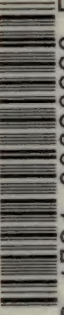


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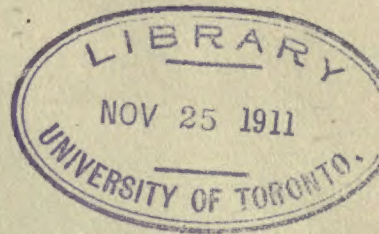
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AND

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IN

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YANA TEXTS

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

TOGETHER WITH YANA MYTHS COLLECTED BY  
ROLAND B. DIXON.

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#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following myths were obtained in 1907 as part of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California conducted by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. Numbers I-IX were obtained in December near Redding, the county seat of Shasta county, numbers X-XXII were obtained in July and August between Round Mountain and Montgomery creek in the same county (see notes 3a and 202 of text). The two sets of texts represent two not very different but clearly distinct dialects, the Northern Yana (*garí'ei*) and the Central Yana (*gat'ā'ei*), of which the former may be considered more specialized phonetically. The territory formerly occupied by these dialects may be defined as that part of Shasta county, California, that stretches south of Pit river from and including Montgomery creek, a southern affluent of that stream, west to a point on Pit river between Copper City and Woodman, then south to Woodman on Little Cow creek, along the eastern bank of that stream and Cow creek to the Sacramento river, southeast to Battle creek, east along, or some distance north of, Battle creek and North fork of Battle creek to the mountainous country southwest of the headwaters of Hat creek, and northwest back to Montgomery creek in a line that fell short of Crater

peak and Burney creek. Of this country only that small portion that lies northeast of Bullsken ridge, in other words the region of Montgomery and Cedar creeks, belonged to the Northern Yana or *gari'ci* dialect. The territory defined above formed roughly the northern half of the country occupied by the whole Yana stock. A third, now extinct and apparently rather divergent, dialect was spoken in the region bounded by the Sacramento river, a line drawn from opposite Tehama east along Mill creek to and including Lassen peak, a line running northwest to the headwaters of Battle creek, and the valley of Battle creek west to the Sacramento. These boundaries are somewhat uncertain, it remaining doubtful whether the Yanas reached the Sacramento. The Yanas were surrounded by the Achomā'wi (Pit River Indians) to the north; the Achomā'wi, Hat Creek or Atsugē'wi Indians (of Shastan stock), and Northeast Maidu ("Big Meadows Indians") to the east; the Northwest Maidu to the south; and the Wintun to the west.

Nothing has hitherto been published on the Yana language except a few notes in Dixon and Kroeber's "Native Languages of California";<sup>1</sup> the authors place Yana in a morphological class by itself, it showing little or no grammatical resemblance to the Central Californian type of languages (such as Maidu or Wintun). Yana mythology has fared better. Pages 281-484 of Jeremiah Curtin's "Creation Myths of Primitive America" (Boston, 1903) consist of thirteen Yana myths, some of which are closely parallel forms of myths published in this volume. Unfortunately Curtin fails to give the names either of his informants or of the places at which the myths were procured; it would have been desirable to have definite information on this point, as the Yana myths undoubtedly appeared in several distinct forms (cf., *e.g.*, Curtin's "Theft of Fire" with Sam Bat'wī's version below). Information secured from my informants, Sam Bat'wī and Betty Brown, indicates that Curtin's material was derived partly at Round Mountain from the now dead chief Round Mountain Jack (Bui'yas'i), partly near Redding from an old Indian, since deceased, known as "The Governor," for whom

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<sup>1</sup> Amer. Anthropologist, N. S., V, 7, 12, 15.

Sam Bat'wī acted as interpreter. Notes on Yana myths obtained by Dr. Dixon are to be found in his "Northern Maidu."<sup>2</sup> The published Yana mythologic material is briefly summarized and discussed by Dr. Kroeber in "Myths of South Central California."<sup>3</sup>

Thanks are due Mrs. Curtin and Little, Brown and Company for permission to reprint in this volume Curtin's myth of "The Theft of Fire," an Indian translation of which was secured from Betty Brown. Thanks are also due to Dr. R. B. Dixon for kindly consenting to have his manuscript Yana material incorporated with my own; this material was collected for the American Museum of Natural History in the late fall and early winter of 1900, partly from Sam Bat'wī and partly from Round Mountain Jack.

#### KEY TO CHARACTERS USED.

##### Vowels:

- a short as in Ger. Mann.
- ā long as in Ger. Bahn.
- e short and open as in Eng. met.
- ê long and open as in Fr. fête, approximately as in Eng. there, but without final "r vanish."
- i short and open as in Eng. it.
- ī close as in Eng. eat. Not necessarily long unless accented.
- o short and open as in Ger. dort.
- ô long and open as in Eng. saw.
- u short and open as in Eng. put.
- ū close as in Eng. spoon. Generally long.
- ë close as in Fr. été, and õ close as in Fr. chapeau, are not true Yana sounds and of very doubtful occurrence.
- ā as in Eng. hat. Of rare occurrence.
- ü approximately like short and open Ger. ü in Mütze. Rarely occurs as variant of yu.

Superior vowels (a, i, u, rarely ° and °) are whispered and accompanied by aspiration of preceding consonant. Less frequently syllables consisting of voiced consonant and vowel are written superior to indicate whispering, e.g., <sup>ʷ</sup>a, <sup>ʷ</sup>i.

##### Diphthongs:

- ai as in Eng. night. Apt to split up into a-i.
- au as in Eng. house. Apt to split up into a-u.
- oi (of rare occurrence), ui, and uī, are o+i, u+i, and u+i.

<sup>2</sup> Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 339, 340, 342.

<sup>3</sup> Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 148-9.

*Consonants:*

- b, d, dj, g with considerably less sonancy than corresponding Eng. consonants (dj = Eng. j in judge); best considered as intermediate between surds and sonants.
- p, t, te (or ts.), k unaspirated surds (te = Eng. ch in church). These are of secondary origin.
- p', t', te' (or ts.'), k' distinctly aspirated surds.
- p!, t!, te! (or ts.!), k! "fortis" in articulation. Pronounced with sudden release of tongue and accompanying stricture of glottis. Distinct from, though similar to, p<sup>e</sup>, t<sup>e</sup>, —, k<sup>e</sup>.
- w as in Eng. wine.
- w unvoiced w, approximately as in Eng. what. Occurs only as syllabic final.
- c, s as in Eng. ship and sip respectively. These are variants of s. acoustically midway between them and which also occurs as second member of affricative ts.
- t<sup>h</sup> t with slight s-affection following. Sometimes heard as variant of t' before dj.
- j as in Eng. azure or, better, acoustically midway between z and j (in Fr. jour). It practically never occurs except as second member of affricative dj.
- l, m, n as in English.
- l, m, n unvoiced l, m, and n. These occur generally before <sup>e</sup> (glottal stop).
- r pronounced with tip of tongue and rather weakly trilled, so as frequently to sound like sonant d.
- r unvoiced r with fairly strong aspiration. It goes back etymologically to r (sonant d).
- r<sup>e</sup>, r' differing from ordinary t<sup>e</sup>, t' by peculiar voiceless-r quality of dental surd (r' seems often to be acoustic variant of r). They are related to ordinary dental surds as r (sonant d) is to ordinary d.
- h, x as in Ger. Hand and Dach, except that x is considerably weaker than Ger. guttural spirant ch. They are variants of one sound.
- y as in Eng. yes.
- x' as in Ger. ich. Rarely heard as variant of whispered y.
- <sup>e</sup> glottal stop, produced by complete stricture of glottis.
- ' aspiration of preceding consonant or vowel. Before initial vowels it denotes very weak aspiration ('i-, e.g., is apt to be heard now as i-, now as hi-).
- ˆ very weak w-attack of initial u, ū, o, or ô. One often doubts whether he hears, e.g., 'ô- or ˆô-.
- ˚ indicates nasalization of preceding vowel. Found only in interjections.
- ˘ stressed vowel.
- ˙ secondarily stressed vowel.
- + denotes prolongation of preceding consonant or vowel.
- sometimes placed between vowels to show that they are to be separately pronounced.
- ( ) enclose words not in Indian text.

NOTE.—Doubled -ll-, -nn-, -mm- should be pronounced as l+l, n+n, m+m; they are in no case equivalent to -l-, -n-, -m-. Distinguish carefully also between -td- and -t'd-, and correspondingly for other stops. Final consonants should be pronounced with vowel of following word; e.g., p'ad a'idja is to be syllabified p'a-da'i-dja.

I. CENTRAL DIALECT (*Gat'ā'ei*).<sup>3a</sup>

## I. FLINT BOY.

- maus*i* dé'te'it'ayauna dji mō'maiyauna  
I shall be | commencing | the (my) | myth.
- 2 yā'nēt' aite ha'ga djô'djanu' daklit'ewa'umuts'inēt' aits'  
They lived | the | Flint (people) | at Djô'djanu'. | They quarreled with them | the  
ha'ga gi t'e'nēna 'o'ēbalēt'ê māt'ladjuwa<sup>3b</sup> haga-  
Flint (people) | to | Grizzly-bear (people). | They caused to go up | sweat-house |  
Flint people living together.
- 4 ya'mte*i*wi ba'irum'djanēt' aits' ha'ga k'ū'duēani  
They used to go to hunt deer | the | Flint (people). | not come back home  
da'umuēi<sup>3c</sup> w'u'mnēt' aite t'e'nēna gi ha'ga o'mēdjiē  
be four. | They lay in wait for them | the | Grizzly-bears | to | Flint (people). | kill  
them
- 6 aits' t'e'nēna gi ha'ga 'a'np!annainēt' aits' haga'-  
the | Grizzly-bears | to | Flint (people). | They were very many | the | Flint people  
living together,  
yamte*i*wi mits'!māt'ladjuwainēt'i dīmā'nēaik'u k'ū'duēani'  
they had sweat-house. | Suddenly they | not come back home,

<sup>3a</sup> The nine *gat'ā'ei* myths here given were obtained in December, 1907, just north of and across the Sacramento river from Redding, Shasta County. The informant was Sam Bat'wi, one of the four or five Indians still left that have a speaking knowledge of this dialect and probably the only one that is at all acquainted with the mythology. His original dialect was the now extinct Southern Yana, spoken south of Battle creek, but having early in life moved north to the Cow creek country in the neighborhood of the present hamlet of Millville, he learned to use the Central or *gat'ā'ei* dialect (called *gat'ā'ēa* by the Northern Yana of Montgomery creek and Round Mountain) and seems now unable to make fluent use of his former dialect.

The Central and Northern Yana texts not only supplement each other in regard to dialect, but also serve to illustrate the differences between the men's and women's forms of the language (except that of course in conversational passages the use of sex forms depends upon the circumstances of the case—women under all circumstances and men in speaking to women use the female, men in speaking to men use the male forms). However, Sam had a tendency to slip into the use of female forms, probably owing to the fact that he had been for a long time accustomed to use his language chiefly in talking to his wife, who had died but a short time before these texts were dictated. When his attention was called to these lapses, he admitted the charge, and jocosely explained them as due to a too frequent dreaming and thinking about women.

<sup>3b</sup> *māt'ladjuwa* and *t'gunna* are *gat'ā'ei*, *wa't'guruwa* is *gari'ei* for sweat-house.

<sup>3c</sup> = *da'umi'ei*.

- o'm'djiba<sup>e</sup> aits t'e'n<sup>e</sup>na gi ha'ga dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigunet'  
kill them all | the | Grizzly-bears | to | Flint (people). | Then was
- ba'itxigu<sup>e</sup>i<sup>4</sup> djuk!unā'n<sup>e</sup>t' aigi ɛ'gunna k!unā'mari<sup>e</sup>ma- 2  
come back home just one. | She was sitting | in the | sweat-house | being-old-woman  
person
- mauyā<sup>h</sup> giwūlu<sup>h</sup> djuwa/lk!aimari<sup>e</sup>mi<sup>h</sup> datset'iwik'isa<sup>h</sup>  
inside, | Rock Woman | children, it is said, hers
- aigits<sup>h</sup> hagaya'mte!iwi k'ū'txi<sup>e</sup> 4 ai bai<sup>e</sup> bima'n<sup>e</sup>t' 4  
to the | Flint people living together. | Not come back home | they | deer having been  
hunted. | It was indeed
- ame'djī'bas-iwa<sup>e</sup>a o'm'djiba<sup>e</sup> aits t'e'n<sup>e</sup>na  
they are all killed, | kill them all | the | Grizzly-bears.
- aits k!unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mimauyā<sup>h</sup> mī<sup>e</sup>ndin<sup>e</sup>t'i hehe<sup>e</sup> bīri'ga- 6  
The | being-old-woman person | she now wept. | "Hehe<sup>e</sup>! Where pray might they be
- dak!<sup>u</sup>e t'ū'bamiri<sup>e</sup> mī<sup>e</sup> dairi k!unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi 'ōwa'it'-  
all do thereto!" | weep | that | old woman, | wait for them to come back home.
- k'ie<sup>h</sup> o'm'djiba<sup>e</sup>a t'e'n<sup>e</sup>na gi ha'ga mīya'u<sup>e</sup>andi<sup>h</sup> ai 8  
Kill all of them | Grizzly-bears | to | Flint (people). | Now weeping | she
- k!unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi djuk!unā<sup>e</sup>aigunet' ba'igumauna amedjī'-  
old woman | she stayed home by herself | being one | all of hers having been killed
- bayauk'iwa<sup>e</sup>a<sup>h</sup> da't<sup>e</sup>t'iwī<sup>h</sup> djo'du'n<sup>e</sup>t'ê dit<sup>e</sup>t'êlu djaga'n- 10  
children. | She had hanging | quivers; | many were hanging close together
- djamtelinet'i dji dī't<sup>e</sup>t'êlu sawa<sup>h</sup> man<sup>e</sup>ni<sup>h</sup> ga'lā'yaun-  
the | quivers, | arrows, | bows. | Now crying
- andi<sup>h</sup> k!unā'madi<sup>e</sup>mip!an<sup>e</sup>ha<sup>h</sup> ba'it!unaigunet'i ba'igumauna 12  
old woman of long ago | she was one all alone | being one
- haga<sup>h</sup>  
Flint (person).
- as<sup>7</sup> k'usit<sup>e</sup>ô dīla'u<sup>e</sup> t'ī'n<sup>e</sup>t'i<sup>h</sup> gaduni'ndiyauna<sup>h</sup> ma'n<sup>e</sup>ni 14  
| "I shall not | die," | he said, | leaving word behind. | Bow
- gaibu'te!bama'n<sup>e</sup>ni djôbi'let'ê aigite il<sup>e</sup>ô'p' aigidja<sup>h</sup>  
coarse-sinewed bow | he hung up | at the | up on south side | there,
- ga'lā'yauna k' 'ê'm'djayauna djuk!unā'yauna aigi iwūlu<sup>h</sup> 16  
she crying | her | going on weeping | sitting | at the | inside
- mā't!adjuwa<sup>h</sup> date'wu'l<sup>e</sup> aits t'e'n<sup>e</sup>na gi ɛ'gunna  
sweat-house. | Look into house | the | Grizzly-bears | at | sweat-house.

<sup>4</sup> -txi- was, perhaps incorrectly, heard for t'uk'î.

<sup>5</sup> = gi iwūlu<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In Southern Yana, now extinct, these two words would be: b<sup>2</sup>'rik!u<sup>e</sup> t'ô'bamiri<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> It is rather doubtful if this word, meaning "if (it is)," properly belongs here.

- yum<sup>e</sup>ma'ldisindj te!a'ha iwa'llarp<sup>e</sup> asindj dila'u<sup>e</sup>  
 "I spit down on ground | spittle | on south side on ground. | If I | die
- 2 mīni'np'aumagat' t'u<sup>e</sup>a'inā badūt!apsit!ô djī te!a'x  
 pray look at it, | grandmother! | I shall come to life again | the (my) | spittle.
- mini'np'aumagat'<sup>e</sup> mini'np'aumagat'<sup>e</sup> i't'au basi'k'i t'ū'-  
 Pray look at it! | Pray look at it!" | In middle | when it was night | she did so
- 4 <sup>e</sup>andin<sup>t</sup>' mini'nuwau<sup>e</sup> k'ū'n<sup>e</sup>t' aite is'i'wi gi' <sup>e</sup>'gun'  
 to look at it. | Not were | the | men | at | sweat-house
- mabaya'uwa mō'bayaun aits t'e'n<sup>e</sup>na ā'te!al<sup>e</sup> aits'  
 all having been eaten up, | eating them all up | the | Grizzly-bears. | Put pitch on  
 herself | the
- 6 k'unā'madi<sup>e</sup>mi' te!al<sup>e</sup>a' dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigun<sup>e</sup>t' ayā'p!a<sup>e</sup>a te!aha'  
 old woman | pitch. | Suddenly it was | bawl out | spittle,
- badūt!amn<sup>e</sup>t'i' ba'imauyā' i't'a'u basi'k'i biri'm<sup>e</sup>ah  
 it came to life again | being-one person | in middle | when it was night. | "Where  
 is it?"
- 8 t'in<sup>e</sup>t'i' am'bih aits dā't'i' Unā' unā' t'in<sup>e</sup>t'i'  
 she said, | "who is | the | child?" | "Unā'! Unā'!" | it said.
- bīma'n<sup>e</sup>t' bê badūt!apeandi<sup>e</sup> ai te!aha<sup>e</sup>a' wā'k!balet'  
 It was indeed | be he who | already come to life again | it | spittle. | She arose
- 10 ai k'unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi du'mmanabal<sup>e</sup>t'i gi dā't'i' <sup>e</sup>'mul-  
 she | old woman. | She took him up in her arms | to | boy, | she wrapped him up
- damtelin<sup>e</sup>t' ai gā'ninna' p'ô'djan<sup>e</sup>t'ê ai k!u<sup>e</sup>nā'mari-  
 it | blanket. | She washed him | she | being-old-woman person
- 12 <sup>e</sup>mimauyā' du'mmanadibilyau<sup>e</sup>andi basi'k'iea' p'ô'djan-  
 now carrying him about in her arms | when it was night, | now washing him
- <sup>e</sup>aiyauwandi' basi'k'iea' t'ū<sup>e</sup>a'ināa' wats!xayā'gu<sup>e</sup> t'et<sup>e</sup>  
 when it was night. | "Grandmother!" | "Keep quiet! | grizzly-bears
- 14 a'its' irā'mi.  
 the | outside.
- 'i'bileandin<sup>e</sup>t'i' hane'a'ibak'iea badūt!apeha' bawa'ldin<sup>e</sup>t'  
 He was now crawling around | when it was daylight | he who had come back to  
 life. | It was overheard
- 16 aits' t!u'ina il<sup>e</sup>ôrp'a dut<sup>e</sup>yā'<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>e</sup>t'i' djuduna'umāt<sup>e</sup>t'  
 the | sun | up on south, | he was already grown up. | "Give me!"
- t'i'n<sup>e</sup>t'i' djuduna'umaāt<sup>e</sup>t' gi ma'n<sup>e</sup>ni' dut<sup>e</sup>yā'yau<sup>e</sup>andi'  
 he said, | "give me | to | bow!" | being already grown up.
- 18 mini'nlap'an<sup>e</sup>t'i' gi ma'n<sup>e</sup>ni mininuwa'uyau gi man<sup>e</sup>ni'  
 He looked on south side | at | bow | looking at it | at | bow.
- t'ū<sup>e</sup>ai<sup>e</sup>' mausi ya'bidja'iruyau gi irā'm' t'ū<sup>e</sup>a'ināa'  
 "Grandmother! | I shall be | going out to play | at | outside, | grandmother!"



k'ū's t'ī'net' gayā'wauyau aigite ha'gap!a bate!un<sup>e</sup>  
 "It is not!" | she said | speaking to him | to the | Flint-boy, | "danger

aite irā'm<sup>i</sup> atc'ī'mat' t'ū'ainā' bē'nik' ma'baya<sup>ei</sup> 2  
 the | outside." | "What is it, | grandmother!" | "That is how we were | be all eaten  
 up,"

t'ī'net'ī' gayā'wauyaun aigi wa<sup>a</sup>'nais:i mē'indam<sup>ei</sup>  
 she said | speaking to him | to the | young man. | Not let him go outside:

k'ūya'ugu 'ī'ram<sup>e</sup> bate!un<sup>e</sup> a'idji ē'rām<sup>i</sup> atc'ī'mat'<sup>i</sup> 4  
 "Do not | go outside! | danger | that | outside." | "What is it,

t'ū'ainā' dé'wais:enu ak'us'ī'nu dé'wai<sup>e</sup> k'ū'yau aite  
 grandmother!" | "You see, | do you not | see | not being | the

yā aigite mā't!adjuw aigite k'us'indj wa<sup>eyū</sup>'e t'ū'ainā' 6  
 people | in the | sweat-house | here." | "I am not | be afraid, | grandmother."

dinwa'unet' aigite maneni' 'ī'damiyau t'ī'net'ī' ambi-  
 He put out his hand for it | to the | bow. | "I'll go outside," | he said. | "Whose is it

ma'ndimah aite t'ī'net'ī' yō'gaip!anet'ī' djō'ri<sup>e</sup>wadju<sup>a</sup> 8  
 this here?" | he said, | he asked. | Take it down hanging from the south side

dī't'illa maneni' t'ō'sā'gunet'ē<sup>s</sup> бага'ngumauna ga'ibute!  
 quiver, | bow | it was so in length | being short | coarse-sinewed bow

p'ama'neni da'mts:amaun aits maneni' mausi djīdjā- 10  
 being ugly | the | bow. | "I shall be | shooting

yau gi sa'w djūbi'layau k'ū'sindj mau nī'yus'ayau  
 at | arrows | shooting around in play. | I am not | about to me | going far off."

wō' wō' wō' t'ī'net'ī' 'āwō'net'ē 'aigidje' 12  
 "Yes, | yes, | yes," | she said. | She believed him | to that.

'e<sup>eyū</sup>'ndamet'ī' gi maneni' 'ē'banet'ī' 'e'g'ānet'k'ī man-  
 He pulled it out (from quiver) | to | bow. | He stretched it, | he broke his | bow.

eni' 'ē+ t'ī'net'ī' k'ūma'ubar 'ī's 'e'ga'net'k'ī ma'neni 14  
 "Hē!" | he said, | "he was not being | man." | He broke his | bow.

djē'djaramet'ī 'ē'bat'imainet' t!ui'manenit'imaina 'ē'banet'<sup>i</sup>  
 He took out (another bow), | he stretched another | another bow. | He stretched it,

'e'ga'nt'imainet' t'ū'yau<sup>ant</sup> no'ga'nyau gi maneni' 16  
 he broke it also, | now doing so | breaking them | to | bows.

k'ūwar 'ī'siw no'ga'nbayauk'indj aik' ma'ne<sup>ni</sup> di'n-  
 "Not they were | men, | I having broken all their | their | bows." | Now he put his  
 hand out for it

wau<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>e</sup>t' aigi gaibu'te:p'ama'neni 'ē'bak!amet'ī' la'u- 18  
 to the | coarse-sinewed bow. | He pulled it to himself, | it was strong.

net'ī' 'ē'bak!amt'imainet'ī' la'unet'ī' k'ū'net'ī' ī'ga'np!a-  
 Again he pulled it to himself, | it was strong. | It was not | break

<sup>s</sup> Accompanied by gesture indicating length of bow.

- ɛa` la'uyauna dja'let'i` t'ū'ɛainā k'unikɛgām' la'uɛ  
 being strong. | He laughed. | "Grandmother! | Truly it is | be strong."
- 2 dja'let'i` 'ê'bat'imainɛt' buibawa'ldinɛt'k' aik' la'lla gi  
 He laughed. | He pulled it again, | he put his feet down on it and pulled at it | his |  
 feet | to  
 ma'nɛni` mow e'ga'nyau<sup>o</sup> gi manɛni` mô'djawaldinɛt'ê  
 bow | about to be | breaking | to | bow. | He put it down on rock
- 4 gaibu'te!bamanɛni la'us t'ū'ɛainā` k'lunɛā'mariɛmi 'ê'm`-  
 coarse-sinewed bow. | "It is strong, | grandmother!" | old woman | keeping on weep-  
 ing,  
 djayau galɛā'yauna uwar aits' 'i's' 'ê' 'ê' atɛ'i`-  
 crying. | "He was | this one | man. | Hêhê! | Wherefore was his
- 6 mat'k' dila'umais' t'ū'ɛainā' k'u'sindj mau e'ga'nyau  
 dying! | Grandmother! | I am not | about to be | breaking it."  
 mô'djaɛdjairinɛt'ê gi k'a'ina aigi ma'nɛni` bô'djabalɛ-  
 He put on top of it | to | rock | to the | bow. | He lifted up
- 8 t'i badja'lmau k'aina maunɛt' bo'ga'nwaldiyauna gi  
 being big | rock, | he was about to be | breaking it by throwing down | to  
 k'a'ina gi manɛni` bu'ndip'adadubalɛt' ai ma'nɛni  
 rock | to | bow. | It bounced up | it | bow
- 10 ga'ibute!p'a'manɛniha` t'ū'ɛainā mausi 'i'damiyau mausi  
 former coarse-sinewed bow. | "Grandmother! | I shall be | going outside, | I shall be  
 bô'bilɛyau gi irā'm' mausiɛ 'u'ldjayau ɛaite ma'nɛni  
 going around shooting small game | at | outside. | I shall be | taking it along | the |  
 bow,
- 12 t'ū'ɛainā k'u'sit!lôɛ nī'yus'ɛɛ wô' k'ūya'ugumagat'ɛ nisā'-  
 grandmother! | I shall not | go far off. | "Yes! | Pray do not | start to go far away!  
 ruɛ bate!u'nɛ aite irā'm' wamda'mgus'u'waɛnu gi  
 Danger | the | outside. | You are just waited for outside | by
- 14 t'e'tɛ ba'igumauɛandinɛt'i` wô' t'ū'ɛainā bu'lmaɛātɛ'  
 grizzly-bears. | Now he was being one. | "Yes, | grandmother! | Give three to me  
 s'a<sup>u</sup>w mini'nt'djaɛ djū'w<sup>a</sup>  
 arrows. | Look up to smoke-hole of sweat-house | (at) jack-rabbit!"
- 16 'i'ramɛbanɛt'i` djidjā'ɛandinɛt' bopɛdjabi'lsawaɛandinɛt'  
 He went outside altogether. | Now he shot, | now he went about shooting off arrows  
 gi djuwa` t'ū'ɛainā' atɛ'i'gadak!<sup>u</sup> datɛ'wu'ls' gi ɛi't'ɛɛ<sup>a</sup>  
 at | jackrabbits. | "Grandmother! | What pray might be | that is looking in | at |  
 above!"
- 18 atɛ'i'h aik t'ô' atɛ'i'h aik t'ô' aik tɛ'u' tɛ'legisk'  
 "What is | his | appearance? | What is | his | being like | his | eyes?" | "His are  
 small  
 aik tɛ'u' ma'tɛ!l'laute'u'is ā' t'i'nɛt'i` bate!u'nk! a'idje  
 his | eyes, | he is small-eyed." | "So!" | she said, | "dangerous perhaps | that one.

<sup>o</sup> = mau e'ga'nyau.

- ā t'etek! a'idje ma'telilaut'euit'ete t'u'ainā' at'e'i'mah  
Indeed! | grizzly-bear perhaps that one, | small-eyed grizzly-bear." | "Grandmother! |  
What is
- ai e'i't'ete t'ôs'imā' te'i'ls'k' aik' te'u' ā' djūwak! 2  
he | above?" | "What is he like?" | "His are big | his | eyes." | "So! | jackrabbit  
perhaps
- a'idje bêma'ni te'i'lk'i k' te'u' 'ai djūw  
that one, | it is they who are wont | theirs to be big | their | eyes | they | jackrabbits."
- i'damandin'et' aite ha'ga t'u'ainā' mausi ni'tp'ayau 4  
Now he went out | the | Flint. | "Grandmother! | I shall be | going south,"
- t'i'n'et'i mausi nibi'lyau wô' nibi'le t'u'ainā mits!-  
he said, | "I shall be | going about." | "Yes, | go about!" | "Grandmother! | have  
you acorn-bread!"
- s'a'us'inumā' ā'ha djôduna'uandin'et' k' s'a'una bapt'i'lgū- 6  
"Yes." | Now she gave him | hēr | acorn-bread | being in round lump
- mauna k' s'a'una djôwu'landin'et' k' s'a'un a'igidja hagu'l-  
her | acorn-bread. | He put it inside (his blanket) | his | acorn-bread | here | wrapped  
up.
- p!amauna nīs-ā'eandin'et' ni'tp'an'et'i' dja'u'rpa' p'a'ūs-a- 8  
Now he went off, | he went south | south | being far away.
- mauna wā'k'dibi'let' mini'nditp'ayauna t'ôn'et'ê' aigite te'ê'-  
He stood still | looking down hill southwards. | There were many | at the | smoke
- k!auna t'e'p!diwi<sup>10</sup> yū'ayauna t'ūya'un aigete' ba'riyauna 10  
grizzly-bear women | building fire | it doing | to that, | raining.
- t'e'p!diwi' wa'unun'et'i' u's'i'wain'et' ai t'e'p!diwi' nī-  
Grizzly-bear women | they dug up earthworms, | they were twenty | they | grizzly-bear  
women. | He went to fire
- ea'ie aigi a'una ha'gap!a t'e'p!diwi yū'amau gi 12  
to the | fire | Flint Boy, | grizzly-bear women | building fire | at
- ea'una k'ū'n'et' aite' yā aigi a'umadu te'p!diwi k'  
fire. | Not were | the | people | at the | fireplace, | grizzly-bear women | their
- wa'unuyauna' t'e'p!diwi t'ôn'et'ê' k'ite'a'una<sup>11</sup> waudji'let' 14  
digging up earthworms. | Grizzly-bear women | they were many | (their) teeth, | they  
stuck them around
- aigi ea'una ha'ga djal'et'i' gi ea'umadu' 'ê+ ha'ga  
at the | fire. | Flint | he laughed | at | fireplace. | "Hè," | Flint
- t'i'n'et' gi a'umadu t'ūn'et' a'igidja t'e'p!diwi mi- 16  
he said | at | fireplace. | They did | in this way | grizzly-bear women | turning around  
to look.
- ni'n'lilyauna a'mbimah t'īn'et' ai t'e'p!diwi' m 'anga-  
"Who is it?" | they said | they | grizzly-bear women. | "Well! | do you (pl.) come on!"

<sup>10</sup> t'ete. "grizzly-bear" + -p!diwi (compound form of p!u'diwi) "women."

<sup>11</sup> Probably = k' their, k'ite'a'una teeth.

- ma'iwī'e hagap!a t'u'ibadamte!inet'ê aigi wa'uyūrai-  
Flint-boy | he grabbed them all together | to the | stuck out to dry
- 2 mauna t'et' k' k'ite!a'una k!uninet' k'ūk' ai<sup>12</sup>  
grizzly-bears | their | teeth | and they were | not their | their  
k'ite!a'una 'a'ndudamte!i'ndinet'i' m' djuduna'umawidjae  
teeth. | They now came back together. | "Well! | do you give me to eat!
- 4 k!unmiya'usindja t'i'aiguyauna<sup>13</sup> ya'iyūnet' ai t'e'p!diwi  
I am hungry," | speaking falsely. | They were afraid | they | grizzly-bear women  
k'ū'yauk' ai<sup>12</sup> k'ite!a'una 'ê'te!haya'mte!inet'i ambi'ga-  
theirs not being | their | teeth. | They whispered among themselves: | "Who pray  
is it!
- 6 dak!<sup>14</sup> k'ū'e aite mō'you djuduna'umap'awaum' k!un  
Not is | the | food. | We would give you to eat | but  
k'ū's aite mō'you 'ahā' hagap!a t'i'net'i' ya'iyūs'i'-  
not is | the | food." | "Yes!" | Flint-boy | he said, | "you are afraid, are you not!"
- 8 nuganā' k'ū's'k'inek' ya'iyū'e nā' k!unmiya'usinuga'n  
"Not we are | be afraid." | "Is it not! | are you hungry?"  
wē'bils'in<sup>14</sup> sa'una 'ā'ha t'i'net' t'e'p!diwi mau-  
I carry around | acorn-bread." | "Yes," | they said | grizzly-bear women. | He was  
about to be
- 10 net' o'm'djiyauna aite t'e'p!diwi hagap!a k!uni-  
killing them | the | grizzly-bear women | Flint-boy | and they were  
net' k'ū'k' ai<sup>12</sup> k'ite!a'una mite!sa'usindja biri-  
theirs not | their | teeth. | "I have acorn-bread." | "Where is it!"
- 12 meah t'i'net' ai t'e'p!diwi dinduwu'landinet' ha'gap!a  
they said | they | grizzly-bear women. | He now put his hand back inside (blanket) |  
Flint-boy.  
t'u'idamandinēt' aik' sa'una djōduna'udibilandinēt' djō'-  
now he drew forth | his | acorn-bread, | he now gave each of them to eat. | They  
now ate it.
- 14 clandinēt'i<sup>15</sup> nī'dū'sayauna t'i'net' ha'gap!a' t'i'mnet'iw  
"I shall go off back home," | he said | Flint-boy. | They were spoken to  
aite t'e'p!diwi' mu'ik!uyauwa' aite t'e'p!diwi' nīdū'-  
the | grizzly-bear women | being bidden adieu | the | grizzly-bear women. | He went off  
back home
- 16 sanēt' ai ha'gap!a nīdū'anmirinet' aik' t'ū'ea'imadu'  
he | Flint-boy. | He arrived back home as far as | his | grandmother place.  
t'ū'ainā' dē'waisindj anma'u p!udiwi t'e'p!diwi mā'di-  
"Grandmother! | I have seen | being many | women." | Grizzly-bear women | they  
were all sick now

<sup>12</sup> = aik'.<sup>13</sup> In garī'e i this word would be *gaw'te'uiyauna*.<sup>14</sup> = wē'bils.indj.<sup>15</sup> This word is characteristically gat'ā'e i; mō- "eat" is used in garī'e i.

bandin<sup>t</sup>'i` aigi a'umaduha` mô'dindi<sup>n</sup>'et'ê aite sa'una  
at the | former fireplace, | it had made them sick | the | acorn-bread.

mit<sup>s</sup>lā'balet'i dībala'un<sup>t</sup>' ai p!u'diwi mô'yau gi 2  
They fell back, | they all died | they | women | eating | to

ha'ga  
flint.

mausi ma'ls'unduyau ô'leaudu<sup>e</sup>yau yô'gailaup<sup>an</sup>'et' gi 4  
"I shall be | going to get ma'ls'unna roots,<sup>16</sup> | I shall go to dig up roots with  
stick." | She asked him | to

ha'gap!a djuk!unā'e ā'ha<sup>n17</sup> ha'gap!a 'acā'eandin<sup>t</sup>' ô'le'a'udu-  
Flint-boy: | "Stay home!" | "Yes," | Flint-boy. | Now she went away | going to dig  
up roots with a stick.

eayauna` mahā'suiyauna` dap'u'lbalet'ê gi bī'wi ma'leunna 6  
It being spring | they were sprouting up | on | earth | ma'ls'unna roots.

ô'leau<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>t</sup>'ê ai k'unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi` 'ê'waleamauna gi ê'man-  
Now she dug up roots with her stick | she | old woman | carrying on her back | to |  
pack-basket.

sugi mininduwi'ls'amtelin<sup>t</sup>' ai ha'gap!a djuk!unē'yauna ba'i- 8  
He looked around inside | he | Flint-boy | staying at home | being one.

gumauna ma'ls'unna dap'u'lbalet'ê gi bī'wimadu` k'un-  
Ma'ls'unna roots | they were sprouting | at | earth place. | Old woman

ēā'mari<sup>e</sup>mip!a dē'wain<sup>t</sup>'i` 'ô'nubal<sup>t</sup>' ai k'unā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi` 10  
she saw them, | she dug them up from ground | she | old woman.

unā' unā' unā' t'i'n<sup>t</sup>' ai dap'u'lba<sup>e</sup>awa` bī'man<sup>t</sup>'  
"Unā'! | unā'! | unā'!" | it said | it | which was sprouting. | Indeed it was

la'k'iyā<sup>18</sup> wa<sup>e</sup>yū'n<sup>t</sup>' ai k'unē'ā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi` ô'laun<sup>t</sup>'ê 12  
new-born babe. | She was frightened | she | old woman, | she dug up with her stick

aigite dā't'i` 'ê+ minī'nuwaun<sup>t</sup>' ai k'unē'ā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi`  
to the | child. | "Hê!" | she looked at it | she | old woman,

'ehe' atē'ī' aidji t'ô'eante' dumma'nabal<sup>t</sup>'i` bôdjama- 14  
"hehe!" | what | the | my doing with it?" | She took it up in her arms, | she put it  
down into it

rinet' aik' ê'mansugi` aigi dā't'i` aik' dē'waimauha  
her | pack-basket | to the | child | her | former found one.

'adū'san<sup>t</sup>' ai k'unē'ā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi` t'ū<sup>e</sup>ainā` 'adū'k'indisi- 16  
She went off back home | she | old woman. | "Grandmother! | Have you already come  
back home!"

numā` 'ā'ha<sup>e</sup> unā' unā' unā' t'i'n<sup>t</sup>' ai irā'mi  
"Yes." | "Unā'! | unā'! | unā'!" | it said | it | outside.

<sup>16</sup> Vaguely translated as "Indian potatoes."

<sup>17</sup> Affirmation is ordinarily expressed by *ā'ha*. In this passage *ā'ha* was heard as followed by a glottal stop plus voiceless nasal breath.

<sup>18</sup> *la'k'iyā* means literally "navel person" (*la'k'i* "navel" + *yā* "person"); curiously enough, it means also "rainbow."

- t'u<sup>e</sup>ainā' atē'īmah ai te'um dē'waimau<sup>e</sup>nidj aidje'  
 "Grandmother! | What is | it | coming!" | "My found one | that."
- 2 biri'mat'k'iea ô'elau<sup>e</sup>asindj dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigus' gaēlā ā' t'ū-  
 "Where was it!" | "I was digging up roots, | suddenly it was | cry." | "Indeed! |  
 Grandmother,  
 eainā' p'ū'djan<sup>e</sup>de<sup>e</sup> yāk! aidje' t'ū'andin<sup>e</sup>t' p'ô'djan<sup>e</sup>-  
 wash it! | person perchance | that one." | Now she did so | washing him.
- 4 de<sup>e</sup>ayauna t'ū'winigun<sup>e</sup>t'i k'uyau ma'n<sup>e</sup>t'ibilei i'dja'n-  
 He also did so | not being | grow slowly, | growing quickly.  
 yagalyauna
- 6 nis'ā'andin<sup>e</sup>t' ai ha'gap!a 'īram<sup>e</sup>t'i' t'u<sup>e</sup>ainā' mo'dja-  
 Now he went away | he | Flint-boy, | he went outside. | "Grandmother! | I would  
 take him along."  
 p'a'nte' wō' t'īn<sup>e</sup>t' ai k!un<sup>e</sup>ā'mari<sup>e</sup>mi' k'uya'uguma-  
 "Yes," | she said | she | old woman, | "pray do not
- 8 gat<sup>e</sup> 'a'nyus<sup>e</sup>awie m+<sup>10</sup> bē'mgue dja'udjahaup!<sup>a</sup> biri'emah  
 you (pl) go far away! | Take care! | be right around here | off east little ways." |  
 "Where is it  
 aite djē'yauna hagap!a t'īn<sup>e</sup>t'i' yō'gaip!an<sup>e</sup>t' aigi  
 the | (your) name?" | Flint-boy | he said, | he asked | to it
- 10 dā't'i' djē'yaun<sup>e</sup>nidja dāri'djuwap!andja t'u<sup>e</sup>ainā' atē'ī-  
 child. | "My name | I am "Little Gray-Squirrel." | "Grandmother! | What, pray,  
 would be  
 gadap'a dju t'ī<sup>e</sup>nu mausi mo'djayau nis'ā'ru<sup>e</sup>  
 the (your) | your saying? | I shall be | taking him along." | "Proceed to go away
- 12 p'au's<sup>e</sup>amau t'u<sup>e</sup>ainā' maus<sup>e</sup>indj i'ndayau dja'duma'lk'<sup>u</sup>  
 being far distant!" | "Grandmother! | I want | making | dog.  
 k'ū's' aidji dja'duma'lgunik' atē'ī'mak!u dju t'ê'k'ô-  
 It is not | the | our dog. | What might be ' the (your) | your saying, perchance,  
 in regard to it!"
- 14 enu' t'ū<sup>e</sup> i'nda<sup>e</sup> i'nda<sup>e</sup> i'nda<sup>e</sup> mausi ba'iruyau  
 "Do so! | make it! | make it! | make it!" | "I shall be | going to hunt deer,"  
 t'īn<sup>e</sup>t' ai ha'gap!a yō'gailaup!an<sup>e</sup>t'i' 'a'uwauea 'a'n-  
 he said | he | Flint-boy, | he asked her. | She assented to him. | Now they went off
- 16 s<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>e</sup>t' p'au's<sup>e</sup>amau gi dja'uhauna ba'iruyauandi'  
 being far distant | to | east | now going to hunt deer.  
 djuk!unā'waldin<sup>e</sup>t' ha'gap!a gi djī'gal na'' atē'ī'gadap'a  
 He sat down | Flint-boy | at | mountain. | "Say! | what, pray, would be
- 18 dju t'ū'wa yō'gailaup!andin<sup>e</sup>t' aigi i'dja'nnuip!a' mau-  
 the your | that (you) do!" | he now asked him | to the | boy. | "I want  
 sindj i'ndayau<sup>e</sup>ma dja'duma'lgu atē'ī'gadap'a dju  
 to make of you | dog. | What, pray, would be | the (your)

<sup>10</sup> m+ or am+ indicates warning or displeasure at some action.

t'i'enuma ap'anu 'ak!uɕi' k'u'net' gayā'i' ô gayāmi'nt'-  
your saying | if you should | bark!" | Not he was | talk. | "O! | I should talk in  
any way."

gup'a'ndja a<sup>20</sup> maus'indj gô'yauna t'i'net' ai ha'- 2  
"I want | hearing," | he said | he | Flint-boy,

gap!a 'ak!uɕi' 'ū+ 'ū+ 'ū+ waɕyū'net' ai ha-  
"bark!" | "Hū+! | hū+! | hū+!" | He was frightened | he | Flint-boy,

gap!a 'ak!uya'uandi dja'duma'lgu dji'dinnin'et'ê ai 4  
now barking | dog. | It shook | it

bī'wi 'ak!uya'uand aite dja'duma'lgu djima'dja'mnet'  
earth, | now barking | the | dog. | It went from there north,

djima'tp'anet' dji'mahaunet' djima'm'djin'et' ha'gap!a 6  
it went from there south, | it went from there east, | it went from there west. | Flint-  
boy

mini'nwaun'et'i' te!up'e'andisi  
he looked at him: | "It is good now."

nīs'ā'andin'et'i' ha'gap!a dja'duma'lgute'gu' nimi'rin'et' 8  
Now he went off | Flint-boy | together with dog, | he went as far as

a'igidja il'ô'm'dji gi dji'gal aigidja k!u'ndjuɕas'indj  
here | up on west | at | mountain | here. | "I desire

ma'riɕmi t'i'net' ai ha'gap!a aik' dju'k!udji'ɕigu' 10  
woman," | he said | he | Flint-boy | his | own heart

gayā'yauna wak!alp!andin'et' ma'riɕmi dja'duma'lgute'gu  
talking. | Now he had wife. | Woman | together with dog

mo'bi'lmauna xana'ibak'i aigite' il'ô'm'dj aigidja 'i'ba'- 12  
taken along all over | when it was daybreak | at the | up on west | here | now he  
went up on it.

laɕandin'et' badji'let' ai dja'duma'lgu irā'mi ga' t'i'-  
He lay coiled up | he | dog | outside. | "Say!" | he said

net' aik' wak!alp!ayauna maus'i ba'iruyau te!up'e'ik!ugā 14  
his | wife, | "I shall be | going to hunt deer. | Perchance it is good place is it not?

dja'urp' aite ā'haɕ maus'i k'uyau mo'djaɕ gi dja'-  
south | here." | "Yes." | "I shall be | not being | take along | to | dog.

duma'lk'u 'et'ewa'ldi<sup>21</sup> dja'duma'lk'u baɕ'sak!u k'uya'u- 16  
Tie him down to ground | dog! | he might run off after (me). | "Pray do not

gumagat'ɕ yaɕbidjaip'ô<sup>22</sup> ai dja'duma'lk'u gayā'waun'et'  
play with him | he | dog!" | She spoke to them

aigite' yā'n aigidja gi dja'duma'lgu 'e't'ewaldiyauna 18  
to the | people | there | at | dog | tying him down to ground.

<sup>20</sup> This element is of doubtful significance.

<sup>21</sup> Probably misheard for 'it'ewa'ldiɕ.

<sup>22</sup> Thus heard instead of yaɕbidjaip'auɕ.

- ba'e'sak'u'e'i' t'i'net' aigits' yā' e'aidja' k' gayā'-  
 "He might run off after (him)," | she said | to the | people | there | his | speaking  
 to her
- 2 wauyauna wak!a'lp!ayauna wō' wō' k'us't!ō'k'inig ya'e-  
 wife. | "Yes, | yes! | we shall not | play with him
- bidja'iwau'e ai dja'duma'lk'u ya'bidja'iwaunet' ai  
 he | dog." | He played with him | he
- 4 ha'gap!a 'a'k'u'e'i t'i'net' 'ak'u'ndinet'i' 'ū'+ 'ū'+  
 Flint-boy. | "Bark!" | he said. | Now he barked: | "Hū'+ | hū'+  
 'ū'+ 'ū'+ dj'i'dinninet'ê aite' bī'wi ya'iyūnet aite'  
 hū'+ | hū'+." | It shook | the | earth, | they were afraid | the
- 6 yā'na 'ak!uyaun ai dja'duma'lgu gō'net' ai dja'u-  
 people | barking | he | dog. | They heard it | they | north |
- djanna gi dja'dumalgu 'ak!uya'uk'iea' gō'e ai dja'u-  
 at | dog | his barking, | hear it | they | east
- 8 hauna gi dja'dumalgu 'ak!uya'uk'iea' gō'e ai dja'urp'a  
 at | dog | his barking, | hear it | they | south
- yā'na gō'e ai gi'lm'te'  
 people, | hear it | they | west over mountains.
- 10 nīsā'eandinēt' ha'ga ba'iyauandi gi dja'urp'a nī'din-  
 Now he went off | Flint | now hunting deer | at | south. | Now he went off  
 leaving her behind
- dinet'i' ma'ri'emi gi wa'wi u'mite!i'net'i' ga' 'e'et'u'p-  
 woman | at | house. | They were two. | "Is it not? | Let us turn him loose
- 12 dihanik' dja'duma'lk'u<sup>23</sup> t'ū'andinēt' ya'bidja'ieandinēt'  
 dog!" | Now they did so, | now they played.
- gayā'waunet' ai ma'ri'emi gi dja'duma'lgu 'a'k'u'e  
 She spoke to him | she | woman | to | dog: | "Bark!"
- 14 'a'k!uwinigunēt' ai dja'duma'lgu nīsā'yauandi ha'gap!a  
 He barked as before | he | dog | he having gone away | Flint-boy
- t'ō'yauant'k' 'i'lhat'aina gayā'mauna gō'e ai ha'gap!a  
 his now resembling | thunder | speech. | He heard him | he | Flint-boy
- 16 k' dja'duma'lgu k' 'ak!uya'uk'iea' bacā'e ai dja'du-  
 his | dog | his | barking. | He ran away | he | dog
- ma'lgu 'i'niyauand aik' la'lk'iea' gi ha'gap!a mo'-  
 now looking for them | his | footsteps<sup>24</sup> | to | Flint-boy. | They called to him to come  
 back
- 18 du'k'amēt' ai p!u'diwi gi dja'duma'lgu 'ak!us'asi'nigun-  
 they | women | to | dog. | Now he kept on barking
- dinet' ai dja'duma'lgu gi ha'gap!a 'ū'+ 'ū'+ t'i'-  
 he | dog | to | Flint-boy | "Hū'+ | hū'+!" | he said

<sup>23</sup> These words were pronounced in a whisper.

<sup>24</sup> Literally, "feet."



*net'* ai *dja'duma'lgu ga'lāya'uant'*<sup>4</sup> *dīmā'n'aigunet'*  
 he | dog | now crying. | Suddenly there was  
*te'lila'mhat'aina k'u'net' ba'riei djibi'l'e aite te'lila'm-* 2  
 fog. | Not it was | rain, | moved around | the | fog.  
*hat'aina 'ū'+ 'ū'+ t'ī's'inigunet'i' k' bas-ā'yauandi'*  
 "Hā'+ | hā'+!" | he kept on saying | his | now running away.  
*yā't'ilamanet' u'mite!ī'mau p!udiwi' 'ū'+ 'ū'+ 'ak!u'e* 4  
 They cried | being two | women. | "Hā'+ | hā'+!" | he barked  
*a'i dja'duma'lguha gi ei't'dja' ga'iedjap!a'a' bas-ā-*  
 he | former dog | at | above, | he was heard up above | now running away  
*yauandi dja'duma'lgu matc'ī'balet'*<sup>25</sup> ai *dja'duma'lgu* 6  
 dog. | He melted up | he | dog  
*gi ei't'dja gi te!ī'lamhat'aina bīma'n'et' batdja'ndisi*  
 at | above | at | fog, | indeed he was | now flying up to sky.  
*gô'e aite' yā'na k' ak!uya'uk'i k' dja'duma'lgu gi* 8  
 They heard him | the | people | his | barking | his | dog | at  
*ī't'dja.*  
 above

FLINT BOY.<sup>26</sup>

I shall commence my myth.

The Flint people were living at Djô'djanu.<sup>27</sup> The Flint people quarreled with the Grizzly Bear people. All the Flint people dwelling together had a sweat-house. They used to go to hunt deer, but four were always missing when they returned home. The Grizzly Bears lay in wait for the Flint people, the Grizzly

<sup>25</sup> *matc'ī'* has reference both to melting of ice or snow and to lifting of fog.

<sup>26</sup> This myth corresponds to that of "The Hakas and the Tennas" (*i.e.*, "The Flints and the Grizzly Bears") in Curtin's "Creation Myths of Primitive America," pp. 297-310 (notes on p. 521). Curtin's Haka and Hakaya'mehiwi correspond to *ha'ga* and *hagaya'mtc!iwi*; Tenna is *t'en'na* (*t'en'na* in *garī'e*); Tsuwalkai is *djuwa'lk!ai(na)*; Dari Jowa', probably incorrectly translated as "eagle," is doubtless *dā'ridjuwa*, "gray squirrel," in this version Thunder's own name; Teptewi (p. 304) is *t'e'p!di-wi*. Curtin's explanation of the myth (p. 521) as a nature allegory representing the struggle of fire or lightning, with which he identifies flint, and the clouds, which for unknown reasons the grizzly bears are supposed to represent, is altogether unwarranted. On the whole the two versions correspond satisfactorily; the latter portion of both, pp. 309-10 of Curtin and pp. 21-22 of this volume, is an apparently quite unconnected account of the origin of thunder, a child dug up from the ground.

<sup>27</sup> A mountain east of Buzzard's Roost (or Round Mountain) near the headwaters of Montgomery creek, at which Terry's sawmill is now situated.

Bears killed the Flint people. All the Flint people living together were very numerous and had a sweat-house. Some were missing when they returned home, until the Grizzly Bears had killed all the Flint people. There was just one that returned home. An old woman was sitting inside the sweat-house, Rock Woman, and all the Flint people living together, it is said, were her children. They did not come home from the deer hunt; indeed, they were all killed, the Grizzly Bears killed them all.

Now the old woman was weeping. "Hehe'e! Where can they all have gone?" wept that old woman, waiting for them to come back home. The Grizzly Bears had killed all the Flint people. The old woman, weeping, stayed home by herself, all alone, all her children having been killed. She had quivers hanging, many were the quivers hanging close together, with bows and arrows. Now the old woman was all alone, weeping, being the only Flint person.

"I shall not die," had said (one of the Flint people), leaving word behind to her. He hung up a bow, a coarse-sinewed bow, up yonder on the south side, while she cried, continuing to weep, sitting inside the sweat-house. The Grizzly Bears were looking into the sweat-house. "I spit out spittle on the ground, on the south side. If I die, pray look at it, grandmother! I shall come to life again from my spittle. Pray look at it! Pray look at it!" She did so in the middle of the night, looking at it. There were no men in the sweat-house, all having been eaten up, the Grizzly Bears having eaten them up. The old woman put pitch on herself as sign of mourning. Suddenly the spittle bawled out. A person came to life again in the middle of the night. "Where is it?" she said. "Who is the child?" "Unā'! unā'!" it said. It was indeed the spittle that had already come to life again. The old woman arose, took the boy up in her arms, and wrapped him up in a blanket. The old woman washed him, carrying him about in her arms. She washed him in the night. "Grandmother!" "Keep quiet! There are Grizzly Bears outside."

When it was daylight he who had come back to life was crawling about; when the sun was overhead he was already grown up. "Give me a bow," he said, being already grown up. He

looked to the south side, looking at the bow. "Grandmother! I shall go outside to play, grandmother." "No," she said, speaking to Flint Boy, "danger lies outside." "What is it, grandmother?" "All of our people were eaten up," she said, speaking to the young man. She would not let him go outside, saying, "Do not go outside! Outside lies danger." "What is it, grandmother?" "Do you not see that our people are not here in the sweat-house?" "I am not afraid, grandmother." He put out his hand for the bow and said, "I shall go outside. Whose bow is this?" he asked. He took down the quiver hanging on the south side; the bow was *so* long, short, a coarse-sinewed bow, an ugly bow. "I shall shoot arrows in play. I shall not go far off." "Yes, yes, yes," she said. She believed him.

He pulled out a bow from the quiver. He stretched it, and his bow broke. "Hê!" he said, "that was no man," for he had broken his bow. He took out another bow and stretched it also. He stretched and broke another bow, in this way breaking all the bows. "They were no men. I have broken all their bows." Now he put out his hand for the coarse-sinewed bow. He bent it to himself, it was strong. Again he bent it to himself, it was strong. It did not break, for it was strong. He laughed. "Grandmother, truly it is strong." He laughed, and bent it to himself again, put his feet down on it, pulling at it, so as to break the bow. He put the coarse-sinewed bow down on a rock. "It is strong, grandmother," he said, while the old woman kept on weeping, crying. "This one was a man. Hêhê! Why did he die? Grandmother, I am not able to break it." He put the bow on a rock, and lifted up a big rock; he tried to break the bow by throwing the rock down on it. The coarse-sinewed bow bounced up. "Grandmother, I shall go outside. I shall go around to shoot small game outside. I shall take the bow along, grandmother. I shall not go far off." "Yes! Do not start to go far away. Danger lies outside. Grizzly Bears are waiting for you outside." Now he was the only one. "Yes, grandmother, give me three arrows. Look up the smoke-hole of the sweat-house at the jack-rabbit!" He went outside. Now he shot his arrows, went about shooting at jack-rabbits. (When he returned inside

he said,) "Grandmother! What might that be looking in from above?" "What does he look like? What do his eyes look like?" "His eyes are small; he is small-eyed." "So!" she said. "Perhaps that one is dangerous. Indeed, perhaps that one is a Grizzly Bear, a small-eyed Grizzly Bear." "Grandmother! What is that above?" "What is he like?" "His eyes are big." "So! Perhaps that one is a jack-rabbit, it is jack-rabbits that have big eyes."

Now Flint Boy went out. "Grandmother, I shall go to the south," he said. "I shall go about." "Yes, go about!" "Grandmother, have you any acorn bread?" "Yes." Then she gave him her acorn bread in one round lump. He put his acorn bread<sup>28</sup> inside his blanket, and held it wrapped up here. Now he went off, far away to the south. He came to a halt, looking down hill to the south. There was smoke and many Grizzly Bear women were building a fire, while it was raining, as it is now.<sup>29</sup> The Grizzly Bear women were twenty in number and were digging up earth-worms. Flint Boy went to the fire, built by the Grizzly Bear women. There was nobody at the fire now, as the Grizzly Bear women were occupied in digging up earth-worms. The Grizzly Bear women had stuck their teeth in the ground in a circle about the fire.<sup>30</sup> Flint Boy laughed and said, as he stood near the fire, "Hê!" The Grizzly Bear women thereupon turned around to look. "Who is it?" they said. "Well! Come on, all of you." Flint Boy seized all the Grizzly Bear teeth that had been stuck out to dry, so that they were deprived of their teeth. Now they came back together. "Well! Give me something to eat. I am hungry," said he, lying. The Grizzly Bear women were afraid, for they did not have their teeth. They whispered among themselves: "Who is it? (*aloud:*) We have no food. We would give you something to eat, but we have no food." "Yes," Flint Boy said, "you are afraid, are you

<sup>28</sup> This "acorn bread" was really made of ground flint.

<sup>29</sup> It happened to be raining when this story was dictated. Sam Bat'wi was fond of illustrating his narratives by gestures, references to which are to be found here and there in the texts.

<sup>30</sup> In Curtin's version (p. 305) the teeth are hung up on a tree near the fire.

not?" "We are not afraid." "Are you not hungry? I carry around acorn bread with me." "Yes," said the Grizzly Bear women. Flint Boy intended to kill the Grizzly Bear women; they did not have their teeth. "I have some acorn bread." "Where is it?" said the Grizzly Bear women. Flint Boy put his hand inside the blanket, and drew forth his acorn bread. He gave each one of them to eat, and they ate of it. "I shall go back home," said Flint Boy. Thus he spoke to the Grizzly Bear women, bidding them adieu. Flint Boy went off back home and came back to his grandmother. "Grandmother! I have seen many women." The Grizzly Bear women were all sick now at the fire, for the acorn bread had made them sick. The women fell back and all died, as they had really eaten flint.

"I shall go to get *ma'ls-unna* roots, I shall go to dig up roots with a stick." She told Flint Boy, "Stay at home!" "Yes," said Flint Boy. Now she went off to dig roots with a stick. It was spring, and the *ma'ls-unna* roots were sprouting up out of the ground. Now the old woman dug up roots with her stick, while she carried a pack-basket on her back. Flint Boy, now all alone, stayed at home and looked all around inside. The *ma'ls-unna* roots were sprouting up out of the ground. The old woman saw them and dug them up. "Unā! unā! unā!" said something which was sprouting up. Indeed it was a new-born babe. The old woman was frightened and dug the child up with a stick. "Heh!" said the old woman, looking at it. "Hehe! What am I going to do with it?" She took it up in her arms and put the child that she had found down into her pack-basket. The old woman went off home. "Grandmother! Have you come back home already?" "Yes." "Unā! unā! unā!" it said outside. "Grandmother, what is that that is coming?" "I found that one." "Where was it?" "I was digging up roots, when suddenly it cried." "Indeed, grandmother, wash it, maybe that one is a person." She did so, washing him. He also did not grow as people generally do; he grew up quickly.

Now Flint Boy went off, went outside. "Grandmother, I should like to take him along." "Yes," said the old woman, "Please do not go far away. Take care! Stay right around

here, a little ways to the east." "What is your name?" Flint Boy asked the child. "My name is Little Gray Squirrel,"<sup>31</sup> "Grandmother, what do you say to it? I shall take him along." "Go off to a great distance." "Grandmother, I wish to make a dog. We have no dog. What do you say to that?" "Do so! Make it, make it, make it!" "I shall go to hunt deer," said Flint Boy, asking her. She assented. Now they went off to a great distance to the east, going to hunt deer. Flint Boy sat down on a mountain. "You! What would you do?" he asked the boy. "I want to make a dog of you. What, pray, would you say if you should bark?" He did not talk. "Oh, I should talk in any way at all." "I want to hear it," said Flint Boy. "Bark!" "Hū! hū! hū!" Flint Boy was frightened as the dog barked. The earth shook while the dog barked. The sound went from there to the north, it went from there to the south, it went from there to the east, it went from there to the west.<sup>32</sup> Flint Boy looked at him and said, "It is good now."

Now Flint Boy went off with his dog as far as up on the mountain here to the west.<sup>33</sup> "I want a woman," said Flint Boy, talking within his heart; so he took a wife. When it was daybreak he went up on the mountain to the west, taking the woman and his dog with him. The dog lay curled up beside the house. "Listen," he said to his wife, "I shall go out to hunt deer. I think this is a good place, here on the south, is it not?" "Yes," she answered. "I shall not take the dog along with me. Tie him down to the ground, for he might run off after me." "Pray do not play with the dog," she said to the people there, tying the dog down to the ground. "He might run off after him," said his wife, speaking to his people. "Yes, yes, we shall not play with the dog." (Before he went off) Flint Boy played

<sup>31</sup> Sam Bat'wī found it at least curious that the newly dug-up child should have known its own name, though none had been bestowed upon it. He suggested no explanation.

<sup>32</sup> This sort of emphasis on the cardinal points seems characteristic of northern California. The Yana texts give numerous examples of the formulaic rigmarole. In this passage there is the implied conclusion that the incident explains why nowadays dogs are found to bark in every direction.

<sup>33</sup> The reference is to Bally Mountain, about 14 miles west of Redding, where the myth was told. Bally Mountain is in Wintun territory.

with him. "Bark!" he said, and the dog barked "Hū', hū', hū', hū'!" The earth shook; the people were afraid while the dog barked. They in the north heard the dog barking, they in the east heard the dog barking, the south people heard it, they to the west over the mountains heard it.

Now Flint Boy went off to hunt deer to the south. He went off leaving two women behind him in the house. (When he had gone) they whispered to one another, "What do you think? Let us turn the dog loose." They did so and began to play with him. One of the women spoke to the dog, saying, "Bark!" While Flint Boy was away, the dog barked as he had done before, and his speech was like thunder. Flint Boy heard his dog barking. Now the dog ran away, looking for Flint Boy's footsteps. The women called to the dog to come back, but he kept on barking after Flint Boy. "Hū', hū'!" said the dog, crying. All at once there appeared a fog. It did not rain, but the fog just moved about. "Hū', hū'!" he kept on saying, while he ran off. The two women cried, but the dog kept on barking, "Hū', hū'!" up above; he was now heard to bark, running off up to the sky. The dog melted away into the fog, rising up; indeed he was now flying up to the sky. People hear the dog barking in the sky:<sup>34</sup>

## II. THE THEFT OF FIRE AND THE BURNING OF THE WORLD.

k'ū'nət' aite a'una mite!a'ugummanət' aite yā  
Not was | the | fire. | They had fire indeed | the | people

k'uninət' k'ū ya'rip!a<sup>e</sup> aite a'una ba'iru<sup>e</sup> aite yā' 2  
but it was | not | be hot | the | fire. | They went to hunt deer | the | people,

amədji' bana` dā'siruei` gā'mai<sup>e</sup> aite p'udiwi` mō'se<sup>e</sup>  
were killed | deer. | They went to satch salmon. | They went to get sunflower seeds |  
the | women. | They cooked it

aidj yā'na gi ba'na k'u mā'si<sup>e</sup> ai ba'na wē'du- 4  
the | people | to | deer, | not | it became cooked | it | deer-meat. | They fetched it back  
home

ean<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na gi dā'ci mō'si<sup>e</sup>a gi eanna k'u  
the | people | to | salmon. | They cooked it | at | fire, | not

<sup>34</sup> As thunder.

- mā'si'eī mō't!suiḡu'eī<sup>35</sup> gi dā'si gi ba'na yo'k!a'l'e  
it became cooked. | They ate it raw | to | salmon | to | deer meat. | They browned  
them
- 2 aite pl'u'diwi gi gā'ma k'u mā'si'e hehe'e 'is-i'wi  
the | women | to | sunflower seeds, | not | they became done. | "Hehe'e!" | men  
t'i'n'e't' k'us'indj k'l'u'ndju'e'a gi 'e'a'una k!a'wī'e'andi-  
they said. | "I not | like it | to | fire. | I am now tired
- 4 s'indja dji mu'it!suiḡuyau gi ba'na hehe'e au'e'a'mmak!  
the my | eating raw | to | deer meat. | Hehe'e! | Fire nearly perchance  
aite īdji'lla auk! a'ite' ite'i't'e'hauna īḡi'launa auk!  
the | round about here. | Fire perchance | there | off east | east over mountains, |  
fire perchance
- 6 a'ite' dja'urp'a auk! a'ite' ite'i'n'e'm'dji auk! a'ite'  
there | south, | fire perchance | there | off west, | fire perchance | there  
dja'udjanna gada'mte!indin'e't' aite yā'na 'i'nha'e'nig  
north." | They came together to talk in council | the | people. | "Let us look for it
- 8 aidji 'e'una t'i'n'e't'i' bā'wisayaubanauma bas-i'waldiyau-  
that | fire!" | they said. | "It being dark every time | it being now night after sun-  
down  
'e'andi nīlā'udjamk!ara'e wa'e'dja'irimagar aidj dji'gal  
go ahead north up on mountain! | be on top of mountain | the | mountain!"
- 10 bā'igumauyāna ā'ha t'i'n'e't'  
Being-one person | "Yes!" | he said.  
bā'wis-ayaubanauma bas-i'yau'e'andi djuk!un'e'ā'e'andin'e't' ai  
It being dark every time | it being already night | he now stayed there | he
- 12 bā'igumauyā 'i'si'e'mauyā' mini'nhaun'e't' ai djuk!unā'ha  
being-one person | being-male person. | He looked east | he | who stayed there,  
k'ū'n'e't' aite a'una gi dja'uhauna k'ū'n'e't' dīwa'ip!a'e  
not was | the | fire | at | east, | not was | be visible
- 14 aite a'una mini'n'djam'e't'i' k'ū'n'e't' aite a'una gi  
the | fire. | He looked north, | not was | the | fire | at  
dja'udjanna mini'n'm'dji'e k'ū'e aite' a'una k'u dē-  
north. | He looked west, | not was | the | fire, | not | seeing
- 16 waiyau gi 'e'a'una mini'nt'p'a'e t'ū'n'e't' a'igidja 'e'a'una  
to | fire. | He looked south. | It did so | there | fire,  
wamū'balei gi dja'urp'a milte!p'i'tbal'e't' aite' 'e'a'una  
light went up | at | south, | it streamed up in sparks | the | fire
- 18 dīwa'i'yau'e'andiwasa' te'lum'e'ma'un aite a'una gi dja'u-  
it being now seen. | Being good | the | fire | at | south

<sup>35</sup> Or *mu'it!suiḡu'e'i*.



- rp'a mite!iwa'ldinet'i nīdū'wanandin<sup>36</sup>et' ba'igumauyā  
it was down on ground. | Now he arrived back home | being-one person.
- 'an<sup>et</sup>' aite yā'damte!ei dé'waisindj gi a'una t'i'n<sup>et</sup>' 2  
They were many | the | people dwelling together. | "I have seen | to | fire," he said.
- ā' biri'mat'k'iea biri'mah aite a'un<sup>a</sup> dja'urp'a p'a-  
"Indeed! | where is it! | Where is | the | fire!" | "South. | It is far distant."
- ūsasi wē'saduha<sup>nigi</sup> wō' a'mbih aite mi'ldjawa 4  
"Let us go to steal it!" | "Yes! | Who is | the | one that runs?"
- a'ienidja bē'ma<sup>nindj</sup> mi'ldja<sup>a</sup> a'mbimah aite mi'ldja-  
"I! | It is I who have always been | run." | "Who is | the | one that also runs!"
- t'imaiwa a'ienidja u'mite!igumauna mi'ldjas-i' biri<sup>e</sup>. 6  
"I!" | Being two together | runners. | "Where is it
- maha djé'yauna<sup>37</sup> 'ahā'limilla biri<sup>e</sup>maha djé'yauna<sup>37</sup>  
(your) name!" | "Fox." | "Where is it | (your) name!"
- 'aiwi<sup>e</sup>auna wō<sup>k</sup> te!up<sup>e</sup>andis-i' 8  
"A'wi<sup>e</sup>auna." | "Yes! | it is good now."
- 'ū<sup>k</sup> nīsā<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>et</sup>' djima'ngun<sup>et</sup>' aite' yā'na nīdji'l-  
Well! | they went off, | they were just five | the | people. | They walked around it
- andin<sup>et</sup>' gi yā'damte!iri<sup>e</sup>mauna biri'm<sup>eah</sup> aidj nimí'- 10  
at | place of living together. | "Where is | the | our going thereto?
- rinig' nit'p'a'ha<sup>nig</sup> ai 'iri'k'u nī't'p'a<sup>e</sup> gi 'irik'u  
Let us go south | it | underground." | They went south | at | under ground
- djima'nmauyā nī't'p'andin<sup>et</sup>' bas'ī'k'iea' nī'tp'ayau<sup>ant</sup>' 12  
being-five persons. | Now they went south | when it was night; | going south now
- nī'eba'let' aigi klū'wiha<sup>38</sup> s'a'ms<sup>in</sup>et' ai me'teli 'i'ebalet'  
they came up from ground | at it | Battle Creek. | He was sleeping | he | Coyote, |  
he arose
- ai me'teli nā' biri<sup>e</sup>mak' aik' nibamī'riw aite<sup>s</sup> 14  
he | Coyote. | "Ho! | Where is their | their | that all are going thereto | the
- yā'na a'hī t'i'n<sup>t</sup>' ai yā aidja gayā'wauyau aigi  
people!" | "I do not know," | they said | they | people | there | speaking to him | to  
him
- me'teli me'teli gayā'wau<sup>e</sup> gi klaina gayā'wau<sup>e</sup> gi 16  
Coyote. | Coyote | he spoke to him | to | rock, | he spoke to him | to
- mā'mauna gayā'wau<sup>e</sup> gi wo'wi na' maumā'dja<sup>e</sup> klainā'  
cooking basket, | he spoke to him | to | house. | "Ho! | Tell me, | rock!

<sup>36</sup> -w- is merely a glide between -ū- and -a-. The word is to be syllabified nī-dū-(w)an-an-din<sup>et</sup>' ; nīdū<sup>e</sup>an<sup>e</sup>andin<sup>et</sup>' would be normally expected.

<sup>37</sup> Yana idiom requires the use of "where?" instead of "what?" in asking one for his name.

<sup>38</sup> = "Medicine-man water (or stream)" (klū'wi "medicine-man" + ha- "water").

- biri'εmak' aik' nibami'riwa a'hī t'ī'net' aite' k'a'ina  
Where is their | their | that all are going to?" | "I do not know," | he said | the |  
rock,
- 2 wo'wi dô'k'alyauna biri'εmak' aik' nibami'riwa ba'i-  
house. | Brush for sifting acorn-flour: | "Where is their | their | that all are going  
to?" | "They have all gone to hunt deer."
- baroha 'ê+ atc'īma k'ubar aik' t'ī'waumai εa'i-  
"Hê! . What | was not | their | telling wherefore to | to me?"
- 4 k'indj nīha'uandinεt' aite' me'teli ni'tp'andinεt' gi  
Now he went east | the | Coyote. | They had gone south | to  
dja'urp'a p'aūs-amaun aidji djima'nmauyā nīdji'let'  
south | being far distant | those | being-five persons. | He went around
- 6 aite' me'te! aigite yā'damte!iriεmauna k'u dê'waiyau  
the | Coyote | at the | place of living together | not | seeing  
gi la'll ai me'te! yô'gaip!anεt' ai me'teli gi k'ê-  
at | feet | he | Coyote. | He asked | he | Coyote | to | acorn mortar:
- 8 manεna k'εmanyī<sup>39</sup> biri'εmak' aik' nibami'riwa dji-  
"Acorn mortar! | Where is their | their | that all are going thereto | being-five per-  
sons!"  
ma'nmauyā niba'tp'ax ā' 'ahā' mi'ldjandinεt' ai  
"They all went south." | "So! | yes!" | Now he ran | he
- 10 me'teli ba'ε'tp'ayauεandi dê'waiandinεt' ai me'teli  
Coyote | now running south after them. | Now he found | he | Coyote  
gi la'lk'iea' ba'itp'ayaua'nt'<sup>1</sup> nimī'rindinεt' p'a'ū-  
at | their feet | now running south after them. | They had gone that far | being  
far distant
- 12 samauna djima'nmauyā' 'ê'gaip!anεt' ai me'teli gi  
being-five persons. | He caught up with them | he | Coyote | at  
djima'nmauya 'ā+<sup>40</sup> bate!i' dinεt'ê ai me'teli wanga-  
being-five persons. | "Hī!" | he shouted | he | Coyote, | "pray wait for me!"
- 14 rawī'djaε mininduli'let' djima'nmauyā ô<sup>41</sup> ni'ε'm'djavar  
They turned to look back | being-five persons: | "O! | he has been coming behind  
a'ite' me'teli' ni'tp'ayauant'<sup>1</sup> djima'nmauyā' iyū'ik'ie  
the | Coyote." | Now going south | being-five persons | when it was day
- 16 basi'k'ie nī'ε'k'ie ai me'teli 'u'<sup>42</sup> t'ī'net' ai me'teli  
when it was night, | he came following | he | Coyote. | "Huh!" | he said | he |  
Coyote.  
k'a'wī'sindja' 'ê' t'ī'net' me'teli atc'īmawara' nak'u-  
"I am tired out. | Hê!" he said | Coyote, | "what was it | that you (pl.) did not

<sup>39</sup> Note fem. vocative in -(y)ī, Acorn Mortar being thought of as woman. If considered male, it would have been addressed k'ε'manεnā; cf. k'aiind' above.

<sup>40</sup> Pronounced in a loud whisper.

<sup>41</sup> Expressing vexation.

<sup>42</sup> A whispered sound expressing a pant.

wara<sup>ε</sup>nuk' t'iwau<sup>ε</sup> k'u gaya'mte!i<sup>ε</sup> ai djima'nmauya  
 speak to!" | Not | they talked with one another | they | being-five persons

mi'tk!awiyauna

2

all being angry.

- ni<sup>ε</sup>a'nandi<sup>ε</sup> aigidj a'uyamte!iwi ni<sup>ε</sup>a'n<sup>ε</sup>t' i't'a'u  
 Now they arrived | at the | fire people living together, | they arrived | in middle
- bas-i'k'iea' wamū'ram<sup>ε</sup>t' aite' a'una wē's'a<sup>ε</sup> gi <sup>ε</sup>a'una 4  
 when it was night. | Light shown out of house, | the | fire, | they stole it | at | fire.
- sā'dimbawaldin<sup>ε</sup>t' aite mite!a'usi nil<sup>ε</sup>ô'rp'an<sup>ε</sup>t' gi  
 They were all sleeping on ground | the | those that had fire. | They went up hill to  
 south | to
- ε'gunna' bā'n<sup>ε</sup>t' aite' a'una te'ū'wa gi iwū'lu gi 6  
 sweat-house. | It lay there | the | fire | chunk of coal | at inside | at
- mā't!adjuwa u'mite!i'gumauyā 'ahā'limilla 'a'iwieauna  
 sweat-house. | Being-two persons | Fox | 'A'iwieauna
- wē's'an<sup>ε</sup>t' aigi <sup>ε</sup>a'una at<sup>ε</sup>i'mas aidji t'ô'εanigi 'iwul<sup>ε</sup>i 8  
 they stole it | to it | fire. | "What will be | the | our doing about it!" | "Go inside!"
- t'i'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i gi 'ahā'limilla mini'nuwulet' bas-i'k'iea mā'-  
 he said | to | Fox. | He looked inside | when it was night, | he climbed inside.
- wulet' sā'dimbas aite yā mite!a'uci bô'djabalet' aik' 10  
 They are all sleeping | the | people | those having fire. | He took it up | (with) his
- da'lla gi a'una <sup>ε</sup>ai 'ahā'limilla 'ik'iri'duram<sup>ε</sup>t' gi mā't!a-  
 hand | to | fire | he | Fox. | He jumped back quickly out of house | at | sweat-house,
- djuwa' ôwa'leaduram<sup>ε</sup>t' gi <sup>ε</sup>a'una wē's'ayauant'<sup>1</sup> sut- 12  
 he returned out of house carrying it | to | fire | having now stolen it. | They ran  
 back north.
- s'dja'm<sup>ε</sup>a mi'ldja<sup>ε</sup>a mi'ldjawi<sup>ε</sup>i asinu k'ā'wī'εi bā'dja-  
 "Run! | run, all of you! | If you are | be tired, | throw it to me
- mādja<sup>ε</sup> a'una s'uts'dja'm<sup>ε</sup>ayauant'<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>ε</sup>i'dum'djayauand 14  
 fire." | They now running back north | now running back after them
- ai me'teli s'udū'p'idi<sup>ε</sup>ayauant'i gi balé'ha nā' me'teli  
 he | Coyote. | They having run back as far as | to | Mill Creek, | "O!" | Coyote
- t'i'εi yô'gailaup!a<sup>ε</sup> aigi 'ahā'limilla djuduna'umādja<sup>ε</sup> 16  
 he said, | he asked | to him | Fox, | "give me
- ai a'una mausi 'a'ieayauna t'i'n<sup>ε</sup>t' ai me'teli ga-  
 it | fire. | I shall | carrying fire in my hands," | he said | he | Coyote. | "Look out!"
- yāri'ε t'i'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i' bô'djawaldik!u<sup>ε</sup>numa <sup>ε</sup>a'una gi bī'wi 18  
 he said, | "you might drop it | fire | at | earth,
- ya'rik!u<sup>ε</sup>numa gi da'lla at<sup>ε</sup>i'mat' aidji nitp'ama'i<sup>ε</sup>nidj  
 you might burn yourself | at | hand." | "What, they say, is | the | my going south  
 for!

- t'í'sit!ô<sup>e</sup> aidj yā'na asindj nīdū'anēi 'a'í'yaus·indja  
I shall say | the | people | if I | arrive home, | 'I have carried fire,'
- 2 t'í'sit!ô<sup>h</sup> 'a'í'yaus·indja gi 'a'una t'í'sit!ô<sup>h</sup> sūdū'wa-  
I shall say, | 'I have carried fire | to | fire,' | I shall say.'" | They ran back from south,  
dju<sup>e</sup>a sūdū'plit<sup>e</sup> aigi k!ū'weha gamā<sup>e</sup> ai a'una  
they ran back up to | to it | Battle Creek. | "Give it to me | it | fire!"
- 4 me'teli t'í'ei bā'djama<sup>e</sup>ā' aigi me'teli gi 'a'una  
Coyote | he said. | It was thrown to him | to him | Coyote | with | fire.  
di'nk!<sup>h</sup>dja<sup>e</sup>ā' gi da'lla t'ū'net' ai me'teli k' da'lla  
"Hold it out | to | hand!" | He did so | he | Coyote | his | hand.
- 6 aite 'ahā'lamilla 'a'í'yaunet' aik' a'una 'ū' a'uwi-  
The | Fox | he was carrying fire | his | fire: | "There! | take it to yourself!"  
k'amēi<sup>h</sup> bā'djamanet'iwa<sup>e</sup>a a'uwinet' ai me'teli gi 'a'una  
It was thrown to him, | he took it | he | Coyote | to | fire.
- 8 sūsā<sup>e</sup> ai 'ahā'limilla 'a'iwī<sup>e</sup>auna bō'djas aik' a'una  
They ran off | they | Fox | 'A'iwī<sup>e</sup>auna, | they who threw | their | fire  
gi me'teli sūdū'wadju<sup>e</sup>ayau<sup>e</sup>andi  
to | Coyote, | now running back from south.
- 10 yabak' ai me'teli k' da'lla bō'djas<sup>e</sup> aik' a'una  
His burned | he | Coyote | his | hand. | He threw it away | his | fire,  
ba'p'at!a'lte!inet' m' du' du du du' du du t'í'net' aite  
it burst asunder. | "M'! | Du' du du! du' du du!" | he said | the
- 12 me'teli yari'yauna yabi'let' aite a'una bādjas·anet'i-  
Coyote | having burned his hand. | It burned all over | the | fire, | it had been thrown  
away.  
wa<sup>e</sup>a ya't'p'a<sup>e</sup> aite' a'una yaha'u<sup>e</sup> a'una yate'i'n<sup>e</sup>-  
It burned south | the | fire, | it burned east | fire, | it burned off to west
- 14 m'dji<sup>e</sup> a'una ya'dja'm<sup>e</sup> aidj a'una yam'dja'ndinet'  
fire, | it burned north | the | fire. | Now it came burning  
aite' 'pad a'idja p'ietc'u'nbale aite k!a'ina yaba<sup>e</sup>  
the | place | here. | They burst up | the | rocks, | it burned up
- 16 a'ite' xa'n<sup>a</sup> djī'lak!bale ai djī'gal yak!a'uwils<sup>e</sup> aite  
the | water, | they were covered with smoke | the | mountains, | it burned across | the  
dā'h<sup>a43</sup> yaba<sup>e</sup> a'í yā'ha sūsā<sup>e</sup> ai u'mite!i'gumau  
river, | they burned | they | former people. | They ran off | they | being two
- 18 yāha yam'djaya'uant'<sup>i</sup> aite a'una yap'a'u<sup>e</sup>andinet' aite  
former people | now coming burning | the | fire. | Now it burned up close to | the

<sup>43</sup> *dā'ha* is used only for rather large streams, such as Sacramento and Pit rivers. Here Sacramento river is meant.

ts'lorê'djuwa mutdja'ut!iwi<sup>44</sup> yā'damte!iri<sup>e</sup>mauna gi si'p!a  
Eagle | chiefs | dwelling-together place | at | O'p!a.

dī'nyagaldibilwī<sup>e</sup> yabas a'ite p'a'di yabas a'ite 2  
"Hurry, every one all about! | It is burning | this | place, | they are burning | here  
yā'na bi'riha dji t'ū'miri<sup>e</sup>nigi ma'uk!unik' yāwu'lyau<sup>e</sup>  
people. | Where is | the | our doing thereto? | Perchance we shall be | moving into

gi k'a'ina ma'uk!unik' yā'waldiyau aigi bi'wi dī'n- 4  
to | rocks, | perchance we shall be | moving down into ground | at it | earth. | Hurry,  
every one all about!"

yaga'ldibilwī<sup>e</sup> yā'map!an<sup>e</sup>t' ai te'u'nā'<sup>45</sup> dī'nyagaldi-  
He dwelt with them | he | Spider. | Hurry, every one all about!

bilwī<sup>e</sup> mits!s'i'lguyausi<sup>e</sup>numa'n 'ā'ha t'ī<sup>e</sup> ai te'u'nā' 6  
Have you rope?" | "Yes," | he said | he | Spider.

mamu'lp!ugi<sup>h</sup> yā'wulwī<sup>e</sup> k!t'!ante!igu<sup>e</sup>i<sup>e</sup> yā'wuleandin<sup>e</sup>t'  
"Tule basket | go inside, all of you! | Stretch out!" | Now they all moved into it,

djō<sup>e</sup>an<sup>e</sup>t'ê gi a'ps'a aigi mamu'lp!ugiha' wali'ldjauri<sup>e</sup> 8  
he tied it on to it | to | sky | to it | former tule basket. | He lay in bottom on his  
belly

ai me'te!i gi mamu'lp!ugi 'ū+ t'ī'n<sup>e</sup>t' dī'nyagaldi-  
he | Coyote | at | tule basket. | "Come on!" | he said, | "hurry, all of you!"

bil<sup>e</sup> yaba'ndis aits p'a'di 'ê'batdjandin<sup>e</sup>t' gi si'lgu- 10  
It is burning already | the | place." | He now pulled it up in air | at | rope,

yauna 'ê'babat<sup>e</sup>t' gi yā'na ban<sup>e</sup>t' aite yā'na gi  
he pulled them up | at | people. | They were full | the | people | at

p!ū'gi bu'idjawulgun<sup>e</sup>t'ê aite yā'na 'ama'idjite!gi gi 12  
tule basket, | every single one had entered to save himself | the | people | children | at

p!ū'gi 'ū t'ī'mn<sup>e</sup>t'iwa<sup>e</sup> aite te'u'nā' k'ū'andin<sup>e</sup>t'  
tule basket. | "Go ahead!" | he was told | the | Spider. | No longer were

aite' ya' aigi mā't!adjuwa 'ê'batdjandin<sup>e</sup>t'i' 'ê'batdjan- 14  
the | people | at it | sweat-house. | He now pulled them up in air, | he now pulled  
them up in air

din<sup>e</sup>t' p'a'u<sup>e</sup>djamauna p'it!dibi'let' aite' a'una p'ad  
being far up in air. | It crackled all over | the | fire | place

a'idja 'ê'basanbindja<sup>e</sup> gi 'aps'a aigidj yā'na 'adjā'- 16  
here. | He was just about to pull up as far as | to | sky | to the | people | running  
away to save themselves.

<sup>44</sup> *mutdja'ut!iwi* is properly plural of *mūdja'up!ā* but seems to have been used by Sam Bat'wī as singular. Probably its meaning is more properly collective: "chief and his people."

<sup>45</sup> Spider was conceived of as a man by Sam Bat'wī, not as a woman; this is shown, e.g., by his being addressed *mits!s'i'lguyausi<sup>e</sup>numa'n* "have you a rope?" (fem. form would end in *-numā'*). In Curtin, l.c., p. 409, Chuhna is spoken of as a woman; see also note 205b. On the other hand, the Wintun rope-making spider, Lasaswa, is an old man (Curtin, l.c., pp. 231-4).

- yauna na' me'te!i t'i'ei mausi mini'nwaldiyauna  
 "O!" | Coyote | he said, | "I shall be | looking down to ground,
- 2 p'usinā'nanā'<sup>46</sup> mausi dē'waiyaun ai a'una p'usinā'-  
 friends! | I shall be | seeing | it | fire, | friends!"
- nanā gayā'ri<sup>e</sup> mausi 'ête!ut!a!te!iyaun aigi p'ū'gi  
 "Look out!" | "I shall be | tearing apart | at it | tule basket,
- 4 mausi dē'waiyaun ai 'a'una yabayauna 'i'rik!u t!ini'-  
 I shall be | seeing | it | fire | burning | down below. | Being very small
- gumaup!a mininuwaga'lwaldis:it!ô mauyau dē'waiyaun  
 I shall look through hole down to earth," | being about to be | seeing
- 6 ai me'teli gi 'a'una 'ête!ut!alte!in<sup>e</sup>t'i' gi p!ū'gi'  
 he | Coyote | at | fire. | He tore apart | at | tule basket
- 'ê'batdjayauandi k' s'ilguyauna mini'nwaldie' dīwa'ie  
 now pulling up in air | his | rope. | He looked down to earth, | it was seen
- 8 ai 'a'una 'ête!ut!alte!in<sup>e</sup>t' gi p!ū'gi' mi'ninuwagal-  
 it | fire. | He tore apart | at | tule basket, | he looked through hole down to earth.
- waldie 'ê+ dē'waisindj aite 'a'una dan<sup>e</sup>ma'un ai  
 "Hé! | I see | the | fire | being much | it
- 10 'a'una gayā'ri' mit<sup>e</sup>wā'galwaldik!u<sup>e</sup>nigi' k!i't!alte!igun<sup>e</sup>t'  
 fire." | "Look out! | We might fall down to earth through hole." | It stretched asunder
- mitdjate!ū'yauandi da'mmagalwaldin<sup>e</sup>t' ai me'teli mite-  
 now being torn. | He fell down to ground through hole | he | Coyote | they now falling  
 back down.
- 12 du<sup>e</sup>'ldiyauau<sup>e</sup>andi
- mi'nyaumari<sup>e</sup>mi wā'k'dibilet' aigi 'i'rik!u mini'ndi-  
 Fire-drill Woman | she stood | at it | down below. | She looked about,
- 14 bilet' mini'nt'dja<sup>e</sup> dē'wai<sup>e</sup> aik' yā'na k' mī'du<sup>e</sup>uldi-  
 she looked up into air. | she saw | her | people | their | falling back down.
- yauk'ie'a' yaba<sup>e</sup> ai yā'ha yabats!alē's<sup>e</sup> p'it!ts'i'te-  
 They burned | they | former people, | they burned off like pitch. | They popped off east.
- 16 hau<sup>e</sup>t' dīt'i'ldimauna k' t'cu'na p'it!ts'i'nem'djie gi  
 Black Bear | his | eyes, | they popped off west | at
- dja'um'dji p'it!ts'i't<sup>e</sup>djam<sup>e</sup>t' t'cu'na p'it!t'p'a<sup>e</sup> aigi  
 west, | they popped off north | eyes, | they popped south | to it
- 18 dja'urp'a 'aik' te'u'na ya'ba<sup>e</sup>i k!un p'it!'eik' aik'  
 south | his | eyes. | They burned | but | theirs popped | their
- te'u'na te'u'nā' mite!ik!unā'ei djuk!unā'yauna gi 'i't'dja  
 eyes. | Spider | he remained | sitting | at | above.

<sup>46</sup> p'usinā'na means properly "relative." There is here no necessary implication of kin.

THE THEFT OF FIRE AND THE BURNING OF THE WORLD.<sup>47</sup>

There was no fire. It is true that people had a kind of fire, but it was not hot. The people went to hunt and kill deer, they went to get salmon, and the women went to get sunflower seeds. The people roasted deer meat, but it was never done. People fetched home salmon and cooked it over the fire, but it was never done. They ate salmon and deer meat raw. The women just slightly browned the sunflower seeds; they were never done. "Hehe'e!" said the men, "I do not like this fire. I am tired now of eating deer meat raw. Hehe'e! there must be fire somewhere around here. There may be fire off to the east, east over the mountains; there may be fire in the south; there may be fire off to the west; there may be fire in the north." The people came together to talk together in council. "Let us look for fire," they said. "Every night, when the sun has already set and it is dark, go up to the north and stay on top of the mountain," one man was told. "Yes," he said.

Every night when it was dark this one man sat there. He stayed and looked to the east. There was no fire in the east, no fire was to be seen. He looked to the north; there was no fire in

<sup>47</sup> The scene of this myth is laid at Bā'djiyu, an Indian village said to have been located above P'ā'wi, a village on Clover creek at a distance of about eight miles from Millville. Curtin's myth of "The Finding of Fire" (*op. cit.*, pp. 365-370 or no. XIII of this paper) is located at Pawi. The two versions agree fairly well in localization and content, the main differences being that the characteristic episode of the pursuit of the fire-thieves is lacking in Sam Bat'wi's account (the omission is not accidental, for, when asked, Sam claimed there was no pursuit) and that Curtin's version makes no mention of the burning of the world and the consequent ascent to the sky. The latter episode, however, may have been borrowed from the Loon story (see note 52). Of the three fire-thieves in Curtin's story two, Ahalamila (fox, not gray wolf) and Metsi (coyote), are identical with 'ahā'limilla and me'tc'li of Sam's version; the third, Shushu Marimi (dog woman), is replaced by 'a'wi'awana, perhaps the sandpiper. It is worthy of note that there are in Sam's as in Curtin's account really only three fire-stealing characters; of the five men that start out only two are named, Coyote joining the party later on. For similar fire myths see Kroeber's "Ute Tales" (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIV, 252); Kroeber's "Myths of South Central California" (*Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn.*, IV, 211. Trubohi Yokuts with fox, road-runner, coyote, and crow as fire-thieves); Dixon's "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales" (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XXI, 165, 175); and Dixon's "Maidu Myths" (*Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 65). Another Yana fire myth, constructed on Maidu lines, is referred to in Dixon's "Northern Maidu" (*op. cit.*), p. 339. The version contained in Dixon's manuscript Yana note-books, however, does not differ materially from that here given.

the north. He looked to the west, there was no fire, he did not see any fire. He looked to the south. There there was indeed some fire. There was a light in the south, the fire was seen coming up in sparks. Down in the south they had good fire. This one man now returned home. Many were the people gathered together. "I have seen fire," he said. "Indeed! Where is it? Where is the fire?" "In the south. It is far away from here." "Let us go and steal it," they said. "Yes, who is the good runner?" (said the chief). "I" (said Fox). "It is I who know how to run." "Who else is a good runner?" "I" (said another). There were two who knew how to run well. "What is your name?" (asked the chief of the first). "Fox." "What is your name?" he asked of the second). "'A'iwi'auna."<sup>48</sup> "Yes, it is good now."

Behold! The men went off, five of them. They walked in a circle around the village. "Where shall we go?" (they asked one another). "Let us go to the south under the ground." The five men proceeded south under the ground, went off south in the night-time. Arriving in the south, they came up from the ground at K!ū'wiha.<sup>49</sup> Coyote was sleeping; (on their arrival) he arose and said, "Well, where are the people all going to?" "I do not know," said the people there, talking to Coyote. Coyote talked to the rocks, talked to the cooking-basket, talked to the house. "You, tell me, Rock! where are they all going to?" "I do not know," said the rock, said the house. "Where are they all going to?" (he asked the) brush for cleaning acorn flour. "They have all gone out to hunt deer." Hê!" (exclaimed Coyote), "Why didn't they tell me that?" Now Coyote went to the east, but the five men had already gone a great distance to the south. Coyote ran around the village in a circle, but did not find any tracks. Coyote asked the acorn mortar, "Mortar Woman! Where have the five men all gone to?" "They have all gone to the south." "Indeed!" "Yes." Now Coyote ran,

<sup>48</sup> A bird described as brown in color, somewhat bigger than a snow bird, and running along the river shore. Perhaps the sandpiper. 'aiwi'auna may be, either actually or by popular etymology, connected with 'ai'auna "to carry fire."

<sup>49</sup> An Indian village at North Fork of Battle Creek.



running off to the south after them. Coyote found their tracks as he ran after them. The five men had already traveled a great distance, but Coyote caught up with the five men. "Hä!" Coyote shouted in a whisper, "do you wait for me!" The five men looked back (and said in displeasure to one another), "Oh! Coyote has been coming after us." The five men went off to the south day and night, while Coyote came after them. "Huh!" Coyote panted, "I am tired. "Heh!" said Coyote, "Why didn't you tell me about it?" The five men did not talk, for they were angry.

They reached the fire village, arrived in the middle of the night. The light from the fire came up out of the sweat-house. They stole the fire while the people that owned it were all lying asleep on the ground. They went up on a hill to the south of the sweat-house. There lay a chunk of burning coal inside of the sweat-house. It was two of the men, Fox and 'A'iwis'auna, who stole the fire. "How are we going to manage it? You go inside," he said to Fox. He looked inside in the night, and climbed down through the smoke-hole. The people that had the fire were all asleep. Fox put his hand out for the fire, picked it up, and jumped quickly out of the sweat-house. He carried the fire out with him, having stolen it. They ran to the north. "Run! run, all of you!" (said 'A'iwis'auna). "When you are tired out, throw the fire to me." They kept running to the north, while Coyote kept running back after them. When they had run back as far as Balé'ha,<sup>50</sup> Coyote said, asking Fox, "Well! Give me the fire. I shall carry the fire in my hand," said Coyote. "Look out!" said Fox, "you might drop it down on the ground, you might burn your hand." "What did I go off to the south for? I shall tell the people when I return home, I shall say that I carried fire. 'I have carried fire!' I shall tell them." They ran back home from the south, they ran back as far as Klū'wiha. "Give me the fire," said Coyote. Coyote was given the fire (as Fox called out to him), "Hold out your hand." Coyote held out his hand as he was told. Fox was still carrying his fire in

<sup>50</sup> An Indian village at Mill creek, situated on a mountain several miles east of Tehama. It was considered by Sam Bat'wī to be the farthest Yana point to the south.

his hand. "Here it is, take it to yourself," (he said, and) gave it to him. Coyote took the fire, while Fox and 'A'iwis̄auna rushed off. They have thrown their fire to Coyote, as they come running back home from the south.

Coyote burned his hand and dropped his fire. The chunk of coal burst apart into several pieces. "M' du' du du du' du du!"<sup>50a</sup> said Coyote, for he had burned his hand. Everything burned all around, when the fire had been dropped. The fire burned in the south, the fire burned in the east, the fire burned off to the west, the fire burned in the north. It came burning up to this place here. The rocks burst from the heat, the water burned up. The mountain was all covered with smoke, it burned right across the Sacramento river, the people burned up. The two people (that had stolen the fire) rushed off, while the fire came burning after them. It burned and reached up to Eagle's village at Cī'p'a.<sup>51</sup>

"Hurry up, everybody! This place is burning, the people are burning. Whither shall we go? We can't move into the rocks, we can't move down into the ground. Hurry up, all of you!" Spider was living with them. "Hurry up, everybody!" (Eagle said). "Have you strong rope?" (said Eagle to Spider). "Yes," said Spider. "Do you all go into my big tule basket. Stretch out!" (he said to the basket). They all went inside now, and Spider tied the tule basket on to the sky. Coyote lay down on his belly in the bottom of the tule basket. "Go ahead!" said Eagle. "Hurry up, everybody! This place is burning already." Now Spider pulled the rope up to the sky, pulled the people up. The people filled the tule basket; everybody had gone in to save themselves in the tule basket, together with their children. "Go ahead!" Spider was told. Now there was nobody left in the sweat-house. He pulled up the basket, pulled it up, way up to

<sup>50a</sup> It is very curious that practically the same exclamation (*do' do do do do do*) is used in a Takelma (southwestern Oregon) text by ghosts on catching fire. The resemblance becomes an identity if we remember that close *o* and open *u* are respectively lacking to Yana and Takelma.

<sup>51</sup> An Indian village on the flat hill (the so-called "Bullskin") that forms the divide between Oak Run and Little Cow creek, removed about half a mile from the former stream. A small lake was situated near by, the resort in former days of countless geese as they migrated north in the spring. See p. 40, l. 1, and p. 142, l. 8.

the sky. The fire was crackling all over this place. He had almost pulled the people who were running away from danger clear up to the sky when Coyote said, "Well! I am going to look down, my friends. I am going to see the fire, my friends." "Look out!" (said Eagle). "I shall just tear out a little hole in the basket. I want to see how the fire is burning down there. I shall look down to the ground through a tiny little hole," (said) Coyote, desiring to see the fire. He made a little rent in the tule basket, while Spider kept pulling at his rope. Coyote looked down, the fire was seen. He enlarged the rent in the tule basket. He looked down through the hole and said, "Hê! I see the fire. There is much fire." "Look out! you might fall down through the hole," (said Eagle). The hole spread out a little more so that the basket was now torn a good bit. Coyote fell down through the hole, fell right back down to the ground.

Fire-Drill Woman<sup>52</sup> was standing below and looked around. She looked up, saw the people falling down back to the ground. The people all burned up, burned up completely. Black Bear's eyes popped out way to the east, they popped way to the west, the eyes popped way to the north, his eyes popped to the south. He burned up, but his eyes popped off.<sup>53</sup> Spider remained in the sky.

### III. THE VISIT OF THE GEESE PEOPLE TO MOUNT SHASTA.

wu'net'k' aik' mā't!adjuw aidj hagak!a'ina gi  
His was | his | sweat-house | the | Flint Rock | at

wa'galū' mudja'up!ānet' aite hagak!a'ina yā'net' aigi- 2  
Mount Shasta. | He was chief | the | Flint Rock, | he dwelt | right there

djeē gi wa'galū' babi'lmite!iyauna t'ī'e aite mudja'u-  
at | Mount Shasta. | "I shall send word to people to come for dance," | he said | the | chief,

<sup>52</sup> Sam Bat'wī claimed that Fire-Drill Woman was another name for 'ak!ā'īsi, "Loon." This would make it plausible that the sky episode of this myth is really taken over from the identical incident in the Loon Woman story; see note 207 and Curtin's "Two Sisters, Haka Lasi and Tsore Jowa" (*op. cit.*), pp. 409-10; also no. x of this paper.

<sup>53</sup> This explains why black bears are to be found in every direction. No attempt was made to explain how two eyes could pop off in four directions.

- p!ā hagak!a'imudjaup!a<sup>54</sup> k' djē'yauna mausi 'adji'l-  
Flint Rock Chief | his | name, | "I shall be | having dance,"
- 2 yauna t'ī'net' aite mudja'up!ā bap'a'uru<sup>e</sup> gi  
he said | the | chief. | "Go and tell them | at  
dja'urp'a gi yā'na dja'urp'aru ambip' aite mi'ldjawa  
south | to | people | far away south! | Who would be | the one | that runs
- 4 bawa'uruyauna gi dja'urp'a gi yā'na bap'a'uru<sup>e</sup>  
going and telling them | at | south | to | people! | Go and tell them!  
bap'au'ru<sup>e</sup> gi lā'lagiyamte!iwi bap'a'umagara<sup>e</sup> gi k!u-  
Go and tell them | to | Geese people living together! | Pray go to them | to | Crane  
people living together!
- 6 ru'lyamte!iwi bap'a'umagara<sup>e</sup> gi da'īnanagiyamte!iwi ba-  
Pray go to them | to | White Geese people living together! | Pray go to them  
p'a'umagat'<sup>e</sup> gi mi'mk!ayamte!iwi gi dja'urp'a mausi  
to | Heron people living together | at | south!" | "I shall be
- 8 bē'yauna bawa'uru<sup>e</sup> bē'maenindj mi'ldja<sup>e</sup> t'ī'net' aite  
being he who is | go to tell them. | It is I who have always been | run," | he said | the  
p!u'te!i ā' t'ī'net' mudja'up!ā t'ū'e<sup>e</sup> bawau'ru<sup>e</sup> at'e'ī'-  
Humming-bird. | "So!" | he said | chief. | "Do so! | Go to tell them!" | "What shall be
- 10 mas aidji t'ī'enidj t'ī'net' aite p!u'te!i 'adji'lsi  
the | my saying!" | he said | the | Humming-bird. | "He is having big dance,"  
t'ī'magara<sup>e</sup> 'adji'ls' aidj hagak!a'imudjaup!ā t'ī'magara<sup>e</sup>  
pray say! | "He is having dance the | Flint Rock Chief," | pray say!"
- 12 p'o'ek'ulmindinet'ê<sup>55</sup> te!upp!ā'yauand ai p!u'te!i  
Now he put his p'o'ek'ulmi about his head, | having made himself all ready | he |  
Humming-bird.  
bas'ā'andie ba't'p'ayauna yāt' aite lā'lagiyamte!iwi  
Now he flew off | flying south. | They dwell, it is said, | the | Geese people living  
together
- 14 gi dja'urp'a yā'damte!inet' 'a'nmauna lā'lagiyamte!iwi  
at | south. | They dwelt together | being many | Geese people living together.  
wa'rinet' aite e'gunna babi'let' aigidja gi e'gun-  
It was down | the | sweat-house. | He flew about | there | at | sweat-house place
- 16 madu ba'leliwa ai p!u'te!indiha būs' būs' būs' būs.  
top of sweat-house | he | former already Humming-bird. | "Bū's' būs' būs' būs'!"  
t'ī'net' gayā'yaun ai p!u'te!i gayā'wayauandi git!a'm<sup>e</sup>-  
he said | speaking | he | Humming-bird | now speaking to them | reporting to them

<sup>54</sup> This word is a good example of a compound, one of the members of which is itself a compound; *mudja'up!ā* "chief" is qualified by *hagak!ai(na)*, itself consisting of *k!ai(na)* "rock" qualified by *haga* "flint."

<sup>55</sup> *p'o'ek'ulmi*: wild-cat or other white skin put on as ornament when traveling on important errand.

- mauyau gi lā'lagi 'a'net' aite yā'na k' mininu-  
to | Geese. | They were many | the | people | their | looking at him
- wauyau gi p!u'te'li babi'lei gi ba'leliwa ambiyā'ma- 2  
at | Humming-bird. | He was flying about | at | roof of sweat-house. | "What person  
can it be
- hada gayā'wa ulē'p!as'i' gayā'mauna ma'k'am'dama'i-  
that is talking! | Not are understood | (words) spoken. | Perhaps he comes after us."
- sik'uwaenigi' ulē'p!a<sup>e</sup> aite gayā'mauna būs' būs' būs' 4  
Not were understood | the | (words) spoken. | "Būs' būs' būs' būs'."
- būs' t'ī'sasinigunet' aite p!u'te'li gayā'mauna gi ē'gun-  
he kept on saying | the | Humming-bird | talking | at | sweat-house
- na k' ba'leliwa' ga'eile'ip!asi t'ī'net' aite lā'lagi 6  
its | roof. | "He is unintelligible," he said | the | Goose,
- da'inanagi t'ī'net' aite mi'mk!a t'ī'net' aite 'i'bā'-  
White Goose, | he said | the | Heron, | he said | the | Whistling Swan.
- djūs'i 8
- yā'map!anet' aite me'te'li 'ehe'e ulē'p!as aite ga-  
He was living with them | the | Coyote. | "Hehe'e! | Not are understood | the |  
words spoken.
- yā'mauna t'e'dama'ik!uwô k' gayā'mauna gayā'p'auru<sup>e</sup> 10  
Perhaps he might have them say | his | (words) spoken. | Go and speak to him
- gi me'te'li bê'ma<sup>e</sup>ni wa'i<sup>e</sup>maip!a<sup>e</sup> gô'yau gi gayā'mau-  
to | Coyote, | he it is who always has been | say that he is | hearing | to | every kind  
of spoken (words).
- banauma ma'k!a'mduē<sup>e</sup> ma'k!a'mdundi<sup>e</sup> ai me'te'li nā' 12  
Go and tell him to come!" | He was gone after now | he | Coyote. | "O!
- ma'k!amsiwa<sup>e</sup>numa' he'' me'te'li t'ī'ei ā' ba<sup>e</sup>a'ns' aite  
You are sent for." | "Heh!" | Coyote | he said. | "Indeed! | He has arrived flying |  
the
- yā'na ulē'imais'k'iwa k' gayā'mauna ā' bê'ma<sup>e</sup>nindj 14  
person. | His are not understood | his | (words) spoken." | "So! | It is I who always  
have been
- gô'ei gi eite'i'tedjāmi wa'k!balandin<sup>e</sup> ai me'te'li  
hear | to | off north." | Now he arose | he | Coyote,
- 'i'wul<sup>e</sup> ai me'te'li gi ē'gunna djuk'unā'waldi<sup>e</sup> ai 16  
he went inside | he | Coyote | at | sweat-house, | he sat down | he
- me'te'li iwū'lu būs' būs' būs' būs' t'ī'sinigunet' ai  
Coyote | inside. | "Būs' būs' būs' būs'." | he kept saying | he
- p!ute'li wa'ibilyau gi ba'leliwa ulē'sk'inigi t'ī'net' 18  
Humming-bird | flying about | at | roof. | "We do not understand," | they said
- aite yā' aidja' me'te'li wawa'ldiyauna 'a'ielawaldi<sup>e</sup>  
the | people | there. | Coyote | sitting down | he hung his head down

- djī'k'l'u<sup>ε</sup>ayauna ä+ me'te:li t'ī'ei wa'ba'lyau k' te'u'na  
listening to him. | "Hā!" | Coyote | he said | lifting up | his | eyes.
- 2 gīt'am<sup>ε</sup>ma'uandī<sup>ε</sup> gi lā'lagiyamte:liwi babi'lmitē:ie t'ī'ε  
Now he reported to them | to | Geese people living together. | He sent word to them to  
come, | he said
- hagak'a'imudjaup'ā t'ī'and ai me'te:li maut' p'ō'gal-  
Flint Rock Chief, | now he said | he | Coyote. | "He says there shall be | all going  
out to peel bark to make string,
- 4 yadamte:ieayauna t'īs' aidja' p'lute:li ā' t'ī'ε aite  
he says | here | Humming-bird." | "Indeed!" | they said | the
- dja'urp'ayā' ma'k!a'msiwa<sup>ε</sup>nuga' p'ō'galyadamte:it'ē' gi  
south people. | "He has come for you, | he says that there are people gathered to  
peel bark | at
- 6 bā'ni t'ī'and ai me'te:li git'am<sup>ε</sup>ma'uyaun aigidja' yā'-  
bā'ni bushes," | now he said | he | Coyote | reporting to them | here. | "He tells  
you all to start out
- s'a'as'īwanug a'imuina t'ī'n<sup>ε</sup>t' ai me'te:li k'ūga'nt'k'  
today," | he said | he | Coyote. | "No more are his
- 8 aigi te'u'mmā p'lute:li k' gayā'mauna  
to him | who has come | Humming-bird | his | (words) spoken."
- bū's būs būs t'īs'inigu<sup>ε</sup> aigi ba'leliwa babi'lyau <sup>ε</sup>ai  
"Bū's būs būs," | he kept on saying | at it | roof of sweat-house | flying  
about | he
- 10 p'lute:li lā'lagiyamte:liwi t'ī'ei hehe'ε badū'sap'asa ap'  
Humming-bird. | Geese people living together | they said: | "Hehe'ε! | He would  
fly off back home | if they were
- gā'k'ī k' gayā'mauna t'as'īnu ul'īs'i k'ī gayā'maun  
his be heard | his | (words) spoken. | It seems that you are | one who does not under-  
stand | his | (words) spoken
- 12 ai p'lute:li nak'u badū'sasa badū'sap'as<sup>ε</sup> ap'anu gō'k'  
he | Humming-bird, | therefore he is not | fly off back home. | He would fly off back  
home | if you were | hear his
- aik' gayā'mauna k'un<sup>ε</sup>t' gayā'dummaie ai me'te:li  
his | (words) spoken." | Not he was | speak further | he | Coyote.
- 14 gīt'ap<sup>ε</sup>p'a'uruwi<sup>ε</sup> gi ma'lwilmari<sup>ε</sup>mi bē'ma<sup>ε</sup>ni wa'ie'mai-  
"Do you (pl.) go to report to her | to | Meadow Lark Woman. | She always has been |  
say that she is
- p!a<sup>ε</sup> gō'yau gi <sup>ε</sup>ite'it<sup>ε</sup>djā'mi gayā'mauna bas-ā'εandī<sup>ε</sup>  
hearing | to | off north | language." | Now he ran off
- 16 ai ba'igumauyā git'am<sup>ε</sup>ma'uruyauna gi ma'lwilmari<sup>ε</sup>mi  
he | being-one person | going to report to her | to | Meadow Lark Woman.
- ma'k!a'msiwa<sup>ε</sup>nu a'mbimat' ma'k!a'msiya lā'lak'ī mu-  
"You are sent for." | "Who is it | that send for (me)!" | "Goose | Chief
- 18 dja'up'lā<sup>ε</sup> bēnu<sup>ε</sup> ma'k!a'mya ul'ī'mais'k'iwa p'lute:li k'  
it is you | that he sends for. | His is not understood | Humming-bird | his

gayā'mau k'un ma'k!a'ms'iwanu nidū's'a<sup>e</sup> ai me'te!i  
language | and | you have been sent for." | He went off home | he | Coyote.

'ak'i'ndi<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi k'u 'i'wulyau gi 'i'gunna 2  
Now she came | she | woman | not | going in | at | sweat-house.

gaya'mte!i<sup>e</sup> ai ma'lwilmari<sup>e</sup>mi gi p!u'te!i t'i'n<sup>e</sup>t' aik'  
She talked together with him | she | Meadow Lark Woman | to | Humming-bird. | She  
said | her

gayā'maun ai ma'llwilla gaya'mte!iyauand ai ma'llwil- 4  
language | she | Meadow Lark | now speaking with him | she | Meadow Lark Woman

mari<sup>e</sup>mi aigi p!u'te!i gi irā'mi we'balmite!indinet' gi  
to him | Humming-bird | at | outside. | They now flew up together | at

i't'dja gaya'mte!iyauandi badū's-andi<sup>e</sup> ai p!u'te!i gi 6  
up in air | now speaking with each other. | Now he flew off back home | he | Hum-  
ming-bird | at

i't'dja bats-dja'm<sup>e</sup>andi<sup>e</sup> ai p!u'te!i gi dja'udjanna  
up in air, | now he flew back north | he | Humming-bird | to | north.

wak!una'duwaldi<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi gi 'i'gunna lā'lagi 8  
She returned and sat down | she | woman | at | sweat-house | Geese

gi 'i'gunk'iea' bap'a'us-iwa<sup>e</sup>nuk' t'i<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi gi-  
at | their sweat-house. | "He has come for you (pl.)," | she said | she | woman | re-  
porting to them

t!am<sup>e</sup>ma'uyaun aigidja bap'a'us-iwa<sup>e</sup>nuk' gi hagak!a'i- 10  
there, | "he has come for you (pl.) | from | Flint Rock Chief.

mudjaup!ā 'adji't' ai hagak!a'imudja'up!ā ma'k!a'm-  
He says that he is having dance | he | Flint Rock Chief, | he says that you have been  
sent for,

t'iwa<sup>e</sup>nuk' t'i's' ai p!u'te!i mudja'up!āna t'i'ei ā' 12  
so he says | he | Humming-bird." | Chief | he said: | "So!

djara'm<sup>e</sup>a<sup>e</sup> dju ha'ieyulmi djabi'le<sup>a</sup>e dju . p'ok'u'lmi  
Hang them outside | the your | feather head-dresses, | hang them about | the your |  
head-bands of white skins,

djaram<sup>e</sup>a dju p'ô'ewimauna 'aik!aldie<sup>e</sup> yā'nā 'adji'l- 14  
hang them outside | the your | necklaces of shell beads, | wash them! | O people! | let  
us go to camp out dancing!

yaruha<sup>e</sup>nigi te!up<sup>e</sup>s'k' aik' gayā'mauna da'umaiyauna  
Good are her | her | (words) spoken | recounting to (us).

mini'np'auk'iea<sup>e</sup> badū'sayauna k'ūh t'i<sup>e</sup> ai mete! 16  
Look at him | running off back home! | Not he was | say | he | Coyote

a'igidje<sup>e</sup> gamite!iwa'r ai mete!i nili'leandin<sup>e</sup>t' 'a'n-  
in that way, | he was lying | he | Coyote." | Now they started to go | being many

maun aite yā'na te!up<sup>e</sup>bā'elandinet' k!a'di' t'a'idul- 18  
the | people. | Now they dressed themselves up, | milkweed net caps | they put on them-  
selves,

ep!a<sup>e</sup> p'ok'u'lmitp'au<sup>e</sup> p'ôwa'nt'p'au<sup>e</sup> niwā'djuyauant'<sup>1</sup>  
they put on their white head-bands, | they put on bead necklaces. | Now coming from  
south

- ya'edjae gi s'ip!a ya'edjaha'enigi ha'n'ea'ip!amak'iea dja-  
they stayed to rest over night | at | S'ip!a. | "Let us stay to rest over night! | When  
it is morning | let us dance
- 2 riha'enig a'igidja di'dja'mhaenigi a'mbih aite di'bū'wa  
here! | Let us move north dancing! | Who is | the | one that moves first in dance?"  
bé'you di'bū'e! t'in'et' aite me'te!i k'ū'ei bé'si di'bū'e  
"It is I who will | move first in dance," | he said | the | Coyote. | "No! | It will be he  
who will | move first in dance
- 4 mudja'up!ā k'ū'ei t'in'et' ai me'te!i bé'you di'bū'ei  
chief." | "No!" | he said | he | Coyote, | "it is I who will | move first in dancing!"  
u'nite mudja'up!ā bé'maenik!u di'bū'e aite k'ū'mau  
I am | chief." | "Perchance it has always been he who is | move first in dance | the |  
not being
- 6 mudjaup!ā 'ê+ meteli t'ī'ei waiema'isiwandj mudja'u-  
chief!" | "Hê!" | Coyote | he said, | "they say that I am | chief,  
p!āna t'ī'msiwandja gi ite'it'hauna meteli t'ī'ei  
so I am called | at | off east," | Coyote | he said.
- 8 waiema'isiwandj mudja'up!ā gi ite'it'et'p'a waiema'isi-  
"They say that I am | chief | at | off south, | they say that I am  
wandj mudja'up!ā gi ite'ī'n'em'dji waiema'isiwandj  
chief | at | off west, | they say that I am
- 10 mudja'up!ā gi ite'itedja'nna nidjibadibi!s'indj p'adiba-  
chief | at | off north. | I have traveled about all over | every place,"  
na'uma meteli t'ī'ei k'us'indj gō'en dji wa'iemaiyau-  
Coyote | he said, | "not I have been | hear | the | my being called
- 12 wandj meteli a'imuina gō's'indja wa'iemaiyauwandj  
Coyote. | Today | I hear | my being called  
s'ū'su t'ī'n'et' ai mete!i ā di'bū'ei'e mī'n  
dog," | he said | he | Coyote. | "Indeed! | move first in dance | go ahead!"
- 14 djari'ndin'et' aite yā'na gi s'ip!amadu' 'inī'yaha  
They started in to dance | the | people | at | S'ip!a place. | "Hinī'yaha,"  
yā'h ai mete!i  
song | he | Coyote.
- 16 wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'  
wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'  
wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'  
wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'
- 18 wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'  
wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'  
mete!i k' yā'ha dja'riyauant'! dja'dja'm'andin'et'  
Coyote | his | song | now dancing. | Now they danced north on ground



- k' djarī'yauna djarima'mtelin<sup>et</sup> mete!i gi ma'lwil-  
their | dancing. | He danced together with her | Coyote | to | Meadow Lark Woman.
- mari<sup>emi</sup> da'mbus-a<sup>e</sup> aite ma'ri<sup>emi</sup> te!ueueumi'yauna 2  
She was pretty | the | woman | apron having rodents' bones strung on buckskin tassels,
- p'if<sup>o</sup>'lu p'ê'lului<sup>a</sup><sup>56</sup> malwilmarie<sup>mi</sup> di'dja'myauant'  
round tule basket cap | she wore it | Meadow Lark Woman | now moving north in  
dance.
- djak'ulū'lu'tp'a<sup>e</sup> ai lā'lagi k' djarī'yauandi mite!di'l- 4  
They filed in long line dancing from south | they | Geese | their | now dancing. |  
Every one had wings
- sibanaum aik' lā'lagi mō'yaubanauma<sup>57</sup> ba'ie k'u  
they | Geese | every sort of animal. | He was one | not
- mite!di'ls-iyau ai me'teli di'bū'and ai mete!i 'ê'lau- 6  
having wings | he | Coyote, | he now moved first in dance | he | Coyote | now singing.
- yauandi djak'ulū'lu'rp'a<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na k' djarī'yauna  
They filed in long line dancing from south | the | people | their | dancing
- dja'dja'miyauandi 'e' 'e' 'e' 'e'<sup>58</sup> t'ī'andinet' aite yā'na 8  
now dancing to north on ground. | "Heh, heh, heh, heh," | they now said | the |  
people.
- dieba'leandie gi ei't'te'<sup>a</sup> dibaba'le aite yā'banauma  
Now they moved right up | at | up in air, | they all moved up | the | every person,
- di'dja'meandie gi ei't'te'<sup>a</sup> 10  
they now moved north | at | up in air.
- mini'nt'dja<sup>e</sup> ai mete!i ba'igu<sup>e</sup> ai meteli djarī'-  
He looked up in air | he | Coyote, | he was one | he | Coyote | dancing
- yauna gi bi'wimadu diba'ide ai meteli di'dja'mandie 12  
at | earth place. | They all moved off leaving him behind | he | Coyote, | they now  
moved north
- gi ei't'dja ate'ī'mah adju t'ū'ēnuga t'ī'n<sup>et</sup> ai mete!i  
at | up in air. | "What is | the (your) | your (pl.) doing?" | he said | he | Coyote
- diba'idiyauwa gawa'u<sup>e</sup>djayauna di'dja'myauand ai lā'lagi 14  
having been left behind by all | talking up in air to them | now moving north | they |  
Geese.
- dimā'n<sup>e</sup>ai k'u dja'rie ai mete!i mi'ldjandie ba'dja'm<sup>e</sup>  
Suddenly he was | not | dance | he | Coyote. | Now he ran, | he hastened north
- ai mete!i barā'wim'dja<sup>e</sup>a gi yā'na baw'ls-a<sup>e</sup> ai 16  
he | Coyote, | he came running to one side of them | at | people. | He ran across it | he
- <sup>56</sup> p'ê'lului<sup>a</sup> "to wear tule basket cap" is derived from p'ê'ō'lu just as  
k!o'de<sup>a</sup> "to wear net-cap" is derived from k!a'di "net-cap." The  
phrase in the text has the same ring about it that "to dream a dream,  
dance a dance, live a life" have in English. "She basket-capped her  
basket-cap" would be a literal, if clumsy, rendering.
- <sup>57</sup> Lit., "every sort of food (mō'yauna)."
- <sup>58</sup> This is the sound supposed to be made by geese migrating.

mete!i gi dā'ha<sup>59</sup> ba'ruyau gi djī'gal ba'tdjayau gi  
Coyote | at | river | running down | at | mountains | running up | at

- 2 djī'gal alēala'i t'ī'p!a<sup>ea</sup> mī'te!umau k' gā'du dji-  
mountains. | Ugly | he looked | being bruised | his | legs, | it flowed out

te'īt<sup>e</sup> aite wa'tdu<sup>60</sup> mat<sup>e</sup>gā'dja<sup>e</sup> aik' lalla mī'k!au-  
the | blood, | they were swollen | his | feet, | being out

- 4 maun aik' gā'du gi k!a'ina mī'te!umau k' gā'du  
his | legs | at | rocks, | being scratched | his | legs

gi ma'lte'i ba'ī'wadjuyauand ai mete!i mī'djamau-  
at | brush | now running after them from south | he | Coyote | running merely now.

- 6 ha'tegundi

die'a'nēandin<sup>et'</sup> ai lā'lagi gi wa'galū' hagak!aimu-  
Now they arrived moving in dance | they | Geese | at | Mt. Shasta | Flint Rock  
Chief

- 8 djaup!ā gi mā't!adjuwa djadji'lēandi<sup>e</sup> gi mā't!adjuwa  
at | sweat-house. | Now they danced around it on ground | at | sweat-house.

k'ū'k'ie ai me'te!iha` bīma'n<sup>et'</sup> dīla'us' 'ī'djaya'un<sup>a</sup>  
Not came | he | former Coyote, | truly he was | dead | being tired

- 10 k'unmiyauya'un<sup>a</sup> dīdji'lēandin<sup>et'</sup> ai dja'urp'ayā djidji'l-  
being hungry. | Now they moved around in dance | they | south people | going in circle  
with one another,

mite!iyauna bā'wis'ak'ie 'ō'maidjago<sup>e</sup> djarī'yauna gā'te!an-  
When it was dark | they ceased | dancing. | Now he spoke out

- 12 ēandi<sup>e61</sup> hagak!a'imudjaup!ā 'īwa'iwie<sup>e</sup> ī'na yū'ea<sup>e</sup> gi  
Flint Rock Chief. | "Get wood, all of you, | wood! | Make fire | at

mā't!adjuwa niwu'ls'ie aite yā'na niwu'lēandi<sup>e</sup> aite  
sweat-house. | They will enter | the | people." | Now they entered | the

- 14 dja'urp'ayā ban'ī'ram<sup>e</sup> ai yā'na gi ēi'gunna niram-  
south people, | they were chuck full | they | people | at | sweat-house. | "Let us go  
outside!

ha'nigi' yū'hanig irā'mi bas'ī'yaundi 'ī'te!aup!asi 'ī'-  
Let us make fire | outside | it being already night! | It is crowded, | they are crowded

- 16 te!aus' aite yā'na t'ī'n<sup>et'</sup> aite mudja'up!ā gayā'yauna  
the | people," | he said | the | chief | talking.

yā'baram<sup>e</sup> mite!wa'wis'i bē'ēaigu<sup>e</sup> gi ēiwū'l wa'yau gi  
They all moved outside | house-havers. | It was they by themselves who were | at |  
inside | sitting | at

<sup>59</sup> Pit River is referred to.

<sup>60</sup> One would rather expect *wa'tduwi* or *wa'tduw*, for which latter *wa'tdu* was perhaps wrongly heard.

<sup>61</sup> *gā'te!an<sup>e</sup>i* is used of the loud, formal speaking of a chief or any one addressing an assembled multitude.

- ɛiwū'l gi ɛ'gunna djé'djalɛlak!iɛ gi mā't!adjuwa ba-  
 inside | at | sweat-house. | He shut door | at | sweat-house. | It kept being night  
 s'is'as'íniguɛ ai mā't!adjuwa k'u haɛ!a'iyauɛi yaɛbidja'iɛ 2  
 it | sweat-house, | not | it was being daylight. | They played  
 ai irā'mi aite mite!i'guns'i bu'ls'djayauant'<sup>41</sup> iyū'iɛi  
 they | outside | the | sweat-house-havers. | It being now three times | be day  
 bu'ls'djayauant'<sup>41</sup> bas-i'ei k'uɛ halɛ'a'iyau bas-i'sas'íniguɛi 4  
 it being now three times | be night | not it was | being daylight, | it kept being night.  
 yaɛbidja'iɛ ai irā'mi wā'wite'aiyauna ba'iruyauna  
 They played | they | outside | pounding acorns, | going to hunt deer.  
 t'a'mp!as' malla'p!as'i halɛ'a'ip!āk!uwara yu'lgimaidibile 6  
 "It seems that it is | bad. | Perchance it has dawned long ago." | They felt around  
 with their hands  
 ai yā'na gi iwū'lu k'ū'e aite a'una k'u'nmiyau-  
 they | people | at | inside. | Not was | the | fire | they being hungry,  
 yauna k!u'nhaiyauna djidjalɛlak!is'i'waɛnigi daitɛ!ina'is-i- 8  
 they being thirsty. | "He has closed door on us, | he is angry at us,"  
 waɛnigi t'i'ɛ gi iwū'lu da'umis iyū'iyauɛa da'umis  
 he said | at | inside. | "It is four | be days, | it is four  
 bas'iyauɛa k'u'yau halɛ'a'iei atɛ'i'h adji t'ū'ɛnigi 10  
 be nights | not being | be dawn. | What is | the | our doing?  
 maus'inig amɛdji'bayauɛi hehe'ɛ dīmā'nɛaigute!augup'andj  
 We shall be | all being killed. | Hehe'ɛ! | Would that I could but  
 'i'duramɛi k'ū'k!unuganā' mite!dō's'itsyauɛi<sup>62</sup> k'ū'k!unu- 12  
 go back outside! | Not perchance, is it not, you (pl.) | have flint flakers? | Not  
 perchance, is it not, you  
 ganā' mite!bō'badjayauk!aiɛi<sup>62</sup> 'ā'haā t'i'nɛt' ai ma'l-  
 have stone mauls for chipping flint!" | "Yes!" | he said | he | Ma'Idama,  
 dama mite!bopɛdiya'us'indja<sup>62</sup> umā'nɛidja mite!bopɛdiya'u- 14  
 "I have pitching tool of bone." | "I am also | I have pitching tool of bone,"  
 s'indja t'i'nɛt' ai bopɛdidjū's'i 'ā'haā t'i'nɛt' ai  
 he said | he | Bopɛdidjū's'i. | "Yes!" | he said | he  
 mudja'up!a bē'manɛinuma waiɛmaip!aɛ mā'p'djamɛaina<sup>63</sup> 16  
 chief, | "it is you who have aways been | say that (you) are | supernatural.

<sup>62</sup> *bō'pɛdiyauna*: piece of bone about 1½ inches in length put under piece of flint and struck like lever at its other end, used to chip off fragments of flint in rough stage of preparation of arrow-head; *bō'badjayauk!aina*: slim flat stone used to drive *bō'pɛdiyauna*; *dō's.itɛyauna*: horn or bone implement of about 2 inches in length, used for finishing preparation of arrow-head by flaking off rough protuberances.

<sup>63</sup> Such beings as never die or that return to life after death, like sun and moon, are *mā'p'djamɛaina*. Some people were credited with this power of coming back to life and were termed *mā'p'djamɛaina*. This explanation was given by both Sam Bat'wi and Betty Brown. It differs somewhat from Curtin's definition of *Mapchemaina* (*op. cit.*, p. 445).

- t'ônɛt'ê' aigidja<sup>04</sup> bo'pɛdiyauna t'ônɛt'ê' aigidja<sup>04</sup> bô'-  
It was like | to this here | pitching tool of bone, | it was like | to this here | stone  
maul for chipping flint.
- 2 badjayauk!aina u'mite!i'mauyã` mite!bo'pɛdiyaunɛt'i' bopɛ-  
Being-two persons | they had pitching tools | little Bopɛdidjũ's.i
- didjũ's'ip!a ma!ldama u'mite!i'gumauyã` wã'k!balet' gi  
Ma!ldama | being-just-two persons. | They arose | at
- 4 ɛ'gunna aigi bas'i'dibilk'iea hagak!aisi'nigunɛt'<sup>05</sup> aite  
sweat-house | at it | when it was night all around. | It was made of nothing but  
flint rock | the
- ɛ'gunna bate!i'lt!ainɛt' hagak!a'ina di'nbilɛ aik' da'lla  
sweat-house, | it was thick | flint rock. | They put out all about | their | hands
- 6 gi ɛiwũ'lu dinma'idibilei t'ô'ɛ aigidj lu'lmaibanaumaɛa  
at | inside, | they put out their hands to feel all around, | they did like | to this | be  
every one blind.
- 'ũ' bo'pɛdiɛiɛ tũ'nɛt' aigidja bô'mamaiyauna gi haga-  
"Now! | chip off flint!" | He did | in this way here | tapping to seek (thin spot) |  
at | flint rock.
- 8 k!a'ina t'uiɛa'nɛandinɛt'ê gi hagak!a'ina bo'pɛdiyauna bô'-  
Now he put it on to it | at | flint rock | pitching tool of bone, | now he pounded  
away at it,
- badjandiɛ t'ô'ɛ aigidj<sup>06</sup> maldama` s+ s+ t'ĩwaldiɛ  
he did like | to this | Ma!ldama. | "S+ s+," | it said falling down to ground
- 10 ha'ga yã'te'ulda'diwaldinɛt' ai ha'ga gi bi'wi t'ũ'-  
flint, | it made noise as it fell down to ground | it | flint | at | earth. | Now doing
- yauand aigidj iyũ'ik'ie bopɛdidjũ's'ip!a mũ'mawiniguɛ  
in this way | when it is day | little Bopɛdidjũ's.i | he likewise worked,
- 12 bô'mamaima'tɛdjagguɛi` p!ut!ã'ɛandisi bô'badjaɛ a'igidja  
he tapped every little while to test (thinness). | It is thin now. | He pounded away |  
there.
- w+ t'ĩwaldiɛ aite hagak!aina lai'ɛwi!ldibilyauwaɛa`  
"W+," | it said falling down to ground | the | flint rock | pieces (of flint) being  
chipped off all about.
- 14 bô'mamaiɛi s+ t'ĩwaldiɛ aite ha'ga gi bi'wi bô'-  
They tapped to test (thinness). | "S+," | it said falling down to ground | the | flint |  
at | earth. | Again they pounded
- badjat'imaiɛ aik' bô'pɛdiyauna t'ũ'nɛt' a'igidj bo''p'a-  
their | pitching tools of bone. | They did | in this way, | they broke right through,

<sup>04</sup> Sam felt it necessary to demonstrate the action described in the text by means of knife and ruler which he used respectively for *bo'pɛdiyauna* and *bô'badjayauk!aina*; *a'igidja* refers to knife and ruler.

<sup>05</sup> *ha'ga* is flint as small piece, arrow-head, reject; *hagak!a'i(na)* is flint in mass, as immovable rock.

<sup>06</sup> Accompanied by tapping ruler on knife against window.

te'it'e<sup>1</sup> bo'p'atc'ite'a'ndinet' īyū'wule hale'a'ianiē ba'p'a-  
 now they have broken right through. | Day entered, | now it was lit up, | having  
 been broken right through,  
 te'i'teyauwa<sup>a</sup> hale'a'ie ai ē'gunna nidura'mandin<sup>e</sup>t' ai 2  
 it was lit up | it | sweat-house. | Now they went back outside | they  
 yā'na nidu'm'djaya'uandi nidura'myauant'<sup>1</sup>  
 people | now keeping going back | now going back outside.

#### THE VISIT OF THE GEESE PEOPLE TO MOUNT SHASTA.<sup>67</sup>

Flint Rock had his sweat-house at Mount Shasta. Flint Rock was a chief and lived there at Mount Shasta. "I shall send word to people for them to come," said the chief, named Flint Rock Chief. "I intend to have a dance," said the chief. "Do you go to the south and tell the people to come, far away in the south. Who is it that can run, so as to go and tell the people in the south? Go tell them to come! Go tell the Geese people to come! Go tell the Crane people to come! Go tell the White Geese to come! Go tell the Heron people in the south to come!" "It is I who shall go to tell them. I am a good runner," said Humming-bird. "So!" said the chief, "do so! Go tell them to come!" "What is it that I shall say?" said Humming-bird. "Pray tell them people are having a dance. Pray tell them Flint Rock Chief is having a dance." Humming-bird wrapped a wildcat skin about his head and made himself all ready.

Off he flew, flew to the south. The Geese people were living in the south, the Geese people lived there in great numbers. There was a sweat-house, and Humming-bird flew about over the smoke-hole of the sweat-house. "Bū's, bū's, bū's, bū's," he said, for that was Humming-bird's way of talking. He was talking to the Geese, telling them the news. Many were the people that looked at Humming-bird, flying about at the smoke-hole. "What sort of person can that be talking? His language is not under-

<sup>67</sup> This myth reads very much like an explanation or mythic rendition of the yearly migration of the geese and other aquatic birds to the north. The Geese people danced at Cī'p!a (see note 51) just as the geese of today frequent the same spot. It would be going too far, however, to maintain that the myth in its entirety is directly based on the observation of natural events. In its first portion it is strikingly similar to the beginning of Betty Brown's story of "Coyote, Heron, and Lizard" (no. XII).

stood. Perhaps he has come to tell us something, but we do not understand his language. "Bū's, bū's, bū's, bū's," Humming-bird kept saying, talking at the smoke-hole of the sweat-house. "What he says is unintelligible," said the Geese and White Geese, said the Herons, said the Whistling Swans.

Coyote was living with them. "Hehe'e! This language is not understood. I cannot make out what he is saying. Go and talk to Coyote. He is always saying that he understands every language. Go tell him to come." Someone was sent to tell Coyote to come. (On arriving at Coyote's house he said,) "You! You have been sent for." "What's that?" said Coyote. "Indeed, somebody has flown up to here, and nobody understands his language." "Indeed! It is I who understand the speech of far to the north." Now Coyote arose and went into the sweat-house. Coyote sat down inside, and Humming-bird kept saying, "Bū's, bū's, bū's, bū's," flying around over the smoke-hole. "We do not understand him," said the people there. Coyote sat down, hung his head down, and listened. "Hä!" said Coyote, and he lifted up his eyes. He reported the news to the Geese people. "Flint Rock Chief has sent for you to come," said Coyote. "This one says that you should peel bark off the trees to make string. That is what this humming-bird says."<sup>68</sup> "Indeed!" said the people of the south. "He sends for you. This one says that you should take bark off of *bā'ni*<sup>69</sup> bushes so as to make string," said Coyote, reporting to them what he had heard. "He wants you to start out today," said Coyote. "That's all that humming-bird has to say."

"Bū's, bū's, bū's," Humming-bird kept saying, flying about over the smoke-hole. The Geese people said, "Hehe'e! he would be flying off back home, if his language had been understood. It seems that you do not understand Humming-bird's words, that is why he does not fly off. If you had understood his language, he would have flown back home." Coyote said no more. (The

<sup>68</sup> Coyote's explanation of Humming-bird's message is of course an absurd invention on his part. The Geese people, according to him, are to go north in order to help the northern chief make string.

<sup>69</sup> A brown-colored bush from the bark of which the Indians made string. Very possibly to be identified with *Apocynum cannabinum*, "Indian hemp."

chief said,) "Go and tell Meadow-lark Woman about it. She always says that she can understand the language of the far north." A certain man ran off to tell Meadow-lark Woman about it. "He wants you to come." "Who is it that wants me to come?" "It is Goose Chief that wants to have you come. We do not understand Humming-bird's language, and so he has sent for you." Coyote went off home, and now the woman came. She did not enter the sweat-house. Meadow-lark Woman talked with Humming-bird; Meadow-lark talked her own language in speaking outside the house with Humming-bird. They flew up together in the air, talking to each other. Now Humming-bird flew off home in the air, flew back home to the north.

The woman came down and sat in the sweat-house, the sweat-house of the Geese. "He came to tell you," she said, reporting to them what she had heard, "he came from Flint Rock Chief to tell you. He says that Flint Rock Chief is having a dance, that he has been sent after you; that is what Humming-bird says." Goose Chief said, "Indeed! Put your feather head-dresses outside to give them an airing! Hang your head-bands around! Wash your necklaces of shell beads! My people, let us go there to have a dance. Her words, telling us of Humming-bird's message, are good. Look at Coyote going off home! He did not tell that to us. Coyote was lying." Many were the people that started off. Now they were all dressed up. "Put nets on your heads. Put on your white head-bands. Put beads about your necks," (said Goose Chief). Now they came from the south, and camped over night at Cí'p!a.<sup>51</sup> "Let us rest here over night. Early in the morning let us practice dancing here. Let us go north dancing. Who is it that will lead the dance?" "I shall be the one to lead the dance," said Coyote. "No. It is the chief that shall lead in the dance." "No," said Coyote, "it is I who will lead the dance, for I am a chief." "Do you think that he who is not a chief leads in a dance?" (they said to him.) "Hê!" said Coyote, "they call me chief. Far off in the east they tell me that I am a chief," said Coyote. "They call me chief far off in the south, they call me chief far off in the west, they call me chief far off in the north. I travel all around in every

direction," said Coyote. "I have never before heard people calling me Coyote. Today for the first time I heard myself called dog," said Coyote. "Well! Go ahead, lead us in the dance."

The people started in to dance at Cī'p!a. "'Inī'yaha," went Coyote's song. "Wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā', wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā', wē'yahinā' 'inī'yahinā'," went Coyote's song, while they all danced. Now they proceeded north as they danced. Coyote danced in company with Meadow-lark Woman. Very pretty was that woman with her apron of rodent bones strung on buck-skin tassels and with a round tule basket-cap that she had on her head. As they proceeded north the Geese filed up in a long line from the south, dancing. All the Geese people, every sort of person that was there, had wings. Coyote alone did not have wings. Coyote led the dance singing away, while the Geese people filed up from the south, dancing as they proceeded north. "'E', 'e', 'e', 'e'," whispered the people. They flew up into the air, went right up, all of them, and continued their dance northwards while flying in the air.

Coyote looked up and found himself all alone, dancing on the ground; they had all left Coyote behind and were moving northwards in the air. "What are you doing?" said Coyote, talking up to them in the air, as he found himself abandoned by all. The Geese went right on to the north. Suddenly Coyote stopped dancing and started to run. Coyote ran to the north, came running after the people to one side. Coyote ran across the river, running down the mountains, running up the mountains. He looked very ugly, his legs were bruised with thorns, he was covered with blood, his feet were swollen, his legs were cut up by the rocks and scratched by the brush. Coyote was coming running after them, running all by himself now.

Now the Geese people arrived at Mount Shasta, at Flint Rock's sweat-house. They danced around the sweat-house on the ground. Coyote had not come; indeed he was dead, having been tired out and hungry. The South people danced around, dancing around together in a circle. When it was dark they stopped dancing. Flint Rock Chief spoke out loud, "Get wood! Build a fire in the sweat-house! These people will go inside."



The South people entered, they were chuck full in the sweat-house. "Let us go outside," said the chief, talking (to his own people). "Let us make a fire outside in the night time." The sweat-house was crowded, the people filled it entirely. Those who belonged to that house all moved outside. There were the Geese people inside, all by themselves, sitting inside the sweat-house. Flint Rock Chief shut the door of the sweat-house, so the sweat-house was totally dark; there was no daylight whatever. The people outside, the owners of the sweat-house, were making much noise, having a good time. Three times it was day and three times it was night, and there was no daylight inside; it was always night. The people outside were having a good time pounding acorns and hunting deer.

"This looks bad. Daylight must have appeared long ago." The people inside felt around with their hands. There was no fire there and they were hungry and thirsty. "He has shut the door on us, he is angry at us," said they inside. "Four days and four nights have passed and there is no daylight yet. What shall we do? We are all going to be killed. Hehe<sup>e</sup>! Would that I could get outside again! Have not any of you perchance a flint flaker? Have not any of you perchance a flaking maul?" "Yes," said Ma'dama.<sup>70</sup> "I have a pitching tool." "I also have a pitching tool," said Bop<sup>e</sup>didjū's.i.<sup>71</sup> "Yes," said the chief, "it is you that always say that you have supernatural power." The pitching tool was like this here,<sup>72</sup> the flaking maul was like this here.<sup>72</sup> Those two men, little Bop<sup>e</sup>didjū's.i and Ma'dama, had pitching tools. They arose in the sweat-house in the night that surrounded them all. The sweat-house was made entirely of flint rock, thick was the flint rock. They put out their hands inside and felt around all over. They were all like blind men. "Now! pound away!" This is how they did, pounding away at the flint rock to test for a thin spot. Now he pushed his pitching tool against the flint rock and pounded on it with his maul. This is how Ma'dama did.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>70</sup> A bird of dark-brown color, of about the size of a meadow-lark.

<sup>71</sup> An unidentified bug. The name means "one who chips off flint."

<sup>72</sup> See note 64.

“S·s,” said the chips of flint as they fell to the ground. The flakes made a noise as they were thrown to the ground. Thus he kept it up all day, and little Bop<sup>‘</sup>dijū’s-i worked too. Every little while they pounded around with their hands to see how thick it was. Now it became thin and they pounded away at that spot. “S!” said the flint chips as they fell splintered off to the ground. They pounded with their hands to see how thick it was. “S!” said the flakes falling down on the ground. Again they pounded with their pitching tools. Thus they did and burst right through the wall. Now they had made a hole right through. The light of day streamed in, it became daylight as soon as the hole had been burst through. The sweat-house was lit up. Now the people returned. They all came out again, returned out of the sweat-house.<sup>73</sup>

#### IV. BLUEJAY’S JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE MOON.

- ‘a’net<sup>‘</sup> aite yā’na k’ yā’map!ayauna k’ê’teliwāla  
They were many | the | people | their | dwelling with him | Bluejay.
- 2 mite!ē’gun<sup>‘</sup>t’i` om<sup>‘</sup>edji’yau gi ba’na wak!a’lp!a<sup>‘</sup> gi  
He had sweat-house | killing | to | deer. | He had as wife | to
- ‘ite!i’nmari<sup>‘</sup>emi k’ê’teliwāla yō’hai<sup>‘</sup> ai ‘ite!i’nmari<sup>‘</sup>emi  
Wildcat Woman | Bluejay. | She was pregnant | she | Wildcat Woman.
- 4 am<sup>‘</sup>edji’yau ban ai k’ê’teliwāla mite!ā’ba<sup>‘</sup> ɛai k’ê’teliwāla  
Being killed | deer | he | Bluejay | lucky man | he | Bluejay.
- djo’yura’idibile<sup>‘</sup>a k’u’ls’ieayauna gi ba’na ba’ri<sup>‘</sup>e djū’ri<sup>‘</sup>e  
he had it hanging all over to dry | causing it to be dry | to | deer meat. | It rained, |  
it snowed.
- 6 wayu’ndin<sup>‘</sup>t’ ai ma’ri<sup>‘</sup>emi wa’yū<sup>‘</sup> ɛaigite ɛ’gunmat’<sup>u</sup>  
Now she gave birth to child | she | woman, | she gave birth to child | at the | sweat-  
house place
- iwū’lu k’u dē’waiyau ɛai k’ê’teliwāla wa’yūyauk’ie<sup>‘</sup>a  
inside, | not | seeing | he | Bluejay | she giving birth to child.
- 8 p’ô’djan<sup>‘</sup> ai ‘ite!i’nmari<sup>‘</sup>emi` k’<sup>‘</sup> dā’t’i nīdū’an<sup>‘</sup> ai  
She bathed him | she | Wildcat Woman | her child. | He arrived home | he

<sup>73</sup> The ending seems abrupt even for an Indian story. Sam said that he never heard how the Geese people returned home but thought that the myth ended where he stopped.

k'ê'teliwāla mumarisi'ndj t'ī'net' ai 'ite!i'n mariemi  
Bluejay. | "I have baby," | she said | she | Wildcat Woman

gayā'wauyau gi k'ê'teliwāla ā' t'lini'gumauna gayā'net' 2  
talking to him | to | Bluejay. | "So!" | being little | he spoke,

gak!ê'railaugunet'<sup>1</sup> gat'djā'p!ayauna bas'ī'andik'ie p'ô'djan-  
he just spoke drawing out slowly | answering. | When it was already night | now  
bathing him

ēyauant'<sup>1</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'<sup>1</sup> han'ē'a'ip!ama<sup>ē</sup> wā'k'iram<sup>ē</sup> ai 4  
her | child, | it was morning, | he stood outside | he

k'ê'teliwāla gi ē'gunna gawa'udibile<sup>1</sup> 'i'mēila'biyau gi  
Bluejay | at | sweat-house. | He shouted around to them | waking them up | to

yā' p'ieba'lwiē<sup>ē</sup> ga'ihaup!a<sup>ē</sup> ga'im'djip!a<sup>ē</sup> dō'site<sup>ē</sup> 6  
people. | "Get up, all of you!" | he was heard shouting east, | he was heard shouting  
west. | "Flake flints!"

amū<sup>ē</sup> dju manne<sup>i</sup> gi ē'a'una gi'maiha'nik' ba'na  
warm up | the your | bows | at | fire! | Let us find | deer!"

t'ū<sup>ē</sup> ai yā'na p'iebal<sup>ē</sup> k'unū'yau ēiyū'iji<sup>ē74</sup> nīs-ā'- 8  
They did so | they | people. | They got up | not yet being | be day. | Now they  
went off

andie aite yā'na ba'iruyauna nīdā'widibi'lgusit!ō<sup>ē</sup> t'ī<sup>ē</sup>  
the | people | going to hunt deer. | "I shall just go about beside (you)," | he said

ai k'ê'teliwāla mumarip'a'us-iwandja' nīs-ā'andie dji 10  
he | Bluejay, | "I have had child born to me." | Now they went off | the

yā'na da'ērā'wiyā' ba'iyauant'<sup>1</sup> k'u ba'ie ai k'ê'teli-  
people | those common people | now hunting deer. | Not | he hunted deer | he | Blue-  
jay,

wāla nihate'di'bilguei nīdū'an<sup>ē</sup> k'ê'teliwāla bā'wis-ak'ie 12  
he merely went about. | He arrived home | Bluejay | when it was dark,

djuk'unā'duwaldie wadā't'in<sup>ē</sup> ai k'ê'teliwāla ba'igu-  
he sat down where he was wont to sit. | He had child | he | Bluejay | being one.

mauna u'si' ēiyū'iyaugu<sup>ē</sup> i'dja'nyauna gamā<sup>ē</sup> aite 14  
It is two | just being days | he growing. | "Give me | the

dā't'i 'ite!i'n mariemi du'mmanawau<sup>ē</sup> du'mmanabile<sup>ē</sup> ai  
child!" | Wildcat Woman | she gave it to him in his arms. | He fondled him in his  
arms | he

k'ê'teliwāla te!up<sup>ē</sup>!a'nna<sup>i</sup> te!up<sup>ē</sup>!a'nna<sup>i</sup> dā't'ini'k' 16  
Bluejay. | "He is very good, | he is very good | our child."

ya'ēbidja'iwau<sup>ē</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'i dut'ya'andin<sup>ē</sup> k'ê'teliwā'na-  
He played with him | his | child. | Now he became older | already young

<sup>74</sup> Presumably this word would normally be *iyū'is-ī<sup>ē</sup>*, *j* (= *j* in French *jeu*) being no normal Yana sound (*dj*, = *j* in English *just*, is always felt to be one simple sound). Nevertheless, Sam Bat'wī quite frequently pronounced *j* in just this particular word.

p!andi` t'ók't'anet'ê eai umu'iyā gi udj'iyā yaebi-  
Bluejay, | he looked just like him | he | young person | to | old person. | He played

- 2 dja'ie aite k'ê'te!iwānap! irā'mi  
the | young Bluejay | outside.

yô'gat'djaiēa k'ê'te!iwānap!a gi iwana'uwadjup!a da-  
He played at rolling ball up hill | young Bluejay | at | little distance on side of hill  
towards south, | it was smooth down hill on south.

- 4 k'anū'rit'p'aēa hanēa'ip!amat'imaiē 'i'ramē gawa'udibilē  
It was morning again, | he went outside, | he shouted around to them.

p'i'labiwiēē ba'iwie gi ba'na t'ū'e ai yā'na p'iebal-  
"Wake up, all of you! | hunt deer | at | deer!" | They did so | they | people | getting  
up,

- 6 yauna nīs-ā'andie ba'iruyauna k'ê'te!iwā'la nīdū'anē  
now they went off | going to hunt deer. | Bluejay | he arrived back home

bā'wis'ak'ie yô'hait'p'au'djandisi'ndj t'i'nēt' ai 'ite!i'n-  
when it was dark. | "I am now pregnant again," | she said | she | Wildcat Woman,

- 8 mariēmi gayā'wauē gi k'ê'te!iwāla dja'le aite k'ê'te!i-  
she talked to him | to | Bluejay. | He laughed | the | Bluejay

wāla t'i'yauk'ie gi<sup>75</sup> ma'riēmi hanēa'ip!amat'imaiē nīs-ā'e  
she saying it | at | woman. | It was morning again, | he went off

- 10 ai k'ê'te!iwāla nīha'unet' k'u'yau ba'iei nīhat'dī'bilgu-  
he | Bluejay. | He went east | not being | hunt deer | merely going about.

yauna wayut'p'a'ut'imaiē wayuē a'igite iwi'ldjanna  
She gave birth to child again, | she gave birth to child | at the | across on north side.

- 12 muru'le ai k'ê'te!iwāla gi eimawil't'p'a nīdū'anē ai  
He lay | he | Bluejay | at | across there on south side. | He arrived home | he

kê'te!wāla bō'nat'p'au'djandiea` wayū's'inte t'iwa'uyau  
Bluejay, | she now had baby again. | "I have given birth to child," | saying to him

- 14 gi k'ê'te!iwāla ā' ts!u'pēs p'ô'djanēayauand ai ma'-  
to | Bluejay. | "So! | it is good." | Now bathing him | she | woman

riēmi bas'īk'iea hanēa'ip!amak'ie k'u nīs-ā'e ai k'ê'-  
when it was night, | when it was morning | not | he went away | he | Bluejay.

- 16 te!iwāla gamā'e t'i'nēt' yaēbidja'ie irām ai k'ê'te!i-  
"Give him to me!" | he said. | He was playing | outside | he | young Bluejay

wānap!a` yô'gatdjaiēayauna 'i'ndanēt' yô'gatdjaiēē'yau  
playing at rolling ball up hill, | he made | ball wherewith to roll up hill

- 18 gi p'a'si hanēa'ip!ayaubanauma du'mmanawauē aik'  
to | buckeye. | Every morning | she gave it to him in his arms | her

<sup>75</sup> This hardly seems correct; t'i'yauk'ie ai ma'riēmi would be expected.

dā't'i gi k'ê'teliwāla du'mmanak!ame aik'<sup>1</sup> dā't'i  
child | to | Bluejay. | He took it in his arms | his | child,

mini'nuwaunet' te'u'k'iea gi k!ā'gaisip!a' 2  
he looked at them | his eyes | to | baby.

djū'rie ai irā'm<sup>1</sup> p'a'dja mik!a'ie aite k'ê'teliwāla  
It snowed | it | outside | snow. | He was angry | the | Bluejay.

k'us'indj k!u'ndjoe dju dā't'<sup>1</sup> t'iwau<sup>e</sup> aik' wak!alp!a- 4  
"Not I | like | the your | child," | he said to her | his | wife.

yauna t'u'iduwau<sup>e</sup> du'mmanaduk!ame k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'i k'us'  
He gave it to her, | she took it back into her arms | her | child. | "Not is

bé' eaidji dā't'indj aite wadā'tiwa'us'inigu<sup>e</sup> t!u's' 6  
be he that is | the | my child | this here. | He has given child to (you) | another man."

gašlā'ē ai mariemi t'i'myauwa gi k'ê'teliwāla 'i'ram<sup>e</sup>  
She cried | she | woman | thus having been spoken to | by | Bluejay. | "Go outside!"

t'i'ē ai k'ê'teliwāla gi ma'riemi djuk!unā'ē gi irā'm 8  
he said | he | Bluejay | to | woman, | "stay | at | outside!"

k'us'indj k!u'ndjup!a<sup>e</sup> djuk!unā'yau<sup>e</sup>nu gi e'gun bō'ne<sup>a</sup>  
Not I am | like | your staying | at | sweat-house. | Have your baby

gi e'irā'm k'u 'i'ramiyau eai ma'riemi wā'k!alandi<sup>e</sup> 10  
at | outside!" | Not | going outside | she | woman | he now arose

ai k'ê'teliwāla gamā' aidju dā't'<sup>1</sup> k'ê'teliwāla dji-  
he | Bluejay. | "Give (me) | the your | child!" | Bluejay | he now snatched it from  
her

wa'uandie k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'i 'u'ldjagildjamet' gi dā't'i ga- 12  
her | child, | he threw it out through smoke-hole to north | at | child, | crying

lā'yaun ai ma'riemi mē'eaiyau k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'i k'us'indj  
she | woman | weeping for it | her | child. | "I am not

bé'ē aidje dji dā't'i te'is'k' aik' te'u' te'ilte'uis' 14  
be he that is | that one | the (my) | child. | His are big | his | eyes, | he is big-eyed.

mini'np'au<sup>e</sup> aik' dal' k'us' t'ū<sup>e</sup> aigidji da'l'elite'  
Look at them | his | hands! | Not they are | do | to the | my hands,"

t'i'net' ai k'ê'teliwāla t'iwauyau gi ma'riemi' k'us' 16  
he said | he | Bluejay | saying to her | to | woman. | Not he is

baek'u't!alai<sup>e</sup> dju dā't'inu k'ū's'k'i' môt!uima<sup>e</sup> ai  
have hair standing up straight on his head | the (your) | your child, | not is his." |  
He rejected him as child | he

k'ê'teliwāla u eai dji dā't'indj ai irā'm t'ū's' aigite 18  
Bluejay. | "Is | he | the | my child | he | outside, | he does so | to the

baek'u't!al'aiyau djie'iram<sup>e</sup> ai ma'riemi du'mmanadu-  
having hair standing up straight on his head." | She went outside after it | she |  
woman, | she came back into house with it in her arms

- wul<sup>e</sup> k' dā't'i gi ɛ'gunna djiduwa'ut'imai<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'-  
her | child | at | sweat-house. | Again he snatched it back from her | he | Bluejay,
- 2 te'liwāla 'u'ldjadugi'ldjam't'imai<sup>e</sup> 'i'ram<sup>e</sup> 'i'ram<sup>e</sup> 'i'ram<sup>e</sup>  
again he threw it back through smoke-hole to north. | "Go out! | go out! | go out!"
- ma'riem' du'mmanadubal<sup>e</sup> k' dā't'i k'u i'dummaidu-  
Woman | she took it up back into her arms | her | child, | not | she went back into  
house
- 4 wul<sup>e</sup> ai mari'm<sup>e</sup> galē'yauna djuk'unā'andī<sup>e</sup> ai irā'm  
she | woman | weeping. | Now she stayed | she | outside  
'ibiya'u gi irā'm ba'neyauna ma'riemi'  
building house | at | outside | dead bark | woman.
- 6 dimā'n<sup>e</sup>ai<sup>k</sup>'u babi'l<sup>e</sup> ai ite'i'np'la atē'i'mah aidju  
By and by | he ran around | he | young Wildcat. | "What is | the your  
djuk'unē'ā'mai'<sup>76</sup> gi irā'm nīnā'<sup>77</sup> i'mdamsiwandj nīnā'  
that (you) stay therefore | at | outside, | mother!" | "He has driven me out of  
house." | "Mother!
- 8 ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'iruyau a'ite imana'uwadjup! mo'djayau a'ite  
I shall go to play | right there | there at short distance south on side of hill. | I shall  
take him along | right there."  
ma'djā<sup>e</sup> ma'djā<sup>e</sup> ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'ip'au<sup>e</sup> ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'ip'au<sup>e</sup> 'a'n-  
"Take him along! | take him along! | Play with him! | play with him!" | Now they  
went off
- 10 s'andī<sup>e</sup> ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'iruyau ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'ieandī<sup>e</sup> iyū'ik'ie imana'u-  
going in order to play. | Now they played | when it was day | there at short distance  
south on side of hill.  
wadjup'la' 'a'nm'djindī<sup>e</sup> ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'imaun<sup>a</sup> dut<sup>e</sup>yā'andī<sup>e</sup>  
Now they went west | playing. | He had grown older
- 12 'ite'i'np'la wawa'ldī<sup>e</sup> k'ê'teliwā'nap'la gi k'la'ina mi-  
young Wildcat. | He sat down | young Bluejay | at | rock, | he looked about  
nī'ndibile aite k'ê'teliwā'nap'la gīmaya'un<sup>a</sup> 'm 'm' k'ê'-  
the | young Bluejay | thinking. | "Hm, hm!" | young Bluejay
- 14 teliwānap'la t'i'ie k' dju'guteli 'u'ldjaramyau<sup>e</sup>numa dji  
he said | his | heart, | "your throwing him out of doors | the  
umā'yā<sup>e</sup>nidja tē'iga'llā wā'k!bal<sup>e</sup> 'a'nm'djindī<sup>e</sup> iyū'ik'iea  
my brother, | father!" | He arose, | they went west now | when it was day,
- 16 'a'nmidi gi wī'tc'uman<sup>e</sup>na<sup>78</sup> ya<sup>e</sup>bidja'ie p'ū'djanyauna  
they went as far as | to | Wī'tc'uman<sup>e</sup>na. | They played | bathing.

<sup>76</sup> = *djuk'unē'ā'maiw*. It is often difficult to hear final -w.

<sup>77</sup> In gat'ā<sup>e</sup>i vocatives of *nī'na* "mother" and *tē'iga'l(la)* "father" are formed from these stems: *nīnā'* and *tē'iga'llā* (see above, l. 15). In garī<sup>e</sup>i special vocatives in *ga-* are employed: *ga'nnā* "mother!" and *ga'isīnā* "father!" (see p. 139, ll. 12, 14.)

<sup>78</sup> This place name contains as its first element *wī'tc'u* "salt." Near *Wī'tc'uman<sup>e</sup>na* was a swamp from which salt in the form of a black mud was taken and dried in the sun for use. Neighboring tribes (Pit Rivers, Hat Creek Indians, and Wintuns) were often wont to come here for their supply of salt. The Yanas were called *Tī'esaitci* "salt people" by the Pit River Indians.

- k'us'ínu dé'waidummai<sup>e</sup> a'ienidja<sup>79</sup> te'iga'llā gawa'u<sup>e</sup>  
 "Not you shall | see again | me, | father!" | She shouted for them
- 'ite!i'nmariem<sup>1</sup> da'tet'iwi k'ū<sup>e</sup> babi'landi<sup>e</sup> ai mariem<sup>1</sup> 2  
 Wildcat Woman | children, | they were not. | Now she ran about | she | woman
- 'inyauant'<sup>1</sup> k'u dé'waiyau k'<sup>1</sup> da'tet'iwi t'ū'k'aina<sup>e</sup>  
 now looking for them | not | seeing them | her | children. | He did likewise
- ai k'ê'teliwāla 'inyauna mī'a'ndi<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'teliwāla 4  
 he | Bluejay | looking for them. | Now he wept | he | Bluejay,
- ī'lealaut'e'uip!a<sup>e</sup> gi bī'wi wa'i k'ê'teliwāla t'ī'ei nidū'k'isi<sup>e</sup>  
 he put dirt on his face | at | earth. | "Wai!" | Bluejay | he said, | "come back,
- dā't'inā biri'εmak'u dju t'ū'miriwa 'a'nm'djindi<sup>e</sup> ai 6  
 O son! | Where might be | the your | that (you) do thereto!" | Now they went west |  
 they
- k'ê'teliwānap!a 'ite!i'np!a 'a'np'itēi gi djite'itē't'p'ā'mauna.  
 young Bluejay | young Wildcat, | they went as far as | to | Djite'itē't'p'ā'mauna.
- mauna<sup>80</sup> wawa'ldi<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'teliwānap!a miya'uand ai 8  
 He sat down | he | young Bluejay | now weeping | they
- dja'uhauna wā'k'!bale ai k'ê'teliwānap!a nimī'ri<sup>e</sup> gi  
 east. | He arose | he | young Bluejay, | he went as far as | to
- tel'iyu djuk'unā<sup>e</sup> 10  
 Tel'iyu, | he remained there.
- ya'n<sup>e</sup>t' ai dju'ga gi tel'iyu ba'igumauna ni-  
 He dwelt | he | Silkworm | at | Tel'iyu | being one. | "Let us go that far' to rest  
 over night
- djā'anha'nigi unē'i'manigi gayā'wau<sup>e</sup> gi 'ite!i'np!a 12  
 our uncle," | he talked to him | to | young Wildcat.
- dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu ma'n<sup>e</sup>inā<sup>81</sup> u'mitel'imauna dan<sup>e</sup>ma'una sa'wa  
 "May there quickly be | bows | being two | being many | arrows!
- dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu wawildjuwā'eminā<sup>81</sup> banē'i'mau gi sa'wa 14  
 May there quickly be | otter-skin quivers | being filled | to | arrows!"
- t'ū<sup>e</sup> mi'te!k'i<sup>e</sup> ai sa'wa ma'n<sup>e</sup>i djidjā'andi<sup>e</sup>  
 It did so, | they appeared hither | they | arrows, | bows. | Now they shot,
- djidjā'sawa'mte!iyauna lā'widja'bananaumam'djan<sup>e</sup>t'ê djidjā<sup>e</sup> 16  
 shooting arrows in rivalry. | Both kept shooting with strength. | He shot
- k'ê'teliwānap!a djumī'ri<sup>e</sup> gi p'a'ūs'amauna gi dja'u-  
 young Bluejay, | he shot up to | at | being far distant | at | south.

<sup>79</sup> The fact that the 1st per. obj. is not incorporated in the verb, but is expressed as an independent word, makes this sentence very emphatic. Ordinarily we should have: *k'us'it'ô* "I shall not be," *dīwa'idummaidja* "you again see me."

<sup>80</sup> = Flowing-off-south.

<sup>81</sup> Vocative -nā is suffixed to names of objects supernaturally wished for.

- rp'a 'ū djīdjā'ei t'ī' ai k'ēteliwānapala dji-  
"Now! | shoot!" | he said | he | young Bluejay. | Now he shot
- 2 djā'andī ai 'ite!īnp!a djumī'ri k'ī s'awa p'aūs'a-  
he | young Wildcat, | he shot up to there | his | arrow | being far distant.
- mauna telup'eāndisi k'ēteliwānap!a t'ī'ei 'e't!īnē wa-  
"It is good now," | young Bluejay | he said. | He slung it over his shoulder | otter-  
skin quiver
- 4 wī'ldjuwāemi k'ēteliwānap!a t'ūwiniguē ai 'ite!īnp!a  
young Bluejay, | he did likewise | he | young Wildcat.
- nim'djī'ndī bā'wisak'ie date'wu'lē gi wawī' 'i'wulē  
Now they went west | when it was dark. | They looked in | at | house, | he went in
- 6 ai k'ēteliwānap!a dju'ga k' wa'wk'iea djō'p!utewa'l-  
he | young Bluejay | Silkworm | his | house. | He had it sticking in ground
- dīnēt' djuk!unēā'rīmauna k'ī lu'mi minī'ndamē dju'ga  
place of sitting | his | javelin. | He looked outside | Silkworm.
- 8 'ê+ dju'ga t'ī'nēt' dī'nduwauē k' lu'mi a'mbimahaē-  
"Hê+!" | Silkworm | he said, | he put his hand out for it | his | javelin, | "Who are  
you (pl.)!"
- nugā' bē'nidja unē'manā' bē'nidja t'ī'simak!unuma'  
"It is I, | uncle!" | "It is I, | what might you say!"
- 10 ā' dju'ga t'ī'ei ya'iwaldiwi'ei'ē ya'iwaldīnēt' u'mite!ī'-  
Sol" | Silkworm | he said. | "Do you (pl.) sit down!" | They sat down | being two.
- mauna biri'mēah aidju 'a'ndjumaēnuga bē'k'ī'nigi  
"Where is | the (your) | your (pl.) going from there?" | "It is we who are
- 12 'a'nbalmaēa gi ba'nēxa ā' 'u'ldjaramsi tē'iga'lēlidja  
start from there | at | Ba'nēxa." | "Indeed!" | "He has thrown him out of doors | my  
father
- a'igidja umā'yāēnidja mō't!uimayauna ā' 'ā'bamauyā  
here | my brother, | rejecting him as his child." | "Indeed!" | being-old person
- 14 t'ī'ei biri'mēah adju 'a'nmiriyauna bē'nidj mau  
he said. | "Where is | the your (pl.) | going thereto?" | "It is I who am | about to
- nī'ē!p'auruyauna gi da'mhaujūmudjaup!ā<sup>82</sup> yā'nēt' da'm-  
proceed to go after him | to | New Moon Chief." | He dwelt | New Moon Chief
- 16 haudjumudjaup!ā ī'walte'<sup>1</sup> dā'ha<sup>83</sup> maus'indj wawu'l-  
west on this side | river. | "I shall be | going to woo her
- wauyau k'ī dā't'ī k!u'ndju'asindj k'ī dā't'ī ā'  
his | child, | I desire her | his | child." | "Indeed!"
- 18 dju'ga t'ī'ei hehe'ē malla'p!amaun a'idjeē 'a'nmauyāna  
Silkworm | he said. | "Hehe'ē! | being bad | that one. | Being many people

<sup>82</sup> *da'mhaujūsi*: new moon comes up from west.<sup>83</sup> Sacramento river is meant.



- o'm<sup>e</sup>djindis*i* ya'iwulp'auyauk'iwa k' dā't'i k'lun o'm<sup>e</sup>-  
he has already killed them | his own having been come for to be wooed | his | child |  
and he has been | kill them
- dje<sup>e</sup> gi yā'na 'a'np!annain<sup>e</sup>t' k'<sup>i</sup> da'tet'iwi k'<sup>i</sup> 2  
to | people." | Very many were | his | children, | his
- yā<sup>e</sup>aigu ate'ī'mat'k' o'm<sup>e</sup>djimagaā'wa dē'mari<sup>e</sup>as-ī'<sup>84</sup> gi  
own people. | "What is said to be his | that he kills thereby!" | "He fills his pipe | at
- ei'dal<sup>e</sup>syā' 'i'ndas mō'na gi ei'dal<sup>e</sup>syā' dē'mari<sup>e</sup>ask'i 4  
dead-people's bones. | He makes | tobacco | at | dead-people's bones, | he fills theirs  
into his pipe
- p'ā'k'lul<sup>e</sup>amyā' dju'ga t'ī'ei p'us-a'bu'djas*i* djō'waus gi  
dead people's brains," | Silkworm | he said. | "First he smokes. | He offers it to them |  
to
- yā'na kliga'lm'si p'us-ā's aite yā'na ya'iwulwau 6  
people | pipe, | they smoke | the | people | who have come to woo,
- p'us-ā's*i* k'lun yāgate'ba'lei da'mhaudjumudjaup!ā mé'-  
they smoke | and they are | drop back dead. | New Moon Chief | he throws them north  
through smoke-hole
- gildjams*i* k' dila'uyauk'iea t'ō's a'igidja dila'umau 8  
their | having died. | Thus are many | there | being dead
- te<sup>e</sup> yā'na  
the | people.
- dji'k'lueayauna k'ê'teliwānap!a 'ū' nī'ei'wauruha<sup>e</sup>nigi` 10  
Listening to him | young Bluejay: | "Well! | Let us proceed to go to him!"
- nimma'iguyauna dju'ga t'ī'ei wadā't'imauyari'winā nīm'-  
"I shall go along," | Silkworm | he said, | "O nephews!" | Now they went west,
- dji'ndie nī'ridjindie u'mite!ī'mauna p'u'diwi ya'ik'u- 12  
now they went west down hill. | Being two | women | they were sitting
- nan<sup>e</sup>t' īwī'launa gi mā't!adjuwa wī'dubal<sup>e</sup>t' ai k'ê'-  
across on east side | at | sweat-house. | He tied it up into top-knot | he | Bluejay
- teliwāla k'uyu'lla wē'djilet' aik' k'uyu'lla wadjā'wal- 14  
head hair, | he wrapped it around | his | head hair. | "Let me sit down (in your  
hair)!"
- di<sup>e</sup>ā'dja<sup>e</sup> dju'ga t'ī'ei wadjā'waldin<sup>e</sup>t' a'igidja dari-  
Silkworm | he said. | He sat down | there. | "I shall look down (from your hair) to  
(your) right side
- ga'ms-it!ô<sup>e85</sup> a'igidja dju'ga t'ī'ei asinu 'ī'wulei t'ū'- 16  
in this way," | Silkworm | he said. | "If you are | go into house, | pray do thus!

<sup>84</sup> This form looks as if it were female interrogative: "Does he fill his pipe?" (male inter. *dē'mari<sup>e</sup>as-ī'n*). This resemblance, however, is merely accidental. Final vowels are sometimes lengthened for rhetorical emphasis, and are then also accented. Thus *dē'mari<sup>e</sup>as-ī* = *dē'mari<sup>e</sup>as-ī*; cf. above (p. 56, l. 8) *a'mbimaha<sup>e</sup>nugā* "who are you?" for *a'mbimaha<sup>e</sup>nuga*.

<sup>85</sup> Lit., "I shall look down from north (-gam-)." Bluejay sits facing east, so that his right side is south.

- magat' digu'lm'djimogat'e adju ma'kli asinu dju-  
pray set it west so as not to be seen | the your | back, | if you are | sit,"
- 2 k'unē'ai dju'ga t'i'ei gayā'ēaiguyauna p'i'wulandie gi  
Silkworm | he said | he himself talking. | Now they entered | at  
ēi'gunna bā'wis'ak'iea ya'ik'unamap!a'ndie gi p'u'diwi  
sweat-house | when it was dark, | now they sat with them | at | women.
- 4 mini'nliē ai da'mhaudjumudjaup!a mini'nwilauēi am-  
He turned to look | he | New Moon Chief, | he looked across east. | "What sort of  
person is  
biyā'mah a'ieye a'hī mat!u'ip!as gamā'ē aite k'liga'l-  
that one yonder?" | "I do not know, | he is stranger." | "Give (me) | the | pipe!
- 6 m's dē'mariēayau dju'imuranandie k' mō'hu<sup>86</sup> dē'-  
I shall fill it with tobacco." | Now he rolled it around between his hands | his | to-  
bacco. | Now he filled  
marindie<sup>8a</sup> p'us-ā'andie da'mhaudjumudjaup!ā 'ū dju-  
now he smoked | New Moon Chief. | "Well! | Do you (pl.) give it to my son-in-law!
- 8 maēwa'nawie<sup>87</sup> p'us-ā'ewanas'ie<sup>87</sup> a'uwik!amē ai ma'-  
My son-in-law will smoke." | She took it to herself | she | woman  
riēmi gi k'liga'lm'si a'uwie ma'riēmi t'i'ei gi k'ē'-  
at | pipe. | "Take it!" | woman | she said | to | young Bluejay.
- 10 teliwānap!a p'us-ā'andie ai k'ē'teliwānap!a k'u p'u-  
Now he smoked | he | young Bluejay | not | smoking  
s-ā'yau ēai k'ē'teliwānap!a dju'ga p'us-ā'ei gi ei'da'lē-  
he | young Bluejay, | Silkworm | he smoked | at | dead-people's bones.
- 12 yā bo'p'ets-aē bō'djaduwauē k'liga'lm'si dē'marit'p'a'u-  
He beat ashes out of his pipe, | he handed it back to him | pipe. | Again he filled his  
own pipe with tobacco.  
t'imaiē atēi'mahanā k' t'ū'wa nak'u mite!s-ā'ei t'i'ē  
"What is, now, | his | that he does | that he is not | perish!" | he said
- 14 aite da'mhaudju k'i dju'gute!i dē'marit'p'aut'imaiē ai  
the | New Moon | his | heart. | Again he filled his own pipe | he  
da'mhaudju 'ū djumaēwa'nawieē p'us-ā's'ie k'ē'teliwā-  
New Moon. | "Well! | Do you (pl.) give it to him, | he will smoke." | Young Bluejay
- 16 nap!a p'us-ā'ei da'mhaudju mini'nwilauēi atēi'mahanā  
he smoked, | New Moon | he looked across to east. | "What now, is  
k' t'ū'wa k'u mite!s-ā'ei bīmanet' bē'ē aidja dju'ga  
his | that he does | not | perish?" | Truly it was | be he that was | there | Silkworm
- 18 p'us-ā'ei t'ō'nēt'ē bē' p'us-āē ai k'ē'teliwānap!a ba'i-  
smoke, | he did as though | be he that was | smoke | he | young Bluejay. | He was one

<sup>86</sup> *mō'yu* in *garī'ei*.<sup>87</sup> It is remarkable that *-wana-* "son-in-law" is incorporated even as subject.

gun<sup>et</sup> k'u p'us-ā<sup>e</sup> ai 'itcl'inp!a wa<sup>yū</sup>'eand<sup>e</sup> ai  
not | smoke | he | young Wildcat. | Now he was afraid | he

da'mhaudju k'u mite!s-ā<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'teliwānap!a ô'mai- 2  
New Moon | not | perish | he | young Bluejay. | He ceased

djago<sup>e</sup> dē'mari<sup>e</sup>ayauna  
filling his pipe with tobacco.

i't'a'u bas-ī'k'ie we't'u'p<sup>e</sup>di<sup>e</sup> k'uyu'lla k'ê'teliwānap!a 4  
In middle | when it was night | he unwrapped it | head hair | young Bluejay.

'ô'djaram<sup>e</sup> a'igidja gi dju'ga gi k'uyu'lma<sup>du</sup>' 'ô'dja-  
He took him out | there | to | Silkworm | at | head-hair place. | He put him across  
on north side

wi'ldjam<sup>e</sup> i't'a'una s'a'ms<sup>ie</sup> ai dju'ga 'imu'lp!a<sup>e</sup> ai 6  
at ladder near fireplace. | He slept | he | Silkworm, | he wrapped it about himself | he

dju'ga gā'ninna k' s'a'ms<sup>iyau</sup> gi t'ī'a'una k'u  
Silkworm | blanket | his | sleeping | at | ladder near fireplace, | not

dē'waiyau da'mhaudju gi dju'ga djamaramma'uk'ini- 8  
seeing him | New Moon | to | Silkworm. | "We are being-without-fresh-meat persons,

k'yā' k'u's'k'inik' ma ba' t'ī'n<sup>et</sup>'i hane'a'ibak'iea  
ours is not | be eaten | deer meat," | she said | when it was morning

t'ī'wayaun ai ma'ri<sup>em</sup>'i k'ê'teliwānap!a t'ī<sup>e</sup> ā' ea'l- 10  
saying to him | she | woman. | Young Bluejay | he said, | "Indeed! | Give it to me

djamāte' k'liwā'l' djō'wul<sup>et</sup>' ha'uyauba bap'di'lgumauna  
basket pan!" | He had put it in | deer fat | being in big round lump

k' dī't'illa 'imu'ririndin<sup>et</sup>' k'ê'teliwānap!a gi ha'uyauba 12  
his | quiver. | Now he cut it down in slices | young Bluejay | at | deer fat

gi k'liwā'lamadu' 'u'lwau<sup>e</sup> aigi da'mhaudju gamā<sup>e</sup>  
at | basket-pan place. | He gave it to him | to him | New Moon. | "Give (me)

ai k'liwā'lat'imai 'a'ldjamā 'imu'iri<sup>e</sup> gi ha'uyaup'<sup>a</sup> 14  
it | another basket pan!" | It was given to him. | He cut it down in slices | at | deer  
fat.

'u'lwaut'imai<sup>e</sup> 'u'wildje<sup>ea</sup> gamā't'imai<sup>e</sup> ai k'liwā'l<sup>a</sup> k'ê'-  
He gave it to him again, | he put it across to west side. | "Give (me) another one | it |  
basket pan!" | Young Bluejay

te'liwānap!a t'ī'ei gayā'wayau gi ha'uyauba k'uya'ugu 16  
he said | talking to it | to | deer fat, | "Do not

k'ū'ba<sup>ea</sup> badja'lmuk!gue<sup>ie</sup> k'ū'and<sup>ie</sup> ai ha'uyauba  
be altogether not! | keep being big!" | No longer it was | it | deer fat.

niwī'lauk!adawie<sup>ie</sup> t'ī'ei aite yā'ewi<sup>88</sup> gasi<sup>e</sup>wanā's<sup>89</sup> aite 18  
"Do you (pl.) go ahead and go east across river! | they said | the | Yā'ewi. |  
"They are making merry | the

<sup>88</sup> *Yā'ewi* is the regular Yana term for Wintun Indians.

<sup>89</sup> This word evidently contains *-wana* "son-in-law" and hence doubtless refers specifically to making merry on the appearance of the suitor.

- iwī'launa k'ūma t'ī'ei gayā'yauna wawu'lp'aus:ik'uwa<sup>90</sup>  
 across river east. | Generally they not | say so," | talking. | "Some one must have come  
 to him to woo,
- 2 na gas'ewanā'ei nīwī'lauk'ai'ei t'ū'eandīe iwī'launa dē'-  
 therefore they are | make merry." | One man went east across river. | Now he did so !  
 across river east. | He saw them
- wai' ba'igumauyā gi k'ê'te'iwānap!a gi 'ite'li'np!a 'e"  
 being-one person | to | young Bluejay | to | young Wildcat. | "Hah!"
- 4 lu'ie gi k'aina atē'imah aidju dawu'lmaienum<sup>a</sup> wa'i-  
 He threw at him one after another | to | rocks. | "What is | the (your) | your looking  
 in for! | Do you think that I am
- ēmaisiwatē' dilā'us'in da'mhaudju t'ī'ei badū'sa'e yā'-  
 one who is dead?" | New Moon | he said. | He ran off back home | Yā'ewi,
- 6 ēwi baduwi'ldji'ei wawu'lp'aus:iwa<sup>90</sup> t'ī'wayuau gi  
 he hastened back west across river. | "Some one has come to him to woo," | saying to  
 them | to
- yā'ewi 'a'nmaun aite yā'ewi gi ē'haudju dē'waisi-  
 Yā'ewi | being many | the | Yā'ewi | at | west side of river. | "Have you seen him?"
- 8 ēnuma'n yā'ewi t'ī'ei 'a'nna a'mbiemat'<sup>1</sup> te'unō'yā ā'  
 Yā'ewi | they said. | "Yes!" | "Who is it said to be?" | "Eastern person." | "Indeed!"
- mik'a'ibanauma<sup>e</sup> aite yā'ewi te!'te'limudjaup!ā k'uru'l-  
 Every one of them was angry | the | Yā'ewi. | Fish Hawk Chief, | Crane Chief
- 10 mudjaup!ā aite yā'ewi mudjaup!ā aite mi'mk!amu-  
 the | Yā'ewi | chief, | the | Heron chief,
- djaup!ā<sup>91</sup> aite matēdā's'i yā'ewi mudjaup!ā aite dā'-  
 the | Salmon Trout | Yā'ewi | chief, | the | Big Acorn Pestle,
- 12 hadjunna<sup>92</sup> t'ū'te'li'net' aite mutēdja'ut!iwi atē'ī'h aidji  
 that many were | the | chiefs. | "What is | the
- t'ū'eni'gi t'ī'net' aite ya'ewi dā'si'ha'eni'gi t'ū'eandīe  
 our doing?" | they said | the | Yā'ewi. | "Let us get salmon!" | Now they did so
- 14 dā'siyauna djidjā'yau gi dā'si its'!gil dā'hamadu'  
 getting salmon | shooting at them | at | salmon | in water | river place.
- bawā'lau'eiē bap'a'uru'eiē gi da'mhaudju yā'na bawā'u-  
 "Hasten east across river! | Go to tell them | to | New Moon | people!" | He went to  
 tell them.

<sup>90</sup> These words are passive in form: "he must have been come to for wooing."

<sup>91</sup> In one of the myths told by Betty Brown, Heron is a woman, Coyote's wife (see no. XII).

<sup>92</sup> *dā'hadjunna*: smooth acorn pestle of about 1½ feet in length, found along the river shore; *hā'djunna*: any sort of rock used as pestle. These two words are related to each other very much as *dā'ha* "large body of water, river" and *ha* "water."

ru<sup>e</sup> dā'sisi teli'teli ma'k!a'msiwa<sup>e</sup>nuga ā' da'mhau-  
 "He is getting salmon | Fish Hawk. | You (pl.) have been sent for." | "Indeed!" |  
 New Moon people living together

djuyamte!iwi t'i'ei  
 they said.

2

djidjā<sup>e</sup> gi dās'i djū<sup>e</sup> gi dās'i da'mhau<sup>e</sup>ju t'u'i-  
 They shot at them | at | salmon. | He speared it | at | salmon | New Moon, | he  
 moved it across to west side

wildjae<sup>93</sup> gi dās'i 'ê'eyuwildji<sup>e</sup> te!i'teli k'u k'i'm- 4  
 at | salmon, | he pulled it across to west side | Fish Hawk | not | letting him have it

mauyau gi dās'i biri'emaha t'i'ei aite yā'ewi biri-  
 at | salmon. | "Where is he?" | they said | the | Yā'ewi, | "where is

emah aite nit'k'ieyē'wi k'uya'ugu 'a'nsawi<sup>e</sup> t'i'ei ai 6  
 the | friend who has come from east?" | "Do not | you (pl.) go away!" | she said |  
 she

marie<sup>e</sup>mi gi k'ê'teliwānap!a ya'ik!unaguna'iwi<sup>e</sup> klā'dja-  
 woman | to | young Bluejay. | "Stay right at home!" | "We are tired,"

wa'is'k'inigi<sup>h</sup> k'ê'teliwānap!a t'i'ei dē'wairuya'uk'inik' 8  
 young Bluejay | he said. | "We shall go to see it

djidjā'yau gi dās' aite yā' 'aneis'aya'uk'inik' t'ū<sup>e</sup>  
 shooting at them | at | salmon | the | people, | we shall go off to them." | They did so,

'a'neis'ae iteli'np!ate'gu ya'ik!dibilē't' dā'hamadu' hehē'+ 10  
 they went off to them | he together with young Wildcat. | They stood | river place. |  
 "Hehē'+ |

nibat'k'iyē'wi mini'nwilau<sup>e</sup> k'u wila'u<sup>e</sup> gi dās'i  
 both friends who have come from east!" | they looked east across river. | Not | they  
 took out of water | at | salmon,

ba'ik'u da'tek'i k' dās'i yā'ewi gamā'ea<sup>e</sup> kêteliwā- 12  
 they were one | theirs be many | their | salmon | Yā'ewi. | "Give (me)!" | young  
 Bluejay

nap!a t'i'ei k'iga'i gamā'ea aidji p!ū'ra<sup>94</sup> mausi djidjā'-  
 he said | his | wife's brothers, | "give (me) | the (your) | salmon-spear shaft. | I  
 shall be | shooting

yau gi dās'i mudjā'ma<sup>e</sup>ā gi p!ū'ra teli'teli t'ū'net' 14  
 at | salmon." | He was given it | at | salmon-spear shaft. | Fish Hawk | he did

a'igidja djidjā'yauna gi dās'i ba'igunet' dās'i ba-  
 in this way | shooting | at | salmon. | It was one | salmon | being big

dja'lmauna gi eiyémairik!u dā'ha djidjā'andie ai 16  
 at | in middle | river. | Now he shot his spear | he

k'ê'teliwānap!a gi dās'i djū<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'teliwānap!a gi  
 young Bluejay | at | salmon, | he speared it | he | young Bluejay | at

<sup>93</sup> = t'u'iwildji<sup>e</sup>a.

<sup>94</sup> p!ū'ra is used for any long pole. It may thus also mean "support for pregnant woman" (see p. 186, l. 18).

- dā'si djū'e ai teli'teli gi dā'si ba'igumau dā'si  
salmon. | He speared it | he | Fish Hawk | at | salmon | being one | salmon.
- 2 teli'teli 'é'bawildji gi dā's<sup>1</sup> la'umauna t'ū'k'aina<sup>e</sup>  
Fish Hawk | he pulled at it across to west side | at | salmon | strongly. | He did like-  
wise
- ai k'é'teliwānap!a la'uyauna 'é'bawilau<sup>e</sup> gi dā'si  
he | young Bluejay | being strong, | he pulled at it across to east side | at | salmon.
- 4 'u'isuwilau<sup>e</sup> ai k'é'teliwānap!a gi dā'si k' plū'rate'gu  
He jerked it across to east side | he | young Bluejay | at | salmon | his | together with  
salmon-spear shaft,
- 'e'yu'ndam<sup>e</sup> k' da'lk'iea' nīdū's'a<sup>e</sup> da'mhaudju yāna  
he pulled it out of it | his | hand. | They went off home | New Moon | people
- 6 k'é'teliwāla 'o'gunet's'a<sup>e</sup> gi dā'si k'é'teliwānap!a yā'ewi  
Bluejay. | He packed it off home on his back | at | salmon | young Bluejay. | Yā'ewi
- t'i'e 'é+ dji'rus-iwa<sup>e</sup>nigi` tc'unō'yā  
they said, | "Hē+! | He has beaten us out | eastern person."
- 8 ate'ih adji t'ū'enigi teli'teli t'i'ei djihu'ihānigi  
"What is | the | our doing?" | Fish Hawk | he said. | Let us fish
- gi sū'wiyauna sū'wiha<sup>e</sup>nigi bap'a'uru<sup>e</sup> da'mhaudju  
at | seine net, | let us fish with seine net! | Go to tell him | New Moon!
- 10 sū'wiha<sup>e</sup>nig iyū'ik'iea bawī'lau<sup>e</sup> ma'k'a'ms-iwa<sup>e</sup>nuga ā'  
Let us fish with seine net | when it is day." | He hastened east across river. | "You  
(pl.) have been sent for." | "Indeed!"
- da'mhaudju t'i'ei nīsā'ēandī<sup>e</sup> da'mhaudju 'a'nmauna  
New Moon | he said. | Now they went off | New Moon | being many.
- 12 'ū' teli'teli t'i'ei p'ū'te!gile gi ha'na sū'wiyauna  
"Now!" | Fish Hawk | he said. | They swam into water | at | water | fishing with  
seine net.
- wō'djawaldinet'ē gi hāt'en<sup>e</sup>na a'uwiwagada<sup>e</sup> gi k'é'-  
They placed down | to | water grizzly. | "Pray seize him | at | young Bluejay!"
- 14 teliwānap!a tī'net' ai yā'ewi aigite hāt'en<sup>e</sup> a'igidja  
they said | they | Yā'ewi | to the | water-grizzly | there.
- djuk'unā'ēandī<sup>e</sup> hāt'en<sup>e</sup>na gi ha'na p'a'uri<sup>e</sup>mauna 'ū'  
Now he stayed | water grizzly | at | water | being far down. | Well!
- 16 p'ū'te!gile p'ū'tp'a<sup>e</sup>andī<sup>e</sup>05 k'é'teliwānap!a gi ha'na  
he swam into water, | now he swam south | young Bluejay | at | water
- sū'wiyaute'gu k'u djiwu'le aite dā'si gi sū'wiyauna  
together with seine net. | No; | they swam into it | the | salmon | at | seine net,
- 18 t'ū'ēaiguyauna p'ū't'p'andī<sup>e</sup> gi ha'madu hā'djanmaun  
they themselves having done so, | they had swum south | at | water place. | Being ten

<sup>05</sup> p'ū't'p'andī<sup>e</sup> is to be expected (see above, l. 18).

aite yā' djima'n<sup>e</sup> aite yā'ewi djima'n<sup>e</sup> aite da'm-  
the | people, | five were | the | Yā'ewi, | five were | the | New-Moon people.

haudjuyā dimā'n<sup>e</sup>aik'<sup>u</sup> a'is*i*waldi<sup>e</sup> gi ha'madu hā'- 2  
Suddenly he was | be pulled down | at | water place, | water grizzly

t'en<sup>e</sup>na a'uwindi<sup>e</sup> k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> k'ū'dubal<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'-  
he had seized him | young Bluejay. | He was not up again | he | young Bluejay

te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> gi ha'madu nibatets'i*l*a'u<sup>e</sup> aite irā'wiyāha 4  
at | water place. | They all started out of water | the | former common people,

k'u<sup>e</sup>a'nt'<sup>i</sup> s-ū'widummai<sup>e</sup> bate*l*i'di'ndi<sup>e</sup> aite yā'ewi iēū'-  
no longer | they fished with seine nets. | They shouted now | the | Yā'ewi. | He was  
pulled down to bottom

duwaldi<sup>e</sup> gi xa'madu gi hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na mīe*a*ibaya'uand 6  
at | water place | by | water grizzly, | they all now weeping for him

ai da'mhaudju yāna dja'wā't'<sup>u</sup>s*ay*auant'<sup>i</sup> dila'us*i* dji'-  
they | New Moon | people | now going off home to cry. | "He is dead | my sister's  
husband,

mayau<sup>e</sup>nidja 'iēū'duwaldis*i*wa<sup>e</sup>a gi hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na bate*l*'de<sup>e</sup>- 8  
he has been pulled down | by | water grizzly," | they now shouting

ayauand ai yā'ewi bā't!<sup>a</sup>t*ay*au aik' da'lla  
they | Yā'ewi, | clapping | their | hands.

k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> gayā'wau<sup>e</sup> gi hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na bē'nidja 10  
Young Bluejay | he spoke to him | to | water grizzly, | "It is I,

un<sup>e</sup>i'manā ā' hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na t'iēi bē'k'unuma djiga'le*ad*ja<sup>e</sup>  
uncle!" | "Indeed!" | water grizzly | he said, | "it might be you. | Take off my skin!"

t'ū'andi<sup>e</sup> djê'gal<sup>e</sup>andi<sup>e</sup> gi hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na k'u e'o'm<sup>e</sup>dji<sup>e</sup> 12  
Now he did so, | now he took off his skin | to | water grizzly. | Not | he killed him

ai hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na gi k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> t'a'idjandja<sup>e</sup>a<sup>e</sup> mīwi'n-  
he | water grizzly | to | young Bluejay. | "Take it home with you | my hide!

dja nidū's*a*e<sup>a</sup> t'iē ai hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na gi k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> 14  
go off back home!" | he said | he | water grizzly | to | young Bluejay.

aidji mīwi'ndj aidja dja<sup>e</sup>balmā'gar e*a*'idja gi e'irā'mi  
"The | my hide | here | pray hang it up | this here | at | outside

gi e'i'gunna nidū's*and*i<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> gi ha'madu 16  
at | sweat-house!" | Now he went back home | he | young Bluejay | at | water place.

djo<sup>e</sup>bale*and*i<sup>e</sup> gi hā't'en<sup>e</sup>mi' nidū'anyau<sup>e</sup>andi 'ite'i'np!<sup>a</sup>  
Now he hung it up | to | water-grizzly hide | having arrived back home. | Young Wild-  
cat

gayā'e*i* ya'ite*xay*aguwi<sup>e</sup>e miya'u<sup>e</sup>nuga t'i'wayau gi 18  
he spoke, | "Keep quiet, all of you, | your weeping!" | saying it to them | to

da'mhaudjuyāna k'ū'k'u dila'us*i* k'ê'te*i*wānap!<sup>a</sup> nidū'-  
New Moon people. | "Not perchance he is | be dead | young Bluejay, | he will come  
back home

k'is'ei a'misk'iea k'u midu'mmai'ei 'é'haiwaldie mī'-  
soon." | Not | they wept any more, | they ceased | weeping.

- 2 yauna nā' yā'ewi t'ī'ei 'é'haiwaldi k' mī'yaun'  
"Behold!" | Yā'ewi | they said, | "they have ceased | their | weeping.

niwī'lauruk!aik!a'dawieie dīwa'iruwieie t'ī'ei ai yā'ewi  
Do one of you (pl.) go ahead and go east across river! | go to see!" | they said | they |  
Yā'ewi.

- 4 bawī'lau<sup>e</sup> baigumau yā'ewi dé'wairuyauna djabi'l<sup>e</sup> aite  
He hastened east across river | being one | Yā'ewi | going to see. | It hung up | the

hā't'en<sup>e</sup>mi irā'm<sup>t</sup> badū'sa<sup>e</sup> ai yā'ewi dé'waiyau gi  
water-grizzly hide | outside. | He hastened off back | he | Yā'ewi | having seen it | to

- 6 hā't'en<sup>e</sup>mi git'am<sup>e</sup>ma'uandie gi yā'ewi am<sup>e</sup>dji'siwa<sup>e</sup>ā'  
water-grizzly hide. | Now he reported to them | to | Yā'ewi, | "He has been killed

hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na nidū'anwar ai k'ê'te'liwānap!a mī'andie ai  
water-grizzly. | He has arrived home | he | young Bluejay." | Now they wept | they

- 8 yā'ewi mē'eyau k' hā't'en<sup>e</sup>na  
Yā'ewi | weeping for him | their | water-grizzly.

atc'ī'h aidji t'ū'enigi yā'ewi t'ī'ei ba'ih<sup>e</sup>nigi 'ī'n-  
"What is | the | our doing?" | Yā'ewi | they said. | "Let us hunt deer! | Let us  
make

- 10 daha<sup>e</sup>nik<sup>t</sup> bate!u'nna<sup>96</sup> bap'a'uruwieie da'mhaudjuyāna  
rattlesnake! | Go, one of you, to tell them | New-Moon people!"

t'ū'andie nīwī'ldjiyau gi dā'x<sup>a</sup> ba'iyaua t'a'iwaldie  
Now they did so | going west across river | at | river | hunting deer. | It had been  
placed down

- 12 ai bate!u'nna gi 'ī'yamadu ni'dja'm<sup>e</sup> aite yā'ewi  
it | rattlesnake | at | trail place. | They went north | the | Yā'ewi

ba'iyaua biri'emaha te'unō'yā u<sup>e</sup>amm aidje<sup>e</sup> nīwā'-  
hunting deer. | "Where is | Eastern person?" | "He is nearly | that one | that is  
coming from south,"

- 14 djuwa t'ī'wau<sup>e</sup> aite da'mhaudjuyā gi yā'ewi u'-  
they said to them | the | New-Moon people | to | Yā'ewi. | Being just two

mite!ī'gumau 'anwadju<sup>e</sup>i gi 'ī'ya k'ī'mdjawaldie gi  
they came from south | at | trail. | They had let be on ground | to

- 16 bate!u'nna gi 'ī'yamadu 'ēwadji'ilip!a<sup>e</sup>a nē'k'di<sup>e97</sup> aite  
rattlesnake | at | trail place, | it was coiled up around (brush). | He stepped on him |  
the

k'ê'te'liwānap!a gi bate!u'nna da'ebale ai bate!u'nna  
young Bluejay | to | rattlesnake. | It darted up | it | rattlesnake,

<sup>96</sup> *bate!u'n(na)* means also, in a more general sense, "danger, something dangerous" (cf. p. 9, l. 4).

<sup>97</sup> So heard for *ne'k'di<sup>e</sup>*.



wê'djil<sup>e</sup> ai bate!u'nn aik' gâ't'uk'iea` 'ê'bil<sup>e</sup>ayauandi  
it wound around them | it | rattlesnake | his | legs | now taking him around.

bu'idjammaldi k' la'lla bu'it!aidibil<sup>e</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> la'lla gi 2  
He trampled down on him | his | feet, | he pounded him all up with feet | his | feet |  
to

bate!u'нна buik!a'ubadibil<sup>e</sup> ai k'ê'te!iwānapa o'm<sup>e</sup>dji<sup>e</sup>  
rattlesnake, | he cut him all up to pieces with his feet | he | young Bluejay, | he killed  
him

gi bate!u'нна mit'p'au'dja'ndi<sup>e</sup> ai yā'ewi am<sup>e</sup>dji'yau- 4  
at | rattlesnake. | Now they again wept for themselves | they | Yā'ewi | it having been  
killed

wa<sup>e</sup> ai bate!u'нна nīdū'sandi<sup>e</sup> k'ê'te!iwānap!a han<sup>e</sup>a'i-  
it | rattlesnake. | Now he went off back home | young Bluejay. | "When it is morning

p!amak'i nīdū'sayau t'ī'wau<sup>et</sup>' k'ê'te!iwānap!a k' 6  
I shall go off back home," | he said to her | young Bluejay | his

wak!a'lp!ayauna t'ī'mp'au<sup>e</sup> da'mhaudjuyā nīdū'sayau  
wife. | "Tell them about it | New-Moon people | going off back home.

k!ā'djawaia'ndis'indj<sup>98</sup> aite p'ad a'ite' 'an<sup>e</sup>imma'idjan- 8  
I am tired now | the | place | this here. | Do you (pl.) go home with (us)

djagui` k!undju<sup>e</sup>aya'u<sup>e</sup>nuga<sup>99</sup> t'ī'net' aik' wak!a'lp!a-  
your (pl.) liking it!" | he said | his | wife.

yauna maus' nīdū'sayau t'ī'wau<sup>e</sup> aigi da'mhaudju 10  
"He will be | going off home," | she said to him | to him | New Moon

k'<sup>1</sup> te'iga'lla udjī'yā t'ī<sup>e</sup> ā' ts!u'p<sup>e</sup>s:k'iea ts!u'p<sup>e</sup>s:k'iea  
her | father. | Old person | he said, | "Indeed! | His is good, | his is good."

nīdū'sayauant'<sup>1</sup> han<sup>e</sup>a'ibak'iea wak!a'lp!ayaute'gu nīdō'- 12  
Now going off home | when it was morning | together with wife | now he went back  
east.

and<sup>e</sup> nīdū'p'ite gi djite'it<sup>e</sup>t'p'ā'mauna nīdū'p'ite gi  
He went back as far as | to | Djite'it<sup>e</sup>t'p'ā'mauna, | he went back as far as | to

wī'te'uman<sup>e</sup>na k!ā'n<sup>e</sup>aie<sup>e</sup> p'adinā' k'yauagu p'a'us<sup>e</sup>a<sup>e</sup> 14  
Wī'te'uman<sup>e</sup>na. | "Approach, | O place! | Do not | be far distant!"

nīdū'p'ite gi ha'up!uk!aina nīdū'anandi<sup>e</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> te'iga'l-  
He went back as far as | to | Ha'up!uk!aina, | now he arrived back home | his | for-  
mer father-place,

madox k'<sup>1</sup> nī'namadox 16  
his | former mother-place.

<sup>98</sup> One might expect *k!a'wī-* rather than *k!ā'djawai-*, which is plural in form. Presumably Bluejay refers also to his brother Wildcat.

<sup>99</sup> Reference is had also to Wildcat's wife.

BLUEJAY'S JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE MOON.<sup>100</sup>

Many were the people that lived together with Bluejay. He had a sweat-house and used to kill deer. Bluejay had as wife Wildcat Woman. Wildcat Woman became pregnant while Bluejay was killing deer. Bluejay had good luck as hunter and had deer meat hanging around all over to dry. It rained and it snowed. The woman gave birth to a child, gave birth to it inside the sweat-house. Bluejay did not see her as she gave birth to her child. Wildcat Woman washed her boy. Bluejay came back home. "I have a baby," said Wildcat Woman, speaking to Bluejay. "Indeed!" he said, speaking only a little. He spoke very slowly as he answered her. During the night she washed her boy, and when it was daylight Bluejay stood outside the sweat-house. He shouted around to his people, waking them up. "Get up, all of you!" His voice was heard in the east, his voice was heard in the west. "Flake your flints! Warm up your bows over the fire! Let us look for deer."

The people did so, they arose while it was not yet day. The people went off to go to hunt deer. "I shall walk around beside you. My wife has given me a baby."<sup>101</sup> The people went off, those people now hunted deer. But Bluejay did not hunt deer; he just walked around with them. When it was dark Bluejay returned home and sat down where he was always accustomed to sit. Bluejay had one boy. When he had been growing two days (Bluejay said to his wife,) "Give the boy to me." Wildcat Woman gave it to him in his arms and Bluejay fondled him. "He is very pretty, our boy is very pretty," and he played with his child. Young Bluejay grew older and the young man came to look just like his father.

Young Bluejay played on the side of a smooth hill south of the house, throwing a ball up hill and watching it roll down. In

<sup>100</sup> This myth is one of the suitor tales characteristic of northern California. It is a variant of Curtin's "Dream of Juiwaiyu and his Journey to Damhauja's Country" (*op. cit.*), pp. 425-42. Damhauja is *da'mhauju*, Jupka corresponds to *dju'ga* (*gari'ei dju'kga*). Though *k'et'elwala* "Bluejay" appears (as Keehowala) in Curtin's version, his place as hero is taken by Juiwaiyu.

<sup>101</sup> For a period before and after childbirth hunting and fishing were tabooed to the husband. Cf. no. XVII.

the morning again Bluejay went outside the house and shouted to his people, "Wake up, all of you! Hunt for deer!" The people did so, waking up. They went off, went to hunt deer. Bluejay came home when it was dark. "Again I am pregnant," said Wildcat Woman, speaking to Bluejay. Bluejay laughed when his wife said that. When it was daybreak again, Bluejay went off, went to the east. He did not hunt deer, but merely walked around with the men.<sup>101</sup> His wife gave birth to another child. She gave birth to it on the north side of the house; Bluejay lay on the south side of the house. Bluejay arrived home. Again she had a baby, and she said to Bluejay, "I have given birth to a child." "Indeed! It is good," (he said), and the woman washed it in the night-time. In the morning Bluejay did not go away. He said, "Give him to me." Young Bluejay was playing outside. He was playing ball on the hillside, making balls out of buckeyes. When it was full day, she put her child in Bluejay's arms. He took his child in his arms and looked into the baby's eyes.

Snow was falling outside. Bluejay was angry. "I do not like your child," he said to his wife. He handed it back to her and she took her baby back to herself. "This is not my child. Another man has given you that child." The woman cried as Bluejay told her that. "Go outside!" said Bluejay to the woman. "Stay outside! I do not like to have you stay in the sweat-house. Take the baby outside with you!" But the woman did not go out. Bluejay arose and said, "Give me your child." He snatched his boy away from her and threw him out of the smoke-hole towards the north, while the woman wept, cried for her child. "That child does not belong to me. His eyes are big, he is big-eyed. Look at his hands! They are not like my hands," said Bluejay, speaking to the woman. "Your child has no crest on his head, he hasn't it." Bluejay would not recognize him as his child. "That one outside is my child. He has a crest like me."<sup>102</sup> The woman went outside after her child and

<sup>102</sup> We are not to understand that Wildcat Woman had really been guilty of infidelity to her husband. Her first child took after its father, her second after herself; Bluejay failed to see the point. Sam Bat'wi used the incident to point a moral in regard to marriages between people of different races.

came back into the sweat-house, holding it in her arms. Again Bluejay snatched it away from her, and again he threw it out of the smoke-hole to the north. "Go out! go out! go out!" The woman took her child up into her arms again, but did not come back into the house. Weeping, she stayed outside, and built a bark house for herself.

After a while young Wildeat ran around. (Young Bluejay asked his mother,) "Why are you staying here outside, mother?" "He has driven me out of the house." "Mother, I am going to play on a hill a short distance from here to the south. I shall take this one along with me." "Take him along, take him along. Play with him, play with him." They now went off and proceeded to play. They played all day on the side of a hill to the south. Now they went to the west, playing. Young Wildeat was now grown up. Young Bluejay sat down on a rock and looked around, thinking to himself, "M'! m'!" Young Bluejay said within his heart, "You have thrown my brother out of the house, father." He arose and walked west all day. They walked till they came to *Wĩ'tc'umanəna*.<sup>103</sup> They played, swimming in the water. "You will not see me again, father!" (young Bluejay said to himself). Wildeat called for her children. They did not come. The woman ran about looking for them, but she did not find her children. Bluejay likewise looked for them. Then Bluejay wept and put dirt on his face. "Wai!" said Bluejay, "come back, my son. Where can you have gone to?" Young Bluejay and young Wildeat kept going west, walked until they reached *Djite'itə't'p'ā'mauna*.<sup>104</sup> Young Bluejay sat down, while they in the east were weeping. Young Bluejay arose and walked as far as *Tel'iyu*,<sup>105</sup> where they sat down.

*Silkworm*<sup>106</sup> was living all alone at *Tel'iyu*. "Let us go to our uncle and rest there," he said, speaking to young Wildeat.

<sup>103</sup> An Indian village on South fork of Cow creek (called *Sa'ldu Cow creek*, *i.e.*, "white man's Cow creek," by Indians), at a distance of about five miles east of Millville, probably near the present hamlet of Clough. It was formerly the site of a salt marsh.

<sup>104</sup> An Indian village on Bear creek, south of Cow creek.

<sup>105</sup> A bare, rocky spot between the mouth of Bear creek, which flows into the Sacramento, and what is now Ball's Ferry.

<sup>106</sup> The wild silkworm, feeding on poison oak.

"I wish that there may come to me two bows and many arrows. I wish that there may come to me an otter-skin quiver full of arrows." So it happened; the bows and arrows came to him. Now they started in to shoot, shooting their arrows in rivalry. Both of them shot with great strength. Young Bluejay shot and sent his arrow to a great distance to the south. "Now you shoot!" said young Bluejay, and young Wildcat shot his arrow, sending it off to a great distance. "It is good now," said young Bluejay. Young Bluejay slung his otter-skin quiver over his shoulder, and young Wildcat did likewise. Now, when it was dark, they walked on to the west. They looked into Silkworm's house; young Bluejay entered. He had his javelin sticking in the ground where he was accustomed to sit. Silkworm looked outside and said, "Hê!" as he put out his hand for his javelin. "Who are you two?" "It is I, uncle." "You call me uncle, do you? Well!" said Silkworm, "come in and sit down." The two of them sat down. "Whence do you come?" "We come from Ba'n<sup>ε</sup>xa."<sup>107</sup> "Indeed!" "My father threw this brother of mine here out of the house, because he thought he was another man's child." "Indeed!" said the old man. "Whither are you going?" "I intend to go to see the New Moon Chief of the West." The New Moon Chief of the West dwelt to the west on this side of the Sacramento river. "I intend to woo his daughter. I should like to have his daughter." "Indeed!" said Silkworm. "Hehe'ε! That's a bad place. Many are the people whom he has killed. People go to woo his daughter, and he kills them." He had many children and people that belonged to him. "How is it that he kills people?" "He fills a pipe with the bones of dead people, he makes tobacco out of the bones of dead people. He fills his pipe with the brains of dead people," said Silkworm. "First he smokes away at his pipe; then he offers his pipe to the people. The people smoke; they who have come to woo his daughter smoke and drop back dead. Then New Moon Chief throws out to the north those whom he has caused to die. Many are the people that have died in that way."

<sup>107</sup> An Indian village situated on a high hill between North Fork of Cow creek ("Old Cow creek") and South Fork of Cow creek ("Sa'ldu Cow creek"). It is about twenty miles east of Millville on the so-called Tamarack road.

Young Bluejay listened to him. "Well," (he said,) "let us go to see him." "I shall go along with you, my nephews," said Silkworm. Now they went to the west, walked down the small hills toward the west. Two women were sitting on the east side of the sweat-house. Bluejay tied his hair up round into a top-knot, he wrapped his hair around. "Let me sit down there in your hair," said Silkworm, and Bluejay seated him there in his hair. "I shall look down from your right side," said Silkworm. "When you enter the house, do thus. Set your back to him as you sit down," thus said Silkworm, he himself talking. Now, when it was dark, they all entered the sweat-house and sat down with the women. New Moon Chief turned to look, looked across the sweat-house to the east. "What sort of person is that yonder?" (he said to his daughter). "I do not know. He is a stranger." "Give me the pipe. I shall fill it." He rolled his tobacco in his hands, and filled his pipe. Now New Moon Chief finished smoking. "There! Give it to my son-in-law. Let my son-in-law smoke." The woman took the pipe and said to Young Bluejay: "Take it." Now Bluejay smoked. It was not really Bluejay that smoked, it was Silkworm that smoked the dead people's bones. He shook the ashes out of his pipe and handed it back to him. Again he filled the pipe. "What has he been doing, that he does not perish?" said New Moon within his heart. Again New Moon filled his pipe (and said to his daughter), "There! Give it to my son-in-law. Let my son-in-law smoke." Young Bluejay smoked. New Moon looked across the sweat-house to the east (and said to himself), "What can he have been doing, that he does not perish?" Truly it was Silkworm there that was smoking, only it looked as though young Bluejay was smoking. Young Wildeat alone did not smoke. Now New Moon became frightened, for Bluejay did not perish. He stopped filling his pipe.

In the middle of the night Bluejay unwrapped his hair and took Silkworm there out of his hair. He put him over to the north side, close to the ladder<sup>108</sup> of the sweat-house. Silkworm

<sup>108</sup> To sleep at the foot of the ladder near the fire was a sign of low station. *wa't'a'urisi*, "he sits at the foot of the ladder," means "he is an illegitimate child."

slept. He wrapped himself about with a blanket while he slept at the ladder, so that New Moon did not see Silkworm. In the morning the woman said (to Bluejay), "We are without fresh meat. We have not been eating deer meat." "Indeed!" said Bluejay. "Give me a basket-pan." He had put a big round lump of deer fat in his quiver. He cut the deer fat into slices and put some into the basket-pan. He gave it to New Moon. "Give me another basket-pan," (said Bluejay). It was given to him. He sliced off some pieces of deer fat and again gave them to her. She put it over to the west side. "Give me another basket-pan," said Bluejay. He spoke to the deer fat, "Do not become less. Remain always big." At last there was no more deer fat left.

"Go over, now, across the river to the east," said the Yā'ewi<sup>100</sup> people. "The people over on the east side talk as if they had a good time. One does not often hear people talking over there. Someone must have come to woo his daughter, that is why they are happy." One man went across the river to the east. He arrived on the east side and saw, this one young man, young Bluejay and Wildeat. "Heh!" said New Moon, "what are you looking in for? Do you think that I am dead?" The Yā'ewi man hastened back home; he returned, crossing the river to the west. "A suitor has come," he said to the Yā'ewi people. Many were the Yā'ewi people on the west side. "Did you see him?" said the Yā'ewi. "Yes." "Who is it?" "A Tc'unô'yā."<sup>100</sup> "Indeed!" All the Yā'ewi people were angry. Fish Hawk Chief, Crane Chief, the Yā'ewi chief, Heron Chief, Salmon Trout, the Yā'ewi chief, and Big Acorn Pestle,—that many were chiefs. "What are we going to do?" said the Yā'ewi people. "Let us catch salmon." Now they started in to get salmon, speared for salmon in the river. "Hasten across the river to the east. Go and tell the people of New Moon." Some one hastened to go to tell him. "They are fishing for salmon. Fish Hawk has sent for you people to come." "Indeed!" said the New Moon people assembled together.

<sup>100</sup> Yā'ewi is now used as a general term for Wintun Indians, Tc'unô'yā is "easterner," more specifically Hat Creek Indian (the Hat Creek Indians occupied Hat creek and Burney valleys immediately to the east of the Yanas).

New Moon's people shot and speared salmon, but the others seized them and carried them over to their side, to the west; Fish Hawk's people pulled the salmon across to the west, not letting them have them. "Where are they?" taunted the Yā'ewi people, "where are our friends from the east?" "Do not you two go off!" said the woman to Bluejay (and Wildcat). "Do you stay right here at home!" "We are tired," said Bluejay. "Let us go and see how the people are spearing salmon. Let us go off after them." They did so, he and young Wildcat went off after them. They stood by the river. The Yā'ewi looked across the river to the east and said, "Hehê! Here are our friends from the east." The (New Moon people) were not catching any salmon, the Yā'ewi alone had many salmon. "Give me one," said Bluejay to his brothers-in-law. "Give me a salmon-spear pole. I am going to spear salmon." He was given a pole. Fish Hawk kept on doing thus, spearing salmon. There was a big salmon right in the middle of the river. Bluejay shot at the salmon and speared it, also Fish Hawk speared that same salmon. Fish Hawk pulled the salmon across to the west with strength, also Bluejay pulled the salmon across to the east with strength. Bluejay jerked the salmon over to the east side together with Fish Hawk's pole, he pulled it right out of his hand. The New Moon people and Bluejay went off home. Young Bluejay went off, carrying the salmon on his back, while the Yā'ewi said, "Hê! The man from the east has beaten us."

"What shall we do?" said Fish Hawk. "Let us get fish with a seine net. Let us fish with a net. Go and tell New Moon, 'Let us fish with a net for the day!'" Some one hastened across the river to the east (and said), "He sends for you to come." "Indeed!" said New Moon. New Moon with great numbers of his people went off. "Now!" said Fish Hawk, and they swam into the water to fish with seine nets. They placed a water grizzly down on the bottom of the river. "Catch hold of Bluejay," said the Yā'ewi people to this water grizzly here. Now the water grizzly stayed there in the water, deep down. "Hū!" Bluejay swam in the river, swam southwards in the water with the seine net. But the salmon did not swim into the net, for



they themselves had swum to the south in the water. There were ten people—five were Yā'ewi, five were New Moon people. Suddenly Bluejay was dragged down into the water, the water grizzly had caught hold of him. Bluejay did not come up again from the water. All the other people came out of the river, no longer fished with their seine nets. The Yā'ewi people shouted as Bluejay was pulled down by the water grizzly. The New Moon people all wept for him and went off home to cry. "My brother-in-law is dead, as he has been pulled down by a water grizzly," (they said), while the Yā'ewi people shouted for joy and clapped their hands.

Bluejay spoke to the water grizzly, "It's I, uncle." "Indeed!" said the water grizzly, "so it's you, is it? Take off my skin." He did so, took off the water grizzly's skin. The water grizzly did not kill Bluejay. "Take my hide home with you. Go off back home," said the water grizzly to Bluejay. "Pray hang up this hide of mine outside the sweat-house." Then Bluejay went back home from out of the water, and, when he had arrived home, he hung up the water grizzly's hide. Young Wildcat was speaking, "Keep still, all of you! Do not weep!" he was saying to the New Moon people. "I do not think that Bluejay is dead, he will soon come back home." They wept no more, ceased to cry. "Well," said the Yā'ewi, "they have stopped crying. Do one of you go over now across the river to the east. Go and see!" said the Yā'ewi. One Yā'ewi hastened across the river to the east in order to see. The water grizzly's hide was hanging outside. The Yā'ewi hastened back home, having seen the water grizzly's hide. Then he told the news to the Yā'ewi, "The water grizzly has been killed, Bluejay has come back home." Then the Yā'ewi people wept, wept for the water grizzly.

"What shall we do?" said the Yā'ewi. "Let us hunt deer and let us make a rattlesnake. Go to tell the New Moon people." They did so, went across the Sacramento river to the west to hunt deer. A rattlesnake was put down on the trail, and the Yā'ewi people proceeded north to hunt deer. "Where are those eastern men?" (said they to New Moon). "They must be back there somewheres, coming from the south," said the New Moon

people to the Yā'ewi. They two were indeed coming from the south on the trail. (The Yā'ewi) had placed a rattlesnake down on the trail, it was coiled around a bush. Bluejay stepped on the rattlesnake. The rattlesnake jumped up and wound himself about his legs, encircling him completely. Bluejay trampled upon him with his feet, kept stamping on the rattlesnake, and cut him all to pieces. He killed the rattlesnake. The Yā'ewi people wept again (when they saw) that the rattlesnake had been killed. Bluejay went off home. In the morning he started off to go back and said to his wife, "Tell the New Moon people that I am going back home. I am tired now of this place. Come along with us if you like," he said to his wife. "He is about to go off home," she said to New Moon, her father. "Indeed! He is right, he is right." In the morning he went back home with his wife. He went back going east, went east till he arrived at Djite'itet'p'ā'mauna, went back till he arrived at Wī'te'uman'ena. "Get nearer, land! Do not be far off!" he said. He went back till he arrived at Ha'up!uk!aina.<sup>110</sup> Now he arrived back home to where his father and mother were.

## V. THE CREATION OF THE YANA.

- biri'm'ah aidju te'iga'lla t'i'ei k'a'lte!auna gi  
 "Where is | the your | father!" | he said | Lizard | to
- 2 p'a'ndjuwa k'u's'indj mits!te'iga'lei ā u'mite!i'shada-  
 Cotton-tailed Rabbit. | "Not I am | have father." | "Indeed! | We are two, as it seems,  
 enigi k'uyau mits!ts'iga'lei k'ū's aidj yā'na 'i'nda-  
 not being | have father. | Not are | here | people. | Let us make them
- 4 ha'ēnig yā'na metsk'u'idjilē gi bī'wi ate'ih aidji  
 people!" | They marked out ring with stick | at | earth. | "What is | the  
 'i'nda'ēnig yā'na t'i'mp'aumte!inēt' wadjā'waldiē i'na  
 our making therewith | people!" | they said to each other about it. | "Put down on  
 ground | sticks!"
- 6 'ō'djawaldinēt'ē gi ite'lē'gi 'o'siwa'iwaldiē aigi dja'u-  
 They put them down on ground | to | small sticks. | They caused to be twenty on  
 ground | at it | south  
 r'p'a 'o'siwa'iwaldiē aigi dja'um'dji 'o'siwa'iwaldiē  
 they caused to be twenty on ground | at it | west, | they caused to be twenty on ground

<sup>110</sup> A spot with many high rocks on South Fork of Cow creek, above Wī'te'uman'ena.

aigi dja'udjanna 'o'siwa'iwaldi<sup>e</sup> aigi dja'uhauna k'ū<sup>e</sup>  
at it | north, | they caused to be twenty on ground | at it | east. | Not were

aite i'na gi iyê'mairik!u ts!up<sup>e</sup>a'ndisi t'ī<sup>e</sup> ai p'a'n- 2  
the | sticks | at | center. | "Now it is good," | they said | they | Cotton-tailed Rabbit

djuwa k!a!lte!aute'gu` 'ô'djahau<sup>e</sup> gi gī'launa<sup>a</sup> gi ei'na  
together with Lizard. | He placed east | at | east over mountains | to | sticks,

'ô'djadjam<sup>e</sup> u'siwa'imauna 'ô'djat'p'a<sup>e</sup> ô'djagilm'dji<sup>e</sup> 4  
he placed north | being twenty, | he placed them south, | he placed them west over  
mountains

gi u'siwa'imauna 'ô'djabat!a!lte!ind aigi ei'na  
at | being twenty. | Now he had placed them all in all directions | to them | sticks.

k'ū'ba<sup>e</sup> aite i'na gi iyê'mairik!u k'ū'p'au<sup>e</sup> i'na 6  
Not any more were | the | sticks | at | center, | not were for it | sticks.

wadjā'waldimint'gusa ite!ê'gimint'gu gi iyê'mairik!u  
"Place any kind down on ground | any kind of small sticks | at | center!

dja'ulip!anna'is:iei ite'it'ehauyā' da'mbus:ap!anna'is:iei djau- 8  
They will be very tall | people off east, | they will be very handsome. | They will be  
very tall

lip!anna'is:iei ite'it'et'p'ayā' da'mbus:ap!anna'is:iei t'ū'wi-  
people off south, | they will be very handsome. | So also will be

nigus:iei ite'in'em'djiyā' dambus:ap!anna'is:iei dja'uli- 10  
people off west, | they will be very handsome | being tall

mauna 'is:iwi t'ū'winigus:iei ite'it'edjamyā' da'mbus:a-  
men. | So also will be | people off north | being handsome

yauna dja'uliyaua t'ū'andie 'ô'djabal<sup>e</sup>andie i'na nite'ite- 12  
being tall." | Now he did it. | Now he took them up | sticks, | he went off east

ha<sup>e</sup> p'a'ndjuwa p'aūs'amauna 'ô'djawaldi<sup>e</sup> aigi  
Cotton-tailed Rabbit | being far distant, | he placed them down on ground | to them

ei'na nīdū'k'indie ai p'a'ndjuwa gi gī'launa 'ô'dja- 14  
sticks. | Now he came back | he | Cotton-tailed Rabbit | at | east over mountains. |  
He placed them south

t'p'a<sup>e</sup> gi dja'urp'a gi ei'na u'siwa'imauna nīdū'.  
at | south | to | sticks | being twenty. | Now he again came back

k'it'imai<sup>e</sup> p'a'ndjuwa 'ô'djagi'lm'dje<sup>e</sup> gi ei'na 'ô'dja- 16  
Cotton-tailed Rabbit. | He placed them west over mountains | at | sticks. | He placed  
them north

djam<sup>e</sup> gi eite'it'edja'nna ma'llap!amau ei'na 'ô'dja-  
at | off north. | "Being bad | sticks | let us place them down on ground

waldiha<sup>e</sup>nigi gi iyê'mairik!u k'ū'andis aite ts!um<sup>e</sup>mau 18  
at | center! | No longer are | the | being good

i'na wô u'mite!ī'mauyā gaya'mte!iei  
sticks." | "Yes!" | being-two persons | they talked to each other.

THE CREATION OF THE YANA.<sup>111</sup>

"Where is your father?" said Lizard to Cottontail Rabbit. "I have no father." "So! It seems that neither of us have any father.<sup>112</sup> There are no people here. Let us make people!" They marked out a ring on the ground with a stick. "Where-with are we going to make people?" they said to each other. (Cottontail Rabbit said,) "Put sticks down on the ground." He put small sticks down on the ground. He put twenty sticks down on the south side, he put twenty down on the west side, he put twenty down on the north side, he put twenty down on the east side. There were no sticks in the center. "It is good now," said Cottontail Rabbit and Lizard. (Lizard) took some sticks across the mountains to the east, twenty sticks he took to the north, he took sticks to the south, twenty sticks he took across the mountains to the west. Now he had placed all the sticks in every direction.

There were no sticks left for the center, there were no sticks for it. "Put down any sort of sticks in the center. The people of the far east will be very tall, they will be very handsome. The people of the far south will be very tall, they will be very handsome. So also will be the people of the far west; they will be very handsome and the men will be tall. So also will be the people of the far north, handsome and tall." Now he did it. Cottontail Rabbit took up the sticks and went off a great distance to the east. He put the sticks down and returned from the east over the mountains. Cottontail Rabbit put twenty sticks down

<sup>111</sup> This and the following are the only incidents of the creation myth that could be procured. Of a creation from out of a primeval watery waste, referred to by Dixon in his "Northern Maidu," p. 339, as possessed in common by the Maidu, Achomá'wi, and Yana, Sam Bat'wī knew nothing. This inclusion of the Yana with the Maidu and Achomá'wi probably rests on an oversight, as Dixon's own version of the creation of the Yana fails to corroborate his statement (see below, Part III, no. 1). The creation of the Yana from sticks is in Curtin's "First Battle in the World and the making of the Yana" (*op. cit.*, pp. 467-84) credited to Jupka (silkworm), instead of to Lizard and Cottontail Rabbit (p. 483). The scene of this myth is laid at Wamá'rawi, an Indian village at the cone north of Battle creek and several miles west of the present Shingletown.

<sup>112</sup> This curious prelude is probably intended to show that no one had as yet been born.

in the south and again returned. He placed sticks across the mountains in the west, he placed sticks off in the north. "Let us put down bad sticks in the center. There are no more good sticks here." "Yes," said those two persons talking to each other.<sup>113</sup>

## VI. ORIGIN OF SEX, HANDS, AND DEATH.

- ba'irunεt' aite p!u'diwi niha'tyauna nīdū'anεt'  
They went to hunt deer | the | women. | Going out to no purpose | they arrived  
home
- 'i'siwi<sup>114</sup> p!u'diwi<sup>114</sup> wā'wite'aiyauna s-ā'wiyauna<sup>115</sup> p!u'- 2  
men, | women | pounding acorns | making acorn bread | women
- diwi gi wa'wi ba'irut'imaiε 'i'siwi k'uε amεdji'  
at | house. | Again they went to hunt deer | men. | Not they were | be killed
- ba'na 'i'siwi wadū'k!amε aite p!u'diwi k' wā'wite'ai- 4  
deer | men. | They were finished | the | women | their | pounding acorns
- yauna balεō'rk'ie aite t!u'ina ilεō' ba'igumaun o'mε-  
when it was up east on hill | the | sun | up east on hill. | Being one | they killed it
- djiε gi ba'na bu'ls-djamau hā'djanε 'i'siwi k'uninεt' 6  
to | deer | being three times | be ten | men; | and they were
- t'ū'k'ainaεa 'i'siwi bu'ls-djaε hā'djanε aite p!u'diwi  
do likewise | men, | they were three times | be ten | the | women.
- djamarāmε aite yā'na k'uya'u amεdji' ba'na gi 8  
They had no fresh meat to eat | the | people | not being | be killed | deer | by
- 'i'siwi malla'p!asi` ate'ī'h adji t'ū'εnig t'ī'ε ai p!u'-  
men. | "It is bad. | What is the | our doing?" | they said | they | women.
- diwi k'us amεdji' ban ai is'iwi` 'i'ndahaεnig 'is-iw 10  
"Not are | be killed | deer | they | men." | "Let us make | men
- a'idj p!u'diwi 'ā'ha nīdū'anεt' 'is-iwi` mik!a'ie aite  
these here | women!" | "Yes!" | They arrived home | men, | they were angry | the
- 'is-iwi` mi'liyai k' ya'ik!alp!ayauna<sup>116</sup> malla'p!as-i 12  
men | whipping them | their | wives. | "It is bad.

<sup>113</sup> The meaning of this is that the Yanas were made of shorter stature than the surrounding tribes. Cf. Powers' "Tribes of California," pp. 275, 276, for a confirmation of this opinion.

<sup>114</sup> By 'i'siwi "men" is here and in what follows meant those who were then supposed to act as men, but who are now women; by p!u'diwi "women" is meant those who later became men.

<sup>115</sup> s-āwi- formed from s-aw- "acorn bread."

<sup>116</sup> i.e., later husbands. ya'ik!alp!ayauna is plural of wa'k!alp!ayauna as verb yai- "sit" is plural of wa-.

'i'ndaha<sup>ε</sup>nig ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi 'i'siwi klu'niha<sup>ε</sup>nig 'i'nda<sup>ε</sup> 'i'siwi  
Let us make | woman | men | and let us | make | men

2 ai ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>miha<sup>117</sup>  
they | formerly woman!"

nīs'ā'andin<sup>ε</sup>t' han<sup>ε</sup>a'ibak'iea` ba'irun<sup>ε</sup>t'i` yū'waldi<sup>ε</sup>  
They now went off | when it was early morning, | they went to hunt deer. | He  
built fire on ground

4 aigi dja'uhauna ba'igumauyā nik'i'ndi<sup>ε</sup> aite yā'na  
at it | east | being-one person. | Now they came | the | people  
'i'siwi ba'iyauna ba'igumauna djuk'unā'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i` ai yū'  
men | hunting deer, | being one | he sat there | he | who had built fire.

6 ɛha` baholeō'luigumauna aite k'a'ina bō'djā<sup>ε</sup>ain<sup>ε</sup>t' aigi  
Being smooth and round | the | stones | he put | them into fire | at it  
ɛa'una gi k'a'ina wadjī'let' aigi ɛa'un aite bai<sup>ε</sup>i`  
fire | to | stones. | They sat around | at it | fire | the | ones hunting deer.

8 ba'igumauyāna djuk'un<sup>ε</sup>ā'ei k'u dē'wai<sup>ε</sup> ai 'i'siwi  
Being-one person | he was sitting there. | Not | they saw | they | men  
aigi a'umadu k'un<sup>ε</sup>t' dē'wai<sup>ε</sup> ai k'a'ina dimā'n<sup>ε</sup>ai-  
at it | fire place, | not they were | see | them | stones. | Suddenly they were

10 gun<sup>ε</sup>t' ba'p'at!a'lte!i<sup>ε</sup> ai k'aih aigi a'umadu` dja'u-  
burst asunder | they | former stones | at it | fire place, | they flew about in all  
directions.  
te!k'ididibilet'i` s+ t'i'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i` 'anna'up!annain ai  
"S!" | they said | being very many | they

12 'i'siwiha` p'it!alla'uma<sup>ε</sup>  
former men, | their private parts were cleft.

'i'ndaha<sup>ε</sup>nig 'i'siw a'idja t'ū'ean<sup>ε</sup>di 'i'si<sup>ε</sup>ayauandi  
"Let us make | men | these here!" | They did so | now being male.

14 ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mind ai 'i'siha` ya'ik'unāandi<sup>ε</sup> gi wawi` wā'-  
Now female | they | formerly men | now they stayed | at | house | pounding acorns  
wite'aiyauna s'ā'wiyauna ba'irundi<sup>ε</sup>i o'm<sup>ε</sup>djindi<sup>ε</sup> gi  
making acorn bread. | Now they went to hunt deer, | now they killed | to

16 ba'na dan<sup>ε</sup>ma'una wā'k'dibilet' aite p'a'ndjuwa 'ehe-  
deer | being many. | He arose | the | Cotton-tailed Rabbit. | "Hehehê!"  
hē'+ t'i'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i` 'ā'ha<sup>ε</sup>a` te!up<sup>ε</sup>a'ndis:i omdjī'yauant'<sup>1</sup> gi  
he said. | "Yes! | it is good now | they now killing | to

<sup>117</sup> One would rather have expected *p'u'diwi* "women," *ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi* being singular; *ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi* may, however, be taken to denote "female" without reference to number.

- ba'na mini'np'auk'iea te!u'pesi am<sup>d</sup>dji'yau bana s'awi<sup>e</sup>  
 deer. | Look at them! | they are good | being killed | deer." | They made acorn bread
- ai p!u'diwi wa'wite'ai<sup>e</sup> ai p!u'diwi 'ehe'e k'u'n<sup>e</sup>t' 2  
 they | women, | they pounded acorns | they | women. | Hehe'e! | Not they were
- dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite ya'na 'a'np!annain<sup>e</sup>t' aite ya'na meteli  
 die | the | people, | they were very many | the | people. | Coyote
- t'i'n<sup>e</sup>t' k'u'sindj k!u'ndjup!a<sup>e</sup> 'a'nyaun aite ya'na 4  
 he said, | "Not I am | like | being many | the | people.
- 'a'np!annais ai p!u'diwi 'a'np!annais aite 'i'siwi gi  
 They are very many | they | women, | they are very many | the | men | at
- p'a'dibanauma 'a'np!annais aite 'ama'ite!g<sup>118</sup> aigi 6  
 every place, | they are very many | the | children | at it
- p'a'dibanauma k'u dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite ya'na ha'baei k'u'e  
 every place." | Not | they died | the | people, | they became old, | not was
- aite ma't'iyauna k'u'e aite gale'a'si ma't!adjuiyauna 8  
 the | poisoning by magic, | not was | the | one who cries | when it is winter.
- gayan<sup>e</sup>t'i' k'u'n<sup>e</sup>t' aite gimabana'umas<sup>i</sup> gima'n<sup>e</sup>t aite  
 He spoke. | They were not | the | every one that understands. | He understood | the
- p'a'ndjuwa gima'n<sup>e</sup>t' aite da'ridjuwa gima'n<sup>e</sup>t' aite 10  
 Cotton-tailed Rabbit, | he understood | the | Gray Squirrel, | he understood | the
- k!a'lte!auna t'u'teligun<sup>e</sup>t' aite gi'mas'i'  
 Lizard. | That many were | the | ones who understand.
- 'tu'n<sup>e</sup>t'k' a'igidja k' da'lla la'iholuluigun<sup>e</sup>t'i' 12  
 Theirs did | in this way | their | hands, | they were round in one piece.
- wa'ute!uha<sup>e</sup>nig aite da'lla t'i'n<sup>e</sup>t' aigite p'a'dibanauma  
 "Let us cut them with knife | the | hands!" | they said | at the | every place.
- k'u<sup>e</sup> mite!da'lyau<sup>e</sup>i 'i'ndayau da'lla k!a'lte!auna t'i'- 14  
 Not they were | having fingers. | "I shall make | fingers!" | Lizard | he said.
- n<sup>e</sup>t' ate'i'mah aidju mau 'i'ndamaieyauna te!upe'a'ndis  
 "What is | the your | about to be | making them for! | They are already good
- aidji da'leligi' t'i'wayaun ai mete! aigi k!a'lte!auna 16  
 the | our hands," | saying to him | he | Coyote | to him | Lizard.
- ate'i'mas aidji t'u'nig asinig djdjja'e aigi sa'wa  
 "What will be | the | our doing | if we | shoot | at them | arrows.
- asinik ba'iru<sup>e</sup> asinik djuwa'teliru<sup>e</sup> t'i'n<sup>e</sup>t' ai k!a'lte!au- 18  
 if we | go to hunt deer, | if we | go to hunt small game!"<sup>119</sup> | he said | he | Lizard.

<sup>118</sup> Generally this word appears as 'ama'ite!ite!gi.

<sup>119</sup> Embracing chiefly rodents, such as jack-rabbits, cottontail rabbits, and gray squirrels.

- na djuk!unā'nēt' aigite ai me'te!i dja'udjanna  
He was sitting | there | he | Coyote | north,
- 2 djuk!unā'nēt' aigidja gi dja'urp'a p'a'ndjuwa k!a!te!au-  
they were sitting | there | at | south | Cotton-tailed Rabbit, | Lizard,  
na dā'ridjuwa malla'p!as aidji da'l'eligi t'ī'waunēt'  
Gray Squirrel. | "It is bad | the | our hands," | they said to him
- 4 aigi me'te!i atē'ī'mas aik t'ō'ēaw aik p'u'diwi as:  
to him | Coyote. | "What will be | their | that they do about them | their | women | if  
they  
wā'wite'aiēi k'ū'k' aite yā'na k' dā'lla a'uwisie  
pound acorns! | Not are theirs | the | people | their | fingers. | They will take hold  
of it
- 6 aigi hā'djunna as mite!da'lei 'ī'ndaha'nig dā'lla t'ī'-  
to it | acorn pestle | if they | have fingers. | Let us make | fingers!" | he said  
nēt' ai k!a!te!a'una gayāwauyaun aigi me'te!i 'ī'n-  
he | Lizard | talking to him | to him | Coyote. | "They will make
- 8 dasie hā'djunn aik' p'u'rite!i dō'k!usie k'ē'manēna'  
acorn pestle | their | elbows. | They will hold it down with their legs | acorn basket-  
mortar  
as wā'ei gi yu'na as wā'ē aigi gā'ma as wā'yaēi  
if they | pound | to | acorns, | if they | pound | to them | sunflower seeds, | if  
they | pound anything,"
- 10 me'te!i t'ī'nēt'ī' m' m' m' m' m'<sup>120</sup> t'ūs'ie a'igidja'  
Coyote | he said. | "Mh, mh, mh, mh, mh! | They will do | in this way,"  
t'ī'nēt' ai me'te!i 'ē+<sup>121</sup> t'ī'nēt' ai k!a!te!auna  
he said | he | Coyote. | "Hē+!" | he said | he | Lizard.
- 12 malla'p!asi' k'usī'na k!ā'p!aē aigidj as 'indaē hā'-  
"It is bad. | Will they not | be hurt | here | if they | make | acorn pestle  
djunn aik' p'u'rite!i malla'p!asi t'ī'nēt' ai p'a'n-  
their | elbows! | It is bad," | he said | he | Cotton-tailed Rabbit.
- 14 djuwa mausi 'ī'ndayau dā'lla bē'sie te!umēmā' t'ū'-  
"I shall be | making | fingers, | it will be | that they are good. | Everybody will do so  
banā'umaē aite yā'na k'unis ba'iruei te!ō'pseē as:  
the | people | and they will | go to hunt deer, | they will do well | if they
- 16 djidjā'ei as mite!da'lei atē'ī'mah aidji maunu t'ui-  
shoot, | if they | have fingers." | "What is | the | your intending | to change from  
one to another  
du'nima'mdjiē<sup>122</sup> aidj gayā'mauna me'te!i t'ī'ei bē'ēnite  
the | (words) spoken! | Coyote | he said. | "It is I that am

<sup>120</sup> Imitating the grunts of effort that women are to exercise in pound-  
ing with their elbows.

<sup>121</sup> Expresses derisive dissent.

<sup>122</sup> Should doubtless be *t'uiduēnima'mte!ie*.



- t'u'idu<sup>e</sup>nimamte!ima<sup>eā</sup> dji ge''miyauna malla'p!as aite  
change from one to another | the (my) | not approving. | They are bad | the
- da'lla k'us te!up<sup>e</sup> aik t'ū'w aigidja 2  
hands, | they are not | be good | their | that they do | in that way."
- t'ū'yaun aige<sup>e</sup> an<sup>eā</sup>iyauna dja'ute'it<sup>e</sup> aite t!u'ina  
It doing | to that youder | it being fine weather | it pushed right through (clouds) |  
the | sun.
- niri'tp'a<sup>e</sup> ai k!a'lte!auna imana'uwadjup!a ba'igumauna 4  
He went south down hill | he | Lizard | short distance on side of hill towards south |  
being one.
- djuk!unā'waldindin<sup>e</sup>t' digā'lau<sup>e</sup> gi k!a'ina mini'ndibilei gi  
He sat down on ground, | he leaned his back against | at | rocks, | he looked about | at
- bī'wi dē'wai<sup>e</sup> gi ha'gate!i da'ubal<sup>e</sup> k!a'lte!auna gi ha'gate!i 6  
earth. | He caught sight of | at | fragments of flint. | He picked one up | Lizard |  
at | fragments of flint.
- wa'ute!undi k' da'lla 'i'ndayau da'lla wa'ute!uba<sup>e</sup>  
Now he cut through | his | hands | making | fingers, | he cut | both
- aik' da'lla 'a'nmaun aite yā'na k' yā'damte!iyauna 8  
his | hands. | Being many | the | people | their | all dwelling together.
- k'u diwa'ieī djuk!unāyau 'iri'tp'a minindula'udjam<sup>e</sup>  
Not | he was seen | sitting there | on south side of hill. | He looked up hill back north
- k!a'lte!auna mininduwa'u k' da'lla t'u'ibile aik' dalla 10  
Lizard, | he looked back at them | his | hands, | he moved about | his | hands.
- t'ū'andi<sup>e</sup> aigidja 'i' dīwa'iwie dji da'lelidja mini'-  
Now he did | in this way. | "Hi! | do you all see | the | my fingers. | They, looked  
at them
- nuwau<sup>e</sup> gi k!a'lte!auna da'lk'iea' 'i' da'lelidja yā'na 12  
at | Lizard | his fingers. | "Hi! | My fingers!" | People
- mininuwa'u<sup>e</sup>i t'u'iduwaldi<sup>e</sup> k!a'nte!aup! aik' da'lla gi  
they looked at them. | He moved them back to ground | little Lizard | his | hands | at
- k!a'imadu k'uyau k!u'ndjup!a<sup>e</sup> yā'na k' dē'waiyau gi 14  
rock place, | not being | like | people | their | seeing | to
- da'lla mē'+ya<sup>e123</sup> 'u'i p!u'diwi 'ama'its!k'<sup>t</sup> 'i'siw<sup>t</sup> dē'-  
hands. | "Well! | Hui!" | Women, | children, | men, | everybody saw
- waibanauma<sup>e</sup> gi da'lla bu'ls-dja<sup>e</sup> t'ô'ebal<sup>e</sup> aik' mo'ebal- 16  
to | fingers. | Three times he was | do thus up to them | his | quickly raising them,
- yauna bu'ls-dja<sup>e</sup> t'u'iduwaldi<sup>e</sup> aik' da'lla 'u'i<sup>124</sup>  
three times he was | move them back to ground | his | hands. | "Hui!
- 'i'ndas 'i'ndas gi da'lla k'u dē'waiyau 'ai me'te!i 18  
He has made them, | he has made them | to | fingers." | Not | seeing | he | Coyote
- ga'eile'a'idibilei  
he did not know at all about it.

<sup>123</sup> Expresses great astonishment.

<sup>124</sup> Pronounced in a whisper.

- t'ū'siē aigidja mini'np'auk'iea 'ē'bas'ie aik' man-  
 "They will do | in this way, | look! | They will pull | their | bows."
- 2 nēi' 'i'ndamadjādjaē wa'ute!uē dji da'lelidja ba'imau-  
 "Make mine also! | cut them | the | my hands," | being-one person  
 yāna t'ī'ei t'ū'and aite k'a'lte!auna wa'ute!undie  
 he said. | Now he did so | the | Lizard. | Now he cut them,
- 4 djé'manguē gi da'lla aigite yā'na k' da'lk'iea mi-  
 he made just five | at | fingers | to the | people | their | hands. | "Look!  
 ni'np'auk'iea omēdji'ndis'ie gi ba'na omēdji'ndis'ie gi  
 Now they will kill | to | deer, | now they will kill | to
- 6 dā'si t'ū'siē aite p!u'diwi aik' mite!da'lyauandi  
 salmon. | They will do | the | women | their | now having fingers,  
 t'ū'siē aigidja p!u'diwi as wā'yaēi au'windis'ie gi  
 they will do | in this way | women | if they | pound anything, | they will hold in their  
 hands | to
- 8 hā'djunna te!up'ē'ndis' aidji daleligi' nīdula'uwadjuē  
 acorn pestle. | They are good now | the | our hands." | He came back up hill from  
 south  
 a'igidja wa'ute!ubayauant' ai gi da'lla me'te!i dē-  
 here | having cut all | to | hands. | Coyote | he saw it.
- 10 waiēi ate'ī'mah aidji t'ō'ēanuk' dju da'leluk' m'  
 "What is | the | your doing to them | the (your) | your hands? | M'  
 t'ū'madjaādja'ē wa'ute!uē dji da'lelidja gayā'wauē aigi  
 do so to me also! | cut them | the | my hands!" | he spoke to him | to him
- 12 k'a'lte!auna k'ūs'si k'a'lte!auna t'ī'ei t'ū'gunaiēa dju  
 Lizard. | "It is not!" | Lizard | he said. | "Leave them as they are | the (your)  
 da'leluma k'u gayā'dummaiē ai me'te!i ba'irundiē  
 your hands!" | Not | he spoke further | he | Coyote. | Now they went to hunt deer
- 14 aite yā' s'a'wa ma'nnei ha'ga omēdjiya'uandi gi  
 the | people, | arrows | bows | flint arrow-heads | now killing them | to  
 ba'na mi'te!da'lyauandi k'a'lte!auna t'ī'ei wa'yūs'ie  
 deer | now having fingers. | Lizard | he said, | "They will give birth to children
- 16 aite p!u'diwi k'ā'gais'ip!a mite!da'leandis'ie wadū'k'am-  
 the | women, | babies | they will already have fingers." | Now he finished it  
 ēandie gi mū'mayau k' da'lla te!up'ē'ndis'i te!up-  
 at | working | their | hands. | They are good now, | they are good now
- 18 ē'andis' ai da'leligi t'ī'ē aite yā'banauma ate'ī'mat'  
 they | our hands," | they said | the | every person. | "What may be  
 aidji mau'nik gayā'maiyauna te!up'ēya'uandi da'lelik  
 the | our being about to be | talking for, | being good now | our hands?"

k'u ɛi'ndawau<sup>e</sup> ai me'te!i k' da'lla me'te!i djuk!u-  
Not | he made for him | he | Coyote | his| fingers. | Coyote | he was sitting

nā'ē aigite dja'udjanna gi mā't!adjuwa t'ū'ē aigidja 2  
at the | north | at | sweat-house, | he did | in this way

k' a'ielawaldiyauna  
his | hanging his head down.

'a'np!annainet' aite yā'na t'ō'ē aigite digite!<sup>125</sup> 4  
They were very many | the | people, | they were like | to the | blackbirds

aite yā'na k'ū'ē aite dila'us. k'ū'ē aite mā't'iyauna  
the | people. | Not was | the | one who dies, | not was | the | poisoning by magic,

k'ū'ē aite mi's. 'ā'ba<sup>e</sup> aite 'i's. k'u dila'uyau<sup>e</sup> 6  
not was | the | one who weeps. | He grew old | the | man | not | dying,

'ā'ba<sup>e</sup> aite ma'riem<sup>l</sup> k'u dila'uyau<sup>e</sup>i ba'ri<sup>e</sup> bu'idja-  
she grew old | the | woman | not | dying. | It rained, | they all together went inside

wulgunet'ē aite yā'na gi ɛi'gunna djū'rindi<sup>e</sup> wadā'- 8  
the | people | at | sweat-house. | Now it snowed. | He now had child

t'ind ai me'te!i dila'uwadjuha<sup>e</sup>nig aite yā'na me'te!i  
he | Coyote. | "Let us cause them to die | the | people!" | Coyote

t'i'ei gayā'wauyaun aigidja bu'lmits!imauyā ya'ik!una- 10  
he said | talking to them | there | being-three persons. | They were sitting

net' aigidja dja'urp'a aigite ɛi'gunna 'a'ielawaldi<sup>e</sup>  
there | south | at the | sweat-house, | he was hanging his head down

ai k'a'lte!auna djuk!unā'ē aigite p'a'ndjuwa djuk!u- 12  
he | Lizard. | He was sitting | there | Cotton-tailed Rabbit, | he was sitting

nā'ē aigidja dā'ridjuwa bu'lmitelimauyā'na 'a'ielawal-  
there | Gray Squirrel, | being-three persons | they hung their heads

diei djik!u<sup>e</sup>aya'un aigi me'te!i gayā'mauk'iea' bē's'ie 14  
listening to him | to him | Coyote | his (words) spoken. | "It will be

ts!um<sup>e</sup>maā' as. dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na gayā'andi<sup>e</sup> aite  
that it is good | if they | die | the | people." | Now they spoke | the

p'a'ndjuwa dā'ridjuwa k'a'lte!auna 'm em em<sup>126</sup> k'a'lte!au- 16  
Cotton-tailed Rabbit, | Gray Squirrel, | Lizard. | "Hm, 'm, 'm!" | Lizard

na t'i'ei k'us'ie dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na mi'k!u<sup>e</sup>nigi as.  
he said. | "They shall not | die | the | people. | We might weep | if they

dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na k'a'lte!auna t'i'ei dila'ugummas'ie 18  
die | the | people." | Lizard | he said, | "It is true that they will die

<sup>125</sup> Described as black birds with red under their wings and about as large as meadow-larks. Probably blackbirds.

<sup>126</sup> Expresses emphatic dissent.

- te' yā'na k'unis badū't!apēi ô'ris'êenig as dilau'i  
the | people | but they will | come back to life again. | We shall bury them | if they |  
die
- 2 k'unis 'e'k'u'ldubalba<sup>ea</sup> k'us'inig ô'yuwaldiea a'sinig  
and they will | all move up out again. | We shall not | bury them deep down | if we  
ô'ri<sup>ea</sup> as dila'u<sup>ei</sup> atē'ī'mat' aik maus badū't!amē-  
bury them | if they | die." | "What is said to be | their | being about to be | coming  
back to life again for!"
- 4 maiyauna me'teli t'ī'ei as dila'u<sup>ei</sup> dila'us'iei as  
Coyote | he said. | "If they | die, | they will die. | If they  
dila'u<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na mi's'ienigi (*sound of weeping*) t'ī's'ie aite  
die | the | people, | we shall weep (*sound of weeping*). | Thus they will say | the
- 6 yā'na mi's'ie aite yā'na as dila'uk'i k' umā'yā<sup>ea127</sup>  
people. | They will weep | the | people | if he is | theirs die | their | brother,  
mi's'ie as dila'uk'i k' mari'emiyauna mi's'ie as dila'uk'i  
they will weep | if he is | theirs die | their | sister, | they will weep | if he is | theirs die
- 8 k' dā'ti 'ū' t'ū's'ie a'igidja gi te!al<sup>ea</sup> k' te'u'na  
their | child. | Hā! | They will do | in this way | at | pitch | their | faces,  
t'ū's'ie a'igidja gi ba'te'i ditē'lā'p!as'iei wa'i wa'i wa'i  
they will do | in this way | at | white clay, | they will mourn. | 'Wai! wai! wai!'
- 10 t'ū's'ie a'igidja as mi'ei aite yā'na atē'ī'mat' aik'  
they will do | in this way | if they | weep | the | people." | What might be | his  
maus gayā'maiyaun aite k!a'lte!auna djiru'yauwa<sup>e</sup>  
being about to be | talking for | the | Lizard | he being beaten out!
- 12 djū'riyanant'<sup>i</sup> p'ā'lieaisi<sup>e</sup> aite i'na gi p'a'dja  
It snowing now | they were completely covered over | the | trees | with | snow.  
'ē'te!hayamteli<sup>e</sup> ai k!a'lte!auna gi dā'ridjuwa gi  
They whispered to one another | he | Lizard | to | Gray Squirrel | to
- 14 p'a'ndjuwa k'u p'ī'ramiyau ai yā'na wī'm'damiyau  
Cotton-tailed Rabbit. | Not | going outside | they | people | being afraid to go out  
gi p'a'dja te'ip!gu'ldam<sup>et'</sup> yā'na gi ē'gunna mā'die<sup>e</sup>  
at | snow, | they filled it completely | people | at | sweat-house. | He was sick
- 16 aite ba'imanyā t'ô'ēaiguyauandi k!a'lte!auna dila'u<sup>e</sup> ai  
the | being-one person | he having done it to him himself | Lizard. | He died | he  
mā'diha k'u 'i'nā'<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli dila'us' ba'imau 'ī's'i  
who had been sick. | Not | he said anything | he | Coyote. | He is dead | being one |  
man.
- 18 k'u mi<sup>e</sup> a'ite yā dila'uyauk' aigidja atē'ī'h aidji  
Not | they wept | the | people | he having died | there. | What is | the

<sup>127</sup> umā'yā(na) is more common.

- t'ó'eanik' dila'umaüyā t'í'net' ai p'a'ndjuwa ó're'cha-  
our doing with him | being-dead person? | he said | he | Cotton-tailed Rabbit. | "Let  
us bury him."  
2
- enigi birish aidji wó'riemaenigi dats.<sup>128</sup> aidj p'a'dja  
"Where is | the | our burying him there? | Much is | the | snow  
gi irā'mi ā'ri<sup>e</sup> a'igidja gi e'gunmadu iwa'llap'a'  
at | outside. | Bury him | here | at | sweat-house place | on ground on south side."  
'ó'nundie mó'djamarindi<sup>e</sup> k'u p'auyuwa'ldiyau ê'lak!die 4  
Now they dug (pit), | now they laid him down in pit | not | being very far down in  
ground. | They covered him over  
gi bī'wi djū'riyaua'nd ai p'a'dja ā'ribayauandiwa<sup>e</sup>  
with | earth | now snowing | it | snow. | He having been completely buried  
mó'rulmarieayauna t!inī'gumauna 'e'k'u'ldibilbanet'ê ai 6  
they causing him to lie in pit | being little | he kept moving about | them  
'ó'baliyauk!aina me'te!i t'ūnet' a'igidja djuk!unā'yauna  
grave stones. | Coyote | did | in this way | sitting there  
mini'nuwauyauna gi é'ó'baliyauk!aina ai dila'uha t'ū- 8  
looking at them | at | grave stones. | He | who had died | he did  
net' aigidja 'e'k'u'ldibilbanet'ê aik' ó'baliyauk!aina  
in this way, | he kept moving about | his | grave stones,  
mau badū't!apeyaun ai dila'uha 'e'k'u'ldibilba<sup>e</sup> dila'u- 10  
being about to be | coming to life again | he | who had died, | he kept moving them  
about | being-dead person  
maüyā` me'te!i mini'nuwau<sup>e</sup> aigi 'e'k'u'ldibilba<sup>e</sup>ak'iea`  
Coyote | he looked at him | at him | moving them about,  
mini'nuwaus:asinigu<sup>e</sup> ai dila'uha t'ū'ebalet' aigite gi 12  
he kept looking at him. | He | who had died | he did up | that much | at  
é'ó'baliyauk!aina 'i'k!iribale aite me'te!i dā'wau<sup>e</sup> ai  
grave stones. | He jumped up | the | Coyote, | he jumped upon him | he  
mete!i gi dila'umaüyā` djó'k!waldie dila'uei t'í'net' 14  
Coyote | to | being-dead person, | he pushed him down into ground. | "Die!" | he said  
ai me'te!i 'u'nbal<sup>e</sup> aik' la'll ai me'te!i t'ū'net'  
he | Coyote. | He put up his foot | his | foot | he | Coyote. | He did  
a'igidja bui'bawaldie aigi dila'umaüyā` atc'í'mah aidju 16  
in this way, | he forced him down with his feet | at him | being-dead person. | "What  
is | the your  
badū't!am<sup>e</sup>maiyauna dila'uei<sup>e</sup> dila'uei<sup>e</sup> t'ū'net' aigite  
coming back to life again for? | Die! | die!" | He did | in this way  
bui'bawaldiyau gi la'lla k'unet' p'í't'ina<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na 18  
forcing him down with his feet | at | feet. | Not they were | say anything against it |  
the | people.  
wadu'idinet' ai me'te!i wak!unā'duwaldinet' gi dja'u-  
He left him and returned to his seat | he | Coyote, | he sat down again | at | north.

<sup>128</sup> = dat's.

- djanna mini'nduwaut' imai<sup>e</sup> aigi ô'baliyauk'aina k'u  
 He again looked back at them | at the | grave stones | not
- 2 'e'k'u'ldibilbadumaiyau bîma'n<sup>et'</sup> dîla'uk't'an<sup>ea'</sup>ndis' 'û'  
 moving about any more. | Indeed he was | now one who is dead for good. | "Now!"  
 me'te'li t'î'n<sup>et'</sup> gal<sup>ea'</sup>ei<sup>129</sup> mî'ei<sup>129</sup> yā'na dîla'u<sup>ea'</sup>ndis'i  
 Coyote | he said, | "cry! | weep! | person | he is now dead.
- 4 k'uya'uandis'inik' dēwait'p'au<sup>ei</sup> 'û' dit<sup>elā'</sup>p!a<sup>ea'</sup> gi ba'-  
 Never now shall we | again see him. | Now! | put on mourning | at | white clay!  
 te'i 'û' 'al<sup>ea'</sup>aila'ute'uip!a<sup>ea'</sup> gi te!a'!ea  
 Now! | smear it over your face | to | pitch!"
- 6 'û' wadū'k'am<sup>ea'</sup>andin<sup>et'</sup> aite yā'na 'û' ba'iruha<sup>enigi'</sup>  
 Well! | They were finished now | the | people. | "Now! | let us go to hunt deer!"  
 t'î'n<sup>et'</sup> aite yā'na nîmā's<sup>a'</sup> ai umu'iyā me'te'li k'  
 they said | the | people. | He went off with them | he | young person | Coyote | his
- 8 dā't'i gi ba'ie'i' at<sup>elā'</sup>h aidji t'ô'<sup>ea'</sup>nigi gal<sup>ea'</sup>wadju-  
 child | at | hunting deer. | What is | the | our doing to him? | Let us cause him to cry  
 ha<sup>eni</sup><sup>130</sup> gi me'te'li t'î'n<sup>et'</sup> aite yā'na ā'hau<sup>e</sup> aite  
 to | Coyote!" | they said | the | people. | It ran east | the
- 10 'î'ya p'a'uhauma'umate!u djuri'n<sup>et'</sup> aite s'î'wine<sup>i</sup> k'lun  
 trail, | being not very far distant to east | it stood | the | yellow pine | and  
 āhau<sup>e</sup> aite 'î'ya ā't'inaihaun<sup>et'</sup> ai 'î'ya gi s'î'wine<sup>i</sup>  
 it ran east | the | trail, | it ran east close to it | it | trail | to | yellow pine.
- 12 at<sup>elā'</sup>h aidji t'û'<sup>enigi</sup> 'î'ndaha<sup>enig</sup> bate!u'nna wô'  
 "What is | the | our doing? | Let us make | rattlesnake!" | "Yes!"  
 t'î'n<sup>et'</sup>i' 'î'ndandin<sup>et'</sup>iwa<sup>e</sup> aite bate!u'nna gi dja'u-  
 they said. | Now it was made | the | rattlesnake | at | east.
- 14 hauna 'ê'wadji'lîlip!a<sup>ea'</sup> a'idja t'î'mp'aun<sup>et'</sup>iwa<sup>ea</sup> bate!u'nna  
 "Be coiled around tree | here!" | he was told | rattlesnake.  
 wô' t'î'n<sup>et'</sup>i' k'î'mdjawaldi<sup>e</sup> a'igidja gi s'î'win<sup>ei</sup>imadu'  
 "Yes!" | he said. | They placed him down | there | at | yellow-pine place.
- 16 nîha'udjundi<sup>e</sup> aigidj 'î'y aigidja umu'imete'li bîma'-  
 Now he came from west | at the | trail | there | young Coyote. | Truly there was  
 n<sup>et'</sup> bate!u'nand aidja t'û'iwawaldiwaue<sup>a</sup> gi umu'i-  
 rattlesnake now | there, | they had put it down for him | to | young Coyote.
- 18 mete'li nîwa'nandi<sup>e</sup> ai umu'imete'li gi bate!u'nha di-  
 Now he went to it | he | young Coyote | to | former rattlesnake. | Suddenly it was

<sup>129</sup> gal<sup>ea'</sup> (or ga<sup>elā'</sup>) and mi- are really synonymous to all intents and purposes; the former is preferred in gar<sup>ei</sup>, the latter is characteristic of gat'ā'ei.

<sup>130</sup> = gal<sup>ea'</sup>d'wadjuha<sup>enig</sup>(i) gi

- mā'neaignet' aite bate!unna 'i'k'iribalē aigite gi  
the | rattlesnake | jump up | there | at
- umu'imete!i wē'djilet' gā't'uk'iea` gi mete!i ayā'p!a- 2  
young Coyote. | He wound around them | his legs | to | Coyote | now bawling
- yauandi 'ē'bilēyauandi djō'te!ilēaiyauna o'm'djie ai  
it pulling him about | biting him. | It killed him | it
- bate!unna gi umu'imete!i dila'uē ai umu'imete!i 4  
rattlesnake | to | young Coyote, | he died | he | young Coyote.
- dila'us' aidju dā't'i t'immēt'iwaēa gi da'nēmauyā`  
"He is dead | the your | child," | he was told | by | being-many people.
- biri'emat'k'iea dja'uhauna dila'usi gi bate!unna dja- 6  
"Where is his said to be?" | "East | he is dead | at | rattlesnake. | He has been bitten  
to death.
- te!ilēa'isiwaēa mete!i t'ī'ei ā' miya'uant'1 dī'lwayauand  
Coyote | he said, | "So!" | now weeping | now dancing in grief
- ai me'te!i ī'lēalaut'uiplāyauna gi bī'wi t'ō'ē aigi 8  
he | Coyote | putting dirt on his face | at | earth. | He did like | to him
- dā'wanēsi 'u'lduēanēt' aite yā'na gi wawī'mat'u umu'i-  
who is crazy. | They arrived home carrying him | the | people | to | house place |  
young Coyote.
- mete!i mete!i t'ī'ei nā' mā'wagainā t'ī'nēt' aigite 10  
Coyote | he said, | "O | friend!" he said | to the
- k'a!te!auna gayā'wayauna dī'lwayaun ai mete!i wa'i  
Lizard | talking to him | dancing with grief | he | Coyote. | "Wail wail wail!
- wa'i wa'i mā'gainā t'ī'haēnuma ma'uhaenu bō'dut!ap- 12  
O friend! | You said | your formerly intending to be | having them come back to life  
again
- ēayauna as' dila'uēi badū't!apē aidji dā't'indja  
if they | die. | Make him come back to life | the | my child.
- k'us'indj k!u'ndjup!aēa dji miya'una danēma'una ba- 14  
Not I am | like | the (my) | weeping | being much. | Bring him back to life again!"
- dū't!apēaē 'm 'm' p'a'ndjuwa t'ī'ei galeā'eiē galeā'eiē  
"Hm! hm!" | Cotton-tailed Rabbit | he said. | "Cry! | cry!
- ma'uhaenu galeā'yauna mi'eiē mi'eiē alēa'ilaute'uiplāē gi 16  
You told there would be | crying. | Weep! | weep! | Put dirt on your face | at
- ba'tē'i dju te'u'na gi te!a'lēa ma'uhaenu miya'una  
white clay | the your | face | at | pitch. | You told there would be | weeping
- as' dila'uē dju umā'yā t'ī'haēnuma t'ī'mhawādja 18  
if he is | die | the your | brother, | you said, | you said to me.
- mi'eiē mi'eiē  
Weep! | weep!"

ORIGIN OF SEX, HANDS, AND DEATH.<sup>131</sup>

Women (were formerly men and) used to go hunting deer but came back home without having killed anything. The women, (now men), stayed at home, making acorn meal and acorn bread. Again the men went out to hunt deer, but did not succeed in killing any. The women were finished with their acorn pounding when the sun came up in the east. They killed only one deer. There were thirty men, and similarly there were thirty women. The people had no fresh meat to eat, for no deer were killed by the men. (Said Gray Squirrel and Cottontail Rabbit to one another,) "It is bad. What shall we do?" said the women. "The men have not killed any deer." "Let us make men out of these women. Yes!" The men arrived home. The men were angry, and whipped their wives. "It is bad. Let us make women out of the men, and let us make men out of the women."

At daybreak they went off to hunt deer. In the east a certain person<sup>132</sup> was building a fire on the ground. Now the men came, hunting deer. The one that was building the fire sat there. He took smooth round stones and put them into the fire. Those who were hunting deer sat around the fire in a circle. That one person also sat there, but the men did not see the fire, did not see the stones. Suddenly the stones burst off from the fire. They popped about in every direction. "S!" said those who had till then been men, who were there in great numbers. Their private parts were cleft by bursting stones.

"Let us make men of those there." So it was, and they now became men, while those who had formerly been men had now become women. Now they stayed at home, pounding acorns and

<sup>131</sup> This myth, given by Sam Bat'wī as one connected narrative, contains three distinct episodes: the mutual change of sex of the first men and women, the fashioning of their hands by Lizard, and the introduction of death through Coyote's willfulness. The second episode finds parallels in Curtin's "First Battle in the World and the making of the Yana," p. 479 (where the model for men's hands is made by Pakalai Jawichi = *p'ā'galai djā'witc'i*, "water lizard"), and in Dixon's "Maidu Myths," p. 42 (where Lizard is replaced by Earth Initiate). For the third episode cf. Dixon, *l.c.*, pp. 42-44. The scene of this, as of the preceding, myth is laid at Wamā'rawi (see note 111).

<sup>132</sup> *i.e.*, Cottontail Rabbit.



making acorn bread. Now the men went out hunting deer and killed many deer. Cottontail Rabbit was standing there and said: "Hehehê! Yes! Now it is good. It is good," said he, looking on while they killed deer. The women made acorn bread and pounded acorns. Hehe! The people did not die, the people were very numerous. Coyote said, "I do not wish the people to be numerous. There are too many women and too many men in every direction, there are too many children in every direction. The people do not die, they grow old. There is no poisoning by magic, there is nobody to cry in winter," thus he spoke. There was nobody that knew about death. Cottontail Rabbit knew about it, Gray Squirrel knew about it, Lizard knew about it.<sup>133</sup> That many there were who knew about death.

Their hands were this way, round, not divided into fingers. "Let us cut through the hands," they said to everybody, for people did not have fingers. "I shall make fingers," said Lizard. "What are you going to make fingers for? Our hands are good as they are," said Coyote, talking to Lizard. "What are we going to do if we shoot arrows, if we go out to hunt deer, if we go out to hunt small game?" said Lizard. Coyote sat here to the north; here to the south sat Cottontail Rabbit, Lizard, and Gray Squirrel. "Bad are our hands," they said to Coyote. "What are the women going to do when they pound acorns, for the people have no fingers. They will be able to take hold of the pestle if they have fingers. Let us make fingers," said Lizard, talking to Coyote. "They will use their elbows as pestles. They will hold the acorn mortar down with their legs whenever they pound acorns, whenever they pound sunflower seeds, whenever they pound anything," said Coyote. "M'! m'! m'! m'! This is how they will do," said Coyote. "Hê!" said Lizard, "it is bad. Will they not hurt themselves in that way, if they use their elbows as pestles?" "It is bad," said Cottontail Rabbit. "I shall make fingers, so that it will be good for all the people in that way, and when they go out hunting they will be able to do

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<sup>133</sup> Cottontail Rabbit, Gray Squirrel, and Lizard form a sort of creative trinity corresponding perhaps to the Maidu Turtle, Father-of-the-Secret-Society, and Earth-Initiate (see Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 39). They are collectively opposed by Coyote, as is Earth-Initiate of the Maidu myth.

well when they shoot, if they have fingers." "Why do you talk about intending to change things around?" said Coyote. "I want to change things around because I don't like them as they are. Bad are the hands, they cannot do things well in that way."

It was good weather as it is now,<sup>134</sup> the sun came out shining through the clouds. Lizard went down hill for a short distance to the south, all alone. He sat down and leaned his back against the rock. He looked around on the ground and saw small fragments of flint. Lizard picked up a fragment of flint and cut through his hand, making fingers. He cut his hands up into fingers. Many were the people at the village; no one saw him sitting to the south on the side of the hill. Lizard looked back up to the north, looked at his hand. He waved his hand around, did like this. "Hī! Look, all of you, at my hand." They looked at Lizard's hand. "Hī! Here is my hand!" The people looked at him while Lizard quickly moved his hand back to the ground among the rocks, for he did not want the people to see his hand all at once. "Well, well! Hu'ī!" whispered the women, the children, the men; everybody saw the hand. Three times he quickly raised it up in that way, three times he quickly moved his hand back to the ground. "Hu'ī!" they whispered, "he has fixed it, he has fixed his hand." But Coyote did not see it, did not know anything about it.

"People will do thus," (said Lizard). "Look how they will bend their bows." "Fix mine too. Cut through my hand," said one man, and Lizard did so. He cut through them, made five fingers in the people's hands. "Look how people will kill deer, how they will kill salmon, how the women will do when they have fingers. This is how women will do when they pound. They will hold the pestle in their hand. Now we have good hands." He came back up hill from the south and cut all of their hands. Coyote saw it. "How did you manage to get fingers? M! Do so to me also! Cut through my hands!" said he to Lizard. "No!" said Lizard. "Let your hands be as they are!" and Coyote said nothing in reply. Now the people went hunting deer, killing deer with arrows, bows, and flints, for they

<sup>134</sup> *i.e.*, when the myth was being dictated.

now had fingers. Lizard said, "When women will have a baby, it will be born with fingers." Now he finished working at their hands. "It is good now. Our hands are good now," said all the people. "Why should we want to say more about it, for our hands are good now." For Coyote he made no fingers. Coyote sat on the north side of the sweat-house and did like this, hung his head down.

The people were very numerous, they were like blackbirds in number. There was no one who died, there was no poisoning by magic, there was no one that wept. The men grew old, but they did not die; the women grew old, but they did not die. It rained, and all the people went in together into the sweat-house. Then it snowed. Coyote had a son. He said, "Let us cause people to die." He spoke thus to the three men who were sitting here on the south side of the sweat-house. Lizard was holding his head down; there with him were Cottontail Rabbit and Gray Squirrel. All three men held their heads down, listening to Coyote's words, "It will be good if people die." Now Cottontail Rabbit, Gray Squirrel, and Lizard spoke, "M! ɛm! ɛm!" said Lizard. "People shall not die, we do not want to cry when people die," said Lizard. "It is true that people will die, but they will come back to life again. We will bury them in the ground when they die, and they will move up out again. In burying them when they die, we shall not bury them very deep." "Why should they come back to life again?" said Coyote. "When they die, let them die. If any one dies, we shall weep. (Imitating sound of weeping): That is what people will say, people will weep. If one's brother dies he will weep; if one's sister dies, he will weep; if one's child dies, he will weep: Hū! Like this they will put pitch on their eyes, they will put on white clay, like this; they will mourn. 'Wai! Wai! Wai!' that is how people will do when they weep." What could Lizard say, for he was beaten out?

It was snowing now, and the trees were all covered with snow. Lizard, Gray Squirrel, and Cottontail Rabbit whispered to one another. The people did not go out of the house, being afraid to go out because of the snow. The people were crowded in the

sweat-house. A certain man became sick, Lizard himself having made him so. The sick man died. Coyote said nothing. One man is dead, but the people did not weep because of his dying there. "What shall we do with this dead man?" said Cottontail Rabbit. "Let us bury him." "Where is it that we shall bury him? There is too much snow outside." "Bury him here in the sweat-house, on the south side of the floor." They dug a hole and put him down into it, but not very deep. They covered him over with earth, while the snow was still falling.<sup>135</sup> After he had been buried and they had caused him to lie down in his grave, the grave moved slightly. Coyote sat there, looking at the grave. The man who had died acted in that way, he kept moving his grave. The dead man was trying to come back to life again, so he kept moving it. Coyote looked at him as he moved it about, kept looking at him intently. The dead man moved up thus much from the grave. Coyote leaped up, jumped on the dead man and pushed him down into the grave. "Die!" said Coyote. He raised his foot and did thus, trampled down upon the dead man. "What are you coming back to life for? Die! Die!" Thus he did, trampling him down with his feet. The people did not say anything. Coyote went back to where he had been sitting before, he took his seat again on the south side. He still looked at the grave, but it no longer moved. Indeed he was dead for good now. "Now!" said Coyote, "Cry! Weep! Now that person is dead. We shall never see him again. Go ahead! Mourn with pitch! Go ahead! Smear pitch all over your faces! Go ahead!"

The people finished mourning. "Well! Let us go to hunt deer," said the people. A young man, Coyote's son, went along with them to hunt deer. "What shall we do to him? Let us make Coyote cry," said the people. There was a trail that ran to the east. A short distance to the east there was a yellow pine, and the trail to the east passed close by the yellow pine. "What shall we do? Let us make a rattlesnake." "Yes," they said. So a rattlesnake was made in the east. Here he was, curled

<sup>135</sup> The Indians would sometimes bury a dead man in the sweat-house when it snowed too hard and rebury him outside as soon as a favorable opportunity presented itself.

around a tree. They told the rattlesnake what to do, and he said "Yes." There where the yellow pine was standing they laid him down. Now young Coyote came walking from the west along that trail. Indeed there was a rattlesnake there now, they had put it down there for young Coyote. Now young Coyote came close to the rattlesnake, when suddenly the rattlesnake jumped up upon him. He curled around young Coyote's legs. He shouted while the rattlesnake pulled him about and bit him. The rattlesnake killed young Coyote, so that he died. "Your child is dead," Coyote was told by the people. "Where?" "He lies dead to the east, he has been bitten by a rattlesnake." Coyote said, "Indeed!" as he wept. Coyote was now dancing around, putting dirt on his face. He acted like crazy, while the people carried young Coyote home to his house. Coyote said, "Well, my friend!" thus he said, speaking to Lizard, dancing around with grief. "Wai! Wai! Wai! My friend, you said that you would let people come back to life again after they die. Let my son come back to life again. I do not like to cry much. Let him come back to life." "'M 'm'!" said Cottontail Rabbit. "Cry! Cry! You said that you would cry. Weep! Weep! Put white clay on your face. You said that you would weep if your brother died. That is what you told us. Cry! Cry!"

## VII. COYOTE AND HIS SISTER.

yā'n<sup>et</sup> aite me'te!i gi ha'udulilmauna ba'irigu<sup>e</sup>  
 He dwelt | the | Coyote | at | Haudulilmauna, | he stayed one

aite me'te!i mari'εmiyaute'gu` wā'wite'ai<sup>e</sup> k'<sup>i</sup> mari'- 2  
 the | Coyote | together with (his) sister. | She pounded acorns | his | sister,

εmiyauna djuwā'ts!iru<sup>e</sup> aits me'te!i nīdū'an<sup>e</sup> ai  
 he went to hunt small game | the | Coyote. | He arrived home | he

me'te!i gi djuwā'ts!iruyauna bā'wis'ak'iea` djê'rie 4  
 Coyote | at | going to hunt small game | when it was dark. | She soaked acorns

aigi iwa'lt'p'a djīts!'a'u<sup>ei</sup> ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi xan<sup>ε</sup>a'ip'amak'iea  
 at it | south on ground | creek | woman. | When it was morning

djuwā'ts!iru<sup>e</sup> mete!i nīdū'ant'imai<sup>e</sup> bā'wis'ak'i mete!i 6  
 he went to hunt small game | Coyote, | again he arrived home | when it was dark |  
 Coyote.

- auwi<sup>ε</sup> yū'te'ai' a'ite ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi t'i'ei djô'dunauyau  
 "Take it | acorn mush | this here!" | woman | she said | giving him to eat
- 2 aigi meteli gi yū'te'aina 'e'k!a'l<sup>ε</sup> ai meteli gi  
 to him | Coyote | at | acorn mush. | He ate it with his fingers | he | Coyote | at  
 yū'te'aina  
 acorn mush.
- 4 mā'di<sup>ε</sup> aits meteli mādisi'ndj t'i'ε aik' mari'emi-  
 He was sick | the | Coyote. | "I am sick," he said | (to) his | sister.  
 yauna ā' ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi t'i'ei nī<sup>ε</sup>a'ns aigite dja'um'djiyā'  
 "Indeed!" | woman | she said. | "They arrived | here | west people
- 6 k'un k'usinu dé'wai<sup>ε</sup> t'i'ei k' mari'emiyauna ā'  
 and | you did not | see them," he said | (to) his | sister. | "Indeed!"  
 t'i'ε ai ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi ambi'mat'<sup>1</sup> dū't'duyā' t'imsiwa'ndj  
 she said | she | woman. | "Who is it said to be?" | "Killdeer person | he told me,
- 8 nī<sup>ε</sup>ans a'igite t'i'wau<sup>ε</sup> aik' mari'emiyauna meteli  
 he has arrived | here," he said to her | his | sister. | Coyote  
 mā'di<sup>ε</sup>i u'si' iyū'iyau<sup>ε</sup>a meteli mā'diyauna mā'gadja<sup>ε</sup>  
 he was sick, | he is two | being days | Coyote | being sick, | they were swollen
- 10 aik' ba'lla iwi'lmiwalla<sup>136</sup> me'teli t'i'mp'auyau mari'-  
 his | cheeks | one side of his mouth | Coyote. | "I shall tell (you) about it, | sister!  
 miyauyi aik' git'am<sup>ε</sup>ma'u aite dū't'duyā ā' t'i'wau<sup>ε</sup>  
 his | (thing) reported | the | Killdeer." | "Indeed!" | she said to him
- 12 ai me'telimari'emi gi 'is-i'eyauna at'e'i'mat' aik t'i's  
 she | Coyote Woman | to | brother. | "What may be | his | saying  
 gi'tapeyau wa'ismaip!as maus 'adji'lyau t'imsiwandj  
 reporting!" | "He says that he | will be | having dance, | he told me
- 14 k'un bap'a'um'djas'iwa<sup>ε</sup>nik' ā' ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi t'i'ei k'ū  
 and | he has come to tell us." | "Indeed!" | woman | she said. | Not  
 wak!a'lp!a 'i'si mari<sup>ε</sup>mi k'ū wak!a'lp!a ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi  
 she had as husband | man | woman, | not | he had as wife | woman
- 16 me'teli ya'ik'unama'mte!ia'igu<sup>ε</sup> mari'emiyauna  
 Coyote. | They stayed together by themselves | (he and his) sister.  
 djê'djal<sup>ε</sup>lak!iyaun idja'urp'a<sup>137</sup> 'aduwa'lwadju<sup>ε</sup> ai  
 Door | in south | she came back from south | she
- 18 ma'ri<sup>ε</sup>mi dunā'ru<sup>ε</sup> ma'rim<sup>ε</sup> 'i'duwul<sup>ε</sup> gi djê'djal<sup>ε</sup>lak!i-  
 woman. | She went to get water | woman, | she came back and entered | at | door.  
 yauna murul<sup>ε</sup> aite me'teli mā'diyauna gi djê'djal<sup>ε</sup>-  
 He was lying | the | Coyote | being sick | at | door.

<sup>136</sup> Observe that *ba'lla* "cheeks, mouth" becomes *-walla* in composition.

<sup>137</sup> Adverbs of simple direction generally begin with *djau-* without prefix *i:* *dja'urp'a*.

- lak'liyauna bô'djawul<sup>e</sup> gi k'û'nunuiplâ k'<sup>t</sup> ba'lla  
He had put them into it | to | round smooth stones | his | mouth,
- mâ'gadja<sup>e</sup> aik' ba'll ai me'teli 'i'duwul<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri- 2  
they were swollen | his cheeks | he | Coyote. | She came back and entered | she |  
woman.
- emi muru'l<sup>e</sup> aigidja me'te!i me'te!ima'riemi dun<sup>e</sup>â' gi  
He lay | there | Coyote, | Coyote Woman | she was fetching water | at
- ha'na t'û'e aigidja mete!ima'riemi 'ê+ ma'riemi t'i'ei 4  
water, | she did | there | Coyote Woman. | "Hê+!" | woman | she said,
- 'i'duwul<sup>e</sup> dī'yus:a<sup>e</sup> dī'yus:a<sup>e</sup> gi djê'djal<sup>e</sup>lak'liya'û mu-  
"go back inside! | move away, | move away | at | door! | Lie down
- ru'l<sup>e</sup> aiye` dja'udjam bus'sima'ip!ak'unu` dju ba'l' 6  
yonder | north, | you might get hurt by being stepped upon | the your | cheeks."
- ee<sup>n</sup>+<sup>138</sup> mete!i t'i'ei dje't'il<sup>e</sup>i'wagilte dun<sup>e</sup>â'e dje't'il-  
"Eh!" | Coyote | he said, | "step over me! | take (your) water | step over me,  
sister!"
- ei'wagilwī'dja<sup>e139</sup> t'û'andie ma'riemi dje't'il<sup>e</sup>i'wagilei 8  
Now she did so | woman, | she stepped over him.
- dan<sup>e</sup>anā'tdja<sup>e</sup> ai me'te!i (*Coyote yelps with lust, ostensibly*  
He lay on his back | he | Coyote. | (*Coyote yelps with lust, ostensibly because pained.*)  
*because pained*) m<sup>n</sup> ma'riemi t'i'ei ma'riemi t'i'ei 10  
"M!" | woman | she said. | Woman | she said,
- ā+ha` atc'i'mah aidju t'û'<sup>140</sup> nak'û muru'lyus:a<sup>e</sup> gi  
"Aha! | What is | the your | doing | that not (you) | lie away from it | at
- djê'djal<sup>e</sup>lak'liya'û t'i'handj dju bus'sima'ip!a<sup>e</sup> dju ba'l' 12  
door! | I said | the your | being hurt by being stepped upon | the your | cheeks."
- wā'wite'ai<sup>e</sup>i djê'ri gi eiwa't'p'a djite!a'û'imadu me'teli-  
She pounded acorns, | she soaked acorns | at | south on ground | creek place | Coyote  
Woman,
- mariemi dun<sup>e</sup>â'duwul<sup>e</sup> gi ha'na me'teli muru'l<sup>e</sup> gi 14  
she came back with water and entered | to | water. | Coyote | he lay | at
- djê'djal<sup>e</sup>lak'liyaumadu` muru'lyus:a<sup>e</sup> dje't'il<sup>e</sup>i'wagilwī'dja<sup>e</sup>  
door place. | "Lie away from here!" | "Step over me, sister!"
- m<sup>n</sup> ma'riemi t'i'ei t'û'e ai ma'riemi dje't'il<sup>e</sup>i'wagil- 16  
"M! | woman | she said. | She did so | she | woman | stepping over him.
- yauna (*Coyote yelps as before*) mini'np'auk'ie bus'sima'i-  
(*Coyote yelps as before.*) | "Look at how they are | be hurt by being stepped upon
- p!a<sup>e</sup> dju ba'l' 18  
the your | cheeks."

<sup>138</sup> Expresses groaning pain.<sup>139</sup> These last words are pronounced in a pitiful squeal. It is to be noted that *dje't'il<sup>e</sup>i'wagilwī'dja<sup>e</sup>*, though addressed to one woman is plural and male in form. It was not considered proper by the Yana for brother and sister to address each other in the singular.<sup>140</sup> = t'ûw.

- t'imp'auya'u mari'emiyaui mausi'nu 'adjilyaru-  
 "I shall tell you about it, | sister! | You will be | going to camp out for dance!"
- 2 yaui' maut' adjilyau eate dut'duya'mteliw maut'  
 They say they will be | having dance | the | Killdeer people living together, | they say  
 they will be  
 adjil'mayau gi wite'uman<sup>e</sup> 'a'ha<sup>e</sup> ma'riemi t'i'ei k'un  
 having dance there | at | Wi'te'uman<sup>e</sup>na." | "Yes!" | woman | she said. | "And
- 4 k'us'indj mau nis'a'yau k'us'indj mau de'wairuyau  
 I am not | intending to be | going away, | I am not | intending to be | going to see  
 gi 'adjil's me'teli t'i'ei k'unu 'adjilyaru<sup>e</sup> mausi  
 at | they dance," | Coyote | he said. | "But | do you go to camp out for dance! | I  
 shall
- 6 t'imp'auya'u meteli t'i'ei aits te'unô'yâ as ni'k'ie  
 telling (you) about it," | Coyote | he said. | "The | Eastern people | if they | come,  
 djuip'ale'ilaute'uisi gi dap'al's-amau te'a'le<sup>a</sup> t'û'banau-  
 they will be blackened on their faces | at | being black | pitch, | every one will do so
- 8 masi te'unô'yâ djuip'ale'ilaute'u'yau k'unus dap'a'l-  
 Eastern people | being blackened on their faces | and they will be | everybody's be  
 black  
 sabanaumak' te'u'' as-inu de'wai<sup>e</sup> gi yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> mû-  
 face. | If you | see | at | Yâ'<sup>ewi</sup>, | chief
- 10 dja'up!a yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> dju'lp!annaisi gâ'te!ansi mudja'up!â  
 Yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> | he will be very tall, | he will make speech | chief  
 yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> ma'riemi djik!uwa'ldiea k'uya'ugummagat'<sup>e</sup> mi-  
 Yâ'<sup>ewi</sup>." | Woman | she listened with lowered head. | "Pray do not | look at them
- 12 ni'np'au<sup>e</sup> gi te'unô'yâ bê'magat' mini'np'au<sup>e</sup> gi yâ'<sup>ewi</sup>  
 at | Eastern people! | It is they whom, pray, | look at them | at | Yâ'<sup>ewi</sup>!  
 as gâ'te!an te' mûdja'up!â a'uwigagat'<sup>a</sup> k'unu dja-  
 If he is | make speech | the | chief, | pray take him | and | pray dance with him
- 14 ma'mteliri'magat'<sup>e</sup> yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> dju'ihae'ilaute'ui gi ha'uyau-  
 Yâ'<sup>ewi</sup> | having sucker-fish fat rubbed over his face | at | sucker-fish fat,  
 galâ<sup>141</sup> mudja'up!â a'idje mini'np'aumagat'<sup>e</sup> as bas'ik'i  
 chief | that one | pray look at him! | if it is | night
- 16 k'unu auwi'magat'<sup>e</sup>  
 and | pray take him!"  
 te!up'e'bâ'andie me'te!imariemi p'a'nma<sup>e</sup> gi p'u'nna  
 Now she dressed up nicely | Coyote Woman. | She painted herself red | at | red  
 paint,
- 18 djô'wat'p'au<sup>e</sup> gi gi'lm'djidjuwayauna mô'hamiya'ut'p'au<sup>e</sup>  
 she put it over her hips | at | tasseled buckskin skirt, | she put on herself apron tas-  
 seled with white grass,  
 p'ê'lulu'it'p'au<sup>e</sup> k'î p'il'ô'lu m'' da'mbus'a<sup>e</sup>a ma'riemi  
 she put basket-cap on herself | her | basket-cap. | Ah | she was pretty | woman.

<sup>141</sup> galâ refers, properly speaking, to any fish smaller than salmon.



- 'ū 'asā'yau bā'wis'abi'ndjas ā'ha<sup>e</sup> me'teli t'ī'ei dam-  
 "Well! | I shall go off, | it is nearly dark." | "Yes," | Coyote | he said, | "I shall stay  
 home right here.
- guna'yau dut'isi'ndj dji mā'diyau t'ī'wau k' ma- 2  
 I am greatly ill | the (my) | sickness," | he said to her | his | sister.
- rī'emiyauna 'am'dji'ndi<sup>e</sup> ba'igumauna ma'ri'emi 'ī'wal-  
 Now she went west | being one | woman. | It had gone down
- dindi<sup>e</sup> ai t'u'ina bas'ī'waldindi<sup>e</sup> 'ä+u<sup>142</sup> bu'ri<sup>e</sup> k' 4  
 it | sun, | it was already night down. | "Hä+u! | they danced | their
- di'ea'yauna meteli'ma'ri'emi wā'k'dibil<sup>ei</sup> a'uwit'p'au  
 dancing in line near fire. | Coyote Woman | she stood, | she held her fists against her  
 own
- k'<sup>1</sup> ba'lla k'u mini'nwauyau ma'ri'emi gi te'unô'yā 6  
 her | cheeks | not | looking at them | woman | to | Eastern people
- k' bu'riyauk'iea 'ä+u yā'ewi t'ī'ei gi dja'um'dji  
 their | dancing. | "Hä+u!" | Yā'ewi | they said | at | west
- gi 'adji'ldiemauna mini'nba<sup>ei</sup> ma'ri'emi bas'ī'k'iea da'm- 8  
 at | dancing place. | She looked up | woman | when it was dark. | She was pretty.
- bus'a<sup>ei</sup> mini'nm'dji<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri'emi mūdja'up!āna gā'te'an-  
 She looked west | she | woman. | Chief | he was shouting as leader.
- ei 'ê+ 'ä'u 'ê+ 'ä'u 'ê+ 'ä'u<sup>143</sup> bu'ls'dja<sup>e</sup> 10  
 "Hê+ häu! hê+ häu! hê+ häu!" | he was three times
- gā'te'an<sup>ei</sup> me'teli k' marī'emiyauna mini'ndibil<sup>e</sup> mi-  
 shout as leader. | Coyote | his | sister | she looked about, | she looked at him
- ni'nwau<sup>e</sup> gi mūdja'up!a uk!gā' a'īye t'ī' k' dju'- 12  
 to | chief. | It must be, is it not? | that one yonder," | she said | her | heart.
- gute'li t'ī'h aidji 'is'ī'yau'nite' mini'nwau'chawandj gi  
 "He said | the | my brother, | he told me to look at him | to
- mudja'up!ā as gā'te'an<sup>e</sup> 14  
 chief | if he is | shout as leader."
- 'asā'yauk'ī k' marī'emiyauna t'u'iduram<sup>e</sup> gi k!a'ina  
 She going away | his | sister | he took back out of his mouth | at | stones,
- bō'djas'a<sup>e</sup> me'teli k'<sup>1</sup> ba'l'madu` te!upebā'andi<sup>e</sup> djuiha- 16  
 he threw them away | Coyote | his | mouth place. | Now he dressed himself up, | he  
 smeared fat on his face
- ea'ilaute'uipl'a<sup>e</sup> ha'uyaugalā dīmā'n'aigu wawildjuwā'eminā  
 sucker-fish fat. | "May there be to me | otter-skin quiver!"
- dīmā'n'aip'andj dju'lei t'ū'e dju'le ai me'teli mi'ts!- 18  
 I wish I might | be tall!" | He did so. | He was tall | he | Coyote, | it came to him
- k'ie ai wawī'ldjuwām! ban'ī'mau gi s'a'wa da'mbus'a-  
 it | otter-skin quiver | being full | at | arrows. | He was very handsome

142 Pronounced in a loud whisper.

143 Dance burden.

- p!annai<sup>e</sup> me'teli nibi'l<sup>e</sup> i't'a'u bas'i'k'i ha'u'hau ha'u-  
Coyote. | He went about | in middle | when it was night. | "Hau hau, | hau hau!"
- 2 hau gā'te!an<sup>e</sup>i me'teli t'ū<sup>e</sup> aigidja k' bu'riyauna  
he shouted as leader | Coyote, | he did | in that way | his | dancing  
mūdja'up!ā ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi 'a'tk'í<sup>e</sup>i me'teli t'ū<sup>e</sup> aigidja  
chief. | Woman | she came from east, | Coyote | he did | in that way
- 4 bu'riyauna ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi t'ū<sup>e</sup> aigidja k' dja't'k'íya'una  
dancing, | woman | she did | in that way | her | dancing from east.  
a'uwindi<sup>e</sup> aite ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi gi yā'ewi mudja'up!ā a'uwin-  
She took hold of him now | the | woman | to | Yā'ewi | chief, | she now took hold of
- 6 di<sup>e</sup> k' 'is'í<sup>e</sup>yauna djama'mte!iriyauant'<sup>1</sup> k' dja'ri-  
her | brother, | they now dancing with each other | their | dancing  
yauna bas'i'k'í<sup>e</sup> me'teli 'é'yuhau<sup>i</sup> gi ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi 'a'n-  
when it is night. | Coyote | pulled her off east | to | woman. | "Let us go east!"
- 8 hauha<sup>e</sup>ni'k' 'agama'í<sup>e</sup> t'ū<sup>e</sup> ai mari'm<sup>e</sup>l 'a'nhauyauna  
come on!" | she did so | she | woman | they going east  
gi ma'lte'i s'ādi'mmaldi<sup>e</sup> ya'iwaldi<sup>e</sup> gaya'mte!iyauna  
at | brush. | They lay down to sleep, | they sat on ground | talking to each other.
- 10 me'teli t'ū<sup>e</sup>i yu'nt'giri<sup>e</sup> gi ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi t'ū'winigu<sup>e</sup> ai  
Coyote | he did so, | he tickled her | to | woman, | she did likewise | she  
ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi gi 'i'si du'mmanawa'ldi<sup>e</sup> gi ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi ya'up!ai-  
woman | to | man. | He lay on her putting his arms about her | to | woman | now  
copulating with her
- 12 yauandi djēdjabi'lyauant'<sup>1</sup> gi ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi badja'lmaun  
pushing her about | to | woman. | Being big  
aits ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi p'uí<sup>e</sup>i da'mbus:amauna xan'aibabi'ndja-  
the | woman | she was fat | being pretty. | It being nearly dawn
- 14 yauna wāk'duba'l<sup>e</sup> ai mete!i k'<sup>1</sup> ya'up!abayauna ba-  
he got up again | he | Coyote | his | being finished copulating. | He ran off home  
dū's<sup>a</sup>e ai me'teli djuk'un<sup>e</sup>ā'k'unu<sup>e</sup> gi ma'lte'imadu'  
he | Coyote, | she still remained | at | brush place
- 16 ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi  
woman.  
badô'andi<sup>e</sup> aits me'teli mi'ldjamaup!annaina 'i'du-  
Now he ran back home east | the | Coyote | running very fast, | he returned into it
- 18 wul<sup>e</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> wawi' djô'duwul<sup>e</sup> k'<sup>1</sup> k'ū'nunuiplā k'<sup>1</sup> ba'lla  
his | house. | He put them back into it | his | smooth round stones | his | mouth,  
muru'lduwaldi<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli gi djē'dja'lak!iyaumadu  
he lay down again on ground | he | Coyote | at | door place.
- 20 'adô'djundi<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri<sup>e</sup>mi 'a'ewi'ndjamauna mik'a'í<sup>e</sup> ai  
Now she came back from west | she | woman | walking fast. | She was angry | she

- ma'riemi k' dju'gute!<sup>1</sup> gimats!ha'yagu<sup>e</sup> 'adū'an<sup>e</sup> ai  
woman, | her | heart | she thought to herself. | She arrived home | she
- mari'mei dē'wai<sup>e</sup> ai ma'riemi 'iduwulyauk'i gi me'te!i 2  
woman, | she saw him | she | woman | going back into house | to | Coyote.
- ma'riemi 'iduwulei me'te!i muru'lei ma'riemi yô'hai-  
Woman | she went back into house, | Coyote | he lay. | Woman | she was pregnant  
now.
- andie 'ê+ ma'riemi t'i'ei 'i'ebale wak!alp!ayaui<sup>1</sup> 4  
"Hê+!" | woman | she said, | "get up, husband!
- me'te!i t'i'ei mā'gadja k' ba'lla bê'k!unte' t'ū'ei<sup>144</sup>  
Coyote | he said, | swollen were | his | cheeks, | "Perchance it is I that was | do it!"
- k'uya'ugu ayā'p!a<sup>e</sup> ma'riemi t'i'ei mi'lp!aiwaldie gi 6  
"Do not | bawl!" | woman | she said. | She whipped him as he lay on ground | to
- mete!i 'i'ebale ba'iru<sup>e</sup> wak!alp!ayaui yô'haisinte' 'i'+  
Coyote. | "Get up! | go hunt deer, | husband! | I am pregnant." | "Hi!"
- k'usindj nis-ā'ei k'usinte bê t'ū'ei 'ā'ha<sup>e</sup> t'i'e ai 8  
I have not been | go away, | I am not | be he who was | do it." | "Yes!" | she said | she
- ma'riemi diwa'isiwam<sup>ea</sup> wayu'ndiei wa'yu<sup>e</sup> gi irā'mi  
woman. | "I have seen you." | She now gave birth to children, | she gave birth to  
them | at | outside.
- muru'lgunai<sup>e</sup> ai me'te!i gi iwū'lu 'i'rame ma'riemi 10  
He was lying right at home | he | Coyote | at | inside. | "Go outside!" | woman
- t'i'ei wa'yusinte' wa'yu<sup>e</sup> gi me'te!ite!gi hā'djan<sup>e</sup>  
she said, | "I have given birth to children." | She gave birth | to | young coyotes, |  
they were ten.
- de'lelamari<sup>e</sup> gi ê'mansugi 'awa'lt'p'a<sup>e</sup> djū'dja<sup>145</sup> 12  
She put them down into it | at | pack basket, | she went south to creek | creek
- 'ê'liłts!gile gi djū'dja djū'm'djie gi ha'na 'adola'u-  
She turned them over into water | at | creek. | They floated west | at | water, | she  
came back up hill from south
- wadju<sup>e</sup> ai ma'riemi 'adū'an<sup>e</sup> 'i'ebale ai me'te!i bô'- 14  
she | woman, | she arrived home. | He got up | he | Coyote, | he took them back out of  
his mouth
- djadurame k'ū'nunui!a bô'djas-a<sup>e</sup> 'i'rame ai me'te!i  
round smooth stones, | he threw them away. | He went outside | he | Coyote.
- bari't'p'a<sup>e</sup> bate!a'um'djie 'ô'bileayau k' da'tet'iwī djū'm'- 16  
He ran south down hill, | he ran west along creek | following them | his | children. |  
Now they were floating west
- djindie mets!its!gi gi ha'na ba'ite!aum'djie djū'p!ite<sup>e</sup>  
young coyotes | at | water. | He ran west following them along creek, | they floated  
west as far as
- gi wī'te'uman<sup>ena</sup> bate!a'um'djiyauant'<sup>1</sup> ba'idim'djie ai 18  
to | Wi'te'uman<sup>ena</sup>. | Running west now along creek | he ran west leaving them  
behind | he

<sup>144</sup> Pronounced in a plaintive squeal. These words really mean: "It was not I that did it."

<sup>145</sup> *ajū'dja*: rather large creek that does not dry up in summer; *djite!a'u<sup>e</sup>*: small creek drying up in summer, gully.

- me'teli k'<sup>1</sup> da'tet'iwi 'inda<sup>e</sup> kli'wate!i wagaya'uandi  
Coyote | his | children. | He made it | willow fish-trap | having twined it.
- 2 t'u'ite!gil<sup>e</sup> gi ha'n<sup>a</sup> t'ū'net' a'igite me'teli djū'rk'i-  
He placed it in water | at | water. | He did | there | Coyote. | Now floating from east  
yauandi me'ts!its!gi gi ha'madu dju'te!u'm'dji<sup>e</sup> gi  
young Coyotes | at | water place | they floated west through brush | at
- 4 k!i'wate!i badū'te!ileau<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli djū'm'dji<sup>e</sup> me'ts!i-  
willow fish-trap. | He ran back out of water | he | Coyote. | They floated west | young  
Coyotes,  
ts!gi ba'idim'dji<sup>e</sup> k'iwate!i k' da'lma<sup>du</sup> bats!gi!e  
he ran west leaving them behind | willow fish-trap | (at) his | hand place. | He ran  
into water
- 6 gi dja'um'dji t'u'its!gil<sup>e</sup> gi ha'na djū'rk'ie ai  
at | west, | he placed it water | at | water. | They floated from east | they  
mets!its!gi gi ha'madu dju'te!u'm'dji<sup>e</sup> 'ê+ me'teli  
young Coyotes | at | water place, | they floated west through brush. | "Hê+!" | Coyote
- 8 t'ī'ei wāk!te!ileau<sup>e</sup>ie yuwunts!ginā' k!unu dju'nmawip!a-  
he said, | "get up out of water, | boys! | and | get food for yourselves!"  
wie<sup>e</sup> djū'm'dji<sup>e</sup> djū'p!in<sup>e</sup>ma<sup>e</sup> gi hamā'damte!i wāk!-  
They floated west, | they floated up to there | at | Hamā'damte!i. | "Get up out of  
water,
- 10 te!ileau<sup>e</sup>ie yuwu'nts!ginā t'ū<sup>e</sup> wāk!te!ileauandi<sup>e</sup> te'inā'-  
boys!" | They did so, | now they got up out of water | being all grown-up young men.  
yā'eyauant'<sup>1</sup> wāk!ilurp'a<sup>e</sup> ī't'a'urik!u t'ū<sup>e</sup> aits me'ts!i-  
"Start to go south to hills | across plain!" | They did so | the | young Coyotes,
- 12 ts!gi dō'haraidibile gi 'ī'niyau gi ma'nte!aute'u  
they scattered all over | at | looking for them | to | gophers  
wē'buimayauna 'ū me'teli t'ī'ei ts!lup<sup>e</sup>a'ndisi yu-  
jumping on gopher piles and crushing gophers. | "Well!" | Coyote | he said, | "it is  
good now, | boys!
- 14 wu'nts!ginā midjadī'bilmint'gu<sup>e</sup>ie dji dju'nmawip!ayauna  
Spread out all over in any direction | the | procuring for (yourselves) |  
nīdū'sayauna me'teli t'ī'ei nīsā'and ai me'teli nī'di-  
I shall go off home," | Coyote | he said. | He now went off | he | Coyote | leaving them  
behind
- 16 yau gi yuwu'nts!gi  
to | boys.  
ni'dja'mandi<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli niha'u<sup>e</sup> gi gi!ldjamna  
Now he went north | he | Coyote. | He went east | at | Gildjamna,
- 18 nihaue gi bagat<sup>e</sup>didja'myak!aina<sup>146</sup> nip!i'n<sup>e</sup>ma<sup>e</sup>a mete!i  
he went east | at | Bagat<sup>e</sup>didja'myak!aina, | that far he went. | Coyote  
mits!wawī!ldjuwāmi<sup>e</sup> niha'udjuyaun<sup>a</sup> an<sup>e</sup>ana'ip!a<sup>e</sup> aite  
he had otter-skin quiver | coming from west. | They were fine | the

<sup>146</sup> = Rocks-rolling-down-hill-to-north.

- ha'ga k<sup>1</sup> dī'tilla mits!yô'leaiyau<sup>e</sup> t'u'iwul<sup>e</sup>a ha'ihau-  
 fints | (at) his | quiver. | He had white breast and leg feathers, | he put them into  
 it | net worn on head,
- yauna ts!orê'djuwa k<sup>1</sup> yô'leaiyauna t'u'iwul<sup>e</sup> aigits: 2  
 eagle | his | white breast and leg feathers | he put them into it | at the
- ha'ihauyauna k'û<sup>e</sup> aits: mets!i k<sup>1</sup> s!a'wa dē'dja-  
 net worn on head. | Not he was | the | Coyote | his | arrows | putting loose arrows  
 under his arm,
- matdjayauna haga-i'nig a'ite ni't'k'ie aite' dā'rik!u<sup>147</sup> 4  
 all provided with flint arrow-heads | these here. | He came from east | the | Frost.
- dā'rik!u mits!yô'leaiyauwinigu<sup>e</sup> 'indan<sup>et'</sup> yô'leaiyauna  
 Frost | he also had white feathers, | he had made them | white feathers
- gi p'adja ts!up<sup>e</sup>p!a'nnain<sup>et'</sup> dā'rik!u k<sup>1</sup> yô'leaiyauna 6  
 at | anow. | They were very good | Frost | his | white feathers.
- nim'djie a'ite dā'rik!u meteli niha'uei nik!a'umaimite!ie  
 He went west | this | Frost, | Coyote | he went east. | They met each other
- ganu'myā<sup>148</sup> h<sup>u</sup>+<sup>149</sup> meteli t'i'ei wawa'ldi<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli 8  
 Ganu/myā. | "H<sup>u</sup>+!" | Coyote | he said. | He sat down | he | Coyote,
- wawa'ldi<sup>e</sup> ai dā'rik!u biri'emah aidju nimi'ri<sup>e</sup>nuga<sup>150</sup>  
 he sat down | he | Frost. | "Where is | the (your) | your (pl.) going to!"
- me'teli t'i'ei nim'djima'uenite'yā dā'rik!u t'i'ei ā' 10  
 Coyote | he said. | "I am going-west person," | Frost | he said. | "Indeed!
- niha'umau<sup>e</sup>nite'yā meteli t'i'ei ā' dā'rik!u t'i'ei ,gī-  
 I am going-east person," | Coyote | he said. | "Indeed!" | Frost | he said. | "Tell (me)  
 news!"
- t!am<sup>e</sup>mi<sup>e</sup>i<sup>e</sup> me'teli t'i'ei t'ū'k!us djauhauyā' k'ū's aidj 12  
 Coyote | he said. | "How do they do | east people?" | "Not are | the
- yā'na k'ū'sindj dē'wai<sup>e</sup>i dā'rik!u t'i'ei 'ê+ te!up<sup>e</sup>-  
 people. | I have not been | see them," | Frost | he said. | "Hê+! | it is very good
- p!a'nnais dju ma'n<sup>e</sup>inuga dju s'a'wanuga hehe' me'teli 14  
 the (your) | your bow, | the (your) | your arrows. | Hehe'!" | Coyote
- t'i'ei kl'undju<sup>e</sup>asindja dji yô'leaiyau<sup>e</sup>nuga k'u gayā'yau  
 he said, | "I like it | the | your white feathers," | not | speaking
- aite dā'rik!u win<sup>e</sup>i'mamte!iha<sup>e</sup>nigi' ma'llap!amaun aidje<sup>e</sup>' 16  
 the | Frost. | "Let us exchange with each other!" | "Being bad | that
- dji ma'n<sup>e</sup>indja dji s'awa'ndja ma'llap!amauna yô'lei-  
 the | my bow | the | my arrows, | being bad | my white feathers."

<sup>147</sup> *dā'rik!u* means also "ice." Cf. *dā'risi* "it freezes."

<sup>148</sup> = People's-arms. *ganu-* is the diminutive form of *ga'lu* "arm."

<sup>149</sup> Expresses pant of fatigue.

<sup>150</sup> Coyote addresses Frost in the plural as though speaking to a relative. He desires to be friendly.

yau<sup>ε</sup>ni<sup>d</sup>ja m' win<sup>ε</sup>i'mamte!iha<sup>ε</sup>nigi' ā' dā'rik!u t'ī'εi  
 "O well! | let us exchange with each other!" | "So!" | Frost | he said.

- 2 ô'djawa'u<sup>ε</sup> aik' s'a'wa aik' yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyauna ma'n<sup>ε</sup>ni  
 He handed them over to him | his | arrows, | his | white feathers, | bow.

wê'k!ammit<sup>ε</sup>!iha<sup>ε</sup>nik' te!um<sup>ε</sup>ma'una t'u'iwauandi<sup>ε</sup> k' yô'l-  
 "Let us take from each other | being good." | Now he handed them over to him | his  
 white feathers

- 4 εaiyauna dā'rik!u gi me'te!i yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyau<sup>ε</sup>andi<sup>ε</sup> mete!i  
 Frost | to | Coyote. | Now he put on white feathers | Coyote

gi p'a'dja t'ūk'a'ina<sup>ε</sup> aite dā'rik!u yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyau<sup>ε</sup>ayauna  
 at | snow, | he did similarly | the | Frost | putting on white feathers

- 6 me'te!i k' yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyauna 'ū' me'te!i t'ī'εi niha'uyauna  
 Coyote | his | white feathers. | "Well!" | Coyote | he said, | "I shall go east!

nim'djima'dja<sup>ε</sup>  
 Do you keep on going west!"

- 8 niha'uandi<sup>ε</sup> nim'djik'a'ina<sup>ε</sup> aite dā'rik!u nit!a'te!i-  
 Now he went east, | similarly he went west | the | Frost | they going apart.

yauant'<sup>1</sup> dja'l<sup>ε</sup> aite dā'rik!u niha'u<sup>ε</sup> aite me'te!i  
 He laughed | the | Frost. | He went east | the | Coyote.

- 10 me'te!i t'ī'εi ya'wī'sindja p'adja mate'ī'εi dji<sup>ε</sup>u'ldi<sup>ε</sup>  
 Coyote | he said, | "I am sweating." | Snow | it was melting | it flowed down

aite ha'na gi me'te!i k' te'u'na mini'nduwau<sup>ε</sup> aik'  
 the | water | at | Coyote | his | face. | He looked back at it | his

- 12 ma'n<sup>ε</sup>ni mini'nduwau<sup>ε</sup>i k' ha'ga s'a'wa k'ū'ε ai  
 bow, | he looked back at them | his | flints, | arrows. | Not were | they

s'a'wax kū'ε ai ma'n<sup>ε</sup>ni mate'ī'ba<sup>ε</sup> wāk'dibilei mi-  
 former arrows, | not was | it | former bow, | they had all melted. | He stood still, | he  
 looked about

- 14 ni'ndibile ai me'te!i dā'rik!u nim'djiya'una p'a'ūs'a-  
 he | Coyote. | Frost | going west | being far away

mauna k'u diwa'ī'εi ai dā'rik!u di'nduwa'u<sup>ε</sup> k'  
 not | he was seen | he | Frost. | He again put out his hand to it | his

- 16 t!ā'l<sup>ε</sup>aina di'nmaidibile aik' t!ā'l<sup>ε</sup>aina k'<sup>1</sup> yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyauha  
 head, | he felt around for them | his | head | his | former white feathers.

k'ū'ε ai yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyauna wāk'dibile gīmama'un ai me'te!i  
 Not were | they | white feathers. | He stood still | thinking | he | Coyote.

- 18 dam<sup>ε</sup>nimā'na<sup>151</sup> me'te!i t'ī'εi gīmawa'da<sup>ε</sup>numa dā'rik!up!a-  
 "Dam<sup>ε</sup>nimā'na!" | Coyote | he said, "you have been sensible, | O Frost!let

nā bik!a'm<sup>ε</sup>mak' yô'l<sup>ε</sup>aiyauna me'te!i t'ī'εi nagundj  
 I thought they were really | white feathers," | Coyote | he said, | "therefore I was

<sup>151</sup> An oath, whose exact meaning is not understood.

win'e'mamte!i'eī gīmawa'da'numa nihate'ha'ugundi'e k'ū'mau  
 exchange with (you). | You were sensible." | Now he went east with nothing at all |  
 not being  
 ma'n'eni k'ū'mau yô'l'aiyauna dā'rik!u k'ū mate'ī'k'i'e 2  
 bow, | not being | white feathers. | Frost | not | his melted  
 aik' yô'l'aiyauna k'ī ma'n'eni k' s'a'wa nīdū's'andī'e  
 his | white feathers, | his | bow, | his | arrows. | Now | he went off home  
 nīdū'anmiriyauna gi ha'udulilmauna 4  
 arriving back home as far as | to | Ha'udulilmauna.

COYOTE AND HIS SISTER.<sup>152</sup>

Coyote was dwelling at Ha'udulilmauna.<sup>153</sup> Coyote was living there alone with his sister. His sister pounded acorns, while Coyote went out to hunt small game. When it was dark Coyote came back home from hunting. The woman soaked acorns at a small creek to the south. In the morning Coyote went out to hunt small game, and came back again when it was dark. "Take this acorn mush," said his sister, giving Coyote some acorn mush to eat. Coyote ate the acorn mush with his fingers.

Coyote was sick. "I am sick," he said to his sister. "Indeed!" said the woman. "There has arrived here a person from the west, and have you not seen him?" he said to his sister. "So?" said the woman, "who may he be?" "A Killdeer person told me, he arrived here," he said to his sister. Coyote was sick. For two days Coyote was sick, and his cheek on one side of his mouth was swollen. "I'll tell you, sister, what the Killdeer person told me." "Indeed!" said the Coyote woman to her brother, "what was it that he said, when he told you the news?" "He says that they are going to have a dance, that is what he told me, and he came to tell us about it." "Indeed!" said the woman. The woman had no husband and Coyote had no wife. They two alone, he and his sister, stayed there together by themselves.

<sup>152</sup> This myth consists of two quite unconnected episodes, Coyote's rape of his sister and his deception by Frost. The former of these episodes bears a resemblance to Betty Brown's story of "Coyote, Heron, and Lizard" (no. XII), except that in the latter it is Coyote who is deceived by his wife.

<sup>153</sup> An Indian village at a mountain, said to be named "Black Mountain," situated about two miles up from Wi'tc'uman'na (see note 103).

The door of the house was on the south side. The woman came back from the south, having gone to fetch water. She went in by the door, but Coyote was lying there sick. He had put round stones into his mouth, so that Coyote's cheek was swollen. The woman went to him, there lay Coyote. Coyote Woman had gone out to fetch water and stood right there. "Hê!" said the woman, "go back inside! Move away! Move away from the door! Lie down yonder on the north! You might be hurting your cheek if I step on you." "E<sup>n</sup>," groaned Coyote with (pretended) pain. "Step over me, take your water. Step over me, sister."<sup>154</sup> The woman did so, stepped over him. Coyote was lying on his back and yelped (when she stepped over him).<sup>155</sup> "M'!" said the woman. "You see, why did you do that, not lying away from the door? I told you that your cheek would be hurt." She pounded acorns, and soaked them in a small creek to the south. Coyote Woman came back into the house, fetching water. Coyote was lying at the door. "Lie down away from here!" (she said). "Step over me, sister." "M'!" said the woman. The woman did as he asked her, stepped over him. Coyote yelped as before. "See now, you hurt your cheek."

"I shall tell you, sister, will you go to stay over night to have a dance? They say that the Killdeer people are going to have a dance. They say that they are going to have a dance there at Wi'te'uman<sup>na</sup>." "Yes," said the woman. "But I shall not go off, I shall not go to see how they dance," said Coyote, "but do you go to stay over night to have a dance! I shall tell you," said Coyote. "When the eastern people come they will have their faces blackened with black pitch. All those eastern people will be that way, having their faces blackened, and all of them will have faces that are quite black. When you see the Yā'ewi<sup>156</sup> people, (you will notice that) the Yā'ewi chief will be very tall and will talk loudly as dance leader." The woman listened with lowered head. "Pray do not look at those eastern people, but do look at the Yā'ewi. When the chief shouts as leader, take him

<sup>154</sup> Coyote wished to see his sister's private parts.

<sup>155</sup> Pretendedly with pain, really with lust.

<sup>156</sup> The Yana name for the Wintun.



and dance with him. One Yā'ewi will have sucker-fish fat rubbed all over his face. That one is the chief, look at him, and when it is night, take him to yourself!"

Coyote Woman fixed herself up nice. She painted herself with red paint, put her buckskin skirt about her hips, put on her white-grass tasseled dress, and put her tule basket-cap on her head. Ah! That woman was pretty. "Well, I shall go off, it is nearly dark." "Yes," said Coyote, "I must stay right home, for I am very sick," he said to his sister. Now the woman went off to the west, all alone. The sun was down already and it was night now. "Hä+u!" They danced, filing in towards the fire. Coyote Woman stood there, held her fists pressed against her cheeks. The woman did not look at the eastern people as they danced. "Hä+u!" said the Yā'ewi in the west, as they danced. The woman looked up in the night; she was very pretty. The woman looked to the west, the chief was shouting, "Hêhâ'u! Hêhâ'u! Hêhâ'u!" Three times he shouted. Coyote's sister looked all around, looked at the chief. "That yonder must be the one," she said in her heart. "That is what my brother said to me. He told me to look at the chief, when he shouts as dance leader."

When his sister had gone away, Coyote took the stones out of his mouth and threw them away. He dressed himself up nice, put sucker-fish fat on his face. "I wish there might come to me an otter-skin quiver! I wish that I were tall!" It happened thus. Coyote became tall, and an otter-skin quiver full of arrows came to him. Coyote was very handsome. In the middle of the night Coyote went around and shouted, "Hau! hau! Hau! hau!" There he was, dancing as chief. The woman had come from the east. There was Coyote dancing, and there was the woman coming dancing from the east. The woman took hold of the Yā'ewi chief, took hold of her brother. They were dancing together, dancing during the night. Coyote pulled the woman off to the east (saying), "Let us go to the east! Come on with me!" The woman did so, going off to the east with him into the brush. They lay down to sleep, sat there talking to each other. Coyote tickled the woman, the woman did likewise to the man.

He lay on the woman and put his arms about her, copulating with her, pushing the woman about. Of goodly size was the woman, fat and very pretty. When it was nearly daylight, Coyote got up again, having finished copulating. Coyote ran off home while the woman still stayed in the brush.

Coyote hastened back home to the east, running very fast. He went back into his house, and put his smooth round stones back into his mouth. Again Coyote lay down on the ground by the door. The woman came back home from the west running quickly. The woman was angry, thinking in her heart (about what had happened). She arrived home and saw how Coyote was going back into the house. She entered inside. Coyote lay down. The woman was pregnant now. "Hê!" said the woman, "get up, husband!" Coyote, with swollen cheeks, whined in answer, "It was not I who did it!" "Do not bawl!" said the woman. She took a stick and whipped Coyote as he lay on the ground. "Get up! Go and hunt deer, husband! I am pregnant." "î! I did not go away. It was not I that did it" (whined Coyote). "Yes!" said the woman, "I saw you." Now she gave birth to children, gave birth to them outside the house. Coyote as usual lay right inside. "Go out!" said the woman, "I am pregnant." She gave birth to ten little coyotes. She put them into her pack-basket and went down south to the creek. She turned her basket over into the creek and they floated westwards in the water. The woman returned from the south and arrived back home. Coyote arose, took the smooth round stones out of his mouth, and threw them away. Coyote went out of the house, ran down hill to the south. He ran west along the creek, following his children. The little coyotes floated westwards in the water; he ran west, following them along the creek. They floated on till they arrived at *Wî'te'umanεna*,<sup>157</sup> he still running west along the creek. Coyote had run west ahead of his children. He made a fish trap, twining it out of willow. He placed it in the water. There was Coyote, while the little coyotes came floating in the water from the east. They floated past the willow fish trap. Coyote hastened back out of the water. The little

<sup>157</sup> See note 103.

coyotes floated west, but he ran west ahead of them with his willow fish trap in his hand. When west of them, he hastened to the creek and put it into the water. The little coyotes came floating in the water from the east, floated west past it. "Hê!" said Coyote, "get up out of the water, boys, and get something to eat for yourselves." They floated west, floated till they arrived there at Hamā'damte!i.<sup>158</sup> "Get up out of the water, boys." They did so, came up out of the water. They were now grown up young men. "Start off south for the hills across the plain." The young coyotes did so, scampered about in every direction to look for gophers, jumping on the gopher piles to mash the gophers to death. "Ah!" said Coyote, "that is good, boys. Spread out in every direction and get food for yourselves. I shall go back home," said Coyote. Coyote now went off, leaving his boys behind him.

Coyote went north and turned east, leaving Clover creek to the north. He went east to Bagat'didja'myak!aina,<sup>159</sup> that far he went. Coming up from the west, Coyote had an otter-skin quiver, and very good was the flint in his quiver. He had white feathers and put them into a net-cap, an eagle's white breast and leg feathers he put into the net-cap.<sup>160</sup> Coyote did not have merely arrow shafts put under his arm, these were all provided with flint arrowheads. Frost came from the east. Frost also had a net-cap filled with white feathers, he had his feathers made of snow. Very pretty were Frost's white feathers. Frost was going west, Coyote was going east; they met each other at Ganu'myā.<sup>161</sup> "Hū!" panted Coyote. Coyote sat down, Frost

<sup>158</sup> An Indian village at the present hamlet of Millville, not far from the confluence of Cow creek and Clover creek.

<sup>159</sup> A point near the present Basin Hollow, between Cow creek and Clover creek, formerly a favorable spot for the gathering of roots, seeds, and clover and the burning out of grasshoppers. It took its name (see note 146) from a hill with big sandstone boulders on the summit.

<sup>160</sup> The *yô'!aiyauna*, a sort of white war bonnet, consisted of the white breast and leg feathers of the eagle loosely filled, like down, into a net worn on the head (*tc!a'iwānu*, larger than the ordinary *k!a't!di*, "net-cap"). The net itself was not visible, as it was entirely covered by the white feathers.

<sup>161</sup> The present Basin Hollow in Clover Creek Valley. It was a *waha'iri'mauna*, "resting place," at which it was considered good luck for traveling parties to stop.

sat down. "Whither are you going?" asked Coyote. "I am going west," said Frost. "Indeed! I am going east," said Coyote. "Indeed!" said Frost. "Tell me," said Coyote, "how are the east people getting along?" "There are no people. I did not see any," said Frost. "Hê! Very beautiful are your bow and your arrows. Hehe'!" Coyote said, "I should like to have your white feathers," but Frost said nothing. "Let us change about," (said Coyote). "This bow of mine is bad, these arrows of mine and my white feathers are bad." "Oh, well! Let us change about." "Yes," said Frost, and he gave him his arrows, his net-cap filled with white feathers and his bow. "Let us trade good things with each other." Frost handed his net-cap filled with white feathers to Coyote. Now Coyote put white feathers made of snow on his head; just so Frost put Coyote's white feathers on his head. "Well!" said Coyote, "I am going east. Do you for your part go west."

Now he went east, while Frost on his part went west; now they departed from each other. Frost laughed. Coyote went east, and (soon) said to himself, "I am sweating." Really it was snow that was melting, the water came dripping down on Coyote's face. He looked back at his bow, he looked back at his flints and arrows. No arrows were to be seen, no bow was to be seen, they had all melted away. Coyote stood there and looked all around; Frost had gone far off to the west and was no more to be seen. Coyote put his hand on his head, felt around on his head for his white feathers, but the white feathers were no more. Coyote stood still, pondering. "Dam<sup>a</sup>nimā'na!" said Coyote, "you had good sense, young Frost! I thought indeed they were real white feathers," said Coyote. "That is why I changed about with you. You had good sense." He went on east with nothing now, without bow and without white feathers. Frost's white feathers did not melt, nor his bow and arrows. Coyote now went off home, until he arrived at Ha'udulilmauna.

## VIII. COYOTE AND HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW.

- gā'gi t'ī'ei mauyau ba'yauna yā'ramēi yā'ramba-  
Crow | he said, | "I shall be about to be | hunting deer." | They camped out, |  
they camped out every one of them
- nauma<sup>e</sup> aits p!u'diwi` yā'waldimiri<sup>e</sup> gi luwa'iha<sup>162</sup> 2  
the | women, | they settled down at it | at | Luwa'iha.
- ba'idja<sup>e</sup> aits 'i'siwi wak!a'lp!a<sup>e</sup> aits me'teli gi  
They were gone hunting deer before camping | the | men. | He was married | the |  
Coyote | to
- djul<sup>wē</sup>yumari<sup>e</sup>mi gi umu'imari<sup>e</sup>mi meteli t'ī'ei k'u- 4  
Mountain Quail Woman | to | young woman. | Coyote | he said, | "I am not
- s'indj k!u'ndjup!a<sup>e</sup> a'inu yā'ramp'auwate' bê'si yā'-  
like | you | your camping out with me. | It will be she who is | mother-in-law camp  
out.
- ramema'na djuk!unā'e ainu t'ī'n<sup>t</sup> ai me'te!i k'ū- 6  
Stay home | you!" | he said | he | Coyote. | "I am not
- s'indj k!u'ndjup!a<sup>e</sup> dji yā'rammauyau dji wī'man<sup>e</sup>-  
like | the (my) | camping out with him | the (my) | son-in-law,"
- mau` t'ī'e ai udjī'djul<sup>wē</sup>yumari<sup>e</sup>mi yā'rambanaumas 8  
she said | she | old Mountain Quail Woman. | "Every one is camping out
- aits udjī'p!diw yā'ram<sup>e</sup> yā'ram<sup>e</sup> yā'ramp'au<sup>e</sup> t'ī'e  
the | old women. | Camp out, | camp out, | camp out with him!" | she said ,
- umu'imari<sup>e</sup>mi k'<sup>1</sup> nī'na t'ū'andi<sup>e</sup> aite yā'na yā'ram- 10  
young woman | her | mother. | Now they did | the | people | now camping out
- yauant'<sup>1</sup> ba'iyayauna yā'ramandi<sup>e</sup> ai udjī'mari<sup>e</sup>mi yā-  
camping out to hunt deer. | Now she camped out | she | old woman | camping out with  
him
- ramma'uyau gi me'te!i wak!unā'gunai<sup>e</sup> meteli k' 12  
to | Coyote. | She stayed right at home | Coyote | his
- wak!a'lp!ayauna 'ibi'ndi<sup>e</sup> aits p!u'diwi ba'iyamau  
wife. | Now they built them | the | women | camping-out-to-hunt-deer
- wawī` t'ū'banauma<sup>e</sup> aits p!u'diwi` gi luwa'iha 'ibi- 14  
houses, | every one did so | the | women | at | Luwa'iha | building them
- ya'una gi mā'du ts!a'leyalla ba'n<sup>e</sup>yauna do'l<sup>e</sup>li<sup>e</sup>a gi  
at | "wild hay," | dead bark of pine trees, | bark of bottom oak. | They covered it over  
thick | to
- mā'du k' wa'wi 'ibiwa'un<sup>t</sup> gi me'te!i 16  
"wild hay" | their | houses. | She built it for him | to | Coyote.
- ba'ī<sup>e</sup> aite gā'giyamte!iwi` bambamu't<sup>e</sup>giwite'gu` 'a'n-  
They were hunting deer | the | Crow people living together, | Blue-flies together  
with, | they were very many

162 = "Many-rocks-water"?

- p!annainet' yā' irā'wiyā ma'ts!k'ili'lyamte!iwi ba'iyauant'<sup>1</sup>  
people | outside people, | Buzzard people living together | now hunting deer
- 2 am<sup>e</sup>dji'yauant'<sup>1</sup> ba'n<sup>a</sup> k!égundue<sup>a</sup>nduru<sup>e</sup> ba'iyamau wa'wi  
now being killed | deer. | They went to pack (deer) back home | camping-out-to-hunt-  
deer | houses  
k'u ba'iyau aite ba'mbamut<sup>e</sup>giwi gā'gi ma'ts!k'ili'lla  
not | hunting deer | the | Blue-flies, | Crows, | Buzzards,
- 4 'inyau gi sā'p!wa'<sup>163</sup> dē'wai<sup>e</sup> gi mits!sā'mau bana'  
looking for them | to | deer carcasses. | He found it | to | being dead | deer  
gā'gi t'i'<sup>e</sup> gi ba'mbamut<sup>e</sup>giwi<sup>164</sup> sō'sindja bē'hante  
Crow, | he said | to | Blue-fly, | "I have found deer carcass." | "It is I who was  
6 ba'bū'wau<sup>e</sup> t'i'<sup>e</sup> ai bambamu't<sup>e</sup>giwi sō'sindja dē'wai-  
come upon it first," | he said | he | Blue-fly. | "I have found deer carcass, | I have  
found it  
sindja gi ba'na gā'gi t'i'<sup>e</sup> wē'yamte!ie gi ba'm-  
to | deer," | Crow | he said. | He disputed with him | to | Blue-fly.
- 8 bamut<sup>e</sup>giwi bē'hante' ba'bū'wau<sup>e</sup> mini'np'au<sup>e</sup> dji bop<sup>e</sup>-  
"It is I who was | come upon it first. | Look at it | the | my (thing) shot upon it!"  
djawa'umau<sup>e</sup>nidja dē'lēla'bus<sup>a</sup>sa gi p'a'te!i k'u gayā'-  
He had thrown it way ahead of him | at | excrement. | Not | he spoke further
- 10 dummai<sup>e</sup> aite gā'gi dji'ruyauwa<sup>a</sup> wē'du<sup>e</sup>an<sup>e</sup> ai ba'm-  
the | Crow | having been beaten out. | He fetched it home | he | Blue-fly  
bamut<sup>e</sup>giwi k' sō'mauk'iea' gi gā'gi  
his | found deer carcass | to | Crow.
- 12 bā'wis'amak'ie nibadu<sup>a</sup>nyauandi ba'ie<sup>i</sup> k' ba'iyau<sup>a</sup>u  
When it was dark there | all having arrived home | (from) hunting deer | their |  
camping-out-to-hunt-deer  
wawī' mau ba'riyau basī'k'iea te'īlte!unet' ai djul-  
houses, | it was about to be | raining | when it was night. | She was big-vulvaed |  
she | Mountain Quail Woman
- 14 wē'yumari<sup>e</sup>mi udji'mari<sup>e</sup>mi dī'wilt'k'ie gi imawī'launa  
old woman. | He slept across on east side | at | across there to east  
mete!i muru'let' ai udji'mari<sup>e</sup>mi gi iwi'ldji ba'rie  
Coyote, | she lay | she | old woman | at | across to west. | It rained
- 16 basī'k'ie mete!i k' muru'ldi<sup>e</sup>mauna dā'ewuldi<sup>e</sup>net' aite  
when it was night, | Coyote | his | lying place | it came down in great streams | the  
ha'na ai<sup>e</sup>wanā' djudjura'ibindjasindj mete!i t'i'<sup>e</sup>  
water. | "Mother-in-law! | I am nearly dead frozen," | Coyote | he said.

<sup>163</sup> Doubtless contracted from *sā'p!a-wa*; *sāp!a*- "deer carcass to be found" (cf. *sō*- "to find deer carcass") + *-wa*, compound form of *ba*- "deer."

<sup>164</sup> This word, as shown by its *-t<sup>e</sup>*- and suffixed *-wi* is plural in form. No singular form is in use.

- 'ê+<sup>165</sup> ma'riemi t'i'ei dolelip!anna'iewanak'iha'ndj mu-  
 "Hê+!" | woman | she said, | "I have covered over very thickly son-in-law's | lying  
 place.
- ru'ldiemaun atc'i'mat' aik' sit'eduma'is me'te!i t'i'ei 2  
 What is said to be | its | leaking for?" | Coyote | he said
- hã'te!iteyau djibi'l'e aite ha'na k'u si't'edu' a'idju  
 being cold, | water was all about | the | water, | "Not | leak | the your
- muruldiemaun k'up'ante' k'u sit'eduk' a'ik' waw 4  
 lying place." | "I would not be | not | hers leak | her | house."
- k'up'ante'<sup>166</sup> dis'ila'us'amte'inik' wanã' di'lorp'a'e di'lor-  
 "I would not be | we sleep with heads and bodies averted from each other." | "Son-in-  
 law! | turn your head south, | turn your head south!"
- p'a'e djudjura'ibindjasindj me'te!i t'i'ei dite'ila'us'amte!i- 6  
 "I am nearly dead frozen," | Coyote | he said, | "Have they ever perchance slept with  
 heads and bodies averted from each other
- maenik! aik' wí'man'emaun aite yã' k'ũ'man'ek'iea  
 her | son-in-law | the | people! | Theirs has never been so,"
- udji'mariemi t'i'ei k'unet' wê'bil'e te!un'ena' umu'ima- 8  
 old woman | she said. | Not she was | carry about | vulva | young woman,
- riemi' wê'badibilet' aigi te!u'ena k'un dé'wai'e ai  
 she carried all of it all over | to the | vulva | and | he saw it | he
- me'te!i gi te!un'ena' bô'djayima'irisinu gi wa'iwau 10  
 Coyote | to | vulva. | "You will put between | at | rock mortar for acorns
- dji la'elik' di'lorp'ayau me'te!i t'i'ei  
 the | our feet. | I shall turn my head south," | Coyote | he said.
- di'laudjam' udji'mariemi ba'riyauant'<sup>1</sup> basi'k'ie bô'- 12  
 She turned her head north | old woman. | It now raining | when it was night | he  
 put between
- djayima'iri'e gi kla'ina gi wa'iwauna s'i't'edu'e s'i'te-  
 at | rock | at | stone mortar for pounding acorns. | "Leak, | leak,
- du'e muruldiemaunã' k'uyaugu s'i't'edu'e djulewê'yu- 14  
 lying place! | Do not | leak, | Mountain Quail Woman
- mariemi k'<sup>1</sup> muruldiemauna t'i'wau' aite me'te!i gi  
 her | lying place!" | he said to it | the | Coyote | to
- barê'k'u t'ô'e aigi me'te!i k'<sup>1</sup> muruldiemauna djibi'l'e 16  
 rain. | It did so to it | to the | Coyote | his | lying place, | much water was streaming
- aite ha'na k'uya'ugu s'i't'edu'e i't'au basi'k'iea  
 the | water. | "Do not | leak!" | In middle | when it was night
- s'u'msiwadju' aigi udji'mariemi t'ũ'e s'a'ms'indie ai 18  
 he caused her to fall asleep | to her | old woman. | She did so, | now she slept | she

<sup>165</sup> Expresses astonishment: "What?"

<sup>166</sup> By some strange idiom, perhaps for euphemistic reasons, *k'up'ante'* "I would not" really means "I wish there might be."

- udjī'mari'emi p'égasayauna ô' mi'ts!s'amau<sup>107</sup> wé'yam-  
old woman | snoring. | "O, | being dead! | I shall, pray, dispute!"
- 2 teligareya'una djī't'litēbale ai me'teli 'é'bat!alte!ima<sup>ε</sup>  
He arose from his seat on ground | he | Coyote. | He pulled apart to her
- k!a'djī'nk'iea` ya'up!ayauant'<sup>t</sup> basi'k'ie gi wī'man'emauna  
her loins | now copulating with her | when it was night | to | mother-in-law,
- 4 djé'djadibilyauandi k'u mi'lap'iyau udjī'mari'emi  
now pushing her about all over, | not | she waking up | old woman.
- han'ā'ibabindjayauna badū'sama<sup>ε</sup> me'teli ya'up!aba-  
It being nearly quite daylight | he hastened off home from there | Coyote | having  
finished copulating.
- 6 yauna t'ô'ε aigi wa'rak!i wi'k'u'lbaidiyauwa badū'an<sup>ε</sup>  
Se was like | to it | frog | her fat having been all taken from her. | He ran and  
arrived home
- ai me'teli gi dja'uhauna k'<sup>t</sup> wak!a'lp!ayaumadu ba-  
he | Coyote | at | east | his | wife place. | Now she ran off home after him
- 8 ε't'us'andie ai ma'ri'emi bai'dôyauant'<sup>t</sup> bai'duean<sup>ε</sup> wak!al-  
she | woman | now running back east after him, | she arrived home running after  
him. | "Husband |
- p!ayauyī' k'uya'ugu wa'ie'maite' a'iwana yô'hai<sup>ε</sup> djul-  
Do not | you call me | mother-in-law!" | She was pregnant | Mountain Quail Woman.
- 10 εwé'yumari'emi bé'hada'enu yā'ramp'aup!ama<sup>ε</sup> dju ma'una<sup>108</sup>  
"So that is why you were | tell (me) to camp out with (you) | the your | intending  
to be
- t'ū'you εaigidje de!elats!gi'l<sup>ε</sup> gi da'tet'iwī` dju!ewēyu-  
doing | in that way. | She threw them into water | to | children | Mountain Quail  
Woman
- 12 ma'ri'emi` k'u ô'bil'ayau me'teli k'<sup>t</sup> da'tet'iwī`  
not | following them | Coyote | his | children.

## COYOTE AND HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW.

Crow said, "I shall hunt deer." The people camped out to hunt, all the women camped out. They went out till they settled down to camp at Luwa'iha;<sup>109</sup> the men were out hunting deer. Coyote was married to Mountain-Quail Woman, a young woman. Coyote said, "I do not want to have you camping out with me. It shall be my mother-in-law who will camp out with me. You stay home!" said Coyote. "I do not wish to camp out with my

<sup>107</sup> *mi'ts!s'amau* is used as an oath; see also p. 150, l. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Very probably misheard for *mau'nu* "your intending to be"; *mauna* is no female form.

<sup>109</sup> An Indian village on Old Cow creek about twenty-five miles east of Millville.



son-in-law," said old Mountain-Quail Woman. "All the old women have gone camping out. Go camping out! Go camping out! Camp out with him!" said the young woman to her mother. The people did so, camping out to hunt deer. The old woman started to camp out, to camp out with Coyote, while Coyote's wife stayed right at home. The women built camping-out houses, built at Luwa'iha with *mā'du* grass, with dead bark of pine trees, and with bark of bottom oak; they laid *mā'du* grass on thick on their houses. Also Mountain-Quail Woman built a house for Coyote.

The Crow people hunted deer together with the Blue Flies. The Buzzard people were there in great numbers, and others hanging around. Now they hunted deer and many deer were killed. They packed them home to the camping-out houses. The Blue Flies, Crows, and Buzzards did not really hunt deer, they looked for deer carcasses. They found a deer that was long dead. Crow said to Blue Fly, "I have found a deer carcass." "It is I who came upon it first," said Blue Fly. "I found the deer carcass. I saw the deer," said Crow. He disputed with Blue Fly. "It is I who came upon it first," (said Blue Fly). "Look at what I have shot on it!" He had thrown his excrement way ahead of him. Crow said no more, for he was beaten. Blue Fly carried off home the deer carcass that had been found by Crow.

When it was dark every one came back from hunting deer to his camping-out house, and it was about to rain during the night. The old woman, Mountain-Quail Woman, had a big vulva. Coyote had his bed on the east, over there on the east side of the house, while the old woman lay across from him on the west. It rained during the night, the water came pouring down on where Coyote was sleeping. "O mother-in-law! I am nearly dead frozen," said Coyote. "Hê!" said the woman, "I put lots of straw over your place of sleeping, son-in-law! Why should it leak?" (Coyote had said to himself,) "I wish that her part of the house should not leak!" "Your place of sleeping does not leak," (said Coyote). "I should like that we sleep together with heads and bodies averted from each other, mother-in-law!"<sup>170</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Avowedly for reasons of modesty.

“Turn your head away to the south, turn your head away to the south!” (she said). “I am nearly frozen to death,” said Coyote. “I never heard of son-in-law and mother-in-law sleeping together with heads and bodies averted from each other. People never have that happen to them,” said the old woman. The young woman did not carry about a vulva; (the old woman) carried all of it about and Coyote had seen the vulva. “You will put a rock acorn-mortar between our feet and I shall turn my head to the south,” said Coyote.

The old woman turned her head to the north, while it kept on raining during the night. He put a rock, a rock acorn-mortar, between them. “Leak, leak! sleeping place! Do not leak! Mountain Quail Woman’s sleeping place!” said Coyote to the rain. It did so to Coyote’s sleeping place; there was much water all over it. “Do not leak (on her bed)!” In the middle of the night he caused the old woman to fall asleep. She did so. Now the old woman was sleeping, snoring. “O, away with mere talk! Shall I go on arguing about it?” Coyote got up from his bed on the ground and spread apart her loins. Now he copulated all night with his mother-in-law, pushing her about. The old woman did not wake up.

When it was nearly daylight Coyote ran off home, having finished copulating. She was like a frog, for all her fat had been taken away from her. Coyote arrived home, running east to his wife. The (old) woman ran home after him. She ran back east after him and arrived home. “Husband! Do not call me mother-in-law!” (she said to Coyote). Mountain-Quail Woman was pregnant. “So that is why you told me to go out camping with yourself! You intended to act in that way!” Mountain Quail Woman threw the children into the water but Coyote did not follow his children.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> An implied reference to the preceding story (no. VII).

## IX. THE ROLLING SKULL.

- 'an<sup>t</sup>' aite yā'na k' yā'yauna gi ɛ'u'nte'unaha  
They were many | the | people | their | dwelling | at | U'nte'unaha.
- yô'haip'au<sup>172</sup> aits' 'ite!i'nnā wayup'a'u<sup>172</sup> wayu<sup>e</sup> ai 2  
His wife was pregnant for him | the | Wildcat, | his wife bore him child. | She gave  
birth to child | she  
ma'ri<sup>emi</sup> k'u ba'iruyau aits' 'ite!i'nnā mūmarip'a'u-  
woman, | not | going to hunt deer | the | Wildcat | his wife having child for him.
- yauwa<sup>172</sup> 'ite!i'nnā t'i'ei wī' duha'eni<sup>k'173</sup> k'ū'gand 4  
Wildcat | he said, | "Let us go to get pine-nuts, | not is more
- aits' mū'mayau aits' wi'duya'u k!unu ts'up<sup>e</sup> a'idju  
the | working | the | going to get pine-nuts. | And | make it good | the your
- dā't'<sup>1</sup> 6  
child."
- 'an<sup>hau</sup>andie gi dja'uhauna k'<sup>1</sup> dā't'ite'gu t'ô'net'ê  
Now they went east | to | east | their | child together with. | They were many
- aigidja wu'na djat'i'waldin<sup>et'</sup> mā'wayau aits' wi'ha'- 8  
there | pine-nuts, | trees were loaded down towards ground. | "I shall climb up for  
them | here, | let us get pine-nuts."
- eni<sup>k'</sup> wô' ma'ri<sup>emi</sup> t'i'ei mā't<sup>d</sup>djandie 'ite!i'np!<sup>a'174</sup>  
"Yes," | woman | she said. | He climbed up tree | little Wildcat.
- lu'irundie gi wu'na te'a'k'alla nô'rundie gi wu'na 10  
Now he threw them down one after another | to | pine-nuts, | pine cones, | now he  
broke off and threw down | to | pine-nuts.
- dô'waldie aik' bô'na<sup>amauna</sup> te'o't'al<sup>e</sup> ai ma'ri<sup>emi</sup>  
She laid him flat on ground in his cradle | her | boy, | she pounded cones to shake out  
nuts | she | woman
- gi ɛ'rik!u nô'ryaun ai 'ite!i'np!<sup>a</sup> gi wu'na ga- 12  
at | underneath, | breaking them down | he | little Wildcat | to | pine-nuts. | He  
shouted down to her from above
- wa'udu<sup>u</sup>ldie k'<sup>1</sup> wak!a'lp!ayauna yāwasī' ma'ri<sup>emi</sup>  
his | wife, | "Are they big nuts?" | Woman
- t'i'ei 'ā'ha<sup>e</sup> nūbaru'e ma'ri<sup>emi</sup> t'i'ei yā'was' 'u'ldja- 14'  
she said, | "Yes! | break them all down!" | Woman | she said, | "They are big  
nuts." | He threw them down
- ru<sup>e</sup> gi 'u'na 'ū'+ 'u'ldjarut'imai<sup>e</sup> 'ū'+ wô' ma'-  
at | pine-nuts. | "There!" | He threw them down again. | "There!" | "Yes!" | woman

<sup>172</sup> These forms are passives. Their literal meaning is: "he was been-pregnant-for, he was borne-child-to, being-had-child-for."

<sup>173</sup> *wi'* "to get pine-nuts" is related, though somewhat irregularly, to *wu-* "pine-nut" as is *bai-* "to hunt deer" to *ba-* "deer."

<sup>174</sup> Names of small animals are apt to be made diminutive in form even when no reference is necessarily had to young ones; cf. *k!a'ntc!aup!a* for *k!a'lte!auna* "lizard" (p. 81, l. 13).

- ri'emi t'i'ei k'! dju'gute! aits' 'ite!i'np!a t'i'wau'et'i  
she said. | (In) his | heart | the | little Wildcat | he said to her
- 2 gawa'udu'uldiyauna hehe'e ate'ik'u k' maus' t'ū'you  
shouting down to her from above, | "Hehe'e!" | What perchance is | its | being about  
to be | doing  
dji sa'myau'nits' na ma'llap!a' k'u gat'djā'p!ayau  
the | my sleeping | that it is | be bad!" | not | answering
- 4 ai ma'ri'emi 'ū+ nô'rit'p'a' nô'ridjam' nô'rihau'  
she | woman. | "There!" | He broke off and threw down south, | he broke off and  
threw down north, | he broke off and threw down east,  
nô'ridji' ha'da'iwauhandj bas'ik'i dji sa'ms'iyau ha'-  
he broke off and threw down west. | "I dreamt | when it was night | the (my) | sleep-  
ing, | I dreamt
- 6 da'iwauhandj dji nū'rup!ayau'nidja u'ldjaruha'n dji<sup>175</sup>  
the | my dismembering myself and throwing myself down. | I threw down | the  
di'n'nidja 'u'ldjaruhan dji<sup>175</sup> iwi'lmidinna<sup>176</sup> 'u'ldjaru-  
my shoulder, | I threw down | the (my) | other shoulder, | I threw down
- 8 handj dji k!a'dji'nna u'ldjaruhandj dji iwilmik!a'-  
the (my) | thigh, | I threw down | the (my) | other thigh."  
dji'nna k'u mini'nliyau ai ma'ri'emi k' te'o't!a'lyauna  
Not | looking back | she | woman | her | pounding out nuts,
- 10 dā'yaun aits' bō'na'amauna ha'da'iwauhandj dji djé'-  
lying flat in his cradle | the | boy. | "I dreamt | the (my) | shooting down  
djariyau dji ma'k!i ha'da'iwauhandj bahat'di'bilgu'  
the (my) | backbone. | I dreamt | to run all over with nothing but
- 12 aidji p'u't!uk!u ha'da'iwauhandja mini'nhau'et' aite  
the (my) | skull. | I dreamt about it." | She looked east | the  
ma'ri'emi gi te!a'la'imadu' dji'ewu'ldi' aite wa'tduwi  
woman | at | digger-pine place. | It was dripping down | the | blood
- 14 gi te!alaei djo'p'dae k' ba'lla ma'ri'emi mini'nuwau-  
at | digger-pine. | She put her hand over her mouth<sup>177</sup> | her | mouth | woman |  
looking at it  
yau gi wa'tduwi wasyū'e ai ma'ri'emi badū'sa' ma'-  
at | blood. | She was afraid | she | woman, | she ran off home | woman.
- 16 ri'emi ba'ndidibilhat'egu' gi i't'dja p'u't!uk!uhat'egu  
It bounded about nothing but | at | on top | nothing but skull.  
ba'idi' ai ma'ri'emi k' dā't'i gē'nieai' ai ma'ri'emi  
She ran leaving it behind | she | woman | her | child, | she forgot it | she | woman
- 18 k' dā't'i badū'an' wo'wi ate'i'mak!u k' maus' t'ū'-  
her | child, | she arrived running home | house. | "What perchance is | his | going to  
be | doing!"

<sup>175</sup> 'u'ldjaruhandj dji.<sup>176</sup> iwilmī- means literally "on one side, half."<sup>177</sup> As sign of frightened amazement.

- yau nū'rup!as· ba'ndihat·dibilgus· k' p'u't!uk!u gi  
He throws his own members down, | nothing but bounds about | his | skull | at
- i't'te' dji'e'u'ldis· aite wa't'edu<sup>178</sup> gi te!a!la<sup>e</sup> wa'eyū' 2  
above. | It drips down | the | blood | at | digger-pine. | I am afraid,"
- sinte' ma'riemi t'i'ei ā' yā'na t'i'ei 'adjā'haenik  
woman | she said. | "Indeed!" | people | they said. | "Let us run away!
- dibalauk!ō'waenik' t'ū'e aits· yā'na 'adjā'andin<sup>et</sup>' 'adjā'- 4  
He might cause us all to die." | They did so | the | people. | Now they ran off to  
save themselves. | Now running south to save themselves
- t'p'ayauant'<sup>1</sup> yā'wulmiri<sup>e</sup> gi wamā'rawi djé'dja!lak!i<sup>e</sup>  
they went as far as and entered | at | Wamā'rawi. | They put as door
- sibu'mk!aina gi ba'liliwa ban'ē'ram<sup>e</sup> aits· yā'na 'a- 6  
sandstone rock | at | smoke-hole. | They filled house | the | people, | children,
- ma'its!lits!gi p!u'diwi 'i'siwi 'ite!i'np!a t'i'e 'ū' k'u  
women, | men. | Little Wildcat | he said, | "There!" | not
- gate'djā'p!ayau ma'riemi ba'ndidu'e'ldi<sup>e</sup> 'ite!i'np!a k' 8  
answering | woman. | He bounded down again | little Wildcat | his
- p'u't!uk!u bandiduwa'ldi<sup>e</sup> gi bī'wi bamite!i'dja<sup>e</sup> k'u  
skull, | he bounded down to ground | at | earth, | he lay there quietly, | not
- dé'waiyau aik' wak!a!p!ayauna bandidibi'landi<sup>e</sup> p'ut!u- 10  
seeing | his | wife. | Now he bounded about | nothing but skull.
- k!uha't'egu dé'wai<sup>e</sup> k' dā't'i djé'djagile k' dā't'i  
He saw it | his child, | he took it in his mouth | his child.
- a'm<sup>179</sup> 'ite!i'np!a t'i'ei k' wak!a!p!ayauna ba'ndidum'- 12  
"Am!" | little Wildcat | he said | (to) his | wife. | He bounded home west,
- dji<sup>e</sup> ba'ndidu<sup>e</sup>an<sup>e</sup> aik' wa'wi k'ū' aite yā' ba'ndi-  
he arrived home bounding | his | house. | Not were | the | people. | He bounded about
- dibil<sup>e</sup> gi wa'wibanauma k'ū' aite yā' a'm biri'mas· 14  
to | every house. | Not were | the | people. | "Am! | Where will be
- aidji t'ū'miriwa nā adjā'ei dīwais:it!ō'wo<sup>e</sup>ma 'ō'maidi-  
the | that you do thereto | that (you) are | run away! | I shall find you." | Now he  
tracked them all around
- bilandi<sup>e</sup> k' ba'ndidibilyauna dé'wai<sup>e</sup> gi la'lla yā't'p'a- 16  
his | bounding about. | He found them | to | feet | they moving south.
- yauk'iea a'm dīwais:it!ō'wo<sup>e</sup>ma bandi't'p'ayauant'<sup>1</sup> lu'ik!au-  
"Am! | I shall find you." | Now bounding south | he cut them down one after another
- waldi<sup>e</sup> gi ei'na k' bat'dju'lewi lu'ik!auwaldi<sup>e</sup> gi 18  
at | trees | their | bottom oaks, | he cut them down one after another | at
- ma'lte'i ba'ndiane'i k!a'ina wop<sup>e</sup>tc'u'nt!alts!i<sup>e</sup> gi k!a'ina  
bushes. | He bounded on to them | rocks, | he burst them to splinters | to | rocks.

178 = wa't'eduw.

179 Threatening, as though to say, "I'll fix you."

- ba'ndit'p'a<sup>e</sup> gi p'u'suaina aik' bam'djaya'una p'u't!u-  
He bounded south | to | P'u'suaina | his | coming rolling | person's skull.
- 2 k'lumyā' t'ô'net'ê la'umauna djuk!a'lla t'ô'm'djanet'ê  
He did like | being strong | wind, | he came doing so.  
ba'ndilorp'a<sup>e</sup> gi 'ô'djinimauna 'ô'maiyau gi yā'na  
He bounded south up hill | at | 'ô'djinimauna | tracking them | at | people
- 4 k' la'lk'iea ba'ndi<sup>e</sup>anandi<sup>e</sup> wamā'rawi gai<sup>e</sup>wu'lp!a<sup>e</sup>  
their | feet. | He now arrived bounding | Wamā'rawi. | It was heard inside  
yā'na k' gayā'yauna k'immulwī'dja<sup>e</sup> mausi 'i'wulyauna  
people | their | talking. | "Do you (pl.) let me enter! | I shall be | going inside,"
- 6 t'i'ē aite p'u't!uk!umyā djêha'iri<sup>e</sup>a<sup>e</sup> k'uyaugu k'i'm-  
he said | the | person's skull. | "Keep still! | Do not | let him enter!"  
mul<sup>e</sup>i t'i'ē aite yā'na k'u k'i'immul<sup>e</sup>i k'immulwī'dja<sup>e</sup>  
they said | the | people. | Not he was | be let in. | "Do you (pl.) let me enter!"
- 8 k'uyaugu ki'mmulwi<sup>e</sup>ē yaite!ha'iguwi<sup>e</sup>ē 'ā'ha<sup>e</sup>ā'<sup>180</sup> t'i'-  
"Do not | you (pl.) let him enter! | do you (pl.) keep quiet!" | "Yes!" | now he said  
andi<sup>e</sup> k' dju'gute!i gi irā'mi dji k'uya'uwīdj  
his | heart | at | outside, | "the | your (pl.) not me
- 10 k'immulwī'dja ba'nt'<sup>e</sup>djam<sup>e181</sup> p'au'dja'mmate!umauna ba-  
your (pl.) letting me enter." | He bounded north | being at considerable distance  
north. | Now he hastened back from north  
dū'gamandi<sup>e</sup> p'ut!uk!u'myā gi bī'wi la'umaup!annaina  
person's skull | at | earth | being very strong,
- 12 lu'ik!aubadibil<sup>e</sup> ma'lte'i lu'ik!aubadibil<sup>e</sup> i'na mau<sup>e</sup> bo'-  
he cut them all to pieces one after another | bushes, | he cut them all to pieces one  
after another | trees, | he was about to be | bursting into house.  
malwu'lyauna la'u<sup>e</sup>a<sup>182</sup> ba'ndihau<sup>e</sup> dja'uhauna ba'ndi-  
It was too strong for him. | He bounded east | east, | he bounded back from east,
- 14 durk'ie mau<sup>e</sup> bo'malwa'ldjiyau gi ei'gunna dji'dinna<sup>e183</sup>  
he was about to be | bursting in going west | at | sweat-house. | It shook  
aits' ei'gunna lau'ma'lwul<sup>e</sup> ba'ndit'p'a<sup>e</sup> ba'ndit'wadju<sup>e</sup>  
the | sweat-house, | it was too strong for him to break in. | He bounded south, | he  
came bounding back from south,
- 16 mau<sup>e</sup> bo'ma'lwaldjuyauna la'u<sup>e</sup>a yā'na gai<sup>e</sup>wu'lp!a-  
he was about to be | bursting in from south. | It was too strong for him. | People |  
being heard talking inside  
yauna gi ei'gunna ba'ndim'dji<sup>e</sup> gi dja'um'dji ban-  
at | sweat-house, | he bounded west | to | west, | he came bounding back from west.
- 18 didô'dju<sup>e</sup> t'ô'net'ê aigits' haga k' la'uyauna la'u<sup>e</sup>a  
He did like | to the | flint arrow-head | its | being strong. | It was too strong for him.

<sup>180</sup> Threatening.<sup>181</sup> Regularly contracted from *ba'ndi'djam<sup>e</sup>*.<sup>182</sup> Lit., "he had (or made) it strong."<sup>183</sup> = *dji'dinni<sup>e</sup>(a)*.

- bamitci!i't'dja<sup>e</sup> bā'ei hehe'<sup>e</sup> p'u't!uk!umyā t'ī'ei gīma-  
He lay still to rest, | he lay there. | "Hehe'<sup>e</sup>!" | person's skull | he said, | "you  
have been sensible,  
wa'ra<sup>e</sup>numa yā'na bandiba'l<sup>e</sup> gi i't'dja mau<sup>e</sup> bo'- 2  
people!" | He bounded up | at | above, | he was about to be | bursting down into  
house  
malwa'ldiyauna gi i't'dja djê'dja<sup>e</sup>lakliyauna bandidu-  
at | above | door. | He came bounding down from above,  
ε'ldi<sup>e</sup> la'u<sup>e</sup>a gi i't'dja bandiba'l't'imai<sup>e</sup> mausi 'ô'ni- 4  
it was too strong for him | at | above. | He bounded up again. | "I shall be | trying it  
again,  
εnawaigadaya'una bo'malwa'l'damais:it!ô'<sup>e</sup>a t'ū'<sup>e</sup> ba'ndit-  
perhaps I shall burst down into house." | He did so, | he bounded up into air  
dja<sup>e</sup> gi i't'dja ba'ndidu<sup>e</sup>uldi<sup>e</sup> bandip'a'dadubal<sup>e</sup> da 6  
at | above. | He bounded back down from above, | he bounced back up again | that  
p'u't!uk!umyā bo'ma'lwulbindja<sup>e</sup> gi mā't!adjuwa p!ut!ā'-  
person's skull. | He nearly burst into house | at | sweat-house, | it was already thin  
andin<sup>e</sup>t' sibu'mk!aina ya'ī'yu<sup>e</sup> ai iwū'lu he' t'as-i- 8  
sandstone rock. | They were afraid | they | inside. | "Heh! | It looks as though we  
nik' maus dibala'uyauna t'a'mp!as maus bo'ma'l-  
shall be | all dying, | it seems that he is | about to be | bursting into house,"  
wulyauna yā'na t'ī'ei ba'ndiduridjam<sup>e</sup> aits 'iteli'np!a 10  
people | they said. | He bounded back down hill north | the | little Wildcat  
gi bi'wi bā'yauant'<sup>1</sup> atē'ī'mah aidji mau<sup>e</sup>nite' bo'-  
at | earth | now lying. | "What is | the | my being about to be | bursting in for,  
malwu'lmaiyauna lau<sup>e</sup>aya'uandindja gi ε'gunna 12  
it being now too strong for me | at | sweat-house?"  
ba'ndit<sup>s</sup>'djam<sup>e</sup> badū'p!it<sup>e</sup> gi iwā'launa badū'<sup>e</sup>anma<sup>e</sup>  
He bounded back north, | he rushed back as far as | to | Old Cow creek | he ar-  
rived rushing back there  
wa'wiha birihanā' dji nimī'riwa ba'nt<sup>s</sup>'djam<sup>e</sup> bak!a'u- 14  
former house. | "Where, now, is | the (my) | going thereto!" | He bounded north, |  
he met them  
maip!a<sup>e</sup> gi yā'na o'm<sup>e</sup>dji<sup>e</sup> gi yā'na ba'dja'mandi<sup>e</sup>  
at | people, | he killed them | to | people. | Now he hastened north,  
ba'ridjam<sup>e</sup> gi djit'p'ama'uwite'u<sup>184</sup> o'm<sup>e</sup>dji<sup>e</sup> gi yā'na 16  
he hastened north down hill | at | Djit'p'ama'uwite'u. | He killed them | to | people  
hā'djanmauna bala'udjam<sup>e</sup> gā'banaumam'djan<sup>e</sup>t'iwa gite'  
being ten. | He rushed up hill north, | he was heard coming by everybody | by the  
yā'na k' ba'm'djayauna 'i'ndayau gi djuk!alla' k' 18  
people | his | coming rushing | making | to | wind | his  
ba'm'djayauna bap!in<sup>e</sup>ma<sup>e</sup> gi k!ā's'ip!u  
coming rushing. | He rushed as far as there | at | Klā's'ip!u.

184 = Flowing-south-salt.

- niga'm<sup>e</sup> aite me'te!i gi i'da'lma<sup>du</sup><sup>185</sup> ô'wininet'  
He came from north | the | Coyote | at | I'da'lma<sup>du</sup>. | He had on elk-skin belt
- 2 aits me'te!i dê't'ila<sup>e</sup> gi wawil'djuwāmi wāk'li<sup>ri</sup><sup>e</sup> ai  
the | Coyote, | he carried quiver | at | otter-skin quiver. | He stood still | he  
me'te!i djik!uwa'ldi<sup>e</sup> bê'hara p'ut!uk!umyā' me'te!i  
Coyote, | he listened. | "That must be | person's skull," | Coyote
- 4 t'ī'ei niga'mandi<sup>e</sup> mausi nik!a'umaip!ayauna t'ī'ei aite  
he said. | Now he was coming from north. | "I shall be | meeting him," | he said | the  
me'te!i k' dju'gute!i k'u'dama'is'indj am<sup>e</sup>dji'ei gô'-  
Coyote | (in) his | heart. | "Perchance I shall not | be killed. | I hear about him
- 6 sindj om<sup>e</sup>djiya'u gi yā' bariwadju'ndi<sup>e</sup> p'ut!uk!umyā'  
killing | to | people." | Now he ran down hill from south | person's skull,  
me'te!i niga'mk'aina<sup>e</sup> me'te!i wāk'dibil<sup>e</sup> gi<sup>186</sup> ea'igidje<sup>e</sup>  
Coyote | he similarly came from north. | Coyote | he stood | at | at that (place)
- 8 djêwint'a'urik!u he' atc'ī'h aidji t'ū'nidja 'e't'u'p<sup>e</sup>lau<sup>e</sup>  
Djêwint'a'urik!u. | "Heh! | What is | the | my doing!" | He loosened it  
k'ī ô'winei wê'walmi<sup>e</sup> k'ī wawil'djuwāmi wê'walmi<sup>e</sup>  
his | belt, | he hid it away in brush | his | otter-skin quiver, | he hid it away in brush
- 10 k'ī k'a'di bawā'djun<sup>e</sup>t' ai p'u't!uk!umyā k'ā'n<sup>e</sup>ai-  
his | net cap. | He rushed from south | he | person's skull | approaching nearer.  
mauna me'te!i t'ī'ei dimā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu udjî<sup>e</sup>'mans'uginā'  
Coyote | he said, | "Would that there might be | old pack-basket!
- 12 dimā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu udjî'malāmiyauna dimā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu dji djuwā'-  
Would that there might be | old shredded-bark apron! | Would that there might be | the  
(my) | woman's skirt  
yaunā mallap!ama'una t'ū'e mite!k'ī'e ai malā'miyauna  
being bad!" | He did so, | there came to him | it | shredded-bark apron,
- 14 ai udjî<sup>e</sup>'mans'ugi ai djuwā'yauna dimā'n<sup>e</sup>aigu te!al-  
it | old pack-basket, | it | woman's skirt. | "Would that there might be | pitch!  
eanā' bate'inā' ā'te!alea k' t!ā'l<sup>e</sup>aina gi te!a'le<sup>a</sup> al-  
white clay!" | He smeared pitch on himself | his | head | to | pitch, | he put it thick  
on his face.
- 16 ea'ilaut<sup>e</sup>'uip!a<sup>e</sup> mini'nuwagaldamgu<sup>e</sup> k' te'u'na gi te!a-  
He just managed to look out through | his | eyes | at | pitch.  
le<sup>a</sup> ba'ndiwadju'ndi<sup>e</sup> p'u't!uk!umyā mīp'andjanā' me'te!i  
Now he came bounding from south | person's skull. | "I would cry, is it not?"<sup>187</sup> |  
Coyote
- 18 t'ī'ei 'ê'waleandi<sup>e</sup> me'te!i gi udjî<sup>e</sup>'mans'ugi t'ū'e ai  
he said. | Now he carried it on his back | Coyote | to | old pack-basket. | He did so |  
he

185 = Bone-place.

186 This word would seem to be better omitted.

187 = "Now I'm going to cry."



- me'te:i niga'msi p'u't!uk!umyā k'ā'n'aiwadjumauna ê+  
Coyote, | he came from north. | Person's skull | (is) approaching nearer from south, |  
"E+  
ê+ ê+ ê+ ê+ ê+ djū'maip!a<sup>e</sup> ai me'teli p'ut!u- 2  
e+ e+ e+ e+ e+!" | He walked along leaning on stick | he | Coyote, | Person's  
skull  
k'u'myā bamite!i't'djasa gō'yau gi mima'una 'a'k'di<sup>189</sup>  
he lay still | hearing | to | weeping one. | He came upon him
- ai me'te:i gi p'u't!uk!umyā mini'nwau<sup>e</sup>i me'te:i gi 4  
he | Coyote | to | person's skull, | he looked at him | Coyote | at  
p'u't!uk!umya me'te:i gaēlā'ei gō'sindj dju mallap!a-  
person's skull. | Coyote | he cried, | "I hear | the (your) | your being bad  
ya'uenu gi dja'urp'<sup>a</sup> atē'imat' aidju t'ū'mai<sup>e</sup>num 6  
at | south. | What is | the (your) | your doing therefore
- aige p'u't!uk!umyā gayā'ei ha'da'iwauhante' t'iwau<sup>e</sup>  
in that way!" | Person's skull | he spoke, | "I was dreaming," | he said to him  
gi me'teli dji mūmarip'a'uyauwa ha'da'iwauhandj dji 8  
to | Coyote, | "the (my) | being had-child-for | I dreamt | the (my)  
nū'rip!ayau ha'da'iwauhante' ba'ndihat<sup>e</sup>dibi'lgyau dji  
dismembering (my)self down. | I dreamt | bounding about as nothing but | the (my)  
p'u't!uk!<sup>u</sup> gayā'wayauna gi p'u't!uk!umyā gaēā'yauna 10  
skull." | Talking to him | to | person's skull, | crying,  
hehe'<sup>e</sup> k'ūp'a'nte' mā'ri<sup>e</sup>ām<sup>e</sup> dila'uyau<sup>e</sup>num aidju t'ū'-  
"Hehe'<sup>e</sup> | I would not be | I bake you down in ground, | your dying | the (year) |  
your doing  
yau<sup>e</sup>num a'igidje dju ba'ndihat<sup>e</sup>dibi'lgyau dju p'u't!u- 12  
in that way | the your | bounding about nothing but | the your | skull.  
k!<sup>u</sup> dē'waihante yā' e'igidje t'ū'mau a'ik'i<sup>e</sup>nu ha'-  
I saw | person | in that way | doing | to you | dreaming  
da'iwau<sup>e</sup>mau k'unihante' yā't'p'auwa'dju<sup>e</sup> gayā'wayau 14  
and I was | cause him to be person again," | talking to him  
gi p'u't!uk!umyā bā'yauna te'i'lte'uimau gi p'u't!uk!um-  
to | person's skull. | Lying there | being big-eyed | to | person's skull  
yā wariha'teguk'i k' te'u'na wē'marihante' 'i'nda- 16  
he sat being nothing but his | his | eyes. | "I put wood and rocks in hole in ground, |  
I made  
hante' muk!ulā' e'iwā'hante' gi e'<sup>u</sup> djik!u<sup>e</sup> a'ite  
round hole, | I brought wood | to | wood." | He listened to him | the  
'ite!i'anna t'iyauk'i gi me'te:i k'u'nihante' yū'mare<sup>e</sup> 18  
Wildcat, | he speaking, | to | Coyote. | "And I was | make fire in pit

188 Imitation of sobbing.

189 Note fem. stem 'a-, for Coyote now speaks and is spoken of as a woman.

- gi muk!ulā' gi ɛa'u' do'tɛaihante' gi ɛi' ya'm'dja-  
at | round hole | to | fire, | I put much in fire | to | wood | burning along
- 2 yau k!u'nihante' bêɛai gi k!a'i' te'i'lmau k!ai' k!uni  
and I was | put them into fire | to | rocks | being big | rocks | and
- ma'lapx aite k!a'i' k!unihante' 'i'nduhante'<sup>190</sup> gi  
they were glowing hot | the | rocks, | and I was | I went to look for it | to
- 4 te'a'lɛ<sup>a</sup> ahô'tɛ!alɛ t'uis:dibi'lhante' bams-iwî'tɛ!alɛ ũ'+  
pitch | soft pitch. | I mixed it with it | old red pitch. | Now!
- du'llaidjilhante' a'igite dju p'u't!uk!u' dumhali'lihante'  
I smeared much pitch around | here | the your | skull, | I smeared it all over smoothly
- 6 gi te!alɛ ũ' k!u'nihante' du'mdjamariɛ gi muk!ulā'  
to | pitch. | Now! | And I was | put skull down in pit | at | round hole,"
- t'i'wauɛ aigi 'ite!i'nnna s'+ t'i'h ai te'a'lɛ yā'tɛ'i-  
he spoke to him | to him | Wildcat. | "S'+!" | it said | it | pitch | spluttering as  
it blazed.
- 8 djaɛayau  
t'ũ'k!adaɛā'tɛ' p'u't!uk!umyā t'i'ɛi bê'k!dindihante'  
"Do so to me, if you please!" | person's skull | he said. | "Now I placed them  
on top
- 10 gi ma'lamɛmak!ai te'i'lmau te' k!ai 'ũ' k!uni s'+  
to | glowing-hot rocks | being big | the | rocks. | Now! | And | 'S'+!'
- t'i'yau ai te'a'lɛ mate!u'nt!ante!ex k' yā't'p'auɛayau  
saying | it | pitch | it stretched out | its | becoming person again.
- 12 k!uni 'ũ' wā'k!dulau'andex k' yā't'p'auɛayauant'<sup>1</sup> djī'-  
And, | now! | he arose again out of fire | his | having become person again." | It  
shook all over
- dinnidibilea k'u e'k'u'ldibilbadummaiɛ ai 'ite!i'nnna  
Not he was | move about any more | he | Wildcat
- 14 dila'uyauandi mau ba'ma'lbalyauna aha' hehê'+ meteli  
being now dead | having been about to be | burst up out (of rocks). | "Aha'! |  
hehê'!" | Coyote
- t'i'ɛi k'usinu djê'ruɛ a'inidja k'ũ'maɛnindj djirũ'ɛ  
he said, | "you are not | win over | me! | I have never been | be beaten
- 16 gi p'a'dibanauma djiduwa'umaɛ di't'illa ma'nni 'u'ldja-  
at | every place." | He seized them back there | quiver | bow. | He threw it away
- s'aɛ aik' ê'mansugiha 'u'ldjas'aɛ malā'miyauna me'tɛ-  
his | former pack-basket, | he threw it away | shredded-bark apron, | he cast them all  
away.
- 18 djabas'aɛ ô'winit'p'auɛ wī'tp'ulyauna k'ũ'si dji dji'-  
He put on his belt | tying his hair up into top-knot. | "Not will be | the (my) | being  
one who is beaten."
- rusi'ɛā ni'tp'andiɛ me'tɛ:i nilɛô'rp'aɛ nigillauɛ ni'tp'aɛ  
Now he went south | Coyote, | he went up hill south, | he went up to top of mountain. |  
He went south,

<sup>190</sup> 'i'nduɛ(i) would be better after k!u'nihante'.

niwa'ldimiri<sup>ε</sup> gi djit'p'ama'uwite'u ni't'p'ayauant'<sup>1</sup> nī-  
 he went down as far as | to | Djit'p'ama'uwite'u. | Now going south | he arrived  
 as far as  
 ε'anmiri<sup>ε</sup> ai wamā'rawi 'a'n<sup>ε</sup> aite yā'na gi ε'i'gunna 2  
 it | Wamā'rawi. | They were many | the | people | at | sweat-house.  
 yādura'm<sup>ε</sup>i<sup>ε</sup> me'te!i t'i'ei gawa'uwulyauna om<sup>ε</sup>djis'i'ndja  
 "All go out again!" | Coyote | he said | shouting to them inside. | "I have killed him  
 gi p'u't!uk!umyā om<sup>ε</sup>dji'masindja gi djêwint'a'urik!u 4  
 to | person's skull, | I have killed him there | at | Djêwint'a'urik!u."  
 t'ū<sup>ε</sup> aite yā'na yā'duramyauant'<sup>1</sup> yā'dôyauna yā'dur-  
 They did so | the | people | now all going out again, | moving back east, | moving back  
 south,  
 p'ayauna yā'dum'djiyauna yā't'djamyauana yā'bat's-an- 6  
 moving back west, | moving back north. | Now they all went off home.  
 din<sup>ε</sup>t'i'

#### THE ROLLING SKULL.<sup>101</sup>

Many were the people dwelling at U'nte'unaha.<sup>102</sup> Wildcat's wife was pregnant and he had a child born to him. The woman gave birth to a child; Wildcat did not go to hunt deer, for his wife had a child.<sup>103</sup> Wildcat said, "Let us go to get pine nuts. We can do no other work now than to go to get pine nuts. And dress up your child!"

Now they went to the east together with their child. There were many pine nuts there, the trees were loaded down with them. "I shall climb up for them here. Let us get pine nuts." "Yes," said the woman. Wildcat climbed up the tree. He threw the pine nuts down one after another, broke off the pine-cones and threw them down. The woman had put her baby in its cradle down on the ground, and pounded the nuts out of the cones as Wildcat broke them off and threw them down below. He shouted down to his wife, "Are they big nuts?" The

<sup>101</sup> This myth is practically identical with Curtin's "Hitchinna" (*op. cit.*, pp. 325-35); Hitchinna, "wildcat," corresponds to *ite!i'anna*, Metsi, "coyote," is *me'ts!i*, Putokya, "skull people," is *p'u't!uk!uyā*. Cf. also Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8, and no. XXIII of this paper.

<sup>102</sup> An Indian village located on a plain between the upper courses of Old Cow creek and Clover creek, at a distance of about fifteen miles south of Round Mountain. There was said to be an abundance of flint in the neighborhood.

<sup>103</sup> See note 101.

woman said, "Yes. Throw them all down," said the woman; "they are big nuts." He threw the pine nuts down, and said, "Hū!" He threw some more down, saying, "Hū!" "Yes," said the woman. Wildecat spoke to her within his heart, spoke down to her, "Hehe'e! I wonder what's going to happen, for my sleep is bad." The woman did not answer. "Hū!" He threw pine nuts down to the south, he threw them to the north, he threw them to the east, he threw them to the west. "Last night I dreamt in my sleep. I dreamt that I was throwing myself down. I threw down my shoulder, I threw down my other shoulder, I threw down my thigh, I threw down my other thigh." The woman did not turn back to look, as she pounded the nuts out of the cones; the baby was lying in its cradle on the ground. "I dreamt that I hurled down my backbone. I dreamt that I was rolling all over with nothing but my skull. I dreamt." The woman looked east to the digger pine. Blood was dripping down from the pine tree. The woman put her hand over her mouth, as she looked at the blood. The woman was afraid, and ran off home. He bounded about up in the tree, being nothing but a skull. The woman left her child behind her, forgot her child. She arrived, running, at the house. "I don't know what he is going to do. He has thrown his own members down, and bounds about up in the tree with nothing but his skull. Blood is dripping down from the digger pine. I am afraid," said the woman.

"Indeed!" said the people. "Let us run off to save ourselves. He might cause us all to die." The people did so, and started off to run for safety, running off to the south. They all went into the sweathouse at Wamā'rawi,<sup>104</sup> and put a sandstone rock on the roof to keep others out. The people filled the house, children, women, and men. Wildecat was saying, "Hū!" but the woman did not answer him. Wildecat's skull came bounding down, bounded down to the ground. He lay quietly there for a short while, not seeing his wife. Then he bounded around, nothing but a skull. He saw his child and swallowed it. "Am!" said Wildecat to his wife. He bounded back home to the west, he bounded back and arrived at his house. There were no people

<sup>104</sup> See note 111.

there. He bounded about to every house. There were no people. "Am! Where is it that you have all gone to, running away to save yourselves? I'll find you!" He followed all their tracks, as he bounded about. He found their tracks which they had made in moving to the south. "Am! I shall find you," said he, as he bounded off to the south. He cut bottom-oaks down one after another, he cut the brush down. He bounded on to the rocks, and burst them to pieces. He bounded south to P'u'ls-u'ai-na,<sup>195</sup> rolling along to the west, a human skull. He was like a strong wind, thus he was as he went along.<sup>196</sup>

He bounded up hill to the south to 'Ó'djinimauna,<sup>197</sup> following the people's tracks. He bounded on until he arrived at Wamá-rawi. "Let me in, you people, I want to enter," said the human skull. "Don't say anything," (they whispered to one another). "Don't let him in," said the people. He was not allowed to enter. "Let me enter, you people!" "Don't you let him get in! Be quiet!" "Yes!" he now said outside within his heart. "You people won't let me in, won't you?" He bounded back a little way to the north, and came back swiftly, a human skull, on the ground from the north. He was very strong, and cut up all the bushes everywhere, cut up all the trees. He was going to burst into the house, but he could not, for it was too strong. He bounded off to the east. He came bounding back from the east, intended to burst west into the house. The sweat-house shook, but it was too strong for him to break in. He bounded off to the south. He came bounding back from the south, intended to burst into the house from the south side, but it was too strong for him. The people were heard talking inside the sweat-house. He bounded off to the west. He bounded back from the west, acted like a flint arrow-head, so strong was he, but he could not break into the house. He lay quiet a while, in order to rest. There he lay. "Hehe'ε!" said the human skull. "You people were very sensible." He bounded up into the air, intended to burst into

<sup>195</sup> An Indian village on the present "Tamarack Road," near Ba'n'εxa. See note 107. P'u'ls-u'ai-na means "red clay."

<sup>196</sup> Sam Bat'wī said that when the older Indians first saw the trolley cars of the whites, they compared them with the wildly rushing P'u't!uk!uyā' or Human Skull.

<sup>197</sup> An Indian village on the upper course of Bear creek.

the house from above, through the door. He came bounding down, but could not burst through the roof, for the house was too strong for him. He bounded up again (saying to himself), "I shall try it once more. Perhaps I shall succeed in bursting through the house." He did so, bounded away up into the air. He came bounding down, but bounced back. That human skull had nearly burst into the sweat-house, for the sandstone rock was already pounded thin. The people inside were afraid. "He! It looks as if we shall all die. It seems that he is about to burst into the house," said the people. Wildcat bounded back down hill to the north, and lay there now on the ground. "Why should I try to burst into the house? The sweat-house is too strong for me."

He bounded back to the north, rushed back as far as Old Cow creek. He arrived rushing back at what had been his house. "Whither, now, shall I go?" He bounded north and met some people. He killed the people and went on rushing to the north. He rushed down hill to the north at Djit'p'ama'uwite'u.<sup>198</sup> He killed ten people, and went rushing up hill to the north. He was heard coming by all the people, rushing along, acting like a wind, as he came rushing on. He rushed on as far as K!ā's-ip!u.<sup>199</sup>

Coyote was coming from the north at I'da'lmadu.<sup>200</sup> Coyote had on an elk-skin belt and carried a quiver of otter-skin. Coyote stood there, listening, listened down on the ground. "That must be the human skull," said Coyote. He was coming from the north. "I am going to meet him," said Coyote in his heart. "I do not think that I shall be killed. I hear that he is killing the people." The human skull came rushing down hill from the south; Coyote on his part was coming from the north. Coyote stood still right there at Djêwint'a'urik!u.<sup>201</sup> "Heh! What shall I do?" He took off his belt, and hid his otter-skin quiver

<sup>198</sup> An Indian village on the south bank of Cedar creek, near the Bull-skin Ridge.

<sup>199</sup> An Indian village situated on a hill a short distance south of the present Buzzard's Roost (Round Mountain).

<sup>200</sup> A rocky spot with small creek just north of the present stage station situated about a mile and a half south of Montgomery creek.

<sup>201</sup> An Indian village about two or three miles north of the present hamlet of Buzzard's Roost or Round Mountain.

and net-cap in the brush. The human skull came rushing from the south, approaching nearer and nearer. Coyote said, "I wish there may be to me an old, ugly-looking pack-basket. I wish there may be to me an old, ugly-looking apron of shredded bark. I wish there may be to me an ugly-looking skirt." It was so. The skirt, the old pack-basket, and the apron of shredded bark came to him. "I wish there may be to me pitch, white clay." He besmeared his head with pitch, put it on thick on his face; he just managed to look through his eyes, because of the pitch. The human skull came bounding from the south. "I am going to cry," said Coyote. He carried the old pack-basket on his back, thus did Coyote as he came from the north, while the human skull approached nearer and nearer from the south. "Hê! hê! hê!" he sobbed, "hê! hê! hê!" Coyote was walking along with the help of a stick. The human skull lay quiet a while, listening to the person crying. Coyote came up to the human skull. Coyote looked at the human skull and cried, "I hear that you were bad in the south. What are you acting that way for?" The rolling skull spoke, "I was dreaming," he said to Coyote. "My wife was having a child, and I dreamt that I threw my own body down. I dreamt that I was bounding about, merely a skull." Coyote spoke to the human skull, "Hehe'e! I should like to bake you on hot rocks, because if you continue to act that way, bounding about, merely a skull, you will surely die. I have seen a person that way before, acting like you because of a bad dream, and I have caused him to be a person again," said he, speaking to the human skull, who lay there, big-eyed, consisting of nothing but his eyes. "I put wood and rocks into a hole. I made a round hole, and packed wood." Wildeat was listening to what Coyote was telling him. "And I built a fire down in the hole. I put lots of wood on the fire, so that it burned well, and I put rocks on the fire, big rocks, and when the rocks were hot, I went to look for pitch. I mixed soft pitch with old, red pitch. Hū! I besmeared that skull of yours all around with pitch, I smeared pitch all over it, nice and smooth. Hū! And I put the skull down in the hole," he said to Wildeat. "'S!' said the pitch, as it spluttered away."

“Do that to me, please,” said the human skull. “I put hot rocks, big rocks, on top. Hū! And while the pitch said ‘S!’ the skull stretched out until it became a person again, and hū! it arose out of the fire, having again become a person.” (Wildcat agreed to let Coyote do thus to him. When he became heated up, he attempted to burst out, but could not.) It shook all around. Wildcat no longer moved about at all, for he was dead now. He had tried to burst up out, but in vain. “Aha’! Hehê!” said Coyote. “You can’t beat me. I was never beaten in anything.” He took his quiver and bow out of the brush again, threw away his pack-basket, threw away his apron of shredded bark, threw them all away. He put on his belt and tied his hair up into a top-knot. “There’s no such a thing as my being beaten!” Coyote now went to the south. He went up hill to the south, came to the top of the hill, and proceeded south, went until he came to Djit’p’ama’uwite’u. He kept going south until he arrived at Wamā’rawi. Many were the people in the sweat-house. “Come out of the house, all of you,” said Coyote, shouting inside to them. “I have killed the human skull. I killed him over there at Djêwint’a’urik!u.” The people did so, all came out of the house. They all now went off home, going back to the east, going back to the south, going back to the west, going back to the north.



## II. NORTHERN DIALECT (*Gari'ei*).<sup>202</sup>

### X. COYOTE, PINE MARTEN, AND LOON.

- djū'dunet' ai mits'!<sup>1</sup> gi yū'mima't' u<sup>203</sup> djū'bi'let'  
 He looked for gophers' roots by tapping with stick | he | Coyote | at | Yū'mimadu, |  
 he felt about for gopher holes by tapping.
- dīmā'n'eaigu'n'et' gō'wik!ap<sup>e</sup> 'ê'lauyauk'i' 'e' t'i'n'et' i' 2  
 Suddenly he was | hear them coming to him | singing. | "Heh!" | he said, | "ih!"  
 t'i'n'et' mini'tdibilet' dīmā'naigunet' dē'wai<sup>e</sup> u'mits'i-  
 he said. | He looked all around, | suddenly he was | see | being two
- ma'u ya'iealap!di'w i' t'i'n'et' u'ldjasant' dju'k'ā'ē<sup>va</sup> 4  
 girls. | "Ih!" | he said. | He threw it away | open-work carrying basket for roots,  
 'u'ldjasant' k' waew u'ldjasant' aig' ts!a'le dō'l-  
 he threw it away | his | digging stick, | he threw it away | to it | pitch, | he took  
 off and threw it away
- isa'n'et' gi dit'elā'p!ama'u wai't'<sup>u</sup> mausu'p'k'i'ditp'a'u- 6  
 to | being-in-mourning (things). | Now | he put on his buckskin trousers,
- net ba'nī'n'<sup>u</sup> 'i'maritp'aunet' ba'nī'n'<sup>u</sup> 'ik!i'watp'a'unet'  
 dentalia | he put on his shirt, | dentalia | he put on his moccasins.
- 'atē'a'tduwi' dji wawi'ndja wō'' t'in'et' wā'wi- 8  
 "Do you proceed to go there | the my house!" | "Yes," they said. | She was pound-  
 ing acorns
- ts'a'in'et' i'ts!p'u'l marī'm<sup>e</sup>l mits'!i k' wak!a'lp'ayau  
 Bull-frog | Woman | Coyote | his | wife.
- 'ê' atē'i'mah atē'a'tmainu'k' apbi'mah aidji · t'i'bianu'k' 10  
 "Ho! | What is | your going thereto for? | Who is it | that | has told you?
- u 'ai' yāw aiye' il'ê'rt<sup>a</sup> dē'ma'u u'mits'i'mau  
 Is | he | who is dwelling | that one there | on hill to south | Pine Marten. | Being two

<sup>202</sup> The thirteen *gari'ei* myths and non-mythical texts here given were obtained in July and August, 1907, a few miles to the north of the hamlet of Round Mountain (or Buzzard's Roost), Shasta county. The informant was Betty Brown (Indian name *Ts!i'daimiya*), since dead. There are now not more than seven or eight Indians that are able to speak the dialect. In some respects Betty was an inferior source of text material to Sam Bat'wi, as evidenced by the very small number of myths it was found possible to procure from her. Her method of narrative was peculiar in that she had a very marked tendency to omit anything, even the names of the characters involved, that was not conversation; this has necessitated the liberal use in the English translation of parentheses in which the attempt is made to arrive at a somewhat smoother narrative.

<sup>203</sup> = Dark salmon-meat place. *yūmi* = dark meat of salmon found between skin and red part.

- djabi`ls·      dit`i`ldima`u      mini`tp`aumagadawi<sup>e</sup>      mits`!  
 they are hanging | black bears | pray look at them! | Coyote
- 2 aigits·    k`ū`yaugummagad    mini`tp`a`u<sup>e</sup>    ū    ɛai    ɛiyé`mairi`k`<sup>u</sup>  
 here | pray do not | look at him! | Is | he | between (two houses)
- mits`!    a`igi`ts·    dja`ugi`tts·    wé`awat`    ai    m`its`!<sup>1</sup>    aigi  
 Coyote | here. | Next house on west side | he has stolen them | he | Coyote! to them
- 4 dit`i`ldimau    k`ū`yaugummagadawi    p`i`wulwi`<sup>e</sup>    m`its`!    aik`  
 black bears. | Pray do not | go into house | Coyote | his
- wa`w`<sup>1</sup>    mits`!    a`idje    p`i`wulwat`    a`igidje`    atdu`a`dawat`  
 house, | Coyote | this. | They have gone into house | yonder, | they have arrived back  
home
- 6 ba`i`ɛi`    yā`ik`!unāwa`<sup>t</sup>  
 deer having been hunted, | they have remained.
- k`ū`sindj    dé`djiba<sup>e</sup>    dé`waisk`inig    dit`i`ldimau    bê`k`i-  
 "Not I | know. | We see them | black bears, | it is we who are
- 8 nik    p`i`wulmau    `ate`a`nmagadawi<sup>e</sup>    t`ipk`i`ahawani`k`  
 going into house. | "Do you pray go up to there!" | he told us
- aidji    ts`iga`l`lits·    wêdua`tbitdjak`!u<sup>e</sup>`    bā`wis`atdisi`    bê`-  
 the | my father." | "Perhaps they are about to bring back (meat), | it is dark al-  
ready. | It is I who always
- 10 mants·    da`udatts`!i<sup>e</sup>`    djaudatp`ama`unidj    aidje    dju`iba-  
 distribute (deer-meat), | my hired ones | those. | Every one has been carrying (deer-  
meat),
- na`uma`niwa`<sup>t</sup>    apdji`bana`uma`niwa`<sup>t</sup>    yā`a`duat`atdisi`    gi-  
 everybody has been killing (deer), | they have already arrived back home. | I am  
ashamed,
- 12 ma`isip`asindja`    k`ū`mandj    wê`duru<sup>e</sup>`    djôduna`udibil-  
 not I ever | have any left over. | I always give food to every one,
- mandja`    dauda`tts`!imandja`    waidu    nig`i`nauyauna`    dan<sup>e</sup>-  
 I always distribute it. | Now | I shall go east to next house. | Being much
- 14 mau    yū`<sup>ea</sup>    mô`t`lisini`k`  
 make fire! | we shall roast it."
- djits`!u`tdja`nêwa`<sup>t</sup>    k`ū`niwar    `i`wul<sup>e</sup>    laidāmi`net`iwa`<sup>1</sup>  
 He used to look on while they were eating, | not he used to be | go into house. |  
(Bones) were thrown out of house one after another,
- 16 xô`sam`djan<sup>e</sup>`ê`    laimam`dja`net`iwa`    k`!unum`djan<sup>e</sup>`    xô`sa<sup>e</sup>  
 he kept swallowing (his spit). | They kept being thrown to him one after another | and  
he kept being | swallow
- gi    la`l`p`<sup>a</sup>    ô`maidjagun<sup>e</sup>`ê`    nidugitdji`net`    wa`dja`idu-  
 to | deer-bones. | He ceased, | he went back west to next house, | he stood on roof
- 18 rin<sup>e</sup>`    k`    wa`rt`guru`w    bênet`    wa`uts`!ila`its`!in<sup>e</sup>`<sup>204</sup>    k`<sup>1</sup>  
 his | sweat-house. | It was he who | he cut out pieces of flesh with knife | (from) his
- ts`i`t`p`<sup>a</sup>    `i`duwu`let`    k`ū`sindj    wê`duru<sup>e</sup>`    mā`si<sup>e</sup>    a`itc  
 hams. | He went back into house. | "Not I | have any left over. | Cook | this!

<sup>204</sup> After *bên`<sup>t</sup>* we should have *wa`uts`!ila`its`!it<sup>e</sup>*.

- dju'nmawe<sup>e</sup> a'ik' t'ū'gutdimandja' k'ô'durumā<sup>e</sup>nidja'  
feed them | with it! | I have always done so, | I never cause any to be left over.
- wé'durusik!ô hala'ik'iea djana'usinuga i'' t'app!a's yā' 2  
I shall have some left over | to-morrow, | you (two) shall have plenty to eat." | "Th! |  
it seems to be human.
- k'ū's djiwa'ie djīyā'djas k'ūha'nik t'ip'eī' t'app!a's  
Not it is | taste like deer-meat, | it tastes like human flesh. | We were not | told. | It  
seems to be
- mīts! a'its' ū eai gīna'u ha'uyauba<sup>e</sup>iniguie'a's 'u'lma- 4  
Coyote | here. | Is | he | next house on east side, | there is nothing but deer-fat | I  
smell it."
- si'ndj iyé'mairi'k'<sup>u</sup> t'ipxawanik' ga'eile'aisinū'  
"Between (two houses) | we were told." | "You have no sense."
- 'agīnaunet' hana<sup>e</sup>a'ibak' i' 'i'wulet' wa'aisinuk' yā' 6  
She went east to next house | when it was daylight. | She went into house. | "You  
(two) have been supposing | somebody
- 'aiye<sup>e</sup>e' mits! a'idje' wé'sawat' agi dit'ildimau bé'  
that one yonder. | Coyote | that, | he has stolen | to them | black bears. | It is he
- mīts!<sup>l</sup> a'igī'ts' bé'k'inig a'idje' djuduna'umasiwa'ndj 8  
Coyote | there, | they are ours | those (hides)." | "She has given me food,
- dan<sup>e</sup>mau mō'sindj ū'har aiye' t'ipp!ā'hawā'm<sup>e</sup> ul'e-  
much | I have eaten. | It is, as it turns out, | he yonder. | I told you before, | you did  
not listen.
- hanu' ma<sup>e</sup> a'idj dju dan<sup>e</sup>mau mō'sindj ô' p'ūdja't- 10  
Eat | this | the your | being much. | I have eaten." | "Well, | I shall go and bathe,
- duya'u 'atgīna'usini'k' 'e'ēsiduwaldinet' dit'ildimau p'i'-  
we shall go east to next house." | She spread it out on ground | black bear. | "Do  
you (two) enter house!
- wulwi<sup>e</sup> t'ū'masik!u<sup>e</sup> k'ū'dama'isiwam<sup>e</sup> li'le<sup>205</sup> môt!i'net' 12  
I don't know what he will do, | perhaps he will not you | turn his head to look." | She  
roasted (food),
- djô'dunaunet' ma'wi<sup>e</sup> a'idj t'ipk!uwarā'nuk' 'm' t'i'net'  
she gave them food. | "Do you (two) eat | this! | perchance you were told (to come  
here)." | "Hm!" | he said,
- mits!i k' ê'nitei' u'lsasi' m+ k'ū'yaugu t'ieī' gī- 14  
"Coyote | his | divorced wife | she smells." | "Don't! | Do not | say (that)! | He  
might be ashamed
- ma'isip!ak! adji t'inīsi'ndj gima'isip!ak!u' wa'ts!xa-  
the | my son, | he might ashamed. | Just sit quietly!
- yāgu<sup>e</sup> a'mm t'i'net' 16  
Don't!" | she said.
- t'ūa'mmasinu ba'iru<sup>e</sup>i' wa'iru mausi barī'wadju-  
"You will try to do | to go out to hunt deer. | Now | I shall | causing it to rain."
- yauna' barī'net' mā't!adjui'net' djū'djanet' yababa'net' 18  
It rained, | it was winter, | water rose high. | (Sweat-house) burned all up.

<sup>205</sup> Probably heard for *li'lema*.

- bé'énidja baí+duwalsagunet' 'adjá'hani'k' dja'tsdjaba-  
"It is I." | They survived all together. | "Let us escape, | let us all go up into sky."
- 2 hani'k' nimma'iguyauna ô walildja'uriyauna' k'ūma'-  
"I'll go along with (you). | O, | I'll lie on my belly in bottom (of basket)." | "You  
will not
- s'inu<sup>205a</sup> gayāri'e waliledja'urigummayauna wak'unā'wul-  
speak right." | "I'll just lie on my belly in bottom (of basket)." | "Get inside!"
- 4 mī'e 'ībā'k'a'pdj<sup>205b</sup> 'ê'badjanet' k'<sup>t</sup> k'lan'aibalya'u  
"Pull me up to yourself!" | She pulled them up. | Their | approaching up
- i't'dj 'e'e maus' waits:'u'tdjayauna 'e' dē'djibasinu-  
on top. | "O! | It will | break apart because of hole." | "Heh! | you (pl.) know, do  
you not?"
- 6 ganā umā'yuwaiyauwā'm'ega' k'unin<sup>et'</sup> waits:'u'tdu'uldi'-  
my being jealous of you (pl.)." | And it was | it broke apart and fell down back to  
ground.
- n<sup>et'</sup><sup>206</sup>
- baiduwa'lsagunet' k'unā'madimip! a'imauyā' bo'nu-  
She alone survived | old woman | being grayhaired | Bo'nuyaup!,
- 8 ya'up!<sup>a</sup> baí'duwalsagu'net' ga'la'net' bidī'hgā dji t'ū'-  
she alone survived. | She cried. | "Where, is it not? | the (my) | that (I) do thither?  
miriwo a'djabiyau' its'i'tdjā'm mīgi'lyamaigummaga-  
I shall go north | far away north. | They will indeed take pity on me,
- 10 sik'ōwa'ndj ū'duwa'lsak'unu's' dja'udutp!asik!ō' t'ō'net'ê'  
two still survive. | I shall hire them." | They were in great numbers
- lā'lag aidje' 'ariyu'net' opdjima'u dan'ema'un opdji'-  
geese | those, | they were many | being killed. | "Many | we have killed."
- 12 sk'inigi' k'ū'k'unuga dēwa'ie maba'sk'iwani'k' t'ū'ga-  
"Perchance you not, is it not, | see her | she has eaten us all up? | You might pray  
do so."
- dap'anu' 'ā'ha dē'waisk'inigi' ugu'mmak! a'idje'e' p'ō'-  
"Yes, | we have seen (one), | perhaps indeed it is | that one." | "Perhaps she wears  
bead necklace."
- 14 watk!ō' 'ā'ha p'ō'wat'as:i' t'a'lammauna' dīmā'n'aip'a-  
"Yes, | she wears bead necklace | being white." | "Would that you me
- wadj mīgi'lyama'its' t'ū'gummasik!ō' aigīts' basī'k'  
you take pity on me!" | "I shall indeed do so | in this | when it is night
- 16 aigī'ts'  
here."

<sup>205a</sup> Very probably this should be *k'ū ma'us.inu*, not you-will-be.

<sup>205b</sup> Spider was evidently conceived of as a woman by Betty Brown, not as a man; cf. note 45. This is shown by the female ending *-dj (-dja<sup>e</sup>)* would be otherwise expected).

<sup>206</sup> After *k'unin<sup>et'</sup>* we should properly have *waits:'u'tdu'uldi'e*.

- wa'it'u auts! t'i's'ik!ô' wa'it'u 'adū'sayau' 'ādū-  
 "Now | happy | I shall say. | Now | I shall go off home." | She arrived back home
- nεt' aik' wa'w' mi'let' ya'imεt'p'aunεt' yaiba'tp'au- 2  
 her | house. | She struck them, | they came to life again, | they all came to life.
- nεt' waimε'a'isiwād'jga k'u gi'mas t'ū'p'awād'j aigidje`  
 "You supposed about me, did you not? | 'Not | she has sense.' | You would do to me |  
 in that way.
- yāik!u'nas aige` its'i'tεdjā'm opdji'basindja t'ī'k!unugā 4  
 They are dwelling | yonder | far away north. | 'I have killed them all,' | you said per-  
 chance, did you not?
- k'ū'sinu opdji'ε waiεma'ip!ahanu gi'maya'u bē'p'awād'j  
 Not you | kill them. | You thought you were | being sensible, | it is you who would me
- apdji'ts' wa'it'u dik!a'us' 6  
 kill me." | Now | it is ended.

COYOTE, PINE MARTEN, AND LOON.<sup>207</sup>

Coyote went around looking for gophers' roots by tapping with a stick at Yūmimadu,<sup>208</sup> he felt about for gophers' holes by tapping. Suddenly he heard someone coming to him singing. "Heh!" he said. "Ih!" he said. He looked all around, when suddenly he saw two girls. "Ih!" he said. He threw away his open-work carrying basket, he threw away his digging-stick. He threw away the pitch. He took off and threw off his signs of mourning. Now he put on his buckskin trousers. He put dentalia on his shirt, he put dentalia on his moccasins.

(He said to them,) "Do you go there, to my house!" "Yes," they said. Bull-Frog Woman, Coyote's wife, was pounding acorns. "Hê!" she said, "what are you going in there for? Who told you to go there? Pine Marten is dwelling yonder, up

<sup>207</sup> Two quite distinct myths seem in this to have been amalgamated by Betty Brown into one. The first is the well-known story of the visit of two sisters to a chief (generally Panther, in this case Pine Marten) and their deception by Coyote, who poses as the chief. For this first myth cf. Dixon's Achomawi tale in "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XXI, 163. The second is the Loon Woman story typical of Northern California, of which but a fragmentary, ill remembered account is here found. For the latter myth cf. Curtin's "Two Sisters, Haka Lasi [= 'ak!ā'lisi, 'loon'] and Tsore Jowa [= ts!orē'djuwa, 'eagle']," (*op. cit.*, pp. 407-21); Dixon, "Maidu Myths," pp. 71-6; and the Achomawi and Atsugē'wi versions in Dixon's "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," pp. 165, 175.

<sup>208</sup> A point near the present station situated about a mile and a half south of Montgomery Creek.

towards the south. Two black-bear skins are hanging up; just look at them! This is Coyote living here. Don't look at him! This is Coyote here living between the two houses. He has stolen the black-bear skins from the next house on the west.<sup>209</sup> Don't go into Coyote's house! This here is Coyote. The people have gone into yonder house. They have come back home from hunting and have been staying over there.

(The elder sister said,) "I do not know about this. We see the black-bear skins. We should enter the house. Our father told us, 'You will go as far as that.'" (They argued as to whether they should go in or not, but finally they entered. When Coyote returned he said to them,) "I suppose they are going to bring back meat. It is dark already. I always distribute deer meat. I hire those fellows yonder. Everyone has been carrying home deer meat, everyone has been killing deer, and they have already come back home. I feel ashamed because I have no meat left over. I always give food to everybody, and it is my custom to distribute it. Now I shall go east to the next house." (He said to his wife,) "Make a big fire. We shall roast the meat."

Coyote looked on while Pine Marten's people were eating, but did not enter the house. Bones were thrown out of the house to him, one after the other, and he swallowed them. They were thrown out to him, and he kept swallowing the deer bones. He finished, went back west to his house, stood on the roof of his sweat-house. He cut out pieces of flesh from his hams. He went into the house (saying to his wife,) "I have no meat left over. Cook this! Feed them with it!" (To the girls he said,) "I always do so; I never have any left over."<sup>210</sup> Tomorrow I shall have some left over, and you shall have plenty to eat." "Ih!" she said. "It seems to be human. It does not taste like deer meat; it tastes like human flesh. We were not told to enter here. It seems to be Coyote who lives here. Pine Marten lives in the next house on the east. I smell nothing but deer fat over there. We

<sup>209</sup> The two sisters had been told by their father that they would recognize Pine Marten by the black-bear skins hanging up in front of his house.

<sup>210</sup> Coyote pretends that he is so liberal in the distribution of deer meat, that he never has any left over for himself.

were told that Coyote lives between the two houses. You have no sense," (she said to her elder sister).

She went east to the next house when it was daylight. She entered the house. (Pine Marten's mother said to her,) "You two thought that that was somebody living over there. That is Coyote. He has stolen the black-bear skins. That is Coyote living there, those hides belong to us." (After she had been given much to eat she returned to her sister, and said to her,) "I have been given food; I have eaten much. He yonder is really the one (we are looking for). I told you so before, but you wouldn't listen. Eat this here! Much have I eaten." "Well," (her sister said,) "I shall go and bathe. We shall go east to the next house." (Pine Marten's mother) spread out a black-bear skin on the ground for them. "Do you two enter! I don't know what Pine Marten will do. Perhaps he won't turn to look at you." She roasted food and gave it to them to eat. "Do you eat this! Probably you were told to come here." (When they came back from hunting) someone said, "Hm! She smells like Coyote's divorced wife." "Sh!" (said Pine Marten's mother,) "don't say that! My son might feel ashamed. Just behave yourself! Don't talk in that way," she said.

(Coyote was very angry, and said to himself,) "You think you will go out to hunt deer! Now I shall cause it to rain." It rained and it was like winter. The water rose high. (All the people were inside Pine Marten's sweat-house, and Coyote put it on fire.) "It is I that did it," (said Coyote). They all survived together. The sweat-house burned all up. (They said,) "Let us escape. Let us all go up into the sky." Coyote said, "I shall go along with you. Oh, I shall lie on my belly in the bottom of the basket." "You will not do right," (they said to him). "I shall just lie down on my belly in the bottom of the basket," he said. "Do you all get inside now!" (said the chief. To Spider Woman he called out,) "Pull us up to you!" She pulled them up. (When they were approaching the sky, (someone noticed that Coyote was making a hole, and said,) "Oh! it's going to break apart!" "Heh!" (said Coyote to Pine Marten's people). "Now you know, do you not, that I am jealous of you." The basket broke apart and fell down to the ground.

<sup>211</sup>(All were burnt to death except one). An old gray-haired woman, Bo"nuyaup!a,<sup>212</sup> alone survived. She cried, "Whither now shall I go? I shall go far away to the north. Two who still survive there will indeed take pity on me. I shall hire them." (She went up north.) There were geese there in great numbers. Many of them were killed (by those two). "We kill many of them," (they said to her). "Have you not perchance seen her who has destroyed us all? You may have done so." "Yes," they said. "We have seen some one. Perhaps indeed it is that one whom you mean." "Perhaps she wears a bead necklace," she said. "Yes, she wears a white necklace of beads." "Would that you took pity on me!" (she said. "Kill her for me!") "I shall indeed do so this very same night." (That night he killed the Loon Woman and took off the necklace of beads. Every bead was really the heart<sup>212a</sup> of one of the people that had been burnt to death. He gave the necklace to Bo"nuyaup!a).

"Now I shall be happy. Now I shall go off home." She came back home to her house. She struck the hearts, and the people came back to life. They all came back to life. "You thought concerning me, did you not, 'She has no sense.' You would have treated me in that way! But my friends are dwelling yonder, far away in the north. I suppose you said to yourself, 'I have killed them all,' did you not? But you did not kill them. You thought you were sensible. It was you who thought of killing me."<sup>213</sup> Now it is ended.

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<sup>211</sup> From here on the trend of the first story is absolutely lost, the remainder being a much abbreviated account of the latter part of the Loon story.

<sup>212</sup> An unidentified bird.

<sup>212a</sup> So Curtin and Dixon. In another connection Betty Brown said the white encircling the loon's neck was due to the fact that she had at one time put the intestines of people about her neck.

<sup>213</sup> These words are an apostrophe to the dead Loon Woman.



## XI. THE DROWNING OF YOUNG BUZZARD'S WIFE.

- waidu wê'boxaiwei'e mās'i'tdisi' mā'haenigi' tc'au-  
 "Now | dig for roots, | they have become ripe. | Let us climb | sugar-pines.
- na' yāli'lsi'enigi halaik'iea' yāwaldi'si'enuma' wa'idu 2  
 We shall move | to-morrow, | you will settle down. | Now
- mausi mā'wayauna mās'i'tdisi' yāba'k'is'ie aidj yā  
 I shall | climbing, | they have become ripe. | They will all come | the | people
- a'igidjese' yāwaldi'si'enig aigidje' ts'um'εmau 'ā'yaxa' 4  
 right there, | we shall settle down | there | nice | spring.
- t'ū'masik! aik' yā'k'iyaua' 'o'pgadasi'enigi' a'nmits'i-  
 Perhaps they will do | their | coming here. | We shall wait for them." | Many were to-  
 gether
- net' aits yā' wa'idu māwo'uxa'enigi' bē'yuei' wairu 6  
 the | people. | "Now | let us climb | taking food along. | Now
- dā'ewa'k'isi'enuma' wairu dju'n'mawip!aεa'ε k'ū'shada'εnuma  
 you will dig for tiger-lilies. | Now | procure winter food, | not probably you will
- k!u'tdju'εa mā'wou'ei' asi'enu dē'duk!au'εa' wairu dju'n- 8  
 like | to climb; | if you | finish it | now | they will get winter food."
- mawip!asi'ei'
- 'ats!gi'lp'andj aiye' 'anie sī'doha'eni'k k'ū'yaugu 10  
 "I could go into water | that there. | Let's see, | let us go to drink!" | "Do not
- sī'ru'ε atē'ī'mat' adji wayūma'ie'nidj mausi sī'ruya'u  
 go to drink!" | "What should be | the | my being afraid for? | I shall | going to  
 drink."
- dēwa'inεt' mitgālā'iw' dju'tbaliak'ei' 'ane'ε t'ī'nεt' p'ū- 12  
 She saw them | logs | bobbing up and down. | "Let me see!" | she said, | "I could  
 swim across westwards
- wildjip'a'ndj aiye' ôwa'inεt' mini'tdibilεt' 'anie mausi  
 that there." | They missed her, | they looked around. | "Let me see, | I shall
- 'ô'nina'εwaiyau' p'ūts'i'telaup'a'ndj āk'ū'p'a'enu p'ū'ts'litε. 14  
 trying it, | I could swim out of water." | "You could not | swim out of water."
- lau'ε me'tdjalaunεt' mausi p'ū'ts!giliau' dēwa'igada-  
 She took off her skirt. | "I shall | swimming into water, | you just see me."
- madjasiwādj p'ū'm'djinεt' 'arī'yunεt' dēwa'inεt' wai'+- 16  
 She swam westwards. | They were many, | they saw her. | Now
- t'u iyêma'irik!u' 'āwaldi'nεt' wairu t'ipp'lā'xawā'mε  
 in center | she sank. | "Now | I told you before."

- t'ū'datdī'gunet' k' djuwā'yau k' walé' wa'it'u ga-  
They just kept doing | her | buckskin skirt | her | pine-nut beaded tassels. | Now |  
they cried.
- 2 'lā'net' atc'ī'mah a'idji ga'ēlāma'iw 'āwaldi's k'ū'yau-  
"What is | the | that you cry for?" | "She is sinking." | "Do not  
gu ma'ts!gile t'ī'pxawawā'mé bé'enum aidji dju gī'mama'u  
take her to water! | I told you. | It is you | the | your | fault.
- 4 ts'u'ps'p'aéa asp'andj bé'eaigui' t'ū'yauharandjanā aidjese'  
It would have been good | if I had been | be there myself. | Is it not as though I  
were to do | that,  
nāgundj nik'iei' mausi ô'maidjaguyauna' it'xa'nigi'  
that is why I was | come here. | I shall | ceasing. | Let us look for her!
- 6 f'ū'gadaé asi dé'wiyau'nidja' ô'nina'ewa'ixa'nigi' ts!umé-  
do it | (to see) if will be | my finding her. | Let us try it! | Good person  
ma'uyā aidjese' badū'p'auduru'ie 'a'tk'isi' baduwa'u-  
she." | "Run back for them, | they shall come here." | He ran back for them.
- 8 durunet' wō' t'ī'net' 'ane' amī'n t'ī'net' maus' ô'ni-  
"Yes," | they said. | "Let me see, | go ahead!" | he said, | "I will be | trying it."  
na'waiyauna' 'é'dinet' k'ū's'hawa dji é'diei' k'ū'si'enu  
They drew off water by ditch. | "Not probably will be | the | taking off water by  
ditch, | not you will
- 10 é'diei' atc'ī'hanā dji t'ū'eni'gī' ī'duwi'ie mau'k'unik'  
take off water by ditch. | What, pray, | the | our doing? | Do you all clean out ditch! |  
I do not think we shall be  
dé'waitp'auyauna' k'ū's'ini'k' dé'wait'p'au' 'āwaldi'duk!u-  
finding her. | We shall not | find her. | She sank straight down perchance,
- 12 ei' āyima'it!alts!ik!u'ei' malla'p!amau p'ad aidje'  
she sank perchance right between two (logs) | being bad | place | that."  
yā'dut!alts!inet' yā'mégudjā'wipts!inet' k'ū'yaugundja  
They all parted from one another going back home, | they all stayed at home. |  
"No longer shall I
- 14 dju'n'mawip!aéa' wa'iru k'ū'yau'atdindj aidjese' nī' dji  
procure winter food. | Now | I am already no longer | that. | Alas! | the  
mā's'idjayauhandja' k'ū'sik!ōna t'ū'te!atē' wairu mausi  
my having been happy | I did not think I would | do thus. | Now | I shall
- 16 k'ū'eatdiyauna' atc'ī'mōra dji k'ips'ama'iw djun'ā'dja'-  
being no longer." | "What was | the | that you let her go off for! | You should have  
taken water while on your way,  
sp'aenu' ga'eil'eiwa'daenu k'ū'sindj dé'djibaea ma'dja'-  
you were foolish." | "Not I | know. | I should have gone with her
- 18 sp'awarā'nidja' k'un ba'exayā'sagusi sī'ruha'nik t'ips-  
but | she just runs off by herself. | "Let us go and drink!" | I should have been told.  
p'awarā'nidja' mik!a'ip!a'asi' k'ū'sindj ts!upe' p'ēsa's  
She was angry, | not I am | be good. | It feels grieved
- 20 dji djuk!u'tts!indja yā'k'itdinēt' p'é'ei'net' t'ū'haina-  
the | my heart." | They now all came, | they lay down in ashes in fire-place. | They did  
so also

net' ai 'i's aik' yā' ga<sup>e</sup>lā'net'i' aik' mā'waumau  
they | men. | Her | people | they cried | their | having climbed.

ê'ba<sup>e</sup>ainet'

2

They piled (pine-nuts) into fire.

t'ī'p'ā<sup>e</sup>a' k'ū' damasik!ô 'ī'duwule 'a' daiwausindj  
She said before, | "Perhaps I shall not | enter house again. | I dreamt

dji dilauyau' k'uni yabamā'gar a'idj wayū'sindj 4  
the (my) | dying | and | pray burn them all up | these." | "I am afraid

t'ī'yau<sup>e</sup>num aigidje' ū'sī' t!ui' dama'isik!ôk'ini'k' aidji  
your saying | in that way." | "It is two | perhaps our being about to be moons | the

mā'wayauk'ini'k' dilau' dama'isik!ô k'ū'sik!ô 'aduwule 6  
our climbing | perhaps I shall die. | I shall not | go back into house

dji wawi'ndj ma'usindj ga<sup>e</sup>lāya'u t'ī'yau<sup>e</sup>num aigidje'  
the | my house." | "I shall be | crying | your saying | in that way."

bala'm' a dé'waigadamadjasi<sup>e</sup>nu' ga<sup>e</sup>lā'net' dila'us badū'- 8  
"Truly, | you shall indeed find it out." | She cried. | She is dead. | Hers come flying  
back home

k'itdisk' ai<sup>214</sup> k!uyu'l' ā't'uk'isk'i' dilauyau<sup>e</sup>gdisk!ô  
it | hair, | hers come blown back home. | "I shall surely have died

as' 'a't'uk'ie aidji k!uyule'li'dj widjā<sup>e</sup> adji gi'm'dji- 10  
if it is | be blown back home hither | the | my hair." | "Take it along | the (your) |  
tasseled buckskin skirt,

djiwaya'u aidji mā'hamiya'u p'auwa'tdja<sup>e</sup> aidju walé'<sup>e</sup>  
the (your) | fringed white-grass apron, | put it about your neck | the your | beada."

ā'ha t'ī'net' wait'u t'ī'net' ga'nnā' wak!unā'atdi<sup>e</sup> 12  
"Yes," | she said. | "Now," | she said, "Mother! | now stay!

k'ū'siwādj dīwa-i'dj wa<sup>e</sup>yū'sindj wak!unā'<sup>e</sup> wa'yu<sup>e</sup>ma'i-  
not you me shall | see me." | "I am afraid. | Stay! | I am afraid for you."

siwā'm<sup>e</sup> gais'inā' i'te'a'imagat' t'ini'gumau ga<sup>e</sup>lā'magat' 14  
"Father! | do not feel bad. | Just little bit | cry,

ts'igallā' 'ā'batdisi<sup>e</sup>nu gannā' k'ū'yaugummagat' ga<sup>e</sup>lā'<sup>e</sup>  
father! | you shall grow old. | Mother! | do not indeed | cry

dan<sup>e</sup>mau' asinu djits!u'tdja<sup>e</sup> k'ū'yaugum'dja nigi't'sa<sup>e</sup> 16  
much. | If you | see them eating, | do not ever | go off to next house,

asinu dé'wisa<sup>e</sup> aidj mo'yau djadjiduwaldimāga't'  
if you | see | there | food | pray hold your head bent down.

mā'sidjaha<sup>e</sup>nu' dj i'djat<sup>e</sup>wā'dj k'ū'handj gīma<sup>e</sup> dji 18  
You had happiness | the | your raising me. | Not I was | thinking | the

mauhandj a'uwīya'u<sup>e</sup>  
my formerly being about | to take husband."

<sup>214</sup> So heard. Should doubtless be aik' "her", k!uyu'l' "hair."

THE DROWNING OF YOUNG BUZZARD'S WIFE.<sup>215</sup>

(Buzzard's son said to his people,) "Now dig for roots! They are ripe already. Let us climb sugar pines. We shall move tomorrow and you will settle down there. Now I shall climb for sugar-pine nuts, they are ripe already. The people will all come there, and we shall settle down there where there is a nice spring. I think the people will come here. We shall wait for them." Many were the people that came together. (The chief said,) "Now let us climb for sugar-pine nuts, and take food along." (To the women he said,) "Now you will dig for tiger-lilies. Now procure food for yourselves. Probably you will not like to climb (sugar-pines). If you finish it, they will have food for themselves."

(They all went off to Silver Lake<sup>216</sup> to get sugar-pines nuts. Buzzard's son told his wife not to venture into the water, but when he was gone she said,) "I should like to go into the water there. Let me see! Let us go to drink." "Do not go to drink," (she was told). "Why should I be afraid? I shall go to drink." She saw logs bobbing up and down in the water. "Let me see!" she said. "I can swim across yonder to the west." They missed her and looked around. "Let me see!" she said, "I shall try it. I can swim out of the water." "You would not be able to swim out of the water," (she was told). She took off her skirt, (saying,) "I shall swim into the water. Just see me!" She swam to the west. They were many who saw her. Now she sank right between the logs. "I told you that before," (she was told). Her buckskin skirt and tassels beaded with pine nuts remained as she had left them. Then they cried. "Why is it that you are crying?" (Buzzard's Son asked them). "She is sinking." "I told you, 'Do not take her to the water!' It is your fault. It

<sup>215</sup> It is curious that in the telling Betty Brown left out all the names of the characters. It was only when the text was gone over for purposes of translation that it was found what animals she had in mind. The chief is Buzzard's son (*ma'ts!k'iliv'la*), his wife is an insect with long blue wings (*p'a'k!a'nma* perhaps Dragon Fly), her father is Woodpecker (*ts!urā'du*). The text is distressingly elliptical in narrative.

<sup>216</sup> The Yana name is *To'ā'p!ulxa*. It is situated about eight miles southeast of Round Mountain, at a height of approximately 3700 feet.

would have been good if I had been there myself. To think that I should have come here just for that! I shall stop (climbing for sugar-pine nuts). Let us look for her! Pray do so, to see if I can find her. Let us try it. She is a good girl." (He said to one,) "Run back to the people! They shall come here." He ran back, telling them to come. "Yes," they said. "Let me see!" he said, "I will try to save her." They drew off the water by means of a ditch. "You will probably not be able to draw it off, you will not draw off the water," (they said to him). "What, now, shall we do? Do you all clean out the ditch! I hardly think we shall be able to find her. We shall not find her. She must have sunk straight down, she must have sunk right between the two logs. That is a bad place."

They all went back home, parting from one another. Some stayed together right there. "No longer," (he said), "shall I procure winter food for myself. Now I have done with that. Alas! I was happy, I did not think that this would happen to me. Now I shall have done." "Why, pray," (her mother said to him,) "did you let her go off? You should have taken water while on your way. You were foolish." "I did not know. I should have gone with her, but she just ran off by herself. She should have told me, 'Let us go and drink.' She was angry. I am not good. My heart feels grieved." They all arrived home, they lay down in the ashes in the fireplace.<sup>217</sup> Also the men did so. Her people, those who had climbed for (sugar-pine nuts), cried. They piled the pine-nuts into the fire.<sup>218</sup>

(Before she had left, Buzzard's wife) had said, "Perhaps I shall not again enter the house. I dreamt that I was dying. Pray burn up all of these things." "I am afraid," (said her mother,) "of your speaking in that manner." "We shall probably be away two months climbing for (sugar-pine nuts)," (said her daughter,) "and I shall perhaps die. I shall not again enter my house." "I shall cry because you speak in that manner," (said her mother). "Truly, you shall indeed find it out." Her mother wept. Now she is dead. Her hair now comes flying back

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<sup>217</sup> As sign of mourning.

<sup>218</sup> It would have been unlucky to use them.

home. It comes blown back home. (She had said,) "I shall surely have died if my hair comes hither, blown back by the wind." "Take along with you," (said her mother,) "your tasseled buckskin skirt and your apron fringed with white grass. Put your beads about your neck." "Yes," she said. "Now, mother," she said, "good-bye!<sup>219</sup> You shall not see me again." "I am afraid," (said her mother). "Stay at home. I am afraid for you." "Father, do not feel bad. Just cry a little bit for me. You shall grow old. Mother! pray do not cry much. If you see people eating, do not go over to the next house. If you see food over there, pray hold your head down.<sup>220</sup> You were happy in raising me. I did not think before that I should take a husband."

## XII. COYOTE, HERON, AND LIZARD.

- nīda'pts!ie'<sup>221</sup> mausi ya'djabiyau t!u'ihala'ik'iea'  
 "All come together! | I shall be | moving north | day after to-morrow,
- 2 k!u'tdju'asindj 'adji'lyaxdjabiyauna' wīda'pts!ie aits'  
 I want it | camping out north to dance. | Get together | the  
 mō'yanu hala'ik'iea mausi mō'djabalyauna 'adji'leie  
 eating! | to-morrow | I shall be | eating before starting out. | Dance!
- 4 'anī'na<sup>e</sup>waip!a<sup>e</sup> a'dji'lyaruha<sup>e</sup>nigi' 'adji'lyaruha<sup>e</sup>nik' dja'u-  
 try it! | Let us go to camp out dancing, | let us go to camp out dancing | North coun-  
 try!  
 djāmi' mō'wanaiduha<sup>e</sup>nik' dā'si dāsi'tdik!uei' 'adji'let'  
 Let us go to eat theirs | salmon! | Perchance they are already fishing for salmon." |  
 They danced.
- 6 'anī'nawaip!a<sup>e</sup> 'adji'lsi<sup>e</sup>numa<sup>221</sup> ya't'bal<sup>e</sup> hanai'bak'iea'  
 "Try it! | You will dance. | Get ready to start | when it is daylight!
- ts!u'p<sup>e</sup> dji bū'ni ts!u'p<sup>e</sup> dji mī'yauna ts!u'p<sup>e</sup> dji  
 Make good | the (your) | feathers, | make good | the (your) | aprons fringed with  
 pine-nut shells bored longitudinally, | make good | the (your)
- 8 'ū'miyau ya'<sup>e</sup>djasinig ai e'p!a a'igidja 'adji'lsi<sup>e</sup>numa  
 aprons fringed with pine-nut shells bored laterally! | We shall rest over night | it |  
 O'p!a, | there | you will dance,

<sup>219</sup> The literal translation is, "Now stay!"

<sup>220</sup> *I.e.*, do not look on greedily when others eat.

<sup>221</sup> Note that the chief addresses all his people as though they were one man; the imperatives and 2nd per. futures are singulars.

'anī'na<sup>e</sup>waip!asi<sup>e</sup>numa a'igidjese` ts!upp!anna'imau p'adi`  
you will try it | at that (place) | being very good | place.

ô'te'asi<sup>e</sup>num a'igidjese` bêyu'si<sup>e</sup>numa` ê'ts!alsi<sup>e</sup>numa` 2  
You will dig for annis roots | at that (place), | you will take them along as food, | You  
will dig for 'damna' roots.

u's-ī'ribalm<sup>e</sup>gus<sup>e</sup>ê'nigi` wairu ya'na'idjabalsinigi` djêwit<sup>e</sup>-  
We shall remain there two nights. | Now | we shall start to move on farther, |  
Djêwit<sup>e</sup>' a'urik!u,

t'a'urik!u ī'da'lmadu<sup>222</sup> anī'na<sup>e</sup>waip!asinum a'igidjese` 4  
I'da'lmadu. | You will try it | at that (place).

gāma'isi<sup>e</sup>numa` gāma'iedjawaldisi<sup>e</sup>numa` gā'ma t'ī'ma<sup>e</sup>  
You will get sunflower seeds, | you will rest on ground and get sunflower seeds. |  
Sunflower seeds | they are wont to say

ai dja'udjabiyā` wairu ya'djāmi'net' babi'lmit<sup>e</sup>'in<sup>e</sup>t' ai 6  
they | North people." | Now | they proceeded north. | He had sent word all over | he

k!ūwī'l'

Lizard.

yā<sup>e</sup>'ats'inig a'igidjese` ts!up<sup>e</sup>dī'p!a<sup>e</sup>` bu<sup>e</sup>a'txanigi` 8  
"We shall proceed there | to that (place). | Make yourselves nice and clean! | let  
us dance to there!

burī'ei t'ī'psiwa<sup>e</sup>numa` ba'mu'isiwandja` burī'e aigidjese`  
'Dance!' | he has told you. | He has just sent for me, | 'Dance | to this (place)!'`

t'ī'psiwandja` burī'eatdī'net' gā<sup>e</sup>witdī'net' ts!up<sup>e</sup>s'ī' t'ī'net' 10  
he tells me." | They danced now, | he now shouted to them. | "It is good," | he said

ai k!ūwī'l' aits' lā'lagibana`um<sup>a</sup> aits' p'a'dibāna`um  
he | Lizard. | The | every sort of geese (people) | the | every place.

wawa'ldi<sup>e</sup> aigidjese' t'ī'net' ai k!ūwīl' mō'si<sup>e</sup>nu a'ī- 12  
"Be seated | in this (place)!" | he said | he | Lizard. | "You will eat | soon,"

misk'iea t'ī'net' 'adjī'lsi<sup>e</sup>nu<sup>223</sup> a'imisk'iea t'ī'net' apdjī-  
he said, | "you will dance | soon," | he said. | "My having been killed

hante' yā` bē'ēnite' ya'pbidjaima<sup>e</sup>a` gāyā'net' 'ā'ha 14  
person, | that is why I am | went to have good time." | He spoke, | "Yes,

bē'ēnite' nībi'lmai<sup>e</sup> aidjese` k!u'tdju<sup>e</sup>asinte' dji ya'pbi-  
that is what I | come for | this (place). | I like it | the | my having good time,

djaiyau<sup>e</sup>nidja aits' 'ama'idjits!gi k!u'tdju<sup>e</sup>as k' adjī'l- 16  
these | children | they like it | their | dancing

yauna k!uninte' bē mo'wadjuma<sup>e</sup>a` ts!upp!a'nnaisi  
and I | that is why | bring them here from south." | "It is very good,"

t'ī'net' ai k!ūwīl' k!u'tdju<sup>e</sup>asiwā<sup>e</sup>m dji dīwa'iwā<sup>e</sup>ma` 18  
he said | he | Lizard. | "I like you | the | my seeing you,"

<sup>222</sup> = "Bone place" from ī'da'lla "bone."

<sup>223</sup> 'adjī'lsi<sup>e</sup>num is probably more correct.

- t'ĩ'nɛt' ai da'ɪnanak'<sup>1</sup> badja'lmau mits!wa't'guruwa'i-  
he said | he | Goose (chief). | "Being large | I have sweat-house,
- 2 sindja'danɛma'una mō's dā'si' 'ō'nidumandja' 'adji'lsiɛnu  
much | they eat | salmon, | I am wont to go to get them. | You will dance  
ɛa'imisk'iea'  
soon."
- 4 nīp'a'uɛ p'uni'tɛi' djila'mɛmalsasiɛ aits' a'una k'luni  
"Go for it | kindling pitch! | it will give light | the | fire, | and  
mêt'alduwɛi'ɛ aits' yā' k' di'tdibilyau' 'é'xaimak!ala-  
do you (pl.) go to cut wood | these | people | their | cooking." | They all went off  
together
- 6 sanɛt'ê aik' p'uni'tɛiruya'u djuduna'umaɛ aigits'  
their | going to get kindling pitch. | "Give them as food | at the  
k!u's'ik! b'éyoɛxanuɛ gā'm<sup>a</sup>  
annis roots, | you have brought along as food | sunflower seeds."
- 8 ba'djībanɛt' a'igits' p'a'dibana'um<sup>a</sup> babilmits!inɛt'  
He had sent (his man) to have them come | at the | every place. | He sent word  
aigits' p'a'dibana'um<sup>a</sup> k'luninɛt' gōɛ ai mi'pk'a ma-  
at the | every place | and she was | hear about it | she | Heron | Woman.
- 10 ri'mɛ<sup>1</sup> k'luninɛt' djidjā'rup'aɛnum aits' dā's djama-  
And he (said), | "You should go to shoot them | the | salmon. | I desire to eat fresh  
salmon.  
ra'psindj te'ō'rimauɛnidj aits' ma'ls-ut'<sup>224</sup> t'ū'gumma-  
I always eating raw food | the | ma'ls-unna roots." | "I shall indeed do so,
- 12 sik!ō' dats!gi'ldugummasik!ō' djū'dutduha'inasienu' dā'-  
I shall indeed go to look into river. | You for your part will go to tap for gophers'  
roots, | I shall get salmon  
sisik!ō ha'la'ik'i  
to-morrow."
- 14 djidjā'nɛt' dats!gi'let' dīmā'ɛnaigunɛt' djiha'udjuɛ djamu'lwa'l'  
She shot her salmon spear, | she looked into river. | Suddenly it was | float from  
west | sucker.  
nīha'uɛ ai k!a' djadê<sup>225</sup> cibu'p'k!aima't'u dīmā'ɛnaigunɛt'  
"Go east | it | K!a' djadê', | Cibu'p'k!aimadu." | Suddenly it was
- 16 djīha'udjuɛ k'ū'sinte' k!u'tdjuɛā'mɛ dā'ts!gak'u'nte' djī-  
float from west. | "Not I am | I like you, | bones might get stuck in my throat. | Float  
east  
ha'uɛ ai sibu'p'k!aima't'u dīmā'ɛnaigunɛt' djīha'udjuɛ  
it | Sibup'k!aimadu." | Suddenly it was | float from west

<sup>224</sup> *Brodiaea grandiflora*, if *ma'ls-unna* can be identified with *ts'ūlmal-s-unna* (lit., "big *ma'ls-unna* root").

<sup>225</sup> *K!a' djadê'* is the Achomawi (Pit River) name of the place, *Cibu'p'k!aimadu* ("sandstone place" from *cibu'p'k!aina* "sandstone rock") the Yana name.



- aits' dā's djū'net' aigi dā's djiha'udjut'imainet' k'lu-  
the | salmon. | She | speared | at it | salmon. | Again one floated from west | and  
she was  
nunet' ô'maidjagutdi<sup>e</sup> yū'eatdinet'ê<sup>ea</sup> wair<sup>u</sup> djo'k'a'u- 2  
cease. | Now she built fire. | Now | she finished cutting it open.
- eatdinet' wair<sup>u</sup> mô'watdinet' ai'+p!itsak'i wê'duwal-  
Now | she put it on fire. | When some time had elapsed | she took it off again
- sanet' k' bīnā'yauyau aigits' dā's mô'eatdinet' ts!op'ehalili- 4  
her | eating salmon dipped into acorn mush | to the | salmon. | She finished eating it. |  
She put remains away (into basket) and covered it up nice and smooth.
- wa'lsanet'ê' k'ū'yaugummagat' 'u'ls'a<sup>e226</sup> u'lmak!<sup>226</sup> ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup>  
"Pray do not | smell! | He might smell it | he | Coyote."
- ts!o'p'exaliliwa'lsanet'ê' wair<sup>u</sup> wê'eatdinet' ai gi'lm'djidji- 6  
She put remains away covering them up nice and smooth. | Now | she braided tassels |  
it | tasseled buckskin skirt.
- waya'u bu'ls ēiyuya'unet'ê' eaik' wē'yau dē'k!aunet'ê'  
It is three | she had days | her | braiding, | she finished
- k'<sup>u</sup> wē'yau mā'hamiya'u<sup>227</sup> wagaya'u p'ilô'l'<sup>u</sup> i'ls'u' 8  
her | braiding | apron of white mā'ha grass, | twining | tule basket-cap | willow  
basket-cap.
- ê' bāwisatdinet' i'k'idit'k'iyau eai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> alala'i k'  
(ê' is untranslated) | It was already dark | coming back home with bruised legs |  
he | Coyote, | ugly | his
- t'i'pp!amau b'i'wi'ēinigu'e'amau 'adū'ēanm'djanet' bā'wisak'i 10  
appearance | being all covered with mud. | She was accustomed to come back home  
when it was dark
- gīsiya'umats' ai mi'pk!a mari'm<sup>e1</sup> p'ô'wawaiyau, k'  
being always satiated | she | Heron | Woman. | Baking | his
- ma'ls'ut' k' k!u's'ik!<sup>1</sup> k' da'udiya'u tē'ô'p'anum ai 12  
ma'ls'unna roots | his | annis roots, | his | picking out big roots, | "You should eat  
(raw food) | them
- k!u's'ik!<sup>1</sup> k'ū'sinte' k!u'tdjo<sup>e</sup> aidji mô'yauenite' t'im'djanet'  
annis roots." | "Not I | like | the | my eating them," | she used to say
- ai mi'pk!a mari'm<sup>e1</sup> tē'ô'ē aigidja eaidji nite'i'nē- 14  
she | Heron | Woman. | "Eat raw food | here | the (my) | (roots) gone for far off!
- ma'u atē'i'mah aigits' k'u tē'ô'ēnu atē'i'mamat' aidji  
What is | at the | not | your eating raw food! | What always may be | the (your)
- ma'w 16  
that is eaten?"
- t'ū't'p'aut'imainet' 'a'gi'tsanet' k!ununet' t'ū'winiguē  
She did for herself again so, | she went off early | and she was | do as before
- ai mi'pk!a mari'm<sup>e1</sup> dā's'itp'auwinigunet' daumila'u'- 18  
she | Heron | Woman, | she as before got salmon for herself. | She caused four to get  
out (of water) for good.

<sup>226</sup> 'ulsa- "to smell" (intrans.); 'ulma- "to smell" (trans.).

<sup>227</sup> mā'ha, used also as white overlay in basketry, is doubtless *Xerophyllum tenax*.

- banet'ê wair<sup>u</sup> môrinet'ê aik' nô'yiya'u<sup>228</sup> nô'yim'dja-  
Now | she put them down (on rocks) | her | drying pounded red flesh of salmon. | She  
used to dry pounded red flesh of salmon,
- 2 net' ts!o'p'exaliliduwalsam'djanet'ê k'ũ'yaugummagat' u'l-  
she used to put remains away and clean up smooth again. | "Pray do not | smell!"  
s'a<sup>e</sup> t'ĩ'net' ma'ielamak!uwaenu' dīmā'enaigunet' nidū'k'ie  
she said, | "he might transgress your taboo." | Suddenly he was | come back home
- 4 ai mīts! bā'wisak'i 'a'ik!usinte' t'ĩ'net' mi'pk!a ma-  
he | Coyote | when it was dark. | "I feel sick," | she said | Heron | Woman,  
ri'm<sup>e</sup>! maimu'k!usiwante' ā' t'ĩ'net' ai mīts! bē'ya-  
"I have toothache." | "Yes!" | he said | he | Coyote. | "When is
- 6 mat' aidji 'a'ik!uya'u xa'da'iwausinte' k'unindj 'a'ik!u-  
the (your) | being sick!" | "I was dreaming | and I am | be always sick."  
ma<sup>e</sup> ate'imat' aidji xa'da'ip'auw xa'da'iwau<sup>e</sup>aiguyaun-  
"What may be | the (your) | that was dreamt of?" | "My myself dreaming of (some-  
thing)."
- 8 ite' t'ĩ'net' aits' mi'pk!a mari'm<sup>e</sup>! mā'gadjas dji  
she said | the | Heron | woman. | "It is swollen | the (my)  
ba'l' ā' t'ĩ'net' ai mits! maimu'k!usiwa'nte' ā'laum'-  
cheeks." | "Yes!" | he said | he | Coyote. | "I have toothache. | Keep digging up
- 10 dja<sup>e</sup> ai te'il'awau yaili'lp'ausēwā'te' t'ũgu'mmasik!ô'  
them | te'il'awau<sup>e</sup> roots, | you will put them, when pounded up, on my (cheeks)."  
"Indeed I shall do so."  
te'ôp'a<sup>e</sup>num ai ma'elā'mau mô'elasinte' ai ma'lsut'  
You should eat (raw food) | them | baked roots, | I have baked | them | ma'ls'unna  
roots."
- 12 o'pdjim'djanet' aigits' k!a'ite'ik! aigits' ma'tts!aute'<sup>u</sup> o'p-  
He used to kill | to the | ground squirrels, | to the | gophers | he used to kill,  
djim'djanet' aigits' 'ê'k'ilaiā' o'pdjim'djanet' é'wull'et'  
to the | moles | he used to kill. | She put in (her cheeks)
- 14 aigi 'amā'l' mā'gadjasinte' t'ĩ'net' k'ūsinte' xô'sa<sup>e</sup> bô'-  
to them | raw acorns. | "My cheeks are swollen," | she said. | "I am not | swallow. |  
You should put into water  
djats!gi'lp'a<sup>e</sup>nu mala'memak!ai k'u'nip'andj s'ĩ<sup>e</sup>! mā'-  
hot rocks | and I would | drink. | It is swollen
- 16 gadjas aidji xô'sayaueni'te' nidū'sk'isik!ô bā'wisak'i  
the | my throat." | "I shall come back home | when it is dark,"  
t'ĩ'net' ai mīts! k'ũ'yaugummagat<sup>e</sup> nidū'k'ie bā'wi-  
he said | he | Coyote. | "Pray do not | come back home | when it is dark,
- 18 sak'i nidū'k'imuigummagat'<sup>e</sup> p'aūsamau nīb'ilmante'  
pray come back home earlier." | "Being far distant | I am accustomed to go about."  
t'ũ't'imainet' ai mi'pk!<sup>a</sup> lu'idamet' aik' amā'l'  
Again she did | she | Heron. | She took out of (her mouth) | her | raw acorns,

<sup>228</sup> Cf. *na'yi*, "red part of salmon flesh pounded up fine."

- é'duwaldinet' aik' muru'ldimau dā'sit'imainet' djê'mal-  
she put them back on ground | her | lying-down place. | Again she got salmon. | She  
caused five to come out (of water) for good
- la'u'banet'ê` k'uninet' mō're<sup>a</sup> k' nō'yiyau<sup>eat</sup> k'ū'da- 2  
and she was | put on rocks to roast | her | having pounded up red flesh of salmon. |  
Not ever perhaps was she
- ma'im'djanet' djō'dunau gi dā's k'ū'm'djanet' djō'du-  
give food to him | with | salmon, | not ever was she | give food to him.
- na'u t'ū'tp'aut'imainet' bā'wisak'i badja'lmau 'adji'let' 4  
Again she did so for herself | when it was dark. | Greatly | they were dancing
- aits yā` buls basī'yau<sup>eat</sup>atdit'ê` k' 'adji'lyau ma'usinte'  
the | people. | "It is three | they have made nights, they say, | their | dancing. | I  
shall be
- p'it!a'lyau ma'usinte' p'it!a'lyau t'i'net' k' gawī'te'ui- 6  
bursting (in cheeks), | I shall be | bursting," she said | her | always speaking falsely.
- djuya'u ts!u'ps<sup>ie</sup> asinu p'it!a'le' 'a'nī maus 'adji'l-  
"It will be good | if you | burst." | "Let me see! | I shall be | going to stay out danc-  
ing,"
- yaruyau t'i'net' wē'walmim'djanet' aik' djuwā'yau 8  
she said. | She always took it in secret | her | skirt
- gi'lm'djidjuwayau k'ū'yau<sup>gummagat</sup> dīwa'ip!a<sup>e</sup> basā'-  
buckskin skirt tasseled with mā'ha grass. | "Pray do not | be seen!" | She now ran  
off
- eatdinet' basā'k'i k' 'adji'lyaruya'u k'ū'yau<sup>gummagat</sup> 10  
at night | her | going to stay over night and dance. | "Pray do not
- yū<sup>ea</sup> t'i'net' 'a'ik!umagat'<sup>ea</sup> aidji t'ū'mante' mi't!ā'm-  
build fire!" | she said. | "Pray be sick | the | my always doing, | pray groan,
- māgat'<sup>ea</sup> yū'm'djamāgat' xana'ibak'i 'asā'<sup>eat</sup>atdinet' sa'p- 12  
pray always build fire | when it is daylight." | She now went off | keeping on sleeping
- sīya'umadj ai mits! 'adji'lmap!ayau<sup>eat</sup>t' bē' ts!ome-  
he | Coyote, | she now dancing with them. | "It is she who is | make well down on  
ground
- malde<sup>e</sup> aik'i mi'ts!i k' ê'nite'i` 14  
she coming | Coyote | his widow."
- xa'la'ibitdjayauk'i badū'te!ôm'djanet' 'i'duwulet' aik'  
When being about to be daybreak | she always ran back home east along river. |  
She went back into house | her
- wa'w<sup>i</sup> ê'duwulet' aik' ba'lmat'<sup>u</sup> muru'lduwaldi- 16  
house, | she put (acorns) in again | her | mouth-place, | she lay down on ground  
again.
- net' bē'ma<sup>awaranu</sup>egā` nīsā'<sup>eat</sup>diwara<sup>enumā</sup>` yū'm'-  
"It has been you, has it not? | have you gone away already? | Come and build fire for  
me!
- djap'au<sup>ea</sup>'te' hā'te!itsinte' 'e'' t'i'net' ai mits! sa'ps- 18  
I feel cold." | "Heh!" | he said | he | Coyote, | "I have been sleeping soundly."
- dadjawardja` djīdji'nnibalet' mīni'tp'auk!arāte' djī  
He arose and scurried about working. | "Do look at me | the (my)

- bal' t'í'net' ai ma'gadjax maus p'it!a'lyau k'ū'k!u-  
 cheeks!" | she said, | "it | that was swelling | it will be | bursting." | "Not perchance,  
 is it not, you
- 2 nugā gô<sup>e</sup> aits' yā k' 'adji'lyau badja'lmau 'a-  
 hear | the | people | their | dancing!" | Greatly | he was dancing
- dji'let' ai k!ūwi'l' ā' t'í'net' k'ū'sinte' gô'damaie  
 he | Lizard. | "Yes!" | she said, | "not I | hear perhaps,"
- 4 t'í'net' k'ū'dama'ima 'a'rk'ie kū'sinte' gô<sup>e</sup> t'í'net'  
 she said. | "Not perhaps here they | come. | Not I | hear," | she said
- ai mi'pk!a mari'm<sup>e</sup>  
 she | Heron | Woman.
- 6 nīsā'winigunet' ai mi'ts! k' djū'dutduya'u k'u'mau  
 As before he went off | he | Coyote | his | going to tap for gophers' roots | <sup>not</sup>  
 being
- wak!unēā'mau wai<sup>ra</sup> 'adji'lyarut'imainet' ai mari'm<sup>e</sup>  
 staying home. | Now | she again went to stay over night to dance | she | woman.
- 8 wai<sup>ra</sup> dē'djibanet' ai mits! bē' ts!om<sup>e</sup>maldie aik'i  
 Now | he found it out | he | Coyote. | "It is she who is | make well down on ground |  
 she coming
- mits!i k' ē'niti' i' wadja'isiwante' dji djē'yau<sup>e</sup>nidja  
 Coyote | his | widow." | "Th! | they are calling me | the | my name,"
- 10 t'í'net' mits!i t'í'si t'í'net' ā'ha ts!u'ps t'í'net' ai  
 he said | Coyote. | "He says it," | he said. | "Yes, | it is good," | he said | he
- mits!i wai<sup>e</sup>ma'ip!ak!unu<sup>e</sup> bē' gī'ma<sup>e</sup> u<sup>e</sup>nite' gī'ma<sup>e</sup>ma'uyā  
 Coyote. | "Perchance you imagine that you are | one who is | be sensible. | I am |  
 being-sensible person,
- 12 u<sup>e</sup>nite' badja'lmauyā nīs-ā'eatdin<sup>e</sup>t' xana'ibak'i k'ū'si-  
 I am | being-great person." | Now he went off | when it was daylight. | "Not you me
- wāte' 'a'lts'di'ts' t'ūha'rtgushada<sup>e</sup>nuga k'itdi<sup>e</sup> dji'dji-  
 you throw me away! | So that is why, is it not? you merely do | reject food! | I run  
 about all over
- 14 basindj aits' p'a'dibanaum<sup>a</sup> 'i'diyau<sup>e</sup>nite' aits' mō'yau  
 the | every place | my looking for it | the | eating.
- k'ū'yaugus-ī'nā k!u'nmiyau<sup>e</sup> k!uni<sup>e</sup>nu k'itdi<sup>e</sup> wai<sup>e</sup>ma'ip!a-  
 'Let her not | be hungry!' | and you | reject it. | Perchance you think you are
- 16 k!unu<sup>e</sup> bē' 'a't'gī'm'yau<sup>e</sup> u<sup>e</sup>nite' 'u'lts'dip!amauyā  
 one who is | have much sense. | I am | beating-out person
- u'lts'dip!amau<sup>e</sup>nite'yā dji <sup>e</sup>umā'mudjaup!ā badja'lmau  
 I beating-out person | the (my) | brother-chief. | Greatly
- 18 'a'rgim'yauma'u<sup>e</sup>nite'yā k'ū'si<sup>e</sup>nu mā'sidja<sup>e</sup> nīs-ā'eatdin<sup>e</sup>t'  
 I having-much-sense person. | You will not | rejoice." | Now he went off
- ai mits!  
 he | Coyote.

- 'iwa'iruyauna t'í'net' ai k'ūwi'l' nīdū'k'imuigusi-  
 "I shall go to get wood," | he said | he | Lizard. | "I shall soon come back home,"
- k'ôea' t'í'net' ai k'ūwi'l' ts'lupp!a'nnaih ai p'uni'tei 2  
 he said | he | Lizard. | "It was very good | it | pitch wood."
- nīwa'unet' dett!a'let' ai k'ūwil' gi p'uni'tei dīmā'-  
 He went for it, | he split it up fine | he | Lizard | at | pitch wood. | Suddenly he was
- enaigunet' djawā'riewadjuε ai mi'ts!i gaēlā'net' t'a'pp!a- 4  
 come crying down hill from south | he | Coyote, | he wept. | "It seems to be, is it not?"
- sinā mi'ts!i t'í'net' ai k'ūwi'l' bēk'lunu mēt!alε  
 Coyote," | he said | he | Lizard. | "Perchance it is you who | chop wood,"
- t'í'net' 'ā'ha bē'εnite' 'adji!ε t'í'net' 'a'nmits!imau 6  
 he said. | "Yes, | it is I who | dance," | he said. | "Being many together
- aits' yā' a'igidja t'í'net' ai k'ūwi'l' babilmits!isinte'  
 the | people | here," | he said | he | Lizard. | "I have sent word all over
- aits' p'a'dibanaum aits' yā'banaum<sup>a</sup> t'í'net' bē'εnite' 8  
 the | every place | the | every people," | he said. | "It is I who
- 'adū'kimai<sup>229</sup> aidja t'í'net' aits' 'u'tsk'iyup! a'its'  
 come back | here," | he said, | "the | orphan child | this here,
- apdji'nεhawāε aidji wak!a'lp!ayauεnite' ā'' t'í'net' ai 10  
 he has been killed | the | my husband." | "Yes!" | he said | he
- k'ūwi'l' é' diti'mmariduriyau t'ísinte' nagunte' 'adū'-  
 Lizard. | "Well! | I shall go down to help them," | I say, | therefore I | come back
- k'ie aits' p'ad a'ite' biri'εmamat' aidju nīdu'm'dja- 12  
 this | place | here. | Whereto may be | the your | that (you) are wont to go back  
 home!"
- mauw nīduri'djammandj aits' 'εp'εdjilet' aigi p'u-  
 "I am accustomed to go back down hill north | this way." | He tied around it | to  
 it | pitch wood
- nī'te! k' oro'kk'! s'í'lgiya'u mīdja's t'í'net' ai k'ū. 14  
 his | rope made of tε'ilha'imadu<sup>230</sup> | rope made of bā'ni-bark strands. | "It is heavy,"  
 he said | he | Lizard.
- wi'l' k'ū'ma t'ūε a'igeεε t'í'net' maus' djū'bayaum<sup>εa</sup>  
 "Not it is wont | to do | in that way," | he said. | "I shall | push it on to you.
- mīdjasī' t'í'net' gana'xgaimaεa atε'í'mak' aik' t'ū'wa 16  
 It is heavy," | he said. | "It is wont to be light. | What is its | its | that it does?"
- t'í'net' wā'k'dibile ai εi'p'u 'ibā'k!apte djīts'dja'isa-  
 he said. | "Stand | it | in front! | pull me to yourself!" | "I might fall,"
- k'unte' t'í'net' ai mīts!i djū'baguya'um<sup>εa</sup> k'uninet' 18  
 he said | he | Coyote, | "I shall just push it on to you." | And he was

<sup>229</sup> Observe that Coyote speaks as woman (verb stem 'a- "woman goes," ni- "man goes").

<sup>230</sup> "Indian hay" was the term Betty Brown used to translate tε'il-ha'imadu, a high grass growing along the shores of Pit River.

- djô'ba<sup>e</sup> ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> mits!s'ā'gadak'iyau gidji gayā'yau  
push it on to him | he | Coyote. | "Let me be done with it | at the (my) | talking!"
- 2 t'ū'net' ai k!ūwil' yadak!a'u'dik!amnetê' 'i'wagit' dila'u-  
He did so | he | Lizard. | He had his veins cut through | knees, | now he did  
eatdin<sup>t</sup> ai k!ūwi'l'  
he | Lizard.
- 4 'ā'ha ma'us-iwā<sup>e</sup>m t'ū'awā<sup>e</sup>mg a'ige k!uninet' 'é'ma-  
"Yes! | I shall you | I do to you (pl.) | in that way." | And he was | take off  
his skin from him  
re'dilau<sup>e</sup> k!uninet' t'ū'haina<sup>e</sup> 'i'duwulmagar aidji wa-  
and he was | do like him. | "Pray go back into house | the | our past house!
- 6 wī'hasnigi<sup>n</sup> as mau yū'p'aup!a'ayauna 'i'wuldumagara<sup>s</sup>  
If she | will be | having fire made for her, | pray go and enter house!  
yū'p'aumāgara<sup>e</sup> as mau was'it'p!ayauna walilelimā'-  
make fire for her! | If she | will be | having poultice put on her, | pray put poultice  
on each cheek."
- 8 gara<sup>e</sup> k!uninet' t'ū'el' mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> k' ci<sup>n</sup> wô'es'in<sup>t</sup> aigi  
And it was | do so | Coyote | his | penis, | it put poultices on her | to her  
mī'pk!<sup>a</sup> wair<sup>n</sup> 'i'wā'ibal<sup>e</sup>atdin<sup>t</sup> ai mits!<sup>1</sup> aik' basī'-  
Heron. | Now | he already took up wood and packed it | he | Coyote, | his | former  
flesh
- 10 k'iax 'i'marin<sup>t</sup> aigi k!ūwi'l' nīduri'djapeatdin<sup>t</sup>  
he put it on himself | at him | Lizard. | He now went back home down hill north.  
nīdū'k'itdis ai mūdja'up!ā 'i'wā'irux needja'idurin<sup>t</sup>  
"He has come back home | he | chief, | he was out to get wood." | He put his  
feet on top of ladder
- 12 aigi wa't'guruw k!uninet' 'i'wā'iduwaldi<sup>e</sup> wair<sup>n</sup> k!uni-  
at it | sweat-house | and he was | go down and put wood down on ground. | Now |  
and he was  
net' 'i'duwul<sup>e</sup> dā'laute'uin<sup>t</sup>êwa xa<sup>n</sup> mi'tts'in<sup>t</sup>ê<sup>n</sup> mi'-  
go back into house. | Water was poured forth on his face | water, | he blinked. | "It  
must be Coyote
- 14 ts!ixar a'idje mi'tts!i<sup>e</sup>a's<sup>231</sup> 'adji'lmuigusien<sup>u</sup> t'i'net'  
that one, | be blinks." | "You will dance soon," | he said.  
k!ā'rutsindja<sup>n</sup> dji gā'wi'edimauna<sup>n</sup> s'ā'dipsimuigusien<sup>u</sup>gā<sup>n</sup>  
"I am sore-throated | the (my) | always shouting. | You will all soon sleep,
- 16 'adji'lwi<sup>e</sup>i t'i'net' dīmā'enaigun<sup>t</sup> 'ak'ik' aik' é'nit<sup>e</sup>  
do you all dance!" | he said. | Just then she was | come his | his | widow.  
a'mm<sup>232</sup> t'ū'gummasien<sup>u</sup> wa'm'gummasien<sup>u</sup>233 t'i'net'  
"Amm! | Indeed you will do so, | indeed you will live," | he said.

<sup>231</sup> One is almost tempted to believe, though probably incorrectly, that there is an intentional pun involved here: *mi'tts!i<sup>e</sup>as* "he blinks," *mi'tts!i<sup>e</sup>as* "he is coyote."

<sup>232</sup> Expressive of suppressed anger or displeasure.

<sup>233</sup> These two words are difficult of adequate translation. The idea conveyed is: "You may think that you will live, but I shall treat you like the rest of the people (i.e., I shall kill you)."

- dji s'ap'li'ea'is'e'awā'te'gā' 'ê 'ê' bê ts!om'ema'ldi' aik'ia  
 "The | your covering up my knowledge with sleep, is it not? | Hêhê! | It is she who  
 is | do well down on ground | she coming  
 mi'ts!i k' wak!a'lp!ayauna s'ā'dips'imuigus'ienuma t'i'n'et' 2  
 Coyote | his | wife! | Soon you will all sleep," | he said,
- 'adj'i'ls'ienu iyū'ik'iea hala'ik'iea' bā'wis'iea'idis'ienuma  
 "you will dance | in daytime | to-morrow, | you will dance till nightfall."  
 s'ā'dips'itdin'et' aidji 'iwi'ls'apts!'! s'ā'dips'iyau p'et'- 4  
 They were all sleeping now | the | across one another | all sleeping | all snoring.
- gā'eyau p'u'llai'atdin'et' ai mi'ts!' aigi wa't'guruw  
 Now he smeared pitch on it | he | Coyote | at it | sweat-house,  
 p'u'llaidjiban'et' aik' lalū'wk'i pu'llain'et' aigits' yā' 6  
 everywhere he smeared pitch on them | their | feet, | he smeared pitch on them | to  
 the | people.
- k'ū'yaugummagat' ba'tdiduwa'lsa'ea' wair'u 'i'ram'et' ai  
 "Pray do not | run out and save yourselves!" | Now | he ran out of house | he  
 mits!' ya'm'djatdin'et' aite' yā' aits' wa't'guruw 8  
 Coyote. | Now they burned up | the | people | the | sweat-house.
- t'ū'ma'nindj aidje' asindj mīk!a'ie' wair'u dit'bi'lp'au'e  
 "I have always been wont to do | that | if I am | be angry. | Now | cook for him  
 aidji ts!a'xā'ea'is' k'un ts!ups' a'idji t'ū'yauna t'i'- 10  
 the (your) | loved one | and | it is good | the (my) | doing," | he said.
- net' t'ū'yaumahanu'egā na k'i'tdi' dji nite'i'tp'auwā'ema  
 "So your doing thus, is it not? | therefore | reject food. | The | my going far off to  
 get roots for you  
 dji k'i'tdiya'u 12  
 the (your) | rejecting it."
- ba'idat!una'iduwalsagun'et' ai p'ubi'l' umā'ē ai  
 Only one saved himself | he | Duck, | is with him | he  
 lā'lak'<sup>1</sup> ya'babaman aits' lā'lak'<sup>1</sup> yawi'lm'dimau 14  
 Goose | all burnt | the | Goosa | burnt off on one side.
- k'unin'et' dat'p'a'lts!gil'et'<sup>234</sup> aigite' āk!ā'lil'e' t'ū'wini-  
 And he was | he walked flat on his feet into water | to the | lake. | So also he did  
 gun'et' ai p'ubi'l' wa'irumuinanā' at'e'i'gadagu<sup>235</sup> dji 16  
 he | Duck. | "Just now, is it not? | What, pray, could be the  
 t'ūma'i'ewawenigi' umā'ē aits' k'a'ite'ik!'! dā'ridjuwa-  
 his doing to us!" | Is with them | the | ground squirrel | gray squirrel also.
- t'imai bir'i'h adji 'ea'nmidienigi' t'i'n'et' asinte' 'i'du- 18  
 "Where is | the | our going to?" | they said. | "If I | get up again,  
 bal'e nidu'rp'ayauna k'ū'sp'awarante' gō'ē' k'ū'yaugu  
 I shall go back south. | I should not have been | hear." | "Do not

<sup>234</sup> After *k'unin'et'* we should have tenseless form *dat'p'a'lts!gil'e'*.

<sup>235</sup> Doubtless misheard for *at'e'i'gadaku*.

- t'īe a'igidjēe t'ī'net' ai p'ubi'l' nītc'ī'tdjapēi aidji ēīte'ī't-  
say | in that way!" | he said | he | Duck. | "Go straight north | the | far north!
- 2 djāmi ēī'na'idjate'itdjāmi nītc'ī'tdjapēi mausi gīma-  
still farther north | go straight north! | I shall be | thinking it out,"  
ya'una t'ī'net' a'nī nīha'uē aits' djō<sup>236</sup> t'ī'net' k!uni  
he said. | "Let me see! | Go east | the | Hat Creek Indians!" | he said, | "and
- 4 nīha'uē aidj īwī'ldjābiyā<sup>237</sup> k!uni nīha'uē aidj i't'a'u-  
go east | the | across-river-north people | and | go east | the | people of I't'a'uriku!  
rik'uyā nīwī'lt'p'aē ai s'uk!ō'niyā t'ī'net' nīha'uē  
Go across south | them. | S'uk!ō'niyā," | he said, | "go east
- 6 aite' 'ī'laurimaut'u'i t'ū'hainamadjayauna t'ī'net' ai  
the | rising-sun place. | I also shall be accustomed to do so," | he said | he  
lā'lak'ī ai k'uru'l' nītc'ī'tdjāmiyauna t'ū'yausgusik!u-  
Goose | he Crane, | "I shall go straight north. | I never supposed I should do
- 8 warandj aidjēe djī yu'rtgunaiyau dji mō'yauna  
that | the (my) | being perfectly contented | the (my) | eating,  
t'ū'yausgusik!uwarandj aidjēe' p'it!wa'ldisiei t'ī'net'  
I never supposed I should do | that. | (Meteor) will fall down and burst," | he said,
- 10 k!unus p'ī'tēbale ai xa'na k!unus t'ū'ē aigi ts!a'um'-  
"and it will | boil up | it | water | and it will | do so | at it | down river west.  
dji 'ī'muimarip!asiē' as' 'a'ik!utte!atē' a'ienum ai  
They will lie down in them | if they are | be sick in any way. | You | he (who)
- 12 'ī'ne'na'idjusienuma a'ienum ai babī'lsienuma aigits'  
you will always look around for food, | you | he (who) | will run about | at the  
s:ite'ī'tēiwi te'ī'witēte!a'usienuma' gīs'īs:ienuma' a'igidja  
yellow pines, | you will get yellow-pine nuts, | you will be satiated. | Here
- 14 mits!p'adī'sik!ō'ea' t'ūsik!ō'ē ī'gamna aigu wacū'p't'ī<sup>238</sup>  
I shall have (my) place. | I shall do so | across river from here | at it | Wacū'p't'ī  
ts!um'ēma'u p'ad a'idjēe' dīwī'ldjapsiē ai bō'ra ea'i-  
being good | place | that. | It will go across river north | it | bridge | in that (place),
- 16 gidjēe' dīrī'p!ox t'ī'psiwaa' as' djīmadi'bilei p'ū'djat-  
Dīrī'p!oha | it will be called. | If it is | be heard about all over, | 'Let us go to bathe  
duxanig ai dīrī'p!ox t'ī'siē aits' yā' t!linī'gumau  
it | Dīrī'p!oha,' | they will say | the | people. | Slightly
- 18 yari'p!asiē wacū'p'di t'ū'siē ai ēī'gamna wala'usiē  
it will be hot | Wacū'p'di, | it will do so | it | across river from here. | They will grow

<sup>236</sup> Contracted from *djuhau(na)*, "dwelling east."<sup>237</sup> Term for Achomawi Indians of Fall River, a northern tributary of Pit River.<sup>238</sup> = "Digging-stick place" (*wa'cu* "digging-stick" and *p'a'di* "place").



aits' ba't'gu ɛa'igidjese wala'us'ie mū't!s'u<sup>239</sup> ma'l-  
 the | wild plums | in that (place). | they will grow | mū't!s'u roots | mals'unna roots.  
 s'unna dji'dja'ps'ie ai dā'si galā' dji'dja'ps'ie 2  
 They will float north | they | salmon, | trout | they will float north.

COYOTE, HERON, AND LIZARD.<sup>240</sup>

“Do you all come together! I intend to move north the day after tomorrow; I want to camp out for a dance in the north. Get food together! Tomorrow we shall eat before starting out. Dance! Try it now! Let us go to camp out for a dance, let us go out to camp in the north country. Let us go to eat their salmon. They must be getting salmon already.” (Thus spoke the chief of the Geese people.) They danced. “Try it! You are going to have a dance. Get ready to start when it is daylight! Get ready your feathers, get ready your aprons fringed with pine-nut shells. Get ready your ‘ūmi-yauna aprons.<sup>241</sup> What shall stay over night at Cī'p!a;<sup>242</sup> you will have a dance there, you will practice there, as it is a very good place. You will dig for annis roots at that place, and you will take them along as food. You will dig also for *da'mna* roots. There we shall remain for two nights. After that we shall start to move along ahead to Djêwit'et'a'urik!u<sup>243</sup> and to I'da'lmađu.<sup>244</sup> There you will practice dancing and will get sunflower seeds. You will rest there and gather sunflower seeds, for the North people<sup>245</sup> are very fond of sunflower seeds.” Now they proceeded

<sup>239</sup> This word was translated as “dju'pp'a roots” (*Eulophus pringlei*).

<sup>240</sup> The account of the visit of the Geese people to Lizard at Big Bend (of Pit River) bears considerable resemblance to Sam Bat'wi's account of their visit to Flint Rock at Mount Shasta (see note 67). Heron's deception of her husband Coyote is paralleled by Sam's story of “Coyote and his Sister” (see note 152).

<sup>241</sup> See translations of *mī'yauna* and ‘ūmiyau in Indian text (p. 142, ll. 7, 8).

<sup>242</sup> See note 51.

<sup>243</sup> The gari'ei form of *Djêwint'et'a'urik!u* (see note 201).

<sup>244</sup> See note 200.

<sup>245</sup> By *dja'udjabiyā*, “North people,” are here meant those that correspond to the later Achomā'wi or Pit River Indians of Big Bend. By Big Bend is meant the land enclosed on the south by Pit River as it takes a sweep to the north and south between long. 122° 50' and 122°.

to the north. It was Lizard<sup>246</sup> who had sent word for all the people to come to a dance.

(When they had come near to the north country, the chief said,) "We shall move to yonder place. Make yourselves nice and clean! Let us dance up to there! Lizard has sent word to you, 'Dance!' He has just sent for me, and ha stold me, 'Dance up to here!'" They started in dancing now, while Lizard shouted encouragingly to them. "It is good," said Lizard. There were all sorts of Geese people there from every place. "Be seated here!" said Lizard. "You will eat soon," he said. "Soon you will have a dance. I have killed a person, that is why I am having a good time." (The chief of the Geese people) spoke in reply, "Yes, that is why I have come hither. I like to have a good time. These children like to have a dance, and that is why I have brought them hither from the south." "It is very good," said Lizard. "I rejoice to see you," said the chief of the Geese people. (Lizard said,) "I have a large sweat-house; they will have much salmon to eat, for I am wont to catch them. Soon you will have a dance."

(Lizard said to his people,) "Go for some kindling wood, so that we may have a fire to give light. Do you people cut wood, so that these people may cook." They all went off together to get kindling wood. (The chief of the Geese said to his people,) "Give them annis roots as food, you have brought along sunflower seeds."

Lizard had sent word to every place. He had sent all over for people to come to his dance, and Heron Woman heard about it. (Coyote, her husband, said to her,) "You should go to spear salmon, I should like to eat some fresh salmon. I am always eating *ma'ls-uvna* roots." "Yes, indeed I shall do so. I shall go to the river to look for salmon. You, for your part, will go to tap around for gophers' holes, while I go tomorrow to get salmon."

She held her salmon spear and looked into the river, waiting

<sup>246</sup> The lizard (*k!uwi'lla*) of this myth is not the small species (*k!a'l-ts!auna*) of Nos. v and vi. He was described as a big, brown, long-tailed animal, whose bite is not poisonous. The name is given by Curtin (*op. cit.*, p. 313) as *Gowila*.

for salmon. All at once a sucker came swimming from the west. "Go on east to K!a'djadê,<sup>247</sup> to Cibu'p'k!aimadu."<sup>247</sup> Soon another sucker came swimming from the west. "I do not like you," (she said,) "your bones might get stuck in my throat. Swim on east to Cibu'p'k!aimadu." All at once a salmon came swimming from the west. She speared the salmon. Then another one came swimming from the west and, (after spearing it,) she ceased. Now she built a fire and cut open the salmon. Then she put it on the fire to roast. After some time she took it off again and ate the salmon, dipping it into acorn mush. When she had finished eating she put the remains away into a basket, and cleaned everything up nice and smooth. (She said to the salmon remains,) "Pray do not smell. Coyote might smell it." She put them away, cleaning things up nice and smooth. Now she braided tassels, making a tasseled buckskin skirt. After three days of braiding she finished her apron of white *mā'ha* grass, and twined a tule basket-cap and a willow basket-cap.

It was already dark when Coyote came back home with bruised legs; ugly he looked, and he was all covered with mud. She, the Heron Woman, was wont to come back home when it was dark, satiated. Coyote baked his *mā'ls-unna* roots and his annis roots, picked out the big ones, (and said to her), "You should eat these annis roots." "I do not care to eat them," Heron Woman was wont to reply. "Eat these roots for which I have gone far off. Why is it that you do not eat raw food?<sup>248</sup> What is it that you have eaten?"

Again she did so for herself. She went off early in the morning and did as before, got salmon for herself. She caught four salmon, put them down on the rocks, and dried the pounded red flesh of the salmon. She used to dry the pounded flesh and, after cleaning things up smooth, put the remains away. "Pray do not

<sup>247</sup> See note 225. The place referred to is the Achomā'wi (Fall River Indian) village on Fall River near its confluence with Pit River, at the present Fall City (or Fall River Mills). The name Achomā'wi (Adjū-māwi<sup>c</sup>) refers properly only to the Fall River Indians, known by the Yanas as *Cibup'k!a'imaduḡā'* (gat'ā'ēi *Cibumk!a'imaduḡā'*).

<sup>248</sup> By "raw food" is meant roots and other vegetable food as contrasted with more staple food, particularly acorn-mush, deer meat, and salmon. Distinct verb stems are used for "eat," according to whether reference is had to the former (*tc'ō-*) or the latter sort of food (*mō-*).

smell!" she said, "he might transgress your taboo."<sup>249</sup> When it was dark, Coyote came back home. "I feel sick," said Heron Woman, "I have a toothache." "Indeed!" said Coyote. "When was it that you became sick?" "I dreamt something, and I am always sick." "What is it that you dreamt of?" "I was just dreaming of something," said Heron Woman. "My cheeks are swollen." "Indeed!" said Coyote. "I have a toothache. Dig up *tc'i'l'awauna*<sup>250</sup> roots, you will pound them up and put it on my cheeks." "Yes, indeed, I shall do so. You should eat baked roots; have baked *ma'ls-unna* roots." Coyote was wont to kill ground squirrels, he was wont to kill gophers, he was wont to kill moles. She put raw acorns into her mouth. "My cheeks are swollen," she said. "I cannot swallow. You should put hot rocks into water, so that I may be able to drink it. My throat is swollen." "I shall come back home when it is dark," said Coyote. "Pray do not come back home when it is dark, please come home somewhat earlier." "I always run about to a great distance."

Again Heron did as before. She took her raw acorns out of her mouth and put them down on the ground, where she was accustomed to sleep. Again she caught salmon. She caught five salmon, put them on the rocks to roast, and pounded up the red flesh. She never gave him any salmon to eat, she never gave him any food. When it was dark, she returned home as before. The people were having a great dance. She said, "They say that they have been having a dance for three nights. I want my swelling to burst, I want it to burst," she said, always speaking falsely. "It will be good," (said Coyote), "if your swelling burst." "Let me see!" (said Heron Woman to herself,) "I shall go to camp out where they are having a dance." She was wont to take her skirt secretly, her buckskin skirt, tasseled with *ma'ha* grass. "Pray do not be seen!" (she said to her skirt). She now ran off at night to stay over night where they were having a dance. "Do not build a fire," she said (to Coyote).<sup>251</sup>

<sup>249</sup> It was forbidden to eat salmon at the same time as deer meat, small game, or gophers' roots. This explains Heron's refusal to eat the roots offered by Coyote and her desire to keep the odor of salmon away from him. The transgression of the taboo would mean the stopping of the salmon run.

<sup>250</sup> A medicinal root used for swellings.

<sup>251</sup> She did not wish to have Coyote get up early, for he might then observe her coming back from the dance.

"Pray act as though sick, as I always do; groan, build a fire when it is already daylight," (she said to her acorns). Now she went off, and danced with the people while Coyote kept on sleeping. "Here comes the fine dancer," (said Lizard,) "Coyote's widow!"<sup>252</sup>

When it was just about to dawn, she was wont to run back home along the river. She entered her house again, put the acorns into her mouth again, and again lay down on the ground. "Where are you now? Have you gone away already? Come and build a fire for me! I feel cold." "Heh!" said Coyote, "I have been sleeping soundly." He arose and scurried about at his work. "Do look at my cheeks!" she said, "the swelling will burst." Have you not perchance heard that the people are having a dance?" (said Coyote). Lizard was having a great dance. "Indeed!" she said, "I have not heard anything about it. They did not come here to say anything about it. I have not heard," said Heron Woman.

As was his wont, Coyote went off to tap around for gophers' roots, never staying at home. Now the woman went off again to stay over night where they were having a dance. This time Coyote found it out. "Here comes the fine dancer," (Lizard was saying,) "Coyote's widow!" "Ih! My name is being called," said Coyote. "He calls it," he said. "Yes, it is good," said Coyote. "It seems that you think that you are sensible. It is I who am a sensible person, I am a great one." Now he went off when it was daylight. "You will not throw me away. So that is why, as it turns out, you reject my food! I run about in every direction, looking for food, saying to myself, 'Let her not be hungry!', and you reject it. Perchance you think you have much sense? I am one that am superior to all, I am superior to my brother chief. I am a person that has much sense. You will not rejoice." Now Coyote went off.

"I shall go for wood," said Lizard, "I shall soon come back home. The kindling wood was very good." He went for it; Lizard split up the kindling wood very fine. Suddenly Coyote came crying down hill from the south, he was weeping. (Coyote

<sup>252</sup> *I.e.*, "grass widow," divorced or unfaithful wife. Lizard's words are ironical.

was dressed up as an old woman, and pretended to carry a baby. He was really carrying his penis, wrapped up like a baby.) "It seems to be Coyote, is it not?" said Lizard. "Is it you who are chopping wood?" said Coyote. "Yes, I am the one that am giving the dance. Many are the people that have come together here," said Lizard. "I have sent word to every place for all the people to come," he said. "I am coming back here," said Coyote; "this here is my orphan child; my husband has been killed." "Indeed!" said Lizard. "'Well! I shall go down to help them,' I was saying to myself. That is why I returned to this place here. Where is it that you are accustomed to go back home?" "I always go back down hill here to the north." He tied the kindling wood with rope made of *tc'ilha'imadu*, with rope made of *bā'ni*-bark strands. "It is heavy," said Lizard. "It was never that way before," he said. (Coyote had wished to himself that the burden should be heavier than usual.) "I shall push the burden on to you. It is heavy," he said. "It is generally light. Why is it that it is that way?" he said. "Stand in front of me. Pull the burden from me on to yourself." "I might fall," said Coyote, "I shall just push it on to you." (Coyote had put down a piece of sharp flint on which Lizard would have to kneel in drawing the burden on to his shoulders.) And then Coyote pushed it on to him. "Away with all this talking!" (said Coyote to himself). Lizard did (as Coyote had intended), and the veins of his knees were cut through. Now Lizard was dead.

"Yes! I shall treat you people in that way." And then he took off Lizard's skin and put it on himself so as to resemble him. "Pray go back to our house. If she wishes to have a fire made for her, pray go and enter the house and build a fire for her. If she wishes to have a poultice put on her, put a poultice on each cheek," (said Coyote to his penis). Coyote's penis did so. It put poultices on Heron. Now Coyote took up the wood and carried it, putting Lizard's appearance on himself. Then he went back down hill to the north.

"The chief has come back home, he was out to get wood," (said the people). He stepped on top of the ladder of the sweat-house and he put down the wood, and now he entered the house. Water was poured on his face; he blinked. "That one must be

Coyote, for he blinks," (they thought). "You will soon have a dance," he said. "I have a sore throat, because of my shouting. Soon you will all go to sleep. Dance!" he said. Just then his faithless wife came. "Ämm! You will act in that way indeed, will you? Perhaps you think that you will live?"<sup>253</sup> he said (to himself). "So you try to fool me when I am asleep, do you? (*Aloud:*) "Hehê! Here comes the fine dancer, Coyote's wife! Soon you will all go to sleep," he said. "You will dance in the daytime tomorrow; you will dance till night-fall."

Now they were all asleep, sleeping all together, snoring. Now Coyote smeared pitch around the sweat-house, smeared pitch on the feet of all of them, smeared pitch on the people. "Do not run out to save yourselves!" Now Coyote went out of the house. The people in the sweat-house burned up. "That is what I always do when I am angry. Now cook for your loved one! What I do is good," he said. "So that is how you act, is it? That is why you reject food? I go far off to get roots for you, and you reject them!"

Duck alone saved himself, and with him was Goose; Goose was burnt, burnt off on one side. Then he walked flat on his feet into a lake. Duck did likewise. "Now he has taken revenge on us. Why did he act in this way to us?" With them were also Ground Squirrel and Gray Squirrel. "Whither shall we go?" they said. "If I recover," (said Goose,) "I shall go back to the south. I should not have listened to (*Lizard's* invitation)." "Do not speak thus," said Duck. "Go straight north to the far north! Go still further north! I shall think it out," he said. "Let me see! Go east to the Hat Creek Indians," said (Goose), "and go east to the people dwelling across the river to the north, and go east to the people of I't'a'urik'u."<sup>254</sup> Go over to the south to the S-uk!ô'niyā,"<sup>255</sup> he said, "go east to the rising sun. I also

<sup>253</sup> The exact translation and significance of this sentence are rather doubtful.

<sup>254</sup> Now known as Hot Springs Valley or Big Valley. It is in southern Modoc and northern Lassen counties and is drained by Pit River.

<sup>255</sup> *S'uk!ô'niyā* seems to have been of somewhat indefinite application as a term embracing Indians to the extreme east. It was used by Betty Brown to refer to the Northeast Maidu of Susanville and the Achomā'wi of Dixie Valley. Sam Bat'wi thought it meant the "Hot Springs" and "Snake" (*i.e.*, Shoshone) Indians. The valleys referred to in the text—Burney and Hat Creek valleys (inhabited by the Atsugē'wi or Hat Creek Indians), Fall River, Big Valley, and Dixie Valley—were formerly visited in the spring by myriads of ducks.

shall be wont to do so," said Goose and Crane, "I shall go straight north. I never thought that I should do that. I was very happy at home; I had plenty to eat. Never did I think that I would do that. A meteor will fall down and burst," he said, "and the water will boil. It will be that way also down the river to the west.<sup>256</sup> People will lie down in them if they are sick in any way." (He spoke to Ground Squirrel,) "You will be he who will always look around for food," (and to Gray Squirrel,) "while you will be he who will jump about among the yellow-pines, you will get yellow-pine nuts, and you will be satiated. I shall have my place here. I shall also be north across the river from here at Wacū'p'di,<sup>257</sup> for that is a very good place. To that place there will be a bridge going north across the river, and the place will be called Dīrī'p!oha.<sup>258</sup> That place will be heard about all over, and people will say, 'Let us go to bathe at Dīrī'p!oha.' It will be only slightly warm at Wacū'p'di; so it will be across the river from here. Wild plums will grow in that place, *mū't!s-u* and *ma'ls-unna* roots will also grow there. Salmon will swim to the north, trout will swim to the north."

### XIII. THE FINDING OF FIRE.

(Translated from Curtin's "Creation Myths of Primitive America," pp. 365-70.)<sup>259</sup>

- aip!ā' aumudja'up!ā mits!a'uēniwar ī'na'idjas aigidj  
 Long ago | fire-chief | had fire | far away | in the
- 2 dja'urp'a aigi ī'hauts' dā`x aits' k'ē'djutdiyā k'u'ē-  
 south | at it | from west | river. | The | people hereabouts | were not
- niwar mits!a`uē madjupgirī't!uigu'nēk'iwa`r tlinī'gumau  
 have fire. | They had some sort that went out. | Slightly
- 4 yari'banēk'iwar 'ā'mutdiēniwar k'ū'ēniwar mō'seē ai  
 theirs burned | it was warm, | not it was | cause to be cooked | it

<sup>256</sup> This explains the occurrence of hot sulphur springs in Big Valley and Big Bend.

<sup>257</sup> Kosk Creek, a northern tributary of Pit River. Big Bend is directly opposite its confluence with the latter stream.

<sup>258</sup> Hot Springs of Big Bend.

<sup>259</sup> Curtin's version was read to Betty Brown and translated by her sentence by sentence. It is of considerable linguistic interest to see how a connected English myth appears when translated back into the Indian.



- a`u' t'ô'mau aidji au`ni`k opdji`eniwar ba` k!unu-  
fire | being like | the. | our fire. | They killed | deer | and were  
eniwar galā't'ima`i k!ununet' mō'su'ihat'egu'e 2  
fish besides | but they were | eat them merely raw.
- mits!a`u`eniwar aidj ite'ī'nem'djiyā` k'ū`eniwar mō'se`  
They had fire | the | far west people, | not it was | cause to cook
- ai a`u' 'ariyu'n`eniwar aits' yā` aigidj ite'ī't'edjā`m 4  
it | fire. | Many were | the | people | in the | far north,  
'ariyu'riwinigunet' aigidj ite'ī't'exa`u k'ū`net'k' aik'  
many were also | in the | far east. | Not was theirs | their
- a`u' k!ununet' k'ū mō'se`a 6  
fire | and it was | not | cause to cook.
- au'dama'ikō aits' it!a'lts'! gāts!a'nmani`war ai p'ā`wi  
"Perchance there is fire | the | some direction far off," | they were talking in coun-  
cil there | it | P'ā'wi. 8
- bir'gadap'a`ea dji dē`waima`nigi`  
"Where pray would be | the | our finding it!"
- mausi 'i'tduyau bā`wisak'iea` t'īn`et' ai 'ahā`limil`  
"I shall | go to look for it | when it is dark," | said | he | Fox.
- a'igidji bā`wisak'i 'i'tdunet' aigi a`u' nigil'launet' 10  
In that | when it was dark | he went to look for it | for it | fire. | He  
went up to top of mountain
- agi wa`ganū`p!a<sup>200</sup> miní`thau`net' k!ununet' minitts'ī`ne-  
at it | Lassen's Butte. | He looked east | and he was | look far off west.
- m'ts' k'ū`damainet' dē`wai`e aigidj ea`u' minine`na'ī- 12  
Not perhaps he was | find | to the | fire. | He looked up elsewhere,
- djabal`et' minitt'e'ī't'edjāminet' k'ū`net' aits' a`u' minit-  
he looked far off north. | Not was | the | fire. | He looked far off south,
- te'ī't'etp'anet' k'ū`net' dē`wai`e aigits' a`u' aigits' 14  
not he was | find | to the | fire | at the
- p'a`dit'imai  
any place.
- nīdū`anet' aidj ahā`limil' k!unet'<sup>201</sup> gayā`wau`e aigi 16  
He arrived back home | the | Fox | and he was | talk to | to them
- mudja`up!a gi yā` k'ū`sindj dē`wai`e aits' a`una  
fire-chief | to | people. | "I not am | find | the | fire,"
- t'ī`net' k'ū`sindj dē`nam`emaisa`ea ne'ts'djaru'sik!ô`ea 18  
he said, | "I not am | see any. | I shall proceed to go up mountain | I shall go and try  
once again,
- nina`swairut'ima`isik!ô`ea mo`'djasik!ô`ea nīsā`sik!ô` hala`ik'i  
I shall take (some one) along. | I shall go off | to-morrow

<sup>200</sup> Lit., "small Mt. Shasta." *Wa`ganū`p!a* is the regularly formed diminutive of *Wa`galū`* "Mt. Shasta."

<sup>201</sup> Probably so heard from rapidly pronounced *k!ununet'*.

- bā'wisak'iea ne<sup>c</sup>dja'irirusik!ô i<sup>c</sup>dja'irik! ai wa'galū'  
when it is dark, | I shall proceed to go on top | on top (of mountain) | it | Mt. Shasta.
- 2 a'pbih aidj ts'u'p<sup>c</sup>k'iea k' k'u<sup>y</sup>u'lla a'pbih aidj  
Who is he | here | his is good | his | head | Who is he | here  
ma'tdjak'iea k' ts'u'na aik' dé'waiyaun aigidj a'una  
his are sharp | his | eyes | his | seeing | to the | fire!
- 4 ma'usindj i'riyau εauna hala'ik'i bā'wisak'iea i<sup>c</sup>dja'i-  
I shall be | looking for | fire | to-morrow | when it is dark | on top  
rik! wa'galū' a'idji p'adi mini'tdjibasik!ô aits' p'a'-  
Mt. Shasta. | That | place | I shall look all around | the | every place
- 6 dibanauma 'i'riyaunidj aits' a'una  
my looking for | the | fire."  
wak'unā's aidja aits' minidiwaga'lsamauyā' aigits'  
"He dwells | here | the | looking-right-through person | to the
- 8 s'i'te'iwibanauma<sup>262</sup> aits' minitdibi'ldjawaimauyā' aits'  
every tree | the | looking-all-over-for-one person | the  
minidiwa'ldimauyā' aits' minidiwaga'lsamauyā aigidj  
looking-down-into-earth person | the | looking-right-through person | to the
- 10 djī'galla mo''djasinu bā'wisak'iea' ada'iri s'i<sup>c</sup>wē'gi  
mountain. | You shall take him along | when it is dark | that | S'i<sup>c</sup>wē'gi."  
nī<sup>c</sup>i'waurunet' ai 'ahā'limil' aigi s'i<sup>c</sup>wē'k' 'a'tsasi-  
He went after him | he | Fox | to him | S'i<sup>c</sup>wē'gi. | "We shall go off
- 12 nik' hala'ik'i bā'wisak'iea i'tduyaunik' a'una t'īnet'  
to-morrow | when it is dark | our going to look for | fire," | he said.  
ā'ha nī'mmaigusik!ôεa as k'ū p'a'ūs.<sup>263</sup> ai 'ī'ya  
"Yes, | I shall help (you) to go | if is | not | be far off | it | trail."
- 14 k!ā'εnaigummasi<sup>c</sup>i t'īnet' ai 'ahā'limil' k!ô'εnaiεa-  
"Indeed it will be near," | he said | he | Fox. | "I shall make it near."  
sik!ôεa'
- 16 'aluk!masa'net' ai s'i<sup>c</sup>wē'k' aik' djé'djaup!aεayau  
He was willing to go off | he | S'i<sup>c</sup>wē'gi. | Their | being ready  
'a't'εiu'tsanet' w'o't'gu'llet'ê εaigidj i'ya ai 'ahā'limil'  
they both went off. | He folded in two | to the | trail | he | Fox
- 18 k'ununet' bô'gat'gutp'auε a'ip!itsamats!uk'i nīgī'llaunet'  
and he was | make short his own. | When they had arrived there after some time |  
they went up to top of mountain  
aigidj wa'galū' wai<sup>u</sup> djé'djaup!a'yunet'ê k' i'diyau  
to the | Mt. Shasta. | Now | they were both ready | their | looking for

<sup>262</sup> *s.i'te'iwibanauma* properly means "yellow pines" (sing. *s'iwit'εi*).<sup>263</sup> One would rather expect *p'a'ūs.aε*.

εa'u' bas-i'net' ha'llup!annainet' t!ini'gumau dé'waimε'-  
fire. | It was night, | it was very dark. | Being small | they saw glowing

millet' gi a'u' 2  
to | fire.

mini'thaunε' minitk!sururu'isanε' mini'tdadjap!anε'  
They looked east, | they looked off sharp, | they looked long and intently.

k'ū'net' dé'waiε aigits' a'u mini'tte'itεdjāminε' aik 4  
Not they were | see | to the | fire. | They looked far off north, | their

t'ū'winiguya'u mini'tte'inεm'dji'net' k'unū'net' ai εa'u'  
doing in same way | they looked far off west. | Not yet was | it | fire.

wair<sup>u</sup> mini'tte'itεp'anε' ai 'ahā'limil' mini'tdadja- 6  
Now | he looked far off south | he | Fox, | he looked long and intently,

p!anε' mini'thatεduk!apgunε' ai'p!itsak'i mini'duwaunε'  
he saw nothing coming towards him. | When some time had elapsed | he looked to-  
wards it.

dīmā'εnaigunε' djila'pε<sup>i</sup> p'aū'samau 8  
suddenly it was | gleam | being far off.

s'iεwε'gi t'app!a'sindj dé'wais auna t!ini'gumaup!a  
"S'iεwε'gi, | it seems that I | see | fire | being very small

djau'rp'a t'app!a's augu'mmaεas ai p'aū'samauna 10  
south. | It seems that | it is indeed fire | it | being far off.

t'app!a's a'una t'i'gummanε'  
It seems that it is | fire," | indeed he said.

mini'tp'augadamadjaεa' la'uε aidji mini'diwauyauε- 12  
"Pray keep looking at it! | Be strong | the | your looking at it!

numa' a'u'damaik! aidjeε' t'i'net' ai s'iεwε'k'  
Perchance is fire | that there," | he said | he | S'iεwε'gi.

mini'diyasip!asindja a'u'damaigummak! aidjeε' ma'us-i- 14  
I am dizzy from looking, | perchance is indeed fire | that there. | I shall you

wāmε dé'waiεawāεma' mini'tp'aumit'guεi' t'i'net' ai  
my having you see it. | You in your turn look at it!" | he said | he

'ahā'limil' 16  
Fox.

t!ini'gumau dé'wainε' ai s'iεwε'k' 'ā'ha a'un  
Being small | he saw it | he | S'iεwε'gi. | "Yes, | fire

aidjeε' t'i'net' 18  
that there," | he said.

wa'iru dé'waisinig ai εa'una dé'djibagu'mmasinig  
"Now | we shall see | it | fire, | we shall indeed know

aik p'aū'rp'ayauna t'i'net' ai ahālimil' 20  
its | being far off south," | said | he | Fox.

- bô'gat'gutp'aunet' ai 'ahā'limil' gi 'i''ya k!u'tdit.  
He made it short for themselves | he | Fox | to | trail, | they got back home quickly
- 2 duatgunet' aigi p'ā'w<sup>1</sup> dē'waisk'inig ai εa'una t'ī'net'  
at it | P'ā'wi. | "We have found | it | fire," | he said  
ai gīt!a'pduwayau aigi mudja'up!a aigits' yā'mi't'k'<sup>u</sup>  
he | recounting to them | to the | chief | to him | people also.
- 4 wairu dē'waimuisk'inig ai εa'una wairu mits!a'uhaε-  
"Now | we have just found | it | fire, | now | let us have fire."  
nigi`
- 6 'ā'ha mits!k!a'lbasinig ai εa'una t'ī'net' ai yā`  
"Yes, | we shall keep it | it | fire," | said | they | people.  
atc'ī'masik! aidji t'ō'εanigi` aits' a'una ē'djaudja-  
"I don't know what shall be | the | our doing about it | the | fire. | It cannot be  
done
- 8 p!a'fasi ba'igumaup!a εap'anig 'aruwā'uruε aits' a'una  
being but one (thing) | if we should | proceed to go for | the | fire,"  
t'ī'net' ai 'ahā'limil' wairu aik' dē'waiyaun 'ahā'-  
he said | he | Fox, | "Now | his | seeing it | Fox
- 10 limill aik'<sup>264</sup> a'una nīwā'urusie' p'aū'sas aits' 'ī'ya  
to it | fire | he shall proceed to go for it. | Far off is | the | trail.  
apbī'mas aidj ditεi'mmariwa apbī'mah aidj mau  
Who will be | the one | that helps him, | who is | the one | about to
- 12 nīmā'sayaun aik' ahā'limilla k' auwiεa'uruyauk'iea  
going off with him | his | Fox | his | going to get fire?"  
t'ī'net' ai mudjau'p!ā`  
he said | he | chief.
- 14 djima'ts'djamau hā'djanmau aits' yā` 'alu'k!maba-  
Being five times | being ten | the | people | every one was willing,  
naumanet' nīsā'net' xana'ibak'i dju'let' aits' 'i''ya  
they went off | when it was daylight. | Long was | the | trail
- 16 k!unūnet' k'ū ne''εwitdjap!aε 'a'tsanet' a'imisk'i ba-  
and it was | not | be capable of walking further thereon. | They went off | pretty soon |  
several-tired-out persons.  
gu'lmits!imayā` a'ip!itsamate!uk' i''djawinignunet' k!ā-  
After some time | some more were tired. | Being about to get close to it
- 18 εa'iyuduwaubitdjayau εaigits' dā'x aik' u'rp'amau  
to the | river | its | being south  
aits' a'u' bulεli'mεgunet' aits' yā` ai nimatba'lx ai  
the | fire | only three were left | the | people | they | who had started with (him) | he
- 20 'ahā'limil' ai s'ū's' marimε<sup>1</sup> ai mi'ts!`  
Fox | she | Dog | woman | he | Coyote.

<sup>264</sup> Perhaps misheard for *aigi*.

- aits· djau'rp<sup>a</sup> aits· dā'x aumudja'up!ā badja'lts-  
The | south | the | river | fire-chief | his was large going up
- djan<sup>et</sup>'k' aik' yāwa'w<sup>l</sup> k!unun<sup>et</sup>' badja'lts-djak' aik' 2  
his | village | and was | large going up his | his
- wat'guru'w k!āṣna'iyudapts!<sup>in</sup>et' aik' yā'waw<sup>l</sup> mits!-  
sweat-house, | it was close to it | his | village. | He kept it there
- k!a'lp!aman<sup>et</sup>' aigi a'u<sup>c</sup> aigidji wa'w<sup>l</sup> dat<sup>ep</sup>!a'nnain<sup>et</sup>' 4  
to it | fire | at that | house. | They were very many
- aits' yā' aik' mā't!its' 'arī'yun<sup>et</sup>' aits' yā'djilya'u  
the | people | his | servants, | they were many | there | dwelling around.
- mini't<sup>et</sup>idibilet' aik' k'ū'yaugu wī's'aiyau 'aidji 'ea'una 6  
They looked in every direction | their | not (prohib.) | stealing it from them | that |  
fire.
- 'o'mn<sup>et</sup>' aigits' p'a'ts'<sup>a</sup> aigits' te'ilware'k!<sup>u</sup> aigits'  
They watched | there | Snow | there | Big Rain | there
- te'ildā'yau aigits' sabi'lk!ê'<sup>yu</sup> aigits' djute'u'lhaute'<sup>u</sup> 8  
Big 'dā'yauna' root | there | Hail | there | Strong South Wind
- aigits' djute'u'lwate'<sup>u</sup> aigits' djute'u'lgām aigits'  
there | Strong West Wind | there | Strong North Wind | there
- djute'u'lt'k' 10  
Strong East Wind.
- bu'lmits!<sup>in</sup>et' ai 'ahā'limil' umā'n<sup>et</sup>' ai mi'ts!<sup>l</sup>  
They were three | he | Fox, | he was with him | he | Coyote,
- umā'n<sup>et</sup>' ai cū'cu mari'm<sup>et</sup>' dja'ea'n<sup>et</sup>' aits' bō'r 12  
she was with him | she | Dog | woman. | They arrived at | the | bridge
- aigi 'ite'it<sup>et</sup>djām wak!unā'n<sup>et</sup>' k' o'biyau wair 'é'xai-  
at it | north. | They sat | their | watching | now | when everything is quiet
- baduwaldi'eiyauk'i aigi wa't'guruwamat'<sup>u</sup> p!ute'li'na- 14  
at it | sweat-house place. | It was narrow
- main<sup>et</sup>' ai bō'r k!unun<sup>et</sup>' bu'ililip!a<sup>e</sup> p'u'llain<sup>et</sup>' ai  
it | bridge | and it was | be slippery. | He smeared (pitch) over | he
- 'ahā'limil' k' dalūw gi ts!a'l<sup>e</sup> p'u'llaihain<sup>et</sup>' aik' 16  
Fox | his | hands and fingers | with | pitch, | he also put (pitch) over | his
- la'l' du'llaiwinigun<sup>et</sup>' aik' la'lk'i aik' dalū'wk'i aigi  
feet. | He likewise put (pitch) over | their | feet | their | hands and fingers | to them
- mi'ts!<sup>l</sup> cū'cu marim<sup>et</sup>' 'aruwī'lsan<sup>et</sup>' aits' bu'lmits!<sup>i</sup>- 18  
Coyote | Dog | woman. | They went off across river | the | being three
- mau 'is'i'w k!unun<sup>et</sup>' k'ū' bu'ililie 'at<sup>et</sup>i'nnaiwadu-  
men | and they were | not | slip. | They came and found them
- run<sup>et</sup>' k' sadi'ps'ik'unuyauk'i aigi wa't'guru'w 20  
their | all still sleeping | in it | sweat-house.

- aits' 'ābamau aumudja'up!ā ts!o'p'amau mō'ri'ēnet'  
The | being old | fire-chief | well made | he covered it over with
- 2 aigi t!a'p'elāwī'au' aik 'ea'u' 'é'xaiwaldinet'ê ai 'iwū'l'  
at them | ashes | his | fire. | Everything was quiet | it | inside  
umā'ē ai 'ēima'lē' ī'ts!xayadum'djagunet' aigi 'ē'dja'i-  
likewise | it | outside. | They just crept along quietly | at it | on top
- 4 rik!u wa't'guru'w ai 'ahā'limil' ai mits!¹ ai cūcu  
sweat-house | he | Fox | he | Coyote | she | Dog  
mari'mē' mini'duwulet' s'ā'dips'ik'ununet'  
woman. | They looked inside of house, | they were all sleeping yet.
- 6 mā'ēu'ldi'budjayauna t'ī'net' ai mits!¹  
"I shall climb down first," | he said | he | Coyote.  
ô k'ū'yauguei' bē'yau 'ī' būlei'²⁶⁵ 'ī'tduyaun ai  
"O, | do not! | it is I who shall | go first into house | going to look for | it
- 8 'ea'una k!unusik!ô mūt't'mā'ema auwik!a'psinuma k!unu-  
fire | and I shall | reach it to you. | You will take it to yourself | and you will  
sinu ba'wi'tdja'ea' t'ī'net' ai 'ahā'limi'l' dji'ēyu't'ewul-  
run off quickly," | he said | he | Fox. | He slipped down
- 10 dinet' ai ahā'limil' ya'ik'unanet' ai mits!¹ aigi  
he | Fox, | they remained | he | Coyote | at her  
cū'cumarim'ēite'k'u aigi ba'li'w djō'baidits!xayanet' ai  
Dog-woman with | on it | roof. | He carefully put (ashes) aside | he
- 12 'ahā'limil' aigi 'ea'u' bō'djalaunet' aigi 'ea'u' ba-  
Fox | at it | fire, | he took out | from it | fire | being big piece,  
dja'nemats'imauk'i mō'duwaunet' aigi k!un'ā'marim'ēip!²  
he handed it to her | to her | old woman.
- 14 bō'djawulet' aik' ma'leguma't'u bō'dja'īwaunet' t!inī'-  
She put it into | her | ear place. | He handed over to her | being very small,  
gumaup!² bō'djawinigunet' ai ba'imau ma'lek'u dji-  
once again she put it | it | being one | ear. | She slipped down
- 16 'ēu'rt'ewuldinet' gi i'dja'irik! wa't'guru'w bawī'lsanet'  
from | on top | sweat-house, | she ran off across river  
aigits' bō'r basā'yagale't'  
at the | bridge, | she ran off quickly.
- 18 'wo'waunet'ē' ai 'ahā'limil' aigi mi'ts!¹ lu'iwul-  
He made two to him | he | Fox | to him | Coyote. | He put both of them in  
t!u'imits!inet' aik' ma'lek'u wa'it'u nīsā'net' djē'yu-  
his | ears, | now | he went off. | He filled them
- 20 wulet' aik' ma'lek'u ai 'ahā'limil' k!ununet' ba'ē'sae  
his | ears | he | Fox | and he was | run off after them.

265 = 'ī' bawul'ē'.

- ada'iri bu'lmits!iw<sup>a</sup> s'ugi'llau<sup>a</sup>yauk'i aigi u'mits!i'mau  
Those | who are three | when having run over mountains | at them | being two
- dji'gal mila'm<sup>et</sup> ai <sup>a</sup>'umudjaup!ā<sup>a</sup> dé'wain<sup>et</sup> a'igi 2  
mountains | he woke up | he | fire-chief. | He saw | at them
- t!apēlā'wa<sup>a</sup>au k' anu'idiyauk'iwa<sup>a</sup> auwi<sup>a</sup>'usan<sup>et</sup>'iw ai  
ashes | their | having been burrowed into and put to one side, | fire had been taken  
away | it
- <sup>a</sup>'u' ba'tdidu<sup>a</sup>'ldin<sup>et</sup> ai ts'ū'w k!ā<sup>a</sup>na'iyuwaun<sup>et</sup> 4  
fire, | it fell down | it | coal | it came close to it
- aigi ba'eli'w<sup>a</sup> da'teba'let<sup>et</sup> ma<sup>a</sup>dja'irin<sup>et</sup> aigi wa't'guru'w  
to it | central post. | He jumped up, | he climbed on top of it | at it | sweat-house,
- bats!i'c<sup>a</sup> din<sup>et</sup>'ē mo''bak!am<sup>et</sup>' aik' yā<sup>a</sup> 6  
he shouted, | he called to all | his | people.
- wica'iwara dji <sup>a</sup>'una wica'iwara dji <sup>a</sup>'una ni'm<sup>et</sup>-  
"It has been stolen | the (our) | fire, | it has been stolen | the (our) | fire.  
Now do you all go!
- djatdiwi<sup>a</sup> 'abi'lwi<sup>a</sup> 8  
follow them!"
- wa'irt'<sup>u</sup> ya'ik!balet<sup>et</sup> k!unun<sup>et</sup> s-u<sup>a</sup>'isa<sup>a</sup> ai p'a'ts'<sup>a</sup>  
Now | they got up | and they were | run off after them | he | Snow
- ai t'ci'lwarêk!<sup>u</sup> ai te'ildā'yau ai sabi'lk!êx'<sup>u</sup> aits'<sup>a</sup> 10  
he | Big Rain | he | Big dā'yauna root | he | Hail | the
- barê'k!ubana'um<sup>a</sup> aits'<sup>a</sup> djuk!a'lbanau'm<sup>a</sup> djuyā'galk'in<sup>et</sup>  
all Rain (people) | the | all Wind (people). | Rain came quickly
- k!unun<sup>et</sup> dan<sup>a</sup>mau bô're<sup>a</sup> aigits'<sup>a</sup> p'a'dibanau'm<sup>a</sup> da'te- 12  
and they were | being much | cause to rain | at the | every place. | It was much (fall-  
ing) on ground
- wa'ldin<sup>et</sup> aits'<sup>a</sup> barê'k!<sup>u</sup> dji'was'abanauman<sup>et</sup> aits'<sup>a</sup>  
the | rain, | water was over every (place) | the
- p'a'dibanau'm<sup>a</sup> 14  
every place.
- u'bū'n<sup>et</sup> ai djuwā'te'<sup>u</sup> aigi <sup>a</sup>umudja'up!ā k'  
He was first | he | South Wind | at them | fire-chief | his
- mā't!itsk'i wô'bilet'ê aigi bu'lmits!imau ai wê'sadjū'c' 16  
followers. | He followed them | to them | being three | they | thieves.
- ba'k'iwiginun<sup>et</sup> ai te'ilwarek!<sup>u</sup> wali'ean<sup>et</sup> aigi bu'l-  
He also came running | he | Big Rain, | he reached them as though about to fall on  
them | to them | being three
- mits!imau k!unun<sup>et</sup> mik'itde<sup>a</sup> hô'laban<sup>et</sup>'ê k!unun<sup>et</sup> 18  
and he was | act as though angry. | He made them all wet | and he was
- hôte!idiwadjo<sup>a</sup> wai'<sup>u</sup> djuk'i'n<sup>et</sup> ai djugā'm' k!unun<sup>et</sup>  
cause them to feel cold. | Now | wind came | he | North Wind | and he was
- dju'k'i<sup>a</sup> ai p'a'te' dô'rimman<sup>et</sup>'ê 20  
come blowing | he | Snow, | they nearly caused them to freeze.

- dila'ubitdjanet' ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> madju'pgirin<sup>et</sup>' ai 'ea'u'  
He was about to die | he | Coyote, | it went out | it | fire
- 2 aigi mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> k' mā'dilegūwk'i' t'ū'winigun<sup>et</sup>' ai 'ahā'-  
in them | Coyote | his | two ears. | He did likewise | he | Fox  
limil k' madju'pgiri'aya'u ai te'ilware'k!<sup>u</sup> ai dju-  
his | having fire go out. | He | Big Rain | he | South Wind
- 4 wā'te'<sup>u</sup> ai p'a'te'<sup>a</sup> p'ô'gidin<sup>et</sup>' aigi 'ea'u' k!unun<sup>et</sup>'  
he | Snow | blew fire out | to it | fire | and he was  
'u'idja<sup>e</sup>  
cause it to fall.
- 6 u'dunitdim'djan<sup>et</sup>' p'aū'samau ai eū'cu mari<sup>em</sup>'  
She was coming behind | being far off | she | Dog | woman,  
mi'ldjam'djan<sup>et</sup>' aik' bai'm'djayau di'tdu'tp'am'djan<sup>et</sup>'  
she came running | her | running behind. | She held it against (her ear)
- 8 aik' dal' aigi ba'igumau ma'lek'<sup>u</sup> aik' mi'ldjaya'u  
her | hand | at it | being one | ear | her | running.  
bo'tdiram<sup>et</sup>'ê' ai 'ea'u' aik' ma'leguma't'<sup>u</sup> aik' ba't-  
She lost it by having it fall out | it | fire | her | ear place, | its | getting lost by fall-  
ing out
- 10 dirabiyau t'u'nnapte'lik!aut!alte'in<sup>et</sup>' mite'wilbat!a'lte'in<sup>et</sup>'  
it broke asunder in two pieces | at fell apart.  
bô'djadubal<sup>et</sup>' ai te'ilwarê'k!<sup>u</sup> aigi 'ea'u' k!unun<sup>et</sup>'  
He picked it up again | he | Big Rain | at it | fire | and he was
- 12 wê't'sa<sup>e</sup> djima'nrimau dé'waitp'aun<sup>et</sup>' waiema'ip!an<sup>et</sup>'  
take it off home. | Being six | he found them, | he supposed  
dé'waibatp'auyau wā'k!dit'u'imits'in<sup>et</sup>' aik' wô'bile'aya'u  
finding all of them. | He together with others stood still | their | following them.
- 14 cū'būn<sup>et</sup>'ê' ai 'ahā'limil' ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> ū'ldjasan<sup>et</sup>'  
They ran ahead | he | Fox | he | Coyote, | they threw her away  
aigi eū'cu mari<sup>em</sup>' k'ū'yauat'<sup>266</sup> miniduwau<sup>e</sup> ditdu-  
to her | Dog | woman | no longer being | look at her, | they arrived home putting out  
hands first.
- 16 'a'rt'budjan<sup>et</sup>' hā'lan<sup>et</sup>' hā'ts'in<sup>et</sup>' k' i'djaya'u  
They were wet | they were cold | their | being tired.  
birī'mah aidju 'a'un<sup>a</sup> yô'gaip!an<sup>et</sup>' ai mū'djaup!ā'  
"Where is | the your | fire?" | he asked him | he | chief.
- 18 k'ū'sinte' mits!k!alp!a<sup>ea</sup>' te'ilwarek!ô' a'uwibas aigi  
"Not I | have it, | Big Rain | has taken it all | to it  
dji 'ea'u'nidja t'i'n<sup>et</sup>' ai 'ahā'limil'  
the | my fire," | he said | he | Fox.

<sup>266</sup> More correctly k'ū'yauat'<sup>i</sup> (male form: k'ū'yauat'ā).



- biri'mah aidju 'ea'u<sup>a</sup> yô'gaip!anet' ai mû'djaup!â`  
 "Where is | the your | fire?" | he asked | he | chief.
- ai te'ilware'k!u bê 'ea'uwi'e t'î'net' ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> 2  
 "He | Big Rain | it is who | take it," | he said | he | Coyote.
- ai mû'djaup!â k'u'lmit's!in'et'k' aik' djuk!u'tts!<sup>1</sup>  
 He | chief | his was grieved | his | heart,
- k'u'lmit's!ibanauman'et'k' aik' djuk!u'tts!<sup>1</sup> aits' yâ'ba- 4  
 everybody's was grieved | their | heart | the | every person.
- na'um<sup>a</sup> ai k'unā'mari'emip!<sup>a</sup> k'ū'k'in'et' djīdjura'ī'da-  
 She | old woman | was not coming. | "Perchance she has been frozen to death,"
- maisik!uwara` t'î'net' ai yā` 6  
 they said | they | people.
- aik' 'ī'waldibitdjayauk'ī dīmā'ne'aigun'et' 'adū'k'īe ai  
 Its | being about to go down | suddenly she was | come back home | she
- cū'cu mari'emi<sup>1</sup> k'ī'ī'dum'djagun'et' ī'djap!annain'et' la'u- 8  
 Dog | woman, | she was slow in coming home, | she was very tired, | very strong was  
 hers
- p!annain'et'k' aik' djuk!utts!<sup>1</sup> dī'tdūe'net' aigi wa't'-  
 her | heart. | She arrived home putting out her hand | at it | sweat-house.
- guru'w 'ī'duwulet' k'ū'net' gayā` muruldi'net' hā't!- 10  
 She went inside again, | not she was | speak, | she lay down | being wet all through
- galamau hā't's!idiyau`  
 coldness.
- biri'mah aite' 'ea'u' yô'gaip!anet' ai 'ahā'limil' 12  
 "Where is | the | fire?" she asked, | "he | Fox
- ai mi'ts!<sup>1</sup> k'ū' damaik!uwar wēt'uk'īe aigi 'ea'u'  
 he | Coyote | have they not perchance been | bring home | to it | fire?
- umu'im'siwa'as k'unus la'u<sup>1</sup> dat'ea'udaigarā`x 14  
 They are younger | and they are | be strong, | really they had much fire.
- a'ip!itsak'ī 'it'ba'let' dōk!aldapts!in'et' aigi s'itga'u<sup>e</sup>  
 After some time | she got up, | she shoved them together | at it | wood dust
- k' hamī'k!imauk'ī wak!unā'waldin'et' e'p'aidin'et' aik' 16  
 its | being fine, | she sat down, | she disclosed | her
- mā'lek'u mō'ea'nm'egun'et' aigi s'itga'u<sup>1</sup> aits' badja'ne-  
 ear, | she held it close thereto | to it | wood dust. | The | being big piece
- mats!uman aits' 'ea'u' ba'tdiram'et' 'īwa'ik'iyagalet'īwa<sup>e</sup> 18  
 the | fire | it dropped out. | Wood was brought quickly
- ai e'ī<sup>e</sup> a'imuis'k'ī ya'la'ip!as ai wa't'guruwate'u'l' ai  
 it | wood, | soon | it warms up | it | whole sweat-house. | They
- xā'tc!litbanaumax ai yā` xā'mutdiban'et' k'unun'et' 20  
 formerly every one cold | they | people | they all were warm | and they were
- gima'up!abanauma<sup>e</sup>  
 every one be glad.

- mi'ts!bak'iwa<sup>e</sup> ai bana<sup>e</sup> 'ô'nina<sup>e</sup>wa/iha<sup>e</sup>nigi<sup>\</sup> mô't!iha-  
 "Do you cause venison to be had hither | it | deer-meat! | Let us try it! | let us  
 roast it
- 2 enigi<sup>\</sup> ate'îk<sup>'</sup> aik<sup>'</sup> dji'djawa<sup>\</sup> t'înet<sup>'</sup> ai mû'djaup!â<sup>\</sup>  
 what its | its | that it tastes," | he said | he | chief.  
 'î'muirinet<sup>'</sup> aigi ba<sup>\</sup> k'ununet<sup>'</sup> mô't!i<sup>e</sup> u'mits!î'-  
 He cut off | to it | deer-meat | and he was | roast it. | Being-two persons
- 4 mauyâ djê'mainet<sup>'</sup>ê<sup>\</sup> ts!upp!a'nnaisi t'înet<sup>'</sup> ai wayê'-  
 they tasted it. | "It is very good," | they said. | He | third one  
 mai'mâ<sup>\</sup> mausi 'ô'nina<sup>e</sup>waiyauna t'înet<sup>'</sup> ai gâ'k<sup>'1</sup>  
 "I shall | trying it," | he said. | He | Crow
- 6 djê'maiwiniget<sup>'</sup>ê<sup>\</sup> wî'tc'usi<sup>\</sup> ts!upp!a'nnaisi t'înet<sup>'</sup> ai  
 he also tasted it. | "It is sweet, | it is very good," | he said | he  
 gâ'k<sup>'1</sup>  
 Crow.
- 8 mô't!it!uimits!ipgunet<sup>'</sup> aigi ba<sup>\</sup> ts!upp!a'nnaimau  
 Each one roasted it | to it | deer-meat, | being very good  
 mô'n<sup>'</sup>et<sup>'</sup> hana'ibatdik<sup>'i</sup> ba'ibarutdin<sup>'et</sup> nida'pte!in<sup>'et</sup> bā'-  
 they ate. | When it was already morning | they all now went to hunt deer, | they came  
 together | when it was dark
- 10 wisak<sup>'i</sup> k<sup>'</sup> mô'dapte!iya<sup>'u</sup> t!uimudja'up!ā nitba'let<sup>'</sup>  
 their | eating together. | Another chief | he started out  
 aigi t!u'ip<sup>'</sup>diwinik<sup>'u</sup> k<sup>'</sup> môwana'im<sup>'</sup>djaya<sup>'u</sup> k'ununet<sup>'</sup>  
 at it | another place somewhere | his | coming to eat theirs | and he was
- 12 a'uwibale aigi ea<sup>'u</sup> wê't'san<sup>'et</sup> a'imisk<sup>'i</sup> mits!a'ubanau-  
 take up | to it | fire, | he took it off home. | Soon | they all had fire  
 man<sup>'et</sup> aits<sup>'</sup> yā<sup>\</sup> mits!a'ubanauman<sup>'et</sup> aidji et!a'lts!<sup>!!</sup>  
 the | people, | every one had fire | the | every direction.

## THE FINDING OF FIRE.

(From Curtin's "Creation Myths of Primitive America," pp. 365-370.)<sup>268</sup>

In the beginning Au Mujaupa had fire very far down south on the other side of a big river. The people in this country had no real fire; they had a kind of fire, but it wasn't good. It just warmed a little; it wouldn't cook like the fire we have now. People killed deer and fished, but they had to eat fish and venison raw.

<sup>267</sup> -p' di- = p'a'di "place."

<sup>268</sup> By the courtesy of Mrs. Curtin and Little, Brown, and Company permission was received to reprint Jeremiah Curtin's myth entire. No changes have been made in his spelling of Indian names, but the Indian translation gives them in more strictly phonetic form.

In the west people had fire, but it wouldn't cook. In the north there were many people, and in the east; but they had no fire that would cook.

"There must be fire in some place," said the people at Pawi; "how can we find it?"

"I will go out to-night to look," said Ahalamila.

That night he went to look for fire. He went to the top of Wahkanopa, looked east and west, saw no fire in either place. Next he looked north; no fire in the north. He looked south; saw no fire anywhere.

Ahalamila came home and talked to the chief and people. "I saw no fire," said he; "I could not see any, but I will go to a better place the next time and take some one with me. I will go to-morrow night to the top of Wahkalu. Who here has a good head, who has a sharp eye to see fire? I want to look for fire to-morrow night from the top of Wahkalu; from that place I will look all around the whole world to find fire."

"We have a man here," said the chief, "who can see through a tree, who can see down through the earth to bed rock, who can see through a mountain. You can take him to-morrow night with you. He is Siwegi."

Ahalamila went to Siwegi. "Will you go to-morrow night to look for fire?" asked he.

"I will go if the way is not too long."

"Oh," said Ahalamila, "it will not be long. I will shorten it."

Siwegi agreed to go; and when the time came, they started. Ahalamila doubled up the trail and made it short; in an hour they were on the top of Wahkalu, both ready now to look for fire. The night is very dark; they can see the smallest fire easily.

They look to the east, look with great care, look a good while, see no fire; they look to the north in the same way, see no fire; they look to the west, no fire there. Now Ahalamila looks south, looks a long time, and sees nothing; he looks half an hour to the south, sees a little glimmer like a light very far away.

"Siwegi," said he, "I see a small light down south; it seems like fire far away. I think it is fire."

“Look again,” said Siwegi, “look sharply. Maybe it is fire.”

“I have looked enough, I think it is fire,” said Ahalamila; “but I want you to see it, I want you to look now.”

Siwegi looked a little while. “Yes, that is fire,” said he.

“Well,” said Ahalamila, “we see fire, we know that it is far off in the south.”

Ahalamila made the road short, and they were back at Pawi in an hour. “We have found fire,” said Ahalamila to the chief and the people. “We know where fire is, we can have fire now.”

“We must have that fire,” said the people.

“There is no way to get the fire but to go for it,” said Ahalamila.

“Well,” said the chief, “since Ahalamila saw the fire he will go for it; but the road is long. Who will go and help him? Who will go for fire with Ahalamila?”

About fifty men offered to go, and they started next morning. The journey was long and very hard. Soon two or three men were tired and went home; not long after more were tired, and when they had gone far down to a great river, just north of where the fire was, of the fifty who started only three were left,—Ahalamila, Metsi, and old Shushu Marimi.

Just south of the great river Au Mujaupa had a very big village, and in the village a large sweat-house. In that house he kept the fire, and had a great crowd of people living in the country outside who served him, and kept every one in the world from stealing his fire. These people were Patcha, Chil Wareko, Chil Daiauna, Sabil Keyu, Juhauju, Juwaju, Jukami, Jukilauju.

The three, Ahalamila, Metsi, and old Shushu Marimi, were at the northern end of the bridge, and sat there watching till all at the sweat-house was quiet. The bridge was very narrow and slippery; so Ahalamila put pitch on his feet and hands, and on Metsi's and Shushu's feet and hands. All three crossed without slipping, and found every one asleep in the sweat-house.

The old chief, Au Mujaupa, had covered the fire well with ashes. All was silent within and without. Ahalamila, Metsi, and Shushu crept onto the sweat-house quietly, and looked in. All were asleep.

"I will go down first," said Metsi.

"No, I will go first," said Ahalamila. "I will get the fire and reach it to you; you take it and run very fast."

Ahalamila slipped down. Metsi and Shushu remained on the roof. Ahalamila opened the fire carefully, took out a good piece and handed it to the old woman. She put it in her ear. He handed her another; she put it in her other ear, slipped down from the top of the sweat-house, ran across the bridge, and hurried away.

Ahalamila gave Metsi two pieces. He put them in his two ears and started. Ahalamila filled his own ears and followed.

The three had run over two mountains when Au Mujaupa woke up and saw that the ashes had been opened, and that fire had been taken, that a coal had fallen near the central pillar. He sprang up, went to the top of the sweat-house, shouted, called to all his people,—

"Fire has been stolen! Fire has been stolen! Go, you, and follow!"

Now Patcha, Chil Wareko, Chil Daiuana, Sabil Keyu, and all the wind people rose up and followed, raced and stormed in every direction. So much rain came that the whole country was covered with water.

Now Juwaju was ahead of all Au Mujaupa's people chasing the three robbers. Chil Wareko came too, and fell upon the three furiously; he drenched and chilled them. Next came Jukami and Patcha, who nearly froze them.

Metsi was almost dead; the fire went out in both his ears. Ahalamila lost his fire too. Chil Wareko, Juwaju, and Patcha quenched it, then he let it fall.

Old Shushu was behind a good way, but she ran all the time. She kept her hand on one ear as she ran. She lost the fire out of her other ear, and when the piece fell out it broke in two and fell apart. Chil Wareko picked up the fire and took it back; he found six pieces, thought that he had all. He and the others stopped following.

Ahalamila and Metsi ran ahead, left old Shushu to get on the best she could, and reached home first. They were wet, very cold, and tired.

"Where is your fire?" asked the chief.

"I have none; Chil Wareko took my fire," said Ahalamila.

"Where is your fire?" asked the chief.

"Chil Wareko took it," said Metsi.

The chief was very sorry, and all the people were sorry. The old woman did not come, and the people said, "She must be frozen dead."

At sundown old Shushu came back; she came very slowly, was terribly tired, but courageous. She reached the sweat-house, came in, said nothing, lay down wet and cold.

"Where is the fire?" asked she; "did not Ahalamila and Metsi bring fire? They are young and strong, and had plenty of fire."

After a while she stood up, drew some wood-dust together, then sat down, opened her ear and held it over the dust; a big piece of fire came out. Wood was brought quickly, and soon the whole sweat-house was warm. The people who were cold before were warm now and glad.

"Bring meat and we will try how it tastes when 'tis roasted," said the chief.

He cut some venison and roasted it. One and another tasted the meat. "It is very good," said they; a third one said, "I'll try it," and Gagi took a taste. "Oh, it is sweet, very good," said Gagi.

Each one roasted meat and ate heartily. Next day all went to hunt, and had a great feast in the evening. A chief from another place came to the feast and got fire, and took it home with him. Soon all people had fire; every one had fire in all parts of the country.

#### XIV. INDIAN MEDICINE-MEN.

k!ūwi` 'é'klisi`ndj k!unundj daumis iūyo`easindj  
 Medicine-man; | "I doctor her | and I | it is four | I make days

2 dj ê'kliyaunits k!un k'ūs 'i'dubal<sup>e</sup> wa<sup>e</sup>yūsindj k'ū`-  
 the | my doctoring her | and | not she is | get up again. | I am afraid | perhaps  
she will not

damaisi 'i'dubal<sup>e</sup> k!unu 'abi'tduwi<sup>e</sup>i`<sup>e</sup> be`damaisi<sup>e</sup>  
 get up again." | "And | do you go after him! | perhaps it is he who will

t'ūei` badja'lmaunits· k!ū'windja t'ī'mae'a`  
do it. | 'I am great | I am medicine-man,' | he is always saying."

nik'itdin'e't' 'alwa'ldie xa` mats!é'w djóbi'let' ba'- 2  
He has come. | "Put down on ground | water!" | Round white beads | he offered  
him as pay, | dentalia  
nī'n<sup>a</sup> djóbi'let' mā's'idjas·ie a'ígits· as· dé'wai<sup>e</sup> k'ū'-  
he offered him. | "He will be glad | because of these | when he is | see them." | "Not I  
ever  
madjasindj k!u'tdju<sup>e</sup> aits· p'adī'ts!gi<sup>260</sup> k!u'tdju<sup>e</sup>asindj 4  
like | these here | trinkets. | I like

p!ale'si k!unu 'é'k!ie' é'k!ie basī'k'iea 'ī'dubal'da-  
p!ale'si shell beads." | "And | doctor her! | doctor her | at night, | perhaps she will  
get up again."  
maisi<sup>ei</sup> ô k'ū'sindj wayū'ei é'k!imaunits· wā'e aits· 6  
"O, | not I am | be afraid | my doctoring | — | the one who

mā'disi ate'īmat' aidji wayu<sup>e</sup>ma'iyau<sup>e</sup>nidja` k!ū'windja  
is sick. | What should he | the | my being afraid for! | I am medicine-man,  
k'ū'si gala<sup>e</sup>a` mō't'p'ausi mō'yauna 'īrape bats!i"de<sup>e</sup>a 8  
not she will | cry, | she will eat her own | food." | "Go out of house! | shout out!

gak!ūwi<sup>e</sup> t'ūman<sup>e</sup> a'ite'<sup>1</sup> k!u'w<sup>1</sup> 'ī'dubalsi<sup>ei</sup> ha'da'i-  
call upon your dream spirit! | thus always does | the | medicine-man." | "She will re-  
cover, | I dream.  
wausindj 'ā'yaha t'īmmagara<sup>e</sup> t'īpsiwandja k'ū'yau- 10  
'Spring of water | pray speak to it! | it tells me. | 'Pray do not

gummagat' mō'ei mō"dagummagat' halai'k'iea as· ba-  
eat, | pray go ahead and eat | to-morrow | when it is | mount up on hill to south.  
lō'p'a<sup>e</sup>a` djits!gi'ldus·inuma ha'da'iwausindja yā'dimagar 12  
You shall go to spring and bathe,' | I dream, | 'pray pass night

ai<sup>e</sup> dji'gal wairu nīdū'k'isik!ô basī'k'iea 'īp'eilamma-  
it | mountain! | Now | I shall come back | in night. | Pray wake them up!  
gara<sup>e</sup> é'djawaisi<sup>ei</sup> ts!um<sup>e</sup>ma'units· yā` yā'gaimagar ai 14  
they will help to sing, | I am being-good | person. | 'Pray ask | them

k!a'ina yā'gaimagara<sup>e</sup> ina aidj mitgalā'iwi yā'gaimagara<sup>e</sup>  
rocks, | pray ask | trees, | the | logs | pray ask.  
ū'sī'djamagat' nībi'le'ei k!unus· gāyā'ei ai dji"gulu 16  
Pray be twice | go about | and he will | talk | he | owl

ai yā'k'ga k!unu mi'nmumāgar aidji k p'usā'yauna  
he | woodpecker | and pray roll (tobacco) between your hands, | it | its | smoking.  
k'ū'yangummagat' mō'ei dauba'lmagar aits· 'ó'nunui!ā 18  
Pray do not | eat. | Pray pick up | the | round luck stones,'

ha'da'iwausindja maus· dj ī'dubalyauna  
I dream. | She will be | the | getting up again."

<sup>260</sup> p'adī'ts!gi means literally "small places, things" and is used to refer to beads and other trinkets and objects that make up wealth.

- 'ū mi'labiwie<sup>ie</sup> badū'k'itdisi yā'mak'alla'uwulwie<sup>ie</sup>  
 "Ho! | do you people wake up! | he is already coming back, | do you all together  
 go into house!
- 2 é'lausinuga t'ū'hainasik!ô<sup>ea</sup> asinuk' mā'dipts!ie<sup>i</sup> t'ū-  
 you shall sing. | I shall do likewise | whenever you are | any (of you) be sick, | I  
 shall do likewise  
 hainasik!ô asindj k'ū sa'ps'ie<sup>i</sup> ai yā't'imaina k'ūs  
 even if I | not | sleep. | They | still other people | not they
- 4 atk'ie<sup>i</sup> dji waw'indja ap'andj da'n<sup>mau</sup> mō<sup>ei</sup> 'atk'ip'a<sup>ea</sup>  
 all come | the | my house. | If I should | much | have to eat | they would come  
 k'unup' djā'limapte!ie<sup>i</sup> ap'andj mō<sup>ei</sup> k'ūsindj k'u't-  
 and they would | all laugh together among themselves | if I should | have to eat.  
 Not I | like
- 6 dju<sup>ea</sup> aits' yā 'é'djawaip!a<sup>ea</sup> mo'k!a'p<sup>du</sup>sik!ô<sup>ea</sup> é'dja-  
 those | people | to assist in singing. | I shall go to bring them, | they shall assist in  
 singing  
 waisi ū't!ā'l<sup>ea</sup>ik!ôwandja s'aps:da'djak!ônā k' mō'yauna  
 Perhaps they raise their hands contemptuously at me; | perhaps, is it not, they are  
 sound asleep! their | eating,
- 8 nak'u' nīdū'k'ie<sup>i</sup> ul<sup>ei</sup>'sgusik!u badū'p'auduru<sup>ei</sup> hala'ik'ie<sup>a</sup>  
 therefore he not is | come back. | I suppose they do not hear. | Run to tell them again |  
 to-morrow!  
 gī'ma<sup>ma</sup>units' yā t'īts!awai<sup>ei</sup> k'ūya'ugummagat' t'ie<sup>a</sup>  
 'I am being-sensible | person,' | thus they say, | pray do not | let them say,
- 10 t'amma<sup>s</sup> dapbu'sak'ie<sup>a</sup> as mā'la<sup>ea</sup> ba'idjatdjagummā'-  
 even if they are | have handsome (husbands). | If they | refuse, | pray cause at  
 least one to come along,  
 gara<sup>ea</sup> nīdū'k'imāgat'<sup>a</sup> t!uihala'ik'ie<sup>a</sup> k!u'tdju<sup>ea</sup>asin dji<sup>270</sup>  
 pray cause him to come again | day after to-morrow." | "I like | the (my)
- 12 dé'waiyau isī'yau ma'duk!a'p<sup>du</sup>rup'auwīdj  
 seeing | brother, | do you go after him to bring him back to | me!"  
 xa'da'iwausindj adji p'a'dibanauma t'ū'magara<sup>e</sup> t'ip-  
 "I dream | the | everywhere. | 'Pray do it!' | it said to me,
- 14 siwandja bu'lsdjamau basī'yauna 'é'k'imagara<sup>e</sup> t'ipsi-  
 'being three times | it being night | pray doctor her!' | it said to me  
 wandja dji xa'da'iwaumau<sup>ea</sup>nīdja 'abi'lt<sup>p</sup>'ausie<sup>i</sup> 'ate'it-  
 the | my dreamt (thing). | 'She shall go about recovered, | she shall go off (to get  
 roots),
- 16 si<sup>ei</sup> dju'n<sup>maw</sup>ip!a'sie<sup>i</sup> t'ipsiwandj aidji xa'dai'wau-  
 she shall get food,' | it said to me | the | my dreamt (thing).  
 mau<sup>ea</sup>nīdja bats!'dimāgara<sup>e</sup> badji'lmagar ai wawī'  
 'Pray shout! | pray run around | it | house,
- 18 asinu i'dūlbitdja<sup>ea</sup> k'u'yaugummagat' ts!é'wale<sup>a</sup> ga-  
 when you are | about to enter into house again.' | Pray do not | make noise, | pray  
 stop from making sound  
 bā'dimagara<sup>e</sup> ai 'ama'its!its!g<sup>i</sup> eū'cu gabā'dimagara<sup>e</sup>  
 them | children, | dogs | pray stop from making sound!

<sup>270</sup> = k!u'tdju<sup>ea</sup>asindj dji.



- dat't'gitba'lk!undja` k'ũ sindj mits!djuk!uts!i'ei ts!et'e-  
I might fall down staggering, | I am not | have heart. | There is nobody,
- na'mak'oi'e'a` ũ'bũ'sindja` i'dja'tdisindja` mik'a'isinā` 2  
I am first. | I am tired now. | She is angry, is she not?
- nak'u ê'k'li'e'i'mmaigu'e'i` ô'ts!gilsê'e'a` s'u'nna<sup>271</sup> ai'dje'e  
therefore she does not | help to doctor. | She shall soak in water | s'u'nna roots | that  
one,
- ts'ô's'ik!ô'e'a wa'iru k!unus'ik!ô mo'ei asindj dé'wai'e 4  
I shall eat them raw. | Now | and I shall | eat them | if I | see
- as· mô'tp'au'e'i k'ũ'sindj nī'digu'e'i nīdũ'sdagus'ik!ô as·  
if she is | eat her own. | I not | go off and leave her, | I shall just go off home | when  
she is
- 'i'dubal'e'i mā's'idjasindja k'ũ'sindj k!u'tdjo'e dji umā'- 6  
get up again. | I am glad. | Not I | like | the | my brother
- yaenits· mau wal'lyāguyauna dji nī'k'iyau'e'nidj a'igidja  
to be about to | lose her. | The | my coming | here,
- dji mô'yau'e'nidja bē'nidj 'i'djaurimae'i ba'igumau'e'nidja 8  
the | my eating, | that is why I am | be sorry. | I being one
- dji k!ũ'wi'eyau'e'nidja djits!gi'lsindja aits· 'ā'yaxaba-  
the | my being medicine-man. | I go into spring | the | every spring
- na'uma k!unundj ga'edjā'p!ai'e'i k'ũ's'ik!ôwandj 'a'lts'di'e'i` 10  
and I am | be answered, | not it me will | abandon.
- djira'ps aidji lī'limau'e'nidja` yala'usindja aidji ba-  
(Blood) flows out | the | my nose, | I have it running out | the | my body, ,
- si'ndja djits'i'ts· aits· watdu'wi aidji basibana'umandja 12  
it flows straight out | the | blood, | the | every part of my body
- watduwi'e'asi dé'waip'auwām'e'a asindj wa'iru dila'u'e'i  
is bloody. | I find it for you. | If I | now | die
- wairu dila'usi'e aidj yā` aik ts!um'e'ma'una wa'iru 14  
now | they will die | the | people | their | being good, | now
- bagarwa'k!iyausi'e'a mǎp'djama'ihandja` k'ũ's t'ũ'e a'igidje  
they will drop dead. | I was very powerful. | Not they | do | in that way;
- t'ũ's aidj p!u'tdiwi` aik· k!ũ'wi'eyayauna k'unusindj 16  
they do | the | women | their | being medicine-women, | never yet have I been
- gô'e'i guits'ts'i'tp!a'e'aiyauna bô'ts!k'itp'au'e'aiyauna<sup>272</sup> mū'-  
hear | causing to feel well; | wearing ceremonial net-caps | they merely put on style.
- djik!up!aha't'e'gusi k'ũ'sindj t'ũ'e aigidje` bē'e'nidj 'i'sa- 18  
Not I | do | in that way, | that is why I am | be always alive,
- ma'e'a` k'i'tbitsiwandja` k!unundj ts!u'p'e'i` mīgi'lyamai-  
they let me alone | and I am | be good; | taking pity on me

<sup>271</sup> Perhaps *Eulophus pringlei*.

<sup>272</sup> From *ba'ts!k'i* "medicine-man's ceremonial net-cap with feathers."

- yauwandja' bê'ënidj t'û'ma<sup>ea</sup>' dji mê'gilyayaga'lsindja'  
that is why I | always do | that | I am quick and take pity on (people).
- 2 dî'wî'k!apsiwandja' ditbilyaga'l<sup>e</sup> t'î'psiwa<sup>ea</sup>' nik'î'tdis  
One sees me coming, | 'Hurry up and cook!' | she is told, | 'he is already coming.  
dju'nmawi<sup>e</sup> t'î'si wak!a'lp!ayauna dibi'l<sup>e</sup> t'î'si dju'n-  
Feed him!' | he says | wife. | 'Cook!' | he says, | 'feed him!'
- 4 mawi<sup>e</sup> ha'da'iwausindja bê'ënits' ni'k'ima<sup>e</sup> 'anî'nawaim'-  
I dream, | that is why I | come here, | I come to see what I can do for you.  
djasiwām<sup>e</sup> k'û'p'andj t'û'<sup>e</sup> aigidje' k'û'sik!ô ne''wal-  
I would not | do | in that way, | I shall not | step down
- 6 da<sup>e</sup> ari 'î'ya asindj bagarwa'k!iyau<sup>ea</sup>' wa'îru ô'mai-  
that | trail | if I | drop dead. | Now | I shall have ceased.  
djagutdisik!ô<sup>ea</sup> t'ô'sindj ai dā'masi dji mō'yau<sup>e</sup>nuga'  
I do like | one who | he looks on | the | your eating.
- 8 k'û'nshandj t'û'<sup>e</sup> aigidje' t!a'mma<sup>e</sup>neh 'ariyu'tei dji  
Not have I been | do | in that way | although there have been | be many | the  
yā'ënidja' t'ô'sindj ai dā'masi dīmā'n<sup>e</sup>aigup'andj  
my people. | I do like | one who | he looks on, | 'Would that I might
- 10 'î'wulei t'î'sindja nagundj ni'k'iei  
enter house!' | I say, | therefore did I | come."

INDIAN MEDICINE-MEN.<sup>273</sup>

(The) medicine woman (said), "It is four days now that I have been doctoring her, and she is not well yet. I am afraid that perhaps she will not recover." "Do you go after him," (said the sick woman's husband,) "perhaps he will cure her. He is always saying, 'I am a great medicine-man.'"

(The medicine-man) has arrived. "Put down water on the ground!"<sup>274</sup> Round white shell beads he offered him as pay, he offered him dentalia. (He thought,) "He will be glad because of these, when he sees them." "I do not like these trinkets

<sup>273</sup> In this and the following texts an attempt was made to secure from Betty Brown an account in her own language of some phases of Yana religious and social life. Owing to her tendency to use conversational narrative instead of general description, these texts are rather illustrative by means of real or imaginary incidents of the life of the Yana than ethnologically satisfying statements. No. XIV gives an idea of the touchy medicine-man, insulted because few are found willing to assist him in his doctoring.

<sup>274</sup> For the medicine-man. Cf. p. 193, l. 2.

here," (said the medicine-man). "I like *p!ale*'si shell beads." "And do you doctor her! Doctor her during the night, perhaps she will recover." "Oh, I am not afraid of my doctoring the one that is sick. Why should I be afraid? I am a medicine-man. She will not cry. She will yet eat her own food." "Go out of the house! Shout! Call upon your dream spirit! So always does the medicine-man do." "She will recover, I dreamt. 'Pray speak to the spring of water!' my dream tells me. 'Pray do not eat! Go ahead and eat tomorrow when the sun is overhead! You shall go to the spring to bathe!' I dreamt. 'Pray pass the night on the mountain!' Now I shall return in the night. Wake up the people. They will help to sing. I am a good medicine-man. 'Pray ask the rocks! Ask the trees! Ask the logs! Go about twice, and the owl will talk and the yellow-hammer, and pray roll tobacco between your hands and smoke it. Do not eat anything! Pick up the round luck stones!' Thus I dreamt. She will recover."

"Ho! you people wake up! He's<sup>275</sup> already coming back. Do you all go into the house together and sing. I shall do likewise whenever any of you are sick; I shall do likewise, even if I do not sleep. There are still other people who have not come to my house. If I had had much to eat they would all have come, and they would all have been laughing among themselves, if I should have had food to give them.<sup>276</sup> Those people do not like to assist in singing. I shall go to bring them; they shall help to sing. I suppose they raise their hands contemptuously at me.<sup>277</sup> Perhaps, is it not, they are sound asleep or eating, therefore they do not come over. I suppose they do not hear. Run over to tell them to come tomorrow! 'I am a sensible person,' indeed they say. Pray do not let them say that, even if they have handsome wives.<sup>278</sup> If they refuse, pray let at least one come along. Pray

<sup>275</sup> *I.e.*, the medicine-man, who has passed the night up on the mountain to gain supernatural power.

<sup>276</sup> They would laugh for joy. As it is, they are not very enthusiastic about helping a poor man.

<sup>277</sup> It was a sign of contempt to extend one's arm with outspread fingers towards another.

<sup>278</sup> Bitterly ironical.

let him come the day after tomorrow." "I should like to see my brother. Do you go after him to bring him back to me!" (said the sick woman).

(The medicine-man said,) "I have dreamt of everything. 'Pray do so!' it said to me. 'Doctor her for three nights!' said my dream to me. 'She shall recover and go about, she shall go off to get roots, she shall procure food for herself,' said my dream to me. 'Shout! Run around the house, when you are about to enter the house again.' Pray do not make a noise. Pray stop the children from making a sound, stop the dogs from making a noise! I might stagger and fall down, I have not much heart." (When he returned, he said,) "There is no one here, I am the first. I am tired already. The medicine-woman is angry, is she not? therefore she does not help me in doctoring. Let her soak *cu'nnu* roots in water. I shall eat them raw. Now I shall eat them, if I see that she<sup>279</sup> is to eat her own. I shall not go off and leave her, I shall go off home only when she shall have recovered. I rejoice (that she will recover). I do not like to have my brother lose her. I always come here and I always eat here, that is why I am sorry for him. I am the only medicine-man. I go to every spring, and I am answered. It<sup>280</sup> will not abandon me. Blood flows from out of my nose, I have it running out of my body; the blood flows straight out, every part of my body is covered with blood. I shall find it<sup>281</sup> for you. If I die, then all the good people will die, then they will drop dead. I was possessed of supernatural power. The women are not thus. The women that are doctors I have never yet heard to cure; they merely put on style, wearing their ceremonial net-caps. I am not thus, that is why I remain alive.<sup>282</sup> I am let alone, and I am good. People take pity on me, that is why it is that I am quick to take pity on them. I am seen coming and she is told, 'Hurry up and cook! he is already coming! Feed him!' he says to his wife. 'Cook!'

<sup>279</sup> *I.e.*, the sick woman.

<sup>280</sup> *I.e.*, my supernatural power, guardian spirit.

<sup>281</sup> *I.e.*, the disease-causing "pain."

<sup>282</sup> He implies that he does not cause any one's death, so that there has been no reason to seek his life. If a medicine-man failed too frequently to cure, he was suspected of malice and was decapitated.

he says. 'Feed him!' I dreamt, that is why I came here; I came to see what I could do for you. I would not do thus, I shall not step in that trail, if I drop dead. Now I shall have ceased.<sup>283</sup> I seem to be like one who looks on, while you people are eating. I have never done thus, although my people are many in number.<sup>284</sup> I seem to be like one who looks on, and as though I say, 'Would that I might enter the house!', that therefore I came.'

## XV. MARRIAGE.

- wé'm'djaniwada' k'ū'siwāmē ts!ahā-a'imē k!u'tdjo'asindj  
He had been bringing food. | "Not I you | I love you." | "I like him
- wak!a'lba'iē mausi itda'yau nigā'ē k'ū'sinu i'wulē dji 2  
Keep him as husband! | I shall | make him | son-in-law. | You shall not | enter house |  
the
- wawi'ndj k'ū'sinu i'dūlē dji wawi'ndj dju'nma'wip!a'  
my house, | you shall not | enter house again | the | my house. | Let us get food for  
ourselves."
- xani'k' 'a'rtbilsini'k' badja'lmau ts!ahā'a'isiwā'mē 4  
"We shall go about together, | greatly | I love you.
- ma'usk'inik 'ā'tdaps!iyau xala'ik'i yā'bak'ima'egadawi'ē  
We shall | go with each other | to-morrow. | Pray move here all of you!
- dīwa'im'djawik'i'k' yādī'sinu'k' k'ū'sindj i'nā'ē , ahī 6  
do you all come and see us, | you shall stay all night. | Not I | object. | I do not know
- ate'i'mak' aik t'i'w mō'djuk'dama'ik!u' wanigā'ia'u  
what is her | her | that she says. | Perhaps she would be very glad | having as son-in-  
law."
- auts! t'isi'ndj wak!a'lp!aya'u i'djasindj dji djun- 8  
"Glad | I say | husband. | I am tired | the | my feeding you.
- ma'wiwā'mē 'amā'tsasinu' k!u'nu mits!wawī'ē mits!-  
You shall go home with him | and | have house! | you shall have children.
- ama'its!its'gisinu 'ai'k'igummasik!ô nī'k'igummasi asinuk' 10  
I indeed shall come after you, | he indeed will come after (us) | if you are
- dīwa'im'djā' as'ik!ô k!u'nmiyau' djuduna'umas'k'iwā'k'  
come to be seen. | If I shall | be hungry, | you give us food.
- ba'irusi' k!u'nusik!u wē'tk'iē dā'sidusi' k!u'nusik!ô<sup>285</sup> 12  
He will hunt deer | and I shall | fetch it home, | he will go to get salmon | and I shall  
(fetch it home).

<sup>283</sup> The medicine-man is disgusted with the scurvy treatment accorded him and swears never to do as much again.

<sup>284</sup> *I.e.*, although there are many relatives whose hospitality I might claim.

<sup>285</sup> Probably some such word as *wē'tk'iē* has been omitted here, as *k!u'nusik!ô* cannot possibly be construed with *djuduna'umak'ik'*.

- djuduna'umak'ik'      djudunauma'sk'iwāk'      wāwite'a'isik!ô  
Give us food! | You give us food, | I shall pound acorns
- 2 k'unus:ik!ô      t'ū'haina<sup>e</sup>      wē'atdus:ik!ô      k'unu      maus:inu  
and I shall | do similarly. | I shall fetch it to (your) house | and | you will  
mā's:idja<sup>e</sup>      t!inī'sinā`      mā's:idjas:inu`      as:i      diwī'k!apdj  
be glad, | O daughter! | You will be glad | if will be | your seeing me coming
- 4 k'unus:inu      djô'dunau<sup>e</sup>      aidji      yā'nu      mā's:idjabanauma's`  
and you will | give food to | the | your people,• | they are glad every one of them.  
ts!upp'a'nnainiwā'da<sup>e</sup>nu`      gī'ma<sup>e</sup>nīwāda<sup>e</sup>nu`      ts!um<sup>e</sup>ma'uya  
You have always been very good | you have always been sensible, | being good person
- 6 adji      wak!a'lp!ainu`      gīma's`  
the | your husband, | he is sensible."  
k'unus:inu      djudunaumā`      aidji      ni'tte'in<sup>e</sup>mauni'te      k'ū-  
"And you will | be given as food | the | my hunted (thing). | I shall surely not
- 8 yaugusik!o      dāni'n<sup>e</sup>ma      t'ū'hainasi<sup>e</sup>nu`      dji      k'uwate'  
I whip you, | you shall do likewise | the | you not me  
da'its!inai'ts`      asindj      wat!inī'si<sup>e</sup>      a'tsasini`k'      adji      wa<sup>e</sup>-  
scold me." | "If I | have child | we shall go off | the | your house.
- 10 winu`      wak'unā<sup>e</sup>      adji      wawi'ndj      k!u'nus:ik!ô      wak'unā<sup>e</sup>  
Stay | the | my house." | "And I shall | stay  
aidji      wa<sup>e</sup>wi'nu      wa'idu      nitts'it<sup>e</sup>sik!ô`      wa'it'<sup>u</sup>      ā'bamap-  
the | your house. | Now | I shall go to hunt." | "Now | we shall grow old together.
- 12 ts!isini`k      dīla'u'damaisik!ô`      be'dama'isinu`  
Perhaps I shall die (first), | perhaps it will be you."

## MARRIAGE.

He had been bringing her food. (She said to him,) "I do not love you." (Her mother said to her,) "I like him. Take him for your husband! I want to have him as son-in-law. I will not have you in my house, you shall not again enter my house (unless you take him as husband). Let us get food!"<sup>286</sup> (Then she said to him,) "We shall go together. I love you very much. To-morrow we shall get married. Let all of your people come here. All of you come and see us, and stay all night! I have nothing to say against it. I do not know what (my mother) says, but probably she will be very glad to have (you) as son-in-law."

<sup>286</sup> In other words, the mother finds it hard to support her daughter and is only too glad to dispose of her to a desirable son-in-law.

(Her mother said to her,) "I am glad that you have taken him as husband; I am tired of feeding you. You shall go home with him and keep house with him, and you will have children. Truly I shall come to see you, and he will come to see us. Whenever I am hungry you will give us food. He will go to hunt deer, and I shall fetch it home. He will go to get salmon, and I shall fetch it home. Do you give us food! You shall give us food, and I shall pound acorns. I shall do similarly for you. I shall fetch them to your house, and you will feel rejoiced, my daughter! Whenever you see me coming you will feel rejoiced, and you will give food to your people. Every one of them will be glad. You have always been very good, you have been sensible. Your husband is a good man and he is sensible."

(He said to her,) "And I will give you as food whatever I hunt. Surely I shall not whip you. You on your part shall not scold me." (She said to him,) "If I have a child we shall go off to your house. Stay now in my house." (He said to her,) "Yes, I will stay in your house. Now I shall go out hunting." (She said to him,) "Now we shall grow old together. Perhaps it will be I who shall die first, perhaps it will be you."

## XVI. A LOVERS' QUARREL.

s'uwā'<sup>287</sup> ha'da'iwauk!u'ndj dīmā'n'eaiguk!unuk' 'a'rt-  
 "S'uwā'! | May I dream! | Would that you (pl.) might | come!  
 k'ie wai'ema'ip!an'ehanuk' k'ūyau k!u'tdjoē yā'<sup>288</sup> badja'l- 2  
 You thought that you were | not being | to love | any one." | "Greatly  
 mau k!u'tdju'asiwā'ēm nagundj ni'k'ie k'ū' damaik!-  
 I love you, | therefore I | come." | "Perhaps not you me  
 wādj k!u'tdju'ādj tē!aha'ea'in'ehawām' a'ip!ā k!unundj 4  
 you love me." | "I have loved you | for long time | and I  
 t'ū'sasinigu' dīwa'im'djasasinigusik!ōwā'm' 'ak'ī'magar aidji  
 always do thus. | I shall always come to see you. | Pray come | the  
 wo'wk'ini'k' t'ū'hainasinu' k!unusik!ō t'ū'haina' aī'p'lit- 6  
 our house. | You shall do likewise | and I shall | do likewise. | After some time  
 sag atda'p'tlisini'k' i'dja'tgadaya'u k'unū'sindj i'-  
 we shall go together." | "Pray let me grow! | not yet I am | be grown up."

<sup>287</sup> See note 310.

<sup>288</sup> Or: *k'ū k!u'tdju'ayau yā'*.

- djat<sup>e</sup> dē'djibatdis aidji nīna'nte' k'unusik!ô a'uwilyām<sup>e</sup>  
 "She already knows it | the | my mother | and I shall | I stay with you
- 2 k'unusinu t'ū'hainasēwādj<sup>289</sup> waeyūsindj 'aldjasa'dama'i-  
 and you shall | you shall do likewise to me." | "I am afraid | perhaps you will throw  
 me away.
- siwā'dj malla'p!amaut'inu k'unundj k'ū' gīma<sup>e</sup> k!u-  
 They say you are bad | and I | not | think (so) | and you will
- 4 nusinu<sup>e</sup> nite'it<sup>e</sup> dan<sup>e</sup>ma'u gayāp'a'usiwādj k'unundj  
 go off to hunt." | "Much | you talk to me | and I am
- bê 'a'up!ama<sup>e</sup> t'ū'masik!undj k'ū'mahadanu gī'mamauyā'  
 be he who | speak right. | I do not know what I shall do. | Not, as it turns out, are  
 you | being-sensible person.
- 6 te!upp'a'usik!ôwām<sup>e</sup> teup<sup>e</sup>li'asik!ôwā'm<sup>e</sup> k'ū'yaugu wayu<sup>e</sup>-  
 I shall be good to you, | I shall dress you well. | Do not | be afraid of me.
- ma'ite' atē'īmah aidja'nā<sup>290</sup> t'ī'maiw t'ī'psp'awādj  
 What is | the, pray, | that (you) say it for? | You should have told me
- 8 aigi 'a'ip!āx wai<sup>e</sup>ma'ip!ak!unu ba'iguyau 'adi<sup>e</sup>yu'ts ai  
 at it | long ago. | Perchance you think that you are | being one. | Many are | they
- p!utdi'w k!u'nusik!ô a'uwibalmit'gu<sup>e</sup> wai<sup>e</sup>ma'is-iwate'  
 women, | and I shall | pick up any one. | You think in regard to me
- 10 maus galā'yauyī badja'lmau dapbu'sasindj t'ī'k!unu'  
 'He will be | crying'? | 'Greatly | I am pretty'. | perchance you say.
- dapbu'samaugum u'ldjasaha'ndj atē'īgadap' aidji ī't-  
 Indeed being pretty | I have thrown them away. | What, pray, would be | the | my  
 doing
- 12 da'nte' aidju k'uwādj k!u'tdjuā'dj k!u'nusik!ô 'ô'ni-  
 the your | not you me | you love me? | And I shall | try (another) one.
- nawai<sup>e</sup> k'ūsi dē'wai<sup>e</sup> aigite' k!u'nā'p!diw t'ī'pk!u-  
 'He will not | see | to the | women,' | perchance you say to me.
- 14 wā'te' k'ū'sinu<sup>e</sup> gīma<sup>e</sup> a'idji gī'mamau'ni'te' 'adiyu'ts  
 Not you | know | the | my thought. | Many are
- aidji 'umā'yariwinte' aidji mari'emiyaunite' aidji dit-  
 the | my brothers | the | my sisters | those who | help me
- 16 'i'mmarima'isiandj asindj wawu'lwardibile<sup>a</sup> 'ariyu'ts ai  
 if I | go anywheres to woo. | Many are | they
- īwā'na'it!inis aidji p'a'iganasiyariwī'nte'  
 nephews and nieces | the | my sister's children."

<sup>289</sup> t'ū'haina<sup>e</sup>ād<sup>j</sup> would be more correct.

<sup>290</sup> This form is very obscure; perhaps it should be *aidju* "the your,"  
*nā* "is it not?"



## A LOVERS' QUARREL.

"S-uwā! May I dream of him! Would that you might come. You thought that you would not love any one." (Her lover has come and says to her,) "I love you very much, that is why I have come." "Perhaps you do not love me." "I have loved you for a long time, and I shall always do so. I shall always come to see you. Pray come to our house, and I shall do likewise. After a while we shall be married." "Pray let me grow. I am not yet grown up." "My mother already knows about it, and I shall stay with you, and you shall do likewise to me." (She said,) "I am afraid that you might abandon me. They say that you are a bad fellow, and I did not know about it. You shall go off to hunt." "You talk too much to me, and it is I that speak rightly. I do not know what I shall do. You are not, it seems, a sensible person. I shall be good to you, I shall give you good clothes. Do not be afraid of me! Why, pray, do you speak thus? You should have told it to me long ago. Perchance you think that you are the only one. There are many women, and I shall take any one. Do you think about me, 'He will cry'? Perchance you say, 'I am very pretty.' Indeed, I have abandoned a pretty one. What, pray, should I do if you do not love me? I shall try another woman. Perchance you think about me, 'He will not find any women.' You do not know what I have in mind. I have many brothers and sisters who would help me<sup>291</sup> if I go anywheres to woo. Many are the nephews and nieces, my sister's children."

## XVII. CHILDBIRTH AND DEATH.

yô'hais wap<sup>e</sup> a'idji wak!a'lp!ayau<sup>e</sup>ni'te' maus' 'a'ik!u-  
 "She is pregnant. | Watch | the | my wife. | She will be | being sick.

yau ma'k!a'pdu<sup>e</sup> aidji ni'n<sup>a</sup> t'i'psiwante' 'a'ik!usasi- 2  
 'Go to bring her | the (my) | mother!' | she tells me. | She is always sick

niguma<sup>e</sup> a'igite' basi'yauna k!unundj wacyū'ei k!u'nu-  
 in the | being night | and I am | be afraid. | And I shall

<sup>291</sup> With the payment for a bride.

sik!ô k'û nibi!ei wak!unā'sasinigusik!ô'ea k'û'yaugusinu  
not | go about, | I shall always stay home. | 'You shall not

2 nibi!e t'ipsiwandja da'nemauna mô'ma'ea i'dja'nma'da-  
go about,' | she said to me. | Much | she is wont to eat, | it will perhaps grow too fast.

maisiei 'ā'ha k'û'dama'ima gô'e! aidji mô'yip!amaue-  
"Yes! | It seems she is wont not | to hear | the | my teaching her.

4 ni'te' k' i'dabiyau t'ī'mandj k'û'yaugu daduli!e!  
Her | going out of house | I am wont to say | 'Do not | turn to look back

adji 'ī'rabiyaenu 'u'nnamaidjip!asi'e a'igidje' k'û'yaugu  
the | your going out of house! | It will imitate | to that. | Do not

6 da'nemaun mô'e i'dja'nmak!unu' ga'ā'net' t'ibiyauwa'  
much | eat! | Your (child) might grow too quickly.'" | She cried | having been told.

k'û'p'awādj t'ī'pdj aigidje k'û's k'ā'p!aea aidji  
"You should not me | you tell me | in that way, | not is | feel pain | the

8 mak!i'ndj  
my back."

k!ununet' a'ik!usindj t'ī'e daumis'i'dibale'tê ma'k!a'p-  
And she was | "I am sick" | say. | Four days elapsed | be gone after

10 duwa' ai k!ū'w k'û'sints' i'djahatgutdisi'nte' dan-  
he | medicine-man. | "I am not. | I am now tired out and good for nothing. | Much

mau wī'yamauwa'ndj k'û'sinuk' dē'djiba' a'inuk'  
you (are) doubting me. | You (girls) not | know | you (pl.);

12 'adibama'u aite' mô'yip!ayauni'te' bê'mandj gap'a'ue  
being old | the | my giving advice, | that is why I am wont | to speak to her

aidje dīmā'ne'agup'a'e ea'uwik!ape! nīk'ī'tdin'et' ai k!ū'w  
that. | Would that she might | take (my advice) to herself!" | He had come | he |  
medicine-man.

14 ate'ī'gadas aidji t'ô'andja' k'û'ma'nindj dē'djiba'ea'  
"What, pray, shall be | the | my doing to her? | I have never been wont | to know it."

k'ū'lt!adak!inet' 'ehe'e ate'ī'h adji t'ô'eanigi' i'wī'e'e  
She was extremely dry. | "Well! | What is | the | our doing to her? | Do you (women)  
press upon her belly with your hands!

16 wayū'simadjandja da'nemaun mô'yip!amandja sī'mahat-  
I am rather afraid. | Much | I am wont to counsel." | "Indeed give me some to drink

gumma'ādaj ai xa''  
it | water!"

18 anī djidjā'ma'e p!ū'r k!unus wā'k!bal'e anī 'adū'-  
"Let me see! | Give her as seat | supporting sticks | and she will | arise. | Let me  
see! | Go clear around

djil'e ai wa'w! wa'i mausindj dila'uyau ai t'ī'net'  
it | house!" | "Alas! | I shall be | dying." | she | she said.

20 'ani ne''lil'e k'û'yaug'u ê'djauri'e kū'ma'nu a'uwik!ape!  
"Let me see! | Step out, | do not | feel worried! | You are not wont | to take (my ad-  
vice) to yourself.

aidji dé'djibayaunite' bē'nite' t'ī'ma<sup>e</sup> u'sī'djamanu  
The | my knowing it | that is why I am | wont to say." | Being twice

badji'let' aik' wa'w' gīt!a'peatdis ai 'ahā'limil' gayā's  
she ran around | her | house. | He now gives omen | he | fox, | he talks

ai 'ahā'limil' hana'ip!adibi'lk'iea k!ununet' djō'maip!at-  
he | fox | when it was yet before daybreak. | And she was | again sit down and hold on  
to supporting sticks.

duwaldi<sup>e</sup>

4

'e atc'ī'h adji t'ū'hawām<sup>e</sup> djawā'dibilet' ai 'ī's  
"O | What is | the | my having done to you!" | He wept in woods | he | man.

'ū ni'ts'dja<sup>e</sup> ai djī'gal yū'māgat'<sup>a</sup> ts!i'mts!imi<sup>e</sup> bādja'u- 6  
"Now! | go up | it | mountain! | pray build fire, | spruce twigs | break them and,  
pray, put down

rimagat' k!un ū's'imagat' yū'eatdin<sup>e</sup>t'ê djīdji'nnidi-  
and | pray get pine needles!" | He now built fire, | he flew about busily at his work

bilet' bats'dja'igumauk' aik' djuk!u'tts!<sup>1</sup> ā'ya 'as'u'ts- 8  
his being very joyful | his | heart. | That one | who had gone away off

s'ax ū 'ai yū'ēaw aiye' nīdū'k'in<sup>e</sup>t' i't'a'u basīk'i  
is | he | building fire | he yonder. | He came back home | at middle | when it is night.

t'ōmā'sima`x dīla'ubitdja's k'u'ls'itdi's dīmā'n'eaigunet' 10  
"How did it get along with her?" | "She is about to die, | she is all dried up." | Sud-  
denly she was

dīla'u<sup>e</sup>  
die.

#### CHILDBIRTH AND DEATH.

"She is pregnant. Wait by my wife. She will be sick. She tells me, 'Go and bring my mother!' She is always sick in the night, and I am afraid. I shall not go about, I shall always stay at home. 'You shall not go about,' she says to me. She eats too much, perhaps her child will grow too fast." "Yes!" (said her mother). "It seems she never listens to what I tell her. Whenever she goes out of the house, I say, 'Do not look back when you go outside. Your child will imitate that. Do not eat too much. Your child might grow too quickly.'" She cried when she was told that. "You should not tell me that. I do not feel any pain in my back."

Now she said, "I am sick." Four days elapsed, and the medicine-man was sent for. (Her mother said,) "I can do no more. I am tired out now and good for nothing. You always greatly doubt what I say. You girls do not know anything. Being old, I give advice. It is I that always speak about that.

Would that she took my advice to herself!" Now the medicine-man came. "What, pray, shall I do to her? I do not know what to do (in such cases)." She was very dry. "Hehe'e! What shall we do with her? Do you (women) press upon her belly!<sup>292</sup> I am always afraid, carefully I give counsel." "Please give me some water to drink!" (said the pregnant girl).

"Let me see! Give her supporting sticks as a seat, and she shall get up. Go clear around the house!" "Alas! I shall die," she said. "Step out, do not be worried. You never take my advice to yourself. I know what I say, that is why I tell it to you." Twice she ran around her house. Now a fox gives a bad omen, a fox talks before daybreak, and she sat down again on the supporting sticks.

"Oh! What have I done to you?" (said her mother). The husband wept in the woods. (Her mother said to him,) "Now! Go up on the mountain!<sup>293</sup> Build a fire, break off spruce twigs and put them down, and get pine needles!" Now he was building a fire. He flew about busily at his work, his heart being very joyful (with hope). Yonder is he, who has gone far off building the fire. He came back at midnight. "How did she get along?" "She is about to die," (said her mother). "Her mouth is all dry." Suddenly she died.

### XVIII. DEATH AND BURIAL.

mā'dis· badja'lmau mā'dis· t'a'pp!as maus· dīla'u-

"He is sick, | greatly | he is sick. | It looks as if he | will be | dying.

2 yau k'ū'damaisi 'i'dubal<sup>ε</sup> as· k'ū 'i'dubal<sup>ε</sup> as·

Perhaps not he will | get up again. | If he is | not | get up again, | if

da'umis· iyū'yau<sup>ε</sup> bawa'urus'inug ai k!ū`w p'ó'ts'li-

it is four | being day, | you (pl.) will run after him | him | medicine-man, | he will  
suck it out of him.

4 laus'i djô'waus'inuk' matts!ê`w p'awa'tdja<sup>ε</sup> wā'k!bal-

You will offer him | perforated white beads. | Wear them around your neck! | He will  
surely get up and start.

gu'mmasi mats!ê`w t'ī'ma<sup>ε</sup> aits' k'urū`w nīa'n<sup>ε</sup>t'

Perforated white beads | they are wont to say | the | medicine-men." | He arrived,

<sup>292</sup> A woman in confinement did not lie down, but was always seated, while one of the women in attendance sat behind her, gently pressing upon her belly in order to hasten the delivery.

<sup>293</sup> Round Mountain (*Djiga'lmadu*) is meant.

- bô'elawaldi'net' u'lmanet' k'u'sinte' mau 'édubal'ayauna  
 he puts (beads) down on ground. | He smelt them. | "Not I | shall | causing him to  
 get up again.
- maus:i dé'wairuhatgu'mmayauna u'ls'atdis ai mattsê'wi 2  
 I shall be | indeed going to see him anyway. | They already smell | they | perforated  
 white beads."
- badū'eanet' djô'dubal'et'ê ga'elā'n'et' waduwa'ldiyau 'a'l-  
 He arrived running back home. | He hung up (beads). | He cried | sitting down on  
 ground. | "Do you (pl.) put it down on ground
- waldiwe<sup>e</sup> xa'na nik'itdis ai k'ū'wi wawa'ldinet' 'é' 4  
 water! | He has already come | he | medicine-man." | He sat down. | "Well,
- t'ūhatgu'mmayauna 'ék'in'et' k'ū's mau 'i'dubalyauna ul'ei'-  
 I shall indeed do anyhow." | He doctored him. | "Not he | will | getting up again. | I  
 do not hear,
- sindja djirū'siwandja 'ék'itdin'et' k'lunin'et' maus ba- 6  
 I am beaten." | Now he doctored | and he (said), | "He will be | dying."
- ga'diwauk!iyaueayauna ga'elā'eatdin'et' yā't'ielama'tdin'et'ê  
 He started in to cry, | they all started in to cry with him.
- badū'p'auduruwisi t'i'net' yā'bak'isi'e' k'ū'sinte' mau 8  
 "Do you (pl.) go to run to them!" | he said, | "they shall all move here. | Not I | will
- éô'leayauna  
 causing them to be ignorant."
- t!u'ihā'ena'ibak'i dila'u'eatdin'et' yā't'ielama'tdin'et'ê 'anū- 10  
 Next day when it was daylight | he died. | They all started in to cry together. | "Go  
 and dig
- ru<sup>e</sup> ai éô'baliya'uk'aina<sup>204</sup> mits!bada'pts!iwi<sup>e</sup> 'aits'  
 it | grave! | Do you (pl.) put them all together | the
- ma'tts!ew aits' bat'ilm aits' ba'nī'n<sup>a</sup> aits' wa'k'<sup>u</sup> 12  
 perforated white beads | the | dressed buckskin blanket | the | dentalia | the | wa'k'<sup>u</sup>  
 shell beads
- aits' mī'ya<sup>e</sup> aits' é'mats'ugibanaum<sup>a</sup> aits' p'adi'ts!-  
 the | apron fringed with pine-nut tassels | the | all kinds of pack baskets | the | trinkets.
- k'! 'itdawi<sup>e</sup> cū'wiyauna 'é'mul'ê'si'nuga<sup>a</sup> ha'ik'alditdin'et' 14  
 Do you make | burial net of coarse rope, | you (pl.) will wrap him up with it." | Now  
 he was washed,
- t'iwa<sup>a</sup> mī'ritdin'et'iwa<sup>a</sup> yāk'itdin'et' aits' yā<sup>a</sup> 'a'n-  
 now he was combed. | Now they moved hither | the | people, | they all came together
- m'djadapts'in'et' di'lwapts!iyau aits' p!u'tdiw aits' 16  
 dancing and weeping | the | women | the
- i'siw aik' tlini's ga'elā'yauk'i aik' ni'n<sup>a</sup> 'i'eyū'duwal-  
 men | their | children | crying | his | mother. | He was lifted down and put away in  
 house
- s'am'djan'et'iwa<sup>a</sup> mī'eaip!ayau'ea't' aits' yā<sup>a</sup> aik' 18  
 now weeping over him | the | people | his

<sup>204</sup> Lit., "digging-up stones (ôbal- "to dig up" and k!aina "stone").

ts'í'gal aik' ní'n<sup>a</sup> k'ū'damainet' mō'ei wair ô'k'uinēt'  
father | his | mother. | Not perhaps they were | eat. | Now | they sewed it together

## 2 aigi s'é'mau

to it | deer-hide blanket.

wa'irunā' t'í'net' a'mm<sup>295</sup> t'ū'gummasienu dji mō'-  
"Now!" | he said. | "Amm! | indeed you will do so | the (my) | eating.

## 4 yauna k'ū'yau nibile aits' mā't'yauna k!uninte' ba'i-

Not being | go about | the | sickness | and I am | go about alone

dibilgu<sup>e</sup> dji mā'diyauna k'ū'yau mā'di<sup>e</sup> aite' yā'  
the (my) | being sick. | Not being | be sick | the | people

## 6 wa'ienaip!ahante' mits!k!ū'wi'auyauna ma'uk!unu k'ū'yau

I thought I was | having good medicine-man. | Perchance you will | being not

'iwa'iruei ô'walt' dagusé'enuk' hala'iki<sup>a</sup> p'a'uriwe<sup>e</sup> ai  
go to get wood! | You will just go ahead and bury him | to-morrow! | Do you (pl.)  
make it deep | it

8 ô'baliyauk!aina aits' nīwā'djūs<sup>d</sup> k'ū'sinte' mau ga<sup>e</sup>-

grave." | The | man coming from south | "Not I | shall | crying."

lā'yauna t'í'net' k' xa'gauw wai<sup>e</sup>yūp!a'ip!anēt' k'  
he said. | His | flint arrow-heads | he inspired fear | his

## 10 xa'k' birí'k'iah aik' t'ū'djuw aits' mā't'yauna k'ū'-

flints. | "Where is its | its | that it always does | the | poison? | Not I

sinte' gi<sup>e</sup>mu'ip!a<sup>e</sup> dji maya'uyau yu'p'ā'gi aits'  
have intention of eating | the (my) | getting to eat | tears." | the

12 yô'elai bé'net' gayā<sup>e</sup> ôwa'ldisênu balô'rp'a<sup>e</sup> yā'm'-

brave warrior | it was who was | speak. | "You will bury him | at noon, | perchance  
they have nearly all come.

djamak!uei' dan<sup>e</sup>ma'una mī<sup>e</sup>aip!at'i' mū'djaup!ā mī<sup>e</sup>-  
Being many | they weep for him, they say, | chief | he weeps for him, they say,

## 14 aip!at'i' badja'lmauna mik'a'it'i k'ū't'sasinā dji k!ū'-

greatly | he is angry, they say. | He forgets, does he not? | the | my medicine-man.

wi<sup>e</sup>yan<sup>e</sup>nidja' 'iwi'lmi k'ū'sik!ô ga<sup>e</sup>lā<sup>e</sup> ya't'balwiei  
All alone | I shall not | cry. | Do you (pl.) start to go!"

16 'ô'gut'ba'eatdinet' ô'mulma'u aits' p'ad'its!gibanaum<sup>a</sup>

They took him up and carried him | wrapped up | the | all sorts of belongings

aits' ci<sup>w</sup> aits' ma'n<sup>eni</sup> aits' s'é'maubanaum<sup>a</sup>  
the | arrows | the | bows | the | all sorts of blankets.

18 wa'it'<sup>u</sup> yā'walditdinet' aik' ô'baliyauk!ai wē'walditdinet'

Now | they were down already | his | grave. | They now brought him to grave,

bô'djamaritdinet' 'ū<sup>e</sup> ga<sup>e</sup>lā<sup>e</sup> t'í'net' aik' umāyā'  
they now put him down into grave. | "Now! | cry!" | he said. | His | brother

<sup>295</sup> Expressive of anger.

p'é'marin<sup>et</sup>' aigi muk!ulā'mat<sup>u</sup> i'ts!u'ldulaun<sup>et</sup>'iwa k'ū'-  
 he lay down in grave | at it | grave-place, | he was pulled out back again. | "Do not  
 yaugu . gaēlā'ea nī'e'samuigusi<sup>enuma</sup>' dī'lwapts'iyau 'aits<sup>c</sup> 2  
 cry, | you will soon go after him." | Dancing and crying among themselves | the  
 k'ū'nā'p!diw mī'ēaip!aiyau<sup>ea</sup>'t' u'lwaldi<sup>ē</sup>aiyau xa<sup>u</sup> aik'  
 women | now weeping for him | putting down on ground | water | his  
 u'xaumauk'i wairunā ts!ups'inā' t'i'n<sup>et</sup>' 'a'nik'lara 4  
 being east. | "Now, is it not? | it is good, is it not?" | he said. | "Let me see!  
 mā'p'i'tk!ara<sup>ea</sup>' aits<sup>c</sup> mā't'iyauna t'i'phawate' basi'yau-  
 Fail to find it | the poison! | You said to me | in former days,  
 haha k'ū'yaugusi<sup>enu</sup> gaēlā'ea t'i'phawādja k!uni t'ū'- 6  
 'You shall surely not | cry,' | you said to me, | 'and | always do so.'"  
 sasinigu<sup>ei</sup>'

aik' nī'nax yā'rim'gun<sup>et</sup>' a'igidjem'k<sup>u</sup> ô'baliyauk!ai- 8  
 His | former mother | she stayed all night in vicinity | in that vicinity | grave-  
 mat<sup>u</sup> yā'batsatdin<sup>et</sup>' aik' wawī'mat<sup>u</sup> k'ū'sinte' mau  
 They all now went off back | his | house-place. | "Not I | shall  
 waduwu'lyauna' 'a'ewī'rī<sup>e</sup> ai wa'w<sup>i</sup> aik' sī'lgiyau 10  
 stay longer in house. | Burn it up | it | house!" | His | ropes  
 aits<sup>c</sup> p'adī'tsk<sup>i</sup> ô'ewibarīn<sup>et</sup>' 'a'ewī'dī<sup>e</sup> ai mō'yau  
 the | all sorts of belongings | they burnt them all up. | "Burn it up | it | eating!"  
 'ô'ewidibatdin<sup>et</sup>' ya'na'idjan<sup>et</sup>' 'a'ttē'in<sup>e</sup>na'igusi<sup>enuga</sup>' , k'ū'- 12  
 They now burnt it all up, | they moved elsewhere. | "You (pl.) will go to hunt for other  
 food. | Not I was  
 hante' mau ba'iwauguyauna k' dja'lmau k' mō'-  
 about to | eating without him | his | laughter | his | eating."  
 yauna yā't'ileama'iyau basik<sup>i</sup>ē dīmā'nēaigun<sup>et</sup>' 'adū'k<sup>i</sup>ē 14  
 They all crying | at night | suddenly she was | come back  
 ai k!unēā'mari<sup>emip</sup>!aha' k' mō'yau<sup>eat</sup>' bā'wisak<sup>i</sup> hā'-  
 she | former old woman | their | now eating | when it was dark. | "Do you (pl.) eat  
 after weeping!  
 mariwe<sup>ea</sup> t'ū'gummasi<sup>enigi</sup> dji бага'diwauk!iyau<sup>eyau</sup>enigi 16  
 Indeed we shall do | the | our dying,  
 mauk!u'nigina dju'lte!unnaiyauna k!ā'ēnais aits<sup>c</sup> бага'-  
 perchance we shall, is it not? | living forever. | It is close | the | dying.  
 diwauk!iyaup!a'eyauna k!uni dju'nma<sup>ewip</sup>!awī<sup>ē</sup>ē yāts!- 18  
 And | do you (pl.) procure food for yourselves | go to river,  
 gi'lwi<sup>ē</sup> dā'siwi<sup>ē</sup> k'ū'si t'in<sup>et</sup>' k'ū'sinte' mau dī'di-  
 catch salmon! | It is not!" | he said, | "I not | shall | hurrying.  
 yagalyauna ā'ha dā'sisi<sup>enigi</sup> tī'phawandja mausi ga<sup>e</sup>- 20  
 'Yes, | we shall catch salmon,' | he said to me. | I shall | crying, if you please.  
 lā'gadayauna a'imisk<sup>i</sup> mō's'ik!ō<sup>ea</sup>'  
 Soon | I shall eat."

- gayā'nēt' ai mūd'jaup!ā tū'magara<sup>ε</sup> t'ī'nēt' wa'm-  
He spoke | he | chief. | "Pray do it!" | he said, | "pray wait for him
- 2 maga't'ea k' 'īyamadu' dē'djibasi<sup>ε</sup> t'ī'pt'iwandja t'ī'-  
his | trail-place. | He will find out. | He has been talking about me, they say, | that is  
what he has been saying.
- daigadasi' ā'ha gī'masi<sup>ε</sup> wa'imaip!as' gī'mayauna gī'-  
Yes, | he will know, | he thinks he is | having sense. | I have sense
- 4 masinte' aits' mūd'jaup!ā k' gī'mamauna wa'iru  
the | chief | his | sense. | Now
- t'ī'muimadjayauna bik!a'mma<sup>ε</sup> bē<sup>ε</sup> dji k!ū'wi<sup>ε</sup>yau<sup>ε</sup>nidja  
I shall soon speak out. | He was wont to be to myself | that one who is | the | my  
medicine-man.
- 6 djīdja'mmagara<sup>ε</sup> t'ī'nēt' ma'la'umaga<sup>r</sup>t'<sup>ε</sup> gi ma'lte'i  
Pray shoot him!" | he said, | "pray take him out | at | brush,  
apdjī'magara<sup>ε</sup>  
pray kill him."
- 8 wē'k'inēt' aite' yā' aigite' wa'k'u aigite' ba'nī'n<sup>u</sup>  
They brought | the | people | at the | wa'k'u beads | at the | dentalia
- aigite' matts!ē'w wā'<sup>ε</sup> aite' t'ī'nēt' wa'a'tdinēt' aigi  
at the | perforated white beads. | "Pound | these here!" | they said. | Now he pounded  
them | at it
- 10 ēō'balyauk!aimat'<sup>u</sup> k'ū'sinte' dē'djiba<sup>ε</sup> nagu'nte' k'u  
grave-place. | "Not I | know, | therefore I | not
- nik'ie yū'ayau aigite' ma't'banūi'yaubanaum<sup>a</sup> aigite'  
come." | Building fire | at the | every summer | at the
- 12 mō'yau  
eating.

## DEATH AND BURIAL.

"He is sick, he is very sick. It looks as if he is going to die. Perhaps he will not recover. If four days have elapsed and he has not recovered, you will run to get the medicine-man, and he will suck the sickness out of him. You will offer him as pay perforated white beads. Wear them around your neck. Surely he will get up and start hither, for medicine-men always like perforated white beads." He who had been sent arrived (at the medicine-man's house) and put the beads down on the ground. The medicine-man smelled them. "I shall not be able to make him recover. I shall indeed go to see him anyway. The perforated white beads already have an odor."<sup>296</sup> He ran back and

<sup>296</sup> *I.e.*, they already smell of death.



arrived home. He hung up the beads and cried, sitting down on the ground. "Do you put water down on the ground. The medicine-man has already come." The medicine-man sat down. "Well, I shall try to do what I can." He doctored him. "He will not recover. I do not understand what to do, I am beaten."<sup>297</sup> After he had finished doctoring, he said, "He will die." (The sick man's father) started in to cry, and they all wept with him. "Do you run to bring them hither!" he said. "They shall all come here. I do not wish them to be ignorant about this."

On the following day, at daybreak, he had died. They all started in to cry together. "Go and dig the grave! Do you put together the perforated white beads, the dressed buckskin blanket, dentalia, *wa'k'u* shell beads, aprons fringed with pine-nut tassels, various pack-baskets, and trinkets. Make a burial net of coarse rope, and wrap him up in it." Then they washed him and combed his hair. The people all came, came together, dancing and weeping, women, men, and their children, while his mother cried. He was lifted down and put away in the house, while the people and his father and mother wept over him. They did not eat anything. Now they sewed together the deer-hide blanket.

"Now!" said (his father). "Amm!"<sup>298</sup> Don't think that you will continue to eat. There is no sickness going about, and yet I am the only one going about that has sickness. Since the people were not sick, I thought I had a good medicine-man. Perchance you think you will not go to get wood!"<sup>299</sup> (Thus he spoke to himself). "You will just go ahead and bury him tomorrow! Do you make the grave deep!" (he said to the people). There was a man from the south<sup>300</sup> who said, "I do not intend to cry." He had flint arrowheads and inspired everyone with fear. "Whence is the poison that is always acting? I have no intention of eating, of eating my food with tears." It was the

<sup>297</sup> *I.e.*, I can not cope with the disease spirit.

<sup>298</sup> He angrily apostrophizes the medicine-man, whom he suspects of having magically "poisoned" his son.

<sup>299</sup> The implication is that he will murder the medicine-man when he unsuspectingly goes out into the brush for firewood.

<sup>300</sup> This man, named *Wa'it'awasi*, was said to be a brave warrior, a *yó'elaina*.

brave warrior that spoke thus. "You will bury him at noon. Probably nearly all have come. They say that there are many weeping for him, they say the chief weeps for him, they say that he is greatly angered. My medicine-man forgets, does he not? I shall not be the only one to cry.<sup>301</sup> Do you all start!"

They took him up and carried him, all sorts of belongings being wrapped up with him—arrows, bows, and various blankets. Now they had all moved down to his grave. They brought him down to the grave and put him into it. "Now! Cry!" said he. His brother lay down in the grave, was pulled out back again. "Do not weep, you will soon follow him."<sup>302</sup> The women all danced and cried, weeping for him, putting down water on the ground to the east of him. "Now it is well, is it not?" he said. "Let me see! Go ahead and fail to find the poison."<sup>303</sup> In former days he said to me, 'Surely you shall have no cause to weep, and thus it will always be with you.' That is what he said to me."

The dead man's mother stayed there all night near the grave. Now the people all moved off back to his house. "I shall no longer stay in the house. Set the house on fire!" They set on fire his ropes and all his belongings. "Set the food on fire!" They set everything on fire, and moved on to another place. "You all will go to get other food. I did not think that I would ever be without his laughter when eating." They were all weeping at night, when suddenly the old woman came back. Now at night they started in to eat. "Do you all eat after weeping! Truly we shall all die; we shall not live forever, is it not so? The time of death is near at hand."<sup>302</sup> Do you all procure food for yourselves! Go to the river and catch salmon. No!" he said, "I shall not hurry (to eat). 'Yes, we shall catch salmon (for you),' he used to say to me."<sup>304</sup> I shall cry yet a while, if you please. I shall take food soon."

<sup>301</sup> In other words, the medicine-man's folks will weep, for he shall not escape with his life.

<sup>302</sup> This sort of consolation seems to be rather Christian than Indian.

<sup>303</sup> He is again angrily apostrophizing the medicine-man. "You will fail to find it, will you?"

<sup>304</sup> He remembers how his son used to say to him, "Don't bother about getting salmon. I'll attend to that myself."

The chief spoke. "Pray do it now!" he said (to the warrior). "Lie in wait for him on his trail. He will find out! They say he has been talking about me, that is what he has been saying. Yes, he will know! He thinks that he has sense. I have sense, the sense of a chief. I shall soon speak out my mind. Though he was my medicine-man, pray shoot him!" he said. "Take him out into the brush and kill him!"

The people brought *wa'k'u* beads, dentalia, and perforated white beads. "Here! Pound these," they said. He pounded them at the grave. "I did not know about it, that is why I did not come," (they said). Every summer they burn food (at the grave).

### XIX. BETTY BROWN'S DREAM.

- ha'da'iwaun<sup>h</sup>ha'nte' 'aiwi'laun<sup>h</sup>handj ai djite!a'u<sup>e</sup>  
I dreamt. | I went off eastward across | it | dry creek,
- p!alé'wi<sup>e</sup>nigui<sup>e</sup>nê'x aite' xa' dats!ga'isan<sup>h</sup> ai p!alé'w 2  
it was all covered with moss, | the | water, | it was green | it | moss.
- wa'ir 'a'dja'mn<sup>h</sup>handj aits' 'i''ya wair<sup>u</sup> wāk!wa'l-  
Now | I went north | the | trail. | Now | I stood
- din<sup>h</sup>handj aits' ima'l<sup>e</sup> 4  
the | outside.
- 'i'wul<sup>e</sup> t'i'mn<sup>h</sup>hawante' ai'sirak!aimau <sup>e</sup>aite' 'i's t'ū'-  
"Enter!" | he said to me | being all white-haired | the | man. | She also did so
- winigun<sup>h</sup> aite' marī'em! lulma'iyaiwilmi<sup>e</sup>nêx djidjā'- 6  
the | woman, | she was blind in one eye. | She offered me as seat
- man<sup>h</sup>awandj aite' dā'rik!<sup>u</sup> wa<sup>e</sup>dja'ir<sup>u</sup> minitduwu'lsap-  
the | ice | chair.<sup>305</sup> | I looked inside from one thing to another.
- telin<sup>h</sup>ha'nte' dā'rik!u<sup>e</sup>nigui<sup>e</sup>nê'x djax<sup>e</sup>wu'ldi<sup>e</sup>nex mō'- 8  
There was nothing but ice, | it was dangling. | "They are about to eat."
- bitdjas t'i'ene'x 'ê'badjas aigi bê'l!<sup>306</sup> t'i'enex wa'it<sup>u</sup>  
she said, | he pulls | to it | bell," | she said. | "Now
- wamarī'sinu<sup>e</sup> wair<sup>u</sup> 'ibāk!a'psiwa<sup>e</sup>nu' wamarī'n<sup>h</sup>ha'ndj 10  
you will be seated! | now | he will pull you up." | I seated myself.
- wair<sup>u</sup> 'ê'bak!apatdi<sup>e</sup>nex wak'unā'n<sup>h</sup> ai klū'w aigite'  
Now | he was finished pulling up. | He was sitting | he | medicine-man | there.

<sup>305</sup> Lit., "sit-on-top."

<sup>306</sup> Borrowed, of course, from Eng. *bell*.

- gayā'eatdi<sup>n</sup>ex ci'tdjut<sup>k</sup>!ai k!ū'w yô'elaiyau<sup>nê</sup>'x aici'-  
he was already talking. | Rock | medicine-man, | he had white down net-cap, | he was  
all white haired
- 2 rak!ai<sup>nê</sup>'x aik' co'eliya'ute' k!unun<sup>h</sup>ante' wae'yū'  
his | eyelids. | And I was | be afraid,  
wawa'lditdin<sup>h</sup>andj aidj mō'yauni'te'  
I sat down | the | my eating.
- 4 diwa'iru<sup>e</sup> aidji nī'enānu<sup>e</sup> u 'eai wak!unā'w iwū'l  
"Go and see | the | your mother! | Is | she | sitting | inside  
aiye' k!unu'n<sup>h</sup>andj 'agi't'p'a<sup>e</sup> ô' u<sup>h</sup>hadanu' t!inī'sinā  
she yonder." | And I was | go into next (room) to south. | "O! | so it is you, |  
daughter!"
- 6 dumma'nak!am<sup>n</sup>hawate' mō'ru<sup>e</sup> t'ī'ne'x k!unun<sup>h</sup>ante'  
she hugged me. | "Go and eat!" | she said | and I was  
wawa'ldin<sup>h</sup>andj<sup>307</sup> daharī'k!u<sup>n</sup>iniguie<sup>nê</sup>'x bê'hadanu<sup>gā</sup> a'k'ī'<sup>e</sup>  
I sat down. | Everything was of ice. | "So it is you is it not, who | come,
- 8 ila'uyanā' ya'ik!unask'inik' ts!um<sup>ε</sup>mau p'a't'<sup>t</sup> malla'p!a-  
cousin! | We are living | being good | place. | It was bad  
n<sup>h</sup> aidji p'adi'n<sup>h</sup>hani'k' ts!upp!a'nnais aidj p'ad  
the | our past place. | It is very good | the | place
- 10 a'ite' da'iyau<sup>n</sup>iniguie'a's' k!un dats!ga'isa<sup>ε</sup> ts!upp!a'n-  
here, | it is all covered with flowers | and | be green, | it is very good."  
nais k!unun<sup>h</sup>andj 'iga'ieī 'a'tduni'tdiha'ni'k' djī'eyü'te-  
And I was | be overtaken. | "Let us go back!" | I slipped down northwards
- 12 duridjam<sup>n</sup>handj ai t!u'iyau wair<sup>u</sup> 'aduni'tditdin<sup>h</sup>ha'nte'  
it | left side. | Now | I started to go back,  
k'ū'n<sup>h</sup>andj 'adu'm'dja<sup>ε</sup> 'am'dja'rimaun<sup>h</sup>ha'nte'  
not I was | go back home | my past going path.

BETTY BROWN'S DREAM.<sup>308</sup>

I dreamt. I went off towards the east across a dried-up creek; the creek bed was all covered with moss, it was green with moss. Now I went to the north along the trail. Now I stood on the outside (of a house).

"Enter!" said to me a man whose hair was all white. There

<sup>307</sup> Either *k!unun<sup>h</sup>ante'* is to be struck out, or, if kept, *wawa'ldin<sup>h</sup>andj* is to be changed to *wawa'ldi<sup>ε</sup>*.

<sup>308</sup> This dream seems to be the result of a mixture of Indian and Christian ideas. Possibly it owes something to the Ghost-dance movement, which reached the Yanas from the so-called "Chico Indians," i.e., Northwest Maidu of the Sacramento Valley.

was also a woman who was blind in one eye.<sup>300</sup> She offered me as a seat a chair of ice. I looked from one thing to another. Everything was made of ice, and it hung down in icicles. "It is near dinner-time," she said. "He will pull the bell," she said. "Now you will be seated, and he will pull you up." "I seated myself. Now he had pulled me up. There was a medicine-man sitting there, talking. The medicine-man was made of rock, he had on a net-cap of white down; he was all white-haired, even his eye-lashes were white. I was afraid. I sat down to eat.

(She said to me,) "Go and see your mother! She is sitting inside there yonder." So I went into the next room to the south. "So it is you, my daughter!" she said, and hugged me. "Go and eat!" she said, and I sat down. Everything was of ice. "So it is you who have come here, cousin!" (said another woman that I recognized as Mary). "We are living in a good place. The place we lived in before was bad. This place here is very good, it is all covered with flowers and it is green. It is very good." And then someone overtook me. "Let us go back!" I slipped down on the left side to the north. Then I started to go back, but I did not go back home by the way I came.

## XX. SPELL SAID BY A GIRL DESIROUS OF GETTING A HUSBAND.

s'uwā'<sup>310</sup> mini'tts!xayamaiguk!uwā'dj daduli'lk!unu' di-  
 S'uwā'! | May you think about me to yourself! | May you turn back to look! | Would  
 mā'nēaigup'andj wā'k!dibilk' aik' te'uma't<sup>u</sup> ga'ēlā'ts!- 2  
 stand his | his | eye-place! | I just cry to myself.  
 xayagusi'ntc' dīmā'nēaigup'ante' dē'wai' iyū'iyaubana'um<sup>a</sup>  
 Would that I might | see him | every day!  
 t'ū'sinte' aidji t'ū'nu' ha'da'iwaux t'ū'sinte' k!unundj 4  
 "I do | the | your doing," | one who has dreamt | I do thus | and I  
 'itbale xana'ibak'i k!unundj mini'tdibil' wair<sup>u</sup> p'ē'ts-  
 get up | when it is daylight | and I | look about. | Now | it flutters

<sup>300</sup> She was a Wintun woman, named K!ulō't'imat<sup>e</sup>ya, whom Betty Brown had known in life. The man she had known as Wa'imayasi.

<sup>310</sup> Spells and more or less formulaic utterances in general are introduced by *s'uwā'*, of unknown, if any, significance.

djaigus aidji djuk!u'tts!i'nte' dé'waiyaunite' mē'k!ul-  
the | my heart | my seeing him. | I look at him slantwise.

2 waugusi'nte' djuduna'umasiwandj aidji te!att'í'yats!k'<sup>1</sup>  
He gives me | the | trinkets

k'unundj au'wik!ap<sup>e</sup> k'unundj aī'+p!litsak'i mē'djat-  
and I | take them | and I | for long time | wear them until worn out.

4 te!o<sup>ea</sup>

#### SPELL SAID BY A GIRL DESIROUS OF GETTING A HUSBAND.

S'uwā'! May you think about me to yourself! May you turn back to look! Would that I might stand before his face! I just cry to myself. Would that I might see him every day! I do just as you do.<sup>311</sup> Sometimes I dream of him, and I rise when it is daylight, and I look about. Now, as I see him, my heart flutters. I look at him without raising my eyes. He gives me trinkets, and I take them, and I wear them for some time, until they are worn out.

#### XXI. CURSE ON PEOPLE THAT WISH ONE ILL.

s'uwā' s'é'galt!imāyā<sup>312</sup> gabu'is:dik!wawī'te' dīmā'nē-  
S'uwā'! | S'é'galt!imāyā! | May ye speak to make me happy! | Suddenly may you  
(pl.)

6 aigunuk' gabi'tduwa'uē dīmā'nēaigunuk' s'u'tdiba!ē k'ū'-  
experience wherewith you curse others! | Suddenly may you | drop dead | not being  
(proh.)

gummayau mā'diē s'u'tdibalk!unu'k' dji s'í'yan dji  
be sick! | May you drop dead | the | drinking | the

8 watduwi'nte' dīmā'nēaigunuk' mits!s'ā'baē s'í' dji wat-  
my blood! | Suddenly may you | all perish! | Drink | the (my) blood!

du'w<sup>313</sup> bui'sik!ôni'te' k'ū'k!undj 'a'ik!utte!at<sup>e</sup>  
May I be happy! | May I not | be sick in any way!

<sup>311</sup> The implication is not clear. Perhaps it means, "May you love me as I love you!"

<sup>312</sup> It has not been found possible to get at the significance of this apparently formulaic word. It would seem to be a term of address to the supernatural powers concerned in man's happiness or woe. For *s'uwā'* see note 310.

<sup>313</sup> Either to be interpreted as *s'í' dji watdu'w* "drink (imper.) my blood!" or contracted from *s'í'dj dji watdu'w* "drink-me my blood!" As Betty Brown expressed it, "You folks are always mixing up my blood with your coffee," i.e., "curse me and wish my death."

## CURSE ON PEOPLE THAT WISH ONE ILL.

S-uwā'! S-é'galt limāyā! May ye speak to make me happy! May you suddenly experience that wherewith you curse me! May you suddenly drop dead without being sick! May you drop dead, you who drink my blood! May you suddenly all perish! Drink my blood! Would that I might be happy! May I not be sick in any way!

## XXII. PRAYER ON SNEEZING.

(Said by a Woman)

sé'galt!imayā` k'ūya'uguwi gap'auwī'te` gabu'isdiwī'dj  
 Sé'galt!imayā'! | Do you (pl.) not | you (pl.) speak about me! | Do you (pl.)  
speak for my happiness

dji gap'a'uwawī'ts'

2

the | your speaking about me!

(Said by a Man)

bui'sik!ô'nidja` wa'ga'irik!u dji ga'tduwi` gabu'isdi-  
 May I be happy! | May they feel light | the (my) | legs! | May you (pl.) speak for  
my happiness

k!uwawīdja` dīmā'ēnaigup'auwīdj k'it'biruwīdja` p'ū'djat- 4  
 Would that you (pl.) me | you let me alone! | I bathe

sindja` k!unundj 'iduwlē dji wawī'ndja k!unundj  
 and I | go back into house | the | my house | and I

mā'sidjāea dji mō'yan'nidja` 6  
 rejoice | the | my eating.

## PRAYER ON SNEEZING.

(Said by a Woman)

S-é'galt limāyā! May I be happy! Do you people not speak about me! Do you speak for my happiness when speaking about me!

(Said by a Man)

May I be happy! May my legs feel light! May you people speak for my happiness! Would that you would let me alone! I bathe, and I go back into my house, and I rejoice in my eating.

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS<sup>314</sup>XXIII. THE ROLLING SKULL.<sup>315</sup>*(Round Mountain Jack's Version)*

- ha'da'in<sup>ε</sup>t'i 'itelinna ma't'dja'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i tēla'la<sup>ε</sup>i 'e'gan<sup>ε</sup>.  
He dreamt | Wildcat. | He climbed up | digger pine, | he broke them
- 2 t'i galu'pei 'e'gatba'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i 'ē'te!ute'in<sup>ε</sup>t' aik' di'na  
branches, | he broke them all. | He wrenched it off | his | shoulder
- ga'lu 'ē'te!ute'it<sup>ε</sup>'imain<sup>ε</sup>t'i iwi'lmigalu 'ē'te!ute'it<sup>ε</sup>'i-  
arm, | he wrenched it off likewise | other arm; | he wrenched it off likewise
- 4 ma'in<sup>ε</sup>t'i gā'du iwi'lmit'imaina iwi'lmigādu 'e'gan<sup>ε</sup>t'i  
leg, | other one likewise | other leg. | He broke it
- ma'kli wu'ldja<sup>ε</sup>u'ldin<sup>ε</sup>t'i 'e'gatbaru'llat'ima'in<sup>ε</sup>t'i<sup>316</sup> ba'tdi-  
backbone, | he threw it down. | He broke off his neck likewise. | He bounded down
- 6 euldin<sup>ε</sup>t'i p'ut!uk!uyā' bā'mite!it<sup>ε</sup>dja'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i  
human skull, | he lay there quietly.
- ba'tdi't'p'an<sup>ε</sup>t'i batdiea'n<sup>ε</sup>t'i wa'wi dibala'un<sup>ε</sup>t'i yā'na  
He bounded south | to it | south | house, | people | they all died.
- 8 ba'tdi't'p'an<sup>ε</sup>t' aigi dja'urp'a wa'wi yā'na dibala'un<sup>ε</sup>.  
He bounded south | to it | south | house, | people | they all died.

<sup>314</sup> These two supplementary texts of myths were obtained in 1900 by Dr. R. B. Dixon from Round Mountain Jack, who has since died. Round Mountain Jack, whose Indian name was Bui'yas-i (cf. bui- "to kick?"), was recognized as the last chief or "captain" of the Northern Yana and was always mentioned with respect and affection. By Dr. Dixon's kindness I am enabled to append these texts to my own. The first is a variant of a myth independently secured by Curtin and myself, the second is valuable as the only Yana version secured of a widespread western American myth. With Dr. Dixon's consent I have normalized his orthography in conformity to my own. The dialect of the texts is garī'ēi or Northern Yana. On only one phonetic point is there uncertainty. Dr. Dixon often writes a syllabically final r where my own materials shows gat'ā'ēi n, 't', or t<sup>ε</sup>, garī'ēi t (or t<sup>ε</sup>), 't', or t<sup>ε</sup>; e.g., Dr. Dixon has tirdjauā'ti (i.e., dirdjawa'ldi<sup>ε</sup>) where Central Yana would show dindja-, Betty Brown's material dtdja-. As it is doubtful how far Dr. Dixon's r represents voiced r and how far voiceless r (or 't', 't<sup>ε</sup>), it has seemed most expedient to normalize all cases with variant r in conformity with the phonetics of Betty Brown's material.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. text IX and footnote 191.

<sup>316</sup> Difficult to understand. We might have either 'e'gatt'ima'in<sup>ε</sup>t'i baru'lla "he-broke-off-likewise neck" or 'e'gan<sup>ε</sup>t'i baru'll'imaina "he-broke-off neck-likewise." If incorporated, baru'lla could hardly appear otherwise than as baru'l-. Perhaps 'e'gatbaru'll'ima'in<sup>ε</sup>t'i was used.



- t'i batdiduli'n<sup>et</sup>'i badū'djam<sup>et</sup>'i itc'in<sup>en</sup>'dji dila'un<sup>e</sup>-  
He turned and bounded back, | he hastened back north. | Off west | they died
- t'i yā'na badō'n<sup>et</sup>'i itc'it<sup>e</sup>dja'nna ba<sup>ea</sup>'n<sup>et</sup>'i wa'wi di- 2  
people, | he hastened back east. | Off north | he hastened and arrived at | house. |  
They died
- la'un<sup>et</sup>'i yā'na badō'n<sup>et</sup>' aigite djô dila'un<sup>et</sup>'i yā'na  
people. | He hastened back east | to the | east. | They died | people.
- badu't'p'a'n<sup>et</sup>'i k'ū'n<sup>et</sup>' yā'na ba'mite'lit<sup>e</sup>djan<sup>et</sup>'i badū'- 4  
He hastened back south, | not they were | people. | He lay there quietly. | He came  
hastening back from south,
- wadjun<sup>et</sup>'i badū'wadjun<sup>et</sup>'i a'igidja badūp!'i'n<sup>et</sup>'i dji'-  
he came hastening back from south | here, | he hastened back as far as | small moun-  
tain.
- gatp!a 6
- niga'm<sup>et</sup>'i mite!i iwildjā'mi 'ê'laun<sup>et</sup>' p'ut!uk!uyā'  
He came from north, | Coyote | Montgomery Creek. | He sang | human skull,
- gō'n<sup>et</sup>'i mi'te!i wā'k!dibile't'i nigama'ie ê'mat'sugi 8  
he heard him | Coyote, | he stood still. | "Come here, | pack-basket!
- nī'gamai<sup>e</sup> malā'miyauna nigama'ie p'ileō'lu nigama'ie  
Come here, | tasseled apron! | Come here, | basket cap! | Come here,
- ma'iyauna nigama'ie dā'si nigama'ie ba'na wa'iruei 10  
bread! | Come here, | salmon! | Come here, | deer-meat! | Now!"
- 'ê'walatdin<sup>et</sup>'ê<sup>ea</sup> nigama'ie p!ū'ra t'ī'n<sup>et</sup>'i niga'peatdin<sup>et</sup>'i  
Now he carried pack-basket on his back. | "Come here, | stick!" | he said. | Now he  
came from north.
- bagatdja'peatdin<sup>et</sup>'i ba'tdiwalditdin<sup>et</sup>' a'igidje<sup>e</sup> 'aga'p<sup>e</sup>- 12  
Now he rolled north, | he had bounded down on ground | to that one. | He now came  
from north,
- atdin<sup>et</sup>'i<sup>317</sup> k!ā'ēnaiwan<sup>et</sup>atdin<sup>et</sup>'i mi<sup>e</sup>atdi'n<sup>et</sup>'i ā'ha t'ī'n<sup>et</sup>'i  
he now got near to him. | Now he wept. | "Yes," | he said,
- t'ūh a'igidje 'isī'yau<sup>e</sup>nite' bē'aihante' k!ai a'umat'<sup>u</sup> 14  
"he did | in that way | my brother. | I put in fire | rocks | fire place.
- wō'nuhandj mu'k!ulā bē'waldihandj k!ai yari'p!amau  
I dug into ground | round hole. | I put down in ground | rocks | being hot.
- mō're<sup>e</sup>handj mā'ri<sup>e</sup>ayaum<sup>e</sup> k'ū'cinu dila'ue mō'ritdin<sup>et</sup>'ê 16  
I roasted him in hole. | Let me roast you in hole. | Not you will | die." | Now he  
roasted him in hole.
- a'uwidibile<sup>e</sup>atdin<sup>et</sup>' auwiwa'lditdin<sup>et</sup>' bu'īdidibile't' aite  
Now he held on to him, | now he held him down to ground. | It shook all about | the
- bī'wi k'ū'n<sup>et</sup>' djuk'un<sup>e</sup>ā<sup>e</sup>atdin<sup>et</sup>'i diriwa<sup>e</sup>atdin<sup>et</sup>'i bō'- 18  
ground. | Not he was, | he now stayed. | Now he put out his hand for him, | now he  
took it up again
- djadubal<sup>e</sup>atdin<sup>et</sup>' agi t!ā'lain<sup>a</sup> p'ut!uk!uyā'  
at it | head | human skull.

<sup>317</sup> 'a-, instead of ni-, shows that Coyote is now a woman. Observe that Coyote now uses female forms in conversation. A man would say *umā'yā'ni<sup>d</sup>ja* for "my brother."

- u<sup>ə</sup>ni'te' gimamauyā' t'īn<sup>ət</sup>' a'ienite' bē'maenindj  
 "I am | being-sensible person," | he said. | "I | it is I who have always been
- 2 'a'tt'gimyauei ô'walabaleatdin<sup>ət</sup>' nim'dji'tdin<sup>ət</sup>' wā'k!dibil-  
 have much sense." | Now he lifted him and carried him off. | He went west, | now he  
 stood still.
- εatdin<sup>ət</sup>' wa'iru t'īn<sup>ət</sup>'i bā'djats!giliaume a'igidja  
 "Now!" | he said, | "I shall throw you into water | here,"
- 4 t'īn<sup>ət</sup>' p'ū'djatsiε a'igidja t'īn<sup>ət</sup>' aidj yā'na k!ū'-  
 he said. | "They will bathe | here," | he said, | "the | people, | they will be medicine;  
 men."
- wisē<sup>ε</sup>a bō'djats!gilεatdin<sup>ət</sup>' a'igidja nidō'djatdin<sup>ət</sup>'  
 Now he threw him into water | there. | Now he went back home eastward.

### THE ROLLING SKULL.

(Round Mountain Jack's Version)

Wildcat had a bad dream. He climbed up a digger pine and broke off the branches, broke them all off. He wrenched off one of his arms from his shoulders, then wrenched off the other one also; he also wrenched off one of his legs, also the other leg. He broke off his backbone and threw it down; he also broke off his neck. Down he bounded, (now nothing but) a human skull, and there he lay for a while.

He bounded to the south, and, bounding, arrived at a house. All the people died. He bounded (still farther) south, to a house in the south. All the people died. He turned and bounded back, hastened back to the north. Off towards the west the people died: he hastened back to the east. He hastened off towards the north, and arrived at a house; the people died. He hastened back to the south; there were no people. There he lay for a while. He came hastening back from the south, came hastening back to this place. He hastened back as far as a hill.

Coyote was coming from the north, from Montgomery creek. The human skull was singing. Coyote heard him, and stood still. "Come to me, pack-basket!"<sup>318</sup> he said. "Come to me, tasselled apron! Come to me, basket-cap! Come to me, bread! Come to me, salmon! Come to me, deer-meat! Enough now!" Now he was carrying a pack-basket on his back. "Come here, staff!"

<sup>318</sup> The pack-basket, tasselled apron, and basket cap stamp the woman, the bread, salmon, and deer meat are to be the contents of the pack-basket, the staff marks the old woman.

he said. Now he was walking along, coming from the north. Now (Wildeat) was rolling north, bounded along the ground to that one. (Coyote, now) a woman, was coming from the north, came near to him. He started in to weep. "Yes," he said, "my brother acted in that manner. I put rocks in the fire, dug a round hole in the ground, and put the hot rocks into it. I roasted him in the hole. Let me roast you in a hole: you will not die." (Wildeat agreed, and Coyote) roasted him in a hole. He kept holding on to him, kept holding him down tight. (Wildcat attempted to break out.) The earth shook all about, but he did not (succeed)—he remained there. Coyote put out his hand for him, took up the head back again, the human skull.

"I am a sensible person," he said. "It is I that have always been possessed of much sense." Now he took him up and carried him off. He went west (until) he came to a halt. "Now!" he said, "I shall throw you into the creek here. People will bathe here," he said; "they will become medicine-men." Now he threw him into the creek there. Then he went back home to the east.

#### XXIV. GRIZZLY BEAR AND DEER.<sup>319</sup>

bama'du wa'wi t'e'nna mīk'a'iei djū'te:lil'eaimā'dj  
Deer place | house. | Grizzly Bear | she was angry. | "Cut it off for me

aidju ba'c' mō'you djō'te:lil'eait'e'it'eatdi'nēt'i mō'citdine. 2  
the your | flesh. | I shall eat it." | Now she cut it right off, | now she roasted it,

t'ê<sup>ea</sup> mō'eatdinēt' djī'kithī's<sup>320</sup> 'itdjihawā'm<sup>e</sup> auwi'tdi'nēt'  
now she ate it. | "It tastes good." | "I looked for your lice." | Now she got hold of it

dji'na muite'ila'u'eatdint' baru'll o'pdjinēt' djō't'aldit. 4  
louse. | Now she bit her | neck, | she killed her. | Now she split her up,

dinēt' mō'banēt' mō'banēt'<sup>1</sup> dan<sup>e</sup>ma'un o'pdjibanēt' 'acā'-  
she ate up all, | she ate up all | being much. | She killed all. | She went off

nēt' iriya'un<sup>a</sup> k'ūnēt' dē'wai<sup>e</sup> 'adū'k'inēt' 'a'rt'p'anēt' 6  
looking for them. | Not she was | see them. | She came back. | She went south

aigi dja'urp'a o'pdjibanēt' 'at'dja'mēt' ite'ī'nem'te'  
to it | south, | she killed all. | She went back north. | Off west

<sup>319</sup> Compare Dixon's "Maidu Myths," p. 79, where further parallels are given (see also Dixon's "Northern Maidu," p. 341). The Takelma of Oregon have a similar myth.

<sup>320</sup> This form is obscure, but seems to be derived from verb stem *dji-* "to taste" (cf. *djiwa'isi*, "it tastes like deer meat").

- mô'banet' a'igite ban<sup>a</sup> 'adô'net' ite'i'tedjanna mô'banet'  
she ate up all | to the | deer. | She went back east. | Off north | she ate up all
- 2 telurêw<sup>a</sup> mô'banet' o'pdjibanet' 'adô'net'<sup>1</sup> djô o'pdji-  
elks | she ate up all, | she killed all. | She went back east | east, | she killed all  
banet' a'igite' ban<sup>a</sup> wâ'k'dibilet'<sup>1</sup> mini'tdibilet' o'pdji-  
to the | deer. | She stood still, | she looked around. | "I have killed all,"
- 4 bæi'ndj t'in<sup>et</sup> wa'ir<sup>u</sup> t'in<sup>et</sup> 'adu'm'djatdin<sup>et</sup>'  
she said. | "Now!" | she said. | Now she went back home.  
yapbidja'ihaenigi' haëä' haëa' irä'mi 'alwibapte!iha-  
"Let us play!" | "Yes, | yes!" | "Outside | let us smoke each other!"
- 6 enigi wô'nutdin<sup>et</sup>' a'lwibapte!iha'enigi be'bü'djaëa haëä'  
Now they dug into ground. | "Let us smoke each other!" | "You go first!" | "Yes,  
haëa bui'yuwalts!gi p'iwu'leatdin<sup>et</sup>' djô'wuleatdin<sup>et</sup>' wü's!  
yes!" | Little fawns | now they went in. | They had put inside | pine-needles,  
8 wu'lwitdin<sup>et</sup>'<sup>321</sup> wa'iru t'in<sup>et</sup>' te'ê'klaucindjatdi wô'  
now they smoked them. | "Now!" | they said, | "I am now smoke." | "Yes,"  
t'in<sup>et</sup>' p'í'durapeatdin<sup>et</sup>' a'ienuga t'in<sup>et</sup>' p'í'wulwie  
they said. | Now they went out again. | "You (pl.)," | they said, | "do you go in!"
- 10 t'in<sup>et</sup>' t'êtte!êg<sup>1</sup> djô'wuleatdin<sup>et</sup>' p'unít<sup>et</sup>' 'ü'cit'imain<sup>a</sup>  
they said, | "little Grizzly Bears!" | They now put them in | pitch wood | pine-needles  
again,  
wu'lwitdin<sup>et</sup>' wa'iru t'in<sup>et</sup>' auwiwa'ldin<sup>et</sup>' dila'un<sup>et</sup>'  
now they smoked them. | "Now!" | they said. | They held them down to ground, | they  
died.
- 12 k'ü'net' me'tedjadurāmin<sup>et</sup>'<sup>1</sup> p'unít<sup>et</sup>' dirwu'leatdin<sup>et</sup>' 'é'eyu-  
Not they were. | They pulled it out again | pitch wood. | Now they put their hands  
inside. | They pulled (one) out,  
rāmin<sup>et</sup>' 'é'eyurāmit'imain<sup>et</sup>' du'mmanat!uimite!ip'gun<sup>et</sup>'i  
they pulled (one) out again. | Each one carried one in his arms.
- 14 me'tdjadulet'<sup>322</sup> mô'rulwaldin<sup>et</sup>'<sup>1</sup> wu'ldjak!din<sup>et</sup>' bat'í'lmi  
They put them into house again, | they laid them down on ground, | they put it over  
them | deer-hide.  
'ü' t'in<sup>et</sup>' cucā'haenigi cumi'rihaenig aidji dja'urp'a  
"Now!" | they said, | "let us run away! | let us run thereto | the | south!"
- 16 t'in<sup>et</sup>' eürk'itdin<sup>et</sup>'êë iwí'ldjām<sup>1</sup> birī'h aite k!a'in<sup>a</sup>  
they said. | Now they came running from east | Montgomery Creek. | "Where is | the |  
rock!"  
bê'ahanig aigi djí'gal ma'lte'imadu k'ü'ci t'in<sup>et</sup>'  
"Let us proceed | to it | mountain, | brush place." | "It is not," | he said
- 18 i'n'myāan<sup>a</sup> diwa'ik!uwanigi t'in<sup>et</sup>' a'igite djí'galla  
younger person, | "she might see us," | he said, | "at the | mountain,"

<sup>321</sup> *wu'lwisindja*, "I am fanning smoke into house" (from Dr. Dixon's notes). The method of smoking here employed seems to have been to fan the smoke of the burning pine needles into the temporarily constructed sweat-house; cf. Dixon's "Maidu Myths," p. 79.

<sup>322</sup> = *me'tdjaduwl'et*'.

t'inet' a'sinik' bê'nik'<sup>323</sup> ya'ik'unama<sup>a</sup> t'inet' bê'εa-  
he said, | "if we | it is we who are | stay there," | he said. | "Let us proceed

hanig aigi k!a'ina t'inet' k!a'imadu wô'' t'inet' 2  
to it | rock," | he said, | "rock place." | "Yes," | he said.

ya'it'djatdinεt' telu'p'eci t'inet'  
Now they got up. | "It is good," | they said.

badū'watεatdinεt' t'e'nεmarimεl' i'dulet' mila'biwiε 4

Now she hastened back and arrived home | Grizzly-Bear Woman. | She returned in-  
side. | "Do you (pl.) wake up!"

t'inet' atε'īmah aidju t'ū'εnuk' sā'dipeimaiεnuk' k'ū'-  
she said. | "What is | the (your) | your doing | your sleeping for?" | Not they were

net' gayā' wu'ldjaba'εatdinεt' i'na wu'εatdinεt' wul- 6  
speak. | Now she picked up | piece of wood, | now she struck them. | She put it away  
from them,

dja'idinet' dīla'unεt' mini'ruwaunεt' birī'mah t'inet' yô'-  
they were dead. | She looked at them. | "Where are they?" | she said, | she asked

gaip!anεt' mā'wa k'ūnεt' i'nā' yô'gaip!anεt' k!a'ina 8  
poker. | Not it was | say anything. | She asked | stone.

k'ūnεt' i'nā'εa yô'gaip!anεt' bī'wi yô'gaip!anεt' a'igite'  
Not it was | say anything. | She asked | earth, | she asked | to the

i'na yô'gaip!anεt' aigite' a'un<sup>a</sup> yô'gaip!anεt' aigite 10  
wood, | she asked | to the | fire, | she asked | to the

te'u'wa ā'haεa t'inet' cu'rp'āsi<sup>324</sup> t'inet' ā'a t'inet'  
coal. | "Yes," | it said, | "they have hastened south," | it said. | "Yes," | she said.

djô'net' aigite k!a'in<sup>a</sup> mik!a'iyaun<sup>a</sup> djô'net' aigite i'na 12  
She bit | to the | stone | being angry, | she bit | to the | wood,

djô'net' aigite' a'un<sup>a</sup> 'i'ramwitdinεt'<sup>325</sup> a'm+ t'inet'  
she bit | to the | fire. | She went out. | "Amm!" | she said.

birī'mas a'idji t'ū'miriw t'inet' bark'itdinεt' ô'mai- 14  
"Where will be | the | that you do thereto?" | she said. | Now she came running from  
east, | now she tracked them

εatdinεt' k' la'lk'i ū'cī'djaε<sup>a</sup>maun iyū'ik'i ba'm'djanεt'  
their | feet. | Having twice | day | she ran along,

bark'itdinεt' k'ū'net' dé'waiεl' ô'maidudjilet' aigi k!a'i- 16  
she came running from east. | Not she was | see them. | She tracked them around  
back | to it | rock place.

mat'<sup>u</sup> mini't'djanεt' dimā'nεaigunεt' ya'ik'unāε  
She looked up, | suddenly they were | be there.

'ā'duεuldiwiε t'inet' bask'ī'yaiwite!k'<sup>1</sup> atε'īmah aidju 18  
"Do you (pl.) come back down!" | she said, | "orphans! | "What is | the (your)

<sup>323</sup> a'sinik' bê would be more correct.

<sup>324</sup> Perhaps misheard for cu'rp'āsi.

<sup>325</sup> There is something wrong with this form. -wi- is unexplained and -mw- should assimilate to -mm-. Perhaps we should have 'i'ramuitdinεt' "now she went out soon, immediately."

- eueā'mai'anuk' a'r't'gama'iyuwiē k'ū'cinau<sup>326</sup> k'unmiyauē'  
your running away for? | Do you (pl.) come here! | Are you not | be hungry?
- 2 a'tdjahaēni'k' bā'wicabitdjas tsiniyā' o'pdjibacinu' a'idji  
Let us go off home! | It is about to be dark." | "No! | you have been killing all, | the  
nina'ndj aidji te'iga'lelidj aidj umā'yā'ēnite' a'idji  
my mother, | the | my father, | the | my brother, | the
- 4 mari'emiyaue'nite' a'm+ t'īnēt' t'enēma'rime<sup>1</sup> mu'ite!i-  
my sister." | "Amm!" | she said | Grizzly-Bear Woman. | Now she bit at it  
la'uēatdinēt' aigi .k!a'in<sup>a</sup> djadū'djilēatdinēt' k!aiā' t'īnēt'  
to it | rock. | now she stepped back around it. | "O rock!" | they said
- 6 bui'yuwalts!k'<sup>1</sup> ī'r't'djayaka k!i'tēbaliyakai<sup>327</sup> 'ē'lauyauna  
little fawns, | "go up | rise!" | singing.  
t'ū'watdinēt' k!iteba'lgunēt' mu'ite!ilauyaueat<sup>1</sup> t'enēma'-  
Now it did so, | it arose | she now biting at it | Grizzly-Bear Woman.
- 8 rim<sup>1</sup> t!iniēni'm'gunēt' k!ain<sup>a328</sup> u'ēidjaēmau iyū'ik'i  
Only little was left | rock. | Having twice | day  
mu'ite!ilaunēt' aigi k!a'in<sup>a</sup> dimā'n'aigunēt' dila'uē dit-  
she bit at it | to it | rock, | suddenly she was | die, | put out her hands down on  
ground
- 10 djawa'ldiē  
eue'ldinēt'ē djōt!a'lditdinēt' 'ē'eyurapēatdinēt' p'a'ts!-  
They hastened down. | Now they rent up her belly, | now they pulled them out  
entrails.
- 12 djuw djōbi'leatdinēt'ē djō'te!utte!itē!a'lte!inēt'i iwī'lmit'i-  
now they hung them up. | They cut it asunder | other one also,  
main<sup>a</sup> djōbi'leayaun<sup>a</sup> djōte!utte!inēt' gā'd iwī'lmit'i-  
hanging it up; | they cut it off | leg | other one also,
- 14 main<sup>a</sup> gā'dutimain<sup>a</sup> djō'bilet'ē wō'k!ausanēt' t!ā'leaik'i  
other leg | they hung it up. | They cut it out | her head,  
bō'djam'djinēt'i ma'k!i wū'ldjahaunēt' wai'ru t'īnēt'  
they threw it westwards, | backbone | they threw it eastwards. | "Now!" | they said,
- 16 t'enēma'garaē t'īnēt' mō'magar aidj yā' t'īnēt'  
be grizzly bear!" | they said. | "Eat | the | people!" | they said.

<sup>326</sup> -*nau* is unexplained, but can hardly have been misunderstood for -*nuk*'.

<sup>327</sup> This sentence is difficult. Normally we should have: "k!ainā' i'r't'-*dja*'a' k!i'tēbal'ēi'." -*yaka(i)* is quite unexplained.

<sup>328</sup> Information was secured from Betty Brown of two rocks with a circular notch said to have been bitten in by a grizzly bear in pursuit of the deer that stood on top. They are a short distance east of the hamlet of Montgomery Creek and are known as *djanū'nak!aina*, "notched rocks." They were doubtless thought of by Round Mountain Jack as the scene of the mythical incident.

## GRIZZLY BEAR AND DEER.

There was a house in which dwelt Deer. Grizzly Bear was angry. "Cut off some of your flesh for me," (she said to Deer). "I am going to eat it." Then (Deer) cut some of it right off and roasted it. (Grizzly Bear) ate it. "It tastes good," (she said. Some time after this, she was lousing Deer, and scratched her. Deer protested; but Grizzly Bear said,) "I was lousing you." Now she caught hold of a louse; now she bit (Deer's) neck and killed her. Then she cut up her belly and ate her up, ate up much. All (the Deer people) she killed. She went off looking for (Deer's two children, but) did not find them. She came back home. To the south she went and killed all. She returned north. Off west she ate up all the deer, and returned east. Off north she ate up all the elks, ate them all up, killed all. She went eastwards again and killed all the deer. She stood still and looked around. "I have killed them all," she said. "Enough now!" she said, and then proceeded back home.

"Let us play!" (said Deer's children to Grizzly Bear's). "Yes, yes!" they said. "Let us smoke each other outside!" They dug a hole in the ground. "Let us smoke each other!" (said Deer's children). "You go in first!" (Grizzly Bear's children said to them). "Yes, yes!" The fawns now went in. (Grizzly Bear's children) put in pine-needles, and then caused (Deer's children) to smoke.<sup>321</sup> "Enough now!" they said, "I am all smoke now." "Yes," said (Grizzly Bear's children). Now they came out again. "Do you go in," they said, "Grizzly Bear children!" Then they put in pitchwood and pine-needles again, and caused (Grizzly Bear's children) to smoke. "Enough now!" they said. (Deer's children) held them down to the ground, (so that) they died. They were no more. (Deer's children) took the pitchwood out again and thrust their hands inside. They pulled out (one of Grizzly Bear's children, then) they pulled out the other one. Each one carried one in his arms. They brought them back into their house, laid them down on the ground, and put a deerhide blanket over them. "Now!" they said, "let us run away! Let us run to the south!" they said. Now they came running from the east, from Montgomery creek.

“Where is the rock?” (said the younger brother). “Let us proceed to the mountain, where there is brush!” (said the older one). “No!” said the younger one, “she might see us at the mountain,” he said, “if we stay there. Let us proceed to the rock,” he said, “to where there is a rock.” “Yes,” said (his brother), and then they got up on it. “It is good,” they said.

Grizzly-Bear Woman now hastened back and arrived home. She went inside again and said, “Wake up, you two! What are you doing? What are you sleeping for?” They did not speak. Then she picked up a stick and struck them. She put (their blanket) aside from them; they were dead. She looked at them. “Where are they?” she said, asked the poker. It said nothing. She asked the stone. It said nothing. She asked the earth. It said nothing. She asked the stick, she asked the fire, she asked the coals. “Yes,” they said, “they have run to the south.” “Yes,” she said. She bit the stone, for she was angry; she bit the stick; she bit the fire. She went out. “Amm!” she said (threateningly). “Where will you go to?” she said. Now she came running from the east, tracked them by their footprints. For two days she ran along, came running from the east. She did not find them. She tracked them around back to the rock. She looked up, there indeed they were.

“Do you come down again!” she said, “O orphans! What are you running away for? Come to me! Are you not hungry? Let us go off home! It is nearly nightfall.” “No!” (they said). “You have been killing all (of our people),—my mother, my father, my brothers, my sisters.” “Amm!” said Grizzly-Bear Woman, and proceeded to gnaw the rock; she moved clear around it. “O rock!” said the fawns, singing, “go upwards! rise up!” And then it did so. It rose up while Grizzly-Bear Woman kept gnawing at it. Only a little was left of the rock<sup>228</sup> For two days she gnawed the rock, when suddenly she died, let her hands drop down on the ground.

They hastened down. And then they cut up her belly, pulled out (her) entrails and hung them up. They cut off one (of her legs) and hung it up. They cut off (her) other leg also and hung it up. They cut out her head and threw it to the west; (her) backbone they threw to the east. “Now!” they said, “be a grizzly bear! Eat people!” they said.



### III. SUPPLEMENTARY YANA MYTHS<sup>329</sup>

(COLLECTED BY DR. R. B. DIXON)

#### I. THE CREATION OF MEN.<sup>330</sup>

Lizard, Gray Squirrel, and Coyote lived in a big sweat-house at Wamā'rawi.<sup>331</sup> They had no wives or children. Coyote wanted to make people, but the others thought that they themselves were enough. Finally Lizard agreed, "We'll make people, different kinds of people." So Lizard went out and cut three sticks like gambling sticks. The others wanted to know how he was going to make people out of these. Lizard said, "I'll show you." One stick he took for the Hat Creeks (Tc'unō'yāna), one for the Wintun (Yā'ēwi), and one for the Pit Rivers (Wa'djā'mi).<sup>332</sup> When he looked at them he said, "There is something lacking." Coyote asked, "Who has been left out?" Lizard said, "The Yana." So he took any kind of a stick, broke it up into little pieces, and put them in a pile for the Yana. The

<sup>329</sup> Besides the two texts given above (nos. xxiii and xxiv) Dr. Dixon's manuscript Yana material comprises a number of myths obtained in English. These are here made accessible with Dr. Dixon's consent; only such changes have been made in the wording and spelling of Indian names as seemed necessary. Some of the myths, though here and there exhibiting interesting variants, too closely parallel the versions obtained by Curtin and myself to warrant publication and have therefore been omitted; they are "The Creation of Men" (determination of sex and making of hands), "Flint Chief's Entertainment," "The Bringing of Fire," "The First Death," "I'hat'aina" (first part), "Coyote and Frost," and "Coyote and his Sister." Dr. Dixon's informants were Sam Bat'wī and Round Mountain Jack.

<sup>330</sup> What is here given is only the first episode of Dr. Dixon's myth of "The Creation of Men," the other two dealing with the origin of sex and the making of hands by Lizard. Dr. Dixon's version of the making of the Yana and other tribes from sticks seemed different enough from my own (No. v) to justify its inclusion here. If, as seems likely, Sam Bat'wī was the source of this version, it is certainly curious that it differs so markedly in detail, if not in general character, from that secured by myself only seven years later. It is noteworthy that Dr. Dixon's "Creation of Men" does not include the origin of death; this was obtained by him as a separate myth.

<sup>331</sup> See note 111.

<sup>332</sup> Literally, "dwelling-north."

stick for the Hat Creeks he placed in the east, the stick for the Wintun in the west, the stick for the Pit Rivers in the north.

All three, Lizard, Gray Squirrel, and Coyote, then made a big basket, heated rocks, put water in the basket, and heated the water by putting the hot rocks into the basket. Then Lizard put the sticks into the boiling water, put in more hot rocks to boil the sticks. All then went to sleep, after setting the basket outside on the roof and covering it up. Before they slept Lizard said, "Early in the morning you will hear some one when the basket turns over. That will be because there are people. You must keep still, must not move or snore."

Early in the morning they heard people falling down, heard the basket turn over. By and by they heard the people walking about outside. They got up, then covered the door with a large rock to keep the people out. They did not talk or answer those outside. For a long time the people were talking. One called out, "Where is the door?" Coyote said, "Keep still, that talk does not sound right."<sup>333</sup> Others then spoke, asked also. Then Coyote said, "Now it sounds right," and then they opened the door. Then all the people came crowding in, all came into the sweat-house. Then the three said, "It is well. There are people."

## II. THE CONTEST OF FOX AND COYOTE.<sup>334</sup>

Silver Fox (Bo'k'u'ina) had a sweat-house at Dī'yūrik'dilla (or Dī'yūrimadu), in Cedar Creek valley. Coyote lived there too. Silver Fox went out to hunt deer, killed some, but did not bring them home. At night he alone would eat. A big snow came; there lay Coyote on one side of the house, he did not get up, though he was hungry. But at last he got up and went out to hunt for gophers. Whenever Coyote found a gopher, he killed him by jumping on his house; then he dug out various sorts of roots with which he filled his basket. He killed about twenty

<sup>333</sup> That is, they had not yet learned to talk Yana correctly.

<sup>334</sup> Compare the Hat Creek myth in Dixon, "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, XXI, 171-174. Some of the incidents are also found in Takelma mythology.

gophers, came home, and cooked them. Silver Fox expected to have a part, but Coyote ate them all himself.

This sort of thing went on for six days. Silver Fox did not go out, for he had all kinds of food; six kinds he had—dried deer meat, salmon, roots, cedar gum, acorn bread, and pine nuts. The snow fell for seven days. Coyote could not get out, the snow was so deep. Silver Fox said, "I'll have two moons of winter. If we had five moons we should starve whenever a snow like this came." Coyote got up, sat with his head down, thinking. He said, "No, I want five moons of winter. If there were only two moons, widows could get plenty of wood and be happy. It is better to have five moons." Now Silver Fox said, "No. I want to have two moons. Every one will be good and well off. What should we eat if there were five moons of winter?" Coyote said, "It is better that widows be hungry, that they should not have much to eat."

By and by another big snow came, Silver Fox had made it come. Silver Fox went out; he had a long stick with a crotch at the end to pull down dry branches, and he had a burden basket on his back. Every time he pulled the branches down from a cedar, sweet roots (*cu'nna*) came down. He carried them home, but did not let Coyote see them. The next day he went out again. There were bunches of something on the pine trees that burned. He set on fire some pine needles and put them on the end of his stick, then held it up to the bunches all about. Then he lay down face down and soon many grouse hit him all over. When they were all down he got up and put them in a brush sack (*k'é'wate!i*), filled it with the grouse. Coyote was not allowed to see it. After some time Silver Fox felt sorry for Coyote and let him see the food he had brought back. "Son-in-law, how did you get those roots?" said Coyote. Silver Fox said, "I took a stick, broke off cedar limbs, and down came the roots." Coyote said, "I will go and do the same." Silver Fox said, "I don't look up when I do it." Coyote went, got hit badly, and looked up. He saw no roots, only branches. He went home sick. Fox said, "I did not look up when I was hit and hurt." Coyote saw him bring back grouse. "Son-in-law, how did you

kill them?" he asked. Silver Fox told him. Coyote said, "I'll do that too." Silver Fox told him what to do, but Coyote did as before. When four grouse came he said, "Stop! I want to eat." They stopped, only four grouse came. Coyote cooked and ate them. Then he went to another tree and repeated what he had done. He jumped up, could not stand being hit by the grouse. He looked about—there was nothing there. He went home.

He asked Silver Fox how he managed to bring back so many always, but received no answer. Coyote asked, "Son-in-law, how did you catch those yellow-jackets?" Silver Fox said, "I smoked them out with leaves. After smoking them out I dug them up with my penis. When the yellow-jackets came, I did not run. There is lots of meat<sup>335</sup> down in the nest. When the sun rises I hold my hand over my eyes and see the yellow-jackets going into their holes." Coyote went out and did so. He saw the yellow-jackets' nest, smoked them, then dug out the nest with his penis. The yellow-jackets began to bite his penis. For a while he stood it, then could not any longer. He rolled on the ground with pain; then he went off. He said, "Son-in-law, I'm sick. The yellow-jackets bit me all over."

By and by Coyote lay down, and would not move when the snow came. Silver Fox got angry; he thought he would kill Coyote, because he did not believe him and do as he told him. Silver Fox had a wife, his shadow, and kept her in the space between the edge of the sweat-house roof and the ground. One night Coyote heard Silver Fox and his wife talking. Silver Fox went out to hunt. Coyote said, "Who is it that Silver Fox is talking to? He must have a woman somewhere." He hunted all about, asked everything. The main post said, "Here it is." Coyote tried to hold her, but suddenly she was gone, was never seen again. Silver Fox came home. He knew that his wife was gone, but did not say anything to Coyote.

Snow kept coming. Silver Fox thought that the best way to catch Coyote would be in a net. He did not know which kind of rope to use—deer-sinew or milkweed. By and by he began

<sup>335</sup> The reference is to the larvae, formerly a favorite article of food when procurable.

to chew milkweed string; he had pine nuts in his mouth. Coyote said, "I know that Silver Fox is eating pine nuts." Silver Fox went out. Coyote hunted for the nuts, found several baskets filled with them. He filled the sweat-house with those that came down when he pushed about under the roof with a stick. He told the nuts, "Stop! Don't all come." Silver Fox came back, and Coyote said, "This food came down. I don't know what is the matter." Silver Fox said nothing. Then he said, "You eat it up!" and Coyote did so. Then he slept. Then Silver Fox began to roll a rope on his thigh. Silver Fox slipped up as Coyote was sleeping and measured the size of his head. Then he finished the net.

In the morning Silver Fox said to Coyote, "Let us go out and catch cottontail rabbits." Coyote said, "Yes." Silver Fox said, "I'll put in a trap over there to the south. When you drive them, run fast." He did so, found many rabbits. Silver Fox told him to run right up to the net. Coyote did so, but broke out of the milkweed net easily. All the rabbits escaped. So they went home.

Silver Fox called for a deer-skin to come to him. He made a net of the sinew, again of the size of Coyote's head. Again they went out together, set traps as before. Silver Fox told Coyote to drive the rabbits and cry out, and to run very fast as he came to the net. Coyote did so, and got into the net; he could not get out. Silver Fox had a big live-oak stick and with this he hit him. Coyote said, "Son-in-law, don't hit me." Silver Fox said, "Son-in-law, you don't believe me," and he hit him again, and killed him. Silver Fox said, "You don't believe me, so I shall have the food in the trees. People were merely to stretch out a hand when they saw deer, and it would fall dead. It is not to be so now."<sup>336</sup>

Silver Fox went home. He hunted all around for the places where Coyote had urinated. He went all over the country except Klamath Lake. He thought he had killed all the Coyotes. One morning he heard one yelp. Coyote was angry, came back, and made a fire start all around. Coyote came over to this side

<sup>336</sup> These statements seem rather irrelevant here. The meaning evidently is that Silver Fox had intended to make the procuring of food easy for the people, but that Coyote had spoiled things by setting bad precedents.

of Burney Valley. Silver Fox saw Coyote coming; he blew and said, "Come, grasshoppers! Come, plums! Come, cherries!" Coyote came along and saw the grasshoppers, plums, and cherries. They looked good, so he stopped to eat them. Silver Fox said, "When Coyote sees the food, he will stop and will not be angry." Coyote ate the plums and cherries, and said, "I want to eat. I'll not go and kill people." Coyote called for<sup>337</sup> a sack, filled it with the food, and came back. He said, "Son-in-law, I have good food." Silver Fox had called for<sup>337</sup> pitch. When Coyote asked him why he had put on pitch, he told Coyote that he was sorry he had lost him.<sup>338</sup> Silver Fox would not eat, though Coyote wanted him to. Silver Fox said nothing. Coyote said, "What are we going to do? It looks like spring." Silver Fox did not answer.

### III. THE LOST BROTHER.<sup>339</sup>

Pine Marten's brother Weasel was stolen by Lizard (k'u-wi'lla). Pine Marten was living at Big Bend.<sup>340</sup> He went out to hunt and left Weasel at home. He told him to hide under the edge of the sweat-house roof. Weasel did so. By and by something came into the house saying, "Tsä, tsä, tsä." Weasel looked and saw that it was Lizard. Weasel thought Lizard very pretty, jumped out, and played with him. He gave him fat to eat. As Lizard ate more and more, he grew bigger and bigger. Weasel was scared and began to cry. Lizard put Weasel in his quiver and went off.

Pine Marten came back. "Where are you, my brother?" he said. There was no answer. He knew he was stolen, and cried all night. He hunted for him everywhere; he asked all things where he was, but in vain. Mouse had an arrow of tules that was very long. Pine Marten took this and leaned it up against the sky. He climbed up, reached the sky, and traveled to the east. He made a fire in the trail, and saw Moon coming traveling

<sup>337</sup> That is "wished" for it by means of his supernatural power.

<sup>338</sup> Pitch was daubed on the face as a sign of mourning.

<sup>339</sup> Compare the Pit River myth in Dixon, "Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales," *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, XXI, 167, 168.

<sup>340</sup> See note 245.

to the west. He had a basket on his back and carried two daughters in it. As he walked he said, "Wahāki, wahāki." Frost came out of his nostrils. Moon came along, saw Pine Marten, and stopped. He said, "Well, son-in-law," and put down his basket. He came up to the fire. Pine Marten said, "It's cold. Father-in-law, I'll throw you up into the sky. I came to ask you something, for you ought to see everything. Have you seen my brother?" "Yes," said Moon. "See over there, somebody is being hung up by Lizard." Pine Marten asked Moon what he should give him as a gift. Would Moon have beads? "No!" Pine Marten then asked if he would have red and blue ones; Moon said, "Yes." Pine Marten gave them to him, and we see them as a halo around the moon. Moon told Pine Marten to go back to the earth, to the place where he had seen Weasel. He did so, went back to his house.

Lizard went out of his house, went south to get pitch-wood in order to cook Weasel, whom he was going to kill. Pine Marten slipped out of his house and followed; Coyote came also. He made himself into an old woman. He called for a basket and beads; they came, and he made himself look like a woman. He wore a tasseled buckskin apron. He came up to Lizard; Lizard could not seem to split the wood well, he knew that some one was watching. Coyote began to cry out; Lizard heard and thought it was Coyote fooling him. Coyote came up and said, "I am your aunt. I hear you stole Pine Marten's brother and are going to kill him. I hear you are going to have a big dance." Lizard answered, "Coyote, you are trying to fool me." Coyote answered, "No, I'm not Coyote. I'm your old aunt." Lizard then believed him.

Coyote cried for pitch and asked for fire. He asked if Lizard wanted to eat, as he had some bread in his basket. Lizard said, "No, there is going to be a big dance." He made up a big load of wood. Pine Marten was far off, watching. He blew "hw+, hw+," toward Lizard, made it very cold. Lizard said, "I'm cold. I'll go and get warm." He tried to lift the load of wood, but it was so heavy that he could not, for Pine Marten had said as he blew, "Be heavy!" Coyote offered to push it up on his back. So he came up behind and made believe to get ready for lifting

the load. But instead he gave the ground a great kick; it opened and Lizard and his load of wood went down out of sight. All the people at Lizard's house heard Lizard fall down into the ground. All said "ī,ī," and thought their chief was dead. But the Spider Woman said, "No. I made the noise by hitting the ground with my acorn pestle."

Pine Marten now came up to where Lizard was buried. He dug him up, skinned him, and put on his hide. He went to Lizard's house. The people inside said, "That must be a stranger." Another said, "No, it's our chief." Lizard had eight or nine wives, ducks. When Lizard used to come home, he used to drink three baskets of hot water. Pine Marten called for them, but drank only two. This made the people think that there was some trick. All got up and began to cry out. Pine Marten whipped them, so they all became quiet.

Night came. Weasel was hanging up close by the post of the house, and was to be killed that night. Pine Marten took him down, however, and left only a shadow of him hanging there, to fool the people. He put Weasel in his quiver. Pine Marten then asked all the people to come to a big sweat. All sweated, then sat down. Pine Marten said, "Let us dance. Then we will sleep." They did so. Then Pine Marten said, "Let us sleep," and blew "hw+, hw+." All fell at once into a deep sleep. Pine Marten then put pitch all over the house, inside and out. Then he set it afire at the smoke-hole and at the door. He jumped out himself. All the people were burned but one woman, a duck.

#### IV. THE FLINTS AND GRIZZLY BEARS.<sup>340a</sup>

At Balā'wi<sup>340b</sup> lived Flint Woman (Djuwa'lk!aimari'mi). Eagle, Buzzard, Bluejay, and other birds lived there too. Eagle stayed outside all the while, called all the people brothers. He

<sup>340a</sup> This myth was evidently obtained from Round Mountain Jack, as shown, among other things, by the linguistic form (North Yana) of the Indian names occurring in it. It differs considerably in detail from the form of the myth obtained by myself from Sam Bat'wī (no. 1), and is therefore given here in full. Curtin's version also is evidently a Central Yana one.

<sup>340b</sup> A mountain north of Stillwater creek.



went out to hunt. The Bears had a house in Bear valley and were at enmity with the Flint people. Lizard lived with the latter. He told the young fellows to make a fire in the morning, and they all went out to hunt, went up to Balā'wi. The Bears did not want them to hunt there, and came also. Lizard said, "Young people, look out. We'll have to fight today." The Bears said, "We don't want to fight." So they did not fight that day, and the young people killed deer and brought them home. Old Grizzly Bear said, "Tomorrow we'll have a fight. I'll go after more of my people."

Lizard was chief of the Flint people. He said, "Tomorrow we must fight, you must not go hunting." Lizard called all the Bears to come to the fire where he had built it. He had a poor piece of flint. The bears came to the fire, looked as if they were going to eat up the people. Lizard had a bear-skin quiver. The Bear women said, "You can not hurt us with that little flint. (We can stick those flints into our hearts and they won't hurt us.)" Lizard said, "Let me see you do it." So the women each took one of the little flints and did so, but the flint stayed inside of them; they could not pull them out of their hearts as they had thought. Lizard told them to go off. They did so and fell dead. Lizard was much pleased.

Then the Flint people fought the Bears, fought all day. Each side killed half of its adversaries. Next day they fought again, and all the Flint people were killed except Lizard. The Grizzly Bears were all killed except two old women. Lizard hunted for these, but they caught him and killed him. The Red and Blue Flint people were dead. Striped Flint (p'a'nmae-amauna) had told the old Flint Woman that his spittle would come to life again. Flint Woman was not killed; she cried all the time, put lots of pitch on her head, so much that it stuck out of the sweat-house. The two old Bear women would come in the morning and bite off some of this. They thought that there were more people left.

One morning Flint Woman heard something calling out, "Dā, dā!" She jumped up and picked up something. She cleaned it with warm water, washed the child. She took the best black-bear hide and put him on it. She did not sleep that

night. After two nights and days he began to crawl about. She wanted him to lie still, and put another hide on him. After four days and nights he was nearly ready to stand up. Then he began to talk; he was called Tsawa'tdikapsu. He said, "I want to eat, grandmother." She had some deer fat and gave it to him, and he ate it. He wanted more, and he ate it. He wanted dried salmon, and he ate it.

He began to walk about. Many little animals looked into the sweat-house. Tsawa'tdikapsu saw them and told his grandmother to look at them. He asked her to make a little bow for him. She said, "No. You are too small to shoot." "Yes," he said, "make one for me. I want to shoot." She did so, made a string and bow. A mountain quail looked into the sweat-house, the boy shot it. She then took the quail and struck the boy with it on the small of his back, as was always done to a boy when he shot his first game. Presently the boy broke the bow, and asked, "Make me a big one, grandmother." She did so. Said he, "I want to go out." "No," said she, "there are bad people outside." The boy wanted to go, so she let him go. Said she, "Don't go far off." A rabbit came along, and the boy shot and killed him. He took it in; she was glad. Said he, "I saw something with big eyes and ears, small legs, and a short tail. When he eats, he keeps moving his tail." She said, "That's a deer." The boy went out again and saw an elk. He described it to his grandmother, who told him what it was. She said, "Don't shoot him, you can't kill him." The boy pulled his bow to show how he could, and broke it. The bows of the many people who had been killed were hung up all around the sweat-house. He asked his grandmother if he could try one of them. She said, "They are too strong for you. I don't think that you can pull them." The boy said, "I'll try." He started at the north, broke them; he went around to the east, south, and west, and broke them all. The last one was to the west, he could not break it. His arm doubled back. He asked, "Whose bow was this?" She said, "It belonged to one of those that were killed." Again he tried to break it, but in vain. In every way he tried to break it, but to no purpose. He tried to break it with his feet, with big rocks, but in vain. He said, "That is my bow." It was backed with deer sinew. He picked out the best flints.

She said, "Don't go far." The boy said, "I'm going to kill that big deer for you." "I don't think you can do it. You are too small," said the old woman. He went out. The elk was still there. He shot him and brought him back to his grandmother. "I wonder if I can shoot through that oak tree," said he. She said, "You are too small. Don't talk so, my grandchild." He went and shot through the tree.

"Grandmother," he said, "I'm going to start out. Tell me where are the people who killed my brothers." She said, pointing to the north, "They live there." The boy went. He saw two bears eating clover. The boy stopped and thought; asked his flints, "Which of you is the strongest?" The striped flint said, "I am." The red one said, "I am the one. When I hit people they die at once. Do not walk far off." The boy said, "Come, feathers!" There was a little bird that the boy told to go down below and call. "When the Bears hear it, they will stand end on and listen." The bird did so. The boy shot, and the arrow went into the mouth of one and out at the anus, and the same of the other. He skinned them, carried them back in the evening. His grandmother was frightened. "Don't be afraid," he said, "it is I." She cried; he hung up the two hides outside.

Next day he went again. He told five of these same little birds to come. "Go into that brush. If you find the bears, call; if not, do not call." They did so, and called. The boy told the birds to drive the bears out. They did so, drove out four. The boy killed them, and carried the hides home. He went all'around that mountain, killing bears in this way every day. By and by the two wicked Bear women were the only ones left. They jumped on the boy, held him one on each side, and said, "Don't kill us. You are our husband. I'll keep you as my husband." He asked, "How many more bears are there?" "They are all gone but us," said they. The boy asked them if they were going to kill his grandmother, and they said, "No." They said, "I'm going to keep you as my husband, take you to my father." They went back with the boy to his house. His grandmother asked, "What sort of women have you?" "Bears," said he. "Why didn't you kill them?" she said. The boy said, "No. I'm going

to keep them as my wives, and they will show me their father.'

One day he stayed, and asked the two Bears where their father lived. "In the west, where the moon sets," they said. "We will start tomorrow and go there." The boy said to his grandmother, "Where is there poison?" She said, "They will fool you, they will throw acorns into the fire and make you blind. That is the way they killed my people." The boy said, "Where is there poison?" "At Wula'uwite'u there is poison, there is a poisonous spring that smells bad." He went there, and one can see his footprint there where he made it. He took his pipe, held it over the spring, caused the poisonous air to go into it, then stopped it up. Then he came back, and the two Bears said, "We'll start tomorrow." He told his pipe, "When I smoke you, kill all the people."

There he went, with one step he went a great distance. Four times he stepped and came close to the sweat-house. He nearly broke it in as he stepped on it. It was Moon's house, and there lived the Bears. He asked, "What is the matter? Who is out there?" The two Bears came in, and Moon asked, "Who is there?" They said, "My husband. Don't talk." Moon said, "Why not?" When the boy came in, all the people thought, "We can kill him easily." Moon called him in, and everything shook when he came in or when he moved. He had on a woven rabbit-skin robe. Moon said, "We will have a big sweat," and all his people came in. They said, "Let us throw this man into the fire." They made a big fire; all Moon's people got up and danced. The boy did not move, sat with his head down. The rest made fun of him, told him to get up and dance. By and by Moon threw salt into the fire, thought to make the boy blind. He didn't move. Moon said to him, "Get up and dance." Then Moon put sweet acorns into the fire, but could not blind the boy.

Pretty soon the boy got up; when he stepped, the ground trembled. The Moon people began to push one another about, tried to push the boy, but could not move him. Soon he took out his pipe, smoked, and all the people fell dead, and Moon too. The boy said, "I do not want you to be trying to fight or to hit me. I am mā'p'djam<sup>340c</sup>a<sup>ina</sup>, I cannot die." The two women he

<sup>340c</sup> See note 63.

did not kill, he kicked them down into the ground. He went out, and blew smoke all about, killed every one.

Then he came back, and went all around to the places where his people had been killed. He picked up an eyelash from each one. "Have you a big bucket?" he asked his grandmother. "Build a fire when it is nearly dawn and heat rocks." All the eyelashes he put into the bucket. Then he turned and lay down with his face to the ground. To his grandmother he said, "Throw the hot rocks in and lie down also." She did so. By and by they heard shouting, "Here's my bow. Here's my place," and so on. All those dead people were alive again. The boy got up and said, "You are my brothers. I told my grandmother that I would come back again when I died. I did so. I caused you dead people to come to life."

#### V. 'I'LHAT<sup>e</sup>AINA.<sup>341</sup>

One day Flint Boy said to Djuwa'lk'aina,<sup>342</sup> "I have been dreaming, I dreamt last night. I dreamt about a woman and her father. What is his name? I want to know." Djuwa'lk'aina said, "In which direction did you dream?" Flint Boy said, "I dreamt of Yallo Bally<sup>343</sup> mountain." Djuwa'lk'aina said, "I know whom you dreamt of." Flint Boy asked, "What is his name?" Said Djuwa'lk'aina, "Teuiteuiwayu. He lives there." Flint Boy said, "I want to go there, and I want to take my nephew<sup>344</sup> along." Djuwa'lk'aina said, "Yes." Flint Boy said, "I am going to marry the daughter, but I have no company on the road." Djuwa'lk'aina said, "But you are going to take your nephew." Flint Boy said, "Yes, but I want something like a bear, something that makes a noise. I don't want

<sup>341</sup> This account of the origin of thunder is only the latter part of the myth of "The Flints and Grizzly Bears" obtained by Dr. Dixon from Sam Bat'wi. It corresponds closely enough to my own version, but is published here because of its greater wealth of details.

<sup>342</sup> Flint Boy's grandmother. The name means "rock-lying-on-ground."

<sup>343</sup> The Yallo Bally mountains are west of the Sacramento at Red Bluff, a very considerable distance to the southwest of Redding. The reference is more probably to Bally mountain (6246 ft.), one of the main peaks of the Bully Chooop range. It is within easy sight of and almost due west from Redding.

<sup>344</sup> 'I'ihat<sup>e</sup>aina, who had been dug up from the ground, is here termed the nephew of Flint Boy.

him to talk as we do. He must talk another language." Djuwa'lk!aina said, "What is he going to say?" Flint Boy said, "When he sees any one coming he will say, 'Wū, wū!' I want to make a dog." Djuwa'lk!aina said nothing. Flint Boy asked if she wanted to hear it talk now. She said, "Yes." So Flint Boy said to his nephew, "Bark, practice!" His nephew did so, said, "Wū, wū, wūūūū." It was a terrible sound, and every one heard it all over the world—north, east, south, west. Flint Boy said, "What shall I call you? You bite and bark." His nephew said, "My name is 'I'hat'aina. I must have a big throat to bark." Flint Boy asked him to try barking again, and he did so. All the people in the world heard him, all said, "I hear a dog. That is Flint Boy's dog." 'I'hat'aina was small, but he made a great noise.

Flint Boy went away, went to the Sacramento valley, came to Sacramento river. He crossed with 'I'hat'aina and went on to the west. He came to the mountain at night, went up to the sweat-house, looked in, and saw the girl of whom he had dreamt. Many other people were there also. She sat on the east side. Flint Boy came in and sat down beside her. All looked at him, her father and mother looked, and said, "Who is that?" Flint Boy had left 'I'hat'aina outside, had tied him to the acorn sacks. Her father said, "Where did that man come from?" The girl said that she did not know. "It looks as if you were married," said her father, and he gave her a black-bear skin for Flint Boy to sit on.

Flint Boy had told 'I'hat'aina not to bark or bite any one. "I am going to marry the girl. When I have done so, I shall get up early to hunt, and I shall tell her to take care of you." Early in the morning Flint Boy got up and told his wife about the dog, told her that it was vicious and that she must not touch it or talk to it. In that case it would not bite her. She agreed to care for it. Flint Boy went away. The woman went out and saw the dog. She patted it, saying, "Nice dog." The dog shook its head and tail, and said, "Where is my master?" She answered, "He has gone away." Then the dog barked, and every one was frightened, terribly frightened. Flint Boy heard it far away; he was frightened, for he knew that some one had fooled

with the dog. "I believe I've lost my dog." Some one had really turned it loose. 'I'hat<sup>a</sup>aina tracked Flint Boy, while the woman was frightened. 'I'hat<sup>a</sup>aina could not find his master. Flint Boy came back, brought ten deer. The woman said, "I've fed him and turned him loose." "It's a bad dog. You ought not to have touched it."

That night it grew cloudy, while before it had been pleasant. Flint Boy went out, finally found the dog. He tied him up again, and told him to bark. He did so—"Wū, wū, wūūū!" Dju-wa'k!aina heard it and said, "I hear Flint Boy's dog in the west at Bally mountain." All the people heard it and said, "That is Flint Boy's dog. He is married here at Bally mountain." By and by Flint Boy went out to hunt again, and gave the same instructions as before. The people made him bark as before, let him loose. Flint Boy heard him. "I know what is the matter," said he.

It grew cloudy. The dog said, "It will rain." On the top of Bally mountain there was a great cloud, black and thick. The cloud came down over the dog, it swirled and rolled, and it went up in the air. The dog was in the cloud, he had called it and made it about himself. He did not want to be tied up, but to go with Flint Boy on his hunts. So he left Flint Boy and went up above. When he got part way up he barked, and the people heard it all over the world. Flint Boy heard it and was sad, for he knew the dog was lost. He never saw his dog again. 'I'hat<sup>a</sup>aina lives in the black clouds still. When he barks, it thunders.

## VI. FIXING THE SUN.

Sun lived at Hi'tsiriha, three miles up from P'ā'wi. There was a small hill there of red earth. The people went out to hunt, but did not stay long. Sunset came quickly, the day was short. It was a great trouble. Every one was in trouble. "What shall we do about it? If the sun came up far off to the east and not right here near us, it would be all right." But the sun was in the center of the world, and that was the cause of the trouble. The people all got together and talked it over. They asked Cottontail Rabbit and Blue Squirrel. "We have got to move

the sun." Rabbit said, "Yes, we'll do it." The people asked, "How?" Rabbit said, "We'll carry it on our backs. When I'm tired, Squirrel can take it." "Where will you put it?" "We'll put it over the mountains far off to the east." They started to carry it, carried it off to the east. When they got tired, they changed off. They carried the sun far, far away, to where he now comes up.

## VII. WOODPECKER AND WOODRAT.

Red-headed Woodpecker was married to Woodrat Woman. They lived at Wé'yuldiyauk!aimadu. The people were nearly starving for lack of food. Only Woodpecker had any; he got his acorns at a great distance. He had ten sacks, and some acorns he had in the holes of the trees. Woodpecker came home every night, and Rat Woman had lots of soup and bread. Woodpecker and Woodrat Woman would give none to any one. Woodpecker had a brother-in-law, Woodrat. He was sick, his foot was sore, he could not walk. Formerly he had been a fisherman. Woodpecker told his wife, "Give my brother-in-law plenty to eat, he is sick." She did so.

Woodpecker came home with a big load of acorns. The woman gave her brother lots of soup. Woodpecker sat there and ate too. He saw her give her brother soup, and said, "Here! don't do that. Why do you give him that?" Then he got up, took the soup away, and set it down by his own bed. Woodrat turned his back to the fire and went to sleep. The same thing happened every night. By and by the woman dug a hole under her brother's pillow and put the acorn bread in. She put some in, so that while he pretended to be asleep he could eat. Thus Woodpecker was fooled, as she offered soup each night and Woodpecker took it away. But his brother-in-law had bread.

One night Woodpecker came home. He got up in the morning and told his wife, "Tell my brother-in-law to wash his hands and to come and eat soup." She did so, gave him soup, but Woodpecker took it away. The next day Woodpecker said, "How comes it that my brother-in-law is so fat?" Woodrat said, "I'll get even with you." When Woodpecker had gone off, his



brother-in-law got up and said, "Where's my salmon spear? I'm going to get salmon at Cow creek." He saw some in the water and caught two, then took them home. "Cut them up," he said to his sister. The two ate, had a great feast. By and by he hid all the salmon. Woodpecker came back and smelt the salmon. "What is it that smells like salmon? You people must have been eating salmon," he said. She said, "No. I don't smell it. Where should we get salmon from?" Woodpecker said he thought he had smelt it; Woodrat said nothing.

Woodrat went again, and as before caught salmon. One day Woodrat said, "Sister, we have had enough salmon. Give Woodpecker some when he comes." They had it all ready; when Woodpecker came in, the salmon was brought out. Woodpecker looked at it and said, "You people have salmon. I thought so." He was very eager to get some to eat. "My brother-in-law is very good," he said, but Woodrat did not move. Woodpecker said, "Give my brother-in-law plenty to eat. I'll not say anything again." Woodrat said to himself, "I thought you had no sense. You must give me food, but I have the best food after all." The woman gave him soup and bread, and Woodpecker did not take it away any more.

#### VIII. RABBIT WOMAN AND HER CHILD.

Jack Rabbit lived at Bā'wa at Battle creek. There were many people there. It was the spring time, the clover was growing. All went out to get clover, young girls and all. Rabbit had a baby, but no husband. She went with the rest. She had no friends to whom to give the child while she was gone. One woman said, "I can take it for you." "Yes," said Rabbit. She gave it to her, and went off for the clover. By and by she came back with the rest, and put the clover in the house. She put the roots in the ashes, and sat down to eat, ate all the roots. Some one had given her some meat, and she ate this also.

Then she remembered her baby. "I forgot my child," she said. She jumped up and went to the woman to whom she had given it. "My friend, how is my child? I want my baby." She answered, "Some one else has taken him to the next house." So Rabbit went there and asked. She was given the same answer.

So Rabbit went on, and was answered as before. She went to house after house. Rabbit felt bad. She went to the last house and received the same answer. She went all around once more. The people had killed the child, had given some of it to Rabbit when she came back. Rabbit stopped and cried. She thought, "I ate my baby."

Rabbit had another baby. It was sick. Rabbit said, "My baby is sick. I do not know what is the matter." The people had no medicine-man. Some one told her, "There is a medicine-man living to the north." She took her baby and went after the medicine-man. Some one saw her and asked, "Where are you going?" "My baby is sick." The man said, "What is the matter?" Rabbit said, "I do not know. It has the colic (?), I guess." The man said, "I am a medicine-man." It was Coyote. She said, "What is your name? I want to go to Palé'lu, there is a medicine-man there. Mā'makalik!ūwi is his name." Coyote said, "Yes. That is my name." She said, "Well, take the baby."

Coyote took it. He sat down on a rock, looked at the baby, and put his hand on him. Rabbit said she wanted to go home. "I thought that you would doctor him; now I want to go." Coyote said, "No. If I am going to doctor, I want to do it at my house." Rabbit said, "Yes." She went to Coyote's house. Coyote doctored the child, danced. When he got through, he said, "The baby is all right." That night he told Rabbit, "Go to sleep on the south side." She did so. Coyote said, "I'm going to doctor somewhere else. I shall be back soon," and he went out. By and by he came back. He looked at Rabbit, saw that she was asleep. He walked softly up, sat down, and looked at her. He thought, "I want some meat. I've had no meat for a long time." So he killed her, and the baby too.

#### IX. COYOTE AND RABBIT GAMBLE.

Coyote wanted to gamble with Cottontail Rabbit. "We must have fun," he said. Rabbit said, "How shall we have fun?" Coyote said, "I'll show you how." Coyote made five sticks for each side about two feet long of a small sized wood, and got some

mā'du grass. Coyote made a small stick four inches long (djū'p!a-yauna) and put it in with the five long ones. He rolled these up in the grass and laid them down. He rolled up the other five and put in the short one. This bundle he placed beside the other. The guessers clap hands and with one or the other hand designate which bundle the short stick is in. If they fail to locate it, they lose. If they guess right, they have the sticks passed over to them and themselves roll. Coyote said, "Do not use this game in summer, use it in the fall and winter. Stop when the leaves come out on the oaks, stop playing this game. If you use it all summer, there will be no acorns."

#### X. GOPHER AND RABBIT GAMBLE.

Gopher and Cottontail Rabbit gambled. Gopher had many arrows and a bow. He told Rabbit, "We will always gamble when we meet." "Let us do so today." So they cut sticks at Big Cow creek. Gopher bet one of his arrows first, and lost. Next he bet another one, and lost. Then he bet his bow, and lost. He bet his quiver, and lost. He bet his belt, and lost. Everything he had he lost. He said, "I have nothing left to bet. I will bet my people." Rabbit said, "All right." He bet his people, and lost. He bet his wives, and lost them. He bet his children, and lost. He said, "I will bet myself." He bet his arm, and lost. He bet the other arm, and lost. He bet all his body, and lost all.

#### XI. COYOTE AND THE STUMP.<sup>345</sup>

Coyote went to P'ā'wi one day. It was early in the morning and it was very foggy. He met some one in the trail. Coyote stooped. "Whew! I'm tired. Where do you come from?" The man did not answer. Coyote sat down to rest, and said, "You came early, so did I." The man said nothing. Coyote said, "Talk! One must say something when he meets one." There was no reply. Said Coyote, "If you are angry, say so!" No

<sup>345</sup> In Dr. Dixon's manuscript this incident is immediately preceded by the story of Coyote and Frost (see no. vii of texts). It is practically a version of the world-wide "Tar Baby" myth. A very similar myth is told by the Takelmas.

answer. Coyote said, "If you want to fight, I can fight." Coyote got up. There was no answer. Coyote said, "I'll hit." He did so, and his right hand stuck. It was no man, it was a stump. Coyote said, "Let go my hand!" with no result. Coyote hit him with his left hand; it stuck. Coyote said, "Why do you hold my hands? Let go! That is no way to fight." No reply. Coyote kicked with his right foot; it stuck. He kicked with his left foot; it stuck. He butted; his head stuck. By and by a man came along and saw Coyote. He said, "Coyote is a fool. He has been fighting that stump."

## XII. LOON WOMAN.<sup>346</sup>

At Hak!ā'limadu, a lake near Hat creek, lived Loon Woman (Hak!ā'lisimari'emi). She had no husband. Every man that came along she killed; she would tell them, "I love you." The man would stay with her, then she would cut out his heart, dry it, and tie a string on it. She had treated ten people thus, had made beads out of their hearts, and wore them as a necklace. She was a nice-looking woman, living all alone.

She thought, "I dreamed of a man last night. I dreamt that it was Eagle's son." She dressed up with her beaded apron and basket-cap, fixed herself up nicely, painted her face, and started away. Eagle lived at Ci'p!a<sup>347</sup> with a great many people, he had a big sweat-house. Coyote lived there also. Loon came down, came to the sweat-house in the afternoon when the people were all dancing. They saw her coming from the east; her beaded apron made a noise "so€, so€, so€," as she walked. Meadow Lark Woman lived there also, was an old woman living alone east of the sweat-house. Loon came to her house, and called her aunt (gara'ina). Meadow Lark was in bed, but got up when she heard Loon come in. "Who is that?" she said. Meadow Lark had a long spear (lu'mi) in her bed. She seized the spear and was about to spear Loon, when Loon said, "It is I, aunt." "You must say who you are," said Meadow Lark, "or I'll spear you."

<sup>346</sup> See note 207. The details of this version, secured apparently from Sam Bat'wī, differ widely enough from the Yana Loon Woman myth obtained by Curtin to justify its publication here.

<sup>347</sup> See note 51.

Then Meadow Lark stuck her spear up again. Loon came in and sat down, while Meadow Lark hung her head. She felt bad, was all alone, and cried. She thought that Loon was some relation. In the big sweat-house were many people sweating and dancing about the fire. Loon said to Meadow Lark, "My aunt, I am going to see what is going on." Outside were many young women dancing, dancing for fun. Meadow Lark said, "Go, but be careful. The young people may pull you about, they may not like to have a strange woman about." "I do not want men to pull me about," said Loon.

Loon went out, sneaked among the girls who were dancing. The girls saw her coming, for it was moonlight and they could see her. She was a stranger. Every one looked at her, no one knew her. The beads about her neck looked strange, looked like the hearts of people. The girls, however, took her in and let her dance with them. Loon said to one in a whisper, "Let us go and look into the sweat-house and see the men, see how they dance." The girl said, "No, we never look in when men are sweating." Loon said, "Let us look anyway." Two women there knew who Loon was, and they were afraid. One woman said, "Let her look if she wants to. Take her up to the sweat-house."

Loon looked in, saw the men dancing. Eagle would not let his son dance, he had put him away next to the wall, put him in a black-bear skin and rolled him up. The people finished their dancing, all went out to the creek to swim. They were strung all along the creek; then they all went back to the sweat-house. Loon was among the girls again. There was an old man in the sweat-house, talking. "What did you tell me a while ago? Didn't you tell me that a stranger woman had come?" "Yes, there is one outside." Said he, "Do not play with her. I know her, I saw her make trouble in five places. I know her name. It is Hak!ā'lisimari\*mi. Let her alone. If you do not play with her tonight, it will be well."

A vagrant man was walking about, saw Loon, and began to tease her, pull her about. Her head was hanging down. He put his hand on her shoulder, but she said "M+, m+," and shrugged her shoulders. Five stranger men were teasing her. Finally

they stopped playing with her. Loon was angry, got up, and went to the sweat-house. There were many people there. She looked in, saw that the fire was low. "O you men, one of you come out and be my husband! One of you is my husband, come out," she said. No one answered. "My husband played with me only a little while ago. Why doesn't he come out? I want to go home. Hurry up." One answered, "Was it I? Do you want me?" He went out, Loon looked at him, and said, "You are not the one." He went away. She called again, "Come out." Another answered and came out, but he was not the one. This was repeated several times. By and by Loon stopped talking, went away.

She went to the creek where the men had been swimming, looked in where each man had swum. Eagle's son had been the last one, far off all alone. She looked to see if any man had lost a hair. She found one hair, pulled out one of her own hairs, and measured the two. The man's hair was shorter, so it was not her husband's. She wanted a husband whose hair was as long as her own. She hunted all along the creek, could not find one of the same length. All were too short. Finally at the last place she found a hair, and measured it. It was of just the same length as hers. "Now I have it," she said. "I thought I would find it somewhere."

She went back to the sweat-house, and as before she called on the men to come out, and as before each one that came was rejected. All had come out, young Eagle was the only one left. She kept calling. Some of Eagle's people were in there crying. She called to them not to cry, but to send out the man. They knew what she wanted, and therefore cried. Eagle said, "Well, I will give up my son's life, for I do not want my people to die. I must give up my son." He took him out. The boy was shining like gold. Loon said, "That is my husband." He came out, and would not look at her, did not want to go home with her. She said, "I want to go home tonight. I dreamed of you." Loon seized him.

The old people cried in the sweat-house. Loon and young Eagle went home, went east toward Hat creek. She said, "I do not want daylight, I wish it to be night yet. I want to sleep

with my husband." She said to Eagle after they had gone a short distance, "I am tired, let us sleep." Eagle would not talk; Loon asked him to, but he refused. Loon fixed the bed and lay down, as did Eagle. She tried to play with him, but he did not wish to. An old man at the sweat-house had put an acorn-cup on Eagle's penis, so that he could have no connection; he had told him not to sleep. The woman wanted the young man, but he was incapacitated. Eagle blew on her and put her to sleep. She stretched out and snored. Eagle did not sleep, but watched the woman. Late in the night he got up, removing the woman's arms from him. He found a log and laid it beside the woman, put her arms about it as they had been around him. Then he ran off.

He came home and told the people that he had run away. The people said, "What shall we do? We must go to the south, we must run away." "No," said another, "Loon will catch us if we go south. Let us go to the north." "No," said another, "let us go to the east." "Let us go to the west," said another. "No, she will catch us there." "Where shall we go?" "We must go up to the sky." "How shall we go up? We must hurry before Loon gets up." "Who will take us up to the sky?" said Eagle. Spider had a rope, he<sup>348</sup> was the man. The people had a great sack (p!ū'gi), and they all got into this. "Hurry up," said Spider. Then Spider made the rope come down from the sky and tied it to the sack. "Who is going in first?" Coyote said, "My friend, I will be the first." "All right, but be careful." He got in, and all the rest got in after him. Spider said "Stretch!" to the sack and it did so, stretched to the north, south, east, and west, till all the people got in. Then Spider pulled the rope, pulled the sack up.

When it was half way up, Loon woke up. It was daylight. She stretched about, pulled the log about, and found out what it was. She grew angry, said "Am+! All right, you can not get away from me," said Loon to herself. "Am+, am+!" she said. She came back to the sweat-house, looked for her husband. She had a fire-drill (mi'niyauna) with fire in it.<sup>349</sup> She looked

<sup>348</sup> See note 45.

<sup>349</sup> See note 52.

about, called into the sweat-house, but there was no answer, there was no one about. "Am+, am+!" said she to herself. She looked to the south, there was no one in sight. She looked to the east, there was no one. She looked to the west, there was no one. She looked to the north, there was no one. "You are smart, you people. I wonder where you are. You can not get away from me." She hunted all about, looking for their tracks, but she found none. She looked on the gopher piles, there were no tracks there. She began to wonder what to do. "I guess I will set fire to this place. It is the only thing to do." She broke the fire-drill, threw one-half of it to the east, and one to the south. Fire blazed up where she threw the sticks; everything burned. Loon had a big club, and stood watching the fire.

In the sack Coyote said to the people, "I want to make a peephole to see the fire down below." Spider had said that the village was burning. The people said to Coyote, "No, do not tear the sack." "Just a little," said Coyote. Coyote made up his mind to do it anyway; he did so, looked through, saw the fire. The tear began to rip, the hole grew larger, by and by the sack broke. Coyote fell out first, fell down over and over; all the rest fell after him, fell into the fire.

Loon was watching the fire. She saw a man fall into the fire, looked up, saw all the people falling. "Am+, am+!" she said, "I told you that you could not get away from me." Wildcat fell down; his eyes popped out. Loon hit the eye with her club as it popped out, knocked it back into the fire. Black Bear fell in; his eyes popped out. Loon tried to hit it back but missed it, it got away, flew far off. Lion fell in, but she missed his eye. Brown Bear fell in. Eagle fell in. The fire all burned out; all the people were burned up, except those whose eyes had escaped and who are alive today.

Loon went home. Diver, a small mud duck, did not like Loon. He lived on a lake at Cī'p!a. Diver was afraid of Loon, so he made a net, took two moons to make it. Heron (mī'mk!a) came along, came to see Diver. He said, "Why do you make a net?" "I shall use it," said Diver. Heron wanted to know, but Diver would not tell. He set a trap for Loon; Diver caught her and killed her.



XIII. PINE MARTEN'S QUEST FOR MOON'S  
DAUGHTER.<sup>350</sup>

Moon lived in the west. Lion, Wolf, and others lived far up toward Fall river in a big sweat-house. Lion went first to Moon's house for his daughter, went in. Moon put brains in the fire, and there was a strong smoke, so that Lion could not breathe. The two women said, "You must die. There are many dead outside. My father does not want me to have a husband." Moon gave Lion a pipe to smoke. He took but two whiffs and was killed. Moon threw him out. Then Wolf went to sue for Moon's daughter, went in. The same thing occurred to him. Silver Fox went, with the same result. The women cried, told Moon he had killed enough, but he did not mind.

The last one to sue was Pine Marten. He put Weasel in his quiver which he carried with him. When he came in, Pine Marten caused the smoke to go away. Moon gave Pine Marten a strong pipe. Pine Marten smoked it, blew the smoke down into a hole in the ground, and returned the pipe to Moon unaffected. The girls warned Pine Marten. Weasel pulled out a stronger tobacco, but Pine Marten made the smoke go down into the ground as before. Moon gave Pine Marten a stronger tobacco again, but it had no effect. He threw back the pipe and broke it.

Pine Marten went for wood, brought spruce and cedar. He came back and put it all in. "That is the kind of wood one should use for sweating, not brains." The spruce wood popped, the sparks burned Moon half up. Pine Marten danced. Moon cried out to stop it, for he was nearly dead. Pine Marten stopped it, and Moon said, "You ought not to do that." Moon said, "Son-in-law, go swim." So he went, and soon a big water grizzly (*hā't'enna*) pulled him in, and tried to kill him. He could not do so, however. Pine Marten stayed one night with him at the bottom of the river, then went back with many pres-

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<sup>350</sup> In a general way this suitor tale corresponds to Curtin's "The Winning of Halai Auna," *Creation Myths of Primitive America*, pp. 281-294, but there are plenty of differences of detail. Some of the incidents, such as the fight with the water grizzly, recall the *Damha'udju* story obtained by Curtin and myself (text no. iv).

ents from his nephew. He brought back his hide to Moon and said, "I hung up a salmon outside." Moon saw it and was frightened.

Moon asked him to go for wood, so he went to the north. A big snake with a horn ('e'k'ū'na) came and caught Pine Marten, but Pine Marten told him that he was his uncle. Pine Marten killed him, skinned him, and brought home the skin with the wood. He told his father-in-law to go and look at the wood. He saw the hide and was frightened, did not know what to do.

"Son-in-law, go and hunt up on this mountain, kill deer," so he went to the north. Big Rain (te'ilwa'rik!u), Hail (sabil-k!é'yu), and Buzzard (ma'tsik'ili'lla) were jealous of Pine Marten. Moon told Pine Marten to sit down, while the people circled about and drove in the animals. Pine Marten thought they were deer, but they were really grizzly bears. Pine Marten ran, and the grizzly bears ran after him and tore off his buckskin leggings. All day he ran. In the afternoon he heard a voice above, "You are nearly caught. Tell the tree to open, get in, and go through." He did so. The bear came after him but was caught by the tree as it closed. Pine Marten went back, got out the bear, and skinned him. When he returned to Moon's house, he hung up the hide. He told Moon to go out and see the squirrel. Moon did so, saw the bear-hide, and was frightened.

"Son-in-law," called Moon. Drifting Rain and Blue Racer (te'i'wa) were to have a race with Pine Marten. They started, went to the south, ran a long way. Pine Marten gave out. First he killed Big Rain by pulling a log out from under him, next he killed Blue Racer. He carried home the spoils. Moon thought that Pine Marten was dead, but cried when he found what had happened.

"Son-in-law, we will play tomorrow morning." He took deer-sinew rope, and wanted Pine Marten to get on the digger pine while he pulled it down by the rope and let it snap back. Pine Marten jumped off before Moon could snap. Moon thought he had snapped him up to the sky, but he came back. Now Moon was to get up, and he did so. Pine Marten swung the tree a little, and Moon said, "Look out, my son-in-law. Be careful, do not pull too much." Pine Marten thought to himself, "I

will fix him." He gave him a big swing and snapped him off into the sky, where he is the moon. Pine Marten looked and saw him. Moon said, "I shall stay here now, he gave me a good place to stay. I shall see what people do." Pine Marten went back to the house. The old woman Frog asked, "Where is my husband?" Pine Marten said, "He wants you up there." He took them to the same place where he had snapped the old man, and snapped her up also, also the two girls. Then he went home, and told the people that he had fixed things well.



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THE CHUMASH AND COSTANOAN LANGUAGES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Many years ago Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta composed, and Shea in 1861 published, one of the most satisfactory treatises dealing with an Indian idiom of California, the Grammar of the Mutsun Language, subsequently classified as a Costanoan dialect. Several years ago the author added notes on another dialect, that of Monterey, and presented a grammatical sketch of the Santa Ynez idiom of the Chumash family.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, present series, II, 29-80, 1904.

Since that time he has recorded two vocabularies, one in the Costanoan speech at Mission San Jose, the other in the Chumash dialect of Mission San Buenaventura.

A comparison of these two new sources with the material previously obtained, enables an insight into the dialectic organization of the two families. Wherever these uniformly-made records of two dialects of the same stock corroborate each other, whether by agreement or by an explainable difference, they furnish a basis of comparison by which other previously published lists may be judged, and some allowance made for their orthographic variations. In this way some half dozen diverse vocabularies in each family are made available for comparative study.

## COSTANOAN.

### DIALECTS AND TERRITORY.

Seven Franciscan missions were founded in territory held by Indians of Costanoan speech: Soledad, San Carlos near Monterey, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara near the present city of San Jose in Santa Clara county, San Jose near Irvington in Alameda county, and Dolores in San Francisco. To these were brought, before the close of the Mission period, probably all the Costanoan Indians then living.

Some record has been made of the prevailing language at each mission, which was normally the dialect of the immediate district. Seven forms of Costanoan speech are therefore known to have existed.

Unfortunately it seems impossible to learn anything as to such other dialects as there may have been, as to transitional idioms connecting the "standard" languages of the missions, or of the territorial extent of each form of speech. It is almost certain that the seven published vocabularies do not comprise all varieties of the Costanoan language. Father de la Cuesta's works refer to differences of speech between the Mutsunes and the Ansaymes or Ausaimas connected with mission San Juan Bautista, but furnish only two or three illustrations.<sup>2</sup> Nothing has been published regarding the dialects of northern Alameda or Contra Costa counties. Finally, while all ethnological maps have extended the Costanoan territory eastward to the San Joaquin river, the missions are all situated in the western half of this area, between the mountains and the sea. Not a Costanoan dialect, tribe, or even name is positively known from the territory between the main watershed of the Coast range and the San Joaquin river. It appears, indeed, that contrary to former supposition at least all of the plain of the San Joaquin valley, and possibly the lower hills on its west, were not in

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<sup>2</sup> Compare his Vocabulary or Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language, ed. Shea, New York, 1862, examples 9 and 12.

Costanoan but in Yokuts territory.<sup>3</sup> This circumstance would account for the absolute dearth of references to Costanoan Indians in this area. Nevertheless there remain sufficiently extensive tracts which cannot well have been inhabited by any one but Costanoans, but in regard to which we are, and perhaps always will be, uninformed. Consequently the present classification may not be regarded as exhaustive; and it differs further, to its disadvantage, from such comparative studies as have been made of Yuki, Pomo, Miwok, Yokuts, and Shoshonean, in that it deals not with *areas* of speech, but with the speech of accidentally selected *points*. In the absence of fuller data, it is however necessary to operate with those available.

As is usual in California, none of the dialects seem to have had native names. Mutsun is properly only the name of the principal village near mission San Juan Bautista. Rumsen or Rumsien, used for the Costanoan Indians of Monterey, is probably also only a specific place name misused by the whites. The five "tribes" at San Francisco—Ahwastes, Olhones, Altahmos, Romonans, and Tulomos—are, if Costanoan, only rancherias. Polya, Polye, or Polaya, was given to Dr. Barrett and the author as the name of the language of San Jose mission; yet this seems to be nothing but Northeastern Miwok polaiya, ocean, and is therefore probably the term applied to the resident natives by the Miwok of the interior after their transportation to the mission.

The seven known Costanoan dialects are divisible into two groups, a northern and a southern. The northern division comprises San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz, the southern San Juan Bautista, Soledad, and Monterey. The difference between the two groups may be accentuated by the fact that the four northern missions are all situated on the ocean or San Francisco bay, or within a few miles of the water; while two of the three southern locations are some distance inland. It is impossible to predict a priori whether such a topographical distinction will be reflected linguistically, in any given case, in California. Where the speech of entire areas has been ascertained, the following facts have developed. The

<sup>3</sup> Present series of publications, VI, 350, 375, 1908.

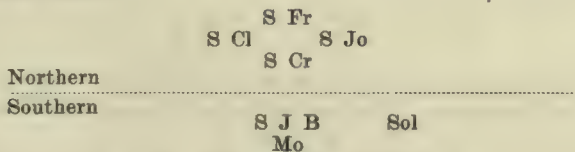


Yokuts and Miwok correspond absolutely, in their lines of dialectic cleavage, to the division into level plain and broken hill country.<sup>4</sup> The Maidu, however, in a similar situation, do not;<sup>5</sup> and similarly among the Pomo several dialects each comprise parts of two or three distinct topographical areas.<sup>6</sup>

In the northern division, the dialects of San Jose and Santa Clara are very closely related—so much so that in view of their being recorded many years apart by observers using different orthography, it cannot be stated with certainty whether or not there is any real difference between them. San Francisco is at least as similar to these two as is Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz, geographically the nearest of the northern dialects to San Juan Bautista, also resembles it most; but the primary line of division in the family nevertheless passes between the two, for Santa Cruz is more similar to Santa Clara than to San Juan, and this in turn has closer affinities with Soledad and Monterey.

In the southern division the abundance of material on San Juan as compared with the scant 22 words known from Soledad,<sup>7</sup> make comparison more difficult. It must be observed that the numerals given by de Mofras<sup>8</sup> as from Soledad belong evidently to a dialect of the San Juan type, if Hale's Soledad vocabulary represents the characteristic speech of that place. The Monterey dialect is peculiar. In its stems it agrees almost invariably with San Juan, as compared with the northern group; but many of its words are evidently reduced, especially in their latter parts. Dropping of vowels is responsible for a common accumulation of final consonants, a feature confined to this one dialect.

Graphically the affinity of the Costanoan dialects can be represented thus:



<sup>4</sup> Present series, II, 309, 1907; VI, 333, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> R. B. Dixon, *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 125, 127, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Present series, VI, 123, 1908.

<sup>7</sup> Gallatin, *Hale's Indians*, *Tr. Am. Ethn. Soc.*, II, 125, 1848.

<sup>8</sup> II, 401.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES.

The comparative Costanoan vocabulary which is appended is a collocation of previously published word lists with those secured by the author in the Monterey and San Jose dialects. The latter is corroborated by a brief vocabulary obtained by Dr. Barrett in Marin county. So far as could be judged, the orthographical peculiarities of each observer have been obliterated and all words given in uniform spelling; but only words represented in two or more dialects have been included.<sup>9</sup> C represents a sound akin to English sh; x is the surd fricative in k position; q is velar k; q', k', t', p' are surd stops produced with more than usual muscular energy and accompanied by a glottal stop; γ is a voiced fricative in k or q position; X is velar x; t· is a palatal t; L, surd l, affricative; ö and ü indicate sounds similar to German ö and ü but with less rounding of the lips, and therefore less distinct quality.

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<sup>9</sup> The following are the sources: Monterey, the author, supplemented by A. Taylor in the *California Farmer*, XIII, 66, April 20, 1860. Soledad, H. Hale, in *Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc.*, II, 126, 1848. San Juan Bautista, de la Cuesta, *op. cit.* Santa Cruz, F. J. Comelias, in Taylor, *op. cit.*, XIII, 58, April 5, 1860, reprinted in Powers, *Tribes of California*, *Contrib. N. A. Ethn.*, III, 538, 1877. Santa Clara, F. G. Mengarini, in Powers, *ibid.* San Jose, the author. San Francisco, in Schoolcraft, II, 494, reprinted in Powers, *ibid.*

<i>English</i>	<i>Monterey</i>	<i>Soledad</i>	<i>San Juan Bautista</i>	<i>Santa Cruz</i>	<i>Santa Clara</i>	<i>San Jose</i>	<i>San Francisco</i>
Person	ana	mue					
Man	muk-iamk		tear-s		tare-e	muwe-kma	
Woman	late-iamk	curic-me	muk-ur-ma	kitoge-ma	surik	t-are-s	ratice-ma
Boy	cin-ienk		koteinsix,	alacu		koteo	cen-is-muk
Girl	ats-yamk		kotino-xnis				
Child			atsia-xnis			atsya-kic	katra
Old man	ewic-om		sini				oklukuc
Old woman	lesex-em		mit-e-		xuntate'	miti-e, huntate	huntax'
Father	apa <sup>2</sup>	nik-apa <sup>3</sup>	muk-ienin			apa	apa
Mother	ang <sup>2</sup>	nik-ana <sup>3</sup>	apa	apna-n	apa-m <sup>4</sup>	ana	ana
Head	ut.	teop	ana-n	uri	taxa-c	mot-il	uli
Hair	ut', tap	worox	moxel	tapor <sup>5</sup>	uri	uri	uli
Forehead	uri		uri	tima	tima-te	tima-x	
Ear	tuxs	otco	otco, tuxsus	tina	tukeuc	tuksus	tuksus
Eye	xin	hin	hin	etco	xin	hini	-hin
Nose	us, wus	us	us	hin	us	hus	us
Mouth	xai	hai	xai	weper <sup>6</sup>	weper-em <sup>6</sup>	weper <sup>6</sup>	weper <sup>6</sup>
Tongue	las		lase	lase	lase-xem	lase	lase-k
Teeth	sit		sit	sit	süt-em	sit	sit
Beard	eis		eyes	eyes	eyek-em	heyek	
Neck	katek, xunks <sup>7</sup>		xorkos <sup>7</sup>	harkos <sup>7</sup>	ranai-em	ranai	lanai
Arm	is		xunyo-is	isu	isu	ieu	isu
Hand	puts		isu	spalmic	talmes	tur	tur
Nails	tur-s		tur-is	tur	tur-em	tur	wara
Body							itek
Chest			tukai		wara		

English	Monterey	Soledad	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San Jose	San Francisco
Belly	pitin		xutu	ramaina			
Knee	tolo-s		tolo-s				
Leg	koro		koro	koro	koro-m		pomi
Foot	teatc		t-ati	hatac	hata-m		kolo
Bone	patcan		patian	teate	taxi-m	tayi	tai
Blood	rutcusim		sire <sup>o</sup>	payan	payan-em	payan	payan
Heart	sire			mini	mini-te	mini-x	mini
Liver	nepai		grakat	rakat	tucui	sire	
Name	teic		mixu, miwik, oneya	wit-es	are-em		mitoc
Chief	ukx		ruka	onient			ateo
Friend			tupen	rua	ruwa-m	ruwai	riwa
House			lawan	liti	tanuka-m	tupen	tanuka <sup>o</sup>
Sweat-house			tios, tiox, t-emox	teemo	tawis-em	conok	tawis
Bow	tip		tipe	teipi	walin	huti	tipa
Arrow	konuñ (ʔ)			colok	otox-em		wali
Knife	xon-s			torex	trepa-m	torepa	rucum
Boat	kunu-c		mat-er	matcer	materi	mat-er	oya
Moccasin	sawan-s		inu	teara	tarax		reneme <sup>10</sup>
Pipe	inix		isimen	icemen	icemen	hicmen	icemen
Tobacco	tearax		tear	tear	korne	korne	kolma
Road	icemen, tank <sup>11</sup>		tuxi-s	usi	uci	tuxi	agwe, mutemutemis
Sky	pakeran			tuxi-o	tuxi		tube <sup>9</sup>
Sun	tux-s						
Moon							
Star							
Day							

<i>English</i>	<i>Monterey</i>	<i>Soledad</i>	<i>San Juan Bautista</i>	<i>Santa Cruz</i>	<i>Santa Clara</i>	<i>San Jose</i>	<i>San Francisco</i>
Night	mur		mur-tei	mur-ute	mur	murut.	mur
Cloud	meite				wasar, kana	moto	tuyare <sup>8</sup>
Wind	ter		xit-uk	tari-s	tarax <sup>13</sup>	t-uye	tura <sup>9</sup>
Thunder	tura <sup>12</sup>		t-ura	wilpe	wilka		wilka-warap
Lightning			wilpe	amane	amne		anau
Rain	inam, inlam		amane	wakani	wakan		put
Snow	coto		yopko (cf. ice)	yuelek	coto		i.
Fire			soto-n				
Smoke			kar				
Ash	tcire		yoko-n			kar	
Water	si		si			yoko <sup>10</sup> yuki <sup>7</sup>	si
Ice	yokom		wakna (cf. snow)		si		purteu
Earth, world	tura, pire		mun, pire	ukani	pusumakic		warep
Stream	wateo-s			pire	warep		orne
Lake	teapur			rumai	xume		
Ocean	kalin			hoikol	tiprek		
Valley	t-urup			kalai	kale		
Mountain	hut.			rum <sup>16</sup>	uraxax		patuk
Stone	irek			xuya	uya		huya, huak
Salt	aks			eni	irek		irek, ani
Wood, tree	tis			awes	awes		
Leaf	is			tapur	tapor, hop		
Grass	peeli			tapac	maraxi		
Meat	tot. <sup>15</sup>			wai	rorex, lapu, huni		yawa
Dog	mat-ar, matcan			ris	ric		arie
Coyote	tat-aki-matcan <sup>17</sup>			hitcas	teuteu		puku
Wolf	umux			umux	umux		maia! <sup>18</sup>

English	Monterey	Soledad	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San Jose	San Francisco
Bear	ores		ores	ores	oroc	ores	
Wild-cat	xom		toroma				
Deer	tat-aki-tot. <sup>20</sup>		tot-e	totc	“aluf,”		tota <sup>21</sup>
Elk	teerite			tibu	tiwu		
Jackrabbit	teis		teeyes	teeyes		teeyec	
Rabbit	weren		weren	wiren		werin	
Ground squirrel	ex		ex			ex	
Skunk	tixsin		tixsin				
Bird			teirit-min	winak <sup>21</sup>	cuclin		winak-mon
Buzzard	tutelun		t-uilun				
Hawk sp.	kakon		kaknu				
Goose	lalk		lalak	pate	cakan		
Crow	kakaru		kakar <sup>22</sup>				
Turtle	xunosxim		aunismim	aunimim	aunimim		aunimim
Frog	wakataem		wakarat-min				
Rattlesnake	ipy		ipiwa	hintcirua	epiwa		
Snake sp.	lisan		lisana			licumca	
Fish	kinir		wixi	helai	oyo	hamui	
Salmon	urak		uraka	hurak	teipal		teirik
Fly	mumurux		mumuri	mumura	mumurix		momua
Louse	kax		kaxai				
Flea	por		por			por	
White	paxela-st		palkas, teupkas, tealka	losk-min	nosko-min	locko-wis	laska-min
Black	karai-st		mur-t-u, <sup>23</sup> xaska, humulus-	mur-tus-min <sup>23</sup>	mur-tuc-min <sup>23</sup>	cirke-wis	colko-te
Red	yurtsi-st		weyero, matli-	patia-min <sup>24</sup>	utca-min	pulte-wis	teitko-te <sup>23</sup>
Large	lauwak, icak			ut-es	wetel	wetcl	ani

<i>English</i>	<i>Monterey</i>	<i>Soledad</i>	<i>San Juan Bautista</i>	<i>Santa Cruz</i>	<i>Santa Clara</i>	<i>San Jose</i>	<i>San Francisco</i>
Small	pusut		sithu-, kaslu-, witu-	nimma	kucue-mini	kuten-wis <sup>26</sup>	oteistens
Good	misix		mis-i-, apsik	ureec-min	oreic-mini	horei	horea
Bad	yete-eme-st			hutes-min	ekte-mini		ekte
Dead	laku-, aiyew			semo-cti	otone		hurwisa
I	ka		kan, ka	kan			kana
Thou	me		men		mene		mene
He	wa		wak	waya	waka	kana, kanak	watee
We	mak		makse	makse-nt	maken	makin, makam	
Ye	makam, mamakam		makam		makam	makam	makam
They	waka		aisa	aiba		wakamak	
This	nepe, pina		ne-pe, ne-nis-	nepe	nepe		ne-kam-sa
That	nupi		nu-pi, nu-nis-, pina	hemit			
Here	ne, tea, tciya		ne, nia			nomo	
There	xu, xuya		nu			nuxu	
Who	amp		ate	atu	mato	mat-o	mato
What	inta		intsis, ista			hint-o	
Where	an		ani			mani	
All	imei		iminu, iru-		emen	hemen	kete
Much	exe		kese f wese?	yasir		irite	
Up	tapre <sup>27</sup>		rini			rini-mu	rene-me
Down	wium		winimui				
To-day	nay <sup>28</sup>		naba	naxa	nesa		
Yesterday	wik		wika	wikan	wikani		
To-morrow	tearuai		aruta	munsa	ucic	hucic	usric
Yes	e		be, exe, xebe, hi, ixi	exe	exe	horee, he <sup>29</sup>	‘‘ heab ’’

English	Monterey	Soledad	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San Jose	San Francisco
No	kue		ekwe	eka	elekic	akwe	akwi
One	imxala	himitsa	emetca, hemetca	impetc	emxem	himen	
Two	utis	utshc	ut-xin	uthin	utin	utshin	
Three	kapes	kapxa	kapxan	kapxan	kapan	kapxan	
Four	utitim	uteit	ut-it, karwas	katuac	katoc	katwas	
Five	hale-is <sup>90</sup>	parwac	parwe	micur	mneur	micur	
Six	hale-caken	imin-ukca	nakitci	saken	caken	saken	
Seven	utxomai-caken	ut-ukca	t-akitci	tupuituk	kenetc <sup>90</sup>		
Eight	hapxa-is-cak	taitemi	taitimin	usatis	osatis <sup>90</sup>		
Nine	pak	watso	paki	neuku	telektic <sup>90</sup>		
Ten	tantsa	matsoso	tansakte	iec	wec		
Eat	amxa-i		ama	ama-i	ama-i	ama-i	amu-c
Drink	ukis			uit	weto-	uweto	owato
Run				urika-i	elektonke-i		
Dance	teit		teite, moho, runa	teite	token-en	yica	irca
Sing	tcanni		sawe	tcane		harwi	harwi
Sleep	et-n		et-en	etcen	etin-i	et-e	
Speak, talk	rite, kai		rites, ko	ayua	nonoenti	nonoante	-cirle
See	aiwi-, cak			hiriri	xima-i	hiti, kiti	-hima
Like	ius, muis		muis	hasan		nimi	mimi (sic)
Kill	nimi		nimi	nimi	nimi	nimi	
Sit	t-akar-ap			taurait	tcawa-i		
Stand	latsaia			korhonmi	itma-i		
G <sub>II</sub> (cf. come)	wati, ot.		ayona	wiko	wate-	wate-i	aieni
Come (cf. go)	ai		wate	wate	ayi		
Give	cum		ara, xumi			ara-i	



## NOTES TO VOCABULARIES.

1. Old.
2. Compare Monterey ap-s, an-s, my f., my m., apa-n, ana-n, your f., your m., San Juan Bautista ap-sa, my f., with the apna-n and ana-n of Santa Cruz. These are the only suffixed pronominal elements yet found in the Costanoan languages, except for the affixes of the imperative.
3. The prefix or proclitic nik-, my, is unparalleled.
4. The ending -m, which appears repeatedly in the vocabulary of this dialect, is probably not pronominal.
5. Compare San Juan Bautista tapis, crown of head.
6. With we-per compare San Juan Bautista tut-per, lips.
7. Throat, swallower.
8. Also with the meaning of soul, spirit, person, in de la Cuesta, but liver in other dialects.
9. The original has p for t.
10. "Up."
11. "Heat of the sun."
12. Said to mean also earthquake. The initial is dental, not palatal t at Monterey.
13. = tura of other dialects, or an error for tarax, sky?
14. "Roretaon."
15. Compare stream.
16. The same as deer.
17. "Wild-dog, field-dog."
18. Either waguises = wawises, or waquises = wakises.
19. Given as wolf.
20. "Wild-deer, wild-meat."
21. Santa Clara wirak, wings.
22. Raven.
23. Compare night.
24. Compare blood.
25. Compare the Santa Clara word for green: teitko-mini.
26. Compare boy.
27. "Above."
28. Literally, good.
29. "One-hand."
30. Coast Miwok kene, osa, teleka, one, two, three.

## PHONETICS.

The exceptional habit of the Monterey dialect of shortening its words is the cause of its frequent accumulations of final consonants. Such accumulations are not tolerated by the other dialects, as a glance at the vocabularies reveals. In regard to initial consonants, Monterey agrees with the other dialects in possessing only simple sounds and affricatives like tc. As a group, therefore, the Costanoan languages are to be reckoned

with the majority of California linguistic families in that they allow only single consonants before, after, or between the vowels of stems.

The vocalic system of Costanoan is reducible to the five sounds u, o, a, e, i, of which both o and e, and u and i, are open in quality, though the latter perhaps also occur with close value.

The apparatus of consonants is also simple, consisting of the stops k, t, t̄, p and the sounds n, m, h or x, s, c, r, l, w, y, and the affricative te.

T̄ is very palatal, as in Yokuts and Salinan, and its frequent orthography tr conveys a fair idea of the quality of its sound. De la Cuesta has written it thr, also ths, th, and tsh. These spellings give to his material a much more forbidding and difficult look than the actual phonetic simplicity of the Costanoan dialects warrants.

The four stops have been almost randomly recorded by the author, both in San Jose and Monterey, as surd or partially sonant. The perceptible difference is so slight that it seems probable that there is only one series of essentially surd sounds, which differ sufficiently from the English surd stops, in being pronounced with somewhat less breath or some degree of sonancy—possibly during the explosion—to cause them at times to assume to English ears a quality approaching that of sonant stops. Father de la Cuesta seems to have mastered the phonetics of the San Juan dialect, but his nationality and orthography are unsatisfactory for elucidating this point, as the surd explosives of Spanish are voiced during part of their formation, while the corresponding Spanish sonants are largely fricative, so that if the Costanoan stops are actually intermediate rather than surd, he would nevertheless have naturally and correctly represented them by the Spanish surd stop characters.

H and x shade into one another and are probably one sound, as in Yurok and Yana and Yuki. C, more nearly than English sh, resembles s, as in so many other American languages. R̄ is trilled with the tip of the tongue, but without violence.

Sound equivalences between such nearly related languages as the several Costanoan dialects can not be dwelt on with much emphasis in the present state of knowledge, as some dif-

ferences may be typographical rather than phonetic. A number are however apparent.

r=l: woman, hair, foot, moon, black, large. San Francisco particularly substitutes l for r, but not always.

r=n, y, t: tobacco, wind, hair, meat.

l=n: coyote, white.

y=te, t, t: bone, blood, coyote, black.

s=k, h: beard, today.

k=x: head, ear.

k=w: house, salt, small.

Santa Clara -te=San Jose -x=other dialects - : forehead, heart.

e=te=t: bow, thunder, small.

In San Jose, all the consonants occur initially, and all but *te* finally. In consonant combinations in words, *r*, *p*, and *te* have not been noted as second member. Further examples may eliminate these exceptions and reveal all the consonants as available for any position. All the vowels are found in every part of words.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

### SAN JOSE.

The personal pronouns in the dialect of San Jose show full forms similar to those of San Juan Bautista and other dialects, as contrasted with the reduced *ka*, *me*, *wa* of Monterey. As in the other known dialects they occur in two forms; one for the absolute, subjective, and possessive, the other, produced by the addition of *-c* to the first syllable of the stem, for the objective. The objective of the third person *ic* or *c*, which presents the appearance of a formation by analogy, has no known 'parallel in the southern dialects.

	<i>Subjective and Possessive</i>	<i>Objective</i>
1 S	kana, kanak	kie
2 S	mene, meni	mee, 'mic
3 S	waka, wakai	ic, c
1 P	makin, makinmak	
2 P	makam	
3 P	wakamak	

The plural of animate nouns and pronouns is formed by the usual suffix *-mak*, *-kma*, *-ma*: *tare-ma*, *men*, *aita-mak*, *women*, *muwe-kma*, *people*, *waka-mak*, *they*, *makin-mak*, *we*.

An ending *-c*, as in *tare-c*, man, *miti-c*, old man, is evidently the same as the Monterey and San Juan suffix of nouns *-s*. Compare *aita-kic*, woman, *atsya-kic*, girl. The *-c* and *-kic* of the words for man and woman are lost before the plural suffix.

The general Costanoan locative or inessive suffix *-tka* occurs: *si-tka*, in the water. Another locative ending is *-mo*, *-mu*, *-m*: *no-mo*, here; *rini-mu ruwai*, on the house, "above-on house"; *mani-m watic*, where are you going? Compare San Juan Bautista *patre-me*, at the house of the padre.

An adjective ending *-wis* corresponds to Monterey *-st* and San Juan, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, and San Francisco *-min* or *mini*.

*cirke-wis*, black  
*locko-wis*, white  
*pulte-wis*, red  
*iene-wic*, how is it?  
*kutcu-wic*, small

The imperative ends in *-i*. Compare San Juan *-ya*, intransitive imperative, and *-i*, imperative with object of third person.

The future is indicated by *-na*, while *-k* seems to denote the past, and *-c* is perhaps a present: *kiti-na*, will see, *kiti-k*, saw or sees, *wati-c*, goes. Compare the Monterey preterite in *-ki*. Another ending is *-kne*, as in *nimi-kne*, struck.

#### SAN JUAN BAUTISTA.

The following are the grammatical elements of the Mutsun dialect, as given by de la Cuesta in Spanish orthography. They appear to constitute the entire grammatical apparatus of the language.

*-mac*, *-cma*, plural of nouns; *-s-mac*, plural noun agent  
*-se*, *-ne*, *-e*, objective case-ending  
*-sum*, *-ium*, *-um*, instrumental case-ending  
*-tea*, *-tae*, locative case-ending, in, on, at  
*-me*, case-ending, with, at the house of  
*-tsu*, case-ending, in company with  
*-huas*, case-ending, for, to  
*-tun*, case-ending, from  
*-s*, infixed near the end of verbs, plural of object or repetition of action  
*-s*, preterite  
*-u*, preterite, more remote

- scun, -cun, preterite, remote
- gte, preterite
- si, causative
- su, to go to
- na, to go to
- iki, to come to
- miste, to beg to
- u, when
- inicane, when
- stap, -stapse, impersonal, passive, etc.
- gnis, impersonal, passive, etc.
- gne, the same, also participial
- guit, prohibition
- csi, excellently, well, thoroughly
- mu, reciprocal
- pu, reflexive
- ya, intransitive imperative
- i, imperative with object of third person
- t, -tit, -mit, imperative with object of first person
- yuts, plural of subject in the imperative
- is, hortatory(?) imperative
- se, -s, added to first word in sentence, interrogative
- na, adverbial numerals
- huas, ordinal numerals
- si, distributive numerals

## TEXTS.

### LORD'S PRAYERS.

Two Lord's Prayers in Costanoan have long been known.<sup>10</sup> A partial translation can be made. It may be added that the text given by de Mofras from Santa Clara appears rather to resemble the San Juan Bautista dialect; and that his other, which is presented as from the Tulare Valley, in other words Yokuts, is possibly most similar to the dialects of San Jose and Santa Clara.

### VALLÉE DE LOS TULARES.

Appa macquen erinigmo tasunimac emracat, jinnin eceey macquen unisínmac macquen quitti éné soteyma erinigmo: sumimac macquen hamjamú jinnan guara ayei: sunnun macquen quit ti enesunumac ayaema: aquetsem unisimtac nininti equetmini: juriná macquen equetmini em men.

<sup>10</sup> Duflet de Mofras, II, 392.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

apa	maken	erinix-mo <sup>1</sup>	tasuni-mak <sup>2</sup>	em <sup>3</sup>	
Father	our	sky-in.	(sacred)	thy	
rakat <sup>4</sup>	xinin <sup>5</sup>	eksei	maken	unisin-mak <sup>6</sup>	
name,	(come)	(rule)	us	will	
maken	kitiene	sotei-ma	erinix-mo	sumi-mak <sup>7</sup>	
us	as	(earth)-in	sky-in.	give	
maken	hamxamu <sup>8</sup>	xinan	wara	aye	sunu-n <sup>7</sup>
us	food			debts	forgive
maken	kitiene	sunu-mak <sup>7</sup>	aya-kma <sup>9</sup>	ake-ktsem <sup>10</sup>	
us	as	forgive	debtors,	not	
unisimtak <sup>11</sup>	nininti	eket-mini <sup>12</sup>	xurina	maken	
(lead)		bad,	(deliver)	us	
eket-mini	emen				
bad,	amen				

## NOTES.

1. Compare San Jose rini-mu, up. For the locative ending compare San Jose -mo, -mu, -m, and San Juan Bautista -me, at the house of; also, below, sotei-ma, on earth.

2. The ending -mak occurs on several of the forms that are imperative or optative:

tasuni-mak, hallowed be.

unisin-mak, thy will be done.

sumi-mak, give us.

sunu-mak, as we forgive, or, forgive us.

3. Compare im rakat in the Santa Clara prayer. Compare also San Jose em ama, are you eating? where em replaces mene, you

4. Compare San Juan Bautista "gracat."

5. Compare Monterey xin, to walk.

6. Unisin- perhaps contains the same stem as Monterey iws, ius, to like, desire.

7. Sunu-n and sunu-mak, forgive, are not the same as sumi-mak, give, through a manuscript misreading of nu for mi; but sunu recalls Coast Miwok suli, pardon, pity, while sumi is paralleled by San Juan Bautista xumi, give.

8. Compare San Jose and San Juan Bautista ama, to eat, Monterey amxai, food.

9. Contains the common Costanoan plural ending -kma, -mak, -ma, usually confined to animate nouns.

10. The negative is akwe in San Jose, kwe, kue, at Monterey, ekwe at San Juan Bautista, etc.

11. The ending agrees with the locative case-suffix -tka, -tak, which appears to be common to all Costanoan dialects, but is of course used only with nouns. The word may be corrupt. Except for a difference of two letters, it is identical with unisin-mak above. Possibly -tak should be read -mak.

12. In San Juan Bautista ekwe is no, not, ekwet, bad, evil. The adjectival ending -mini, -min is known from San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, and San Francisco.

## MISSION SANTA CLARA.

Appa macréne mé saura sarahtiga elecpuhmen imragat, sacan macréne mensaraah assueiy nouman ourun macari pireca numa ban sarahtiga poluma macréne souhai naltis anat macréne neéna, ia annanit macréne nieena, ia annanit macréne macrec équetr maccari noumabaú macre annan, nou maroté jassemper macréne in eekoué tamouniri innam tattahné, icatrarca oniet macréne equets naccaritkoun och á Jésus.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

apa	makrene	me	saura <sup>1</sup>	sarax-tka
Father	our	thou	art	sky-in.
elekpux-men <sup>2</sup>	im	rakat	sakan	makrene
(sacred)	thy	name,	eome	to us
				thy
sarax	asuei	numan <sup>3</sup>	urun	makari
rule (=sky).		which		pire-ka <sup>4</sup>
				earth-on
numaban	sarax-tka	poluma <sup>5</sup>	makrene	souhai
as	sky-in,	bread	our	
naltis	ana-t <sup>6</sup>	makrene <sup>7</sup>	nena	ya
	give-thou-us	us,		
				ana-nit
				forgive-thou-us
makrene	makrek	ekwet. <sup>8</sup>	makari	numaban
us	our	evils	(we)	as
makre	ana-n	nu <sup>9</sup>	marote <sup>10</sup>	xasemper
	forgive	those	who	(injure)
				makrene
				us,
in	ekwe	tamuniri	inam	tataxne
	not			ikat-arka
onie-t	makrene	ekwet.	nakaritkun	otc
deliver-thou-us	us	evil,		a
				to
Jesus				
Jesus				

## NOTES.

1. San Juan Bautista tsahora = tsaura, to exist, be locally, used with animate nouns; Monterey *teawar*.

2. -men seems to be the suffix -min, -mini.

3. San Juan Bautista numan, who, which, that, ille qui, relative, not interrogative. The same stem appears in numaban, as, below.

4. For San Juan Bautista regular *pire-tka*.

5. Monterey, *pulum*, acorn-bread.

6. As in the preceding prayer, the words give (bread) and forgive (sins) are similar. Give, in San Juan Bautista, is *ara* or *xumi*, here *ana*. The San Juan ending for the imperative of the second person with object of the first, is -t, -mit, -tit; compare *ana-nit* and *onie-t* below.

7. The repetition in the printed text of the four words beginning with *macrene* is a copyist's error.

8. See the preceding text for a note on the use of this stem with the meanings of not and bad in San Juan Bautista.

9. Monterey and San Juan Bautista nu-pe, that, those, San Jose nu-xu, there.

10. San Jose mat-o, who. San Juan has ate for who, and Monterey amp. Compare however the stem rote, to be somewhere, in these two dialects: Monterey anrot, where is it?

MONTEREY. ORIGIN OF THE WORLD.<sup>11</sup>

tan	murka'tuyi <sup>12</sup>	pi'ri	ne'ku	u'uwin	ci'irx	
When	finished	world,	then	flew	eagle,	
u'mun	tat-ikima'tean	(Pico Blanco)	ne'ku	xo'p		
hummingbird,	coyote	to Pico Blanco.	Then	rose		
huya	tei'pil	ne'ku <sup>13</sup>	wa'atsii	wasyi'lum	huya	
where	mountain.	Then	ocean	approached	where	
wa	ko'ro	ne'ku	ta'nai	wa'tin	u'mun	ne'ku
their	feet.	Now	then	went	hummingbird.	Then
wa'tiyi	ne'ku	u'wi	(para la Sierra de Gavilan)			
went.	Then	flew	to the Sierra de Gavilan.			
Ne'ku	tso'rekoi	pi'ri	Ne'ku	wa'e	kaii	kap
Now	dry	world.	Then	him	told	
si'irx	ne'ku	wac	o'k	ta't-ikima'tean	es-wa'ti	
eagle,	now	him	he-sent	coyote:	"Go	
a'yewuc	wi'num	i'nta	muc-ro'ti	ne'ku	ta'nai	
look	below.	What	is-there?"	Now	then	
was	co'o	i'nta	muc-ro'ti	ne'ku	wa't	
him	asked:	"What	is-there?"	Then	went	
ma'tean	ne'ku	wac	ka'ii	ok	ci'irx	e'xe
coyote.	Then	him	told	sent	eagle:	"Many
ama	lakiuni	e'xe	ma'tean	a'iiwis	ro'tei <sup>14</sup>	
people	are-dead,	many."	Coyote	had-looked	there.	
teonmestawaa'n		wa's	xi's	i'nix	ti'ius	
"May your mother die!"		For-her	he-made	road	of-flowers.	
ku	kac	mu'ic	ti'us	ne'ku	u'uwin <sup>15</sup>	ne'ku
"Not	me	please	flowers."	Then	fled.	Then
u'uwin	lu'pup	huya	wi'is	ne'ku	wa'at	
ran	dived	where	sand.	Then	snipe	

<sup>11</sup> By the author. For a free translation see present series IV, 199, 200, 1907.

<sup>12</sup> Began?

<sup>13</sup> Followed, as recorded, by ka u'uwin, I flew, fled, ran.

<sup>14</sup> The passage given in present series II, 79, 1904, follows here.

<sup>15</sup> Into the waves; the native word had been forgotten.



tatiki-ma'tean	ka'	pri-ki	wi'yuc	ara	wa'ti		
Coyote.	"I	seized	sand.	Now	went		
ka	xa'wan						
my	wife."						
ku	ka	i'usen	me	xa'wesp	a'ntus		
"Not	I	wish	you	to-marry	other		
la'teiamk	ku	ka	tu'man	e'xe	i'swin		
women."	"Not	I	can	many	sons		
a'xelust	mak	tei'iya	ka	i'usen	a'ntus		
alone	we	here.	I	wish	other		
la'teiank	isko	mak	e'xe	pi'na	ca	la'teiamk	
women	that	we	be-many."	This	the	woman:	
o't.	ne'ku	a'tap	xa'wisp	ne'ku	tu'mai		
"Go!"	Then	again	married.	Then	could.		
an	ku	ka	ru'k	xalei's	ne'ku	u'ti	ka'i
"Where	will-be	my	house?"	Five.	Then	they	said:
ne'ku	mak	e'xe	ne'ku	u'ti(s)	xi'si	ru'k	
"Now	we	are-many."	Then	they	made	houses	
u'ke'a'	ne'ku	(w)as	a'ra	la'wan	te'ps		
everywhere.	Then	him	gave	bow,	arrow.		
isku	ni'miy	we'ren	isku	u'ti	a'mxai		
tu	kill	rabbit	that	they	might-eat.		
ne'ku	me	xi's	te'uwin	isku	me	a'mxai	
"Now	you	makes	acorn-mush	that	you	food	
mu'tut	xi's	pu'lum	isku	me	mu'tut	to't.	
may-eat.	Make	acorn-bread	that	you	may-eat	meat.	
o't.	wa'tin	kau-tak	tei'ikas	isko	me	mu't	
Go,	go	to-beach,	gather	that	you	may-eat	
te'uwen-um	ru't	e'sxen	isko	me	mu'tut		
with-acorn-mush,	gather	sea-weed	that	you	' may-eat.		
hi's	pu'lum	isku	me	a'mxai	i'mat.	tu'men	
Make	acorn-bread	that	you	may-eat.	When	low-tide.	
kue	tu'man	ni'mi	we'ren	ne'ku	me	wa'tin	
not	can	kill	rabbits,	then	you	go.	
imano	tu'men	ne'ku	me	tei'iks	a''ulun <sup>16</sup>		
when	low-tide,	then	you	gather	abalones,		
xa'kau	isku	me	a'mxai	me	pu'lum	imate	
clams,	that	you	eat-with	your	acorn-bread.	When	
teo'tcon	ru't	tea'te	isku	me	mu'tut	ku	
can-get-nothing.	pick	buckeyes	that	you	may-eat."	"Not	

<sup>16</sup> Spanish.

ka	i'usen	ka'k	te'win <sup>17</sup>	ne'ku	mama'kam	
I	wish,	bitter-is	acorn-mush."	"Now	ye	
ne'neix	isko	mam	a'mxai	a'ru	ka	mas
search	that	ye	may-eat.	Already	I	you
e'nwen	isku	mam	ru't	isku	mam	a'mxai
taught	that	ye	may-gather,	that	ye	may-eat.
a'ra	ka	mas	ni'pia-ki	eina	mi'cix	isku
Already	I	you	have-taught	what	is-good,	that
mam	ru't	isku	mam	a'mxai	ka	mamas
ye	may-gather,	that	ye	may-eat.	I	you
xu'ri	a'ra	makam	u'rse-ki	ru't-at-	e'xe	
leave,	already	ye	have-learned.	Gather	many,	
imate	i'nam	isku	mam	ku	la'kun	
when	rain	that	ye	not	die	
i'itak-um	ar	ka	e'ucail	ku	ka	tu'man
with-hunger.	Now	I	am-old,	not	I	can
xin	wa'ra	ka'nise	ka	wa'tin	ar	ka
walk,	alas	me!	I	go,	naw	I
e'uwcon	ku	ka	tu'man	xi'n	ru't	xu'nosyin
am-old,	not	I	can	walk.	Gather	wild-oats
isku	me	xi's	ku'rk	li'u	me	ci'win
that	you	may-make	meal,	carry	your	carrying-basket
ne'ku	me	ru't				
that	you	may-gather."				

MONTEREY SONGS.<sup>18</sup>

- 19<sup>(1)</sup>.<sup>19</sup> A dance song:  
uxar-at kai pire, on-cliff dancing (of-the-)world
- 19<sup>(2)</sup>. A dance song:<sup>20</sup>  
panantonakoi, jealous  
urin puncipin tot-nin, . . . . . deer
- 20<sup>(1)</sup>. Song of a blind man:<sup>21</sup>  
piina watena tot-i, there goes meat

<sup>17</sup> The people complain that the acorns are bitter. Coyote replies to leach them, but the informant had forgotten the native word.

<sup>18</sup> For a song from a coyote myth, see present series IV, 202, 1907.

<sup>19</sup> Numbers refer to catalogued phonograph records in the Anthropological Museum of the University.

<sup>20</sup> A woman sees a successful hunter with the deer he has killed, and although he is already married, she wishes him for a husband. Deer is tot.

<sup>21</sup> Played by him on his flute. A girl was attracted, came to him, and became his wife.

20<sup>(2)</sup>. Dancing song:

comak kaenep lupaki<sup>22</sup>

21<sup>(1)</sup>. A woman's love song:

hayeno, come!

ha-me ka rut-ano, you I mean,

ha-purps teokolate, hat chocolate-colored.<sup>23</sup>

25<sup>(3)</sup>. Song:<sup>24</sup>

ara patcaxtiyee xawan, now hits wife

was yeyexem, her pelican

Hunting song:<sup>25</sup>

kuniixt wa-wuus wat isxeno, stopped its-nose . . .  
(with-)estafiate-plant

16<sup>(2)</sup>. Dance song.<sup>26</sup>

ka istun xaluyaxe, I dream jump

ka mas ictunine, I you dream-of

werenakai, rabbit

tceicakai, jackrabbit

eksenakai, quail

#### RELATIONSHIP OF MIWOK AND COSTANOAN.

In 1856 Latham<sup>27</sup> tentatively separated certain of the dialects subsequently classified as Costanoan and Miwok. In the earliest linguistic map of California, in Powers' Tribes of California in 1877, Powell still grouped together as Mutsun the languages then known. Fourteen years later, however, in his *Indian Linguistic Families*, Powell divided the same dialects into two families, which he designated Moquelumnan and Costanoan. This separation has been generally accepted, though only with reserve on the part of some students, inasmuch as there are several obvious lexical resemblances between the two groups of languages, as in the words for two, I, and you.

<sup>22</sup> The words, which were given by the informant as mak enep lupak, which perhaps coincides with their usual spoken form, are said to refer to a woman's white face-paint.

<sup>23</sup> The words are given as sung. When spoken, hame ka rut-ano would be mec ka rut-in or me ka rut. Hayeno may mean to come—compare the vocabulary,—but sounds like a meaningless refrain.

<sup>24</sup> A charm to bring a man home. Fog was away, and to cause him to return he was told that the pelican was beating his wife.

<sup>25</sup> The hunter sings this in order that the deer's nostrils may be unable to smell him.

<sup>26</sup> Sung by the rat to the three animals mentioned, who danced. The ending -akai seems to be expletive.

<sup>27</sup> *Trans. Philol. Soc. London*, 81, 1856.

Since the structure of the Miwok dialects has recently begun to be ascertained, and as Dr. Barrett's studies have systematized our lexical knowledge of them, more reliable comparisons than heretofore are now possible with Costanoan.

Some fifty resemblances have been determined between Miwok and Costanoan, these being in part lexical and in part grammatical. As the number of stem-words available for comparison is less than two hundred in each family, and as the structure of neither is very thoroughly known, this series of similarities is fairly significant.

	<i>Miwok</i>	<i>Costanoan</i>
I	kanni	kan, kana
thou	mi, mi-nū-ñ <sup>28</sup>	men, mene
we	masi, mako	maken, makse
ye	miko, moko	makam
this	ne-, ni-	ne-
that	no-	nu-
who	mana, manti	mat-o
where	mini	mani, am
what	hiti, hinti, tinü	hint-o, inta, intsis
objective	-i, -tc, -t.	-se, -c, -ne, -e
instrumental	-su	-sum, -um, -eyum
locative	-m, -mo	-me, -mo, -m
locative	-to	-tka, -tak, -ta
plural	-ko, -k	-kma, -mak, -kam
plural verb <sup>29</sup>	-ti	-s-
plural imperative	-tc	-yuts
reflexive	-po	-pu
preterite	-ee, -caka, etc.	-s, -skun, etc.
not	ket, ken	ekwe, akwe
noun-ending	-s	-s
water	kik	si
teeth	küt	sit
liver	kula	sire
nose	huk	us
arm, hand	eku, uku, tisso	ieu
bow	kono, soloku, tanuka	conok, tanuka
drink	ueu	ukis
thunder	talawa	tura
father	apa, api	apa
mother	unu, uta	■ ■ ■
man	tai, tayis, cawe	tares

<sup>28</sup> Possessive.

<sup>29</sup> Recorded in Southern Sierra Miwok and San Juan Bautista Costanoan only.

	<i>Miwok</i>	<i>Costanoan</i>
two	oti-ko, oyo-ko, osa	utin, utsxin
sleep	etc	et-e-n
leg, foot	kolo, koyo, ko	koro
foot	hate	hata
neck	lola, heleki	ranai
smoke	kal	kar
sky, up	lile	rini
pity, forgive	suli	sunu
people	miwo-k	muwe-kma
head	molu, tolo	mot-il
five	masoka	micur
earth	wea, woi, wali	warep
arrow	cuta	huti
ash	sike, yuli	yuki
ear	tokosu, tolko	tuksus
tongue	letip, nepit	lase
nail	ti, sala	tur
moon	kome	korme
sun	hi, hiema	hiemen, iemen
turtle	awanata	aunic-min
eye	sut, suntu, huntu	hin, xin
lightning	walapho	wilep, wilpe
white	pas-as-, pakis	paxel-, palkas-
black	mulu-	mur-tue-
small	kuei	kuene-, kutcu-
many, they	uti	uti

The greatest obstacle to a final answer to the problem as to whether or not this material is sufficient to establish kinship between the two groups, is the difficulty of making a distinction between elements that one language has borrowed from the other, and those that they hold in common as the heirloom of original unity. As Dr. R. B. Dixon has said,<sup>30</sup> when confronted by a similar problem between Chimariko and Shasta, the general status and extent of borrowing between the *unrelated* families in California must be better understood before even a considerable body of similar words can be either accepted or rejected as positive evidence of relationship. It is obvious that words have been transmitted in many directions, but it is not known how extensive the process has been.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Present series, V, 337, 1910.

<sup>31</sup> A somewhat similar case is provided by a series of similarities between Yokuts and Maidu, in which the terms of cardinal direction, the numerals from one to three, and the words for head, mouth, breast, person, sun, dance, and probably others, are almost alike. These resemblances may be due to borrowing, particularly if any considerable portion of them prove to extend to other families.

In favor of relationship is the equivalence of *k* and *s* in a number of words, and *l* and *r*, or *l* and *n*, in others. On the other hand even such correspondences are of course not proof of kinship, as a language lacking *r* or a certain type of *k* might well alter these sounds to *l* and *s* in borrowing words from another stock of speech.

Probably the strongest evidence in favor of kinship is furnished by the grammatical elements enumerated, and by the general structural resemblance between the two groups of languages. They agree in possessing a closely similar phonetic basis; a prohibition of combinations of consonants in stems, or initially in words; a paucity of reduplication; a similar number and kind of suffixes of case and number in nouns and pronouns; the complete absence, so far as known, of instrumental, spatial, and adverbial affixes from verbs; and a general lack of prefixes.

The most important difference between the languages is in the grammatical usage of the pronominal elements. Costanoan is almost entirely analytic in this regard, while the majority of Miwok dialects are elaborately synthetic, both in noun and verb. What is more, the affixed pronominal forms of Miwok are for the most part entirely different from the independent pronouns that are common to Miwok and Costanoan. But the gap is bridged by the coast dialects of Miwok, which lack nearly all the synthetic pronominal series that are so conspicuous in the interior dialects, and affix the pronominal elements so loosely that they are more properly proclitics, as in Costanoan. If Miwok and Costanoan constitute but one family, the interior Miwok languages therefore probably represent a more primitive stage of synthetic structure, which has already largely broken down in the coast Miwok dialects, and has been replaced by an almost entirely analytic one in Costanoan.

A definite answer as to the genetic relationship of the two groups can therefore perhaps not yet be given, though the evidence will probably make a favorable rather than a negative impression. The most appropriate designation for the new and larger family, if it be recognized as a true unit, appears to be Miwok, which alone, of the names already in usage, is a native term denoting human beings. Mutsun and Moquelumnan

signify specific localities, and Costanoan labors under the double disadvantage of being Spanish—corrupted at that—and of geographic inappropriateness for a group extending to the Sierra Nevada.

In any event, even if the fact of a larger family is accepted, the Miwok and Costanoan groups must continue to be regarded as the primary divisions of this family. The most diverse Miwok dialects appear to be more similar to one another lexically than to any Costanoan idiom, and vice versa. This circumstance should have historical bearing because the Costanoan territory is on the whole situated between the coast and interior Miwok divisions.

## CHUMASH.

## DIALECTS AND TERRITORY.

The Chumash languages are more difficult than the Costanoan, and it is less feasible in this family to reconstruct forms given in an imperfect or inconsistent orthography. Five missions were founded in Chumash territory: San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, La Purisima, and San Luis Obispo, the first two being on the coast, the three western ones a short distance inland. Data are available on the dialects of all of these missions except La Purisima. In addition there were the dialects of the northern Santa Barbara islands (represented by a vocabulary from Santa Cruz), which not only were Chumash but have given this name to the family. The islanders received no missions of their own, but were brought to the mainland.

The known Chumash dialects fall clearly into three divisions. One group comprises the district of San Luis Obispo. Another embraces the islands, so far as these were Chumash and not Shoshonean. All the remaining territory within the limits of the family was included in what may be called the principal or central group. Within this division San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Santa Ynez show variation. Other dialects<sup>32</sup> very likely existed also, but have not been recorded. The Santa Barbara idiom is more similar to Santa Ynez than to San Buenaventura; where one of the three differs from the other, San Buenaventura is exceptional three times out of four. The island dialect, assuming it to have been comparatively uniform, so that the Santa Cruz material may be taken as representative of all the islands, shows no special affinity to any one of the dialects of the Central division. The same seems true of San Luis Obispo, but this idiom would seem to be more specialized than the island dialect. Graphically the relations may be represented thus:

	S Y	
	S Ba	
S L O		Id
	S Bv	

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance, present series, IV, 138, 1907.



## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES.

The table is derived from the following sources: San Luis Obispo, Hale;<sup>33</sup> Santa Ynez, the author and Taylor;<sup>34</sup> Santa Barbara, Hale,<sup>35</sup> Loew,<sup>35</sup> and Portola;<sup>36</sup> San Buenaventura, the author; Santa Cruz Island, Timmeno.<sup>37</sup>

<i>English</i>	<i>San Luis Obispo</i>	<i>Santa Ynez</i>	<i>Santa Barbara</i>	<i>S. Buenaventura</i>	<i>Santa Cruz Id.</i>
Person			ku	ku	
Man	lmono	uɣuiɣ	oxoix	ataxat <sup>1</sup>	alamün
Woman	tsiyuL	eneq	eneq	Xanwa <sup>2</sup>	hemute
Child		tcitei	tupnekte	gunup	kutco
Old man		anaxo	pakowac	paküwas	
Old woman		anaqatean	eneXewac	Xanwawan	
Father	sapi	qoqo	qoqo		seske
Mother	tuyu	tuq	xoni		osloe
Head, hair	co	oqwon, noke	oqwon, noke	oqwom	pulawa
Forehead		iksie	ixsi		igtce
Ear	ta	tou, tu	tu	tum	tu
Eye		tuX, töX	tugu	tök	
Nose		noX	noXc	noXc	tono
Mouth		ök	uk	ök	aote
Tongue		eleu	eleu	eleu	eloe
Tooth		sa	sa	sa	■
Beard		atsüs	atsus	atsös	atses
Neck		ni	ni	aklü	kelik
Arm, hand	pu	pu	pu	po	pu
Nail		eqwai	eXwae	iqwai	eqwai
Body		amun	amun		alapamai
Breast			qoax	qöu	
Woman's breast		kutet	kutet		
Belly, back		aku	akcewe	qöp	, atekuac
Leg, foot		uL, tem	uL, tem	öL	nimel
Bone		se	se		ikukuie
Blood		aXulis	aXulis	■	aXyulic
Penis		Xot		xöt	
Vagina		tili		tilin	
Chief		wotca	wot, noke		wota

<sup>33</sup> Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 126, 1848, from Coulter, in Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc. London.

<sup>34</sup> California Farmer, XIII, 82, May 4, 1860, republished in Powers, Tribes of California, *op. cit.* 561.

<sup>35</sup> Collected by O. Loew, published by A. S. Gatschet, in F. W. Putnam, Wheeler Survey, VII, 424, 1879.

<sup>36</sup> Given in Powers, *loc. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> Published by Taylor, *loc. cit.*, republished in Powers, *loc. cit.*

English	San Luis Obispo	Santa Ynez	Santa Barbara	S. Buenaventura	Santa Cruz Id.
Friend	axsi	antük	anteg		oxken
House		ap, mam	ap	ap	p-awayic
Bow	t-axa	■	■	ax	twopau
Arrow	lewi	ya	ya		aihuc
Knife		uwu	owa	öu, öa	ewu
Boat		tomolo	tomol		tomolo
Moccasin			ekenemo		itecnu
Tobacco		coX	co		
Sky	tixis	alapa	alapa	halacpai	nawoni
Sun	smaps	alaca, qsi	alica	icau	tanum
Moon	tawa	awai	awai	axwai	owai
Star	k-cihimu	aqiwo	aqewu	aqiwo	aklike
Night	tc-xime	asaXei	sulkux		oxemai
Wind		saXtakut, saXwet	saXkut		kacoklo
Thunder		soXqon	soXqo		ooxqon (sic)
Lightning		ma-ctüX-a- soXqon	s-kuntawa		s-kunto
Rain		tuhui	tuhui	tuhuye	
Snow		oqtauqo	kalum	poi	
Fire		nü	nu	nö	ne
Smoke		tox		ito	
Water	t-o	o, oa	■	■	mihi
Sand		Xas		qas	
Earth		cup	cuxp	cupeup	-sup
Ocean	te-nexan	s-Xami	s-Xami		nutewo
Stream	te-limi	teyeX	teXeX	ma	ulam
Lake		ük	ükek	simuwu	
Valley			s-tauayik		s-tauahik
Mountain	tspu	tüp, uelomon	oclomol, tuptup	teou	ciletupun
Stone	t-Xöp	Xöp	Xöp	Xöp	wa
Salt	tepu	tipi	tipi	tip	topai
Wood, tree		pon	pon	pon	pon
Leaf		kapi	kap		kapa
"Pine"		tak	tomol <sup>3</sup>		tomol <sup>3</sup>
Meat		kani, somut	saman		comun
Dog		huteu, qo	tsun	e-töniwa	wuteu
Coyote		XoXau		alaxüwül	
Bear		xus	xus		yus
Fox		knuix	knuex		knix
Deer		wu		wö	
Jackrabbit		ma		ma	
Rabbit		qun	qun	timeu	
Ground squirrel		emet		pistuk	
Eagle		slo		tslo	
Goose		wawa	wawax		
Duck		olwackola	olxwockoloix		
Turtle		caq	caqa		teke
Rattlesnake		xeap	xeap	xeap	

English	San Luis Obispo	Santa Ynez	Santa Barbara	S. Buenaventura	Santa Cruz Id.
Snake		peoc, yox <sup>4</sup>	tsokoix		peoc
Fish		alimu	alimu		layec
Fly		aXumpes	aXlpes		ulupuk
Name			tu		te
White		owox	owox	owo	pupu
Black		coyi	axima	cocoi	astepin
Red		tasun	tasen	ukstai	
Large		noxoac	XaX	XaX	inu
Good		teoho, cuma	cuma, teoo	wacöt	yaya
Bad	ts-owis	aXümüik	aXpan	mucteum	anaisnems
Dead		akean	kean		kopok
I		noi	noo	no	noo
You		pii	pii	pi	pii
We		kiku	kiku	ki-	mitci ( <i>sic</i> )
This		kai, kia	kai, ite, he	kaki	tuyu ( <i>sic</i> )
That		qolo	ho		itwo ( <i>sic</i> )
All		yila	yula	yula	tetwoke ( <i>sic</i> )
Much	ts-exu	wahate	uhu		talakete
Who		kune	ayi		teo
To-day		qöpu	qupu-		manti
Yesterday		kactapin	keapin		pua
Yes		ino	ho, i		yutua
No		pwo	sewilx, amo	museil	anietu
One	tsxumn, teumu	paka <sup>5</sup>	paka <sup>5</sup>	paket <sup>5</sup>	ismala
Two	ecin	iekom	iekomo	iekom	ietcum
Three	mica	masöx	mases	masöx	mases
Four	paksi	ekumu	ekumu	ekumu	ekumu
Five	tiyewi	yitipakas	yitipaka	yitipaket	sitisma
Six	ksuasya, ksukuya	yitiekom	yitiekomo	yitiekom	sitietcum
Seven	ksuamice	yitimasöx	yitimasex	yitimasöx	sitmasex
Eight	ckomo	malawa	malawa	malawa	malawa
Nine	eumoteimaxe, skumotei	tspa	tspa	tspa	spa
Ten	tuyimili	teiya	kelckomo, kecko	kaekom	kackum
Eleven	tiwapa	telu	tulu, keilu		telu
Sixteen	pensi		peta		
Eat		acün	aleun	umu	asta
Drink		aqmil	aqmil	aqmil	akmil
Run		alpat	alpat	oxnei	wiwawi
Sing		eXpetc	eXpetc		xuwate
Sleep		we	we	ukwe	nayul
See		qoti	qoti		naptil
Kill		siniwe	siniwe	taktö	
Sit		ilikün	leken	hilikö	
Stand		lukumil	nowo	nawo	kakan
Give		ike	xiks		

## NOTES TO VOCABULARIES.

1. Southern California Shoshonean.
2. "Young woman."
3. Compare boat.
4. Yokuts yax, water-snake.
5. Serrano Shoshonean haukup, Esselen pek.

## KEY TO THE DIALECT GROUPS.

	<i>Northwestern</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Island</i>
One	tcumu	paha	ismala
Four	paksi	ckumu	ckumu
Eight	ckomo	malawa	malawa
Eleven	tiwapa	telu	telu
Stone	t-Xöp	Xöp	wa
Water	t-o	□	mihi
Bow	t-axa	ax	twopau
Sky	tixis	alapa	nawoni
Father	sapi	qoqo	seske

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

The brief San Luis Obispo vocabulary shows one consistent peculiarity. All its terms except four or five, besides the numerals and body-part words with possessive prefix, begin with *t-* or *te-*. Thus *t-awa*, moon, in other dialects *awai*; *t-o*, water, as compared with *o*; *ts-limi*, stream, versus *ulam*. Even adjectives are not excluded: *ts-owis*, bad, *ts-exu*, much, elsewhere *uhu*. It would appear that this prefix is a proclitic article, such as *ma* is in the Santa Ynez dialect.<sup>88</sup> The Salinan language, to which the San Luis Obispo dialect was adjacent, though so far as known unrelated, presents the almost identical circumstance that the majority of nouns commence with *t-*, *te-*, or *s-*.<sup>89</sup>

The pronominal forms, which are identical whether subjective or possessive, but quite distinct and suffixed instead of prefixed when objective, appear as follows:

<sup>88</sup> Present series of publications, II, 36, 1904.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

	S Y	S Ba	S Bv	Id	S L O
1 S	k-	k-		k-	
2 S	p-	p-	p-	p-, pas-, patc-	p-
3 S	s-	s-	ts-	ic-, tea-, te-	
1 D	kis-		kis-		
2 D	pis-				
3 D	sis-				
1 P	ki-		ki-		
2 P	pi-				
3 P	si-				

The San Buenaventura dual and plural forms occur in *kis-iskom*, we two, and *ki-masöx*, we three.

The objective suffixes determined in Santa Ynez are *-it*, *-lit*, *me*, *-in*, *-lin*, *-win*, *you*, *-u*, *us*, and *-un*, *-wun*, *them*. The only parallels are in the prayer below.

A past suffix *-wac* or *-woc* is shared at least by Santa Barbara with Santa Ynez.

The plural of nouns is regularly formed by reduplication in Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz Island. The process may be assumed to be characteristic of all dialects of the family.

A noun-forming prefix *al-* appears in Santa Barbara *al-kean*, dead; in San Buenaventura *al-owo*, white, *al-cocoi*, black, *al-ukstai*, red, and possibly in *alaxüwül*, coyote; in Santa Cruz Island *ala-pupu*, white, *alo-kopok*, dead; perhaps in *la-stepin*, black, and *al-apamai*, body; and in *al-amün*, man—compare Santa Ynez *amun*, body. San Luis Obispo *lmono*, man, has perhaps the same composition.

A number of Island verbs are given with the prefix *na-*.

It seems that the Chumash dialects are comparatively uniform in grammar in spite of their considerable lexical divergences.

### TEXTS.

Textual material is almost wanting except for a Lord's Prayer given by Dufлот de Mofras<sup>40</sup> as in the language of Santa Ynez. This reappears with but slight variations in Ca-

<sup>40</sup> ll, 393.

balleria y Collell's History of the City of Santa Barbara,<sup>41</sup> where it is given in connection with notes on the language of Siujtu, Yuctu, or Yuchtu village near that town. Both texts leave much to be desired, showing obvious misreadings and words arbitrarily connected and divided; but a partial translation is possible.

## DUFLOT DE MOFRAS.

Dios caquicoco upalequen alapa quiaenicho opte: paquininigug quique eecuet upalaes huatahuc itimishup caneche alapa. Ulamahu ilahulalisahue. Piciyug equepe ginsucutaniyug uquiaymagin canechequique quisagin sucutanagun utiyagmayiyug peuxhoyug quie utic lex ulechop santequiug ilautechop. Amen.

## CABALLERIA.

Dios cascoco upalequen Alaipai quia-enicho opte: paqini juch quique etchuet upalag cataug itimi tiup caneche Alaipai. Ulamugo ila ulalisagua piquiyup queupe guinsucutaniyup uqui amsq canequi que quisagiu sucutanajun uti-agmyiup oyup quie uti leg uleyop stequiuyup il auteyup. Amen.

## TRANSLATION.

Dios	ka-ki-qoqo	up-aleken <sup>1</sup>	alapa	kia	enitco
God	our-father	thou-in	sky,	this	(sacred)
op-te	p-akinini-ug <sup>2</sup>	kike	ekwe	up-alaks	
thy-name,	thy-(I)-us	us	,	thy-(will)	
watauk	itimi	cup	kanetce	alapa	ulamuhu
(be done)	(on)	earth	==	sky,	
ila-ulalisa-we <sup>3</sup>	p-iksi-ug	qöpe	ginsukutani-ug		
day	thou-give-us	to-day,	forgive-us		
uki-agmag-in	kanetce	kike	ki-sa-ginsukutana-gun <sup>4</sup>		
our-owing-(them?)	==	we	we-forgive-them		
uti-agmai-ug	pöxoy-ug <sup>5</sup>	kie <sup>6</sup>	utik	lex	uleteop
(their?)-owing-us,	(not!)-us				(temptation)
santeki-ug	il-auteteop <sup>3</sup>				
(deliver)-us	from-evil.				

<sup>41</sup> Santa Barbara, 1892.

## NOTES.

1. lülükon, in.
2. -ug or -gug appears throughout this text for the first person plural objective. Spanish g is a voiced fricative, and Chumash possesses such a sound in k or q position.
3. Caballeria y Collell gives, for Santa Barbara, a "dative" preposition il, a "genetive" or "ablative" ul. Compare il-autetcep.
4. -sa- is perhaps the future. Compare Gatschet in Wheeler Survey VII, 485, k-caa cuun, I shall eat, ke k-caa cian, I shall not buy.
5. Possibly pwö, not, though ini- is the negative element of verbs.
6. Either kie, for kike, kiku, us, or kia, this.

Caballeria also gives the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

The late Mr. L. G. Yates included in his valuable paper on Charmstones<sup>42</sup> the words and translation of a Chumash song in the dialect of San Buenaventura:

kayuwawille	lelenimustu	mesipposh	sumusil
I shall tell;	uneasy	heart	charmstone
kateushwen	laliolio	lwennew	
I have not	sad	!	

Another Chumash song occurs in a Yokuts myth:<sup>43</sup>

kapix, you(?) came  
 tata, mother's brother  
 caxcaniwac, you will die (*sic*; probably: have died)  
 salialama, perhaps refrain, compare laliolio in the last song.

*Transmitted March 29, 1910.*

<sup>42</sup> Ann. Rep. Smiths. Inst. for 1886, 296, 1889.

<sup>43</sup> Present series, IV, 242, 1907. The dialect represented is most likely to be that of the mountains to the north of San Buenaventura. If so, it does not differ greatly from the idiom of San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Santa Ynez. The tradition is localized in Chumash territory, and may be of Chumash origin.









**DIALECTS SHOWN ON THE MAP**

*Miwok*: 1, 2, 3, Southern, Central, Northern Sierra; 4, Plains; 5, 6, Southern, Western Coast; 7, Lake. *Pomo*: 8, Eastern; 9, Northern. *Yuki*: 10, Wappo; 11, Coast; 12, Huehnom. *Furok*: 13, Coast. *Karok*: 14, Upper. *Athabascan*: 15, Hupa; 16, Tolowa. *Shasta*: 17, Atsugowi (Hat Creek); 18, Ashomawi (Pit River).

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THE LANGUAGES OF THE COAST OF  
CALIFORNIA NORTH OF  
SAN FRANCISCO

BY

A. L. KROEBER.

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## INTRODUCTION.

To Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, whose generosity began ten years ago to secure for the University of California a valuable series of anthropological museum collections, and has since supported an Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, the credit is due for the following pages.

The paper completes the preliminary studies of a grammatical nature made by the author among the languages of California since 1901. Taken in conjunction with his previous articles in this series and those prepared by other investigators working for the University, together with the studies made of several languages of northeastern California by Dr. R. B. Dixon, and the two or three works published before Mrs. Hearst enabled the University to turn its attention to the field, the present paper brings the knowledge of the subject to a point where at least some information is available on the structure of practically every linguistic family in the state.

The territory covered by the present treatise is that lying between the Coast range and the sea from San Francisco to the northern boundary of the state. Two languages in this area have previously been monographically treated in the present series of publications: the Athabascan family as represented by Hupa, by Dr. Goddard,<sup>1</sup> and Chimariko, an isolated stock, by Dr. Dixon.<sup>2</sup> These are accordingly not included here. Those sketched are, in order from south to north, Miwok, Pomo, Yuki, Wiyot, Yurok, Karok. Further studies of Yurok are in progress; and the author hopes to continue a more detailed examination of Yuki and Karok. No attempt at an exhaustive treatment of these languages has therefore been made: the descriptions of them are preliminary. The accounts given of the other three languages make use of all the information that has been gathered, and are therefore somewhat fuller.

It must be clearly understood that while languages may be spoken of, it is really linguistic families that are dealt with.

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<sup>1</sup> III, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> V, 293-380, 1910.

Where several languages are unquestionably kindred, one of the group has been selected for grammatical investigation. Thus the Pomo family comprises seven distinct dialects or languages, as evinced by a comparison of vocabularies. As a comparative grammatical study of seven languages is a larger task than was feasible for a preliminary investigation, the Eastern dialect has been chosen to represent the six others, which it undoubtedly does approximately typify in all essentials. In the same way the descriptions of Yuki and Miwok apply each primarily to one language selected from the several constituting the family. So far everything shows that kindred languages in California are very similar in structure, however much they differ in a large proportion of their vocabulary.

## MIWOK.

As information has been obtained on several Miwok dialects, it seems most practical first to devote a special and more detailed consideration to the best-known of these idioms without reference to its congeners, and then, in a following section, to review and compare all the dialects of the family, both with reference to one another and to their connection with the Costanoan languages, as these now appear to be perhaps genetically related to Miwok.<sup>3</sup>

Indians of Miwok family held the territory from the Golden Gate northward to beyond the limits of Marin county, as far as Bodega bay, so that this language was the first to be encountered as the coast is followed northward from San Francisco. A second area of Miwok speech was situated in the Coast range, south of Clear lake. The third, largest, and most important division of the family, and the only one to which the name Miwok in its narrower and original sense properly applies, is neither in the coast region nor north of San Francisco, but occupies the western slope of the Sierra Nevada range between Cosumnes and Fresno rivers.<sup>4</sup>

### I. THE NORTHERN SIERRA DIALECT.

The form of Miwok specially discussed here is the so-called Amador dialect, the northerly of three constituting the Sierra division of the family. The material was obtained in 1908 from the late Eph Cummings of West Point, Calaveras County, and is supplemented by notes, more elaborate on some points, that were secured at Jackson and San Andreas in 1900 by Dr. A. M. Tozzer, and are available through the courtesy of Mr. C. P. Bowditch and Professor R. B. Dixon. Certain inconsistencies in orthography are due to the fact that the material is from two observers.

<sup>3</sup> Present series, IX, 237-271, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. Barrett, present series, VI, 1-332 and maps, 333-368 and map, 1908.



## PHONETICS.

The phonetics are of the simple Californian type. The vowels are a; i, e, o, u, all open; and *ö, ü*, the quality of which is indistinct, and which might be written *o, u*. Surd and sonant stops are difficult to distinguish, at least as much so as in Costanoan and more than in Yokuts or Pomo. The surd stops are rather forcibly articulated. There are interdental or dental and alveolar t and d; the former occur in *debe, cut, tolokocu, three, damman, south*; the latter apparently in *tuiña, jump, and doklo, strike*. While the existence of two series of dentals is common in Californian languages, the difference between them is usually greater than in this language, the posterior series being formed more nearly palatally than in Miwok. Dr. Barrett distinguishes three t's—*t, ṭ, t̥*—but in many cases appears to have written *t* for *ṭ* where interdental *t* occurs. The two positions of the dentals have not been distinguished orthographically in these notes. *K* is formed rather far back. *X*, spirant of *k*, is usually heard more nearly like *h* and is probably the same sound; *ñ*, the nasal of *k*, occurs, but not initially. There is *l* but no *r*. Glottal stops occur but are not prominent. Consonants are frequently lengthened or doubled; *n, m, c, k*, have been observed thus: *kanni, I*.

k	g			ñ
t	d	c	j	
ṭ	ḍ	s	z	n
p	b			
		w, y, h, l, ',	te, dj	

No words begin or end in two consonants. Juxtapositions of consonants are rare also in words, and in most cases are visibly due to composition, derivation, or affixion.

The stress accent of words does not tend so strongly as in some languages to rest on the penult, but may be found on any syllable between the first and the last. The numerals to sixteen illustrate: *lu'ti, odī'ko, tolò'kocu, oyi'sa, ma'coka, te'mmoko, ke'nnkakü, ka'winta, wo'e, na'ā'tea, lu'sagèna, o'diksagèna, tolò'teakü, kolò'kakü, yu'ali, o'yodo*. It seems that long vowels and vowels followed by a glottal stop or doubled consonant generally bear the accent, which is well marked.

## STRUCTURE.

The majority of noun and verb stems are disyllabic. Neither etymological duplication nor grammatical reduplication is conspicuous. There seems to be little vocalic mutation. Position plays an unimportant part syntactically. There is apparently no prefix in the language, even preposed pronouns such as those of Yuki and Yokuts being lacking. Grammatical form is therefore expressed almost wholly by suffixes.

## PLURAL.

The plural of animate nouns is expressed by *-k*, sometimes *-ko*. Thus *naña-k*, men, *occa-k*, women, *ole'teu-k*, coyotes, *teummeto-k* or *teummeto-ko*, southerners. Numerals referring to animate nouns also take the ending: *oyica-k tune-ko-nti*, four daughter-s-my. It is also further found on *miko*, ye, from singular *mi*, and in the subjective and possessive suffixes of the same person, *-tok* and *-moko*. It appears also on demonstrative and interrogative stems, as *ne-kko-ñ*, their, of these, and *mana-ko-ñ*, somebody's. The term *gotcayakko*, town, from *gotca*, house, evidently contains the suffix. Nouns ending in the diminutive *-ti* show some irregularity: *naña-ti-koko*, boys; *uya-guta-k*, old men, and *ona-guta-k*, old women, from *uya-ti* and *ona-ti*.

Inanimate nouns lack indication of plurality. Efforts made to determine a modification in verbs according to plurality of either subject or object were fruitless.

## CASES.

There are two purely syntactical cases, an objective *-i* and a possessive *-ñ*, which have an extensive use. The objective is not only regularly employed on the object noun, animate or inanimate, but on numerals and verbs used objectively, as *masi yinanakama tolokocu-i*, we killed three, and *gudjikcuañgum muli-a-i*, I do not wish to sing. It is also used on nouns connected with a prepositional adverb, as in *lilamadoyi gotca-i*, on top of the house. The ending may perhaps also be sought in *umedj-i*, yesterday, *kauleba-i*, tomorrow, and *willa-i*, constantly.

The possessive case-suffix is used not only in the noun, but

also in the independent pronoun and demonstrative: *kannü-ñ*, my, *mi-nü-ñ*, your, *ne-cü-ñ*, his, this one's, *itei-ñ*, our, *mana-ko-ñ*, somebody's. When two nouns are possessively related, the possessive pronoun as well as the possessive case may be, or is usually, employed: *palaia-ñ hake-cü*, close to the ocean, ocean's its edge; *kannü-ñ sake-nti-ñ occa-cü*, my my-friend's his-wife, the latter construction recalling Yokuts *yiwin an limk-in*, wife his prairie-falcon's. It will be seen that the possessive case-suffix is added both to the plural and the pronominal suffixes. The same is true of the objective: *uye'ayi-ko-i*, white men; *sake-t*, my friend, objective *sake-nt-i*. Added to a verb with attached subjective suffix, the possessive case renders it subordinate: *uteux-ce-te-ñ*, when I had stayed, *stay-did-I-when*; *tolyok-cuke-te-ñ ünu-ce-nti*, after listening I returned. Yokuts uses the locative case -u in exactly parallel constructions. The possessive is also frequently used on the noun or pronoun subject of a verb, apparently when this is in some way dependent: *Kelsi-ñ unu-kuke-te-cö*, Kelsey his-bringing-me; *tolyok-cuke-nti hayapo-ko-ñ liwakecoko*, I-heard captains' speaking; *kannü-ñ tuyãñ-at*, I jumped; *itei-ñ yulu-teu umedji*, we bit yesterday; *sake-nti-ñ huwata-cö*, my friend ran, my friend's running. Verbs with the potential suffix -uni also may have their subjects in the possessive: *mina-ñ tuyãñ-uni-na*, can you jump; *kannü-ñ tuyãñ-uni-t*, I can jump.

Like almost all languages of California, Miwok possesses locative and instrumental suffixes. Those determined by the author are a general locative -to, an ablative -mö, a terminalis -m, and an instrumental -su. The only other forms obtained are separate postposed words, such as *unuk*, from, *übuk*, for, on account of, or preposed prepositional adverbs governing the noun in the objective case, like the above mentioned *lilamadoyi*, on top of.

*sawalö-to*, on Saturday  
*lelotu-to*, on the railroad  
*isako-to*, there  
*ne-to*, here  
*imaga-to*, indoors  
*min-to*, where  
*goteayakko-to*, to town  
*mokelumne-mö*, from Mokelumne  
*imaka-ma*, from there

*gotca-mmö*, from the house  
*mokelumne-m*, to Mokelumne  
*sanhose-im*, to San Jose  
*no'-m*, there  
*sawa-m*, on the rock  
*gudji-su*, with a knife  
*cawa-su*, with a stone  
*leka-su*, with a stick.

Dr. Tozzer found the following suffixes:

-to, superessive	-kō-ta, ko-ta, comitative, with
-mō, ablative	or at
-m, -am, inessive	-pa, terminalis
-pa-zō, instrumental	-ta, for

It seems that the meaning of the suffixes is not precise, the locative being used to denote the ablative and terminative relations and vice versa.

Dr. Tozzer also gives a number of pronominal forms. These consist of the full form of the pronoun, followed by the case-ending, to which in turn a suffix form of the pronoun is added.

kani-to-te, on me (I-on-my)	ikazō-mō-kō, from him
mi-ta-ni, for you	mi-ko-ni, at you
kani-am-te, in me	itei-kō-me, with us

It is not certain whether each of these expressions forms one or two words. Possibly kani to-te should be read for kani-to-te.

The suffix ko-ta or kō-ta loses its second syllable -ta in these pronominal forms.

#### PRONOUNS.

The pronominal forms of Miwok have been most fully determined by Dr. Tozzer, without whose full paradigms their nature would have remained obscure at many points.

As in other American languages, the independent personal pronouns and the affixed pronominal elements, or as we might say, the pronouns and the inflections for person, are quite distinct in Miwok. As in most languages that possess both classes of elements, the independent pronouns are used chiefly for emphasis, when they are actually tautological, or in elliptical and unsyntactical constructions.

In some languages the longer independent words are clearly expansions of the affix or "inflectional" forms, which must be regarded as primary. In other languages the affixed elements are probably reductions of the originally independent and separate pronouns. In Miwok the two classes of forms are evidently of unrelated origin. They show, at least in the singular, no similarity whatever.

The independent pronouns, which are throughout treated and declined like nouns, are:

	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
S 1	kanni		kannü-ñ
S 2	mi'	mini	minü-ñ
S 3	[ikazö	ikazö-i	ikazü-ñ]
P 1	itei, maci		itei-ñ, maci-ñ
P 2	miko	miko-i	miko-ñ
P 3	[ikako	ikako-i	ikakü-ñ]

The forms for the third person are demonstrative.

While Dr. Tozzer gives maci, us, as the objective of itci, we, the difference between the two forms is apparently one of duality and plurality respectively, or possibly of inclusion and exclusion of the second person.

The first person subjective together with the object of the second, is expressed by the enclitics mu-cu, I thee, and mu-tok-cu, I you.

yina mucu', I kill you  
 huwate-ne mucu', I make you run  
 kuteikeu mutokeu, I like you

#### PRONOMINAL AFFIXES.

The "inflectional" forms, contrary to the prevailing tendency of American languages, are suffixed.

Their most remarkable feature is that the subjective suffixes of the verb show three distinct forms, each used only with certain modes and tenses. The three tense-forms of one person are often entirely dissimilar. One set of forms is employed only for the present and perfect tenses. Another is used with two preterite tenses. Still another, the most common, is used after all other temporal and modal suffixes. This, called hereafter the first form, is perhaps primary, as the objective suffixes of the verb, and in part the possessive suffixes added to nouns, are almost identical. Several of the possessive suffixes, however, resemble the preterite subjective suffixes more closely.

	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Subjective 1 Future, Passive, etc.</i>	<i>Subjective 2 Preterite</i>	<i>Subjective 3 Present and Perfect</i>
S 1	-t, -nti	-t, -te	-t, -te	-nti	-ma, -m
S 2	-nö	-n, -ni	-n, -ni	-nö	-s
S 3	-eö	-k, -kö, -wö	-k, -kö, —	-eö	-wö
P 1	-teö, -ma(si)	-m, -me	-me, -m	-teö, -ma(†)	-ti
P 2	-moko, -miko	-tok, -tokni	-tok, -tokni	-muko	-toksu
P 3	-ko, -koñ	-ko, -k	-ko	-ko	-pu

Contrasting with the independent pronoun, the suffixes almost throughout possess forms for the third person.

When both subject and object are expressed in the verb, the objective suffix precedes.

Examples of the possessive suffixes:

gotca-t, my house  
 occa-t, my wife  
 hana-t, my hair  
 oyaji-nū, your name  
 añci-nō, your son  
 leka-sū, his stick  
 occa-cū, his wife  
 hana-teū, our hair  
 gotca-moko, your house  
 hana-koñ, their hair, somebody's hair

The possessive suffixes follow the plural ending; case-endings usually but not always follow the possessive suffixes.

sake-nt-i, my friend (objective)  
 sake-nti-ñ, my friend's  
 occa-i-nū, your wife (objective)  
 tune-ko-t, my daughters

The first or primary form of the subjective suffixes is employed after the future suffix -i, the passive -si, the usitative -imi, the potential -uni, and at least certain combinations of past suffixes, such as -ke-ce or -keö, and -ce-k.

The second form is either attached directly to the stem to express a recent past tense; or it is added to the preterite suffixes -ce or -ke, which appear to indicate a more remote past.

The third form, when immediate to the stem, indicates present time. It also follows the past suffix -naka, which Dr. Tozzer interprets as a perfect.

*First form of subjective suffixes:*

huwat-imi-t, I run constantly  
 wokee-i-t, I shall go  
 dobomi-n, you are crazy  
 yulu-in a, will you bite?  
 muli-i-tok a, will you sing?  
 muli-i-me, we shall sing  
 yulu-yi-m, we shall bite  
 hakaine-caköcö-t, I was hungry  
 itei top-i-me, we shall hit  
 itei a hakaine-cak-me, were we hungry?  
 miko a hakaine-i-tokni, will ye be hungry?

haline-i-ko, they will be sick  
 haline-imi-su-n, you used to be sick  
 katce-ca-zō liwa-ni-kō, he said he would talk  
 haline-i-tok ane, ye might be sick  
 tokla-bosa-i-te, I shall hit myself  
 itei osati ete-ksōi-m, we had a girl  
 itei osati ete-ma-yi-m, we shall have a girl  
 teuku yak-te, or yakō-zō-te, I had a dog  
 tiwa-i-ko sumnenu-i, they will bring a hat (sombbrero)  
 wentete-i-me, we shall sell (Sp. vender)  
 öwō-i-ko, they will eat  
 kani mata-si-te, I am shot  
 mini mata-si-yi-ni, you will be shot  
 kani mata-si-zō-te, I was shot  
 tokala-si-zō-te, I was hit  
 tokala-si-te, I am hit  
 itei yilōa-si-me, we are bitten  
 miko yilōa-si-zō-tokni, ye were bitten  
 kaltō-i-te, I shall dance  
 hakaine-imi-sō-te, I used to be hungry  
 hakaine-pa öwō-i-te, if I am hungry, I will eat  
 masi hakaine-pa-k, öwō-i-me, if we are hungry we will eat  
 hakaine-nit öwō-ni-nō, if you were hungry, you would eat  
 nōka-ni-zō, wōkōc-i-te, if it rains ("its raining"), I shall go

*Second form of subjective suffixes:*

huwata-nti, I ran  
 hedeā-nō, did you see?  
 yūna-nu, did you kill?  
 yulu-teu, we bit  
 yulu-ce-teō, we bit  
 goyoka-te-nō, you looked at me  
 hūla-te-nu, you cut me  
 yulu-te-cō, he bit me  
 ika-zō tope-zō, he hit  
 miko tope-muko, ye hit  
 tokla-te-zō, he hit me  
 mini tokla-ni-zō, he hit you  
 ika-zō-i tokla-kō-zō, he hit him  
 masi naña etea-me-zō, the man saw us  
 toloye-nti liwa-zō, I heard her talking  
 moa-se-nti wōna-zō, I met him walking  
 moa-tokni-zō wōna-mūko, he met you walking  
 moa-te-nō wōna-nti, you met me walking  
 haline-sō-teō, we were sick  
 tiwa-nti or tiwa-se-nti, I bought  
 wentete-nō or wentete-ka-nō, you sold  
 mi öwō-nō, you ate  
 öwō-teō, we ate  
 minū-ñ a haline-ke-nō, were you sick?

haline-ke-teō a itci-ñ, were we sick?  
 kaltō-zō, he danced  
 eteya-kō-nti, I saw him.  
 muli-ni-nō tuyañā-nti, when you sang ("your singing"), I jumped  
 moa-in-te mega wōne-nō, I will meet you walking  
 kani ane topu-pa-nti, I think I was hit

*Third form of subjective suffixes:*

goyoku-m, I look  
 hūla-mu, I cut  
 hedeyi-m, I see  
 wukcu-ma, I go  
 huwate-ma, I run  
 yina-naka-ma, I killed  
 huwate-ti, let us run  
 uhu-ti, let us drink  
 min-to yina-naka-tok, where did ye kill?  
 muli-sainō-ma, I wish to sing  
 muli-sainō-añō-ma, I do not wish to sing  
 hōyakō-wō, he is laughing  
 tokla-bosa-s, you hit yourself  
 mi a hakaine-s, are you hungry?  
 hakaine-ti, we are hungry  
 ika-ko hakaine-pu, they are hungry  
 mi tope-s teuku-i, you are hitting the dog  
 kani a hakaine-naka-ma, have I been hungry?  
 kateō-wō haline-wō, he says he is sick  
 haline-toksu, ye are sick  
 ika-ko wōkō-sainō-pu, they wish to go  
 kani hōyak-sainō-ma, I want to laugh  
 muli-sainō-wō, he wishes to sing  
 tiwa-wō somnenu-i, he buys a hat  
 tiwa-naka-pu, they bought  
 wentete-ma pulaka-i, I am selling the basket  
 öwō-s, you are eating  
 mata-pu, they are killing  
 mata-naka-wō, he killed  
 kaltō-pu, they are dancing  
 eteya-te-wō, he sees me  
 eteya-ni-ma, I see you  
 kani ane topu-pa-ma, I think I am hit

*Examples of objective forms, additional to those already given:*

goyoka-ni-t, I saw you  
 hūla-ni-t, I cut you  
 kuteikce-wacō-ni-t, I did not like you  
 goyoka-te-nō, you look at me  
 hūla-c-te-ko, he stabbed me  
 wiku-te-cu, his taking me  
 dobe-tū, teupta-tō, throw it at me!  
 goyoke-tō, look at me!



## VERB.

The "inflection" of the verb for person consists of the addition of the pronominal affixes just discussed.

The following derivational, modal, and temporal elements, all suffixes, have been found:

- ne, causative
- ce, -kec, -cainō, desiderative
- imi, continuative
- uni, -ani, potential
- añu, -cewa, negative
- bo, -bo-sa, reflexive
- ce, -cu, -ke, -keō, -cak, past
- naka, past, perhaps perfect
- i, future
- si, -pa, passive

Dr. Tozzer sometimes writes the potential or dubitative ani as a separate particle before or after the verb. The subject of the verb in the potential usually has the possessive case-suffix.

The order of suffixes is: derivative, modal, temporal. The desiderative and negative precede those that express mode and tense. The potential, the passive, and the usitative come before the preterite and future suffixes. Last of all in the verb are the objective and then the subjective designations of person.

- huwate-ne-i-t, I will make him run
- goyok-cu-m, I want to see
- mi' a tuiña-keō, do you wish to jump?
- tuiña-kec-añu-m, I do not wish to jump
- uhu-kec-ñu mi', you do not wish to drink
- uhuk-imi, he drinks constantly
- tuyañ-imi-t, I jump constantly
- yina-añ-uni-t kannü-ñ, I cannot kill him
- tuyañ-cewa-t, I do not jump
- kutei-kec-añu-m, I do not like him (good-wish-not-I)
- yina-ciwa-cō-n, you did not kill it
- kañe-naka-ma, I shouted
- liwa-ni-nō a, can you talk?
- hōwatō-ni-kō a, can they run?
- wōke-bo-sa-nti, I burned myself
- heka-bo, to wash one's self
- sakizō-bo, to comb one's self

The suffix *-ne*, to be distinguished from causative *-ne*, has verbal force on adjective or intransitive stems.

kutci-ne-ma, I am good  
hakai-ne-ma, I am hungry  
hali-ne-ma, I am sick

The interrogative is indicated by the particle *ā*. This is regularly the second word in the sentence; but far from being enclitic, usually carries the heaviest accent in the phrase. Instances occur among examples previously given.

In certain verbs the stem in the future appears to end in a consonant, while in the past and present a final vowel appears. In some instances this is brought about by a shift of the second stem-vowel to a place after the final consonant.

<i>Present and Past</i>	<i>Future</i>
wukcu-	wokec-i
kaufi-	kauifi-i
huwate-	huwat-i
tuyafi-	tuyafi-i
yila-	yil-i
tope-	top-i
eteya	etey-i

In Northern Sierra Miwok the verb is certainly as truly conjugated or inflected as in any Indo-European language. The existence of three forms of personal endings whose employment depends on ideas of tense, and the differentiation of all of these from the independent pronouns, make it impossible to describe the language as "agglutinating."

#### VERB STEMS.

Verb stems are generally disyllabic, unless those so far determined should ultimately prove to contain affixes of motion, shape, direction, or instrument, of which possibility there is no present indication whatever.

ame, give birth	doklo, tokla, strike with fist,
ametö, beg	knock down
dekma, tekme, kick	duka, düka, pierce
depa, cut	ete, eten, eteyö, hete, hideeye,
dobe, throw	see, look at
dobome, crazy	etepö, lie on stomach

hakai, hungry	nipitö, sit with folded leg
hali, sick	noteö, notcu, cry, whine
haye, touch	nuzu, mizu(?), undress
heka, wash	okye, make basket
heñe, ask for	ole, dig
hili, pinch	öwö, eat, bite
hinuwo, gamble grass game	pakal, pay (Spanish pagar)
höge, bet	petañe, throw away
hötse, hiccough	pilapa, pinch
höya, laugh	pua, squat
hukaye, smell	sakizö, comb
hupa, roll	sötcaya, shine
huwa-epo, hasten	sötselö, lie on side
huwa-te, run	sutwa, break a string
huya, start, leave, arrive	takya, hit with stick, whip
huyaku, strike	taswa, break
hüla, stab	temañu, cross
kalte, dance	tiwa, buy
kata, shut	tizöye, scratch
kauifñ, kauñe, shout	toloye, hear
kelpe, swallow	tötei, believe, wish
kole-nak, cough	tuka, spit
kona, bark	tupi, press
kope, open	tuyañ, tuiña, jump
koyok, goyok, see, look	teamza, die
köpa, pull	teime, climb
kusu, sit with stretched leg	teunuza, slide
kute, kuta, gute, push, knock with hand	teupta, throw endwise
kuyage, whistle	uhu, drink
late, suck	uku, enter
latei, chop (Spanish la hacha, the ax)	uktu, dream
lepa, bury	unu, come, return
liwa, talk	utcu, stay
lökta, sneeze	weli, catch
lömeta, fall	welza, hunt for
lutsu, ascend	wentete, sell (Spanish vender)
mata, shoot, kill (Spanish matar?)	wilaño, steal
moa, meet	wokee, wukuc, wökeu, go
mole, spill	wöke, burn
motea, hide	wökle, swallow
muli, möli, sing	wöna, walk
mulagu, wash face	yaña, sleep, lie on back
nawu, dress	yilö, yila, yulu, bite
nepye, swallow	yina, yunu, kill
nete, count	yiya, shake
	yötki, hang
	yuhu, swing
	yutme, claw

## DEMONSTRATIVES.

The stems corresponding to this and that are *ne* and *no*. *Ne* and *no* have been found, both as substantives and adjectives, only with the ending *-i*; as adverb, here, *ne* occurs with the ending *-to*, *-kkato*. From *no* is derived *no'-m*, there. The possessive case of both stems is formed by the ending *-eü-ñ*—compare *mi-nü-ñ*, from *mi*, you. The possessive plural is *ne-ko-ñ* and *no-kko-ñ*.

Another demonstrative stem denotive either of greater distance than *no*, or of reference rather than position, appears to be *i-*.

*iga-e-i naña-i*, that man  
*imaka-ma*, there, from there  
*isako-to*, there

To these forms are related Dr. Tozzer's *ika-zö* and *ika-ko*, usually given in translation for "he" and "they." "He" also appears several times as *igas* or *iga*.

The interrogatives are *mana*, who, *ti'nü*, what, *mini*, where, *mitan*, when. *Min-to* is used for *mini* when the sentence contains a verb. Somebody's is *mana-ko-ñ*, somewhere *mini-mta*. How large, is *miniwiteci*; how, is *miteiksu*.

## NUMERALS.

The numerals, when accompanying animate nouns, take the plural suffix: *oyica-k*. They also receive case suffixes: *tolokocu-i*. They also enter into composition: *toloko-ma-i*, *oyica-ma-i*, three times, four days; *toloko'-me*, we three, three persons. "Each" is *-ameni*: *otiko-ameni*, two each.

## SUBORDINATION.

Dependent clauses have been mentioned as being indicated by the possessive case-suffix. Either this is added to the subject, the verb receiving a possessive instead of a subjective pronominal ending, so that the construction is really nominal-possessive; or, to express a temporal clause, the case-suffix is added to the verb, pronominal ending and all.

*mina-ñ yulu-nö*, (I saw) your your-biting  
*sake-nti-ñ huwata-cö*, my friend ran, literally, my friend's running  
*tolyok-eu-ke-te-ñ*, after I had listened, literally, of my listening

## ORDER OF WORDS.

The order of words in the sentence is not rigid. The verb sometimes is first, sometimes last. Local modifier and object both precede and follow the verb. Connective words have not been observed.

## TEXT.

Sawalö-to On Saturday	hoya-na-ke-nti I started.	stedji-to On the stage	teume-nti I rode.
mokelumne-m To Mokelumne Hill	huya-ke-nti I arrived.	mokelumne-mo From Mokelumne Hill	wukue-it I went
woluepriñu-m to Valley Spring.	woluepriñu-mo From Valley Spring	teume-nti I rode	lelotu-to on the railroad.
huya-ke-nti I arrived	sanhose-im at San Jose	woluepriñu-mo from Valley Spring.	sanhose-mó From San Jose
wiku-ke-te-cü his taking me	Kelsi-ñ Mr. Kelsey's	teummate south	wukueu went.
imaka-ma From there			
polaia-ñ ocean's	hake-cü its close	wükue-e-nti I went.	imaka-ma From there
huya-yi-ke-nti I went			
maunthömoni-mo to Mt. Hermon	tolokocu three	oyisa-i four	tanalo-i tunnels
uke-nti I went through			
huya-ke-t I arrived	isako-to there	maunthömon-mo at Mt. Hermon.	toloko-mai Three days
uteu-se-nti I stayed.			
tolyok-cu-ke-nti I listened	hayapo-ko-ñ chiefs'	liwa-keo-ko their speaking.	tolyok-cu-ke-te-ñ After listening
ünu-ce-nti I returned.	sanhose-m At San Jose	hüya-ke-nti I arrived	Kelsi-ñ Mr. Kelsey's
unu-ku-ke-te-cö his bringing me			
sanfransisko-mo to San Francisco.	imaka-ma There	toloko-mai three days	oyica-mai four days
uteux-se-nti I stayed.			
heteyi-yi-ke-nti I saw	coke-i anything,	lapicayu-i fish,	ücumati bear
heteye-nti I saw,			
waña-ko-i many	uye'ayi-ko-i Americans,	cowu-ko-i shows	heteye-nti I saw,
sakacü-ko-i circuses			
heteye-nti I saw.	wükue-e-nti I went	hisu-m east	toloko-mai three days
uteuk-ce-te-ñ after staying			
haiapo-to at chief	ututi large	kotca-i house.	

## II. MIWOK DIALECTS.

Dr. Barrett, in determining the three areas formerly occupied by the Miwok,<sup>5</sup> has established also the principal dialects. In the coast region immediately north of the Golden Gate, two closely related dialects are spoken, called by Dr. Barrett the Marin or Southern Coast and the Bodega or Western Coast dialects. The speech of the Lake county area is not very divergent from these, and constitutes the Lake or Northern Coast dialect. All the Coast dialects form a unit as compared with the Interior division. This group is divisible first of all into a Plains or Northwestern dialect on the one hand, and a group of foothill or Sierra dialects on the other. The Sierra group consists of three dialects, a Northern or Northeastern, a Central, and a Southern; or respectively Amador, Tuolumne, and Mariposa. Of these the Southern is the most divergent though less so from the two others than the Plains language. The Northern and Central dialects are similar, though evidently not to the same degree as the Marin and Bodega on the Coast. Minor subdialectic differences, as within the Mariposa dialect, are slight.

So much is apparent from a comparison of the vocabularies collected for the purpose. Grouping together the Marin and Bodega dialects on account of their close affiliation, the main linguistic divisions of the Miwok, with their designations by Dr. Barrett and Dr. C. Hart Merriam,<sup>6</sup> are the following:

Lake or Northern Coast; Dr. Merriam's Tuleamme.

Marin-Bodega or Southern and Western Coast; Dr. Merriam's Hookooeko, including the Lekahtewutko and Olamentko.

Plains or Northwestern Sierra; Dr. Merriam's Mewko, comprising the Mokokumne, Mokalumne, Ochehak, and others.

Amador or Northeastern or Northern Sierra; Dr. Merriam's Northern Mewuk.

Tuolumne or Central Sierra; Dr. Merriam's Middle Mewuk.

Mariposa or Southern Sierra; Dr. Merriam's Southern Mewuk.

<sup>5</sup> Miwok is the name applied to themselves by the people of the interior only. It was so used by Stephen Powers. Powell, in his appendix to Powers, called both Miwok and Costanoan people Mutsun. Subsequently, in "Indian Linguistic Families," he abandoned Mutsun and called the Miwok family Moquelumnan.

<sup>6</sup> *Am. Anthr.*, n.s. IX, 338-357 and map, 1907.

So far as is possible in simple series, this order represents both the geographical position of the dialects, in order from northwest to southeast, and their linguistic similarities. Thus the Lake seems more removed than the other Coast dialects from the interior division. The Plains dialect is the nearest of the interior division, lexically as well as geographically, to the Coast division. Within the interior group the contiguous Northern Sierra is the most similar, and the remote Southern Sierra the most dissimilar, to the Plains dialect.

Grammatical material for comparison of the various Miwok dialects is available in Dr. Barrett's vocabularies and the miscellaneous earlier ones; in notes made by the author on five of the dialects; in information collected by Professor R. B. Dixon on the Central Sierra dialect and kindly placed at the writer's disposal; and in Gatschet's article on the grammar of the Southern Sierra dialect.<sup>7</sup>

#### COMPARATIVE PHONETICS.

All four of the interior dialects possess *ö* and *ü*. The Coast dialects lack these sounds,<sup>8</sup> which are also wanting in the Costanoan languages. This difference is a reflection of linguistic environment. Besides the interior Miwok, the Maidu, Yokuts, and Chumash, all in contact with Shoshonean languages, have these characteristically Shoshonean vowels. Nearer the coast, Yuki, Pomo, and Wintun lack them.

At least *e* and *o* are open in quality.

Sonant stops are difficult to distinguish from surds in all Miwok dialects, as in Costanoan, the two classes being less differentiated than in Maidu, Washo, and Pomo, in which their relation is more nearly as in English.

In the interior dialects the two positions of *t* are close together, and the sounds difficult to distinguish. In the Coast

<sup>7</sup> Specimen of the Chumeto Language. *American Antiquarian*, V, 72, 173, 1883.

<sup>8</sup> As written by Dr. Barrett. The writer has recorded *kanni* or *kannü*, *I*, *kawul* or *kawül*, *night*, *huma*, *hüma*, or *höma*, *no*, *ünüi-ko*, *people*. In the Plains dialect *ö* and *ü* are perhaps also of less distinct quality than in the Sierras, as an obscure *o* and *u* were generally recorded instead.

idiom, one *t* is dental, the other, represented by *t*, post-alveolar or palatal, almost like the affricative *tc*, so that the difference between the two sounds is more readily perceptible, as in Costanoan.

In the Coast dialect the impression was received that *s* and *c* may be but one sound.

Doubling or lengthening of consonants, already mentioned as found in Northern Sierra, occurs frequently in all dialects, though but irregularly recorded. Compare Central Sierra *mulli*, sing, Plains *uceu*, drink, Coast *elli*, see, *luppu*, stone.

The posterior palatal nasal *ñ* occurs medially in the three Sierra dialects, but is replaced by *n* in Coast and Plains. Compare Sierra and Plains:

one	keñe	kenatü (Coast kene)
knee	hoñoyu	honoï
leg	tuñu	tuna
earthhouse	hañi	hanepu

The dialects actually on the Coast, that is Marin and Bodega, at times show a *y* corresponding to *l* of Lake, Plains, and Sierra.

koya, girl, L kola  
 koyo, leg, L, P, S kolo  
 meye, bird, L mele  
 oye, coyote, L, P, S ole, ole-

Another, more irregular, correspondence is of *n*, *l*, *t*, *y*, *s*.

two: ot-, oy-, os-  
 large: utu-, unu- oya-  
 white man: uten-, alen-, utel-  
 tongue: nepit, letip (with metathesis)

As Dr. Barrett has pointed out, *s* frequently changes to *h* in the Southern Sierra dialect.

No dialect shows words either beginning or ending in more than one consonant. In the Sierra dialects almost all words that may be supposed to be stems, such as simple nouns, end vocally. On the plains and coast the corresponding words often end in consonants.



nose, Sierra huku, Coast and Plains huk  
 tooth, Sierra kutu, Coast and Plains kut  
 night, Sierra kawulu, Coast and Plains kawul  
 water, Sierra kiku, Coast and Plains kik  
 louse, Sierra ketu, Coast ket, Plains ken  
 tongue, Sierra nepitu, Coast letip, Plains nepit

It is probable that the Sierra final vowel -u is secondary, and that the original form of the stem of such words ended consonantly.

In Southern Sierra some consonantly-ending words do not show the final -u of the two northern Sierra dialects, but this may be the effect of slurred pronunciation. The northern dialects present -u even on such stems as hoñoi, knee, melñai, wasp, lapisai, fish.

While their stems thus end vocally, the three Sierra dialects however possess grammatical suffixes that are consonantal, such as -t, my, -ñ, the possessive case, -m, the terminalis, and -k, the plural.

In all dialects simple nouns and verb stems are rarely monosyllabic.

#### PLURAL.

The usual plural of animate nouns<sup>9</sup> is -k in Central as in Northern Sierra; Plains, Coast, and Lake show -ko, of which occasional instances have also been given in Northern Sierra. The Southern Sierra idiom alone possesses a totally different formation for the plural, of which no trace has appeared in any other dialect, just as no instance of -k has been found in Southern Sierra.<sup>10</sup> The plural of nouns is formed in this dialect most frequently by -ya, sometimes by -ti or -yati; the plural of verbs and adjectives usually by -ti. In the formation of the plural in nouns, there is probably usually a change of accent, resulting at times in the dropping or moving of vowels. Occasionally there are irregularities.

<sup>9</sup> Inanimate nouns show the suffix only occasionally.

<sup>10</sup> That is, in the noun,—except hiso, hair, plural hiso-k. The nominal and demonstrative forms miko, neiko, iniko, no doubt contain the suffix.

ami-ya-nti, my mothers  
 oha-ya-nti, my wives  
 huggo-ya, heads  
 nito-ya, noses  
 yane-ya, bows  
 tisso-ya, tisso-ti, hands  
 noaha-ti, knives (Spanish)  
 utcu-ti, houses  
 yüta-yati, evenings  
 lokka-yati, summers  
 hika-yati, deer.  
 nañ-taya, men (naña)  
 ox-taya, women (oxa)  
 tuhü-ti, black  
 oyani-ti, large  
 huäte-ti, run (plural subject)  
 ua-ti, eat (plural object)  
 uhhu-ti, drink (plural object)

Numerous other instances are given in Gatschet's vocabulary.<sup>11</sup>

The following illustrate the shift of the accent:

your nail, ha'la-no, pl. hala'-ya-no  
 your belly, otee'-no, pl. otee-ya'-no  
 bow, ya'we, pl. yawe'-ya  
 ax, la'tea, pl. latea'-ya (Sp. la hacha)  
 sun, wa'tu, pl. watu'-ya  
 star, teala'to, pl. tealtu'-yate  
 fly, u'teum, pl. utemu'-ya  
 salmon, ko'sum, pl. kosmu'-ti

Southern Sierra nouns take the plural whether animate or inanimate; the -k, -ko suffix of the other dialects has been found chiefly on stems denoting animate beings.

The radical difference of the Southern Sierra dialect from all others in the formation of the plural is remarkable. The suffixion of -ya with shift of accent and occasional modification of the word, recalls the Yokuts plural in -i or -a with accompaniment of similar though more developed changes. The suffix -ti suggests the Salinan plural, which while irregular is most frequently produced by the suffixion, or apparent infixion near the end of the word, of l or t. Yokuts is adjacent to the Southern Sierra dialect, and Salinan is not far distant. A

<sup>11</sup> Powers, *Contrib. N. A. Ethnol.*, III, 539, 1877.

plural of verbs such as Southern Sierra possesses is found in Salinan and in Costanoan,<sup>12</sup> but no trace of anything of the kind appears in the material collected by Drs. Tozzer, Dixon, and the author in the other Miwok dialects.

### CASE ENDINGS.

The principal case-suffixes are:

	<i>S. Sierra</i>	<i>O. Sierra</i>	<i>N. Sierra</i>	<i>Plains</i>	<i>S. Coast</i>	<i>Costanoan</i>
Objective	-i	-i	-i	-tc	-tc, -t	-e, -se, -e, -ne
Possessive	-ñ	-ñ	-ñ	-nu, -xno	-n	—
Locative	-to, -t	-t	-to		-to	-tak, -tka, -ta
Ablative	-mu	-mō	-mō	-mu	-mo	} -m, -me, -mo <sup>13</sup>
Terminalis	-m, -ma <sup>14</sup>	-m, -am <sup>15</sup>	-m	-m <sup>16</sup>	-m <sup>17</sup>	
Instrumental	-s	-s	-su	-cu	-cu	-sum, -um, -yum
Comitative		-li	-kōta			

The significance of several of the suffixes does not appear to be rigidly limited even within any one dialect.

An ending -wit or -win, sometimes replacing or replaced by -m, has been found on terms of direction in almost all dialects.

Southern and Central Sierra olo-win, "west," Northern Sierra olo-wit, Plains etca-wit.

Coast olo-m, Lake olo-m-wali, "south."

Southern and Central Sierra hisu-m, hihu-m, "east," Northern Sierra hisu-m, hisu-wit, Plains huke-wit.

Southern Sierra ne-win, "east, upstream."

### PRONOMINAL FORMS.

The known pronominal forms in the several dialects have been brought together in the appended table.

It appears that the four interior dialects agree in expressing all indications of person, except in the independent or emphatic

<sup>12</sup> By the suffixion or infixion of -s, in the Mutsun or San Juan Bautista dialect.

<sup>13</sup> General locative

<sup>14</sup> Given as superessive.

<sup>15</sup> Given as inessive.

<sup>16</sup> Locative and comitative also.

<sup>17</sup> On olo-m, south.

pronoun, by suffixes. On the coast this synthetic trait largely disappears. It is true that the subjective and possessive pronouns are prefixed and the objective suffixed in the Southern Coast dialect, but the affixion of all is quite loose, and perhaps better described as accentless collocation.

A second distinctive feature of the interior dialects is the existence of three series of subjective suffixes, the choice between which is dependent on tense and mode. In the Northern Sierra dialect that series which has been designated as the first is practically identical with the objective suffixes, the second with the possessive, while the third is distinct from both. In Central Sierra and Plains, the *first* series is also essentially a duplicate of the objective forms. An equivalent of the Northern *second* series has not yet been found in Plains, while the Central *second* series is entirely different from the Northern, and but partially similar to its own possessive suffixes. The *third* series, which is everywhere unconnected with either possessive or objective forms, is characterized by -m in the first person singular, -s in the second singular, and -p in the third plural. It is found with but little variation in Plains, Northern, and Central Sierra, and seems to be represented also in Southern Sierra.

On the coast, there is no indication of three subjective series, as indeed might be expected from the analytical or at most loosely synthetic character of the pronominal forms. In the table, the subjective prefixes of the Southern Coast dialect have been coördinated with the second subjective series only because of their identity with the possessive prefixes; it is not certain that they correspond genetically to the interior second series more than to the first or third.

<i>Independent</i>	<i>S. Sierra</i>	<i>C. Sierra</i>	<i>N. Sierra</i>	<i>Plains</i>	<i>S. Coast</i>
I	kanni	kanni	kanni	kanni	kanni
thou	mi	mi'	mi'	mi'	mi'
we	mahi	masi <sup>18</sup>	maci	maci <sup>19</sup>	mako
	otit-i	otiteik	itei	itei	—
ye	miko	miko	miko	moko <sup>20</sup>	miko

<sup>18</sup> Or otim.

<sup>19</sup> Maci-mi-te, objective plural.

<sup>20</sup> Or moko-tokni.

	<i>S. Sierra</i>	<i>C. Sierra</i>	<i>N. Sierra</i>	<i>Plains</i>	<i>S. Coast</i>
<i>Possessive</i>					
my	-nti	-kan	-nti, -t	-ka	ka-
thy	-nu	-n	-nō	-nu, -in	un-
his	-hu	-s	-cō	-cu, -ie	uc-
our	-ti	-ti	-ma	-mac	ma-
	-tei	-tik	-teō		—
your		-mok	-moko	-mok	mikon
their	-hu	-k	-ko	-ik	
<i>Subjective 1</i>					
I		-t	-t, -te	-t	
thou	-ni	-n	-n, -ni	-n	
he		-k <sup>21</sup>	-k, -kō, —	—	
we	-m	-m	-m, -me	-m	
ye	-toxni	-ton	-tok, -tokni		
they		-k <sup>22</sup>	-ko	-k	
<i>Subjective 2</i>					
I		-k <sup>23</sup>	-nti <sup>23</sup>		ka-, k- <sup>24</sup>
thou		-s	-nō		un-
he		—	-cō		uc-, c-
we		-kti	-ma		ma-
		-ktite	-teō		—
ye		-ktos	-muko		mikon-
they		-p	-ko		
<i>Subjective 3</i>					
I	-ma, -m	-m	-m, -ma	-m	
thou		-s	-s		
he		—	-wō	—	
we		-ti	-ti	-mac	
		-tite			
ye		-tos	-toksu	-tokun	
they	-pu	-p	-pu	-p	
<i>Objective</i>					
me		-t	-t, -te	-t, -ti	-kanni <sup>25</sup>
thee		-n	-n, -ni	-n, -ni	-mi
him		—	-k, -kō, -wō		-t, —
us		-m	-m, -me	-muk	-mako
you		-ton	-tok, -tokni		
them		—	-k, -ko		
<i>I-thee</i>	mu <sup>25</sup>	mōs	mucū	cima	
<i>I-you</i>		mutos	mutokeu	cimatoku	

<sup>21</sup> Found only after the future suffix -i.

<sup>22</sup> Takes the form -ko after the future suffix -i.

<sup>23</sup> The second series subjective do not correspond in Central and Northern Sierra.

<sup>24</sup> The single subjective series, in the Coast dialect, is identical with the possessive prefixes.

<sup>25</sup> Evidently the objective forms of the Coast dialect are merely the independent pronouns suffixed or postposed to the verb.

## MEANING OF THE SUBJECTIVE FORMS.

The three distinct series of subjective affixes suggest a feature which is found in other languages and has sometimes been erroneously interpreted. In some American tongues the subjective personal elements used with the verb are partly or wholly the same as the possessive forms employed with nouns. In other idioms certain of the subjective elements, especially the intransitive ones, resemble the objective forms or are identical with them. An explanation that is plausible rather than substantial has repeatedly been made for such phenomena. It is said that in such languages the verb is essentially a noun, or the intransitive verb in reality impersonal and transitive, the form "I eat" being literally "my eating," and "I am sick" more correctly "it is sick to me." This view must be vigorously opposed on general grounds, except where it is capable of proof by specific evidence. It would be just as reasonable to interpret "my food" as "I food." Our own Aryan languages of course do not permit the phrase "I food" as they do allow "my eating," but this circumstance is of no moment in an American tongue. It is saner, if less enticing, to look upon the several series of pronominal forms that many languages possess, as essentially significant only of person, and as primarily undifferentiated as to subjective, possessive, and objective relation. In certain types of language such differentiation of form may serve no purpose and may therefore not occur. In other cases the presence of two or more pronominal elements in the same word, or perhaps other circumstances, may cause the existence of several series of forms to be necessary or advantageous. Whenever, in such languages, a word contains only one pronominal element, as in the possessed noun or the intransitive verb, it must then be a matter of indifference to intelligibility which form is drawn upon. "I," "my," and "me" in the native words for "I eat," "my food," and "bites me" would in such case not mean the same as their Aryan equivalents, but would only be indicative of the first person, their grammatical force being a function rather of their position in the word or phrase, the part of speech to which they were joined, its logical meaning

or some similar circumstance. As a matter of fact there are abundant instances of identity respectively of possessive and objective, possessive and transitive subjective, and intransitive and transitive subjective pronominal forms, which no one would think of explaining by Indo-European analogy.

It may be objected that even in synthetic languages the co-existence of several series of pronominal elements would be impossible except as they originated from a difference in function such as that provided by the subjective, objective, and possessive relations. But the ultimate origin of the several sets of pronominal forms can probably be ascertained in but few languages, and is therefore generally a matter of pure speculation. Even if the original meaning of a form translatable by "I eat" had been, in any particular idiom, "my eating," it would be a grave error to assume, in the absence of direct and positive evidence, that it still possessed that meaning. There is normally little connection, in any language, between the present force of a word or affix and its "original" function and meaning.

Miwok bears on this general question through the fact that at least in certain dialects one of its series of subjective pronominal elements resembles the objective, another the possessive, while the third, differing from both, might be interpreted as distinctively subjective. The form employed depends, however, on the tense and mode of the verb. As it would be absurd to assert, because an essentially objective form is used with the future suffix, a possessive with the preterite, and a subjective only with the present, that therefore the future is impersonal, the past a noun, and the present a verb, it can only be said that there are three sets of pronominal elements which have no differentiation of meaning to accord with their divergence in form.

#### USE OF THE SUBJECTIVE FORMS.

While at least two of the three series of subjective pronominal suffixes agree closely in several dialects, there is variation in the affixes of tense and mode by which their choice is determined.

	<i>Northern Sierra</i>	<i>Central Sierra</i>	<i>Plains.</i>
<i>First Series:</i>	-i, future -si, passive -imi, usitative -uni, potential -ke-ce, keö, past -ce-k, past	-i, future   -ke-sö, past  -ñe, past or present -teö-sa, teö-ka, recent past -se, past -ke, past	-ca, future      -ma, past -tu, past
<i>Second Series:</i>	stem, past -ce, past -ke, past	stem, past   -na, -ñe-na, past or present	The second series has not been found in this dialect.
<i>Third Series:</i>	stem, present   -na-ka, past	stem, present -teö, present -ew-añ-ko, negative present	stem, present   -ka, past

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference is that the preterites -ce and -ke require the second form in Northern and the first in Central Sierra. It must be recalled, however, that the forms of the second series are not homologous in these two dialects.

#### SPECIAL PECULIARITIES.

*Central Sierra.*—The independent pronouns in full are:

	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
S 1	kani	kani	kanu-ñ
S 2	mi'	minii	minu-ñ
S 3	[neal	neial	nesu-ñ, nosu-ñ, inisu-ñ]
D 1	masi, otim	masi, otimei	otime-ñ
P 1	otiteik		otiteiku-ñ
P 2	miko	mikoi	miku-n
P 3	[nekoal, inikal	nekoial, isakoi	noku-ñ]

The forms given as of the third person are demonstrative, and are derived from the stems ne, no, and ini or isa. The ending



-al has not been found in Northern Sierra, and appears to be animate.

Professor Dixon's material in this dialect brings out the difference between the dual and plural of the first person, which in Northern Sierra could only be suspected from the presence of the two forms *masi* and *itei*. *Itei* does not occur in Professor Dixon's notes, but its characteristic element *te* appears in *oti-tei-k*, as compared with *oti-m*, we two, in which *-m* evidently represents *masi*. The final *-k* of *otiteik* is the suffix of plurality.

It is curious that a language should possess a dual in only one person of the pronoun. It seems reasonable to believe that the true distinction between the two forms is rather one of inclusion and exclusion of the second person, which has happened to coincide in the informant's mind, or in some of the examples given, with the difference between a dual and plural. The strange forms *oti-m* and *oti-tei-k*<sup>26</sup> confirm this supposition, as they are evidently both derived from *oti-ko*, two. Further, in many languages that possess a separate inclusive form of the first person plural, this is phonetically more similar to the second person plural than to the first person exclusive. So the Central "dual" *masi*, essential element *m*, parallels *mi*, you, and *miko*, ye.

On the other hand, in Dakota, according to Riggs,<sup>27</sup> an inclusive form of the first person is restricted to a dual significance, while the exclusive is plural.

Four of the linguistic families adjacent to Miwok—Wintun, Maidu, Washo, and Yokuts—also show a pronominal dual, and besides these, so far as known, no others in California,<sup>28</sup> except Chumash which is in contact with Yokuts.

In the possessive the form for the first person is *-kan*, instead of Northern *-nti* or *-t*. It is certain that a mistake has not been made because Professor Dixon's informant knew the form *-nti*, but gave it as characteristic of the Southern Sierra dialect, which is correct. Evidently the Central dialect, like the Plains idiom,

<sup>26</sup> Confirmed by Southern Sierra *otit.i*.

<sup>27</sup> *Contrib. N. Am. Ethn.*, IX, 10, 1893.

<sup>28</sup> The Shasta dialects nearest to Maidu show dual forms of the pronominal verb affixes only. Dixon, *The Pronominal Dual in the Languages of California*, Boas Anniversary Volume, 80, 1906.

replaces the suffix form -t or -nti, which has parallels in the personal endings of verbs, by a suffixed abbreviation of the independent pronoun kanni. It is curious that adjacent dialects differ, and separated ones agree, in this point.

Usually the order of objective and subjective suffixes is the same as in Northern Sierra: -ni-t, I-thee; -tokni-t, I-you; -t-an, thou-me. There is however one set of forms that seem to place the objective suffix last: -pu-t, -pu-n, -pu-m, -pu-ton, they-me, -thee, -us, -you.

The possessive suffixes are added to verbs which are the object of another verb, the suffix denoting the logical subject of the subordinate verb.

telöteö-ke-t mulli-s, I heard him singing, literally, I-heard his-singing  
 söye-ñe-ni-t howata-n, I saw you running, literally, I-saw-you your-  
 running  
 ne-al söye-teö-t howata-kan, he sees me running, literally, he sees-me  
 my-running

The Central subjective suffixes of the first series added to a substantive or interrogative imply the verb substantive.

hayapo-t, chief-I, I am chief  
 mana-n, who-you, who are you?  
 mini-n, where-you, where are you?

*Plains.*—An unexplained form -ikam, meaning they-me, occurs in kanni heat-ikam, they will hit me.

The imperative plural shows an ending -te: uce-te, drink! A suffix -k may denote the object of the third person in the imperative: pata-k, strike him!<sup>29</sup>

Elements similar to the subjective suffixes of the first series are added to the independent pronouns before case-suffixes: maci-mi-te, us; iteu-me-m, with us; kanni-ti-m, with me. This contrasts with the Northern Sierra idiom, in which the locative element follows the pronoun, while the affixed pronominal element is added to this.

*Coast.*—An ending -t, -it, occurs on transitive forms with pronominal object of the third person: oke-mmi-t, strike him!; k-teamate-pu-it, I have it; k-oke-ka-t, I struck him.

<sup>29</sup> Compare Costanoan: San Juan Bautista, imperative plural, -yuts; Monterey, imperative with object of third person singular, -ñk.

It has been said before that the subjective and possessive elements in this dialect are probably not true prefixes, but accentless particles or proclitics. They are at times audible as final sounds of the preceding word with which they have no grammatical connection.

kenum-unye-s oke-kanni, constantly he hits me  
 eke-m-ka-n teama-no-ni-n cumuki, from where do you take your pipe?  
 nit-u-n cumuki, this is your pipe  
 eke-to-ni-n huyena-c, where were you born?  
 eke-cu-k lanta, where is my bow?  
 hōma-k iolum-oti nome, no, I eat rabbits

That these forms are particles is made more probable from the circumstance that they precede the word with which they stand in syntactical relation, while the Interior equivalents are suffixes. It is difficult to understand how a truly incorporated element could change from suffix to prefix, whereas it is readily intelligible that if once a suffix becomes sufficiently detached from the stem to be properly a particle or enclitic, an alteration of idiom without grammatical change may cause it to be preposed.

*General.*—The *m* which in Miwok is the base of the independent pronouns of the second person is the usual designation of this person in California. *K* for the first person is common in south central California, appearing in Miwok and Costanoan, Salinan, Chumash, the Tūbatulabal branch of Shoshonean, and the southernmost or Buena Vista dialectic division of Yokuts. The elements of the Miwok suffixes are on the other hand without parallel: *m* and *t* for the first person, *n* and *s* for the second, and *s* and *k* for the third, are quite unique in California.<sup>39</sup>

The coexistence of and yet thorough difference between the independent pronouns and the pronominal affixes in the interior dialects of Miwok, is almost without parallel among the languages of California, except Wiyot and Yurok; and even in these the possessive affixes resemble the independent pronoun. The restriction of pronominal affix forms to a suffixed position is also unusual. Most the languages that resemble Miwok in the possession of case-suffixes and in general phonetic character, treat

<sup>39</sup> Athabascan *n* of the second person is the only similarity. It is probably necessary to travel as far as the Dakota before encountering *m* for the first and *n* for the second person,—and then as prefixes.

their pronominal elements as independent words, or at most proclitics or enclitics. Even the affixing languages of California, such as Athabasean, Washo, Chumash, Salinan, and Shoshonean, prefix. The only suffixing languages, besides Yurok and Wiyot in northernmost California, which are of quite a different type of structure and phonetics, are Yana and Wintun, which latter further resembles Miwok in that its suffixed series has nothing in common, in form, with the independent pronoun.<sup>31</sup> The Wintun suffixes are, however, much more restricted than those of most Miwok dialects, being only subjective, and alike in singular and plural.

#### COSTANOAN CONNECTIONS.

In view of the fact that the Miwok and Costanoan languages now seem more probably than not to be genetically related as one stock,<sup>32</sup> a comparison of their pronominal forms is desirable.

It is clear that as the Miwok interior dialects are compared with the Costanoan idioms, there is a fundamental difference in their employment of pronominal elements, Miwok being elaborately synthetic and Costanoan almost purely analytical. As long as the interior Miwok languages were the only ones known, the divergence on this point seemed so insuperable as to render more than doubtful any lexical evidence as to relationship. It appeared that the suffix forms constituted the original pronominal apparatus of the Miwok language, and that its independent pronouns, which are obviously identical with those of Costanoan, had been borrowed from that family.

The acquisition of material in the Coast dialect has however altered the situation, in revealing a language which is undoubtedly Miwok, but more nearly analytic than synthetic in its employment of pronouns. There can thus no longer be objection to a recognition of Costanoan as a branch of Miwok on the score of divergence of pronominal usage, especially as even Costanoan is not absolutely free from traces of synthetic forms.<sup>33</sup> As the two groups of dialects agree in all other revealed points of essential structure, and as they hold a certain lexical element in

<sup>31</sup> R. B. Dixon, in *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 468, 1909.

<sup>32</sup> Present series, IX, 237-271, 1910.

<sup>33</sup> Present series, II, 72, 73, 1904.

common, their relationship can not be questioned except on the ground that the etymological identities may appear insufficient in number. In this case the structural resemblances might be explained as due to contact and influence, and common words as borrowed. Both groups of tongues are however still imperfectly known, and as they agree in perhaps one fourth of the words which may reasonably be assumed to have been determined as stems, it is likely that only fuller data are needed to increase this proportion. At any rate there no longer exist any grammatical obstacles to a belief in the genetic unity of the two divisions.

The conditions existing within the larger family as to pronominal matters, may be described thus. The Sierra Miwok dialects have a full array of synthetic forms, and analytic or separate pronouns are superfluous and emphatic. The Plains dialect is also synthetic, but may possess a somewhat reduced apparatus. Coast Miwok is between a synthetic and analytic stage. It lacks most of the Sierra forms, and it is difficult to decide whether its elements are prefixes or particles. Costanoan is distinctly analytic, employing ordinarily only the independent pronominal stems, but it retains vestiges of synthetic forms in the imperative.

It seems most reasonable to consider the Sierra synthetic structure as more original, and to regard this as having been lost in successively increasing degrees, but never entirely, in Plains, Coast Miwok, and Costanoan. Theoretically the opposite explanation is equally logical, but does not fit the facts as well. If the synthetic machinery were a late growth, it would hardly be so uniform. Compare the Coast Miwok second and third persons in *n* and *c*, which are quite isolated in that dialect but recur in the interior. Lexical divergence proves the Coast dialect to have been detached from the interior for a considerable period. Identical forms could hardly have originated independently in two separate regions.

That Coast Miwok *k* of the first person on the other hand has its source in the independent pronoun *kanni* and not in the Miwok affix forms *t* and *m*, proves nothing, for once a loosening of the synthetic system has set in, it is not unnatural that

abbreviated forms of the independent stems should begin to replace the affixal stems even before these have become entirely analytical.

Assuming then, a Miwok-Costanoan family, and the chain of relationship, as established on structural and on the whole confirmed on lexical grounds, to be: Sierra, Plains, Coast, Costanoan, it is evident that the interior Miwok dialects, which have generally been thought to be geographically in closest contact with the Costanoan languages,<sup>34</sup> are linguistically the farthest removed from them. The gap is bridged by the Coast Miwok dialects, which lie to the northwest of both. This fact is of primary importance in any speculation concerning the origin or movements of the stock.

It is curious that an analogous situation is encountered among the Yokuts. The Indians of that family lived in parallel and contiguous stretches of mountain and plain, each division possessing its own group of dialects. In the south the foothill and valley dialects are markedly different. As one proceeds north, the divergence becomes less marked, and finally is almost effaced. In this family also, therefore, the chain of relationship revealed by language runs from south to north and back to the south, so that the most divergent dialects are in geographical contact. The Yokuts division into mountain and plains groups, which are linked only at the northern end, can be paralleled by a geographical separation of the Miwok-Costanoan family into an interior and coast division, also united at their northern extremity.

#### DEMONSTRATIVES.

Demonstratives are developed from three stems: *ne* and *no*, *this* and *that*, and *i-*, appearing as *ini*, *iti*, *ika*, *isa*, which apparently is a radical of reference rather than of direction or distance, and therefore possesses somewhat the character of a personal pronoun of the third person.

Interrogatives and relatives are fairly constant, the principal stems being *man*, *who*, *min*, *where*, and *hi* or *ti*, *what*.

<sup>34</sup> They may really have been separated from them by a strip of Yokuts territory embracing the west side of the lower San Joaquin valley.

	<i>SS</i>	<i>CS</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>L</i>
this	ne	ne, ne-al	nei	no	ni	
that		no	noi	no	no	
that	ini	ini			it-i	iti
	i-	isa-	isa-	i-		
			ika-			
		imo	ima-			
who	mana	mana	mana	manti	manti	
where		mini	mini	mini-	eke <sup>85</sup>	
what		tinu	ti'nū	hiti	hinti	

In Central and Northern Sierra all these stems take the plural suffix *-ko*, the objective *-i*, and the possessive *-ñ*, though the latter is added to *ne*, *no*, and *ini* only with the addition of *-cu*: *ini-cu-ñ*. Central *-al* seems to be a separate particle denotive of animateness; it follows case and number endings: *ne-su-ñ al*, *ini-k al*, *ne-ko-i al*.

In the Plains dialect the suffix *-cu* appears in both subject and object: *no-cu*, *no-cu-tc*, *i-cu*, *i-cu-tc*. Other forms are *no-ko*, objective *no-ko-tc*, those; *ne'im*, here, *no-m*, there, *mini-m*, where; *hiti-tc*, what, objective.

Coast Miwok *ni-t-u*, this, is perhaps the equivalent of Plains *ne-cu*. Other forms are: *ni-to*, here; *no-to*, *it-i-to*, there; *it-i-ko*, they; *hinti-tc*, what, objective; *eke-m*, from where; *eke-to*, at where.

### VERB.

The verb formatives, which are all suffixes, show a similar range in all Miwok dialects and in Costanoan, but the individual suffixes used differ in the several dialects. Many of the blanks in the accompanying list can no doubt be filled. The Central material contains no data on causative, desiderative, continuative, or passive, the Northern no noun-agent forms, and the Plains and Coast forms are still more incomplete.

Meaning	<i>C. Sierra</i>	<i>N. Sierra</i>	<i>Plains</i>	<i>Coast</i>
causative		-ne	-nuku	-ne
desiderative		-ce, -kee, -cainō	-caiku	
desiderative				(welak)
continuative		-imi		
purposive (f)				-ukna, mt.o-

<sup>85</sup> Compare Wintun *heke-*, who, where.

potential	-ni	-uni, -ani		
negative	-ew-añ-kö	-añu		
negative	-ewa	-cewa		
reflexive	-po-sa	-bo, -bo-sa		-ne-po(?)
past	-se	-ce, -cu		
past	-ke	-ke	-ka	-ka
past		-naka		
past	-kesö	-kcö, cak		
present	-tcö			
recent past	-tcö-sa			
recent past	-tcö-ke			
past			-ma	
past			-tu	
past or present	-ñe, -na, -ñe-na			
present				-up
future	-i	-i		
future			-ca	-ta(?)
passive		-si, -pa		
intransitive verbifying	-ñe	-ne		
noun agent	-pe			-api
excessive noun agent				-ak
while	-mu—i			
after	-se—i			

*Southern Sierra.*—Suffixes of mode and tense are almost unknown. Gatschet gives -t as indicating a preterite, but it is not certain that this is not the suffix expressing plurality of the object. For the future he gives -iku or -eku. His text contains the Central Sierra past suffix -ñe.

*Central Sierra.*—The “potential” has conditional force:

nōka-ni-s wō-ewa-yi-t, if it rains I will not go  
tokla-ni-t-an howat-it, if you hit me I shall run  
takya-ni-ma-s yōna-im, if he strikes us we will kill him

The interrogative is a, identical in use with the Northern form.

The forms -mu—i, while, and -se—i, after, contain the pronominal suffixes. As these otherwise follow all modal and temporal affixes, the final -i is likely to be the objective case-suffix, used to denote clause subordination. The use of the possessive case for a similar purpose, as in the Northern dialect, is illustrated in the Central text below.



*Plains.*—The preterite suffix *-wa* of other dialects has in this language a past usitative force. The negative is expressed by the independent preposed particle *ket*, similar to Southern Sierra *ken*, and Costanoan *ekwe*, *kue*.

*Coast.*—The desiderative *welak* is itself a verb, which precedes or follows the verb which it accompanies. The negative is a preposed particle *ela* or *opu*. The suffix *-ukna*, and the preposed particle *mt-o*, may be purposive, future, or andative, having been obtained with the meaning “to go to” do something. Interrogation is indicated by the particle *op*, usually *op-un* with the pronoun of the second person.

A common suffix, which has not been included in the preceding list, is *-pu*, used only when an object accompanies the transitive verb. It may be pronominal—compare *-pu* of the third person plural in the interior,—or allied to the reflexive *-po*, *-po-sa* of other dialects. The Coast reflexive *-ne-po* seems to contain the same element.

The analytic character of the Coast dialect is reflected in the tense-suffixes as well as in the affixal pronouns. The past *-ka* and present *-up* are commonly suffixed or postposed, but occasionally precede the verb.

*nitetci ka-k-ete*, yesterday I slept  
*ka-n-iolum*, you ate  
*manti-ka waya-mi*, who gave it to you?  
*kenum-up-c-yolum*, constantly you eat

As *-ka* or *-ke* occurs in the interior dialects, it is clearly an affix which has become an enclitic on the Coast, or an originally separate particle which has been degraded into a suffix in all other dialects, according as the several Miwok languages may have developed in an analytic or synthetic direction.

#### COMPARATIVE ETYMOLOGY.

Names of groups of people end in *-tci* in the Southern Sierra dialect, in *-umni* in the Plains.<sup>36</sup> In the three Sierra dialects derivatives signifying persons are formed from terms of direc-

<sup>36</sup> This ending, which appears also in Yokuts and Maidu, has been discussed in the present series of publications, VI, 340, 379, 1908, and in the *American Anthropologist*, n.s., VIII, 662, 1906.

tion by the addition of a vowel, usually -o, accompanied sometimes by modification of the final consonant. In the plural, with the ending -ko or -k in the north, and -ya in the south, such terms become designations of groups of people.

teummate, south; teummet-o, plural teummet-o-ko, or teumet-o, plural teumte-ya, southerner.

damman or dammalin, north; dammul-e, plural dammul-e-k or damlu-ya, northerner.

hisum or hisuwit, hihum, east; hieut-o, plural hieut-o-ko or hi't-o-ya, easterner.

olowit or olowin, west; olowit-o, plural olowit-o-ko or olwi-ya, westerner.

On the Coast the vowel is omitted: kan-win-ko, northerners; compare tamal-ko, bay people.

A diminutive found on such words as boy, girl, old man, old woman, coyote, is -teki, -teu in the South, -ti in Central and Northern Sierra, -tei in the Plains. -mbula occurs with diminutive meaning on several inanimate nouns in Northern Sierra.

In the Southern Coast dialect many nouns in the absolute form or subjective end in -s, which is ordinarily lost in the objective and is lacking from Western Coast and Lake.

man, tai-e, objective tai-t-u

woman, kulei-e, objective kulei-t. (Maidu küle)

old man, oyi-s, objective oyi-t.

old woman, potei-s (Barrett), objective potei-t.

basket, ewi-e, objective ewi-t.

A noun-ending -s or -c is frequent in several Costanoan dialects.

Adjectives of color consist, in all dialects of the interior division, of monosyllabic stems which are finally reduplicated. To the reduplicated syllable is appended an -i in the Sierra dialects, the vowel of the stem in Plains.

Southern Sierra: yodj-odj-i, red  
tuh-uh-i, black

Central Sierra: gul-ul-i, black  
gel-el-i, white

Northern Sierra: wet-et-i, red  
Plains: pud-ud-u, white  
kul-ul-u, black  
wet-et-e, red

Coast adjectives of color end in -ta: ulu-ta, red, mulu-ta or loko-ta, black, poto-ta, white.

Duplication occurs in color adjectives in the Lake dialect: mul-u-mul, black, awa-awa, red. Other adjectival stems appear in duplicated form in all dialects: Plains, wel-wel, good, teu-teu-i, sweet; Northern Sierra, teu-teu-yu, sweet; Central Sierra, ut-ut-i, large; Lake, tsum-tsum, sweet, koi-koi, bitter; Coast, un-un-i, large, kai-kai, bitter.

### PHRASES.

#### *Southern Sierra:*

yohe, kill!  
 yohu-ma, I kill  
 yohu-musu, I will kill you  
 kani yoha-k oxxa-i, I kill a woman  
 hūñe-mu, hiña-mu, do you see me?  
 hūñe-mesu, hiña-musu, I see you  
 hilai-ñi-ma, do you fear me?  
 hilai-ak-ak, I fear  
 hakai-ak-ak, hulwa-k, hungry  
 oxxa-ñ uteu-hu, woman's her house  
 teuku-ñ uteu-hu, dog's his house  
 ne, this, ne-to, here  
 ini, that, ini-m, ini-to, there

#### *Central Sierra:*<sup>27</sup>

teuku-kan yōlla issakō-i naña-i, my dog bit that man  
 ne'i naña yōna-na teuku-i-kan, this man killed my dog  
 teuku-ñ suki-s, dog's tail-his  
 tceak teuku-i-kan sawa-s, I hit my dog with a stone  
 sawa-i hata-na-k kikō-m, I threw a stone in the water  
 wani uteu-t, in the house  
 mana-li onotu-ton, with whom did you come?  
 öpö-ti-li onotu-m, I came with my father  
 ne al halöñe, he is sick  
 halöñe-ke-sō-t, I was sick  
 mii ösemö halöñe-i-n, you will be sick  
 oti-m halöñe-ewañ-kō-ti, we two shall not be sick  
 oti-tei-k tunna-na-ktite, we are cold  
 mii tunna-se-n, you were cold  
 ösemö tunna-i-ko, they will be cold  
 haqai-ñe-ke-m oti-m, we two were hungry  
 ösemö haqai-ñe-i-k, he will be hungry  
 nawatō-s-a mii, are you tired?  
 nawatō-m, I am tired

<sup>27</sup> Dr. R. B. Dixon.

söyö-sa-k mos, I see you  
 issakö söyö-tcö-t, he sees me  
 hani miko-i tokla-motos, I hit you  
 tokla-n, he hits you  
 masi tokla-ni-mas, we are hitting you  
 masi söyö-ñe-na-k-ni-mas, we see you  
 tekmo-po-sa-s, you are kicking yourself  
 tekmo-msi-tos, ye kick each other  
 mana-i tokla-na-s, whom did you hit?  
 tinu ne, what is this?  
 tinu-s takya-na-n, with what did you hit?  
 töye-mu-i wösa-k, while he slept, I went away  
 owö-se-te-i luk-sa-s, after I ate, you came  
 mulli-se-te-i töye-na, after I sang, he slept  
 töye-ku-m, I am sleepy  
 töye-ti, let us sleep  
 mii a howatu-n, did you run?  
 kani söi-ñe-na-k ne-su-ñi howata-s, I saw him running  
 ne-al söiye-ñe-te howata-kan, he saw me running  
 mulli-pe, singer.  
 kalañ-pe, dancer

*Plains:*

teama-caiku-m, I wish to eat  
 tcama-ma-t, I ate  
 teama-ca, he will eat  
 icu tcama-mu unu, he eating-from comes  
 no-ku uccu-p, they drink  
 unu-m uccu-mu, I come from drinking  
 ucce-te, drink, ye!  
 uccu-ca-tokun, ye will drink  
 pata-t, strike me!  
 pata-muk, strike us  
 kanni pata-cima, I strike you  
 heat-nuku-cima, I make you strike him  
 heat-nuku-caiku-ma, I want you to make him strike  
 icu pata-n, he strikes you  
 ket heta-cima, I do not strike you  
 teica-tu-n, you saw  
 ket kiwai-m teico-te, not can-I see  
 hiti-te ono-nu, what are you doing?  
 umiy-a teama-te, do you like food?  
 ket umiy-im, I do not like it  
 manti anit-u-ni, who gave it to you?  
 mini-m okicca-tu-n, where were you born?  
 lema-ka-p, they used to dance  
 hana-ka-p hanepu-te, they used to have a sweat-house  
 ütüm-tci, old man  
 ole-tci, ole-na, coyote  
 haye-m cewole-xnu, near the ocean (at-proximity ocean's)

öcöö-xnö kotea-ic, woman's her house  
 cawe-nö haulo-co, friend's his arrow  
 teloko-te epali-te, three jackrabbits (obj.)  
 öcööc-ite, woman (obj.)  
 öcööx-mo, with the woman  
 mini-mu, from where?  
 mi'-m kanni, you-with I, you and I  
 ne-im kanni, he and I  
 ata-tei-m-ka, brother-with-my

*Southern Coast:*

ele'u-api-ko, fishermen  
 mit-a-ko-n kotea, Indians' house  
 kotea-n wea, inside the house  
 kotea-n lile, on the house  
 kik hawin-to, near the water  
 kik-to, in the water  
 hewai-to k-uyeno-ke, I was born at the beach  
 k-oni-ni it-i kotea-mo, I came from that house  
 luppu-e, with a stone  
 kono-su, with a bow  
 tumai-to, with a stick  
 k-ute-ka-mi, I saw you  
 k-oke-ka-t, I struck him  
 us-koya-ka, he sang  
 akal-ute kon kawul-o-ke, long-ago they used-to-dance  
 uc-yolum-up, he eats  
 k-welak-op-iolum, I want to eat  
 un-hinti-po, what have you?  
 k-ucu-pu kik, I drink water  
 k-ute-po no-t. kulei-t, I see the woman  
 uc-elli-po-mako, he sees us  
 oke-mmi kanni-te, hit me!  
 elli-mmi kannü, look at me  
 miko koya-mmi, sing, ye!  
 ule-mi-kan, free me!  
 hinti-te-op-un elli, what do you see?  
 op-un elli-mako, are you looking at us?  
 op-un oke ute-s kawul, can you see at night?  
 yolum-api, comedor  
 yolum-ak, comelon  
 mat.aw-ak, hablador  
 kenum-utc-opu-k cukum-welak, constantly I wish to smoke  
 (i)kon kawul-ukna awe, van a bailar mañana  
 k-unya ok-nepo, I struck myself  
 c-yolum-ne-t, he made him eat  
 c-kawul-ne-we-ukna-t, he made him dance  
 nako-mt-o koya, vamos a cantar

## TEXTS.

Dr. Dixon secured a short text in the Central Sierra dialect, which is here given, followed by Gatschet's published specimen of the Southern idiom, and a Lord's Prayer in Coast Miwok. The latter occurs in two versions,<sup>38</sup> which however are clearly derived from a single source. They have been combined and translated. Gatschet's text has been slightly systematized and conformed in orthography to the present work; the internal structure of words has been indicated so far as possible by hyphens; and the translation has been rendered somewhat more literally than in the original. Peculiarly, all the existing Miwok texts are very similar in brevity and narrowness of range, and, excepting the Lord's Prayer, even in subject matter.

CENTRAL SIERRA DIALECT.<sup>39</sup>

wunutö-sö-t I went hunting	olo-win below	loklo-m to plains	owöya-i deer.	keñe-i One
tuku-se-t I shot	owöya-i deer.	itanok Then	hakai-ñe-pa-k I got hungry.	woule-t I came home.
keñe-mei Once	wöe-sö-m we went,	kosumoyi-ke-sö-m we fished	tamal-in north	
wakal-mö to the river.	töyese-sö-m We slept	motam half way	keñe-i one	kawöle-i night.
kaulupa-i In morning	imo-ok from there	wöe-sö-m we went	isak-mö to that.	höya-ke-sö-m We got there.
itanok Then	kosumai-sö-m we fished.	ewa-ka-sö-m <sup>40</sup> We got none	kosumo-i fish.	hakai-ke-sö-m We were hungry
ewa-ñe-pa-k when we got none,	enatosu and	hoiyenon next day	kosumoyi-ke-sö-m we went fishing.	itanok Then
wele-sö-m we caught	temoka-i six	kosumo-i fish	enatosu and	wooltu-me-ñ <sup>41</sup> returned
hinsaiemes at noon.	wuntöyi-ke-sö-m We went hunting.	öwöya-i deer	keñe-i one	tökö-tu-me-ñ our-killing
ötöti large	oyise-nepai four-prong	sumitö-i fat.	itanok Then	wilu-se-sö-m we were filled.

<sup>38</sup> Duflot de Mofras, II, 391.

<sup>39</sup> By Dr. R. B. Dixon.

<sup>40</sup> Compare the negative suffix -ewa.

<sup>41</sup> "Of our returning."

SOUTHERN SIERRA DIALECT.<sup>42</sup>

teumte-ya Chumteya	uteu-pu live	aiye-to on flat	hale-ya-t in mountains.	weyānu Plant		
maise-i <sup>43</sup> maize,	ken not	weyānu plant	papas-i potatoes,	halgi hunting	uo-po they-eat	
hunema fishing.	ne-ok These	natu accurately	tugo shoot.	i-ok They	waka <sup>43</sup> cattle	
warai-ko <sup>43</sup> sheep	oni have.					
utu Thick	hiso-k hair	tuhuhi black,	hugu-to-hu on their head.	hunto-ya-hi Their eyes		
tuhuhi black,	nito-hu their nose	teinipitki short	oyani large,	hupeto-ho their neck		
teinepitki short,	laut skin	yutotei brown.	upha Swim	teumte-ya Chumteya	wakalmato-t in river,	
oha-ya wumun	upha swim,	esele-te children	aitu all.	keñe <sup>44</sup> Some	onadju fast	
huato run,	keñe <sup>44</sup> some	hapka climb	lama-i tree.	ne-ok These	ken not	suku paint
hawa-t on rock,	ken not	suku paint	laut-ü-i skins.	utu Many	poxau wear	hasanu-i abalone-shell,
keñe <sup>44</sup> some	kutcöte bone	humna-ho their-bead,	keñe <sup>44</sup> some	kumsol shell	ulato long	
humna bead,	ulato long	tissö-no finger.	suku Paint	öki-ta-ho on their chin	troxot three	
sekea-hu their- (?)	awuha needle	kula coal.	ewuya <sup>45</sup> Without	nawasuhu their dresses	wu go.!	
aitu All	pama smoke	kahu-i tobacco.	kanni I	hui-ñe-ma I have seen	miwi people	'ken not
kotan distant	uteu-yu live,	tolle-m on earth	aitu all	tuye-nu sleep,	oisa four	oyani large
huhu-i wood	huyu-t in fire.	oyani Large	uteu-t house-in	uteu-pu they live,	tolle-s with earth	
hame-pu they cover,	huyu fire	kaweni-m in-middle,	tulu-ma through hole	haksi smoke	wuksa goes.	
keñe-t In one	uteu house	aitu all.	tamu Differently	lu-pu they speak.		

<sup>42</sup> Gatschet, work cited.<sup>43</sup> Spanish.<sup>44</sup> Literally: "one."<sup>45</sup> Compare Central Sierra dialect negative suffix -ewa.

## SOUTHERN COAST DIALECT.

Chocouyem, Rio del Sacramento:		Api maco	su	lileco	ma nénas		
Joukioumé, San Rafael:		Apí maco	sa	liléto	manénas		
mi	aués	omai	mácono	mi taucuchs	oyópa	mi tauco	chaquenit
mi	anes	onía	macóno	michauka	oiopa	mitauka	chakenit
opú	neyatto	chaquenit	opu	liletto.	Tu maco	muye	genum ji naya
opu	negato	chakenit	opu	liléto	tumako	muye	quenunje naya
macono	sucuji	sulia	mácono	masóete	chague	mat opu	ma suli
macono	sucuji	sulia	macóno	masojte	chake	mat opu	ma suli
mayaco.	Maoi	yangia	ume	omutto,	ulémi	mácono	omu incapo.
mayaco	mao	yangía	ume	omut	ulemi	macono	omu in capo.
Nette esa Jesus.							
Netenti Jesus.							

## TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION.

api	ma-ko	su	lile-to	manenas	mi	awes
father	our		sky-in,	(sacred)	thy	name,
oni-a <sup>1</sup>	mako-no <sup>2</sup>	mi	taukute <sup>3</sup>	oyo-pa <sup>4</sup>	mi	tau-ko <sup>5</sup>
come	our	thy	(rule),	(be done)	thy	(wills)
teake-nit <sup>6</sup>	opu	wea-to <sup>7</sup>	teake-nit	opu	lile-to	tu
like		earth-on	like		sky-in	
mako	muye	kenum	hi <sup>8</sup>	waya	mako-no	suku-hi
us	all	constantly	day	give	our	,
suli-a <sup>9</sup>	mako-no <sup>2</sup>	ma-sokte	teake-nit	opu	ma	
forgive	our	our (sins)	like		we	
suli	ma-ya-ko	mako-i	yañi-a	huma	omu-to	
forgive	our (debtors),	us	(lead)	not	bad-to,	
ule-mi	mako-no <sup>2</sup>	omu	inkapo <sup>10</sup>	nete	ese	Jesus
free-thou	our	evil				

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The suffix of oni-a reappears below in suli-a and yañi-a, possibly also in oyop-a.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the possessive mako-n, our; the context seems to demand "us."

<sup>3</sup> Readings taucuchs and chauka; perhaps confusion with following tauko.

<sup>4</sup> Stem perhaps oyo; a passive suffix -pa occurs in Northern Sierra Miwok.

<sup>5</sup> Probably plural in -ko.

<sup>6</sup> Teake mako, asi como nosotros; teake-tu taic, like a man; teake-te hayuca, like a dog; opu recalls the present-tense suffix -op.

<sup>7</sup> Readings neyatto and negato for ueyato; wea is earth.

<sup>8</sup> Hi, sun, day.

<sup>9</sup> Suli is literally to pity. For the suffix -a see note 1.

<sup>10</sup> Hinkapo, cinkapo, lo hizo.



## SUMMARY.

In most respects Miwok is a language of the analytic and uncomplex Central Californian type. This appears in its simple phonetics, simple verb and sentence-structure, the presence and nature of case-suffixes, and the character of the plural in the noun. Adverbial, spatial, and instrumental ideas have not been found to be expressed by affixes to verbs. Complex derivational and etymological processes—so-called polysynthesis,—reduplication, and vowel change, are little developed; the principal structural device being suffixation.

These characteristics are common to all Miwok dialects and are shared by the Costanoan languages, which, on lexical considerations, are probably to be considered as genetically related to Miwok. In pronominal elements of both nouns and verbs, and to a certain extent in the modo-temporal affixes of verbs, there is however a wide difference between the interior Miwok languages on the one hand and the Coast Miwok and Costanoan dialects on the other, the former being suffixing and synthetic, the latter preposing and analytic. The synthetic dialects seem to be more representative of the original structure of the language. Their most pronounced peculiarity is the possession of three distinct series of subjective pronominal suffixes of verbs, each restricted to use in connection with certain suffixes of mode and tense. All Miwok and Costanoan languages are entirely without prefixes.

## POMO.

The territory of the Pomo Indians is south of that of the Yuki, and centers about the present Mendocino, Sonoma, and Lake counties, of which it comprises the greater part. It has recently been fully described in a paper published in this series by Dr. S. A. Barrett, who has in this connection also made an exhaustive determination of the dialectic divisions of the family. These are seven in number, with one additional slight sub-dialect. A comparison of vocabularies of the seven dialects shows the following degrees of affinity among them. The Northern and Central dialects, which are but little differentiated, seem to represent most nearly the original form of the language, as the other dialects resemble these two more nearly than one another. Least divergent from the Northern-Central form of speech are the Eastern dialect and a group consisting of the Southwestern and the Southern dialects, with the additional sub-dialect of the latter. The two most divergent dialects, the Southeastern and Northeastern, are spoken in territories most remote from the heart of the Pomo area, and by people in contact with foreign languages. The Northeastern is probably a direct development from the Northern-Central group, and in a different direction from the Southeastern, for the two dialects have less in common with one another than with any others.

The material here presented was obtained in 1902 and 1903 from Raymond Brown and Thomas Mitchell, and is from the Eastern dialect, spoken on the shores of the greater part of Clear lake. Dr. Barrett's vocabularies show that this dialect differs from the Northern and Central almost as markedly in verbal endings as in vocabulary. In fact it seems that we have really to reckon with seven Pomo languages rather than mere dialects.

Pomo belongs to the Central Californian morphological type of languages characterized by structural transparency and failure to use pronouns as grammatical machinery. It resembles Yuki in this regard. The differences between the two linguistic

stocks are however great. Yuki uses only suffixes, Pomo employs prefixes and suffixes. Pomo not only possesses whole classes of affixes that have no parallels in Yuki, such as verbal instrumentals, but uses its affixes with wider and at the same time more concrete meaning than the majority of comparatively vague Yuki suffixes possess. Special features of Pomo, such as a sex gender, are lacking in Yuki. The nature and employment of demonstratives are very different. On the whole the two languages have but few points of structure in common, other than such as are of a general Central Californian character.

Pomo often shows an unexpected richness of structural development. Thus the noun, where we should perhaps first look for it, is ordinarily without any designation of plurality. But a few substantives denoting persons show different stems for the plural. Several others possess a plural formed by a suffix *-a*. A considerable number of verbs have different stems in singular and plural. Several pairs of very frequently used suffixes of verbs express respectively the singular and the plural of the subject. Relatives by marriage are addressed in the plural as a sign of respect—a trait found also in the nearby southern Athabaskan languages by Dr. Goddard.<sup>46</sup> The plural is also expressed in animate nouns by the use of certain demonstratives. The pronouns show plural forms. Altogether the expression of plurality is much more developed than might at first sight appear, or than is the case in Yuki, where nouns are better provided with suffixes of plurality. A similar condition exists in regard to the expression of other grammatical ideas.

#### PHONETICS.

The phonetics of Pomo are simple in that the language contains no sounds that are obscure or that do not occur in a considerable proportion of the languages of mankind, and in that the sounds are little modified by such processes as composition and suffixation. There are no combinations of more than two consonants, and even these quite clearly do not appear in stems.

<sup>46</sup> P. E. Goddard, *Kato Texts*, present series, V, 143, 1909. See also E. Sapir, *Yana Texts*, *ibid.*, IX, 101, note 150, 1910.

Dr. Barrett has discussed the phonetics of all the Pomo dialects. Certain differences between his statements and those made here are explained by the fact that only one dialect is here presented. Other differences are individual, the result of two independent inquiries, neither of them final, and of slightly divergent orthographies. While Dr. Barrett's renderings are probably more correct, they could have been substituted for the author's only in part; for the sake of consistency it has therefore been necessary in the present account to retain the forms originally written by the author.

The vowels of the Eastern dialect are a, e, i, o, u; e and o being open. The vowels are sometimes short and obscure; never nasalized, strongly aspirated, or organically of doubtful quality.

The most frequent vowel is a, next i. The proportionate occurrences are a 40, i 25, e 15, u 10, o 5, ai 5 times. It will be seen that front vowels are more common than back, and i and u than e and o.

The consonants include series corresponding to p, t, tc (English ch), k, and q (velar). The p, t, and tc series include surd, sonant, nasal except of course for tc, and the stressed or fortis surd represented by a following apostrophe. The k series comprises surd, sonant, and fortis, lacks the nasal, but includes both surd and sonant fricative, x and g', the latter an orthography that has but little justification but which it has seemed best to retain for the sake of consistency and because no more appropriate character is included in the available facilities for printing. The same sounds were written in the q series: q, g, q', X, g'; but it is doubtful whether all actually occur. A t-like Yuki palatal t, almost intermediate in sound between t and tc, also d and t', were occasionally heard and written, but must as yet be regarded as doubtful. Ts and dz were also heard, but they may be only te and dj. S and c (sh) bear the relation usual in Indian languages. Their sonants j and z were written, but are denied by Mr. Barrett. R is trilled and sometimes related to t. Ordinary l calls for no comment; l is surd l, not affricative, and is Dr. Barrett's L. Y, w, and h occur; and two sounds written hy and hr seem to represent simple sounds, either

distinct or only occasional modifications of initial *y* and *r*; compare *l*, originally written *hl* and *xl*.

Sonant stops were not heard finally; surds between vowels were frequently heard as sonants: *mib-al* for *mip-al*, *beg-ibax* for *bek-ibax*. These phenomena may partly be due to Indo-European apperception, but they seem to have some Pomo foundation, as *mit* becomes *mir-al*, evidently for *mid-al*. Dr. Barrett also writes no final *g*, *d*, or *b*.

Words most frequently begin with consonants. Three words out of four end in a vowel, which may be taken also as the proportion in stems. This fact alone accounts for much transparency of word structure. At least *k*, *te*, *t*, *p*, *n*, *m*, *x*, *l*, *r* occur finally.

There is no system of vowel mutations, but the vowel of a suffix is sometimes assimilated to that of the stem, especially in verbs. Thus *-hiba*, preterite, becomes *diko-hoba*, *garma-haba*, *kuhu-huba*, *g'ane-heba*.

*Ui*, eye, becomes *yu-xa*, eye-water, tears

The accent of words is rather well marked. In nouns it frequently falls on the last syllable: *balai'*, blood, *qala'l*, liver, *cima'*, ear, *xawa's*, chin, *masa'n*, terrible, *musu'*, hair. This would be impossible in Yuki. In verbs the accent is generally on the stem syllable, irrespective of the number of affixes.

#### GRAMMATICAL METHODS.

Internal modifications of stems do not occur as an expression of grammatical form. Reduplication is either etymological or confined to a few parts of speech, such as verbs, in which it expresses repetition or continuation. Position is pretty well fixed, the verb coming last, the object after the subject, a possessive noun, adverb, or subordinate clause before its grammatical regent. The principal means of grammatical expression is, as in most languages, affixation. Infixes have not been found; suffixes are more numerous than prefixes, but in the verb the latter are both frequent and important. About seventy-five affixes have been determined. Of these a third are verbal prefixes and a third verbal suffixes.

## NOUNS.

The noun is formally as undeveloped in Pomo as in most American languages. Its principal affixes are a long series of adverbial postpositions or locative case-endings.

- u, in
- xam, in, into
- bai, in
- kate, at, to, by, near
- a, -ya, at
- n, to
- mil, to
- l, -alal, -nalal, to, toward
- awa, from, in
- wina, on
- yu, under
- xo-wa, before
- na-uwa, behind
- ki, for
- imak, in company with
- i, -ya, -iyai, with, by means of

*Examples:*

- me-awa, from here
- ba-y-awa, from there
- me-a, here, at this
- xale-na, on tree
- bihyatsuxai-yai, with fingers
- bo-l, westward
- gayu-l, upward
- dano-nalal, up-hill-ward
- mo-bai, in a hole
- gai-na, on the ground
- xo-xam, in the fire
- xabe-wina, on the rock
- xabe-yu, under rock
- xabe-i, with a stone
- bihya-i, with the hand
- musu-i, with hair
- xai-yai, with a stick
- tee-una, on a chair
- ga-u, in the house
- ga-kate, next to the house
- ga-xowa, before the house
- ga-nauwa, behind the house
- ga-u-wawa, inside, indoors
- ga-u-waki, from in the house
- hegibax napo-mil, to their own town
- wi-wina lok-a, fell on me
- gayu-lal galina-lal, up to the sky

As will be seen, these endings are suffixed also to pronouns, demonstratives and adverbs. When an enclitic demonstrative follows the noun, this particle and not the noun receives the case-ending.

mo-he-bai, in the hole  
 xa-he-bai, in the water  
 la-he-mak, together with the sun  
 xo-he-mil, into the fire  
 masan-ek-himak,<sup>46a</sup> with a white man

Such locative endings as these are common in Central Californian languages, but are usually accompanied by two or three syntactical case-suffixes, as in Yuki, Maidu, Wintun, Yokuts, Miwok, and Shasta. In Pomo, syntactical case-suffixes are absent, except on names of persons and terms of relationship, which share a possessive *-ibax* and perhaps an objective *-al* with pronouns and demonstratives.

wimaca-ibax ga, my father-in-law's house  
 sulig'am-ibax ga, Sulig'am's house

A vocative of terms of relationship is formed by *-a*.

mex-a, older brother! •  
 tsets-a, mother's brother!

Expression of plurality in the noun by a suffix is confined to a few nouns denoting persons. The plural of animate nouns is usually expressed through accompanying demonstrative elements.

person, cauk, pl. hiba-ya  
 woman, da, pl. g'ara-ya; ya-g'ara, deserted wife  
 old woman, da-g'ara, pl. mag'ateur-a.  
 old man, butsi-gi, pl. butsi-a, butsi-yaya  
 young man, cela, pl. cela-ya  
 relatives, g'ametegi-a

## PRONOUNS.

The Pomo pronoun is typically Central Californian. It is never incorporated, has no abbreviated or affix form, is syntactically a noun, and shows a regular development for person, number, and case. As in Yuki, there is no real third person, demonstratives being used.

<sup>46a</sup> The h of *-himak* probably represents an aspiration of the preceding k. Compare notes 49 and 50.

	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
1	ha	wi, u	wa-x
2	ma	mi	mi-bax
3 m.	mi-p	mi-p-al	mi-p-ibax
3 f.	mi-t	mi-r-al	mi-r-ibax
1 pl.	wa	wa-l	wa-ibax
2 pl.	ma-l	ma-l	ma-ibax
3 pl.	bek	bek-al	bek-ibax

Mip and mit are he and she, if distant, invisible, or of indefinite reference; mep and met are used for proximity or visibility.

The pronouns are evidently derived from a stem wa for the first person and ma for the second; diversified by -al and -ibax for objective and possessive.<sup>47</sup> The singular objective formed by change of a to i is interesting. It may be due to a lack of separate stems for singular and plural and an unconscious desire to express the distinction. Such a feeling seems to have led to the modification of the first person to ha in the singular, and the adoption of the objective mal to indicate the subjective of the second person plural.

As evidenced by the examples already given, pronouns can appear with the locative case-suffixes of the noun. These are added to the objective forms of the pronouns.

As in Yuki, terms of relationship furnish the only exception to the rule that the pronouns are not abbreviated or affixed. The possessive pronouns used with such words are, again as in Yuki, prefixed and apparently objective in form.

With terms of relationship only:

my, wi-, wi-ma-  
 thy, mi-  
 his, mip-i ha-, mip-i ha-mi-  
 our, wa-i ma-, wa-i-  
 your, ma-i mi-, ma-i ha-mi-  
 their, bek-i ha-, bek-i ha-mi-

<sup>47</sup> The forms given by Dr. Barrett in volume VI, page 64, of this series show that the Eastern dialect agrees with the others in having ma for the pronoun of the second person. For I and we the normal Pomo forms are a and ya, in place of Eastern ha and wa. Southeastern, the Lower Clear Lake dialect, alone has wi for we. This dialect is also the only one that seems to share with the Eastern the possessive suffix -ibax; Southeastern wibax explains the origin of Eastern wax. The other dialects show a possessive suffix -ke: au-ke, ke, my; mi-ke, m-ke, thy; ya-ke, our. Instead of mi-p and mi-t the usual Pomo forms for he and she seem to be mu and man. Compare the Northern Pomo forms given below.



For instance, *wima-mex*, my older-brother. The ordinary possessives are used only when possession is to be emphasized: two persons, each denying the relationship of the other to a third person, might say, *wax mex ba e*, my older-brother he-is.

#### DEMONSTRATIVES.

Demonstratives are numerous, frequently used, and important in Pomo. *Me* is this, *u* that. *Ba*, that, is more common and more indefinite than *u*, being often best translated by the English article, though almost always somewhat more specific of reference. It is used alone or added to *u* as *u-ba*. The apparently contradictory form *me-ba* has also been found, perhaps for *me-baya*, this there. An unexplained demonstrative *ku-ba* also occurs. *Me*, this, is the base of the pronouns of the third person singular, formed by the addition of *-p* for males and *-t* for females. For "it," *me*, this, or *ba*, that, is used, if expression is necessary. The original demonstrative form, and probably meaning, of the sex-differentiated forms, are better preserved in *mep*, *met*, indicating nearness; *mip* and *mit* appear to be modifications of these, with corresponding modification of meaning from demonstrative to pronominal significance, as is indicated not only by their expressing distance as opposed to the proximity of *mep* and *met*, but by their being less specifically endowed with deictic reference of any kind. This development of quasi-pronominal forms from the demonstrative expressing proximity is interesting because unusual. In Yuki and Yokuts the indefinite demonstrative of distance fulfills the function of the pronoun of the third person; just as Latin *ille*, not *hic*, grow into Romance *he* and *he*.

The demonstratives not only take the numerous locative and instrumental case-suffixes, but, together with the personal pronouns, are the chief recipients of the objective suffix *-al* and the possessive *-ibax*. This restriction of use of these two syntactical case-suffixes differentiates them in character from the corresponding case-endings of for instance Yuki, Maidu, and Yokuts. The length of *-ibax* makes it look little like a genuine syntactical case. The objective *-al* may be related to the directive-termina-

tive -l or -alal. The possessive has also a benefactive meaning: **wa-x** is my or for me.

me hee, this one  
 ū gai he, that land  
 ū-ba gai he, that land  
 mēp ba hīkiba, he-is-the-one-who it did  
 ū-ba-ya, there  
 ū-mip, he, distant  
 o-he-mip, he, more distant  
 o-ya ba ihiba, there it was  
 o-g'ai, that-one too  
 me-g'ai, this-one also  
 ū-ba-g'a balai ba e, there blood that is  
 me ba balai he e g'ida-g'ida-k, that blood is red  
 dakir u-ba gauk e, great that man is  
 u-ba mi-kate hee, that one by you  
 ū-ba-ibax, his  
 ku-ba sandia hee dabekmakme, those melons divide ye!

The ordinary demonstratives precede the noun; but *he* and *èk* follow and are more or less enclitic. *He*, or *hee*, means the or this; its omission makes the noun translatable by its English equivalent with the indefinite article *a*.

When an animate noun is subject of a transitive verb, *he* alone is not used with it. Either the personal pronoun must be added, forming a tautological *he-mip*; or *èk*, *yèk*, is postposed. In the plural *èk* is replaced by the quasi-pronominal *bèk*, to which it is no doubt related either in origin or by analogy. *Bèk* is not confined to the subjective, and shows the form *bèk-al* and *bèk-ibax*.

o-ba gai he, that land  
 o-he-mip, he, distant  
 kūi hee, not that one!  
 tee hee, which one?  
 uba hee, that one  
 mibax noaha hee da mi marā, your knife do you like?  
 winhawa yèk wi kadakhiba, my friend me cut  
 masā'n èk g'ai hi'ntil èk g'ai wa guma kilmawakhiba, white-man  
 and Indian we fought-together  
 ha bekal kilwahiba, I them fought  
 ba masān he mip wi kadakhiba, that white-man he me cut  
 me xa hee dakir xa-mò'-e, this water very deep is  
 bā' ha masā'n hee gutcia-i pakò'hoba, that I white-man the knife-  
 with stabbed  
 mex bèk wi marakiaika, my-elder-brothers they me like  
 mex milbax èk wi marakiale, my-elder-brothers one-of-them me likes

The enclitic *he* is no doubt related to *hi*, *hi-bax*, *he-k-ibax*, his own, their own. Perhaps the reflexive *k'e-hei*, self, is also related to *he*. *Ba-bax*, his, *bek-ibax*, their, contrast with *hi-bax*, *he-k-ibax*.

*mi-p hi-bax gawi di-ko-y-a*, he struck his own boy  
*mi-p ba-bax gawi di-ko-y-a*, he struck his (ejus) boy  
*mi-p mip-ibax gawi di-ko-y-a*, he struck his (ejus) boy  
*bek heg-ibax gawi di-ko-yak-i*, they struck their own boy

*Hi* has sometimes relative force: *ig'anxa gunula hemip hī hōla kidi-l-ba xabe-na pidiakele*, then Coyote he which sack he-carried rock-on broke.

The element *hi* also occurs in combination with *bek* when relatives by marriage (except brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law) are addressed or spoken of. As already mentioned, such relatives address each other throughout with plural forms as a sign of respect. *Bek* would therefore take the place of *èk*; but the form usually found is *hi-bek*, or *hi-bek-al*. Use of singular *èk* or *yèk* implies that the marriage has terminated in a separation. If however the wife has died, her husband continues to address her relatives with the respectful *hi-bek*. Such forms seem even to take the place of personal pronouns: *bekal*, them, meaning you, much like German *Sie*.

*wimaca yèkal*, my ex-parent-in-law  
*wimaca hibekal*, my parent-in-law, or parent of my dead wife  
*bèkal hane*, parent-in-law, say!  
*kanhimi mal butsigi hibekal*, say, ye old-man them (say, father-in-law!)

Besides *hi*, *u* is sometimes combined with *bek*:

*kanhimi ubek*, say, my daughter-in-law!  
*kanhimi wimaca hubek*, say, my mother-in-law!

The use of the plural in this connection does not however go beyond demonstrative and inflectional elements. Only singular noun stems and verb stems are used. Thus, *mal da-g'ara hibekal*, ye old-woman them, not *mag'atura*, old women; *gok-mi*, "stehen *Sie*," a singular stem with plural ending, as compared with *gok-im*, "stehe *du*," and *pilik-mi*, "stehet *ihr*!"

Enclitics or suffixes expressing indefiniteness are *-g'a*, *-lal*, *-ula*, *-laye*. Informants translate these by "kind" or "sort."

Kuyula, others, seems to be kui, not, and -ula, kind. -laye seems to be most specifically indefinite.

haiu-laye wi g'anèhiba, some dog me bit  
 daiawal-ula, young women, young-woman-kind  
 masā'n-ulu, masān g'omtsa-la, whites, plural of masan, white-man  
 kaiu-la mipal g'anèheba, dog-kind them bit  
 ha masān-ula-l ganud-ed-elhiba, I a-white-man (or, to-the-whites)  
 was telling something.

Other indefinites are mil-bax, one of, selected from; kumu, all; g'omtsa, many; dolema, several, literally four-five, dol-lema. Xon-al is one another, objective.

gau g'omtsa lia, people many died  
 gau nudal-dal-a g'omtsa e, persons dead many are (lying about)  
 wal gumu lia-y-eg'a, we all shall-die  
 dolema pit'ahaba g'araya, several there-were women  
 wax haiu mil-bax ek wi g'ania, one of my dogs bit me  
 buragal g'ai ha gutā'haba bice' g'ai xote, bice he mil-bax ha gali  
 gò'xhiba, bear I saw deer also two, deer of-them I one shot

#### INTERROGATIVES.

Interrogatives, also used as indefinites and relatives, are am, ki, and tee. Am is who?, what?, something, which, someone, he who. Ki-a is who? Tee-he is which one? tee-a, somewhere, where?

ha ām boolhiba, I something was hunting  
 kia da ba, who is that?  
 kia da mi kadake, who you cut?  
 tee hee, which one?  
 me hee, this one  
 ām ba da ma marakiala, what-for that you like?  
 masān ki ām yeheka, he has done something wonderful  
 tee xabe hee da batèn-e, which rock is the largest?  
 ha am xadim milbax ha sididigi, I what biting of I swallow  
 am gauk da ma gar-k-a, what-kind-of-a person do you see?

#### ADJECTIVES.

The adjective is more frequently found in duplicated form than any other part of speech. An attributive ending is -k, which is no doubt the same suffix as a -k making nouns of verbs. Adjective stems used as predicates seem to end in -k-i or -e,—which is possibly a slurring of the verbal present tense-suffix -a, sometimes heard as -e. Many adjectives show neither ending.

è, ha haiu g'ida-g'ida-k gar-hiba, yes, I saw a red dog  
 wax haiu hee g'ida-g'ida-ki, my dog is red  
 haiu pit'au, a white dog  
 ha pit'auw-e, I am white  
 ga-hiem-k, one who watches a house (compare ga-hiem-xale, house-  
 watcher, as a permanent occupation)  
 xo batin ha garhiba, fire large I saw  
 pit'au-k bawe e, it is the white one  
 gili-gili-k, black

#### ADVERBS.

Adverbs and conjunctions, so far as expressed by separate words, call for little comment. Interrogation is expressed by the particle *da*, at the head of the sentence, or preceding the pronouns. The negative is similarly expressed by *kui*, and not by any affix of the verb. *Le* occurs in optative phrases translated by "let us." Conjunctions answering to English "and" and "or" are *g'ai*, postposed, and *he*, preposed. Both often occur in pairs, like English both...and, either...or. There are no connectives or introductory particles corresponding to those which are so important in Yuki and Washo. This lack of introductory words is so complete as to make it difficult to separate one sentence from the next in texts.

*da*, interrogation  
*kui*, no, not  
*è*, yes  
*le*, optative  
*min*, thus (cf. me, this)  
*isa*, thus  
*maco*, like  
*dakere*, very (*dakir*, great, extreme, adj.)  
*si*, very, strongly, fast, hard  
*ikwita*, perhaps  
*bitemayau*, always  
*namk'*, always, constantly  
*tibale'amak*, often  
*co*, now  
*to*, now, immediate future  
*co-a-da-mal*, to-day (*da*, sun)  
*to-a-da-wal*, to-day  
*da-ka*, yesterday  
*duwe-m*, to-morrow (*duw-ina*, at night)  
*dok*, long ago, sometime, ever  
*yu*, already  
*yu-l*, a while ago  
*ya-yu*, for a time  
*yu-pa*, again

## NUMERALS.

The numerals in all the Pomo dialects have been given in Dr. Barrett's paper in this series, and analyzed in a comparative paper on the numeral systems of California.<sup>48</sup> The Pomo numeral system seems to be quinary-vigesimal, and the Pomo territory to be the center of an area in northern California over which this system has to some extent spread; but in the higher numbers, on the other hand, the Pomo vigesimal method has in some dialects yielded before the influence of the decimal counting of neighboring people. The adverbial numeral is formed by *-nai*, "times."

*xote-i-nai*, twice  
*lema-nai*, five times

## VERBS.

The Pomo verb is completely non-pronominal, that is, non-incorporative.

It seems that in most American languages using both prefixes and suffixes, the affixes to the verb, barring pronominal elements, tend to precede the stem when they are comparatively concrete or non-formal in significance, and to follow it as they are more purely grammatical or modal. Pomo is no exception. Adverbial and instrumental ideas are embodied in prefixes, conceptions of tense, mode, and number in suffixes.

Many affixes are readily distinguished as such; but there are some elements whose nature, whether affix or stem, is uncertain. *Di* and *be* have the appearance of being affixes denoting singularity or plurality of the object of the verb; but it is more likely that they are indefinite stems, meaning to move one and to move several, which are used in verbal complexes whose specific force is due more to their affixes than to these stems. A similar contrasting pair are *-p* and *-m*, appearing to refer respectively to position, pointing, or intransitiveness, and to motion, putting, or transitivity.

<sup>48</sup> R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *Numeral Systems of the Languages of California*, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., IX, 676, 686, 1907.

ha gau-du-di-kil-hiba, I drove-(him)-in-repeatedly  
 ha gau-du-be-kil-hiba, I drove-(them)-in-repeatedly  
 wa gau-du-di-kima, we drove-(him)-in  
 wa gau-du-be-kima, we drove-(them)-in  
 mi ha gau-du-di-kil-hiba, thee I drove-in-repeatedly  
 mal ha gau-du-be-kil-hiba, you I drove-in-repeatedly  
 wi bihya-xam ba ca-di-m-im, me hand-in that shove-through!  
 wi bihya-xam ba ca-be-m-im, me hands-in that shove-through!  
 bo-l ca-be-p-ki-mi, west point-them!  
 ca-di-p-ki-m, move it, point it!  
 ca-di-m-ki-m, move it, cause it to travel!

Some affixes occur in contrasting pairs: kul-, gur; di-, co-; di-, ke-; -l, -k; -ma, -ki.

Adverbial prefixes are the most loosely connected with the verb, and sometimes are heard as separate words. Thus ga-u-, or ga-u-, in, into, and ga-l or ga-l, into, to or in the house, are evidently formed from ga, house, and the case-suffixes -u, in, and -l, to. The terminative or directive -l appears also in xo-l-, out; compare the adverb xo, out. Ku-l- and li-l-, away, off, probably show the same element. This is the more probable from the fact that, excepting these -l- forms and two prefixes gur- and mar-showing -r-, all ascertained prefixes, whether adverbial or instrumental, end in vowels.

ga-u-, ga-u-, in, into  
 ga-l-, ga-l-, in house, to house, into  
 xo-l-, out  
 li-l-, away  
 ku-l-, away  
 ku-r-, gu-r-, toward  
 mar-, down  
 gayu-, up  
 xamal-, back  
 tsa-, away  
 ca-, through  
 ma-, across, opposite

*Examples:*

gur-uhu-m, come here!  
 le xamal-pil-iba, let us go back!  
 gal-uhu-i ha, I went home  
 ca-t'ol-im, punch it through!  
 lil-ani-a, threw it (away)  
 kul-ani-m, throw it away!  
 me-a gur-ma-hu-m, here come-across!  
 o-ya lil-ma-hu-m, there go-across!

dadai xol-pili-mi, on-the-path go-ye-off!  
 gur-ma-biki-m, face here!  
 kul-ma-gadi-ba, let us run across to there  
 mar-pile-li, they went down  
 gayu-gap-ki, jumped up  
 gal-oho-le, come home  
 me-a xol-pili-a, here they-came  
 bek tsa-pili-a, they went-away

The terms of direction *co*, east, *bo*, west, *yo*, south, *kuhu*, north, may be included among prefixes, as they are at times fused with the verb-stem.

*ha co-hu-bae*, I am going east (*uhu*, go)

This is however not always the case.

*ha bo am boo-l-hiba*, I in-the-west something was-hunting

*Gayu*, up, is also both independent adverb and prefix.

Instrumental prefixes are numerous. There seem to be several that have not yet been positively determined. They specify actions performed with parts of the body, with spatial parts of objects or objects of certain shape, and with objects of certain properties, such as softness. They are of course used almost entirely with stems denoting motion or dynamic actions.

*di-*, with something round  
*co-*, with something long  
*pi*, with an edge moving broadside (*ax*)  
*ga-*, with an edge drawn lengthwise  
*g'a-*, with two edges, with the teeth  
*si-*, with the mouth, with the tongue  
*du-*, *da-* with the hand, with the fingers  
*mi-*, *ma-*, with the hand, with the foot  
*ba-*, with the head or parts of the head  
*pa-*, with the end, point  
*ki-*, with a hard thing  
*gu-*, with a soft thing  
*ca-*, with the end or point (= *ca-*, through)

The following seem to denote not the instrument but the object of the action.

*di-*, a round object (cf. instrumental *di-*)  
*k'e-*, a long object

In this connection may also be mentioned an element *pu-*, found in several verbs denoting breathing; though whether it is instrumental prefix or stem is not certain.



*Examples:*

- ha mi xai-yai co-ol-bae, I you stick-with will-throw-at  
 co-xa, to saw, cut with a long object  
 ha mip-al xabe-i di-ko-hoba, I him stone-with struck  
 di-dak-g'a, split, as one stone with another  
 pi-xa, to cut with an ax, chop  
 pi-t'ap-ki-a, slapped, skinned, chipped off  
 pi-dak-g'a, split  
 ga-xa, to cut or saw off with a knife  
 ga-xar-a, shaves off  
 ga-gap-ki, to split by pressing with a knife  
 g'a-wa-l-hiba, ate, chewed  
 g'a-ne-hiba, bit  
 g'a-xa, to cut with scissors  
 g'a-tadadak, flatten with the teeth  
 g'a-bec-ki, cut off a soft object with the teeth, with scissors, or by  
 rolling a wheel over it  
 si-g'al-a, licks it off  
 si-wor-ki-m, stir it with the tongue!  
 du-tadadak, squeeze flat with the fingers  
 du-dak-g'a, split with finger-nails  
 du-t'a, touch with hand or fingers  
 da-g'al-a, rubs off with hand  
 du-yi, count, teach, show  
 mi-yi, count  
 mi-sax-ki-hiba, kicked  
 ma-hut-ki, break by pressure of feet  
 ma-les-ki, crush with the foot  
 ma-tadadak, flatten with the foot  
 ma-lat-ki, crush with the hand  
 ma-wor-ki-m, stir with the foot!  
 ba-ko-hoba, butted, hit with the head  
 ba-gap-ki, split with the teeth, by pecking with the bill  
 ba-t'a, touch with the head or tongue  
 ba-ta, tell  
 ba-qo, tell  
 ba-tsan, preach  
 ba-yi, teach  
 pa-ko, stab  
 pa-les-ki, crush as with a pestle  
 ki-tadadak, flatten with a stick  
 ki-luk-hiba, rubbed it on with a stick or brush  
 ki-les-ki, to smear with a hard object  
 ki-g'el-a, rubs off with a board  
 gu-luk-hiba, rubbed it on with a rag  
 gu-g'al-a, wipes it off with skin, rags, paper, or meat  
 ca-t'a-m, touch it with the end!  
  
 di-ma, to hold a round object  
 k'e-ma, to hold a long object  
 k'e-la, carries a long one

A prefix gado- seems to denote "with the shoulder," while the noun kidi, back, is used both as a prefix and as a verb meaning to carry on the back, much as in English we "shoulder" a burden.

gado-la, carry an object on the shoulder  
 bihya-xam ba gado-mi, hand-on that hold-ye!  
 kidi-la, carry an object on the back  
 kidi-ga, hold on the back  
 gau-kidi-m, carry it indoors on your back!

Suffixes express tense and mode and make verbal nouns. There are also a transitive, a causative, a frequentative; four suffixes of number; and, strange to say, a suffix with the meaning "around," where one would expect a prefix. It is likely that the real or former meaning of this suffix was modal, not spatial. The suffixes of number in transitive verbs refer to the subject and not the object. The suffixes of tense and mode follow the others. There seems to be no inchoative, the independent verb bayipki, begin, being used as an auxiliary. While the fact that the speaker makes his statement on the authority of others is expressed by the suffix -li, a particle xa usually also accompanies such statements.

-l, singular subject  
 -k, -aki, plural subject  
 -ki, singular subject (less frequent)  
 -ma, plural subject (less frequent)  
 -mli, -mal, around  
 -kil, frequentative, continuative  
 -ki, -xi, transitive  
 -g'a, -g'era, causative  
 -a, present, immediate past  
 -hiba, past  
 -hi, past, less frequently used  
 -eg'a, future  
 -bae, purposive future, conditional intentive  
 -kima, usitative past, continuative perfect  
 -ne, -ni, apparentative, "must have"  
 -nki, putative  
 -li, quotative, "dubitative"  
 -kile, past (quotative?)  
 -aeli, conditional  
 -m, imperative  
 -mi, imperative, plural subject  
 -xale, agent, habitual

-k, agent, verbal noun, attributive adjective  
 -e, -k-i, predicative adjective  
 -pi, -pila, if, until  
 -witca, although  
 -gaia, after  
 -mak, have, to be provided with

*Examples:*

g'a-wa-ik-mi, eat ye!  
 wa mai g'a-wa-ik-a, we food eat  
 mai ha g'a-wa-l-e, food I eat  
 wi mara-ki-aik-a, me they-like  
 ha mara-ki-al-a, I like-them  
 ba u mara-haba, that me pleased  
 lok-a, it dropped!  
 lok-ane, it must have fallen  
 tee-ami gauk da ma pa-ko-y-aèli, what-kind-of man (interrog.) you  
 stab-would?  
 pa-ko-yeg'a, will stab  
 ha pa-ko-y-aèli-hiba, I would-have-stabbed-him  
 wi sinèm-pila, I if-had-been-able  
 wi da ma gar-a, me do you see?  
 wi da ma gar-ma, me do you (father-in-law) see?  
 wa mi gar-ma, we thee see  
 ha mal gar-ki-ba, I you saw  
 xa am nis yehék-li, it-is-said something evil he-has-done  
 wa bici kil-g'a-yaki-hi, we a-deer hang-made  
 cik-ma, they say  
 ha cik-a, I said  
 mip am boo-l-aèli, he something could-hunt  
 mip xa am boo-li, he it-is-said something hunted  
 bèk am boo-yaki-a, they hunted  
 bèk xa am boo-yake-li, they hunted, they say  
 ha kuhul-uhu-bae, I north-go-will  
 ha g'ai am boo-yeg'a, I also something hunt-shall  
 mip am guhu-nki, he something is-reported-to-be-eating  
 me-a buci buragal wal-ine, here some-time-ago bear must-have-passed  
 guma-kil-ma-wa-k-hiba, fought together  
 mal-inki, is going about (without having been seen)  
 gaki-g'a, make sit down  
 gap-ki-g'a, cause to jump  
 guhu-xi, make eat  
 kilwa-xi, make him fight  
 kil-ma-wa-k-g'a-bae, will make them fight  
 yiba-mak, has a tail  
 a-mak, it has horns  
 pidik-a, it is dark  
 pidik-a-yeg'a, it is getting dark, it will soon be dark  
 pidi-pida-nki, it looks dark  
 wa gap duhye-ki-bae, we jumping cease-will

ha âm boo-l duhye-bae, I hunting cease-will  
 ha mi mer-g'a-bae, I you lie-cause-will, I will leave you here  
 ha mi ba d.ed.e-l-kil-hiba, I you that told-continually  
 wa mi d.ed.e-ik-a, or d.ed.e-yaki-a, we you tell  
 wi âm bayi-l-xale, me something teaches-who, my teacher  
 wal âm bayi-k-xale, our teachers  
 bèk wi bayi-k-a, they me teach  
 ha si-hyil-k-hiba, I vomited  
 wa pucul-m-a, we blow  
 durhic'a-y-aki-a, they cheated  
 xo-kidi-mli-m ba, fire-carry-around that!  
 da ma wi-nalal gur-ak-ac'a, will you me-to carry-it?  
 yowa-l kide-g'a-m, carry it down!  
 gaw-uhu-m, enter thou!  
 gau-pili-mi, enter ye!  
 ha gai-na mer-g'aki-hi, I ground-on lay-down  
 è ha yu guhū-hu, yes I already have-eaten  
 gamal-kil-hi, he sat continually  
 bèk ga-uwa tsa-pili-hi, they home-from away-went  
 wi xapid-a-nki, I am sorry  
 wi xapid-a-pi, please  
 ha xapid-a-ki-al-hiba, I pitied  
 wi xapid-a-ki-aik-mi, me pity-ye!  
 g'awi yo-g'a-m, boy become-make-yourself!  
 mip g'awi yo-kil-hiba, he boy became-always  
 kil-a, it hangs  
 xale-na ha kil-hiba, tree-on I hung  
 xale-na ha teasulem kil-g'a-haba, tree-on I a-rope hung  
 xale-na ha k'ehei kil-g'a-ki-hiba, tree-on I self made-to-hang  
 ma wi manak-akwi-pila, you me pay-not-if  
 wi mara-ki-al-pi mip, toadamal wi hete-bae, me likes-if he, to-day  
 me visit-will  
 xa xa mipal-wina ne-mle-li, water it-is-said him-over covered-around  
 wi lil-uhu-g'a-m, let me go!  
 wi ba-ya lil-uhu-ne-heba, I was going there (said if action was  
 invisible, as through blindness)  
 ga-hiem-xale, permanent house-watcher  
 ga-hiem-k, occasional house-watcher  
 da ma hiem-kima, did you formerly-always-watch-it?  
 cak-im wax, kill-it for-me!  
 ha buragal gox-witea ha com-hiba, I bear shot-at-though I missed  
 ha mi manak-bae wi ma baqo-pila, I you pay-will me you inform-if  
 ha mi manak-pila, di ma wi baqo-y-aèle, I you paid-if, you me  
 inform-could?  
 ha pa-sax-ki-gaia ha kul-uhu-huba, I hit-after I off-went  
 me-a dad-ui-mal-im, here creep-around!  
 wa mi gar-ma-kima-haba xaiumi, we you saw-constantly formerly  
 ha dok e'omtsa mel-kil-hiba intea ha butsegi yu e to, I formerly  
 much used-to-know but I old-man already am now

Occasionally the tense suffix is detached from the verb and added to the negative *kui* or *akui*.

ha yul buragal com-witca ha kui-hiba gox, I formerly a-bear missed-  
but I not-did shoot

The reciprocal is expressed by the plural suffix *-ma*, sometimes with *xon-al* added.

ba ki xonal da-bek-ma-kima, they used to parcel out to one another  
xon-al wa kil-ma-wa-k-hiba, we fought each other  
masan-èk-ç'ai hintil-èk-ç'ai wa guma-kil-ma-wa-k-hiba, white-man-  
and Indian-both we fought-each-other

Duplication is not so common in the verb as in the adjective, but is not infrequent. It indicates repetition or continuation; duplication of only part of the stem—reduplication—does not seem to be usual.

wi ganu-ganuk-im, speak to me!  
gauk mudal-dal-a ç'omtsa e, many people are dead  
wa gumu mudal-dal-aka-oc'a, we all shall die.  
d-ed-e-l-a, tells  
maru-maru-m, tell myths!  
mati-mati-ki-m, fill it full!  
wi pira-pira-m, fan me quickly! (wi pili-m, fan me!)  
da mi xadu-xadum-a, do you dream?  
xa-tsi-bo-tsi-bok-pila, water-bubbles-if  
ha gap-ki-a, I jump! ha gap-gap-ki-a, I make several jumps  
wa gap-ma, gap-gap-ma, we *ibid*.

There are instances that resemble incorporation of the noun-object, but they cannot be positively set down as such. The object often immediately precedes the verb; it is unmarked by a case-suffix; and like most words it commonly ends in a vowel and therefore readily runs into one sound-complex with the following verb without actually being united with it.

xo-kidi-mli-m ba, fire-carry-around that!  
xai-kil-ç'a, stick-hang-make, to institute a dance  
xai-bat-en-kil-ç'a-yake-le, make a big dance  
xai-dakal-ake-le, finished dancing

There are also instances of what appear to be compound verbs, but which are perhaps only two verbs in juxtaposition, the first lacking tense-mode suffixes and in subordination to the second.

sima-negi-m, sleep! sleep-go-to!  
sima-mer-hiba, sleeping lay

The following verbs show different stems in singular and plural. There are no doubt others. Those that are transitive are usually used in the plural form if the object is plural. Verbal suffixes of plurality, on the other hand, refer to the subject even in transitive verbs.

die, mudal, plural mudal-dal, lia  
 kill, duli, dut., plural cak  
 eat, guhu, plural g'a-wa  
 stand, gok, yuhu, g'o, plural pil, g'ula  
 sit, ga, plural napo  
 lie, mer, plural gudem, pid  
 hang, kil, plural liki, pubi  
 give, dic'a, plural sixa, silax  
 run, aga, plural gadi  
 walk, wal, mal, plural pil  
 go, uhu, plural pili  
 hold, ma, plural subject, sa

Certain verbs, especially of mental or physiological action, are used with their subject in the objective case unless they are specially provided with the transitive suffix. This is one of the specific features in which Pomo resembles Yuki.

wi mi mara', I like you  
 ha mi mara-ki-al-a, I like you  
 wi si-hyil-a-ec'a-nki, I feel that I shall vomit  
 ha si-hyil-bae, I will make myself vomit

### COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

The list of adverbs that has been given shows that there is derivation in Pomo. The process is not conspicuous in the language because its function in the verb is nearly filled by the adverbial-instrumental prefixes which have been discussed among grammatical elements, and because in the noun composition appears largely to take the place of derivation. Compounds like *yu-xa*, eye-water, *cima-mo*, ear-hole, *xa-hola*, day-sack, *bihya-tsuxai*, hand-fingers, *xama-tsuxai-hrik*, toe-nails, are frequent. Affixes deriving nouns from substantival or verbal stems, such as are important in Yuki and in many other languages, have not been found. *Hya* is wind or blow, *bati* arrow or shoot, *kidi* back or carry. The order of composition is the most common American one: the determining noun precedes, the determining

verb follows, the regent noun: *xa-tom*, waves; *xai-tada-tada-ya*, stick-flat, boards; *q'us-dalutegi*, baby-wrap, placenta. That noun-composition is of much importance, is evident from words denoting parts of the body. *Hya*, bone, *kidi*, back, *kidi-hya*, back-bone; *t'a*, buttocks, *t'a-mo*, anus; *g'o* or *g'o-mo*, navel; *tsi'me*, hair, fur, *ai-tsi'me*, pubic hair, *ui-tsi'me*, eye-lash; *ui-kui*, eye-brow, *ui-mo*, face. *Bihya*, hand, perhaps contains *mi-*, with the hand or foot, and *hya*, bone; *xama*, foot, may contain the element *ma-*, synonymous with *mi-*. *Da-g'ol* is kidney, *ya-g'ol* testicle. *Tsida* is skin, *xa-tsida* mouth, *xa-tsutsu* beard. *Mi-hya-kabo*, throat, suggests *hya*, wind, blow. Names of animals show some reduplication; *gigi*, otter, *ba-zim-zim*, chipmunk. Noun-stems can be used as verbs, and verb-stems as nouns; *maru* is both a myth and to tell myths; *xo*, fire, *xo-ki*, to make fiery, to become angry; *na-sima-gai*, rear-sleep-place-of, rear-bedroom, from *na*, back of house, opposite door, *sima*, to sleep, and probably instrumental *-yai*, of *gai*, earth.

#### VERB STEMS.

The following verb stems or near-stems have been determined. Some of these can occur without adverbial and instrumental prefixes; others have been found only in connection with these prefixes. Some stems are of quite indefinite meaning, depending for their specific meaning on an instrumental prefix. Thus *ba-ko* to butt, *pa-ko* to stab, *mi-ko* to kick, *di-ko* to strike with a round or square object; *ba-yi* to teach, *mi-yi* to count, *du-yi* to show, teach, or count. Other stems are limited, without any prefixes, to actions performed on certain classes of objects, as *an*, to throw a long or flat object, *ban*, to throw a small or round object. Others which appear to be limited instrumentally, are so probably only in translation: *ak* and *ap*, to carry in the hand and to carry in the arms, probably mean to carry a small object and to carry a long or large one.

<i>aga</i> , run (sing.)	<i>ban</i> , throw a round object, put
<i>ak</i> , carry in the hand	<i>bar</i> , <i>babar</i> , deceive
<i>an</i> , throw a long or flat object	<i>bas</i> , rub, smudge
<i>ap</i> , carry in the arms or held	<i>bati</i> , shoot
against the body	<i>bayipki</i> , begin

bec, cut off	gox, shoot and hit
bili, suck, eat mush	ma-gox, shout
bo', boo, hunt	g'a, gamble
bol, pour	g'a, fill, be full
bot, shatter, split by throwing	g'ada, hate
eak, caka, kill (plur. obj.)	g'al, wipe, rub off
cal, visit	g'al, lift
cama, say no, dissuade	g'ana, drive
cik, say	g'ate, whittle off
cok, hear	g'a-wa, eat (plur. obj.) cf.
com, shoot at, miss	g'a, full
cudim, come	g'a-wim, build house
sup'at, jerk off	g'o, gok, stand, be (sing. of
dad-ui, creep	inanimate objects)
dak, split	g'oki, drink
da-ko, catch	g'ula, stand (plur.)
dal, break up by pounding	hetc, visit, see, look
dawi, stuff, put in	hiem, watch
deg', take, carry	ho, draw up, bunch
didik, stop	hu, do
di-g'a, give (sing. obj.)	hut, crack, split, shatter
dika, start to	hya, blow, be wind
dic', diq, swallow	hyek, end
doe, strike	hyil, vomit
dop, cut off	kadi, come, reach, go
duhye, stop, cease	ki, pick up, lift, carry, bring
duix, urge	kia, dance
duli, dut., kill (sing. obj.)	kidi, carry on back
dur-hi, du-dur, cheat	kil, be hanging (sing.)
dut., tie up, roll up	ko, strike
d.aq, mash	kul, fear
d-ed-e, tell	k'em, be, continue
djo, peck	k'iuk, cool
ga, sit (sing.)	la, carry
gadi, run (plur.)	lat, mash
ganuk, speak (cf. ni, nu.)	lekida, glad
gap, split	les, smear, flatten, mash
gap, jump	lex, melt, dissolve
gar, see	lia, die, dead (plur.)
gik, jab, strike	liki, hang (plur.; trans. and
gubi, put in	intrans.)
gudem, lie (plur. of animate	lom, make noise
beings)	lox, tie, roll up
guden, shoot (plur.)	luk, rub on
guhu, eat (sing. obj.)	lok, drop in
gule, complete, do entirely	ma, hold (sing. subj.)
guta, find, see	ma-bi, ma-yap, face, look
ga-ma, ga-ki, sit (sing.)	madi, fill tight, jam
godo, roll	maga, search, look for



mak, raise a liquid  
mal, = wal  
mad-u, suck blood  
mana-k, pay  
maru, tell traditions  
maxar, cry  
me, know  
mer, lie (sing.)  
mihyam, be reluctant, stingy  
minam, full, fill  
mondo, pile up  
mudal, die, dead  
mumu, try  
napo, sit (plur.)  
ne, overflow, float  
ne, bite  
negi, nek, go to  
ni, nu, say, speak  
nu-wa, urge  
ok, answer  
ol, throw at  
padi, swim  
pawil, curl, wrap  
pibak, come, appear  
pid, lie (plur.)  
pid-ak, pad-ak, break  
pi-li, pi-ra, fan  
pil, stand, walk (plur.)  
pili, go (plur.)  
pit'e, full  
pu-cen, pu-t'am, take breath  
    pu-cul, blow  
    pu-g'a, whistle  
pubi, hang (plur. of intrans.  
    subj. or trans. obj.)  
puđi, steal  
puhye, slow, slack (cf. hyek)

pusut, cool  
qo, tie, make hang  
ba-qo, tell  
sa, hold (plur. subj.)  
sam, make fire  
sax, strike, hit  
sima, sleep  
sixa, silax, give (plur. obj.)  
tadadak, flatten, squeeze  
t'a, touch, overtake  
t'ap, slap, skin, chip, split off,  
    whittle  
t'es, cut off, whittle  
t'ik, remain at  
tsa, chew  
ba-tsan, preach  
tsari, be angry  
tseixki, be sorry  
tsibok, bubble  
tsom, finish, die  
bi-teu, gnaw off  
uhu, go, come (sing.)  
wa, chew, eat (plur. obj.)  
wa, wal, mal, walk, go, pass  
wor, stir  
xa, cut, cut off  
xadum, dream  
si-xal, cry  
xapida, pity, be sorry  
xar, shave  
xaxak, ask, require  
xe, sing  
yehe, do  
yi, teach, count, show  
yo, become  
yuhu, stand (sing.)

## TEXT.

Dòk	xa	napo'-kil-i	ba-y-a'wa	xa	
Long ago	it is said	town-continually-was.	That-from	it is said	
xatunu'dal-g'ai		tara'g'ai	xa	cò-l	bice'
a species of lizard and		wasp	it is said	east-ward	deer
boo'-iakè-le	duw-i'na	gai	pidi'-k'em-ide	lā	ku'i
hunted (pl.)	night-at.		Dark continued,	sun	not
wi'axo	bacal'latso	g'ai	kui	k'e'm-kil-e	bat-i'-ai
stars	Pleiades	and	not	were.	Arrow-with

boo'-yakè-le hunted	bice' deer	xātunu'dal-èk lizard-he	a'g'oldè-le using deer mask (1)		
co'-pil-èli east-went (pl.)	cò'-danu-na East-mountain-on	bice' deer	maga'-ik seeking,	cò'-lila east-far	
bice' deer	guta-yakī'-kui seeing-(pl.)-not,	mīnidai'xa at that time	xatunu'dal-he-mīp lizard-he		
cò east	xaā' light	gutā-le saw.	ba-y-awa That-from	xa it is said	qamā'l-pil-èli back-went (pl.).
bice deer	boo-ik hunting	baXā'-yaki leaving.	napo'-na town-to	ga'l-pil-èli home-went	
hè'g-ibax their	napo'-mil town-to.	hī-ibax His	qaug-ula-l people	xa-dje-dje-li told	
cò east	hī he	xaā' day	guta saw.	i'g'an-xa Then	kunū'la Coyote
xa-nariwa turtle	qa and (1)	cò'-pil-èle <sup>49</sup> east-went (pl.)	xaā'-hòla daylight-sack	ba that	
pudī'-bae <sup>50</sup> steal-would.	pil-ā'li Went (pl.)	pil-ā'li went	cò east	cò'-pil-èli east-went,	mīn thus
pil-ā'li went,	pil-a'li went,	duw-ina night-at	taraq'ay-ek wasp-he	g'ai and	
xa-na'riwa-g'ai turtle-and	pil-ā'li went,	etc. . . .			
kunū'la Coyote	bū'teige old man	he-mī'p he	hi-mara-xa what-desired	yox-kil-e made-always:	
cela-yòg'an young-man-became,	gawi'-g'a-yòg'an boy-became	bū'teige-g'a-yog'an old-man-became,	ām what		
ba that	du'rhiq'a-l-ba cheat-would.	napu'-na Town-to	xo'-l-pil-èli to (1) went	xanariwa-i-himak turtle-with.	
mīn Thus	xa dance-house	marakai to-went.	xo'-l-pil-èli to-went.	bai There	xa boy-s
xote two	napo-le lived	marake-bai dance-house-in.	kunū'la Coyote	he-mī'p he	xa
qa'w-ohò-le in-went;	qa'w-uhu-ig'a in-go-would.	g'awi-k Boys	he-bè'k-al them	nine'Xi-le asked,	
guhula-bax north-of	ganu-k-lè spoke	ba-ia there:	wax "My	gawi-k-ula boys,	ā'm da what (int.)
uba that	ki'-l-ā <sup>51</sup> hangs?"	nī'g'anè-le Said	kunū'la Coyote	he-mip he.	ī'g'an-xa Then

<sup>49</sup> Heard as cop-hil-ele. Evidently p is well aspirated.<sup>50</sup> Heard as bap-hudi-ba.<sup>51</sup> The equivalent in Eastern Pomo is here substituted. The original Northern Pomo runs: awī-qawia qota awèl cilinā'.

gawi'-k-he-bek boys-they:	wā'-l "Us	kū'i-hiba not	kiba	ba-baqò'-g'-aki tell (pl.);	wa-l us
ki-mana-k-pila-ga pay-if,	xa-èle	ba it	wa we	ba-baqò'-yaki-ba tell. (pl.) -will.	mìn Thus
wa-l us	ní'k-bek mothers,	ha'rik-bek fathers,	tsè'ts-bèk mothers' brothers,	cè'x-bèk mothers' sisters.	
g'ā'ta-bèk mothers' mothers,	gā'ts-bèk mothers' fathers,	wā-l us	bayí'-k-iba instructed."	intcaxa Nevertheless	
yu-pa again	kunū'la Coyote	he-mīp he	ninè'-Xi-le asked:	(As above.)	kunula Coyote
he-mip he	nini'-ninè-le kept asking.	pucu'i "Shell-ornaments	ca-be-p-ki making-them-move-through		
wa'-l us	cimā'-mo ear-hole	ca-be'-m-pila'-k'axa through-them-put-if-then	wā we		
ba-baqò'-yaki-ba tell (pl.) -will."	ig'an-xa Then	kunū'-la Coyote	he-mip he	hòla-k'alu'l bag-dry	
ki-dí'-m-du-li carried.	ba'-ibax-ka That-of	pucu'i shells	cimā'-mo ear-hole	ca-be'-m-li put through	
gawi-k-he-bè'g-al boys-them	ba-qo-ba tell-would	ām-baí' what-in.	ig'an-xa Then	baqò'-yakè-li told:	
kunū'la "Coyote,	hò'la-bai bag-in,	kunula Coyote,	hòla-yai bag-with,	xaā'-hòla light-bag	ba-e that is,"
ni'nxalòla said	gawi'-k-'e-bèk boys-they.	ig'an-xa Then	kunū'la Coyote	he-mip he	
maxar-bayipkè-le cry-began,	hi-bax his-own	gawi-k boys	hola-iyai bag-with	ki-xaā'-hòla light-bag	
ki-g'a-g'a-yagi stuff (pretended).	i'za Thus	bā-bakū'min was sorry.	nīn Then	k'è'm-li it-was.	mīn Thus
k'è'm-i it-was	xa-duwè'-k-li night-was.	kunula Coyote	buteegi old man	he-mip he	xo-aga-le out-ran
napò'-na town-at	gauk people	kū'i-dai not- (f)	xa-èle	xa-dū'we-k-le Night was.	
duwè'-k-an-xaki Night-after-then	ma'rakai dance-house	ki-xo'-sam-agè-li fire-built (pl.).	xo-limba Fire-fan		
min-pillí'-ma thus fanned-each-other.	ki-xo'-muhyè-agè-li Fire-cooled (pl.).	xo-pusut-xanXa Fire-cooled.			
kunula Coyote	buteige old man	he-mip he	yò'g'ai made himself	gau-dad-ū'-ile house-in-came.	
ga-uwa House-from	xaki then	bat'a-y-agè-le called (pl.):	buteige "Old man	hee the	da-kò'-me catch-ye!

xo-ba Fire-in	ku'm-bae fall-might.	na-g'oni-mi At-back-lay-him!"	xaki Then	dako'-yagè-li caught (pl.).
i'g'an-xa Then	cabè'-yo "Center-post-under	k'a	ha I	mè'r-i-kil-hiba lie-always,"
yu'-cua	ba-bā'r-hig'a-i he deceived.	ò' "Yes,	ò' yes,"	min thus
hèg-al them-to	kuma enemy	ma'l-hee † -the	mee'l-ma-kwi knowing-(pl.) not.	xakilò'le said,

## NORTHERN POMO.

The following grammatical forms of the Northern Pomo dialect have been ascertained:

## PRONOUN.

	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
S 1.	ā	wito, tou	ke
S 2.	ma	mito	mii
S 3 m.	mou	mowal	mowa
f.	mun	madal	mada
n.		mul	
P 1.	ya	yal	yaa
P 2.	mā		
P 3.	pou		powa

Before terms of relationship the subjective forms are used instead of the possessive.

## CASE ENDINGS.

-nemu, nemi, in	-yo, under (deep, hole)
-nemutu, from	-diyi, with, near
-qa, to	-wi, with, by means of
-mina, on	

## VERB PREFIXES.

ca-, with the side
pa-, with the end
ma-, with the foot
mi-, with the hand
pi-, by a falling edge
ei-, by a drawing edge
tea-, teake-, with a severing or scraping motion
ka-, with a severing motion into a soft object

## VERB SUFFIXES.

- ta, interrogative, usually enclitic to first word
- m, imperative, singular and plural
- ti, past and present
- tcaddi, future
- da, desiderative
- ka, -kai, causative
- tei, (†)
- ka, (†)
- n, (†)

It appears that while a large proportion of the grammatical elements of the Northern and Eastern dialects are different, the plan of structure is essentially the same in the two languages.

## YUKI.

The territory and divisions of the Yuki have been described in previous publications of the Department, especially in Dr. S. A. Barrett's "Ethno-Geography of the Pomo Indians."<sup>52</sup> This work contains also vocabularies of the four principal Yuki languages. These are the Yuki proper, in the drainage of the Middle Fork of Eel river, that is to say, in the vicinity of the present Round Valley reservation; the Huchnom, on South Eel river; the Coast Yuki on the ocean west of the Yuki; and the Wappo, to the south in the Geyserville-Calistoga region. The Coast Yuki and the Wappo are separated, respectively by the Athabascan Kato and by the Pomo, from the Yuki proper and the Huchnom. Dialectic differentiations occur within Yuki proper and Wappo. Of the four languages, Wappo is the most divergent. The dialect here reviewed is Yuki proper.

## PHONETICS.

The phonetic system of Yuki is simple. It lacks velars, but has two classes of t sounds, one being distinctly palatal (t·), almost approximating English ch, the other interdental (t). Tc, equivalent to English ch, is treated by the language as if it were a single sound. In addition there are labials and post-palatals, the latter apparently formed somewhat farther back in the mouth than the ordinary English k sounds. This makes stops in five positions, if the affricative tc is included. For each of these positions there is also a stressed fortis surd, but no sonant stop.<sup>52a</sup> There are also no fricatives other than s and c. The only nasals are n and m. The k-nasal, ñ, does not occur as an organic sound,

<sup>52</sup> VI, 1-332, 1908.

<sup>52a</sup> To be exact, the "surd" stops are weakly aspirated and partially sonant, probably during the explosion, when they are initial or followed by a vowel; but fully surd, and strongly aspirated, when final. Theoretically gup and uk' would therefore be as correct an orthography as kup and uk. Since "g" and "k'" are however only variations due to position, and are organically the same sound, and as there is no other k in the language except fortis k', the designation of both the initial and final sound by k seems justified. It may be added that exactly the same relation between initial and final stopped consonants exists in the Shoshonean dialects and probably in a number of other American languages.

but is found occasionally before *k* as an assimilation from *m* or *n*. There appears to be only one *n* for the two *t* sounds. An *l* occurs, but there is no *r*. *S* and *c* appear to be two distinct sounds, but are similar.

<i>k</i>	<i>kʰ</i>	( <i>ñ</i> )	
<i>tc</i>	<i>tcʰ</i>		
<i>t-</i>	<i>t-ʰ</i>		<i>s, c</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>tʰ</i>	<i>n</i>	
<i>p</i>	<i>pʰ</i>	<i>m</i>	
		<i>l, w, y, h</i> or <i>ʰ, ʰ</i>	

The vowels are five in number: *i, a, a<sup>n</sup>, o, and u*. They are all full sounds. *O*, which is rather uncommon, is open. *E* does not seem to occur as an original sound, but *i* takes on several varying shades and sometimes comes nearer *e* than *i*. These forms of *i* have been represented, as heard, by *ì* and *e*. All the vowels may occur followed by an aspiration, indicated by *ʰ*, or by a glottal stop, shown by *ʰ*. The vowels when long do not change quality, but are frequently doubled. All double vowels that have been written without an intervening apostrophe or hyphen are equivalent to a single long vowel. Vowels that occur between stems and suffixes to prevent contact of two consonants are sometimes more or less obscure. The sound *i* is most frequently employed in this way.

All the vowels and all the consonants occur both initially and finally. Final *h, y, and w* result in aspirated vowels or in diphthongs.

Combinations of consonants, and true diphthongs, do not occur at the beginning or end of words nor in stems. Consequently there are no combinations of more than two consonants even in composition and derivation. When consonants are brought in contact by the union of stems, they either remain unmodified, as in *miit-lamciim*, sky-shaman; or there is an assimilation as in *a<sup>n</sup>mmis*, from *a<sup>n</sup>p mis*; or a short vowel is inserted, as in *tat-i-si-mil*. The first process is quite common. The second, where the first two of the consonants is modified, is unusual, occurring chiefly when one of the consonants is nasal. *P-m* becomes *m* or more strictly *mm*. *N-l* and perhaps *t-l* become *l*. *Mk* and *nk* become *ñk*. In accordance with the phonetic character of the language, which is averse to modifications of

stem syllables, these assimilations are however often not made in careful speech, both consonants being pronounced. The third process, that of the intercalation of a short vowel, which is usually *i* or obscure *e*, but occasionally *o* or *u* after an *o* or *u* sound, is also quite common. It occurs before *s*, *n*, *p*, and other consonants; in most cases before verbal suffixes.

Diphthongs are not radical, as no stems have been found containing a diphthong followed by a consonant. Stems ending in a diphthong therefore really consist of a vowel followed by *y* or *w*; *nau<sup>a</sup>* is *na<sup>a</sup>w*, *iu* is *iw*.

Just as vowels are sometimes inserted between consonants in the process of derivation, so unaccented vowels are sometimes dropped between two mutually compatible consonants; *kam-o'l*, panther, *kam-l-ite*, wild cat.

In rapid speech there are a few contractions, such as of the common preterite suffix *-wi* to *-u*.

There is no vocalic harmony or interinfluence of vowels.

It will be seen that phonetic changes are slight and do little to disguise the structure of compounded or derived words.

The phonetics of Yuki can therefore be characterized as unusually simply and rigid. With all this quality and the predominance of monosyllabic stems, which lead to structural transparency, there is however no approach to a monosyllabic character phonetically. A word of several syllables is usually a distinct unit to the ear, so that the difference between affixes and independent particles is usually not difficult to determine.

#### GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES.

Practically the only morphological process of the language is suffixation. By this means the language carries on all its grammatical business. Prefixes and infixes do not occur. Reduplication and vocalic mutation are as good as absent. Position or order of words is determined by custom, but can have no grammatical significance, as suffixes are regularly used for every grammatical relation that could be expressed by position. The combination of this unity of grammatical means with the rigidity of phonetics, makes the structure of the language unusually simple.



Composition of independent stems is frequent. Between two nouns, the qualifier precedes the qualified, as in English. When a noun is combined with a verb, adjective, or adverb, the noun-element however invariably precedes. For English round-house Yuki would say house-round. Certain stems are used both as independent words and as suffixes. Such is *mik'al*, around. Similarly the common demonstrative *ki*, that, enters into relative suffixes of verbs.

*on-yu*, earth-quake  
*mil-ha<sup>a</sup>p*, deer-song  
*kitcil-wok*, flint-dance  
*hul-uk*, eye-water  
*hul-wak*, eye-shake (loose woman)  
*nan-uk*, mouth-water  
*uk-hot*, water-large (ocean)  
*al-kat*, wood-flat (board)

While there are noun-deriving and verb-forming suffixes, and while their employment is frequent, the presence of a suffix is not necessary to the use of a noun or verb stem in grammatical construction. Many nouns, such as *on*, earth, or *uk*, water, are used as naked stems, and verb stems can appear as imperatives and in other constructions without any suffix.

Verb stems can also be used as nouns denoting the action of the verb, as in English. Nevertheless, the distinction between nouns and verbs is clear. All words in the language, except structureless adverbs and connectives, are, grammatically considered, either nouns or verbs, pronouns being functional equivalents of nouns, and adjectives of verbs.

The range of ideas expressed by the suffixes which constitute the one means of grammatical structure in the language, and of which about seventy-five have been determined, is comparatively restricted. Including those that are semi-etymological or derivative, they may be classified into: (1) derivative suffixes of nouns; (2) suffixes expressing number and gender of nouns and adjectives, and suffixes of pronouns; (3) case-suffixes expressing syntactical, instrumental, and local relations; (4) verbal suffixes of a derivative nature; (5) verbal suffixes expressing modal, temporal, and participial relations.

As in Yokuts, the vowels of almost all suffixes are either *i* or *a*.

## DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES OF NOUNS.

Derivative suffixes of nouns are not very many, but several occur with great frequency. Some definitely denote the agent or instrument, but others appear to have no specific meaning.

*-mo'l, -o'l.* A very common suffix denoting the instrument or actor, equivalent to English *-er*, but added to noun-stems as well as to verbs.

- pa<sup>2</sup>te-mo'l, pencil, "marker"
- lil-yim-o'l, stove, "metal-fire-instrument"
- lo'-mo'l, throat, "cougher"
- nam-mo'l, bed, "lie-er"

*-am*, a very frequent suffix on both noun and verb stems. Sometimes it means "partaking of the nature of," "that which is somewhat like." More often it has no meaning of its own that can be determined. Most of the stems on which it occurs are not used without it, even in composition or derivation. It is especially frequent on stems denoting animals and parts of the body. It is not unlikely that this derivational *-am* is originally the same as the collective suffix *-am* or *-lam* and the verbal usitative or continuative *-am*. An *-am* found on adjectives is probably also connected.

- uk-am, swamp (uk, water)
- ol-am, brush, brushy place (ol, tree)
- on-am, earth-worm (on, earth)
- on-poy-am, mole
- ay-am, buzzard (a<sup>2</sup>y, glide)
- tit-am, mountain
- cam-am, raccoon
- sum-am, brains
- kate-am, bad
- tat-am, pretty (tat, good)
- k'il-am, striped
- tik-am, smooth
- ha<sup>2</sup>te-am, hard, strong, durable

*-il.*

- kite-il, flint

*-is.*

- lop-is, jackrabbit

*-nom*, people of.

- uk-om-nom, Yuki of Round Valley
- lil-eik-nom, a Yuki division (rock-black-people)
- hute-nom, Huchnom, Tatu, or Redwood Indians

## SUFFIXES OF NUMBER AND GENDER.

*-i, -a*, plural. *-i* is the more common, but any noun is always used only with either *-i* or *-a*. No relation between the vowel of the noun and of the suffix is discernible. Nouns taking the objective suffix *-a* use *-i* for the plural. This plural suffix is confined to nouns denoting animals and plants, and to semi-pronominal stems.

mil-i, deer  
 su's-i, ducks  
 te'op-i, flies  
 p'al-p'o-i-i, butterflies (for p'al-p'ol-i)  
 mil-i, white-oaks  
 cip-i, willows  
 hil-i, all  
 -mac-i, plural of demonstratives  
 cup-a, blackbirds  
 tok-a, fleas  
 koy-a, gophers  
 ku's-a, geese  
 teup-a, blackbirds

*-s*, plural suffix of a few nouns denoting persons; also of personal pronouns.

*-p*, singular suffix corresponding to *-s*.

na-ip, girl; na-es, girls  
 iw-op, man; iw-is, men  
 mus-p, woman; mus (for mus-s), women  
 mi, thou; mo-s, ye  
 a<sup>n</sup>-p, I; u-s, we

*-mac*, or *-mas*, is added to the stem of demonstratives in forming the plural.

ki, that; ki-mac-i, these

*-am, -lam*, collective. It is the regular plural suffix of certain words denoting persons and ending in a suffix. It also forms the usual plural of certain inanimate nouns, such as house, in which the collective or distributive and plural meanings are apt to coincide; and of compound nouns containing an adjective.

ot-is-am, old women (ot)  
 iw-is-ma'-lam, young men (iw-o-ma')  
 ha<sup>n</sup>-lam, houses (han)  
 pa<sup>k</sup>-am, one each (pa<sup>k</sup>, one)

ate-sil-am, pieces of skin  
 ha<sup>w</sup>-hot-am, whales (fish-large)  
 hi-hot-am, large branches  
 ol-hot-am, redwood trees  
 titam-hot-am, high mountains  
 atwa<sup>c</sup>it ha<sup>s</sup>on-lam, fierce dogs

*-ite*, apparently primarily a diminutive, is also a collective, a distributive, and, through idiom, the plural of one noun denoting persons.

k'aml-ite, wild cat (k'amo'l, panther)  
 a<sup>s</sup>-ite, red (a<sup>s</sup>, blood)  
 tat-ite, pretty (tat, good)  
 nu-ite, also nu, gravel  
 su-ite, fish in general  
 k'il-ite, fish-roe  
 op-ite-am, in two heaps (op-i, two)  
 al-k'at-te-am, in each board  
 hal-ite, children (sak, child)

*-a*, animate of numerals and adjectives.

op-a, two  
 molm-a, three  
 puhite-a, a short person (puhite, short)  
 cik-a, a black one

*-i*, inanimate suffix of numerals. It is used also when the numerals do not refer to any specific objects, or when they refer to nouns denoting animate objects but in the objective case. The stem pa<sup>n</sup>, one, animate irregularly pa<sup>n</sup>-k, inserts w: pa<sup>n</sup>-w-i.

op-i, two  
 molm-i, three

*-p*, reflexive, on demonstratives.

ki-p, himself, from ki, that one, he

*-moc*, used before the plural suffix in the reflexive demonstrative; perhaps the same as *-mac* similarly used in non-reflexive demonstratives.

ki-moc-ey-at, of themselves

*-el*, may or may not be used on the word for I.

a<sup>p</sup>-el or a<sup>p</sup>, I

*-in*, may or may not be used on the word for my.

it-in or it, my

## CASE-SUFFIXES.

*-a*, objective. Used on nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives, but only when animate. It may be conjectured that this suffix is the same in origin as the animate *-a* of numerals and adjectives, but there is nothing to prove such identity.

musp-a, woman  
 hulk 'o-a, coyote  
 añ-kun-a, my father  
 lopc-a, jackrabbit  
 hil-a, all  
 ko'l-a, Wailaki

*-c* or *-s*, objective case, found only on *mi*, *thou*; the same as the Costanoan and Wintun objective suffix of the personal pronoun.

*-at*, possessive of nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives, animate and inanimate. It is invariably used.

pila<sup>t</sup>-at, sun's  
 hulk 'o-at coyote's  
 ki-at, his, that one's  
 us-at, our

*-ok*, instrumental.

lac-ok, with an ax  
 kutei-ok, with a knife

*-a*, instrumental. No difference in meaning between *-ok* and *-a* is perceptible. Some nouns use one and some the other.

mipat-a, with the hand  
 on-a, with earth

*-la*, instrumental of demonstratives. Perhaps related to *-a* as *-lam*, collective-plural, is to *-am*.

ki-la, with that

*-op*, locative. Precise meaning: "on"; but also used as a vaguer locative "at." Added to verbs, it subordinates them and means "when." "At the seeing" is "when he saw."

hay-op, in carrying-sack  
 pi-mo'l-op, with, on, flute  
 nihin-a'l-op, at the door  
 uk-op, on the water  
 han-op, on the house  
 on-op, on the ground

**-ki, -k, -i, general locative, in, on, at.**

ha<sup>2</sup>te-ki, on the house floor  
 hute-ki, out-doors  
 u<sup>2</sup>-ki, in the water  
 teiu-ki, in the acorn-granary  
 ki-k, in that, in there

**-am, -m, inessive.** Used on certain words, such as han, house, and on demonstratives, as a general locative to the exclusion of -ki. Most other words take -ki but do not use -am.

ki-m, there, literally, that-in  
 han-am, in the house

**-t-a** is a locative of wide or indefinite meaning found only on demonstratives. The difference between it and -m is not clear.

ki-t-a, there

**-pis, ablative.**

im-pis, from where

**-wit, terminalis, to, toward.**

ku'tki-wit, toward the north

**-k'il, terminalis, to, toward.**

han-k'il, to the house  
 k'ol-k'il, to the other side  
 no-namliki-k'il, to where he lived

**-han, -ha<sup>2</sup>hin, subessive, under.**

uk-han, under water  
 uk-ha<sup>2</sup>hin, under water  
 lil-ha<sup>2</sup>hin, under the rock

**-ite-ki, juxtapositive, next to, near.** Probably the diminutive -ite with the locative -ki. A similar -ite-op is also found.

lil-ite-ki, by the rock  
 mil-teote-ite-op, by the pounded meat

**-mik'al, around.** Is used also as an independent word.

yim-mik'al, around the fire  
 on-mik'al, around the world

**-kite, only, resembles the case-suffixes in being added chiefly to nouns, but its function is of course quite different.**

cic-kite, only squirrels  
 kit-kite, nothing but bones

These suffixes show a complete transition from purely formal or grammatical case-endings, such as the objective, through loca-

tive suffixes such as -op or -ki, to whole stems used as suffixes with prepositional meaning. The employment of all is however exactly alike; so that if the designation of "case" is denied to -mik'al, around, and -op, on, it must also be denied to objective -a and possessive -at.

#### DERIVATIVE VERB SUFFIXES.

The verb suffixes that are derivative rather than grammatical, in that they affect the meaning of the verb more than its relation to other words in the sentence, form the largest, most difficult, and in some ways most characteristic class of suffixes in the language. It is especially in this class that suffixes of indefinite meaning are numerous. Some of this vagueness of significance will undoubtedly become dissipated by more thorough knowledge of the language. Nevertheless it is quite clear that certain suffixes, whose precise meaning has been ascertained, at times have this their proper force only in a vague degree. It is in accord with this feature of these suffixes that there are almost none with concrete meanings such as describe direction or kind of motion and situation, or the class of object or instrument of action. None of these suffixes indicate that the action is performed with the hand, foot, head, or any other part of the body; none of them refer to the shape or position of objects; and when they refer to motion they do not specifically describe it with such meanings as up, down, towards the center, towards the outside, in a rolling manner, and so on, but indicate that a motion is made to do something, that the action of the verb is accompanied by motion, that there is motion toward, that there is a going to perform an action, that the action is repeated, or that it is involuntary. In other words, such Yuki suffixes are abstract or conceptions, not visual or dynamic. It is not unlikely that this condition is connected with the restriction of these and other affixed elements exclusively to a suffixed position, for it appears that specific and concrete affixes of motion, position, and instrument occur chiefly in those American languages that employ prefixes as well as suffixes, and that at least part of them usually are prefixes. Yuki contrasts with Pomo in this respect as

Eskimo, Shoshonean, and Yokuts contrast with Algonkin, Athabascan, Siouan, Chinook, and Washo.

Many of the derivative Yuki suffixes seem to be used with certain stems as a matter of habit or idiom rather than to serve any definite purpose or to express any specific meaning.

*-kut* forms an occasional inchoative. This suffix is also an independent stem meaning the beginning or end; *kut-kin* is "root." Possibly *-kut* is to be regarded as an independent auxiliary receiving the tense suffixes and postposed to the stem of the principal verb, rather than as an actual suffix. A more common inchoative is the suffix *-lam*.

*o't-kut-mik*, will begin to suck

*-im*, to try to, is an independent verb-stem that similarly appears occasionally as a suffix.

*hilyu-si-im-wi*, tried to make sick

*-lau'* has the force of English *can*, and is either an independent verb or a suffix.

*a<sup>ap</sup> mis na<sup>w</sup>-i-lau'-k*, I can see you

*a<sup>ap</sup> lau'-k*, I can

*-cilo* is a frequent suffix with the meaning "appearing to." Often it can be translated by "as it were," or "it seems."

This suffix often has sufficient stress-accent to furnish some justification for considering it an independent word; but no other words intervene between it and the verb-stem to which it refers. There is usually nothing but accent and phonetic feeling to determine whether such forms as *yiiki-ciloo-wi* are one word or two; the two words if separate would stand in the same position and have the same form, the first being in that case participially subordinate to the second: "playing he appeared." The same can be said of the other elements already mentioned; they may be regarded either as suffixes, as final members of compound binary verbs, or as finite auxiliary verbs governing a participial or stem form of another verb. At the same time the inserted *i* of *yiik-i-ciloo-wi* and *na<sup>w</sup>-i-lau'-k* seems to show that the forms in question are really suffixes; the verb stems being *yik* and *na<sup>w</sup>*.



*-law* has the meaning of making a motion to perform the action indicated by the verb stem.

muk-law-e-tl-wi, moved to seize with the mouth, tried to bite

a'-law-e-tl-u, made a motion to seize

*-n*, appearing also as *-in*, *-en*, is a frequent suffix whose force in most cases is not clear. Where it has a definite meaning this is generally similar to that of *-law*, the preceding.

na<sup>w</sup>-in-ek, goes to see

wiit-in, go to work

*-lit* is of unknown meaning.

t-au<sup>a</sup>-lit-in-ma-mil, came to make war on them

yu-lit-e-y-am, doing foolishly

yi-lit-eya-mil, played together

ham-lit-mil, wanted

na<sup>w</sup>-e-lit-ei-mi, saw them

lak-si-lit-in-iak-mil, drove him out

*-ma* denotes motion toward. This suffix has a tendency to follow other suffixes of the derivative class. An *-m*, which transforms the stem *ko*, *go*, into *ko-m*, *to come*, is probably only a form of the same suffix.

kup-ma, come pointing

wo'-ma, coming toward

la<sup>l</sup>-ma, creep to

un-ma-wi, brought

*-k* is somewhat indefinite in force. It appears to be used with intransitive verbs to indicate an action, as contrasted with a state, of the conception implied by the verb stem. This suffix must not be confounded with the tense-suffix *-k* or *-ik*, which it always precedes.

cu'-a, remain!

cu'-k-a, sit down!

a<sup>p</sup> cu'-ik, I sit

a<sup>p</sup> cu'-k-ik, I seat myself

*-is*, continuative, iterative.

*-ak*, *-yak*, single action, contrasting with *-is*.

*-am*, *-yam*, continuative, habitual usitative.

*-kil*, single action, or repeated action at a single period, contrasting with *-am*.

These four suffixes are very common. In some cases they have the specific force given for each, but often their meaning is

indefinite or connotive and their use largely a matter of established habit. *Li*, to kill, rarely occurs without *-ak*. Most languages would not go out of their way to express the fact that the idea of killing ordinarily implies a single act, one unrepeatable on the same object. As between *-is* and *-am*, the former apparently has more often a definite force. As between *-ak* and *-kil*, the former would seem to denote usually an unrepeatable or instantaneous action, the latter a repeated or longer action but one limited to a single period as opposed to a habitual act.

suup-ak-mil, threw once  
 suup-is-u, threw repeatedly  
 ha<sup>w</sup>wai-s-am-ek, eat customarily, use as food  
 koo-y-am-mil, walked (about for some time)  
 kaa<sup>k</sup>-k-am-ik, it (continues to) come (to me; for instance, money)  
 ha<sup>w</sup>wai-kil-mil, ate it

*-t-il*, to cause to, to have for, to make to be, to want to do, to direct to do.

p<sup>oi</sup>-t-il, put in (p<sup>oi</sup>, in)  
 pa<sup>tc</sup>-t-il, write (pa<sup>tc</sup>, mark)  
 cu<sup>t</sup>-t-il-mil, made him stay  
 ha<sup>w</sup>wai-t-il-mil, fed him

*-sil* appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it, leaving this to the verb stem.

ti-sil-wi, jumped  
 cu<sup>t</sup>-sil-mil, sat down (cu<sup>t</sup>, be at, sit)  
 lak-sil-yak-mil, emerged  
 kap-sil-ik, enters

*-lil*, reflexive or reciprocal action.

ima<sup>a</sup>-lil-mil, said to one another  
 mis kipat hue-lil-ha, do you like yourself?

*-mil*, meaning unknown. Not to be confounded with the final tense or syntactical suffix *-mil*.

pi-mil-mil, played flute (pi-mo<sup>l</sup>, flute)  
 a<sup>p</sup> ko-mil-ik, I am going  
 ki-mil-mil, said

*-il*, meaning unknown.

an-il-ma-mil, brought him there  
 ma<sup>t</sup>-il, shoot  
 wit-il-mil, turned  
 lak-il-i, emerged

It is possible that there is some connection between *-kil*, *-t-il*, *-sil*, *-lil*, *-mil*, and *-il*.

*-m* appears to indicate involuntary, inanimate actions and automatic motions or sounds.

a<sup>n</sup>t-ai<sup>n</sup>-m-ik, shoes creak  
 k'o-m-ek, flutters  
 yu-m-i, is swinging, dangling  
 ii yite-m-ik, I tremble  
 kan-m-i, it swells  
 tima al ha<sup>n</sup>k-m-i, the wood splits of itself  
 woyam lak-m-i-wi, smoke came out

*-lam* is the usual inchoative or inceptive. *-kut* is also inchoative.

te'u<sup>n</sup>-lam-ek, begins to sprout (te'u<sup>n</sup>-t-ek, is sprouting)  
 in-lam-ha mis, are you sleepy?  
 mit ii huuc-lam-ek, I am falling in love with you

*-si*, *-s*, is the ordinary causative. *-til* and *-t-l* are also causative.

a<sup>n</sup>p tat-e-si-wi, I made it  
 hilyu-si-pa, will make sick

*-tan* or *-ta<sup>n</sup>l*, negative. This is nothing but the ordinary independent negative *ta<sup>n</sup>l* used as a suffix. This negative can be used as verb with tense-suffixes: *ta<sup>n</sup>l-k*, it is not so.

ha<sup>n</sup>te'am-ta<sup>n</sup>l, is not strong  
 ii hana-ta<sup>n</sup>l-k, I do not believe it  
 t'um-ta<sup>n</sup>l-k, it is not raining  
 wil-ta<sup>n</sup>l-a-mil, did not fear  
 in-ta<sup>n</sup>l-a-han, though not sleeping  
 kotam-tan-mil, did not go

*-t-l*, transitive, intentional, causative action.

*-t*, intransitive, unintentional, not causative action.

These two suffixes are very common. Sometimes they are specifically contrasted, in which case the intransitive verb with *-t* is used as it were impersonally, with its logical subject in the objective case, whereas the subject of the corresponding voluntary or causative form is in the subjective. Almost any intransitive verb-stem unaccompanied by a derivative suffix seems to be able to take on *-t* without specially adding to its meaning. In *ko-t*, go, the *-t* is either purely habitual or the result of a desire to parallel the derivative *ko-m*, come.

nam-i-t-mil, dropped, fell down in death  
 nam-tl-mil, laid it down  
 muk-law-e-t-mil, (involuntarily the hungry Coyote, unable to restrain himself) snapped at it

muk-law-e-tl-wi, tried to seize it with his mouth  
 ii o'-t-ik, I vomit (me comes out of mouth)  
 a<sup>h</sup>p o'-tl-ik, I spit out (I make come out of mouth)  
 teateol-t-ik, is budding  
 ko-t-wi, went  
 kap-t-mil, went in  
 a<sup>h</sup>-e-t-mil, rolled  
 huūu-t-mil, stopped  
 huūu-tl-i, stop doing something  
 a'-tl-i, seize it!  
 lak-tl-mil, throw out (lak, emerge)  
 ko-tl-mil, put in (ko, be in)

### SYNTACTICAL VERB SUFFIXES.

This class of suffixes express tense, mode, and participial and subordinating relations. As distinguished from the group of derivative affixes just discussed, they may be designated as modotemporal. In their position in the verb, they always follow the derivative suffixes.

*-wi, -u*, ordinary past time.

*-witc*, completed past.

*-pa*, future.

*-mik*, less common than the last, perhaps expresses an immediate futurity or a future intent.

*-ik, -ek, -k*, is generally translatable by the present tense of English. It may imply continuance. It makes verbs of adjectival stems.

*-mil*, lacks specific reference to time, indicating primarily that the verb to which it is attached is modally finite. Many Yuki sentences, especially in narrative, contain several verbs. These may be expressedly relative or participial, or may lack any grammatical suffix and thereby be subordinate to the finite verb which is the last in the sentence. In discourse or quotations this final finite verb bears one of the tense or mode suffixes; in continuous narration or description, whether past or present, aoristic *-mil* takes the place of such a tense-suffix in the finite verb.

ko-m-wi, came  
 li-ak-u, killed

mi'-wite koi, has been there before  
a<sup>2</sup>pel ko-wite, I was walking

hilyu-t-pa, will be sick  
a<sup>2</sup>p ko-t-pa, I shall go

amis o'-t-mik, I will suck you  
amis li-mik, I will kill you  
sak-mik, she will have a child

te'uu'-t-ik, is sprouting  
la'-t-ik, it breaks  
teateol-t-ik, is budding  
a<sup>2</sup>p koo-t-ik, I go  
ii ham-ek, I wish  
hanot-k, is heavy

nau<sup>2</sup>-mil, saw  
koo-t-mil, came

**-ha**, interrogative.

im-wit mi ko-t-ha, where do you go?  
mis yau<sup>2</sup>-ha, do you think?  
tat mi yik-i-ha, did you play well?  
mai<sup>2</sup> mi'-ha, who is?

**-es-te** and **-am-s**, quotatives. Usually followed by **-ik**. These suffixes specifically express quotation. To indicate that myths and narratives rest on tradition and not on personal experience, a particle **ii** is used instead of these suffixes.

wok-es-te-ik, dances, they say  
intcam-es-te-ek, they say, it is said  
luwate pok-et-am-s-ik, the gun exploded, we hear  
ko-am-s-ik, is coming, they say

**-a**, the usual imperative suffix. It is used on certain stems, and after **-k**, **-ak**, **-t**, **-is**, and other suffixes. Other stems, and the suffixes **-am**, **-tl**, **-kil**, **-t-il**, **-lil**, **-sil**, **-il**, and others, express the imperative without any suffix. A final **-i** after **-tl** and other endings seems to be only a phonetic increment, being found also in the unsuffixed participial or modeless form of many verbs.

t-an-hil-s-a, make him draw it out!  
uk-s-a, wet him!  
un-t-a, carry!  
koo-t-a, go!  
eu'-k-a, sit down!  
tii-k-a, jump!  
o'-u-k-a, run!

cu'-a, stay!  
 mi'-a, be!  
 k'i'-a, be quiet!  
 ha<sup>wai</sup>-s-am, use as food!  
 hutop-in, go hunt!  
 in-i, sleep!  
 wit-il, turn!  
 ya<sup>c</sup>-kil, stand!  
 haa-t-il, hold!  
 a'-tl-i, take!  
 wok-tl-i, wok-tl, sing

Subordinate relation is of two kinds, that which is translatable by English conjunctions and that which is translatable by English relatives. Suffixes indicating the first kind of subordination are:

-*op*, the locative case-suffix of nouns, when added to a verb gives the meaning "when."

-*kit*, "while" or "when"; probably derived from the demonstrative *ki*; possibly the demonstrative locative *ki-ta*, at that, there.

-*ika*, if, when, also seems demonstrative in form.

-*han*, although, even though. This may be the noun-suffix *-han*, under.

ina<sup>i</sup> hil ta<sup>l</sup>-op, day all not-at, when there was no daylight  
 k'in-ik-op, when crying  
 hau-lam-op, shine begin when, at daylight  
 al wan-ek-op, when they gathered wood  
 wok-si-kit, while dancing  
 hap-si-li-kit, when enters  
 ko-m-ika a-mis tean-i-pa, if (when) you come, I will give it to you  
 ha<sup>wai</sup>-s-am-ika mia caia-lau'-k, if we eat, we can live  
 hot-kil-han ha<sup>tc</sup>'am-ta<sup>l</sup>, although large, he is weak

The relative suffixes are of some length, and although frequent have not become entirely clear. They contain two chief elements: first, *-nam*, followed by *-l* or *-li*; second, *-ki*. Often these two elements are combined. The *-ki* is nothing but the ordinary demonstrative pronoun, *ki*, that. The *-nam-l* element is not so clear. *Nam* is the root for the idea of lying; but no connection of meaning is traceable between this root and the relative suffix *-nam*. The chief relative suffixes found are:

*-nam-li-ki*, who or which. The verb with this relative ending takes the objective, possessive, and plural suffixes exactly like the demonstrative *ki*.

*-nam-li-ki-t-a*, *-nam-li-kii-k*, etc., "where," literally "at which."

*-mi-ki*, "when."

*-nam-li*, *-nam-il*.

*-nam-l-on*.

Examples:

k'am-o'l	imei-namli-kii	k'an-hoot.	namli-ki-t-ei	k'an-hoop	ii
Panther	spoken-had-who	voice-big,	then	voice-light	
	imei-mil				
	spoke.				
yuu-yam-namli-kii	mil	k'ap-ii-yak-mil			
As they had done	deer	he killed.			
t'uu-namli-kii-k	tu-ak-mil				
Put-where-was	he put it.				
k'am-o'l-iw-ot	nam-namli-ki-a	li-ak-i			
Panther-man-old	lay-who,	he killing . . . .			
noo'-namli-kii-k'il	an-i-tl-t-i-mil				
Lived-where-to	he brought it.				

#### SUFFIXES AND STRUCTURE.

The suffixes here enumerated total about seventy-five, and there are no doubt others. Omitting such as are purely etymological, like the noun-suffixes *-is*, *-il*, and *-nom*; those found only on one word, like *-el*, *-in*, and *-c* of the personal pronoun; those like *-mik'al*, *cilo*, and *lau'* which occur also as independent words and might justifiably be regarded as being only unaltered enclitic postpositions or auxiliary verbs; and those which like reflexive *-moc* and non-reflexive *-mac* of demonstratives, and noun-derivative *-am* and collective *-am*, are probably identical; there are however only some fifty or sixty. Even some of these, which are clearly suffixes, like the negative *-ta<sup>n</sup>l* and the relative *-ki*, are used also as independent words.

Owing to the reduction of all grammatical processes to one, that of suffixation, it stands to reason that the structure of the

language, other than for a few matters of idiom, position of words, and purely relational syntax, is all contained in the foregoing list of suffixes.

It remains only to review the nature and forms of the various parts of speech by recapitulating the functions of the various suffixes used with each.

#### NOUN.

The Yuki noun may be a simple stem, a compound noun consisting of two or more stems, a derivative from a verbal stem by means of a suffix, or a simple verb stem like English "trade." Except in terms of relationship it is never united into one word with a pronoun or a pronominal element. It is not reduplicated nor modified for any expression of gender. It is modified only for the indication of ideas related to number and case. There is a plural suffix *-i* or *-a* for names of animals and plants. Several other suffixes have a limited use, on words denoting persons and inanimate nouns, to express singular, plural, collectivity, distribution, and a diminutive. There are two grammatical cases, an objective restricted to animate nouns and a possessive. There are a considerable number of instrumental and local suffixes, varying in character from case endings to post-posed prepositions that can also be used as independent words.

#### PRONOUN.

The Yuki pronoun is grammatically a noun. Except on terms of relationship it is never used as an affix. Its suffixes of number and case are for the most part those of the noun.

The personal pronouns are restricted to first and second persons. The third person, if necessary, is expressed by a demonstrative. There is no dual, but inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished in the first person plural. As is common in American languages, the inclusive is formed from the stem of the second person. This stem is *m*. The stem of the first person seems to be vocalic.



	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
S 1.	a <sup>n</sup> -p, a <sup>n</sup> p-el	i	it, it-in
S 2.	mi	mi-s	mī-t
P 1. excl.	us	us-a	us-at
P 1. incl.	mī	mī-a	mī-at
P 2.	mos	mos-i-a	mos-i-at, mo-t

The *s* in *u-s* and *mo-s* is evidently the same as the plural *-s* in *iw-is*, *men*, and other nouns denoting persons. Compare the *-mas* helping to form the plural of demonstratives. Similarly the *-p* in *a<sup>n</sup>-p* appears to be a designation of the singular, as in *mus-p*, *woman*.

Demonstratives are only two, *ka*, this, and *ki*, that. *Ka* specifically indicates nearness. *Ki* when specific expresses distance. It is, however, more frequently used as a general indefinite demonstrative, as a pronoun of the third person, and as an article. It also forms the base for the reflexive, which is derived by the suffix *-p*. Finally, *ki* is used as a relative suffix of verbs.

The demonstratives are used both as substantives and as attributive adjectives. They are not altered to express any distinction of gender or animation. Their case and number suffixes are on the whole those of the noun, with certain differences. In the plural *mas* or *mac* is added to the stem before the regular suffix of number *-i* or the case suffixes. The instrumental suffix is *-la*, instead of *-a* or *-ok*. Certain of the locative suffixes of the noun do not appear on the demonstratives, which possess others, such as *-t-a*, not found on the noun.

	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Obj.</i>	<i>Poss.</i>	<i>Loc.</i>
this	ka	ka-a	ka-at	ka-k, ka-t-a
that, the, he	ki	ki-a	ki-at	ki-k, ki-t-a, ki-m
he himself	ki-p		ki-p-at	
these	ka-mas-i			
those, they	ki-mas-i	ki-mas-a	ki-mas-at	
they themselves			ki-mos-i-at	

Interrogatives and indefinites are :

- mai<sup>n</sup>, who? someone
- hai<sup>n</sup>, what?
- iyi, iyon, what? something
- hai<sup>n</sup>-mas, how?
- im, where?

The personal pronouns are more closely joined to terms of relationship, to which they form proclitics or prefixes, than to other words. The objective forms are used to indicate possession. *Mis-k'un*, thy father, is literally thee-father. His before terms of relationship is *kim-*. A few terms of relationship, mostly beginning with *k*, show *an-*, modified to *añ*, instead of *ii* for *my*.

#### ADJECTIVE.

The adjective is really a verb. This is clear from its position in compound nouns, where its place is that of the verb after the modified noun, whereas a qualifying substantive precedes the modified one. When used as a verb the adjective usually assumes the indefinite or present suffix *-ik*. When attributive to a noun the adjective is used without suffix. Ordinarily the attributive adjective is not modified for case or number, although occasionally the adjective instead of the noun receives a case suffix properly belonging to the latter. A number of adjectives end in the noun-forming suffix *-am*. An adjective attributive to an animate noun receives the suffix *-a*. When provided with this suffix, the adjective, like the numeral, can also be used as a noun denoting an animate being.

*puhite*, short  
*al puhite*, short stick  
*puhite-k*, is short  
*iwis puhite-a*, short men  
*puhite-a*, a short person

#### NUMERALS.

The numeral system is thoroughly quaternary, or more strictly octonary. It has already been published.<sup>53</sup> The numeral systems of the other dialects of the family show no trace of this system of counting by fours and multiples of fours, but are quinary, decimal, and vigesimal. There are numeral roots only for one, two, and three. All the higher numerals are composite words descriptive of the method of counting. Above three the numerals do not seem to be used with suffixes. Below three they ordinarily

<sup>53</sup> R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *Numeral Systems of the Languages of California*, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., IX, 663-690, 1907.

end in -i, for which -a can be substituted when the numeral is used as a noun and refers to animate beings. The animate for one is pa<sup>n</sup>-k instead of pa<sup>n</sup>-wa.

#### CONNECTIVES.

There are few conjunctions in the English sense of the word except na<sup>n</sup>, which is used to connect words and long sentences. Subordinating conjunctions are replaced by relative and modal suffixes of the verb, which permit a complicated sentence structure. On the other hand, connective words which cannot be exactly paralleled in English are important.

The most frequent of these connectives are sa<sup>n</sup> and si, which can be used independently or as a base for other connectives. They form a contrasting pair. Sa<sup>n</sup> indicates that the subject of the sentence which it opens is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence. Si indicates a corresponding change of subject. These two particles enable the speaker to narrate at great length complicated and varying reciprocal actions of two persons without any designation of them, by either noun or pronoun, after their first mention.

In narrative in which the "dubitative" ii is used it is added to sa<sup>n</sup> and si.

A number of other elements suffixed or added to sa<sup>n</sup> and si express various shades of meaning of time and sequence. In narrative or description not based on personal experience these forms are further enlarged by the dubitative ii.

-k, forming si-k, sa<sup>n</sup>-k, si-k-ii, sa<sup>n</sup>-k-ii, is about equivalent to "and," implying that the action of the verb in the sentence which it introduces is contemporaneous with the action of the verb in the preceding sentence.

-m, forming si-m-ii, etc., may be translated "and finally." It indicates that the action expressed in the preceding verb, after having continued for some time, is completed, with the implication that something more or less expected is now to take place.

-kit, forming si-kit, sa<sup>n</sup>-kit-ii, etc., is equivalent to "and then." It usually indicates the completion of the action described in the previous sentence. It is not unlikely that this element is related to the demonstrative ki.

-ka<sup>n</sup>, forming si-ka<sup>n</sup>, etc., can often be translated as "there-upon," denoting that the action expressed in the preceding sentence still continues in the next.

A stem so- is also used as a base for forming several connectives. The words derived from it seem to indicate the relation of the ideas in two adjacent sentences, rather than the identity or difference of their subjects as expressed by sa<sup>n</sup> and si. So-p is translatable as "and," also "on account of that." So-n is "but." So-m is also found.

There are a number of other connectives, such as kop-han, sa<sup>n</sup>-kop, si-mo-n, si-mo-p, si-k-on, whose meaning is not yet clear.

### VERB.

The Yuki verb is by far the most complex part of speech in the language, but its study offers less difficulty than might be anticipated, on account of the scarcity of phonetic changes in derivation and suffixation, and also because the root invariably forms the first part of the word. One other feature makes the verb much simpler than in many American languages: the total lack of any form of incorporation or pronominal affixation. The verb is built up from the stem by suffixes, those nearest the stem being derivative, those at the end of the word modal or temporal. The average verb may be said to consist of a monosyllabic stem followed by one or two derivational suffixes and one or more suffixes of tense, mode, or subordination, with the insertion of phonetic vowels, usually i, between adjacent consonants.

The derivative suffixes do most to characterize the verb. Some of them are ordinary causatives, inchoatives, or intransitives, such as are customary in American Indian languages. Others, however, are either much more indefinite, or convey such subtle shades of meaning, that their precise force does not become apparent even from a considerable number of examples. That this vagueness exists in most of the derivatives whose function is not yet clear, is probable from the presence of this quality in several very common suffixes. Thus -t-l at times is a full causative, at times expresses voluntary or deliberate action, and again at other times merely makes the verb transitive. The -is and -ik pair and -kil and -am pair of suffixes show a similar variability

of definiteness of force. In some cases they specifically indicate repetition, duration, or singleness of action, but in a greater number of cases these ideas are only indirectly or indefinitely implied. It is noticeable that suffixes of this nature usually occur in contrasting pairs. The number of derivative suffixes so far determined is not very large. There are almost certainly others, but it does not seem that the total number in the language can be very extensive.

Final suffixes of verbs may all be called modal or temporal, but form several groups. A number specifically indicate tense, such as the preterite *-wi* and the future *-pa*. The use of any of these suffixes, however, implies that the verb is finite. Another group of suffixes specifically indicate mode, such as the imperative, the interrogative, and the attributive participle. The suffix *-mil* constitutes a third group. It replaces the finite tense endings but is itself indefinite as to time, indicating merely that the verb to which it is added is the principal or finite verb of the sentence. Another class is formed by subordinating modal suffixes, whose force is generally equivalent to that of some English conjunction. Some of these are only case suffixes of nouns, such as *-op*, when, literally at or on. Finally there is a consequential group of relative suffixes. Several elements enter into these, the most conspicuous being the demonstrative *ki*, which is always final. These relative suffixes furnish an important means toward a complex subordinating sentence structure. At the same time the stem, with or without derivative suffix, but free from any suffix of the modal temporal class, is also used as a subordinate verb.

Reduplication is nearly lacking in the verb. There is also no indication of number either for subject or object. Only one case of stem differentiation for number, of the kind occurring in Pomo, Washo, Athabasean, Shoshonean, and other languages, has been found: *nam-tl*, to lay one object, *pin-tl*, to lay several objects. The two stems may however really mean to lay and to scatter.

An idiom of the language provides the use of the subject in the objective case for a large class of verbs. When such verbs are transitive the object is put in the possessive case. "I hear

you'' is therefore translated "Me hear your." Every verb of mental action belongs to this class of quasi-impersonal verbs. The idea of mental action is however extended so as to include states of the body and conditions of the person expressed by adjective stems, as well as certain actions of the body that are involuntary or conceived of as such. This class of verbs therefore includes those denoting to like, fear, hate, sorrow, rejoice, think, know, be hungry, sleepy, sick, alive, dead, born, provided with, without, hiccup, vomit, be good, large, small, or angry.

ii miit nanak'-u, I knew you  
 hulk'o-a ha'l-t-mil, Coyote heard  
 a'e-t-mil k'amlite-a, became warm the wild-cat

#### SENTENCE.

The Yuki sentence is frequently complex, several participial or relative clauses preceding the finite verb. The relation of sentences is indicated with considerable nicety of expression by the introductory or connective particles. The order of words is pretty definitely fixed, but is only idiomatic, all syntactical relations, except the distinction between inanimate subject and object, being clearly expressed by the grammatical suffixes. The subject precedes the verb. The object may follow or precede the verb. The adjective, whether attributive or predicative, follows the noun. The same relation of order exists when adjective or verb are combined into one word with the noun. Connective particles head the sentence. Subordinate clauses usually precede the principal clause.

#### VOCABULARY.

With few exceptions the words of Yuki are either monosyllabic or resolvable into monosyllabic stems and suffixes. Many disyllabic nouns whose full etymology is uncertain contain a derivative suffix or a monosyllabic element of known meaning, proving the unknown stem to be also monosyllabic. So many polysyllabic words can be resolved in the same manner that it is difficult to refrain from the conclusion that all the elements of the language are monosyllabic. For example, mil-on-tit-am, elk, is composed of mil, deer; on, earth, tit, high, forming the com-

pound noun ontit, mountain; which in turn is made an adjective, mountainous, by the derivative suffix -am.

A vocabulary comprising the most common nouns of the language has been given by Dr. S. A. Barrett, in his cited paper in the sixth volume of the present series. A list of the principal verb stems determined is appended.

a <sup>t</sup> , hold, take	in, sleep
a <sup>a</sup> , be	
ā <sup>a</sup> , roll	ka <sup>a</sup> , slip on
a <sup>pl</sup> , contract	ka <sup>k</sup> , become, make
a <sup>pli</sup> , trade	kan, swell
ac, urinate	kan, kneel
at, fasten	kan, ka <sup>y</sup> , talk
a <sup>tt</sup> -ai <sup>a</sup> , creak, squeak	kap, enter
aw, lack	kī, leave, release
ay, crawl, slide	k 'i <sup>t</sup> , be quiet
	kil, say
ha, hold, carry	kil, have in mind, be angry
ha, flow	k 'in, pity, whine, cry, stink, rot
ha <sup>a</sup> , split	kit, follow
ha <sup>a</sup> , rub	kit <sup>a</sup> , slice
hā <sup>a</sup> , build	kit <sup>a</sup> , neigh, crow, howl, rattle
ha <sup>l</sup> , hear	kiw, ask
ham, say, tell, desire	ko, go
han, stick on, fit	k 'o, be in
hana, think, believe	k 'ol, die, shrivel
hate, sneeze	k 'om, resound
haw, like, desire	kop, growl
ha <sup>wai</sup> , eat	kus, spout, blow
ha <sup>y</sup> , search, look for	kut, begin, first
hik, go together	k 'ute, stretch
hil, emerge, draw out, drag	
hilyu, sick	la <sup>'</sup> , break, crack
him, move	lak, emerge
hiw, spill	la <sup>l</sup> , step, go on four legs
hok, flay	la <sup>tc</sup> , squeal, crack
hu, stop, end, begin	lau <sup>t</sup> , lawh, be able
hukol, wash	li, kill
hul, spin	lik, swallow, drown
hum, glad	lit, touch
hum, fly about	lo <sup>'</sup> , cough
huc, love	lu, descend, chop
hut 'op, hunt	luk, project, punch
im, say	mam, grow
im, become	ma <sup>tt</sup> , shoot
im, try	mi, drink

mi', be	ca <sup>a</sup> -c, bite
min, lie, doubt	ca <sup>a</sup> -y, chew
mit'an-k, hate	ca <sup>a</sup> t, split, shave
mop, gather	cay, alive
mot, gamble	cilo, resemble
mot-, join, be pressed	cim, paint
muk, bite, seize with mouth	cit, spark snaps
muc, laugh, smile	cite, split, whittle
mute-u, squeak, titter	ciw, ripple
muy, copulate	coy, stuff
	cu', sit, stay, go down
na <sup>a</sup> , press, hold down	
naham, crazy	ta, float, drown
nanak, know	ta <sup>a</sup> , lick
nam, lie	ta <sup>a</sup> , find, appear
naso, roar, sough	ta <sup>a</sup> l, menstruate (= not?)
na <sup>a</sup> w, see	ta <sup>a</sup> l, win, beat (= not?)
nay, pull	ta-m, enter
ni, have cavity	tas, snare, trap
no', live	tat, make, good
num, smash, mash	ta <sup>a</sup> y, tie to
	ta <sup>a</sup> y, cut
o', vomit, spit	ti, cut off
o', run	ti, hurt, pain
ok'ol, hollow	ti, fly, jump
	tik, paint
pa, lift, rise	tik, coil
pa <sup>a</sup> ky, shout	tiw, run to, move to
pan, hang	tiw, glad
pan, fall, stumble	tok, knot, joint
pa <sup>a</sup> tc, mark	top, tie together
pi, track	tot, consume
pi, whistle	t'ot, slip out
pi-it, mark, notch	tot, fall
pit', close, shut	tot, play ball
pok, burst, crack, pop	t'u, push, lay
pohote, contract	tu, brush, comb
pul, miss, not hit	tuk, strike, reach
pute, blow	tul, perforate
	tut, rub off, scrape
sa', fail, unable	tute, pound
sak, child, bear	
sat-, have for	t-a <sup>a</sup> k, scrape, shave, clean
sa'w, call, sing, cry	t-an, plug, close
sa <sup>a</sup> y, defecate	
sil, tear, rip	tea-k, slap, whip
sot-, scratch, cut	te'al, pull
sup, throw	tean, give
	teate, bud



te'i, twist	wim, roar
tei, teay, rattle	wit, work
teik, roll	wit, turn
tein, pinch	wit-, throw
teip, squeeze out	wite, knock over
teiy, flash, glitter	wo', walk, go
te'u', sprout	wok, dance, sing
teuk, fall off	wos, bend, stoop, animal stands
	wum, stir
u, fear	
u, bring	ya, climb, ascend
u', sew	ya <sup>a</sup> , stand, stick
uk, bark, howl	ya <sup>a</sup> , blaze
uc, wrinkle, shrink	ya <sup>w</sup> , think
	yi, yik, play
wa <sup>k</sup> , pay	yite, tremble
wa <sup>k</sup> , disjoint	yo-a, have
wan, mix, soft	yu, shake, swing, dangle
wa <sup>te</sup> , tell, instruct	yu, do, happen
wil, pass by	

The number of homonyms is great. A random example:

kil, say
kil, angry, bear in mind
-kil, verbal suffix
-k'il, toward, noun-suffix
k'il-, seed
k'il, coal
k'il-, striped
k'il-, crooked
k'il, son, daughter
k'il, element occurring in words for widower, ghost

There are very few reduplicated or duplicated words and few that are onomatopoeitic. The presence or absence of these two phenomena is usually coincident. Most of the languages of California show a number of onomatopoeitically reduplicated words.

#### TEXT.

k'a'm-l-ite	ii	mil-t'u	yii-k-i'k-am	ii	i'm-pis
Wild-cat	It is said	deer-heart	playing.		somewhere-from
hul-k'o'i	na'u <sup>n</sup> -mil	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i	ai <sup>n</sup> -it	wo'o'-ma	na <sup>n</sup>
Coyote	looked.	And	gradually	walked-toward	and
si-i'i	ki-ma'e-nam-i'l-k	ei	ha <sup>n</sup> ca'	a''-ii	su'up-is ii
and	what-he-did,		again	slope-on	throwing.

yii-k-i'-mil played.	se-e'i And	i'm-pis somewhere-from	ki that	hul-k'o'i Coyote	na'u <sup>n</sup> -mil looked.		
se-e'i And	an always	ki-ma'c-k doing-that,	ii played.	yi'i-k-i-mil And	se-e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye now	
ki that	hul-k'o'i Coyote	ei now	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye made-himself-be-found.	t'a <sup>n</sup> -sa-tl-mil And	si-i'i And	k'am-l-ite Wild-cat	
yii-k-i-nam-i'l-kon what-he-was-playing	ei stopped.	huu'u-t-mil And	se-e'i And	hul-k'o'i Coyote			
ki'w-is-mil asked:	i'iyi "What	eiñki-mi ? you	kup sister's son	yii-k-i-cilo'o-wi play-appeared-to?"	se-e'i And		
k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat:	i'i-yi "What	a <sup>n</sup> p I	yu'u-y-am-ha was-doing?	tanha <sup>n</sup> 'l-k Nothing-it-is;	a <sup>n</sup> p I		
ka here	cu'uh-uk sit,"	ii said.	i'mei-mil said.	ta <sup>n</sup> l-k "Not-it-is,	ta <sup>n</sup> lk not-it-is,	kup sister's son,	
kai <sup>t</sup> long	a <sup>n</sup> p I	na <sup>n</sup> w-i'-wi saw	i'iyi something	mi you	tat-e'ite pretty	neyu' smooth	ka'i
suup-is-u kept-throwing."	si-ei And	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ei said:	i'mei-mil said:	i'iyi "What	a <sup>n</sup> p I	
su'up-is-ha was-throwing?"	ii said.	i'mei-mil And	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And	po'-hot osk-gall	ha'-nam-il-ki'i had-which		
ei slope-on	a''-ii ii	su'up-ak-mil threw (once).	se-e'i And	hul-k'o'i Coyote:	ta <sup>n</sup> l-k "Not-so,		
ta <sup>n</sup> l-k not-so,	kup sister's-son,	ka'i <sup>n</sup> t long	a <sup>n</sup> p I	na <sup>n</sup> w-i'-wi watched,"	i'mi-ye-kit. said-when.		
ii that	kii Wild-cat	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ei sat-down.	cu'uh-sil-mil And:	se-ei And:	iiyi "What	yu' makes
ku'up-a sister's-son	iit me	haik'a'i-ha think-foolish?	sak Baby	a <sup>n</sup> p I	mi'hi am,	ku'up-a sister's son	
ya'u <sup>n</sup> -ha regards?"	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And:	li's "Come,	kup sister's son,	kii that	yi'i-k-a play!	si-ka <sup>n</sup> ' Then	
a <sup>n</sup> p I	mis you,	kup sister's-son,	na'u <sup>n</sup> -ni will watch."	si-e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye' now	kii that	
k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ii now	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye' that	kii deer-heart	mil-t'u' ei	suup-a'k-mil threw (once)		
a''-ei slope-on.	se-e'i And	hul-k'o'i Coyote	na'u <sup>n</sup> -mil watched.	se-e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ca' again		
suup-a'k-mil threw (once)	a''-ei slope-on.	se-e'i And	ki-pa'u <sup>n</sup> -kot back	a <sup>n</sup> -i'-c-t-i rolling,	ei		
hul-k'o'a Coyote	muk-la'w-e-t-mil involuntarily-moved-to-snap-it.	sop-ei For-that	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat				
k'in-i'te-tl-mil almost-cried.	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye now	ha'a-t-il-mil took.	kai <sup>n</sup> t "Long	ii I	miit you	

na <sup>n</sup> na'k-u knew."	si-e'i And	hul-k'o'i Coyote:	ta <sup>n</sup> l-k "It-is-not-so,	ta <sup>n</sup> l-k it-is-not-so,
kup sister's-son;	k'on only	a <sup>n</sup> p I,	kup sister's-son,	mis you
sai-ki'l-u almost-did"	se-e'i And:	lis "Come,	kup sister's-son,	lis hurry,
i'mei-mil said	hul-k'o'i Coyote.	sak "Baby	a <sup>n</sup> p I	mi'hi am,
ya'u <sup>n</sup> -ha thinks?"	ii	i'mei-mil said.	se-e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> ca' again
su'up-ak-mil threw (once).	se-e'i And	ā <sup>n</sup> -e'-t-mil rolled.	se-e'i And,	ā <sup>n</sup> -lam-i roll-beginning,
mu'k-tl-mil snapped-it.	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And	ha <sup>n</sup> 'tc-tl-mil split-it.	sop-ei For-that	k'a'm-l-itc Wild-cat
k'in-i-a'k-mil cried.	se-e'i And	ki-pa'u <sup>n</sup> together	ii mote-sa pressing	ei teān-e'-mil gave,
sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i and:	teò' "Here,	kup sister's-son,	teò' here,	kup sister's son,"
sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And	teān-e'-mil gave.	se-e'i And	a <sup>n</sup> 'ta <sup>n</sup> again	su'up-ak-mil threw (once).
se-ei And	ki-pa'u <sup>n</sup> -kil back-toward	ā <sup>n</sup> -lam-i roll-beginning,	ei ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye' now	muk-tl-ki ei snapping-it
ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye now	lik-i'-t-mil swallowed.	si-e'i And	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ha <sup>n</sup> -k'il house-to
k'i'n-t-ii-mil cried.	si-kit-i'i And then	k'o'l-k'il back-toward	hul-k'o'i Coyote	ko'o-t-mil went
se-e'i And	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ki'm-la'n his-own-brothers	ki-mā'e-at of-those	mil-p'i'i-mo'l deer-flute
nam-nam-li-ki'i lay-which	ii	ha''-ma taking,	ei p'ii-mi'l-mil whistled	kim-la'n his-own-brothers
ki-māc-i those	mil-hut'o'op-in-nam-li-kit. deer-hunt-go-while.		se-e'i And	a <sup>n</sup> ta <sup>n</sup> ' again
ha <sup>n</sup> 'l-t-mil heard.	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And	a <sup>n</sup> ta <sup>n</sup> ' again	wo'o'-ma-mil walked-toward.	sa <sup>n</sup> -e'i And
han-ku'ut-iy-it. house-back-near	ha'-mil listened.	se-e'i And	kan-u'uk talk-water	p'ii-mi'l-mil whistled.
se-e'i And	hamlate-ki smoke-hole-at	ya'-i-t-i climbing	ei ha <sup>n</sup> 'ye now	ta <sup>n</sup> 'sa-tl-mil showed-himself.
se-e'i And	k'a'm-l-ite Wild-cat	ki'w-i-pi'i-mo'l elder-flute	ei ha'-ma'-ñ-kil picking-up	ei
p'ii-mil-a'k-mil played (once).				

## PARTIAL ANALYSIS.

- k'am-l-ite, Wild cat, from k'am-o'l, panther, and the diminutive suffix -ite.
- ii, particle used in myths to indicate that the narrative does not rest on the personal experience of the narrator.
- mil-t'u, deer-heart, composite of two independent stems as in English.
- yii-k-i-k-am, playing, from stem yi, play, appearing usually with an unknown suffix -k; -i-, euphonic, to separate the two -k- suffixes; -k, suffix indicating action, not a condition; -am, suffix expressing on verbs a more or less definite continuative. The word is the predicate of k'am-l-ite, wild-cat, but lacking a tense or mode suffix is participial and subordinate to nau<sup>u</sup>-mil, saw.
- ii, "dubitative" particle described above.
- im-pis, from somewhere, from im, interrogative where, here used indefinitely, and ablative suffix -pis.
- hul-k'oi, Coyote. The composition is not clear: hul is eye, k'oi is gopher, regarded as the characteristic food of the coyote.
- nau<sup>u</sup>-mil, looked, from stem na<sup>u</sup>w, to see, here used intransitively, and suffix mil, used in narrative in place of tense-suffixes to indicate the finite verb of the sentence, but lacking specific temporal indication.
- sa<sup>a</sup>-ei, introductory particle, composed of sa<sup>a</sup>, opposed to si, and indicating that the subject of the verb introduced is the same as that of the finite verb in the last sentence, and the "dubitative" particle ii.
- ai<sup>a</sup>-it, gradually, apparently derived from verbal stem a'y, to glide, by a suffix -it or -t of unknown meaning, perhaps found also in kai<sup>t</sup>, long ago.
- woo<sup>o</sup>-ma, walked toward, from verb stem wo', to walk, go, and suffix -ma expressing motion toward. As frequently, there are no tense or mode suffixes following this suffix, so that the verb is to be regarded as participial, connected by na<sup>a</sup>, "and," with the participial form suup-is, throwing; and with it subordinate to the finite verb yii-k-i-mil, played.
- na<sup>a</sup>, and, connecting the participial clauses containing woo<sup>o</sup>ma and suup-is; usually only a connective of words.
- si-ii, introductory particle, composed of si, opposed to sa<sup>a</sup>, and indicating that the subject of the verb introduced is different from the subject of the preceding verb; and the particle ii. Sa<sup>a</sup>-ii and si-ii are ordinarily used only at the head of complete sentences, so that they can be translated by introductory "and"; here they head two parts of the same sentence and are therefore connected by the conjunction na<sup>a</sup>, and.
- ki-mac-nam-il-k, what he did, relative verbal form; derived by the final tense suffix -k, indicating an indefinite present and having verbifying force; and by the relative suffix nam-li or nam-il, of unknown origin; from a stem ki-mac, primarily demonstrative, from ki, that, and mac, probably meaning in such manner; the combined form having the meaning thus (‡) and being used with the plural suffix -i as the regular plural, kimaci, those, of ki, that; but here employed as a verb-stem, as in the form ki-mac-k below.
- ei = ii.
- ha<sup>a</sup>ca, again.
- a'y-ii, on the slope, from a', slope, and locative suffix -i, probably a form of -ki, at.

suup-is, throwing, from sup, throw, and suffix -is indicating repeated action; without tense or mode suffix, and therefore participial, coördinated with woo'-ma by na<sup>a</sup> and subordinated to yii-k-i-mil.

ii.

yii-k-i-mil, played, from stem yi with its usual derivative suffix -k, euphonic -i-, and finite suffix -mil.

se-ei, introductory particle indicative of change of subject.

im-pis, somewhere-from, as above

ki, that, ordinary demonstrative, equivalent to "the," "he, she or it," and (when contrasted with ka, this) "that"; here attributive to hul-k'oi, Coyote, and equivalent to "the" or "the before-mentioned."

hul-k'oi, Coyote, subject of nau<sup>ac</sup>-mil.

nau<sup>ac</sup>-mil, looked, from stem na<sup>ac</sup>w, as before.

se-ei, introductory particle indicative of another change of subject. The subject of the last sentence having been Coyote, it is Wild-cat in the present sentence. There is no noun or pronoun or any representative of the subject in this sentence.

an, always, constantly.

ki-mac-k, doing that, verbal participle formed by the verbalizing present-suffix -k from the stem ki-mac, from the common demonstrative ki, that; perhaps literally "thus-ing." Compare ki-mac-nam-il-k above.

ii.

yii-k-i-mil, played, as above.

se-ei, indicates change of subject, a return to Coyote.

ha<sup>ye</sup>, now; possibly from one root with ha<sup>ca</sup>, again, occurring above.

ki, that, the, as above with hul-k'oi.

hul-k'oi, Coyote.

ei = ii.

ha<sup>ye</sup>, now, tautological.

t'a<sup>a</sup>-sa-tl-mil, showed himself, literally, made himself be found. Stem t'a<sup>a</sup>, find; -sa-, evidently related to causative suffix -si-, a similar form appearing in motc-sa- below; -tl-, frequent transitive-intentional-causative suffix; -mil, suffix of finite verb.

si-ii, indicates change of subject to Wild-cat again.

k'am-l-ite, Wild-cat.

yii-k-i-nam-il-kon, that which he was playing, objective relative participle. Yii-k-i as before, -nam-il, relative suffix of verbs, -kon, final relative suffix apparently in the objective case.

ei = ii.

huuu-t-mil, stopped, from stem huu'u, to stop, apparently related to hu', begin, by an unknown process of derivation; -t-, intransitive or involuntary suffix opposed to -tl-; -mil, suffix of finite verb.

se-ei, indicating change of subject.

hul-k'oi, Coyote.

kiw-is-mil, asked, from kiw, ask; -is, frequentative suffix, often of distinct iterative meaning, as in suup-is above, but here apparently merely habitually used with the stem kiw; -mil, suffix indicating finite verb.

iiyi, what, interrogative.

ciñki, meaning unknown; iiyi-ciñki-mi is a frequent interrogative phrase.

mi, you, personal pronoun, second person singular, here somewhat enclitic to ciñki, but as a matter of accent, not construction; grammatically an independent word, subject of the sentence.

kup, sister's son; here an appellation, appositional to mi, you.

yii-k-i-ciloo-wi, appeared to play; from yii-k-i, from usual form yii-k of stem yi, as above; ciloo, to seem, resemble, be like, used as an independent verb stem and more frequently as a suffix with the force of an auxiliary verb, like lau', be able, and im, try; -wi, ordinary past tense-suffix used in direct discourse, its place being taken in narrative by -mil.

se-ei, announcing another change of subject.

k'am-l-ite, Wild-cat, subject of imeimil, said, at the end of the quotation beginning with the following word.

iiyi, what, interrogative, object of the verb yuu-y-am-ha, did.

a<sup>p</sup>, I, independent pronoun occurring both in this form and as a<sup>p</sup>-el; subject of yuu-y-am-ha.

yuu-y-am-ha, was doing; from stem yu, to do; -y- phonetic glide frequent before the suffixes -am and -ak after unaspirated vowels; -am, suffix usually having a continuative or iterative force, as here; -ha final interrogative suffix, displacing the tense-suffix.

tanha<sup>l</sup>-k, it is nothing or it is not so, verbal derivative by the present-tense suffix -k from an enlargement by unknown derivation from the stem tan or ta<sup>l</sup>, no, not. Ta<sup>l</sup>-k occurs with the same meaning in the next sentence.

a<sup>p</sup>, I, subject of following cuuh-uk, sit.

ka, here, strictly "this," demonstrative pronoun of proximity. Ka may in this sentence form a compound with the following cuuhuk, ka-cuuhuk, I sit here; one should expect the usual locative form kat-a, at this, here.

cuuh-uk, am sitting, from stem cu', and present suffix -ik, the u of the suffix being obscure.

ii, dubitative particle, here indicating the cessation of the direct discourse in which it is not used, and the resumption of the narrative.

imeimil, said, predicate of k'am-l-ite above, the entire intervening quotation with three finite verbs being logically the object. Formed by the suffix -mil indicating the finite verb in narrative, from imei, probably composed of stem im- and euphonic -i- to separate final m of the stem and initial m of the suffix.

ta<sup>l</sup>-k, it is not so, from ta<sup>l</sup>, no, not, and present or verbalizing suffix -k.

ta<sup>l</sup>-k, it is not so.

kup, sister's son, appellation.

kai<sup>t</sup>, for a long time.

a<sup>p</sup>, I, subject of the following verb.

na<sup>w</sup>-i-wi, looked, was looking, as above. Probably intransitive here, as the following clause, which logically is its object, is not subordinated to it but also contains a finite verb.

iiyi, something, interrogative what? here used indefinitely, object of mi suup-is-u, you threw; possibly equivalent to a relative connecting na<sup>w</sup>-i-wi and suup-is-u, though such a construction would not be characteristic.

mi, you, subject of suup-is-u.

tat-eite, pretty, from tat, good, and diminutive suffix -ite; also tat-am; attributive to iiyi, something.

neyu, smooth, in the same construction as tat-eite.

ka'i, ?

suup-is-u, kept throwing, predicate of mi, from sup, throw, suffix -is expressive of iteration or continuation, and final past-tense suffix -wi, as in na<sup>w</sup>-i-wi, here as often contracted to -u.

si-ei, particle introducing a new sentence which will have a different subject from the last.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE LANGUAGE.<sup>54</sup>

The most important characteristics of the Yuki language may be said to be the following: phonetic simplicity, both as regards the limited number of sounds and the absence of accumulation of either consonants or vowels; phonetic rigidity or immutability, evident particularly in the lack of modification of stem or affix elements as these are brought together; a strongly monosyllabic character of the elements of the language, which does not, however, prevent the formation of words of some length; the absence of reduplication; the use of suffixation as the only structural or grammatical means employed; the presence of a moderate number of suffixes but the rigid restriction of these, apart from a few noun-forming endings, to designations of number in nouns, of case and locative relations in nouns, of auxiliary, derivative, and general adverbial ideas in the verb, and of the relations of mode and tense in the verb; the absence of affixes, particles, or classifiers denoting shape, kind of motion, substance, or instrument; complete absence of any form of incorporation or pronominal affixation; a clear distinction of all words into either nouns, verbs, or adverbs,—pronouns and demonstratives being nouns, adjectives verbs; a well developed subordinating sentence structure; the expression of delicate shades of relation between sentences by a series of connectives; and the lack of an absolute differentiation of stem and suffix, as shown by the use of certain stems also in the latter capacity. .

## WAPPO.

A few phonetic and grammatical notes obtained on the Wappo dialect reveal certain identities with Yuki proper and a number of interesting divergences. Dr. S. A. Barrett has shown that the Wappo language is spoken in five dialects, or more properly sub-dialects, as the differences are scarcely perceptible. The notes here given are on the Northwestern or Russian river sub-dialect.

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<sup>54</sup> Compare Boas Memorial Volume, 64-79, 1906.

Phonetically Wappo is very similar to Yuki, both the constituent sounds and their characteristic combinations being almost identical. The principal differences are the absence of nasalized vowels from Wappo and the presence of a series of sonant stops corresponding to the surds. These have not been recognized by Dr. Barrett. As they had been written in a Wappo vocabulary obtained by the author previous to Dr. Barrett's studies, particular attention was therefore subsequently given to the question of their occurrence, at the time when the information was secured on which the present notes are based. It is however true that the sonants are less different from the surds than is the case in English.

As in Yuki, both ordinary and fortis surd stops occur, k', t', p', t.' te', and ts' having been heard. Glottal stops are marked and frequent. E and o are open, but i and u seem to be close.

The pronouns differ from those of Yuki chiefly in that the possessive, objective, and independent or unsyntactical forms are identical, and somewhat different from the subjective forms. The possessive pronouns are prefixed or preposed. A possessive and objective of the third person singular is *de*. The pronouns so far as obtained are:

	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Obj.</i>	<i>Poss.</i>	<i>Indep.</i>
1 s.	a	i	i	i
2 s.	mi	mī	mī	mī
3 s.		de	de	
1 p.	isi		isa	isa
2 p.			misa	misa

The demonstratives are *he'* and *we'* and thus unrelated to Yuki *ka* and *ki*. Another apparent demonstrative is *tse*. Self is rendered by *mai*.

Nouns show a plural, of persons only, in *-te*. The locative and instrumental suffixes determined are:

- ti, -i, instrumental
- mi, -me, at, in, referring to time
- tu, -ta, at, in, referring to time
- bi, from, of
- deimu, on
- ompi, under

The tense suffixes for the present, past, and future are *-wi*, *-ta*,



and -si. Of these the present suffix has a past meaning in Yuki; the future in Yuki is -pa, not -si; the Wappo past, -ta, is not known from Yuki. The imperative is formed by a suffix -e, either with or without a prefixed or preposed ma. The optative of the first person plural is indicated by the suffix -si, which is probably the future tense sign, with or without the imperative prefix ma. Interrogation is expressed by the final suffix -ha, as in Yuki. The negative is -laxki, la'k. The use of this form is interesting, as it appears to be the Yuki potential suffix or auxiliary verb lau', lauh. A suffix -la, with or without ho preposed to the verb, may be a continuative. Other verbal forms of undetermined significance are -uk and a preposed or prefixed o-.

The dubitative or quotative particle ii of Yuki, and the introductory particles or connective words that are so conspicuous in that language, have not been observed. There is no trace of them in the recorded text of a myth.

The general appearance of the verb, place of the pronouns before it, and the relative order of words in the sentence, closely parallel Yuki.

Specimen phrases:

k'u-ye, k'uw-e, run!  
 a ho-k'uw-ala, I am running, I ran  
 mi i nau-e-ta-ha, did you see me?  
 a' mi nau-ta-la'k, I did not see you.  
 a de hakce-laxk, I do not like him.  
 i okani i hakce, my friend likes me  
 de a k'ewi naw-i-si, I shall see him to-morrow  
 bāta a mi nau-wi, I see you now.  
 isi ma-k'uw-e-si, let us run  
 a ma k'uw-e-hakce-laxki, I do not want to run  
 ma-ba-e, eat!  
 isi-ba-e-si, let us eat.  
 ū a' o-ba-ta, already I ate  
 o-ba-uk, eat  
 he' utci a' o-ba-e-si, this night I will eat  
 i okani o-ba-ta-laxki sumi, my friend did not wish to eat yesterday  
 a lel-i mi o-teap-i-si, I will strike you with a rock

## WIYOT.

The Wiyot occupied the Coast from the Bear River mountains north as far as to Little river. Inland they held only to the first watershed. Humboldt bay and the lowest course of Eel river were the most important points in their territory, which was one of the most restricted held by any linguistic family in America. The Wiyot call their language Sulatelak. Those about Humboldt bay call themselves Wiki-daredalil, from Wiki, the name of the Humboldt bay district. The Mad river portion of their territory they call Patawat, and the country about lower Eel river Wiyat or Wiyot. Viard, a name that has been applied to them, is a rendering of Wiyot. The Yurok call them Weyet and the Karok use a similar term. They have been erroneously called Wishosk, Wic'ack having been interpreted as the designation given them by their Athabascan neighbors. It is the term which they apply to these Athabascan neighbors, wici meaning interior.

The Wiyot language, which does not appear to be dialectically differentiated, is rather difficult phonetically and grammatically. Material was recorded from six or eight individuals, none of whom proved a satisfactory linguistic informant. Several texts that were secured throw little light on the structure of the language because they are loosely translated, because the informants were unable to render adequate assistance in the analysis of the expressions contained in them, and because the sentences in the texts consist chiefly of independent verbs, so that they present little context.

## PHONETICS.

Wiyot is spoken indistinctly and lacks the phonetic clarity characteristic of the three languages previously considered in this paper. The vowels have but little saturation of quality, and are frequently slurred so as to be obscure, a feature which has been indicated by small capital letters. E and o are open. Nasalized vowels and ä, ö, ü do not occur.

The consonants are:

k	k'	g		g'	
t	t'	d	s		n
p	p'	b			m
l, L, r, e, te, ts, y, w, h,'					

There are no velars. Surd and sonant stops are easily confused. There are no fricatives outside of the *s* class, except *g'*, which appears to be a final and medial modification of *g*. A nasal in the *k* position does not occur. *S* and *c* (*sh*), as well as *ts* and *te*, do not seem to have sonant equivalents. Surd or lateral *L*, often affricative, is perhaps at other times only a continuant. The *r* is rather soft, though less dorso-palatal than Yurok *r*. It is less trilled than Pomo or Karok *r*. The fortes surds are not very strongly exploded. Glottal stops, ' , are frequent. Initial *w* is frequently heard as *m*, *v*, or *b*. It is therefore probable either that *w* is habitually spoken with much less rounding of the lips than in English, or that besides *w* there exists a sound kindred to bilabial *v*. Owing to uncertainty on this point, only *w* has been written, though *v* was often recorded. Yurok *w* approaches *v* in quality, and Karok possesses *v* but no *w*.

Wiyot is of the small number of California linguistic families that permit combinations of consonants both initially and finally and in stems. The variety of such initial and final combinations is however quite restricted, nor are medial combinations conspicuously frequent. Initial collocations are: *kw*, which is possibly a development of a simple sound; *ew* and *sw*; *pl* and perhaps *bl*; *tk*, *tek*, and *tsk*. *Lw*, *tew*, *tw*, *ke*, and *kl* have also been recorded, but so rarely that their occurrence cannot be looked upon as positively determined. Final combinations are *kw*, *tk*, and *tek*. Besides, *tw*, *ks*, and *sk* have been heard once each; *pe* on two names of places in Yurok territory; and *pL* in several instances. The rarer uncorroborated occurrences, both initially and finally, must be considered doubtful on account of the habit of many speakers frequently to slur unaccented vowels.

It is however clear that *kw*, *tk*, and *tek* are found both at the beginning and end of words; and that *k*, *t*, *p*, *te*, *c*, *s*, and *L*, in other words surds, comprise the consonants that occur in first position, and that *k*, *c*, *s*, *w*, *l*, and *L* occur in second place in

combinations. In the interior of words, where composition and derivation bring other consonants into juxtaposition, there is less restriction on combinations, but the component elements are frequently heard separately.

All sounds in the language occur initially and finally, with the following exceptions: Vowels and *n* are not found at the beginning of words, and the sonant stops *g*, *d*, *b*, besides of course *h*, *y*, *w*, not at the end. It should be added that final vowels are not common. There are a few instances of initial vowels, all in words which appear to be of other than Wiyot origin: *iktī'n*, also recorded as *hiktī'n* and *ktī'n*, Klamath river; *eckape*, Gold Bluff, Yurok *epeu*, also in Yurok territory; *itesi*, small shells, perhaps obtained by the Wiyot in trade; *iewetek*, silver. That *n* does not occur initially is connected with a certain relation between it and *r* and *l*. The absence of the sonant stops *d* and *b* from final position is possibly due to imperfect apperception rather than to actual non-occurrence. *g* however seems to become continuant, *g'*, when final. This may be due to influence of Yurok, in which *g* is always a continuant.

*R*, *l*, and *n* are closely related. Each has been recorded in place of the others.

*haluwi*, *haruwi*, boat  
*-helel*, *-heler*, on numerals  
*kac-werar*, small house, *rat-welar*, large house  
*gu-dalew-il*, *gu-danow-en*, stand  
*won-e'l*, *wor-e'r*, his arm  
*meledal*, *hi-meredal*, walk  
*ritwe-lakwil*, *ritwe-wacuk-rakwil*, crescent-shaped  
*lalil*, *rariL*, stream

What seems to be original *n* changes to *r* or *l* when initial, reappearing after a prefix ending in a vowel. The same process seems sometimes to occur finally, but may be a conversion of *r* to *n* before an added vowel.

*rawili*, right, *ka-nawili*, not right, left  
*riewom-ot*, *kwi-niewom*, kill  
*-tiar*, *-tian-ik*, suffix of possessive pronouns  
*yi-dar*, my father, *dan-e'l*, his father  
*k-elir*, your eye, *w-elin-e'l*, his eye

It is rather striking that vowels are rarely final and never initial.

Phonetically Wiyot agrees with Yurok and contrasts conspicuously with Yuki, Pomo, Karok, Chimariko, Yana, Maidu, Wintun, Miwok, Costanoan, Esselen, Washo, and Yokuts, whose enunciation is distinct and whose stems are free from combinations of consonants. Nevertheless the indistinctness of speech, the slurring of vowels, and the accumulation of consonants, are not excessive in Wiyot, and are more moderate than in certain more northern languages of the Pacific Coast and than in English.

### REDUPLICATION.

Reduplication is not abundant. It occurs in certain onomatopoeic verbs, at times in iterative verbs and in adjectival stems, and is occasionally used to indicate rhetorical emphasis. It is thus word-forming rather than grammatical.

da'-da'kwa, snore  
 tsi-tsir, sneeze  
 da-dakak, thunder  
 cak-cakw-il, he is sick, cakw-irak, sickness  
 dak-dakw-il, it is crossed  
 darū-dalū-i, all  
 gabiteirakw tei-wera-wera-wera-kw, it is too bad!

It is apparent that in onomatopoeic verbs the initial syllable is reduplicated as far as the vowel; in other cases an entire syllable or stem is duplicated. There appear to be a few nouns that are normally reduplicated, such as teateitekiri, mud-hen, but there is no trace of reduplication expressing a plural or collective-distributive. Iterative reduplication in verbs is uncommon.

### COMPOSITION.

In composition of two nouns, the determining precedes the determined; but any other part of speech determining a noun follows it in composition.

p'lèt-kacamale, rocks-small, Little River  
 p'lèta-cawèti, rocks-white, Glendale  
 wits-karerer, canine-wild, coyote  
 wopl-akatkerà, redwood-branches  
 dikwa-motwil, white-man-woman  
 ritsowel-ailokwe, night-moon  
 wene-welir, sky-eyes, stars  
 gatsire-welil, crow-foot

If however a term of direction is united with a noun, it precedes. It seems that such terms are prefixes, and that the process of combination is one of derivation rather than of composition when these elements are added to nouns.

wici-dikwa, inland-spirit  
gudatri-gakwiL, above-old-man

In a number of compounds only part of the elements can be positively determined.

haluwi-tulaliyutxu, Medilding village at Hupa,<sup>55</sup> (haluwi, boat)  
da-Lak-dale-waiyits, come-in-ship dog, native dog (Lak, ship; waiyits, dog)  
cawèt-oc-iL, bald-eagle (cawèt, white; -iL, suffix of third person)  
cawèt-colig-iL, brant  
dela-bel-iL, killer-whale (bel, to fish)  
mes-wululel, fire-place (mes, fire)  
swaptil-haluwi-laliL, Vance Mill (haluwi, boat; laliL, stream)  
ta-boderuc-datige-raliL, Lindsey Creek (boderuc, brodiaea roots)  
we-tâpiis, thumb (we's, hand, fingers)  
guts-er-ol, fresh water (guts, good, ho'l, water)  
gotso-wen, day (go'ts, one, or guts, good, wen, sky)  
weni-crenim-iL, mole (wen, sky, which according to myth the mole supported)

Formations similar to bahuvrihis or possessive compounds occur.

bale-ranaLa, Chinaman (baL, hair; raLa, long)  
twanagit-erowak, sheep (blanket-make)

## DERIVATION.

Word-forming derivatives that have been determined are suffixes, except terms of direction, which are prefixed.

*-âtc, -hâts, -wâts*, diminutive:

bac-âts, small flat basket  
hutewâtc-hatc, small cooking basket  
haluwi-wâts, small boat  
p'lèt-wits-hâts, p'lets-wâts, small rocks  
rariL-wâts, small stream  
wêtc-atc, buds  
wît-c-atc, small alder-trees  
watewaiawate-hats, small clam shells used as ornaments

<sup>55</sup> Medilding means "boat-place" in Hupa, as it is accessible only by boats.

*-iar*, on terms of color :

- mes-iar-etk, red (mes, fire)  
siswa-ial-ewe-Lak, brown (siswa, black)

*-Lāk*, on terms of color :

- dukap-Lāk, yellow  
kika-Lāk, red  
mes-iera-Lak-er, red  
siswe-Lak-an, black  
dukap-Layak-an, green  
baduduwi-Lak, dust-color  
Limaiūsele re-Lāk-er, blue-jay color-it-is, blue

*-galet*, on adjectives of appearance :

- coyuwo-gelèt, striped  
tewete-galèt, plaid  
detcate-galèt, spotted

*-lak*, language :

- sulate-lak, Wiyot language  
wici-lak, Athabaskan language  
denākwate-lak, Yurok language  
guradalittrakwe-lak, Karok language

*-welel*, *-helel*, on numerals above four :

- we's-ag-eleL, 5 (we's, hand)  
dakLiluk-elel, 6  
hālu-welel, 7  
hiowita-welel, 8  
meceruk-welel, 9  
rulok-helel, 10  
ritawa-helel, 20  
rikwa-helel, 30  
rāma-helel, 40  
we'sohele-welel, 50  
dakLilukhele-welel, 60  
hāluhele-welel, 70  
hīwitahēle-welel, 80  
mecerukhele-welel, 90  
gutseswani-helel, 100

From 50 to 90 this suffix appears twice on each stem.

There are several noun-endings :

*-wil*.

- gu-wil, person (cf. guwi, man)  
di-wel-a, di-wil-e, somebody, another

*-ir*, probably for *-in*.

- wel-ir, eye (wel, see)

-k.

maL-ak, salmon, food (maL, waL, pL, eat)

-s.

we'-s, hand (cf. we-tâpiis)

p'lèt-s, p'lèt-k, rock

-t.

ewa-t, bow (swala, shoot)

-iL, the ending of the third person on verbs, forms numerous nouns. The stems from which these are derived are in many cases undetermined, but seem to be verbal.

tiger-iL, unmarried man

tserar-iL, unmarried woman

kakerāw-iL, woman

gakw-iL, old man

còor-el, index finger ("pointer")

radapir-iL, glutton

rakwulir-iL, wolf

kanapel-iL, grizzly-bear ("biter")

cawet-oc-iL, bald-eagle

dakaks-iL, gun

dawilār-iL, glass

dawil-wiw-iL, mirror

kagotsike-iL, lamp

As the last examples as well as several previous ones can show, Wiyot is not at all averse to the formation of new words to denote new objects. The majority of the languages of California tend to adopt Spanish or English words.

Several endings have been found on verbs of related meaning, but it is uncertain whether they are deriving suffixes added to stems or themselves verbs.

-tskarer.

rari-tskarer, shave, plane

bitcewe-tskarer, peel

Leriwoke-tskarer, peel

ci-tskarer, flay

-Layer.

twe-Layer, cut, notch

ka-Layer, whittle

hawe-Layer, mash

gutwaiap-Layer, brush



Terms of direction precede other word-elements, as before stated. To the examples already given can be added:

dat-kasil, top of head  
curi-laka, west, ocean

Stems of terms of direction are:

wur, north  
at, teate, south  
cur, west, across the ocean  
tinie, wici, east, interior, upland  
dat, up, above

When forming independent words, these are employed with either of the prefixes *rak-* and *wik-*.

rak-wur, north  
wik-teate, wik-at, south  
wik-cur, west  
rak-tinie, wik-tinie, rak-dat, east

#### PRONOUN.

The Wiyot pronoun is incorporated, to use the customary terminology. In other words, it is not a pronoun at all but a pronominal element which is normally affixed to other stems. The independent pronoun occurs only unsyntactically, as in answer to questions, or emphatically, when it is used in addition to the pronominal affixes and is syntactically superfluous.

The possessive elements are chiefly prefixed, and show some similarity to the independent pronouns. The subjective and objective elements are always suffixed, and differ entirely both from the possessive and independent forms and from each other. The objective element precedes the subjective, thus standing nearer the stem of the verb.

	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Independent</i>
1.	—, -u, -ow	—, -u, -ow	ru-, yi <sup>56</sup>	yil
2.	-it <sup>57</sup>	-as	ku-	kil
3.	-il	-a	(hu-)— -e'l	—
1.	-itak <sup>57</sup>	—, -u, -ow	(hu-)— -ik	hinār, winār
2.	-itawa <sup>57</sup>	-aswa, -wa	kiluwa ku-	kiluwa
3.	-il	-a	(hu-)— -e'l	—

<sup>56</sup> yi- only before terms of relationship.

<sup>57</sup> -at, -atak, -atawa are also found.

The independent pronouns of the first and second person, *yil* and *kil*, have evidently been influenced by mutual analogy. Comparison with the possessive prefixes *ru-* and *ku-* makes it appear that *l* or *r*, representing *n*, is the original element of *yil*, and *k* of *kil*. In this case the pronominal stems would agree with those of Yurok, where *nek* and *qel* are I and you but the possessives *ne-* and *qe-* shown *n* and *q* to be fundamental.

A form *yil-il*, me, has been found.

There is no independent pronoun of the third person, and the possessive is indicated by the suffix *-e'l*.

The first person subjective and objective is often indicated by absence of suffix.<sup>58</sup> An *-u* or *-ow* also occurs. The second person is *-it* or *-at*, subjective, and *-as* objective. The third person is respectively *-il* and *-a*.

The plural is variously formed. In the third person it does not differ from the singular. The second person uniformly adds a suffix *-wa*; thus, *kil-u-wa*, independent; *kil-u-wa ku-*, possessive; *-it-a-wa* or *-at-a-wa*, subjective; *-as-wa*, sometimes merely *-wa*, objective. The independent form of the first person is *hinār* or *winār*. The possessive is a suffix *-ik*, which reappears in the subjective *-itak* or *-atak*, of which the first element resembles the second person *-it-*. The plural of the first person objective is the same as the singular.

Neither the subjective, objective, nor possessive series possess any common elements which may be interpreted as indicative of these relations. It is probably analogizing that has led subjective *-it* and *-il*, objective *-as* and *-a*, and possessive *ru-* and *ku-* to share respectively the vowels *i*, *a*, and *u*.

*kilwa-ya wul-al-itwa*, were you (pl.) walking?  
*gul-ag'-it-ya*, are you going back?  
*hi-gelaw-a*, I beat him  
*eu waL-itak*, let us eat!  
*do-pl-il*, he is eating  
*hi-wel-a*, I saw him  
*hi-wel-aswa*, I saw you (pl.)  
*hinār hi-wel-ū-L*, he saw us  
*hi-wel-as-il*, he saw you  
*Le hi-wel-uw-ituwa*, you (pl.) have seen me

<sup>58</sup> In Mohave the first person is also denoted by absence of pronominal affixes.

bokin-ow-it, you hit me  
 wu-bokin-as, I will hit you  
 wi-kanap-is, I will bite you  
 wi-t-as, I will feed you  
 garewack-il, he is bad  
 winār wa-kale-wal-u, we will not eat  
 Le hi-kanap-a-it, did you bite it?

The suffix -a-, him, plus -it, you, seems to be usually contracted to -èt: hi-wel-èt, you saw him.

A suffix -il is sometimes found before subjective suffixes of the first and second person. It occurs also between the objective of the first person -ow and the subjective -il of the third person.

raL-el-at, you are large  
 hi-wel-ow-il-il, he saw me  
 makL-erakw-il-atawa, you (pl.) are large

The first person possessive shows an exceptional yi- instead of regular ru- before certain terms of relationship. This yi- appears to be an abbreviation of the independent pronoun yil. It will be recalled that Pomo and Yuki have been found to use a separate class of possessives with terms of relationship.

In the case of body-parts, there are also certain peculiarities. Many such words begin with an m or w, which seems to be a pronominal element denoting indefiniteness of possessive reference. In some of these terms the first and second persons are expressed by the addition of the prefixes ru- and ku- before the m or w. Such are welil, foot, we's, hand, wec, vagina, magoks, brain. In other terms initial m- disappears before r- and k- of the first and second persons: m-a'n, pubic hair, r-a'n; m-elak, testicle, k-elak; m-elir, eyes, k-elir, w-elin-e'l.

Other body-part terms show an initial element wat-: wat-hel, tail, wat-hewet, head, wat-wi, heart, ra-wat-kai, skin, wat-kerat, bone, wat-melok, ear. This element is also retained with the personal prefixes: ra-wat-kerat, my bones, hu-wat-kerat-i'l, his bones.

Still other words denoting parts of the body show neither initial m- nor wat-: sakwer, lungs, dgat, penis, baal, hair.

A few words show unexpected forms: m-etere, nose in general, detere, my nose, kil detere, your nose, detere-'l, his nose; kawik, wat-kawik, blood, r-atkawik, k-atkawik, my, your blood; haluwi, boat, ru-d-aluwi, ku-d-aluwi, my, your boat.

## DEMONSTRATIVES.

Demonstratives are *gic*, this, and *guru*, *gur*, or *gu*, that. As in Yuki, the term for that has also some use as a demonstrative of reference, without idea of distance. *Gic* is used only to express specific proximity. When attributive the demonstratives are proclitic to the noun. A third form, *gwilel*, occurs with the meaning of *he*.

*gūn*, he, she  
*gic*, this one  
*gu-tem-il*, the one sitting there  
*gu-dalew-il*, that one standing there  
*guru waiyits*, that dog  
*guru gudatri-gakwil*, that above-old-man  
*gic-garewackil*, this bad one  
*gwilel hu-waiyits-e'l*, her dog  
*gwilel kanap-el-il*, he was biting

*Teiwa* means thus, so, that, he who. A related form *teigon* or *teigur*, him, them, that, appears to be objective. There always appears to be implication of previous reference.

*teiwī anel-il*, that is what he said  
*teiwī dalow-il*, she lives there  
*kil-ia teiwira ha-tsitsir-il*, you-was-it who sneezed?  
*teiwa daretw*, I think so  
*yil-il teiwā-hakil*, to me he did it  
*kiwa-wil delaker*, always did thus  
*kiluwa-ya diegaam-et teigon*, do-you (pl.) like him?  
*teigur hi-wel-a*, them I-saw

Interrogatives are *ciwa*, *duwa* or *dawa*, and *kwalwa* or *wule*, meaning what and where, how and why. The ending *-wa* of these interrogatives occurs also in the demonstrative *teiwa*; the stems are therefore probably *ei*, *da*, and *kwal* or *wul*.

*ciwa*, what?  
*duwa*, what?  
*duwa kil ka-wol*, where is your house?  
*duwa wulal-il motwil*, where went the woman?  
*duwa deklelalil*, where is the chief?  
*ciwa kac-welan ka-wol*, how small is your house?  
*kwalwa riewom-ot-ogam*, with what did you kill him?  
*kwalwa wule mil kale-wal-e*, why do you not eat?

“Another” is *hikele'l*, or *diwile*, somebody. *Hikel-e'l* perhaps bears the possessive suffix of the third person.

All is *daru*, preposed to the verb. More frequently however *ru-* enters as a prefix into the verb-complex.

## NOUN.

The Wiyot noun is scarcely affected by grammatical considerations. It is not reduplicated, and is free from the expression of number, gender, or case, excepting only one general locative suffix -akw.

p'lèt-wakw, on the rock  
 pak-akw, on the ocean  
 mes-akw, in the fire  
 halowi-wakw, in a boat  
 datheri plèt-wakw, on top of the rock  
 peL-wakw, place in a house beside the door  
 wal-akw, in the morning  
 wiril-akw, to-day

## VERB.

Pronominal elements are always suffixed to the verb. On the other hand temporal, modal, and adverbial relations are expressed by prefixes. Similarly the independent adverb precedes the stem. Adverbial prefixes generally follow temporal ones. The scheme of the verb is thus: prefix of tense, prefix of manner, stem, objective pronominal element, subjective pronominal element.

Prefixes express several past tenses, a future, and a continuative; a conditional, a subordinate mode, and one form of imperative; the negative; the idea of all; and probably several designations of motion. Suffixes, which predominate in word-formation and in indications of person, are less important in verb structure. Those determined express a causative, an imperative, an instrumental, and a reflexive. Several other suffixes occur on intransitive and adjective stems, and seem to serve to render these respectively predicative or attributive. There appear to be several prefixes of motion that have not yet been fully determined; but in general there is little specific expression, by means of affixes to verbs, of kind of action, location, or instrumentality.

## PARTICLES.

*gitga* is an adverbial particle indicative of futurity and probably of intention. It usually follows the verb.

wa-keL-am gitga, I will look for him  
 kanap gitga, I will bite  
 rogal-ia gitga gul-ow-at, soon will you come back?

The interrogative is an enclitic particle, *ia* or *ya*, always attached to the first word of the sentence.<sup>59</sup>

*kil-ia diegām-at guru guwi*, you, do you like that man?  
*gur-ia deklelalil*, is he a chief?  
*kūna-ya hi-les-at*, yesterday did you go by boat?  
*diegāw-it-ia*, do you like me?  
*yil-ya bokin-ew-it*, me, did you hit me?  
*kiluwa-ya diegām-et teigon*, ye do you like him?  
*Le l-it-wal-et-hia*, are you sleepy?

*cò* or *cū* is an optative particle, always at the head of the sentence.

*cò gaw-ak-o*, let us start  
*cū wala*, I wish I had it  
*cū wirate*, let me drink  
*cū gawitwadak*, let us go to sleep

*cū*, or *cuku-*, has negative optative force without the employment of the usual negative prefix.

*giLa, cuku-laliswu*, enough, let us stop singing!  
*cu pugakwitini*, do not touch it!  
*cu ratse-tsaaw-inik, klet*, do not touch it, it is hot!  
*cuku-kawi giLa*, stop working!  
*cuku-rerir*, you must not do it any more!

*Le*, sometimes heard as *La*, expresses the completed past. It always precedes the verb, and is sometimes heard as a separate syllable, sometimes as a prefix. It is therefore probably a proclitic particle.

*La-wit*, I have slept  
*ciwa La-gira-gerak*, what have you done?  
*winār Le-ru-ge-da-pl-o*, we have all finished eating  
*Le hi-kanap-et*, did you bite it?  
*La-gera-le-wel-as*, I did not see you  
*Le-rewalā*, it is day  
*Le-kilowa Le-wal-e*, have ye eaten?

#### PREFIXES.

*hi-* is the prefix of ordinary past time.

*hi-ow-il*, he came  
*hi-wel-as*, I saw you  
*hi-esatal*, I met  
*hi-rakcem-il*, she pursued him  
*kūna hi-les*, yesterday I went by boat

<sup>59</sup> In Miwok and Ute-Chemehuevi the interrogative is *-a* and *-ia*, and is also the second word in the sentence. Yuki has a verbal suffix *-ha*.

*na-* seems also to denote past time.

*na-do-pl-et*, you have been eating  
*na-yu-wel-as*, I saw you  
*na-le-werate*, I have drunk already

*wi-, wa-*, indicates the future.

*wi-kanap-is*, I shall bite you  
*wa-detigeliswiw-il*, he will swim  
*wi-gera-dilegana*, I shall not become angry  
*wi-letkalegal-il*, he will fall  
*kil-ia wo-bel-at*, shall you fish?

*do-* is a continuative.

*do-bel-il*, he fished  
*do-pl-a*, I am eating  
*do-low-il*, they are hanging  
*daru do-pl-il*, they are all eating

*ta-* or *da-* occurs often. Its significance is uncertain. In many cases it seems to be frequentative, iterative, or usitative.

*da-lal-il*, he jumps about  
*da-lakwet yil*, I was coughing  
*da-digwidiwiri*, I am sitting  
*hinār da-ridipu*, we live together  
*ta-hokawowelul*, whenever a whale stranded  
*da-kul-ow-il*, always returned  
*ta-wedelaker*, always whipped him  
*da-kictawil-il*, constantly asked for food  
*da-wuwokwiwi*, have you been training yourself?

*kul-* means back, again, return. It is placed between the tense-prefix and the verb stem.

*hi-kul-ow-il*, he came back  
*kul-ag-il*, went again  
*la-ka-kul-aker*, did not do any more

*dal-* is of undetermined meaning. It occurs in several verbs implying repeated motion.

*dal-an-il*, *dal-anew-il*, buzz, hum  
*dal-adeler*, ring  
*da-dal-ak-wer*, works

*hil-*, perhaps *l-*, is undetermined.

*hil-ag-il*, went  
*hil-uluwu*, takes

*gawel-*, undetermined.

*gawel-alak*, I will move away  
*gawel-ag-il*, they went  
*hi-gawel-uw-il*, they came

*let-* apparently defines motion in some way.

let-kaleg'al-il, roll  
 dak-let-athanagat, boil violently  
 let-kalegal, fall

*ru-*, occurring also in the independent word *darū*, all, has the same significance when a prefix. It usually refers to the subject, but also to the object. As a prefix it follows the tense prefixes.

winār le-ru-ge-da-pl-ō, we are all done eating  
 hinār ru-raL-el, we are all large  
 ru-rat-er gowil, all the people are large  
 ru-ga-pl-u, will eat  
 wi-ru-bokina-wa, I will eat you all

*gawe-* is inchoative.

gawe-rowetger-il, it is becoming dry  
 gawu-betser, it is becoming dry  
 gawe-rewaLar, it begins to be day

*gera-*, *g'ra-*, *ga-*, or *ka-* makes the negative. It also follows the tense-prefixes.

gera-lit-waLa, I am not sleepy  
 g'ra-la-waL-i, I do not want to eat  
 gwa-gets-Lak, it is not cold  
 g'ra-dicgā-gem yulewe-tsk, I do not like the white ones  
 wi-gera-dilegana, will not be angry  
 La-gera-le-wel-as, I did not see you  
 gera-lu-de-dicgā-ge, I do not like him  
 ka-dicgaw-ir-ia miL yil, don't you like me?  
 wi-gera-t-as-a, I cannot feed you

*ka-*, prefix, combined with *-iLya*, suffix, forms an occasional imperative.

ka-wa-detigeliswiw-iLya, swim!  
 ka-Lal-iLya, jump!  
 ka-lakwet-ere-iLya, cough!

*ka-*, neither negative nor imperative, is a frequent prefix of entirely undetermined force. It does not seem to be temporal.

*ya-*, *yaya-* makes the protasis of conditional sentences.

ya-kau-kanap-il, if you do not bite me  
 yaya-kwa-dawikw-il, if you do not visit me

The demonstrative *gu*, and probably *kic* also, are used as prefixes to a verb that is subordinated to another.

yu-wel-as gu-bokin-ew-it, I saw you hitting me  
 La-gera-le-wel-as kic-l-ow-et, I did not see you coming  
 gu-dalew-il wi-bokin-awa, him standing there I will strike  
 g'ra-wilrekwa-wi gu-kanap-it, I feel sorry that you hit me



The imperative does not seem to be regularly formed. Some verbs show the *ka*—*ilya* mentioned, a few *-i*, a few *-ig'* or *-ag'*, and others the stem, as *kanap*, bite!

*ka-le-waL-i*, eat!  
*gul-ag'-ig'*, go home!  
*swala-g'-ag'*, shoot!  
*waL-ag'*, eat!

#### SUFFIXES.

*-ātho* seems to be causative.

*hi-da-tem-ātho*, made him sit  
*tem-āthu*, made them sit  
*du-tem-atho*, name of the isosceles triangle element in basket patterns; the Yurok is *werəq'ən*, sitting.

*-wi*, *-wiwi* is reflexive. A more or less pronominal character may be the cause of its final position.

*iwowok-wiw-il*, trained himself  
*diegāw-iw-il*, he likes himself  
*kil-ia wi-dukL-wiwi*, did you look at yourself?  
*dawil-wiw-il*, looking-glass

What is probably the same suffix occurs normally on a number of verb stems. On some of these its force is clear, on others less intelligible.

*hie-wi*, eat (transitive)  
*gos-wiwi*, swim  
*de-tigelis-wiw*, swim  
*weta-wi*, satisfied  
*rakwa-wi*, pity  
*tawik-wi*, visit  
*gidid-iw*, digwidi-wi, sit  
*dale-wi*, dano-wi, stand

*-ut* denotes that the action of the verb is performed with an instrument. It is added to the verb, but has the force of an instrumental case on the noun denoting the instrument.

*hi-swale-wut cwat*, I shot him with a bow  
*kwāLwa riewom-ot-agem*, with what did you kill him?  
*dagakeil riewom-ot*, a gun I killed him with  
*bunipel da-haka-wut hi-niewu*, a knife with I killed him

*-er*, *-erer* occurs frequently on numerals, adjectives, intransitive verbs, transitive verbs without an object, and nouns. It appears to have something of the force of a verb substantive.

guts-er, rit-er, rikw-er, one, two, three  
 ra't-er, he is large, they are large  
 detel-er, stab  
 gawu-bets-er, it is becoming dry  
 kacang-er, small  
 Lelewit-er, round  
 botegawin-er, scratched  
 ka-wiluw-er, is hollow  
 gatslag-erer, end  
 wits-kar-erer, coyote

*-erakw, -rakw, -nakw* has similar force.

makL-erakw-iL, he is small  
 gots-herakw gu-tigeriL, he is a good-looking young man  
 ru-magoks gots-herakw, my brain is good  
 guts-erakw-iL, good  
 ga-bite-irakw-iL, he is bad  
 guts-hi-nakw, is good  
 guts-ka-nakw, is not right

*-pt* has been found on color adjectives, apparently when they are attributive.

hi-yu-wel-a yulewa-pti hòlakw', I saw a white deer  
 siswa-pt waiyits, black dog  
 hòlakw' riewom siswa-pt-ile, deer I killed a black one

*-tk, or tsk*, seems to make adjectives predicative or substantive.

herowedi-tk, the moon is shining  
 kike-tk, kike-tsk, red  
 mes-iare-tk, mes-iare-tsk, red  
 p'lètk belè-tk, rock is flat  
 hiwana-tk, square  
 yuwetke-tk, five-cornered  
 siswa-tk, small black seeds  
 diegaame yulewe-tsk, I like the white ones

*-u*, of uncertain force, also occurs on adjectives.

siswa-u, black  
 ra'l-a-u, long, high (ra't, ra'l, large)  
 kacew-a-u, short (kacam-er, small)

*-nim*, meaning unknown.

tawakwili-nim-iL, pushed him  
 hi-tiekwa-nim-iL, broke him

*-ikwal*, unknown.

da-tem-ikwal, sat down  
 gul-ag'-ekwal, went home  
 akome-tal-ikwal, go back  
 ha-maL-ekwel gitga, we shall eat

## ADJECTIVES.

Stems translatable by English adjectives offer more complexity than is usual in Californian languages. They appear quite regularly with suffixes, among which have been mentioned -er, -erer, -erakw, -rakw, -nakw, verbifying or equivalent to the verb substantive, -tk and -tsk, predicative or substantive, -pt attributive, and -u. There are also a number of derivative suffixes, chiefly found on adjectives of color and appearance, such as -iar, -lak, galet. There are other complications. Thus the stem ra't, large, appears under the following forms: ra't-er, or ra't-ekw-il, he is large, it is large, they are large; ra'l-el, ra'l-el-at, I am large, you are large; p'lètk ra't-etk, large rock; ra't-eter, large (redwood tree); ra'tsè, largely, much, very; ra'lau, long; ra'lau-il, it is long; ra'le-, much, on verbs. Adjective stems are not usually reduplicated, as is often the case in Pomo, Miwok, and other Californian and American languages.

## NUMERALS.

As already stated, the numerals from five to ten and from twenty to forty bear the suffix -helel or -welel. On fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety, the suffix is repeated. The numerals from one to four usually end in -er, whether used in non-syntactical counting or qualifying animate or inanimate nouns. One occurrence without this suffix is of gō't, ritwe, rikwō, one, two, three, denoting persons, instead of the usual gō'ts-er or gū'tser, rit-er or ritw-er, rik-er or rikw-er. When years are referred to, the numerals have a suffix -eu or -ayu; for days, -āk or -wāk: gū'ts-ayu, ritw-eu; rikw-eu, ramāk, we's-agele-wāk. These suffixes are of significance as evidence of the existence of numeral classifiers, such as are abundant in Yurok.

## ORDER OF WORDS.

The order of words as regards noun and verb is not fixed. Both subject and object at times precede and at times follow the verb. Adverbs, interrogatives, and pronouns precede the verb and usually open the sentence. The interrogative particle ia is always attached to the initial word.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AFFIXES.

## PREFIXES.

- cu-, on verbs, prohibitive, negative optative  
 cuku-, see cu-  
 cur-, west, across ocean  
 da-, see ta-  
 dal-, on verbs, undetermined  
 dat-, up, above  
 do-, continuative  
 ga-, see gera-  
 gawe-, on verbs, inchoative  
 gawel-, on verbs, undetermined  
 gera-, on verbs, negative  
 g'ra, see gera-  
 gul-, see kul-  
 gu-, that, the, demonstrative; on verbs, subordinating  
 hi-, on verbs, past  
 hil-, on verbs, undetermined  
 hu-, sometimes accompanies the possessive suffixes of the first person  
     plural or third person singular and plural  
 ka-, see gera-  
 ka-, on verbs, undetermined  
 ka-, with suffix -ilya, on verbs, imperative  
 ku-, possessive of second person  
 kul-, on verbs, back, again  
 let-, on verbs, undetermined  
 la-, see le-  
 le-, particle, with verbs, completed action  
 m-, indefinite possession, on words denoting body parts  
 na-, on verbs, past  
 rak-, on terms of direction  
 ru-, on verbs, all  
 ru-, possessive of first person singular  
 ta-, on verbs, perhaps usitative or iterative  
 tinie-, east  
 teate-, south  
 wa-, see wi-  
 wat-, etymological, on some body-terms  
 wi-, on verbs, future  
 wici-, east, inland  
 wik-, on terms of direction  
 wur-, north  
 ya-, on verbs, if  
 yaya-, see ya-  
 yi-, possessive of first person singular on terms of relationship

## SUFFIXES.

- a, on verbs, third person objective
- ag', see -ig'
- ak, on numerals, denotes days
- akw, on nouns, general locative
- as, on verbs, second person singular objective
- aswa, on verbs, second person plural objective
- at, see -it
- atak, see -itak
- atawa, see -itawa
- ãtho, on verbs, causative
- ate, diminutive
- ayu, see -eu
- e'l, possessive of third person
- er, probably equivalent to verb substantive
- erakw, see -er
- erer, see -er
- eu, on numerals, denotes years
- galet, derivative, on terms of appearance
- hats, see -ate
- helel, see -welel
- i, on verbs, imperative
- ia, enclitic particle, interrogative
- iar, derivative on terms of color
- ik, possessive of first person plural
- ikwal, on verbs, undetermined
- il, before subjective suffixes of first and second person
- il, on independent pronoun of first person, perhaps objective
- il, on verbs, third person subjective; also agent, and noun formative
- ilya, with prefix ka-, imperative
- ir, derivative noun-ending
- is, see -as
- it, on verbs, second person singular subjective
- itak, on verbs, first person plural subjective
- itawa, on verbs, second person plural subjective
- k, derivative noun-ending
- lak, derivative, denoting language
- lak, derivative on terms of color
- nakw, see -er
- nim, on verbs, undetermined
- ow, on verbs, first person singular subjective, singular and plural objective
- pt, on adjective stems, perhaps attributive
- rakw, see -er
- s, derivative noun-ending
- t, derivative noun-ending
- tk, on adjective stems, perhaps predicative or substantive
- tsk, see -tk

- u, see -ow
- u, on adjective stems, undetermined
- ut, on verbs, instrumental
- wa, ending of demonstratives and interrogatives
- wa, denotes the plural on suffixes of the second person; also itself used for -aswa
- wak, see -ak
- wakw, see -akw
- wats, see -atc
- welel, on numerals from five up
- wi, on verbs, reflexive and medial
- wil, derivative noun-ending
- wiwi, see -wi
- ya, see -ia

## TEXTS.

## CROW.

<b>gatsir</b> Crow	<b>wule-bā'iakriL</b> relative-in-law	<b>curi-la'kau</b> (across) ocean	<b>wule-ba'iakriL</b> relative-in-law
<b>hi-wū'l-ag'-iL</b> he went to.	<b>curi-la'kau</b> (Across) ocean	<b>hi-lè's-iL</b> he went by boat.	<b>tsa'ki</b> Children
<b>dol-òl-o'w-iL</b> he took	<b>ri'kar</b> two.	<b>woperaga'tek'c-iL</b> He put them	<b>p'le't-wakw</b> on the rocks.
<b>kerawaga'tkari</b> Porpoises	<b>wuperaga'tskc-iL</b> he put.	<b>hi-kol-ò'w-iL</b> He came back.	
<b>diwe-rū'lakame</b> "What did you do with	<b>tsèk</b> the children?"	<b>katsir-ie'l-iL</b> Crow said:	<b>go'tsker-e'l</b> "Their grandmother
<b>da'kw-darū'dakw</b> they are with."	<b>gatsir</b> Crow	<b>dil</b> eagle	<b>wī'wa-l</b> his wife (?)
<b>gul-ū'w-iL</b> came back	<b>tsèk</b> a child.	<b>gōdam-i'L</b> ran off.	<b>di'le</b> Eagle
<b>gu-ra'tcetek</b> that boy.	<b>gwā'tc-el</b> His mother	<b>yā'gitemò't-iL</b> he told:	<b>yil-il</b> "Me
<b>dewū-tem-ā'Lel</b> he put."	<b>hi-la'g-iL</b> He told (?)	<b>dil</b> Eagle.	<b>hi-rā'ke'è'm-iL</b> She pursued him.
<b>hi-wò'kura-Lè'kanem-iL</b> She caught him.	<b>gatsiri</b> Crow	<b>hi-kol-ò'twui</b> she brought back.	<b>dil</b> Eagle
<b>d'ane'r-iL</b> did it.	<b>mes-akw</b> In the fire	<b>hi-da-tem-ā'tho</b> she put him.	<b>da't-kasiL</b> The top of his head
<b>mesi-da'lidaks</b> she put	<b>mes-a'kwi</b> in the fire.	<b>hi-ka'-tawā'l-iL</b> He died.	

## PELICAN.

tcawerā'tciL Pelican	do-be'l-iL fished	dagī'weg'iL with dip-net.	dīwi'l Others
dū'-bel-iL fished.	tcawera'tci Pelican	kawu'kamer-iL stole.	dīwi'le The others'
dakanewò'wi he stole	gū'ts-āyutā'yeg'er-akw for one year.	sò	dī'le Eagle
hi-ò'w-iL came.	ina'g'-iL He thought:	gūts-ka'-nakw "It is not good."	ina'g'-iL He thought:
wā-kelā'm "I will look for him	gī'tka I will,	dā'kiyiwoi fishing with a dip-net."	dil' Eagle
iy-ū'w-iL came			
yitawa'ne "Why do you do it?	cuku-re'rir Do it no more!"	tcawera'tci to Pelican	hanèw' he told.
sò			
dil Eagle	hi-lā'k-iL went to him.	tcawerā'tci-ika'n Pelican he seized.	hi-t'ki'n He pulled,
yò'ckan he tore,	da-g'a'tgè'negel he tore him to pieces.	tākwīya'kw'ter He made fire.	hi-ni'ewa-k He killed him.
sò	kā'-pel-iL Fished	dī'wila the others,	hi-kā-kuwèye'l-iL were not afraid any longer.
gū'ts-hi'nakw He was good.	hamā'-pe'l-i Fished	dile Eagle's	rawerā'miL relatives.
hi-kāwe't-ò He gave them food.	gā'-pel-iL They fished.	tcawerateci Pelican	ka-guwā''-pe'l-iL no longer fished.
guts-hi'nakw He was good.			

## SKUNK.

bò'tewi Skunk	tcewā'-rakw thus did,	darā'kw sick	sak-sā'kw-iL sick.
piLwa'tkotii Flies	wa-wè'tom-iL went to get	mī'l-iL medicine-man	teiwa that
me''lakw Elk			
rā'ter large.	bò'tewi Skunk	dā'herakw was sick,	sak-sā'kw-iL sick.
bò'tewi Skunk			
reg'iL anus (?)	o-si'lakw-e'l his-pain	tcewā'-dākw-reg'-iL there was in.	mè''lakw Elk
hi'-lew-iL danced,	dakdi'skew-iL went to the other side of him,	kana''p-iL bit (sucked).	bò't-iL Wished to kill him
bò'tewi Skunk.	hi-nieyaw-er He killed	mè''lakw Elk.	hi-ewi'welā'kw-iL Rubbed their hands in joy

<i>piLwa'tkotii</i> Flies.	<i>ha-mā'L-ekwel</i> " We eat	<i>gitka</i> shall	<i>mè' 'lakw</i> Elk,
<i>hi-mi'w-akwel</i> eat	<i>wi-ri'ewaw-er</i> the killed	<i>mè' 'lakw</i> Elk."	<i>bò'tewi</i> Skunk
<i>rer-i'L</i> did it,	<i>bò'tewi</i> Skunk	<i>kuwe'notw-iL</i> was well.	<i>piLwa'tkotii</i> Flies
<i>hi-kā'waw-iL</i> They cut it up	<i>bu'mi'pel</i> with a knife,	<i>witā' 'w-iL</i> rejoiced.	
<i>yi'-wāL-iL</i> They ate.	<i>hi-kū'l-ag'-iL</i> They went home.	<i>piLwa'tkotii</i> Flies,	<i>bò'tewi</i> Skunk.

## VOCABULARY.

No Wiyot vocabulary has been published since the three printed or reprinted in Powers,<sup>60</sup> which suffer from faulty orthography and imperfect acquaintance with the language. As no other studies of Wiyot have since that time been undertaken, the author's material is here given, in spite of its no doubt frequent inaccuracies, in order to render available for comparative purposes, at least until some more thorough study of the language shall have been made, a more extended body of words than are now accessible.

## NOUNS.

*Persons:*

*kowil*, *guwil*, person<sup>61</sup>  
*kōwi*, *gūwi*, man  
*motwīL*, *kakerāwiwīL*,  
*kawote*, woman<sup>62</sup>  
*gākwiL*, old man<sup>63</sup>  
*cerūki*, old woman  
*tigeriL*, young man, bachelor  
*tserārīL*, young woman.  
*rateetek*, boy  
*wateer*, girl  
*tsèk*, *teik*, *tsak*, child  
*hetca*, baby

*wise-pelei*, married man  
*wisiL*, married woman  
*gwatw*, widower, widow  
*wakawe*, divorced, separated  
 woman  
*dèkLelālīL*, chief  
*miliL*, *dānelätwīL*, medicine  
 man  
*cokwirak*, *cirawākw*, ghost,  
 dead ancestor<sup>64</sup>  
*dīkwa*, *tīkwa*, white man,  
 poison, spirit  
*kelōmil*, *weramit*, relative

<sup>60</sup> Tribes of California, Contrib. N. Am. Ethn., III, 478, 1877, Appendix, Linguistics, by J. W. Powell.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *diwile*, another.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *motw*, woman's front dress. *Kawote* perhaps means wife.

<sup>63</sup> Probably from *gakw*, to know.

<sup>64</sup> *Cakw*, sick, die.



dār, dān-, father; son  
 gwatc, mother  
 rekā, daughter  
 dōk, dārewerekere, brother,  
 sister  
 biteōtcker, grandfather  
 gōtcker, grandmother  
 agōlek, grandchild  
 wetserakw, son-in-law  
 māiakrii, relative by mar-  
 riage

*Body-parts:*

metere, detere, nose  
 melir, welin-, eye<sup>65</sup>  
 melūl, mouth  
 mēpt, teeth  
 wat-melok, ear  
 mīt, tongue  
 djīplil, beard  
 melokal, throat  
 wat-wet, head  
 bāl, pāl, hair  
 we's, hand  
 mokēc, fingers  
 we'tāpis, thumb  
 eōr-el, index finger  
 tsewawil, little finger  
 metkan, nail  
 wō'r, wō'n, arm  
 dāletokeru, elbow  
 taLeokra, shoulder  
 welil, foot  
 tekate, leg  
 lawèl, knee  
 mēl, body, flesh  
 meweril, flesh, fat  
 watswetsaa, breast  
 weser, woman's breast, milk  
 dāu, tāu, belly  
 doguganakw, navel  
 hodilere, umbilical cord  
 dūwerec, buttocks  
 dgat, penis

melāk, testicles  
 bec, vagina  
 cāk, clitoris  
 hatāgeril, womb  
 ma'n, pubic hair  
 watw, heart  
 teegēl, liver  
 hēl, intestines  
 māgoks, brain  
 sākwer, lungs  
 wat-kerāt, bone  
 kawik, wat-kawik, blood  
 wat-kai, skin  
 hāplakw, sinew  
 bōkaweril, tendon  
 hil, urine  
 me'l, excrement  
 betsakw, semen  
 wetsāl, saliva  
 walept, fur, feathers  
 wat-hēl, tail  
 wat-ōtk, fin  
 wat-ilat, shell  
 merār, horn  
 wat-ūdatkawi, egg  
 talkanoi, breath  
 hālōkie, -tālōkie, shadow  
 teiwarin, name  
 silak, pain

*Mammals:*

me'lakw, elk<sup>66</sup>  
 hālakw, hōlakw, deer<sup>66</sup>  
 tā'wila, buck  
 būt-cawēti, white deer<sup>67</sup>  
 tsetsgeruligerer, bear  
 māk, kanāpelil, grizzly  
 bear<sup>68</sup>  
 rākwaliril, wolf  
 witskererar, wītkal, coyote<sup>69</sup>  
 wāiyits, wāiyēts, dog  
 hālikwilil, fox  
 sekseswil, otter  
 dikwagāwi, fisher<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Wel, to see.

<sup>66</sup> The ending -lakw is common to these two terms.

<sup>67</sup> Cawet is white.

<sup>68</sup> Kanāp-el-il is biter.

<sup>69</sup> Witskererar is wild dog. Cf. wild cat below.

<sup>70</sup> Dikwa is poison, white man.

ra'rawèic, tewèlig'atcātcī,  
raccoon  
gò'miri, mink  
teigerèlāril, civet-cat  
bòtcwi, bütciwi, skunk  
datgacānil, datkalānil,  
panther  
datsgagererar, wild-cat  
tsugatlaiugoner, weasel  
wit'hòt, gray squirrel  
seles, becdūlil, chipmunk  
Letc, wood-rat  
tseretshigarer, wood-mouse  
yacūcagātek, gopher  
weni-crēnimil, mole<sup>71</sup>  
da'kere, sea-otter  
gūmāyòlil, sea-lion  
mātswapsire, seal  
kerawagatkari, porpoise  
delabelil, killer-whale<sup>72</sup>  
kimak, dayugele, whale

*Birds:*

tsūtskie, bird  
di'l, eagle  
cawètociL, bald eagle<sup>73</sup>  
catāoc, condor  
butsera, buzzard  
gulètsol, teānite, gokwera,  
blètsul, hawks  
gatsir, crow  
rānāt#wuloiyòkit, raven  
teakakeLhitecāte, blackbird  
teerā, Limayūsele, bluejay  
pitānatinu, metsig'e, robin<sup>74</sup>  
tsigwatsharawi, kingfisher  
tseweliksi, swan  
teaiuweteg, goose  
katgerāgil, cawetcoligil,  
brant<sup>75</sup>  
teateitekiri, mud-hen  
pāne'r, crane  
gugiteetek, gull  
mā'g'es, shag  
teawerātcī, pelican

*Other Animals:*

gatkū, rattlesnake  
hārete, garter-snake  
hālunasi, red snake  
teitcigiweteg, turtle  
mātakwil, lizard  
kwakw, frog  
mālak, salmon  
gō'taw, lamprey-eel  
hūt, surf-fish  
teāpteuc, halibut  
tegerits, flounder  
tāu'gel, rock cod  
witiwinuwi, herring  
wi'welil, gawūi, small fish  
mō'er, shark  
cāgitsrer, dogfish  
rit, mekār, gatewāc,  
tsayūnuwateke, clams  
wuletāt, razor clam  
hīwaklegak, cockle  
hīwat, haliotis  
tsār, mussels in bay  
witeac, mussels in ocean  
bituwēcānāgil, salt water  
snail  
butcāte, land snail<sup>76</sup>  
teōmack, large slug  
pilwatkotī, fly  
gats, bee  
bie, mosquito  
teirawāukw, butterfly  
swālen, dragon-fly  
tekLarè, grasshopper  
spina'g'aralu, larva of locust  
dakLā'lin, flea  
hēikw, louse  
botkanawiyuc, spider  
gilēswal, spider-web  
yōtu, maggot  
kwèkiplakarer, centipede  
mireL, angleworm  
Lwuregat'i, crab  
gī'bas, small red crab

<sup>71</sup> Wèn, sky, which according to myth the mole supported.

<sup>72</sup> Bel, to catch fish.

<sup>73</sup> Cawet, white.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. mes, fire, red.

<sup>75</sup> From mal, wal, pl, eat. Malak also means food.

<sup>76</sup> -ate, diminutive.

maläkel, sand-worm  
 wutwucil, squid  
 daegalwagigatchkarer, jelly-  
 fish  
 wudüyuwètk, sea-urchin<sup>77</sup>  
 tkayükis, star-fish  
 miplatk, cuwatpiyag'apkwì,  
 holothurian or sea-anemone

## Plants:

wänäkw, tälewil, täleg'il,  
 tree  
 mäti, wood  
 hawig'erak, grass, herbs,  
 medicine  
 gutcweräte, plètkapleiwun,  
 leaves<sup>78</sup>  
 wètcate, buds<sup>78</sup>  
 dakw, pitch  
 mukweti, pine  
 dāp, dak, spruce  
 mopel, wopl, redwood  
 wīt, alder  
 tigel, willow  
 legolès-wèl, hazel  
 himene-wèl, *Xerophyllum*  
*tenax* grass<sup>79</sup>  
 tigwametsha-wèl, *Wood-*  
*wardia* fern<sup>79</sup>  
 sòpitk, tule  
 we'taw, salmon-berry  
 mīp, blackberry  
 mò'kel, huckleberry  
 mīkwel, salal-berry  
 kiwātechokwere, thimble-  
 berry  
 hòderüc, *Brodiaea* roots  
 wèl, blòkat, bokitchere,  
 rapcaue, edible roots  
 kätserā, soap-root

mòt, acorn  
 gā'mak, acorn-soup  
 rakwiyidäg'erak, wild oats  
 Lòkai, ecerāwen, mokerits,  
 raladethen, edible seeds

## Nature:

wèn, wirudala, sky  
 kèk, clear sky  
 gotso-wèn, day<sup>80</sup>  
 tām, giteai-ailokwe, sun  
 ritsowel-ailokwe, moon  
 ritsowal, night  
 wène-welir, gūmeratek,  
 dārūtīwī, stars<sup>81</sup>  
 gutcètégucil, Pleiades<sup>82</sup>  
 wai'were'il, morning star  
 liptāu, cloud  
 dalälwāla, rainbow  
 daliak, lightning  
 dadākak, delaläter, thunder  
 tāmuteikere'l lakūluwīl,  
 sun-dog<sup>83</sup>  
 hèkw, snow  
 bò'ware, rain  
 ho'l, weratei, gutser-ol,  
 water<sup>84</sup>  
 pāk, salt water, ocean  
 walā, hot water  
 hiegawi, cold water  
 hā'lak, steam  
 lalil, raril, stream, river  
 raril-wāts, small stream<sup>85</sup>  
 betāw, spring  
 bātwar, freshet  
 mes, wes, fire  
 bi'wur, smoke  
 lag'erak, lò'erak, land  
 pātūt, earth, soil  
 tetwūka, mud

<sup>77</sup> Said to mean round.

<sup>78</sup> -äte, diminutive: for plètkapleiwun cf. p'lètk, rock, bel, flat, blaiatek, wedge, mi-platk, holothurian.

<sup>79</sup> -wèl may refer to use as basket material.

<sup>80</sup> One-sky, or good-sky?

<sup>81</sup> Wène-welir, sky-eyes; gūmeratek, cf. gomera, soft, weak.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. ratectk, boy; the Pleiades are thought to be girls.

<sup>83</sup> Sun his boy holds.

<sup>84</sup> Guts-er-ol, good water; werate, drink.

<sup>85</sup> -äte, diminutive.

letkak, sand  
 plètk, p'lètk, rock  
 rakdat, tanatgak, ralitgat,  
 mountain<sup>86</sup>

*Objects:*

mol, house  
 kac-werar, small house<sup>87</sup>  
 hikawa, sweat-house  
 mes-wululel, fireplace<sup>88</sup>  
 hāldwi, hā'lūwi, boat  
 dāl, ship  
 men, paddle  
 hutewāte, cooking basket  
 hutewāte-hate, small cook-  
 ing basket<sup>89</sup>  
 gī, woman's basketry cap  
 rāel, bitwelil, open-work  
 basketry plate  
 bās, large flat close-woven  
 basket  
 bac-āts, same, smaller<sup>90</sup>  
 kāluwò, conical open-work  
 carrying basket  
 kiwelāul, basketry dipper  
 bitu, basket mortar  
 dilul, storage basket for  
 acorns  
 dali'lèn, small storage bas-  
 ket with cover  
 hitwokwakerawil, flat sift-  
 ing basket  
 ewat, bow<sup>91</sup>  
 tsāpi, arrow  
 kuluwū, quiver  
 bumi'pel, knife  
 mel, ax

blaiātek, elkhorn wedge<sup>91</sup>  
 betgī, stone maul  
 tūl, stone pestle  
 wālawinewok, slender stone  
 pestle  
 wetsècrawel, metsecakerawil,  
 slab mortar  
 gamak-watkar, cooking  
 stone<sup>92</sup>  
 gaweldōtgalewil, digging-  
 stick  
 watk, tule mat  
 dewi'pen, dewi'pelil, string,  
 twine  
 mātop, netting shuttle  
 kas-wel, mesh-measure<sup>93</sup>  
 da-giweg'il, a dip-net  
 rathè-giwiril, a dip-net for  
 surf-fish<sup>94</sup>  
 teawerate, dō'iw, dip-net for  
 salmon in streams  
 gūt-wera, dip-net for lam-  
 prey-eels<sup>95</sup>  
 gucager, gill-net for herring  
 cagatagere, gill-net for sal-  
 mon  
 hephāgwār, gill-net for trout  
 dāldsun, gill-net for sturgeon  
 ha'ker, hakere, woman's  
 back dress  
 mōtw, rewunakwil, woman's  
 front dress<sup>96</sup>  
 rulen, clothes<sup>97</sup>  
 twanagit, woven blanket  
 kēswakl, steatite  
 gwāgeretna, black obsidian

<sup>86</sup> Cf. rak, prefix of terms of direction, dat, up.

<sup>87</sup> Kac-, small.

<sup>88</sup> Mes, fire.

<sup>89</sup> -āte, diminutive.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. swala, shoot.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. bel, wide, flat.

<sup>92</sup> Gā'mak, acorn-soup.

<sup>93</sup> Perhaps kac-, small.

<sup>94</sup> Evidently large-giwiril; ra't, large.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. go'taw, lamprey-eel.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. motw-il, woman.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. rulen, nulen, undress.

tsāgawila, red obsidian  
 bôteu-caweti, white flint<sup>98</sup>  
 krāl, blue rock  
 renī, dentalium shell cur-  
 rency  
 gutserakw, small dentalia  
 used as beads  
 kāg, shell disk beads  
 itesi, lūm, small univalve  
 shells used as beads  
 dikwā-lenewil, glass beads  
 siswatk, yew-seed beads  
 gutcicakwi, pine-nut beads

wīpac, gatsēpi, gambling  
 sticks  
 dōpcēr, gambling bones, of  
 Southern type  
 maLel, pipe  
 kakwesiw, medicine-man's  
 feather head-dress  
 wat-welāt, medicine-man's  
 swallowing feather<sup>99</sup>  
 dikwa, dikwa-g'el, poison  
 Lātsik, myth  
 waLel, path, road, trail  
 tceeg'ak, corner  
 guts-ewan, one fathom<sup>100</sup>

## VERBS.

*Human Relations and Occupa-  
 tions:*

tsew, give  
 tawik-wi, visit  
 gamerate, play  
 rulen, -nulen, undress  
 wunakwa, steal  
 dabor, lie  
 himan, mark, write  
 bel, catch fish  
 niewom, kill  
 swa-la, shoot  
 t, give food  
 laliu, receive food  
 kictawil, beg  
 da-wim, ask  
 anitw, pay  
 we'la, buy  
 halewu, olewu, dolewu,  
 dance<sup>101</sup>

*Mental Action:*

inag', think  
 daretw, twa, think, remem-  
 ber  
 gawk, know  
 diegam, like  
 wet, satisfied  
 rag, want, desire

dilegana, angry  
 rakwa, sorry, pity  
 wil, fear  
 kilat, hurt, pain

*Senses:*

athera, smell  
 Lephai, taste  
 tsaw, pugakw, touch  
 kwace, hear  
 wil, wel, see  
 dukL, look at  
 keL, look for, seek

*Performed with Organs:*

hanew, iel, anel, delani,  
 atel, say, tell  
 tsowes, shout  
 bawerats, whisper  
 lalisw, sing  
 wal, maL, pl, eat  
 hie-wi, eat something<sup>102</sup>  
 werate, drink  
 belokel, spit  
 kanap, bite  
 tsitsir, sneeze  
 da'kwa, snore  
 lakwet, cough  
 likw, rikw, cry, weep  
 gawkwiLet, sweat

<sup>98</sup> Cawet, white.<sup>99</sup> Cf. wat- on body-part terms.<sup>100</sup> Cf. guts-es-wani-helel, one hundred.<sup>101</sup> Cf. dale-wi, stand.<sup>102</sup> -wi reflexive-medial suffix.

*Bodily Condition:*

datw, alive  
 cakw, sick, die  
 tawal, dakw, dead, die  
 it, wit, nit, sleep, dream  
 watap, resemble  
 kawi, make  
 aki, do, affect

*Bodily Position and Motion:*

dikwel, lie  
 dale-wi, dano-wi, stand<sup>102</sup>  
 tem, gididwi, digwidiwi,  
 sit<sup>102</sup>  
 ak, ag', a'l, go, move  
 ow, owi, yowi, ohwi, come  
 les, travel in boat  
 hilak, enter water  
 gos-wi, tigelis-wi, swim<sup>102</sup>  
 rakcem, pursue  
 gudam, flee  
 lal, jump  
 atkag'an, creep  
 unas, crawl  
 takerawac, kneel

*Bodily Action:*

yock, ack-ar, tkin, tear, pull,  
 rip  
 ti'n, wakw, push  
 tiar, meet, strike

bokin, da-kwicile, hit, strike  
 da-tele, stab  
 da-kwage, slap  
 kiedal, take, pick  
 otw, bring<sup>103</sup>  
 wolew, get<sup>103</sup>  
 kanew, catch<sup>103</sup>  
 olowo, uluwu, catch, hold<sup>103</sup>  
 tawi, wawi, butcher  
 cits, flay

*Dynamic and Spatial:*

musaw, gadawal, stick  
 pelal, cawat, tiekwa, break,  
 open, cut  
 pawal, split  
 dokap, dokaw, crack  
 welu, wilu, hollow  
 butc, scratch  
 lawil, scrape  
 kaleg'-al, roll, turn  
 wayit, bend  
 cwik, move  
 low, dakwes, komal, hang  
 komat, blow  
 picar, swell  
 tweL, twerie, letka-, fall,  
 descend  
 nole, rise, lift  
 lip, extinguish

## ADJECTIVES.

ra't, ra'l, large, long  
 kac, kacam, small, short  
 guts, good  
 gare-wack, ga-bite, bad,  
 rough, strong<sup>104</sup>  
 leg, heavy  
 ca'p, light  
 badag'a, hard  
 gomera, soft, weak  
 kLet, hot  
 gets, cold  
 bel, flat, wide

gatserak, sharp  
 capo, straight  
 Le'pi, rotten  
 pitag', bitter  
 wukagiw, rich  
 cawanakw, ga-gitgakw, poor  
 mes-iar, kika, red<sup>105</sup>  
 cawet, yulewa, white  
 siswa, black  
 dukal, dukapL, blue, green,  
 yellow

<sup>102</sup> Perhaps contain suffix or stem -ew.<sup>104</sup> Gera-, ga-, negative prefix.<sup>105</sup> From mes, fire.

## ADVERBS.

hè, yes	at, teate, south
kia, no	cur, west, across the ocean
wai, is that so?	wic, tini, east, interior, up- land
tawil, always	dälil, indoors
swawi, very, extremely	geru, gat'galil, outdoors
rogal, soon	kūna, yesterday
wigil, now	gowai, to-morrow
wa, far	wiril-akw, to-day <sup>106</sup>
dat, up	wäl-akw, in the morning
tewi, behind	gäu-kūna, in the evening <sup>107</sup>
wur, north	

## PRONOUNS.

yil, I	tei-wa, that, so, thus
kil, you	ci-wa, du-wa, what, where
hinār, winār, we	kwal-wa, wule, how, why
gie, this	diwile, hikel-, another
gu, guru, that	

## NUMERAL STEMS.

gō't-, gū'ts-, one	dekli-luk, six
rit-, ritw-, two	hālu, seven
rik-, rikw-, three	hiowita, eight <sup>109</sup>
riaw-, rām-, four	mece-rok, nine <sup>110</sup>
we's-ag'-, five <sup>108</sup>	ru-lok, ten

<sup>106</sup> Perhaps related to wèn, wiru-dala, sky, day.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. kūna, yesterday.

<sup>108</sup> From we's, hand.

<sup>109</sup> Perhaps related to four.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. -rok of mece-rok, -lok of ru-lok, and -luk of dekli-luk.

## YUOK.

The Yurok inhabited the coast from the mouth of Little river to Wilson creek, six miles north of the mouth of the Klamath river; and the Klamath from its mouth to about six miles above the inflow of the Trinity. There are sometimes said to have been four Yurok dialects, that talked along the Klamath being numerically the most important, while three coast dialects, differing in increasing degree with the distance from the river, were spoken in the vicinity of Gold Bluff, Orick, and Trinidad. The coast Yurok have suffered great diminution of numbers and are now much mixed with river Yurok. A final determination of the coast dialects has therefore not been made, but such material as is available seems to show only one divergent dialect on the coast from Stone Lagoon south to Trinidad, and this not very different from the speech along the river. The present account is based on the river dialect.

The Yurok have been visited and investigated by the author at various times between 1900 and 1908. A considerable body of texts has been recorded, but there has not yet been opportunity to elucidate from these the grammatical principles governing the language. The account here given therefore consists only of such grammatical notes as were made incidentally to the recording of the texts, and is introduced principally to enable a comparison of Yurok with Wiyot. To the ear the two languages are more similar than any others adjacent, and the suggestion was long ago made<sup>111</sup> that they might be genetically related. The preparation some years ago of a comparative paper on the Native Languages of California,<sup>112</sup> revealed a morphological resemblance between Yurok and Wiyot in most of the points then considered. This structural similarity is extended by the examination made here, and is undeniably close.

Whether the two languages are related is however another question. A running acquaintance with both reveals but few

<sup>111</sup> Latham, *Trans. Philol. Soc. London*, 1856, 84. *Opuscula*, 343.

<sup>112</sup> R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *Am. Anthr.*, n.s. V., 1, 1903.



words that are similar. Such are *mes*, *mets*, *fire*; *welir*, *welin*, *eye*; *go'ts-er*, *qo't-* or *qo'ts-*, *one*.<sup>113</sup> This number is so small that unless it is materially increased by further comparison, the resemblances must be regarded as due either to accident or to borrowing. A systematic comparison cannot be made until both languages are farther analyzed and the stems and elements of words, which in most cases are complex, are determined. For instance *Wiyot welir*, *eye*, is undoubtedly connected with the stem *wel*, to see; but in *Yurok welin* fails to correspond with *ne'g'wò*, *see*; so that borrowing is suggested in this instance. That two languages belong to the same morphological type or group, does not by any means prove them genetically related in America. A common origin can be asserted only on the basis of lexical correspondence. Loose unification of languages that may be entirely distinct, based only on general or partial grammatical similarities, is unwarranted. The structural resemblances between *Yurok* and *Wiyot* are however so close and often so detailed, as will be seen, as to create a presumption that lexical and genetic relationship may ultimately be established; and if not, to make it certain that morphological interinfluences between the two languages have greatly modified one or both.

*Yurok*, more properly *yuruk*, is a *Karok* word meaning downstream. The designation *Weitspekan* is derived from *wè'tspekw*, more properly *wè'tspuc*, now *Weitchpee*, one of the numerous villages of the *Yurok*. The *Yurok* have no name for themselves other than *òl*, *people*.

#### PHONETICS.

In the phonetic determinations, assistance was rendered by Professor P. E. Goddard with mechanical experiments, by Mr. T. T. Waterman, and by Dr. E. Sapir.

*Yurok* vowel qualities are very shifting and often indeterminate. There seem to be six vowels, all of peculiarly broad or open quality.

*I* is so open as to be often heard as *e*. *E* is also very open, so much so as to be at times the aural equivalent of *ä* in English

<sup>113</sup> It is tempting also to compare *Wiyot rit-*, *two*, and *rik-*, *three*, with *Yurok ni-* or *nä-*, *two* and *naxke*, *three*, as initial *n-* becomes *r-* in *Wiyot*.

bad. A, often written ä, is usually between the two sounds as pronounced in father and bad by Americans, but may be heard as either. O is near English aw, sometimes with even more of an a quality. U is also very open. Close vowels do not occur.

The sixth vowel is a vocalic r, here represented by er. In its formation the tip of the tongue is bent upward; the tongue meets the palate farther back than in English. Like the related consonantal r of the language, this sound is not trilled and possesses the peculiar quality of English r, as compared with the various forms of continental r, in an exaggerated degree.

Unaccented e and o are often hard to distinguish and one is frequently replaced by the other in Coast Yurok as compared with the river dialect. E is often followed by a glide, e'. Analogous is ä<sup>v</sup>, in rapid speech o.

Glottal stops are abundant. In many stems they are organic. In addition they frequently appear after vowels which close syllables, whenever such syllables are stressed or articulation is forcible. In rapid continuous speech these stops disappear. Thus tinica, what is it, may often be heard as ti'ni'ca' when emphatically uttered. An organic stop gives the impression of distinctly doubling the vowel which it follows: pa', water, is heard as pa'<sup>a</sup> or pa'a.

A complete cessation of sound formation in the middle of words is not infrequent: wec,ona, world, ololekwic,o'l, person, we'n,tsa<sup>u</sup>kc, woman. It seems likely that such pauses mark etymological divisions.

There are two series of stops, both surd, the ordinary and the fortis. English surd and sonant stops are pronounced alike by the Yurok. The ordinary surd stops are more aspirated when final than when followed by a vowel: nepui, but almost nep'. The fortes, or stops accompanied by glottal stop, are of only moderate strength.

K and q, palatal and velar k, both occur, but it is uncertain whether they represent organically different sounds or are divergent formations of the same sound influenced by adjacent vowels. In any case k is most frequently audible before i and u, q before e, a, o. K<sup>u</sup> or qw is frequent, and is felt as a simple sound.

T is formed against the lower edge of the teeth and sometimes is clearly interdental.

There is one s sound, written c, intermediate between s and sh, perhaps nearer the latter. In ts, which is the equivalent of a simple sound, the s element appears to be more pointed than in the usual c. Yurok g is always a continuant, but not harsh. X, the surd continuant corresponding to g', is limited to combinations with following surds, such as k, p, c, and has not been observed initially or finally. It is distinctly harder than a mere ordinary aspiration, h or ', but appears to be only a parasitic development before certain surds: naxkceiL, Woxpekumeu.

There are three l sounds: l, l, and L. The first, l, is sonant and audibly similar to English l, but a mechanical analysis by Dr. Goddard indicates a suddenness of approach in the formation of the sound, which is found also in Hupa l.<sup>114</sup> The second, l, is a not very common surd continuant found after glottal stops: qo'lqolatswin, ohonecqwetso'l. The third, L, is a surd affricative. In some instances the t-approach is weak, and the sound is almost wholly continuant. Wiyot L was also often heard with this quality.

W is sometimes produced with less protrusion or rounding of the lips than English w. It therefore has something of the quality of bilabial v, and initial unaccented we and wo are often hard to distinguish from o or u.

Surd m, n, and r occur finally after glottal stops.<sup>115</sup> Consonantal sonant r has the peculiar quality already ascribed to vocalic er. N, m, y, and h require no comment.

The sounds of the language may be represented as follows:

		i, e, ɛ̃, o, u, er			
		i, è, ɛ̃, ò, ù, er			
q	q'	(x)	g'	qw	
k	k'			k <sup>u</sup>	
t	t'	e	n	n	ts ts'
p	p'		m	m	
		r, r, l, l, L			
		w, y, h, ('),'			
		pause (,)			

<sup>114</sup> Present series, V, 9, 12, 1907.

<sup>115</sup> Compare *ibid.*, 10.

The stress accent of words is often well balanced between several syllables and often marked on one or two. Accent is however less a matter of intensity or loudness of sound, than a rise in pitch and a holding of the accented syllable, which is manifested in lengthening of the vowel or doubling of the preceding or following consonant. Accent is however not determined by organic length of vowels, and often falls on syllables that are intrinsically short. The dwelling of the voice, and its rise of pitch, on the accented syllable, give a peculiar and pleasing quality to Yurok speech.

Doubling of consonants is frequent, but whether it occurs only in connection with the accent or also organically, is not certain. In place of *ww* and *ll*, *g'w* and *ll* seem to occur.

Initial consonant combinations occur, but their scope is limited. The principal observed initially are *tsp*, *tsq*, *kn*, *kr*, *pr*, *tm*, *ck*, *ct*, *cr*, *cl*, *cm*, *lm*, *lq*. These give as the first member of initial combinations *q*, *k*, *ts*, *t*, *p*, *c*, and *L*, or surds only; and as the second, *q*, *k*, *t*, *p*, *r*, *l*, *n*, *m*, or stops, nasals, and *r* and *l*. *Ts* and *qw* are to be regarded as simple sounds. Final combinations do not occur except with *c* as second member. This is found most frequently after *k*, so that *ke* may represent what is to the Yurok a simple sound like *qw* and *ts*. The imperative suffix *-c* is however added to stems ending in *p*, *n*, *r*, and other consonants. Endings like *ern*, *erm*, *erL*, *ert*, consist of the single consonants *n*, *m*, *L*, *t*, following the single vowel here represented by *er*. Yurok initial combinations are more numerous than those of Wiyot, but Wiyot possesses more that are final.

Vocalic assimilation occurs to some extent: *ne-crääts*, my quiver, *wo-cròots*, his quiver; *yots*, boat, *ne-yots* or *ne-yets*, my boat; *erner-hel*, at Erner, *wo-cròots-ol*, in his quiver, *pa'a-il*, in the water, *okäpol-il*, in the brush. Other instances will be found among the numerals below. There is a particular tendency for *er* to assimilate other syllables to itself. Most words in which *er* occurs contain it in from two to four or in all syllables: *qerxtsper'*, *neryerwert*, *cermeryer*. When one vowel of a word changes to *er*, most the others usually become *er* also: *lo'og'e*, *ler'erg'er*, black.

## STRUCTURE.

Reduplication is less marked than duplication: qots-qots, worm; tseix-tsei-uc, mosquito, compare tseix-keni, small; mus-mus, cow; we-tseq'-tseq'-oa, striped pattern. In connected texts neither reduplication nor duplication is frequent.

Composition and derivation are abundant. Adjective stems precede noun stems in composition: pelin-tsiek, large-dentalium. In accord with the pronominal structure of the language, compounds containing a possessive are common: qoqonewul-wetspeg'a, long his ears, mule. Words are also compounded or derived with nouns as first element: nepui-enec, otter, nepui, salmon; lqeliqera, mole, lqel, earth; merwuci-clei, a species of lizard, which is thought to bite the navel, merwuci. Derived nouns, as in most languages, are formed by suffixes: nep, eat, nepui, food, salmon. Terms of direction are always prefixed, as in Wiyot, Athabaskan, Karok, Pomo, Wintun, and perhaps other languages of northern California: petskuk-ceg'ep, up-river coyote; puleku-qwerek, down-stream sharp; woxpe-kumeu, across-the-ocean widower; pets-ucla, up-river throw.

## PRONOUN.

The Yurok pronominal elements, like the Wiyot, are incorporative, the independent forms being emphatic or non-syntactical. Also as in Wiyot, possessives are prefixed, subjective or objective forms suffixed.

The independent pronouns are nek and neka', objective nekats, for the first person, qel or qela', objective qelats, for the second. There appears to be no pronoun of the third person.

The possessive forms are ne-, no-, my; qe-, qo-, your; we-, wo-, o-, his; m-, someone's, indefinite. The plural seems to be the same.

On intransitive verbs the subject is indicated by -k in the first person and -m in the second.

In transitive verbs the combined objective and subjective elements determined are -tsek, I you; -ek, I him; -tso, I you; -co, I them; -xpa, you me; -m, you him, you them; -xpen, he me. It

would seem from these forms that the objective elements are -p, -ts, -c and the subjective -k, -m, —, for the three persons respectively.

The pronominal elements thus are :

	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>
1.	nek	ne-, no-	-k	-p
2.	qel	qe-, qo-	-m	-ts
3.		we-, wo-, o		-c
Indef.		me-, m-		

The possessives indicate n and q as the essential elements of nek and qel. The Wiyot radicals are evidently the same. Q not occurring in Wiyot, k, in kil and ku-, is the equivalent. Initial n not being permitted in Wiyot, yil and ru probably represent original n. The pronominal forms of Yurok and Wiyot agree in the following points:

They are incorporative. Elements added to nouns are prefixed, those added to verbs suffixed. The prefix and independent forms are similar to one another, the suffix forms entirely dissimilar, also differing completely among themselves according as they are objective or subjective. The objective suffixes precede the subjective, which are identical whether transitive or intransitive. There is a form, used with body-part terms, denoting indefiniteness or absence of possession; it is m- in both languages. The fundamental elements of the possessive and independent forms in both languages seem to be n for the first person and k for the second,—the former common, the latter exceptional in American languages and therefore significant. The suffix forms in the two languages however show no similarity.

Demonstratives show two stem forms, yo and ki. Iyo is this, iyoLko these. Yok is also found. Ku and ki are that, the, denoting reference rather than distance. Ki is also used relatively: ki olekwic,o'l eq!axLkome, what men tread-on, the world. With ku and ki compare Wiyot gu-r and gi-c.

Kue and tin are interrogative. Kue is what, where. Tin-ica is what, what kind; tin-pa, which one. The interrogative particle is hec, postpositive. It is used with verbs; also independently, when it has the meaning: what is it, is it so.

## NOUN.

The Yurok noun like the Wiyot lacks all designation of number or syntactical case. There is a general locative suffix -iL, -aL, -eL, -oL, corresponding to Wiyot -akw. In addition a locative -ik has been found in mets-ik, in the fire, lqel-ik, in the ground, below, hierk-ik, north, lep-ek, in the house, pets-ik, up stream, pul-ik, puleku-k, down stream. Another locative is -ic: mets-ic, in the fire; wonoyek-c-ume, sky-in-girl; turip-c-atsin, inhabitant of Turip. Terms of direction themselves are suffixed like locative cases: erner-hiqo, opposite Erner; qenek-pul, down stream from Qenek. Finally there is a suffix or enclitic -meL, by means of, with, on account of, for. This is however used in verb complexes as well as on nouns: tetamoc-ek meL tikwoxpen-ek we-yots, angry-I because broke-I his-boat.

## VERB.

The Yurok and Wiyot verbs are similar in function and structure. Both are distinctly the center of the sentence. In both prefixes predominate except for the expression of nominal relations. Adverbial, modal, temporal, and subordinating ideas are expressed by prefixes. There are also verbal suffixes, but their significance is for the most part not yet clear. Even independent adverbs are to some extent drawn into the verb-complex, which often assumes great length. Such adverbs always precede the verb stem. Many prefixes cannot be distinguished from conjunctive or adverbial particles placed before the verb. They usually precede the verb immediately and are spoken as one word with it. At other times they are separated from it by nouns, adverbs, or numerals.

ki-nä'eli-hoxkumek, shall two-houses I-build

ki-naxkcemi-wanu'layo, shall three-times I-jump-up

qölo-'öL kits-keno-atsiyüuk, it-seems-a-person has-sat-down-indoors

These constructions evidence a compact grouping of the other constituents of the sentence in the verb-complex, but at the same time seem to show that at least some of the modal, temporal, or adverbial elements connected with the verb stem are

not so much actual prefixes as preposed particles closely linked with the verb which is the central factor of the sentence.

When the subject and object are independent nouns not brought actually into the verb-complex, they regularly follow it. This marks them off from nouns whose general relation to the predicate is adverbial, which normally precede the verb, thus opening the sentence. The general "appositional" nature of the sentence is obvious.

The significance of only a part of the verbal prefixes and suffixes that have been determined in Yurok has become clear. Such are:

kits-, completed past  
 ki-, future  
 tsa-, imperative  
 nimi-, nimok-, negative  
 kowits-, negative  
 wikiLne-, negative  
 kinek-, when  
 matseki-, kitatse-, if  
 alukumi-, because  
 conini-, because  
 kit-, he who, when, participle  
 wictu-, wiit-, that is who, what, how, relative  
 qolo-, as if, like, appears to  
 tsyu-, all

Of suffixes, the following are apparent:

-c, imperative  
 -kwilek, verb substantive, similar to Wiyot -er and related endings.

Prefixes of undetermined meaning are wil-, menex-, numiL-, tukwile-, kwileki-, niko-, qem-, yokitsnini-, qem-kits-minolini-, ol-, yikun-, pikoxtsi-, mokwile-, okome-, tsigoL-, ea-, ala-, qet-, me-, ha-, moc-, kuni-.

Suffixes are -yeg'o or -heg'o, -melek, -exkwun, -pimo, -kwetsok, -wertsek, -uts, -noxpe, -'m.

The adjective shows a difference for animate and inanimate.

montse, white, animate monterer  
 cokoto, red, animate cerkerter  
 lo'og'e, black, animate ler'erg'er  
 pleli, pelil, large, animate plerer

Altogether a more extensive occurrence of subordination is visible in sentence structure than in Wiyot. It may be that this difference is due to the fact that the Yurok texts obtained are a



better representation of normal speech and that the sentences in the Wiyot texts are unduly abridged through the informants' inability or unfamiliarity in dictating.

### NUMERALS.

Numeral stems are used with a variety of classifying suffixes. This is a feature not recorded of any other Californian language except Klamath-Modoc, though not uncommon farther north on the Pacific. The observations made on Wiyot reveal at least the presence in that language of similar suffixes, though their extent is undetermined. The following list probably does not exhaust this class of suffixes in Yurok.

- il, in counting
- epir, separate dentalium shells<sup>116</sup>
- etani, strings of dentalium shells<sup>116</sup>
- er, woodpecker scalps<sup>116</sup>
- erpi, obsidian blades<sup>116</sup>
- eril, white deerskins<sup>116</sup>
- o, months, dollars
- emoil, nights
- en, days, also pernekr hand-measures
- emoi, fathoms
- ixteli, boats, wagons, conveyances
- eli, houses, sweat-houses, nests
- emi, times, occasions, years

In the addition of these suffixes to the numeral stems there are some apparent irregularities and certain phonetic alterations, including several instances of the vocalic harmony, or assimilation from suffix to stem, characteristic of the language.

	1	2	3	4
Counting	qoore <sup>a</sup>	ni 'il	naxkceil	tsoonel
Dentalium-shells	qooxtepir	nä 'äpir	naxkeepir	toonepir
Strings of dentalia	qootani	nä 'äitani	naxkeetani	toonetani
Woodpecker scalps	qererxter	ner 'erxker	nerxkeer	ta 'erner
Obsidians		ner 'erpi	nerxkeerpi	
White deerskins			nerxkeeril	
Months, dollars	qoxto	no 'o	naxkeo	toono
Nights	qoxtsemoil	nä 'ämoil	naxkcemoil	tsoonämoil
Days	qoore <sup>a</sup>	nä 'äin	naxkeen	tsoonen
Fathoms	qoxtsemoi	nä 'ämoi	naxkeemoi	tsoonamoi
Boats		nä 'äixteli	naxkceixteli	
Houses		nä 'eli	naxkeeli	
Times		ne 'mi	naxkeemi	tsoonemi

<sup>116</sup> Objects of value and mediums of exchange.

As will be seen, the vowel of the stem for two varies between ä, i, e, o, and er; in four and one t and ts replace each other; x before t and k is parasitic, and qoore<sup>u</sup>, the independent word for one, corresponds to a stem qot-.

How many is expressed by *kuc tsâmEL*; how many months by *kuc tāmawo*; dentalia, *kuc tamopir*; woodpecker scalps, *kuc termerwer*; obsidian blades, *kuc termerpi*.

## TEXTS.

## WOXPEKUMEU.

qè'nek-ic At Qenek	ho''l he was.	tu-qwè'nomet-ic Outside the sweathouse <sup>117</sup>	atsyeg'ù'qwin he sat.
tu-nò'L-pu'lukitsrò''tep The sun was low. <sup>118</sup>			kits-hawe''-wo'o'mé'pek He had sweated in the sweathouse,
wic-tu-awetsyù'qwin then he sat down	qwenome't outside the sweathouse.		tu-wic-tu-nòL There he used to
atsyeg'ù'qwin sit.	wit!i'ni-oqw He kept		ki-we-tsyé''g'wolo that his flute
lepò'nòL under the ridge-board. <sup>119</sup>	mo-nò'L-puluki'tsrò The sun was low.		i'yeger'er'xcerper' He beat his hair dry. <sup>120</sup>
mo-wit-ki'ts-weno'omo'keiL Summer had begun,		numi-wo''g'ik it was the middle	uki''cèn of summer.
kits-numi-mi'keo'to'm It was the very middle		uki''cèn of summer	kits-wic-o'locòn that he did this.
kits-o'-numi-wic-tu-co'to Thus he liked to do.		uqeg'e'camewoLek He was very sorry for those	kiecònin-hò'l'em who would be
ki-ò'L men.	tu-wic-tu-e-meL-qe'g'ecamewoL Thus he was sorry for them		niki'melTsmeydò'qeiL when it began to be evening.
tu-nò'L-wic-tu-e'-meL-rura'w'o' Then therefore he began to play <sup>121</sup>			wic-tu-e'-meL-tsig'uwoLo the flute on account of that.
oLo''m He took	we-tsyé'g'wolo his flute.		wi'c-tu-e'-meL-ru'raw'o' Therefore he played.

<sup>117</sup> qwenomet is the place outside the small exit of the sweathouse.

<sup>118</sup> puluk is down-stream, which at Qenek is nearly west. "The sun was in the west."

<sup>119</sup> leponoL is the curved board, usually the gunwale of a broken boat, that covers the ridge of a sweathouse.

<sup>120</sup> her'erxerper is a stick with which the hair is combed or beaten dry after a bath such as follows sweating.

<sup>121</sup> rurawo usually means to sing, but evidently refers to any music.



pi'e-tu-wi'ctu-one'p-qām then he ate it also.	nùmitsyù'-nnep Everything he ate.	tu-nò'-llā'i He travelled on.
we'k'-tu-nò'-llāi Here he travelled	co-pè'ts up-stream.	tu-nò'-llā'i He travelled.
o'hone'eqwetso'l-ni'cònin he arrived.	ki-nemer''wermeri' From all the streams	tu-ni'cònini thus
wietu-co''n he did,	tu-nù'mitsyù'-nep he ate everything,	ketse'g'inù'weceg'o'nnowoni things of all sorts.
kitse'g'inewocòk of any kind.		

## SUMMARY.

The Yurok language is of the type known as appositional, in that pronominal, modal, temporal, adverbial, and other elements are attached to the verb stem, which serves as the center of grammatical construction, the other words of the sentence being syntactically connected with it through these affixes. The verb is therefore complex, the pronominal elements are essentially affixes, and the grammar of the noun and substantival pronoun is reduced to a minimum, while the adjective is a verb. The pronominal elements are suffixed, but most other relations, including those of manner and time, are expressed by prefixes to the verb. The possessive prefixes of the noun, and the emphatic substantival pronouns, show no similarity to the pronominal affixes of verbs. Number and syntactical case-relations are not expressed. Numerals are provided with classifying suffixes. Derivation is by suffixation, and many nouns are based on verb stems. The sounds of the language show considerable specialization of quality, vowels tend to be indeterminate, and accumulations of consonants are radical. In all these respects Wiyot agrees with Yurok, though the words of the two languages appear to be dissimilar.

## KAROK.

The Karok language is spoken on the Klamath river above the Yurok, extending from Red Cap creek to the vicinity of Clear creek. The largest groups of villages were about Orleans, the mouth of Salmon river, and the mouth of Clear creek. The language is uniform, except in the Clear creek region, in the uppermost part of the territory of the stock, where an unrecorded dialect is said to be divergent. The Karok have no name for themselves other than arara, people. Karok, more properly karuk, in their own tongue means up stream; they occasionally designate themselves as karuk-v-arara, up-stream people, but chiefly with reference to the Yurok or yuruk-v-arara.

The following notes were obtained from several informants, especially Mrs. Bennett and her sister, Miss Jeannette Horne. Only the readily observable traits of the language are presented, a more thorough study being in progress.

### PHONETICS.

The phonetic system of Karok is simple, and presents few difficulties to a European tongue.

The sounds are:

u	o	a	e	i
ū	ò	à	è	ì
k	x			
(k')	(x')			
t	s		n	
p	f	v	m	
c, te, r, y, h				

The vowels are of distinct quality. E and o are open. Short vowels are sometimes touched so lightly as to be scarcely audible.

K. and x. are pre-palatal, and perhaps organically different from k and x. S approximates English th, while c lies between s and sh. F and v are bilabial, but differ little from the European labio-dentals. F occurs elsewhere in California only in Esselen and in two Pomo dialects. Karok r is trilled and very different

from Yurok *r*. The absence from the language of sonant stops, lateral sounds, stressed consonants, and *w*, is notable.

All the sounds of the language occur in all parts of words, except that *r* is not initial. *E* and *o* are rarely final.

There is little contraction, elision, or euphonic modification of sounds. *A-u* sometimes becomes *o*. Short or "neutral" *i* may become inflected by preceding *u*: *ki'ri*, *u'kuri*. *R* and *n*, as in *Wiyot*, are often equivalent. *R* becomes *n* before consonantal suffixes: *ni-psimtarar-ec*, *u-psimtaran-ti*. Similarly final *v* changes to *m*: *av-aha*, *am-ti*; *kiv-uni*, *kim-cur*.

Initial and final combinations of consonants do not occur except in a few doubtful cases. It seems therefore that *Karok* agrees with the majority of Californian languages in possessing only alternations of consonants and vowels in the elements of its words.

Altogether the phonetics of *Karok* are as different from those of *Yurok* and *Wiyot* as they possibly could be. There is more superficial resemblance to *Shasta* and *Chimariko*.

### STRUCTURE.

Suffixation is the principal grammatical method. Prefixes are limited to pronominal forms. Reduplication is scarcely grammatical. Neither ablaut nor umlaut nor other internal modification of stems occurs.

The noun lacks syntactical cases and the pronominal forms are incorporative. This general fact is the chief resemblance *Karok* bears to *Yurok*.

Both derivations and compositions are found frequently. Most words are tolerably long, and the verb stems that have been recognized are more frequently polysyllabic than monosyllabic.

The commonest derivative suffix is a diminutive *-ite*. *Yuki*, *Wiyot*, *Hupa*, and *Yokuts* also show diminutives in *-ite* or *-ate*.

- puf-ite*, deer
- pihnèf-ite*, coyote
- apxan-tini-ite*, hat-wide, American
- kit-ate*, granddaughter
- omuk-ite*, near

teu-ite, narrow  
 ac-axna-ite, shallow  
 anama-te, small  
 tunnè-ite, small  
 yam-ate, pretty (yav, good)  
 kêm-ite, old (kêm, bad)

Very common is -an or -ar, denoting the agent or instrument.

kivip-an, runner  
 xue-ar, thinker, thoughtful  
 kirih-an-e, fishermen  
 imafunv-an-e, beggars  
 teivteak-ar, door, the thing for shutting  
 xuskam-ar, gun  
 ac-iktav-an, woman, water-carri-er

Other deriving suffixes are:

*-ip*, on names of trees.

isar-ip, fir  
 civir-ip, yellow pine

*-ic*.

kêm, bad, kêm-ic, evil thing, monster

*-aha*.

av, eat, av-aha, food

*-ram*.

kiri-vi, sit, kirivi-ram, house

*-kirak*.

kiri-vi, sit, kirivi-kirak, stool

*-vapu*, born at, person belonging to.

aksiphirak-vapu, the one born at Trinity Summit

*-v-arara*, people.

yuruk-v-arara, down-stream people

*-kâm*, large.

axup-kâm, large stick

*-kunic*, forms adjectives, especially of color, from nouns.

imcaxu-kunie, pitch-like, soft  
 teantcaf-kunie, foam-color, white

*-ipux*, lacking.

xue-ipux, thoughtless

*-ruk*, is added to the stems of the five commonest terms of direction. It suggests the locative ending -ak.

yu-ruk, down-stream  
 ka-ruk, up-stream  
 ca-ruk, towards the stream, down  
 ma-ruk, away from the stream, up  
 sie-ruk, across the stream

In composition these words and stems always precede: sieruk-pihiriv, across-the-water-widower; ka-timin, up-stream-dam; yur-ac, down-stream-water, ocean.

### NOUN.

The noun is ordinarily without designation of number. Certain nouns denoting persons, or derived from verbs by the agent-suffix -an, and certain adjectives, express the plural by -e.

kunih-ara-e, arrows  
 imafunv-an-e, beggars  
 tunuèite-ic, small ones, children  
 arara-e, relatives  
 tipa-hivi-e, brothers  
 kustar-ivi-e-oc, older sisters  
 aca-kam-e keite-ic pa-e, the large rocks

There are no subjective, objective, or possessive case-endings, but a series of local-instrumental suffixes:

-ak, in, at  
 -keu, in  
 -ava-kam, on, over  
 -curuk, under  
 -pimite, near  
 -os-kam, before  
 -vasi-kam, behind  
 -muk, with  
 -xak<sup>2</sup>.n, in company with  
 -kus, on account of

#### Examples:

isarip-ak, on the fir  
 ic-ak, in the water  
 nunu-avakam, above us  
 axup-muk, with wood  
 yux-keu, in the ground  
 aca-curuk, under a rock  
 aca-pimite, near a rock

Possessive pronominal elements are prefixed to nouns. A possessive relation between two nouns is expressed by the prefixion of the pronominal element of the third person to the noun denoting the possessed object.

aciktavan mu-kiriviram, woman her-house



## PRONOUN.

The pronominal forms are :

	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Subjective</i>	<i>Objective</i>
1 s.	na	nani-	ni-	na-
2 s.	im	mi-	i-	-ap
3 s.	um	mu-	u-	
1 p.	nu	nanu-	nu-	kin-
2 p.	im-kun	mi-kunu-	kik-	kik—ap
3 p.	um-kun	mu-kunu-	kun-	

The independent forms are used as the subjects of predicate nouns and adjectives and for emphasis.

All other forms, except objective of the second person -ap, are prefixed.

A suffix -un denotes plurality: ni-mah-un-at, I saw them.

The regular use of the subjective prefixes of the third person even after a noun subject, evinces the feeling of the language for "incorporational" structure of the appositional type.

That the incorporative tendency is however not very strong, is shown by the fact that subjective and objective prefix elements are not used together in one verb.

The form nu- denotes that the first person acts on the second: I-thee.

The substantival possessive pronouns are formed by -upi: nani-upi, mine.

The commonest demonstrative is pa, indicating reference, not distance or direction, and nearly with the function of an article. From it are derived the more specific demonstratives pa-ipa, this, and pa-ik-u, that. Here and there are o-k and paik-u-k, whose -k seems to be the locative ending. Kān also means there.

## VERB.

The Karok verb is comparatively simple. The subjective or objective pronominal element is prefixed to the stem; a suffix indicating spatial relation often follows the stem; and the word ends in a modal or temporal suffix, or sometimes two. Other

modal and temporal ideas are expressed by particles which precede the verb without forming part of it. Instrumental prefixes are lacking, and the causative, compulsive, transitive, inceptive, benefactive, and similar affixes common in American languages are scarcely represented.

Suffixes expressing spatial relations, either of position or of motion, are:

- ura, up
- uni, down
- fak, down
- varak, down-stream
- arup, -ripa, out
- amni, in, into
- kuri, into
- kiri, into fire, in fire
- fুরু, into house
- tako, on
- harav, through
- ka, to
- ra, toward
- cur, off

Modo-temporal suffixes are:

- ti, imperfect, present
- at, -it, -hat, past
- ec, -ic, future
- vani, reflexive
- c, imperative (as in Yurok)

Interrogation is denoted by -um or hen-um, which appear to be enclitic particles, as in so many other American languages, since they are attached to other words as well as the verb.

Preposed adverbial particles are:

- ip, completed or past action
- ta, probably indefinite or imperfect time
- teimi, tei, teu, optative, future, inceptive, imperative
- xatik, tikan, optative
- puran, reciprocity
- pu, negative

Examples of verb forms:

- im-um i-apunmu-ti, you, do you know?
- n-aknap-hen-um, did you slap me?
- ni-seinati-hec, I shall have woodpecker-scalps
- nani-hirò-hec, will be my wife, I will marry

pasakhi-e, kneel!  
 teimi pifteak-e, open it!  
 tu ne-kim-tako, I fell on  
 u-pas-ura, he threw up  
 virax-cur, lick off  
 mara-kuri-hat, ran down into  
 no-pas-kiri-hec, I will throw you into the fire  
 pip-arup, break out  
 u-ari-furuk, he rushed indoors  
 ok i-siuru-ra, pull it here  
 ta ni-kuni-fak, I shoot down

### ADJECTIVE.

The adjective resembles the noun rather than the intransitive verb. It is used predicatively with the independent pronoun, whereas the verb is employed with subjective prefix: na keite, I am large, and na aciktavan, I am a woman, but ni-kivip, I run.

Adjectives and nouns are both subject to the diminutive suffix *-ite*. The plural suffix *-e* is also shared by nouns and adjectives.

The word for small is *anamate* when attributive, *ninamite* when predicative.

### NUMERALS.

The numeral system is quinary to ten, from there on decimal.

1	yisa	6	kirivkir
2	axak	7	axa-kinivkir
3	kwiräk	8	kwira-kinivkir
4	pis	9	trop-atieram
5	trop	10	trahiara
	11	trahiara karu yisa	
	20	axak-a trahiara	
	30	kwiräk-a trahiara	

Trop and trahiara have also been heard tirop and tirahiara and kwiräk as kuyuräk.

Distributive numerals are formed by the suffix *-mate*; *axak-mate*, two each.

Numeral classifiers have not been noted.

## TEXT.

ipaena'van-ite Cat-owl	kān there	u'-kuri <sup>1</sup> he lived.	ku'kum Again	imān tomorrow	
tu-a'kun-var <sup>2</sup> he-hunting-went.	ka're-xac And then	pū'fite deer	tò'-ik-a'r <sup>3</sup> he killed.	xac Then	
caruk down	tò-siu'ru-fak <sup>4</sup> he-dragged-(it)-down	stip (to) the shore.	xac Then	mu-vè'eur-ak <sup>5</sup> its-horns-on	
tu-pi-knivi-tāk-i'c <sup>6</sup> he-sat-on	ni'hate gently.	xac Then	pa the	pū'fite deer	
tò-u-kpo'u-va'rak <sup>7</sup> floated-down-stream.	xac Then	tò-siuru-ri'pa he-dragged-(it)-out.	xac Then	tò-efi'ri he-skinned.	
ka're-xac And then	kān there	a'rar person	tò-kuma'rihivik he met,	a'raa'ra person	
pa-mū'av <sup>8</sup> that-his-face	a'pap one side	u-a'v-ac-hu'ni-va <sup>9</sup> water ran down,	xac then	a'pap one-side	
u-pi'ric-hu'ni-va <sup>9</sup> there was brush down it.	ka're-xac And then	pa the	pū'fite deer	tu-è's-ep he-took.	
xac Then	pa the	ò'nu-ite kidney	kiete only	tu-pas-i he-threw.	xac Then
tò-u-pu-vā'ram <sup>10</sup> he-home-went.	xac Then	tò'-mnie he-cooked	pa the	u'nu-ite kidney.	xac Then
tu-ā'u <sup>11</sup> he-ate.	ku'kum Again	imā'n tomorrow	tu-p-akun-vara <sup>12</sup> he-hunting-went.	ka're-xac And then	
kān there	u-ū'm he-arrived.	è "Oh,	ica'vac cousin,	ò'uk here	ta-ni-a'ho <sup>13</sup> I-have-come.
no'-yuka're-ec <sup>14</sup> We-will-kill	pa the	in one	pū'fitei deer	i who	i-è's-a-yi'p-vuti-hat <sup>15</sup> you-has-deprived-of."

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Stem kiri, live, sit, be.<sup>2</sup> Tu- and ti- are at times found for u- and i-, he and you; akun is the stem; var, more fully varam, to go, is used both as an independent stem and as a suffixed auxiliary.<sup>3</sup> Tò-, for particle ta and pronominal prefix u-.<sup>4</sup> Tò-, the same; siuru, stem; fak, spatial suffix, down; the object as well as the tense are not expressed.<sup>5</sup> Mu-, possessive prefix of third person; -ak, locative case-suffix.<sup>6</sup> Tu-, subjective prefix, third person; pi-, meaning unascertained; knivi, for kinivi, equals kiri-vi, sit, from kiri, as in note 1; -tak, for -tako, on, spatial suffix; -ic, seems to be the future suffix -ec, -ic, though the context calls for a preterite.

<sup>7</sup> Tò- for ta influenced by following u; u-, he; kpou, float, swim; -varak, spatial suffix, down-stream.

<sup>8</sup> Pa-, that, the, customary with the possessive prefix of the third person mu-.

<sup>9</sup> U-, subjective pronominal element, third person; av, doubtful; ac, water; -huni, usually -uni, spatial suffix of verbs, down; -va, doubtful. In u-piric-huni-va, piric is brush, grass.

<sup>10</sup> To-, for ta, before u; u-, he; pu-, uncertain; varam, to go.

<sup>11</sup> Au for av, am, to eat.

<sup>12</sup> Compare tu-akun-var before; for the prefixed p-, see notes 6 and 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ta, preposed particle, probably temporal; ni-, I; aho, come.

<sup>14</sup> No-, more often nu-, we; yukare, stem, to kill, altered from ik-ara by the u-quality of the prefix; -ee, future suffix.

<sup>15</sup> I-, you, object; ès, stem, to deprive, take; -yip, for -ip or -cip, seems to denote motion away—compare ès-ep, above; -vuti, a common suffix, apparently temporal; -hat, suffix of past time.

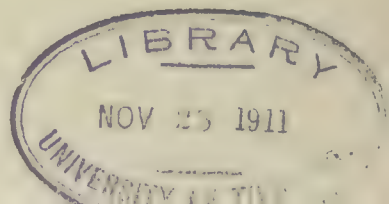
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