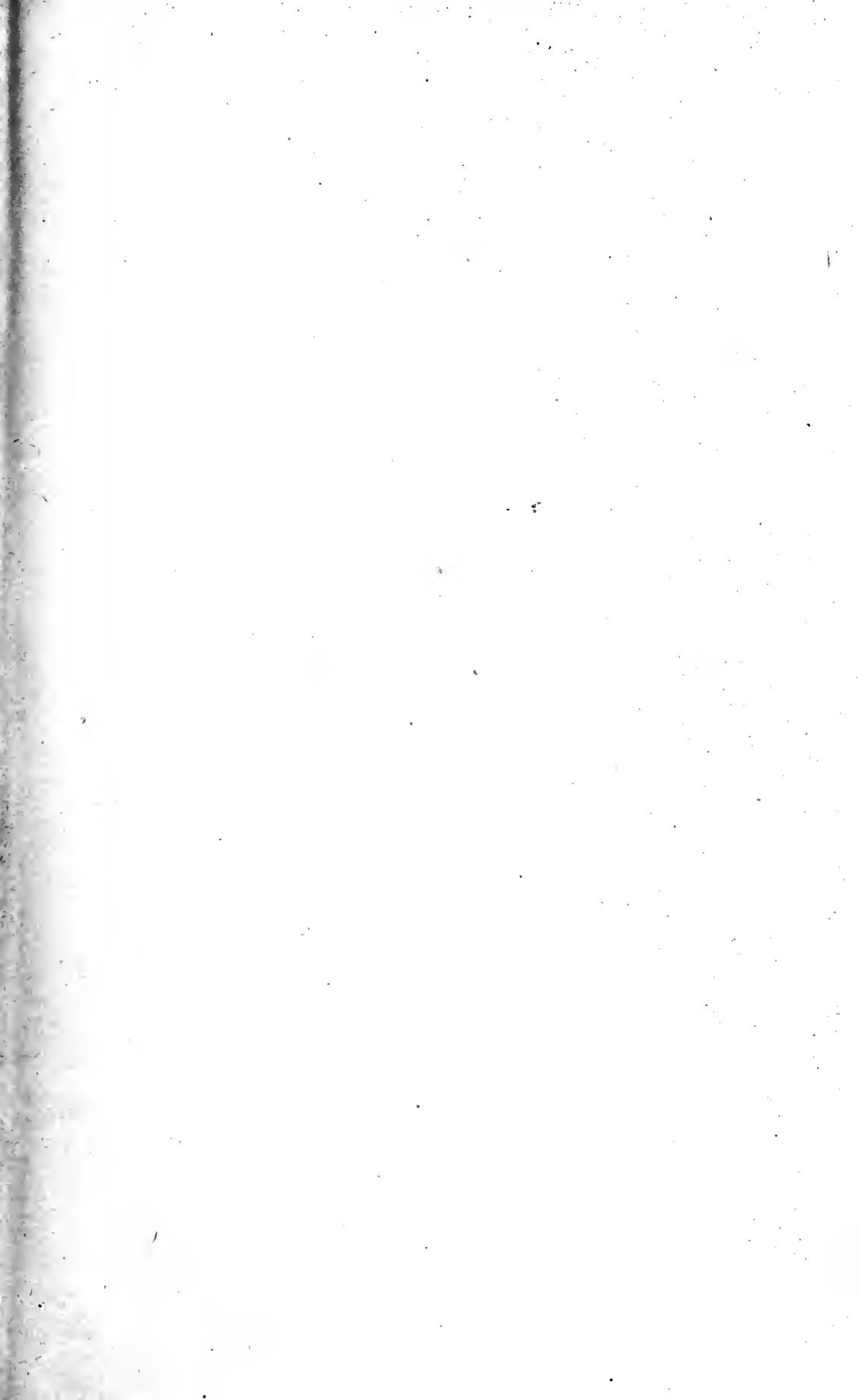


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IN
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THE LANGUAGE
OF THE SALINAN INDIANS

BY
J. ALDEN MASON

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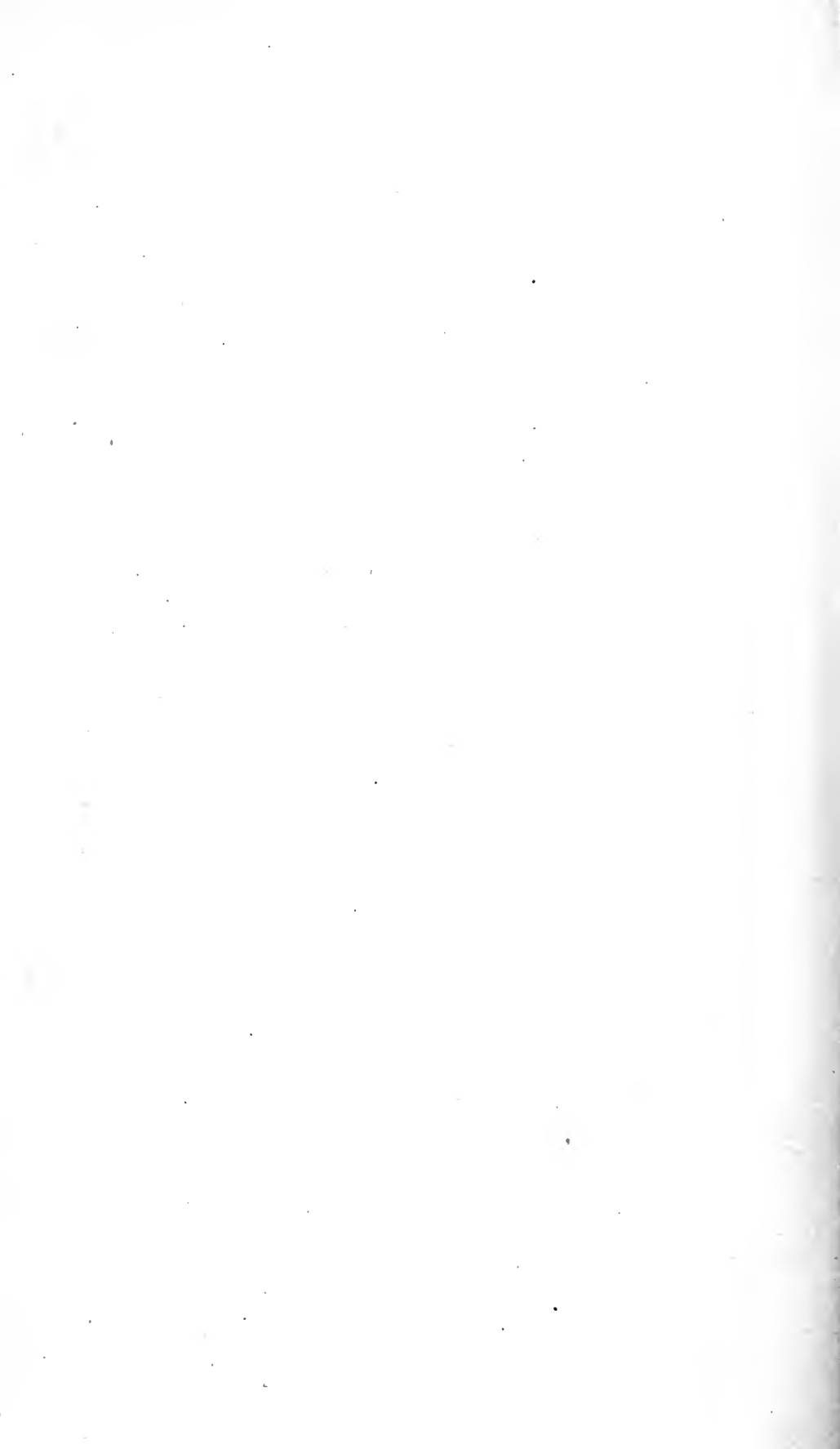
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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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*.
- ɑ*, 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*.

¹⁰ Smithsonian. 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.
- o Indeterminate vowel found in Migueleño in rapid speech; related to Antoniaño *a*.

Summary:

ī		u
i	e	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:

a̱

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 *tám*, "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:

m^ˊ

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, *ɣ*, *w*, *w* 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 *ɣ* 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 *w* is rare. Both *w* and *ɣ* 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 sonaney 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, *B*, *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 *B* (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, t', 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, t', 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, g, k, k', 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, ts', 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, *tc'*, *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		ɳ	
Surd	M	N			
Lateral					
Sonant			l		
Surd			L		
Spirant					
Sonant	β			γ	
Surd	φ	s	e	x	h
Stop					
Sonant	b			g	
Intermed.-surd	p	t	t̥	k	
Aspirate	pʰ	tʰ	tʰ̥	kʰ	
Glottalized	pʷ	tʷ	tʷ̥	kʷ	
Affricative					
Surd		ts	tc		
Glottalized		tsʷ	tcʷ		

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:

t̥-a-m	house	t̥-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)
xuteai	dog	xosten	plural
		-iteo	with possessive
t-eik	knife	t-ea-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*:

ʔ-a-m	house	ʔ-e-mo	his house
		ʔ'k-omhaL	your houses
epxo	his mother	ʔ'k-opex	your mother
tm-itax	thy urine	ʔok-otax	your urine
tm-ik'es	thy robe	ʔ'k-ok'es	your robe
ʔ-a-k'at	wood	ʔk-o-k'at	your wood

Occasionally similar changes are found with other prefixes, as:

ʔ-itol	brother	ʔ-atol	our brother
ek-o	father	tm-ik	thy father
ʔ-iken	nest	oken	nest? (interrog.)
m-icim	drink!	k-ostem	drink! (pl.)
		tit-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:

sphanat	hide	sapanto	its hide
awaten	flies	awatneL	flies
ʔ-opinito	fat	t-upento	fat
t-ieok'alo	ear	ʔ-iek'olo	ear
sukai-lo	lungs	skoilo	lungs

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

REDUPLICATION

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

te'emteem	bat
teikteik	fish-hawk
tsintsin	sand
nene'	grandmother
tata	father

ONOMATOPOEIA

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

teikteik	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'tanel	years

DISSIMILATION

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

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

ketca'	great	ṭiketca'no	his size
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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.

ṭixe'xe'	feet	ṭixe-ple'to	their feet
texa'	stone	texa'panel	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-

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 ^o 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:

<i>Antoniaño</i>		<i>Migueleño</i>
ac	elk	p'ac
a'kata	blood	pakata
axa'k	bone	paxa'k
at'	oak	p'at'
as	son	p'as
ʔexa'	stone	exap
ka'	acorn	k'ap'
tits'e''wu	tail (his)	ʔ-its'e''p
t'ieele''	finger nail	icilip
ʔixe''wu	foot (his)	ʔixe'p
ʔaa''	deer	ʔaa''p
sa'nat'	hide	spanat
lea'ʔ'	duck	elpa'ʔ'
ʔ'a''ak	head	ʔo'paka
ʔa'ai'	ashes	ʔop'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.

<i>Antoniaño</i>		<i>Migueleño</i>
ta.ma''	men	ta.m
le'ma	sky	lem
pena'na	milk	pena'u
ʔo'kena	day	ʔo'ken
tuipe'ya	raft, boat	tuwipe'
tapleya	fire-drill	teneple''
teala	blackbird	teal

But:

ʔ'a''ak	head	ʔo'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.nel
taple'ya	fire-drill	tenepel''

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'l-i'	a fight	k'a'al-a'	fight
p-eta-k-i'	the making	p-eta''ko	make

ts'en-li'	amusements	k-ts'e-n-u'	enjoy
lam-a-i'	food	k-lam	eat
lam-a-u'WI	food (M)		
t-iei-wai	draught (M)	k-iei-m	drink
yeṭe-we''	earthquake (M)	yi'te' ⁶	quake
ṭ-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*.

ṭ'upint-e'y'a	corpulence	ṭopinit-o	fat
tipn-iy'a	pain (in abstract)	tipin	pain
ṭ-anim-ike'ya	pardon	k-anem	give pardon
ṭ-ake-uwa'y'u	his thirst	k-ake-a'	be thirsty
ṭ-alil-k-e'ya	question	p-ale'l-ek	ask
ṭ-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. *-ṭe, -tce, -a-tc'e, agentive.*

ki'-kau-yel-a-tc'e'	great sleepers	kau	sleep
ke''-kau-iy-a'tee	sleepers		
k-liexai-t'ie	rain-maker	liexai	rain
k-icim-te	drinker	ieim	drink
k-amṭ'a-tce	hunter	amṭe	hunt
k-amṭ'i-t-cwan	fisher	amṭe-cwan	hunt fish
k'-malox-a'tee	jumper	malox	jump

Another but rarer agentive form seems to be:

3. *-mak, agentive.*

k-ateen-mak	robber	aten	rob
k-ac-tel-m-il-ak	speakers	as	speak
k'-La'm-m-a-il-ak'	eaters	lam	eat

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

ṭa-lam-xat	food	lam	eat
pa-xaṭ'	dance	pa--ka, pa-ta	dance
t-a's-e-tiL	language	as	speak
ṭi-kak-eL	song	ka-k'a	sing
ṭ-eta'' ^a k-oL	fire-drill	eta'' ^a k-o	make, do
ṭ-itsipx-aiut'i	rebirth (S)	etseipex	be born
macal-a'k	morning star	maca-L	burn
macal-e'	flames		
moee''	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.

t̄-ema-i-e	village, <i>ranchería</i>	t̄-ema	house
exap-alat	pebble	exap	stone
skoi-kne'ya	beard	sxkoi''	beard
sul-at	animal's testicles	sol	testicles
cowa-to	poison of snake	cowa	skunk.
hu-ma't̄'al-ta	white people	ma't̄'al	white
kesiyu'k-La	sweetness	kesiyu'k'	sweet
t̄'o-l	heap	t̄'oi	mountain
lua-nelo	slave	lua	man
lua-nilayo	overseer	lua	man
t̄-icxe-xe'	tracks	t̄-icxe	foot
skan-iltai	rib	skan	belly
axak-elteya	rheumatism	axak	bone
ti-tea-wen	foam	t̄ea	water
ti-exo-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	ewa-n	fish
k'tsaxel-e	snow	tsa'xeL	snow
te'umya-l-e'	freeze (?)	te'umyeL	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 (ke-selk-ne)	make a fence	selko	fence (Sp. <i>cerca</i>)
k'-co.'luk'-te-ne	make holes	co.'luk'	holes
m-isxa'te-L	urinate!	ʔ-isxaiL	urine
hek-upint-ate	I fatten myself	upinit	fat

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

ʔaa'k-a	nod	ʔ'a.'k-o	head
k-upint-emak	eat fat	ʔ-upinit	fat
ʔam	hunt pinenuts	ʔo	pinenuts
ʔo-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.*

etelu-wa''	old man	lu-wa''	man
teilu-wai''	old man (M)	lu-wai''	man
celte''	old woman	litse''	woman
teene''	old woman (M)	lene''	woman

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

ilpał, lpał	spring (summer)
ilne', il'e'	summer
ilka-p	autumn
iltee	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:

ʔa-m	house	ʔama'neL ʔamelax ʔa-ma-tén ʔemhal ʔa-ma-tenáx ʔa-ma-niLáx ʔamanilten
exoxo'	brain	exoxa'lax exotenax exoten
ixxe.'u	foot	ixxepa.'l ixxe'xe' ixxe.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
tateuanil	tateuanil-ten	stars
ketca	ketca-ten	big
kristia'no	kristiano-ten	Christians
	ta-sko'meuka-'yi'k-tén	but do not tread again
	k'al-ten-a	we will fight again
	p'cola.'tko-ten	he freed 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.*

ṭail-tenax	fleas
ṭamul-tenax	pumas

10. *-tenat, nominal plural.*

map'-tenat	rabbits
ska.k'-tenat	crows
as-tenat	elks
Lk'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*.

xute	xosten	dogs
celṭe	sle.ten	old women
teini'	teinten	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-etiyan	arrows
ts'axe'L	ts'ax-an-eL	snows
teumieL	teumi-an-eL	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
ketpoi-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	anuscs
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, -neL, -aneL, -naneL, -teL, plural.*

-el alone is comparatively rare.

tcak-el	knives
smat-el	beautiful

A far more common suffix is *-neL*:

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

-aneL is probably a phonetic variation of the above:

ṭ'elow'-a'neL	storms
ṭitol-anel	brothers
saiy-anel	eagles
texap-anel	stones

-naneL is occasional:

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

-teL is occasional:

to'kena-teL	days
smakai-ya-teL	nights
ka'-teL	acorns

Apparent phonetic irregularities in the use of this suffix are:

ṭepal	ṭepa'neL	tongues
ṭa'kat	ṭak'aneL	sticks
ṭoxo	ṭoxo-lanel	wolves
ṭaasx-o	ṭaasx-aknel-o	livers
lice'	elci'-tanel	winters
akata	akat-nel-o	bloods
ṭaa''	ṭaa'-tneL	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-L	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.*

ṭexiwaiy-o	ṭexiw-il-aiy-o	their hearts
ts'waketi''	ts'waket-il-i'	hats
hak'i	hak'-el-i	bows
makawi''	makaw-il-i'	flowers
katenmak	katenm-il-ak	robbers
k'pat'ak	k'pat'-il-ak	dancers
kLe'tax	kLe'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'al-i'	k'al-el-i'	fight
xata	xat-L-a	weep
k'miṭ'ik	k'miṭ'-L-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'ο	ke-la'-ο	knuckles
epeselet	epesel-elm-et	enemies
inexa'	ine-lk-xa	parents
anemtak	anem-til-tak	pardon
komop	kom-ol-op	finish
k'aLa	k'aL-el-a.'kot	fight
paiteeko	paite-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-Le'	penises
ṭeṭeyini''	ṭeṭeyi-ti-nai	arrows
kaxap	kaxa-te-p	corpse, dead
ṭikelele	ṭikelil-t-e	round

kwi'le'	kwi'l-t-e'	straight
kma'lox	kma'l-t-ox	jump
ma	ma-tele'	carry
keo'lukne	keo'luk-te-ne	make holes
mamampik	kaman-t'a-pik	take out
anem	ane-te-m	remain
tas-il-o	tas-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'h'ye'	yank away
k-La'm-aiyak	k-Lam-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)
teiluai	eteluai	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)
ṭiteu-o	ṭiteu-ak-o	breasts (S)
ateaka	ateakoi	times (S)
kLa	kLapat	broken
ts'epen	ts'epeyitini	small
k'tai	k'taiyai	stink
liyax	litax	shoot
m-icim	k-ostem	drink
komiyota	ko'kiutne	lie down
k'se'yine	k'se'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 *t-*. 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 *t-* as a nominalizing prefix are given below; its other functions will be considered later.

17. *t-*, nominal prefix.

t-olol-a'iyó	his flute	k-o'lo-l-i'	play flute
t-olal-a'iyu	his shame	k-o'la'l-e'	be ashamed
t-a's-o	his name	k-as-et	be called
t-eexai	dawn	k-eexai	to dawn
tí-ka'keL	song	ka'k'a	sing
t-au-yi	heat	k-au-yak	be hot
t-alel-k-eya	question	p-alel-k-o	ask
t-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. <i>misa</i>)		

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	(t)-
2	tm-, t̄um-, tme-
3	(t)——o

Plural

1	ta(t)-
2	tk-, t̄uk-, tko-
3	(t)——ot, (t)——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 *t̄um-*, *ta-*, and *t̄uk-*:

sa.'nat'	my hide	ʔasa.'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	ʔe.mo'	his house
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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.

ʔa.'mo	my boss	ʔa.mo'	his boss
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Stems ending in *-i* take a *y* glide before the *-o* suffix; stems ending in *-u* take a *w* glide.

ʔololi'	my flute	ʔolola'yo	his flute
ʔu	my face	ʔu.wo'	his face

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

It will be noticed that the prefixes of the second person invariably contain the initial sound *ʔ-* (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 *ʔ-*.

ʔu	my face	ʔaʔu	our face
ʔmu.	they face	ʔku	your face
ʔu.wo'	his face	ʔuhe'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'teo	my dog	ʔa'tite	our dog
t'me'teo	thy dog	t'ko'teo	your dog
ti'teo'	his dog	ti'teot	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 *ʔ-*:

ʔa.k	my head	ʔa'ʔak	our head
t'ma.k	thy head	t'ka'k	your head
ʔa'ko	his head	ʔa'kot'	their head

Others do not take this prefix:

a'xak	my bone	ʔa'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
t'-e'te-ot	every one's dog
ṭ-e'm-oṭ	their house
epoke't-o-ṭ'	every one's hair
luwuy-ya-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 *-t'ye'* in such instances means each:

ko'-otc-te'	every man's dog
pa.'ka-t'ie'	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:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelero</i>
1	he.'k' (kek)	k'e'
2	mo'	mo'
3	heyo''	heo'
<i>Plural</i>		
1	ha.'k' (kak)	k'a'
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:

<i>Singular</i>	
1	k'e
2	me
3	ke'o
<i>Plural</i>	
1	k'a
2	ko
3	kewa'L

Thus:

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

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Proclitic</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Locative</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
1	he'k	e	ak	-k'e	-----
2	mo'	m	ka	-me	ʔum-
3	heyo't'	-----	o, ko	-keo	-o
<i>Plural</i>					
1	ha'k	a	t'ak	-k'a	ʔa-
2	mom	(om)	t'kam	-ko	ʔuk-
3	heyo't	-----	ot, kot	-kewa'L	-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-eko	when I am
me'-ṭ-a'mṭ'ele' (M)	when they go to hunt

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

ma'-yaL	when we go
ma'-paLa	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
Li-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.'siL	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'ti' (M)	what shall we do?
ake-to'n-ho' (M)	which is this?
ake-ton-ke'u (M)	where is he?
akī'-tenó-pa'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)?
ṭa.-kera.'ne	whose?
ta.-ko.'-otce-wa.xo'te	whose dog is this?
ta.-lwa'.	which is the better man?
tá.-p' -iem-o'ʔ	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.-ṭ' m	what (animal)? what (did he say)?
ṭalṭum, ṭal'ṭom' (M)	what is it?
ṭalt'ma' (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:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. e	1. a
2. m	2. (om)
me'-e-ka-w-i'	when I get sleepy
ke'ra' k-e-koL	I am not hungry
kaeta-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. *ʔ-*, nominal
- 30. *m-*, imperative
- 31. *ko-*, negative
- 32. *o-*, interrogative
- 33. *ʔa-*, conditional
- 34. *en-*, dependent
- 35. *na-*, purposive
- 36. *se-*, substantive

Transitive, Intransitive, Nominal

The three prefixes, 27 *p-*, 28 *k-*, and 29 *ʔ-* 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	t̥-ecxai''	dawn
k'-ts'axe'le	it snows	ts'ahe'L	snow
k'-t̥'e'pine	he is fat	t̥'e'pen	fat
k-iltce-wi'a	winter is coming	i'ltee	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'ee'	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'met'i	he hunted for him
k-ena'y-ok	he wounded him
k-te'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	k'-me.'ti	they try
ma'ita-ko	he told them	k'-maltau-k	they told them
p'ha'iyá.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 *m*, 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 *t̥-* 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 *t*- prefix initially are principally verbs of motion:

t'-ia	he went
t'-iax	he came

Occasionally, though rarely, other stems, principally those commencing in a vowel, are found with the prefix *t*- in initial position. But the most frequent use of *t*- 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-k'-na.'yi'	he fled

But in the great majority of cases, particularly with stems commencing in a vowel, after the proclitic *tam* (*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 *t*-.

t'a'm-t-a-lel-a'ik'	they asked him	p-ale'l-ko	he asked him
t'a'm-t-amp	it came out	k-a.'mp'Lo	it came out
ra'm-t'-xwen	he arrived	xwe'nelax	they arrived
am-t'-yax	he came	yax	come!
me'-t-amt'ele' (M)	when they hunt	k-a'mti' (M)	he was hunting
me-t-amp'	when it came out	p-a.ma'mp'ko	he took it out
me-t-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?	k'-sa'	he spoke
ko'-t-amai	he could not	ko'-p-amko	I can not
ti-t-a.'leyix	if they wish	p-a'lxo	I wish
ti-t-a.'mpta'	to come out	k-a.'mp'Lo	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.ta	do not cry!
ko'-m-icax	do not eat!
ko'-m-pt'ika'	do not beat her!
ko-m-eek'wala	do not cut yourself!
yaxte'L	come on!
k-osteM 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
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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:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
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-ye	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:

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
1	e	1	a
2	um	2	(um)
3	o	3	o

32. *o-*, *interrogative*.

e-ki' he'k	am I going?	a-kiya'L ha'k	are we going?
um-ki' mo'	are you going?	um-ki'aL mom'	are you going?
o-ki' heyo'	is he going?	o-ki'a'L 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't	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)?
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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' 'l6	(to see) if he is there
o'yo' 'l6	(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'L	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. *t̄(a)*, conditional.

ṭa'-amka se	if I am able
ṭa-ko'm-a-mko	(asked) if he could
t̄'an-t̄'i-itxa.'-tie se	if I had
te-etxa' se	if I have them, when I have them
ṭi-ko-t̄-ep'eL	if it is not filled
ṭi-'a'pau-te'	if I overtake him
ṭi-ki'e-k'a-ka.	if I don't sing
tie-ṭa'-a'mka se	if I were able
ṭo-ko-leexai-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*, *e*, *in*, *iη*, *an*, *on*, *um*, etc.).

34. *en-*, dependent.

en-t̄'-ya'	(commanded) to go
en-ka'u	in order to sleep
e'n-i-ts'e.na''	to please myself
'en-ts'ε''n	in order to see
'en-ṭico.'p	in order to tell
em-k'eu.'lukne	so that it entered
em-ya't	(said) to come
em-e'tikas (M)	to see if I can
em-te'au	(she whom I) seek
em-sek'	(he who) speaks
tas-em-a'lox	what I may desire
ε ^m -p-eta'ko	(commanded) to make
ε ^m -p-ete'e.ko	(commanded) to stop it
i'N-t̄-i'ts'e.k'	(go) to see
iη-kerā''k'a'Li''	so that not to fight
'iη-kerā''-racrake	so that not
an-p-alelek (S)	if I ask
an-t̄i-xo't̄'op'	(let me) pass
a'-a.'mko	(to see) if I can
on-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-k-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-eko''	he was sleeping
se-k'I-cxa'lo.'	he was afraid
se-k'-ce'tep'-Ló	he was already dead
se-p-asteene' '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-ki-lo'	he went
se-eko''	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-amo'leko	give alms frequently	p-ama'leko	give alms
m-amo'lek	Give alms thus!	m-ama'lek	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-p' iax-te-ko	then he brought another
p-t'a.k'io'-xo	he killed them
p-cik'ai'-ko heyo't	I kicked them
heyo' p'-iam-ane'lko heyo't	he saw them
ram-p'-ts'e-n-tko	he observes them
p-cik'ai'-tko	I kicked them
p'-ia'm-o't'	they met him
p-esno'-xot heyo''	they heard him
mom p'-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 ʔe 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'k	we were met
heyo't p-yam-al-t'ak ha'k	they saw us
k-ale'lt'aiyik mom'	ye are asked
heyo't p-ale'lt'kam	they asked you
heyo't k-ci'k'ail-taiyik	they are kicked
heyo't p-ci'k'ail-tko	they kicked them

SUFFIXES

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.

t-eta-x-a'	which should be done
ra'm-t'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-t-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 <i>place</i>)
la'lu-a'p (M)	he departed (la'lu-o <i>leave</i>)
mi's-lip-ap (M)	stinking (mis <i>smell</i>)

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'-miṭ'k-a-'t-ek'	he chased them off	k'-miṭ'ik	I run
p-aktei-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)	snail I remain?
<i>Possibly:</i>			
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
ṭa'me-la.'p'-se-ṭo' (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
ṭa-a'mela.'i-ce'	(he wanted) them to be killed
p-i-se.'lxo-k'sa'-ce'	(he tried to carry) them all
ku-ṭ'ia.'-t'-ia'.lo'-ce'	he did not wish to go yet
ram-k'ṭ-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'-ixai'-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
te-ce'tep'-ya'	he was as if dead
ko-citip'-ya'	he did not die
k-iyax-eL-yi	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 Migualeño 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-ten	I want more
ka-'u-tén'	he also slept
k'-t'-'o'xo-ke-tén	he was also a murderer
p'-Ne'-'e'wu-tén	he seized him again
ko-citip-tén'	he did not die again
na'lye-ton' (M)	they await another
ne'q-to'N (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-t'-'ia-ts'e	he went again
ra-m-sma'k'ai-ts'e	and it became night again
ra'm-t'i-eko-ts'e	and he was there again

ʔa'm-ʔica-k-ts'e'	and he began again
p-eta'ʔ ^a ko-ts'e'	he did (evil) again
ca-ke-ni'ʔts'i	they aimed again
k'a.'ltena-lo-ts'	we will fight again
no''-k'e-ts'a (M)	1 first
p'-mat'axo-tsa	I used to tamp them
p-ya.'m-ts'e	I used to look

43. -ʔ'ia', *distributive*.

The enclitic ʔ'ia' means "each," "every" and when suffixed to verbs gives to them a distributive significance.

k-otco.xna-gas-t'ia'	he ran dripping
ʔe-to'ʔm-ʔ'ia'	wherever it dropped
t'oL-ʔ'ia	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'-an	well, let it come!
ts'ep'-a-n	well, good!
m-i'exo'-ha'ʔk'a'N	it is better that thou eat me
ma'we.'xe'-an-k'sa'	place thyself firmly!
ka'xaw-an	they slept
xai-pa'ko-a'NI (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'tep'-ma'as-te'k'	he died
ke'ra'-te'k'ksa	he was not seen
ts'a'telo.m-tek'-k'sa'	it became cold
ʔ'o'loinox-tek'	it is finished
ʔa'mi-ya-tek (M)	he went (to bring)
ʔa'mi-yax-tek (M)	I came
ʔame-xwe-n-tek	he arrived
ʔame-lam-tek	and he ate

The enclitic -ʔo' is found principally in the Migueleño dialect.

46. *-to, (M) -t'o', past intransitive.*

ram-t'ia'-to	soon he went
t'i-k-ya'-to	who knows where they went
p-əxai'-to ^{2u} (M)	it dawned
mé-p-ecxa-i-to' (M)	in the morning
ta'me-lam-tek-t'o ^o (M)	and I ate
ta-me-nal-k'e'-t'o' (M)	I filled myself
ki-ke.'to' (M)	I went
neq-k'e-to' (M)	he went to fetch
toi'x-to' (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'*, (M) *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-t'ia'-lo	and they did not go
ko'-yema'-lo'	they did not find him
k'-eē'-pa'-lo'	he became afraid
p-yam-hek-lelo	I saw her before
k-amt'e-l-ek	now I can hunt
nap'-Le'' (M)	he cooked this
kewe-ts'na-le'' (M)	he comes shouting
sekelelep-le'u' (M)	he enveloped it
yent'xo-le'u' (M)	he almost overtook him
ki'yax-leu' (M)	he is coming

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

k'Lu'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-lel	where they were
rump'a-kē'u-lo-ta'	there where he is
lo.'ra'	already
etelwa''-l-e'k-ee'	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-yax-ta	he is coming now
hek-ta-p-iam-o	I am going to see him
k'-yam-o-l-ek-ta	I saw him just now

In combination with other parts of speech it occurs also:

me-sma'kai-ta	tonight
na.ta-sma'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'-n-e'k'	I am going
kī'-no-hek	I am going
ki-he'k-no	I am going
te'a'uye'-no'	they seek him
te-t'iya-no'	in order to go
ake-t'me'-ke'-no'	where are you going?
nap'-no'na (M)	it is cooked
xa.ta-no-k'e'' (M)	i am going to weep
p-a'mtak-no' (M)	he will seize them
ki'yax-no' (M)	there he comes
pt'eka-n-ek heyo'	he will kill me
pt'eka-n-he''kiyax	he will kill you
pt'eka-n he''k	I will kill him
me.'to-n-e'k'	I will try it
tas-k-co'une-n-ek'	i am going to kindle it
kī-n-e'k'	I go

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

ka's-no	just now
k'Lu'wa'-no'-p'	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
ke'ra'-mas-ko-liexai''	it will not rain forever
xa'ta-mas-he'k	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.

etelwa''-l-6'k-ee	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.

<i>me-t'ol-to'kena'tén</i>	another day
<i>me't'ol-lice'</i>	the following year
<i>me-lpa'l</i>	in the summer
<i>me'-smakai</i>	tonight
<i>me-ko'nxa'</i>	this afternoon
<i>me'-eexai</i>	in the morning
<i>me-t'ol-ten</i>	the next time
<i>me't'ol-k'we'l</i>	another time
<i>t'a.eNe'l.me'</i>	sometimes

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

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

<i>no-ko'nxa'</i>	yesterday
<i>no-icxai'</i>	this morning
<i>no-wa-na'</i>	yesterday morning
<i>no-teieyo</i>	yesterday
<i>no-p'a'</i>	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 *tu* (less often *te*, *ti*), evidently related to the prepositional *te*. 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 *tum*, rarely as *tumá*, the difference in meaning from *tu* 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: *tu* (*ru* or *ti*), *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-ṭ-icxe'wu	at the foot
ma-ṭ'uLni	on the hill
ma-swida	to the city
ma-ke'u	to where they were
ma-ṭe.mo'	on the house
ma-k'e'weL	to the north
ma-pxa'nol	at the south
ma.č	there

54. *tuma-*, *place whither.*

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

55. *um-*, *place where.*

um-te'ma	in my house
um-tite'o''ma	on his back
um-le'sam	at Morro
um-la'mka	at the beach
em-k'weL	through the world
em-ṭ'ka'teno	on the buttocks

56. *ṭum-*, *rum-*, *hom-*, *place where.*

rum-ṭ'ca''	in the water
hom-ṭ'a''sko	on his head
tum-ṭeṭoke'u	from there
ṭum-tce'n	outside

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

umpa-k'e'e-nax	where I came
umpa-t'k-o'ma	at, to your houses
umpa-tc'a''	to the water
ump'a-ka-le.lu.	where you were
ṭumpa, rumpa	there, thither

58. *ṭu-*, *ru-*, *place whither.*

ṭu-wi''	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 *ɬup* and with the pronoun *mo* to *ɬum*. Examples of its use are innumerable in the texts. They include such constructions as:

He finished *from* work
 I wish *to* eat
 I shot *with* an arrow
 You know it *to be* bad
In order to sleep
 Why *did* he go?
 Some *of* my arrows
 Was killed *by* them
 He tried *to* run

We began *to* shoot
 I told him *to* do it
 I think *that* he will come
 Better man *than* you
 It was given *for* her
 He came *to* us
 Go *with* him
 I am able *to* shoot
 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-eexo'n-e	poor
p-eexo'n-ect	it pains you
teṭ-eexo-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 COYOTE¹³

kLa'p-ai	βehiyo't̥	ra'm̥t̥'ia'teL	xo't̥'lop'	ro'pt̥'e-mo'	
Are three	the they.	Then went they,	passed	by his house.	
ra'm̥t̥'e'i	belk'a'	k'ts'e'ik'	nacte-lwa''	k'cau'wena'ni	
Then said	the coyote,	"Go see	this old man,	is dancer!	
polo'x	ʔaʔo'ki	po'lox	ra'm̥t̥eʔa'k'	ka'c-el	o'smahate'L
Enter	within!	Enter!"	Then said,	"Sit down,	beauties!"
ra'm̥t̥'e	pa-ta''	'ents'e''en	roβata'má'	smahate'L	
Then said,	"Dance	in order to see	by the men	beautiful."	
ra'm̥t̥'e'e	ai'	etelwa''lé'k	ce'me'tone'k'	a''a-mko	
Then said,	"All right,	old man already I.	Try will I	if can	
ʔi'ca'wena-ni	ka'wiyak'ce'	na'taá'	taskco'une-nék'		
to dance.	Hot is	now,	but kindle will I.		
ra'm̥e-t	ripa'ta	ra'm̥pet'e-ko	ʔets'e''wu	ra'm̥tica-k'	
Then try	to dance."	Then straightened	his tail,	then lifted	

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

ʔipa'ta pike'le-ntxo me'ea-k' ʔupke'wu ita-má sk'amksa'
 to dance. Whirled around continually to where men, close more
 me'ea-k' ʔuptuhe'nu peta-ma'' ʔka'teno becuwa'
 continually to their faces the men his anus the skunk.
 ra'mʔeta'k yax rask'a'm ksa yaxtén k'sa
 Then said, "Come to close more! Come again more
 rask'a'mk'sá' we'tenk'sa'' pa'lxo ʔep'a'lo ramha'la'
 to close more!" ? Wished to fire. Then threw
 ʔuβeka'wi te'xa'' ke'na-yok' k'sa' emk'cu'lukne
 with the hot stone. Hit him more so that entered hole.
 ra'me'heʔ'ē-nxá' ra'mt'e'e aḥá' peLk'a'' xomo'' lwa''
 Then ran around. Then said, "Yes! The coyote bad man!
 xai'ya' ʔema'ʔ'u ra'mʔ'xwene-lax pese-mta'n 'amʔeβeck'an
 Many to kill!" Then arrived they the children. Then said the hawk,
 semta'n ʔeski'ntui' me'na'ko ʔuksu'nun kara'mas
 "Children, to be thin why your legs? Not more,
 ko'ʔap'e-L name'n ra'me-ti' ʔeta'poi'yaX peʔicixe-ple'to
 not fill this hand!" Then tested to feel their feet.
 amko'ʔapeL ra'mʔetaʔ'laik' rake'ra'tén'lo' kera-lo''
 And not filled. Then said to not again already, not already.
 ra'mmoʔ'oxo ra'mpl'e-i't'xo rumʔoki kwa'p' ma'lo-L
 Then squeezed them, then threw them to within sweat-house. Flew
 taa'so rumʔo'ki ʔaa'u' ra'mʔetak' peLk'a' ma''ntén'ri''
 helplessly to within fire. Then told the coyote, "Come also here!"
 ra'mʔi ʔame'na'ko ʔi'ya'tén' te'le' po'xra' ramko'neka'ce'
 Then said, "Then why to go also?" "Hurry! Enter!" Then not obeyed.
 ra'mʔispa'lax kli'yai'yax rumʔo'ke ʔaa'u' amkLo'-L
 Then seized, threw to within fire. Then burnt
 roβé belk'a xomo'lwá' pa'lxo ra'a'mela'i tereté'
 by the the coyote. Bad man! Desired to be killed. Therefore said,
 polo'x ko'ʔe'ik'sá' xomo'' lwa'' pa'lxo ʔaa'mela'ice'
 "Enter!" Not said more. Bad man! Desired that be killed
 yo''u ra'mʔ'ia-teL ramko'lo-li' ʔia'' bela'' pe'snai'yax
 he. Then went they, then played flute. Went the raven. Heard
 a'ha-ti' ʔuʔʔulola'iyō bela'' ra'mʔe'ta'k taa'sten
 music of his flute the raven. Then said, "What again
 no'vi' k'a'mes ʔa-koi'yu' nuk'a'xa-t'i lwa'' raḥke'rum'
 this which cried? Not it is music man! Then wherefrom
 ke-no'xo pek'a'xa-te ʔeti'cupax k'sa peaha-ti''
 comes the music?" To hear more the music.
 ramko'tictok'sa' ra'ke rakot'ia-lo ra'ké se'ni' 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 ramkte'a'uye' ramko'yema'm 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'm
the bears. Sought ? gathering. He then

ṭa'na-ta'iyax teho'ṭ'ap' ca-xa'ta ca-ke'nu t'ia''
allowed them to pass. "Open mouth!" Pointed, went.

ra-'mp'iaxteko t'oLTén' ca-xa'ta p'ca'ke'nu t'ia'' pexwe'n
Then brought another. "Open mouth!" Pointed, went the arrive.

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

ṭ'iyax 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'pen 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'a''yu Lk'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' ṭunti''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;

keṭe'o'plo' ra-'mp'ts'e-nṭko emk'we'L akaa'so o'yema'
tired already. Then watches in world who sees.

ra-'mp'ia'mo beṭoo'wu k'so-'menxa' ko'la'le ṭoṭṭoo'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 ruṭo'ke k'aṭ' ko'ho-ma' ṭoṭṭolola'iyu
Then enters to within grass, hides of his shame.

ko'iyema'lo' gas yo'loṭṭiat'a'iyó
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-Lap-ai 28-num	βe-hiyo-ṭ art-3pi	ram-ṭ'-ia-teL pro 29-S-12	xoṭ'-L-op' S-14-S	ro-p-ṭ'-e-m-o 58-art-17-S-3sp
ram-ṭ'e'ṛ pro-S	be-lk'a art-S	k'-ts'e-ik' 30-S-3so	na-ete-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
ram-ṭe'ᵉ pro-S	pa-ta' S	'eṇ-ts'e'ᵉn 34-S-44	ro-βa-ta-má' pre-dem-S	o-sma-ha-t-eL 32-S-16-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 ?-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-cuwa art-S	ram-ṭe-ta'k pro-S-3po	yax S	ra-sk'am pre-loc	ksa adv
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-exa' 17-S	k-ena-y-ok' 28-S-3so	k'sa' adv
em-k'-cu-lukne 34-28-S	ram-ehet'e-nxá pro-S	ram-t'e'ᵉ pro-S	ḡḡ int	pe-lk'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-mtan art-Splu	'amṭe-βe-ck'an pro-S-art-S	semtan Splu	te-ski-ntui' pre-adj	mena'ko 24
ṭuk-sunun 2pp-S	kara'-mas neg-adv	ko-ṭ-ap'e-L 31-29-S	na-me-n dem-S	ram-me-t-i' pro-S-?
ṭe-ṭa-p-oi'-yax pre-S-37-3ppas	pe-ṭ-icxe-p-let-o art-17-S-13-3sp	am-ko-ṭ-apeL pro-31-29-S		ram-ṭe-ta-ṭ'la-ik' pro-S-plu-14-3po

ra- <i>kera</i> '-tén'-lo'	<i>kera</i> -lo'	ram-Moŋ'ox-o	ram-p-l'i-t'-x-o		
pre-neg-41-47	neg-47	pro-S-3po	pro-27-S-15-S-3po		
rum- <i>toki</i>	<i>kwa</i> -p'	ma-lo-L	taaso	rum- <i>to</i> -ki	<i>t</i> -aau'
56-loc	S	S-14-S	adv	56-loc	17-S
ram- <i>te</i> -tak'	pe-lk'a	ma'n-tén-ri	ram- <i>ti</i>	<i>ta</i> -mena'ko	
pro-S-3so	art-S	int-41-loc	pro-S	pre-24	
<i>ti</i> -ya-tén'	te-le'	pox-ra'	ram-ko-neka'-ce'	ram- <i>t</i> -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- <i>to</i> -ke	<i>t</i> -aau'	am-k-LO-L	ro- <i>βé</i>	
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- <i>té</i> '	
art-S	adj-S	27-S-3so	pre-S-12-37	con-S	
p-ol-ox	ko- <i>te</i> 'i-k'sá'	xomo'	lwa'	p-a-lx-o	<i>ta</i> -am-el-a'-i-ce'
S-14-S	31-S-adv	adj	S	27-S-3so	pre-S-12-37-39
yo' ^u	ram- <i>t</i> '-ia-tel	ram-k-olo-l-i'	<i>t</i> '-ia'	be-la'	pesn-ai'yax
3si	pro-29-S-12	pro-28-S-4	29-S	art-S	S-37-3spas
aha-tí'	<i>tu</i> - <i>φ</i> - <i>t</i> -ulol-a'-iy-o'	be-la'	ram- <i>te</i> '-ta'k	taas-ten	
S	pre-art-17-S-1-3sp	art-S	pro-S-3so	26-8	
no-vi'	k-'ames	<i>ta</i> -ko-iyu'	nu-k'-axa-t'i	lwa'	ra ₇ -ke-rum'
dem-?	28-S	pre-31-3si	dem-28-S	S	pro-23-56
k-è-noxo	pe-k'-axa-te	<i>te</i> -tieu-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- <i>t</i> '-ia-lo	ra'ké	se'ni'	
pro-31-S-15-S-adv	loc	pre-31-29-S-47	loc	Splu	
kas	<i>te</i> - <i>pasia</i> -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	<i>ti</i> -k-alep	ram-k- <i>te</i> 'a-u-ye'	ram-ko-yem-a'm	
23-S	24	pre-28-S	pro-28-S-plu	pro-31-S-37	
ke- <i>te</i> -ke'wu	<i>te</i> 'a-u-ye'	<i>meca</i> -k	yo	ram-male-nt-a'-iyax	
23-pre-3sl	S-plu	adv	3si	pro-S-37-3spas	
<i>te</i> -no-nan-ax	pe- <i>t</i> 'axa-y-uxten	<i>te</i> 'a-u-ye'	no'	<i>t</i> '-a-pen-ya'	
pre-S-3ppas	art-S-8	S-plu	49	17-S-1	
yo-ram	<i>ta</i> -ana-t-a'-iyax	te-hot'ap'	ca-xata'	ca-ke'n-u	
3si-con	pre-S-37-3ppas	pre-S	S	S-3so	
<i>t</i> '-ia'	ram-p'-iax-te-ko	t'OL-tén'	ca-xata'	p'-ca-ke'n-u	
29-S	pro-27-S-38-3so	num-8	S	27-S-3so	
<i>t</i> '-ia'	pe-xwen	xot'op	yax-tek'-ten	t'OL	ram- <i>t</i> 'e'
29-S	art-S	S	S-38-41	num	pro-S
pe-selo-i'	k-'ames	<i>t</i> 'i-yax	ram- <i>t</i> 'e'	k-axai	telwane
art-S	28-S	pre-S	pro-S	28-S	adj

ra-ts-'am-is pro-29-S	co- ^u L S	t'-iax 29-S	telwane adj	ka-m-xwen pro-S	pe-ṭaxai' art-S
ram-t'i' pro-S	pe-selo-i' art-S	k-axk'o' 28-S	na' dem	se-telwane 36-adj	am-ca-kē-n-i pro-S-4
am-t'e'-ta'k pro-S-3so	ca-xata' S	ram-t'i' pro-S	tepen S	t-ule-t 17-S	ka'-a-m-ko 31-S-3so
ṭe ¹ -ca-xata' pre-S	ram-ca-ke-n-i'-ts'i' pro-S-4-42		ca-xata' S	skomo' adv	gas adv
am-k'-neka' pro-28-S	p-eta'-ko 27-S-3so	k'-su-lukni 28-S	kas-skumú con-adv	pe-t-eelk-o art-17-S-3sp	
am-ṭe-ta'k pro-S-3so	a'imya' int	ram-hal-a' pro-S-37	um-ek'a ^u -yu 55-S-3sp	Lk'el-t'e-pa-k'sa-t'-ya S-15-S-adv-29-S	
'am-ṭe-ta'k pro-S-3so	be-selo-i art-S	ma'a' S	eko'-ra' S-loc	mo'-p-iem-'o' 2si-27-S-3so	ṭum-ti-'u 2sp-S
ki-ca-k S-?	Ma'a-wu S-3so	p-i-se-l-xo 27-S-3so	k'sa-ce' adv-39	ram-ko-p-a-m-ko pro-31-27-S-3so	
k-eṭe'o-p-lo' 28-S-47	ra-m-p'-ts'e-n-t-ko pro-27-S-?-15-3so		em-k'weL 55-S	aka-a-so 23-S	o-yem-a' 32-S-37
ram-p'-ia-m-o pro-27-S-3so	pe-t-oo-wu art-17-S-3sp	k'-so-men-xa' 28-S-37	k-ola'l-e' 28-S-4	ṭo-p-t-oo-wu pre-art-17-S-3sp	
rum-me-p-ia-m-o pro-19-27-S-3so	ram-k-oniyi' pro-28-S	ṭe-t'-ia' pre-29-S	ma-ke ^e wu 53-3sl	be-xaiya' art-adv	
ra-m-pox pro-S	ru-ḡ-ṭoke 58-art-loc	k'aṭ' S	k-oho-m-a' 28-S-37	ṭo-ḡ-t-olol-a'i-yu pre-art-17-S-1-3sp	
koi-yem-a'-lo' 31-S-37-47	gas adv	yo'-lo-p-t'-ia-t'-a'i-yo 3si-47-?-29-S-?-37-3si			

PRAIRIE-FALCON AND WHITE OWL¹⁴

teci'k' ka'met'i ruḡasna'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'exeple'to ticexple'to ts'o'xwa-nle'to
"Shrunk his foot! His foot shrunk!"

ra'mpesnai'ya ṭuḡsk'a'n' ra'mṭi'¹¹ 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'i ṭa'au'u ṭiṭ'o'n ṭa'mwa-ti' rik-ak'a
Then drew out fire to burn. Then ordered to sing.

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

ramkópa·lxo t̄ipa'lo peṭ'ika'keL bek'εpe'snai'ya t̄upesK'a'n
 Then not wished to use the song, that heard by the hawk.

pì'em.ó' t̄isa'li' peṭikake'l·o ko'pa'lxo t̄ep'a·lo
 Knew that disliked the his song; not desired to use

peṭ'ka·ke'lo heyo'' palo'wu ka·k'ano'' ts'ututuya'
 the his song he used. Sang, "Tsututuya!"

sk'a·manleto ra'm̄teta·ko'iyó' bet'oltén t'ika'keL
 Skamanleto!" Then said, "Not that! The other song

stiyó'wan' ra'm̄t̄i' keṣt̄iyó'wan' t̄amka'sno t̄umxa'lanón
 beautiful!" Then said, "Is beautiful then only thy use just now!"

ake'mxa'lanón anka'snostiyó'win o'na'' kap̄ṭika'kelo
 "What to use just now?" "Only just now beautiful!" "This is the his song?"

qa' yo''vá' t̄'a'u·ye' t̄e·le'k' t̄a'm̄ta·lelaik o'yo'
 "Yes, that one." Seek hole. Then asked "Is that?"

'am̄t̄i' ka'ra' ake'rum sa'xwelyo'x ke'wu nama't̄'
 Then said, "No!" "Where?" "Smooth-edged, where these animals."

ra'm̄te'auye' k'ie'ma' peṭe·lek' ram̄t̄icpa'n' bek'a't̄'
 Then hunted, was seen the hole. Then removed the grass

rupt̄o'me·lo peṭe·le'k' ra'm̄tetak wikē·u ram̄t̄uxwen
 from the its edge the hole. Then told, "Here!" Then came

pehiyo'' ra'm̄t̄'eyo'' na' a'm̄tetak·a·ká ra'mk'a·k'a
 the he. Then told him this then to sing. Then sang.

ra'm̄tetak ko'iyó' ram̄t̄i ake·rumten taṅka'snoṭumha'lanón
 Then said, "Not that!" Then said, "Which again?" "That only thy use
 just now!"

ake'emha'la taṅga'snostiyó'wen ramka·k'a ram̄tetak
 "What to use?" "That only just now beautiful!" Then sang. Then said,

koi'yo' ake'rum·ten' tanga'sno noṭumha'lano·nó' o·na''
 "Not that!" "Which then?" "That only just now. Thy use just now!" "Is this?"

yo'ovi' k'a·k'a paxo'to cko'' a'm̄tetak mena·ní'
 "That is." Sang. Smoking it was. Then said, "Come close

ksa' t̄isk'am pa·ηko t̄iṭa'm̄pta' ka'xa·nlo'ksa·lo'' ts'e'ik
 more near! Can to emerge now!" Shouted loud already, "Look

k'sa' t̄isk'a'm ya·ko t̄uma'pa·u' yo'' ra'mxot' peṭ'a'a'u
 very close! Watch to catch he!" Then blew the fire.

anpena·ne'u'ksa cko' ra'mxot̄ rume' ramkLo·oL pecuke'nto
 Then approached very was. Then blew then. Then burnt the his eye.

ka'xa·tela' k'sa' t̄'o'ne·wu k'sa' cuke·ntu ka'xa·tela'
 Wept very. Scratched thus his eye. Wept,

t'ya' rumlé·m ram̄tetak' me'na·ko t̄eṭexco·ni' naka'meṭ'i
 went upwards. Then said, "Because poor this hunter;

ke'exo·nelwa''
 poor man!"

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 LION¹⁵

xo't'up'	beṭa'muL	ruṭṭe-mo'	beṭa'muL	ramko'p'iem.o'
Passed	the puma	by the his house.	The puma	then not knew
tiṭá-m	ṭip'ha'topa'ka	pṭcuk'a'iko	beṭip'hatopa'ka	ra'mṭekatoṭ'
that house	of her dung cow.	Trod it	the of her dung cow.	Then came
rumteén	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?"

¹⁵ Told by David Mora, 1916.

ra'mñi' beṭa'muL uwi^u k'arme' a'á^u tact'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'Li'
 to tread this house? To desire to start fight?
 yaxtele'k' t'me'solta-to ri'cxa'i yo'ra'k'a'ltena' 'eñtico'p
 Come thy soldiers tomorrow! Go to fight to see
 ta'lwa'' ma'a'wuhék beṭi'solta-to' yo'kē'wá'yema-lt'e'
 who man. Bring I the soldiers where to see,
 yo'ra'ma'me't' ra'mñ'xwene'lax ra'mtēta'k ruφLk'a emya'^u
 to test." Then they came, then said to the coyote to go
 ts'e'ntek' oyo'ló ra'mpa-leLko pete'e'l' haḡ' maLtak
 see if there already. Then asked him the cricket. "Yes, tell him
 rume' entiyaxte'L rume' ramkī' ra'mñi' betce'l'
 then to come then!" Then went, then said the cricket
 ruφtisolta-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'tepts'e'n
 bees. Then stung him on his rump. Then fled when stung.
 amk'me't'ik'sá ṭipa'lxo tiṭo'k'onox t'xwento rumte'a''
 Then ran much to desire to reach soon to water,
 ṭipa'lxo rimo'klop belime'm tercṭo'p'o'inox rumte'a''
 to desire to drown the bees. Therefore dove in water.
 pa'lxoṭela-wa betep'ni'' klu'wa' ṭeti'ca-k rumte'a''
 Wished to stop the pain. Long to be in water.
 yo'ra'mla-wá' betep'ni' k'luwa' ṭeticko'' rumtea''
 Then stopped the pain. Long to be in water.
 koṭ'ia't'ia' lo'ce' k'eē'pa' lo' k'Lu'wa'gá-s ra'mṭa-mp
 Not wished to go already; afraid already. Long only then left
 ṭet'iyano' ṭema'lta-ko ṭetickol'lo ra'mñ'konox ra'mtate'a-wi'
 to go to tell him that there was. Then came, then met
 t'uxwe'nto ruφṭa'muL a'mṭa-lela'ik' oyo'ló' 'aḡ'te'
 at last with the puma. Then was asked if there already. "Yes,
 cko'l'ló' roḡa'' ra'mka'ase'lo raḡkaa'sna k'wo'slop' k'sa'
 is already there!" Then added already, "Then but this powerful very!
 ta'p'iem'o'' ṭati'ca-kai' kwu'slop k'olop ra'mñi'
 Who knows to go? Strong very!" Then said
 beṭa'muL ka'me't' rome^u ra'mī'tel-ak ra'mñi' peṭaxai''
 the puma, "Try then to beat them!" Then said the bear,
 kera' ko'ṭeni-lak ṭehe'k' ṭ'o'ne'wu he'k' yo' ra'm't'ia-tel
 "No! No difference to me! Rub I." He then went,
 ka'tc'a-uli' yo'ra'mñi' beṭa'muL he'l-a' kute'e'lnocri
 encountered. Then said the puma, "Wait! Stop here!"

ki-he'k' īN ʔi'ts'e-k' ko'nox ʔuʔke'u ruβrē' te'el'
Go I to see." Arrived at place of king cricket.

ra'mʔe' peʔa''mUL 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-ʔ'rum' 'amp'ia'tleko rume' ʔisolla'téno
But we will try it." Then sent then soldiers.

mi-telau'k' k'sa' beʔaxai'' ʔ'o'ne'wu k'sace' kaske'ra'
Stung him much the bear. Rubbed much but not

ʔi'ʔ'u xwe'nksa'' gaeko'' a'mʔi' beLk'a' xala'' mpa-te'a''
did. Came more only were. Then said the coyote, "Jump in water!"

a'mʔiya kme-ʔ'ik k'sa' t'ia' ramko'ʔimxoya-k roptep'Ni''
Then went running, but went. Then not endured the pain.

xwe-n ga'cko beleme'm' kī'sile' lo' gas umʔika'wu
Arriving only were the bees all already only on his hide.

ra'mkick'e-le' loga's me'ca-k ra'mʔe' peLk'a' kop'oitenox
Then rolled already only continually. Then said the coyote, "Jump

rumte'a'' yo'ra'ka-mk'ne'lik kick'e''le' ga-s me'ca-k
in water! Or to be killed!" Rolled only constantly

beʔaxai'' becuwa'' ce'tep'ya me'ca-k ta'i lo'ga-s
the bear. The skunk dying constantly, pest already only.

amk'Na'iyi' beLk'a' t'o'lga's ke'u ʔiha'la' ra'mʔia'
Then fled the coyote, one only place to sting. Then went,

ku'yema' lo' ʔi-ke'wu ʔa'mye-ma' besto'' ra'mhala-t'i'
not seen already to place. Then seen the fox. Then stung,

te'ia'yū yo' beLk'a'' amk'Na'yi' k'sa'' a'mʔeta'k
thought him the coyote. Then fled swift. Then said,

ko'mna-yi' mitela'tak' ramke'ra' ko'pʔ'a-co ko'ʔelkele-ŋxa'
"Don't run!" Attacked. Then no not noticed. Not returned

k'sa'' mē-iyō'' gas beʔ'ala''iyu ko'ʔapa-uye' ki. ra'ke'
more. Same only the his appearance. Not overtook. Went there.

ramk'o'net'ak betc'e'l' pece''wu beʔa'mUL ra'mʔeta'k
Then won the cricket; beat him the puma. Then told

peʔa''mUL ta-lwa'' homo'' uska'he''k' raŋa'smo' i-n
the puma, "Who man? Thou or I?" "Surely thou more

l'wa'' ʔihe''k' ts'ep'a'n ʔuhe'k' luwa'' rumo''
man than I!" "Good! That I man than thou!

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

ʔ'xo'mo rumco'ka'yik ʔemha-lo nata-má' meca-'k' ga-s
how bad to trample their houses these men. Always only

e''ts'ep' t'mi'ca-kai' i''kera'' k'a'Li'' kots'ep' ʔiki'eβi'
to be good thy going to not fight. Not good to be thus.

gasme'ca-k ke'ra' ké'tc'a-uwé' na'xumo'ni' ke'ra' ke'u
 Only always no not I seek the evil. No where
 ʔi'o'wahlik me'ca-k he''k' me'ca-k ra-nmo'' xo'ʔ'up
 to molest constantly I. Always and thou passest
 mo'' ruwī ʔa-ke'' ranhe.''k ke''se'ni' kica-k ʔu-wi'
 thou to here road, and I walk going here
 ʔee'mo pike'lentxo he'k' me'ca-k wī ʔee'mo kera'
 his house. Circle I always here his house. No,
 ke'ya t'ik'wa'' ko'kie mo' ki. to'kena-tel rumse'ni'
 not I go afar; not like thou go. Days, thy going
 ko'kie he'k' ki'yoo'te' cko' he'k' gas ʔuwi'' ʔee'mo
 not like me. Not I move, am I only here his house.
 me''e-ka-wi pox he'k' umʔo'oki ka'uhék' ke'ra' k'sá'
 When I am sleepy enter I to within, sleep I. No more.
 ka''a-ke'N k'sá' te'ʔiya'x ta'rake'' t'e'yo.' he'k' ʔuwi'
 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 constantly 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 COLD¹⁶

la'mka ta-stmetxa' txa'uhe'k li'cxai taxts'a-kai'
 "South, what thy possession?" "Have I rain and wind
 taxte'umye'L ta'mtebespek' yaxtek'an ra'mt'ia ruφkē'uta'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 ruφku'sululna'tak'aṭ' ram'ck'o'
 dry. Came to its top of the straight tree. Then was

¹⁶ Told by David Mora, 1916.

rinasma'k'ai țamxwe'n bele'exai tax ts'a-kai' tax
through this night. Then came the rain and wind and

te'umye'L ța'mecxai ramkts'ē-nu' bespe-k' țe'icxa'i
ice. Then dawned. Then content the hawk to dawn.

ra'mpa'le'lko va'p'ha-nlo ta'ct'met'a'wu ra'mti' bep'ha'nlo
Then asked him that east, "What thy possession?" Then said the east

pet'ha'wuhe'k' pets'a-kái tax țe'umye'L yaxtek'a'n
"Have I the wind and ice!" "Let them come!"

ra'mt'ia tse'ruφkē'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'" tast'met'xa' ra'mte' bele'c
that north, "And thou? What thy possession?" Then said the north,

pet'ha'wuhe'k' ts'a-kai' taxle'exai taxte'umye'L yaxtek'an
"Have I wind and rain and ice!" "Let them come!"

ka' bespe-k' ra'mt'ia ts'e'ruβmē-yo'" ța-k'aț
said the hawk. Then went again to same tree.

ramsna'kaits'ē ramt'xwen pets'a-kai' taxpete'umye'L
Then night again. Then came the wind and the ice.

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

ra'mte' rupk'ewe'L ra-nmo'" ok'ewe'L tactmet'xa'
Then said to the west, "And thou? O West, what thy possession?"

ra'mte' pek'ewe'L pet'xa'wuhe'k' le'exai tax ts'axe'L
Then said the west, "Have I rain and snow,

k'eune'L taxts'a-kai' taxwate'umye'L yo'ra'mte' pespe-k'
hail and wind and that ice!" Then said the hawk

rako'icxai'ya'teηksa-ij'" kept'a'" ksa'luk'o'lup' xwe'n
that not wished to dawn yet. "I am cold already very!" Came

k'sa-ij'ηk'o'lup' bek'eune'L amkept'a'k'sa k'olupló
more yet much the hail. Then was cold more much already.

xwe'nksa lok'ol-up' k'eune'L tca'atén amkept'a'k'sa
Came more already much hail great. Then was cold more

lok'olop' raηko'icxayak'sa.ĩ'n k'olop' a"xwe'nk'sa
much already. Then not dawned more yet much. Then came more

lopts'axél yo'ra'mtom' met'xwen pets'a-kai' țamk'met'o'lo
already snow. And fell. When came the wind then thick already

pets'axe'L me't'xwen ts'a-k'ai yo'ra'mto'M te'umya'le'
the snow. When came wind then fell icicles

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

nok'i'c ț'ko'ticko' ee'tep'Ma'aste'k' ke'ra' te'k'ksa'
Seems that not is, has died! No appears

ko't'ico-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' tuφteṭ'o'ina'so o'ticko' k'o'nlox k'we'L
 if is on the his seat, if is." Arrived people
 ruφkē'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'ta xa'pek' o'ticko'
 seems mass that snow. Try dig if is."
 ra-meko'' yo'ra'mṭeta'krume' ce'tepte'k' ts'a'telo-mtek'k'sa'
 Then was. Then said then, "Died! Was cold very.
 ter'to'm yo'ramṭeta'k' ṭ'o'loinoxtek' bek'la'k'mak' 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'ika'pṭ'ela
 to be cold always. Dead he already who made that not be cold.
 t'oL ka'tap'nehe' no'' ra'ko'maṭ'eltene' no' ṭiṭa'te'k'es
 One must henceforth to buy now blankets.
 ce'tep ṭo'wa-tLo tuβepeta''ako ṭika-p'ṭ'ela' ha''klo piem.o'
 Died already this who made that not be cold. We already know
 ṭa'tica-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

<i>pekuwa'yu</i>	<i>sepasteene'ku</i>	<i>bek'e'nea-ni</i>	<i>repa'mt'a'k</i>
The horse	beseched	the God	to kill him.

<i>ra'teta'k</i>	<i>ke'ra'</i>	<i>atelo'yo'mo''</i>	<i>yo'puato'wi'</i>	<i>meca-k</i>
Then said,	"No,	his friend,	thou.	He commands
				always;

<i>seks'e'p'gaet'ko'ka-mko</i>	<i>yo'puwato'wi'</i>	<i>sepeta''akomó</i>
is good only that not kill him.	He commands,	shouldst do thou

<i>ʔume'p'ua'tuwi'</i>	<i>ruma''atelo'i</i>	<i>sekots'ep'</i>	<i>rume'ta'k</i>	<i>k'i'evi'</i>
then commands	thy friend.	Is not good	to do	thus.

<i>ki'cho-ni</i>	<i>γás</i>	<i>ʔuma''atelo'imó</i>	<i>yo'puatowi'</i>	<i>tako'myam</i>
Is poor	only	thy friend thou;	he commands.	And dost not see

<i>ka'ra'</i>	<i>ʔ'ika'wu</i>	<i>peexo'meet</i>	<i>wa-to'wi'</i>	<i>gás</i>	<i>sēa'telo'itu'wa-tmo''</i>
not	to be	pity	command;	only	is friend who commands thou.

<i>tere'kie'vi'</i>	<i>se'ma'wumó'</i>	<i>rumat'wa'l'xo</i>	<i>ti'k'ē'wu</i>	<i>mo''</i>
Therefore thus	is carry him thou	to thy desire,	his place.	Thou

<i>ʔixe'wu</i>	<i>yo'te'rets'e'p</i>	<i>ʔ'ikomʔ'i'kax</i>	<i>ʔa'm'i'ko-mo'</i>
his foot.	Therefore good	that not thou killest him,	friend thou.

<i>ke'evitenmo'ʔiheyo''</i>	<i>ts'ep'kact'ip'ua'tui'</i>	<i>'i'kera'</i>	<i>rasrake</i>
So art also thou of him.	Good only to command	so that not	anything

<i>xumo-ni'</i>
evil.'

¹⁷ Told by David Mora, 1916.

pema't' sepaste'ene''ekotén bek'e'nea-nIL t̄ipa'mk'ne'eLko
 The beast begged him also the God to kill them
 na't̄'u-t̄'a'L pa'l̄xo t̄ipo'taxlele'eko 'ensa-mo'x ra'm̄teta'k
 this people. Wished to gore them in order to die. Then told
 ruφk'e'nea-nIL ke'ra' mo' lamxa'to me'pam-ka'
 by the God, "No, thou his food. When kills thee
 ko'p'te'e-wa-nuwi' rako'ki-cmo'' p̄t'a'kioxomo'γás seke'ra'
 not thrown away, then not like thou. Killest him thou only; is not
 t'me'c̄nvi' t̄umt̄'a'k'iax' kera' ko'micax̄ peexont'a''womo'γás
 thy need to kill. No, not thou eatest. Poor killest thou only,
 rako'kichīyo''t̄' ruma'ma'i sekicxa''umo'γás t̄uφhīyo't̄'
 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

l̄e-lo'' betē'u k̄t̄u'xo-ke t̄et̄'o'wat' k'wa'k'a'
 Long ago the pelican was murderer of people. Long
 bet̄ee'l̄ko me't̄k'onlox k'weL se''mate'la''wu rum̄te'mo'
 the his bill. When came people, invited them to his house
 enho't̄'Lo'p' t̄enasma'k'ai ke'tauⁿlaik' ekotet'ol̄tica''awu
 to pass for this night. Told him was one his daughter.
 ke'tauⁿla-ik' kaxa'u t̄enalets'e'' 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 tuβake.'wulits'ē' anhēyo' ka'utén
 "Good!" Slept at that her place woman. And he slept also
 tuṣks'a'mγás rume'yema-ni'kló teṭ'o'xo-tén' yo'ra'mk'o-l betē'u
 at the near only. When knew already to snore, then arose the pelican.
 tam'tiya'x resk'a'm betē'u ramkla'pai pa'le'itko
 Then went to near the pelican. Then three asked him,
 umka'xa-uló' umka'xa-uló' umka'xa-uló' rampe'na-iko
 "Art sleeping already? Art sleeping already? Art sleeping already? Then wounded
 ruḡtee'lko rumtaa.'wo k'sá' k'evi' tī.'t'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'an
 killed people. Then arrived the raven and the hawk.
 pe'snai'yax ti't'icko' toxo-ke' ramca'moca-i'k tast'ma'lox
 Heard that was murderer. Then greeted him, "What thy desire?"
 yo'ra'mha'te' yo'ra'mṭetaṣ'la'ik kaxa'u kaklo'ux
 Then remained. Then told them, "Sleep both together
 tuβa'kēu'etou.'" ramka'wu.ox ti'ckomo-γás amke'ta-té'
 in that her place girl." Then slept little only. Then made
 teṭ'o'xo-ten βelits'ē.'" seka'wu.ox an'ma'iko racrakē'
 to snore. The woman slept; gave her something
 enka'u yo'ra'mṭ'a'yax ṭ'a'kat' k'ē'L ruḡke'uha'L
 to sleep. Then put logs dry in the places.
 yamke'ta'i tiṭo'xo-ten tik'i'e ṭ'o'wuṭ' yo'ramk'o-l
 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'iyax
 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'mtite'o'mnox tiṭa'xap yo'ra'mṭe'
 the his head. He then fell dead. She then said
 belits'ē' k'i'eva' kī'ya-te' ṭ'ika'awu t'ipa-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!"

COYOTE AND THE SALT WATER¹⁹

Lk'a	kakca'	kopia.'mo	tc'a'	ra.'mt'ɽa	rumco-k'a'
Coyote	thirsty.	Not saw it	water.	Then went	to stream
ti'a'cim	k'mi't'ik'	petc'a''	ra'mke'l	peco-k'a'	
to drink.	Ran	the water.	Then dried	the stream.	
ra'mtc'ehē.'na'	pelk'a'	ra.'mt'iyatén	ra'mkē-lts'e	tee'he-na'	
Then angered	the coyote.	Then went again,	then dried again.	Angered,	
ko.'la-wa'	ɽakuwa''yu	ra'male.'ntxo	ɽeli'he'	ɽumsk'ém	
not quenched	his thirst.	Then remembered	to go	to sea.	
kī.'rumsk'ém	ti'acim	tc'a'	ka'cim	roɽtc'a''	
Went to sea	to drink	water.	Drank	of the water	
kesio'hol	ra'mtšese.'na'	tupt'micimo	tc'a'	yo'no'	
salty.	Then sick	from the drinking	water.	He "Good!"	
ra'mla-wa'	ɽa'keuwa'i	tickumo''	yo'ra.'m'pnēwu'		
Then quenched	thirst	little.	He then seized it		
peha'ko	tax	ɽet'eyina'i	ɽa'mt'ia	ɽəmeɽ'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'ya ʧe-le'k' ʧepe'me.'lko pecumk'o'm'
Then went to where many holes to catch them the squirrels.

ra'mʧam pet'oL cumk'om' ra'mpa.lxo ʧepe't'eine.'ko
Then came out the one squirrel. Then desired to shoot it.

ra'msa-teL wi-ʧ'e'peno ra'mts'okox pecumk'om' te'e'xe-na
Then murmured in his bowels. Then frightened the squirrel. Angered

peLk'a' me'na-ko ʧits'o'kox pecumk'om' ʧa'mʧam
the coyote because to frighten the squirrel. Then emerged

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

petse'uto ʧet'eyinai'^{yu} ʧa'mʧo'xot'Nap' beʧika'no
the point of his arrow. Then ripped the his bowels.

yo'ramʧa'xap yo'rampet'e'yine'korumlém yora'myema'm'
He then died. He then shot arrow upwards. He then was seen

ʧupek'a'n ko'yema' pelk'a' ʧa'mwa'Li' pexo-pnéL
by the hawk. Not was seen the coyote. Then sent the vulture

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

ʧuʃesk'a'n' ʧamʧ'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

l̄elo'	k'lu'wa'lo'	lice'	ka'mp'	beck'e'm	ka'wi
Formerly,	long-ago	years,	rose	the sea.	Hot
k'sa'	ko'poṭoṭ'na'	pap'ene'eko	kī'sile'	homk'we'L	
very,	boiled.	Covered	all	world,	
kī'sile'	beket'po'i	ta-s	besantalusi'a	ke'ra'	
all	the mountains	but	the Santa Lucia;	no	
kopap'he'ne-ko	k'io'x	kī-c	ka'k'cu	ṭixce'he'	
not covered it.	Was high	about	two	feet	
ṭeyoxana'yu	pete'a'	ra'mṭ'eko'	besai'yu	rumṭ'ik'a'ko	
above	the water.	Then was	the eagle	on its summit	
bekiṭ'po'i	yo'ra'mṭi'	besai'yu	ruβelaa't'	ṭako'ma-mko	
the mountain.	He then said	the eagle	to the duck,	"Not art able	
rumiya'	rumne'tc'xo''	ra'mṭ'i'	aa''	pa'mko	he'k'
to go	to fetch earth?"	Then said	"Yes!	Can	I!"
ra'mpox	umṭoo'ke	beck'e'm	ra'mkep'tc'o'p'	ke'ra'	
Then entered	to within	the sea.	Then tired,	no,	
ko't'uxwen	ra'mṭ'a-mp'	ra'mṭ'iyatén	p'me'totén	ripo'x	
not arrived.	Then came up;	then went again,	tried again	to enter	
ṭumṭo'oke	bete'a'	ra'mp'ne'ewu	skomu'	tc'xo''	ra'mṭ'a-mp'
to within	the water.	Then seized	little	mud.	Then arose
rumle-mo'	peek'e'm	tasme't'k'onox	sek'ce'tep'Ló		
to its top	the sea.	But when arrived	was dead already.		
tanbesai'yu	pa-ma'mp'ko	skomo'	texo''	ruṭt'icele'wu	
And the eagle	took it	little	earth	of the his nails.	
ra'mp't'o'xne'wu	bet'icxo'	ṭa'm	polṭ'ē'ko	p'Le'to	
Then rolled it	the earth.	Then	cut it	pieces.	
peta'ako	ki'ca'	a'mpeta'ako	keṭ'me'l'	roβe't'olt'iyā'	
Made it	four.	Then made	balls	of the one every.	
ra'mp'Lī''xo	t'olṭ'ia'	ṭuβe'	keṭ'me'l'	p'ok'ica''	
Then threw them	one every	of the	balls	to four	
na'xo	humk'weL	yo'ra'm	c-ap'	peek'e'm	
points ^a	of world.	It then	sank	the sea.	
yo'ra'mṭ'eta-ha'	rekī'c	lo	nata'a'	humk'weL	ke'ta-ha'
It then was made	to resemble	already	the today	world.	Were made
baket'po'i	tax	co'k'atén	tax	ekon	ṭa-m
the mountains	and	streams	and	gullies.	Then
beck'e'm	rump'akē'ulota'	nata'a'	ta-s	me't'olk'we'L	
the sea	to the place	already now	today.	But	when one time
ṭa'pa-mko	riṭa'xapte-he'	beli'exai	tax	taxapte-he'	
to be able	to end	the rain	and	to end	

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

umk'we'L tén taxrice't'lip' k'we'L tanbeck'e'm
 world again and to die people. And the sea
 seka'mp'ten yo'ramt'uxapte'he' umk'we'L
 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

lêlo'' ke'ra' ta'a'u' tasta'cne'L t'u-t'a'L
 Long ago no fire but some people
 pet'xa'wu ta'a'u' ra'mteta'k' ake'noťa'a'sil ra'mt'i'
 had fire. Then said, "What to do?" Then said
 pesna'k' hek pa'mko te'ne'' ta'a'u' ta'mteta'k
 the rat, "I can to fetch fire." Then said,
 ake'tumtî''yu rumne'' he'k p'iem.o'' tîi'o ra'mt'rya
 "How thy ability to fetch?" "I know to do." Then went,
 k'mi't'ik' k'sa' ra'mt'k'o'nox rumkê'u peťa'cne'L
 ran hard. Then arrived to their place the other
 t'o't'a'L ra'molox ramoce'' pa'xo petits'e''ewo rumťa'a'u'
 people. Then jumped in flames, put the his tail in fire.
 ta'maca-L ramt'ia'to teme't'ik pa'xaiyo tēc'a'p'
 Then lighted, then went to run. Feared that extinguish

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

peṭowó'iyu	a'mṭok'o'nox	ṭiko'e'a'p'	t'uxwento	tecu'ne'
the his light.	Then arrived	to not extinguish.	Finally	kindled
runkē'wu	ṭika'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 MADE²²

besai'yu	pa'xo	t'ol	lits'e''	runkē'wu	belk'a'
The eagle	placed her	one	woman	in his place	the coyote
onpapa'iyu	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	ṭam	
the eagle,	"Mount to this	woman!"	Then made.	Then	
me'tump'	ṭamme'ee'	ṭeci'tip	ṭuφkē'wu	belits'e'	
when finished	then half	to die	in her place	the woman.	
ra'mt'iyax	besai'yu	rip'co'ke'ano'	ra'mp'la'awu	pelits'e''	
Then came	the eagle	to revive him.	Then left her	the woman.	
komp'lo'	ṭehayo'	ra'mt'e'	belk'a'	me'na'kono'	
Finished already	with her.	Then said	the coyote,	"Ah, how	
ṭe'its'e'po	na'lits'e''	k'ts'e'p	k'pe'ptelop'	lu'wa'γás	
to be good	this woman!	Is good	too much."	Time only	
ṭeti'cko''	ṭee'tep'ya'	ram	la'ut'a'	ke'ra'	lo'
to be	dead.	Then	left.	No	already
ko'tise	ṭi'ekoi'	k'lu'wa'nóp'	tiskumu''	ṭa'mṭica-kts'e'	
not strong	to be.	Time was	little	Then began again	
belk'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'	belk'a'	ke'ra'	kocitiptén'	
"Thus this is good!"	said	the coyote.	"No	not die again!	

²² Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916. Cf. *Ethnology*, p. 190, 191; present paper, p. 104.

me'mten k'ts'e'pLo' kī'evi' ram teta-xa' beṭ'oṭ'a-L
 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'olK'we'L cko'' t'ol t'o'xo-ke pet'xa'wu
 Long ago one time was one murderer. Had it .
 t'ol cla'' ka'p'e-L sma'k' ko'poṭoṭ'iena' me-t'uxwen
 one basket filled asphalt, boiled. When came
 ta'ra'ke ra-ts' p'ca'mo'cko akī'e we'e'sxa
 anybody there greeted him, "Howdy, cousin!"
 pespolo'xo peme'no ra'mp'līxo 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 tén pet'olme'no ra'mliya'iyax
 and the raven seized it again the one his hand. Then was thrown
 ṭumṭoo'ke besma'k' ra'mṭ'o'N besma'k' ṭuṭeta-kī'
 to within the tar. Then kindled the tar by the making
 ṭa'a'u' ke'ta'i' ṭa'a'u' ruṭeta'a'koL ra'mna-yi'
 fire. Made fire with the fire-drill. Then fled
 bekt'o'xo-ke peke'lent'xo kī'sili' humk'we'L ko'tco-xna'
 the murderer. Circled all through world. Dropped
 gás t'ia' pesma'k' tanbekē'u teto'm' ṭia'
 only each the tar. And the place to fall every

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 țisantalus'ia yo'ra'mcetep' bekt'o'xo-ke ramump'a'
 named of Santa Lucia he then died the murderer. Then there
 ra'mt'ıeko' kite'a' 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

belaa'' taxck'a'n p'ia'mo't' pete'a'm' ak-i'c
 The raven and hawk saw the woodpecker. "Howdy,
 octelua'' tastumta'aket p'xe'cohe'k' pe.axa'ko't
 old man! What thy deed?" "Bury I the their bones
 beť'out'a'L ksa'moxló p'xa'p'ko cko'' p'xe'co
 the people died already." Digging was burying
 onko'tıco-p' pe.axa'k'teno ts'ep' țanbela'a' p'ne'ewu
 in order not to see the their bones. Good! And the raven seized it
 t'ol k'Ma'ť'a'L ts'ep' octelua'' p'ma'kahe'k' na'
 one white. "Good! Old man, give thee I this!
 ma'xra't'mo'na'ıı ța'mť'i' xai'ya' ts'e'p'ha-nı' ra'mpa-xo
 Put on thy waist." Then said, "Many thanks!" Then placed it.
 ra'mpeta'ako k'ts'e'p' ke'ra' ko'ťıpt'ak'ai'yaax tas
 Then made him good; no not was killed. But
 me'luwa' țam'peta'ako ts'e xumo'' p'wa'tó'
 afterwards then made him again bad. Sent
 besmeko'i' țe'pt'a't'ko beť'o'wut 'yo' terçtee'xai'ya'
 the rattlesnake to sting the people. He therefore fierce
 nata'a' besme-ko'i'
 today the rattlesnake.

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

belk'a'	p'ia'mo	e.'ets'	pa'lxo	rept'e'kaxo		
The coyote	saw	<i>pinacate</i> .	Desired	to kill him.		
ra'mt'e'	belk'a'	taet'mi'yo'k'	weŋ'a'amiko	kitc'a		
Then said	the coyote,	"What thy doing,	friend?"	Stauding		
cko'	belk'a'	ra'mts'ok'ox	e.'ets'	ra'mt'i'	cko''	
was the coyote.	Then frightened	<i>pinacate</i> .	Then said	"Am		
he'k'	riyo'	k'a'lsalhe'k'	ko'	runkē'u	lime'm'	ya'x
I	here	praying I."	Was	their place	wasps.	"Come!
alsa'L	riyo'	ŋamŋ'i'	peLk'a'	'aŋ'	palxohe''k'	
Pray	here!"	Then said	the coyote,	"Yes!	Wish I	
ŋe'pi'snox	ŋa'mt'i'	ts'ep'	ra'mpa'xo	betick'o'olo		
to hear!"	Then said,	"Good!"	Then placed	the his ear		
ŋumsk'a'm	ruŋeke'wu	beleme'm'	a'mt'i'	kesna''		
to close	to the place	the wasps.	Then said,	"Is true!"		
k'Lu'wa'nop'	retreko''	ra'mna-yi'	pe'e'ts'	ŋambelk'a'		
Long time	to remain.	Then fled	the <i>pinacate</i> .	Then the coyote		
sep'xa'p'ko	pekē'wu	beleme'm	ŋa'mŋa-melep'			
dug	the place	the wasps.	Then came out.			
ra'mŋep'ts'e'nla'ik	homŋ'a''ako	kepts'e'nla'yik	k'o'lop'			
Then stung him	on his head.	Was stung	much.			
ke'ta'i'	ŋina'yi'	pe.e'ts'	peta''ako	ŋiko'lu-ne'		
Made	to flee	the <i>pinacate</i> ;	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

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' k'lu'wa'ló' lic-e' bek-o'l' k'ṭ'o'xo-ke tén
 Long ago, very long ago years the hare was murderer also

teṭ'uwuṭ' tanbelk'a' pa'lxo ṭept'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'l cteluwa'' lk'a' k'a'' mieko'' rīṭe'wai'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'ko ṭ'a'a'u' beko'l' teṭ'o'anko
 not hit him. Then made fire the hare to burn him

belk'a' me't'e'ne'k' k'sa' k'wa'' k'a'' pe'e'ko'
 the coyote. "Shoot him more distant!" said the his father

belk'a' tanbeṭ'a'a'u' seka'tanop' taske'ra' ko'ṭapau-ye'
 the coyote. And the fire spread, but no, not overtook.

ṭam ku'we'nox ke'ra' ko'citip' ka'te'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

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

beLk'a' pa'lxo resti'yo'owan kie bema'p' ra'mt'e'
The coyote desired to beautiful like the rabbit. Then said
a'ketumti''yo tet'xa'uwt' ba'tumla'k'oi' ta'mt'i'
"What thy deed to yellow that thy neck?" Then said
pema'p' pox he'k' ki'ya-te' rumte'le'k' tamt'e'
the rabbit, "Enter I always in holes!" Then said
beLk'a' poxne'kiya't'e' rumte'le'k' ra'mt'iya bema'p'
the coyote, "Enter will I always in holes." Then went the rabbit,
p'ne''ewu k'a't' ra'mpopo'oxo' tumte'le'k' ke'wo
brought hay. Then threw it in hole his place
pelk'a' ra'mpa-xo ta'a'u' ram yo'teretet'axa'uwt'
the coyote. Then put fire. Then he therefore yellow
beLk'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

beLk'a' pa'lxo tetpi'exo beto'lo tam humt'a'ak'e'
The coyote desired to eat the bull. Then in road
ra'mp'iya-mo beto'lo tax bepole'ka ta'mt'e' akie'
then saw him, the bull and the sheep. Then said, "Howdy,
o'ta'mi'ko a'ket'me'ke'no' make'ra' ke-yas ta'mt'iya
friend! Where thy going now?" "To such place only." Then went
pelk'a' tampa-lxo tetpept'e'kaxo pa'lxo tetpi'exo
the coyote; then desired to kill him. Desired to eat.
k'o'k'ol'cele' t'iya' me'na'akonó' tets'e'p' pa'tuma''a-tela'
Conversed went. "Ah, how to be good that which carriest

²⁷ Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

²⁸ Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

t'iyaxra' k'io't'ne' t'iyax ta'sta.'ava' tuma'a
 there, shaking there! What are to carry

t'iyax ka'ke'lt'a me'na'k' umpa'l'xo haꞥ k'o'l'
 there?" "Testicles, why thy wish?" "Yes, hungry

he'k' k'o'lop' tam peṭ'a'kha.'ko beto'lo beṭuma'awu
 I very!" Then cut them the bull the his cargo,

ka'ke'lt'a p'ma'keṭo beLk'a' ram't'xwe'nto t'epi'exo
 testicles. Gave him the coyote. Then at once ate them.

me'na.'akonó tits'e'p' tako'mnaL ke'ra' pa'l'xoten
 "Ah, how to be good!" "Not thou filled?" "No, desire more

he'k' tas ke'ra' lo' ra'mē-yo' pa'l'xo in t'epet'e'kaxo
 I but no already!" Then he desired still to kill him.

'aⁿ beto'lo sek'ixa'lo.' k'a' pa'l'xo in
 Then the bull feared, said, "Desires still

t'ipa'mha'k' tuma'lox rumna'L mi'exo'ha'k' an
 to eat me!" Thy desire to fill, eat me then

kī'sili ts'e'p' pa'mkohe'k' t'e'i'exo'ka' kī'sili'
 all!" "Good! Can I to eat thee all!"

ra'mṭ'e' beto'l' mite'a'ra' caxa'ta'γás one'po'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

kite'a' beṭee'l'ko pa'l'xo repe'penxo kī'sili' ma'we'xe'
 large the his mouth. Desired to swallow all. "Stand

ank'sá' ra'm't'iyax t'emi't'ik' bepole'k' ra'mp'otaxle-ko
 firm!" Then came to run the sheep. Then butted him

umṭee'l'ko ra'mp'li'xo ka'p'haxtenop' peṭa'ako yo'ra'm
 in his mouth. Then tumbled, smashed the his head. He then

ce'tep beLk'a' ra'mṭ'ia' beto'lo ke'ra' ko'citip
 died the coyote. Then went the bull. No, not died.

p'ne'wutén beka'ke'lt'a pa'xotén ra'mṭ'iarumé
 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

belk'a'	peta''ko	eko''	xa''ak'o	rumṭitakē''wu	
The coyote	making	was	his arrow	in his road	
pena''	ṭa'mt'iyax	pena''	we'ten	le-ta'na'	
the sun.	Then came	the sun	about	noon.	
ra'mt'uxwen	ṭumkē-wu	belk'a	peta''ako	eko'	
When arrived	to his place	the coyote	making	was	
xa'k'o	eko'	ṭuwo''iyu'	ṭemīṭ'o	ṭipa'uyo-ko	
his arrow.	Was	his fire	with which	to heat it.	
rampet'xa'wu	smak'	ṭemīṭ'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'	eko''o'γás	bena''	pts'e''eko	kītc'a	eko'
arrow."	Was only	the sun	watched.	Stopped	was
riskumu'	ra'mṭ'i'	ts'ep'	meta''k	nacxomek'i'	
little.	Then said,	"Good!	Make me	this favor	
ṭume'ta'k'	rixo't'up'	he'l-a	ra'mṭ'i'	βelk'a'	
to permit me	to pass!"	"Wait!"	then said	the coyote.	
ra'mtite'a	gac-ko	bena''	ke'ra'	ko'se-ne'	ts'ep'
Then stopped	only was	the sun,	no	not journeyed.	"Good!
manata'x	aṅṭixo't'up'	ramke'ra'ko'sa'		belk'a'	
Allow me	to pass!"	Then no,	not spoke	the coyote.	
ra'mt'rekots'e	skumu'	ra'mṭ'e'	rume'	Lk'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 ʔa'mtite'a ra'mp'ne'wu pexa''k'o tax pekisili'
 now." Then arose, then took the his arrow and the all.

tanbena'' sekī'lo' tanberk'a' secko''γás peta''ko
 And the sun went already and the coyote was only making

eko' 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 kī'sili' pena'' tax ʔats'o'opi'
 Long ago they spoke all, the sun and the moon

taxbeʔatewa'niL kī'sili' pema'ʔ'e'lak ʔa'mt'e' bena''
 and the stars, all the animals. Then said the sun,

naʔ'oʔ'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'yamk'a' ʔik'a-wel ra'mho'yi'
 only continually. No, not I see them to sleep." Then replied

beʔats'o'opi' ke'ra' ke'ra' ku'kievi' ki'kauyela-te'e'
 the moon, "No! No, not thus is! Are sleepers!

k'a'wel gas kī'ya-te' me'yima'ne'elk' ke'ra'
 Sleep only continually! When see them no

ki'yamk'a'' ʔila'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!"

³⁰ Translated by Maria Encinales from Spanish of Juan Quintana, 1916.

PRAIRIE-FALCON, XUI AND THE SERPENT³¹

eko'	ckak'	sotope'no	pexu'i	ʔo'xo-ke	teʔ'a'uwaʔ'
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'k'	
Threw them	other side ground.	Ate them	little birds.	Laurel	
sko''	mat'o'lni'	ck'a'n	lɔ'	k'se'ne'	k'te'a'uye'
was	on hill.	Hawk raven	walked.	Sought	
pexu'i	ʔa'miyema'	pesk'a'k'	k'ma'lauk	ka'eil	
the Xui.	Then seen	the crow.	Told him	seated	
mat'o'lni'	yo'	metco'k'a'	hala'ʔome	a'mt'yaL	
on hill.	“Ah!	Be quiet!	Shoot now!”	Then went	
tome''	p'lī'yaiyix	a'metitca'	peʔo-lo-lai'yo'	ame't'ya	
then.	Was thrown,	then alighted	the his flute.	Then went	
bila''	yo'	hala'ʔomé	mo''ts'a	hala'rome	a'mep'alo
the raven.	“Ah!	Shoot now!	Thou next!	Shoot now!”	Then shot him.
pale'lko	pet'a'ko	ʔa-li-ye''	xwen	pesk'a'n	taxlɔ''
Asked him,	tied him	serpent.	Came	the hawk	and raven.
te'a'uye	ʔa-li-ye''	ka'ʔ'a-pelt'a	k'ye'ma	yo'	k'a'
Sought	serpent	striped.	Was seen.	“Ah!”	said
pesk'a'n	lɔ'	yo	na	t'ma'lox	k'ai'isaiik'
the hawk	raven.	“Ah!	This	thy desire!”	Was spied.
ke't'eyini'k	mo''ts'a	yo'	me-tco''ka'	k'a'ʔume''	
Shot him.	“Thou next!	Ah!	Be careful!”	said then.	
a-na-x'e''	yo-lo''	k'iyaxlo'ba'	ts'a'kai''	k'a'ʔumé'	
“Run!	Ah!	Already	comes already that	wind!”	Said then
ku'mxa-t'a	p'enla'k'o	te'lp'a'	p'ye'nt'onoha'k		
“Don't cry!	Quick!	Hurry!	Approach will we!		
k'o'loxlo-ha'k'	male'ntax	tumtea'xaL	ki'yaxnɔ'	eko't'	
Arrive already we!	Remember	thy power	Come will	snake!	
yo'	hala'ʔomé	mama'mpek	t'mi'cik'	mulʔ'i'k'	
Ah!	Shoot now!	Draw	thy knife!	Cut him	
paeko't'	yo-lo''				
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

tatewa'niL	k'tumlo'	macila'k'	tumle-mó'	me't'ya	
Star	fell already,	morning star	from above.	When came	
mk'we'L	ki'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	texa''	ka'ciL	xu'i	k'satap'ni'	ska'k'
One	rock	named Xui	had guardian	crow.	
p'li'xo	naṭ'au'waṭ'	ṭila'm	co-talai''	t'ol	tiexe'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.

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'ie peta-'k^o le'exai
 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
 leexai taa' tokolecxa-ita sekoṭ'ak' ṭakoxwete-lek
 rain now! If not rains now tie him, and punish him.
 ṭikoṭep'eL tite'a'' ṭa'koxwete-lek k'ts'ep' ṭake'meṭumka's
 If not fill of water, to punish him." "Is good, I try
 a'a-mko amk'a-k'a ṭamṭump' pai' ṭumle-'m
 if can." Then sang, then came cloud in sky.
 a-mṭ'uk' peṭ'e'lo-wa' a'mṭuxwen ṭume' belicxai
 Then thundered the thunder. Then came then the rain
 k'atapne-xe' beli'exai kera ko'luwa' ṭamṭep'ena-t'eL
 hard. The rain no not late. Then filled them
 bepale-'lten t'ma'xo bepa'teL kma-la'k' pestelua''
 the barrels that placed the Padre. Told the old man
 e^mpete'e-ko pali'exai k'la-uwi' ṭamṭe' ṭoku'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 HUNT³⁴

ke'se-lkotene hak' peta'ka ka'mpo ṭa'maiyaL
 Fence-making we, made camp. Then went,
 me'exai petcamna'xo hak' t'ol at' ta'maṭ'uina'pik
 morning. Felled it we one oak. Then sawed it up.

³³ Told by Pedro Encinales, 1916. Cf. *Ethnology*, p. 195.

³⁴ Told by Pedro Encinales, 1910.

pɬ'u'kot'ná. Bored we	hak' that oak.	ba'a't' Then inserted	a'maxt'e'lix powder,	po'lpola
a'maɬ'oka' then lighted,	a'mt'axatenap then split.	ɬamataksta'nte Then made posts.	ɬa'maco'me Then shouted.	
ɬa'mexapik Then dug;	peta'ko made we	hak' holes.	k'co'luk'tene Then inserted	ta'maɬ'ek
pesta'nte the posts.	ɬa'mamaɬ'úx Then tamped.	ɬa'maxtelektumé Then fastened next	ba.ala'mbre the wire.	
amko'molop' Then quit	hak' we	ɬup'ta'taLxwa'Lnai' from the our work.	ɬa'maiya-L Then went	
tumta't'ka'mpo to our camp,	ɬa'makaxau then slept.	ɬa'mecxai' Then dawned,	a'matak then made	
ɬa'lemxat our food.	ɬa'maLamxat'umé Then ate next,	ko'molop' finished	hak' we	ɬala'mxal to eat.
a'met'ya Then went	pe'a's the son	tumak't'u'ne to hill,	pts'e''ko observed it	tax and
sai'yu eagle	k'a'se nesting.	ko't'konax Not arrived	i-n yet	ɬumake'u to where
ɬa'miyemá' Than saw	peɬa'muL the puma.	xo't'up' Passed	ka-s only	tupek'e'i'kaɬ'i' on the slope.
a'mpama't'ko Then chased him	peti'iteo the his dog.	ampco'la't'ko Then treed him	ɬet'oL up one	at' oak.
kyo'xun Barked	pete'eteco the his dog.	a'mt'yax Then came	pa'a's that son,	pts'e'eko sought him.
ɬa'mp'ya'mo Then saw him	ɬa'muL puma.	ɬa'mp'amesak Then called me.	ɬa'me-ya Then went	te-ts'e'k' to see;
ke'konax not I arrived	i-n yet.	ɬa'mulox Then sprang	peɬa'muL the puma.	k'na'ye' Ran.
te'eteco the his dog.	pama't'ko Chased him	ɬumɬa'ke to within	ɬa'kata woods.	ɬampuwe'nt'xo Then returned.
ta'mp'cola'at'koten Then treed him again	mē-yo'' same	baa't' that oak.	ta'mamesik Then called him	ba'a's the son.
ke'ra No,	ko'xo-ye' not answered.	ampake'no Then thought	hek' I	tetiɬ'e'nlo that wounded already
tupeɬa'muL by the puma.	ɬa'met'iyinek Then shot him.	ɬameka'cak'mek' Then missed him.	ɬa'mulo-xten Then sprang again.	
a'mct'ya Then went,	kī. went.	a'mt'yak Then went	pexu'te the dog.	pama't'ko Chased him.
kok'te'a'p'lo Was tired already	pexo'te the dog	tax and	peɬa'muL the puma.	ko'met'ik'ló Not ran already.
tax And	pexo'te the dog	peɬa'muL the puma	p'k'e'poɬ'a'u followed him.	t'yax Went
				pexo'te the dog.

peṭa'muL ta'mpeola't'kotén mē-yo' bea't' bekeyuco'teol
 The puma then treed again same the oak the where climbed.

ṭa'mamesiktén ba'a's ṭa'mxo-yi' ṭa'mṭuxwen 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'muL met'eyine'k' mo' ṭa'met'eyinek
 Not dead that puma. "Shoot him, thou!" Then shot him,

ṭa'mtom tume' pa'mkohak' tumé ṭa'mama.
 then fell then. Killed him we then. Then carried

tumṭa'm ṭa'malau sana''to ṭa'mayopik' tumé
 to house. Then removed his hide. Then staked it then.

ṭa'mamaa ṭ'umholo'N p'xanse'ko hak' bere'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 *ta'mtickle'* *ta'a'u'* *ketea'* *ko'mai'ye*
 September, then was fire great. Began

rumceme'ni' *ta'mt'konax* *peta'taa'mo* *p'neti'lt'ek*
 in Reliz Cañon. Then came the our boss. Brought us,

he'nri dan *ba.a's* *tax* *bet'o's* *ta'maiya-L* *kLa'pai*
 Henry Dunn, that son and the younger brother. Then went three

tenuwa-na' *ta'makonLox* *tumtika'ko* *bela'k'* *ta'ts'e'k'*
 of morning. Then arrived to its summit the ground to see

peṭa'a'u' *ke'ra* *ka'kaxau* *ta'kalamhaL* *ta* *ke'ra*
 the fire. No, not slept and not ate and no

ta'k'es *k'ecxai'yaL* *hak'* *gas* *tupeco'k'a* *ku'wate*
 blankets. Dawned we only in the gully. Bad!

tax *besimo'n* *ka'stro* *lu'is* *sko'sya* *tax* *pe'a's*
 And the Simon Castro, Luis Scocia and the son

k'Lo'xLano'ee' *hak'* *ka'mxot'e* *raxo't'lop'* *tup'tate't'*
 burnt almost. We not able to pass by the smoke.

ta'mackoL' *k'e'lp'a* *hak'* *ka'ke-nilú'* *ralo'xLa*
 Then were, halted we. Thought already that burn.

ke'ra *ka'mxote* *taxo't'lop'* *k'lu'walú* *sma'kai*
 No, not able to pass. Long already night.

ta'mxot'up' *peṭa'a'u'* *ke'ra* *ka'lamhaL* *ta'maiyam*
 Then passed the fire. No, not ate. Then saw

cwa'n *ski'ntai'* *ta'macaxt'e'lik'* *yolo'* *ta'lamxat'be*
 fishes small. Then ate them, it already our food the

ta-me'ta *met'o'L* *to'kena'tén'* *me'smakai'* *ta'm'alamhaL*
 until on one day again. When night then ate;

ko'nlox *hak'* *tumta't'kam-po* *ko'neL* *hak* *tup'ta'a'u'*
 arrived we to our camp. Escaped we from the fire.

ts'ep *tat'ca'kai* *adio's* *ta'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

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	tumtə.'ma	ko.'maiyu	hek'	ɬumxolo' ⁿ	
When came	to my house	left	I from	Jolon.	
ɬa.'maiyaM	peɬa.'meko	akeɬa.'sona	mē.'san	ɬa.'maiyaM	
Then saw	the my friend.	What his name	this? Mason.	Then saw	
mē.'san	petcau.'waiik	mē.'konax	k'o'nxa.ló	ɬa'mp'yemet.'ik	
Mason.	Was met.	When arrived	late already.	Then saw me,	
ma.'t'ik	tumtə.'mó	ko'nlox	hak'	tumta.'M	p'ma.'t'ik
took me	to his house.	Arrived	we	to house.	Took me
maswida'	ɬats'ek	pets'enlī'	p'ya'mhék'	xai'ya'	
to city	to see	the amusements;	saw I	many	
ɬ'a'uwuɬ'	p'ma.'t'e'k	ɬa.'mekonax	make'u	ts'enlī'	
people.	Took me.	Then arrived	to where	amusements	
ketca.'tén	le-ta'no	sma'kai	ɬa'maiya-L	tup'ɬa'm	
great.	Half	night	then came	to the house.	
ɬame.'exai'	ɬa'metalxwaltenax	t'ol	ɬo.'kena'	sma'kai	
Then morning	then worked	one	day.	Night	
ɬa'tsaiyaL	umswida'	maa'tak	heyo''	ɬa'ts'aiyaL	
to go	to city.	Took me	he.	Went	
me.'exai'	tumɬa.'m	k'ta'lxualtenax	hak'	t'ol	
at morning	to house,	worked	we	one	
ɬo.'kena	mē'smakai	ɬa'tsaiyaL	ɬats'e'k	ts'enlī'	
day.	At night	to go	to see	amusements.	
me.'exai'	ɬa'tsak'e-lp'a	tamk'mai'ya	hek'	ɬumt'o'Ltén	<i>pwe'blo</i>
In morning	returned.	Then went	I	to one again	town,
<i>o'kland</i>	ko'keu	a'maiya-L	ɬumpa'	ɬa'tsak'e-lpa	
Oakland,	two	then went	there.	Then returned	
mē'smakai	tumɬa.'m	kī'yaLhák'	mē'smakai	ɬats'e'k	
at night	to house.	Went	we	at night	to see
pets'enlī	kī'saliriya'M	stiy'o'wanlax			
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?—

³⁶ Told by Pedro Encinales, 1910; University of California Museum of Anthropology, phonograph record, 14-1582.

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'yaL
Ioy	and	that	her younger brother	small	the bluejay lived
ṭumpa'	t'OL	smak'ai	kīya'xteL	pekei'tlip'	
there.	One	night	came	the dead.	
k'o'maṭ'ilī'ik	t'OL	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'	tupeke'tlep'	cko''	
by them.	The beads	possessed	by the dead	were	
tenotilī''	ṭ'eheyo''	kLu'waw ^o	le:l	nasma'kai	ṭumpa'
to give	for her.	Married	already	this night	there.
ṭa'mṭo'okenaṭume'	ta'mt'ya	heyo''	pewi-teile''	cko·	
Then day next	then went	she.	The bluejay	was	
ṭumpa'	me't'OL	lice''	ṭa'mṭ'e	kī-he'k'	tiite'a'u
there	for one	year.	Then said,	"Go I	to seek
pepe·'	ketca'	pale'lko	t'OLT'ya'	ṭupeṭika't'et	pa'lxo
the elder sister	large."	Asked	one every	of the trees.	Wished
t ^o p'ye'mo	ake'ṭ'eke'o	heyo''	peka'xap	kī·	
to know,	"What his place	he	the dead?"	Went	
ṭupi·kilentxo	pale'lko	t'OLT'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'OL	texa''
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
pekei'tllip'	petexa''	tax	pewi-teile''	kyā'xteL	ṭet'OL
the dead.	The rock	and	the bluejay	came	to one

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.

ʔemai'ic ke'ta' ʔate't' ʔ^opeʔama'niL a'mt'ya'L
 village. No smoke from the houses. Then went
 peʔixapi'exo ʔa-m peketca-'lē'lo ʔa'm a-m heyo''
 the last house the large already house. Then he
 p'ya'ma ʔate't' ʔumpa' a-m heyo'' kī. ʔ'uma'
 saw smoke there. Then he went there.
 ʔa'mp'ya'mo peape'u ketaç.' a: pet'o's skī'tana
 Then saw her the his elder sister large. "Ah! the younger brother little!"
 heyo'' pse'eko heyo'' akēme'naxta umka'xap' 'mo'
 She told him he, "Whence thou comest now? Art dead thou?"
 heyo'' ksa ke'ra' ka'xap' petexa'' maat'ak
 He said, "No, not dead. The rock carried me
 ʔuwī' ʔite'o'ma ʔa'mpo'maiyeu ʔope'lextLo t'olt'ya'
 here on back!" Then began to open one every
 ʔupeʔama'niL t'olt'ya' ʔupeʔa'm kap'xe'na-teL axa-ktén'
 of the houses. One every of the house was full bones!
 t'OL ʔa''ko ka'xap' t'olke'u ʔupeape'u ketaç.'
 One head dead near place of the his elder sister large.
 heyo'' pse'ko heyo'' tast'ma'lox ʔum.e'tak'
 He told her, "What thy desire to do
 naaxa'ten ʔena ʔ'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'Lu-'walu	k'o-'lap	xwan	ane'w ^o	tax	pema ^{ri} a
Long ago	very	Juan	his grandmother	and	the Maria.
p'se-'ko	kī'ya-te'	tetye'	teta'mt'e	ṭa.a'e	kī'sile
Told him	always	to go	to hunt	the elk.	Every
ṭoo'kana'	kī	ṭupa'mkneLko	acte'n	pṭ'i'kaxo	kī'ya-te'
day	went	to kill them	elk.	Killed them	always
Lk'a'neL	pṭ'e'kaxo	kī'ya-te'	cumk'o'm'	ṭ'a-ene'L	
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'oltén	ṭa'mticko'	ṭupela'k'	heyo''
always.	Went again	on one again.	Then was	on the land.	He
k'a'mes	yax	ṭika'mpo	acne'L	k'a'ltena'	hak'
cried,	"Come	to field,	Elk!	Fight	we,
k'pa'La	hak'	peta'ṭake	kīya'x	ṭumtee'n	eko' t'OL
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'ek'oLet	ki-c	kutca'L	peṭ'aa'ko	
Not I	called thee!	The thy ears	resemble	spoons,	the its handle
k'wa'keLta	pema'p'	xa'ta	a'mt'ya	ṭump'a'wu	
long!"	The rabbit	wept.	Then went	to other side	
ṭa'kata	xa'ta	pema'p'	ṭa'mamesten	kīyaxte'L	
woods.	Wept	the rabbit.	Then cried again,	"Come	
ṭuwiteén	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

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'OL	k'weL	t'i-yo'	te'a'mt'e	teṭaa''	amp'ya'm	
One	time	went	to hunt	of deer.	Then saw	
hek'	t'ol	t'aq''	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'	ṭaa''	t'up'xa'k'	pet'eyine'k	hek'	umṭexiwai'yo	
I	deer	with the bow.	Shot him	I	in his heart.	
amki'	hek'	ṭuma'	ṭa-'mo-maiyi'	to'o't'itina'pik		
Then went	I	there.	Then began	to cut him up.		
pesno'xo	hek'	ksa'teL	ṭuma'	t'iek'ema'L	peksa'teL	
Heard	I	speaking	there.	Tulareños	the speakers.	
kya'maneLak'	heyo't'	a'memet'ik'	ṭumak'e'nax	t'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'iek'e-maL	
him,	"Friend,	think	I	to be	Tulareños	
pekyax't'eL	t'iha'k'	pṭ'a'kixo	hak'	heyo't'	ṭam	
the comers	to us!	Kill them	we	them!"	Then	
pa'a'teloi	pse'hak	heyo''	'a ⁿ	pṭ'a'kixo	hak'	
that friend	told me	he,	"Yes!	Kill them	we!	
k'tce'henmilak	hak'	heyo't'	se	xai'ya	t'an	hak'
Are brave	we!	They	are	many	and	we
se	ko'keu	kas	kasko't'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'	t'ehayo'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'eil	t'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'kit'ohék'	ta-cne'L	t'upete't'eyitina'i'	t'OL		
that friend,	gave him I	some	of the arrows.	One		
t'iek'e'm	kyax	t'umt'ewa'ko	pek'a'	a'mpet'eyineko		
Tulareño	came	to beside	the us.	Then shot him		

³⁹ Translated by Pedro Encinales, 1910; Cf. Kroeber, *The Washo Language*, present series, IV, 302.

hak' heyo'' ta'met'eyinek coke'nto t'ampa'a'teloi
we him. Then shot him his eye. Then that friend

pet'eyine.'ko peṭ'i'peno t'a'mkitcamnox ka'xap' a'memet'ik'
shot him the his belly. Then fell dead. Then ran

umke'o heyo'' polṭ'e.'ko hek' tup't'i'cik peṭ'a.'ko
to where he. Cut it I with the knife the his head.

ta'mtyaxte'L pet'i'ckema'L t'oma t'a'momai'ye' tak'a'ltena'
Then came the Tulareños there. Then began to fight!

pet'eyitinek' hak' a'met'eyinek' t'oL t'eheyo't'
Shot them we. Then shot one of them.

ta'mame'sik heyo.'t' yaxte'L ke'ra' ka'suxtax mom
Then cried them, "Come! No, not afraid you!

mo-m k'o'k'a-mko tuko't'eyine-t'ax t'upe t'ko't'iyinai
You not able to shoot us with the your arrows!

pet'eyine.'t'kam hak' ka'xatep mo'mta' pse.'t'ko
Shoot you we! Dead you soon!" Told them

hek' ṭel.i'n k'ts'a'ktox ṭupeska.'mo k'ts'a'ktoxák'
I while yet were afraid to the near. Feared me

pa'mko keti' hak' ko'keulo t'eheyo.'t' t'oL
killed because we two already of them. One

t'eheyo.'t' pet'eyine.'ko ksa' pe'a'teloi k'ma'Ltox
of them shot him very the friend. Jumped

hak' k'o'k'ot'na'pelt'e hak' ta'mt'yax peṭet'o.'iyin
we, dodged we. Then came the arrows

t'eṭ'ewai'yu kī'sile pa'a'teloi pṭ'e'kaxo hak' t'oL
to his side all that friend. Killed we one

ticke.'m t'ya' t'iha'k ta'mamet'lik mask'a.'mkeu
Tulareño each of us. Then ran to near him.

ta'm.met'lik ṭumatce'N k'e-'po-t'ilau hak' heyo.'t'
Then ran to distance. Followed them we them.

ko'xom'tela' kasp'a'mko hak' k'i'ca' t'eheyo.'t' xai'ya'
Escaped they but killed we four of them. Many

heyo.'t' pake.'no hek' teṭ'o'e ta-ma'' ta'maulṭ'ek'
they. Think I that ten men. Then cut

kī'sile' peṭaxa'ko peki'ca' taṃa'n' ka'xatep' pa'a'teloi
all the their heads the four men dead. That friend

k'e'nai' me.'no ta'm'oma-iyi' tai'ya'L ṭumta.'m
wounded his hand. Then began to go to house.

ta'maiya-L t'umat'a.'t'e-ma t'a'pa'tla
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'	‡'a'miyaX-olap'e''	ta'mico-L
When made was	the earth	then came the sea.	Then rose
‡ot'op'o'iya	xolap'e''	ke'kaxosna'it'o'	‡'up'o'iya ketc'a''
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.

ʔa'meyexote'ene' ta'meyaxhoʔ'a'muL ʔa'meʔ'e't hosna'i'
 Then came the old woman. Then came the puma; then said the eagle,
 umta'net'me'cax patálok'ē' hop'a'ta'L tameʔ'e't
 "Wilt thou give thy whiskers? Lasso it I the basket." Then said
 ʔoʔ'a-xwe'n' xosna'i ne'xoxo' ʔa'mepetak ʔuhela'k'
 to the dove the eagle, "Fetch earth!" Then made of the earth
 hosna'i ʔa'mepetakʔo lene'' ʔoteta'p'koL la'pai
 the eagle. Then made did woman of elder, three
 a'meʔetaxap hólene'' a'mepuxumk'uwa'p' ʔa'meʔe't
 then made the woman. Then entered in sweat house. Then said
 hock'a'n' ni''hoti'te'e-lak yik'e' we'amas ki' ma'a'u
 the hawk, "Fetch the *barsalillo!* Go!" The coyote went bring
 hote'e'lak kera'' ku.''wuwu'tite'e-lak ʔa'mekik'eʔ'u'
 the *barsalillo*. "No! Not is my *barsalillo!*" Then went did,
 keno'lk'e'to' ʔamepetak'o lama'ta komoleple'' hoʔ'epo'ʔ'
 sweated did. Then made bower, finished the people
 ʔotenake't'o' ʔa'meʔetai 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 lasso 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.

THE THEFT OF FIRE ⁴¹

sa'nenexoc-k'a'n ho'ʔoxwa'ʔ'o' hock'a'n wa'lual' ʔ'a'so'
 Married the hawk, the mother-in-law his the hawk bullbat, her name.
 te'ine'' p'a'lxo' ʔepokoʔ'hoʔo' hoʔ'e-le'm' ʔa'miye
 Old woman wished to kill him did the son-in-law. Then went

⁴¹ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. p. 82.

hock'a'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'a'n hosene'u' kī-' ne'u' ho.e'xo'
 Then went the hawk the his wife, "Go bring the her mother."
 kīṭ'o' p'i'exo't ṭiope' ṭa'melicxai ṭa'miyex hote'ene'
 Went did, ate they grubs. Then rained, then came the old woman
 ṭa'xo p'aso umṭe-mo' ṭa'meṭekamkua'pī hosna'i'
 and the her child to her house. Then were in sweat-house the eagle
 ṭa'xohelk'a' ṭamecmak'ai't'o' umkwa'pⁱ li'cxait'o'
 and the coyote. Then darkened did in sweat-house. Rained did
 kite'a' ṭa'mexwenṭ'o' te'ine' ake'laxa mak'e'wel
 great. Then came did old woman. "Where door?" "To north."
 ake'laxa map'xa'nol laxa'm ṭa'meṭ'e't hote'ene'
 "Where door?" "To south door." Then said the old woman,
 hī'k'a'no' kīk'e' neu'ke' lap'e' ṭameṭ'ika't'o'
 "Swear now, go I, bring I sea!" Then was then
 le'cxai ke'rako'p'eexai ṭa'meṭetaka weṭelo' yik'e'
 rain; no, not dawned. Then told martin, "Go
 umle'm o't'ika hote'anone' me'n' ṭa'menac't'o'
 aloft if is the light." Went, then returned did,
 ta'meṭet ha' keka' te'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'L toṭ'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'to' xo'mī kī'to'
 Then arrived the kangaroo-rat did. Then told, "Go roadrunner!" Went did
 oxo'mī 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'u'
 then said, "No, not arrived." Remained with food.
 ṭa'meṭetak howe-ṭelo' yiki'umle'm ṭa'meṭ'okono'xo'
 Then told the martin, "Go aloft!" Then arrived
 hosa'xe kī ne'u' ṭa'a'u' ṭ'a'miyex hote'anone'
 the bird, went brought fire. Then came the light.
 hosa'xe ma'aumṭ'ee'lko' ṭa'a'u' p'eexa'ṭo' xa'ta
 The bird carried in his beak fire. Dawned did; wept
 hoṭ'a'mul ṭa'meṭe't'osna'i' mī'yo'k ṭ'umxa'ta yi'ke'
 the puma. Then said the eagle, "Why thy weeping? Go
 te'a'u ṭaa'pⁱ akiti' p'oxe'm' omṭipo't'ṭecko'
 hunt deer!" "How make sinew?" "Thou not human art!"

ma-mo'c	hot'me'ma't̥	ɬamexa'ta	hoɬo-xo't̥u'	komxa'ta	
Preserve	the thy meat."	Then wept	the wolf did.	"Don't weep!	
yike'	te'a'u.'	humuī''	aketī'	puxe'm'	omɬipo't'
Go	hunt	the antelope!"	"How make	sinew?"	"Thou not human
ti'eko	mi'cax	ɬimi't̥'ik	mixa'taɬo'	xo-pene'L	
art!	Eat	running!"	And wept did	the vulture.	
te'a'uhopa'mat	aketihopoxe'm'	mi'caxka	ta'meteto		
"Seek the carrion!"	"How make the sinew?"	"Eat only!"	Them told did		
'elk'a	yike"	aketihopoxe'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

^{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

ṭ'a'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''	ha'
the Chahe.	Then said	the hawk,	"Hast thou got	the flute?"	"Yes.
ṭa'lṭom'	ṭ'mi'txa	ṭaltum't'ica'xal	ṭe'msaxten	xa'wela'k'	
What thine,	thy possession?	What thy power?"	"Nephews,	far the land;	
ma'xap	umti'te'o'm	ṭa'meneṭoṭolole''	ṭa'meṭaxap		
get up	on shoulder."	Then seized did the flute;	then got up		
umtite'o'm'	ka'xap	ṭa'meṭet	wáya'waye'	xe'sekola'	
on shoulder.	Got up.	Then said,	"Wayawaye!	Hesekola!	
kēw'ots'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'i	ṭa'mecauwat	ṭa'meneṭo'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't'o'lpet	po'xṭela'k'	hotc'axe''	k'o'lpex	lo'lk'é''	
scalded.	Entered in earth	the Chahe.	Came out,	"Burnt I!"	
k'o'lpext'ma'	hoṭ'i-ko'' ^u	pisi'lxo'	wela'k'	k'o'lpex	
Sprouted mesal	everywhere	whole	the earth.	Sprouted	
peyexte'to'	ka'xwen	ho-t'ma'	peke'lentxo	wela'k'	
its seed;	many	the mesal.	Circled	the earth.	
lectiko''	smak'	ṭumla'luo	ṭa'meṭika'	t'ma	ketca'
South-west	tar	then left it.	Then is	mesal	great.
we-k'e'wel	hute't'xaptep	hotc'ine''	huke'u'	mtana''	
At north	ended	the old woman,	the place.	Now	
kiṭe'mna	sikillilip	maka''	ṭo'ck'o'n'E	he'u'	
sounds	encircle;	now	implanted	she	
te-ṭa'xaptep	ki'silip	ṭo'ṭoxoyota'i'	ṭau'me	ta'xa'ptep	
to finish	all	life	until	ends	

⁴² Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 194; present paper, p. 84.

umk'wa'L	tet'a'nkox	okete'a''	ot'a't'o'	ote'ene''
world.	Planted	the great	the fruit.	The old woman
he'u'	le'uxo'	k'e'wel	ke'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 finally 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 ELF⁴³

ta'miyax	umṭake''	otcilwa'iyi	ṭeci'k'	ka'ro'	
Then came	in road	the old man	barn owl.	?	
kaṁṭi'	he'k'a	maḳa''	ṭa'miyax	hock'an	k'e'sko'
Hunted,	said	?	Then came	the hawk	spying.
ṭamik'a'ḳa	teilwa'i	he'k'a	maḳa''	k'a'ka	ṭoṭewo'ts'o'
Then sang	old man,	said	?	Sang,	''With feather
kake'L'	ṭicxe'po'	hosk'a'maa'n'	WI	WI	WI
hangs	his foot	the elf!	Whee!	Whee!	Whee!''
a'meṭ'ica'to	ta'meṭika	howetcele''	hik'a	te'k'a	
Then walked	did.	Then was	the bunting	said,	''Who is
mi'slipap	ṭa'meyax	ki'	hoskama'a'n'	ko'mop	exa'p
smells himself?''	Then came	went	the elf,	made himself	rock.
ṭa'meṭ'etepai	ha'lap	ṭa'a'u'	kecme'L	ṭa'meṭ'xauwat	
Then said,	''Throw	fire.''	Threw.	Then became	yellow
hot'icu''	ṭamexa'ta'	umk'wa'p	a'mṭepeL	ka'pel	
the his breast	Then wept	in sweat-house.	Then filled,	filled	
hotica'to'	a'meṭikonox	umṭiti'lk'o	'oṭoca'to	hock'a'd	
the his tears.	Then arrived	to his head	the his tears	the hawk.	
a'miyix	ki'to'	ṭa'meṭo'yokaṭo'	a'miyi	ki'to'	
Then came	went did.	Then revived did.	Then went,	went did.	
me'topokaṭo'	ṭa'meyi	hosk'a'n	keuke'	xilap'to'	
When revived did	then went	the hawk	where	braves did.	
tameka'to'	hotcine''	pasie'm	XUI	ka'natapato''	
Then was there	the old woman	named	Xui.	Was pounding	
pe'Li	ke'ra'	cuke'nt'o	ṭa'meye	kixola'p'to'	loko'xo'
pil.	No	her eyes.	Then went,	went the raven did,	snatched it,
pamo''	hope'L	a'miyaxtón	ṭamiki'yahock'an	ko'tisen	
ate it	the pil.	Then came again	then came the hawk,	''Be careful!''	
he'ḳ'	yu'wan	nape'L'	a'mipacai'yo	pane'	ṭamipopa'uṭo'
''Yes.	Sweet	this pil!''	Then raised it	pestle.	Then seized it did.
me'ten	p'o'caito'	hop'a'NE	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'nenō'	
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'	ki'to'	ya'ma	ocka'k'	p'a'mas	ṭe'meṭet
Then went did,	went did,	saw	the crow.	Shouted,	then told,
he'k'a'	ki'yaxno''	ṭepot'ha'lap'	hoṭika'uwi	ameṭ'o'xon	
said,	''Come soon	people!''	The sleepiness.	Then snored,	

⁴³ Told by Maria Oearpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 192; present paper, pp. 67, 92, 93.

ka'uwi slept.	kī'ka Was	ucokonoi' the great owl,	ṭa'kenco'' doctor was.	xu'tia Sick	hoṭa'a'p the deer
kite'a' great.	ṭa'meṭet Then said,	me'nok'eko' "Go to see I him	hoṭa'ken the doctor."	ṭa'meṭ'et Then said	
hocokeno'i' the great owl,	aki'teno'pa'mka "Where he who kills thee?	anaṭo'opoka Allow head	eme'tikas to see if can		
te-te'o'inō' 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 pounding 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 handful 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 SERPENT⁴⁴

ke'ka' hoținele' p'i'exo' hoț'ipo't' petak'a'u
 Was the serpent. Ate him the Indian. Named him.

pet'xa'u' hoț'uk'o'yī huțema'iț'o' țela'mī țamepesno'xo'
 Had it the whirlwind that gave did to eat. Then heard him

hock'an' țamēțet akeța'tī he'k'a' hola'p' k'a'lau'
 the hawk. Then said, "How to do?" Said the raven, "How many

țumtc'a'haL pet'xa'uk'e' țike'ra' kopa'utek hock'o't
 thy powers?" "Have I that no not overtake me the snake.

pet'xa'u' k'e'u' țoți'pe'n nō nak'e' ha'kie
 Have it where quick." "Good! This I two

la'pai ț'opo'yela ke'u' ț'ica'xal ake'ho' a-some'neka
 three mountains. There power." "Where the?" "Asomeneka

hoke'u' aketo'nho' a'sumloiya'mī țanmo' ha'
 the place." "Where again the?" "Asumloyam. And thou?" "Yes.

pa'xok'e' ței'te'ai' no' aketunke'u umle'sam
 Place I neck!" "Good! Where again place?" "At Morro,

țomele'u' t'ca'haL nō' poxx'e'to' nu.'i me'no
 last power." "Good! Enter I did. Good is. Let's see

nok'xa' hock'ot țik'a'mențo' ki'yalțo' co'keneock'o't
 we the snake that we saw did." Went they did, awoke the snake.

mecu'ke-nock'ot'țu' ke'we-ts'na țamēț'uk' hots'ak'a'i
 When awoke the snake did shouted. Then broke the wind.

yoț'me' wi't'nak ț'u'k' hots'aka'i ț'ak'ak'o'
 "Come now, nephew!" Broke the wind, felled.

no' na'i' kaț'me' ki'yax leu' hock'o't
 "Good! Run! Let's go now!" Came then the snake.

leM kerā' lak' xaipa'ko' pa'mtakna' nō
 "Up!" "No! Down!" "Summon strength! Seize this! Good!"

kīyaxle'u' kewe-ts'nale' hotinele' male'ntax t'me
 Came then, shouted the serpent. "Remember pray!"

nō xaiya'L kaxoț'lop t'me xa'tanok'e'
 "Good! Went passed then!" "Weep will I."

ko'mxa-ta lalē'x țumtc'a'haL nō' he'la
 "Don't weep! Throw thy power! Good! Wait!

loiyamka'ka' keuțc'a'haL a' na'i' leM nō
 Mountain is there power!" "Yes! Run up! Good!

male'nt'xo k'e' umle'sam nō' k'a na'i'
 Remember it I at Morro!" "Good!" said "Run!

mel' kopte'eplo kewe'aca' xaipa'koa'nī pa'mtak
 ahead!" "Tired already, uncle!" "Summon strength please! Seize

⁴⁴ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. Ethnology, p. 193; present paper, p. 92.

nonack'ot	lem	t'me'ke'	ʔa'mi'to'	kīyalumle'm
will this snake!	Up!	Go!"	Then went did,	went upwards,
ko'ʔatnoxtō'	ʔa'meʔee'l'hock'at'ʔo'	ka ^a loʔo'	k'e'l'o'	
went headlong did.	Then preceded the snake did.	Was already did.	Enveloped	
hole'sam	ʔa'meʔko'nox	ʔ'u'inox	umʔika'ko'	hock'o't
the Morro.	Then arrived,	settled	on peak.	The snake
se'kelelep	le'u'	hock'o't	ye'nt'xole'u'	ʔa'meʔot'oinop
enveloped	then.	The snake	caught him then.	Then jumped
hock'a'n'	ʔa'mepeta'no	hoʔitomu'i'	ʔa'mepoko't'o'ʔo'	
the hawk.	Then seized	the charm.	Then killed him did;	
k'i'ca'	ʔ'a'kai'	hock'o't	he'u'wa'ʔikasmeko'i	
four pieces	the snake.	Therefore are rattlesnakes,		
ʔaeni'L	wa'ʔtika'	ʔeʔxa'pʔep	le'	tinele''
others;	therefore are.	Died	already	serpent.
hewucwa't'oxo'	hoʔikalno'	ka'xwen	ne'wo't	
Therefore poison	the flesh.	many	got they	
co'watot	ʔa'miyax	helk'a'	ne'uto'n	co'wato
poison.	Then came	coyote,	got also	poison.
ʔa'miʔika	hosku'ntui'	smiko'i	umla'mka	he'k'a'
Then are	the little	rattlesnakes	at shore	Said
hock'o't	ku'xo'yo-tap'	kīyax	ce'tep	ʔalk'e'
the snake,	"Live	always.	Die	I
le'u'	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 BEAR⁴⁵

ke'kaṭo	hoṭaa'pī	ho.e'xo'	hoskamaxa'n'
Was then	the deer,	the his mother	the elf.
ṭa'mexwen	hoṭ'axai'	umtante'a'ut'mike	he'e' k'e'
Then came	the bear.	"Wilt permit hunt thy lice?"	"Yes." "I
etc'a'u'	nq	te'a'wo	k'e'
hunt;	now	hunt them	I." "Why
ke'ra'	ke'rcax	wa'kaṭ'ṭ'a'L	no'
"No,	not I eat	toads!"	"Good!
etc'a'u'	t' mi'ke'	a'mp'icxoṭu'	umla'k'aiyo
Catch	thy lice!"	Then bit her did	in her neck.
ṭ'e'peno	ṭa'meṭik'a'toṭo'	hoskam ^a ha'n'	a'meṭica-
her belly.	Then was there	the elf.	Then went
hoṭ'axai''	p'i'exo'	ta'meṭi'thoskam'a'n	ce'ta
the bear,	ate her.	Then said the elf,	"Scabby
sko'nt'o'yi'	coke'nt'o'	ṭ'u'moi-ne'	ṭits'e'p
little	his eyes	stubby	tail!"
ṭok'ape-ca'wi	mopk'e'ṭ'o'	a'meya-kike-ṭu	kikeumke'unene''
Within the hollow stone	grew did.	Then went did,	went to where grandmother,

⁴⁵ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916. Cf. E. W. Gifford, "Miwok Myths," this series, XII, 286, 333.

osaya'pa' mop'ke'to' umke'unene' a'mek'ate'k
the rainbow. Grew did, there where grandmother. Then fight

ho'te'lxo' ta'mete't honene' ko'milyo-ta
the thunder. Then said the grandmother, "Do not select him now!

xa'i pena'ika kera'' ku'penaiyako ha' mono''
Bad! Wound thee!" "No! Not wound me! "Yes! Thou now!

kumt'me'na-iko kécxoneka' tipucxa'i ta'me-ta
Not thy wounding? Art weak only." "At dawn then test

ho't'ilxo' p'ama'sko k'e'' tepucxa'i ta'miyax
the thunder. Call him I!" At dawn then came

t'e'lxo' oko'penaiyaxto' cuka'iyelak kasko'penaiyak
thunder. "Not wounded me did; kicked me but not wounded me."

ka'ceL tamhe'u to'mel' wela'k' kera' k'e-lap'k'e''
Tested then to end of world. "No, wrap I

tusie't' te'ka'ten' sie't' nene'' ma'xtop'ai'
in feather, red feather, grandmother." "Put ashes

umti'kau' misxa'teL okepenaiyak ole'exai' no'
on body! Urinate!" "Not wound me the rain!" "Good!

ma'menip ki'le'exai a'metamenep ka'menept'o'
Come out!" Went rain. Then came out, came out did.

kace'L t'i't'o' a'mekept'a a'mecitipto' kept'a'
Tried to do. Then was cold, then died did. Was cold.

tametetoanqu' ko'milio-ta nak'oleiyip ta'metan'to'
Then said the his grandmother, "Don't concern thyself these things!" Then
arose did,

te'miyi' k'i't'o' te'a'wo' le' pokot'xo e'xo' iya'mo'
then went, went did. Sought him previously killed her his mother. Saw them

hakisme'teno' tamepokot'xo ho-sku'nt'ui' ho'axa'iyak'ten'
two his children. Then killed them the little ones, the bears,

papa'to' pani'k'o' ta'ntica ho'axai' xa'pko'
roasted them, gave him. Then wandered the bear, dug,

k'o-te'e'L táminap'le'' a'mexwen mi'caxna nata'pata
cacomites. Then cooked then. Then came. "Eat this, this which roasted."

a'mepicxo'to' ta'metitowetecele'' té'k'a' pi'cxo'
Then ate did. Then said the bunting, "Who is eats him

pa'so' talt'ma'' kera'' na'te'ko'iyi' kicksa'na
his son?" "What thy remark? No, this root resembles

ticxi'po' nap'a's le'ut'ie ta'mete't ake''
his foot the son." When went then said, "Where

tikia't'onosme'ten nap'no'na kote'e'L ts'axwen'
then went did the children? Cooked these cacomites! Dried

no'na	‡ametet	howe-tcele''	kik'e'	pema't'ko
this!''	Then said	the bunting,	''Go I,	follow him
k'e'	poko't'xoke''	‡ia'pautec	keramas	kea'pa-u
I,	kill him I	if overtake him!	No more,	not I overtake him.
kerako't'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 PEOPLE⁴⁶

le-lo''	hoṭi'poṭa'' a'L	hokóṭ'í'enoma-ic	umk'we'L		
Long ago	the people	the not believed	in world.		
kicno'ma-ic	hoṭ'ixai''	pi'exo-t	hotana't	kí'sili'p	
Believed	the bear.	Ate they	the seed.	All	
k'ona.'ka	t'mi'exot	le-lo''	hoṭ'ipoṭaha.'L	kicxo'tene	
root	ate they	long ago	the people.	Were poor	
hoṭ'ipotaha.'L	le-lo''	ts'ka'te-laxka''	kera'	pante'lo-t	
the people	long ago.	Naked,	no	pantaloons.	
pi'exot	kas	ṭepaste'n'	pe'exo-t	kas	ṭaa'p'
Ate they	only	root,	ate they	only	deer
tmi'exo't	kí'sili'p'	hawa'ṭ'axoyo-tela'p'	homaṭ'e'lak		
to eat.	All	therefore lived they	the animals		
ṭuwela.'k'	koxo'yo-tela'pt'o'	ṭ'o-sa'xten'	kicxa'u'		
in this land;	they lived did	the birds.	They ate		
mu'i'	hoṭ'ipo'ṭ'	ṭax	map'	ke'tai	lime'n
antelope,	the Indian,	and rabbit.	They made	blanket	
huṭik'e'so't	ṭacne'L	me'tamṭ'ele'	pet'ene.'k'o'		
the to protect.	Some	when hunted they	shot him		
hop'a'e	a'mepe'exoṭo	ṭop'a'e	ṭa'mepetakṭ'ona'sil		
the elk.	Then ate him did	the elk.	Then made did the acorn mush.		
ṭa'mepetak	ṭo-ni'su'	ṭ'o-k'a'mta'	te'e'lo'to'		
Then made	did the skirt	of the tule,	wrapped him did		
hopa'so'	pa'xo'	ṭotc'aname''	te'a'mo'	hopa'so'	
the her child,	put him	in the cradle,	wrapped him	the her child.	
ṭa'miyi	kí'to'	ma'a'u'	hopa'so'	'umtite'o'm'	
Then went,	went did,	carried him,	the her child	on back;	
ma'a'wu	hop'e'talo'	ua'wel	ne'u'	hé.Lka''	
carried him	the carrying basket.	Went	bring	wild seeds,	
ne'u'	hopa'sil	no'iyot'on'	k'a'p'	p'a'pex	
brought	the <i>chia</i> ,	gathered again	acorn,	china oak.	
a'miyax	mṭ'a'M	po-L	xwe'nṭo'	la'mṭo'	kera'
Then came	to house,	roasted,	arrived did,	ate did.	Not
kuyumts'e'na'i	hu-ma'ṭ'aLta	pa'xa-iyot	na'i'		
not knew	the whites;	afraid they,	ran		
humṭ'opo'iyela'	ci'ttip	ṭ'a.cne'L	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

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 ECLIPSE⁴⁷

kekake'msa'i's	lelo''	ce'tipona''	emak'a'i	
Was I in San Luis	formerly.	Dead the sun,	dark,	
ts'ne'teL	me'ten'	poxna''	ʔa-meti'e'o'p	hona''
cold.	When again	rose sun	then beheld	the sun.
exa'lhoʔipo''ʔ'	ʔa'me.alsa'lotipoʔa'ha:L		ka'ki'nyi'	
Frightened the people.	Then prayed the people,		thought	
ʔiyino''	umk'waL	p°exai'to'u	ʔamets'e'tenhoʔipuʔa'L	
that finish	world. Dawned then.		Then content again the people,	
na'lyeton'	to'ixʔo'	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 TORNADO⁴⁸

ya'mo	ke	hots'a-ka'i'	ts'a'kai	k'e'weL
Saw	I	the wind.	Wind	north,
ts'a'kai	p'a'nol'	ki'k'ate-tep'	hots'akaí	p'a'nol
wind	south,	they contended	the wind	south.
ta'mecxa'lo-t'	exa'lok'e	na'ik'e	tum'peti'oocko't'	
Then frightened,	frightened I,	ran I.	Then fell the snake	
ʔ'ca'	me-p°exai	ʔa'metumts'ah'e:L	emoʔ'	ts'ah'e:L
water.	When dawned,	then fell snow,	thick	snow.
a'metom'	k'a'une'L	mépecxa-ʔo'	ʔa'melalua'p	
Then fell	hail.	When dawned did	then ceased.	
na'	ts'a'lankwaL	ʔa'miya-tek	ne'uk'e	ʔ'a'kata
Sun	clear.	Then went I,	brought I	wood.

⁴⁷ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

⁴⁸ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

ʔa'meco-n' ʔ'a'a'u'^w ʔa'melalo xo'ʔapai' ʔamiya-tek
 Then kindled fire. Then threw out the ashes. Then went I
 ʔene'' t'ca' neʔk'eʔ'ca' a'mexwe-ntek ʔene''
 to fetch water. Brought I water. Then arrived I to fetch
 ʔ'ca' ta'me-tak xolama'u'^{w1} ʔa'melamtekt'ʔ'o'
 water. Then made the food. Then ate I did;
 ʔamenal-k'e'ʔ'o' ʔa'miya-tek kike'ʔo' neʔk'eʔo'
 then filled I did. Then went I; went I did. Brought I did,
 pehete'na'p'koke ʔa'kaʔA ʔa'miyaxtekt'ʔ'o' naye'mk'e'
 chopped I wood. Then came I did, brought I
 ʔa'kaʔA 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 YEAR⁴⁹

le-lo'' k'a-no' lice' ekomólice'' kerale'exai'
 Long ago thin year, bad year, no rain.
 la'pai lice' tike'rala-mau' pe'exo-ʔ paxa'k
 Three year that no food. Ate they bones
 ma'ʔ'a-L ʔ'ot'o'iyo' ʔ'oxo'L pamo'' ʔámepetaktona'sil.
 white pounded mortar. Ate, then made acorn mush
 ʔopaʔ'a'k kerama''ʔ keraʔaa''p k'anékete'a''
 manzanita. No animals, no deer. Thin great.
 kicxa'uo seneste'L ʔoke'exo-tene' ʔiʔoʔaha'L ʔámeti'ka'
 They ate alfilerillos. Poor people. Then was
 ʔ'oi' te'ine'' poku'ʔ'xo' t'o'ix''^{yu} pa'so'
 one old woman killed him one her son,
 pi'exo' papa'to' ko'Lʔ'a'L opa'so' ta'mexwen
 ate him, roasted him. Was hungry the her son. Then came
 o'asa'k'o' ʔámepetenetó' o'ape'u' la'pai ʔit'e'ni'
 the his uncle; then shot arrows did the her brother three arrows,
 pécxo'pa'so' lale'xo' oko'xe'eʔo' pe'exo' xelk'a''
 ate him her son. Shot her, not buried did, ate her coyote.
 k'ane'' kete'a'lelo'' oʔiʔoʔaha'L okúcitlip
 Scarcity great formerly. The people not they died,

⁴⁹ Told by Maria Ocarpia, 1916.

okma-i'yal'	umla-'mka	pi'exo-t	ho-cmai'yi'k'
the that lived	on coast; ate they	the abalones,	
te'a'haliltena'	umticu''wə't	kéralama'u' ^	powa'tka
thin in their breasts.	No food,	seaweed	
t'mi'exo'			
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 EARTHQUAKE⁵⁰

leskosna'tpeteko'	kekai'yot'ewe''	yi'te'e	hola'k'
When was child	was earthquake.	Shook	the ground;
ke'xite'nop	hola'k'	umticu'wec	t'a'm ka'kiniy'
split the ground	at Cholam.	Then	we thought
t'eyimkwe'L	exa'lhoka'	lu'wale'wu	lice' t'eka'melep
that would end world.	Frightened we.	Long ago	years. To come out
hocwa'nŋo	t'ela'k'	kete'a''	yite'elak' huma't'
the fish did of ground.	Great earthquake.	The animals	
exa'lho'	hote'xa''	t'oyetewe'	t'ola'k' hoŋa'kata
frightened the water	of the quaking	of the earth.	The trees,
hop'at'ne'lat	ko'xote'p	t'ela'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.

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*, *e*, *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

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueleño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
awa'tén	a-we-te''	awa'tneL	fly
	cat'		bullhead-fish
ca'knil	cra'knil		Lewis woodpecker
ca-xwe	sa-xe	ca-xten	bird
ska'tata	eko'tato		ground-owl, gray titmouse

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ck'an	ck'an'		prairie-falcon
cka.k'	eka.k'	ska.'k'tenat	crow
ck'ot	ck'ot	sk'o'teLet	snake, worm, grub
	emaiyi'k'		gull
cukunui''	cokonoi''		abalone
cuwa't	cowa'	cuwa't ^{NE} L	horned-owl
cu.mk'o'm'	camko'o'm	cumk'o'mona'neL	skunk
	eu'n'eun'		squirrel
swan	ewa'N	ewa.ne't	small ducks
swakaka'	ewa.kek'a''		fish
e'cece	ee'cesi		lizard
	emace'		gopher
e.ts'			male squirrel
etskutchat'en			pinacate
tik'e''	i'ke	tik'eneL	tarantula-hawk
ilka't	ilka't		louse
kalep'a'n	kelep'a'n		ant
		kats'a.ne'L	Mexican bluebird
	kalau		small birds
kalwateai'	k'aluatc'a'i		blue-crested jay
ka'lak'	kalak'	kalak'ne'L	house-finch
	kaca'p		goose, crane
kacala'	kaculo'		mosquito
	kiope'ts		grasshopper
k'cu'i	kitcili'tna		Lawrence's goldfinch
klau'it			kingfisher
kol'	kol	kolane'L	band-tailed pigeon
	kocai'ye		hare
	k'aiya'k'		tarantula
kiltau'	k'elt'u''		mountain-quail
la'kana			red abalones
	La'ma		spider
la''	lap'		gray rabbit
	lape'		raven
leat'	helpa't'	leat'ten	tarantula-hawk
lme'm'	leme'o'm		duck
le'ponta			wasps, bees
le'rporti	le'rpati		teal
Lk'a'	helk'a'	elk'ane'L	Gambel's sparrow
		elk'a'lekten	coyote
loina'	t'lai		Canada goose
	lowe'eat'		small antelope
ma'kiL	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'i'		antelope
	naiyok'		clams

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
naka'k	nøte'		pocket-gopher
ac	p'ac	acte'n, astemat	young antelope elk
pela.'k.a'	pala.'kak' paṭalti pe.'lts'e		California woodpecker two-pronged buck humming bird
pete'ts pi'ukute			ruby-crowned wren lark finch
sam'	p'u'lxoi' snam santøn sapele' sektai-kna senese septal senk'oL		sucker wildcat black ant shrike one-pronged buck stinking ant unidentified fish snake
senkahl sepo selo.'i'			doe mouse swallow
sit	siata'nil set' sik sitaipin skalo'		cañon finch red-headed woodpecker animal whippoorwill
skele'le	skele.'le ska.'u sk'e.'n s'kai'ya sk'almok' slipø'pø smate.'xan	skaiyana'neL sk'almok'oten	sparrow-hawk blue crane shellfish raccoon rat
skaiya'' sk'almok'			green-winged teal quail
smo'kat sme-koi'	smo'ket smekoi' smohel smokike'	smekoiiten	bee rattlesnake female skunk mole
smokok'e' smic sai'yu sna.k soko'ko	snai sna'k soko'ko so'ha sopokan spi.k' sp'oko'' sto' sumhe	saiyane'L	cat eagle kangaroo-rat, tusa butterfly spotted faun very small ant red-tailed hawk burrowing owl fox young squirrel
sto'			bat
stamaka'la suhao'ye swe'ho			bat bat black-shining flycatcher
ta'lmui	swi.'yo swaa' ta.lwa.'x		male coyote crane worm

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
taka'la			nuthatch
ta'nukupel			Lawrence's goldfinch
tena'k	tapte'L		crane
	tepece'		woodpecker
tasik'	teci'k'	ticik'neL	male antelope
tē'u	tewe'		owl
	tik'mo''		pelican
	time'hai		pigeon
tite'k	te'te'		worm
t'ma'cax			great California vulture
t'o'i			badger
	t'o'io		seal
	t'sne		badger
ṭ'a'i			sea-otter
ṭ'ai'	ṭahi		whale
ṭa.yiL	ṭaiyeL'	tayiLtena'x	bluejay
	ṭaite'a'tak		flea
ṭa.li.ye''			crab
ṭa'muL	ṭ'a'muL	ṭa'multenax	serpent
ṭaa''	ṭaa''p	ṭaatne'L	puma
ṭapilale			deer
ṭa.xwe'ne'	ṭ'a.xwe'n'		bat
ṭaxai''	ṭ'axai''	ṭaxai'yukten	turtledove
ṭawai	ṭawo'	ṭawaiiten	bear
ṭetiyau'	ṭ'etēyau	ṭetiyauutén	turtle
ṭike'	ṭ'ike''		salmon
	ṭ'i.kolə'		kingbird
	ṭ'inele''		small frog
	ṭ'iope''		serpent
	ṭ'oiyələ''		grubs, worms
ṭooloc	ṭo.lo'c	ṭoolocna'neL	mountain lizard
ṭ'o'xo	ṭo.xo''	ṭ'o'xolanel	gray squirrel
tea	tea		wolf
tea'la	'teal		curved-bill thrush
te'am'	te'a'MI		Brewer's blackbird
te'e.l'			red-shafted woodpecker
te'ele'u'			cricket
	te'e'mteem		bluejay
teik'	te'ikteik		bat
teoana'hi	ṭaau'		fishhawk
	ts'aike''		caterpillar
	ts'e''L		mottled snake
	ts'o't'enek'		yellow-bellied woodpecker
ts'ope'n	sopne't	ts'ope'nIax	owl
wakeno'			spider
wa'kiṭ	wa'kaṭ'	wakiṭten	red-winged blackbird
		*wa'kaṭ'ṭ'a'L	frog
	wa'lwal'		bullbat
wa'te	wate'		Oregon bunting
	wau		white goose

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
witcele''	wetcele'' we-telo'' we'tok		bluejay, bunting martin woodpecker
xaii'k			mussel
xalau''			crane
xane'o			ground tit
xakele'	xapaiḷe''		lizard
atec'te	xatca'te'		yellow-billed magpie
xom	xo.''mi		roadrunner, ground cuckoo
ho'mlik'			quail
xopne'l	xo.pne'L		red-headed vulture
xute	xutea-i	xoste'n	dog

BODY PARTS

a.pela.'i	amel		finger, toe
a.''ak	o.'p'ak	axa.'k	head
aa'ex	acx	aasxaknel	liver
axwe'm		axwenlax	skin, hide
a.'u			animal's heart
ca'lo			shell of egg
ca'mteL			corpse
	cipainism		sole
	cma.'i		cheek
ck'o'il	cukaiel		lung
cuke.'neṭ	coke.'neṭ'		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.'neṭ'	e'nenat	xe'neṭ	nose
	e'ntat		ear
ecax	aca'x	ecaxneL	feathers, whiskers
etala.k		etalakneL	antlers
eṭca-i'	ei'te'ai'	eteaiila.'x	neck
ita'l	e'taL		shoulder
epa'l	i'paL	epa'ne'L	tongue
e.xiwai'		e.xiwilai	heart
exoxo'	ihoho'	exoxa'lax	brain
		exoten	
		exotenax	
	exas		body
ewa'la	ewa'l		fish scales
ets'e'u	its'e'p	ets'e'wulax	tail
icaha'l	isxa.L		urine
icxe'u	icxe.'p	icxepa'l	foot
		icxe.'e, icxe'xe'	
		icxe.ple't	
icele''	i'cilip'	isi.lewula'x	nails

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ico''	icu''		breast
ick'o''ol		icok'alet	ear
ikau''	ikau'		body
ika'n	ika'		belly
ita-la'k'			horn
ita'e			urine
	its'a'lto'		point of wing
ihalte'ya			saliva
ka'ke'lt'a			testicles of animal
kacwatni'lea	ke'exauL		eyelash, eyelid
ke'o		kelao	knuckle
ko'la'le'		ko.'latLe'	penis
k'uwoke.'t'	ko'naki't		hair
	kuma'n		belly of fish
la'k'oi'	la'k'ai		neck
lamha't			dung
	lē.'wet'		lips
lko.'ik'tén'		lokoiyini'	beard
lo'kon	lu'kana		rump
	lo'taL		palm
ma'pok	ma'puk'		thigh
mas			pubic hair
mat'	ma't'	ma't'e'lak'	meat, flesh, animal
mata'n	mata'n	matane'l	limb
me'n	me'nen	mee'n	hand
eno''ol	noL		penis
	notapka'co		dung
o'oi'			trunk, body
uca't	oca.'t	ucate'l	tears
o'na'a'i'			waist
	oṭewo'ts'o'		feather
o'xot		oxote'n	testicles
a.'kat'	pa.'kata	akat'ne'L	blood
akainai'	pakenai'		animal's womb
a'katecanai	paktaina'		thumb, big toe
p'xat'	p'xat	p'xa'teLet	excrement, intestines
	pa'telpai		third finger or toe
axa.'k'	paxa'k	axa.ktén	bone
		axa.'kLet	
	pa'mat		carrion
pena'no	pena'n		milk
pē.nik'a.i			throat
oxwe'm'	p'oxe'm'		tendon, ligament
setilkai'	ske'nluwe		first finger
	sie't'		feather
skan			stomach
aske't, swyt	skaniltai,		rib
	kane'lt'o		
askwe't, swot			heel, sole, talons
skoikne'	sxkoi''		chin, beard
	sino'kutu		animal's windpipe
	sni'pik		bones of wing

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
so'non	sa'nán		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
	tiño'k		second finger
tite'o'o'mo'	ti'te'o'm		back
	titeai		wrist
toho'l	to'hul		lung, gizzard
tolola'i			animal's windpipe
tulalna'i			bird's crest
ta-L	ta-xL		forehead
ta.t	t'aL		skin, hide, flesh
t'e'pen	t'e'pen	tepenla'x	belly
t'ka'ten		t'ka'tna.x	buttocks, anus
to'poi	t'o'p'oi	topoilax	knee
t'o'puk	t'ne'puk'	topokLe't	arm, wing
		t'eaknel	gills
tee'nya			glans penis
teokelti'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
ayexte'ya		ayextel'i'ya	seed
ca'l		ca'ltine	bud
ck'ua'			<i>quijara de pala</i>
	ck'alə'		large soap-root
	epo'k'at'		clover
	epoku'mt'a		
ca'tala			brush

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ctan'		stanane'L	leaf
	elpo'nø		blackberries
	he.Lka''		wild seeds
k'a.t'	kat	k'atsane'l	hay, grass
	k'a.'ciL		sunflower
	k'a'mta'		tule
k'a'	kap'	ka'te'L	acorn
ka'pite'			small young oaks
k'e	k'e		large pine nut
	k'è.'ciapowat		fern root
	k'eso'i'		tuna
ketipui		ketipoilax	cedar
	ko'iyi		root
k'olopopo'			melon
	k'ona.'ka		bulb, wild potato
	kote'e'L		cacomite
ku'katak			forest
makawi''	makewe'	makawili''	flower
	matai''yi		milkweed
	mo-noi''yi		toaloache
mopa'k'			laurel
mucuelit			ivy
	o.pis		wild grape
pa'sil	pa'sil		chia
	p'a'pex		post oak
at'	p'a.'t	atne'L	white oak
		*p'at'ne'lat	
pat'ax	pať'a'k	pat'axtén	manzanita
askle't	paxa'kiL		live oak
	pəca''		buckeye
	pəsxə't		willow
	petL		grass
	peyexte'to'		seedlings
	powa'tka		seaweed
	pamputen		fruit
	tenpute's		fruit
saxe't			mescal
	seneste'L		alfilerillos
	smat		brush
	smo'		acorn
	smo'kumeL		clover
	sxau'wit'		acorn
	tana't		seeds
	tana'st		wicker
tate'			grains
	tetai'		small soap-root
	teta'p'ko.L		elderberries
tepa's	tepa'so		root
	t'io'i		oak
	t'i'pi'		acorn
	t'Ma		mescal

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	t'oma's		grass
	toma'L		milkweed
	t'onawa''		grass for baskets
	toipen		gooseberries
‡aiya'c			flower of mescal
‡a'ka'at'	‡a'ka‡a	tak'ane'L	wood
‡ala''M	‡oela'm		tobacco
‡a'pin	‡amoina'co		stump of tree
tata	‡a't'o'		fruit
	‡epastéN		root
‡etaco	‡ita'cu		juice
‡o'	t'o'	‡otene'l	pine nuts
‡oki			brush
	tc'e'lak		barsalillo
tc'o'			pine
	tc'o'Lø		wood for pipe
	ts'eta'kiL		chuckberries
xa'ke			spine
xo'le			acorn
hasli't'			live oak
ha'siL			acorn

MANUFACTURED OBJECTS

ai'ye'			wooden pestle
a'eime	a'eime		paper, book
a'ne-n			pillow
taaneka	apenik		necklace
aso'L			cord, line, string
alokoni'ya		alokotini'ya	oven
	cənomo''		comb
(‡)cik'	tea-k	tea-k'eL	knife
cenii'	cik' enai'		fish-spear
clá'	cla'	cla'at	coil basket
clēmiy'a	cle.mī.'		coat
co'pa			needle
	cotolo'		feather headdress
	e'tapalepi		breech-cloth
(‡)a.m, (‡)e.m	(‡')a.M	‡ama'neL	house
		‡a.ma.tén	
		‡a.ma.tenáx	
		‡a.ma.niLáx	
		‡amanilten	
elkai'tingey'a			door
(‡)e'tak	(‡)eta'xk		awl
ek'es			blanket
et'oi'yin'	et'eyini''	et'eyitinaí'	arrow
icemet			bed
ioko'c			breech-cloth
itxau'			cane
	kanelt'ø'		storage-basket
k'ualane'l	kanelt'ø'		jewelry

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueleño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
keluktu'xne		keluktu'xtine	prison
kitpe'lel			paint
kitpekle'y'a			ligature
k'enin	k'one''		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
	peu.''		bones for game
pili	pe'LI		<i>pil</i>
unawi''	pomnawo''e		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'pe, 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
	tæca''		basket
	tæcoino'		basket-game
	tækausno''e		small pots
	tæki'wi		bed
	t'e'ltal		hunting-net
	t'enika'ntec		bridge
	t'oneple''		fire-sticks
taple'ya			money
ti'exa'			whiskey
te'penca	tipinta		rattles
tet'amnai	tet'aut'onoe''		doll
tiexlolo'			shallow grave
	t'kamatl'		handle
t'aa'k			pipe
t'a'uun, t'o'nt	t'anø		

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ʔauaʔ			bar, drill
ʔau'usi.'a'			bed
ʔeme'	ʔayu'wic		well
	ʔo-na'L	ʔemele'u	instrument
	ʔopai		seed-beater
	ʔopə's		fish-basket
ʔ'xo'l	ʔ'oxo'L		twined-basket
ʔo'wi'i	tuwipe'	ʔowiyili.'	mortar
	te'aname'ʔ		raft, boat
tcelela'o			baby-carrier
	tc'oxo'k		leggings
tcu'leye			cocoon-rattle
tcueyke'ya			<i>isley</i>
tsa'ta			trap
tse'uto			blanket
ts'wa'keti'ʔ	ts'wa-ke.tə'ʔ	ts'wa-ketili'ʔ	arrow-point
wumətamu'			hat
xak'e'i', xak'			wall
		xak'eL	bow
		xak'ten	
xa'nis	xe'nes		beads

NATURAL PHENOMENA

aiyate'ya			garden
asak'a		asak'te'nat	flint
(t)ca', tc'a'	ʔ'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'xwāl		red stone
cotalai'	c'pa'talai		limestone
(t)exo'	exo'	(t)exo-neL	earth, ground
(t)exa'	exap	(t)ea'paneL	stone, pebble, rock
euy			fire carried
icxai	esxai		morning, day
iki-n	tike'n	iki-nil	nest
ilpoi			lake
iotilak	yeʔewe	iotnela.'k'	earthquake
kaiya'ma			white clam-shells
	kapili'nsa		tide
ke'eune'L	k'a'une'L		hail
ka'we			sun, heat
keʔ'me'l'			lump, ball
keʔ'poi''			hill
	kē'yix		forest
k'ei.'kaʔ'i'		k'ei.'k'et'yi	slope
k'co.'luxne	calaknai'	k'co.'luktene	hole, cave, hollow
kutat'			buckskin
lak'	la.k'		country, land

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
leia'	lap'e''		wave, sea
le'ma	Lem		sky
	Lo'to'		clay
	loiyam		mountain
lu'a, lu'e'a		luaten, lue'tén	path, trail
macala'k	macila'k		morning star
macita'ma			shade, shadow
moce''	moce'	mucalé'	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	ema'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.ete'		garden
t'uLne			hill
ta'a'u'	ta'a'u'	ta'a'uneL	fire
ta.kai''	takai'		salt
ta.ke''	take''		road
tcayi'ya	tcapaiye'		dust
ta'te.t	tatet'		smoke
	tatsuwa'n	tatewa.'niL	stars
		tatewa.'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	ta'paif', top'ai'		ashes
tpoi, tpo-l, tso'la	t'op'o'iyá	*t'opo'iyela'	mountain
	t'o.'poiyp		Pleiades
te'ewuni''	te'anone''		light of day
te'umye'L	teo-mia'L	teumiane'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	ane'u'	grandmother
apai''	apa'i	mother
	ape.'u'	brother

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
sa.k	asa.'k'		uncle, mother's elder brother
	apa'c		father's younger sister
a'teloi, aya.oi		aya.elai	companion
aʔu'kai			lord, señor
a'xomo			foster father
epeselet		epesele'Imet	enemy
e'pex	exo', e'pex		mother
e'sxa	tomasaxo	*te'msaxten	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.iyo''		elder brother
kano'dile			trader
k'e'nea.nIL			God
	ket'ne'		white people
	keue'aca'		uncle
k'weL			people
la	lan		husband
lemikela't	lamek'nela.'t'		Coast Indians
	La'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	pa'so', p'a'so	*pa'seL	child, son
ek'	pexk	ekxe'l	father
se	seN	se.ts'e'n	wife
see'l			girls
	sepxa.'		child
setilka'i			great-great-grandchild
ska'ata''		sk'ata'ten	infant
	sk'amaxa n'		elf, dwarf
	sna'tpeteko'		little girl
sotopen			pet, guardian
ste.xa''		se.mta'N	boy
		*sme'ten	
stau'', etou.''	su'kumku	skunʔa.'m	girl, maiden
ta'iyal	tema'k		grandchild
takacau'	tekica'		twins

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
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'iekema'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	t'o'sen	younger brother
tuke'wi	tə'mai'		daughter-in-law
tutai'yucap			blacksmith
taxate'y'a			gathering of Indians
		t'ela.t'nel	brothers
te'lem	t'e.le'm'		son-in-law
t'o'wat', t'eho't	t'epo.''t'	t'u.t'a.'L	Indians, natives
		*tipota'ha-L	
		*t'epot'ha'lap'	
tinaihi, titcon		titeo'nel	enemy
t'o'xo.ke			murderer
t'aiya''	tena'iyal		grandchild
celte''	te'ene''	slee'ten	old woman
		*tei'nten	
steluwa''	teilwai'XI	steluwii''	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
atceco'			health
a'xa-ti''			music
t'ica'kai	ca-l	*t'ica'xal	dream, revelation, amulet, luck
cele'			north wind
exomek'i''			favor
e.'ke'			direction, journey
elka'p			autumn
elpa'L, LpaL			spring, (summer, har- vest)
e'nex			bead measure
e'envi'			necessity

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
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
kauc'mtop			year
ka'keL	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'L	k'e'weL		north, (west)
kitse'na			reflection
kla'mta,	kalam		sore, scar
klamte'ya			
koneteo			place
ko'nxa'	poknoyaluna'		afternoon, evening
koto'sna'		koto'stena	noise
kaṭo, coṭo			place
kwa'lwai			swelling, inflammation
k'wa'l			season
kwa'l		*k'olciyip	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'taneL	year, winter
	lo'le'		women's dance
mano			place, position
me'seamtea'			west wind
metsiliu			perforation
na''xo			quarter, cardinal point
nek			proposition
nowa.na''	nowana'p'		morning
oa'ik			ablution
p'a'nlo	p' xa'nol		south, (east)
paxaṭ'			dance
pok			sickness
	p'e'nap'e'		fiesta, celebration
p'Le'to			pieces, bits
	sawine'		dance
	sewananhai		health
skael	skwa'l		scar, cut
sokani'ya			vision
ta'kat		takelet, talakat	work, trade
ta'LxwaLnai'			work

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
taka'			gift
tauiye'			fever
tawa't			east wind
ten.a.'so			happening
tesene'o			sickness
tewia't		tewililiat	promise
	tīat'aula'		wound
tipin, tipni'ya			pain
t'ica.'kai			sleep
timni'y'a			sickness
tiṭaku			northwest
tehoni'	tihoni'		medicine
toye'm			cause
tu'o			composition, manner
tewa'eyu			first half of moon
	t'a'kai'		pieces, bits
ṭatil			cold
ṭekeko			summit
ṭinai'o			flight
ṭo.'kena'	ṭo.'kan	ṭo.'kena-teL	day
	ṭokne'		smallpox
		ṭuxtine	hells
teaka		teakoi	time
teinimakwe'			lie
teap			sickness
tce'e'y'a			mark, sign
tsip		tsipe'ti	pomp
	tsoke'		battle
	wate'		law
	pia, hia		half of cardinal point
xapa'teo			division
	xīwē'i		men's dance
	xolowes		diarrhoea
		xomu'nilit	sins
xo'tapleta'na	xotapluleta'pna		afternoon
xuiwai'		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'cik'mek			hit by shooting
a'cek	a'cel'	a'ciL	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

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
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, 'al.o.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.t'	(p)ema.t'	(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.mt'e	a'mti'	a.'mt'ele	hunt
		ame'ttine (S)	
amitci	(S)	amitcinmak	lie, tell untruth
amauc (S)	a.mo'c	amaulic	guard, preserve
		amaucelte	
		amaucelayo	
ana	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.'1			copulate
(a)pak'a	(S)		close (door)
	a'pa.t		roast, <i>tatemar</i>
(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)	(t)o'pokap	apeknelop	be well, cure
apoi'lek	(S)		gather, collect
'a'se			bear, give birth
a'si(k)	(S)		reserve, guard

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
a'se	as	a'sile	name, call
(p)asteene' '(k)			beg, prohibit
*a'su, (m)as			think
a'tanop	*(p)ata'lok'ē'		lassoo
(k)atn, (k)atipn,	ot'oinop	(k)a'tap'nehe'	rise, jump
(k)atce (S)			hurt, torment, oblige
(k)aten			rob, steal
a't'unk'a.x,			stick, fasten
atno'x			
atepnek	(S)		speak rapidly
ate'a."wi'		ate'a-uli'	meet, encounter
(m)ateakat	(S)		be outside
		atee'weltek (S)	be cast, stretched
atcixtei(n)	(S)		beg
atsintea	(S)	atsintela	anoit
*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'xte'nop		split, part
*(k)a'xk'o'			be careful
(p)axo't		axoten	hunt burrowing animals
		axotot	
		axo'nilet	
axt'elik			insert, pour, fasten
*(m)a'we.'xe,			stand firm, resist
exwe (S)			
au'we, a'wen		aewetenido (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	ei'tip	ce'tLip	die
ce'wili'		ce'wilt'e	lie down
(i)eko'	(i)eko	ckol	be, be there
	*eme.'L		beat, strike
	*co.ka'		tear, split
	co.'ke''no'	cukintile (S)	open eyes, awake

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueleno</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
co.'lukne			go through hole
co'me(n)			haul, drag, stretch, creep
co'k'a'iyik		cukai'yel (M)	kick, trample
co. ^u L	co-L		climb, chase up
co'une, cu.'ne'	co-n'	cu.na'tilt	kindle, light
(i)exa'lo'	exa'lo	sxa'lho	be afraid, frighten
E			
*(p)ece.'u			defeat, gain
e'ck'waL			cut, saw, hit
eek'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
*ekato ^t			go outside
ekona', ako'ne	(S)		add water
(k)ela'utptila.'pek	(S)	(k)elautptilila.'pek	be cut
	e.l'		go ahead
eleknox	(S)		conceive
elut'na'pek			pray
(e)ma.'t'			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)eena' (S)	(k)eno'l		sweat
eoni		onile	give medicine
epe'nxo	epe'nox		swallow, gulp
ept'a''	ept'a'	a.pt'e'la'	be cold
(e)pt'en		(ke)pt'enil	scratch, wound
epts'e'n		epts'enla'	sting, bite
ep'te'o.'p'	opte'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
etau ⁿ la			say, be said
et'eyine'	et'ene'	et'eyitine'	shoot with arrow
*(p)ete.le''			see
etxau'	etxau'	ctxautilau'	have, possess
(e)t'a.'k			tie, bind
*(p)etot'			spear
et'e.k	et'a'kox	a't'ek	stand, remain, halt
	*e.te'o'i		suck
*etco'ka'			be quiet
	(k)e'we.ts'na	(k)e'wets'its'tena'	cry, scream

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelcño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ewia'mic	(S)	ewila'mic	presume
ewiate	(S)	ewiliate	do right, not to sin
*e'heṭ'ę·ḡxa'			fly around
exoyuem	(S)	exoyuem	think
e'xwaL		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
		iamaNeLk	
iem'ó	ium		know
iemat	(S)	iematil	show
ia.'k			guard
*(k)i'au	(S)		take, extract
iau(k)	(S)		do
*ia'ute	(S)		touch, tickle
iax, iex	iax, iex	iaxteL	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'yaL	dawn, arise at dawn
icim		icitem, ostem	drink
icko'ne	(S)		be cruel
icno'mic	i'enoma·ic	icno'ma·ic (M)	believe
(ṭ)ico'p	(ṭ)i'e'o'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,		Lk'elt'ępa	return, turn around
k'et'p'a			
elk'ile'nxax'			return, turn around
ekele'ntxo,			return, turn around
ikile'nxax			
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'L(ik)	stake, implant

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
io'tsp	(S)		fornicate
ioxt	(S)		stir
ise.'na'		isi'tina	be ill, sick
isol			be compassionate
	isxa'teL		urinate
	*(k)ite.'mna		sound
*(k)itpetmak	(S)		bite, chew
itea', ite'a', etc'e.		i'teiL	halt, stop, straighten
ica, iteu			lift, rise, surpass
*(k)itca			prepare
iteo'mnox		etcumtonox	fall, fell
ite'okmai	(S)		speak proudly
ite, ic, exe'	(S)	iceL	hate
*(k)iteu'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)i'yit'il	fight, battle
i'yo-te'	yi'te'	io't'ne	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'La	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'La		k'a.Ltena'	fight, battle
(k)a'lep,		(k)alo'lop (S)	lose, forget
(k)e'lep			
(k)a'mau	(S)	(k)ameytile	be together, join
k'amle'	(S)		peep, peer, squint
k'apk	(S)	kapil	sweep, erase
*(k')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
(k')ē.'L			dry up
	k'e.'lo'(p)		tie, bind
k'epoṭ'au		k'epo.ṭ'ilau	follow, pursue

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ke.sk	k'esk		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, i	kiya.L	go
ki.e	ki.e		resemble, like
k'itipa	(S)	k'ilipa	march
k'o.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'k'ol'ce			converse, speak
k'o'nox		ko'nlox, ko'lox	arrive, reach
k'o'mate(k)		ko'maṭ'elte	buy
k'unip	(S)		desire
(k)uptun	(S)	(k)uptinil	scratch
	*(k'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)limit'	fall
li'exai	le'exai'		rain
li.xo'	lale'xo'	liya'iyax, li-t'xo	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'netso	(S)		insert, add
ma.t		ma.telau	fill oneself

<i>Antoniaño.</i>	<i>Miguelero</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ma.'a	ma'a.'u'	ma-tele'	bring, carry, raise
*me			sleep
mene' (S)	me.'n'		go to bring
	(t)me' (nak)		go to see
me.'s	mi'slip	mest	smell, scent
(a')me.'t	me.'t		try, attempt
me-t'au'			feel
*(tam) e.'tea			arise, get up
*(ke)mi'ltop	(S)		lightning
*mitac	(S)		make
mi.'tel-ak		mi.'tela-tak'	defeat, beat
mi't'ik	mi't'ik	mi't'Lik	run, flee
mic	(S)	milic	celebrate, entertain
		*(i)mo'kLop	drown
molo'x	molox	ma'ltox	jump
map	mopke.'		grow, increase
mopxi'			be obliged
mo-t'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
naL	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)neutilte	(S)	(ki)neutilte	change, move
newiox,			
(pe)noyo'xo	(S)	(pe)no'toxo	assent, agree
(ki)ni'ya			take away, rob
(e)no.'nanax	no'iy'o'	(e)nuntilentaxo	
		(S)	collect, gather
*nok'i.'e			appear
no'le	(S)	no'lele	run
(o)noie	(S)	(o)no'te	dare
		(e)notili'	trade, barter, pay
notx			push away
		*(e)no-ta.'asiL	do
(e)notcene'	(S)	(o)notcen'e'te	draw near, communicate
(e)no'xo		(i)naxtilo (S)	come
O			
* (ko)amo	(S)		move oneself
	*(t)o.ck'o'n'E		be fastened
oi	(S)	oyil	learn, determine, know

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
o'ye	(S)		remain, be left
o.ye'		ot'ne'	respond, reply
o'yote	(S)	uyio'tine	move
okot'nap		okot'napelte	dodge
	oko't'yo'		kill
ok'wa'te	(S)	ok'wa'tile	flatter, applaud
o'la'le'			be ashamed
olek, k'alok'	(S)	ole'palk	break
o'lo.li'	olole''		play flute
olt'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'neL	escape, leave
onai'ye	(S)		encircle with belt
*(p)onatakxa	(S)		send, order
*(k)o'niyi'			be afraid, ashamed
*ontcamaua'te	(S)		believe, suggest
opoi'	opa'u	op'oitenox	enter, insert, throw in
(k)o'potot'na'			boil
(e'k)o.sna'		(e'k)ostena'	whistle
	*(t)otenake'		become, make oneself
(k)otia'	(S)	(k)otilia'	be indisposed
	*otokinek		pound, hammer
o.tatle',	o't'atnox	o'taxlele'	butt, gore, dive
otaxle'			
*(k)o'teo.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'tLa, pa'xLa	dance
(p)a'lek	(S)		heat, warm
*(p)amčinik	(S)		see
(p)aso'kau			scratch
(p)ats'ok'a'u			
*(p')ca.ko'			chop
*(p)eina'x	(S)		see
(p)ele.t't'o		(p)e'lextLo	open
		(p)e'me.'l	use, select
*penLa.'k'o			hustle
(p)esk'o'na			cook
pesno'xo	pesno'xo'	pesnelo'xo	hear, listen

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
pe'sene		pe'sintLe	think
pex	*(p)eta-no		seize, grasp
*(p)exe'ko	(S)		be born, come out
*pi'	(S)		reject, separate
*(p)iematilo'xo	(S)		be (substantive)
*(p)ipta'tiko	(S)		suffer
*(p)itea-lta'naxo	(S)		bite, grind
okoleca'	(p')ocai'		dream
	pok'e'lee		lift, raise
(p)o'nek	*(p)o-L		advise, notify
pox	(S)		toast
psa'lo	pox	polox	insert, introduce
pxa-i	*p'te'lo-to		enter, go down
		pxaiyiL	decide, resolve
			fall on stomach
			pay
		S	
sa·		sa-teL	speak
(i)sa'li		sa'le.lte'	hate
saiyene	sa'nene	sa.'mox	die (many)
se		se	marry a woman
*sekoṭ'ak'			be, are (substantive, at- tributive)
se·			tie, bind
se'ni'		se'ni'	tell, say to
*sitetenop	(S)		walk
*sole'k	(S)		arrive at summit
			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
*tico·		ticto	(not) see, hear, observe
*(e)ti'cxalta			play
ti'li	(S)	tiili	dispatch, send
*ti.'tcon	*ti't'olpet		fight, contest
*ti'ixai			refuse, decline
			like, wish

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
*t'ola'so			exclaim
*t'px	(S)		gather
tom'	tum'	to'met	fall
*tom, tum	(S)		agree, assent
tu'pex	(S)	tu'lpex	seent, give good odor
T			
t'a'eo		ta'cila (S)	take notice, constrain, press
*tal	(S)		scrub, smooth
*tam	(S)	ta.m	hunt pine nuts
*(k'ot)a'mek'ulenta	(S)		lift a fallen object
	*(e)an'		arise, get up
*t'a.penya'			collect, gather
	*(t')a.te		have, be
*(p)t'a'x			pour out
te'	t'e'	tetak	tell, say to
(p)t'e'kax	t'ak'ak'o'	*te'yiteno	shout, acclaim
		(pe)t'a'kha.'k	break off, saw off, stab, shoot
(p)t'eka		(p)t'aki	kill
(p)t'etoyo	t'ot'o'iyo'		pound, pulverize
	*(e)t'etepai		shoot, throw, cast
*(t)eni.lak			be worth, valuable
*t'ia'			wish, desire
tica	(S)	tici'la	sigh
*ticmi'	(S)		discharge
*(ke)ti'enop	(S)	(ke)tietinop	gather food
*(p)t'i'yena'pak		t'iitenla'pk	cut one's head off, de- capitate
*(p)t'ika.'l			strike, beat
t'inti't	(S)		take, seize
t'iowe	(S)	t'itinowe	be happy
*t'ipaxa	(S)		remove oneself
*t'itspiptup	(S)		fall
*toku'mkó.			continue
t'o'ina.'so	t'u'inox		perch, sit above
t'o'ke.lax		t'okeltenax	revive
t'o'linox		t'poleitina'x (S)	finish, end
t'o'ne.wu			rub, scratch oneself
t'o'N'		p'tu'uniko (S)	burn
	t'o'xoN	t'o'xo.tén'	snore
*topoile	(S)	t'opoilile	kneel
t'uina'pik		t'uinila'pek (S)	saw, be torn up
t'uk'	t'uk'	t'oka'	crash, thunder, smash
(p)t'u'kotna.			bore
TC			
(i)tca'klax	(S)	(i)tca'kiltax	nail, fasten
te'a.uwe'	t.e'a.'u'	te'a.'uye'	seek, hunt
t'a.u'			

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueléño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	tc'e.'lo', tc'a.'mo'		wrap up, swaddle
tc'upk, teakomo	(S)	tca'komel	wash
*tca'wate	(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'ë.'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'		shriveled, 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		wi'tup	give however
	*umtan		permit, give
upk'i'na,	(S)		twist, twine
umk'i'na	(S)		
utneka'lik			beat, strike, thrash
utca.k			lend
*(k)ute'e'l			halt, stop
		X	
(ol)xa', (it)xa	(S)		withstand, bear
xac		ka'eiL	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

<i>Antoniano</i>	<i>Migueleno</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
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)atulluna	(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)esio'hol			salty
(k)esna'			true
(k)etca''	(k)etca'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')io'x			high (above water)
(k)ita'lina			first quarter (moon)
(k)itcka'ten	te'ka'ten'	(k)itcka'te-lax	red
(k)itetse'nxa			expert, crafty
(k)itemila	(S)	(k)itemi'lita	transparent
(k)itpilih	(S)		painted
(k)i'tcowok'a	(S)	(k)i'tcowota	rich
(k)itsto'line	(S)	(k)itsto'ltine	twisted
(k)i'wun			savory, tasty

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueloño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
k'a'ye			disobedient
k'ak'anxa	(S)		coagulated
k'atapne.'xe'			heavy (rain)
k'nap	k'nap		ripe
k'ockwe'top	(S)	koekwe'tilop	thin
k'wa.'ka		k'wa.'kelt'a	long, tall
(k)la'k'mak'			brave, valiant
lakulem			lower
le.ma'lem			upper
lama'yu	lamai		right
	la'pai		left
(k)Le'tax		(k)Le'talax	sharp
letapyele			last quarter (moon)
(ke)lu'tea	(S)	(ke)lutca'aten	dumb
(k)loi			lame, crippled
ma't'aL	ma't'a-L	(k')ma'talta	white
(k')me't'o ^u	emo't		heavy, deep (snow)
mup	(S)		large (child)
ok'elo	o'kel		left
(k)osweak	(S)		agile
	(t)ot'i'pe'x		rapid
(k)omux	(S)		elder
(ke)otea'	(S)	(ke)otce'la	benevolent, pious
(k)owa'te	(S)		difficult
(k')pat'		(k')pa't'Lax	hard
pi'nxa	(S)		good, successful (thing)
sa.x	(S)	sakehe'L	good (person)
sa'xwelyo'x			smooth-edged
	sep		right
ski.'ntui'	sku'nt'ui'		small, thin, lesser
ski'tana	sko'tan		small
	skusna		half (moon)
(e)sluteya'mo	(S)	(e)sluteya'moten	short, bent (with age)
smat	smat	smahate'L	beautiful
(k')so.'le'			sad
	spukita		upper
stiy'o.'owan		stiy'o.'wanlax	pretty, graceful
swa'nan	swa'nan		lonesome
(k)te'k'a	stikwau		young, new
	ta'kata		new (moon)
	te.'le'pMI		full
	tele'sa		lower
telwane'			strong, fierce
	timoen		lame
tinkxa		ti'nelkxa	dear, beloved
t'ise			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

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelēño</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
ṭixa'yo	(S)	ṭixa'yout	ordinary
(kom)ṭek'	(S)	(kom)ṭaka'i	(in) corrupt
(kom)ṭeko'lnox	(S)	(kom)ṭeko'ltnox	(un) penetrated
(k')ṭ'pelel		(k')ṭ'pe'le.lta	striped
	ṭukilnu		full (moon)
	ṭ'u'moi.ne'		docked
		*te'a'haliltena'	thin, famished
teamauk	(S)		haughty
te'a'pa-iyine		te'a'paiyitine'	wide
(k')te'a'p			tired
teehen(mak)		tee'henmilak	irritable, mean
e-li'to	(S)		equal
	ts'a'.lamkwaL		clear (sky)
ts'ep	ts'ep	ts'e'pax	good, well
(k')ts'e'pen'		ts'e'peyitini	small
(k')ts'eteL			cold
	ts'ka'te.laxka.ʼ		naked
(k)u'sululna'		(k)esulutina'	straight (tree)
	(k)umtica'		brown
(k)u'wate			very bad
(k)wi'le'		(k)wi'lte'	straight
	wi'lapné		right
(k)wi'teen'			smoky
		(k')wo'slop'	strong, numerous
(e)xai'	xai		brave
	xīlap'		valiant, brave
xu.mq.ʼ	ekomó	xomone'L	ferocious, bad
	xu'tia, ku'tia		sick, ill
	yu'wan		sweet

VARIOUS STEMS

DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLES

*aswai	*aswa		this, these
keca''	k'a'lau'		how many?
kipuṭa		kipu'ṭila	last
(k)ī.'sile'	(k)ī.'sili'p		all, every
mas		ṭa.cne'L	somebody, someone
mē.yo''			same
na	na, no'na		this, these
pe	he, we		the, that, that which,
			those
pa	ho		that, those
*se.'t'kam			each
tama'ya		ta'maila	next
t'ya			each
toy'o'we	(S)	teyo'o'we	alone, sole
ṭa'crake',		ṭa'ce'Lṭake	some, something
ṭa.'rake			
xai'ya'			many

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

heL	(proclitic)	soon, presently, after
il-a, ilta	(S)	soon, afterwards
i-n	(enclitic)	yet, still
ke'tka	(S)	already
kisa', kwits	(S)	always
kī.'ya.t'e'		always
kī.'yax		always will
(k)Lu.'wa'	(proclitic)	much, long
ko'kai	(S)	yet
lē-lo', lo'	(enclitic)	formerly
makā.''	(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'wa		yesterday
no-nó'.non, no'	(enclitic)	soon, some time, now
tana'	(Mig., enclitic)	now
taha', ta.	(enclitic)	now
tel.i'n	(enclitic)	while, during
ṭats', rats'a	(proclitic)	always, continually
ṭ'ikisna''		continually
ṭupa'ha		day after tomorrow
ṭume', rume'	(enclitic)	then, following
ṭ'uxwe'nto		presently, soon
teu	(S)	in the beginning

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

General

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguclēño</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
kē'u		indefinite place, there
ma'ye	*hu	there, <i>ahí</i>
nepa', nepe'	(S)	there, <i>por allá</i>
na'ye, ṭonai'	(S)	there, <i>allí, allá</i>
ra'ke'	(S)	here, <i>aquí</i>
pa		somewhere
ṭ'iyax		there, here
wa'	xa	there, <i>ahí</i>
wī		there, distant
		here, <i>aquí, acá</i>

Particular

k'e.li'exo		beneath	(icxe', foot)
kLi'he'		down	
la.'ko	lak'	down, below	

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelero</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
le-mo'	lem	over, on, above
p'au		beyond (noun, other side?)
pepoxo	(S)	beneath
sk'a-m		near, beside
t'oL		near
ṭewa.'ko		beside, near (noun side?)
ṭewai'yu		at side of (noun side?)
ṭexapi'exo		at the edge of (noun edge?)
ṭeyoxana'yū		at the surface of (noun surface?)
ṭika'ko		above, over, at top (ṭa'ak, head)
ṭiteo'mo		behind (ṭi'teom', back)
ṭo.'ke		in, within
ṭo'me-lo		at the end of, edge (noun end?)
teen		outside, out

DESCRIPTIVE ADVERBS

letano	half
kai'yik'	slowly
ka.'xwen (Mig.)	much
k'o'lop	very, much, enough
koyu'p	easily
k'sâ	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
tee'e	truly
teitso	only, solely

NUMERALS⁵¹

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Miguelero</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
t'oL	t'o'ixyu	1
ka'k'eu	xa'kie	2
kLa'pai	la'pai	3
k'i'ca'	k'i'ca'	4
o'l.ṭ'au	olṭa.'to	5
paia.'neL	paya'teL	6
te'	t'e'p	7
caa'neL	ca't'eL	8
te'teṭ'o'e	te'teṭ'o'paL	9
ṭ'o'e	ṭ'o'paL	10
ṭ'o'etaxt'oL		11
la'paikca'		12
la'paikcataxt'oL		13
woco'co		14
la'paiolṭ'au		15
k'pec		16

⁵¹ Cf. discussion on "Numerical System" in *Ethnology*, p. 134.

CONJUNCTIONS

<i>Antoniaño</i>	<i>Migueleno</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	he'u'wa't̄	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, ke'ti'		because
me'na'ko	mī'yo'k	why? ah! because
peti'yo	(S)	like, as
te're'te, tere		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	ṭa'xo	and
uska''		or

INTERJECTIONS

a'ʼimya'ʼ	go ahead!
aiʼ	all right!
ʼq̄.n, ha.n	yes!
ha.'kse	no!
ko'tisen (Mig.)	be careful!
ka, koa.'	come on!
ke'ra', ka'ra'	no!
me.'nten	now then!
mai	come!
noʼ	good!
yo'	now! he!
yaha	hurrah!

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