

# WIYOT GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

BY

GLADYS A. REICHARD

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## §1. INTRODUCTION

The contents of the following paper are the results of several field trips undertaken in the summer and fall of 1922 and in the spring of 1923. The expenses of the first two trips were defrayed by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, and of the last, by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, of New York City.

I am deeply indebted to Professor A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, and to Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, not only for useful suggestions in writing the grammar but also for much stimulating and helpful criticism and discussion.

The Wiyot informants from whom information was obtained were as follows:

Elsie Barto (B),<sup>1</sup>  
Jerry James (J),  
Birdie James (Bi),  
Della Prince and Miranda Berry (D) who worked together,  
Mrs. Buckley (Bu),  
Mrs. Searson (S),  
Amos Riley (R).

Not only were these people willing to serve as informants but they brought a lively interest to their work, especially Elsie Barto, who was indefatigable in her efforts to furnish exact information. It is to her patience and thought that I owe much of the following analysis. She knew no texts but gave many grammatical forms, exact retranslations of texts, and volunteered information about unusual expressions and idioms which I should not otherwise have known existed. Likewise, Jerry James and his wife, Birdie, devoted no mean efforts to recording the texts. Della Prince, and her mother Miranda Berry, gave me the basketry terms and explained the process. The three informants last in the list were used chiefly to check words, phrases, and facts received from the others.

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<sup>1</sup> The letters following the names will be used to indicate the source of information in some cases. This is considered important since there are a number of individual differences noticeable in the language, especially variations in vowels.



In a paper in this series,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Loud has presented the details of the geography of the Wiyot territory and summarizes thus:

The people speaking the Wiyot language, probably numbering 1000 souls in 1850, occupied in historic times about 465 square miles of territory about the shores of Humboldt bay and the lower courses of Mad and Eel rivers. . . . There were left at the time of the 1910 census 58 full blood Wiyot, 13 persons of partly Wiyot and partly other Indian blood, and 81 individuals partly Wiyot and partly of white blood, making a total of 152.

Furthermore, at that time there were only 11 of full Wiyot blood under the age of twenty. In the summer of 1922 a search was made for informants able to speak the language. Incidentally, this necessitated a crude census, which, however, did not distinguish carefully those of Wiyot and of mixed blood. There were at that time not more than 100 persons living as Wiyot and of those very few knew the language. There were two small settlements on Humboldt bay near the United States radio station about five miles from Loleta. There were several families at Bucksport (so-called, really within the city of Eureka near the southwest boundary), three families at the mouth of Mad river, one at Fernbridge, one at Petrolia, and one at the mouth of Eel river. There are also some Wiyot living among the Athapascans at Blue lake.

The young people of the tribe know very little of the language; some of those between the ages of forty and fifty can understand it, but cannot speak it. It is an interesting fact that when a Wiyot marries a member of another tribe, e. g., Athapascan or Yurok, the children, if they speak any Indian language, learn the one other than Wiyot. For this reason then, and because the Wiyot are so rapidly dying off or becoming assimilated with the surrounding population, the language is fast becoming extinct.

Kroeber in 1901 procured a number of myths<sup>3</sup> in English and fragments of the language<sup>4</sup> which he published in 1911. He has written of the Wiyot culture in his *California Handbook*.<sup>5</sup> Because he was visiting the Indians primarily to collect specimens, he did not have time to get a good linguistic informant (at that time the main settlement was at the mouth of the Eel river and more difficult of access than the present location). Of the work on language, Kroeber states, in a letter<sup>6</sup> written to Sapir during the Algonkin controversy: "I do not consider the texts very good nor did I find any satisfactory informant in the time at my disposal. The whole sketch is avowedly a slim preliminary treatment."

<sup>2</sup> xiv, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Am. Folk Lore*, xxviii, 85-107.

<sup>4</sup> This series, ix, no. 3, 384-413.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Bur. Am. Ethn.*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Am. Anthr. (n. s.)*, xvii, 192, 1915.

The Wiyot language is especially interesting because of the discussion just alluded to concerning its relationship to its northern neighbor Yurok, and the position of both as members of the great Algonkin family. Sapir presented data to<sup>7</sup> show this possibility in 1913. His paper was followed by a lively discussion between Michelson and himself in subsequent numbers of the *American Anthropologist*.<sup>8</sup>

The chief objection to Sapir's thesis is that it is founded on data too meager and too little assimilated. An outgrowth of this situation is the argument of Michelson, which is well taken, that for purposes of comparison one must select things which are equal. It is quite true that to give evidence the proper weight the sum of a, b, c, and d must be compared with the sum of a', b', c', and d'. But before this can be done we must be sure that our parts a and a', b and b', etc., are equal, or at least comparable. Sapir acknowledges that the cases Michelson points out are not comparable and that his chief concern is for material which will give a better understanding of the constituents of the languages in question. The writer does not pretend to include the Yurok portion of the argument, and Michelson is of course the present-day authority on Algonkin. This paper attempts to set forth the essential features of the Wiyot language as shown by texts and numerous grammatical questionings. Consequently, it has been deemed important to give as many stems and other elements in the vocabulary and grammar as have been procurable and found possible of analysis.

The material here presented is based on the body of texts obtained from Wiyot informants and upon grammatical material obtained through questions both upon portions of the texts and phrases in common use, as well as upon incidents of everyday life. There are also two translations of short paragraphs from Michelson's "The Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox Indians."<sup>9</sup> These portions were chosen so as to represent phases of culture common to the two tribes, and are included to satisfy a lurking curiosity as to the comparative appearance of the two languages when seen side by side.

Because conditions were especially favorable it was possible to check this material quite carefully. Most of the texts were obtained from Jerry James and his wife Birdie. The individual differences of Wiyot speech will be discussed more fully a little later. But, because of these variations (which are family habits), the chances for error are exceedingly great. The informants were accustomed to use abbreviated terms if

<sup>7</sup> *Am. Anthr.* (n. s.), xv, 617-646, 1913.

<sup>8</sup> *Am. Anthr.* (n. s.), xvi, 361-367, 1914; xvii, 188-198, 1915.

<sup>9</sup> *Bull. Bur. Am. Ethn.*, 72:17, 29.

the context could be understood. Consequently, from this source alone it would have been impossible to get full sets of such grammatical points as pronominal suffixes, for example. In distinct contrast to the James family (Humboldt bay) is the Brainard family (Eel river), whose members use the full form of every word, with each syllable distinctly enunciated. Molly Brainard is acknowledged by all the Wiyot as a speaker of the most 'classical' Wiyot. It was impossible to work with her, but Mrs. Barto, who has lived near her for a long time and has learned much from her, was a most valuable aid not only in providing the complete forms of words but also in rendering carefully detailed interpretations of the texts. The recorded texts were read to her, and she amended and explained them.<sup>10</sup> Thus there was considerable alternation between text recording and grammatical and comparative work, so that the possibility of error due to habits such as whispering and abbreviating was eliminated as much as possible.

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<sup>10</sup> It will be understood that the texts are reproduced exactly as given by the original informant, but the grammatical points are deduced from the more complete forms as given in parentheses.

## §§2-6. PHONETICS

## §2. SOUNDS

Speech habits among Wiyot individuals, or rather families, differ so much as to become almost dialectic. Broadly speaking, certain peculiarities characterize the three main districts, namely, Humboldt bay, Mad river, and Eel river. But even within these districts separate families have established differences which, if not checked by others, cause certain features to be very elusive. Especially is this tendency noticeable in the vowels. For example, some habitually use *e* where others use *ä*, although each speaker may be consistent in the use of the vowel he chooses. Another distinction is the choice of words, which is doubtless territorial:

Humboldt bay: *ga'wawētca'ciL*, he began to fish for mussels.

Eel river: *ga'watsa'niL*, he began to fish for mussels.

In spite of frequent slurrings in rapid speech the following vowels may be distinguished:

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| <i>a</i> | as in <i>father</i>   |
| <i>e</i> | open as in <i>met</i>   |
| <i>ē</i> | closed as in French <i>été</i>  |
| <i>i</i> | open as in <i>pin</i>   |
| <i>ī</i> | closed as in <i>pique</i>   |
| <i>o</i> | rounded but not as rounded as <i>u</i>                                    |
| <i>ô</i> | very open as in English <i>law</i> , usually long                         |
| <i>u</i> | approaching <i>o</i> in quality but much more rounded                     |
| <i>a</i> | as in English <i>up</i> as sounded in the United States, often very short |
| <i>ä</i> | like <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i>   |

All vowels may be followed by a glottal stop, the strength of the glottalization varying with the individual speaker, although it is never exceedingly strong.

An interesting variation of the *a* and *a* vowels when followed by *c* was noticed. Two speakers fail to round the lips as much as is customary to form *c* and because of the flatness of the *c* the *a* and *a* take on an *r* tinge. For example, *haeg-*, to tear, sounds like *harçg-* when used by these people. Since, however, this is an individual peculiarity, and not common, it will not be indicated.

The diphthongs are:

- ai as in English *rite*, frequently splits up into a-i
- au as in *house*, splits up into a-u
- ei as in *face*, splits up into e-i
- oi as in *joy*, splits up into o-i, often heard ui or u-i

When an accent accompanies a diphthong, it falls on the first sound of the diphthong.

Consonants:

|   |    |                |    |    |   |      |     |
|---|----|----------------|----|----|---|------|-----|
| Bilabial.....   | b  | p              | —  | —  | v | —    | m   |
| Dental.....   | d  | t              | —  | ts | — | s    | n   |
| Prepalatal.....                                       | —  | —              | dj | tc | — | c    | —   |
| Palatal.....  | g  | k              | —  | —  | — | —    | —   |
| Labialized Palatal...                                 | gw | k <sup>w</sup> | —  | —  | — | —    | —   |
| Velar.....  | —  | —              | —  | —  | γ | x(?) | —   |
| Lateral, voiced continuant.....                       |    |                |    |    |   |      | l   |
| voiceless affricative .....                           |    |                |    |    |   |      | l̥  |
| Rolled, sounds, voiced, tongue-tip trill.....         |    |                |    |    |   |      | r   |
| voiced, very slightly trilled.....                    |    |                |    |    |   |      | r̥  |
| Glottal stop.....                                     |    |                |    |    |   |      | (ʔ) |
| h, w, y   |    |                |    |    |   |      |     |
| w, unvoiced final syllabic w, usually preceded by (ʔ) |    |                |    |    |   |      |     |

The consonants are not glottalized. Since this feature contrasts markedly with the languages of contiguous territory, Yurok and Athabaskan, particular attention was paid to this point when recording.

The bilabials b, w, v, and m are often confused, especially the last two. This is due to the fact that v is very carelessly spoken by many of the Wiyot, particularly the younger English-speaking members of the tribe. They usually substitute m for this sound; but it is generally possible, with a little care, to differentiate between v, m, and w when talking with the older people who speak the language well.

The sounds d and t are true dentals, as is also n. The d and n are very closely related to r which is given two very short vibrations with the tip of the tongue making contact with the palate back just far enough to miss the teeth. The nasal n occurs rarely as an initial. The sound which has been written r̥ is exactly like initial English r and is functionally and organically distinct from the r just described.

The prepalatal sibilant, c, is apical and is formed with lips somewhat rounded. It is not heard for s, which is formed by more definite rounding of tongue and lips, but with tongue making contact with palate at the same place as for c.

From the phonetic changes and accretions which appear upon adding suffixes to words ending in -k, it seems that there were originally three k's which became merged into one when final, or that a single k developed in three different ways. At any rate final k sounds the same in each of the following words, for example (see also §§6C, 31):

tsäk, child, hu-tsäk-ar-a'l, his child  
 bidjo'k, my great uncle, bidjo'gw-a'r, his great uncle  
 dja:k, my maternal uncle, djag-a'l, his maternal uncle

The sound written  $\gamma$  is velar. A few speakers make it surd (x) when final but more frequently it is sonant.

The relationship of the sounds h, y, d, l, and r is discussed in §6(C). There is no affinity between the l of this series and r, the latter being used for the diminutive. Consequently we find two l's neither of which may supplant the other.

The stops, sibilants, and affricatives are strongly aspirated except when final as described below.

### §3. QUANTITY

Any of the vowels may be lengthened or shortened. In fact, quantity is so important as to give the language a definite character; the same may be said of its northern neighbor, Yurok. Vowels are slighted, particularly in the use of adverbial connectives, as well as of some modal and adverbial prefixes. They are most often lengthened when occurring in radicals or final syllables, although lengthening is by no means confined to these. It is most probably a literary device used to give color and emphasis to narrative. For example, some of the syllables of serious or sacred discourse are drawn out far beyond their usual length. In other cases syllables are shortened. The temporal adverbs gutce' and gugwe', each meaning 'long ago,' are emphasized by holding on to the final vowel, although retaining the glottal stop; in this form they mean 'long, long, long ago,' the time increasing in length as the vowel continues.

The tendency to lengthen is by no means confined to vowels. The fricatives when final (i. e., in syllables, not in words) are lengthened so as to complete one syllable but are carried along so as to give the effect of introducing the following syllable. As this is invariably the case, these sounds will not be marked long. But the same process is at times used with the stops. And, since the closure is the only part of a stop

which can be lengthened, it may conclude a syllable while the explosion serves as the initial of the next one. When this phenomenon occurs it has been indicated by the usual mark for lengthening, namely, the superior dot (·). As it appears very commonly with the labialized g, it has been considered best to place the dot after the w since gw is regarded as a single sound.

#### §4. ACCENT

The question of accent in Wiyot is a difficult one. One point is clear, however, namely, that, although stress is of extremely great importance in making the language intelligible, it is not a morphological feature. No rules have been formulated which show where the stress should be placed. Disyllabic words may be stressed on either syllable, and the accent does not remain stable. That is to say, when used independently, a word may be stressed on a certain syllable, but if the same word is found in a sentence the accent may have shifted. The same may be said for polysyllabic words. But should a word have as many as four or five syllables the tendency is toward placing equal stress on the two middle, or approximately middle, syllables. This rule is not by any means absolute. It will also be well to remark that if more than one syllable is stressed, the accent tends to be even on all, there being no secondary stress. There is no doubt that the matter of stress accent is very closely related to the question of vowel length, although a vowel may be greatly lengthened and fail to carry the accent, or vice versa.

Pitch, too, is exceedingly important. Long vowels often have a glide from low to high, or from high to low. In narration serious episodes are related in a low monotone; when the action changes higher tones are used, or variations from high to low, or the reverse. Consequently speech is very highly colored, and the customary glides show themselves in foreign speech. English, for example, spoken with a Wiyot accent, becomes more expressive but sounds strange.

Pitch accent performs one syntactic function similar to the one it plays in English. The following sentence, for example, if spoken with falling tone on the last syllable is a declaration of fact, if the rising tone is used on the same syllable the sentence is an interrogation:

lā-ka-gotsaγar-om-awel-aγ, you did not find it for me, did you not find it for me?

## §5. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The vowels, with the exception of a and i, and  $\gamma$ , are the only Wiyot sounds which may not be a word-initial. The vocative prefix a- is the only case where a is initial; and i, as well as n, occurs at the beginning of words, but rarely. Any sound may, however, begin a syllable other than the first. Any of the sounds may close a syllable, but w at the end of a word becomes whispered.

The following initial consonant clusters are found: bl (rare), pl, pL, tw, tv, tg, tk, sw, sv, sk, s $\gamma$ , cw, cv, cg, ck, tsw, tsg, tew, tev, teg, tek, kl, kL, LW, LV, Ltv, Lg and L $\gamma$ .

Labials and the palatal surd may combine with the laterals only, dentals and prepalatals may become labialized or may unite with palatals; these are the possibilities for initial consonant clusters.

The formation of consonant clusters is restricted by the fact that Wiyot inserts a short or obscure vowel between some consonants in preference to combining them in clusters. For example, it is said that until recently the ground squirrel did not exist in Wiyot territory, but they call it *sala's*. This is undoubtedly the Athapascan *slas*, which, however, my informant could not, at least did not, upon frequent trials, pronounce without the short inserted vowel.

The same process is noticeable in intervocalic combinations; nevertheless they are more varied. The following are found: pd, ps, pc, pdj, pl, pL, tw, tb, tv, tg, tgw, tk, tkw, tks, tkc, t $\gamma$ , tr, t $\gamma$ , sw, sv, sb, sd, sts, sg, sk, s $\gamma$ , sl, cw, cv, ct, cg, ck, c $\gamma$ , cl, cr, cL, tsw, tspl, tsd, tsg, tsk, ts $\gamma$ , tske, djg, tew, tev, ted, teg, te $\gamma$ , gd, gt, gs, k $\gamma$ v, k $\gamma$ d, k $\gamma$ t, k $\gamma$ tw, k $\gamma$ s, k $\gamma$ sd, k $\gamma$ c, k $\gamma$ l, k $\gamma$ L, k $\gamma$ r, kw, kv, kd, ks, kc, kts, kte, kdj, kl, kL, k $\gamma$ , ld, lk, LW, Ld, Lts, Lg, L $\gamma$ , Lr, L $\gamma$ . The groups t $\gamma$ st, glw, and rw were each heard once.

The following generalizations may be made regarding the intermediate combinations:

The only labial introducing a cluster is p. It may combine only with dentals and laterals (prepalatals).

Dentals may combine with labials, other dentals or palatals.<sup>11</sup>

Palatals may cluster with dentals only (except k which may become kw or kv, phonetically distinct from k $\gamma$ ).

The final consonantal groups are: pL, tw, tk $\gamma$ , tk, tks, tkc, sk, ck, tsk, tek, k $\gamma$ s, kt, ks, kc, kl, and Lk.

<sup>11</sup> Laterals and trills are considered in these groups.



Final combinations are few: The only labial which is capable of entering combination is once more p; it occurs only with the lateral affricative.

Dentals group with palatals, and vice versa.

The clusters which may stand in any position are: pL, tw, tk, sk, ck, tsk, kw, kL, and possibly kc.

In general then, the labials except p, the nasals, the dentals d, r, dj, the sonant palatal gw, and the continuant γ, as well as the trill ʀ, do not enter into combination.

Of the sounds which may combine, the most common are clusters of dentals with palatals and the reverse.

#### §6. PHONETIC LAWS

Although there is a tendency in Wiyot to combine independent words in quick speech or in running narrative, there is usually no great difficulty in determining where one word ends and another begins. Nevertheless, the elements of the words are so closely amalgamated as to be in a number of cases inseparable. In the process of composition, sounds and syllables become assimilated with great ease. There are ante-active and retroactive assimilations, elision plays a prominent part in the welding of word constituents, and sounds change because of their position.

##### A. Assimilation

Consonants become assimilated when they are brought together by composition. Assimilation may be progressive or retrogressive.

Progressive:

1. w + l becomes w:

gad'aw-u'law-ēL, he brought him in (for gad'aw-lulaw-ēL)  
 dīgwa'tgalu . . . , big one roll down (for dīg-w-latgalu), 25, 12<sup>11a</sup>  
 ga'arakwē'ma'nawil, she cannot write (for garakw-lemanawil)  
 hīdī'gwalil, it flew down (for hīdīg-w-lalil)

2. m + w becomes m:

gwalwa hala'ho'mē'lil, what has gone wrong with me (for hala'ho'm-wēlil)  
 wasa'to'mal, light it for me (for wasa'tom-wal)  
 gulo'mē'lil, illness came back to me (for gulo'm-wēlil)

<sup>11a</sup> Numbers used this way refer to number of text and number of sentence in that text.

## 3. d+l becomes d:

gulē'do'lawo'i', again coming up it was taken (for gulēd-lol-awoi'), 13, 63

gē'dagwel, he became old (for gēd-lagwel)

haroda'tgalaya'navay, toward me roll it (for harod-latgalayanavay)

gībo·da'iyatga'deL, she never opens her mouth (for gībo·d-laiyatgadēL)

hī'gē'dēk<sup>w</sup>LIL, she stopped crying (for hī'gē·d-lēk<sup>w</sup>LIL)

harodo'nasil, (snake) is crawling toward me (for harod-lo'nasil)

hidē'tw-iL, sleeping he came up (for hī'd-lē'tw-iL)

hī'gē'do'siL, he stopped fishing (for hī'gē·d-lo'siL)

## 4. d+w becomes d:

hīga'wanavodal, it was handed to me in something (for hīga'wanavod-wal)

ra'dē'tiL, big stomach he had (for ra'd-wētiL)

## 5. n+w becomes n:

te'naliL, he pushed me (for te'n-waliL)

rani'naliL, he helped me (for rani'n-weliL)

## 6. s+w becomes s:

guda'li'sal, it was put back for me (for guda'li's-wal)

degwowē'sal, basket was let down for me (for degwowē's-wal)

da-ri'd-ä'tks-al, I am paid two dollars a day (for dari'd-ä'tks-wal), 45, 12

le'ma'saleL, they put me ashore (for le'ma's-wal-iL), 31, 32

## 7. r+w becomes r:

wata''gaṛ'ṛila'ṛir, some one fell by stubbing his toe (for wata''gaṛ-wēṛila'ṛir)

karē'ṛila'ṛir, foot is caught tightly (for kar-wēṛila'ṛir)

karē'sa'nalil, my hand is fastened (for kar-we'sa'nalil)

dagwati'yanavay, hit his tail (for dagw-ratiyanavay)

hīya-vato'karal, I grazed my elbow (for hīya-vato'kar-wal)

## 8. g(γ)+w becomes g:

salatgä'lilata'lawa', I threw foot with a report, I stamped my foot (for salatg-wälilata'lawa')

datgē'ta'dil, my belly was burned (for datg-wē'ta'dil)

sēya'tokara', my elbow aches (for sēγ-watokara')

cubotgē'riLa'navay, do not scratch his foot (for cubotg-wē'riL-anavay)

datgē'riLa'dir, I burned my foot

dog-ē't at, log burst through burning (for dog-wē't-at)

9. g+l becomes g; this combination has also a grammatical significance (see §20:36)<sup>12</sup>

ganoga'liswiL, not long he sang (for ganog-la'liswiL), 21, 7

La'g-ulawoi', he was taken down in (for La'g-lulawoi'), 31, 5

gano'go'lawēL, not long he danced (for ganog-lo'lawēL)

klāro'gēk<sup>w</sup>Lel, long time he cried (for klārog-lēk<sup>w</sup>Lel), 31, 17

kwisgala'ga'gwil, suddenly he knew nothing (for galag-lagwil)

10. d+L becomes L:

gu-ra'La'l, he got up again (for gura-d-La'l), 17, 32; 26, 50; 4, 25

hi-na'Lel, she got up (for hinad-Lel), 15, 26

da gī'tga gēL'a'kawa', I am going to stop working (for gēd-la'kawa'), 45, 12

ra' [La'w, big long thing (for ra'd-La'w)

Regressive:

11. r+d may become d; however, r followed by d is frequently found.

gurikco'dak<sup>w</sup>, way west he lived (for gurikcor dak<sup>w</sup>, independent words)

guda'lē'Lawi', the one speaking (for gur-da'lē'Lawi')

guduwa'uwi'Lui, those who cried (for gur-duwa'uwi'Lui'), 49, 19

saiyi'trak<sup>w</sup>s, I put one side up (for saiyitr-dak<sup>w</sup>s)

Since the language does not permit the consonant clusters wl, dl, and gl, it is clear that one of the two sounds must be subordinated: it happens to be l.

The same reason holds for the disappearance of w when such combinations as mw, dw, and rw would otherwise appear. The absence of w when s and g meet is accounted for by the fact that sw and gw are sounds in their own right, that is, they are not a combination of two sounds but labialized forms of a single phonetic whole. Besides, gw is definitely related to a k-sound rather than a combination of g and w.

<sup>12</sup> Of two numbers used in this way the first refers to the paragraph, the second to the subdivision of the paragraph.

### B. Elision

Elision, a common method of sound change, may be initial, or final, or it may occur within the word. Examples will show best the process. One of the most usual forms is that in the combination of two syllables consisting of a consonant and a vowel, the final vowel of the first and the initial consonant of the second are lost, and the new syllable, composed of the initial consonant of the first and the final vowel of the second, remains. Elements whose initials are *l* and *w* show the greatest tendency to be affected in this way.

12. *wa+li* becomes *wī*: (This change and the following two have a morphological significance also, the complete form of some words having an entirely different meaning. The process is not very free however, it being used with comparatively few stems, see §20:38).

*ga'wiyawakwīL*, she started to make baskets (for *gawa-liyawakwīL*)

*gara'rakwī'yawakwa'γ*, I cannot weave baskets (for *gara-rakwalyawakwa'γ*)

*ga'wī'k<sup>w</sup>LīL*, she began to cry (for *gawa-lik<sup>w</sup>LīL*)

*gawī'yawa'gwīL*, she began to get excited (for *gawa-liyawagwīL*)

13. *wa+la* becomes *wa*:

*da'-dati'γagawalisw*, often I begin to sing (for *dadatiγa-gawalisw*)

*wa-ga'watswato'mīL*, he went to make a pack for her (for *wagawa-latswato'mīL*)

14. *wa+lu* becomes *wu*:

*ga'wo'lawoi'*, they began to dance (for *gawa-lo'lawoi'*)

*ga'wulawoi'*, he began to take it (for *gawa-lulawoi'*)

15. *wī+yē* becomes *wē*:

*hīgwē'tsavusīL*, upon arrival she gave it to you (for *hīgwē-yētsavusīL*)

*hīwē'tsavum*, I will give it to her (for *hīwī-yētsavum*)

*wē'tsawa'welīL*, she will give it to me (for *wī-yētsawawelīL*)

*gawē'dak<sup>w</sup>sīL gitga*, he was going to put it up (for *gawī-yē'dak<sup>w</sup>sīL gitga*)

But this form of elision does not occur in all cases; for example:

*hī-gwī-yē'd-ēL*, upon arrival he came up (the form *hīgwēdīL* is not permissible)

16. The first person possessive prefix, *ra-*, when preceding a syllable beginning with *v*, retains the initial *r* which combines with the vowel of the following syllable, the vowel of the first syllable and *v* of the second thus dropping out:

*va'tar*, nose; *ra'tar*, my nose  
*vĩtsaL*, saliva; *rĩ'tsaL*, my saliva

In the same way the second person possessive *ka-* may combine, whence *ka+va* becomes *ka*, etc. For other examples, see the discussion of the possessive pronoun §31, more especially scheme II.

17. On the other hand, the final consonant of one syllable and the initial vowel of the following one may be lost:

*guda'te'lavēk*, when you were talking to me (for *gudatela-wel-ak*)  
*dicga'wēt*, you like me (for *dicga-wēr-at*)  
*wiwa'lawēt*, you will see me (for *wiwalawel-at*)  
*ku'dalag'ed'a'wēγ*, because you left me (for *kudalag'ed'awel-ak*),

43, 33

*hawa'lawēgwa'l*, (she does not want) to see me (for *hawala-wēl-agwa'l*)

When two syllables are similar, one of them may be lost, the one retained being the syntactic element.

18. If the negative *ga-* and the second possessive *ka-* are combined by composition, *ga+ka* may become *ka*:

*kadicgaga'm*, you do not want (to see her) (for *ga-kadicg-aga'm*)  
*kugati'γalel*, you did not come to the surface (for *kuga-katiγalel*)  
*ka'lawi'tsera'γ*, you did not go to sleep (for *ga-kala-wi'tsera'γ*)

19. A syllable may drop out: *wa+ra* becomes *wa*:

*ga'wa'k<sup>w</sup>cēmīL*, she began to track him (for *gawa-rak<sup>w</sup>cēm-iL*)

20. *wa+wi* becomes *wi*:

*ga'witiL*, she became pregnant (for *gawa-witiL*)

21. The second syllable *wa-* of the inchoative prefix *gawa-* may be lost before a syllable beginning with *b* or *p*:

*ga'be'līL*, he started to fish (for *gawa-belīL*)  
*hīga'bařugēLVaL*, he began to hear (for *hīgawa-bařugēLVaL*)

Or, the new syllable resulting from the elision of two others may differ from the components of either.

22. When the negative *ga-* stands before *ha-*, the two syllables combine to form *gwa*:

*gwa'dicgamil*, she does not want (to see you) (for *ga-ha-dicgamil*)

*hinoga'gugwati'yalēm*, for a long time he did not come to the surface (for *hinoga'guga-hati'yalēm*)

*gwatsa'rayak<sup>w</sup>*, it is not dirty (for *ga-hatsarayak<sup>w</sup>*)

*gwa'lēwī'tsērīl*, he did not go to sleep (for *ga-halēwīts-ērīl*)

*gwaro'datkcēl*, he does not keep still (for *ga-harodatkcēl*)

### C. Influence of Position

Sounds may change also because of their position in the complex.

23. A final surd tends to become sonant if a syllable is added to the form:

*da'da'laswot*, I smoke, *da'da'laswodil*, he smokes

*wē't*, alder, *wē'd-ak<sup>w</sup>*, from alder

*vatk*, tule mat, *vatg-a'l*, her mat

*habaruk*, I heard, *gwībaru'g-ēl*, upon arrival he heard

*galol hīga'twap*, my lips I licked, *walola'l hīga'twabil*, her lips she licked

*hēk<sup>w</sup>*, louse, *hadē'gwa'l*, his louse

24. Words having a glottal catch in the last syllable usually lose the catch and take an accent when the syllable ceases to be final:

*baγa'γa'n*, to cross at front end, *baγa'γa'ni'*, scissors

*daγa'dawa'n*, here and there it was pushed in, *lā'garoga'd·aw-a'niil*, they had not brought it absolutely all in

*da'lagwoti'm*, I am telling her to do right, *da'lagwo'ti'mot*, I am showing her (how to work)

25. A final *r* or *d* becomes *n* when certain suffixes are added:

*tsa·r*, mussel, *tsa·nats*, shell spoon, *ga'watsa·niil*, he began to fish for mussels

*veled*, eye, *velē'na'l*, his eyes

*wo'r*, arm, *wo'na'l*, her arm

*da·r*, father, *dana'l*, his father

*vēra·r*, horn, *hamara'na'l*, his horn (*v* becomes *m* with possessive)

26. When a noun ends in *n* which is not the relative of *r*, the syllable *-aγ-* must be added before the third possessive suffix *-a'l* (and some other suffixes). This accretion is purely formal and is necessary in other instances which are not clearly understood (see §16, *B*).

*wa'tgan*, nail, *watga'n-aγ-a'l*, his nail

27. Nouns ending in a vowel require w before certain suffixes. Those in i have a glide -yiw- (-yaw-):

- vade', wood, vadē-wa'l, her wood  
 halo'wī, canoe, dalo'wī-yaw-a'l, his canoe  
 varatce'í, water, ratcē'wak, on water (J), varatcē'yiwak<sup>w</sup>, on water (B)  
 haluna'si', snake, haṛuna'ci'-yaw-ôts, little snakes (§36, sentence 41)

28. A number of elements and stems change initials according to their position in the complex. When initial they begin with h:

- ha-la'wilo', I am stirring soup  
 ha'-la'liL, it flies around  
 hē'l-awana', it is said  
 hak<sup>w</sup>d-a'n, start fire  
 haṛp-i'tegar-aL, something which wraps leg—garter  
 ho'wiL, he is coming

When following i, i, or ē they begin with y:

- hī-ya'liL, he came (inside)  
 hī-yē'liL, he said  
 hī-ya'k<sup>w</sup>d-ar, start fire unexpectedly  
 hī-ya'palava', I wrapped, bandaged it  
 dakwī-yo', they arrived at destination

When used after the possessive the initial becomes d:

- ku-dē'ma'n-aw-ak, (try) to write it  
 hu-dē'ma'n-aw-agw-a'l, (let her try) to write (stem, heman)  
 ha-do'w-agw-a'l, (he saw dog) coming  
 ka'-do'w-ak, your coming  
 ha'γar, dress, ru-da'γar, my dress  
 halowī, canoe, dalo'wīyaw-a'l, his canoe  
 hēk<sup>w</sup>, head louse, hail, mak<sup>w</sup> ha-dē'gw-a'l, bear, his louse—caterpillar  
 hēwat, abalone, hu'dēwat-a'l, his abalone shell, ku-dē'wat, your abalone, rudē'wat, my abalone

In other positions the initial of such particles is l:

- ga'wa-la-la-wilow, I am starting to make soup  
 va'-gu-la:l, again I am going to go  
 da-lē'lawana', it is being said  
 gu-la'k<sup>w</sup>d-ar, again he put fire on top  
 gu-lo'wiL, he came back

These examples will suffice to show the changes which occur, other cases might be cited *ad infinitum*. In the material which follows, elements of this type will be listed under the initial (h) form and in other forms will be enclosed in parentheses; e. g., ho-w-(y, d, l), indicating that these forms follow the rules just given, the letters in parentheses to be substituted for the preceding h as occasion arises.

29. Although *v* is frequently heard for *w* or *m*, there seems to be little doubt that *v* becomes *m* after a possessive prefix.

vērar, horn, yiro'mērar, my horn, hamara'nā'l, his horn

-melav, be fat, hu'-me'lav-a'l, his flesh, his being fat

ve'lak<sup>w</sup>, elk, ha-me'lagw-a'l, his elk

-vētsar, sleep, ha-mētsar-agwa'l, his going to sleep, ra'metsar-ak, my sleeping

-vēwar, be big (in sense of fat, heavy), ra-mē'war-ak, my fatness, hu-mīwaragwa'l, because he is fat

va-, modal, go to. . . ., hu-ma'be'le', (he went about) fishing

-vēw, eat, ka-mē'w-ak, (try) to eat

30. When a final *k* does not become sonant upon the addition of suffixes, an additional syllable *-ar-* must be inserted between the *k* and the suffix.

vatok, elbow, wato'kara'l, his elbow

wa'tsava'lok, shoulder, ha-wa'tsa waLok-ara'l, his shoulder

daγ, belly, da'γara'l, his belly

go'tek, paternal grandmother, go'tekara'l, his grandmother, wuṛa-go'tek-arēyam, your deceased grandmother

ga'tek, father's brother, dawa-ga'tek-arēyam, your father's deceased brother

bīdjo'tek, paternal grandfather, wu'-bīdjo'tek-arēyam, your deceased paternal grandfather

da'pdētk, backbone, da'pdētk-ara'l, his backbone

tsāk, child, hu'tsākara'l, her child

31. The following examples show the form which another *k* (see §2) assumes when followed by suffixes:

bīdjo'k, father's mother's brother, wo'-bīdjo'gw-ēyam, your father's mother's deceased brother

-gok, father's mother's sister, dawuw-a'-go'gw-ēyam, your father's mother's deceased sister; ha-go'gw-a'ṛ, her father's mother's sister

sīlak, pain, illness, sī'lagw-a'n, (no one) is sick

wīk-, hither, hīya-wīgwa'-liL, he came in

la'γarak, land, la'γaragw-ak<sup>w</sup>, on land



The subordinating suffix *-ak* ends in the same kind of *k* and the third person form is uniformly *-agw-a'l (-a'r)*:

*kado'w-ak*, your coming, *hado'w-agw-a'l*, his coming

The same *k* occurs initially also and necessitates the same changes:

*-gas*, daughter-in-law, *gwa's-aw-a'l*, her daughter-in-law; *dawu'gwa'sw-iyam*, your deceased daughter-in-law

*-gaL*, grandson, *gwa'La'l*, her grandson; *dawu-gwa'L-iyam*, your deceased grandson (but cp. *wuga'Lo'wil*, her deceased grandson)

*-ga*, mother, *hu-gw-atc-a'l*, her mother (form is diminutive always)

32. The final *d* (or *t*?) of some final-position stems seems to combine with some other sound and the resulting combination is *L*. The process, which is not at all clear, can best be shown by giving a few examples; it will be noticed in the first personal object of regular transitive verbs (whereas no trace of even the stem itself can be found in the second person) and in the first and second persons of passive and referential stems:

*dēkwē-dēwar-aLel-iL*, she set me down

*dēkwē-dēwar-as-iL*, she set you down

*dēkwē-dēwar-at-um-iL*, she set him down (*-at-* cause)

*ra'Lel*, I am big, I am getting up

*ra'Lelôt*, you are big

*ra'dar*, he is big

*boca'Laṛ*, I was heard

*boca'Laṛôt*, you were heard

*boca't-ow*, he was heard

33. The prefix *ṛu-* (*ṛo-*, *ṛa-*) tends to cause all the following *l*'s of the *l-ṛ* series to become *ṛ* but has no effect upon the *l* of the *h*, *y*, *d*, *r* series.

*hiṛawa-ta'ṛav-iL* (dam), he threw it all down, 8, 37

*hiṛawa-ṛ-i'*, all lay down (*-l-*, stem "lie," which takes only passive suffixes)

*haṛawä-daṛ-iL*, they all went off (but cp. 6, 15)

*hēṛawa-Laṛē'm*, everything was blown, 5, 52 (cp. 5, 51; 5, 53; 5, 57)

*gurada-ṛu'-dawil-a-m-agw-a'r*, when he had seen all, 49, 11

Other examples where this influence is not felt may be found under Pronominal Classifiers *ṛo-*, *ṛu-* (§22).

To summarize, by far the most common form of assimilation is progressive and elision is frequent. The sounds most often influenced by both processes are *l*, the *k*-sounds, and the labials.

## §7. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The following processes are used for the expression of grammatical functions and syntactic relations:

1. Composition
2. Affixing
3. Modification of consonants
4. Position

Perhaps in view of the comparison of Wiyot with Algonkin, composition is the most interesting of these processes. Nouns may be formed by the composition of: two nouns; adjective or adverb and noun; noun and verb; and verb stem with descriptive suffix. Only rarely are sounds assimilated. Verb complexes, too, are formed by the combination of two or three stems which perform functions so closely related that they must be considered coördinate. Besides composition of coördinate nominal and verbal stems, the same process is used for the expression of adjectival categories. Adjectives usually express two ideas, as for example, large and round, or small and cylindrical. They are essentially verbal.

Affixing is the means most frequently employed to express ideas and grammatical modifications. Nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adjectival forms are modified by means of affixes; prefixing and suffixing are the rule, whereas infixation is lacking.

Modification of consonants plays an important rôle in the formation of the diminutive. It is used also in the expression of possession, and certain prefixes change their initials when they are used with subjective forms in the second person.

Syntactic relations are expressed by the position of words in the sentence. When there is no ambiguity the position of independent words is quite free. For example, when there is no nominal object the subject may stand either before or after the verb, but if objects or nominal instrumentals are present they are obliged to settle down in their own compartments. There are also elements which have no fixed position and which in some connections should be treated as independent words and in others as affixes.

As a grammatical process reduplication is very weakly developed. It indicates superlative diminution and complete continuity. Several verb stems, animal names, plant names, and diminutives show reduplicated forms, but reduplication is used chiefly for emphasis or exaggeration.

## §§8-15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

## §8. CHARACTER OF STEMS

There is a large number of nominal stems. Many of these are monosyllabic, but the majority are polysyllabic. In general it may be said that Wiyot shows no particular inclination toward monosyllables. The language, in common with other idioms of the region, abounds in descriptive terms. For each nominal stem a long circumlocution may be used, in fact, is often preferred. This tendency is due, in part, to the custom of abandoning for a time the name of a deceased relative together with all words whose sound combinations remotely approximate the combinations of the name. It may be that some words have been lost through this custom, but the loss cannot be greater than the gain; for the need of forming new compounds has been met by the relative freedom (within given limits) of the elements of the language. Furthermore, the habit of giving the name of a dead kinsman to a child—preferably a niece or nephew of the deceased—after a few years, has resulted in words coming into use again. This was especially true when the tribe was larger and it was considered not only worthy but fortunate to inherit a name. I am not inclined to lay too much stress upon the death taboo as the cause of the frequent use of descriptive terms, for when there is no need for discarding a noun, there seems often to be a preference for the longer term. Place names, also, show no tendency toward brevity.

There is no definite dividing line between nominal and verbal stems. For instance, the same stem *mas* (*vas*) denotes as a noun "fire," and as a verb "to burn"; *walapt* (*valapt*) may mean "fur" or "to be furry." Radicals denoting bodily action are often the same as the name of the body-part. They have been listed as 'neutral' stems (§38, see also §18). On the other hand, some radicals which are always verbal have a nominal significance:

*ra't-wulu-ya-tg-il*, big mouth, he is (has) a big mouth

Verb forms like the following have also become nominal in idea although they retain their verbal form:

*la'lisw-ak*, song (really verbal noun but lacks possessive affixes always found in gerund)

*dēgwa'γ-aL-il*, poison

*yutswi-ya'-ra'kwi*, little maggots like it is—rice.

Again, stems may take on verbal forms which, while remaining intact, become nominalized by means of affixes:

wa-da'tge-dē'waril-ēwē, pile (wa . . . ēwē, place where; da'tge-, pile; -dēwar-, sit; -il, third person verbal suffix)

Verb stems have been divided into three classes (§18). Since one class results from a combination of the first two, it will be necessary to discuss the character of those two only. It may be observed that when two stems appear in the same complex, the one in final position is the more general, and the one in first position the more specific or subjective. Some stems of Class III have locative connotations. In fact, if they did not occur independently they might well be called adverbial prefixes. There may be some relation between this fact and the fact that the occurrence of two stems in the same complex with adverbial classifiers is rare. That is not to say that the use of coordinate stems and adverbial classifiers is mutually exclusive; but cases of their simultaneous appearance are few.

Adjectival stems have been referred to briefly. They are essentially verb stems which occur in first position. When they serve in the capacity of adjectives, however, they may stand without verbal endings. They then express more than one idea. The compound consists of a stem and one or more classifying elements. The stem denotes such ideas as size and weight; the classifier, shape or form:

rada'-yo'n, big and threadlike (rope, headband)

rad-ē'l, wide and flat (table)

ra'd-ēk, wide and spreading (river)

rad-a'tk, large and round (basket)

gasaw-ā'tk, small, round and flat (dime)

gasa'm-at, small body (people, animals)

gacv-ēra'r, small built (house)

The final elements of these and of other adjectives will be seen as descriptive classifiers capable of being used in the verb complex.

#### §9. VERBAL PREFIXES

The most numerous of all Wiyot affixes belong to categories expressing manner or time. The prefixes of manner occupy first place in the verbal complex; as many as five have been found in a single word. They express such ideas as speed, prohibition, progression, negation, augmentation, manner, continuation, inception, iteration, futurity, unexpected action, completion, failure after trial, probability, and potentiality.

It will be noticed (§17) that prepositions in reference to nominal forms are all expressed by a single suffix. Their duties in the verbal

complex are assumed sometimes by the stem itself, but more frequently by adverbial prefixes. These express locality such as 'along with or away from the speaker,' 'around,' 'beside,' 'up,' 'in the midst of,' 'in the middle of,' 'down,' 'across,' 'destination,' 'here and there,' 'out of,' 'into,' 'in the same place,' 'ahead of,' 'behind,' 'back and forth,' 'on both sides of,' 'at the end of.'

Following the adverbial prefix are several classes of elements, none very large, which have been variously subdivided. There is a group of nominal classifiers whose functions can best be shown by giving some of their meanings: 'in a circle,' 'in a pile,' 'pertaining to elk,' 'one side of,' 'on the end or edge,' 'piece, portion,' 'small pokes,' 'news.'

To another division we may apply the term 'indefinite pronominal' classifiers or prefixes. These take care of the subject of plurality in the language and have such meanings as 'some,' 'plural,' 'many,' 'much,' 'all,' 'each.' They function alike for subject or object.

The final group of classifiers comprises descriptive particles, the second elements of the adjectival forms. They denote shape, size, and state.

#### §10. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Nominal suffixes express use, diminution, shape, and state. The place of prepositions is filled by a single locative suffix, sometimes accompanied by phonetic glides. This suffix may have any meaning—at, in, into, among, near, beside—which fits into the context. Vocative case and possession by first and second persons singular are expressed by prefixes. There are several pairs of affixes, that is, prefixes which occur with certain suffixes (in a few cases the prefix is missing), which express 'place where,' 'that which,' and 'the one who.' Of the same character is the third person possessive (ha, hu . . . a'l). The use of affixes to express possession is confined to the designation of inalienable possession when applied to such nouns as body parts, and a few others which could naturally, according to Wiyot code, be common property. To express alienable possession of body parts circumlocutions must be used. They could not say 'my deer's head,' but would have to say 'that deer's head, one of my valuables' or 'that deer's head it belongs to me.'

The suffix *-aL* serves to nominalize a verbal complex.

#### §11. VERBAL SUFFIXES

The verb has fewer suffixes than prefixes. They present such ideas as instrumentality; objective, indirect objective, and subjective pronominality; voice; and a few modes such as imperative and qualificative, or dubitative and warning; the suffixes for the two latter may perhaps more properly be termed enclitics. One suffix is diminutive.

## §12. DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive is one of the favorite devices of Wiyot expression. It has a functional and a formal significance. When functional it denotes size, but may be used to express very subtle shades of meaning. It is a form of derivation and it may express degree, e. g., 'almost,' diminutive, 'more nearly almost.' A verb may acquire a diminutive form either because of its subject or object, because of the nature of the act, or because the word is a derivative. Other stems have a diminutive *form* which is doubtless euphonic.

## §13. PRONOMINAL IDEAS

There are a number of pronominal suffixes. The subjective suffixes denote person speaking, person spoken to, and person spoken about, in the singular; and in the plural, person speaking, in the active and passive voices. There is a similar series of objective suffixes for the active voice. The other persons of the plural are indicated by the use of independent pronouns. A series of independent pronouns is complete for all persons and numbers except perhaps the third person singular. They are used as disjunctives and to give emphasis. In the second and third plurals their office is to denote plurality, either subjective or objective. The reflexive and reciprocal are verbal suffixes, and intensives are formed by adding suffixes to the independent forms.

There is also a series of suffixes which denote the indirect object. Their meaning, however, is not 'for the benefit of,' unless that is the only interpretation possible, but rather 'instead of'; e. g., 'I gave it instead of you giving it' ('I gave it for you') oftener than 'I gave it to you.'

The two demonstratives are prefixes which may be used with nominal or verbal stems. They express nearness to, or distance away from, the speaker.

Possessive affixes have been discussed with reference to noun stems. They are used also with subordinate clauses to denote the subject of the dependent clause; e. g., 'I am glad to see you' would be 'I am glad my seeing you.'

The use of the possessive is not restricted to subordinated verbs, but is found in some negative forms of the main verb. So closely related to the verb complex has it become that one stem is found where the possessive is used twice with the negative: 'I dived and stayed under water' would be 'my-not-my-come-to-the-surface.'

## §14. SYNTACTIC RELATIONS

The following cases of the noun are distinguished: nominative, possessive, and vocative. Indirect object or dative, and direct object, as well as subject, are expressed by verbal suffixes which are used whether or not the nominal forms are expressed. The relations of subjective, objective, and dative nouns are indicated by position. The locative is indicated by the local nominal suffix, by adverbial prefixes, and by verb stems, hence cannot be considered as a syntactic case. There is no device to point out a noun as an instrumental. The noun is placed before the verb and a suffix is added to the verb to indicate the means of an action. If two or more nouns precede or follow the verb the instrument must be determined by the context.

There is only one form of verbal dependence, namely the use of the possessive with a subordinating suffix. This device is used for relative, participial, infinitive, subjunctival, and temporal subordination. Verbal coördination may be shown by composition of stems, or by juxtaposition of finite verb forms without connectives. There are no true conjunctions. Interrogation is suggested by adding the enclitic *-ya* (*-iya*) to the first word of the sentence.

## §15. CHARACTER OF THE SENTENCE

A complete Wiyot sentence may consist of a radical with a pronominal suffix, i. e., of a single verb form. A characteristic sentence, however, might have this order: subject noun, descriptive adjective, verbal complex. The verbal complex may be composed of the following: any number of compatible modal prefixes; one or two first-positional verb stems; an adverbial prefix; nominal, pronominal, or descriptive classifiers; final-positional verb stem coördinate with the preceding; pronominal object, indirect object, instrumental, reflexive or reciprocal, and subject, and perchance a modal or syntactic suffix. It is true that sentences as complete as this do not occur often, but a literal translation might be: 'handkerchief—interrogative, large abstract thing, intention—quickly—rub—near eyes<sup>13</sup>—do with hands—ourselves—we;' meaning: 'are we intending to rub our eyes with a large handkerchief quickly?' The accompanying tabulation of some actually occurring verb complexes illustrates the morphological scheme of the verb complex.

<sup>13</sup> Neutral stem.

TABLE I.—VERB STRUCTURE

| Prefixes of manner or time | First-positional stem | Ad-verbial prefix | Pro-nominal classifier | Stem, first or final positional | Descriptive classifier | Final stem       | Pronominal suffixes |                 |                         |              |            | Nominalizing suffix | English translation |   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|---|
|                            |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  | Direct object       | Indirect object | Reflexive or reciprocal | Instrumental | Subjective |                     |                     |   |
| va-wi-gu-mi-               |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        | VO'S-            |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     |   |
| ga-                        | biwa-                 |                   |                        | rog'a-                          |                        | la'l-            |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | He will go fishing again soon                                   |
| ga-gu-                     |                       | ro'la-            |                        | ɣaɾ-                            |                        | ad-              |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | Not long he stayed around, 12, 157                              |
| gi-da-                     | duma-                 | wä-               |                        | Liɣaɾ-                          | tsga-                  | an-ratw-ta'l-    | aw-                 | iw-             |                         |              |            |                     |                     | She did not cause her face up again—she did not look up, 43, 21 |
| vu-swä-                    |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  | aw-                 | aswauw-         |                         |              |            |                     |                     | We even rubbed our eyes   |
| cu-                        |                       |                   | lana-                  | gutsa-                          |                        | walaan-<br>ëtsav |                     |                 | us                      |              |            |                     |                     | She is angry at you (plur.)                                     |
| da-wi-                     |                       |                   | val-                   |                                 |                        |                  |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | I have just been sowing seeds                                   |
| hi'-                       |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        | gë'd'an-         | av-                 |                 | om-                     |              |            |                     |                     | I wish each had one   |
|                            |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | I will give you something on account of this                    |
|                            |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | He turns everything over to her                                 |
|                            |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | He struck me in the face with his hand                          |
| hi-gë-                     | data-                 |                   |                        | ɣaɾ-                            |                        | ana-             | vël-                |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | They stopped talking to each other, 48, 1                       |
| hi-                        | svë-                  |                   |                        | ɣaɾ-                            |                        | an-              | aw-                 | o'w-            |                         |              |            |                     |                     | She pointed at his head with it, 38, 39                         |
|                            | dagw-                 |                   |                        | atɣac-                          |                        | aɾ-              | aw-                 |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | Let him be given a hit on the head with it                      |
| da-                        | gataw-                | ä-                |                        | Liɣaɾ-                          |                        | Liɣaɾoc-         |                     |                 | acel                    |              |            |                     |                     | She is washing my face  |
| da-                        | gëdjä-                |                   | hana-                  | Liɣaɾ-gots-                     | atɣaɾ-                 | ad-al-l-         |                     |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | A face is being made at me                                      |
|                            |                       |                   |                        |                                 |                        |                  | av-                 |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | Each bone alone broke falling, 36, 13                           |
| da-                        | gaw-                  |                   |                        |                                 |                        | an-              | av-                 |                 |                         |              |            |                     |                     | Hand it (in container) to us                                    |

\* Optative.

† Passive.



## §§16-35. DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR

## §16. THE DIMINUTIVE

Before taking up the various topics of Wiyot grammar it will be well to discuss the diminutive, since it is one of the most characteristic features of the language and since phonetic changes akin to those which hold for the formation of the diminutive have a far-reaching importance in verbal as well as in nominal complexes. Diminutive changes perform a grammatical function, play a large part in derivation, enhance Wiyot euphony, and, as a literary device, give delicacy and variety to the language. These changes are formal as well as functional.

In the extensive use of the diminutive, Wiyot approaches Wishram<sup>14</sup> more nearly than any other American language. The general process, namely, consonant modification,<sup>15</sup> is the same, but that is the limit of the similarity. The consonant changes are different, Wiyot uses also suffixes, does not have a reverse scheme for expressing the augmentative as Wishram has, and lacks also the ability of the Wishram to 'diminutize' a part of the verb complex. The last distinction makes possible a much wider variety of form, and consequently secures finer shades of meaning. In Wiyot, if any part of the complex is diminutive, the whole word becomes so. There are, however, exceptions where some particles retain their normal form while the rest of the word follows the rules for consonant change, but they are formal rather than functional.

The phonetic changes are as follows:

| <i>Normal</i> | <i>Diminutive</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|
| d             | ts                |
| t             | ts, tc            |
| s             | c                 |
| l             | r                 |

A. *Functional Changes*

The addition of the diminutive suffixes -ats and -atc (-ôtc) is quite as important as the consonantal changes, not only in the noun but also in the verb. When the suffix is used once with the noun it may signify that the object is small; if the reduplicated form of suffix is used, the object is very small. It is as if in English we were to reverse adjectival comparison—positive-comparative-superlative—without the awkward construction which necessitates the use of 'less' and 'least.'

<sup>14</sup> Bull. Bur. Am. Ethn., 40 (1), 638-646.    <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 644.

| <i>Normal</i>                     | <i>Diminutive</i>                            | <i>Reduplicated Diminutive</i>               |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| wē'liL, foot                      | wē'riL-a'ts, little foot                     |  |
| wa'nak <sup>w</sup> , tree        | wa'nakw-iy-a'tc, grove of<br>small trees     | wa'nakwi'y-ats, grove of very small<br>trees |
| waiyits, dog                      | wā'tc-a'tc, puppy                            | [wāts-a'ts, small dog] <sup>16</sup>         |
| hītwā'L, round<br>openwork basket | hītswā'L-a'ts, small basket                  | [hītswāL-ats-ats, tiny basket]               |
| halo'wī, canoe                    | harowīya-wa'ts, small<br>canoe               |  |
|                                   | hutwa'tc, food basket,<br>pail               | huts-w-a'ts-ats, tiny food basket            |
| bas, basket plate                 | bac-a'ts, small plate                        | bac-a'ts-a'ts, tiny plate                    |
| bad'au'w, stream                  | badja'iyawa'tc, brooklet                     | [batsa'iyaw-a'ts, very small stream]         |
| bumē'b'el, knife                  | bume'b'aṛaw-a'ts, small<br>knife             |  |
| platk, rock                       |  | plā'tewite-a'tc, small rock, gravel          |
| dē'lol, storage<br>basket         | djiṛu'r-a'tc, small storage<br>basket        |  |
|                                   | tsiṛu'r-a'ts, small storage<br>basket        |  |
| te'γaril, unmar-<br>ried man      | teī'γaril-wa'tc, boy about<br>14             |  |
|                                   | tsi'γaril-wats, boy about 14                 |  |
| kōlawo', carrying<br>basket       | kaṛawa'L-a'ts, small<br>basket               | ka'ṛawaL-a'ts-ats, tiny basket               |
| kitra'i', carrying<br>basket      | kitraiya-wōts, small<br>kitra'i'             |  |
| la:lil, river                     | ra'riL-wōtc, slough                          |  |
| ra'l, small open-<br>work plate   | ra'r-a'ts, small plate                       | [ra'r-a'ts-ats, tiny plate]                  |
| cwat, bow                         | cwa'ts-a'ts, small bow                       | [cva'ts-ats-ats, tiny bow]                   |
|                                   | tsara'riL-wa'tc, girl just<br>before puberty | tsa'ṛa'riL, unmarried woman                  |
| dato'karil, her<br>elbow          | tša'tsokaril, her little<br>elbow            |  |
| haluna'si', snake                 | haṛunaci'ya-wats, little<br>snakes           |  |

An example of an adverb: vadi'ṛawan, almost; vatsi'ṛawan, almost almost, more nearly almost.

From these examples and from the behavior of some verb forms, there is reason to believe that -atc- signifies the diminutive in the sense of 'young,' whereas -ats has the idea of 'small, tiny.'

In the discussion of the noun (§17) a few examples of diminutive derivation are given. Several others follow which are also nominal at least in use if not in form:

<sup>16</sup> Forms in brackets [ ] are those which are not used but which informants approve as allowable.

| <i>Normal</i>  | <i>Derived Diminutive</i>                                     |
|--|---|
| dakda'k <sup>w</sup> L, one stick fastened as cross-piece at end of another, the arrangement hanging | tsaktsa'k <sup>w</sup> L, onions, something hanging crosswise |
| doga'pLī, green  | tso'gapLī, canary   |
| sisw-atk, seeds used for beads   | cicw-a'tsg-aks, <sup>17</sup> a variety of bullhead           |
| hiyawa'γala'-γatk, round thing   | hiyawa'γara-γatsk, peas                                       |
| go'dau, eel  | go'tsa-waɽe'n-a'ɽ, small eel's eyes—sleet                     |
| wa'-daraya-da'l-il, fast it travels—black mountain lizard  | wa'tsaraya'-tsa'ɽ-il, small mountain lizard                   |
| va'we'na', name of large benevolent man  | va'wēna-wō'tc, name of small good man                         |
| [laya'twaswaL], backlog (lasu'sag-atk), <sup>18</sup> ?  | ɽaya'tswacwaL, kindling wood                                  |
| sa'lavasa'l, her niece   | ɽacu'cag-a'tsk, his cheeks have pockets, gopher               |
| ru-da'γa-sakwa'γ-ak, my stitching here and there   | gatsir ca'ɽavac-a'tc, crow's little niece—blackbird           |
| tso'gē'ts-ats, ocean gull  | da'γa-cakwa'γ-ak, little stitching here and there—gunny sack  |
| dakla'le', across he jumps, flea   | tso'gētsa'tsgaɽ-a'ts, small sea-gulls                         |
|  | tsakLa'rē', sand-flea   |

The behavior of the diminutive and its consonantal changes in the verb have been anticipated by the nouns given above, some of which are really verb forms.

A verb may be diminutized by the use of the suffix *-atc* (*-atc*).

The following divisions are made, not as a rigid classification, but merely to present the various aspects of diminutive use; for it will be seen that some of the sections overlap.

The diminutive may be used because of:

1. The nature of the act:

- daγa-La'ɽ-iy-a'tc-iγ, jump around here and there, take little jumps to get warm (daγa- here and there; -La- jump; -iγ, imperative)
- djuwa'gayo'war-a'tc-a'n, it was a small fight, 46, 5
- djagwa-tci'γ-a'n-av-aγ, whip him, give him little slaps (cp. dagwa-ti'γ-anavaγ, hit his tail)
- djo'-kitsgaɽ-il, he limped
- tsokitsgaɽil, little one limped
- tsa'ts-aiyatsgi'b-o'w-il, (children) kissed each other, gave each other little pokes at the end of the mouth

<sup>17</sup> A curious circumlocution for ro'naks, bullhead. The first two elements, cicw-, black, -atsg-, projecting mouth, both diminutive, retain the original suffix -aks, doubtless because it contains no sounds which had to be avoided.

<sup>18</sup> The parenthesis ( ) indicates a theoretical normal form which the Wiyot do not know.

- ha'ts-wapts-ī'ṛaγ, it looks like short fur—seal  
 ho'tsa'-bara'γatsgē-tsēwar-il, she is sitting on the edge (-dēwar-sit)
- ho'tsabara'γa-tsar-il, it is walking close to the edge (of cliff)  
 (-dal- travel, move)
- tša'-ra'tsī''tsar-il, or da-ra''tsī''tsaril,<sup>19</sup> he is sneezing  
 haLo'natc-aṛ-a'tc-iγ, blow your nose  
 ha-wa'tsgar-a'ṛ-il, his bones are all broken, broken up fine  
 (-watgar- bones; -al- break)
- hi-tso'-gā-Liγar-ats-ē'ma', I winked at her  
 baba'war-a'ts, I whispered, stole a little talk (ba- on the sly, prefix always occurring with this stem)

2. Derivation. There is no exact division between this and the foregoing class except that most of the original forms have been shown. A few more examples will show the importance, as well as the elasticity and limitations, of the diminutive process. The first illustrations bring out the phonetic shift applied to the verb stem -ad-, 'cause.' In the diminutive it becomes -ats- (-ats-) and is essentially different from -atc which is a diminutive suffix in his own right:

- go'ma-γaṛ-a'ts-u', basket strap tied in a knot, it is caused to turn over (goma- turn; -γala- over; -u' third indefinite)
- hī-tsa'k-vaṛē'n-ats, I arched my brows, across I cause my eyes  
 (dak- across; valed- eye)
- tsana'tsγa-raγa'-da'l-il, she bends too far forward (in walking)  
 (tsanats- little bunch, perhaps from steam tana- be predominant; -raγa- back)
- tsatsa'-Laγar, small plaid cloth  
 tsatsa-ra'tsīγ-a''ṛaγ, little long tail—mouse  
 tsoga'L-aiya-a'n-a'ṛaγ, weasel, yellow it looks like on breast  
 (dogapL- be yellow)
- daṛagu'ma-ro'r-a'tc-a'i, name of person  
 cakka-wē'ṛ-il, she hates me, used by man in speaking of girl he is trying to court (cp. saksa'-wēl-il, she hates me, general term for expressing dislike)
- vateγa'-raγ-a'dj-atc, sleep with back toward fire, warm back  
 tγadj-ō'tc-ôk<sup>w</sup>, name of girl's rancheria  
 ro-gatew-a'iyatcan-aw-ēL, my handkerchief, it wipes my chin

<sup>19</sup> The stem -ra'tsī'tsar-, sneeze, is essentially a diminutive form, but note that it may or may not cause the rest of the complex to be diminutized.

teĩya-rã'lar-iL, martin, he looks out (cp. ti'γarã'la:riL, he looked out)

tevatc-ga'tc-tiya-dad-ēL, ring-tailed cat, he has rings on tail  
tevatcga'd'ida'lawē·lī', where big plaids stand—name of Wolf's house at Field's Landing

3. The character of the subject. The subject may be an independent word, or it may be designated by a classifier in the verb complex itself.

wēkwa'l hī-tsēgwa'-lag-atsg-al-iL, her tears ran down one by one (dēgwa- down)

rē'kwāl hī-ba'raγ-atsg-aŕ, my tears fell in a stream (baraγ- pour)  
tsarats-ä'tsγac-a'ŕaγ, very small owl with flat head (cp. dala'd-ätgas-iL, he has wide place at crest)

tsatsgaru'-Liγar-a'ŕaγ, black bear—his eyes are almost closed up  
tsēgwa'-γa'ŕ-iL, he is a little devil, used of child in exactly same sense as in English, meaning a mischief but happy and goodnatured

bo'war gawa-lo'ts-atsg-al-iL, rain began to fall in drops  
tsīgw-a'tsgaru . . . . ., may little one roll down, 25, 4 (complete normal form digw'-atgalayaL-iL)

gotswawī'-ratsw-iL, (child) has very good thoughts (gots- good; -swawī- very; -ratw- have thoughts)

gac-vēŕar (house) small is built (cp. ra't-valar, large it is built)  
hack-a'ŕ-iL, small piece broke off (cp. haska'lil, piece broke off)  
ga-ra'gw-atc-iL, he has not much sense, used when a child is naively comical; it has an endearing rather than a derogatory meaning (ga- negative; -lagw- have sense; -atc- dim.)

da'-ga'maŕ-atc-iL (children) are playing

va'w-a'tc-iL, he is a cry-baby, child cries

4. The character of the apparent object:

djuwa da'-baraγ-atcke-aγ, there pour the small round things (baraγ- pour; -atcke- move)

bī-ra'tsīγ-a's-iL, he shook his tail 21, 22 (bī- shake; -ratsīγ- little stump of tail: -a's- move hind part of body)

### B. Formal Changes

Besides altering the character of the word as noted, the same phonetic changes take place with affixes influenced by the radical which they accompany. This is true of the third possessive suffix when used with a noun or the subordinating suffix -agw-:

hu-dja'γēL-w-a'ɾ, his pocket  
 hu-ci'dac-w-a'ɾ, his shadow, spirit, picture  
 hu-L'a'γ-ôγ-a'gw-a'ɾ, (he is glad) she gave him a present  
 hu-dudatkē-ēgw-a'ɾ, when she kept still

Pronominal suffixes require the same changes, which can be shown most clearly by paradigms:

*Regular Conjugation:*

Stem: ra'datw, think highly of, like personally in the sense of to respect (perhaps a compound of ra'd-, be large, and ratw-, have thoughts)

ra'da'tw-a's, I like you  
 ra'da'tw-a'm, I like him  
 ra'da'tw-a's, wau'w, I like you plural  
 ra'da'tw-a'm dag'u, I like them plural  
 ra'datw-a'wel-at, you like me  
 ra'datw-a'm-at, you like her  
 ra'datwa-wel-a'd'ak, you like us  
 ra'datw-a'm-at dag'u, you like them plural  
 ra'datwa'-wel-il, she likes me  
 ra'datw-a's-il, she likes you  
 ra'datw-a'm-il, she likes him  
 ra'datw-a'wOL, she likes us  
 ra'da'tw-a's-il wau'w, she likes you plural  
 ra'da'tw-am-il dag'u, she likes them  
 ra'datw-as-a'dak, we like you  
 ra'datw-a'm-adak, we like her  
 ra'datw-as-a'dak wau'w, we like you plural  
 ra'datw-a'm-adak dag'u, we like them

*Conjugation with Euphonic or Diminutive Suffixes:*

Stem: dicγ, like, love

dicγ-a'γac, I love you  
 dicγ-a'm-a', I love her  
 dicγ-a'γacawau'w, I love you plural  
 dicγ-a'm-a' dag'u, I love them  
 dicγa'-wēɾ-at, you love me  
 dicγ-a'm-at, you love her  
 dicγa'-wēɾ-ad'ak, you love us  
 dicγ-a'm-at, dag'u, you love them  
 dicγa'wēɾ-il, she loves me  
 dicγ-aγa'c-il, she loves you  
 dicγ-a'm-il, she loves him (it)  
 dicγ-a'γog-il, she loves him (also the name for soul)  
 dicγ-a'γOL, she loves us  
 dicγ-aγa'c-il wau'w, she loves you plural  
 dicγ-a'm-il dag'u, she loves them  
 dicγ-aγac-adak, we love you  
 dicγ-am-adak, we love her

The following laws have been determined regarding the use of the diminutive changes:

1. Radicals with diminutive characteristics (i. e., when d or t becomes ts; where actions are characteristically diminutive; or where subject or object is small) require the diminutive form of the suffix:

tsawē'ts-gagw-ir, I am comical

da'-waLa-ṛa'l-iL, (that way) because of it they fly (in jerks and changing curves like buzzard) (-ṛa'l- for -la'l-), 2, 60.

2. If c occurs in a radical whether it be first- or final-positional, it causes the suffixes to become diminutive:

dagw-a'tgac-aṛa-wēr-iL, he gave me a tap on the head (dagw- hit; -atgac- do with head; -aṛ- do of its own volition [?]; -wēr-, first personal direct object)

pēc-a'd-ir, I have a blister (pēc-, swell; -ad-, burn)

hīya-vē'c-ac, I awakened you

hīya-vē'c-a''ṛa-var, I was awakened by calling (-a'ṛ-, call; -var, first person passive of verbs of reference §24[B]).

It has not been possible to generalize about other stems requiring diminutive suffixes. Rules have been found which might apply, but upon investigation other stems containing the same sounds are found to take normal suffixes. The verb stems which require the diminutive are listed in the vocabulary (§§37, 38).

We may conclude that the use of the diminutive forms has euphonic as well as diminutive characteristics; that in some cases (Rule 1) the use is invariable, and in others it appears to be in a state of flux where either normal or diminutive forms may be used. The tendency is to increase the use of the diminutive.

In the tables of verbal suffixes the diminutive form will be written in parentheses.

#### §17. THE NOUN

The noun may be discussed under the following heads: Nouns without descriptive meanings, and nouns formed by composition.

Many nouns denoting body parts and kinship terms are monosyllabic, but this class includes also other categories, as may be seen from the vocabulary.

There is a large number of polysyllabic nouns which cannot be analyzed and which evidently do not, to the Wiyot, have any meaning except the object or quality for which they stand. They include names of body parts, kinship terms, animal and plant names, designations of persons and objects (see §40).

Among the names for parts of the body the predominance of the elements *wat*, *ve*, and *vət* is evident. It is possible that these elements denote indefinite possession but it is more probable that they are descriptive prefixes (see this §, below). The form for indefinite possession is the name of the part with the affixes *ha*, (*hu*) . . . . *a'l* (*e'l*). These affixes are the possessive pronouns of the third person, singular or plural, any gender—all gender being unexpressed in Wiyot.

*ha'-watgerad-ē'l*, his, her, its, their bone

*ha-mēra'n-a'l*, his, her, its, their horn

*ha-vē'tsa'L-a'l*, his, her, its, their saliva

Forms may occur without the prefix *ha-* (*hu-*) but third person possessive is never shown without the suffix *-a'l* (*-e'l*), whether the possessor is definite or indefinite:

*vē'tsa'L-a'l*, his, (somebody's) saliva

*datar-a'l*, his nose

*velē'n-a'l*, his eyes

*watga'i-ya'l*, (*ha-watga i-ya'l*), his skin

The omission of the prefix will be further discussed in the chapter on the possessive. It is partly phonetic. All informants say there is no difference in meaning and both forms are often given for the same word.

The nouns *wē'lil* (foot) and *djaγil* (paunch) have a verbal form and doubtless were originally thought of as verbal. They are at present, however, never considered as verbs but always as nouns, and the apparently inconsistent form *ha-wēlil-a'l*, his feet, or tracks, is frequently used. The same form is also a verbal stem but retains its form with the verbalizing suffix *-il* repeated. In the same way *djaγil* (paunch) is used as if it were purely nominal.

A word about Wiyot idioms may be appropriate here. There are many phrases which may be literally translated, but which have taken on a purely idiomatic meaning. This fact will come out more clearly in the discussion of the verb. Several nouns, however, are worthy of mention. The word *degwa'*, which is a much used stem, now stands for 'white man.' But it seems to be a very old stem and denotes as nearly as can be expressed in English, 'that which is to be feared,' or 'that which should be respected on account of fear.' It appears in a compound which means 'poison' or 'devil,' in one which signifies 'menstruation,' in another meaning 'childbirth,' and in a fourth, a proper name denoting an intangible and indescribable being conceived as a spirit head of the doctor power; and in still another meaning, 'to tell



what one sees when doctoring.' The diminutive is used of a happy but mischievous child, and means literally 'he is a little devil,' in the same sense as we use it, obviously losing its fearful qualities.

The noun *teγariL*, 'youth,' bears an interesting comparison with the stem *ho'te'γara'a'L*, 'be worth.'

### *Nouns Formed by Composition*

Nouns may be formed by juxtaposition of two nouns. The second noun may have the possessive affixes, but this is not necessary:

*degwa' bodaru'c*, white man Brodiaea root—white potato  
*cu'r ho'l*, beach water—ocean  
*botganawē'c da-gē'Lisw-aL*, spider, that which snares—spider  
 web  
*dēgwa' mē'lagwa'l*, white man his elk—cow  
*mak<sup>v</sup> hadē'gwa'l*, bear his louse—caterpillar  
*mas wulo'a'l*, fire its mouth—fireplace  
*we'n hawalē'n'a'l*, sky its eyes—stars

Adjectives or adverbs may combine with a noun to form a second noun:

*datēri'gagwēL*, Above-Old-Man—God  
*swiyai yo'ki*, slimy-throat—shag  
*gutsawe'n*, one sky—day  
*wici-dē'gwa'*, head of doctor power, an intangible being which  
 sends power  
*gīda'kwe te'γariL*, finish having sense (verb) youth,—unmarried  
 man, bachelor  
*gīda'kwe tsara'riL*, old maid

The modifier may precede the noun as above or it may follow:

*bots cawē'di'*, deer white  
*wa'lad-ē'tk*, fuzz round—peach

Forms composed of verb stem (diminutive) and descriptive classifier are analogous to the previous example:

*ca'γ-atk*, small red round—red huckleberry (*ca'γ-*, dim., *sa'γ-*,  
 be red)  
*gu'maγ-atck*, turn small round—star

Here is a curious example which seems to be related in form:

*gama'gw-atg-a'l*, acorns their roundness—rocks used in cooking

Two of the foregoing nouns furnish examples of another form of derivation; namely, the use of the diminutive (§16).

| <i>Normal form</i> | <i>Diminutive</i>       |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| wuda; smallpox     | wutsa'yaw-a'ts, measles |
| tsa'r, mussel      | tsa'nats, shell spoon   |
| to'l, long pestle  | teo'rate, bottle        |

Other nouns are verb forms which have taken over purely nominal connotations. The most common forms are the indefinite declarative, infinitive, and finite verbal constructions.

**Indefinite:**

rä-baru'g-aL-ui', outside corner of the house (barug-, listen; this noun has become nominalized by -aL, and again verbalized by -ui')  
 haLgan-o'i', breathing  
 gavu'tc-agw-ē, female it affects—doe  
 Lava'-tga'n-i', round thing which is pushed—button  
 dēgwa'γaL hu-gu'ga-w-ē', poison it is kept like—secret  
 tcvē-Līgatc-atc-ī', little stripes on face—raccoon  
 ha'lan-ī', valuables (lan-, be worth)  
 te'n-ī, it is pushed—plane

The following nouns are without doubt verb forms but have the third possessive suffix:

hal'a'n-e'l, the placing of poison on a person's body while pretending to be friendly (halan-, touch)  
 lēmēt ar-a'l, boards of house running crosswise  
 wuyavä'tg-a'l, it is bent back—horn spoon  
 ha'liya'l-e'l, the mediator in settling quarrels (ha-, about; liya=l  
 liya+lal, go back and forth)

**Infinitives (Participles):**

haLga'n-ak, to breathe—breath  
 da-wa'iyā'-γar-ak, to entertain all night—name of a big dance  
 wa-ga'bal-a'k, what is not eaten—garbage  
 hu-da'l-agw-a'l, its talking—noise  
 la'lisw-ak, song  
 da-la'dätg-ak, flat tableland  
 sī'l-ak, pain  
 wa-butcg-ak, to scratch, scratching—itch  
 da-ga'w-ak, doing, working—job  
 ciya'rak we'lil, to put into, foot—shoe

Finite verb used for noun:

ta:m ve'u, sun I eat—eclipse  
 da'-gaca'-da'd-ēL, head it encircles—surf scoter  
 gawē'c-iL, it blossoms—flower  
 ga-gawē'c-iL, it does not blossom—bud  
 dēgwa'γaL-iL, poison  
 go'tsa-ra'kwe, good (sweet) it is—dessert  
 ratsaw-a'bal-iL, at night he eats—burrowing owl  
 yutswī-ya'rakwī', little maggots like it is—rice

Proper nouns more often than not are verb forms; in most cases they are formed by composition:

ra'k-cur-iyā-L'a'γ-ēL, name of hero which features in many tales  
 (rak-, away from subject; cur, west; Laγ-, go down into)  
 gwatewo'kwīra'kwē', another name for the same individual  
 pla'tg-asa'ma-lim, name of place on Little River, rocks—small—  
 lie

djaṛagwa'n, Patrick Point, somehow related to name for haliotis,  
 which is found there

hīd-a'L, place on Elk River (hīd-, go up; -aL, that which)  
 da-cuwa'Lar-o'i', place on Bear River where evil wishes are made  
 (da-, progressive; -cuwaLar-, make evil wish; -oi', indefinite)  
 gurikwī'cwarī' gagwēL, Southeast-Old-Man  
 laγa'n, "Mr. Heavy"  
 hē'nat, Sleepy-head  
 da-gu-lo'wal-ēL, Weitchpec, where one river meets another  
 dawēba'lil, He-Makes-Rope  
 tegadjōtca'k'w'dago'wik, Man-of-tegadjōtca'k'w (the latter the  
 name of his mother's rancheria)

tevatcgadi'dalawēLi', small plaids stand up—name of Wolf's  
 home at Field's Landing (reference to derivation not known but it is  
 thought a pole decorated in plaids of some kind stood before the house)

Verbs may also combine with nouns or adverbs to form nouns:

hawē'γarak gagwo'mīL, medicine he knows about—doctor  
 votw dala'gē', woman's front dress—ceremonial dress  
 hī'mali'hapa'wīL, way down under he is diseased—syphilis  
 dēgwa' halēnawēL, white man they are valuable—beads

### Nominal Affixes

The vocative prefix *a* is used with terms of relationship; it is obviously purely syntactic:

a'-da'c, father!  
 a'-da'r, son!  
 a'-dok, sibling!  
 aga, mother!  
 a'-bā'l, cousin!

A device which expresses 'place where,' or 'that which,' consists of the prefix *wada-* used with the suffix *-(y)awī*, with the complete verb-complex between;

wa'nak<sup>w</sup> wada-wa'la'li'-yawī, place where they go to hunt  
 (wa'nak<sup>w</sup>, woods; wa-, go; -la'l, go around, with wa'nak<sup>w</sup>, hunt; -i', indefinite)

wa'da-wa'da'li'-yawī, place where they go to live  
 wada-wa'-cuwa'Laroi'-yawī, place where evil wishes are made  
 wada'-da'ba'wo'wī'-yawī, place where they build a dam  
 wada-swa'wī-ni'-yawī, that which is kneaded much—bread  
 wad-a'tge-dē'war-iL,-ēwē, that which sits in a pile—pile

Used without prefix *wada-*:

paya'kwan-awī, name of carrying-strap when used on forehead  
 varōtci wa-gats-a'wī, that which has much water—watermelon

When either of the demonstratives *gura-* or *wura-* is used, the combination denotes 'the one who'; this form is very frequent as it is customary to use it instead of a person's name, which is generally avoided.

gura-ho'wēL-wē', the one coming  
 gu-da'lē'L-awī, the one speaking (gur + da = guda)  
 gu-du-wa'uwi'L-ui', those who cried (du-, plural)  
 gur-gīya'gwa-du-va'w-iL-ūi', those who did not cry at all, 49, 20  
 wuda-lim-awī, this one lying here  
 wara-wusē'L-awī, the one who went fishing

From a study of body parts with the prefix *wat-* (*vat-*) it may be suggested that this prefix means 'at the extremity of.' It was brought to my attention by my informant, Mrs. Barto, who thought *watsa-valo-k*, shoulder, sounded like 'it is on the edge of the arm'; when we note *valo-k* as 'upper arm' the idea is not so far-fetched, nor is it in such words as *wa'ta-velok*, 'ear,' 'at the extremity of a tube,' (cp. *velok-* 'throat'); *wa'tavat*, 'head'; *watc-war-ōtc* 'wing'; *watgai* 'skin,

covering,' etc. The prefix might even be interpreted as a radical in such words as *wat-e'l*, 'his tail,' or 'head' above. The latter remark is ventured merely as a suggestion. It is difficult to see the connection in such words as *wat-gērat*, 'bone,' or *vatwo'k*, 'rib.'

In like manner *ve-* (*va-*) is a prefix with the meaning 'in' or 'on.' It will not be necessary to quote many examples for they can be seen by referring to §40. We have here an explanation of such words as the following:

*ve-teac*, mussels—inside something

*wī-pLatk*, sea anemone—really: 'on rock'

*va-tar*, nose—'on it projects'

*-a'ts*, *-atc*, *-ôtc*, common diminutive suffix, used together with consonant changes (see Diminutive, §16).

*ra'ra'ts*, small wicker plate

*ba'mar-ô-te*, small sturgeon, specific name (but *ba'ma*, sturgeon)

*djetcē'w-atc*, (also *tsgē'wate*), mud-turtle (perhaps diminutive of stem *tge*, push)

*djagôLeli'tc-ôtc*, blackbird

*hutcw-atc*, food basket

*hutsw-a'ts-ats*, very small food basket

*djīru'ṛ-atc*, small basket with narrow top (dim. of *dē'lo'l*)

*-atck*, *-atck*, used, old, not new

*butc-a'tck*, something roasting on two sticks

*hap-atck*, bundle (*hap-*, wrap, tie)

*hitwaL-atck*, large open basket used

*katawa'L-atck*, small open carrying basket, not new

*hutcwô'tc-atck*, used food basket

*bitcw-atck*, used basket mortar (*bitw*, mortar)

*kitra'iw-atck*, large used basket with heavy ridge at top

*cīrokē'-garaw-atck*, old woman (disrespectful term)

*gagwēL-a'tck*, old man (disrespectful)

*djīru'ṛaw-atck*, used carrying basket

*-aLat*, tree, bush

*wawar-aLat*, salmon-berry bush

*doL-aLat*, tan oak

*vi'go-Lat*, salal-berry bush

*te'mia'-Lat*, elder bush

*ra'γ-aLat*, plant, bush

*vo'γa'Lat*, *Leptotoenia Californica*

*wag-a'Lat*, pepperwood tree

-aLwa't, weed

wasar-aLwat, milkweed

gatso'lēg-aLwat, a kind of seaweed

pico'd-aLwat, another seaplant

gatsLa'law-aLwat, many sticker weed—thistle

wīcaγa-Lwa't, fresh-water clams (?)

rīrī'bara'g-aLwat, licorice root

-ak<sup>w</sup>, locative, at, in, near, among, into, beside, may be translated by any of these English prepositions if the verb does not specify the meaning.

curī'-Led-ak<sup>w</sup>, afternoon (curī, west; -Led-, pass by)

wilo'lanaw-ak<sup>w</sup>, door near (wilol, hole, refers to round house door)

ratcē'w-ak<sup>w</sup>, on water (ratcē, water)

halo'wīw-ak<sup>w</sup>, into canoe

da'gīy-ak<sup>w</sup>, among spruces

wana'gwiw-ak<sup>w</sup>, among redwoods

va'tsawī'tw-ak<sup>w</sup>, on ashes

ma's-ak<sup>w</sup>, into fire

ral-a'k<sup>w</sup>, in basket

gwas-a'k<sup>w</sup>, over the hill

bas ka'wa' da'liv vatsī'tga'γaL-ak<sup>w</sup>, basket at bottom is lying chair under—the basket is lying under the chair

gu'-pLetw-ak<sup>w</sup>, that rock under

gu-tcwa'tc-ak<sup>w</sup>, that basket under

## §§18-27. THE VERB

### §18. *Verb Stems*

Again the question of interpretation of verb complex arises. Three possibilities<sup>20</sup> present themselves: do we have a stem with prefixes; a stem with suffixes; or the composition of coördinate stems? To answer this question it is necessary to decide which—if only one is to be chosen—is the true stem and which the affix; or if the stems are coördinate, why they are considered so. Jones<sup>21</sup> and Michelson first classified the Algonkin stems as initial, as secondary stems of the first order, and as secondary stems of the second order. Since the Fox grammar was written, however, Michelson has come to the conclusion that this

<sup>20</sup> Kroeber, present series, XII, 90ff.

<sup>21</sup> Am. Anthr., VI (1904), 369-411; Bull. Bur. Am. Ethn., XI (1), 1762ff.

classification is wrong.<sup>22</sup> He would now divide Algonkin verb stems into two classes, placing the initial stems and secondary stems of first order as given by Jones in one class and considering them coördinate.<sup>23</sup> In the second class are the copulas or auxiliary stems which occur as near the end of the verb complex as possible. His problem is, in a sense, more complicated than ours, for he has three choices for the verb stem. In Wiyot there have appeared not more than two elements which may be treated as stems. For, although three or four stems may occur in a single complex, they are essentially of only two types. It seems advisable and, as the following examples will show, justifiable, to consider both these portions of the verb complex as coördinate.

gatw-a'ps-iL, she wiped it dry (gatw-, wipe; -aps-, dry; -iL, third person subjective)

hī'-yēd'-ano's-iL, coming up he dragged it (hī-, modal; -yēd-, come uphill; -[d]ano's-, drag)

botsara-γa'ricw-iL, he is whistling (botsar-, whistle; -γa'ricw-, a diminutive form of -la'lisw-, sing)

The first example might legitimately be interpreted as a stem gatw-, 'to wipe,' used with an instrumental suffix, -aps-, 'by drying.' If we should decide to explain one of the parts as an affix it would be more accurate to consider -aps- as the stem and gatw- as the prefix, since the stem -aps- denotes the more general idea, and the gatw-, be it prefix or stem, the more specific. Then we should translate: "she dried it by wiping." A glance at the list of verb stems (§37) will reveal a number of stems whose initials are vowels which apparently perform the same functions and likewise seem to be instrumentals. Before deciding this question, however, let us look at the other examples. The second might well be regarded as a verb stem -dano's, 'drag,' with a locative prefix hē-d-, 'uphill.' A simple explanation, and good as far as it goes, but it does not take into consideration the fact that hēd-(y,l) occurs as a stem in its own right and means not 'uphill,' but 'to go uphill or up.' Thus we have 'he went uphill dragging.' This translation would make -dano's, 'drag,' a subordinate element and, in the light of the preceding discussion of -aps- might, up to this point, be tolerated. But in the third illustration we have two stems, which must in English be termed coördinate. But since in English we cannot say he 'whistle-sings,' or he 'sing-whistles,' we are compelled to say 'whistling he sings' or 'singing he whistles.' This, however, does not get us anywhere, since there is

<sup>22</sup> Am. Anthr. (n. s.), xv, 475.

<sup>23</sup> 19th International Congress of Americanists, Washington, 1915, pp. 541-544.

no distinction in meaning and nothing to determine whether we have affix, or coördination. Consequently it will be well to set aside absolutely English usage and question further into Wiyot.

Now we find that we may not say *gatwİL*, 'she wiped,' or *apsİL*, 'she dried.' Certain stems like *gatw-*, 'wipe,' *dum-*, 'rub,' and others always occur in first position and must have another element (instrumental or stem?) to complete their meaning. We never find a verb complex beginning with a vowel, although a stem with a vowel as initial may occur alone in a complex (e. g., *dīgw-an-aw-İL*, 15, 29 'down she brought them': *dīgw-*, adverbial prefix 'down'; *-an-*, 'do with hand'; *-aw-*, third object; *-İL*, third subject). This difficulty might be surmounted by using any of the various prefixes of manner as an introductory, but this also is impossible with such stems. In contrast to this we find the construction *hiyē'dİL ga'wadano'sİL*, 'he came uphill, he began dragging it,' not only possible but common. The explanation here is that the stems are compounded in a single complex when, and only when, the action is absolutely simultaneous. If either act takes place even a second after the other, or during cessations of repeated action, two verb complexes must be used. Therefore we have grounds for considering *gatw-* and *-aps-* as coördinate stems since here also the action of both is contemporary. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that drying (in this sense)<sup>24</sup> may occur without some other action. The same may be said of other stems of its kind: 'to do with the foot by giving a blow(kick),' 'by stepping on or into'; 'to do with the hand by slapping, by pushing, by wiping, by rubbing'; 'to do with the mouth by grasping (bite), by poking (kiss), by wiping (lick)'; etc. All these are ideas which, in the Wiyot mind, cannot be divorced and which consequently remain compounded forms.

The other examples are typical of many which may be compounded or not according to the relative actions. But on the other hand, there is a decided limit to compounding, and notions which in English we should consider so closely related as to be necessarily susceptible to compounding may not be so treated in Wiyot. For example, we find a form meaning 'he cry-comes' (he comes crying). We should normally expect then that we could say 'she talk-eats' or 'she eat-talks' (she talks while eating). This form is impossible (perhaps because, she talks during intermissions between eating), and we must say 'she was eating, she was talking too.' There is a special stem which of itself means

<sup>24</sup> 'Dry' in the sense of 'evaporate' is expressed by an entirely different stem, *vatsav-*, which is used independently.



'eat while walking about,' but stems of this kind are rare, and compounding is so restricted that it would be difficult to be sure of correct forms without checking each attempt with a Wiyot informant. This difficulty arises also, in part, from the fact that seemingly insignificant additions of affixes or stems bring about very significant changes because of the strong tendency in Wiyot for expressions to become idiomatic.

Although in European languages composition is common, composition of verb stems is infrequent. Such a process occurs, however, in American languages. Examples are Haida, Maidu, and the Shoshonean idioms, and we may legitimately add Wiyot. Algonkin also compounds stems but the number of first-position stems, which is large in proportion to the small number of final-position stems, prevents their being considered strictly coördinate. On the other hand, the two classes of Wiyot stems more nearly approach each other in number and show such close relationship that I should hesitate to classify them unconditionally as first or as final positional stems. For although in a great mass of material a certain radical will always stand in the same position, one case may occur where it assumes the other position, or if it is usually first-positional, it may crop up as an independent stem.

The only logical organization of the constituents of the Wiyot verb is a classification according to position. Hence the stems have been divided into three classes: I. First-position stems; II. Final-position stems; and III. Stems which may appear in either position. These classes will be indicated by the use of hyphens as the stems are listed in the vocabulary (§§37-42). For example, *dum-*, 'rub,' belongs to Class I; *-an-*, 'do with hand,' to Class II, and *hē·d-* (y,l) or *-yē·d-*, 'go uphill,' to Class III.

Before defining the limitations of the classes it will be well to point out the general position of the stem. It may stand in either of two positions: after the prefixes of manner or time (if there are none, the position would be initial); or just before the objective-subjective pronominal suffixes. This is true if two stems are used, and between the two stand adverbial, pronominal, and descriptive classifiers. In case there is only one stem, it is found in the latter position and is preceded by prefixes of manner, by adverbial prefixes, as well as by the classifiers just mentioned.

From this it will be clear that in Class I are included stems which occur only as first member of compound verbs and which can be preceded only by prefixes of manner and time. To Class II belong stems which never assume this first position, but which stand just before the

pronominal suffixes. In other words, by final-position stems are meant those which take a position as near the end of the complex as a stem can take.

There are a number of elements which must, because of their close relation to verb stems, be so classed. They consist chiefly of names of body parts, but there are a few which designate languages, and one means 'sweat-house' and another 'cloud.' They are mentioned here because some of them are the same as independent nominal radicals (a number of such words are frequently used as final-positional stems), and especially because, if two stems are compounded, radicals of this type are placed in an intermediate position and might be interpreted as incorporated nominal objects. That the latter is not a true conclusion is evidenced by the fact that if the verb stem requires an object the regular objective pronominal suffix appears in its usual position before the subjective suffix. Several examples of such stems will be given with their various uses, since it will be necessary to list them in the vocabulary as neutral verb stems:

hal<sub>a</sub>-wa'twat-aw-ēL, 'he headed it'—put it on his head (cp. watwat, 'head'), 13, 77

ha'la-watw-ēL, 'he hearted'—his heart gave out (cp. watw-, 'heart' immediately following), 43, 26

gwī-bab-ug-ä'tcar-a'n, 'upon arrival she was necked'—he put his arm around her neck' (-ädar-, front part of neck), 43, 22

ra'd-ēt-il, 'he was big-stomached,'—he had a big stomach (rad-, be large; -wēt-, have stomach; d+w=d), 23, 2

ga-ra'gw-ē-γar-il, she was not able to face him—'she did not look right,' 19, 29

gacv-ē-ril-il, 'she is small-footed'—has small feet (gacv-, be small; -welil-, foot)

ga-gu-ro'la'-γar-ad-il, 'she did not look up again' (ga, negative; gu, iterative; rol, adverbial prefix 'up'; -ad-, stem 'cause'), 22, 14; 34, 21; 43, 21

hīd-ä'-ca'n-at(-il), 'up with the hand he caused'—he reached up,' 15, 15

hi-svē'-γar-a'n-av-od-il, 'she pointed at his head with it' (svē-, point at; -an-, do with hand; -av-, third object; -od-, instrumental), 38, 35; 38, 39; 38, 44

## §§19-23. VERBAL PREFIXES

§19. *Prefixes Denoting Manner*

It will be most convenient and clear to discuss the components of the verb complex according to their position. The words of a sentence are very closely related; at times they are run into each other as if they were single words, whereas upon analysis they are found to be independent. This happens, for instance, when a noun ends with the same consonant with which the following verb begins, or when a sound which is ordinarily strongly aspirated is followed by a word beginning with *h*. Such cases, as might be expected, are most commonly found in narrative.

Manner and tense are expressed by prefixes which occupy first place in the verb complex. They, like the adverbs, are best divided into two classes: prefixes of manner, and prefixes which define the time of an action. The prefixes of manner express progression, desire, and prohibition, besides many other ideas which would be expressed by adverbs in English. The temporal prefixes, which are felt to be the same as the preceding and are without positional or other formal difference, take the place of our tense devices. These prefixes are very important in defining circumstances, and a number of them—as many as five have been found—may be used in the same compound, so long as they remain compatible. Continuous action is particularly emphasized. With the continuative *-waL*, 'keep on doing,' or with its reduplicated adverbial form *waLawaL*, 'again and again,' we often find the progressive *da-*, as well as the iterative *gu-*. Their order is definite, but may better be shown by examples than by assigning each a number, since the position would change according to other prefixes of the same kind which were used with it (see the table, §15).

Position distinguishes the use of *gu-*, 'again, back,' and of *gu-*, 'when' or 'where.' The latter is placed first in the complex and the former immediately precedes the final position stem.

The prefixes expressing manner will be listed first, those of time in the next section.

1. *walä-*, please, I beg of you (rare):

*wa-walä'-kän-av-aγ*, please open the door (*wa*, prefix 'go'; *kän-*, stem; *-av-*, third object; *-aγ*, imperative)

*wa-walä'-lak<sup>w</sup>s-um*, please go take it to her (*-lak<sup>w</sup>s-*, hand over; *-um-*, third indirect object)

2. *ba*-(*ba*-), on the sly, in secret:

*ba-lav'a'sk-iL*, on the sly he went fishing (a proper form which may be used if one wishes to denote fishing against the law, but for this it is more common to say *vaya'mar*, I am going to steal)

*da-ba'-barôtc*, I am drinking on the sly

*ba'-gwa'n-ir*, I was fooled

*ba'-bik<sup>w</sup>L-iL*, she cries in secret

*ba'-Lo'cw-iL*, she swims old-fashioned women's way, secretly she bathes

*ba'-gaw-iL*, he cheated (-*gaw*-, do)

*hi-ba'-tal*, I threw (wood) away

*ba-dô'k<sup>w</sup>Li'la'*, loops which catch and hold final strands on basket, loops on baby basket

*ba-ba'-w-ar-a'ts*, whisper

*ba'-bar-iL*, she eats on sly, used of woman who breaks food taboos (*bar*-, for *war*-, devour)

*ba'-L'ara'-wêl-iL*, he wanted to see me (unknown to others), 13, 73

*ba-li-gô'w-iL*, secretly (arrows) she made, 13, 25

*ba'-řaya'tsgar-a'ř-iL*, (branches) came down without his knowledge, 12, 65

3. *vä*-, repeat entire action after it has been once accomplished:

*va-vä''-wis-iL*, they got married over again

*va-vä'-yaw-i'm*, she is going to be told the same thing over again

*ha'gu-vä-ro'w-at*, you have come back again?

4. *da*-(*da*-), prefix denoting progressive or customary action; used frequently in verb complexes as well as in nouns composed of verb elements:

*da'-wêkLa'm-iL*, he was looking at it (basket), 14, 93

*gu'-da-waL-da'm-êL*, where he had been sitting

*da-ga'wa-diega'mar-iL*, he was beginning to like her

*da-La'ts-al-oi'*, tales are being told

*da-gu-lo'w-iL*, he arrived home

*da-dati'ya-gaw-ik<sup>w</sup>L-iL*, she often begins to cry

*da-va'-gu-dati'ya-vo's-iL*, he often goes fishing

*da'cira'w-ar*, (hail) was pounded

*da'tw-iL*, it is raw

*da'bo'w*, I am cooking

*da'-lak*, letter, talk

*hu-da-gu-lo'w-agw-a'l*, (he knew) of her arrival at home

*da'do'we'L-ak*, you keep on burning me .

5. *daraya-*, fast, speedily:  
*dar'a'ya-rēma'n-aw-iL*, she writes fast, she is a fast writer  
*wa'-daraya'-da'l-iL*, small black mountain lizard—that which travels very fast  
*wa-tsaraya'-tsa'ɾ-iL*, diminutive of above, a smaller lizard  
*daraya'-da'l-iL*, she walks fast  
*dar'a'ya-ra'm-iL*, he is easily frightened, quickly he gets out of danger  
*dar'a'ya-rēman-iL*, fast she makes designs  
*dar'a'ya-ɾa'gw-iw-iL*, fast it (child) grew
6. *swä-*, at random:  
*vu-swä'-tsga-ta'law-a'*, (peas) I have just been sowing  
*cu-swä'-ta'law-an*, do not scatter them (parings) all over  
*cu-gu-swä-tsgara-ta'law-an*, do not scatter it (stove wood) (*tsgar*, small cylindrical)
7. *cu-*, optative with first person as actor:  
*cu-wa'l-a'*, (basket) I wish I had  
*cu-rakwe'-man-aw-a'*, I wish I could write  
*cu-digw-a'tgal-aya'l-iL*, I wish a big round thing would roll down  
*cu-bo'tg-a'n-av-iw*, I wish I could scratch myself  
*co'nar ga'wi'*, let us go to river—'let us to the river' (*conar* = *cu+hinar*, independent pronoun, we)  
*conar ha'La'w-ar-iL*, let's look for it  
*conar la'lisw-ui-yit*, let us sing
8. *cu-*, prohibitive with second or third person as actor:  
*cu-gu-wa'w*, do not cry again, stop crying  
*cu-gu'-La'l*, do not jump again  
*cu-gu-lala'n-o'm*, do not touch that again  
*cu-gu'-ratse''tsar-ay*, stop sneezing  
*cu-di'gw-atgalaya'l*, (to person) do not roll down (cp. *cu-*, optative)  
*cu-buga'k<sup>w</sup>Len-um*, (that boy) do not get near (bump) him  
*cu-la'-gala'wini'*, do not hold it loosely  
*cu-la'-la'k-we's-oi*, do not let news get out  
*cu-swä'-tsgara-ta'law-an*, do not scatter small stove wood  
*cu-gu'-botg-a'n-av-iv-iɣ*, stop scratching yourself  
*cu'-tiya'-da'l*, do not go out, 29, 1  
*cu-ba'Lokla's-ēɣ*, do not spit  
*cu-gu-tsawe's-iɣ*, stop yelling  
*cu-gu-sk-ab'-ay*, do not take another bite  
*cu-gu-sakw-ay*, stop snoring  
*cu-gu-wa'-di-twa'w-ar*, do not think of me again

9. *cvē-*, for nothing, for no reason:

*cvī'yo'*, for nothing I came—I walked

*cvī'-laγ-iγ*, go on foot—walk

*cvē-yawa'gw-iL*, she was excited for nothing

*cvī'-lo's-oi'*, it is straight on for nothing, it hardly touches the cloth, it is basted

*cvī''-yawätga'-d'ar-iL*, he travels about for nothing, he gets nowhere

*cvī'-yavätg-a'gw-iL*, he rides about aimlessly

*cvī-ca'γ-atek*, for nothing he is red hot—bluffer

*da-cvī-svē'-γar-an-iL*, he was merely pointing at its face (*da-*, progressive; *svē-*, point at; *-γar-*, face; *-an-*, do with hand), 38, 35

*cvī'-tar-ar*, nothing projects on him—snake

10. *gic-*, failure after trial, in vain:

*gic-lä'k-<sup>aw-a'</sup>*, in vain I tried, I *did* try

*gic-lä'p*, in vain I tasted it, I could not eat it after trying

*gic-lä-da'laswod*, I tried to smoke but failed

*yil da-gica-ra-go'tsa-ragw-il*, I try to be good but I am not

*gic-duma-wä'-Li'gar-a'n-awiw-i'dak*, we even rubbed our eyes (in trying to keep awake), in vain we rubbed our eyes

*gic-la'Lam lä-ga-ra'-gotsa'γar-o'm*, in vain I hunted for it, I absolutely did not find it

*gica-sk-a'n-aw-iL* (in text 25, 14 dicas, etc.), in vain he held it up

*gic-gu-mi-la'tgala'γ-an-av-a'*, I *am* rolling it back quickly

*da-gi'ca-la'γ-iL*, in vain she was going

*da gic-gēdan*, I *am* trying to let go

11. *gic-*. In the foregoing examples the translation 'in vain' may be used and is apparent, but in the following examples *gic-* has become a polite protest signifying assent, or a third person optative.

*djuwawaL gitga gi'c-dicga'm-ēL*, let him like them (people) 19, 47

*gic-ga'-la'n-al-iL*, we say she says things she did not say

*gi'c-gutsar*, one would be all right (in answer to question, "How many shall I bring?")

*gic-la'La'm-iL*, (what harm will it be to) let her look for it?

*gi'c-gutse'-lolaw-ui*, (what harm will it be if) you take it once? (in answer to question, "May I borrow your horse?")

12. *get-(ged-)*, completion:

*gē'd-agw-ēL*, (that dog) became old (*gē'd-*, finish; *-lagw-*, have sense) 14, 32

gēd-a'b'-al-oi', he finished eating  
 gēd-ē'k<sup>w</sup>L-at waLgi'tga, you must stop crying  
 hī'-gē't-vara'tc-iL, he (horse) has finished drinking  
 hī'-gē'd-o's-iL, he stopped fishing  
 gur La-gē'd-u'n<sup>va</sup>, I finished weaving  
 hī-gē-talaw-o''w-iL, they stopped talking to each other  
 gē'd-o'n, final border of basket  
 gēd-a'tar, they finished with the fire

13. *gadaγana-*, thoroughly, very well:

*gadaγa'na-ra-vaL*, I see pretty well, 12, 96  
*ga'daγa'na-tana''ya-wīw-iL*, it is boiling hard  
 hī-gu-ru-ga'daγana-wā-notw-iL, they all became good and well,  
 49, 22  
*djiL ga-ra-ga'dadaγa'na-gagwom*, I really do not know anything  
 about it  
*gu-da-gadaγa'na-tsīya'γarak*, when there is a very bad storm,  
 7, 54  
*Lä-ga-ga'daγa'na-cwak<sup>w</sup>*, they were extremely hard (to find),  
 11, 2

14. *gagä-(gä-)*, augmentative:

*ku-gä-La'w-ik ku'dali'*, farther away is your home (ku-, second  
 person possessive; -Law-, be distant)  
*hī-ga'gä-La<sup>u'w</sup>*, (their bones) became a little longer, 49, 23  
*hī-ga'gä-ra'd-arai*, make it a little bigger  
*hī-gagä-gaca'm-arai*, make it a little smaller  
 Philip *ga'gä-Lauw* Bill, Philip is taller than Bill  
*kīl ka'-mol gagä-ra'tvalar yilra-mol gagä-gacvērar*, your house  
 is large, my house is small = your house is larger than mine  
*gagä-rada'tk hī-lo'law-iL*, she took the largest (basket)  
*gagä-gacwatsk hī-lo'law-iL*, she took the smallest (basket)

15. *gu-*, iterative; again, back. Used very often, found also com-  
 monly with the continuative and repetitive continuative.

*va-gu'-wakLa'm-iL*, again she went to watch, 30, 28  
*gu-ga'wa-Lēk*, again he started off in canoe  
*gwī-gu-ga'daw-alar*, again they got out into river  
*da-gu-lo'w-iL*, he arrived home  
*kwīs-gu-bo'tsar-oi'*, suddenly he whistled again, 26, 29  
*gu-gwa'ps-oi'*, again he covered it over, 26, 11  
*gu-la'k<sup>w</sup>dar*, again he built fire, 26, 13

16. *gwis*-(*kwis*-), suddenly (see §29):

*gwis-gu-lo'w-il*, suddenly he came back

*kwis-wē'l-il*, suddenly she saw

*gwis-le'l-il*, suddenly he said

*kwis-gala'ga-ra'ratke-il*, suddenly it moved no more, 19, 16

*kwis-bo'cug-ui'*, suddenly he was heard

*da'kwis-wa'w-il*, (children) are accustomed to cry suddenly, 48, 6

17. *kä*-, probability:

*kä-ka'nal-owē'l-il*, he might crush me

*kä-kan-ab'al-il*, he might bite

*kä-twa'wilo'w-il*, he may paint

*kä-ga'd'awē'm-il*, she might use it

Louis *kä-ya'γita'mod-il* Mary, Louis might go and tell Mary

*kä-la'γara'l-il*, he might relate it

*kä-wal-a'*, I might see

18. *la*-, a prefix of very wide application and not clear as to meaning, probably a formal element.

*da-la'γar-a'd-il*, she is doctoring

*gwī-da-la'dä'tg-ak*, table-land (appearing suddenly from top of hill) (*gwī*-, upon arrival; *dä'tg*-, flat; *-ak*, infinitive)

*gatsu-la-vä'l'igw-ak<sup>w</sup>*, on heap of coarse gravel

*La-la-vä'γara'i-yaw-eγ*, half-turn

19. *Lä*- has the idea of absoluteness or finality, translated by the Indians 'clear, entirely, surely.' With negative, very emphatic 'never,' 'absolutely not at all.'

*ki-Lä'gotsa-rak*, certainly you are good-looking (*ki*-[l], you)

*Lä'-gala-we'l-ēL*, he saw absolutely nothing

*Lä-ga'-lava'l-ēL*, he never ate

*Lä-ga'wa-wa'klēk<sup>w</sup>*, she began to get power

*Lä'-ga-da'l-il*, he spoke absolutely not a word

*Lä'-varôtc*, finally I drank it

*Lä'-rida-wa'iya-dak<sup>w</sup>*, two entire nights he stayed

20. *La*-(*Le*-, *La*-), changed conditions, 'it is this way, it was not that way before.'

*La'-sīsw-aγ*, (basket) is somewhat black inside

*La'-du-gēL-ga'cw-aγ-ar*, it has been cut small (*du*-, plural; *gēL*-, completion; *-aγ*-, dim. of *-al*-, cut)

*La-ba'ts-ēr*, they are somewhat dry

*La'-cwar*, it is rather full

*La-ko'nar*, dark



21. rawaγaγa-, thoroughly, entirely:

hī-rawa'γaγa-wa'La:r, when it was entirely light

hī-gu'-ruwαγa-wā'notw-agw-a'l, they became entirely well again,

49, 22

22. rakw-, potentiality, ability:

cu-rakwē'-man-aw-a', I wish I could write

gala'ka-rakwa'-bucw-ak, I can no longer chew

rakwē'-ya'l-iL, she can walk

ga-ra'-rakw-ī'yawakw-ak, I cannot weave basket

rakwā'-bo'd-iL, she can tan—one who can tan skins

rakwā'-gēPL-iL, he can make arrows—he is an arrow-maker

rakwa'-gwo'm-iL, (whatever) he should choose, 16, 21

### §20. *Temporal Prefixes*

23. ya'k- (yak-). This prefix signifies transition from the action which is expressed in the verb complex to another.

ya'-krók<sup>w</sup>s, (boat) I tied before I left

ya-ge'dam-a', I left him and then . . . .

ya'-gwas, I buried it and then . . . .

ya-gēda'-lak<sup>w</sup>, I left (salmon)

ya-gu-da'weLa'ṛ-iL, again he looked at the same place

- 24-25. hī-, very common modal, used when person addressed is not fully acquainted with the circumstances under which the action took place. May be past or present in time and its meaning is not brought out in the translation.

hī-ga'gwo'm-iL, he knew (what to do), 12, 4

hī-na'γ-iL, he thought, 12, 5

hī-gô'k<sup>w</sup>s-ēL, (dogs) he raised, 12, 6

hī-ta'm-iL, he cut it (elk), 12, 14

hī-va-wa'y-atSw-oi', (they went) to carry in elk, 12, 21

hī-ru'-katsw-oi, all got ready to carry meat

- In contrast to this is the prefix ha- which means 'as was to be expected':

ha-ra ṛ-iL, she did (§36, sentence 4)

ha-raLe-kan-av-iL, it grabbed her on the move (§36, sentence 18)

26. *hīya-*, simple past.

- hīya'-wa-wa'l-av-a'*, I cut it (deer) down the middle  
*hīya-va'tsaw-ä'tg-ak*, pond dried up (*vatsaw-*, be dry; *-ä'tg-*, flat thing)  
*hīya-wa'tksē'mal-il*, we are not friends any more (special term denoting enmity which must be paid for)  
*hīya'-līg-il*, they traded, 28, 17  
*hīya-gwas*, I buried it (dog) before I left  
*hī'ya-da'l-il*, he jumped up

27. *wī-*, future, frequently used with *gitga* to express future intention:

- wī'-gu-mī-yo'w*, I will come back quickly  
*va'-wī-gu'-mī-vo's-il*, he will soon go fishing again  
*wī'-das*, I will feed you, I will give you (food)  
*wī-yo'tw-us*, I will bring it for you  
*wa-wi-l'a'g-ul-a's*, I will take you down (*Lag-*, go down into; *-ul-*, take)  
*da'-gītga-wī-mī-gē'-Lak*, I intend to finish working very soon, 45, 12  
*mas ga-hī'-ru-wī-ba'kc-at*, you will put out the fire entirely

28. *waiya-* (*waiya-*), all night, in the night:

- waiya-rakwa'd-ar-il*, he coughed all night  
*hu-way-a-war-ēL*, morning-star, 27, title  
*Lä'-rīda-wa'iyā-dak<sup>w</sup>*, two nights he stayed  
*waiya-rô-dak<sup>w</sup>*, all night (fire) burned, 30, 40  
*gura-waiya'-γar-ak*, that big dance (*gura-*, demonstrative; *-γar-*, entertain; *-ak*, infinitive)  
*wai'iyā-ro'low-il dagu*, they danced all night

29. *va-* (*wa-*), go to do something. Used in the sense of English, French, or Spanish 'I am going to' followed by the infinitive. May be used with *gitga* and with *wī-* (future), or with both.

- wa'-tiyak<sup>w</sup>*, I am going to quarrel with her  
*wa-gu'-wakLa'm-il*, (fire) again she went to watch, 30, 28  
*hī-va-va'La'm-il*, she went to visit  
*ha-wa'-wo's-a'gw-a'l*, to go fishing  
*va'-lav-a'sk-iγ*, go fishing  
*va-la'pL-il*, she is going to pick berries

30. *vu-(wu)*, 'have just . . . , 'just go to . . . , 'went to . . . '  
*vu-kä'n-av-iL*, he had just held it  
*gura-wu-gu-ga'taw-igw-a'l*, (when) he had just gone in  
*do-wu'-wupL-iL*, he had just come to eat  
*vu-wulaw-iL*, he went and took it  
*wu-lëdawak\**, I have been gathering acorns  
*vu-swä'-ta'law-an*, I have just been sowing seeds  
*vu-ra'nin-il*, I was helped  
*curawada'l duvu'-goma-da'l-iL*, way down in earth he went,  
 turned and came back—he came to after dying

31. *mī*-, quickly, as soon as possible:

*da'-gītga-wī-mī-gē-Lak*, I shall finish working very soon, 45, 12  
*hī-mī-yē'man-aw-at*, write it quickly  
*hī-mī-yo'tw-ani'l*, bring it quickly in something  
*wī-mē-yo'tw-ot*, I will bring it soon in something  
*wī-gu-mī-yo'w*, I will come back quickly  
*va'-wī-gu'-mī-vo's-iL*, he will go fishing soon again  
*gic-gu-mī-la'tgal'a'g-an-av-a'*, I am rolling it back quickly  
*Lä-ga-mē-ti'γa'-da'l-iL*, not at all quickly he went out, 2, 54

32. *dati'γa-*, often:

*da-va'-gu-da'ti'γa-la'l-iL*, often he goes there  
*da-va'-gu-da'ti'γa-lo'w-iL*, he often comes  
*da-da'ti'γa-le'man-aw-iL*, often she writes  
*da'-dati'γa-gaw-ik\*L-iL*, often she begins to cry  
*da'-dati'γa-ga-wa'w-iL*, often she begins to cry

33. *gī-*, never, not customarily (g becomes k with second person subject).

*gī-va'v-iL*, (my child) never cries  
*kī-yalo'law-a'γ*, you never take care of them (children), 12, 37  
*gī-wal-oi'*, there were never any (acorns), 13, 81  
*kī-gu'-rī'yav-av-o'm*, you will never kill any more, 14, 65  
*kī-gu'-wal'-aw-eγ*, you will never see me again, 14, 66  
*gī-da'laswo'd-ak*, I do not smoke  
*gī-la'lisw-aγ*, I never sing

34. *gīyaga-*, very emphatic negative, probably a double negative related to *gī-*, never, and *ga-*, not.

*gowil gīya'-gī-gītco'm-iL*, man never, never escapes it—pneumonia

wī-das gīyaga'-kan-a'b-e'l, I will feed you, (dog), if you do not bite me

gīya'ga'-dawēk-wēl, (if) you do not visit me

gur gīya'gwa-du-va-'w-iLui', those who did not cry at all, 49, 20

gīya'ga-ra'na-'ni'n-iLe'l, (I would not finish) if I did not get help from you

35. ga-(ga-), negative:

gu-ga'-la-we'l-ēL, again he saw nothing

Lä-ga-la-we'l-ēL, he saw absolutely nothing

ga'-gu-la'l-iL, he did not go again

ga-ga'daw-ēL, he did not come in

ga-la'la'n-av-iL, she did not touch it

36. This negative ga- changes following r to n. When r does not change to n, ga- means 'before making the next move':

ga-ra'do'lawel-iL, she helped me up before she went

ga-roga'liswiL, a long time he sang before stopping

ga'-raṛ-iL, he did it before he left

ga-rola'-ḡar-a'd-ēL, she raised her head and then . . . .

37. gawa-(gawa-), inchoative:

hī-ga'wa-la'n-ik, he started to doctor

ga'-wa'lisw-iL, he began to sing (gawa+la=gawa; -lalisw-, sing)

gawa-lo'w-iL, they began to arrive, 32, 33

ga'wa-ḡar-ak, big time began

hic-ga'wa-la'lam-iL, (in vain) he began to hunt for them (hic, doubtless for gic)

ga'wa-kwa'dar-iL, he starts to cough—consumption

da-ga-wī'ya-wä'c-ēL, (gulls) were beginning to circle around (gawa+li=gawī)

38. The preceding example leads to a peculiar method of expressing distribution. The prefix gawa- means 'begin to' when an abbreviated form is used; if syllables have not become assimilated, it means 'some did a thing, then others did it.'

ga'wa-wida lēka'l, one ran past, then another ran past (but: ga'wida-lēka'l, he began to run past)

ga'wa-lī'yawakw-iL, one passed by weaving a basket, then another passed weaving (but: hi-gawīyawakw-iL, she began to weave a basket, 43, 13)

ga'wa-lulawoi', one was taken, another was taken (but: ga'-wulawoi', it began to be taken)

gawa-laLa'l-iL, one after another did that way (Analyzed text, 36)

39. gawarä-, be on the point of:

da-gilga'-warä'-gu-lo'w-iL, she was on the point of getting almost to the trail (cp. da-gilga'-wä-gulo'w-iL, 22, 75, doubtless a shortened form)

gawarä'-gapL-ui', they were on the point of beginning to eat

da-ga'warä-gēL-gulo'w-iL, he was on the point of returning to where he started from

gawarä-dawila'ṛ-iL, he was on the point of looking

gawarä-yē'l-iL, he was on the point of saying

vas ga'warē'-rawē'bak, fire is almost out

The shortened form -rā- may be the correct one as shown in:

Lga'wara-rā'-gapL-ui', they were all almost ready to eat

If so, gawa- might be considered the inchoative prefix.

40. galak-, no more, no longer, previously but not now:

gala'ka-la'l-iL, he could travel no more, 14, 75

gala'-gu'-da'k<sup>w</sup>, he went away, no longer he stayed

gu-liya-gala'k-dôk<sup>w</sup>, he stayed about no longer

gala'k-bo'cat-om-iL, no more he could hear her, 22, 30

gala'-gu-wi's-iL, no more they were married, 20, 49

41. gu-, when or where. The position distinguishes this use from gu-, iterative.

gu'-da'-wAL-da'm-iL, where he had been sitting

gu-liya-ga'la'k-dôk<sup>w</sup>, when he left home, when he no longer stayed around

gu-da'-lo'law-iL, (he told) where she was dancing

gu'-gawa-rawa'Lar-iL, (he knew) when it began to get light

gu-wu-l'aga'-da'l-iL, where she started from

gu-da'-lo'low-o', where they dance

42. gwī-, upon arriving at destination:

gwī-kLa'm-iL, upon arrival he saw

gwī-da'wila'r-iL, upon arrival she looked for him

gwī-L'a'γ-iL, he went down in (water)

gwī-ga'daw-iL, upon arrival he went in

hī-gwī-barug-iL, upon arrival he heard

gwī-na'kade'm-iL, upon arrival he called her sister, 19, 28

43. *klä-*, at last:

*klä-du'-vos-a'w*, at last her arms were stuck fast, §36, 49  
*hi-klä-ga'tsar*, at last there were many (acorns), 42, 4  
*klä-fo'ga-dak<sup>w</sup>*, for a long time he lived, 1, 32; 6, 2  
*klä-ra''d'ar*, finally it (child) was large  
*klä-wala'w-ani'l*, at last she was caught stealing  
*klä'-gats-wara'k*, big crowd was the result

44. *lga-*, just ready to:

*lga'-wararä'-gapL-ui'*, they were all just ready to eat  
*lga-wa-la'tsg-a'l-iL*, tree is just ready to fall

45. *ratsawa-*, at night. Compare independent adverb (§41), *ra'tsawa'l* and *tsa'wa'l*, night, §41.

*ra'tsawa'-dal*, I am going in the night  
*hi-ra'tsawa'-dal-iL*, he went at night  
*ratsaw-a'b-al-iL*, burrowing owl, 'he eats at night'  
*gu-ra'tswi-lo'*, again at night he travelled, 8, 42

§21. *Adverbial Prefixes*

Immediately after the prefixes of manner and time come the first-position verb stems in compound verbs. The adverbial prefixes follow these, or, if only one stem is used, they follow the prefixes of manner. It may be seen from the following that the adverbials are local and directional.

1. *wik-* (*wigw-*), hither:

*wig-wa'-dali*, come in  
*wik-wo'r daw-at goge'*, from north are you? 45, 1  
*wi'k-cur ha'no'k<sup>w</sup>*, from ocean, I came  
*wigawi hal*, from river, I came  
*wik-tcate halawaLa'lis*, along stream, I came on boat  
*hi-ya-wi'g-wa'-d'a'l-iL*, (John) came in  
*wi'gawa'γ*, front inside end of canoe  
*wik-a't wuraraya'gwar*, southwest  
*wik-wuri la'g'au'*, northeast  
*ha-wik-da-lo'low-ēL*, they took news  
*gu-wi'g-wa-wa'LeL*, trail  
*wi'k-dat*, southward, up hither (used in praying)

2. wa- (wē-), around:  
 hī-ya-we'-li-lisk-i'l, ring around sun, it lies around  
 wada'-yu-yu-we'-li'm, it lies around fire  
 hī-ya-wa'-natgē-dē'war-iL, it sits around in a pile, it is piled all  
 around  
 hī-ya-wa'-nak<sup>w</sup>, I am dizzy  
 hī-ya-wa'-da'lis, (sticks) I put around  
 gawi'-wa-ya-dawa'n-iL, it circled around in dance  
 hī'-ya-wa'-ya'l-iL, river bends around, big bend in river  
 dak-wa-pitkc-iL, (person) is bending over  
 yī'l gītga djuwa'wa-la'l, I intend in there to go around
3. wana-, around projection:  
 hī-ya-wana'-da'li', go around to other door  
 hī-wan-ītraī, (stick) bends around  
 hī'ya-wa'n-ē'man-aw-iL, (his eyes) he marked around  
 hīya-wa'n-a-pl-ä'liv, uneven pile lies on ground around something  
 which protrudes
4. waduwu-, way up, way back:  
 dinī-wa'duwu-da'les-oi', way up on bank he put it  
 gu-ra-wa'dawu-da'lis-oi', way up there he put him again  
 gu-ra-wa'da wa-da'lis-iL, way over he put him
5. waγa-, in the midst of:  
 wa'γa-ru'ne'rui', in the middle of (during) the speech, 48, 7  
 wa'γa-bo'tgan-ui', in the midst of the scratching  
 La-wa'γa-va'skui', in the midst of the fishing
6. wä-, beside, alongside:  
 hoLeLi wä-dal, I came along stream, shore  
 hi-yi-wä'-da'l, go around slow  
 dju-mä-ca'n-ad-iL, he rubbed his hands (djum + wa = djuma)  
 silag-wä'-belok, my ear aches  
 hī-ya-wä'-lim, they lay on same side of fire  
 hī-ya-wä-lo'w-aL, small key saw  
 ga-wä'-La'i-yaw-aL, (ashes) she dug up
7. wakdä-, at side of fire:  
 gu-wakdä-L'a'i-yar, again he pushed ashes aside, 26, 20  
 hī-ya-wakdä'-La'i-yaw-ēL, he pushed ashes aside, 26, 32  
 wa'kdä'n, they opened (basket)  
 wakdä'nit, push it aside, 19, 18

8. ha- (y, l, r), an extremely common prefix giving the idea of indefiniteness, perhaps best translated 'around about.'

ha-la'wīl-aL, acorn soup ready to eat (-aL, nominal suffix, that which)

ha'-lô'tav-a', thunder, 'I go all around'

ha'-la'li-il, duck, it flies around

ha-La'l-iγ, jump around

ha'-lik<sup>w</sup>L-il, fox, 'he cries around'

ha-rak<sup>w</sup>Lī'ṛ-il, wolf, 'he chases about'

hī-ya-va'w-il, it is crying

kle-ya'-li'yak, if I go

wī-ya-La'm-il, she will look for it

wa-la-la'wil-aw-ē'k, soup has been stirred (la-, around; -la-wil-, stir)

wa'-la-watga-yo'w-ak, layer of salmon next to skin (watgai, skin; -yo'w-, arrive, come)

ga-ra'kwa-la-lo'l-il, it cannot swim (ga-, negative, rakwa-, potential; -lol-, swim around)

gotsa-waL da-la'-da'l, I always speak correctly (gotsa-, well; waL, continuative; da-, customary)

gawa-la'-liya-dawēw-il, mediator begins to go back and forth

da'-wada'-cu-la'-lu'-law-a', (my basket) I wish I had along with me

The element la- is an essential part of many verb stems, and does not always follow the rules for phonetic change. A few of these stems are:

lalisw, sing

lalan, touch

laLa'm, hunt for

lalew, bark

la'wilow, stir

la'nelis, arrange

lanel, make noise

lawid, melt

However, la- as instanced above may be used in addition to the la of the stem:

ga'wa-la-la'wilow, I am stirring soup

ha-la'wilo', stir the soup

ga'wa-la'-lawe'm-ar, it began to be tossed about, 19, 14

ha'lawid-a'd-aγ, melt the butter

gwaLwa ha-la'ho'm-e'l-il, what has come over me



9. haL- (y, l), on both sides, at both ends:  
 hī-ya'l-dam-ēL, one on each side (of door) they sat  
 haL-pa'wal-a'gw-al-iL, (board) is split at both ends  
 (hī)-yaL-ge'new-iL, from both sides he pulled it  
 haL-da'm-eL, (a girl) sat on either side, 38, 14  
 haL-da'lαγ, one lies on either side of canoe  
 haL-ētevē'yo'warôc, brother and sister marry sister and brother—  
 both sides give a woman
10. harod- (y, l), away from subject toward speaker:  
 kock harod'-a'tgalαγ-a'n-av-αγ, roll it toward me  
 kock haro't-av-od-αγ, bring water toward me  
 harot-o'nas-iL, it was crawling away  
 kock harod'-a'nos, (chair) toward me I drag  
 gwaro'd-atkc-ēL, he does not keep still  
 kock da-la'rod-a'tgalαγ-a'n<sup>ava</sup>, toward myself I am rolling it
11. ho'd- (y, l), upright:  
 dakwī-yo''d-awē-s-iL, at destination he stood it (gun) upright  
 dakwī-yo''d-awi's-iL, (at landing) he let canoe float  
 ga'wa-lod-i-dēwar-otw-oi', he began to rest from carrying her,  
 41, 31; 41, 35
12. hud- (y, l), thither:  
 hi-gu-lu'd-apatga'l-og-ēL, again toward her it rolled back, 44, 44;  
 44, 46  
 hud-a'c (flock) came flying  
 hud-o'l-iL, thither he is swimming  
 hud-a'tgalαγ-a'n-avαγ, thither roll it with your hand  
 hud-o'litw-oi', he (man in boat) is being pulled by one wading
13. dī'gwa-, digwa-, (dēkwē-), down:  
 hi-dēkwē-dē'war-iL, he sat down  
 dīgwä-t'a'law-iL, (fawn) jumped down, 32, 17  
 da'-dēgwä-La'r-iL, he is looking down below  
 dēgwa-gar-a'd-iL, he looks down toward ground  
 dī'gw-a'n-aw-iL, she brought them (teeth) down, 15, 29  
 cu-dī'gw-atgalαγα'l-iL-it, I wish you would roll down a big  
 round one  
 dēgwa-pa'tcgunak<sup>c</sup>, I crawled down (steep place)  
 dīgw-a'iy-on-a-ta'law-iL, he threw down the other end, 12, 72

14. dagwē-, (dakwī-), destination, end of motion:

hī-dagwī-da'lis, I put it down  
 dakwī-da'les-oi', I left it lying  
 hī-da'kwi-yo'w-iL, he arrived  
 dagwī-gu-lo'w-iL, (sweathouse) again he went into  
 dagwī-rī'yavo'm-iL, right where he wanted it, he killed it, 12, 13  
 dakwē-wē'l-ēL, he saw

15. dak-, (dak<sup>w</sup>-), across:

da'gw'-a'l-iL, river made sharp turn (-al-, cut break)  
 da'k-wa-pitkc-iL, animal is doubling up  
 da'gw'-atg-a'l-iL, she broke (her arm)  
 dak<sup>w</sup>-da'k<sup>wa</sup>l, stick with cross-piece on bottom (hanging)  
 da'k-Le'l-ar, they crossed river  
 hī-da'k-dol, I waded across river

tsak-, diminutive:

tsak-la'rē', sand flea, (la'r, dim. of la'l, move)  
 tsak-tsa'k-Li', onions (cp. dak<sup>w</sup>-da'k<sup>wa</sup>l above)  
 hī-tsa'k-varē'n-ats, I arch my brows (varē'n, dim. of vēled, do  
 with eyes; -ats-, dim. of -ad-, cause)

16. dagilga-, almost, nearly:

dagilga'-warā-gu-lo'w-iL, she came almost (to the trail)  
 dagilga'-vā-gu-lo'w-agw-a'l, when he got nearly home  
 hiwa-dagi'lga-ware-gulo'w-iL, he was almost on the point of  
 going back (hi-, unexpected action; gaware-, be on the point of, see  
 below)

17. daγa-, (daga-), here and there, at intervals, action continued  
 after cessation:

ga'wa-daγa-la'l-iL, he began to run about, 13, 20  
 da'ga-da'wēLa'r-iL, he looked around  
 da'γa-cakwa'γ-ak, here and there stitch small—gunny sack  
 (cakwa'γ-, dim. sew; -ak, infinitive)  
 da'γalatga-vulu'yawa'-Laγar, (dress) is white spotted (da'γalatg-  
 has become a verb meaning spotted or dotted but is really composed of:  
 daγa-, here and there, and latg-, be round)  
 hu-da'-daγa-cira'wi-rak<sup>w</sup>, she had sores (hu-, subordinating pre-  
 fix; cira'w-, be sore; -rak<sup>w</sup>, be), 17, 7  
 da-da'γa-dīk<sup>w</sup>L-i'm (his entrails) lay all around, 16, 28  
 da-da'γa-dokLa-val, I am being looked at by one and another  
 (da-, progressive; dokLa-, spot out; -val, first person passive of reference)

18. *dala-*, around, to and fro:

*dala-lolawēL*, she carried it around (§36, sentence 2)

*dala-dagwa-PL-ai-yaw-eL*, she moved it around in grass (§36, sentence 3)

*dala-da'wila'r-iL*, he looked around

*dala-la'wilo'w-iL*, she is stirring

19. *dalo'-*, through the air:

*gurawa'-dalo'-da'l-iL*, way over through the air he moved—far he jumped, 21, 21; 27, 58

*da'lo'-d'al-iL*, (in middle of river) it landed, 9, 38; 4, 27

*hi-dalo'-da'lēlēm*, (into tree) she was blown, 5, 55

*dalu''-dīd-i'*, something lit in tree, 41, 22

*wadaL dalo''-da'γara-l-i'm*, name of place at mouth of Mad river where Coyote jumped down

*djiwa gi-da'lo'-da'gw-ēL*, he never lights there (*gi-*, never; *-a'gw-*, be up on)

20. *tiγa-*, out:

*hī-ru-tiγa'-da'l-iL*, they all went out

*tiγa-ra'no's-oi'*, she was dragged out

*ti'γa-ṛulaw-iL*, he took everything out

*hī-ti'γa-rō'k<sup>w</sup>L*, (child) came up (with roots), 13, 13

*hi-ti'γara-ta'lēw-ēL*, she threw it out, 12, 40

*tcīγa-rā'Laṛ-aL*, he looks out—martin

21. *cap-*, (*cap-*), in the same place, same:

*da'-klä-gu-ca'ba-lo'w-iL*, at last she came around to the same place again (*da-*, customary; *klä-*, at last; *gu-*, iterative; *-lo'w-*, arrive)

*gu-ca'b-alo'd-aw-ēγ*, turn several times

*gu-ca'p-la-neli's-oi'*, (rocks) were arranged same way again, 17, 30

*gu-ca'p-dalis-ui'*, it is put in same place again

*gu-ca'p-da'm-ē'L*, again he sat in the same place

*cap-ē'tg-o'n*, name of basket from bottom to begging of marking

*gu-cap-a-ra'-dal*, am going back the same way (I came)

*gu-ca'b-a-ra'kaw-at-o'*, again it sounded the same, 9, 40

22. *tcge'*, ahead of, in front of, first:

*tcge''-la-Lo'l-iv*, one boat (tied) is floating ahead of another

*wa-tcge'-Le'dal*, I am going to try it first

*yīl gītga tcgä-gukd-il*, I am going to be roasted first, 26, 7

*tcgä-ti'γariL*, oldest in family (*ti'γar-*, be worth)

tcge'-da'm-ēL, she sat down first

tcge'-lē'dēwar-iL, she sat down in front—she is the first of a number of living wives

tcge'-la'w-iL, he stood in front

tcgē'-gak<sup>w</sup>, he was born first

23. gurawa-, all the way:

gurawa-va-da'lēs-iL, way over he is going to put it

vas hi-ya'g-arawe-ba'kc-at, before you go let the fire go out entirely

gurawa'-dalo'-da'l-iL, way over in the air he came—he jumped far, 21, 21

24. gomai-, around, turn repeatedly:

gomai-yu'l-iL, it swims around—sea lion

gomä-dal, I walked around about

goma'i-ya'l-iL, (river) meanders

25. klä-, at last, used often with cab- (this § no. 21):

hīya-wa'-da'lis kle-gu-ca'ba-lo'w-iL, I placed sticks around, at last they came around and met—I placed sticks in a circle

da'-klä-gu-ca'ba-lo'w-iL, at last she came around to the same place—she came around in a circle

klä-gu-ca'balo'daw-iL, they stood around in a circle

26. liya-, back and forth:

yīl ra-wa-liya'wa'kw-aγ, I move the basket

gawa-la'-liya-dawēw-iL, mediator begins to go back and forth

ha'-liya'l-e'l, his going back and forth—mediator between quarrelers

ga-wi yaw-a'gw-iL, she became excited, she did not think what she was doing

da-ga'-wīya-wä'c-ēL, they circled back and forth in the air

27. laiya-, at the end of:

dīgw'-a'iy-ona-ta'l'aw-iL, he threw down the end of it (head-band), 12, 72; (digw-, down; w+l=w; -ona-, ribbonlike, ropelike)

la'iy-a-gwar-iL, part of chest near throat

Lag-a'iy-u'na-ta'l<sup>va'</sup>, I threw out the line (Lag-, go down into)

ga'daw-a'iy-a-γar-at, she stuck her face in the door (gadaw-, go through enclosure; -γar-, do with face; -at, causative)

tsa'ts-aiyatsg-ibo'w-iL, they kiss each other—give each other little pokes at the end of the mouth (tsats, dim. of dat, give blows; -ib-, do with mouth; -wo'w-, reciprocal)

gi-bo'd-a'iyatg-a'd-ē'γ, I never open my mouth  
 tsats-aiyatsg-i'n, her lips are poked with finger  
 digw-a'i-yun-a'l-iL, rope fell down, 41, 27  
 ga'd'aw-ai-yaw-ei', he stood just inside the door

28. Lotαγa-, motion backward (?):

hē''Lotαγa-d'ar-iL, he walked backward  
 hēLotαγ-edē'war-iL, sitting he moved backward  
 hē-Lotαγa-tγa'γ-an-iL, backward he crept  
 da-Lotαγ-onas-iL, backward it is crawling

29. rak-, thither:

rak-date, up river  
 rak-dat, up hill or mountain, up thither  
 rak-wu-ya ga'wa-Lek, north he went in canoe  
 rak-djôtewar, way up river  
 ra'ke'cwari', toward east  
 rakcura'Laγ-ēL, name of hero—thither west he went down in

30. rol-, (-nol-), up:

rolē'dē'war-iL, he sat up  
 ro'l-a'w-iL, he stood up  
 ro'l-an-av-o'd-αγ, lift it (pail of water)  
 rola-ta'lav-iγ, jump up  
 hī-no'l-a'n, (he reached over) to lift (rocks), 17, 25  
 ga-no'la-γar-a'd-ēL, she did not look up  
 hī-no'l-a'n-aw-iL, he picked it up (Indian potato)  
 hī-no'lī dēwar-a't-om-iL, he made her sit up

31. rad-, (-nad-), up (same as ro'l-: informants can see no difference and do not know themselves which to use).

hī-ra'd-a'w-ēL, he got up  
 du-ra'd-a'n-av-αγ, pick up a pile of rocks  
 ra'-Le'l-iγ, get up, jump to feet  
 gu-ra'-da'l-iL, he flew up again  
 rada'-γar-ad-ēL, she lifted her head  
 wa-na'd-ola-val, lift me up  
 hī-na'd-a'w-ēL, she stood up  
 hī-na'-La'l-iL, she jumped to her feet  
 hī-na'd-o'law-iL, she lifted up (rocks), 17, 38

## §22. Pronominal Classifiers

There are several classifiers which follow the adverbial prefixes and perform the duties of pronominal adjectives but also give some of the few ideas of plurality which are expressed in Wiyot. They may refer either to the subject or to the object.

w<sub>a</sub>L-, something; about, with regard to, on account of, something:

wī-w'<sub>a</sub>L-ē'tsav-us, I must give you something for this

da'yīL gī'tga w<sub>a</sub>L-ē'tsawal kitck, I must be given something for this surely

wī-w<sub>a</sub>L-ra''tsi''tsar-at, you will sneeze

ga'-w<sub>a</sub>L-r'akwa'w-ēL, she was not contented about it—she was sorry about it, 22, 81; 12, 132

cuwa harawā-vaLa'-ratw-o'i', what do you all think about it?

ga-w<sub>a</sub>L-ga'iyawak<sup>w</sup> gi'tga, I am going to fight about it, 6, 44

han<sub>a</sub>-, (y, l), distributive, each:

hī-ya'n<sub>a</sub>-rid-atg-ulaw-ui', each take two large round ones (rid-, two; -atg-, large round)

hī-ya'n<sub>a</sub>-rits-atsg-uṛaw-ui', each take two small round things (dim. of preceding)

cu-la'n<sub>a</sub>-gutsa-wa'La'm-adak, I wish we each had one (cu-, optative; gutsa-, one; -wa'La'm-, possess temporarily; -adak, first plural)

(hī)-ya'n<sub>a</sub>-gutsa-laγ-iL, they scattered, each went alone (-laγ-, go)

bi'k hī-ya'n<sub>a</sub>-liv, she lay in middle (bi'k, independent word, on either side)

vi'ye-, (vi'γä-), some:

ha'pai' cu-vi'ye-we'l-a, I wish I had some berries

hī-viγä-tiγa-dal, some went out (tiγa-, out; -dal-, travel)

da'-viγē-va'w-a-t-o', some were made to cry (da-, customary; -va'w-, cry; -a-t-, cause; -o', third indefinite), 49, 18

do'-viγä-tca'tcau'w, some were shot full of holes (do-, plural; tcau'w, be full of holes), 49, 10

du-miγä-sisw-apt, some (elk) were black (sisw-, be black; -apt, be furry), 14, 109

du-miγä-valu'yaw-apt, some were white (valuya-, be white), 14, 109

da-viye-va'wato', some were given something to gamble off

du-, plural:

gur-giγa'gwa-du-va'w-iL-ui', those who did not cry (gur-, demonstrative; giyaga-, not at all; gwa = ga + ha), 49, 20

- du-ra'd-a'n-av-aγ, pick them up (rocks in a pile)  
 du-ga's-an-av-aγ, pick them up (rocks one by one)  
 du-wala'pd-iL, they were furry (hairy), 19, 3  
 wuda'-du-la'-lu'nas-ēL, things which crawl around (wuda',  
 demonstrative; la-, around; -lunas, crawl)  
 du-kLa'm-ēL-waL, he kept his eye on them continuously  
 gawa-do'-waL-da'l-oi', they began conversing (gawa-, inchoative;  
 -waL-, about it; da'l-, converse; -oi', indefinite third person passive)  
 ru-, (ro-, -ra-), all:  
 gu-ro-lo-me'l-iL (I hope) all my things come back to me (gu-,  
 iterative; -lo-m-, return; -wel-, first objective [m+w=m] 12, 119.  
 hī-ro'-katsw-oi, all got ready to carry meat (-katsw-, carry meat),  
 12, 24  
 dagwi'-ru-lo', they all arrived there (dagwi-, destination; -lo',  
 come), 12, 22  
 hī-ro-gane''-war, all heard the news  
 hī-ru-lē'd-ui', all went ashore (-lēd-, go uphill; -ui', third indefi-  
 nite passive)  
 hī-ru'-lap, everything is cooked  
 ti'γαr-u'law-iL, he took everything out (ti'γαr-, out; -ulaw-, take)  
 Lā-ga-ru-ga'daw-a'n-iL, they had not brought all in (Lā-, abso-  
 lutely; ga-, negative; gadaw-, go through an enclosure; -an-, do with  
 hand)

### §23. *Descriptive Classifiers*

Another group of classifying prefixes may fittingly be called descriptive. A comparison with the sections on adjectives and numerals (§§26-27) will bring out clearly their functions.

1. -a'w-, pertaining to a surface (not necessarily continuous):
  - pīγ-a''w, bruise
  - sīsw-a'w, black (blanket)
  - sa'saw-a'w, hairless (fawn)
  - vala'w-a'w, puckered like unevenly sewed hole
  - valuya'w-a'w, white (blanket)
  - do'g-a'w, damp
  - sa'γ-a'w, red (blanket)
  - gutsawe'nis-aγ-a'w, (basket) is red all over
  - da'γalatg'a'-sa'γ-a'w, (basket) is spotted red (da'γalatg-, be spotted; -sa'γ-, be red)
  - djapu'l-a'w, crushed hard thing like hat or can

sēL da'γalatga-sisw-a'w, floor is spotted black (sisw-, be black)  
 raL-a'w, (rabbit's ears) are long (rad-, be large; -La'w, be long)  
 haeg-a'w-ib-iL, he tore it all up with his teeth  
 La-va'tsaw-a'w-iL, the outside of my body is dry  
 ciew-a'we-γar-an-iL, black paint used on the face and for tattoo-  
 ing—soot mixed with tallow  
 pē'c-aw-il, I swelled up

2. -ätg-, -ätk-, flat and round:

he'rawe-rid-ätg-u'law-ui', all take round flat things (like dollars,  
 hard tack)

bal-ätk, split and left open flat

gwi-da-la'-dä'tg-ak, flat tableland seen suddenly from top of  
 hill (gwi-, upon arrival; da-, progressive; latgak, land)

rid-ätks-al, two dollars [a day]

ra'nad-ätk, silver dollar, large flat

hiya-va'tsaw-ätg-ak, pond is dried up (vatsaw-, be dry)

rana'-djapLa'γar-ätck, nickel (rana[d]-, big; -djapLaγar, thick in  
 proportion to roundness)

duγaL-ätk, gold piece (duγaL-, yellow)

guts-ätk, one dollar

sätk, one-half dollar

3. -äk, 'ish,' used to describe things which cannot be precisely  
 classified or are intangible or vague:

dog'a'L-ä'k, bluish, 22, 4

vatsav-äk, weather is dry

da-ca''w-äk, (house) is empty (da-, progressive; -ca'w-, lose, be  
 lacking)

da-balo'yaw-äk, whitish (she looked), 22, 4

klä-gasaw-ä'k, at last smallish it was (i. e., room was crowded to  
 overflowing), 32, 21

La-ra''d-äk, (river) is rather wide (La-, somewhat; ra'd-, be large)

sīsw-ä'k, darkness

sī'luwalu'n-äk, cavernous (sī'luwa'l, echo)

sa'γ-ä'k, reddish, 22, 4

4. -at-, large in diameter:

rad-a'tar, big in diameter (tree)



5. -atg-, -atk, spherical:  
 dagw-a'tga-ro', any game in which ball is hit (dagw-, hit; -ro', come away)  
 dagw-a't ga-ro'w-aL, nominal form of above—bat  
 hī-ya'na-rid-atg-u'lau-ui', each takes two spherical things (balls, apples, baskets)  
 rad-a'tg-ala', big one roll down  
 La'rav-atk, large round (Larav-, have no end, go to nothing)
6. -atsg-, -atsk, dim. of preceding, small round:  
 hi-ba'raγ-atsg-a'ṛ, (my tears) fell in a stream (baraγ-, pour; -a'ṛ-, fall)  
 gawa-lo'ts-atsg-al-iL (rain) began to fall in drops  
 baraγ-atske-aγ, pour small round things out  
 gagä-gacw-atk, the smallest (basket); (gagä-, augmentative; gacw-, be small)  
 La'rav-atk, small round things
7. -atgē-, solid pile:  
 hīya-wa'n-atgē-dē'war-iL, it piled it around (wan-, around; -dēwar-, sit)  
 laγ-a'tge-dēwar-a't-u', (rope) is coiled (laγ-, go; -atge-, pile; -dēwar-, sit; -at-, cause; u', indefinite third person)  
 va-datge-dēwar-a't-um, (wood) go pile up (va-, go; -um-, third indirect object)  
 da'tg-a'gw-iL, anything in solid pile upon something (-a'gw-, be upon)
8. -aiya'γ-, all over one continuous surface:  
 gacw-a'iyā'γ-a'n, narrow, small hard surface, (board)  
 rad-a'ya'γ-ar, wide (board)  
 sīsw-a'iyā'γ-ar, (floor) is all black  
 sīsw-a'ya'γ-iL, (basket) is black on bottom outside  
 haL-sīsw-a'iyā'γ-ar, (board) is black on both sides (haL-, both sides)  
 haLar-a'iyā'γ-ar, (board) is same on both sides
9. -aya'da'w-, spreading:  
 rad-aya'da'w-ik, big bay  
 gacw-aiya'tsa'w-ik, small bay

10. -yo'n-, threadlike, ropelike, ribbonlike (cp. verb stem -lo'n-, weave):

digw-a'i-yona-ta'l<sup>w</sup>aw-iL, he threw down the end (of headband);  
(digw-, down; [l]aiy-, end of; -ta'l<sup>w</sup>aw-, throw), 12, 72

Lag-a'i-yu'na-ta'la<sup>wa</sup>, I threw out fishing line (Lag-, go down into)

rada'-yo'n daragau'', woodpecker headband

tiyara'-sisw-ona'w-ik, black strip spread over surface of water  
(tiyar-, come out), 22, 36

gacw-a'iyon, narrow strip like belt

11. -batsä-, chief, one in authority:

guda-ba'tsä-dô'k<sup>w</sup>, the woman of the house

batsä-cira'w-aL, stationary stone mortar in house

da'-batsä'-dak<sup>w</sup>, person spoken of as most respected in the community

batsa-ra-gok, my father's father's sister

da-ba'tsä-yô'lil, head man of party

12. -pL-, hairlike:

hi'darara-pL-aiyo'w-aL, something which makes hairlike objects come to the side—pitchfork

cu'yay<sup>a</sup>-pL, she has straight hair

ga'gala-pL-ga's-iL, wavy hair (gagala-, hair curls; -gas-, do with head)

wuca'tsga-pL, (dog) has smooth short hair

dasa'-pL-igw-iL, loose pile (hair or thread) is up on something  
(dasa-, be loose, uneven; -igw-, be upon)

sisw-a'y<sup>a</sup>-pL-i', seaweed (sisw-, be black)

sa'γ-apL, red; adjective used to describe basket material dyed with alder bark

gatw-a'y<sup>a</sup>-pL-aiyow-aL, something which wipes by putting in a loose pile—broom (gatw-, wipe)

13. vaiy<sup>a</sup>-, pertaining to elk meat:

wa-la-va'iy-av-a'gw-oi', he announced that elk meat is to be carried in

hi-va'-way<sup>a</sup>-wa'g-ēL, he is going to get some meat

hi-va-wa'y-at<sup>w</sup>sw-oi', elk meat was carried in

va-va'iy<sup>a</sup>-vël-aw-ēk, (that is where) he chased up elk, 12, 9

wa'-la-wa'i-yô<sup>t</sup>sw-ak, to carry meat

## 14. -tva-, border, stripe, edge:

tve'-Lada-waL (tvä'-Lada-wē'l), salmon tail

teve'-Ligatc-atc-i', little mark across his face—raccoon

tcva-wē'Li', little finger or toe, it is on the edge

tva-dara'-dad-iL, he (dog) is white around neck (-dara-, neck;  
-dad-, encircle)

tva-na'γ-ar-ar, woven blanket—it has a stripe near edge

tcva-tega'tc-tiya'-d'ad-ēL, he has ring on tail—civet cat (-tiya-,  
tail)

tva-dal-iL, he is taking a short cut (-dal-, travel)

tevē-yawa'gas, the very last (they went out)

tevē, the last one

## 15. -sai-, one side:

sa'i-yab-iL, one side he ate

sa'i-yitra'-k<sup>w</sup>Lai-yar, one side they hung up, 28, 29sai-yi'tr-ak<sup>w</sup>s, one side I put upsai-yi'tra-gwala-ta'lav-a', one side with ends loose I threw over  
rack

sai-yi'tr-olav-ēl, entire side he took

sa'i-yay-ar, wind blows from one direction, 4, 2

sa-iy-a'b'al-iL, with one hand he eats

## 16. -sg- (-sk-, dim. -ck-), piece, portion:

da'-sg-ab'al-aγ, bite a piece off—apple

ha-sk-a'l-iL, piece (dish, earth) broke off

ha-sk-a'l-ar, cut off piece (of bread)

ha-ck-aγ-iL, little piece broke off (dim.)

ramē'-sk-ar, four pieces (ram-, four)

## 17. -tsats-, little pokes (perhaps dim. of dad-, give blow):

tsa'ts-aiyatsg-i'b'-ow-iL, they kissed each other, gave mouths  
little pokes

tsa'ts-aiyatsgi'n, her lips are poked with finger

## 18. -gar-, (-kar-), cylindrical:

dasa'-tsgara:-l-iv, long sticks irregularly piled (dasa-, be uneven;  
-atsg-, be in a pile; -l-, lie)cu-gu-swä-tsgara-ta'law-an, do not scatter stove wood (cu-, pro-  
hibitive; gu-, iterative; swä-, at random; -ta'law-, throw; -an, passive  
nominalizing suffix)

19. -gotsawānis-, all over:  
 ru'go'tsawenis-piγa'uw-il-ôk, because I was black and blue all  
 over  
 go'tsawānis-du'min-il, all over I was rubbed
20. -gwala-, with both ends loose:  
 sai-yi'tra-gwala-ta'lava, one side with ends loose I threw over  
 gwala'-ta'law-aγ, throw it over the rack  
 gwala'-a'gw-ēL, it hangs with both ends loose  
 ha-gwa'-ta'lau-iLel, (blanket) was thrown over me
21. -lak-, news, talk:  
 hī-ya-la'k, news which every one knows  
 cu-la'-la'k-wē's-oi', keep it secret, do not spread news  
 dala'g'ots hī-gawarak<sup>w</sup>, talk good it began to be—they made a  
 bargain  
 da'lak, talk
22. -la'lawēsg-, large flat piece:  
 we'saγ hī-yana-la'la'wēsg-ulaw-u'i', five large flat pieces each  
 take (-yana-, distributive; -ul-, take; -ui', indefinite subject)  
 hī-yana-rit-wēsg-ulaw-u'i', each take two pieces
23. -Laγar-, (Laγar-), pliable surface like cloth:  
 da'γalatga-vulu'yawa'-Laγar, (the dress) is spotted with white  
 vulu'yawa'-Laγar, (her dress) is white  
 tsatsa'-Laγar, small plaid cloth (tsats, give little pokes)
24. -rol, tasting:  
 tsava'tsa-ro'l, bitter  
 paga-lo'l, brackish (pag, salt)  
 gu'tsa-rol, sweet, good-tasting  
 wure''-nol, it tastes good (used of something no one else would  
 eat)  
 pīda'γa-rol, sour

## §§24-25. VERBAL SUFFIXES

§24. *Pronominal*

## A. DECLARATIVE ACTIVE

There are three series of pronominal suffixes in the active voice, appearing in the following order: object, immediately following the final-position stem; indirect object; subject. In several cases it is impossible to separate object and subject, so in the following table objective-subjective suffixes are listed. They will then be readily distinguished as far as it is possible to separate them. They will first be considered without the indirect object.

*Objective-Subjective Suffixes*

|                                   | I                    | you                         | he, she, it          | we                     |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| me.....                           | —                    | -wel-at<br>(-wē·r-at)       | -wel-iL<br>(-wēr-iL) | —                      |
| you.....                          | -as<br>(-ac)         | —                           | -as-iL<br>(-ac-iL)   | -as-adak<br>(-ac-adak) |
| him, her, personal or<br>not..... | -aw-a' <sup>25</sup> | -aw-at                      | -aw-iL               | -aw-adak               |
| him, her, personal only           | —                    | —                           | -o'g(o'γ)-iL         | —                      |
| us.....                           | —                    | -wel-ad·ak<br>(-wē·r-ad·ak) | -a'wOL               | —                      |
| you.....                          | -as<br>(-ac)         | —                           | -as-iL<br>(-ac-iL)   | -as-adak<br>(-ac-adak) |
| them.....                         | -aw-a'               | -aw-at                      | -aw-iL               | -aw-adak               |

The plural of the second and third persons subject is the same as the singular plus the independent pronouns, *wau'w* and *dag'u*, respectively. The same words are used for the plural of the second and third persons object, in addition to the suffixes, which are the singular forms.

Although the forms given for the expression of the second and third persons plural are accurate and readily formed by any Wiyot speaker, as a matter of fact they are seldom used in ordinary speech; the third person plural is found occasionally in texts but the second plural has never appeared. A difficulty arose, too, in trying to express 'they like them,' that is, verbs with subject and object each in the plural. Theoretically the sentence should be:

ra'da'twamiL dag'u dag'u, they think well of them;

<sup>25</sup> Usually whispered.

but this is never used (although it is not incorrect). A noun or two would be used to explain, then *dag'u* need be used only once; e. g.,

*dēgwa' ra'dα'twamiL dag'u go'wil*, white people think highly of Indians.

There is no suffix to indicate the first person of verbs used intransitively. The subjective suffixes for verbs without objects can be seen from the table to be:

*Subjective Suffixes*

|                                       | <i>Singular</i>  | <i>Plural</i>  |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1st person .....                      | —                | -adək          |
| 2d person .....                       | -at              | -at plus wau'w |
| 3d person .....                       | -il              | -il plus dag'u |
| Indefinite, general or collective.... | -ui' (-ei', -i') |                |

The suffix -ui' is used of a general, indefinite, or collective subject. It frequently has a passive significance (and an imperative one when stems have no other form, as is sometimes the case), but may be used as well with an intransitive verb, thus being equivalent to the indefinite 'one' of many Indo-European languages.

*Objective Suffixes*

|                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1st person..... | -wel- (-wēɾ-)          |
| 2d person.....  | -as (-ac)              |
| 3d person.....  | -aw-, -am-, -ēm-, -om- |

The most generally employed third personal object is -aw-. It may be used to denote persons or things. A number of stems, however, do not admit this object and require instead an object in m, its initial depending upon the stem.

Some stems require -ēm; they appear to be referential stems in the active voice (cp. this §[B]):

*higwē-tel-ēm-il*, upon arrival he spoke to them, 13, 87  
*gwī-na'kad-ēm-il*, upon arrival he called her kin, 19, 28  
*wī-lats-ēm-il*, he will tell her stories

Verbs of seeing, favoring, thinking, and some of their opposites, take -am as a third personal object.

A few stems expressing state of mind take -om as third object.

The so-called third personal object may be used with any verb which has for its object a human being if the subject is third person. It is used also exclusively with some verbs like 'illness affects,' 'hurt,'

'have influence upon,' and others which are purely personal. With other verbs either the object *-aw* (*-am*) or *-o'g(-o'γ)* may be used, but the former is preferred. A noun is indicated as subject or object, while keeping a fixed position in the sentence, according as one or the other form of the suffix is used in the verb.

Louis *dicga'miL* Mary, Louis loves Mary  
 Louis *dica'γoγiL* Mary, Mary loves Louis  
*gats wa'iyits gēLe'laviL*, or *gats gēLe'laviL wa'iyits*, the yellow-jacket stung the dog  
*gats gēLe'laviL* Louis, the yellow-jacket stung Louis  
*Louis gēLelo'gīlgato*, yellow-jacket stung Louis

But no one could say:

*wa'iyits gēLelo'gīL gats*

Another example will show the contrast in meaning:

*datwa'γaL sēga'go'γiL*, the spear hurt him

*datwa'γaL sega'gaviL*, he spoiled the spear (either when making or using it)

It seems that formerly there was a differentiation between a personal and non-personal third object, that this distinction survives in a few strictly personal verbs, but that the non-personal object *-aw* (*-am*) came to be used for personal objects, also, and although the personal object is not obsolete, nevertheless it is not the favorite means of expressing personal objective ideas.

Indirect objective suffixes follow the direct object. With stems like *hatsav-* 'give' they have the generally understood meaning of 'to' or 'for' a person. But their meaning in other cases is nearer akin to 'instead of' rather than 'for the benefit of.' It will seem at first sight that the indirect object is really the direct object in the first person but this notion will be corrected by the phonetic law given in §6:33. Furthermore, the laws for consonant assimilation do not hold for this suffix. The following example shows that although it would be impossible for *l* of this suffix to occur in any position where it could change to *h* or *y*, nevertheless it belongs to the *h, y, r*-series and not to the *r*-series as does the direct object *-wel-*, since the prefix *ro-* causes following *l* of the latter series to become *r*.

*gu-ro-lo'm-el-iL*, (I hope) all my things come back to me (*-gu*, iterative; *-ro-*, all; *-lo'm-*, return; *m+w=m*).

*Indirect Objective Suffixes*

|                 | <i>Singular</i> | <i>Plural</i>                               |
|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 1st person..... | -wel-           | -awoL (he-to us)<br>-awilad'-ak (you-to us) |
| 2d person.....  | -us- (-os-)     | -oswauw-                                    |
| 3d person.....  | -um- (-om-)     | -um- dag'u                                  |

The independent pronoun of the second person plural is incorporated in the verb complex when indicating the indirect object. In all other cases it stands alone, although if the final sound of the preceding word is not labialized a short *a* may be inserted between it and *wau'w*.

## B. PASSIVE

There are a number of subjective verbs which occur only with the passive suffixes. They have such meanings as: be willing; be bruised; be cold; be hungry; be lazy, dull; run splinter into body; lie; sleep alone; get power; be a person of large proportions; be awkward, clumsy; be comical, etc.

The passive endings are as follows:

*Series I*

|                                  | <i>Singular</i>   | <i>Plural</i>       |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1st person.....                  | -il, (-ir)        | -ilôdak, (-iradak)  |
| 2d person.....                   | -ilôt, (-irat)    | -ilôt wauw, (-irat) |
| 3d person.....                   | -im, -iv, -ar     | singular with dag'u |
| 3d person (subject omitted)..... | -o'war            |                     |
| Instrumental.....                | -ani'l, (-a'ni'r) |                     |

The three endings of the third person singular are used according to the form each stem demands. Besides these a great many stems ending in consonants retain their form in the third person singular without suffixes. Many of these stems end in *-kʷ*, which becomes a lengthened sonant when the suffixes of the other persons are added. Since all forms of the passive are regular except the third person, the latter will be indicated by the form assumed by the stem when it is listed in the vocabulary (§§37-42). The diminutive rules as given (§16, B) apply here as well as in series II.

The suffix *-o'war* may be used with some stems if the nominal subject is omitted, but some other form must be used if the nominal subject is expressed.



*Passive Conjugations*

Stem: gagwa'w-, know

gagwa'w-il, I am known

gagwa'w-ilôt, you are known

gagwa'w-ar, he is known

gagwa'w-ilôdak, we are known

gagwa'w-ilôt wau'w, you are known

gagwa'w-ar dag'u, they are known

Stem: tsanak<sup>w</sup>-, be stingy with food

tsa'nagw-ir, I am stingy

tsanagw-irôt, you are stingy

tsa'nak<sup>w</sup>, he is stingy

tsanagw-irôdak, we are stingy

tsanagw-irôt wau'w, you are stingy

tsa'nak<sup>w</sup> dag'u, they are stingy

Stem: vaL-, hungry

va'L-il, I am hungry

va'L-ilôt, you are hungry

va'L-im, he is hungry

va'L-ilôdak, we are hungry

va'L-ilôt wau'w, you are hungry

va'L-im dag'u, they are hungry

The passive form -ani'l is regularly used when the subject has been the receiver of the action through an instrument. The stems -ta-, tell; and -wili-, ask, regularly take the instrumental suffixes in the active and passive.

ho'l hotw-a'ni'l, water is being brought in something. (Instrumental must always be used for transporting water, to signify that it is contained in something. The same suffix must be used also of towing a boat full of fish, whereas if an empty boat were towed the regular third person passive would be used.)

Louis hotw-a'ni'l, Louis is being brought in something

vo'l twa'wilar, the house is painted

halowī, 'coal tar,' twa'wilaw-a'ni'l, the canoe painted with coal tar

hiyētα-w-ani'l, she was told

Verbs of reference have the following endings which are essentially passive in character:

*Series II*

|                 | <i>Singular</i>    | <i>Plural</i>         |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1st person..... | -wal, (-war)       | -walôdak (-warôdak)   |
| 2d person.....  | -walat, (-warat)   | -walat wau'w (-warôt) |
| 3d person.....  | -i'w               | singular with dag'u   |
|                 | -ar                |                       |
|                 | -u'w, (-o'w, -i'w) |                       |

Verbs which take these suffixes never take those in series I and vice versa. Some verbs which demand these endings have the following meanings: ask about, ask for, bring for, speak to, tell to, occur to, think about, meditate upon, pity, call kin, wait for, hire for, kick, tell of hunger, see (in sense of 'spot out'), touch, take down, pursue

(personal subject), take care of, put down for, paint (personal subject), take care of, put, wish for good luck, help, feed, hang up for, suck in, shock, catch in the act of, gamble with, correct, choose for, wink at, make furry, graze (make slight contact).

Passive forms of either series and of any person or number may be used to denote the imperative as well as the true passive.

### C. SUBJUNCTIVE, INFINITIVE, AND IMPERATIVE

The term 'subjunctive' has been employed to designate a mode which in Wiyot includes all statements which must be qualified, that is: negative assertions which are usually true, but may not be true sometimes; interrogative ideas which imply doubt; and future probability. The subjunctive suffixes are used also with the circumlocutory designations of deceased relatives and with some descriptive terms for body-parts. They are:

|                 |      |
|-----------------|------|
| 1st person..... | -a'γ |
| 2d person.....  | -a'm |
| 3d person.....  | -il  |

These suffixes are used with their respective possessive prefixes. Complexes of the kind requiring these suffixes may appear as well without them but always have the possessives (6, 5; 6, 17; 20, 16; 3, 7), and verbs which have no active forms omit the suffixes altogether.

Whereas the normal subjunctive suffix of the second person is -a'm, constructions which logically seem to be the same as those requiring -a'γ of the first person frequently take -a'γ (-e'γ) (12, 37; 41, 15). The suffix may be omitted in the second as well as in the first person (44, 2).

From the examples cited it is apparent that the use of these forms may be the result of a confusion between the subjunctive suffixes and the infinitive or participial construction which is indicated in the first and second persons by the suffix -ak (-ik for e-stems) and the possessive prefixes; in the third person the suffix becomes -agw- (-igw-) (§6:31) and the possessive affixes are hu . . . . a'l. In a negative sentence ga- and hu- sometimes become gwa- (§6:22) by elision although this is not always the case. It is possible that the two forms may have been confused in recording, especially since the glottal stop is always very weak, but this possibility was foreseen and during the second visit sentences were carefully checked.

The imperative mode furnishes further complications. The prefix cu- (§19:7-8) expresses, with second and third person subjects, prohibi-

tion; and with first person subject, desire. The distinction devolves upon the suffixes. The positive imperative may be expressed by the passive forms without further modification. The common imperative suffix of the second person is  $-a\gamma$  ( $-i\gamma$ ) which serves to give an emphatic command. A mild command is expressed by the declarative subjective second person suffix. The following laws will show more clearly the use of *cu-* and the suffixes which accompany it.<sup>26</sup>

1. The prefix *cu-* when used with first personal subject, and with stems which have no active forms, is an optative:

*cu-ve'w*, I wish I could eat it, 32, 26

*da-cu-bo'cat-om*, (dog) I wish I could hear, 14, 3; 14, 6

*co-ka'wa-wa'-dēk<sup>w</sup>L-iladək*, sweat-house let us go sleep in (here *co* appears to be an independent particle; *ka'wa*, sweat-house; *wa*, prefix, go; *-dēk<sup>w</sup>L-*, sleep; *-iladək*, first plural passive)

2. The particle *cu-* is prefixed and *-it* is suffixed to a third personal declarative form (definite or indefinite subject) to denote a wish:

*cu hinar wana'dji'*, let it be drunk by us, 38, 15

*hara'da-c-bo'w-il-ēt*, I wish she would keep on cooking, 20, 8

*cu-dīg-w-a'tgalaya'-il-(it)*, I wish big one would roll down, 25, 10

*co-va'-rawaca'gw-o-y-it*, let us go and witness by seeing (*-oi*, indefinite or collective subject), 13, 39

*ha'cgu laγē'y-it*, all right, let us go, 23, 10

*Lag-o'y-it*, let us go down, 27, 9

3. *cu-* is a prohibitive particle when used with the second imperative suffix  $-a\gamma$  ( $-i\gamma$ ), with the second subjunctive  $-a'm$ , or with passive forms:

*cu-gu-wa'ditwa-waṭ-aγ*, do not think of me again, 14, 66; *cp.* 1, 42

*da'-cu-ratsä-da'l-aγ*, do not talk loud, 32, 41

*cu-pa'wad-a'm*, do not step on it

*cu-gu-la'na-wa'l*, do not say that to me again, 27, 7

*cu-la'la'n-o'm*, do not touch it, 13, 2; 6, 13; 13, 15

*cu-pa'wad-il*, do not tread on me

<sup>26</sup> All the examples in the texts are given here. It is evident that they furnish little material for conclusions which have been obtained through various other examples. For example, Jerry never suffixed *-it*, Mrs. Barto always did.

## D. OTHER PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

-wiw-, reflexive for all persons. This suffix is placed immediately after the objective suffix.

da-lapa'tgalav-a'm-iw-idak, we are wrapping them for ourselves  
goman-a-wi'w-il, she again became legal owner of herself—she left her husband

dja'ga-γa'n-a-wiw-il, he paints his own face

cu-botg-an-a-wiw-iγ, stop scratching yourself

da-gēL-ra'kalag-wēw-il, they finished painting themselves, 6, 14

hi-gwas-as-wiw-il, he buried himself, 6, 74

-wo'w-, reciprocal; this suffix occupies the same position as the reflexive.

da-lapa'tga'lav-a'm-o'w-il dag'u, they are wrapping them for each other

hī-gē'tala-wo'w-il dag'u, they stopped talking to one another, 48, 1

gots gala'ka-ragwila-wo'w-ēL, good no longer they were to each other, 43, 2

-od-, (-ot), active instrumental. This suffix is used as an ordinary instrumental and also signifies that a thing is 'full of' something. It stands after the direct object (reflexive or reciprocal, if there is one), consequently before the subjective suffix. It is used also with some verbs of asking and telling.

wēlēk<sup>w</sup>s-a'm-ot, I will show her, 22, 31

hi-da'g-am-od-il, she hit him with it, 43, 25

wa-la'γē-ta'm-o'd-at, go tell him, 14, 81

da'-wilim-od-il, he asked him, 7, 29

hi-svē-γar-a'n-av-od-il, she pointed at his face with it (svē-, point at; -γar-, do with face; -an-, do with hand; -av-, third object), 38, 39

Now that all the pronouns and pronominal suffixes have been discussed, the following table, which summarizes the matter, will make more convenient and clear the study of it.

TABLE II.—PRONOUNS

|                            | Independent | Possessive        | Subjective suffixes |                                      |   |           |            | Objective suffixes                          |            |         |         |   |   |   |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---|-----------|------------|---|------------|---------|---------|---|---|---|
|                            |             |                   | Active              | Passive                              | Referential   | Subjunct. | Imper.     | Direct                                      | Indirect   | Reflex. | Recipr. |   |   |   |
| <i>Sing.</i>               |             |                   |                     |                                      |   |           |            |   |            |         |         |   |   |   |
| 1                          | yi'l        | ra-, ra-, ru-     | —                   | -il, (-ir)                           | -wal, (-war)  | -a'γ      | —          | -wel-                                       | -wel-      | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| 2                          | kil         | ka-, ka-, ku-     | -at                 | -ilót, (-irát)                       | -walat, (-warat)  | -a'm      | -aγ, (-ir) | -as-  | -us-, -os- | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| 3                          | —           | hu- }<br>.....a'l | -il                 | -im                                  | -i'w  | -il       | -il, -it   | -aw-  | -um-       | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| <i>Plur.</i>               |             |                   |                     |                                      |   |           |            |   |            |         |         |   |   |   |
| 1                          | hinar       | —                 | -adak               | -ar<br>-ilódak<br>(-iradak)          | -ar<br>-u'w, (-o'w)<br>-walódak<br>(-waródak)                   | —         | —          | -om-  | -awilad'ak | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| 2                          | klawau'w    | —                 | -at wau'w           | -ilót wau'w<br>(-irát)               | -walat wau'w<br>(-warót)  | —         | —          | -a-wol                                      | -oswauw-   | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| 3                          | dag'u       | —                 | -il dag'u           | -im<br>-ir } dag'u<br>-iv }<br>-ar } | -i'w<br>-ar } dag'u<br>-u'w, (-o'w)<br>-walat wau'w<br>(-warót) | —         | —          | -a-w- } dag'u<br>-a-m- }<br>-ē-m- }<br>-om- | -um-dag'u  | -wi'w-  | —       | — | — | — |
| <i>Indef. Pers. Instr.</i> |             |                   | -of, -od-           | -ni' }<br>-ni' }                     | -ni' }<br>-ani'l }  | —         | —          | -o-g-, (-o'γ)                               | —          | —       | —       | — | — | — |

§25. *Nominalizing Suffixes*

-äLi', liquid:

sīsw-ä'Li', coffee (sīsw-, be black)

wura-ga'tsplau'w-ä'Li', cold liquid, lemonade

vīy-äLi', strong liquid (coffee or tea)

valu-yaw-äLi', white liquid (could be said of white medicine)

-a'n, nominalizing suffix with passive verbs. It is closely related to the third personal passive suffix -ar and is sometimes used in its place both as a passive and as an imperative. The distinction seems to be that -ar is a true passive whereas -a'n means 'the one which is . . .'

wilo'l-a'n, round hole, house door

habo'c-a'n, dandelion chewing-gum, 36, 17

ha'la'gw-isk-a'n, it moves about having been mounted—horse

hī-no'l-a'n, it (food) was lifted, 17, 25

tga'-k<sup>w</sup>La'i-y-a'n, it is stretched by sticks—umbrella

da-ta'lai-y-a'n, landing place

rad-a'n, a big one, 23, 109

-a'laγ, (dim. -a'raγ), it is like, it looks like:

sīsw-a'pd-ē'laγ, black feathers—crow

ma's-iyā rä'ty-a'laγ, fire-like blade of feather—yellow-hammer

da-da't-ad-ē'laγ, it is given blow with foot—football

vuyav-ä'tg-a'laγ, bent back flat it is like—spoon

botc-o'reγ-a'raγ, come to a point between rumps—He-Comes-to-a-Point, name of culture-hero

caγa-ti'γ-a'raγ, red-tailed hawk, 12, 57; 12, 76

baγaLē'tcγ-a'raγ, mold it is like—huckleberries which resemble blueberries

gatsa-wä-tsiγ-a'raγ, many tails—swallow

-aL, suffix meaning 'something which,' with meaning supplied by preceding active verb.

he'ma'n-aw-aL, something it marks—white material used for basket designs, also lead pencil

la'sa:sw-aL, something which sharpens—whetstone

käswa'g-aL, what is put in mouth—soapstone part of pipe

hīyawä'tck dalä'sw-aL, money something which has a mouthful—purse

kän-aw-aL, something which opens it—key

geda'-Lai-yo'w-aL, something which finishes scraping aside—  
threshing-machine

batsä-cira'w-aL, something which pounds, chief one—rock  
mortar in house

tseg-a'n-aw-aL, something which pushes it with the hand—  
thimble

degwa-ta'law-aL, something which throws down—axe

kanal-o'w-aL, something which comes crushing—fall-trap

sakwa'γ-aL, something which sews—thread

ha-la'wil-aL, something which stirs around—acorn soup

ro'row-a'g-aL, little thing which dances around—top

cu'r-aL, something which points—index finger

watga'i-y-aL, alder bark (watgai, skin, covering)

ro'rāw-aL, special song belonging to dance

#### §26. THE ADJECTIVE

The Wiyot adjective is essentially a verb. It consists of one or more verb stems of the first or third class together with one or more classifiers (in which case it differs somewhat from the ordinary verbal complex), or of two stems without a classifier. Both forms may take the prefixes of manner and time and are in other respects verbal. Consequently it has been considered best to list the various classifiers of adjectives with those given for the verb. For the same reason, adjectival stems, which are usually first-positional, will be found with the verb stems (§§37-39).

Examples of verb stem and classifier (the words in parentheses give an example of the kind of noun which is modified).

ba'dag-a'tk, hard and round (apple)

vel-a'tk, bent round (bent finger)

valu'yav-apt, white furry (deer, dog)

siswa'y-a-PL, black and hairlike (seaweed)

ga'cv-o'n, slender (narrow) threadlike (thread, rope)

The following examples show with what ease adjectives like the above become verbal in form as well as in meaning:

gacv-a'tsgo'c-iL, he has a small head, he is small-headed

sa'γo's-iL, redhead, a kind of bird (sa'γ-, be red; -γo's-, be skulled)

There are cases where several stems are compounded to give the required notion:

ra't-*valar*, big built (house)

gac-vē<sup>̄</sup>ar, small built (house)

da'γala'tga-vuluyaw-apt, spotted white fur (animal); (daγalatga-, spotted, may be further resolved into daγa-, here and there; -latg-, round; this combination has evidently been used so frequently that it has become a stem in its own right, for there is no other case where a classifier stands in this position)

da'γala'tga-vulu'yawa-Laγar, dotted white cloth

### §27. *The Numeral*

From one to four inclusive the numerals closely parallel adjectives. That is to say, there is first the numeral stem and then the classifier. This correspondence leads us to consider the numeral stem as a verb. In the numerals below five these classifiers may appear in abbreviated form, whereas above five the complete form is used. It will not be necessary to give more than four stems in the tables since after five the complex is regular.

go'ts-, one

rīd-, two

rik-, three

rīau'w-, four (final syllable changes in phonetic accord with what follows)

we'saγ-, five (cp. we's, hand)

#### 1. *Abstract count, human beings, animals*

1. go'tsar
2. rīd'ar
3. rikar
4. rīa'war
5. we'saγ halar

#### 2. *Round flat objects*

1. go'tsä'tk
2. rīdä'tk
3. rikä'tk
4. ra'wätk
5. we'sa'γ halätk

#### 3. *Large spherical objects*

1. go'tk
2. rī'datk
3. rikatk
4. rawatk
5. we'sa'γ halatk

#### 4. *Small spherical objects*

1. go'tsatsk
2. rītsatsk
3. rīka'tsk
4. rawa'tsk
5. weca'γ hara'tsk

#### 5. *Long objects*

1. gotsak
2. rīdak
3. rikak
4. rawak
5. wesa'γ halak

#### 6. *Single blankets*

1. djiwatsä'tk (one-half)
2. rītvīsä'tk
3. rīkwīsä'tk
4. ramīsä'tk
5. we'saγ ha'laväsä'tk



|  |                                |                                   |                   |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 7. <i>Strings of dentalia</i>                | 8. <i>Measures of dentalia</i> | 9. <i>Days</i>                    |                   |
| 1. gotsewatar                                | so'pa'w                        | gotswen (one sky)                 |                   |
|  |                                |                                   | gotsava'k         |
| 2. rētawatar                                 | rītwaso'pa'w                   | ritwe                             | ridava'k          |
| 3. rikawatar                                 | rikwa'so'pa'w                  | rikwe                             | rikva'k           |
| 4. ramawatar                                 | ramaso'pa'w                    | rame                              | ramak             |
| 5. we'sa'γ halawa'tar                        | wesa'γ halawāso'pa'w           | we'saγ halawe'                    | we'saγ<br>halavak |
| 10. <i>Years of human beings and animals</i> | 11. <i>Years of sea-lions</i>  |                                   |                   |
| 1. gotsāγa'lava'γarak                        | gotselo'Le'l                   |                                   |                   |
| 2. rītāγa'lava'γarak                         | rītvelo'Le'l                   |                                   |                   |
| 3. rikāγa'lava'γarak                         | rikvelo'Le'l                   |                                   |                   |
| 4. ramāγa'lava'γarak                         | ramalo'Le'l                    |                                   |                   |
| 5. we'saγ halavāγa'lava'γarak                | we'saγ ha'levelo'Le'l          |                                   |                   |
| 12. <i>Deer in a herd</i>                    | 13. <i>Deer lying</i>          | 14. <i>Deer hanging</i>           |                   |
| 1.   | dago'tskLe'l                   | dago'tsawak <sup>w</sup> Le'l     |                   |
| 2. rītwalaya'da'l                            | daritkLe'l                     | dari'dawak <sup>w</sup> Le'l      |                   |
| 3. rikwa'laya'da'l                           | dari'kLe'l                     | dari'kwak <sup>w</sup> Le'l       |                   |
| 4. (ramalaya'da'l)                           | darīa'wēle'l                   | darīa'wak <sup>w</sup> Le'l       |                   |
| 5. we'saγ ha'lawalaya'da'l                   | we'saγ da'lawēle'l             | we'saγ da'lawak <sup>w</sup> Le'l |                   |

These forms are used whether or not the thing to which they refer is expressed by a noun.

The foregoing tables lead us to infer that below five the numerals are verb stems, and that above five they become independent words with the classifiers in the following complex. This fact is brought out by the last three classes, where there is present a second verbal notion, as well as in other forms which appear in the material at hand.

The tables below will give an idea of the way the numeral stems may be used apparently as subject or object of a verb. It would, however, be more exact to consider them compound forms with two stems, since the numerals take the place of first-positional stems, and since they may be used with verbs with the prefixes as in §§19-23. Following are listed expressions used so frequently that they have lost the initial syllable of the first and second count:

|   |                             |                                      |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 15. <i>I procured . . . deer,<br/>fish, elk, etc.</i> | 16. <i>I saw . . . deer</i> | 17. <i>Side by side . . . walked</i> |
| 1. so'ma'   | go'tsawa'Lam                |                                      |
| 2. do'ma'   | ritawa'Lam                  | ri'dēbā'dal                          |
| 3. riko'ma'   | rikwa'Lam                   | ri'kēbā'dalil                        |
| 4. rīa'ma'  | rīa'waLam                   | ra'mēbādaliL                         |
| 5. we'sa'γ halo'ma'                                   | wesa'γ halawa'Lam           | we'saγ ha'lēbā'dal                   |

The numeral stem may appear in the same forms as any other stem. In these examples it is first-positional:

rit-walo'w-iL, two are coming  
rīt-wala'l-iL, two are walking about outside

It may also appear as an independent verb, thus becoming a stem of Class III.

rik-ē'L, three (brothers) there were, 23, 1

The numerals after five are given thus in the abstract count:

6, dakLalo'k  
7, ha'la'w  
8, hi'wi'dau'  
9, vaca'rok (vac, dim. of we's, hand; rok, ring finger; = one hand and four?)  
10, ralo'k  
11, ve'gotsar  
12, ve'ridar  
13, ve'rikar  
14, ve'riawar  
15, vetseLa'r  
16, veda'KLalo'k  
17, veyala'w  
18, veyiwi'dau'  
19, vevaca'rok  
20, rētava''  
21, rētava'' vägo'tsar  
30, rekava''  
40, ra'ma'  
50, we'say halavē'yalar  
60, dakLalo'k halavē'yalar  
70, ha'la'w halavē'yalar  
80, hi'widau' halavē'yalar  
90, vaca'rok halavē'yalar  
100, gotsäswa'ni, or gotseswa'ni halavē'yalar  
1000, rēlok helavesawa'ni'  
10,000, rēlok halavä'laväya'lar  
349, rikva'halaväswa'ni ra'ma' go'laveya'lar väva'ca'rok

Ordinals are expressed with the ordinary numeral stem and the adjectival classifier, there being no distinction between 'one basket' and 'the first basket,' for example.

Numeral adverbs are formed by adding the suffix -väraṭ to the numeral stem:

gots-äraṭ, once  
rit-väraṭ, twice  
rik-väraṭ, three times  
ram-äraṭ, four times  
we'say halaväraṭ, five times

## §28. FREE PARTICLES AND ENCLITICS

The following enclitics are commonly encountered:

-*ya*, like. Usually appended to a noun to be compared:

*gavutc-ya'haLa<sub>w</sub>*, woman like I look

*da'n-a'l-ya ra'γar-iL*, father his like he looks

*tsigēts-ya-ro'l*, young spruce like it tastes—orange

*dēgwa'-ya rakwā-rak<sup>wal</sup>*, white man like I can talk—I can speak

English

*va'd-i-ya haLa'w*, wood like it looks

The preceding may, however, be confounded with a homonymous interrogative enclitic which is attached to the first word of the sentence, whatever part of speech that may be:

*yīl-ya ra'γar-iL*, I like does he look like (resemble)?

*yīl-ya lawē-wal-iL*, does he behave like me?

*djuwa'-ya da-l-i'la't*, where are you lying? (it is not customary to use the enclitic with an interrogative word), 32, 38

*kīl-ya dji da'-l-i'la't*, are you lying there? 34, 24

-*waL*, continuative, mild obligatory. It may precede or follow the verb complex, but preferably follows:

*hī-la'γ-iL-awaL*, he kept on going, 12, 124

*gur da'-da'm-ēL-awaL*, there where she always sat

*wī-ya''tsi'tsar-at-waL*, you will keep on sneezing

-*waL*, too, also:

*yī-waL*, I too, 12, 116

*kī-waL*, you also

*gura-waL*, he too (*gura-*, demonstrative)

*hinar-waL*, we too

*kuna-waL*, the other day too

-*ga*, an element which may precede or follow the verb. Its function is to give warning:

*pa'wad-il-ga*, look out, I shall be stepped on

*pa'wad-ilada'g'a*, look out, we shall be stepped on

*ga-gud'a'm-eγ*, look out, flee from danger

## §29. SIGNIFICANT INDEPENDENT WORDS

Although there are many prefixes expressing manner, time, and location, there are also independent words which have like functions. They may sometimes even be incorporated in the verb complex. The particle *gwīs*, suddenly (§19:16), sometimes seems to belong here.

*swawī*, very:

*swawī laʔaʔr*, it was too heavy, 12, 26

*swawī biʔwar-il*, he is very fat, 17, 9

*cuwagaʔs swawī laʔlal-aʔm*, how far can you see?, 12, 89

*swawī diʔcgaʔmaʔ*, very much I like (to hunt there), 47, 9

*gīda*, dubitative:

*gīdaʔ dagu cvi-yoʔw-il*, I think they walked

*gwīlaʔ gīda djiwa daʔkʷ*, I wonder who lives here

*hucwaʔte gīda twalēʔ*, basket I guess it fell

*gīda dawo-lēʔmaʔs-al-ēl*, I think they put me ashore here, 31, 32

*gīda goʔwil waʔga-lag-aʔn*, I think a person has never been treated so, 14, 61

*gītga*, expressive of future time or intention and obligation:

*laʔʔ-ēl gītga*, (he told him) he should go

*yī-wal gītga haleveʔʔ*, I too ought to dance

*gītga gawēʔ-dʔakʷs-oʔiʔ*, they are going to begin to put it up

*gītga vēʔwīʔw*, I am going to eat it

*daʔwilʔam gītga*, I intend to watch

*da diʔtga hal*, I may go

*gidok*, obligatory (mild):

*gidok kiʔtek hoʔda-mätw-aʔn*, she surely ought to be pitied

*gīʔdok waʔ-gu-walam*, I ought to go visit her

*gots gīʔdok daʔ-ragwil-öt*, you ought to be good

*gots gīʔdok dala-laʔlolaw-at*, you ought to take good care of it

## §§30-32. THE PRONOUN

§30. *Independent*

There is a series of independent pronouns which are used for emphasis or to avoid ambiguity. The verbal suffixes given above (§24) are always used with them.

*Independent Pronouns*

|                 | <i>Singular</i>    | <i>Plural</i>    |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1st person..... | <i>yil</i>         | <i>hinar</i>     |
| 2d person.....  | <i>kil</i>         | <i>kilawauʔw</i> |
| 3d person.....  | <i>gwilaʔl (?)</i> | <i>dagʔu</i>     |

§31. *Possessive*

Possessive suffixes, which may be appended to the noun, or to the verb to express verbal subordination (see §34), are distinct for first, second, and third persons. Possession in second and third plural is shown by the same affixes as the respective singulars plus the independent pronouns.

A definite formal method indicates first person plural possession, but it is rarely used and has never been found in a text. There is no distinction, either in the possessive or in the verbal suffixes, between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. It is difficult to get this form from Wiyot informants, and they often disagree.

Only one example shows consistency of form when given at different times and by different people:

hinar ha-mol-iγ, our house (B)

Analogous to this are two examples given by Jerry:

hinar ro-ba's-iγ, our baskets

hinar ra-ma'La'gw-iγ, our food

These three forms are more consistent than they look, since Jerry is accustomed to carry the final sound of one word over as initial of a following word when the latter begins with h. On the other hand, Mrs. Barto, who tends to analyze, may have separated the syllables artificially, for ru- certainly seems more reasonable than ha- as a first possessive prefix.

At different times, too, other constructions were given by Mrs. Barto. The tendency toward circumlocution is so great that few examples were obtainable. They are given for what they are worth:

Cases of ru- (hu-, ha-). . . . . inayata:r. The final suffix is probably a verb stem meaning 'it belongs to.'

ra-maL-agw-ina'γara:r, our food

hinar ha-mē'war-agw-in-a'γara'r, our flesh

hinar hu'-bas-in-a'γarar, our plates (see above)

hinar ru-ba'L-ina'γarar, our hair

The stem may be verbalized, but first the element -in- is inserted:

hina'r hu'-ba's-in-a'dak, our plates

hinar ha'ma'LaL-in-a'dak, our pipes

hinar ha-ma'La'gw-in-a'dak, our salmon

hinar hu'-dapai'-in-a'dak, our fruit

hinar hu'-tsäk-ar-in-a'dak, our children

hinar ha-we'liL-id·ak, our feet

I refrain from drawing conclusions about this subject since it was most difficult to get Jerry to give these forms—he did not seem to understand the question—and since Mrs. Barto was so much inclined to analyze and synthesize. I am convinced also that the need of a device for the first person plural is felt very weakly. It may be that in former times the distinction was made whereas now it is neglected. It is also true that possession of an object by more than one individual is a rare conception.

On the other hand, singular possession is very definite and consistent, no matter when or from whom it was recorded.

There are three ways of expressing possession, only one of which seems to be confined to a definite class of nouns.

I. To express possession, two very common sets of affixes—prefixes for first and second person and prefix with suffix for third—are used in the case of the great majority of nouns, including body parts, kinship, terms, and alienable property. These affixes are shown clearly in:

| <i>Scheme I</i> |                      |                               |                              |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Noun</i>     | <i>Absolute form</i> | <i>My</i>                     | <i>Your</i>                  | <i>His, her, its, somebody's</i> |
| hair            | baL                  | ru'baL                        | ku'-baL                      | hu-baL-a'l                       |
| beard           | djē'pL               | ru'-djē'pL                    | ku'-djē'pL                   | hu-djē'pL-a'l                    |
| abalone         | hē'wat               | (yī-)ru'-dēwat                | (kil-)ku'-dē'wat             | hu-dēwat-a'l                     |
| child           | tsä'k                | ru-tsä'k                      | ku-tsä'k                     | hu-tsäk-ara'l                    |
| niece           | sa'lavas             | yī-sa'lavas                   | ku-sa'lavas                  | sa'lavas-a'l                     |
| great-uncle     | bidjo'k              | ru'-bidjok,<br>bidjok         | ku'-bidjok,<br>pidjok        | bidjogw-a'ɾ                      |
| basket<br>plate | bas                  | (yī-)ro'-bas,<br>(yīl-)ra-bas | (kil-)ku'-bas,<br>ku'-bas    | hu-bas-a'l                       |
| dog             | waiyits              | (yī-)ro-waiyits               | (kil-)ku'-waiyits            | ha-wa'iyits-a'l                  |
| fruit           | da'pai               | (yī-)ro'-da'pai               | (kil-)ku'-da'pai             | hu-da'pay-aw-a'l                 |
| skin            | wat-ga'i             | (yīl-)ra-watgai               | (kil-)ka-watgai              | watga'i-ya'l                     |
| head            | wa'tavat             | (yīl-)ra-watavat              | (kil-)ka-watavat             | ha-wa'tavad-a'l                  |
| foot, track     | welil                | ra-welil                      | ka-we'lil                    | ha-we'lēL-a'l<br>hu-we'leL-a'l   |
| mother          | (-ga)                | (yī-)raga                     | kaga                         | hu-gwatc-a'l                     |
| man,<br>husband | gowi'                | (yī-)ra-gowi'                 | ka-gowi'                     | gawēw-a'l                        |
| pipe            | vaLa'L               | ra'-maLa'L                    | ka'-maLa'L                   | ha-maLaL-a'l                     |
| elk, cow        | vē'lak <sup>w</sup>  | (yīl-)ra-me'lak <sup>w</sup>  | (kil-)ka-me'lak <sup>w</sup> | ha-me'lagw-a'l                   |
| salmon          | vaLa'k               | (yīl-)ra-maLaLak              | (kil-)ka'-maLaLak            | ha'-maLaLagw-a'l                 |

It will be seen that there is very little distinction between the ru'- and ra- (ra-) forms. Frequently they are interchangeable, occasionally one or the other is not allowable. There is no difference in meaning.

The close relationship existing between this method and the one given in schemes II and III will be apparent from the words for niece, where we find the form for the second person possessive belonging to this classification, that for the first person to scheme III, and that for the third to scheme II.

In this as well as in the other classes there are definite phonetic changes, especially in the third possessive. Since these are only partially morphological (the same changes occur with several verb suffixes) they have been discussed with the phonetic laws (§6).

The next scheme shows a method denoting possession which is used for body-part words, kinship terms, and two other nouns.

| <i>Scheme II</i> |                      |                         |                         |                                      |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Noun</i>      | <i>Absolute form</i> | <i>My</i>               | <i>Your</i>             | <i>His, her, its,<br/>somebody's</i> |
| nose             | va'tar (ma'tar)      | ra'tar,<br>da'tar       | ka'tar,<br>kil-datar    | da'tar-a'l                           |
| saliva           | vĩtsaL               | ri'tsaL                 | kĩ'tsaL                 | vĩtsa'L-a'l,<br>ha-mĩtsa'L-a'l       |
| tooth            | vapt                 | rapt                    | kapt<br>(kil-)kapt      | vapd-a'l                             |
| arm              | (wor)                | (yil-)ror               | (kil-)kor               | wo'n-a'l                             |
| nail             | watgan               | ratgan,<br>(yil-)ratgan | katgan,<br>(kil-)katgan | watga'n-aγ-a'l                       |
| tongue           | (wēt)                | rē-t                    | kē-t,<br>(kil-)kē-t     | wēd-a'l                              |
| brother-in-law   | (watks)              | (yī'-)ratks             | katks                   | wa'tks-a'l                           |
| sister-in-law    | (wats)               | yī'rats                 | kats                    | wa'ts-ar-a'l                         |
| mother-in-law    | (wakat)              | yī'rakat                | ka'kat                  | waka'dad-a'l                         |
| wood             | vad'ī', (mad'ī)      | ra'd'ī'                 | ka'd'ī'                 | vadē'w-a'l                           |
| clothes          | (waksē'k)            | raksē'k                 | kaksē'k                 | haksē'gw-a'l                         |
| leg              | watgate              | ra'tegate               | ka'tegate               | hawatega'dji'l                       |
| elbow            | watok                | rato'k                  | kato'k                  | watok-ar-a'l                         |
| blood            | ga'wik               | (yil-)ratga'wik         | (kil-)katga'wik         | ha-watga'wig-a'l                     |
| cousin           | (wi'libā'l)          | ri'libā'l               | kī'lēbā'l               | wilibā'l-aw-a'l                      |

All the words which form their possessives in this second manner have been listed here. It may be seen that the general plan is to change the initial consonant to form the second and third possessives (see §6:16). In all cases, two forms, the one in yī(l)- and kī(l)-, or the shorter form, may be used. When yī- is used, the word becomes more specific or emphatic. The illustrations show also a phonetic point which has not been previously discussed. In one or two cases r+l becomes r; here we have the reverse, l+r in composition. In

general, although *l* is a frequent and important sound, it becomes easily assimilated with a number of other sounds (see §6). Evidently the combination of *l+r* into *r* has not become so thoroughly a part of the language that it is the only form left. Informants agree that *yilror* and *yiror* are equally good. The same changes may be taking place with *l+d* in scheme III.

There are only two nouns of this inflection II, which are not body part or relationship terms. There are two possible reasons for the scarcity of such words. One is that previously referred to; namely, that objects denoted by these nouns would be considered as alienable possessions and that their ownership must therefore be expressed by circumlocutions, at least for the first and second persons. A second explanation is that separable materials such as food, valuables, house furnishings, etc., are considered not the absolute property of any single individual in a personal sense but of the family or community. Stating this as a cause, informants were unable to give first and second possessives for many nouns. On the other hand, third possessives always occur.

A third scheme will illustrate a construction which is used for a number of kinship terms. The absolute form of these nouns is never used; either the vocative prefix *a-* or the possessive is always present.

*Scheme III*

| <i>Noun</i>                        | <i>My</i>           | <i>Your</i>       | <i>His, her, its</i> |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| daughter-in-law                    | yī-gas              | kas               | gwa's-aw-a'l         |
| son's son                          | yī-gaL              | kaL (ku-gaL)      | gwa'l-a'l            |
| father's female first cousin       | yī-bak <sup>w</sup> | pa·k <sup>w</sup> | ba'gw-a'l            |
| father, son                        | yī-da·'r            | (kil-)ta·r        | dan-a'l              |
| paternal uncle                     | gatek               | ka·tck            | ga'tck-ar-a'l        |
| maternal uncle                     | dja·k               | tca·k             | dja'g-a'l            |
| aunt (maternal or paternal)        | yī-djo·l            | tco·l             | djol-a'l             |
| paternal grandfather, sister's son | yī-bidjo·tck        | pitco'tck         | bidjotck-ar-a'l      |
| mother's sister's son              | yī-gauw             | ?                 | ?                    |
| great uncle                        | ru-bidjok           | pidjok            | bidjogw-a'r          |

The change from sonant to surd is found nowhere else in the language as a grammatical or syntactic process. The phonetic changes of the third person are due to agreement with phonetic laws which are paralleled in other words and constructions (see §6:30, 31).

There are several forms which cannot be explained by any of the following processes, and must be considered irregular:



| Noun  | Absolute form  | My           | Your       | His, her, its,<br>somebody's |
|-------|----------------|--------------|------------|------------------------------|
| mouth | vēlo'1         | yīl-gelo'1   | kīl-kelo'1 | velo'1-a'1                   |
| eye   | velē'r, melē'd | galēr, galēd | ka'kalē'd  | ha-walē'n-a'1                |

Before the subject of possession in nouns is left, one word should be discussed. This is the only noun which has a different meaning for its two forms. The most commonly used term for 'sibling' is *da'warakar* (probably a verb form). There is a word *yī-dok*, meaning 'my brother or sister.' This also occurs as *ra'dok*, *kado'k*, and *ha-dog-a'1*, 'my, your, her sister or brother,' but in this sense is a term of endearment. Another term of familiarity is *yī-gwē'*, 'my spouse'; it is not considered good taste to use this word in public. Contrary to expectation because of the frequent use of the diminutive, terms of endearment are rare in *Wiyot*, and when they occur they do not have diminutive forms.

### §32. Other Pronouns

The intensive or disjunctive pronouns are as follows:

*yīl-aL*, I myself, as for me  
*ki'1-il-waL*, you, as for you  
*djil-waL*, he, as for him  
*hina'r-yīL*, as for us  
*ki'lawau'w-yīL*, as for you plural  
*gwilawa'd-a'1 dag'u*, those others (perhaps belongs rather to the following)

The indefinite (or independent?) pronoun of the third person is *gwīl-a'1*. It is variously translated, as may be seen by the illustrations.

*gwīla'1 guts-ipl*, herself alone she ate (them), 20, 45  
*gwīlala-waL*, himself too (*waL*, enclitic, 'also'), they too (the other family); the other one, 24, 11  
*djuwa'waLgē'L gwī'la'1*, just her (let her hunt)  
*gīda gwī'le'1 raḡē'L*, I think he himself did it, 33, 21

The pronoun *ikLe'1* signifies 'another' in the indefinite sense of an antecedent not known. It is also translated 'unknown power':

*hīkLa'1*, another  
*gu'r-ikLe'1*, that other one (*gu'r-*, demonstrative)  
*gu'r-i'k la'1-amo'twīL*, the other woman (*hamo'twīL*, woman)  
*ikLe'1 game'rī'w*, I wonder about supernatural things which I should not know (*ikLe'1*, unknown power; *gamē'r-*, steal)

Other indefinite pronouns are:

di'wi'lyiL, diwi'lyiL, any one  
 di'wi'l-aγ, some one else

These two forms suggest verbs.

da'waL, a single one, found with negative, 'not a one,' 46, 3  
 dä'lgawaL, anything, everything, anywhere, somewhere  
 dä'lgaweL, whichever one  
 dji'vaL, nothing  
 gwa'ldavaL, something  
 he'rawe:, all, whole, entire

There are several interrogative pronouns:

gwi'lwa, who  
 gwi'l-da, I wonder who it is—somebody (da, dubitative enclitic)  
 gwilda' co'e, I do not know who—somebody  
 gwi'lwa-hä, I wonder who it is  
 gwil-da-da ba'tsa, I do not know which one (of a number of

known persons)

gwalwa, what:

gwalwa ve'law-a'm-ak, what are you afraid of?

gwa'lwa wo'lel, what is the reason—why?

wo', what? (used in answer to name when called).

Only two demonstrative prefixes are found:

gura-, (guda-), that, distant from speaker and person addressed:

guda-ba'car, that young girl

gu-tsara'ɾ-iL, that unmarried girl

gura-watvat, that head

gura'-wisiL, that married one

gu'r-itwaL, that basket

guratca'tek, that boy

wura-, (wura-), this, near speaker and person addressed:

wura-wai'yits, this dog

wura'-wisiL, this married one

wa-ci'ro'ki, the old woman

wa'ritwaL, this basket

The demonstratives are both somewhat indefinite and often correspond to a definite article.

## §33. THE ADVERB

Although Wiyot possesses a large number of modal and locative adverbial prefixes, it has also many independent adverbs. The majority of these are locative and temporal—time being expressed more often by independent words than by prefixes. A few express manner. In general they stand before the verb complex, but their position in the sentence is not fixed and they may be placed elsewhere.

There are no coordinate or subordinate conjunctions. A number of conjunctive adverbs exist which are closely related in form as well as in meaning. They are difficult to analyze, several forms apparently meaning the same thing although they are not interchangeable in use. They serve chiefly as introductory words of a sentence and usually indicate time. Their meaning has a demonstrative force although their forms show no relation to the demonstrative prefixes (§32).

- djuwa, that is where, what, when, who, the way
- djuwava, that is where
- djuwaga's, that is when, just then
- djuwawaga's, that is the time
- djuwadagas, then
- djuwadawaga's, that is the time
- djuwaL (djiwaL, djiwiL), all the time, always (waL, continuative enclitic)
- djuwa'yalaLwaL, it is allowable, excusable
- djuwawaLwa'L, that is why
- djuwa'waLgēL, from then on, just, only
- djuwa'waLgetkitek, certainly I will excuse you
- djuwa'waLgas, at that very time
- gēL djuwawaL, that is far enough

These connectives are frequently used in narration and are usually spoken so quickly that only the accented or the final syllable is heard. When asked to repeat, the informant would begin with the verb or noun, saying that the introductory word was not important anyhow. From this circumstance these words would appear to be stylistic rather than syntactic. It will be noticed from the texts that while Mrs. Searson used them hardly at all, and never the longer ones, Jerry and Birdie, on the other hand, frequently employed them. They tend to give the narratives a swing and smoothness which are lacking without them.

## §34. SYNTAX

Because of the strong synthetic tendency of the Wiyot verb there are few syntactic processes. The vocative and possessive cases have been mentioned (§§17, 31). Syntactic relations are expressed by position.

When nominal subject and object are both expressed, the subject is placed before the verb and the object immediately after, or the order may be: subject, object, verb.

guratca'tck hīyawe'lēL gurago'wī', that boy sees that man  
 gurago'wī hīyawe'lēL guratca'tck, that man sees the boy  
 John Mary va-dawi'kw-il, John visited Mary  
 John bas hatsava'welil, John gave me the plate

The position of subject and object when the latter is personal or non-personal has been discussed (§24[A]).

When there is a nominal subject, object, and instrument or dative, the order is as follows: subject, object, instrumental or dative, verb.

guratca'tck waiyits va'd-i da'gamo-dil, that boy hit the dog  
 with a stick

Mary tsāk Louis wula'k<sup>w</sup>sumil, Mary took the child over to  
 Louis

The only change in interrogative sentences is that the enclitic -ya is appended to the first word.

If there are only nominal subject and nominal dative, the subject precedes the verb and the dative follows.

There is only one method of expressing verbal subordination, namely, by using the verbal noun with the proper possessive affixes. This method is used to indicate indefinite and participial, temporal, conditional, relative and substantival clauses. The independent clause contains the usual subject and object; the latter, in its turn, is subject of the subordinate clause, a fact which is indicated by the possessive prefix. Whether a verb is transitive or intransitive, the possessive prefix shows the subject.

va'da:wē'm hu'-La'γ-a'c-agw-a'ŕ, I am glad she gave you  
 presents

ka-dicga'γ-a'm rawa'l-as-ak, you do not want me to see you

Several exceptions to this rule for relation of subject and object occur:

With verbs of seeing, the possessive of the subordinate clause sometimes agrees with its object rather than with its subject:

dicγ-aγ-ac ku'wal-a's-ak, I would like to see you

yīwaL gi'tga ka-da'wik-as-ak, I too do not intend to visit you

ka-wu-wo'kL-a's-ak, when I was to see you, 22, 66

It may be that either method can be used, for we have the following:

ga'wulawēL ru'do'wilelay or ga'wulawēL ha-do'wilel-agw-a'l, he took it to burn me

The uses are not free, however, and mistakes are made when test cases of the latter arrangement are tried, whereas the first is always conceded to be correct and understandable.

When the object is the first person plural and the active voice is used, the suffix is *-ad·ak* instead of *-ak*:

va'da:wēm', kuLa'gwēyadak, I am glad you gave us presents

gwa'dicgamiL ha-wa'l-o'g-ad·ak, she does not want you to see us

The suffix *-adak* indicates the subject as well as the object:

va'dawē'm-at-ya ra-do'w-adak, are you glad we came?

If a stem is used in the third passive or with the indefinite subject, the normal form of suffix is used and the possessive is prefixed.

hīya-wal-ēL hu-da-rida-wēd·ē'warī', he saw two (indefinite ones) sitting there

hīya-wal-ēL hu-da'-dēk<sup>w</sup>L-im, she saw that he was lying down

va'dawē'miL ha-wa'l-o'war, she was glad to see her (-o'war, see §24[B])

Third personal subordination may be expressed by using merely the dependent suffix with the third possessive suffix and omitting the prefix. This is analogous to the nominal use of the possessive.

gēda'n-aw-agw-a'l, when he let him go

gālaw-a'gw-a'l, (she knew) that he had won, 30, 41

darawa-ga'daw-igw-a'l, when all the way they had gone

gawa-tsawās-ēgw-a'l (they heard) him begin to yowl, 16, 15

gu-lo'w-agw-a'l, (they saw) him coming

dīgwa-ta'law-igw-a'l, (he saw) her jump down, 21, 9

da-la-gaw-a'gw-a'l, (net) which he had made

The demonstrative prefixes *gura-* and *wura-* may be substituted for the third personal prefix.

*gura-wu-gu-ga'taw-igw-a'l*, where that one had just gone in again

*wura-ro'w-agw-a'l*, (he was surprised on water) that he came

Possessive affixes are used in one other connection, namely, with the negative verb in an independent clause. Here the affix has become a prefix which has apparently lost its possessive force, and is used only with subjective verbs:

*da gi'tga ga-ra'-gu-wel-ak*, I may not see her again  
*ga-ra-lēvi'tsar-ak gi'tga*, I am not going to sleep  
*lā-ga-ra'-gotsa'γar-o'm*, I could not find it  
*gots-ga-ra'-wila'Law-ē'γ*, (she said) she felt badly—not well she felt

*gara-ga'gwa-we'l*, (he thought) I am not known, 31, 51

*ho-si'lagw-il* (my hand) sharp pains shoot through it

*ka'mā'twam*, do you not pity her?

*gwa'-dicgam-il*, she does not want (to see us)

*gwa'-mā'twam-il*, she has no pity

*gwa'-lagw-il*, she has not much sense

*gwa-da-gu'-la'-lēdē'wari'*, no one stirred in his seat, 48, 5

The verb *ti'γal-*, come to surface of water, shows the possessive repeated with the negative:

*ru-ga-ra'-ti'γal-il*, it did not come to the surface

*ku-ga-ti'γal-ēl*, you did not come up (*ga+ka=ga*)

*hugwa'ti'γal-ē-m*, he did not come up (*ga+ha=gwa*)

### §35. REDUPLICATION

There are very few examples of reduplication. The duplication of the diminutive suffix *-ats* has been discussed (§16[A], 17). Besides, reduplicated forms are found as names and apparently serve to emphasize characteristics. In these examples the entire stem is duplicated:

*djakdja'k<sup>w</sup>*, very small owl

*tsa'ktsagwi'*, fish hawk

*dja'kdja'kw-ar-a'l*, his collarbone

*wa'tavat*, head

Final reduplication also appears:

*varô'tcī-teī*, wormwood (*varôtc-*, drink)

Initial consonants are reduplicated, sometimes with the following vowel:

dja'pdjuc, halibut

wa'kwal, fighting knife

dju'pdjugatc, flying squirrel—he whistles 'djupdju'

tsa'tsokariL, his elbow (dim. derivative)

The independent modal adverb waLawal expresses continuous continuity or emphatic iteration; it means to keep on and on doing a thing or to do it again and again.

A locative verbal prefix has the following curious form:

gula'gala'gadala, on the other side of a barrier:

gula'gala'gadala'-dal-a'w-ēL, (fence of rake) on the other side is standing up—rake is standing on the other side of the fence

gula'gala'gadala'-dēt, (fence of pail) on the other side is standing—pail is standing on the other side of the fence

The stem hatsi'tsar, sneeze, is onomatopoeic and even in form can hardly be classed as a reduplicated form.

The most noticeable form of Wiyot reduplication is used for emphasis or exaggeration. Most of the preceding expressions show such a purpose.

gowil giya'-gī-getco'm-iL, man never never escapes it—pneumonia (giya-, emphatic negative; gī-, never)

ga'lav-ala'yalav-iL, (the dog stick) jumped over (galav-, come up over and go down, here used in first and final positions)

The illustrations show that reduplication serves a stylistic and derivative purpose rather than a grammatical one, and it is rare at that.

## §36. ANALYZED TEXT

dó'Lab·alil<sup>1</sup>

1. gwä'dawil<sup>2</sup> tsara'ril<sup>3</sup> gotsagēLa'gw'iwil.<sup>4</sup> 2. djuwawa'L<sup>5</sup>  
ga'wara'ril<sup>6</sup> hawē·γα'rak dala'lēgw·el<sup>7</sup> ma'd·i' dala'lolawēL.<sup>8</sup> 3.  
mad·i' daladagwapaLa'iyawēL<sup>9</sup> hudara'gwa'l<sup>10</sup> gēL kāwala'<sup>11</sup> ha'lo'-  
nasi'<sup>12</sup>. 4. djuwada'waL<sup>5</sup> hara'ril.<sup>6</sup> 5. dāLdahuda'na'γarak<sup>13</sup>  
hiwa'ruwo'wui'<sup>14</sup>. 6. hidagwita'Laiyar<sup>15</sup>. 7. ga'waruwo'wu'i'<sup>16</sup>. 8.  
hawaro'gakL ga'warōtswagw·o'w.<sup>17</sup> 9. hida'weli'w<sup>18</sup> gu'tsara·ril.<sup>19</sup>  
10. hiyētawa'ni'l<sup>20</sup> guga'wad·al<sup>21</sup> gitga.<sup>22</sup> 11. hiyē·lil<sup>23</sup> hacgu.  
12. guga'wawada'l<sup>21</sup> gi'tga.<sup>22</sup> 13. hina'γeL<sup>24</sup> ga'wats<sup>25</sup> gi'tga.<sup>22</sup>  
14. gictgē'nawil<sup>26</sup> huwara'tswagwa'l.<sup>27</sup> 15. gasguro'la'wil.<sup>28</sup> 16.  
hida'wela'mil.<sup>29</sup> 17. hiyawa'lel.<sup>30</sup> haluna'si'<sup>12</sup> huda'lim.<sup>31</sup> 18. djetk  
harale'kanavil.<sup>32</sup> 19. djētkwaL gano'la'tswil.<sup>33</sup> 20. hiyē'tawani'l<sup>20</sup>  
gi'tga<sup>22</sup> ga'walō·Lat<sup>34</sup> La'walas<sup>35</sup> djikudara'rē'γ<sup>36</sup> kudala·li'γ<sup>37</sup> mad·i'  
kudala'lolawa'γ<sup>38</sup> ku'daladagwa'pLaiyawe'γ<sup>39</sup> wurage'L djiwu'ra<sup>40</sup>

<sup>1</sup> dōL-, da-+haL-; da-, prefix, customary action; haL-, stem 'suck'; -ab·aL-, stem 'eat' (§19:4).

<sup>2</sup> gwādaw-, stem 'long ago'; -il-, third subjective suffix (§24).

<sup>3</sup> Diminutive form; the normal form has not appeared (§16).

<sup>4</sup> gots-, stem 'be one'; gē(d)-, prefix 'finish'; -lagw-, always with reflexive -wiw-, stem 'grow'; -il-, see note 2 (§19:12; §24).

<sup>5</sup> §33.

<sup>6</sup> gawa-, inchoative prefix; -ra-, stem 'do' (§20:37).

<sup>7</sup> da-, customary; -la·l-, stem 'go about'; -ēgw-, subordinating suffix with i-stems; -el for -a'l, third possessive (§19:4; §§34, 37; §31).

<sup>8</sup> dala-, adverbial prefix 'around'; -lol-, stem 'carry'; -aw-, third object; -ēL, same as -il above (§21:18; §24).

<sup>9</sup> dala-, note 8; dagw-, stem 'hit'; -a-, separates incompatible consonants; -pL-, classifier 'hairlike'; -Lai-, stem 'move aside, from side to side'; aw-, note 8; -il-, note 2 (§5; §23:12).

<sup>10</sup> hu . . . a'l, third possessive affixes; -da-, stem 'scare'; -agw-, (-agw-), participial suffix -ak, becomes -agw- when followed by suffix (§31; §6:32).

<sup>11</sup> kā-, probability; -wal-, stem 'see'; -a', first subjective (§19:17; §24[A]).

<sup>12</sup> ha-, adverbial prefix 'around'; -lo'nas-, stem 'drag'; -i', indefinite subject frequently used for nouns (§21:8; §§17, 24[A]).

<sup>13</sup> §41.

<sup>14</sup> hi-, prefix 'not anticipated'; wa-, (va-), prefix 'go to . . .'; -ruwo'w-, stem 'gather *Harecleum lanatum*'; -ui', indefinite or collective subject (§20:24; §20:29 §24[A]).

<sup>15</sup> hi-, note 14; dagwi-, adverbial prefix; -taLai-, stem 'land'; -ar, third passive (§21:14; §24[B]).

<sup>16</sup> Notes 6 and 14.

<sup>17</sup> gawa-, note 6; -rōtsw-, dim. of -lōtsw-, 'carry load on back'; -agw-, 'affect'; -o'w, third person of referential stems (cp. note 25; §24[B]).

<sup>18</sup> hi-, note 14; -dawal-, stem 'call in woods, ask'; -i'w, third person suffix of referential i-stems (§24[B]).

<sup>19</sup> gu-, for gura-, demonstrative, distant from speaker (§32).

<sup>20</sup> (h)etaw-, stem 'tell' (for change of h to y and l see §6:28); -ani'l, third passive instrumental, used with verbs of asking and telling (§24[B]).



## He-Eats-by-Sucking

1. Long ago girl one grew up. 2. That is the way she began to do: grass when she went about in, stick she took about. 3. Stick she hit it around from side to side while thinking, "Perhaps (?) I might see a snake." 4. That is why she did it. 5. Sometime after they went to gather shoots of *Heracleum lanatum*. 6. At destination they landed. 7. They began to gather shoots. 8. Soon they began to be affected by packing a load on their backs. 9. She was called to, that girl. 10. She was told: "We are going to start back." 11. She said, "All right." 12. They started back. 13. She thought "I intend to begin to load up." 14. In vain she pulled it, her that load. 15. Again up she stood. 16. She looked at it. 17. She saw a snake lying. 18. Surely it grabbed her on the move. 19. That was why she did not get her load up. 20. She was said to: "You must begin to go with me. I saw you how you always do, when you go about, a stick how you take it along to hit about (in the grass). Now is the time I am going to get

<sup>21</sup> gu-, iterative; gawa-, inchoative; -da'l-, stem 'move, travel' (§19:15; §20:37).

<sup>22</sup> gitga, independent word, in this connection signifies immediate future intention (§29).

<sup>23</sup> hē'l- (y, l), stem 'say.'

<sup>24</sup> hi-, note 14; -raγ-, stem 'think,' r>n after hi-; -ēl-, note 2.

<sup>25</sup> gawatsw-, a combination of inchoative prefix gawa- and -latsw-, 'carry a load.' This is the regular inchoative form. The meaning changes entirely if the full form of stems beginning with l is used (§20:38).

<sup>26</sup> gic-, prefix 'in vain'; -tgēn-, stem 'pull with hands'; -aw-, note 8; -il-, note 2 (§19:11; §24[A]).

<sup>27</sup> hu . . . a'l, note 10; wa-, demonstrative near subject; -ratsw-, note 17; -agw-, note 10 (§32).

<sup>28</sup> gas-, ?; gu-, note 21; rol-, adverbial prefix 'up'; -a'w-, stem 'stand' (§21:30).

<sup>29</sup> -dawēl-, stem 'look at'; -a'm-, third object used with some stems (§24[A]).

<sup>30</sup> hiya-, temporal prefix, simple past; -wal-, stem 'see,' never has objective suffix (§20:26).

<sup>31</sup> hu-, third possessive; da-, customary action; -l-, stem 'lie'; -im, third passive with this class of stems; the ordinary method of expressing subordination when verbs do not have active forms (cp. notes 10 and 27, §24[B]).

<sup>32</sup> ha-, prefix 'as was to be expected' (see also sentence 4 above); raLe-, stem 'be on the move'; -kan-, stem 'grasp'; -av-, note 8; -il-, note 2 (§20:25).

<sup>33</sup> ga-, negative; rol-, note 28; r>n after negative ga-; -latsw-, note 17 (§20:36).

<sup>34</sup> gawa-, note 6; -lōl-, stem 'accompany'; -at, second subjective (§24[A]).

<sup>35</sup> La-, 'changed condition'; -wal-, note 30; -as, second objective (§19:20; §24[A]).

<sup>36</sup> ku-, second possessive; da-, customary prefix; -raγ-, stem 'do'; -e'γ, second subjunctive of i-stems (§31; §24[C]; §37).

<sup>37</sup> ku-, temporal prefix 'when'; g>k when second person is indicated, probably through elision gu+ku=ku. See note 7 (§20:42; §6:18).

<sup>38</sup> Notes 36, 8. Second subjunctive suffix is -a'γ with a-stems (§24[C]).

<sup>39</sup> Notes 36, 9.

<sup>40</sup> Connective, meaning not clear.

valēvā'd·as.<sup>41</sup> 21. higa'lawala'gil.<sup>42</sup> 22. varôtce'i' wagwida'gwiga'd·awil.<sup>43</sup> 23. wurawa'l<sup>44</sup> haragwil<sup>45</sup> higu'ragw·el.<sup>46</sup> 24. higwē'-klamir<sup>47</sup> huda'li'.<sup>48</sup> 25. hīgwi'gad'awil.<sup>49</sup> 26. gwēkla'mil<sup>47</sup> Lag'a'iyā'yaralim.<sup>50</sup> 27. la'gwē'l<sup>51</sup> dagu<sup>52</sup> wana da'dudak<sup>w</sup>.<sup>53</sup> 28. hawaṛo'gakl hibo'cogil<sup>54</sup> hutsga'galik.<sup>55</sup> 29. gurawa'nak<sup>w</sup> wula'lii<sup>56</sup> gulo'wil.<sup>57</sup> 30. hiyawa'lel<sup>30</sup> guga'd'awēgwa'l.<sup>58</sup> 31. djuwawaL higula'nalim.<sup>59</sup> 32. hawaṛo'gakl higubo'cugil<sup>60</sup> gutsga'gaLek.<sup>61</sup> 33. gi'tga gas gulo'wil<sup>57</sup> guravo'La'b'alil.<sup>62</sup> 34. hiyawa'lel<sup>30</sup> higula'yaṛanamagw'a'l<sup>63</sup> gowi'l. 35. hina'yer<sup>24</sup> djil djuwätk da'La'b'alil.<sup>1</sup> 36. djuwawa'l ga'walala'lii.<sup>64</sup> 37. dāldadana'yarak dakwi'saragalo'mil<sup>65</sup> gwila'l<sup>66</sup> ṛa'wara'mil.<sup>67</sup> 38. gula'gwil<sup>68</sup> hi'yaweLeL<sup>30</sup> hugēwa'Larakwa'wel.<sup>69</sup> 39. hiyē'lii<sup>23</sup> gi'tga<sup>22</sup> djiga'guraṛi'.<sup>70</sup> 40. djuwawa'l gala'kaLab'ui'.<sup>71</sup> 41. dāldahuda'na'yarak haruna'ci'yawōts<sup>72</sup> dali' higa'wara'da'lii<sup>73</sup> go'tckerā'l<sup>74</sup> huda'gui'.<sup>75</sup> 42. djuwa da'na'rii<sup>76</sup> guci'rok<sup>19</sup> dati'gara'da'ga'mil.<sup>77</sup> 43. gulo'wil.<sup>57</sup> 44. gwa'tca'l<sup>78</sup> hiyaṛētā'modil<sup>79</sup> dati'gara'da'gawa'n.<sup>80</sup> 45. hina'yer<sup>24</sup> gi'tga<sup>22</sup> djuwawa' gula'l.<sup>81</sup> 46. vala'yi'<sup>82</sup> ta'mod<sup>79</sup> gi'tga.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>41</sup> va-, note 14; -lēvā'd·-, stem 'come to get' (?); -as, note 35; absence of further suffix indicates first personal subject.

<sup>42</sup> hi-, note 14; galawa-, stem 'over'; -laṛ- (h, y), stem 'go'; -il, note 2.

<sup>43</sup> wa-, note 14; gwi-, temporal prefix 'upon arrival'; dagwi-, note 15; -gad'aw-, (also first-positional) stem 'go through enclosure' (§20:42).

<sup>44</sup> wura-, demonstrative 'here'; -waL, also.

<sup>45</sup> ha-, note 32; -ragw-, stem 'feel like, seem' (?).

<sup>46</sup> Notes 14, 21, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Notes 14, 43; -kl-, stem 'see'; notes 29, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Note 31. -dali', 'inside,' hence 'his home.'

<sup>49</sup> Notes 14, 43, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Lag-, stem 'go down into'; -(l)aiya-, adverbial prefix, g+l>g; -yara-, stem 'do with face, head'; note 31 (§6:9; §§18, 38).

<sup>51</sup> lagw-, stem 'have sense', hence 'be old'; note 2.

<sup>52</sup> dag-u, third plural independent pronoun (§30).

<sup>53</sup> da-, note 1; du-, pronominal classifier, 'plural'; dak<sup>w</sup>, stem 'be home, remain, stay' (§22; §39).

<sup>54</sup> Notes 14, 2. -bocug-, stem 'hear noise.'

<sup>55</sup> Note 31; -tsga'gaL-, stem 'creak'; -ik, participial suffix with i-stems, a verbal noun with third possessive prefix but lacking the usual third possessive suffix.

<sup>56</sup> gura-, demonstrative, full form of gu-, note 19, here indicating 'the one who'; wanak<sup>w</sup>, 'woods'; wu-, temporal prefix 'had just been'; notes 7, 2. This is the ordinary idiom for 'go hunting,' and although wanak<sup>w</sup> is an independent word, here it should be taken with the following verb (§20:30).

<sup>57</sup> Note 21; -lo'w- (h, y), stem 'come.'

<sup>58</sup> Notes 21, 43, 10, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Notes 14, 21. la'na- (h, y), pronominal prefix 'each.' Note 50 (§22).

<sup>60</sup> Notes 14, 21, 54.

<sup>61</sup> Notes 55, 19.

<sup>62</sup> Notes 56, 1, 2.

<sup>63</sup> Notes 14, 21, 10. -(l)ayaṛanam-, stem 'vomit,' l>y after i (§6:28).

you." 21. She went along. 22. Water upon arrival at destination they went into. 23. Land it felt like again it seemed to be. 24. Upon arrival she saw his home. 25. Upon arrival she went in. 26. Upon arrival she saw (them) lying with heads down in (fire). 27. Old folk they only were at home. 28. Soon she heard creaking. 29. That one who had been hunting came in. 30. She saw him come in again. 31. That is the way he lay down again. 32. Soon she heard squeaking again. 33. He was coming back that One-Who-Eats-by-Sucking. 34. She saw him vomit up people. 35. She thought: "That is the fellow who sucks." 36. Thus she saw them behave. 37. Sometime after she suddenly recognized some one related to her. 38. The old people saw that she was not happy over it. 39. They said: "It will not be done again." 40. That is why (people) are no longer sucked in. 41. Sometime after little snakes house they began to come (to) their grandmother where she lived. 42. That is the way she did, that old lady used to whip them out. 43. They came back. 44. Their mother they said to "We are the ones who were whipped out." 45. She thought "I intend to go back. 46. I am going back. I intend to speak to her."

<sup>64</sup> Note 6; gawa-, with full phonetic form of stem, 'one, then another'; -lalal-, stem 'behave' (§20:38).

<sup>65</sup> Note 1; kwis-, 'suddenly,' a particle more or less free; usually seems to be independent but here amalgamated with the verb complex; -ragal-, stem 'recognize'; o-m-, third person object (§19:16; §29)

<sup>66</sup> gwila'l, independent pronoun third person, used for emphasis, 'her own' (§32).

<sup>67</sup> rawar-, stem 'be related'; note 47.

<sup>68</sup> Notes 19, 51.

<sup>69</sup> Note 31; the possessive is used also with finite verbs; gē-, prefix for ga-, 'not'; -wal-, pronominal prefix 'about it, on account of it'; -rakwa-w-, stem 'be contented' (§20:33; §22).

<sup>70</sup> Notes 33, 21, 6.

<sup>71</sup> galak-, negative prefix 'no longer'; notes 1, 14 (§20:40).

<sup>72</sup> Dim. of halunasī': l>ɾ; s>c; nouns ending in a vowel require the phonetic shift -yaw- when suffix is added; -ōts, dim. suffix (§16; §6:27).

<sup>73</sup> Notes 14, 6. -ra-, ?; note 21.

<sup>74</sup> gotck, 'grandmother' (maternal or paternal); -ar-, phonetic accretion; -a'l, third possessive (§6:30).

<sup>75</sup> dag-, irregular verb 'dwell.' Notes 31, 14 (§39).

<sup>76</sup> Notes 1, 6; r generally becomes n after da-, but *cp.* note 36.

<sup>77</sup> Note 1. tiyara-, stem 'go out,' *cp.* prefix of manner tiya-, 'out'; -da'g-, stem 'whip'; note 29 (§21:20).

<sup>78</sup> gw-, from stem -ya (-ga), 'mother' γ>gw; -atc, dim. suffix; whence gwatc- has come to be the only form used with the third possessive (§6:31).

<sup>79</sup> Notes 14. -ye tam-, stem 'speak to' always takes instrumental -od-.

<sup>80</sup> Notes 1, 77; -a'n, passive nominalizing suffix (§25).

<sup>81</sup> Notes 21, 7.

<sup>82</sup> va-, for va-, note 14. Note 42.

47. gwila'l<sup>66</sup> hutsä'kara'l<sup>83</sup> djuwa'da vadula'lil.<sup>84</sup> 48. ka'guve-  
lavē'l<sup>85</sup> gītga<sup>22</sup> gala'karakwa'iyak (gala'karagwilak).<sup>86</sup> 49.  
hi'yaweLeL<sup>30</sup> guciro'ke'<sup>19</sup> klädu'vosa'w<sup>87</sup> (wona'l). 50. higu'layil.<sup>88</sup>  
51. hala'da'rawala'riL<sup>89</sup> hiyawe'leL<sup>30</sup> gudulu'tunasil.<sup>90</sup> 52.  
hiyavovu'lavil.<sup>91</sup> bitawe'lil. 53. djuwa dudada'la'sil.<sup>92</sup> 54.  
gudalava'γarak<sup>93</sup> dju dada'd'avodil.<sup>94</sup> 55. gagud-ura'ratkcēL.<sup>95</sup>  
56. ga'waku'nar<sup>96</sup> djuwadagas gudula'γeyatu'mil.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Notes 10, 74. tsäk, 'child.'

<sup>84</sup> Notes 14, 53, 7.

<sup>85</sup> ka-, negative, ga->ka- when second person is meant; notes 21, 11, 9. -vē'l, first object, usually -vēl-, (-wēl-), but tends to acquire the glottal stop in a final syllable (§24[A]).

<sup>86</sup> Notes 71, 9. -ragwil-, stem 'be fortunate or unfortunate' according to context; -rakwai- must be related in meaning since they are interchangeable; note 10.

<sup>87</sup> klä-, temporal prefix 'at last'; note 53; -vos-, stem 'stick tight, grow together'; -a'w, third passive (§20:43).

<sup>88</sup> Notes 14, 21, 42.

<sup>89</sup> 'Next day.' This cannot be carefully analyzed but the stem -darawala'r-, 'be light,' may be discerned; it occurs in many other terms denoting time of day.

<sup>90</sup> Notes 21, 53. hut- (y, d, l), prefix 'toward'; -(d)unas-, stem 'crawl' (§21:12).

<sup>91</sup> Notes 30, 56. -vul-, stem 'get'; note 8.

<sup>92</sup> Notes 53, 1. -daldas-, stem 'put in.'

<sup>93</sup> gu-, prefix 'where'; -lavayar-, stem 'be warm' (§20:41).

<sup>94</sup> Note 1. -dad-, stem 'set upright'; note 8; -od-, instrumental suffix always used with stems if the meaning is 'be full of' (§24[D]).

<sup>95</sup> Notes 33, 21, 53. -raratkc-, stem 'move.'

<sup>96</sup> Note 6. kunar-, stem 'get dark.'

<sup>97</sup> Notes 21, 53, 42. -at-, stem 'cause'; -um-, third indirect object (§24[A]).

47. Her own her children they are the ones going about. 48. "You are not going to see me again, no longer am I fit to be seen." 49. She saw that old lady (that) she at last was growing together (arms were growing to body). 50. She went back. 51. Next day she saw them crawl toward her again. 52. She went and got an openwork plate. 53. That is what she put them in. 54. Where it was warm that is where she set it being full. 55. They did not move again. 56. It began to get dark, that was the time she made them go back to her.

*Free Translation*

Long ago a girl grew up. She used to take a stick with her when she went about in the grass. This she did to scare away any snake she might happen to see. One time she went with some others to gather shoots of *Heracleum lanatum*. When they landed at their destination they began to gather shoots. Soon they had a load and called to the girl, saying, "We are ready to start back." She answered, "All right." After they had started the girl began to try to get her load on her back but in vain. She looked back and saw a snake which had constantly pulled her load back. He said she must go with him because she always carried a stick and feared him. She went along and he led her down into the water. It felt like land there even though it was a different world. When she arrived at his home she saw only old people who were lying with their heads to the fire. Soon she heard the house creak. One who had been hunting came in. He lay the same way. Again she heard creaking. It was He-Who-Eats-by-Sucking. He vomited up people and she recognized her own relatives. The old people noticed that she looked unhappy and said they would not suck in people any more. That is why people are no longer sucked in by snakes. Sometime after little snakes began to come to their grandmother's house (on earth). She used to whip them out. They went home and told their mother, who said she must go back and tell her mother what had happened. She went and told her mother that she had been chasing out her children. She also said, "You will not see me again. I am no longer fit to be seen." The old lady saw that her arms were growing fast to her body. The mother of the little snakes went home. The next day when the grandmother saw them crawling toward her she went and brought an open-work plate and put them in it. Then she set it where it was warm. The snakes did not move again, but when it began to grow dark she made them go back to their mother.

## §§37-42. STEMS

## §§37-40. RADICALS

§37. *Verb Stems*

There are two kinds of verb stems, classed according to their influence upon the following suffix; namely, those which cause the suffix to be introduced by e or i and those which require a. The cause of these changes has not been determined.

The differences are as follows:

|                    | <i>e-stems</i> | <i>a-stems</i> |
|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 2d person subject  | -it, -ēt       | -at            |
| 1st plural subject | -ēdak          | -adak          |
| 2d object          | -is            | -as            |
| 1st subjunctive    | -ē'γ           | -a'γ           |
| 2d subjunctive     | -ēya'm         | -a'm           |
| 3d subjunctive     | -ēL            | -iL            |
| Infinitive         | -ik, -igw-     | -ak, -agw      |
| Imperative         | -iγ            | -aγ            |

It has been noticed that apparently the same process (whatever it is) has affected the form of verb stems in a or a and caused them to become i, as, for example:

tsats-aiyatg-i'b'-o'w-iL, they kissed each other

hacga'wa-ib-iL, he tore it all up with his teeth

tga'w-i'bal-aγ, stretch it with your teeth

hi'-da'γa-du'm-in-il, here and there I was rubbed

da'lapL-i'gw-iL, smooth, evenly arranged pile is upon something

The usual forms for the above stems are, respectively: -ab-, -abal-, -an-, -a'gw-.

The position of the stem in the complex is indicated by hyphens; the form of the third person passive, and of the third personal object, will be shown in parentheses.

Some apparently intransitive stems are given with endings which I have called passive, the reason being that only passive forms are found. Some very long stems may doubtless be further analyzed, but they are given as found since there are not sufficient examples to resolve them into their parts or because the parts are not known, or have perhaps become formal.

The words in the following vocabulary have been arranged in the order given here, the scheme of arrangement being determined by the

position of the mouth in forming the sounds; namely: vowels, semi-vowels, labials, dentals, palatals, laterals, trills; corresponding sonant being listed before surds and stops before continuants. By this system the plan of arrangement becomes: *i, ē, e, a, o, ô, ä, a, u, y, w, h, b, p, v, m, d, t, n, s, c, ts, dj, tc, g, k, gw, k<sup>w</sup>, γ, l, L, r, r.*

- itr-, bend (third pass. -ar)
- ēb-, live (ē-stem)
- a'w-, stand up, stand
- ab-, -ab-, do with mouth, with teeth (third passive -ai')
- ab'al-, -abal-, eat (3d pass. -oi')
- a'd-, do with foot (dim. -a'ts-)
- ad-, burn (third pass. -ar)
- a't-, cause (ē-stem, dim. -a'ts-, 3d pass. -oi')
- a n-, ?
- as-, ?
- agw-, -agw-, affect (?)
- a'l-, -al-, fall (dim. -a'ɾ-, -aɾ-)
- al-, -al-, do of one's own volition (dim. -aɾ-, -aɾ-)
- al-, -al-, break, cut (ē-stem; dim. -aɾ-, -aɾ-)
- aɾ-, -aɾ-, do with buttocks
- ätgēdauw-, wear around shoulders
- än-, do with the hand with fingers bent
- äl-, lie on ground (3d pass. -iv)
- älēsv-, wash dishes
- äl-, do with liquid, be liquid
- aps-, dry
- an-, do with hand (3d pass. -i')
- ac-, do with part of body around waist
- ar-, call (referential with dim. forms)
  
- wiy-aiyak<sup>w</sup>-, dangerous (compare viya-)
- wiwal-, be ambitious
- wibakc-, put out fire
- wid-, pass by
- wid-, be sure, brag (with reflexive)
- wiga-γēγ-, be very rich
- wigare't<sup>w</sup>-, dream of good luck (wigā-, probably have good luck)
- wigw-, be consumed, destroy, annihilate
- wiliswaw-, miss (3d pass. -ar)
- wira'k<sup>w</sup>-, be crowded
- wit-, become pregnant (see also 'do with belly' under neutral stems)
- wis-, marry, general term
- wiso'w-, marry, used of woman
- wis-abel-, marry, used of man (3d pass. -ē'm)
- wicēl-, speak Athapascan (3d pass. -ui')
- wik<sup>w</sup>-, -wigw-, be bashful
- wi'γ-, work by the day
- wilo'l-, bore hole (third passive -ar)
- wiLar-, become very rich
- wiLaL-, feel (transitive)
- wil-araiyak<sup>w</sup>-, have strongest power (cp. -wiLar, become rich, above)

- wīraγ-ak<sup>w</sup>-, be haughty, overbearing
- wē'y-, be pregnant
- wēt<sup>w</sup>-, pass by (perhaps related to wīd-, above)
- wēs-, -wis-, lower, drift (the latter meaning when the instrumental is used)
- wēs-, spread
- wē'tsac-, injure accidentally
- wēgw-, drop
- wēγ-, be shallow
- wē'l-, coax in roundabout way
- wēlēk<sup>w</sup>s-, show oneself (ē-stem; as final stem and with obj. -am, 'show')
- wel-, see
- wel-, pay for, be plentiful, buy (indefinite -oi')
- wela'i-, pet
- welayaγ-, take good care of (3d pass. -ar)
- wa'wal-, split (perhaps related to -al-, break)
- wawal-, make angry by saying
- wa'pL-, eat
- wadagw-, have respect for
- wa'dēr-, be miserly
- watskē'mal, be unfriendly because of insult
- wa'n-, unwrap (ē- stem)
- wasal-, lend
- watsakvad-, be caught talking
- watsal-, be caught in the act of (third referential -a'w)
- wag-, announce that an elk has been killed
- wakisa'n-, give the wrong one
- wakL-, visit (perhaps wa- and -kL-, go to see; takes 3d obj. in -am)
- wakLe'l-, deer hangs
- wa'gw-, be lonesome
- wak<sup>w</sup>Lin-, untie boat
- wa'γ-, make fun of, laugh
- wa'l-, ripen
- wal-, wal-, feast, eat heartily
- wa'Lin-, feel (it)
- walik-, giggle (with dim. suffix)
- waLauw-, be warm
- wodewul-, enjoy eating
- wotiyag-, reprimand
- wokL-, visit (this form used only with prefix vu-, perhaps the same as wakL-)
- wōpc-, gamble
- wāc-, circle about
- wādēl-, turn eels while cooking (ē- stem)
- wāda'r-, go off (used of many people)
- wādawal-, kidnap
- wāt<sup>g</sup>-, undo
- wānotw-, be cured
- wapL-, admire
- wadēt<sup>w</sup>-, call to mind, occur to one (referential with dim. suffixes)
- wadēl-, feel in one's bones
- wadalol-, hold
- watwād-, stop for a person (3d pass. -ar)
- wanīya-, make oneself into opposite sex (with reflexive)
- wanamal-, hate someone because dead relative was the same age



- wacagw-, murder (ē- stem)  
 -wag'a-w-, go back (ē- stem)  
 -wal-, gather  
 -wal-, have temporarily  
 -wala-w-, be stingy with food  
 -wala-w-, be seen stealing  
 -walal-, call for, visit (3d pass. -im)  
 -wala'l-, prepare  
 -walaLaw-, attack (3d pass. -ar)  
 -walo'L-, dig well  
 walaw-, tangle  
 -walawa-k-, go along with  
 -walas-, sharpen  
 -walaγada'l-, animals in a band  
 -waL-, possess (3d obj. -am)  
 -waL-, see, sight (3d obj. -am)  
 -wala'l-, go in search of  
 -war-, ?  
 -warē'c-, sun sets  
 -war-a'd-, heat is in waves (cp. -ad'-)  
 -wara'ma'r-, be in love  
 -wunen-, overtake  
 -wug-, put away (3d pass. -ar)  
 -wul-, swim, bathe  
 -wulaγ-, fold (3d pass. -ar)  
 wur-, good, used in contradicting some one who says it is not good  
 -wuraγ-, belongs to, own  
 -waiyaw-, stand in row around room (third -ei')  
 waiyakr-, call kin-in-law (3d pass. -o'w)  
 (h)iyad-, (y, d, l), mediate  
 hīyawagw-, (y, d, l), become excited, flustered  
 hīyawakw-, (y, d, l), weave baskets  
 hi'ma'w-, be diseased  
 himaratw-, be in a hurry  
 (h)i'dauw-, wear around shoulders  
 hidac-, be foggy  
 hikd-aiyakw-, be shy  
 hi'lēs-, move higher (indefinite -ui')  
 -hiraL-, move board out of side of house  
 heman-, (y, d, l), mark, write  
 hēd-, (y, d, l) go ashore, go uphill  
 hēd'eγ-, put lid on tight (cp. hē'dar-)  
 hē'd-ak<sup>w</sup>s-, (y, d, l), hang up (a combination of hēd-, up, and ak<sup>w</sup>s-, hang, but  
 always found combined in this way for this meaning)  
 (h)ē'dawagw-, (y, d, l), gather acorns (also related to hēd-; doubtless shows that  
 acorns are gathered from the bottom of the hill toward the top)  
 hēdanēl-, take something cooking out of the oven  
 hē'd-ak<sup>w</sup>s-, put up (analysis similar to hē'd-ak<sup>w</sup>s-, above)  
 hēd-ar-, be tight  
 heta-, (y, d, l), tell (always requires instrumental suffix)  
 hē'sa-, meet  
 hē'sk-, meet and catch  
 hēγal-, (y, d, l), cool

- hē·l-, (y, d, l), say  
 hēLā'n-, (y, d, l), take out  
 hē·LaL-, choke  
 heLi'da'n-, take off shirt  
 heLonate-, blow nose  
 (h)awin-, (y, d, l), swim  
 (h)awān-, (y, d, l), untie hair  
 hawaLa'ṛ-, (y, d, r), light shines through, hence break, be daylight  
 (h)ap-, (y, d, l), cook, ripen  
 hapa-w-, have disease  
 (h)a'pL-, (y, d, l), pick berries  
 (h)an-, (y, d, l), hum, sing like doctor (with obj. -ēm, scold)  
 hanel-, (y, d, l), make noise, say, sing (dim. hanar-)  
 (h)anelis-, (y, d, l), arrange (3d pass. -oi')  
 hanar-, think more of one parent than of the other (always with instrumental)  
 hano-w-, come toward  
 hacarān-, hold face up  
 ha'cg-, (y, d, l), tear  
 ha'tsi'tsar-, (y, d, l, r), sneeze  
 ha'djuwe'-, wave  
 (h)ag-, (y, d, l), treat  
 hagar-, knock  
 ha'g-, craze  
 haḡw-, hurt (ē- stem)  
 (h)akwar-, (y, d, l), hook, crochet (3d pass. -ar)  
 haḡwauw-, have a cold  
 haḡw'd-, (y, d, l), build fire  
 hakwadar-, (y, d, l), cough  
 (h)akwLin-, (y, d, l), carry by handle (always used with instrumental)  
 haḡ-, get rid of  
 ha'ḡ-, mention  
 haḡ-, humor (3d pass. -ar)  
 hal-, (y, d, l), go about (ē- stem)  
 ha'li'yaw-, company comes (defective, 3d -ar)  
 halaw-, resemble  
 halo-l-, (y, d, l), take care of, care for  
 (h)alata'l-, (y, d, l), shoot at moving bunch of grass, a game  
 halatḡaḡ-, crawl  
 halan-, be valuable  
 (h)alanot-, (y, d, l), have brushdance (defective, third -ar)  
 halan-, (y, d, l), touch  
 halakw-, (y, d, l), man touch woman  
 haLa'l-, appear  
 haLaḡ-, sleep heads and points (3d pass. -ar)  
 haLḡan-, breathe  
 ha'rokL-, watch (3d obj. -am)  
 haṛatk-, (y, d, r), move (ē- stem)  
 (h)o'wē'sk-, (y, d, l), approach without formality (3d pass. -ar)  
 ho-w-, (y, d, l), come  
 (h)o'm-, (y, d, l), get tangled in net  
 ho'd'ara'ḡ-, gorge oneself  
 ho'tw-, (y, d, l), bring (3d pass. -ar)  
 (h)o'n-, (y, d, l), weave

- hotse'n-, be crippled  
 hoL-, (y, d, l), fall  
 holed-, come along  
 hoLacawād-, come alone  
 (h)aw-, (y, d, l), believe  
 hap-, (y, d, l), tie, wrap, bandage  
 hapateguc-, tie around chin and over top of head  
 (h)apLac-, put on belt (cp. -ac)  
 hanawa'g-, be disrespectful, joke with wife's relatives about sex  
 hanawa'r-, be fastidious  
 hats-, (y, d, l), give  
 hatsavē'g-, give person away, with instrumental, sell  
 haḡ'av-, leave behind  
 haLatg-, eat until nauseated after starving  
 hara-, slide  
 (h)ud-ē'r-, (y, d, l), odor comes  
 hug-, with reflexive, train oneself, hide  
 (h)ul-, (y, d, l), swim
- biw-, be scornful  
 biwar-, be big, large, sufficient  
 bitcil-, bitcal-, be right (in moral sense)  
 bi'tcav-, peel  
 -bitcōγ-, tide is right (3d pass. -ar)  
 bēd'aw-, twist on thigh  
 -b'ēts-, be willing (3d pass. -iv)  
 -bēdj'el-, be sufficient, enough (3d pass. -ar)  
 bēl-, shake, move to the side  
 bē'r-, be long and curly (used of hair)  
 be'ew-, count  
 -be'l-, fish with net, dig clams  
 -bawēd-, adorn oneself (with reflexive)  
 -b'awow-, dam  
 ban-, empty  
 bac-, gamble (ē- stem)  
 bag'adj'g-, get out of time in jumping dance  
 bag'ayan-, strands or sticks cross in center  
 baγa'γan-, strands cross near top (defective, third -ar)  
 baγaγayan-, strands cross near bottom 'they have crossed and passed'  
 -bo'w-, cook  
 -bo'd-, tan, wash  
 bo'd-, open  
 bo'd'ayan-, be lazy  
 bot-, be pointed (like snout)  
 bo'tēgw-, be large-proportioned (person or animal)  
 -bo'tos-, string  
 botg-, scratch  
 botgaLin-, scratch ground with hands or paws  
 botγad'aro'l-, be drenched (3d pass. -iv)  
 -bonaw-, braid (3d pass. -ai')  
 bo'c-, be sore  
 bo'c-, climb up on back (used to children)  
 -bocat-, hear person

- boca'galēyav-, turn round and round  
 -bocog-, hear noise  
 boga'γan-, hit forehead (3d pass. -ar)  
 bokin-, hit (3d pass. -ar)  
 -bokano-w-, straighten  
 botsōL-, come to a point (cp. bot-)  
 -bo'tsar-, whistle (probably bots-, see above, and -ar-, do of own volition)  
 bodj'agwilā-, open hand with fingers wide apart  
 boteg-, dim. of botg-, scratch  
 -bo'kwa-r-, count  
 boṛaw-, with causative, entice  
 -b'äpoge'djar-, put arm around neck  
 -baba'war-, always with dim., whisper  
 badaγ-, be hard to the touch  
 bag-, cheat (with dim. suffixes)  
 baγ-, be between  
 -b'αγapsasw-, make dam in river  
 -bayan-, make dam in marsh  
 baγarôte-, close eyes (ē- stem)  
 bal-, be split open (cp. pawal-, split)  
 balälä'l-, be shocked (referential with 3d suffix -i'w)  
 -balaγatg-, be steep  
 -baLoklas-, spit  
 -bar-, eat in secret, break food taboo (perhaps -war-, influenced by preceding prefix ba-)  
 bara-c-, bloom, blossom  
 baraγ-, pour  
 -baraγa'd-, be dull  
 barayats-, strip tree (special term used in wish, analysis very doubtful)  
 -barug-, listen  
 -buc-, -bucw-, chew (3d obj. -am)  
 bugak'Len-, touch in personal sense  
 buγ-, poke  
 -bu'rag-, smile  
  
 pīdaγ-, be bitter  
 -pitke-, bend  
 -picon-, blow  
 piγaw-, be bruised, be bluish (3d pass. -a'w)  
 -pēc-, swell, puff up (3d pass. -ar)  
 pē'dj-, be sore from eating vo', a bulb  
 pē'ṛ-, stink  
 paw-ad-, step on (-ad-, do with foot)  
 -pawīrawal-, tie hair in otter skin  
 pawal-, split (-al-, cut)  
 -pawalaw-, be all colors  
 paway-ad-, step into (-ad-, do with foot)  
 pac-, lay head on arm  
 pōd-, be in steps (name of ladder basket design)  
 -pälal-, be leaved (used of plants)  
 pa'n-, put arm around  
 pa'c-, encircle (cp. pac-)  
 patcgaray-, come at one's heels

- patcgunak<sup>w</sup>c-, crawl down steep place  
 paLa<sup>n</sup>-, have finish on edge (3d pass. -ar)  
 puLwa'-, be full below the waist  
 paya<sup>t</sup>-, smell of, stink  
 -pdad-, pay for insult  
 -pcē<sup>r</sup>-, gamble in various ways  
 -pLa<sup>r</sup>-, slice (3d pass. -ar)
- viya-, with reflexive be afraid  
 viya<sup>l</sup>-, be frightened  
 viy-aiyagw'-, be feared (takes dim. suffixes)  
 -vītsar-, sleep, go to sleep  
 -vī<sup>l</sup>il-, take apart in regular order, hence butcher, take down house  
 -vil-, divide and distribute  
 -vilē-, swim  
 vē<sup>w</sup>-, or -vēw-, eat  
 -vēwa<sup>l</sup>-agw-, be jolly  
 vē<sup>n</sup>ēt<sup>w</sup>-, have bad dream  
 vē<sup>c</sup>-, see light, awaken, behold (requires dim.)  
 -vēc-agw-, awake  
 vēk<sup>w</sup>L-, go to visit bereaved, go to funeral (doubtless va+lēk<sup>w</sup>L, go to cry)  
 vē<sup>l</sup>-, fear  
 ve<sup>l</sup>-, gather acorns (3d pass. -ar)  
 vaw-, or -vaw-, cry  
 -vawēr-, be thin, 'have no stomach'  
 -vadēt-, be stiff (3d pass. -ar)  
 vadagw'-, stare  
 vada<sup>L</sup>-, sink in mud  
 vasôgw'-, be surprised  
 -vacagw'-, witness by seeing  
 valav-, buy girl  
 va<sup>L</sup>-, or -va<sup>L</sup>-, be hungry (3d pass. -iv or -im)  
 voya<sup>c</sup>-, move aside, go past the middle  
 vobitgac-, be color of decayed wood  
 vodawaka-, be famine time  
 -vos-, become useless (3d pass. -a'<sup>w</sup>)  
 vo'djada<sup>l</sup>la<sup>r</sup>-, be ready (3d pass. -ar)  
 vo'dj-agw', get ready  
 vâlât<sup>k</sup>-, wear garment in single piece  
 vada<sup>w</sup>-, be glad (transitive stem takes 3d obj. -e'<sup>m</sup>)  
 -vask-, fish with line  
 -vatsaw-, evaporate (3d pass. -a'<sup>w</sup>)  
 -vatsawât<sup>g</sup>-, tide goes out  
 va<sup>k</sup>L-, be exceedingly small  
 -va<sup>k</sup>Lêgw'-, get power  
 va<sup>k</sup>Lâ<sup>l</sup>lo-, pray (perhaps related to preceding)  
 -va<sup>r</sup>arai-, make half turn (ē- stem)  
 vala<sup>w</sup>-, be puckered (3d pass. -a'<sup>w</sup>)  
 -va<sup>L</sup>agw-, send away  
 va<sup>r</sup>a-, puff out  
 vuyavât<sup>g</sup>-, be bent back  
 -vu<sup>l</sup>-, fetch (probably vu+lul-, went and got; this form only in the past)  
 vulyaw- or -vulyaw-, be white (3d pass. -ar)

- vura'té-, drink
- vai-, gather wood
- vaiyaya'r-, tell experiences, reminisce
  
- molar-, special term with negative signifies nausea during pregnancy
- mätw-, pity (may be referential; requires 3d obj. -am)
- ma'n-, lose in gambling
- mala'γ-, dip
- maigagw-, be orphan
  
- dīwel-, change
- dīradi-, dīradji-, wave
- dicγamar-, be in love
- dicγ-, love, like (3d obj. -am)
- dilaγ-, make angry
- dira'lisw-, keep singing in same way
- dēwagas-, sharpen with whetstone
- degawē's-, lower into water
- dēwar-, perhaps -lēdēwar-, sit
- dē'd-, be upright (ē- stem)
- dēgaw-, cut through
- dēcgi'gwa'g-, talk of dead people
- dēg- or -dēg-, sometimes dēgw-, break, sever
- dēgal-, urinate
- dēgw'a-wē'c-, make a spark (cp. -vēc-)
- dēgw'al-, tell what one sees when doctoring
- dēk<sup>w</sup>L-, lie
- dēk<sup>w</sup>Lē'm-, lay down
- dēk<sup>w</sup>Lēs-, lay person down
- dēγ-, poison
- dayul-, carry on back
- dawik<sup>w</sup>-, visit
- dawig-, choose
- dawi'l-, ask, call to companions in woods (often with instrumental)
- dawēkL-, see (3d pass. -a'w)
- dawilo'w-, feel in water with stick (cp. wilo'w-, stir)
- dawēL-, look at (with dim. suffixes)
- dawil'a'r-, look down
- dahaγ-, beat (3d pass. -ar)
- da'nēm-, steal, possess
- danē'n-, be named (related to rē'n-, name); this term used only of naming a house or village)
- dano's-, drag
- dado'w-, put in hair (?)
- datw-, be raw
- datg-, be closed
- datg-a'gw-, have hiccoughs
- dagamālis-, leave
- dag'ak<sup>w</sup>lal-, stare, gaze intently
- dag'ar-agw-, gape
- dagw- or -dagw-, hit
- dagwasal-, hit head
- dagw'al-, dig clams

- dakwaγ-, -dakwaγ-, snore (ē- stem)  
 -dak<sup>w</sup>Lai-, stand still  
 daγ-, be plain color  
 -daγar-, be blind  
 -da'l-, go, move, travel  
 -da'l-, talk, converse  
 -d'alē's-, put aside  
 dala's-, -dala's-, get into (ē- stem)  
 -dalasw-, always with instrumental, smoke  
 -dalod'-, stop short and stand  
 -dalo'm-, remain with  
 -dalaγ-, put away  
 -dalaγal-, carry on back (3d pass. -ar)  
 -daLo's-, tow empty boat  
 daratw-, be angry  
 -darawaLa r-, be light  
 -d'ar-, go (related to da'l-)  
 -daravoγ-, keep hidden (3d pass. -ar)  
 -do'w-, burn, poke fire at  
 dopa'w-, rain  
 dopawar-ōts-, dim. of preceding, fog-rain, mist  
 dopdogar-, make devil noise  
 -dopL-, eat  
 doga'w-, be damp  
 dog-, burst  
 dogapL-, be green, blue  
 doga's-, bump head  
 -dokL-, look at (3d pass. -a'w)  
 -dokLa r-, look  
 do'kwar-, tighten  
 -dolēs-, soak, put in water, dampen  
 -do'lēs-w-, leach acorn flour  
 do'lvey-aiyagw'-, be worthy of being looked up to (a feeling rather than any tangible action)  
 dākLa'l-, be boss  
 -dam-, sit  
 dət-, give blow  
 -datwaγ-, spear salmon from land  
 datg-, always with -ad-, burn entirely, annihilate by burning  
 datγ-, spear fish from boat  
 -dak<sup>w</sup>s-, put up  
 -daγal-, carry on back  
 daγ-, be intact  
 -daγaγ-, make tracks  
 da!aka-, be alone, be left  
 -dar-, scare away  
 -darēt-w-, sleep soundly  
 -daratw-, oversleep (perhaps the same as the preceding)  
 -dar-aiyagw'-, be strong  
 duyū-, mark skin, tattoo  
 dum-, rub (changes vowel of following verb stem from a to e)  
 -dul-, be wet

- tiya'w-, stand around
- tī-, enlarge
- tiyagw-, quarrel, tease
- tī'tan-, peck
- ti'n- or -ti'n-, push
- tiyal-, come to surface
- tiyar-, come out
- tiyarak<sup>L</sup>-, come out on end of (hoe)
- tiyarala'l-, be worth
- tiyalēs-, wash, bathe
- teřiw-, prowl about (with dim. suffixes)
- tel-, speak to (ē- stem; 3d pass. -im)
- telotw-, say words in singing, mention in song
- ta- or -ta-, cut (3d pass. -ar; 3d obj. -am)
- tan-, or -tan-, be predominant; with reflexive, boil, bubble over, laugh
- tanayadar-, make a dam
- tanalēs-, dike around (tan-, above, and hanelis-, arrange)
- tan-, hit in middle
- ta'li-, chip flint
- ta'l-, throw
- talaw-, jump
- taL-, lie on seashore
- taLaL-, board springs up
- todēgwan-, perspire
- tōnit-, be predominant (3d pass. -ar; cp. tan-)
- taLai-, land (3d pass. -ar)
- tar-, project
- tařa'tg-aiyagw-, be awkward, careless
- taiyayan-, food repeats
- twawil- or -twawil-, paint, smear
- twaL-, fall off
- tgēn-, pull
- tgaw- or -tgaw-, stretch (causes following stems to change from a to e; 3d pass. -a'w)
- tgarag-, kill with poison
  
- nī-, knead (English ?)
- nēt<sup>w</sup>-, sleep
- nawagw-, laugh aloud (requires dim. suffixes)
- natcg-, roll back
- naway-, laugh at, make fun of
- nakad-, call one kin (requires 3d obj. in -ē'm)
- nagwa-, be a Yurok woman
  
- sisw-, be black
- sīlag-, be painful, kill, be sick
- sī'luwal-, echo
- sē'w-, be ceremonially impure
- sēd-, wear over shoulders
- sē's-, shove under (changes following a to ē)
- sēg-, make mistake
- sēgal-, get lost (perhaps related to preceding)
- sēγ-atk-, have headache



- sēgag-, spoil, hurt, ruin  
 -sanē'tw-, tell dream, move in sleep  
 -sasw-, polish shells  
 sagw'i-, hew  
 sal-, fall under  
 saγ-, be red  
 -sadal-, meet  
 sasw-, be hairless, bald  
 saks-, -saks-, hate, despise  
 -sakw-, close up hole  
 sakwil-, feel creepy  
 -sakwaγ-, sew  
 sak<sup>w</sup>sa'gw-, be very sick  
 sak<sup>w</sup>sagw-, frustrate  
 salapd-, hum, vibrate  
 salatg-, cause report  
 -saL-, await  
 sarayatg-, brace  
 sarai- or -sarai-, face (3d -a'w)  
 -sula'ta'l-, speak Wiyot (cp. neutral stem -sulat-)  
 saiyaγ-, wind from one direction  
 swēt-, -swēt-, think about, study over  
 swēn-, be without skin  
 -swa'l-, shoot  
 svē-, point at  
 -sval-, stare at  
 sva-, practise  
 -svanawakw-, wrestle  
 -svaLekal-, run foot race  
 stso'm-, dive before breaker comes in
- cīcw-, be black (dim. of sīsw-)  
 cīyar-, be curly  
 -cīyaral-, scold (takes 3d obj. -ēm)  
 cīyaru-, pull-on  
 -cirak<sup>w</sup>-, hurt  
 -ciraw-, be sore  
 -cīra w-, pound  
 -cē w-, dig bulbs  
 cēwagar-, creak  
 cētsg-, be naked  
 cē'tsgac-, be naked (ē- stem)  
 ca w-, lack, be empty, lose  
 cab-, be light in weight  
 cabāragw-, imitate  
 -cabarug-, listen to, witness by hearing  
 -cacw-, take a mouthful  
 caγ-, be red (dim. of saγ-)  
 cōtsa n-, be sulky  
 -cawan-, tease  
 -catsg-, be smooth and short (used of hair)  
 cakc-, hate person of opposite sex (dim. of saks-)  
 -cakwaγ-, stitch small (dim. of sakwaγ-, sew)

- cagwēc-, kill  
 -caruc-, come to a point  
 cuyayagw-, place lengthwise  
 -cuyagunatic-, be straight  
 -cuwaLar-, make evil wish  
 -cubitegac-, scratch head  
 -cur-, point at  
 curayakw-, straighten  
 -cwar-, be full  
 cvēyawagw-, be confused through lack of understanding  
 cvīwaiya'd-akw-, be tired and hungry  
 cvanēmitag-, be puzzled over  
 cvakw-, be difficult (to make or do)
- \*tsīyab'ara:g-, talk bad, be vulgar (must be paid for as insult)  
 -tsīyayarak-, be disagreeable  
 -tsitsk-, ache like neuralgia, dull pain  
 tsawē'tsagw-, be comical  
 tsan-, be predominant (dim. of tan-, above)  
 -tsa'r-, travel (dim. of dal-)  
 tsarapatsg-, lie in a little heap  
 -tsom-, dive  
 -tsog-, burst, open (dim. of dog-)  
 tsogapL-, be small green thing (dim. of dogapL-)  
 tsogw-, bend like open book  
 -tsawäs-, yowl  
 tsakwan-, hum like humming bird  
 tsavats-, be bitter  
 tsan-agw-, be stingy with food  
 tsats-, be in small holes  
 tsatswar-, be brittle  
 tsag-, be tough like green wood  
 -tsagwa-, be peevish  
 -tsar-, change one's mind  
 tsaragw-, take one's appetite  
 -tsar-aiyakw-, be dirty  
 tsgaw-, stretch (dim. of tgaw-)  
 -tsgagaLēk-, house creaks
- djikwoi-, slide while sitting  
 djē'n-, poke fire at something  
 djapu'l-, hard thing is crushed, wrinkled  
 djaga-, mark with paint  
 djagwil-, pain, cause to be uncomfortable  
 -djagwil-, gather nuts  
 djopLAW-, be wrinkled (used of skin and parts of the body)  
 djädjē-, ?  
 -djädjä'L-, be a parent  
 -djätcaṛawa'n-, shoot sticks into ground (a game)

\* The stems with the following three initials, ts, dj, tc, are for the most part diminutives in form even though they may have changed their original meanings entirely.

-djatcar-, punch fire  
 djatcg-, punch at (cp. datγ-, spear)  
 -djara-, be glad  
 djum-, rub (dim. of dum-, ?)

tciyawal-, backbite  
 tcagw-, give little slap  
 -tco'm-, escape  
 tcokitsg'ar-, limp  
 tca-, nod  
 -tcatc-, be full of holes  
 -tcvi-, menstruate, girl arrives at puberty  
 -tevē'yo'warôc-, siblings marry siblings

gīLi'l-, it is a sign  
 -gēpl-, make arrows  
 gēmap-, blink (?)  
 gēd-, leave (transitive takes 3d obj. in-am)  
 gēdag-, abandon  
 gēdagan-, make fall  
 -gēdan-, let go (ē- stem)  
 gēdak<sup>w</sup>-, sun shines  
 gēdjä-, make face  
 gēdj-, crush  
 gēγ-, be red  
 gēγad-, have nosebleed  
 gēlo'd-, be jealous  
 -gē'lisw-, set snare  
 gēlel-, sting, run splinter in  
 gē'r-, be generous  
 ga'yok<sup>w</sup>-, be easy  
 -ga-, make, do (transitive sometimes takes -am for 3d object, when is not clear)  
 gawē'w-, be a male  
 gawē'c-, blossom  
 -ga'wel-, make noise  
 -gawelaw-, bark  
 gawam-, drift out (3d pass. -ar)  
 -gawas-, sing war-song  
 gawots-agw-, be a female  
 -ga'bē'm-, be unappreciative  
 -gapl-, eat  
 -gamätw-, wish for good luck  
 -ga'mal-, build house  
 -gamalis-, leave (elk) out in woods  
 -gamar-, with dim. suffix, play  
 gadaw-, try  
 gatavēw-, hide (referential)  
 gadav- or -gadav-, use, hire  
 -gato'w-, coax  
 gatw-, wipe, pet  
 gatv-, stop a person from doing something (ē- stem)  
 -ganal-, roll around with pain  
 gas-, be in pieces

- gasam-, obliterate absolutely  
 -gasalay-, beat thoroughly  
 -gaswel-, get a wife  
 gacv-, sometimes found as gasv- or gaeam-, be small  
 gagow-, fight (3d pass. -ar)  
 gagw- or -gagw-, know  
 -ga·k<sup>w</sup>-, be born  
 -gak<sup>w</sup>s-, give birth to  
 galaw- or -galaw-, go over, go up and then down  
 gaLa·d-, mash  
 gaLêk-, become worn out  
 -ga'Lo'rê·c-, wash teeth (-ga'L-, do with teeth)  
 garod-ak<sup>w</sup>-, be homely  
 garawacg-, be angry  
 gowi'gw-, be a person, be human  
 -go·m-, capture  
 gom-, turn  
 gom-ak<sup>w</sup>c-, swing  
 gom-a·l-, fall back, hence take turn for the better (of one who is ill); swing back  
 and forth (of pendulum)  
 godêt-, be in one piece (used of fish before cutting)  
 god·am-, flee  
 gotg-, sometimes used for gots-, one  
 go·n-, wake up  
 gos-, with reflexive, bathe  
 gots-, one  
 gots-, good  
 -gotsayar-, find  
 gotsg-, be biscuit-shaped  
 gogoy-, divorce  
 gokc-, hide (ē- stem)  
 -gôpc-, gamble (ē- stem)  
 -gôg-, go to work  
 -gôk<sup>w</sup>Lä·d-, be too warm, sweat  
 -gälaw-, lose  
 ga-, clean  
 -gawil·ar-agw-, be very rich  
 -gawu'g-, stew boils  
 gav-, cut hair  
 -gavas-, leave something in container  
 -gamar-, steal, hunt out of season  
 -gava·dol-, leave; word telling 'where' must be used with this stem  
 -gan-, hear news  
 -gad·aw-, go into or through an enclosure  
 gatgô·Lal-, walk about outside  
 gats-, be much, many  
 -gatsplauw-, be cold  
 gatsplayad-, be sharp (cp. -play-)  
 gatspl-ak<sup>w</sup>-, be quick, energetic  
 gatsirai-, build big fire  
 gatcwamar-, laugh at every little thing, be silly  
 gatcä-, do in daytime  
 -gagêtg-ak<sup>w</sup>-, become poor

- galawagw-, forget  
gaLiya-l-, be exceptional  
garavaγ-a·k<sup>w</sup>-, be bewildered  
gumar-, be soft (like cotton)  
guwur-, come to life again  
gusv- or -gusv-, await (takes 3d obj. -am)  
-gutsaw-, 'abuse' dead husband (3d obj. -ēm)  
gu'djä-, taper off  
gukd-, roast (3d pass. -i')  
-gaiyagw<sup>w</sup>-, be blind  
-gaiyo<sup>w</sup>-, fight (3d pass. -ar)  
-gayaw-, say goodbye, ask for food  
-gaiyawätgar-, fly irregularly like buzzard  
gaiyad-, braid hair  
gayag<sup>w</sup>-, have hole in bottom  
gayu'sag<sup>w</sup>-, be bottomless
- kiyalisw-, sing like doctor  
kid'a<sup>w</sup>-, cover  
kiṭag<sup>w</sup>-, be born, lay egg  
kisan-, trade, give the wrong one  
kiya·l-, finger bends back  
kilagatg-, snap apart  
-kilagw-, decorate  
-kēLēsw-, soak acorns  
-katgar-, clean place for a camp  
-katsw-, prepare to carry meat back to camp  
kakara·l-, be a woman  
-kaγarau-, wear around hips, put on dress  
kän- or -kän-, open  
-kavalaγ-, shoot (3d pass. -ar)  
kanow-, match  
kanal-, crush  
kanal-, record business transaction (3d pass. -ar)  
kaγak<sup>w</sup>so'w-, one shot follows immediately upon another  
kaγak<sup>w</sup>co'w-, one went immediately after the other  
kaγak<sup>w</sup>L-, do immediately after another  
kar-, be fast  
kunak<sup>s</sup>-, cross forehead  
-kunar-, be dark, get dark  
kul-, take hold of  
klonak-, titter  
-klaw-, see (3d pass. -a'w)  
-klā', wash  
-klā'l-, look around  
-kläd'-, be hot  
-klä·l-, ask  
-krök<sup>s</sup>-, tie up
- gwēwi'w-, yell at  
gwēgwaw-, hold loosely  
-gwaps-, cover over  
-gwatg-, catch geese in net

-gwas-, bury, be a hill, mountain  
 gwaiyag-, be imposed upon

kwan-, be midnight  
 -k<sup>w</sup>lai-, do with stick or frame

-γigad'a-l-, begin to come in, start  
 -γa'ricw-, sing in whistling manner  
 -γatw-, go out  
 -γar-, entertain  
 -γararir-, play  
 -γarāLa r-, look back every few steps  
 -γar-ak<sup>w</sup>-, rest from dancing  
 -γarotw-, carry in mouth  
 γarawaγ-, head is wrong way

-l-, lie  
 -lēbādal-, walk side by side  
 -līmilot-, come for in boat  
 -lī'dawī-, wear  
 -ligō'w-, make arrows  
 -lēvā'd-, come for  
 -lētw-, sleep  
 -lē's-, go out from shore and come back  
 -lēsw-, roast  
 -lēgw-, travel  
 -lēk<sup>w</sup>L-, cry  
 -le'l-, get up  
 la'yaw-, string eels  
 -la'w-, butcher  
 -lawīd-, become liquid  
 -la'wil-, stir (cp. twawil-, smear)  
 -lawē-, resemble (3d obj. -ēm)  
 -lawalel-, foam blows up  
 lawagw- or -lawagw-, dig bulbs  
 -lawätw-, be faint-hearted (-wätw-, heart)  
 -la'wän-, take out handiwork  
 -laho'm-, influence unfavorably  
 -lapad-, lead  
 -la'mal-, chase  
 -lad-, arrange  
 -ladatgan-, wail and grovel with grief  
 -la'twīt-, wander  
 -la'n-, mean (3d pass. -im)  
 -la'natw-, give up husband  
 -lan-, ?  
 -la'n-, ring (like bell)  
 -lanak-, spawn (used of fish)  
 -la'n-, go into dust  
 -la'näl-, doctor  
 -la'näl-, lie same way as before (-l-, lie)  
 -la's-, feel like nettle rash when it is several days old  
 lakläl-, with reflexive, have hysterics

- la'g-, work, do
- lagw-, have sense, with reflexive, grow, rise (of bread)
- lagwatg-, cover with ashes
- lak<sup>w</sup>s-, tow
- (l)ak<sup>w</sup>Lin-, breakers wash ashore
- lak<sup>w</sup>Lai-, do with stick, knock aside
- la'γ-, be heavy
- la'g-, go on warpath
- laγalatk-, lack sense
- la'l-, go about, (of birds) fly
- lalisw-, sing
- lalav-, bark
- la'l-, accompany
- lal-, hunt, search for
- lala'w-, look, appear
- lalel-, blow down (3d obj. -ēm)
- laLaw-, feel
- lo'wēL-, come to life again
- lowē'tw-, sleep soundly
- lo'm-, return
- lo'm-, recognize
- lo'm-, be under influence of
- lodä'd-, cook through
- lod'atgal-, knot becomes tighter
- lo'tg-, be a hole, make a hole, be a tube
- lo'tyal-, dig hole in ground (ē- stem)
- lo's-, stitch
- lo'γ-, yawn
- loyalai-, make an incision with blunt instrument (-loya-, ?; -Lai-, push aside)
- lo'l-, dance (transitive)
- lo'l-, hold (requires 3d obj. in -am)
- loL-, come to rest, float (3d pass. -im)
- loLatsēg-, be according to religion, belief
- loLagók<sup>w</sup>L-, be pulled down
- lolar-, be pointed end of
- läsw-, put into, take a mouthful
- lawē'm, be tossed by waves, float
- lawas-, string bow
- la'wal-, swallow
- laba'mlayalēc-, put mouth down to drink (form and meaning doubtful)
- labo'kar-, be on the edge
- labaga'gw-, trap
- lavä'l-, buy
- lavayarak-, be warm
- lam-, be in hiding
- lamē'l, have flesh
- latgan-, propel
- latyalaya'l- or -latyalaya'l-, roll, fall
- latgar- or -latgar-, frighten, chase
- lanēm-, take trail
- las-, grind axe
- (l)ac-, flock flies
- latsg-, make report

- lak-, talk gossip
- lagwot-, be correct, be morally right
- la'gw-, be up on
- la'gwisg-, ride
- la'gwan-, deliver bride to husband
- la'gw-, news spreads
- lak<sup>w</sup>s-, hand, pass
- laγ-, go
- laγ-, be heavy
- laγisk-, go up to
- laγar-, come to a point
- laγarat-, go to cure the sick
- laγarat-, narrate
- laγarau-, flow
- lal-, contend in archery
- lal'-, grumble
- laLe'l-, burn
- laLa'l-, have vision
- luwasol-, scar
- luna's-, crawl
- lu'n-, gamble with
- lu'nal-, challenge to gamble
- lul-, take, carry
- (l)aiyapL-, leaves sprout
- (l)aiyapLē'k-, vegetation sprouts
- laiyaγan-, be in front of
- laiyag-, wind blows
  
- L-, suck, draw in
- Līwar-, be on the bias
- Līta'l-, put down into ground (cp. -ta'l-, throw)
- Līg-, trade
- Ligatarāγ-, belch
- Liγaro'c-, wash face (cp. -Liγar-, do with face)
- LēyaL-, appear, look
- Lēw-, observe taboo about not naming dead (takes 3d obj. -a'm)
- Lēmai-, stand on end, have crest (of bluejay)
- Lēd'ak<sup>w</sup>s-, put back same way
- Lēn-, put on ground
- Lēs-, take ashore
- Lēk-, go in canoe
- Lēkal-, run
- Le'dal-, go ahead and try it, scout
- Le'l-, cross river
- Lelow-, rain
- Lawoi-, be sure of something
- La'w-, be long, tall
- Lawī-, be far
- Lawin-, pull out
- LawēL-, see far
- LawēLa'r-, see far (probably the full form of the preceding)
- Lawill-, spear right and left from canoe
- Lavi-, contend



- La·d-, propel, touch with foot  
 Latsal-, tell tales (3d obj. -ēm)  
 Lag- or -Lag·-, go down into  
 -Lak<sup>w</sup>Lēp-, spit out  
 -La·l-, jump (dim. -La·ṛ)  
 Larokē·yaγ-, be deep (of river)  
 -Lotaya·d·a·ṛ-, walk backward (dim. of da·l-, travel)  
 -Lo·nak-, laugh aloud  
 -Lo·cw-, swim in woman's way  
 Logō·kw-, fork  
 Loγag-, fit tight on head  
 -Lol-, float  
 -Lā·yok-, try  
 Lāyaw·ak<sup>w</sup>-, be out of one's mind because of shock  
 -Lāp-, taste  
 -Lān-, take out  
 -Lāts-, hand over  
 -Lāk-, try  
 -Lāl-, ask for (3d obj. -ēm)  
 -Lawa·d-, be hungry  
 -Lap-, be rotten  
 Lapd-, burn out canoe in making  
 -Lav-, start back home  
 Ladawa-, split by burning  
 -Latg-, startle (requires dim. suffixes)  
 -Lan-, take off clothes  
 -Laγ-, give present (takes dim. suffixes)  
 -Lak-, stay  
 -Laks-, go west  
 -Lakc-, wash  
 -Lagw-, with reflexive, grow too big, be overgrown  
 -Lak<sup>w</sup>isg-, mount  
 -Layał-, pull out hair (?)  
 -Layaγ-, end slips out  
 -Layaγ-, sleep heads and points  
 Lalav-, turn over  
 -LaL-, ride on someone's boat  
 Larav-, come to an end, end in nothing  
 -Larak<sup>w</sup>-, die for want of  
 -Lai-, push aside  
 -Lva·l-, fall through  
 Lguvaγarak-, weather is warm  
 Lguga·v-, start out in boat (requires instrumental)
- riy-, kill  
 riyaw·ak<sup>w</sup>-, be cute  
 riđ-, be two  
 rik-, be three  
 ritvaγ-, be behind  
 riṛibal-, have appetite  
 -riṛāđ·a·ṛ-, come nearly up to destination  
 riṛaiyawē'c-, near landing  
 -rēd·awēn-, make into trough

- rē·tw-, dream
- rē·n-, name, be called
- rēk<sup>w</sup>L-, cry in loud way
- raw- or ram-, be four
- raw-, all think
- rawil-, be at right-hand
- rawawatkc-, move (3d -ei')
- ragwag-, transform
- rawaɾ-, tell news
- rawar-ak<sup>w</sup>-, be friendly
- rad-, be big, large
- rad-, grow, increase automatically
- rad-agw-, have respect
- ra'datw-, think highly of
- rat-, smell disagreeable
- ratw-, hollow out
- ratgas-, tie in knots
- ranin-, help
- ranē'r-, scream, shriek (requires reflexive)
- ranad-, be big (of plural things)
- rano's-, drag out
- racu'cag-, have pockets
- rats-, be big (dim. of rad-, above)
- ragw-, be comical, have sense (of children)
- ragw-, feel like
- ra'gw-, be too good for (3d obj. -am)
- rakwagw-, suit
- rakwal-, speak language
- rak<sup>w</sup>c-, follow (3d obj. -ēm)
- raɣ-, think
- ra'l-, fly
- ra·lisw-, sing
- raL-, be on move
- raLa'w-, go out of sight
- ra'rod-, love person who adopts one (3d obj. -ēm)
- rariṭskar-, clean ground close (3d obj. -ēm)
- raɾukav-, accompany in song
- ro<sup>w</sup>-, come from
- rodatkc-, keep still (ē- stem)
- ro'dagw-, be good-looking (requires dim. suffixes)
- ro't-, go from in boat
- ronadj-, suck (3d obj. -ēm)
- rog-, be a long time
- rōtsagw-, carry a load of *Heracleum lanatum*
- rōk<sup>w</sup>Lɪɾ-, chase
- rōk<sup>w</sup>Lai-, play stick game
- rātgar-, roll eyes
- rātgadaɾ-, stagger
- rātg-aitagw-, be awkward (requires dim. suffixes)
- rāLaɾ-, look out
- rawaɾL-, admire
- rawad'ar-, be weak
- rawatw-, trample

- rawagw-, with reflexive, dissolve  
 -rabaṛôtc-, eat walking around  
 -rapawir-, tie hair with buckskin  
 -ram-, be easily frightened  
 ra'mara'n-, be unable to do without a thing  
 -rad'al-, go ?  
 -rad'olw-, add strands in weaving  
 -ratw-, have thoughts, think  
 raniwar-, feel like  
 racaγ-, do without fire  
 -ratsgiralis-, arrange wood evenly  
 -ratcw-, have thoughts (dim. of -ratw-, 'baby talk')  
 -rag'al-, recognize (takes third obj. in -om)  
 -rag'al-, be related to (takes 3d obj. -om)  
 -raka-lagw-, paint body  
 -ragw-, be, die, be ill  
 -ragwil-, be unfortunate, be fortunate (according to context)  
 -rakaw-, be content (ē-stem)  
 raγarä-, ?  
 -raγarak-, happen  
 -raγarar-, play  
 raγara'r-, be false to husband  
 -raγara'r-, scuffle feet  
 -raLak-, track  
 -raṛ-, do (ē-stem)  
 runēr-, make speech  
  
 -ṛ-, dim. of -l-, lie  
 rawar-, be related by consanguinity (3d obj. -am)  
 -ṛaradjëyo'tw-, mention name in song  
 -ṛa'ṛ-, go, flow, run (dim. of la'l-)  
 -ṛa'ṛ-, sneak up on  
 ṛaribag-, live in same house  
 -ṛawataṛ-, break dam  
 ṛawu'n-, steal valuables  
 -ṛavog-, hide, secret  
 -ṛamal-, drive out (dim. of la'mal-, chase)  
 -ṛaγar-, resemble  
 -ruwo'w-, go to gather *Heracleum lanatum*

### §38. *Neutral Stems*

The following stems have the position and function of verbs but it is impossible to translate them other than as nouns. At times it is clear that they are verbal, just as in English we could say: 'he faced'; and in other cases they seem to signify: 'to do with' or 'do to' the body part or whatever thing the stem refers to.

- itgēr-, leg  
 -ëtsgēr-, small leg (dim. of above)  
 -ätgas-, wide top of head  
 -ätgal-, eyeball  
 -äliγar-, eyes, part of face around the eyes

- atgas-, head  
 -atgac-, head (dim. of preceding)  
 -atgo's-, skull  
 -atgoc-, skull (dim. of preceding)  
 -o'l-, end of lips, snout  
 -o'rēγ-, rumps  
 -aiyatan-, do with nose  
 -aiyatcan-, do with nose (dim. of preceding)  
 -aiyaγan-, top part of chest
- wilo'l-, hole  
 -wē't-, belly  
 -we'sa'n- or -we's-, hand  
 -wē'ts-, belly (dim. of -wē't, above)  
 welil- or -welil-, foot  
 weril- or -weril-, dim. of preceding  
 watok- or -watok-, elbow  
 -watw-, heart, faint, be weak, be heartbroken  
 -watwat-, head  
 watgai- or -watgai-, skin, bark  
 -walapd-, fur, feather  
 -watgar-, bones  
 -watsgar-, dim. of preceding  
 was-, fire, with causative, light; with -ak<sup>w</sup>-, have fever  
 -watsawaLok-, shoulder
- helawe-, day  
 (h)a'tg-, (y, d, l, r), jaw  
 (h)a'tsg-, dim. of preceding  
 (h)a'teg-, dim. of (h)a'tg-  
 (h)o'n-, (y, d, l), wire, ribbon, line
- belog-, ear  
 -pa'g'-, salt
- valē'n'-, eye  
 -vařē'n-, dim. of preceding
- dēγ-, eyeball  
 -dēγar-, eyeball
- da'γ-, stomach  
 dāgwiwil-, flat horns  
 -dagar-, corrugated portion of whale's skin
- ta-, belly  
 -twaray-, leg  
 -tgaray-, back
- ca'n-, hand  
 sula't-, jawbone

tsēgwa-, little devil (dim. of dēgwa-)  
 tsabi-ga-, work flint  
 -tsyaraγ-, little back (dim. of -tgarαγ-)  
 -tsa'n-, mussel

djēpL-, beard, whiskers

-tcac-, mussel  
 -teγaraγ-, dim. of -tgarαγ-

-k<sup>w</sup>ar-, chest

-gawēw-, husband  
 gaL- or -gaL-, teeth  
 -gar-, dress  
 -g'ara-, leg

-kisan-, nger  
 -kican-, finger (dim. of preceding)  
 -kiyar-, forehead  
 -kawa-, sweathouse

-γan-, face  
 -γar-, face

la'tciγ-, seat  
 lādar-, front part of neck (cp. dim. -(r)a'tsar-)  
 -lapd-, cloud

-Liγan-, eyes, face  
 -Liγats-, face, eyes  
 -Liγatc-, face, eyes  
 -Liγar-, face

-ratiγ-, tail  
 -ratciγ-, dim. of preceding, wide in proportion to length  
 -ratγar-, back  
 rätγ-, blade of feather  
 -ratsiγ-, little tail

-raγ-, bottom

### §39. *Irregular Verbs*

There are several verbs which are so irregular that it is impossible to differentiate clearly their true stems. It has been considered best to give the available forms of these verbs:

vo's-a', I am going fishing with net  
 va'gu-vo'siL, he is going fishing again  
 gi-yo's-iL, he never fishes  
 va-wi-gu-mi-vo's-iL, he will go fishing soon again  
 bētsil ra'-do's-ak, I like to fish  
 ha-va-vo's-agw'-a'l, when he went fishing

hi'-gē'-do's-iL, he stopped fishing  
 va-lo's-iL, he went fishing  
 da-lo's, I used to fish

From these examples it may be seen that the phonetic laws do not hold whether the stem be taken as -vo's- or -lo's-. However, the forms seem to be related and not two or three separate stems.

-da-, I remain  
 -dat-, you remain  
 dak<sup>w</sup>, he remains

This stem (or a related one) may also be transitive (referential?):

ru-gu-da'l-as-ak, to stay with you (with first person subject)  
 gu-da'l-awal-at, you stay with me again

hi'-d'o'm-a', I fed him  
 hi'-d'a's, I fed you  
 hi'-do'm-at, you fed him  
 hi'-dawē't, you fed me  
 hi'-dawē-d'ak, you fed us  
 hi'-do'm-iL, he fed her, it  
 do'g-iL, he fed her, him  
 da's'ēL, he fed you  
 da-wē'l-iL, he fed me

La-da's-adak, we fed you  
 La-da-wī'w-idak, we fed ourselves

hi'da-wal, I was fed  
 hi'-da-walôt, you were fed  
 hi'-do'w, he was fed  
 hi'-do'w-ar, we were fed (?)  
 daw-al-adak, we were fed  
 hi'-do-w-a-ni'l, (field mice) they were fed on

ha-la's, I am going with you  
 ha-la't-om, I am going with him  
 ha-la'l-el-iL, he is going with me  
 ha-la's-iL, he is going with you  
 ha-la'tw-iL, he is going with her

#### §40. *Nominal Stems*

##### *Persons:*

wicack, Athapascan woman  
 winēk, neighbor  
 wē-w, wife (familiar)  
 wakat, mother-in-law (man sp.)  
 watks, brother-in-law (woman sp.)  
 wats, sister-in-law (man sp.)  
 watsa-ra'gw-, son-in-law (woman sp.)

wa'giswal, white woman  
 wakas, father-in-law (man sp.)  
 hikdak, Yurok man  
 he'tca', baby in arms  
 hamo'twiL, woman  
 bidj'o'tck, paternal grandfather  
 bidj'ok, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, father's mother's  
     father  
 bak<sup>w</sup>, father's female first cousin  
 bä'l, first cousin, parallel or cross, male or female  
 barautan, baby in basket, baby basket  
 va'tsak, girl about 4  
 va'tcar, girl from about 8 years to puberty  
 vak<sup>w</sup>, grass widow  
 de'gwa', white man, something which should be respected because it is feared  
 te'yaril, youth, unmarried man  
 da'c, father  
 da'r, son (sometimes this and the preceding are interchanged)  
 dok, sister (endearing)  
 na'gwack, Yurok woman  
 sa'lavas, niece  
 ciro'ke, old woman  
 tsä'k, child  
 tsara'ril, unmarried woman  
 dja'k, maternal uncle  
 djol, father's sister, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter  
 gwē', wife (familiar)  
 gatk, father's brother, father's male first cousin  
 gagwēL, old man  
 gowi', husband, man, male  
 gowil, person  
 govuc, female, wife  
 go'tck, paternal grandmother  
 gok, father's mother's suster  
 goLa'k, daughter's daughter's son (man sp.)  
 garô'tc, younger cousin (obsolete, not known by young Wiyot, occurs only in tale,  
     32, 19)  
 gas, daughter-in-law (woman sp.)  
 ga, mother  
 gaL, son's son (woman sp.)  
 gwa't<sup>w</sup>, widow, widower  
 ratsa'tsk, boy under 6  
 ra'tcatck, boy between 6 and 14  
 rakē', brother-in-law (man sp.): wife's brother, sister's husband  
 ra'memak, older cousin (obsolete, 32, 20)

*Body parts:*

witgate, leg  
 wēt, tongue  
 we's, hand  
 wē'lil, foot  
 wad-, shell

wak, index finger (long thing)  
 wa'l, salmon roe  
 wo'r, arm  
 wada'pēs, thumb  
 wat, tail  
 wat<sup>w</sup>, heart  
 wat-velok, ear  
 wat-vat, head  
 wat-war, liver  
 wat-gēra't, bone  
 wat-gawik, blood  
 wat-gai', skin  
 wa'switk, neck  
 watsa'i', second slice of salmon, layer next to skin  
 wats-waLok, shoulder  
 watc-warô'tc, wing  
 watc-gatc, leg  
 wa'lawal, knee  
 hē'L, entrails  
 ba'L, hair  
 vitsa'L, saliva  
 velo'l, mouth  
 verar, horn, wedge  
 ve'dô-t<sup>w</sup>, ventral fin  
 va'do'tk, soft part of fish under the jaw  
 velē'd, eye  
 va'goks, brain, blockhead  
 valapt, feathers  
 vapt, teeth  
 va'tar, nose (cp. stem -tar-, project)  
 va-tok, elbow  
 va-to'c, salmon tail (obsolete)  
 va't-wo'k, rib  
 va-tga'n, finger or toe nail  
 va-sar, breast, milk  
 va-Lo'k, upper arm  
 mī't, gills  
 mapt, wart  
 daγ, belly  
 dôcγô'γatg, chin (probably a compound)  
 da'wē, milt  
 dapdē'tk, salmon backbone dried with some flesh on it  
 datk, egg  
 do'γit, fish throat  
 sa'kavad, lungs  
 sula.tk, jaw  
 djē'pL, beard  
 dja'γiL, paunch  
 teva-wē'L', little finger or toe  
 galē'L, face (?)  
 kulawo'i', fur  
 ra'tgar, salmon liver



*Animals:*

yot<sup>w</sup>, maggot  
 wiwalē'l, large herring  
 wē'tot, pine squirrel  
 witgaL, coyote  
 waw, bait  
 wa'mar, bullhead  
 wa's, ?  
 wara'wagwē', pigtoe  
 wulad'a't, razor clam  
 wa'iyits, dog  
 hēwat, abalone  
 hēk<sup>w</sup>, louse, hail  
 hē'γatek, body louse  
 hamaca'wi', widgeon  
 haLak<sup>w</sup>, deer  
 ha'ṛetc, garter snake  
 ha'ṛawā'c, raccoon  
 hot, surf-fish, smelt  
 hote'i', clam  
 horawa'γayel, fur seal (probably a compound)  
 ha'mē'k, pigeon  
 bitso'lakc, owl  
 becdo'l, chipmunk (compound)  
 ba'm, sturgeon  
 botsar, fawn  
 bo'tcel, night hawk  
 bakt, duck a little smaller than loon  
 butcate, snail  
 be'i, mosquito  
 ve-tcac, mussels inside something  
 ve-lak<sup>w</sup>, elk  
 ve-lakwiya'n, crane  
 vaLak, salmon and salmon-like fish  
 va'-gar, large blueshell clam  
 vo'tcvi, skunk  
 vo'r, shark  
 miṛaL, angleworm  
 mak<sup>w</sup>, black bear  
 maLa'gaL, mud worm  
 mo'lak<sup>w</sup>, loon  
 maló'dē', soft-shell clam  
 ma'raγaL, teal duck  
 maiyaw-atk, seal  
 di'l, eagle  
 dē'da'l, sawbill  
 da'mal, black bear  
 dak<sup>w</sup>t, cottontail  
 da'gar, sea otter  
 da'ye'l, rock cod  
 do'yavau'w, large clam (eaten only as medicine for rheumatism)  
 dobi'tk, meadow lark

dätcô'tc, animal  
 dävā'l, king salmon (?)  
 da'kdo'ker, small black sea lion  
 da'kgô'k, quail  
 da'yī', Sacramento goose  
 tæpL, bumble bee  
 tava'yar, white short-nosed sturgeon  
 tya'kʷ, yellow hammer  
 twī'nuwī', herring  
 tgēba's, small red crab  
 tgo'w, bluebill  
 tkayo'kis, starfish  
 sa'yo'ks, canvasback duck  
 sæpL, a kind of crab  
 sala's, ground squirrel (Athapascan slas)  
 skarē'ts, flounder  
 ci'par, small round shell which is strung  
 ciṛa'wa'n, dove  
 cada'c, condor  
 cutsa'weark, gnat  
 cgikwa'nawack, jacksnipe  
 tsa'r, mussel  
 tsa'rē'k, killdeer  
 tso'tskac, a kind of small bird  
 tswa'l, steelhead  
 dja'pdjuc, halibut  
 djo'mack, slug  
 djo'tegic, linnet  
 djac, tule wren  
 tee'rawa'γac, cormorant  
 tco'lā'tc, diver  
 tcarawa'kac, Brandt cormorant  
 tga'iyawir, bat  
 gē'c, house rat  
 gē'c-akwī', field mouse  
 ga'walē'L, hawk  
 ga'tsi'r, crow  
 go'd'au', eel  
 ga'vui, little fish 'shiners'  
 gatawa'i', small clam  
 gats, yellow jacket  
 gatcawa'L, small gray crab  
 ga'kakʷ, pileated woodpecker  
 ga'ro'c, curlew  
 go'mar, mink  
 gule'dtso'l, hawk  
 gwakʷ, frog  
 gwa'kwac, shitepoke  
 kima'γam, kinglet  
 ki'tgac, June bug  
 kē'mak, whale  
 ka'daL, sand crane  
 la'γakʷ, mallard

Letc, wood rat  
 Lawa'da'l, fish smaller than steelhead, otherwise like it  
 Lo'kat, hake  
 Lu'b, small shellfish  
 Lwuraγa'di, kind of crab  
 rēt, small mud clam  
 ragauk<sup>w</sup>, red-headed woodpecker  
 ro'naks, bullhead (?)

*Plants:*

wi-platk, sea anemone, sea eggs on rocks (?)  
 wē't, alder  
 wa'nak<sup>w</sup>, tree  
 wo'γ, *Heracleum lanatum*  
 wula'γap, willow root  
 hawatsē', wild currant  
 ha'tal, iris fiber (before twisting)  
 ba'at<sup>w</sup>, bark of any tree  
 badaγat, apple  
 bagalē'tek, blueberry  
 va'd'i', wood  
 va'da'u', salmon berry  
 vat, hazelnut  
 vaL, small bulbous plant  
 vēL, nettle  
 mē'kwal, salal berry  
 me'p, blackberry  
 mo'pel, redwood  
 mo't, acorn (unshelled)  
 da'b'elic, hazel bush  
 da'bol, small red clover  
 da'p, spruce root  
 da'pai, fruit  
 da'k<sup>w</sup>, pitch  
 da'k, spruce  
 da'γac, willow used for eel baskets  
 dā'täl (?), large bush with flowers like snowball, a cascara  
 tī'ma', elderberry  
 tgaL, shiny-leaved willow  
 ca'gitcök, madrona  
 tso'm, *Leptitimia californica*  
 kawa'l, dusky-leaved willow  
 gwa's, tobacco  
 gwäts (?), a bulbous plant  
 gudji'cakwe, pine nut  
 γas, manzanita  
 la'c, strawberry  
 la'gap, willow root  
 lak<sup>w</sup>, yellow pine

*Nature:*

we'n, sky  
 hēLa'k, lightning  
 ho'l, water  
 hado'lē'm, small island (proper name?)  
 ba'wa'n, time of catching eels in baskets  
 ba'dot, dust  
 ba'twa'r, freshet  
 bada'w, stream, spring  
 bra'r, snow  
 pa'k, salt, salt water  
 pLatk, rock  
 vē'war, smoke  
 va'mel, prairie  
 vas, fire  
 dagōk, thunder, drift pile  
 ta'm, sun, moon, clock  
 cu'r, ocean  
 tsga'plik, dense thicket  
 gowe'lei', earthquake  
 gatsunē'k, ice  
 gves, mountain, hill  
 kā'k, cloudy night (literally 'open')  
 laleL, river it flows  
 la'pdau', cloud  
 latga'k, sand  
 laγarak, land as opposed to water  
 La''war, summer

*Objects and abstract qualities:*

wītk, large open storage basket  
 wi'lawa', flute  
 wayās, jumping dance  
 wayaL, hook  
 wa'lel, road  
 woga'l, shoulder strap on carrying basket  
 wadaL, sandhill  
 wa'tegar-a'tc, meat  
 wa'kwā, fighting knife  
 wuksē'gw, clothes  
 walo'L, well  
 wuda', smallpox  
 hi'yawe'l, rabbit-skin blanket (probably a verbal compound)  
 hitwa'L, large round open basket  
 hi'yawātck, money  
 hē'tk, twine  
 haga'dā'tk, double blanket  
 ha'γar, woman's back skirt  
 halo'wī', canoe, 'it comes'  
 halo'ke, shadow  
 hō'tew (?), sidewall of house with boards set vertically

has, harpoon head  
 hak<sup>w</sup>, cold (disease)  
 hai', stone mortar  
 bē·t<sup>w</sup>, basket mortar  
 bas, basket plate  
 bo'm, grease  
 botskats, bunch of ten ducks tied together  
 bat, soot  
 batgē', maul  
 ba'karô, small drying frame  
 baL, house partition  
 bumē'pel, metal knife  
 botcibal, arrow (wooden)  
 blaiya'tck, wedge  
 pel, flint  
 pakL, needle of deer rib  
 pei', yeast (spoiled)  
 vatsawē'tk, ashes, stove  
 va'dop, netting shuttle  
 vatk, tule mat, tule  
 vaLaL, pipe  
 vo'd·awa'k, famine  
 valar, war song  
 man, canoe paddle  
 meL, axe  
 mo'l, house, roof  
 daL, cutlass (?)  
 daL, ship, steamer  
 dopa'i', food  
 do'kic, beginning of basket  
 to'l, pestle  
 sīme'i', partly dried meat  
 sē'mēk, fresh meat  
 sēL, floor  
 sātK, single blanket (flat)  
 ci'dac, picture  
 ciṛa·wa'n, tight carrying basket  
 ca'gwi·rak, severe illness  
 cwa't, bow  
 ckā'de'n, buckskin headband  
 tse'l, small tight storage basket  
 tsa'bit, arrow with flint point  
 tsa'n-ats, shell spoon (tsan-, mussel; ats-, dim.)  
 djīr-atc, tight carrying basket  
 djewila'', whistle  
 dja'war-ô'tc, net  
 dja'γak, inside corner of house or box  
 djal, stick with mark used in game  
 tckēba'tc, sweathouse  
 gwaL, place (perhaps place name)  
 gi', basketry hat  
 gīda'w, deerskin cape  
 gēda'wī', blanket

ga'mak, door  
 gama'k, soup  
 ganä'l, gash  
 gatbaγ, sinker  
 golwa'lk, chin marks  
 kitra'i, large tight basket with heavy ridge near top  
 ka'wa, sweathouse  
 ka'k<sup>w</sup>sē'k<sup>w</sup>, doctor's headdress  
 ka'lawui, wicker carrying basket  
 kunak<sup>w</sup>, tumpline used on forehead  
 krä'vackat, small fishing rod  
 γal, harpoon  
 la'swa'n, herringbone finish on kalawui  
 lē'mē'l, partition in dam which divides individual fishing places  
 le'wal, edge  
 le'l, soup paddle  
 ral, open-work basket plate  
 raL, end of harpoon  
 rane'i', large dentalia  
 ra'n-i'la(γ), redwood matches  
 raγa'Lei', tule quiver

#### §41. ADVERBS

##### *Locative Adverbs:*

yi'mi-lag'au', across the bay  
 wik-a't, away from south  
 wika't wuṛa'ṛaγa'gwar, southwest  
 wi'kwu'ri-la'gau', northeast  
 wa'tcvi, behind  
 warawa'gugē', near (perhaps nearer)  
 bi'k, on either side of  
 puri'-la'g'au', northwest  
 vadi'ṛawan, almost  
 vatsi'ṛawan, more nearly almost (dim. of preceding)  
 di'ni-la'g'au', east  
 duwa, where  
 dēla', where  
 datarē', up above, on higher level  
 da'li', inside, in house  
 tva'rak<sup>w</sup>, otherwise  
 ca'wēr, in wilderness  
 cabäl, in center  
 curē'yaL, down on beach  
 curi'lag'au', west  
 ewirē', up river  
 cwuri'-la'g'au', southeast  
 ga'wi', down river  
 gudini, east, Arcata Bottom  
 gula'gala'ga, a little farther over (cp. §35)  
 guri'k, way up  
 gurawa', long way

guragē'mei', across the river  
 gurura'dja'γak, in corner of house at one side  
 gurda' (guda'), over there  
 kawa', underneath (cp. sweathouse, p. 138)  
 kokc, toward speaker  
 kwi'lē, here, in this place  
 Lē'wēl, along edge of water  
 ra:kē'cwari', toward east  
 rak-at, toward south  
 rak-vo'r, toward north  
 rakdat, uphill  
 rak-datc, up river  
 rak-co'r, toward ocean, west  
 rak-djōtcwa'r, toward way up river  
 rugal, after a meal

*Temporal adverbs:*

wiyi'marak<sup>w</sup>, immediately  
 wīrala-'k<sup>w</sup>, to-day  
 wala'waL (wala'wīL), rather early  
 wa'lôk<sup>w</sup>, early tomorrow  
 wukunē'ga'n, in the distant future  
 wuragē'L, now  
 wai'la'gawa'n (wala'ga'wan), forever  
 hina', in the past; action past and complete  
 hela-'k<sup>w</sup>, to-day  
 vo'ya'γarak<sup>w</sup>, afternoon  
 mo'raka' (vo'ragauw), pretty soon  
 cape, nearly  
 tsowe'l, at night  
 daga'tga da'γarak, in spring  
 gīto'γαL, little later than the first light of day  
 gawai (guwa-'yi'), tomorrow  
 gatca'i', daytime  
 guteē', long ago  
 gute . . . . .', very long ago  
 gugwe', long ago  
 gu'gwe . . . . .', very long ago  
 kwanca'baγ, at midnight  
 ku'na, yesterday, in the past  
 kuna dj'a'ge', day before yesterday  
 kuna'r, before anyone can remember  
 rogal, after while  
 ra'tsawa'l (same as tsowe'l above), at night  
 Lawi-vo-'ya'γarak<sup>w</sup>, late in afternoon (Lawi-stem, 'be far'; -vo'ya'γarak<sup>w</sup>, see above)  
 Lakī, now  
 Lgēto'γαL, very first light of day

*Modal adverbs:*

wALaVAl, reiterative continuative, again and again  
 hi'mare (himarē), quickly, as soon as possible  
 hac, mild commandatory, it would be well if . . . . .  
 gid'a', dubitative, maybe, I think  
 gitgavaL, also vaLgitga, emphatic absolute obligation  
 gite (kitck), surely, certainly  
 gwaLwaL, again

*Adverbial stems with verbal forms:*

gugwā'daw-iL, once upon a time (formal beginning of tale)  
 gudjādaw-iL, all the time  
 himarē'v-iL, very soon, quickly

The examples below illustrate temporal expressions which are probably verbal in origin. They change their modal prefixes but the verbal form remains the same:

hara'γarak, it happened, it is true  
 dēLda-da'na'γarak (dāLda-da'na'γarak), sometime after, later it happened  
 dāLgawaL ha'na'γarak, any time, sometime  
 dāLdawa'L huda'-na'γarak, for some time  
 kwile' djuwa da'na'γarak, right here is where it happened  
 gu'ts-waL da'na'γarak, everything is all right—good it continues to happen  
 hu'wara'γarak, (condor knew) what was going to happen  
 da'waL gi-ra'γarak, everyone is all right—something never happens

## §42. COLLOQUIAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXCLAMATIONS

awer, oh dear!  
 wo', (in answer to name) 'here I am'  
 hewayā', yes, is that so?  
 ha', hark! (expression of approval)  
 ha'cgu, all right!  
 hatswa'L, oh my! (used of very fervent love)  
 vo'tse, more quiet, please  
 cuwa', what is it?  
 cukda', how is that?  
 djawa'kc, good-bye!  
 djuwa he . . . , oh, that is the one!  
 gi'ya', no  
 gi'da', maybe  
 gi'da', coc, I think so  
 gē'La', that is enough (noise)  
 Lagē'L, it is enough (in amount)  
 rawat, oh my!



## TEXTS

The following texts have been divided into four groups: Wiyot myths, Yurok tales, informal conversations, and translations of Fox texts. The majority of the Wiyot myths were dictated by Jerry James, a man about 63 years of age (Pl. 1). He is one of the few Wiyot living who learned the stories. He was a baby just about able to walk when his mother was massacred on Gunther's Island. Since that was the time of the last Wiyot ceremony, and since most ceremonial objects were there lost or destroyed, even fragments of Wiyot ceremonialism are few and traditional. Jerry did, however, learn from his father many myths and sufficient medicine lore to be considered an efficient medicine man (curer, not in the ceremonial sense). The tales were learned by him verbatim and from hearing them often, his wife, Birdie, knows them almost as well as Jerry. She often prompted him in rendering details and spared no pains to persuade him to tell his choicest stories. Those about *rakcura'La'yeL* are considered especially precious and are divulged only upon special occasions.

Birdie told some tales herself, the 'scrubby' stories, that is, those everyone knows. Birdie is a Yurok woman, and consequently knows a number of Yurok myths and songs; but since she does not speak Yurok fluently she has told both Wiyot and Yurok stories in Wiyot.

Three of the texts (32-34) were told by Mrs. Searson, who has lived among white people most of her life. She speaks the Wiyot language well, but her tales lack the consistency of plot and rhetorical style which characterize Jerry's. They are also less accurate linguistically, since it was difficult to train her to give dictation slowly enough. But ethnologically they are interesting, since they include such things as archaic kinship terms and points of etiquette not emphasized in the other versions.

The informal conversations were given spontaneously by Amos Riley, who knows the language, customs, and tales very well. It was, however, impossible to use him as an informant for texts since he had no front teeth and his sounds were much confused by the writer. Furthermore, he spoke very fast, and when asked to repeat invariably said something different from the original sentence, although it might have the same meaning. It may be added that the material recorded from him and from Mrs. Searson has been revised phonetically with the aid of Mrs. Barto and Jerry.

The translations of the Fox texts were made by Mrs. Barto, who excelled in this sort of work.

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY JERRY

1. *Nettle Medicine*

1. tsä'k huga'k<sup>w</sup> ya'ga'ragwē'war. 2. hig'awala'lo'lawoi'. 3. gugo'tsaro'da'rawala'riL hiva'vaiyo'w gura'motwil. 4. ya''γēda'γar gutsä'k. 5. gurago'wi' hiya'gala'lo'lawēL. 6. higa'wē'k<sup>w</sup>LiL. 7. gotsgi'cla'gēwil gicwela'iyawil. 8. gagē'dēk<sup>w</sup>LiL. 9. cuwa'yil dara'kwi'. 10. ti'γa'd'a'liL vē'L hiva'va'lawil. 11. hi'gu'ga'd'awil. 12. ga'da-wulawēL. 13. hēLā'nawil. 14. hida'lasil vēL barô'tanawā'lawak<sup>w</sup>. 15. hig'uda'lasil. 16. djuwagas guga'wē'k<sup>w</sup>LiL. 17. ga'gula'lanawil. 18. gura'motwil hi'gulo'wil. 19. gala'g'tiyara'lil huma'wagwa'l. 20. hēLā'nawil. 21. hi'yawalēL mēL. 22. cwanēmita'g'ēwēL. 23. hina'γil. 24. hac gi'tga. 25. djuwa gitga hag'a'va'. 26. hēLona'tcarôte. 27. wategi'gateγara'l higa'twil. 28. hēLa'nawil. 29. higa'walag'avo'dil gawatwa'navo'dil. 30. ga'wagēdē'k<sup>w</sup>LiL gē'dēk<sup>w</sup>LiL. 31. ti'γada'liL. 32. klāro'gak ga'guwalo' ga'guwalo'. 33. ti'γa'd'alil gurago'wi'. 34. hivala'kla'mil. 35. gaga'lawalēL. 36. hawe'lila'l hi'yawelēL. 37. ga'waral'a'g'awēL. 38. gal'a'wilayil. 39. hibo'cugil huda'lēk<sup>w</sup>Lo'. 40. gwē'kla'mil hudamē'gwa'l. 41. hita'lawo'gēL ra'gasawaL ga'walô's. 42. cuguwadi'twa'wala'γ ga'watgigu'walawē'. 43. gugo'mad'a'lēL gi'tga.

2. *tevatga'dida'lawē'Li'*

1. rak<sup>w</sup>Li'riL hadatga'nawake tsara'riL wuri'twulo'wagwa'l wikvo'r. 2. dakwiyo'wil. 3. gwē'klamil huda'li'. 4. ci'ro'ke' hoda'k<sup>w</sup>. 5. wē'tgal wudji'd'ak<sup>w</sup>. 6. hi'ga'd'awēL. 7. hita'li'w. 8. hida'wēlotwil dawa'djudani'nil tevatga'd'ida'lawē'Li'. 9. giragida'dalala'k<sup>w</sup> rudak<sup>w</sup> kwi'lē djiwadanē'nēL. 10. wuciroke' hig'a'wad'o'mil gīca'kwē'. 11. hi'do'wa'ni'l. 12. Lāg'a'livē-wil gurahavāro'wil. 13. givē'wē'. 14. gala'ka'ro'gak bo'co'gu' botsa'ro'i'. 15. wē'tgal hiyē'lil gwa'iyagil dāro'garara'gwi'l. 16. rayi'lda gi'tga vaLa'g'owē'gwēL. 17. gwilwa gē'lgotsgula'g'awēL da'ragwilaγ. 18. ti'γa'da'liL. 19. ci'rokē' hiyē'lil



JERRY JAMES, WIYOT INDIAN INFORMANT

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY JERRY

1. *Nettle Medicine*

1. Child was born He-Grows-Slow. 2. He began to be cared for. 3. One day she went to gather wood that woman. 4. She left that child. 5. That man took care of it. 6. It began to cry. 7. Well in vain he treated it, in vain he sang to it. 8. It did not stop crying. 9. What is the matter? 10. He went out, nettles he went to get. 11. Again he came in. 12. He brought them in. 13. He took it (baby) out (of basket). 14. He put in nettles baby-basket in. 15. He put it in again. 16. And then again it began to cry. 17. He did not touch it again. 18. The woman came back. 19. No longer came out its crying. 20. She took it out. 21. She saw nettles. 22. She was puzzled over it. 23. She thought. 24. "I guess I had better. 25. That is what I am going to do. 26. I will blow my nose." 27. Her mucus came out. 28. She took it (baby) out. 29. She began to treat him with it, she began to rub him with it. 30. He began to stop crying; he stopped crying. 31. She went out. 32. Finally for a long time he was not seen again. 33. He went out that man. 34. He went to look for him. 35. He did not see him. 36. His tracks he saw. 37. He began to track him. 38. Not far he went. 39. He heard crying (Song). 40. Upon arrival he saw him sitting. 41. He spoke to him: "I want to see you. 42. Do not think of me again. You will not see me again." 43. He intended to turn back again.

2. *Wolf's Home*

1. Wolf, Old Wolf, girls when two had just come from the north. 2. At destination they arrived. 3. Upon arrival they saw his home. 4. Old woman was home. 5. Coyote lived there. 6. They went in. 7. They spoke. 8. They asked, "Where is it named *tevatga'd-ida'-lawē·li'?*" 9. "I never knew anyone knew about my home, right here it is named that." 10. This old woman began to feed them field mice. 11. They were fed with them. 12. They had never eaten them where they came from. 13. They are never eaten. 14. Not long after they heard whistling. 15. Coyote said, "They must think a long time I shall live (be fortunate). 16. I must be thought to be a person forever. 17. Who will take care of them (valuables) when I die?" 18. He went out.

rowara'sak djuwadanē'nīL dak<sup>w</sup> tevatega'didalawē'Li'. 20. gutsara'ṛiL hida'd'a:līL. 21. dakwīyo'wīL. 22. ga'dawēL. 23. gwēkLa'mīL gowīL huda'k<sup>w</sup>. 24. gotsara'k<sup>w</sup> gotswa'wiyagw'ē'wīL. 25. gutsara'ṛiL hina'γēL: dabatsä'dô'k<sup>w</sup> gi'da. 26. gwēkLa'mīL wētgaL hudô'k<sup>w</sup>. 27. do'plēL. 28. waLa'w damarô'te. 29. galakaṛo''gak hitiya'da'l. 30. djīgida hida'gawate'limīL. 31. di'cga'mīL. 32. gaga'gwo'mīL. 33. hidowē''yīL. 34. gwīLwa hina'γēL gobiteda'lak<sup>w</sup> guṛolo'w. 35. hiyētamodīL gura'd'ali'. 36. gurīrad'a'li'. 37. baLawa'k<sup>w</sup> djuwa hida'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 38. gwa'psēL. 39. gu'ṛulo'w. 40. Lga'wayāga'plui'. 41. kwisbo'catui' huga'waliswagwa'l ha'teṛa'. 42. rak<sup>w</sup>Li'ṛiL hina'γēL cuwa'darakwē' guraga'gwēL. 43. rak<sup>w</sup>Li'ṛiL hina'γēL gida da'walēL. 44. hino'la'wīL. 45. wala'lamiL. 46. gutsa'γarawīL baLawa'k<sup>w</sup> kakara'wēyawiL. 47. hidutiya'ra'malawēL. 48. dowī''yīL. 49. hidutiya'daliL. 50. duda'g'a'war. 51. djuwa botsa''ṛaγ daga'salayar. 52. hina'γēL ga'tiya'dal gi'tga. 53. cva'gutiya'dalik. 54. lāgamētiya'da'līL. 55. djuwawaL hu'da'gawara'tyarar. 56. djuwagas hi'tiya'd'al. 57. gawaga'naleL. 58. ga'wala'la'leL. 59. ga'wagaiya-wātga'riL. 60. djuwawaL wurogē'L da'waLara'līL djādahuda'gawa'n.

### 3. ba'd'araL tsara'ṛiL

1. bad'a'raL tsara'ṛiL hatvala'ga dak<sup>w</sup>. 2. wīgô'gēgil. 3. djiwaL dagotsi'b'iL. 4. gaga'gwawa'n dāldada'daraweLeL. 5. djī'gwayateṛarô'kwe' higa'wadicya'mariL. 6. higa'gwo'mīL. 7. hina'γēL gi'tga garate'lim gi'tga hitamo'da'γ gara'dicgaya'ca'γ. 8. hina'γēL gi'tga la'liswa gi'tga. 9. wiga'gwo'mīL gurawīla'liswagwa'l lagwi'te'γariL dadicga'γar. 10. hi'cwirila'gau' djuwawada'k<sup>w</sup>. 11. djuwawuda'laVOL ag'a'da'līL. 12. higa'gwo'mīL gwīle'lit hudadicga'ga'n. 13. wuragēL ruguga'wad'aliγ hina'γēL djuwa gi'tga da'waLo'. 14. djuwawaL da'waLo'wīL. 15. ga'd'awiγ. 16. ga'd'awiL. 17. gwīwe'leL gabi'teara'γarak gotsgala'La'wi. 18. da'dali' gi'tga. 19. hiyē'līL ha'waLagas gi'tga vagē'la' gi'tga hava'tsavos. 20. da'da'līL. 21. djuwa'wuragēL dagutsāda'wīariL. 22. dawaLga'waiyaplē'k.

19. The old woman said, "My nephew there is named house *tcvatēga'-d'idala-wē-li'*." 20. The girls went on. 21. At destination they arrived. 22. They went in. 23. Upon arrival man they saw he stayed. 24. He was handsome, he was well-dressed. 25. The girls thought, "I guess he is the head of the house." 26. Upon arrival they saw Coyote was there. 27. He was eating. 28. Broth he was drinking. 29. Soon he went out. 30. There they thought they would talk to him. 31. They liked him. 32. They did not know him. 33. They became pregnant. 34. Whoever it was thought, "Again it is about the right time for all to come back again." 35. He said to them, "There go!" 36. They went. 37. Partition behind they lay down. 38. He covered them. 39. All came back. 40. They were nearly ready to eat. 41. Suddenly was heard singing Bluejay. 42. Wolf thought, "What is the matter with that old man?" 43. Wolf thought, "I guess he sees it." 44. He stood up. 45. He went and hunted for it. 46. He found them partition behind those-who-wear-a-skirt (the women). 47. He drove them out. 48. They were pregnant. 49. They went out. 50. They were beaten. 51. And then Buzzard was whipped. 52. He thought, "I had better go out." 53. Difficult it was to get out. 54. Not at all quick he went out. 55. That is the time he was whipped on the back. 56. And then he went out. 57. He began to stagger with pain. 58. He began to fly about. 59. He began to fly irregularly (like buzzard). 60. That is why now they fly that way because he was whipped.

### 3. *Spring Maiden*

1. Spring Maiden at *hatvala'g'a* lived. 2. She was rich. 3. That is where she lived alone. 4. No one knew where she got her money. 5. *dji'gwaγatcγarōkwe'* began to be in love with her. 6. She knew it. 7. She thought, "I am not going to say to him, I will not say; 'I do not love you'." 8. She thought, "I am going to sing. 9. He will know by that singing (that) Breaker-Man I love." 10. East that is where he lived. 11. That is where he started from. 12. He knew, "You are he who is loved." 13. "Now when I start again," he thought, "there I am going to stop in." 14. That is where he stopped. 15. "Come in." 16. He went in. 17. Upon arrival he saw not right it happened, good it did not look. 18. "I am going off." 19. She said, "I am going to give you a present, six-stick game I am going to give you." 20. He went off. 21. Since then now once she looks up. 22. Everything begins to sprout on account of it.

## 4. ga'ro'c

1. gudjä'wIL ga'lawatsawä'tgak. 2. sa'iyayar Lag'a'iyayar.
3. ga'wawaL da'loi. 4. da'γarelduwa'd'ay vodawa'kala'yeL. 5. gi'tga ra'd'aya'n va'lavä'lar. 6. gafo'c hila'yeL gi'tga. 7. gafo'c hila'yeL. 8. hiraLä'tsavo' wu'dadula'lapLa'ma'n. 9. djuwawaL hē'rolawoi'.
10. dagatcawa'iyawik dakwiyo'wIL. 11. hiyē'lil wika'twaL ha'no'.
12. ra'd'aya'n havawa'lila'l. 13. ga'lavatsawä'tgak djuwawaLelo''w. 14. va'lavä'lava' gi'tga. 15. wiya'tsavos pē'djo'l.
16. vala'k<sup>w</sup>sus gatsoliya'lwat pico'daLwat. 17. hiyētawa'ni'l kalo'lawa'γ gi'tga. 18. hiyē'lil ra'waL lo'lawa'.
19. wiwa'lat gutgäla'yeL gi'tga bi'k gula'γēya'm yaguda'wē'Lô't wiwala't.
20. hi'yawa'lēL. 21. hi'yawad'a'vē'mil. 22. da'da'lil. 23. ga'walolid'ara'iyagwe'l.
24. ra'kat hilaLa'lēm. 25. ga'gurale'lil. 26. hilaLa'lēm pla'tkwak<sup>w</sup>.
27. hidalo'd'alil. 28. hēLwa'leLēm. 29. dahi'nak<sup>w</sup>.
30. ra'd'aya'n hila'yeL. 31. hidalo'wIL cwurila'gau'.
32. hi'yavatsawä'tgak. 33. huLē' higa'wadjagw'ala'war. 34. gawuga'gwawo'm.
35. tevi'yawan gasgagwa'war da'hawarak.

## 5. hē'dar

1. gutcä'dawil wuri'twagôk<sup>w</sup> tsara'riL. 2. djiwaL daridē'b'ēL.
3. dago'tsavä'L dada'la'gawil. 4. da'gago'tsga'wIL da'liwaLdak<sup>w</sup> dabo'wIL.
5. ga'lawalo' go'wil. 6. da'daswawī' gatswala'la'n.
7. gutsara'riL swētwa'mil djiwaL dag'u hudarī'dēb'ēgwa'l.
8. mad'i' hotwo'.
9. djiwaL wa'nak<sup>w</sup> da'na'riL ma'd'i' ga'wagad'awa'ni'.
10. djiwaL da'na'riL. 11. ga'waswē'twa'mil. 12. hiko'nar garalē'vitsara'γ gi'tga.
13. dicga'mara' ga'gwo'ma'γ. 14. dē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim. 15. kwanca'b'ä'da'l hiyawa'lēL tiya'd'a'lil.
16. gawuro'gak guga'd'awil. 17. mad'i' ga'd'awulawu'i'.
18. Lag'a'tar. 19. ga'wabo'w.
20. bo'cugil baLawa'k<sup>w</sup>. 21. hiya'ratkēL. 22. hiyawa'lil gulaga'd'awigwa'l tsira'iyak<sup>w</sup> wategi'γateγarak.
23. ra'd'aya'niyat higa'd'awil. 24. higô'pLil. 25. higēd'a'b'alil. 26. gutiya'd'al.
27. mad'i' bo'cato'mil. 28. hina'yeL dji gi'tga dôk<sup>w</sup>.
29. da'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 30. hirawa'lar hiyawaLu'i'.
31. gēd'ab'alui'. 32. hiyē'lil gara'lava'γ gi'tga mad'i' bidja'lalar.
33. hiyē'lil gotsga'walagwi'w gi'tga. 34. gotswa'Lira'γarak.
35. mad'i' gotsdadura'wēs. 36. swawī'gatsar

4. *Curlew*

1. Long ago the tide did not run out. 2. Wind blew from one direction, southeast wind blew. 3. They began to talk about it. 4. They were starving, famine came. 5. Wind they intended to go to buy. 6. Curlew was going to go. 7. Curlew went. 8. When on the way he was given sea plants. 9. These all he took. 10. Trinidad Cove at destination he came. 11. He said, "South I come from. 12. Wind I came about it. 13. The tide does not run out, that is what I came for. 14. I am going to buy it. 15. I am going to give you dry kelp. 16. I am going to give you growing kelp and pico'daLwat (a sea-plant)." 17. He was told, "You will not take it." 18. He said, "I want to take it with me." 19. "You will see. You will go back first, halfway when you go again look back and then you will see." 20. He saw it. 21. He was glad. 22. He went on. 23. Wind began to get stronger. 24. Toward south it blew him away. 25. He did not get up again. 26. It blew him rock against. 27. Through the air it blew him. 28. He was blown through it. 29. He died. 30. Wind went on. 31. It came southeast. 32. Tide went out. 33. Clams they began to dig. 34. They did not know. 35. At last they knew that he died.

5. *North Wind*

1. Long ago two were born girls. 2. That is the way they two lived. 3. The first one always did the work. 4. The one did nothing, at home she continued to stay, she cooked. 5. There was no man. 6. Very much (she cooked). 7. That girl thought it over why they (only) two were living. 8. Wood was brought. 9. That is the only thing she did, wood she began to bring in. 10. That is the way she did. 11. She began to think about it. 12. That night, "I am not going to sleep. 13. I want to know." 14. She lay down. 15. Midnight came, she saw she went out. 16. Soon she came in again. 17. Wood was brought in. 18. By burning it was put down into (fire was made). 19. She began to cook. 20. She heard partition at. 21. It moved. 22. She saw some one come in filthy (with) mucus. 23. Wind he went in. 24. He ate. 25. He finished eating. 26. He went out. 27. Wood she heard it. 28. She thought, "There he is going to stay." 29. She lay down. 30. Next day she feasted. 31. She finished eating. 32. She said, "I am not going to gather wood, wood there is enough." 33. She said, "I am going to clean up." 34. "Good it continues to be. 35. Wood neatly is stand-



wīya'Lĕk. 37. tiya'd'alil. 38. mad'i' gotsga'wala'dawil. 39. ga'wad'a'lēsui'. 40. ga'gatswad'a'lēsil. 41. hīyawa'lel gowil huda'mēgwa'l. 42. hira'g'alo'mil. 43. djiwawaL ra'tsawa'l djiwuga'd'awil. 44. tiya'd'alil. 45. Lāga'te'limil. 46. dawaL-gala'nimil. 47. gala'wilaγel. 48. djuwa da'da'lil gitcgotswiya'gas ka'mo'l. 49. gano'gak ga'wa'iyayar. 50. Laga'wahē'daṛa'iyayar. 51. mo'l higa'walale'lēm. 52. hērawa'Laṛem. 53. tsara'ṛil hila'Lele'm. 54. guna guda'diegama'ril gala'wilaLe'lēm. 55. mad'i'yawak<sup>w</sup> hida'lo'da'Lele'm. 56. Logô'kwa'n dalo'da'Lele'm. 57. higotsLawila'Lele'm.

Song: hīyēda'walele'.

### 6. dalô'balil (wäg'ô'tc)

#### I.

1. wäg'ô'tc djuwa dak<sup>w</sup> madida'lim. 2. klāro'ga'dak<sup>w</sup>. 3. djuwa gadalagara'kwa'wēL. 4. hīyēta'wani'l dālgawaL ratwē'ya'm. 5. hīyē'lil gala'kdak<sup>w</sup> gi'tga gara'kwa'w. 6. hila'γil. 7. gala'wilaγil. 8. watsô-k<sup>w</sup> hīda'kwīyo'wīL. 9. gutsäg'alava'γarak hoda'k<sup>w</sup>. 10. kwisgulē'lil gara'rakwa'wī'(γ). 11. dā'lgawaL ra'twē'ya'm. 12. wē'tgaL hīyē'lil kuna dja'g'ē' gala'karakwa'wē'(γ). 13. gotsiga'waṛola'gwi'w ga'wara'kalagwe'w. 14. dagēLra'kalagwē'wīL. 15. heṛawāda'l. 16. wē'tgaL hīyēta'wani'l: djuwawaL gi'tga da't. gotsgana'γarak, dawē'das dawaγa'lawil cu'r varôtce'i valôk<sup>w</sup>. 17. wuragi'tgada'l la'γaragwak<sup>w</sup> gi'tga gara'rad'a'l rakcu'r. 18. hīyaro' galavui' cu'r lagôk (laγa'wik) hi'dagwi'ṛulo'. 19. gwē'lagui' hīyē'dagwik. 20. histso'moi' (hitso'moi'). 21. hīro'lagui'. 22. witga'l hila'k gīgad'awa'γara'dil varôdjei'. 23. hīyē'dil di'niwadawo'gamalim. 24. gura'd'a'wīL. 25. hīgula'γil. 26. gulēda'gwīL gīgad'awa'γara'dil varôtcei'. 27. hīyē'dil di'neiwa-dawoga'malim. 28. djiwaL dara'dēdē'waril. 29. gagu'LaγēL raga'wi'. 30. hida'wēLa'ṛil. 31. hīyawa'lil ṛuti'γalēm he'ṛawāda'r. 32. wē'tgaL higa'wēk<sup>w</sup>Lil. 33. hīguga'lavil. 34. da'gulo'wīL. 35. dali' hīgwē'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim gara'gu'vala' gitga. 36. djiwaL da'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim daraLā'vadaγ. 37. da'rawala'ṛ wētgaL hina'γel cu'r gi'tga vala'l. 38. vēwī' gotsa'γarawil. 39. goga'lavil.

ing up." 36. "Very many there are chips." 37. She went out. 38. Wood she arranged. 39. She began to put it aside. 40. She did not put much aside. 41. She saw man sitting. 42. She recognized him. 43. That is the one last night came in. 44. He went out. 45. He did not speak to her at all. 46. She did not say anything to him about it. 47. Not far he went. 48. Then he said, "Surely good I will treat you your house." 49. Soon wind began to blow. 50. North wind began to get strong. 51. House began to blow down. 52. Everything was blown. 53. Girls were blown. 54. Sometime before the one he loved not far she blew. 55. Wood into through air she was blown. 56. Where it forked she was blown. 57. The one far was blown.

Song: Foam blew up.

## 6. *Killer Whale*

### I.

1. Killer Whale that is where he lived (at) Wood-is-Lying. 2. Long time he lived there. 3. That is the time he was contented to leave. 4. He was said to, "Whatever you think?" 5. He said, "No longer I am going to stay. I am not contented." 6. He went. 7. Not far he went. 8. *watsô'k<sup>w</sup>* at destination he came. 8. One year he stayed. 10. Suddenly again he said, "I am not content." 11. "Whatever you think." 12. Coyote said, "Day before yesterday I was no longer content." 13. Nice they began to dress themselves, they began to paint themselves. 14. They finished painting. 15. All went off. 16. Coyote was said to, "Right here you must stay, it is not a good place, I will feed you, it is going to come over on beach water tomorrow. 17. I am going land on, I do not intend to go thither on beach." 18. All went over on beach small breakers, at destination all came. 19. Upon arrival they went down in, big waves came up. 20. They dived before breaker came up. 21. All went in. 22. Coyote went in, he put his head in the water. 23. It came up, way up on shore he lay being washed up. 24. Again he stood up. 25. Again he went. 26. Again breakers came up, he put head in water. 27. It came up, way up on shore he was washed. 28. There he sat down. 29. Not again he went toward ocean. 30. He looked down. 31. He saw all came to the surface, all started off. 32. Coyote began to cry. 33. Again he went over. 34. He arrived. 35. Inside upon arrival he lay down, "I am not going to eat again." 36. There he lay he was starved. 37. Next day Coyote thought, "Beach I will go to." 38. Food he found. 39. He went over again.

## II.

40. dato'capLē'yāk dagwīyo''. 41. gwikLa'w dali' gatsē'ridjidōk<sup>w</sup> dakda'yaya'ray vēba'ke. 42. gagē'damat gi'tga kuda'l. 43. gatsir hīyē'lil gīya. 44. gawaLg'a'iyawak<sup>w</sup> gi'tga. 45. hacgu ga'gowar. 46. da'gadakava'layan. 47. dakda'iyaya'ray djuwada'swa'lil. 48. hīyētawa'ni'l platk hi'swa'lavat. 49. swa'lavil platk. 50. hikava'laya'r gotsar cagwē'cui' (Lagätalawa'). 51. wägō'tc ga'tsir hīyē'lil gē'La' hīlagēd'a'mar hudal. 52. rakwu'rira'd'alil. 53. hirak<sup>w</sup>cē'war. 54. Lāganī'yavawa'n dakda'iyaya'ray (djätci'tc). 55. dakwīyo' rī'tsōp. 56. ga'tsir rakdi'niyagwīyē'dil. 57. vebake raga'wī'yalayil. 58. veba'ke di'ni dawa'la'lil. 59. hina'yeL ra'tsava'l da'rakāra'gwil.

## III.

60. gatsir ga'wala'l. 61. da'ralewa'day. 62. swētwa'mil LaLabitcōyar plAtgasa'malim. 63. gitgava'la'l. 64. dakwīyo'wil. 65. vala'k<sup>w</sup> gwēkLa'mil ma'tsawāk. 66. La'γil ga'wawētca'cil. 67. hina'yeL gida bitca'lil. 68. gulē'dil hiya'k<sup>w</sup>twil ga'wabo'wil. 69. higa'plil. 70. dada'γadokLa'lil hiyawa'leL gowilido'wa'gwa'l. 71. hira'galo'mil watksa'l hido'wagwa'l. 72. gatsir hina'yeL cuwagite hina'ril. 73. wa'tsavētk hīyī'dalēnawil. 74. higwasa'swiwil. 75. gitck hiyawa'leL dokLa'wil. 76. gotsilē' dēwi'lay. 77. hīroda'da'l. 78. hīō'dakdu'. 79. djuwagas bēla'd'asil. 80. djuwa'gas gugiga'd'alil. 81. hīyakd'alil.

## 7. gurikda'tgagwēL

1. gurika'tgagwēL wisa'belē'. 2. gowil gutsawa'gawil. 3. Lāgē'Lagwil. 4. hīyēta'mo'dil gots gi'tga ragwi'lōt. 5. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> ha'lit bacē't gi'tga wurawa'l halawē'yayarak haravē'pē'ril. 6. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> hig'a'wala'lil. 7. me'lak<sup>w</sup> hini'yawawar. 8. djiwal higa'wara'ril. 9. danī'yavo'mil. 10. gō'pē'r gā'lewil. 11. sva'nawak<sup>w</sup> gā'lewil. 12. hisva'lekal gā'lewel. 13. hira'k<sup>w</sup>Laiyo'w gā'lewil. 14. heLa''l gā'lēwēL. 15. Lavi'sva'l (lala'r) gālēwēL. 16. hida'lalag'u'i' gā'lēwēL. 17. hiya'lata'lawe'l gā'lewēL. 18.

## II.

40. dato'caplĕyāk at destination they came. 41. Upon arrival they saw inside Crow there lived, Mudhen (and) ocean birds(?). 42. "You must leave your home." 43. Crow said, "No. 44. I am going to fight about it." 45. "All right," it was fought. 46. No one was shot. 47. Mudhen there he was shooting. 48. He was said to, "Rock shoot." 49. He shot rock. 50. He was shot, one was killed. 51. Killer Whale Crow said, "It is enough he has left his home." 52. North he went. 53. They were followed. 54. No one was killed at all (of the) mudhens. 55. At destination they arrived Big Lagoon. 56. Crow went east into the hills. 57. Birds thither ocean went down into. 58. Birds east went. 59. They thought, "At night I might be killed."

## III.

60. Crow began to travel about. 61. He was starving. 62. He thought it over, "Is the tide right at platgasa'malim? 63. I am going." 64. At destination he arrived. 65. Next day upon arrival he saw it was dry. 66. He went down, he began to fish for mussels. 67. He thought, "I guess it is enough." 68. He went up again, he built fire, he began to cook. 69. He ate. 70. Here and there he looked about; he saw men coming. 71. He recognized his enemies coming. 72. Crow thought what surely should he do. 73. Ashes he took up. 74. He buried himself. 75. Surely he saw they were looking. 76. One said, "That is some one else." 77. All went. 78. All swam across. 79. That is the time he shook all over. 80. Then he started again. 81. He made a noise before he started.

7. *Above-Old-Man*

1. Above-Old-Man was married. 2. Son one he had. 3. He grew up. 4. He said to him, "Good you are going to be. 5. You will hunt, you will gamble all kinds of gambling games." 6. Woods he began to go about (he hunted). 7. Elk was killed. 8. That is the way he began to do. 9. He killed it. 10. He gambled, he won. 11. He wrestled, he won. 12. He ran foot-race, he won. 13. He played game like football, he won. 14. He jumped, he won. 15. He contested in archery, he won. 16. He shot arrow into hole in ground,<sup>1</sup> he won. 17. He shot at bunch

<sup>1</sup> Arrow is shot at hole about one hundred yards from contestant and peg is placed near hole.

hidjätca'ṛawan gälwēL. 19. wuragagwēL hiyē'lil gwalwayawaL  
 kala'gwei' (kala'gwir)? 20. gagwēL ga'walotga'lawēL. 21.  
 djuwaga'swē'nīyatu'mil. 22. ga'd'aweniyatu'mil. 23. gaga'gwo'mil.  
 24. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> va'gula'lil gotsawe'nawaL huda'lēgwa'l. 25.  
 läga'lawaleL. 26. gorawa'Laṛ higula'γil. 27. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> vagula'lil.  
 28. gulo'wil ga'lawalo'. 29. djuwawagas da'wilimo'dil. 30. gagwēL  
 hiyē'lil garaga'gwawa'm. 31. hiyē'lil garagula'liγ gi'tga. 32.  
 bacē' gi'tga. 33. higu'rawaLaṛ gō'pcē'ṛ gälavo'w. 34. svana'-  
 wakwu'i' gälavo'w. 35. hisva'lekaL gälavo'w. 36. hirak<sup>w</sup>La'iyui'  
 gälavo'w. 37. Lavisva'l gälavo'w. 38. hida'lalagui' gälavo'w.  
 39. hiyala'ta'lawe'l gälavo'w. 40. hidjätca'ṛawan gälavo'w. 41.  
 gala'kawalo' hala'ni'. 42. hiyē'lil gi'tga danada'ga'w. 43.  
 wuraga'gwēL hiyē'lil ha'cgu daga'wak gitga wida'welamos  
 gotsara'gwē' daga'wak. 44. ha'cgu. 45. hiyē'lil dagō'k gi'tga  
 vakLa'm. 46. dākLa'lil hi'vuvoklam. 47. hiyē'lil guwiliya'ragwe'l  
 dana'γel dagō'wak. 48. hiyē'lil ha'cgu hiyo'wēLga. 49. hila'γel.  
 50. dähigō'gawil. 51. djiwawaL ga'gwēL djiwagas gu'tiyara'niya'tumil.  
 52. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> higa'wala'lil. 53. rī'yavomil. 54. gudagadayanatsi-  
 ya'γarak djuwadadaga's ga'wēL. 55. ca'wahē'nak<sup>w</sup> dawaL. 56.  
 gotsgara'walarak<sup>w</sup>. 57. gudagad'aya'natsiya'γarak gurikda'tgagwēL  
 gowi'liyawa'nak<sup>w</sup>.

#### 8. rakcura'LaγēL va'wala'l vēwi'

1. rakcura'LaγēL higa'wad'a'lil ralē'tgak vaLara'd'a'lil. 2. vēwi'  
 va'wala'l. 3. ga'lawalo' maLak kwilē' (kwilē'lag'a'u). 4.  
 ga'warīṛäd'a'ṛil. 5. hī'yawa'leL ca'gitca'n laga'walwaL. 6. hina'γel  
 gasa'nawil gi'tga. 7. lo'lawā' gi'tga. 8. da'da'lil. 9. gala'gula-  
 wila'γil. 10. da'kwīyo'wil. 11. gagwīro'gadak<sup>w</sup>. 12. ga'plui'. 13.  
 hiṛo'gaplui'. 14. hina'γel djuwa gi'tga ha'nala'. 15. hinara'mal  
 ho'twa''. 16. ku'lawoi' la'γiskiwil. 17. helā'nawil bitwa'lil  
 dada'la'sil. 18. ga'lawalo' vē'wi'. 19. ca'watsk djiwaL guda'duda'k<sup>w</sup>  
 djiwaL hiluda'wēkla'w. 20. gē'da'b'alui'. 21. hiko'nar. 22. hina'γel  
 gi'tgawaL djiwada'. 23. he'ṛawaLaṛ hiyawa'leL guraga'd'awigwa'l.  
 24. maLa'k gudawu'lawoi'. 25. rakcura'La'γel hina'γel gilhiga'gwom  
 gi'da vēwi' dada'ṛavoyar. 26. djiwaL gi'tga da'. 27. hiyavo'ya'γarak

of grass in air, he won. 18. He shot sticks so they might stick in ground,<sup>2</sup> he won. 19. This old man said, "Why does he treat me thus (am I not treated)?" 20. Old Man began to dig hole. 21. That is when he gathered up the stock. 22. Into enclosure he herded them. 23. He (son) did not know. 24. Again he went hunting one day when he was out. 25. He saw nothing at all. 26. Next day again he went. 27. Again he went hunting. 28. He came back; he had nothing. 29. That is when he asked him. 30. Old Man said, "I do not know." 31. He said, "I am not going hunting again. 32. I am going gambling." 33. Next day he gambled; he was beaten. 34. He wrestled, he lost. 35. He ran race, he lost. 36. He played ball, he lost. 37. He tried archery, he lost. 38. He shot at hole, he lost. 39. He shot at grass, he lost. 40. He shot sticks, he lost. 41. No longer he had valuables. 42. He said, "I am going to work now." 43. This Old Man said, "All right, a job I will look for for you, a good job." 44. "All right." 45. He said, "Thunder I am going to see." 46. The chief man he went to see. 47. He said his son was thinking of working. 48. He said, "All right he better come." 49. He went. 50. Already he went to work. 51. Then Old Man that is when he drove them out again. 52. He went hunting again. 53. He killed it. 54. When very bad storm is that is when he is working. 55. He had nothing. 56. He was not good for anything. 57. When bad storm is Above-Old-Man his son (it is).

#### 8. *Southwest-Young-Man looks for Salmon*

1. Southwest-Young-Man began to go toward mountain, he was going to travel. 2. Fish he went in search of. 3. There were no salmon there. 4. He began to get nearly there. 5. He saw madrona (berries) almost ready to drop. 6. He thought he better pick them. 7. "I am going to take them." 8. He went on. 9. Not far he went. 10. At destination he arrived. 11. Upon arrival not long he stayed. 12. They began to eat. 13. They all ate. 14. He thought, "This is what I am going to say: 15. 'A while ago my lunch I brought'." 16. Quiver he went up to. 17. He took them out, plate he put them (madrona berries) in. 18. There was no fish. 19. Salmon eggs that is what those living there were looking at. 20. They finished eating. 21. It became dark. 22. He thought, "I am going to stay here." 23. Next day he saw that one coming in. 24. Salmon that one brought. 25. Southwest-Young-Man thought, "Now I know I guess fish is hidden. 26. Here I am going to

<sup>2</sup> Sticks are thrown in air and shot at. If they stand upright in ground the score is for, if they lie down it is against.

ti'ya'd'alil. 28. hina'yeL vakLa'ma gi'tga. 29. hiyawa'leL djitwar vēwi' da'ṛavo'γar da'lada'wiy. 30. hiyawa'yita'nalēsui'. 31. hina'yeL djiwal gi'tga da' galava gi'tga gasgo'lay. 32. gawa'siswāk guga'plui'. 33. higuwa'leL guga'd'awigwa'l vaLa'k gad'avu'lavui'. 34. gēda'b'alil. 35. siswā'k hiyē'lil gulaγ gi'tga. 36. gula'γil. 37. guravē'wi' da'ṛavo'ga'n hi'ṛawata'ṛawil. 38. hiyaguda'wela'mil. 39. hiyawa'leL varōtce'i ga'wad'alil. 40. hiyawa'leL maLa'k ga'wad'alil. 41. djuwagas gugiga'd'alil. 42. gura'tswilo'. 43. dagulo''. 44. he'rawa'La'ṛ hiyawa'leL guwi'lido'wagwa'l. 45. hiyē'lil gawi'd'awola'l vēwi' hi'yawa'la'.

### 9. wilava''

#### I.

1. rakcura'LaγēL kwi'sgī'ya'd'alil dagulo'walil la'yeL. 2. dakwiyo''w. 3. gwē'klamil tsara'ṛil hoda'k<sup>w</sup>. 4. hatswa'l hidiega'ma'. 5. ga'wate'limil. 6. gutsara'ṛil ga'diega'mil. 7. kawa' yaga'd'awil. 8. hiyawa'leL dalana'b'ai' wilava''. 9. hiva'cagw'ari'. 10. gēd'ana'b'ai'. 11. hiyē'lil vagu'tsaiyotwal. 12. hiya'tsavo'. 13. ga'wana'b'il. 14. gē'dana'b'il. 15. gupi'conab'il. 16. ti'γara'lil daraga'u'. 17. guga'wana'b'il. 18. gē'dana'b'il. 19. gupi'conab'il. 20. ga'kōk<sup>w</sup> ti'γara'lil. 21. wi'tgal hiyē'lil hutwa'l. 22. hiya'tsavo'. 23. witga'l ga'wana'b'il. 24. gēd'ana'b'il. 25. gupi'conab'il. 26. kē'tgac ti'γara'lil. 27. guga'wanab'il. 28. gugē'danab'il. 29. gupi'conab'il. 30. tso'tsgic ti'γara'lil.

#### II.

31. gutsara'ṛil higa'wanab'il. 32. rakcura'LaγēL higa'wacabaro'gil. 33. gutsara'ṛil hina'yeL hiliga'gwom haga'sayak gitga. 34. rag'a'wiya'ga'wad'alil. 35. rakcura'La'γēL ga'wad'alil. 36. da'kwīyo''w. 37. Lagā'ta'lawil wī'lava'. 38. ca'bāl da'lo'd'alil. 39. gawa'mar. 40. guca'b'ara'kawato'. 41. ga'kla'mil. 42. hiyawa'lēL hi'yēdawē'mar. 43. hila'γil. 44. hina'yeL ka'nava'. 45. gulaγawē'mar. 46. ga'wak<sup>w</sup>cēmil. 47. higu'weleL gulē'davē'mar. 48. gutsara'ṛil gulē'dil.

stay." 27. In the afternoon he went out. 28. He thought, "I am going to see." 29. He saw where fish was hidden in pond. 30. Something was arranged all around up on it. 31. He thought, "Here I am going to stay, later I will go again." 32. Early in evening they ate again. 33. He saw one coming in again, salmon he brought in. 34. They finished eating. 35. At dark he said, "I am going back." 36. He went back. 37. That fish where it is kept (dam) he broke it loose. 38. He looked back and then. 39. He saw water began to move. 40. He saw salmon began to travel. 41. Then he set off again. 42. That night he went. 43. He returned. 44. Next day he saw man coming. 45. He said, "River I have just been down to, fish I saw."

### 9. *The Flute*

#### I.

1. Southwest-Young-Man suddenly started off, Weitchpec he went. 2. At destination he arrived. 3. Upon arrival he saw a girl staying. 4. "Oh, I love her." 5. He began to talk to her. 6. That girl did not like him. 7. Sweathouse he went into and then. 8. He saw it was played a flute. 9. He enjoyed it. 10. He finished playing. 11. He said, "Pass it to me once." 12. It was given to him. 13. He began to play. 14. He finished playing. 15. He blew out again. 16. They came out small woodpeckers. 17. Again he began to play. 18. He finished playing. 19. Again he blew out. 20. Large woodpeckers came out. 21. Coyote said, "Bring it to me." 22. It was given to him. 23. Coyote began to play. 24. He finished playing. 25. Again he blew out. 26. June bugs came out. 27. He played again. 28. He finished playing again. 29. He blew out again. 30. Little birds came out.

#### II.

31. That girl began to play. 32. Southwest-Young-Man began to listen. 33. The girl thought, "At last I know what to do with you." 34. Toward river she began to go. 35. Southwest-Young-Man began to go. 36. At destination she arrived. 37. Down into she threw flute. 38. Into middle through the air it went. 39. It drifted out. 40. Again it sounded the same. 41. He looked at it. 42. He saw it drifted ashore. 43. He went. 44. He thought, "I will grab it." 45. It drifted out again. 46. He followed it. 47. Again he saw when it drifted ashore. 48. The girl went back again.



10. *djakdja'k<sup>w</sup> wi'tgaL da'laswodil*

1. djakdja'k<sup>w</sup> wi'tgaL djida'k<sup>w</sup> da'lo'meL. 2. hiyē'lil gala'kda'l gi'tga ikdi'n la'γē'. 3. hila'yeL gabī'warogadak<sup>w</sup>. 4. dabatsā'dōk<sup>w</sup> hina'yeL yīwaL gi'tga la'γē' ikdi'n. 5. dakwīyo''w kawa' (ckī'bac) hida'kwīyo'wīL. 6. higwē'klamil wētga'l huda'k<sup>w</sup>. 7. gudabatsā'-dōk<sup>w</sup> dōk<sup>w</sup> hita'li'w. 8. gala'kaṛo'gak ga'wadalasa'ni'l. 9. higēda'laswodil. 10. hiyētawa'ni'l hagwa'swakiya dopa't. 11. hiyē'lil dakwī'svē'w. 12. hiya'tsavo' kaṛa'b'ai'. 13. hi'yawasa'tomil. 14. higī'da'laswodil. 15. higula'tsavo'mil. 16. higa'walui'. 17. djakdja'k<sup>w</sup> ga'd'awaca'nadeL harodjaγē'Lawak<sup>w</sup>. 18. hikaga'b'ai' hiyēLā'navil. 19. hi'yawa'satu'mil. 20. vēwar tiṛa'raCeL. 21. hi'yawaleL vēwar hutīṛa'ra'cēgwa'l. 22. hidara'iyak<sup>w</sup> hugwa'swak. 23. higēda'laswodil. 24. hiyeta'modil yīrokaga'b'ai' ka'lawasa'tom. 25. gawada'laswodil swawī'dara'iyak<sup>w</sup>. 26. hidja'gwalagwīL. 27. higēda'laswodil. 28. wītgaL hiyē'lil ha'cutawal. 29. hiya'tsavo'm. 30. ga'wada'laswodil. 31. hiyē'lil yīrodagwa'swak. 32. higu'gēd'a'laswodil. 33. gula'γil gi'tga. 34. higulo'wīL.

11. *datgō'b'i'c*

1. datgō'b'i'c hēṛo'mil ve'lak<sup>w</sup>. 2. Lāgaga'd'aya'nacwak<sup>w</sup> gutsa'yarawa'gwa'l. 3. ga'waswē'twa'mil dawa gi'tc hirad'a'lēk da'yaLda'war djā'tcōtc daga'tsar. 4. gala'kdal gi'tga djuwa'wal gitga waradē'gwad'al. 5. gurī'gw'atwid'alo'wīL. 6. Lga'wako'nar. 7. bara'd'awaL higa'wala'g'avēL. 8. Lāgadē'gwawē'cēL. 9. Lāṛo'gsīswāk Lāgadē'gwawē'cīL. 10. higēLaṛavīL. 11. dē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim Lāga'lanawīL cātwa'laṛ. 12. he'rawalaṛ hina'lelil. 13. gagwo'mil hiyamo'twīL. 14. hi'yawē'yīL. 15. gala'kaṛo'gakL hiyawā'notwēL. 16. rī'tcawa'γ gawē'wēL. 17. djiwaL rē'd'ar dugē'LagwēwīL kock dagu hiyagē'γad'alil. 18. hatcya'va'w da'gotsalo'wīL. 19. wē'tgotgawē'Li' djuwe go'tsarada'lil.

12. *Southwest-Young-Man marries his Daughter-in-Law*

1. rakcura'La'yeL tegadj'ō'tcōk<sup>w</sup>. 2. djuwa daga'wadicga'ma'rīL. 3. cakca'ṛar. 4. hīga'gwo'mil cuwa gi'tc hīna'ṛēyak. 5. hīna'γil gitga djuwa'raṛē'. 6. wa'iyits hīgō'k<sup>w</sup>sēL. 7. dupa'wala'wēLda'dēL daloka'lar. 8. gala'kdok<sup>w</sup> badawa't huwala'lilwa'l gurawa'guda-

### 10. *Owl and Coyote Smoke*

1. Owl and Coyote there lived, they lived together. 2. He said, "I intend to travel (to) Klamath I am going." 3. He went; not long he stayed. 4. The 'boss' thought, "I too intend to go (to) Klamath." 5. He arrived sweathouse he came to. 6. Upon arrival he saw Coyote his being there. 7. That boss (who) was there was spoken to. 8. Not time continues (soon) it began to be smoked. 9. He finished smoking. 10. He was said to, "Tobacco interrogative you eat?" 11. He said, "Sometimes I eat it." 12. He was given the pipe. 13. He lit it. 14. He finished smoking. 15. He gave it back to him. 16. He began to talk. 17. Owl into enclosure hand he caused (put into) his pocket into. 18. His pipe he took it out. 19. He lit it. 20. Smoke came out. 21. He saw smoke its coming out. 22. Strong was his tobacco. 23. He finished smoking. 24. He said, "My pipe you light." 25. He began to smoke; very strong it was. 26. It made him sick (drunk). 27. He finished smoking. 28. Coyote said, "Let it be passed to me." 29. It was given to him. 30. He began to smoke. 31. He said, "(That is) my tobacco." 32. Again he finished smoking. 33. He was going to return. 34. He went back.

### 11. *The Man who became a Woman*

1. datgô'b'i'c killed off the elk. 2. Extremely scarce they were to find. 3. He began to think it over, "Where surely shall I go, somewhere elk many (must be). 4. I am going to leave, that is where I am going to travel down." 5. (Near Centreville) that is where he arrived. 6. Evening came. 7. Fire-drill he began to work it. 8. Absolutely not spark it made. 9. Late in the night absolutely no spark it made. 10. He stopped working it. 11. He lay down, he did not take off leggings. 12. Next day he got up. 13. He knew (he was) a woman. 14. She was pregnant. 15. Very soon she was well. 16. Twins they were boys. 17. There were two grew up, this way they started off. 18. One came to hatçya'va'w. 19. One-Alder-Place that is where one came.

### 12. *Southwest-Young-Man marries his Daughter-in-Law*

1. Southwest-Young-Man name of girl's rancheria at. 2. He began to be in love. 3. He was hated. 4. He knew how to do. 5. He thought, "I think that is what I will do." 6. Dogs he raised. 7. They were all colors (striped) they were ten. 8. No longer he stayed (he

- da'γēL. 9. djuwawa' velak<sup>w</sup> vava'iyavelawēk. 10. hī'yawaLo'la'-  
 tomil. 11. ga'nayil rī'yavo'm. 12. djuwa'waL dagwīyo'wīL.  
 13. djuwawaL dagwīrī'yavo'mil. 14. hīta'mīL. 15. hīyavīyī'lavīL  
 bitegagō'swīlavēL. 16. hisgara'lēlawēL. 17. hīya'nēLeda'lēsīL.  
 18. hīvawa'yawa'gwēL. 19. djuwagas da'gwīyo'wīL: djātōte  
 rī'yawo'm. 20. hī'rawāda'r. 21. hīvawa'yatswoi'. 22. dagwī'rolo'.  
 23. gawala'γara'loi' kilkuda'latswak djī'war. 24. hī'pō'katswoi.  
 25. Lāg'ano'latsawēL. 26. swawī la'γar dalō'tswagwa'l gicra'γīL  
 ra'da'w. 27. hīla'γīL rakcura'La'γēL. 28. waga'watswato'mīL  
 laiyaya'nīL. 29. hīyalgē'nawīL (hētge'nawīL). 30. go'rawāda'r.  
 31. da'kwīgulo'wīL. 32. hīyawē'yīL. 33. hīyawā'notwīL. 34.  
 gawē'wēL hīgōk<sup>w</sup>. 35. duma'iyawit gī'tga. 36. djuwawa'L da'na'rit.  
 37. kīyalo'laway gowil kuda'gak<sup>w</sup>sak. 38. wuragēL gī'tga  
 djuwadela'lo'lawat. 39. wuragēL wuragowī'l kūguga'k<sup>w</sup>sak. 40.  
 hīti'γarata'lawēL. 41. hīga'klamīL. 42. ga'wēk<sup>w</sup>LīL. 43.  
 guda'wēLa'mīL. 44. hīyawa'lēL huda'k<sup>w</sup>sēkwēgwa'l. 45. djīwal  
 hīdo'kla'mīL. 46. gē'lagwē'wēL. 47. gurawaLra'gēL: ragwē't  
 nacgītge'djīrak<sup>w</sup> djuwawaL hē'nak<sup>w</sup>. 48. djuwaga's gala'kdōk<sup>w</sup>.  
 49. hēla'twī'twaL tegadjōtca'k<sup>w</sup>dagowik. 50. dagwīgulo'wīL. 51.  
 hīna'γēL gītga wisa'belē' guwī'liyawa'nak<sup>w</sup>. 52. gawala'La'mīL  
 kakara'wēyawēL gutsara'kwē. 53. hīgutsa'γarawīL ha'motwīL  
 hī'yawisa'belē'. 54. gowil hīrī'twogō'k<sup>w</sup>sīL. 55. gotsaru'darawaLarīL  
 hīla'γīL. 56. gulo'wīL. 57. hīyē'līL yīlaL wo'klam ca'γati'γa'ray  
 da'lak<sup>w</sup>La'iyawa'nēlē'. 58. hīyētamo'dīL go'wīliyawa'nak<sup>w</sup>  
 wa'līdagwīswa'ni'l gī'tga. 59. walahīga'wada'l. 60. da'kwīyo'wīL.  
 61. hīyawe'lēL gurikda'tava' dala'kla'iyawa'nēlē'. 62. hīyēda'gwīL.  
 63. gagwēL djīwīL hīda'mēL. 64. datwēdalo'dagwēL. 65. hīna'γēL  
 naicyēLgī'te baraya'tsgara'pīL wada'kwaralay. 66. ba'raya'tsgara'-  
 pīL. 67. gurik dad'a'gava'gwēL. 68. duwa'gitcyagudi'gwada'lēk.  
 69. djuwada'rawadē'twa'mīL. 70. djuwa ckā'de'n hīLa'nawēL.  
 71. hīkrō'k<sup>w</sup>sīL. 72. dīgwa'iyonata'lawīL. 73. hīka'nawīL. 74.  
 hītō'w. 75. latga'kada'gulo'wīL. 76. hīdē'gwōlawēL ca'gati'-  
 γa'ray. 77. gula'γēL. 78. dagīLga'yagulo'wagwa'l bo'cogīL  
 huda'lēk<sup>w</sup>Lo'l. 79. gwīla'γīL gwīte'lēmīL. 80. hīta'modīL  
 cu'waragwe'lam. 81. gabī'tcarapīL. 82. djuwawaL La'd'ayar  
 83. duwa hīda'd'a'līL. 84. hīyē'līL guraga'gwawom. 85. hīna'γēL  
 gotsgītga'gawala'k welē'na'l. 86. ga'wugatvā'tga'lawēL. 87.

went to) Mad river way up were it starts. 9. That is where elk he chased up. 10. It swam downstream. 11. He did not think, "I will kill it." 12. And then he came down there. 13. That is where (he wanted it) he killed it. 14. He cut (skinned) it. 15. He took it apart in regular order (butchered it), (into the right) smallness (size) he divided it. 16. Bigger piece one he made. 17. He put down each (in separate place). 18. He went to tell the people. 19. Then he arrived at destination, "Elk I killed." 20. Everybody went. 21. They went to carry in meat. 22. At destination all arrived. 23. He began to relate, "That is yours to carry (pack)." 24. They all began to carry meat. 25. She did not raise (carry hers) up at all. 26. Very heavy was her pack, in vain she thought, "I will stand up." 27. He came Southwest-Young-Man. 28. He went to begin to cause to carry for her in front of her. 29. Both sides he pulled it. 30. They all went back again. 31. At destination they arrived. 32. She became pregnant. 33. She recovered. 34. It was a boy it was born. 35. "You must feed him. 36. All the time you are doing that. 37. You never take care of the children you cause to be born. 38. Now you must take care of it. 39. Now this baby was born to you." 40. She threw it out. 41. He began to stare at it. 42. It began to cry. 43. Again he looked at it. 44. He saw it was clothed. 45. That is when he kept his eye on it. 46. It grew up. 47. Whenever he thought, "Happen," it came to pass; that is the way it was. 48. That is the time he started off. 49. He went along tegadjôtca'k<sup>w</sup>-dagowik. 50. At destination he arrived. 51. He thought he ought to be married his son. 52. He began to look for a woman nice-looking. 53. He found woman, he married. 54. Children two were born. 55. One day he went. 56. He came back. 57. He said, "I saw yellow-tailed hawk nest is way up." 58. He said, "My son it ought to be climbed up for." 59. He went and began to travel. 60. At destination he arrived. 61. He saw way up nest up in tree. 62. He climbed up. 63. Old man sat down. 64. Nearly to top he climbed. 65. He thought, "I hope all will fall branches." 66. They all fell. 67. Way up he was left. 68. "Where surely again down to go?" 69. That is the time he thought it over. 70. Then headband he took it off. 71. He tied it. 72. Down end of ribbon-like object he threw. 73. He grasped it. 74. It stretched. 75. Ground he returned to. 76. Down he brought it yellow-tailed hawk. 77. He went back. 78. When he came near he heard crying. 79. Upon arrival he went, he spoke to him. 80. He said, "What happened to you?" 81. "Not right he did. 82. That is why I am blind." 83. "Where did he go?" 84. He said, "I do not know." 85. He thought, "Well I am going to make his eyes." 86. He

- hīyotamo·dil hacda'wel·ar. 88. hī'nakadē'mēL gu'rawaL.  
 89. cuwaga's swawī la'Lala'm. 90. hacguraba'γarō'tciγ. 91.  
 gawagatvā'tga'lawēL. 92. hacgu'da'wēL·ar. 93. hī'nakadē'miL  
 hīlēgo'rawaL. 94. hacguba'γarō'tciγ. 95. hacgu da'wel·ar.  
 96. gu'nakadē'miL gad'aya'naravaL wuragēL. 97. hacgu  
 raba'γarō'tciγ. 98. hacgu da'wel·ar. 99. gona'kadil gad'aya'-  
 naravaL. 100. hī'tawa'ni'l cuwaga's swawī wala'γa'm.  
 101. hīyē'lil wadaL hī'yawe'la'. 102. hī'tawa'ni'l hacgu  
 raba'γarō'tciγ. 103. guda'weL·aril. 104. hīyē'lil gurago'rawaL·ar.  
 105. cuwagas swa'wī la'La'la'm. 106. waratci' datō'nīta'n. 107.  
 hīyē'lil gēLdjuwawa'L gagaswawī'laLa'l. 108. hīga'wad'a'lil.  
 109. hīda'kwīyo'wīL dagulo'walēL. 110. gwībaru'gēL guda'ra'-  
 γarak. 111. gowī'l djīdakwēwe'lēL. 112. hita'wa'ni'l kil  
 ha'lanava'm. 113. djuwawa'L daruga'davē'war. 114. hīga'd'awil.  
 115. gwīkLa'miL masa'gud'amē'gwa'l. 116. hīna'γēL yīwaL gī'tga  
 halevē'. 117. gano'go'lawēL. 118. gu'laγ gī'tga. 119. nacgī'tgē'tc  
 guṛolo'mē'lil. 120. guti'γa'd'a'lil. 121. hīgo'ruṛawēL ha'lanevēL.  
 122. gaLa'wīla'γil. 123. hīṛawa'La'ṛil hīyawe'lil hīdo'wagwa'l  
 hudē'k<sup>w</sup>lil. 124. hīla'γilawaL. 125. guda'wela'ṛil. 126. ba'tawat  
 hīdagwī'gulo'wīL. 127. gwēkLa'miL gurawaiya'γarak. 128.  
 gula'kdōk<sup>w</sup>. 129. hīla'γil cu'ṛilaga'au. 130. dakwīyo'wīL. 131.  
 hīyawe'lēLavaL wugagwēL hugulo'wagwa'l. 132. djīwa gadawa'L-  
 rakwa'wēL. 133. lelowaLa'gwēL gatavē'war. 134. huvagusva'm-  
 agwa'l pla'tgasa'malim hī'yawelēL dī'kwad'a'ligwa'l. 135.  
 hī'yawēt'wīL. 136. gaL'awīla'γil. 137. hī'naγēL gwaLwa  
 hīyawa'Lgeratali'm. 138. gu'mada'lil. 139. da'kwīyo'wīL. 140.  
 hīna'γil gwēka'nava'. 141. kakara'wēyaweL hīna'da'wēL. 142.  
 hīka'nawil. 143. hīlō'Lat gī'tga hīyē'lil rakura'L'a'γēL. 144.  
 gīya guliyaka'ra'gw'il danaga'sil wala'. 145. hīyē'lil hacgu  
 gwawīya'lagui'. 146. wuratci' hīyēdil djī dakwīga'd'awēL  
 darawaga'dawīgwa'l. 147. hī'yawelēL wa'L'al. 148. hīla'nēmīL.  
 149. dakwīyo'wīL. 150. gwīkLamil guyawa'nak<sup>w</sup>. 151. dicga'-  
 mavaL gudala'kawala'sak gawaLkī'guwa'lawe'l. 152. rawa'ya'γarak  
 gwīyawa'rareLo' dawa'iyā'γarak. 153. cuguwa'd'itwa'war gawaL  
 kīgu'walawe'l kala'gudal gī'tga (hī'yitawa'ni'l. 154. lelo'waLagwei'  
 guga'wadaliL. 155. pla'tgasa'malim guguma'daliL. 156.  
 kokca'guro'wīL. 157. kwīlē'waL gabīwara'g'a'la'lil. 158.  
 gara'kwa'wē'L. 159. hīna'γil gula'goda'l gī'tga. 160. djuwawaL  
 galagu'da'k<sup>w</sup> ra'keuriyaLa'γēL.

began to rub them (with hawk feathers). 87. He said, "Look." 88. He called him kin (papa), "Again I see." 89. "How far can you see?" 90. "You better close your eyes again." 91. He began to rub him. 92. "Look again." 93. "Papa, I see farther." 94. "Better close eyes again." 95. "Look." 96. Again he called him kin, "Very well I see now." 97. "Shut your eyes again." 98. "Look." 99. Again he called (him) kin, "Very well I see." 100. He was said to, "How much of it can you see?" 101. He said, "Sandhill (across ocean) I see." 102. He was said to, "Close your eyes again." 103. He looked around again. 104. He said, "Not as well I see." 105. "How far did you see?" 106. "Water is highest (predominates)." 107. He said, "That is as far as one can see." 108. He started off. 109. At destination he arrived where one river meets another (Weitchpec). 110. Upon arrival he heard (of) ceremony. 111. Man there he saw. 112. He was said to, "Your valuables?" 113. "Here is where all are being used." 114. He went in. 115. Upon arrival he saw his sitting near fire. 116. He thought, "I too ought to dance." 117. Not long he danced. 118. "I must go back. 119. I hope all my things come back to me." 120. He went out. 121. All he took back his valuables. 122. Not far he went. 123. At daybreak he saw his coming he was crying. 124. He kept on going. 125. He looked back. 126. Mad river he came to. 127. Upon arrival he saw that ceremony. 128. He left. 129. He went west. 130. He arrived. 131. He saw that old man his coming. 132. That is the time he was sorry about it. 133. Skate was hired. 134. While she awaited him at *pla'tgasa'malim* she saw his coming down. 135. He went past. 136. Not far he went. 137. He thought, "Why did I not speak to her about it?" 138. He turned back. 139. He got there. 140. He thought, "When she arrives I will grab her." 141. The woman stood up. 142. He grabbed her. 143. "You must accompany me," said Southwest-Young-Man. 144. "No, your son he thinks you, 'I will see' (your son wants to see you)." 145. He said, "All right," toward river he went. 146. Water came up there they went down into all the way in. 147. They saw trail. 148. They followed it. 149. They arrived. 150. Upon arrival he saw his son. 151. "I would like to see you (because) you will not see me again. 152. My ceremony upon arrival I owned the ceremony. 153. Do not think of me again, you will never see me again, no longer I intend to travel," he said. 154. Skate began to go off again. 155. At *pla'tgasa'malim* she turned back. 156. This way he came back. 157. Here not long he wandered about. 158. He was unhappy. 159. He thought, "I must go away." 160. That is why he no longer stayed Southwest-Young-Man.

## 13. wana'tcaL'a'iyawēk (wana'tcaL'a'iyawīwēk)

1. guwā'dawil hugawa'wa'gwoi' rapca'γar. 2. gawali'ta'wani'l gotsapā'La'lay cula'la'no'm. 3. djuwawa'L gurī'tapā'Le'lay. 4. djuwawaL da'cē'war yī'mila'gau'. 5. para'tsōk<sup>w</sup> dava'dja'-kwila'war. 6. djuwawa'L dēla'ni'm: culala'no'm. 7. gala'la'navil. 8. dāldada'na'γarak guga'warawā'd'ar. 9. hīna'γil Lā'γava gī'tga. 10. gawalo'tgalawēL gadava'lita'lavil. 11. bo'catumil tsāk huma'wagwa'l. 12. go'tgēn'avil. 13. tsāk hīti'γarō'k<sup>w</sup>L. 14. guci'ro'k hīna'γēL ku'nadawa'l. 15. gawalē'tawa'ni'l cula'leno'm. 16. da'kdolawo'i'. 17. hīna'γēL gēLa'gwa'nēmil gī'tga. 18. Lāg'a'wala'gwēL. 19. gawala'lil. 20. gero ga'wada'γala'lil. 21. gwisgulo'wil hīyē'lil gwa'lda wala'γak. 22. waci'ro'kī ti'γa'da'lil. 23. hīguga'dawil. 24. dja'tegara'i' ga'dawu'lawil. 25. ga'walawa'sil butci'baligō'wil. 26. hīyēta'-modil hacwagu'waklamil. 27. hīraL'ä'tsavo'mil. 28. guwuro'γak hīgulo'wil dak<sup>w</sup>t hīyo'twil. 29. djuwawa'L dana'ril. 30. dēla'lēL. 31. kwisgulo'wil hīyē'lil gwa'lda wala'γak. 32. ci'ro'kē ha'Lak gēda hīswa'lavatga'. 33. hīgu'layil. 34. djuwawa'L yagulo'wil hīyē'lil hīni'yavo'm Lā'garalo'tway swa'wī la'γa'r. 35. hī'rawā'dar wa'lawa'iyō'tswak. 36. gurawā'dar. 37. wagabi'waro'gak djo'tegic hīgulo'wēL. 38. hīyēta'mo'dil huwara'sagwa'l: curē'yaL da'ra'γarari'r wē'tura'iyōtk. 39. hīgu'rawaL'ar djo'tegic hīyē'lil co va'rawaca'gwo'yit. 40. hī'lay. 41. da'kwīyo'wil. 42. hīgwē'kla'w huga'wayara'ri'ō'γ. 43. dago'lēt hisLa'gu hīkara'ti'γa'ni'ṛ. 44. (hī)yē'dano'soi' dīniwa-duwuda'lē'soi'. 45. guLa'gēL. 46. wuratce'i hīwadagi'Lga'warēgulo'wil. 47. djuwa dawa'guralā'ka'n. 48. LāguLa'γil. 49. wurawa'ldawaga'swogak gulē'dil. 50. wugo'ska'n. 51. guli'dano'soi' dīniwa-duwuda'lē'soi'. 52. guLa'γil. 53. guralā'kan. 54. Lāgu'La'γil. 55. gwalwaL hīgu'lēdil. 56. djo'tegic hīyē'lil wawalā'ka'navay. 57. wana'tcaLa'yawēk hīla'γēL voka'navil. 58. hī'yēdano'sil dīniwa-duwuda'lē'soi'. 59. guLa'γēL. 60. wagura'lā'ka'n. 61. dakLāguLa'γēL. 62. gīroga'k dagulē'dil. 63. guka'n gulē'do'lawo'i' dīniwa-duwuda'lē'soi'. 64. guLa'γēL. 65. wagura'lā'ka'n. 66. guLa'γēL. 67. wana'tcaLa'yawēk da'lolawēL. 68. Lā'gawalo'La'gō'k<sup>w</sup>L.

13. *He-Who-Was-Dug-Up*

1. Once upon a time they dug Indian potatoes. 2. She began to be told, "Single-leaved ones do not touch. 3. Dig the two-leaved ones." 4. That is where they dug across the bay. 5. *para'ts* at that is where they were gathered. 6. They kept on saying to her, "Do not touch it." 7. She never touched it. 8. Sometime after everyone started off. 9. She thought, "I am going to try it." 10. Digging-stick she put down into the ground. 11. She heard child crying. 12. She pulled it out. 13. Child came out at the same time. 14. That old woman thought, "Sometime ago I saw it (?)." 15. She began to be told, "Do not touch it." 16. Across she took it. 17. She thought she was going to raise it. 18. It began to grow up. 19. It began to go about. 20. Outside he began to run about. 21. Suddenly he came back, he said, "Something I saw." 22. The old woman went out. 23. She came in again. 24. Small round sticks she brought in. 25. She began to string them (for a bow), arrows in secret she made. 26. She said to him, "You better go look for it again." 27. As he moved away she handed it to him. 28. In a short time he came back, cotton-tail he brought. 29. That is the way he did. 30. He was going around. 31. Suddenly he returned he said, "Something I saw." 32. Old woman, "Deer, I guess you might shoot it." 33. Again he went. 34. That is when he came back he said, "I killed it, I did not bring it too heavy it is." 35. All went to carry in meat. 36. They came back again. 37. Soon linnet came back. 38. He told his nephew (that) down on the beach they are being played with sharks. 39. Next day linnet said, "Let us go and look on." 40. They went. 41. They arrived. 42. Upon arrival they were seen playing. 43. It (shark) came up again it went down it was grasped by the tail. 44. Up it was dragged way up on beach it was put. 45. It went down again. 46. Water almost into he went. 47. That is the time he caught it on the move again. 48. It went all the way in. 49. Every little while it came up again. 50. It was grasped. 51. It was dragged up again, way up on beach it was put. 52. Again it went down. 53. On the move it was caught. 54. Way in it went. 55. Again he came up. 56. Linnet said, "Go try to hold him." 57. He-Who-Was-Dug-Up went down in, he just caught him. 58. He dragged it up, on beach he put it. 59. He went in again. 60. He grasped it on the move. 61. Again he went down in. 62. Not long after it came up again. 63. He grabbed, he took it up east he put it. 64. It went down again. 65. Again on the move he grabbed it. 66. It went down again. 67. He-Who-Was-Dug-Up took it.



69. La'golawoi'. 70. hīṙurawo'i' dahī'nak<sup>w</sup> daṙaṙa'nēwar. 71. dārdada'na'ṙarak wagabi'waṙogak gulo'wil. 72. wuciṙo'ke ka'lo'mil. 73. hīyē'lil: gulo' curila'gau wa'dawulo' djuwawa'dak<sup>w</sup> yidac gutsīya'gēl djuwayel ba'Laṙa'wēlil wela'. 74. wētura'iyatk ha'lenē hatsavo' vawā'dawala'gwa'l. 75. hīyē'lil gula'ṙil gī'tga hīguda'lo'mat kago'tck. 76. djo'tcgic gutsga'wala'gewēl ba'La'l da'Laṙa'lil. 77. huba'La'l djo'tcgic hīda'do'wil halawa'twatawē'l. 78. waciṙo'k hīyē'lil daclīta'wanilē' da'ṙala'liṙ. 79. waciṙo'kē mo't dava'welavil. 80. wala'wal dagī'cala'ṙil. 81. gī'waloi' mo't daṙura'da'n(dōk). 82. dawa'iyalda go'wil dawa'laro'wil. 83. djo'tcgic hīna'ṙēl vakla'm gī'tga. 84. wala'wil hila'ṙil. 85. hī'dakwīyo'wil. 86. hīgwē'kla'mil tsaṙa'ṙil hudaṙi'dawēdē'waragwa'l. 87. hīgwēta'lē'mil. 88. hīda'wilimo'dil dawa'yil hawero'wa'm. 89. hīyē'lil hīna'ryil wi'kdat dawara'dīgwada'lēdak. 90. kīlā'gotsaragwila'dawau'w. 91. yīga'u'wal gite go'tsarak<sup>w</sup>. 92. hīyē'lil wa'iya. 93. tsaṙa'ṙil hīyē'lil hala'tga'nawil wal gite go'tsarak<sup>w</sup>. 94. hīyē'lil tsaṙa'ṙil gulaṙ gī'tga. 95. djo'tcgic hīgu'la'ṙil. 96. da'gulo'wil. 97. hīyē'lil wuragēl hi'yawa'la gurik datida' tsaṙa'ṙil djētk waramot davara'wa'lewēl. 98. hēte'lim. 99. wuragē'l da'gu hīgu'la'ṙil. 100. gorawa'Laṙ djo'tcgic hīyē'lil djuwa gī'tga va'gula'l. 101. huwara'sagwa'l hila'twil. 102. dakwīyo'. 103. gugwē'kla'mil gutsaṙa'ṙil dagu. 104. djo'tcgic hīyē'lil rawara'sak djiwar. 105. djuwa kuna'waraha'ṙēs. 106. gugawa'rawā'dar. 107. hīyē'lil hela'lil gī'tga. 108. hīgu'la'ṙil dagu wana'tcala'iyawēk hila'ṙil. 109. tsaṙa'ṙil hīyē'lil guṙo'rawa gī'tga doLa'lat. 110. hegu'ṙoṙawēlwal. 111. da'kwīgolo'. 112. gwēklau'w darō'k<sup>w</sup>La'iyowe'i'. 113. hīyē'ta'wani'l rak<sup>w</sup>La'iyowat gī'tga. 114. wana'tcala'iyawēk ga'warak<sup>w</sup>-La'iyowil. 115. hīka'nowil dagō'k. 116. hīdakwa'ta'lawar. 117. gā'li. 118. walwal hīgugawarōk<sup>w</sup>La'iyow'. 119. gowe'lei'ka'nowil. 120. guda'kwata'lawar. 121. gugāli'.

68. He was pulled down. 69. He was taken down in. 70. Everyone thought (?) "He is dead," the news spread. 71. One time soon he returned. 72. The old woman did not recognize him. 73. He said, "I came back, west way down I have been there lives my father, well he treated me, that is why he wanted to see me." 74. Sharks valuables were given to go and take him down. 75. He said, he must go back, "You (will) be company (for) your grandmother." 76. Linnet dressed up nicely his hair he pulled out. 77. His hair linnet he put it in he put it on head. 78. The old woman said, "Do not let him be told 'Wander off here and there'." 79. The old woman acorns she was going to gather. 80. Rather early in vain she went. 81. None were seen, acorns already had been all picked up. 82. "I wonder where people come from." 83. Linnet thought, "I intend to watch." 84. Early he went. 85. At destination he arrived. 86. Upon arrival he saw girls two sitting there. 87. Upon arrival he spoke to them. 88. He asked them, "Where are you from?" 89. They said, "As for us, we are from down south that way we came." 90. "You are very good-looking you two. 91. My nephew too is handsome." 92. She said, "Yes." 93. The girl said, "Sheldrake also truly is handsome." 94. He said, "Girls, I am going to go back." 95. Linnet went back again. 96. He arrived home. 97. He said, "Now I have seen those above girls, that is where those acorns they come to get." 98. He spoke to them. 99. Now they went back. 100. Next day linnet said, "There I intend to go again." 101. His nephew went along. 102. They arrived at destination. 103. Again upon arrival they saw them those girls. 104. Linnet said, "My nephew this is. 105. Yesterday I told you about him." 106. Again they were ready to go. 107. He said she must accompany him. 108. They went back they (and) He-Who-Was-Dug-Up went. 109. The girl said, "I am going to take everything back tan-oak." 110. She took everything up again. 111. At destination they arrived. 112. Upon arrival was seen game of shinny. 113. He was said to, "You must play it." 114. He-Who-Was-Dug-Up began to play shinny. 115. He contended with Thunder. 116. He (Thunder) was overcome (beaten). 117. He won. 118. Again and again he began to play. 119. Earthquake he matched with. 120. He was beaten. 121. Again he won.

14. *The Brother who became a Dog.*

1. gutcä'dawaL gowil ha'warit'wagôk<sup>w</sup>. 2. djäda'wIL wa'nak<sup>w</sup> huda'li'.
3. wa'iyits dacubo'catom darô'k<sup>w</sup>Li'fôgwa'f. 4. djîwaL dëla'nik.
5. djîwaL da'na'f wa'nak<sup>w</sup>aL dala'lil. 6. djîwaLwaL gula'nik cubo'catum.
7. da'da'lil. 8. gaLa'wila'γēL. 9. ga'rawaγa'räla'fIL Läga'lawe'lēL da'warakara'l.
10. gotsgala'LawIL. 11. djuwa hîwa'Lodēdē'warIL. 12. da'da'lil. 13. gaLawila'γIL.
14. djuwawaga's hawe'lēL wa'iyits hado'wagwa'l hînagu'dawaLda'mēL.
15. djuwa' hî'gwîra'd'a'lil. 16. hîyawē'twIL. 17. gano'gak bo'catom wa'iyits huga'welawēgwa'l.
18. gulo'wIL. 19. hîgu'laγIL. 20. dagulo'wIL. 21. gwîgu'gad'awIL. 22. Lga'wîyāga'plu'i'.
23. hîga'plu'i'. 24. da'wara'kara'l hido'mil galawa'γaro'twIL.
25. gēda'baloi'. 26. gutiγa'd'alil. 27. geru'dagudē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim.
28. wa'lak guga'wad'al wa'nak<sup>w</sup> wagu'la'l. 29. djä'teôte hîni'yava'war.
30. gula'γIL. 31. gorawa'La'f wa'nak<sup>w</sup> vagula'l.
32. dāLdada'naγarak wurawa'iyits gē'dagwēL. 33. hîna'γēL gî'tga gagula'lil.
34. gî'tga hîgutsē'd'a'lil. 35. gulo'wIL hîgugwē'kLa'mil hodôk<sup>w</sup>.
36. hîgu'rawa'Laγ wa'nak<sup>w</sup> va'gula'l. 37. hî'gulo'.
38. gwē'kLa'mil gurawa'iyits dadē'k<sup>w</sup>Li'm. 39. gwîga'd'awēL.
40. hîga'plu'i'. 41. gaga'd'awēL. 42. hîna'gîL cuwa'dara'gwē'.
43. ti'γada'lil gad'awu'lawēL. 44. gēda'nawa'gwa'l djîwaL hîgu'wuti'γada'lil.
45. hîna'γIL cuwadara'kwē' Läga'lava'lēL.
46. hî'tiγa'd'a'lil ka'wa' daga'd'awIL. 47. galalo'wē'twIL.
48. hî'rawa'Laγ tiγa'da'lil. 49. mola'k<sup>w</sup> hîda'd'a'lil lā'galawe'lēL.
50. ga'd'awēL galawe'lo'. 51. hîda'wî'limo'dēL wēwa'l.
52. hîyē'lil gara'lawe'la'. 53. gutiγa'da'lil. 54. gawara'LagawIL gî'tga.
55. ga'Lawila'γIL bo'cugil da'lēk<sup>w</sup>lo'.
56. gaLa'wila'γIL hîyawē'lēL huwē'leLa'l.
57. gaLa'wila'γIL bocu'gîL da'lēk<sup>w</sup>lo'.
58. hîgwē'kLa'mil huda'mēgwa'l.
59. hî'sda'lil diega'mawaL ko'wala'sak.
60. gotsgera'lage'l. 61. djîwaL gîda go'wil wa'galaga'n.
62. hag'a'r dagwa'ganawēlēL. 63. djuwawaLwa'L gala'kda'l.
64. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> gacugu'la'le'. 65. ga'waL kîgu'ri'yavavo'm.
66. cuguwa'ditwa'wafay gawaL kîgu'wal'awēγ.
67. gula'γit gî'tga.
68. hîgu'la'γēL. 69. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> ga'gula'lil. 70. dāLdada'na'γarak wa'nak<sup>w</sup> hî'wagula'lil.
71. lā'galawe'lēL. 72. gula'γIL. 73. ga'gula'lil.
74. vēwî gula'kaweloi' da'γarel hî'yava'dak.

14. *The Brother who became a Dog*

1. Long ago man two were born. 2. Constantly they went hunting. 3. "Dog I wish I could hear chasing elk." 4. That is what he kept saying. 5. That is the way they did, they continued to hunt. 6. Again and again he repeated, "I wish I could hear." 7. They kept going. 8. Not far they went. 9. He looked back, he did not see his brother. 10. He did not feel right. 11. That is why he stopped and sat down. 12. He went on. 13. Not far he went. 14. That is when he saw dog coming (from) a little while ago where he had been sitting. 15. There upon arrival he went. 16. He passed him. 17. Soon, "I hear a dog barking." 18. He came back. 19. He went back. 20. He arrived. 21. Upon arrival he went in. 22. He was nearly ready to eat. 23. He ate. 24. His brother he fed he dragged food over (plate to the ground). 25. He finished eating. 26. He went out. 27. Outside he lay down again. 28. Early he went out hunting. 29. Elk he killed. 30. He came back. 31. Next day he was going hunting again. 32. Some time later this dog became old. 33. He thought, "He will not go along again." 34. He went alone. 35. He returned, upon arrival he saw him who was at home (dog). 36. Next morning he was going hunting again. 37. He came back. 38. Upon arrival he saw that dog lying there. 39. Upon arrival he went in. 40. He ate. 41. He did not come in. 42. He thought, "I wonder what is the matter with him." 43. He went out, he brought him in. 44. (When) he let him go that is when he went out again. 45. He thought, "I wonder what is the matter, he did not eat at all." 46. He went out sweathouse he went into. 47. He did not sleep. 48. At daybreak he went out. 49. House into he went, he did not see him. 50. He went in; he was not seen. 51. He asked his wife. 52. She said, "I did not see him." 53. Again he went out. 54. "I am going to track him." 55. Not far he went he heard crying. 56. Not far he went he saw his tracks. 57. Not far he went he heard crying. 58. Upon arrival he saw him sitting. 59. He spoke (without observing the customary silence), "I want to speak to you. 60. Well I was not treated. 63. I think person was never treated thus. 62. Dress I was hit in the face with. 63. That is why I no longer stay. 64. Do not go hunting again. 65. Something you will never kill. 66. Do not think of me again, you will never see me again. 67. You must go back." 68. He went back. 69. He did not hunt again. 70. Some time after he was going to go hunting again. 71. Absolutely nothing he saw. 72. He came back. 73. He did not

75. gala'kala'lil. 76. dāldada'nayarak va'gula'l gī'tga. 77. guga'lawe'lēL. 78. gula'γil. 79. ku'naguliyagala'kdōk<sup>w</sup> hīyawe'lēL da'γarel hīgawawa'daγ. 80. ra'natwulo'yo'gēt hīyēta'wa'ni'l la'γēL gī'tga. 81. wala'γēta'mo'dat. 82. hīwala'γil ta'mo'dil. 83. dalīLe'la'tga wa'lōk<sup>w</sup> cu'riya'γα'lewēt. 84. gu'la'γil. 85. da'gulo'wil. 86. yaga'swasī'swāk hawē'γarak hīLa'gulawa'ni'l. 87. La'guwisa'ni'l. 88. ga'warawa'Laγ curiya'γalawil. 89. hīyawe'lēL siswa'γarak. 90. hīyawe'lēL hīdawē'sa'ni'l. 91. hīLa'γēL. 92. hī'dalavo'dēL. 93. da'wēkLa'mil. 94. hīyawe'lēL hawē'γarak. 95. gula'γil. 96. da'gulo'wil. 97. hīna'γēL vawaLā'gula'l gī'tga. 98. gaLawīla'γil. 99. hīyawe'lēL me'lak<sup>w</sup> hawe'leLa'l. 100. ku'na daga'tgada'γarak dǰīdakt haga's hī'ro'wil. 101. da'da'lil. 102. me'lak<sup>w</sup> hīyawe'lēL. 103. lega'sava'lewil. 104. da'da'lil. 105. gaLa'wīla'γil. 106. gwaLwaL hīgu'we'lēL me'lak<sup>w</sup>. 107. Legasava'lewil. 108. gwītiya'dalil va'melawō'k<sup>w</sup>. 109. gwīkLa'mil dǰā'tcō'tc dumīyāsī'swapt dumīyāvalu'yavapt humarō'na'l ducuyayī'tar. 110. vagashīswa'lewēL. 111. hīnī'yavo'mil. 112. ta'mēL. 113. hīya'k<sup>w</sup> tavēL. 114. ga'wabo'wil. 115. hīro'lap. 116. ga'pLil. 117. gēda'b'ala-gwa'l gugīga'da'lil. 118. dagulo'wil. 119. gētc hīil hīla'tsowil.

15. *djo'ma'ck*

1. djo'ma'ck hīyawi'sa'belē'. 2. hīga'lawalo' vē'wī. 3. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> dawa'gula'lē' dagulo'L cacwā'da'r. 4. cuwa'yida'ra'kwē batga'lawa'lēL. 5. garalevi'tsarak gī'tga. 6. da'wil'am gī'tga. 7. dē'k<sup>w</sup>LēL. 8. do'welil Lāγarara'ra'tkce'i'. 9. ti'ya'da'lil. 10. guga'dawil. 11. ga'dawa'tswoi (hapa'tek). 12. ga'wabo'wil sē'mēk dǰā'tcō'tc. 13. hīru'lap. 14. hīnada'wil. 15. dadē'tara'l hīdā'ca'nat hīdī'gwulawo'i'. 16. gu'damēL. 17. hīwalil ga'wadoL. 18. djuwagas ga'pLil. 19. gēd'a'b'elil. 20. guru'La'wi'nawil vapda'l. 21. gulē'da'k<sup>w</sup>sil. 22. garu'ti'γaru'lawil. 23. guga'dawil. 24. gudēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 25. wa'lak<sup>w</sup> gala'gudōk<sup>w</sup>. 26. hirawaγara'wa'Laγ hīna'Lel. 27. gwaLwa' dǰīwīlala'gwē'La'm. 28. das gī'tc gotswīya'ga's guka'mätwa'wilar. 29. dī'gwa'nawil. 30. matsawē'tk gawā'La'iyawil. 31. djuwa hīda'lata'lawil. 32. gu'kda'dil. 33. wagano'garawaLa'ṛim gulo'wil. 34. hīyo'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lil. 35. guga'dawil. 36. cuwadagwe'la'm. 37. rapt vē'w.

go again. 74. Food there was none he was starving. 75. He did (could) not travel about. 76. Sometime after, "I am going to go again." 77. Again he saw nothing. 78. He went back. 79. Sometime ago when he no longer went about he saw (his brother) was starving. 80. Raven he was told he should go. 81. "Go tell him." 82. He went he told him. 83. "You are being told (in) warning early go beach over on." 84. He went. 85. He arrived. 86. Early in the evening medicine in container was taken down. 87. In container it drifted out. 88. At daybreak beach he went over. 89. He saw something black. 90. He saw it drifting. 91. He went. 92. He drew it in. 93. He looked at it. 94. He saw medicine. 95. He went back. 96. He arrived. 97. He thought, "In spite of it I am going to try (hunting) again." 98. Not far he went. 99. He saw elk its tracks. 100. In spring that is the time it came away.<sup>3</sup> 101. He went on. 102. Elk he saw. 103. He did not shoot it. 104. He went on. 105. Not far he went. 106. Something he saw again elk. 107. He did not shoot it. 108. Upon arrival he came out on prairie. 109. Upon arrival elk he saw some black, some white their horns straight were. 110. That is the time he shot. 111. He killed it. 112. He cut it. 113. He made a fire. 114. He began to cook. 115. It was all cooked. 116. He ate. 117. When he finished eating he went out. 118. He came back. 119. Surely it is said small bundle of food he made.

#### 15. *Slug*

1. Slug was married. 2. There was no food. 3. He went hunting, he returned with nothing. 4. "What is the matter with him? He does not eat. 5. I am not going to sleep. 6. I am going to watch. 7. I am going to lie down. 8. (If) he burns me I will not move at all." 9. He went out. 10. He came in again. 10. It was brought in (a bundle). 12. He began to cook fresh meat. 13. It was all cooked. 14. He stood up. 15. Drying-frame he reached up to, they were brought down. 16. Again he sat down. 17. He put them into his mouth. 18. That is when he ate. 19. He finished eating. 20. Again he took out his teeth. 21. Again he put them up. 22. Outside he took everything. 23. He came in again. 24. Again he lay down. 25. Early he went away. 26. In the morning she got up. 27. "Why do you treat me that way? 28. Surely well I will treat you, you never pity me." 29. She took them down. 30. Ashes she pushed aside. 31. There she threw them. 32. She caused them to roast. 33. Not very late in the morning he came in again. 34. He came crying. 35. He came in again. 36. "What is the matter?" 37. "My teeth I eat (ache)."

<sup>3</sup> Translation of this sentence very doubtful.

16. *da'tga'ca'niL wi'tgaL*

1. da'tga'ca'niL wi'tgaL hole'diL. 2. cuwa'dok hira'kwē hinar ca'barugu'. 3. cwirē' gitga wīva'cabaru'k. 4. ga'wa'd'a'l.
5. dakwiyo' guda'lo'lawo'. 6. ga'lawilo' gowil. 7. gwē'kla' djä'tcôte da'laksa'ni'l sa'sawa'w. 8. djiwaL hi'da'kwida'wila'ɾ.
9. ga'wa'kui'. 10. si'swäk djuwaga's gawalo'wIL ga'waya'rak.
11. makLagaga'sa'mat rana'da'n gasga'wada'lil. 12. kwanica'-bäd'a'lil djuwava'gasayē'gad'a'lil dägwiwi'La'i Laga'tswarök.
13. mol gawivi'ɾi'lat. 14. witgaL gaguga'gwa'wan. 15. kwisbo'cugoi gawa'tsawäsē'gwa'l witgaL.
16. da'Lara'gwil. 17. datgaca'niL gada'lil. 18. giebo'co'gu' huga'warawa'twigwa'l.
19. ga'guboca'toi. 20. datgaca'niL damē'L da'tgaca'Lôk<sup>w</sup>.
21. guga'wada'lil dukLa'mēLwaL dä'Lga'weL rakwa'gwo'miL.
22. djuwa gi'tga swa'layar. 23. hi'rawa'Laɾ gu'ɾawä'd'ar.
24. gala'gowalo' gago'walo'i'. 25. gawa'da'wēLa'w. 26. dowai' hida'da'lil.
27. djuwa'ga'sawa'lui hudē'Le'l. 28. dada'ɾadik<sup>w</sup>Li'm.
28. da'hi'nak<sup>w</sup> hiyawa'wa'dar. 30. wi'tgaL gugu'warawi'.

17. *bitso'lakc*

1. gugwäda'wIL guda'li' bitso'lake wisa'bēlē'. 2. huda'La'wī' ve'wī wa'nak<sup>w</sup> ho'da'li'.
3. huma'be'lē' da'giyo'two'. 4. ga'lawalo' djä'tcôte. 5. daLä'gocwiyo''.
6. djuwawaL da'ɾara'l klä'wadök. 7. däLdada'na'ɾarak gawuswi'twa'miL huda'da'ɾa'-cirawirak<sup>w</sup>.
8. cuwaya'L dada'ragwi'la'ɾ. 9. swawī bī'warIL rago'wi'.
10. wuragē'L gi'tga da'wiLam. 11. wada'rawa'Laɾ dek<sup>w</sup>lil gi'tga.
12. ga'wēt<sup>w</sup>. 13. Läga'gwo'm hawura'Le'li. 14. tiɾa'da'lil.
15. garali'vi'tsera'ɾ. 16. daravē'ca'k<sup>w</sup>vāL. 17. hi'yawa'la' guga'd'awē'gwa'l masido'wa'ɾara'n.
18. danī'twiL. 19. ma'di' wowo'lawiL.
20. hiyawa'sato' ga'wulawo' hido'wile'l.
21. gararare'tkē''ɾ. 22. hiyawa'la'waL hudamē'gwa'l.
23. ga'waca'na'dēL batsä'ciɾa'waL guda'li'm.
24. djiyagawa'ca'nadēL gu'rabatsäciɾa'waL guda'liv.
25. ga'waca'nadil hino'la'n ve'wī'.
26. gawa'Lä'n wurawa'Le'la'n vē'wī'. 27. ga'wabo'w.

### 16. *Panther and Coyote*

1. Panther and Coyote came along. 2. "How would it be (if) we went to witness the dance by hearing? 3. Up river we will go to witness it." 4. They started off. 5. At destination they arrived where there was a dance. 6. There were no persons. 7. Upon arrival was seen fawn was in container up high, it was hairless. 8. That was so he could be watched. 9. He (Coyote) began to laugh. 10. At night that is when they began to come entertainment began. 11. Very small ones (and) big ones began to come in. 12. Midnight came that is when they began to come in flat horns (moose?) a big crowd. 13. Roof (house) began to come down. 14. Coyote was the one not known about (Coyote was missed). 15. Suddenly he was heard to yowl Coyote. 16. "I am gone." 17. Panther did not answer. 18. In vain they heard he was writhing in pain. 19. They heard him no more. 20. Panther sat in the doorway. 21. When they began to go out again he kept on looking at them whichever he would choose. 22. That is the one which is going to be shot. 23. At daybreak everyone went home. 24. There was no one, not a one. 25. He was looked for. 26. "Where has he gone?" 27. That is when in little pieces were seen his entrails. 28. Here and there they lay about. 29. He was dead, he was trampled to death. 30. Coyote came to life again.

### 17. *Owl*

1. Long ago where he lived. 2. In searching for food he went hunting. 3. (When) fishing he never brought anything. 4. There was no meat. 5. He came home for nothing. 6. That is why she was starved. 7. One time she began to think about it (why) she had sores here and there. 8. "I wonder what happens to me. 9. Very fat he is my husband. 10. Now I am going to watch him. 11. Early I am going to bed. 12. I am not going to sleep. 13. I will know when he gets up." 14. He went out. 15. "I am not asleep. 16. I am continuously watching. 17. I saw when he came in fire was burned." 18. She kept on sleeping. 19. Wood he went to bring. 20. It was caused to burn, it was brought, she was burned. 21. "I did not move. 22. I saw him sitting there." 23. He began to cause his hand (reached) where the pounding rock lay. 24. That is where he reached that mortar lying there. 25. He began to reach that which was lifted food. 26. He took out all kinds (of) food. 27. He began to cook. 28. Dry (and) fresh



28. vatsä'n sēme'i' ga'ploi'. 29. gē'd'a'baloi'. 30. guga'wada'lēsoi' guca'plā'nēli'soi'. 31. gudēk<sup>w</sup>Li'm. 32. hī'rawa'Laṛ gura'La'l. 33. wa'nak<sup>w</sup> wagula'l. 34. wagano'garawa'Laṛil hina'lēl tsä'k. 35. rale'li' wagatcwä'Li'γaro'ciγ wala'da'k gi'tga ga'wabow gi'tga. 36. Lawa'la' vē'wī' da'li'm. 37. hila'γil. 38. hina'do'lawil batsä'ciṛa'wal. 39. da'wayi'lagē vē'wī'. 40. djuwada'lele'n. 41. yil da'gilwa'dak. 42. ga'wabo. 43. hīyawalil. 44. tsäk hido'walil. 45. bitcala'wala'layil tsäk. 46. hīrotiγa'da'li' gawara'ra'γarar. 47. caba'yak<sup>w</sup> walwal hig'o'wal. 48. Lawivo'ya'γarak<sup>w</sup> tsäk gatga'lēl. 49. djuwagasgu'lo'wil. 50. ya'gana'γarak yagwita'li'w. 51. cuwadarakwi dag'u. 52. da'li' da'gulo'wil. 53. gulo'cucwāda'r. 54. gawate'lis gi'tga. 55. gwalwa' djuwawal La'la'gwēla'm. 56. wuragē'l wadaga'gwo'm gwalwa djuwawal La'la'gwēla'm. 57. da'do'wē'lak. 58. da'gilwa'dak. 59. kaya'wīya klakda'l gi'tga. 60. guwē'gwak<sup>w</sup> kagura'da'r. 61. dasa'lawonä'k djuwa gi'tga rada'lit. 62. djuwa hida'da'lat.

18. *havarotwi'*

1. gudjä'tegocil ga'lawalo'daγ. 2. havaro'tvi' da'nēmil daγ. 3. cuwa gi'tc hiya'nawēma'γak. 4. dala'k gutsiga'warak<sup>w</sup>. 5. tsatsara'tsiya'ṛaγ guwi'livē'wil hiya'tsawo' ha'lo'wi' hawalo'lawagwa'l. 6. gwak<sup>w</sup> guwi'livē'wil hiya'tsawo' hidē'gala't. 7. masga hīrowiba'kcat. 8. hē'γatek guwi'livē'wil hiya'tsawo'. 9. ka'wa ya'gadawil ba'l hawuratga'sa'gwa'l. 10. dalgē'l'agal. 11. gudjä'tegocil hiyē'd'il. 12. gwiga'dawil da'li'. 13. vo'kwivo'lawar daγ. 14. ti'γarolawo'i'. 15. gula'γil. 16. hīro'ga'gwawar daγ wowo'lawa'wowar. 17. gicga'dawo'i'. 18. Lākaguti'γa'da'l ba'l hawuratga'sa'gwa'l. 19. ti'γa'dal. 20. hīmiγä'tiγa'dal. 21. haguragawī'ṛa'La'goi'. 22. ha'luwi gwila'ga'n. 23. ga'wa'l'ēk. 24. gwalawil'ēk. 25. (haluwi) ga'dawä'l. 26. go'malēk. 27. ikle'ligula'gan. 28. guga'wa'lēk. 29. gal'a'wilēk. 30. guga'dawä'l. (Repeat sentences 22 to 30 nine times.) 31. tcwē hugul'a'ga'ni. 32. guga'wa'l'ik. 33. djitgwāl ha'loda'γada'rak.

meat he ate. 29. He finished eating. 30. They were put back again same way they were arranged. 31. He lay down again. 32. At day-break he got up again. 33. He went hunting. 34. Not long it had been light they got up the children. 35. "Get up, go wash your faces, we are going to feast, I intend to begin to cook. 36. I saw (where) food lies." 37. She went. 38. She lifted up the mortar. 39. There was plenty of food. 40. There was so much. 41. "We have been hungry. 42. I am beginning to cook." 43. She feasted. 44. The children feasted. 45. They had enough to eat the children. 45. They all went out, they began to play. 47. At noon continually they ate. 48. Late in the afternoon the children were outside. 49. That is when he came back. 50. Very bad they were talked to. 51. "What is the matter with them?" 52. Inside he went. 53. Again he brought nothing. 54. "I am going to talk to you. 55. Why do you treat me that way? 56. Now I know why you treat me thus. 57. You burn me. 58. We starve. 59. Are you not ashamed? You must go away. 60. Among people do not go. 61. In dark cavern that is where you must stay. 62. There you may talk."

#### 18. *Aldebaran*

1. Pleiades had no harpoon. 2. Aldebaran had stolen the harpoon. 3. "How surely am I going to get it?" 4. Talk good it began to be (they began to bargain). 5. Little-long-tail (Mouse) was given contract canoe to make holes in. 6. Frog was given contract, "You urinate. 7. You put fire out entirely." 8. Bedbug was given contract. 9. Sweathouse he went into hair to knot up. 10. Everything was finished. 11. Pleiades came up. 12. Upon arrival he went in. 13. He went for it and brought harpoon. 14. It was taken out. 15. He went out again. 16. Everyone knew the harpoon was taken. 17. In vain they went in. 18. Absolutely they did not get out again hair because it was tangled. 19. He went out. 20. Some went out. 21. Down to boat landing they went. 22. Canoe was pushed out. 23. They started out in canoe. 24. Not far they went in canoe. 25. (Canoe) sank (went down into liquid). 26. They turned back. 27. Another was pushed down. 28. Again it began to go out. 29. Not far it went. 30. Again it sank. (Repeat sentences 22 to 30 nine times.) 31. The last one was pushed down. 32. Again it started out. 33. That is the kind which succeeded.

19. *The Flood*

1. gotcäci'pgak<sup>w</sup> gabí'tcarada'lo'. 2. gabí'tcarak<sup>w</sup>. 3. duwala'pdil.
4. hīga'barugēLwaL gurik<sup>w</sup>da'tga'gwēL. 5. gawiswí'twa'miL cuwa gi'tga ha'γan.
6. djuwa daga'gwo'miL. 7. cada'c ga'gwo'miL gi'tga djī hu''wara'γarak.
8. ho'l ho'wil gi'tga.
9. djuwawaL ga'wí'yawakwu'i'. 10. dīwí'lil gaga'gwomiL.
11. hīno'ga'gar de'lo'l gi'La'gar. 12. va'radjī' hīyo'wiL.
13. da'wara'kara'(l) hīda'lasil.
14. ga'wala'lawē'mar.
15. ga'gugwago'miL.
16. kwisgala'gara'ṛatkē'L.
17. hinagi'L Lelo'lim.
18. djuwa'gas wa'kdä'n.
19. da'wila'ṛil.
20. la'γarak hī'yawalē'L.
21. hīga'gwo'miL gowil hīgala'kawalo'i'.
22. hicga'wala'lamil.
23. hīga'lawalē'L.
24. tso'tsgic hīyawalē'L.
25. hī'yawalēL ha'mē'k tso'tsgic dacara'wiL.
26. ga'wala'la'lil.
27. djuwa hīda'walēL ha'ṛawā'c huwe'leLa'l.
28. hīgulo'wiL gwīna'kadē'miL.
29. gara'gw'ē'γaril.
30. wa'LawaL hīgu'laγil.
31. gulo'wiL.
32. gwīgu'te'limil da'warakara'l.
33. gadiega'miL.
34. gauswí'twa'miL.
35. hīna'γil gulo'wak gi'tga djuwa ha'te'lim yīgwē'ya.
36. hē'nawa'kwē'L.
37. gudjä djitkL ga'waratwēL da'wara'kara'l.
38. hī'yawiso'wiL.
39. waganogak ga'witil (hīyawī'yil).
40. gowili'ga'k<sup>w</sup> tsākīga'k<sup>w</sup>.
41. djuwa'walgē'L go'wil daguga'waga'k<sup>w</sup>.
42. go'tsī'nak<sup>w</sup> gu'tsara'kwē ga'waga'dawē'war da'la'k.
43. gu'tsguwilihi'nak<sup>w</sup>.
44. guri'k<sup>w</sup> da'tgagwēL hīga'gwo'miL gu'tsa'warak.
45. di'cga'milvaL.
46. rakwa'wē'L.
47. djuwa'wal gi'tga di'cga'mēL.

20. *Eagle's Children turn to Porpoises*

1. dē'l hī'yawisa'belē'(m). 2. gatsi'r hī'yawisil.
3. deLdada'na'γarak guwi'sa'belē'm.
4. ha'Lak<sup>w</sup> hī'yawisa'belēwo'i'.
5. wanak<sup>w</sup> dawa'gula'lil.
6. dagulo'wagwa'l gutsga'nak<sup>w</sup> gabí'teīro'l.
7. guri'k<sup>w</sup>La'lamo'twil gu'tsarak<sup>w</sup> hubo'wa'gwa'l.
8. hī'yawodē'wulawa djuwawaL hara'dacbo'wilet gu'tswawīrol.
9. gwa'lwa ga'makyawaL ka'walala'wilo'.
10. ha'cīrauwi gi'tga.
11. gulo'wiL.
12. ga'plo'i'.
13. pa'yatara'mil.
14. hī'tawa'ni'l gwaLwa djīṛa'ta'n.
15. ga'mak djīwara'tar.
16. gara'livi'yuu gi'tga.
17. yīla'L gi'tga vī'wi'w wurē'nol.
18. ga'nē'war ga'wo'lawo'i'.
19. waca'barok gi'tga.
20. dakwī'yo'.
- 21.

### 19. *The Flood*

1. The first people born not right they talked. 2. It was not right. 3. They were furry. 4. He began to hear Above-Old-Man. 5. He began to think about it, "How am I going to get rid of them?" 6. In time he knew it. 7. Condor knew it what was going to happen. 8. Water was going to come. 9. That is why it was woven. 10. No one knew anything about it. 11. Long time it was made basket was finished. 12. Water came. 13. His sister got in. 14. It began to be tossed by waves. 15. They knew nothing any more. 16. Suddenly it no longer moved. 17. He thought it was (floating) at anchor. 18. That is when they pushed it (opening) aside. 19. They looked around. 20. Land they saw. 21. He knew (that) people were no more. 22. He started to look for them. 23. He saw no one. 24. Birds he saw. 25. He saw wild pigeons, birds, turtle doves. 26. He began to fly about. 27. Then he saw coon his track. 28. He came upon arrival he called her sister (kin). 29. She did not look right. 30. He kept on going. 31. He came back. 32. Upon arrival he spoke again to her his sister. 33. She did not like it. 34. He began to study about it. 35. He decided, "When I come back this way I intend to speak to her 'My wife?'" 36. She laughed. 37. A long time of that word she had been thinking his sister. 38. They were married. 39. Not long after she became pregnant. 40. Person was born child was born. 41. From then on people kept on being born. 42. Good they were, good it was they began to use good talk. 43. Very nice people they were. 44. Above-Old-Man knew it they were good. 45. He liked them. 46. He was content. 47. That is why he liked them.

### 20. *Eagle's Children turn to Porpoises*

1. Eagle was married. 2. Crow he married. 3. Sometime after he married again. 4. Deer he married. 5. He went hunting. 6. When he returned not good, bad-tasting, it was. 7. That other woman good was her cooking. 8. "I enjoy eating it that is why I would like her to keep on cooking, very good it tastes. 9. Why acorn soup do you never make? 10. Pound now." 11. He came back. 12. He started to eat. 13. He smelled something. 14. She was said to, "What is that smell?" 15. "Acorns smell that way." 16. "I am not going to eat it." 17. "I am going to eat it, it tastes good." 18. News came that there was to be a dance. 19. "I am going to see the dance." 20. They arrived.

ga'tswara'k. 22. läga'wawa'klek<sup>w</sup>. 23. dji'waL da'gwisara'  
 he'lawi gi'tga. 24. hi'yawalo'i' gu'tsiya'd'a'li'. 25. dē'l  
 wala'γitawa'ni'l. 26. ga'wada'lil. 27. hina'wala'γara'lo'  
 guda'lo'lawil. 28. djīwīL hīgwidā'da'lil. 29. mol hīgwi'gutsa-  
 yaγaraLa'n. 30. tiγara'no'so'i'. 31. ga'wi'k<sup>w</sup>Lil. 32. gawo'wa'-  
 nēwīL guda'daga'n. 33. gula'γil. 34. hīyē'lil gala'kdal gi'tga. 35.  
 hagwa'dja'l wakLa'mil. 36. gurawa'da'k<sup>w</sup>. 37. ha'la'lil gitga.  
 38. ha'rorowa' gi'tga tsä'k dolu'lawak. 39. wagado'welē'L. 40.  
 ha'cgu hīla'γil galēsa'k gitga guri'kco'r djuwada'k<sup>w</sup>. 41.  
 lägano'ga'dak. 42. gu'lo'wīL gulu'gotsida'lil. 43. da'wiliwa'ni'l  
 dawa tsäk hīdulaga'mam. 44. dogawa'dak hagu'tkara'l dak<sup>w</sup>.  
 45. ga'gwo'mil gwīla'l gutsi'pl. 46. djīwīL dala'gē'da'mēL.  
 47. hawura'gwel keya'waro'twē'γil. 48. garawaya'tga're'i'  
 hiṛawa'gwi'wīL. 49. gala'guwīsil.

21. wi'tgaL wisa'belē'm

1. wi'tgaL ga'wada'lil ra'kvo'r. 2. da'kwīyo'wīL. 3.  
 gwīkLa'mil ga'tswura'k. 4. hi'yaweli'L huda'lak<sup>w</sup>Laiyawa'nē'le'i'.  
 5. ruwurakwa'li'swak. 6. ga'wali'swīL. 7. ganoga'liswīL. 8.  
 hi'weli'L gawara'ratkoēkwa'ṛ. 9. hi'welē'L digwata'lawigwa'l.  
 10. hīyē'lil guγi'γadal gi'tga gurawarada'l. 11. ga'wala'twīL  
 wē'wa'l. 12. co'r gurada'lil. 13. guri'k<sup>w</sup>co'r. 14. hī'yē'lil  
 gi'tga wadawa'La'ṛ djīwīL Laguswa'walat djīwīL gi'tga ha'guro'.  
 15. gagulo'wīL. 16. Lega'Li'tsgarau' haguswa'magwa'l. 17.  
 hina'γil gi'tga wala'lamil. 18. hawe'lila'l ga'wa'k<sup>w</sup>cēmil.  
 19. gala'wīla'γil. 20. gwīda'wīla'γil. 21. hi'La'lil gurawa'-  
 dalo'da'lil. 22. bīra'tsiya'sil. 23. ki'tgae dadja'gwīlo'mil.  
 24. dji'dopi'L. 25. gu'mad'a'lil. 26. wurogatwa'ga'sgulo'wīL.  
 27. da'da'lil. 28. gala'La'gilayē gi'tga hīyē'lil. 29. dji gi'tga  
 wuragē'Lo'kara. 30. hīya'k<sup>w</sup>dar. 31. dē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim hīyawa'lim. 32.  
 hīga'wē'twē'L. 33. gawada'kwa'γil. 34. hīyawayi'tara'n. 35.  
 hina'La'lil. 36. ma'di' vala'La'mil. 37. dji dakwīda'lisil.  
 38. ga'kLa'mil. 39. hīwayi'tra'navil. 40. djīwagas gu'giya'da'li'.  
 41. gula'γil.

21. There were many (people) there. 22. She began to feel power. 23. That is when, "I guess I ought to (do something I had not intended to do) dance." 24. She saw some one go out. 25. Eagle he went to tell. 26. He started off. 27. He was told where she was dancing. 28. They went where she was dancing. 29. House they took one board out of. 30. She was dragged out. 31. She began to cry. 32. She told where she was hurt. 33. She went home. 34. She said, "I am going away." 35. Her mother she was going to see. 36. Far away she lived. 37. Ducks there were. 38. "All I am going to take the children to visit. 39. She has never seen them." 40. "All right." She went, she took canoe west where she lived. 41. Not long she stayed. 42. She came back, she travelled alone. 43. She was asked, "Where children, what did you do with them?" 44. They are staying at their grandmother's place. 45. He knew she wanted to eat alone (the ducks). 46. That is why she left them there. 47. She thought, "They might tell on me." 48. Porpoises they all turned into. 49. They were married no more.

*21. Coyote gets married*

1. Coyote started out thither north. 2. At destination he arrived. 3. Upon arrival he saw a big crowd there. 4. He saw something in a bunch up high (girl on a platform). 5. "I am a pretty good singer." 6. He began to sing. 7. Not long he sang. 8. He saw her begin to move. 9. He saw her jump down. 10. He said, "I am going to start off again, far away I live." 11. She accompanied him his wife. 12. Along the coast they travelled. 13. The sun went down. 14. He said, "I am going to camp early, here wait for me I will be right back." 15. He did not come back. 16. She became tired of waiting for him. 17. She thought she would go and look for him. 18. His tracks she followed. 19. Not far she went. 20. Upon arrival she saw him. 21. He jumped far through the air he went. 22. He shook his tail. 23. June-bugs he was catching. 24. He ate them. 25. She turned back. 26. Soon he came back. 27. She started off. 28. "I am not going far," she said. 29. "Here I am going to camp." 30. Fire was made. 31. They lay down on the same side of the fire. 32. He went to sleep. 33. He began to snore. 34. They embraced. 35. She jumped up. 36. Wood she went to look for. 37. There (beside him) down she put it. 38. She looked at him. 39. He hugged it. 40. That is when she started off. 41. She went back.

22. *purila'γati'γariL*

1. *purila'γati'γariL*. 2. *djuwa ga'wadicga'miL hē'wat*. 3. *ga'wasiswä'k djuwawaL darada'wila'riL*. 4. *valo'yawäk doγa'Läk sa'γäk tsara'riL*. 5. *djuwawaL da'da'wila'riL dakLa'miL*. 6. *davalo'yawä'k*. 7. *ga'wada'lil*. 8. *djuwa da'kisara'γiL*. 9. *hida'kwiyo'wil*. 10. *gagwē'L hi'tiya'da'lil*. 11. *ga'dawil*. 12. *hita'lē'miL yira'tsara'k<sup>w</sup>*. 13. *gwikLa'miL*. 14. *gano'layara'dē'L*. 15. *hina'ridē'warato'miL*. 16. *hiko'nar gagwi'L hiyē'lil ka'wa wa'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lē'la't*. 17. *hi'rawa'lar guca'pda'mē'L*. 18. *hiGē'd'abalo'i'*. 19. *higa'waloi'*. 20. *gwaLda'waL gawado'wada'loi'*. 21. *ga'wiyawakwil*. 22. *hi'yawaγē'di'waril*. 23. *gutiγa'dalil*. 24. *ka'wa daguga'dawil*. 25. *galēwi'tseril*. 26. *hiGagwo'miL gitga gu'gawarawa'LariL*. 27. *bo'cugil rada'nik huda'lagwa'l*. 28. *ga'gwo'miL wada'tiγuli'swiwil*. 29. *ga'waca'barugēL*. 30. *galabo'cato'miL*. 31. *hina'γēL mo'raka' hila'γiL wēlēk<sup>w</sup>sa'mot gi'tga*. 32. *gwila'γiL*. 33. *gwikLa'miL huda'mēgwa'l*. 34. *gwi'tso'miL*. 35. *hinoga'k hugwa'ti'γalēm*. 36. *kwiswelo'i' tiγara'siswona'wik*. 37. *djuwaga's hitē'γalēm*. 38. *huba'Le'l hitk dji hala'uw*. 39. *djuwaga's gulē'dil tsara'riL*. 40. *gi'da gagwo'miL hudagulo'wagwa'l*. 41. *djuwaga's gugiga'da'lil*. 42. *ga'ploi'*. 43. *gē'da'baloi'*. 44. *galag'u'da'lil gi'tga gu'ts huda'gwē'wigwa'l*. 45. *guga'wada'lil*. 46. *gawa'ga'yawil*. 47. *gutiγa'dalil*. 48. *cuwa gitc hina're'yak la'γarak gagi'cgura'da'l rawe'lil hi'yawe'lelga*. 49. *cawa't hi'Lä'nawil*. 50. *botē'bal gutsakä'Lä'nawil*. 51. *hiswa'lil*. 52. *djuwa gulenē'mēL*. 53. *ka'wa dagwigulo'wil*. 54. *gutsgala'Lawel*. 55. *Lä'ridawa'iya'dak<sup>w</sup>*. 56. *gwiswe'lel*. 57. *ga'dawaya'γara'dei'*. 58. *hita'liyawa'*. 59. *hiyatawa'ni'l hē'wat lelo'wil*. 60. *Läga'tiyada'lil*. 61. *radi'cga ru'walak hiyē'lil hiGula'γilga garadi'cgaγa'm*. 62. *gugiγa'da'lil*. 63. *hina'γiL varale'waklam gi'tga*. 64. *hira'le'wu'nenawil*. 65. *djuwaga's hite'limil*. 66. *La'gagwo'mat gotsgu'ka'lagwe'i' kuna kawuwo'kla'sak*. 67. *bumē'b'al hila'nawil*. 68. *ta'war*. 69.

*22. Northwest-Young-Man*

1. Northwest-Young-Man there was. 2. He was the one who began to love Abalone. 3. At nightfall he looked down all the time. 4. Whitish, bluish, reddish the girl looked. 5. And then she looked up, she saw him. 6. He looked whitish. 7. He started off. 8. Suddenly he changed his mind. 9. At destination he arrived. 10. Old man came out. 11. He went in. 12. He said to him, "My son-in-law." 13. Upon arrival he saw her. 14. She did not look up. 15. He sat beside her (two he caused to sit for her). 16. At night the old man said, "Sweathouse go and sleep in." 17. Next day he sat in the same place. 18. They finished eating. 19. They began to talk. 20. Something they began to talk about (not business just general conversation). 21. She began to weave baskets. 22. She turned her back to him. 23. He went out again. 24. Sweathouse he went into again. 25. He did not sleep. 26. He knew when it was beginning to get light. 27. He heard rattle (on her dress) talking. 28. He knew she was going to bathe herself. 29. He began to listen. 30. No longer he heard it. 31. He thought, "Very soon I am going to show her something." 32. Upon arrival he went down into (river). 33. Upon arrival he saw her sitting there. 34. He dived. 35. For a long time he did not come to the surface. 36. Suddenly she saw black object come out of water. 37. That was when he came to the surface. 38. His hair that is what was long. 39. That was when she went up (to the house) the girl. 40. He thought he knew when she arrived home. 41. That was when he went up. 42. They began to eat. 43. They finished eating. 44. He was going away again (by diminishing) after he had dressed himself up again. 45. He began to start off. 46. He began to say goodbye. 47. He went out again. 48. "How am I going to do? On land in vain I may travel, my track she might see." 49. Bow he pulled out. 50. Arrow one he took out. 51. He shot. 52. That is what he traveled on. 53. Sweathouse upon arrival he returned to. 54. He did not feel happy. 55. Two nights he stayed there. 56. Suddenly he saw (somebody). 57. Face was stuck in through hole. 58. "I am talking (saying it)." 59. He was said to, "Abalone has come." 60. He did not go out at all. 61. "I do not want to see her," he said, "(tell her) to go home, I do not like her." 62. She started back. 63. He thought, "I am going to watch her on the way." 64. On the way he caught up with her. 65. That was the time he spoke to her. 66. "You know you did not treat me well when I was to see you some time ago." 67. Knife he drew out.



ga'naγil gī'tga riyawo'm. 70. gugo'ma'da'lil. 71. hē'watwaL  
 hīda'da'lil hīyo'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lil. 72. djiragwa'n dati'yalē'sil watga'-  
 wēka'l. 73. djuwa wurageL hē'wat dawa'ldak<sup>w</sup>. 74. gula'γil.  
 75. dagilga'wägulo'wil. 76. hina'waL gurole'rēk<sup>w</sup>Lil. 77.  
 wurageL gī'tga djuwa gutsawa'da'k<sup>w</sup> gurē'k<sup>w</sup>Laγa'γ. 78.  
 da'kwīgulo'wil. 79. hī'wara'waro'i' kuna guralē'yalawī'  
 di'we'lawil. 80. watswo'kara'gwei' dakwī'yo'wil. 81.  
 ga'waLrakwa'wēL. 82. gawē'k<sup>w</sup>Lil.

### 23. dawē'ba'lil

1. dawē'ba'lil rikē'L. 2. tcwī'cāl ra'dē'til gara'kwēya'lil.  
 3. da'watgirad'a'lil. 4. djuwa guro'wari'd'ar wa'nak<sup>w</sup> dala'lil.  
 5. gulo'wil gwila'γara'lil me'lak<sup>w</sup> wuri'yawawa'n. 6.  
 dawē'ba'lil hīyē'lil hī'yawa'la'. 7. da'warakara'l hī'yēta'modil  
 cuckuwa'lak huwari'yava'va'n. 8. gagwēL hīyē'lil dacla'nē'wī'.  
 9. da'na'γarak gwislē'lil gura'rakwawe'i'. 10. hīyē'lil  
 ha'cgulaγē'yit da'warakara'l. 11. gagwēL hīyē'lil dachila'nēwe'i'.  
 12. gutgā'tiyaril hīyē'lil Lawoyat. 13. hīyē'lil hē++'. 14.  
 ha'cguwawila'gula's halo'wiwak<sup>w</sup>. 15. da'gwīyo'wil. 16.  
 da'kle'lar. 17. hīta'layar. 18. hīyē'd'olawē'L. 19. ka'wa  
 wa'dawogē'd'anawil. 20. hīgu'La'g'il. 21. ti'γada'lil. 22.  
 gurudī'kawā'yawē'L hī'tamo'dil ga'd'awēL. 23. hīyē'lil gīyauw  
 gabī'tegaswilo'k. 24. djuwawaL gi'tga da'm'ē'. 25. hīyawe'lil  
 ga'tswarōk<sup>w</sup>. 26. djuwawaL kwiswe'lo'i'. 27. ga'la'welo'. 28.  
 gucu'rigel da'lagwē'L. 29. dawa'd'a hīrad'a'lil. 30. djuwagas  
 gagu'welo'i'. 31. wufo'gakL hīyawelo'i' gulo'wagwa'l. 32.  
 ma'd'i hīyoda'yulawil. 33. dagwīgulo'wil. 34. tewa'yadjil  
 gawīga'd'awa'n. 35. Lācwa'rim. 36. gi'tga gawē'd'ak<sup>w</sup>so'i'.  
 38. daγa'd'awa'n. 38. Lāgu'cwa'rim da'tare'i'. 39. ti'γarā'La'ril.  
 40. Lā'garuga'd'awa'nil. 41. djīwiga's ga'dawēL. 42. hīdē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim.  
 43. gurura'dja'γak da'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 44. gwīsbo'cugo'i gwaLwa djuwa  
 da'la'nēlil. 45. dabī'dawil hē'tk. 46. hī'rawa'Laril hīyawa'loi'  
 dja'warō'tc da'lagawa'gwa'l. 47. La'ga'tar gēd'a'tar. 48.  
 ti'γa'd'a'lil. 49. hawafo'gak hī'yatawa'ni'l hīga'd'awē'L. 50.  
 ga'ploi'. 51. djīwil hīda'k<sup>w</sup>. 52. djīwaga'sawa'Lē'L. 53.  
 gala'gala'mā'lewē'L maki'ga'sa'mar. 54. hīku'nar ga'gwēL

68. She was cut. 69. He did not think, "I am going to kill her." 70. He turned back again. 71. Abalone kept going, she was crying. 72. At Patrick Point she washed her blood. 73. That is why now abalone stays there. 74. She went back. 75. Almost there she came. 76. A while before the way she cried that way she was crying. 77. "Now I am going one way there is to cry again (I am going to change my cry)." 78. At destination she arrived. 79. The news spread that the way she looked before, she was somebody else. 80. Her aunt came in. 81. She was sorry about it. 82. She began to cry.

### 23. *Twine-Eater*

1. Twine-Eater three there were. 2. The youngest was big-stomached he could not travel. 3. He never went anywhere. 4. The other two went hunting. 5. They came back they told about elk which was killed. 6. Twine-Eater said, "I saw it." 7. His brother he told him, "I know where it was killed." 8. The old man said, "Do not talk that way." 9. Sometime after suddenly he said, "I am not content." 10. He said, "Let us go," his brother. 11. The old man said, "Do not talk that way." 12. The oldest brother said, "Are you telling the truth?" 13. He said, "Yes." 14. "Well I will take you down canoe into." 15. They went down. 16. River was crossed. 17. They landed. 18. He carried him ashore. 19. Sweathouse he left him in. 20. He went down in. 21. He went out. 22. The one who owned the sweathouse he told him to come in. 23. He said, "No it is not big enough. 24. I will keep on sitting here." 25. He saw a big crowd. 26. Suddenly he was seen. 27. There was no one. 28. The sun went down. 29. They wondered where he went. 30. They did not see him again. 31. Soon he was seen coming. 32. Wood he was carrying on back. 33. At destination he arrived. 34. Sweathouse wood was begun to be carried in. 35. It was full. 36. They were going to put it up. 37. Here and there it was pushed in. 38. It was entirely full up above. 39. They looked out. 40. They had not brought it all in. 41. That is the time he came in. 42. He lay down. 43. In far corner he lay down. 44. Suddenly he heard something it was a noise. 45. He was making twine. 46. At daylight they saw a net which he had made. 47. Fire was made, they finished with fire. 48. He went out. 49. Soon he was told, he better come in. 50. They ate. 51. There he stayed. 52. That was the first time he ate. 53. He had no more stomach, very small he was. 54. At dark the old man said, "I am going

hīyē'liL gī'tga ka'wa wagudī'k<sup>w</sup>Lel. 55. ta'lēmIL watsara'gwa'l  
 hīta'modēL dīk<sup>w</sup>lī'la'tga'. 56. hīyē'liL gawē gī'tga wa'dēk<sup>w</sup>LiL.  
 57. hīLa'gēL wē'wa'l. 58. dagwīyo'wīL. 59. ha'lowī' hīLa'ga'n.  
 60. hīyē'liL da'lasīyit. 61. gwī'laLawa'l hīda'lasīL. 62. ga'wa'Lēk.  
 63. hīti'γa'Lēk co'r rakwuyaga'waLēk. 64. gotskwa'nawīL  
 ho'walē'L. 65. hīyawa'na'Lēk. 66. hīda'gwīyo'wīL. 67.  
 gwēkLa'mīL daba'wo'waL. 68. hī'yawe'lēL hu'na'gwēL  
 dja'warô'tc da'la'gwēL. 69. hē'La'nawēL. 70. gwīla'l dja'warô'tcar  
 (hī)yīda'k<sup>w</sup>sīL. 71. hīdē'gwawē'sīL. 72. ga'b'e'liL. 73. gano'gak  
 hīguga'wa'Lēk. 74. bī'tcala'war (hī'bēdj'ē'la'r) vē'wī'. 75.  
 la'liL djīdalō'dawē'sīL vē'wī' galawa'ta'lawar. 76. hīga'd'awēL.  
 77. hīda'Lēk. 78. hīguwē'lēL la'liL. 79. gulo'dawē'sīL. 80.  
 gugalawa'ta'lawēL. 81. Legaga'd'awēL. 82. gulo'wīL. 83.  
 hī'guda'lak. 84. ikLe'l hī'gudawī'g'a'n hīkLa'waL dawa'l. 85.  
 galawa'ta'lawar. 86. hī'ga'd'awēL. 87. da'Lēk hīguwa'lē'L  
 la'liL. 88. gulo'dawē'sīL. 89. rikwa'wa'rawaL ga'lawā'ta'lawar.  
 90. hī'gad'awēL. 91. hīda'Lēk. 92. hīgu'walē'L la'liL. 93.  
 gulo'dawē'soi' guga'lawā'ta'lawar dawa'l. 94. ga'd'awīL. 95.  
 rakdjōtewa'r da'lik. 96. guwē'leL la'liL. 97. gulo'dawē'soi'.  
 98. guga'la'wata'lawar dawa'l. 99. Legāga'd'awēL. 100.  
 guti'γad'a'liL. 101. guda'lak. 102. rikwa'warawa'l gaga'lawā'-  
 ta'lawar. 103. hīga'd'awīL. 104. da'lik. 105. rikwa'warawaL  
 ga'd'awīL. 106. da'lik. 107. djuwawaL gī'tga holela'γar.  
 108. gwīlēwa'yakLe'guroL. 109. ga'lawā'ta'lawar rada'n. 110.  
 Legaga'd'awēL. 111. guti'γa'da'liL hīguda'lak. 112. marawa'-  
 gatek ga'lawā'ta'lawar ga'd'awēL. 113. djuwa'dawaL ga'd'awīL.  
 114. guda'Lēk. 115. dagulo'dawē'soi'. gildaka'īya'tgēL. 116.  
 rada'n hīga'lawā'ta'lawar ga'd'awēL. 117. da'Lēk. 118.  
 da'gwēgolo'L guwē'loi' la'liL. 119. gulo'dawē'soi'. 120. dawa'l  
 hīgala'wa'ta'la'war hīga'd'awē'L. 121. gala'kawelo'm. 122.  
 go'ma'Lēk.

24. gwak<sup>w</sup> swena'γarīL

1. gwak<sup>w</sup> hīyawī'sīL guwīlīga'wīL. 2. dahi'nak<sup>w</sup>. 3.  
 gotsgala'Lawē'L gara'kwawēL. 4. hīvava'kLa'mīL gī'tga. 5.  
 hīdakwī'yo'wīL. 6. hīyē'liL gotsgara'wīLa'lawē'L wuragē'L  
 cuwava'laratwē'yam yī'laL hira'gulo'wēLiL. 7. huswēna'γara'la'l  
 hīyē'liL yī'laL djī gara'ratwīγ. 8. gotsga'nak<sup>w</sup> gī'tga djī  
 huwara'γarak. 9. gula'γīL. 10. swīna'γarīL hutsākara'l ga'tsar.  
 11. da'hīgo'tsarak<sup>w</sup> gwīla'lawāL djī hī'nak<sup>w</sup>. 12. gara'kwawēL.

to lie down in sweathouse." 55. He told him his son-in-law he said to him, "You may go lie down." 56. He said, "Downhill I am going to lie." 57. She went down in his wife. 58. They arrived. 59. Canoe was pushed down. 60. He said, "Get in." 61. Upon arrival he too got in. 62. They started out in canoe. 63. They went out into ocean north they went in canoe. 64. One night they kept going. 65. They rounded a point. 66. They went down. 67. Upon arrival he saw it fish-dam. 68. He saw platform net was on it. 69. He took out (net). 70. Somebody's scoopnet he put up on pole. 71. He put it down in water. 72. He began to fish. 73. Soon he started off again in canoe. 74. Enough there were fish (food). 75. River there he lowered it fish he threw overboard. 76. It went in. 77. He went down. 78. He saw river. 79. He lowered it there. 80. Again he threw it overboard. 81. It did not go in. 82. It came back. 83. He put him back in canoe. 84. Another was chosen, he tried king salmon. 85. It was thrown over. 86. It went in. 87. He went on he saw river. 88. He lowered it. 89. Chinook salmon was thrown over. 90. It went in. 91. He went on. 92. He saw river. 93. He lowered net king salmon was thrown over. 94. It went in. 95. Way up river he went. 96. He saw river. 97. He lowered it. 98. It was thrown over king salmon. 99. It did not go in. 100. It came back. 101. He put it in canoe. 102. Chinook salmon was thrown over. 103. It went in. 104. He went down. 105. Chinook salmon went in. 106. He went on. 107. He was going to keep on doing that. 108. Here at last he managed to get back. 109. It was thrown over a big one. 110. It did not go up. 111. It came back, he put it in canoe. 112. Hookbill was thrown over, it went in. 113. That is the one which went in. 114. Again he went on. 115. Again he lowered it at mouth of river. 116. Big one was thrown over, it went in. 117. He went on. 118. Down he came he saw river. 119. It was lowered. 120. King salmon was thrown over, it went in. 121. There were no more. 122. He turned back in canoe.

#### *24. Frog and Sand Cricket*

1. Frog was married, she had a child. 2. It died. 3. She did not feel well; she was sorry. 4. She was going to go to visit. 5. At destination she arrived. 6. She said she felt badly, "Now what do you think? As for me, I would like it to come back." 7. Sand Cricket said, "As for me, that way I do not think. 8. It will be no good to happen that way." 9. She went back. 10. Sand Cricket her children many there were. 11. One died; she too, the same it was. 12. She was sorry.

13. .hina'geL winē'k gī'tga djī'wala'l. 14. vate'lim. 15. da'gwiyo'wIL. 16. cuwada'ratwē'yam yilaL dana'gī'tgagulo'weLIL. 17. gwak<sup>w</sup> hiyē'lil giya yilaL kuna da'rawaragwi'lak gotsgala'γarak. 18. djāl gī'tga djigana'γarak. 19. gotsga'nak<sup>w</sup> djihuwara'γara'k. 20. huswēna'γara'la'l va'tsawī'twak<sup>w</sup> daga'dawa'γara'dēL.

25. *we'n twaL*

1. we'n hacarā'nawIL djidō'k<sup>w</sup>. 2. rakcara'LaγēL djī'dalo'wIL. 3. gwē'kLa'mIL dari'dibo'. 4. huwaro'gakL tsigwa'tsgaru++ . 5. hīno'la'nawIL bo'daroc. 6. hīyawī'γi'n. 7. rakcara'LaγēL hīyawo'dē'walawEL. 8. hī'sga'nawo'. 9. tsigwa'tsgaru . . . . (Repeat sentences 5 to 9 several times.) 10. rakcara'La'γēL hīyē'lil cudigwa'tgalaya'lil(it) rada'tgala'. 11. we'n hacarā'nawIL La'gada'lil. 12. digwa'tgalu++. 13. djuwawiga's tawaL we'n dicaska'nawIL. 15. we'sa'na'l cau hira'k<sup>w</sup>La'iyar.

26. *witga'L tswa'l*

1. witga'L tswa'l ga'kLa'mIL. 2. cuwa gi'te hiyaga'mak cuwē'w da'war humiwaragwa'l. 3. hīklāga'gwo'm haga'mak gī'tga. 4. ta'mo'dēL cuwadokā'ra'kwē ha'k<sup>w</sup>da'n. 5. tswa'l hiyē'lil ha'cgu hīya'k<sup>w</sup>dar. 6. ma's hīya'tsara'i'. 7. yil gī'tga tegā'gukdil. 8. masawē'tk vagdā'La'iyar. 9. hawē'γarak da'liso'i'. 10. hīdē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim. 11. gugwa'psoi' hawē'γarak. 12. djuwagas gula'gw<sup>a</sup>Laiyawani'l. 13. djuwagas gula'k<sup>w</sup>dar. 14. gano'ga'k hībo'cugu' hībo'tsaru'i'. 15. djuwaga's wakdā'La'iyar. 16. hīyawelo'i gōk<sup>w</sup>Lā'di. 17. hīyēd'a'noso'i'. 18. gurawa'dawuda'liso'i'. 19. hīgula'k<sup>w</sup>dar. 20. djuwagas guwakdā'Laiyar. 21. djuwagas guda'liso'i hīwē'γara'k. 22. djuwaga's hīdē'k<sup>w</sup>Lim. 23. gugwa'psoi' hīwē'γarak. 24. gulagw'a'La'iyawani'l. 25. djuwagas gula'k<sup>w</sup>dar mas hīya'tsar. 26. witgaL gurī'dad'a'lil dad'a'mēL. 27. gawaca'barogIL bo'tsaro'i' (give whistle). 28. ga'rawawa'tkcēL. 29. kwisgubo'tsaro'i' (low weak whistle). 30. djurā'gabo'co'gēL. 31. djuwagas hīra'da'wēL. 32. hīyawakdā'La'iyawēL. 33. hīrowara'gwi'lōk gowil ga'klādē'. 34. djuwawaL hīda'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lī. 35. huwuro'ga'kL hīyadano'sIL gurawa'dawada'lisIL. 36. wura'gēL hīyē'ya'l. 37. djuwagasaga'plēL. 38. sa'ia'a'bil. 39. gē'd'a'balēL. 40. dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 41. hīyawa'dara'twIL. 42. dē'l

13. She thought, "Neighbor I am going there to see." 14. She went to speak to her. 15. At destination she arrived. 16. "What do you think? As for me I should like to see it come back." 17. Frog said, "No, as for me, some time ago when I had bad luck not good it happened. 18. I do not want it to happen that way. 19. It is not good to happen that way." 20. Sand Cricket in hot ashes put her head.

### 25. *The Sky Falls*

1. Mole there lived. 2. Southwest-Young-Man there came. 3. Upon arrival he saw two men cooking. 4. Soon, "Little one roll down . . . ." 5. He picked up a Brodioea bulb. 6. It was divided. 7. Southwest-Young-Man enjoyed eating it. 8. He was given a piece. 9. "Little one roll down . . . ." (Repeat.) 10. Southwest-Young-Man said, "I wish big one would roll down." 11. Mole did not answer. 12. "Big one roll down . . . ." 13. That is when it fell the sky. 14. In vain he held a piece of it up. 15. His hands shapeless were pushed aside.

### 26. *Coyote and Steelhead*

1. Coyote Steelhead saw. 2. "How am I going to do it? I should like to eat him because he is fat. 3. At last I know what I am going to do with him." 4. He said to him, "How about doing this? Let fire be made." 5. Steelhead said, "All right, let fire be made." 6. Fire big was. 7. "I am going first to roast." 8. Ashes were dug aside. 9. Leaves were put down. 10. He lay down. 11. He was covered with leaves. 12. That is when he was covered with ashes again. 13. That is when fire was put on again. 14. Soon he heard he whistled. 15. That is when he pushed ashes aside. 16. He saw he was sweating. 17. He dragged him up. 18. Way up he was put. 19. Again fire was made. 20. That is when ashes were pushed aside. 21. That is when leaves were put down. 22. Then he lay down. 23. He was covered with leaves. 24. He was covered up with ashes again. 25. Then fire was built, fire was big. 26. Coyote went over there, he sat down. 27. He began to hear whistling. 28. He did not move. 29. Suddenly he heard whistling (very weak). 30. He could hardly hear it. 31. That is when he stood up. 32. He pushed ashes aside. 33. "He had bad luck, man he became too hot." 34. He let him lay. 35. Now he dragged him out way up he put him. 36. Now he was cooled. 37. Then he started to eat him. 38. One side he ate. 39. He finished eating. 40. He lay down. 41. He went to sleep. 42. Eagle came.

hīyo'wIL. 43. vēwī' wuda'dēk<sup>w</sup>līm. 44. ga'pLIL. 45. hīgē'da'balil. 46. hīra'warawIL. 47. yakdē'galil. 48. djuwagas gura'da'lil gurawa' hīdalo'da'gwē'l. 49. gakLa'mil. 50. hīyawa'lēL djuwagas gura'La'lil. 51. ga'twa'γara'n cubi'tga'ca'nIL. 52. gala'kawelo'i' vēwī'. 53. witgaL hīna'waLgara'warawa'. 54. bo'm hīyawa'lēL. 55. hīna'γil gī'tga vē'w. 56. bo'm ga'pLIL.

27. *ha'wa'iyarawēL (wa'iyarēL)*

1. watsa'ya'γarIL La'tsēk. 2. da'lawaLa'liswoi'. 3. da'lawa-twā'dawar. 4. gīya garala'liγ. 5. dāLdada'na'γarak gauswī'twa'mIL la'liswak. 6. hīga'wēL wula'liswak. 7. hīyē'lil cugula'nawa'l. 8. guwa'La'lil. 9. darag'u'mara'ra'tca'i Lago'yit ha'walawa'LaL. 10. hīyē'lil gīya. 11. hīna'γēL. 12. gauswē'twa'mIL. 13. gowa'La'lil gī'tga. 14. dji gī'tga dala'walawa'k. 15. waLVaL hīguwa'La'lil ha'walawa'LaL. 16. hīL'a'γIL. 17. hīdo'LAGu'lawēL huksē'gwa'l. 18. da'la'sIL. 19. hīda'lēk. 20. gala'welēL. 21. hiyudawē'sui'. 22. da'kdayak<sup>w</sup> sīswa'γara'lay. 23. da'lēk. 24. gulo'dawē'sui'. 25. guṛo'dakda'yak<sup>w</sup>. 26. da'lēk waLVaL hīguda'lēk. 27. gulo'dawē'sui'. 28. gotsīga'walagwē'wIL. 29. hīna'dolawēL huksē'gwa'l bilata'lawIL. 30. gurīda'guda'lēsIL. 31. hapala'ciL gurīdaguda'lēsIL. 32. pa'tgusē'liwē'L bilata'lawIL gurīda'guda'lēsIL. 33. kīda'wIL hīya'palā'ciL hīyapa'tgusē'lawēL gotsi'nak<sup>w</sup> raγa'Lei'. 34. da'lēk. 35. gaLa'wilēk gulo'dawē'sui'. 36. guṛo'dakda'yak<sup>w</sup>. 37. guda'lēk gaLa'wēlēk. 38. guṛu'dakda'yak<sup>w</sup>. 39. hīd'a'wela'mIL. 40. hīyē'lil sīswa'γare'lay. 41. da'lēk. 42. taLa'iyar. 43. hīṛulē'dui'. 44. djuwawa'LaL dalakala'la'sēL. 45. djuwagas hē'dēL. 46. halo'wī hītge'nawIL. 47. hīgwe'barugIL hugi'tgaga'waliswoi'. 48. gwīga'dawIL. 49. gwīwa'lēL da'lak<sup>w</sup> LaiyawanēL tsara'rIL. 50. gē'd'a'n. 51. ga'wa'liswIL daragu'mara'ratca'i'. 52. hī'yawelē'L dīgwa'ta'lawigwa'l. 53. guṛu'tiya'da'l. 54. teve'yawa'gas gu'tiya'da'lil wēwa'l. 55. Līgu'ga'waLēk. 56. hīyē'lil wa'gurīra'iyawē'car. 57. hīyē'tamo'dēL vē'wa'l roda'pLici'l hīka'nawat. 58. hīLa'lil halo'wiwak<sup>w</sup> wa'dalo'da'lil. 59. djuwaga's guga'waLēk gwīguga'dawalar. 60. hīyawi'daLēk. 61. hīyē'lil wadagu'wILi'daLa'l. 62. hīyē'lil wagurīra'iyawekca'r

43. Food was lying there. 44. He ate it. 45. He finished eating. 46. He ate it all. 47. He urinated and then. 48. Then he flew away, way up on a tree he flew. 49. He looked at him. 50. He saw when he got up again. 51. He rubbed his face; he scratched his head. 52. Food was all gone. 53. Coyote (thought), "I do not know (if) I ate it all." 54. Grease he saw. 55. He thought, "I am going to eat it." 56. Grease he ate.

*27. Morning-Star*

1. At Alton story is. 2. They went down singing. 3. They stopped for him. 4. "No, I cannot go." 5. One time he began to think about his song. 6. He made up that song. 7. He said, "Do not let me be said to." 8. They visited him again. 9. "Go with us," (said) *daragu'mara'ratca'i* when he came to visit. 10. He said, "No." 11. He thought. 12. He began to study over it. 13. Again they were going to visit. 14. "This time I am going with them." 15. Again and again they came down and asked him. 16. He went. 17. He took down his clothes. 18. He got in. 19. They went by canoe. 20. Not far they went. 21. They stopped. 22. Crosswise black obsidian (paddles). 23. They went on. 24. Again they stopped. 25. Again crosswise they were. 26. They went on; again and again they went on. 27. Again they stopped. 28. They began to dress up. 29. He lifted his clothes, he shook them out. 30. He put them down again. 31. His belt he put down again. 32. His headband he shook out, he put it down again. 33. He put on his belt, his headband nice was, his quiver. 34. They went on. 35. Not far they went, they stopped. 36. Again crosswise they were. 37. They went on again, not far they went. 38. Again all crosswise they were. 39. He looked at it (paddle). 40. He said, "It is black flint." 41. They went on. 42. They landed. 43. They all went ashore. 44. Then they left him alone in boat. 45. That is when they went ashore. 46. Canoe he pulled up. 47. Upon arrival he heard them singing. 48. Upon arrival he went in. 49. Upon arrival he saw inside sitting on a platform a girl. 50. They stopped. 51. He began to sing *daragu'mara'ratca'i*. 52. He saw her jump down. 53. They all went out. 54. The very last he went out, his wife (too). 55. They were ready to go in canoe. 56. He said, "Come near landing." 57. He told her his wife, "My belt grasp." 58. He jumped into canoe, he moved in the air (jumped far). 59. That is when they started off again in canoe; upon arrival they came into river again. 60. They passed his place in canoe. 61. He said, "Put me ashore." 62. He said, "When we are near the landing my belt grasp



roda'plī'cīL hīka'navawalat. 63. hī'yada'līL. 64. da'Lēk dagulo'wīL. 65. hīda'rawala'ri' gowīlyo'wīL. 66. hīyēta'wa'ni'l rīyawēt (rī'yawilat) gitga'. 67. gowīl Lelo'wīL. 68. hīyē'līL haegu wīga'yawak<sup>w</sup> gī'tga. 69. valar hīga'wasēL. 70. da'Lāga'laga'n Lāgaga'yowar go'tsigo'rak<sup>w</sup>. 71. gala'kda'līL gī'tga. 72. gudīnī gī'tga ra'yarā'dal. 73. da'kwīyo'wīL. 74. djuwagītga dagwī'da. 75. ga'waswī'twa'mīL welawa gī'tga. 76. hīyēta'mo'dēL wēwa'l gala'kda'līL gī'tga dokLa'matga' ga'warawa'La'pīL raga'Li'da'lolawo'i'. 77. djuwa gitga mas dagwī'gau' gulo'wak. 78. ga'warawa'La'pīL hīyawe'lēL mas. 79. da'gulo'wīL. 80. volawala'līL.

28. *tce'rawa'γac*

1. la'ya'n gurīkco'dak<sup>w</sup>. 2. tce'rawa'γac wada'lawī'sīL. 3. hēk<sup>w</sup> da'ca'ra'w. 4. da'ldada'na'γarak bē'mir tsa'ra'pīL gwīsga'kawatu' da'la'liswoga'l. 5. dji'waL wa'nak<sup>w</sup> dala'La'lī' tsogetsa'tsgara'ts daga'wīyawā'cēL datare'i. 6. da'ldawa'L huda'na'γarak dji'waL dala'La'l tsogetsa'tsgara'ts dagawī'yawā'cēL. 7. gutsa'ra'pīL ga'wadicgama'rēL. 8. la'ya'n diega'mēL. 9. tsogetsa'tsgara'ts hawīkdalo'lawēL. 10. gagwo'mīL. 11. hīyo'wīL hīwo'wokLa'mīL. 12. hīyawī'sabelē'. 13. gula'γīL. 14. da'ldahugi'La'lawak djuwagas haga'wada'l wala'gwanawo'i'. 15. me'lakwīya'n hīla'γīL. 16. gwō'kwac hīla'γīL. 17. gwō'kwac hīya'LīgīL me'lakwīya'n. 18. hīya'tsawo' hī'yawēL gwīla'l hudēya'wēLa'l. 19. dakwīyo'wīL. 20. gwē'kLa'mīL horawa'ya'γēL dji' hodō'k<sup>w</sup>. 21. gadi'cga'mīL gwīlēda'da'līL. 22. gutcā'dji' dawada'da'lik dara'γēlak rī'yawo'm. 23. ti'ya'da'līL wuda'dapLa'ma'n ga'dawu'lawēL. 24. La'ga'tawēL. 25. vē'war hīga'tsar. 26. la'ya'n gadi'cgamīL dji' huwara'pī'. 27. ti'γarata'lawar. 28. saiyitrid'o'lawēL kē'mak. 29. saiyitra'k<sup>w</sup>Laiyar botsē'kawal. 30. kara'wala' watsā'le'lat. 31. ha'ca'ra'w. 32. gabē'tcarak<sup>w</sup> tol ra'γaratsk. 33. hī'ca'ra'wīL. 34. ga'plui'. 35. hī'rowaga'plui'. 36. djuwa gotsīga'da'rak<sup>w</sup> me'lagwīya'n. 37. gwa'kwac hīga'wa'kēL. 38. hē'LaL djuwa hī'wa'La'kwīlēL.

29. *Wildcat gets caught.*

1. cu'tiya'da'l. 2. kaga'gwo'mīL gwa'lda dji'wa'L hīla'nīwī' dactiya'da'l. 3. gawuswī'twa'mīL warako'nar dji' gī'tga datiya'da'l. 4. ra'gagwo'm gwa'lwa dawa'lē'lelōk cutiya'da'l. 5. wurayēL gī'tga dji' datiya'da'l. 6. ti'ya'da'līL. 7. garu

it me." 63. He jumped up. 64. They went on, he came back. 65. Next day man came. 66. He was said to, "You are going to be killed." 67. People are coming." 68. He said, "All right, I am going to fight." 69. War-song he sang. 70. He did not kill him at all, he did not fight, he was all right again. 71. He was going away. 72. East he was going. 73. At destination he arrived. 74. "That is where upon arrival I am going to live." 75. He began to think about it; "I am going to buy it." 76. He said to his wife he was going to leave, "You keep on the watch when it begins to get light way up at the head of North Fork (of Eel river). 77. There fire I am going to build when I am returning." 78. At daylight she began to see fire. 79. He returned. 80. He went visiting.

*28. Cormorant*

1. "Mr. Heavy" west he lived. 2. Cormorant he married. 3. Hail was pounded. 4. Sometime after South Jetty Woman suddenly he heard singing. 5. All the time the only thing she saw (were) seagulls circling way up high. 6. Sometime after it happened that she saw small gulls circling about. 7. That woman began to be in love. 8. Mr. Heavy she loved. 9. The gulls brought it (news) hither. 10. He knew it. 11. He came; he saw her. 12. He was married. 13. He went back. 14. Sometime after that was when they began to travel, he took her west. 15. Crane went. 16. Shitepoke went. 17. Shitepoke traded (with) Crane. 18. He was given rabbit-skin blanket his own his rabbit-skin blanket. 19. At destination he arrived. 20. Upon arrival he saw it fur seal there lived. 21. He did not like it here traveling. 22. "Long ago here I used to live, (now) they want to kill me." 23. He went out seaweed he brought in. 24. He put it in fire. 25. Smoke there was much. 26. Mr. Heavy did not like to see them do that. 27. He was thrown out. 28. They brought in one side of whale. 29. One side was hung over sticks to cook. 30. Blue rock made the place to lie on (floor). 31. "Pound." 32. Not good it was the pestle rough it was. 33. She pounded. 34. They ate. 35. All ate. 36. That is when he did not behave well Crane. 37. Shitepoke laughed. 38. He choked, that is how he got worsted.

*29. Wildcat gets caught*

1. "Do not go out." 2. He did not know what he meant by that, "Don't go out." 3. He began to think about it; "Tonight I am going out. 4. I want to know why did you tell me not to go out. 5. Now I am going out." 6. He went out. 7. Outside he sat. 8. In vain he

dalo'dēdē'waril. 8. gicda'γada'wēL'a'riL. 9. ga'lawalo'i' dak<sup>w</sup>.  
 10. hīna'γēL gu'ga'd'awil gī'tga. 11. bo'cug'ēL cuwa hī'yabaro'g'u.  
 12. djiwaL gi'tga da'm'ē'. 13. hīgubo'cugēL warawa'g'ugē'.  
 14. da'gagura'barug'u. 15. warawa'gugē' dagura'baru'gui'. 16.  
 djiwaL hīda'm'ēL. 17. labaga'gwil.

### 30. gurikwī'cwarī' gagwēL

1. gurikwī'cwarī'gagwēL gugwā'dawaL hugō'pēc̣kwaṛ purila'g'au'  
 dawara'kara'l dala'kaleta'modēL: mas hīdo'kla'mat  
 ra'tsawa'l. 2. ti'ya'da'lil da'welaṛil. 3. purila'g'au' mas  
 hī'yawe'lēL. 4. guga'd'awil. 5. guti'ya'da'lil da'welaṛil. 6.  
 purila'g'au' mas hī'guwe'lēL. 7. guga'd'awil. 8. guda'wela'riL.  
 9. purila'g'au' gagu'we'lēL mas. 10. hīgulo'wil. 11. hīgwīla'  
 γara'lēL hīgā'lawē'l. 12. dāldagi'tgulawa'γ hīyē'lil waguwō'pē  
 gitga. 13. gula'γil. 14. dala'kalēta'mò'dēL mas hīdo'kla'mat.  
 15. djiwaL dana'ṛ mas hīda'wē'lamil. 16. gwalwaL hīgo'rawibak.  
 17. ha'lanī Lākala'kawelo'. 18. dāl hugelṛo'gak gara'rakwawē'γ  
 hē'lōk<sup>w</sup> dana'purila'g'au wa'kula'l. 19. kuna gowi'l rudaga'  
 tsawekLa'mat rudate'lawalak rudicgagē'ṛōk. 20. hacgu la'γe'  
 djuwawaL La'lakawa'nak<sup>w</sup> ha'la'nawak. 21. hīdalā'tsavomil.  
 22. hīla'γil. 23. hīyē'lil mas hīdo'kla'mat. 24. gaswaL sīsawk  
 ti'ya'da'lil. 25. hī'yawelēL mas. 26. guga'd'awil. 27.  
 hawaṛoguti'γad'alil. 28. mas wagu'wakLa'mil. 29. guwe'lēL  
 mas. 30. guga'd'awil. 31. kwanca'baγ ti'ya'da'lil. 32. mas  
 wagu'wakLa'mil. 33. hīyawe'lēL maswaL dōk<sup>w</sup>. 34. guga'd'awil.  
 35. ga'warawa'La'ṛ guti'ya'd'alil. 36. mas waguwa'kla'mil.  
 37. mas hīgu'we'lēL. 38. hīrawa'γarawa'La'ṛ guti'ya'da'lil. 39.  
 hīyawe'lēL mas. 40. waiyarō'dak<sup>w</sup> mas. 41. ga'gwo'mil  
 dawara'kara'l gālawagwa'l. 42. gulo'wil hayu'tcaγarīca'ni'ṛ  
 ha'lanī'.

### 31. hē'nat

1. wa'tsa'iyayaril hē'nat gugwā'dawil. 2. ha'mētsaragwa'l  
 dagaga'wil. 3. tsapa'riL ri'dar djuwaL dadi'cgawog'ēL. 4. djuwa  
 dāldada'na'γarak djuwa gutsapa'riL hīyē'lil cuwa'dok hīra'kwē  
 gurikcu'r walē'so'. 5. La'golawo. 6. ha'lowiyawak<sup>w</sup> hīda'  
 laga'wo'tar. 7. ti'γaro'tar rakcu'r ya'Laksu'. 8. gwēkLa'w  
 la'γarak. 9. hado'lēm hīyē'dolawoi danē'twiLawa'L. 10. djuwa  
 lagē'dagar. 11. hīgo'lol gugā'dawa'lar. 12. dagu'taLa'iyar.  
 13. djuwawaL da'raVē'cagwil. 14. da'γada'wela'riL ga'lawalēL

looked around. 9. There was nothing there. 10. He thought, "I am going in again." 11. He heard some kind of noise. 12. "I am going to sit." 13. Again he heard it near. 14. Again he did not hear it. 15. Nearer he heard it. 16. Right there he kept on sitting. 17. It was a deadfall (beam on a trap).

### 30. *Southeast-Old-Man*

1. Southeast-Old-Man for a long time had been gambling northwest, his sister he said to: "Fire look for in the evening." 2. She went out, she looked. 3. Northwest fire she saw it. 4. She went in again. 5. Again she went out, she looked up. 6. Northwest she saw fire. 7. She went in again. 8. She looked again. 9. Northwest there was no fire. 10. He came back. 11. Upon arrival he said, "I was beaten." 12. Sometime after he said, "I am going gambling again." 13. He went. 14. He told her when he left "Fire look for." 15. Always she looked for fire. 16. Fire was out again. 17. Valuables were absolutely gone. 18. Long time (after), "I am lonesome today, I want northwest to go again. 19. The other time people many I saw, they spoke to me they liked me." 20. "All right, go that is all I have the only valuable." 21. She handed it to him. 22. He went. 23. He said, "Fire look for." 24. Early in evening she went out. 25. She saw fire. 26. She went in again. 27. Later she went out again. 28. Fire she looked for it. 29. Again she saw fire. 30. She went in again. 31. At midnight she went out. 32. Fire she looked for again. 33. She saw fire still there. 34. She went in again. 35. At daylight she went out again. 36. Fire she looked for again. 37. Fire she saw. 38. When it was day she went out again. 39. She saw fire. 40. All night it lived (stayed) fire. 41. She knew that her brother won. 42. He came back he brought by canoe all his valuables.

### 31. *Sleepy-Head*

1. At Alton Sleepy-Head long time ago was. 2. Because he slept all the time he never worked. 3. Girls two liked him. 4. One time those girls said, "Let us take him ashore down west." 5. He was taken down. 6. Canoe into he was carried. 7. Way out they went west he was taken. 8. Upon arrival it was seen land. 9. Small island they carried him up to, he kept on sleeping. 10. There they left him. 11. They went back, they came out into river again. 12. They landed. 13. That is when he awoke. 14. Here and there he looked about, he

- la'γarak. 15. wuratce'i wana hi'yawe'lēL. 16. hīga'wēk<sup>w</sup>LIL.  
 17. klāřo'gēk<sup>w</sup>LēL. 18. daγado'kla'lil rakat hiyada'wela'řil.  
 19. gwalda hi'yawelēL. 20. da'lēk<sup>w</sup>LēLawal. 21. waLaval  
 hi'guda'wela'řil. 22. waLaval hīgu'welēL. 23. hīno'gala'mil.  
 24. hī'nagēL swa'wī ra'dar. 25. djuwalval yaguda'wela'řil.  
 26. do'klamil. 27. djīvegawe'lēL gwi'lwa dadju'wa hano'wil.  
 28. gowi'l ho'wil. 29. vasô'gwēL ratcē'wak wuraro'wagwa'l.  
 30. hīgwiyē'dēL gwīte'li'm: duwa hano'wa'm garaga'gwa'wam.  
 31. hiyē'lil gudjadawil ra'mētsarak tsara'řil ri'dar diega'wē'řil.  
 32. djuwa gida dawolē'ma'salēL. 33. rakcura'La'γēL djē'lwara  
 ho'wil. 34. hiyē'tawa'ni'l gagwas gagwom guda'la'm. 35.  
 hiyē'lil waca'barok puri'lag'au'. 36. djuwa'wada'gwa'wo'lawo'.  
 37. ha'wala'Lat gī'tga. 38. gulo'wak gī'tga wīguva'lagwas.  
 39. hē'nat hiyē'lil yilēliya gagī'tga djī ra'd'al. 40. hila'Lat  
 gitga'val. 41. hiyē'lil hana'yilēliya gagī'tga djīrad'al. 42.  
 hiyē'lil la'γey. 43. hīla'γil. 44. hīnagēL dagī'tga ga'dawa'l.  
 45. ga'wadalil gwilalawal djī hira'd'a'lil. 46. da'gwiyo'. 47.  
 gaga'tswira'k<sup>w</sup>. 48. hawařo'gakL hīko'nar hīga'wala'nik. 49.  
 ga'wo'lawoi'. 50. gano'gak hīdi'gwa'γarôk<sup>w</sup>. 51. ra'kcura'La'γēL  
 hīna'gēL garaga'gw'awel. 52. hīna'gēL ga'wala'niL gitga. 53.  
 gawīra'γil dada'hanala'twēL. 54. ga'wa'liswil. 55. hiyē'lil;  
 gowil hina' waLago'tsawa'garava ga'wala' gara gitga. 56.  
 hīga'wala'gar. 57. hi'yawēga'gēγil. 58. he'řawa'La'ř  
 guga'wad'a'lil. 59. la'γaragwa gī'tga gura'd'ar. 60. dagulo'wil.  
 61. hīřoganē'war. 62. gutsařa'řil hu'waridar hīga'nēmīL  
 hagulo'wagwa'l. 63. hīwa'wak<sup>w</sup>La'mil. 64. wilo'la'nawak<sup>w</sup>  
 dagwiyo'dēdē'waril hīya'ldam'ēL. 65. gadawā'La'řil. 66. hē'nat  
 hīna'gēL gara'dicga'γa'm ruguwe'lak gutswawī'galagwē'lil. 67.  
 hītiya'da'lil. 68. tsa'řa'řil daduda'mēL. 69. hīkara'tganē'mil  
 70. gala'wīla'γil. 71. yaguda'we'La'řil hiyawelēL platk  
 daduda'm'ēL.

saw no land. 15. Water only he saw. 16. He began to cry. 17. Long time he cried. 18. He looked around south thither he looked. 19. Something he saw. 20. He kept on crying. 21. Again and again he looked. 22. Again and again he saw it. 23. Long time he looked at it. 24. He thought, "Very big it is." 25. Again and again he looked. 26. He looked at it. 27. That is when he saw it, "I wonder who is this coming." 28. A man was coming. 29. He was surprised to see water on he was walking. 30. Upon arrival he came up, he talked to him, "Where do you come from?" "I do not know." 31. He said, "Long time while I was sleeping girls two liked me. 32. I think they put me ashore here." 33. Southwest-Young-Man was the man who had come. 34. He was said to, "I know you, I know where you live." 35. He said, "Let us go together, northwest. 36. That is where there is going to be a dance. 37. You will go with me. 38. When I come back I will send you home." 39. Sleepy-Head answered, "As for me can I travel that way?" 40. "You must go with me." 41. He said, "I cannot travel that way." 42. He said, "Go." 43. He went. 44. He thought, "I am going to sink." 45. They started off, *he* too traveled. 46. At destination he arrived. 47. Big crowd was there. 48. It began to get dark when they started to doctor. 49. They began to dance. 50. Soon they rested from dancing. 51. Southwest-Young-Man thought, "I am not known." 52. He thought he was going to doctor. 53. "I will be thought a doctor." 54. He began to sing. 55. He said, "A man some-time ago I found, I ought to give him a present." 56. He was given a present. 57. He became rich. 58. Next day they started back. 59. "Land on I am going this time." 60. He returned. 61. All heard about it. 62. The girls those two heard about his return. 63. They went to see him. 64. The door near down they sat, one on each side they sat. 65. They looked in. 66. Sleepy-Head thought, "I do not want to see them again, very badly they treated me." 67. He went out. 68. The girls were sitting there. 69. He put a hand on each of them. 70. Not far he went. 71. He looked back, he saw rocks sitting there.

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY MRS. SEARSON

32. *wi'tgal datgaca'nil*

1. wi'tgal datgaca'nil wi'tgal go'tckara'l. 2. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL wi'tgal vaca'barug'il. 3. wi'tgal hila'gil. 4. djätcó'tc gawo'lawil. 5. hidakwé'yo gudaga'wu'lawoi. 6. siswäk djätcó'tc dali' ga'dawil. 7. ha'L'ak<sup>w</sup> wi'tgal damé'L. 8. ra'l djätcó'tc da'la(k<sup>w</sup>) ra'lak<sup>w</sup>. 9. si'swäk rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL da'li' da'k<sup>w</sup>. 10. ga'wu'lawoi'. 11. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyē'liL hi'ta'wani'l Ladam'é't. 12. wi'tgal hiyē'liL hē+' da'mē'. 13. gawadawa'ni'l. 14. bo'tsar ra'la'k<sup>w</sup> gawī'yawatadawa'ni'l. 15. klägawa'swawira-γarak. 16. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyētamo'dil La'dam'é't. 17. k<sup>w</sup>a'ncabay bo'tsar diğwä'ta'lawil. 18. hawaŋ'gakL ga'wa'dawo'dil gurabo'tsar. 19. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyē'liL garó'tc Ladam'é't. 20. wi'tgal hē+' ra'mēmāk hiyē'liL da'mē'. 21. bo'tsar kläsawā'raγarak klä'gacawä'k. 22. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyē'liL Ladam'é't. 23. wi'tgal rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyē'liL La'dam'é't. 24. witgal klägada'liL. 25. rak<sup>w</sup>LI'riL hiyē'liL gwalwa' djiwaL hila'nela'm. 26. awar cu'vēw. 27. cuwa' gic gara'na'hela'lēl. 28. kuka'la'gw'a'γ dalgawaL hiwiya'nela'm djiwaL garana' hila'lēl kuka'lakwaγ. 29. hi'gawa'rawa'Laŋ djä'tcô'tc gugawati'γara'nil. 30. bo'tsar hida'liL rala'k<sup>w</sup>. 31. guda'lasil. 32. datgaca'nil hiyē'liL duwa' wi'tgal. 33. ga'walo'wil. 34. djä'tcô'tc garu' ti'γara'nil. 35. datgaca'nil gawala'La'mil wi'tgal. 36. datgaca'nil gutsa'γarawil. 37. wi'tgal garu da'liv. 38. wi'tgal datgaca'nil hiyē'liL djuwa'ya dali'la't. 39. wi'tgal hiyē'liL yiL dji dali'l. 40. wi'tgal gatwa'γara'nil. 41. datgaca'nil hiyē'liL hina'' kudé'sak curatsäd'a'lay. 42. higawä'notwil. 43. datgaca'nil hiyē'liL hinar gula'γēdak.

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY MRS. SEARSON

*32. Coyote and Panther*

1. Coyote and Panther Coyote his grandmother. 2. Wolf Coyote went to witness dance. 3. Coyote went. 4. Animals were going to have a dance. 5. They arrived at destination where they were going to dance. 6. At night the animals inside they came in. 7. Deer (and) Coyote sat down. 8. Basket lean meat inside basket in was. 9. At night Wolf inside remained. 10. They began to dance. 11. Wolf said; he was said to, "Are you sitting?" 12. Coyote said, "Yes, I am sitting." 13. Dancing was begun. 14. Fawn basket out of began to circle about in dance. 15. At last it began to happen. 16. Wolf said to him, "Are you sitting?" 17. At midnight fawn jumped down. 18. Soon it began to dance that fawn. 19. Wolf said, "My younger cousin, are you sitting?" 20. Coyote, "Yes, my older cousin," he said, "I am sitting." 21. Fawn at length very it happened at last smallish it was. 22. Wolf said, "Are you sitting?" 23. Coyote Wolf said, "Are you sitting?" 24. Coyote did not answer. 25. Wolf said, "What do you say that for: 26. 'Oh dear, I wish I could eat'? 27. How is it, in vain I did not want to be accompanied. 28. You have no sense, anything you might say, that is why I did not want to be accompanied, you have no sense." 29. At daylight, the animals began to go out again in a band. 30. The fawn went into the basket. 31. He got in again. 32. Panther said, "Where is Coyote?" 33. They began to come back. 34. Animals outside went in a band. 35. Panther hunted for Coyote. 36. Panther found him. 37. Coyote outside was lying. 38. Coyote Panther said to, "Where are you lying?" 39. Coyote said, "I here am lying." 40. Coyote rubbed his face. 41. Panther said, "Some time ago I said to you, 'Do not talk loud'." 42. He began to revive. 43. Panther said, "We are going back."



33. *wi'tgaL mak<sup>w</sup>*

1. mak<sup>w</sup> djida'k<sup>w</sup> cu'r.
2. wi'tgaL mol wala'lil mak<sup>w</sup> dak<sup>w</sup>.
3. pLatk La'gar ma'sak<sup>w</sup>.
4. we'tgaL hiyē'lil ciragwa'yaγarak.
5. hina'r djida'na'ṛ.
6. djuwawaL gala'gowigwa'n.
7. hina'r cuc djidana'ṛ pLatk klādi'.
8. hack bod'aiya'tgadi'.
9. pLatk gad'awā'ta'lawil.
10. gawaga'nalēL mak<sup>w</sup>.
11. hini'yawa'war.
12. wi'tgaL raṛē'L.
13. wi'tgaL gawa'wēL.
14. wi'tgaL ga'plil.
15. hule'dē' mak<sup>w</sup> Laga'lawalo'wil.
16. wi'tgaL gud'amēL.
17. mak<sup>w</sup> hiya'lil dali'.
18. mak<sup>w</sup> guga'wa'da'lil.
19. bo'cugui' wi'tgaL hiyē'lil gid'a djida'na'γarak.
20. mak<sup>w</sup> hiyē'lil gid'a wi'tgaL raṛē'L.
21. hiyē'lil vak<sup>w</sup> gid'a gwī'le'l raṛē'L.
22. ga'wak<sup>w</sup>cēwa'r wi'tgaL.
23. hi'la'γil.
24. ya'kvata'lawil tsa'bil.
25. hiraLe'ka'n.
26. hiniya'wa'war.

34. *wi'tgaL bodaru'c*

1. cīro'ke da'li dak<sup>w</sup>.
2. wi'tgaL wulawala'lil.
3. bodaru'c cīro'ke garu' ra'l dawulē'dak<sup>w</sup>sil.
4. wi'tgaL higa'd'awil wulawala'lil.
5. wi'tgaL hiyē'lil da'γ Lawa'dak<sup>w</sup>.
6. cīro'ke hiyē'lil galawalo'i' vēwi'.
7. wi'tgaL hiyē'lil gitga gu'lay.
8. ya'ga'maril bo'daru'c.
9. wi'tgaL hila'γil.
10. ho'l hī'cak<sup>w</sup>.
11. wi'tgaL hiyawalē'L ho'l da'lay.
12. hīlaba'mlayalē'cil.
13. hīda'da'lil.
14. hiyawalē'L ho'l hīda'lay.
15. hīswa'lawēL ho'l.
16. gala'kawaloi ho'l.
17. wi'tgaL hīrawa'twēL.
18. hila'γēL.
19. wi'tgaL hiyawalēL ho'l da'lay.
20. hī'dam'ēL hīlaba'mlayalē'cil.
21. hīnu'la'γara'dil.
22. hīda'liv.
23. gowil hiyo'wil hiyawalo'i' wi'tgaL da'liv.
24. gowil hiyo'wil hiyē'lil kilya djida'li'la't.
25. wi'tgaL hiyē'lil djawa'hītk hīda'wa'daratw.

*33. Coyote and the Bears*

1. Bear there lived near beach. 2. Coyote house went to see bear (where) he lived. 3. Rock was put down into fire into. 4. Coyote said, "There is sickness. 5. Let us do thus. 6. That is why people are no more. 7. We think that is the way to do, rocks heat. 8. All right open your mouth." 9. Rock he threw into. 10. He began to roll with pain bear. 11. He was killed. 12. Coyote did it. 13. Coyote butchered him. 14. Coyote ate. 15. Came along bears, they were not seen passing. 16. Coyote sat there. 17. Bears went inside. 18. Bears began to go back. 19. It was heard Coyote said, "I guess that is the way it happened." 20. Bear said, "I guess Coyote did it." 21. He said bear, "I think he himself did it." 22. He was chased Coyote. 23. He went. 24. He threw away his arrows and then. 25. On the move he was caught. 26. He was killed.

*34. Coyote and the Brodiaea Bulbs*

1. Old woman house was there. 2. Coyote went to visit her. 3. Brodiaea bulbs old lady outside basket was just setting. 4. Coyote came in, he came to visit. 5. Coyote said, "My stomach stays in its place." 6. Old woman said, "There is no food." 7. Coyote said, "I am going back." 8. He stole the bulbs. 9. Coyote went. 10. Water he lacked. 11. Coyote saw water was there. 12. He put his mouth down. 13. He went on. 14. He saw water was there. 15. He shot the water. 16. There was no water. 17. Coyote became "hearted" (weak). 18. He went. 19. Coyote saw water was there. 20. He sat down, he put his mouth down. 21. Up he caused his face. 22. He lay down. 23. A man came, he saw Coyote lying. 24. The man came, he said, "Is that you lying there?" 25. Coyote said, "By mistake I overslept."

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY BIRDIE

35. *goma'iyu·liL mak<sup>w</sup>*

1. dāto'γak botca'wak goma'iyu·liL dag'u. 2. djuwada ga'iyowil da'gu mak<sup>w</sup>. 3. mak<sup>w</sup> hini'yava'war. 4. gomaiyu·liL gagä daṛa'iyak<sup>w</sup>. 5. cu'ri hiyaguLa'γiL.

36. *Coyote returns from the Sky*

1. wētga'L rakwu'r dada'liL. 2. latga'kda'ṛaγēL djuwadawulē'diL. 3. gurikda't hiya'lē·diL. 4. wada'L dalu'da'γarali'm djuwa da'gw·idēgwāLa'ṛiL. 5. dawagē'L hagu'd'igwa'da'lek. 6. hac gi'tga djuwara'ṛē' dēgwā'tal. 7. dawalvaL wi'ragwil kwile'. 8. dagi'cla'l. 9. hidēgwāta'laviL. 10. ha'walälawaL dala'liL. 11. gawaska'la'liL hame'lava'l. 12. latga'gwak<sup>w</sup> hida'kwīyo'da'liL. 13. ha'nagotsatgaralalil wa'tgarade'l. 14. ha'waṛo'gakL huwa'twatava'l huga'warōṛatkcēL. 15. guga'wadulu'dalo'geL huwa'tgarade'l. 16. hig'ugu'wurawoi'. 17. habo'ca'n hudawē'γarak ga'wil.

37. *rakcura'LaγeL diega'miL tsara'ca'LiL*

1. djuwara'γarak gugwä' rakcura'LaγeL diega'miL tsara'ca'LiL. 2. cakca'miL. 3. rakcura'LaγeL hina'γeL cuwa gite hina'ṛēya'γ. 4. hina'γeL gi'tga djuwa'raṛe'. 5. huda'walagwa'l djuhuda'raṛē'gwa'l man hudaro'la'nawagwa'l. 6. djuwa hudala'waradjē-gwa'l. 7. djuwahiwaL hira'ṛēL gi'tga. 8. hirēd'a'wēnawil varōtce'i'. 9. djuwēgas dē'gala'liL. 10. guravarōtce'i' hēpa'g'alo'. 11. djuwa'wuragēL vaLa'pa'g'alo'.

## WIYOT TALES TOLD BY BIRDIE

*35. Sea Lion and Grizzly Bear*

1. Near ocean Bunker Hill (on Table Bluff) at sea lions they. 2. That is where they fought bears. 3. Bears were killed. 4. Sea lions were stronger. 5. Ocean he went down into again.

*36. Coyote returns from the Sky*

1. Coyote north was going. 2. End of the world that is where he went up. 3. Way up he went. 4. *wada'l dalu'da'γarali'm* that is where he looked down. 5. "How am I going to get down? 6. All right that is what I am going to do, I will jump down. 7. (If) continuously I stay I will die here. 8. In vain I travel." 9. Down he jumped. 10. Halfway he went. 11. It began to break into pieces by falling his body. 12. Earth at he landed. 13. They broke falling his bones. 14. Soon his head began to move. 15. They began to unite again his bones. 16. He came to life. 17. Dandelion gum medicine did it.

*37. Southwest-Young-Man loves Butterball*

1. It happened long ago Southwest-Young-Man loved Butterball. 2. She hated him. 3. Southwest-Young-Man thought, "What shall I do?" 4. He thought, "That is what I am going to do." 5. Because he saw that she always did that way paddle that she always lifted it up (and let water run down). 6. Because that was the way she used to drink. 7. That is why he was going to do that. 8. He made it in furrow the water. 9. That is where he urinated on it. 10. That water became salty. 11. That is why now the bay is salty.

38. *dēgwa'gaLil*

1. pLatgōsa'malim djuwada'ḡarak. 2. djuwada'lalano'tar.
3. ka'kara'lil tiḡa'da'lil. 4. madi' wuga'd'awa'nawil. 5. dupa'warōtsa'n.
6. hiyē'lil yī... da'wadjudadala'lil dēgwa'gaLil. 7. djuwa da'na'ḡarak guga'd'awil. 8. waga'ḡuro-gēd'ē'warilwal.
9. guwiliga'd'awil twula'ḡali'l gula'palac. 10. gaga'ḡwom ḡwi'Lda. 11. hina'ḡēL waḡi'd'ala'wēda'lil. 12. hawaḡo'ḡakL.
13. dēgwa'ḡarak<sup>w</sup>. 14. tsara'ḡil halda'mēL. 15. wuḡo'ḡakL hiyē'lil cu hinar wana'dji'(yit).
16. gutsara'ḡil hiyē'lil hacgu. 17. hila'pad'a'nawil. 18. wa'lagotsaril djaḡa'd'aḡil.
19. hida'ḡwiyo' bada'u'w. 20. hiyē'lil djaL gi'tga djagarada'varōtce'i'. 21. hida'da'lil. 22. ikLe'l dagi'gula'war badau'w.
23. hiye'lil gi'tga gara'marōtci'. 24. hina'ḡeL gitga go'mad'a'l. 25. higo'mad'a'lil. 26. hidada'lil. 27. ha'wala'pad'ani' hi'lolawoi'.
28. hina'ḡeL gi'tga djuwararē'. 29. dalva'l higa'wadēgwa'nawil. 30. ga'wagē'danawil. 31. dakwiyo'' guda'ḡui'.
32. higwē'kla'mil duwa'iyil hagē' dji'wardale'lan vēwī' maLa'k va'lavatsawe'nawak djātcō'te va'lawatsave'nawak.
33. duwa'la'ḡil wana'k<sup>w</sup> hudava'la'lil. 34. da'lawaleL gudala'ḡa'n djātcō'te hudari'avomil.
35. dacvisvē'ḡara'nil. 36. gutsaru'da'ḡawala'ḡil danē'twil. 37. hina'ḡeL gitga Lā'kava'.
38. hivu'vulawil kulawoi'. 39. hisvē'ḡara'navodil. 40. huwaḡo'ḡakL hiyawēca'ḡwil.
41. hiyē'lil: cukda ra'ḡwe'laḡ ritsā'kitsgucāwa'k. 42. higu'dēk<sup>w</sup>Lim. 43. hina'ḡeL gi'tga gulā'k.
44. higuswē'ḡaranawil. 45. Lāḡa'rawala'ḡotwil dahē'nak<sup>w</sup>. 46. djiwal higu'wulava'd'a'lil. 47. higu'laḡil kuna' guda'ḡui'.
48. djuwa higu'rada'lil.

*38. The Woods Devil*

1. Little river is where it happened. 2. That is where there was a brush dance. 3. Woman went out. 4. Wood she went to bring in. 5. It was showery (fog was nearly thick enough to be rain). 6. She said, "Ugh! Something must be going around wood's devil." 7. That is when it happened she went in again. 8. Not long she sat. 9. A man came in deerskin he wore with belt. 10. They did not know who it was. 11. They thought, "I think far he must have come." 12. It was very soon. 13. They rested from dancing. 14. Girls on both sides sat. 15. Soon he said, "Let us go drink." 16. The girls said, "All right." 17. He led her along. 18. One girl followed behind. 19. They arrived at a spring. 20. He said, "I am not going to drink here." 21. They went on. 22. Another spring was arrived at. 23. He said, "I am not going to drink." 24. She thought, "I better go back." 25. She turned back. 26. They went on. 27. Held by the hand she was taken. 28. She thought, "I am going to do this." 29. Fern she began to throw it down. 30. She began to let it go (drop it). 31. They arrived where he lived. 32. Upon arrival she saw there, oh, what an abundance of food, salmon dried, elk meat dried. 33. She went hunting (with him). 34. She saw (how) it was done. 35. It (quiver) was pointing at it for nothing (it was sufficient). 36. One day he was asleep. 37. She thought, "I am going to try it." 38. She went and took quiver. 39. She pointed at his face with it. 40. Soon he woke up. 41. He said, "I wonder what is the matter with me, two little things have my head (I have a dull headache)." 42. Again he lay down. 43. She thought, "I am going to try again." 44. Again she pointed it at his face. 45. Before daylight he died. 46. Then she started to go back. 47. She went back (to) sometime before where she had lived. 48. That is where she went.

## YUOK TALES TOLD BY BIRDIE IN WIYOT

39. *do'tavēL*

1. dotavē'L djuwa'dana'γarak.
2. tsafa'riL djuwadawa'damēL.
3. davasada'γara'n te'γaril.
4. da'liyawa'gwa'l dala'liswotwil.
5. gutiya'riL daferadjē'yotwil.
6. djil ga'walôLam kuna gudalē'lil haLa'l giLi'l djuwa'Lelo'.
7. gano'gak hiwad'elwē'mil.
8. higwi'b'äpoge'djara'nil.
9. leleyo'wil.
10. daṛaga'u'w huwala'plodeγara'l.
11. huba'La'l djiwaLwaL hira'k'w.

40. *ri'tsôp*

1. ri'tsô'p djuwa'dana'γarak.
2. gugwäda'waL huga'walagwa'l bitso'lakc.
3. dawa'da'lil.
4. gurava'djar datiya'da'lil da'davala'nē'mil vole'l hudawada'lagwa'l.
5. warawaLe-lawēya'γarak da'lavi'lo'mil.
6. däLdahuda'na'γarak hiyēta'wani'l gagutsē'b'it gi'tga hina'ryil ga'mak gi'tga ve'lava'.
7. hiyē'lil gu'rvatcar ha'cgu.
8. hiciṛa'watga hikē'Lēswat gawaLṛugal gulo'wi' gwīwa'lui'.
9. gano'gak higa'waciṛa'wil.
10. wagaguwīro'gaciṛa'wil.
11. hiyawa'lel gowil huga'd'awil.
12. hētwa'layalē'lak gula'plac.
13. gudakL dagwi'yod'i'dēwaril.
14. hiyētawa'ni'l dagu'tsib'itiya dawawa'ṛula'li'.
15. hiyē'lil gama'k ve'lawar.
16. cuwa gi'tga gasṛuolo'w.
17. hiyē'lil kuna'n ḡuṛu'lo'w.
18. ḡuragowi'l hiyē'lil hac yil wagutsēya-lita'lawa'.
19. hiyo'wil hiya'ḡwi'yodēdē'waril.
20. heLāca'nani'to'l.
21. higa'waciṛa'wil.
22. gano'gak ciṛa'wil.
23. higu'ḡed-a'nawil.
24. hiya'Lḡ'an watcga'tcar.
25. hiyawa'wala'n.
26. hiyaga'sgul'ē'd'ak'w'sui'.
27. gudama'to'.
28. datwē'L higuridē'waril.
29. higtuya'da'lil.
30. gotsudala'ḡilakava' gutiya'da'lil.
31. ḡuṛu'lo'w.
32. ga'waku'na'n.
33. higwēkla'w da'mēLwaL.
34. to'l wada'lolawēL.
35. hawaṛo'gakL gasgatcawa'ḡwawar waca'ḡwēyak.
36. djil da'mēL.
37. djuwa hiya'la'n hīlulawoi.
38. hi'yawalui' cabāwa'wala'n hētk.
39. higô'ḡwawar kuna guda'dalanē'mil djil da'dawula'lil.

## YUROK TALES TOLD BY BIRDIE IN WIYOT

39. *do'tavēL*

1. dotavē'L that is where it happened. 2. Girls sat down there. 3. They went to meet a young man. 4. While making baskets they sang. 5. That young man they mentioned in their song. 6. "That is the way it begins to look, yesterday the way he said it would look, it is a sign he is coming." 7. Soon they felt something about their necks. 8. Upon arrival he put an arm around each of their necks. 9. He was there. 10. Woodpeckers his eyebrows. 11. His hair that way too was.

40. *Big Lagoon*

1. Big Lagoon that is where it happened. 2. Long ago when he was seen Owl. 3. He came and talked. 4. That girl went out, she growled at him because he came and talked. 5. She said everything, she was afraid of him. 6. Sometime after she was told, "Alone you must stay, as for us acorns we are going to gather." 7. She said that girl, "All right." 8. "Pound, soak them, soon we will all come back then we will feast." 9. Soon she pounded. 10. Not long she pounded. 11. She saw a person come in. 12. He wore deerskin with a belt. 13. On opposite side of fire he sat down. 14. She was said to, "Are you alone, where did they all go?" 15. She said, "Acorns are being gathered." 16. "When will they all return?" 17. She said, "Tonight they will all come back." 18. That man said, "Let me pound a little while." 19. He came and sat down in front of her. 20. Pestle was taken from her. 21. He began to pound. 22. Not long he pounded. 23. He put it down again. 24. He grasped both her legs. 25. She was split open. 26. He put her back the same way. 27. He caused her to sit again. 28. As if alive she sat up. 29. Again he went out. 30. When he had finished arranging her well he went out. 31. They all came back. 32. Evening came. 33. Upon arrival they saw her sitting there. 34. Pestle she held. 35. Soon they knew that she had been murdered. 36. There she sat. 37. Then she was picked up and taken away. 38. She was seen (to be) split in two. 39. They knew sometime ago the one she had grumbled at that was the one who had been there.



41. *PLatidu'ca'*

1. gugwä'ldawaL tsäk hugo'tsga' vadja'r. 2. gwabo'cogil.
3. va'wateiL. 4. giedo'w. 5. ga'lawaLiL. 6. rugal gēda'b'alui'.
7. djuwadaga'swaliL. 8. djuwagotsdaga'sarak hama'lagwa'l.
9. kitck lägagä'rôdar djuwawaL hara'k<sup>w</sup>. 10. gutsläkaka'-  
kawaLa'LawēL. 11. cuwo'yil dara'kwē'. 12. gotsar daguga'plui'.
13. hiyētamo'dil gagē'd'agas gi'tga. 14. cuwēL hiragwe'la'm.
15. dagu'tsdawaL kīraka'maLak. 16. tiya'da'lil gura'motwiL  
gula'gwēL. 17. djuwahidada'mēL baLawa'k<sup>w</sup>. 18. gawaṛa'roklam  
gi'tga. 19. cuga'gawarāṛil. 20. hi'yawa'leL huga'pLagwa'l. 21.  
gano'gak hibo'cogil gwa'lda da'tirē' vo'lak<sup>w</sup>. 22. dalu'didi'  
gwa'lda. 23. gad'awa'ya'garadil. 24. gurawa'djar da'wila'ṛil.
25. hiyē'lil rag'o'wi' rag'o'wi'. 26. djuwawaL higa'wala'nalil.
27. hawaṛo'gak digwa'iyuna'lil. 28. gu'rvatcar hika'nawēL.
29. djuwayati'yarulawoi'. 30. dakasa'ni' hilo'lawoi'. 31.  
ga'walod'idēwarotwoi'. 32. ga'wadawiliwa'ni'l djiya gi'tgawan.
33. gi'ya. 34. hīguda'laṛa'la'r. 35. dälDa hida'kalodēdē'waril.
36. dawiliwa'ni'l. 37. djiya gi'tgawan. 38. hiyē'lil gi'ya. 39.  
gotga'galar. 40. djuwawa'da gwīgulo'd'ēdē'waril. 41.  
hiyēta'wa'ni'l djiya gi'tgawan. 42. hiyē'lil hē'. 43. djuwa  
hida'damēL. 44. duwagi'cguli'milotar. 45. dawalo' dadigwada'-  
lagwa'l. 46. gagida'lasēL gwada'lasēL halo'wiyawak<sup>w</sup>. 47.  
do'kawa'to' dalēgw'e'la' pLati'doc ha'liv. 48. djuwadavawaL  
guli'milo'tar. 49. rawo'd'a dana'gelgulit. 50. djuwa dawalo't-  
gulimilo't.

42. *Woods Devil laughs himself to Death*

1. giya'gwar dju'wadana'ṛarak. 2. dawa'lēd'awa'g'ui' gama'k.
3. hudagō'sa'ni'l. 4. hikläga'tsar. 5. djuwahigas ga'walagwa'swui'  
guda'li'. 6. duvugu'lagwa'tsui'. 7. hiya'gulo'sui' djatci'tegarī'.
8. hiyē'd'olawui'. 9. ga'waku'nar dagasgu'ṛolo'w. 10.  
go'tsiga'wala'gar. 11. hibo'cugui' gwada'waL dala'l gatgō'Lal.
12. ha'wawo'gakL hiti'ṛarāta'lava' hēL gura'motwiL. 13.  
hiyē'lil dagwa'ṛano'w gi'tga. 14. hawaṛo'gakL hiṛawa'ṛi'.
15. wa'lahinalē'lil. 16. hiyawa'leL gwaLwa djiwad'a'li'm. 17.  
djida hida'go'tsaray Lavadē'tar. 18. guridja'ṛad'a'ṛil djitk  
wara'k<sup>w</sup>. 19. va'data'nawēwil. 20. gudagwayana'n djiyaL  
higu'laṛil.

#### 41. *Children's Story*

1. Once upon a time child was born a girl. 2. She did not listen (obey). 3. She cried. 4. In vain she was fed. 5. She did not eat. 6. After meal was finished. 7. That is the time she ate. 8. Then she was good because she feasted. 9. Surely bigger she grew, that way always she was. 10. She (mother) did not feel right about it. 11. "What is the matter?" 12. Once they began to eat again. 13. She said to her, "I am going to leave you. 14. What is the matter with you? 15. Why do you never eat properly?" 16. She went out that woman the old one. 17. There she sat partition behind. 18. She began to watch. 19. What is she going to do? 20. She saw her begin to eat. 21. Soon she heard something up roof (house) on. 22. It lit there something. 23. He stuck his head in. 24. The girl looked up. 25. She said, "My husband, my husband." 26. That is what she kept repeating. 27. After a while rope fell down. 28. The girl grabbed it. 29. That way she was carried out. 30. Smokehole (through) she was taken. 31. He began to rest from carrying her. 32. She was asked, "Do you like it here?" 33. "No." 34. She was carried on his back again. 35. One time he sat down. 36. She was asked. 37. "Do you like it here?" 38. She said, "No." 39. All over the world they went. 40. That is where (where they started from) they sat down again. 41. She was asked, "Do you like it here?" 42. She said, "Yes." 43. There she sat down. 44. In vain they came for her in boat. 45. They saw her walk down. 46. She did not get in she did not get in canoe into. 47. She was heard saying to rock, "Come ashore." 48. That is why they went down for her with the boat again. 49. They thought she wanted to come ashore. 50. That is why they went for her.

#### 42. *Woods Devil laughs himself to Death*

1. Roger's Peak that is where it happened. 2. They went to gather acorns. 3. They were picked up into baskets. 4. There were many. 5. And then they began to carry them down to where they lived. 6. They took them in again. 7. They set net for mudhens. 8. They brought them up. 9. In the evening they all returned. 10. They began to clean them. 11. They heard someone walking around outside. 12. Soon she threw them out the entrails that woman. 13. She said, "I will hit him in the face." 14. Soon all went to bed. 15. Early they got up. 16. They saw something lying there. 17. There they found that he was stiff. 18. The one who was behind that one died. 19. He laughed himself to death. 20. The one who was hit in the face that one went back.

43. *Love Medicine*

1. gugwädawil djiwara'γarak, gowi'l huwisa'belē'. 2. dāldahuda'nayarak gotsgalakaragwilawo'wel. 3. Lagalo'kda-dāldada'nayarak. 4. djiwadaga'gw'omil diwi'litk guga'wadicga'm'il. 5. hina'γel cuwagi'tc hina'ri'. 6. hacgi'tga Lā'kava'. 7. hawē'γarak gi'tga' ga''w. 8. hi'vuvolawil mo'c guriyagaste'γaril djiwal gutsa'ka-wēL. 9. wa'rôtce'i' guda'layil. 10. djuwēdada'mel. 11. djuwa hidawē'sil ga'd'awalē'nawil. 12. hisā'dolēsil hawā'lila'l. 13. higa'wiyawakwil higa'waliswil. 14. gawara'-radjēyotwil huga'wēwa'l huwara'mala'na'twagwa'l. 15. djuwawal hi'da'mel relo'k ha'lavävēdē'waril. 16. djiwawal wa'nak<sup>w</sup> ga'wil huvahiyawakwagwa'l. 17. relu'k hud'a'lawak hi'yawalēL gowi'l hudo'wagwa'l. 18. mo'iwu'livuda'wēLa'ril. 19. hi'yawa'lēL gu'ragawē'wa'ṛ. 20. djiLwal ho'wil. 21. gaguro'la'γaradil. 22. wiligwiyo'wē'skar gwibabugä'tcara'n. 23. gad'a'lil. 24. djiwal wana'k<sup>w</sup> ra'ṛēL. 25. hivu'volawil mo'c hida'gamodil. 26. ha'lawatwēL wa'twe'l hi'ṛawawä'tk. 27. hawaṛo'gakL higo'lganil. 28. hiyēta'modil gwalwa vagu'lagwēL. 29. hila'γam. 30. hiyē'lil gagudi'cgaga'ca'γ. 31. gurago'wi' hiyē'lil diega'ma' ruguda'la'sak. 32. dapd'a'walat gi'tga djuwa'wa gi'tga gasguda'lawalat. 33. gotsga'nak<sup>w</sup> guragwē'la'm ku'dalag'ed'a'wēγ. 34. gurago'wi' hiyē'lil gi'tga djigara'gurari'γ. 35. wipda'das gi'tga. 36. diega'ma' vuguda'lasak. 37. hēpda'd'omil. 38. higuda'lomil. 39. gotswal hi'nak<sup>w</sup> haguda'k<sup>w</sup>.

44. *da'warakara'l*

1. rakwu'r djuwada'ritwu'rageL La'gw'ēwil. 2. gurugēLa'-gwēwigwa'l ga'waletawa'ni'l gitga ka'lawisi'. 3. dāldahuda'-na'γarak hiyawa'loi' gowil hido'wagwa'l va'lavālar higotsapa'ril. 4. hi'yētawa'ni'l guti'γaril cuwawal Lara'tweya' wisi'l gitga. 5. Lā'gada'lil. 6. hina'γel guga'gwel wisa'tum. 7. hi'yawisil. 8. hiyētawa'ni'l hila'γat gitga. 9. guti'γaril hiyē'lil cuṛo'galak. 10. hiri'd'awa'iyōdak<sup>w</sup>. 11. hina'γil gula'γ gitga. 12. guti'γaril gatga'lalawil da'mel. 13. da'lanab'il vilava'. 14. hi'yawaleL da'warakara'l. 15. higunga'd'awil. 16. hiyē'lil gala'kda'l gi'tga. 17. tiγa'd'alil. 18. djiwa wana kakLa'l hiya'kavolavil wilava'wal. 19. da'kwigulo'wil gura'motwil. 20. hiyē'lil duwa'vala'lil. 21.

*43. Love Medicine*

1. Long ago it happened, man was married. 2. Sometime after they no longer were good to each other. 3. He left her one time. 4. Then she knew some one else he had begun to love again. 5. She thought, "What shall I do?" 6. All right I will try. 7. Medicine I am going to make." 8. She went and got cottonwood a young stalk that was the only one. 9. Water she went to. 10. There she sat down. 11. There she stood it up she put it into the ground. 12. She put at the side of the water her feet. 13. She began to weave baskets she began to sing. 14. She began to mention his name in her song her husband because she hated to give him up. 15. There she sat ten days she sat. 16. That is the only thing she did making baskets. 17. After ten days she saw man coming. 18. She glanced up. 19. She saw her husband. 20. It was he coming. 21. She did not look up again. 22. He came right up to her upon arrival he put his arm around her neck. 23. She said nothing. 24. That is all she did. 25. She went and got the cottonwood she hit him with it. 26. He fainted his heart became weak. 27. Soon he breathed again. 28. She said, "What are you doing here?" 29. Are you going?" 30. She said, "I do not want you any more." 31. The man said, "I want to stay with you again." 32. "You must pay me that is when you may live with me again. 33. Not well you treated me because you left me." 34. The man said, "I will not do that any more. 35. I will pay you. 36. I would like to live with you again." 37. He paid her. 38. They lived together. 39. Happily they lived together again.

*44. The Siblings*

1. North that is where two children grew. 2. When she grew up she was said to, "You are not going to marry." 3. Some time after there was seen a man coming to buy that girl. 4. He was said to that young man, "What do you think about it, she must marry?" 5. He said absolutely nothing. 6. He thought the old man, "I will let her marry." 7. She married. 8. She was said to, "You must go away." 9. That man said, "Do not stay too long." 10. Two nights she stayed. 11. She thought, "I will go back." 12. That young man outside he was sitting. 13. He was playing the flute. 14. He saw his sister. 15. He came in again. 16. He said, "I am going away." 17. He went out. 18. Only his cane he took, his flute also. 19. At destination she arrived that woman. 20. She said, "Where is he going?" 21. She was

hiyēta'wani'l gala'kdôk<sup>w</sup>. 22. yiwaL gitga gala'kdak<sup>w</sup> da'dal  
 gi'tga. 23. hida'da'lil. 24. higa'waliswiL da'rowara'kara'l. 25.  
 gudapa'wadawel yiwaL gi'tga djuwa da'pawat. 26. ga'wad'alil.  
 27. LÄLA'wilaγil. 28. hi'yawaleL gaswawī'laγ huguγa'rawaγa-  
 räLaḡ. 29. La'γil. 30. djuga'wara'liswiL. 31. ga'wawatalotwiL  
 hudaguγa'rawa'γaräLa'gw'a'l. 32. LÄLA'wilaγ. 33. djiwaLgas  
 vu'gäda'lil. 34. hina'γel guti'γaril djuwa gi'tga ra'rē' gawaL  
 hisē'γa'newalil. 35. kakLa'l hida'lēsil. 36. djuwaga's  
 Lawīpa'wadawil. 37. hina'γel gawaL hisi'γa'newalil. 38.  
 da'kwīyo'wiL. 39. gura'motwiL ga'lawaleL. 40. dawa'dahira'da'lil.  
 41. hina'γel djuwa gitga ra'rē'. 42. hiyawā'nawil hudapa'-  
 wirawa'Laḡ. 43. hicuyayuna'nawil. 44. higulu'dapatga'logil.  
 45. higula'g'awil. 46. higulu'dapatga'logil. 47. higula'g'avil.  
 48. higucuyagu'naricil. 49. hivaLda'lim. 50. higa'gwomil  
 djetk harad'a'lil. 51. djuwayagawad'a'lil. 52. LÄLA'wilaγil.  
 53. djuwada gwē'klamil huda'li'. 54. hina'gel djuwawaL gi'tga  
 da'waL hilo''. 55. da'kwīyo'wiL. 56. gwē'klamil gubi'tciwada'mel.  
 57. giLwaL gida djuwa'dôk<sup>w</sup>.

told, "He is gone." 22. "I too am going away I am going on." 23. She went on. 24. She began to sing about her brother. 25. "Wherever he steps I too am going there to stop." 26. She started out. 27. Very far she went. 28. She saw not very far he went when he looked back. 29. He went on. 30. That is the way she sang. 31. She began to sing that way that he might look back every few steps. 32. Far they went. 33. Just that far behind she went. 34. He thought, the man, "That is what I am going to do so she will lose me." 35. His cane he put in (ground). 36. That is when he stepped far. 37. He thought, "Now she has missed me." 38. She arrived. 39. That woman did not see him. 40. She wondered where he went. 41. She thought, "That is the way I will do." 42. She untied her hair where it was tied with otter skin. 43. She straightened it out (untwisted) it. 44. It rolled back to her again. 45. She did it again. 46. It rolled back. 47. She did it again. 48. Then it lay straight. 49. It lay out flat. 50. She knew it that was where he went. 51. That way she started off. 52. Far she went. 53. There she saw his house. 54. She thought, "That is where I will stop in." 55. She arrived there. 56. Upon arrival she saw he was sitting opposite the door. 57. That is where I guess they are now.

## INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

45.

1. A: wikwo'r da'war gogē'?
2. B: hē+' wi'kvo'r ha'no.
3. A: duwa' wala'liya'm? djiya wa'dala'lit?
4. B: mo'l wa'la'l.
5. A: cuwa gi'tga gasela'γiya'm?
6. B: himarē'vil la'γē' gi'tga.
7. A: cuwa gi'tga wagaswo'gaL'aya'm?
8. B: djiwil gitga' ha'guro. gulo'wa gi'tgawäl gwigo'da'.  
da gi'tga ga'gawa'.
9. A: cuwa gē'L da'gaswo'gaga'mam?
10. B: gura ga'gwa'wa'm.
11. A: go'tsawä'n da'waLag'a'w? cuwa hala'tsawa'lam?
12. B: ridä'tksal. gu'waL'a'mi'w. da'gitgagela'kava'.  
daga'd'awē'wal. da'gitgagamo'm. daga'wak gabī'wara'dar.  
da'gitga wimigē'Lak.
13. A: dicgagac ku'wila'sak. te'lis gi'tga. wiwa'lawē't  
gi'tga. djuwa gi'tga wala'l. da'gitga telewi's.
14. B: cuwa gi'tga gaselo'wa'm?
15. A: dālgawaLha'na'γarak. gutcä hi'yawä'tek ruma'sala'-  
gak djuwa dana'gitga'wagē'L waLada'loi' guwal'a'lim gi'tga.  
ēlag'ē' wada'wē'm rudiya'wä'tek rugu'welak.

46.

1. A: duwa' wala'liya'm?
2. B: dala'la's djuwa'dawaL halawē'd'a'l.
3. A: da'waL gīra'γarak. da'waL gīdasi'lagwa'n. gu'tswaL  
da'na'γarak.
4. B: kuna roga'nē'mak huda'ra'g'o'war?
5. A: djuwa'gayu'wara'tca'n.
6. B: ki'liya gagwo'mat? kuna ga'ne'm gowil da'huda'ga'n.
7. A: hē' . . . ' gowil swa'laγar.
8. B: yiwa'L kuna dji'habaru'k. dalē'lil hiyiwi'L'iswawar.

## INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

## 45.

1. A: From north hither did you come?
2. B: Yes, hither from north I came.
3. A: Where are you going? Are you staying around here?
4. B: I am going to visit.
5. A: When are you going?
6. B: Soon (quickly) I am going.
7. A: How long are you going to stay?
8. B: I will be right back. When I come home I am going to stay. I am going to work again.
9. A: How long are you going to work there?
10. B: I do not know.
11. A: Are you working by the day? How much do you get?
12. B: Two dollars a day. I board myself. I am going to quit. Someone wants me to work for him. I am going to work for him. It is a very small piece of work. I intend to finish it immediately.
13. A: I should like to see you. I must talk to you. You will see me. I will go to your place. I am going to talk with you.
14. B: How soon will you be there?
15. A: Sometime. Long ago money I lent that is what I want to talk about I will call for it. My! I shall be glad my money to get back.

## 46.

1. A: Where are you going?
2. B: I want to hear the news, that is why I am traveling.
3. A: Something never happens (everything is all right). Not a single person is ill. Good everything happens.
4. B: Sometime ago I heard there was a fight.
5. A: It was a small fight.
6. B: Do you know anything about it? I heard a person was hurt.
7. A: Yes, a man was shot.
8. B: I too, heard that. I was told he was missed.



## 47.

Two men meet in the woods or at the edge of woods.

1. A: yīl hikawa'lawa'. hīnī'yavo'm.
2. B: Lavi'weriL?
3. A: wa'wariL.
4. B: djiyawa'L wa'nak<sup>w</sup> gu'walak?
5. A: giegatswa'L'am. gala'g'awelo'i' hutsabi'wal djiwa'L  
ga'go'tk. djiwaL wi'L gutsä'sw'a.
6. B: yī'l gitga djuwa'wala'l.
7. A: djätcô'tcwaL Gä'tsar gawiri'yavo'mat dälga'waL  
ra'gam helo'm.
8. B: daL'ä'gara'lala'l.
9. A: dä'lgawaha'nayarak djuwa gi'tga wagula'l huwä'lila'l  
ga'tswe'lim go'tsara'yarak swawī di'cga'ma' djiṛodala'liγ.

## 47.

Two men meet in the woods or at the edge of the woods.

1. A: I shot it. I killed it.
2. B: Is it fat?
3. A: Very thin.
4. B: Is that all you saw?
5. A: In vain I saw many. They were all gone cartridges except one. Only once I shot.
6. B: I am going in there also.
7. A: Animals many there are, go and kill all you want.
8. B: I saw nothing in there.
9. A: Sometime I am going there again their tracks many I saw; it is nice in there very much I like it to go hunting there.

## FOX TEXTS TRANSLATED INTO WIYOT

48. *Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, 72:17*

1. hige'talawo'wIL dagu. 2. djuwa huda'nalagwa'l hiru'-getalu'i'. 3. gura'lar dada'laswo'dil waLaL higu'ruwugar. 4. da'Läkwa' dagu da'lasani'l. 5. huga'warunero'i' da'waL gwadaku'la'lēde'wari'. 6. he'lawana' (dalē'lwana') tsä'k da'kwiswa'wIL. 7. wa'garunē'rui' djuwa'yalaWaL hu'dja'djäL da'tiya'da'lil. 8. djuwadaga's gula'γil. 9. huda'gulo'wagwa'l daba'wēd'awiwil hi'o'Lenawil. (9. daba'wēd'awiwil hi'o'Lenawil guruda'gulo'wagwa'l gurwula'γa'd'a'lil). 10. djuwa da'gu da'nariL.

49. *Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, 72:29*

1. gura'γara'iyakwi ga'gwo'mil djuwada' ga'dawē'war hawē'γarak hu'ga'wagwa'l. 2. wa'lawēk djuwa hawē'γarak dala'gawo'mil. 3. gurawa'tgara'de'l hawa'tsgara'riL djuwa hawē'γarak dala'gawo'mil. 4. gurawa mo'l da'gu'likla'valaso'i'. 5. wa'lawēk gudadē'k<sup>w</sup>Lēsoi'. 6. daha''gurotwei wa'lawēk. 7. djuwa dawaga's gula'lil. 8. darapa'tsgarä'tsa'nil wana tva'rak<sup>w</sup> dacē'tsga'cil. 9. gurawuguga'tawigwa'l hiyawe'lēL iklā'l wa'lawēk hugu'gēli'm. 10. djuwawa'l hara'γarak do'wi'γātcatcauw wirarwaL. 11. gurada'ru'dawila'magwa'ṛ ra'kē'cwaṛi' yasara'iya'w. 12. hi'gaskiyaliswoi'. 13. gwa'swak gu'kulawo'i'. 14. rakē'cwaṛi' yaga'wa'n. 15. hina'waL guraga'waraliswoi' waL hi'dira'liswoi'. 16. gurawa'lawēk dalita'wani'l cuwa'w. 17. va'wIL dak<sup>w</sup>i'l da'nak<sup>w</sup>. 18. dalē'l hi'l da'vīyeva'wa'to'. 19. yili'l dale'l wuyo'i' hi'l da'hido'rak<sup>w</sup> kuna guduwa'wi'Lui'. 20. ku'na gurgiya'gwaduwa'wiLui' hi'guruwä'notwIL. 21. da'waLgwa' dagu do'pa'wIL. 22. higu'ṛuga'd'ayanawä'notwIL (higu'ṛuwaγawä'-notwagwa'l) waL dagu. 23. ha'watgera'de'l higa'gäLau'w. 24. gasguta'γaro'wagwi'wIL.

## FOX TEXTS TRANSLATED INTO WIYOT

*48. Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology 72:27*

1. They stopped talking to one another. 2. As soon as he said it all stopped talking. 3. All those who were smoking pipes they put away. 4. None of them were smoked. 5. When the speech started no one stirred in his seat. 6. It is said though (that) suddenly children cry. 7. During the speech it was allowable (for) the parent to go out. 8. Then she went home. 9. When she arrived home what she had dressed up in she took everything off. (9. Finery she took all off when she got back where she had started from). 10. That is the way they did.

*49. Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology 72:29*

1. The whole history of it the one who knows he is the one who is hired medicine to make. 2. One who is wounded medicine he makes for him. 3. The one whose bones are all broken up medicine he makes for him. 4. Far away house isolated is placed. 5. The wounded one is laid in it. 6. From somewhere he is brought the wounded one. 7. That is the time ge goes about again. 8. Breechcloth only otherwise he is naked. 9. When he went in again he saw another wounded one lying there. 10. For it happened (that) some were shot to pieces all shot full of holes. 11. When he had seen them all toward east he faced standing. 12. Then he started to sing. 13. Tobacco was held. 14. Toward east it was pointed. 15. Sometime ago the way he started to sing he kept on singing that way. 16. Those wounded are told "Do not cry." 17. (If) he cries they are told they will die. 18. It was said and they believe it (that) some were made to cry. 19. We are told it was said it was true they say they died the ones who cried previously. 20. Those who did not cry all became well. 21. They had no more pain. 22. They became entirely well. 23. Their bones became longer. 24. They grew together again.

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