THE LANGUAGE
OF THE SALINAN INDIANS

BY

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INDEX*

CONTENTS

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This study of the dialects composing the Salinan linguistic group was begun in September, 1910, when I made a visit to the neighborhood of the old Mission of San Antonio in Monterey County, where live the few remaining members of this group. Here a little work was done with the oldest member of each of the two divisions, José Cruz of the Antoniaño and Perfecta Encinales of the Migueleño dialect. An incomplete acquaintance with Spanish, the medium of communication, coupled with a lack of satisfactory interpreters and other disappointing circumstances, rendered this visit not wholly profitable. Consequently arrangements were later made by which Pedro Encinales, one of the middle-aged Indians, visited San Francisco, where I worked with him from Thanksgiving until Christmas. During this time Dr. T. T. Waterman made some researches on the phonetics of the language with the help of various mechanical apparatus. Unfortunately the informant was found to be totally ignorant of all mythology, and the few texts received from him were rather poor. The month of January, 1911, was spent in linguistic work upon the material received.

For five years I was unable to continue my researches upon Salinan, but these were again taken up in January, 1916, to continue throughout that year. A second trip was made to the region of Jolon, Monterey County. In the intervening years José Cruz and Perfecta Encinales were found to have died, but better linguistic informants were found in the persons of David Mora, a pure Antoniaño Indian, and Maria Ocarpia, a pure Migueleño. An unexpectedly good series of mythological texts were secured from these. Another old Indian, Juan Quintana, was found to be an unsatisfactory linguistic informant, but gave a number of mythological stories in Spanish, which were translated into Salinan by Maria Encinales, a sister of Pedro, and by David Mora.

Furthermore, all the extant linguistic material from other sources has been examined in the preparation of this paper. This collection was begun more than a century ago with the preparation of a vocabulary and phrase-book of the language of the Indians of Mission San

Antonio by the founder of the Mission, Fray Buenaventura Sitjar. The manuscript was sent to Washington by the indefatigable A. S. Taylor and published by J. G. Shea.[1] In 1821 Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, the author of the grammar and phrase-book of Mutsun, took a vocabulary from the Salinan Mission, which is preserved in Santa Barbara. A transcription was made by Gatschet and deposited in Washington. Coulter recorded a short vocabulary from San Antonio,[2] and Hale a short vocabulary from San Miguel.[3] Yates and Gould collected in 1887 a San Miguel vocabulary, which is now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Alexander S. Taylor recorded short vocabularies and phrases.[4] All of these vocabularies have been examined and compared, but with the exception of Sitjar's they are of small value.

The first really intensive and modern work on Salinan was done by H. W. Henshaw in 1884, when he was engaged in determining the linguistic affinities of the California Indians for Major Powell and the Bureau of American Ethnology.[5] Henshaw's material was kindly loaned by the Bureau, together with all other Salinan linguistic material in its possession, and has been of great value.

Dr. A. L. Kroeber visited the region in 1902, and formulated his ideas concerning the language in a paper.[6] Both this and his manuscript notes have been studied. The phonetic data of Dr. Waterman have also been studied and the chief results noted.

Recently Drs. Dixon and Kroeber have united Salinan with Chumash in an "Iskoman" group,[7] which, in turn, they have subsequently come to regard as part of the Hokan family. This reclassification has been accepted by several American anthropologists and many Salinan words have been included by Dr. Sapir in his comparative paper.[8]

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[1] Buenaventura Sitjar, Vocabulary of the Language of San Antonio Mission, California (*in* Shea's Library of American Linguistics) (New York, 1861).

[2] Coulter, Journal of the London Royal Geographical Society; copied in Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, ii, 129, 1848.

[3] Horatio Hale, *in* Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, ii, 126, 1848.

[4] A. S. Taylor, The Indianology of California, *in* California Farmer (San Francisco, 1860), *passim*.

[5] J. W. Powell, Indian Linguistic Families, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, p. 101, 1891.

[6] A. L. Kroeber, Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, present series, ii, 43–47, 1904.

[7] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, New Linguistic Families in California, American Anthropologist, n.s. xv, 647–655, 1913.

[8] Edward Sapir, The Position of Yana in the Hokan Stock, present series, xiii, 1–34, 1917.

The Salinan language comprises the two surviving dialects of the missions of San Antonio and San Miguel. These two dialects are mutually intelligible with little difficulty. Regarding the prehistoric tribal divisions, conjectures only can be made.

For all non-linguistic data on the Salinan Indians the reader is referred to my ethnological paper.[9]

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[9] J. A. Mason, The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, present series, x, 97–240, 1912.

PART I. PHONOLOGY

PHONETIC SYSTEM

The Salinan dialects are characterized phonetically by a rather harsh acoustic effect. In this they differ radically from the flowing and musical Costanoan languages to the north, but bear a superficial resemblance to the Yokuts and Chumash to the east and south. The two Salinan dialects differ very slightly in phonetics, that of San Miguel being apparently more accentuated in its harsh character, possibly by reason of closer contact with the latter-named extraneous languages, or possibly due merely to peculiarities of the informant. Naturally this harsh character is far more evident when the words are given slowly with the careful enunciation inevitable to the recording of native language. In rapid speech much of this harshness, which is evidently due rather to the frequency of glottal stops and surd stops with glottalization than of guttural consonants, is softened.

The phonetic orthography used is based on the Report of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on Phonetic Transcription of Indian languages.[10] A few minor changes have been made from the recommendations of this committee to suit the peculiarities of the language and to facilitate preparation and printing.

VOWELS

Salinan appears to make use of eight fundamental vowels. These are:

a   mid-mixed narrow. This is the broad or Italian *a* found in Spanish *cara* and approximated in English *father*. When short in quantity it approaches more closely the vocalic sound of American *not*.

a,   mid-back narrow. This approaches closely the vocalic sound of *but*. In actual practice these two *a* sounds have frequently been confused.

ē   mid-front narrow. Nearly as narrow as English *say* and probably as narrow as Spanish *beber*. It is generally but not invariably long in quantity.

e   mid-front wide. Like English *men*.

ī   high-front narrow. Nearly as narrow as English *meet;* frequently long in quantity.

i   high-front wide. As in *pretty*. The wide *e* and *i* are difficult to analyze. When quantitatively long the vowel is invariably heard as *e* and certain short vowels are invariably heard so. Other short vowels are invariably heard as *i* but the greater number are heard as *e* or *i* indeterminately. In such cases the vowel as originally written, either *e* or *i* has been retained. Palatogram tests show the closest occlusion for the narrow *i*, less for the indeterminate *e-i* and least for the wide *e*.

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[10] Smithson. Inst. Misc. Pub., 2415, 1916.

o mid-back wide round. Intermediate wide-narrow with a greater tendency toward wideness, somewhat as in *boy*.

u high-back wide round. Approximately as in *put*. The *o-u* vowels present the same difficulties as the *e-i* vowels and are frequently confused. *o* is generally certain, especially when of doubled length. Certain other vowels are heard invariably as wide *u*; these appear to be always of short length. But yet others are heard as intermediate between *o* and *u* and when of double length as an *ou* diphthong, approximately as in American *so*. As in the case of the indeterminate *e-i* vowel, this has been written as either *o* or *u* according to the auditory impression received.

ǝ Indeterminate vowel found in Migueleño in rapid speech; related to Antoniaño *a*.

Summary:

ī   u
  i   ǝ   o
    ē   ·   a
      e   a

QUANTITY

Consonantal quantity is of small importance in Salinan, and it is dubious whether or not it exists. Vocalic quantity is marked and inherent in the stems and particles. Such doubled length is represented by a raised period following the vowel, as:

a·

NASALIZATION

Vocalic nasalization plays an unimportant part and is found only in connection with a nasal consonant. It is apparently more marked in the case of *m* than of *n*, but is naturally not consummated in the case of surd nasals. It is never very marked in character, but is possibly more evident in the Migueleño dialect. It is denoted by a hook under the vowel thus affected (iota subscript), as:

ạ

VOICELESS VOWELS

Vowels become unvoiced, or nearly unvoiced, in Salinan when final in a sentence or when following an aspiration. A different but nearly indistinguishable phenomenon is found when an aspiration, though not truly a vowel, assumes the tinge of the preceding vowel. Voiceless vowels appear to be more characteristic of Migueleño than of Antoniaño. They are distinguished by the use of small capital characters, as:

A

Weakly articulated vowels are closely related to voiceless vowels, but have a definite sonant resonance. They occur in the same positions

as voiceless vowels, and the difference may be purely fortuitous. They are represented by superscript vowels of a smaller font, as:

p^a

ACCENT

Stress accent is quite noticeable in Salinan, and appears to be inherent in the roots and particles and inexplicable by any rules. Frequently, however, a word bears primary and secondary stress accents of nearly equal force which may be confused. Primary stress accent is denoted by an acute accent mark, secondary accent by a grave accent mark after the vowel thus stressed, as:

a', a`

Pitch accent is found, but is not of morphological significance; it is likewise inherent in certain syllables, generally of particles and grammatical elements. Thus the proclitic *ţám,* "then", and the enclitic *tén,* "again", generally bear an inflection of a slightly higher pitch. Such is marked by an acute accent mark over the vowel, as:

á

It appears to be more characteristic of the Migueleño dialect.

Hesitation in the flow of voice and in general any interruption between two normally connected sounds is represented by a period separating these elements, as:

a.i, m.o

This is frequently indistinguishable from and confused with a weak glottal stop.

Aspiration, when distinct from or weaker than the aspirate *h,* is denoted by a reversed superscript comma, as:

м`

CONSONANTS

The general rules of phonetic orthography employed in the writing of vowels are followed also with consonants. Thus small capitals are used for the voiceless or surd forms of consonants normally voiced, and superscript characters for those which are abnormally weakly voiced.

Semi-vowels

y, ʏ, *w,* ᴡ   The semi-vowels *w* and *y* are both employed.

y is probably always a resultant from an *i* glide preceding another vowel, and is generally initial or intervocalic; it is rare. The voiceless ʏ is even rarer.

w on the other hand appears to be a fundamental sound, the occlusion being firmer than with the vocalic *u.* The voiceless ᴡ is rare. Both ᴡ and ʏ appear to be more common in Migueleño.

Nasals

m, M, *n*, N, *η*   The bilabial and the linguo-dental nasals are frequent in Salinan but the palatal nasal is rare and of secondary production. *n* is very dental in place of articulation. Final *m* and less frequently *n* often occur with simultaneous glottal occlusion; in such position they are purely sonant.

Nasals are found as sonant, partially surd and entirely surd. It is most probable that these are merely variations from one fundamental sound affected by phonetic laws, but a few aberrant forms hint that possibly two fundamental elements should be recognized. In intervocalic position the nasals are purely sonant; in initial position the kymograph records show them to be frequently unvoiced during a large part of the attack; in final position they are shown to be unvoiced during the latter half of the occlusion. As members of consonantal combinations they partake of the nature of the companion sound, being sonant when in combination with another sonant, slightly unvoiced when preceding a surd and almost entirely unvoiced when following a surd, particularly an aspirate. The pure surd forms are very rare and found only in exceptional conditions. These kymograph results are compiled from records of a number of cases but the individual records vary greatly; it is difficult to find any two exactly alike.

Laterals

l, L   The lateral *l* sounds are articulated in practically the same place as the English *l*, *i.e.*, they are linguo-alveolars. The voiceless form seems, according to the palatogram records, to require a more extensive occlusion than the sonant. In final position, sonant *l* is frequently accompanied by a simultaneous glottal stop.

As in the case of the nasals, two forms are distinguished, the sonant and the surd, with intermediate variants. All these are probably derivations from one fundamental element through the operation of phonetic laws. Thus intervocalic *l* is invariably sonant, as is medial *l* in combination with a sonant. All other cases display varying amounts of surdness and sonancy with the exception of initial L before a surd which is purely surd. The surd character generally proves less by experiment than by auditory impression and the same is true of other elements which vary between surd and sonant. The surd character may possibly be slightly accentuated in the Migueleño dialect.

Spirants

φ, *β*, *γ*, *s*, *c*, *x*, *h*   The voiceless bilabial spirant *φ* and its voiced correspondent *β* are developed from the intermediate stop *p* in rapid speech. *φ* develops when *p* is followed by a surd, *β* when it is followed by a sonant or a vowel. The palatal sonant spirant *γ* is a similar development from the intermediate stop *k*.

The linguo-dental and the linguo-alveolar sibilants *s* and *c* approximate the sounds *s* and *sh* in English. Palatograms of these sounds show a slight difference in place of articulation, that of *s* extending a little farther forward than that of *c*. There is probably less difference between these two sounds than between their correspondents in English. Both

occur only as surd except that the sonancy of a contiguous sound may intrude very slightly upon them.

The palatal spirant *x* has been frequently confused with the glottal spirant *h* or '. *x* appears to occur more often with nominal and verb stems and other important elements, *h* more often with particles, pronouns and elements of lesser importance. *x* is articulated rather gutturally; its harshness is most accentuated in final position, less in initial position, and least in medial position. It is invariably surd.

Stops

Stopped consonants are found in Salinan in three fundamental varieties and in five positions. These are: intermediate surd-sonant, aspirate and glottalized; bilabial, linguo-dental, linguo-alveolar, palatal and glottal. In the latter position, only one variety is possible. The intermediate form furthermore varies as sonant, pure intermediate and surd. The kymograph records display all five varieties. In the case of the sonants, sound vibrations commence before the release from the occlusion; these are rare. In the case of the intermediates sonancy commences at the moment of release. With the surds, sonancy begins an appreciable moment after release, during the rise of the oral needle. In the case of aspirates sonancy begins after a marked expulsion of breath, at the crest or during the fall of the oral needle. In the case of glottalized stops the glottis is closed at the time of oral occlusion and the larynx raised to cause a compression. The oral occlusion is then released, causing an explosion of the compressed air, the glottis is subsequently released and voice follows. The explosion, though very marked auditorily, makes little impression on the kymograph.

b, ʙ, *p*, *p*‘, *p’* The bilabial stop occurs in the three fundamental and two derived forms above mentioned. In the surd-sonant forms it is difficult to decide which of the three is fundamental; the ear hears most often unaspirated surds while the kymograph detects all three forms with a preponderance of intermediates. Pure sonant *b* has been found only in the case of the demonstrative article *pe*, but many times in this case, both as initial and intervocalic. It is furthermore frequently reduced to the spirant *v*. But other records detect it as intermediate or, rarely, as surd in identical positions. Records of all other words show either intermediacy or surdness, frequently with a slightly noticeable hiatus between release and sonancy. In final position the kymograph shows no release, though the ear imagines one; the occlusion is generally long and firm. The same phenomenon occurs when an intermediate stop is the first member of a consonantal combination.

The symbol ʙ (intermediate) has never been used in the accompanying forms and texts, the symbol *b* (sonant) but rarely.

The aspirate *p*‘ is normally less marked than in English but occasionally as much so; it is of less frequent occurrence than the unaspirated surd. There is a longer hiatus between the release and the commencement of sonancy during which breath, possibly modified by glottal stricture, is released.

The glottalized *p’* is the explosive articulation common to many Pacific Coast languages. It is not frequent in Salinan nor of marked force, except in emphatic utterance.

t, tᶜ, t'   In the linguo-dental series the tip of the tongue is pressed against the roots of the teeth. There appear to be no sonants and marked aspiration and glottalized forms are rare. By far the greater number of cases are intermediates or unaspirated surds. The hiatus following the glottalized form is very slight.

r, t, tᶜ, t'   The linguo-alveolar stop is one found in many Californian languages. The place of articulation is slightly more alveolar than for the dental but the difference is caused more by the manner of release than by place of articulation. The occlusion is firmer and more extensive, the release slower, causing a semi-affricative effect approximating *tc* and *ty*. It is practically identical, however, with the English combination *tr* but more truly affricative, a simple sound. The sonant variety is unknown in this position also, the most common forms being the intermediate and the unaspirated surd.

In rapid speech in initial and intervocalic position, this form is frequently reduced to the rolled *r*. In the former case this is as in English, untrilled, the tip of the tongue merely approaching the roof of the mouth, but in the latter case there is a single flip of the tongue as in the Spanish single *r*. The palatogram record shows the typical grooved *r* occlusion.

The other varieties, the aspirate and the glottalized articulations, need no comment. Both are pronounced more strongly than is the case with the dental *t*.

g, ɢ, k, kᶜ, k'   In point of articulation the palatal stops are approximately the same as in English, but may be a little more guttural, particularly when preceding a back vowel, in which cases *q* was sometimes written in text.

As with the other stops, the fundamental varieties are intermediate, aspirate and glottalized. But as with the bilabial stop, pure sonants and surds are also found. The former has been met with in the case of only one particle, but frequently in this case, that of the particle *gas*. This is always heard either as sonant or as voiced spirant. All other cases are either intermediate or unaspirated surd.

The aspirated and glottalized forms require no comment except that the former is occasionally reduced to the spirant *x* under favorable conditions. They are not forcibly articulated.

'   The glottal stop is of a rather different nature from the other stopped consonants in that it frequently modifies and accompanies them. It may occur in medial or final position or simultaneously with certain other consonants, particularly nasals and laterals, but is never initial. In final position it is of marked strength, but less so medially. Frequently also it occurs simultaneously with a vowel in which case the vowel is weakly rearticulated following the stop. This gives a strangulated effect to the vowel. Frequently it has been difficult to decide whether a glottal stop is present or whether there is merely a hiatus which should be expressed by a period.

Affricatives

ts, tsᶜ, ts'   The affricative *ts* is found most frequently in the glottalized form, the sibilant following the stop without hiatus and before the release of the glottis. As such it is very marked. It may also occur as unaspirate and aspirate but examples are few and equivocal.

tc, tcʿ, tc' The affricative *tc* is less common than *ts* in the glottalized form, and is less forcibly articulated. It occurs most commonly as surd with slight aspiration; both unaspirate and aspirate have been written but are probably variants of one form.

TABLE OF SALINAN PHONETIC SYSTEM

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Semi-vowel					
Sonant	w		y		
Surd	w		Y		
Nasal					
Sonant	m	n		η	
Surd	M	N			
Lateral	-				
Sonant			l		
Surd			L		
Spirant					
Sonant	β			γ	
Surd	φ	s	c	x	h
Stop					
Sonant	b			g	
Intermed.-surd	p	t	ṭ	k	
Aspirate	pʿ	tʿ	ṭʿ	kʿ	
Glottalized	p'	t'	ṭ'	k'	
Affricative					
Surd		ts	tc		
Glottalized		ts'	tc'		

PHONETIC PROCESSES

Phonetic processes on the whole are not of great importance in Salinan, and the few found seem to be more or less sporadic and not amenable to formulated rules.

VOCALIC ASSIMILATION

The stem vowels of certain words undergo a modification and change in inflection and conjugation, apparently not in accordance with any rule, as:

ṭ·a·m	house	ṭ·e·m	with possessive prefix
		-om	with 2 plural possessive
		-im	with possessive (S)[11]
akata	blood	ekata	with possessive
a·xak	bone	exak	. (S)
xutcai	dog	xosten	plural
		-itco	with possessive
t-cik	knife	t-ca·k	(M)

[11] (S) denotes data taken from Sitjar's Vocabulary; (A) Antoniano dialect; (M) Migueleño dialect; when not otherwise noted, forms are from the dialect of San Antonio.

The initial vowel of stems commencing in a vowel is ordinarily assimilated or contracted to the vowel of the prefixed pronominal possessive. Thus in the second person plural the stem vowel is assimilated to *o:*

ṭ-a·m	house	ṭ-e·mo	his house
		t'k-omhaʟ	your houses
epxo	his mother	t'k-opex	your mother
tm-itax	thy urine	ṭok-otax	your urine
tm-ik'es	thy robe	t'k-ok'es	your robe
ṭ-a·k'at	wood	ṭk-o·k'at	your wood

Occasionally similar changes are found with other prefixes, as:

ṭ-itol	brother	ṭ-atol	our brother
ek-o	father	tm-ik	thy father
ṭ-iken	nest	oken	nest? (interrog.)
m-icim	drink!	k-ostem	drink! (pl.)
		tiṭ-acim	to drink

SYNCOPE

Syncope is commonly employed in Salinan. An unaccented short vowel frequently is so reduced as to be practically or entirely non-existent. It is difficult to determine except by mechanical experimentation whether the vowel is entirely lost or only abbreviated. After an aspirate it generally becomes a surd vowel, in other cases weakly articulated or entirely lost. Some examples are:

spanat	hide	sapanto	its hide
awaten	flies	awatneʟ	flies
ṭ-opinito	fat	t-upento	fat
t-icok'alo	ear	ṭ-ick'olo	ear
sukai·lo	lungs	skoilo	lungs

The majority of cases of syncope are of the vowels *e* and *ı*.

REDUPLICATION

Morphological reduplication is absent, but lexical reduplication is found in certain cases, principally with animate nouns. Such are:

tc'emtcem	bat
tciktcik	fish-hawk
tsintsin	sand
nene'	grandmother
tata	father

ONOMATOPOEIA

Stems of onomatopoetic nature are rare and are confined to names of animals with a characteristic cry, as:

tciktcik	fish-hawk
kak'a	crow

METATHESIS

Metathesis, although of rather frequent occurrence in Salinan, is probably of secondary nature. The majority of cases are of the initial syllable *le*.

lemem'	bee	elmi'm	bee (S)
leaṭ'	duck (M)	elpaṭ'	duck (M)
cik'nai	fish-spear	sk'in·ai	fish-hook
simtan	children (S)	sme·ten	children (M)
lice	winter, year	elci'taneʟ	years

DISSIMILATION

Dissimilation is practically negligible in Salinan. But one case was noted:

mamampik	pull it out!	kamant'apik	pull them out!

The occasional reduction of stops to spirants has already been noted under the head of phonetics. *p* is reduced to *v* and *p'* to *f;* *k* to *γ* and *k'* to *x*.

ELISION

A few cases of elision have been found which might better be interpreted as the reappearance, when in expanded form, of a lost final consonant. Thus a final nasalized vowel will be expanded to vowel plus *n*.

ketcạ·'	great	ṭiketca'no	his size

Similarly the final *p* of a stem in the Migueleño dialect, which is normally lost or replaced by a glottal stop in the Antoniaño form, frequently reappears in the latter dialect when the stem is expanded.

ṭicxe'xe'	feet	ṭicxe·ple'to	their feet
tcxa'	stone	tcxa'paneʟ	stones

PHONETIC DIFFERENCES IN DIALECT

At the present time the Salinan language is spoken in two slightly variant dialects, mutually intelligible on short acquaintance, but it is probable that the former divisions of the stock were different.[12] The few surviving members of the stock have intermarried to such an extent that no purity can be claimed for either dialect. Dr. H. W. Henshaw was informed in 1884 that only five natives spoke the San Antonio dialect in its purity, the speech of the others being more or less tinged with the characteristics of the Migueleño idiom. Never-

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12 Ethnology, p. 104.

theless certain regular differences may be determined by a study of the forms of the dialects in bulk.

The general phonetic differences of the dialects have already been noted; the probable greater harshness of Migueleño and the use of the indeterminate vowel ᵊ being the most evident.

The most striking lexical divergence between the two groups is that a *p* in Migueleño, in any possible position, is frequently lost in Antoniaño or replaced by a glottal stop. A few of many examples are:

Antoniaño		*Migueleño*
ac	elk	p'ac
a'kata	blood	pakata
axa'k	bone	paxa'k
at'	oak	p'at'
as	son	p'as
ţexa'	stone	exap
ka'	acorn	k'ap'
tits'e''wu	tail (his)	t-its'e''p
t'ɪcele''	fingernail	icilip
ţicxe''wu	foot (his)	ţicxe'p
ţaa''	deer	ţaa''p
sa'nat'	hide	spanat
lea'ţ'	duck	elpa'ţ'
t'a''ak	head	ţo'paka
ţa'ai'	ashes	ţop'ai

But:

. epxo	mother (his)	e'xo'

The Migueleño final *p* frequently reappears as *w* in the Antoniaño form of the 3d singular possessive, as shown in two of the above examples. Its reappearance as *p* has already been noted (p. 15).

Stems in Antoniaño frequently possess a final *a* not found in the Migueleño forms. Whether the latter have lost an original final vowel or the former added a suffix is not apparent.

Antoniaño		*Migueleño*
ta·ma''	men	ta·m
le'ma	sky	lem
pena'na	milk	pena'n
ţo·'kena	day	ţo·'ken
tuipe'ya	raft, boat	tuwipe'
tapleya	fire-drill	teneple''
ţcala	blackbird	ţcal

But:

t'a·''ak	head	ţo'paka

Antoniaño forms occasionally possess a final *n*, missing in Migueleño, as:

awa·'ten	fly	a·we·te'
stan'	leaf	sta
k'enin	acorn bread	k'one'
saiya'n	rainbow	saiya·pa'

All of these forms are more or less doubtful.

An intervocalic *n* frequently disappears in Antoniaño, as:

sam'	cat, lynx	snam
sai'yu	eagle	snai
tekalt	eggs	tetek·neʟ
taple'ya	fire-drill	teneple''

Practically every stem differs in some characteristic in the two dialects, but these differences seem to be generally irregular and not amenable to or explicable by any rule. Even those given above are more or less problematical, and, with the exception of the frequent loss of the Migueleño *p*, all seem to be contradicted by as many or more exceptions than examples.

PART II. MORPHOLOGY

In general characteristics Salinan bears a superficial resemblance to certain Californian languages, but differs radically from the synthetic languages of certain other parts of North America. Its most striking feature is its apparent irregularity combined with comparative morphological simplicity. It is with the greatest difficulty that any given element is isolated and assigned a definite idea. In its irregularity and comparative simplicity it gives an impression very much like the English, that of a language which has become simplified and lost much of its grammatical mechanism, and which in this process has achieved considerable irregularity.

There is on the whole an absence of the polysynthesis characteristic of many American languages; most of the different elements of language are denoted by means of independent words and the nominal and verbal complexes are comparatively simple. The great mass of diverse sentiments are expressed by independent roots of restricted meaning rather than by a modification of roots of rather vague signification by means of etymological and grammatical particles.

The various morphological processes are accomplished by means of prefixes, suffixes, and infixes.

ETYMOLOGY

The usual Salinan root may consist of any number of syllables of any phonetic constitution. The normal root is confined to one of the several parts of speech, as noun, verb, adjective, pronoun, adverb, or particle. Others may function in two or more categories, generally by reason of slight changes in form by means of suffixation of etymological elements.

NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES

Verb stems are nominalized by the suffixation of certain elements, as:

1. *-i, (M., wei), nominalizing, abstract.*

meṭ'ik-i'	race	k-miṭ'ik	run
ṭi-kauw-i	sleep	kau	sleep
k'a'ʟ-i'	a fight	k'a'aʟ-a'	fight
p-eta·k-i''	the making	p-eta''ko	make

ts'en-l-i'	amusements	k-ts'e·n-u'	enjoy
lam-a-i'	food	k-lam	eat
lam-a-u''wɪ	food (M)		
t-ici-wəi	draught (M)	k-ici-m	drink
yete-we''	earthquake (M)	yi'te'ᵉ	quake
t-oxoyota·'i'	life (M)	k-o'xoyo·ta-p'	live

This is probably the same as an abstract nominalizing suffix given frequently by Sitjar as *ya* or *y'a*.

t'upint-e'y'a	corpulence	topinit-o	fat
tipn-iy'a	pain (in abstract)	tipin	pain
t-anim-ike'ya	pardon	k-anem	give pardon
t-ake-uwa''yu	his thirst	k-ake-a'	be thirsty
t-alil-k-e'ya	question	p-ale'l-ek	ask
t-atsinte-ey'a	unction	k-atsinte-a	anoint

When suffixed to adjectival stems the particle appears in the form of -*ni'*.

xumo·-ni'	quarrel (M)	xomo	quarrelsome, mean
ts'ep-ha·ni''	thanks	ts'ep	good

2. -*te, -tce, -a·tc'e, agentive.*

ki'-kau-yel-a·tc'e'	great sleepers	kau	sleep
ke''-kau-iy-a·'tce	sleeper		
k-licxai-t'ic	rain-maker	licxai	rain
k-icim-te	drinker	icim	drink
k-amt'a·-tce	hunter	amte	hunt
k-amt'i-t-ewan	fisher	amte-ewan	hunt fish
k'-malox-a·'tce	jumper	malox	jump

Another but rarer agentive form seems to be:

3. -*mak, agentive.*

k-atcen-mak	robber	aten	rob
k-ac-tel-m-il-ak	speakers	as	speak
k'-ʟa'm-m-a·il-ak'	eaters	lam	eat

Other apparent nominalizing etymological suffixes, examples of which are not sufficiently frequent to warrant classification, are:

ta-lam-xat	food	lam	eat
pa-xat'	dance	pa·-ka, pa·ta	dance
t-a·'s-e·tiʟ	language	as	speak
ti-kak-eʟ	song	ka·k'a	sing
t-eta''ᵃk-oʟ	fire-drill	eta''ᵃk-o	make, do
t-itsipx-aiut'i	rebirth (S)	etseipex	be born
macal-a'k	morning star	maca·ʟ	burn
macal-e'	flames		
moce''	charcoal		

Other miscellaneous and occasional suffixes are affixed to nouns and modify their sense in various ways; some of them might be interpreted differently had we more complete data. Thus certain cases may really be examples of nominal stem composition, the combination of two nominal stems.

ṭ-ema-i·c	village, *ranchería*	ṭ-ema	house
cxap-alat	pebble	cxap	stone
skoi-kne′ya	beard	sxkoi′′	beard
sul-at	animal's testicles	sol	testicles
cowa-to	poison of snake	cowa	skunk·
hu··-ma′ṭ′aʟ-ta	white people	ma′ṭ′aʟ	white
kesiyu′k-ʟa	sweetness	kesiyu′k′	sweet
ṭ′o·l	heap	ṭ′oi	mountain
lua-nelo	slave	lua	man
lua-nilayo	overseer	lua	man
ṭ-icxe-xe′	tracks	ṭ-icxe	foot
skan-iltai	rib	skan	belly
axak-elteya	rheumatism	axak	bone
ti-tca-wen	foam	tca	water
ti-cxo-kutcin	mud		
ca-tole	dew		

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES

Certain elements are occasionally suffixed to nominal stems to change them to verbs which predicate actions or conditions intimately connected with the sense of the nominal stem. There are two important and unequivocal suffixes of this class as well as several more or less uncertain.

A suffix of not absolutely definite significance appears to denote possession of the noun, or to predicate the action or condition expressed by it. It may possibly be akin to the abstractive prefix no. 1.

4. *-e, -i, possessive, attributive.*

k′-sotopn-e	have a guardian	sotopen-o	guardian
k′-co′wa·n-i	catch fish	cwa·n	fish
k′tsaxel-e	snow	tsa′xeʟ	snow
tc′umya·l-e′	freeze (?)	tc′umyeʟ	ice
ts′a′k′aiy-e	blow	ts′a′k′ai	wind
k-akat-e	be bloody	akata	blood
k′-epx-ai	have a mother	epax	mother
k′-ek-e·l-e	have a father	ek	father

The particle is found frequently in Sitjar:

akut-k′aṭ-e	not grassy	k′aṭ	grass
ke-teka′lt-e	have eggs	·tekalet	egg

The suffixes -*we* and -*ni,* of which examples are given below, evidently carry a similar signification and probably are related.

litse-we-ko	marry a woman	litse	woman
luwa-we	marry a man	luwa	man
k-lua-ni	marry a man	lua	man
lewa-sai--ni	married man	se	wife

The second suffix predicates the manufacture of the noun thus qualified.

5. -*te, -tene, -ate, manufacture.*

ke-*selko*-te-ne	make a fence	selko	fence (Sp. *cerca*)
(ke-*selk*-ne)			
kʻ-co·'lukʻ-te-ne	make holes	co·'lukʻ	holes
m-isxa·'te-ʟ	urinate!	ṭ-isxaiʟ	urine
hek-upint-ate	I fatten myself	upinit	fat

A few other cases of apparent verbalizing etymological suffixes, taken principally from Sitjar, are:

ṭaa'k-a	nod	tʻa·''k-o	head
k-upint-emak	eat fat	ṭ-upinit	fat
ṭam	hunt pinenuts	ṭo	pinenuts
ṭo·we	fetch pinenuts		
timuy-ak	convene	timuy-o	meeting
sol-eko	feel genitals	sol	genitals
ke-cetene-no	fetch branches	cetene	branches
sen-eu	marry a woman	sen	wife
saiyan-emo	marry a woman		

ADJECTIVIZING SUFFIXES

A few cases have been found in which suffixes appear to form adjectives from nominal or other stems:

taka-lau	capable	taka-t	trade, work
k-exak-op	bony	axak	bone

NOMINAL ETYMOLOGICAL PREFIXES

Several elements of definite meaning are prefixed to nominal stems and qualify their meaning; it is possible that these are petrified examples of nominal stem composition:

6. *tce-, ce-, cte-, old, aged.*

ctelu·wa''	old man	lu·wa''	man
ṭcilu·wai''	old man (M)	lu·wai''	man
celte''	old woman	litse''	woman
tcene''	old woman (M)	lene''	woman

7. *il-, l-, seasonal.*

ilpal, ʟpaʟ	spring (summer)
ilne′, il‧e′	summer
ilka‧p	autumn
iltce	winter

A few other sporadic cases have been found which may be interpreted either as unusual prefixes or, probably more truly, as examples of stem composition:

tetsas-kap	acorn-meal	kap	acorn
tne-paku	upper arm	puku	arm
ma-poko	thigh	puku	arm
we-lak′	world	lak′	ground, land

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE
NOUN AND VERB

As with every language, the important parts of Salinan speech are the noun and the verb. These are never combined as with many American languages, and the stems are normally different and unrelated. Those cases in which nominal and verbal stems are connected have already been considered under etymology. Neither nouns nor verbs are subjected to a great amount of morphological modification and inflection. On the contrary, the majority of inflections, declension, and conjugation are expressed by means of independent adverbs and particles. The stem is modified in very few directions, but these are for the most part very fundamental and frequent, affecting practically every stem.

Plural

One of the most striking peculiarities of Salinan is the development of the plural. Every noun, verb, and adjective must display in its form its number, the plural of the verb conveying ordinarily the idea of repetition as frequentative or iterative, and frequently implying plurality of the pronominal subject or object.

The methods of plural formation fall into several different types, but the details are very variant and almost inexplicable. The two principal methods are by suffixes and by infixes. As subdivisions may be differentiated the various elements employed, which are, generally speaking, composed of one or more of the three elements *t, n,* and *l.*

·The majority of stems permit of but one plural form, and it seems to be impossible to determine which of the many types of plural formation any given stem will follow. But certain other stems permit

of several different forms, according to the several types of plural. It is probable that each of them carries a slightly different significance, such as distributive and iterative, but it has not been possible to differentiate them according to meaning. Thus the following plural forms of one stem, claimed to be of identical meaning, were given:

ṭa·m	house	ṭama·'neʟ
		ṭamelax
		ṭa·ma·tén
		ṭemhal
		ṭa·ma·tenáx
		ṭa·ma·niʟáx
		ṭamaniʟten
exoxo'	brain	exoxa'lax
		exotenax
		exoten
icxe·'u	foot	icxepa·'l
		icxe'xe'
		icxe·ple't

Similar varied plural forms are found with certain verbal stems, though possibly in less degree:

a·m(k)	kill, be able	a·mkNe''lk
		a·mt'elik
		a·mxot'e
amauc	guard, preserve	amaulic
		amaucelte
		amaucelayo

Most of these varied forms are from Sitjar, suggesting that the different classes of plural formerly had an active functional value, but that these have now become lost or static, resulting in great irregularity. An insight is given into the solution of the problem by the following excerpt from Sitjar:

kaxo'-ta	A man hunts an animal
kaxo'-ten	A man hunts many animals
kaxo-to'ta	Many men hunt an animal
kaxo'-nilet	Many men hunt many animals

The various types of plural formation with their elements are:

8. *-ten, iterative plural.*

The suffix *-ten* possibly should not be regarded as a true plural, but generally functions as such. Suffixed to either nouns or verbs, it means "another", "again", and evidently carries an iterative significance. In the example given just above from Sitjar it denotes plurality of object and singularity of subject, one of the phases of the

iterative, but examples taken from linguistic texts do not support this explanation.   This particle generally carries a slightly raised pitch accent, *-tén*.   Thus:

wa'kiṭ	wakiṭ-ten	frogs
a'xa·k	a'xa·k-tén	bones
tatcuaniʟ	tatcuaniʟ-ten	stars
ketca	ketca-ten	big
kristia'no	*kristiano*-ten	Christians
	ta·sko'mcuka·'yi'k-tén	but do not tread again
	k'al-ten-a	we will fight again
	p'cola·'tko-ten	he treed him again
	ṭa·'mulox-ten	he jumped again

When other nominal suffixes or inflections are used with this plural the plural sign precedes such endings, as:

kotos-na	kotos-ten-na	noises
oxot-o	oxot-ten-o	his testicles

Two other pluralizing suffixes are evidently akin to the suffix *-ten: -tenax* and *-tenat*.   These are used solely with nominal forms, and principally with names of animals.   They occur rarely.

9. *-tenax, nominal plural.*

ṭaiʟ-tenax	fleas
ṭamuʟ-tenax	pumas

10. *-tenat, nominal plural.*

map'-tenat	rabbits
ska·k'-tenat	crows
as-tenat	elks
ʟk'a'-tenat	coyotes
lua'-tenat	males
tama-tenat	men
asak-tenat	flints
ts'akai'-tenat	winds

A large class of nouns, many apparently irregular, form their plurals by the suffixation or infixation of a particle containing an *n* element, frequently also with a *t* element, and probably related to *-ten*.

xutc	xosten	dogs
celṭe	sle·ten	old women
tcini'	tcinten	old women
saxe	saxtin	birds
simla'	sem'ta'n	boys
litse''	le·tse-n	women
lene''	le'ntsen	women (M)
ṭ'o-s	ṭ'os-en	brothers

ṭ-etiya	ṭ-etiyen	arrows
ts'axe'ʟ	ts'ax-an-eʟ	snows
tcumieʟ	tcumi-an-eʟ	ices
kiyo'te'	kiyo't-n-e'	shake
ko'yi'	ko't'ne	reply

The plural suffix *-lax* is also used solely with nouns or adjectives. Like *-ten*, it is of very frequent occurrence.

11. *-lax, nominal plural.*

ṭepen-lax-o	his belly
ṭopoi·-lax-o	his knees
keṭpoi-lax	cedars
ts'open-lax	spiders
ke'-kau-iatce-lax	sleepers
k'paṭ'-lax	hard
kesiyuk'-lax	sweet

Occasionally *-ax* is used alone. Compare the *-ax* of *-ten-ax*.

t'katn-ax-o	anuses
k'-ts'ep-ax	good

Another very common class of plural suffixes is that ending in *-el*. There are several varieties of this suffix.

12. *-el, -neʟ, -aneʟ, -naneʟ, -teʟ, plural.*

-el alone is comparatively rare.

tcak-el	knives
smat-el	beautiful

A far more common suffix is *-neʟ*:

elk'a-neʟ	coyotes
tik'e-neʟ	lice
ṭelek-nel-o	their mouths
ṭetalak-nel-o	his horns
at-neʟ	acorns
apek-nel-op	good

-aneʟ is probably a phonetic variation of the above:

t'elow'-a'ɴeʟ	storms
ṭitol-anel	brothers
saiy-aneʟ	eagles
tcxap-anel	stones

-naneʟ is occasional:

eskaiya-naneʟ	raccoons
ṭoolec-naneʟ	squirrels
cumk'om-o-naneʟ	squirrels

*-te*ʟ is occasional:

ṭo.'kena-teʟ	days
smakai-ya-teʟ	nights
ka'-teʟ	acorns

Apparent phonetic irregularities in the use of this suffix are:

ṭepaʟ	ṭepa'neʟ	tongues
ṭa'kat	ṭak'aneʟ	sticks
ṭoxo	ṭoxo-lanel	wolves
ṭaasx-o	ṭaasx-aknel-o	livers
lice'	elci'-tanel	winters
akata	akat-nel-o	bloods
ṭaa''	ṭaa'-tneʟ	deer
at'	at-nelat	acorns
ka'	ka-t'-nelat'	oaks

Many verbs also form their plurals by the addition of a suffix which contains the element *l;* these forms are undoubtedly related to the nominal plural forms in *-el.* The vowel of this verbal suffix is very variable.

kac-il	sit down
ka'mes-il	call
kaiya-ʟ	go
lam-x-al	eat
yom-al	see
pamaṭ'-el	chase off

A probably related element is the suffix *-let,* containing the same sound *l;* it is found most frequently with nouns, occasionally with verbs.

13. *-let, -elet, plural.*

ṭopok-let-o	his arms
exak-let	bones
sk'ot-elet	serpents
ticok'al-et-o	his ears
itol-ilete	brothers
ṭipxat-elt-o	his entrails
k'wak-elt-a	long
kak'-elt-a	sing

Seeming irregularities in the use of plural suffixes involving the element *l* are:

maṭ'-elak	animals, meats
t-icxe-p-lip	feet

Probably related to the suffixes in *l* are the pluralizing infixes in *-l-.* These are found more commonly with verbs, less often with nouns.

The element, generally in combination with a vowel, is interpolated within the apparent stem of the word, generally before the final vowel or before the last syllable.

14. *-l-, -il-, -el-, -al-, plural.*

ţexiwaiy-o	ţexiw-il-aiy-o	their hearts
ts'waketi''	ts'waket-il-i'	hats
hak'i	hak'-el-i	bows
makawi''	makaw-il-i'	flowers
katcenmak	katcenm-il-ak	robbers
k'pat'ak	k'pat'-il-ak	dancers
kᴌe''tax	kᴌe''t-al-ax	sharp
takat	tak-el-at-o	trades
	t-al-akat-o (S)	
kaua	kau-l-a	be robust
ka·set	ka·s-il-e	name
katsintca	katsintc-el-a	anoint
k'aʟi'	k'al-el-i'	fight
xata	xat-ʟ-a	weep
k'miţ'ik	k'miţ'-ʟ-ik	run

Judging from Sitjar's example above quoted, it would seem that this element denotes plurality of subject and object. Other examples refute this hypothesis. Minor irregularities in the use of the *-l-* infix are:

ke'o	ke-la'-o	knuckles
epeselet	epesel-elm-et	enemies
inexa'	ine-lk-xa	parents
anemtak	anem-til-tak	pardon
komop	kom-ol-op	finish
k'aʟa	k'aʟ-el-a·'kot	fight
paitceko	paitc-ilt-eko·	visit

The iterative phase is most commonly expressed by the infix *-t-*, generally with accompanying vowel. As in the case of *-l-*, it is normally interposed before the final vowel or syllable of the stem. It is found with both nouns and verbs, but far more frequently with the latter. It is very common. Sitjar's example above quoted would seem to suggest that this infix denotes plurality of subject with singularity of object. Certain other examples dispute this, as, for instance:

pa'le'ltko	he asked them several times

15. *-t-, -te-, iterative plural.*

kola'le'	kola-t-ʟe'	penises
teţeyini''	teţeyi-ti-nai	arrows
kaxap	kaxa-te-p	corpse, dead
ţikelele	ţikelil-t-e	round

kwi'le'	kwi'l-t-e'	straight
kma'lox	kma'l-t-ox	jump
ma·	ma-tele'	carry
kco'lukne	kco'luk-te-ne	make holes
mamampik	kaman-t 'a-pik	take out
anem	ane-te-m	remain
ṭas-il-o	ṭas-t-il-o	names
pale 'lko	pa'le 'l-t-ko	inquire

In a few cases, principally of nouns, the plural is formed by the infixation of an aspirate -*h*-, frequently with repetition of the stem vowel.

16. -*h*-, *plural.*

t-a' 'k-o	t-ahak-o	heads
to-le't-o	le'het	teeth
me'n-o	mehen-o	hands
sokent-o	sukehenet	eyes
kau	kaxau	sleep
k-na'ye'	k-na'hye'	yank away
k-ʟa'm-aiyak	k-ʟam-ahyak	eaters

Plurals which apparently follow none of the above categories are:

t-e·nt-o	xenet	teeth
taken	ta'nta	shamans
lua	lua-yato	males (S)
tciluai	cteluai	old men (M)
steluwa'	steluwi'	old men (A)
koiyakten-o	lokoiyini	beards
sla'	sla'at	basket
istau"	iskunṭa'm	girls
stexa'	senta'n	boys
kuwaiyo	kuyata	horses
ats-o	its-ak-o	*presas* (S)
ṭitcu·-o	ṭitcu·-ak-o	breasts (S)
atcaka	atcakoi	times(S)
kʟa	kʟapat	broken
ts 'epen	ts 'epeyitini	small
kʻtai	kʻtaiyai	stink
liyax	litax	shoot
m-icim	k-ostem	drink
komiyota	ko 'kiutne	lie down
kʻse'yine	kʻse'ne	walk

The foregoing examples demonstrate the great irregularity and complexity as well as the great importance of the Salinan plural. It is not impossible that a very intensive study might elucidate phonetic laws governing these cases, and also·assign various significations to the different classes; at present the irregularity would seem to be due to historical or other fortuitous causes unexplainable without an extended comparative philological study.

THE NOUN

The Salinan noun invariably stands in independent position; it is never incorporated in the verb and is seldom used in apposition to any particle in the verbal complex. It is varied in form only for plural number and possessive case and in certain etymological relations. Gender and the other grammatical cases are expressed by independent means. The etymological and plural modifications have already been treated; it remains to consider pronominal possession and one other minor grammatical phenomenon.

NOMINAL PREFIXES

One of the most puzzling and equivocal features of Salinan is a prefix *ṭ-*. It stands in close analogy to the verbal prefixes *p-* and *k-*, to be considered later. It is prefixed to most nouns derived from verbs, and on this account should possibly be considered as an etymological element were it not for the fact that practically all other etymological elements are suffixed. Moreover, it, or a similar prefix, is found with most pronominal possessive prefixes and with certain forms of the verb. Examples of *ṭ-* as a nominalizing prefix are given below; its other functions will be considered later.

17. *ṭ-, nominal prefix.*

ṭ-olol-a'iyo	his flute	k-o'lo·l-iꞓ	play flute
ṭ-olal-a'iyu	his shame	k-o'la'l-e'	be ashamed
ṭ-a·'s-o	his name	k-as-et	be called
ṭ-ecxai	dawn	k-ecxai	to dawn
ṭi-ka·'keʟ	song	ka·'k'a	sing
ṭ-au-yi	heat	k-au-yak	be hot
ṭ-alel-k-eya	question	p-alel-k-o	ask
ṭ-atce-x	seat	k-atce-k	sit down

With certain nominal stems, principally those denoting terms of relationship, a prefix *a-* is found, which seems to have no definite significance unless it may be an abstract possessive form. Many of these are forms taken from Sitjar, the same stems occurring in modern usage without this prefix.

18. *a-, nominal.*

a-ton-o	his younger sister	ton'	my younger sister
a-pe-u	his elder sister	pe	my elder sister
a-tos-o	his younger brother	tos	my younger brother
a-kay-o	his elder brother	kai	my elder brother

a-xalau-o	his grandfather	xa'la	my grandfather
axomo	foster father		
apai	mother		
ama	grandfather		
asa'k'o'	uncle		
a-kom-lua'we	unmarried woman	lua''	man
a-lua-nil-ayo	overseer	lua''	man
a'teloi	friend		
a-laxam	door, entrance		
a-*mis.'ayo*	mass (Sp. *misa*)		

PRONOMINAL POSSESSION

Pronominal possession is expressed by the prefixation, or in certain persons the suffixation, of elements only distantly related to the independent forms of the personal pronouns. The prefixes are closely welded to the nominal stem and the combination is normally without phonetic change, except as noted below. The elements of the first and second persons are prefixed, those of the third person suffixed. The pronominal possessive prefixes with examples are given below; they are practically identical in the two dialects.

Singular
1   (ṭ)-
2   tm-, ṭum-, tme-
3   (ṭ)——o
Plural
1   ṭa(ṭ)-
2   tk-, ṭuk-, tko-
3   (ṭ)——ot, (ṭ)——o

Nominal stems beginning in a consonant require little comment. The bare stem expresses the first person singular possessive, the bare stem with suffix -o or -ot the third personal possessives. The other persons take the prefixes *ṭum-, ṭa-,* and *ṭuk-:*

sa.'nat'	my hide	tasa.'nat'	our hide
tumsa.'nat'	thy hide	tuksa.'nat'	your hide
sana'to	his hide	sana't'ot	their hide

Stems ending in -a normally change this to -o in the third person:

t'me.'ma	thy house	te.mo'	his house

The suffix -o of the third person generally takes the stress accent and stems ending in -o distinguish their third personal possessives by this method alone.

ṭa.'mo	my boss	ṭa.mo'	his boss

Stems ending in -*i* take a *y* glide before the -*o* suffix; stems ending in -*u* take a *w* glide.

ṭololi′	my flute	ṭolola′yo	his flute
ṭu	my face	ṭu·wo′	his face

Nominal stems commencing in any vowel except *a*- take the nominal prefix *ṭ*- (no. 17) in the first and third persons. In the case of the first person plural this follows the pronominal *ṭa*-, forming the prefix *ṭaṭ*-. Thus in every case the first personal plural possessive form is equivalent to the first personal singular form plus the prefix *ṭa*. The accent generally falls on this prefix. In the second person nominal stems commencing in vowels take the possessive prefixes *ṭm*- and *ṭk*-.

It will be noticed that the prefixes of the second person invariably contain the initial sound *ṭ*- (frequently heard as *t*-). As this element is not found with the pronominal forms of this person in the other classes, it is probable that this is the same nominal prefix *ṭ*-.

ṭu	my face	ṭaṭu	our face
tmu·	they face	ṭku	your face
ṭu·wo′	his face	ṭuhe′not	their faces

Except in the cases of stems commencing in *a*- and monosyllabic stems, the initial stem vowel is dissimilated to *e*- in the case of the second person singular and *o*- in the case of the second person plural; this suggests that these vowels are intrinsic to the pronominal forms. Cf. the stem for ''dog'', absolute *xutc*:

ti·′tco	my dog	ṭa′titc	our dog
t‛me·′tco	thy dog	t‛ko′tco	your dog
ti·tco′	his dog	ti·′tcot	their dog

Nominal stems commencing in *a*- display several irregularities. They retain this vowel unchanged in the second personal forms. Certain examples take the nominal prefix *ṭ*-:

ṭa·k	my head	ṭa′ṭak	our head
t‛ma·k	thy head	t‛ka′k	your head
ṭa·′ko	his head	ṭa′kot‛	their head

Others do not take this prefix:

a′xak	my bone	ṭa·′xak	our bone
tuma′xak	thy bone	tuka′xak	your bone
axa′ko	his bone	axa′kot‛	their bone

It is probable that those which do not take the nominal prefix are either reduced from an original initial *pa*- (p. 16), or else composed with the nominal prefix *a*- (no. 18).

In the third person plural an optional form is the use of the singular suffix *-o* followed by the appropriate independent pronoun *heyo't,* ''they''. It is possible that the difference between these two forms may be that between the normal possessive and the distributive. But examples are equivocal, as:

t-etc-a·'t-o	their dogs
tꞌ-e·'tc-ot	every one's dog
ṭ-e·'m-oṭ	their house
cpoke't-o·ṭꞌ	every one's hair
luwuy-iya·t-o	their respective husbands

In the first and last examples there seems to be a suffix *-a·t* employed. Another element of similar portent seems to be a prefix *ku-:*

ko'-otc-te'	every man's dog
ṭat-ku'-*kuwai*	every man's horse

The suffix *-tꞌye'* in such instances means each:

ko'-otc-te'	every man's dog
pa·'*ka*-tꞌiɘ'	each cow

The adjective pronouns ''mine'', ''thine'', etc., are supplied by the independent forms, generally with the substantive verb appended.

PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

The pronouns function in the Salinan dialects in independent and affixed forms, the latter being closely welded to the stem. There are several different series of forms, more or less divergent, but in the majority of cases displaying some resemblance *inter se*.

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The independent pronouns occur mainly as subjective, less often as emphatic or appositional forms for the objective or possessive. The forms in the two dialects differ to some extent:

Singular	*Antoniaño*	*Migueleño*
1	he·'kꞌ (kek)	kꞌe'
2	mo'	mo'
3	heyo''	heo'
Plural		
1	ha·'kꞌ (kak)	kꞌa'
2	mo·m	mom
3	heyo·''t	hewo''t

These independent forms are frequently affixed to the verb as enclitics or proclitics to represent the subjective relation; they will be more thoroughly treated under the caption of verbs.

The other forms of the personal pronouns function as true prefixes or suffixes, integral elements of the complex in which they stand. The possessive nominal prefixes have already been considered; the objective suffixes will be treated under the analysis of the verbal complex. It remains to consider a special oblique or locative form.

LOCATIVE PRONOUNS

These are a special group used only after locative prefixes or prepositions. They show for the most part genetic relationship with the independent forms, but are somewhat variant. The form of the second person plural is not absolutely certain, for lack of sufficient examples. The forms employed are:

Singular		
1		k 'e
2		me
3		ke'o
Plural		
1		k 'a
2		ko
3		kewa'ʟ

Thus:

ţewa.'kok 'e	near me
akeme'	where art thou?
umke'o	up to him
ump'ak 'a	beyond us
akeamko	where ye will be
makewa'ʟ	to them

TABLE OF PRONOMINAL FORMS

Although some of the forms of the personal pronoun have not yet been considered, a table of the various forms is appended below for purposes of comparison. It will be seen that, though there is a superficial resemblance between all classes, yet the variations are great. Practically every form shows resemblance with some other, yet it can not be said that any of the classes fall together as opposed to others, except, of course, the enclitic and proclitic forms of the independent. The objective and possessive forms are possibly the more variant.

Singular	Independent	Proclitic	Objective	Locative	Possessive
1	he'k	e	ak	-k'e	-------
2	mo'	m	ka	-me	ṭum-
3	heyo''	-------	o, ko	-keo	-o
Plural					
1	ha'k	a ·	t'ak	-k'a	ṭa-
2	mom	(om)	t'kam	-ko	ṭuk-
3	heyo''t	-------	ot, kot	-kewa'ʟ	-ot

THE VERB

As with most American Indian languages, the Salinan verb is the crux of the sentence, but it does not play the all-important part that it does in many of them. The Salinan verb normally displays within its complex the number of the pronominal subject and the number and person of the pronominal object. It may also show certain etymological and modal phenomena, but tense only incidentally.

The etymological relations have already been considered, as has the question of the number of the verbal stem; the other relations remain to be elucidated.

The verbal stem is modified by prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, to a lesser extent by the affixation of enclitics and proclitics. The infixes are concerned exclusively with pluralization and have been already considered; the prefixes express the principal modal qualifications, the suffixes the lesser ones. The various appurtenances of the verbal complex: proclitics, prefixes, suffixes, and enclitics will be considered in this order.

PROCLITICS

For the sake of convenience in nomenclature, certain preposed elements are termed ''proclitic'' in order to distinguish them from the modal prefixes. In certain respects, however, as they are never found independently and may carry the accent, they might better be termed ''prefixes of the first class.''

The verbal proclitics are divided into two classes, temporal and interrogative.

Temporal Proclitics

A number of proclitics introduce temporal clauses, preceding the pronominal subject. The principal ones are *me-, ma-, be-, le-,* and *kacta-,* all meaning ''when.''

19. *me-,* *"when,"* *indefinite time.*

me-t-amp'	when it rises
me'-t'ya	when it is finished
me'-p-ṭ'ekaxo	when he kills
me-p-a·'lxo	whenever he wished
me'-ṭ-k'onlox	whenever people came
me-yam-ṭem	when I see my house
me-ṭ-epts'e'n	when they stung him
me''e·-ka·wi'	whenever I get sleepy
me-cko	when I am
me'-ṭ-a'mṭ'ele' (M)	when they go to hunt

The prefix *ma-* probably differs only phonetically from *me-:*

ma'-yaʟ	when we go
ma'-paʟa	when we dance
ma'-yomal	when they see

20. *be-,* *"when,"* *definite past time.*

be·-ya'	when I went
be-tom-he''k	when I fell

21. *le-,* *"when,"* *indefinite past time.*

le-yax	when I came
ʟi-ctexa-ē·'n	when I was a boy
le-sko (M)	when I was (small)
le-t-eta-ha'pu (M)	when it was made

This proclitic is probably related to the temporal adverb of past time, *lelo.*

22. *kacta-,* *"when?"* *temporal interrogative.*

kacta-m-amp	when will you finish?
kacta'-umulop'	when will we finish?
kacta-m-ka'ka	when will you sing?
kacta-t-iyax	when will he come?
kacta-konox	when will I arrive?

There are several other possible temporal proclitics but examples are insufficient to establish their case.

With the temporal proclitics should probably also be considered the particle *ṭam, ram,* or *am,* "then," one of the most frequent connectives.

Interrogative Proclitics

Interrogative proclitics are few in number and genetically related to independent forms. In addition to the temporal interrogative given just above there are two adverbial forms: *ake-,* "how?" and *mena'ko-,* "why?", and two pronominal forms: *ta-,* "who?" and *tas-,* "what?"

23. *ake-,* *"what?"* *"where?"* *"which?"* *"how?"* *interrogative adverb.*

ake-noṭa·'siʟ	what shall we do?
akī·'c	what is there?
ake-t'm-e·'ke'	where art thou going?
ake·'am'	whither?
ake-me·'nax-ta	whence dost thou come now?
akī·ca'	how art thou?
ake-ṭe-ke'σ	where is he going?
ake'ho' (M)	which is it?
ake-ṭa'tī' (M)	what shall we do?
ake-to'n-ho' (M)	which is this?
ake-ton-ke'u (M)	where is he?
akī'-tenó-p{a'mka (M)	where is he who is going to kill thee?

The particle *ton* in the last three Migueleño examples is of doubtful nature.

24. *mena'ko-, (M) miyo'k,* *"why?"* *interrogative adverb.*

me·'nak'-t'-kom-i'ye	why don't you go?
mi'yo'k-ṭo-ku'm-icəx (M)	why don't you eat it?

The same particle is also used as conjunctive "because" and as an interjection.

25. *ta-, (M) tēk'a'-,* *"who?"* *"which?"* *"whose?"* *animate interrogative pronoun.*

ta-p-k'-t-aten-ko	who stole it?
ta·'ru-p'	which of (them)?
ṭạ·-kera·'ne	whose?
ta·-ko·'-otce-wa·xo'tc	whose dog is this?
ta·-lwa'' ·	which is the better man?
tá·-p'-iem·o''	who knows?
tē'k'a' (M)	who is he?
tē·k'a (M)	who is——?

26. *tas-, (M) ṭaltom',* *"what?"* *"which?"* *inanimate interrogative pronoun.*

ta·'s-ten no'vi'	what is that which——?
ta·s-tm-a·'lox	what do you wish?
ta's-ta·'va'	what were they which——?
ta·'s·-t'm	what (animal)? what (did he say)?
ṭaʟṭum, ṭa'lṭom' (M)	what is it?
ṭalt'ᴍa'' (M)	what saidst thou?

PROCLITIC PRONOMINAL SUBJECT

The pronominal subject of a verb is typically not expressed in the verbal complex but rather by the use of the independent form of the personal pronoun, generally following the verb and sometimes enclitic

to it. These independent forms have already been considered (p. 32) and the enclitics will be treated following verbal suffixes. When the verb expresses the third person it frequently stands alone without pronoun and also occasionally in the case of the other persons when no confusion will ensue. In a few cases when, due to special conditions, the independent pronoun precedes the verb, it may become coalesced with the verb in rapid speech and thus act as a proclitic. This phenomenon is rare and inconsequential.

But in certain constructions the pronominal subject becomes an integral part of the verbal complex. As such it is much reduced or abbreviated in form. Thus certain verbal proclitics and prefixes always require the pronominal first or second personal subject between themselves and the verbal stem. Such are the temporal proclitics and the negative and interrogative prefixes. These reduced subjective forms are:

Singular		*Plural*	
1.	e	1.	a
2.	m	2.	(om)

me''-e·-ka·w-i'	when I get sleepy
ke'ra' k-e-koʟ	I am not hungry
kacta-m-amp	when will you finish?
u-m-kaka	are you singing?
ke'ra' k-a-suxtox	we are not afraid

There are no forms for the third person and that of the second person plural is doubtful.

PREFIXES

Prefixed to the verbal stem may stand one or more of ten elements which signify modal relations. These are for the greater part the more abstract and general ideas, the more particular ones being expressed by suffixes. They are generally prefixed directly to the verbal stem though a few of them interpose the pronominal subject between themselves and the stem. But the combination is complete; there is no suggestion of the nature of proclitics. Some of them are mutually exclusive, while others permit of combination with other prefixes.

These ten verbal prefixes are of the greatest importance in Salinan morphology. The majority of verbs display one or more of these elements in their complexes. The first three undoubtedly are the most recurrent features in the language and their elucidation supplies the most difficult feature of Salinan grammar. The remaining seven are

more or less clear and unequivocal in meaning. For convenience in arrangement and nomenclature, each element has been assigned a number, a definite form, and an explanatory title. But in many cases, as the imperative and interrogative, the element appears to be pronominal in nature, and in others, as for instance the transitive, intransitive and nominal, the titles given by no means adequately explain the meaning and nature of these elements.

The ten prefixes with their approximate forms and significances are:

27. p-, transitive
28. k-, intransitive
29. ṭ-, nominal
30. m-, imperative
31. ko-, negative
32. o-, interrogative
33. ṭa-, conditional
34. en-, dependent
35. na-, purposive
36. se-, substantive

Transitive, Intransitive, Nominal

The three prefixes, 27 *p*-, 28 *k*-, and 29 *ṭ*- supply the most striking and at the same time the most elusive feature of Salinan morphology. The majority of verbs contain one of the three elements. But their great frequency only lends added difficulty to the elucidation of their proper values. If they have any absolute meaning it has eluded the present writer for many years. For convenience in nomenclature the titles as above given have been assigned to them for reasons which will be given below. But the titles are applicable to only a restricted number of cases and many examples absolutely refute the suggested explanations. It is possible that they are the vestiges of a once fully functional process, now petrified in its irregularity, or else broken down with the approaching extinction of the language.

The three prefixes are mutually exclusive; only one of them may occur in any verbal complex.

The sign *p*- frequently precedes stems with an object, generally personal, while *k*- may precede the same stem when used intransitively. *k*- also normally precedes stems when used passively, most intrinsically intransitive verbs and most adjectives. On this account these two prefixes have been designated by the terms ''transitive'' and intransitive.''

k·ecxai''	I woke up	ṭ·ecxai''	dawn
ᴋ'·ts'axe'le	it snows	ts'ahe'ʟ	snow
ᴋ'·ṭ'e'pine	he is fat	ṭ'e'pen	fat
k·iltce·wi'a	winter is coming	i'ltce	winter
k·cta'ne	it is budding	ctan'	leaf
k·'a'mes	he shouted	p·'a'mes-ak	he cried to me
k·a·wiyak'ce'	it is hot	p·a'wi·lo·ko	she heated it
k·e'nai	he hurt himself	p·e'nai-ko	I wounded him
k·ospolo'x	he commanded	p·espolo'x-o	he seized it

But many cases are found in which *p-* introduces an intransitive phrase and *k-* a transitive one.

p'·iem.o'	I think
p·ikele·'ntx-o	he circled around
p·a'lx-o	he wished (to)
p·a'mk-o	I am able
k·a'meṭ'i	he hunted for him
k·ena·'y-ok	he wounded him
k·tc'a·uye'	they sought him
k·mala·-k	they told him

Many of these apparent cases of the use of *k-* for the transitive may truly be passives.

One of the few features of practical certainty regarding these two prefixes is that the *p-* prefix nearly invariably takes the suffix *-o* or *-ko* as its third personal objective form while the objective form in *-k* occurs exclusively with the *k-* prefix.

In many cases the difference between the *p-* and *k-* prefixes appears to be that between singular and plural subject.

p·a·ke'·'n-o	I thought	k·a·ki'n-yi'	they thought
p'·me·'t-o-tén	he tried again	ᴋ'·me·'ti	they try
ᴍa'ita-ko	he told them	ᴋ'·maltau-k	they told them
p'ha·'iya·k	he paid me	ke·p'ha'iyak	they paid me
p·as·iem (M)	he was named	k·a's·ile	they are named

It is possible that the above cases are also passives, that construction being preferred with plural subjects.

When the prefix *p-* precedes a stem commencing in *m* the combination results in a surd ᴍ, the *p* disappearing.

Many different hypotheses have been advanced and considered concerning the nature of the *p-* and *k-* prefixes, but none of them seems to be applicable to every case.

The prefix *ṭ-* seems to be an alternative form for either of the above prefixes. It is termed "nominal" merely because its form is the same as that of the nominal prefix no. 17 and there may be some con-

nection between them. This prefix seems to be found in two circumstances: it may stand initial as a prefix to certain stems which ordinarily utilize it, or it may replace one of the other prefixes when preceded by another prefix or proclitic.

The verbs which ordinarily take the *ṭ*- prefix initially are principally verbs of motion:

tꜥ-ia	he went
tꜥ-iax	he came

Occasionally, though rarely, other stems, principally those commencing in a vowel, are found with the prefix *ṭ*- in initial position. But the most frequent use of *ṭ*- is in place of one of the other prefixes after another prefix or proclitic. The prefixes *p*- and *k*- are generally not found following other prefixes. They do occur under certain conditions:

am-p-ia'tleko	he sent them
am-kꜥ-ꞥa·'yi'	he fled

But in the great majority of cases, particularly with stems commencing in a vowel, after the proclitic *ṭam (ram, am)*, *me* and the other temporal and interrogative proclitics, the negative and the other verbal prefixes and the preposition, the transitive and intransitive prefixes are replaced by *ṭ*-.

ṭa'm-ṭ-a·lel-a'ikꜥ	they asked him	p-ale'l-ko	he asked him
ṭa'm-ṭ-amp	it came out	k-a·'mpꜥʟo	it came out
ra'm-ṭꜥ-xwen	he arrived	xwe'nelax	they arrived
am-ṭꜥ-yax	he came	yax	come!
me'-ṭ-amtꜥeleꜥ (M)	when they hunt	k-a'mṭi' (M)	he was hunting
me-ṭ-ampꜥ	when it came out	p-a·ma'mpꜥko	he took it out
me-ṭ-epts'e'n	when they stung him	am-k-epts'en-la'ik	they stung him
me'nak-t-kum-sa mo''	why don't you speak?	kꜥ-sa'	he spoke
ko'-ṭ-amai	he could not	ko'-p-amko	I can not
ṭi-ṭ-a·'leyix	if they wish	p-a'lxo	I wish
ṭi-ṭ-a·'mpta'	to come out	k-a·'mpꜥʟo	it came out

Imperative

The imperatives are confined to the second person; other forms are always academic and theoretical. It is very difficult to formulate the exact rules for the use of the imperative, as puzzling and apparently inexplicable exceptions to any rule are found, but the normal system seems to be:

Singular positive imperatives make use of the bare verbal stem if it commences with a consonant, or of the stem plus the prefix *m-* if it begins with a vowel. This prefix *m-* is very probably the *m* of the second personal singular pronoun. Singular negative constructions employ the prefix *kum-* in all cases.

Plural imperatives are scarce in the data secured but the prefix *k-* appears to be used in the majority of cases, the stem in the plural form in other cases.

A few examples seem to suggest that the *m-* and *k-* prefixes are used with transitive verbs, the bare stem with intransitives, but exceptions to this hypothesis are likewise found.

30. *m-, k-, imperative.*

k'ak'a	sing!
xa'la	shoot him!
male·'ntax	remember it!
m-i'cim	drink!
m-et'eyine''k	shoot him!
m-ult'i'k	cut him!
m-ama'mpek	draw it!
ku'-m-xa·tą	do not cry!
ko'-m-icax	do not eat!
ko'-m-pt'ika'	do not beat her!
ko-m-eck'wala	do not cut yourself!
yaxte'L	come on!
k-osteᴍ mom	drink!
k'-ts'e'ik'	go and see him!
k'-mit'ka·tek	drive them off!

The imperative takes its third personal pronominal object in *-ik*, never in *-o* or *-ko:*

k-a'mamp-ik	take it out!
a'mes-ik	shout to him!
m-alel-ik	ask him!

Negative

The negative is expressed in two ways in Salinan: by the independent negative *ke'ra'* and by the negative verbal prefix. The two are normally used jointly, probably to avoid possible confusion with the intransitive prefix *k-*, as:

ke'ra' koxo·'ye'	he did not reply

31. *ko-, negative.*

The normal negative prefix seems to be the element *k* followed by the proclitic form of the subject pronoun. An alternative explanation

might be that the negative prefix is *k-* and that when required by phonetic laws the proclitic pronoun is interpolated. In either case the result is the same. As the third person is by far the more common in running text, the most frequent form of the negative is *ko-;* this again may be the true form of the prefix, the others assimilated to other vowels.

Verbal stems beginning in a consonant, form their negatives by the prefixation of the negative element *k* plus the proclitic form of the pronominal subjects, forming the prefixes:

Singular		*Plural*	
1	ke	1	ka
2	kum	2	(kum)
3	ko	3	kot‘, ko

Thus:

ke′ra′ ke-k‘a·′k′a	I will not sing
ke′ra′ kum-ketca′	you art not large
ko-ts′e′no	he is not happy
ke′ra′ ka-suxtax	we are not afraid
kot‘-ko′nox	they did not arrive

Verbal stems commencing in a vowel seem to be less regular. In the first person the vowels of the pronominal subject and the stem appear to fuse, but not according to rule; in the second person, the prefix ending in a consonant, no change is necessary; in the third person singular one of the other verbal prefixes, generally *p*, is interpolated; in the third person plural the same prefix *kot* is generally retained. Frequently the sole difference between the singular and plural is in the use of the plural verb stems. When confusion is likely to ensue, the independent prefix *ke′ra′* is also used, as:

k-a·′mko	I am not able
kum-′a′mes	you did not cry
ko-p-a·′mko	he is not able
k-amxo-t′e	we were not able
ke′ra′ ka-a′cax-t′elix	we will not eat
(k‘o-k‘-a′mko	you are not able)
me′nak t‘kom-iye	why don′t you go?
kot-amai	they are not able
k-yam-anel-ak	they did not see me

Interrogative

The interrogative is expressed in Salinan by the prefixation to the verbal stem of the reduced proclitic form of the pronominal subject. Since in running text the third personal interrogative is by far the

most common, the third personal element is arbitrarily adopted as the sign of the interrogative.

The prefixed elements are:

Singular		Plural	
1	e	1	a
2	um	2	(um)
3	o	3	o

32. *o-, interrogative.*

e-ki' he'k	am I going?	a-kiya'ʟ ha'k	are we going?
um-ki' mo'	are you going?	um-ki'aʟ mom'	are you going?
o-ki' heyo'	is he going?	o-kia'ʟ heyo't	are they going?

om-ya'mcep	do you see?
um-petxa'u	have you it?
um-ka'xa·uló'	are you asleep?
o-una''	this one?
o'-yo'	is it this?
o-ko'nsele	will (he) sell

The negative interrogative is formed by the interrogative prefix followed by the negative prefix, as:

o-ko'-p-enai	won't he hurt (me)?

The interrogative is used in many cases of doubt or possibility but where no question is asked:

o'-yema'	who might be seen
o-yo' 'ló	(to see) if he is there
o'yo' 'ló	(to see) where he is
o'-t'ika	(go) to see if there is
o'-tica·'mko	(I wish) I were able to
o-pa·'mko	(he tries) to be able to
o'-t'amai	(they try) to be able to

The same or a similar prefix appears to be used for the vocative, as:

o-k'ewe'ʟ	O, West Wind!
o'-ta 'mi·ko	Hello, friend!
o-cetelua''	Say, old man!

Conditional

Conditional constructions are expressed by the use of a prefix *t-* with following vowel. In the majority of cases this vowel is assimilated to agree with the following vowel of stem or prefix, but other cases seem to show no regularity. In a few cases the vowel may be that of the subjective pronoun.

33. *ṭ(a), conditional.*

ṭa'-amka se	if I am able
ṭa-ko'm-a·mko	(asked) if he could
t'an-t'i-itxa·'-tic se	if I had
te-etxa' se	if I have them, when I have them
ṭi-ko-ṭ-ep'eʟ	if it is not filled
ṭi-'a'pau-te'	if I overtake him
ṭi-ki'e-k'a·ka·	if I don't sing
tic-ṭa'-a'mka se	if I were able
ṭo-ko-lecxai-ta	if it does not rain

Dependent

Dependent clauses of purpose, intent, doubt, possibility, following verbs of command and similar constructions are introduced by the prefix *en-* (*em, ę, in, ịη, an, on, um,* etc.).

34. *en-, dependent.*

en-t'-ya'	(commanded) to go
en-ka'u	in order to sleep
e·'n-i-ts'e·na''	to please myself
'ęn-ts'ę''n	in order to see
'en-ṭico·'p	in order to tell
em-k'-cu·'lukne	so that it entered
em-ya''	(said) to come
em-e'tɪkas (M)	to see if I can
em-tc'au	(she whom I) seek
em-sek'	(he who) speaks
tas-em-a·'lox	what I may desire
ęᵐ-p-eta'ko	(commanded) to make
ęᵐ-p-etc'e·ko	(commanded) to stop it
ị'ɴ-ṭ-i'ts'e·k'	(go) to see
ịη-kera''-k'a'ʟi''	so that not to fight
'iη-kera'-racrake	so that not
an-p-alelek (S)	if I ask
ạn-ṭi-xo'ṭ'op'	(let me) pass
ạ'-ạ·'mko	(to see) if I can
oɴ-p-apa·'yu	in order to copulate
on-e'-p-o'x	in order to enter
um-ta·'ne (M)	(told) to give

Purposive

Another prefix of somewhat similar significance but much rarer than *en-* is *na*. In the majority of cases it appears to introduce dependent clauses of purpose. Its characteristic vowel seems to be modified by that of the pronominal subject.

35. *na-, purposive.*

na-acak	in order to eat
n-um-ye''m	that you may know
na-paLa	let us dance
na-k'a'ltena	they are fighting

Substantive

A prefix of very dubious nature is *se-*. In some cases it appears to be an independent auxiliary verb, either preceding or following the main verb. (Cf. four of the examples of the conditional prefix.) But ordinarily it precedes the verb and may be considered either as prefix or proclitic. In many cases it appears to have a substantive value and consequently is thus named, though in many other examples its exact value is problematical.

36. *se-, substantive.*

se-a'telo'i	thou art my companion
se-ke'ra'	no
se-k-ts'e'p	thus it is worth
se-ko-ts'e'p	it is not good
se-k'-La'm-a·ilak'	they are gourmands
se-k-sa·'teL	they used to speak
se-ka''wu.ox	he slept
se-ka'wu-cko''	he was sleeping
se-k'ɪ-cxa'lo·'	he was afraid
se-k'-ce'tep'-Ló	he was already dead
se-p-astcene''ko	he lost it
se-p·eta''ko	he must respect
se-'Mma'wu-mo''	and thou carriest it
se-k-icxa''-u-mo'	they will eat thee
se-kī-lo'	he went
se-cko''	he remained
se-p'-xa'p'ko	he dug
se-k'o'lpax ·	it sprung up

VERB STEM

Following the verbal proclitics, the proclitic subjective pronoun and the prefixes comes the verb stem. Little need be said about this. A complete list of verbal stems is given in the vocabulary. They are of many phonetic types and apparently of no standard form. The exact form of any verbal stem is frequently difficult to determine in the absence of numerous paradigms, due to the practical universality of certain affixes with certain stems. Thus it has been impossible to determine in many cases whether an initial *p, k, m,* or *t* is a part of the stem or not. Such dubious elements have ordinarily been placed in parentheses and all *hapax legomena* have been starred.

Verbal stems are varied by means of infixes and suffixes to form the plural. These have already been treated under pluralization (p. 22). Pluralization of the verbal stem may denote any form of duplication: plurality of the subject or the object, or iterative, habitual or repetitive action. The context generally determines the exact meaning.

A few examples by Sitjar suggest that a change in the character of a stem vowel may denote the frequentative:

p-amoᶠleko	give alms frequently	p-amaᶠleko	give alms
m-amoʼʼlek	Give alms thus!	m-amaᶠlek	Give alms!

OBJECTIVE PRONOUNS

Immediately after the verb stem follows the pronominal object. This is expressed by suffixing to the verb stem pronominal elements more or less closely related to the other forms of the personal pronoun. The combination seems to be closer than in the case of the enclitic subjective forms. When a personal pronominal object is indicated the subject is always expressed by the independent form. The objective pronouns of the Antoniaño dialect are:

Singular
1	aκ, hak
2	ka
3	o; ko

Plural
1	t'ak
2	t'kam
3	ot, kot, tko

The simple forms need no explanation:

p-ale·'l-hak mo'	thou asked me
p-ale·'l-ka' he'k	I asked thee
p-ale·'l-ko mom	you asked him
p-ale·'l-t'ak heyo''	he asked us
p-ale·'l-t'kam ha'k	we asked you
p-ale·'l-kot heyo''t	they asked them
mo' p-cik'a'iy-ak	thou kicked me
heyo'' p-cik'ai'ka	he kicked thee
he'k p-cik'ai'-ko	I kicked him
heyo''t p-cik'ai'l-t'ak	they kicked us
heyo'' p-cik'ai'-t'kam	he kicked you
mo' p-cik'ai'-ko heyo''t	thou kicked them

The forms of the first and second person require absolutely no comment but those of the third person are more variable.

Third personal objective forms are *-o, -ko, -xo, -tko, -ot, -kot, -xot, -tkot* and *-k*. With a few inexplicable exceptions, forms involving the element *o* are found only in connection with the verbal prefix *p-*, those ending in *-k* only in connection with the verbal prefix *k-*.

The forms *-o, -ko* and *-xo* are probably phonetic variants of one form and the same may be said for the forms *-ot, -kot* and *-xot:*

p-eta''-ko	he made it
p-ise'l-xo	he carried all
p-axo·'t-o	he smoked him out
p-cik'ai'-kot	I kicked them
pesno'-xot	you heard them
p-iam-ot	he saw them

Of these the forms *-ko* and *-kot* are by far the most frequent. Just what is the difference between the objective form in *-ko* and that in *-o* is not clear; it is possible that the forms in *-xo* are really *-o* preceded by an *x* of the verbal stem, but they are unexpectedly frequent.

Between the singular and plural forms of the third person objective there is considerable interchange. It will be noticed that the differentiating element between the similar persons of the different numbers is in every case the element *t*, probably related to the plural infix *t* (no. 15). Thus it appears that the forms of the third person singular may be used optionally for the plural if the third person plural independent pronoun is added. The plural infix or suffix *t* is also more or less optional when the subject is plural, forming the suffix *-tko* or *tkot*. The following examples of third personal objectives will well illustrate the variability possible:

ke'k p-iam-o	I saw him
ram-pʻ-iax-te-ko	then he brought another
p-ṭ'a·kʻio'-xo	he killed them
p-cik'ai'-ko heyo''t	I kicked them
heyo'' pʻ-iam-aɴe'lko heyo''t	he saw them
ram-pʻ-ts'e·n-tko	he observes them
p-cik'ai'-tko	I kicked them
pʻ-ia'm-o't ʻ	they met him
p-esno'-xot heyo''	they heard him
mom pʻ-yam-ot heyo''t	you saw them
p-cik'ai'-kot	he kicked them

Some of these forms may be paradigms incorrectly given, but the mass of material seems to show no uniformity, the third personal element *ko* or *o* being used for either number and the pluralizing element *t* added to form *kot* or *tko* for either plural subject or object, the independent forms being added in apposition in case of possible confusion.

Passive Forms

Frequently, particularly when the pronominal subject is plural and especially with an object of the first person, the passive construction is preferred to the active. Generally either the independent form of the subjective accompanies the construction or else the agentive phrase "by him," "by them" is appended.

The passive verbal complex requires the prefix *k-* instead of *p-* and the objective prefixes end in *-k* instead of in *-o* or *-ko*. The forms are *-aiyik (-aiyak, -i'yax)* in the singular and *-t'aiyik* in the plural.

k-ci'k'aiy-aiyik he'k ṭe hiyo''t	I am kicked by them
heyo''t p-cik'ai'y-ak	they kick me
k-alel-aiyik mo'	thou art asked
heyo''t p-ale'l-ka'	they ask thee
ram-male'nt-a'iyax	then it was remembered
malent-xo	he remembered it
yom-al-t'aiyik ha'ḳ	we were met
heyo''t p-yam-al-t'ak ha'k	they saw us
k-ale'l-t'ayik mom'	ye are asked
heyo''t p-ale'l-t'kam	they asked you
heyo''t k-ci'k'ail-taiyik	they are kicked
heyo''t p-ci'k'ail-tko	they kicked them

ṢUFFIXES

The elements of the verbal complex following the stem and the objective pronoun are rather difficult to classify. Certain of them appear to be true suffixes, generally expressing modal distinctions and others, such as temporal qualifiers and the pronominal subject, are normally independent and, when combined in the verbal complex, evidently serve only as enclitics. Others appear to fall in the class of enclitics as regards their meaning but are not found in independent position. These have arbitrarily been classed as enclitics. The modal suffixes will first be considered.

There are four elements which may be considered as true verbal suffixes expressing various modal distinctions. These are passive, causative, and two desiderative forms.

37. *-a', (M) -ap, passive, reflexive.*

ṭ-eta·x-a'	which should be done
ra'm-ṭ'-eta·h-a'	and it was done
me'-p-am·k-a'	how you may be killed
ko-yem-a''	he was not seen
k-yam-a he''k	I was seen
mo-t-as-io-a-ko (S)	thy being named

p·esnai'·ya	he was heard
a'me-t̩-etax-a'p (M)	and it was done
le-t-etah-a'pu (M)	when it was done
m-ax-ap (M)	climb up! (ax *place*)
la'lu-a'p (M)	he departed (la'lu-o *leave*)
mi's-lip-ap (M)	stinking (mis *smell*)

38. -at, -t, (-te), causative.

yema-t-a·'k (S)	show me!	p'-iem-et'	I will see you
am-p-ia·'-t-ko	he sent them	ame-t'-ya'	he went
yax-te'-k'	bring him!	yax	come on!
k'-mit̩'k-a·'t-ek'	he chased them off	k'-mi't̩'ik	I run
p·aktci-u-at-ak (S)	they made me thirsty	k-akca'	he is thirsty
p·col-a·'t'-ko-ten	he treed him again	k-coL	he climbed
m-anem-t-ak (S)	pardon me!	ik-a'nem (S)	snall I remain?
Possibly:			
k-a·'s-et'	he is named	k-a·'s-e	they call

39. -ce', desiderative, substantive.

The suffix *-ce'* is doubtless related to the prefix *se-* and is equally difficult to analyze correctly. A number of cases undoubtedly express a substantive meaning, identical with prefix *se-* when used as a substantive. Yet others appear to express some psychological idea such as desire, generally being suffixed to verbs which are themselves dependent on some verb of desire, thought or some similar concept. It is therefore not a true desiderative. It is quite possible that both here and in the case of prefix *se-* the substantive forms should be eliminated and placed in a separate category as constituting a different, though homonymous element.

ctelwa'·'-l-e'·'k-ce''	I am getting to be an old man
ka·'wiya-k'-ce'	it is very hot
kauya-c-e'k	I am hot
t̩a'me-la·'p'-se-t̩o' (M)	and there was the raven again
p·alox-he'·'k-ce'	a desire, I desire
p·alox-nel-kek-ce	desires
p·alxo-ce'	a desire
p·aLxo-xek-ce	I would like to (but can't)
ram-ko·'-neka'-ce'	he did not wish to
t̩a-a·'mela·'i-ce'	(he wanted) them to be killed
p·i·se·'lxo-k'sa'-ce'	(he tried to carry) them all
ku-t̩'ia·'-t'-ia'-lo·'-ce'	he did not wish to go yet
ram-k'u-ts'e·'nu'-k'sa-lo·'ce'	then he was very contented
p·a·kē'·'n-u-k'sa-lo·'ce'	he thought that
malentxo-ce'	he remembers

40. -ya', desiderative.

The suffix -ya' is a rather dubious and rare suffix but the few examples of it found seem to carry a desiderative significance.

ra-ko''-icxai'-ya'	that it did not wish to dawn yet
kwa·'haliya	I wish to kill
kī'-at'-ya-lo-he''k	I wish to go now
ṭe-ce'teṗ'-ya'	he was as if dead
ko-citiṗ'-yʌ'	he did not die
k-iyʌx-eʟ-yı	they wish to come

ENCLITICS

There are six particles of varied significance which are never found in independent position but always suffixed to a verb or, rarely, to some other part of speech. These might possibly be considered as verbal suffixes were it not that their meanings are rather different from those of the true verbal suffixes and more akin to those of the true enclitics. These may be termed the quasi-enclitics; they express modal and temporal qualifications. The true proclitics, which are normally found in independent position are the tense elements and the pronominal subject.

Quasi-enclitics

41. -tén', (M) ton', iterative.

The verbal suffix or enclitic -tén' in Antoniaño, -ton' in Migueleño is doubtless akin to the nominal plural ten' (no. 8) and indicates "again," "another."

ra-ke'ra'-te'n'-lo'	(he told them) that there was no more
p-a·'lxo-teɴ	I want more
ka·'u-tén'	he also slept
k'-ṭ'o'xo·ke-tén	he was also a murderer
p'-ɴe''ewu-tén	he seized him again
ko-citip-tén'	he did not die again
na'lye-ton' (M)	they await another
ne'u-to'ɴ (M)	he also seized it
noi'yo'ton' (M)	he went to gather again

42. -ts'e, iterative.

The verbal enclitic -ts'e appears to mean also "again," "another," and the difference in meaning from -tén' is not apparent.

ra'm'-ecxa·i-ts'e	it dawned again
ra'm-ṭ'-ia-ts'e	he went again
ra·m-sma'k'ai-ts'e	and it became night again
ra'm-ṭ'ı-cko-ts'e	and he was there again

ṭa′m-ṭica·k-ts′e′	and he began again
p·eta′′ᵃko-ts′e′	he did (evil) again
ca·ke·ni′-ts′i	they aimed again
k′a·′ltena-lo-ts′	we will fight again
no′ᶜ-k′e·-ts′a (M)	1 first
pᶜ-maṭ′axo-tsa	I used to tamp them
p-ya·′m-ts′e	I used to look

43. -ṭ′ɪa′, *distributive.*

The enclitic *ṭ′ɪa′* means "each," "every" and when suffixed to verbs gives to them a distributive significance.

k-otco·xna-gas-tᶜɪa′	he ran dripping
ṭe-to′′m-ṭᶜɪa′	wherever it dropped
t′oʟ-ṭᶜɪa	every one

44. -an, (M) -ani, *expletive.*

An enclitic -an or -ani is frequently suffixed to imperative and other forms of verbs, apparently as a mere expletive, though it may be akin to the future particle. It is frequently translated by the Spanish "pues."

ya′x-tek′-ɑn	well, let it come!
ts′ep′-a·n	well, good!
m-i′cxo′-ha′′kᶜ-a′ɴ	it is better that thou eat me
ma′we·′xe′-an-kᶜsa′ᶜ	place thyself firmly!
ka′xaw-an	they slept
xai-pa′ko-a′ɴɪ (M)	well, impel thyself!

There remain two quasi-enclitics which appear to refer to tense; at least the examples of them suggest no uniformity except that of past intransitive tense. The main tense signs are independent adverbs and only sporadically enclitic, while these two forms appear never to occur independently or to be related to any independent adverbial form. They partake therefore of the nature of enclitics and are occasionally suffixed to other parts of speech than verbs. No difference between them has been discerned.

45. -tek′, (M) -tek, *past intransitive.*

ce′tep-te′k′	he died
ce′tepᶜ-ᴍa′as-te′k′	he died
ke′ra′-te′k′-ksa	he was not seen
ts′a′telo·m-tek′-kᶜsa′	it became cold
ṭ′o′loinox-tek′	it is finished
ṭa′mi-ya·-tek (M)	he went (to bring)
ṭa′mi-yax-tek (M)	I came
ṭáme-xwe·n-tek	he arrived
ṭame-lam-tek	and he ate

The enclitic -ṭo′ is found principally in the Migueleño dialect.

46. *-to, (M) -ţo', past intransitive.*

raм-t'-ia·'-to	soon he went
ţ'i-k-iya·'-to	who knows where they went
p-ǝcxai'-ţo'ᵘ (M)	it dawned
mé-p-ecxa·i-ţo' (M)	in the morning
ţa'me-lam-tek-ţ'o° (M)	and I ate
ţame-nal-k'e'-ţ'o' (M)	I filled myself
ki-ke·'ţo' (M)	I went
nęų-k'e-ţo' (M)	he went to fetch
toi'x-ţo' (M)	another

Tense Enclitics

Absolute tense is normally expressed in Salinan by means of independent adverbial particles. These normally follow the verb and frequently are interposed between the preceding verb stem and the following enclitic pronominal subject; in this case the three are frequently combined by elision into a single complex. The same particles are frequently suffixed to other parts of speech and give to them the same qualifications of tense.

Past tense is normally expressed by the particle *lē·ló, le·lu·, lel, lo',* (м) *le·ló'.* This is generally reduced in the enclitic forms.

47. *-lo, -le', -leu', -l-, past tense.*

ki-lo-he''k	I went
ki-he''k-lo	I went
ki-l-e''k	I went
ra-ko-ţ'-ia·'-lo	and they did not go
ko'-yema'-lo'	they did not find him
k'-cē·'pa'-lo''	he became afraid
p-yam-hek-lelo	I saw her before
k-amţ'e-l-ek	now I can hunt
nap'-ʟe'' (M)	he cooked this
kewe·ts'na-le'' (M)	he comes shouting
sekelelep-le'ų' (M)	he enveloped it
yent'xo-le'ų' (M)	he almost overtook him
ki'yɑx-leu' (M)	he is coming

Some instances of the same enclitic suffixed to words other than verbs are:

k'ʟu'wa-ló	long ago
ha''k-lo	now from henceforth
ke'ra'-lo	there is no more
k'o'nxa-lo'	it was already late
ma-keu-leʟ	where they were
rumpʻa-kē·'u-lo-ta'	there where he is
lo·'ra'	already
ctelwa''-l-e'k-ce''	I am an old man already

Present time is normally not expressed in the verbal complex; when required it is denoted by the independent adverb *taha* or *ta·*, (M) *tana'*. The idea expressed seems to be that of proximate time, either just passed or approaching. Very rarely is this element found as a verbal enclitic in the form of *-ta*.

48. *-ta, present tense.*

ki-yαx-ta	he is coming now
hek-ta-p-iam-o	I am going to see him
kꞌ-yam-o-l-ek-ta	I saw him just now

In combination with other parts of speech it occurs also:

me-smα'kai-ta	tonight
na·ta··-smα'kai	tonight
me-ko'nxa-ta	this afternoon

Future time is expressed by the adverb *no·nó*, or *non*, appearing as enclitic in the verbal complex in the form *no* or *n*.

49. *-no, -n-, future tense.*

kī·ꞌ-n-eꞌkꞌ	I am going
kiꞌ-no-hek	I am going
ki-heꞌk-no	I am going
tcꞌa·ꞌuyeꞌ-noꞌꞌ	they seek him
ṭe-tꞌ-iya-noꞌꞌ	in order to go
ake-tꞌme·ꞌ-keꞌ-noꞌꞌ	where are you going?
napꞌ-no'na (M)	it is cooked
xa·ta-no-kꞌeꞌꞌ (M)	I am going to weep
p-aꞌmtak-no' (M)	he will seize them
kiꞌyαx-noꞌꞌ (M)	there he comes
pṭꞌeka··-n-ek heyoꞌꞌ	he will kill me
pṭꞌeka-n-heꞌꞌkiyax	he will kill you
pṭꞌeka-n heꞌꞌk	I will kill him
me·ꞌto-n-eꞌkꞌ	I will try it
tas-k-coꞌune··-n-ekꞌ	I am going to kindle it
kī··-n-eꞌꞌkꞌ	I go

The same particle is also found suffixed to other parts of speech:

ka's-no	just now
kꞌʟu'waꞌ-noꞌ-pꞌ	a little time passed

A more or less dubious particle which apparently denotes future time, possibly more distant than *no* is *mas*.

50. *-mas, future tense.*

hek-mas-p-yam-o	I will see
keꞌraꞌ-mas-ko-licxaiꞌꞌ	it will not rain forever
xaꞌta-mas-heꞌk	I will weep

A few uniform examples secured by Henshaw from the Migueleño dialect suggest that position may be of some importance in the determination of tense. Thus in several examples the pronoun is suffixed for the present tense and prefixed for the past. It is a question how much reliance is to be placed on this material.

seku-ke-meka	I am talking	ke-seku-meka	I was talking
hati-ke-meka	I am crying	ke-maka-hata	I was crying
kaka-ke-maka	I am singing	ke-maka-kaka	I was singing

In the material of Sitjar and Henshaw many verb endings are found which are not explicable by any of the above rules and do not appear to be parts of the verb stem. A few such examples are also found in the present textual material. It has been necessary to disregard these sporadic irregularities since not sufficient examples of any instance have been found to warrant formulation and inclusion here would only tend to confuse the work of Salinan comparisons.

Enclitic Pronominal Subject

As has before been remarked, the pronominal subject, in independent position and form, normally follows the verb. But in rapid speech tense adverbs and the pronominal subject tend to become abbreviated and to coalesce with the verb stem, forming a complex. Practically, this phenomenon is limited to the first person singular which is abbreviated to -*ek*. The first personal plural form does not seem to abbreviate to -*ak,* possibly to avoid confusion with the first personal singular objective pronoun -*ak*. The forms of the second person, commencing as they do with a consonant, are not susceptible of abbreviation and the third personal pronominal subjective forms are ordinarily not expressed.

ctelwa'·'-l·ó'k-ce	I am an old man already
tas-k-co'une·-n-ék'	but I will kindle it

ADVERBS

Independent adverbs play an important part in Salinan, owing to the paucity, in the verbal complex, of particles expressing adverbial concepts. Thus most of the locative and temporal relations are expressed by independent adverbs. Lists of these adverbs will be found in the vocabulary. In a few cases adverbs are composed with prefixes; these will be given below.

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

A particle *me-* when prefixed to temporal nouns or adverbs denotes time when. It is undoubtedly the same element as the verbal prefix *me-* ''when,'' (no. 19).

51. (19) *me-, time when.*

me-t'oʟ-ṭo′kena'-tén	another day
me′-t'ol-lice''	the following year
me-ʟpa′ʟ	in the summer
me′-smakai	tonight
me-ko′nxa'	this afternoon
me′-ecxai	in the morning
me-t'oʟ-ten	the next time
me′-t'oʟ-k'we′ʟ	another time
t'a·cɴe′ʟ-me′	sometimes

Similarly a nominal prefix *no-* appears to denote definite time in the past.

52. *no-, time when (past).*

no-ko′nxa'	yesterday
no-icxai''	this morning
no-wa·na''	yesterday morning
no-tcieyo	yesterday
no-p'a′	day before yesterday

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Locative constructions are expressed in three ways.

The broader and more general relations expressed by many English prepositions are in Salinan expressed by an independent or proclitic particle *ṭu* (less often *ṭe, ṭi*), evidently related to the prepositional *ṭe*. In such cases it means ''in,'' ''on,'' ''from,'' ''onto,'' ''upon,'' ''to,'' ''by,'' ''up,'' ''into,'' ''over,'' ''within,'' etc. Either rest or motion is implied. In many, possibly most cases, it appears as *ṭum,* rarely as *ṭumá,* the difference in meaning from *ṭu* being not evident.

The second class of locative constructions comprises the more general locative adverbs such as ''here'' and ''there.''

The third class comprises the more definite adverbs, generally expressed by prepositions in English, such as ''down,'' ''beneath,'' ''beside,'' ''within,'' etc. Lists of both of these classes are given in the vocabulary. Many of these are nominal in character and require a locative adverbial or prepositional prefix. These prefixes seem to be varying combinations of four elements: *ṭu (ru or ṭi), ma, um* and *pa.*

53. *ma-, place whither, place where.*

ma-le·mo'	over, above
ma-la·'k'o	at the foot, below
ma-ṭ-ika'ko	up
ma-t-icxe'wu	at the foot
ma-tʻuʟni	on the hill
ma-*swida*	to the city
ma-ke'u	to where they were
ma-ṭe·mo'	on the house
ma-k'e'weʟ	to the north
ma-pxa'nol	at the south
mạ·ʻ	there

54. *tuma-, place whither.*

tu-ma-kʟī·he''	down
ṭu-ma-k'e·'nax	whither I had come

55. *um-, place where.*

um-te'ma	in my house
um-titc'o''ma	on his back
um-le'saᴍ	at Morro
um-la·'mka	at the beach
em-k'we'ʟ	through the world
em-ṭ'ka'teno	on the buttocks

56. *ṭum-, rum-, hom-, place where.*

rum-tʻca''	in the water
hom-ṭʻ-a''ᵃko	on his head
tum-ṭetoke'u	from there
ṭum-tce'ɴ	outside

57. *umpa-, rumpa-, ṭumpa-, place whither, place where.*

umpa-k'e'ᵉ-nax	where I came
umpa-tʻk-o'ma	at, to your houses
umpa·-tcʻa''	to the water
ump'a-ka-le·lu·	where you were
ṭumpa, rumpa	there, thither

58. *ṭu-, ru-, place whither.*

ṭu-wī''	hither
ṭu-wi-tce'n	outside
ṭi-sk'am	close by

OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

PREPOSITIONS

The connective prepositional relations, as distinguished from the locative prepositional relations are expressed by the omnipresent particle *te*. This is most frequently translated by the English preposition "to," but also by "of," "from," "with," "in," "by," "than," "that," "for," and others. It expresses most of the oblique case relations of the Latin genitive, dative and ablative, the infinitive and participial relations, besides following most verbs of thinking, desiring, trying, beginning, ceasing, ability, knowing, purpose, etc. Its normal form seems to be *te* or *ti,* but the vowel is very often assimilated to the vowel of the following stem as *ta, to* or *tu.* It similarly often combines with the particle *pe* to *tup* and with the pronoun *mo* to *tum.* Examples of its use are innumerable in the texts. They include such constructions as:

He finished *from* work	We began *to* shoot
I wish *to* eat	I told him *to* do it
I shot *with* an arrow	I think *that* he will come
You know it *to be* bad	Better man *than* you
In order to sleep	It was given *for* her
Why *did* he go?	He came *to* us
Some *of* my arrows	Go *with* him
Was killed *by* them	I am able *to* shoot
He tried *to* run	Makes no difference *to* me

It is full *of* atole

ADJECTIVES

As in the case of many or most American languages, the adjective partakes very largely of the character of the verb and might possibly be considered as a verb, though lacking many typically verbal functions. Thus "blue flower," "strong man," "warm day" are syntactically rather "the flower is blue," "the man is strong," "the day is warm." Adjectival roots thus normally bear the intransitive verbal prefix *k* and are susceptible of change to denote the singular or plural number to agree with their qualified noun. They lack the tense-mode affixes peculiar to verbs.

Several good examples of the inter-relation between adjectival and other stems are:

k-ī-'sil-e'	all
p-i-se-'l-xo	(carried) all
m-isil-i	(tell) all!
k-ecxo'n-e	poor
p-ecxo'n-ect	it pains you
tet-ecxo-n-i'	the poor one

In two of these cases an adjectival suffix *-e* appears to be present; this is not found in a sufficient number of examples to warrant its formulation as a rule. A large number of apparently adjectival stems are given in the appended vocabulary.

DEMONSTRATIVES

The principal demonstratives "this," "that," "these," "those," are employed very frequently, *pe*, "that," "those" generally serving as equivalent to the English definite or indefinite article. They are invariable in form as regards number. Full lists will be given in the vocabulary.

CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions or connectives are of considerable importance in Salinan and frequently used. They are generally prefixed as proclitics. A list of them will be found in the vocabulary.

PART III. TEXTS

The texts following are appended as material illustrative of connected Salinan speech. Interlinear translations are given following as closely as possible the sense and order of the Salinan original, and free translations are appended for a fuller understanding of the context, and because of the interest they bear to mythological and folklore studies. Both the dialects of San Antonio and of San Miguel are represented, the former composing the first part and the majority of the material.

The Migueleño texts were all taken in 1916 from Maria Ocarpia, an elderly woman living at the "reservation" at the foot of Santa Lucia Peak, a little north of San Antonio Mission. All of the texts secured from her are original and the great majority are of mythological importance. It is doubtful if the dialect is represented in its aboriginal purity, but undoubtedly no better material is securable at present.

The Antoniaño texts are a more heterogeneous body. First in order in the following material are the texts of David Mora, a pure Antoniaño Indian. These also probably represent as pure a dialect as is procurable at present. These texts supply the bulk of the material and are for the most part original. and of considerable mythological interest. Two texts at the end of this group were translated into Salinan by the informant from the Spanish originals taken from Juan Quintana, an aged Indian unavailable for linguistic purposes. They are of mythological value but the native form and syntax can not be above suspicion of Spanish influence.

The balance of the material was given by Pedro and Maria Encinales, members of the best known surviving Salinan family. The father, Eusabio Encinales, was of the San Antonio group but the mother, Perfecta, belonged to the other division and spoke Migueleño. It is generally admitted that the language spoken by the children is rather hybrid and must therefore not be taken as a standard. Moreover they are quite ignorant of stories of mythological value. First in this group are a series of texts, mostly short, given by Maria Encinales. They were translated into Salinan from the Spanish of Juan Quintana and are included because of their mythological value and because voluntary

text material was rather scanty. But they should not be regarded as standard. Last are a series of texts secured from Pedro Encinales, the first informant used. All but one of these were secured in the fall of 1910 in San Francisco, the one exception being secured in 1916. Most of them were voluntary but only a few of any mythological interest. Three were translated from mythological texts secured from other linguistic groups and already used several times in similar circumstances with other Californian languages.

The reader is referred to page 186 of the author's ethnological paper for a discussion of Salinan mythology. In the appended mythological material the importance of cosmogonical legends is again demonstrated, an interesting point being the widely variant forms which a myth may assume even among closely related and contiguous groups, as witness the variant forms for the ''Beginning of the World,'' ''The Theft of Fire'' and other myths of this type. These kinds of myths are of widespread occurrence on the Pacific Coast. Apparently of more local interest are the incidents, evidently parts of an important culture epic, relating the adventures of the culture heroes, Prairie-Falcon and Raven, in ridding the country of maleficent characters. The explanatory element, already referred to in the former paper, is again well exemplified in the accompanying material.

DIALECT OF SAN ANTONIO

PRAIRIE-FALCON, RAVEN AND COYOTE [13]

kʟaʹp·ai	βehiyo·ʹṭ	raʻmṭʻia·ʹteʟ	xoʹṭʻʟopʻ	roʻpṭʻe·moʹ
Are three	the they.	Then went they,	passed	by his house.

ra·ʹmṭʻeʹɪ	belkʼaʹ	kʻtsʼeʹikʻ	nacte·lwaʹʹ	kʻcauʻwena·ʹni
Then said	the coyote,	''Go see	this old man,	is dancer!

poloʹx	ṭaṭo·ʹki	poʹlox	raʹmṭeṭaʹkʻ	kaʹc·el	oʻsmahateʹʟ
Enter	within!	Enter!''	Then said,	''Sit down,	beauties!''

raʹmṭʹe	pa·taʹʹ	ʻents̩ʼeʹʹᵉn	roβata·ʹmáʼ	smɑhateʹʟ
Then said,	''Dance	in order to see	by the men	beautiful.''

raʹmṭʻeʹᵉ	aiʻ	ctelwaʹʹléʼk	ceʻme·ʹtoneʹkʻ	aʹʹa·mko
Then said,	''All right,	old man already I.	Try will I	if can

ṭiʹca·ʹwena·ni	ka·ʹwiyakʻceʼ	naʹtaáʻ	taskcoʹune·nékʻ
to dance.	Hot is	now,	but kindle will I.

raʹʹme·t	ripa·ʹta	raʹmpetʼe·ko	ṭetsʻeʹʹwu	raʹmṭica·kʻ
Then try	to dance.''	Then straightened	his tail,	then lifted

---

[13] Told by David Mora, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 193.

ṭipa·'ta   pike'le·ntxo̧   me'ca·kʻ   ṭupke·'wu   ita·má   sk'amksɑ'ʻ
to dance.   Whirled around   continually   to where   men,   close more

me'ca·kʻ   ṭupṭuhe'nu   peta·ma''   ṭ'kɑ'teno   becuwɑ'
continually   to their faces   the men   his anus   the skunk.

ra'mṭeta'k   yax   rask'a'm   ksa   yaxtén   kʻsa
Then said,   ''Come   to close   more!   Come again   more

rask'a·'mkʻsáʻ   we'tenkʻsa'ʻ   pa·'lxo   ṭepʻa'lo   ramha'la'
to close more!''   ?   Wished   to fire.   Then threw

ṭuβeka·'wi   tcʻxa''   ke'na·yokʻ   kʻsaʻ   emkʻcu·'lukne
with the hot   stone.   Hit him   more   so that entered hole.

ra`me'heṭ'ȩ·nxá'   ra'mtʻe'ᵉ   a̧ha̧'   peʟk'a'ʻ   xomo'ʻ   lwa''
Then ran around.   Then said,   ''Yes!   The coyote   bad   man!

xai'ya'   ṭema·'ṭ'u   ra'mtʻxwene·lax   pese·mta'ɴ   'amṭeβeck'an
Many   to kill!''   Then arrived they   the children.   Then said the hawk,

semtɑ'ɴ   ṭeskī·'ntui'   me'na'ko   ṭuksu'nun   kara'mas
''Children,   to be thin   why   your legs?   Not more,

ko'ṭapʻe·ʟ   name·'n   ra'me·ti'   ṭeṭa·'poi'yax   peṭicxe·ple'to
not fill   this hand!''   Then tested   to feel   their feet.

amko'ṭapeʟ   ra'mṭetau̧ⁿlaikʻ   rake'ra'tén'loʻ   kera·lo'ʻ
And not filled.   Then said   to not again already,   not already.

ra'mɴoṭ'oxo   ra'mplᵉi·tʻxo   rumṭoki   kwa·'pʻ   mɑ'lo·ʟ
Then squeezed them,   then threw them   to within   sweathouse.   Flew

taa'so   rumṭo·'ki   ṭaa'u'   ra'mṭetakʻ   peʟk'a'   ma''ntén'ri'
helplessly   to within   fire.   Then told   the coyote,   ''Come also here!''

ra'mṭi   ṭame'na'ko   ṭi'ya̧ʻtén'   te·'le'   po'xra'   ramko'neka'ce'
Then said,   ''Then why   to go also?''   ''Hurry!   Enter!''   Then not obeyed.

ra'mṭispa'lax   kli''yai'yax   rumṭo·'ke   ṭaa'u'   amkʟo·'ʟ
Then seized,   threw   to within   fire.   Then burnt

roβé   belk'a   xomo·'lwá'   pa·'lxo   ra'a'mela'i   tercṭé'
by the   the coyote.   Bad man!   Desired   to be killed.   Therefore said,

polo'x   ko'ṭe'ikʻsáʻ   xomo'ʻ   lwa''   pa·'lxo   ṭaa'mela·'ice'
''Enter!''   Not said more.   Bad   man!   Desired   that be killed

yo'ʻᵘ   ra'ᴍṭʻia·teʟ   ramko'lo·liʻ   ṭ'ia'ʻ   bela''   pe'snai'yɑx
he.   Then went they,   then played flute.   Went   the raven.   Heard

a'ha·tí'   ṭuɸṭulola'iyo   bela''   ra'mṭe'ta'k   taa'steɴ
music   of his flute   the raven.   Then said,   ''What again

no'vi'   k'ɑ'mes   ṭa·koi'yu'   nuk'a'xa·t'i   lwa''   raᵑke'rum'
this which   cried?   Not it   is music   man!   Then wherefrom

ke·no'xo   pek'a'xa·te   ṭeti'cupax   kʻsa   peaha·ti''
comes   the music?''   To hear   more   the music.

ramko'tictokʻsaʻ   ra'ke   rakoṭ'ia·lo   ra'ké   seʻɴi'   kas
Then not seen more   anywhere;   to not go already   anywhere;   walked   only

ṭepa′sia·lten'   yo'   k'a′le'p   bela′'   ramku′yema'   akaa·′su
to stroll again. He lost himself the raven. Then not was seen. ''What think

me′na'ku   ṭika′lep   ramktc'a·′uye'   ramko′yema'ᴍ   keṭe·ke''wu
why   to lose?''   Then sought,   then not found   went where.

tc'a·′uye'   me′ca·k   yo'   ram·ale·′nta'iyax   ṭeno·′nanax
Sought   continually   he.   Then remembered   to collect

peṭ'ᵃxa·′yuxten   tc'a·′uye'   no'   ṭ'a·penya'   yora′ᴍ
the bears.   Sought   ?   gathering.   He then

ṭa′na·ta'iyax   teho′ṭ'ap'   ca·xa′ta   ca·ke''nu   ṭ'ia′'
allowed them   to pass.   ''Open mouth!''   Pointed,   went.

ra·′mp'iaxteko   t'ᴏltén'   ca·xa′ta'   p'ca·′ke'nu   ṭ'ia′'   pexwe′n
Then brought   another.   ''Open mouth!''   Pointed,   went   the arrive.

xoṭ'o′p   yaxte′k'ten   t'ᴏl   ra′mṭ'e'   peselo·′i'   k'a′mes
Passed.   ''Bring another   one!''   Then told   the mouse,   shouted

ṭ'iya′x   ra′mṭ'e'   ka′xai   telwane'   ra′ts'am·is   co·′ᵘl
to come.   Then said,   ''Afraid!   Strong!''   Then shouted,   climbed up,

ṭ'ia′x   telwane'   ka·mxwe′n   peṭaxai''   ra′mṭ'i'   peselo·′i'
came   strong.   Arrived   the bear.   Then said   the mouse,

ka′xk'o'   na'   setelwane'   a′mca·kē·ni   a′mṭ'e'ta'k   ca·xa′ta'
''Careful!   This   is strong!''   Then pointed,   then said,   ''Open mouth!''

ra′mṭ'i'   te′peɴ   ṭu′le·ṭ   ka''a·mko   ṭe'ca·′xata'
Then said,   ''Hurts   tooth!   Not able   to open mouth.''

ra′mca·ke·ni'ts'i'   ca·xa′ta'   skomo''   gas   amk'ne′ka'
Then pointed again.   ''Open mouth   little   only!''   Then obeyed;

peta''ko   k'su·′lukni   ka′skumú   peṭee′lko   a′mṭeta'k
made   opening   only small   the his mouth.   Then said,

a''imya''   ra′mhala'   umck'aᵘ′yu   ʟk'e′lṭ'epak'sat'ya'
''Go ahead!''   Then used   his talons;   went rolling down.

'amṭeta'k   beselo·′i   ma'a''   cko''ra'   mo'piem'ó'   ṭumti·''u
Then told   the mouse,   ''Carry him!   Is here!   Thou knowest   thy ability.''

ki′ca·k   ma'a·′wu   pi·se·′lxo   k'sa′ce'   ramko′pa·mko
Went   carried   all   more.   Then not could;

keɸtc'o·′plo'   ra·′mp'ts'e·′nṭko   emk'we′ʟ   akaa·′so   o′yema'
tired already.   Then watches   in world   who   sees.

ra′mp'ia·′mo   betoo′wu   k'so·′menxa'   ko′la'le   toptoo′wu
Then sees   the his face   stretched.   Ashamed   of his face.

rume'pia·′mo   ramko′niyi'   ṭeṭia''   make'ᵉwu   bexai′ya'
Then sees it;   then afraid   to go   where they   the many.

ra·′mpox   ruɸṭo′ke   k'aṭ'   ko′ho·ma'   toɸṭolola'iyu
Then enters   to within   grass,   hides   of his shame.

ko′iyema'lo'   gas   yo'loptiat'a'iyo
Not is seen already   only.   He went away.

The three friends Prairie-Falcon, Raven and Coyote passed by the house of Skunk. Then Coyote said, ''Let's go in and see this old man, the dancer. Come on in!'' He wanted Skunk to kill them. They went inside and Skunk said, ''Sit down, my good fellows!'' Then said Coyote, ''Please dance, so that these gentlemen may see it.'' Skunk said, ''All right; I am getting pretty old, but I'll try to dance. But it's very hot; I'll light the fire and then try to dance!'' Then he straightened his tail out, lifted it and began to dance. He whirled around, continually bringing his anus closer to the faces of the friends. ''Come closer!'' he cried. ''Come closer!'' For he wished to shoot his poison at them. Then Raven threw a hot stone at him so that it entered his anus. He ran around in pain. Then he cried out, ''Yes, this Coyote is a bad man; many has he killed.'' Then he died.

Then came the children of Skunk who were little birds. Prairie-Falcon said, ''Children, why are your legs so thin? They wouldn't fill my hand!'' He seized their legs to feel them and they did not fill his hand. ''No,'' he said, ''there is no more.'' He seized them tight and threw them into the sweathouse. Blindly they flew around into the fire.

Then said Prairie-Falcon to Coyote, ''Come here also!'' ''Why should I come?'' asked Coyote, frightened. ''Come on! Hurry up!'' But Coyote did not obey. And Prairie-Falcon seized him and threw him into the fire when he was burnt. A bad man was Coyote; he wished the others to be killed and so said ''Enter!'' at the house of Skunk. But he said no more; he was a bad man for wanting the others to be killed.

Away they went, Raven playing his magic flute. All the people heard the music of Raven's flute and said, ''What is that noise? Surely it is not human music! From where comes this music?'' More clearly sounded the music but suddenly it ceased and was not heard anywhere. The people wandered about but could not find him; Raven had been lost. ''Why do you think he has lost himself?'' they asked. They hunted for him but could not find him; they hunted him everywhere. Then Prairie-Falcon bethought himself of the bears and decided to collect them; he sought them out and gathered them together, for he suspected that one of them had eaten Raven. He made them pass by him one by one. ''Open your mouth!'' he ordered and pointed his arrow at them. Then he inspected their mouths. One by one they went and another came. ''Open your mouth!'' and he pointed again. ''Bring another one!'' Finally there remained only

one; Prairie-Falcon told Mouse to call to him to come. But Mouse said,
"I am afraid! He is too strong!"   At last Bear came, climbing up
and shouting loudly. Then said Mouse, "Be careful! This one is
very strong!" Prairie-Falcon ordered him "Open your mouth!"
and pointed his arrow. "My tooth hurts," said Bear. "I can't
open my mouth!" Then he pointed his arrow again. "Open it just
a little ways!" Bear obeyed and opened his mouth a very little bit.
"Go ahead!" he said. Then Prairie-Falcon stuck in his talons and
Bear went rolling down, dead. Then said Prairie-Falcon to Mouse,
"Carry him away! There he is; you know your strength!" Mouse
endeavored to carry Bear away whole, but he could not; he became
tired. Therefore his nose is stretched out and he goes through the
world watching who notices it. He is ashamed of his face. When he
sees it he is afraid to go where there are many people. Therefore he
keeps in the grass and hides for shame. And he is never seen; he
went away.

Analysis

To give a clearer idea of the nature of the language an analysis
of the foregoing text is presented below. Many of the constructions
are doubtful; in such cases the most doubtful have been assigned a
question mark, the others given the explanation which seems most
probable.

The following symbols are employed in the analysis:

S	denotes the stem, verbal or nominal
adj	denotes an adjective
adv	denotes an adverb
art	denotes the article (demonstrative)
con	denotes a conjunction or connective
dem	denotes a demonstrative
int	denotes an interjection
loc	denotes a locative adverb
neg	denotes the negative
num	denotes a numeral adverb
pre	denotes a preposition
pro	denotes a proclitic
plu	denotes the plural, when this is irregular
tem	denotes a temporal adverb

The various numbers from 1 to 58 refer to the numbers given the
morphological elements in the preceding grammar.

The pronouns are denoted by a combination of three elements;
the numbers *1, 2* and *3* for the persons, *s* and *p* for the singular and

plural numbers, and *i* for the independent, *s* for the subjective, *p* for the possessive, *l* for the locative, *o* for the objective and *pas* for the passive, as:

1ss	first person singular subject
2po	second person plural object
3ppas	third person plural passive

k-ʟap·ai
28–num

βe-hiyo·ṭ
art–3pi

ram-ṭ‘-ia·-teʟ
pro 29–S–12

xoṭ‘-ʟ-op‘
S–14–S

ro-p-ṭ‘-e·m-o
58–art–17–S–3sp

ram-ṭ‘e’ɪ
pro–S

be-lk’a
art–S

k‘-ts’e-ik‘
30–S–3so

na-cte·-lwa’
dem–6–S

k‘-cauwena·ni
28–S

p-ol-ox
S–14–S

ṭa-to·ki
pre–loc

p-ol-ox
S–14–S

ram-ṭe-ṭa’k‘
pro–S–3po

k-ac·-el
28–S–12

o-sma-ha-t-eʟ
32–S–16–S–12

ram-ṭe’ᵉ
pro–S

pa·ta‘
S

‘ęn-ts’ę’-ᵉn
34–S–44

ro-βa-ta·má’
pre–dem–S

sma-ha-t-eʟ
S–12–S–12

ram-ṭ‘e’ᵉ
pro–S

ai‘
int

cte-lwa’-l-e’k-ce
6–S–47–1ss–39

me·t-on-ek‘
S–49–1ss

a’-a·mk-o
34–S–3so

ṭi’-ca·wena·ni
pre–S

k-a·wiy-ak‘-ce’
28–S–1so–39

nataá‘
tem

tas-k-coune·-n-ék‘
con–28–S–49–1ss

ra’-me·t
pro–S

ri-pa·ta
pre–S

ram-p-et’e·k-o
pro–27–S–3so

t-ets‘e’w-u
17–S–3sp

ram-ṭ-ica·k‘
pro–29–S

ṭi-pa·ta
pre–S

p-ikele·n-t-xo
27–S–15–S

meca·k‘
adv

ṭu-p-ke·wu
58–art–3sl

i-ta·má
ʔ–S

sk’am-ksa‘
loc–adv

meca·k‘
adv

ṭu-p-ṭ-u-hen-u
58-art-17-S-plu-3sp

pe-ta·ma’
art–S

ṭ’katen-o
S–3sp

be-ˑcuwa
art–S

ram-ṭe-ta’k
pro–S–3po

yax
S

ra-sk’am
pre–loc

ksa
adv

yax-tén
S–41

k‘sa
adv

ra-sk’a·m-k‘sá‘
pre–loc–adv

weten-ksa‘
S–adv

p-alx-o
27–S–3so

ṭe-p‘-al-o
pre–27–S–3so

ram-hal-a’
pro–S–37

ṭu-βe-k-a·wi
pre–art–28–S

t-cxa’
17–S

k-ena·y-ok‘
28–S–3so

k‘sa‘
adv

em-k‘-cu·lukne
34–28–S

ram-eheṭ’ę·nxá
pro–S

ram-t‘e’ᵉ
pro–S

ạhạ
int

pe·ʟk’a‘
art–S

xomo‘
adj

lwa’
S

xaiya’
adv

ṭ-ema·ṭ‘u
pre–S

ram-ṭ‘-xwen-e·lax
pro–29–S–11

pe-se·mtaɴ
art–Splu

‘amṭe-βe-ck’an
pro–S–art–S

semtaɴ
Splu

te-skī·ntui’
pre–adj

mena’ko
24

ṭuk-sunun
2pp–S

kara’-*mas*
neg–adv

ko-ṭ-ap‘e·ʟ
31–29–S

na-me·n
dem–S

ram-me·t-i’
pro–S–ʔ

ṭe-ṭa·p-oi’-yax
pre–S–37–3ppas

pe-ṭ-icxe·p-let-o
art–17–S–13–3sp

am-ko-ṭ-apeʟ
pro–31–29–S

ram-ṭe-ta-ụⁿla-ik’
pro–S–plu–14–3po

ra-kera'-tén'-lo'   kera·-lo'   ram-мot'ox-o   ram-p-l^ei·-t'-x-o
pre–neg–41–47   neg–47   pro–S–3po   pro-27-S-15-S-3po

rum-ṭoki   kwa·p'   ma-lo·-ʟ   taaso   rum-ṭo·ki   ṭ-aau'
56–loc   S   S–14–S   adv   56–loc   17–S
ram-ṭe-tak'   pe-ʟk'a   ma'n-tén-ri   ram-ṭi   ṭa-mena'ko
pro–S–3so   art–S   int–41–loc   pro–S   pre–24

ṭi-ya-tén'   te·le'   pox-ra'   ram-ko-neka'-ce'   ram-ṭ-isp-a'-l-ax
pre–S–41   S   S–loc   pro–31–S–39   pro–29–S–37–12–3pas

k-li'y-ai'-yax   rum-ṭo·ke   ṭ-aau'   am-k-ʟo·ʟ   ro-βé
28–S–37–3spas   56–loc   17–S   pro–28–S   pre–art

be-lk'a   xomo·-lwá'   p-a·lx-o   ra'-am-el-a'i   terc-ṭé'
art–S   adj–S   27–S–3so   pre–S–12–37   con–S

p-ol-ox   ko-ṭe'i-k'sá'   xomo'   lwa'   p-a·lx-o   ṭa-am-el-a·'i-ce'
S–14–S   31–S–adv   adj   S   27–S–3so   pre–S–12–37–39

yo'^u   raм-ṭ'-ia·-teʟ   ram-k-olo·l-i'   ṭ'-ia'   be-la'   pesn-ai'yax
3si   pro–29–S–12   pro–28–S–4   29–S   art–S   S–37–3spas

aha·tí'   ṭu-ɸ-ṭ-ulol-a'iy-o'   be-la'   ram-ṭe'-ta'k   taas-teɴ
S   pre–art–17–S–1–3sp   art–S   pro–S–3so   26–8

no-vi'   k-'ames   ṭa·-ko-iyu'   nu-k'-axa·t'i   lwa'   raŋ-ke-rum'
dem–?   28–S   pre–31–3si   dem–28–S   S   pro–23–56

k-è·noxo   pe-k'-axa·te   ṭe-ticu-p-ax   k'sa   pe-aha·ti'
28–S   art–28–S   pre–S–?–3spas   adv   art–S

ram-ko-tic-t-o-k'sa'   ra'ke   ra-ko-ṭ'-ia·-lo   ra'ké   se'ɴi'
pro–31–S–15–S–adv   loc   pre–31–29–S–47   loc   Splu

kas   ṭe-*pasia·l*-ten'   yo'   k'-ale'p   be-la'   ram-ku-yem-a'
con   pre–S–41   3si4   28–S   art–S   pro–31–S–37

aka-a·su   mena'ku   ṭi-k-alep   ram-k-tc'a·u-ye'   ram-ko-yem-a'м
23–S   24   pre–28–S   pro–28–S–plu   pro–31–S–37

ke-ṭe·-ke'wu   tc'a·u-ye'   meca·k   yo   ram-male·nt-a'i-yax
23–pre–3sl   S–plu   adv   3si   pro–S–37–3spas

ṭe-no·nan-ax   pe-ṭ'^axa·y-uxten   tc'a·u-ye'   no'   ṭ'-a·pen-ya'
pre–S–3ppas   art–S–8   S–plu   49   17–S–1

yo-raм   ṭa-ana·t-a'i-yax   te-hoṭ'ap'   ca·xata'   ca·ke'n-u
3si–con   pre–S–37–3ppas   pre–S   S   S–3so

ṭ'-ia'   ra·m-p'-iax-te-ko   t'oʟ-tén'   ca·xata'   p'-ca·ke'n-u
29–S   pro–27–S–38–3so   num–8   S   27–S–3so

ṭ'-ia'   pe-xwen   xoṭ'op   yax-tek'-ten   t'oʟ   ram-ṭ'e'
29–S   art–S   S   S–38–41   num   pro–S

pe-selo·i'   k-'ames   ṭ'i-yax   ram-ṭ'e'   k-axai   telwane
art–S   28–S   pre–S   pro–S   28–S   adj

ra-ts-'am·is   co·^uL   ṭ'-iax   telwane   ka·m-xwen   pe-ṭaxai'
pro–29–S   S   29–S   adj   pro–S   art–S

ram-ṭ'i'   pe-selo·i'   k-axk'o'   na'   se-telwane   am-ca·kē·n-i
pro–S   art–S   28–S   dem   36–adj   pro–S–4

am-ṭ'e'-ta'k   ca·xata'   ram-ṭ'i'   tepeN   ṭ-ule·ṭ   ka'-a·m-ko
pro–S–3so   S   pro–S   S   17–S   31–S–3so

ṭe¹-ca·xata'   ram-ca·ke·n-i'-ts'i'   ca·xata'   skomo'   gas
pre–S   pro–S–4–42   S   adv   adv

am-k'-neka'   p-eta'-ko   k'-su·lukni   kas-skumú   pe-ṭ-eelk-o
pro–28–S   27–S–3so   28–S   con·adv   art–17–S–3sp

am-ṭe-ta'k   a'imya'   ram-hal-a'   um-ck'a^u'-yu   Lk'el-ṭ'e-pa-k'sa-t'-ya
pro–S–3so   int   pro–S–37   55–S–3sp   S–15–S–adv–29–S

'am-ṭe-ta'k   be-selo·i   ma'a'   cko'-ra'   mo'-p-iem-'o'   ṭum-ti·'u
pro–S–3so   art–S   S   S–loc   2si–27–S–3so   2sp–S

ki-ca·k   Ma'a·-wu   p-i·se·l-xo   k'sa-ce'   ram-ko-p-a·m-ko
S–ʔ   S–3so   27–S–3so   adv–39   pro–31–27–S–3so

k-eɸtc'o·p-lo'   ra·m-p'-ts'e·-n-ṭ-ko   em-k'weL   aka-a·so   o-yem-a'
28–S–47   pro–27–S–ʔ–15–3so   55–S   23–S   32–S–37

ram-p'-ia·m-o   pe-ṭ-oo-wu   k'-so·men-xa'   k-ola'l-e'   ṭo-p-ṭ-oo-wu
pro–27–S–3so   art–17–S–3sp   28–S–37   28–S–4   pre–art–17–S–3sp

rum-me-p-ia·m-o   ram-k-oniyi'   ṭe-ṭ'-ia'   ma-ke^ewu   be-xaiya'
pro–19–27–S–3so   pro–28–S   pre–29–S   53–3sl   art–adv

ra·m-pox   ru-ɸ-ṭoke   k'aṭ'   k-oho·m-a'   ṭo-ɸ-ṭ-olol-a'i-yu
pro–S   58–art–loc   S   28–S–37   pre–art–17–S–1–3sp

koi-yem-a'-lo'   gas   yo'-lo-p-ṭ'-ia-t'-a'i-yo
31–S–37–47   adv   3si–47–ʔ–29–S–ʔ–37–3si

PRAIRIE-FALCON AND WHITE OWL [14]

teci'k'   ka'meṭ'i   ruβasna·'k'   paxo·'to   me'ca·k   ramka·'ªk'a
White Owl   hunted   for the kangaroo rat.   Smoked it   constantly.   Then sang:

ts'o'xwa·nle'to   ti'cxeple'to   ticxeple'to   ts'o'xwa·nle'to
''Shrunk   his foot!   His foot   shrunk!''

ra'mpesnai'ya   ṭuɸsk'a'n'   ra'mṭi'ⁱ   yo'   p'ia·'mo   ce'lo'
Then was heard   by the hawk.   Then told,   ''He   knows   already

ke^ewu'   ṭice'tep   ra'Mṭi'ts'omyac   peṭ'ika·kelu   ra'mwa·ti''
where   to die.''   Then liked   the his song.   Then told

ṭik'a·'k'a   ramkai''yax   ṭo·loli''   rumṭi·lek'   peṭo·loli''
to sing.   Then put   flute   in hole   the flute.

ra'mṭa·mumpai'ɪ   ṭa'au'ʊ   ṭiṭ'o''n   ṭa'mwa·ti'   rik·ak'a
Then drew out   fire   to burn.   Then ordered   to sing.

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[14] Told by David Mora, 1916; cf. p. 110.

ramkópa·lxo   ṭipaʹlo   peṭʻɪkaʹkeʟ   bekʻɛpeʹsnaiʼya   ṭupɛskʹɑʹn
Then not wished   to use   the song,   that heard   by the hawk.

piʻem.óʻ   ṭisaʹl·iʼ   peṭikakeʹl·o   koʻpa·ʹlxo   ṭepʻa·lo
Knew   that disliked   the his song;   not desired   to use

peṭʻka·keʹlo   heyoʼʼ   paloʹwu   ka·ʹkʼanoʻʻ   tsʼututuyaʹ
the his song   he   used.   Sang,   ʼʼTsututuya!

skʼa·ʹmanleto   raʻmṭeta·koʹiyoʼ   betʼoʟtén   tʻɪka·ʹkeʟ
Skamanleto!ʼʼ   Then said, ʼʼNot that!   The other   song

stiyoʼʼwɑnʼ   ra·ʹmṭiʼ   kestiyoʼʼwɑnʼ   ṭamkaʹsno   ṭumxaʹlanón
beautiful!ʼʼ   Then said,   ʼʼIs beautiful   then only   thy use just now!ʼʼ

ake·ʹmxaʹlanón   ankaʹsnostiyoʼʼwin   oᵘnaʹʻ   kapᵉṭika·ʹkelo
ʼʼWhat to use just now?ʼʼ   ʼʼOnly just now beautiful!ʼʼ   ʼʼThis is the his song?ʼʼ

ạaʹ   yoʼᵘváʼ   ṭʼaʹu·yeʼ   ṭe·leʹkʻ   ṭaʹmṭa·lelaik   oʹyoʼ
ʼʼYes,   that one.ʼʼ   Seek   hole.   Then asked   ʼʼIs that?ʼʼ

ʻamṭiʼ   kaʹraʼ   akeʹrum   saʻxwelyoʹx   ke·ʹwu   namaʹṭʻ
Then said,   ʼʼNo!ʼʼ   ʼʼWhere?ʼʼ   ʼʼSmooth-edged,   where   these animals.ʼʼ

raʹmtcʼauyeʼ   kʻieʹmaʼ   peṭe·lekʻ   ramṭicpaʹnʼ   bekʼaṭʻ
Then hunted,   was seen   the hole.   Then removed   the grass

rupṭoʹme·lo   peṭe·leʹkʻ   raʹmṭetak   wikē·ʹu   ramṭʻuxwen
from the its edge   the hole.   Then told,   ʼʼHere!ʼʼ   Then came

pehiyoʼʼ   raʻmṭʻeyoʼʼ   naʻ   aʻmṭetak·a·ká   raʹmkʻa·kʼa
the he.   Then told him   this   then to sing.   Then sang.

raʹmṭetak   koʹiyoʼ   ramṭi   ake·ʹrumten   taŋkaʹsnoṭumhaʹlanón
Then said,   ʼʼNot that!ʼʼ   Then said,   ʼʼWhich again?ʼʼ   ʼʼThat only thy use
           just now!ʼʼ

akeʻemhaʹla   taŋgaʹsnostiyoʼʼwen   ramka·ʹkʼa   ramṭetak
ʼʼWhat to use?ʼʼ   ʼʼThat only just now beautiful!ʼʼ   Then sang.   Then said,

koiʹyoʼ   akeʹrum·tenʼ   tanga·ʹsno   noṭumhaʹlano·ʻnóʻ   o·naʹʻ
ʼʼNot that!ʼʼ   ʼʼWhich then?ʼʼ   ʼʼThat only just now. Thy use just now!ʼʼ   ʼʼIs this?ʼʼ

yoʹoviʼ   kʻa·kʼa   paxo·ʹto   ckoʼʼ   aʻmṭetak   mena·níʹ
ʼʼThat is.ʼʼ   Sang.   Smoking·it   was.   Then said,   ʼʼCome close

ksaʹ   ṭiskʼamʼ   pa·ʹŋko   ṭiṭa·ʹmptaʼ   kaʹxa·nloʼksa·loʼʼ   tsʼeʹik
more   near!   Can   to emerge now!ʼʼ   Shouted loud already,   ʼʼLook

kʻsaʻ   ṭiskʼaʹm   ya·ʹko   ṭumaʹpa·uʼ   yoʼʼ   raʹmxotʼ   peṭʼaʼaʼu
very   close!   Watch   to catch   he!ʼʼ   Then blew   the fire.

anpena·neʼuʼksa   ckoʼ   raʹmxoṭ   rumeʹ   ramkʟo·ʹoʟ   pecukeʹnto
Then approached very   was.   Then blew   then.   Then burnt   the his eye.

kaʹxa·telaʼ   kʻsaʻ   ṭʼoʹNe·wu   kʻsaʹ   cuke·ntu   kaʹxa·telaʼ
Wept   very.   Scratched   thus   his eye.   Wept,

tʻyaʹ   rumlé·m   ramṭetakʻ   meʼʼna·ko   ṭeṭecxo·niʼ   nakaʹmeṭʻi
went   upwards.   Then said,   ʼʼBecause   poor   this hunter;

keʹcxo·nelwaʼʼ
poor man!ʼʼ

White Owl was hunting for kangaroo-rats; he constantly smoked their holes to drive them out. He was feeling happy for he had found the body of Little Hawk and he sang "His foot is shrunk! His foot is shrunk!" Prairie-Falcon was looking for his younger brother and overheard White Owl's song. "He knows where he died" said Prairie-Falcon to himself; he wanted to hear the song again and told him to sing again. He went to the other end of the hole and inserted his magic flute and sucked out the smoke.

White Owl did not want to sing the song over because he knew it would anger Prairie-Falcon. So he sang instead "Tsututuya! Skamanleto!" Then said Prairie-Falcon, "No! Not that one! The other beautiful song! It is beautiful, the song you sang a moment ago." "Which one?" "The beautiful one you sang just now!" "This song?" "Yes, that one!"

Prairie-Falcon looked for the kangaroo-rat's hole. "Is it this one?" he asked. "No!" "Where then?" "The one with the smooth edge, where the animals are." Prairie-Falcon hunted and found the hole; he removed the grass from the edge of the hole. "Here it is!" he said. Then came White Owl. Again Prairie-Falcon asked him to sing and he sang the meaningless song again. "Not that one!" "Which one?" "The one you sang just now." "Which one?" "The beautiful one." Then White Owl sang again. "Not that one!" "Which, then?" "The one you sang just now." "This one?" "Yes, that one." Then White Owl sang it.

The hole was smoking. Then Prairie-Falcon said, "Come closer! He may come out now!" Then he shouted loudly, "Look very close! Watch and catch him!" White Owl put his head very close. Then Prairie-Falcon blew with his magic flute from the other end of the hole. The smoke and fire came out and covered White Owl's head. His eyes were badly burnt and he wept and rubbed his eyes. He wept and flew upwards. Then said Prairie-Falcon, "Because of this you will be a poor inoffensive hunter, a sorry man!" And White Owl's eyes are still black.

CRICKET AND MOUNTAIN LION [15]

xo'ṭ'up'	beṭa''muʟ	ruϕṭc·mo''	beṭa''muʟ	ramko'p'iem.o'
Passed	the puma	by the his house.	The puma	then not knew

tiṭá·m	ṭip'ha'topa·'ka	pϕcuk'a'iko	beṭip'hatopa·'ka	ra·'mṭekatop'
that house	of her dung cow.	Trod it	the of her dung cow.	Then came

rumtcén	ra·'mṭe'	me'na'k'	rumco'k'a'iyik	maṭe·mo'	nata·má'
to outside.	Then said,	"Why	to tread	on their house	these men?"

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[15] Told by David Mora, 1916.

ra'mṭi'   beṭa''muʟ   uwi'ꞌ   k'arme'   ạ'ạ'ꞌ   tacṭ'ma·'lox
Then said   the puma,   ''Here   we walk.''   ''Yes,   what thy desire

rumco'ka'yi'k   naṭē·'ma   ruma·'lox   ruma·'x   k'a'ʟī''
to tread   this house?   To desire   to start   fight?

yaxtele'k'   t'me'*so·lta·to*   ri'ᶜxa'i   yo'ra'k'a·ʟtena'   'entico·'p
Come   thy soldiers   tomorrow!   Go to fight   to see

ta·lwa''   ma'a'wuhék   beṭi'*solta·to*'   yo'kē'ʷrá'yema·lt'e'
who man.   Bring I   the soldiers   where to see,

yo'ra'ma'me·'t'   ra'mṭ'xwene·'lax   ra'mtēta'k   ru⏀ʟk'a   emyɑ'ꞌ
to test.''   Then they came,   then said   to the coyote   to go

ts'e'ntek'   oyo''ló   ra'mpa·leʟko   petc'e·'l'   haạ'   maʟtak
see   if there already.   Then asked him   the cricket.   ''Yes,   tell him

rume'   entiyɑxte·'ʟ   rume'   ramkī'   ra'mṭi'   betce·'l'
then   to come   then!''   Then went,   then said   the cricket

ru⏀ti*solta·to*'   k'miṭ'ka·'tek'   palwa''   ampia·'tko   ka'k'cu
to his soldiers,   ''Chase him off   that man!''   Then sent   two

leme'm'   amkepts'enla··'ik   emṭ'ka'teno   amk'na·'yi'   me'ṭepts'e'n
bees.   Then stung him   on his rump.   Then fled   when stung.

amk'ᴍe'ṭ'ik'sá   ṭipa·'lxo   tiṭo'k'onox   t'xwento   rumtc'a''
Then ran much   to desire   to reach   soon   to water,

ṭipa·'lxo   rimo'kʟop   belime''m   tercṭo'p'o'inox   rumtc'a''
to desire   to drown   the bees.   Therefore dove   in water.

pa'lxoṭela·ᵘwa   betep'ɴi·''   klu'wa'   ṭeti'ca·k   rumtc'a''
Wished to stop   the pain.   Long   to be   in water.

yo'ra'mla·wá'   betep'ɴī'   k'luwa'   ṭeticko''   rumtca''
Then stopped   the pain.   Long   to be   in water.

koṭ'ia·'t'ia'   lo·'ce'   k'cē·'pa'   lo'ꞌ   k'ʟu'wa'gá·s   ra'mṭa·mp
Not wished to go   already;   afraid   already.   Long only   then left

ṭet'iyano'ꞌ   ṭeᴍa·'lta·ko   ṭetickol'lo   ra'mṭ'konox   ra'mtatc'a·ᵘwi'
to go   to tell him   that there was.   Then came,   then met

t'uxwe'nto   ru⏀ṭa'muʟ   a'mṭa·lela'ik'   oyo''ló'   'aạ'te'
at last   with the puma.   Then was asked   if there already.   ''Yes,

cko'l'ló'   roβa''   ra'mka'ase·'lo   raŋkaa·'sna   k'wo'slop'   k'sa'ꞌ
is already   there!''   Then added already,   ''Then but this   powerful   very!

ta·'p'iem'o'ꞌ   ṭati'ca·kai'   kwu'slop   k'olop   ra·'mṭi'
Who knows   to go?   Strong   very!''   Then said

beṭa''muʟ   ka'me·'t'   rome'ꞌ   ra'mī·'tel·ak   ra'mṭi'   peṭaxai''
the puma,   ''Try   then   to beat them!''   Then said   the bear,

kera'   ko'ṭeni·lak   ṭehe·''k'   ṭ'o''ɴe'wu   he·'k'   yo'   ra'mt'ia·teʟ
''No!   No difference   to me!   Rub I.''   He   then went,

ka'tc'a·uli'   yo'ra'mṭi'   beṭa''muʟ   he'l·a'   kutc'e'lnocri
encountered.   Then said   the puma,   ''Wait!   Stop here!

ki·he′k‛   īN   ṭi′ts′e·k‛   ko′nox   ṭuɸke′u   ruβrē′   tc‛el′
Go I   to   see.''   Arrived   at place   of king   cricket.

ra′mṭe′   peṭa′′muʟ   oyo′lo′‛   ai‛   ramo·′mce′   raŋkaa′snayo′lo′‛
Then said   the puma   if he already.   ''All right   then you!   Then but there already!

kaa′st‛ka·′me·ṭ′rum′   ‛amp‛ia·′tleko   rume′   ṭisolta·téno
But we will try it.''   Then sent   then   soldiers.

mi·telau′k‛   k‛sa′   beṭaxai′′   ṭ′o′Ne′wu   k‛sace′   kaske′ra′
Stung him   much   the bear.   Rubbed   much   but not

ti·′ṭ‛u   xwe′nksa′‛   gacko′′   a·′mṭi′   beʟk′a′   xala′‛   mpa·tc‛a′′
did.   Came more   only were.   Then said   the coyote,   ''Jump   in water!''

a′mt‛iya   kмe·′ṭ′ik   k‛sa′   t‛ia‛   ramko′ṭimxoya·k   roptep‛Ni′′
Then went   running,   but   went.   Then not endured   the pain.

xwe·n   ga·′cko   beleme′m′   kī′sile′   lo‛   gas   umṭika′′wu
Arriving   only were   the bees   all   already   only   on his hide.

ra‛mkick′e·le′   loga′s   me′ca·k   ra·′mṭe′   peʟk′a‛   kop‛oiteno′x
Then rolled   already only   continually.   Then said   the coyote,   ''Jump

rumtc‛a′′   yo′ra′ka·mk‛Ne·′lik   kick′e·′′le′   ga·s   me′ca·k
in water!   Or to be killed!''   Rolled   only   constantly

beṭaxai′′   becuwa′‛   ce′tep‛ya   me′ca·k   ta·′i   lo‛ga·s
the bear.   The skunk   dying   constantly,   pest   already only.

amk‛Na·′iyi′   beʟk′a   ṭ′o′ʟga·‛s   ke·′u   ṭiha′la′   ra′mṭ‛ia‛
Then fled   the coyote,   one only   place   to sting.   Then went,

ku′yema′   lo‛   ṭi·ke′′wu   ṭa′mye·ma′   besto′′   ra′mhala·t′i′
not seen   already   to place.   Then seen   the fox.   Then stung,

tet‛ia·′yu   yo′   βeʟk′a′‛   amk‛Na·′yi′   k‛sa′‛   a′mṭeta′k
thought   him   the coyote.   Then fled   swift.   Then said,

ko′mna·yi′   mitela·′tak‛   ramke′ra′   ko′pṭ‛a·co   ko′ṭelkele-ŋxa′
''Don't run!''   Attacked.   Then no   not noticed.   Not returned

k‛sa′‛   mē·iyo′′   gas   beṭ‛ala′′iyu   ko′ṭapa·uye?   ki·   ra′ke′
more.   Same only   the his appearance.   Not overtook.   Went   there.

ramk‛o′ne·t′ak   betc‛e·l′   pece·′′wu   beṭa′′muʟ   ra′mṭeta′k
Then won   the cricket;   beat him   the puma.   Then told

peṭa′′muʟ   ta·lwa′′   homo′′   uska′he′′k‛   ṛaga·′smo′   i·n
the puma,   ''Who man?   Thou   or I?''   ''Surely thou   more

lᵘwa′′   ṭihe·′′k‛   ts′ep′a·′n   ṭuhe′k‛   luwa′′   rumo′′
man   than I!''   ''Good!   That I   man   than thou!

ta·sko′mcuka·′yi′ktén   ṭe‛mha·′lo   na‛   ta·má′   numye′m′
But don't tread again   their houses   these   men.   In order to know

ṭ‛ᵘxo′mo   rumco′ka′yik   ṭemha·lo   nata·má′   meca·′k‛   ga·s
how bad   to trample   their houses   these men.   Always   only

e̜ⁿts′ep‛   t‛mi′ca·kai′   įⁿkera′′   k′a‛ʟi′′   kots′ep‛   ṭiki′cβi′
to be good   thy going   to not   fight.   Not good   to be thus.

gasme′ca·k   ke′ra′   ké′tc′a·uwé′   na′xumo·ⁱni′   ke′ra′   ke·′u
Only always   no   not I seek   the evil.   No   where

ti′o·′wahʟik   me′ca·k   he′′k‛   me′ca·k   ra·ṇmo′′   xo′ṭ′up
to molest   constantly   I.   Always   and thou   passest

mo′′   ruwī   ṭa·ke′′   ranhe·′′k   ke′′seⁱni′   kica·k   ṭu·wi′
thou   to here   road,   and I   walk   going   here

ṭee′mo   pike·′lentxo   he′k‛   me′ca·k   wī   ṭee′mo   kera′
his house.   Circle   I   always   here   his house.   No,

ke′ya   t‛ık‛wa′′   ko′kic   mo′   ki·   to·′kena·teʟ   rumse·′ni′
not I go   afar;   not like   thou   go.   Days,   thy going

ko′kic   he′k‛   kí′yoote′   cko′   he′k‛   gas   ṭuwi′′   ṭee′mo
not like   me.   Not I move,   am   I   only   here   his house.

me′′e·ka·wi   pox   he′k‛   umṭo′ᵒki   ka′uhék‛   ke′ra′   k‛sá‛
When I am sleepy   enter   I   to within,   sleep I.   No   more.

ka′′a·ke′ɴ   k‛sá‛   teṭ‛ıyₐ′x   ta·′rake′‛   t′e′ⁱyo·′   he′k‛   ṭuwī′
Not think   more   to come   anyone.   Alone   I   here

k′ē   ts′ep‛   smₐ′kai
me.   Good   night!′′

Mountain Lion was passing by the house of Cricket; he did not know that the cow dung was a house and trampled upon it. Then Cricket came out and said, "Why do you trample upon men's houses?" "I walk where I please," returned Mountain Lion. "Yes, but why do you want to trample on my house? Do you want to start a fight? All right! Let your soldiers come tomorrow and we'll have a fight to see who is the better man! I'll bring my soldiers anywhere to make the test."

Mountain Lion went home and gathered his soldiers, who were all the animals. They all came. Then he told Coyote to go and see if Cricket was ready. The latter went and asked Cricket if he was ready. "Yes," said Cricket. "Tell him to come!" Coyote left and Cricket said to his soldiers, who were the bees, "Chase this fellow away!" And he sent two bees after him; they stung him on his rump. When they stung him Coyote fled; he ran headlong in his desire to reach water and drown the bees. Then he dove into the water to lessen his pain and stayed a long time swimming in the water. At last the pain stopped but he did not wish to go; he was afraid. He was in the water a long time. At last he came out and went to inform Mountain Lion that Cricket was ready for him.

Coyote arrived and at last met Mountain Lion who asked him if Cricket was ready. "Yes," said he. "They are already there!"

Then he added, "But they are very powerful. Who knows what we can do? They are very strong." "Nevertheless we will try to defeat them," said Mountain Lion. Bear laughed derisively and said, "No, they make no difference to me! I'll just rub myself all over and brush them off!" So they went. Then said Mountain Lion, "Wait here! I will go and look." So he went and soon arrived at the camp of King Cricket. He inquired if they were ready. "All right! You fellows! We will try it!"

Then Cricket sent forward his soldiers; they attacked Bear in swarms. He brushed himself vigorously but could not rid himself of them; more came every moment. Then Coyote cried from his hiding-place, "Make for the water!" Bear ran; he could not endure the pain. The arriving bees covered his hide. He rolled over and over in the dirt. Coyote cried to him, "Jump in the water! Or you will be killed!" Bear rolled continually. Skunk, the pest, was dying too. Then Coyote fled, one sting was enough for him. He ran and was not seen again. Then the bees caught sight of Fox; they thought he was Coyote and stung him. "Don't run!" they cried to him, attacking him. But he took no notice of their entreaties and fled not to return. They did not overtake him.

And so Cricket won the fight; he defeated Mountain Lion. Then he said to him, "Now who is the better man, you or I?" "Surely you are a better man than I!" said Mountain Lion. "Good! I am a better man than you! And now never again go trampling on people's houses. You ought to know how evil it is to step on men's houses. It is good not to fight, but not good to be as you were. I never seek trouble anywhere and no one must molest me. You shall always wander along the roads and I will pass my time in the house. I con-stantly walk about my house; I never go far away, not like you. Every day you travel far, not like me. I do not wander much; I am always in my house. When I get sleepy I go inside and go to bed. That's all. I do not think that anybody may come; I am alone here by myself. Good night!"

GREAT HAWK AND THE COLD [16]

la·'mka   ta·stmetxa'   txa·'uhe'k   li'cxai   taxts'a·kai'
"South,   what thy possession?"   "Have I   rain   and wind

taxtc'umye'L   ṭa'mṭebespe·k'   yaxtek'ɑn   ra'mṭ'iɑ   ruɸkē'uṭa·'k'aṭ'
and ice!"   Then said the hawk,   "Let them come!"   Then went   to where tree

k'ē·'L   k'o'noxrumt'k'a'ko   ruɸku'sululna'ṭak'aṭ   ram'ck'o'
dry.   Came to its top   of the straight tree.   Then was

[16] Told by David Mora, 1916.

rinasmɑ'k'ai   ṭamxwe'n   bele'cxai   tax   ts'a·kai'   tax
through this night.   Then came   the rain   and   wind   and

tc'umye'ʟ   ṭa''mecxai   ramkts'ē·nu'   bespe·k'   ṭe'icxa'i
ice.   Then dawned.   Then content   the hawk   to dawn.

ra'mpaᵃle·'lko   va'p'ha·nlo   ta'ct'met'a·'wu   ra'mṭi'   bep'hạ·'nlo
Then asked him   that east,   "What thy possession?"   Then said   the east

pet'ha·'wuhe'k'   pets'a·kái   tax   ṭc'umye'ʟ   yaxtek'ɑ'n
"Have I   the wind   and   ice!"   "Let them come!"

ra'mt'ia   tse'ruɸkē·'wucó   ra'm'ecxa·its'e   ra'mpa·le·'lko
Then went   again to where was.   Then dawned again.   Then asked him

va'le'c   ra·nmo''   tasṭ'met'xa'   ra'mṭe'   bele·'c
that north,   "And thou?   What thy possession?"   Then said   the north,

pet'ha·'wuhe''k'   ts'a·ka'i   taxle'cxai   taxtc'umye'ʟ   yaxte'k'an
"Have I   wind   and rain   and ice!"   "Let them come!"

ka'   bespe·k'   ra'mt'ia   ts'e'ruβmē·yo''   ṭa·k'aṭ
said   the hawk.   Then went   again to same   tree.

ramsmɑ'kaits'ē   ramt'xwen   pets'a·kai'   taxpetc'umye'ʟ
Then night again.   Then came   the wind   and the ice.

ramk'ᵘts'ē·'nu   k'salo·'ce'   pa·kē''nu   k'salo·'ce'   ṭe'ho'ne·tak
Then contented   very already;   thought   very already   that would win.

ra'mṭe   rupk'ewe'ʟ   ra·nmo''   ok'ewe'ʟ   tactmet'xa'
Then said   to the west,   "And thou?   O West,   what thy possession?"

ra·'mṭe   pek'ewe'ʟ   pet'xa·'wuhe''k'   le'cxai   tax   ts'axe'ʟ
Then said   the west,   "Have I   rain   and   snow,

k'eune'ʟ   taxts'a·kai'   taxwatc'umye'ʟ   yo'ra'mṭe'   pespe·'k'
hail   and wind   and that ice!"   Then said   the hawk

rako''icxai'ya'teŋksa·ị''   kepṭ'a''   ksa'luk'o'lup'   xwe'n
that not wished to dawn yet.   "I am cold   already very!"   Came

k'sa·i·ŋk'o'lup'   ·   bek'eune'ʟ   amkepṭ'a·'k'sɑ   k'olupló
more yet much   the hail.   Then was cold more   much already.

xwe'nksa   lok'ol·up'   k'eune'ʟ   tca'atén   amkepṭ'a·''k'sa
Came more   already much   hail   great.   Then was cold more

lok'olop'   raŋko''icxayak'sa.ī'n   k'olop'   ạⁿxwe'nk'sa
much already.   Then not dawned more yet   much.   Then came more

lopts'axéʟ   yo'ra·'mtom'   meṭ'xwen   pets'a·kai   ṭamk'me'ṭ'oᵘlo
already snow.   And fell.   When came   the wind   then thick already

pets'axe'ʟ   me'ṭ'xwen   ts'a·k'ai   yo'ra'mto'ᴍ   tc'umya·'ᵃle'
the snow.   When came   wind   then fell   icicles

loɣasβekē·'wu   ra'm'ecxai   ra'mṭeta'k   keten.a·'so   naspe·'k'
already only the his place.   Then dawned,   then said,   "What befell   this hawk?

nok'i·'c   ṭ'ko'ticko'   ce'tep'ᴍɑ'aste'k'   ke'ra'   te'k'ksa'
Seems   that not is,   has died!   No   appears

ko't'ɪco·pra'kē'   ter'a'·ke'N   tice'tep   ka'me·'t   ra'ts'e''k'
not anywhere.   Therefore think   that dead.   Try   to see

o't'icko'   ṭuɸṭeṭ'o'ina·'so   o'ṭicko'   k'o'nlox   k'we'L
if is   on the his seat,   if is.''   Arrived   people

ruɸkē·'wu   ᵃmko'ye·ma'   ʳa'mts'e''n   peṭ'o'oi'yu   peṭa·'k'aṭ
to the his place.   Then not seen.   Then looked   the its trunk   the tree.

ramku'yema'   ra'mṭeta'k   cko''   *mas*   ra'la·'ko   pa'ts'a'xe'L
Then not seen.   Then said ,   ''Is   more   below   that snow;

nokī·'crum'   keṭ'me'l   pats'axe·'L   ka'me·'ṭa   xɑ'pek'   o'ticko'
seems   mass   that snow.   Try   dig   if is.''

ra·mcko''   yo'ra'mṭeta'krume'   ce'tepte'k'   ts'ɑ'telo·mtek'k'sɑ'
Then was.   Then said then,   ''Died!   Was cold very.

terᶜto'm   yo'ramṭeta'k'   ṭ'o'loinoxtek'   bek'la'k'ᴍak'   ye'mno'
Therefore fell.''   Then said,   ''Finished   the brave one!   Henceforth

rapṭ'e'la'   kī'ya·te'   ce'tepto'wa·t'ló   pepeta''ko   ṭ'ɪka·'pṭ'ela
to be cold.   always.   Dead he already   who made   that not be cold.

t'oL   ka'tap'nehe'   no'ᶜ   ra'ko·'maṭ'eltene'   no'   ṭiṭa'ṭeᵏ'es
One   must   henceforth   to buy   now   blankets.

ce'tep   ṭo'wa·tLo   ṭuβepeta''ᵃko   ṭɪka·p'ṭ'ela'   ha''klo   piem.o'
Died   already   this who made   that not be cold.   We already   know

ṭa'tɪca·kai'
to go.''

Great Hawk wished to test whether the weather was mild enough
to be endured by the people without the aid of blankets. So he went
to the South and said, ''South, what have you got?'' ''I have rain
and wind and ice!'' replied the South. ''Let them come!'' said
Great Hawk and he went and perched on top of his favorite dead
tree. All night it rained and blew and froze. At last it dawned and
Great Hawk was well content. Then he went to the East and said,
''East, what have you?''-·''I have wind and ice!'' replied the East.
''Let them come!'' said Great Hawk, and he went to his favorite
place again. All night it blew and froze but when it dawned he
was well content and went to the North. ''And you, North, what
have you?'' ''I have wind and rain and ice!'' ''Let them come!''
said Great Hawk and he went to the same tree again. Then again
it became night and the wind and ice came. But at last it dawned
again and Great Hawk was very happy; he thought he would get the
better of the winds.

Then Great Hawk went to the West and said, ''And you, O West,
what have you?'' Then the West replied, ''I have rain and snow,

hail and wind and ice!'' ''Send them along!'' said Great Hawk and he went to his tree again. All night long the blizzard continued and Great Hawk said, ''It doesn't want to dawn yet; I'm very cold!'' And yet came more hail and it became colder. And great hail-stones fell. And it did not dawn yet. And then fell more snow. When the wind came the snow was very deep, and great icicles formed on Great Hawk's perch.

At last it dawned and the people said, ''What has happened to Great Hawk? It seems he is not around; has he died? He does not appear anywhere, so we think he must be dead. Let's go and see if he is on his accustomed seat.'' Then the people came to the place but Great Hawk was not to be seen. They searched the trunk of the tree but could not find him. Then someone said, ''There is something beneath the snow; it seems that there is a heap there. Let's dig to see what it is.'' And there was Great Hawk. Then they said, ''He is dead! It was very cold and therefore he fell. The brave one is dead!'' they said. ''Hereafter it will always be cold; he who wished it not to be cold is dead! Now we must buy blankets; he is dead who would have it not cold. Now we know what we must do.''

THE ANIMALS AND GOD [17]

pe*kuwa·'yu*   sepastcene'ku   bekʻe'nca·ni   repa'mt'a'k
The horse   beseeched   the God   to kill him.

ra'ṭeta'k   ke'ra'   atelo'yo'mo''   yo'puato'wi'   meca·k
Then said,   ''No,   his friend, thou.   He commands   always;

sekts'e'pgacṭʻko'ka·mko   yo'puwato'wi'   sepeta''ᵃkomó
is good only that not kill him.   He commands,   shouldst do thou

ṭume'p'ua·'tuwi'   ruma''ᵃtelo'i   sekots'epʻ   rume'ta'k   kʻi'cvi'
then commands   thy friend.   Is not good   to do   thus.

ki'cho·ni   ɣás   ṭuma''ᵃtelo'imó   yo'puatowi'   tako'myaм
Is poor   only   thy friend thou;   he commands.   And dost not see

ka'ra'   ṭʻɪka'wu   pecxo'mect   wa·to'wi'   gás   sēa'telo'iṭu'wa·tмo''
not   to be   pity   command;   only   is friend who commands thou.

terc'kic'vi'   se'мa'wumó'   rumatʻмa·'lxo   tiⁱkʻē'wu   mo''
Therefore thus   is carry him thou   to thy desire,   his place.   Thou

ṭicxe''wu   yo'te'rcts'e'p   ṭʻɪkomṭ'i'kax   *ta'mĭ'ko·mo'*
his foot.   Therefore good   that not thou killest him,   friend thou.

ke'cvitenmoṭʻɪheyo''   ts'ep'kact'ɪp'ua·'tui'   'iŋkera'   rasrake
So art also thou of him.   Good only to command   so that not   anything

xumo·ní'
evil.''

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[17] Told by David Mora, 1916.

pema'tᶜ   sepastc'ene''ᵉkotén   bekᶜe'nca·nɪʟ   ṭipa'mkᶜNe'ᵉʟko
The beast   begged him also   the God   to kill them

na'ṭ'u·ṭ'a·'ʟ   pa·'lxo   ṭipo'taxlele'eko   ᶜensa·mo'x   ra'mṭeta'k
this people.   Wished   to gore them   in order to die.   Then told

ruɸkᶜe'nca·nɪʟ   ke'ra'   mo'   lamxa'to   me'pam·ka'
by the God,   "No,   thou   his food.   When kills thee

ko'p'tc'ē·wa·nuwi'   rako'ki·cmo''   pṭ'a·'kioxomo'γás   seke'ra'
not thrown away,   then not like thou.   Killest him thou only;   is not

t'me''envi'ᶜ   ṭumṭ'a·'kᶜiax   kera'   ko'micax   pecxont'a''womo'γás
thy need   to kill.   No,   not thou eatest.   Poor killest thou only,

rako'kichīyo''ṭᶜ   ruma'ma'i   sekicxa''umo'γás   ṭuɸhīyo'tᶜ
that not like them   to kill.   Art eaten thou only   by them.''

The Horse begged God for permission to kill men. But God replied, ''No! You are his friend; he must command you always. It is better that you do not kill him. It is his place to command, yours to do your friend's orders. It is not good to do as you ask. Your friend is poor also. Do you not see that it is not painful to be commanded when it is your friend who commands you? Therefore you must carry him to the place where he wishes; you are his foot. So it is not well that you should kill him, for he is your friend. Likewise you are a friend of his. It is well that he should command you and that you should not do him any harm.''

The Ox also begged God for permission to kill people; he wished to gore them so that they would die. But God replied, ''No, you are his food. When they kill you they do not throw you aside. You would not do that; you would only kill them. You have no need to kill them for you could not eat them. You would only kill the poor fellows; you would not do as they, for they kill you merely to eat you.''

THE PELICAN [18]

lē·lo'ᶜ   betē·'u   kṭu'xo·ke   ṭeṭ'o·'wat'   k'wa·'kᶜaᶜ
Long ago   the pelican   was murderer   of people.   Long

beṭee'lko   me'ṭkᶜonlox   k'weʟ   se'ᶜʍate'la'ʷu   rumṭeᵉmo'
the his bill.   When came   people,   invited   them   to his house

enhoṭᶜʟo'pᶜ   ṭenasma'kᶜai   ke'taᶸnlaikᶜ   ckotet'oʟtica''ᵃwu
to pass   for this night.   Told him   was one his daughter.

ke'taᶸnla·ikᶜ   kaxa'u   ṭenalets'ē''   ke'ra'   ko'xaiyi'
Told him,   ''Sleep   with this woman!   No!   Not be afraid!''

[18] Told by David Mora, 1916; translated from Spanish of Juan Quintana.

ts'ep‘   ka'xawan   ṭuβake·'wulits'ē'   anhēyo''   ka·'utén
"Good!''   Slept   at that her place woman.   And he   slept also

ṭupsk'a'mɣás   rume'yema·ni'kló   ṭeṭ'o'xo·tén'   yo'ra'mk'o·ʟ betē·'u
at the near only.   When knew already   to snore,   then arose   the pelican.

ṭamt‘iyɑ'x   resk'a·'m   betē·'u   ramkla'pai   pa·'le'ltko
Then went   to near   the pelican.   Then three   asked him,

umka'xa·uló‘   umka'xa·ulo‘   umka'xa·ulo‘   rampe'na·iko
"Art sleeping already? Art sleeping already? Art sleeping already? Then wounded

ruɸṭee'lko   rumṭaa·'wo   k‘sá‘   ki'cvi'   tī·'ṭ‘u‘rats'ᵃ
with the his bill   in his heart   much.   Thus is   to do always

pamk‘nelko   ṭ'o'waṭ'   yo'ra'mt‘k‘onlox   bela''   taxβesk'ɑn
killed   people.   Then arrived   the raven   and the hawk.

pe''snai'yɑx   ṭit‘ɪcko'   ṭoxo·ke'   ramca'moca·i'k   tast‘ma'lox
Heard   that was   murderer.   Then greeted him,   "What thy desire?''

yo'ra'mha‘te'   yo'ra'mṭetaᴜⁿla'ik   kaxa'u   kakclo''ux
Then remained.   Then told them,   "Sleep   both together

ṭuβa'kēu¹ctou·''   ramka'wu.ox   ṭickomo·ɣás   amke'ta·té'
in that her place girl.''   Then slept   little only.   Then made

teṭ'o'xo·ten   βelits'ē·''   seka''wu.ox   an‘ᴍa'iko   racrakē'
to snore.   The woman   slept;   gave her   something

enka'u   yo'ra'mṭ‘a'yax   ṭ‘a·'kat‘   k‘ē·'ʟ   ruɸke‘uha·'ʟ
to sleep.   Then put   logs   dry   in the places.

yamke'ṭa'i   tito'xo·ten   ṭik‘ī·'c   ṭ'o'wuṭ'   yo'ramk'o·ʟ
Then made   to snore   to resemble   people.   He then arose

βelwa''   yo'ra'mṭ‘e'   kī·ne''k‘   pṭ'a·'k‘ioxo   yo'ra'mṭ‘ɪyɑx
the man.   He then said,   "Go will I   kill them!''   He then went

ṭ‘isk'a'm   yoramṭ‘i'   ka'xa·uló   ka'xa·uló   ka'xauló
to near.   He then said,   "Sleep already?   Sleep already?   Sleep already?''

yo'ra'mpena·ikó   peṭa·'kat‘   ramka'p‘axtenop   ksá‘
He then struck   the log.   Then split   entirely ·

peṭa''ako   yo'ra'mtitc‘o'mnox   tiṭa'xap   yo'ra'mṭe'
the his head.   He then fell   dead.   She then said

belits'ē·'   k‘i'cva'   kī·'ya·te'   ṭ‘ika''ᵃwu   t‘ɪpa·mko
the woman,   "Thus was   always   to do   to kill

ṭ'o'wuṭ'
people.

Long ago Pelican was a murderer of the people. His bill was very
long. When people came by he would invite them to pass the night
in his house. He would tell them that he had a daughter and would
say to them, "You may sleep with the woman; don't be afraid!''

"Good!" the visitor would reply. Then the stranger would sleep with the daughter. Pelican slept close by and when he heard his guest snore he would arise and go there and ask three times, "Are you asleep? Are you asleep? Are you asleep?" And if he got no answer he would drive his long bill into his heart and kill him. That was the way he always killed people.

At last one day Raven and Prairie-Falcon came by; they had heard that there was a murderer there. He greeted them and asked them what they wished. They replied that they wished shelter for the night. Pelican agreed and they remained. He said to them, "You may both of you sleep with the girl!" So they lay with the girl but slept only a little. Then they pretended to snore. The girl was sound asleep for they had given her something to make her sleep soundly. Then they put two logs of dry wood in their places and hid themselves. They caused the logs to snore like people. Then Pelican arose and said, "I will go and kill them!" He came close by and asked, "Are you asleep? Are you asleep? Are you asleep?" And as he received no answer he gave a hard stroke with his bill. He hit the log and split his head all to pieces. He fell dead. Raven and Prairie-Falcon then awoke the woman who said, "That is the way he always did in order to kill people!"

<div style="text-align:center">COYOTE AND THE SALT WATER [19]</div>

ᴌk'a	kakca'	kopia·'mo	tc'a'	ra·'mt'ī^ya	rumco·k'a'
Coyote	thirsty.	Not saw it	water.	Then went	to stream

tiṭa'ciᴍ	k'mi't'ik'	petc'a''	ra'mke·'l	peco·'k'a'
to drink.	Ran	the water.	Then dried	the stream.

ͬa'mtc'ehē·'na'	peᴌk'a'	ra·'mt'iyatén	ra'mkē·lts'e	tce'he·na'
Then angered	the coyote.	Then went again,	then dried again.	Angered,

ko·'la·wa'	ṭakcuwa''ⁿyu	ra'ᴍale·'ntxo	ṭeli'he'	ṭumsk'ém
not quenched	his thirst.	Then remembered	to go	to sea.

kī·'rumsk'é·m	ṭiṭacim	tc'a'	ka'cim	roɸtc'a''
Went to sea	to drink	water.	Drank	of the water

kesīo'hol	ra'mṭese·'na'	tupt'micimo	tc'a'	yo'no'
salty.	Then sick	from the drinking	water.	He "Good!"

ra'mla·wa'	ṭa'kcuwa'i	tickumo''	yo'ra·'m'pɴēwu'
Then quenched	thirst	little.	He then seized it

peha''ko	tax	ṭet'eyina'i	ṭa'mt'ia	teṭameṭ'i	cumk'o''m
the his bow	and	arrows.	Then went	to hunt	squirrels.

[19] Told by David Mora, 1916; translated from Spanish of Juan Quintana.

ra'mt'ierumkeu   xa'iya   ṭe·le'k'   ṭepe'me·'lko   pecumk'o'm'
Then went to where   many   holes   to catch them   the squirrels.

ra'mṭam   pet'oʟ   cumk'om'   ra'mpa·lxo   ṭepe't'eine·'ko
Then came out   the one   squirrel.   Then desired   to shoot it.

ra'msa·teʟ   wi·ṭ'e'peno   ra'mts'okox   pecumk'om'   tc'e'xe·na
Then murmured   in his bowels.   Then frightened   the squirrel.   Angered

peʟk'a'   me'na·ko   ṭits'o'kox   pecumk'om   ṭa'mṭam
the coyote   because   to frighten   the squirrel.   Then emerged

t'oltén   ts'o'koxtén   pe·lk'a'   tc'e'xe·nalo·ts'   pa·ma'mpko
another,   frightened again.   The Coyote   angered was again.   Drew out

petse'uto   ṭet'eyinai'ʸᵘ   ṭa·'mṭo'xot'ɴap'   beṭika'no
the point   of his arrow.   Then ripped   the his bowels.

yo'ramṭa'xap   yo'ra·mpet'e'yine'korumlé·m   yora·'myema''ᵐ
He then died.   He then shot arrow upwards.   He then was seen

ṭupck'a'n   ko'yema'   pelk'a'   ṭa'mwa'ʟi'   pexo·pnéʟ
by the hawk.   Not was seen   the coyote.   Then sent   the vulture

ṭetc'a·uye'   ra·myo''   p'ia·'mo   ra'mpokolca·'ko
to seek.   Then he   saw him.   Then reported

ṭuβesk'a'n'   ṭamṭ'oke·lax
to the hawk.   Then revived him.

Coyote was thirsty and could not find any water. He went to a distant stream to drink where the water was running. As he bent over to drink, the water ceased running and the stream dried up. This made Coyote angry but he went to another stream where the water was running also. This also dried up as he tried to drink and he became more angry at not being able to quench his thirst. Then he remembered that there was plenty of water in the sea, so went to the shore and drank some of the salty water. It made him a little sick but he said, ''Good!'' for it had quenched his thirst a little.

Then he took his bow and arrows and went to hunt squirrels; he went to a place where there were many squirrel holes in order to catch them. At last one squirrel came out and he prepared to shoot it. But his bowels made a noise and the squirrel caught fright and ran away. At that Coyote was very angry because the squirrel had become frightened. Then emerged another; Coyote's bowels murmured again and again the squirrel fled. Then Coyote became very angry; he took an arrow-point and ripped open his bowels. Just before he fell dead he shot an arrow high into the sky. This was seen by Prairie-Falcon but he could not see Coyote so he sent Vulture to find him. The latter found him and reported to Prairie-Falcon who came and revived him.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD [20]

lēlo″ˤ   k'lu'wa'lo'   lice'   ka·'mp'   beck'e'ᴍ   ka·'wi
Formerly,   long-ago   years,   rose   the sea.   Hot

k'sa'   ko'poṭoṭ'na'   pap'ene''ᵉko   kī'sile'   hoᴍk'we'ʟ
very,   boiled.   Covered   all   world,

kī'sile'   bekeṭ'po'i   ta·s   be*santalusī'a*   ke'ra'
all   the mountains   but   the Santa Lucia;   no

kopap'he'ne·ko   k'īo'x   kī·c   ka·'k'cu   ṭicxe'he'
not covered it.   Was high   about   two   feet

ṭeyoxana''yu   petc'a'   ra·'mṭ'cko'   besai'yu   rumṭ'ɪk'a'ko
above   the water.   Then was   the eagle   on its summit

bekiṭ'po'i   yo'ra'mṭi'   besai'yu   ruβelaa'ṭ'   ṭako'ma·mko
the mountain.   He then said   the eagle   to the duck,   "Not art able

rumiya'   rumne''tc'xo''   ra'mṭ'i'   a̤a̤″   pa·'mko   he''k'
to go   to fetch earth?''   Then said   "Yes!   Can   I!''

ra'mpox   umṭoo'ke   beck'e'm   ra'ᴍkep'tc'o'p'   ke'ra'
Then entered   to within   the sea.   Then tired,   no,

ko'ṭ'uxwen   ra'mṭ'a·mp'   ra'mt'iyatén   p'me·'totéɴ   ripo'x
not arrived.   Then came up;   then went again,   tried again   to enter

ṭumṭo'ᵒke   betc'a'   ra'mp'ɴe'ᵉwu   ·skomu'   tc'xo''   ra'mṭ'a·mp'
to within   the water.   Then seized   little   mud.   Then arose

rumle·mo'   peck'e'm   tasme·'ṭ'k'onox   sek'ce'tep'ʟó
to its top   the sea.   But when arrived   was dead already.

tanbesai'yu   pa·ma'mp'ko   skomo'   tcxo''   ruɸt'ɪcele''wu
And the eagle   took it   little   earth   of the his nails.

ra'ᴍp'ṭ'o'xɴe'wu   bet'ɪcxo'   ṭaᵃ'm   polṭ'ē·''ko   p'ʟe·'to
Then rolled it   the earth.   Then   cut it   pieces.

peta''ᵃko   ki·'ca'   a'mpeta'ᵃko   keṭ'ᴍe'l'   roβe't'olṭ'ɪya'
Made it   four.   Then made   balls   of the one every.

ra'ᴍp'ʟī·''¹xo   t'oʟṭ'ɪa'   ṭuβe'   keṭ'me'l'   p'ok'ica''
Then threw them   one every   of the   balls   to four

na''xo   humk'weʟ   yo'ra'm   c·ap'   peck'é·m
points   of world.   It then   sank   the sea.

yo'ra'mṭ'eta·ha'   rekī·'c   lo   nata'a'   humk'weʟ   ke'ta·ha'
It then was made   to resemble   already   the today   world.   Were made

bakeṭ'po'i   tax   co·'k'atéɴ   tax   ckoɴ   ṭa·ᴍ   ṭ'ɪya'
the mountains   and   streams   and   gullies.   Then   went

beck'éᴍ   rump'akē·'ulota'   nata'a'   ta·s   me't'oʟk'we'ʟ
the sea   to the place already now   today.   But   when one time

ṭa'pa·mko   riṭa'xapte·he'   beli'cxai   tax   taxapte·he'
to be able   to end   the rain   and   to end

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[20] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 190; present paper, p. 104.

umk'we'ʟ   téɴ   taxrice't'ʟip'   k'we'ʟ   tanbeck'e'ᴍ
world   again   and to die   people.   And the sea

seka·'mp'teɴ   yo'ramṭ'ᴜxɑpte·'he'   umk'we'ʟ
rises again.   It then ends   world.

Many long years ago before there were any people on the earth the sea suddenly rose, boiling hot and flooded the whole world. It covered all the mountains except Santa Lucia Peak which remained about two feet above water. And there on the summit gathered all the animals with Eagle as their chief. Then he said to Duck, ''Cannot you dive down and bring some earth?'' ''Yes,'' replied Duck. ''I can do it.'' So he dove in the sea. But before he reached the bottom he became tired and had to come up again. Once again he entered the water and tried to reach the bottom. At last he reached bottom and seized a little bit of mud. ·Then he came up to the top again but when he arrived he was dead from lack of air. But Eagle took the earth that remained beneath his nails and rolled it into a lump. Then he cut it into·four pieces and made balls of them. Then he threw one of the balls to each of the four cardinal points of the world. Then the sea sank and the world became as it is today. The mountains and the streams and the gullies were made and the sea retired to where it is today.

But some time in the future the rains may end and the world will end again and the people will die. The sea will rise again and the world will come to an end.

THE THEFT OF FIRE [21]

lēlo''   ke'ra'   ṭa'a'u'   tasṭa·cne'ʟ   ṭ'u·ṭ'a'ʟ
Long ago   no   fire   but some   people

pet'xa·'wu   ṭa'a'u   ra'mṭeta'k'   ake'noṭa'a'siʟ   ra'mṭ'i'
had   fire.   Then said,   ''What to do?''   Then said

pesna·'k'   hek   pa·'mko   te'ⁿne''   . ṭa'a'u'   ṭa·'mṭeta'k
the rat,   ''I   can   to fetch   fire.''   Then said,

ake'ṭumtī·''yu   rumne''   he'k   p'iem.o'ʳ   tīī''o   ra'mṭ'ɪyɑ
''How thy ability   to fetch?''   ''I   know   to do.''   Then went,

k'ᴍi'ṭ'ik'   k'sa'   ra'mṭ'k'o'nox   rumkē'u   peṭa·cne'ʟ
ran   hard.   Then arrived   to their place   the other

ṭ'oᵘṭ'a·'ʟ   ra·'molox   ramoce''   pa·'xo   petits'e''ᵉwo   rumṭa'a'u'
people.   Then jumped   in flames,   put   the his tail   in fire.

ṭa'maca·ʟ   raᴍt'ia·'to   ṭeme'ṭ'ik   pa'xaiyo   ṭec·a'p'
Then lighted,   then went   to run.   Feared .   that extinguish

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21 Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916. Cf. p. 105.

peṭowo′′iyu   a′mṭok‛o′nox   ṭiko′c·a′p‛   t‛uxwento   tecu·′ᵘne′
the his light.   Then arrived   to not extinguish.   Finally   kindled

rumkē·′ʷu   ṭi*ka·mpo*′′t‛
in place   their field.

Long ago the people had no fire, but some other distant people possessed it. So they said, ''What shall we do?'' Then the Kangaroo-rat said, ''I can go and fetch fire!'' ''You!'' they said. ''How can you fetch fire?'' ''I know what to do,'' he replied. So he ran hard until he arrived at the camp of the people who had fire. He jumped in the fire and his tail, which was then long and bushy, caught fire. Then he ran away with the people in pursuit. He was afraid that the fire would go out before he arrived but he managed to arrive with the tail still burning. So the people kindled their fires from this and ever since have possessed fire. But Kangaroo-rat's tail is no longer bushy.

HOW PEOPLE WERE MADE [22]

besai′yu   pa·′xo   t′oʟ   lits′e′′   rumkē·′wu   beʟk′a′
The eagle   placed her   one   woman   in his place   the coyote

oɴpapa·′′yu   pa·′lxo   ṭemo′lox   tuβlits′e′′   k‛a′
in order to cohabit with her.   Desired   to mount   to the woman.   Said

βesai′yu   molo′xrena′   lits′e′′   ra′mpeta′ᵃko   ṭaм
the eagle,   ''Mount to this   woman!''   Then made.   Then

me′ṭ‛ump‛   ṭamмe·′ce′   ṭeci′tip   ṭuɸkē·′wu   belits′e′
when finished   then half   to die   in her place   the woman.

ra′mt‛ɪyɑx   besai′yu   rip‛co·′ke′ᵉno‛   ra′mp‛ʟa′ᵃwu   pelits′e′′
Then came   the eagle   to revive him.   Then left her   the woman.

komp‛ʟo′   ṭeheyo′′   ra′mṭ‛e′   beʟk′a′   me′na′kono‛
Finished already   with her.   Then said   the coyote,   ''Ah, how

ṭeˡts′e′po   na‛lits′e′′   k‛ts′e′p   k‛pe·′ptelop‛   lu′wa′ɣás
to be good   this woman!   Is good   too much.''   Time only

ṭetɪcko′′   ṭece′tep‛ya′   raм   la·′ut‛a′   ke′ra′   lo‛
to be   dead.   Then   left.   No   already

ko′t‛ɪse   ṭi′ckoi′   k‛ʟu′wa′nóp‛   tiskumu′‛   ṭa′mṭica·kts′e′
not strong   to be.   Time was   little   Then began again

beʟk′a′   ṭemo′lox   roβelits′e′   taske′ra′lo‛   ko′citip‛ya′
the coyote   to mount   to the woman.   But not already   not died.

ki′cnak‛ts′e′p‛   k‛a′   beʟk′a′   ke′ra′   kocitiptén′
''Thus this is good!''   said   the coyote.   ''No   not die again!

me·'mten	k‘ts'e'pʟoⁿ	kī'cvi'	raᴍ	ṭeta·xa'	beṭ'oᵘṭ'a·ʟ
Now	is good already	thus is	then	to make	the people!''

ra'mṭ'e'	besai'yu	kts'e'p‘	k'o'lop‘
Then said	the eagle,	''Is good	very.''

Eagle placed a woman with Coyote that he might cohabit with her. He had just formed her and as yet she had not been tested. Coyote desired to mount the woman. Then Eagle said, ''Mount this woman!'' Coyote obeyed but when he had finished he was nearly dead. Eagle came and revived him. Then Coyote retired and said, ''Ah, the woman is good; she is too good!'' He was dead only a short while; then he retired. He was still very weak. A short time passed and again Coyote desired to mount the woman. But this time he did not die. ''Now it is all right,'' said Coyote. ''I did not die again! Now it is good; this is the way to make people!'' Then said Eagle, ''Very good!''

THE TAR-MAN [23]

le·lo‘	t'oʟk'we'ʟ	cko''	t'oʟ	ṭ'o'xo·ke	pet‘xa·'wu
Long ago	one time	was	one	murderer.	Had it .

t'oʟ	claⁿ	ka'p'e·ʟ	sma'k'	ko'poṭoṭ‘ɪcna'	me·'ṭ‘uxwen
one	basket	filled	asphalt,	boiled.	When came

ta·'ra'ke	ra·ts'	p‘ca·'mo'cko	akī·'c	we'e'sxa
anybody	there	greeted him,	''Howdy,	cousin!''

pespolo'xo	peme·'no	ra'mp‘ʟīxo	rumṭoo'ke	besma'k'
Seized him	the his hand.	Then threw him	to within	the tar.

ramt‘xwen	rume'	beck'a'n	tax	bela·ᵃ''	ra·'mca·moca'yi'k
Then came	then	the hawk	and	the raven.	Then was greeted.

ra'mṭispa'lax	beme·'no	peck'a'n	pespolo'xo	pet'olme·'no
Then seized	the his hands.	The hawk	seized it	the one his hand

tanbela''ᵃ	pespolo'xo	téɴ	pet'olme·'no	ra'mlīya'iyax
and the raven	seized it	again	the one his hand.	Then was thrown

ṭumṭoo'ke	besma'k'	ra'mṭ'o''ɴ	besma'k'	ṭuβeta·kī''
to within	the tar.	Then kindled	the tar	by the making

ṭa'a'u'	ke''ta'i‘	ṭa'a'u'	ruβeṭeta'ᵃkoʟ	ra'mna·yi'
fire.	Made	fire	with the fire-drill.	Then fled

bekṭ‘o'xo·ke	peke'lent‘xo	kī·'sili'	humk'we'ʟ	ko'tco·xna'
the murderer.	Circled	all	through world.	Dropped

gás	t‘ɪa'	pesma'k'	tanbekē·'u	ṭeto'm'	ṭ‘ia'
only	each	the tar.	And the place	to fall	every

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[23] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 194; present paper, p. 108.

besma'k'   sek'o'lpax   saxe·'t'   ump'a·'wu   beket'po'i'
the tar,   sprung up   mescal.   Its other side   the mountain

ka·'se   ṭis*antalusī'a*   yo'ra'mcetep'   bekt'o'xo·ke   ramump'a'
named   of Santa Lucia   he then died   the murderer.   Then there

ra'mt'ɪcko'   kitc'a̤·'   saxe·'t'
then are   large   mescal.

Once upon a time long ago there was a man who murdered the
people. He had a basket full of boiling tar and when anybody would
come by he would greet him and say, ''Hello, cousin!'' Then he
would offer to shake hands with him and as soon as he took his hand
he would throw him into the boiling tar. Prairie-Falcon and Raven
were scouring the country to find and kill all the murderers and came
to him. He greeted them and extended his hands. Prairie-Falcon
seized one and Raven the other and they threw him into the boiling
tar. Then they set fire to the tar with their fire-drills. All ablaze the
murderer ran all over the country with the blazing tar dropping. And
everywhere that a drop of tar fell sprang up a plant of mescal. On
the other side of Santa Lucia Peak the murderer died and there are
great quantities of mescal.

PRAIRIE-FALCON AND WOODPECKER [24]

bela·''   taxck'a'n   p'ia·'mo't'   petc'a'm'   ak·ī·'c
The raven   and hawk   saw   the woodpecker.   ''Howdy,

octelua''   tasṭumta·'ᵃket   p'xe·'cohe''k'   pe.axa·'ko't
old man!   What thy deed?''   ''Bury I   the their bones

bet'o͢ut'a'ʟ   ksa·'moxló   p'xa'p'ko   cko''   p'xe·'co
the people   died already.''   Digging   was   burying

onko'tɪco·p'   pe.axa·'k'teno   ts'ep'   ṭanbela'ᵃ'   p'ɴe''ᵉwu
in order not to see   the their bones.   Good!   And the raven   seized it

t'oʟ   k'ᴍa'ṭ'a·ʟ   ts'ep'   octelua''   p'ᴍa·'kahe''k'   na'
one   white.   ''Good!   Old man,   give thee I   this!

ma'xra't'mo''na'ʏɪ   ṭa'mṭ'i'   xai'ya'   ts'e'p'ha·ní'   ra'mpa·xo
Put on thy waist.''   Then said,   ''Many   thanks!''   Then placed it.

ra'mpeta'ᵃko   k'ts'e'p'   ke'ra'   ko'ṭipṭ'ak'ai'yɑx   tas
Then made him   good;   no   not was killed.   But

me·'luwa'   ṭa'mpeta'ᵃko   ts'e   xumo'ʻ   p'wa·'tó'
afterwards   then made him   again   bad.   Sent

besmeko'i'   ṭepṭ'a't'ko   bet'o'wut   'yo'   terctee'xai'ya'
the rattlesnake   to sting   the people.   He   therefore fierce

nata'a'   besme·ko'i'
today   the rattlesnake.

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[24] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

Raven and Prairie-Falcon met Woodpecker. "Hello, old man! What are you doing?" "I am burying the bones of the people who have died!" For Woodpecker was also a murderer of the people. He was digging a hole in order to bury the bones so that they could not see the bones of the people he had killed and eaten. Then Raven seized something white like a handkerchief and said, "Good! Old man, I'm going to give you this present. Put it around your waist!" "Many thanks!" said Woodpecker, and he put the cloth around his waist. At first it did Woodpecker no harm but later it bewitched him and made him die. They did this because Woodpecker was evil and had sent Rattlesnake to sting the people. It is on this account that Rattlesnake is dangerous today.

COYOTE AND WILDCAT [25]

beʟk'a'	p'ɪa·'mo	e·'ᵉts'	pa·'lxo	rept'e'kaxo
The coyote	saw	*pinacate.*	Desired	to kill him.

ra'mṭ'e'	beʟk'a'	tact'mī'yo'k'	weṭ'a'ᵃmiko	kītc'a
Then said	the coyote,	"What thy doing,	friend?"	Standing

cko'	beʟk'a'	ra'mts'ok'ox	e·'ᵉts'	ra'mṭ'i'	cko''
was the coyote.	Then frightened	*pinacate.*	Then said	"Am

he'k'	rīyo'ˋ	k'a'lsalhe''k'	ko'	rumkē'u	lime'm'	ya'x
I	here	praying I."	Was	their place	wasps.	"Come!

alsa·'ʟ	riyo'ˋ	ṭamṭ'i'	peʟk'a'	'ạ̌ạ̌'	palxohe''k'
Pray	here!"	Then said	the coyote,	"Yes!	Wish I

ṭe·'ⁱpi'snox	ṭa'mṭ'i'	ts'ép'	raˋmpa·'xo	beṭick'o'ᵒlo
to hear!"	Then said,	"Good!"	Then placed	the his ear

ṭumsk'a·'m	ruβeke·'wu	beleme'm'	a'mṭ'i'	kesna'ˋ
to close	to the place	the wasps.	Then said,	"Is true!"

k'ʟu'wa'nop'	retɪcko''	ra'mna·yi'	pe'e·'ts'	ṭambeʟk'a'
Long time	to remain.	Then fled	the *pinacate.*	Then the coyote

sep'xa'p'ko	pekē·'wu	beleme''m	ṭa'mṭa·melep'
dug	the place	the wasps.	Then came out.

ra'mṭep'ts'e'nla'ik	homṭ'a''ᵃko	ḳepts'e'nla'yik	k'o'lop'
Then stung him	on his head.	Was stung	much.

ke'ta'i'	ṭina·'yi'	pe.e·'ts'	peta''ako	ṭiko'lu·ne'
Made	to flee	the *pinacate;*	made him	fool.

Coyote saw Wildcat and wanted to kill him. So he asked, "My friend, what are you doing?" He was standing close by. Then Wildcat was frightened and replied, "I am praying here. Listen to

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25 Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

the congregation!'' For there was a hive of wasps. ''Come and pray!'' said Wildcat. ''Surely'' said Coyote. ''I want to hear it!'' ''Good!'' said Wildcat. Then Coyote put his ear to the ground near the wasps' nest. ''To be sure!'' he exclaimed. He remained there a long time listening while Wildcat fled. Then he began to dig the wasps' nest. They swarmed out and stung him all over his head; he was stung very badly. Wildcat caused him to run away; he made a fool of him.

COYOTE AND HARE [26]

lē·lo'ʻ   k'ʟu'wa'lóʻ   lic·e'   bek·o'l'   k'ṭ'o'xo·ke   téɴ
Long ago,   very long ago   years   the hare   was murderer   also

teṭ'uwuṭ'   tanbeʟk'a'   pa·'lxo   ṭepṭ'e'kaxo   bek·ol'
of people.   And the coyote   wished   to kill   the hare.

tan   belk'a'   k'ts'e'p'   k'o'lop'   ṭepe't'e'yine''ko   k'a   belk'a'
And   the coyote was good   very   to shoot arrows.   Said   the coyote,

cko'ra'   ts'ep'   p'ṭ'e'kaxone'k'   ṭanbeko'l'   seka'wucko''
''Is   good!   Kill him will I!''   And the hare   sleeping was.

ṭant'o'ʟ   cteluwa''   ʟk'a'   k'a''   micko''   rīteᵘwai''yu
And one   aged   coyote   said,   ''Be   here, this side!''

ra'mṭicko'   ra'mp'ia·'mo   ra'mpet'eine·ko   tcik   taske'ra'
Then was;   then saw him.   Then shot arrow.   *Chik!*   But no,

ko'pena·iko   ra'mpeta'ᵃko   t'a'a'u'   beko'l'   ṭepṭ'o''ᵒnko
not hit him.   Then made   fire   the hare   to burn him

belk'a'   me't'e'ʼne'ʼk'   k'sa'   k'wa''   k'a''   pe'e'ko'
the coyote.   ''Shoot him   more   distant!''   said   the his father

beʟk'a'   tanbeṭ'a'a'u'   seka'tanop'   taske'ra'   ko'ṭapau·ye'
the coyote.   And the fire   spread,   but no,   not overtook.

ṭaм   ku'we'nox   ke'ra'   ko'citip'   ka'tc'a·mp'a'   k'o'lop'
Then   returned.   No,   not died.   Was evil   very

beko'l'
the hare.

Many years ago Hare also was a murderer of the people. But Coyote wished to kill him and eat him. And Coyote was a fine shot with bow and arrow. So he said, ''All right! I'll go and kill him!'' He crept up and found Hare asleep. Coyote's father, an old man, went along with him and said, ''Remain here, on this side!'' Coyote saw Hare and shot an arrow at him. *Chik!* But he did not hit him. Then Hare awoke and made a fire to burn Coyote. For he was a

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[26] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

great magician. ''Shoot him from farther away!'' shouted Coyote's father. The fire spread rapidly but did not overtake Coyote. He returned alive. Hare was a very evil man.

COYOTE AND RABBIT [27]

beʟk'a'	pa·'lxo	restī'yo'°wan	kic	bema'p'	ra'mt͡ʻe'
The coyote	desired	to beautiful	like	the rabbit.	Then said

a'keṭumtī·''yo	ṭet͡ʻxa'uwut͡ʻ	ba'ṭumla·'k'oi͡ʻ	ṭa·mt͡ʻi'
''What thy deed	to yellow	that thy neck?''	Then said

pema'p'	pox	he'k͡ʻ	kī'ya·te'	rumṭe¹le'k͡ʻ	ṭamt͡ʻe'
the rabbit,	''Enter	I	always	in holes!''	Then said

beʟk'a'	poxne'kīya·t͡ʻe'	rumṭe·le'k͡ʻ	ra'mt͡ʻ_ɪya	bema'p'
the coyote,	''Enter will I always	in holes.''	Then went	the rabbit,

p͡ʻne''°wu	k'a·'ṭ͡ʻ	ra'mpopo'°xo'	ṭumṭe·le'k͡ʻ	kē·'°wo
brought	hay.	Then threw it	in hole	his place

peʟk'a'	ra'mpa·xo	ṭa'a'u'	ram	yo'teret͡ʻet͡ʻ_ʌxa'wut͡ʻ
the coyote.	Then put	fire.	Then	he therefore yellow

beʟk'a'
the coyote.

Coyote wanted to be as beautiful as Rabbit. So he asked him, ''What did you do to have such a yellow shoulder?'' Rabbit was afraid of Coyote and told him, ''Why, my neck is yellow because I am always going into holes in the ground.'' ''Good!'' said Coyote. ''Then I'll go into holes too!'' So he found a hole and went in. Then Rabbit went and got some hay and threw it into the hole behind Coyote. Then he set fire to it. Coyote was badly burnt in trying to get out of the hole and on this account has a yellow patch behind his ears.

COYOTE AND BULL [28]

beʟk'a'	pa·'lxo	ṭepi'cxo	be*to·'lo*	ṭam	humt͡ʻa'ᵃk͡ʻe'
The coyote	desired	to eat	the bull.	Then	in road

ra'mp͡ʻ_ɪya·mo	be*to·'lo*	tax	be*polē·'ka*	ṭa'mt͡ʻe'	akī·'c
then saw him,	the bull	and	the sheep.	Then said,	''Howdy,

o'ta*'mī·ko*	a'ket͡ʻme·'ke'nó͡ʻ	make·'ra'	ke·ɣás	ṭa'mt͡ʻ_ɪya
friend!	Where thy going now?''	''To such	place only.''	Then went

peʟk'a'	ṭa'mpa·lxo	ṭepeṗt'e'kaxo	pa·'lxo	ṭepi'cxo
the coyote;	then desired	to kill him.	Desired	to eat.

k'o'k͡ʻol'cele'	t͡ʻ_ɪya'	me'na'ᵃkonó͡ʻ	ṭets'e'p͡ʻ	pa'ṭuma''a·tela'
Conversed	went.	''Ah, how	to be good	that which carriest

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[27] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.
[28] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

t'ıya′xra'   k'io′t'ne'   ṭ'ıya′x   ta′sta·'ᵃva'   ṭuma′'a
there,   shaking   there!   What are   to carry

ṭ'ıyax   ka′ke'lt'a   me′na'k'   umpa·'lxo   hạạ   k'o'ʟ'
there?''   ''Testicles,   why   thy wish?''   ''Yes,   hungry

he''k'   k'o′lop'   ṭaᴍ   peṭ'a′kha·'ko   be*to·'lo*   beṭuma′'awu
I   very!''   Then   cut them   the bull   the his cargo,

ka′ke'lt'a   p'ᴍa·'keṭo   beʟk'a'   raᴍt'xwe′nto   ṭepi′cxo
testicles.   Gave him   the coyote.   Then at once   ate them.

me′na·'ᵃkonó'   tits'e′p'   ṭako′mn'aʟ   ke′ra'   pa·'lxoteɴ
''Ah, how   to be good!''   ''Not thou filled?''   ''No,   desire more

he'k'   tas   ke′ra'   lo'   ra′mē·yo''   pa·'lxo   ɪɴ   ṭepepṭ'e′kaxo
I   but   no   already!''   Then he   desired   still   to kill him.

'ạⁿ   be*to·'lo*   sek'ıcxa′lo·'   k'a'   pa·'lxo   ɪɴ
Then   the bull   feared,   said,   ''Desires   still

ṭipa′mha'k'   ṭuma·'lox   rumna'ʟ   mi′cxo'ha'k'   aɴ
to eat me!''   Thy desire   to fill,   eat me   then

kī′sili   ts'e′p'   pa′mkohe'k'   ṭe'i′cxoᵘ'ka'   kī′ˡsili'
all!''   ''Good!   Can I   to eat thee   all!''

ra′mṭ'e'   be*to·'l*   mitc'a''ra'   caxa′ta'γás   one'ᵉpo′x
Then said   the bull,   ''Stand here!   Open mouth only   to enter

ṭa't'me·'lek'   ts'e′p'   ra′mca·xata'   peta''ako   k'sa''
in thy mouth.''   ''Good!''   Then opened mouth,   made it   very

kitc'a·'   beṭee′lko   pa·'lxo   repe′penxo   kī·'sili'   ma′we·'xe'
large   the his mouth.   Desired   to swallow   all.   ''Stand

ank'sá'   ra′mt'ıyax   ṭemi′ṭ'ik'   be*pole·'k*   ra′mp'otaxle·ko
firm!''   Then came   to run   the sheep.   Then butted him

umṭee′lko   ra′mp'ʟi''ˡxo   ka′p'haxtenop'   peṭa''ako   yo′ra′ᴍ
in his mouth.   Then tumbled,   smashed   the his head.   He then

ce′tep   beʟk'a'   ra′mṭ'ıa'   be*to·'lo*   ke′ra'   ko′citip
died   the coyote.   Then went   the bull.   No,   not died.

p'ɴe''ᵉwutéɴ   beka′ke'lt'a   pa·ᵃ'xotén   ra′mṭ'ıarumé
Seized   again   the testicles,   placed them again.   Then went away.

Coyote was desirous of eating Bull. One day he met him and Ram in the road and greeted them, ''Hello, old friend! Where are you going?'' ''To such and such a place'' replied Bull. Coyote went with them for he desired to kill Bull and eat him. They walked along conversing. Finally Coyote said, ''Ah, how good those things you are carrying there shaking look! What are they?'' ''My testicles'' replied Bull. ''Why, do you want them?'' ''Surely! I'm awfully hungry!'' So Bull cut off the things he carried, his testicles, and

gave them to Coyote who immediately ate them. ''Ah, how good they are!'' he said. ''Aren't you full?'' asked Bull. ''No, but there aren't any more!'' And he still wanted to kill Bull.

Then Bull was afraid and said to himself, ''He still wants to kill me!'' So he turned to Coyote and said, ''If you want to be full, you had better eat me whole!'' ''Fine! I can eat you whole!'' ''All right,'' said Bull. ''Stand there and open your mouth so that I can jump into it!'' ''Good!'' said Coyote. And he opened his mouth very wide; he wanted to swallow Bull whole. ''Stand firm!'' said Bull and he motioned to Ram. The latter ran hard and butted Coyote so hard in the mouth that he fell down with his head smashed. Soon he died. Thus Bull did not die. He went and cut open Coyote and took out his testicles and put them on again. Then he went away.

COYOTE AND THE SUN [29]

beлk'a'	peta''ko	cko''	xa''ᵃk'o	rumṭiṭakē''wu
The coyote	making	was	his arrow	in his road

pena''	ṭa'mt'ɪyₐx	pena''	we'ten	le·ta'na'
the sun.	Then came	the sun	about	noon.

ra'mt'ᴜxwen	ṭumkē·wu	beлk'a	peta''ᵃko	cko'
When arrived	to his place	the coyote	making	was

xa''k'o	cko'	ṭuwo''iyu'	ṭemīṭ'o	ṭipa·'uyo·ko
his arrow.	Was	his fire	with which	to heat it.

rampet'xa·'wu	smak'	ṭemī'ṭ'o'	ṭepₐ't'unk'a·xo	ramṭ'i'
Then had	tar	with which	to stick.	Then said

bena''	tast'mī'yo'k	riyo''	ra'mṭ'i'	peta''ᵃko	he'k'
the sun,	''What thy doing	here?''	Then said,	''Make	I

xak'	cko'ᵒɣás	bena''	pts'e''ᵉko	kītc'a	cko'
arrow.''	Was only	the sun	watched.	Stopped	was

riskumụ'	ra'mṭ'i'	ts'ep'	meta''k	nacxomck'i''
little.	Then said,	''Good!	Make me	this favor

ṭume'ta'k'	rixo'ṭ'up'	he'l·a	ra'mṭ'i'	βelk'a'
to permit me	to pass!''	''Wait!''	then said	the coyote.

ra'mtitc'a	gac·ko	bena''	ke'ra'	ko'se·ne'	ts'ep'
Then stopped	only was	the sun,	no	not journeyed.	''Good!

manata'x	ạntixo'ṭ'up'	raмke'ra'ko'sa'	beлk'a'
Allow me	to pass!''	Then no, not spoke	the coyote.

ra'mt'ɪckots'e	skumu'	ra'mṭ'e'	rume'	лk'a'	ts'ep
Then was again	little.	Then said	finally	coyote,	''Good

[29] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

a·n   ṭa′mtitc′ₐ   ra′mp‘ne’wu   pexa′′k’o   tax   pekīsili’
now.’’   Then arose,   then took   the his arrow   and   the all.

tanbena′′   sekī′lo‘   tanbeLk’a′   secko′′γás   peta′′ₐko
And the sun   went already   and the coyote   was only   making

cko’   xa′′k’o
was   his arrow.

Coyote was making arrows in the sun's path. About noon the sun came along and when he came to the place, Coyote was making arrows there. There was his fire to heat the arrows and he had tar · with which to stick on the point. Then the sun said, ''What are you doing here?'' And Coyote replied, ''I am making arrows!'' Then the sun stopped still a little while and watched him. Then he said, ''Good! And now please let me pass.'' ''Wait a couple of moments'' replied Coyote and the sun waited a little longer without continuing his journey. ''Good!'' he said again. ''Let me pass!'' But Coyote did not answer and the sun waited a little longer. At last Coyote said, ''All right now!'' And he arose and took his arrows and everything. The sun continued his journey and Coyote continued making his arrows.

THE SUN AND THE MOON [30]

le·ló‘   seksa·’teL   kī¹sili’   pena′′   tax   ṭats’o·’opi’
Long ago   they spoke   all,   the sun   and   the moon

taxbeṭatcwa·’niL   kī·’sili’   pema’ṭ‘e’lak   ṭa’mṭ‘e’   bena′′
and the stars,   all   the animals.   Then said   the sun,

naṭ’oⁿṭ’a·’L   se   k‘La′ma·ilak‘   k’o’lop‘   k‘La′mhaL
''This people   are   eaters   very.   Eat they

gaskī′ya·te’   ke′ra’   ke′¹yamk‘a’   ṭik‘a·weL   ra′mho’yi’
only continually.   No,   not I see them   to sleep.’’   Then replied

beṭats’o′ºpi’   ke′ra’   ke′ra’   ku’kicvi’   ki′kauyela·tc’e’
the moon,   ''No!   No,   not thus is!   Are sleepers!

k‘a′weL   gas   kī′ya·te’   me′′yima‘ne′ºlk‘   ke′ra’
Sleep   only   continually!   When see them   no

ki’yamk‘a’’   ṭila′mhaL
not I see them   to eat’’

Long ago everything was able to converse, the sun, the moon, the stars and all the animals. Then the sun said, ''These humans are great eaters; they eat all the time; I never see them sleep!'' But the moon replied, ''No, it is not so! They are great sleepers; they sleep all the time. When I look I never see them eating!''

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[30] Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

PRAIRIE-FALCON, XUI AND THE SERPENT [31]

cko'	ckak'	sotope'no	pexu'i	ṭo''xo·ke	teṭ'a'uwaṭ'
Was	crow,	his guardian	the Xui,	murderer	of people.

p'le'ixo	u·mp'a·'ulak'	p'i'cho	kats'a·Ne'L	mo·pa'kʻ
Threw them	other side ground.	Ate them	little birds.	Laurel

sko''	matʻo'Lni'	ck'a'n	Lạ·'	kʻse''Ne'	kʻtc'a'uye'
was	on hill.	Hawk	raven	walked.	Sought

pexu'i	ṭa·'miyema'	peskʻa'k'	kʻma'lauk	ka'ciL
the Xui.	Then seen	the crow.	Told him	seated

mat'o'Lni'	yo'	metco·'k'a'	hala'ṭome	a'mtʻyaL
on hill.	''Ah!	Be quiet!	Shoot now!''	Then went

tome''	p'Lī·'yaiyix	a'metitca'	peṭo·lo·lai'yo'	ame'tʻya
then.	Was thrown,	then alighted	the his flute.	Then went

bila''	yo'	hala'ṭomé	mo''ts'a	hala'rome	a'mepʻalo
the raven.	''Ah!	Shoot now!	Thou next!	Shoot now!''	Then shot him.

pale·'lko	pe·t'a·'ko	ṭa·lī·ye''	xwen	pesk'a'n	taxLạ''
Asked him,	tied him	serpent.	Came	the hawk	and raven.

tc'a'uye	ṭa·lī·ye''	ka'ṭʻa·pelt'a	kʻye'ma	yo'	kʻa'
Sought	serpent	striped.	Was seen.	''Ah!''	said

peskʻa'n	Lạ'	yo	na	t'ma·'lox	kʻai'isaiikʻ
the hawk	raven.	''Ah!	This	thy desire!''	Was spied.

ke't'eyiní·k	mo·'ts'a	yo'	me·tco''ka'	kʻa'ṭume''
Shot him.	''Thou next!	Ah!	Be careful!''	said then.

a·na·xʸe''	yo·lo'ʻ	kʻīyaxlo·'ba'	ts'a'kai''	kʻa·'ṭumé'
''Run!	Ah! Already	comes already that	wind!''	Said then

ku'mxa·t'a	p'enla·'k'o	te'lpʻa'	p'ye'ntʻonoha'k
''Don't cry!	Quick!	Hurry!	Approach will we!

kʻo'loxlo·ha'kʻ	male·'ntax	tumtca'xaL	kī·'yaxnọ'	cko·'tʻ
Arrive already we!	Remember	thy power	Come will	snake!

yo'	hala'ṭomé	mama'mpek	tʻmi'cikʻ	mulṭ'i'kʻ
Ah!	Shoot now!	Draw	thy knife!	Cut him

packo'tʻ	yo·lo'ʻ
that snake!	Ah!''

Crow was the guardian of Xui, the murderer of the people. The latter used to kill them by throwing them over the hill where some little black birds would eat them. There was laurel on the hill. Prairie-Falcon and Raven came along looking for Xui in order to kill him. Crow saw them and told Xui that they were there on the hill. ''Be quiet now!'' said Prairie-Falcon. ''Now hit him!'' They

[31] Told by José Cruz, revised by Pedro Encinales, 1910. Cf. Ethnology, p. 192; present paper, pp. 93, 110, 112.

went closer but Xui seized Prairie-Falcon and threw him over his head. But Prairie-Falcon possessed a magical flute and alighted on this without injury. Then Raven came up. "Hit him! It's your turn now! Hit him!" Then Raven took good aim and knocked Xui's head off.

Then Prairie-Falcon and Raven came in search of the great striped Serpent. They saw him. "Ah!" said they. "This is the fellow we are after!" Prairie-Falcon shot at him but Serpent spied them. "Now it is your turn! Be careful!" cried Prairie-Falcon. Then Raven shot also but they did not kill him. "Run!" yelled Prairie-Falcon. "Here comes Wind!" So they fled with Wind and Serpent in pursuit. "Don't cry!" said Prairie-Falcon to Raven. "Quick! Hurry! We are getting there! Now we are there! Don't forget your magic! Here comes the snake! Hit him. Draw your knife and cut the snake! That's the way!"

THE MURDERERS [32]

tatcwa·'niL	k'tumlo'	macila·'k'	tumle·mó'	me't'ya
Star	fell already,	morning star	from above.	When came

mk'we'L	kī·'yax	peck'a'n	k'ci't'Lip	naṭ'au'waṭ'
to earth	came	the hawk.	Dead	this people.

k'ṭ'o·''ke·lax	a'meṭ'auwaṭ'	nadio's	peta''ko	naṭ'au'waṭ'
Revived	then people.	This God	made	this people.

t'oL	tcxa''	ka'ciL	xu'i	k'saṭap'ni'	ska·'k'
One	rock	named	Xui	had guardian	crow.

p'Li·'xo	naṭ'au'waṭ'	ṭila'M	co·talai''	t'ol	tɪcxe'wu
Threw them	this people	to eat.	Limestone	one	his foot

k'a'k'a
sang.

In the beginning the morning star fell from heaven. When it reached earth then came Prairie-Falcon and found the people dead. Then he revived the people. But it was God who made people.

There was a rock named Xui who had Crow as guardian. He used to kill people by throwing them over his head so that they might be eaten. And another murderer was a one-footed character of limestone who always sang a song before he killed people.

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[32] Told by José Cruz, revised by Pedro Encinales, 1910. Cf. Ethnology, p. 192; present paper, pp. 92, 110.

THE RAINMAKER [33]

cko'	ctelua''	klicxa·i't'ic	peta·'k°	le'cxai
Was	old man	rain-maker.	Made it	rain

me'pa·'lxo	a'mti'	*pa·'tel*	kospolo'x	pestelua''	empeta·'ko
when wished.	Then said	Padre,	"Seize	the old man	to make

lecxai	taa'	tokolecxa·ita	sekot'ak'	takoxwete·lek
rain	now!	If not rains now	tie him,	and punish him.

tikotep'eL	titc'a''	ta'koxwete·lek	k'ts'ep'	take'metumka·'s
If not fill	of water,	to punish him.''	"Is good,	I try

a̤'a̤·mko	amk'a·k'a	tamtump'	pai'	tumle·'m
if can.''	Then sang,	then came	cloud	in sky.

a·mt'uk'	pet'e'lo·wa̤'	a'mtuxwen	tume'	belicxai
Then thundered	the thunder.	Then came	then	the rain

k'atapNe·xe'	beli'cxai	kera	ko'luwa'	tamtep'ena·t'eL
hard.	The rain	no	not late.	Then filled them

be*pale·'lt*en	t'ma·'xo	be*pa·'te*L	kma·la'k'	pestelua''
the barrels	that placed	the Padre.	Told	the old man

e̤ᵐpetc'e·ko	pali'cxai	k'la·uwi'	tamte'	toku'ka·luxtén
to stop it	that rain.	Left it.	Then said	that not wish again,

ke'ra'	k'o'lop'lo·'va'
no	enough already!

Long ago there was an old shaman who had a reputation as a rain-maker who could make rain whenever he wished. One year there was a long drought and the Padre of the Mission said, "We will test his powers." He gave orders that the old man should be caught and brought before him. Then he said to him, "If you do not make it rain so that it will fill these barrels I will have you tied and whipped." "It is good," replied the shaman, "I will try." Then he sang. Soon the sky became overcast with clouds and it thundered. Then came the rain furiously; it did not delay long. The barrels which the Padre had placed were filled quickly. Then he told the man to stop the rain. And it stopped. "We do not wish any more," he said. "No, there is enough already!"

THE MOUNTAIN LION HUNT[34]

ke'*se·lko*tene	hak'	peta'ka	*ka·'mpo*	ta'maiyaL
Fence-making	we,	made	camp.	Then went,

me·'cxai	petcamna'xo	hak'	t'oL	at'	ta'mat'uina·'pik
morning.	Felled it	we	one	oak.	Then sawed it up.

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[33] Told by Pedro Encinales, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 195.
[34] Told by Pedro Encinales, 1910.

pṭ'u'kot'ná·   hak'   ba'a't'   a'maxt'e·lix   *po·'lpola*
Bored   we   that oak.   Then inserted   powder,

a·'maṭ'oka'   a'mṭ'axatcnap   ṭamataksta·'nte   ṭa'maco·'me
then lighted,   then split.   Then made posts.   Then shouted.

ṭa'mexapik   peta'ko   hak'   k'co·'luk'tene   ta'maṭ'ek
Then dug;   made   we   holes.   Then inserted

pesta·'nte   ṭa'mamaṭ'úx   ṭa·'maxtelekṭumé   ba.ala·'mbre
the posts.   Then tamped.   Then fastened next   the wire.

amko'molop'   hak'   ṭup'ta·'taʟxwa·ʟnai'   ṭa·'maiya·ʟ
Then quit   we   from the our work.   Then went

tumta't'ka·'mpo   ṭa'makaxau   ṭa·'mecxai'   a·'matak
to our camp,   then slept.   Then dawned,   then made

ṭa·'lemxat   ṭa'maʟamxaʟṭumé   ko'molop'   hak'   ṭala'mxaʟ
our food.   Then ate next,   finished   we   to eat.

a'met'ya   pe'a's   tumak't'u'ʟne   pts'e·''ko   tax   pete·'etco
Then went   the son   to hill,   observed it   and   the his dog

sai'y̆u   k'a'se   ko't'konax   i·n   ṭumake'u   besai'u
eagle   nesting.   Not arrived   yet   to where   the eagle.

ṭa'miyemá'   peṭa·'muʟ   xo'ṭ'up'   ka·s   tupek'cī·'kaṭ'i'
Than saw   the puma.   Passed   only   on the slope.

a'mpama·t'ko   peti·'itco   ampco'la·t'ko   ṭet'oʟ   at'
Then chased him   the his dog.   Then treed him   up one   oak.

kyo'xun   pete·'etco   a'mt'yax   pa'a's   pts'e·'eko
Barked   the his dog.   Then came   that son,   sought him.

ṭa'mp'ya·'mo   ṭa·'muʟ   ṭa'mp'amesak   ṭa·'me·ya   te·ts'e'k'
Then saw him   puma.   Then called me.   Then went   to see;

ke'konax   i·n   ṭa·'mulox   peṭa·'muʟ   k'na·'ye'   a'pama·'t'ko
not I arrived   yet.   Then sprang   the puma.   Ran.   Then chased him

te·'etco   pama·'t'ko   ṭumṭa·'ke   ṭa·'kata   ṭampuwe·'nt'xo
the his dog.   Chased him   to within   woods.   Then returned.

ta·'mp'cola·'at'koten   mē·yo''   baa't'   ta·'mamesik   ba'a's
Then treed him again   same   that oak.   Then called him   the son.

ke'ra   ko'xo·ye'   ampake·'no   hek'   tetipṭ'e'nlo
No,   not answered.   Then thought   I   that wounded already

tupeṭa'muʟ   ṭa·'met'iyinek   ṭameka·'cak'mek'   ṭa·'mulo·xten
by the puma.   Then shot him.   Then missed him.   Then sprang again.

a'met'ya   kī·   a'mt'yak   pexu'tc   pama·'t'ko
Then went,   went.   Then went   the dog.   Chased him.

kok'tc'a'p'ʟo   pexo'tc   tax   peṭa·'muʟ   ko'meṭ'ik'ʟó
Was tired already   the dog   and   the puma.   Not ran already.

tax   pexo'tc   peṭa·'muʟ   p'k'e'poṭ'a'u   t'yax   pexo'tc
And   the dog   the puma   followed him.   Went   the dog.

peṭa·'muʟ   ta·'mpcola·'t'kotén   mē·yo''   bea't'   bekeyuco'tcoʟ
The puma   then treed again   same   the oak   the where climbed.

ṭa·'mamesiktén   ba'a's   ṭa·'mxo·yi'   ṭa'mṭuxweɴ   ṭa·'menek'
Then called him again   the son.   Then replied,   then came.   Then said,

met'eyine'k   ṭa'mt'ye'   ke'ra'   skī'tana   naha'k'
"Shoot him!"   Then went.   No,   small   this rifle.

ko'ṭ'uxapta'   baṭa·'muʟ   met'eyine·'k'   mo'   ṭa·'met'eyinek
Not dead   that puma.   "Shoot him,   thou!"   Then shot him,

ṭa·'mtoм   tume'   pa·'mkohak'   tumé   ṭa'mama·
then fell   then.   Killed him we   then.   Then carried

tumṭa'm   ṭa'malau   sana·''to   ṭa·'mayopik'   ṭumé
to house.   Then removed   his hide.   Then staked it   then.

ṭa'mamaa   ṭ'umholǫ'ɴ   p'xanse·'ko   hak'   be*re'dmond*.
Then carried   to Jolon,   sold it   we   the Redmond.

We were making fence-posts and made a camp. One morning we
went and felled an oak tree. We sawed it into lengths and bored
holes in it. Then we put powder in the holes and set it off. It split
and then we made posts of it. Then we dug holes in the ground and
put the posts in. We tamped the posts and fastened the wire on
them. Then we left the work and went to our camp to sleep.

The next day we made breakfast and ate it. When we had finished
my son went up on the hill with his dog to see an eagle which was
nesting there. Before they arrived where the eagle was they saw
the mountain-lion passing by on the slope. The dog chased him and
treed him in an oak. The dog barked so that my son came after him.
Then he saw the mountain-lion and called to me. I also went to see
but before I arrived there the lion jumped and ran with the dog after
him. He chased him into the woods and back again and treed him
again in the same oak. Then I called to my son but he did not answer
and I thought he had been wounded by the lion. Then I shot but
missed him and he sprang again and again the dog chased him. The
dog was tired but still followed the lion and treed him again in the
same oak he had climbed before. Then I called to my son again and
he answered and came. "Shoot him!" he cried and I did so, but my
rifle was very small and I did not kill him. "You shoot him!" I
cried and the boy shot him. Then he fell; we killed him. We carried
him to the house and skinned him. We staked the hide and dried it
and then we carried it to Jolon and sold it to Mr. Redmond.

A FOREST FIRE [35]

septie'mbre	ṭa·'mticko'	ṭa'a'u'	ketcạ·'	ko·'mai'ye
September,	then was	fire	great.	Began

rumceme·'ni'	ṭa'mt'konax	peta'ṭaa·'mo	p'neti'lt'ek
in Reliz Cañon.	Then came	the our boss.	Brought us,

he'nrī	*dan*	ba.a's	tax	bet'o's	ṭa'maiya·L	kLa'pai
Henry	Dunn,	that son	and	the younger brother.	Then went	three

ṭenuwa·na''	ṭa·'makonLox	ṭumṭika·'ko	bela'k'	ṭa'ts'e'k'
of morning.	Then arrived	to its summit	the ground	to see

peṭa'a'u'	ke'ra	ka·'kaxau	ṭa·'kalamhaL	ṭa	ke'ra
the fire.	No,	not slept	and not ate	and no

ṭa·'k'es	k'ecxai'yaL	hak'	·	gas	ṭupeco·'k'a	ku·'wate
blankets.	Dawned	we		only	in the gully.	Bad!

tax	bes*imo'n*	*ka'stro*	*lu'is*	*sko'sya*	tax	pe'a's
And	the Simon	Castro,	Luis	Scocia	and	the son

k'Lo'xLano'ce'	hak'	ka'mxot'e	raxo'ṭ'Lop'	tup'ṭate't'
burnt almost.	We	not able	to pass	by the smoke.

ṭa'mackoL'	k'e·'Lp'a	hak'	ka·'ke·nilú'	ralo'xLa
Then were,	halted	we.	Thought already	that burn.

ke'ra	ka·'mxote	ṭaxo'ṭ'Lop'	k'Lu'walú	sma'kai
No,	not able	to pass.	Long already	night.

ṭa'mxoṭ'up'	peṭa'a'u'	ke'ra	ka'lamhaL	ṭa'maiyaM
Then passed	the fire.	No,	not ate.	Then saw

cwa''N	ski'ntai'	ṭa'macaxt'e·'lik'	yolo'	ṭa'lamxat'be
fishes	small.	Then ate them,	it already	our food the

ṭa·me'ta	met'o'L	ṭo·'kena'tén'	me'smakai'	ṭa'm'alamhaL
until	on one	day again.	When night	then ate;

ko'nlox	hak'	ṭumta't'*kampo*	ko'neL	hak	tup'ṭa'a'u'
arrived	we	to our camp.	Escaped	we	from the fire.

ts'ep	tat'ca·'kai	*adio's*	ṭa'a'u'
Good	our sleep.	Good-bye,	fire!

In September there was a great forest fire which began in Reliz Cañon. Our boss, Henry Dunn, came and got me, my son and my younger brother. We went at three o'clock in the morning and arrived at the ridge and saw the fire. We did not sleep and had nothing to eat and no blankets. When it dawned we were alone in the gully; it was very bad. Simon Castro, Luis Scocia and my son were almost burnt to death for we were unable to pass through the

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[35] Told by Pedro Encinales, 1910; University of California Museum of Anthropology, phonograph record, 14–1583.

smoke. We were halted and thought that we would be burnt for we were unable to pass. After a long night the fire passed by. We had nothing to eat but at last saw some little fishes and ate them. That was all we had until the next day. At night we ate and returned to our homes, having escaped from the fire. And we had a good sleep. Good bye, fire!

A TRIP TO SAN FRANCISCO [36]

leya'x	tumṭe·'ma	ko·'maiyu	hek'	ṭumxolǫ'ⁿ
When came	to my house	left	I	from Jolon.

ṭa·'maiyaᴍ	peṭa·'*meko*	akeṭa·'sona	mē'san	ṭa·'maiyam
Then saw	the my friend.	What his name this?	Mason.	Then saw

me'san	petcau'waiik	me'konax	k'o'nxa·ló	ṭa'mp'yemet'ik
Mason.	Was met.	When arrived	late already.	Then saw me,

ma·'t'ik	tumṭe·'mó	ko'nlox	hak'	tumta·'ᴍ	p'ma·'t'ik
took me	to his house.	Arrived	we	to house.	Took me

ma*swida'*	ṭats'ek	pets'enlī'	p'ya'mhék'	xai'ya'
to city	to see	the amusements;	saw I	many

ṭ'a'uwuṭ'	p'ma·'t'e'k	ṭa·'mekonax	make'u	ts'enlī'
people.	Took me.	Then arrived	to where	amusements

ketca''tén	le·ta'no	sma'kai	ṭa'maiya·ʟ	tup'ṭa·'m
great.	Half	night	then came	to the house.

ṭame·'cxai'	ṭa'metaʟxwaʟtenax	t'oʟ	ṭo·'kena'	sma'kai
Then morning	then worked	one	day.	Night

ṭa'tsaiyaʟ	um*swida'*	maa'tak	heyo''	ṭa'ts'aiyaʟ
to go	to city.	Took me	he.	Went

me·'cxai'	tumta·'m	k'ta'lxualtenax	hak'	t'ol
at morning	to house,	worked	we	one

ṭo·'kena	me'smakai	ṭa'tsaiyaʟ	ṭats'e'k	ts'enlī'
day.	At night	to go	to see	amusements.

me'cxai'	ṭa'tsak'e·lp'a	tamk'mai'ya	hek'	ṭumt'o'ʟtén	*pwe'blo*
In morning	returned.	Then went	I	to one again	town,

o'kland	ko'kcu	a'maiya·ʟ	ṭumpa'	ṭa'tsak'e·'lpa
Oakland,	two	then went	there.	Then returned

me'smakai	tumṭa·'m	kī'yaʟhák'	me'smakai	ṭats'e·'k
at night	to house.	Went we	at night	to see

pets'enlī	kī'saliriya'ᴍ	stiyo'wa.nlax
the amusements.	All to see	beautiful!

When your messenger came to my house I started from Jolon. On arriving in San Francisco I met my friend—what's his name?—

Mason; I met Mason. He met me. It was already late when I arrived. Then he took me to his house; we arrived there. Then he took me to the city to see the amusements; I saw many people. We came to where there were great amusements. At midnight we returned to the house. In the morning we worked all day and at night he took me to the city again. In the morning we went again to the house and worked all day. At night we went to see the amusements again and returned in the morning. The next day we two went to another town, Oakland and at night returned to the house. That night we went again to see the amusements and saw them all; they were beautiful.

IOY AND BLUEJAY [37]

yoi	tax	pa·t'o·'so	skī·'tana	pewi·tcele'?	kmai'yaʟ
Ioy	and	that	her younger brother	small the bluejay	lived

ṭumpa'	t'oʟ	smak'ai	kīya'xteʟ	pekci'tʟip'
there.	One	night	came	the dead.

k'o·'maṭ'ilī'ik	t'oʟ	se·'wo·t	yoi	pelits'e'	k'o·'matiliik'
Was bought	one	their wife.	Ioy	the woman	purchased

ṭ'eheyo't'	pexe'nes	ket'xai'ya'	tupekce'tʟep'	cko''
by them.	The beads	possessed	by the dead	were

tenotilī''	ṭ'eheyo''	kʟu'wawᵉ	le·l	nasma'kai	ṭumpa'
to give	for her.	Married	already	this night	there.

ṭa·'mṭo'okenaṭume'	ta'mt'ya	heyo''	pewi·tcile''	cko·
Then day next	then went	she.	The bluejay	was

ṭumpa'	me't'oʟ	lice''	ṭa'mṭ'e	kī·he'k'	tiitc'a·'u
there	for one	year.	Then said,	''Go I	to seek

pepe·'	ketcą'	pale'lko	t'oʟt'ya'	ṭupeṭika't'et	pa·'lxo
the elder sister	large.''	Asked	one every	of the trees.	Wished

tᵉp'ye'mo	ake't'eke'o	heyo''	peka'xap	kī·
to know,	''What his place	he	the dead?''	Went

ṭupi·'kilentxo	pale'lko	t'oʟt 'ya'	tupekca'xtene	ke'ta'
to return.	Asked him	one every	of the birds.	No,

ko·'set'aiik	heyo''	pale'lko	ṭ'uxwe'nto	t'oʟ	tcxa''
not answered.	He	asked	finally	one	rock.

heyo''	pse·'ko	heyo''	ma·'hak'	peti'cxa'	ṭa'maat'
He	told him	he,	''Give me	the money,	then carry

mo'	ṭumpa''	pxai'iko	ṭa'maat'	tumpa''	maatela'uo
thee	there!''	Paid him,	then carried	there,	carried him

pekci'tʟlip'	petcxa''	tax	pewi·tcile''	kya'xteʟ	ṭet'oʟ
the dead.	The rock	and	the bluejay	came	to one

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[37] Translated by Pedro Encinales, 1910. Cf. Boas, Chinook Texts, p. 161; Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, present series, ii, 275; The Washo Language, iv, 303.

ţemai·'ic   ke'ta'   ţate't'   ţᵊpeţama·'niL   a'mt'ya·'L
village.   No   smoke   from the houses.   Then went

peţixɑpi'cxo   ţa·m   peketcɑ·'lĕ·'lo   ţa·'m   a·m   heyo''
the last   house   the large already   house.   Then   he

p'ya·'ma   ţate't   ţumpa'   a·m   heyo''   kī·   t'uma'
saw   smoke   there.   Then   he   went   there.

ţa'mp'ya·'mo   peape'u   ketcą·'   a: pet'o's   skī·'tana
Then saw her   the his elder sister   large.   ''Ah!   the younger brother   little!''

heyo''   pse·'eko   heyo''   akĕme·'naxta   umka'xap'   'mo'
She   told him   he,   ''Whence thou comest now?   Art dead   thou?''

heyo''   ksa   ke'ra'   ka'xap'   petcxa''   maat'ak
He   said,   ''No,   not dead.   The rock   carried me

ţuwī'   ᴧtitc'o''ma   ţa·'mpo'maiyeu   ţope'lextLo   t'oLt'ya'
here   on back!''   Then began   to open   one every

ţupeţ'ama·'niL   t'oLt'ya'   ţupeţa·'m   kap'xe'na·teL   axa·ktén'
of the houses.   One every   of the house   was full   bones!

t'oL   ţa·''ko   ka'xap'   t'oLke'u   ţupeape'u   ketcą·'
One   head   dead   near place   of the his elder sister   large.

heyo''   pse·'ko   heyo''   tast'ma'lox   ţum.e'tak'
He   told   her,   ''What thy desire   to do

naaxa·'ten   ţena   t'axa'ko
these bones   of these   heads?''

Ioy and her younger brother Bluejay lived together. One night the ghosts came to buy a wife and Ioy was the woman they purchased. They gave their beads for her. That night she was married there and the next day they took her away with them. Bluejay lived alone for a year and then he got lonely and said, ''I will go and seek my elder sister.'' So he inquired of every one of the trees, wanting to know, ''Where do people go when they die?'' But they could not tell him. So he returned and asked every one of the birds. But they could not inform him either. At last he asked a rock which said to him, ''Give me your money and I will carry you there.'' So Bluejay paid him all his money and the rock carried him to the country of the dead. The rock and Bluejay came to a village. But there was no smoke coming out of the houses. They went to the large house at the end of the village and there he saw smoke. So he went in and there was his elder sister. ''Ah!'' she said. ''It is my little brother! How did you get here? Are you dead?'' ''No,'' he replied. ''I am not dead. This rock carried me here on his back.'' Then he began to open every

one of the houses. And every one was full of bones! One skull was very close to his elder sister. So he said to her, "What do you want me to do with these bones and skulls?"

THE ELK [38]

k'ʟu·'walu	k'o·'ʟap	*xwan*	ane'wᵒ	tax	pemarĩa
Long ago	very	Juan	his grandmother	and	the Maria.

p'se·'ko	kī'ya·te'	tetye'	teta'mt'e	ṭa.a'c	kī·'sile
Told him	always	to go	to hunt	the elk.	Every

ṭoo'kana'	kī	ṭupa'mkneʟko	acte'n	pṭ'i'kaxo	kī'ya·te'
day	went	to kill them	elk.	Killed them	always

ʟk'a'neʟ	pṭ'e'kaxo	kī'ya·te'	cumk'o'm'	ṭ'a·cne'ʟ
coyotes;	killed them	always	squirrels.	Some

me	pṭ'e'kaxo	sk'almo'k'	pa·'mko	tet'ya''	teṭamṭe
times	killed	mice!	Could	to go	to hunt

kī·'ya·te'	kī·tén	met'oʟtén	ṭa'mticko'	ṭupela'k'	heyo''
always.	Went again	on one again.	Then was	on the land.	He

k'a'mes	yax	ṭika'mpo	acne'ʟ	k'a·'ltena'	hak'
cried,	"Come	to field,	Elk!	Fight	we,

k'pa'ʟa	hak'	peta·'ṭake	kīya'x	ṭumtce'N	cko'	t'oʟ
dance	we!''	The something	came	to outside.	Was	one

map'	naluwa'	yo'	pse·'ko	pemap'	heyo''	ke'ta'
rabbit!	This man	he	told	the rabbit	he,	"No!

k'e'etak'a	pet'mi'ck'oʟet	ki·c	*kutca'ʟ*	peṭ'aa'ko
Not I called thee!	The thy ears	resemble	spoons,	the its handle

k'wa·'keʟta	pema'p'	xa·'ta	a·'mt'ya	ṭump'a·'wu
long!''	The rabbit	wept.	Then went	to other side

ṭa·'kaṭa	xa·'ta	pema'p'	ṭa'mamesten	kīyaxte'ʟ
woods.	Wept	the rabbit.	Then cried again,	"Come

ṭuwitcén	tupaka·'mpo	o	acte'n
to here outside,	to that field,	O	Elk!''

Long, long ago Juan lived with his grandmother Maria. She always told him to go and hunt elk. Every day he went out to kill elk, but he always killed only coyotes and squirrels. Sometimes he killed mice. But nevertheless he always went out to hunt. One day he went again to the hunting country and cried, "Come on out into the open, Elk! We will fight and dance!" Then something came out of the woods; it was a rabbit! Then the man said to the rabbit, "I didn't call you! Your ears are like spoons with long handles!" Then the rabbit wept

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[38] Translated by Pedro Encinales, 1910.

and went into the woods again. But Juan remained and cried again,
"Come on out into the open, O Elk!"

THE FIGHT [39]

t'oʟ   k'weʟ   ṭ'i·yᵉ'   ṭe'a'mṭ'e   teṭaa''   amp'ya·'m
One   time   went   to hunt   of deer.   Then saw

hek'   t'ol   ṭ'aa̧''   kas   ko'p'yeme't'ak   pa·ke'n   hek'
I   one   deer.   Only   not saw me.   Think   I

tuko'p'me·sowaiik   me'nak'o   petsa·kai''   sexo·mo''   pet'eyine'k
that not was smelled   because   the wind   was bad.   Shot him

hek'   ṭaa̧''   ṭ'up'xa'k'   pet'eyine'k   hek'   umṭexiwai'yo
I   deer.   with the bow.   Shot him   I   in his heart.

amkī·'   hek'   ṭuma'   ṭa·'mo·maiyi'   to'o'ṭ'iitiná·pik
Then went   I   there.   Then began   to cut him up.

pesno'xo   hek'   ksa·'teʟ   ṭuma'   t'ick'ema'ʟ   peksa·'teʟ
Heard   I   speaking   there.   Tulareños   the speakers.

kya'maNeʟak'   heyo·'t'   a'memeṭ'ik'   ṭumak'e·'nax   ṭ'upe
Not saw me   they.   Then ran   to where came   to the

a'teloi   ka'ctakonax   make'u   pa'a'teloi   ampse·'ko   hek'
friend.   When arrived   to him   that friend   then told him   I

heyo''   a'teloi   pa·ke'n   hek'   tet'i   t'i'ck'e·maʟ
him,   "Friend,   think   I   to be   Tulareños

pekya'xt'eʟ   ṭ'iha'k' .   pṭ'a'kixo   hak'   heyo·'t'   ṭam
the comers   to us!   Kill them   we   them!''   Then

pa'a'teloi   pse·'hak   heyo''   'a̧ⁿ   pṭ'a·'kixo   hak'
that friend   told me   he,   "Yes!   Kill them   we!

k'tce'henmilak   hak'   heyo·'t'   se   xai'ya   ṭ'an   hak'
Are brave   we!   They   are   many   and   we

se   ko'kcu   kas   kasko'ṭ'amai'   ta·pṭ'a'k'taiax   kaske'ra'
are   two   only.   But not able   to kill us!   Only no,

ko'tce·henmilak   pa·ke'nohe'k'   ṭ'eheyo't'   ksa'ktox
not are brave!   Think I   that they   afraid

ma'yomalt'ai'ik'   pe.a'teloi   pse·'hak   heyo''   ṭa·m   hak'
when are seen!''   The friend   told me   he.   Then   we

ka'cil   ṭ'oo'ke   k'a·'t'   ṭa·m   petxa'u   hek'   peṭice'ko
seated   into   brush.   Then   had   I   the his knife

pa'a'teloi   ma·'kiṭ'ohék'   ta·cNe'ʟ   ṭ'upete't'eyitinai'   t'oʟ
that friend,   gave him I   some   of the arrows.   One

t'ick'e'ᴍ   kya'x   ṭ'umt'ewa·'ko   pek'a·'   a'mpet'eyineko
Tulareño   came   to beside   the us.   Then shot him

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[39] Translated by Pedro Encinales, 1910; Cf. Kroeber, The Washo Language,
present series, IV, 302.

hakꞏ   heyo''   ṭaʼmetʼeyinek   coke'nto   ṭꞏampaʼaʼteloi
we   him.   Then shot him   his eye.   Then that friend

petʼeyineꞏ'ko   peṭʼiʼpeno   ṭꞏaˋmkitcamnox   kaʼxapꞏ   aꞏʼmemeṭʼikꞏ
shot him   the his belly.   Then fell   dead.   Then ran

umkeʼo   heyo''   polṭʼeꞏ'ko   hekꞏ   tupꞏtꞏiʼcik   peṭaꞏʼko
to where   he.   Cut it   I   with the knife   the his head.

ṭaʼmtyɑxteˋʟ   petꞏiʼckemaˋʟ   ṭꞏoma   ṭꞏaˋmomaiʼyeʼ   ṭakꞏaꞏʼltenaʼ
Then came   the Tulareños   there.   Then began   to fight!

petʼeyitinekꞏ   hakꞏ   aʼmetʼeyinekꞏ   tʼoʟ   ṭꞏeheyoʼtꞏ
Shot them   we.   Then shot   one   of them.

ṭaˋmameʼsik   heyoꞏʼtꞏ   yɑxteʼʟ   .   keʼraʼ   kaꞏʼsuxtax   mom
Then cried   them,   ''Come!   No,   not afraid   you!

moꞏm   kꞏoʼkꞏaꞏmko   ṭukoʼtʼeyineꞏtꞏax   ṭꞏupe   tꞏkoʼtꞏiyinai
You   not able   to shoot us   with the   your arrows!

petʼeyineꞏʼtʼkam   hakꞏ   kaʼxatep   moꞏʼmtaʼ   pseꞏʼtʼko
Shoot you   we!   Dead   you soon!''   Told them

hekꞏ   ṭel.īꞏʼn   kꞏtsʼɑʼktox   ṭupeskʼaꞏʼmo   kꞏtsʼɑʼktoxákꞏ
I   while yet   were afraid   to the near.   Feared me

paꞏʼmko   ketiʼ   hakꞏ   koʼkculo   ṭeheyoꞏʼtꞏ   tʼoʟ
killed   because   we   two already   of them.   One

tʼeheyoꞏʼtꞏ   petʼeyineꞏ'ko   ksɑʼ   peʼaʼteloi   kꞏmɑʼʟtox
of them   shot him   very   the friend.   Jumped

hakꞏ   kꞏoˋkꞏotʼnaꞏʼpelṭʼe   hakꞏ   ṭaʼmtꞏyɑx   peṭetʼoꞏʼiyiɴ
we,   dodged   we.   Then came   the arrows

ṭꞏeṭꞏewaiʼyu   kīꞏʼsile   paʼaʼteloi   pṭʼeʼkaxo   hakꞏ   tʼoʟ
to his side   all   that friend.   Killed   we   one

tickeꞏʼm   tꞏyɑʼ   ṭꞏihaʼk   ṭaʼmameṭʼʟik   maskʼaꞏʼmkeu
Tulareño   each   of us.   Then ran   to near him.

ṭaꞏʼm.metꞏʟik   ṭumatceʼɴ   kꞏeꞏʼpoꞏṭʼilau   hakꞏ   heyoꞏʼtꞏ
Then ran   to distance.   Followed them   we   them.

koʼxomʼtelaʼ   kaspꞏaʼmko   hakꞏ   kʼiʼcaʼ   ṭꞏeheyoꞏʼṭꞏ   xaiʼyaʼ
Escaped they   but killed   we   four   of them.   Many

heyoꞏʼtꞏ   pakeꞏʼno   hekꞏ   teṭʼoʼe   tɑꞏmaʼʼ   ṭaʼmauʟṭʼekꞏ
they.   Think   I   that ten   men.   Then cut

kīꞏʼsileʼ   peṭaxaʼko   pekiʼcaʼ   tɑmɑʼⁿʼ   kaʼxatepꞏ   paʼaʼteloi
all   the their heads   the four   men   dead.   That friend

kꞏeʼnaiꞏ   meꞏʼno   ṭaꞏʼmʼomaꞏiyiʼ   ṭaiʼyaʼʟ   ṭumṭaꞏʼm
wounded   his hand.   Then began   to go   to house.

ṭaꞏʼmaiyaꞏʟ   ṭꞏumatꞏaꞏʼtꞏeꞏma   ṭꞏaʼpaʼtʟa
Then came   to our houses,   and danced.

Once I went out to hunt deer. I saw one and he didn't see me. I think he didn't smell me because the wind was blowing the other way. So I shot him with my bow and arrow. I got him in the heart. Then I went up to him and began to cut him up. But while I was busy there I heard somebody speak. It was a party of Tulareños who were speaking. But they didn't see me. So I ran back to where I had left my friend and said to him, "Friend, I think that there are some Tulareños coming up to us. Let's kill them!" And my friend replied, "Yes, we can kill them all right! We are brave men. They are many and we are only two but just the same they won't be able to kill us! They aren't brave; I think they'll be afraid when they see us." That's what my friend said to me.

So we went into the brush. I took my friend's knife and I gave him some of my arrows. Then one of the Tulareños came near us and we shot him. I shot him in the eye and my friend hit him in the belly. He fell dead and I ran up to him and cut his head off with my knife. Then the other Tulareños came up and we began to fight. We shot at them and hit one of them. Then I yelled out, "Come on! We aren't afraid of you; you can't shoot us with your arrows! We'll shoot you; you'll all be dead pretty soon." That was what I said to them while they were afraid to come close. They were afraid because we had killed two of them already. One of them kept shooting at my friend. But we jumped and dodged and all the arrows passed by on the side. Then each of us killed another Tulareño and ran up to them. Then they fled to a distance and we followed them. The rest of them escaped but we killed four of them. They were very many; I think there were ten men.

Then we cut off the heads of the four slain men and then started out for our house. My friend was wounded in the hand. And when we came to the house we had a great celebration and dance.

DIALECT OF SAN MIGUEL
THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD [40]

letetaha′pu	wela·′k′	ţ‛a′miyɑx·olap’e″	ta′mico·ʟ
When made was	the earth	then came the sea.	Then rose

ţoţ’op‛o′iya	xolap’e″	ke′kaxosna′iţ‛o’	ţ’up‛o′iya	ketc‛ą″
to the mountain	the sea.	Was the eagle then	mountain	great.

[40] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Said to be version of San Antonio. Cf. Ethnology, 190; present paper, pp. 81, 83.

ṭa′meyexotc‘ene′′   ta′meyaxhoṭ‘a′muʟ   ṭa′meṭ‘e′t   hosna′i‘
Then came the old woman.   Then came the puma;   then said   the eagle,

umta·′net‘ᴍe‘cax   patálok‘ē′   hop′a′ta′ʟ   tameṭ‘e′t
‘‘Wilt thou give thy whiskers？   Lassoo it I   the basket.′′   Then said

ṭoṭ‘a·xwe′n′   xosna′i   ne′′cxo′   ṭa′mepetak   ṭuhela′k′
to the dove   the eagle,   ‘‘Fetch earth!′′   Then made   of the earth

hosna′i   ṭa′mepetakṭo   lene′′   ṭoteta′p‘koʟ   la′pai
the eagle.   Then made did   woman   of elder,   three

a′meṭetaxap   hólene′′   a′mepuxumk‘ᴜwa′p‘   ṭa′meṭe′t
then made   the woman.   Then entered in sweat house.   Then said

hock′a′n′   ni′′hoti′tc’e·lak   yik‘e′   ẉe′amαs   ki·′   ma’a′ᴜ
the hawk,   ‘‘Fetch the *barsalillo!*   Go!′′   The coyote   went   bring

hotc’e·′lak   kera′′   ku·′′ᵂhuwu′titc’e·lak   ṭa′mekīk‘eṭ‘u′
the *barsalillo.*   ‘‘No!   Not is my *barsalillo!′′*   Then went did,

keno·′lk‘e′to′   ṭamepeta′ko   lama·′ta   komoleple′′   hoṭ’epo·′ṭ′
sweated did.   Then made   bower,   finished   the people

ṭotenake′t‘o′   ṭa′meṭetai   p’e′nap’e′
made did.   Then made   fiesta.

The old Woman of the Sea was jealous of Eagle and wished to be more powerful than he. So she came towards him with her basket in which she carried the sea. Continually she poured the water out of the basket until it covered all the land. It rose nearly to the top of Santa Lucia Peak where were gathered Eagle and the other animals. Then Eagle said to Puma, ‘‘Lend me your whiskers to lassoo the basket.′′ He made a lariat out of the whiskers of Puma and lassoed the basket. Then the sea ceased rising and the old woman died.

Then said Eagle to Dove, ‘‘Fetch some earth!′′ Then Eagle made the world of the mud brought by the dove. Then he took three sticks of elder and formed from these a woman and two men. But still they had no life. They all entered the sweat-house. Then said Prairie-Falcon, ‘‘Fetch my *barsalillo!* Coyote went to bring it but brought a load of different wood. ‘‘No!′′ said Prairie-Falcon. ‘‘That is not my *barsalillo,*′′ and Coyote had to go again. Then they all sweated. After sweating the eagle blew on the elder-wood people and they lived. Then they made a bower of branches and held a great fiesta.

<div align="center">THE THEFT OF FIRE [41]</div>

sa′nenexoc·k’a′n   ho′ṭoxwa′ṭ‘o′   hock’a′n   wa′lual′   ṭ‘a′so′
Married the hawk,   the mother-in-law his   the hawk   bullbat,   her name.

tc‘ine′′   p‘a′lxo′   ṭepokoṭ’hoṭo′   hoṭ‘e·le′m′   ṭa′miye
Old woman   wished   to kill him did   the son-in-law.   Then went

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[41] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. p. 82.

hock'ạ'n   peta''ko'   hoṭ'iope''   he'k'a'   toṭoxwa·'to'
the hawk   made her   the grubs.   Said   to his mother-in-law.

ṭa'miye   hock'ạ'n   hosene'ᵘ'   kī·'   ne'ụ'   ho.e'xo'
Then went   the hawk   the his wife,   "Go   bring   the her mother."

kīṭ'o'   p'i'cxo't   ṭiope''   ṭa'melicxai   ṭa'miyex   hotc'ene''
Went did,   ate they   grubs.   Then rained,   then came   the old woman

ṭa'xo   p'aso   umṭe·mo''   ṭa'meṭekamkua'pɪ   hosna'i'
and the   her child   to her house.   Then were in sweat-house   the eagle

ṭa'xohelk'a'   ṭamecmak'ai'ṭ'o'   umkwa'p'ı   li'cxaiṭ'o'
and the coyote.   Then darkened did   in sweat-house.   Rained did

kitc'ạ''   ṭa'mexwenṭ'o'   tc'ine''   ake'laxa   mak'e'weʟ
great.   Then came did   old woman.   "Where door?"   "To north."

ake'laxa   map'xa'nol   laxa'ᴍ   ṭa'meṭe't   hotc'ene''
"Where door?"   "To south   door."   Then said   the old woman,

hi'k'a'no'   kīk'ẹ''   neụ'kẹ'   lap'e''   ṭameṭ'ikaṭ'o'
"Swear now,   go I,   bring I   sea!"   Then was then

le'cxai   ke'rako'p'ecxai   ṭa'meṭetaka   weṭelo''   yik'e'
rain;   no, not dawned.   Then told   martin,   "Go

umle'm   o'ṭ'ika   hotc'anone''   me·'n'   ṭa'menacṭ'o'
aloft   if is   the light."   Went,   then returned did,

ṭa'meṭet   ha·'   keka'   tc'anone'   no'   he'ka'   hosna'i'
then said,   "Yes,   is   light."   "Good!"   said   the eagle.

yike'wesna'k   ni'   ṭ'a'a'u'   wesnak   ṭa'meṭiko'nox
"Go the kangaroo-rat,   bring   fire   the kangaroo-rat."   Then arrived

hosna'k   cme·'ʟ   ṭoṭ'a'a'u'   ta'mecap   hoṭ'uma'u'
the kangaroo-rat,   beaten   of the fire.   Then extinguished   the cargo.

ṭa'mexwenosna'kṭo'   ṭa'meṭet   yik'e'ṭo'   xo·''mɪ   kī·'ṭo'
Then arrived the kangaroo-rat did.   Then told,   "Go   roadrunner!"   Went did

oxo''ᴍɪ   pa·'xo   ṭa'a'u'   ṭ'ucma·'i'   a'mexwenṭo'
the roadrunner.   Put it   fire   in cheeks.   Then arrived did,

ṭa'meṭeta'k   kera''   ko'xwen   k'u'tex   ṭulama'uʷ
then said,   "No,   not arrived."   Remained   with food.

ṭa'meṭetak   howe·ṭelo''   yikī'umle·'m   ṭa'meṭ'okono'xo·
Then told   the martin,   "Go aloft!"   Then arrived

hosa·'xe   kī   ne'ụ'   ṭa'a'u'   ṭ'a'miyex   hotc'anone''
the bird,   went   brought   fire.   Then came   the light.

hosa·'xe   ma'aumṭ'ee'lko'   ṭa'a'u'   p'ecxa'iṭo'   xạ'ta
The bird   carried in his beak   fire.   Dawned did;   wept

hoṭ'a'muʟ   ṭa'meṭe't'osna'i'   mī'yo'k   ṭ'umxa·'ta   yi'ke'
the puma.   Then said the eagle,   "Why   thy weeping?   Go

tc'a'u   ṭaa''pⁱ   akitī''   p'oxe'm'   omṭipo·'t'tecko'
hunt   deer!"   "How make   sinew?"   "Thou not human art!

ma·mo′c	hot‘me′ma‘ṭ	ṭamexa·′ta	hoṭo·xo′’ṭu’	komxa·′ta
Preserve	the thy meat.''	Then wept .	the wolf did.	''Don't weep!
yike′	tc’a′u·’	humuī′’	aketī′	puxe′m’	omṭipo′t’
Go	hunt	the antelope!''	''How make	sinew?''	''Thou not human
ti′cko	mi′cax	ṭimi′ṭ’ik	mixa·′taṭo’	xo·peNe′L
art!	Eat	running!''	And wept did	the vulture.
tc’a′uhopa′mat	aketīhopoxe′m’	mi′caxka	ta′meteto
''Seek the carrion!''	''How make the sinew?''	''Eat only!''	Them told did
‘elk’a	yike′‘	aketīhopoxe′m’	mepe′noxka
coyote,	''Go!''	''How make the sinew?''	''Gulp only!''

Long ago when all the animals were people Prairie-Falcon was married and his mother-in-law was Bullbat. She wished to kill her son-in-law. Prairie-Falcon went out to make her some grubs to eat, as the animals in this time could make whatever they wanted. Then he said to his wife, ''The grubs are ready; bring your mother.'' So they went and ate grubs. Then it began to rain and the old woman and her daughter returned to the house.

Eagle and Coyote were in the sweat-house when it became dark and rained hard; the old woman couldn't find the door in the darkness.[41a] ''Where is the door?'' she asked. ''To the north!'' But she could not find it. ''Where is the door?'' she demanded again. ''To the south!'' Then the old woman became furiously angry and said, ''I swear I will go and bring the sea!'' And she went away.

Many days passed and it did not dawn but rained continually. Then said Eagle to Martin, ''Fly up to see if there is any light.'' Martin flew high in the sky and finally returned and said, ''Yes, there is light.'' ''Good!'' said Eagle. ''Go, Kangaroo-rat and bring it!'' Kangaroo-rat went and stole some fire from those who were guarding it. They fought with him but he wrapped the fire around him with a white bandage. On this account he still has a white band around his body. But the fire went out during the long journey and Kangaroo-rat arrived fruitless. Then said Eagle, ''Go thou, Roadrunner!'' Roadrunner went and secured the fire and put it in his cheeks. But he liked it so much he remained there eating fire. On this account he has red cheeks. Then they said, after waiting, ''He did not arrive there.'' So they said to Martin, ''Go up thou!'' Martin went and brought fire in his beak. Then there was light and it dawned.

Then Puma wept because he was hungry and cold; he was the king of the animals. But Eagle said, ''Why dost thou weep? Go

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41a Cf. E. W. Gifford, ''Miwok Myths,'' this series, XII, 290.

hunt deer! Thou shalt not be human!'' ''But how shall I treat them?'' inquired Puma. ''Guard everything thou catchest!'' And Wolf also wept. ''Don't weep!'' said Eagle. ''Go hunt antelopes!'' ''How shall I treat them?'' ''Eat them running! Thou art not human!'' And Vulture also wept. ''Seek carrion!'' commanded Eagle. ''How shall I treat it?'' ''Merely eat it!'' And Coyote wept also. ''Go!'' ''How shall I treat my food?'' ''Just gulp it down!''

THE TAR-WOMAN [42]

ṭꞏa'miye	hock'a'n	ta'l·o'	hola'p'	ya'mo'
Then went	the hawk.	Accompanied	the raven.	Saw her

hotc'a'hé'	ṭa'meṭet	hock'a'n	umpet'xa'u	oṭolole''	hạ'
the Chahe.	Then said	the hawk,	''Hast thou got	the flute?'	''Yes.

ṭa'lṭom'	ṭ'mi'txa	ṭalṭumt'ıca'xal	ṭe'msaxten	xa'wela'k'
What thine,	thy possession?	What thy power?''	''Nephews,	far the land;

ma'xap	umṭi'tc'o'ᴍ	ṭa'meneuṭohoṭolole''	ṭa'meṭaxap
get up	on shoulder.''	Then seized did the flute;	then got up

umṭitc'o'm'	ka'xap	ṭa'meṭet	wáyawaye'	xe'sekola'
on shoulder.	Got up.	Then said,	''Wayawaye!	Hesekola!

kēwᵉts'its'tená	ṭewi'le·tek	ṭa'me.axa·'ta	hoṭ'olole''
Cries this	which kill I!''	Then got up on	the flute;

ṭa'metom'	hola·'p'ı	ṭa'mecauwat	ṭa'meneuṭo·ck'an
then fell	the raven;	then black.	Then seized did the hawk

hoṭaca'x	ṭa'memoloxotc'ene·''	hotc'axe'	lexala·'	ṭaxle
the feather.	Then jumped the old woman,	the Chahe.	''Grandfather!''	And already

ti'ṭ'oʟpet	po'xṭela'k'	hotc'axe''	k'o'ʟpex	lo·'lk'ę''
scalded.	Entered in earth	the Chahe.	Came out,	''Burnt I!''

k'o'ʟpext'ᴍa'	hoṭ'i·ko''ᵘ	pisi'lxo'	wela'k'	k'o'lpex
Sprouted mescal	everywhere	whole	the earth.	Sprouted

peyexte·'to'	ka·'xwen	ho·t'ᴍa'	peke'lentxo	wela·'k'
its seed;	many	the mescal.	Circled	the earth.

lecṭikoᵘ'	smak'	ṭumla'luo	ṭa'meṭika'	t'ᴍa	ketcạ·'
South-west	tar	then left it.	Then is	mescal	great.

we·k'e'weʟ	hute't'xaptep	hotc'ine·''	huke'u'	mtana''
At north	ended	the old woman,	the place.	Now

kiṭe·'mna	sikililip	· maka·''	ṭo·cko'ɴ'ᴇ	he'u'
sounds	encircle;	now implanted	she	

te·ṭa'xaptep	ki·'silip	ṭo'toxoyota·'i'	ṭau'me	taxa'ptep
to finish	all	life	until	ends

[42] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 194; present paper, p. 84.

umk'wa′ʟ   tet'a′nkox   oketc'a·′′   ot'a·′t'o′   otc'ene̦′′
world.   Planted   the great   the fruit.   The old woman

he′u̦′   le′u̦xo′   k'ē′wel   kē′u′   hu′tet'axaptep
she   is   north,   there.   Ended

hapok'e′lec
the story.

In former times there was an old woman known as Chahe. Her stomach was a basket full of boiling tar which she carried on her shoulder. She would inveigle people to approach her and then throw them into the boiling tar where they were digested. One day she was seated on a hill waiting for someone to pass by. Then there came Prairie-Falcon accompanied by his uncle Raven. They saw Chahe and Prairie-Falcon said, "Have you got your flute?" "Yes," said Raven. "What charms have you?" For both of the friends possessed magic flutes which aided them in everything they undertook.

When Chahe saw them she said, ingratiatingly, "Nephews, you have a long journey to go. Better get up on my shoulder and let me carry you." So they flew up on their flutes and sat on her shoulder; she was very tall. Then she sang:

Wayawaye! Hesekola!
It is crying, that which I am going to kill!

Then they stood up on their flutes but Raven missed his balance and fell into the basket of tar. That is the reason he is so black; before this Raven was as beautiful as Prairie-Falcon. But the latter reached down and caught Raven by one feather and hauled him out and revived him. Then they pulled out their fire drills and set fire to the tar. Chahe jumped as the fire touched her and cried out, "Oh, grandfather!" Her skin began to peel off and she ran about furiously. She ran into the earth in her endeavor to extinguish the fire, and then came out again. "I am burning up!" she cried. All over the earth she ran leaving drops of burning tar, and every place where the tar fell there sprouted the mescal. Much tar fell to the southwest and there is a great mescal. Her course fiinally ended in the north where she still is heard running in circles. And so she will continue all her life to the end of the world, dropping seeds of mescal. There is still the old woman in the north.

My story is ended.

PRAIRIE-FALCON AND ELF [43]

ṭa′mīyax   umṭake″   otcilwa′iɪ   ṭeci′k′   ka′ro′
Then came   in road   the old man   barn owl.   ?

kamṭi′   he′k′a   makạ″   ṭa′miyax   hock′an   k′e′sko′
Hunted,   said   ?   Then came   the hawk   spying.

ṭamik′ạ·′kạ   tcilwa′i   he′k′a   makạ″   k′a′ka   ṭoṭewo′ts′o′
Then sang   old man,   said   ?   Sang,   ''With feather

kake′ʟ′   ṭicxe′po′   hosk′a`mʌa′n′   wɪ   wɪ   wɪ
hangs   his foot   the elf!   Whee!   Whee!   Whee!''

a′meṭ′ica′ṭo   ta′metika   howetcele″   hik′a   te′k′a
Then walked did.   Then was   the bunting   said,   ''Who is

mi′slipap   ṭa′meyax   kī·′   hoskama′a′n′   ko′mop   cxa′p
smells himself?''   Then came   went   the elf,   made himself   rock.

ṭa′meṭ′etepai   ha′lap   ṭa′a′u′   keeme″ʟ   ṭa′meṭ′xauwat
Then said,   ''Throw   fire.''   Threw.   Then became yellow

hot′ɪcu″   ṭamexa·′ta′   umk′wa′p   a′mṭepeʟ   ka′pel
the his breast   Then wept   in sweat-house.   Then filled,   filled

hoṭica·′to′   a′meṭɪkonox   umṭiti′lk′o   ′oṭoca·′to   hock′a′ɒ
the his tears.   Then arrived   to his head   the his tears   the hawk.

a′miyix   kī·′ṭo′   ṭa′meṭo′yokapṭo′   a′miyi   ki·′ṭo′
Then came   went did.   Then revived did.   Then went,   went did.

me′ṭopokapṭo′   ṭa′meyi   hosk′a′n   keuke′   xīlap′ṭo′
When revived did   then went   the hawk   where   braves did.

tameka·′ṭo′   hotcine″   pasie′ᴍ   xuɪ   ka′natapato″
Then was there   the old woman   named   Xui.   Was pounding

pe″ʟɪ   ke′ra′   cuke′nt′o   ṭa′meye   kīxola′p′ṭo′   loko′xo′
pil.   No   her eyes.   Then went,   went the raven did,   snatched it,

pamo″   hope″ʟ   a′miyaxtóɴ   ṭamikī·′yahock′an   ko′tisen
ate it   the pil.   Then came again   then came the hawk,   ''Be careful!''

hẹ′ẹ″   yu′wan   nape′ʟ′   a′mipacai′yo   pane′   támipopa·′uṭo′
''Yes.   Sweet   this pil!''   Then raised it   pestle.   Then seized it did.

me′ten   p′o′caiṭo′   hop′a′ɴE   ṭa′mipopa·′uṭo′   hola·′p′
When again   raised did   the pestle,   then seized it did   the raven.

ṭa′metet   omya′mcep   ṭa′miyehock′a′n   papo′xo   me′neno′
Then said,   ''Dost see?''   Then went the hawk,   put in   his hand.

ṭa′mepopa·uṭo′   hoṭits′a′lto′   ṭa′mexotko′   ṭa′mela·′p′seṭo′
Then seized did   the tip of his wing.   Then blew him,   then raven was there.

a′miyiṭo′   kī·′ṭo′   ya′ma   ocka′k′   p′a′mas   ṭe′metet
Then went did,   went did,   saw   the crow.   Shouted,   then told,

he′k′a′   kī′yaxno″   ṭepot′ha′lap′   hoṭika′uwi   ameṭ′o′xoɴ
said,   ''Come soon   people!''   The sleepiness.   Then snored,

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[43] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 192; present paper, pp. 67, 92, 93.

ka′uwɪ   kī′ka   ucokonoi′   ṭa′kenco′′   xu′tia   hoṭa’a′p
slept. Was   the great owl,   doctor was. .   Sick   the deer

kitc‘ạ’   ṭa′meṭet   me′nok‘eko′   hoṭa′ken   ṭa′meṭ‘et
great.   Then said,   "Go to see I him   the doctor.′′   Then said

hocokeno′i’   akī′teno‘pa′mka   anaṭo′°poka   eme·′tɪkas
the great owl,   "Where he who kills thee?   Allow head   to see if can

te·tc’o′inọ′‘
suck will!′′

Old man Barn-Owl came along the road; he had been hunting with
the aid of his magic feather with which he killed his game. Prairie-
Falcon came after him,spying. Then the old man sang:

> Because of my feather,
> Elf hangs by his foot!
> Whee! Whee! Whee!

For he had caught Elf and hung him up by one foot in his sweat-
house so as to kill him. Then he went away.

Then Prairie-Falcon went to the sweat-house and wept; he wept
so long that the house filled with his tears, they reached the head of
Elf hanging there and revived him.

Elf was seated smelling his arms when Bunting came by and
laughed and said, "Who is this who is smelling himself?" At that
Elf went and turned himself into stone. Then Prairie-Falcon got
angry and said, "I will throw fire at him!" He did so, and for that
reason Bunting's breast is yellow to this day.

Then, after reviving Elf, Prairie-Falcon went to meet the other
brave animals. There was an old woman named Hui who was pound-
ing pil in a mortar. She had no eyes. Raven was there putting his
foot in the mortar and stealing some pil. Prairie-Falcon came along
and said, "Take care!" "Yes," replied Raven, "but this pil is very
sweet!" Whenever she raised the pestle Raven would seize a hand-
ful of pil. "Do you not see?" he said. At last Raven was a moment
slow and Hui pounded him in the mortar. Then Prairie-Falcon
reached in his talons and caught him by the tip of the wing and pulled
him out. He blew on him and Raven assumed his present shape.

Prairie-Falcon then went and encountered Crow who cried to
him, "The Humans are coming now!" Prairie-Falcon caused him to
sleep and snore.

Great-Owl was a medicine-man. The big Deer was sick and said,
"I will go and see the doctor." Then said Great Owl, "Who is the
man who is trying to kill you? Let me suck your head."

THE SERPENT[44]

ke'ka'	hoṭinele''	p'i'cxo'	hoṭ'ipo'ṭ'	petak'a'u
Was	the serpent.	Ate him	the Indian.	Named him.

pet'xa'u'	hoṭ'uk'o''ʏɪ	huṭema'iṭ'o'	ṭela'ᴍɪ	ṭa'mepesno'xo'
Had it	the whirlwind	that gave did	to eat.	Then heard him

hock'an'	ṭa'meṭet	aketa'tī	he'k'a'	hola'p'	k'a'lau'
the hawk.	Then said,	"How to do?"	Said	the raven,	"How many

ṭumtc'a'haʟ	pet'xa'uk'e̦'	ṭike'ra'	kopa'utek	hock'o't
thy powers?"	"Have I	that no	not overtake me	the snake.

pet'xa'u	k'e'u'	ṭoṭi'pe'ɴ	no̦	nak'e''	ha'kic
Have it	where	quick.''	"Good!	This I	two

la'pai	ṭ'opo'ịyela	ke'u̦'	ṭ'ica'xal	ake'ho'	a·some·'nekʌ
three	mountains.	There	power.''	"Where the?''	"Asomeneka

hoke'u̦'	aketo'nho'	a·'sumloiya'ᴍɪ	ṭanmo''	ha̦·'
the place.''	"Where again the?''	"Asumloyam.	And thou?''	"Yes.

pa'xok'e''	ṭei'tc'ai'	no'	aketunke'u	umle'saᴍ
Place I	neck!''	"Good!	Where again place?''	"At Morro,

ṭomele'u̦'	t'ca'haʟ	no̦'	poxk'e'ṭo'	nu̦.''i	me·'no
last	power.''	"Good!	Enter I did.	Good is.	Let's see

nok'xa'	hock'ot	ṭik'a'menṭo'	ki'yalṭo'	co'keneock'o't
we	the snake	that we saw did.''	Went they did,	awoke the snake.

mecu'ke·nock'ot'ṭu'	ke'we·ts'na	ṭa'meṭ'uk'	hots'ak'a'i
When awoke the snake did	shouted.	Then broke	the wind.

yoṭ'me'	wi't'nak	ṭ'u'k'	hots'aka'i	ṭ'ak'ak'o'
"Come now,	nephew!''	Broke	the wind,	felled.

no'	na'i'	kaṭ'me'	ki'yax	leu'	hock'o't
"Good!	Run!	Let's go now!''	Came	then	the snake.

leᴍ	kera̦''	lak'	xaipa'ko'	pa'mtakna'	no̦
"Up!''	"No!	Down!''	"Summon strength!	Seize this!	Good!''

kīyaxle'u̦'	kewe·ts'nale''	hotinele''	male'ntax	t'me
Came then,	shouted	the serpent.	"Remember	pray!''

no̦	xaiya'ʟ	kaxoṭ'ʟop	t'me	xa·'tanok'e''
"Good!	Went	passed	then!''	"Weep will I.''

ko'mxa·ta	lale'x	ṭumtc'a·'haʟ	no̦'	he'la
"Don't weep!	Throw	thy power!	Good!	Wait!

loiyamka'ka'	keuṭc'a'haʟ	a̦·	na'i'	leᴍ	no̦
Mountain is	there power!''	"Yes!	Run	up!	Good!

male'nt'xo	k'e·'	umle'saᴍ	no̦'	k'a	na'i'
Remember it	I	at Morro!''	"Good!''	said	"Run!

mel'	koptc'eplo	kewe'aca'	xaipa'koa'ɴɪ	pa'mtak
ahead!''	"Tired already,	uncle!''	"Summon strength please!	Seize

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44 Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 193; present paper, p. 92.

nonack'ot   leᴍ   t'me·'ke'   ṭa'mī¹ṭo'   kīyalumle·'ᴍ
will this snake!   Up!   Go!''   Then went did,   went upwards,

ko'ṭ'atnoxṭo'   ṭa'meṭee'l'hock'at'ṭo'   ka·ᵃloṭo'   k'e'l·o'
went headlong did.   Then preceded the snake did.   Was already did.   Enveloped

hole'saᴍ   ṭa'meṭko'nox   t'u'inox   umṭ'ɪka'ko'   hock'o't
the Morro.   Then arrived,   settled   on peak.   The snake

se'kelelep   le'u̱'   hock'o't   ye'nt'xole'u̱'   ṭa'meṭot'oinop
enveloped   then.   The snake   caught him then.   Then jumped

hock'a'n'   ṭa'mepeta·no   hoṭitomu'i'   ṭa'mepoko't'o'ṭo'
the hawk.   Then seized   the charm.   Then killed him did;

k'i'ca'   ṭ'a'kai'   hock'o't   he'u'wa'ṭikasmeko'i
four   pieces   the snake.   Therefore are rattlesnakes,

ṭacni'ʟ   wa''ṭika'   ṭeṭ'xa'ptep   le'   tinele''
others;   therefore are.   Died   already   serpent.

hewucwa·'t'oxo'   hoṭi*kalno*'   ka'xwen   ne''wo't
Therefore poison   the flesh.   many   got they

co'watot   ṭa'miyɑx   helk'a'   ne'u̱to'ɴ   co'wato
poison.   Then came   coyote,   got also   poison.

ṭa'miṭika   hosku'ntui'   smiko·'i   umla'mka   he''k'a'
Then are   the little   rattlesnakes   at shore   Said

hock'o't   ku'xo¹ yo·tap'   kīyɑx   ce'tep   ṭaʟk'e'
the snake,   ''Live   always.   Die   I

le̱'u̱'   kasko'xo·yoita'p
already,   but they live.''

Once there was an animal which ate the Indians and was called Serpent. The whirlwind was his protector and brought him food. Prairie-Falcon heard of him and said, ''What shall we do?'' ''How many powers have you?'' asked Raven. ''I have one so fast that the snake will not be able to catch me.'' ''Good!'' ''In two or three different mountains, there are my powers.'' ''Where?'' asked Prairie-Falcon. ''At Asomeneka.'' ''And the other?'' ''At Asumloyam.'' (Both mountains are near to Cholam where the snake also lived.) ''And you?'' ''Oh, I'll risk my neck anywhere!'' ''Good! Where is your power?'' ''At the Morro; that is the last power.'' ''Good! I have been there; that's all right. Let's go and see the snake.''

They went and the snake awoke, and when he awoke he cried out for the whirlwind. ''Come along, nephew!'' cried Prairie-Falcon. Along came the wind, felling everything in its path. ''Good! Run!! Come on!!!!''shouted Prairie-Falcon and they fled across country with the snake and the wind close behind them. ''Fly up!'' yelled one.

"No, down!" shouted the other. "Summon up your strength or he will catch us! Good!" Serpent came yelling. "Just remember your powers," entreated Prairie-Falcon. "Good! They have passed." "I am going to cry," said Raven. "No! Don't cry! Cast your spell! Good!" "Wait a moment; there in the mountains are my powers!" "Yes, fly up! Good! I remember mine at the Morro." "Good!" said the Raven. "Fly ahead; I am tired, uncle!" "Just summon all your strength or the snake will get us! Fly up! Go!" And they flew towards Morro with the snake in pursuit. They flew upwards, headlong, before the serpent. He wrapped himself around the Morro from beneath and the allies seated themselves on the top. He had almost caught them when up jumped Prairie-Falcon and seized his charm. With it he cut the snake into four pieces and killed him.

And from these four pieces were formed the snakes of today. On this account there are rattlesnakes and others; therefore their flesh is poison. Many snakes got their poison thus. Coyote also came and secured poison. There are many little rattlesnakes at the coast near Morro. The old snake said, "They shall live forever; I have died, but they will live."

THE ELF AND THE BEAR[45]

ke'kaṭo	hoṭaa''pɪ	ho.e·'xo'	hoskamaxa'n'
Was then	the deer,	the his mother	the elf.

ṭa'mexwen	hoṭ'ʌxa'i'	umtantc'a·'ut'mike	he̞''e̞	k'e̞'
Then came	the bear.	"Wilt permit hunt thy lice?"	"Yes."	"I

etc'a'u·'	nọ·	tc'a'wo	k'e'	mīyok	ṭoku'micax
hunt;	now	hunt them	I."	"Why	dost not thou eat?"

ke'ra'	ke'rcax	wa'kaṭ'ṭ'a'ʟ	no'	k'e·ts'a	yi'x
"No,	not I eat	toads!"	"Good!	I first!"	"Come!

etc'a'u'	t' mi'ke'	a'mp'icxoṭu'	umla'k'aiyo	a'meco·ka'
Catch	thy lice!"	Then bit her did	in her neck.	Then ripped

ṭ'e'peno	ṭa'meṭik'a'topṭo'	hoskamªha'n'	a'meṭɪca·
her belly.	Then was there	the elf.	Then went

hoṭ'ʌxai''	p'i'cxo'	ta'meṭi'thoskam'a'n	ce·'ta	ṭicxe·'po'
the bear,	ate her.	Then said the elf,	"Scabby	his feet,

sko'nt'o'yi'	coke'nt'o'	ṭ'u'moi·ne'	ṭits'e''p	kake'ṭ'o'
little	his eyes	stubby	tail!"	said did.

ṭók'ape·ca''wɪ	mopk'e'ṭ'o'	a'meya·kike·ṭu	kikeumke'unene''
Within the hollow stone	grew did.	Then went did,	went to where grandmother,

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45 Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. E. W. Gifford, "Miwok Myths," this series, XII, 286, 333.

osaya·'pa'   mop'ke·'ṭo'   umke'unene''   a'mek'ate'k
the rainbow.   Grew did,   there where grandmother.   Then fight

hoṭ'eʟxo'   ṭa'meṭe't   honene''   ko'milyo·ta
the thunder.   Then said   the grandmother,   ''Do not select him now!

xa'ɪ   pena'ika   kerą''   ku'penaiyako   hą·'   mono''
Bad!   Wound thee!''   ''No!   Not wound me!   ''Yes!   Thou now!

kumt'ᴍe'na·iko   kécxoneka'   tipucxa'i'   ṭa'me·ta
Not thy wounding?   Art weak only.''   ''At dawn   then test

hoṭ'ilxo'   p'ama'sko   k'e''   ṭepucxa'i   ṭa'miyax
the thunder.   Call him   I!''   At dawn   then came

ṭ'e'ʟxo'   oko'penaiyaxṭo'   cuka'iyelak   kasko'penaiyak
thunder.   ''Not wounded me did;   kicked me   but not wounded me.''

ka'ceʟ   ṭamhę'ų   ṭo'mel'   wela'k'   kera'   k'e·lap'k'e''
Tested   then   to end   of world.   ''No,   wrap I

ṭusie·'t'   tc'ka'ten'   sie't'   nene·''   ma'xṭop'ai'
in feather,   red   feather,   grandmother.''   ''Put ashes

umṭi'kau'   misxa·'teʟ   okepenaiyak   ole'cxai'   no'
on body!   Urinate!''   ''Not wound me   the rain!''   ''Good!

ma'menip   kī·le'cxai   a'meṭámenep   ka'menepṭ'o'
Come out!''   Went rain.   Then came out,   came out did.

kace'ʟ   t'i'ṭ'o'   a'mekepṭ'a   a'mecitipṭo'   kepṭ'ą'
Tried   to do.   Then was cold,   then died did.   Was cold.

ṭámetetoanęų'   ko'milio·ta   nak'olcīyip   ṭa'meṭan'ṭo'
Then said the his grandmother,   ''Don't concern thyself   these things!''   Then
                                                                              arose did,

ṭe'mīyi'   k'ī·ṭ'o'   tc'a'wo'   le·'   pokoṭ'xo   e·'xo'   īya·'mo'
then went,   went did.   Sought him   previously   killed her   his mother.   Saw them

hakɪsme·'teno'   ṭamepokoṭ'xo   ho·sku'nt'ui'   hoṭaxa·'iyak'ten'
two his children.   Then killed them   the little ones,   the bears,

papa'to'   pani'k'o'   ṭa'ntica   hoṭʌxai'   xa'pko'
roasted them,   gave him.   Then wandered   the bear,   dug,

k'o·tc'e'ʟ   táminap'ʟe''   a'mexwen   mi'caxna   nata'pata
cacomites.   Then cooked then.   Then came.   ''Eat this,   this which roasted.''

a'mepicxoṭo'   ṭa'meṭitowetcele''   tē'k'a'   pi'cxo'
Then ate did.   Then said the bunting,   ''Who is   eats him

pa'so'   ṭalt'ᴍa''   kerą''   naṭe'ko'iyɪ   kicksa'na
his son?''   ''What thy remark?   No,   this root   resembles

ṭicxi'po'   nap'a's   le'uṭ'ɪie   ṭa'meṭe't   ake'‘
his foot   the son.''   When went   then said,   ''Where

ṭikia'ṭ'onosme·'ten   nap'no'na   kotc'e'ʟ   ts'axwen'
then went did the children?   Cooked these   *cacomites!*   Dried

no'na   ṭameṭet   howe·tcele''   kịk'ẹ'   pema'ṭ'ko
this!''   Then said   the bunting,   ''Go I,   follow him

k'e'   poko't'xoke·'   ṭia'pautec   kera'*mas*   kea'pa·u
I,   kill him I   if overtake him!   No more,   not I overtake him.

kerako'ṭ'a·te   me'tok'é
No, not has,   try I!''

Once there was a doe, the mother of an elf. A bear came and said, ''Let me louse you.'' ''All right.'' ''I will hunt for them.'' So the bear loused the doe but threw the lice away. ''Why don't you eat them?'' asked the doe. ''I can't eat toads!'' replied the bear. ''Good!'' said the doe. ''Then I will.'' ''Come and catch your lice,'' said the bear. He was angry at her and when she came bit her on the neck and killed her. Then he ripped open her belly and out came the elf. But the bear continued eating the doe. Then said the elf, ''Scabby will be your feet, your eyes small, your tail stubby!''

In a little cave the elf grew up. At last he decided to go to his grandmother, the rainbow, and there grew more. Then he decided to fight with the thunder. But his grandmother said, ''Don't bother with him; he is evil and will harm you.'' ''No,'' said the elf, ''he can't hurt me!'' ''What! Who are you that he can not harm you? You are weak.'' ''In the morning,'' said the elf, ''I will try conclusions with the thunder. I will shout to him!'' At dawn came the thunder and they fought. ''He did not wound me,'' said the elf. ''He kicked me but did not hurt me.'' And he pursued him to the end of the world. ''I will wrap myself in a red feather, grandmother.'' ''Put ashes all over your body and urinate,'' she advised him. ''The rain will not hurt me,'' said he. ''Good!'' he cried. ''Come out, rain!'' The rain came and it was very cold, so cold that the elf died, but revived again. Then said his grandmother, ''Don't bother yourself about these things!''

Then he arose and went to seek him who had killed his mother long before, the bear. He found the two cubs and killed and roasted them. The bear was away digging out cacomites. When he came, the elf said to him, ''Eat this food which I have cooked.'' And the bear ate it. Then cried the bunting, ''Who is this who eats his children?'' ''What did you say?'' asked the bear. ''Yes, this root resembles my child's foot!'' Then the elf fled and the bear moaned, ''Where have my children gone? They are cooked and dried with cacomites!'' Then he said to the bunting, ''I will go and follow him, and I will kill him if I overtake him. I am afraid I will not overtake him, but I will try.''

THE OLD PEOPLE[46]

le·lo''	hoṭi'poṭa''a'ʟ	hokóṭ'i'cnoma·ic	umk'we'ʟ
Long ago	the people	the not believed	in world.

kicno'ma·ic	hoṭ'ixai''	pi'cxo·t	hotanɑ't	kī·'sili'p
Believed	the bear.	Ate they	the seed.	All

k'ona·'ka	t'mi'cxot	le·lo''	hoṭ'ipoṭaha·'ʟ	kicxo·'tene
root	ate they	long ago	the people.	Were poor

hoṭ'ipoṭaha'ʟ	le·lo''	ts'kɑ'te·laxka·''	kera'	*pante'lo·t*
the people	long ago.	Naked,	no	pantaloons.

pi'cxot	kas	ṭepaste'n'	pe'cxo·t	kas	ṭaa'p'
Ate they	only	root,	ate they	only	deer

tmi'cxo't	kī·'sili'p'	hɑwa'ṭ'ᵃxoyo·tela'p'	homaṭ'e'lak
to eat.	All	therefore lived they	the animals

ṭuwela·'k'	koxo'yo·tela'pṭ'o'	ṭ'o·sɑ'xten'	kicxa'u'
in this land;	they lived did	the birds.	They ate

mu'i'	hoṭ'ipo'ṭ'	ṭax	map'	ke'ta·i	lime'n
antelope,	the Indian,	and rabbit.	They made	blanket

hutik'e·'so't	ṭacne'ʟ	me'ṭamṭ'ele'	pet'ene·'k'o'
the to protect.	Some	when hunted they	shot him

hop'a'c	a'mepe'cxoṭo	ṭop'a'c	ṭa'mepetakṭ'onɑ'siʟ
the elk.	Then ate him did	the elk.	Then made did the acorn mush.

ṭa'mepetak	ṭo·ni'su'	ṭ'o·k'ɑ'mta'	tc'e'ᵉ'lo'ṭo'
Then made	did the skirt	of the tule,	wrapped him did

hopɑ'so'	pa·'xo'	ṭotc'aname''	tc'a·'mo'	hopa'so'
the her child,	put him	in the cradle,	wrapped him	the her child.

ṭa'miyi	kī·'ṭo'	ma'a·'u'	hopɑ'so'	'umtitc'o'm'
Then went,	went did,	carried him,	the her child	on back;

ma'a'wu	hop'e·'talo'	ua·'wel	ne'u'	hé·ʟka''
carried him	the carrying basket.	Went	bring	wild seeds,

ne'u'	hopa'siʟ	no'iyo'ton'	k'a'p'	p'ɑ'pex
brought	the *chia*,	gathered again	acorn,	china oak.

a'mīyɑx	mṭ'a·'m	po·ʟ	xwe'nṭo'	la'mṭo'	kera'
Then came	to house,	roasted,	arrived did,	ate did.	Not

kuyumts'e·'na'i	hu·ma'ṭ'aʟtɑ	pa'xa·iyot	na'i'
not knew	the whites;	afraid they,	ran

humṭ'opo'iyela'	ci'tʟip	ṭ'a·cne'ʟ	pu'lux	umṭe·'lik'tén
into mountains;	died they.	Some	entered	into caves.

Long ago the people did not believe in the world; they believed in (like ?) the bear. They ate all kind of seeds and roots and were very poor. They were naked and wore no trousers; they ate only

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[46] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

roots and venison. Then all the animals lived in this land and all the birds. The Indians ate antelope and rabbit. They made blankets to protect themselves from the cold. Some hunters were able to shoot elk and ate them. They made acorn mush. They made dresses of tule. The women wrapped up their children and put them in the cradle and carried them on their backs. They also took their carrying baskets and gathered wild seeds, chia and acorns from the china oak. When they returned they roasted the seeds and ate them. They were not familiar with the white people and were frightened when they came. They escaped into the mountains; some died and some hid in caves.

THE ECLIPSE[47]

kekake'msạli's   lelo''   ce'tipona''   cmɑk'a·'i
Was I in San Luis   formerly.   Dead the sun,   dark,

ts'ne'teʟ   me·'ten'   poxna''   ṭa·meṭi'cʳo'p   hona''
cold.   When again   rose sun   then beheld   the sun.

cxa'lhoṭipo·''ṭ'   ṭa'me.alsa·'loṭipoṭa'ha·ʟ   ka·ki'nyi'
Frightened the people.   Then prayed the people,   thought

ṭiyino''   umk'waʟ   pᵉcxai'ṭo'ᵘ   ṭamets'e·'tenhoṭipuṭ'a·ʟ
that finish   world.   Dawned then.   Then content again the people,

na'lyeton'   to'ixṭo'   ce'tep'na''
awaited again   one more   dead sun.

I was in San Luis Obispo when there was an eclipse. It was dark and chill. When the sun rose, it appeared eclipsed. The people were frightened and prayed; they believed that the end of the world had come. Then the sun came out again and they were relieved, awaiting the next eclipse.

THE TORNADO[48]

ya'mo   ke   hots'a·ka'i'   ts'a'kai   k'e'weʟ
Saw   I   the wind.   Wind   north,

ts'a'kai   p'a·'nol'   ki'k'ate·tep'   hots'akaí   p'a·'noʟ
wind   south,   they contended   the wind   south.

ta'mecxa'lo·t'   cxa'lok'e   na'ik'e   tum'petī·'ocko't'
Then frightened,   frightened I,   ran I.   Then fell the snake

ṭ'ca'   me·pᵉ'cxai   ṭa'metumts'ɑhe'ʟ   cmoṭ'   ts'ɑhe'ʟ
water.   When dawned,   then fell snow,   thick   snow.

a'metom'   k'a'une'ʟ   mépecxa·iṭo'   ṭa'melalua'p
Then fell   hail.   When dawned did   then ceased.

na'   ts'a·'lamkwaʟ   ṭa'miya·tek   ne'uk'e·   ṭ'a·'kɑta
Sun   clear.   Then went I,   brought I   wood.

[47] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.
[48] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

ṭa'meco·n'   ṭˈa'a'uˈʷ   ṭa·'melalo   xo·'ṭapaiˈ   ṭámiya·tek
Then kindled   fire.   Then threw out   the ashes.   Then went I

ṭene''   tˈca'   neu̯kˈeṭˈca'   a'mexwe·ntek   ṭene''
to fetch   water.   Brought I water.   Then arrived I   to fetch

ṭˈca'   ta'me·tak   xolama'uˈʷⁱ   ṭa'melamtekṭˈo'
water.   Then made   the food.   Then ate I did;

ṭamenal·kˈe'ṭˈo'   ṭa'miya·tek   kike·'ṭo'   neu̯kˈeṭo'
then filled I did.   Then went I;   went I did.   Brought I did,

pehetc'na'pˈkoke   ṭa·'kaṭʌ   ṭa'miyɑxtekṭˈo'   naye'mkˈe'
chopped I   wood.   Then came I did,   brought I

ṭa·'kaṭʌ   umti'tc'o'p
wood on   shoulder.

I saw the winds; the north wind and the south wind battled. Then I was frightened and ran. Torrents of rain fell. When the morning dawned there was snow, thick snow. And the hail fell. When it dawned they ceased, and the sun came out clear. Then I went and got wood and kindled the fire. Then I threw out the ashes and went to get water. When I arrived with the water I cooked breakfast. Then I ate and became filled and then went and chopped wood and brought it to the house on my shoulder.

THE FAMINE YEAR[49]

le·lo''   k'a·no'   lice'   ckomólice''   kerale'cxai'
Long ago   thin   year,   bad year,   no rain.

la'pai   lice'   tike'rala·mau'   pe'cxo·ṭ   paxa'k
Three   year   that no food.   Ate they   bones

maˈṭˈa·ʟ   ṭ'otˈo·'iyo'   ṭˈoxo'ʟ   pamo''   ṭámepetakṭonɑ'siʟ
white   pounded   mortar.   Ate,   then made acorn mush

topaṭˈa'k   kerama''ṭ   keraṭaa''p   k'anéketcˈa·''
manzanita.   No animals,   no deer.   Thin great.

kicxa·'uo   seneste'ʟ   ṭoke'cxo·tene'   ṭipoṭaha'ʟ   ṭámeṭi'ka'
They ate   alfilerillos.   Poor   people.   Then was

ṭ'oiˈ   tcˈine''·   poku'ṭ'xo'   t'o'ixʸᵘ   pɑ'so'
one   old woman   killed him   one   her son,

pi'cxo'   papa·'to'   ko'ʟṭˈa'ʟ   opa'so'   ta'mexwen
ate him,   roasted him.   Was hungry   the her son.   Then came

o'asa·'kˈo'   ṭa'mepeteneṭó'   o'ape·'u'   la'pai   ṭit'e'ni'
the his uncle;   then shot arrows did   the her brother   three   arrows,

pécxo'pa'so'   lale·'xo'   oko'xe·'cṭo'   pe'cxo'   xelk'a'ˈ
ate him her son.   Shot her,   not buried did,   ate her   coyote.

k'ane·''   ketcˈa''lelo''   oṭipoṭaha·'ʟ   okúcitʟip
Scarcity   great formerly.   The people   not they died,

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49 Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

okмa·i'yal'   umla·'mka   pi'cxo·t   ho·cmaiyi'k'
the that lived   on coast;   ate they   the abalones,

tc'a'haliltena'   umticu''ᵂᵊ't   kéralama'u' ^   powa·'tka
thin   in their breasts.   No food,   seaweed

t'mi'cxo'
to eat.

Once there was a famine year, a bad year. For three years there
was no rain and no food. They ate bleached bones pounded in the
mortar, and acorn mush made of manzanitas. There were no deer and
no meat; it was a great famine. The poor people ate alfilerillo seeds.
One old woman killed and roasted and ate her son; was very hungry.
Then her brother came and killed her with three arrows because she
had eaten her child. They did not bury her but left her to be eaten
by the coyotes. It was a great famine. But the people who lived on
the shore did not die because they ate abalones. But even they were
thin because they had nothing but seaweed to eat.

THE EARTHQUAKE[50]

leskosna'tpeteko'   kekai'yot'ewe''   yi'te'ᵉ   hola'k'
When was child   was earthquake.   Shook   the ground;

ke'xitc'nop   hola·'k'   umticu'ᵂec   t'a·'м   ka'kinyi'
split   the ground   at Cholam.   Then   we thought

t'eyimkwe'ʟ   cxa'lhoka'   lu'wale'ᵂᵘ   lice'   ţeka'melep
that would end world.   Frightened we.   Long ago   years.   To come out

hocwa''ɴto   ţe·la'k'   ketc'a̧''   yite'ᵉlak'   huma't'
the fish did   of ground.   Great   earthquake.   The animals

cxa'lho'   hotc'xa''   t'oyeţewe'   t'ola·'k'   hota·'kata
frightened   the water   of the quaking   of the earth.   The trees,

hop'at'ne'lat   ko'xote'p   ţela·'k'   ce·'p'etep'   alasa·'ltenex
the oaks   they bent   to earth.   Frightened,   prayed they

p'te'lo·to
bellies.

When I was a child there was an earthquake; the earth shook and
the ground cracked in Cholam. We were frightened and thought that
the end of the world had come. It was many years ago. The fish
came out of the ground; it was a great earthquake. The animals were
frightened at the water from the earthquake. The oak trees bent to
the earth and the people were frightened and fell on their faces and
prayed.

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[50] Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

PART IV. VOCABULARY

In the preparation of the present discussion, all the data available were collected and transferred to card-index and arranged under their respective stems. As the data were large, a considerable body of material was thus secured which is presented in the following pages both for the better understanding of the accompanying texts and for purposes of comparison with other Indian languages. Unfortunately it will never be of any practical value, as the Salinan dialects are doomed to extinction in a very few years.

Practically all the material here presented is from three sources, the forms collected by myself from the surviving natives in recent years, those recorded by Sitjar more than a century ago and published in his Vocabulary and those recorded by Henshaw in 1884 for the Bureau of American Ethnology. To these have been added a very small number from the vocabularies of De la Cuesta, Yates and Gould, Coulter and Taylor. The forms recorded by Henshaw are for the most part phonetically correct and required but few and uniform changes to make them conform to the most modern phonetic usage.

The largest extant vocabulary of Salinan is that of Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, for a long time the resident padre of San Antonio Mission. This is quite large but almost inaccessible to the student on account of the faulty system of orthography employed. Practically all the characters of the English alphabet with the exception of *v* and *w* are found, and in addition, many superscript characters, characters crossed by others and by lines, besides various diacritical marks such as asterisks, crosses, acute and grave accents and subscript accents, compounded characters and other similar usages. Comparison shows that no uniformity has been followed in the orthography, rendering the work quite useless for one unacquainted with the language.

Most of the characters naturally have the approximate value of their correspondents in Spanish but the sounds not found in Spanish require some explanation.

The alveolar stop *t* evidently gave Sitjar his greatest trouble and has been written most variantly as z, c, zp, tz, tzz, tzp, ts, pc, ch, c crossed by a line, etc.

The fortis stop was generally expressed by an asterisk after the vowel.

The alveolar sibilant *c* was written as x, ch or z.

The dental sibilant *s* is found as s, z, ss, zz, etc.

z has been found standing for *t*, tzz for *ts*, x for *ts*, x for *s*, etc.

Most of the other phonetic peculiarities, such as qu and c for *k*, g and j for *x*, ch for *tc*, etc., are explicable by the ordinary usages of Spanish.

An initial consonantal cluster is generally preceded by a preposed vowel, evidently on the analogy of Spanish.

On the whole the orthography is so irregular that little reliance can be placed on its accuracy unless checked up by modern researches. When this is done it is seen that the change in the language has been very slight in the century and more which has intervened since the completion of the vocabulary.

Sitjar's vocabulary has therefore been transcribed to phonetic characters as accurately as possible following the evidence presented in cases where the modern form has been preserved. In the majority of cases, forms taken from Sitjar and absent in the modern material are accompanied by the sign (S).

In a few cases of possible confusion, forms from the San Miguel dialect have been accompanied by the sign (M).

The lexical forms have first been arranged in their several categories as nouns, verbs and so forth, and in some cases further subdivided. They have then been arranged in several columns giving the Antoniaño form, the Migueleño form, the plural form, which unless specially noted is from the Antoniaño dialect, and finally the meaning. In these columns the ordinary alphabetic order has been followed for convenience in consultation.

In very many cases, due to a lack of sufficient forms and to the presence of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, the exact form has been impossible to determine. In such cases the doubtful elements are enclosed within parentheses. In the case of verbal stems, those occurring only once, and for this reason of doubtful accuracy, are preceded by an asterisk.

NOMINAL STEMS
ANIMALS

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
awa·'tén	a·we·te'ʻ	awa·'tneʟ	fly
	cat'		bullhead-fish
ca'knil	cra'knil		Lewis woodpecker
ca·xwe	sa·xe	ca·xten	bird
ska'tata	cko·'tatǝ		ground-owl, gray titmouse

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ck'an	ck'an'		prairie-falcon
cka·k'	cka·k'	ska·'k'tenat	crow
ck'ot	ck'ot	sk'o'teʟet	snake, worm, grub
	clot		gull
	cmaiyi'k'		abalone
cukunui''	cokonoi''		horned-owl
cuwa'ʿ	cowa'	cuwa'ʿNeʟ	skunk
cu·mk'o'm'	camko''m	cumk'omona'neʟ	squirrel
	cu'n'cun'		small ducks
swan	cwa''N	cwa·ne't	fish
swakaka'	cwa·kek'a''		lizard
e'cece	ee'cesi		gopher
	emace'		male squirrel
e·ts'			pinacate
etskutcha'ten			tarantula-hawk
tik'e''	i'ke	tik'eneʟ	louse
ilka't	ilka't		ant
kalep'a'n	kelep'a'n		Mexican bluebird
		kats'a·ne'ʟ	small birds
	kalau		blue-crested jay
kalwatcai'	k'aluatc'a'i		house-finch
ka'lak'	kalak'	kalak'ne'ʟ	goose, crane
	kaca'p		mosquito
kacala'	kaculo'		grasshopper
	kiope'ts		Lawrence's goldfinch
k'cu'i	kitcili'tna		kingfisher
klau'it			band-tailed pigeon
kol'	koʟ	kolane'ʟ	hare
	kocai'ye		tarantula
	k'aiya'k'		mountain-quail
kiltau'	k'elt'u'ʿ		red abalones
la'kana			spider
	ʟa'ma		gray rabbit
la''	lap'		raven
	lape'		tarantula-hawk
leat'	helpa't'	leat'ten	duck
lme'm'	leme''m		wasps, bees
le'ponta			teal
le'rporti	le·'rpati		Gambel's sparrow
ʟk'a'	helk'a'	elk'ane'ʟ	coyote
		elk'a'lekten	
loina'	t'lai		Canada goose
	lowe'cat'		small antelope
ma'kiʟ	ma'kel		rat
map'	map'	map'tenat	rabbit
		map'a·'nel	
masau'hal	masau'wel		eel
matse'ko	mats'e'ko'		chipmunk
ma'ts'we'l'			humming bird
mu'i'	mu'ī'		antelope
	naiyək'		clams

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
naka′k			pocket-gopher
	nətc′		young antelope
ac	p′ac	acte′n, astenat	elk
pela·′k·a′	pala·′kak′		California woodpecker
	paṭalti		two-pronged buck
	pe·′lts′e		humming bird
pete′ts			ruby-crowned wren
pi′ukutc			lark finch
	p′u′lxoi′		sucker
sam′	snam		wildcat
	santən		black ant
	sapele′		shrike
	sektai·kna		one-pronged buck
	senese		stinking ant
	septa′ʟ		unidentified fish
senkahl	senk′oʟ		snake
sepo			doe
selo·′i′			mouse
	siata′nil		swallow
sit	set′		cañon finch
	sik		red-headed woodpecker
	sitaipin		animal
	skalo′		whippoorwill
skele′le	skele·′le		sparrow-hawk
	ska·′u		blue crane
	sk′e·′′n		shellfish
skaiya′′	s′kai′ya	skaiyana′neʟ	raccoon
sk′almo′k′	sk′almok′	sk′almok′oten	rat
	slipə′pə		green-winged teal
	smate·′xan		quail
smo′kat	smo′ket		bee
sme·koi′	smekoi′	smekoiiten	rattlesnake
	smohel		female skunk
smokok′e′	smokike′		mole
smic			cat
sai′yu	snai	saiyane′ʟ	eagle
sna·k	sna′k		kangaroo-rat, tusa
soko′ko	soko′ko		butterfly
	so′ha		spotted faun
	sopokan		very small ant
spe·k′	spi·k′		red-tailed hawk
	sp′oko′′		burrowing owl
sto′	sto′		fox
	sumhe		young squirrel
stamaka′la			bat
suhao′ye			bat
swe′ho	swī·′yo		black-shining flycatcher
	swaa′		male coyote
	ta·lwa·′x		crane
ta′lmui			worm

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
taka′la			nuthatch
ta′nukupel			Lawrence's goldfinch
	tapṭe′ʟ		crane
tena′k			woodpecker
	tepce′		male antelope
təsik′	ṭeci′k′	ticik′neʟ	owl
tē·′u	tewe′		pelican
	tik′mo′ʻ		pigeon
	time′hai		worm
titcʻk	te′tc′		great California vulture
t′ma′cax			badger
t′o·′i			seal
	t′o·′io		badger
	t′sne		sea-otter
t̯ʸa′i			whale
t′ai′	ṭahi		bluejay
ṭa·yiʟ	ṭaiyeʟ′	tayiʟtena′x	flea
	ṭaitc′a·′tak		crab
ta·li·ye′′			serpent
ṭa′′muʟ	t′a′muʟ	ṭa′′multenax	puma
ṭaa′′	ṭaa′′p	ṭaatne′ʟ	deer
ṭapilale			bat
ṭa·xwe′ne′	t′a·xwe′n′		turtledove
ṭaxai′′	t′ʌxai′′	ṭaxai′yukten	bear
ṭawai	ṭawə′	ṭawaiiten	turtle
ṭetiyau′	t′etēyau	ṭetiyauutén	salmon
ṭike′	t′ike′′		kingbird
	t′i·kolə′		small frog
	ṭinele′′		serpent
	t′iope′′		grubs, worms
	t′oiyələ′′		mountain lizard
ṭooloc	ṭo·lo′c	ṭoolecna′neʟ	gray squirrel
t′o·′xo	ṭo·xo′′	t′o·′xolanel	wolf
tca	tca		curved-bill thrush
tca′la	tcal		Brewer's blackbird
tc′am′	tc′a′mɪ		red-shafted woodpecker
tcʻe·l′			cricket
tc′ele′u′			bluejay
	tc′e′mtcem		bat
tcik′	tc′iktcik		fishhawk
tcoana′hi	ṭaau′		caterpillar
	ts′aike′′		mottled snake
	ts′e′′ʟ		yellow-bellied woodpecker
	ts′ə′t′ʻenek′		owl
ts′ope′n	sopne′t	ts′ope′nlax	spider
wakeno′			red-winged blackbird
wa·′kiṭ	wa′kaṭ′	wakiṭten	frog
		*wa′kaṭ′ṭʻa′ʟ	
	wa′lwal′		bullbat
waʻtc	watc′		Oregon bunting
	wau		white goose

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
witcele''	wetcele''		bluejay, bunting
	we·telo''		martin
	we'tok		woodpecker
xaii'k			mussel
xalau''			crane
xane'o			ground tit
xakele'	xapailə''		lizard
atce'tc	xatca'tc'		yellow-billed magpie
xom	xo·''mɪ		roadrunner, ground cuckoo
ho'mlik'			quail
xopne'l	xo·pɴe'ʟ		red-headed vulture
xutc	xutca·i	xoste'n	dog

BODY PARTS

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
a·pela·'i	amel		finger, toe
a·''ak	o·'p'ak	axa·'k	head
aa'cx	acx	aasxaknel	liver
axwe'm		axwenlax	skin, hide
a·'u			animal's heart
ca'lo			shell of egg
ca'ᴍteʟ			corpse
	cipainism		sole
	cma·'i		cheek
ck'o''il	cukaiel		lung
cuke·'net̯	coke'net̯'		eye
	co'wat		poison of snake
co'wan	cuwa'n		calf of leg
cu·la·'t', so·lo		sola·'xo	testicles
	cpai'atak		beard
eiwi's			spine
e·'lek'	elik	elekne'l	mouth
e·'net̯'	e'nenɑt	xe'net̯	nose
	e'ntɑt		ear
ecax	aca'x	ecaxneʟ	feathers, whiskers
etala·k		etalakneʟ	antlers
etca·i'	ci'tc'ai'	etcaiila·'x	neck
ita''l	e'taʟ		shoulder
epa·'l	i'paʟ	epa'ne'ʟ	tongue
e·xiwai'		e·xiwilai	heart
exoxo'	ihoho'	exoxa'lax	brain
		exoten	
		exotenax	
·	cxas		body
ewa'la	ewa'l		fish scales
ets'e''u	its'e''p	ets'e'wulax	tail
icaha·'l	isxa·ʟ		urine
icxe·'u	icxe·'p	icxepa·'l	foot
		icxe''e, icxe'xe'	
		icxe·ple't	
icele''	i'cilip'	isi·lewula'x	nails

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ico''	icu''		breast
ick'o''ol		icok'alet	ear
ikau''	ikau'		body
ika'n	ika'		belly
ita·la'kᶜ			horn
ita'c			urine
	its'a'lto'		point of wing
ihalte'ya			saliva .
ka'ke'lt'a			testicles of animal
kacwatni'lea	ke'cxauʟ		eyelash, eyelid
ke'o		kelao	knuckle
ko·'la'le'		ko·'latʟe'	penis
k'uwoke·'tᶜ	ko'nakiᶜt		hair
	kuma'n		belly of fish
la'k'oiᶜ	la'k'ai		neck
lamhɑ't			dung
	lē·'wetᶜ		lips
ʟko·'ikᶜtén'		lokoiyini'	beard
lo'kon	lu'kanɑ		rump
	lo'taʟ		palm
ma'pok	ma'pukᶜ		thigh
mas			pubic hair
matᶜ	ma'ṭᶜ	ma'ṭᶜe'lakᶜ	meat, flesh, animal
mata·'n	mata'n	matane'l	limb
me·'n	me'nen	mee'n	hand
eno''ol	noʟ		penis
	notapka'co	.	dung
o'oi'			trunk, body
uca't	oca·'t	ucate'l	tears
o'na'a'iᶜ			waist
	otewo'ts'o'		feather
o'xot		oxote'n	testicles
a·'katᶜ	pa·'kata	akatᶜ ɴe'ʟ	blood
akainai'	pakenai'		animal's womb
a'katcanai	paktaina'		thumb, big toe
pᶜxatᶜ	pᶜxat	pᶜxa'teʟet	excrement, intestines
	pa'telpai		third finger or toe
axa·'kᶜ	paxa'k	axa·ktén	bone
		axa·'kʟet	
	pa'mat		carrion
pena·'no	pena'n		milk
pē·nik'a·i			throat
oxwe'm'	pᶜoxe'm'		tendon, ligament
setilkai'	ske'nluwe		first finger
	sie'tᶜ		feather
skan			stomach
aske't, swɣt	skaniltai,		rib
	kane'lt'o		
askwe't, swət			heel, sole, talons
skoikne'	sxkoi''		chin, beard
	smo'kutu		animal's windpipe
	sni'pik		bones of wing

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
so'non	sa'nan		leg
sa'tik	soti'k		elbow
sa·'nat'	spa'nat		skin, hide
se'kel	spe'keL		eyebrow
spoke't	spoke't		fur, hair
spuk			muscle
	suluknai'		tooth
taknat	· takna't		sweat
	tamai		third toe
	t 'an		animal's tongue
	te·rwa'k		second toe
titaka'L	te·tek'EneL		egg
tema'i			bird's entrails
te'rk	tie'k		animal's gall
teteka'i	tete'ka		animal's joint
tetse'lel	titsele'l		rattles of snake
	tikai'e		bird's crest
	tilta'l		breast of fish
	titertikup		knuckle
	tiṭo'k		second finger
titc'o''mo'	ti'tc'o''m		back
	titcai		wrist
toho'l	to'hul		lung, gizzard
tolola'i			animal's windpipe
tulalna'i			bird's crest
ṭa·L	ṭa·xL		forehead
ṭa·t	t'aL		skin, hide, flesh
ṭ'e'pen	ṭ'e'pen	ṭepenla'x	belly
ṭ'ka'ten		ṭ'ka'tna·x	buttocks, anus
ṭo'poi	t'o'p'oi	ṭopoiilax	knee
ṭ'o'puk	ṭ'ne'puk'	ṭopokLe't	arm, wing
		t 'caknel	gills
tce'nya			glans penis
tcokelti'nai			ankle
uca·t'			lips
ule·'t'	oi'Lit	le·'heṭ	teeth
u·	u·		face
uprent	upe'nt		fat
xapi'cucwe·t			navel

BOTANICAL TERMS

	atLo·'s		wild oats
awu''L	awuL'		bark
a·xo'L		axone'L	tule
aỵexte'ya		ayextel'i'ya	seed
ca'l		ca'ltine	bud
ck'ua'			*quijara de pala*
	ck'alə''		large soap-root
	cpo'k'at'		clover
	cpoku'mt'a		
ca'tala			brush

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ctan'		stanane'L	leaf
	elpo'nə		blackberries
	he·Lka'ᶜ		wild seeds
k'a·ṭᶜ	kat	k'atsane'l	hay, grass
	k'a·'ciL		sunflower
	k'ɑ'mtaᶜ		tule
kᶜa'	kɑp'	ka'te'L	acorn
ka'pitc'			small young oaks
kᶜe	kᶜe		large pine nut
	k'ē·'ciapowat		fern root
	k'eso'i'		tuna
keṭipui		keṭipoilax	cedar
	ko'iYI		root
k'olopopo'			melon
	k'ona·'ka		bulb, wild potato
	kotc'e'L		cacomite
ku'katak			forest
mɑkawi''	mɑkewe'	makawili''	flower
	matai''YI		milkweed
	mo·noi''YI		toloache
mopa'kᶜ			laurel
mucuelit			ivy
	o·pIs		wild grape
pa'siL	pɑ'siL		chia
	p'ɑ'pex		post oak
atᶜ	pᶜa·'ᶜt	atne'L	white oak
		*p'atᶜne'lat	
patᶜax	paṭ'ɑ'k	patᶜaxtén	manzanita
askle't	paxa'kiL		live oak
	pəca''		buckeye
	pəsxe't		willow
	petL		grass
	peyexte'to'		seedlings
	powa'tka		seaweed
	pamputen		fruit
	tenpute's		fruit
saxe't			mescal
	seneste'L		alfilerillos
	smɑt		brush
	smo'		acorn
	smo'kumeL		clover
	sxau'witᶜ		acorn
	tanɑ't		seeds
	tana'st		wicker
tate'			grains
	tetai'		small soap-root
	tetɑ'p'ko·L		elderberries
tepa's	tepa'so		root
	tᶜio'i		oak
	tᶜi'piᶜ		acorn
	tᶜMa		mescal

Antoniaño	*Migueleño*	*Plural*	*Meaning*
	t'əma's		grass
	təma·'ʟ		milkweed
	t'onawɑ''		grass for baskets
	toipen		gooseberries
ṭaiya'c			flower of mescal
ṭa·'ka'aṭ'	ṭa·'kɑṭa	tak'ane'ʟ	wood
ṭala''M	toela'm		tobacco
ṭɑ'pin	ṭamoina'co		stump of tree
ṭata	ṭa·'t'o'		fruit
	ṭepastéN		root
ṭetaco	ṭita'cu		juice
t'o'	t'o'	ṭotene'l	pine nuts
ṭoki			brush
	tc'e·'lak		barsalillo
tc'o'			pine
	tc'o'ʟə		wood for pipe
	ts'eta'kiʟ		chuckberries
xa'ke			spine
xo'le			acorn
hasli't'			live oak
ha'siʟ			acorn

MANUFACTURED OBJECTS

ai'ye'			wooden pestle
ɑ'cime	ɑ'cime		paper, book
a'ne·n			pillow
taaneka	apenik		necklace
aso'ʟ			cord, line, string
alokoni'ya		alokotini'ya	oven
	cənomə''		comb
(ṭ)cik'	tca·k	tca·k'eʟ	knife
cenii'	cik'ᴇnai'		fish-spear
clá'	cla'	cla'at	coil basket
clemiy'a	cle·mī·'		coat
co'pa			needle
	cotolə'		feather headdress
	e'tapalepi		breech-cloth
(ṭ)a·m, (ṭ)e·m	(t')a·M	ṭama·'neʟ	house
		ṭa·ma·tén	
		ṭa·ma·tenáx	
		ṭa·ma·niʟáx	
		ṭamaNiʟten	
elkai'tingey'a			door
(ṭ)e'tak	(ṭ)eta'xk		awl
ek'es			blanket
et'oi'yiN'	et'eyini''	et'eyitinai'	arrow
icemet			bed
ioko'c			breech-cloth
itxau'			cane
	kanelt'ə'		storage-basket
k'ualane'l	kanelt'ə'		jewelry

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
keluktu'xne		keluktuxtine	prison
kitpe'lel			paint
kitpekle'y'a			ligature
k'enin	k'one'ᶜ		acorn-bread
kua·p'	k'Uwap'		sweat-house
laha'm	laxa'M		door
	lemi', lime'N		rabbit-skin blanket
moxweto			sack, bag
mawe'ya'			net-sinker
	mosiwe'		fish-pole
asi'l	na'siL		acorn atole
olient			whiskey
o'nus	o·ni'su'		skirt
oxwa't			moccasins
ame'ya	pana'me		quiver
	payosne''		whistle
	pane', p'an'E		pestle
pape'ye			beads
	paxuwe'		bow
	pasuwe'r		doll
	p'a'taL		carrying-basket
	pēu.'ᶜ		bones for game
pili	pe'LI		*pil*
umawi''	pomnawə''�		arrow-straightener
salinhe'ya			fish-net
	sa·ma'k'		winnowing-tray
	sap'k'a'ts'		seed-granary
	sas		acorn-meal
sekeuetni'a			olla, pot
setami'ya			cap
sikara'na			clothes.
	ska'pə, sk'a'pe'		tray, cooking-basket
sone'y'a			snuff
sokai'kis	su·kaikis		floor
	spok'ai'xa'ᵃ		drinking-cup
	t'a'iL		trap
ta'tukat			meal of seeds
	təca'ᶜ		basket
	təcoinə'		basket-game
	təkausnə''ə		small pots
	təki'wi		bed
	t'e'ltaL		hunting-net
	t'enika'ntec		bridge
taple'ya	t'ənəple''		fire-sticks
ti'cxa'			money
te'penca	tipintca		whiskey
tet'amnai	tet'aut'onə''		rattles
ticxlələ'			doll
	t'kamatl'		shallow grave
t'aa'k			handle
t'a'uun, t'o·'nt	t'anǫ		pipe

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ṭaua'ṭ			bar, drill
ṭau'usi.'a'			bed
	ṭayu'wic		well
ṭeme'		ṭemele'u	instrument
	ṭo.na'L		seed-beater
	ṭopai		fish-basket
	ṭopə's		twined-basket
t'xo'l	t'oxo'L		mortar
ṭo'wi'i	tuwipe'	ṭowiyilī.'	raft, boat
	tc'aname''		baby-carrier
tcelela'o			leggings
	tc'oxo'k		cocoon-rattle
tcu'leye			*isley*
tcueyke''ya			trap
tsa'ta			blanket
tse'uto			arrow-point
ts'wa'keti''	ts'wa.ke.tə''	ts'wa.ketili''	hat
wumətamu'			wall
xak'e'i', xak'		xak'eL	bow
		xak'ten	
xɑ'nis	xe'nes		beads

NATURAL PHENOMENA

aiyate'ya			garden
asak'a		asak'te'nat	flint
(t)ca', tc'a'	t'ca', t'ca', tc'xa'		water
capawe'			tide
ck'eM			sea, ocean
ckoN		ckonane'l	glade, cave
co.'k'a'	so'k'a	co'ka'atéN	river, brook
		co'kEte'nat	
	co'xwaL		red stone
cotalai'	c'pa'talai		limestone
(t)cxo'	cxo'	(t)cxo.neL	earth, ground
(t)cxa'	cxap	(t)ca'paNeL	stone, pebble, rock
euy			fire carried
icxai	esxai		morning, day
iki.n	tike'n	iki.nil	nest
ilpoi			lake
iotilak	yeṭewe	iotNela.'k'	earthquake
kaiya'ma			white clam-shells
	kapili'nsa		tide
ke'eune'L	k'a'une'L		hail
ka'we			sun, heat
keṭ'Me'l'			lump, ball
keṭ'poi''			hill
	kē'yix		forest
k'ci.'kaṭ'i'		k'ci.'k'et'yi	slope
k'co.'luxne	calaknai'	k'co.'luktene	hole, cave, hollow
kutat'			buckskin
lak'	la.k'		country, land

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
leia'	lap'e''		wave, sea
le'ma	Lem		sky
	Lo'ᶦto'		clay
	loiyam		mountain
lu'a, lu'eⁿ		luaten, lueⁿtén	path, trail
macala'k	macila'k		morning star
macita'ma			shade, shadow
moce''	moce'	mucale'	charcoal, flames
moc'o·'no			mound, hill
na'	na'		sun
pa·'i·'	pa·'y'		cloud
saiya''N	saiya'pa'		rainbow
smak'	smak'		asphaltum, tar
sma'k'ai	cma'k'a·'i	sma'kaiyatéL	night
sokanto			lightning
spe'het			soot
ta'pit	ta'pnit		storm
telukutca'			spring of water
	t'en		prairie
t'ila·'xten			rancho, farm
	tukalalo'pi·cte'		garden
t'uLne			hill
ta'a'u'	t'a'a'u'	ta'a'uneL	fire
ta·kai''	takai'		salt
ta·ke''	take''		road
tcayi'ya	tapaiye'		dust
ta'te·t	tatet'		smoke
	tatsuwa'n	tatcwa·'niL	stars
		tatcwa·'niLten	
tats'o·'opi'	tats'o·'pe'		moon
te·le'k'		*te·'lik'tén	holes, caves
t'e'lowa'	t'e'Lxo'	t'eluwa'NeL	thunder
		t'elowile	
toko'i	t'i·k'o''YI		whirlwind
ta'a'i	tapaí', top'ai'		ashes
tpoi, tpo·l, tso'la	t'op'o'iya	*t'opo'iyela'	mountain
	t'o·'poiyip		Pleiades
tc'ewuni''	tc'anone''		light of day
te'umye'L	tco·mia'L	tcumiane'L	ice
ts'a·kai'	ts'a·kai''	ts'akaite'nat	wind
ts'ahe·'L	ts'ahe'L	ts'axaneL	snow
ts'ensiL	tsi'ntsin		sand
ts'opo'	sa'pa	ts'oponeL	fog, frost
emk'we'L	umk'we'L		world
xaipke'ya			*escarbason*

PERSONAL TERMS

ama''	ama''		paternal grandfather
ane'wu	aneu'		grandmother
apai''	apa'i		mother
	ape·'u'		brother

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
sa·k	asa·'k'		uncle, mother's elder brother
	apa'c		father's younger sister
a'teloi, aya.oi		aya.eloi	companion
atu'kai			lord, señor
a'xomo			foster father
epeselet		epesele'lmet	enemy
e'pex	exo', e'pex		mother
e'sxa	təmasa'xə	*te'msɑxten	cousin, younger sister's child (nephew)
e'xwat	oxwa't'		mother-in-law
iko'lu·ne'			fool
	i'la		friend
inexa'		inelkxa	relation
ienxe'			parent
insaka'		insakte'n	godson, adopted son
ito'l		itolane'l	brother
kact'elmak'		hact'elmilok	talker
ka·i	ka·iyə''		elder brother
kano'dile			trader
k'e'nca·nɪʟ			God
	ket'ne'		white people
	keue'aca'		uncle
k'weʟ			people
la	laɴ		husband
lemikela't	lamek'nela·'t'		Coast Indians
	ʟa'pac		father's elder brother
lets'e''	lene''	lee'tsen	woman
lu·wa''	lu·wai'	*luaya'to	male, man
mace'l			great-grandchild
	mone''		mother's younger brother or sister
nene''	nene''		grandparents
nunenxa·yo			congregation
pas			father's elder sister
pe'	pepe'		elder sister
as	pɑ'so', p'ɑ'so	*pa'seʟ	child, son
ek'	pexk	ekxe'l	father
se	seɴ	se·ts'e'n	wife
see'l			girls
	sepxa·'		child
setilka'i			great-great-grandchild
ska'ata''		sk'ata'ten	infant
	sk'amɑxa n'		elf, dwarf
	sna'tpeteko'		little girl
sotopen			pet, guardian
ste·xa''		se·mtɑ'ɴ	boy
		*sme·'ten	
stau'', ctou·''	su'kumku	skunta·'m	girl, maiden
ta'iyaʟ	tema'k		grandchild
takacau'	tekica'		twins

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ta'	ək'a'		father's younger brother
ta'kin	ta'ken	k'ta·'nta	shaman
ta·k	tə'nak		child of elder brother
ta'leu			brother-in-law
*ta·ma''	ta·m	tam'a'ten	man
te·le''	tata'		father
	tə'pacek		child of younger brother
	te'takwa		slave
tica''au, ti'co			daughter
t'icke'M		t'ickema'L	Tulareños
tienkha		tie'neLxa	friend, family
timta'L			elder brother's wife
timu'yo			congregation
t'oN	t'on		younger sister
tos, t'o·s	tos	ṭ'o'sen	younger brother
tuke'wi	tə'mai'		daughter-in-law
tutai'yucap			blacksmith
ṭaxate'y'a			gathering of Indians
		t'ela·t'Nel	brothers
te'leM	t'e·le'm'		son-in-law
ṭ'o·'waṭ', ṭeho'ṭ	ṭepo·''ṭ'	ṭ'u·ṭ'a·'L	Indians, natives
		*ṭipoṭa'ha·L	
		*ṭepoṭ'ha'lap'	
ṭinaihi, ṭiṭcon		ṭiṭco'nel	enemy
ṭ'o'xo·ke			murderer
tcaiya''	tena'iyaL		grandchild
celṭe''	tc'ene''	slee'ten	old woman
		*tci'ntən	
steluwa''	tcilwai'YI	steluwi''	old man
t'sa·'iniya			former wife
	wa't'nak		nephew
xa·la'', axala'u	xala·'		maternal grandfather
hapti'			widower
	hensi'		trader, peddler
	he'uwukultcaguLastel		interpreter

ABSTRACT AND MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

ani'ya'			liberality
ats		a'tsten	booty
atcecə'			health
a'xa·ti''			music
t'Ica·'kai	ca·l	*ṭ'Ica'xal	dream, revelation, amulet, luck
cele'			north wind
exomck'i''			favor
e·'ke'			direction, journey
elka·'p			autumn
elpa'L, LpaL			spring, (summer, harvest)
e'nex			bead measure
e''envi'			necessity

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
e'u			pain, inconvenience
ickonmitce'y'a		·	love-sickness
iewuteni'y'a			temptation
ilne'			summer
itomu'i'			magic wand, revelation
kai'e		kayte	carriage, bringing
kane'a	kane'		cold, influenza
k'aitupke'y'a		k'a'itupkele'ya	disenterring
kauo'mtop			year
ka·'keʟ	ka·'kel	ka·'keltenax	song
ka'u			custom
k'ane'nxa			thing above
kemi'li			amulet
ke'o			place, locality
ketpa·'t			snake-bite
k'ewe'ʟ	k'e'weʟ		north, (west)
kitse'na			reflection
kla'mta,	kalam		sore, scar
klamte'ya			
konetco			place
ko·'nxa'	poknoyaluna'		afternoon, evening
koto'sna'		koto'stena	noise
kato, coto			place
kwa'lwai			swelling, inflammation
k'wa'l			season
kwa'l		*k'olcīyip	thing
la·e'y'a			pity, compassion
la·'mka	la·'mka		west, on coast, (south, north)
le·ta'na'	leta'kna		noon
le·c	lec		east, (north, south)
lice'	lice''	elci'taneʟ	year, winter
	lo'le¹		women's dance
mano			place, position
me'seamtca'			west wind
metsiliu			perforation
na''xo			quarter, cardinal point
nek			proposition
nowa·na''	nowana'p'		morning
oa'ik			ablution
pʻa·'nlo	pʻxa·'nol		south, (east)
paxaṭ'			dance
pok			sickness
	p'e'nap'e'		fiesta, celebration
pʻʟe·'to			pieces, bits
	sawine'		dance
	sewananhai		health
skael	skwa'l		scar, cut
sokani'ya			vision
ta'kat		takelet, talakat	work, trade
ta'ʟxwaʟnai'			work

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
taka′			gift
tauiye′			fever
tawa′t			east wind
ten.a·′so			happening
tesene′o			sickness
tewia′t		tewililiat	promise
	tīaṭʻaula′		wound
tipin, tipni′ya			pain
tʻɪca·′kai			sleep
timni′y′a			sickness
tiṭaku			northwest
tehoni′	tihoni′		medicine
toye′m			cause
tu′o			composition, manner
tewa′cyu			first half of moon
	ṭ′a′kai′		pieces, bits
ṭatil			cold
ṭekeko			summit
ṭinai′o			flight
ṭo·′kena′	ṭo·′kan	ṭo′kena·teʟ	day
	tokne′		smallpox
		ṭuxtine	hells
tcaka		tcakoi	time
tcinimakwe′			lie
tcap			sickness
tce′e′y′a			mark, sign
tsip		tsipe′ti	pomp
	tsoke′		battle
	wate′		law
	pia, hia		half of cardinal point
xapa′tco			division
	xīwē′ī		men′s dance
	xolowes		diarrhoea
		xomu′nilit	sins
xo′tapleta‵na	xotapluleta‵pna		afternoon
xuiẅai′		xuyiliwai′	soul, memory, thought

VERBAL STEMS

A

(k)a′	ka, a′		say, decide, permit
a·, (k)a·n,	(S)		conceive (animal)
(k)a′h′a			
a′cikʻmek			hit by shooting
a′cek	a′cel′	a′ciʟ	sit, seat, (test, try)
acame	(S)		write
aik′nop	(S)	aiktinop	be tired, faint
ai′tim	(S)	aitilme′	enclose
	(S)	aitilta′k	divide, distribute
(ke′)a′yomic	(S)	(ke′)ayomiclex	fix, mend

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ai(k),	(S)	ayi'lik	defend, protect, retain
ait(em)	(S)	aitil(me), ayilit	guard, defend, intercede
a'yom	(S)	a'ylom, ayomil	hinder, defend
akca'		akcela'	be thirsty
	*(k)ake'l'		hung, be hung
a·'ke'n	a·ki'nyi'	a·'ke'n	think
a·'le'l(k)		a·'le'lt(k)	ask, inquire
a·le, 'alo·m	ale(k)	alilo·m, alele	teach, learn
aleknox	(S)		enter, introduce
(m)ale'n	(S)		unite, combine
a·lx		a·'liyax, a·'lile	desire, love, want
alsa·'L	alsa·'l(o)	alsa·'ltenex (M)	pray (Sp. *rezar?*)
amalek	(S)	amolek	give alms, assist
(p)ama·t̲'	(p)ema·'t̲	(p)amat'el	chase, expel
a'menep	(S)		defecate
amaitila'	(S)	amaitiltina'	reconcile, make peace
'a'mes	a'mas	a'mesiL	shout, cry, yell
a'male	(S)		gather food
a·mt̲'e	a'mt̲i'	a·'mt̲'ele	hunt
		amettine (S)	
amitci	(S)	amitcinmak	lie, tell untruth
amauc (S)	a·mo'c	amaulic	guard, preserve
		amaucelte	
		amaucelayo	
ama	amo''	ama	eat, suck gruel
a·m(k)	a'mk	a·mkNe''lk	be able, can, kill
		a·mt'elik	
		a·mxot'e	
a·m(p)	a·'menep	a·melep	arise, leave
a·mamp		amant'ap	extract, withdraw
a'nat(ax)			leave free
a'nem	(S)	a'netem	remain
anemt(ak)	(S)	ane'mtilt(ak)	pardon
	*(p)ani'k'o'		give
*(m)a''n			pass, enter
	*(k)a'nata		pound, pulverize
(k)apale'	(S)		place in line
*(p)apa·''			copulate
(a)pak'a	(S)		close (door)
	a'pa·t		roast, *tatemar*
(a)pamak'e	(S)		love
(a)pa·uye'	(a)'pa·u		overtake, catch
(a)pane'	(S)	apatene	kiss
(k)a'p'axtenop			smash, shatter
(a)pena·x	(S)	(a)penilax	receive
(a)p'ene''(k)		apeinatile(k)	fill, cover with water
a'peL, ep'eL	a'pel, epeL	ep'ena·teL	fill
apokop (S)	(t̲)o'pokap	apeknelop	be well, cure
apoi'lek	(S)		gather, collect
'a'se			bear, give birth
a'si(k)	(S)		reserve, guard

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
a·'se	as	a·'sile	name, call
(p)astcene' '(k)			beg, prohibit
*a·'su, (m)as			think
	*(p)ata'lok'ē'		lassoo
a'tanop	ot'oinop		rise, jump
(k)atn,(k)atipn, (k)atce (S)		(k)a'tap'nehe'	hurt, torment, oblige
(k)aten			rob, steal
a't'unk'a·x, atno'x			stick, fasten
atepnek	(S)		speak rapidly
atc'a·ⁿwi'		atc'a·uli'	meet, encounter
(m)atcakat	(S)		be outside
		atce'weltek (S)	be cast, stretched
atcixtci(n)	(S)		beg
atsintca	(S)	atsintcela	anoint
*atsatak	(S)		cook, make food
autce, otce	(S)	autcele	aid, assist
a·x	ax	a'yax	place, put, seat
a'xai		a'xa·iyot (M)	fear, be afraid
(p)axaya'u	(S)		separate, divide
*(k)a'xa·nla'			shout
	a'xap, axa·'ta		climb, rise
a'xap	a'xaptep	a'xatep	die
*a·'xat'a			touch
axatcnap	e'xtc'nop		split, part
*(k)a'xk'o'			be careful
(p)axo·'t		axoten axotot axo'nilet	hunt burrowing animals
axt'elik			insert, pour, fasten
*(m)a'we·'xe, exwe (S)			stand firm, resist
au'we, a'wen		aewetenelo (S)	prepare, approach
awi			be hot, heat

C

ca·ke''n			point, aim
ca·'moc(k)			salute, greet
cumwel, camle'	samal		be blind
cap'	cap		extinguish, put out
ca·wena·ni			dance (ceremonial?)
*ca·xa'ta'			open mouth
cē·'pa'lo'		ce·'p'etep' (M)	be afraid, fear
cetene	(S)	cetenele	bud, sprout, bear leaves
ce'tep	ci'tip	ce'tLip	die
ce'wili'		ce'wilt'e	lie down
(i)cko'	(i)cko	ckol	be, be there
	*cme·'L		beat, strike
	*co·ka'		tear, split
	co·'ke'ⁿno'	cukintile (S)	open eyes, awake

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
co·'lukne			go through hole
co'me(n)			haul, drag, stretch, creep
co'k'a'iyik		cukai'yel (M)	kick, trample
co·'ᵘL	co·L		climb, chase up
co'une, cu·'ne'	co·n'	cu·na'tilt	kindle, light
(i)cxa'lo'	cxa'lo	sxa'lho	be afraid, frighten

E

*(p)ece·''u			defeat, gain
e'ck'waL			cut, saw, hit
eck'op	(S)		sew
*eiha'na	(S)		give
(p)eya'nekx	(S)	(p)eyalenkx	visit
*(p)eine	(S)		sting, pick, bite
*eipastas	(S)		arrive, overtake
	he'k'a'		tell, say
	eka, ika'		be, exist, be there
*ekatop'			go outside
ekona', ako'ne	(S)		add water
(k)ela'uṭptila·'pek	(S)	(k)elauṭptilila·'pek	be cut
	e·l'		go ahead
eleknox	(S)		conceive
elut'na'pek			pray
(e)ma·'ṭ'			kill
emek	(S)		make cross
e'na·i	enai		wound, oblige
ena·ni''			observe, look around
*e·'nek			decide, say
*(t)enk'itox	(S)		season, make spicy
(k)ecna'	(S)	(k)eno'l	sweat
eoni		onile	give medicine
epe'nxo	epe'nox		swallow, gulp
epṭ'a''	epṭ'a'	a·pt'e'la'	be cold
(e)pṭ'en		(ke)pṭ'enil	scratch, wound
epts'e'n		epts'enla'	sting, bite
ep'tc'o·'p'	optc'ep		become tired, tire
ese'l	(S)	esele'l	impede, obstruct
espolo'x			catch, seize
eta''	eta		make
etak'a'	ctak'a'	etakLi	call, shout
etauⁿla			say, be said
et'eyine'	et'ene'	et'eyitine'	shoot with arrow
*(p)ete·le''			see
etxau'	etxau'	ctxautilau'	have, possess
(e)ṭ'a·'k			tie, bind
*(p)etot'			spear
eṭ'e·k	eṭ'a'kox	aṭ'ek	stand, remain, halt
	*e·tc'o'i		suck
*etco'ka'			be quiet
·	(k)e'we·ts'na	(k)ē'wets'its'tena`	cry, scream

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ewia'mic	(S)	ewila'mic	presume
ewiate	(S)	ewiliate	do right, not to sin
*e'heṭ'ę·ŋxa'			fly around
exoyuem	(S)	exoyuem	think
e'xwaʟ		oxwete·le	grind, pound, hit

I

ia, ie	ia, ie	ial	go
ia·'tek	ia·'tek	ia·'tlek	send
iam, iem	ia·m	iema·lt'e'	see
		iamaɴeʟk	
iem'ó	ium		know
iemat	(S)	iematil	show
ia·'k			guard
*(k)i'au	(S)		take, extract
iau(k)	(S)		do
*ia'utc	(S)		touch, tickle
iax, iex	iax, iex	iaxteʟ	come
ica·k	ica	ica·kai'	go, walk, wander
icx	icx	ecxot	eat
(i)cepix			pretend
(ki)c(a)k'e·le'			roll, revolve
(ke)ck'a'lax			
'icxai'	'ecxai'	'ecxai'yaʟ	dawn, arise at dawn
icim		ictem, ostem	drink
icko'ne	(S)		be cruel
icno'mic	i'cnoma·ic	icno'ma·ic (M)	believe
(ṭ)ico·'p	(ṭ)i'cʳo'p		determine, find out
*(t)icpa''n			remove, cut (grass)
*iema·ni'k	(S)		begin, commence
ienk			contain
ie'nto	ie'nt'xo		approach, overtake
iete	(S)		be sent
(k)iewilte'	(S)		argue, quarrel
(ṭ')ika''wu			do customarily
iak'owe (S)	(k)i'k'ate·		fight, battle
ilik	(S)		laugh
	*(m)ilyo·ta		pay attention to
(il)k'elpa,		ʟk'elṭ'epa	return, turn around
k'et'p'a			
elk'ile·'nxa'			return, turn around
ekele'ntxo,			return, turn around
ikile'nxa			
ilk'ita	ik'e·'so'		cover over
		*imanila' (S)	visit
imxoya·k		imxoue'le (S)	await, wait, rest
ineitil	(S)		contradict, reject
inemil	(S)	inemilte'	endanger, lack
iyo'hun			bark, cry
(a)yo'p(ik)		yop'ʟ(ik)	stake, implant

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
io'tsp	(S)		fornicate
ioxt	(S)		stir
ise·'na'		isi'tina	be ill, sick
isol			be compassionate
	isxa·'teʟ		urinate
	*(k)ite·'mna		sound
*(k)itpetmak	(S)		bite, chew
itca', ītc'a', etc'e·		i''tciʟ	halt, stop, straighten
ica·, itcu			lift, rise, surpass
*(k)itca			prepare
itco'mnox		ctcumtonox	fall, fell
itc'okmai	(S)		speak proudly
itc, ic, exe'	(S)	iceʟ	hate
*(k)itcu'mtilai(k)	(S)		lie, mistake
i'tse	(S)		introduce, enter
(k)itsipex	(S)		vaporize
i·'ts'omyac			love, like
itsoye'	(S)		lift up high
itsi	(S)		break wind
itspaka	(S)	itspakayile	join
*iwa'nmak	(S)		amuse, divert
	iyi		end, finish
		*(k)ĭ'yit'iʟ	fight, battle
i''yo·te'	yi'te'	io't'ꜱNe	shake, move
*(k)ixa'ya	(S)		be angry, quarrel
ixa'te	(S)		do well

K

*(k)ai'yax			drop
(k)ayik	(S)		receive
k'a'ina'		k'a'itena'	play
ka·k'a	k'a·'ka	ka·k'ʟa	sing
(k)ak'a'ye	(S)	(k)ak'a'yile	be inclined to
(e)k'au'a, k'a·l'a	(S)	(e)k'a·'ltin'a	agree, (be seated)
k'a'ʟa		k'a·ʟtena'	fight, battle
(k)a'lep, (k)e'lep		(k)alo'lop (S)	lose, forget
(k)a'mau	(S)	(k)ameytile	be together, join
k'amle'	(S)		peep, peer, squint
k'apk	(S)	kapil	sweep, erase
*(kꜛ)arme'			wander, stroll
ka·u	kau'wi	ka'xa·u	sleep
*(k)a'wa	(S)		be lacking
	*(k)auke'		taste, like
*(k)aunop	(S)		finish, end
(kꜛ)ē·'ʟ			dry up
	k'e·'lo'(p)		tie, bind .
k'epot'au		k'epo·t'ilau	follow, pursue

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ke·sk	kʻesk		spy, watch
*(k)etaye′te	(S)		present, deliver, devote
(k)e·′yita′	(k)aite	(k)e·′yiteL	laugh, shout
k′e′tipek	(S)	k′e′telapek	banish, exile
kī·	kī·, ī	kīya·L	go
ki·c	ki·c		resemble, like
k′itipa	(S)	k′ilipa	march
kʻo·l′	ko′L	ko·′la	be hungry
k′o′lik	(S)	k′olitak	guard
k′o·L			lift, arise
k′o′lpax	k′o′Lpex		arise, spring up
k′o′kʻol′ce			converse, speak
kʻo′nox		ko′nlox, ko′lox	arrive, reach
k′o′mate(k)		ko·′maṭʻelte	buy
k′unip	(S)		desire
(k)uptun	(S)	(k)uptinil	scratch
	*(kʻ)u′tex		eat

L

(ke)la′ye	(S)	(ke)lea′ite	be merciful
*la·ye′	(S)	layine′	move, shake
	lal		eject, throw out
lam	lam	lamhaL	eat
(k)La′		(k)La′pat	break, be broken
(k)La·′t′ne	(k)La′patene	(k)La·′t′tene	swim
la·wa′′	la·′lua′	la·u·	release, separate, leave
lei	(S)		forsake, abandon, divorce
*(ke)lekema′k	(S)		requite, revenge
(k)LeM′		(k)limiṭ′	fall
li′cxai	le′cxai′		rain
li·xo′	lale·′xo′	liya′iyax, li·tʻxo	throw, cast, hit
lo·L	lo·l	lo·′xLa	burn oneself
loxo, lok′o	loko′xo′		seize, squeeze, grasp
luane	(S)	luanile	know
lu′etce	(S)	lu′etcile	serve
(ke)luk′ua′la	(S)		heed, pursue
*lum	(S)		separate fire

M

ma′ca·L		maltintak (S)	blaze, burn
(k)Ma·i		(k)Ma·′iyal′ (M)	live, possess home
ma·k	mak	ma·tak	give
*(ke)makwoxtel	(S)		sigh, breathe deeply
ma·L	maL	ma′lo·L	fly
male·′ntax	male′ntax	maltintak (S)	remember, think
mala·k		malta·k	advise, say
ma′le	(S)		doubt
*(m)a′nketso	(S)		insert, add
ma·t		ma·telau	fill oneself

Antoniaño.	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ma·''a	ma'a·'u'	ma·tele'	bring, carry, raise
*me			sleep
mene' (S)	me·'n'		go to bring
	(ṭ)me' (nak)		go to see
me·'s	mi'slip	mest	smell, scent
(a')me·'t	me·'t		try, attempt
me·ṭ'au'			feel
*(tam) e·'tca			arise, get up
*(ke)mi'ltop	(S)		lightning
*mitac	(S)		make
mī·'tel·ak		mi·'tela·tak'	defeat, beat
mi'ṭ'ik	mi'ṭ'ik	mi'ṭ'ʟik	run, flee
mic	(S)	milic	celebrate, entertain
		*(i)mo'kʟop	drown
molo'x	molox	ma'ltox	jump
map	mopke·'		grow, increase
mopxi'			be obliged
moṭ'u'xo			tighten
moupx	(S)	molopx	strengthen
*mue'teko	(S)		watch, observe

N

	*(e)nac		dismount
na·'yi'	nai	na·ihyi''	flee, run
	*naye'm		bring (wood)
na·'lo		na'lyeton' (M)	await, wait for
naʟ	nal		fill oneself, satiate
(ke)na'me	(S)	(ke)namo'ten	heat, warm oneself
nep (S)	nap'		cook
ne'ka'		nixla' (S)	obey
ne'	ne'	ne'wo't (M)	take, seize, bring
(ki)neutile	(S)	(ki)neutilte	change, move
newiox,			
(pe)noyo'xo	(S)	(pe)no'toxo	assent, agree
(ki)nǐ'ya			take away, rob
(e)no·'nanax	no'iyo'	(e)nuntilentaxo	
		(S)	collect, gather
*nok'i·'c			appear
no'le	(S)	no'lele	run
(o)noie	(S)	(o)no'te	dare
		(e)notili'	trade, barter, pay
notx			push away
		*(e)noṭa''asiʟ	do
(e)notcene'	(S)	(o)notcen'e'te	draw near, communicate
(e)no'xo		(i)naxtilo (S)	come

O

*(ko)amo	(S)		move oneself
	*(ṭ)o·cko'n'ᴇ		be fastened
oi	(S)	oyil	learn, determine, know

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
o'ye	(S)		remain, be left
o·ye'		ot'ne'	respond, reply
o'yote	(S)	uyio'tine	move
okot'nap		okot'napelte	dodge
	oko'ṭ'o'		kill
ok'wa'te	(S)	ok'wa'tile	flatter, applaud
o'la'le'			be ashamed
olek, k'alok'	(S)	ole'palk	break
o'lo·liꞔ	olole''		play flute
olṭ'ek			cut, fell
o'maiye'		o'mayau (S)	begin, commence, leave
o'ma	(S)		divide
*omia'm	(S)		meet
*o'miyo·te'		o''kiut'ne'	support oneself, rest
omp	o'mop	omolop	finish, cease, end
(k)o·n		(k)o·'neʟ	escape, leave
onai'ye	(S)		encircle with belt
*(p)onataksa	(S)		send, order
*(k)o'niyi'			be afraid, ashamed
*ontcamaua'te	(S)		believe, suggest
opoi'	opa''u	op'oiteno'x	enter, insert, throw in
(k)o'poṭoṭꞔna'			boil
(e·'k)o·sna'		(e·'k)ostena'	whistle
	*(ṭ)otenake'		become, make oneself
(k)otia'	(S)	(k)otilia'	be indisposed
	*otokinek		pound, hammer
o·tatʟe',	o'ṭ'atnox	o'taxlele'	butt, gore, dive
otaxle·'			
*(k)o'tco·xna'			drop, fall
(i)ox, (x)ox	(S)		approach
o'xoyo·te'	o'xoyo·ta'p	o'xoiyo·tela'	live, exist
o'xo·ma'		o'xom'tela'	hide
o'xwetel (S)	o'xote'p		whip, beat, punish

P

(p)aye'm	(S)		carry, bear
(p)aitcik	(S)	(p)aitciltek	visit, communicate
pa·ta, pa·ka		pa'tʟa, pa'xʟa	dance
(p)a'lek	(S)		heat, warm
*(p)amṭinik	(S)		see
(p)aso'kau			scratch
(p)ats'ok'a'u			
*(pꞔ)ca·ko'			chop
*(p)eina'x	(S)		see
(p)ele·'t'o		(p)e'lextʟo	open
		(p)e'me·'l	use, select
*penʟa·'k'o			hustle
(p)esk'o'na			cook
pesno'xo	pesno'xo'	pesnelo'xo	hear, listen

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
pe′sene		pe′sintLe	think
	*(p)eta·no		seize, grasp
pex	(S)		be born, come out
*(p)exe′ko	(S)		reject, separate
*pi′			be (substantive)
*(p)iematilo′xo	(S)		suffer
*(p)ipṭa′tiko	(S)		bite, grind
*(p)itca·lta′naxo	(S)		dream
	(pʿ)ocai′		lift, raise
okoleca′	pokʿe′lec		advise, notify
	*(p)o·L		toast
(p)o′nek	(S)		insert, introduce
pox	pox	polox	enter, go down
psa′lo			decide, resolve
	*p′te′lo·to		fall on stomach
pxa·i		pxaiyiL	pay

S

sa·		sa·teL	speak
(i)sa′li		sa′le·lte′	hate
		sa·′mox	die (many)
saiyene	sa′nene		marry a woman
se		se	be, are (substantive, attributive)
*sekoṭ′ak′			tie, bind
se·			tell, say to
se'ni′		seʿNi′	walk
*sitetenop	(S)		arrive at summit
*sole′k	(S)		feel genitals

T

ta·i		taiyai	stink, smell
tale (S)	ta′lo′	talte	accompany
ta′LxwaL		ta′lxwaltenax	work
*tama′nepek			remove, abstract
*tapen			stroke
tawa	(S)	tau′la	remain, delay
*t′e′yo′			be alone
*te·′le′			hustle
tepen			pain, hurt
tī·′	tī·′		do
ti′a	(S)	tiila	offend
*tɪco·		ticto	(not) see, hear, observe
*(e)ti′cxaLta			play
ti′li	(S)	tiili	dispatch, send
	*ti′ṭʿoLpet		fight, contest
*ti·′tcoN			refuse, decline
*ti′ixai			like, wish

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
*t'ola·'so			exclaim
*tρx	(S)		gather
tom'	tum'	to'met	fall
*tom, tum	(S)		agree, assent
tu'pex	(S)	tu'lpex	scent, give good odor

Ṭ

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ṭ'a·'co		ṭa'cila (S)	take notice, constrain, press
*ṭal	(S)		scrub, smooth
*ṭam	(S)	ṭa·m	hunt pine nuts
*(k'oṭ)a'mek'ulentax (S)			lift a fallen object
	*(eṭ)an'		arise, get up
*ṭ'a·penya'			collect, gather
	*(ṭ')a·te		have, be
*(p)ṭ'a·'x			pour out
ṭe'	ṭ'e'	ṭetak	tell, say to
		*ṭe'yiteno	shout, acclaim
(p)ṭ'e'kax	ṭ'ak'ak'o'	(pe)ṭ'a'kha·'k	break off, saw off, stab, shoot
(p)ṭ'eka		(p)ṭ'aki	kill
(p)ṭ'etoyo	ṭ'ot'o·'iyo'		pound, pulverize
	*(e)ṭ'etepai		shoot, throw, cast
*(ṭ)enī·lak			be worth, valuable
*ṭ'ia·'			wish, desire
ṭica	(S)	ṭici'la	sigh
*ṭiemi'	(S)		discharge
*(ke)ṭi'cnop	(S)	(ke)ṭictinop	gather food
*(p)ṭ'iyena'pak		ṭ'iitenla'pk	cut one's head off, decapitate
*(p)ṭ'ika·'l			strike, beat
ṭimti't	(S)		take, seize
ṭiowe	(S)	ṭitinowe	be happy
*ṭipaxa	(S)		remove oneself
*ṭitspiptup	(S)		fall
*ṭoku'mkó·			continue
ṭ'o'ina·'so	ṭ'u'inox		perch, sit above
ṭ'o'ke·lax		ṭ'okeltenax	revive
ṭ'o'loinox		ṭpoleitina'x (S)	finish, end
ṭ'o'Ne·wu			rub, scratch oneself
ṭ'o'N'		pṭu°uniko (S)	burn
	ṭ'o'xoN	ṭ'o'xo·tén'	snore
*ṭopoile	(S)	ṭopoilile	kneel
ṭ'uina'pik		ṭuinila'pek (S)	saw, be torn up
ṭ'uk'	ṭ'uk'	ṭ'oka'	crash, thunder, smash
(p)ṭ'u'kotna·			bore

TC

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
(i)tca'klax	(S)	(i)tca'kiltax	nail, fasten
tc'a'·'uwe'	t·c'a·'u'	tc'a·'uye'	seek, hunt
ṭ'a·u'			

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
	tc'e.'lo', tc'a.'mo'		wrap up, swaddle
tc'upk, tcakomo	(S)	tca'komel	wash
*tca'watc	(S)		lose senses
*tc'e.wa.nuwi'		tce'welte''e (S)	be upheld, thrown
tc'ehe.'na'			be angry
*tci'pk	(S)		desire, detain
*tcuileu	(S)	tcukle'u	divide
tcutna'x,	(S)		fix, insert, extract
tcutnepek			

TS

ts'a.ts'i			be wet, damp
(pe)tseina'k	(S)		sell
*tsetmiwe'liko	(S)		do
ts'e.n', ts'e.'k			see, observe, watch
ts'ē.'nu'		ts'e.'ten (M)	like, enjoy, be happy
tsepex	(S)		give birth, break
(ke)tsiknop	(S)	(ke)tsiktinop	burst, smash
ts'a'tel	ts'ne'teL		be cold
(ke)tsikna	(S)	(ke)tsi'ktina	breathe
tsil	(S)		suffer, pain
*(pe)tsimia'm	(S)		dress
ts'ok'ox		tsa'ktox	frighten, be afraid
ts'o'xwan	ts'axwen'		shrivel, dry

U-W

wa.'xaL, o.'wahL	wi'le.	wo.'xaLtenax	kill
*wa'Li'			send, dispatch
*(k)walita'tce	(S)		boil vigorously
	*wa.'wel		go to bring
wa.t		watil (S)	send
wenx, we'ten,		welnex (S)	return
we.ntx			
wi'pu		wī.'tup	give however
	*umtan		permit, give
upk'i'na,	(S)		twist, twine
umk'ina	(S)		
utneka'lik			beat, strike, thrash
utca.k			lend
*(k)utc'e'l			halt, stop

X

(ol)xa', (it)xa	(S)		withstand, bear
xac		ka'ciL	sit down, be seated
*(epe)xayit	(S)		hate
		*xai'yaL (M)	go
xa.i	(S)	xa'yeL	doubt
xa'la, ha'la			use, shoot
xam, xap		xameL	end, finish
(p)xanse		ko'nsele	sell

`Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
xa'pek	xa'pko'		dig, excavate, climb
xa.'ta	xa.'ta	xa'La	weep
*ha.te'			remain
xe.'co	xe.c	xeclu (S)	inter, bury
he'la	he'la		await
xo'wia	(S)	xoiolua	breathe, live
*ho'yi'			say
*xoyu'k'	(S)		soften
(h)o'ne.t,			defeat, beat
(k)o'ne.t'			
xot'	xotk		blow
xo't'op		xo't'Lop (M)	pass by
xwen	xwe.n	xwene'lax	arrive

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

	(k)ama'cu		sweet
(ke)ama.'uk	(S)	(ke)ama.'ulik	pious, compassionate
(k)atululna	(S)		straight (road)
(k)a'tca.mp'a'		(k)a.'tca.tenapa	mean, fierce, brave
(k)apa'mak	(S)	(k)apa'melmak	simple, benevolent
(k)axa'ntce	(S)		angry, passionate
(k)a'wa	(S)	(k)a'ula	robust, healthy
ca.'xa'NE		(k)ca.'xa'tena'	blue
	ce.'ta		scabby
(ku)cu'k	su'ko		deaf
(e)cmic	(S)		poor
co'wut'	cauwat	co'watLax	black
(k)e'sene'			bad
ecxo.ni'	icxo.ne	e'cxo.tene'	poor, thin, feeble
(k)esiyu'k'		(k)esiyuk'lax	sweet
(t)emitcu'k'o	(S)		holey
(k)esīo'hol			salty
(k)esna''			true
(k)etca.''	(k)etc'a.''	(k)etca''atén	large, great
(k)etpenik	(S)	(k)etpenilek	stony, rough
(k)icxo'a	(S)		covered
(k)i'le	(S)		lazy
(k)imoupxa	(S)	(k)imoupxela	valiant
(k)i'notopa'	(S)		different, distinct
(k')īo'x			high (above water)
(k)ita'lna			first quarter (moon)
(k)itcka.'ten	tc'ka'ten'	(k)itcka.'te.lax	red
(k)itetse'nxa			expert, crafty
(k)itcmila	(S)	(k)itcmi'lita	transparent
(k)itspilil	(S)		painted
(k)i'tcowok'a	(S)	(k)i'tcowota	rich
(k)itsto'lne	(S)	(k)itsto'ltine	twisted
(k)ī'wun			savory, tasty

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
k'a'ye			disobedient
k'ak'anxa	(S)		coagulated
k'atapNe·'xe'			heavy (rain)
k'nap	k'nap		ripe
k'ockwe'top	(S)	kockwe'tilop	thin
k'wa·'ka		k'wa·'kelt'a	long, tall
(k)la'k'ʍak'			brave, valiant
lakulem			lower
le·ma'lem			upper
lama'yu	lamai		right
	la'pai		left
(k)ʟe''tax		(k)ʟe''talax	sharp
letapyele			last quarter (moon)
(ke)lu'tca	(S)	(ke)lutca'aten	dumb
(k)loi			lame, crippled
ma't'aʟ	ma't'a·ʟ	(k')ma'talta	white
(k')me't'oᵘ	cmo't		heavy, deep (snow)
mup	(S)		large (child)
ok'elo	o'kel		left
(k)osweak	(S)		agile
	(t)oti'pe'N		rapid
(k)omux	(S)		elder
(ke)otca'	(S)	(ke)otce'la	benevolent, pious
(k)owa'te	(S)		difficult
(k')pat'		(k')pa't'ʟax	hard
pi'nxa	(S)		good, successful (thing)
sa·x	(S)	sakehe'ʟ	good (person)
sa'xwelyo'x			smooth-edged
	sep		right
skĭ·'ntui'	sku'nt'ui'		small, thin, lesser
skĭ'tana	sko'tan		small
	skusna		half (moon)
(e)sluteya'mo	(S)	(e)sluteya'moten	short, bent (with age)
smat	smat	smahate'ʟ	beautiful
(k')so·'le'			sad
	spukita		upper
stīyo''owan		stīyo·'wanlax	pretty, graceful
swa'nan	swa'nan		lonesome
(k)te'k'a	stikwau		young, new
	ta'kata		new (moon)
	te·'le'pʍɪ		full
	tele'sa		lower
telwane'			strong, fierce
	timoen		lame
tinkxa		ti'nelkxa	dear, beloved
t'ɪse			strong, able
tolep			sad
toyo'weto	(S)		wise
	tunu'iko		red-winged
ta'to	(S)	tatotne'l	foreign, strange
t'a'wut	t'xauwat		yellow
t'i·'kilele'		t'i·'kelilte'	round

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Plural	Meaning
ṭixa'yo	(S)	ṭixa'yout	ordinary
(kom)ṭek'	(S)	(kom)ṭaka'i	(in)corrupt
(kom)ṭeko'lnox	(S)	(kom)ṭeko'ltinox	(un)penetrated
(kʼ)ṭ'pelel		(kʼ)ṭ'pe'le·lta	striped
	ṭukilnu	.	full (moon)
	ṭ'u'moi·ne'		docked
		*tc'a'haliltena'	thin, famished
tcamauk	(S)		haughty
tcʻa'pa·iyine		tcʻa'paiyitine'	wide
(kʻ)tcʼa'p			tired
tcehen(mak)		tce'henmilak	irritable, mean
e·li'to	(S)		equal
	ts'a·'lamkwaʟ		clear (sky)
ts'ep	ts'ep	ts'e'pax	good, well
(kʻ)ts'e'pen'		ts'e'peyitini	small
(kʻ)ts'eteʟ			cold
	ts'kɑ'te·lɑxkɑ·'ʻ		naked
(k)u'sululna'		(k)esulutina'	straight (tree)
	(k)umtica'		brown
(k)u'wate			very bad
(k)wi'le'		(k)wi'lte'	straight
	wi'lɑpné		right
(k)wi'tcen'			smoky
		(kʻ)wo'slopʻ	strong, numerous
(e)xai'	xaɪ		brave
.	xīlɑp'		valiant, brave
xu·mọ·'ʻ	ckomó	xomoɴe'ʟ	ferocious, bad
	xu'tia, ku'tia		sick, ill
	yu'wɑn	.	sweet

VARIOUS STEMS

DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLES

*aswai	*aswa		this, these
keca''	k'ɑ'lau'	.	how many?
kipuṭa		kipu'ṭila	last
(k)ī·'sile'	(k)ī·'sili'p		all, every
mas		ṭa·cne'ʟ	somebody, someone
mē·yo''			same
na	na, no'na		this, these
pe	he, we		the, that, that which, those
pa	hǫ		that, those
*se·'tʻkam			each
tama'ya		ta'maila	next
tʻya			each
toy'o'we	(S)	teyo'o'we	alone, sole
ṭa'crake', ṭa·'rake		ṭace'ʟṭake	some, something
xai'ya'			many

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

heʟ	(proclitic)	soon, presently, after
il·a, ilta	(S)	soon, afterwards
ī·n	(enclitic)	yet, still
ke′tka	(S)	already
kisa′, kwits	(S)	always
kī·′ya·tʻe′		always
kī·′yɑx		always will
(k)ʟu·′wa′	(proclitic)	much, long
ko′kai	(S)	yet
lē·lo′, lo′	(enclitic)	formerly
makạ·′′	(Mig., enclitic)	now
me′cak		continually
mē·yo′′	(proclitic)	continually
na·ta·′	(enclitic)	now
*noce′′		soon, almost
nomimo	(S., proclitic)	before
nopaha′		day before yesterday
noko′nxa′		yesterday
noṭie′wᴀ		yesterday
no·nóʻ.non, noʻ	(enclitic)	soon, some time, now
tana′	(Mig., enclitic)	now
taha′, ta·	(enclitic)	now
tel.ī·′n	(enclitic)	while, during
ṭats′, rats′a	(proclitic)	always, continually
ṭʻɪkisnɑ′′		continually
ṭupa′ha		day after tomorrow
ṭume′, rume′	(enclitic)	then, following
ṭʻʋxwe′nto		presently, soon
tcu	(S)	in the beginning

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

General

Antoniaño	*Migueleño*	*Meaning*
kē′u		indefinite place, there
	*hu	there, *ahí*
ma′ye	(S)	there, *por allá*
nepa′, nepe′	(S)	there, *allí, allá*
na′ye, ṭonai′	(S)	here, *aquí*
ra′ke′		somewhere
pa		there, here
ṭʻɪya′x		there, *ahí*
wa′	xa	there, distant
wī		here, *aquí, acá*

Particular

k′e·li′cxo		beneath	(icxe′, foot)
kʟi′he′		down	
la·′ko	lak′	down, below	

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Meaning	
le·mo''	leᴍ	over, on, above	
p'au		beyond	(*noun*, other side?)
pepoxo	(S)	beneath	
sk'a·m		near, beside	
t'oʟ		near	
ṭewa·'ko		beside, near	(*noun* side?)
ṭewai'yu		at side of	(*noun* side?)
ṭexɑpi'cxo		at the edge of	(*noun* edge?)
ṭeyoxana''yu		at the surface of	(*noun* surface?)
ṭɪka'ko		above, over, at top	(ṭa'ak, head)
ṭiṭco'mo		behind	(ṭi'tcom', back)
ṭo·'ke		in, within	
ṭo'me·lo		at the end of, edge	(*noun* end?)
tceɴ		outside, out	

DESCRIPTIVE ADVERBS

letano	half
kai'yik'	slowly
ka·'xwen (Mig.)	much
k'o'lop	very, much, enough
koyu'p	easily
k'så	more, very, entirely, truly, well
misa'tik	strongly
pe·'ptelop'	too much
pe·'nle	swiftly
skomo'	slightly
tewai'	half, partly
ṭikts'e'p'ksa	uselessly
ṭutisi	thus
tce'e	truly
tcitso	only, solely

NUMERALS[51]

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Meaning
t'oʟ	t'o'ixʏu	1
ka'k'cu	xɑ'kic	2
kʟa'pai	la'pai	3
k'i'ca'	k'i'ca'	4
o'ʟṭ'au	olṭa·'to	5
paia·'neʟ	paya'teʟ	6
te'	t'e'p	7
caa'neʟ	ca't'eʟ	8
te'teṭ'o''e	te'teṭ'o'paʟ	9
ṭ'o''e	ṭ'o'paʟ	10
ṭ'o''etaxt'oʟ		11
la'paikca'		12
la'paikcataxt'oʟ		13
woco'co		14
la'paioʟṭ'au		15
k'pec		16

[51] Cf. discussion on ''Numerical System'' *in* Ethnology, p. 134.

CONJUNCTIONS

Antoniaño	Migueleño	Meaning
	he'u 'wa 't	therefore
i·n, yoin		more than (comparison)
kas	kas	but, only
kasi'no, maxa'ya	(S)	if not
ki·c	ki·c	like, resembling
ki'ri, keṭi'		because
me'na 'ko	mī'yo 'k	why? ah! because
peti'yo	(S)	like, as
te'rcte, terc		therefore
ṭayopa	(S)	although
ṭka·	(S)	in case
ṭi	(S)	also
ṭam, ram, am		then, next
ṭan, ran, an	ṭan	and, but
ṭana'i·ṭ		although
tax	ṭaʹxo	and
uska''		or

INTERJECTIONS

a'ʻimya'ʻ	go ahead!
aiʻ	all right!
ʻạ·ⁿ, hạ·ⁿ	yes!
ha·'kse	no!
ko'tisen (Mig.)	be careful!
ka·, koa·'	come on!
ke'ra ', ka'ra '	no!
me·'ınten	now then!
mai	come!
noʻ	good!
yo'	now! he!
yaha	hurrah!