mel ?ixl? l-k-cm-ína?-s.

nonc(?)-he/ the deer, and he put snow back (on the deer) /back-res-cover-surface-he/.

- 273. way ?axa? ncicən, ?ixi? wi?
 - Well Wolf, after /finished/
 - s-k-cm-ina?-s ?uł k^wə?ál.

he got snow on top (272) and got warmed up (22).

- 274. ?axa? ?ali? təx" lut-i? t s-kiy-t-s, Because he still wasn't too cold (132)
 - tali? k-s-k^wál-t; lut to suwits.
 - he got very hot sweated (22); he hadn't gotten too chilled /?/.
- 275. way ?ixi? xəs-t-mi-s yi s-k^wə?al-s.
 - He really liked (37), how he was getting warm (22).
- 276. tali? [?]uł cix-c_x-t.

277. way naxəml ?il-x^wt.*

It was really warm /warm-warm-stat/.

But he's very hungry /eat-?/.

- 59 278. təl stim məs-əs-ikst, /something/ He felt something /feel-feel-hand/
 - yi t s-qwis-əs.
 - the fat (242).
- 279. way ?itli? s-c-k-ník-əm-s. He cut some off /abs-act-res-cut-mid-his/.
- 280. ?uł ?ixi? s-?ilan-s. And then he ate (120).
- 281. t-q⁴ám-q⁹əm-qs. That was delicious /res-excellent-excellent-prize/.
- 282. way n-cəs-p-ink-s yi He cleaned all the inside /loc-gone-nonc-belly-his/

k-s-ən-q^wəłt-áqs-c.

of his gift deer (243).

- 283. way ?ayəxàxa?* s-wit ?ałi? síc-łća?, In a little while /abs-who, what/ since it's fresh
 - way n-car-ink.

deer /new-flesh/ (36), he got diarrhea /loc-hurtstomach/.

284. way lut x-?kin-əm mi ?ácqa?, There's no way (251) of him /fut/ getting out (124),

[?]ul ?ali? c-kəl-ən-xpi-p. because he's sewed up there (272). 285. way ti ?ili? ?ul a^wən-kst-mi-st he did something pitiful (i.e. Right then ?axa? ncicən, shat himself) /pitiful-hand-purp-ref1/ Wolf, ləm xə?t-ús. that used to be /past/ boss (3). 286. way ?axa? 1-t-xrút-əm ?ali? gWásgi?. Blue Jay ran up the hill (184) 287. 1-t-xrú···t-əm, gil-t. ?ixi? He ra...n (184), got to the top (160), 1-?uckəl-ip-əm. he ran down the hill (201). 288.* way ?itli? kən n-cəpq-s-iws-əm** yi t Well, I'm going to splice (join) (97) in-captik"1.*** my fairy tale story (1). 289. ?axa? həl-q"ásqi? la?ł ncicən. This here the Blue Jay group with Wolf, n-k^wələmt-iws-əlx. they are brothers-in-law.

• ()				\sim
61				62
290. way ?ali? s-c-pix-x-əlx	[?] ul-i?			?u∃ way k ^w ?áyx ^w t la ?kin k ^w
They were hunting (12)	when			and you are tired (and) there is nothing
k-s-?ayx ^w t-àym ?axa? p	čícən.			x-‰ín-əm mi k" ?ur-ísəlp'-əm, kəm k"
he got tired out (199) this here W	colf.			you can do (251) to make fire (251) or
291. way ?uł ?axa? q ^w àsqi? síscəlq ^w	•			k-slī́p, kəm k∀ tx∀-s-q∀ilp-əm
And Blue Jay was newl				get wood (263) or get the boughs (to put under y (266).
293. [?] uł lut [?] àyx ^w t, [?] uł	ņ-kəw-p-ils.	• • •	297.	way myał cáł-t.
He didn't get tired (67), and gone-nonc-vol/.	he was lonesome /loc-			It's too cold (249).
293. lut xəmink-s k-s-k-	pulx-mxi-s		298.	waý ti k ^w k-s-čál-əl-t.
He didn't want to (32) camp r	ight /unr-abs-res-			You'll freeze (250).
ýi nk ^w əlmút	- S .		299.	way ?axa? k"əl-úlax"
camp-?-his/ (cf. 238) by (his par	tner) his brother-in-law.			You'll be nice and comfortable /warm-plac
294. ?ul ?ixi? ti n-k"ə-k"in-is*	yi			a-k-s-ən-ili-t-ən."
And he picked out /loc	-pick-pick-he/ the			in your place (232)."
sìlx ^w a? yi q [°] ùc-t	yı sła ⁹ cinəm.		300.	way n-st-ìls ncicən: "k-wáy, s-wənix"-əx"."
biggest and fattest /fat-stat/	(cf. 242) deer.			Thought (196) Wolf: "He's telling the truth (49)."
295. [?] ili? ki? nº?ùłx ^w -s-t-s yı nk	Wəlmút-s.		301.	cú-s: "wáy."
That's where he put (246) hi	s brother.			He said: "Yes."
296. [?] uł cú-s: "way cəm	k™ k-s-cál-əl-t,		302.	ņ-?ùłx ^w -s-t-əm 1 sîlx ^w a? 1 sła?cínəm.
And he said: Because /prob/	you might freeze (249),			He put him (246) into that big (241) deer.

63	64
303. ?ixi? t-xp-iws-ən-t-əm ?axa? yı t s-?ilwi?,	306. way m-iẁs-úlax";* təx™ ka?t-úlax".
He sewed him up (272) with this twisted	He got half way; he got closer to home /near-land/.
sic k-cm-ina [?] -n-t-əm. twig (245) then he put lots of snow on him (272).	307. way ?ixi? s-ta?k ^w -cin-s, ?ixi? ?ałi? Then he hollered repeatedly (118), because
304. way ti ?ayxàxa? ncicən ?ul anwi-s In a little while (283) Wolf felt /feel-	càwt-s* 'yı s-c-pix ła? that's the way /way-his/ the hunters go (12) when
yı s-cə?ix-s, ?axa? mət yı təl he/ warm (276) I guess it's from	c-ən-k ^w a?c-núx ^w , ?ałi? lut tə c-?ətx-ilx-əlx they get late (231), because they don't go to
s-łx"-łx"-ən-sút-s [?] uł ?ałi? tla his breath /abs-breath-breath-?-refl-his/ and there ?kìn mi xSá-p	ia? k-s-nəqs-ilx∀-əlx. sleep (47) when they have relatives /have-abs-one-people- pl/.
is no air [litfrom where will the air come?]	· 308. $n-y$ c-t-kəl-s-t-is-əlx.
⁹ uł ?ałi? ⁹ axa? yı ska?cinəm yı la	They always (80) wait up for them /act-res-behind-caus- tran-he-pl/.
/air-nonc/, this here deer in	309. kəł-k"ələwt-ús-x-s-əlx.
n-yx [₩] út-s ?ul sic c-k-cm-ína?.	They are setting up /around-sit-surface-progr-he-pl/.
his insides and besides he had lots of snow on (272).	310. lut kł-kic-x, məł xlá-p,
305. way q"àsqi? t-xrú…t-əm, qí1-t;	. Nobody showed up yet (25), and if it gets daylight (118),
Blue Jay ran up the hill (184), got to the top (160)	məł 'ixi' lə-lə'-n-t-is-əlx.
waý [?] uckəl-ip-əm. he ran down the hill (201).	they'll look for them /go after-go after-atv- tran-he-pl/.
	311. way mət s-x-?kin-x-ə1x;*
	Something could have happened to them;

А

~

157

 \bigcirc

s-xən-nù-m-t-x

they're either hurt /abs-hurt-success-mid-stat-progr/

kəm s-k-s-?ayx"t-ayan.

or give out (199).

312. way nixəl.

.

They heard (192).

- 313. ťək^w-ťak^w-cín. He was hollering (118).
- 314. way kəł-k inx t-s-əlx.
 They answered him /around-answer-he-pl/.
- 314. way n-st-ils-əlx: "way ?ixi? ?atà? ncicən." They thought (226): This is Wolf."
- 316. ?iri-n-t-ìs ?axa? ņċìcən ÿi She pushed her /push-atv-tran-he/ this here Wolf's

tkłmilx^w-s.

wife (44).

- 317. ?iri-n-t-ìs ýi łcəcə?úps-c. Pushed her younger sister (61).
- 318. cú-s: "há?, wáy, kəł-?ur-ús-x-ən-t.* She said: "Hah, hurry, fix the fire, stir it for him (251)!

	66
319.	way mət ?ixi? a-s-qəltmix ya bo
	That might be your man (37)
	c-łək ^w -łak ^w -cin.
	that's hollering (118).
320.	k-cq-ùs-ən-t-x" yı s-ən-1kapi-t-ən.
	Put the /res-place-fire-atv-tran-you/ coffee pot on /abs-loc-coffee-stat-instr/!
321.	mət way yi t s-qəmil-t-ən."
	He must be awful hungry /abs-hungry-stat- instr/."
322.	?ul sic kà-kə?-əm-s ÿi ↓cəcə?úps-c.
	Now she's making fun of (130) her younger sister (61).
323.	?ali? k∀a? ?atla? tla n-yx∀út ki? yrìwaxən-əm
	Because /from there/ from inside he started
	q ^w ásqi?.
	to put his snowshoes on (91) Blue Jay.
324.	lut tə c-məy-s-t-is ýi s-yríwaxən.
	He didn't know nothing (6) about snowshoes.
325.	ti tək"-ək"-lwis,
	He was falling around /lay down-lay down-here and
	?ul-i? kઁəl-kઁə-lấx [₩] .
	there/, and then he got out of sight (133).

?axa? yi s-xə?it-x ?ul mi-s-t-s ?uł ?ałi? 326. Because the oldest one (2) is sure (6)

67

səy-səy-ùs vi s-gəltmix"-s. that the smartest is her husband.

327. s-c-?xi1-s ?ul-i? ka-kə?-əm-s [?]axa[?] yi That's why (9) she was kidding (130)

1cəcə?úps-c.

her little sister.

way [?]ixi? s-x^wət-ilx-s, tìłx [?]axa? vi 328. She got up (47), stood up the

łcəcə?úps-c.

younger sister (61).

- 329. ixi? t- k^{w} \dot{u} ··· \dot{l} -s-əs ?axa? yi s-?ur-isəlp. She fixed (the fire), the fire (251).
- 330. [?]uł [?]ixi[?] s-k-cq-ús-əm-s. And she started supper /abs-res-place-fire-midshe/ (cf. 320).
- 331. $t a x^w$ k-cq-us-as ?axa? yi s-kəm?aw-áqs. She warmed up (330) some leftovers /abs-

[?]axa? yi s-təx-itk^w, , yi ?-prize/, some soup /abs-sweet-water/,

- kəl-qwúl-cən-t-əm. what was cooked for them /down-cook-mouth-tran-indef/. She warmed it over (276).
- 333. way ?itli? 1-c-tak ~-cin-am. The hollering continued (118).
- 334. way 1-k + 1They answered it (314).

332. n-cix-s.

- 335. way ?itli? s-x^ws-ma?-cin-əm-s Then she rushed /abs-hurry-teach(?)-mouth-mid
 - yi lcəcə?úps-c.
 - his/ her younger sister.
- 336. cú-s: "t-k"ûl-s-ən-t. ?axà? way ?ixi? She said: "Fix that fire (94),

a-s-gəltmix"." it's your man (37)."

~

- [?]ul t-xən-ipla?-s-əlx 337. wim They tried (78) to stop her (from making fun) (cf. 88)
 - ?axa? yi t ləx-əx-ləxa-p-s-əlx, ?ul ?ali? way their parents (27), because

mì-s-t-s-əlx s-c-kà-kə?-əm-s they knew for sure (6) that she's making fun (130)

69

- yi icəcə?üps ?ui-i? s-cú-s-c: "?ixi? way of her sister when she says: "That's
- a-s-qəltmix"."

a.

your man (37)."

- 338. ?ali? lùt tə s-kə-kət-ils-c-əlx.
 Because it never came close to their minds (306).
- 339. way n-st-ils-əlx: "way ti k-s-?àyx*t-ayən They thought (196): "The one that gave up
 - q^wásqi?, ?ałi? sìc ?ixi? ł is (199) Blue Jay, because he's new /sub/
 - k-s-pix-əm-s, təl s-lxmá-m-s."
 - at hunting, since he got married (with law relations) (4)."
- 340. húy.

Well.

341. c-kəł-nixəl-əm-s, ?ali? n-kəx-cin They heard him (192), because loud are /loc-loud-sound/

ýi s-yríwaxən, ?ali? mət sú-səl-t.

the snowshoes, because it's frozen /frozen-frozen-stat/.

- 70 342. ti pəx, pəx, pəx, pəx. pəx, pəx, pəx, pəx. 343. wày ?ixi? s-yriwaxən. That's snowshoes. vi s-lea v-cin-s 344. way ti n-xs-cìn The sound (37) is good (not as if tired) vi s-vriwaxen. /abs-clear-sound-its/ of the snowshoes. 345. way c-ən-?úłx". Well, he came in (246). 346. way ta ?xil-s-t-s n-xar-cen. He raised (9) the curtain /loc-partition-edge/. 347. way $c-an-\hat{u}\pm x^{\vee}$. He came in (246). 348, ti ?ili? c-yriwaxən, He still had snowshoes on. 349. ?ul s-?əm-mut-ət-s.* And he sat down. 350. way cù-s ỷi tkłmilx[₩]-s.
 - Then he told his wife.

351. t-x^wət-p-mi-n-t-əm yi t tkłmilx^w-s. (His wife) rushed to him (47) /his wife/.

71

352. n²tá? n-kəlx-ús-ən-t-əm, ?uł She put her arm around his neck (16), and

kəl-təmfás-ən-t-əm.

kissed him /around-kiss-atv-tran-indef/.

- 353. cũ-n-t-əm: "way mət k[™] ?áyx[™]t." Told him: "I bet you're tired."
- 354. cú-t: "wáỷ, wáỷ, kən ?áyỵ"t. He said: "Yes, yes, I am tired.
- 355. lk"-ùt ?ali? i-s-x"əÿ-nwis-t-ən.*
 /far/ (118) I've traveled around (far) /my-abs-gohere and there-stat-instr/.
- 356. way kən s-xə?-ims-cút-x
 - I was all in (tired) /abs-tired-?-refl-progr/
 - ?ul kən c-kic-x.
 - (cf. 83) when I got back (25).
- 357. way k^wu k^wì λ -ə1-t

Take off /pull off-expr goal-tran/ (cf. 53)

i-s-yriwaxən."

my snowshoes."

- 358. way kwik-əl-t-əm yı s-yriwaxən-s, ?ul ?ixi? Yes, she took (357) his snowshoes off,
 - cú-s: "nìx" in-q̀a?-xán,
 - he said: "and my moccasins too /my-insert-foot/,
 - ?ul ?ali? kən la?-la?t-xân." because my feet are wet /wet-wet-feet/."
- 359. ?uł ?ałi? t sp-sipi?-xən. Because he had moccasins on /skin-skin-shoes/.
- 360. "'ixi? 'ul-i? t s-mìk'-t la? cə-cəm-s-t-ìn yı "And (when) with snow I covered (272) the

ska?cinəm."

deer."

- 361. way k^wik-əl-t-əm yı qa?-xan-s.
 Well she took (357) his moccasins off.
- 362. ?ixi? ?uł xəŵ-xəŵ-əl-t-îm. She started drying them (114).
- 363. x^wiċ-əł-t-əm l s-łq-ilx^{*} yi She gave him (90) bedroom /abs-lie down-?/
 - ga?-xân-s.

slippers (358).

364. way kl-səl-xi-t-əm,

She set dishes up /down-round-ben-tran-indef/

	73		
	?ali? nak ^w -a? kl-latáp,	369.	cú-s: "?axà?
	because /not/ they don't have a table /have-table/,		He said: "(Take
	məl kl-səl-xî-t-əm.	370.	°axa? mi məy-p-
	she set dishes for him.		Then you'll
365.	təx" kəl-x"lp-x-t-əm		?axâ?.''
	She just spread something down for him /down-spread-		(50) what it is."
	?ixí?.	371.	waý k ^w ìs ?axa
	-ben-tran-indef/.		He took it,
366.	?uł sic kł-səl-xi-t-əm, məł ?ixi? cqłtìm	372.	?ixi? t-k [™] ix [₩] -ca
	And then put dishes for him (364), a whole		He started
	yı k-s-c-?ilən-s.	373.	"ha? stìm
	pot of (his) food (120).		"What (part)
367.	waý [?] ixi? k-s-?íłn-a?x,	374.	way [?] ixì? qəm-î
	He was just about to eat (120)		He la
	c-k1-k ^v əλ-àlqs-əm-s ?axa?		pk [₩] -əm-s-t-i
	(and Blue Jay) pulled something from his vest (357)		(9), and shook it
	?ata? q [₩] ấsqi?.		qəm-is,
	/Blue Jay/.		he put it down (1 it is (165).
368.	?ixi? cəq-əm-ən-tùlt-s yi s-xa?-xa?-s.	375.	way lut tə k-s
	And he threw it at his father-in-law (cf. 57).		

.

- ma sác-sac-en-t-x". it), (?) look at this (18).
- o-nù-n-t-x^w stìm [?]axá?, s-c-?kìn-s ll know (6) what this is, you'll wonder

74

- 11
- xa? ýi s-xá?-xa?-s. his father-in-law (57).
- a?-s. ed to unwrap it /res-unwrap-cover-he/.
- yi sła?cínəm ?" t) (370) of the deer?"
- -îs, ta [?]xîl-s-t-s, aid it down (166), he did like that
 - -ís, ?u≟ ?ixi?
 - it /throw-pr-caus-tran-he/, and

?ul ?iwa? k-cah-cəh-m-s-t-is.

(166), he can't figure out what

s-k-cəh-há-m.

It doesn't come out right (165).

- 376. way 'ul 'axa' 'ilən. He started to eat (120).
- 377. ?i···lən q^wásqi?. Blue Jay ate.
- 378. way wi?-cîn.

He got done eating /finish-mouth/.

379. n'tá? ?axa? 'yi sa?stám-s, way ti c-kìl-kəl-s My, his sister-in-law, she had a

[?]axa? yi t

frown on her face /act-frown-frown-she/ the one

ka-kə?à-m-s ýi sa?stám-s. that made fun of him (130), his sister-in-law.

- 380. 'uł wanix' cniłc ya ł-c-an-'ułx' 'uł-am And sure enough it was he (111) who came in (246) and
 - ti s-c-ka-kə?à-m-s ?axa? yi łcəcə?úps-c. she was making fun of (130), her younger sister.
- 381. ?uł cú-s: "a-s-xìlwi? ya tə c-x^wúy ! And said: "Your husband (30) is coming!
- 382. kəl-?ur-ús-x-ən-t." Fix that fire (318)."

- 383. ?uł wənìx" q″ásqi? c-ən-?úłx". And for sure Blue Jay came in (246).
- 384. way ?ixi? ?u1-i? 1 picx[₩]-t

She really got disappointed

- ?axa? ýi sa?stám-s. /disappoint-stat/ her sister-in-law.
- 385. cə²áx, naxəml k-cə²x-qin la² c-ka-kə²à-m-s She got ashamed, felt cheap when she made fun
 - ýi sa?stám-s.
 - of (130) her brother-in-law.
- 386. way wi?-cìn q^{\u0364}ásqi?. He got done eating (378) Blue Jay.
- 387. waý ?axa? ?àcqa? ýi ləx-ləxá-p, ?uł ?ałi? Went out (124) the old man (27), because
 - ýəlmíx"əm, way ?ixi? s-tək"-cin-s. he's the boss, he yelled (118).
- 388. s-wit, 'a+i' ti kywu-na'
 /abs-who/ Listening for the news is /listen(?)
 - ÿi s-qîlx[₩].
 - ear/ everybody.

- 77
- 389. c-yàš-əlx ki? cû-t-əlx: "way It was all of them (150) and they said: "Ah,

tək^w-cin ya yəlmix^wəm. (the chief) is talking (324) /the chief/.

- 391. cú-n-t-əm-əlx: "p i-s-xlit-əm. He told them: "Come on in [lit.-you are my asking you] (101).
- 392. way 1-c-kic-x i-s-nikəlx q^wásqi?. He came back (25) my son-in-law (103) Blue Jay.
- 393. ?uł ?axa? k^wu x^wić-əx-t-s ta c-kəl-lák. And this he gave me (90) that was tied up (117).
- 394. [?]uł way wim c-k-cah-ah-əm-s-t-in, [?]uł lut And I can't get them together (165), and I can't
 - tə c-k-cah-ah-əm-nú-s-t-ən. get it right (370).
- 395. ?uł ?ixi? k^wu k-s-kəł-pa?x-ł-t-ìp I want you to figure it for me (72)

ki? xlit-1-əm-ən." that's why I am asking you (101)."

- 396. níkxna?. c-xit-mì-st* (the people) run over there /cisloc-run-purp-My, vi s-oilx". ?ali? k wəlx-cin-əm-ən-t-əm. ** refl/ /the people/, because that's surprising news. ?uł ?ikəlà?^{*} vəlmix^wəm. 397. way c-ən-yas-əlx. Well, they all come in (150) the chief's (tipi). 398. nťa? ?uł n-ď*ic-t-əlx , yi And it was a full house /loc-fill-stat-pl/ s-plá-1. with young folks (16). 399. way ?ixi? x^wic-əl-t-əm-əlx ýi t lax-ax-laxá-p. And he gave it to them (90), the old man (27). 400, way ?ixi? k-cah-əm-s-t-is-əlx. They figured it out (165). 401. way. lùt to k-s-k-cah-ohà-m Rather, no. they couldn't figure it out (400) vi tina?. ?axa? ear (9). this here sła?cìnəm tina?-s; naxəml way 402. way mi-s-əlx They know (6) it's a deer's ear; but
 - lùt tơ k-s-k-cah-əhá-m. it wouldn't match (401).

78

anie.

	79	80
403.	?iwa? qəm-is-əlx.	410. ?ul c-məy-s-t-ìp lut ṫə k-s-k-cəh-əhá-m.
	They even laid it down (166).	You know (6) it won't mate (match) (405).
404.	lut kəl s-k"ùt yı nàqs ?ul	411. ?uł waż tox" ti s-nàqs-x ?ixi? ła?
	One half (165) doesn't (fit)	And each one (deer) (45)
	kəl s-k ^w út.	ki-čína?.
	with the other half (165).	has one ear (each ear belongs to one deer).
405.	?uł way lút, lùt k-s-k-cəh-əhá-m-s.	412. ?uł ?ałi? ya-yà?-t t-qəỳ-îna?-n,
	Well no, it didn't match (165, 375).	And I marked all of them /res-mark-ear-
406.	way ?ixi? sic sìw-s-əlx q ^w ásqi?.	ti way kəl s-k-s-k ^w ət-ina?.
	Then they asked (9) Blue Jay.	I/, just one ear on one side (one half of the ears) (cf. 165).
407.	cú-s-əlx: "?uł waż k ^w u slá-l.	413. ?uł ?ałi? ninwi? k-cəh-əhâ-m, ?uł ?ałi?
	They told him: "We are puzzled /puzzle-res/.	And if it comes out right (405), then
408.	[?] uł la [?] kin s-c- [?] kin-x [?] axa [?] yi tina [?] ,	$k-s-1iq^{\vee}-t-a^{2}x$.
	What is wrong with this ear,	it will show (344).

?ul lut to k-s-k-cah-ohá-m ?"

it won't mate (match) (165, 375)?" that

409. k-^{sw}əy-n-sùt-əm-ən-t-əm-əlx t q^wásqi?, He just laughed and laughed at them (131) Blue Jay,

?uł cú-n-t-əm-əlx: "way, p c-ps-pssáy-a?.

and he told them: "You got no sense /act-no sense-no sense-?/.

414. [?]uł tì-tim 1 s-cká-k-s." And it'll be easy /easy-easy/ to count /abs-countres-its/."

- 415. way 'ixi' ki' sic məy-p-cin-əlx. That's when they all agreed (6).
- 416. n-súx^w-na-m-s-əlx, məy-p-nù-s-əlx təx" ?axa? yi They understood (34), and they knew (6) about the

ťína?.

ear(s) (9).

- 417. way ?ixi? cok-on-t-is-olx. They counted them (414).
- 418. nta? ?uł yat-p-qin There were lots of /gather-nonc-head/ (150)

ska?cínəm ?axa? ła? kl-ťína?. deer if there are that many ears.

- 419. cù-n-t-əm ?axa? yı t n-k^wəl mútən.^{*} He told them this, the brother-in-law.
- 420. 'ixi' 'ul 'ali' way mət n-tal-ils Because maybe she got over /loc-overcome-
 - ?axa? ýi t s-ce?àx-s ?axa? ýi s-x?it-x, vol/ her shame (385) this here the oldest

waỳ 'ixi' sìw-s ỳi sa'stám-s, (2), she asked him (9) his sister-in-law, cú-n-t-əm: "'uł x-'kìn-əm an-kʷəỉ_mút ? she said: "What became of your brother-in-law?

- 421. lut ha? wîk-ən-t-x"?" Didn't you see him (136)?"
- 422. cú-t: "wáy, ?ixi? qìx"-ən-t-əm yi ska?cínəm,
 Said: "Yes, we scared (51) a bunch of deer,

- 82 ?ul-i? kən k-swit-mi-st yi kəl then I did my best (166) to where k-s-x^wùy-ət-ən-s yi ka c-pə-ps fawa-s they're going (52), to a low place /act-low place-1 s-təxtatə-s yı mək"iw-a-t; low place-its/ where it joins the little mountain /dim ?iti? ?ali? s-xwuv-ət-ən-s vi mound-dim-stat/; that's where went (52) the sla?cinəm. deer. 423. [?]ul. cnilc kəl-x^wuy kəl s-yxis-t. And he (111) went on the outside of those that drive (deer) (164). 424. way ?ikəlì? kən kic-x. /there/ I got (there) (25). 425. way 'iti' sùx"-əx" yı ska?cinəm. Gone are (34) the deer. 426. gil-t lam-ips-t-an. Went over the mountain (160), I was too late. 427. way ?iti? nix cniłc k-s-x wuy-ət-ən was behind too, (they were tracked) He
 - t $s \hat{i} w t s$. by the one behind (190).

	83	84	
428.	waý mət lut tə k-s-ən-t ⁵ áp-sqilx ^w -t-ən	433. m-iŵs-úlax" ki? ṇ-kcnìk-ən	
	I guess he didn't even get a shot at him /unr-abs-	They were gone half way (306) when I overtook (52)	
	?ixi?, ?uł	in-k ^w əl_mût.	
	<pre>loc-shootpeople-stat-instr/,</pre>	my brother-in-law.	
	kəl-kəl-nwìx [₩] -s-t-s	434. way ti lùt s-əlk ^w -út-s, [?] ul [?] ixi?	
	then he started chasing /chase-chase-rec-caus-tran-he/	He didn't go far (118) and	
	ýi sla?cínəm, ?axa? yi x∀ə?ít.	s?xəl-m-ən-t-sút-s, k [∀] u cú-s:	
	(190) the deer, many (142) of them.	made room for him (to pass him) (207), he told me:	2
429.	waý ?ul ?ixi? nix" inca? ýi s-kəl-kəl-nwix".	"wày kən [?] ayx"t-11s.	
	And too I started chasing (428).	"Boy, I'm getting give out (67).	
430.	ņ- [?] úcx-ən.	435. waý lut i-k-s-t-ki-kət.	
	I followed the tracks (166).	I'll never get near to them (306).	
431.	?ul lut-i? s-ən-tkli-ilx-s	436. hùy \pm t anwi?."	
	They hadn't got to the bottom yet /abs-loc-bottom-?-	You go ahead, it's up to you (it's not me, i you)."	it's
	kəl n-?alà? kə lə?-ús.	437. cú-t: "wấy."	
	its/ on the other side /loc-other side/ of the mountain.	He said: "Okay."	
432.	?ixi? ?uł ?itlì? kə lə?-ús,	438. ?ixi? kəl-xət-ən-t-in.	
	(They went) from there to the mountain (431),	I just went ahead of him (396).	
	?ul ?itli? sìlx ^w a? ýa c-ən-táq́-əm;	439. way ?ixi? $1w_1 - n$.	
	there was a bigger valley /act-loc-valley-mid/;	I left him /leave-I/.	
	lut-i? s-ən-tkłl-ilx-s.		
	they didn't get to the bottom yet (431).		

		85
440.	put	ņ-tkiəl-əl-ilx yı sła?cinəm
		They just got down to the bottom (431) the deer
	ki?	ņ-kcnîkən-ən.
	and	I overtook them (52).
441.	Å∂x [₩]	-ən-t-in [?] uł n-káw-lax ^w -s-t-ən.
	I ki	11ed them (52) finished them all (165).
442.	°u∄	?ixi? ?axa? ya-yàš-ət ła? kł-čína?.
	And	these are all they had ears.
443.	?u1	put wi? s-ən-təl-təlk ^w -ílća?-n,
		(I) just got done gutting them (223),
	i-k-	s-liq-əm-əlx, ki?
	I wa	s going to bury them /my-unr-abs-bury-mid-pl/, when
	k [₩] u	ņ-kcnìki?-s ?axa? in-k ^w əlˈmút.
		he overtook me my brother-in-law.
444.	way	?uł hùy yi t s-?áyx ^w t,
		He's just played out with tiredness,
	kəm	ti tə c-x ^w s-t-útya?.
	just	he's walking (100, 335).
445.	?ixì	? ?u±-i? k ^w u cú-s: "way
	Then	when he told me:
	ņ-cə	s-p-ùlax ^w -ən-t-x ^w yı
	''You	(overtook them) and cleaned them out (235) the

	86
	sła ⁷ cinəm."
	deer."
446.	cû-n: "wâÿ."
	I said: "Yes."
447.	?uł k ^w u cú-s: "wây.
	And he told me: "Well.
448.	?uł incà? kən kən ?áyx ^w t.
	With me I got tired (67).
449.	kən k-s-?ayx [₩] t-áyən.
	I got give out (67).
450.	?ul way kən kəl-pap
	And I'm discouraged (I can't make it) /down-defeat/,
	i i-ki-əi-x [₩] ûÿ.
	to go.
451.	?uł waż ti ?alà? k-pùlx-m-ən żi
	And I'll just camp here with (238) those
	sla?cinəm."
	deer."
452.	?ul-i? cû-n: "lút."
	And I told him: "No."
453.	k ^w u cú-s: "way myàł kən ?áyx ^w t."
	He told me: I'm too tired."

87 454. ?uł cú-n: "lút. I told him: "No. 455. waỳ tỉ k^w k-s-cấi-əi-t. You'll freeze to death (249). 456. ?ixi? ?uł ?ałi? wày kəláx^w,

It's already late (111),

n-k^wə-k^wə?ác.

and dark (219).

- 457. nťa? ?uł ťi čìx" ýi s-k"ə-k"úsənt." My brightened up are the stars (when it's cold) /abs-star-star/."
- 458. cú-n: "?uł waż ?axa? k" cù-t k" I said: "Well you just said you're
 - k-s-?ayx"t-âyən, k" ?âyx"t. tired (199) and give out (67).
- 459. ?uł la ?kìn k^w x-?kìn-əm mi k^w ?ur-rí-st. And what can you do (251) to make fire (251).
- 460. [°]uł cak^w [°]iwa[°] k^w ł [°]ur-ŕí-st, [°]uł la And even if you did make fire (459),

?kin k^w x-?kìn-əm mi k^w k-slip ?axa? l
what can you do to get wood (251) in this

- s-ən-k^wə-k^wə?âc ? dark night (219)?
- 461. ?uł ?axa? nix^w k^w tx^w-s-q^wilp-əm ?" And also things to put under you (266)?"
- 462. ?uł cú-n: "waỳ tỉ k[™] k-s-cał-əł-t.
 And I told him: You'll freeze to death (249).
- 463. way k^w s-ən-pəlx-ils-x, ?uł ?axa? ?alà? mi You want to camp (238), so in here
 - k^wúm-ən-t-s-ən, l s-xə?-ìmł I'll put you away /store-atv-tran-you-I/, in (241)
 - sìlx^wa? 1 ska?cinəm, ?ali? way c-yá? the biggest (241) from the deer, because (they're)

c-k-təl-fiws. all open (117).

464. ?ala? n.-?úłx^w-s-t-əm-ən ?uł way lùt I'll put you in here (246) and

> a-k-s-k-s-cal-əl-t.* you won't freeze to death.

465. tali? k"àl-t ?axa? ÿi sảa?cínəm, pùt-i?
Quite warm (22) is the deer, he's still
cə-cə?íx.
warm (276).

88

. .

	89		90
466.	[?] uł ninwi? k-liq-ənt-s-ən, məł lut	474.	cù-s yı s-xa?-xa?-s.
	And then I'll bury you (443), and you won't		He told his father-in-law (57).
	a-k-s-k-s-cal-əl-t."	475.	
	freeze to death (cf. 464)."		(Blue Jay) told them /Blue Jay/: "All of
467.	way 'ili' k ^w úm-ən, 'uł t-xəp-iws-ən.		p k-s-ənqs-ilx k-s-k ^w fác-t-a ⁹ x-əlx, 1a ⁹ ł
	There I put him (463), and sewed him up (272).		you that are related (45) will get up early, /with/
468.	kən ?ilwi? yı s-xə-xəci?.		s-ma?-mə?îm, k ^w u k-səm-iča?-x.
	I twisted (248) a stick /abs-stick-stick/.		the women folks too, we're going after the dead deer /unr- ?-cover-progr/.
469.	?ixi? k-łu?x ^w -ùs-ən ?axa? yı ska?cinəm. I sewed up (245) the deer.	476,	?uł ?ałi? lk ^w -út." Because it's far (118)."
470.	tərq-ən-t-i···n yi s-mikwət ?ul I tromped /kick-atv-tran-I/ the snow (132)	477.	cú-t-əlx: "wây." They said: "OK."
	ņ-ləx ^w -əx ^w -úlax ^w . it made a hole there /loc-hole-hole-earth/.	478.	way lut s-?ətx-ilx-s yı s-qilx". They never even went to sleep (cf. 307) the folks (5).
471.	?ili? nº-ləšw-úłaxw-ən, ?uł I stuck him in there /loc-hole-land-I/, and	479.	way c-x ^w ùy s-xlá-p, [?] uł qĺł-əł-t-əlx, Came the morning (118), and they woke up (47),
	k-lìq-na?-ən yı t s-mik ^w ət. I buried it /res-bury-cover-I/ (443) with snow (132).		?ul tək"-cin-əlx. they started hollering (118).
472.	?ixi? ?ul-i? kən c-qələwit-əm." [*] And then I stepped away /act-step away-mid/."	480.	x"ət-lilx-əlx, ?uł wi? wi?-cin-əlx. They got up (47), and got done eating (111).
473.	cû-n-t-əm ?axa? ya yəlmíx"əm.		
	He told the chief.		

- 481. ?ixi? s-?àcqa?-s 'ya 'yəlmíx"əm. Then went out (124) the chief.
- 482. "húy, k^wu tk^wə^γút." "Now, we walk (123)."
- 483. cú-s-əlx: "wáy, wày k^wu wi?-nú-m-t." They told him: "We're all ready (237)."
- 484. wày la?i k-s-xəż-əż-úlax^w-s. /with/ It got broad daylight (149).
- 485. "way p həl-s-ma?-mə?im pu?-kx-ən-sút-əlx."
 "(Here) you women folks (232) those that had man gone
 along /mate-follow-?-ref1-p1/ (46).
- 486. ?ul ?ali? kl-səy-səy-ùs 'yı s-ma?-mə?im 1 Because they're smart (6) woman (232) with
 - s-yriwaxən, ?uł ?ałi? ?ixi? ti snowshoes, and that's

 $n-tk^{w}-tk^{w}\partial^{2}ut-\partial n-s-\partial lx$. nak $nak^{w}-a^{2}$ if the only way they can travel anyway (123), /not/ they

kł-kəw-əwấp-əlx, s-wit don't have horses /have-horse-horse-pl/, who does (99)

~

l sə-?istk.

in wintertime (14).

- 487. ?ixi? ti n-tk^v-tk^v?ut-ən-s-əlx yi s-yriwaxən.
 That's all they travel on (486), snowshoes.
- 488. ?axa? put-əm 'yi s-ən-Sáyckst-x. ** Especially the North Halfs /abs-loc-Lakes-person/.
- 489. way x^wúy-əlx. They went (52).
- 490. way kəl-xa?t-ən-t-im-əlx t q^wásqi?. And they got a leader (2), Blue Jay.
- 491. nìkxna? q"âsqi?, way q̀"il-q̀"əl-t^{*} Blue Jay is really smart /manage-manage-

! s-yriwaxən.
stat/ on snowshoes.

- 492. Jom lut c-moy-s-t-is. /Past/ He didn't used to know how.
- 493. c-ká-ka[?]-m-s-t-s-əlx. And they made fun of him (130).
- 494. waỳ nix^w ?axa? ỳi t tkłmílx^w-s, q^wásqi? Also the wife of Blue Jay pu?-kx-əǹ-sút. had gone along (485).
- 495. ?uł ti ?ili? n-kə-kəl-ikən-t-əm And too right behind was /loc-behind-behind-back-

92

.

t s-xà?-xa?-s la?4 4cick-s ti ?ili? his father-in-law and mother-in-law

číw-t-əlx.

they're behind (126).

- 496. ?ixi? sic ÿi k^wikət ÿi s-qilx^w ?áw-t-pałq.
 And then the rest of (53) the folks they string along /follow-stat-?/ (167).
- 497. x^wù···ý-əlx ?axa? c-lə^kw-út-əm They went there in a big valley /act-hole-?-mid/
 - ?ul kəl s-k-mq "a-q"-s?ixi? yaand at the end a little mountain (422) that's where

c-ən-x^wər-ús.

the low place is.

498. ?itì? ki? qil-t-əlx.

They went right over that hill (160).

499. way [?]itli? sas-m-ən-t-sút-əlx.

Then they went down the hill /downhill-pr-atv-tran-refl-pl/. $\label{eq:product}$

500. way x^wuy-ə1x.

They went.

- descent
- 94 501. way n-t-kləl-11x-ə1x. They got to the bottom (440). 502. $c\hat{u}$ -n-t-əm-əlx: "way ?axâ?." He told them: "It's right here." 503. way $^{\circ}$ vi ti mq^wə[?]-ìwt And there is lumps all over where /lump-here yi ska?cinəm yi s-c-liq. and there/ the deer is buried (443). 504. way cù-s yi s-xâ?-xa?-s: "wav anwi? k[₩] He told his father-in-law: "You are yəlmix"əm, yi k" i-s-xâ?-xa?. the boss. my father-in-law (57). 505. way 'ul px"-əm-s-t-ix" 'axa' yi s-liq". You give (136) the meat. 506. ?ili? c-málk"." The whole deer." 507. $c\hat{u}$ -t γ axa γ yr s- $x\hat{a}\gamma$ - $xa\gamma$: "lút, ?iwa? ťəx" kən Said the father-in-law: "No. even if I'm ý∂lmíx™əm. the chief. 508. $^{9}u^{1}$ anwi? k^{W} $^{1}a^{2}$ $k-s-c-\lambda ax^{W}$. anwi? k"

And you're the one that killed it (52), you are the one

la? k1-k-?àyx^wt-ən.
that worked hard (67).

- 509. way t anwi? mi px^{w} -əm-s-t-ix^w. You pass it around (505).
- 510. [?]uł [?]axa[?] incà[?] kmix kən mút; kən And here I was just sitting down, I

s-cq-ink; kən s-əlq-pa?sən-sùt lay on my back (320), I pull my whiskers with tweezers

mi ł s-t-k^win-plà?-s-t-ən^{*} /abs-pluck-?-refl/ and for me to take the lead /abs-res-

l c-px^w-əm-s-t-in... take-handle-caus-tran-I/ to pass it around (136)...

anwi?.

you do it.

- 511. cú-t: "ah, wáỷ." He said: "OK."
- 512. 'ixi' px"-əm-s-t-is. He passed it around (510).
- 513. way c-məy-s-t-ìs la ?kin ki? k"ùn-s He knows where /that/ he put him (463)

?axa? l ska?cínəm. in the deer.

- 514. cù-s ?axa? ÿi sa?stâm-s: "way ?axa? He told his sister-in-law (60): "That's
 - anwi? a-k-s-ən-q'"əlt-àqs ?axa? a-mq"-iwt. what I'm going to give you (243) this lump (503).

a! ,

- 515. ?ixi? ?uł cĩq-ən-t-x", x-?kĩ-s-t-x", You dig that out (244), do what you please
 - k" l-ck"-îlca?-m, kəm ciq"-ən-t-x", (50), drag it home (55) or skin it /skin-atv-tran-

 $1-\dot{q}$ "11-t-əm-ən-t-x", x-?ki···-s-t-x". you/ pack it back (491) do anything.

- 516. ti way ti k-pa?s-ən-t-ix" aπwi?." Whatever you think /res-think-atv-tran-you/."
- 517. nìkxna? ýi sa?stàm-s lím-t; My this sister-in-law was glad /glad-stat/;

mət kəl-təmsàs-əs qwásqi?, ÿi t sa?stàm-s I suppose she kissed (352) Blue Jay, his sister-

ýi t s-lím-t. in-law she was so tickled (517).

518. ham ?axa? s-ba-bim-a? yi t She used to hate him /abs-angry-angry-?/ sa?stàm-s tal s-xwúp-t-s.

his sister-in-law because he was good for nothing (36).

519. hi., k-ciq-na?-s ?axa? yi ska?cinem. She started digging (244) that deer up. 520. $k \rightarrow 1k^{\vee} - k^{\vee} - ina?$ vi t When she got off all /res-remove-remove-cover/ the s-mik^wət, way kəl-kic vi sla?cínəm. snow, she got to (25) the deer. yi t s-?ilwi? yi t 521. way $c-k-\frac{1}{2}u^{2}x^{w}-u^{2}s$ It was sewed up (245) twisted (245) s-xə-xəci?.

97

with the sprig (468).

522. ?ixi? k-tər-î···ws-əs; She undid those stitches /res-undo-center-she/

?ala? ta ?xil-s-t-s, t-xq-iws-əs she did like that (9), she opened it (213)

?axa? ÿ́i c-k-təl-iẅ́s ÿ́i c-k-lu?x^w-ús. where it was cut open (463) and sewed up (245).

523. way t-xq-iws-əs.

She opened it (213).

- 524. k^wmił?ułc-?àcqa??us-qəltmix^w-s.All of a suddenout came (124)her man (37).
- 525. way 'uł kmix mənk-sqáxa'. He's nothing but shit /shit-animal/.

	98
526.	nîkxna?, n-ca-àqs-ən-t-əm ?axa? yi
	Goodness, the stink hits in the nose (91) the
	tkłmźlx".
	woman.
E 2 7	way ?ul lut ?iti? yi t s-qyax ^w -s
527.	It really stunk /abs-stink-
	ÿi s-qəltmíx [₩] -s.
	her/ her husband.
528.	waý wət-ən-t-îs.
	She tried (166).
520	?iwa? k-s-ċíq [₩] -i?-s.
525.	She's going to try to skin it (515).
530.	waý lút.
	She couldn't stand it.
531.	nak ^w -əm kmix mnik-1ċa?
	Nothing but shit /shit-meat/ (cf. 525) is
	[?] axa [?] yi ska [?] cinəm.
	this here deer.
532.	[?] uł [?] ałi [?] [?] axa [?] ['] yi s-qəltmix ^w -s k-s- [?] áyx ^w t-ayən,
	And this here her husband got give out
	?ali? s-qllx [™] s-c-?fl-x [™] t-x
	(199), because people (5) get hungry /abs-act-eat-?-progr/

99 ka? c-?âyx^wt. (277) when they get give out (67). ?ili? ?ul-i? la? 533. way ti s-cə?ix-s He got warmed up (276) there when xʷìski?-t, c-?xil-t, way ?ul ?ixi? he got rested /rest-stat/ like (9), and then n-1k"ə-k"ə-mi-s yi he thought /loc-think-think-purp-he/ s-k-s-qəmil-t-ən-s. of being hungry (321). məs-əs-ikst-əm-s yi 534. ti məs-əm-ənwis;

54. ti məs-əm-ənwis; məs-əs-ikst-əm-s yi He felt around (355); and felt (16)

s-q^wis-əs.

of fat (242).

535. way ti ?ix1? ?ul c-k-nik-əm-s ?itli? ?ul He cut it off (279) there and

?ixi? s-?ấlən-s.

he ate it (120).

536. s-ən-ma?-múq"-əq"-pna?-əm-s, * s-wit ?ali? It bulged out here and there (35, 503), it's

síc-lca?.

fresh meat (36).

100 537. ti ?ayxàxa? təl s-wi?-cin-s. In a while (283) after he was done eating (111), way n-kcn-ink-ən-t-əm yit s-ən-car-ink. he started to ache (52) with diarrhea (283). 538. way k-s-?ácqa?-x. He tried to get out (124). 539. way 1út. He couldn't. 540. təl t-kəm-kən-ilx^w ka? c-kəl-ən-xpi-p, ?u≟ lut From the outside (165) it's sewed, there isn't x-?kìn-əm mi c-?əcgə?-ist. anything he could do to get out /act-go out-?/ (124). 541. wấy ?ul xə?i-m-s-cút. He came to the end (210). 542. way ti 'ili' 'ul n-p'sac-an-t-s'as He crapped right in there (99) ?axa? yi sla?cinem. in the deer. 543. way ?ul k-s-xlà-p n-p'sec-en-t-sas yi Until daylight (118) he crapped (99) in the sla?cínəm. deer.

- 101 544. s-c-?xìl-x ?uł ?ałi? kmix mnìk yı That's why it's nothing but shit
 - s-qyâx^w-s.

that it smelled (527).

- 545. nîkxna? ! Goodness!
- 546. way ti c-kil-kəl-əs ?axa? yı tklmilx". Just stood there frowning (379) the woman.
- 547. nťá?, x^wàý-s-t-s^{*} ýi s-qəltmíx^w-s. She got after her husband.
- 548. cú-s: "wáy, myài-əm anwi? k^v kəi-pəms-cút. She said: /too much/ "You've done something awful /down-?-ref1/.
- 549. s-c-?kìn-x 'yi k-s-c-?îlən-tət, ?ul 'ya l Why (50) that's our eats (120), and
 - kəl-lx"-11s-t-x"." you messed it up /down-hole(?)-vol-tran(?)-you/."
- 550. cù-s ÿi tkłmilx^w-s: "way k^w s-q^wən-cən-mi-st-x. He told his wife: "You talk pitiful (35).
- 551. nak^w-a? t in-kəł-cút-ən.* /not/ I didn't mean it.

1

- 102 552. way ?ałi? kən s-k-sə-?âyx^wt-ayn-x; kən
 - I got give out (199) I

sə-?âyx^wt-x. was tired (67).

553. ?ul cak" lut ?ilì? kən pùlx l If I hadn't slept (238) inside of

> ska[?]cinəm. that deer.

- 554. k^wu kəl-pa?x-klc^{*} in-k^wəlmút. He done my thinking (72) my brother-in-law.
- 555. ?uł way kən k-s-câl-əl-t. I'd been frozen to death (249).
- 556. ?ixi? k^wu łwi-s. He left me (439).
- 557. ?ayəxàxa? kən ła? x^víski-t, In a little while (283) I got rested (533),

?ixi? ki? anwi-n i-k-s-qəmil-t-ən. that's when I felt (304) (I was) hungry (321).

- 558. ?uł ?ałi? kən ?ìlən yı s-q''is-əs. And I ate the fat (242).
- 559. 'ixi' ł n-kəs-t-mi'-n 'uł-i' That's what done me bad /loc-bad-stat-purp-I/ and then

kən n-car-ink.

I got diarrhea (283).

560. ?uł ?ałi? lut kən x-?kìn-əm mi kən There is no way of me

?əc-əcqə?-î?.

getting out (124).

561. way 'uł 'ili' kən q^wən-ən-s-cùt That's when I done that pitiful thing (33)

?ili? la n-yx^wút, nak^w-a? in-k-cáx^w." inside there (126), I didn't do it on purpose /my-res-pour/."

- 562. way ?ixi? s-?ək^wəw-iłca?-m-s-əlx.^{*} They started packing the deer /abs-?-meatmid-his-pl/.
- 563. way 'uł yələmx"-ilx q"ásqi'. And he got to be the boss /chief-become/, Blue Jay.
- 564. yaš-iłća?-əlx.

They got all the deer back home.

565. way ?ixi? s-cqə?-iica?-m-s-əlx,*

They got to drying meat /abs-place-meat-mid-

tex d'elà-m-elx ?axa? his-pl/ (320), to roasting /roast-mid-pl/

104 ýi s-qəl-qəltmix". the men folks (37). ?ul ?axa? yi s-ma?-mə?im ?ixi? ?ul 566. the women (232) And s-kən-kənâ-m-s-əlx; cutting it open /abs-open-open(?)-mid-his-p1/, s-cga?-ílca?-s-alx. they started drying it over the fire (cf. 320). ska?cinəm, msəlk"-ilca?-m-əlx. 567. yas-p-qin Lots of (150) deer meat, (each one gets) a whole deer /whole-meat-mid-p1/ (cf. 506). [?]uł təx^w [?]axa? ncicon ?axa? yi tkłmilx"-s. 568. And this here Wolf's woman, l k-s-x[₩]i1-s-t-s. ?ul ?ali? mi-na? she'll not throw it away (cf. 36) mət ciw-əs mət x-?kin-s-t-s, whatever she did with it (50), maybe she washed it /washvi ska?cínem. she/ the deer. 569. sx-ən-t-is ?ixi? ?u1-i? She aired it out /air(?)-atv-tran-she/ and when

	105	106
	sxá-p, [?] uł sìc-i? q ^w əl-ən-t-is.	
	it had no more smell, then she roasted it (331).	FOOTNOTES
570.	?uł ?ałi? təx" captík"ł ?ixi?	•
	And because it's just fairy tales (1),	 This form appears to be a comp kwə1 '?', mut 'sit (?)', -s 'his
	?u∃ cú-n-əlx: "way kən wa-s-núx",	** This form appears to be compl
	and I told them: "The sun is coming up high	'mouth'.
	way kən ' xixa?yápəlqs ',	4. [*] Is this n∂k [™] -nc∂w-ílx [₩] -t-∂n ^v
	on me (I'm late) (118), and I'm going to end,	-ilx ^w may also mean 'skin'. ** Is this qə l-y əl-mix ^w -m 'chi
	cak" cù-s ýi n-xa?mx"-cín." n-x(a)?-aux-cín	5. * Henceforth this word in compo
	as they say in Moses (Columbian) language.	sqilx". Cf. the lexical suffix
571.	?axà?-m ta mnímł-tət, ?uł cú-n-t-əm	6. * Further segmentable (?) s-àa?
	With us, we call it:	13. * Geographical variant of kmix is typical of the Northern Colvi
	' n-cayox sápolqs '.	14. * Here one would expect cústsa:
	'It's the end of the story.'	16. * /tk ^w -t-ən/ 'walk-stat-instr'
		<pre>** /q^wil-cən/ 'talk-branches' ?</pre>
		*** /

ч

- mpound. n- 'loc', is'. plex ci(y) '?', -cən
- 'one-?-people-stat-instr'?
- hildren-?-person-?' ?
- ounds will be written -ilx^v.
- -cin-əm.
- 'only'. The form with [a] villes.
- əlx.
- ? *** /ást-k^w/ '?-water' ?
- 18. * s-c-?xil-x/ 'abs-act-like-progr'. ** /cəq-ilp/ '?-tree' *** /c-?xil-x/ Cf. 18^{*}. The behavior and function of

this root is unclear.

- 20. * The function of the glottalization of [m] is unclear.
- 26. * This form is not well understood. It seems to involve more than one derivational cycle.

- 67. * The final -t in this form is probably 'stative'.
 - 73. * The root is k^wun. k^{*}əx- '?'.
 ** This is further analyzable /ł-cə-cə?-ups-c/ 'sub-dim-?-tail-hers'.
 - 75. * The analysis of this form is doubtful. -m is occasionally affixed to particles, but it isn't clear whether it should be identified with middle.
 - 76. * Probably further analyzable /1-kikx-a?/ 'secondarysister-?'. -a? is a very common suffix, the meaning of which has not yet been determined.
 - 78. * This form surely is analyzable further. Cf. sisc- in 43, 47, 62, 80, 291.

****** Grammatically redundant?

*** The sequence-mi-x is very common, but its meaning is not clear.

**** The glottalization of m is not understood.

- 82. * The root appears to be related to [?]iin 'eat'. The recorded pharyngeal might be an error.
- 84. * Active plus transitive equals imperative.

** The function of t is unclear. Perhaps (?i)t(i?) 'this'.

- 86. * Cf. 84**.
- 87. * This analysis is doubtful.
- 88. * The discrepancy with 78 is noted and remains to be confirmed.
- 93. * ck"ink is further analyzable into cuk" 'pull' and -ink '?'.
- 95. * txixi? seems to be a stereotyped expression, perhaps related to ?ixi? 'this, that'.

- 107
- 32. * /xəm-ink-s/ '?-belly-his'.
 ** Variant of yi.
- 33. * /n-qa?-ms-cin-m-s/ 'loc-desire-?-mouth-middle-his'. Doubtful.
- 35. * The analysis is tentative.
- 36. * The identification of the root is not certain, nor is its meaning clear.
- 37. * /qəlt-mix^w/ '?- man'. Cf. 4**.
- 39. * /in-ca?/ 'my-?'.
 - ** -(x)a?x 'inchoative' is analyzable as progressive
 -(x)x plus the diminutive infix -a?-.
- 40. * Further analyzable (?) /an-s-pə?-ús/ 'your-abs-?-eye'.
- 43. * /sisc-lq w -m/ '?-cylindrical object-indefinite'.
- 44. * /tkim-ilx^w-s/ '?-person-his'.
- 45. * /mas/ variant of /mus/ 'four'.
 - ** /ka?lal/ variant of /ka?lis/ 'three'.
- 52. * This might be a complex form /kic-n-ikn/ 'reach-?back'. Several other related forms occur in the text. Cf. the glossary.
- 55. * It is not clear why tax " has a full vowel. Cf. also 226.
- 58. * Note the absence of the nominalizer /s-/ 'absolute mode', perhaps stylistic, more likely morphophonemic.
- 59. * The root may have a pharyngeal $/\dot{k}^{w}a\dot{k}/.$
- 61. * /1-cə-cə?-úps-s/ 'secondary-dim-?-tail-her'.
- 62. * /pin-tk/ 'time-?'. Cf. 6.
- 63. * /k^w/ '2nd sg. you'. k^w for p 'you pl' is not uncommon.

- 96. * The root ?xil ~ ?xił is quite common. Its basic meaning has proved hard to pinpoint.
- 97. * wət ~ ?ut
 - ** Form not well understood.
- 99. * The analysis of this form is not clear. ** yark appears to be related to yir 'round'. Cf. s-yriwaxan.
- 100. * -utya? is a fairly common suffix (or combination of suffixes). Its meaning has not yet been determined.
- 101. The root may be ?iy. It appears to be related to ?ay.
- 103. * Complex form?
- 110. * The meaning and function of ta and tam are not understood.
 ** -m is likely to be a primary suffix that has been
 identified, but whose function is not clear.
- 111. * Analyzable into a root cnil and a suffix /-s/ 'his'.
 ** k(1)- in the forms for 'arrow' and 'snowshoes' may be
 the possessive prefix. But this is unlikely given the
 presence of the possessive -s in both cases.
- 114. * See footnote 110** for a comment on -m.
- 117. * The translation is not clear. Cf. $\vec{k}^{\,\rm W} \partial x^{\,\rm W} \hat{a} \cdot p$ 'crawl on the ground'.

** This might be an error in transcription. Cf. xac-t 'durable'.

*** It seems certain that the root contains a pharyngeal. The root might be yas^w .

118. * The relationship between was and k^va(^c)s 'morning before daylight' and k^vac 'night' is not clear.

- 110
- 118. ** Is -lilx related to -ilx ? Cf. footnote 174.
- 120. * The function of 1- is unclear.
 - ** The translation of this form is doubtful. Cf. 1\$ap(k)
 'fall in the snow'.
- 122. * This form is probably segmentable further. Cf. lk^w-út 'far' (118).
- 125. * Cf. 118, 122*.
- 131. *, ** The analysis of these forms is unclear.
- 132. * Cf. kay 'winter, wither' (?). ** cum 'suck'. - Sâs ?
- 133. * The full grade root has not been ascertained.
- 153. * The root is uncertain. Cf. 120.
- 168. * Is the glottal stop the inchoative infix?
 ** This root has been recorded as thap, thap. A case of phonetic indeterminacy.
- 174. * The analysis of this form is not certain. yas -m-ilx is possible. -ilx is a suffix the meaning of which has not been determined. Cf. Shuswap -ilx 'being in motion'.
- 189. * The function of $-i^2$ in this form is not understood.
- 191. * The connection of this root with ?uckel 'run down' is not clear.

** This form is further analyzable /qic-(i)lx/. The basic meaning of qic is not clear. Cf. also 195.

- 198. * Apparently n goes to i in certain environments, in this
 case before [s].
- 199. * -ayən variant of -an. The distribution of the two allomorphs has not been determined.

201. * Cf. 191. Note also that the glottalization of 1 is uncertain.

- 215. * The function of the glottalization in connection with -mi is not understood.
- 217. * The root is related to, or the same as, kaw 'gone'. Cf. also 133.
- 220. * The root is ?xi(1). The meaning of the suffix -ilx, of which we have numerous examples throughout this text, is not clear.
- 224. * The metathesis kcnik kckin is not understood. Note again the probable connection with the root kic 'reach'.
- 233. * The root is may.
- 235. * The informant's translation does not seem to match the meaning of the root. The function of the glottalization connected with m is not clear.
- 245. * $4u^{\gamma}x^{\forall}$ or $4ux^{\forall}$? The function of the -u(s) is not clear.
- 251. * This is a compound. Cf. s-lip' 'firewood'.
- 263. * Both this form, and one in sentence 266 have an unexplained sequence k-s-k-(s).
- 266. * Cf. 263*. The root has not been identified.
- 277. * The analysis of this form is not clear. Cf. also 532.
- 283. * This form appears to be related to ?axá?. Cf. also the homonymous ?ixíxi?.
- 288. * The end of the tape had interrupted the narrative.

- 288. ** The function of -s is not understood.
 - *** The final lateral is voiceless here. The alternation appears to be systematic, but the conditioning factors are not fully understood.
- 294. * Cf. 198* for mention of a possible similar phenomenon. In this form the transitive suffix is missing.
- 306. * In this form apparently -iws functions as root, mas a stem formative.
- 307. * The analysis of this form is not altogether clear.
- 311. * The prefix x- is unidentified, nor is its function.
- 314. * The root is probably related to k^{win} 'sing'. x^{wt} '?'.
- 318. * The function of -x is not understood.
- 321. * Is this root related to 'qa? 'swallow, insert'? This sentence appears to be fragmentary.
- 349. * The analysis of the form is not clear. The root is mut 'sit'.
- 355. * Cf. also the form -lwis. The replacement of [n] with [1] in this and other morphemes is a common phenomenon with some speakers.
- 363. * Cf. 174*.
- 368. * The make up of this form is not clear. The root is coq 'throw'.
- 396. * It isn't clear whether or not this root is related to x^{2} it. The function of the glottalization of m is also unclear.

** This form is also unclear.

, ,

	110
397.	* [i] optionally dissimilates to [a] before a following
	[i] across word boundary without intervening full vowels.
	The phenomenon can be observed elsewhere in the text.
419.	* Why the -n in this form?
464.	* Cf. 263*.
472.	* The root is probably related to qil.
475.	* The connection, if any, with $k^{v}a^{2}c$ 'late' is not
	understood.
488.	\ast Another case of glottalization, the function of which
	is not understood.
	** This form is further analyzable, but the meaning of
	the root is not known.
491.	* Chances are $\dot{q}^{\texttt{wil}}$ and $\dot{\dot{q}}^{\texttt{w}}\texttt{olt}$ are the same root. Cf.
	243, 282, 491, 514, 515.
510.	* The make up of this form is unclear.
536.	st The make up of this form is not clear. The root is
	<pre>muq^w (muk^w ?) 'lump'.</pre>
547.	* Is this form related to xwúy 'go'?
551.	* Is the root related to sut 'entity, manner'? (Cf.
	16, 23.)
554.	* Unclear form.
562.	* The root might be related to $^{9}uk^{W}$ 'take, bring'.
565.	* The root is caq 'lay, place' (on the drying rack).
	Why the glottal stop?
567.	* Cf. 506. This is a matter of phonetic indeterminacy.
570.	* Cf. s-ən-yəmx ^w -cin 'Columbia People'. The reason for
	the discrepancy is not clear.

GLOSSARY
a- cf. an-
-alqs 'clothes' 117, 367
-ala?q ^w cfalq ^w
-alq ^w , -ala?q ^w (dimin) 'cylindrical object' 99, 114, 116, 117, 117
-alq '?' 224
an- 'your sg.'
anwí 'feel' 304, 557
anwi? 'you sg.' 209, 211, 436, 504, 508, 509, 510, 514, 516, 548
-aqs 'prize'; 'nose, point'; 'road' 243, 281, 282, 331, 514, 526
-asqət 'day(s)' 62, 80, 110, 249
-ast 'weapon, feather' (cfist) 109, 115
-axən 'arm, wing' 117, 165, 165, 166
-ayən 'instrum' (cfn) 199, 205, 290, 311, 449, 458, 532, 539, 552
-a?- 'dimin'
-a? cfna?
əc- 'actual aspect'
əckən cf. ?ic-əckən
əlk cf. lak
əlk ^w 'remove (?)' 520
əlq cf. ləq
-əlqs cfalqs

-əla৺ cf. -alg^w -əlx 'plural' əlx৺ cf. ləx^w -əm cf. -im, -m cf. -in -ən -ənwix" cf. -nwix" -əqs cf. -aqs -əsqət cf. -asqət ax1 cf. ax(1)əx '?' 194 c- 'directional'; 'cislocative' cf. əc- 'actual aspect' c cf. -s - c 'decipher' 165, 167, 168, 169, 374, 375, 394, 394, 400, cah 401, 402, 405, 408, 410, 413 cak^w 'should, if' 28, 63, 64, 69, 70, 263, 460, 553, 570 captik^w-əl, captik^w-ł 'recount, fairy tale' 1, 288, 570 caq, cq, cqə? 'place' 320, 330, 331, 510, 565, 566 caq, cəq 'hit' 91, 96, 97, 98, 110, 111, 114, 115, 526 caw 'cover' 4, 13 'way' 307 cawt cək₩ cf. cuk^w cəm, cm 'cover' 272, 273, 303, 304, 360 cəm 'it might, maybe, dubitative' 36, 118, 133, 133, 170, 172, 230, 296 -cən cf. -cin

cəpq 'stick' 97, 288 cəq cf. caq cəq^w 'cover' 21 caw 'say, call' cəx cf. cix cəx^wən '?' 105 cə?ix cf. cix -ci cf. -cin -cin 'food, mouth, tongue, language, edge' 6, 5, 9, 9, 26, 28, 35, 41, 49, 49, 64, 68, 77, 78, 81, 82, 90, 104, 118, 121, 126, 307, 313, 319, 331, 333, 335, 341, 344, 345, 346, 378, 386, 387, 389, 396, 415, 479, 480, 537, 550, 570 ciq 'dig' 244, 515, 519 citx^w 'house' 233 cix 'warm' 276, 304, 332, 465, 533 cix^w 'slate' 158 cki? cf. ?ic-əckən ck^w cf. cuk^w ck^wink 'bow' 93, 94, 115, 117 cm cf. cəm cnilc 'he' 111, 380, 423, 427 cq cf. caq cqə? cf. caq -cqaxa? cf. -sqaxa cqilp 'fir trees' 18, 18 cq^w cf. cəq^w cqltim 'pot (?)' 366

cu cf. cəw

116

anov. . .

117 cuk^w 'pull' 55, 515 -cút cf. -sut cak 'count' 414, 417 cakən '?' 209 cal 'stand' 181 cał 'cold' 249, 250, 296, 297, 298, 455, 462, 464, 466, 555 caq" 'point' 137 car 'hurt' 283, 537, 559 ćas 'gone' 235, 282, 445 cax 'shame' 385, 385, 420 cax[₩] 'purpose' 561 cayəx^wsapəlas 'the end of the story' 571 ca? 'cover' 372 cək cf. cak cəm 'suck (?)' 132 cəq 'throw' 368 cf. cas ćəs caw cf. ciw cə?ax cf. cax cə[?]x cf. cax cin(t) 'say what' 77 ciq^w 'skin' 515, 529 ciw 'last' 126, 133, 222, 495 (cf. ?iw)

ciw 'wash' 568

118 cix" 'bright' 457 cka cf. cak cxil cf. ?xi(1) ha(?) 'interrogative' 102, 150, 226, 229, 239, 258, 318, 373, 421 həl- 'group, clan, family' 289, 485 hi? 'interjection' 201 huy 'finished' 41, 167, 230, 267, 340, 436, 444, 482 i- cf. in--i 'secondary formative' -ica? 'cover' 193, 249, 475 -ikən 'back (anatomy)' 194, 198, 200, 207, 233, 236, 495, 540 -iki cf. ikən -iks cf. ikst -ikst 'branch, hand' 16, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 20, 110, 113, 113, 132, 132, 132, 134, 155, 170, 172, 181, 207, 178, 285, 534 -ila[?]t cf. -ilt -ilən 'weapon' 91, 96, 97, 98, 110, 111, 114, 115 ili 'stay, be' (cf. 1) -ils 'volitive' 83, 196, 208, 226, 233, 242, 259, 262, 292, 300, 315, 338, 339, 420, 434, 463, 549 -ilt, -ila't (dimin) 9, 11, 32, 38, 59, 78, 88 -ilx 'in motion (?)' 47, 118, 119, 221, 307, 328, 363, 422, 431, 440, 475, 478, 480, 501, 563 -ilx^w 'hide (?), people (?)' 4, 13, 307 -ilca? 'meat' 36, 55, 223, 242, 283, 443, 515, 531, 536, 562, 564, 565, 566, 567

119
-iłp 'plant, branches' 16, 253
-iłx ^w 'house, cover' 15, 16, 16, 16, 21, 23, 23, 24, 45, 165, 540
-im transitive pronoun 'indefinite'
-im transitive pronoun 'we'
-imən 'preferential, habitual'
-imł 'superlative' 241, 463
-ims '?' 356
in- 'my'
-in transitive pronoun 'I'
-ina? 'ear, surface' (cf. tina?) 9, 33, 74, 75, 75, 76, 178, 178, 228, 261, 272, 273, 303, 304, 388, 401, 402, 408, 411, 412, 412, 416, 416, 418, 471, 519, 520
inca? 'I' 39, 39, 165, 429, 448, 510
-ink 'belly, stomach, back' 282, 283, 510, 537, 537, 559
-ip transitive pronoun 'you pl.'
-ip 'lower end' 201, 281, 305, 395, 410
-ipla? 'handle' 337, 510
-ips '?' 426
-is transitive pronoun 'he/she/they'
isəlp cf. slip
-ist 'weapon (?), tool (?)' (cfast) 168, 540
-itk ^w 'water' 331
-iwat cfiwt
-iwt, -iwat (dimin) 'here and there' 220, 503, 514
-iws 'center' 44, 45, 117, 288, 289, 303, 306, 433, 463, 467, 522, 522, 522, 523
-ix ^w transitive pronoun 'you sg.'

-i? 'past' -i? transitive imperative plural i?pust '?' 131 k- 'directive' k- 'personal' k- 'resultative' k- cf. k1ka(?) cf. ki? ka?lal cf. ka?lis ka?ləl cf. ka?lis ka?lis 'three' 45, 45 kc cf. kic kck(ən) cf. kic kcnik(ən) cf. kic kəl 'chase' 190, 428, 429 kəlx cf. kilx kəl cf. kil kəm'aw 'leftovers (?)' 331 kəm 'or' 6, 16, 16, 91, 110, 166, 168, 263, 296, 296 kəmk^wu? '?' 182 kən 'I' kən, kəna 'open' 566 kəw-əwap cf. kəwap kəwap 'horse' 486 k(ə)x(ə)n cf. kxan

r

120

- kə? cf. kə?a
- kə?a 'bad language' 130, 322, 327, 337, 379, 380, 385, 493
- kic 'reach, overtake' 25, 52, 53, 185, 188, 194, 198, 200, 207, 224, 236, 310, 356, 392, 424, 433, 440, 443, 520, 537, 554(?)
- kilx 'hand' 16, 131, 132, 352
- kil 'frown' 379, 546
- kim 'hate' 78
- kip '?' 219
- kiw '?' 60
- ki? relative 'that' 104, 127, 168, 182, 200, 205, 219, 227, 295, 323, 389, 395, 415, 433, 440, 443, 498, 513, 532, 540, 558
- k1- 'unrealized aspect'
- kł- 'possessive' 91, 103, 103, 104, 110, 113, 129, 132, 137, 310, 364, 367, 411, 418, 442, 486
- kl- directional 'down'
- kłəl 'bottom' 501, 431, 432, 440
- kmax cf. kmix
- kmix 'only' 13, 46, 65, 67, 86, 152, 510, 525, 531, 544

-kst cf. -ikst
kxan 'follow' 69, 70, 103, 485, 494
kxən cf. kxan
kywu (kyuw) 'listen (?)' 388

ksaw 'greet' 126

,

k cf. kəl ka cf. kəl kar 'cut' 107 kas 'bad' 94, 99, 99, 117, 559 kaw 'gone' 89, 165, 169, 225, 292, 441 ka?t 'near' 306, 338, 435 kə 'disappear' 133, 170, 217, 325 kəl directional 'to' 137, 157, 160, 166, 182, 185, 233, 404, 404, 412, 422, 423, 431, 432, 497 kəl 'behind' 308, 495 kəlax" 'evening' 111, 456 kəla? 'to where' (cf. kəl) 188; kəli? cf. kəl kal directional 'around, under' kəm 'back' 165, 165, 540 kəm 'except' 444 kəmax '?' 133 kər cf. kar kəs cf. kas kaw cf. kaw kəx cf. kəx-k^wun kəxk^wun 'coax' (cf. k^wun) kəy, kəy cf. kiy kil 'chose' 16, 23, 51 kim 'dark' 118 kit 'breath' 235 kiy 'cold' 132, 132, 270, 249, 274

k^wa(?) 'interjection' 232, 246, 249, 270, 323 k^wac 'late, dark' 219, 231, 253, 265, 307, 456, 460 k^wal 'warm' 22, 273, 274, 275, 299, 465 k^wa[?]c cf. k^wac k^wələwt cf. k^wəliwt k^wəliwt 'sit' 309 k^wəl cf. k^wal k^wələm(u)t 'brother-in-law' 152, 289, 419, 420, 433, 433, 554 k^wən cf. k^win k^wə[?]ac cf. k^wac k^wə?al cf. k^wal k^wi cf. k^win k^win 'take' 37, 269, 371, 510 k^win-x^wt 'answer, sing out' 314, 334 k^wis cf. k^win k^wmil 'suddenly' 524 k"ni cf. k"in k™u 'me' k^wu 'we' k^wum 'store' 463, 467, 513 k^wun 'coax' 73, 260 k^wusənt 'star' 457 k^wsac '?' 475 k^wac 'strong' 138 k^wax^w 'loose' 117 \vec{k}^{W} əl cf. \vec{k}^{W} ul

k[₩]ə1 '?' 103

k"əix '?' 396 k"əi cf. k"ii k"ənx cf. k"inx k"ə? 'cranky' 59, 180 k"ii 'pull off' 357, 358, 361, 367 k"ii 'at 'other' 53, 496 k"in(x) 'indefinite number' 4, 13, 45, 119 k"in' 'pick' 294 k"ii 'pick' 294 k"ix" 'unwrap' 372 k"ui 'make, born' 94, 109, 110, 115, 115, 180, 226, 329, 336 k"ut 'half' 165, 165, 404, 404, 412

124

1 'locative'
1a cf. 1
1ak 'ite' 117, 393
1ak' 'far' 118, 129, 232, 355, 434, 476
1atap 'table' 364
1ax 'friend' 135, 135, 177, 190
1a?ł 'with' 475, 484, 495
1ap cf. slip
1aq 'pluck' 510
1ax'' 'watch' 169, 179
1ax'' 'watch' 169, 179
1ax'' cf. lix''
-lilx cf. -ilx
1im 'glad' 517, 517
1iq 'bury' 443, 466, 471, 503

125 li^k 'insert, hole' (cf. 1ə^s) 126, 127, 471, 497 1kapi 'coffee' 320 1k^w cf. 1ak^w -1s cf. -i1s -lwis cf. -nwis -lax^w cf. -ulax^w 1- directional 'back' 1 'subordinate, secondary' -1 'expressed goal' laxm 'law relations' 4, 44, 53, 86, 339 la?(c) 'when' 168, 263, 307, 307, 360, 385, 411, 418, 442, 507, 508, 533, 557 1a?t 'wet' 358, 22, 1-cəcə?-ups 'younger sister' 61, 73, 317, 322, 327, 328, 335, 337, 380 1-cick 'mother-in-law' 495 -lca? cf. -ilca? ləq♥ 'loop' 126 1əq^w 'clear' 344, 413 law 'leave' 439, 556

ləx৺

1a? cf. ?alá?

łkwa cf. łukw

lig" 'meat' 505

1p cf. 19apak

'hole' 470, 549

1-kikxa? 'older sister' 76

126 -lp cf. -ilp lq 'lie down' 363 łu?x^w 'ring' 245, 245, 469, 521, 522 łwj cf. łəw 1x^w 'breath' 304 1xəm cf. 1axm 1xma cf. 1axm 1°ap '?' 120 19apak 'fall in the snow' 153, 180 lal 'still' 145, 150, 257 lax 'fast' 139 kax^w 'kill' 52, 167, 207, 441, 508 Aax 'grow' 27, 77, 77, 337, 387, 399 la cf. la1 Aəm 'past' 206, 285, 426, 492, 518 ləx^w cf. lax^w lax 'loud' 341 la? 'go after' 310 ixa cf. iax -m 'primary formative' cf. -im - m

-m, -əm 'middle'

'?' 369 ma

maq" 'mountain' 497

'four' (cf. also mus 'four') 45 mas 'find out, teach' 6, 35, 50, 67, 104, 126, 153, 164, 171, 174, 174, 180, 233, 324, 326, 335 (?), 337, 370, 402, 410, 415, 416, 492, 513 may ma? '?' 536 mənk cf. mnik məp 'say (?)' 41 məq və? cf. muq v 'feel' (cf. mus 'feel') 278, 534,534 məs mət 'dubitative' 45, 45, 72, 83, 132, 170, 207, 229, 304, 319, 321, 341, 420, 428, 517, 568, 568 məx^w '?' 16 məy cf. may mə? cf. may mə[?]im 'women' 232, 475, 485, 486, 566 mi cf. may 'future' mi -mi 'purposive' mik^wət 'snow' 132, 182, 185, 252, 360, 470, 471, 520 mil 'give' 54 mina 'probably not' 132, 205 mistəm 'woman's father' 33, 34 miwyús '?' 110 mix '?' 78 mi? 'fit' 100 mnik 'shit' 525, 531, 544 mnim1-tət 'we, us' 571 mq₩ cf. mug^w

128 mq^wa cf. maq^w mrim 'medicine' 2, 11, 42, 103 muk₩ '?' 252 muq₩ 'lump' 503, 514, 536 mut 'sit' 349, 510 myal 'too much' 80, 82, 172, 262, 297, 453, 548 m^san 'interjection' 84 msaw 'break' 245 $m\hat{s}alk^w$ 'whole' 506, 567 malk" cf. m^salk^w (cf. footnote 567) mək"iw 'little mountain' (cf. also mq"a (maq") 'mountain' and muq^w 'lump') 422 mxi '?' 293 n-, ən- 'locative' -n cf. -in -n, -ən 'active' -n 'instrumental' cf. -ayən nak^w 'evidential, indeed' 6, 13, 39, 171, 176, 180, 225, 364, 486, 531, 551, 561 napána '?' 202 naqs 'one' 45, 131, 307, 404, 411, 475 naxəml 'but' 103, 277, 385, 402 na? '?' 244 -na? cf. -ina? -na? 'negative' cf. -a? 568 ncicən 'Wolf'

nags cf. nags nəx^w 'spouse' (cf. nax^w 'wife') 44, 44, 45, 45 nə? '?' 220 nikxna? 'exclamation' 119, 130, 396, 491, 517, 526, 545 nik 'cut' 279, 535 nikəlx" 'son-in-law' 103, 392 niwt 'wind blowing' 182, 185 nixəl 'hear' 192, 312, 341 nix^w 'also' 27, 96, 97, 125, 162, 203, 207, 358, 427, 429, 461, 494 nk"əlmut 'brother-in-law' 1, 71, 179, 190, 191, 194, 202, 209, 227, 246, 260, 293, 295, 152 ngemscin 'stuck on' 33 nía? 'exclamation' 182, 196, 220, 352, 379, 398, 418, 457, 547 -nu(n) 'success' 237, 263, 311, 370, 394, 416, 483 nunx^w 'believe' 74, 75, 228, 261 -nux^w '?' 118, 231, 307, 570 -nwis 'frequentative, all over, over and over' (cf. also -1wis) 325, 355, 534 -nwix^w 'reciprocal' 63, 190, 428, 428 ninwi? 'then' 136, 162, 199, 257, 413, 466, 475 -p cf. -ip -p 'non-control' pal 'grow' 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 119, 124, 128, 133, 398 palq '?' 496 pax 'think' 72, 81, 162, 226, 240, 268, 269, 395, 554

pa?s 'think' 516 pa?sən '?' 510 pa[?]x(a) cf. pax pəl cf. pal pəl cf. pul pəlk 'turn' (full grade plak 'turn') 133, 133, 153, 168, 170, 200, 230 pəlx cf. pulx pən cf. pin pax 'sound of snowshoes' 342 pə?us 'heart' 40 picx" 'disappoint' 384 pin 'time' 6, 13, 48 pintk 'always' 62 pis '?' 235 pix 'hunt' 12, 49, 57, 103, 198, 290, 307, 339 pk^w 'throw' 374 pla cf. pal -pla? cf. -ipla? pna? 'maybe' 35, 104, 209, 536 ps cf. ps fay pssay 'no sense' 409 pul 'dream' 229 pul 'kill' 241 pulx 'camp' 238, 293, 451, 463, 553 put 'just' 96, 118, 207, 443, 465, 488 pu?- 'mate' 46, 485, 494

131px(a) cf. pax px^w(əm) 'scatter, distribute' 136, 143, 159, 162, 173, 175, 177, 505, 509, 510, 512 p'ac' 'shoot out' 99, 542, 543 proc cf. prac pap 'defeat' 450 pəms '?' 548 pssawa 'low place' 422 psaw 'tired' 63 qaqx^wəlx 'fish' 6 qəl cf. qil qəltmix^w 'man' 37, 64, 319, 326, 336, 337, 524, 527, 531, 547, 565 qələwit cf. qil qəl- 'prole' 4, 32 qəl 'manage' 237, 263 qəm 'be' 166, 220, 374, 374, 403 -qən cf. -qin qicə1x 'run' 191, 195 qil, qil 'step, top' 160, 162, 188, 233, 287, 305, 426, 498 qilx^w 'people' 5, 13, 28, 53, 119, 131, 168, 388, 396, 428, 478, 496, 532 qilt 'wake' 47, 479 -qin 'head' 45, 45, 45, 47, 126, 133, 182, 202, 385, 418, 567 qiw '?' 87 qix^w 'drive' 51, 75, 147, 167, 422

qa? 'insert' 358, 361, 363 qəlx^wus '?' 131 qəmil 'hungry' 321, 533, 557 qəsa 'long ago' 5 qəx^wa 'flirt (?)' 31 qəx '(fix), clear up (as road)' 135 qəy 'mark' (full grade qay) 412 qə? 'hit' 117 qix 'stingy' 258 gyax" 'stink' 527, 544 q^wam 'excellent' 281 q^wan 'pitiful, complain' 35, 35, 39, 39, 39, 39, 90, 285, 550, 561 q"asqi? 'Blue Jay' q^way 'down' 146, 158, 168, 204 q^wa? 'accustomed' 110, 113, 128, 204 q^wəl cf. q^wil q^wəł '?' 183 q^wəm cf. q^wam q^wən cf. q^wan q^wəy 'enough' 5 q^wə? cf. q^way q^wil 'talk' 169 q^wilcən 'boughs, palm boughs' 16 q^wilp '?' (cf. q^wilcən) 266, 296, 461 q^wuł 'sound of snowshoes (onomatopoetic)' 202, 203

133 q"əl cf. q"ul q"əl cf. q"il q^wəlt 'pack' 243, 282, 514 q^wic 'fill' 398 q"il 'to manage' 491, 515 q^wis 'fat' 242, 278, 534, 558 q^wuc 'fat' 294 q^wul 'cook, roast' 331, 565, 569 q^wuy 'still' 185, 185, 185 s- 'absolute mode' -s 'causative' -s, -c 'his/her/their' cf. -is - 5 cf. -us - 5 sax 'air (?)' 569 sa[?]stám 'brother-in-law' 60, 67, 78, 84, 89, 379, 379, 384, 385, 420, 495, 514, 517, 517, 518 sas 'downhill' 499 scxił cf. [?]xil scxilx cf. [?]xi1 səl 'round' 364, 364, 366 səl cf. sul səlp cf. slip səlx^wə? cf. silx^wa? səla 'puzzle' (full grade sal) 407

səm '?' 475

səy 'find out' 6, 9, 35, 49, 50, 57, 137, 138, 166, 169, 32 486 sic 'new' 53, 55, 75, 99, 115, 129, 156, 265, 283, 303, 304 322, 339, 366, 406, 415, 496, 536, 569 silx^wa? 'big' 146, 241, 271, 294, 302, 432, 463 sipə? cf. sipi? sipi? 'skin' 15, 90, 101, 104, 359 siscəlq^w 'honeymoon' 43, 47, 62, 80, 291 siw 'ask' 9, 26, 406, 420 slip 'wood' 251, 263, 263, 296, 296, 329, 460 slig^W 'meat' 55 ska?cinəm 'deer' sp 'glove' 132 spə?us 'heart' 71 -sqaxa? 'animal, horse' 185, 525 sqəlaw 'money' 6 sqilx^w cf. qilx^w -sqət cf. -asqət sq^w 'fir' 253 st 'think' 196, 226, 242, 262, 300, 315, 339 sta? 'interjection' 134, 194 stim 'what' 35, 102, 278, 370, 373 sta?kəmix 'maiden' 28, 29 sul 'frozen' 341 sut 'entity' 16, 23, 35, 551(?) -sut 'reflexive'

135

suwits '?' 274
sux 'recognize' 34, 48, 75, 416, 425
(s)wit 'effort' (wit cf. 528) 166, 185, 195, 217, 422, 528
sx(a) cf. sax
s²xəl '?' 207, 207, 434

-t 'stative' t(a) 'instrumental, agent' cf. also 'iti', 'ata' tak" 'drop' 243 tali? 'very much' 67, 71, 85, 144, 231, 242, 249, 274, 276, 465 tam cf. ta 110 tanmus 'nothing' 205 taq 'valley' 432 tax^w- 'obtain' 6, 7, ?, 35, 49, 49, 55, 64, 68, 81, 92, 93, 96, 226, 253, 296, 461 taš 'shoot' 428 təl 'from' 165, 226, 226, 278, 339, 518, 537 təlk^w 'gut' 223, 443 təltut 'weak' 99 təmx^w 'earth' 182, 183, 185 tər 'undo' 522 tərq 'kick' 181, 470 -tət 'our' təxtatə 'join (?)' 422 təx৺ cf. tax[₩] təx^w '?' 47

tə?iwt 'last' 27 tikł 'bottom (?)' 205, 218, 219 tilx 'stand' 328 tinx 'sinew' 117 tia^w 'shine' 117 tkli 'bottom' 431, 432, 440 tkłmilx" 'wife' 44, 44, 47, 59, 90, 126, 127, 258, 316, 350, 351, 494, 526, 546, 550, 568 -tk^w cf. -itk^w tk^w(ə[?]ut) 'going, walk' 123, 135, 148, 153, 482, 486, 487 tk^wtan 'tules' 16 tk^w cf. tak^w tla 'from' (cf. ?atlâ?, təl) 304, 323 tł 'straight' 114, 167 tg '?' 131 tapi?s 'feathers' 97 trag^w '?' 182 tult '?' 368 tum 'woman's mother' 101 túnilxt '?' 197 txixi? 'a little' 95, 98, 112 tx^w cf. tax^w

ta cf. ti tak^w 'holler' 118, 121, 307, 313, 319, 333, 387, 389, 479 tal 'overcome' 420 ta[?]k^w cf. tak^w

136

~ *

137 tə cf. ti t∂k[₩] cf. tak^w tək^w 'lay down' 325 təl cf. til təmkə? 'daughter' 9, 11, 32, 38, 59, 88 təmsas 'suck, kiss' 352, 517 taws 'shelter' 185 təx 'sweet' 331 təx" 'evidential particle' ti 'evidential particle' tic 'pitch' 117 til 'split' 117, 463, 522 tim 'easy' 414 tina? 'ear' (cf. also -ina?) 442 tsap 'shoot' 55, 70, 168

-úlax '' 'earth' 5, 118, 133, 137, 146, 146, 149, 158, 164, 170, 174, 182, 183, 185, 185, 209, 217, 219, 225, 299, 306, 306, 325, 433, 441, 445, 470, 471, 484 -us 'face, eye/neck; surface; fire' -ut '?' 118, 232, 355, 476, 497 -utya? '?' 100, 444

wa (wi ?) 'finished, already (?)' 570
was '?' 118
way 'well, so it is'
wa? '?' 121

138 wənix^w 'true' 49, 76, 76, 156, 236, 268, 300, 380, 383 wət cf. (s)wit wik 'see' 136, 141, 156, 166, 168, 168, 177, 201, 421 wik^w 'hide' 78 -wilx 'developmental' 'in vain' 78, 207, 337, 394 wiń wis 'high' 181, 214 wit 'who, what' 99, 226, 283, 388, 486, 536 wi? 'finish' 111, 120, 223, 240, 273, 378, 386, 443, 480, 480, 483, 537 -wi? 'intransitive imperative plural' wət 'put' 97 1?1 х-'intransitive imperative singular' - x cf. -xi - x -x 'progressive' 'feet' 50, 101, 103, 103, 103, 108, 110, 126, 126, 131, -xan 131, 136, 141, 156, 168, 358, 358, 359, 361, 363 xar 'waste time' 134, 155, 172 xar 'curtain' 346 xa?mx^w 'Moses' 570 xəc 'important' 390 xə1 'cover' 16, 16 xəlsas '?' 176 xəl 'complete, clear' 149. 178, 484 -xən cf. -xan

xən 'hurt' 311 xawil 'road' 129 xə? 'hate, be tired of' 83, 85, 356 xə?i? 'end' 210, 541 -x(i) 'benefactive' xit 'run' 396, 438 xixa?yâpəlqs 'the end of the story' 570 $x\lambda(a)$ cf. $xa\lambda$ xp '?' 193 xr-ut 'uphill' 184, 186, 286, 287, 305 x'it 'first, oldest' 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 49, 58, 59, 75, 78, 88, 135, 137, 198, 226, 227, 241, 285, 326, 420, 438, 49Ó - x ^w cf. -ix^w x^wal 'live' 248, 255, 259

x"ay 'go' (cf. x"uy) 547 x"a? 'many' 62, 72, 80, 142, 144, 167, 428 x"al cf. x"al x"ar 'hollow, low place' 160, 166, 167, 188, 497 x"ar (al) 'up, move' 47, 118, 119, 328, 351, 480 x"ar cf. x"a? x"ar cf. x"a? x"ar cf. x"a? x"ic 'give' 90, 106, 363, 393, 399 x"il 'discard' 36, 36, 568 x"ix 'whittle' 103, 116 x"ip 'spread' 365 x"iski? 'rest' 533, 557

x^wt cf. yx^wut (cf. also 277) x^wum 'like' 215 x^wus 'hurry' 335, 444 x^wut cf. yx^wut x^wuy 'go' 52, 118, 137, 137, 139, 140, 156, 165, 165, 166, 166, 167, 187, 189, 192, 209, 216, 218, 355, 381, 422, 422, 423, 427, 450, 479, 489, 497, 500 xal 'light' 118, 310, 479, 543 'good' 37, 71, 113, 275, 344 xas xaw 'dry' 114, 116, 116, 362 xa? 'great' 57, 241, 368, 371, 463, 474, 495, 504, 504, 507 xəci? 'stick' 468, 521 xəl 'lay across' 23, 23, 23, 24 xəlwə? cf. xîlwi? xəmink 'like' 32, 293 -xən cf. -qxən xən, xən cf. x(h)ənsisc xəp cf. xpi xəw cf. xaw xə? cf. xa? x(h) ənsisc '?' 78, 88, 337 xilwi? 'husband' 30, 39, 39, 75, 381 xix 'up' 233, 237 xla cf. xal xlit 'ask' 101, 391, 395 xh cf. xih

141

xs cf. xas xpi (xip) 'stitch' 272, 284, 303, 467, 540 xq 'aside' 213, 522, 523 xsa 'air' 304

x^wəst '?' 233

,x[₩]p cf. x[₩]up

x^wup ^wworthless' 36, 117, 518

yark" '?' 99

yaw 'strong' 117, 117, 178, 211

- ya[§] 'gather, all' 150, 151, 174, 233, 389, 397, 412, 418, 442, 463, 564, 567
- yər 'round' (full grade yir) 99
- yəw(ʕ) cf. yaw
- yrik^w '?' 103
- yriwa 'around (?)' 50
- yriwaxən 'snowshoes' 91, 99, 103, 109, 111, 126, 127, 129, 131, 153, 171, 180, 202, 203, 204, 323, 324, 341, 343, 344, 348, 357, 358, 486, 487, 491
- yum 'move' 215

(y)x^wut 'inside' 126, 127, 131, 242, 277, 304, 323, 561 yxi(?)s 'drive deer' 164, 166, 168, 168, 168, 423 y^sac' 'solid' 117 y^{\$}ip 'always' 80, 218, 218, 308

yi 'particle, definite' -?- 'inchoative' ?ácqa? 'go out' 124, 125, 283, 387, 481, 524, 538, 540, 560 'akəla' 'to there' (cf. kəl) 199 'alá' 'here' (cf. 1, 'ilí') 147, 150, 246, 451, 463, 464 ?ala? 'other side' 431, 432 ?ali? 'because' ?am 'feed' 56 ?asil 'two' 165 ?astk^w 'cedar' 16, 17, 19, 20 ?atá? 'this' 135, 315, 367 ?atlá? 'from there' (cf. təl) 304, 323, 323 ?aw 'go' 167, 496 ?axá? 'this' (cf. ?ixí?) ?axá?m cf. ?axá? ?ayxáxa? 'in a little while' 283, 304, 537, 557 [?]ayx^wt 'tired' 67, 170, 199, 205, 206, 207, 207, 208, 210, 235, 254, 262, 267, 290, 292, 296, 311, 339, 353, 354, 434, 444, 448, 449, 453, 458, 458, 508, 532, 532, 552, 552 ?ayəxáxa? cf. ?ayxáxa? ?ək[₩]əw '?' 562 ?ətx cf. ?itx ?əx(1) 'like (?)' 221 ?ic-əckən 'play (?)' 46, 65, 67 ?ikəlá? cf. ?ikəlí? ?ikəli? 'to there' (cf. kəl) 133, 136, 160, 161, 174, 188, 199, 397, 424

143 'ili' 'there' (cf. 1) 44, 45, 167, 168, 185, 185, 232, 295, 299, 348, 467, 495, 495, 533, 542, 553, 561, 561 ?ilwi? 'twist' 245, 303, 468, 521 ?ii(>n) 'eat' 120, 142, 148, 277, 280, 366, 367, 376, 377, 535, 549, 558 ?im 'wait' 154, 172, 234 ?ip 'wipe' 116 'ig" 'appear' 152, 244 ?iri 'push' 316, 317 'istk 'winter' 14, 14, 14, 50, 486 'iti? 'that' 70, 94, 162, 422, 498, 527 ?itli? 'from there' cf. təl 133, 162, 162, 170, 191, 195, 201, 214, 215, 216, 279, 287, 333, 335, 432, 432, 499, 535 ?itx 'sleep' 47, 307, 478 'iw 'last' (cf. ciw) 190, 427 [?]iwá? 'to no avail, even if, even when' 34, 39, 61, 70, 75, 78, 87, 97, 216, 263, 374, 403, 460, 507, 529 ?ixi? 'that' 'iy 'lace, tie' 101, 103, 108 (?)ki(n) 'what' 50, 61, 157, 168, 251, 251, 253, 283, 284, 296, 296, 304, 311, 370, 408, 408, 420, 459, 459, 460, 460, 513, 515, 515, 540, 549, 560, 568 ?uc 'dubitative, interrogative' 133 ·?uckəi 'run' 201, 287, 305 [?]ucx 'follow, go down' 166, 191, 218, 430 [?]ulús 'together' 14, 44, 45, 161 ?ul 'and' ?ú1-i? 'and-past' 9, 9, 58, 198, 207, 224, 290, 325, 327, 337, 360, 384, 422, 445, 452, 472, 533, 559, 569

[?]ulx^w 'enter' 246, 270, 271, 295, 302, 345, 347, 380, 383, 464 'um 'name' 20, 126, 169 ?ur(i), ?ur 'fire' 251, 263, 263, 296, 318, 329, 382, 459, 460 ?uyá? 'listen' 79, 81, 99 ?xi(1), ?xii 'like, same' 9, 18, 58, 96, 104, 115, 129, 168, 185, 185, 193, 203, 217, 327, 346, 374, 522, 533, 544 ?xi? 'up' 244 Sac 'look' 18, 84, 194, 249, 369 Sápna? 'now' 103, 227 sas '?' 132, 542, 543 Sayckst 'Lakes' 488 'sec 'tie' (full grade 'ac) 126 Səln 'eat (?)' cf. ?ilən 82 Sim 'angry' 518 s̃^wəy 'laugh' 131, 409

The Narrative of Peter J. Seymour IX ICSL Blue Jay and His Brother-in-Law Wolf Aug 12-14, 1974 Anthony Mattina Vancouver, B.C. Corrections Sentence Numbers: nk^W-ancaw-flx^W-t-an /one-?-people-stat-instr/ 40 s-an-lax m-t-án-s (also 44, 53 etc.) 6. c-miy-s-t-is-alx 697. c-xat-am-s-t-is-alx 9. Add footnote mark to second word. Delete glottalization mark here and elsewhere on k of s-tamka? - ilt 16. xal- (twice) 20. c-k-pal-al-ikst /act-res-.../ 22. c-1{āt-Jlx k^wa...l-t 35. c-miy-s-t-ím 36. x^Wəl-ílca? /delete one discrard'/ 41. kəl-?əm-cí-n-t- m 45. y-k^Wənx-ílx^W 46. c-pu-'a cki?-s-t-sut* 470 x * st-el-ilx->lx* /up-pl-in motion-pl/ 50。 omly-s-t-ls Also 126, and elsewhere. 52. n-kac-n-ikh-t-am-alx* XxW-an-t-im-alx (delete root schwa here and elsewhere) 53. 65. n-kac-n-íkan Delete question marks, 78. c-x n-sisc-21x* /act-stop-?-pl/ correct elsewhere as well. 82. c-žn-'aln-cín n-xiy-ils-etc. 83. Do likewise in 85. c-kal-qix^w-... 87 . 97. ut-an-t-is Delete footnote mark. 104. n-miy-cin-... 105. c-kel-ca-cax^wan-sút Replace ? in // with 'store'. 110. k-s-q%? m-ikst Remove footnote marks. Remove ? in //. Also in 113. miyús-xan 111. k-s-kláx^w 117. Delete first word. To be replaced. til-s-alx they glue it' /glue-he-pl/ k-s-t-k^Wáx^W-ax^W-alq^W-s Replace'clothes' with 'cyl obj', add '-it/ Delete **. c-k-ya SW-ya SW-Ink** 118。 toq^w-cin Here and elsewhere. n-wa's-nux" Here and elsewhere. xWat-al-ilx... Delete footnote marks. Replace ? with /-pl-in motion-120. **?> 2-?** <u>í</u> ?> n-> l x k-s-q^Wə?ām... kā-kə?->m-s->lx Here and elsewhere. Stress and vowels. 128, 130。 132. ki-kiy-fkst* Here and elsewhere. kiy-1kst Delete 'earth' in //. 133. **k**∂l-k∂-k∂lax^W ke mah-qen-mf-st 135. s-ix-lax-t-s Remove 'res' from //. 139. xax-t

153. c->n-lp-lfapak Here and elsewhere.

- 160. c-an-x^war-ús
- 164. mly-ùlax"...
- 165. Kal-caha-mi-xa⁷x Here and elsewhere

```
166.
      gam-am-s-t-sut-alx
      n-7úcx-s-2lx /loc-follow-his-pl/
167.
      to 1-on-sut
      Pap-uk-sqllx^w /accidentally (?)-see-people/
168.
      s-kal-c>ha-mf-x
      c=thap=ap=1'st-alx
      s-c-kow-s-kol-co to -m(-x
169.
      c-kal-kalexW
170.
      Kaý-1/ -íks
171.
      c-mly-s-t-ls (and elsewhere)
174.
      add footnote mark to the first / ....
176.
      c-kal-xa-xalfas-am* /act-watch secretely-watch secretely-mid/
      s-taragw
s-k-mk"-u?-gan /abs-res-snow on trees-?-head/
182.
      qwall->m-an-t-sut /snow in the air-pr-atv-..../
183.
185.
      s-an-iaws-cqaxe?-t-an /abs-loc-stand-animal-o.o./
188.
      s-x<sup>w</sup>əy-x<sup>w</sup>üy1-t-ən-s
191. n-qic->lx->m-s /loc-run-in motion-mid-his/ delete footnote.
193. k-sixp-fda? /have-chills-cover/
194. c-2n-kac-n-1kan-t-am (52) delete / ..../.
197. c-kel-towh-flx-t-om /act-down-2-in motion-trans-we/
198。
     2-c-an-kac-n-iki7-s Replace (194) with (52). Similarly 200,207 p.
202°
      n-uk-pana7-gan-am-s
     qw33 m-ml-s
204.
      s-laxal-ikst-am /abs-do-hand-mid/ Likewise later in 207 w/ root.
207。
510°
      k-s-žiy /have-abs-be tired/ (83)
211.
      ya 4<sup>w</sup>-p-yaw-t
     Remove " and glottalization mark over m...
215.
220.
      qa-qam-an'-iwat
221.
     72X-72Xl-1lx
      n-kac-kh-alq
224.
231. \tilde{n} = k^{W} a^{7} c = nu x^{W}
233.
      miy-lls-am-s
      s x W-> x W-st-ùs /downhill-downhill-?-surface/
234。
      <sup>7</sup>1m-m-š-t-sut
      and elsewhere: s-x3'-ind /abs-first (?)-superl/ Delete (...).
241.
      delete ya. In its place insert al /in/
s-n-yxwt-11ca
242.
      tək<sup>w</sup>-əl-t-le
243.
      k-lu?xWu-l-t-s Likewise later in 245.469
245。
      kiy-1c-asgat /clear-cover-.../
249。
      Replace /?/ with /snow on trees/ (182)
252,
      txw-s-qwflp->m /obtain-com for-boughs-mid/ (16)
253。
263。
      i-k-s-?ur-iselp-em Likewise later in 263 and elsewhere.
268。
     kol-paix-xi-t-s
269。
      a-s-kal-pa x
      1-Kol-on-xp-ip-s / ... stitch-door-he/ Likewise 284
2720
2740
      súyts
      ?ilxw-t /hungry-stat/ Delete *.
277 0
293.
      k-s-k-pulx-ml?-s
      n-kw37 -kwin-17-8
294。
303. s-yilwi? And elsewhere.
                      Root: taq". Change accordingly elsewhere.
      s-tel q<sup>w</sup>-oin-s
307。
309, kal-k<sup>w</sup>alawt-ús-xan-alx
311. s-xan-nu-m-t-x Here and elsewhere & in root, n.
      yr-an-t-ls Here and elsewhere, eg. 317.
316。
318, Root: <sup>7</sup>ur
      s-x?lt-x
326。
      Replace, -?- with -leftover-
331.
       kal-kwul-can-t-am / for those who are coming-make-mouth-.../
```

338。 Replace s- with c-. 339. insert schwa: -22 xma-344. n-liqw-can (delete final -s and -its/) 356. Cr. 210. 358. 1a?-1a?t-xfan* 363. Delete *. 366. Segment: cq-l-t-lm 367. c-koz-kW 2 369. mi ha c=fač-dn-t-x^w 374, 375. add, schwa: caha 379. c-k11-kals /act-frown-frown/ ka-ka-am-s Likewise in 380, elsewhere. 382. Add glott. mark on r. 390. Root: xic 396. c-xilt-mil-st 420, n-ta71-11s 422. s-taxtata-s 431. s->n-tkl->1->1x-s (432 also) n-alà? 432. k 2⁷-ús (431 as well). 434. s=?axal=000 438. root: xo't (i.e. insert schwa) 440. n-tkl-ol-flx 441. X^w-... 456. klax^w 456 。 ċ1x₩ 459, 460, root: ur 463, cf. 241 correction. 463. Delete (117) 468。 yllwa7 -m Replace /act- with /cisl-. k-s-mide -x ** /unr-abs-killed deer-progr/ 472. 475。 495。 kst, not kal. Add glost. mark to -1kan 503. $mk^{Wa^2} - iwt$ 510. Stress: shift to kWin, (delete from pla') 514. a-mk^w-Iwt 5327 s-c-111x^W-t 533. 2a'x"lsk1?-t 536. Root: muk^w 540, ?>c-acco?-18t 541. x1ŷ ķş≟-φ^w(1-n-t-x^w 549。 kə3-pa⁷ x-x1-t-s 554. of 533° >>k^w->>k^ww=... 557° 562° 567。 Delete pharyngeal and *. 568。 Root: xW11 (not xW11) wa? s-núx^w 5700 Footnote numbers. Delete: 4, 52, 82, 97*, 117**, ***, 118, 133, 153 174 (all but first two sentences), 189, 191**, 198, 215, 224, 233, 266, 363, 554, 567 Amend: 123 (not 122), 126 (not 125), 234 (not 235) Add or correct: There are two entries in the glossary, 'xi(1) and 'axil, which 9%. should probably be collapsed. 16% Replace schwa with a. 16*** /last-000

45. For a comment on $\hat{n} \rightarrow \hat{i}$ /-s, cf. 52*

470 I haven't reached any conclusions re, the function and meaning of -ilx. The suffix occurs in two forms: -ilx, and recuplicated. ->l-ilx. The latter signals plurality. The conditioning seems to be morphological. That is, there are four ways of pluralizing -ilx forms. 1. By reduplication of the suffix. 2. by the further suffixation of -alx 'plural', i.e. -ilx-alx. 3. by reduplication of the root. 4. Redundantly by 1. and 2. Several interpretaions of the morphophonemics connected with 52. this root are possible. For the moment it will suffice to say that the full grade roct is kic. The presence of the locative prefix n- triggers the suffixation of -n, after which a lexical suffix occurs. In all such cases the root is stressless. Note the $n \rightarrow i$ $(n \rightarrow i)$ /-s rule operating in certain grammatical environments, and Carlson's contribution to this conference. klax^W 'evening', Cf. n-kelx^W-itk^W 'disappear in the water, n-lpak 'fall in the mud' n-l p-la pak 'fall around in the mud' 133. 153. n-lpax^W 'fall in the snow' 174* The paradigm to which this form belongs is not uncommon. I don't have appropriate labels yet. A suffix -(4)as appears to be segmentable here and elsewhere. 176. 189. For the moment this form remains unclear. 198. Cf. 52*. 221 (not 220) Delete all but the first sentence. Cf. 52*. Also, according to one informant, n-kac-n-ikan 'overtake'; n-kac-kan-alq 'be about to overtake'. In exception to 52*. 224 -234。 Delete the second sentence. Replace 198* with 52*, and delete the second sentence. 294. For the purposes of this text edition, may (stress retentive) 'be sure', may (stressless) 'know', and ma?(y) 'teach', have been .233. entered together in the glossary. I have checked this form repeatedly, and the pharyngeal is in the 358。 suffix, not in the root, where one would expect it. Similar shiftings of pharyngeals and pharyngeal intrusion has been noticed elsewhere. Amend second sentence: The function of the second glottal stop is 396 % also unclear. Cf. the following forms: kon mica 'I retrieve game which has 475++ been killed (and cleaned)'; kan kilda? 'I find game killed by someone(else)'.

536. Amend second sentence: The root is mukw 'lump'

Corrections referring to the glossary are not listed, as they can be deduced from the above.

This list of corrections in not final or complete.

THE NARRATIVE OF PETER J. SEYMOUR

BLUE JAY AND WOLF

Translated by Anthony Mattina Retold by Douglas Purl With an afterword by the Editor

Douglas Purl University of Montana This is the story of Blue Jay and his brother-in-law Wolf. Wolf was married to the oldest sister. He was also the tribal leader, because he could do best what mattered for the people. There is also another tribe, and the chief's daughter, and the chief's relations by marriage.

A long time ago money was not riches. You had to rely on yourself to get the things directly that money buys now. If you wanted fish, you had to catch them; if you wanted deer, you had to track them down to take them. Those who could do this were honored above all others; they were valued by the people.

Therefore when Wolf asked the chief for his daughter, the old man gladly consented, because he knew Wolf was smart in getting things to eat, in getting deer. The chief looked at him and said, "All right." So Wolf and the chief's daughter were married. And the next time their people went out hunting, they put Wolf out in front.

At that time the people didn't live alone but in a group. Yes, they stuck together in winter time. They wintered in one place.

They didn't have buckskin tipis. They used all kinds of things to cover their houses: tules, tree bark, boughs that sprouted from the limbs of cedar trees, which they called "palm boughs." And fir boughs. They used all these things to cover their houses. They didn't get wet, and they stayed warm for they boarded their houses up with bark, even on top.

daughter of the chief had grown up too. She had become a maiden, and wanted a man. Well, Blue Jay took a shine to her and started flirting with her. She took a liking to him, and then they got stuck on each other. He asked the chief for his daughter, and she said to her father, "You'd better consent!" But the chief was reluctant, and tried to reason with her: "We don't know him. We don't know the things he's smart in. If he isn't a good food getter, you may suffer from it. It might not be long until you'd have to throw him away because he's no provider. Get the one that'll do right by us, take that one for your man." But no, his daughter was insistent. "Look, he's going to be my husband, not yours. Even if I get hard up, it'll be me, not you, who suffers." So her father gave in to her, saying, "O.K., if that's how you feel, take him."

That was that. Blue Jay got married. Then he went on a honeymoon. They are all together, according to the custom, Wolf and his woman, Blue Jay and his wife, and his law relations, the royal couple, the chief and his mate. There are put together into one house I don't know how many tipis--maybe four, maybe three-because there are three couples. Well, all Blue Jay does is play with his wife. He sleeps till noon, then he and his wife get up, because they're still honeymooning. By that time everyone else is long gone, out hunting things to eat. Wolf leads them on these expeditions, because he is expert with snowshoes and knows all the wintering places of the deer. When they flush the deer from cover, Wolf pursues them, and when the deer stop to rest, Wolf overtakes them and makes several kills. Then he fetches the people, and presents them with the venison. They drag home the meat, which it was not even necessary for them to kill. It's no wonder they acknowledge Wolf as their lead-hunter, and respect his superior skills.

Well, Wolf's wife is being eaten by her feelings. She loathes her brother-in-law. She watches him constantly. Finally, when she has taken his self-indulgence as long as she can, she descends upon her sister in fury: "What's the matter with you?" she accuses. "Many days have passed, and still you two are just mooning like newlyweds. You should have settled down by now. Blue Jay should be out providing. While your brother-in-law is out working hard to provide, you and your husband are fondling and giggling and sleeping. Blue Jay should at least be going on the hunts even if he doesn't shoot: it's his duty to try. Your brother-in-law would appreciate that. But I guess Blue Jay chooses not to see his duty."

And so she kept up the attack on her younger sister. At first Blue Jay's wife stoutly defended him. But at last it dawned on her that her sister was right. Their parents had never voiced their own displeasure. Instead, they tried to restrain their eldest daughter; they sought to mollify her and so to keep peace in the family.

But now his chagrined wife herself wanted her husband to shape up. "Look, she said to him, "perhaps we've drawn our honeymoon out too long. You've got to start finding your share of the grub. We've sponged off them long enough. Look at Wolf and his wife: they hate us. My parents even had to take up for you, to try to silence my sister's criticism. They finally said to her, 'Just leave your brother-in-law alone.'"

"O.K.," Blue Jay said, "If you feel that strongly about it, I'll go out. But first I'll have to prepare myself. I haven't got snowshoes, nor a bow and arrows either. Get me a piece of skin so I can get started."

So he made himself a bow, if you could call it that. It wasn't any good at all. And the arrows he made were no better. He didn't notch the shafts to receive the feathers; he just stuck them on and hoped they would stay. And they were sicklooking feathers to begin with. He also managed to build his special version of weak snowshoes. Instead of seasoned shoots he selected new ones, because they were easier to work with. Now he had a pair of extra-soft snowshoes, which would fold up around his ankles each time he stepped into the snow, but he needed something to lace them on with. So he sent his wife to his mother-in-law. "Er, excuse me," his wife said, "Your son-in-law, the one I'm married to, well, he's going with the hunters and he's trying to make some snowshoes; he's got sticks ready, but he needs something to lace them on with. He wants to know if you have some hide he can use."

The chief's wife peered around her daughter at the man intently admiring his handiwork. "Well, yes," the older woman said, "I keep some around." She searched in her pack, and when she found some suitable deerskin, she deftly cut several long cords. Silently she handed them to her daughter.

It takes several days for able men to make snowshoes, bow, and arrows. They take exacting pains with their arrows, because they must fly true. They whittle dry sticks only and straighten and re-straighten them. They trim feathers and carefully fix them in place. They are just as diligent in making the bow. It must be seasoned, and carved, then accurately warped. The central portion of its shaft must be stiffened and polished with glaze. Then it must be wrapped with sinew and string and the tie-points secured with pitch. When you are finished, after several days, you have strong reliable equipment. Blue Jay made bow, arrows, and snowshoes in one day.

Very early the next morning, long before light, the camp was awakened by Blue Jay's warbling cries: "Everybody up! We have a long way to go today, and daylight will overtake us before we even get started. Let's get moving!"

Well, the whole camp did arise in response to that racket, even those who weren't going. At length everyone had eaten, and the hunters were carrying their snowshoes, which for the sake of speed they would not put on until they got out to the end of the hard-packed snow trails.

At last Blue Jay emerged from his tipi. He had prevailed upon his wife, after much coaxing, to lace his snowshoes on him. The children were delighted. Out comes Blue Jay, fanning his hands to keep his balance.

The hunting party is already out of sight and the children are watching Blue Jay windmill away from the camp. "Betcha he circles right back." "He'll come back." "He's about to give up." Many times he falls clumsily in the snow. Because he has no gloves, he begins sucking his frozen fingers. Meanwhile, Wolf, out ahead of the hunting party, has found fresh deer tracks. It is broad daylight. The tracks, many tracks, are becoming fresher and fresher. He knows he is getting very close to a large herd of deer. So he retraces his steps to intercept the hunting party.

When Wolf rejoins them he relates what he has seen. "Are we all here?" he asks.

"Yes," one answers, "we're all here, except for your brother-in-law, Blue Jay. We've been looking out for him, but we haven't seen hide nor hair yet."

"Yes," another adds, when we last saw him he was falling around in the snow on his new snowshoes. Maybe he turned back."

"Let's not wait for him," another hunter suggests, "time's awasting."

"That's true," Wolf replies. "We have fresh tracks of many deer moving through the slate rocks, into the great hollow. We must follow them now. We will spread out till we come to the hollow; we'll try to corner them there. If they've already moved on, we'll regroup and decide what to do next.

Wolf continued with his plans: "You two circle around the outside and be ready to cut them off if they go out the other end. I'll go around the other side. The rest of you can drive the deer. When you catch up to them, take your time flushing them so they don't panic and scatter."

"Maybe Blue Jay," a hunter spoke up, 'got cold hands when he got out of sight of home, and turned back."

"Maybe he got cold feet," said another. "After all, he doesn't know anything about snowshoes."

"We can't afford to wait for him," said Wolf, "and if he did catch up with us, he would only slow us down. You've all your orders; you know where I told each of you to go and where we'll rendezvous if we miss the deer. Let's move out now."

So off they went again. Blue Jay, meanwhile, flopped down in the snow, has been within earshot of them. He has heard everything and, moreover, seen his comrades scatter. He has learned that his brother-in-law is going to set up the watch. This is the honor every brave seeks, to have delegated to him the responsibility for making the kill.

But Blue Jay, it seems, has been having a little fun with his comrades. Perhaps his floundering on his snow shoes has been part of an act. Now he stands up and kicks his snowshoes on a tree to free them of snow. As he does so he notices that a brisk wind is rising, that snow is blowing down out of the branches and beginning to swirl around over the ground. He climbs the hill, and finds the snow blowing even harder now, and great, driving puffs of it descending from the clouds.

By this time many of the hunters are trying to keep sheltered, but the snow is blowing into every cave and crevice.

When Blue Jay gets to the top of the mountain, he discovers the deer have already gone over. So too has Wolf. By now Blue Jay is following closely in the tracks of Wolf. Wolf is darting along when suddenly he hears something behind him, and chills go up his spine. He turns, only to discover, to his amazement, his brother-in-law chugging along behind him, indeed threatening to overtake him.

"Imagine that," he thinks to himself. "We thought he couldn't keep up, and now he is about to overtake the fastest and strongest of all the hunters."

So Wolf picks up the pace, confident that he will soon outstrip his errant brother-in-law. Now he is running down the hill into the hollow, with his snowshoes going dust, dust, dust. And out the corner of his eye he notices Blue Jay's snowshoes going dust, dust, dust. Blue Jay, it seems, has adjusted to his soft snowshoes. Before they get to the bottom, Wolf drops in exhaustion. Never before has he been so tired as to fail to overtake the deer. He thinks that Blue Jay forced him out of his groove, caused him to go too far too fast.

Wolf looks up at Blue Jay and says, between pants, "You go on; I'm completely

done in. Maybe you're better off right now than I am."

He pointed out the way. Then Blue Jay took off with a big leap. Wolf pulled himself together and with effort started forward again, because it had always been his honor and responsibility to track the deer. He looks ahead, but Blue Jay has bounded on out of sight even. With an all-out effort Wolf makes it to the bottom as darkness begins to fall. In the dim light he beholds fallen deer everywhere. Blue Jay is bent over a carcass, removing the guts from the last deer.

"From the day I realized myself," Wolf says to himself," no one could step in front of me. Now this brother-in-law has shown me his heels. I don't believe this. Surely I am just dreaming it."

Blue Jay speaks now above Wolf's panting: "We've got to get started back. We might be too late to make it already. Our women are camped far away. If we can make the uphill portion, it's downhill all the way home."

"No," Wolf gasps. "I can't make it. It took everything I had just to get here. I can't make it back up that hill. I'll have to camp here."

Now Blue Jay is neither tired nor interested in camping here with his brotherin-law. Back home he has a bride he is eager to get back to. He perceives Wolf is indeed through, and he quickly conceives a plan to help Wolf and himself. He recalls that the prime buck in the herd was larded with fat. Energetically he digs the deer back up from the snow where he had buried it. Then he unlaces the stitches he had used to close the carcass up.

"Here," he commands Wolf. "Get into this deer. Then you'll live. Otherwise, You'll freeze."

"No," barks Wolf, "I'll make out."

"Look," retorts Blue Jay, "look how cold it is. You're in no condition to gather wood, to collect fir boughs, to tend a fire. You're dog-tired. If you want to save your life, get into this deer skin. Think of your wife. This is no time for foolish pride."

Finally, his brother-in-law's coaxing takes effect on Wolf. "I am too tired to hunt up fuel all night for a fire, even if Blue Jay got one going for me. And I have to have something under me anyway."

So at last he agreed to his kinsman's proposal, and Blue Jay began to sew him into the deer. When he had finished, he packed snow all over the deer. Immediately Wolf began to warm up. After a while he had recovered enough to notice his intense hunger.

Soon he became aware that his hands were gripping deer fat. He began to strip the fat from the deer hide. He ate with gusto all he could reach.

Meanwhile, Blue Jay had run back up the hill and down the other side. As he neared camp he began to holler to alert the other hunters, who always kept a vigil until all had returned, that he was safe. Hearing the call, the camp answered to it. "That's Wolf," some of them said.

Gloating, Wolf's wife pushed her younger sister. "Here now," she said, "stir the fire and get some food ready. That may be your man returning."

But Blue Jay's wife ignored her sister's taunts and set about cooking. Her older sister increased her barrage of savage mockery, until at last their parents, full of pity for their daughter's loss of Blue Jay, silenced Wolf's scornful wife.

Then they all heard from within the tipi the crisp squishing of snowshoes over frozen snow. Expectantly they concentrated on the door. They listened to the vigorous crunching of snowshoes. Suddenly the flap was drawn aside and in popped Blue Jay, snowshoes and all. Beaming with pleasure, he sat down before the stunned group. His wife rushed to him and smothered him in hugs and kisses.

"Tired?" she asked him.

"You bet. I'm all in. Take off my snowshoes, will you? and my moccasins, too. They're wet."

So she did as she was asked, and fetched his slippers and set dinner before him. She looked up at her dismayed sister and said, "You were right, Sis!" As Blue Jay is about to eat he remembers something. He draws out a package from within his vest and tosses it to his father-in-law, saying "take a look at this."

The old chief unwraps the package. "What, part of the deer?" But he can't figure it out. What is in the package doesn't come out right.

When Blue Jay is finished eating the older man gets up and walks outside. Everyone is standing around trying to keep warm and anxiously awaiting news.

"My son-in-law has returned to me," the chief tells them. "I want you all to come in and examine what he brought back."

Surprised by the news, a large crowd of young people obediently files into the tipi, filling it to bursting. The chief gives the group the deer parts Blue Jay has returned with, but they can't figure it out either. Although they know it is a deer's ear, they can't make the parts match up. Finally they admit they're stumped too, and ask Blue Jay to solve the riddle.

Blue Jay laughs with delight. "Of course," he says, "the ears don't match. I took one ear from each deer I killed; you must find the deer to match these ears."

Well, everyone was astonished. It was surprise enough that Blue Jay returned safely to camp instead of Wolf. But it just boggled everyone's mind that he had become the deer-giver, this layabout bridegroom, this feckless-seeming son-in-law to the chief. They looked at the great number of ears before them, and the magnitude of Blue Jay's feat, the scene of many deer lying dead in the snow from Blue Jay's arrows, impressed itself on their minds.

Wolf's wife, her shame for her arrant impertinence giving way now to fear, turned to her brother-in-law: "What happened to my husband; did you see him?"

"Yes," Blue Jay replied, "I saw him. We flushed a big group of deer and then tried to cut off their escape. We were going all out, because the deer were trying to get down through the hollow and spread out into the great valley beyond. We had to beat them there. Half-way around I overtook Wolf, collapsed in the snow. 'Go ahead,' he told me. 'I'm spent. I can't go a step further. It's up to you now.' I hurried on with all my strength, hoping the deep snow had hindered the deer in their flight. At last my heart burst with elation, for I caught them coming up to the saddle into the great valley. I killed each one, and quickly set about gutting them, for it was getting late and cold. I had just finished when Wolf wearily staggered up. 'Blue Jay,' he said to me, 'I can't go any farther tonight. I'll just camp here.' 'No,' I said. 'You can't do that, you'll freeze to death.'

"It's so cold now the stars are shining icily in the solid air. And he is too weak to fend for himself. So I hit on an idea, and when he saw it was his only chance, he agreed to it. I picked the carcass of the biggest deer, still warm from life, and sewed him into it. Then I trampled a cave, and buried the man-deer in the snow. I came straight back."

The chief stood up and commanded the throng: "All of you kinsmen will arise at dawn, women too, and we will go out to carry home the deer. It is far and the deer are many."

"Well, the village was too excited to sleep. They were curious about Wolf, but also they had become rich for the winter, and they were eager to feast on the fresh venison. When dawn came they would no longer restrain themselves. The camp resounded with the eager shouts of the people, the frenzy of preparation.

The chief gave the word and the band set out. Blue Jay, the expert on snowshoes, strode out ahead, followed by his wife and his in-laws. For hours they labored through the snow until at last Blue Jay announced, "We're here." All about them, everywhere, were snow mounds, buried deer.

Blue Jay turned to the chief: "You are the leader, my father-in-law; you present the deer to the people."

present the deer to the people."
 "No," replied the old man, "even if I am the chief, the right does not belong
to me to give the deer. I have just been lying around, pulling my whiskers with
tweezers. The right to give the deer belongs to you."

So Blue Jay would take people to a snow mound and tell them, "Do with this as you will. It is yours." At last he came to his anguished sister-in-law. He took her to a mound. "Here," he said "is your deer. Do with it what you will: pack it home, skin it, leave it here."

Wolf's wife drops to her knees and begins to dig, the snow flying from her hands. In no time she has the deer uncovered, and then she is fumbling with the laces along the belly of the deer. She opens the hide and out pops her man. He is nothing but shit. Immediately the stench hits everyone's nose, and they turn to view the gift-deer of Wolf's wife. It is Wolf, covered from head to toe with noisome shit. Not even his eyebrows are visible!

She steps back in disgust. "My God," she rebukes Wolf, "You've done something awful; that's our eats!"

"I didn't mean it," the warrior entreats his wife. "I was exhausted and dispirited. If my brother-in-law hadn't done my thinking for me, I'd have frozen to death. He sewed me up in that deer. When I warmed up, I got hungry. The fat tasted so good I ate too much of it and got diarrhea. Then I found I couldn't get out. That's when I started doing that pitiful thing in there."

But his wife remained unmoved by his excuses. While the others readied their venison to take home, she grasped her deer by the horns and dragged it furiously through the snow, attempting to remove from it the traces of her husband.

When they got back to camp, everyone turned to, the men drying the meat over fires, the women cutting it into drying portions. Everyone got a whole deer.

But Wolf's wife would not throw her deer away. She washed it, she aired it, washed and aired it, until at last, long after everyone else was done, she could be seen roasting her meat.

Blue Jay and his wife? Well, you see, they were still on their honeymoon.

AFTERWORD

The American Indian is a vicious savage who stands outside the order of humankind, and must be dealt with accordingly. As long as he was not compelled by circumstance to mature he was a quaint child, whose primitive emotions, institutions, and cosmology were laughable but tolerable. Now, however, under duress the Indian has shown himself to be a mad dog, lacking civilized man's inner check, and can no longer be accorded the gracious and patient lenity with which he has been indulged.

Or, the Indian is the noblest of all human creatures, who once lived in an unutterably beautiful harmony with nature. Sublime in spirit, physically and morally gifted, he displayed a perspicacity beyond the powers of the white devil slavemasters, so that when he came to the abyss of technology, of industrial urban society, his preternatural vision comprehended what lay beyond, and prevented him from the death-leap of Western Culture. He remains in bondage today because his incorruptible rectitude places him at a disadvantage in his dealings with the triumphantly unscrupulous white man.

The common assumption of the positions above, that cultures create or reflect fundamentally distinct human types whose affinities are superficial, is not supported by "Blue Jay and Wolf." Its peculiar blend of legend, test of sons-in-law, and development of trickster into culture hero is characteristic of American Indian stories. But no more than the language of primitives is primitive is this tale. The shrewd selection and arrangement of its details suggest exceptional literary merit. It presents us with the timeless imperatives of local culture, some finely-honed domestic antagonism, and the struggle against nature, but above all, it instructs us in the astonishing capacity of human beings to behave unpredictably. Without gloss or footnote its virtues appeal directly to the Western mind.

Clearly, then, the tale is of more than passing interest. If the force of "Blue Jay and Wolf" extends so readily across the barriers of disparate cultures, some common ground of human experience must constitute not just an incidental part of the tale, but the essential principles out of which it develops.

The most obvious quality of the tale is the hearty enjoyment the teller takes in comic misfortunes. Comedy's universal language, cruel or kind, assumes the existence of cosmic justice. Implicitly, there is order in the cosmos, and a supernal moral force actively limiting man to his ordained station. In much tragedy it is the ambitious overreacher who is humbled; in all comedy it is the pretentious. It is the art form that wars on pretension.

Wolf is the Great Man humbled, and publicly denounced by that stock character, the Shrill Wife. Men set themselves up as gods, aggrandize the tests by which they prove themselves against other men, only to be undone by the facts of existence, or the inveterate practicality of women. The latter moral is everlasting in cultures with strongly defined sex roles, where male and female are seen as engaged in equal (and therefore eternal) battle.

Initially, Blue Jay too is a stock comic figure, a ne'erdo-well characterized only by his aversion to work and his prodigious sexual vitality. The connection between Blue Jay and his eponymous species is never explicitly drawn. However, the parallels manifest themselves in his initial appearance of ingenuous amorality and his blithe disregard of community disapproval. Moreover, these parallels furnish him with the trickster's guise necessary to the comic and dramatic reversals of the tale.

Although his foreign descent is noted, ultimately it is not a bar to group acceptance, and it is not the basis for his comic role. Despite the narrator's perhaps vestigial assertion of another tribe's involvement, neither exogamy nor xenophobia is a real issue here. Whatever the tale's antecedent form might be, our version has been shaped by the values and forms of family life.

In outline the story is deceptively simple. The daughters of the chief mature and select husbands, the elder choosing the most esteemed eligible male in the tribe, the younger choosing an unproved outsider. Unaware that dramatic changes of fortune lie directly ahead, the sons-in-law set out on a routine hunt. Before it is over, the mighty has fallen, and the trickster metamorphosed into savior.

Since this is a tale of the hunt, all those individuals who in some fashion are menaced are related by blood or marriage. For that reason the psychic stakes are higher than in war, where the exchange of hostility is normally impersonal. The real arena of struggle here is not the forest, but the surcharged atmosphere of the home, the tipis joined together in a futile attempt to create an amicable kinship free of overburdening intimacy.

The social center of the story entails crisis morality. Inexorable facts of nature, if not society, determine the survival of the species. Not ritual, rhetoric, nor magic will alter the harsh truth that at times someone must come forward and behave heroically, someone strong, quick, skilled, fearless. Not by accident, cultures of stringent climes have exalted the male as hero and leader. With rare exception, only he is equipped physically to perform the supreme acts of courage and ability required for survival.

But nature alone does not challenge the hero. Dangerous enemies exist within his species, tribe, and family. Yet the most relentless, cunning, and intractable foe exists in the wilderness of his own unconscious. It is in this region that the true center of "Blue Jay and Wolf" lies, And it is here also that the deeper sources of its appeal are to be found.

Blue Jay is the stuff dreams are made of, the alter-ego ceaselessly seeking a phone booth in which to shed its ridiculous Clark Kent suit and emerge as Superman. Wolf is the envied father, converted into a less threatening substitute, the older brother (-in-law), against whom guiltless explicit competition is possible. The wives of Blue Jay and Wolf represent the double nature of the mother, winsome seductress and icy taskmistress. If the chief's wife seems to have no function in the tale but to represent community reaction, it is because her nature has been divided into the daughters. This is the psychoanalytic core of the tale.

Wolf shares the sacred seat of established and traditional power reserved ultimately to the patriarch of the clan. His solemn acts seem a noble response to the call of duty, a display of altruistic civic virtue. If there are immense satisfactions and perquisites reserved to the leader, they are concealed under the conventional sobriety that attaches to the role. After all, any leader who places self above duty is unacceptable. Surely we should cringe in terror at a god who has personal motives.

Yet, we have been a child, and <u>know</u> that gods have personal motives. But the child's horrified discovery of his parent's selfishness is accompanied by the false conviction that his own motives are selfless. Belatedly, in adulthood, the knighterrant discovers the other side of the truth, the disfiguring pox in the sweet face of innocence.

In childhood, the subtle skill of the unconscious converted the warted toad into the gleaming prince, parents into misshapen step-parents and ogres. Through this subtle faculty, the terrors of the night and the unknown were transformed into living shapes, that they might be destroyed or exorcised. In adulthood, out of the need to reconcile his unrenounced unconscious urges with the cautery of experience, man creates and responds to art.

Blue Jay is the reluctant hero. His reluctance disguises any parricidal wish. Far from demonstrating any desire to overturn authority, he plays expansively the buffoon. When the opportunity to succeed to leadership presents itself, he steps forth it seems out of necessity, having acted in a manner calculated to disarm suspicion. Thus he is able to gratify the personal wish while gaining credit for the altruistic.

The daughters of the chief manifest their royal lineage in their choice of husbands, one ensuring survival by marrying the provider, the other ensuring reproduction by marrying the sensualist. By identifying with their father's patriarchal qualities, they contribute to the survival of the tribe and the continued pre-eminence of their family.

It is characteristic of monogamous patriarchal societies that a man must establish his right to this woman's esteem by contending for identity in the "real" (i.e., male) world of work and sports. The woman, in turn, makes herself worthy of the man by her loyalty, her exclusive possession by father or husband. It is this system we see operating here, without variation of any kind from that familiar to Western Culture.

Blue Jay and Wolf each seek the transfer of a daughter from the chief's to their own protection and identity. Implicitly they consider themselves at least the equal of the chief and hence not impertinent in their suits. Likewise, the daughters reveal their regard of their father in their choice of husband. A major aim, then, of the test of the son-in-law genre is to gauge the affections of daughter for father. It is this Lear-like component of "Blue Jay and Wolf" which, though only a whisper here, suggests the deeper nature of the drama being played out.

No rash or captious deed is performed by the chief. He is a model of the true father, honest, wise, and above all, just. He does nothing to diminish his social stature except indulge his seemingly headstrong and immature daughter, whose selection of mate poses a potential threat to the tribe. Ultimately, like Cordelia, Blue Jay's wife vindicates herself and by implication reaffirms her father's claim as patriarch. His acceptance of Blue Jay into the clan has infused the culture with the vitality of a new hero. Blue Jay's feats will not only sustain the tribe through winter, they will foster new values. He has managed to displace not just an old leader but old values, an older style.

Psychologically the need is to depose the father and yet to atone for a direct attack on a forbidden victim. Here the prohibited wish is prudently deflected to a father substitute. Since there is recognition that the chief remains the real target, he is compensated through the redemption of his people and the renewal of his authority.

Ostensibly, the anger of Wolf's wife is directed towards the deer. By any standard of conjugal decency, she is allowed to rebuke her husband for his breach of decorum, but not for his heroic failure, which lies presumably beyond his will. Yet it is precisely this failure that is more damaging to her identity, for there is no means by which she can recover her lost honor as mate to the leader.

Although Wolf's disgrace is presented in view of the full tribe, it is administered by his wife. The transfer of leadership from him to Blue Jay has already been accomplished in the loyalties of the people. Benignly he is permitted by the narrator to slip away from the scene of his disgrace into an obscurity perhaps merited by his earlier valorous deeds, but more likely required because as male he is seen ultimately as victim of the female.

Wolf, we recall, has failed in a landscape charged with sexual significance (the pursuit moves through the daylight narrows of the slate rocks into the darkened tempest within the great hollow beyond). The implicit source of Blue Jay's superiority to Wolf is his virility. The proven erotic master of woman, his powers are evoked by the fæminized landscape, and he hastens forth to the site of consummation, where in a plausible burlesque of conception and birth, he makes the snow pregnant with deer and "conceives" the newly-born Wolf. At the moment of "birth" the female, with unwitting mercy to the male and cruelty to herself, deflects attention from his disgrace and focuses it squarely on her own indignant misery. The stain of his misdeed is seen in the eyes of the people as a humbling lesson to the wife. Thus she and her soiled deer become the butt of the joke. It is the last laugh of the hero whose domestic eminence has depended on social standing. Through the soiled "papoose" he has transferred his ignominy to his wife. Her challenge to her sister regarding Blue Jay's manliness, which resulted from her sexual envy of his ardent attentions to her sister, has ironically deprived her even more of worthy male company. Henceforth Wolf will be dependent and unmanly, a representative of the infantile self. By contrast, Blue Jay's marriage improves because his

By contrast, Blue Jay's marriage improves because his stature rises in the community. Preparing to leave on his first hunt, Blue Jay apologetically asks his wife to lace his snowshoes on him, like a helpless child with his ministering mother. On his return from the hunt, in a stunning triumph, she again tends his feet, but now as proud wife. It is thus the marriage measures the growth from trickster to hero.

The fusion of hero and trickster, a common feature of Indian tales, adeptly reconciles the formidable prowess required of the hero with the severely limited abilities of the infantile personality. Repeatedly, the identification of human with animal results in the strategic underestimation of the trickster's powers and thus prepares for the dramatic reversal or superhuman feats routinely accomplished by this type.

Blue Jay's riddle of the ears is a parody of the test he submits to. In turn both the chief and the tribe fail the test. Synecdochically, Wolf is punished for the collective underestimation of Blue Jay. The scene underlines Wolf's earlier contempt of Blue Jay and helps justify his fall into disgrace.

The defeat of Wolf is not however paralleled by a tribal humiliation. All they need do is accept Blue Jay as their new leader and dismiss Wolf as their old. By abandoning the scapegoat, they themselves escape punishment for their individual and collective sins, and indeed are rewarded with gift-deer in acknowledgement of their acceptance of Blue Jay as authentic leader. By the sacrifice of a group surrogate they are spared the anguish of personal failure. They are enabled always to identify with the thrilling exploit of the new hero and reject the discredited one; success is collective, failure personal. Seen in this light, the leader is no less important to the group as scapegoat than lawgiver.

Heroic culture is modeled after the patriarchal family. In infancy, individuals see their father as a giant capable of subduing the powers of the earth and the errors of the unknown. As they mature, they discover the discrepancies between their ideals and reality. Their need to repose their confidence in some external authority persists, however, and the individual looks outside the family for suitable heroic replacements. Abstractly this question can end with the way of religion, by identification with a divine and immortal being. Concretely, however, there are mundane tasks that require doing, and thus less remote heroes are needed who can inspire individuals to take the risks often necessary to group survival.

Covertly, then, the culture hero is a replacement for the discredited father. The hero himself is impelled to take greater risks than the group because his reward is in turn greater. He becomes, in a very potent way, his own father, subordinate to no power. He succeeds in imposing his will on reality as in the preserved artifacts of his infantile fantasies he imagines his own father to do. His adherents become his children, authenticating his implicit claims to cosmic primacy by admiring him as he once admired his father.

The ties of blood or marriage enable the daughter or wife of the culture hero to share that portion of power and glory which nature has limited her to by virtue of her physical inferiority. It is imperative then that the daughter of the hero marry an ascendant hero. To do less is to fail altogether. Likewise it is important for the wife of the hero to generate a new hero. By doing so she demonstrates her equality with her spouse. If she fails to produce a male heir, her honor can be partially salvaged if her daughter presents her with an heroic son-in-law.

The prevalence of the son-in-law test in heroic cultures is as understandable as the rarity of daughter-in-law tests. The wife a son acquires is little more than an adjunct. She cannot herself become an active culture hero, only a mythological one. The feats she becomes associated with are usually magical and credible only in some extended symbolic sense. Most likely she will become an exemplar of loyalty or stoic forbearance. Usually she takes initiatives only after fate has overtaken her. Her most likely access to esteem will once again depend on her relation to husband or son, and that relationship will be emphasized, even gratuitously or irrelevantly, as if to remind us that power does not finally issue from a woman's will.

In the world of this tale the culture is perpetually renewable. If exogamy poses a threat, it also constitutes a resource, perhaps as bountiful as the deer of the forest and the snow that makes both possible. But in the America of today, the Indian does not renew himself around a crackling campfire roasting giftdeer. Blue Jay has been replaced by the BIA and gift-deer with food stamps. If an Indian wants meat, well, he can buy it, like everybody else.

There are no more Indian culture heroes, because there is nothing in Indian culture to be heroic about. There are no models of how to live, how to live well, how to live well with dignity. The only heroic model left to today's American Indians is how to die with honor. In this way the question is quickly resolved, for the best remove themselves from the mundane lives of the people, where in dozens of little ways they might daily have given example to cultural virtues. The old chiefs are powerless to renew the authority their ancestors had. All along, it seems, their authority derived from prosperity, not from tribal mores or conventional wisdom. The encroachment of civilization and its concomitant, technology, have made a return to the old ways not unthinkable but more importantly impossible. Once we bite into the apple, be it bitter or sweet knowledge, we can never forget the taste. In the Age of Science, we call the doctor first, the priest second, if at all. Very likely, neither a nuclear holocaust nor a thousand years of clear, blue streams and green forests teeming with fat deer will alter that.

But the Indians could still have cultural heroes, as can the white man. Probably it no longer requires physical prowess, the chilling blood of hunt or battle, the false heroism of sports. It might still involve overcoming cultural enemies. Unfortunately, these adversaries are impersonal, and victory over them is therefore less dramatic, less thrilling. To enumerate them is to seem saccharinely foolish: famine, disease, poverty, ignorance.

We have not yet found an adequate way of personalizing these phantom opponents, as we do in dreams and phantasy. If we could give them a shape so they might be struck down in public triumph by the hero's spear, we might organize the culture's energies against both its old unvanquished foes and the new.

After we dispatched them we could go on--or back--to our eternal vision of life. We could honeymoon ten thousand days and nights. For variety we could all flop grandly in the snow amid gales of childish laughter. And after we dispensed the gift-deer we could be--Blue Jay.