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 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" par excellence, 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 not 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 corriges by Conference time.
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.

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 I 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 up with, then they board on top too. And they call those '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 so 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 royal 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.
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 arno 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 honey-mooning. 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 that piece of skin, (I know) you complain with me. I haven't got any arno 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 arno shoes, and now he's got sticks ready, and he's made frame but he has nothing to lace them in. That's what he told me, and I interpret 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 arno shoes. And those that are used to fixing them it takes them a good many days to finish arrow-work or arrow-work. But he, in one day and already he had finished his arrow and his arno shoes. Surely, they're not good enough. They took pain, the ones that know how to fix them. The stike for the arrows have to be dry, and then they straighten them. Then they put the feathers on the arrow and the bow the same way. They dry the stike; when they get dry they whittle them, and they dip 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. That'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 drank, 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 came 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 he'll do it. Well, this woman put his snow shoes on him right from inside he put his shoes on. There here young folks that are used to it, they go far, like where there is no road. And then they put there own 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 protest 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 places 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. "He 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 drive the deer. And half still 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 path, that low place, 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 turn 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 called in the language 'the ones that go and sets up to watch', the smart ones, salt'usman.

They said: "Maybe Blue Jay when he comes out of sight (of his home), he gets tired, he might 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 you told us to go and we'll all get together again." So they scattered.

Blue Jay has been watching for them. He was his friends all scatted. And he must have had some feeling, he heard every word of it. The brother-in-law in 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 her deer. The same thing happened with the air, they don't be a deer to get where they could get shelter, for 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-in-law.

Wolf hadn't gone very far, and he heard something. He got the chills. He looked behind him, who, he was being overtaken by his brother-in-law Blue Jay. Then he runs, he's doing his very bat. 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 go to a hill. 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, with the corner of his eyes he saw his brother-in-law. His snow shoes too go 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 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. Deer 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 sense, 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."
Well he went into the deer, because it was big and he stitched the deer book, and he put snow book 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 inside of his gift of 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 said himself, that he used to be boss.

Blue Jay run up the hill. He run, 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 nearly dead. 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 while he 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 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're either hurt or gone 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: "Ah, hurry up! 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 stirred the fire. And she started supper. She warmed up some leftovers, some soup that 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 turn. 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 in 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 freezing. They all, paq, paq, paq. That makes a noise. 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 eat 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: "Yes, yes, I am tired. I've traveled around far. I was in all treed 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," Wolf said. She took his moccasins off. She started drying them. She gave him bedroom slipper. 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 threw 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 sister-in-law had a frown on her face, she that made fun of him, his sister-in-law. And sure enough did he done in and she was making fun of her younger sister. And said: "Your husband is coming! Fix that fire." And for sure here come 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, I can't get it tight. 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 even laid it down. One (half) doesn't fit[1] with the other half. Well 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 Smachei?" 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 knew about the deer. 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 sister-in-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 found 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 (Wolf) 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, 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-in-law.

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 if it's not me, it's you.'

"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 getting them, I was going to bury them, when my brother-in-law overtook me. He just played out with tiredness, he's just walking. That's when he told: '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 do no more for them, I'm discouraged to death. And I'll just camp here with them deer.' And I told him: 'No. You'll freeze to death. It's already late, and dark.' My, the staves 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.' I told him, 'I got 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 washed him up. I tied a stick. I sewed the deer up. I tramped the snow. It made a hole there. I stuck him in there, and I buried 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 ever 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. "You walk." They told him: "We're all ready." It got broad daylight. "Here, you women folks, that those that had men gone along." Because they're aware woman folks in snow shoes, and that's the only way they can travel, anyway, because they don't have homes. Who does in summer time. That's all they travel in, on snow shoes. Especially the North Waps (Colville).
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.'"
1. wa'y, ?axa? q'asqi? la? qa'simut-s* q'icone,**
   Well, this here Blue Jay and his brother-in-law Wolf,

   i-k-s-captik'u-om /in-ki-s-captik'u-m/.
   that('s what) I am going to tell /my-unr-abs-recount-mid/.

2. ?axa? q'icone i s-x?i-t-x
This here Wolf with /in/ the oldest one /abs-first-person, ki?
   (it was) that (he) was married /act-medicine/.

   And this one was their leader /abs-first-face-his-pl/.

4. ?axa? yì q'-k"on-caw-íx"-t-ón
   There were (also) others
   /n-k"in-caw-íx"-t-án/,* (t)x
   /loc-indef no-cover-people-stat-instr/, such as

   qəs-Yelmíx"om,** yelmíx"om yì
   the chief's children /prole-chief/, (and) the chief('s)
   s-ŋ-šom-t-án-s.
   law-relations /abs-loc-law relations-stat-instr-his/.

   And so long time ago /long-ncon-past/ (for) the
   s-qílx"* ?ixì? yì x?it-s-olx,
   people /abs-people/ that's what comes first /first-his-pl/

6. yì soy-soy-ús
   Those who are good /find-out-find-out-eye/
   s-t_x"-cen-sùt, ?axa? ñ qəxw"alx,
   providers /abs-obtain-food-refl/, /this/ of /in/ fish,
   or /this/ /in/ deer, and since did not /evid-not/
   c-mey-s-t-ís-olx
   they know /act-find out-caus-trans-3rd-pl/
   pen-icí? yì sqoléw, mèì ?ixì?
   at that time /time-that/ what /the/ money (was), thus
   c-xat-om-s-t-ís-olx.
   they put them (i.e. the providers) above all else /act-
   first-caus-trans-3rd-pl/.

7. wa'y òì ?axa? yì s-t_x"-cen-sùt, ?ixì? yì
   Yes indeed those providers (6), these
   c-xat-om-s-t-ís-olx.
   they put above all else (6).

   They (are) the highest (5).

9. ?uì s-c-?íl-x
   And this being so /abs-act-like-progr/
'ul-i?
that (is) when /and-past/

ŋ-saw-cen-əŋl-st-em-en-t-em /n-siu-cin-hi-sut-m-n-t-m/
it was proposed /loc-ask-mouth-7-purp-refl-mid-atv-tran-indef/

ʔət ʔəlcon ʔaxə? ʔa ʔəlmix'əm ʔ
by Wolf /this/ (to) the chief for /in/
s-tamka?-lit-s,

ʔu?i? ʔəʔ-ʔina?
his daughter /abs-daughter-child-his/, and he consented

ʔəiʔ say-say-ús-t
/ʔ-ear/ because (he) is smart /find out-find out-eye-stat/

ʔəlcon ʔ s-tən-sət;

ʔəʔəʔənənəm.
Wolf at getting food (6), at (getting) deer.

10. ʔiXiʔ ʔuʔ kú-n-t-am:
This one [Wolf] /and/ was told /say-atv-tran-indef/

"Way."
(by the chief): "All right."

11. ʔuʔ ʔiXiʔ s-oʔin-ələx-ʔiʔ
And so they married /act-medicine-pl-past/ (he) with
s-tamkaʔ-lit-s.

his daughter /abs-daughter-child-his/.

12. ʔuʔ ʔiXiʔ ʔaʔ c-piz-am
And so when they go hunting /act-hunt-mid/

xəʔt-ūs-em-s-ələx
they put him at the head /first-eye-mid-his-pl/ Wolf.

Because the people at that time /time that/

naʔ-a? ʔi kəməx,*
didn't /indeed-not/ /evidential/ stay alone /act-only/,

ʔiXiʔ ʔə-ʔən-cow-flək-ʔaʔ-t-em.
[but] in a group (4).

14. ʔuʔ wəʔ ʔiʔ ʔaʔ c-ʔulūs-ələx
And yes, /there/ they stick together /act-together-pl/

ʔiʔstaʔ-em;

c-ʔistk-em-ələx;
in winter time /winter-mid/; they winter /act-winter-mid-
cəs-ələx /cow-n-t-is-1x/*
pl/; they call it /say-atv-tran-he-pl/
s-emʔistk-em.
wintering place /abs-loc-winter-stat-instr/.

15. lət-em t siʔəʔ-ələx.
They don't have /not-mid/ /instr/ buckskin tipis /skin-
house-pl/.

Then /evid/ they use all kinds of things to cover their

kən ʔaxaʔ tk'tən;*
houses /cover-house-mid-pl/, maybe /or/ these here tules;
5. xal-lixʷ-om-olx ?axa? ʔi t kil-lixʷ,
they use as cover /this/ /instr/ tree bark /?-cover/,
kaʔ ʔi t sút-on, ʔi t qʷícən,**
or /instr/ anything /entity-instr/, boughs,
?axa? ʔi ?astkʷ* * ʔi maxʷ-ilp; təxʷ way ʔi
these cedar boughs /?-plant/; /evid/
s-k-pəl-əl-íkst-s****
those which sprout (from) /abs-dirtv-grow-res-branch-their/
ʔi s-t-kəl-kəl-om-íks-t-on,
the limbs /abs-dirtv-hands-hands?-branch-stat-instr/,
?ixi? ?uʔ s-cù-s-t-s-olx ʔi
those they call /abs-say-caus-trans-his-pl/
qʷícən.
"palm boughs."

17. təl ?astkʷ ki? s-c-k-pəl-əl-íkst-x.
From cedar trees (that) they grow /abs-act-dirtv-grow-res-
branch-progr/.

18. sc̓ixilxʷ və́c-ən-t ?axa? ʔi c̓iq̕ilp;**
That's why, look at /look-atv-tran/ fir trees;
?uʔ ?ixi? s-cù-s-t-s-olx k-c̓iq̕ilp-íkst;
those they call (16) fir boughs /dirtv-fir-branch/;
that's how it grows (17).

19. ?uʔ ?axa? ʔi ?astkʷ ʔi s-k-pəl-əl-íkst-s...
And that (on) the cedar which grows (i.e. its boughs)
(17)...

20. wə́ʔ, lút, lut i-k-s-ʔom-ən-nún-omʷ
Well, no, (can) not I call it (i.e. remember its name)
/my-unr-abs-name-reslt-success-mid/ the cedar when
k-s-k-pəl-əl-íkst /k-l-s-pəl-əl-íkst/.
it has boughs /have-abs-grow-res-branch/.

That's (how) they cover their houses /back-cover-house-
mid-caus-trans-his-pl/.

22. ?uʔ lut to c-iʔat-olx, ?uʔ
And not /evid/ they get wet /act-wet-pl/, and
kʷáʔʰ 1-t.
it is warm /warm-stat/.

23. ?uʔ ?axa? ʔi s-xəl-ílxʷ,
And those that are board houses /abs-lay across-house/,
sút-on kil-lixʷ; ?ixi? c-xəl-s-t-ís-olx,
that's (16) bark (16); these they board up /act-lay across-
aməł ki-xəl-s-t-ís-olx.
caus-trans-he-pl/, and they board them on top, too
/downward-etc/.
24. cu-s-t-salx, s-qui-nilx.
And then they call them (16) boarded houses.

25. wa' y kic-on-t-am-olx
Well, he got to them /reach-atv-tran-indef-pl/ /by/
q'asqi?.
Blue Jay.

26. wa' y qa-sow-con-mist-am-on-t-am
Well, he proposed to /loc-ask-mouth-purp-refl-mid-atv-tran-
?axa? yi yelmx'om.
indef/ the chief.

27. wa' y ali? ?axa? yi s-to?iwt-x
Yes, since the youngest one /abs-last-progr/

28. cak' cu-s /cow-n-t-is/ yi
One should say /say-atv-tran-he/
q-qilx"-con
in Indian /loc-people-tongue/ she was a young
mistam-s: "ali? lut ta
misteam-s: "ali? lut ta
her father: "But not indeed
sux"-s-t-am.
we don't know him /recognize-caus-tran-we/.

29. stia?komix-nilx.
She had grown up /maiden-develop/.

30. wa' y qelma-t-s.
Yes, she wants a man /loc-husband-vol/.

31. wa' y qam'ax-x
Well [Blue Jay] began flirting /flirt(?)-res/.

32. qam'mix-s.atax? y?i s-tamks-lut-s ?axa? ya*
He likes his daughter (9) the
mistam-s: qel-yelmix'om, q'asqi?.
chief's daughter (4), Blue Jay.

33. qam'mcin-am-s.a cu-s y?i mistem-s:
He got stuck on her, and she said to her father:
"wa' y k" xat?-ina?.
"Had better you consent (9)."

34. liwa? cu-n-t-am y?i t
To no avail it was said /say-atv-tran-indef/ /by
mistam-s: "ali? lut ta
her father: "But not indeed
sux"-s-t-am.
we don't know him /recognize-caus-tran-we/.

35. lut ta c-may-s-t-in
Not indeed we knk /act-find out-caus-tran-we/ in
sux say-say-ús, i s-t'x"-con-sút,
what things he's smart (6), in getting things to eat (6)
pan? c-ula? i?i?x
maybe it will be that /act-find out/
9

a-kə-ən-qən-qən-t-án.
you will suffer from it /your-unr-loc-pitiful-pitiful-stat-instr/.

36. ca'm ɨ lút  ma'1
It might not [be long] and then
xʷəl-xʷəl-ił-íca?*
he'll be thrown away [by you] /discard-discard-meat/
ɨínəw?  yi  t
if (it turns out that he is) /instr/
s-χʷýp-t-s.
good for nothing /abs-worthless-stat-his/.

37. ʔaxa?  t  kə-ən-x-s-t-án-tet,
The one who will do us good /unr-loc-good-stat-instr-
BY kʷhəm  ɨyi  t  a-k-s-qəltaix".*
our/you take him /take-nid/ for your man /your-unr-abs-man/.

38. lút, ʔaxa?  ɨyi  s-томəʔ-ił-t-s.
[but] no, his daughter.

39. "t ɨncá?  i-k-s-χílwi?.
"/it is I/ he's going to be my husband /my-unr-abs-
na'k-a?  a-k-s-χílwi?; ɨwa?
husband/, not your husband; even if

10

q-qən-qən-t-mí-n
I got hard up /loc-pitiful-pitiful-stat-purp-/ (36)

incá?  ɨyi  kən  k-s-qən-qən-t-aʔx?"*
it is I who /I would get hard up /unr-abs-pitiful-pitiful-stat-inch/.

40. cú-n-t-ən:
"way, way, not
He told her (34): "Well, all right, if that's /dub/
a-s-pəʔus."*
how you feel /your-abs-heart/.

41. húy,  kəl-map-cí-n-t-ən
That was that, he got his answer /back to-say(?)-mouth
qəsəqí?.
ats-trans-indef/ Blue Jay.

42. way ʔixì?  s-c-əʔí-m-s.
Well, he got married /abs-act-medicine-his/.

43. ʔixì?  sís-aq摆̓-əm*  t  qəsəqí?.
And so he went on honeymoon /by/ Blue Jay.

44. ʔui ʔaiʔ?  ŋi  təʔʔ?  c-ʔulús-əlx,  qəcəm
Indeed together /there/ they were (14), Wolf
ləʔʔ təmləx-s, ʔui ʔaxa?  qəsəqí? laʔʔ təmləx-s,
with his wife, and this here Blue Jay with his wife,
ʔui ʔaxa?  ɨyi  s-əm-iłəm-t-án-s,  ɣə
and his law relations (4), the
11

[regal] wife and /spouse-spouse-center/ the chief (4).

45. ?ui ?i ?ili? c?-ulûs-olx, 
And there they are all together,

naq^q-iix'-olx, 

in one house /one-house-pl/, I don't know /dub/

q^-kâqoq-qan-olx,

in how many tipis put together /loc-indef no-head-pl/, 

mot q^-mâs-qan-olx,*

maybe in four /loc-four-head-pl/, /evid/ maybe 

q^-ka?îl-qan,**

three tipis put together, since


there are three couples /three-res-spouse-spouse-center-

mid-instr-pl/.

46. way ?a?i? q^saqi? kmix 
Well, Blue Jay /only/ all he does is

c-pu?-cki?-s-t-sut.

play with his wife /act-mate-play-caus-tran-refl/.

47. k-s?-l??n' xoi n-tâx'-aq^-qin, 
he sleeps /has-abs-sleep/ until noon /loc-?-res-head/, 

mi qît, x'o1-llîx-olx , ?axa?
then /fut/ he wakes, they get up /up-?-pl/ he

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la?qî tkînîx^q-s, way ?a?i? ?uî and /with/ his wife (44), because 

siscelq^q-a?x. 
they're honeymooning /honeymoon-inch/ (43).

(by) that time (6) they are gone /gov()-res/.

49. s-c-pîx, 
They hunt /abs-act-hunt/, 

s-c-t_x^-can-sût-x-olx, 
they get things to eat Abs-act-obtain-food-refl-progr-pl/ 

?ui ?axa? qeicon õî xa?t-ús-c ?a?i? and this here Wolf is their leader (3) because 

wonix^x sey-soy-ûs {} he sure is /it's true/ smart (6) in 

s-t_x^-con-sût-s, 
getting things to eat (6). 

50. c-wa?y-s-t-ls 
he knows /act-find out-caus-tran-he//in/ /what/ where 

s-an?-istk-t-ôn-s 
their winturing places are /abs-loc-winter-stat-instr-his/ 

the door's (6), and he is smart with snow shoes /abs-

round(?)-foot/.
51. ła? c-qîx'-s-t-s-əlx
When they anke a drive for /act-drive-caus-tran-he-pl/
yí sâʔcinom, kîl-ən-t-əm-əlx
the deer, they are chased /chase-atv-tran-indef-pl/
t ɨcICON.
by Wolf.

52. łuż k-s-c-x'y'-s ɨyí sâʔcinom,
They don't go far /umr-abs-cisloc-go-his/ the deer,
mə n-kacnîk-ən-t-əm-əlx,*
and he catches up with them /loc-reach-atv-tran-indef-pl/;
mə tixi? lâx'-ən-t-ɪm-əlx.
and he slaughters them /kill-atv-tran-indef-pl/.

53. mì sic ʔ-əcən-k=k ?axa? ɨyí
/Fut/ Then /naw/ he overtakes (52)
s-ən-ɪxənt-ən-s, ɨyí kʷlət ɨyí sqîlx’.
his law-relations (4), the other people.

54. wày mə tixi? əl-x-əm-əlx
And then he gives them /givu-bon-tran-indef-pl/
yí sâʔcinom.
the deer.

55. wày mə tixi? sic c^k^-sič?=s-əlx
And then (56) they drag the meat (heme)

56. tixi? ła? c-ʔam-s-t-ɪm-əlx
That's when they are given it to eat /act-feed-caus-tran-
t ɨcICON.
ind.ːf-pl/ by Wolf.

57. tixi? ʔin? ʔxn̓-ʔxə?, ʔəw-ʔəw-ʔəs
That's because he's great, he's smart (6) at
s-Ɂîg-əm.
hunting /abs-hunt-wid/.

58. s-c-ʔxil-x tixi? xoʔt-əs-c-əlx.*
That's why (9) /and-past/ he was their leader (3).

Well, she started eating her feelings (getting
?axa? ɨyí s-xʔlt-x
cross) /loc-cranky-vol-atv-tran-refl/ the oldest (2)
ɨyí s-ʔxən-k=ʔlt, Ɂəx? ?axa? ɁîcICON ɨyí
daughter (4), indeed Wolf's
tkimilx'-'s.
wife /wife-his/ (44).

60. way ti kiu-ùs-on-s yì
  She's always watching /?-yea-nid-hér/

sa?stán-s.
hur brother-in-law.

61. ?iwa? cú-s /cow-n-t-is/ yì
  She even raid to /say-atv-tran-shé/ (28)

weco?wps-c:\n  "way' ?u? k? s-c-?kín-x ?
  hur younger sister: /you/ What's the matter
  with you /abs-act-what-progr/ (cf. 50)?

62. way' ?u? x'met-ás-asqot,
  ?u? pínk'
  It's been many days /many-days-days/, and still
  p c-síscolq'-am.
  you two are honeymooning /act-honeymoon-mid/ (43).

63. cak' way k' k-s-pc-piwa-am-oníx'k-a?'x.
  You should /you/ be getting tired of one another /unr
  abs-tired-tired-mid-rec-inch/.

64. ?u? cak' way t.X'w-con-sút, ?ixi?
  And he should get things to eat (6),
  a-s-ñctauíx'.
  your husband (37).

65. way' ?u? ti kôle x p
  And all (you do) /only/ /you pl/
  c-?íc-ocken.
  is play /act-play()?)-play(?)/.

66. ?u? lut way'.
  But no.

67. c-may-s-t-lx'
  ?axa?
  You know that /act-find out-caus-tran-you/
  a-sa?stán tali...? c-?ayg't;*
  your brother-in-law (60) very much gets tired /act-tired/;
  way' ti knix p c-?íc-ocken.
  all (you) do /you pl/ is play (65).

68. ?u? lut to s-t-x'w-con-sút.
  And (he) doesn't get things to eat (6).

69. cak' c-kox-s-t-ís.
  He should be going /act-go-caus-tran-he/.

70. cak' ?iwâ? lut s-ìspán-', ?u?
  If even (he) doesn't shoot /abs-shoot-mid/,
  ?iti? c-kxán.
  just so he goes along /act-go/ (69).

71. ?u? ti ãs-t yì spâ?ús-c ?axa?
  And sure good he would feel /heart-his/
17

his brother-in-law /brother in law-his/ (1).

72. act way tall? c-x"s-i-kol-pa?qâ-m." I guess /dub/ /very much/ she has all kinds of different thoughts /act-many-com for-around-think-mid/.

73. way kaxh"u-mam-s" yi îcoco?ups-c."**

Well, she kept nagging at /?-mid-his/ her younger sister /younger sister-hor/.

74. way ?ixi? s-nunx"-ina?-.s.

Well, she believed her /abs-believe-ear-hor/.

75. lo c-x"lit ?ina?-.m

At /when/ first /act-first- (cf. 2) she tried to /to no avail-qixW-s /qi-qixW-n-t-is/ /n-t-is/ (cf. 3) take up for him /around-drive-atv-tran-

yi s-çîlvi?.s; way ?ixi? ?ui she/ her husband /abs-husband-she/;

sic nunx"-ina?, q-sûx"-na?.

finally /now/ she believed /believe-ear/ she understood /loc-recognition-ear/.

76. "way wonix", way s-c-wonix"-nx"

That's true, she's telling the truth /abs-act-

i-ikîxna?","

true-res/ my older sister /my-older sister/.

77. tâxe? yi kox-ox-ñxâ-p 1ut to The parents /grow-res-grow-nnc/ never /act-

c-çînt-ox.

say anything /act-say what-pl/.

78. wij c-x(ç)onsîc-ox æ?axa? They tried to /in vain/ stop /act-?-pl/

?îwa?** yi s-xa?t-mix-1t-s-oxl /to no avail/ their oldest daughter /abs-first-?***-

ia? c-kin-s-t-s yi child-his-pl/ when she hates /act-hate-caus-tran-she/

sa?stânis, vik"-con-h-s.**** her brother-in-law, she backbits him /hide-mouth-nid-she/

79. way ?ixi? cû-s /cou-n-t-is/

Well, she [the younger daughter] told /say-atv-tran-

yi qâski?.s; "my? ?uyâ?, she/ her Blue Jay /Blue Jay-her/; "Listen here.

80. way nûl x"sî?-ñqøt,

/too much, many/ It has been too many days /many-days/, q-ûl-p k"u

and (we) are still /loc-time-nnc(always)/ /ns/

s-ciscolq"-nâx.

on our honeymoon /abs-honeymoon-inch/.
81. way, ʔuyuʔ, ʔok-pə-x  

yi la  

Listen, think about /around-think-imp/ /at/ 

k-s-t_x"-con-süt.  

getting some grub (6).  

82. way myal  

k'u la? c-on-ʔain-cin."  

It's too much (that) we /when/ have sponged on them /act-loc-spat-food/.  

83. way mat k'u ʔaʔ-ils-m-on-t-am.  

Maybe us they are getting tired of /loc-hate-vol-mid-atv-tran-impers/.  

84. mìn ʔaʔ-ea-t*  

ʔaʔa? t* a-saʔstam.  

Just look at /look-atv-tran/ your sister-in-law.  

85. way tauʔ  

k'u ʔaʔ-ils-m-on-t-am.  

Very much us they hate (83).  

86. ʔuʔ kalm ʔaʔa? t* a-s-on-ʔon-t-ʔan.  

And /only/ they are your law relations (?).  

87. ʔiwaʔ  

c-ʔoi-ʔin-st-on-s-oix."  

/to no avail/ They tried to take up for you /act-around?-refl-mid-3rd-pl/.  

88. ʔiwaʔ c-x(ʔ)on-sisc-t-s-oix*  

yi s-ʔonkoʔ-ʔit-s-oix,  

They tried to stop (78) their daughter (9),  

ʔaʔa? yi s-xʔit-x.  

the oldest one (2).  

89. cú-s-oix:  

'way ʔuyuʔ,  

They said to her: 'Just /listen/  

kaw-p-mən-t t a-saʔstam."  

leave alone /gone-nonc-purp-atv-tran/ your brother-in-law."  

90. way cú-s  

yi tkimix"-s: 'way k'u  

He said (14) to his wife:  

x'ʔ̓j-x-t-x"  

"Give me /give-ben-tran-2nd-sg/ /instr/ a piece of skin,  

ʔaniʔ ʔuʔ k'u q"on-ʔin-m-on-t-x".  

since you complain with us (?) /complain-mouth-mid-atv-tran-you/.  

91. way lut ken to k-s-yiriwaxon,  

/not/ I haven't any snowshoes /have-abs-kom lut ken to kí-ʔaq-ilon.  

snowshoes/, nor /or/ /not/ I have any bow and arrow /have-hit-weapon/.  

92. way ʔox? ʔixiʔ i-s-t_x"-ls-cút."  

I am going to prepare myself /my abs-obtain-vol-refl/."  

93. way ʔixiʔ s-t_x"-i-ckʔink-om-s"  

Well, he got a bow /abs-obtain-con-bow-mid-his/,  

qʔásq'i.  

Blue Jay.
94. way yì s-k'ol-ck'ink-s, ?ul
Well, the bow he made /abs-make-bow-his/,
lut ?it-ì, yì s-kās-t-s.
it wasn't even that, it was awful /abs-bad-stat-his/.
95. lut-um yì txi??.
It wasn't /not-mid/ any good /anything/.
96. ?ul ?axa? yì s-t-x''-i-coq-illan-s,
And the arrows he got /abs-obtain-con-hit-
way nix" ḫì pūt c-ʔil-t-s.?
weapon-his/, they are /also/ just the same /act-
same-stat-his/.
And /also/ even when he put /put-atv-tran-he/
k-s-tapl?s-t-on ** ?axa? ġ coq-illan,
the feathers on arrows (91),
k-coq-ōn-t-īs,
he just stuck them on /res-stick-atv-tran-he/.
And /not/ good enough his arrows weren't
(91).
99. way kōs-oš-cūt;
He doesn't make things well enough /bad-vol-self/;
100. way ?ul lut ḫì mi?-ūtya.? yì
Well, it's not even fit.
101. way ?ixi? ḫìt-t-x-s
Well she finally asked /ask-ben-tran-sha/
ʔī tūm-s ḫì f-xan-t-ān-s a
her mother /mother-his/ /instr/ some skin for lacing
102. cu-n-t-um: "ʔul ha k-sti? ?"
He said to her (10): /inter/ "What's that for
/resist-what/?"
103. cu-s: "a-s-nilóix", i-s-on-k'owî-mîn.
She said (14): "Your son-in-law, the one I'm married to
104. way k-s-kxon-ml-xa?x

/k-s-pì?x-a?x

follow-purp-inch/ the hunters /unr-abs-hunt-inch/ and

lut to k-s-yríwaxox, he doesn't have snowshoes /have-abs-snowshoes/ (31),

?uí way tapna? x'ì-kxon-ox

and now he's got sticks ready /whittlu-foot-mid/

?uí way yiří-kxon-ox ?uí lut nàxox ìo

and he's made frames (39) /not/ but

ki-on-?ì-ox,  

he has (nothing) to lace them in /have-loc-tie-foot/ (101)

105. sčìl-x ki? k'u cú-s, ?uí

That's what (13) /that/ /me/ he told me (14), and

q-may-cìn-t-s-ox /n-may-cìn-t-s-in/, I interpret him to you /loc-teach-mouth-atv-tran-you-I/, 

pna? k'ì k-sìpì? "

maybe you got hide /have-hide/ (20),"

106. way tìx? x'ìc'i-t-s-ox. "

I will give you some /give-expr goal-

107. ?ìxi? kòr-on-t-ìs.

So she started cutting it /cut-atv-tran-sha/.


Blue Jay then started stringing the shoes (cf. 101).

109. way k-s-kolox-ox-s-t-ìs ?axa? yì

Well, it took him all day /unr-abs-evening-mot-caus-trans-he/ 

s-c-ì-wìl-ast-s ?uí to fix his bow and arrow /abs-act-make-weapon-his/ and

?axa? yì k-s-yríwaxox-ox

his snowshoes (91).

110. ?uí tam? ?axa? yì k-s-q'as-ì-ìkst,*

And those that are used to fixing them /have-abs-ta* k'oxnx-asqot 

accustomed-to-hand/, it takes them a good many days

miyùs-ox, koì yì /indef no-days/ to finish shoe-work /?foot/ or 

s-c-k'ì-s-coq-ìlan. 

arrow work /abs-act-make-conn-hit-weapon/.

111. cniec* tí tì k-s-kolox* , ?uí way

But he, in one day /unr-abs-evening/, and already

yì s-t-ìs

he had finished /finish-caus-trans-he/

24
25.

ki-coq-1on-s  yi k-s-yrlun-xon-s.**
his arrow /unr-hit-weapon-his/ and his snowshoes (91).

Surely /because/ they're not good enough (98).

113. ?axa?m s-c-1s-lkst-em-s-solx,
They took pains /abs-act-good-hand-mid-his-pl/,
yi k-s-q'au?-m-1kst.
the ones that know how to fix them (110).

114. ?a?u-u-1iqw  yi
The sticks have to be dry /dry-res-cylindr-obj/
ki-coq-1on-s-solx, mo1
for the arrows /unr-hit-weapon-his-pl/, and then
ti-em-s-t-1s-solx.
they straighten them /straight-caus-trans-his-pl/.

115. mi sic t-k'ul-ast-on-solx,
Then /fut/ /now/ they fix the feathers on /res-make-
t-k'ul-k'ul-s  yi
feather-mid-pl/ /res-make-make-(atv-tran)-his/ the
coq-1on, mo1 ?axa? yi c'h'ink ?ili?
arrow (91), and the bow (23)
'xiv.
the same way (18).

116. ?au-on-t-is-solx ?au-u-1iqw,  x'ol-n-t-is-solx
They dry (cf 114) the sticks dry (111), they whittle it
mo1 ?ip-s.
they wipe it.

117. c-k-tlq'-olq'-s-t-solx
They make it shine /act-res-shine-cylindr-obj-caus-trans-
?axa? yi l q-qo?q-qo?-lws, he-pl/
in the center of the bow /loc-hit-hit-
mo1 ?ixi? k-olx-1iqx-s-solx /k-1x-1iqx-n-t-is-ls/
center/ and then they wrap it with a string /res-tie-
yi t tinx, mo1 ?ixi?
cylindr obj-atv-tran-he-pl/ with sinew, and
yi t tic til-s-solx,
/with/ they pitch it (where) it's split /split-it-pl/
mo1 lut k-s-t-k'ul-x-xolq, and it doesn't come loose /unr-abs-res-loose-res-clothes/
it's solid, then it's good and strong /act
yi c-k-yow-yawt-ink,**
strong-strong-stat/ /act-res-strong-strong-bow/,
?ui ?ail? q'asqi? mo1 s-q'ip-t-xon-x, and Blue Jay maybe has got weak arms /abs-
worthless-stat-arms-p/ (cf. 36) because what he made
c-ðos-sis-cut.
is no good /act-bad-vol-refl/.

119. way ꩠì-à-p  put-i?
The next day /light-none/ it was still /still-nas/z/ dark /dark-earth/ he hollered (?-mouth)
ŋčicon: "way cem k'u ña-s-p̖-ì-à-p,
Wolf: /might/ /us/ "Daylight will overtake us
k'u ñ-was-n̲ux",* /around-light-light-none/ we will be too late,
/bput yì k-s-x̂g̊y-t-on-tot,
/far-z/ we're going far /unr-abs-go-stat-instr-our/, way x̂a-s-ì-ìlx-wi?**
got up /move-? -imp/"

119. n̲ikx_ano, ?axa? yì sìlx", x̂a-s-xlx yì
Goodness, the people got up (118) the
s-plá-1.
young folks /abs-grow-rez/.

120. way i-?ìon-inx, k'ïp-n-inx,** way
They ate /?-eat-pl/, they drank /?-mid-pl/,

121. way tâk"-cîn, wa?-waʔ-m
He hollered (118), was proclaiming /?-?-mid/
ŋčicon.
Wolf.

122. "way, way.
"All right.

123. k'tu tk"oʔut."*
We're going."

All started coming out /cišloq-out-pl/ the
s-plá-1.
young folks (119).

125. way ?u? nix" q̄ásqi?  ti
/also/ Blue Jay is there too

126. way ?axa? q̄ásqi?  ti 1a ñ-yx̂ʔut,*
Blue Jay was still /loc/ inside /loc-inside/
he hired (coaxed) /greet-head-purp-refl-mid-
127. "" yi tkimlix'-s ki? ili'-i-t-om 'yi
Well, (it was) his woman /who/ put (126)
s-yrimaxon-s, wayy 'yi t-lo Ɂ-q-ya'ut
snowshoes on his, right from /source-loc/ inside (126)
'yi c-yrimaxon.
he put his shoes on.

130. k-alk'-ak'-olx, scəl Ɂut la
They go far /res-far-res-pl/, like (cf. 7) /not/ where
ki-xoułi, nel sic yrimaxon-om-olx.
there is no road /have-road/, and then they put their
snowshoes on /snowshoes-mid-pl/.

131. k-ław-y-n-t-śut-on-s-olx Ɂi t scəl-ilx
They laughed at him -the /agent/ people (because)
Ɂi. q-ya'ut tel s-yrimaxon-om-s;
from inside he put /from/ his snowshoes on;
way 'yi noqsi-pust-xon-on nel
he just takes one step /one?-foot-mid/ and
t-qul-ólx-łun-xon q'isqii, nel
he'll hook it on something /res-?/-foot/ blue Jay,
'yi koj-him s koit-šut-on-t-śut-om-s."**
with his hands /hand-hand-his/ he has to protect
himself.

128. 'axa?m 'yi s-plh-1 Ɂa
These here (113) young folks (119) that
k-s-q'ə̈̌ʔə̈-la... are used to it (110)...

132. way 'uq? aii? not Ɂax' 'yi t
It must have been /dub/ from
s-nil-t, 'uq? aii? kay?-istik*
the snow /abs-snow/, and his hands got really cold
133. ?ul ?otl? ulina
/cold-inch-hand/, I don't suppose
k-sp-fkst, nei ?ixi?
he had gloves on /have-glove-hand/,
lon-con-n-t-ras* yi koi-klix-s tol
he started sucking his fingers (131) because
kay-fkst.
they're cold (132).

134. way ?ul cuto-xlax ?axa? yi s-pla-1: "way"
Then said the young ones (119): "No
lul, con uc koi-ko-ko-lax*
no, maybe /dub/ he'll just get out of sight /down-
can /pitli? nei
disappear-disappear-earth/ /maybe/ and then
i-c-pak-us-on
he'll come back /back-cisloc-turn-?-mid/ because
civ-t qvansqi? con /pitli?
his way behind /last-stat/ /Blue Jay/ /dub/ there
mi lonax-qon-mi-st,
he will give up (take his head and hang it down) /?-hond-
mi i-c-pak-us-on.
purp-ref1/, and he'll come back (133).

They walked away /abs-walk-his-pl/ and this
atx qolcon s-c-xo?t-mi-x,
here Wolf is way ahead /abs-act-first-purp-pl/.
koil-qox-on-t-is yi s-lq-oq-lq-t-s
he fixes /around-fix-atv-tran-he/ the trail for his friends
/abs-friend-res-friend-stat-his/.

(They go), then /to there/ they find tracks
?ixi? mei pxo-on-t-sut-olx.
/down-see-foot-pl/, then /down-see-foot-pl/,
they scatter /scatter-tran-refl-pl/.

137. chkw-lax-on, qolcon, ?ul
He'll point where to go /point-land-mid/, Wolf,
?axa? ta qolcon xo?t-us, yi
this here Wolf is the leader (3),
he is the smartest of all (6) and then he goes /act-
yi koi k-s-xuy-t-on-s yi sha?cinan.
down-go/ where goes (cf. 118) the deer.
138. wah? wah? tel say-say-us-c k'ac-k'ac-t.
    because he is smart (6) and strong /strong-stat/.

139. wah? lax-t in? c-x'uy.
    Then fast /fast-stat/ /when/ he can go (137).

140. way c-x'uy-olx.
    They were going (137).

141. huy, koj-koj-koj.
    Then, they see the tracks (136).

142. way x'oo'lt shaycinon s-on-it-son-t-on-s.
    Lots of deer where they were feeding /abs-loc-stat-instr-his/.

143. "ixi? "ui px-on-on-suit.
    They scattered (136).

144. "ui tali?
    x'oo'lt yi shaycinon.
    There were /very/ lots (142) of deer.

145. way koj-p.
    He stopped /still-noon/.

146. way met "aana? c-on-a"a-olx.
    /dub/ There is a hollow place /act-loc?-land/.
    sola"a-olx.
    it's a big place /big-land/.

147. way met "aana? yi shaycinon: "lut
    (The door) must be there /thu/ /deet/ /not/.
    qix-wa-t-an.
    "He didn't scare them /drive-atv-tran-indef/.

148. "aana? yi s-tk'-tk'a"ut-on-s-olx.
    Here are their tracks /abs-walk-walk-instr-his-pl/.
    met yi s-c-thlon-x-olx.
    they might be still eating /abs-act-eat-prog-pl/.

149. "ixi? "ui way xta-p-olx/.
    It was broad daylight then /complete-noon-land/.

150. way koj-p "aana c-it-on-olx: "há?
    They stopped (115) and he told them (10): /inter/
    way "aana? p c-yax? in?
    /here/ /you pl/ "Are you all (gathered) here /act-gather/??

151. c-it-olx: "way way k'uu c-yax?.
    They said (11): "Yes, we are here (150).

152. knix an-k'olx-olx q'asqii?
    Just your brother-in-law /your-brother in law/ Blue Jay
    lut-i? to c-koj-koj.
    he hasn't /not-past/ come in sight yet /act-around-appear/.
153. ?a11? 1i ?i1i? k’u c-tk’o?út, ?i1i? 1ui
Just as we left (123),
c-1-in-p-1’ópak, 1ui ?a11? lut 1e c-may-s-t-ls
he was falling around, because /not/ he doesn’t
1’i s-yriwaxon, way not
know anything about (67) snowshoes, he might
i-puk-ús-on.
turn back (133).

154. lut k-s-kal-?in-on-t-on.
/not/ Let’s not wait for him /umr-abs-around-wait-atv-
tran-infl./

155. k’u xár-kst-m-on-t-on.
We are wasting time (134).”

156. cú-t qícon: “way, way woníx”,
Said (10) Wolf: “Well, that’s right /true/ (49),
wey wík-on-t-on ?axn? 1’i s-x’uy-t-on-s
we saw /see-atv-tran-we/ these Tracks (137),
1’i s’ka?cinon, síc-xon.
deer Tracks, fresh tracks /new-foot/.

157. lut 1on 1ka ?kin.
/not/ I don’t think /dub/ /tc/ they went anywhere /where/.

158. ?axn? 1on ?ala? c-on-q’o?úlax”, 1’i 1axn?
Maybe they are in that hollow (146),

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159. way k’u k-s-px’-om-on-t-sút-a’ax.
We are going to scatter (cf. 136).

160. ?i1i1i? kál s-qí1-t
/to there/ /to/ Just when you get to the top /abs-step-
c-1-in-x’at-ús.
stat/ there’s a hollow /act-loc-hollow-surface/.

161. ?i1i1i? mi k’u i-1úús.
That’s where /fut/ we all get back together /back-
together/ (cf. 14).

162. ní1i1i? ?iti1i? 1 s-c-qí1-t-s-olx,
If /that one/ /sub/ they’ve already gone over that
moi ?ití1i? kál-px-on-t-lm
(160), then we’ll think /around-think-atv-tran-
ax” ?ití1i? 1’i k-s-px’-m-on-t-sút-s.”
we/ more /from there/ how they are going to scatter
again (cf. 136).”

163. cú-t-olx: “way, way.”
They agreed (10): “/yes/ /yes/.

164. may-úlax”-1-t-on-olx
He pointed (to them) to the ground (to go) /show-land-
165. "yú ?axa? yí k-s-t-kon-òxan,
"And these ones here on the outside /unr-abs-
s-òút yí k-s-ków-s
back-arm/, half of them /abs-half/ will go to where
koi-cah-al-xx?x
/unr-obs-gone-his/ they'll be watching (for deer) /around-
k-s-koi-xwòy-ònx
decipher-purp-inch/ to walk under (below) /unr-abs-down-
?ú t?n? c-t-k-òxa-n?òxil;
go inch/ there will be two of them /act-2-person-
?ú yòx, ?axa? tol
two-two/; and as for me, (I'll be) from
s-òút, kon kai-t-kon-òxan, ?ixi?
this half (165), I'll be on the outside (165),
kon k-s-koi-xwòy-ònx,"
I'm going to walk under (165).

166. ?ú t?nil? yí sox-soy-òs yí t-kon-òxan,
(Only) the smart ones (6) can be on the
?ú t?nil? s-c-k-suít-al-st-x-alx
outside (165), because they are doing their best

167. húy, nòt qix-x-òlx, nòt ?tixan?/finished/
They drive it (51),
?xixa? ti-úm-òn-t-sút
will go right straight /straight-pr-adv-tran-refl/
the deer tracks
that low pass (166), and the ones that want
\text{3J mol to /abs-go-his watch (for the door) (165),}

\text{?ixi? moi}
\text{to /abs-go-his watch (for the door) (165),}
\text{?ixi? moi}
\text{they kill them /kill-att-v-tran-his/.}
\text{168. la ?in ?ox ia? e-?aw-s-sqilx"}
\text{?axa? ?i s-c-y?is-t-x, mo}
\text{it /act-sea-people/ /the driver/ (164),}
\text{?ap?i? * kom ya ?xi? i-c-t-q?as,}
\text{it kills it (55); or when /like/ they come down (146),}
\text{i-c-pol?-us-on, ulk-s-olx yi}
\text{and turn around (133), they see (cf. 136) the}
\text{s-ko?i-coha-ni-x, ?ui}
\text{ones that are watching (for them) (165),}
\text{i-c-on(y)?xi? s-t-xon-sut-olx,}
\text{?ixi?}
\text{they come down on their same tracks (cf. 164),}
\text{moi coh-on-t-im-olx, ?ixi? moi}
\text{they run across them others, then}
\text{?op-sqilx"-olx, ?ill? ki?}
\text{they kill them /short-people-pl/, that's when}
\text{c?op-op-?st-olx.}
\text{they kill their own deer /act-short-res-weapon(?)-pl/}
\text{40}
\text{yi s-c-y?is-t-x.}
\text{the ones that are driving (164).}
\text{yi t}
\text{And that's what's called (20) in}
\text{?q-q?as?li-t-on}
\text{yi}
\text{the language /loc-talk-talk-stat-inst/ 'the}
\text{s-c-ko?i-coha-ni-x',}
\text{ones that go and set up to watch /abs-act-go-con-down-}
\text{yi say-say-?as,}
\text{decipher-purp-progr/ (89) (165)', the smart ones (6),}
\text{s-a?x"-us-om.}
\text{those who watch /abs-watch-eye-mid/.}
\text{They said (10): "maybe Blue Jay}
\text{mi c-ko?i-ko-?ax",}
\text{mi}
\text{when he comes out of sight (of his home) (cf. 133)
\text{c-?ayx"t, mi koay-iks, can
\text{rots tired, his hands'll get cold (132), he might}
\text{?itli? mi i-pol?-us-om.}
\text{turn back (133).
\text{171. nas"-om lut c-moy-s-t-ls}
\text{yi}
\text{/waid-mid/ (6), He doesn't know anything about (6)
They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

They scattered (136).

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.

Blue Jay.
The ground /earth-land/.

The snow was floating around /?pr-atv-tran-refl/ the earth (182).

He went up the hill.

He went.

He got (25) there to the top of the mountain (160) where that low place is (160).

The deer had already gone over.

He started following /loc-go down-his/, and he was right in the tracks of his brother-in-law.
192. ti lut s-k-s-c-xwây-os ?ana? qeicon, 
He didn't go very far (52) Wolf, 
way koi-nîxol. 
he heard something /around-hear/.

193. c·?xii-? k-s-xp-îcâ?. 
/like/ (9) He got the chills /have-abs.?-cover/.

194. q·tâc·ox-kan-sût, sta, 
He looked behind him /loc-look-?-back-refl/, well, 
k·wây, c·an-kc-n-lkem-t·em 
he was being overtaken /act-loc-reach-?-back- 
ýi t qk'âlmât-s, t q'âsqi?, 
tran-indef/ by his brother-in-law, by Blue Jay.

Then he runs (191), he's doing his best (166).

He thought /loc-think-vol/: "Ah.

197. ?ui c·koj-tûmîlt-om. 
And we thought he couldn't make it /act-down-?-woj/. 

198. ?ui ?ana? ÿi kon x?ît ᵃ s-pîx-om 
And here I'm the best /first/ in hunting (12) 
?ui-i? k'u ᵃ-c·an-kc-n-îki-s, 
and here /and-past/ /no/ he overtakes me (194).

199. way hi'wi? q'âl? 
/when/ It won't be far /there/, he'll /fut/ 
k·s·nîyâx·t·ây-an." 
give out /have-abs-tired-instr/.

200. put q·kc-n-îki-s ÿi sâq?cínem, ka? 
Until he overtakes (194) the deer that's when 
to c·polk·ûs·om ?ana? qeicon. 
he'll turn back (133) this here Wolf.

201. hi?, ?itli? ?uckol·lp·om 
Well, then he run down the hill /run-lower end-mid/ 
qêicon. 
Wolf.

202. q'ûi, q'ûi, q'ûi ÿi s·yrfiwxën-s; ?ûi 
Dust, dust, dust (go) his snowshoes, 
q·wak·napâna-qen·om-s 
with the corner of his eyes he saw /loc-see-?-head-mid- 
ûa qk'âlmât-s, 
his/ his brother-in-law.

203. way nixw tî c·?xii-? q'ûi, q'ûi, q'ûi 
/Also/ /like/ (9) dust, dust, dust (go) 
ûa s·yrfiwxën-s. 
his snowshoes.
204. way' wi? q'sa?-m-is  yi s-yirwaxon-s.
   He had got used to (128) his snowshoes.

205. way' wi? lut s-on-tliki-t-s
   He didn't get to the bottom /abs-loc-
   ??ui k-s-?ayyx'-t-áyen, ??al
   bottom(?)-stat-his/ and he got give cut (67),
   mina?
   tannús hi? q'saqi?.
   it isn't for (cf. 100, 132) nothing that he is Blue Jay

206. wi?[ qixa? lom lut to c-?ayyx't
   He never used /not/ to get tired (67)
   qícicon.
   Wolf.

207. put ñ-ke-n-lki-s  yi sá?cinem
   He just overtakes (194) the deer,
   ñxx'-on-t-is, wi? nix' lut to
   slaughters them (52), and (he) don't
   c-?ayyx't, mà c-kič-x?ui h?ali? not
   get tired, then he gets back (25) I suppose
   s'pol-lkst-om
   maybe (Blue Jay) turned him around (chanced him) /?-t
   q'isqii, wi?-i? ?ayyx't;
   hand-nil/ /Blue Jay/, that's why (?) he's tired;

way' wi? vit,
   he's just tired (78), couldn't make it and

   he turned around (cf. 207) this here Wolf.

208. way' wi? ?ii? q-?ayyx't-íls.
   He was too tired (67).

209. cu'-s  yi qk'almut-s: "x"?ú-y-ox,
   He told (14) his brother-in-law: "Go ahead,
   amwi? pña? k' čakan-úlax'.
   you're maybe a little better off (than I am) /?-
   earth/.

210. way' wi? kon k-s-xa?i?
   I'm plum to the end /have-abs-?/ (cf. 837)
   yi t s-?ayyx't.
   I'm done tired (67).

211. amwi? k' yowf-p-yáw-t."
   (Maybe) you are stronger /strong-nonc-strong-stat/.

212. way' cu'-s.
   He said.

213. wi?[ qii? koí-źq-en-t-lm
   He gave him the way /down-aside-atv-tran-
   to qícicon.
   indef/ Wolf (steppe! aside).
214. q-āsqt. ḡ-wls-o1x
(Blue Jay) made another jump /loc-high-?/
q-āsqt.
/Blue Jay/.

215. x'um lut ḡ-wls-o1x
Just like he never made a move /abs-move-
to ḡčicon.
purp-refl/ Wolf.

216. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x
/Not avail/ He started to go.

217. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x
Just like that (?) he was out of sight /around
q-āsqt; ḡ-wls-o1x k-swit-mi...st.
disappear-earth/ Blue Jay; he tried his best (217)

218. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x
Finally got to the bottom (205) Wolf, because
q-āsqt; ḡ-wls-o1x c-čx-s-t-s yi šła?cįmąn;
he always (30) tracks (166) the door;
q-āsqt; ḡ-wls-o1x s-x'uy-t-on-s
right along (90) (are Blue Jay's) tracks
q-āsqt.
/Blue Jay/.

219. ḡ-sux k'w'k'w'-c's?āc, kip-ūlus
It got dark /loc-dark-dark/, it was dusk /?-
li? ḡ-tihi.
land/ when he got to the bottom (205).

220. qa-qon-noʔ-lwaʔ Laying all over /be-beʔ-lim here and there/
 yi šła?cįmąn.
are deer.

221. waŋ? ḡ-axo? ḡ-axoʔ-lx. Well, he was busy doing something /like-like-?/.

222. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x
That (was) the last (deer) /inst-stat/.

223. ḡ-wls-o1x s-čx-s-t-s And he got done (111) taking the guts out /abs-loc-
q-āsqt; gut-nest-his/, Blue Jay.

224. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x
And that's when (?) he overtook him (52).

225. ḡ-wls-o1x ḡ-wls-o1x He's got them all killed /loc-gone-earth-caus-tran-
q-āsqt; yi šła?cįmąn.
his/, the door.
226. ha? g-st-lis géicon: "tol i-s-c≠k≠½i
/inter/ thought (196) Wolf: "From the time I was

tol i-s-tax-s-px-páx-t,
born /my-abs-act-born/, from the time I got my senses

lút s-wít
/my-abs-obtain-con-think-think-stat/, nobody
k≠u to c-lol-xo?t-x-t-ls.
/me/ could step in front of me /act-down-first-caus
tran-ha/.

227. yapna? t a-xa? t i-ŋk≠sλmút kí?
And now this here brother-in-law-of nine (1)
k≠u i-lol-xo?t-on-t-ls,
that stepped in front of me (226).

228. way' tít lút i-k-s-nunx'inn?
I'm not going to believe it /my-unr-abs
believe-unr/ (76).

229. way ha? not ken s-c-púl-pol-t-x,"
/inter/ :Maybe I'm just dreaming /abs-act-dream
-dream-stat-proot/"

230. cú-n-t-on t q ≠isqí?: "hu-húy, k≠u ppol-ús-on.
Told him (10) Blue Jay: "Well now /us/ let's turn
back (133).

231. way' cón tall? k≠u i q-k≠hac-nunx.
'He might be too /us/ /sub/ late /loc-late-7/.

232. jk≠w-út k≠a yi s-ma-λí?im-tót,
Far away yet (113) /interj/ are our women /abs-

yi s-o-n-il-lí-t-on-tót,"
woman-woman-our/, our staying place /abs-loc-there
loc-instr-our/.

233. cú-n-t-on t q≠ıcon, ?uí ?ali? máq-λís-on-s
Told him (10) Wolf, and he figured /find

?uí y≠-yàx-t
out-vol-nil-hin/ it's all /all-all-stat/
c-xl-on-ús,
uphill /act-up-pr-surface/, and then to the top (188),
?ixí? ?uí s-x≠s-x≠st-ús yi
then it's all downhill /abs-?-?-surface/
kol cítx≠s-solx, cú-s: "way', lút.
to their houses /house-his-pl/, he said: "No.

234. way' ken ?im-on-s-t-sút." I
I fear it /wait-wait-caus-tran-refl/.

235. ?ixí? ?uí ken cos-pls-hit
I have no more breath /gone-?-breath/

yi t s≠páyxt.
from fatigue (67).

236. là wónx≠ k(1) a-xa? yi c-on-κc-n-íkon-t-s-on
All /true/ I could do was overtake you
(52).
I can't make it to go up the hill (233).

I'm going to camp here."

"he?"

he told him: "OK, and" /finish/ (111)

(Blue Jay) had already figured out what to do (72)

he told him: "OK," and /finish/ (111)

The /abs-great-superl/ (cf. 57) biggest /big/

the leader (2) of the deer, he killed it /kill-

caus-tran-he/.  

Because it had a lot of fat /have-abs-fat-his/ the

inside of it (126), he thought (196).
247. Cúu-n-t-óm.
He told him.

"And then /fut/ you'll live /live-live-stat/.

249. qaíʔ, xàč-oón-t kʷa? ?itiʔ, k̓eiy-íč-osqát.
Well, look (18) /interj/ how clear it is (it will
tall? čáí-t.
be cold) /cold-cover-day/ it's very cold /cold-stat/.

250. way tì kʷ k-n-cáí-ól-t.
You'll freeze (249).

251. kʷ x̕úkín-om, mi kʷ ʔur-isolp-om.
What can you do (50) to make fire /fire-wood-
kʷ x̕úkín-om, mi kʷ k-s-1ip.
mid/, what can you do to get wood?

252. ?axaʔ yí wúk yí s-mikʷst.
/ʔ/ Look at all this snow /snow/.

253. kʷ x̕úkín-om mi kʷ txʷ-isímp-om
What can you do to get fir branches /abtain-fir-
?axaʔ l s-on-kʰa-kʰoʔac.
branches-mid/, in the dark (217).

254. ?uː way kʷ ḥ̣áːt.
And you're tired besides.

255. way ḥ̣ųx? ʔaxaʔ a-kl-o-n-xʷel-xʷel-t-án.
That's the only way you can save your life
/your-unr-loc-live-live-stat-instr/.

256. lut a-k-s-lút-om.
Don't refuse /your-unr-abs-not-mid/.

257. ḥí-whiʔ kʷ lút-om, mi kʷ kólá-1.
If you refuse, you'll die.

258. lut ḥ̣aʔ ḥ̣líx-ox-on-t-xʷ
/inṭ/ Don't you get stingy /stingy-stingy-pr-atv-
ʔi an-thi láxʷʔ?
trans-you/ of your wife (44)?

259. kʷ n-xʷel-xʷel-t-ís.
You want to stay alive (248)!

260. way kox-kʷúm-om-s yí ph̓wolmút-s.
He coaxed (73) his brother-in-law.

261. way nunxʷ-ísəʔ-m-on-t-om.
Then he believed him (74).

262. ḥ̣-st-ís: "k-úwí, myāi kón ḥ̣áːt.
He thought: "Well, I'm too tired.

263. way lut q̓wi-nún i-k-s-ʔur-isolp-om; kón
To even try to (237) get fire (251); and
I still have to get wood (251).

I got to have something under me.

I'm all in /finished/ (41) from tired (67).

He said: "Yes, I'll take /take-expr goal-tran-you-I/ a-s-koi-paž." your advice /your-abs-around-think/ ."

He told him: "Well, get in (246)."

Well he went into (246) the deer, because
278. tal stl̓əm mas-əs-ƛ̓kst,
   /something/ He felt something /feel-feel-hand/
   yí t s-ƛ̓ls-əs.
The fat (242).

279. way' hitl̓ li? s-c-k-níł-əm-s.
   He cut some off /abs-act-res-cut-mid-his/.

   And then he ate (120).

281. t-qʷám-qʷəm-qs.
   That was delicious /res-excellent-excellent-prize/.

282. way q-əs-p-ł̓n̕-s
   yí
   He cleaned all the inside /loc-gone-nonc-belly-his/
   k-s-ən-qʷə̝łt-áq̓s-c.
of his gift deer (243).

283. way aʔx̣aʔaʔ* s-wíti? ʔalí? síc-ʔcaʔ,
   In a little while /abs-who, what/ since it's fresh
   way q-ćat-ł̓n̕-k.
deer /new-flesh/ (36), he got diarrhea /loc-hurt-stomach/.

284. way l̓ut x-ʔk̓i̊n-əm mi ʔácqaʔ,
   There's no way (251) of him /fut/ getting out (124),
because he's sewed up there (272).

   Right then he did something pitiful (i.e. /pitiful-hand-purp-refl/)
   way aʔx̣aʔ qəč̓ ʔən,
   that used to be /past/ boss (3).

286. way aʔx̣aʔ i-t-xr̓út-əm
   Blue Jay ran up the hill (184)
   ?aʔx̣aʔ kʷə̝lm-qʷəm-qs.
   That is how (251) of him /fut/ getting out (124).

287. i-t-xr̓út-i-t-əm, qíl-t,
   He ran (184), got to the top (160),
   i-t-xr̓út-i-p-əm.
   he ran down the hill (201).

288. aʔx̣aʔ hitl̓ li? kən q-ćəp̓q̓-s-ł̓WS-əm** yí t
   Well, I'm going to splice (join) (97)
   in-captic̓i.*
   in my fairy tale story (1).

289. aʔx̣aʔ hoł-qʷəsq̓ iʔ ʔaʔt qəč̓ ʔən,
   This here the Blue Jay group with Wolf,
   q-kʷəłam-ł̓WS-əłx.
   they are brothers-in-law.
They were hunting (12) when

and you are tired (and) there is nothing

You'll be nice and comfortable /warm-place/
in your place (232)."

He put him (246) into that big (241) deer.
He sewed him up (272) with this twisted
cic k-cm-ʔina?-n-t-om.
twig (245) then he put lots of snow on him (272).

In a little while (283) Wolf felt /feel-
ʔi s-ʔa?ix-s, ʔa? maʔ ʔi təl
he/ warm (276) I guess it's from
s-ix'-ix'-on-süt-s ʔuł ʔaʔ tła
his breath /abs-breath-breath-ʔ-refl-his/ and there
ʔkł̓n mi čsá-p
is no air [lit. -from where will the air come?] ʔuł ʔaʔ ʔa? ʔi sčəʔćinəm ʔi ʔa
/air-nonc/, this here deer in
q-ʔyxy'út-s ʔuł sic k-cm-ʔina?.
his insides and besides he had lots of snow on (272).

305. Way? q'asqi? t-xrú'-t-om, qỉl-t;
Blue Jay ran up the hill (184), got to the top (160)
way? učks̓l-úp-om.
he ran down the hill (201).

He got half way; he got closer to home /near-
land/.

Then he hollered repeatedly (118), because
cawt-s* ʔi s-cləx ʔaʔ tla?
that's the way /way-his/ the hunters go (12) when
c-ʔon-kʷaʔc-núxʷ, ʔaʔ tə c-ʔatx-ílx-əlx
they get late (231), because they don't go to
ʔaʔ k-s-ʔaq̓s-ílxʷ-əlx.
sleep (47) when they have relatives /have-abs-one-people-
pl/. 97.

308. q-y'ilp c-t-ʔoʔ-s-t-ís-əlx.
They always (80) wait up for them /act-res-behind-caus-
tran-he-pl/.

309. ki̓-kəłwət-úš-x-s-əlx.
They are setting up /around-sit-surface-progr-he-pl/.

310. łut kí-kíc-x, mail čla-p,
Nobody showed up yet (25), and if it gets daylight (118),
mail ʔi-xa? lo-ʔaʔ-n-t-ís-əlx.
they'll look for them /go after-go after-aty-
tran-he-pl/.

311. Way? maʔ s-x-ʔkín-x-əlx;*
Something could have happened to them;
312. way nıxчки.
They heard (192).

313. ṭok‘-tak‘-cín.
He was hollering (118).

314. way Ḷeï-k‘ínx‘t-s-ólx. *
They answered him /around-answer-he-pl/.

They thought (226): This is Wolf."

316. ?iri-n-t-šs ḳaxa? qčičon ʔi
She pushed her /push-atv-tran-he/ this here Wolf's
tkimílx‘s.
wife (44).

317. ?iri-n-t-šs ʔi lccasųps-c.
Pushed her younger sister (61).

318. cú-s: "ʔé?, way, Ḷeï-ur-ús-x-ôn-tı."
She said: "Hah, hurry, fix the fire, stir it for
him (251)!

319. way mét ?ixi? a-s-qaltníx‘ yá te
That might be your man (??)
c-ṭok‘-tak‘-cín.
that’s hollering (118).

320. k-cq-ús-ôn-t-xw
Put the /res-place-fire-atv-tran-you/ coffee pot on
/abs-loc-coffee-stat-instr/!

321. mét way ḳi t s-qemil-ôn."”
He must be awful hungry /abs-hungry-stat-
instr/.

322. ?uí síc ká-koʔ-ám-s ʔi lccasųps-c.
Now she's making fun of (130) her younger
sister (61).

Because /from there/ from inside he started
q‘áqí?.
to put his snowshoes on (91) Blue Jay.

324. lut ḳo c-moy-s-t-šs ʔi yrlwaxen.
He didn't know nothing (4) about snowshoes.

325. ʔi ṭok‘-ok‘-ilís,
He was falling around /lay down-lay down-here and
ʔuí-i? Ḷeï-ko-láx‘.
there/, and then he got out of sight (121).
Because the oldest one (2) is sure (6)

say-say-ûs 'yi s-qältmîx-s.
that the smartest is her husband.

That's why (9) she was kidding (130)

Icççô?ûps-c.
hers little sister.

328. way ?ixi? s-xûtl-îlx-s, tlîx ?axa? 'yi
She got up (47), stood up the

Icççô?ûps-c.
younger sister (61).

She fixed (the fire), the fire (251).

And she started supper /abs-res-place-fire-mid-
she/ (cf. 320).

331. tâx' kçú-ûs-ûs ?axa? 'yi s-kêmûw-áqs,
She warmed up (330) some leftovers /abs-

?axa? 'yi s-tax-îlk', 'yi
? -prize /, some soup /abs-sweet-water /, 67

332. q-cîx-s.
She warmed it over (276).

333. way ?itîlì? i-c-ták'-cîn-ûm.
The hollering continued (118).

334. way i-kôl-înxt-s-ûl.x.
They answered it (314).

335. way ?itîlì? s-xûs-ma?-cîn-ûm-s
Then she rushed /abs-hurry-teach(?)-mouth-mid-

'yi Icççô?ûps-c.
his/ her younger sister.

336. cú-s: "t-kûl-s-ûn-t, ?axa? way ?ixi?
She said: "Fix that fire (94),
a-s-qältmîx".
it's your man (37)."

337. wîm ?ui t-çûn-îpla-s-ûl.x
They tried (78) to stop her (from making fun) (cf. 88)

their parents (27), because
they knew for sure (6) that she's making fun (130),

of her sister when she says: "That's your man (37)."

Because it never came close to their minds (306).

They thought (196): "The one that gave up

is (199) Blue Jay, because he's new /sub/

at hunting, since he got married (with law relations)

Well.

They heard him (192), because loud are /loc-loud-sound/

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

That's snowshoes.

The sound (37) is good (not as if tired)

The sound (37) of the snowshoes.

Well, he came in (246).

He raised (9) the curtain /loc-partition-edge/.

He still had snowshoes on.

And he sat down.

Then he told his wife.
71. t-xọt-p-mił-n-t-əm  yi t  tkinlxl-s.
(His wife) rushed to him (47) /his wife/.

352. qi:tə?  ƙə-kəl-əx-əs-ən-t-əm,
She put her arm around his neck (16), and
kissed him /around-kiss-atv-tran-indef/.

353. cú-n-t-əm:  "wày  mət  kə  ṭ humility.
Told him:  "I bet you're tired."

354. cú-t:  "wày,  wày,  kən  ụgụgụ-t.
He said:  "Yes, yes, I am tired.

355. ƙú-ut  ụali?  i-s-xọ-nwís-t-ən.  /far/ (118) I've traveled around (far) /my-abs-go-
here and there-stat-instr/.

356. wày  kə  s-ọx-ims-cút-x
I was all in (tired) /abs-tired?-refl-progr/
ụ:  kən  c-kicie-x.
(cf. 83) when I got back (25).

357. wày  k'u  ƙwà:ọl-t
Take off /pull off-expr goal-tran/ (cf. 53)

358. wày  ƙwà:ọl-t-əm  yi  s-yríwaxən-s,  ụi  ụi?
Yes, she took (357) his snowshoes off,

359. ụi  ụi?  t  sp-sípí-ən.
Because he had moccasins on /skin-skin-shoes/.

360. "ụi?  ụi?  t  s-mlk"-t  ła?  co-ćom-s-t-łn  yi
"And (when) with snow I covered (272) the
sÀa?cínəm."
deer.

361. wày  ƙwà:ọl-t-əm  yi  qa?-xán-s.
Well she took (357) his moccasins off.

She started drying them (114).

363. xwà:ọl-t-əm  yi  s-iq-llx*
She gave him (90) bedroom /abs-lie down-/ qa?-xán-s.
slippers (358).

364. wày  ki-sel-xí-t-əm,
She set dishes up /down-round-ben-tran-indef/
73

because they don't have a table, she set dishes for him.

365. She just spread something down for him

366. And then put dishes for him (364), a whole pot of (his) food (120).

367. He was just about to eat (120)

368. And he threw it at his father-in-law (cf. 57).

369. He said: "(Take it), (7) look at this (18).

370. Then you'll know (6) what this is, you'll wonder (50) what it is."

371. He took it, his father-in-law (57).

372. He started to unwrap it (370) of the deer?"

373. "What (part) of the deer?"

374. He laid it down (166), he did like that

375. It doesn't come out right (165).
He started to eat (120).

377. ?i···le? q'ásiq?.  
Blue Jay ate.

378. way' wi?-cín.  
He got done eating /finish-mouth/.

379. q'á? ?axa? 'yi sa?stám-s, way' ti c-kl-l-kol-s  
My, his sister-in-law, she had a

380. ?ui wónlx' cníc 'ya i-c-øn-?ìix' ?ui-øm  
And sure enough it was he (111) who came in (246) and

381. ?ui cú-s: "a-s-xlwi? 'ya lo c-x'ìy'!  
And said: "Your husband (30) is coming!

382. kol-?ur-ús-x-øn-t."  
Fix that fire (318)."

383. ?ui wónlx' q'ásqi? c-øn-?uíx".  
And for sure Blue Jay came in (246).

She really got disappointed

385. 'co?áx,  
naqmí k-?c?x-qíln ìs? c-ka-kø?à-m-s  
She got ashamed, felt cheap when she made fun

386. way' wi?-cín q'ásqi?.  
He got done eating (378) Blue Jay.

Went out (124) the old man (27), because

388. s-wít, ?alí? ti kywù-na?  
/abs-who/ Listening for the news is /listen(?)-

389. i s-qílx".  
ear/ everybody.
It was all of them (150) and they said: "Ah, way kú lúč’-öxl. (the chief) is talking (324) /the chief/.

389. way xeč-öxl-on-mi-st."
   It's important /important-res-?-purp-refl/.

390. cú-n-t-öxl: "pi s-ambil-öxl.
   He told them: "Come on in [lit.-you are my asking you] (101).

391. way i-c-kíc-x i-s-nikeix w qášqi?.
   He came back (25) my son-in-law (103) Blue Jay.

   And this he gave me (90) that was tied up (117).

393. ?uí way wií c-k-cah-ah-öxl-s-t-lín, ?uí lút
   And I can't get them together (165), and I can't
ta c-k-cah-ah-öxl-nú-s-t-on.
   get it right (370).

   I want you to figure it for me (72)
   ki? xlíit-i-öxl-öxl.
   that's why I am asking you (101)."

   I want you to figure it for me (72)
   ki? xlíit-i-öxl-öxl.

396. nikxna?, c-xit-áhl-st
   My, (the people) run over there /cisloc-run-purp-
   refl/ /the people/, because that's surprising news.

   Well, they all come in (150) the chief's (tipi).

398. ¿í-xa? ?uí ñ-qélc-t-öxl yi
   And it was a full house /loc-fill-stat/pl/
   s-plá-1.
   with young folks (16).

   And he gave it to them (90), the old man (27).

   They figured it out (165).

401. way, lút ta k-s-k-cah-ö-xl
   Rather, no, they couldn't figure it out (400)
   ?a-xa? yi tínà?
   this here ear (9).

402. way mi-s-öxl sła?cínom tínà-s; naxomí way
   They know (6) it's a deer's ear; but
   lút ta k-s-k-cah-öxl-m.
   it wouldn't match (401).
They even laid it down (166).

404. lut kəl s-₇út yə nàqs ?ul
One half (165) doesn't (fit)
kəl s-₇út.
with the other half (165).

405. ?ul wayy lút, lút k-s-k-cōh-ahá-m-s.
Well no, it didn't match (165, 375).

406. wayy ?ixi? sic sliw-s-ólx q'ásqi?.
Then they asked (9) Blue Jay.

407. cú-s-ólx: "?ul wayy k'ul síá-1.
They told him: "We are puzzled /puzzle-res/.

408. ?ul la ?kín s-c-kín-x ?axa? yí tína?,
What is wrong with this ear,
?ul lut tə k-s-k-cāh-ahá-m?"
that it won't mate (match) (165, 375)?"

409. k-hay-y-n-sùt-om-án-t-om-ólx t q'ásqi?,
He just laughed and laughed at them (131) Blue Jay,
?ul cú-n-t-om-ólx: "wayy, p c-ps-pstáy-a?.
and he told them: "You got no sense /act-no sense-no sense-/.

410. ?ul c-moy-s-t-lp lut tə k-s-k-cōh-ahá-m.
You know (6) it won't mate (match) (405).

411. ?ul wayy təx' tə s-nàqs-x ?ixi? ña?
And each one (deer) (45)
ki-ñina?.
has one ear (each ear belongs to one deer).

412. ?ul ?ali? ya-yâ-t t-ðey-ñina?-n,
And I marked all of them /res-mark-ear-
that way kəl s-k-s-kət-ñina?.
I/ just one ear on one side (one half of the ears) (cf. 165).

And if it comes out right (405), then
k-s-tñi-y-t-a?x.
it will show (344).

414. ?ul tî-lûm ʃ s-čká-k-s."
And it'll be easy /easy-easy/ to count /abs-count-its/.

That's when they all agreed (6).

416. ð-súx'-nà-m-s-ólx, moy-p-nù-s-ólx təx' ?axa? yí
They understood (34), and they knew (6) about the
81
tina?
ear(s) (9).

They counted them (414).

418. ọt'a? ṭui yaḥ-p-qln
There were lots of /gather-nonc-head/ (150)
der if there are that many ears.

419. cu-n-t-ọm ?axa? yi t ọ-k'el_mụt?om.
He told them this, the brother-in-law.

Because maybe she got over /loc-overcome-
?axa? yi t ọ-k'ax-s 
vol/
her shame (385) this here the oldest
way' ?ixi? slw-s yi sa'stam-s,
(2), she asked him (9) his sister-in-law,
cu-n-t-ọm: "?ui x-?kln-ọm an-k'el_mụt ?
she said: "What became of your brother-in-law?

421. lut ha? wîk-ọn-t-x'?
Didn't you see him (136)?"

422. cu-t: "way', ?ixi? qlx'-ọn-t-ọm yi ṣa?cinom,
 Said: "Yes, we scared (51) a bunch of deer,

423. ?ui-cnic ḳai-x'ụy' ṭol s-y'is-t.
And he (111) went on the outside of those that drive (deer) (164).

424. way' ?ikol? ṭen kic-x.
/there/ I got (there) (25).

Gone are (34) the deer.

426. qil-t ḳam-ips-t-ọn.
Went over the mountain (160), I was too late.

427. way' ?iti? nix' cnlic k-s-x'ụy-at-ọn
He was behind too, (they were tracked)
t s-?ǐw-t-s.
by the one behind (190).
83

428. way' met lut to k-s-on-t'áp-sqlx'-t-on
I guess he didn't even get a shot at him /unr-abs-

?ixi?, ?uí

loc-shoot-people-stat-instr/,

køl-køl-nwíx'-s-t-s
then he started chasing /chase-chase-rec-caus-tran-he/

(190) the deer, many (142) of them.

And too I started chasing (428).

430. ø-úcx'-on.
I followed the tracks (166).

431. ?uí lut-i? s-on-tkíl-ílx-s
They hadn't got to the bottom yet /abs-loc-bottom-?-

køl ø-áa? ø io?-ús.
its/ on the other side /loc-other side/ of the mountain.

(They went) from there to the mountain (431),

?uí ?itíl? sÌlx'ë a? c-on-taq'-om;
there was a bigger valley /act-loc-valley-mid/;

lut-i? s-on-tkíl-ílx-s.
they didn't get to the bottom yet (431).

84

433. m-ìws-ùlax' kí? ø-kcnìk'-on
They were gone half way (306) when I overtook (52)
in-k'øl_mút.
my brother-in-law.

434. way' ìl lut s-àlk'-út-s, ?uí ?ixi?
He didn't go far (118) and
s'?xal-m-on-t-sút-s, k'u cú-s:
made room for him (to pass him) (207), he told me:

"wày kon ?ayìx'-ìls.
"Boy, I'm getting give out (67).

435. way' lut i-k-s-t-kí-kat.
I'll never get near to them (306).

436. hùy i t anwí?.
You go ahead, it's up to you (it's not me, it's
you)."

437. cú-t: "wày'.
He said: "Okay."

I just went ahead of him (396).

I left him /leave-I/.
They just got down to the bottom (431) the deer

and I overtook them (52).

I killed them (52) finished them all (165).

And these are all they had ears.

(I) just got done gutting them (223),

I was going to bury them /my-unr-abs-bury-mid-pl/, when

he overtook me my brother-in-law.

He's just played out with tiredness,

just he's walking (100, 335).

Then when he told me:

"You (overtook them) and cleaned them out (235) the

deer."
454. ?uí cú-n:  "Iút.
I told him: "No.

455. way ti k̕ k-s-čáI-čát.
You'll freeze to death (249).

It's already late (111),
\[ q-k̕o-k̕oʔac. \]
and dark (219).

457. ?ila? ?uí ti čI Ix" yi s-k̕o-k̕ušant." 
My brightened up are the stars (when it's cold) 
\[ /\text{abs-star-star/} \]."

458. cú-n:  "?uí way? aIa? k̕ cú-t k̕ 
I said: "Well you just said you're 
\[ k-sʔaIy̕t-áy̕on, k̕?aIy̕t. \] 
tired (199) and give out (67).

459. ?uí la ?kIn k̕ xʔkIn-óm mi k̕ ?ur-ří-st.
And what can you do (251) to make fire (251).

And even if you did make fire (459), 
\[ ?kIn k̕ xʔkIn-óm mi k̕ k-slip \] what can you do to get wood (251) in this
\[ ?aIa? \] 

461. ?uí ?aIa? nIx̕ k̕ tx̕-s-q̕l̕P-óm ?" 
And also things to put under you (266)?

462. ?uí cú-n:  "way ti k̕ k-s-čáI-čát. 
And I told him: You'll freeze to death (249).

463. way k̕ s-øn-p̕Ix̕-Ils-x, ?uí ?aIa? ?aIa? mi 
\[ /\text{store-atv-tran-you-I/} \]
You want to camp (238), so in here 
k̕̕um-øn-t-s-øn, 
I'll put you away /store-atv-tran-you-I/, in (241)
sIIx̕a? 
\( /\text{słaʔcinon, ?aIi? way c-yá\) 
the biggest (241) from the deer, because (they're) 
c-k-čal-íws. 
all open (117).

464. ?aIa? nʔIux̕-s-t-øn-øn 
\[ /\text{store-atv-tran-you-I/} \]
I'll put you in here (246) and 
a-k-s-k-s-čáI-čát. 
you won't freeze to death.

465. taIi? k̕áI-t ?aIa?  yi słaʔcinon, pút-i?
Quite warm (22) is the deer, he's still 
co-coʔíx. 
warm (276).
And then I'll bury you (443), and you won't 
freeze to death (cf. 464)."

There I put him (465), and sewed him up (272).

I sewed up (245) the deer.

I tromped /kick-atv-tran-I/ the snow (132)
it made a hole there /loc-hole-hole-earth/.

I stuck him in there /loc-hole-land-I/, and
I buried it /res-bury-cover-I/ (443) with snow (132).

And then I stepped away /act-step away-mid/.

He told the chief.
Then went out (124) the chief.

"huy, k'u tk'o?út."
"Now, we walk (123)."

They told him: "We're all ready (237)."

way la?i k-s-xa4-si-Glax-s.
/with/ It got broad daylight (149).

"(Here) you women folks (232) those that had man gone along /mate-follow-?refl-pl/ (46).

snowshoes, and that's g-tk"-tk"-u?út-on-s-olx.
the only way they can travel anyway (123), /vet/ they
ki-kow-awáp-olx,
s-ult
don't have horses /have-horse-horse-pl/, who does (99)

in wintertime (14).

That's all they travel on (486), snowshoes.

Especially the North Halfs /abs-loc-Lakes-person/.

They went (52).

And they got a leader (2), Blue Jay.

They went (52).

And they made fun of him (130).

Also the wife of Blue Jay
didn't used to know how.

And they made fun of him (130).

Also the wife of Blue Jay
had gone along (485).

And too right behind was /loc-behind-behind-back-
His sister-in-law, also his father-in-law and mother-in-law are behind.

And then the rest of the folks followed along.

They went there in a big valley. They string along the low place is.

They went right over that hill.

Then they went down the hill.

They went.

They got to the bottom.

He told his father-in-law: "You are the boss, my father-in-law." Said the father-in-law: "No, even if I'm the chief, you're the one that killed it, you are the one..."
95

1a? kl-k-ʔayxʷt-ən.
that worked hard (67).

509. waʔ t anwí? mi pχʷ-əm-s-t-lxʷ.
You pass it around (505).

510. ?uʔ ?axa? incàʔ kmi kən mút; kən
And here I was just sitting down, I
s-cq-ínk; kən s-əlq-pəsən-sùt
lay on my back (320), I pull my whiskers with tweezers
mi t s-t-kʷin-plàʔ-s-t-ən*
/abs-pluck-ʔ-refl/ and for me to take the lead /abs-res-
l c-pχʷ-əm-s-t-ɪn...
take-handle-caus-trans-I/ to pass it around (136)...

anwí?
you do it.

511. cùʔ-
"ah, way." He said: "OK."

He passed it around (510).

513. way' c-may-s-t-ɪs la ?kin kíʔ kʷəm-s
He knows where /that/ he put him (463)

?axaʔ l ʔəsəcínəm.
in the deer.

514. cùʔ-ʔaxaʔ ʔi səʔstəm-s-; "waʔ" ?axaʔ
He told his sister-in-law (60):

515. ?ixiʔ? ?uʔ cίq-ən-t-əxʷ,
x-ʔkí-s-t-əxʷ,
You dig that out (244), do what you please
kʷ i-čkʷ-ɪlčəʔ-əm, kəm cίqʷ-ən-t-əxʷ,
(50), drag it home (55) or skin it /skin-atv-tran-
l-č"liʔ-əm-ən-t-əxʷ, x-ʔkí···-s-t-əxʷ.
you/ pack it back (491) do anything.

516. ñi waʔ ñi k-pəʔ-sən-t-ɪxʷ
anwí?" Whatever you think /res-think-atv-tran-you/.

517. nèlexnaʔ ʔi səʔstəm-s lím-t;
My this sister-in-law was glad /glad-stat/;
met kəl-ιəməsəʔ qəasqiʔ, ʔi t səʔstəm-s
I suppose she kissed (352) Blue Jay, his sister-
ʔi t s-lím-t.
in-law she was so tickled (517).

518. aʔəm ?axaʔ s-ʔə-ʔəm-ə?
She used to hate him /abs-angry-angry-ʔ/
saʔstəm-s təl s-χʷup-t-ə,
his sister-in-law because he was good for nothing (36).
    She started digging (244) that deer up.

520. k-ålk' -k' -lna?
    When she got off all /res-remove-remove-cover/ the
    s-mik'at, way koi-klc yì sa?cínom.
    snow, she got to (25) the deer.

521. way c-k-lu?x'-ús yì t s-?liwi? yì t
    It was sewed up (245) twisted (245)
    s-χa-χac'i?.
    with the sprig (468).

522. ?ixi? k-tor-i•••'ws-os;
    She undid those stitches /res-undo-center-she/
    ?ala? ta ?χíl-s-t-s, t-χq-ìws-os
    she did like that (9), she opened it (213)
    where it was cut open (463) and sewed up (245).

523. way t-χq-ìws-os.
    She opened it (213).

524. k'áli
    ?ui c-?acqa? yì s-χolmìx'-s.
    All of a sudden out came (124) her man (37).

525. way ?ui kmìx
    mank-sqãxa?.
    He's nothing but shit /shit-animal/.

    Goodness, the stink hâs in the nose (91) the
tkimìlx'.
    woman.

527. way ?ui lut ?iti? yì t s-qìxw'-s
    It really stunk /abs-stink-
    yì s-χolmìx'-s.
    her/ her husband.

528. way wat-àn-t-ìs.
    She tried (166).

529. ?iwa? k-s-čiq'-ì'-s.
    She's going to try to skin it (515).

530. way lút.
    She couldn't stand it.

531. nak' -om kmìx
    mnîk-ìca?
    Nothing but shit /shit-meat/ (cf. 525) is
    this here deer.

532. ?ui ?ali? ?axa? yì s-χolmìx'-s k-s-?ayx'-t-ayon,
    And this here her husband got give out
    ?ali? s-qìlx' s-c-ìt-x
    (199), because people (5) get hungry /abs-acq-êat-?pwx/
533. way 'ti s-ca?lx-s  'iili?  'ui-l-i?  la?
   He got warmed up (276) there when
x'lski?-t,  c-?xi-t, way 'ui  ?ixi?
he got rested /rest-stat/ like (9), and then
ŋ-ik'ë-k'ë-mí-s  yi
he thought /loc-think-think-purp-he/
s-k-s-qamíl-t-on-s.
of being hungry (321).

534. 'ti mas-om-anwis;  mas-as-łkst-am-s  yi
   He felt around (355); and felt (16)
s-qi's-os.
of fat (242).

   He cut it off (279) there and
?ixi?  s-?lìs-s.
he ate it (120).

536. s-øn-ma?-mùq'-øq'-pna?-om-s,  *s-wit  ?all?
   It bulged out here and there (35, 503), it's
sic-ìc'.
fresh meat (36).
That's why it's nothing but shit.

Just stood there frowning (379) the woman.

She got after her husband.

She said: /too much/ "You've done something and I didn't mean it.

/loc-bad-stat-purp/ and then
I got diarrhea (283).

There is no way of me getting out (124).

That's when I done that pitiful thing (33) inside there (126), I didn't do it on purpose /my-res-pour/.

They started packing the deer /abs-?meat-mid-his-pl/.

And he got to be the boss /chief-become/, Blue Jay.

They got all the deer back home.

They got to drying meat /abs-place-meat-mid-his-pl/ (320), to roasting /roast-mid-pl/.

And the women (232) cutting it open /abs-open-open(?)-mid-his-pl/, they started drying it over the fire (cf. 326).

Lots of (150) deer meat, (each one gets) a whole deer /whole-meat-mid-pl/ (cf. 506).

And this here Wolf's woman, she'll not throw it away (cf. 36) whatever she did with it (50), maybe she washed it /wash-to/ she/ the deer.

She aired it out /air(?)-atv-tran-she/ and when

It had no more smell, then she roasted it (331).

570. ?uî ?aâi? ¹ox’ captið’1 ?iði? And because it's just fairy tales (1),

?uî cú-n-œlx: "way’ kën wa-s-nûx", and I told them: "The sun is coming up high

way’ kën ‘xiâs?yápølqs ’,
on me (I’m late) (118), and I’m going to end,
cak’ cú-s ³i ³s-xa?mx’-cîn. ²

as they say in Moses (Columbian) language.

571. ?axâ?-m ta mnîmî-tat, ?uî cú-n-t-øm

With us, we call it:

³ ‘q-çâyøx’yápøls ’.

'It's the end of the story.'

1. * This form appears to be a compound. n- 'loc', k‘øl '?' , mut 'sit (?)', -s 'his'.

** This form appears to be complex či(y) '?' , -con 'mouth'.

4. * Is this nàk’-ncow-ílx’t-øn 'one-?-people-stat-instr'? -ílx’ may also mean 'skin'.

** Is this qø-ñal-nix’-m 'children-?-person-?' ?

5. * Henceforth this word in compounds will be written sqílx’. Cf. the lexical suffix -ílx’.


13. * Geographical variant of kmix 'only'. The form with [a] is typical of the Northern Colivils.

14. * Here one would expect cústsølx.

16. * /tk’-t-øn/ 'walk-stat-instr' ?

** /q‘il-con/ 'talk-branches' ?

*** /ást-k’/ '¿water' ?

18. * s-ç-çíl-x/ 'abs-act-like-progr'.

** /coq-ílp/ '¿-tree'

*** /c-çíl-x/ Cf. 18². 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.
32. * /qom-ink-s/ '?-belly-his'.
   ** Variant of yí.
33. * /n-qa?-ms-cín-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. * /qelt-mix/ '?-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-pa?-ús/ 'your-abs-?-eye'.
43. * /sisc-lq'-m/ '?-cylindrical object-indefinite'.
44. * /tkm-illx-s/ '?-person-his'.
45. * /mas/ variant of /mus/ 'four'.
   ** /ka?il/ 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 /kʷa?/.
61. * /i-ca-co?-ups-s/ 'secondary-dim-?-tail-her'.
63. * /kʷ/ '2nd sg. you'. kʷ for p 'you pl' is not uncommon.
67. * The final -t in this form is probably 'stative'.
73. * The root is kʷun.  kox- '?'.
   ** This is further analyzable /i-co-co?-ups-c/ 'sub-dim-
   ?-tail-hers'.
75. * The analysis of this form is doubtful. -m is occasion-
   ally affixed to particles, but it isn't clear whether it
   should be identified with middle.
76. * Probably further analyzable /i-kikx-a?/ 'secondary-
   sister-?'. -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 ?iín 'eat'. The
   recorded pharyngeal might be an error.
84. * Active plus transitive equals imperative.
   ** The function of t is unclear. Perhaps (?i)t(í?) 'this'.
86. * Cf. 84**.
87. * This analysis is doubtful.
88. * The discrepancy with 78 is noted and remains to be
   confirmed.
93. * ckʷínk is further analyzable into cukʷ 'pull' and -ínk '?'.
95. * txixi? seems to be a stereotyped expression, perhaps
   related to ?iix? 'this, that'.
96. * The root ?xil ~ ?xil is quite common. Its basic meaning has proved hard to pinpoint.
97. * ?ut ~ ?ut
   ** Form not well understood.
98. * The analysis of this form is not clear.
   ** yark" appears to be related to yir 'round'. Cf. s-yriwaxon.
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 ?oy.
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 cniil and a suffix /-s/ 'his'.
   ** k(i)- 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. ʃko'axya-p 'crawl on the ground'.
   ** This might be an error in transcription. Cf. xa'c-t 'durable'.
   *** It seems certain that the root contains a pharyngeal. The root might be ya".
118. * The relationship between was and k'ya(?i)s 'mowing before daylight' and k'ac 'night' is not clear.
120. * The function of i- is unclear.
   ** The translation of this form is doubtful. Cf. i yap(k) 'fall in the snow'.
122. * This form is probably segmentable further. Cf. ʃk'ú-út 'far' (118).
125. * Cf. 118, 122*
131. * ** The analysis of these forms is unclear.
132. * Cf. ʃay 'winter, wither' (?).
   ** ʃum 'suck'. -fás ?
133. * The full grade root has not been ascertained.
135. * The root is uncertain. Cf. 120.
168. * Is the glottal stop the inchoative infix?
   ** This root has been recorded as týap, týap. A case of phonetic indeterminacy.
174. * The analysis of this form is not certain. ya'ité-ílx is possible. -ílx is a suffix the meaning of which has not been determined. Cf. Shuswap -ílx 'being in motion'.
189. * The function of -i? in this form is not understood.
191. * The connection of this root with ?uckal '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 [a].
199. * -ayon variant of -an. The distribution of the two allomorphs has not been determined.
201. * Cf. 191. Note also that the glottalization of ŋ is uncertain.

215. * The function of the glottalization in connection with -ŋ is not understood.

217. * The root is related to, or the same as, ka'aw 'gone'. Cf. also 133.

220. * The root is ʃ(1). The meaning of the suffix -1lx, 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 ŋ is not clear.

245. * lu?x or luv? 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 ʃaxa?'. Cf. also the homonymous ʃixixi?.

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 -lws functions as root, m- as 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' in 'sing'. x't '?.

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 [l] in this and other morphemes is a common phenomenon with some speakers.

363. * Cf. 174*.

368. * The composition of this form is not clear. The root is caq 'throw'.

396. * It isn't clear whether or not this root is related to x?it. The function of the glottalization of ŋ is also unclear.

** This form is also unclear.
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"a?c 'late' is not understood.

488. * Another case of glottalization, the function of which is not understood.

491. * This form is further analyzable, but the meaning of the root is not known.

510. * The make up of this form is unclear.

536. * The make up of this form is not clear. The root is muq" (muk"?) 'lump'.

547. * Is this form related to x"Q'j 'go'?

551. * Is the root related to sut 'entity, manner'? (Cf. 16, 23.)

554. * Unclear form.

562. * The root might be related to ?uk" '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-an-yamx'-cín 'Columbia People'. The reason for the discrepancy is not clear.

GLOSSARY

a- cf. an-
-alqs 'clothes' 117, 367
-alaq" cf. -alq"
alq", -ala?qW (dimin) 'cylindrical object' 99, 114, 116, 117, 117
-alq '?' 224
an- 'your sg.'
anw½ 'feel' 304, 557
anwi? 'you sg.' 209, 211, 304, 304, 310, 514, 516, 548
-aqs 'prize'; 'nose, point'; 'road' 243, 281, 282, 331, 514, 526
-asqet 'day(s)' 62, 80, 110, 249
-ast 'weapon, feather' (cf. -ist) 109, 115
-ayn 'arm, wing' 117, 165, 165, 166
-ayn 'instrum' (cf. -n) 199, 205, 290, 311, 449, 458, 532, 539, 552
-a? 'dimin'
-a? cf. -na?

-oc- 'actual aspect'
ockân cf. ?ic-ockân
alk cf. lak
alkw 'remove (?)' 520
alq cf. laq
-elqs cf. -alqs
-alq' cf. -alq'
-alx 'plural'
-alq' cf. laq'
-əm cf. -im, -m
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sóm 'ʔ' 475

say 'find out' 6, 9, 35, 49, 50, 57, 137, 138, 166, 169, 32
sic 'now' 53, 55, 75, 99, 115, 129, 156, 165, 283, 303, 304
322, 339, 366, 406, 415, 496, 556, 569
sílx'a? 'big' 146, 241, 271, 294, 302, 432, 465
sip'a? cf. sip'i?
sípi? 'skin' 15, 90, 101, 104, 359
siscolq 'honey moon' 43, 47, 62, 80, 291
siw 'ask' 9, 26, 406, 420
slíp 'wood' 251, 263, 263, 296, 296, 329, 460
sílx 'meat' 55
ša?cinom 'deer'
sp 'glove' 132
spa?us 'heart' 71
-sqāña? 'animal, horse' 185, 525
sqoláw 'money' 6
sqilxw cf. qilx'
-sqat cf. -asqat
sqw 'fir' 253
st 'think' 196, 226, 242, 262, 300, 315, 339
sta? 'interjection' 134, 194
stim 'what' 35, 102, 278, 370, 373
sta?šomíx 'maiden' 28, 29
sul 'frozen' 341
sut 'entity' 16, 23, 35, 551(?)
-sut 'reflexive'
suwíts '7' 274
sux' 'recognize' 34, 48, 75, 416, 425
(s)wit 'effort' (wit cf. 528) 166, 185, 195, 217, 422, 528
sxmp cf. sax
s'qol '7' 207, 207, 434

-t 'stative'
t(a) 'instrumental, agent' cf. also ?ití?, ?atá?
tá' 'drop' 245
tali? 'very much' 67, 71, 85, 144, 231, 242, 249, 274, 276, 276, 465
tam cf. ta 110
tamus 'nothing' 205
taq 'valley' 452
taxy 'obtain' 6, 7, 7, 35, 49, 49, 55, 64, 68, 81, 92, 93, 96, 226, 253, 296, 461
tax'b 'shoot' 428
tal 'from' 165, 226, 226, 228, 339, 518, 537
talky 'gut' 223, 443
taltut 'weak' 99
tomx 'earth' 182, 185, 185
tar 'undo' 522
to'q 'kick' 181, 470
-tat 'our'
tató 'join (?)' 422
taxw cf. taxw
taxy '7' 47
tax 'last' 27

- tk 'bottom (?)' 205, 218, 219
tiix 'stand' 328
tinx 'sinew' 117
tiqu 'shine' 117
tikí 'bottom' 431, 432, 440
tkimix 'wife' 44, 44, 47, 59, 90, 126, 127, 258, 316, 350, 351, 494, 526, 546, 550, 568
-t ' cf. -itkw
tkw(ou) 'going, walk' 123, 135, 148, 153, 482, 486, 487
tk'tan 'tules' 16
tk' cf. tak'
tla 'from' (cf. ?atl?w, tal) 304, 323
tl 'straight' 114, 167
tq '7' 131
tqp?is 'feathers' 97
-tra? '7' 182
tuit '7' 368
tum 'woman's mother' 101
túnilxt '7' 197
txiix 'a little' 95, 98, 112
txw cf. taxw

la cf. íi
lakw 'holler' 118, 121, 307, 313, 319, 333, 387, 389, 479
tal 'overcome' 420
laíw cf. lakw
137

cf. ți
țiak'  cf. țak
țiak'  'lay down' 325
tol  cf. țil
țomko?  'daughter' 9, 11, 32, 38, 59, 88
țomkas  'suck, kiss' 352, 517
țows  'shelter' 185
tox  'sweet' 331
tox'  'evidential particle'
ti  'evidential particle'
tic  'pitch' 117
til  'split' 117, 463, 522
tim  'easy' 414
tina?  'ear' (cf. also -îna?) 442
tap  'shoot' 55, 70, 168

-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

wax'  'true' 49, 76, 76, 156, 236, 268, 300, 380, 383
wet  cf. (s)wit
wik  'see' 136, 141, 156, 166, 168, 168, 177, 201, 421
wik'  'hide' 78
-wix  'developmental'
wich  'in vain' 78, 207, 337, 394
wis  'high' 181, 214
wit  'who, what' 99, 226, 283, 388, 486, 536
wi?  'finish~' 111, 120, 223, 240, 273, 378, 586, 443, 480, 480, 483, 537
-wi?  'intransitive imperative plural'

wet  'put' 97

x-  '?'
-x  'intransitive imperative singular'
-x  cf. -xi
-x  'progressive'
xar  'waste time' 134, 155, 172
xar  'curtain' 346
xam'ax'  'Hoses' 570
xoc  'important' 390
xal  'cover' 16, 16
xalas  '?' 176
xal 'complete, clear' 149, 178, 484
-xan  cf. -xan
xān 'hurt' 311
xāwii 'road' 129
xō 'hate, be tired of' 83, 85, 356
xōi 'end' 210, 541
-x(i) 'benefactive'
xit 'run' 396, 438
xixa?yāpēlqs 'the end of the story' 570
xā(ə) cf. xā
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, 490
-x' cf. -ix'
x'āl 'live' 248, 255, 259
x'ay 'go' (cf. x'uy) 547
x'a? 'many' 62, 72, 80, 142, 144, 167, 428
x'āl cf. x'āl
x'a? 'hollow, low place' 160, 166, 167, 188, 497
x'āt(əl) 'up, move' 47, 113, 119, 328, 351, 480
x'ō 'cf. x'ō?
x'ōi cf. x'ō?
x'ōi 'give' 90, 106, 363, 393, 399
x'il 'discard' 36, 36, 568
x'i 'whittle' 103, 116
x'ip 'spread' 365
x'īski? 'rest' 533, 557

x̂t cf. yx'ut (cf. also 277)
x̂um 'like' 215
x̂us 'hurry' 335, 444
x̂ut cf. yx'ut
x̂uy '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
x̂al 'light' 118, 310, 479, 543
x̂as 'good' 37, 71, 113, 275, 344
x̂aw 'dry' 114, 116, 116, 362
x̂a? 'great' 57, 241, 368, 371, 463, 474, 495, 504, 504, 507
x̂o 'stick' 468, 521
x̂al 'lay across' 23, 25, 23, 24
x̂a?w? cf. x̂ilwi?
x̂omink 'like' 32, 293
-x̂on cf. -qǒn
x̂on, x̂o cf. x(h)ənsisc
x̂ap cf. x̂p
x̂aw cf. x̂aw
x̂a? cf. x̂a?
x(h)ənsisc '?' 78, 88, 337
x̂ilwi? 'husband' 30, 39, 39, 75, 381
x̂i 'up' 233, 237
x̂la cf. x̂al
x̂lit 'ask' 101, 391, 395
x̂ cf. x̂il
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\chi s & \text{cf. } \chi as \\
\chi^\pi (\chi^\Pi) & \text{'stitch'} 272, 284, 303, 467, 540 \\
\chi q & \text{'aside'} 213, 522, 523 \\
\chi \hat{a} & \text{'air'} 304 \\
\chi^\ast \hat{\imath} & \text{'}?\text{'} 233 \\
\chi^\mu p & \text{cf. } \chi^\mu \text{up} \\
\chi^\mu \text{up} & \text{'worthless'} 36, 117, 518 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
yark & \text{'}?\text{'} \ 99 \\
yaw & \text{'strong'} 117, 117, 178, 211 \\
y\hat{a} & \text{'gather, all'} 150, 151, 174, 233, 389, 397, 412, 418, 442, 463, 564, 567 \\
y\hat{e}r & \text{'round' (full grade yir)} 99 \\
yaw(\hat{\imath}) & \text{cf. } yaw \\
yri\hat{\imath} & \text{'}?\text{'} 103 \\
yri\hat{\imath}wa & \text{'around (?)'} 50 \\
yriwaxan & \text{'snowshoes'} 21, 99, 103, 109, 111, 126, 127, 129, 131, 153, 171, 180, 202, 203, 204, 323, 324, 341, 343, 344, 348, 357, 358, 486, 487, 491 \\
yum & \text{'move'} 215 \\
(y)x^{\hat{\imath}u} & \text{'inside'} 126, 127, 131, 242, 277, 304, 323, 561 \\
y\hat{x}\hat{i}(\hat{\imath})s & \text{'drive deer'} 164, 166, 168, 168, 423 \\
y\hat{a}\hat{\imath}c & \text{'solid'} 117 \\
y\hat{\imath}ip & \text{'always'} 80, 218, 218, 308 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
y& \text{cf. } \hat{\imath} \\
y\hat{\imath}mix^{(\hat{\imath}m)} & \text{'chief'} 4, 4, 9, 26, 32, 44, 387, 389, 397, 473, 481, 504, 507, 563 \\
y\hat{\imath} & \text{'} particle, definite' \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\hat{\imath}i & \text{'inchoative'} \\
\hat{\imath}\hat{\imath}\hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} & \text{'go out'} 124, 125, 283, 387, 481, 524, 538, 540, 560 \\
\hat{\imath}\hat{\imath}\hat{\imath} & \text{'to there' (cf. } \hat{\imath}\hat{\imath}\hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \text{)} 199 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'here' (cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \text{)} 147, 150, 246, 451, 463, 464 \\
\hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} & \text{'other side' 431, 432 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'because' \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'feed' 56 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'two' 165 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'cedar'} 16, 17, 19, 20 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'this' 135, 315, 367 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'from there' (cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \text{)} 304, 323, 323 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'go' 167, 496 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'this' (cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \text{) \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'} in a little while' 283, 304, 537, 557 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'tired' 67, 170, 199, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 215, 254, 262, 267, 290, 292, 296, 311, 339, 353, 354, 434, 444, 448, 449, 453, 458, 458, 508, 532, 532, 552, 552 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'}like (?)' 221 \\
\hat{\imath} & \text{'play (?)' 46, 65, 67 \\
\hat{\imath}k & \text{cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \\
\hat{\imath}k & \text{'}to there' (cf. } \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \hat{\imath} \text{) 133, 136, 160, 161, 174, 188, 199, 397, 424 \\
\end{array} \]
167. to-b-s-m-y-n-sut /loc-follow-his-pl/
168. texp-uk-sqilxį /accidentally (?)-see-people/
169. s-ke-x-c2a=mi-x
170. c-texp-ep-1=st-IX
171. c=Ke-w-s-ka2-camb=mi-x
172. s-k=il-kolaxį
173. c-mly-s-t-1s (and elsewhere)
174. add footnote mark to the first / 000 /
175. c-Ke-xe-x-sqilxį-asm* /act-watch secretly-watch secretly-mid/
176. s-t-yarąį /
177. q=sxį-amin-t-sut /snow in the air-pr-stv=-e0 /
178. s-yan-gwa-cqé-a? -t=sn /abs-loc-stand-animal=-o00 /
179. s-xwį-yxr=uyi-i-t=sn-s
180. n-qic-ilx-i-m-s /loc-run-in motion-mid-his/ delete footnote.
181. k=sixp-íca2 /have-chills-cover/.
182. c-yan-koc-n-iko=-t=sm (52) delete / 000 /
183. k=Ke-taw-ílx-i-t=sm /act-down-? in motion-trans-wes/
184. l-c-yan-ko-n-Ilkį-s Replace (194) with (52). Similarly 200, 207.
185. n-uk-péna7-qs=am=es
186. q=sxį-m-mi-s
187. s-lexal-íkat=sm /abs-do-hand-mid/ Likewise later in 207 w/ root.
188. k=s-xiyĄ /have-abs-be tired/ (83)
189. yaʰ=ć-p-yaw-t
190. Remove * and glottalization mark over m. .
191. qr=qam-qm=-1wet
192. ?ex=exil-ílx
193. q-koc-kar-saq
194. q-kw=ác-nuxį
195. mly=ls=am=s
196. sqį=çxį=st-us /downhill-downhill=7-surface/
197. j=im-m-s-t-sut
198. and elsewhere: s-xex/-íma /abs-first (?)-super1/ Delete ( 000 ).
199. delete ya. In its place insert ái / in/
200. s=n-yxįt=íca2
201. k=áx=ul-t-1s Likewise later in 245, 447?
202. kiy=is-ádeť /clear-cover=-o00/.
203. Replace /?/ with /snow on trees/ (182)
204. txį=s=qwuplicate /obtain-com for-boughs-mid (16)
205. i=ks=qur-lsálp=sm Likewise later in 263 and elsewhere.
206. ke=pa=áx-ix-t=s
207. s=sxį=pa=áxį
208. b=Kal-x-síp=s /...stitch-door-he/ Likewise 284
209. s=stîia /hungry-stat/ Delete *.
210. k=áx=ul-t-1s
211. kiy=ls=ádeť /clear-cover=-o00/.
212. txį=s=qwuplicate /obtain-com for-boughs-mid (16)
213. i=ks=qur-lsálp=sm Likewise later in 263 and elsewhere.
214. ke=pa=áx-ix-t=s
215. s=sxį=pa=áxį
216. b=Kal-x-síp=s /...stitch-door-he/ Likewise 284
217. s=stîia /hungry-stat/ Delete *.
218. k=s=k-pulx=mi-s
219. p=qwa=ǐ=áw-i=ǐ-s
220. s=ywilį And elsewhere.
221. s=qn=ûm-t-x Here and elsewhere in root; ũ. .
222. yr=xnt=1s Here and elsewhere, eg. 317.
223. Root: 7ur
224. s=xįwit-x
225. Replace, ?= with -leftover-
226. ke=kal=con-t-em / for those who are coming=make-mouth--o00/
Replace s- with c-.
Insert schwa: "-3\text{oa}_m-
\text{n}=k\text{id}_w-\text{con} (\text{delete final -s and -its}/)
\text{la}\sim\text{la}\? t-xf\text{an}*
Delete.*
Segment: cq-\text{i}-t-\text{im}
c-\text{kái}_k-w\text{x}_w-
\text{mi ha} c-\text{fa}_c-\text{a}_m-t-x^w
\text{374.} \text{375.} \text{add, schwa: ca}_h^w
\text{c-kil-kša} /\text{act-frown-frown/}
\text{ká=k∫-a}m-s Likewise in 380 elsewhere.
Add glott. mark on r.
Root: x\text{c}_c^w
\text{c-xi}t\text{t-mi}1^-\text{et}
\text{n-}t\text{a}l-\text{l}l_{\text{s}}
\text{422.} \text{stextat}^-\text{s}
\text{431.} s-\text{m}_{\text{n}}-\text{tki}=\text{al-}l_{\text{l}}x_a (432 also)
\text{n}_{\text{e}}\text{a}_s^t
\text{432.} k_{\text{c}}^s^-\text{us} (431 as well).
\text{434.} s-\text{?x}c_{\text{a}}1^-\text{a}m-
\text{435.} \text{root: } x\text{c}_c^-\text{t} (i.e. insert schwa)
\text{440.} \text{n-}t\text{ki}=\text{ol-}l_{\text{l}}x
\text{441.} x_{\text{w}}^-\text{c}\text{c}_{\text{w}}
\text{456.} \text{kla}_x^w
\text{456.} \text{cl}_{\text{i}}x^w
\text{459.} \text{460.} \text{root: ?ur}
\text{463.} \text{cf. 241 correction.}
Delete (117)
\text{468.} y_{\text{l}}l_{\text{w}}^w^-\text{m}
\text{472.} \text{Replace /act- with /cis1-}.
\text{475.} k-e-mi\text{c}_a1^-\text{x}** /\text{ur-}a\text{b}_s-killed deer-progr/\n\text{495.} \text{kat}_{\text{o}} \text{not ke}_l. \text{Add glott. mark to -}l_{\text{k}}\text{a}_h
\text{503.} m\text{a}_s^t^-\text{l}w_{\text{t}}
\text{510.} \text{Stress: shift to k\text{w}_m^-\text{in} (delete from pla\text{?})}
\text{514.} s-m_{\text{k}}w^-\text{l}w_{\text{t}}
\text{532.} s-c_{\text{c}}^-\text{l}l_{\text{x}}^w^-\text{t}
\text{533.} \text{še}_c^-\text{x}_{\text{w}}^w\text{i}_s\text{ki}^-\text{t}
\text{556.} \text{Root: m}_{\text{u}}\text{k}_{\text{w}}^w
\text{540.} r_{\text{o}}^-\text{sc}^w^-\text{iat}_s
\text{541.} \text{xi}_w
\text{549.} \text{k}_{\text{s}}^-\text{c}_w^-\text{l}n_{\text{c}}^-\text{t}^-\text{x}_w
\text{554.} \text{k}_{\text{s}}^-\text{pa}_c^-\text{x}_{\text{i}}-\text{t}^-\text{s}
\text{557.} \text{cf. 533.}
\text{562.} ?a\text{k}_{\text{w}}^-\text{a}k_{\text{w}}^w=\text{...}
\text{567.} \text{Delete pharyngeal and *}.
\text{568.} \text{Root: } x\text{wil (not xwil)}
\text{570.} \text{wa}_c^-\text{s-mix}^w

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:
9*. There are two entries in the glossary, ?xi(1) and ?a\text{gil}, which
should probably be collapsed.
15b. Replace schwa with a.
16** /\text{ast-}...
46. For a comment on \text{h}\text{e}^-\text{1} /-s, cf. 52*
47. I haven’t reached any conclusions re the function and meaning of -ilx. The suffix occurs in two forms: -ilx, and re- duplicated -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 -ilx ‘plural’, i.e. -ilx-ix. 3. By reduplication of the root. 4. Redundantly by 1. and 2.

52. Several interpretations of the morphophonemics connected with this root are possible. For the moment it will suffice to say that the full grade root 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 → i (n →) /-s rule operating in certain grammatical environments, and Carlson’s contribution to this conference.

133. kīx *w ‘evening’. Cf. p-kīx *w ‘disappear in the water’.
152. n-ixpak ‘fall in the mud’
   n-ix pak ‘fall around in the mud’
   n-ix pāk * ‘fall in the snow’
174. The paradigm to which this form belongs is not uncommon. I don’t have appropriate labels yet.
176. A suffix -(ē) appears to be segmentable here and elsewhere.
189. For the moment this form remains unclear.
198. Cf. 52*.
221 (not 220) Delete all but the first sentence.
224. Cf. 52*. Also, according to one informant, p-kac-n-ik* ‘overtake’;
     p-kac-ik*-āq ‘be about to overtake’. In exception to 52*.
234. Delete the second sentence.
294. Replace 198* with 52*, and delete the second sentence.
233. For the purposes of this text edition, mīy (stress retentive) ‘be sure’;
     mīy (stressless) ‘know’, and ma?y (stressless) ‘teach’ have been entered together in the glossary.
358. I have checked this form repeatedly, and the pharyngeal is in the suffix, not in the root, where one would expect it. Similar shifting of pharyngeals and pharyngeal intrusion has been noticed elsewhere.
396. Amend second sentence: The function of the second glottal stop is also unclear.
475*. Cf. the following forms: ksn mica ‘I retrieve game which has been killed (and cleaned)’;
     ksn kiloka ‘I find game killed by someone (else)’.
536. Amend second sentence: The root is muk *w ‘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.
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.

One day in late autumn Blue Jay showed up. By now the youngest 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 sick-looking 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 wasting."

"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 snowshoes 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."

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 brother-in-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 unwarps 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."

"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.
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 slave-masters, 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'er-do-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.
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 know 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 knight-errant 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 warded 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 feminized 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 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 irrationally, 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 gift-deer. 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.