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Santa Barbara

Yuki Grammar in its Areal Context with sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

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Matt Gordon and I both share an interest in the Finnic languages and also the languages of Northern California. Early in my graduate studies Matt and I cooperated on research on the prosody of Livonian and other less spoken Finnic languages. At that time prosody was an entirely new field of linguistic study for me and I'm deeply grateful to Matt for introducing me to this field and for allowing me to benefit from his knowledge. Thanks to Matt and the research we cooperated on, I was able to write a much more in-depth study of Yuki prosody for this dissertation. I'm deeply thankful to Matt for this knowledge and his support and help over the years.

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My mother, Māra Trapāne, who shares my passion for language and knowledge, has been a constant support and source of inspiration and encouragement throughout my life and especially during these years of graduate school. My step-father, Andris Trapāns, and my father, Agnis Balodis, unfortunately did not live to

see the day that I completed my doctorate, but both served as a model and inspiration to me for the joys of living a life of the mind. I wish to express my deepest and most heartfelt love and gratitude to my parents for all of their support and love over the course of my lifetime. I would also like to thank them for teaching me and for raising me speaking our family's Latvian language. Though it is my first language, my initial interest in linguistics came through my knowledge of Latvian and my fascination in comparing it to English and to its relatives, Lithuanian and Old Prussian.

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ABSTRACT

Yuki Grammar in its Areal Context with sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

by

Uldis Ivars Jānis Balodis

Yuki and the other Northern Yukian languages, Huchnom and Coast Yuki, were spoken until recently in Mendocino County in Northern California. This dissertation is a grammar of Yuki based primarily on spoken narratives recorded in the first decade of the twentieth century, so it provides a description of the Yuki language as it was spoken at that time. The narratives were provided by Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber. Supplemental examples are drawn from the large base of elicited material by various other researchers over the course of the twentieth century. Where possible, information is also included on Huchnom and Coast Yuki, which together with Yuki Proper constitute the Northern Yukian languages. In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that complex structures can be borrowed through language contact. Northern California, where Yuki was spoken, is well known as a strong linguistic area, in which neighboring language have had strong effects on each other. This description of Yuki is thus set in the context of its contact languages, in order to show the types of features it

shares with its neighbors. Several glossed, analyzed, and translated Yuki narratives are included in the appendix.

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Abbreviations

Glosses

| | |
|---------|--|
| ABL | ablative |
| AND | andative |
| ANIM | animate |
| AG/INST | agentive-instrumental |
| AGT | agent |
| AGT>PAT | grammatical agent to grammatical patient (switch-reference marker) |
| CAUS | causative |
| CONT | continuative-iterative |
| DAT | dative |
| DECL | declarative |
| DEP | dependent clause marker |
| DIR1 | directional |
| DIR2 | directional |
| DST | distal |
| DSTR | distributive |
| DUR | durative |
| EXC | exclamation |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| FIN | finite |
| FUT | future |

| | |
|-------|--|
| HSY1 | hearsay evidential |
| HSY2 | hearsay evidential |
| IMP | imperative |
| IMPFV | imperfective |
| IN | inessive |
| IN2 | second inessive |
| INCH | inchoative |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INCP | inceptive |
| INFR1 | inferential evidential |
| INFR2 | inferential evidential |
| INST | instrumental |
| INTR | intransitive |
| JXT | juxtapositive |
| KIN | kinship |
| LOC | locative (- <i>kot</i> ; other locative elements, e.g. <i>ka'in</i> 'around here') |
| MPSV | mediopassive |
| NEC | necessitative |
| NEG | negative |
| NEW | new topic (switch-reference marker) |
| NOML | nominalizer |
| PAT | patient |

| | |
|-------|---|
| PFV | perfective |
| PHAB | past habitual |
| PL | plural |
| PNCT | punctual |
| PNOML | place nominalizer |
| PNY | Proto-Northern Yukian |
| POSS | possessive |
| PRM | permissive |
| PROG | progressive |
| PRX | proximate |
| PST1 | past |
| PST2 | completed past |
| PURP | purpose clause marker |
| Q | interrogative |
| R | coreferential pronoun |
| SAME | same topic as previous clause (switch-reference marker) |
| SEM | semelfactive |
| SG | singular |
| SPEC | speculative |
| SUBE | subessive |
| TERM | terminative |
| TR | transitive |

| | |
|---|---------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| 4 | fourth person |

Speakers

| | |
|----|---------------------------------|
| AA | Arthur Anderson (Yuki speaker) |
| BF | Bill Frank (Huchnom speaker) |
| FL | Frank Logan (Yuki speaker) |
| LH | Lake Holmes (Huchnom speaker) |
| LJ | Lulu Johnson (Huchnom speaker) |
| LP | Lucy Pérez (Coast Yuki speaker) |
| MF | Minnie Fulwider (Yuki speaker) |
| RM | Ralph Moore (Yuki speaker) |
| SS | Sam Slick (Coast Yuki speaker) |
| TB | Tim Bell (Coast Yuki speaker) |

Texts

| | |
|----|--------------------------------|
| CW | <i>Coyote and the World</i> |
| FD | <i>Feather Dance Narrative</i> |
| OG | <i>Origins</i> |
| TT | <i>The Thunder Twins</i> |

Abbreviations in Bibliography

| | |
|--------|---|
| AL | Anthropological Linguistics |
| APS | American Philosophical Society |
| BAE | Bureau of American Ethnology |
| IJAL | International Journal of American Linguistics |
| SCOIL | Survey of California and Other Indian Languages |
| SSILA | Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas |
| UC | University of California |
| UCPAAE | University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology |

1. Introduction

Until relatively recently, Yuki and the other Northern Yukian languages, Huchnom and Coast Yuki, were spoken in Mendocino County in Northern California. This grammar is based primarily on spoken narratives recorded in the first decade of the twentieth century and therefore provides a description of the Yuki language as it was spoken at that time.

The narratives were provided by Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber. Supplemental examples were drawn from the large base of elicited material by various other researchers over the course of the twentieth century. Where possible information is also included on Huchnom and Coast Yuki, which together with Yuki constitute the Northern Yukian languages, but which are far less extensively documented than Yuki Proper. This was done to generate grammatical sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki, and also to show how the Northern Yukian languages compared to each other. A final aspect of this grammar is that much of the description of Yuki is compared to historic and recent contact languages. In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that complex structures can be borrowed through language contact (Mithun 2008, In Press). Therefore this description of Yuki is set in the context of its contact languages, in order to show the types of features it shares with its neighbors.

Each chapter of the grammar addresses a different aspect of Yuki or its speakers. Chapter 1 describes the genetic affiliation of Yuki, the location where it was spoken,

and information on dialect differences. Historical information on the Yuki people and the consultants is also given in this chapter, along with a grammatical sketch of Yuki and descriptions of the data, practical Yuki orthography, and past work on the Northern Yukian languages. Chapter 2 explains the phonetics and phonology of Yuki. The phonetic inventory, allophonic variation, and prosodic system of Yuki are discussed. Chapter 3 details morphophonemic alternations. Chapter 4 gives an introduction to information on word classes described in more detail in later chapters. These word classes include nouns, verbs, pronouns, and switch-reference markers. This chapter also includes descriptions of minor word classes, such as adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, adverbs, deictics, and connectives. Chapter 5 covers Yuki argument structure and noun morphology. Chapter 6 describes Yuki pronouns and associated morphology. Chapter 7 details Yuki verb morphology. Chapter 8 covers Yuki system of switch-reference marking and coordinating suffixes. Chapter 9 is a description of Yuki clause structure. Chapter 10 summarizes the observations made in the areal comparisons included in chapters throughout the grammar.

This grammar came about as a result of a dinner conversation and a great amount of good fortune. My committee chair, Marianne Mithun, suggested Yuki as a topic of study one evening at a department dinner. I went on a search motivated by my great interest in discovering all I could about this language and also this quote found in *Yuki Vocabulary* authored by Jess Sawyer and Alice Schlichter:

Unfortunately, the large collection of Yuki made by Alfred L. Kroeber is still unavailable and unpublished. Any analysis of Yuki grammatical structure must wait upon the availability of that material (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:2)

From this quote I knew that somewhere the materials existed to make my work possible. In due course I discovered the location of these materials and started on the journey to write a grammatical description of the Yuki language. I have endeavored to include as much as possible about every aspect of Yuki and also to include full retranscribed versions of the texts originally recorded by Kroeber. This grammar also comes to completion exactly a century after the publication of Kroeber's original 1911 sketch of Yuki in *The languages of the coast of California north of San Francisco*.

During the course of this work I found that as a result of a great coincidence, large portions of this grammar were written only a few blocks away from the location where some of the original narratives were recorded over a century ago. In his description of the history of his work with Yuki, which I have included in the appendix of this grammar, Kroeber states that he worked with Yuki speaker Ralph Moore in Covelo located in Round Valley in Northern California, but that Moore would also come to San Francisco to work with him. At the beginning of the *Wildcat and Coyote Myth*, Kroeber gives an address in San Francisco (443 Eddy Street) as the location where these materials were recorded. During research trips up to the

University of California, Berkeley, I stayed and wrote several chapters at a hostel housed in the historic Hotel Virginia near the corner of Mason and O'Farrell in San Francisco, which happened to be located just a few blocks over from this location given by Kroeber.

1.1. The Yuki Language

This section contains a description of the genetic affiliation of Yuki, the location of the historical Yuki speech community, Yuki identity, dialect divisions, and contact languages.

1.1.1. Background and Genetic Affiliation

The Yuki language is a member of the Yukian language family and has only a single possible generally agreed upon relative, the Wappo language (Mithun 1999:574). Wappo was spoken to the southeast of the Yuki-speaking region, in the Russian River Valley, north of San Francisco, California (Thompson et al 2006:xi). A genetic relationship between Yuki and Wappo is at present more accepted than not, though some have argued that similarities between Yuki and Wappo are ultimately due to language contact rather than a shared origin (Sawyer 1980).

Yuki itself is divided into three varieties¹: Yuki (Proper), Huchnom², and Coast Yuki, which are collectively referred to as the Northern Yukian languages³ (Golla In

¹ Arguments can be made for calling Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki dialects of a single language or separate, but closely related languages. On one hand, they are grammatically very similar and are thought to have been mutually intelligible (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:211, Golla In Press:298). On the other hand, speakers of Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki inhabited ecologically distinct territories and differed in terms of their significant ceremonies and myths (see §1.4). It is possible that the relationships among the Northern Yukian languages were not unlike those among the Scandinavian languages or Spanish and

Press:297). Elmendorf (1968) describes Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki as “language-like dialects” that formed a chain from east to west. The three varieties of Yuki have nearly identical grammar and differ mainly in terms of their phonology and lexicon (Golla In Press:298).

The term “Yuki” has been used to refer to the Northern Yukian languages in general, but also to the Yuki (Proper) language in particular. In order to avoid confusion, in this grammar the term “Yuki” is used to refer only to the Yuki (Proper) language, while Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki are collectively always referred to as “Northern Yukian.”

While Wappo is more different from all of the Northern Yukian languages than any of these languages are from each other, the exact relationship among the three varieties of Northern Yukian is unclear. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:211) writes that the Coast Yuki considered their speech to be more similar to that of the Huchnom than that of the Yuki. This would make a certain amount of sense as the Coast Yuki were geographically closer to and likely in more frequent contact with the Huchnom

Portuguese; a group of distinct ethnicities speaking languages of a high degree of mutual intelligibility. However, this may also be a question that could remain unanswerable due to the lack of speakers of any of these languages or extant Coast Yuki and Huchnom communities.

² The Huchnom have also been referred to as the “Redwoods,” or by their Pomo appellation *Tatu*, while the term *Huchnom* means “mountain people.” The Coast Yuki referred to themselves as *Ukoht-ontilka* ‘ocean people’. (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:202, 212)

³ This grammar is primarily a description of the Yuki language, but includes descriptions of corresponding features of Huchnom and Coast Yuki when available.

than to the Yuki. However, Kroeber notes that the lexicon of Coast Yuki seems to be about equally similar to that of Huchnom and Yuki, but that a thorough analysis of the three Northern Yukian varieties will be necessary before a final determination of internal relationships can be made. In terms of intelligibility, Kroeber speculates that all three languages must have been mutually intelligible to some extent, but that a Coast Yuki unacquainted with either Huchnom or Yuki would not have been able to follow a conversation fully in either of these languages.

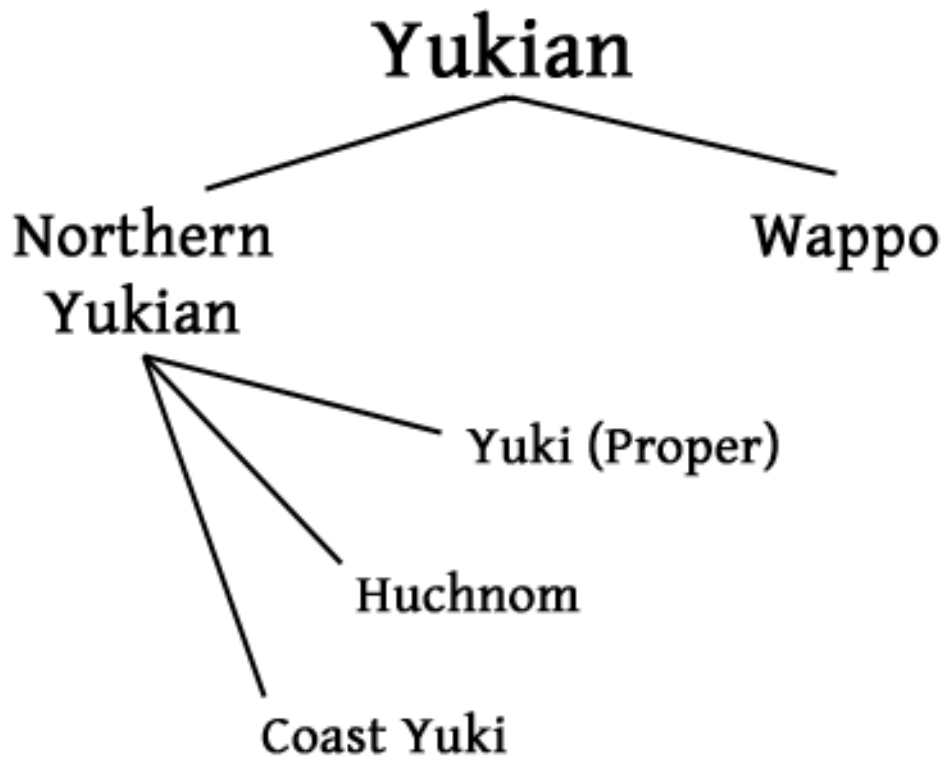


Figure 1: The Yukian Language Family

Beyond its relationship to Wappo, more distant genetic relationships for Yuki have also been posited (Mithun 1999:310, 574). Sapir (1929) incorporated Yuki and Wappo as a separate branch into Hokan-Siouan, Elmendorf (1963, 1964) felt that Yuki and Wappo displayed similarities to Siouan and Yuchi, and the possibility of a relationship between Yuki, Wappo, and Yuchi has also been discussed from time to time by other linguists (Munro 1994, Golla 1996a).

1.1.2. Location

The Northern Yukian languages were spoken in three ecologically distinct regions located within present-day Mendocino County in Northern California. Yuki was spoken in the inland Round Valley area, which is located in the Coast Range mountains and bounded on three sides by tributaries of the Eel River (Miller 1979:9). Huchnom was spoken to the southwest of the Yuki speech area. The Huchnom lived along the drainage of the South Eel River within a heavily forested and mountainous area (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:202). Coast Yuki was spoken to the west of both of these areas on the Pacific coast. Most Coast Yuki settlements were on or near the coast itself beginning a short distance north of Fort Bragg and extending up along the sea to an area a few miles north of Rockport (Miller 1978:249)⁴.

⁴ See Appendix 1 for a map showing the area in which the Northern Yukian languages were spoken relative to natural and manmade landmarks.

1.1.3. Identity

Prior to contact with Euro-Americans, the Yuki divided themselves into villages, also called rancherías, which were led by a local chief. Groups of villages formed a tribelet that was centered on a single large village, called a *no'hot* 'to live big,' containing a dance house and the residence of the chief of the tribelet⁵ (Miller 1978:250, Foster 1944:157).

Speakers of Yuki identified themselves with respect to one of several tribal subdivisions. Foster (1944:157) states that in pre-contact times, the Yuki recognized six major subdivisions, which were characterized by minor linguistic differences. These six tribal subdivisions were: Ta'nom', Ukomnom', Huitítnom', Witukomnom', Onkolukomnom,' and Sukšaltatamnom"⁶. Two further minor subdivisions are also recorded immediately to the south of the Ukomnom'. These were the Laikutnom' and Ontitnom"⁷ (Miller 1978:249). Huchnom tribal subdivisions are not known,

⁵ See Appendix 2 for a map of villages within the Northern Yukian speech area.

⁶ Yuki *nom* 'people' was also used in Yuki names for neighboring non-Yuki-speaking peoples. It was also commonly affixed to placenames "to indicate affiliation with a place or group (Foster 1944:157).

⁷ Foster (1944:157) gives this description of the tribal subdivisions: "The grouping is not to be thought of as we think of city, county, and state; these concepts are far too precise. Rather, it is in the sense that we say 'I am a Middle Westerner,' 'I am a Southerner,' or 'I am a New Englander,' and differences in speech were probably about as marked. But instead of a national governmental organization for the whole area, the Yuki had only consciousness of kind to bind them together."

though the distribution of Coast Yuki tribelets is recorded by Barrett (1908:262-3) and Gifford⁸ (1965:5-13).

Since a unified Yuki tribal identity did not exist in pre-contact times, there also did not exist a name for the Yuki people as a whole in the Northern Yukian languages. Indeed, Kroeber (1925 [1976]:166) notes that the use of “Yuki” as the ethnonym for the group of people we today refer to as the Yuki is a Euro-American innovation rather than a practice that existed beforehand. The term “Yuki” originates in Wintu, where the word *yu'ki* refers to strangers or enemies.

1.1.4. Dialects

A limited amount is known about dialect divisions within Yuki. Nothing is known about the dialects of Coast Yuki or Huchnom. Within Yuki there existed dialect differences among some tribal subdivisions. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:166) writes:

There are dialectic divergences within the area of the Yuki proper. The speech of the Ta'no'm, Ukomno'm and Witukomno'm differs. The Utitno'm dialect classed with the Witukomno'm, the Lilshikno'm probably with the Ta'no'm, the group including the Suk'ano'm may have leaned either to Ukomno'm or Witukomno'm, while the affiliations of the three eastern

⁸ See Appendix 3 for a map of the location of the tribal subdivisions and Coast Yuki tribelets within the Yuki-speaking area.

divisions of mountaineers are not known. All the dialects were mutually intelligible, but apparently different enough for any Yuki to recognize the approximate provenience of another.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, when Kroeber began his work on Yuki, it seems that dialect differences had largely been lost among Yuki speakers. He observes that as a result of English-language schooling, Native American children from Round Valley would often lose their parents' language or if they continued to speak it, differences between dialects were probably getting "blurred out (Kroeber 1931-1932/1958)." Foster (1944:161) gives this account of the nature of Yuki dialect differences, as they were remembered by his consultants during his fieldwork at Round Valley in 1937:

Dialectic differences among Yuki subgroups included speed in speaking, different words for the same thing or act, and slightly divergent accents. The Ukomno'm and Witukomno'm were regarded as fast talkers, while the Ta'no'm and Huititno'm spoke more slowly. An example of phonetic difference follows: small, *ónsil* (Titomno'm), *únsil* (Ukomno'm). An example of word difference is: hot, *pukhólt* (Witukomno'm), *šúmlil* (Huititno'm and Ukomno'm). An example of different expressions is: to quiet a child, *úlai* (Witukomno'm), *čiči* (Ukomno'm), *k'íha* (Huititno'm), *k'oš* (Ta'no'm; Wailaki word). In calling a child there are the following: my child (either sex), *ik'ili* (Huititno'm); my son (lit., "my child my father"), *ik'il-enk'un*, and my

daughter (lit., “my child my mother”), *il'il-erj'an* (Ukomno'm and Ta'no'm); my son (lit., “my child father”), *ik'il-k'un*, and my daughter (lit., “my child mother”), *ik'il-k'un* (Witukomno'm).

Foster (1944:161) also gives this description of how strange or unfamiliar Yuki dialects were perceived by speakers of other Yuki dialects:

The word *halsi* (to put more with) was used with reference to the language of subgroups other than that of the speaker. Strange dialects sounded complicated, and their speakers were thought to make them so simply for the sake of effect. Tillotson⁹ thought the Huititno'm were especially guilty of this; conversely, they considered their dialect to be the most pure of all Yuki speech.

1.1.5. Contact Languages

Language contact is a phenomenon that must be considered when describing the languages of Northern California. This region is home to over 20 language families, most situated in close proximity to each other and composed of small languages, which have never been spoken by more than a relatively small group of speakers. The result of this proximity is a long history of contact, intermarriage, and multilingualism among members of these communities (Mithun 1999:316).

⁹ Tillotson was one of Foster's Yuki consultants. (Foster 1944:156)

The genetic relationships among many of the languages of this part of the world are either non-existent or so ancient as to be unknowable to contemporary scholars using any widely accepted method of historical reconstruction. The result of this is that Northern California is a region that historically has functioned as a laboratory for language contact.

Yuki is located between three unrelated language families: Athabaskan to the north, Wintun to the east, and Pomoan to the south. Evidence for contact between the Yuki and their neighbors can be found in descriptions of Yuki culture. For example, contact between the Ta'nom' Yuki, in the northern part of the Yuki speech region, and the Athabaskan Wailaki was significant enough that southern Yuki would refer to the Ta'nom' as *k'o'il*, which is the generic Yuki term for Athabaskan speakers. The Ta'nom' and Wailaki frequently intermarried and the Ta'nom' are said to have been well-acquainted with the Wailaki language (Foster 1944:159). Kroeber (1925 [1976]:182-4) describes the similarities between Yuki religion and that of the Pomo, Wintu, Maidu, and more peripherally also the Achumawi. During the nineteenth century following the establishment of the Round Valley Indian Reservation, the Yuki also came into close and regular contact with speakers of Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Achumawi¹⁰, Atsugewi¹¹, Modoc,

¹⁰ The Achumawi are sometimes referred to as the Pit River Indians or Pit Rivers.

¹¹ See Appendix 3 for a map showing the location of the neighboring languages surrounding the Northern Yukian speech area. See Appendix 4 for a map showing the distribution of language families in Northern California.

and Yana who had been removed from their home territories to Round Valley by the United States government (Bauer 2009:18, Miller 1978:249).

In this grammar most major features of Yuki that are described are also compared to the corresponding feature in the languages with which Yuki speakers would likely have come in contact. This is done in order to place Yuki in the context of its linguistic neighbors and also in order to show the types of structures that are shared and perhaps even borrowed among these unrelated languages. The languages included in this comparison are as many of the neighboring Athabaskan, Pomoan, and Wintun languages as can be reliably included based on other studies, as well as Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achumawi. Yuki will also be compared with Wappo, as this is the only largely agreed upon genetic relative of the Northern Yukian languages. The sources for this comparison are referenced separately in each section of the grammar.

The Modoc and Yana did not form separate communities on the Round Valley Indian Reservation following their removal to Round Valley (Bauer 2009:108). This suggests that few Modoc and Yana speakers came to Round Valley and presumably few individuals speaking these languages were in contact with Yuki speakers. Therefore these two languages are not included in the comparisons with Yuki.

Not all of the languages bordering Yuki are equally well-documented. For example, of its northern Athabaskan neighbors, Lassik, Sinkyone, Kato, and Wailaki, complete descriptions of Lassik, Sinkyone, or Wailaki do not exist. Kato was

documented by Pliny Earle Goddard in the early twentieth century, but Goddard's published description (1912) does not reflect the insights into Athabaskan phonology and morphology that have been discovered during the course of the twentieth century. For this reason even this description of Kato is not always a reliable source for comparison with Yuki. Where possible Yuki is compared to at least one of its immediate Athabaskan neighbors, but when the existing documentation is lacking, Yuki is compared to Hupa. Hupa is a close relative of Lassik, Sinkyone, Kato, and Wailaki and is therefore still useful for comparison, but Hupa is much better documented and its documentation is ongoing.

1.2. Previous Research

This section describes previous work on Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki.

1.2.1. Previous Work on Yuki

Yuki presents a bit of a paradox in terms of level of research versus amount of published description available. Though Yuki was extensively documented over the course of the twentieth century until the death of its last speaker in 1983 (SSDI 2010), the actual amount of major published descriptive work on Yuki is relatively small.

The first vocabulary of Yuki was collected by Lt. Edward Ross in the 1850s (Golla In Press:299). The Ross vocabulary is combined with other Yuki lexical data collected by Powers in Powers (1877). Curtin (1889) collected a Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) survey vocabulary.

Alfred L. Kroeber¹² is responsible for most of the existing documentation¹³ of Yuki. Kroeber began documenting Yuki in December of 1901 and worked off and on with his consultant, Ralph Moore, until the fall of 1902. In 1910, Kroeber briefly returned to Round Valley assisting the United States census. The following year he published a sketch of Yuki grammar (1911) and then began working again with Ralph Moore in 1912. During this period Kroeber used the kymograph to record phonetic tracings of individual Yuki words spoken by Moore. In 1923 and 1927 Kroeber continued his work with Moore, revisiting earlier notes and obtaining further phonetic tracings (Kroeber 1958b).

In 1931, the Danish phonetician Hans Uldall came to Berkeley on a two-year fellowship to work with speakers of Northern California languages. Kroeber and Uldall collaborated on work with Yuki during this period (Kroeber 1958b). Uldall produced an extensive though unpublished study of the pitch levels and contours in

¹² For an in-depth description of A.L. Kroeber's long and storied scientific career see Steward et al (1961) or T. Kroeber (1970).

¹³ See Appendix 6 for Kroeber's fascinating, but unfinished description of the history of his work on Yuki.

Yuki words. Uldall (1932) concluded that Yuki is a tone language, though this was later argued not to be the case by Schlichter (1978).

In 1937, George Foster conducted ethnographic work with Ralph Moore and another Yuki consultant, Eben Tillotson. In 1944 he published *A Summary of Yuki Culture*, based on this research. Foster's 1944 study is a fascinating description of Yuki and Huchnom culture as he found it and as it was remembered by his consultants in the late 1930s. It also contains some information about the Yuki and Huchnom languages, though not much data in either language.

Sydney Lamb worked with Yuki speakers Minnie Fulwider, Arthur Anderson, and Frank Logan during the 1950s. James Crawford also worked with Frank Logan during this period. In the 1960s, Roy Siniard also worked with Minnie Fulwider. Jesse Sawyer and Shirley Silver worked with Yuki speaker Arthur Anderson in the 1970s. Later these data were analyzed by Alice Schlichter¹⁴ for her MA thesis, which was published as *Yuki Vocabulary* in 1984 credited to her and Jesse Sawyer (Elmendorf 1981:40-1, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:2).

William Elmendorf also worked with Yuki speakers. Field notes collected by Elmendorf, Lamb, and Kroeber, are housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (SCOIL) in the Linguistics Department of the University of California, Berkeley. Curtin's (1889) BAE survey vocabulary is also available on

¹⁴ In more recent publications, Schlichter has published as Alice Shepherd.

microfilm at SCOIL. All of the Yuki materials from Kroeber's work with Moore in the early twentieth century are housed at the American Philosophical Society (APS).

The three seminal works on the Yuki language are Kroeber's 1911 original grammatical sketch of Yuki published as a chapter of *The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco*, Sawyer and Schlichter's 1984 *Yuki Vocabulary*, and Schlichter's 1985 unpublished Ph.D. dissertation *The Yukian Languages*. Kroeber's 1911 description contains the only published description of Yuki grammar and the only published text in Yuki. Sawyer and Schlichter's 1984 dictionary is a comprehensive index of Yuki vocabulary containing data from previous researchers, as well as from Jesse Sawyer and Shirley Silver's previous work with Yuki speakers Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson. *Yuki Vocabulary* also contains a sketch of Yuki phonology, which lists Yuki phonemes and gives a brief description of vowel allophony in stressed and unstressed syllables. Schlichter's 1985 Ph.D. dissertation contains her reconstruction of Proto-Yukian, as well as valuable information about the grammar and phonology of the three contemporary Northern Yukian languages, Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki.

Beyond this there are a number of articles and other unpublished studies available on various aspects of Yuki. Mithun (2008) contains a discussion of the Yuki agent-patient grammatical relations system. Mithun (In Press) discusses morphological borrowing in Yuki. As noted above, in an extensive but unpublished study, Uldall (1932) claims that Yuki is a tone language, which is rebutted by

Schlichter (1978). Elmendorf (1981) discusses language change in languages near extinction using Yuki and Wappo as case studies for his article. Early descriptions of Yuki and the Yuki people are found in Powers (1877), Powell (1891), Kroeber (1906, 1911, 1925 [1976]). The relationship of Yuki to Wappo is discussed in these works as well. Other more recent discussion in support of this relationship is found in Elmendorf (1968, 1981, 1997) with Sawyer (1980) providing the dissenting opinion claiming that similarities between Yuki and Wappo are due to contact rather than shared origin. Possible effects of contact between Yuki and the Athabaskan languages are discussed in Kroeber (1959). More distant proposed genetic relationships are discussed in Sapir (1929), Elmendorf (1963, 1964), Swadesh (1954), Shipley (1957), Greenberg (1987, 1996), Golla (1996a), Munro (1994), Kimball (1992, 1997), Elmendorf and Shepherd (1999).

1.2.2. Previous Work on Huchnom and Coast Yuki

None of the Northern Yukian languages were thriving at the beginning of the twentieth century; however, Yuki was still in a much better position in terms of speakers and active language use than Huchnom or Coast Yuki at that time. For this reason Huchnom and Coast Yuki have been less well documented than Yuki, and texts were never collected in Huchnom or Coast Yuki. Golla (In Press:300-1) describes the history of work on Huchnom and Coast Yuki. Powers (1877) collected a Huchnom vocabulary, and Barrett (1908) collected a survey vocabulary of

Huchnom. Kroeber also collected data on Huchnom consisting of vocabulary and short elicited phrases. Lamb (1955) collected material from the last speaker of Huchnom, Lulu Johnson. Schlichter (1985:13) describes this material as “the largest and most reliable body of data” on Huchnom. The Kroeber Huchnom materials are housed at the APS, while the Lamb Huchnom materials are housed at the SCOIL.

Coast Yuki is not well documented. Kroeber elicited vocabulary and some short phrases in Coast Yuki from two different speakers, Tim Bell and Sam Slick (Kroeber 1902c:60, 90). These materials are contained in the collection of Kroeber’s Yuki materials at the APS. Harrington collected lists of Coast Yuki vocabulary and placenames, which are part of the collection of his papers available on microfilm from the Smithsonian Institution. In addition, Golla (In Press:301) mentions a Coast Yuki survey vocabulary collected by Barrett (1908), general and natural history wordlists collected by Merriam, a short word list collected by Driver (1935), and a cultural vocabulary contained in Gifford (1939). Gifford (1939) was republished in 1965 and has great value beyond its linguistic content. Gifford’s study is a detailed ethnography of the Coast Yuki. It should be noted that Schlichter (1985:13) considers Gifford’s transcriptions of Coast Yuki unreliable.

1.3. History

This section contains a summary of the history of the Yuki people prior and following contact with European settlers.

1.3.1. Prehistory

The exact length of time that the Yuki people have lived in their present homeland in Round Valley is not known; however it appears that the Yuki have lived in this area for a very long time. Archeological evidence suggests that Round Valley has been occupied since 8000 BCE (Bauer 2009:18). Nearly all sites favorable to human habitation show signs of being occupied in ancient times. Archeological evidence has shown that the historic Yuki culture is very similar to that of its immediate prehistoric predecessor. In addition, the Yuki creation myth takes place in the Yuki homeland and stories of migration are not found in Yuki legends. (Miller 1974:4)

It has been theorized that the Yuki represent among the earliest continuous inhabitants of Northern California. Based on the uniqueness of the Yuki language relative to the other Native languages of California, Kroeber (1925 [1976]:159) compares the position of the Yuki in California to that of the Basques in Europe, stating that “the Yuki may fairly be spoken of as coming nearer, so far as can be judged at present, to being autochthonous Californians than any of the other modern natives of the State.”

Various estimates exist for the pre-contact Yuki population¹⁵. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:168) give 2,000 as a “conservative estimate of the original number of Yuki.” Oandasan (1980:5) states that “the researched estimate would place the population of Round Valley before contact at roughly 2,000 to 3,000 Yuki individuals, while the number of archeological sites and findings would indicate a population of nearly 6,000 to 9,000 Yuki.”

1.3.2. Contact and Immediate Aftermath

First contact with Euro-Americans came comparatively late for the Yuki of Round Valley. Round Valley is located about 25 miles from the Pacific coast and is surrounded by rugged terrain. Until the beginning of the California Gold Rush of the 1840s, Round Valley had rarely if ever been visited by outsiders. This was largely due to the treacherous mountains and difficult to navigate rivers that formed the natural boundaries surrounding Round Valley.

The first recorded contact between Euro-Americans and the Native inhabitants of Round Valley occurred in 1854. The Asbill brothers, Frank and J. Pierce, traveling from their parents’ home in Bodega, California on the Pacific Coast, were the first known Euro-Americans to enter Round Valley. After entering the Valley the Asbill brothers encountered a large group of Native people who were most likely Yuki.

¹⁵ See Appendix 6 for a table containing specific Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki population figures.

This first contact was marked by a brief firefight at the end of which approximately forty Native people had been killed (Baumgardner 2005:21-3, Carranco and Beard 1981:41).

Prior to contact with Euro-Americans, the inhabitants of Round Valley were likely aware of the existence of Euro-Americans in California through communication and trade with other Native people. It is also possible that first contact between Euro-Americans and individual Yuki may have occurred earlier than 1854. A Spanish expedition led by Luís Argüello and originating in San Francisco may have passed through Yuki land in 1821 and may have encountered Yuki at that time (Carranco and Beard 1981:28-9, Miller 1974:33).

In 1851, Redick McKee, appointed by President Millard Fillmore as an Indian Agent, traveled on an expedition through Huchnom land, located to the south of Round Valley. McKee records encounters with Native inhabitants of that area. Trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company and slave raiders may also have visited Round Valley prior to 1854 (Carranco and Beard 1981:41-42).

1.3.3. The California Indian Wars and Establishment of Nome Cult Farm

The years after first contact with Euro-Americans continued to bring a considerable number of outsiders to the area in and around Round Valley. The redwood forests

of Mendocino County had become a major new center for the lumber industry and had brought in loggers from around the United States (Carranco and Beard 1981:46). The 1850s were a troubled time in general for the Native people of Northern California. As Euro-American settlers moved into Native lands, Native people were deprived of resources and a livelihood, and as an inevitable result conflict erupted. Attacks by Native people would be met with brutal reprisals by Euro-American settlers, such as the killing of all 150 inhabitants of a Native community north of Round Valley in 1856 (Baumgardner 2005:33-38).

The larger conflict between Euro-Americans and Native Californians during this time, known as the California Indian Wars, was exacerbated by the adoption of a law which effectively permitted the kidnapping and enslavement of Native children. Adopted in 1850 by the California state legislature, the *Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians* further destroyed Native communities and inflamed relations between Native Californians and Euro-Americans. This law was not repealed until 1863 (Connors 1993:8). Bauer (2009:32-3) summarizes the provisions of this law:

The law established vagrancy clauses for Indians, whereby justices of the peace or judges could hire out loitering Indians to ranchers and farmers. The law also allowed whites to post bail for Indians accused of misdemeanor crimes and then put these Indians to work to pay off the bond. Finally, the law permitted whites to indenture Indian children with parental consent.

Indian boys could be indentured until the age of eighteen and girls until the age of fifteen. Employers had to provide food, clothing, and humane treatment, but the state rarely investigated abuses. At the worst, this law created a system of Indian slavery in California.

In 1856, the northern portion of Round Valley was designated as Nome Cult Farm¹⁶, a precursor to the Round Valley Indian Reservation. The establishment of the farm also marked the beginning of the United States government policy to move Native people from other parts of California to Round Valley. The first Indian Agent of Nome Cult Farm, Simmon P. Storms, brought 15 Maidu with him when he came to Round Valley in 1856 to establish the farm (Carranco and Beard 1981:56, Miller 1974:61). The same year also marked the beginning of continuous day-to-day contact between the Yuki and Euro-Americans.

That year settlers began staking claim to portions of Round Valley. Large parts of the southern half of Round Valley were fenced off and the Yuki were prohibited from using this land or its resources. The settlers' cattle and hogs roamed the hills freely and consumed the wild grasses, clover, and acorns, which were staple foods of the Yuki. Deprived of food, the Yuki would take or kill settlers' stock. The settlers would respond by organizing raiding parties to find and kill Yuki living in the surrounding wilderness (Miller 1975:7-8).

¹⁶ "Nome Cult" is a "mispronunciation of the Nomlacki phrase *nome kechl*, which means 'western tribe' or 'western language' (Bauer 2009:37)."

In 1858, Nome Cult Farm became the Round Valley Indian Reservation¹⁷ (Miller 1978:249). By the mid-1870s Native people had been taken from various other parts of California by state and federal governments and moved to Round Valley. Only the Yuki and Athabaskan Wailaki were native to the valley itself, but during this time the valley also became home to the Pomo, Nomlaki, Kato, Lassik, Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, Achumawi, Yana, and Modoc peoples (Bauer 2009:18, Miller 1978:250).

None of the languages of these new inhabitants were related to Yuki, and the languages of the new inhabitants were generally not related to each other¹⁸. This ultimately was a contributing factor in the decline in use of these languages at Round Valley as members of different tribes would often use English with each other. Susman (1976:34) describes the decline of Native language use in Round Valley: “Indian languages were among the first traits to be lost. Very early, English was used for communication with other tribes, and under compulsion by the Whites. In school Indian languages were effectively discouraged.”

The stories behind the removal of many of these peoples to Round Valley are sad and difficult, but perhaps one of the most difficult is the story of the Nome Cult

¹⁷ See Appendix 7 for a map of the Round Valley Indian Reservation.

¹⁸ The Pomoan language family contains 7 unique languages, Nomlaki is a Wintun language, Kato and Lassik are Athabaskan languages, Konkow and Nisenan are Maiduan languages, Atsugewi and Achumawi form the Palaihnihan language family, Yana is a language isolate, and Modoc is a dialect of Klamath.

Trail¹⁹. In September 1862, after settlers planted rumors among some of the Konkows and Atsugewis, who had been moved to Round Valley, convincing them that the government had abandoned the reservation and that the winter would bring starvation, approximately 500 Konkows and Atsugewis returned to the Konkow traditional homeland near Chico, California. At Chico violence erupted between settlers and the returning Native people and a group of settlers threatened to kill all the Native people near Chico if they were not immediately removed. The result was that in the September of 1863, 461 Native people were marched back to Round Valley, with only 277 arriving at their destination, the remainder had died from a combination of malaria and exhaustion. Their journey is still commemorated every year by the residents of the Round Valley Indian Reservation with the Nome Cult Trail Walk (Bauer 2009:54, Miller 1974:152).

This period also marks the beginning of an increasingly collective identity of the Native inhabitants of Round Valley replacing the individual identities of the tribes that already lived or had come to live in Round Valley. Initially the different tribes kept to themselves and inhabited separate communities on the reservation (Bauer 2009:107-9). However, over time and through intermarriage and language loss, these separate tribes came to form an increasingly unified Native community in Round Valley.

¹⁹ Conners 1993:1 refers to the Nome Cult Trail as the “Chico to Round Valley Trail of Tears” in the title of her paper on this topic.

1.3.4. Peace, Religion, and Allotment

Hostilities in Round Valley ended around 1865, and it was at this time that Indian Agents began to turn their attention to acculturation of the Yuki and the other Native peoples living in Round Valley, by teaching them how to live as Euro-Americans. The government plans appeared to amount to taking the Yuki and other Native inhabitants of Round Valley and turning them into farmers (Miller 1974:163-172). However, to do this successfully, Native people would need to have their own land to farm, which was an elusive goal throughout the decades following the mid-1860s. Eventually, plots of land were allotted to a portion of the Native inhabitants of Round Valley after the passage of the *Dawes Severality Act* in 1887 (Miller 1978:249).

The relationship between the settlers and Native inhabitants of Round Valley remained tense during this time. The settlers were not interested in sharing their land claims and continued to ignore the boundaries of the Round Valley Indian Reservation. Settlers would allow their animals to graze on reservation land or even stake claim to it. The settlers also successfully undermined attempts by Round Valley Indian Reservation authorities from stopping these actions (Miller 1974:260-4). Only in 1892 was a final agreement reached between the United States government and settlers. The settlers were compensated for property that was within the boundaries of the reservation, as they had been defined in 1890, and they agreed to move off these lands (Miller 1974:315-16).

The religious life of the Native community of Round Valley also underwent change. During the years following the establishment of Round Valley Indian Reservation, those living on the reservation were discouraged from practicing their ceremonies and other religious observances. The Yuki who lived and worked on ranches located off the reservation continued to practice their ceremonies and in this way served as a means for maintaining these Yuki traditions. Yuki living on the reservation would not practice these ceremonies there, but would leave the reservation to participate in these same ceremonies with other Yuki at sites off the reservation (1974:217).

Major attempts to convert the Yuki to Christianity did not occur immediately following contact with Euro-Americans. Instead it seemed the settlers were more interested in claiming land in Round Valley than in changing the religion of its original inhabitants. This approach began to shift in 1869 following the enactment of President Ulysses Grant's "Peace Policy," which modified the way in which Indian Agents were selected. Instead of these positions being political appointments, during the years this policy was in effect the agents were either army officers or individuals nominated by religious organizations (1974:176-7). In 1871 the Methodist Episcopal Church of California won its bid to appoint individuals of its choosing as the Indian Agents of Round Valley Indian Reservation (1974:186-7). This change in leadership approximately coincided with the period during which the Ghost Dance movement reached Round Valley indirectly resulting in an interesting

episode of mass conversion to Methodism by the Yuki and other Native peoples of Round Valley.

The Ghost Dance of 1870²⁰ emerged in the late 1860s in Nevada as a new religious movement among Native Americans. It reached Round Valley as two different subsequent religious movements, the Earth Lodge Religion and the Bole-Marú Religion. The Earth Lodge Religion foretold the end of the world in 1872, but then quickly decreased in followers after the predicted apocalypse did not occur. The Bole-Marú Religion came to Round Valley following the decline of the Earth Lodge Religion. It espoused a positive vision of the afterlife and a belief in the sacredness of the teachings of individuals, which were believed to have been inspired by an anthropomorphic Supreme Being (Miller 1974:218).

The Bole-Marú Religion spread quickly among the Native inhabitants of Round Valley. Its popularity at this time may have had the curious effect of motivating mass conversion to Methodism among the Yuki and other Native peoples of Round Valley in 1874, due to the similarity of the tenets of the two religions. Within a few months over nine hundred members of the Native American community of Round Valley had converted to Methodism (1974:218-20). The reservation officials at the time were astonished, and as they were Methodists themselves, they considered this mass conversion nothing short of a miracle.

²⁰ For a detailed description of the Ghost Dance of 1870 see DuBois (1939).

The revival was short-lived; however, as corruption among reservation officials and broken promises concerning the allotment of farmland to members of the Native community Round Valley ultimately led to disenchantment and disillusionment with Christianity. By 1876 attendance at Methodist church services had dropped considerably (1974:226-7). In the following years Protestant missionaries were on the reservation from time to time, and the Native community of Round Valley remained nominally Protestant, but they did not actively practice their adopted religion. Among the Yuki there was a return to practicing traditional social dances and other dances that had been “dreamed” by practitioners of the Bole-Marū Religion (1974:324).

1.3.5. Changing Ways

In the years immediately following the allotment of farmland to individual Native inhabitants in Round Valley, some of the same problems encountered up to this point continued. For example, some Euro-American stockmen continued to disregard boundary lines and allowing their animals to trespass on Native grazing land in the surrounding mountains (1974:338). At the turn of the twentieth century, the Yuki had for the most part adopted a Euro-American diet, style of dress, and housing (1974:319-20, 339). The *Hamnamwok*, or girls’ puberty ceremony, was no longer performed after about 1900, and by 1917 traditional Yuki dances in general were only performed on July 4th and Christmas.

In the early 1930's the Pentecostal Church came to Round Valley, and in subsequent years many Yuki joined the Pentecostal Church. The church became a major focus of the Round Valley Native community. This change had the additional effect of ending most Yuki traditional practices, as these practices were discouraged by the Pentecostal Church (1974:339-41).

The Yuki language had also been in a steady state of decline during the years since contact. By the 1870s, the Native peoples that had been brought to Round Valley spoke English a great deal, but the Yuki had a smaller proportion of English speakers relative to the other tribes that had come to live in Round Valley (1974:221). By the turn of the twentieth century; however, there were few good younger Yuki language speakers to be found. Ralph Moore, Alfred Kroeber's primary Yuki consultant, may have been unique among the members of his generation in speaking Yuki and having a depth of knowledge about Yuki traditions. A lengthy feature on Moore and his work with Kroeber appeared in March of 1902 in *The Sunday Call Magazine*, in San Francisco. It describes Ralph Moore and the situation of the Yuki language as it was in 1902:

Ralph Moore is the only young member of his tribe who thoroughly knows thse [sic] things. The others have forgotten. They are so much Americanized that the Yuki language is almost dead now, even in these thirty years since the reservation was established. Only a few of the old people keep it up; the

young ones, even the middle-aged ones, use our language [English] among themselves as well as with our people (“An Indian Who Gave,” 1902:7).

1.3.6. Continued Transformation

Native administrative structures changed across the United States with the adoption in 1934 of the *Indian Reorganization Act*. This act ended allotment and led to the establishment of an elected tribal council for governing Round Valley Indian Reservation (Miller 1978:249, Bauer 2009:199). The Native Americans of Round Valley came together and formed a new tribe called the Covelo Indian Community. Years of intermarriage, a shared home in Round Valley, and language loss had diminished the differences between the Yuki and other tribes that had come to Round Valley (Patterson et al 1990:7). By the 1960s and 1970s, studies of the Native peoples of Round Valley found that they shared more cultural characteristics with the Euro-Americans around them than with their ancestors and that the Native languages spoken by their ancestors were nearly gone (Patterson et al. 1990:7, Miller 1978:249-50). Linguists continued to document Yuki throughout the second half of the twentieth century until the death of the final native speaker, Arthur Anderson, in 1983.

1.4. Ethnography

Northern Yukian material culture, spirituality, and myth are mostly known from the documentation that occurred in the first half of the twentieth century. Yuki and Huchnom culture are described in Kroeber (1925 [1976]) and Foster (1944). Kroeber (1925 [1976]) also describes aspects of Coast Yuki culture. Extensive descriptions of the Coast Yuki and their lifeways are found in Gifford (1928, 1939, 1965). English tellings of Yuki myths are found in Kroeber (1932), while a similar collection of Coast Yuki myths in English is in Gifford (1937).

The significant mythical figures, ceremonies, and stories differed to some extent among the Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:182) describes Yuki mythology and cosmogony as greatly resembling that of other peoples of North Central California. In Kroeber's words, this worldview revolves "around two personages - a creator and an unstable assistant who sometimes mars and again supplements the work of his chief." In Yuki belief the creator is called Taykómol²¹, often translated as "he who walks alone" and the unable assistant is Coyote. Both figure prominently in the two parts of the Yuki Creation Story included in this grammar: *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*. In the religions of other North Central California peoples, Kroeber (1925 [1976]:182-3) equates Taykómol "to the Kato *Nagaicho*, the great traveler, to the Wintun *Olelbis*, he who sits in the above, to the

²¹ Foster (1944:204) states, "More rarely, Taikomol [Taykómol] was called by two other names: *onúhaknamliki* (one who sewed the earth together)...[or] *miatk'onitatisi namliki* (our language which is made in the beginning by him)."

Maidu the ceremonial initiate of the earth or *Kodoyanpe*, the earth namer. Among the Pomo ... [to] *Madumda*. On the fringes of the area thus outlined, he sinks to the level of an animal, such as the silver fox of the Achomawi, or disappears wholly, except for a vague mention or two, as among the Yana and Shasta.”

Foster (1944:204) describes Taykómol as bearing a significant resemblance to the Christian God. It should be mentioned that his account of Yuki culture is based on fieldwork conducted in the 1930s at a time when the Pentecostal Church had become popular in the Yuki community and the Yuki had been exposed to the Christian worldview since the mid-19th century. Still, Foster does not feel that the similarities between Yuki beliefs as he found them and Christianity are due to outside influence on the Yuki. He writes:

We find Taikomol [Taykómol] to be anthropomorphic, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, pleased with his children when they lived by his word, and angered when they did not. This surprisingly Christian interpretation is not the result of contact with whites; the concept is too deeply ingrained in Yuki culture to be other than extremely ancient. With this in mind, it is not surprising to find that the Pentecostal Church has received its most enthusiastic support from the Yuki remnants of Round Valley. They represent by far the largest and most faithful unit in the church, out of all proportion to population, though of course members of

other tribes are also attendants. Apparently, this is the incorporation of a new trait into the old, well-established Yuki religious pattern.

Taykómol also takes the role of creator in the Huchnom creation myth recorded by Foster (1944:233). In Coast Yuki belief, Taykómol is not found at all. Instead Thunder (*Ehlaumel*) is the single creation deity (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:216). Interestingly, in Yuki and Huchnom belief, thunder also has religious significance. In Yuki belief, thunder (*alámol*) is the voice of Taykómol when he is angry. In Huchnom belief, thunder (*onámol*) is not identified with Taykómol. Taykómol is the most powerful force in nature. However, rain is attributed to thunder as the tears of *onámol* (thunder) and the moon is recognized as the eye of *onámol* (thunder). (Foster 1944:204, 232-3)

The Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki cultures all placed importance on several ceremonies²² that took on different functions within each society. With regard to Yuki ceremonial life, Foster (1944:155) writes, “These people [the Yuki] ... display a fairly elaborate ceremonial organization ... Rituals include the *Taikomol-woknam* [*Taykómolwoknam*], or children’s school; the secret *Hulk’ilal-woknam*, or ghost dance; an obsidian ceremony, *Kičil-woknam*; and a complicated series of girls’ puberty rites magically coupled with acorn-fertility observances.”

²² Two further Yuki ceremonies, the Feather Dance, called “largely social in character” by Kroeber (1925 [1976]:196), and the *Hamanamwok* or Girls’ First Menstruation Dance, are described by Ralph Moore in Yuki. See the Yuki texts at the back of this grammar for these descriptions. For a detailed account of Northern Yukian ceremonial life and religion consult Kroeber (1925) and Foster (1944).

The *Taykómolwoknam* was an initiation ceremony for Yuki youths into the mythology surrounding Taykómol, the creation of the world, and various practical arts and crafts. The *Hulk'ilalwoknam* (eye striped initiation) was used to instruct initiates in various doctoring techniques and was believed by the Yuki to have been given to humans by Taykómol. The Ta'nom' Yuki observed neither the *Taykómolwoknam* nor the *Hulk'ilalwoknam*. Instead the Ta'nom' practiced the *Kičilwoknam* (obsidian school), which was a puberty rite for children of both genders and also the first point where prospective shamans would be recognized. The Ta'nom' were in close contact with the Athabaskan Wailaki, who Foster credits with the origin of the *Kičilwoknam* (1944:211-2).

Kroeber (1925 [1976]:204) records that the Huchnom also practiced the *Taykómolwoknam* and *Hulk'ilalwoknam*. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:216) does not record the Coast Yuki practicing the *Taykómolwoknam*; however he does record them practicing a ceremony like the *Hulk'ilalwoknam*, but under a different name: *Yihkim-wok*, which also means “ghosts' dance.”

1.5. Sociolinguistic Situation

This section describes the history of multilingualism among the Yuki, language attitudes, contexts of language use and choice, and current language viability.

1.5.1. Multilingualism and Language Attitudes

Nothing is known about the dynamic and associated language attitudes that existed among Native languages in the Round Valley region prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans in Northern California. Evidence from similarities in religion and material culture (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:182-3) suggests that contact among tribes speaking different languages has existed for some time²³. For example, the Ta'nom' Yuki, whose home territory directly abutted that of the Athabaskan Wailaki speakers in the northern part of the Yuki speech region, were familiar with the Wailaki language, and intermarriage between Ta'nom' Yuki and Wailaki was common (Foster 1944:159).

Among Yuki speakers themselves, knowledge of the dialect differences between speakers from different Yuki tribal subdivisions was found among the Yuki speakers that Kroeber (Kroeber 1931-1932/1958) and Foster (1944) encountered. Throughout the period that Ralph Moore worked with Kroeber, Moore²⁴ displayed knowledge of at least three Yuki dialects: Uk'omnom', Wit'ukomnom', and Ta'nom'.

After contact with Euro-Americans, knowledge of English increased among the Yuki and among other tribes that had been moved to Round Valley. English came to be the language used between different Round Valley tribes soon after contact (Susman 1976:34). Yuki ceased to be a language of daily use early in the twentieth

²³ See additional discussion in §1.1.5.

²⁴ See §1.6.3.

century. This is evidenced by the fact that Ralph Moore’s ability to speak Yuki well appears to have been a rarity among younger Yuki at the turn of the twentieth century (“An Indian Who Gave,” 1902:7) and that the last speakers of Yuki, Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson, had last actively used Yuki in the early 1930s and 1908, respectively (Elmendorf 1981:41-2).

1.5.2. Contexts of Use and Language Choice

Few details of the contexts of language use and choice prior and following contact with Euro-Americans are known. Foster (1944:161) records the existence of a “high” form of Yuki. He does not include any details of how this form of Yuki differed from “regular” Yuki and Elmendorf (1981:40) comments on his own inability to find any examples of this “high” form of Yuki. Foster’s (1944:161) description of the “high” form follows:

Those who spoke the *k’oni hót* (talk high) were also said to *hálsi*²⁵. *K’oni hót* was a refined speech, spoken by the well educated - those who had gone to the *Taikomol-woknam*. It was not a secret language, since some of both sexes knew it thoroughly, and those of lower class were acquainted with

²⁵ *hálsi* ‘to talk put more with’ was a term reported by Foster (1944:161) as used by Yuki speakers referring to the speech of Yuki speaking other dialects of Yuki. The implication apparently was that Yuki speaking in a *hálsi* manner were making their speech purposefully and perhaps needlessly complicated. See §1.1.4 for other uses and further discussion.

some of the expressions. The distinction is similar to that in our own society between a college graduate and one whose schooling has ended at the fifth grade.

Bauer (2009:102) records an episode relayed to him concerning the use of Yuki as a form of resistance against Euro-Americans in Round Valley. Bauer does not give the exact date of this episode, though it likely would have occurred between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century. Bauer writes:

Kinship ties only went so far in protecting Round Valley Indians from economic exploitation, and sometimes other, subtler, forms of resistance were necessary. Pomo Elizabeth Willits remembered that every evening during the hop-picking season storeowner Edward Gravier drove his wagon to Round Valley's Hop Ranch and sold meat, vegetables, and watermelons to Indian workers when the day's work was concluded. On one occasion, Dixie Duncan told Gravier that in order to boost sales he should yell out in the Yuki language, "I'm bringing good meat. Come and get it." However, Duncan actually taught Gravier to say, "I'm bringing rotten meat. Come and get it." Gravier, of course, did not understand the Yuki language or, perhaps, the chuckles and declining sales he encountered thereafter. For Duncan, though, this was a safe way to make Gravier look like a heel and to resist economic domination. Duncan obviously felt comfortable enough to use the Yuki

language to poke fun at someone who could charge usurious rates for meat and other groceries by entering the Yuki language into what James Scott calls the “public transcript.” Duncan attempted to cause people to not buy groceries from Gravier but did so in a way that meant everyone - perhaps even Gravier when he discovered the ruse - could have a good laugh, at Gravier’s expense.

1.5.3. Viability

The Yuki language is no longer spoken. No language programs exist for teaching the language within the Yuki community at this time. The last Yuki speaker, Arthur Anderson, died in 1983 (SSDI 2010). Even at that time Yuki had long ceased functioning as a language of daily interaction. Yuki speaker Minnie Fulwider began her work with linguists in the 1950s, and would later claim that she had not used Yuki since 1930. Arthur Anderson worked with linguists Jesse Sawyer and Shirley Silver between 1972 and 1976 and at that time claimed that he had not used Yuki since 1908. Alice Schlichter, who studied Yuki in the 1970s and 1980s writes of Fulwider and Anderson: “Neither informant...is a fluent speaker of Yuki; probably neither ever was ... The informants had to remember, often with considerable and time-consuming effort, words and phrases they had used or heard almost three quarters of a century ago.” (Elmendorf 1981:41-2, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:2)

1.6. Research Corpus, Methods, and Consultants

This section contains a description of the corpus, the methods used to research and write this grammar, and background information about the consultants. The practical orthography is also described and compared with practical orthographies used by previous researchers of Yuki and the other Northern Yuki languages.

1.6.1. Research Corpus

The corpus used for this grammar is drawn from the Yuki myths and other texts collected by Alfred Kroeber from Ralph Moore between 1901 and 1903. This collection also contains several other short stories recorded by Hans Uldall during the period when he worked with Ralph Moore on Yuki between 1931 and 1933. Five of the texts obtained by Kroeber during his early work with Moore are included at the end of this grammar. These include: *Origins*, *Coyote and the World*, *Feather Dance Narrative*, *Ents and Upek*, and *Ioi*. The vast majority of examples in the grammar are drawn from two of the longest texts: *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*. These are supplemented with material from fieldwork conducted by other linguists on Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki, when the data from the Kroeber/Uldall collection are insufficient or when an example collected by another researcher proves effective for illustrating a specific feature of Yuki. Most of the Huchnom data is drawn from material elicited from Huchnom speaker Lulu Johnson by Sidney Lamb, while most of the Coast Yuki data is drawn from material elicited from Coast Yuki speaker Lucy

Pérez by John Peabody Harrington. Some Huchnom and Coast Yuki data presented in this grammar is drawn from material elicited by Kroeber between 1900 and 1910.

1.6.2. Methods

The descriptions of phonetics and phonology in Chapter 2 are based on earlier studies of Yuki phonetics and phonology and on analysis of an hour-long recording of Yuki speaker Frank Logan²⁶. This recording was also used for the study of the acoustic correlates of Yuki stress in §2.2.1.3. Values for f0 or pitch, intensity, and duration were measured in the phonetic analysis software Praat. Statistical analysis was performed using the statistical analysis software SPSS 15.0.

For the remainder of this grammar, all analyses began with taking the texts of the research corpus, described in §1.6.1, and retyping them in the Yuki practical orthography, described in §1.6.4. Then the words in the texts were glossed and a preliminary morphemic analysis was carried out. The glossing and division of words into morphemes at this stage was based on Kroeber's glosses of the texts in his original notes and on earlier descriptions of Yuki and Yukian morphology, particularly those in Kroeber 1911, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, and Schlichter 1985. In his original notes Kroeber provides word glosses for many, but not all, of the words in the texts. These glosses were used as a starting point, but then were

²⁶ This recording was made by James Crawford in 1953.

altered based on the sources given here and my increasing facility with Yuki throughout the course of my work. The morphemic analysis of all the words in the texts came as a result of my own work and analysis of Yuki morphology.

At this point each proposed morpheme was studied by analyzing its use throughout the texts²⁷ and in elicited data. If the morpheme showed a consistent function, a description was written with examples from the texts and elicitation. If the morpheme did not show such a function, then it was determined whether the proposed morpheme was itself composed of smaller morphemes with consistent functions. If no such analysis was possible, then it was noted in the description that a morpheme had no clearly determinable function²⁸.

For Chapter 3, examples were drawn from the corpus to identify the environment governing particular morphophonemic alternations. For Chapter 9, examples of particular types of clauses were drawn from the corpus and then described. The areal comparisons present throughout the grammar were constructed based on previous documentation of the contact languages.

²⁷ ‘Texts’ refers to the texts collected by Kroeber and Uldall in the research corpus.

²⁸ For example, the function of the verb morphemes *-lim* and *-q*, discussed in §7.5.9, could not be determined.

1.6.3. Consultants and other sources

Ralph Moore (ca. 1874/1875 - 19??) was born on the Round Valley Indian Reservation and went on to become Alfred Kroeber's primary Yuki language consultant for the decades of Kroeber's work with Yuki. Kroeber records Moore's Yuki name as *Aš'iyam Nána'ak*²⁹. In his work with Kroeber, Moore said early on that he mainly spoke as an Uk'omnom', but then in later years said that he actually spoke as a Wit'ukomnom', adding that more specifically he spoke like the people of Olkat village, located at the head of Eden Valley. Kroeber also records Moore as also having known Ta'nom', due to the fact that Moore's mother was Ta'nom' (Kroeber 1931-1932/1958).

Moore held an important position in Yuki society and cultural life. Moore and his wife Lucy hosted grass games³⁰ and roundhouse ceremonies on the land that he had inherited from his mother (Bauer 2009:167, 169). After the Pentecostal Church came to Round Valley in the 1930s, Ralph and Lucy Moore donated one half-acre of their land for the building of a new Pentecostal church (2009:198).

While Ralph Moore was Kroeber's primary Yuki consultant, the work he did with Moore also involved other older Yuki speakers from time to time. During the period when Moore and Kroeber began their collaboration, Moore was only in his late 20s,

²⁹ Kroeber does not record an English translation for Moore's Yuki name.

³⁰ Foster (1944:194-5) gives a detailed description of grass game, called in Yuki *áltoi-móltmil* 'stick tied [in middle] gamble'. Foster calls grass game, "by all odds the favorite Yuki gambling game...[and] an important social event that was often anticipated for several days."

but already possessed a deeper knowledge of Yuki language and culture than many of his contemporaries. In 1932, Kroeber published the English versions of many of the same myths that appear in Yuki in this grammar. In the introduction to that collection, Kroeber (1932:905-6) provides this description of his work with Moore, of Moore's knowledge and ancestry, of the other consultants with whom Moore and Kroeber worked, and also details which consultants told which myths³¹:

While the myths are few, they comprise the Yuki cosmogony, as taught in the initiation to the Creator-cult or *Taikomol-woknAm*. The texts were all dictated by Ralph Moore, at the time about 28 years old, who had learned them from his father's father, his mother's father's brother Pike, and a third old man Diddle who was not a kinsman. Ralph's own father had been 'taken' as a child and 'sold' in Santa Rosa to whites, so that, though he returned later to Round valley, he did not learn the tribal traditions. The old men therefore imparted them to Ralph as a boy, telling them over and over to him.

Ralph's father's father and Diddle were both Wit'ukAmnom, a southerly division of the Yuki whose territory ranged from Eden valley south of South Eel river, across this stream, into the southern part of Round valley. His

³¹ The Roman numeral indexes in Kroeber's description correspond to the following Yuki Myths: I = Origins: Taikomol, II = Origins: Second Version, III = Origins: Third Version, IV = Coyote and the World, V = The Thunder Twins, VI = Born-by-Washing, VII = Wildcat, VIII = Coyote and Crow, IX = Three Coyote Episodes. I and VIII appear in this grammar in Yuki.

father's father was, specifically, a Lalkûnom, from Lalkûhtki, at a pond or water hole mentioned in myths IV and V, in southern Round valley. Diddle was specifically a Suk'ānom, from Suk'ā, north of the South Eel. The former contributed myth V; the latter, I and II. Ralph's mother and her father's brother Pike were Tā'nom. This was a northwest Yuki group, on (the united) Eel river adjacent to the Wailaki and in their rituals resembling these Athasbascans at least as much as the Ukomnom and Wit'ukAmnom Yuki. The fragmentary Origins version (III) obtained from Pike is therefore of significance as showing that mythologically the Tā'nom agreed fairly closely with the other Yuki. The remaining tales (IV, VI-IX) Ralph probably learned either from Pike or from his paternal grandfather.

Ralph has an excellent memory, is accurate and conscientious, and worked hard to help me record right. To his personality is due the preservation of these interesting myths. His contemporaries mostly know less and seem uninterested, the present younger generation on the reservation is almost wholly ignorant of tribal lore, and his elder would have been unable, for temperamental reasons, slowly to dictate long texts consecutively.

To summarize, myths I, IV,V, VII, VIII were recorded in Yuki text from Ralph Moore's dictation based on his own memory; VI and VIII, from his dictation in English only; while II and III were told to me respectively by Diddle and Pike in Yuki and Englished by Ralph a paragraph at a time.

Detailed biographies could not be obtained of the other consultants who worked with other linguists and whose data is incorporated into this grammar. I am including the names of all of the known consultants here and my indebtedness to them and to other possible consultants whose names are unknown. Ralph Moore, Pike, and Diddle for their careful and diligent work in describing their language and their culture. Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson for sharing their remembrances of their language. James Crawford's Yuki consultant Frank Logan, Kroeber's Coast Yuki consultants Tim Bell and Sam Slick, Kroeber's Huchnom consultant, Lake Holmes, Harrington's Coast Yuki consultant, Lucy Pérez³², Sidney Lamb's Huchnom consultant, Lulu Johnson, and Robert Oswalt's Huchnom consultant, Bill Frank, for providing much of what is known of their languages.

1.6.4. Presentation of Data

In writing down Ralph Moore's speech in his notes, Kroeber used an orthography that was apparently partly own creation. Aspects of this orthography, such as marking ejective consonants using <!> or indicating stressed syllables with an acute accent are based on transcription conventions used around the beginning of the twentieth century. Kroeber had been a student of Boas during his years at Columbia

³² This information about Lucy Pérez is found in (Mills 1985:9): "His [Harrington's] informant for Coast Yuki was Lucy Pérez, daughter of a chief of the Juan Creek Indians. She spoke fluent "coast-language" and English...Pérez was referred to by other informants as "Old Lucy" or "Lucy Perry," using the name of her first husband.

University (Steward et al 1961:1043) and indeed Kroeber’s transcription style bore a resemblance to the Boas transcription conventions. However, in transcribing Yuki, Kroeber incorporated other vowel diacritics that I was not able to define based on any existing transcription convention from that period (i.e. 1900-1903)³³.

In reviewing the Yuki language materials I obtained from the American Philosophical Society, I found two different transcriptions of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth. One version of the myth had been written down by Kroeber in 1902 during his initial fieldwork with Ralph Moore, the other version was written down later. This later transcription is attributed in the APS document index to Hans Uldall who collaborated with Kroeber on Yuki for a time. These two versions of “Wildcat and Coyote” are virtually identical in content, but the later version attributed to Uldall utilizes a transcription style recognizable to anyone who can read IPA. So, I did the logical thing and performed word-by-word comparisons to unlock the meaning of Kroeber’s mysterious vowel diacritics.

³³ In his notes, Kroeber gives the following definitions of the vowel diacritics:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| (1901b:37): | sot cut |
| | sōt scratched (with finger-nails) |
| | The ō here has a peculiar quality, like intermediate between â and o and nearly short |
| (1902a:13a): | ō close |
| | o open |
| (1902b:1a): | ò = the sound between â and o |
| | ì = “ “ “ ī and è |
| | î = “ “ “ i and e) |

My suspicion based on Kroeber's own fragmentary description of the meaning of the diacritics in note ³² was that Kroeber was marking differences in vowel quality with these diacritics. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:11) note that vowels in Yuki differed in quality depending on whether they occurred in stressed or unstressed syllables.

A perfect correspondence did not emerge between Kroeber's use of vowel diacritics and Uldall's transcription. In some cases Kroeber appears to hear variants that Uldall does not note at all. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:11) note that vowels in Yuki differ in quality depending on whether they occurred in stressed or unstressed syllables. I concluded that Kroeber was likely marking some of these differences in quality using the additional vowel diacritics.

Ultimately, I chose not to incorporate Kroeber's additional vowel diacritics into my practical Yuki orthography, as no other linguists who have written about Yuki have ever found the need to do this. This includes Schlichter who studied Yuki intensively and described the phonology (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, Schlichter 1985). Additionally, *Wildcat and Coyote* is the only example of connected speech to have been previously published. It appears with Kroeber's 1911 grammatical sketch. In his published version of this myth, even Kroeber does not include any of the vowel diacritics he used in his fieldnotes.

There is some uncertainty as to the pronunciation of double vowels in Kroeber's transcription. These symbols often represent long vowels, but sometimes they are

[VʔV] sequences. Since [V:] often results from [VʔV] in Yuki, as discussed in §2.1.1.8.8, it may be that for many sequences of double vowels either pronunciation was possible.

The Yuki practical orthography I use in this grammar is essentially the same as that used by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984). The main difference is that I incorporate Kroeber's marking of stress, as stressed and unstressed vowels are phonetically different (1984:11). Table 1 shows a comparison of the orthography used in this grammar, given under Balodis, with other relevant Yuki orthographies and the IPA equivalent of each symbol. Lamb's orthography is used in his documentation of Huchnom. Uldall, Lamb, and Siniard also mark prosodic contours in their orthographies, but this marking is not reproduced in the examples given in this grammar. Examples from Harrington's study of Coast Yuki are also included in this grammar, but the orthography in those examples is not altered from that in the original. Blank spaces indicate that a symbol for a particular sound was not observed. In the examples used throughout this grammar, which are drawn from Kroeber's work with Ralph Moore, it was generally not possible to determine reliably whether <t> represented /t̥/ or /t̄/. Therefore when such a determination could not be made, words written with <t> in Kroeber's notes are also written as <t> in the examples in this grammar.

| Kroeber | Uldall | Lamb | Siniard | Sawyer/ Schlichter | Balodis | IPA |
|-------------------|--------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|-----|
| p | p | p | p | p | p | p |
| p!, p' | p' | p' | p' | p' | p' | p' |
| t, t _x | t̥ | t̥, t ^h | t̥ | t | t̥ | t̥ |
| t!, t' | t̥' | t̥', t ^{h'} | t̥' | t | t̥' | t̥' |
| t. | t | ṭ | ṭ | ṭ | ṭ | t |
| t!. t.' | t' | ṭ' | ṭ' | ṭ' | ṭ' | t' |
| tc | tʃ | č | č | č | č | tʃ |
| tc!, tc' | tʃ' | č' | č' | č' | č' | tʃ' |
| dj | | | | | ǰ | dʒ |
| k | k | k | k | k | k | k |
| k!, k' | k' | k' | k' | k' | k' | k' |
| ʔ | ʔ | ʔ, ʔ' | ʔ | ʔ | ʔ | ʔ |
| s | s | s | s | s | s | s |
| ʔs | | | | s' | s' | ʔs |
| c | ʃ | š | š | š | š | ʃ |
| s. | | ʂ | | | ʂ | ʂ |
| w | w | w | w | w | w | w |
| ʔw | ʔw, w' | w' | w' | w' | w' | ʔw |
| l | l | l | l | l | l | l |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ʔ | l' | ʔ _o , l' | l', l _o | l' | l' | ʔ |
| L | tl _o | | λ | tl | tl | tł |
| y | y, i ³⁴ | y | y | y | y | y |
| ʔy | y' | y' | y' | y' | y' | ʔy |
| m | m | m | m | m | m | m |
| ʔm | ʔm | ʔm _o , m' | ʔm _o , m' | m' | m' | ʔm |
| n | n | n | N | n | n | n |
| ʔn | n' | ʔn _o | ʔn _o | n' | n' | ʔn |
| ñ | ŋ | | ŋ | n | ŋ | ŋ |
| x | | | | | x | x |
| | | C ^ʃ | C ^h , C ^ʃ | | C ^h , C ^ʃ | C ^h (aspirated stop) |
| i | i, ɪ | i, ɪ | i, ɪ | i | i | i ~ ɪ |
| e | ³⁵ | E, e | ɛ, e | e | e | e ~ ɛ |
| u | u | u, ʊ | u | u | u | u ~ ʊ |
| o | ɔ | o, ɔ | o, ɔ | o | o | o ~ ɔ |
| a ⁿ | ã | ʌ, ə | ʌ, ə, ɶ | ɶ | ɶ | ã |
| a | a, ʌ | a, ʌ, ə | a, ʌ, ə | a | a | ɶ ~ ʌ |

³⁴ Uldall uses <i> to indicate an off-glide in the diphthong [iy], as in ^ʔ*imimil* 'he said', which would be rewritten as ^ʔ*imiymil* in the orthography used in this grammar.

³⁵ Uldall does not use <e> in his transcription of Yuki.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------|------------------------|----|----|-----------------|-------------------|
| ai ⁿ | ĩĩ, ãi | ay | ɬi | ay | ay | ĩj |
| au ⁿ | ãw | ɬw, ɬw̥, əw, əw̥ | ɬw | ɬw | ɬw | ĩw |
| o ⁿ | | | | | ɔ | õ |
| u ⁿ | | | | | u̥ | ũ |
| σ | | | | | σ ³⁶ | ? |
| VV ³⁷ | V: | V·, V: | V· | V· | V: | V: |
| Ŵ | | | | | Ŵ | stressed vowel |

Table 1: Yuki and Huchnom orthographies

1.7. Brief Grammatical Overview

Yuki has 25 consonants and 5 vowels. Plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for nearly all consonants, except the sibilant /š/ and of course the glottal consonants /h/ and /ʔ/. /w'/ and /s'/ are marginal phonemes. Unlike in the

³⁶ This vowel used by Kroeber is an allophone of Yuki /o/, but its equivalent in IPA is unclear.

³⁷ There is some uncertainty about the pronunciation of double vowels in Kroeber's transcription. These segments often are long vowels, but sometimes are [VʔV] sequences. Since [V:] often results from [VʔV] in Yuki, as discussed in §2.1.1.8.8, it may be that for many of sequences of double vowels either pronunciation was possible.

neighboring Pomoan languages aspiration and voicing are not contrastive for stops. Vowel length is either not phonemic or only very marginally phonemic. One nasalized vowel phoneme /ã/ also exists in Yuki.

Stress in Yuki is non-contrastive and predictable. Stress occurs on the first syllable of the stem (Mithun 1999:574). The most noticeable correlate of stress in Yuki is a very high pitch on the syllable with primary stress and a mid to high pitch on the syllable with secondary stress (Schlichter 1978, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:11). Yuki phonetics, phonology, and prosody are discussed in Chapter 2.

Yuki is primarily suffixing and is a primarily agglutinating language. Grammatical relations in Yuki are marked on pronouns and with case-marking on some nouns. Grammatical relations are not marked on verbs in Yuki. The grammatical relations system of Yuki is organized according to an agent/patient pattern. Yuki argument structure is discussed in §5.2. Yuki pronouns are discussed in Chapter 6.

Nouns functioning as grammatical patients are marked with a unique case enclitic =*q*, while grammatical agents are unmarked (Mithun 2008:302). Generally only human nouns are marked for core cases, though non-human animates can also show this marking from time to time. Yuki nouns can also be marked for location, and several other categories. Number is marked only for a handful of human nouns. In addition, unique possessive morphology is used with kinship terms. Yuki noun

morphology is discussed in Chapter 5. Kinship possessive morphology is discussed in §6.1.9.

A noteworthy characteristic of the Yuki verb system is that it contains a large number of TAM suffixes. Kroeber (1911:370) characterizes the structure of Yuki verbs as being root-initial, followed by one or two derivational suffixes with tense or modal suffixes coming at the end of the verb. The derivational suffixes look for the most part to be functioning as markers of different types of aspect, for example distinguishing actions that are iterative, habitual, semelfactive, or moving in a particular direction (1911:359). The tense and modal suffixes do seem to be exactly that, distinguishing categories such as past and future time, as well as imperative and interrogative moods of the verb (1911:362). Yuki verb morphology is discussed in Chapter 7.

Yuki is one of the few languages in California to possess an octonary numeral system (1911:368). However, in his ethnography of the Native Californians, Kroeber (1925 [1976]:176-7) notes that already at the time he was documenting the existence of this system in Yuki, it was falling out of use among younger speakers who apparently no longer realized that their grandparents were counting in multiples of eight rather than multiples of ten. The Yuki numeral system is discussed in more detail in §4.5.

2. Phonetics and Phonology

This chapter describes the phonetics and phonology of Yuki. This description is based on two sources: an hour-long recording of an elicitation session with Yuki speaker Frank Logan (Crawford 1953) and transcriptions of recorded data from Yuki speakers Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson present in *Yuki Vocabulary* (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984)³⁸.

³⁸ All examples in this chapter are drawn from these two sources, unless otherwise noted. Each example is marked with the initials of the speaker who is the source for that example. Frank Logan = FL, Minnie Fulwider = MF, Arthur Anderson = AA, Ralph Moore = RM.

2.1. Phoneme Inventory and Description of Phonemes

This section contains a description of the phonemes of Yuki.

2.1.1. Consonants

Yuki distinguishes 25 consonant phonemes, which occur in six places of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palato-alveolar, velar, and glottal. The Yuki inventory of consonant phonemes is given in Table 2.

| | | BILABIAL | DENTAL | ALVEOLAR | PALATO-ALVEOLAR | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|----------------------|-------------|----------|--------|----------|-----------------|-------|---------|
| NASALS | PLAIN | m | n | | | | |
| | GLOTTALIZED | m' | n' | | | | |
| STOPS | PLAIN | p | t | t̥ | | k | |
| | GLOTTALIZED | p' | t' | t̥' | | k' | ʔ |
| AFFRICATES | PLAIN | | | | č | | |
| | GLOTTALIZED | | | | č' | | |
| FRICATIVES | PLAIN | | | s | š | | h |
| | GLOTTALIZED | | | (s') | | | |
| CENTRAL APPROXIMANTS | PLAIN | w | | | y | | |
| | GLOTTALIZED | (w') | | | y' | | |
| LATERAL APPROXIMANTS | PLAIN | | l | | | | |
| | GLOTTALIZED | | l' | | | | |

Table 2: Yuki Consonants (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:10)

2.1.1.1. Glottalization

Plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for nearly all non-glottal consonants. /w'/ and /s'/ are marginal phonemes. /š'/ is not attested. Schlichter (1985:22) suggests /š'/ may have developed after phonemic glottalized variants of the other Yuki consonants and therefore doesn't show the plain-glottalized contrast seen for all other consonants.

2.1.1.2. Aspiration and Voicing

Aspiration and voicing are not contrastive for stops or affricates. The lack of contrastive aspiration and voicing distinguishes Yuki from the languages with which its speakers would have been most frequently in contact. Voicing is distinctive for some stops in Wintu and the Pomoan languages, while aspiration is distinctive for some or all stops in Wintu, the Pomoan languages, and in nearby California Athabaskan languages (Golla 1971:25, Pitkin 1984:25, O'Connor 1987:9, McLendon 1975:9, M. Mithun, personal communication, November 12, 2010, Walker 2008:15, Moshinsky 1974:5, Oswald 1960:18). Lack of contrastive aspiration also sets Yuki apart from other languages of the Northern California language area. A three-way contrast distinguishing plain, aspirated, and glottalized variants for stops is considered a characteristic of this language area (Mithun 1999:19).

2.1.1.3. Distribution

All plain consonants are contrastive in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. Glottalized stops and affricates are contrastive in syllable-initial position and are also found in syllable-final position in a handful of words, such as, *ʔi-pop* ‘my father’s aunt’ (AA). It is not known whether glottalized stops and affricates are contrastive syllable-finally. Glottalized sonorants are contrastive in syllable-final position and also occur in non-final position in syllable-final consonant clusters, as in *kanʔk* ‘knee’ (AA).

The contrastive domain of non-syllable-initial glottalized consonants can be described in more general terms as morpheme-final. Morpheme-final glottalized sonorants are found at the end of words and syllables, while this position is disfavored for morpheme-final glottalized stops and affricates found in verb roots. Many verb roots end in an glottalized stop or affricate, but the glottalization is only pronounced on the stop or affricate if the subsequent morpheme is vowel-initial, otherwise the glottalization spreads back to the vowel in the verb root creating a VʔV sequence³⁹. Even in the case where glottalization forms an actual glottalized consonant, it is not syllable-final, instead it forms the onset of the subsequent syllable. Compare (1a) and (1b) to see this process for *həq-* ‘split.’

³⁹ Schlichter (1985:39) discusses this alternation in a historical context. This alternation is also discussed in more detail in §2.1.1.8.8.

(1a) *hək'eta*

hək'-t-a

split-INTR?-IMP

'split it!' MF

(1b) *ki ʔol hək'qk-t-ek*

ki ʔol hək'-t=k

DST tree split-INTR=DECL

'That tree split in two.' AA

2.1.1.4. Stops, Affricates, and Fricatives

Stops occur in five places of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar, velar, and glottal.

Affricates⁴⁰ are found only in one place of articulation, palato-alveolar. Fricatives are distinguished in three places of articulation: alveolar, palato-alveolar⁴¹, and glottal (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:10). With the exception of /š/, plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for all stops, affricates, and fricatives.

⁴⁰ There is one partial exception to this. The transitive *-tl* verb morpheme is phonetically realized as a lateral affricate [tʃ]. *-tl* is discussed in more detail in §7.5.2. Likewise the imperative mood can be marked with glottalization of the final consonant. In the imperative form of verbs ending in transitive *-tl* a glottalized lateral affricate [tʃ'] can occur. See (68) in §7.4.3.2 for a verb ending in [tʃ'].

⁴¹ Schlichter and Sawyer (1984:10) classifies /č/, /č'/ and /š/ as palatal. Frank Logan pronounces these consonants in a position closer to that of /tʃ/. Therefore /č/, /č'/, and /š/ are classified as palato-alveolar in this grammar.

2.1.1.4.1. Alveolar /t̥/ and Dental /t̪/

Yuki distinguishes two /t/ phonemes: an alveolar stop /t̥/, which commonly has a retroflex pronunciation, and a dental stop /t̪/. A phonemic contrast between two /t/ phonemes is a characteristic of the Northern California language area, as many of the languages of this region make this contrast (Mithun 1999:316). Among the languages directly bordering Yuki, this contrast exists in the Pomoan languages, but not in Wintu or nearby California Athabaskan languages (Pitkin 1984:25, Golla 1971:25). In California, this contrast is found in Chimariko, Yuki, Wappo, the seven Pomoan languages, the seven or more Miwokan languages, the two or more Costanoan languages, Esselen, Yokuts, Salinan, Yuman, Diegueño, Cocopa, and possibly in Mojave (Langdon and Silver 1984:141).

2.1.1.4.2. Post-Velar /k/ and /k'/

The place of articulation of /k/ and /k'/ is post-velar. Yuki /k/ and /k'/ are pronounced further back than English /k/, but not so far back as to be considered uvular. The post-velar place of articulation for /k/ and /k'/ is not limited to the speech of Frank Logan, as Kroeber (1911:348), who worked with Yuki speaker Ralph Moore, also makes this observation stating that: “post-palatals...[are] apparently formed somewhat farther back in the mouth than the ordinary English k sounds.”

2.1.1.4.3. /š/ and /č/

/š/, /č/, and /č'/ are classified as palato-alveolar consonants⁴², and in Logan's pronunciation the place of articulation of these sounds is close to that of /t̥/ with a noticeable retroflex quality⁴³. His pronunciation of /š/ ranges between [ʃ] and [ʃ̣]. His pronunciation of /č/ ranges from [tʃ] to [tʃ̣], while his pronunciation of /č'/ ranges from [tʃʰ] to [tʃ̣ʰ].

2.1.1.4.4. /s'/ and /w'/

Schlichter and Sawyer (1984:10) include /s'/ as a possible phoneme and /w'/ as a phoneme in the inventory of Yuki consonant phonemes. Neither of these consonants is present in any Yuki word with the glottalized or pre-glottalized pronunciation that one would expect in a Yuki glottalized consonant. Instead Schlichter's claim for the existence of these two phonemes, though never explicitly stated, appears to be drawn from a comparison with forms present in Huchnom and Coast Yuki and a deeper historic and morphophonemic analysis of morpheme-final glottalized consonants.

⁴² Langdon and Silver (1984:151) recognize Yuki as having a dental stop /t̪/, an alveolar or postalveolar stop /t̬/, and a postalveolar or retroflex fricative /ʃ̣/, but not a postalveolar or retroflex affricate /tʃ̣/.

⁴³ The retroflex quality in the pronunciation of /š/ was also noted by Kroeber, who would transcribe some instance of /š/ as <ɣ>, as in: *hą̣:ɣimil* 'Taykómol told him to build' (RM).

The existence of /s'/ and /w'/ in Yuki can be extrapolated from the process described in §2.1.1.8.8. As a result of this process the glottalization of morpheme-final glottalized stops and affricates is not pronounced on the stop or affricate, but instead spreads to the preceding vowel where it is pronounced as a VʔV sequence. The examples discussed below are taken from Schlichter's reconstruction of Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY)⁴⁴.

The second person plural agent pronoun is recorded as *moʔos* (AA, MF) or *mos* (AA)⁴⁵. Schlichter (1985:21) reconstructs this pronoun as Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) **miʔ ~ *moʔ* 'second person'⁴⁶ affixed with PNY plural **-s*. The result is a final [ʔs] sequence with the glottalization following the pattern observed for morpheme-final glottalized consonants. Instead of being pronounced as a glottalized consonant, the glottalization spreads to the preceding vowel and is manifested as a VʔV sequence. Thus: PNY: **moʔ + *-s* = Yuki: **moʔs > moʔos*.

⁴⁴ In her reconstruction, Schlichter refers to the reconstructed ancestor of Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki as Proto-Yukian. In this work the proto-language of these three languages is referred to as Proto-Northern Yukian to avoid confusion with the ancestor language shared by the three Northern Yukian languages and Wappo.

⁴⁵ In Coast Yuki the pre-glottalization of final /s/ is preserved: *môʔs* 'ye' (Schlichter 1985:381).

⁴⁶ Schlichter's reconstruction of PNY second-person pronouns is supported by the fact that these pronouns were probably borrowed from the Pomoan languages. Yuki *miʔ* '2SG.AGT' and *mos ~ moʔos* '2PL.AGT' correspond well to Eastern Pomo *mi* '2SG.OBL' and *má* '2PL.NOM/ACC' (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:244, McLendon 1975:107). One can imagine speakers of Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) suffixing the Pomoan second person plural pronoun with PNY plural **-s* in order to emphasize the plural nature of that pronoun or to match an existing paradigm.

Similarly for *naw* ‘bee, yellowjacket,’ alternate forms recorded for this word in Yuki and cognate forms recorded in Huchnom and Coast Yuki show the same VʔV sequence seen in other types of morpheme-final glottalized consonants. This is seen in Huchnom *naʔa:w*, *naw* ‘honeybee’ and Coast Yuki *náʔ* ‘*aw* ‘yellowjacket’ and earlier Yuki forms, such as *naʔm* ‘yellowjacket’ recorded from Minnie Fulwider by Sydney Lamb (Schlichter 1985:378).

/wʔ/ never appears as [ʔw] or [wʔ] in a surface form of ‘bee, honeybee, yellowjacket,’ though the pattern is suggestive of its existence underlyingly. */wʔ/* does appear in surface forms in Huchnom *hewʔ* ‘yes’ and Coast Yuki *héwʔ* ‘yes’, but not in Yuki *hqwʔaʔ* ‘yes’ (AA).

A phonemic glottalized form */yʔ/* exists for the other Yuki glide */y/*, thus the existence of phonemic */wʔ/* in Yuki would not be unexpected. In addition, */wʔ/* also exists in Wappo (Thompson et al. 2006:3), therefore there is a precedent for this phoneme in Yukian. Phonemic */sʔ/* on the other hand is extremely rare typologically and occurs only phonetically or allophonically in the non-Northern Yukian languages spoken in the region surrounding Yuki⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ See Tables 8 and 9.

2.1.1.5. Resonants

Nasals occur in two places of articulation: bilabial and dental. The lateral approximant is dental, the central approximants are bilabial and palatal. Plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for all nasals and approximants. Glottalized nasals and glottalized approximants are pre-glottalized.

2.1.1.6. Gemination

Geminate consonants are not phonemic. Phonetic geminates are found from time to time at morpheme boundaries, as a result of the coda consonant of one morpheme being the same as the onset of the subsequent morpheme⁴⁸. Only one instance of this type of gemination is found in the Logan recording. As shown in (2), a geminate /m/ occurs in *kómmuṭ* ‘came’ when *-mɔ*, a verbal suffix indicating movement, is suffixed onto the verb root *kom-* ‘come.’

- (2) *káta* ʔɔp *kómmuṭ*

káta ʔɔp *kóm-mɔ?-wiṭ*

here 1SG.AGT come-DIR1?-PST2

‘I came this way.’ FL

⁴⁸ Geminates can also occur as a result of assimilation. See §2.1.1.8.7.

2.1.1.7. Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters never occur syllable-initially, but are permitted syllable-finally. Syllable-final consonant clusters may be composed of a sequence of a sibilant and a stop, a nasal and an obstruent, or a liquid and an obstruent. Glottalized sonorants can also occur in these clusters. Examples of syllable-final clusters are shown in (3).

- (3) *musp* 'woman' AA, MF *p'ans* 'wind' AA, MF
 kqyt̚ 'early' AA, MF *k'an'k* 'knee' AA

2.1.1.8. Allophonic Variation

In this section general allophonic processes are discussed first followed by descriptions of the allophony observed for particular consonants.

2.1.1.8.1. Voicing

Voicing of stops, affricates, and fricatives occurs sporadically between vowels or following another voiced segment, such as a liquid or nasal.

(4a)⁴⁹ ?i:tin sak ‘my child’

?i:tin [z]ak ‘my child’ FL

(4b) hánpis ?ap kómmuṭ ‘I came from the house.’

hán[b]i[z] ?ap kómmuṭ ‘I came from the house.’ FL

(4c) hálča? ‘children’

hál[dʒ]a? ‘children’ RM⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The examples of allophonic variation given in §2.1.1.8 and §2.1.2.2 consist of two lines each. The top line shows the phonemic form of the word or clause, the bottom line shows the allophonic variation written in phonetic transcription and enclosed in square brackets.

⁵⁰ Example from Kroeber 1902b:39.

2.1.1.8.2. Pre-glottalization of Final Stops

Plain word-final stops are sporadically pre-glottalized, as shown in (5a) and (5b).

(5a) *káʔa ʔap kómmut* ‘I came here.’

káʔa ʔap kómmu[ʔt] ‘I came here.’ FL

(5b) *miʔók* ‘joints’

miʔó[ʔk] ‘joints’ FL

2.1.1.8.3. Lenition and Deletion of Word-final Stops

Word-final stops are occasionally reduced to [ʔ] or deleted entirely. (6) shows the lenition of word-final /k/ to [ʔ]. (7a) shows the deletion of word-final /k/ in *li:ʔakik* ‘killed,’ while (7b) shows the deletion of word-final /t/ in *hq:t* ‘branch or limb of a tree.’

(6) *miʔók* ‘joints’

miʔó[ʔ] ‘joints’ FL

(7a) *ʔap li:ʔakik* ‘I killed it.’

ʔap li:ʔaki ‘I killed it.’ FL

(7b) *hɑ:t̚* ‘branch or limb of a tree’

hɑ: ‘branch or limb of a tree’ FL

2.1.1.8.4. /č/ ~ [t̚]

Frank Logan often pronounces word-final /č/ as [t̚]. Examples of this variation are shown in (8a) and (8b).

(8a) *ʔɑp wɪtlɪwɪč* ‘I turned it over.’

ʔɑp wɪtlɪwɪ[t̚] ‘I turned it over.’ FL

(8b) *ʔi: ʔu:k kiwtuč* ‘I was thirsty.’

ʔi: ʔu:k kiwtu[t̚] ‘I was thirsty’ FL

2.1.1.8.5. /l/ ~ [ɽ] ~ [l̠]

Logan’s pronunciation of syllable-initial /l/ shows a great deal of variation⁵¹ ranging from an apical dental lateral approximant to a pronunciation approximating a retroflex tap [ɽ] or retroflex lateral [l̠]. This variation does not appear to be phonologically conditioned. Syllable-final /l/ is generally [l̠], though

⁵¹ Schlichter (1985:39) notes that Coast Yuki /l/ is often realized as [r’], which is described by Harrington as “American r.”

its pronunciation can have a reduced retroflex quality. (9a) and (9b) show the pronunciation of /l/ word-initially. (9a) also shows the pronunciation of /l/ word-finally. (10a) - (10c) show the pronunciation of /l/ word-medially.

(9a) *lil* 'stone'

[l̥]i[l̥] 'stone' FL

(9b) *lóp:is* 'jackrabbit'

[ɽ]óp:is 'jackrabbit' FL

(10a) *ʔó:lam* 'bush'

ʔó:[l̥]am 'bush' FL

(10b) *nəmlá:t̥* 'tongue'

nəml[ɽ]á:t̥ 'tongue' FL

(10c) *k'á:li* 'thorn, sticker'

k'á:[l̥]i 'thorn, sticker' FL

2.1.1.8.6. /n/ ~ [ŋ]

When followed by /k/, /n/ assimilates to the place of articulation of /k/ becoming [ŋ]. This is shown in (11)

(11) *inká:wəm* ‘flowers’

i[ŋ]ká:wəm ‘flowers’ FL

2.1.1.8.7. Total Regressive Assimilation by Nasals and Liquids

When followed by /m/, /p/ is completely assimilated resulting in a phonetic geminate [mm]. This is shown in (12).

(12) *opmaha:t̚* ‘four’

o[m]maha:t̚ ‘four’ FL

Kroeber (1911:349) observes the same type of assimilation for /n/ followed by /l/, where /n/ is completely assimilated by /l/. No examples of this assimilation occur in the Logan recording.

2.1.1.8.8. VʔV ~ V: ~ V

Noun and verb roots containing phonetically long vowels will frequently have a variant form containing a VʔV sequence instead of the long vowel. For example, ʔu:k ‘water’ is also attested as ʔuʔuk. This pattern is reminiscent of the process described in §2.1.1.8.8. In that process a verb root with an underlying morpheme-final glottalized stop or affricate CVC’ is phonetically realized as CVʔVC with the glottalization present in the glottalized consonant spreading to the previous vowel.

The VʔV ~ V: allophony seen in words like ʔuʔuk ~ ʔu:k ‘water’ can be explained by the same process, as detailed by Schlichter (1985:39). There is a morpheme-final glottalized consonant present in Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) *ʔuk’ ‘water,’ just as in many synchronic underlying verb roots in Yuki. The same process that leads to VʔV sequence in the phonetic realization of verbs with a root ending in a glottalized consonant, results in a VʔV sequence in nouns and verbs containing a root with a diachronic final glottalized consonant. Thus PNY *ʔuk’ ‘water’ > Yuki ʔuʔuk ‘water.

Then through intervocalic weakening in quick speech, the glottal stop is lost and the result is a phonetically long vowel with a noticeable falling pitch⁵². Sometimes this long vowel is further shortened to a short vowel.

⁵² See §2.2.2.

2.1.1.8.9. VhV ~ V:

Less common than VʔV ~ V:, this variation also results in a phonetic long vowel with a falling pitch contour. One example of this variation is found in the Logan recording. This is shown in (13).

(13) *nqhan* ‘mouth’

nq:n ‘mouth’ FL

2.1.1.9. Minimal Pairs

In this section minimal and near-minimal pairs and sets are presented to illustrate the phonemic distinctions present among Yuki consonants.

2.1.1.9.1. Stops, Affricates, and Fricatives

Words showing the contrast between plain and glottalized variants of stops are shown in (14) in word-initial position.

- (14) /p ~ p'/
- pan* 'nest' AA
- p'ans* 'wind' AA, MF, FL
- /t̥ ~ t'/
- tuk-* 'move' AA, MF
- t'uk-* 'gig' MF
- /t̥̚ ~ t̥̚'/
- tu:m* 'rain' FL
- t'u:* 'heart' AA
- /č ~ č'/
- či:pu̥t* 'rattle' AA
- č'i:mi̥t* 'bird' AA

/k ~ k'/

kap- 'put' AA

k'ap- 'choke' MF

The examples in (15) show the contrast between plain and glottalized forms of /t/ and /t̥/ in word-initial position.

(15) /t̥ ~ t/

t̥u:m 'rain' FL

tum 'noise' AA

/t' ~ t'/

t'u: 'heart' AA

t'u: 'stomach' AA, MF

The examples in (16) show the contrast between the two sibilants /s/ and /š/ in word-initial and final position.

(16) /s ~ š/

si:k 'blue' FL

ši:k 'black' FL

ku:s 'fingernail' FL

ku:š 'body hair' FL

The examples in (17) show the contrast between the two palato-alveolar phonemes /š/ and /č/ in word-initial and final position.

(17) /š ~ č/

ši:k 'black' FL

hu:š 'beets, carrots' MF

ol či:č 'knot of a tree' FL

huč 'outside' AA, MF

The examples in (18) show the contrast among the three fricatives /h/, /s/, and /š/ in word initial and final position.

(18) /h ~ s ~ š/

hul 'eye' AA, MF

ma:h 'milkweed' AA, MF

sum 'evening' AA, MF

mos 'you (pl. agt.)' AA

šul 'body' AA, MF

mi:š 'trail' MF

The examples in (19) show the contrast between the two glottal phonemes /h/ and /ʔ/ in word-initial and final position.

(19) /h ~ ʔ/

hɑ:p ‘song’ AA, MF

nih ‘hole’ AA, MF

ʔɑ:p ‘I (agt.)’ AA, MF, FL

miʔ ‘you (sg. agt.)’ AA, MF

The examples in (20) show the phonemic contrast between syllables ending in /ʔ/ and open syllables.

(20) /ʔ ~ Ø/

miʔ ‘you (sg. agt.)’ AA, MF

mi: ‘we (incl.)’ AA, MF

2.1.1.9.2. Resonants

The examples in (21) show the contrast between the liquid and nasal phonemes in word-initial and final position.

(21) /l ~ m ~ n/

liʔ 'little, few' AA

ʔol 'tree' FL

miʔ 'you (sg. agt.)' AA, MF

ʔqm 'guts' FL

nih 'hole' AA, MF

ʔon 'ground' FL

The examples in (22) show the contrast between the two bilabial resonants /m/ and /w/ in word-initial and final position.

(22) /m ~ w/

mis 'you (sg. pat.)' AA, MF

hq:m 'belt' AA

wis 'old' AA, MF

hqw 'fish, salmon' AA, MF

The examples in (23) show the contrast between plain and glottalized resonants in final position.

(23) /m ~ m'/

kum 'salt' AA, MF

kum' 'there' AA

/n ~ n'/

kon 'dry' FL

kon' 'father' FL

/l ~ l'/

šal 'seed' MF

hal 'top' AA

/y ~ y'/

hay 'pocket' MF

k'ay 'mushroom' AA, MF

2.1.2. Vowels

Yuki distinguishes 5 vowels: /a/, /ã/, /i/, /o/, /u/. The mid central vowel /ã/ is nasalized. One further vowel, [e] occurs phonetically as a result of an irregular vowel harmony⁵³. The Yuki vowel phoneme inventory is shown in Table 3.

| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| HIGH | i | | u |
| MID | (e) | ã | o |
| LOW | | a | |

Table 3: Yuki Vowels

2.1.2.1. Vowel Length

Vowel length is either not phonemic or only very marginally phonemic⁵⁴. Long vowels have often been transcribed for Yuki. This phonetic vowel length appears to result from stress and several allophonic processes.

⁵³ See §2.1.2.2.2 for more discussion.

⁵⁴ Due to the two processes discussed in this section, it is impossible to take words recorded by earlier researchers as clear evidence for phonemic vowel length in Yuki. Additionally, many words will have two variants recorded, one containing a long vowel, the other containing a short vowel. In recording of Frank Logan, no examples of vowel length minimal pairs were found.

Vowel length correlates with stress in Yuki. Phonetically long vowels are often long due to the fact they occur in a stressed syllable. Long vowels can also result from the deletion of intervocalic /ʔ/ and /h/ detailed in §2.1.1.8.8 and §2.1.1.8.9. For example, a VʔVC sequence results from a diachronic final glottalized stop or affricate. The glottalization in the glottalized consonant spreads to the preceding vowel resulting in the VʔVC sequence, which then can become a sequence of a phonetically long vowel and consonant V:C. For example, PNY **nuč* ‘sand’ appears as *nuʔuč* ~ *nu:č* ‘sand’ (AA) in twentieth century Yuki (Schlichter 1985:297).

This allophonic process primarily or exclusively affects word roots. As roots already contain longer vowels due to stress, stress and this allophonic process both contribute to a situation where roots generally have phonetically longer vowels than other syllables.

2.1.2.2. Allophonic Variation

This section describes the allophonic variation of Yuki vowels.

2.1.2.2.1. Stress-based Allophony

Vowels are pronounced differently depending on whether they occur in stressed or unstressed syllables. Phonetic equivalents of each vowel are given for stressed and unstressed syllables in Tables 4 and 5, respectively⁵⁵.

| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|------|--------------|---------|-----------|
| HIGH | i [i] | | u [u] |
| MID | (e) [e ~ e̞] | ɤ [ɤ̃] | o [o ~ ɔ] |
| LOW | | a [a̞] | |

Table 4: Yuki Vowels in stressed syllables (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:11)

| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|------|--------------|---------|-------|
| HIGH | i [i] | | u [u] |
| MID | (e) [e̞ ~ e] | ɤ [ɤ̃] | o [ɔ] |
| LOW | | a [a̞] | |

Table 5: Yuki Vowels in unstressed syllables (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:11)

⁵⁵ Schlichter's original transcription is adapted here to current IPA conventions. Schlichter also includes phonetic values for phonetically long vowels. These are mainly just lengthened versions of the vowels given above (e.g. <u:> is [u:]). The exceptions are: <e:> in stressed syllables is [e:], <a:> in unstressed syllables is [a:], <o:> in stressed syllables is [o:].

2.1.2.2.2. Vowel Harmony

Yuki /i/ shows an irregular harmonic variation that is connected to the height of surrounding vowels. In the environment of mid and low vowels, /i/ is often pronounced as [e] (Schlichter 1985:39). This variation occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables, as shown in (24) and (25a) - (25b), respectively.

(24) *ki: ʔap máčliwa* ‘I met him.’

ki: ʔap máčl[e]wa ‘I met him.’ FL

(25a) *mihót* ‘thumb’

m[e]hót ‘thumb’ FL

(25b) *mipán* ‘foot’

m[e]pán ‘foot’ FL

An additional harmonic variation occurs for /a/ in the speech of the last two Yuki speakers, Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson. Schlichter and Saywer (1984:11) interpret this variation as an extension of the vowel harmony already present in Yuki:

/a/ is an unstable vowel, more so in the speech of Mr. Anderson than for Mrs. Fulwider. It has a strong tendency to be denasalized or to change into other vowels, especially /u/ and /o/, but also /e/. The change into the back vowels is part of the development of vowel harmony which Yuki was just

beginning to introduce when it became obsolete⁵⁶ (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:11).

2.1.2.2.3. /i/ ~ [e]

This variation occurs irregularly in the environment of mid and low vowels. See §2.1.2.2.2 for further discussion.

2.1.2.2.4. Nasalization

Oral vowels are nasalized before /w/ and sometimes before /ʔ/. Oral vowels are also nasalized before and after nasal consonants (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:11). In (26), [e] is nasalized before /w/.

(26) ʔap huɰ'ɛ:wič 'I was working.'

ʔap huɰ'[ɛ:]wič 'I was working' FL

⁵⁶ The /i/ ~ [e] variation appears for Ralph Moore in Kroeber's documentation of his speech in the early to mid twentieth century and also in the speech of Frank Logan in the recording analyzed for this chapter. Both Moore and Logan were born in the 1870s, several decades prior to Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson. Therefore the /i/ ~ [e] variation seen in the vowel harmony system must have existed earlier than just at the end of the period where Yuki was still spoken.

2.1.2.2.5. Diphthongs

Yuki contains a series of phonetic diphthongs formed by combining a vowel with a [j] or [w] off-glide. Diphthongs are most common with /a/ and /ã/ as the initial element, though more rarely diphthongs are formed beginning with other vowels. Diphthong with a [w] off-glide are shown in (27a), diphthongs with a [j] off-glide are shown in (27b)⁵⁷.

(27a) *k'aw* 'light, clear' AA, MF

ɬ'aw 'war' AA

hiw 'full' AA

šuwki 'sugar' FL

(27b) *hay* 'pocket' MF

kayɬ 'early' AA, MF

hoy 'and, too' AA

huy 'milk' AA

⁵⁷ Examples of words containing the sequence [ow] were not found. The only example found for [uw], *šuwki* 'sugar', is a loanword.

Phonetically long /i/ in open syllables is often realized phonetically as [ij] or [ej]. Kroeber and Uldall typically write this palatal off-glide in their transcription of Ralph Moore's speech. Examples (28a) and (28b) show these diphthongs in Kroeber's (1902a:2) and Uldall's (n.d.) texts, respectively.

(28a) *imeymil* 'said' RM

se[?]ey 'and then' RM

(28b) *imiymil* 'said' RM

si[?]iy 'then' RM

Phonologically, diphthongs are analyzable as VC sequences. The reasoning for this is the CV(C_α)(C_β) shape of the he Yuki canonical syllable. As there are no phonemic long vowels, there is no basis to suggest that there exists a class of syllables that have an alternate shape, such as CVV. Additionally, words containing diphthongs followed by another consonant, such as *kayɬ* 'early' (AA, MF), are rare. Thus the most parsimonious analysis is to consider the [j] and [w] off-glides and to analyze syllables containing diphthongs as CVC.

2.1.2.2.6. Minimal Pairs

The examples in (29) illustrate the contrast among the five phonemic vowels in word-initial position. As in many languages, word-initial vowels in are preceded by a glottal stop.

(29) /a ~ ʔ ~ i ~ o ~ u/

ʔas ‘urine’ AA

ʔqs ‘blood’ AA, MF

ʔi:še ‘thing’ AA

-ʔos ‘uncle⁵⁸’ AA

ʔus ‘we (excl. agt.)’ AA, MF

⁵⁸ Kinship terms typically occur with a possessive prefix. See §6.1.9 for discussion of kinship possessive prefixes.

The examples in (30) illustrate the five phonemic vowels in syllable-final position. A minimal set could not be generated based on known vocabulary.

(30) *ma* 'still' AA

mɔ 'fresh' AA

mi: 'we (incl. agt.)' AA, MF

ho: 'liver' MF

č'u: 'field' AA

2.2. Prosody

This section contains a description of Yuki stress, tone, and intonation.

2.2.1. Stress

Yuki primary stress, secondary stress, and their acoustic correlates are discussed in this section.

2.2.1.1. Primary Stress

The domain of primary stress is the root of the Yuki word. Primary stress typically occurs in the initial syllable of the root, though some variation is seen for words containing roots of more than syllable. As Yuki is primarily a suffixing language, the root is usually the first syllable of the word, regardless of word class. Suffixes and enclitics do not alter the position of stress, thus primary stress is typically found in the initial syllable of a word. Examples of words with primary stress falling on the initial syllable are shown in (31a) and (31b)⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ Primary stress is marked with an acute accent in these examples.

(31a) *ʔqp lák,tu*
ʔqp lak-t-wi
1SG.AGT go.out-INTR-PST1

‘I went out.’ FL

(31b) *káč,pis*
káč=pis
left=ABL

‘on the left’ FL

Yuki nouns and verbs are rarely prefixed. However, there exists a small set of prefixes that appears on verbs and nouns referring to verbs denoting actions associated with a particular part of the body or nouns referring to particular parts of the body⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ The information in Table 6 is adapted from Schlichter 1978. It appears here with examples and showing further variation in the prefixes that appears in Frank Logan’s speech.

| Prefix | Description | Example | Possible Origin |
|----------------------------|--|---|----------------------|
| <i>mi-</i> <i>/me-</i> | belonging to the hand or foot | <i>mipát</i> ‘hand’ FL | Unknown |
| <i>na</i> ⁶¹ | belonging to the head | no example available | <i>nan</i> ‘head’ |
| <i>nq-</i> <i>/nam-</i> | belonging to the mouth | <i>nqmlát</i> ‘tongue’ FL | <i>nahan</i> ‘mouth’ |
| <i>hq-</i> <i>/ham-</i> | unclear, perhaps having to do with the senses | ^ʔ <i>i: hamlótu</i> ‘I was hungry’ FL | Unknown |

Table 6: Yuki Body Prefixes (Schlichter 1978:16)

The origin of some of the body prefixes appears to be fairly transparent, in that they are phonetically reduced forms of full nouns. The stress pattern matches that of many compounds, therefore these prefixed words can likely be considered lexicalized compounds that preserve the stress of the original compound.

In prefixed words, the body prefixes are unstressed with primary stress remaining on the root. This is shown in (32a) and (32b)⁶².

⁶¹ In Logan’s speech it is not possible to discern *na-* ‘belonging to the head’ and *nq-* ‘belonging to the mouth’, with both prefixes sounding like *nq-*. Therefore it seems that a distinction between these two prefixes may not have existed for him.

⁶² The syllable boundary between prefix and stressed root is marked and the body prefixes are underlined but not glossed in the examples showing the prefixes in use. This is because the meaning of the root following the prefix is not known. In terms of the stress pattern, there is an unstressed prefix followed by a stressed verb root, but in terms of actual meaning, the prefix and the stressed root form the actual meaningful verb root. Thus *nq^unák-* means ‘remember’, but by itself *nák-* does not mean anything anymore.

(32a) ?i: *nq.nák.uč*
 ?i: *nq.nák-wič*

1SG.PAT remember-PST2

‘I remember it.’ FL

(32b) *me.tás* ‘finger’ FL

In one instance Frank Logan uses a verb that appears to have two body prefixes, *hq-* ‘related to the senses’ and *nq-* ‘related to the head or mouth,’ attached to the root. This is shown in (33).

(33) ?i: *hq.nq.yáwuč*
 ?i: *hq.nq.yá-wič*

1SG.PAT believe-PST2

‘I believed him.’ FL

Nouns prefixed with possessive prefixes will show the same pattern of stress as for the body prefixes. The possessive prefix is unstressed with primary stress falling on the initial syllable of the noun root. This is shown in (34).

(34) ?iŋ-k’ič

1SG.KIN.POSS-older.brother

‘(my) older brother’ FL

The stress pattern for reduplicated forms is the same as for prefixed forms. No examples of reduplicated forms are found in the Logan recording. Schlichter (1978:16) describes primary stress in reduplicated forms as occurring on the second syllable, while the reduplicant is the unstressed initial syllable.

Lexicalized compounds show a fairly consistent pattern of primary stress on the initial syllable of the second element of the compound, with secondary stress falling on the initial syllable of the first element of the compound. Examples of this are shown in (35a) - (35c).

(35a) *ʔuk-hót*

water-big

‘ocean’ FL

(35b) *hul-k’ó’i*

eye-gopher/put-out⁶³

‘coyote’ FL

(35c) *ʔol’-kól’*

hair-net

‘fish net’ FL

⁶³ Kroeber interprets ‘coyote’ as the compound ‘eye-gopher’ and Curtis interprets it as ‘eye-put out,’ referring to a myth where Coyote trades eyes with Raven. Raven destroys Coyote’s eyes and forces him to replace them with pebbles (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:54).

This pattern does not hold as well for non-lexicalized compounds. In these cases, vowel duration and pitch, the indicators of stress, are not consistently greater on the initial syllable of either element in the compound. This may mean that in lexicalized compounds, the non-final element of the compound is analyzed in terms of stress as a prefix on the final element of the compound, while in non-lexicalized compounds each word has the stress of an independent word, or at least a word not as connected to the other elements in the compound as those in a lexicalized compound. Examples of non-lexicalized compounds are shown in (36).

- (36) ?á:taṭ nól:mol'
 ?á:taṭ nól:-mol'
 people live-AG/INST
 'Indian camp' FL

An additional stress pattern is seen for words containing disyllabic roots. Much of the Logan recording is focused on the elicitation of phrases and these data are rich in inflected verbs. Therefore the following discussion is limited to this alternate stress pattern as it is seen in verbs.

In the Logan recording, some verbs with disyllabic roots show a pattern of primary stress often falling on the non-initial⁶⁴ syllable of the root, which is the

⁶⁴ Instead of referring to this syllable as the 'final' or 'peninitial' syllable of the root, I choose to call it the 'non-initial' syllable here. This is because (1) calling it final or peninitial could be confusing when discussing the position of stress in the verb root

peninitial or second syllable of that word. For example in (37) primary stress falls on the non-initial syllable of *wilít-* ‘pass.’

(37) *noʔq̄p* *wi.lí.tu*
noʔ=q̄p *wilít-wi*

camp=LAT pass-PST1

‘I passed through the camp.’ FL

Yuki shows a clear pattern of primary stress for words with prefixed roots and for lexicalized compounds. In both cases stress falls on the non-initial element. In prefixed words, such as those in (32), primary stress falls on the root instead of on the prefix that comes before it. In lexicalized compound, such as those in (35), primary stress falls on the initial syllable of the head, which in Yuki is the non-initial element of the compound. Thus for verbs, such as *wilít-* ‘pass,’ which are opaque to deeper morphological analysis, the most likely explanation for the pattern of non-initial stress in the root is that the root is a product of either prefixing or compounding. The resulting verb root would have undergone lexicalization with the original stress maintained as it is in other prefixed verbs or lexicalized compounds. Subsequently the original meaning of the morphemes

and also position of stress in a word containing that verb root and (2) Yuki may have a few trisyllabic verb roots too and stress is not known for them, so it is premature to call the stressed syllable in these roots anything but ‘non-initial’ so as to avoid generalizing too much for Yuki verb roots.

involved has been lost or have undergone sound change as to become unrecognizable.

2.2.1.2. Secondary Stress

Secondary stress is found on the penultimate syllable of trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots⁶⁵ and in lexicalized compounds and prefixed nouns and verbs. In lexicalized compounds, secondary stress occurs on the initial syllable of the initial element of the compound. In prefixed nouns and verbs, secondary stress will typically be found on the prefix. Just as for primary stress, the correlates of secondary stress are vowel length and f₀ level. The secondary stressed syllable will typically have the next highest f₀ level and next longest vowel duration after the f₀ level and vowel duration of the primary stressed syllable. Examples of this are shown in (38a) and (38b)⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ See §2.2.1.3. Secondary stress may also be found in longer words or in words with disyllabic roots; however insufficient data were able to test for secondary stress in words of this type.

⁶⁶ In these examples, primary stress is marked with an acute accent and secondary stress is marked with a grave accent.

(38a) ʔi: nɔ̌.ná.kuč

ʔi nɔ̌nak-wič

1SG.PAT remember-PST2

'I remember it.' FL

(38b) ʔùk.hót

ʔuk-hot

water-big

'ocean' FL

Other patterns of secondary stress may exist in words of four syllables or more; however there are too few such words available in the Logan recording to perform a meaningful analysis. There is no evidence of secondary stress in trisyllabic words that are not lexicalized compounds and do not contain a prefixed root.

2.2.1.3. Stress Correlates

Cross-linguistically, f₀ level or pitch, intensity, and duration of the syllabic nucleus frequently act as acoustic correlates of stress (Fry 1955, Fry 1958, Hyman 1977). Yuki has a two-tiered system⁶⁷. Duration is the most significant correlate of stress; f₀ and intensity are the second most significant correlates of stress.

In disyllabic words with a monosyllabic root, the initial syllable of the root receives primary stress, if it is not a prefix. This syllable has the longest vowel duration and the highest levels of f₀ and intensity. Duration, f₀, and intensity are statistically significant acoustic correlates of stress in disyllabic words. This is shown in Figures 2-4⁶⁸. The methods used for obtaining this data are discussed in §1.6.2.

⁶⁷ Schlichter (1978:24-5) noted that Yuki is a stress-accent language with high and mid level pitch acting as perceptual cues for primary and secondary stress, respectively.

⁶⁸ Figures 2-4 show duration, f₀, and intensity measurements of the vowels in each syllable.

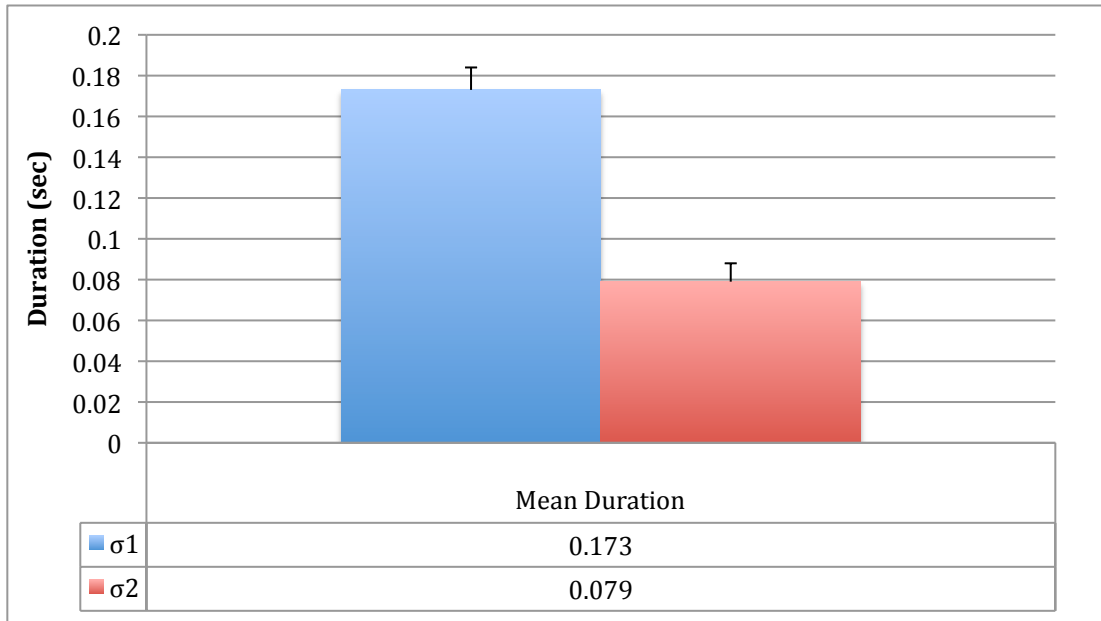


Figure 2: Mean values for vowel duration in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.011$ sec, $\sigma_2=0.009$ sec, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

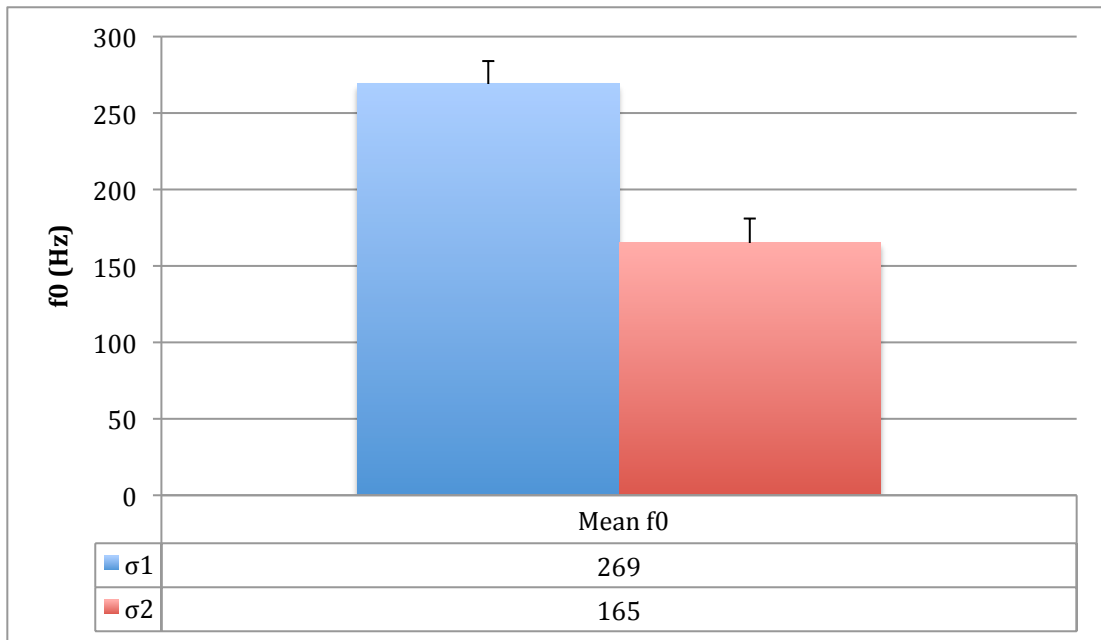


Figure 3: Mean values for f_0 of vowels in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=15$ Hz, $\sigma_2=16$ Hz, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

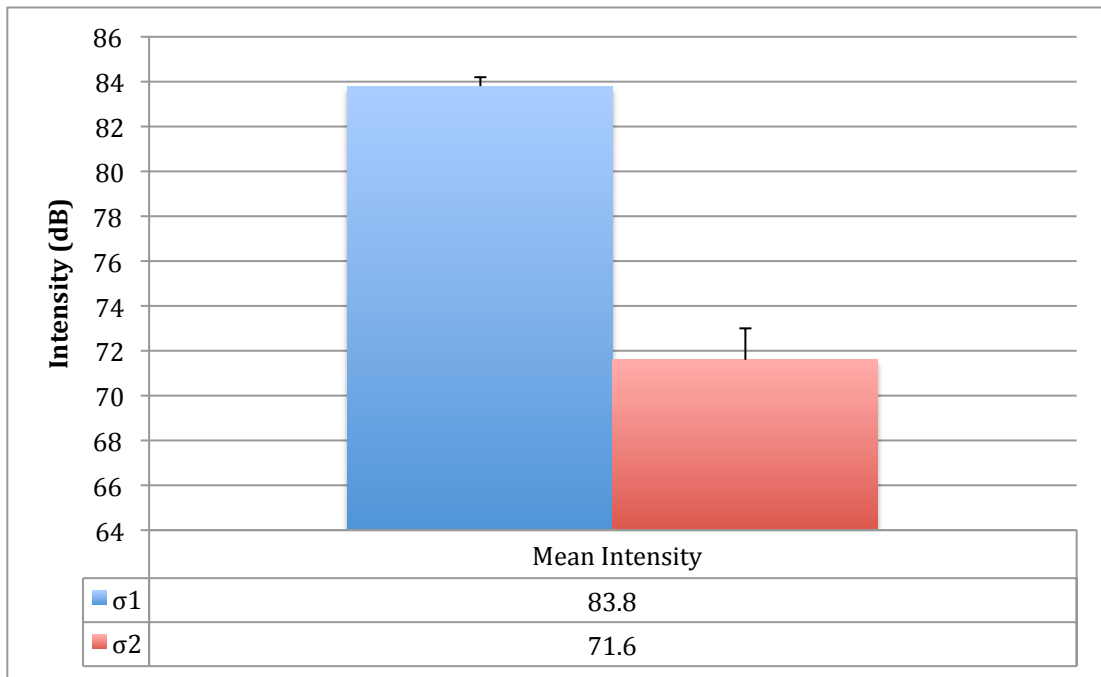


Figure 4: Mean values for vowel intensity in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.4$ dB, $\sigma_2=1.4$ dB, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

In trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots, duration distinguishes primary stressed syllables from other syllables; f_0 and intensity distinguish the initial and penultimate syllable from the final syllable. Thus the primary stressed syllable will have noticeably longer vowel duration than other syllables in the word. The penultimate syllable receives secondary stress and so has f_0 and intensity levels that are lower than that of the initial syllable, but noticeably higher than that of the final syllable. The duration of the secondary stressed syllable will be intermediate

between the duration of the primary stressed syllable and the final unstressed syllable. This is shown in Figures 5-7⁶⁹.

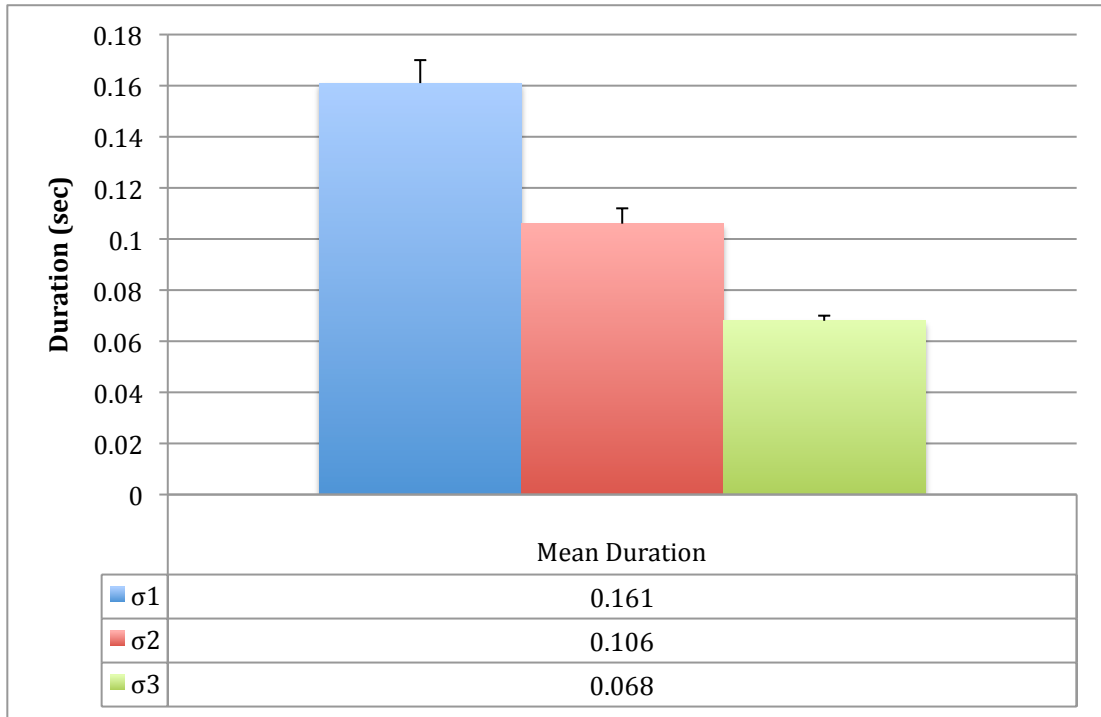


Figure 5: Mean values for vowel duration in trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.009$ sec, $\sigma_2=0.006$ sec, $\sigma_3=0.002$ sec, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

⁶⁹ Figures 5-7 show duration, f0, and intensity measurements of the vowels in each syllable.

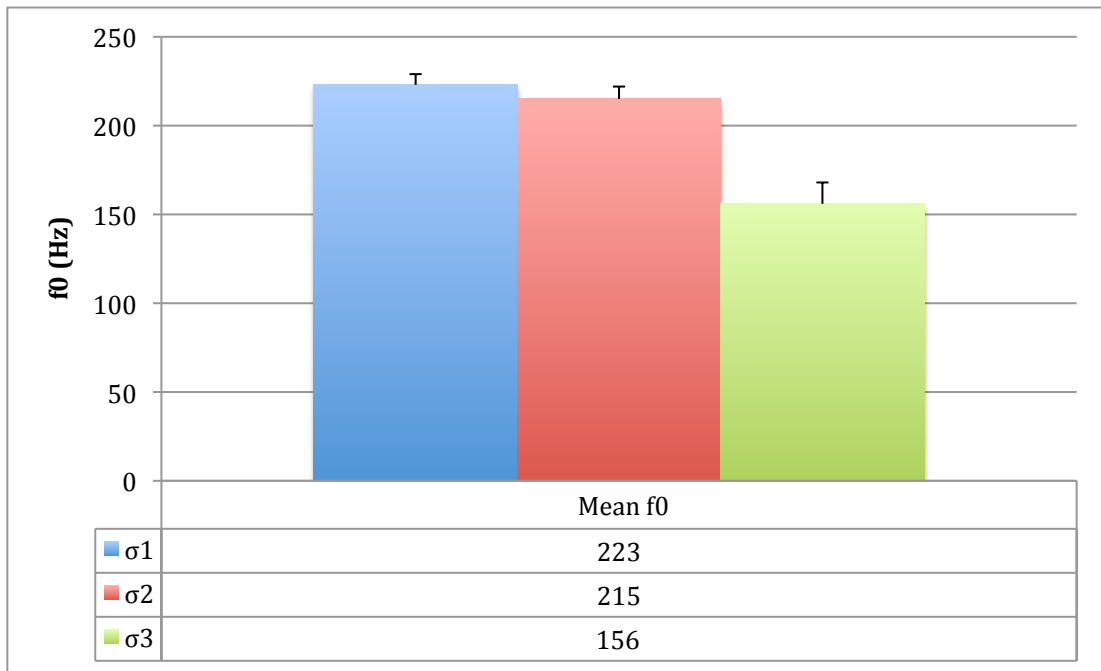


Figure 6: Mean values for f_0 of vowels in trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=6$ Hz, $\sigma_2=7$ Hz, $\sigma_3=12$ Hz, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

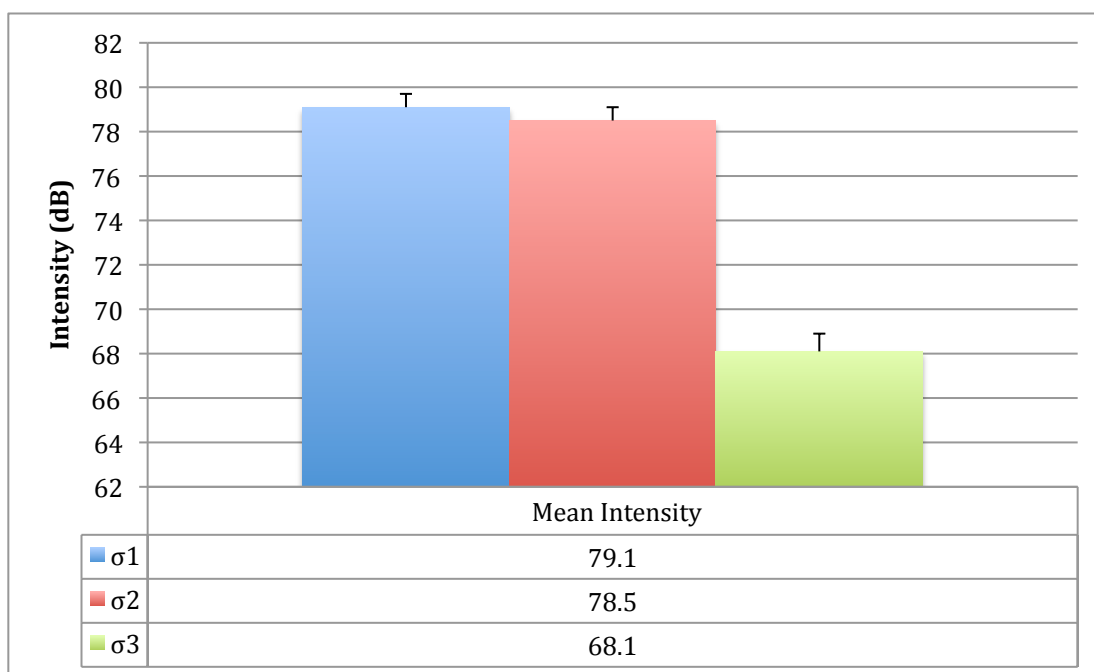


Figure 7: Mean values for intensity of vowels in trisyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots

(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.6$ dB, $\sigma_2=0.6$ dB, $\sigma_3=0.8$ dB, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

Pairwise Bonferroni posthoc tests show that duration is statistically significant in differentiating stress between all syllables. These tests show that f_0 and intensity were not statistically significant in differentiating stress between the initial and penultimate syllables, but that f_0 and intensity were statistically significant ($p=0.000$) in differentiating the initial and penultimate syllables from the final syllable. This result supports the conclusion that the initial syllable in root-initial words takes primary stress. This syllable has the longest vowel duration and the highest values for f_0 and intensity in the word. This result also supports the conclusion that the penultimate syllable in trisyllabic words takes secondary stress. This syllable has noticeably shorter vowel duration than the initial syllable and

noticeably longer vowel duration than the final syllable. The f_0 and intensity levels of the penultimate syllable are similar to those of the primary syllable, but noticeably higher than those of the final syllable.

Sufficient tokens were not available for testing for acoustic correlates of stress in longer words, in words with irregular stress patterns, or in words with disyllabic roots.

2.2.1.4. Syllable Weight?

Yuki stress is quantity-insensitive, therefore the concept of syllable weight has no bearing on understanding or describing Yuki stress. As described in §2.2.1.1, the position of stress is fixed within the root of a word with vowel length indicating the position of stress rather than causing that syllable to be stressed. The presence of coda consonants also does not make a syllable more likely to be stressed.

2.2.1.5. Is stress phonemic?

It is certainly imaginable that stress could be marginally phonemic in Yuki. A possible example could be a word with a disyllabic root that is identical to a monosyllabic root prefixed with one of the body prefixes shown in Table 6. However, no examples of stress minimal pairs have yet been found.

2.2.2. Tone

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, several researchers described Yuki as a language with tone or pitch accent. Phonetician Hans Uldall (1932:1) describes the Yuki tone system as consisting of five tones: falling, high, dropping, middle, and low. Kroeber (1958a:1) reduces this number of tones to four: falling, high middle, and low. Stating that as Uldall's falling and dropping tones both descend in pitch, they should be considered a single falling tone. Elmendorf (1968:22) describes Huchnom and Yuki as having pitch accent with three pitches: high, low, and falling.

Schlichter (1978:6) notes that Uldall never claims that Yuki tones are contrastive and in fact never provides a single tonal minimal pair. Schlichter reexamines Uldall's claims and argues that instead of being evidence for a system of phonemic tone or pitch accent, the "tones" observed by Uldall are actually a consequence of several different phenomena. She argues that Yuki is a stress-accent language with high and mid level pitch acting as perceptual cues for primary and secondary stress, respectively (1978:24-5). She also observes that unaccented suffixes show mid, low, or falling pitch as a result of sentence-level prosody (1978:20).

In one area, Schlichter (1978:23-4) finds evidence for the possible emergence of a tonal or pitch contrast in Yuki. This is a result of the intervocalic weakening and

deletion of [ʔ] and [h] in VʔV and VhV sequences⁷⁰, resulting in phonetic long vowels with a falling pitch. The result is a series of possible minimal pairs shown in Table 7. The deletion of these intervocalic segments is a result of fast speech (1978:23), but the extent to which the falling pitch had truly phonemicized is not known.

| High-level tone | High-falling tone | Unreduced form leading to high-falling tone |
|-----------------|-------------------|---|
| sák 'child' | sâk 'baby' | < sáʔak 'baby' |
| sák 'tooth' | sâk 'baby tooth' | < sáʔak 'baby tooth' |
| mepát 'hand' | mepât 'palm' | < mepáʔat 'palm' |
| nán 'head' | nân 'mouth' | < náhan 'mouth' |
| mâl 'river' | mâl 'new, young' | < mâhâl 'new, young' |

Table 7: Minimal Pairs showing possible Level-Falling Tone Contrast (Schlichter 1978:23)⁷¹

⁷⁰ These variations are discussed in §2.1.1.8.8 and §2.1.1.8.9.

⁷¹ Schlichter uses an acute accent (´) to mark high-level tone and a circumflex (ˆ) to mark high-falling tone. High-level tone here is a result of primary stress, as primary stressed syllables have the highest pitch in a word.

2.2.3. Intonation

The Logan recording does not contain any connected speech, and at this time no recordings of Yuki connected speech are known to exist. The elicited words and phrases do show certain prosodic features. Logan repeats each word or phrase twice. The second repetition will sometimes show decreased f_0 and intensity compared to the first repetition. The final syllable of the second repetition will sometimes show lengthening.

2.3. Syllable structure

Non-final syllables take the form CV(C). Final syllables can end in a cluster of two non-identical consonants, CV(C_α)(C_β). Examples of Yuki words divided into syllables are shown in (39).

| | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| (39) | CV | č'o 'weak' AA |
| | CVC | ʔoʔ 'ballgame' AA |
| | CVCC | <i>musp</i> 'woman' AA, MF |
| | CV.CV | š <u>u</u> .pá 'blackbird' FL |
| | CV.CVC | <i>hu.luk</i> 'tears' FL |
| | CVC.CVC | ʔim.lik 'blind' FL |
| | CV.CV.CVC | <i>nə.ná.kuč</i> 'remember it' FL |
| | CVC.CV.CV | <i>lam.ší.mi</i> 'Indian doctor' FL |
| | CVC.CV.CVC | <i>nəŋ.k'i.lik</i> 'lay down' FL |
| | CV.CV.CV.CVC | ʔé.ne.ki.lik 'slept' FL |
| | CVC.CV.CV.CVC | <i>nal.k'i.ní.yam</i> 'chipmunk' FL |

2.4. Root Structure

Noun and verb roots are usually monosyllabic and more rarely disyllabic⁷². CV is the minimal noun root. Some speakers permit a CV minimal verb root, as, but other speakers appear to require verb roots to be at least CVC⁷³. Examples of noun roots are shown in (40a) and examples of verb roots are shown in (40b). Syllable boundaries are marked within disyllabic roots.

(40a) CV *t'u:* 'stomach' AA, MF

CVC *p'iṭ* 'door' AA, MF

CVCV *šupá* 'blackbird' FL

CVCVC *č'i:miṭ* 'bird' AA

(40b) CV *ha:-* 'run' AA

CVC *yuy'*- 'swing, rock' AA

CVCV *la:le-* 'crawl' MF

CVCVC *wilít-* 'pass' FL

⁷² Longer roots may exist; however longer words in Yuki are often the product of compounding or are formed through suffixation of derivational morphemes.

⁷³ Compare *ha:-* 'run' (AA) and *ha:h-* 'run' (MF) (Schlichter and Sawyer 1984:179).

2.5. Phonetics and Phonology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The consonant inventories of Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki are the same (Schlichter 1985:22a). The vowel inventories are slightly different for the three Northern Yukian Languages, as shown in Figure 8. Insufficient data are available to describe the stress system of Huchnom or Coast Yuki.



Figure 8: *The Vowels of Coast Yuki and Huchnom (Schlichter 1985:30)*

2.6 Phonetics and Phonology in an Areal Context

In this section the phonetics and phonology of Yuki is compared to neighboring languages, other contact languages, and to Wappo. In Table 8, Yuki is compared to languages or language families immediately surrounding it. These are the languages that Yuki speakers would have been in contact with for the longest period of time and prior to contact with Euro-Americans.

The table is set up with Yuki on the left side, its closest surrounding neighbors, viewed geographically in a counterclockwise direction, placed next to Yuki. Thus

Northern Pomo, the neighbor of Yuki to the south is placed in the column next to Yuki, then Eastern Pomo, which is the next language moving counterclockwise, then Wintu, and then Hupa. Hupa is not a direct neighbor of Yuki, but it is closely related to Kato, Wailaki, and Lassik, which border the Yuki speech area to the north. Adequate descriptions of the phonology of these languages do not exist, thus the next best point of comparison is Hupa. Additionally, no materials were available for comparing Yuki to Northeastern Pomo, which is also a directly neighboring language.

In some respects, Yuki is quite distinct from its immediate neighbors. It has slightly fewer consonants than most surrounding languages, but perhaps most noteworthy is that Yuki does not have contrastive aspiration, which is a feature shared by all of its neighbors, or contrastive voicing of stops, a feature found in Wintu and the two neighboring Pomoan languages. Similarly, features unique to Yuki, such as glottalized resonants are absent in surrounding languages. Also, none of the surrounding languages, or any of the languages in the subsequent tables, have a phonemic nasal vowel like Yuki /a̰/.

That being said, Yuki and its immediate neighbors also share many features, including more subtle features than those shown in Table 8. Yuki and its Pomoan neighbors both have two /t/ phonemes, they also have fairly similar vowel systems. The difference is that the Pomoan languages have a phonemic /e/ vowel, as well as contrastive vowel and consonant length, all of which Yuki only has allophonically.

While, /s'/ is not phonemic in Northern Pomo, it does occasionally occur as an allophone of /ts'/ and /s/. Northern Pomo also shows an assimilatory process similar to Yuki V?V > V:. In Yuki the assimilation of [ʔ] creates a phonetic long vowel with falling pitch. As shown in Table 7, in quick speech this process creates possible tone minimal pairs. In Northern Pomo, the same type of process leads to a third vowel length characterized by creaky phonation (O'Connor 1987:9).

Additionally, while there is insufficient material available to make a full comparison between Yuki and the Athabaskan languages immediately to the north, it is important to note that Kato /č/, /č^h/, /č'/ were pronounced with an apical retroflex articulation [ʂ] ~ [ʂ̚] (Golla In Press:48). Thus even though the neighboring Athabaskan languages may not have contrasted two /t/ phonemes, the Kato /č/ phonemes were pronounced in a manner similar to that in Yuki and different than that in more distant Athabaskan languages.

Yuki stress is based on the same principles as its Pomoan neighbors with the root as the location of primary stress. It is not clear whether similar principles drive the Wintu system, though as in Yuki, the initial syllable typically carries stress and the stressed syllable is typically the longest syllable.

| Language | Yuki | N. Pomo | E. Pomo | Wintu | Hupa |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Wintun | Athabaskan |
| Consonants | 25 | 29 | 38 | 27-30 | 34 |
| Stops | plain, glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized | plain, asp, glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized |
| Obstruent Voicing | no | yes (/b/, /d/) | yes, (/b/, /d/) | yes (/b/, /d/) | no |
| Glottalized Resonants | yes | no | no | no | no |
| Glottalized Sibilants | yes, underlyingly | yes, allophonically | no | no | no |
| Two /t/ phonemes | yes | yes | yes | no | no |
| Vowels | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5-6 | 3 |
| Contrastive Length | no, only phonetically | yes (3 lengths) | yes | yes | yes |
| Vowel Harmony | yes | no | no | no | no |
| Primary Stress | initial σ of root | root-based | root-based | initial σ or other w/ [V:] | mainly root-based (2004) |
| Contrastive Tone | possibly emerging | no | no | no | no |

Table 8: Yuki compared to directly adjacent languages and/or language families⁷⁴

⁷⁴ References: N. Pomo: O'Connor 1984:8-10; E. Pomo: McLendon 1975:9-13; Hupa: Golla 1971:25-38, Hupa stress: Gordon and Luna 2004; Wintu: Pitkin 1984:9, 27-38.

Table 9 compares Yuki to the other Pomoan languages. These languages were spoken to the south of Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo and did not directly border the Yuki speech area. They are arranged roughly according to their distance from the Yuki speech area. Central Pomo is the closest geographically to Yuki after Northern, Eastern, and Northeastern Pomo, while Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) is the most distant.

The most striking difference between Northern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, and the more southern Pomoan languages is the difference in the stress systems of these languages. While Central and Southeastern Pomo have a stress system similar to that of Yuki, Southern Pomo and Kashaya have developed different systems where stress either falls on a specific syllable or is assigned based on syllable weight.

Interesting similarities to Yuki that are probably not due to contact, are the presence of /s’/-like sounds or sequences of sounds in Kashaya and Central Pomo, as well as the lack of contrastive aspiration in Southeastern Pomo. In Kashaya /s’/ often appeared as an allophone of /ts’/ (Oswalt 1960:24), while non-phonemic sibilant-glottal stop sequences are present in Central Pomo. These /s’/-like sounds appear to have resulted from independent processes unlike those for Yuki /s’/ described in §2.1.1.4.4. There is also no reason to believe that these sounds are phonemic in Kashaya or Central Pomo. Loss of contrastive aspiration in Southeastern Pomo probably occurred independent of Yuki, as Southeastern Pomo is distant from Yuki and all intermediate languages distinguish aspiration for stops.

| Language | Yuki | Central Pomo | SE Pomo | S. Pomo | Kashaya |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan |
| Consonants | 25 | 30 | 27 | 27 | 30 |
| Stops | plain, glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized | plain, glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized, | plain, asp., glottalized |
| Obstruent Voicing | no | yes, (/b/, /d/) | yes (/b/, /d/) | yes, (/b/, /d/) | yes, (/b/, /d/) |
| Glottalized Resonants | yes | no | no | no | no |
| Glottalized Sibilants | no, only phonetically | [sʔ], [ʃʔ] present but not phonemic | no | no | allophone of /tsʔ/ |
| Two /t/ phonemes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Vowels | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Contrastive Length | no, phonetic C and V only | yes, C and V | yes, V, but not C | yes, C and V | yes, V, but not C |
| Vowel Harmony | yes | no | unknown | possible fossilized | unknown |
| Primary Stress | initial σ of root | root-based | first stem vowel | penultimate σ | heaviest σ |
| Contrastive Tone | possibly emerging | no | no | no | no |

Table 9: Yuki compared to the Pomoan Languages⁷⁵

⁷⁵ References: C. Pomo: Marianne Mithun, p.c., September 12, 2010; S.E. Pomo: Moshinsky 1974:5-8, 19; S. Pomo: Walker 2008:15, 32-35, Kashaya: Oswalt 1960:18-29.

Table 10 shows two types of languages. Wappo is most likely a genetic relative of Yuki and is included for comparison for that reason. Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achumawi are all languages that Yuki speakers came into contact with after the arrival of Euro-Americans. As detailed in Chapter 1, speakers of many other Native California languages were moved to Round Valley in the mid to late nineteenth century following contact with Euro-Americans. Initially languages were maintained, but already by the turn of the twentieth century many younger Native residents of Round Valley no longer spoke the languages of their parents and grandparents. All existing Yuki speech data are collected from speakers who were born and lived during the period after speakers of these other Native California languages were living along with the Yukis in Round Valley.

Wappo and Yuki phonologies show many similarities. A significant similarity is the existence of glottalized resonants in Wappo. The Wappo stress system appears similar to that of Yuki. Insufficient information was available for an in depth analysis; however neither Wappo nor Yuki stress prefixes and in both languages primary stress falls on the initial syllable of the subsequent semantic center of the word. Both languages have two /t/ phonemes and similar vowel inventories. However, Wappo has phonemic /e/ and lacks Yuki /a/. It is unclear whether Wappo has vowel length. Thompson et al (2006:1) note that Sawyer marked vowel length in his transcription of Wappo, but Thompson's Wappo consultant did not recognize this distinction. Thompson et al (2006:2) also recognize aspiration for Wappo, which is not contrastive in Yuki.

In terms of their phonology, Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achumawi are rather different from Yuki and its immediate neighbors. The Maiduan consonant inventories are quite small compared to Yuki, the Pomoan languages, Wintu, or Hupa. Konkow and Nisenan /b/ and /d/ are voiced, but pronounced as implosives, which is an extremely unusual feature typologically for Northern California. Achumawi contrasts a series of laryngealized stops, which is also not a feature seen in Yuki or its neighbors.

Similarities between Yuki and these languages are not suggestive of borrowing due to contact. Konkow and Nisenan have similar stress systems to Yuki; however initial-syllable stress is a common stress pattern in general among languages. Achumawi shows a system of contrastive tone, but this system is not like the system that may have been emerging in Yuki. Achumawi also is the only language examined in this comparison, aside from Wappo and Yuki, to have glottalized resonants. However, it seems unlikely that such a typologically rare feature would be borrowed by any of these languages over a period of contact only lasting for the few decades that Yuki and Achumawi were spoken side by side. Wappo speakers have never lived in Round Valley, which also suggests the presence of glottalized resonants in Achumawi and Yuki has nothing to do with contact.

Taking all of these languages together, it seems that in terms of phonology and prosody, Yuki shares many features with its long-time neighbors and with its probable relative, Wappo. This can be seen in the stress systems, the vowel

inventories, and in the existence of two /t/ phonemes in these languages. This similarity is especially noticeable in Yuki and its closest geographical Pomoan neighbors. Wappo shares many of these same features with Yuki, as well as a few others, such as the same system of glottalized resonants. Thus Wappo and Yuki phonologies are more similar to each other than those of other languages of this region, possibly due to a common genetic origin. However, Yuki and the Pomoan languages are the next most similar to each other and this similarity is especially prevalent between Yuki and the Pomoan languages that were spoken closest to it geographically. The fact that these similarities are the strongest suggests that they arose or were maintained due to contact between speakers of Yuki and speakers of the more northern Pomoan languages.

| Lang. | Yuki | Wappo | Konkow | Nisenan | Atsugewi | Achumawi |
|--------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Lang. Family | Yukian | Yukian | Maiduan | Maiduan | Palaihnihan | Palaihnihan |
| C | 25 | 26-29 | 17 | 17 | 19 | 29 |
| Stops | plain, glottalized | plain, asp., glottalized | plain, ej., imploded | plain, ej., imploded | plain | plain, asp., laryngeal. |
| Obstr. Voicing | no | no | yes, impl. (/b/, /d/) | yes, impl. (/b/, /d/) | no | yes |
| Glottal. Resonant | yes | yes | no | no | no | yes |
| Glottal. Sibilants | yes, underlying | no | no | no | no | no |
| Two /t/ phoneme | yes | yes | no | no | no | no |
| Vowels | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5-6 |
| Contrast. Length | no, only phonetical | unclear | yes, V, but not C | yes, V, but not C | yes, V and some C | yes, V, but not C |
| Vowel Harmony | yes | unknown | no | no | no | no |
| Primary Stress | initial σ of root | initial core (non-prefix) σ | initial σ of morph. word | word-initial | unclear | unclear |
| Contrast. Tone | possibly emerging | no | no | no | unclear | yes |

Table 10: Yuki compared to more distant contact languages and Wappo⁷⁶

⁷⁶ References: Wappo: Thompson et al. 2006:1-3; Konkow: Ultan 1967:9-26; Nisenan: Eatough 1999:3; Atsugewi: Olmsted 1958:215-20; Achumawi: Nevin 1998:84-97, Uldall 1935:73-77.

3. Morphophonemic Alternations

This chapter describes the morphophonemic alternations seen in Yuki. Only very few such alternations have been observed that are not otherwise explained by the allophonic variation detailed in §2.1.1.8 and §2.1.2.2.

3.1. Imperative Alternation

Two allomorphs of the imperative suffix are recorded $-a(?)$ and $-ʔ$, as well as a null allomorph, where the suffix is omitted. $-ʔ$ is found on vowel-final and resonant-final verbs, while $-a(?)$ is found in all other environments⁷⁷. This distribution is due to the shape of phonetically acceptable words in Yuki. Glottalized word-final resonants are permitted, while glottalized obstruents are forbidden in this position. Examples of $-a(?)$ are shown in (1) and (2). Note that the $-ʔ$ allomorph appears not to be obligatory for resonant-final verbs, as *kó:maʔ* ‘come (out)!’ in (2) is affixed with $-a(?)$ instead of $-ʔ$.

⁷⁷ The imperative suffix occurs verb-finally. See the verb template in §7.2 for a complete description of morpheme position within the verb.

- (1) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

*náwetaʔ(á)*⁷⁸

nəw-t-aʔ

look-INTR-IMP

‘look!’

- (2) Coyote and the World: 28, RM

kó:maʔ

kom-aʔ

come-IMP

‘come (out)!’

Examples of -ʔ on vowel-final verbs are shown in (3) and (4). The vowel preceding the final glottal stop is epenthetic in both examples.

⁷⁸ The parentheses are from Kroeber’s original notes and presumably refer to a variant form.

- (3) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF

ʔalap pɤʔɤnčsiʔ

ʔal=ap pɤʔɤnč-s-ʔ

stick=LAT write-CAUS-IMP

ʔwrite on stick!

- (4) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF

table ap pɤʔɤnčmalʔ namtliʔ

table=ap pɤʔɤnč-molʔ nam-tl-ʔ

table=LAT write-AG/INT lay-TR-IMP

put the pencils on the table!

Examples of -ʔ on resonant-final verbs are shown in (5) and (6).

- (5) Coyote and the World: 371, RM

nɤwkiʔ

nɤw-k-il-ʔ

see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

look!

- (6) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF

yqškil'

yqš-k-il-ʔ

stand-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

'stand up!'

Omission of the imperative suffix is rarely seen. In the texts it occurs at least once. As shown in (7), the verb *hąwáysam* 'eat!' is translated by Kroeber as an imperative form; however, this verb appears without an imperative suffix.

- (7) Coyote and the World: 205, RM

hąwáysam

hąway-s-m-(?)

eat-CAUS-IMPFV-(IMP)

'eat!'

3.2. Interrogative Alternation

Two allomorphs are recorded for the interrogative suffix: *-ha(?)* and *-ʔa(?)*. The phonological reason for this variation is not entirely clear due to a paucity of examples containing *-ʔa(?)*. The alternation seen in the interrogative may be analogous to the *-a(?) ~ -ʔ* variation seen for the imperative suffix. For the imperative, *-a(?)* is the more common form, but *-ʔ* is found only following vowels and resonants. Similarly, *-ha* is the far more common form of the interrogative suffix, which appears to occur following vowels and all classes of consonants, while *-ʔa(?)* is rare and seems to occur only following resonants.

(8) - (10) show examples of the *-ha(?)* form of the interrogative suffix.

(8) Coyote and the World: 231, RM

həl̥tha

həl̥-t-ha

hear-INTR-Q

‘have you heard?’

- (9) Coyote and the World: 308, RM

ʔiyíki kinki pánhaʔ

ʔiyi-ki kim'=ki pan-haʔ

what-DST over.there=IN hang-Q

‘...what is that hanging there?’

- (10) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 182, MF

miʔ ʔusq nqweha

miʔ ʔusq nqw-ha

2SG.AGT 1PL.EXCL.PAT see-Q

‘do you see us?’

(11) shows an example of the -ʔa(?) form of the interrogative suffix.

- (11) Schlichter 1985:207, AA

ʔim ki nqmʔa

ʔim kiʔ nam-ʔa

where DST lie-Q

‘Where is it (lying)?’

3.3. Vowel Elision in Word-Final VC Sequences

Vowel elision in word-final VC sequences occurs in nouns suffixed with a noun case ending of the form -V(C). For example, in (12) and (13), respectively, the root of the noun *mičalam* ‘elbow’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:76) becomes *mačalm-* ~ *mečalm-* upon the addition of the patient case =*q* and lative case =*qp* ~ =*op* enclitics.

(12) Origins: 53, RM

mačálma

mačalam=q

elbow=PAT

‘with elbow’

(13) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 76, AA

mečalmqp

mečalam=qp

elbow=LAT

‘on (my) elbow’

The same process is observed in (14). *ʔolam* ‘brush’ becomes *ʔolm-* in *ʔól mop* ‘in the brush’

(14) Coyote and the World: 416b, RM

ʔólmoᵑ

ʔolam=op

brush=LAT

‘in the brush’

Similarly in (15), *ʔiwop* ‘man’ becomes *ʔiwᵑ*- upon the addition of patient case =*q*.

(15) North Wind and Sun⁷⁹: 7, RM

ʔiwpa

ʔiwop=q

man=PAT

‘man’

⁷⁹ *North Wind and Sun* does not appear in the collection of Yuki texts in Appendix 8. It is found in Kroeber 1957-1958.

Examples also can be found without vowel elision, as in (16).

(16) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

ʔiwupa

ʔiwop=a

man=PAT

‘man’

3.4. *mil’* > *mil* / ___ C

The final glottalization in the past habitual *-mil’* appears to be omitted before consonants. Insufficient data exist to determine whether this is the case before all classes or only a subset of consonants. (17) and (18) show the final glottalization on the verbs *nahamil’* ‘used to like to make bread’ and *nahismil’* ‘used to make bread’. In (19), *nahismilha* ‘did (I) used to make bread’ ends in interrogative *-ha* and the glottalization in past habitual *-mil’* is omitted.

(17) Siniard 1967b: 31, MF

kqyt *ʔi* *nahamil’*

kqyt *ʔi* *nah ham-mil’*

long.ago 1SG.PAT bake like-PHAB

‘I used to like to make bread’

(18) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

ʔapil hot^h hu:tmil nahismil'

ʔapil hoʔ hutmil nah-s-mil'

1SG.EMPH? big bread bake-CONT?-PHAB

'I used to make a lot of bread a long time ago'

(19) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

ʔapil hot^h hu:tmil nahismilha

ʔapil hoʔ hutmil nah-s-mil'-ha

1SG.EMPH? big bread bake-CONT?-PHAB-Q

'Did I (use to) make bread a long time ago?'

3.5. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a common process in Yuki. This process appears to occur as a means for breaking up consonant clusters and creating syllables which adhere to the pattern of Yuki syllable structure⁸⁰. Non-final Yuki syllables have the form CV(C); however, CVC_αC_β structure is observed in the final syllable of some words, where C_α and C_β are different consonants. /i ~ e/ is always the epenthetic vowel. The variation between [i] and [e] is due to vowel harmony, which is discussed in §2.1.2.2.2.

⁸⁰ See §2.3 for a discussion of Yuki syllable structure.

In terms of morphonology, epenthesis results in variation in the form of some morphemes. (20) - (23) show variation in the structure of causative -s in verbs⁸¹.

In (20), the verb root *kək-* 'rise' forms the first syllable. The causative -s follows, but it cannot be part of this first syllable, therefore an epenthetic [i] is inserted to separate -s from /m/ in the final syllable [mil].

(20) Coyote and the World: 344 (excerpt), RM

kək.si.mil

kək-s=mil

rise-CAUS=FIN

'made rise'

The vowel can be inserted on either side of the consonant. In (21), the verb root again is *kək-* 'rise', but this time an epenthetic [e] is inserted to the left of -s. In this case the final consonant in the verb root /k/ becomes the onset of the syllable [kes].

(21) Coyote and the World: 356 (excerpt), RM

ké:kes.pa

kək-s-pa?

rise-CAUS-FUT

'shall rise'

⁸¹ The examples in this section are divided into syllables in the first line and into morphemes in the second line.

The same process is observed in (22), where an epenthetic [e] is inserted before -s. Once again a syllable is formed containing the final vowel of the verb root. In this case /w/ from *nq̣w-* ‘see’ becomes the onset of the syllable [wes].

(22) Coyote and the World: 127 (excerpt), RM

nq̣.wés.aʔ

nq̣w-s-aʔ

see-CAUS-IMP

‘show!’

In (23), an epenthetic [i] is inserted on both sides of -s. A syllable [pi] is formed incorporating the final vowel of the verb root *kap-* ‘take’ and a syllable [si] is formed incorporating causative -s.

(23) Coyote and the World: 296 (excerpt), RM

ka:.pí.si.mil

kap-s=mil

take-CAUS=FIN

‘(he) took (him)’

Epenthetic vowels can also occur at the end of words. The first verbs in (24) and (25) end in the intransitive -*t*. An epenthetic [i] is inserted to form a final syllable [ti] in *kápti* ‘having gone in’ and *lákti* ‘going out’ preceding the final verb in both examples.

(24) Coyote and the World: 196 (excerpt), RM

káp.ti *šú:kmil*

kap-t *šu[?]-k=mil*

go.in-INTR sit-PNCT=FIN

‘having gone in, he sat down.’

(25) Coyote and the World: 311 (excerpt), RM

lák.ti *nąwkílmil*

lak-t *nąw-k-il=mil*

go.out-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘going out, the boy looked.’

Similarly in (26), an epenthetic [i] is inserted at the end of *pilət* ‘sun’, which is followed by *ká:kəspa* ‘shall rise’.

(26) Coyote and the World: 356 (excerpt), RM

pi.lá.ti *ká:kəspa*

pilət *kək-s-pa[?]*

sun rise-CAUS-FUT

‘the sun shall rise’

This epenthesis between words does not always occur. In (27), no epenthetic vowels are found separating consonant-final and consonant-initial words.

Epenthetic vowels do not separate *mi:š* ‘road, way’ and *wačísimil* ‘showed’, *kaṭá(w)pis* ‘from here’ and *mí:* ‘you’, or *ʔonk’olámwit* ‘toward the east’ and *kó:tampaʔ* ‘shall go’.

(27) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>sąkiṭéy</i> | <i>ʔqtą</i> | <i>mi:š</i> | <i>wačísimil</i> |
| <i>są-kit=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔqtą</i> | <i>miš</i> | <i>wač-s=mil</i> |
| SAME-then=HSY1 | too | road/way | show-CAUS?=FIN |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>laš’áwola</i> | <i>kaṭá(w)pis</i> | <i>mí:</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| <i>laš’awol-a</i> | <i>kaṭa=pis</i> | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| moon=PAT | here=ABL | 2SG.AGT | sister’s.son |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ʔonk’olámwit</i> | <i>kó:tampaʔ</i> |
| <i>ʔonk’ol=am=wit</i> | <i>koʔ-t-m-paʔ</i> |
| east=?=ALL | go-INTR-IMPV-FUT |

‘And to the moon too he showed his way: “From here you, sister’s son, shall go toward the east.”’

3.6. Morphophonemic Alternations in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The morphophonology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki has not been studied in detail. A pronominal alternation is observed in Coast Yuki for the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi*. From the few examples available, it seems that *ʔi* is realized as *y* following vowels, but as *ʔi* following consonants. Examples of this variation are shown in (28).

(28) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>p'alímay</i> | 'I fall down' |
| <i>ʔintay</i> | 'I am sleepy' |
| <i>ti'atay</i> | 'I am sick' |
| <i>tí'ate'ékay</i> | 'I have been sick' |
| <i>šemetékay</i> | 'I have got well, I feel better' |
| <i>šemʔi</i> | 'I am well' |

4. Word Classes

The following word classes are found in Yuki: nouns, verbs, pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, deictics, numerals, switch-reference markers, and connectives. There is overlap between some of these word classes. Nouns can be verbalized through the addition of verb morphology and some noun case endings can be added to verbs. Third person pronouns are effectively identical to distal demonstratives⁸². Unlike adverbs, adjectives can receive patient case marking. Switch-reference markers can also be understood as a type of connective.

Yuki is an agglutinating and almost exclusively suffixing language. Unique possessives prefixes are used for kinship terms⁸³ and a series of possibly frozen prefixes referring to parts of the body is found in nouns and verbs⁸⁴. Verbs and nouns are the most complex classes morphologically.

4.1. Nouns

Nouns are distinguished from other word classes through the use of the patient case enclitic⁸⁵ =*q*, the dative =*qt*, the instrumental =*ok*, and the diminutive =*ič*. Nouns

⁸² Third person pronouns and demonstratives are also effectively identical to each other in the related Wappo language (Thompson et al. 2006:22-25).

⁸³ See §6.1.9.

⁸⁴ See §7.3.2.

⁸⁵ The term ‘clitic’ is used throughout this description to refer to morphemes which 1) attach to a constituent composed of smaller constituents, such as a noun phrase,

can occur with a rich variety of locative case morphology. Some of these case endings are also found on verbs⁸⁶.

(1) shows an example of a noun with patient =*q*.

(1) Coyote and the World: 8, RM

seʔéy *hulkʔoʔá* *hǎltmil.*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hǎl-t=mil*

NEW=HSY1 **Coyote=PAT**⁸⁷ hear-INTR?=FIN

‘And **Coyote** heard (him).’

(2) shows an example of a noun with dative =*qt* used as a possessive.

(2) Coyote and the World: 118, RM

sǎʔéy *kʔóʔolat* *ʔónop* *tóktmil*

sǎ=ʔi *kʔoʔol=qt* *ʔon=op* *tok-tl=mil*

SAME=HSY1 **Wailaki=DAT** earth=LAT arrive-TR=FIN

‘And they reached the **Wailaki** country⁸⁸.’

verb phrase, or clause; 2) can attach to words of more than one word class; and/or 3) act as independent words in some circumstances (e.g. the noun case enclitic =*mikʔal* ‘around’ can be affixed with verb morphology and used as a verb).

⁸⁶ See §7.5.8 for further discussion.

⁸⁷ The patient case (PAT) marks grammatical patients, which are discussed along with other core arguments in §5.3.2.

⁸⁸ See §5.3.2.3 for a discussion of the use of the dative case as a possessive form.

(3) shows an example of a noun with instrumental *-ok*.

(3) Coyote and the World: 336, RM

sikq'áy **?álo:k** *sú'tlmil*

sikq=?i **?al-ok** *su'-tl=mil*

AGT>PAT=HSY1 **stick-INST** stab.at-TR=FIN

‘Then **with a stick** he stabbed at them.’

(4) shows an example of a noun with diminutive *-ič*⁸⁹.

(4) Coyote and the World: 387, RM

... **k'flič** *wo:ɬ* *həwəysampa'imiki:* *'ey*

k'ilič *woɬ* *həwəy-s-m-pa'=miki* *=?i*

seed seed.meal/pinole eat-CAUS-IMPFV-FUT=PURP =HSY1

háyyop *p'oyísimil*

hay=op *p'oy-s=mil*

bag=LAT put.in-CAUS=FIN

‘... [Coyote] put **the seeds** which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.’

⁸⁹ *k'il* ‘child, grain’

4.1.1. Noun Phrase

Nouns can occur alone or in a noun phrase that may also contain adjectives, numerals, determiners, and quantifiers. Demonstratives and quantifiers occurring with human nouns and some non-human animates are marked with *-i*. This correlation between elements of the noun phrase is a reflex of the fact that the noun phrase is a cohesive unit in Yuki.

(5) shows the quantifier *hí:li* ‘all of them’ and the demonstrative pronoun *kimási* ‘they’ attached to the dependent clause enclitic *=namli* in *no?namlikimási* ‘(those) who lived there’ marked for animacy correlating with *mú:s* ‘women’.

(5) Coyote and the World: 386 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| ... <i>sákop</i> | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>mú:s</i> | <i>no?namlikimási</i> | | |
| <i>sq=kop</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>mus</i> | <i>no?=namli=ki-mas-i</i> | | |
| SAME=then | all-ANIM | woman.PL | live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM | | |
| <i>si?</i> | <i>lí:nikiṭ</i> | <i>?íwis</i> | <i>k’ólk’il</i> | <i>míl</i> | <i>múhnikṭ</i> |
| <i>si?</i> | <i>li-n=kiṭ</i> | <i>?íwis</i> | <i>k’ol=k’il</i> | <i>mil</i> | <i>muh-n=kiṭ</i> |
| clover | gather-AND=when | man.PL | other=TERM | deer | snare-AND=when |

‘... when **all the women who lived there** were gone to gather clover and the men were gone deer-snaring elsewhere.’

(6) - (8) are examples of noun phrases. (6) contains several noun phrases⁹⁰ containing a numeral and a noun.

⁹⁰ Noun phrases are given in bold in (6) - (8).

(6) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>šq:kč'am</i> | <i>ʔús</i> | <i>ʔopi</i> | <i>nák</i> | <i>šq:kč'am</i> | <i>molmi</i> | <i>nák</i> |
| <i>šqkč'am</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>ʔopi</i> | <i>nak</i> | <i>šqkč'am</i> | <i>molmi</i> | <i>nak</i> |
| sometimes | 1PL.EXCL.AGT | two | night | sometimes | three | nights |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>šq:kč'am</i> | <i>páwi</i> | <i>wí:ṭ</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wáʔok'išmil.</i> |
| <i>šqkč'am</i> | <i>pəwi</i> | <i>wiṭ</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wok-s=mil</i> |
| sometimes | one | week | 1PL.EXCL.AGT | dance-CONT=FIN |

'Sometimes we dance **two nights**, sometimes **three nights**, sometimes **one week**.'

(7) contains a noun phrase where several nouns are connected using =nq 'and'.

(7) Coyote and the World: 314, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| <i>sikitey</i> | <i>hulk'óʔi</i> | <i>lašk'awól'</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>hawmól'</i> | <i>na</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> | <i>lašk'awol'</i> | <i>=nq</i> | <i>hawmol'</i> | <i>=nq</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | Coyote | moon | =and | morning.star | =and |

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>lákesa</i> | <i>háyk</i> | <i>p'óytlmil</i> |
| <i>lak-sa</i> | <i>háy=k</i> | <i>p'oy-tl=mil</i> |
| take.out-? | net.sack=IN | put.in-TR=FIN |

'Then Coyote taking out **the moon and the morning star** put them into his net sack.'

(8) contains a noun phrase where several noun phrases are connected using =nq ‘and’. Both of the constituent noun phrases contain a demonstrative⁹¹. The first noun phrase *kimáš hoṭ kí:t* ‘those many bones’ also contains a quantifier *hoṭ* ‘many, much’.

(8) Ioi: 35, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ʔiyí</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>yúniʔakpa</i> | <i>kimáš</i> | <i>hoṭ</i> | <i>kí:tna</i> |
| <i>ʔiyi</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>yuy'-n-qk-pa</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> | <i>hoṭ</i> | <i>kit=nq</i> |
| what | 2SG.AGT | do-AND?-SEM-FUT | DST-DSTR | many | bone=and |
| | | | | | |
| <i>ka</i> | <i>nank'í:tna.</i> | | | | |
| <i>ka</i> | <i>nank'it=nq</i> | | | | |
| PRX | skull=and | | | | |

“What are you going to do with **those many bones and this skull?**”

4.1.2. Compound Nouns

Compound nouns do not show any unique compound-internal morphology and are treated morphologically as single nouns. Thus case endings occur at the end of the compound. Compound nouns are usually stressed on the initial syllable of the final element of the compound, as discussed in §2.2.1.1.

⁹¹ The entire noun phrase is given in bold, while its constituent noun phrases are underlined.

In (9), ‘ocean’ or ‘coast’ is a compound of *ʔuk* ‘water’ and *hoʔ* ‘big, large’. *=am* is a nominalizing enclitic. In this example the allative case ending *=wit* is found at the end of the compound in *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit* ‘toward the ocean’.

(9) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>kimás</i> | <i>háyk</i> | <i>pʔoyitli</i> | <i>ʔqta</i> |
| <i>sá-ʔi</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> | <i>hay=k</i> | <i>pʔoy-tl</i> | <i>ʔqta</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | DST-DSTR | bag=IN | put-in-TR | again |
| | | | | |
| <i>kó:temil</i> | <i>ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.</i> | | | |
| <i>koʔ-t=mił</i> | <i>ʔukhoʔ=am=wit</i> | | | |
| go-INTR=FIN | ocean=?=ALL | | | |

‘And putting them into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

Some common words are actually lexicalized compounds. *hulkʔoʔi* ‘coyote’ is analyzed by Kroeber as “eye-gopher” and by Curtis as “‘eye put-out’ in reference to a myth in which Coyote exchanges eyes with Raven who destroys Coyote’s eyes and compels him to replace them with pebbles (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:54).” In (10), *hulkʔoʔi* ‘Coyote’ is shown marked for patient case as *hulkʔoʔa*.

(10) Coyote and the World: 322, RM

| | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>ʔamilkilmil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔa</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔamil-k-il=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi=q</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | Coyote=PAT |

‘And they caught up with Coyote.’

4.1.3. Proper Nouns

Proper nouns do not form a unique sub-class of nouns in Yuki and are treated morphologically the same as other nouns. Thus names of people or other characters in the texts are treated as human nouns. Likewise placenames are marked with locative case endings much as other nouns referring to locations⁹².

In (11), *čqminkapin*, the name of a character in *Coyote and the World*, is marked for patient case as *čq:minká:pina*.

⁹² Lists of Yuki, Coast Yuki, and Huchnom placenames are found in Appendix 2. A list of Yuki proper nouns including placenames, names of tribes, and names of people is found in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:141-147.

(11) Coyote and the World: 101, RM

sikitéy *čq:minká:pina* *ʔúnšilkil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *čqaminkapin=q* *ʔunšil=k'il*
NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT little=TERM

čqk'íkilmil

čqk'-k-il=mil

try.to.club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.’

In (12), *lalkúhtki*, a placename, is marked with allative =*wit lalkúhtkiwit* ‘to Lalkúhtki’.

(12) Coyote and the World: 78, RM

sikitéy *k'olk'il* *ʔa:tát* *wó:manamlikimáse*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *k'ol=k'il* *ʔaṭat* *wok-mq=namlí=ki-mas-i*
NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *túktimil* *lalkúhtkiwit.*

=ʔi *tuk-t=mil* *lalkuhtki=wit*

=HSY1 travel-INTR=FIN Lalkuhtki=ALL

‘Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction to Lalkúhtki.’

4.1.4. Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are treated morphologically as human nouns, but do form a unique sub-class of nouns in Yuki⁹³. A unique series of possessive prefixes⁹⁴ is used with kinship terms. These prefixes are different from the possessive pronouns used for other nouns. Alienability is not a feature distinguished for Yuki nouns. Therefore kinship terms do not obligatorily occur with a possessor.

In (13), *kup* ‘sister’s son’ occurs without a possessive prefix.

(13) Coyote and the World: 278, RM

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>sámi</i> | <i>šú’nohkiltána</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| <i>sa-mi</i> | <i>šu’-no’-h-k-il-tan-a</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| SAME-therefore | sit-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP | sister’s.son |
| <i>mi</i> | <i>kó:ɬima</i> | |
| <i>mi’</i> | <i>ko’=ɬima</i> | |
| 2SG.AGT | go=self | |

‘But not sitting there to stay long, **sister’s son**, you are to go on.’

In (14), *k’i:kan* ‘mother’s brother’ appears in its prefixed form as *’aŋk’i:kan* ‘my mother’s brother’.

⁹³ Yuki kinship terminology is discussed and lists of kinship terms are given in Kroeber 1922:372-374 and Gifford 1922:119-122. Coast Yuki kinship terminology is also discussed in Gifford 1922:119-122.

⁹⁴ These prefixes are discussed in §6.1.9.

(14) Origins: 145, RM

seʔey *míʔ* *ʔaŋkʻi:kanʻ* *nanákhq*

si=ʔi *miʔ* *ʔam-kʻikanʻ* *nanak-hq*

NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother know-Q

kímilmil *ʔey* *ʔímeymil.*

ki=mil=mil =ʔi *ʔim=mil*

say-?=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

‘So, “You, **my mother’s brother**, say that you know”, (Taykómol) said.’

4.2. Verbs

Verbs are distinguished from most word classes by the vast array of unique morphology used with them, including tense, aspect, mood, causative, mediopassive, and directional suffixes and enclitics.

(15) shows the verb root *či-* ‘spark up’ affixed with a large amount of verb morphology in *či:yeyimilmik* ‘fire gleams at intervals’

(15) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>sikónʔey</i> | <i>k'inikop</i> | <i>kú:t'a ká:</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| <i>si=kon=ʔi</i> | <i>k'in=kop</i> | <i>kut'a ka</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| NEW=but=HSY1 | cry=while | way.over.there | fire |

| | | | |
|--|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>či:yeyimilmik</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>ló:pši.</i> |
| <i>či-y-mq-il-m=k</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>lopsi</i> |
| spark.up-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit | | | |

‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, **fire gleams at intervals**”, said Jackrabbit.’

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. Personal and Possessive Pronouns

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Agent | Patient | Dative | Agent | Patient | Dative |
| First Person | ^ʔ q̄p | ^ʔ i | ^ʔ it | mi (I) | miyq̄ (I) | miyq̄t (I) |
| | ^ʔ q̄pil (emph.?) | | | ^ʔ us (E) | ^ʔ usq̄ (E) | ^ʔ usq̄t (E) |
| Possessive | ^ʔ itin | | | miyq̄t (I) | | |
| | | | | ^ʔ usq̄t (E) | | |
| Second Person | mi ^ʔ | mis | mit | mo ^ʔ os | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄ | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄t |
| Possessive | mit | | | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄t | | |
| Third Person | ki | ki ^ʔ q̄ | kipq̄t ⁹⁵ | kimasi (ANIM) | kimasq̄ | kimasq̄t |
| | | | | kimas (INANIM) | | |
| Demonstrative | ki | ki ^ʔ q̄ | | kimasi (ANIM) | kimasq̄ | |
| | | | | kimas (INANIM) | | |
| Possessive | kipq̄t ⁹⁶ | | | kimasq̄t | | |
| Coreferential | kip | kipq̄ | | kimo ^ʔ osiyq̄ ⁹⁷ | | |
| Fourth Person | | | ki ^ʔ q̄t | | | |
| Possessive | ki ^ʔ q̄t | | | | | |
| 'self' | ṭima | | | | | |

Table 11: Yuki Personal and Possessive Pronouns (I = inclusive, E = exclusive, ANIM = animate, INANIM = inanimate)

⁹⁵ Oblique third person forms based on *kipq̄t* have not been observed. Oblique third person forms referring to non-humans are based on *ki* and those referring to humans are based on the fourth person dative pronoun *ki^ʔq̄t*, as discussed in §6.1.10.

⁹⁶ The coreferential dative pronoun *kipq̄t* is used as the possessive form for third person singular referents.

⁹⁷ Kroeber (1911:367) lists *kimosiyq̄t* 'they themselves' in his description of Yuki pronouns. This pronoun has not been observed in elicitation, but may occur once in the texts. The *Wildcat and Coyote* myth in Kroeber's original notes is longer than the version in his 1911 Yuki sketch. *kimo^ʔseyyat lán^ʔa* 'their brother' occurs in this original version (Kroeber 1902a:18), though *kimo^ʔseyyat* does not appear to mean 'they themselves' and may be the third person distributive plural dative *kimasq̄t*.

The system of Yuki personal and possessive pronouns is shown in Table 11. Yuki first and second-person pronouns are distinct from other word classes, while third-person pronouns are identical to distal demonstratives. Possessive forms are identical to dative case forms except for first person singular where the possessive form *ʔitin* differs from the dative form *ʔit*.

Singular and plural pronouns are distinguished for first and second person. Singular and distributive plural pronouns are distinguished for third person. Inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished for first person plural pronouns. Oblique forms of pronouns are formed according to the same pattern as human nouns, which is affixation of the oblique case ending to the dative form of the human noun or pronoun. Oblique forms of third person pronouns show some unique case endings when referring to inanimates. Animate and inanimate forms of the distributive plural pronouns and demonstratives are also distinguished.

Coreferential pronouns are distinguished for agent and patient case in addition to a reflexive or emphatic pronoun *ʔima*. An additional form of the first person *ʔapil* is found in elicitation and the texts. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:111) translate this pronoun as an emphatic form, but it is unclear from its use whether this *ʔapil* is really an emphatic form or instead a longer variant of *ʔap*. A fourth person dative pronoun *kiʔat* is used to form possessives and obliques referring to an additional third person human referent.

4.3.2. Interrogative Pronouns

The system of Yuki interrogative pronouns is shown in Table 12.

| Pronoun | Source |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>haymás</i> ‘how’ | Origins: 4 |
| <i>haymas</i> ‘how much, how many’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:108 |
| <i>həy</i> ‘what’ | Kroeber 1911:367 |
| <i>ʔiyi</i> ‘what’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234 |
| <i>ʔiyiki</i> ‘what (is) that’ | Coyote and the World: 308 |
| <i>ʔi:win ~ ʔiyəwan ~ ʔiyowan</i> ‘when’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:235 |
| <i>ʔim</i> ‘where’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:235 |
| <i>məy</i> ‘who’ | Coyote and the World: 122 |
| <i>məyq</i> ‘who=PAT’ | Coyote and the World: 52 |
| <i>məyet</i> ‘whose’ (who=DAT) | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 236 |
| <i>ʔiyup</i> ‘why’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237 |
| <i>sumuč</i> ‘why don’t (you)... (impolite)’ | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237 |

Table 12: Yuki Interrogative Pronouns

məy ‘who’ can be inflected for patient and dative case to anticipate an answer in that noun case. For example, the response given to the question *məyq ʔohi:š* ‘who is swift’ (CW:52), which contains a patient-marked question word⁹⁸ *məyq* ‘who=PAT’ is *pəwkə* ‘one in particular’ (one=PAT). *ʔiyi* ‘what’ can also be made to ask more particular questions by affixing demonstratives. For example, *ʔiyiki* ‘what (is) that’ is effectively a question pointing at a particular referent. *ʔiyi* can also be used as a modifier meaning ‘some’ or ‘some kind’ in words like *ʔeyyínom* ‘some tribe’ (*ʔiyi* ‘what’ + *nom* ‘tribe, people’)

⁹⁸ See §5.3.2 for discussion of grammatical patients and other core argument types.

4.4. Adjectives

This section discusses adjectives and their morphology. Attributive and predicate adjectives act as distinct subclasses of adjectives in Yuki. Attributive adjectives occur without unique morphology, but can be affixed with patient case =*q* in equative clauses and in certain other situations. Predicate adjectives are suffixed with verb morphology and act as verbs.

4.4.1. Attributive Adjectives

Attributive adjectives are independent words and can either precede or follow the noun within the noun phrase. The pragmatics of these two word orders are not apparent from elicited examples or examples found in the texts.

4.4.1.1. Word Order within the Noun Phrase

(16) and (17) are elicited examples. In (16), the adjective *hoɕ* ‘large’ follows the noun *t’um* ‘rain’.

(16) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 30, AA

t’u:m ho:ɕ ki t’u:mek

t’um hoɕ ki t’um=k

rain big DST rain=DECL

‘it’s raining big drops’

In (17), both noun-adjective word orders are given as possible alternatives of each other.

(17) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:99, AA

ʔon si:k ~ si:k ʔon

ʔon sik sik ʔon

earth blue/green blue/green earth

‘blue clay’

In connected speech attributive adjectives are uncommon, but show the same variation. The adjective follows the noun in (18) and (19).

(18) Coyote and the World: 11 (excerpt), RM

seʔéy *ló:pši* *kʻínikʻop* *mil* *šáy* ʔáwilk ...

si=ʔi *lopsi* *kʻin=kop* *mil* *šay* ʔaw-l=k

NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while **meat** **raw** eat-PFV?=DECL

‘And Jackrabbit, in weeping, “**Raw meat** they are eating ...’

(19) Coyote and the World: 14, RM

sáʔéy *čánilmil* *ló:psa* *mil* *ǰojič* *na*

sá=ʔi *čan=mil* *lopsi=q* *mil* *čočič* =nq

SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT **meat** **pounded** =and

sopes *tít*

sopis *tit*

shoulder ?

‘And gave Jackrabbit **pounded meat** and shoulder.’

In (20) the noun ʔiwupa ‘man=PAT’⁹⁹ follows the adjective *hoʔ* ‘large, great’.

⁹⁹ See §5.3.2 for discussion on grammatical patients and other core argument types.

(20) Coyote and the World: 47 (excerpt), RM

sqʔey *kʔyimilmil* *hót* *ʔiwupa* *han* *hilk*

sq=ʔi *kʔy-mil=mil* *hoṭ* *ʔiwop=q* *han* *hilk*

SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN big **man=PAT** even all/something?

həkó:čmi ...

həkoč-mi

bad-?

‘And he talked: “Since even a great man may have something go badly with him ...’

4.4.1.2. Equative Clauses and Discussion of Kroeber’s animate *-a*

In his 1911 sketch of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:368) states that attributive adjectives occurring with animate nouns are suffixed with *-a*. He analyzes *-a* as a morpheme meaning ‘animate’; however, analysis of the texts suggests an alternate analysis. In this section I argue that *-a* in this context is the patient case enclitic *=q*, instead of a unique morpheme marking animacy, as proposed by Kroeber. As discussed in §5.2.4 overt patient case marking only occurs for nouns referring to humans and some non-human animates and therefore patterns exactly as Kroeber’s proposed animacy marking.

(21) shows the examples of adjectives with *-a* provided by Kroeber in his description of Yuki.

(21) Kroeber 1911:368, RM

ʔiwis puhič=q ‘short man’

puhič=q ‘a short person’

In his elicited material, Kroeber shows that predicate adjective clauses take a patient case argument, as shown in (22).

(22) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

ʔi: hočʔk

ʔi hoʔ=k

1SG.PAT big=DECL

‘I am big.’

Another way to express a similar meaning shown in Kroeber’s notes is to mark the adjective with patient case and form an equative clause with *mih-* ‘be’, as shown in (23).

(23) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

ʔqp ho:ʔʔa mihihik

ʔqp hoʔ=q mih=k

1SG.AGT big=PAT be=DECL

‘I am a big one.’

In elicitation Kroeber also records similar forms independent of clauses, as shown in (24). *mi:li hó:t'a* ‘a big deer’ is in fact the same type of construction as ^ʔ*ap hó:t'a mi:hik* ‘I am a big one’ without *mih-* ‘be’ expressed. So a sequence like *mi:li hó:t'a* could also be understood as ‘the deer [is a] big [one]’.

(24) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

mi:li hó:t'a

mil hó:t=q

deer big=PAT

‘a big deer’

These two environments for patient case marking indicate that Kroeber’s claimed animacy suffix is most likely just patient =*q*.

In (25), *tat* ‘good’ is marked for patient case in *máy ka múšp táta* ‘who is this pretty woman’.

(25) Coyote and the World: 294, RM

sikq'áy *máy ka múšp* ***táta*** *kó(i)yik ...*

sikq=?i *máy ka musp* ***tat=q*** *ko?-y=k*

AGT>PAT?=HSY1 who PRX woman **good=PAT** go-PROG=DECL

‘Thereupon, “Who is this **pretty** woman coming?” ...’

In (25), *máy* ‘who’ is the grammatical agent argument of *kó(i)yik* ‘coming’. *ka múšp táta* is the same type of construction as *mi:li hó:t'a* ‘a big deer’, in (24), and could be

analyzed as an embedded version of the clause type seen in (23) without *mih-* ‘be’ expressed.

Other instances that appear to be adjectives suffixed with *-a* may have arisen from other sources. In (26), it appears again that patient case =*q* is attached to *tat* ‘good’. Two of the nouns involved are non-human animates, *mil* ‘deer’ and *hqw* ‘fish, salmon’, but the other noun is inanimate, *šišlúl* ‘squirrel fat’. It certainly may be that the use of patient case extends to inanimates at times, but no other examples of this kind of use are known to exist.

(26) Origins: 116, RM

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>sqkí:</i> | <i>tát</i> | [?] <i>ey</i> | <i>máktpa?</i> | <i>tát’q</i> | <i>mil</i> |
| <i>sqki</i> | <i>tat</i> | = [?] <i>i</i> | <i>mak-t-pa?</i> | <i>tat=’qp</i> | <i>mil</i> |
| and | good | =HSY1 | wake-INTR-FUT | good=1SG.AGT | deer |
| <i>táyypa</i> | <i>tát’q</i> | <i>hqw</i> | <i>t’uktpa</i> | | |
| <i>tay-m-pa?</i> | <i>tat=’qp</i> | <i>hqw</i> | <i>t’uk-tl-pa?</i> | | |
| cut-IMPFV-FUT | good=1SG.AGT | fish | catch-TR-FUT | | |
| <i>tát’q</i> | <i>šišlúl</i> | [?] <i>qwyakpa</i> | [?] <i>imeyk</i> | <i>mihin’k</i> | |
| <i>tat=’qp</i> | <i>šiš-lul</i> | [?] <i>qw-qk-pa?</i> | [?] <i>im=k</i> | <i>mih-nik</i> | |
| good=1SG.AGT | squirrel-fat | eat-SEM-FUT | say=DECL | be-NEC | |

hulk'ilal woknám háp k'ó'qiliki: ?i:y ?imeymil taykómol.

hulk'ilal woknam háp k'o'-q-l-il=ki =?i ?im=mil taykomol

ghost initiation song put-?-PFV-MPSV=DST =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

'I shall awake feeling well, I shall cut up a good deer, spear a good salmon, eat good squirrel-fat', that will they be saying who have in mind the Hulk'ilál-initiation songs", said Taykómol.

4.4.1.3. Placement of Case Enclitics

Case enclitics typically occur at the end of the noun phrase. In (27), the patient case enclitic =*q* occurs at the end of the noun phrase *hil č'í:mita* 'all the birds' and in (28), =*q* occurs at the end of the noun phrase *?ópi k'o'ola* 'two Wailaki'.

(27) Ioi: 13, RM

sq?ey ki kiwismil hil č'í:mita.

sq=?i ki kiw-s=mil hil č'imit=a

SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN **all** **bird=PAT**

'He asked **all the birds.**'

(28) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

sikítēy ?ópi k'o'ola šáyyanamlikimáse

si=kiṭ=?i ?opi k'o'ol=a šay-a=namli=ki-mas-i

NEW=then=HSY1 **two** **Wailaki=PAT** alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipáwk toktli ʔey hušk'áyesmil
 =ʔi kipáw=ki tok-tl =ʔi hušk'ay-s=mil
 =HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

'Thereupon the **two Wailaki**, who were alive came back and told (what had happened).'

As shown in (29) and (30), in noun phrases containing a demonstrative and a noun, both words can be marked for patient case. It is unclear whether this is also done for dative case. This double-marking for case is not observed for non-core cases.

(29) Ioi: 34, RM

seʔey ki ʔímeymil kiʔa múšp'a.
 si=ʔi ki ʔim=mil ki=a musp=a
 NEW=HSY1 DST say=FIN DST=PAT woman=PAT

'He said **to her**.'

(30) Coyote and the World: 416c, RM

sikíta ʔan ló:psi nq pú:lam ʔól mop nó'opa'
 si=kiṭa ʔan lopsi =nq pulam ʔolam=op no'-pa'
 NEW=then always jackrabbit =and cottontail brush=LAT live-FUT

| | | | |
|-------|----------|---------------------|------------------|
| ʔiyy | ʔimeymil | <i>kimása</i> | <i>ku:škiʔa</i> |
| =ʔi | ʔim=mil | <i>ki-mas=a</i> | <i>kuški=a</i> |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | DST-DSTR=PAT | small=PAT |

‘And to the (small) birds, “You shall be birds and shall live in the brush; and jackrabbit and rabbit shall live in the brush”, he said **to those small ones.**’

(31) is an example of a noun phrase with patient case marking and also marking for an oblique noun case. In (31), terminative =*k’il*, meaning ‘at, toward’, occurs at the end of the noun phrase following ʔ*unšil* ‘little’. Patient case =*q* does not occur at the the end of the noun phrase, but instead follows the proper noun *čq:minka:pina*.

(31) Coyote and the World: 101, RM

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>čq:minká:pina</i> ¹⁰⁰ | <i>ʔúnšilkil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>čqaminkapin=q</i> | <i>ʔunšil=k’il</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | Čaminkapin=PAT | little=TERM |

čqk’íkilmil

čqk’-k-il=mil

try.to.club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.’

¹⁰⁰ According to Kroeber, *Čaminkapin* is the “a small bird (Kroeber 1932:920).”

(31) suggests further intricacy in the system governing the placement of noun case enclitics in Yuki noun phrases, in that not all of the noun case enclitics occur at the end of the noun phrase in this example. It is not possible to further explore this distribution further due to a paucity of suitable examples in available data.

4.4.2. Predicate Adjectives

Predicate adjectives are suffixed with verb morphology and function as verbs. (32) - (34) show *həčam* ‘strong, solid’ affixed with different types of verb morphology. These examples show some of the range of the predicate adjective in Yuki. The meaning of *həčámmil* ‘was solid’ and *hač’ámt’mil* ‘was firm’ is much as expected from a predicate adjective: *X is <adjective>*. In (34), the meaning of *həčámečyakmil* ‘made strong (fast)’ seems to extend beyond the area typically seen for predicate adjectives.

(32) Origins: 70, RM

seʔéy *həčámmil* ʔúnšil.

si=ʔi *həčam=mil* ʔunšil

NEW=HSY1 **strong=FIN** little

‘Now it **was** a little **solid**.’

(33) Coyote and the World: 262, RM

siʔéy hí:l hqʔyé hačʔamtʔmil.

si=ʔi hil hqye hačʔam-t=mil

NEW=HSY1 all¹⁰¹ again **strong-INTR=FIN**

‘and everything **was firm.**’

(34) Coyote and the World: 68, RM

seʔéy háye kí:la ʔon hqčámečyakmil

seʔi hqye ki-la ʔon hqčam-t-ɬk=mil

NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth **strong-INTR-SEM=FIN**

ʔon kú:tčam.

ʔon kut=čam

earth root=PNOML

‘Then he now **made** the earth **fast (strong)** at its root.’

(35) - (37) are examples of other predicate adjective clauses. (35) and (36) show *hakoč* ‘bad’ as a predicate adjective.

¹⁰¹ Note that *hí:l* ‘all’ in (33) does not receive patient case marking, because it does not refer to an animate noun.

(35) Origins: 121, RM

seʔéy *hąkóčmil.*

si=ʔi *hąkoč=mił*

NEW=HSY1 **bad=FIN**

‘And it **was unsatisfactory.**’

(36) Origins: 109, RM

seʔéy *ki* *hąkóčk* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *hulk’óʔi.*

si=ʔi *kiʔ* *hąkoč=k* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mił* *hulk’oʔi*

NEW=HSY1 DST **bad=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“‘That **is bad**”, Coyote said.’

(37) shows *hąwa* ‘glad’ as a predicate adjective. The resulting verb *hąwáti* ‘is glad’ takes a patient argument *hulk’óʔq* ‘Coyote=PAT’.

(37) Origins: 73, RM

seʔéy *hulk’óʔq* *kip* *ʔon* *hąwáti* *kímilmił* *hulk’óʔi.*

si=ʔi *hulk’oʔi=q* *kip* *ʔon* *hąwa-t* *ki-mil=mił* *hulk’oʔi*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth **glad-INTR** say-ʔ=FIN Coyote

‘Then “Coyote himself **is glad** about the earth”, Coyote said to him.’

4.4.3. Comparatives and Superlatives

Yuki does not have a construction for forming comparatives or superlatives. Instead various methods are used to express comparative or superlative meaning.

One method for forming comparatives is to place two adjectives in opposition. In (38), ‘I am bigger than you’ is expressed by saying ‘I am big, you [are] small’.

(38) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:30, MF

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔapɛl</i> | <i>ho:ʔa</i> | <i>mehek</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>ʔunʂil</i> |
| <i>ʔapɛl</i> | <i>hoʔ=q</i> | <i>mih=k</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>ʔunʂil</i> |
| 1SG.AGT.EMPH | big=PAT | be=DECL | 2SG.PAT | small |

‘I’m big, you are small.’

In (39), the same type of construction is used to express a comparative meaning. “I am a young one, s/he is old.” is used to say “I am a younger woman than s/he is.”

(39) Siniard 1967a:71, MF

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>ʔampɛl</i> | <i>mahaʔ</i> | <i>mihik</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>ʔolwis</i> | <i>mihik</i> |
| <i>ʔapɛl</i> | <i>mah=q</i> | <i>mih=k</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>ʔolwis</i> | <i>mih=k</i> |
| 1SG.AGT.EMPH | young=PAT | be=DECL | DST | old | be=DECL |

‘I’m a younger woman than s/he is.’

In other instances particular words are used to highlight the superlative nature of the adjective. In (40), *leʔ* ‘little’ is combined with *ʔunʂil* ‘small, little’ to emphasize

the small size of *č'i:mit* 'bird'. This may be analogous to similar constructions in colloquial English: "she lives in a little, little house" or "he has a big, big appetite."

(40) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:191, AA

ka č'i:mit leʔ ʔunšil

ka č'imit leʔ ʔunšil

PRX bird little small

'This is the **smallest** bird.'

Similarly, in (41) *miṭ* 'up, over' is used with *hoṭ* 'big' in order to emphasize the large size of *č'i:mit* 'bird'.

(41) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:30, AA

ka č'i:mit miṭ hoṭ

ka č'imit miṭ hoṭ

PRX bird up/over big

'This is the **biggest** bird.'

This "type" of comparative/superlative is the only one that is found both in the elicited examples in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984 and also in the texts. (42) is an example showing *miṭ* 'up, over' used to form the same type of construction in connected speech.

(42) Origins: 95, RM

sqʔey *mas* *tuʔákmil* *pqwi* *ʔiwis* *mí:pami*
sq=ʔi *mas* *tu-qk=mil* *pqwi* *ʔiwis* *mih-paʔ-mi*
SAME=HSY1 thus lay-SEM=FIN one man.PL be-FUT-?

kimáša *ʔey* ***ho:ʔmíč*** *t'ú:mil.*
ki-mas=q =ʔi ***hoʔ miʔ*** *t'u=mil*
DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1 **big over/up** lay=FIN

‘So he laid them (that for) those who would be men he (first) laid **larger ones.**’

Other constructions are occasionally found, but it is unclear the extent to which these can be generalized for forming comparatives or superlatives in Yuki. In (43), *-ʔet* ‘be like’ is used to emphasize the easiness of the work, thereby creating a kind of comparative or superlative.

(43) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:74, AA

ka *wiʔ* *lq* *mehek*
ka *wiʔ* *lq* *mih=k*
PRX work easy be=DECL

‘This is easy work.’

ka wiṭ lqʔet (~leʔet) mehek
ka wiṭ lq-ʔet mih=k
PRX work easy-be.like be=DECL

‘This is the easiest work.’

One final form also appears in the texts. In (44) and (45), adjectives ending in *-niʔ* are translated with a comparative meaning by Kroeber. *ʔunšil* is ‘small’ and *ʔunšilniʔ* is translated by Kroeber as ‘smaller’.

(44) Origins: 96, RM

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sąkeyʔéy</i> | <i>múšp</i> | <i>miʔhąlikí:</i> | ʔunšilniʔ |
| <i>sąki=ʔi</i> | <i>musp</i> | <i>mih-ʔąl=ki</i> | ʔunšil-niʔ |
| AGT>PAT?=HSY1 | woman | be-ʔ=DAT | small-ʔ |

ʔalnanát *ʔey ...*
ʔal-nan=ąt =ʔi
stick-head=DAT =HSY1

‘And (for) those [that] would be a woman he laid **smaller** sticks with heads...’

In (45), *káčeyni* is translated by Kroeber as ‘younger’. The word that *káčeyni* would be derived from, *kač*, is not known.

(45) Ioi: 1, RM

Ioi ną kípát káčeyni kimlána č'qy kíta mí:mil.

Ioi =ną kípát kačini kim-lana č'qy kíta mih=mil.

Ioi =and 3R.DAT younger DST.KIN.POSS-brother Bluejay there be=FIN

'Ioi and her younger brother Bluejay were there.'

In some instances verb morphology can also be used to express a comparative-like meaning. Inchoative¹⁰² *-lam* is used to convey the meaning that a cold state is becoming colder, in (46), and that a dry state is getting dryer, in (47).

(46) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:47, AA

ɬamləmek

ɬam-lam=k

cold-INCH=DECL

'I'm getting colder.'

(47) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:72, MF

konləmek

kon-lam=k

dry-INCH=DECL

'They're getting dry.'

¹⁰² See §7.4.2.1 for further discussion of the inchoative aspect.

4.4.4. Adjectives in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The examples in this section are all elicited. Examples of connected speech do not exist for either Huchnom or Coast Yuki, therefore it cannot be known whether adjectives acted differently in that kind of context.

4.4.4.1. Huchnom

In Huchnom attributive adjectives follow the noun. There are no examples in Lamb 1955 of attributive adjectives preceding the noun. (48) shows examples in Huchnom of noun phrases translated by Lamb as consisting of nouns and attributive adjectives.

(48) Lamb 1955:28, LJ

lil ɔ:lsɪ'l

rock small

‘small rock’

Lamb 1955:113, LJ

ʔoʔmɛ:kʔ

ʔoʔm-ɛ:kʔ

ground-blue

‘blue clay’

Lamb 1955:42, LJ

mehš wak

road wide

‘wide road’

Lamb 1955:55, LJ

huʔuʔə hɔn

white house

‘white house’

(49) is an example of an attributive adjective in a short clause. No examples are available of predicate adjectives in Huchnom. Note that *ʔólsil* ‘little’ is affixed with patient case =*q*, the same as *hoʔ* ‘big’ in *ʔap ho:ʔ’a míhik* ‘I am a big one’, in (23).

(49) Lamb 1955:101, LJ

músp ʔólsilàʔ kàʔ méhčʔi

músp ʔólsil=àʔ kàʔ méhčʔi

woman little=PAT PRX is

‘this is a little woman’

4.4.4.2. Coast Yuki

Examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives have thus far been found only for human nouns. These all end in *-æʔ*, which it is reasonable to conjecture as being analogous to the patient case ending found on attributive adjectives in Yuki and Huchnom. (50) shows examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives.

(50) Harrington 1942-1943:388, LP

ʔôwəpʔ kʔéyæʔ ‘a tall man’

ʔôwəpʔ bóʔhæʔ ‘a short/chubby man’

ʔôwəpʔ hôʔtʔæʔ ‘a big man’

múšpʔ hôʔtʔæʔ ‘a big woman’

Coast Yuki predicate adjectives function much as in Yuki and Huchnom. The difference is that the Coast Yuki patient pronoun *ʔi* may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective. In (51), the adjective ‘sick’ appears in an uninflected form *díʔdæʔ*, but functions as a predicate adjective meaning ‘he is sick’. In (52), *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’ and *wáxʔday* ‘I am sick but walking around’¹⁰³ end in the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi*.

(51) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

díʔdæʔ ‘he is sick’

hóʔtʔ díʔdæʔ ‘he is very sick’

(52) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

díʔday ‘I am sick in bed’

wáxʔday ‘I am sick but walking around’

In (53) the same pattern of encliticization of the first person singular patient pronoun to the predicate adjective is seen for several other predicate adjectives. Note that the adjective in the predicate adjective form *šemʔi* ‘I am well’, presumably ends in a consonant and therefore *ʔi* is maintained and not reduced to a glide¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ The internal structure of *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’ and *wáxʔday* ‘I am sick but walking around’ is unknown, as it is for much of the Coast Yuki data cited throughout this grammar. In this case these two words likely have different roots. The intent in including them is to show that the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi* may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective in Coast Yuki.

¹⁰⁴ This variation is also discussed in §3.6.

- (53) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔintay</i> | ‘I am sleepy’ |
| <i>tiʔatay</i> | ‘I am sick’ |
| <i>šemʔi</i> | ‘I am well’ |

In (54), the predicate adjective may be affixed with a Coast Yuki analogous to Yuki declarative =*k*.

- (54) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>tiʔateʔékay</i> | ‘I have been sick ¹⁰⁵ ’ |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|

4.5. Numerals

The Yuki numeral system is octonary. This means that numerals are counted in groups of eight with a new cycle of the count beginning again at 9, 17, etc. Octonary systems are uncommon cross-linguistically. Kroeber gives the following lengthy, but interesting account of his experience learning about and documenting the Yuki numeral system.

The Yuki system of counting - and it alone among the Yukian languages - is not decimal or quinary, but octonary. Only the Salinan and Chumash, far to

¹⁰⁵ The root of *tiʔateʔékay* ‘I have been sick’ is likely the same as *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’ in (52). The difference in spelling is due to differences in the transcription of the two linguists, Kroeber and Harrington, respectively, who originally recorded these examples.

the south, follow an analogous quaternary method. It is remarkable that the Yuki counted on their fingers as regularly as any other people in the State. The explanation is that they did not count the fingers but the spaces between them, in each of which, when the manipulation was possible, two twigs were laid. Naturally enough their "hundred" was 64.

The younger men, who have associated with the Americans, seem not to realize that their fathers thought by eights instead of tens, and are so confused in consequence that they give the most contradictory accounts of even the lowest native numerals. The old generation, on the other hand, is as innocent of our method. One of these survivors, when asked if he knew how many fingers he had, answered without hesitation, *huchamopesul*, ten. Asked how many finger and toes he had, he replied he did not know. If the query had been how many spaces there were between his fingers and toes, which would trip up many a civilized person required to answer without calculation or actual count, he would no doubt have known instantly. Two pairs of hands were then spread before him as the accepted equivalent of his own fingers and toes, and he began a laborious count, pushing the digits together into groups of fours. The result he announced was *molmihuipoi*, nineteen. Unaccustomed to handling fingers, he had overlooked a thumb. When the same man was allowed to place pairs of little sticks between his own fingers, as was habitual to him, he reckoned rapidly and correctly.

The Yuki managed their count with only three real numeral words: *paⁿwi*, one; *opi*, two; *molmi*, three. Every other word denoting numbers up into the hundreds is a description of the process of counting. Thus, a translation of their numerals four to twenty runs as follows: two-forks, middle-in, even-chilki, even-in, one-flat, beyond-one-hang, beyond-two-body, three-body, two-forks-body, middle-in-body, even-chilki-body, even-in-body, middle-none, one-middle-project, two-middle-project, three-middle-project, two-forks-middle-project. Sixty-four is two-fork-pile-at. There are sometimes several ways of denoting a number. Thus eight is one-flat, or hand-two-only (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:176-177).

Table 13 shows the cardinal numerals of the four Yukian languages¹⁰⁶. Ordinal numerals are not recorded and not found in the texts. The data in Table 13 is given to illustrate the numerals of the Yukian languages and to show the similarity in form of the numerals in these four languages.

¹⁰⁶ Yuki Sources: Numerals 1-6 (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984), Speakers: Arthur Anderson, Minnie Fulwider; Numerals 7-20 (Dixon and Kroeber 1907:677), Speaker not given, possibly Ralph Moore; Numerals 40, 64 (Kroeber 1901/1903/1908: loose notes in notebook), Speaker: not given, possibly Ralph Moore. Recorded April 11, 1906.

Huchnom Source: Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:7-8. Either speaker or location: Lake Holmes. Recorded: December 11, 1901.

Coast Yuki Source: Kroeber 1902c:97g. Speaker: Sam Slick. Recorded: September 22, 1902, at Westport, California. Speaker raised at Westport.

Wappo Source: Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:21-22. Speaker: Andrew Slocum. Recorded: June 17, 1903, at Alexander Valley, near Healdsburg, California.

Kroeber records the Huchnom, Coast Yuki, and Wappo numerals in the same orthography as his Yuki data. In this list this orthography is adapted in the same way as the Yuki is adapted from his original notes throughout this grammar.

| | Yuki | Huchnom | Coast Yuki | Wappo |
|----|---|---------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>pəwe, powe</i> | <i>p'úwe</i> | <i>bowik</i> | <i>báwe, báwa</i> |
| 2 | <i>ʔope, ʔopa</i> | <i>ʔópʔe</i> | <i>opik</i> | <i>hópi, hóbi</i> |
| 3 | <i>molme</i> | <i>mólme</i> | <i>molmik</i> | <i>hobóka</i> |
| 4 | <i>ʔopmahq̄t, ʔomahq̄:t</i> | <i>kesópe</i> | <i>hilkilópik</i> | <i>óla</i> |
| 5 | <i>huyk'o</i> | <i>pu:p'uč</i> | <i>powbát</i> | <i>gáda, gáta</i> |
| 6 | <i>(mek'qs) č'ilke?</i> ¹⁰⁷ | <i>p'u:tal</i> | <i>powtít</i> | <i>baténawk</i> |
| 7 | <i>mikasko</i> | <i>ʔópinun</i> | <i>óbedot</i> | <i>hopídenawk</i> |
| 8 | <i>pawmpat, mipatalawa</i> | <i>kinasánun</i> | <i>mólmetit</i> | <i>hopíhan</i> |
| 9 | <i>hučampəwipan</i> | <i>hélpiso p'u:tal</i> | <i>hilkilópetit</i> | <i>bá:lak, bawalák</i> |
| 10 | <i>hučamopisul</i> | <i>hélpiso humač</i> | <i>bo:bátedit</i> | <i>maháyš, mahays</i> |
| 11 | <i>molmisul</i> | <i>hélpiso p'u:tik</i> | | <i>mahayš pawalen</i> |
| 12 | <i>ʔomahq̄tsul</i> | <i>hélpiso ʔópetik</i> | | <i>mahayš hopilen</i> |
| 13 | <i>huykosul</i> | <i>hélpiso molmetik</i> | | <i>mahaís pokaléwen</i> ¹⁰⁸ |
| 14 | <i>mikasčilkisul</i> | <i>ʔaʔlapú:tan</i> | | <i>mahayš olalen</i> |
| 15 | <i>mikaskosul</i> | <i>ʔaʔlávʔx</i> | | ¹⁰⁹ |
| 16 | <i>huyčot</i> | <i>ʔaʔlapú:tik</i> | | ¹⁰⁹ |
| 17 | <i>pəwihuyluk</i> | <i>ʔaʔlaʔh ʔópetik</i> | | ¹⁰⁹ |
| 18 | <i>ʔopihuyluk</i> | <i>ʔaʔlaʔh kinosonúntik</i> | | ¹⁰⁹ |
| 19 | <i>molmihuy poy</i> | <i>p'u:ʔályak p'u:tan</i> | | <i>mahayš ba:laken</i> |
| 20 | <i>omahq̄thuypoy</i> | <i>p'uʔályak</i> ¹¹⁰ | <i>op keškénešlak</i> | <i>hopihol</i> |
| 21 | | | | <i>hopihol ba:len</i> |
| 22 | | | | <i>hopihol hopilen</i> |
| 23 | | | | <i>hopihol bókalen</i> |
| 30 | | <i>misáw ʔop'álya</i> | <i>mol keškenešlak</i> | <i>bókohol</i> |

¹⁰⁷ Sawyer and Schlichter's (1984:189) note: "six, lit. (fingers) spouting"

¹⁰⁸ Kroeber does not record 'thirteen' in his list of Wappo numerals. *mahaís pokaléwen* 'thirteen' is taken from Radin (1929:138)

¹⁰⁹ Kroeber indicates that 15-18 are formed according to this same method in his notes, but does not provide actual numerals.

¹¹⁰ Kroeber's note: "1 stick (standing)"

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 40 | <i>huyšot pawmpat poy</i> | <i>ʔopʼálya</i> | <i>hilkilop keškenešlak</i> | <i>olol</i> |
| 50 | | <i>misaw momálya</i> | <i>powpat keš kenešlak</i> | <i>gátahol</i> |
| 60 | | <i>momálya</i> | | <i>baténawkhol</i> |
| 64 | <i>ʔomahqt šam op</i> | | | |
| 70 | | <i>misaw ʔopenunálye</i> ¹¹¹ | | <i>hopidénawkhol</i> |
| 80 | | <i>misaw kinosonanalyo</i> | | <i>hopihanhol</i> |
| 90 | | <i>kinosonanalyo</i> | | <i>ba:lakhol</i> |
| 100 | | <i>pʼuʔal</i> ¹¹² | <i>po ʔál</i> | <i>bawaséntu</i> ¹¹³ |
| 200 | | <i>ʔopaʔál</i> | <i>ope ʔal</i> | |
| 300 | | <i>molmaʔal</i> ¹¹⁴ | <i>molma ʔal</i> ¹¹⁵ | |
| 400 | | <i>kesopaʔál</i> | | |
| 500 | | <i>pʼubučal</i> | | |
| 600 | | <i>pu:talál</i> | | |
| 700 | | <i>ʔopanunál</i> | | |
| 800 | | <i>kínosununʼal</i> | | |
| 900 | | <i>helpiso pu:talál</i> | | |
| 1000 | | <i>helpisoʔál</i> | | |

Table 13: Cardinal numerals of the Yukian languages

4.5.1. Animacy Distinction in Numerals?

Kroeber (1911:365-6) proposes that animacy is marked for numerals *pąk* or *pąwi* ‘one’ vs. *pąwa* ‘one (animate)’, *ʔopi* ‘two’, vs. *ʔopa* ‘two (animate)’, and *molmi* ‘three’ vs. *molma* ‘three (animate)’. It is unclear whether Kroeber’s description is accurate.

¹¹¹ Dixon and Kroeber (1907:677) do not give a Huchnom numeral ‘ninety’ and give different names for ‘seventy’ and ‘eighty’: *misau kinasanun-alya* ‘seventy’, *kinasanun-alya* ‘eighty.’

¹¹² Kroeber’s note: “1 straight stick”

¹¹³ Radin (1929:138) records a different form: *hašhəl* ‘one hundred.’

¹¹⁴ Kroeber’s note: “in counting beads, for every 100 a stick is put out”

¹¹⁵ Kroeber’s note: “*al* = stick”

In §4.4.1.2, it was shown that Kroeber’s hypothesized animate *-a* marking of attributive adjectives is most likely the patient case *=q*. It may be that numerals are treated as adjectives in Yuki and that when occurring with animate referents, numerals are marked with patient case *=q*, the same as attributive adjectives. However, it is difficult to tell for certain from available data whether numerals are indeed treated as adjectives in Yuki.

(55) shows examples of numerals with animate nouns elicited by Kroeber¹¹⁶. Note that in this series *ʔomahqt* ‘four’ also occurs with *-a*. These examples are reproduced with Kroeber’s original notes concerning numeral forms that are not permitted with a particular noun

(55) Kroeber 1901a:6, RM

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>mólma’a míli</i> | ‘three deer’ (not <i>molmi</i>) |
| <i>ʔop’á pu:lam</i> | ‘two cottontail rabbits’ (not <i>ʔop’i</i>) |
| <i>ʔíwis ʔop’a</i> | ‘two men’ |
| <i>ʔíwis mólma</i> | ‘three men’ |
| <i>ʔíwis ʔom’ahqta</i> | ‘four men’ |

In (56), *molma* ‘three’ occurs in *kimási mólmaʔ* ‘those three’.

¹¹⁶ See §4.5.3 for additional discussion of numeral and noun word order within noun phrases.

(56) Coyote and the World: 67, RM

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>sop</i> ^ʔ <i>éy</i> | <i>kimási</i> | <i>mólma</i> ^ʔ | <i>ʔqlaŋkó:timil</i> |
| <i>sop</i> = ^ʔ <i>i</i> | <i>ki-mas-i</i> | <i>molmi=q</i> | <i>ʔqlaŋko^ʔ-t=mil</i> |
| but=HSY1 | DST-DSTR-ANIM | three=PAT? | dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN |

‘But the **three** danced in a row to the side.’

In (57), *molmi* ‘three’ appears as a patient argument and its form is different from that in (56). Instead of *molma* the patient form used in (57) is *mólmiya* ‘three=PAT’. This makes it difficult to know whether numerals such as *mólma*^ʔ in (56) are just a variant of *mólmiya* ‘three=PAT’ or some other type of form, such as Kroeber’s suggested animate numeral form.

(57) Coyote and the World: 357, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>somíy</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>hi:l</i> | <i>mólmiya</i> | <i>hílk’il</i> | <i>nak’óhisq</i> |
| <i>som</i> = ^ʔ <i>i</i> | = ^ʔ <i>i</i> | <i>hil</i> | <i>molmi=q</i> | <i>hilk’il</i> | <i>nakoh-s-q</i> |
| however=HSY1 | =HSY1 | all | three=PAT | separately | teach-CONT?-? |
| <i>ʔímiymil</i> | <i>lašk’áwl’a</i> | <i>náqkop</i> | <i>kíč</i> | <i>mí’</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>lašk’awol=q</i> | <i>nək=op</i> | = <i>kíč</i> | <i>mi’</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| say=FIN | moon=PAT | night=LAT | =only | 2SG.AGT | sister’s.son |

kó:tampa

ko[?]-t-m-pa[?]

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘However, teaching all **three** separately, he said to the moon, “At night only, you, sister’s son, shall travel.”’

4.5.2. Numerals as Nouns or Pronouns

Numerals can be used as nouns or pronouns. (58) shows *pəwi* ‘one’ acting as a noun and affixed with inessive =*k’i*, forming *pəwɪk’i* ‘in one place’.

(58) Coyote and the World: 32, RM

sə[?]ey *hí:li* *pəwɪk’i* *móp’ɬilmil*.

sə[?]i *hil-i* *pəwi=k’i* *mop’-ɬ-il=mil*

SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM **one=IN** gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And all gathered **in one place**’

ʔopi ‘two’ is also used to mean ‘both’. In (59), *ʔopi* is shown as a part of *ʔopkí:ya* ‘both of them=PAT’.

(59) Coyote and the World: 201, RM

sikə[?]éy *ʔopkí:ya* *sá:k’ilmil*

sikə[?]i *ʔopi=ki=q* *sa[?]-k-il=mil*

AGT>PAT?=HSY1 **two=DST=PAT** can.not.lift-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘But **both of them** could not lift it.’

In (60), *ʔopi* ‘two’ is affixed with the place nominalizer =*čam* forming *ʔopičam* ‘in two (heaps)’.

(60) Coyote and the World: 223, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>ʔopičam</i> | <i>tʔu:mil</i> | <i>pqwikʔi</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔopi=čam</i> | <i>tʔuʔ=mil</i> | <i>pqwi=kʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | two=PNOML | pile=FIN | one=IN |

‘in two (heaps) he piled them together.’

4.5.3. Numerals in the Noun Phrase

As shown in (55), numerals can both precede the noun, as in *mólma míli* ‘three deer’, and follow the noun, as in *ʔiwis ʔomʔaháta* ‘four men’. In the texts, numerals are rare and are found only preceding nouns, as shown in (61) - (63).

(61) Coyote and the World: 172, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sikitéy</i> | <i>ʔopʔa</i> | <i>kʔóʔil</i> | <i>kʔolámwit</i> | <i>tíwi:mil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔopʔa</i> | <i>kʔoʔil</i> | <i>kʔol=am=wit</i> | <i>tiw=mil</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | two | Wailaki | other=?=ALL | pursue=FIN |

‘but **two of them** [those **Wailaki**] followed off on the side.’

(62) Coyote and the World: 195, RM

seʔéy *ʔópa* *mus* *nó:mil*
si=ʔi *ʔopa* *mus* *noʔ=mil*
NEW=HSY1 **two** **woman.PL** live=FIN

‘**Two women** lived there.’

(63) Origins: 86, RM

sáʔey *ʔómahq:t* *hqwwhó:ʔam* *kʔapʔiyakmil.*
sá=ʔi *ʔomahqt* *hqwwoʔ=am* *kʔapʔ-ʔk=mil*
SAME=HSY1 **four** **whale=?** kill-SEM=FIN

‘And he slew **four whales**.’

In (64), *ʔopi* ‘two’ occurs with an animate noun *kʔoʔol* ‘Wailaki’, but does not end in *-a*. In this example the numeral occurs as part of a relative clause *ʔopi kʔoʔola šáyyanamlikimáse* ‘the two Wailaki who were alive’. The relative clause¹¹⁷ is a predicate adjective clause as the predicate is the adjective *šay* ‘fresh, raw, alive’. Note that *ʔopi* ‘two’ does not end in *-a*, but the human noun *kʔoʔola* ‘Wailaki=PAT’ is marked for patient case, as would be expected for the argument of a predicate adjective clause. This absence of *-a* on *ʔopi* ‘two’ may add support to the hypothesis that *-a* on numerals occurring with animate nouns is patient case marking also seen

¹¹⁷ See §9.10.4 for discussion of relative clauses.

on attributive adjectives. In a clause like (63), the numeral is not also marked for patient case, because typically patient case is marked on the noun phrase not on each constituent of the noun phrase individually.

(64) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

sikítēy ʔópi kʔoʔola šáyyanamlikimáse

si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔopi kʔoʔol=q šay-a=namli=ki-mas-i

NEW=then=HSY1 **two** **Wailaki**=PAT alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipáwk toktli ʔey huškʔyesmil

=ʔi kipaw=k tok-tl =ʔi huškʔay-s=mil

=HSY1 back=DECL arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

‘Thereupon the **two Wailaki** who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

4.5.4. Numerals in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Yuki, Huchnom, Coast Yuki, and Wappo numerals are compared in Table 13. In Huchnom, numerals are used just as numerals in Yuki.

4.5.4.1. Huchnom

(65) shows examples of numerals with nouns in Huchnom.

(65) Lamb 1955:30, LJ

p^hawɪ lɪl ‘one rock’

opɪ lɪl ‘two rocks’

(66) shows examples of numerals occurring with nouns and adjectives. Note that in *opɪ iwɪs kayyaʔ* ‘two tall men’ the adjective *kay* ‘tall’ is marked with patient case, but in *opiʔ a:l kayi:* ‘two long sticks’ the same adjective occurs without patient case. This suggests that in Huchnom, just as in Yuki, attributive adjectives are marked for patient case when occurring with human nouns.

(66) Lamb 1955:32, LJ

opɪ iwɪs hohtam ‘two big men’

opɪ iwɪs kayyaʔ ‘two tall men’

opiʔ a:l kayi: ‘two long sticks’

(67) shows a number of examples of the Huchnom noun *ʔiwpe:č* ‘boy’ and *muspe:ʔ* ‘girl’ along with *mehɛkɪ*, which appears to be the declarative form of *meh-* ‘be’ used in a series equative clauses¹¹⁸. Note that when the numeral follows the noun it ends in *-a*, as in *muspe:ʔ ʔopaʔ mehɛkɪ* ‘two girls’, but when the numeral precedes the verb it

¹¹⁸ This conjecture is made based on the similarity of *mehɛkɪ* to Yuki *mih-* ~ *meh-* ‘be’ in such equative clauses as:

Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:26, MF
kiʔqt ʔal ka: mehek
kiʔqt ʔal ka mih=k
4.DAT stick PRX **be=DECL**

‘This is his stick.’

does not end in *-a*, as in *ʔopi ʔiwpe:čʔ meheki* ‘two boys’. This strongly suggests that in Huchnom at least, the numerals marked with *-a* are being treated as attributive adjectives much as *kay* ‘tall’ is marked with *-a* when it follows *ɽwis* ‘men’ in *opi ɽwis kayyaʔ* ‘two tall men’, in (66).

(67) Lamb 1955:153-4, LJ

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>puwi ʔiwpe:čʔ meheki</i> | ‘one boy’ |
| <i>ʔopi ʔiwpe:čʔ meheki</i> | ‘two boys’ |
| <i>ʔiwpe:čʔ molma mehekiʔ</i> | ‘three boys’ |
| <i>ʔiwpe:čʔ ʔopaʔ meheki</i> | ‘two boys’ |
| <i>puwi muspeʔ meheki</i> | ‘one girl’ |
| <i>muspeʔ ʔopaʔ meheki</i> | ‘two girls’ |
| <i>mu:speʔ molmaʔ meheki</i> | ‘three girls’ |

(68) shows an example of a numeral and noun occurring in a short clause.

(68) Lamb 1955:109, LJ

molmi nɔk wokʔme:lamsiki ~ wokʔmamsiki ‘X going to dance 3 nights.’

4.5.4.2. Coast Yuki

Few examples exist of Coast Yuki numerals in available documentation. The available examples do not show a contrast between human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns in terms of numeral endings. *ʔɔbæʔ* ‘two’ is used to refer to both ‘noses’, in (69), and ‘maidens’, in (70).

(69) Harrington 1942-1943:132, LP

ʔóbæʔ héntʔelʔ ‘two noses’

(70) Harrington 1942-1943:310, LP

ʔóbæʔ náyʔš ‘two maidens’

(71) and (72) show other examples of Coast Yuki numerals. (72) is translated by Kroeber as ‘3 deer’, but it may actually mean ‘there are three deer’ or ‘three deer are/exist’ due to the presence of *méhe*, which appears to be the equative verb cognate with Yuki *mih-* ‘be’.

(71) Kroeber 1902c:67, TB

pow mil, powe mil ‘one deer’

mil ópe ‘two deer’

(72) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS

míl mólme méhe ‘3 deer’ (Probably: ‘there are three deer’)

4.6. Quantifiers

Commonly used Yuki quantifiers include *hil* ‘all’, *hoʔ* ‘many’, *munaʔ* ‘many’; Some quantifiers, such as *hil*, can be affixed with the animate *-i* suffix and used as pronouns.

An example of *hil* ‘all’ is shown in (73).

(73) Coyote and the World: 156, RM

si'áy *háye* *hi:l* *han* *k'átlmil*

si=?i *haye* *hil* *han* *k'al-tl=mil*

NEW=HSY1 again/now **all** **house** burn-TR=FIN

'and **all the house** was consumed.'

Examples of *hoṭ* 'big, many' are shown in (74).

(74) Coyote and the World: 401, RM

san *hó:ṭ* *k'o'íl* *k'áni* *ʔap* *mátli:kon* *namlíkí:*

san *hoṭ* *k'o'íl* *k'ani* *ʔap* *mat-tl=kon* *namlíki*

SAME? **many Wailaki** language 1SG.AGT do-TR=while therefore

hó:ṭ *k'o'íl* *k'áwlanj* *k'ayyíni'akmil*

hoṭ *k'o'íl* *k'aw-lam=k* *k'ay-n-qk=mil*

many Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN

“Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this”; that is why

many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.'

An example of *muna* 'many' is shown in (75).

(75) Coyote and the World: 48, RM

sq'ey *ʔim* *k'an* *pa'étmil* *hulk'o'i* *mi:litéiki*

sq=?i *ʔim* *k'an* *pa'-t=mil* *hulk'o'i* *militiki*

SAME=HSY1 where voice lift-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ ʔá:ʔat šúknamlikík tóktli
munaʔ ʔaʔat šuʔ-k=namli=kik tok-tl
many people sit-PNCT=DEP=there arrive-TR

‘So Coyote preached (“lifted his voice”) at Mílitiki, where the **crowd** having arrived was sitting.’

(76) shows an example of *hil* ‘all’ affixed with animate *-i* and used as a pronoun *hí:li* ‘all of them’.

(76) Coyote and the World: 58, RM

siʔéy hí:li kí:kʻi wok ʔiy
si=ʔi hil-i kik wok =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 **all-ANIM** there sing/dance =HSY1

máʔlilmil

máʔ-l-il=mil

practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN

sq huʔútli ʔaʔtq túkt(i)mil.

sq huʔu-tl ʔatq tuk-t=mil

SAME finish-TR again travel-INTR=FIN

‘**All** practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’

In (77), *hili* ‘all of them’ is shown marked for patient case as *hi:la* ‘all of them=PAT’.

(77) Coyote and the World: 142, RM

seʔey *haye* ***hi:la*** *ʔinitmil*

si=ʔi *haye* ***hil=q*** *ʔin-t=mil*

NEW=HSY1 now **all=PAT** sleep-INTR=FIN

‘And now **all of them** slept’,

4.6.1. Quantifiers in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

4.6.1.1. Huchnom

(78) - (80) show a selection of quantifiers or words derived from quantifiers in Huchnom. Many of these have analogues in Yuki. *munki*^{vs} ‘lots’ and *muna*[?] ‘everybody’ is analogous to Yuki *muna* ‘many’. *he:l* ‘all’ in *tʔayhe:l* ~ *tʔayhe:l* ‘everything’ is analogous to Yuki *hi:l* ‘all’.

(78) Lamb 1955:72, LJ

ku:šneʔ ‘a few’

ʔεʔkʔ *munki*^{vs} ‘lots of lice’

(79) Lamb 1955:108, LJ

muna[?] *wokʔlamsiki*^s ‘everybody’s dancing’

(80) Lamb 1955:83, LJ

t'ayhe:l 'everything'

t'ayhe:l č'a'k'il 'wash everything!'

As shown in (81), Huchnom *he:l* 'all' can also be used as a pronoun *he:lε*. Final *-ε* in *he:lε* may be a marker of animacy analogous to *-i* in the Yuki pronoun *hili* 'all of them' in (77).

(81) Lamb 1955:30, LJ

he:lε 'us *nΩ'Ωhiki* 'all of us [are] living'

4.6.1.2. Coast Yuki

Few examples exist of Coast Yuki quantifiers in use. (82) shows Coast Yuki *mún'e* 'lots, many', which is cognate with Yuki *muna'* 'many (of them)' and Huchnom *munki*^{sc} 'lots' and *muna'* 'everybody'.

(82) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS

mil' mún'e 'lots of deer'

4.7. Adverbs

A list of Yuki adverbs is given in Table 14. These adverbs form a limited or possibly closed set of terms that include mainly references to time, such as *hu*[?] ‘before’, *ʔatq*[?] ‘again’, *haye* ‘now’. This type also includes some terms referring to manner, such as *halšilo*[?] ‘differently’ and *hilk’il* ‘separately’. Adjectival roots can also function as adverbs. These adverbs differ from adjectives in that they do not take nominal morphology.

| Adverb | Meaning | Example |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ʔqlwa</i> [?] | at the same time that | CW:327 |
| <i>ʔan</i> | always/long | CW:47 |
| <i>ʔan ki ʔan</i> | just the same | OG:182b |
| <i>ʔatq</i> [?] | again | CW:49 |
| <i>ʔatey</i> | for a while? | CW:135 |
| <i>kayit</i> | long ago | CW:56 |
| <i>kayit</i> | already, previously | CW:60, 160 |
| <i>halšilo</i> [?] | differently | OG:183 |
| <i>hąša</i> | again | CW:234, 288 |
| <i>haye</i> | now | CW:64 |
| <i>hilk’il</i> | separately | CW:357 |
| <i>hiwąk</i> | in turn | CW:132 |
| <i>hiwąk’i</i> [?] | after | CW:255, 329 |
| <i>hu</i> [?] | before | CW:266 |
| <i>kaytkil</i> | long ago | CW:363 |
| <i>k’ol=am</i> | separately | CW:177 |
| <i>ʔonwa</i> | anyway | OG:117 |
| <i>ši’am</i> | after a while | CW:141, 308 |
| <i>tąk</i> | never | Crawford 1953 |
| <i>tiwho</i> | very, much | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:173 |
| <i>yič</i> | for a while? | CW:135 |

Table 14: Yuki Adverbs

(83) and (84) show examples of the adverb *ʔan*. This adverb is common in the texts and is translated with the meanings ‘long’ and ‘always’.

(83) Coyote and the World: 136, RM

seʔéy *ʔan* *wo:kesmil* *kʔóʔil*
si=ʔi *ʔan* *wok-s=mil* *kʔoʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 **long.time** sing/dance-CONT=FIN Wailaki

‘And they danced **long**.’

(84) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikiṭey *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ* *ʔan*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ka* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*
 NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son ground-ʔ-FUT **always**

son *miʔ* *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*
son *miʔ* *kup* *kək-kut-s-paʔ*
 therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT

“‘This, sister’s son, shall **always** be your place; but you shall rise first.’”

An example of *ṭiwho* ‘very, much’ is shown in (85).

(85) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:173, MF

ṭiwho t'u'ulqmek

ṭiwho t'ul'-m=k

very rain?-IMPFV=DECL

'a **big** rain-storm is coming (lit. it's going to rain **hard**)'

As stated above, adjectival roots can function adverbs, but differ from adjectives in that they are not affixed with nominal morphology. (86) - (90) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs. The adverb and verb are given bold in each example.

(86) Coyote and the World: 370, RM

sikiṭéy hqye hulk'ó'i hánpis lakti **č'al**

si=kiṭ=?i hqye hulk'ó'i han=pis lak-t **č'al**

NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL come.out-INTR **loud**

pqk'éyakmil

pqk'-qk=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

'But now Coyote coming out of the house **shouted loudly**'

(87) Coyote and the World: 353, RM

seʔéy ʔúnšil kʔáwtmil
si=ʔi ʔunšil kʔaw-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 little light-INTR=FIN

‘and it **shone a little.**’

(88) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

sąkítéy kipat múspa ʔimeymil tát ʔaʔáta
są=kiʔ=ʔi kipat musp=q ʔim=mil tat ʔaʔat=q
SAME=then=HSY1 3R.DAT woman=PAT say=FIN **good** people=PAT

hąwáysinʔk ka hánap kó:támika ʔeyy ...
hąway-s-nik ka han=op koʔ-t-m=ka =ʔi
food-CAUS-NEC PRX house=LAT go-INTR-IMPV=PRX =HSY1

‘Thereupon he told his wife, “You **must feed well** the people coming to this house ...’

(89) Coyote and the World: 154, RM

sikiťéy hó:ť hánal yq:htlmil
si=kiť=ʔi hoť hanal yqh-tl=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 **big** walls **burn-TR=FIN**

‘And the walls **blazed up greatly**,’

(90) Coyote and the World: 397, RM

sikit *hálja* *ho:ɬ* *yí:kilpaʔ*

si=kit *halč=q* *hoɬ* *yiʔ-k-il-paʔ*

NEW=then child=PAT **big** play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

“children also **shall be playing much,**”

4.7.1. Adverbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Available data suggest that adverbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki act the same as in Yuki.

4.7.1.1. Huchnom

(91) - (93) show examples of Huchnom adverbs analogous to the Yuki adverbs shown in Table 14.

(91) Lamb 1955:16, LJ

kəyt *ap* *həwəykil* ‘I **already** ate’

(92) Lamb 1955:88, LJ

kaʔ *ʔi:* *ʔan* *ʔonaʔ* *nɔ:ʔiʔ* ‘this fella is **always** punching (poking) me’

(93) Lamb 1955:140, LJ

hɔʔyɪʔ ‘now’

(94) and (95) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs in Huchnom. In (94), *hoht* ‘big’ occurs at the beginning of the clause, and intensifies the action expressed by the verb.

(94) Lamb 1955:41, LJ

hoht *pʔanseʔ* *liʔe:* ‘wind’s blowing **hard**’

In (95), *huši:* ‘sweet’ and *kaʔčim* ‘no good, bad’ characterize the action expressed by the verb *nəʔəmmikiʔ* ~ *natamʔiki* ‘tastes’.

(95) Lamb 1955:44, LJ

huši: *nəʔəmmikiʔ* ‘tastes **sweet**’

kaʔčim *natamʔiki* ‘tastes **no good**’

4.7.1.2. Coast Yuki

(96) and (97) show examples of Coast Yuki adverbs analogous to the Yuki adverbs shown in Table 14.

(96) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP

kʰéʰdæm ʔa·mî·gæʔ

kʰéʰdæm ʔa·mî·gæʔ

already 1SG.AGT-drank

‘I **already** drank.’

(97) Harrington 1942-1943:370, LP

kʰéʰʂiʔmay č’ók’læʔ yîʰkʰimbis̩

kʰéʰʂiʔma-y č’ók’læʔ yîʰkʰim-bis̩

already-1SG.PAT warm fire-ABL

‘I am **already** warm from the fire.’

(98) and (99) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs in Coast Yuki.

(98) Harrington 1942-1943:283, LP

dâ·tʰ neddêm héwwey

dâ·tʰ neddêm héwwey

good tastes food

'the food tastes **good**'

(99) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

hóʰtʰ díʰdæʰ

hóʰtʰ díʰdæʰ

big sick

'he is **very** sick'

4.8. Deictics

Yuki deictics are formed on the base of the proximal demonstrative *ka*, the distal demonstrative *ki*, and other deictics including *kipq̄w* ‘back’, *wil* ‘far’, and *wq̄k* ‘after, later’. The term “deictic” is used here to mean any type of independent word indicating direction. This sets the deictics apart from the noun case suffixes and enclitics, which are almost never found as independent words and are almost always attached to a particular noun or verb. Yuki does not have a clearly defined word class of adpositions.

4.8.1. Deictics formed from Demonstratives

A large number of Yuki deictics are formed on the base of the demonstratives *ka* ‘PRX’ (proximal) and *ki* ‘DST’ (distal). A number of other deictics are formed on the base *ku-*. Kroeber generally translates *ku-* type deictics with an overdistal meaning, such as *kuk’a* ‘far yonder’, while Schlichter and Sawyer mostly translate these deictics with a meaning related to ‘down’¹¹⁹.

Yuki demonstratives distinguish two degrees of proximity: proximal and distal. Some deictics derived from the demonstratives *ka* ‘PRX’ and *ki* ‘DST’ are formed by attaching noun case endings, as in the case of *kik’il* ‘toward it’ (*ki* ‘DST’+ =*k’il* ‘TERM’). Other deictics of this type are affixed with morphology that is different from that used for forming oblique forms of nouns. The deictics *kaṭa* ‘here’ and *kiṭa* ‘there’ can

¹¹⁹ See Table 18 for examples and references.

be analyzed as the demonstratives *ka* and *ki* affixed with a locative ending *-ta* seen nowhere else in Yuki.

Tables 15 and 16 provide an overview of deictics formed from *ka* and *ki*, respectively. This is not necessarily an exhaustive list, as there may have been other deictics of this type beyond the ones shown. These tables represent a fairly comprehensive overview of demonstrative deictics found in the texts and in *Yuki Vocabulary*.

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>ka</i> | ‘this one’ | <i>ka</i> PRX | Coyote and the World: 28 |
| <i>kaṭa</i> ¹²⁰ | ‘here’ | <i>kaṭa</i> here | Coyote and the World: 244 |
| <i>kaṭaʔapis</i> | ‘from here’ | <i>kaṭa=pis</i> PRX=ABL | Coyote and the World: 347 |
| <i>ka:telʔ</i> | ‘here’ | <i>kaṭa-ilʔ</i> PRX-edge? | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217 |
| <i>kaʔin</i> | ‘around here’ | <i>ka-ʔin</i> PRX-? | Coyote and the World: 231 |
| <i>ka:k</i> | ‘right here’ | <i>ka=kʔi</i> PRX=IN | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217 |
| <i>ka:kʔe</i> | ‘here’ | <i>ka=kʔi</i> PRX=IN | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217 |
| <i>kayʔ</i> | ‘up here’ | <i>ka-yʔ</i> PRX-? | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217 |

Table 15: Deictics derived from the proximal demonstrative *ka*

¹²⁰ Kroeber analyzes *-ta* as a locative on demonstratives. It appears in *kaṭa* ‘here’, *kiṭa* ‘there’, and possibly also in *kutʔa ka* ‘far yonder.’

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|--|--|------------------------------|--|
| <i>ki</i> | ‘that one’ | <i>ki</i> DST | Coyote and the World: 197 |
| <i>kiṭa</i> | ‘there’ | <i>kiṭa</i> | Coyote and the World: 381 |
| <i>kiṭaʔapis</i> , <i>kiṭaʔopis</i> | ‘from where; there, near this side of it’ | <i>kiṭa=pis</i> there=ABL | Coyote and the World: 22, 59 |
| <i>kiʔičisa</i> | ‘approaching’ | <i>ki=iṭ-sa</i> DST=JXT-? | Coyote and the World: 51 |
| <i>kiʔin</i> | ‘around there’ | <i>ki-ʔin</i> DST-? | Origins: 180 |
| <i>kikʼil</i> | ‘toward it’ | <i>ki=kʼil</i> DST=TERM | Coyote and the World: 295 |
| <i>kik</i> | ‘there’ | <i>ki=kʼi</i> DST=IN | Coyote and the World: 49 |
| <i>kikʼi</i> ¹²¹ | ‘there’ | <i>ki=kʼi</i> DST=IN | Coyote and the World: 58 |
| <i>kimʼ</i> | ‘there, right (over) there’ | <i>ki-mʼ</i> DST-? | Coyote and the World: 266, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 215 |
| <i>kimpis</i> | ‘from there’ | <i>ki-m=pis</i> DST-?=ABL | Coyote and the World: 348 |
| <i>kiŋki</i> | ‘there’ | <i>ki-m=ki</i> DST-?=IN? | Coyote and the World: 308 |

Table 16: Deictics derived from the distal demonstrative *ki*

¹²¹ *kikʼi* and *kik* may be the same word, with *kik* a reduced form of *kikʼi*. The same may be true for *ka:k* ‘right here’ and *ka:kʼe* ‘here’, with *ka:k* a reduced form of *ka:kʼe* (presumably *ka* ‘this’ + *-kʼi* ‘inessive’).

(100) - (102) show examples of some of the deictics shown in Tables 15 and 16. (100) shows *kaʔáʔapis* ‘from here’ and *kíʔáʔapis* ‘from there’ used in the same clause.

(100) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

seʔéy *kaʔáʔapis* ʔap *yáʃhi* *kíʔáʔapis* *náweta*
si=ʔi *kaʔa=pis* ʔap *yáʃ-h* *kíʔa=pis* *náw-t-aʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 **here=ABL** 1SG.AGT stand-DUR **there=ABL** see-INTR-IMP

ʔey ʔimeymil lówpsi *hulkʔoʔa*
 =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi *hulkʔoʔi=q*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

‘And “**From here** where I stand, **from there** look!” Jackrabbit said to Coyote.’

(101) is an example of *kayʔ* ‘up here’ and (102) is an example of *kaʔelʔ* ‘here’.

(101) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217, AA

kayʔ *haʔatlʔ*
kayʔ *haʔ-tl-ʔ*
up.here put-TR-IMP

‘Put it **up here!**’

(102) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217, AA

kaʔel' ʔq̄p noʔohek

kaʔel' ʔq̄p noʔ-h=k

here 1SG.AGT live-DUR=DECL

'I live **here**.'

Table 17 provides an overview of deictics formed from *ku-*. The *ku-* series of deictics appears infrequently in the texts. As stated above, Kroeber's translations for these deictics suggest an overdistal degree of proximity, but the analysis from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, suggests that *ku-* type deictics are derived from a term meaning 'down'. ʔumey 'uphill' is also included in Table 17. It occurs a single time in the texts, and no other related deictics are recorded. Note that Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:264) translate *ku:t-* as 'downhill'. *ku:t-* 'downhill' may also have a connection with *kutk'i* 'north' and *kut-* 'start, beginning'.

| Deictic | Meaning | Source |
|---|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ku:t-</i> | 'downhill' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264 |
| <i>ku:k-</i> | 'down' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:263 |
| <i>ku:k(e)</i> | 'down, south' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69 |
| <i>ku:k(e)wit</i> | 'down here' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69 |
| <i>kuk'a ~ kuʔuk'a ~ kuʔuk k'a ~ ku:k'e</i> | 'down there' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69 |
| <i>kut'a ka ~ kuʔ ka</i> | 'far yonder' | Coyote and the World: 7, 11 |
| <i>kuk'a</i> | 'far yonder' | Coyote and the World: 17 |
| <i>kuy'</i> | 'there' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264 |
| <i>kuyitpis</i> | 'from there' | Coyote and the World: 160 |
| <i>kum'</i> | 'there, over there' | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264 |
| ʔumey | 'uphill' | Coyote and the World: 42 |

Table 17: Deictics derived from *ku-*

(103) and (104) show examples of some of the deictics shown in Table 17. Note the overdistal meaning of *kú:t'a ká:* ‘far yonder’ in (103).

(103) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>sikón'ey</i> | <i>k'inikop</i> | <i>kú:t'a ká:</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| <i>si=kon=?i</i> | <i>k'in=kop</i> | <i>kut'a ka</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| NEW=but=HSY1 | cry=while | way.over.there | fire |

| | | | | |
|--|--|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>č'iyeyimilmik</i> | | <i>'ey</i> | <i>'ímeymil</i> | <i>lópši.</i> |
| <i>či-y-mq-il-m=k</i> | | <i>=?i</i> | <i>'im=mil</i> | <i>lopsi</i> |
| spark.up-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit | | | | |

‘But while he wept, “**Far yonder**, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

(104) Coyote and the World: 160 (excerpt), RM

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>sópey</i> | <i>ku:yítpis</i> | <i>k'ó'il</i> | <i>kímo'oséiyq</i> |
| <i>sop=?i</i> | <i>kuy=it=pis</i> | <i>k'o'il</i> | <i>kimo'osiyq</i> |
| but=HSY1 | there=JXT=ABL | Wailaki | DSTR.R? |

mqtíli ...

mqt-t-il

shoot-INTR-MPSV

‘But as the Wailaki **from there** shot at them ...’

4.8.2. Other Deictics

Table 18 shows Yuki deictics other than those formed from demonstratives. Utilizing the same methods used to form additional deictics from the demonstratives, new deictics can be formed from many of those shown in Table 18. Many of these deictics are also used to form new deictics utilizing the same methods as for the demonstrative-based deictics discussed in the previous section. *mik'al* ‘around’ and *ʔič* ‘near’ are included in the list, but straddle the boundary between case ending and independent word. *mik'al* is described in more detail in §5.4.13 and *ʔič* is described in more detail in §5.4.12 as the juxtapositive case.

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>hučki</i> | ‘outside’ | <i>huč=ki</i> outside=IN | Coyote and the World: 135 |
| <i>hučkipis</i> | ‘from outside’ | <i>huč=ki=pis</i> outside=IN=ABL | Coyote and the World: 310 |
| <i>huyki</i> | ‘to the middle’ | <i>huy=ki</i> middle=IN | Coyote and the World: 277 |
| <i>kipaw</i> | ‘back’ | <i>kipaw</i> back | Coyote and the World: 257 |
| <i>mik'al</i> | ‘around’ | <i>mik'al</i> around | Coyote and the World: 395, Origins: 6 |
| <i>nək'i:</i> | ‘near’ | <i>nək=k'i</i> near?/west=IN | Coyote and the World: 61 |
| <i>wək</i> | ‘after, later, closely’ | <i>wək</i> after/last | Coyote and the World: 182a |
| <i>wi:k'am</i> | ‘to the rear’ | <i>wik-am</i> back?=IN2 | Coyote and the World: 308 |
| <i>wil'iʔ</i> | ‘way up, way off’ | <i>wil=i</i> far?=IN | Coyote and the World: 103 |
| <i>ʔič</i> | ‘near’ (juxtapositive case) | <i>ʔič</i> JXT | Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:147 |

Table 18: Yuki deictics

(105) and (106) show examples of some of the deictics in Table 18. An example of *wilʔiʔ* ‘way up, way off’ is shown in (98) and an example of *wąk* ‘after’ is shown in (99)

(105) Coyote and the World: 103, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>sąʔey</i> | <i>wilʔiʔ</i> | <i>lákti</i> | <i>tąšil</i> | <i>holiyammil.</i> |
| <i>są=ʔi</i> | <i>wil=ʔiʔ</i> | <i>lak-t</i> | <i>tąšil</i> | <i>hol-m=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | way.up/off=IN | leave-INTR | quiver | shake.at-IMPV=FIN |

‘and escaping to a distance shook his quiver at them’

(106) Coyote and the World: 182a, RM

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>namlík</i> | <i>ʔéy</i> | <i>wąk</i> | <i>nąwéti</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>pąk</i> | <i>pąpʔiyakmil</i> |
| <i>namlíki</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>wąk</i> | <i>nąw-t</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>pąk</i> | <i>pąpʔ-ąk=mil</i> |
| therefore | =HSY1 | after | see-INTR | =HSY1 | one | pop-SEM=FIN |

‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

4.8.2.1. *kipąw* ‘back’

Tables 19-21 show three deictics that are commonly found used as the base for forming new deictics. Table 19 shows the deictics formed from *kipąw* ‘back’. Also note that some deictics can also be used as verb roots, as illustrated by *kipąwyakmil* ‘got back’.

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>kipqaw</i> | 'back' | <i>kipqaw</i> back | Coyote and the World; 257 |
| <i>kipqawam</i> | 'back into' | <i>kipqaw-am</i> back=IN2 | Coyote and the World: 369 |
| <i>kipqawiyit</i> | 'back toward' | <i>kipqaw=it</i> back=JXT | Coyote and the World: 70 |
| <i>kipqawki</i> | 'back toward' | <i>kipqawk=ki</i> back=IN | Coyote and the World: 316 |
| <i>kipqawk'il</i> | 'back toward' | <i>kipqaw=k'il</i> back=TERM | Coyote and the World: 108, 319 |
| <i>kipqawop ~</i> <i>kipqawap</i> | 'back toward' | <i>kipqaw=op</i> back=LAT | Coyote and the World: 158, 252 |
| <i>kipqawyakmil</i> | 'got back' | <i>kipqaw-ak=mil</i> back-SEM=FIN | Coyote and the World: 185 |

Table 19: Deictics derived from *kipqaw* 'back'

(107) and (108) show examples of some of the deictics in Table 19. An example of *kipqaw* affixed with the lative case enclitic =*op* is shown in (100) and an example of *kipqaw* used as a verb is shown in (101).

(107) Coyote and the World: 158, RM

sq[?]ey ***kipqawwop*** *wi:tákmil* *ʔolkáčám*
sq=[?]i ***kipqaw=op*** *wit-qk=mil* *ʔolkáčam*
SAME=HSY1 **back=LAT** turn-PNCT=FIN Mouse

hąwayimóneti *t'únamlíkita*
hąway-mon-t *t'u=namli=kita*
food-steal-INTR pile.up=DEP=there

'and went **back to** where Mouse had piled the stolen food.'

(108) Coyote and the World: 185, RM

se'áy *kimás* *haye* 'á:tat *kipqwyakmil* *hulk'o'i*
si=i *kimas* *haye* 'atát *kipqw-qk=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 NEW?=HSY1 thus now people **back-SEM=FIN** Coyote

'So thus now Coyote **got back** his people.'

4.8.2.2. *wil* 'far'

Table 20 shows deictics formed from *wil* 'far'. *wil* 'far' is also used as a verb root¹²² in several of the examples given in Table 20.

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>wil'i?</i> , <i>wiley</i> | 'way up, way off, farther' | <i>wil'i?</i> far=IN | Coyote and the World: 103, 313 |
| <i>wil'am</i> | 'far over' | <i>wil'-am</i> far=IN2 | Coyote and the World: 80 |
| <i>wil(l)op</i> | 'off to a distance' | <i>wil=op</i> far=LAT | Coyote and the World: 148 |
| <i>wilipis</i> | 'from farther' | <i>wil=pis</i> far=ABL | Coyote and the World: 312 |
| <i>wil:lsiwí?</i> | 'went by' | <i>wil-s-wi</i> far-CONT-PST1 | Coyote and the World: 244 |
| <i>wil'iisk</i> | 'having gone a distance' | <i>wil-s=k</i> far-CONT=DECL | Coyote and the World: 355 |

Table 20: Deictics derived from *wil* 'far'

¹²² Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:299) also record a verb root *wil-* 'pass'.

(109) and (110) show examples of some of the deictics in Table 20. An example of *wil* affixed with the ablative case enclitic *=pis* is shown in (109) and an example of *wil* used as a verb is shown in (110).

(109) Coyote and the World: 312, RM

sikq'áy *hulk'ó'i* **wili:pis** *náwkil* *?ímeymil*

sikq=?i *hulk'o'i* **wil=pis** *náw-k-il* *?im=mil*

AGT>PAT=HSY1 Coyote **far=ABL** see-PNCT-MPSV say=FIN

‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Look from **farther**.”’

(110) Coyote and the World: 355, RM

soméy *kup* **wli'isk**

sq?=mi *kup* **wil-s=k**

SAME?=however sister's.son **far-CONT=DECL**

hán'am *kápsilpa*

han=am *kap-s-il-pa'*

house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“‘However, sister’s son, **having gone a distance**, you shall enter (your) house.”’

4.8.2.3. *wąk* ‘after, later’

Table 21 shows deictics formed from *wąk* ‘after, later’.

| Deictic | Meaning | Analysis | Source |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>wąk</i> | ‘after, later, closely’ | <i>wąk</i> after | Coyote and the World: 182a |
| <i>wąk’í</i> | ‘afterward’ | <i>wąk=k’i</i> after=IN | Coyote and the World: 65 |
| <i>wąkop</i> | ‘behind’ | <i>wąk=op</i> after=LAT | Coyote and the World: 81, 106 |

Table 21: Deictics derived from *wąk* ‘after, later’

(111) and (112) show examples of some of the deictics in Table 21. An example of *wąk* affixed with the inessive case enclitic =*k’i* is shown in (111) and an example of *wąk* affixed with the lative case enclitic =*op* is shown in (112).

(111) Coyote and the World: 65, RM

sikiṭéy ***wąk’í*** *ki* *hu’ú(tli)* *’ey ...*
si=kiṭ=’i ***wąk=k’i*** *ki* *hu’u(-tl)* =’i
 NEW=then=HSY1 **after=IN** DST finish(-TR) =HSY1

‘Then, **after** that ended ...’

(112) Coyote and the World: 106, RM

sikiṭéy ***wąk’op*** *čą:minká:pin* *kó:mil*
si=kiṭ=’i ***wąk=op*** *čaminkapin* *ko’=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 **after=LAT** Čaminkapin go=FIN

‘but Čaminkapin came behind.’

4.8.3. Riverine and Montane Deictics

Riverine deictic systems, used for telling direction according to the flow of water in a river or rivers, are common among California indigenous languages (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:15-16). Specifically riverine terms are not found in the texts, though Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:226) do record at least one riverine deictic *mulk'il* 'upstream'. However, at least two montane deictics, which are deictics oriented according to mountains, are also recorded *'umey* 'uphill' (CW:42) and *ku:twit* 'downhill' (MF) (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69). It may be that in the valley environment inhabited by the Yuki, mountains and general deictics, such as *kaṭa* 'here' and *kiṭa* 'there' were more important in terms of directions than referring to rivers. It also may be that some terms, which originally had riverine meanings, changed over time. As discussed in §4.8.4.1, Huchnom has riverine deictics. One of these deictics *kuhtɪ* 'downstream' is similar to Yuki *kuhtki* ~ *kutki* 'north'.

4.8.4. Deictics in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

4.8.4.1. Huchnom

Huchnom has some of the same deictics as in Yuki, such as *kaṭa* 'here (right here)', which is identical to Yuki *kaṭa* 'here', and some, such as *'umɪṭ* 'over there', which appear analogous to less commonly seen deictics, such as Yuki *'umey* 'uphill'. A selection of Huchnom deictics is given in (113) and (114).

(113) Lamb 1955:67, LJ

mehti[?] ‘up’

onk’e^s ‘down’ [Probably: *on* ‘earth’ + *-k’e*^s ‘inessive case’]

(114) Lamb 1955:72, LJ

kaṭa[?] ‘here (right here)’

ʔumɪ^t ‘over there’

ʔumit^θ *kəʔoya*: ‘he went **over there**’

One of the most interesting aspects of the Huchnom deictic system is the existence of riverine deictics. Riverine deictic systems orient directions according to position relative to the flow of water in a river or system of rivers. It is also characteristic of many of the languages of the area in which Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki were spoken (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:15-16).

A selection of Huchnom riverine deictics is shown in (115).

(115) Lamb 1955:66, LJ

kuhtikil[?] *mi*: *k’ε:sin*[?] ‘let’s swim **downstream**’

kuhti[?] *ayta*[?] ‘going **downstream**’

mal[?]*i*[?] ‘upstream’

The extent to which riverine deictics were used by Yuki speakers is unclear. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:226) record *mulk’il* ‘upstream’ (AA), but no corresponding term for ‘downstream’ is found. Instead *ku:twit* ‘downhill’ (MF) is

recorded (1984:69). It is striking how similar the Huchnom words for downstream *kuhti*[?] and *kuhtkil*[?] are to the Yuki words for *kuhtki* ~ *kutki* ‘north’ and *kut-* ‘start, begin’.

Kroeber notes that Maidu terms referring to cardinal directions may have originally been riverine, but under the influence of the Kuksu cult been transformed to a directional system relative to the sun. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:16) writes:

The cognate Maidu words [names for directions] are said to have the same meaning as our own. But it is possible that the Maidu have given a sun-determined meaning to original drainage terms under the ritualizing influence of the Kuksu cult. This may also be what happened among southern Wintun, Pomo, and Yuki, who constantly use words like “north,” while the central Wintun think in terms of waterflow. It has been customary among inquirers to assume that Pomo *yo* means “south” because a group consistently uses it for that direction; which, of course, is no proof. In any event, it is likely that exact south, when they knew a south, was determined for most California tribes by the prevailing direction of their streams as much as by the meridian of the sun.

Therefore it is possible that the Huchnom riverine meaning for *kuhti*[?] ‘downstream’ shows the original meaning of Yuki *kuhtki* ‘north’, as well.

4.8.4.2. Coast Yuki

The same proximal/distal distinction seen in the Yuki and Huchnom third person pronouns and demonstratives, is also seen in Coast Yuki, as shown in (116).

(116) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

ki ‘he, that one’ (distal)

ka ‘that one (here)’ (proximal)

(117) shows examples of Coast Yuki deictics in short clauses with *méhæ?* ~ *méhhæ?* ‘be’. *ʔómetʃ* ‘over there’ is cognate with Huchnom *ʔumɪɬ* ‘over there’ and probably also Yuki *ʔumey* ‘uphill’. *kʰáw* is the proximal demonstrative *ka*, written in Harrington’s transcription.

(117) Harrington 1942-1943:382, LP

ʔómetʃ méhæ? ‘he or it is **over there**’

kʰáw méhhæ? ‘**this here**, it is **here**’

Coast Yuki deictics can also be formed by affixing locative case endings to other deictics. In (118), *hóykʰæ* ‘in the middle’ is formed by attaching inessive *kʰæ* to *hóy* ‘middle’. The same form is found in Yuki as *huyki* ‘to the middle’.

(118) Harrington 1942-1943:383, LP

hóykʰæ ‘in the middle’

Further information on the Coast Yuki deictic system is not available. Therefore it is not known whether the Coast Yukis used any type of unique reference system, such as the riverine and montane deictics seen in Huchnom and Yuki.

4.9. Switch-Reference Markers

A system of clause-initial switch-reference markers is used in Yuki to track topic across clauses. The switch-reference markers are often encliticized with another morpheme, which notes information; such as the relative period of time events in the two clauses are occurring. In the texts the switch-reference marker and this coordinating enclitic, if present, are often followed by the hearsay evidential *ʔi*. This system is described in detail in Chapter 8.

In (119), Clause 23 begins with *se ~ si*, which is the switch-reference marker indicating a new topic. The topic in Clause 22 is Jackrabbit, but in Clause 23 the topic has changed. The new topic in Clause 23 *hulk'óʔi* 'Coyote' is not overtly stated until Clause 24. Clause 24 begins with *sq*, which is the switch-reference marker indicating that the topic of the current clause is the same as that in the previous clause. In other words, *sq* indicates that *hulk'óʔi* 'Coyote', the topic in Clause 24, is the same as the topic in Clause 23.

(119) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

seʔéy kaʔáʔapis ʔap yáʃhi kíʔáʔapis nąweta
si=ʔi kaʔa=pis ʔap yáʃ-h kíʔa=pis nąw-t-aʔ
NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

ʔey ʔimeymil lówpsi hulk'oʔa
=ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'oʔi=q
=HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

Coyote and the World: 23

seʔéy lówpsi yáʃnamlikí:kpis yáʃít kú:ta
si=ʔi lopsi yáʃ=namli=kik=pis yáʃ-t kuta
NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

nąwétmil.

nąw-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

Coyote and the World: 24

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>yq:hiʃti</i> | <i>nqʷimil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>yqh-s-t</i> | <i>nqʷ=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | fire | blaze-CONT-INTR | see=FIN | Coyote |

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

(120) shows the use of one of the coordinating enclitics =*kiṭ* ‘then’. This enclitic is added to the switch-reference marker and indicates that the events in the =*kiṭ* marked clause occur after the events in the previous clause. In the three clauses in (116) the latter two clauses are marked with =*kiṭ*. In Clause 298, he sat, then in Clause 299, after he sat, the women all went to gather clover, then in Clause 300, after the women went to gather clover, the men went to hunt deer.

(120) Coyote and the World: 298, RM

si'áy *šúmil*

si=?i *šu?=mil*

NEW=HSY1 sit=FIN

‘And he sat.’

Coyote and the World: 299

sikiṭey *mú:s* *si'* *lí:tinmil* *hi:li*

si=kiṭ=?i *mus* *si'* *lit-n=mil* *hil-i*

NEW=then=HSY1 woman.PL clover gather-AND=FIN all-ANIM

‘Then the women all went to gather clover’,

Coyote and the World: 300

sikiṭey *?iwis* *mil* *hut'óp:pinmil*

si=kiṭ=?i *?iwis* *mil* *hut'op-n=mil*

NEW=then=HSY1 man.PL deer hunt-AND=FIN

‘and the men to hunt deer’,

4.10. Connectives

In this section the connectives *nq* ‘and’ and *han* ‘but’ are described.

4.10.1. =*nq* ~ =*na* ‘and’

=*nq* ‘and’ is a conjunction that connects nouns with other nouns and attaches to the end of each noun phrase being connected. In (121), =*nq* follows *hulk’o’i* ‘Coyote’ and *kípat* ‘a:ṭát’ ‘his people’.

(121) Coyote and the World: 178, RM

sikiṭéy *haye* *hó:ṭ* *ʔiwilhántilkop*

si=kiṭ=ʔi *haye* *hoṭ* *ʔiwilhan-ṭ-il=kop*

NEW-there=HSY1 again big ceremonial.house-INTR-MPSV=while

noʔnamlikíṭa *ʔey* *háye* *wí:tmahilmil* *hulk’o’i* *nq*

noʔ=namli=kiṭa =ʔi *haye* *wit-mq-h-il=mil* *hulk’o’i* =*nq*

live=DEP=there =HSY1 again return-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN Coyote =and

kípat *ʔa:ṭát* *na*

kipat *ʔaṭat* =*nq*

3R.DAT people =and

‘Thereupon Coyote and his men returned to where they lived at their great ceremonial house.’

=*nq* following the final noun in a sequence can sometimes be omitted. In (122), Kroeber writes =*nq* in parentheses following the final noun *milontítam* ‘elk’, suggesting it can be omitted.

(122) Coyote and the World: 415, RM

skiṭ ʔ*an* *t’úliš* *nq* *kąki* *nq* *pú:lam*

si=kiṭ ʔ*an* *t’ulíš* =*nq* *kąki* =*nq* *pulam*

NEW=then always valley.quail =and mountain.quail =and cottontail

nq *ṭí:ṭit* *nq* *kú:čmol* *nq* ʔ*itú:kam* *nq* *nq:tam*

=*nq* *ṭitit* =*nq* *kučmol* =*nq* ʔ*itukam* =*nq* *nqtam*

=and robin =and meadowlark =and grouse =and gray.squirrel

šišan *nq* *wąšít* *nq* *milontítam* (*nq*) *kimási*

šišan =*nq* *wąšít* =*nq* *milontitam* (=*nq*) *ki-mas-i*

ground.squirrel =and bear =and elk (=and) DST-DSTR-ANIM

mo:s ʔ*awhámi* *mí:pa* ʔ*a:ṭátat* ʔ*ey*

mo’os ʔ*awhami* *mih-pa’* ʔ*aṭat=ṭat* =*’i*

2PL.AGT animal be-FUT people=DAT =HSY1

?imeymil hulk'ó'i

?im=mil hulk'o'i

say=FIN Coyote

“And always quail and mountain quail and cottontail rabbit and robin and meadowlark and grouse and squirrel and ground squirrel and bear and elk, you shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

4.10.2. =han ‘but, even’

=han is translated with the meaning ‘but’ and on one occasion with the meaning ‘even’. Examples of =han are shown in (123) and (124). =han is also discussed in §9.12.

(123) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

... mihtan ?i: yqwmil ho:t nó:p han ?qp kó:mil ...

mih-tan ?i yqw=mil ho:t no?=op? =han ?qp ko?=mil

be-NEG 1SG.PAT name=FIN big live-while? but 1SG.AGT go=FIN

‘... There is no one I name, but I come where many live ...’

(124) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

sq?ey k'qyimilmil hó:t ?íwupa han hilk

sq=?i k'qy-mil=mil ho:t ?iwop=q =han hilk

SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN big man=PAT? even all/something?

hąkó:čmi ...

hąkoč-mi

bad-be?

‘And he talked: “Since even a great man may have something go badly with him...’

4.11. Other Minor Words

In the section the Yuki words *šilo* ‘like’ and *k’ol* ‘other’ are described, as well as, the Yuki words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’.

4.11.1. *šilo* ‘like’

šilo ‘like’ is a common word, which also appears as part of *hilkšilo* ‘everything’¹²³ and *halšilo* ‘differently’. It is unclear whether *šilo* is an independent word, clitic, or both. On verbs *šilo* acts as an evidential with a meaning of ‘it seems like’ or ‘it appears like’.¹²⁴

(125) - (127), are examples *šilo* ‘like’ following nouns.

¹²³ Literally: ‘like all.’

¹²⁴ See §7.4.4.4 for a discussion of *šilo* as an evidential.

(125) Coyote and the World: 412b, RM

namlikí *ʔey* *ká* *ʔa:ʔáta* *sq:ʔ'inat* *mípat* *šilóʔ*

namliki =ʔi *ka* *ʔaʔat=q* *sqʔ'in=qʔ* *mipat* *šiloʔ*

therefore =HSY1 PRX people=PAT Lizard=DAT hand like

ʔatmil *ʔa:ʔáta*

ʔa-t=mil *ʔaʔat=q*

pull/put?=FIN people=PAT

‘that is why these humans have on **hands like Lizard’s.**’

(126) Origins: 15, RM

seʔey *háye* *ki:* *miʔak'un'* *k'qkmí:li* *ʔey*

si=ʔi *haye* *ki* *miʔat-k'un'* *k'qk-mq-il* =ʔi

NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.INCL.DAT-father create-DIR1?-MPSV? =HSY1

ki *č'oʔokšilóʔ* *ʔú:k'op* *mik'al* *ta'óhamwički:*

kiʔ *č'oʔok=šiloʔ* *ʔuk'=op* *mik'al* *ta'o-h-m-wiʔ=ki*

DST **down.feather=like** water=LAT around float-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST

ʔey *k'i* *hí:ʔmil.*

=ʔi *kiʔ* *hiʔ=mil*

=HSY1 DST stop=FIN

‘Now that our father was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water **like a down-feather** stopped moving.’

(127) Origins: 76b, RM

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>lilšiloʔ</i> | <i>pá:t'wá</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔu:k'ít</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>lil=šiloʔ</i> | <i>pat'-wa</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔuk'=it</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | stone=like | flat-wide? | =HSY1 | water=JXT |
| <i>namtlikí:</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ku:ʔtkí</i> | <i>lawótlmil.</i> | |
| <i>nam-tl=kiʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>kuhtki</i> | <i>lawo-tl=mil</i> | |
| lay-TR=DST | =HSY1 | north | fasten-TR=FIN | |

‘Now where he would make the shore (water-edge), right there as far as the water would extend, placing something flat and **stone-like**, he fastened it in the north.’

4.11.2. *k'ol* ‘other’

k'ol ‘other’ is another common word, also appears in a number of other derived forms. In (128), *k'ol* is seen in all three of these roles. It acts as an adjective in *k'olá:ʔat* ‘other peoples’, as an adverb in *kimáse k'ól' yú:yampa:mikí:* ‘who ever would do differently’, and is affixed with the place nominalizer =*čam* in *k'olčam* ‘elsewhere’.

(128) Origins: 165, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|----------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sáʔéy</i> | <i>ki:</i> | <i>huʔú:tl(i)kít</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>k'olá:ʔat</i> | <i>kú:xtkiwit</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>huʔu-tl=kiʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>k'ol=ʔaʔat</i> | <i>kuhtki=wit</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | DST | finish-TR=then | =HSY1 | other=people | north=ALL |

náʔ k'ólčam ʔan kí:wit ná kumnóm'qt'amwit
 =nq k'ol=čam ʔan ki=wit =nq kumnom'=qt=am=wit
 =and other=PNOML long.time DST=ALL =and Kumnom'=DAT=?=ALL

ʔa:tát ʔán kimási yu:yampa:mikí: ʔey wa
 ʔatát ʔan ki-mas-i yuy'-m-paʔ=miki =ʔi wa
 people all? DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=PURP =HSY1 everywhere

háye k'qk'ésimil; kúm'nóm' mi:pa:mikí: ʔey
 haye k'qk-s=mil kumnom' mih-paʔ=miki =ʔi
 now make-CAUS=FIN Kumnom' be-FUT=PURP =HSY1

ki: k'qk'ésimil ʔan kimáse k'ól'
 kiʔ k'qk-s=mil ʔan ki-mas-i k'ol
 DST make-CAUS=FIN ever/always DST-DSTR-ANIM other

yú:yampa:mikí:.

yuy'-m-paʔ=miki

do-IMPV-FUT=PURP

'And when this was finished, then he made come into **existence other peoples** toward the north and **elsewhere** about and toward the region of the Kumnom' and how they would act; he made the Kumnom' **who ever would act differently.**'

Table 22 shows *k'ol* 'other' in other words.

| Yuki | English | Example |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>k'olk'il</i> | 'elsewhere, in another direction' | Coyote and the World 31, 78 |
| <i>k'olki</i> | 'elsewhere' | Origins 137 |
| <i>k'olam</i> | 'aside, separately' | Coyote and the World 56, 177 |
| <i>k'olčam</i> | 'other places' | Origins 165 |
| <i>k'olki?a</i> | 'other one=PAT' | Coyote and the World 215 |
| <i>k'olop</i> | 'behind' | Coyote and the World 238 |
| <i>?onk'olam</i> | 'east (another land)' | Coyote and the World 273 |
| <i>k'ol-</i> | 'die' (possible connection) | Origins 149 |

Table 22: Words containing *k'ol* 'other'

4.11.3. ?q ‘yes’, tɔlk ‘no’

The Yuki words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ occur in the texts as ?q ‘yes’ and tɔlk ‘no’. tɔlk is the negative verb tɔl- affixed with the declarative mood suffix -k. (129) and (130) show examples of ?q and tɔlk.

(129) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>seʔey</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>kʔóʔil</i> | <i>kiwismil</i> | <i>wóktl</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>kʔoʔil</i> | <i>kiw-s=mil</i> | <i>wok-tl</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | again | Wailaki | ask-CAUS=FIN | sing/dance-TR |

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>ʔúsa</i> | <i>nqwésaʔ</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> |
| <i>ʔusa</i> | <i>nqw-s-aʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL.PAT | see-CAUS-IMP | =HSY1 | say=FIN |

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>kʔóʔil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔa</i> |
| <i>kʔoʔil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i> |
| Wailaki | Coyote=PAT |

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

Coyote and the World: 128

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>seʔey</i> | <i>ʔq</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulkʔói</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔq</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | yes | say=FIN | Coyote |

And he said, “Yes”,

(130) Coyote and the World: 55, RM

sikaqéy ?a:ɬát **tɬlk** panóp miʔ mik'ál sika

sikaq=?i ?aɬat **tɬlk** panop miʔ mik'al sika

AGT>PAT?=HSY1 people **no** close/near? 2SG.AGT? around AGT>PAT

mis ?amílláwxk' ?ey

mis ?amil-k-il-law=k =?i

2SG.PAT overtake-PNCT-MPSV-PRM=DECL =HSY1

?i:mqlilmil ?a:ɬát.

?im-mq-l-il=mil ?aɬat

say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people

'Then, "**No**, he will overtake you (as you) circle close by", said the people to one another.'

5. Noun Morphology

This chapter describes the morphology of nouns. The discussion begins with an overview of the major characteristics of Yuki noun morphology and a description of the Yuki system of argument structure, which is important for understanding noun and pronoun morphology. The remainder of the chapter is divided into sections on core and oblique cases and derivational morphology. At the end of this section a comparison is made between Yuki noun morphology and that of languages with which Yuki speakers have historically been in contact.

5.1. Overview

Yuki nouns are root-initial and with the exception of the body prefixes discussed in §2.2.1.1, all inflectional and derivational noun morphology takes the form of suffixes or enclitics. The boundaries between morphemes are fairly transparent phonologically, though some assimilation and metathesis is seen at these boundaries.

With the exception of a few nouns marked for number, the only inflectional category marked on Yuki nouns is core case. Yuki derivational morphology is composed mostly of locative cases, an instrumental case, a diminutive, two types of nominalizers, and an enclitic *=k'ič* 'only'.

Yuki nouns fall into two general classes: human and non-human. Human nouns are human beings and also personified non-humans. Thus the mythological

characters encountered in the texts are not necessarily human, but are treated as human nouns morphologically, because they act like humans.

A distinction between human and non-human nouns as separate classes of nouns is made on the basis of overt marking for core cases. Human nouns acting as grammatical patients are marked for patient case, and oblique case endings are attached to the dative form of human nouns. Non-human nouns acting as grammatical patients are not marked for patient case, with oblique case endings attaching directly to the noun root of non-human nouns. In certain instances non-human animates acting as grammatical patients will be marked for patient case. This is seen for specific groups of animate nouns that are either highly affected by the action of the verb or significant to a particular portion of narrative. It is unclear which of these two possibilities is the determining factor. In the texts, non-human animates are frequently marked for patient case when addressed, which may suggest that the deciding factor in patient case marking of non-humans is whether they are seen as specific individuals or not.

Kinship nouns form a separate sub-class within human nouns. These nouns are not treated differently in terms of argument marking, but they do have unique possessive morphology. When they are possessed by a pronominal referent, a series of possessive prefixes is used that are different from those used for other nouns. Sawyer and Schlicther (1984) classify these prefixes as markers of inalienable

possession. Kinship nouns often appear with a possessor, but they can also appear without a possessor, just like all other Yuki nouns.

Number is distinguished for only a tiny handful of human nouns.

Table 23 provides an overview of Yuki noun morphology.

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--|
| Core Cases | Agent: $-\emptyset$ | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Noun case used for grammatical agents. |
| | Patient: $=q \sim =a$ | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Noun case used for grammatical patients. Often used for argument of verbs describing bodily functions, mental state, emotions, and for arguments of predicate adjective clauses. Used to mark the recipient in three-argument clauses. Overtly marked only for human referents or personified non-humans, such as mythological beings. On rare occasions also found on some non-human animates, such as animals, possibly because these referents are highly affected by an action or because they are a particular group of non-human animates. |
| | Dative: $=qt \sim =at$ | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to mark the affected person in three-argument clauses. Used as the base for forming oblique forms of human nouns. Used as a possessive ending for nouns. Dative pronouns are also used as possessive forms, except in first person singular, where the possessive pronoun <i>?itin</i> differs from the dative pronoun <i>?it</i>. |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Oblique Cases | Inessive: =k'i ~ =k ~ =i | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in, at, on, into. |
| | Second Inessive: =am | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A locative case meaning 'in' or 'into'. Also found in some deictics such as <i>kim</i> 'over there', <i>həhinam</i> 'underneath'. |
| | Locative: -kot | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rare locative used to express the meanings 'in' or 'at'. |
| | Subessive: =han, =həhin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'under', possibly also 'within'. |
| | Lative: =op ~ =ap ~ =ap | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> on, in, at, through. |
| | Allative: =wit | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to, toward. Indicates motion toward landmarks or general directions. |
| | Terminative: =k'il | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to, toward. Indicates motion toward individuals and smaller, more well-defined locations (e.g. <i>han</i> 'house' instead of <i>kuhtki</i> 'north'). May also be used to indicate motion to an endpoint with the implication that movement ends at that point. |
| | Ablative: =pis | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> from, out of, away from. |
| | Juxtapositive: =it ~ =iṭ ~ =ič | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> near, on the edge of. |
| | 'around': =mik'al | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> around. May be an independent word. |
| | Instrumental: -ok | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with (as in 'with an ax'), by (as in 'scorched by fire') Seems to only occur with inanimate nouns. |
| Derivational Morphology | Place Nominalizer: =čam | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used with adjectives, numerals, verbs, noun phrases. Expresses the meaning 'location or referent near X'. |
| | Diminutive, etc.: -ič | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> More than a diminutive, also found in words with a collective, |

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| | | distributive, or plural meaning. |
| | 'diminutive; part of': - ² V-, -hV- | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to create diminutive forms, but also to derive new nouns with meanings usually related to the original noun. One of the few examples of reduplication found in Yuki. |
| | 'only': =kič | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An enclitic meaning 'only'. |
| Verbalization | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nouns are verbalized through the addition of verb morphology to the noun root. |

Table 23: Overview of Yuki Noun Morphology

5.2. Argument Structure

In this section, Yuki argument¹²⁵ categories are discussed. The points below summarize the Yuki argument categorization system.

1. The morphology distinguishes three types of Yuki verb arguments: grammatical agents, grammatical patients, and datives.
2. The argument of a single argument clause can be a grammatical agent, grammatical patient, or dative argument.
3. The arguments of a two-argument clause can be a grammatical agent and a grammatical patient or a grammatical patient and a dative argument.

¹²⁵ Payne (1997:170) states that “a syntactic argument of a verb is a nominal element (including possibly zero, if this is a referential device in the language) that bears grammatical relation to the verb.

4. In three-argument clauses the grammatical patient is the recipient of the action of the verb.
5. Grammatical agents and patients can be categorized at times according to their degree of control and affectedness. Grammatical agents tend to be voluntary instigators with a high degree of control. Grammatical patients tend to have a low degree of control and high degree of affectedness (Mithun 2008).
6. Verbs expressing actions associated with bodily functions, mental processes, or emotions tend to have grammatical patient arguments (Mithun 2008).
7. Typically only nouns referring to humans or to personified non-humans are overtly marked as grammatical patients or datives (Mithun 2008).

5.2.1. Grammatical Agents, Grammatical Patients, Datives

In terms of argument structure, Yuki is an agent/patient language. While the case of arguments is for the most part a lexicalized feature of verbs, Yuki argument categories do exhibit some unifying characteristics. Semantic role and degree of affectedness are the most salient factors in characterizing grammatical agents, grammatical patients, and datives in Yuki. Morphologically, these three types of arguments are distinguished by unique agent, patient, and dative pronouns for pronominal arguments. For noun arguments, grammatical agents are unmarked,

while grammatical patients, when marked, are marked with the enclitic =*q*, and datives, when marked, are marked with the enclitic =*qt*.

5.2.1.1. Semantic Role

In terms of semantic role, grammatical agents are actors or performers of actions. Grammatical patients are the most versatile argument category and can act as performers, experiencers, or recipients of actions. Datives are usually found in the role of experiencers or beneficiaries of actions. Very rarely datives act as actors or performers of actions.

Grammatical agents are found only in one type of semantic role, that of actor or performer. In (1), the grammatical agent *ʔus* ‘we’ is the argument of *wáʔokʔiʂmil* ‘dance’. In (2), the grammatical agent *hulkʔóʔi* ‘Coyote’ is the argument of *nqwímil* ‘saw’.

(1) Feather Dance Narrative: 22 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>šq:kčʔam</i> | <i>pqwi</i> | <i>wi:t</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wáʔokʔiʂmil</i> . |
| <i>šqkčʔam</i> | <i>pqwi</i> | <i>wi:t</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wok-s=mil</i> |
| sometimes | one | week | 1PL.EXCL.AGT | dance-CONT=FIN |

‘...sometimes **we** dance one week.’

(2) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sqʔey *yim* *yq:hišti* *nqwmil* *hulkʔoʔi*
sq=ʔi *yim* *yqh-s-t* *nqw=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN **Coyote**

‘And **Coyote** saw the fire blazing up.’

Grammatical patients typically are the affected argument of actions with specific types of verbs, usually referring to bodily functions, mental processes or emotions. The single arguments of predicate adjective clauses are also grammatical patients. An example of a grammatical patient acting as a performer is shown in (3), where *hulkʔoʔá* ‘Coyote=PAT’ is the argument of *hqltmil* ‘heard’. An example of a grammatical patient as the single argument in a predicate adjective clause is shown in (4).

(3) Coyote and the World: 8, RM

seʔey *hulkʔoʔá* *hqltmil.*
si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hql-t=mil*
NEW=HSY1 **Coyote=PAT** hear-INTR=FIN

‘And **Coyote** heard.’

(4) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

?i: hoč'k

?i hot=k

1SG.PAT big=DECL

'I am big.'

In (5), the grammatical patient *hášmó:la* 'morning star=PAT' is the affected argument, as it is being carried by the grammatical agent *hulk'ó'i* 'Coyote'.

(5) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sákiṭey hášmó:la pilqṭa:tk'il ha:tí:li

sq=kiṭ=?i hašmol=q pilqṭ=qt=k'il ha?-t-il

SAME=then=HSY1 **morning.star=PAT** sun=DAT=TERM carry-INTR-MPSV

kó:t(e)mil hulk'ó'i

ko?-t=mil hulk'o'i

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote went carrying the **morning star** toward the sun;'

In three-argument clauses, grammatical patients act as recipients. If overtly stated, the affected argument is marked with dative case. In (6), the grammatical patient *taykómola* 'to Taykómol' is acting as a recipient. Taykómol is a personified mythological character.

(6) Origins: 67, RM

sqʔey *ʔú:t(e)mil* *taykómola.*

sqʔ-ʔi *ʔut=mil* *taykomol=q*

SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT

‘and gave it to Taykómol.’

In (7), the grammatical patient *hulk’o’á* ‘to Coyote’ is the recipient of the action of the verb *ʔú:t’mil* ‘handed’. The affected argument of the action is the non-human inanimate *t’úy* ‘pitch’ and is not overtly marked for case.

(7) Origins: 65, RM

sqʔey *ʔú:t’mil* *t’úy* *hulk’o’á.*

sq-ʔi *ʔut’=mil* *t’uy* *hulk’o’i=q*

HSY1=SAME give=FIN pitch Coyote=PAT

‘and handed the pitch to Coyote.’

In (8), the grammatical patient *ʔa:táta* ‘people’ is the recipient of *ʔátlmil* ‘put’, while dative-marked *sq:t’ínat mipátat* ‘Lizard’s hands’ is the affected argument. In this example *mipat* ‘hand(s)’ is overtly marked for dative case, due to the fact that it is associated with a personified non-human *sq:t’ín* ‘Lizard’.

(8) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

sqʔéy sq:tʔínat mipátat kimás ʔey háye

sq=ʔi sqtʔin=qt mipat=qt ki-mas =ʔi hqye

SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:táta

ʔa-tl=mil ʔat=q

pull/put?-TR=FIN people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

5.2.1.2. Degree of Affectedness and Control

In terms of degree of affectedness and control, grammatical agents tend to be voluntary instigators with a high degree of control and low degree of affectedness. Grammatical patients tend to have a low degree of control and high degree of affectedness. Affectedness and control cannot be used as absolute metrics for determining whether an argument will be a grammatical agent or patient. Argument type is most likely a lexicalized characteristic of verbs.

In (9) and (10), the arguments of the verbs in both clauses are grammatical agents and are voluntary instigators of the actions expressed by the verb. In (9), the argument of *kʔayimilpa* ‘will speak’ is the first person agent pronoun *ʔap*. In (10), the

argument of *wáʔokʔiʃmil* ‘dance’ is the first person plural exclusive agent pronoun *ʔús*.

(9) Origins: 132b, RM

yú:kin ʔap ka kʔayyemikí: kʔayimilpa.
yukin ʔap ka kʔay=miki kʔay-mil-paʔ
 Yuki **1SG.AGT** PRX talk=PURP talk-?-FUT
 ‘the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking’

(10) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

šq:kčʔam ʔús ʔopi nák šq:kčʔam molmi nák
šqkčʔam ʔus ʔopi nak šqkčʔam molmi nak
 sometimes **1PL.EXCL.AGT** two night sometimes three nights

šq:kčʔam pąwi wí:ʔ ʔus wáʔokʔiʃmil.
šqkčʔam pąwi wiʔ ʔus wok-s=mil
 sometimes one week **1PL.EXCL.AGT** dance-CONT=FIN
 ‘Sometimes **we** dance 2 nights, sometimes 3 nights, sometimes one week.’

Human arguments of clauses describing bodily functions, mental processes, or actions associated with the senses are usually grammatical patients. The verbs in (11) - (13) refer to hearing, thinking, and the expression of emotion. In (11), the hearer is the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi*. In (12), the knower is the patient case form of *hulkʔoʔi* ‘Coyote’. In (13), the argument of *hąwáti* ‘is glad’ is also *hulkʔoʔq* ‘Coyote=PAT’. The non-human argument *ʔon* ‘earth’ is unmarked for case.

(11) Coyote and the World: 18, RM

kí hq̄le ʔi kúp hq̄lamuʔ ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
ki =hq̄l ʔi kup hq̄l-m-wi ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi
DST =INFR1 1SG.PAT sister's.son hear-IMPV-PST1 say=FIN Coyote

“That it seems is what, sister’s son, I **just heard**”, said Coyote.’

(12) Coyote and the World:110, RM

sonʔéy ná:nákmil hulk'óʔa káyit
son=ʔi nq̄nak=mil hulk'óʔi=q̄ kq̄yit
therefore=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

ʔinámtnamlíka

ʔinam-t=namlí=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX

‘but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).’

(13) Origins: 73, RM

seʔéy hulk'óʔq̄ kip ʔon hq̄wáti kímilmil hulk'óʔi.
si=ʔi hulk'óʔi=q̄ kip ʔon hq̄wa-t ki-mil=mil hulk'óʔi
NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth glad-INTR say-?=FIN Coyote

‘Then “Coyote himself **is glad** about the earth”, Coyote said to him.’

In (14), the grammatical agent *mó:š* ‘2PL.AGT’ is performing the action of whipping and putting out the grammatical patient *ʔanwí:sq̄* ‘orphan’. The

grammatical agent *mó:š* is in control of these actions, while the grammatical patient *ʔanwí:sq* is not at all in control of being whipped or put out and is only affected by these actions. In (15), the grammatical agent *ʔap* ‘1SG.AGT’ is performing the action of showing something to the grammatical patient *móší:yq* ‘2PL=PAT’. *ʔap* ‘1SG.AGT’ is marked as having a higher degree of control rather than *móší:yq* ‘2PL=PAT’, because *ʔap* is performing the action of showing, while *móší:yq* has no control over this action.

(14) Coyote and the World: 9 (excerpt), RM

... *ʔanwí:sq* *mó:š* *nqwíli* *lákšiwíčkiʔ* ...

ʔanwisa=q *moʔos* *nqwil* *lákšiwíčkiʔ*

orphan=PAT **2PL.AGT** whip put.out-CAUS-PST2=DST

‘**the orphan** whom **you** whipped and put out’

(15) The Thunder Twins¹²⁶: 136 (excerpt), RM

ʔáp *móší:yq* *wátimik*

ʔap *moʔos=q* *wat-m=k*

1SG.AGT **2PL=PAT** show-IMPV=DECL

‘I will show **you (pl.)**.’

¹²⁶ *The Thunder Twins* does not appear in the collection of Yuki texts in Appendix 8. It is found in Kroeber 1901/1903.

5.2.2. Modulating Affectedness

For some verbs it appears that speakers can choose between grammatical agent or patient forms to modulate the degree of affectedness in order to express related meanings of the same verb root. For example, in (16), when *hql-* is used with a grammatical agent argument *hi:li?* ‘all of them’ it has the meaning ‘listen’.¹²⁷

(16) Coyote and the World: 10, RM

se?éy *hi:li?* *hákilmil.*
si=?i *hil-i* *hql?-k-il=mil*

NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM hear-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘So all listened.’

In (17) and (18), when *hql-* ‘hear’ is used with a grammatical patient argument *hulk’o?á* ‘Coyote=PAT’ it has the meaning ‘hear’ or ‘understand’. The difference in meaning between these two clauses presumably arises from differences in verb morphology.

¹²⁷ *hi:li?* ‘all of them’ is marked for grammatical agent or grammatical patient forms when used as a pronominal argument. An example of the patient form *hi:la* ‘all of them=PAT’ appears in CW:132b.

(17) Coyote and the World: 8, RM

seʔéy *hulkʔoʔá* *hǎltmil.*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hǎl-t=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-INTR=FIN

‘And Coyote heard.’

(18) Coyote and the World: 120, RM

seʔéy *hulkʔoʔá* *hǎlammil*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hǎl-m=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-IMPV=FIN

‘And Coyote understood them,’

5.2.3. Overt Marking of Agent and Patient for Pronouns

Agent and patient forms of first and second pronouns are fairly common in the texts. Examples are given in (19) and (20).

(19) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM

...ʔǎp *kup* *míş* *nóʔwinmawi* *ʔey*

ʔǎp *kup* *mis* *naw-n-mǎ-wi* *=ʔi*

1SG.AGT sister’s.son **2SG.PAT** see-AND-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1

?imeymil hulk'ó'i

?im=mil hulk'o'i

say=FIN Coyote

“... I came to see **you**, sister's son”, said Coyote.’

(20) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

se'ey háye hiwák mo:ší:yat ?úsa

si=?i háye hiwák mo'osiyat ?usa

NEW=HSY1 again in.turn 2PL.AGT.DAT 1PL.EXCL.PAT

wok náwi hámek ?ey ?imeymil hulk'o'i k'ó'ola

wok nąw ham=k =?i ?im=mil hulk'o'i k'o'ol=q

dance see want=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki=PAT

“Now in turn **we** want to see your dance”, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

Yuki third person pronouns are identical to distal demonstratives. In (21), the singular patient form *ki'a* is shown in an elicited example.

(21) Siniard 1967b:11, MF

ki'a po'o:wik

ki=q po'=wik

DST=PAT burn=PST2?

‘he burned (himself)’

In (22), the singular patient form *kiʔá* is shown functioning as a demonstrative in *kiʔá hulkʔóʔa* ‘that Coyote’.

(22) Origins: 74 (excerpt), RM

sikiṭey háye ki: ʔúʔukpis lakmiki: ʔéy háye

si=kiṭ=ʔi háye ki ʔuʔuk=pis lak=miki =ʔi háye

NEW=then=HSY1 now DST water=ABL leave=PURP =HSY1 now

kiʔá hulkʔóʔq nąkʔóhisimil ...

ki=q hulkʔoʔi=q nąkʔoh-s=mil

DST=PAT Coyote=PAT teach-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon, having come out of the water, (Taykómol) taught [that] Coyote’

In (23) and (24), the distributive plural patient demonstrative *kimasa ~ kimaša* is found in *kimáša músʔaʔ* ‘those women’ and in *kimasa ʔópi* ‘them both’.

(23) Coyote and the World: 197 (excerpt), RM

...ʔímeymil hulkʔóʔi kimáša músʔaʔ

ʔim=mil hulkʔoʔi ki-mas=q mus=q

say=FIN Coyote DST-DSTR=PAT woman.PL=PAT

‘...Coyote said to these [those?] women.’

(24) Coyote and the World: 356, RM

...ʔimeymil *kimasa* ʔópi nakahik
ʔim=mil *ki-mas=q* ʔopi nak'oh=k
say=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL
‘...he said, teaching **them both**.’

Third person patient pronouns are also found encliticized to the dependent clause marker =namli ¹²⁸. In (25), the distributive plural patient pronoun *kimasa* occurs as part of *míhnámlíkimáša* ‘those who had been’.

(25) Coyote and the World: 413a, RM

sąkítęy háye huʔ ʔa:tát *míhnámlíkimáša*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi háye huʔ ʔa:at *mih=namli=ki-mas=q*
SAME=then=HSY1 now before people **be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT**

ʔey ʔawhám k'ąk'ésimil
=ʔi ʔawham k'ąk'-s=mil
=HSY1 animal make-CAUS=FIN

‘Thereupon he made **those who had** first **been** people to become animals;’

¹²⁸ See §9.10 for discussion of this use.

5.2.4. Overt Marking of Agent and Patient for Nouns

For nouns, the agent case is unmarked and the patient case is typically marked only when a noun refers to a human or to a personified non-human, such as a mythological character. In (26), Coyote is naming the individuals who will be fighting the Wailaki. The three individuals named by Coyote that are marked as grammatical patients are two individuals named *t'uyna'ákina* 'T'uyna'ákin' and *šiwkí:ṭinaq* 'Šiwkítin'¹²⁹ and a personified non-human *'olkáčma* 'Mouse'. The Wailaki *k'ó'ola* are also marked as grammatical patients. The Wailaki will be those affected by the injury that the other three characters in this passage intend to inflict.

(26) Coyote and the World: 113, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>sq'éy</i> | <i>t'uyna'ákina</i> | <i>nq</i> | <i>šiwkí:ṭinaq</i> | <i>'eyy</i> |
| <i>sq=?i</i> | <i>t'uyna'akin=q</i> | <i>=nq</i> | <i>šiwkiṭin=q</i> | <i>=?i</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | T'uyna'ákin=PAT | =and | Šiwkítin=PAT | =HSY1 |

yáwweymil

yq̄w=mil

name=FIN

'And [Coyote] named T'uyna'ákin and Šiwkítin.'

¹²⁹ It is unclear whether *šiwkí:ṭinaq* is marked for patient case or if this name ends in the conjunction *=nq* 'and.'

Coyote and the World: 114

sqópey *ʔolkqčma* *yqweymil* *kimáše*

sq=kop=?i *ʔolkqčam=q* *yqw=mil* *ki-mas-i*

SAME=then=HSY1 **Mouse=PAT** name=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

k'ó'ola *haykiyúniakpá:miki:* *kimáša.*

k'o'ol=q *haykiyu-n-qk-pa'=miki* *ki-mas=q*

Wailaki=PAT do.injury?-AND-SEM-FUT=PURP DST-DSTR=PAT

‘Also he named **Mouse** (among) those who would do injury to **the Wailaki.**’

In (27), the kinship term *kup* ‘sister’s son’ is marked as a grammatical patient *kú:pa* ‘sister’s son=PAT’. *pilq̄t* ‘sun’ is a personified non-human in this story and therefore is overtly marked as the grammatical patient *pilq̄:ta* ‘sun=PAT’

(27) Coyote and the World: 283, RM

t'óktli *ʔap* *kipqwk'il* *kú:pa*

t'ok-tl *ʔap* *kipqw=k'il* *kup=q*

arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=TERM **sister's.son=PAT**

ʔap *nqwwinemqpa'* *hi:l* *kú:pa* *wačmiki:* *ʔiy*

ʔap *nqw-n-mq-pa'* *hil* *kup=q* *wač=miki* *=?i*

1SG.AGT see-AND-DIR1-FUT all **sister's.son=PAT** tell=PURP =HSY1

?imeymil hulk'ó'i pilq:tq

?im=mil hulk'o'i pilqt=q

say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

“having arrived there, I shall come to see you, **sister's son**, to tell you
[**sister's son**] everything”, Coyote said **to the sun**.’

In (28), ?atát ‘people’ is part of the grammatical patient argument kipat ?a:тата ‘his people=PAT’.

(28) Coyote and the World: 371 (excerpt), RM

?imeymil kipat ?a:тата hulk'ó'i

?im=mil kipat ?atát=q hulk'o'i

say=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT Coyote

‘... said Coyote **to his people**.’

Non-human or inanimate nouns usually occur without patient case marking even if these nouns are the more affected of two arguments in a two-argument clause. Thus *mil* ‘meat’, in (29) is not marked for patient case though it is the more affected argument in this clause.

(29) Coyote and the World: 210, RM

sikitáy kimási mú:s

si=kit=?i ki-mas-i mus

NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM woman.PL

mil *hqwáyisammil*

mil *hqwáy-s-m=mil*

meat eat-CONT?-IMPFV=FIN

‘And those women were eating **the meat**.’

Similarly, in (30), *hulk’ó’i* ‘Coyote’ sees *yím* ‘fire’ blazing up, however *yím* is treated as a non-human entity and is not marked for patient case.

(30) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sq’ey *yím* *yq:híšti* *nqwímil* *hulk’ó’i*

sq=’i *yim* *yqh-s-t* *nqw=mil* *hulk’o’i*

SAME=HSY1 **fire** blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw **the fire** blazing up.’

In some instances non-human noun arguments that do not appear to be personified are also marked overtly for patient case. *mil* ‘deer, meat’ can be optionally marked as a grammatical patient when it refers to ‘deer’ rather than ‘meat’¹³⁰. This may suggest that for some non-human nouns, perhaps specifically

¹³⁰ It is unknown whether all non-human nouns could be optionally marked for patient case to show a great degree of affectedness. It may be that a small number of frequently used and culturally significant nouns could be used this way. The fact that *mil* was used to refer not only to ‘deer’ in particular, but also ‘meat’ in general, suggests the great cultural importance of deer to the Yuki. *hqw* shows a similar use, being used as a word for ‘salmon’ in particular, but also ‘fish’ in general. Patient marking of *hqw*, however, has not yet been observed.

non-human animate nouns, patient case marking can indicate that the referent experiences the effects of the situation to a greater extent.

Two contrasting elicited examples are shown in (31) and (32) with *mil* the patient argument in both. In (31), *mil* refers to ‘meat’ and is not marked for patient case, while in (32), *mil* refers to ‘deer’ and appears as the patient-marked form *mila*.

(31) Siniard 1967a:51, MF

mil kiʔ li:ʔakha

mil kiʔ liʔ-qk-ha

meat DST kill-SEM-Q

‘did he kill that deer (meat)?’

(32) Siniard 1967a:51, MF

mila ap li:qkik

mil=q qp liʔ-qk=k

deer=PAT 1SG.AGT kill-SEM=DECL

‘I just killed deer.’

Contrast the following elicited example (33) to (32).

(33) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:62, MF

mil [?]*qp* *matkwe*

mil [?]*qp* *mat-k-wi*

deer 1SG.AGT shoot-PNCT-PST1

‘I shot a deer.’

In (33), *mil* ‘deer’ does not appear with patient marking when it is the patient argument of *matkwe* ‘shot’, but does appear with patient marking when it is the patient argument of *li:qkik* ‘killed’. This may suggest that a greater degree of affectedness is expressed by the act of killing the deer, rather than the act of shooting the deer, when, perhaps, the outcome of that action is uncertain.

Another possible interpretation could be that the degree of specificity of an argument determines whether that argument will be marked for patient case. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:62) give an example *mil(q) ?qp li:qkek* ‘I killed the deer’, which is effectively identical to (32). Human or human-like referents are often specific individuals, proper nouns, a particular tribe or group of people, and so on. It is possible that the pattern seen in the examples in this section is showing that when a very particular group of non-human referents are a patient case argument, this argument can also be marked for patient case even though the referents are not human or human-like.

Grammatical patient forms of *mil* ‘deer’ can also be found in the texts, as shown in (34). In this example patient case is used as a vocative form, which is a common use of patient case marking for non-human animates in the texts.

(34) Coyote and the World: 413b, RM

míla ʔey miʔ míli mípa ʔan

míl=q =ʔi miʔ míl-i mih-paʔ ʔan

deer=PAT =HSY1 2SG.AGT deer-ANIM? be-FUT always

ʔa:ʔátat həwáyʔolʔ

ʔátat=q həway-olʔ

people=DAT food/eat-AG/INT

‘to the deer (he said), “You, deer, shall always be food for humans.”

5.3. Inflectional Morphology

Number and the core agent, patient, and dative cases are discussed in this section.

5.3.1. Number

As shown in Table 24, unique singular and plural forms are distinguished for only very few nouns.

| Singular | Plural |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>?iwop</i> ‘man’ | <i>?iwis</i> ‘men’ |
| <i>?musp</i> ‘woman’ | <i>?mus</i> ‘women’ |
| <i>nayp</i> ‘girl’ | <i>na’es</i> ‘girls’ |

Table 24: Singular and Plural Nouns

Similarities in some of these forms suggest a common source for this marking. Kroeber (1911:353) refers to *-s* as a “plural suffix of a few nouns denoting persons; also of personal pronouns” and calls *-p* a “singular suffix corresponding to *-s*.” He extends this pattern further to include *?ap* ‘1SG.AGT’ and *?us* ‘1SG.EXCL.AGT’, as well as *mi?* ‘2SG.AGT’ and *mo’os* ‘2PL.AGT’ as pairs in this system showing singular with *-p* and plural with *-s*. Schlichter (1985:275) also reconstructs **-s* as a plural suffix in Proto-Northern Yukian.

(35) shows *mus* ‘women’ and *?iwis* ‘men’ in use.

(35) Coyote and the World: 320, RM

sop[?]éy mú:s si[?] lí:tinnamlíkímáse hil

sop=[?]i mus si[?] lit-n=namli=ki-mas-i hil

but=HSY1 **woman.PL** clover gather-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM all

wí:t'mqmil

wit-mq=mil

return-DIR1=FIN

‘Also the **women** who had gone clover gathering all came returning.’

Coyote and the World: 321

si[?]ey háye [?]íwis kíw nó[?]itili [?]ey

si=[?]i háye [?]íwis kiw nó[?]-t-il =[?]i

NEW=HSY1 now **men.PL** arrow carry-INTR-MPSV =HSY1

te[?]ùtlmil wákop hulk'ó[?]a

te[?]u-tl=mil wák=op hulk'o[?]i=q

pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT Coyote=PAT

‘And now the **men** carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.’

In his original description of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:353) also proposes that *-a* and *-i* are nominal plural suffixes used only for animals and plants and also for semi-

pronominal stems¹³¹. Analysis of the texts does not support this explanation. *-a* seems to either be the patient case marker or the regular ending of that noun and *-i* seems to be an indicator of animacy when used with the quantifier *hil* ‘all’ and in other cases the result of epenthesis. Table 25 shows Kroeber’s examples for plural *-a* and *-i* alongside more recent elicited forms and a proposed analysis or interpretation for each form.

| Kroeber’s original interpretation | More recent elicitation and interpretation | Proposed analysis and explanation |
|---|--|--|
| <i>mil-i</i> ‘deer’ | <i>mile</i> ‘deer’ (AA, MF) | Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i> |
| <i>su’s-i</i> ‘ducks’ | <i>su:s</i> (AA), <i>su:se</i> (MF) ‘duck’ | Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i> |
| <i>č’op-i</i> ‘flies’ | <i>č’op</i> ~ <i>č’opi</i> (AA), <i>č’o:pe</i> (MF) ‘duck’ | Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i> |
| <i>p’al-p’o-i-l</i> (for <i>p’al-p’ol-i</i>) ‘butterflies’ | unavailable | |
| <i>mil-i</i> ‘white oaks’ | unavailable | |
| <i>šip-i</i> ‘willows’ | <i>šipi, šipe</i> ~ <i>šipit</i> ‘willow (white)’ (AA) | Epenthesis or possible loss of final consonant |
| <i>hil-i</i> ‘all’ | <i>hi:l</i> ~ <i>hi:li</i> ‘all of it’ (FL) | Animate <i>-i</i> |
| <i>-maš-i</i> ‘plural of demonstratives’ | <i>kima:se</i> ‘they’ (AA, MF) | Animate <i>-i</i> |
| <i>šup-a</i> ‘blackbirds’ | <i>šu:pá</i> ‘blackbird’ (FL) | No affix, <i>-a</i> is part of this word. |
| <i>tok-a</i> ‘fleas’ | <i>ṭ’oko?</i> ~ <i>ṭ’oke</i> ‘flea’ (AA) | No affix, <i>-a</i> is most likely part of this word and a variation of the pronunciation of final <i>-o</i> . |
| <i>koy-a</i> ‘gophers’ | unavailable | Based on analysis of texts, <i>-a</i> is probably marking this noun as a |

¹³¹ By this term Kroeber appears to be referring to *hili* ‘all’ and *-mas-i* ‘distributive plural.’

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | | patient case argument. For detailed discussion see §5.3.2.2. |
| <i>kuʔs-a</i> ‘geese’ | unavailable | -a is most likely not an affix, but a part of the word. All elicited forms available in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984 predate Kroeber, but all of these forms end in some type of a-like vowel. Also this word may possibly be a borrowing from English. |
| <i>čup-a</i> ‘blackbirds’ | <i>šu:pá</i> ‘blackbird’ (FL) | No affix, -a is part of this word. |

Table 25: Analysis of Kroeber’s proposed plural noun forms¹³²

¹³² (AA) and (MF) examples taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, (FL) examples taken from Crawford (1953).

5.3.2. Core Cases

As discussed in §5.2, verb arguments are grouped into three categories: grammatical agents, grammatical patients, and datives.

5.3.2.1. -∅ agent

The agent case is unmarked for nouns. As discussed in §5.2 and by Mithun (2008), the grammatical agent is the argument that tends to be the voluntary instigator. It can also act as the default or generic form of the noun.

(36) - (39) show nouns as grammatical agents in short elicited clauses. (36) and (37) are single-argument clauses, (38) and (39) are two-argument clauses.

(36) Siniard 1967a:87, MF

saʔ *kʰoʔoyik*

sak *koʔ-y=k*

baby go-PROG=DECL

‘The **baby**’s coming’

(37) Siniard 1967b:63, MF

ʔitin *haʔalš* *mamlamik*

ʔitin *halč* *mam-lam=k*

1SG.POSS **child** grow-INCH=DECL

‘My **children** are starting to grow.’

(38) Siniard 1967a:79, MF

ink'u[?]ŋ *mu[?]umam matwičk*

in-k'un' *mu[?]umam mat-wičk*

1SG.KIN.POSS-father grapes eat-PST2

'My father used to eat grapes.'

(39) Siniard 1967a:97, MF

itin *?a:tat^h* *ho^h woyal'* *?o:ɕ'ik*

itin *?a:ɕat* *hoɕ woyal'* *?oɕ'=k*

1SG.POSS people big tobacco smoke=DECL

'My people smoked lots of tobacco.'

Also, as shown in (40) and (41), respectively, the single argument of predicate nominal and predicate oblique clauses is a grammatical agent.

(40) Siniard 1967a: 35, MF

?ap *musp^h* *mihik*

?ap *musp* *mih=k*

1SG.AGT woman be=DECL

'I'm a woman.'

(41) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF

mɔl hu:yqɔ ʔqɔ mehek

mɔl huy=qɔ ʔqɔ mih=k

river middle=LAT 1SG.AGT be=DECL

‘I’m in the middle of the creek.’

5.3.2.2. =q ~ =a patient

The patient case is marked with =q or =q for nouns referring to humans or to personified non-humans, such as mythological characters. As discussed in §5.2, grammatical patients tend to be affected but not in control of the action expressed by a verb.

As noted in §5.2.4, nouns referring to non-humans can also be marked for patient case, which appears connected to the degree that a referent is specified. Non-human patient arguments are not marked for patient case.

(42) and (43) show human patient arguments marked for patient case. In (42), *hálja* ‘children=PAT’ is the single argument of *yí:kilpaʔ* ‘shall be playing’.

(42) Coyote and the World: 397, RM

sikiṭ hálja ho:ṭ yí:kilpa?
si=kṭiṭ halč=q hoṭ yí?-k-il-pa?
 NEW=then **child=PAT** big play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

“**children** also shall be playing much,”

In (43), *hulk’ó?i kinj’í:la ?iwomǵ* ‘Coyote’s son, a young man=PAT’ is the single argument of *k’olítmil* ‘died’. *k’ol-* ‘die’ describes an event over which one has no control, but is significantly affected by it.

(43) Origins: 136, RM

sop?éy haníčyi:lop hulk’ó?i
sop=?i han=iṭ-y-il=op hulk’o?i
 but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when **Coyote**

kinj’í:la ?iwomǵ ?ey k’olítmil.
kim-k’íla ?iwom=q =?i k’ol-t=mil
DST.KIN.POSS-son.PAT young.man=PAT =HSY1 die-INTR=mil

‘Then, when they were near (their) house, **Coyote’s son, a young man,** died.’

Causes are also categorized as grammatical patients. In (44), *hulk’ó?ǵ* ‘Coyote=PAT’, a personified mythological character, is the patient argument of *wičtilmil* ‘made work’. In this example Taykómol is making Coyote do work for him.

(44) Origins: 51, RM

sáʔey **hulk'óʔq** wíčtilmil ʔon ʔuhmíkí:

sq=ʔi **hulk'óʔi=q** wič-t-il=mil ʔon ʔuh=miki

SAME=NEW **Coyote=PAT** work-INTR-MPSV=FIN earth sew=PURP

‘And he [Taykómol] made **Coyote** work for him as he was about to sew the earth.’

In (45), a number of other non-human mythological characters are shown with patient marking. In *Coyote and the World*, *hawmol* ~ *hašmol* ‘morning star’ and *pilq̄t* ‘sun’ are personified. In Clause 350, *hášmó:la* ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of *ha:tí:li kót:(e)mil* ‘went carrying’. In Clause 351, *pilq̄:tq̄* ‘sun=PAT’ is the patient argument in the relativized construction *pilq̄:tq̄ šú:htlnamlikíṭa* ‘where (he) had set the sun’. In Clause 352, *háwmoʔola* ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of *kq̄ksimil* ‘made rise’.

(45) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sákiṭey *hášmó:la* *pilq̄tq:tk'il* *ha:tí:li*

sq=kiṭ=?i *hašmol=q* *pilq̄t=q̄t=k'il* *ha'-t-il*

SAME=then=HSY1 **morning.star**=PAT sun=DAT=TERM carry-INTR-MPSV

kó:t(e)mil *hulk'ó'i*

ko'-t=mil *hulk'o'i*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote went carrying the **morning star** toward the sun;'

Coyote and the World: 351

sá'ey *pilq̄:tq* *šú:htlnamlikiṭa* *?ey* *kómmil*

sq=?i *pilq̄t=q* *šu'-h-tl=namli=kiṭa* *=?i* *kom=mil*

SAME=HSY1 **sun**=PAT sit-DUR-TR=DEP=there =HSY1 come=FIN

'where he had set the **sun** he came.'

Coyote and the World: 352

sá'ey *hq̄wmo'ola* *kiṭa* *káksimil.*

sq=?i *hq̄wmol'=q* *kiṭa* *kq̄k-s=mil*

SAME=HSY1 **morning.star**=PAT there rise-CAUS=FIN

'And there he made the **morning star** rise;'

As mentioned in §5.2.4, nouns referring to non-human animates or groups of non-human animates can be marked as patient case arguments even if these non-

humans are not personified. A common place to see non-human animates marked for patient case is when the patient case is used as a vocative form. In (46), *či:mítq* ‘birds’ are the patient-marked argument that are being addressed. In (47), *míla* ‘deer’ and *k’ol kimása ki hó:tam kimása* ‘those others that are large’¹³³ are the patient-marked arguments that are being addressed.

(46) Coyote and the World: 416a, RM

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>sikiṭ</i> | <i>či:mítq</i> | <i>móṣ</i> | <i>či:mit</i> | <i>mípa</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ</i> | <i>čimit=q</i> | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>čimit</i> | <i>mih-paʔ</i> |
| NEW=then | bird=PAT | 2PL.AGT | bird | be-FUT |

Coyote and the World: 416b

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>sąki:</i> | <i>móṣ</i> | <i>ʔólmoṑ</i> | <i>nóʔopaʔ</i> |
| <i>sąki</i> | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>ʔolam=op</i> | <i>noʔ-paʔ</i> |
| and | 2PL.AGT | brush=LAT | live-FUT |

“And **to the (small) birds**, “You shall be birds and shall live in the brush.””

(47) Coyote and the World: 417, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|---------------------|------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>míla</i> | <i>nq</i> | <i>k’ol</i> | <i>kimása</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>mil=q</i> | <i>=nq</i> | <i>k’ol</i> | <i>ki-mas=q</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | deer=PAT | =and | other | DST-DSTR=PAT | DST |

¹³³ This is referring to large animals.

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>hó:ʔam</i> | <i>kimása ...</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulk'ó'i</i> |
| <i>hoʔ=am</i> | <i>ki-mas=q</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulk'ó'i</i> |
| big=? | DST-DSTR=PAT | say=FIN | Coyote |

‘And then **to the deer and those others that are large ...** said Coyote,’

The grammatical patient arguments of some verbs, while core arguments in Yuki, are translated by Kroeber as obliques. For example, in (48), *kilul* ‘bone marrow’ is found in *kilúla hq:timil* ‘rubbed (them) with marrow’.

(48) Coyote and the World: 183, RM

| | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>sikq'áy</i> | <i>lak'íyakmil</i> | <i>č'íwpiš</i> |
| <i>sikq=?i</i> | <i>lak'-qk=mil</i> | <i>čiw=piš</i> |
| AGT>PAT=HSY1 take.out-SEM=FIN acorn.storerroom=ABL | | |

‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

Coyote and the World: 184

| | | |
|--|----------------|------------------|
| <i>sq'áy</i> | <i>kilúla</i> | <i>hq:timil</i> |
| <i>sq=?i</i> | <i>kilul=q</i> | <i>hq'-t=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 marrow=PAT rub-INTR=FIN | | |

‘and rubbed them **with marrow.**’

In (49), *lil* ‘stone’ is found in *šiwkí:ʔin líla' wíʔkimil* ‘Šiwkítin hurled with his stone’.

(49) Coyote and the World: 173, RM

seʔey ʔqtą šiwiki:tin llaʔ wítkimil

se=ʔi ʔqtą šiwiki:tin lil=q wiṭ-k=mil

NEW=HSY1 again šiwiki:tin **stone=PAT** hurl-PNCT=FIN

‘Then šiwiki:tin again hurled **with [his] stone**’

5.3.2.3. =qt ~ =at dative

Dative arguments are affected arguments in three-argument clauses and also in two-argument clauses containing a grammatical patient but not a grammatical agent. Very rarely dative arguments appear to also act as actors or performers of actions in clauses where the verb would typically take a grammatical patient argument. The dative case is also used for beneficiaries.

ʔinam- ‘dream’ is a verb describing a mental process and therefore does not have a grammatical agent argument. In (50), the individuals who are being dreamed of are given in the clause and are marked with the dative case *ʔa:ʔát lašk’áwol’na háwml’ tu:nóhilikimášat* ‘those people that kept the moon and the morning star’.

(50) Coyote and the World: 287, RM

sikaʔéy ʔatá ʔinámtmil ʔa:ʔát lašk’áwol’

sikaq=ʔi ʔata ʔinam-t=mil ʔaʔat lašk’áwol’

AGT>PAT=HSY1 again dream-INTR=FIN people moon

na háw mol' tu:nóhilikimášat
 =nq hawmol' tunoh-il=ki-mas=qt
 =and morning.star keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT

‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of those people that kept the moon and the morning star.’

In (51), the recipient of *ʔátlmil* ‘put on’ is the grammatical patient *ʔa:тата* ‘people’, while the dative argument *sq:ʔínat mipátat* ‘Lizard’s hands’ is the affected argument.

(51) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>sq:ʔínat</i> | <i>mipátat</i> | <i>kimás</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>háye</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>sqʔin=qt</i> | <i>mipat=qt</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | Lizard=DAT | hand=DAT | DST-DSTR | =HSY1 | now |

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| <i>ʔátlmil</i> | <i>ʔa:тата</i> |
| <i>ʔa-tl=mil</i> | <i>ʔaʔat=q</i> |
| pull/put?-TR=FIN | people=PAT |

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

In (52), the dative argument *kimášat k’únat kimášat k’á:nat* ‘their fathers and mothers’ is the single argument of *na:nákmil* ‘knew’.

(52) Coyote and the World: 179, RM

sqʔey *kí:k* *híl(i)kšiloʔ* *ʔúnmanamlikí:* *ʔey*

sq=ʔi *kik* *hilkšiloʔ* *ʔun-mq=namli=ki* *=ʔi*

SAME=HSY1 there everything bring-DIR1=DEP=DST =HSY1

kipat *ʔa:táta* *náwhsimil*

kipat *ʔatát=q* *nq̄w-h-s=mil*

3R.DAT people=PAT see-DUR-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he showed his people everything that they had brought.’

Coyote and the World; 180

siʔéy *kimášat* *k’únat* *kimášat* *k’á:nat*

si=ʔi *ki-mas=q̄t* *k’un’=q̄t* *ki-mas=q̄t* *k’an’=q̄t*

NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT mother=DAT

ʔey *na:nákmil* *t’ól*

=ʔi *nanak=mil* *t’ol*

=HSY1 know=FIN hair

‘Then their fathers and mothers knew the scalps.’

nanak- ‘know’ is a verb that usually takes a grammatical patient argument, as shown in (53), where *hulk’ó’a* ‘Coyote=PAT’ is the argument of *ná:nákmil* ‘knew’.

(53) Coyote and the World: 110, RM

son’áy *ná:nákmil* *hulk’ó’a* *káyit*
son=?i *nqnak=mil* *hulk’o’i=q* *kqyit*
 therefore=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

?inámtnamlíka

?inam-t=namli=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?

‘but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).’

The dative case is also used for beneficiaries. In (54), *hulk’ó’i* ‘Coyote’ stands and sings ‘for them’. The beneficiary *kimáşat* ‘for them’ is marked with dative case.

(54) Coyote and the World: 66, RM

sopey *hulk’ó’i* *?á’tá* ***kimáşat*** *há:p* *yqşkílmil*.
sop=?i *hulk’o’i* *?ata* ***ki-mas=qt*** *hap* *yqş-k-il=mil*
 but=HSY1 Coyote again **DST-DSTR=DAT** song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And Coyote again stood and sang **for them**.’

In (55), the beneficiary is also marked with dative case, *kimáşat kum’no’omat* ‘for those Kumnom’.

(55) Origins: 167, RM

sokóp ʔán kiṭáʔ hilkšiloʔ kimáse yu(y)yampa:miki:

so=kop ʔan kiṭa hilkšiloʔ ki-mas-i yuy'-m-paʔ=miki

?=then always there everything DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=PURP

ʔey ki: ʔatá **kimášat** **kum'no'omat** k'qk'ésimil.

=ʔi kiʔ ʔatá **ki-mas=qt** **kumnom'=qt** k'qk-s=mil

=HSY1 DST again **DST-DSTR=DAT** **Kumnom'=DAT** make-CAUS=FIN

'And also everything that they would always do he made come into
existence there **for those Kumnom'**.'

5.4. Oblique Cases

The majority of Yuki oblique noun case morphology is used for forming locatives.

Yuki also has an instrumental suffix.

5.4.1. Method for Attaching Oblique Case Morphology

Oblique noun case endings are attached to the noun root for non-human and inanimate nouns and to the dative form of nouns referencing humans and personified non-humans. Compare (56) and (57). Both examples contain a noun marked for terminative case indicating direction of movement. In (56), the terminative case enclitic =*k'il* is added directly to the inanimate noun *han* 'house' forming *hánʔk'il* 'toward home'. In (57), the action is moving in the direction of the *pilq̄t* 'sun', which is treated as a personified being in this story. Therefore terminative =*k'il* is not attached directly to the root form of 'sun', but instead to its dative form *pilq̄tq̄t* forming *pilq̄tq̄t:k'il* 'toward the sun'.

(56) Coyote and the World: 284, RM

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sq̄k̄t̄ey</i> | <i>kó:t(e)mil</i> | <i>hánʔk'il</i> | <i>hulk'óʔi</i> |
| <i>sq̄=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>koʔ-t=mił</i> | <i>han=k'il</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> |
| SAME=then=HSY1 | go-INTR=FIN | house=TERM | Coyote |

'Then Coyote went [**toward**] **home**.'

(57) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sákiṭey *hášmó:la* *pilqṭq:tk'il* *ha:tí:li*

sq=kiṭ=?i *hašmol=q* *pilqṭ=qṭ=k'il* *ha²-t-il*

SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT **sun=DAT=TERM** carry-INTR-MPSV

kó:t(e)mil *hulk'ó'i*

ko²-t=mil *hulk'o'i*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote went carrying the morning star **toward the sun**.'

5.4.2. Stacking Noun Cases

Oblique noun cases can be “stacked” or added onto nouns already marked with an oblique noun case. In (58), allative =*wit* and lative =*op* are attached to *ʔon* ‘earth’.

(58) Coyote and the World: 105, RM

sikiṭey *šákmi* *ʔonwíčop* *ʔi:tlmil*

si=kiṭ=?i *šákmi* *ʔon=wíč=op* *ʔi²-tl=mil*

NEW=then=HSY1 some.ANIM **earth=ALL=LAT** flee-TR=FIN

'Then some had fled **a long way**.'

5.4.3. =k'i ~ =k ~ =i inessive

Inessive =k'i is used to express the meanings 'in', 'at', 'on', 'into'. The inessive also appears in the deictic *kik* 'there' (*ki* 'DST' + =k 'inessive'). Kroeber (1911:356) describes =ki, =k, =i as the "general locative, in, on, at." In the texts, =k'i is also found in contexts where it is used as a directional locative.

(59) - (62) show examples of the various allomorphs of the inessive in use. In (59), Coyote is describing what will happen to the sun after it is broken up against the rocks. The sun's eyes shall go into the cracks of the rock it is broken against. The inessive is found in *lilpátk'i* 'in the rock cracks' and is used in a context where it could be understood as having a directional locative meaning; the sun's eyes are going 'into the rock cracks' rather than just being 'in the rock cracks'.

(59) Coyote and the World: 250 (excerpt), RM

lilpátk'i *hul* *p'óyčpa'*
lil-pát=k'i *hul* *p'oy-t-pa'*
rock-crack=IN eye enter-INTR-FUT

'In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter.'

In (60), the inessive is used with *huč* 'outside' to form *hučki* '(in the) outside'.

(60) Coyote and the World: 193, RM

sqʔéy *húčki* *kéytlmil*
sq=ʔi *huč=kʔi* *ki-tl=mil*
SAME=HSY1 **outside=IN** drop-TR=FIN

‘and dropped it outside.’

In (61), *kʔol* ‘other’ is used as a noun or pronoun referring to ‘other people’. Due to the fact that *kʔol* refers to humans in this use, inessive =*k* is attached to the dative form of *kʔol*, forming *kʔolq:tk* ‘in/at the place of other people’.

(61) Coyote and the World: 94, RM

sqʔey *kʔolq:tk* *tʔoktlmil*
sq=ʔi *kʔol=qk* *tʔok-tl=mil*
SAME=HSY1 **other=DAT=IN** reach-TR=FIN

‘and they had reached **the place of other (people)**.’

In (62), the inessive is used with *ʔunol* ‘quiver’ to form *ʔunolʔi* ‘in (his) quiver’.

(62) Coyote and the World: 53, RM

sqʔéy *nánšil* *ʔunolʔi* *kʔó:tilmil.*
sq=ʔi *nan-šil* *ʔunolʔi* *kʔoʔ-t-il=mil*
SAME=HSY1 black.oak?-skin **quiver=IN** keep.in-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And he was keeping black-oak bark **in his quiver** (as tinder).’

In the texts no examples have been observed where the inessive is used for expressing the meaning ‘on’. An example of this use recorded by Kroeber is given in (63).

(63) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

hąčki

hąč=ki

house.floor=IN

‘on the house floor’

5.4.4. =am second inessive

Kroeber (1911:356) describes *-am*, *-m* as the “inessive,” stating that it is “used on certain words, such as *han*, house, and on demonstratives, as a general locative to the exclusion of *-ki*. Most other words take *-ki* but do not use *-am*.” *-am* is also likely a part of the deictic *kim* ‘over there’ (Kroeber 1911:356).

As noted by Kroeber (1911:356), use of *-am* with *han* ‘house’ does not exclude the use of inessive *-k’i* to express the same meaning. In (64), *=am* is used to mean ‘in’ in *?iwilhánam* ‘in the ceremonial house’.

(64) Coyote and the World: 29, RM

seʔéy hi:li ʔiwilhánam nóʔnámlíkimási

si=ʔi hil-i ʔiwilhan=am noʔ=namlí=ki-mas-i

NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM ceremonial.house=IN2 live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey láksilyqkmil

=ʔi lak-s-il-qk=mil

=HSY1 come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And all who were **in the ceremonial house** came out,’

In (65), *ʔiwilhanam* appears with *=kʔi* as *ʔiwilhánkʔi* ‘in the ceremonial house’.

(65) Coyote and the World: 91, RM

sáʔey kí:k ʔiwilhánkʔi wóktmil

sq=ʔi kik ʔiwilhan=kʔi wok-tl=mil

SAME=HSY1 there ceremonial.house=IN sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘and there they danced **in the ceremonial house.**’

-am can also be used with a directional locative meaning ‘into’, as shown in (66).

Compare this use to *ʔiwilhánam* ‘in the ceremonial house’, in (64).

(66) Coyote and the World: 194, RM

sqkítęy *hánam* *káptmil*

sq=kit=ʔi *han=am* *kap-t=mil*

SAME=then=HSY1 **house=IN2** enter-INTR=FIN

‘Then he went **into the house.**’

5.4.5. -kot locative

-kot is very rare. Little can be said about this suffix except for the fact that it has a meaning of ‘in’ or ‘at’. It is not mentioned in earlier descriptions of Yuki. Examples of -kot are shown in (67) and (68)

(67) Coyote and the World: 371 (excerpt), RM

mó:šampú:lamláčkot *maʔí:yi* *yú:ta* ʔiymaq ...

mošampulamlač-kot *maʔiyi* *yuta* ʔiymaq

Mošampulamlač-LOC something happen? ?

‘**At Mošampulamlač** something is happening!’

(68) Origins: 75 (excerpt), RM

... *haye* ʔu:khóṭ *mi:paʔmiki:* ***húykot*** ʔuʔ *namtlmil* ...

haye ʔukhoṭ *mih-paʔ=miki* ***huy-kot*** ʔukʔ *nam-tl=mil*

now ocean be-FUT=PURP **half-LOC** water lay-TR=FIN

‘... (for) the ocean which was to be, he put down water **in the middle** ...’

5.4.6. =han, =həhin subessive

The subessive =han is used to express the meaning ‘under’ and possibly also ‘within’.

(69) - (71) show examples of =han and həhin in use with individual words.

(69) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

ʔukhan

ʔuk=han

water=SUBE

‘under water’

(70) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

ʔukhəhin

ʔuk=həhin

water=SUBE

‘under water’

(71) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

lilhəhin

lil=həhin

rock=SUBE

‘under the rock’

(72) shows an example of =*hąhin* used in the texts. Note the sequence of oblique forms of *ʔon* ‘earth, ground’. In this excerpt Coyote has just stolen some food and is now scattering the food ‘under the ground’, *ʔonhąhin*, so that it would grow ‘up out of the ground’, *ʔonpis*.

(72) Coyote and the World: 389, RM

sąʔey *kimáš* *ʔa:táta* *wáčyikiṭ*

są=ʔi *ki-mas* *ʔat=ą* *wač-y?=kiṭ*

SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR people=PAT show-PROG?=when

ʔey *šáʔąk* *ʔonhąhin* *píntimil*

=ʔi *šáʔąk* *ʔon=hąhin* *pin-t=mil*

=HSY1 some.of **ground=SUBE** scatter-INTR=FIN

ki: *hilkšiloʔ* *ʔonpis* *čúhampa:miki:*

kiʔ *hilkšiloʔ* *ʔon=pis* *čuh-m-paʔ=miki*

DST all.kinds earth=ABL grow-IMPV-FUT=PURP

‘And when he had shown it to the people, part of it he scattered **under the ground** that every kind should grow up out of the ground.’

In (73), =*han* appears following lative =*op* with an apparent meaning of ‘within’.

(73) Origins: 18, RM

seʔey ʔqtáʔ šul kʔáklamil

si=ʔi ʔqtaʔ šul kʔak-lam=mil

NEW=HSY1 again body show-INCH=FIN

kiṭá ʔu:súʔophan.

kiṭa ʔusu=op=han

there **water.foam=LAT=SUBE**

‘And again his body began to take form there **in the foam.**’

In (74), second inessive =am is added to *hąhin* ‘under’ forming *hąhinʔam*, meaning either ‘in/into a place underneath’ or ‘(a place located) underneath’.

(74) Coyote and the World: 75, RM

sópéy hayú:mi ʔolčʔok háʔnamlikí:la

sop=ʔi hayumi ʔol-čʔok haʔ=namli=ki-la

but=HSY1 Dove wood-dry?/rotten? carry=DEP=DST-INST

ʔéy **hąhinʔam** lúktmil.

=ʔi **hąhin=am** luk-tl=mil

=HSY1 **under=IN2** push-TR=FIN

‘But Dove pushed under (him) with the rotten wood he was carrying.’

5.4.7. =op ~ =ap ~ =qp lative

Lative =op is used to express the meanings ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘at’, and ‘through’ when attached to nouns. =op is also attached to certain deictics, such as *kipq̄w*, to form directional deictics like *kipq̄wop* ‘back to/towards’. =op is not found attached to demonstratives nor is it found attached to human or other animate nouns =op may be related to or the same morpheme as the connective enclitic =kop ‘then, also’, which is encliticizes to clause-initial switch-reference markers or the adverbial clause marker =(k)op ‘while, as’¹³⁴.

Kroeber (1911:355) calls =op a “locative” with a “precise meaning: ‘on’; but also used as a vaguer locative ‘at’.” Kroeber also notes the use of =op as a subordinating morpheme on verbs.

In (75), =op is used in *ʔónop* ‘on the ground’.

(75) Coyote and the World: 140, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>haye hí:li</i> | <i>ʔónop</i> | <i>nó:hikimása</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye hil-i</i> | <i>ʔon=op</i> | <i>noʔ-h=ki-mas=q</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |

NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM **ground=LAT** live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

¹³⁴ See §8.2 for discussion of the connective enclitic =kop ‘then, also’. See §9.10.3.1 for discussion of the adverbial clause marker =(k)op ‘while, as’.

?inkóptmil

?inkop-t=mil

snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now all those who were lying **on the ground** snored in their sleep.’

In (76), =op is used in *nákop* ‘in the night’.

(76) Coyote and the World: 99, RM

siká?éy *nákop* k’ap’éyakmil k’ó’il

siká=?i *nak=op* k’ap’-qk=mil k’ó’il

AGT>PAT=HSY1 **night=LAT** kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki

‘Thereupon **in the night** the Wailaki killed them.’

In (77), =op is used in *k’ó’olat* ?ónop ‘in/at the Wailaki country’.

(77) Coyote and the World: 118, RM

sá?éy *k’ó’olat* ?ónop tóktmil

sá=?i *k’o’ol=qt* ?on=op tok-tl=mil

SAME=HSY1 **Wailaki=DAT** **earth=LAT** arrive-TR=FIN

‘And they reached [arrived **in/at**] **the Wailaki country**.’

In (78), =op is used in *no:b* ‘through the camp’.

(78) Crawford 1953, FL

no:b *wiliṭu*

no[?]=op *wil-ṭ-wi*

camp=LAT pass-INTR-PST1

‘I passed **through the camp**.’

In (79), =*op* appears as the allomorph =*ap* in *kipat ʔonap* ‘at your own place’

(79) Coyote and the World: 349, RM

sąkí:mi ʔátá *kup* **kipat** ʔonap *kaṭá*

są=kimi ʔatá *kup* **kipat** ʔon=*ap* *kaṭa*

SAME=? now sister’s.son 3R.DAT **ground=LAT** here

t’ó:kспа? ʔiy ʔimeymil *hulk’ó’i* *laš’áwla*

t’ok-s-pa? =?i ʔim=mil *hulk’o’i* *laš’awol=q*

arrive-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote moon=PAT

“and here **at your own place**, sister’s son, you shall arrive”, said Coyote to the moon.’

In (80), =*op* is used in a directional context in *yó:ṭop* ‘in and out of the grass’. The verb in this clause contains an andative suffix *-n*, which can also indicate motion towards a location.

(80) Coyote and the World: 102, RM

seʔey **yó:ʔop** *mik'óp* *kapéniʔakmil*

si=ʔi **yot=op** *mik'op* *kap-n-ək=mil*

NEW=HSY1 **grass=LAT** quick enter-AND-SEM=FIN

‘But he dashed quickly **in and out of the grass,**’

=op is also used to indicate movement and not just position at a location when added to *kipaw* ‘back’. In (81), *kipáwwop* is used to indicate movement back to a location.

(81) Coyote and the World: 158, RM

sqʔey **kipáwwop** *wi:tákmil* ʔolkačám

sq=ʔi **kipəw=op** *wit-ək=mil* ʔolkačam

SAME=HSY1 **back=LAT** turn-PNCT=FIN Mouse

həwayimóneti *t'únamlikíʔa*

həway-mon-t *t'u=namli=kiʔa*

food-steal-INTR pile.up=DEP=there

‘and went **back to** where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’

5.4.8. =wit allative

Allative =wit is used to express motion toward a location. This location is typically a cardinal direction or an exterior location, such as in *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit* ‘toward the ocean’. =wit is not used with human or other animate nouns. The relationship, if any, between allative =wit and past tense -wiʔ is not known. Other noun case endings, including =k’il, =op, and =pis are attached to verbs with a meaning and function similar to that in their use as noun cases.

Kroeber (1911:356) describes =wit using the same description he uses for =k’il: “terminalis, to, toward.” (82) - (84) show examples of =wit in use.

(82) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

sąkiʔéy ʔqtą *mi:š* *wačísimil*

są=kiʔ=ʔi ʔqtą *miš* *wač-s=mił*

SAME=then=HSY1 too road/way show-CAUS?=FIN

lašk’áwola *kaʔą(w)pis* *mí:* *kup* ʔonk’olámwit

lašk’awol=q *kaʔa=pis* *miʔ* *kup* ʔonk’ol-am=wit

moon=PAT here=ABL 2SG.AGT sister’s.son east=IN2?=ALL

kó:tampaʔ

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘And to the moon too he showed his way: “From here you, sister’s son, shall
go **toward the east.**”’

(83) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sáʔey *kimás* *háyk* *pʔoyitli* *ʔátá*

sá-ʔi *ki-mas* *hay=k* *pʔoy-tl* *ʔata*

SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR bag=IN put-in-TR again

kó:temi *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.*

koʔ-t=mi *ʔukhoʔ=am=wit*

go-INTR=FIN **ocean=?=ALL**

‘And putting them into his net sack, he went **toward the ocean** (the
west).’

(84) Coyote and the World: 78, RM

sikiʔéy *kʔolkʔil* *ʔa:ʔát* *wó:manamlikimáse*

si=kiʔ=ʔi *kʔol=kʔil* *ʔaʔat* *wok-mʔ=namli=ki-mas-i*

NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey túktimil lalkúhtkiwit.
 =ʔi tuk-t=mil lalkuhtki=wit
 =HSY1 travel-INTR=FIN Lalkuhtki=ALL

‘Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction **to Lalkúhtki.**’

5.4.9. =k’il terminative

Terminative =k’il can be used as a directional locative with a meaning similar to that of allative =wit. The difference between the use of these two cases is sometimes unclear, but in general it appears that =k’il can be used to express not just a general directional locative meaning, but also a meaning of motion towards a point with the implication that this is the endpoint of the motion. =k’il is also used in one instance to mean ‘to be physically against an object’. The terminative is also occasionally seen suffixed to verbs.

(85) and (86) are examples of terminative =k’il showing motion towards an object or location. In (85), the direction in which the individuals are racing is *hánk’il* ‘toward the houses’.

(85) Coyote and the World: 95, RM

sq[?]ey *hánk'il* *ṭq:milhípmamil*

sq=[?]i *han=k'il* *ṭqmilhip-mq=mil*

SAME=HSY1 **house=TERM** play.rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN

'So they were racing **toward the houses.**'

In (86), the terminative is used to indicate motion towards *lopsi* 'Jackrabbit'. In this story Jackrabbit is a mythological character with human characteristics, therefore =*k'il* is attached to the dative form *lo:ps[?]ṭtk'il* 'out to Jackrabbit'.

(86) Coyote and the World: 12 (excerpt), RM

... ha[?]téyli *lákt(e)mil* *hulk'ó'i*

ha[?]-t-il *lak-t=mil* *hulk'ó'i*

take.with-INTR-MPSV leave-INTR=FIN Coyote

lo:ps[?]ṭtk'il

lopsi=qt=k'il

Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM

'... carrying it with him, he [Coyote] went **out to Jackrabbit.**'

In (87), the terminative is used to indicate the direction and endpoint of an action. *pilq:t* 'sun' is being broken up by being dashed *lilk'il* 'against the rock'.

(87) Coyote and the World: 250 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>pilá:t</i> | <i>líl̥kʻil</i> | <i>čqkʻik</i> | <i>lqčtlmil ...</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>pilqt</i> | <i>lil=kʻil</i> | <i>čʻqkʻ=k</i> | <i>lqč-tl=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | sun | rock=TERM | hit=DECL | break-TR=FIN |

‘And dashing the sun **against the rock** and breaking it up...’

The terminative is also found attached to verbs or to demonstratives suffixed to verbs and acting as relativizing suffixes. In both instances the terminative indicates a direction and/or endpoint to the action described in the clause. In (88), a group of men are pursuing Coyote and they have caught up with him in order to question him. The terminative =*kʻil* in *ʔamilkilkʻil* ‘as they caught (him)’ appears to act as a subordinating morpheme indicating that the pursuit of Coyote by the men has come to completion, and now the men are questioning Coyote.

(88) Coyote and the World: 324, RM

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>ʔamilkilkʻil</i> | <i>kíwismil.</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔamil-k-il=kʻil</i> | <i>kiw-s=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM | ask-CAUS=FIN |

‘And **as they caught** him they questioned.’

In (89), the demonstrative *ki* is suffixed to *nqʔhi-* ‘hold down’ and is acting as a nominalizer in forming *nqʔhiki* ‘the place where it is held down’. The terminative

5.4.10. Difference between allative =wit and terminative =k'il

The allative differs from the terminative in that the terminative indicates motion toward particular individuals, as in *pilq̄t̄:tk'il* 'toward the sun' (CW:350) and toward locations that appear to be small, usually well-defined, perhaps also enclosed, such as *hánk'il* '(came) to the house' (CW:293). The allative indicates motion toward cardinal directions, as in *kú:htkiwit* 'to the north' (CW:107) and other major landmarks, such as *ʔu:khó:ṭamwit* 'toward the ocean' (CW:276) and *lalkúhtkiwit* 'toward Lalkúhtki (a placename)' (CW:78).

5.4.11. =pis ablative

The ablative case =pis is used to indicate motion from, out of, or away from a location. =pis has not been observed in use with human or other animate nouns. =pis can also be used attached to verbs.

=pis is used to indicate motion out of or from a place in *ʔu:kpis* 'from the water, out of the water', in (91), and in *hánpis* 'out of the house', in (92).

(91) Origins: 33, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>taykómol</i> | <i>ʔu:kpis</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>taykomol</i> | <i>ʔuk'=pis</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now | DST | Taykómol | water=ABL |

ṭ'áq šúštlmil.

ṭ'áq šuš-tl=mil

jump stand-TR=FIN

'Now Taykómol leaped **from the water** and stood.'

(92) Coyote and the World: 370, RM

sikit'éy haye hulk'ó'i **hánpis** lakti č'ál

si=kiṭ=?i haye hulk'o'i **han=pis** lak-t č'al

NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote **house=ABL** come.out-INTR loud

paq'éyakmil

paq'-qk=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

'But now Coyote coming **out of the house** shouted loudly.'

In (93), =pis is used to indicate motion off of an object *lilpis* 'off the rock'.

(93) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:152, MF

sahol' **lilpis** ṭi'itik (~ ṭi'itek)

sahol' **lil=pis** ṭi'-t=k

eagle **rock=ABL** fly-INTR=DECL

'The eagle flew **off the rock**.'

In (94), =pis is used along with juxtapositive =it in ʔu:sú huyítpis ‘from out of the foam’. In this example Taykómol is speaking from out of the sea foam. =pis does not seem to be used here to indicate motion out of a location, but rather just that Taykómol is speaking from a particular location, the sea foam, while remaining in that location.

(94)¹³⁵ Origins: 9, RM

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|------------|----------------|-------|------------|
| <u>ʔimšaʔ</u> | <u>ʔq</u> | <u>həymátli</u> | <u>koʔ</u> | ʔimeymil | ki | ʔu:sú | huyítpis. |
| ʔimšaʔ | ʔq | həymatli | koʔ | ʔim=mil | ki | ʔusu | huy=it=pis |
| what | will.I.do | say=FIN | DST | water.foam | middle=JXT=ABL | | |

“What shall I do?” that one said **from out of the foam.**’

While no examples have been observed where =pis is used with a human or animate noun, in (95) =pis is used in relation to such a noun. In this example Taykómol is sewing the world and to do so he produces an awl from out of his own body. =pis is not attached to Taykómol, but instead is used in kipát č’áwpis ‘out of his insides’ or ‘out of his entrails’.

(95) Origins: 56, RM

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------------|------|----------|
| sáʔey | kipát | č’áwpis | k’ít | kí:la |
| sə=ʔi | kipat | č’aw=pis | k’it | ki-la |
| SAME=HSY1 | 3R.DAT | entrails=ABL | awl | DST-INST |

¹³⁵ Underlined text is spoken in Huchnom by Taykómol (Kroeber 1902b:3).

ʔú(h)mol laʔek'ekilmil.

ʔuh-mol lak-q-k-il=mil

sew-AG/INT leave-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘an awl to sew it with he took **out of his own body**,’

In (96), =pis is attached to the verb *lak-* ‘leave’ in *láktipis* ‘having gone outdoors’. =pis appears to specify that ʔolkáʔam ‘Mouse’ is moving away or out of his present location toward the outdoors.

(96) Coyote and the World: 366, RM

seʔéy ʔolkáʔám húčki **láktipis** ʔey pilá:t

si=ʔi ʔolkáʔam huč=ki **lak-t=pis** =ʔi pilá:t

NEW=HSY1 Mouse outdoors=IN **leave-INTR=ABL** =HSY1 sun

káktlháli k'a:wítmil

kək-tl=háli k'aw-t=mil

rise-TR=INFR1 light-INTR=FIN

‘Then Mouse **having gone outdoors**, the sun being about to rise,
it was day.’

5.4.12. =it ~ iṭ ~ ič juxtapositive

The juxtapositive =it is a locative case describing location ‘near’ or ‘on the edge’. The name for this case was coined by Kroeber (1911:356) himself in his original description. He describes the juxtapositive as indicating location “next to” or “near.” Kroeber also proposes that the juxtapositive only appears along with the inessive and lative case endings as -ič-ki and -ič-op, respectively. In the texts, however, the juxtapositive is found without additional case endings following it.

(97) shows examples of the juxtapositive in use. In this example =it is attached to ʔu:k ‘water’ forming ʔu:k’it ~ ʔú:k’iṭ ‘water-edge, shore’.

(97) Origins: 76a, RM

| | | | | |
|-------|------|---------|----------|------|
| sqʔey | haye | ʔú:k’it | tátmikí: | kíta |
| sq=ʔi | haye | ʔuk’=it | tat=miki | kíta |

SAME=HSY1 now **water=JXT** good=PURP there

| | |
|-------|------------------|
| pánap | ʔu:k’í:mpá:mikí: |
| pánap | ʔuk’-im-paʔ=miki |

right.there water-become?-FUT=PURP

Origins: 76b

| | | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------|-----|----------|
| sqʔey | lilšilóʔ | pát’wá | ʔey | ʔu:k’iṭ |
| sq=ʔi | lil=šiloʔ | pat’-wa | =ʔi | ʔuk’=iṭ |

SAME=HSY1 stone=like flat-wide? =HSY1 **water=JXT**

namtlikí: ʔey ku:ʔtkí lawótlmil.

nam-tl=kiʔ =ʔi kuhtki lawo-tl=mil

lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN

‘Now where he would make **the shore (water-edge)**, right there as far as the water would extend, placing something flat and stone-like **at the water-edge**, he fastened it in the north.’

In (98), the juxtapositive is found in *mí:šit* ‘near the road’. In the free translation Kroeber does not include the juxtapositive meaning translating the relevant part of this clause only as ‘on the trail’. However, in the original notes, *mí:šit* is glossed as ‘near the road’ (Kroeber 1902d:12).

(98) Coyote and the World: 148, RM

sqʔéy tuktámiyaqi wíl(l)op tʔú:mil

sq=ʔi tuk-t-m-ąk wil=op tʔuʔ=mil

SAME=HSY1 travel.with.possessions-INTR-IMPFV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN

mí:šit kiṭa ʔa:ṭát kómpa:mikí:

miš=it kiṭa ʔaṭat kom-paʔ=miṭi

road=JXT there people come-FUT=PURP

‘and going off with it to a distance, laid it on the trail by which the people would come.’

As noted by Kroeber, the juxtapositive is found with other case endings. (99) and (100) are the examples Kroeber provides in his description of this case.

(99) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

lilički

lil=it=ki

rock=JXT=IN

'by the rock'

(100) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

milčočičop

mil-čoč=it=op

meat-pounded=JXT=LAT

'by the pounded meat'

The juxtapositive is also found with other cases in the texts. In (101), the juxtapositive is found along with ablative =*pis* in *ku:yítpis* 'from there'.

(101) Coyote and the World: 160, RM

sópey ***ku:yítpis*** *k'ó'il* *kímo'oséyya*

sop=?i ***kuy=it=pis*** *k'o'il* *kimo'osiyą*

but=HSY1 **there=JXT=ABL** Wailaki DSTR.R?

mątıli ʔey *lu:mtit* *só:ṭʔammil* *káyit* ʔolkáčam

mąṭ-t-il =ʔi *lum-tit* *soṭʔ-m=mil* *kayit* ʔolkáčam

shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow-string snap-IMPV=FIN already Mouse

lu:mtit *či:líyaknamlí:*.

lum-tit *čil-qk=namlí=ki*

bow-string put.notch.in-SEM=DEP=DST

‘But as the Wailaki **from [near?] there** shot at them, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

In (102), the juxtapositive is affixed to the verb *mih-* ‘be’ in *hąwłám miʔičop* ‘when the beginning of the day is near’.

(102) Coyote an the World: 358, RM

sikit *háwmolʔ* *hąwłám miʔičop* *kíč* *ká:kespa*

si=kit *hawmolʔ* *hąwłam mih=it=op* =kíč *kąk-s-paʔ*

NEW=then morning.star daylight be=JXT=while =only rise-CAUS-FUT

“And the morning star shall rise only **when the beginning of the day is near.**”

In some examples, such as in (103), it is unclear whether the juxtapositive is an independent word or enclitic on the preceding constituent.

(103) Coyote and the World: 281 (excerpt), RM

sq miʔ ʔátá ká:meš ʔon wáčyi kíʔa

sq miʔ ʔata ka-miš ʔon wač-y kíʔa

SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? ground show-PROG there

miʔ kup ʔičyí:lop ...

miʔ kup =ič-y-il=op

2SG.AGT sister's.son =JXT-PROG-MPSV=**while**

‘And **when you are near** this place again which I showed you, sister’s son ...’

5.4.13. *mik'al* ‘around’

mik'al ‘around’ may be an independent word or an enclitic. Kroeber (1911:356) lists *mik'al* in the inventory of noun case suffixes and describes it as, “-*mik'al*, around. Is used also as an independent word.” Schlichter (1985:81) reconstructs **mik'al* ‘around’ for PNY.

(104) shows examples of *mik'al* given by Kroeber.

(104) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

yim=*mik'al* ‘around the fire’

ʔon=*mik'al* ‘around the world’

(105) shows an example of *mik'al* in connected speech.

(105) Coyote and the World: 395, RM

sąk'ómey *'al* *t'u'akmil* *hąčmik'al*
są=k'om=?i *'al* *t'u-ąk=mil* *hąč=mik'al*
SAME=there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN **floor-around**

'And there he laid sticks **around the floor.**'

(106) shows *mik'al* as an independent word and functioning as a verb in *mik'áltilțima* 'you will make your way around'.

(106) Coyote and the World: 280, RM

sąkí: mi? *kup* *k'ú:htkiwit* *tákilk*
sąki mi? *kup* *k'uhtki=wit* *ta-k-il=k*
and 2SG.AGT sister's.son north=ALL float-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

mi? *kup* *mik'áltilțima*
mi? *kup* *mik'al-t-il=țima*
2SG.AGT sister's.son **around-INTR-MPSV=self**

'And from there, sister's son, floating to the north, **you will make your way around.**'

5.4.14. -ok instrumental

-ok is used as an instrumental case expressing the meaning ‘with’ or ‘by’, as in *lašok* ‘with an ax’ (Kroeber 1911:355) or *yimok* ‘by fire’. Kroeber (1911:355) simply describes this case as “instrumental.” Instrumental -ok is found only with inanimate nouns. Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct a proto-form in PNY corresponding to instrumental -ok.

(107) is an excerpt from a passage explaining the reason that certain animals have reddish fur or feathers. *yimok* ‘by the fire’ is used in this example to explain that this coloring arose as a result of scorching by fire.

(107) Coyote and the World: 84, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>šákma</i> | <i>ʔáséyqkilmil</i> | <i>yimok</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>šákmi=q</i> | <i>ʔas-q-k-il=mil</i> | <i>yim-ok</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | some=PAT | heat-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | fire-INST |

‘and some were scorched **by the fire.**’

In (108), *lilaʔok* ‘with his stone’ is affixed with instrumental -ok.

(108) Coyote and the World: 168, RM

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>sikaʔéy</i> | <i>ʔátq</i> | <i>šiwkítin</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>lilaʔok</i> |
| <i>sika=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔátq</i> | <i>šiwkítin</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>lil=aʔ-ok</i> |
| AGT>PAT=HSY1 | again | šiwkítin | 3R.DAT | rock=PAT?-INST |

wiṭkimil

wiṭ-k=mil

hurl-PNCT=FIN

‘Then once more Šiwkítin threw at them with his stone’

In (109), instrumental *-ok* is used with *k’o’olk’ani* ‘Wailaki language’ forming *k’o’olk’ána’ok* ‘by/through the agency of the Wailaki language’.

(109) Coyote and the World: 122, RM

... ?imeymil hulk’ó’i **k’o’olk’ána’ok**

?im=mil hulk’o’i **k’o’ol-k’ani=a-ok**

say=FIN Coyote **Wailaki-language=PAT?-INST**

‘... said Coyote speaking **Wailaki**.’

In (108) and (109) the noun is followed by *-q* or *-a*. The analysis of this possible morpheme is uncertain. It could just be an echo vowel resulting from the glottal stop. It could also be that in certain situations nouns affixed with instrumental *-ok* are also affixed with patient case marking when these nouns are considered to be highly affected by the action of the verb in that clause. There are too few examples to really know for certain, but there is some qualitative difference between the level of affectedness of *yímok* ‘by the fire’, in (107), where fire is not affected, but is instead scorching others, and *lila’ok* ‘with his stone’, in (108), where the stone, though being hurled, is still being affected by the action.

5.5. Derivational Morphology

In Yuki there several examples of derivational morphemes. =čam appears to be a nominalizer, -ič can be a diminutive marker though its meaning is often unclear, and the infix -ʔV-, -hV- can also function as a diminutive marker. There is also an enclitic =kič ‘only’, which may not be derivational, but does not neatly fit into other categories of noun morphology.

5.5.1. =čam place nominalizer

The meaning of nouns formed using =čam is typically connected with places or locations. =čam may be a sequence of the juxtapositive =it and the second inessive =am. =čam is not mentioned in earlier descriptions of Yuki.

=čam is treated as a clitic, because it is found attached to words of different word classes including adjectives, numerals, and verbs, as well as attached to larger constituents, such as the noun phrase *hil ʔon* ‘all places, all of the earth’ in *hilónčam* ‘everywhere’.

In (110) - (112), =čam is found in *hilónčam* ‘everywhere’ or ‘at/near all places’, *kú:tčam* ‘(at its) root’¹³⁶, *ʔopíčam* ‘(in) two heaps’. In (110), =čam is attached to a noun

¹³⁶ Compare *kú:tčam* ‘(at its) root’, *kutkin* ‘root’, and *ku(h)tki* ‘north.’ *kut-* ‘start’ appears to be part of each of these words.

phrase *hil ʔon* ‘all places, all of the earth’, in (111), to a verb root *kut-* ‘start’, and in (112), to the numeral *ʔopi* ‘two’.

(110) Origins: 130b, RM

ki: ʔá:ʔat kʻan ʔá:ʔat kʻayyeyampa:miki:

kiʔ ʔaʔat kʻan ʔaʔat kʻay-m-paʔ=miki

DST people language people talk-IMPV-FUT=PURP

hilónčam kʻáyyenik.

hil-ʔon=čam kʻay-nik

all-earth=PNOML speak-NEC

‘Now then taking Coyote with him he went north to speak **everywhere** the human languages with human beings would speak.’

(111) Origins: 68, RM

seʔéy háye kí:la ʔon hqčámečyakmil

seʔi háye ki-la ʔon hqčam-t-qk=mil

NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth strong-INTR-SEM=FIN

ʔon kú:tčam.

ʔon kut=čam

earth **start=PNOML**

‘Then he now made the earth fast (strong) **at its root**.’

(112) Origins: 223, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>ʔopíčam</i> | <i>t'u:mil</i> | <i>pqwik'i</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔopi=čam</i> | <i>t'uʔ=mil</i> | <i>pqwi=k'i</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | two=PNOML | pile=FIN | one=IN |

'in two (heaps) he piled them together.'

In (113), =čam is attached to the deictic *həhin* 'under', forming *həhinčam* 'a place underneath'.

(113) Coyote and the World: 327, RM

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>kip</i> | <i>k'ó:likit</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>p'išpál</i> | <i>həhinčam</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>kip</i> | <i>k'ol=kit</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>p'iš-pal</i> | <i>həhin=čam</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | 3R | kill=while | =HSY1 | sunflower-leaf | under=PNOML |
| <i>ʔqs</i> | <i>čaklamtpaʔ</i> | <i>sikit</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>p'išpal</i> | |
| <i>ʔqs</i> | <i>čak-lám-t-paʔ</i> | <i>sí=kit</i> | <i>ʔán</i> | <i>p'iš-pal</i> | |
| blood | stick-INCH-INTR-FUT | NEW=then | long | sunflower-leaf | |
| <i>həhinčam</i> | <i>k'ít</i> | <i>pínṭpaʔ</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | |
| <i>həhin=čam</i> | <i>k'it</i> | <i>pin-ṭ-paʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | |
| under=PNOML | bone | lie.scattered-INTR-FUT | =HSY1 | say=FIN | |

kip k'ó:li 'qłwá'

kip k'ol 'qłwa'

3R kill at.the.same.time.that

'Then, as they were killing him, "**Under** the sunflower leaves the blood shall stick on and **under** the sunflower leaves the bones shall lie scattered," he said at the time they were killing him.'

5.5.2. *-ič* diminutive, etc.

Kroeber (1911:354) describes *-ič* as "apparently primarily a diminutive ... also a collective, a distributive, and, through idiom, the plural of one noun denoting persons." Kroeber's described meanings for *-ič* can be seen in the examples he provides, reproduced in (114). The one exception is a distributive meaning for *-ič*, which is not apparent from his examples. The relationship, if one exists, between diminutive *-ič* and juxtapositive *=it* or between diminutive *-ič* and *=kič* 'only' is unclear.

Kroeber provides a list of examples of *-ič* in use, shown in (114).

(114) Kroeber 1911:354, RM

k'amlič 'wild cat (*k'amol* 'panther')

'qsič 'red' (*'qs* 'blood')

tatič 'pretty' (*tat* 'good')

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>nuʔič, nu</i> | ‘gravel’ |
| <i>suʔič</i> | ‘fish in general’ |
| <i>kʔilič</i> | ‘fish roe’ |
| <i>halič</i> | ‘children’ (<i>sak</i> ‘child’) |

Kroeber also lists *ʔopičam* ‘in two heaps’ and *ʔalkʔatčam* ‘in each board’ as examples of diminutive *-ič* in use. Both of these words instead are analyzed in this grammar as ending in the place nominalizer *=čam*.

In (115), one of the words from Kroeber’s list of examples for *-ič*, *ʔqsič* ‘red’ is found in *ʔqsičamil* ‘has a red head’.

(115) Coyote and the World: 85, RM

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>siki:ʔey</i> | <i>ʔqséyma</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔqsičamil</i> |
| <i>siki=?i</i> | <i>ʔqsima</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔqsič-a=mil</i> |
| therefore=HSY1 | Woodpecker | head | red-?=FIN |

‘That is why Woodpecker **has a red head.**’

In (116), *-ič* is found in *kʔilič* ‘seed’. *kʔil* can mean ‘child’ or ‘grain’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:266). *kʔilič* is also translated above as ‘fish roe’ by Kroeber.

(116) Coyote and the World: 387, RM

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| ... <i>kʔilič</i> | <i>woṭ</i> | <i>hqwqysampaʔimiki:</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>kʔilič</i> | <i>woṭ</i> | <i>hqwqy-s-m-paʔ=miki</i> | <i>=?i</i> |
| seed | seed.meal/pinole | eat-CAUS-IMPV-FUT=PURP | =HSY1 |

háyyop p'oyísimil

hay=op p'oy-s=mil

bag=LAT put.in-CAUS=FIN

'... [Coyote] put **the seeds** which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.'

5.5.3. -^ʔV-, -hV- diminutive; part of

The infix -^ʔV-, -hV- is used to create diminutive forms, but also to derive new nouns with meanings usually related to the original noun. To create these forms, the leftmost vowel in the noun root¹³⁷ is reduplicated with a glottal stop or /h/ in between the original vowel and the reduplicated vowel. Examples are shown in (117).

(117) Schlichter 1978:23

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|
| <i>sak</i> | 'child' > | <i>sa^ʔak</i> | 'baby' |
| <i>sək</i> | 'tooth' > | <i>sə^ʔək</i> | 'baby tooth' |
| <i>mepat</i> | 'hand' > | <i>mepa^ʔat</i> | 'palm' |
| <i>nan</i> | 'head' > | <i>nahan</i> | 'mouth' |

¹³⁷ The first syllable of *mepat* 'hand' is a body prefix and therefore is not treated as the first syllable of the root of this noun.

(118) shows an example of this morpheme from the texts. The leftmost vowel in *paki* ‘one’ is reduplicated, forming *paʔqk* ‘alone, one of them’.

(118) Coyote and the World: 198, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>paʔqk</i> | <i>lákti</i> | <i>kapmíka</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>paʔqk</i> | <i>lak-t</i> | <i>kap-mika</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | alone | leave-INTR | bring.in-? |

sá:kʼilmil

saʔ-k-il=mil

can.not.lift-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘So **one of them**, having gone out to bring it in, could not raise it.’

5.5.4. =kič ‘only’

=kič is an enclitic meaning ‘only’. Kroeber (1911:356) defines =kič as ‘only’ and illustrates the use of this enclitic with *šiškič* ‘only squirrels’ and *kitkič* ‘nothing but bones’. In the texts, =kič attaches to nouns, but also to larger constituents. In (119), =kič is found in *ki:čʼilkič* ‘only obsidian’. In (120), =kič is attached to an adverbial clause in *hqwlam miʔičop kíč* ‘only when the beginning of the day is near’.

(119) Coyote and the World: 407, RM

se'áy *sá:ṭ'in* *'i:yú'a'kim'* *'án* *hánop*
si='i *sṭ'in* *'iyu'a'=kim'* *'an* *han=op*
NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?=over.there? always house=LAT

šu'ik ***ki:č'flkič*** *pá:tispa* *tanhq̄li(k)* *kí:la'*
šu'=k ***kič'il=kič*** *paṭ-s-pa'* *tan=hq̄l* *ki-la'*
sit=DECL **obsidian=only** chip-CONT?-FUT NEG?=INFR1? DST-INST

'Then Lizard, "How is it to happen that always sitting indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?"

(120) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

sikiṭ *háwmol'* ***hqwlám*** *mi'ičop* *kíč* *ká:kespa*
si=kiṭ *hawmol'* ***hqwlam*** *mih='it=op* ***=kič*** *kq̄k-s-pa'*
NEW=then morning.star **daylight be=JXT=while =only** rise-CAUS-FUT

"And the morning star shall rise **only when the beginning of the day is near.**"

5.6. Verbalization

Nouns are verbalized through the addition of verb morphology. (121) shows *hąway* ‘food’ used as a verb *hąwáyisammil* ‘eating’.

(121) Coyote and the World: 391, RM

si'áy *hąyé* *kimás* *ʔa:át* *hąwáyisammil*

si=ʔi *hąye* *kimas* *ʔat* *hąwąy-s-m=mil*

NEW=HSY1 now thus people **eat-CONT-IMPV=FIN**

‘And now the people (lived by) **eating** that [those things].’

5.7. Argument Structure and Noun Morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The argument structure and noun morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki are discussed in this section.

5.7.1. Huchnom

5.7.1.1. Argument Structure

Huchnom, like Yuki, shows agent/patient argument marking. The same pattern of argument marking as seen in Yuki, is also seen in Huchnom. The case of arguments is most likely a lexicalized feature of verbs, however grammatical agents tend to be voluntary instigators in control of an action, while grammatical patients tend to be affected and not in control. In addition, the arguments of verbs expressing actions connected with bodily functions and mental processes tend to be grammatical patients.

(122) and (123) show clauses with grammatical agent arguments.

(122) Lamb 1955:87, LJ

ʔepe: ʔaˈl hΔkmikiʔ

1SG.AGT wood going.to.split

‘I am going to split wood.’

(123) Lamb 1955:94, LJ

ʔepe: hamp šeʔlemeˈliki

1SG.AGT song going.to.sing

‘I am going to sing’

(124) - (126) show several clauses with two human arguments. In the imperative clause in (126) there is only a single argument given, but this argument is also human.

(124) Lamb 1955:89, LJ

ka ʔi: tʔukʔliya:

PRX 1SG.PAT stabbed

‘this fella stabbed **me**’

(125) Lamb 1955:124, LJ
ka ?i lallikε
PRX 1SG.PAT kicked

'this fella kicked **me**'

(126) Lamb 1955:124, LJ
ka?a lalla?
PRX.PAT kick.IMP

'kick **this fella!**'

(127) - (135) show clauses with verbs that take grammatical patient arguments.

(127) Lamb 1955:77, LJ
?i: nΔhΔna?kʰiʰ
1SG.PAT know.it

'I know it.'

(128) Lamb 1955:77, LJ
?i: nΔhΔmkiʰ
1SG.PAT don't.know

'I don't know'

(129) Lamb 1955:95, LJ

kaʔa *hampše:* *hamčʔi*

PRX.PAT song.sing likes

'he likes to sing'

(130) Lamb 1955:108, LJ

ʔi: *h_Δʔampaʔi*

1SG.PAT will.forget.it

'I will forget it'

(131) Lamb 1955:108, LJ

ʔi: *nah_Δnakčʔiʔ*

1SG.PAT remember.it

'I remember it'

(132) Lamb 1955:110, LJ

keʔ_Δ: *wokʔ* *hušilčʔi*

DST.PAT dance likes/loves

'he likes/love to dance'

(133) Lamb 1955:111, LJ

ka'a: muhšil' ha:mč'i

PRX.PAT laugh likes

'**this one** likes to laugh'

(134) Lamb 1955:117, LJ

ʔi:nΔ:mΔhʔε: ʔi:

had.dream **1SG.PAT**

'I had a dream.'

(135) Lamb 1955:125, LJ

tiwho ʔi· ʔuk'ha:mištike

very **1SG.PAT** be.thirsty

'I am very thirsty'

Just as in Yuki, grammatical patients in Huchnom sometimes are used in contexts where in English they are translated as instrumentals. (136) - (138) show this use.

(136) Lamb 1955:85, LJ

lila ʔi wičiya kaʔ

rock.PAT 1SG.PAT hit PRX

'he hit me **with [a] rock**'

(137) Lamb 1955:86, LJ

mipaʔaʦa ʔi ʦukʔliyaʦ

hand.PAT 1SG.PAT hit

‘he hit me **with [a] fist**’

(138) Lamb 1955:86, LJ

aʔla ʔi ʦakʔyaʦ

stick.PAT 1SG.PAT hit

‘he hit me **with [a] stick**’

5.7.1.2. Locative Cases

Huchnom shows the same type of locative case marking as Yuki. (139) gives a list of oblique forms of *han* ‘house’ in Huchnom. Many are recognizable correlates of forms in Yuki. *hənʔim* ‘in the house’ resembles Yuki *hanam* ‘in the house’, *hanmeʦap* ‘on top of the house’ would correspond to Yuki *han-miʦ=op* (house-top=LAT), *han hʌhimʔim* ‘underneath the house’, would correspond to Yuki *han hʌhin=am* (house under=IN2), *hanpis* in *hanpis lakʔtaʔ* ‘come out of house’ corresponds to Yuki *han=pis* ‘house=ABL’. And even for examples without a complete analogue in Yuki, the morphology can be understood at least partially. *iʦ* in *han iʦʔiyoh* ‘close by the house’ corresponds to the the Yuki juxtapositive case *-iʦ ~ iʦ*.

(139) Lamb 1955:56, LJ

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>hənʔim, hənɥuyʔim</i> | ‘in the house’ |
| <i>hanmehtap</i> | ‘on top of the house’ |
| <i>han hΔhimʔim</i> | ‘underneath the house’ |
| <i>han ʔΔliʔ</i> | ‘in front of the house’ |
| <i>han hamʔpʔiyə</i> | ‘in back of house’ |
| <i>han ičʔiyoh</i> | ‘close by the house’ |
| <i>han mi: mikʔa:lisaʔ</i> | ‘let’s go around the house’ |
| <i>hanpis lakʔtaʔ</i> | ‘come out of house’ |

5.7.1.3. Compounds

(140) shows examples of Huchnom compounds. As in Yuki, these compounds do not show any unique or distinguishing morphology that would separate them from other types of nouns.

(140) Lamb 1955:125, LJ

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>həw ʔimεčʔ</i> | ‘fish egg’ |
| <i>həw mʊsɪn</i> | ‘fish gill’ |
| <i>həw nΔhΔ:k</i> | ‘fish jaw’ |

5.7.1.4. Kinship Terms

Huchnom kinship terms appear to show unique possessive forms, as also seen in Yuki. A few examples of these prefixed Huchnom terms are shown in (141) and compared with the same terms in Yuki, in (142).

(141) Huchnom: Lamb 1955:59, LJ

ʔaŋkaʔ ‘mother’

miska: ‘your mother’

(142) Yuki: Sawyer & Schlichter 1984:137, 245

ʔam-k’an ‘my mother’ AA

mis-k’an ‘your mother’ MF

As shown in (143), Lamb (1955) also elicited some examples that seem to be double-marked for possession. It may also be that the kinship possessive prefixes had begun to lose their meaning in Huchnom and therefore unlike in Yuki, a word like *ʔaŋkaʔ* really just meant ‘mother’ instead of ‘my mother’, thus necessitating the use of the separate possessive pronoun *εε* ‘my’.

(143) Lamb 1955:59, LJ

ʔaŋkaʔ ‘mother’

εε ʔaŋka ‘my mother’

(144) shows much of Lamb’s list of Huchnom kinship terms and related elicited short sentences.

(144) Lamb 1955:59-62, LJ

ʔaŋkaʃ ‘mother’

ε̣ε ʔaŋka ‘my mother’

miska: ‘your mother’

aŋk’u: ‘my (?) father’

misk’u: ‘thy father’

k’ilkʃaʔ ‘daughter, son’

ε̣ε: k’ilkʃaʔ ~ ε̣ε: iʔk’ilkʃaʔ ‘my daughter’

ʔe:yemeʔ hɔyi ma:ʔaʔk’ilkʃaʔ ‘what [are] you doing, my daughter?’

aŋk’e:ʔ ‘brother, male cousin’

mu:čʃa: ‘sister, female cousin’

ʔaŋk’e-kʃaʃ ‘mother’s brother’

ʔi:poyε ‘father’s sister’

ʔi:ka ‘mother’s sister’

misk’e:čaʃ ʔi:šaʃ ‘father’s younger brother’

ʔi:šaʃ ‘younger brother’

aŋk’e:ʔ ‘old brother, old sister’

mu:čaʃ ‘sister’

e:ʔ mis mu:ča: koʔaʃ ‘where’s your sister going?’

i:tʃeʔ ‘mother’s mother’

i:pʃeʔ ‘mother’s father’

i:pah ‘father’s mother’

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>i:ʔs</i> | ‘father’s father’ |
| <i>ahamčaʔ</i> | ‘daughter’s children, sibling’s children’ |
| <i>ahamčaʔ ke:maʔ</i> | ‘son’s children’ |
| <i>ʔi:ʔʌʔ</i> | ‘father’s young brother’ |
| <i>mu:ča:ʔ nahalč</i> | ‘sister’s children’ |
| <i>εε: oho:tʔ</i> | ‘my husband (my old man)’ |
| <i>εε: ʔo:tʰ</i> | ‘my wife (my old woman)’ |
| <i>oʔwehel</i> | ‘wife’s father, husband’s father’ |
| <i>ʔehwe:tʰ</i> | ‘daughter’s husband’ |
| <i>i:suhtam</i> | ‘son’s wife’ |
| <i>i:suhtam ke:maʔ</i> | ‘son’s wife’s mother (?)’ |
| <i>i:poyim</i> | ‘uncle’s wife’ |
| <i>ʌŋk'e'kaʔ</i> | ‘aunt’s husband’ |

5.7.1.5. Proper Nouns

The examples in (145) - (149) show Huchnom proper nouns referring to other tribes, local landmarks, the days of the week, and the names of commonly encountered languages.

(145) Lamb 1955:160, LJ

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>nokonmi</i> | ‘Little Lake Indians’ |
| <i>we:tʰʔuk'am</i> | ‘Eton Valley Yuki’ |

(146) Lamb 1955:114, LJ

hučnoʹom ukʹam ‘Redwood Valley’

(147) Lamb 1955:115, LJ

mahʹukʹam noʹmahmɹ ‘Eel River (“Yuki Creek”)

(148) Lamb 1955:112-113, LJ

kʹoʹnoʹs ‘Sunday’

pu:wiko:ʹno: ‘Monday’

ʹopilaktike ‘Tuesday’

molmilaktike ‘Wednesday’

kesʹopilaktike ‘Thursday’

pu:pu:čʹlaktik ‘Friday’

pu:tallaktike ‘Saturday’

(149) Lamb 1955:116, LJ

pányol kʹɹhɹm ‘Mexican language’

huʹuʔʹah kʹɹhɹm ‘English language’

hučnoʹmah kʹɹhɹm ‘Redwood language’

mahʹukʹamɹ kʹɹhɹm ‘Yuki language’

5.7.2. Coast Yuki

5.7.2.1. Argument Structure

Coast Yuki appears to also show agent/patient case marking. No texts and only very few examples of elicited clauses are available in Coast Yuki¹³⁸. However, the agent/patient structure of Coast Yuki can be seen in elicited pronouns and elicited short phrases¹³⁹.

The first person singular pronoun obtained through elicitation by Kroeber (1902c:72) is *ʔépe* and by Harrington (1942-1943:373-375) is *ʔébbæ*. This form corresponds to the first person singular agent pronouns in Yuki (*ʔap*) and Huchnom (*epe:*) in appearance. Pronouns matching grammatical agent forms are not found in the notes of either Kroeber or Harrington, however the first person patient pronoun is found as *-y* or *ʔi* in the following examples.

In (150), compare the third person form *díʔdæʔ* ‘he is sick’ and the first person form *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’. ‘Being sick’ is a physical process and is a context where a grammatical patient argument would be expected in Yuki. The first person patient pronoun appears as *-y* in these examples.

¹³⁸ Harrington elicited quite a lot of material from his Coast Yuki consultant Lucy Perez, but this material consists mostly of vocabulary.

¹³⁹ Clauses or elicited vocabulary containing case-marked nouns are not found in the Harrington Coast Yuki material. Therefore this discussion of Coast Yuki argument structure only contains examples with case-marked pronouns. This discussion is included in the noun chapter, as the parallel discussions for Yuki and Huchnom, for which examples of case-marked nouns are available, are also included in the noun chapter.

(150) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

dí^hdæ^h 'he is sick'

dí^hday 'I am sick in bed'

wáx^hday 'I am sick but walking around'

Other examples of the first person patient pronoun in use that are elicited by Kroeber are shown in (151). In these examples the first person patient pronoun occurs mostly as -y, but appears as ^hi in *šem^hi* 'I am well'.

(151) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB

p'alímay 'I fall down'

^hintay 'I am sleepy'

ti^hatay 'I am sick'

šem^hi 'I am well'

t^hate^hékay 'I have been sick'

šemetékay 'I have got well, I feel better'

Grammatical agent pronouns are difficult to find in the available Coast Yuki clauses. Pronouns are often absent for verbs with third person arguments, as in (152).

(152) Harrington 1942-1943:90, LP

^háw^hdík^h 'he is eating meat, biting it off a bite at a time'

The clauses in (153) are the best examples of first person singular agent pronouns. In Yuki the verb ‘drink’ is *mi*²- ~ *me*²-. In the examples in (153), it seems likely that the verb root is also *mi*- and that the initial vowel in each verb *ʔa*- is a reduced form of the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔépe* ~ *ʔébbæ*¹⁴⁰.

(153) Harrington 1942-1943: 386, LP

ʔó·kʰ ʔa·mínnaʔ ‘I am g[oin]g to drink water’¹⁴¹

ʔó·kʰ ʔa·míngáʔam ‘I am g[oin]g to drink (at c[ree]k or well)’

kʰéʔdæm ʔa·mî·gæʔ ‘I already drank.’

(154) shows examples of patient and dative marking for pronouns of other persons and numbers¹⁴². This example shows the same pattern seen for Yuki two-argument verbs without a grammatical agent and with a grammatical patient acting as an actor. In (154), the actor in each clause is a grammatical patient, but the experiencer is a dative argument. For example in *miʔatʰ kíʔe há·m* ‘he likes you’, the third person singular patient pronoun *kíʔe* is the actor and is performing the act of ‘liking’. *miʔatʰ* is the second person singular dative pronoun and is found in the role of experiencer, as it is being liked by the grammatical patient *kíʔe*.

¹⁴⁰ The vowel is different than in the elicited independent pronoun *ʔépe* ~ *ʔébbæ*, but still very similar to elicited forms of the Yuki first person singular agent *ʔap* ~ *ʔap*.

¹⁴¹ Brackets in these examples indicate guesses as to the meaning of abbreviated forms in the original notes.

¹⁴² *ham*- ‘like’ also takes a grammatical patient argument in Yuki, as in:

kʰan ʔi: ha:mik ‘I like to talk.’ (Siniard 1967b:97, MF)

(154) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>miʔatay ham</i> | 'I like <u>you</u> ' |
| <i>kiʔeʔatay ham</i> | 'I like <u>him</u> ' |
| <i>móʔseʔatay hám</i> | 'I like <u>ye</u> ' |
| <i>miʔatʔ kiʔe hám</i> | ' <u>he</u> likes <u>you</u> ' |

5.7.2.1.1. Reconstructing Coast Yuki Core Case Morphology for Nouns

No examples exist of Coast Yuki nouns marked for patient or dative case, but some educated guesses can be made of the shape of this morphology based on comparison with known case forms of pronouns and with Yuki.

The third person singular patient pronoun *kiʔe* is similar to the same pronoun in Yuki *kiʔa*. Recall that in Yuki the patient case form of nouns is marked with the same ending =*a* or =*q*, therefore it may be that the patient case form of nouns in Coast Yuki was likewise marked with an ending similar to that observed in *kiʔe*, such as, *-e*.

As in Yuki, dative and possessive pronouns are generally the same forms in Coast Yuki. Coast Yuki *móʔseʔat* is used as a dative pronoun *móʔseʔatay hám* 'I like **you (pl.)**' (Kroeber 1902c:72) and as a possessive pronoun in *móʔsæʔtʔ héntʔəl* '**your (pl.)** noses' (Harrington 1942-1943:133). In addition the possessive form of the interrogative pronoun *ʔeʔ* 'who?' (1942-1943:397) is *ʔeʔeʔtʔ* 'whose?' (1942-1943:133).

These forms suggest that the dative and possessive ending for nouns may have been *-et* or *-æt*.

One example of a noun *héntʰəl* ‘nose’ possessed by a non-human noun *kʰámól* ‘cat’ is shown in (155). While examples of patient or dative marked nouns are not found in the Coast Yuki materials, it does appear that Harrington analyzed *-ʔeʰtʰ* as a possessive marker from his description of Coast Yuki possessive pronouns. He notes that “*ʔeʰtʰ* not allowed” on *kʰámól* ‘cat’. If a non-human noun like *kʰámól* ‘cat’ could not be marked with a possessive ending, this may suggest that this marking was reserved only for human nouns, just as in Yuki and Huchnom.

(155) Harrington 1942-1943:133, LP

kʰámól héntʰəl ‘the cat’s nose’

5.7.2.2. Locative Cases

Few examples of oblique cases or other constructions are found in the available Coast Yuki materials. (156) shows *hóykʰæ* ‘in the middle’, which is *hóy* ‘middle’ affixed with *-kʰæ*. *-kʰæ* is probably cognate with Yuki inessive *=kʰi*.

(156) Harrington 1942-1943:382-383, LP

hóykʰæ ‘in the middle’

(157) shows *héntʰəl* ‘nose’ followed by a postposition *bíʰtʰíʰ* ‘inside’, which does not appear to be cognate with any known form in Yuki.

(157) Harrington 1942-1943:135, LP

héntʰalʹ bíʰtɾʰiʹ ‘inside the nose’¹⁴³

5.7.2.3. Nominalizers

Coast Yuki appears to use a nominalizer *-am* or *-em*. In (158), the nominalizer is affixed to *ʔól* ‘tree’ and *hótr* ‘big’ forming *ʔól-hótrʔam* ‘big tree place’.

(158) Harrington 1942-1943:40, LP

ʔól-hótrʔam *ʔónnæʔ*

ʔól-hótr=am *ʔónnæʔ*

tree-big=NOML land/country

‘monte, lit. big tree country’

In (159), the nominalizer is affixed to *kʰew* ‘to blossom’ forming *kʰéwem* ‘flower’.

(159) Harrington 1942-1943: 46, LP

kʰéwem ‘flower’

kʰew ‘to blossom’

¹⁴³ Postalveolar *t̪* is written as a <tr> ligature by Harrington. Voicelessness is written under this ligature and does not apply just to /r/. Harrington notes that in this instance *t̪r* is pronounced as “ch.”

5.7.2.4. Number

Just as in Yuki¹⁴⁴, unique singular and plural forms are distinguished for certain human nouns in Coast Yuki. Examples of this are shown in (160) and (161).

(160) Harrington 1942-1943: 310, LP

náyʔpʰ ‘maiden’

náyʔš ‘maidens’

(161) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS

?iwup ‘man’

?iwis ‘men’

músp ‘woman’

mus ‘women’

čunčets ‘child’

háltje ‘children’

5.7.2.5. Compound Nouns

(162) - (166) show examples of Coast Yuki compound nouns. As in Yuki, these compounds do not show any unique or distinguishing morphology that would separate them from other types of nouns.

¹⁴⁴ See §5.3.1.

- (162) Harrington 1942-1943:157, LP
č'imme't' k'o'p' 'bird-feathers'
- (163) Harrington 1942-1943:154, LP
hént'il 'ók' 'snot' (lit. nose-water)
- (164) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP
ʔók'-wrt' 'whisky (lit. water-bitter)'
- (165) Harrington 1942-1943:42, LP
ʔʔmeš-šó' 'a bear hide'
- (166) Harrington 1942-1943:102, LP
k'óč'-ʔllam 'manzanita bush' (lit. manzanita-bush)

5.7.2.6. Kinship Terms

There is evidence to suggest that speakers of Coast Yuki used a unique series of possessive prefixes for kinship terms, just as in Yuki and Huchnom. However, this cannot be stated with absolute certainty, nor can the Coast Yuki kinship possessive system be fully detailed, due to a paucity of available data.

The only kinship term explicitly translated as a possessed form is *ʔiddæ ʔôʔtæ* ‘my father’ (~ ‘my mother’?). In this example, *ʔôʔtæ* ‘father’ appears with same first person singular possessive pronoun *ʔiddæ* as used for non-kinship terms, as in *ʔiddæ góđžæʔ* ‘my hog’. *ʔiddæ* is cognate with the Yuki first person singular possessive pronoun *ʔitin* and first person singular dative pronoun *ʔit*.

Other kinship terms appear to be prefixed with *ʔi(n)-*, which would be cognate with the Yuki first person singular kinship possessive prefixes *ʔam-* and *ʔi(t)*. These terms are not translated as possessed by Harrington, but for some kinship terms he does give both a prefixed and a non-prefixed form, as shown in (167).

(167) Harrington 1942-1943:318, LP

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>næʔtʰ</i> | ‘aunt’ |
| <i>ʔinnæʔtʰ</i> | ‘aunt’ |
| <i>môčʰ</i> | ‘sister’ |
| <i>ʔimmôčʰ</i> | ‘sister’ |

The kinship term *ʔink'ahal* 'uncle' also shows the likely presence of a prefix *ʔin-*. In Yuki, 'young uncle, mother's younger brother' is *-k'i:kan* in its unpossessed form, but is *ʔi:k'i:kan* as 'my mother's younger brother' (MF) and documented by Curtis as *aⁿ-kí-ka^s* (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:225). Also suggesting that *ʔin-* is a kinship possessive prefix in Coast Yuki *ʔink'ahal*.

These forms suggest that there are unique possessive prefixes for kinship terms in Coast Yuki, but it is unclear how these prefixes were used or understood by Coast Yuki speakers.

The full list of kinship terms found in Harrington's Coast Yuki data is given in (168).

(168) Harrington 1942-1943: 318, LP

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>ʔiddæ</i> | <i>ʔð'ʔt'æ</i> | 'my father' (~ 'my mother?') |
| <i>dik'æ</i> | | 'brother' |
| <i>næ't^s</i> | | 'aunt' |
| <i>ʔinnæ't^s</i> | | 'aunt' |
| <i>ʔémʂač'</i> | | 'cousin' |
| <i>môč'</i> | | 'sister' |
| <i>ʔimmwč'</i> | | 'sister' |
| <i>ʔit'ó'dæ</i> | | 'son' |
| <i>ʔibe'p^s</i> | | 'grandmother' |
| <i>ʔink'ahal</i> | | 'uncle' |

| | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| ʔíʔnánα | ‘sister in law’ |
| ʔíʔt’ ʔówəp’ | ‘my husband’ (lit. my man) |
| ʔíʔt’ mòšp’ | ‘my woman’ (lit. my woman) |

5.7.2.7. Proper Nouns

(169) and (170) show Coast Yuki proper nouns referring to local tribes.

(169) Kroeber 1902c:90-91, SS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| ʔukoʰtontilka | ‘Coast Yuki (name of tribe)’ ¹⁴⁵ |
| qoʔol | ‘Cahtos (in C[oast] Yuki)’ ¹⁴⁶ |
| ʔuʔtiʔnóʔom | ‘Usal-Shelter Cove Tribe’ ¹⁴⁷ |

(170) Harrington 1942-1943:321, LP

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| yóʔkʔi, yóʔkʔi ʔátʔet | ‘Yukis’ ¹⁴⁸ |
|-----------------------|------------------------|

¹⁴⁵ Harrington (1942-1943:356) gives the Coast Yuki tribal name as ʔóʔkʔ-hoʔtʔ-ʔontʔilgæʔ and translates it as ‘at the big (ocean) water living there’.

¹⁴⁶ Kroeber’s note: “no name for Wylackies, never went that far (1902c:91).”

¹⁴⁷ ʔuʔti ‘reeds, water-grass’ + nóʔom ‘people’. Kroeber’s note: “Coast Yukis lived at Rockport, they went to Usal back and forth, but another tribe lived there; they mixed with them there (1902c:90).”

¹⁴⁸ Harrington’s note: “no unique name for [the Yukis] in Coast Yuki”

5.7.2.8. Terminology Describing the Natural World of the Coast Yuki

This section lists some forms elicited by Harrington relating to the natural world of the Coast Yuki. There are a few verbs in these word lists, which were included due to their relevance to the describing the environment of the home territory of the Coast Yuki.

The Coast Yuki, as their name suggests, lived along the coast. The terms in (171) describe the ocean and the coast.

(171) Harrington 1942-1943:24-25, 28-34, LP

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>šóy'</i> | 'foam' |
| <i>mélem</i> | 'creek' |
| <i>mêl</i> | 'little canyons, gulches' |
| <i>k'ó-níšdæ'</i> | 'it is low tide' |
| <i>k'á-bíšdæ'</i> | 'the tide is coming in 10 mins later do(?)' |
| <i>lil wâw'</i> | 'you can't see the rocks (when the tide is high)' |
| <i>t'í-yíšdæ'</i> | 'wave, the water is springing up' |
| <i>ʔóʔk' (ho't) t'í'dæ'</i> | 'the ocean makes a noise' |
| <i>ʔóʔk' k'áʔč'-yædæ'</i> | 'the water is rough/stormy (given when I ask it is high tide) |
| <i>t'ówóldæ'</i> | 'man, woman, or ocean is getting angry...the ocean is stormy.' |

The terms in (172) - (176) refer to some of the plant and animal life encountered in the ocean.

(172) Harrington 1942-1943: 53-54, LP

ʔuk'-ho't'-hewwey 'ocean-grub'

lilbał' 'sea lettuce (lit. rock leaves)'

(173) Harrington 1942-1943:56, LP

k'ómml' 'giant kelp' (*k'óm* 'salt')

(174) Harrington 1942-1943:191, LP

nók' 'mussel'

(175) Harrington 1942-1943:201, LP

lil b'ohlaxm 'perrywinkles' (lit. chubby (short) rock)

(176) Harrington 1942-1943:213, LP

hew bá-t'æ' 'flounder' (lit. flat salmon)

The terms in (177) describe other parts of the natural environment.

(177) Harrington 1942-1943:28-34, LP

mít' 'sky'

bíllèt' ~ bílléht' 'watch, clock, sun'

lášk'ewel' 'moon'

č'íḃḃe'ʔt' ~ č'íḃḃe'ʔt' 'star'

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>hó·lk'é·lel' mîš</i> | ‘milky way (dead person road)’ ¹⁴⁹ |
| <i>ʔenéy'</i> | ‘day’ |
| <i>k'áwʔdæ</i> | ‘daylight, dawn’ |

5.8. Argument Structure and Noun Morphology in an Areal Context

In this section the noun morphology and argument structure of Yuki are compared to those of neighboring languages, other contact languages, and to Wappo¹⁵⁰. The points of comparison in this section are (1) the type of argument structure system, (2) whether nouns are divided into classes and how these classes are distinguished if present, (3) whether number is marked on nouns, (4) whether alienability is distinguished for nouns, (5) whether noun morphology in the language is primarily prefixing or suffixing, and (6) whether kinship nouns are treated in a way that is different than other nouns.

Argument structure was chosen as a point of comparison, because one of the questions posed by these comparisons is the question of whether fairly deep structures can be borrowed between languages. The other points of comparison in this section compare features that are particularly salient in characterizing Yuki nouns. As discussed in §5.2.4, there is a human/non-human distinction made in

¹⁴⁹ Harrington expresses some doubts about this form.

¹⁵⁰ See Mithun (In Press) for a detailed study of the borrowing of complex structures as a result of language contact among Yuki and surrounding languages.

Yuki nouns¹⁵¹. This is most evident in the presence of patient case and dative case marking for human nouns and the absence of such marking on non-human nouns. Number is marked in Yuki nouns, but only for an extremely small set of human nouns. Alienability is distinguished. In Yuki, kinship terms are treated as inalienable. Noun morphology is predominantly suffixing¹⁵². A unique type of possessive prefix is used with kinship nouns, which is not used with any other nouns.

In Table 26, Yuki is compared to languages or language families immediately surrounding it. These are the languages that Yuki speakers would have been in contact with for the longest period of time and prior to contact with Euro-Americans.

The table is set up with Yuki on the left side and then its closest surrounding neighbors, viewed geographically in a counterclockwise direction, are placed next to Yuki. Thus Northern Pomo, the neighbor of Yuki to the south is placed in the column next to Yuki, then Eastern Pomo, which is the next language moving counterclockwise, then Wintu, and then Hupa. Hupa is not a direct neighbor of Yuki, but it is closely related to Kato, Wailaki, and Lassik, which border the Yuki

¹⁵¹ As discussed in §5.2.5, occasionally non-human animates are also marked for patient case and dative case.

¹⁵² As discussed in §2.2.1.1, a small number of nouns are prefixed with prefixes relating to different parts of the body. It is unclear whether these prefixes were still productive at the time when documentation of Yuki occurred. As discussed in §6.1.9, a unique series of possessive prefixes is used with kinship terms.

speech area to the north. Additionally, no materials were available for comparing Yuki to Northeastern Pomo, which is also a directly neighboring language¹⁵³.

Yuki shares its agent/patient argument structure system with Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo, but differs from Wintu and Hupa, which have a subject/object or nominative/accusative alignment for arguments. Yuki resembles Eastern Pomo in terms of number marking, as both languages restrict number marking to just a few human-related nouns. Eastern Pomo, unlike Yuki, also marks number for kinship terms. Wintu shows no number marking, and Hupa has an emphatic plural.

In terms of nouns classes, alienability and the treatment of kinship terms, all the languages in Table 26 show general similarities. Northern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Wintu, and Hupa distinguish classes of nouns based on animacy. The Yuki human/non-human noun class distinction is also arguably related to animacy, as a clear dividing line is set up between the two groups with human nouns and some non-human animates being treated morphologically in a manner that is not seen for inanimates and most non-human animates. Yuki shares with Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo the characteristic of using unique possessive morphology for kinship terms.

¹⁵³ The argument structure system used in Northeastern Pomo is known. Mithun (2008) describes Northeastern Pomo as an agent/patient language.

| Language | Yuki | N. Pomo | E. Pomo | Wintu | Hupa |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Wintun | Athabaskan |
| Argument Structure | agent/patient | agent/patient (152) | agent/patient (Mithun 2008) | Subject/Object (201, 254-258) | Subject/Object (1996:371) |
| Noun Classes | human vs. non-human (NH). NH animate and kinship subclasses. | 6 animacy-based classes (154) | kinship; personal nouns (a small group of human nouns) are treated uniquely (122) | inalienable kinship, alienable, non-possessed (220) | alienable vs. inalienable nouns (1996:378) |
| Number | Only for very few human nouns. | ? | Only for kinship and personal nouns (122) | No. (201) | Emphatic Plural (1971:215) |
| Inalienable | Kinship terms | kinship terms (237) | some kinship terms (114) | kinship terms (220) | body parts, kinship, some possessions (1971:220-221) |
| Suffixing or Prefixing? | Suffixing | Primarily suffixing (10) | Prefixing and suffixing | Prefixing and suffixing (201) | Prefixing and suffixing |
| Kinship Morphology | unique possessives | unique possessives (236) | possessives, gender, other suffixes (113-117) | inalienably possessed (220) | inalienably possessed (1971:221) |

Table 26: Yuki nouns compared to directly adjacent languages and/or language families¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. Northern Pomo: O'Connor 1984; Eastern Pomo: McLendon 1975; Hupa: Golla

Table 27 compares Yuki to the other Pomoan languages. These languages were spoken to the south of Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo and did not directly border the Yuki speech area. They are arranged roughly according to their distance from the Yuki speech area. Central Pomo is the closest geographically to Yuki after Northern, Eastern, and Northeastern Pomo, while Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) is the most distant.

The Pomoan languages share with Yuki many of the features compared in Table 27. All of the Pomoan languages have an agent/patient argument structure system and show noun classes based on a human/non-human or other animacy-related distinction. Number, if marked at all, is marked only for a small set of human nouns. Alienability is distinguished in the Pomoan languages. Southeastern Pomo shows a larger class of inalienable nouns, which include not only kinship terms, but also body parts. All of the Pomoan languages also show unique morphology for kinship terms.

1971, Golla 1996; Wintu: Pitkin 1984. If not specifically referenced, information on suffixing/prefixing is based on evaluation of the characteristics of noun morphology in the aforementioned references.

| Lang. | Yuki | Central Pomo | SE Pomo | S. Pomo | Kashaya |
|-----------------|---|--|---|--|--|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan |
| Arg. Structure | agent/patient | agent/patient (Mithun 2008) | agent/patient (Mithun 2008) | agent/patient (Mithun 2008) | agent/patient (Mithun 2008) |
| Word Classes | human vs. non-human (NH). NH animates and kinship are subclasses. | Some animacy-based distinction must exist, as only some nouns are marked for number. | (162) animate (human, kinship, non-human), inanimate (locatives vs. not), pronouns. | Only pronouns, kinship terms, highly animate common nouns show case marking. | 5 based on existence of objective, vocative, comitative forms(111) |
| Number | Only for very few human nouns. | Only for very few human nouns. (Mithun 1988:225) | human SG/PL, many other suffixes. (167) | Plural marked for a few common nouns | No. (111) |
| Inalienbl. | kinship terms | ? | yes, kin, friends, body parts (164) | yes | yes, kinship terms (118) |
| Suffixing | Suffixing. | Primarily suffixing. | Suffixing | Primarily suffixing | Prefixing and suffixing |
| Kinship Morph. | unique possessives | unique possessives | inalienable poss. suffix, unique vocative (164, 177) | unique possessive form and other morphology | inalienable, unique suffixes (118-119) |

Table 27: Yuki nouns compared to the Pomoan Languages¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. C. Pomo: Marianne Mithun, p.c. May 5, 2011; S.E. Pomo: Moshinsky 1974; S.

Table 28 shows two types of languages. Wappo is most likely a genetic relative of Yuki and is included for comparison for that reason. Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, and Achumawi are languages that Yuki speakers came into contact with after the arrival of Euro-Americans. As detailed in Chapter 1, speakers of many other Native California languages were moved to Round Valley in the mid to late nineteenth century following contact with Euro-Americans. Initially languages were maintained, but already by the turn of the twentieth century many younger Native residents of Round Valley no longer spoke the languages of their parents and grandparents. All existing Yuki speech data are collected from speakers who were born and lived during the period after speakers of these other Native California languages were living along with the Yukis in Round Valley.

In terms of argument structure and noun morphology Yuki and its later contact languages are more dissimilar than Yuki and its longtime neighbors, the Pomoan languages. Konkow, Nisenan, and Achumawi are nominative/accusative languages unlike Yuki, which is an agent/patient language. Konkow and Nisenan show a different type of number marking, which includes a dual number. Achumawi has no number marking at all. Noun classes resulting from an alienability distinction are distinguished for Konkow, Nisenan, and possibly for Achumawi. As in Yuki, kinship terms are treated as inalienable in Konkow and Nisenan. It is unclear what noun

Pomo: Alex Walker, p.c. April 22, 2011; Kashaya: Oswalt 1960. If not specifically referenced, information on suffixing/prefixing is based on evaluation of the characteristics of noun morphology in the aforementioned references.

categories are inalienably possessed in Achumawi. Noun morphology in Konkow, Nisenan, and Achumawi is primarily suffixing.

Yuki and Wappo show both similarities and differences in terms of argument structure and noun morphology. Yuki is an agent/patient language, like its Pomoan neighbors, while Wappo is a nominative/accusative language. Wappo distinguishes alienable and inalienable noun classes, and also makes a human/non-human distinction as seen in Yuki. Wappo treats kinship nouns as inalienable, but does not treat them as a unique class of nouns to the extent seen in Yuki, as in Wappo there is no unique possessive or other morphology associated with kinship nouns. Wappo also includes body parts along with kinship terms in its class of inalienable nouns, while in Yuki only kinship terms are treated as inalienable. Number can be marked on any noun, human or non-human, but is often omitted for non-human nouns.

| Lang. | Yuki | Wappo | Konkow | Nisenan | Achumawi |
|------------------------|--|---|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Lg. Family | Yukian | Yukian | Maiduan | Maiduan | Palaihnihan |
| Argument Structure | agent / patient | nominative / accusative (2006:10-11) | nominative /accusative (145-146) | nominative/accusative (22) | Nominative/ Accusative (1930:83) |
| Noun Classes | human vs. non-human (NH). NH animate and kinship subclasses. | alieneable vs. inalienable (1929:136), human vs. non-human (2006:20-21) | alienable vs. inalienable. (158) | alienable vs. inalienable (24) | possibly based on alienability (1922:37) |
| Number | Only for very few human nouns. | Yes, SG/PL (2006:19-22) | SG/Dual/PL (142) | optional SG/Dual/PL for human nouns (22) | No. (1930:81) |
| Inalienable | kinship terms | kin, body parts (1929:136) | kin, some vocatives (158) | kin (24) | ? |
| Suffixing / Prefixing? | Suffixing | Suffixing and Prefixing | Suffixing | Suffixing | Suffixing |
| Kinship Morph. | unique possessives | inalienably possessed (1929:136) | inalienably possessed (158) | inalienably possessed (24) | inalienably possessed? (1922:37) |

Table 28: Yuki nouns compared to more distant languages in contact and Wappo¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. Wappo: Thompson et al. 2006, Radin 1929; Konkow: Ultan 1967; Nisenan: Eatough 1999; Achumawi: de Angulo and Freeland 1930, Gifford 1922. If not specifically referenced, information on suffixing/prefixing is based on evaluation of the characteristics of noun morphology in the aforementioned references.

In terms of argument structure and noun morphology, Yuki seems most similar to the Pomoan languages, as far as can be judged from this fairly limited comparison. Yuki shows the same agent/patient argument structure system as the Pomoan languages, a similar distribution of number marking, which is generally only seen for very few human nouns, and unique morphology associated with kinship terms. Alienability and animacy-based noun classes are distinguished in Yuki and the Pomoan languages, but also in most of the other languages in this comparison.

Yuki and its genetic relative Wappo show some similarities in terms of a human/non-human noun class distinction and the treatment of kinship terms as inalienable, but also a number of differences. Wappo treats body part nouns as well as kinship terms as inalienable and marks number for most nouns. The most profound difference is in the system of argument structure. Wappo is a nominative/accusative language, while Yuki is an agent/patient language. This difference suggests that either Wappo or Yuki has changed its system of argument structure sometime in the past. As Yuki borders the Pomoan languages, all of which are agent/patient languages and shares other structural similarities with the languages of this group, it seems reasonable to conjecture that Yuki borrowed its system of argument structure from Pomoan at some point in the past (Mithun 2008, Mithun In Press).

The similarities in noun morphology between Yuki, Konkow, Nisenan, and Achumawi seem more coincidental than a result of contact. For example, alienability is distinguished in Yuki and in Konkow, Nisenan, and Achumawi. All four languages treat kinship terms as inalienable; however cross-linguistically kinship terms are commonly treated as inalienable in languages where alienability is distinguished.

6. Pronouns

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Agent | Patient | Dative | Agent | Patient | Dative |
| First Person | ^ʔ q̄p | ^ʔ i | ^ʔ it | mi (I) | miyq̄ (I) | miyq̄t (I) |
| | ^ʔ qp̄il (emph.?) | | | ^ʔ us (E) | ^ʔ usq̄ (E) | ^ʔ usq̄t (E) |
| Possessive | ^ʔ itin | | | miyq̄t (I) | | |
| | | | | ^ʔ usq̄t (E) | | |
| Second Person | mi ^ʔ | mis | mit | mo ^ʔ os | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄ | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄t |
| Possessive | mit | | | mo ^ʔ osiyq̄t | | |
| Third Person | ki | ki ^ʔ q̄ | kipq̄t ¹⁵⁷ | kimasi (ANIM) | kimasq̄ | kimasq̄t |
| | | | | kimas (INANIM) | | |
| Demonstrative | ki | ki ^ʔ q̄ | | kimasi (ANIM) | kimasq̄ | |
| | | | | kimas (INANIM) | | |
| Possessive | kipq̄t ¹⁵⁸ | | | kimasq̄t | | |
| Coreferential | kip | kipq̄ | | kimo ^ʔ osiyq̄ ¹⁵⁹ | | |
| Fourth Person | | | ki ^ʔ q̄t | | | |
| Possessive | ki ^ʔ q̄t | | | | | |
| ‘self’ | ṭima | | | | | |

Table 29: Yuki Personal and Possessive Pronouns (I = inclusive, E = exclusive, ANIM = animate, INANIM = inanimate)

¹⁵⁷ Oblique third person forms based on *kipq̄t* have not been observed. Oblique third person forms referring to non-humans are based on *ki* and those referring to humans are based on the fourth person dative pronoun *ki^ʔq̄t*, as discussed in §6.1.10.

¹⁵⁸ The coreferential dative pronoun *kipq̄t* is used as the possessive form for third person singular referents.

¹⁵⁹ Kroeber (1911:367) lists *kimosiyq̄t* ‘they themselves’ in his description of Yuki pronouns. This pronoun has not been observed in elicitation, but may occur once in the texts. The *Wildcat and Coyote* myth in Kroeber’s original notes is longer than the version in his 1911 Yuki sketch. *kimo^ʔseyyat lán^ʔa* ‘their brother’ occurs in this original version (Kroeber 1902a:18), though *kimo^ʔseyyat* does not appear to mean ‘they themselves’ and may be the third person distributive plural dative *kimasq̄t*.

Table 29 provides an overview of Yuki personal and possessive pronouns. The kinship possessive prefixes are shown in Table 31.

6.1. Personal Pronouns

Three persons are distinguished for all personal pronouns. First and second person pronouns are “true” pronouns in that these serve no other function, while third person pronouns are actually demonstratives. The distal demonstrative *ki* forms the base for Yuki third person pronouns. Less commonly the proximal demonstrative *ka* is also used as a pronoun meaning ‘this one’. Agent, patient, and dative forms are distinguished for singular and plural forms of first, second, and third person¹⁶⁰. A fourth person pronoun *kiʔqt* is used as a possessive pronoun and as a base for forming obliques. Yuki fourth person is used to distinguish two third person referents.

Inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished for the first person plural pronouns. Singular and plural number are distinguished for first and second person pronouns. Third person pronouns and demonstratives distinguish singular and distributive plural forms. In addition, third person distributive plural pronouns and demonstratives also distinguish animate and inanimate forms.

¹⁶⁰ The agent/patient distinction is discussed in §5.2.

Dative and possessive forms are identical except for first person singular¹⁶¹. The first person singular dative pronoun is *ʔit*, while the first person singular possessive pronoun is *ʔitin*. A series of special possessive prefixes is used with kinship terms.

A third person singular coreferential pronoun *kip* and a corresponding patient form *kipq*, along with a third person plural coreferential pronoun *kimoʔosiyq* are also used in Yuki. These pronouns refer to an argument that has already been stated in the current clause or a preceding clause. A reflexive/emphatic pronoun *ʔima* is used to emphasize action by an argument. Also, there exists an alternate form of the first person singular pronoun *ʔqpil*, which is claimed by Schlichter and Sawyer (1984:111) to be an emphatic form of *ʔq* ‘1SG.AGT’.

In the subsequent sections examples are provided of each pronoun.

¹⁶¹ As dative and possessive pronouns do not differ in their form, these pronouns are all glossed as dative using DAT. The first person singular possessive pronoun *ʔitin*, is glossed 1SG.POSS, as it differs from the first person singular dative pronoun *ʔit*.

6.1.1. First Person Singular

Examples of the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔap* are shown in (1) - (3).

- (1) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

ʔap mátlɪ:kɔn pək pəp'əyəkpa ʔey

ʔap ma-tl=kɔn pək pəp'-ək-paʔ =ʔi

1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi.

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

- (2) Origins: 132b, RM

yú:kin ʔap ka k'əyyemikí: k'əyimilpa.

yukin ʔap ka k'ay=miki k'ay-mil-paʔ

Yuki **1SG.AGT** PRX talk=PURP talk-?-FUT

‘the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking’

- (3) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

səʔéy ʔap mil ʔúnmawi ki:

sə=ʔi ʔap mil ʔun-mə-wi kiʔ

SAME=HSY1 **1SG.AGT** deer bring-DIR1-PST1 DST

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>kápisa</i> | <i>hąwayilitia</i> | <i>ʔey ...</i> |
| <i>kap-s-aʔ</i> | <i>hąway-lit-aʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| bring.in-CAUS-IMP | food-DIR2-IMP | =HSY1 |

‘And, “I have brought a deer, bring it in to eat!” ...’

Examples (4) and (5) contrast the use of the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi* and the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔap*. In these examples *ʔap* occurs with the verbs *kom-* ‘come’ and *koʔ-* ‘go’; *ʔi* occurs with the verb *yat-* ‘be gone’ and with *yaw-* ‘name’ used as an intransitive verb.

(4) Coyote and the World: 378, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>ʔán</i> | <i>ʔi:y</i> | <i>yátpaʔ</i> | <i>simón</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>kómpaʔ</i> |
| <i>ʔan</i> | <i>ʔi</i> | <i>yat-paʔ</i> | <i>si-mon</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>kom-paʔ</i> |
| long | 1SG.PAT | be.gone-FUT | NEW?=but? | 1SG.AGT | come-FUT |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>múspa</i> |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>musp=q</i> |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | 3R.DAT | woman=PAT |

“‘A long time I shall be gone; but I shall come (back)’”, he said to his wife.’

(5) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>... mihtan</i> | <i>ʔi:</i> | <i>yáwmil</i> | <i>ho:t</i> | <i>nó:p</i> | <i>han</i> |
| <i>mih-tan</i> | <i>ʔi</i> | <i>yąw=mil</i> | <i>ho:t</i> | <i>noʔ=op?</i> | <i>han</i> |
| be-NEG | 1SG.PAT | name=FIN | big | live-while? | but |

ʔap kó:mil ʔi:y ʔimeymil hulk'ó'i k'ó'olk'ána'ok

ʔap koʔ=mil =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'o'i ko'ol-k'ani=a?-ok

1SG.AGT go=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki-language=PAT?-INST

‘... There is no one I name, but I come where many live’, said Coyote speaking Wailaki.’

(6) and (7) show examples of the first person singular possessive pronoun *ʔitin* and the first person singular dative pronoun *ʔit*.

(6) Origins: 132c, RM

sá:kop ʔitin há:p ʔáhpa ʔey ʔimeymil taykómol.

sq=kop ʔitin há:p ʔah-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol

SAME=then **1SG.POSS** song hold-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘And they shall hold my song’, said Taykómol.’

(7) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

seʔéy hulk'ó'i kí hqle ʔiyt k'ápki

si=ʔi hulk'o'i ki =hqli ʔit k'apki

NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 **1SG.DAT** below

| | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>hó:t</i> | <i>sunlámuʔ</i> | <i>ʔi:y</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> |
| <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>sun-lam-wi</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> |
| big | make.noise-INCH-PST1 | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote |

‘And Coyote, “That must be the one which just now moved along resounding loudly below **me**”, said Coyote.’

ʔqipil ~ *ʔqpel* is described as a first person singular emphatic pronoun (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111). An elicited example of *ʔqipil* is shown in (8).

(8) Siniard 1967b:102, MF

| | | |
|------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>ʔqipil</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>matlik</i> |
| <i>ʔqipil</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>mat-tl=k</i> |
| 1SG.EMPH? | DST | do-TR=DECL |

‘I did that.’

In the texts, a single use of *ʔqipil* appears in ‘Coyote and the World’ and is shown in (9). *ʔqipil* is glossed and translated by Kroeber as ‘one another’ and is not associated with the first person at all.

(9) Coyote and the World: 246, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>ká</i> | <i>mí:kon</i> | <i>míya</i> | <i>haháʔima</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>mih=kon</i> | <i>miya</i> | <i>haha-ma</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | now | PRX | be=but | 1PL.INCL.PAT | deceive-? |

?ey ?í:mikílmil ?q̣:pil
 =?i ?im-k-il=mil ?qpil
 =HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN **one.another**

‘And now, “This one perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

6.1.2. Second Person Singular

Examples of the second person singular agent pronoun *mi?* are shown in (10) and (11). An example of the second person singular dative pronoun *mit* used as a possessive is also shown in (11).

(10) Coyote and the World: 347 (excerpt), RM

...kaṭá(w)pis **mi:** kup ?onk'olámwit
 kaṭa=pis **mi?** kup ?onk'ol=am=wit
 here=ABL **2SG.AGT** sister's.son east=IN2=ALL

kó:tampa?

ko[?]-t-m-pa?

go-INTR-IMPV-FUT

‘...From here **you**, sister’s son, shall go toward the east.’

(11) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikiṭey ká **mí:t** kup ʔonapaʔ ʔan
si=kiṭ=ʔi ka **mit** kup ʔon-aʔ-paʔ ʔan
NEW=then=HSY1 PRX **2SG.DAT** sister's.son ground-ʔ-FUT always

son **míʔ** kup kákkútispaʔ

son **miʔ** kup kákk-kut-s-paʔ

therefore **2SG.AGT** sister's.son rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT

“This, sister’s son, shall always be **your** place; but **you** shall rise first.”

(12) shows an example of the second person patient pronoun *mis*.

(12) Origins: 43, RM

sákiṭéy ʔaṅk'i:k'án' **mis** hamló:tha
sq=kiṭ=ʔi ʔam-k'ikan' **mis** hamlot-ha
SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother **2SG.PAT** hungry-Q

ʔim kíwismil hulk'oʔá.

ʔim kiw-s=miil hulk'oʔi=q

thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT

‘Thereupon, “My mother’s brother, are **you** hungry?” thus he asked Coyote.’

6.1.3. First Person Plural

Inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished for first person plural pronouns. Inclusive pronouns are used when the speaker and addressee are both referred to with the first person plural pronoun. In (13), *mey* ‘1PL.INCL.AGT’ refers to the speaker and to the addressee *milonti:tmi* ‘elk’.

(13) Ents and Upek: 7, RM

seʔey *ki* *čʔal* *pʔqakmil* *láкта* *káʔá*

si=ʔi *ki* *čʔal* *pʔqk-qk=mil* *lak-t-a* *kaʔa*

NEW=HSY1 DST loud shout-SEM=FIN come.out-INTR-IMP here

ol *tʔlop* *milonti:tmi* *mey* *mámekilpa*

ʔol *tʔl=op* *milontitam* *mi* *mám-k-il-pa*

tree NEG=when elk 1PL.INCL.AGT fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

mey *wóktlpa.*

mi *wok-tl-pa*

1PL.INCL.AGT sing/dance-TR-FUT

‘He shouted: “Come out on the prairie [where there are no trees], elk, **we** will fight, **we** will dance.”’

Exclusive first person plural forms refer to the speaker and one or more others, but not to the addressee. In the texts exclusive pronouns often appear in quoted speech. In (14), the *kʔóʔil* ‘Wailaki’ are speaking to Coyote. When the Wailaki say

wóktli ʔúsa nqwésaʔ ‘show us your dance’, they use the exclusive patient pronoun ʔúsa, because they are asking Coyote to show them, the Wailaki, the dance, not asking Coyote to show the dance to them and himself.

(14) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>háyé</i> | <i>kʔóʔil</i> | <i>kiwismil</i> | <i>wóktl</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>kʔoʔil</i> | <i>kiw-s=mil</i> | <i>wok-tl</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | again | Wailaki | ask-CAUS=FIN | sing/dance-TR |

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>ʔúsa</i> | <i>nqwésaʔ</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> |
| <i>ʔusa</i> | <i>nqw-s-aʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL.PAT | see-CAUS-IMP | =HSY1 | say=FIN |

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>kʔóʔil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔa</i> |
| <i>kʔoʔil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i> |
| Wailaki | Coyote=PAT |

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “Show **us** (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

Similarly, in (15), the exclusive forms ʔúsa ‘1PL.EXCL.PAT’ and ʔús ‘1PL.EXCL.AGT’ are used in quoting the speech of the two Wailakis who returned alive. They are telling the addressee what happened to them, but because the addressee was not part of this experience, exclusive pronouns are used and the addressee is not referred to.

(15) Coyote and the World: 177, RM

kayit *ʔúša* *nqñákwi* *sikí:ki* *ʔús*

kayit *ʔusa* *nqñak-wi* *sikiki* *ʔus*

already **1PL.PAT.EXCL** know-PST1 therefore **1PL.AGT.EXCL**

k'ólam *tíweyu* *ʔey* *ʔi:má:lilmil* *kip'áwwop*

k'ol=am *tiw-wi* =ʔi *ʔim-má-l-il=mil* *kipq̄w=op*

other=? pursue-PST1 =HSY1 say-DIR1-?-MPSV=FIN back=LAT

šayyaʔ *ʔóp'a* *k'oʔil* *tó:ktlnámilkimási*

šay=aʔ *ʔopi=a* *k'oʔil* *tok-tl=namlí=ki-mas-i*

alive=PAT? two=PAT? Wailaki reach-TR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“We knew in time, that is why we pursued separately”, they said to the others, those two Wailaki who came back alive.’

(16) shows an interesting example of both inclusive and exclusive pronouns used in a quote spoken by the same individual.

(16) Coyote and the World: 254, RM

sáʔey *ʔuš* *tq̄hi* *k'olí* *san* *míʔat* *pilá:t*

sá=ʔi *ʔus* *tq̄h* *k'oli* *son?* *míʔat* *pilá:t*

SAME=HSY1 **1PL.EXCL.AGT** find kill but? **1PL.INCL.DAT** sun

lilk'il lqčkilu ?iy ?im hušk'ayesmil
lil=k'il lqč-k-il-wi =?i ?im hušk'ay-s=mil
 rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki hulk'o'a li'áknamlidikimási
ki' hulk'o'i=q li'-qk=namli=ki-mas-i
 DST Coyote=PAT kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“**We** found and killed him, but he broke **our** sun against a rock”, thus they reported, they who had slain Coyote.’

In (16), the speaker uses the exclusive pronoun *?uṣ* ‘1PL.EXCL.AGT’ to specify that the addressee is not referred to with the first person plural pronoun. However, a few words later the inclusive dative pronoun *miʔat* ‘1PL.INCL.DAT’ is used instead of the exclusive form *?uṣat* ‘1PL.EXCL.DAT’ in *miʔat pilq:t* ‘our sun’. This is the only occurrence of such a use in the texts, so it is possible that it is just an error on the part of the speaker. It may also be that *pilq:t* ‘sun’ is something that is seen as being universally possessed by all people in common, because the sun is present in the lives of all people including the addressee.

(17) shows an example of the first person exclusive plural dative pronoun *?uṣat* used as a possessive.

(17) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

séʔey *ki* *ʔi:pšák* *ʔuṣq̄t* *ki* *ʔo:t* *pan*
si=ʔi *ki* *ʔipsak* *ʔuṣq̄t* *ki* *ʔo:t* *pan*
NEW=HSY1 DST boy **1PL.EXCL.DAT** DST carrying.basket hang

ʔi:y *ʔimismil*

=ʔi *ʔim-s=mil*

=HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘So the boy said, “That is **our** carrying basket hanging”.’

6.1.4. Second Person Plural

Examples of the second person plural agent pronoun *moʔos* are shown in (18) and (19).

(18) Coyote and the World: 27, RM

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>míwismil</i> | | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>lákti</i> |
| =ʔi | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>miw-s=mil</i> | | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>lak-t</i> |
| =HSY1 | 2PL.AGT | disbelieve-CONT?=FIN | | all-ANIM | come-INTR |
| <i>ʔiwilhánpis</i> | | <i>są</i> | <i>náwkiłʔ</i> | | |
| <i>ʔiwilhan=pis</i> | | <i>są</i> | <i>nąw-k-il-ʔ</i> | | |
| ceremonial.house=ABL | SAME | see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP | | | |

“**You** who disbelieve me all come out of the ceremonial house and look!”

(19) Coyote and the World: 415 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>... mo:s</i> | <i>ʔawhámi</i> | <i>mí:pa</i> | <i>ʔa:átat</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>moʔos</i> | <i>ʔawhami</i> | <i>mih-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔátat=át</i> | =ʔi |
| 2PL.AGT | animal | be-FUT | people=DAT | =HSY1 |
| <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> | | | |
| <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> | | | |
| say=FIN | Coyote | | | |

‘... **you** shall be game for people’, said Coyote.’

The second person plural patient pronoun *moʔosiyq* is found rarely in the texts.

The example in (20) shows *moʔosiyq* in use.

(20) The Thunder Twins¹⁶²: 136, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>ʔí:yi</i> | <i>yú:yanjk</i> | <i>maʔoš</i> | <i>kimat</i> | <i>həwáyisilnámeliki</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔiyi</i> | <i>yuyʼ=am=k</i> | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>kimat</i> | <i>həwəy-s-il=namli=ki</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | what | do=?=DECL | 2PL.AGT | ? | eat-CAUS-MPSV=DEP=DST |

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔáp</i> | <i>móší:yq</i> | <i>wátimik</i> | <i>ʔimiye</i> | <i>čá:kam</i> |
| <i>ʔap</i> | <i>moʔos=q</i> | <i>wat-m=k</i> | <i>ʔim-y</i> | <i>čakam</i> |
| 1SG.AGT | 2PL=PAT | show-IMPV=DECL | say-PROG | sinew |

háʔnamʔlikí: *ʔey* *lákʼekilimil.*

háʔ=namli=kí *=ʔi* *lak-k-il=mil*

have.with=DEP=DST =HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And saying, “What are you doing, you who eat one another? I will show **you**”, (Burnt-Sling) drew out some sinew (or tendon) which he had with him.’

(21) shows an example of the second person plural dative pronoun *mo:ší:yat*.

¹⁶² *The Thunder Twins* does not appear in the collection of Yuki texts in Appendix 8. It is found in Kroeber 1901/1903.

(21) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

seʔey háye hiwák mo:ʃi:yat ʔúsa

si=ʔi háye hiwák moʔosiyat ʔusa

NEW=HSY1 again in.turn **2PL.AGT.DAT** 1PL.EXCL.PAT

wok nąwi hámek ʔey ʔimeymil hulkʔoʔi kʔóola

wok nąw ham=k =ʔi ʔim=mil hulkʔoʔi kʔóol=q

dance see want=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki=PAT

“Now in turn we want to see **your** dance”, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

6.1.5. Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

Table 30 provides an overview of Yuki third person pronouns and demonstratives.

| | | Singular | | | Distributive Plural | | |
|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | | Agent | Patient | Dative | Agent | Patient | Dative |
| Third Person Pronouns | | <i>ki</i> | <i>kiʔq</i> | <i>kipqt</i> ¹⁶³ | <i>kimasi</i> (ANIM) | <i>kimasq</i> | <i>kimasqt</i> |
| | | | | | <i>kimas</i> (INANIM) | | |
| Possessive | | <i>kipqt</i> ¹⁶⁴ | | | <i>kimasqt</i> | | |
| Demonstratives | Distal | <i>ki</i> | <i>kiʔq</i> | | <i>kimasi</i> (ANIM) | <i>kimasq</i> | |
| | | | | | <i>kimas</i> (INANIM) | | |
| | Prox. | <i>ka</i> | <i>kaʔa</i> | | <i>kamasi</i> | ? | |
| | | <i>kaʔqt</i> (poss.) | | | | | |

Table 30: Yuki Third Person Pronouns and Demonstratives

Yuki third person pronouns are identical in form to the distal demonstratives. Occasionally, the proximal demonstrative *ka* is used as a pronoun meaning ‘this one’ or ‘this person’. Kroeber (1911:367) includes a distributive plural proximate form *kamasi*, as well as, a proximate patient form *kaʔa* and a proximate possessive form *kaʔqt* in his description of Yuki demonstratives, however none of these occur in the texts.

¹⁶³ Oblique third person forms based on *kipqt* have not been observed. Oblique third person forms referring to non-humans are based on *ki* and those referring to humans are based on the fourth person dative pronoun *kiʔqt*, as discussed in §6.1.10.

¹⁶⁴ The coreferential dative pronoun *kipqt* is used as the possessive form for third person singular referents.

6.1.5.1. Singular Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

(22) and (23) show examples of *ki* used as a pronoun.

(22) Coyote and the World: 390, RM

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>kimás</i> | ki: | <i>huʔútlmil</i> | <i>həwáyí</i> | <i>wáčma</i> | <i>ki:</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>kimas</i> | ki | <i>huʔu-tl=mil</i> | <i>həway</i> | <i>wáč-ma</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | thus | DST | finish-TR=FIN | food | steal-DIR1 | DST |

ʔukhó:támpis

ʔukhoṭ=am=pis

ocean=IN2=ABL

‘And so **he** finished that stealing of food from the coast.’

(23) Coyote and the World: 221, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>seʔey</i> | ki: | <i>hil</i> | <i>həyé</i> | <i>pišítmil</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | ki | <i>hil</i> | <i>həye</i> | <i>piš-t=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | DST | all | now | take.off-INTR=FIN |

‘So now he stripped them all off;’

(24) and (25) show *ki* used as a demonstrative with inanimate and animate referents, respectively. Also, Kroeber often translates *ki* as ‘the’ in free translation when it is used as a demonstrative. For example, in (298), *ki ʔipsák* is translated as ‘the boy’ by Kroeber.

(24) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

ʔim kɪ: yim čí:yí:mílamha kup ʔi:y

ʔim ki yim čí-y-mil-m-ha kup =ʔi

where **DST** fire glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q sister's.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“Where does **that** fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

(25) Coyote and the World: 307, RM

hílikšiloʔ hulk'óʔi kip kíwsiki ʔey kíta yáw

hilkšiloʔ hulk'óʔi kip kiw-s=ki =ʔi kíta yáw

everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name

wá:česmil ki ʔipsák

wač-s=mil ki ʔipsak

show-CAUS=FIN **DST** boy

‘Everything that Coyote asked him, **the** boy told (showed) the name there.’

(26) and (27) show examples of *ka* ‘this’ used as a pronoun. In (26), *ka* is used to mean ‘this one’, referring to a person. In (27), *ka* is used to mean ‘this way’, referring to a state of affairs.

(26) Coyote and the World: 246, RM

sáʔey *haye* **ká** *mí:kon* *míya* *haháʔima*
sá=ʔi *haye* **ka** *mih=kon* *miya* *haha-ma*
SAME=HSY1 now **PRX** be=but 1PL.INCL.PAT deceive-?

ʔey *ʔi:mikílmil* *ʔq:pil*
=ʔi *ʔim-k-il=mil* *ʔqpil*
=HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN one.another

‘And now, “**This one** perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

(27) Coyote and the World: 275, RM

sikíta *haye* **ka** *mípaʔ* *ʔi:y*
si=kiṭa *haye* **ka** *mih-paʔ* *=ʔi*
NEW=then now **PRX** be-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk’oʔi* *pilqta.*
ʔim=mil *hulk’oʔi* *pilqt=q*
say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

‘So now, “**This** (is how it) shall be”, Coyote told the sun.’

(28) shows *ka* ‘this’ and *ki* ‘that’ used as demonstratives in two successive clauses with the same noun *həp* ‘song’.

(28) Origins: 29, RM

se'áy *'q̣p* *lákmi'kíṭa* *ka* *hḗ:p*

si='i *'q̣p* *lak-m=kíṭa* *ka* *hḗp*

NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT leave-IMPV=when **PRX** **song**

wóktlin'k *'imeymil*

wok-tl-nik *'im=mil*

sing/dance-TR-NEC say=FIN

ki *taykomol* *hulk'ó'q̣.*

ki *taykomol* *hulk'o'i=q̣*

DST Taykómol Coyote=PAT

“As I emerge, I go to sing **this song**”, he said to Coyote.’

Origins: 30

se'áy *háye* *ki* *hḗp* *kútitmil* *taykómol.*

si='i *haye* *ki* *hḗp* *kut-t=mil* *taykomol*

NEW=HSY1 now **DST** **song** start-INTR=FIN Taykómol

‘And [Taykómol] began to sing **that song**.’

(29) shows the coreferential dative pronoun *kipat* used as a possessive.

(29) Coyote and the World: 226, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>háyki</i> | <i>k'ó:tli</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>hay=ki</i> | <i>k'oʔ-tl</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | 3R.DAT | net.bag=IN | put.in-TR | =HSY1 |

háye há:temil

háye háʔ-t=mil

now take.off-INTR=FIN

‘And putting it **in his net sac**, he took it off.’

(30) shows the coreferential dative pronoun *kipat* used as a benefactive.

(30) Origins: 46, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>kimás</i> | <i>həwáyi</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>t'úʔaki</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> | <i>həway</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>t'u-ək</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | much | DST-DSTR | food | 3R.DAT | lay.down-SEM |

ʔeyy ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.

=ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So he laid down much food **for him**, Coyote told (later)’

6.1.5.2. Distributive Plural Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

In the third person, plural pronouns or demonstratives are used only with certain types of referents. *-mas* in Yuki third person plural pronouns has been called a distributive marker (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:65). Corbett (2000) gives this description of distributives:

Distributives mark the separation of members of a group whether entities, events, qualities or locations. Each is considered distinct in space, sort or time. Distributive marking on nouns has two primary functions: it may spread (distribute) entities over various locations or various sorts (types) (111-112) ... Distributive markers indicate that entities are to be construed individually, as separate and distinct (119).

The distributive grammatical category is not a type of number, per se, but is instead a means for indicating that a group of referents is individuated and varied in their type or in their location in space or time. It is common for humans to be considered as having both of these qualities, and therefore human referents can often take distributive marking. In cases like these¹⁶⁵ the difference in meaning is slight between a distributive meaning of ‘a group of various types of people’ and the plural meaning of ‘more than one person’ (Corbett 2000:116).

¹⁶⁵ Corbett (2000:116) mentions the case of Quileute where among younger speakers the meaning of the distributive marking has shifted from indicating distributivity to indicating a plural number.

In Yuki, distributive *-mas* is found on distal, and less commonly on proximal, demonstratives acting as demonstratives or third person pronouns. Agent and patient forms are distinguished for the distributive plural pronouns and demonstratives. In addition, animate and inanimate forms are distinguished with a final *-i* on distributive plural pronouns referring to animates. This is the same process observed for quantifiers acting as pronouns. *hil* ‘all’ becomes the pronoun *hili* ‘all of them’ referring to animates.

In the texts, distributive forms are most often found referring to human referents or mythical figures in stories that have the attributes of humans. However, the distributive is also used with non-human inanimate referents.

In (31), the animate form *kimáse* is used as a pronoun referring to *kipat* ‘a:тата’ ‘his people=PAT’ in the previous clause.

(31) Coyote and the World: 129, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>ʔa:тата</i> | <i>woktl</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>ʔat=q</i> | <i>wok-tl</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | 3R.DAT | people=PAT | sing/dance-TR | say=FIN |

‘and told his people to dance.’

seʔey *kimáse* *wóktlmil*
si=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *wok-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **DST-DSTR-ANIM** sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘So **they** danced.’

In (32), the inanimate form *kimás* is used as a pronoun referring to inanimate objects in a previous clause.

(32) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sáʔey *kimás* *háyk* *pʔoyitli* *ʔáta*
sá-ʔi *ki-mas* *hay=k* *pʔoy-tl* *ʔata*
 SAME=HSY1 **DST-DSTR** bag=IN put-in-TR again

kó:temil *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.*
koʔ-t=mil *ʔukhoʔ=am=wit*
 go-INTR=FIN ocean=IN2=ALL

‘And putting **them** into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

In (33) and (34), the animate agent form *kimasi* is acting as a determiner.

(33) Coyote and the World: 65, RM

sikiʔéy *wąkʔí* *ki* *huʔú(tli)* *ʔey* *milmú:ši* *ną*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *wąk=kʔi* *ki* *huʔu(-tl)* *=ʔi* *milmuši* *=ną*
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN **DST** finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skína *nə* *ʔolkáčam* *kimáse* *mólmaʔ* *ʔey*
siskina =*nə* *ʔolkáčam* *ki-mas-i* *molmaʔ* =*ʔi*
 skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM **three.PAT?** =HSY1

tátikilmil *wok'áŋk*
tat-k-il=mil *wok=am=k*
 fix/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN sing/dance=?=DECL

‘Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, **those three** adorned themselves for the dance.’

(34) Coyote and the World: 207, RM

sikitéy *kimáši* *mú:s* *milhúyisk*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *mus* *mil-huy-s=k*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM **woman.PL** meat-cook-CAUS=DECL

həwáyisammil
həway-s-m=mil
 eat-CAUS-IMPFV=FIN

‘Then **those women**, having broiled the meat, ate it.’

In (35), the inanimate agent form *kimas* is used as a determiner referring to *ʔál* ‘sticks’. A distributive demonstrative is used in this instance, because the sticks are a group of individual items that are being layed down over a span of time.

(35) Coyote and the World: 398, RM

sikit sak k'ini'ákki k'ini'akpa 'eyy

si=kit sak k'in-qk=ki k'in-qk-pa' =?i

NEW=then baby cry-SEM=DST cry-SEM-FUT =HSY1

?imeymil kimás 'ál t'u hu'útli hulk'ó'i

?im=mil ki-mas 'al t'u hu'u-tl hulk'o'i

say=FIN DST-DSTR stick lay finish-TR Coyote

“and crying babies shall cry”, said Coyote as he finished laying **the sticks** thus.’

In (36), the patient form *kimasq* is acting as a demonstrative in the noun phrase *kimáša mús'a?* ‘those women’.

(36) Coyote and the World: 197 (excerpt), RM

... ?imeymil hulk'ó'i kimáša mús'a?

im=mil hulk'o'i ki-mas=q mus=a

say=FIN Coyote DST-DSTR=PAT woman.PL=PAT

‘... Coyote said to **these [those] women.**’

In (37), the dative form *kimášat* is acting as a personal pronoun.

(37) Coyote and the World: 66, RM

sopey hulk'ó'i ʔá'tá kimášat há:p yąškilmil.

sop=?i hulk'ó'i ʔata ki-mas=qt ha:p yąš-k-il=mil

but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And Coyote again stood and sang **for them.**’

In (38), the dative form *kimášat* is acting as a possessive pronoun.

(38) Coyote and the World: 180, RM

si'éy kimášat k'unat kimášat k'á:nat

si=?i ki-mas=qt k'un'=qt ki-mas=qt k'an'=qt

NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT mother=DAT

ʔey na:nákmil t'ól

=?i nanak=mil t'ol

=HSY1 know=FIN hair

‘Then **their** fathers and mothers knew the scalps.’

6.1.6. Fourth Person

kiʔqt is the fourth person dative pronoun. The fourth person is distinguished only for this single pronoun *kiʔqt* and oblique forms, which are derived from it. *kiʔqt* appears infrequently in the texts, but it seems that it is used mainly as a possessive pronoun, a base for forming obliques, and perhaps also to indicate fourth person referents, without implying possession, in the relative clause ending *=namli*.

The fourth person is used to distinguish two different third person referents. In (39), Taykómol emerges from the water in Clause 33 and Coyote hangs himself on Taykómol in Clause 34. In order to say that Coyote is hanging himself on Taykómol instead of Coyote is hanging himself on himself, the fourth person lative oblique form *kiʔq:tap* ‘on him’ is used to distinguish Coyote from Taykómol.

(39) Origins: 33, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>həye</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>taykómol</i> | <i>ʔu:kpis</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>həye</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>taykomol</i> | <i>ʔukʔ=pis</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now | DST | Taykómol | water=ABL |

ʔʔk *šúštlmil*.

ʔʔk *šuš-tl=mil*

jump stand-TR=FIN

‘Now Taykómol leaped from the water and stood.’

Origins: 34

sopéy kíta hulk'o'i ki'á:tap pántlilmil.

*sop=?i kíta hulk'o'i **ki'qt=ap** pan-tl-il=mil*

but=HSY1 there Coyote **4.DAT=LAT** hang-TR-MPSV=FIN

'And because of that Coyote hung himself on him.'

(40) shows an example of *ki'qt* used as a possessive pronoun.

(40) Siniard 1967b:7, MF

ki'at hq̣w ?i: ča:nik

ki'at hq̣w ?i: čan=k

4.DAT fish 1SG.PAT give=DECL

'He gave me his (someone else's) fish'

In certain contexts, *ki'at* may possibly be acting as just an indicator of a fourth person referent without any indication of possession. In (41), *ki'qt* is added to the dependent clause marker =*naml*i in Clause 374 to distinguish other third person referents, shown in bold face, from the main third person referent who is underlined. In Clause 373, the third person referent, Coyote, is not explicitly stated, but understood from previous clauses. In Clause 374, the fourth person marking in the dependent clause marker =*naml*i=*ki'at* in the relative clauses *ḷḷ ṭunó:ṭilnamliḳi'at* 'those who kept stored away the acorns' and *hq̣wáyi ṭunó:ṭilnamliḳi'at* 'those who

kept every kind of food' is differentiating Coyote from the people he is dreaming of, who stored away the acorns and kept every kind of food.

(41) Coyote and the World: 373, RM

sąkimás hu'útlikı̄t ʔéy

są=kimas hu'u-tl=kı̄t =ʔi

SAME=thus finish-TR=when =HSY1

ʔinkıl̄mil ʔátq

ʔin-k-il=mil ʔátq

sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN again

'So when he [Coyote] had finished everything like this, he [Coyote] went to sleep again.'

Coyote and the World: 374

sı̄qʔéy lql ʔunó:ʔıl̄namlikı̄ʔat

sı̄qʔi lql ʔu-noʔ-ʔ-il=namli=kiʔat

AGT>PAT=HSY1 **acorn** put?-live-INTR-MPSV=DEP=4.DAT

ʔey ʔinám̄tmil hilkšıló:ʔ hqwayı

=ʔi ʔinam-t=mil hilkšiloʔ hqway

=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN everything **food**

ʔunó:ʔilnamlikiʔat

ʔu-noʔ-ʔ-il=namli=kiʔat

put?-live-INTR-MPSV=DEP=4.DAT

‘Thereupon he [*Coyote*] dreamed of those who kept stored away the acorns, of those who kept every kind of food.’

6.1.7. Coreferential Pronouns

This section describes the coreferential pronouns of Yuki: *kip*, *kipq*, *kipqʔ*, *kimoʔosiyq*.

6.1.7.1. *kip*, *kipq*

Mithun (2008:7) describes the coreferential agent pronoun *kip* and patient pronoun *kipq* as “used for third person arguments that are coreferential with the subject of their clause or a higher clause.” The coreferential pronouns *kip* and *kipq* are rare in the texts. *kip* and *kipq* do always refer to a grammatical agent that can also be analyzed as the subject of its clause. However, current available evidence suggests the coreferential pronouns may be referring specifically to grammatical agents, as no examples of reference to grammatical patients has been found thus far.

In (42), *kip* in Clause 307 refers to *ki ʔipsák* ‘the boy’ in Clause 306.

(42) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

séʔey *ki* _____ *ʔi:psák* *ʔuʂqt* *ki* *ʔo:t* *pan*
si=ʔi *ki* _____ *ʔipsak* *ʔusqt* *ki* *ʔo:t* *pan*
NEW=HSY1 DST boy 1PL.EXCL.DAT DST carrying.basket hang

ʔi:y *ʔimismil*
=*ʔi* *ʔim-s=mil*
=HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘So the boy said, “That is our carrying basket hanging”.’

Coyote and the World: 307

hílikšiloʔ *hulk’óʔi* **kip** *kíwsi* *ki* *ʔey* *kíta* *yáw*
hilkšiloʔ *hulk’oʔi* **kip** *kiw-s* *ki* =*ʔi* *kíta* *yáw*
everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS DST =HSY1 there name

wá:česmil *ki* *ʔipsák*
wač-s=mil *ki* *ʔipsak*
show-CAUS=FIN DST boy

‘Everything that Coyote asked **him**, the boy told (showed) the name there.’

In (43), *kip* refers to *hulk'ó'i* 'Coyote'.

(43) Coyote and the World: 411, RM

se'ey háye hulk'ó'i sáṭ'in kip hušk'áyesi

si='i háye hulk'ó'i sáṭ'in kip hušk'ay-s

NEW=HSY1 now Coyote Lizard 3R tell-CAUS

ki 'eyi háye yúni'akmil

ki 'iyi háye yuy'-n-ḡk=mil

DST what now do-AND-SEM=FIN

'So now Coyote did what Lizard told **him**.'

In (44), *kipḡ* in Clause 206 acts as a benefactive and refers to *hulk'ó'i* 'Coyote' in Clause 205.

(44) Coyote and the World: 205, RM

sá'ey maš hḡwáysam wič kóyikap máy

sḡ='i mas hḡway-s-m-(?) wič ko'-y=kop may

SAME=HSY1 thus eat-CAUS-IMPFV-IMP far go-PROG=when someone?

hiwítwiča wički: may 'ínlam'

hiw-t-wič-a wič=ki may 'in-lam

tired-INTR-PST2-? far=IN someone? sleep-INCH

ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

=ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“So, eat! From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said
Coyote.

Coyote and the World: 206

sáʔey náŋkilmil k'amolšíl

sá=ʔi nam-k-il=mil k'amol-šíl

SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipá tátlnamlikí

kip=q tat-tl=namli=ki

3R=PAT arrange/fix-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged **for him**.’

6.1.7.2. *kipat*

The coreferential dative pronoun *kipat* is used as the dative and possessive pronoun for third person singular referents. Examples of *kipat* are given in §6.1.5.1.

6.1.7.3. *kimo'osiyq*

Kroeber (1911:367) records an additional pronoun *kimosiyqt*¹⁶⁶ in his description of Yuki pronouns. He defines it as ‘they themselves’ and lists it as a plural counterpart to the coreferential pronoun *kip*, which he translates as ‘he himself’. This pronoun has not been observed in elicitation, but may occur once in the texts. The *Wildcat and Coyote* myth in Kroeber’s original notes is longer than the version in his 1911 Yuki sketch. *kimo'şeyyat lán'a* ‘their brother’ occurs in this original version (Kroeber 1902a:18), though *kimo'şeyyat* does not appear to mean ‘they themselves’ and may be the third person distributive plural dative *kimasqt*.

A similar-looking form *kimo'osiyq* is found in a few instances in the texts. *kimo'osiyq* does appear to be a distributive plural counterpart to *kip*, though it occurs so infrequently that it is difficult to make this claim with absolute certainty. Like *kip* and *kipq*, *kimo'osiyq* seems to only refer to previous grammatical agent arguments.

In (45), *kimo:séya* ‘they to themselves’ appears to behave as a coreferential pronoun, in that it refers to the subject of the previous clause *k'ol 'ačát* ‘the rest of the people’.

¹⁶⁶ In his original description of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:367) writes this pronoun as *ki-mos-i-at*.

(45) The Thunder Twins¹⁶⁷: 133, RM

si[?]éyy k'ol _____[?]ačát [?]ey táyišyakmil

si=[?]i k'ol _____[?]ačat =[?]i tayiš-ąk=mil

NEW=HSY1 other_people =HSY1 butcher-SEM=FIN

‘And the rest of the people butchered them.’

The Thunder Twins: 134

se[?]éyy húiitli [?]eyy **kimo:séyya** čani [?]eyy [?]ímeymil

si=[?]i hu[?]i-tl =[?]i **kimo[?]osiyą** čani =[?]i [?]im=mil

NEW=HSY1 roast-TR =HSY1 **DSTR.R** give =HSY1 say=FIN

‘And roasting them they said **they** gave (meat of) those **to themselves**.’

In (46), *kimo[?]oséyyą* ‘them’ is referring to Coyote and his traveling companions. They are mentioned in the English translation of the previous clause, but in the Yuki are mentioned across a number of earlier clauses and are talked about as a group.

¹⁶⁷ *The Thunder Twins* does not appear in the collection of Yuki texts in Appendix 8. It is found in Kroeber 1901/1903.

(46) Coyote and the World: 159, RM

sqʔey t'ól túktimil hawayikí:la

sq=ʔi t'ol tuk-t=mil haway=ki-la

SAME=HSY1 hair carry-INTR=FIN food=DST-INST

And they went carrying the scalps with the food.'

Coyote and the World: 160

sópey kuyítpis k'ó'il kímó'oséyyq

sop=ʔi kuy=it=pis k'o'il kimo'osiyq

but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki **DSTR.R**

mqtíli ʔey lu:mtít só:t'ammil káyit ʔolkáčam

mqt-t-il =ʔi lum-tít sot'-m=mil kayit ʔolkáčam

shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow-string snap-IMPV=FIN already Mouse

lu:mtít čilíyaknamlí:.

lum-tít čil-qk=namli=ki

bow-string put.notch.in-SEM=DEP=DST

'But as the Wailaki from there shot at **them**, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.'

In (47), *kimo'séyya* 'them' refers to *k'óil* 'Wailaki'.

(47) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>se</i> | <i>hánkil</i> | <i>kó:lítyi</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔí:yinom'</i> | |
| <i>si</i> | <i>han=k'il</i> | <i>koʔ-lit-y</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔiyi-nom</i> | |
| NEW | house=TERM | go-DIR2-PROG | =HSY1 | some.kind-people/tribe | |
| <i>miyá:tk'il</i> | <i>múnaʔ</i> | <i>kó:yik</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>k'ó'il</i> |
| <i>miyát=k'il</i> | <i>munaʔ</i> | <i>koʔ-y=k</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>k'o'il</i> |
| 1PL.INCL.DAT=TERM | many | go-PROG=DECL | =HSY1 | say=FIN | <i>Wailaki</i> |

'Then as they were approaching the houses, the *Wailaki* said, "Some people are going toward us in numbers".'

...

Coyote and the World: 123

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>ʔiwilhánam</i> | <i>kápšilyakmil</i> | <i>máq</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔiwilhan=am</i> | <i>kap-s-il-qk=mil</i> | <i>máq</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | ceremonial.house=IN2 | enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN | someone |

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>kimo'séyya</i> | <i>kápta</i> | <i>ʔimeytanan.</i> |
| <i>kimo'osiya</i> | <i>kap-t-a</i> | <i>ʔim-tan=han?</i> |
| DSTR.R | enter-INTR-IMP | say-NEG=but? |

'And he entered the ceremonial house though none of **them** said to him, "Enter"!'

(47) is a significant example. In (45), *kimo'osiyq* functions as a recipient where meat is given to the argument referred to with *kimo'osiyq*. In (46), *kimo'osiyq* functions as either a recipient or experiencer of the action of being shot at. In (47), however, *kimo'osiyq* functions as an actor. In this example *kimo'osiyq* refers to the Wailaki are not asking him (Coyote) to enter the ceremonial house. The verb *'im-* 'say' always takes a grammatical agent argument. This shows that *kimo'osiyq* is different than the distributive plural patient pronoun *kimasq*, which only functions as a grammatical patient argument.

6.1.8. *ṭima* ~ *tima* ~ *t'ima* 'self'

ṭima 'self' refers to the grammatical agent, or to the grammatical patient, if the verb has no grammatical agent argument. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:153) define *ṭima* as 'oneself'.

ṭima occurs immediately following the verb if the argument it is referencing is overtly stated, as in (49). *ṭima* precedes the verb if there is no overtly stated argument, as in (48). In (48) *ṭima* refers to a third person singular argument, which is not overtly stated in the clause, while in (49) *ṭima* is referring to a second person singular argument.

(48) Origins: 123, RM

sq̣k'ey'ey *tíma* *hąšá* *ʔi:mísimil.*

sq̣ki=ʔi *tima* *hąša* *ʔim-s=mil*

thereupon?=HSY1 **self** again try-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon again **he himself** tried it.’

(49) Coyote and the World: 280, RM

sq̣kí: *miʔ* *kup* *k'ú:htkiwit* *tákílk*

sq̣ki *miʔ* *kup* *k'uhtki=wit* *ta-k-il=k*

and 2SG.AGT sister's.son north=ALL float-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

miʔ *kup* *mik'áltilṭíma*

miʔ *kup* *mik'al-t-il=ṭima*

2SG.AGT sister's.son **around-INTR-MPSV=self**

‘And from there, sister’s son, floating to the north, you **will make your way around.**’

(50) is an elicited example showing *ṭima* used with a first person singular argument.

(50) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:153, AA

ʔqpt'ima *ki* *matlek*

ʔqp=t'ima *ki* *mat-tl=k*

1SG.AGT=self DST do-TR=DECL

'I've done that **alone**, by **myself**.'

Used with second person arguments, *ṭima* adds a necessitative meaning. (51) shows a series of clauses in which *ṭima* is used with second person arguments. In each clause *ṭima* conveys a meaning of 'you are to do X' or 'you must do X'. Also note that in Clause 279, *ṭima* refers to a patient pronoun, *mis* '2SG.PAT', indicating that *ṭima* can be used with grammatical patients, as well as grammatical agents.

(51) Coyote and the World: 277, RM

sikít *mi* *kíyi* *kíṭa* *húyki* *yíč*

si=kít *mi?* *kiy* *kíṭa* *huy=ki* *yíč*

NEW=then 2SG.AGT travel there middle=IN for.a.while

həwəykílṭima?

həwəy-k-il=ṭima

eat-PNCT-MPSV=self

'And when you have traveled to the middle, you **are to eat** for a while.'

Coyote and the World: 278

sámi *šú'nóhkiltána* *kup*

sa=mi *šú'-no'-h-k-il-tan-a* *kup*

SAME=therefore sit-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister's.son

mi *kó:ɬima*

mi' *ko'=ɬima*

2SG.AGT **go=self**

'But not sitting there to stay long, sister's son, you **are to go on.**'¹⁶⁸

Coyote and the World: 279

sika *mís* *ʔú:k'op* *č'úkɬima*

sika *mis* *ʔuk'=op* *č'uk=ɬima*

AGT>PAT 2SG.PAT water=LAT **fall=self**

'And then you **are to fall** into the water.'

Coyote and the World: 280

sąki: *mi'* *kup* *k'ú:htkiwit* *tákilk*

sąki *mi'* *kup* *k'uhtki=wit* *ta-k-il=k*

and 2SG.AGT sister's.son north=ALL float-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

¹⁶⁸ A more accurate free translation might be: 'Therefore don't sit there and stay long, sister's son, you are to go on.'

miʔ *kup* *mik'áltiłtíma*
miʔ *kup* *mik'al-t-il=ɕima*
 2SG.AGT sister's.son **around-INTR-MPSV=self**

‘And from there, sister’s son, floating to the north, you **will make your way around.**’

6.1.9. Kinship Possessive Pronominal Prefixes

Table 31 summarizes the Yuki kinship possessive pronominal prefixes.

| | Singular | Plural |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| First Person | <i>ʔam-, ʔi(t)-, ʔin-</i> | <i>miʔqt</i> |
| Second Person | <i>mis-</i> | <i>moʔosiyqt</i> |
| Third Person | <i>kim-</i> | <i>kimasat</i> |

Table 31: Yuki kinship possessive prefixes

Possession of kinship terms is shown by pronominal possessive prefixes in the singular that are different from the singular possessive pronouns used to show possession of other types of nouns. For first person plural, the inclusive possessive pronoun is used for kinship terms. For second and third person plural, the regular possessive pronouns are used.

Schlichter and Sawyer (1984) refer to these kinship possessives as inalienable pronouns and all other possessive pronouns as alienable. Kinship terms often do occur with a possessor, but can also occur unpossessed both in the texts and in

elicitation in the Logan recording. Kinship terms are different from other nouns, because of the unique possessive morphology used for them.

(52) and (53) are examples of kinship terms used without possessive prefixes.

(52) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>ʔatáy</i> | <i>káta</i> | kup | <i>šuʔhinik</i> | <i>yíčmah</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔatey</i> | <i>kaʔa</i> | kup | <i>šuʔ-h-nik</i> | <i>yičmah</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | for.a.while | here | sister's.son | sit-DUR-NEC | for.a.while |
| <i>hánkil</i> | <i>kó:mil</i> | | | | |
| <i>han=k'il</i> | <i>koʔ=mil</i> | | | | |
| house=TERM | go=FIN | | | | |

“And for a while [you must] stay here, **sister's son**; for a little I am going home;”

(53) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>sákiʔéy</i> | <i>ʔatq</i> | <i>mi:š</i> | <i>wačísimil</i> | |
| <i>sá=kiʔ=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔatq</i> | <i>miš</i> | <i>wač-s=mil</i> | |
| SAME=then=HSY1 | too | road/way | show-CAUS?=FIN | |
| <i>laš'áwola</i> | <i>kaʔá(w)pis</i> | <i>mí:</i> | kup | <i>ʔonk'olámwit</i> |
| <i>laš'awol=q</i> | <i>kaʔa=pis</i> | <i>miʔ</i> | kup | <i>ʔonk'ol=am=wit</i> |
| moon=PAT | here=ABL | 2SG.AGT | sister's.son | east=IN2=ALL |

kó:tampaʔ

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘And to the moon too he showed his way: “From here you, **sister’s son**, shall go toward the east.”’

The examples below show examples of kinship prefixes in use. (54) - (56) show the first person singular kinship prefixes *ʔam-*, *ʔi(t)-*, *ʔin-*. These prefixes do not differ in meaning and each seems to be associated with particular kinship terms.

(54) Origins: 145, RM

seʔey *miʔ* *ʔaŋkʔi:kanʔ* *nanákhq*

si=ʔi *miʔ* *ʔam-kʔikanʔ* *nanak-hq*

NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother know-Q

kímilmil *ʔey* *ʔimeymil.*

ki=mil=mil =ʔi *ʔim=mil*

say-ʔ=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

‘So, “You, my mother’s brother, say that you know”, (Taykómol) said.’

(55) Coyote and the World: 199, RM

sqʔey *kipáwkil* *kápt(i)* *ʔiymúnʔ*

sq=ʔi *kipqaw=kʔil* *kap-t* *ʔi-munʔ*

SAME=HSY1 back=TERM come.in-INTR 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|-------|----------|
| ʔey | sá:k'lik | ʔey | ʔímeymil |
| ʔi | sa=k'il=k | =ʔi | ʔim=mil |
| 1SG.PAT | can.not.lift=TERM?=DECL | =HSY1 | say=FIN |

‘And coming back in, “**My younger sister**, I cannot raise it”, she said.’

(56) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:34, MF

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| ʔin-k'íč | ko:maʔ |
| ʔin-k'íč | kom-aʔ |
| 1SG.KIN.POSS-older.brother | come-IMP |

‘Older brother (sister), come here!’¹⁶⁹

(57) and (58) are elicited examples of kinship terms with the second person singular prefix *mis-*.

(57) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, MF

| |
|---------------------|
| <i>misk'an</i> |
| <i>mis-k'an'</i> |
| 2SG.KIN.POSS-mother |
| ‘your mother’ |

¹⁶⁹ ʔin- may be an allomorph of ʔam-. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:35) give an example ʔin-k'íč ~ ʔan-k'íč ‘Jesus (lit. (my) older brother)’ (AA) where these two forms of the first person singular kinship possessive prefix appear interchangeable.

(58) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, AA

mislan'

mis-lan'

2SG.KIN.POSS-younger.brother

'your younger brother'

(59) shows the third person singular kinship prefix *kim-* in use.

(59) Coyote and the World: 368, RM

sikq'áy *kíŋk'ún'* *lil* *há:mąkil*

sikq=?i *kim-k'un'* *lil* *há?-mą-k-il*

AGT>PAT(?)=HSY1 **DST.KIN.POSS-father** rock carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV

wítik *t'qláčtlmil* *háwomin(i)k*

wit=k *t'qláč-tl=mil* *hawom-nik*

throw=DECL break.leg-TR=FIN daylight-NEC?

ka *míkilímtl(h)a'* *hilú:ṭ'ismilim'*

ka *mih-k-il=?im-tl-(h)a'* *hiluṭ'-s=mil=im'*

PRX be-PNCT-MPSV-say-TR-Q foolish-CONT?=FIN=where?

ʔi:y ʔimeymil kiŋk'ún'

=ʔi ʔim=mil kim-k'un'

=HSY1 say=FIN DST.KIN.POSS-father

'Thereupon **his father** having picked up a stone and throwing it broke his leg. "There cannot be day! What makes you say so? You are altogether foolish!" said **his father**.'

(60) and (61) show kinship terms with a first person plural possessor. Though the possessive pronoun is recognizable, it still appears to be prefixed onto the kinship term and slightly phonetically reduced from the full form *miʔat ~ miyət*.

(60) Origins: 15, RM

seʔey háye ki: miʔak'ún' k'qkmí:li ʔey

si=ʔi háye ki miʔat-k'un' k'qk-mq-il =ʔi

NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.INCL.DAT-father create-DIR1?-MPSV? =HSY1

ki č'oʔokšiloʔ ʔú:k'op mik'al taʔóhamwičkí:

kiʔ č'oʔok-šiloʔ ʔuk'=op =mik'al taʔo-h-m-wiṭ=ki

DST down.feather=like water=LAT =around float-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST

ʔey k'i hí:ṭmil.

=ʔi kiʔ hiṭ=mil

=HSY1 DST stop=FIN

'Now that **our father** was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.'

(61) Coyote and the World: 423, RM

namlikí ʔey ki: méymil kimás k'qkésinamlikí

namliki =ʔi ki mih=mil kimas k'qk-s=namli=ki

therefore =HSY1 DST be=FIN thus make-CAUS=DEP=DST

miyahk'í:kan'

miyah-k'ikan'

1PL.INCL.DAT-mother's.brother

'That is why it is thus, because he caused it to become so, **our mother's brother.**'

(62) shows kinship terms with a third person distributive plural possessor.

(62) Coyote and the World: 180, RM

si'éy kimášat k'unat kimášat

si=ʔi ki-mas=qt k'un'=qt ki-mas=qt

NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT

k'á:nat [?]ey na:nákmil t'ól

k'an'=qt =[?]i nanak=mil t'ol

mother=DAT =HSY1 know=FIN hair

'Then **their fathers and mothers** knew the scalps.'

6.1.10. Oblique Pronominal Forms

Oblique forms of pronouns are formed by attaching the oblique case ending to the dative form of the pronoun, which is the same method used for forming oblique forms of human nouns¹⁷⁰.

In (63) *miyátk'il* 'toward us' is formed by adding the terminative case enclitic =*k'il* to the first person inclusive plural dative pronoun *miyát*.

(63) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

se hánkil kó:lítyi ?ey ?í:yinom'

si han=k'il ko²-lit-y =?i ?iyi-nom

NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 some.kind-people/tribe

miyá:tk'il muna² kó:yik ?ey ?imeymil k'o'il

miyát=k'il muna² ko²-y=k =?i ?im=mil k'o'il

1PL.INCL.DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki

'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going **toward us** in numbers".'

In (64), *ki²q:tap* 'on him' is formed by attaching the lative case enclitic =*ap* to the fourth person pronoun *ki²q:t*, forming *ki²q:tap* 'on him'.

¹⁷⁰ See §5.4.1.

(64) Origins: 34, RM

sopéy kíta hulk'o'i ki'q:tap pántlilmil.

sop=?i kíta hulk'o'i ki'qt=ap pan-tl-il=mil

but=HSY1 there Coyote **4.DAT=LAT** hang-TR-MPSV=FIN

‘And because of that Coyote hung himself **on him.**’

(65) is an example of a pronominal oblique referring to an inanimate noun *han* ‘house’. In this case the terminative case enclitic =*k'il* is attached directly onto *ki* ‘it’, forming the oblique *kí:k'il* ‘toward it’. This is the same method used for forming oblique forms of inanimate or non-human nouns.

(65) Coyote and the World: 295, RM

sé'ey hánkil kayit nqnáka 'ey

si=?i han=k'il kayit nqnak=ka =?i

NEW=HSY1 house=TERM already know=PRX? =HSY1

humq:s kí:k'il kómmil

humq:s ki=k'il kom=mil

straight **DST=TERM** go=FIN

‘And already knowing the house, he came straight **toward it.**’

6.2. Pronoun in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes the pronouns and pronoun morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

6.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Table 32 compares Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki personal pronouns. Huchnom and Coast Yuki third person personal pronouns, just as in Yuki, can also be used as demonstratives. Lamb's (1955) elicited Huchnom material shows more frequent use of proximal *ka* as a third person pronoun than the Yuki material. An inclusive/exclusive is made for first person plural pronouns in Yuki and Huchnom, and there is evidence that such a distinction may have also existed in Coast Yuki.

All three languages distinguish agent and patient pronouns. Yuki and Coast Yuki dative pronouns are documented. The existence of dative pronouns in Huchnom can only be inferred from oblique pronominal forms. In Yuki such oblique pronouns are formed by attaching the case ending to a dative pronoun. Similarly, in Huchnom *ʔehkil* 'towards me' and *ʔehpis* 'away from me', the case ending appears to be affixed to a pronoun *ʔeh* ~ *ʔeh*, which is different than the Huchnom first person singular agent pronoun *epe* ~ *επε:*.

| | Yuki | Huchnom | Coast Yuki |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1SG.AGT | ʔap | ʔepe ~ εpe: | ʔébbæ ~ ʔépe ~ ʔa:- |
| 1SG.PAT | ʔi | ʔi: | ʔi ~ -y |
| 1SG.DAT | ʔit | | |
| 2SG.AGT | miʔ | me ~ mεʔ | miʔ |
| 2SG.PAT | mis | mis | mis ~ -s (?) |
| 2SG.DAT | mit | | miʔat |
| 3SG.AGT | kiʔ (DST), ka (PRX) | keʔ, ka | ki (DST), ka (PRX) |
| 3SG.PAT | kiʔq (DST) | keʔq, kaʔa | kiʔe |
| 3SG.DAT | kipqt | | kiʔeʔat ¹⁷¹ |
| 4.DAT | kiʔqt | | |
| 1PL.INCL.AGT | mi | mi: | |
| 1PL.INCL.PAT | miyq | | |
| 1PL.INCL.DAT | miyqt | | miʔet |
| 1PL.EXCL.AGT | ʔus | ʔus | ʔû:s ~ ʔu:s |
| 1PL.EXCL.PAT | ʔusq | | |
| 1PL.EXCL.DAT | ʔusqt | | |
| 2PL.AGT | moʔos | mó, mεʔ kanε | moʔs |
| 2PL.PAT | moʔosiyq | | |
| 2PL.DAT | moʔosiyqt | | móʔseʔat |
| 3PL.AGT | kimasi (animate) | mase | má:se |
| 3PL.PAT | kimasq | | |
| 3PL.DAT | kimasqt | | |

Table 32: Northern Yukian Pronouns¹⁷² (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:373-375, Kroeber 1902c:71, 72, 97h)

6.2.1.1. Huchnom

Huchnom personal pronouns show most of the same characteristics as Yuki pronouns. In elicited examples the agent/patient distinction is seen, as shown in (66), where first person agent *epeʔ* contrasts with first person patient *ʔi*.

¹⁷¹ Translated as ‘him’ by Kroeber, but appears similar to Yuki fourth person *kiʔat*. It is not clear from context whether Coast Yuki *kiʔeʔat* is anything other than a third person dative pronoun. See (73) for elicited clause containing *kiʔeʔat*.

¹⁷² Gaps in the paradigm indicate the absence of a documented form, but do not imply that this form did not exist.

(66a) Lamb 1955:81, LJ

kε *ʔi* *ča:niya*

DST 1SG.PAT gave.it

‘he gave it to **me**’

(66b) Lamb 1955:81, LJ

ʔepe *ča:niya*

1SG.AGT gave.it

‘I gave it to him’

Huchnom dative pronouns are poorly documented. However, in the few available examples of oblique forms of personal pronouns, it does appear that the oblique ending is being affixed to a form of the pronoun different than the agent or patient forms shown in (66). In (67), the oblique first person forms *ʔehkil* ‘towards me’ and *ʔehpɪs* ‘away from me’ are formed from *ʔeh* ~ *ʔɛh*.

(67a) Lamb 1955:79, LJ

mɔy’ *ka* *koʔyiki* *ʔehkɪl*’

mɔy’ *ka* *koʔyiki* *ʔeh=kɪl*’

somebody PRX coming **me=towards**

‘somebody coming **towards me**’

(67b) Lamb 1955:79, LJ

ʔεhpɪs *koʔtike*

ʔεh=ɪs *koʔtike*

me=away.from going

'going away from me'

An inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural pronouns is not documented, but its existence can be inferred from several elicited forms. Lamb's (1955) collection of elicited Huchnom material does not contain very many examples of the first person plural pronoun in use, and the incomplete lists of Huchnom pronouns available in field notes (Lamb 1955:30, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9) give the form *ʔus* 'we'. This would appear analogous to Yuki first person plural exclusive agent *ʔus*.

In several elicited examples, shown in (68) and (69), another form, *mi:*, is seen. This would be analogous to first person inclusive agent *mi* in Yuki. The uses in both of these examples are hortative, 'let's go' and 'let's swim', which seems like a natural environment for the use of an inclusive pronoun. An inclusive meaning 'you and me, let's go' is much more logical in this circumstance than an exclusive meaning 'me and the rest of us, but not you, let's go!'

(68) Lamb 1955:56, LJ

han mi: mik'a:lisaʔ

house 1PL.INCL go.around.IMP

'let's go around the house'

(69) Lamb 1955:66, LJ

kɔ:maʔ mi: k'ɛ:sin'

come.IMP 1PL.INCL swim.IMP?

'come on, let's swim'

Examples of Huchnom pronouns in short clauses are shown in (70) and (71). Two intransitive clauses with agent arguments are shown in (70).

(70a) Lamb 1955:73, LJ

kɛʔ kɔ:mɪkiʔ

DST coming

'he is coming'

(70b) Lamb 1955:73, LJ

ɛpɛ pɔʔkɔ kɔʔyɔ:

1SG.AGT alone went

'I went alone.'

Examples of two-argument clauses are shown in (71). Note the use of the grammatical patient arguments as recipients.

(71a) Lamb 1955:81, LJ

*h*_ɬ[?]*wiše:*[?] *ʔ**áč**:niya*_ɬ[·] *ke*[?]*ɬ*_:
*h*_ɬ[?]*wiše:*[?] *ʔ**áč**:niya*_ɬ[·] *ke*[?]*ɬ*_:
 dog 1SG.AGT=gave DST.PAT

‘I gave **him** that dog.’

(71b) Lamb 1955:81, LJ

*h*_ɬ[?]*wiše:* *ʔ**i* *ke*[?] *č**:niya*_ɬ[·]
 dog 1SG.PAT DST gave

‘he gave **me** dog’

6.2.1.2. Coast Yuki

Coast Yuki distinguishes most or all of the same categories for personal pronouns as Yuki and Huchnom. Due to a paucity of data the full paradigm for agent, patient, and dative pronouns is not known. However, the fact that this distinction was made can be seen when comparing clauses like (340a) and (340b)¹⁷³.

¹⁷³ For additional discussion of Coast Yuki argument structure see §5.7.2.1.

In (72), the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔébbæ ~ ʔépe* appears phonetically reduced as *ʔa-* preceding the verb root *mi-* ‘drink’.

(72) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP

ʔó·kʻ ʔa·mínnæʔ

ʔó·kʻ ʔaʔ=mínnæʔ

water 1SG.AGT=going.to.drink

‘I am g[oin]g to drink water’

In (73), the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi* appears as *-y* in *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’. Also, note the absence of *-y* in the third person form *díʔdæʔ* ‘he is sick’, which shows that *-y* is marking first person in *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’.

(73) Harrington 1942-1943:387, LP

díʔday ‘I am sick in bed’

díʔdæʔ ‘he is sick’

Dative pronouns are shown in (74). In this example, *ham-* ‘like’ does not take a grammatical agent argument. The actor for this verb is a grammatical patient and experiencers are marked as datives. In these examples the dative pronouns are given in bold and patient pronouns are underline. *-a-* in some pronouns, such as *miʔatay* ‘2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT’, is most likely an epenthetic vowel.

(74) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

miʔatay ham 'I like **you**'

kiʔeʔatay ham 'I like **him**'

móʔseʔatay hám 'I like **ye**'

miʔatʔ kíʔe hám 'he likes **you**'

Kroeber (1902c:72) translates Coast Yuki *ki* as 'he', but also as 'that one' and *ka* as 'that one (here)', which suggests that *ki* and *ka* were used as pronouns and also as demonstratives, as in Yuki and Huchnom. No elicited examples exist definitely showing a noun occurring with a demonstrative. In the available Coast Yuki data *ki* and *ka* are only found functioning as pronouns.

In (75), distal *kʰiʔ* is acting as a third person pronoun 'that fellow', and in (76), proximal *kʰáw* is also acting as a third person pronoun.

(75) Harrington 1942-1943:316, LP

tʰóʔʔoʔl kʰiʔ meheʔ

boss DST is

'**that fellow** is a boss'

(76) Harrington 1942-1943: 382-383, LP

kʰáw méhhæʔ

PRX is

'**this** here, **it** is here'

Elicited data show that Coast Yuki did distinguish two types of first person plural pronouns. Only a single type of agent pronoun is found in elicited data: *ʔu:s* elicited by Kroeber and *ʔô:ʂ* elicited by Harrington are both glossed as ‘we’ in the original notes. However, Kroeber (1902c:97h) elicited an additional type of first person plural form *míʔet* ‘our’ (SS), which resembles the Yuki and Huchnom first person plural inclusive series of pronouns. No clauses exist containing Coast Yuki *míʔet* ‘our’, therefore its function relative to *ʔô:ʂæʔtʔ* ‘our’ is not known for certain. The similarity to Yuki and Huchnom inclusive and exclusive pronouns, respectively, is highly suggestive that the same type of distinction probably also existed in Coast Yuki.

6.2.2. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns of the Northern Yukian languages are compared in Table 33. Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki kinship possessive prefixes are discussed respectively in §4.1.4, §5.7.1.4, and §5.7.2.6.

| | Yuki | Huchnom | Coast Yuki |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 1SG | <i>ʔitin</i> | <i>ʔéte ~ ε̣ε̣:</i> | <i>ʔiddæʔ ~ ʔíte</i> |
| 2SG | <i>mit</i> | <i>meʔ</i> | <i>miɰdɰæʔ ~ míte</i> |
| 3SG | <i>kipqt</i> | <i>ká:</i> | <i>kʰʔæʰtʰilʰα, kʰʔæʰtʰ ~ kʰet</i> (DST) <i>kʰαʰtʰilʰα, kʰαʰtʰ ~ káʰat</i> (PRX) |
| 1PL | <i>miyqt</i> (inclusive) | | <i>miʰet</i> ‘our’ |
| 1PL | <i>ʔusqt</i> (exclusive) | <i>ʔúsa</i> | <i>ʔúsæʰtʰilʰα, ʔúsæʰtʰ</i> ‘our’ |
| 2PL | <i>moʰosiyqt</i> | | <i>móʰsæʰtʰilʰα, móʰstʰilla, móʰsæʰtʰ</i> |
| 3PL | <i>kimasqt</i> | | <i>máʰsæʰtʰilʰα, máʰstʰilʰα, máʰsæʰtʰ</i> |

Table 33: Northern Yukian Possessive Pronouns (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:133, 152, Kroeber 1902c:97h)

6.2.2.1. Huchnom

Few examples exist of Huchnom possessive pronouns. (77) shows examples of these pronouns with *han* ‘house’.

(77) Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, LH

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>éte han</i> | ‘my house’ |
| <i>ká: han</i> | ‘his house’ |
| <i>meʰ han</i> | ‘your house’ |
| <i>ʔúsa han</i> | ‘our house’ |

6.2.2.2. Coast Yuki

Coast Yuki possessive pronouns appear similar to those used in Yuki. The main difference is that all possessive pronouns, except those used for first person singular and second person singular, have a longer form ending in *-t'il'α*. No clear cognate form is known in Yuki or Huchnom¹⁷⁴. Harrington (1942-1943:133) also notes that first and second person forms with this affix are not possible, stating that one “can’t add *-t'il'α* to my or s[ingular] yours.” There also existed a long and short form for the possessive interrogative pronoun: *ʔéʔeʔtʰ héntʰəlʰ*, *ʔéʔeʔtʰiʰl'æ héntʰəlʰ* ‘whose nose’.

The difference in meaning between long and short possessive pronoun forms is unknown and Harrington makes no mention of any difference in meaning between forms. It is also unclear whether both forms could be used with all nouns or whether there existed some type of other division.

Examples of Coast Yuki possessive pronouns used with different nouns are shown in (78) - (80).

¹⁷⁴ One possible connection could be to Yuki *ʔima* ‘self’. Coast Yuki *-iʰl'α* or *-t'iʰl'α* might be emphasizing the possession of the noun by the possessor in some way, though this is pure conjecture as no such practice is observed in Yuki.

(78) Harrington 1942-1943:133, LP

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>ʔíḍḍæʔ</i> héntʰɛl' | 'my nose' |
| <i>míḍḍæʔ</i> héntʰɛl' | 'your nose (sg.)' |
| <i>kʰíʔæʰtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰɛl', <i>kʰíʔæʰtʰ</i> héntʰɛl' | 'his nose, that fellow's nose' |
| <i>ʔʊʂæʰtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰɛl', <i>ʔʊʂæʰtʰ</i> héntʰɛl' | 'our noses' |
| <i>kʰáʔæʰtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰəl', <i>kʰáʔæʰtʰ</i> héntʰəl' | 'this one's nose' |
| <i>móʔʂæʰtʰ</i> héntʰəl', <i>móʔsæʰtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰəl' | 'yer noses' |
| <i>máʔʂæʰtʰ</i> héntʰɛl', <i>máʔʂtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰɛl', <i>máʔʂæʰtʰíʰl'ɪ</i> héntʰɛl' | 'their noses' |

(79) Harrington 1942-1943:258, LP

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>gôḍḍžæʔ</i> | 'hog' |
| <i>ʔíḍḍæ</i> <i>góḍḍžæʔ</i> | 'my hog' |
| <i>míḍḍæ</i> <i>góḍḍžæʔ</i> | 'your (sg.) hog' |
| <i>ʰʊʂæʰttʰíʰllɪ</i> <i>góḍḍžæʔ</i> | 'our pig [hog]' |
| <i>móʔʂtʰíʰllɪ</i> <i>góḍḍžæʔ</i> | 'yer pig' |

(80) Harrington 1942-1943: 286, LP

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| <i>hên</i> | 'house' |
| <i>ʔíḍḍæ</i> <i>hên</i> | 'my house' |
| <i>kʰíyyæʰ</i> <i>tʰíʰllɪ</i> <i>hên</i> | 'that's his house' |
| <i>ʔʊʂæʰtʰíʰllɪ</i> <i>hên</i> | 'that's our house' |
| <i>moʔsæʰttʰíʰllɪ</i> <i>hên</i> | 'it is yer house' |

(81) shows a short clause containing the possessive pronoun *mí:te* ‘your’.

(81) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS

molme mí:te hewšet mehe

three your dog be

‘I [you?] have 3 dogs.’

Coast Yuki also distinguishes two types of first person plural possessive pronouns *míʔet* ‘our’ and *ʔúšæʔtʰ*, *ʔúšæʔtʰlʰa* ‘our’. The difference between these two forms is not known, but they resemble, respectively, the inclusive and exclusive first person series of pronouns distinguished in Yuki and Huchnom.

6.2.3. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns of the Northern Yukian languages are compared in Table 34.

| Yuki | Huchnom | Coast Yuki |
|--|---|---|
| <i>haymás</i> ‘how, how much, how many’ | <i>haymas</i> ~ <i>háymas</i> ‘how, how many’ | |
| <i>háy</i> ‘what’ | <i>háy</i> ‘what’ | |
| <i>ʔiyi</i> ‘what’ | | <i>ʔigæ</i> ‘what’ |
| <i>ʔiyiki</i> ‘what (is) that’ | | |
| <i>ʔi:win</i> ~ <i>ʔiyqwan</i> ~ <i>ʔiyowan</i> ‘when’ | <i>ʔiyəwɪn</i> ‘when’ | |
| <i>ʔim</i> ‘where’ | <i>ʔe:m</i> ~ <i>ʔe:mʔm</i> ‘where’ | <i>ʔən</i> ‘where’ |
| | <i>ʔe:mʔkil</i> ‘to where’ | |
| | <i>ʔe:mʔpis</i> ‘from where’ | |
| <i>məy</i> ‘who’ | <i>məy</i> ‘who’ | |
| | <i>məyʔkʔa</i> ‘who (is) this?’ | |
| <i>məyq</i> ‘who=PAT’ | | <i>ʔéʔ</i> ‘who’ |
| <i>məyet</i> ‘whose’ (who=DAT) | | <i>ʔéʔe.ʔtʔ</i> , <i>ʔéʔe.tʔlʔæ</i> ‘whose’ |
| <i>ʔiyup</i> ‘why’ | | |

Table 34: Northern Yukian Interrogative Pronouns (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:133, 390, 397)

6.2.3.1. Huchnom

Huchnom interrogative pronouns appear to be similar or effectively the same as those in Yuki. The examples below show Huchnom interrogative pronouns in elicited examples. Examples of *haymas* ‘how, how many’ are shown in (82) - (84).

(82) Lamb 1955:52, LJ

haymas mis yʌwʔə ‘**what**’s your name?’ [Probably: ‘**How** are you called?’]

(83) Lamb 1955:112, LJ

haymas onaʔ kaʔ mehʔq ‘**how** old is this one?’

(84) Lamb 1955:154, LJ

hʌ ymas mu:spe:ʔ mehʔʌʰ ‘**how many** girls?’

An example of *hʌy* ‘what’ is shown in (85).

(85) Lamb 1955:119, LJ

hʌy ʔimiyq: ‘**what** he say?’

ʔiyəwɪn ‘when?’ is shown elicited as a single word in (86) and (87).

(86) Lamb 1955:41, LJ

ʔiyəwɪn ‘when?’

(87) Lamb 1955:72, LJ

ʔiyəwən ‘when’

Examples of *ʔe:m* ‘where’ are shown in (88).

(88) Lamb 1955:41-2, LJ

ʔe:mʔm̩ ‘where?’

ʔe:mʔ keʔ mehʔʌ ‘**where** is he?’

ʔe:mʔ meʔ mehʔa ‘**where** are you (sg.)?’

?e:m' 'where' can also be affixed with locative case endings forming directional question words, as shown in (89).

(89) Lamb 1955:103, LJ

?e:m'kil' me' k'o'ʔa '(to) **where** are you going?'

?e:m'pɪs me' kɔma '**where** you coming **from**?'

An example of *mɔy* 'who' is shown in (90). (91) shows *mɔy* 'who' followed or affixed with the proximal demonstrative *k'a*, forming the question *mɔy'k'a* 'who's this?' This same process is seen in the Yuki question ?iyiki 'what (is) that'.

(90) Lamb 1955:52, LJ

mɔy' mis yɔwahnna:lɪki '**who** named you?'

(91) Lamb 1955:72, LJ

mɔy'k'a '**who**'s this?'

When not used as a question, *mɔy* 'who' can also be used as a pronoun meaning 'someone', as shown in (92).

(92) Lamb 1955:57, LJ

hanpɪs mɔy' ko'ʔɪki '**somebody** going away from here'

hankil' mɔy'i ko'ʔki '**somebody** coming to the house'

6.2.3.2. Coast Yuki

Only a few examples exist of interrogative pronouns used in short clauses. These are shown in (93) and (94).

(93) Harrington 1942-1943:390, LP

ʔêŋ' mɛ'lo' 'where is it?'

(94) Harrington 1942-1943:397, LP

ʔigæ' mækʔmɛlo' 'what are you (sg.) talking about?'

6.3. Pronouns in an Areal Context

In this section several features of Yuki pronouns are compared to pronouns in neighboring languages, other contact languages, and to Wappo¹⁷⁵. In addition similarities in shape and meaning of first and second person pronouns in Yukian and Pomoan are discussed separately in §6.3.1. The points of comparison in this section are (1) whether aclusivity distinction is made, (2) the number distinctions made for pronouns, if such distinctions are made at all.

The points of comparison in this section compare features that seem particularly salient in characterizing Yuki pronouns. As discussed in §6.1, Yuki distinguishes inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural pronoun. Singular and plural

¹⁷⁵ See Mithun (In Press) for a detailed study of the borrowing of complex structures as a result of language contact among Yuki and surrounding languages.

are distinguished for first and second person pronouns; singular and distributive plural are distinguished for third person pronouns.

In Table 35, Yuki is compared to languages or language families immediately surrounding it. These are the languages that Yuki speakers would have been in contact with for the longest period of time and prior to contact with Euro-Americans.

The table is set up with Yuki on the left side, and its closest surrounding neighbors, viewed geographically in a counterclockwise direction, are placed next to Yuki. Thus Northern Pomo, the neighbor of Yuki to the south is placed in the column next to Yuki, then Eastern Pomo, which is the next language moving counterclockwise, then Wintu, and then Kato. No materials were available for comparing Yuki to Northeastern Pomo, which is also a directly neighboring language.

All of the languages in Table 35 distinguish at least singular and plural forms of pronouns. Wintu also distinguishes dual forms. Wintu is the only language in immediate contact with Yuki showing a clusivity distinction in its pronominal system. Mithun (In Press) proposes that the clusivity distinction in Yuki was likely innovated on the basis of the existence of this distinction in Wintu. This clusivity

distinction for first person plural pronouns is shared by Yuki with Huchnom and possibly also Coast Yuki¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁶ See §6.2.1.

| Language | Yuki | N. Pomo | E. Pomo | Wintu | Kato |
|-----------------|---|--|--|---|-------------------------------|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Wintun | Athabaskan |
| Clusivity | 1 st person plural pronouns | No | No. (106) | 1 st person plural (233) | No. (Goddard 1912:21) |
| Number | 1 st -2 nd Person: SG/PL, 3 rd Person: SG/Distrib. Pl. | 1 st - 3 rd Persons: SG/PL (158) | 1 st - 3 rd Persons: SG/PL (106-7) | 1 st - 3 rd Persons: SG/Dual/PL (254-258) | Singular and Plural (1912:33) |

Table 35: Yuki pronouns compared to directly adjacent languages and/or language families¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. Northern Pomo: O'Connor 1984; Eastern Pomo: McLendon 1975; Kato: Goddard 1912, Balodis 2009; Wintu: Pitkin 1984.

Table 36 compares Yuki to the other Pomoan languages. These languages were spoken to the south of Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo and did not directly border the Yuki speech area. They are arranged roughly according to their distance from the Yuki speech area. Central Pomo is the closest geographically to Yuki after Northern, Eastern, and Northeastern Pomo, while Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) is the most distant.

The Pomoan languages do not make a clusivity distinction. As in Yuki, singular and plural are distinguished for pronouns. As discussed in §6.3.1, the Pomoan and Yukian languages do share a striking similarity in the form and function of the first and second person singular pronouns.

| Language | Yuki | Central Pomo | SE Pomo | S. Pomo | Kashaya |
|-----------------|---|---|--|----------------------|---|
| Language Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan |
| Clusivity | 1 st person plural pronouns | No (9). | No. (175) | No. | No. (113) |
| Number | 1 st -2 nd Person: SG/PL, 3 rd Person: SG/Distrib. Pl. | 1 st - 3 rd Persons: SG/PL (9). | 1 st - 3 rd Persons: SG/PL (175) | Singular and Plural. | 1 st -3 rd : SG/PL, Refl: SG=PL (113) |

Table 36: Yuki pronouns compared to the Pomoan Languages¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. C. Pomo: Mithun 2008; S.E. Pomo: Moshinsky 1974:5-8, 19; S. Pomo: Alex Walker, p.c. April 22, 2011; Kashaya: Oswalt 1960:18-29.

Table 37 shows two types of languages. Wappo is most likely a genetic relative of Yuki and is included for comparison for that reason. Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achumawi are languages that Yuki speakers came into contact with after the arrival of Euro-Americans. As detailed in Chapter 1, speakers of many other Native California languages were moved to Round Valley in the mid to late nineteenth century following contact with Euro-Americans. Initially languages were maintained, but already by the turn of the twentieth century many younger Native residents of Round Valley no longer spoke the languages of their parents and grandparents. All existing Yuki speech data are collected from speakers who were born and lived during the period after speakers of these other Native California languages were living along with the Yukis in Round Valley.

Yuki shares no points in common with Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, and Achumawi, in terms of the points of comparison in Table 37. The Maiduan languages in the comparison, Konkow and Nisenan, have three persons, make no clusivity distinction, and distinguish singular, dual, and plural numbers for pronouns. The Palaihnihan languages in the comparison, Atsugewi and Achumawi, also have three persons, make no clusivity distinction, and distinguish singular, dual, and plural numbers for pronouns.

Wappo makes no clusivity distinction in its pronominal system. Like Yuki, Wappo distinguishes singular and plural number for pronouns. Also, as shown in §6.3.1,

Wappo and Yuki first and second person singular pronouns show a clear resemblance to each other.

| Lang. | Yuki | Wappo | Konkow | Nisenan | Atsugewi | Achumawi |
|--------------|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| Lang. Family | Yukian | Yukian | Maiduan | Maiduan | Palaihnihan | Palaihnihan |
| Clusivity | 1 st person plural pronouns | No. (25) | No. (134) | No. (23) | No. (84) | No. (84) |
| Number | 1 st -2 nd Person: SG/PL, 3 rd Person: SG/Distrib. PL. | 1 st -3 rd Person: SG/PL (25) | 1 st -3 rd Person: SG/Dual/PL (134) | 1 st -3 rd Person: SG/Dual/PL (23) | 1 st -3 rd Person: SG/Dual/PL (84) | 1 st -3 rd Person: SG/Dual/PL (84) |

Table 37: Yuki pronouns compared to more distant languages in contact and Wappo¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. Wappo: Thompson et al. 2006; Konkow: Ultan 1967; Nisenan: Eatough 1999; Atsugewi and Achumawi: de Angulo and Freeland 1930.

In terms of the points compared in this section, Yuki shows itself to have several unique features not seen in its genetic relative Wappo, in the nearby contact languages, or in the more recent contact languages. Singular and plural number are commonly distinguished in surrounding languages, though Wintu does show a dual distinction not seen among the languages surrounding Yuki. Distinguishing clusivity is shared by the Northern Yukian languages with Wintu, but is not found in any of the other languages in this comparison.

6.3.1. Yukian and Pomoan Pronouns Compared

This section summarizes the findings of Mithun (2008, In Press), where it is noted that Yukian and Pomoan first and second person singular pronouns are of similar appearance. Mithun also notes that while the Yuki and Wappo pronouns are of similar appearance, they are used to refer to different types of arguments. The Yuki pronouns refer to agent and patient arguments, while pronouns in Wappo refer to nominative and accusative arguments.

Tables 38 and 39 compare a simplified Yuki pronominal paradigm ¹⁸⁰ and the Wappo pronominal paradigm. As noted above, the first and second person pronouns in the two languages are similar. Yuki makes a clusivity distinction for its first person plural pronouns which is not made in Wappo. The Yuki first person

¹⁸⁰ See §6 for the full Yuki pronominal paradigm.

plural exclusive pronouns *ʔus* and *ʔusq* resemble the Wappo first person plural pronouns *isi* and *isa*. The origin of the Yuki first person plural inclusive pronouns *mi* and *miyq* is possibly attributable to contact with Wintu, which also has such a distinction (Mithun In Press:11). These pronouns do resemble the Yuki and Wappo second person singular pronouns, but the nature of any historic link between the Yuki first person plural inclusive pronouns and these or any other pronouns is not established.

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| | AGT | PAT | AGT | PAT |
| 1 | <i>ʔqp</i> | <i>ʔi</i> | <i>mi</i> (INCL) | <i>miyq</i> (INCL) |
| | | | <i>ʔus</i> (EXCL) | <i>ʔusq</i> (EXCL) |
| 2 | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>moʔos</i> | <i>moʔosiyq</i> |
| 3 | <i>ki</i> (DST) | <i>kiʔq</i> | <i>kimasi</i> (ANIM) | <i>kimasq</i> |
| | <i>ka</i> (PRX) | | <i>kimas</i> (INANIM) | |

Table 38: Basic Yuki pronouns

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | NOM | ACC | NOM | ACC |
| 1 | <i>ah</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>isi</i> | <i>isa</i> |
| 2 | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>misi</i> | <i>misa</i> |
| 3 | <i>cephi</i> (D) | <i>te</i> | <i>ceko:ti</i> (D) | <i>ceko:to</i> (D) |
| | <i>hephi</i> (P) | | <i>heko:ti</i> (P) | <i>heko:to</i> (P) |

Table 39: Basic Wappo pronouns (Thompson et al 2006)

Table 40 compares the first and second person singular pronouns in the seven Pomoan languages and the four Yukian languages. Mithun (2008:308) proposes that the similarity in the form of these pronouns may suggest that the Pomoan pronouns may have been borrowed into Yuki and/or Wappo at some point in history. However note again that the Yuki pronouns refer to agent and patient arguments, just as in Pomoan, while in Wappo these pronouns refer to nominative and accusative arguments. Therefore the data in Tables 38 - 40 and Mithun (2008) suggest that Yuki may have borrowed an agent/patient argument structure system and actual pronouns from Pomoan as a result of language contact¹⁸¹.

¹⁸¹ The borrowing of the system of agent/patient argument structure by Yuki from Pomoan is also discussed in §5.8.

| | 1SG.AGT | 1SG.PAT | 2SG.AGT | 2SG.PAT |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Northern Pomo | ʔa: | to: | ma | mi-to |
| Central Pomo | ʔa: | to: | ma | mto |
| Kashaya | ʔa: | to:mi | ma | to |
| Southern Pomo | ʔa:ʔa | ʔa:-to | ʔa:má | mi:-to |
| Eastern Pomo | ha | wi | ma | mi |
| Northeastern Pomo | ʔa: | ʔah-to | ʔáma | mih-to |
| Southeastern Pomo | ʔa: | wi:t | ma | ti |
| Yuki | ʔq̄p | ʔi | miʔ | mis |
| Huchnom | ʔepe | ʔi: | me ~ meʔ | mis |
| Coast Yuki | ʔepe ~ ʔa:- | ʔi ~ -y | miʔ | mis ~ -s |
| Wappo | ʔah (NOM) | ʔi (ACC) | miʔ (NOM) | mi (ACC) |

Table 40: Pomoan and Yukian pronouns¹⁸²

¹⁸² Table 40 reproduces a table in Mithun (2008), which has been augmented with the relevant pronouns from Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

7. Verb Morphology

This chapter describes the morphology of Yuki verbs. The discussion begins with an overview of the major characteristics of Yuki verb morphology and the verb template. The discussion is further divided into sections on inflectional and derivational morphology. At the end of this section a comparison is made between Yuki verb morphology and that of languages with which Yuki speakers have historically been in contact.

7.1. Overview

Yuki verbs are root-initial and, with the exception of the body prefixes discussed in §2.2.1.1 and §7.3.2, all inflectional and derivational verb morphology takes the form of suffixes or enclitics. The boundaries between morphemes in the verb are generally fairly clear phonologically, though some assimilation and allomorphy is present¹⁸³.

Verbs are suffixed with a rich collection of morphology indicating tense, aspect, modality, transitivity, negation, questions, evidentiality, and dependent clauses. The Yuki verb has a templatic structure: suffixes are attached to the root in a particular order relative to each other. Yuki shows no argument marking on the

¹⁸³ See §3 for further discussion of morphophonology.

verb itself¹⁸⁴. Instead, arguments are referenced using switch-reference markers¹⁸⁵ and/or with actual noun or pronoun arguments.

7.2. Verb Template

The Yuki verb template is shown in Table 41. The template shows the order that verb morphology takes within a verb. All verb morphology, except for the body prefixes, follows the verb root and takes the form of either suffixes or enclitics. No verbs exist with all positions filled on the template. Most verbs have only a few slots filled on the template. Within serial verb constructions¹⁸⁶, verbs can occur as bare roots without any additional verb morphology.

¹⁸⁴ Schlichter and Sawyer (1984:12) note that in two circumstances personal pronouns act as clitics: “(1) If a sentence consists of only a verb and a patient pronoun, the pronoun is postponed to the verb; for example, *ša'tešteke'?* ‘I’m getting cold’ < *ša'tešteke* + *ʔi*. The pronoun is here intermediate between a word and a suffix... Compare, however, *ča'na ʔi* ‘Give it to me!’, where the pronoun follows the verb but remains an independent word. (2) In the speech of Arthur Anderson, *ʔap* ‘I’ sometimes becomes *ʔup*, its vowel being assimilated to an *u* in the following verb, for example, *kawaye ʔup munhek* ‘I’m going to steal that horse.’ In this case, the pronoun could be considered prefixed to the verb.”

¹⁸⁵ See §8.1.

¹⁸⁶ See §9.10.1.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII |
| <i>-il</i> mediopassive | <i>-qk</i> semelfactive | <i>-mil'</i> past habitual | <i>-tqn</i> negative | <i>=mil</i> finite <i>=k</i> declarative | <i>=miki</i> purpose clause marker (only occurs following bare verb roots and future tense <i>-paʔ</i>) |
| <i>-(a)m</i> imperfective | | <i>-law(h)</i> permissive | | <i>-paʔ</i> , <i>-paʔam</i> future (occurs before <i>-ha</i> in questions; <i>=kop</i> in adverbial clauses) | |
| | | | | <i>-ha</i> interrogative | |
| | | | | <i>-aʔ</i> imperative | |
| | | | | <i>-nik</i> necessitative | |
| | | | | <i>-han</i> speculative | |
| | | | | <i>-wi</i> past | |
| | | | | <i>-wit(k)</i> completed past | |
| | | | | <i>=hqli</i> inferential evidential | |
| | | | | <i>-sik</i> hearsay evidential | |
| | | | | <i>=namli</i> , <i>=ki</i> dependent clause markers | |
| | | | | <i>=(k)op</i> , <i>=kit</i> , <i>=kon</i> , <i>=ka</i> adverbial clause markers | |

| Body Prefixes | Root | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>mi- / me-</i> 'belonging to the hand or foot' | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
| <i>na-</i> 'belonging to the head' | <i>-lam</i> inchoative | <i>-mq,</i> directional | <i>-h</i> durative | <i>-k</i> punctual | <i>-s</i> causative | <i>-t</i> intransitive |
| <i>na- / nam-</i> 'belonging to the head or mouth' | <i>-kut</i> inceptive | | | <i>-y</i> progressive | <i>-s</i> continuative-iterative | <i>-tl</i> transitive |
| <i>ha- / ham-</i> 'unclear, perhaps to do with the senses' | <i>-n</i> andative | | | | | <i>-l</i> perfective |
| | <i>-lit</i> directional | | | | | |
| | <i>-q, ?</i> | | | | | |
| | <i>-lim ?</i> | | | | | |

Table 41: Yuki Verb Template

Schlichter (1985:61) reconstructs six position classes for Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY)¹⁸⁷, noting that there may well have been additional position classes in PNY. Kroeber (1911) describes the morphology and characteristics of the Yuki verb, but does not provide any information on the relative order of morphology attached to the verb root.

¹⁸⁷ Schlichter refers to her reconstruction as that of Proto-Yukian, however, as all of her data refer only to Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki, her term is changed to Proto-Northern Yukian here as this is the name used here to refer to this subgroup of Yukian, with Wappo forming the other subgroup of Yukian by itself.

7.3. Verb Root and Body Prefixes

7.3.1. Verb Root

The verb root is usually monosyllabic and CVC¹⁸⁸. Words of other word classes can function as verb roots when suffixed with verb morphology¹⁸⁹. Examples of this are shown in Table 42.

| Non-Verb | Verb |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>həwəy</i> ‘food’ MF, AA | <i>həwəysinʔk</i> ‘must feed’ (CW:377) |
| <i>kimás</i> ‘thus’ (CW: 185) | <i>kimáseypa:mikí</i> ‘thus (they) would do’ (CW:36) |
| <i>tat</i> ‘good, well’ (CW:255) | <i>ta:təqilmil</i> ‘(he) made himself over’ (CW: 255) |

Table 42: Verbalized words of other word classes

Verb roots can be affixed with many types of derivational morphology to derive new meanings. For example, as shown in Table 43, the verb roots *kap-* ‘enter’ and *nəw-* ‘see, watch’ can take on the following meanings depending on the verb morphology that has been affixed to the root.

¹⁸⁸ See §2.4 for further discussion of Yuki root structure.

¹⁸⁹ The opposite process, by which verbs act as members of other word classes, is also possible, but is limited to nominalization. Verbs can act as nouns through the addition of the agentive/instrumental suffix *-(m)olʔ*. As in *šuʔ-* ‘sit, stay’ and *šuhol* ‘one who stays’ (CW:255).

| <i>kap-</i> ‘enter’ | <i>nq̄w-</i> ‘see (transitive), watch’ |
|--|--|
| <i>kap-t-</i> ‘enter’ (CW: 316) | <i>nq̄w-t-</i> ‘look’ (intransitive) (CW:182a) |
| <i>kap-t-il-</i> ‘cause to enter’ (CW:97) | |
| <i>kap-s-</i> ‘bring in, take in’ (CW: 39) | <i>nq̄w-s-</i> ‘show’ (CW: 127) |
| <i>kap-s-il-</i> ‘enter’ (CW: 355) | |

Table 43: Examples of derived meanings of verb roots

7.3.2. Body Prefixes

The ‘body prefixes’ are found in verbs and nouns. The meaning of these words relates to the part of the body described by the prefix. Thus *nq̄-* ‘belonging to the head or mouth’ occurs in *nq̄nákuč* ‘remembered’ and *ham-* ‘(perhaps) to do with the senses’ occurs in *hamlótú* ‘was hungry’. It is unknown whether the body prefixes were already fully incorporated into the verb root during the period in which Yuki was documented or whether these prefixes acted in any way as an independent component of the verb root, perhaps as a kind of classifier¹⁹⁰.

¹⁹⁰ See §2.2.1.1 for further discussion and other examples of the body prefixes.

7.4. Inflectional morphology

Yuki verb roots are suffixed with inflectional morphemes indicating tense, aspect, and modality.

7.4.1. Tense

Yuki verbs are marked minimally for tense. Two types of past tense are distinguished: *-wi* ‘past’ and *-wiṭ(k)* ‘completed past’, and also a future tense *-paʔ*¹⁹¹.

In the texts, the finite verb enclitic *=mil* is very common.

7.4.1.1. *=mil* finite

The function of *=mil* is described by Kroeber (1911:371) as: “The suffix *-mil* ... replaces the finite tense endings but is itself indefinite as to time, indicating merely that the verb to which it is added is the principal or finite verb of the sentence.”

=mil is ubiquitous in the many Yuki legends and myths recorded by Kroeber and nearly absent from the material elicited from Frank Logan by James Crawford.

¹⁹¹ Kroeber (1911:362) identifies *-mik* as an immediate future tense, describing it as: “less common than the last [*-paʔ* ‘future’], perhaps expresses an immediate futurity or a future intent.” In Siniard’s notebooks of elicited material from Minnie Fulwider, *-mik* often appears with this type of meaning, as in *ʔap wo:kmik* ‘I’m gonna dance’ but does not have this meaning in other cases, as in *k’o:lamik* ‘he’s dying.’ In the texts verbs ending in *-mik* are rare and generally don’t have a future meaning, as in, *čí:yeyimilmik* ‘gleams at intervals’ (CW:7). It seems more plausible that instead of being a unique future tense suffix, *-mik* is actually a combination of the imperfective *-m* and declarative *=k*, giving a meaning of ongoing action that is seen in *k’o:lamik* ‘he’s dying’ and could be misinterpreted as the near future in *ʔap wo:kmik* ‘I’m gonna dance’ (which might be more like ‘I’m keeping on dancing’).

However, =*mil* is also found throughout the Feather Dance Narrative, which appears to be a description by Ralph Moore of an event that he had actually witnessed, but perhaps without reference to a specific instance of witnessing this event.

In the free translation of the texts, verbs ending with =*mil* are usually translated in the past tense by Kroeber, as shown in the excerpt in (1).

(1) Coyote and the World: 403a, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>siʔéy</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>kimás</i> | <i>huʔútlmil</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> | <i>huʔu-tl=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now | DST-DSTR | finish-TR=FIN |

‘So now he **completed** that.’

Coyote and the World: 403b

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>mipát</i> | <i>ʔu:kʻámnó:ma</i> | <i>tatímil</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>mipát</i> | <i>ʔukʻomnomʻ=q</i> | <i>tat=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | now | hand | Ukomnomʻ=PAT | make=FIN |

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------------------------|
| <i>kípat</i> | <i>šilóʔ</i> | <i>mipát</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔá:tʻismil</i> |
| <i>kipat</i> | <i>šiloʔ</i> | <i>mipát</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔatʻ-s=mil</i> |
| 3R.DAT | like | hand | =HSY1 | make/put.on?-CAUS=FIN |

‘And now he **made** the Yuki hands; like his own hands he **put** them on.’

Coyote and the World: 404

simópey *háye* *sá:t'in* *kómmil* *hulk'ó'i* *mípat*

si-mop=?i *haye* *sət'in* *kom=mil* *hulk'o'i* *mipat*

NEW-but=HSY1 now Lizard **come=FIN** Coyote hand

ʔaʔáta *kípat* *šilósik*

ʔaʔat=a *kipat* *šilo-s=k*

people=PAT 3R.DAT like-CAUS=DECL

‘But now Lizard **came** as Coyote was causing people’s hands to resemble his own.’

The frequency of *=mil* in the texts stands in contrast its complete absence in past tense forms in elicited material. In the material elicited from Frank Logan by James Crawford and the material elicited from Minnie Fulwider by Roy Siniard, past tense forms given in English are never translated by the speakers into Yuki with a verb ending in *=mil*. As shown in (2) - (6), if the past tense is overtly translated at all, the preferred past tense endings are *-wiṭ(k)* and *-wi ~ -u*.

(2) Siniard 1967a:103, MF

sum *kiʔ* *ya:šitwičk*

sum *kiʔ* *yaš-t-wiṭk*

yesterday DST **stand-INTR-PST2**

‘He **stood up** yesterday.’

(3) Siniard 1967a:47, MF

sum ʔ_{qp} **woktliwičk**

sum ʔ_{qp} **wok-tl-wiṭk**

yesterday 1SG.AGT **dance-TR-PST2**

'I **danced** yesterday.'

(4) Crawford 1953, FL

ʔ_{qp} **k'o:tlilwuč**

ʔ_{qp} **k'oʔ-tl-il-wiṭ**

1SG.AGT **scratch-TR-MPSV-PST2**

'I **scratched** myself.'

(5) Crawford 1953, FL

ʔ_{qp} **č'a:klitwit**

ʔ_{qp} **č'ak-lit-wiṭ**

1SG.AGT **club-DIR2-PST2**

'I **clubbed** it.'

(6) Crawford 1953, FL

ʔ_{qp} **hi:letu**

ʔ_{qp} **hil-t-wi**

1SG.AGT **open-INTR-PST1**

'I **opened** it.'

It may be that there are other contributing reasons to the choice between the use of *=mil* ‘finite’ and the past tense forms *-wiṭ* and *-wi ~ -u*, such as the way in which Yuki speakers conceived of time and chose to express that conception in their language. However, it is consistent with the available evidence that *=mil* is used in Yuki as a means for marking events that occur without a specific time reference.

The status of *=mil* as an enclitic rather than a suffix can be seen in serial verb constructions. In these sequences, each verb can take various aspectual or modal suffixes, but only the final verb in the construction is marked with *=mil*. Therefore, instead of being suffixed to individual verbs, *=mil* comes at the end of the verb phrase. An example of *=mil* at the end of serial verb constructions is shown in (7) and (8).

(7) Coyote and the World: 12, RM

siʔéy *hulkʔóʔi mil* *ḵóḵč* *nqʔ* *sopes* *tít*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi mil* *čočič* *=nq* *sopes* *tit*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote meat pounded =and shoulder together.on.top

ʔey *ʔo:píčkʔi* *pʔóyi* *ʔey* *haʔtéyli*

=ʔi *ʔopič=ki* *pʔoy* *=ʔi* *haʔ-*t-il**

=HSY1 openwork.basket=IN put =HSY1 take.with-INTR-MPSV

lákt(e)mil *hulk'ó'i* *lo:ps'átk'il*
lak-t=mił *hulk'ó'i* *lopsi=qt=k'il*
go.out-INTR=FIN Coyote Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM

‘And Coyote **putting** pounded meat and shoulder in an (openwork basketry) plate, and **carrying it with him, he went out** to Jackrabbit.’

(8) Feather Dance Narrative: 17, RM

sámey *kimáše* *ʔán* *həp* *šú:kmił.*
sə-mi *ki-mas-i* *ʔan* *həp* *šuʔ-k=mił*
 SAME-and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long/always **sing** **sit-PNCT=FIN**

‘And then they **sit down and sing.**’

7.4.1.2. *-paʔ, -paʔam* future

-paʔ is used as a marker of the future tense¹⁹² and desiderative mood¹⁹³. This suffix has the form *-paʔam* before the interrogative suffix *-ha* and the adverbial clause enclitic *=kop* ‘though, although’. In the texts it is sometimes difficult to distinguish these uses. The clearest uses of *-paʔ* as an indicator of future tense come from elicited examples. In (9) and (10), the reference to a future time using *haw*

¹⁹² Kroeber (1911:362) describes this suffix as, “*-pa*, future.”

¹⁹³ Desiderative mood is used here to refer to wishes and desires that may be future events.

'tomorrow', suggests that *-pa'* is being used to indicate a future event not just a desire or intention.

(9) Siniard 1967a:47, MF

həw *ki'* *k'inpa'*

haw *ki'* *k'in-pa'*

tomorrow DST cry-FUT

'She's **gonna cry** tomorrow.'

(10) Siniard 1967a:59. MF

mo'os *haw* *nan* *t^{hi}:?əkpa'*

mo'os *haw* *nan* *ti-ək-pa'*

2PL.AGT tomorrow fence jump-SEM-FUT

'You fellows **are gonna jump** over the fence tomorrow.'

In the texts, *-pa'* usually has more of a desiderative rather than future tense quality. In (11), Coyote is speaking to *kup* 'sister's son'. *'onapa'* 'shall be your place' and *kəkkutispa'* '(you) shall rise first' could be seen as statements about the future, but these could just as well be interpreted as desiderative statements where Coyote is describing to *kup* 'sister's son' how he would like the future to be rather than making a statement about definite future events.

(11) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikiṭey *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ* *ʔan*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ka* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*
 NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister's.son **ground-?-FUT** always

son *miʔ* *kup* *kqkkútispaʔ*
son *miʔ* *kup* *kqk-kut-s-paʔ*
 therefore 2SG.AGT sister's.son **rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT**

“This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.”

In the excerpt in (12), Taykómol is describing the process by which chiefs will be made. There are a number of verbs marked with *-paʔ*, and in each case the meaning could be taken as a statement about a future event or a statement about Taykómol’s desire for how the Yuki people should select their chiefs.

(12) Origins: 177a, RM

sqkíṭa *ʔitin* *há:p* *wó:kešpaʔ*
sq=kiṭa *ʔitin* *həp* *wok-s-paʔ*
 SAME=then 1SG.POSS song **sing/dance-CAUS-FUT**

‘My song they **shall sing.**’

Origins: 177b

sąkíta ^ʔáp *woknám̄tlu* *kimás*

są=kiṭa ^ʔap *woknam-tl-wi* *ki-mas*

SAME=then 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1 DST-DSTR

woknám̄espaʔ *taykómol* *woknám̄.*

woknam-s-paʔ *taykomol* *woknam*

initiation-CAUS-FUT *Taykómol* initiation

‘As I have just made initiation, so they **shall make initiation** with the
Taykómol-initiation.’

Origins: 178

sąkíta *ṭiʔol* *kʔqkʔampaʔ* ^ʔey ^ʔímeymil

są=kiṭa *ṭiʔol* *kʔqkʔ-m-paʔ* =ʔi ^ʔim=mil

SAME=then chief **make-IMPV-FUT** =HSY1 say=FIN

taykómol ^ʔu:kʔomnóʔoma.

taykomol ^ʔukʔomnomʔ=q

Taykómol Ukʔomnomʔ=PAT

‘And chiefs **will be made** by that, said *Taykómol* to the Ukʔomnom’

(13) and (14) show *-paʔam*, which is the allomorph of *-paʔ* seen before the interrogative suffix *-ha* and the adverbial cause enclitic *=kon* ‘though, although’. There is no evidence for any difference in meaning between *-paʔ* and *-paʔam*.

(13) Siniard 1967a:101, MF

ʔiyowin miʔ kʰoʔotpaʔamha

ʔiyowin miʔ koʔ-t-paʔam-ha

where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-FUT-Q

‘Where are you going?’

(14) Coyote and the World: 385, RM

seʔéy háye šúʔumil kómpaʔaŋkon

se=ʔi háye šuʔ=mił kom-paʔam=kon

NEW=HSY1 now stay=FIN come-FUT=although

‘And now he was staying there **although he would come (back).**’

7.4.1.3. -wi ~ -u past / -wiṭ(k) ~ -wič(k) completed past

Kroeber (1911:362) defines -wi ~ -u as “ordinary past time,” differentiating this suffix from -wiṭ ~ -wič(k), which he defines as “completed past time.” Kroeber provides the example forms, given in (15), for the two types of past tense.

(15) Kroeber 1911:362-363, RM

komwi ‘came’

liʔaku ‘killed’

mihwič koy ‘has been there before’

ʔapel kowič ‘I was walking’

Both *-wi* and *-wiṭ* forms are found in the texts, but *-wiṭ* forms usually occur followed by the distal demonstrative *ki* acting as a relativizer. *-wi* forms are rare in the material elicited from Minnie Fulwider by Roy Siniard and the material elicited from Frank Logan by James Crawford. In the elicited materials the *-wiṭ* forms are more common and do not occur with relativizers. In the texts the use of *-wi* and *-wiṭ* appears to confirm Kroeber’s original description of these two verb endings.

In (16) - (18), all of the verbs ending in *-wi* are past tense forms and seem to generally be used in contexts where no precise endpoint is identified.

(16) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

si k’i nqk ’ey hulk’o’á ’inámtmil ’a:ṭát kú:htkiwit

si ki nqk =’i hulk’o’i=q ’inam-t=mil ’aṭat kuhtki=wit

NEW DST night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people north=ALL

yí:tiwi kimáša li:támšik ’iy

yi²-t-wi ki-mas=q li²-t-m-sik =’i

play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1

’ímeymil hulk’ó’i

’im=mil hulk’o’i

say=FIN Coyote

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who **went** north **playing** are being killed”, Coyote said.’

(17) Coyote and the World: 177, RM

kayit ^ʔúša **nq̄nákwi** *sikí:ki* ^ʔús *k'ólam*
kayit ^ʔusa **nq̄nak-wi** *sikiki* ^ʔus *k'ol=am*
 already 1PL.PAT.EXCL **know-PST1** therefore 1PL.AGT.EXCL other=?

tíweyu ^ʔey ^ʔi:mq̄lilmil *kip'áwwop*
tiw-wi =^ʔi ^ʔim-mq̄-l-il=mil *kipq̄w=op*
pursue-PST1 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN back=LAT

šayyaʔ ^ʔóp'a *k'óʔil* *tó:ktlnámilkimási*
šay=aʔ ^ʔop=a *k'oʔil* *tok-tl=namlí=ki-mas-i*
 alive=PAT? two=PAT? Wailaki reach-TR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“We **knew** in time, that is why we **pursued** separately”, they said to the others, those two Wailaki who came back alive.’

(18) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sqʔéy ^ʔq̄p *mil* ^ʔúnmawi *ki:*
sqʔ=i ^ʔq̄p *mil* ^ʔun-mq̄-wi *kiʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT deer **bring-DIR1-PST1** DST

kápisa *hq̄wayilitia* ^ʔey ^ʔimeymil *hulk'óʔi*
kap-s-a *hq̄way-lit-aʔ* =^ʔi ^ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi*
 bring.in-CAUS-IMP food-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>kimáša</i> | <i>mús'aʔ</i> |
| <i>ki-mas=q</i> | <i>mus=q</i> |
| DST-DSTR=PAT | woman.PL=PAT |

‘And, “I have **brought** a deer, bring it in to eat!” Coyote said to these women.’

In (19) and (20), all of the verbs containing *-wiṭ* are followed by the distal demonstrative *ki* acting as a relativizer. Verbs ending in *-wi* are not found with relativizers. In (19), *ʔú:k'op mik'ál ta'óhamwički:* ‘(he) who had been floating in a circle in the water’ and in (20), *pilqt ʔús'at wátimwički:* ‘our sun which was stolen’, it does seem that *-wiṭ* conveys a sense of actions which occurred in the past and have been completed in the past. The presence of the relativizer seems to add force to this sense of a past completed action, as the relativizer is referring to that past action¹⁹⁴.

(19) Origins: 15, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>seʔey</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>ki:</i> | <i>miʔak'ún'</i> | <i>k'ąkmíli</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>miʔat-k'un'</i> | <i>k'ąk-mą-il</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now | DST | 1PL.INCL.DAT-father | create-DIR1?-MPSV? | =HSY1 |
| <i>ki</i> | <i>č'o'okšilóʔ</i> | <i>ʔú:k'op</i> | <i>mik'ál</i> | | |
| <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>č'o'ok-šiloʔ</i> | <i>ʔuk'=op</i> | <i>=mik'al</i> | | |
| DST | down.feather-like | water=LAT | =around | | |

¹⁹⁴ See §9.10.4 for further discussion of relative clauses formed with *=ki*.

taʔóhamwički: ʔey k'i hí:ɬmil.
taʔo-h-m-wiɬ=ki =ʔi kiʔ hiɬ=mil
float-DUR-IMPFV-PST2=DST =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

‘Now that our father was about to come into existence, he **who had been floating** in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.’

(20) Coyote and the World: 231, RM

sqʔéy *kíwismil* ʔim ʔúsʔat *pilq:t*
sq=ʔi *kiw-s=mil* ʔim ʔusat *pilq:t*
 SAME=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN where 1PL.EXCL.DAT sun

ʔúsʔat **wqtimwički:** *káʔen* *kʼomláme*
ʔusat **wqt-m-wič=ki** *kaʔin* *kʼom-lam*
 1PL.EXCL.DAT **steal-IMPFV-PST2=DST** PRX.LOC make.noise-INCH

mis *hqltha* ʔey ʔim *kíwismil* *hulkʼóʔa*
mis *hql-t-haʔ* =ʔi ʔim *kiw-s=mil* *hulkʼóʔi=q*
 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT

kimási

ki-mas-i

DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘and asked him, “Where is our sun **which was stolen** from us? Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?” so they asked Coyote.’

As shown in (21) and (22), in his free translation of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*, Kroeber often translates *-wi* verbs ending in *-u* with a recent past meaning¹⁹⁵ ‘just now’. This may be an additional nuance in the meaning of *-wi*.

(21) *Origins*: 139, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| <i>séʔey</i> | <i>hulk’óʔi</i> | <i>k’alʔtu</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>kiʔyuʔ</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>hulk’oʔi</i> | <i>k’ol-t-wi</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>kiʔ-wi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | Coyote | die-INTR-PST1 | NEW | 1SG.AGT | bury-PST1 |

ʔimeymil *hulk’oʔi*.

ʔim=mil *hulk’oʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

‘And, “He **just died**, so I buried”, Coyote said.’

(22) *Origins*: 177b, RM

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>sąkʔta</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>woknámtlu</i> | <i>kimás</i> |
| <i>są=kʔta</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>woknam-tl-wi</i> | <i>ki-mas</i> |
| SAME=then | 1SG.AGT | initiation-TR-PST1 | DST-DSTR |

¹⁹⁵ This is not always the case, as above in (17), *tíweyu* is translated as ‘pursued’ instead of ‘pursued just now.’

woknámepa? taykómol woknám.
woknam-s-pa? taykomol woknam
initiation-CAUS-FUT Taykómol initiation

‘As I have **just made initiation**, so they shall make initiation with the
Taykómol-initiation.’

7.4.2. Aspect

7.4.2.1. *-lam* inchoative

The inchoative *-lam* indicates the onset of a change of state or beginning of an action. Kroeber (1911:361) refers to *-lam* as “the usual inchoative or inceptive.” *-lam* can be used to indicate a change of state in a feeling or experience, as in the change from wakefulness to sleepiness in *ʔinlamek* ‘getting sleepy’ in (23), and also for verbs expressing an action, as in *kʔqlamil* ‘begin to come into existence’ in (24)¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹⁶ The example form is given in bold face in the Yuki, as well as in the gloss and English free translation.

(23) Coyote and the World: 212, RM

simeyʔéy *pá:k ʔinlámek* *ʔey ʔimeymil*
si-mi=ʔi *pək ʔin-lam=k* *=ʔi ʔim=mil*
NEW-therefore=HSY1 one **sleep-INCH=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN

‘Thereupon one said, “**I am getting sleepy**”,’

(24) Origins: 16, RM

seʔéy *mipʔán kʔáklamil* *kiʔáʔ ʔu:súʔophan.*
si=ʔi *mipʔan kʔək-lam=mil* *kiʔa ʔu:su=op=han*
NEW=HSY1 foot **make-INCH=FIN** there water.foam=LAT=SUBE

‘Then his feet **began to come into existence** there in the foam.’

(25) shows an example of *-lam* used with a noun acting as a verb root. The noun *nəkhuy* ‘middle of the night’ is affixed with the *-lam*, resulting in a verb meaning ‘becoming the middle of the night.’

(25) Coyote and the World: 131, RM

sáʔey *huʔútlmil* *nəkhuylámoḡ*
sə=ʔi *huʔu-tl=mil* *nək-huy-lam=op*
SAME=HSY1 finish-TR=FIN **night-half/mid-INCH=while**

‘And they stopped as it was **becoming the middle of the night**.’

7.4.2.2. *-kut* inceptive

The inceptive *-kut* is found with two types of meanings. As shown in (26) *-kut* can have a meaning similar to the inchoative *-lam*, where it is used to indicate the beginning of an action¹⁹⁷.

(26) Kroeber 1911:358, RM

ʔoʔt-kut-mik

ʔoʔ'-kut-m=k

suck-INCP-IMPV=DECL

‘will begin to suck’

The other meaning found for *-kut* is seen in the free translation of the texts. Verbs affixed with *-kut* indicate that a particular action is the first of a series of actions¹⁹⁸. In (27), Coyote has made the morning star and the sun. He instructs the morning star, referred to as *kup* ‘sister’s son’, to rise first before the sun rises.

(27) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikitey *ká* *mí:t* *kup* ʔonapaʔ ʔan

si=kiʔ=ʔi *ka* *mit* *kup* ʔon-aʔ-paʔ ʔan

NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son ground-ʔ-FUT always

¹⁹⁷ This is the meaning that Kroeber (1911:358) gives for *-kut*, stating that “*-kut* forms an occasional inchoative.”

¹⁹⁸ It is possible that this meaning of ‘first’ is an artifact of Kroeber’s translation of the Yuki into English. It may be that *kákkútispaʔ* in Clause 354 just means ‘(you = morning star) start to rise’ and the notion of ‘first’ comes out of the fact that the sun rises as well in Clause 356.

son *míʔ* *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*

son *míʔ* *kup* *kək-kut-s-paʔ*

therefore 2SG.AGT sister's.son **rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT**

“This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but **you shall rise first.**”

Coyote and the World: 355

soméy *kup* *wíliʔisk*

səʔ=mi *kup* *wil-s=k*

SAME?=however sister’s.son far-CONT=DECL

hánʔam *kápsilpa*

han=am *kap-s-il-paʔ*

house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.”

Coyote and the World: 356

síkiṭ *hayé* *piláti* *ká:kəspa* *ʔiy* *ʔímeymil*

si=kiṭ *haye* *piláti* *kək-s-paʔ* =ʔi *ʔim=mil*

NEW=then now sun rise-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

| | | |
|-----------------|------|-------------------------------|
| <i>kimasa</i> | ʔópi | <i>nakahik</i> ¹⁹⁹ |
| <i>ki-mas=q</i> | ʔopi | <i>nak'oh=k</i> |
| DST-DSTR=PAT | two | teach=DECL |

“And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

As noted by Kroeber (1911:358), the inceptive *-kut* may be an independent verb, as there is also a verb *kut-* ‘start’. *-kut* may be a separate verb occurring as part of a serial verb construction, rather than an aspect morpheme that is an integral part of a verb. The element *kut-* also appears as part of other words with meanings that are related to the idea of beginning, such as *kutkin* ‘root’, and other words that may have a metaphorical connection to beginning, such as *kutki* ‘north’²⁰⁰.

7.4.2.3. *-h* durative

The durative aspect *-h* marks an action or state that is ongoing and has duration rather than being instantaneous. Kroeber (1911) does not mention *-h* in his sketch of Yuki. Schlichter (1985:147) reconstructs **-h* for the durative aspect in PNY.

¹⁹⁹ Alternate form given: *nak'ahik* or *nak'ohik* ‘instructing, giving them understanding’, vowel is unclearly written.

²⁰⁰ In *Coyote and the World*, which Kroeber identifies as the second part of the Yuki Creation myth (“An Indian Who Gave,” 1902:7), north is the first direction that Coyote goes as he is setting up the world. Due to the likely significance of this particular story to the Yuki worldview, it is possible that this also is the reason for the inclusion of *kut-* ‘start, beginning’ into the word *kutki* ‘north.’

(28) and (29) compare excerpts containing the verb *šu*²- ‘sit’. In (28), *šu*²- occurs without the durative *-h* and means ‘sit’, in (29), *šu*²- occurs with *-h* and means ‘stay’ or perhaps ‘sit for an ongoing period’.

(28) Coyote and the World: 296, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>sik</i> ² <i>éy</i> | <i>hánam</i> | <i>ka:písimil</i> | <i>pá:k</i> | <i>ʔiwop</i> |
| <i>sik</i> ² <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>han=am</i> | <i>kap-s=mil</i> | <i>pək</i> | <i>ʔiwop</i> |
| AGT>PAT=HSY1 | house=IN2 | take-CAUS=FIN | one | man |

‘So one man took him into the house,’

Coyote and the World: 297

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| <i>sq</i> ² <i>éy</i> | <i>k’amolšil</i> | <i>tá:tlik’éy’</i> | <i>šútlmil</i> |
| <i>sq</i> ² <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>k’amol-šil</i> | <i>tat-tl=ki</i> | <i>šu</i> ² - <i>tl=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | puma-skin | fix-TR=DST | sit-TR=FIN |

‘and **had him sit** on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

Coyote and the World: 298

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>si</i> ² <i>éy</i> | <i>šúmil</i> |
| <i>si</i> ² <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>šu</i> ² <i>=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | sit=FIN |

‘And he **sat**.’

(29) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>ʔatáy</i> | <i>káta</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>šuʔhinik</i> | <i>yíčmah</i> |
| <i>sáʔi</i> | <i>ʔati</i> | <i>kaʔa</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>šuʔ-h-nik</i> | <i>yičmah</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | for.a.while | here | sister's.son | sit-DUR-NEC | for.a.while |
| <i>hánkil</i> | <i>kó:mil</i> | | | | |
| <i>han=k'il</i> | <i>koʔ=mił</i> | | | | |
| house=TERM | go=FIN | | | | |

“And for a while [you **must**] **stay** here, sister’s son; for a little I am going home;”

(30) and (31) show two further examples of durative *-h*. In (30), *-h* is found in *šuhól* ‘stayer, one who stays’, which is the verb *šuʔ-* ‘sit’ affixed with the durative *-h* and the agentive-instrumental *-(m)olʔ*.

(30) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM ²⁰¹

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------|
| <i>sikaʔéy</i> | <i>čičičičisúp</i> | <i>ši:yq</i> | <i>haymáša</i> | <i>šup</i> | <i>miʔ</i> |
| <i>sikaʔi</i> | <i>čičičičisup</i> | <i>ki=q</i> | <i>haymas=q</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>miʔ</i> |
| AGT>PAT=HSY1 | hush.hush.hush | DST=PAT | how?=PAT? | sister's.son | 2SG.AGT |
| <i>kačq</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>šú:pa</i> | <i>h[y]ánop</i> | <i>šuhól</i> | <i>mí:</i> |
| <i>ka-čamʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>šuʔ-paʔ</i> | <i>han=op</i> | <i>šuʔ-h-ol</i> | <i>miʔ</i> |
| PRX-ʔ | always | sit-FUT | house=LAT | sit-DUR-AG/INST | 2SG.AGT |

²⁰¹ Kroeber’s (1902d:27) note on Clause 225: “This speech is in C[oyote] language. *šup* = *kup* All the *s* and *š* are about *ʃ*; and lisped a little.”

šup méy(h)tan ...

kup mih-tan

sister's.son be-NEG

“Hush! hush! hush! sister's son! Is it, sister's son, that you shall be here always? You are not, sister's son, a **stayer** in the house ...’

In (31), *nqw*- ‘look, see’ is affixed with the durative *-h* in *nqwhiméykiṭ* ‘when (he) watched (them)’.

(31) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

sikiṭéiy *nqwhiméykiṭ* ʔey ʔaʔtá

si=kiṭ=ʔi *nqw-h-m=kiṭ* =ʔi ʔatq

NEW=then=HSY1 **see-DUR-IMPV=when** =HSY1 again/now

k'olk'il kó:t(e)mil pilá:t háʔti:li.

k'ol=k'il koʔ-t=mil pilq̄t haʔ-t-il

other=TERM go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV

‘but **when he had watched them**, he went the other way carrying the sun.’

7.4.2.4. -k punctual

The punctual aspect *-k* is often used to indicate actions that occur all in one moment and are not continuous; in some cases the meaning of *-k* is unclear. *-k* is more commonly found along with the mediopassive *-il*²⁰². The relationship, if any, between punctual *-k* and semelfactive *-qk* is not known, though the meanings of these two aspect morphemes are similar. Punctual *-k* should also not be confused with the declarative mood *-k*.

Kroeber (1911:359) describes punctual *-k* as “somewhat indefinite in force. It appears to be used with intransitive verbs to indicate an action, as contrasted with a state, of the conception implied by the verb stem.” Schlichter (1985:238) reconstructs **-k* as the momentaneous aspect in PNY.

(32) and (33) contrast excerpts containing *šu*²- ‘sit’ with and without punctual *-k*. In (32), *šú:kmil* ‘(he) sat down’ is an action that occurs a single time and then is completed, in (33), *šúmíl* ‘he sat’ is an ongoing continuous action.

(32) Coyote and the World: 196, RM

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>kápti</i> | <i>šú:kmil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>kap-t</i> | <i>šu²-k=mil</i> |

NEW=then=HSY1 go.in-INTR sit-PNCT=FIN

‘So having gone in, he **sat down**.’

²⁰² This use is discussed separately in §7.5.3, in order to discuss the relationship between mediopassive *-il* and other verb morphemes together in a single section.

(33) Coyote and the World: 296, RM

sikq'áy *hánam* *ka:písimil* *pá:k* *'iwop*
sikq=?i *han=am* *kap-s=mil* *pqk* *'iwop*
AGT>PAT=HSY1 house=IN2 take-CAUS=FIN one man

‘So one man took him into the house,’

‘Coyote and the World: 297’

sq'áy *k'amolšil* *tá:tlik'áy'* *šútlmil*
sq=?i *k'amol-šil* *tat-tl=ki* *šu'-tl=mil*
SAME=HSY1 puma-skin fix-TR=DST sit-TR=FIN

‘and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

‘Coyote and the World: 298’

si'áy ***šúmil***
si=?i ***šu'=mil***
NEW=HSY1 **sit=FIN**

‘And he **sat**.’

(34) and (35) contrast excerpts containing verbs with the punctual *-k* and semelfactive *-qk*. The verb roots in these two examples, *wit-* and *wiṭ-*, may be the

same verb root. Schlichter and Sawyer (1984:299) translate both as ‘turn’, though *wiṭ-* is translated with the additional meaning ‘hit’²⁰³.

(34) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se'áy *šiwkí:ṭin* *lil* *há'namlíkí:la* *'ey*

si=?i *šiwkiṭin* *lil* *ha'=namli=ki-la* *=?i*

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiṭkmil *kó'ola*

wiṭ-k=mil *ko'ol=q*

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying’

(35) Coyote and the World: 157, RM

sikit'éy *so:hókilmil*

si=kiṭ=?i *soho-k-il=mil*

NEW=then=HSY1 give.whoop-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘Thereupon they gave a whoop,’

²⁰³ If the verb root is indeed the same in both examples, then it is worth noting that the two verbs are the same in all respects except for the difference in aspect marker, yet *wiṭkmil* ‘hurled’ is a transitive action and *wi:tákmil* ‘went back’ is intransitive.

‘Coyote and the World: 158’

sqʔey *kipqwwop* *wi:tákmil* ʔolkqčám

sq=ʔi *kipqʷ=op* *wit-qk=mil* ʔolkqčam

SAME=HSY1 back=LAT **turn-SEM=FIN** Mouse

həwayimóneti *tʔúnamlíkíṭa*

həway-mon-t *tʔu=namli=kíṭa*

food-steal-INTR pile.up=DEP=there

‘and went back to where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’

In these examples, *wiṭkmil* ‘hurled’ seems more isolated to a single moment than *wi:tákmil* ‘went back’. This difference is consistent with Comrie’s (1976:42) description of punctual and semelfactive aspects. He writes that “a punctual situation, by definition, has no internal structure” and semelfactive refers “to a situation that takes place once and only once.” Thus ‘hurl’ is a punctual action that occurs in a single moment and has no internal structure, but ‘go back’ can be semelfactive because it does have internal structure, but can also occur just a single time.

7.4.2.5. -qk semelfactive

The semelfactive aspect -qk is used to indicate when an action occurs a single time.

Kroeber (1911:359) describes the suffix as, “-ak, -yak, single action.”

In (36), the semelfactive -qk is used with the verb *pap'*- ‘pop’ in *pap'éyakpa* ‘will pop’ and *pap'iyakmil* ‘was making a sound (a pop)’ indicating a single instance of “pop” sounds being produced. The semelfactive -qk also occurs with *lak-* ‘leave, go’ in *lak'iyakmil* ‘took them (out)’ indicating a single instance of the items in the acorn storeroom being removed.

(36) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

| | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>ʔap</i> | <i>mátli:kon</i> | <i>pqk</i> | <i>pap'éyakpa</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>ʔap</i> | <i>ma-tl=kon</i> | <i>pqk</i> | <i>pap'-qk-paʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| 1SG.AGT | do-TR=but | one | pop-SEM-FUT | =HSY1 |

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“I do this, but one of them **will pop (crackle inside)**”, he said.’

Coyote and the World: 182a

namlík [?]éy wák nqwéti [?]ey pák **pap'íyakmil**
namlíki =[?]i wák nqaw-t =[?]i pák **pap'-qk=mil**
therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one **pop-SEM=FIN**

‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

Coyote and the World: 183

síkq'[?]éy **lak'íyakmil** číw[?]pis
síkq'=[?]i **lak'-qk=mil** čiw=pis
AGT>PAT=HSY1 **leave-SEM=FIN** acorn.storeroom=ABL

‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

In (37), the semelfactive *-qk* is used with *li[?]-* ‘kill’ in *li'áknamlíkímási* ‘they who had slain’. Note the use of the punctual aspect *-k* in *láčkilu* ‘(he) broke’ in *mi'at pilát líl'íl láčkilu* ‘(he) broke our sun against a rock’.

(37) Coyote and the World: 254, RM

sá'[?]ey [?]uṣ tǫhi k'olí san mí'at pilát:t
sá'=[?]i [?]us tǫh k'oli son? mí'at pilát
SAME=HSY1 1PL.EXCL.AGT find kill but? 1PL.INCL.DAT sun

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------|
| <i>líl'k'il</i> | <i>lqčkilu</i> | <i>ʔiy</i> | <i>ʔim</i> | <i>hušk'qyesmil</i> |
| <i>lil=k'il</i> | <i>lqč-k-il-wi</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim</i> | <i>hušk'qy-s=mil</i> |
| rock=TERM | break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 | =HSY1 | thus | tell-CAUS?=FIN |

| | | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>hulk'o'a</i> | <i>li'áknamlíkimási</i> |
| <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi=q</i> | <i>liʔ-qk=namlí=ki-mas-i</i> |
| DST | Coyote=PAT | kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM |

“We found and killed him, but he broke our sun against a rock”, thus they reported, they who had slain Coyote.’

7.4.2.6. -y progressive

The progressive aspect -y indicates an ongoing action in progress. Kroeber (1911) does not mention -y in his sketch of Yuki. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs *-y for the progressive aspect in PNY.

Examples of *tiw-* ‘pursue’ are shown in (38) affixed with progressive -y. The verbs *tíʔuyik* ‘are pursuing’ and *tíwiyimil* ‘were following’ indicate an ongoing action in progress.

(38) Coyote and the World: 162, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>míya</i> | <i>k'oʔil</i> | <i>tíʔuyik</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>mi=q</i> | <i>k'oʔil</i> | <i>tiw-y=k</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | 1PL.INCL=PAT | Wailaki | pursue-PROG=DECL | =HSY1 |

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘And “The Wailaki are pursuing us”, said Coyote.’

Coyote and the World: 163

seʔéy k'oʔil tíwiyimil ʔič wáƙop

si=ʔi k'oʔil tiw-y=mil =ʔič wáƙ=op

NEW=HSY1 Wailaki follow-PROG=FIN =JXT behind=LAT

‘Then the Wailaki **were following** close behind.’

The verbs containing progressive -y in (38) are contrasted with *tíwi:mil* ‘followed’ in (39). *tíwi:mil* describes an action that is not in progress and is not ongoing.

(39) Coyote and the World: 172, RM

sikiṭéy ʔóp'a k'oʔil k'olámwit tíwi:mil

si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔop='a k'oʔil k'ol=am=wit tiw=mil

NEW=then=HSY1 two=PAT? Wailaki other=?=ALL pursue=FIN

‘but two of them **followed** off on the side.’

Additional examples of progressive -y, *kólityi* ‘were approaching’ and *kóyik* ‘are going’, are shown in (40).

(40) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------------|------------------------|---------------|
| <i>se</i> | <i>hánkíl</i> | <i>kó:lít<i>y</i></i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔí:yinom'</i> | |
| <i>si</i> | <i>han=k'il</i> | <i>koʔ-lit-y</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔiyi-nom</i> | |
| NEW | house=TERM | go-<i>DIR2-PROG</i> | =HSY1 | some.kind-people/tribe | |
| <i>miyá:tk'il</i> | <i>múnaʔ</i> | <i>kó:yik</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>k'óʔil</i> |
| <i>miyát=k'il</i> | <i>munaʔ</i> | <i>koʔ-y=k</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>k'oʔil</i> |
| 1PL.INCL.DAT=TERM | many | go-<i>PROG=DECL</i> | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Wailaki |

'Then as they **were approaching** the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people **are going** toward us in numbers".'

7.4.2.7. -l perfective?

The meaning of *-l* is not entirely evident from the texts. *-l* is tentatively designated as a perfective marker based on Schlichter's analysis of this morpheme for PNY, which is discussed below. *-l* occurs by itself very rarely and is more commonly found in conjunction with mediopassive *-il* in verbs like *ʔi:má:lilmil* 'said to one another' (CW: 294). *-l* may also have historically formed part of the transitivizer *-tl* in verbs like *há:tlmil* 'built' (CW: 394). Kroeber (1911:360) does not differentiate between *-l* and mediopassive *-il*. He just writes that *-il* has an unknown meaning.

Schlichter (1985:62) reconstructs **-l* as the perfective aspect marker for PNY. This analysis is plausible for Yuki verbs containing only perfective *-l* without

mediopassive *-il*²⁰⁴. *č'učlik* 'throw', *laklik* 'has come out', *tuklik* 'gig'²⁰⁵, in (41) and (42), are perfective as these actions have a defined endpoint. Once 'they' have been thrown down on the ground, the action is complete. Once the fish has been giggered, the action is complete.

(41) Siniard 1967a:13, MF

ʔonk'e ʔap č'učlik

ʔon=k'i ʔap č'uč-l=k

earth=IN 1SG.AGT **throw-PFV=DECL**

'I **throw** 'm down on the ground.'

(42) Siniard 1967a:35, MF

həw t'uklik

həw t'uk-l=k

fish **gig-PFV=DECL**

'you **gig** a fish'

²⁰⁴ As stated earlier, such forms are vanishingly rare in the texts; therefore all examples provided here are elicited.

²⁰⁵ 'Giggering fish' is a method for spear fishing.

7.4.2.8. -(a)m imperfective

The imperfective aspect *-m* is used to indicate actions which are ongoing and without a defined endpoint. Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs **-m* as the imperfective aspect marker in PNY. Kroeber (1911) describes the suffixes shown in Table 44 as unique morphemes, but they can be analyzed as imperfective *-(a)m* or *-(a)m* followed by another morpheme.

| Morpheme as identified by Kroeber | Kroeber's (1911) description of this morpheme | Updated analysis for this grammar |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>-m</i> | "appears to indicate involuntary, inanimate actions and automatic motions or sounds (361)" | <i>-m</i> 'imperfective' |
| <i>-am</i> | "continuative, habitual usitative (359)" | <i>-m</i> 'imperfective' |
| <i>-mik</i> | "perhaps expresses an immediate futurity or a future intent (362)" | <i>-m</i> 'imperfective' + = <i>k</i> 'declarative' |

Table 44: Updated analysis of morphemes containing imperfective *-(a)m* in Kroeber (1911)

Siniard (1967a:116) also treats *-mik* as a unique morpheme describing the immediate future, however in the texts *-mik* does not have this meaning. Instead *-m* is the form that the imperfective aspect takes before declarative =*k*²⁰⁶. Compare the verbs *č'iyimilmik* '(fire) gleams at intervals' in clause 17 and *č'iyimilamha* 'does (that fire) gleam at times' in clause 19 of (43). These verbs are identical in all respects with the exception of their final suffix; in *č'iyimilmik* this suffix is declarative =*k* and in *č'iyimilamha* this suffix is interrogative *-ha*?. This example demonstrates however

²⁰⁶ *-i* in *-mik* is an epenthetic vowel.

that *-am* and *-m* are the same morpheme and allomorphs of the imperfective aspect marker.

(43) Coyote and the World: 17, RM

ʔiyi tán-hq̄le kuk'á yí:kam

ʔiyi tan=hq̄l kuk'a yik=am

what NEG?=INFR1 way.over.there fire=?

čí:yimílmik s̄kiṭ mil šáy

či-y-m-il-m=k si=kiṭ mil šay

glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL NEW=then meat raw

ʔáwilk ʔéy nq̄wilq̄kik ʔq̄p ʔímeyu

ʔaw-l=k =ʔi nq̄wil-qk=k ʔq̄p ʔim-wi

eat-PFV=DECL =HSY1 whip-SEM=DECL 1SG.AGT say-PST1

ʔeyy ʔímeymil ló:psiʔ hulk'óʔq̄ hušk'áyesk.

=ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'óʔi=q̄ hušk'qy-s=k

=HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT tell-CAUS?=DECL

“‘This is what I said: ‘Far yonder fire **gleams at intervals**, but eating raw meat they whip me’, I said just now”, said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him.’

Coyote and the World: 18

kí hqle ?i kúp hq́lamu? ?imeymil hulk'ó?i
ki =hq́l ?i kup hq́l-m-wi ?im=mil hulk'ó?i
DST =INFR1 1SG.PAT sister's.son hear-IMPV-FIN say=FIN Coyote

“That it seems is what, sister’s son, I just heard”, said Coyote.’

Coyote and the World: 19

?im kí: yim čí:yí:mílamha kup
?im ki yim čí-y-mil-m-ha? kup
where DST fire **glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q** sister's.son
?i:y ?imeymil hulk'ó?i
=?i ?im=mil hulk'ó?i
=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“Where does that fire **gleam at times**, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

(44) - (47) show examples of imperfective *-m* in use.

(44) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

si kí nqk ?ey hulk'ó?á ?inámtmil ?a:tát kú:htkiwit
si ki nqk =?i hulk'ó?i=q ?inam-t=mil ?a:tat kuhtki=wit
NEW DST night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people north=ALL

yí:tiwi *kimáša* *li:támšik* [?]iy
yi[?]-t-wi *ki-mas=q* *li[?]-t-m-sik* =[?]i
 play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1

[?]imeymil *hulk'ó'i*
[?]im=mil *hulk'ó'i*
 say=FIN Coyote

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing **are being killed**”, Coyote said.’

(45) Coyote and the World: 317, RM

sá[?]ey *máy* *múšp* *komwičo:ki[?]* *míyq̄t*
sá=[?]i *m̄q̄y* *musp* *kom-wič-o=ki[?]* *míyq̄t*
 SAME=HSY1 who woman come-PST2-?=DST 1PL.INCL.DAT

laš'awól' *na* *hawmól'* *na* *wáčameyk* [?]eyy
laš'awól' =nq̄ *hawmol'* =nq̄ *wáč-m=k* =[?]i
 moon =HSY1 morning.star =HSY1 steal-IMPV=DECL =HSY1

[?]imeymil *ki* [?]i:psák
[?]im=mil *ki* [?]ipsak
 say=FIN DST boy

‘And “The woman who came **is stealing** our moon and morning star”, said the boy.’

(46) Origins: 132b, RM

hí:lónč'am k'ol ʔa:ta hi:la

hil-ʔon-čam k'ol ʔa:ta=q hil=q

all-earth-? other people=PAT all=PAT

kimás yúyyampa.

kimas yuy'-m-paʔ

thus **make/do-IMPFV-FUT**

'Everywhere all the different peoples (tribes) **will do** thus.'

(47) Origins: 133, RM

hílikšiloʔ ʔey yúyyamil tí:tampa:miki: ʔey

hílikšiloʔ =ʔi yuy'-m=mil ti:am-paʔ=miki =ʔi

everything =HSY1 **make/do-IMPFV=FIN** rope=?-FUT=PURP =HSY1

yúyyamil ʔa:ta tí:sákpa:miki: ʔey

yuy'-m=mil ʔa:ta ti:sak-paʔ=miki =ʔi

make/do-IMPFV=FIN people snare-FUT=PURP =HSY1

yúyyamil.

yuy'-m=mil

make/do-IMPFV=FIN

'Everything he **arranged**; how they would make ropes, he **arranged**; how people would set snares, he **arranged**.'

(48) and (49) show an interesting example of a possible derivational use of imperfective *-m*. Compare the meaning of *hǫltmil* ‘heard’ with that of *hǫlammil* ‘understood’. In the latter example, *hǫlammil* ‘understood’, the verb root *hǫl-* ‘hear’ is suffixed with imperfective *-m*, which could be interpreted as meaning “went on hearing.”

(48) Coyote and the World: 8, RM

seʔéy *hulkʔoʔá* *hǫltmil.*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hǫl-t=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT **hear-INTR=FIN**

‘And Coyote heard.’

(49) Coyote and the World: 120, RM

seʔéy *hulkʔoʔá* *hǫlammil*

si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *hǫl-m=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT **hear-IMPFV=FIN**

‘And Coyote **understood** them,’

7.4.2.9. *-mil'* past habitual

The past habitual aspect *-mil'*, not to be confused with *=mil* 'finite', has the meaning of "used to do X." Kroeber (1911) does not describe this suffix in his sketch of Yuki. In the texts this suffix is either not used or Kroeber was not able to discern the difference between *=mil* 'finite' and *-mil'* 'past habitual' when recording the speech of his Yuki consultants.

In the texts, *mil hut'ó:pismil* 'used to go deer-hunting', shown in (50), is translated with a past habitual meaning, but glottalization is not marked on the final /l/ in the verb.

(50) Coyote and the World: 382, RM

sikéy mil hut'ó:pismil

siki mil hut'op-s=mil

then deer hunt-CONT=FIN?

'Then he **used to go deer-hunting,**'

In other cases glottalization is marked on the final /l/ of the verb, but the translated meaning of the verb does not have a past habitual meaning, as shown in (51).

(51) Coyote and the World: 61, RM

sikiṭéy *həyú:mi* *hulmúninát* *nək'i:*
si=kiṭ=?i *hayumi* *hulmunin=ət* *nək?=ki*
NEW=then=HSY1 Dove Spider=DAT near=IN

šiloʔ *ʔey* *náŋkilmil'* *həyú:mi*
šiloʔ =?i *nam-k-il=mil'* *hayumi*
like =HSY1 **lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN?** Dove

'Then Dove **laid himself down** as it were near Spider.'

Examples of the past habitual *-mil'* are found in elicited material, as shown in

(52).

(52) Siniard 1967b:79, RM

ʔapil *hot^h* *hu:tmil* *nahismil'*
ʔapil *hoṭ* *hutmil* *na-h-s-mil'*
1SG.AGT.EMPH? big bread **bake-DUR-CONT-PHAB**

'I **used to make** a lot of bread a long time ago'

In yes-no questions, the interrogative *-haʔ* is added following *-mil'* instead of replacing *-mil'*. Past habitual *-mil'* differs in this respect from finite *=mil*. The interrogative *-haʔ* never follows finite *=mil*, but instead replaces it in yes-no questions. Note the loss of glottalization in past habitual *-mil'* in (53).

(53) Siniard 1967b:79, MF

ʔapil *hot^h hu:tmil nahismilha*

ʔapil *hoʔ hutmil na-h-s-mil'-haʔ*

1SG.AGT.EMPH? big bread **bake-DUR-CONT-PHAB-Q**

'Did I used to make a lot of bread?'

7.4.3. Mood

The Yuki system of modality distinguishes declarative, imperative, interrogative, necessitative, permissive, speculative, and negative moods.

7.4.3.1. =k declarative

The declarative mood =k describes a state of affairs or an action without reference to a specific time. Kroeber (1911:362) describes declarative =k as “generally translatable by the present tense of English. It may imply continuance. It makes verbs of adjectival stems.” Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs *-k or *-ki as the declarative endings for adjectives and *-ik or *-iki as the declarative endings for verbs.

As shown in (54) and (55) in elicited examples the declarative mood often occurs in examples that are translated as present tense in English.

(54) Siniard 1967a:35, MF

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ʔap</i> | <i>musp^h</i> | <i>mihik</i> |
| <i>ʔap</i> | <i>musp</i> | <i>mih=k</i> |
| 1SG.AGT | woman | be=DECL |

‘I’m a woman.’

(55) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

ʔal ʔap lu:sik

ʔol ʔap luh-s=k

wood 1SG.AGT chop-CONT=DECL

‘I’m chopping wood.’

However, the declarative is also found translated as other tenses. In (56) and (57), *č’a:nik* is translated as past tense ‘gave’, while *lu:(h)mik* is translated as future or immediate future tense ‘gonna chop (right now)’. This shows that declarative =*k* is not an indicator of present tense and does not of itself make reference to a particular time.

(56) Siniard 1967a:39, MF

kiʔi hqʷ č’a:nik

kiʔ hqʷ č’an=k

DST fish give=DECL

‘He gave me his (own) fish.’

(57) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

ʔal ʔap lu:(h)mik

ʔol ʔap luh-m=k

wood 1SG.AGT chop-IMPV=DECL

‘I’m gonna chop wood (right now).’

In connected speech, verbs ending in =k seem to be ‘setting the stage’ or describing the circumstances under which the events or actions described by other verbs in the clause take place.

In Clause 36, in (58), *túk huʔuʔík* ‘ceasing to travel’ states the circumstances where the dancing described by *wó:kəsmil* ‘(they) danced’ occurs. In Clause 38, when it is time for the travelers to stop dancing and to travel again, the same construction is used in reverse. *wók huʔúsk* ‘stopping the dance’ states the circumstances where the travelling described by *ʔátá túkeymil* ‘traveled on once more’ occurs.

(58) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

səʔéy šákčam ʔan **túk** huʔuʔík ʔey

səʔi šákčam ʔan **tuk** huʔu=k =ʔi

SAME=HSY1 sometimes long/always **travel** **finish=DECL** =HSY1

wók:kesmil *ʔan* *kimáseypa:mikí:*
wok-s=mil *ʔan* *kimas-paʔ=mi*
 sing/dance-CONT?=FIN long/all.the.way thus-FUT=PURP

‘And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.’

...

‘Coyote and the World: 38’

sikéy *ʔátá* *ki:* *wók* *huʔúsk* *ʔey*
sik=ʔi *ʔatá* *ki* *wok* *huʔu-s=k* *=ʔi*
 then=HSY1 again DST sing/dance **stop-CAUS=DECL** =HSY1

ʔátá *túkeymil*
ʔatá *tuk=mil*
 again travel=FIN

‘And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.’

In (59), declarative =k is used the same way as in the previous example. The entire clause is leading up to the final verb *kimáseymil* ‘[Taykómol] did these things’. The declarative-marked verb *ko:k* ‘coming, returning’ is used to describe the circumstances by which this action takes place. *kimáseymil* occurs in a situation where *kipáwkil ko:k kúhtkipis* ‘[Taykómol] was coming back from the north’ and when *ʔonmik’áltí:li kipáwkil kó:k* ‘[Taykómol] had gone encircling the earth’.

(59) Origins: 135, RM

kipqwkil ko:k kúhtkipis ʔonmikʼáltíli

kipqʷ=kʼil koʔ=k kuhtki=pis ʔon=mikʼal-t-il

back=TERM **go=DECL** north=ABL earth=around-DSTR-MPSV

kipqwkil kó:k ʔey kimáşeymil.

kipqʷ=kʼil koʔ=k =ʔi ki-mas=mil

back=TERM **go=DECL** =HSY1 DST-DISTR=FIN

‘It was as he **was coming** back from the north, when he had gone encircling the earth as he [Taykómol] **was returning**, that he did these things.’

Declarative =*k* can be used, as Kroeber (1911:362) said, to make “verbs of adjectival stems,” i.e. predicate adjectives. (60) and (61) show this process in elicited examples.

(60) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

ʔač k^ho:ntik

ʔač kon-t=k

clothes **dry-INTR=DECL**

‘The clothes are already dry.’

(61) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

?i: *həʔye ʔatʔk*

?i *həyi ʔatʔ=k*

1SG.PAT now **good=DECL**

‘I’m luck[y] (good) now.’

The use of declarative =k to form predicate adjectives is also seen in the texts, as shown in (62).

(62) Origins: 109, RM

seʔéy ki həkóčk ʔey ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi.

si=?i kiʔ həkóč=k =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk’oʔi

NEW=HSY1 DST **bad=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“‘That **is bad**”, Coyote said.’

(63) is an additional example of the use of declarative =k in the formation of predicates. In this example =k is affixed to ʔim ‘where’ resulting in ʔimʔeyk ‘is where’ or ‘where would have’.

(63) Origins: 132a, RM

səčamey kimási mil hut’ó:pispa ʔimʔeyk

sə-čam=?i ki-mas-i mil hut’op-s-paʔ ʔim=k

SAME-?=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM deer hunt-CAUS?-FUT **where=DECL**

yúyyamil.

yuy'-m=mil

make/do-IMPF=FIN

'Also he arranged **where** they **would have** their deer-hunting grounds.'

Declarative =k is also used in forming *tq̄lk* 'no', where it is attached to the negative verb *tq̄l-*, as shown in (64).

(64) Coyote and the World: 248, RM

se'éy *tq̄lk* ?ímeymil

si=?i *tq̄l=k* ?im=mil

NEW=HSY1 NEG=DECL say=FIN

'But, "No", he said.'

7.4.3.2. -a(?) ~ C# ~ Ø imperative

The imperative mood -a(?) ~ -C# ~ Ø²⁰⁷ is used to form imperatives and prohibitives²⁰⁸. No formal distinction is made between commands given to one person, versus commands given to more than one person. Imperative verb forms are created by either affixing -a(?) to the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant of the verb. Sometimes no overt marking may be present in imperatives (Sawyer

²⁰⁷ Allomorphs of the imperative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111.

²⁰⁸ Prohibitives are negative imperatives.

and Schlichter 1984:111). Kroeber (1911:363) calls *-a* the “usual imperative” and Schlichter (1985:65) reconstructs **-aʔ* and **-ʔ* (glottalization of the final consonant) as the imperative forms in PNY.

Imperative *-a(ʔ)* takes the place of other tense or mood suffixes and occurs at the end of the verb. *nq̄weta* ‘look!’, in (65), *tatísaʔ* ‘make!’, in (66) and possibly both verbs in *kápisa hq̄wayilitia* ‘bring (it) in to eat!’, in (67).

(65) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------|---------------|------------------|------------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>kaṭáʔapis</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>yq̄šhi</i> | <i>kiṭáʔapis</i> | <i>nq̄weta</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>kaṭa=pis</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>yq̄š-h</i> | <i>kiṭa=pis</i> | <i>nq̄w-t-a</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | here=ABL | 1SG.AGT | stand-DUR | there=ABL | see-INTR-IMP |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>lówpsi</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔa</i> |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>lopsi</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i> |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | Jackrabbit | Coyote=PAT |

‘And “From here where I stand, from there **look!**” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

(66) Coyote and the World: 393, RM

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>sikaʔéy</i> | <i>ʔinámt(e)mil</i> | <i>ʔa:ṭašáy</i> | <i>tatísaʔ</i> |
| <i>sikaʔ=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔinam-t=mil</i> | <i>ʔaṭat-šay</i> | <i>tat-s-a</i> |
| AGT>PAT=HSY1 | dream-INTR=FIN | people-live | make-CAUS-IMP |

kip ʔimiye ʔey ʔinámtemil
 kip ʔim-y =ʔi ʔinam-t=mil
 3R say-PROG =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN

‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to **make** human beings, he dreamed²⁰⁹.’

(67) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sqʔéy ʔap mil ʔúnmawi ki:
 sq=ʔi ʔap mil ʔun-mq-wi kiʔ
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT deer bring-DIR1-PST DST

kápisa *hqwayilitia* ʔey ʔímeymil hulk’óʔi
kap-s-aʔ *hqway-lit-a* =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk’óʔi
bring.in-CAUS-IMP **food-DIR2-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša *músʔaʔ*
ki-mas=q *mus=q*
 DST-DSTR=PAT woman.PL=PAT

‘And, “I have brought a deer, **bring it in to eat!**” Coyote said to these women.’

²⁰⁹ A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it was saying to him “**Make** human beings!” he dreamed.’

Kroeber (1911:363) observed that not all imperative verb forms end in *-aʔ*, but did not observe that in place of *-aʔ* the final consonant of the verb would be glottalized to form the imperative²¹⁰. The reduced form of the imperative occurs in the elicited example in (68).

(68) Schlichter 1985:205, AA

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>mišq̣p</i> | <i>laktlʔ</i> |
| <i>miš=op</i> | <i>lak-tl-ʔ</i> |
| road=LAT | leave-TR-IMP |
| ‘cross the road!’ | |

The reduced form of the imperative is rarely found in the texts. *n̄q̣wkilʔ* ‘look!’ is shown in (69). An additional example is shown in (70). *h̄q̣w̄áysam* ‘eat!’ is translated as an imperative form, but the final glottalization is not written. Therefore the glottalization was either not present or not heard by Kroeber.

²¹⁰ Kroeber (1911:363) wrote “*-a*, the usual imperative suffix. It is used on certain stems, and after *-k*, *-ak*, *-t*, *-is*, and other suffixes. Other stems, and the suffixes *-am*, *-tl*, *-kil*, *-ṭil*, *-lil*, *-sil*, *-il*, and others, express the imperative without any suffix.” The likely reason for the distribution of these two imperative forms is phonological. Glottalized resonants regularly occur word-finally in Yuki in words like *kimʔ* ‘over there’, *halʔ* ‘top’, and in the agentive/instrumental suffix *-(m)olʔ*. Thus the elision of /a/ and assimilation of the glottal stop in imperative *-aʔ* into the /l/ or /m/ in resonant-final verbs would yield words that are phonetically acceptable to Yuki speakers. Word-final glottalized obstruents never occur in surface forms; thus in verbs ending in obstruents, it is not surprising that the full form of the imperative suffix *-aʔ* is maintained.

(69) Coyote and the World: 371, RM

mó:šampú:lamláčkot maʔí:yi yú:ta ʔiymaq mó:s

mošampulamlač-kot maʔiyi yuta ʔiymaq moʔos

Mošampulamlač-LOC something happen? ? 2PL.AGT

míniskinʔ hilkšilóʔ hí:li

min-s=k-inʔ hilkšiloʔ hil-i

believe-CONT?=DECL-NEG? everything all-ANIM

lákti hánpis nqʷkilʔ ʔeyy ʔímeymil

lak-t han=pis nqʷ-k-il-ʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil

go.out-INTR house=ABL **see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat ʔa:ʔáta hulkʔóʔi

kipat ʔaʔat=q hulkʔoʔi

3R.DAT people=PAT Coyote

‘At Mošampulamlač something is happening! You who could not believe me in anything, all come out of your houses and **look!**’ said Coyote to his people.’

(70) Coyote and the World: 205, RM

sqʔey maš hqʷáysam wič kóyikap

sqʔi mas hqʷay-s-m-(ʔ) wič koʔ-ʔ=kop

SAME=HSY1 thus **eat-CAUS-IMPFV-(IMP)** far go-PROG=when

máy *hiwítwiča* *wički:* *may* *ʔínlamʔ*
may *hiw-t-wič-a* *wič=ki* *may* *ʔin-lam*
 someone tired-INTR-PST2-? far=IN someone sleep-INCH

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 =ʔi *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“So, **eat!** From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said Coyote.

Prohibitives, or negative imperatives, are formed by negating the verb using *-tan* ‘negative’ and then adding imperative mood suffix to the end of the negated verb. (71) and (72) show examples of prohibitives in elicitation and in the texts, respectively.

- (71) Siniard 1967a:57, MF
- nan ʔ^{hi:}ʔakʔanʔaʔ*
nan ʔi-qk-ʔan-ʔaʔ
 fence **jump-SEM-NEG-IMP**
 ‘Don’t jump over the fence!’

(72) Coyote and the World: 278, RM

sámi *šúʔnóhkiltána* *kup*
sa=mi *šuʔ-noʔ-h-k-il-tan-a* *kup*
SAME=therefore **sit-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP** sister's.son

mi *kó:ṭima*

miʔ *koʔ=ṭima*

2SG.AGT go=self

‘But not sitting there to stay long [**don’t sit there and stay long**],
sister’s son, you are to go on.’²¹¹

7.4.3.3. *-ha(?) ~ -ʔa(?)* interrogative

The interrogative mood *-ha(?) ~ -ʔa(?)*²¹² is used in the formation of yes-no questions and question-word questions. The interrogative *-ha* or one of its allomorphs is attached to the end of verb in place of any other tense or mood marking. Kroeber (1911:363) refers to *-haʔ* as the “interrogative” and Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs **-ʔa* as the interrogative mode suffix in PNY.

(73) and (74) show elicited examples of the interrogative in use.

²¹¹ A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Therefore don’t sit there and stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

²¹² Allomorphs of the interrogative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:114.

(73) Schlichter 1985:207, AA

ʔim ki nq̄mʔa

ʔim kiʔ nam-ʔa

where DST lie-Q

‘Where is it (lying)?’

(74) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

kiʔi sum ʔal lu:hisha

kiʔ sum ʔol luh-s-ha

DST yesterday wood chop-CONT-Q

‘Did he chop wood yesterday?’

(75) and (76) are examples of the interrogative *-ha* used in the texts.

(75) Coyote and the World: 16, RM

seʔéy ʔi:yi ʔap hoyyímeyha ʔey ʔímeymil.

si=ʔi ʔiyi ʔap hoy=ʔim-ha =ʔi ʔim=mil

NEW=HSY1 what 1SG.AGT too-say-Q =HSY1 say=FIN

“‘What am I telling about?’ he said.’

(76) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

[?]im kɪ: yim čí:yí:mɪlamha kup

[?]im ki yim čí-y-mil-m-ha kup

where DST fire glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q sister's.son

[?]i:y [?]ímeymil hulk'ó'i

=[?]i [?]im=mil hulk'ó'i

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

7.4.3.4. -nik ~ -nʔk ~ -nk necessitative

The necessitative mood -nik ~ -nʔk ~ -nk is used to convey the meaning ‘must do X’ or ‘have to do X’. The necessitative mood is not described in earlier studies of Yuki.

Examples are shown contrasting šu²- ‘sit, stay’ marked with the necessitative -nik in (77) and not marked with this ending in (78). In (77), šu²- is suffixed with the necessitative suffix forming šuʔhinik ‘(you) must stay’. In (78), šu²- is suffixed only with the declarative mood =k forming šuʔik ‘sitting’.

(77) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sáʔey [?]ątéy káʔa kup šuʔhinik yí:čmah

sá=[?]i [?]ątey káʔa kup šuʔ-h-nik yičmah

SAME=HSY1 for.a.while here sister's.son sit-DUR-NEC for.a.while

hánkil *kó:mil*

han=k'il *ko?=mil*

house=TERM go=FIN

“And for a while [you **must**] **stay here**, sister’s son; for a little I am going home;”

(78) Coyote and the World: 407, RM

seʔéy *sá:t'in* *?i:yuʔaʔkim'* *?án* *hánop*

si=?i *sət'in* *?iyuʔaʔkim'* *?an* *han=op*

NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?=over.there? always house=LAT

šuʔik *ki:č'ilkíč* *pá:tispa* *tanháli(k)* *kí:laʔ*

šuʔ=k *kič'il=kič* *paʔ-s-paʔ* *tan=hql* *ki-laʔ*

sit=DECL obsidian=only chip-CONT-FUT NEG?=INFR1? DST-INST

‘Then Lizard, “How is it to happen that always **sitting** indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?”’

Additional examples of the necessitative *-nik* are shown in (79).

(79) Coyote and the World: 376, RM

sákey *kípat* *múšpa*

sq=k=?i *kipat* *musp=q*

SAME=?=HSY1 3R.DAT woman=PAT

| | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------|------|
| <i>tát</i> | šú:hinʔk | <i>tát</i> | <i>halč</i> | tatéymin(i)k | ʔey | ʔim |
| <i>tat</i> | šuʔ-h-nik | <i>tat</i> | <i>halč</i> | tat-m-nik | =ʔi | ʔim |
| good | sit-DUR-NEC | good | child | good-IMPV-NEC | =HSY1 | thus |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>kipat</i> | <i>múspa</i> | <i>nak'ó:himmil</i> |
| <i>kipat</i> | <i>musp=q</i> | <i>nak'oh-m=mil</i> |
| 3R.DAT | woman=PAT | teach-?=FIN |

‘And his woman (wife), “You **must stay well; look well** after the children”, thus he instructed his wife.’

7.4.3.5. *-law* ~ *-lawh* permissive

Kroeber (1911:358) describes the permissive *-law*, which he writes *-lau^ɸ*, as having “the force of English can, and is either an independent verb or suffix.”²¹³ Elicited examples of *-law* indicate that Kroeber’s description is accurate, and that *-law* has the meaning ‘to be able to X’ or ‘can X’, but that *-law* also shows several other meanings in use. Elicited examples are also translated with the meaning ‘might be able to X’ or ‘might X’. *-law* may be an enclitic, but it is probably not an independent

²¹³ Kroeber (1911:359) also describes another verb morpheme *-law* as “having the meaning of making a motion to perform the action indicated by the verb stem.” Kroeber gives the following examples of this form: *muklawetlwi* ‘moved to seize with the mouth, tried to bite’, *ʔahlawetlu* ‘made a motion to seize.’ This other *-law* morpheme is not seen in the texts or in elicited records and so it is unclear what Kroeber is describing.

verb as *-law* is never seen in any contexts other than preceding the declarative *-k* or interrogative *-haʔ* at the end of a verb.

(80) - (83) show elicited examples of the permissive *-law*. (80) and (81) show *-law* with the meaning ‘to be able to X’ or ‘would like to X’.

(80) Siniard 1967b:73, MF

ki miʔ p^hislawha

kiʔ miʔ pis-law-haʔ

DST 2SG.AGT **hide-PRM-Q**

‘**can** you **hide** it?’

(81) Siniard 1967b:73, MF

ʔap p^histlawk^h

ʔap pis-t-law=k

1SG.AGT **hide-INTR-PRM=DECL**

‘maybe I’ll hide it, I would like to hide it’

(82) - (83) show *-law* with the meaning ‘might X’ or ‘might be able to X’.

(82) Siniard 1967b:75, MF

mis *hilyu[?]utlawk^h*

mis *hilyu[?]-t-law=k*

2SG.PAT **sick-INTR-PRM=DECL**

‘you **might get sick**’

(83) Siniard 1967b:87, MF

haw *ʔap* *hɔp* *ši:lawk*

haw *ʔɔp* *hɔp* *ši-law=k*

tomorrow 1SG.AGT song **sing-PRM=DECL**

‘I **might be able to sing** tomorrow.’

(84) and (85) are examples of *-law* in the texts. In (84), *ʔamílkilláwxk* ‘will overtake’ is not translated with a meaning of ‘can’ or ‘be able’. Given the context, however, it is possible that the implication of the translated meaning of *mis ʔamílkilláwxk* ‘(he) will overtake you’ is ‘(he) will be able to overtake you’.

(84) Coyote and the World: 55, RM

sikáéy *ʔa:ʔát* *tálk panóp* *miʔ* *mik’ál sika*

siká=ʔi *ʔátat* *tálk panop* *miʔ* =*mik’al sika*

AGT>PAT?=HSY1 people no close/near? 2SG.AGT? =around AGT>PAT?

mis *ʔamílkílláwxkʔ* *ʔey*
mis *ʔamil-k-il-law=k* *=ʔi*
 2SG.PAT **overtake-PNCT-MPSV-PRM=DECL** =HSY1

ʔi:mq̣ilmil *ʔa:tát.*
ʔim-mq̣-l-il=mil *ʔatát*
 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people

‘Then, “No, he **will overtake** you (as you) circle close by”, said the people to one another.’

In (85), *-law* has the meaning of ‘be able to X’ or ‘can X’ in *pá:ṭisláwxk* ‘can keep chipping’.

(85) Coyote and the World: 406, RM

siʔéy *hulkʔóʔiʔa* *ʔí:yi* *yú:mʔ* *tánhq̣li* *tát(k)* *kí:la*
si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=ʔa* *ʔiyi* *yumʔ* *tan=hq̣li* *tat* *ki-la*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT? what ? NEG?=INFR1? good DST-INST

tát *kí:tí:l* *pá:ṭisláwxk* *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
tat *kitil* *paṭ-s-law=k* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
 good obsidian **chip-CONT-PRM=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote, “What is the matter then? With that they **can keep chipping** obsidian well”, Coyote said.’

7.4.3.6. *-han* speculative

The speculative mood *-han* is only observed in elicited examples. In these examples it is used to describe events that might happen. It is typically translated as ‘might’ or ‘maybe’²¹⁴. It is unclear whether speculative *-han* has any connection =*han* ‘but’, discussed in §4.10.2 and §9.12 or the subessive case enclitic =*han*, discussed in §5.4.6. The speculative mood is not described by Kroeber in his 1911 sketch of Yuki.

(86) and (87), contrast examples with and without the speculative mood suffix *-han*.

(86) Siniard 1967a:5, MF

kiʔ mu:la mis tʔukhan

ki mula mis tʔuk-han

DST mule 2SG.PAT kick-SPEC

‘that mule might kick you’

²¹⁴ In Table 41, *-han* is shown in Position XI. This classification is uncertain. In elicited examples *-han* is never followed by other verb morphology and is always found at the end of the verb, just as the other morphemes in Position XI. Also, as seen in *li:ʔakhan* ‘might kill’ in (88), *-han* follows semelfactive *-qk*, which is in Position VIII.

(87) Siniard 1967a:5, MF

mu:la ʔi: t'uktlik

mula ʔi t'uk-tl=k

mule 1SG.PAT kick-TR=DECL

'the mule kicked me'

(88) and (89) are two additional examples of verbs marked with speculative *-han*.

(88) Siniard 1967a:53, MF

haw kiʔ mila li:ʔakhan

haw ki mila li-qk-han

tomorrow DST deer kill-SEM-SPEC

'he might kill that deer tomorrow'

(89) Siniard 1967a:77, MF

ʔamp ʔu:pan si:kin nawwihan

ʔqp ʔupan sikin nqw-han

1SG.AGT snake see-SPEC

'maybe I'll see a snake'

7.4.3.7. -*tan* negative

Verbs are negated with the negative *-tan*. A separate negative verb *ɬal-* is used to form negative clauses²¹⁵. Kroeber (1911:361) notes the use of *-tan* and *ɬal-* as negatives and Schlichter (1985:254) reconstructs **təl* (**tal?*) as the negative in PNY.

(90) and (91) are elicited examples of negated verbs.

(90) Siniard 1967a:63, MF

mu:šakɬanpaʔ

muš-qk-ɬan-paʔ

laught-SEM-NEG-FUT

‘He’s not gonna laugh’

(91) Siniard 1967a:106, MF

ki ʔi hɔw ča:niɬan

kiʔ ʔi hɔw čan-ɬan

DST 1SG.PAT fish give-NEG

‘He won’t give that fish to me.’

²¹⁵ The negative verb *ɬal-* is discussed in §9.9.2.

(92) and (93) are examples of negated verbs in the texts.

(92) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

sikiṭéy *hí:li* *ʔatq* *wóktmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔatq* *wok-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘And all danced on.’

‘Coyote and the World: 63’

sonʔéy *hulmúnina* *mú:šamtanmil.*
son=ʔi *hulmunin=q* *muš-m-tan=mil*
 however=HSY1 Spider=PAT laugh-IMPV-NEG=FIN

‘However Spider **did not laugh.**’²¹⁶

(93) Origins: 148, RM

sikí *ʔey* *ʔa:ṭát* *k’á:pmi* *kimáse* *ʔey*
siki *=ʔi* *ʔatát* *k’ap-mi* *ki-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 therefore =HSY1 people die=DEP DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

k’á:paṅk *kipáwkil* *kó:tamtánmil*
k’ap=am=k *kipaw=k’il* *koʔ-t-m-tan=mil*
 die=?=DECL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-NEG=FIN

²¹⁶ The original free translation is: ‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ The free translation given in the example is a retranslation of Clause 63 that seems to match the original Yuki more closely.

hulk'óʔa wáytnamlikí.

hulk'oʔi=q wayt=namli=ki

Coyote=PAT refuse=DEP=DST

‘And therefore people who die, when they are dead **do not come (go)**

back, because Coyote refused.’

7.4.4. Evidentiality

Yuki evidentials are used primarily to indicate that information is not directly known by the speaker. Table 45 provides an overview of the different types of evidentials found in Yuki.

| Evidential | Gloss | Meaning | Location |
|---|-------|--|--|
| =ʔi ~ ʔi: ~ ʔiy ~ ʔey 'hearsay evidential' | HSY1 | Indicates that speaker does not have personal knowledge of preceding material (Kroeber 1911:378, 380). | A second position or Wackernagel enclitic immediately following the switch-reference marker, quoted speech and major clausal constituents. |
| =hqli 'inferential evidential' | INFR1 | 'it seems, being about to' | An enclitic attaching to nouns and verbs. |
| -sik 'hearsay evidential' | HSY2 | 'I hear, they say' | An enclitic or suffix attaching to verbs. |
| šiloʔ 'inferential evidential' | INFR2 | 'seems to' | Noun and verb |

Table 45: Yuki evidentials

7.4.4.1. ʔi ~ ʔi: ~ ʔiy ~ ʔey hearsay evidential

The most ubiquitous word in Yuki connected speech may be ʔi. Kroeber (1911) calls the hearsay evidential ʔi the dubitative particle and gives the following descriptions of its use:

Particle used in myths to indicate that the narrative does not rest on the personal experience of the narrator (1911:378)...dubitative particle, here

indicating the cessation of the direct discourse in which it is not used, and the resumption of the narrative (380).

Most of the texts collected by Kroeber were myths. Therefore all of these texts are replete with *ʔi*. Other texts, such as the translated *Ents and Upek* story, where the speaker, Ralph Moore, still would not have had personal knowledge or experience of the events in those texts, are also filled with uses of *ʔi*. The one text that seems to be a telling by Moore of an event that he personally witnessed, the Feather Dance Narrative, contains no instance where *ʔi* is used. This suggests that Kroeber's original description of *ʔi*, as a marker of information that the speaker has no personal experience with, is correct.

ʔi is a second position, or Wackernagel, clitic and occurs immediately following the switch-reference marker and coordinating suffix, if it is present, and immediately following quoted speech. *ʔi* is also found following larger constituents within the clause, such as verb arguments and following individual verbs within serial verb constructions. (94) and (95) show *ʔi* immediately following the switch-reference marker and immediately following quoted speech.

(94) Origins: 64, RM

seʔey *tʔuynaʔákin* *ʔqha* *miʔat* *ʔon* *míhikoʔi:*

si=ʔi *tʔuynaʔákin* *ʔqha* *miʔat* *ʔon* *mihi-koʔi:*

NEW=HSY1 *Tʔuynaʔákin* yes 1PL.INCL.DAT earth be-?

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>miʔat</i> | <i>mi:paʔá:č</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>tʔuynaʔákin.</i> |
| <i>miʔat</i> | <i>mihi-paʔ-ač</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>tʔuynaʔákin</i> |
| 1PL.INCL.DAT | be-FUT-? | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Tʔuynaʔákin |

Origins: 65

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>ʔú:tʔmil</i> | <i>tʔúy</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔá.</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔutʔ=mil</i> | <i>tʔuy</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=ʔa</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | give=FIN | pitch | Coyote=PAT |

‘And Tʔuynaʔákin, “Yes, our earth it is, ours shall it be”, Tʔuynaʔákin said, and handed the pitch to Coyote.’

(95) Coyote and the World: 15, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>sqkʔiléy</i> | <i>kíwismil</i> | <i>ʔi:yi</i> | <i>šɨjkími</i> | <i>kúp</i> |
| <i>sq=kʔil=ʔi</i> | <i>kiw-s=mil</i> | <i>ʔiyi</i> | <i>šinkimi</i> | <i>kup</i> |
| SAME=TERM?=HSY1 | ask-CAUS=FIN | what | ? | sister’s.brother |
| <i>hoymiye šilómwi</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> | |
| <i>hoymiye šilo-m-wi</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> | |
| ? | like-IMPV-FV-PST1 | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote |

ló:psa *kíwisk.*
lopsi=q *kiw-s=k*
 Jackrabbit=PAT ask-CAUS=DECL

‘Thereupon he asked him, “What was that, sister’s son, that you seemed to be telling about?” said Coyote to Jackrabbit, asking him.’

In Kroeber’s transcription, *ʔi* usually is written as a single word with the switch-reference marker or switch-reference marker and coordinating suffix. In other positions Kroeber typically writes it as a separate word, but its position suggests that it is a clitic marking certain types of constituents as reported or uncertain knowledge. This can be seen in the above examples where *ʔi* is marking the referent specified by the switch-reference marking as reported and the quote as reported.

ʔi is also often found affixed to larger constituents within a clause. In (96), the argument *ki lalkú:tk ʔaʔat ʔóykilnamlikimáse* ‘those that had crowded into Lalkúhtki’ is separated by *ʔi* from the verb *míʔkilmil* ‘filled up’ and its argument *lál* ‘lake’.

(96) Coyote and the World: 83, RM

sikiʔéy *ki* *lalkú:tk* *ʔaʔát*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *kiʔ* *lalkuhtki* *ʔaʔat*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST Lalkúhtki.IN people

(97) Coyote and the World: 224, RM

samí:ʔi: *háye pilá:ta* *k'óʔhąliki:* ʔey *háye*
sa=mi=ʔi *hąye piląt=q* *k'oʔ=hąli=ki* =ʔi *hąye*
SAME=therefore=HSY1 now sun=PAT **be.in=INFR1=DST** =HSY1 now

ʔá:tlhąli ʔey *muč'úyitmil*
ʔ'aʔ-tl=hąli =ʔi *muč'uy-t=mil*
touch-TR=INFR1 =HSY1 squeal-INTR=FIN

‘But now where the sun **was inside**, as he **seemed to touch** it, it squealed.’

(98) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

seʔéy *wíley kó:ti* ʔey *nąwinhąle* ʔey
si=ʔi *wili koʔ-t* =ʔi *nąw-n=hąli* =ʔi
NEW=HSY1 far go-INTR =HSY1 **see-AND=INFR1** =HSY1

yąt(e)mil
yat=mil
be.gone/disappear=FIN

‘So **going farther to look**, it **seems**, he was not (in sight any longer).’

therefore it may be that Kroeber avoided using “seems” twice in this example due to the awkwardness of this use in English: ‘But now where the sun seemed to be inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.’

In (99) and (100), =*hǫli* follows *ki* ‘DST’ with the meaning ‘that must be the one’. In (99), =*hǫli* also follows *wi:lísiwiʔ* ‘went by’, but Kroeber only translates =*hǫli* in reference to its use with *ki* as ‘that must be the one’. The reasons for this are unclear, but they may be the same as those discussed for (97).

(99) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>hǫle</i> | <i>ʔiyt</i> | <i>kʔápkí</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> | <i>ki</i> | = <i>hǫli</i> | <i>ʔit</i> | <i>kʔapki</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | Coyote | DST | =INFR1 | 1SG.DAT | below |
| <i>hó:ʔ</i> | <i>sunlámuʔ</i> | | <i>ʔi:y</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> |
| <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>sun-lam-wi</i> | | =ʔi | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> |
| big | make.noise-INCH-PST1 | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote | |

‘And Coyote, “**That must be the one** which just now moved along resounding loudly below me”, said Coyote.’

(100) Coyote and the World: 244, RM

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>séʔey</i> | <i>kí:</i> | <i>hǫle</i> | <i>káʔa</i> | <i>wi:lísiwiʔ</i> | <i>hǫli</i> | <i>hó:ʔ</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>ki</i> | = <i>hǫli</i> | <i>kaʔa</i> | <i>wil-s-wi</i> | = <i>hǫli</i> | <i>hoʔ</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | DST | =INFR1 | here | go.past-CONT-PST1 | =INFR1 | big |
| <i>kʔomlámwi</i> | | <i>ʔéyy</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | | | |
| <i>kʔom-lam-wi</i> | | =ʔi | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | | | |
| make.noise-INCH-PST1 | =HSY1 | say=FIN | | | | |

ʔiwóʔ ki k'áy' ʔáʔeyki
 ʔiwóʔ ki k'áy' ʔa-y=ki
 old.man DST mushroom pick-PROG=DST

“**That must be the one** that went by here, resounding loudly along”, said that old mushroom-picking man.’

7.4.4.3. -sik hearsay evidential

-sik is another type of hearsay evidential translated with meanings like ‘they say’ or ‘I learn that I am to X’, -sik is not mentioned in earlier descriptions of Yuki. (101) - (103) show -sik in examples from the texts.

(101) Coyote and the World: 188, RM

sáʔey kipat ʔa:ʔáta hušk'áyesmil ʔinám
 sáʔi kipat ʔaʔat=q hušk'ay-s=mil ʔinam
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN dream

hušk'áyestanáʔ k'ophán ʔáʔ **ko:mi:lámsik**
 hušk'ay-s-tan-aʔ=kop-han ʔáʔ **koʔ-mq-il-m-sik**
 tell-CAUS?-NEG-?=while-but 1SG.AGT **go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FV-HSY2**

sá ʔáʔ kó:mi:lik ʔey ʔím
 sá ʔáʔ koʔ-mq-il=k =ʔi ʔim
 SAME 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL =HSY1 say

kipat *ʔa:ʔáta* *hušk'áyesmil* *tat* *nóhinik* *ʔey*
kipat *ʔatát=q* *hušk'ay-s=mil* *tat* *no-h-nik* *=ʔi*
 3R.DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN good live-DUR-NEC =HSY1

ʔimiyikiṭ *ʔey* *kó:temil* *hulk'óʔi*
ʔim-y=kiṭ *=ʔi* *koʔ-t=mil* *hulk'oʔi*
 say-PROG=then =HSY1 go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘So he told his people, not telling them the dream, but “**I am to go, they say**, and I shall go”, thus he told his people; “Stay here well”, Coyote said and went.’

(102) Coyote and the World: 375, RM

sqʔéy *ʔátá* *ʔqp* *ko:mi:lámšik* *ʔey*
sq=ʔi *ʔatá* *ʔqp* *koʔ-mq-il-m-sik* *=ʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 again 1SG.AGT **go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2** =HSY1

ʔimeymil kipat *ʔaʔáta*
ʔim=mil kipat *ʔatát=q*
 say=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT

‘And, “Again I **learn I am to go**”, he said to his people.’

In some cases verbs ending in *-sik* are not translated with an evidential meaning. The evidential meaning may have existed in the original Yuki, but it is not

translated by Kroeber into English. *li:támšik* ‘are being killed’ in (459) is an example of this lack of translated evidential meaning.

(103) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

si k'í nqk 'ey hulk'o'á 'inámtmil 'a:ṭát kú:htkiwit

si ki nqk ='i hulk'o'i=q 'inam-t=mil 'aṭat kuhtki=wit

NEW DST night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people north=ALL

*yí:tiwi kimáša **li:támšik** 'iy*

*yi²-t-wi ki-mas=q **li²-t-m-sik** ='i*

play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT **kill-INTR-IMPV-FV-HSY2** =HSY1

'imeymil hulk'o'i

'im=mil hulk'o'i

say=FIN Coyote

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing are being killed”, Coyote said.’

7.4.4.4. *šiloʔ* inferential evidential

šiloʔ can act as a hearsay evidential and may also have other uses²¹⁸. As an evidential, *šiloʔ* means ‘seems to’ and follows the word it is characterizing. *šiloʔ* can take the form of an enclitic or can be affixed with verb morphology and function as a verb. Kroeber (1911:358) provides this description for *šiloʔ*:

-*cilo* [-*šilo*] is a frequent suffix with the meaning “appearing to.” Often it can be translated by “as it were,” or “it seems.” This suffix often has sufficient stress-accent to furnish some justification for considering it an independent word; but no other words intervene between it and the verb-stem to which it refers. There is usually nothing but accent and phonetic feeling to determine whether such forms as *yiki-ciloo-wi* [*yi:kišilo:wi*] are one word or two; the words if separate would stand in the same position and have the same form, the first being in that case participially subordinate to the second: “playing he appeared.”

In (104), *šiloʔ* is found in *hoyyímyi šiloʔómik* ‘seems to be trying tell.’

(104) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

| | | | |
|--|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>ʔa:ʔáta</i> | <i>ʔiwilhánam</i> | <i>mihikimása</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔaʔat=q</i> | <i>ʔiwilhan=am</i> | <i>mih=ki-mas=q</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 people=PAT ceremonial.house=IN2 be=DST-DSTR=PAT | | | |

²¹⁸ See §4.11.1 for a description of other uses of *šiloʔ*.

ʔí:yi ʔiy hq̄ltikhil ʔanwí:sq mó:š nq̄wíli
 ʔiyi ʔi hq̄l-t-k-ilʔ ʔanwísq moʔos nq̄wil
 something 1SG.PAT hear-INTR-PNCT-MPSV orphan 2PL.AGT whip

lákšiwíčkíʔ hoyyímyi šiloʔómik ʔey
 lak-s-wiṭ=ki hoy=ʔim-y šiloʔ-m=k =ʔi
 put.out-CAUS-PST2=DST too?=try-PROG like-IMPF=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi ʔa:ṭata ʔiwilhanam
 ʔim=mil hulkʔóʔi ʔaṭat=q ʔiwilhan=am
 say=FIN Coyote people=PAT ceremonial.house=IN2

nóhikimáša
 no-h=ki-mas=q
 live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘And to the people who were in the ceremonial house, “Something I hear; the orphan whom you whipped and put out **seems to be trying to tell something**”, said Coyote to the people who were living in the ceremonial house.’

In (105), *šiloʔ* is found in *tínti:li šiló:tmil* ‘seemed to be level’ and also in *yǎkpa šiloʔ* ‘appearing to stand.’

(105) Origins: 72, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>sikiṭʔey</i> | <i>hilkʔil</i> | <i>ʔon</i> | <i>tínti:li šiló:tmil</i> | <i>tát</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>hilkʔil</i> | <i>ʔon</i> | <i>tintili šilo-t=mil</i> | <i>tat</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | everywhere | earth | level | INFR2-INTR=FIN good |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| <i>ʔon</i> | <i>námʔ-ti</i> | <i>ʔí:yi</i> | <i>han</i> | <i>yǎkpa</i> | <i>šilóʔ</i> | <i>ʔól</i> | <i>han</i> |
| <i>ʔon</i> | <i>nam-t</i> | <i>ʔiyi</i> | <i>han</i> | <i>yǎk-pa</i> | <i>=šiloʔ</i> | <i>ʔol</i> | <i>han</i> |
| earth | lay-INTR | what | but? | stand-FUT | =INFR2 | tree | but? |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>yǎkpa</i> | <i>šilóʔ</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>tát</i> | <i>wánawol</i> | <i>ʔon</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>yǎk-pa</i> | <i>=šiloʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>tat</i> | <i>wa-naw-olʔ</i> | <i>ʔon</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| stand-FUT | =INFR2 | =HSY1 | good | far-see-AGT/INST? | earth | =HSY1 |

námʔtmil.

nam-t=mil

lay-INTR=FIN

‘Then he said, “Weyyi”, and in every direction (“toward all”) the earth **seemed to be (spread out) level**, lying there a good earth, nothing **appearing to stand** on it, no trees **appearing to stand** on it, it lay a good earth open to view.’

In (106), *šiloʔ* is found in *nəkʔi: šiloʔ* ‘as it were near’, which could be understood as meaning ‘appearing to be near’ or ‘seemingly near’.

(106) Coyote and the World: 61, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>hayú:mi</i> | <i>hulmúninát</i> | <i>nəkʔi:</i> | <i>šiloʔ</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>hayumi</i> | <i>hulmunin=qt</i> | <i>nəkʔ=ki</i> | <i>=šiloʔ</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | Dove | Spider=DAT | near=IN | =INFR2 |
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>náŋkilmilʔ</i> | <i>hayú:mi</i> | | |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>nam-k-il=milʔ</i> | <i>hayumi</i> | | |
| =HSY1 | lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN? | Dove | | |

‘Then Dove laid himself down **as it were near** Spider.’

7.5. Derivational morphology

This section describes derivational morphology for Yuki verbs.

7.5.1. *-t* ~ *-t* intransitive

The intransitive voice suffix *-t* decreases the transitivity of verb roots and is also found with verb roots that are inherently intransitive, though not all intransitive verbs necessarily carry *-t* marking. It is important to note that as not all intransitive verbs are suffixed with *-t*, this suffix is derivational rather than inflectional in nature and that intransitive Yuki verbs are not defined by the presence of this suffix. Verbs marked with *-t* tend to be single argument verbs. *-t* may also overtly mark as intransitive verbs with incorporated nouns. Kroeber (1911:361) describes *-t* as “intransitive, unintentional, not causative action.” Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs **-Vt/t, š, C'_, l_C~t/...* as the effective voice²¹⁹ in PNY.

(107) - (109) show that through the addition of *-t*, *nqw-* ‘see, look at, watch’ takes on an intransitive meaning *nqw-t-* ‘look’, *nqw-* ‘see, look at, watch’. In (107) and (108), *nqw-* is a transitive verb with a grammatical agent that sees or looks at something. *nqw-t-* ‘look’, in (109), is an intransitive verb with only a single argument, which is the argument performing the act of looking.

²¹⁹ Schlichter (1985) does not provide a definition detailing the function of the ‘effective voice’ in her reconstruction of Proto Northern-Yukian.

(107) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 182, MF

č'i:mit ʔqp nqwhək
č'imit ʔqp nq̄w-h=k
bird 1SG.AGT look-DUR=DECL

'I **looked** at the bird, I **watched** the bird.'

(108) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:182, MF

mis ʔqp nq̄wek
mis ʔqp nq̄w=k
2SG.PAT 1SG.AGT see=DECL

'I **saw** you, I **see** you.'

(109) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

kú:tak'á: más yq̄híyq̄kli ša:tammil más
kutak'a mas yq̄h-q-k-il? šat-m=mil mas
way.over.there thus blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV stop-IMPFV=FIN thus

nq̄wetaʔ(á) ʔey ʔimeymil ló:psí hulk'oʔq.
nq̄w-t-aʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'oʔi=q
look-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, **look!**” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

As stated earlier, -t is also found affixed to verbs that are inherently intransitive. Compare *koʔome:lek* ‘going to go’, in (110), and *kipq̄wwap kó:tekiṭ* ‘after (they) had

returned, in (111). In both cases the verb *ko*[?] ‘go’ is intransitive. It may be that when attached to intransitive verbs *-t* can be used to derive other meanings of that verb. In (111), however, *kipáwwap kó:tekiṭ* is translated as ‘returned’ due to the presence of *kipáwwap* ‘back=LAT’ rather than due to the fact that *-t* is present in the verb.

(110) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:94, MF

kim[?]*wit* [?]*q̄p* *ko*[?]*ome:lek*
kim[?]*=wit* [?]*q̄p* *ko*[?]*-m̄q-il=k*
 over.there=ALL 1SG.AGT **go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**

‘I’m going someplace.’

(111) Coyote and the World: 255, RM

si[?] *kimáṣi* *kipáwwap* *kó:tekiṭ* *hiwáqk’i*[?]
si *ki-mas-i* *kipáw=ap* *ko*[?]*-t=kiṭ* *hiwáqk’i*
 NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT **go-INTR=when** after

k’ít *n̄q* [?]*q̄s* *móp(e)ti* *hi:l* *tát* *mópeti*
k’it =*n̄q* [?]*q̄s* *mop-t* *hil* *tat* *mop-t*
 bone and blood **gather-INTR** all good **gather-INTR**

| | | | | |
|------|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|
| ʔey | háyé | p'íškí'ólop | ʔey | ta:táqlilmil |
| =ʔi | háye | p'íš-ki'ol=op | =ʔi | tat-q-l-il=mil |
| HSY1 | now | sunflower-stalk=LAT | =HSY1 | fix-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN |

'And **after they had returned, gathering** his bones and blood, **gathering** everything well, now he made himself over on sunflower stalks (as a frame).'

(111) shows another example of the *-t* in use. The verb *mop-* 'gather' is transitive. In both instances that *mop-* occurs in this example it is affixed with *-t*, yet *mopéti* 'gathering' appears along with other words that seem to be acting as recipients. It may be that *-t* has been incorporated into the verb root and that it has lost its detransitivizing function in verbs such as *mop(e)ti* 'gather', which appear to be functioning as transitive verbs in the texts.

Another possible explanation is that in cases such as this, the arguments of a verb affixed with *-t* are incorporated into the verb. This would be consistent with the role of *-t* as the intransitive morpheme, as noun incorporation can be a transitivity reducing operation and a means for seemingly transitive verbs to function as intransitive verbs. If the arguments of *mópeti* 'gathering' in (111) are incorporated then *k'ít nq ʔaş mop(e)ti* would be understood as 'bone-and-blood-gathering' rather than '[they were / had been] gathering his bones and blood'. Similarly, *hi:l tát mópeti* would be 'all-things-well-gathering' rather than '[they were / had been] gathering all things well.'

It is unclear whether (111) is an example of noun incorporation. Comparing (111) to an example with a transitive verb and its arguments in (112), there are few differences.

(112) Coyote and the World: 323, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>lašk'áwol'</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>háwmol'</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>pístlmil</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>lašk'awol'</i> | <i>=nq</i> | <i>hawmol'</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>pis-tl=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | moon | =and | morning.star | =HSY1 | hide-TR=FIN |

'Then he hid the moon and morning star.'

7.5.2. *-tl* transitive

Transitive *-tl* was apparently pronounced as a single consonant: a voiceless lateral affricate²²⁰. This makes *-tl* unique as lateral affricates are found nowhere else in Yuki and sequences of obstruents are typically avoided by the insertion of epenthetic vowels. The fact that this sequence is maintained in this position, suggests that it possesses a special kind of unity. Therefore, synchronically, it is not a sequence of separate morphemes

In his published sketch of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:361) writes *-tl* as *-t-l* and states that this morpheme indicates "transitive, intentional, causative action." Verbs

²²⁰ Kroeber writes *-tl* as <L> in the texts, but as *-t-l* in his (1911) published sketch of Yuki.

containing *-tl* tend to be transitive, but can also be intransitive and are rarely causative. In general, *-tl* seems to be a transitive morpheme that may stand in contrast to intransitive *-t*. As not all transitive verbs are suffixed with *-tl*, this suffix is derivational rather than inflectional in nature. Therefore transitive verbs in Yuki are not defined by the presence of this suffix.

p'oy- 'put' is shown in (113) suffixed with *-t* and in (114) suffixed with *-tl*. *p'oy-t-* in *p'óyčpa'* 'shall enter' is intransitive. *p'oy-tl-* in *p'oyitli* 'putting in' is transitive.

(113) Coyote and the World: 250, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>sq'áy</i> | <i>pilá:t</i> | <i>lilk'il</i> | <i>čqk'ik</i> | <i>láčtlmil</i> |
| <i>sq=?i</i> | <i>pilqt</i> | <i>lil=k'il</i> | <i>č'qk'=k</i> | <i>láč-tl=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | sun | rock=TERM | hit=DECL | break-TR=FIN |
| <i>lilpátk'i</i> | <i>hul</i> | <i>p'óyčpa'</i> | <i>húluk</i> | <i>kí:la</i> |
| <i>lil-pqt=k'i</i> | <i>hul</i> | <i>p'oy-t-pa'</i> | <i>huluk</i> | <i>ki-la</i> |
| rock-crack=IN | eye | enter-INTR-FUT | tear | DST-INST |
| <i>sumám</i> | <i>kí:la'</i> | <i>p'óyyičpa'</i> | <i>?i:y</i> | <i>?imeymil</i> |
| <i>sumam</i> | <i>ki-la</i> | <i>p'oy-t-pa'</i> | <i>=?i</i> | <i>?im=mil</i> |
| brains | DST-INST | enter-INTR-FUT | =HSY1 | say=FIN |

kípa *k'ólisi*

kip=a *k'ol-s*

3R=PAT kill-CAUS

‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, “In the rock cracks the eyes **shall enter**, with the tears and the brains they **shall enter**”, he said while they killed him.

(114) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sáʔey *kimás* *háyk* *p'oyitli* *ʔátá*

sq-ʔi *ki-mas* *hay=k* *p'oy-tl* *ʔata*

SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR bag=IN **enter-TR** again

kó:temil *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.*

koʔ-t=mil *ʔukhoʔ=am=wit*

go-INTR=FIN ocean=IN2=ALL

‘And **putting** them into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

Similarly, in (115) - (117), through the addition of transitive *-tl*, the intransitive verb *nam-* ‘lay’ in (115) and (116) becomes the transitive verb *nam-tl-* ‘lay (down)’ in (117).

(115) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:125, AA

kiʔ me:ʃet nqmhek

kiʔ miš=it nqm-h=k

DST road=JXT **lie-DUR=DECL**

‘He’s **lying** in the road.’

(116) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:125, AA

ʔim ki nqmʔa

ʔim ki nqm-ʔa

where DST **lie-Q**

‘Where is it (**lying**)?’

(117) Coyote and the World: 204, RM

sqʔey noʔnamlikík hámpeyit námtmlil

sq=ʔi noʔ=namli=kik hamp=it nam-tl=mil

SAME=HSY1 live=DEP=there back=JXT **lay-TR=FIN**

ki: míl

kiʔ mil

DST deer

‘And he **laid** that deer behind where they were sitting.’

In some contexts, Kroeber translates verbs with *-tl* with a causative meaning. In (118), *šútlmil* is translated as ‘had him sit’. Also note the other *-tl* verb in (118), *tá:tlík’éy’* ‘which they prepared (for him)’.

(118) Coyote and the World: 297, RM

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sá’éy</i> | <i>k’amolšíl</i> | <i>tá:tlík’éy’</i> | <i>šútlmil</i> |
| <i>sá=’i</i> | <i>k’amol-šíl</i> | <i>tat-tl=ki</i> | <i>šú’-tl=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 puma-skin fix/make-TR=DST | | | sit-TR=FIN |

‘and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

(119) gives an example of an intransitive verb with *-tl*, *’i:tlmil* ‘had fled’.

(119) Coyote and the World: 105, RM

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>sikítey</i> | <i>šákmi</i> | <i>’onwíčop</i> | <i>’i:tlmil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=’i</i> | <i>šákmi</i> | <i>’on=wič=op</i> | <i>’i’-tl=mil</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 some.ANIM earth=ALL=LAT | | | flee-TR=FIN |

‘Then some **had fled** a long way,’

7.5.3. *-il* mediopassive

The mediopassive voice suffix *-il* is one of the most common verb suffixes found in Yuki. In many of its uses *-il* shows characteristics of a middle voice morpheme. It is used to form reflexives, reciprocal expressions (i.e. we talked to one another), and

can act as a detransitivizer in certain circumstances²²¹. In some cases *-il* is used in conjunction with intransitive *-t* to form a causative construction, which is not a prototypical feature of a middle voice morpheme. In still other cases the reasons for its use are unclear. It is also unclear whether mediopassive *-il* ever occurs without a preceding aspect morpheme.

The meaning of *-il* is colored by the aspect morpheme that precedes it. This is likely the reason why Kroeber (1911) does not really describe *-il* as a separate morpheme. He makes mention of a morpheme *-il* with an unknown meaning (1911:360), but focuses on describing a series of morphemes of the shape *-Cil*²²².

Table 46 summarizes Kroeber’s original descriptions of the *-Cil* morphemes.

| Morpheme | Kroeber’s description (1911:359-360) |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>-il</i> | “meaning unknown” |
| <i>-mil</i> | “meaning unknown” |
| <i>-ṭil</i> | “to cause to, to have for, to make to be, to want to do, to direct to do” |
| <i>-lil</i> | “reflexive or reciprocal action” |
| <i>-kil</i> | “single action, or repeated at a single period, contrasting with <i>-am</i> ” |
| <i>-sil</i> | “appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it, leaving this to the verb stem” |

Table 46: Kroeber’s description of the *-Cil* morphemes

Kroeber’s analysis is tantalizing for anyone attempting to describe Yuki verb morphology. Some of these “morphemes” seem to have fairly consistent functions.

²²¹ Reflexive, reciprocal, and detransitivizing meanings are characteristic of middle voice constructions (Kemmer 1988:338,343-344).

²²² *-Cil* = Consonant + *-il* ‘mediopassive’

For example, *-lil* is described by Kroeber as expressing “reflexive or reciprocal action,” as in *ʔimqililmil* ‘said to one another’ and *mis kipat hušlilha* ‘do you like yourself?’ However, other “morphemes,” such as *-sil*, have no obvious consistent function and Kroeber’s description is unsatisfying: “*-sil* appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it leaving this to the verb stem.” The fact alone that Yuki would have a series of morphemes with such similar shape, *-Cil*, would suggest that there is some unified function for the common part, *-il*, of these morphemes.

Schlichter (1985:64, 288) analyzes **-il* as a separate morpheme in PNY, classifying it as the reflexive-mediopassive-reciprocal. This analysis proves to be applicable also to Yuki. Across the different *-Cil* suffixes, several major functions emerge. Verbs containing *-il* can be reflexive, reciprocal, or have a detransitivizing function, all of which are characteristics of middle voice constructions (Kemmer 1988:338, 343-344).

Kroeber’s original series of *-Cil* “morphemes” can be reanalyzed as sequences of aspect morphemes and mediopassive *-il*, with some of these sequences having more well-defined function than others²²³. Table 47 summarizes the proposed analysis for all of the *-Cil* “morphemes” described by Kroeber.

²²³ See (131) and associated discussion for a possible explanation for the use of the mediopassive based on its distribution in connected speech.

| Kroeber | Proposed Analysis |
|---------|--|
| -mil | -mq 'directional' + -il 'mediopassive'; unclear in some cases |
| -ṭil | -ṭ 'intransitive' + -il 'mediopassive' |
| -lil | -l 'perfective' + -il 'mediopassive' |
| -kil | -k 'punctual' + -il 'mediopassive' |
| -sil | -s 'causative' + -il 'mediopassive' |

Table 47: Proposed analysis of Kroeber's -Cil morphemes

The morpheme sequences shown in Table 47 pick out particular functions of the mediopassive²²⁴. Thus verbs containing the sequence *-l-il* do tend to be reflexive or have reciprocal meaning, as shown in (120) and (121), and verbs containing the sequence *-ṭ-il* often have a causative meaning, as shown in (122).

(120) Coyote and the World: 31, RM

sikiṭéy *k'ólk'il* *šqkmi*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *k'ol=k'il* *šqkmi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some

tiwí:mililyqkmil.

tiw=ʔim-l-il-qk=mil

pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

'And some notified one another elsewhere.'

²²⁴ It may be that these sequences were grammaticalizing as unitary morphemes at the time that Yuki was still spoken. Also, the meaning of the morpheme joining with the mediopassive may be obscured as a result of combining with the mediopassive. Thus *-l-il* may not always be perfective, though it contains perfective *-l*, and *-ṭ-il* may not always be intransitive, though it contains intransitive *-ṭ*.

(121) Coyote and the World: 96, RM

seʔéy *ʔeyyínomʔ* *miyqtkilʔ* *ko:lítjik*
si=ʔi *ʔiyi-nomʔ* *miyqt=kʔil* *koʔ-lit-y=k*
NEW=HSY1 some.kind-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

ʔey *ʔimq̄lilmil* *kʔóʔil*
=ʔi *ʔim-mq-l-il=mil* *kʔóʔil*
=HSY1 **say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN** Wailaki

‘And the Wailaki **said to one another**, “People of some tribe are coming toward us”.’

(122) Coyote and the World: 97, RM

seʔéy *ʔiwilhánam* *káptilyakmil*
si=ʔi *ʔiwilhan=am* *kap-ṭ-il-qk=mil*
NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house=IN2 **enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN**

‘Then they **caused them to enter** the ceremonial house;’

The presence of mediopassive *-il* can also change the transitivity of the verb; a function not mentioned by Kroeber. Compare *kapsímil* ‘brought (it) in’, in (123), and *ká:psilyakmil* ‘enter’, in (124). Following causative *-s*, the presence of mediopassive *-il* has a detransitivizing effect in *ká:psilyakmil* ‘entered’.

(123) Coyote and the World: 203, RM

seʔey *hulkʻóʔi lákti* *kapʻsimil*

si=ʔi *hulkʻóʔi lak-t* *kap-s=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote leave **bring.in-CAUS=FIN**

‘Then Coyote going out **brought it in.**’

(124) Coyote and the World: 98, RM

seʔey *ká:psilyakmil*

si=ʔi *kap-s-il-qk=mil*

NEW=HSY1 **enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN**

‘and they **entered.**’

In other cases, such as *-kil* and *-mil* it seems that the source of the meaning as understood by Kroeber is the aspect morpheme rather than the mediopassive or the sequence of the aspect morpheme and mediopassive. Thus *-kil* is described by Kroeber (1911:360) as “single action, or repeated at a single period.” *-k-il* is a sequence of the punctual aspect *-k* and the mediopassive *-il* and the punctual aspect refers to actions that happen in a single moment or period of time. (125) and (126) show verbs suffixed with punctual *-k* and contrast the verb in (125), which is suffixed with mediopassive *-il*, with the verb in (126), which does not contain the mediopassive suffix. The time dimension of the actions described by *wítkmil* ‘hurled (a stone)’, in (125), and *so:hókilmil* ‘gave a whoop’, in (126), seem to both be instantaneous and concentrated in a single moment.

(125) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

seʔéy *šiwkítin lil háʔnamlikí:la*²²⁵ *ʔey*

si=ʔi *šiwkiṭin lil haʔ=namli=ki-la* *=ʔi*

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiṭkmil *kóʔola*

wiṭ-k=mil *koʔol=q*

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘So Šiwkítin **hurled** at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying.’

(126) Coyote and the World: 157, RM

sikitʔéy *so:hókilmil*

si=kiṭ=ʔi *soho-k-il=mil*

NEW=then=HSY1 **give.whoop-PNCT-MPSV=FIN**

‘Thereupon they **gave a whoop**.’

*-mil*²²⁶ may be a sequence of the directional aspect *-mṭ* and the mediopassive *-il*²²⁷. In (127) - (129), *-mil* has the meaning of ‘going to do X’ in *šqšme:lek* ‘going to bite’, *ha:mme:lek* ‘going to bring’, and *wiṭmi:lek* ‘going off to work’.

²²⁵ *haʔ-* ‘carry (with the arms)’ is the definition given in YV and could be linked to the body prefix *ha-*.

²²⁶ *-mil* discussed in this section is not the same morpheme as *=mil* ‘finite’ or *-mil* ‘past habitual.’

²²⁷ It is unlikely that *-mil* is a sequence of imperfective *-m* and mediopassive *-il*, because *-m* occurs to the right of the mediopassive *-il* on the verb template as

(127) Schlichter 1985: 76, MF

mis **šqšme:lek**

mis **šqš-mq-il=k**

2SG.PAT **bite-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**

‘He’s **going to bite** you.’

(128) Schlichter 1985:76, MF

kima:set ^ʔ*qp* ^ʔ*al* **ha:mme:lek**

ki-mas=qt ^ʔ*qp* ^ʔ*ol* **ham-mq-il=k**

DST-DSTR=DAT 1SG.AGT tree/stick **bring-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**

‘I’m **going to bring** a stick for them.’

(129) Schlichter 1985:77, AA

^ʔ*qp* **wiṭmi:lek**

^ʔ*qp* **wiṭ-mq-il=k**

1SG.AGT **work-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**

‘I’m going off to work.’

In other cases it is unclear whether *-mil* in this position is a sequence of directional *-mq* and mediopassive *-il*. In *k’aymilmil* ‘spoke’, in (130), the meaning of non-final *-mil* is not known.

evidenced by verbs containing both morphemes, such as ^ʔ*qp ko:mi:lámšik* ‘I learn I am to go’ (CW:375) and *čt:yeyimilmik* ‘(fire) gleams at intervals’ (CW:7). Also, imperfective *-m* does not have a directional meaning like that of directional *-mq*.

(130) Coyote and the World: 145, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>t'uyna'ákina</i> | <i>k'qymilmil</i> | <i>hulk'ó'i</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=?i</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>t'uyna'akin=q</i> | <i>k'qy-mil=mil</i> | <i>hulk'ó'i</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | again/now | T'uyna'ákin=PAT | say-?=FIN | Coyote |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>t'úy</i> | <i>ha'qtl</i> | <i>hqn'al</i> | <i>nq</i> | <i>ʔá:tat</i> | <i>nó:hikiṭa</i> | <i>hil</i> |
| <i>t'uy</i> | <i>ha'a-tl</i> | <i>hanal</i> | <i>=nq</i> | <i>ʔaṭat</i> | <i>no-h=kiṭa</i> | <i>hil</i> |
| pitch | rub-TR | walls | =and | people | live-DUR=then | all? |

‘Thereupon he spoke to T'uyna'ákin: “Rub pitch on the walls and wherever people are lying.”’

-il display an interesting pattern in its distribution in connected speech. As shown below in (131), at times nearly all the verbs in a stretch of clauses will be in the mediopassive voice. This may suggest that *-il* is doing more than just expressing very particular meanings in sequences of aspect morphemes, like reflexive or causative, it could instead suggest that the mediopassive is being used for a particular effect or narrative style in these clauses. This would also explain why the mediopassive voice is used even when it has no discernible meaning combined with the preceding aspect morpheme, such as *náwkił'mil* ‘looked’.

(131) Coyote and the World: 29, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>se'éy</i> | <i>hi:li</i> | <i>ʔiwilhánam</i> | <i>nó'námlikimási</i> |
| <i>si=?i</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>ʔiwilhan=am</i> | <i>no?=namli=ki-mas-i</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | all-ANIM | ceremonial.house=IN2 | live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM |

ʔey láksilyqkmil

=ʔi lak-s-il-qk=mil

=HSY1 **come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN**

Coyote and the World: 30

sqʔéy hí:li nqwkíl'mil.

sq=ʔi hil-i nqw-k-il=mil

SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM **see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN**

‘And all who were in the ceremonial house **came out**, and **looked**.’

Coyote and the World: 31

sikitéy k'ólk'il šqkmi

si=kiṭ=ʔi k'ol=k'il šqkmi

NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some.ANIM

tiwí:mililyqkmil.

tiw=ʔim-l-il-qk=mil

pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And some notified one another elsewhere.’

Coyote and the World: 32

sqʔey *hí:li* *pqwik'i* *móp'ṭilmil.*

sq=ʔi *hil-i* *pqwi=k'i* *mop-ṭ-il=mil*

SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN **gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN**

'And all **gathered** in one place'

Coyote and the World: 33

sqʔéy *kí:k* *wóktmil* *hulk'óʔi* *ʔey*

sq=ʔi *kik* *wok-tl=mil* *hulk'óʔi* *=ʔi*

SAME=HSY1 there sing/dance-TR=FIN Coyote =HSY1

həp *yqškil'mil.*

həp *yqš-k-il=mil*

song **stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN**

'There they danced; Coyote **stood and sang** (for them).'

Coyote and the World: 34

sopéy *hí:li* *wóktmil.*

sop=ʔi *hil-i* *wok-tl=mil*

but=HSY1 all-ANIM sing/dance-TR=FIN

'So they all danced.'

7.5.4. -s causative

There exist two -s morphemes in Yuki: causative -s and continuative-iterative -s. It is unclear whether any historic link exists between these morphemes. Causative -s is described in this section and continuative-iterative -s is described in the next section.

Kroeber (1911:361) describes -s as “the ordinary causative.” Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct a causative morpheme for PNY. The addition of causative -s to *nq̄w-* ‘see, watch’, in (132), and *k’ol-* ‘die’, in (133), results in *nq̄w-s-* ‘show’ (i.e. ‘cause to be seen’), in (134), and *k’ol-s-* ‘kill’ (i.e. ‘cause to die’), in (135).

(132) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>yím</i> | <i>yq:hišti</i> | <i>nq̄wímil</i> | <i>hulk’óʔi</i> |
| <i>sáʔi</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>yqh-s-t</i> | <i>nq̄w=mił</i> | <i>hulk’oʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | fire | blaze-CONT-INTR | see=FIN | Coyote |

‘And Coyote **saw** the fire blazing up.’

(133) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>k’óʔil</i> | <i>kíwismil</i> | <i>wóktl</i> |
| <i>siʔi</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>k’oʔil</i> | <i>kiw-s=mił</i> | <i>wok-tl</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | again | Wailaki | ask-CAUS=FIN | sing/dance-TR |

ʔúsa *nqwésaʔ* ʔey ʔimeymil

ʔusa *nqw-s-aʔ* =ʔi ʔim=mil

1PL.EXCL.PAT **see-CAUS-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN

k'óʔil *hulk'óʔa*

k'oʔil *hulk'oʔi=q*

Wailaki Coyote=PAT

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “**Show** us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

(134) Coyote and the World: 81, RM

sikiṭéy *wákop* *hulmúnin*

si=kiṭ=ʔi *wqk=op* *hulmunin*

NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Spider

teʔútlnamlikán ʔey *hutáj*

teʔu-tl=namli=kan =ʔi *hutam*

pursue-TR=DEP=though =HSY1 halfway/this.side.IN

k'óletmil *tóṭ* *namnamliḱa.*

k'ol-t=mil *toṭ* *nam=namli=ḱa*

die-INTR=FIN log lie=DEP=there

‘Then though Spider pursued him, he **died** halfway where a log was lying,

(135) Coyote and the World: 250, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>sq'áy</i> | <i>pilá:t</i> | <i>líl'k'il</i> | <i>čák'ík</i> | <i>láč'tmil</i> |
| <i>sq=?i</i> | <i>pilqt</i> | <i>lil=k'il</i> | <i>č'qk'=k</i> | <i>laš-tl=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | sun | rock=TERM | hit=DECL | break-TR=FIN |
| | | | | |
| <i>lilpátk'i</i> | <i>hul</i> | <i>p'óyčpa'</i> | <i>húluk</i> | <i>kí:la</i> |
| <i>lil-pqt=k'i</i> | <i>hul</i> | <i>p'oy-t-pa'</i> | <i>huluk</i> | <i>ki-la</i> |
| rock-crack=IN | eye | enter-INTR-FUT | tear | DST-INST |
| | | | | |
| <i>sumám</i> | <i>kí:la'</i> | <i>p'óyčpa'</i> | <i>?i:y</i> | <i>?ímeymil</i> |
| <i>sumam</i> | <i>ki-la</i> | <i>p'oy-t-pa'</i> | <i>=?i</i> | <i>?im=mil</i> |
| brains | DST-INST | enter-INTR-FUT | =HSY1 | say=FIN |
| | | | | |
| <i>kípa</i> | <i>k'o:lísi</i> | | | |
| <i>kip=q</i> | <i>k'ol-s</i> | | | |
| 3R=PAT | kill-CAUS | | | |

‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, “In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter, with the tears and the brains they shall enter”, he said while they **killed** him.

7.5.5. -s continuative-iterative

Kroeber (1911:361) describes *-is* as “continuative, iterative”²²⁸. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs **-Vs/_C, C’_-s/...* as the continuative-iterative aspect. In (136) and (137), *luhsek* ‘chopping wood’ and *ʔuʔuksek* ‘barking (at something)’ are actions that are repetitive and on-going, but are not causative.

(136) Schlichter 1985:121, AA

ʔqp ʔal *luhsek*

ʔqp ʔal *luh-s=k*

1SG.AGT wood **chop-CONT=DECL**

‘I was just **chopping** wood, I’m **chopping** wood.’

(137) Schlichter 1985:121, AA

ʔiye ʔaʔwošet ʔuʔuksek

ʔiyi ʔaʔwošit ʔuʔuk-s=k

something dog **bark-CONT=DECL**

‘the dog is **barking** at something’

²²⁸ Causative *-s* and continuative-iterative *-s* can both appear preceded or followed by epenthetic /i/. Thus *-is* is not a unique form of continuative-iterative *-s* distinguishing it from causative *-s*. For example, causative *-s* appears as *-is* in *k’o:lisi* ‘killed’ (CW:250).

In the texts examples can be found with the same type of continuative or iterative meaning. Snoring is an action that is ongoing and repetitive. In (138), *?inkop-* ‘snore’ appears with *-s* in *?inkó:pismil* ‘snored’.

(138) Coyote and the World: 209, RM

sq *?intq̄laʿhan* *?inkó:pismil*

sq *?in-tq̄l-aʿ-han* *?inkop-s=mil*

SAME sleep-NEG-?-but snore-CONT=FIN

‘And even though not asleep he **snored**.’

In other cases verbs containing *-s* appear with an adverb that also has a continuative or iterative meaning. For example in (139), *?an wo:kesmil* ‘danced long’ and *?an ... ?in háwesmil* ‘all the time ... wishing (them) sleepy’.

(139) Coyote and the World: 136, RM

seʔéy ʔan wo:kesmil kʔóʔil

si=ʔi ʔan wok-s=mil kʔóʔil

NEW=HSY1 **long.time** **sing/dance-CONT=FIN** Wailaki

‘And they **danced long.**’

Coyote and the World: 137

sikqʔéy ʔan hulkʔóʔi ʔin háwesmil

sikq=ʔi ʔan hulkʔóʔi ʔin haw-s=mil

AGT>PAT=HSY1 **long/all.the.time** Coyote **sleep** **wish-CONT=FIN**

‘But **all the time** Coyote was **wishing them sleepy.**’

In (140), *ʔátq ... nakohísimil* ‘again (he) instructed’ may have an iterative meaning. Coyote has instructed before and this instance of instruction is another in a series of such instances that is continuing and repeating.

(140) Coyote and the World: 288, RM

sqʔey ʔátq kipat ʔatáta nakohísimil

sq=ʔi ʔatq kipat ʔatát=q nakoh-s=mil

SAME=HSY1 **again** 3R.DAT **people=PAT** **teach-CONT=FIN**

hąšá ^ʔ*q*p *kó:milámsik* ^ʔ*ey* ^ʔ*imeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
hąša ^ʔ*q*p *koʔ-mą-il-m-sik* =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*im=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 now 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And **again he instructed** his people: “Now I am told I must go”, said Coyote.’

7.5.6. Motion and Direction

Yuki uses a number of verb suffixes to express motion or direction.

7.5.6.1. -n andative

The andative *-n* is used to indicate the meaning ‘going to do X’. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs this same form **-n* for PNY, referring to it as “move in order to.” Kroeber (1911:359) is not certain of the meaning of *-n*.

Two forms of *nq̄w-* ‘see, watch’ is compared in (141) and (142). In (141), *nq̄w-* is affixed with andative *-n* forming *nq̄winh̄q̄le* ‘going to look, it seems’, while in (142), *nq̄w-* appears without *-n* or other suffixes as *nq̄wímil* ‘saw’ and has no inherent directional meaning.

(141) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>wíley kó:ti</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>nq̄winh̄q̄le</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>wili koʔ-t</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>nq̄w-n=h̄q̄li</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | far go-INTR | =HSY1 | see-AND=INFR1 | =HSY1 |
| <i>ȳat(e)mil</i> | | | | |
| <i>yat=mil</i> | | | | |
| be.gone/disappear=FIN | | | | |

‘So **going farther to look, it seems**, he was not (in sight any longer).’

(142) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>yím</i> | <i>yq:hišti</i> | <i>nqwímil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>yqh-s-t</i> | <i>nqw=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | fire | blaze-CONT-INTR | see=FIN | Coyote |

‘And Coyote **saw** the fire blazing up.’

(143) provides two further examples of the andative, *lí:tinmil* ‘went to gather’ and *hutʔó:pinmil* ‘went to hunt’.

(143) Coyote and the World: 299, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| <i>sikiṭey</i> | <i>mú:s</i> | <i>siʔ</i> | <i>lí:tinmil</i> | <i>hi:li</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>mus</i> | <i>siʔ</i> | <i>lit-n=mil</i> | <i>hil-i</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | woman.PL | clover | gather-AND=FIN | all-ANIM |

‘Then the women all **went to gather** clover,’

Coyote and the World: 300

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| <i>sikiṭey</i> | <i>ʔiwis</i> | <i>mil</i> | <i>hutʔó:pinmil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔiwis</i> | <i>mil</i> | <i>hutʔop-n=mil</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | man.PL | deer | hunt-AND=FIN |

‘and the men [**went**] **to hunt** deer.’

In (144), andative *-n* is used in conjunction with semelfactive *-qk* resulting in an apparent iterative meaning in *kapéniʔakmil* ‘dashed in and out of the grass’.

(144) Coyote and the World: 102, RM

seʔey *yó:ʔop* *mikʔóp* *kapéniʔakmil*

si=ʔi *yoʔ=op* *mikʔop* *kap-n-qk=mil*

NEW=HSY1 grass=LAT quick **enter-AND-SEM=FIN**

‘But he **dashed** quickly **in and out** of the grass’.

7.5.6.2. *-mq* directional

The directional aspect *-mq* is used to indicate motion toward something. Kroeber (1911:359) describes this suffix as denoting “motion toward” and Schlichter (1985:62) reconstructs **-m* or **-ma* as a verbal derivational suffix denoting “motion toward the speaker” in PNY²²⁹.

In general the motion described by *-mq* is directed away from the speaker or actor, but in some cases it can also be directed towards the speaker or actor. In (145), *haʔ-* appears without any directional or motion suffixes and has the meaning ‘carry’, but in (146), *haʔ-mq-* has the meaning ‘pick up’ or ‘carry toward’. In this example *-mq* is indicating motion towards the actor, the one picking up the stone.

²²⁹ Kroeber (1911:359) and Schlichter (1985:62) speculate that directional *-mq* is the source of *-m* in certain verbs with an inherent directional meaning, such as *kom-* ‘come’ (*koʔ-* ‘go’ + *-mq*) and *ham-* ‘bring’ (*haʔ-* ‘carry’ + *-mq*).

(145) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

seʔéy *šiwkítin* *lil* *háʔnamlikí:la* *ʔey*

si=ʔi *šiwkiṭin* *lil* *haʔ=namli=ki-la* =ʔi

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock **carry=DEP=DST-INST** =HSY1

wiṭkmil *kóʔola*

wiṭ-k=mil *koʔol=q*

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was **carrying**’

(146) Coyote and the World: 368 (excerpt), RM

sikaʔéy *kínkʻúnʻ* *lil* *há:mqkil*

sikaq=ʔi *kim-kʻunʻ* *lil* *haʔ-mq-k-il*

AGT>PAT(?)=HSY1 DST.KIN.POSS-father rock **carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV**

wítik *tʻqláčtlmil*

wit=k *tʻqlač-tl=mil*

throw=DECL break.leg-TR=FIN...

‘Thereupon his father having **picked up** a stone and throwing it broke his leg ...’

-mq also is used with verbs that already have a directional meaning, such as *tiw-* ‘follow’. The nuance in meaning that is expressed through the use of -mq in this

circumstance is unclear²³⁰, however it may be used to emphasize the idea of motion already inherent in the verb itself. Compare *téwmqmil* ‘pursued’ and *tíwi:mil* ‘followed’ in (147).

(147) Coyote and the World: 171, RM

seʔey *ʔqtq* *kʻol* *kimáse* *kʻoʻil*

si=ʔi *ʔqtq* *kʻol* *ki-mas-i* *kʻoʻil*

NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki

téwmqmil

tiw-mq=mil

pursue-DIR1=FIN

‘And still other Wailaki **pursued**;

Coyote and the World: 172

sikiṭéy *ʔopʻa* *kʻóʻil* *kʻolámwit* ***tíwi:mil***

si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔop=q* *kʻoʻil* *kʻol=am=wit* ***tiw=mil***

NEW=then=HSY1 two=PAT? Wailaki other=?=ALL **pursue=FIN**

‘but two of them followed off on the side.’

²³⁰ Kroeber is not consistent in his use of ‘pursue’ and ‘follow’ for translating *tiw-*. In other clauses, such as ‘Coyote and the World: 176’, *tiw-* is translated as ‘pursue’ even though it is not suffixed with *-mq*.

-*mą* is also found in clauses containing directional obliques. The use of -*mą* in this circumstance may be similar to its use with verbs that already have a directional meaning: to emphasize the motion inherent in the action expressed by the verb.

In (148), *han* ‘house’ occurs with terminative =*k’il* becomes *hánk’il* ‘to the house’. *ʔun-* ‘carry’ suffixed with -*mą* becomes *ʔúnmąmil* ‘brought’.

(148) Coyote and the World: 192, RM

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>sąʔéy</i> | <i>hánk’il</i> | <i>ʔúnmąmil</i> |
| <i>są=ʔi</i> | <i>han=k’il</i> | <i>ʔun-mą=mil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | house=TERM | bring-DIR1=FIN |

‘and **brought** it to the house’.

The use of -*mą* may also extend to situations where the motion towards the goal is abstract or metaphorical. In (149), *kimąli:likit* ‘were telling one another’ there is no actual motion. -*mą* may be being used here to emphasize the idea expressed with the reflexive -*lil*: the idea of conversation being exchanged back and forth among speakers.

(149) Coyote and the World: 56 (excerpt), RM

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| ... <i>są</i> | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>ʔohi:šą</i> |
| <i>są</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>ʔohiš=q</i> |
| SAME | all-ANIM | fast=PAT |

kimqłí:likit ʔey háyú:mi kʔayyéyamtánmʔil.
ki-mq-l-il=kiṭ =ʔi háyumi kʔay-m-tan=mil
say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=when =HSY1 Dove talk-IMPV-NEG=FIN

‘... and while all **were telling one another** that they were swift, Dove did not talk at all.’

7.5.6.3. *-lit* directional ²³¹

-lit appears to have a directional meaning, but the precise nature of this meaning is unclear. Kroeber (1911:359) states that the meaning of *-lit* is unknown. Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct *-lit* for PNY. There exists an independent verb *lit-* ‘do, feel, pick’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:269), therefore it is possible that the verbs containing *-lit* are actually serial verb constructions.

-lit appears infrequently in the texts. It occurs most often with the verb *ko*²- ‘go’, as in *ko*^ʔ*lí:tmamil* ‘traveled (back)’, in (150), and *ko:lítimil* ‘went (back)’, in (151).

²³¹ The position of *-lit* in the verb template is not entirely clear. In examples provided by Kroeber (1911) *-lit* occurs to the right of causative or continuative *-s*. In examples such as (503), *-lit* seems to occur to the left of *-mq*, which is very close to the verb root. See the verb template in §7.2 for additional details.

(150) Origins: 150, RM

sąkiṭey *kipąwk'il'* *kąyt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
są=kiṭ=?i *kipąw=k'il* *kąyt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
SAME=then=HSY1 back=TERM before house Coyote

hątlnamlikí:kil *ko'lí:tmamil.*

hą-tl=namli=ki'=k'il *ko'-lit-ma=mil*

build-TR=DEP=DST=TERM **go-DIR2-DIR1=FIN**

'Then they **traveled** together back to where Coyote had built a house.'

(151) Coyote and the World: 252, RM

są *ki* *mátlikṭ* *ki'a* *hulk'ó'a* *k'óli*
są *ki* *mat?-tl=kiṭ* *ki=q* *hulk'ó'i=q* *k'ol*
SAME(?) DST do-TR=when DST=PAT Coyote=PAT kill

sąkiṭ *'ey* *kipąwwap* *ko:lítimil.*

są=kiṭ *=?i* *kipąw=ap* *ko'-lit=mil*

SAME=then =HSY1 back=LAT **go-DIR2=FIN**

'And when they had done this to Coyote after they had killed him, they **went** back'.

In (152), *-lit* is found again in a context with a directional meaning as part of *kápisa hqwayilitia* ‘bring it in to eat!’

(152) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>sqʼéy</i> | <i>ʔqp</i> | <i>mil</i> | <i>ʔúnmawi</i> | <i>ki:</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔqp</i> | <i>mil</i> | <i>ʔun-mq-wi</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | 1SG.AGT | deer | bring-DIR1-PST1 | DST |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>kápisa</i> | <i>hqwayilitia</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulkʼóʔi</i> |
| <i>kap-s-aʔ</i> | <i>hqway-lit-aʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mił</i> | <i>hulkʼoʔi</i> |
| bring.in-CAUS-IMP | food-DIR2-IMP | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote |

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>kimáša</i> | <i>músʔaʔ</i> |
| <i>ki-mas=q</i> | <i>mus=q</i> |
| DST-DSTR=PAT | woman.PL=PAT |

‘And, “I have brought a deer, **bring it in to eat!**” Coyote said to these women.’

In (153), the meaning of *-lit* is unclear in *lawóličyakmil* ‘fastened it’. It may be that *-lit* takes on a different meaning in combination with semelfcative *-qk*. Alternatively, the *lawo-* ‘fasten’ may have a meaning that implies motion.

(153) Origins: 77, RM

sq̣ḳiṭéy *haye* *hil* *mik'ál* *ʔey* *háye* *ki:* *lil* *pá:t*
sq̣=kiṭ-ʔey *haye* *hil* =*mik'al* =*ʔi* *haye* *ki* *lil* *pat*
SAME=then=HSY1 now all =around =HSY1 now DST stone flat

šilo:kí: *ʔey* *háye* *mik'ál* *ʔu:k'ít* *t'úʔq̣ki* *ʔey*
šiloʔ=ki =*ʔi* *haye* =*mik'al* *ʔuk'=it* *t'uʔq̣=ki* =*ʔi*
like=DST =HSY1 now =around water=JXT lay=DST =HSY1

lawóličyákmil.

lawo-lit-q̣k=mil

fasten-DIR2-SEM=FIN

‘And now setting this which looked like flat stone all around, around the shore (of the earth), he **fastened** it.’

7.5.7. Nominalization

7.5.7.1. *-(m)ol'* agentive-instrumental

Verbs are nominalized using the agentive-instrumental suffix *-(m)ol'*. The agentive-instrumental can also be used to derive new nouns from other nouns. Kroeber (1911:352) describes *-(m)ol'* as “a very common suffix denoting the instrument or actor, equivalent to English *-er*, but added to noun-stems as well as to verbs.” Schlichter (1985:73) reconstructs **-mol'* as the agentive-instrumental in PNY.

In the texts, there are comparatively few examples of *-(m)ol'* in use. In (507), *šuhól* ‘stayer’ is derived from *šu?* ‘sit’ + *-h* ‘durative’.

(154) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM

...h[y]ánop šuhól mí: šup méy(h)tan ...

han=op šu?-h-ol mi? kup mih-tan

house=LAT **sit-DUR-AG/INT** 2SG.AGT sister's.son be-NEG

‘You are not, sister’s son, a **stayer** in the house.’

In (155), *ʔa:tátat hqwayʔol* ‘food for humans’ is derived from *hqway* ‘food, eat’. *hqway* can function as either a verb or a noun.

(155) Coyote and the World: 413b, RM

míla ʔey mi? míli mípa ʔan

míl=q =ʔi mi? míli mih-paʔ ʔan

deer=PAT =HSY1 2SG.AGT deer be-FUT always

ʔa:ʔátat hqwayʔol'
 ʔatát=qt hqway-ol'
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INT

‘to the deer (he said), “You, deer, shall always be **food for humans.**”’

In (156), ʔú(h)mol ‘awl’ is derived from ʔuh- ‘sew’. In this excerpt Taykómol is in the process of sewing the earth and to do so he needs an ʔú(h)mol or ‘instrument for sewing’.

(156) Origins: 56, RM

sáʔey kipát čʔw̄pis kʔít kí:la
 sq=ʔi kipat čʔaw=pis kʔit ki-la
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT entrails=ABL awl DST-INST

ʔú(h)mol laʔekʔekilmil.
 ʔuh-molʔ lak-q-k-il=mil
 sew-AG/INT leave-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘an **awl** to sew it with he [Taykómol] took out of his own body’

-(m)ol’ appears in many nouns. The name of the primary Yuki deity, *Taykómol*, is an example. Foster analyzes this name as ‘he who walks alone’ and Curtis analyzes it as ‘solitude walker’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:207). Other examples are *lašk’áwol* ‘moon’ and *háwmol* ‘morning star’ (CW:287). The analysis of *lašk’áwol*

'moon' is unclear, but *háwmol'* 'morning star' can be analyzed as *haw* 'daylight, morning, tomorrow' + *-(m)ol'* 'agentive-instrumental'.

7.5.8. Noun Morphology on Verbs

Verbs are also found occasionally with noun morphology. In addition to adverbial clause morphemes, such as, *=op* 'while', noun case enclitics are also found on verbs.

In (157), the juxtapositive *=it* is found in *həwłám mi'ičop* 'when the beginning of the day is near'.

(157) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>sikiṭ</i> | <i>háwmol'</i> | <i>həwłám</i> | <i>mi'ičop</i> | <i>kíč</i> | <i>kq:kespa</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ</i> | <i>hawmol'</i> | <i>həwłam</i> | <i>mih=it=op</i> | <i>=kič</i> | <i>kqk-s-pa'</i> |
| NEW=then | morning.star | daylight | be=JXT=while | =only | rise-CAUS-FUT |

“And the morning star shall rise only **when the beginning of the day is near.**”

In (158), terminative *=k'il* is found in *?amilkilk'il* 'as they caught (him)', indicating the goal or endpoint of the action in this clause: the overtaking and catching of him.

(158) Coyote and the World: 324, RM

se'éy *'amilk'lik'il* *k'íwismil.*

si=?i *'amil-k-il=k'il* *kiw-s=mil*

NEW=HSY1 **overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM** ask-CAUS=FIN

'And **as they caught** him they questioned.'

7.5.9. Unknown Meanings

7.5.9.1. -q

The meaning of -q is unclear and not discernible from available materials. In the texts, -q is often found immediately preceding -l-il 'perfective + mediopassive', as shown in (159).

(159) Coyote and the World: 255, RM

si' *kimáši* *kipáwwap* *kó:tekiṭ* *hiwáq'i'*

si *ki-mas-i* *kipqw=ap* *ko²-t=kiṭ* *hiwáq'i*

NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT go-INTR=when after

k'ít *nq* *'qš* *móp(e)ti* *hi:l* *tát* *mópeti*

k'it =*nq* *'qš* *mop-t* *hil* *tat* *mop-t*

bone =and blood gather-INTR all good gather-INTR

?ey háyé p'íški'ólop ?ey ta:tǫ́lilmil
 =?i háye p'íš-ki'ol=op =?i tat-q-l-il=mil
 HSY1 now sunflower-stalk=LAT =HSY1 fix-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN

'And after they had returned, gathering his bones and blood, gathering everything well, now he **made himself over** on sunflower stalks (as a frame).'

Less commonly -q also occurs in other contexts as in *nǫ́wilǫ́sik* 'whipped', in (160).

(160) Coyote and the World: 11, RM

se'ény ló:pši k'ínik'op mil šáy ?áwilk
 si=?i lopsi k'in=kop mil šay ?aw-l=k
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while meat raw eat-PFV?=DECL

?iy **nǫ́wilǫ́sik** ku:t'a ká: yim
 ?i **nǫ́wil-q-sik** ku'ta ka yim
 1SG.PAT **whip-?-HSY2?** way.over.there fire

čí:yimilmik ?ey ?ímeymil ló:psí.
 čí-y-mǫ́-il-m=k =?i ?im=mil lopsi
 blaze-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit

'And Jackrabbit, in weeping, "Raw meat they are eating: me they **whipped**: far yonder fire gleams at intervals", Jackrabbit said.

7.5.9.2. -lim

Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs *-lim as the resultative/patient progressive suffix in PNY. Schlichter's reconstructed *-lim has the meaning of 'getting' or 'becoming', as in *nəklimik 'getting dark', *k'ollimik 'dying', *šat'limik 'getting cold'. This suffix is found synchronically in Yuki, but is not described by Kroeber (1911). -lim is found once in *Origins* and once *Coyote and the World*. -lim has not yet been observed in elicited examples.

The meaning of -lim in Yuki is not completely clear, but it may be similar to that reconstructed for *-lim in PNY by Schlichter. In (161) and (162) -lim may indicate an action or event that is ongoing and occurs alongside another action or event. In (161), *kilímisk hq̄p wáʔokesk* 'singing that song he says' appears to imply that the speaking occurs along with singing²³².

(161) *Origins*: 12, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulk'óʔi</i> | <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>kilímisk</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> | <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ki-lim-s=k</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote | SAME=HSY1 | say-as-CONT?=DECL |

²³² This ongoing or progressive meaning could also be due to the presence of declarative -k in (161). In phrases with at least one verb ending in declarative -k, such as *ʔímeymil ló:psiʔ hulk'óʔq hušk'áyesk* 'said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him' (CW:17), Kroeber often translates the verbs with a similar meaning as seen in *kilímisk hq̄p wáʔokesk* 'singing that song he says', in (161).

həp wá'okesk *ʔimša ʔq həymátliko*²³³ *ʔey ʔimeymil*

həp wok-s=k *ʔimša ʔq həymatliko =ʔi ʔim=mil*

song sing/dance-CONT?=DECL what.will.I.do =HSY1 say=FIN

ki hə;p hu'úsik.

kiʔ həp hu'u-s=k

DST song stop-CAUS=DECL

‘And Coyote said, “**Singing that song he says**, ‘What shall I do?’, and having said that he ceases his song”.’

In (162), the meaning of *-lim* may be the same as in (161), though this is less clear. Coyote describes the many things being done to him and then *kilímismil* ‘(as) [Coyote] said’ occurs at the end of this quote. This could be taken to mean that Coyote is speaking as all of these things that he is describing occur to him, or it could be that things Coyote described would happen to him occurred as he had described them.

(162) Coyote and the World: 251, RM

sikitéy t'íma hoy ta:tíkilpa:miki: hoy p'ĩšpal

si=kiʔ=ʔi ʔima hoy tat-k-il-paʔ=miki hoy p'ĩš-pal

NEW=then=HSY1 self too fix-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=PURP too sunflower-leaf

²³³ Underlined text spoken in Huchnom.

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----|
| <i>hąhinč'am</i> | ʔas | čqk(t)lámtpaʔ | <i>síkiṭ</i> | <i>k'ít</i> | ʔán |
| <i>hąhin=čam</i> | ʔas | čqk-lam-t-paʔ | <i>si=kiṭ</i> | <i>k'it</i> | ʔan |
| under=PNOML | blood | stick.on-INCH-INTR-FUT | NEW=then | bone | too |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>p'íšpal</i> | <i>hąhinč'am</i> | <i>pí:ntpaʔ</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> |
| <i>p'íš-pal</i> | <i>hąhin=čam</i> | <i>pin-t-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> |
| sunflower-leaf | under=PNOML | scatter-INTR-FUT | say=FIN |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|------|-------------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>kip</i> | <i>táyšyq:ki</i> | <i>hót</i> | ʔam | <i>híwiyqki</i> | <i>hót</i> | <i>pí:č</i> |
| <i>kip</i> | <i>tay-s-qk</i> | <i>hoṭ</i> | ʔam | <i>hiw-qk</i> | <i>hoṭ</i> | <i>pič</i> |
| him | cut-CONT-SEM | big | guts | scatter/spill-SEM | big | flesh |

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>píntlon</i> | ʔey | <i>kilímismil</i> | <i>hulk'óʔi</i> |
| <i>pin-tl-on</i> | =ʔi | <i>ki-lim-s=mil</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi</i> |
| scatter-TR-while | =HSY1 | say-as-CONT?=FIN | Coyote |

‘Then that he might remake himself, “Under the sunflower leaves that blood shall stick on, and the bones shall scatter under them too”, he said as they were cutting him up, spilling his guts and scattering his flesh about, (as) Coyote said.’

7.6. Verbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Verbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki are structured in the same way as in Yuki.

7.6.1. Huchnom

Huchnom is an agglutinating language, and many verb endings are recognizable and similar to those of Yuki.

(163) shows examples of corresponding affirmative and negative clauses. The Huchnom negative *-təl* is analogous to the Yuki negatives *-tan* and *tal*.

(163) Lamb 1955:59, LJ

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>epe nΔ:wiki</i> | ‘I see it.’ |
| <i>ʔepe nə:witəlki</i> | ‘I don’t see it.’ |
| <i>hΔn ʔanΔ:wiki</i> | ‘I see the house.’ |
| <i>hən ʔa nə:witəlki</i> | ‘I don’t see the house.’ |

(164) and (165) show examples of imperatives in Huchnom. Huchnom imperatives appear to be structured exactly as in Yuki. In Yuki imperatives can be formed by adding an imperative morpheme *-(ʔ)aʔ* to the end of the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant. (164) shows the Huchnom verb *lakʔ*- ‘come out’ with an imperative suffix *-aʔ*. In (165), the final consonant of the Huchnom verb is glottalized forming the imperative form *hΔwəykilʔ* ‘eat!’.

(164) Lamb 1955:56, LJ

hanpis lakʔtaʔ ‘come out of house’

(165) Lamb 1955:52, LJ

kɔ:ma: hɔwəykil' 'come one and eat!'

kɔma: miɭ hɔwəykil' 'come one and eat meat'

(166) shows examples of several verbs that suggest Huchnom may have directional verb morphology in addition to that found in Yuki. In Yuki there are various directionals, such as the andative *-n* and general directional *-mq*. The examples in (166) show that Huchnom may distinguish translocative *-ti* and cislocative *-yi* verb suffixes. *-ti* appears to indicate 'movement in direction away from speaker' in *č'e:me' kiktiki* 'bird flying thither [to over there]', while *-yi* appears to indicate 'movement toward direction of speaker' in *č'e:me kikyiki* 'bird flying hither [to here].'

(166) Lamb 1955:67, LJ

č'e:me kikyiki 'bird flying hither'

č'e:me' kiktiki 'bird flying thither'

mehti' kiktiki 'bird flying up high'

mehti' 'up'

The agentive/instrumental is used in Huchnom, just as in Yuki, to nominalize verbs. (167) - (171) show possible examples of Huchnom words ending in *-(m)ol'*.

(167) Lamb 1955:67-69, LJ

woyme'ol 'tobacco'

(168) Lamb 1955:71, LJ

uʔkʔʔymɔl ‘boat’

nʌn pʌhkmɔl ‘hat’

(169) Oswalt 1980, BF

šóʔ^hmol ‘oriole’

(170) Lamb 1955:91, LJ

həwoymʌl ‘table (thing for eating)’

(526) Lamb 1955:92, LJ

moymeʔmol ‘pencil (something to write with)’

(171) Lamb 1955:130, LJ

šuhmʌl ‘chair’

7.6.2. Coast Yuki

There exist few data on Coast Yuki verbs compared to the available material on Yuki and Huchnom. Therefore little can be said about the specific structure or nature of Coast Yuki verb morphology.

(172) - (174) show examples of Coast Yuki declarative clauses.

(172) Harrington 1942-1943:178, LP

yíʔkʔəm šáʔtʔlɛm ‘the fire is dying down or going out’

(173) Harrington 1942-1943:227, LP

ʔó·k'·č'im' ʔiʷlɑ nɔʔʔokʰ 'snake **lives** in the water'

(174) Harrington 1942-1943:240, LP

ʔón **bóttʔæʔ** 'he is **raising up** the dirt on the surface' (said of the mole)

(175) - (177) show examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.

(175) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP

mugæʔ '[you (sg.)] drink!'

(176) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP

ʔóʔk' hâ·mmaʔ 'give me water, **pass** me water!'

ʔóʔk' dʒíʔʔəʔdeʔ 'dip up the water!'

(177) Harrington 1942-1943:275, LP

héwey 'food, grub'

hóššʊš 'come on (+ eat)!

líššæʰkʰ 'you (sg.) hurry up!'

líššæʰkʰ hewéygołkʰ 'you (sg.) **hurry up** + eat!'

(178) shows an example of a Coast Yuki question.

(178) Harrington 1942-1943:385, LP

ʔó·k' ʔišʔí·há·mdæʔ 'do [you (sg.)] want water?'

Coast Yuki also has an agentive/instrumental affix *-míʔʔelʹ* ~ *-míʔʔilʹ* ~ *məlʹ* cognate with Yuki *-(m)olʹ*. Examples of this are shown in (179) and (180).

(179) Harrington 1942-1943:285, LP

woymíʔʔelʹ ~ *woymíʔʔilʹ* ‘tobacco-pipe’²³⁴

(180) Harrington 1942-1943:89, LP

hı́sı́məłʹ ‘salal-berry’

7.7. Verbs in an Areal Context

In this section the verb morphology and argument structure of Yuki are compared to those in neighboring languages, other contact languages, and to Wappo²³⁵. The points of comparison in this section are (1) whether arguments are marked on verbs, (2) the types of directional morphology marked on verbs, if any, (3) whether evidentiality is marked on verbs, (4) the morphological type of the language²³⁶, (5) whether verb morphology in the language is primarily prefixing or suffixing.

The points of comparison in this section compare features that seem particularly salient in characterizing Yuki verbs. Yuki does not mark arguments on verbs. A

²³⁴ cf. Yuki *woyam* ~ *woyom* ‘smoke’ (AA), *woyəlʹ* ‘tobacco’ (AA, MF) and *woyəlʹ ʔotʹ(m)əlʹ* ‘pipe’ (lit. tobacco smoke instrument) (AA) (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984).

²³⁵ See Mithun (In Press) for a detailed study of the borrowing of complex structures as a result of language contact among Yuki and surrounding languages.

²³⁶ While morphological type is not a feature relevant only to verbs, in some language families of this region, such as the polysynthetic Athabaskan languages, the morphological type is most evident in verbs.

variety of directional morphemes are found on Yuki verbs and at least four different types of evidentials are distinguished. Yuki evidentials show two types of hearsay evidentials and two types of inferential evidentials. The distinction between the two hearsay evidentials is not understood, nor is the distinction between the two inferential evidentials. Yuki is a primarily suffixing agglutinating to mildly fusional language.

In Table 48, Yuki is compared to languages or language families immediately surrounding it. These are the languages that Yuki speakers would have been in contact with for the longest period of time and prior to contact with Euro-Americans.

The table is set up with Yuki on the left side its closest surrounding neighbors, viewed geographically in a counterclockwise direction, to the right. Thus Northern Pomo, the neighbor of Yuki to the south is placed in the column next to Yuki, then Eastern Pomo, which is the next language moving counterclockwise, then Wintu, and then Hupa. Hupa is not a direct neighbor of Yuki, but it is closely related to Kato, Wailaki, and Lassik, which border the Yuki speech area to the north. Additionally, no materials were available for comparing Yuki to Northeastern Pomo, which is also a directly neighboring language.

Argument marking on verbs is seen in some of the languages immediately surrounding Yuki. Directional morphology is present on verbs in all of the languages in Table 48 except for Wintu. Evidentiality is a category that is richly

represented in the Pomoan languages and also in Wintu. Kato has at least one evidential: a quotative morpheme. Morphologically the languages in Table 48 are of similar types. Athabaskan languages are fusional, which is a characteristic of not just nearby Athabaskan languages, but of the languages of this family in general. Northern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, and Wintu are agglutinating. The languages surrounding Yuki range from suffixing or mostly suffixing to prefixing and suffixing.

| Language | Yuki | N. Pomo | E. Pomo | Wintu | Hupa |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| Lg. Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Wintun | Athabaskan |
| Args. on Verb? | No. | No. (10) | Plural subjects (85) | Yes, various. (101-103) | Subject, Object (1996:370-1) |
| Directional Morph. | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (25) | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (80-2) | No. (100-103) | Adverbial Directional Modifiers (1996:377-8) |
| Evidentials | two hearsay evidentials and two inferential evidentials | Yes, aural, visual evidence and hearsay. (46) | non-visual (98), hearsay (99) | approximation, non-visual, inferential, experiential, hearsay (103) | Unknown for Hupa, but Kato does have a quotative <i>ya'ni</i> 'they say' (1909:71) |
| Type | agglutinating to fusional | agglutinating (10) | agglutinating (37) | agglutinating to fusional | fusional |
| Suffixing or Prefixing | Suffixing | Mostly suffixing (10) | Prefixing and Suffixing | Suffixing (100-103) | Prefixing and Suffixing (1996:369) |

Table 48: Yuki verbs compared to directly adjacent languages and/or language families²³⁷

²³⁷ References: Northern Pomo: O'Connor 1984; Eastern Pomo: McLendon 1975:9-13; Hupa: Golla 1996, Goddard 1909; Wintu: Pitkin 1984:9, 27-38. If not specifically

Table 49 compares Yuki to the other Pomoan languages. These languages were spoken to the south of Northern Pomo and Eastern Pomo and did not directly border the Yuki speech area. They are arranged roughly according to their distance from the Yuki speech area. Central Pomo is the closest geographically to Yuki after Northern, Eastern, and Northeastern Pomo, while Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) is the most distant.

Yuki and the Pomoan languages are generally very similar with respect to the points compared in this section. The Pomoan languages in Table 49 show either little if any marking of arguments on verbs. Directional morphology is found on the verbs of all of the Pomoan languages. Evidentiality is a rich category in Pomoan. Kashaya, for example, distinguishes six different types of evidentials. All of the Pomoan languages are agglutinating to fusional and are either mostly suffixing or prefixing and suffixing.

referenced, information on suffixing/prefixing and morphological type is based on evaluation of the characteristics of verb morphology in the aforementioned references.

| Lang. | Yuki | Central Pomo | SE Pomo | S. Pomo | Kashaya |
|------------------------|--|--|---|--|---|
| Lg. Family | Yukian | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan | Pomoan |
| Args Marked on Verb | No. | # of affected participants can be marked (Mithun 1988:217) | No. (72-74) | Infix for PL patients; enclitic SG/PL pronouns | Plural agent (153) |
| Direction. Morph. | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction | Yes. (Mithun 2008:9) | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (72) | Many types of directionals. | yes, a variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (vi,vii) |
| Evidential | two hearsay evidentials and two inferential evidentials | Yes: direct experience, hearsay, quotative, aural, inferential, factual. | Yes, quotative, introspective, visual. (74) | Yes, inferential, quotative, factual, visual, aural. | quotative, aural, circumstantial, visual, factual, performative, prfrm complete (238-247) |
| Type | agglt./mild fusional | agglutinating to fusional | agglutinating to fusional | agglutinating to fusional | agglutinating to fusional |
| Suffixing or Prefixing | Suffixing | Suffixing and prefixing. | Suffixing and prefixing (72) | Mostly suffixing. | Suffixing and prefixing (131-132) |

Table 49: Yuki verbs compared to the Pomoan Languages²³⁸

²³⁸ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. C. Pomo: Marianne Mithun, p.c. May 5, 2011; S.E. Pomo: Moshinsky 1974:5-8,

Table 50 shows two types of languages. Wappo is most likely a genetic relative of Yuki and is included for comparison for that reason. Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achumawi are languages that Yuki speakers came into contact with after the arrival of Euro-Americans. As detailed in Chapter 1, speakers of many other Native California languages were moved to Round Valley in the mid to late nineteenth century following contact with Euro-Americans. Initially languages were maintained, but already by the turn of the twentieth century many younger Native residents of Round Valley no longer spoke the languages of their parents and grandparents. All existing Yuki speech data are collected from speakers who were born and lived during the period after speakers of these other Native California languages were living along with the Yukis in Round Valley.

Yuki and the languages in Table 50 share several similarities in verb morphology. Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, Achumawi all mark directional morphology on verbs, and are all agglutinating. Verb morphology in Yuki, Nisenan, and Maidu also is generally suffixal. Marking of evidentiality is found in Nisenan, but it was not possible to establish whether it exists in Konkow, Atsugewi, and Achumawi. Unlike in Yuki, argument marking is found on verbs in Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, and Achumawi. Atsugewi and Achumawi also show a much more diverse placement of

19; S. Pomo: Alex Walker, p.c. April 22, 2011; Kashaya: Oswalt 1960:18-29. If not specifically referenced, information on suffixing/prefixing and morphological type is based on evaluation of the characteristics of verb morphology in the aforementioned references.

verb morphology than seen in Yuki. Atsugewi contains verbal prefixes, suffixes, superfixes, and infixes.

Yuki and Wappo share much in common in terms of verb morphology. Arguments are not marked on verbs in either language. Directional morphology and evidentiality are marked on verbs in both languages. Yuki and Wappo are both agglutinating languages. While Yuki is mostly suffixing, Wappo verbs do show some prefixal and suffixal morphology.

| Lang. | Yuki | Wappo | Konkow | Nisenan | Atsugewi | Achumawi |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| Language Family | Yukian | Yukian | Maiduan | Maiduan | Palaihnihan | Palaihnihan |
| Args. marked on verbs | No. | No. | Yes. (102) | Certain verb types (24-30) | Yes. (1961:92) | Yes. (1930:89) |
| Direction. Morph. | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (69-74) | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (71-80) | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (11-12) | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (1930:95) | variety of directionals indicating manner and direction (1930:94) |
| Evidential | at least two hearsay evidentials and two inferential evidentials | 'they say' (83) | ? | At least one meaning 'evidently' (15) | ? | ? |
| Type | aggl./mild fusional | aggl. | aggl. | aggl. | agglutinating | aggl. |
| Suffixing or Prefixing | Suffixing | Prefixing and Suffixing | Suffixing | Suffixing | Prefixes, Suffixes, Superfixes, Infixes (1961:92) | Prefixes, Suffixes, Superfixes |

Table 50: Yuki verbs compared to more distant languages in contact and Wappo²³⁹

²³⁹ References: Page numbers refer to the following publications, unless otherwise noted. Wappo: Thompson et al. 2006; Konkow: Ultan 1967; Nisenan: Eatough 1999;

In terms of the points of comparison in this section, Yuki verbs appear most similar to those of Wappo and the Pomoan languages. Yuki and Wappo do not reference arguments on verbs, are of a similar agglutinating morphological type, and both mark evidentiality. The Pomoan languages mark arguments on verbs to some extent, but are also agglutinating to fusional and are mostly suffixing or prefixing and suffixing. Yuki and the Pomoan languages are more similar in terms of their systems of evidentiality. Wappo does mark evidentiality, but much less so than Yuki or Pomoan. The Pomoan languages have the richest and most diverse systems of evidentiality of the languages examined in this comparison. The system in Wintu is also quite rich, as is that of Yuki. This may suggest some historical borrowing through contact of this system of evidentiality among the languages of this region.

Atsugewi: de Angulo and Freeland 1930, Olmsted 1961; Achumawi: de Angulo and Freeland 1930.

8. Switch-Reference and Connective Enclitics

A separate chapter is devoted to the Yuki system of marking switch-reference and some of the other morphology that is found with the switch-reference markers, because these words and affixes form an important morphological class in Yuki. Switch-reference is the use of grammatical markers to indicate whether two subsequent clauses have the same or different topic (Jacobsen 1967, Austin 1981:309). Much like neighboring languages, such as Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1996:539-541), Central Pomo (Mithun 1993), and Southern Pomo (Walker 2009). The Yuki switch-reference complex, discussed in §8.1, tracks referents between clauses and notes the temporal dimension of these events. That means the Yuki system allows speakers to state whether events occurred in sequence, simultaneously, or as a result of each other.

8.1 Switch-Reference Markers and Clause Connectors

In Yuki, switch-reference is indicated with a series of morphemes that nearly always occur clause-initially. These switch-reference markers can be affixed with an enclitic indicating temporal reference and are nearly always followed by the hearsay evidential *?i*. Together this clause-initial reference connective takes the form shown in Figure 9.

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Switch-reference marker or Clause Connector | Temporal Reference enclitic | Hearsay evidential ?i |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------|

Figure 9: Form of the clause-initial reference complex

The clause-initial reference complex does not have to have all three slots filled. If the reference complex is present at the start of a clause, it will always contain the switch-reference marker and then optionally a temporal reference enclitic and/or the hearsay evidential ?i²⁴⁰. The switch-reference word marker does not usually appear alone, but is typically followed by one or both of the other elements of the reference complex.

Kroeber (1911:369-370) does not differentiate between the switch-reference markers, clause connectors, or temporal reference enclitics in his description of this system:

*Sa*ⁿ [sq] indicates that the subject of the sentence which it opens is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence. *Si* indicates a corresponding change of subject...-k, forming *si-k*, *sa*ⁿ-k [sq-k], *si-k-ii*, *sa*ⁿ-k-ii [sq-k-ii], is about equivalent to “and,” implying that the action of the verb in the sentence which it introduces is contemporaneous with the action of the verb in the preceding sentence. -m, forming *si-m-ii*, etc., may be translated “and finally”... -kiṭ, forming *si-kiṭ*, *sa*ⁿ-kiṭ-ii [sq-kiṭ-ii], etc., is equivalent to “and then”... -kaⁿ [-kq], forming *si-ka*ⁿ [si-kq], etc. can often be translated as

²⁴⁰ The temporal reference enclitics are discussed in §8.2.

“thereupon”...A stem *so-* is also used as a base for forming several connectives. The words derived from it seem to indicate the relation of the ideas in two adjacent sentences, rather than the identity or difference of their subjects as expressed by *saⁿ* and *si*. *So-p* is translatable as “and,” also “on account of that.” *So-n* is “but.” *So-m* is also found. There are a number of other connectives such as *kop-han*, *saⁿ-kop* [*sq-kop*], *si-mo-n*, *si-mo-p*, *si-k-on*, whose meaning is not yet clear.

In analyzing the switch-reference markers, clause connectors, and temporal reference enclitics in the texts, many of Kroeber’s descriptions proved to be accurate. In other cases additional or different uses of these morphemes were observed in the texts. The switch-reference markers and clause connectors as they are observed used in the texts are summarized in Table 51²⁴¹.

| | Gloss | Description of connective |
|-------------|--------------|---|
| <i>si</i> | NEW | Current clause has a new or different topic than the previous clause |
| <i>sq</i> | SAME | Current clause has the same topic as the previous clause |
| <i>sikq</i> | AGT>PAT | The grammatical agent argument of the previous clause has become a grammatical patient argument in the current clause |
| <i>sop</i> | but | ‘but’; The current clause is subordinate to the previous clause. |
| <i>son</i> | but | ‘but’; The current clause is subordinate to the previous clause and has a negative meaning. |
| <i>som</i> | however | ‘however’; The current clause is subordinate to the previous clause. |
| <i>sik</i> | then | ‘then’ |
| <i>siki</i> | therefore | ‘therefore’; shows a causal relationship |
| <i>sqki</i> | and | ‘and’ |

Table 51: Summary of Switch-Reference Markers and other Clause Connectors

²⁴¹ For a description of the temporal reference enclitics see Table 40.

Based on analysis of the texts, the switch-reference marker specifies whether the current clause has the same, *sq-*, or different, *si-*, topic as the previous clause. This switch-reference marking appears not to pay any heed to agent and patient distinctions, but instead is specifically marking the change in topic between clauses.

The switch-reference markers may also note the change of a grammatical agent argument in one clause into a grammatical patient argument in the next clause. The marker *sikq-* appears to indicate that the grammatical agent argument of the previous clause has become the grammatical patient argument of the current clause. *sikq-* may also be indicating that the clauses beginning with these markers are either subordinate or share a relationship with the previous clause; much as *sop-*, *son-*, *som-* seem to as well. The use of *sikq-* is not obligatory if an argument goes from being a grammatical agent to grammatical patient or vice versa in subsequent clauses.

Clause 23, in (1), begins with *si-* indicating that the topic of this clause is different than in the previous clause. In Clause 22, *lówpsi* ‘Jackrabbit’ is the topic, but in Clause 23, the topic is *hulkoʔi* ‘Coyote’. Clause 24 begins with *sq-* indicating that the topic continues to be *hulkoʔi* ‘Coyote’, the same as in the previous clause. Clause 25 begins with *sikq-* indicating that the grammatical agent of the previous clause, *hulkoʔi* ‘Coyote’, has become the grammatical patient of the current clause. This clause is a predicate adjective clause and the argument of predicate adjectives is

typically a grammatical patient argument²⁴². Clause 26 begins with *sq-* indicating that the topic of the clause remains *hulkoʔi* ‘Coyote’.

(1) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

seʔéy kaʔáʔapis ʔap yáʃhi kíʔáʔapis nąweta
si=ʔi kaʔa=pis ʔap yqš-h kiʔa=pis nąw-t-aʔ
 NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

ʔey ʔimeymil lówpsi hulkoʔa
=ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulkoʔi=q
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

Coyote and the World: 23

seʔéy lówpsi yqšnamlikí:kpis yqšít kú:ta
si=ʔi lopsi yqš=namli=kik=pis yqš-t kuta
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

nąwétmil.
nąw-t=mil
 see-INTR=FIN

‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

²⁴² See §9.4.

Coyote and the World: 24

sqʔey *yím* *yq:hišti* *nqwímil* *hulkʔóʔi*
sq=ʔi *yim* *yqh-s-t* *nqw=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

Coyote and the World: 25

sikqʔéy *humámtohilmil*
sikq=ʔi *hum=am-to-h-il=mil*
AGT>PAT=HSY1 glad=?-?-DUR-MPSV=FIN

‘Thereupon he was glad.’

Coyote and the World: 26

sqkítey *hamláčkʔi* *yáʔiti* *ʔiy* *čʔal*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hamlač=ki* *yaʔ-t* *=ʔi* *čʔal*
SAME=then=HSY1 smoke.hole=IN climb.up-INTR =HSY1 loud

pəkʔéyakmil.

pəkʔ-qk=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

‘And climbing to the smoke-hole he shouted loudly.’

(2) provides another example of *sikq-* in use. Clause 98 is marked as having a different topic than Clause 97. Clause 99 is marked with *sikq-* indicating that the

grammatical agent of the previous clause is being used as the grammatical patient in the current clause. Those that entered the ceremonial house are the grammatical agent argument of Clause 98 and in Clause 99 these same individuals become the patient argument when they are killed by the Wailaki. Clause 100 is marked as having a different topic than the previous clause.

(2) Coyote and the World: 97, RM

seʔéy *ʔiwilhánam* *káptilyakmil*

siʔi *ʔiwilhan=am* *kap-t-il-qk=mil*

NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house=IN2 enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘Then they caused them to enter the ceremonial house;’

Coyote and the World: 98

seʔey *ká:psilyakmil*

siʔi *kap-s-il-qk=mil*

NEW=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘and they entered.’

Coyote and the World: 99

sikqʔéy *nákop* *kʔapʔéyakmil* *kʔóʔil*

sikqʔi *nak=op* *kʔapʔ-qk=mil* *kʔoʔil*

AGT>PAT=HSY1 night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki

‘Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.’

Coyote and the World: 100

sikiṭéy *šqkmi* *hákiłmil*
si=kiṭ=?i *šqkmi* *ha-k-il=mil*

NEW=then=HSY1 some.ANIM escape-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘But some escaped.’

The three markers beginning with *so-* do not track reference, but instead link coordinate clauses. *sop* has an approximate meaning of ‘but’, *son* clauses will often be negative and so it has an approximate meaning of ‘however’, and *som* also has an approximate meaning of ‘however’ and may be an allomorph of *son*²⁴³. The subsequent clause starting with a switch-reference marker will still take the previous clause into account, even if it begins with a *so-* marker that does not mark switch-reference itself.

In (3), it appears that *sop-* ‘but’ is used by the speaker to signal a connection between two ideas. In Clause 36, the topic of the clause, ‘they’, are stopping their travels and dancing. In the *sop*-marked clause, Clause 37, Coyote sings for the travelers mentioned in Clause 36. It may be that the use of *sop-* in Clause 37 is done

²⁴³ *sop* and *son* may be related to the connective enclitics *=kop* and *=kon*. The connective enclitics are also found on verbs in the adverbial clause enclitics *=(k)op* and *=kon*. It may be that the *-op* and *-on* component is the same morpheme in all of these morphemes diachronically or perhaps synchronically. For discussion of the connective enclitics see §8.2. For discussion of the adverbial clause enclitics *=(k)op*, *=kon* see §9.10.3.

to indicate a relationship between the two events; they stop to dance, but then Coyote stands and sings.

Also, note that the switch-reference marking in Clause 38 is based on the topic of Clause 37. In Clause 36, the topic is ‘they’, in Clause 37, the topic is *hulko’i* ‘Coyote’, and in Clause 38, the topic is once again ‘they’. Clause 38 begins with *si-* indicating that the topic of that clause is different than that of the previous clause.

(3) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>sq’éy</i> | <i>šákčam</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>túk</i> | <i>hu’u’ík</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>sq=’i</i> | <i>šákčam</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>tuk</i> | <i>hu’u=k</i> | <i>=’i</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | sometimes | long/always | travel | finish=DECL | =HSY1 |

| | | |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| <i>wó:kesmíl</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>kimáseypa:mikí.</i> |
| <i>wok-s=míl</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>kimas-pa’=miki</i> |
| sing/dance-CONT?=FIN | long/all.the.way | thus-FUT=PURP |

‘And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.’

Coyote and the World: 37

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>sop’ey</i> | <i>hulk’ó’i</i> | <i>hapyáššílmil.</i> |
| <i>sop=’i</i> | <i>hulk’o’i</i> | <i>hqp-yqš-s-il=mil</i> |
| but=HSY1 | Coyote | song-stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN |

‘But Coyote stood and sang for them.’

Coyote and the World: 38

sikéy ^ʔq̄t̄q̄ *ki:* *wók* *huʔúsk* ^ʔey ^ʔq̄t̄q̄
sik=ʔi ^ʔq̄t̄q̄ *ki* *wok* *huʔu-s=k* =ʔi ^ʔq̄t̄q̄
then=HSY1 again DST sing/dance stop-CAUS=DECL =HSY1 again

túkeymil

tuk=mil

travel=FIN

‘And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.’

(4) shows an example where two adjacent clauses are marked with *sop-*. Once again the switch-reference marker in the clause following the *sop-* clauses is based on the topic in the immediately preceding clause. The switch-reference marker in Clause 68 indicates that the topic in that clause is the same as in the previous and indeed in both Clause 67 and 68 the topic is ‘the three (dancers)’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 65, RM

sikiṭéy *wąk’í* *ki* *huʔú(tli)* ^ʔey *milmú:ši ną*
si=kiṭ-i *wąk=k’i* *ki* *huʔu(-tl)* =ʔi *milmuši =ną*
NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skína *ną* ^ʔolkáčam *kimáse* *mólmaʔ* ^ʔey
siskina =ną ^ʔolkáčam *ki-mas-i* *molmaʔ* =ʔi
skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three.PAT? =HSY1

tátikilmil wok'áŋk
 tat-k-il=mil wok=am=k
 fix/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN sing/dance=?=DECL

'Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.'

Coyote and the World: 66

sopey hulk'ó'i 'á'tá kimásat há:p yaškílmil.
sop=?i hulk'ó'i 'ata ki-mas=qt hɔp yaš-k-il=mil
but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And Coyote again stood and sang for them.'

Coyote and the World: 67

sop'éy kimási mólma' 'qlaŋkó:timil
sop=?i ki-mas-i molmi=q 'qlamko'-t=mil
but=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM three=PAT? dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

'But the three danced in a row to the side.'

Coyote and the World: 68

sá'ey kipáw 'ey 'qlaŋkó:tim'il
 sɔ=?i kipɔw =?i 'qlaŋko'-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

'And they danced back.'

In (5), *son-* is used to draw a contrast with information in the preceding clause. In Clause 62, *hí:li* ‘all’ are dancing, but in Clause 63, *hulmunin* ‘Spider’ is not laughing despite everyone’s dancing. As with *sop-*, it appears that *son-* is also used by the speaker to indicate a relationship between the information in two clauses. Note that while *son-* does not mark switch-reference itself, it is still taken into account for noting switch reference in the next clause. Clause 64 begins with *si*, because its topic, *hí:li* ‘all’, is different than that of Clause 63, *hulmúnina* ‘Spider’.

(5) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>ʔatq</i> | <i>wóktmil</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>ʔatq</i> | <i>wok-tl=mil</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | all-ANIM | again | sing/dance-TR=FIN |

‘And all danced on.’

Coyote and the World: 63

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>sonʔéy</i> | <i>hulmúnina</i> | <i>mú:šamtanmil.</i> |
| <i>son=ʔi</i> | <i>hulmunin=q</i> | <i>muš-m-tan=mil</i> |
| but=HSY1 | Spider=PAT | laugh-IMPV-NEG=FIN |

‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ [Probably: Spider did not laugh.]

Coyote and the World: 64

si'áy *hí:li* *haye* *wók* *hu'útlmil.*

si=?i *hil-i* *haye* *wok* *hu'u-tl=mil*

NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM again sing/dance finish-TR=FIN

'And now all stopped dancing.'

(6) provides another example of *son-* in use. Clauses 109 and 110 draw a contrast with the preceding clause. In Clause 108, those who escaped arrive again, but in Clause 109, despite the fact that these individuals had arrived, they still decided not to divulge what they knew about the Wailaki. Clause 110 draws a further contrast stating that despite the fact that these individuals decided not to tell what they knew, Coyote knew that information anyway, because it had come to him in a dream. Clause 111 is marked with *sq-* indicating that the topic of that clause is the same as that of the previous clause, *hulko'i* 'Coyote'.

(6) Coyote and the World: 108, RM

sikítëy *hi'kilnamlikimáse* *'ey*

si=kiṭ=?i *hi'-k-il=namli=ki-mas-i* *=?i*

NEW=then=HSY1 escape-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipáwk'il *t'óktlmil*

kipáw=k'il *t'ok-tl=mil*

back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN

'Then those who had escaped arrived again.'

Coyote and the World: 109

sóney *hušk'áyestanm'il* *k'o'íl* *'á:ʔat*
son=?i *hušk'ay-s-tan=mil* *k'o'íl* *'aʔat*
but=HSY1 tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Wailaki people

li'íyaknamlíki:

li'-qk=namli=ki

kill-SEM=DEP=DST

'They did not tell that the Wailaki had killed the people;'

Coyote and the World: 110

son'éy *ná:nákmil* *hulk'ó'a* *káyit*
son=?i *nqnak=mil* *hulk'o'i=q* *kayit*
but=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

'inámtnamlíka

'inam-t=namli=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?

'but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).'

Coyote and the World; 111

sq'áy *háye* *ṭ'áw* *káyakmil*

sq=?i *háye* *ṭ'áw* *kq-qk=mil*

SAME=HSY1 again/now war want?-SEM=FIN

‘And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.’

som- is rarely found and may either be the same as *son* or possibly the same as *sq=mi-* since it is often seen as *somey* in use. Examples of *som* are shown in Clauses 355 and 357, in (7).

(7) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikiṭey *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ* *ʔan*

si=kiṭ=?i *ka* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*

NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son ground-?-FUT always

son *miʔ* *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*

son *miʔ* *kup* *káq-kut-s-paʔ*

therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT

“‘This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.’”

Coyote and the World: 355

soméy *kup* *wíliʔisk*

som=?i *kup* *wil-s=k*

however=HSY1 sister’s.son far-CONT=DECL

hánʔam kápsilpa

han=am kap-s-il-paʔ

house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.”

Coyote and the World: 356

síkʷit hʷyé piláti ká:kɛspa ʔiy ʔimeymil

si=kiʷt hʷye pilát kək-s-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil

NEW=then now sun rise-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa ʔópi nakahik

ki-mas=q ʔopi nakʰoh=k

DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL

“And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

Coyote and the World: 357

somʷy ʔey hi:l mólmíya hilkʷil nakʰohisq

som=ʔi =ʔi hil molmi=q hilkʷil nakoh-s-q

however=HSY1 =HSY1 all three=PAT separately teach-CONT?-?

ʔimiymil laškʷáwlʔa nəkop kíč míʔ kup

ʔim=mil laškʷawol=q nək=op =kič miʔ kup

say=FIN moon=PAT night=LAT =only 2SG.AGT sister’s.son

kó:tampa

ko[?]-t-m-pa[?]

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘However, teaching all three separately, he said to the moon, “At night only, you, sister’s son, shall travel.”’

Coyote and the World: 358

sikiṭ *háwmoł’* *hąwłám* *mi[?]íčop* *kíč* *ká:kəspa*

si=kiṭ *hawmoł’* *hąwłam* *mih=it=op* =*kíč* *kąk-s-pa[?]*

NEW=then morning.star daylight be=JXT=while =only rise-CAUS-FUT

“And the morning star shall rise only when the beginning of the day is near.”

sik and *siki* appear to be different words, expressing, respectively, a temporal relationship and a causal relationship between clauses. Just as for *sop* and *son*, switch-reference is not tracked in either word, thus *sik* and *siki* are probably also used to show that the clauses they mark are linked to an earlier clause.

sik seems to express a meaning like ‘then’, just showing that the events in one clause occur after the events in the previous clause. Thus in Clause 381, in (8), the ‘he’ has come to stay in a place and after he had come to stay in this place, in Clause 382, he would go deer-hunting and then in Clause 383, he would continue to stay on.

The switch-reference marker *si* in Clause 384 indicates that the topic has changed from Clause 383 to 384.

(8) Coyote and the World: 381, RM

sáʔey *kíʔa* *šúʔumil* *ʔan*
sq=ʔi *kíʔa* *šuʔ=mil* *ʔan*
SAME=HSY1 there stay=FIN long

‘and stayed there long.’

Coyote and the World: 382

sikéy *mil* *hut’ó:pismil*
sik=ʔi *mil* *hut’op-s=mil*
then=HSY1 deer hunt-CONT=FIN?

‘Then he used to go deer-hunting,’

Coyote and the World: 383

sík’ey *šúʔumil*
sik=ʔi *šuʔ=mil*
then=HSY1 stay=FIN

‘and stayed on.’

Coyote and the World: 384

símika ʔey *musp* *kíṭa* *mi:namlíkí:* ʔey

si=mi=ka =?i *musp* *kíṭa* *mih=namlí=ki* =?i

NEW=?=PRX? =HSY1 woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1

naxk'mil

noh-k'=mil

live-PNCT=FIN

‘Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.’

In Clause 37, in (9), Coyote is singing for the individuals whose dancing is described in Clause 36. *sik* in Clause 38 indicates that after Coyote had begun singing for the dancers, they stopped dancing at some point and continued on their travels. *sq* in Clause 39 indicates that the topic has not changed from Clause 38.

(9) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

sqʔéy *šqkčam* ʔan *túk* *huʔuʔík* ʔey

sq=?i *šqkčam* ʔan *tuk* *huʔu=k* =?i

SAME=HSY1 sometimes long/always travel finish=DECL =HSY1

wó:kesmil ʔan *kimáseypa:mikí:*

wok-s=mil ʔan *kimas-paʔ=miki*

sing/dance-CONT?=FIN long/all.the.way thus-FUT=PURP

‘And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.’

Coyote and the World: 37

sop[?]ey hulk[?]o[?]i hapyqššimil.

sop=[?]i hulk[?]o[?]i hapy-yqš-s-il=mil

but=HSY1 Coyote song-stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

‘But Coyote stood and sang for them.’

Coyote and the World: 38

sikéy [?]qtá ki: wók hu[?]úsk [?]ey [?]qtá

sik=[?]i [?]qtá ki wok hu[?]u-s=k =[?]i [?]qtá

then=HSY1 again DST sing/dance stop-CAUS=DECL =HSY1 again

túkeymil

tuk=mil

travel=FIN

‘And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.’

Coyote and the World: 39

sq[?]éy mál kapísimil

sq=[?]i mál kap-s=mil

SAME=HSY1 river enter-CAUS=FIN

‘And they entered the river.’

siki is used to express causality between events in two clauses. The events in Clause B happen because of the events in Clause A, where Clause B begins with *siki*.

In Clause 84, in (10), some of the characters are scorched by fire. In Clause 85 and 86, *siki* is used to connect the fact that Woodpecker's head is red and that Red-winged Blackbird's shoulders are red with the scorching described in Clause 84.

(10) Coyote and the World: 84, RM

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>sikiṭéy</i> | <i>šákma</i> | <i>ʔáséyqilmil</i> | <i>yímok</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>šákmi=q</i> | <i>ʔás-q-k-il=mil</i> | <i>yim-ok</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | some=PAT | heat-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | fire-INST |

‘and some were scorched by the fire.’

Coyote and the World: 85

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>siki:ʔey</i> | <i>ʔáséma</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔasičamil</i> |
| <i>siki=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔasima</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔasič-a=mil</i> |
| therefore=HSY1 | Woodpecker | head | red-?=FIN |

‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

Coyote and the World: 86

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>sikéyʔi</i> | <i>šúpá</i> | <i>sópis</i> | <i>ʔasíyqilnamlí:</i> |
| <i>siki=ʔi</i> | <i>šupá</i> | <i>sopis</i> | <i>ʔás-q-k-il=namli=ki</i> |
| therefore=HSY1 | blackbird | shoulder | scorch/heat-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST |

ʔey ʔqséyč t'áklamammil
 =ʔi ʔqsič t'qk-lam-m=mil
 =HSY1 red ʔ-INCH-IMPV=FIN

'That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.'

Coyote and the World: 87

sikiṭ hulk'ó'a ʔqsiṭnamlikí: ʔey
 si=kiṭ hulk'o'i=q ʔqs-ṭ=namli=ki =ʔi
 NEW=then Coyote=PAT scorch/heat-INTR=DEP=DST =HSY1

kú:š ʔqsámil
 kuš ʔqsamil
 fur yellowish

'And Coyote's fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.'

(11) and (12) show examples of *sąki* 'and' in use.

(11) Coyote and the World: 301, RM

sikiṭey pąwi ʔi:psáka wí:st(e)mil
 si=kiṭ=ʔi pąwi ʔipsak=q wis-t=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 one boy=PAT leave(remain?)-INTR=FIN

'and one boy was left,'

Coyote and the World: 302

sąkí [?]ey *šú[?]mil*

sąki =[?]i *šu[?]=mil*

and =HSY1 stay=FIN

‘and stayed²⁴⁴.’

(12) Coyote and the World; 120, RM

se[?]éy *hulk’o’á* *hąłammil*

si=[?]i *hulk’o’i=q* *hął-m=mil*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-IMPFV=FIN

‘And Coyote understood them,’

Coyote and the World: 121

sąkí:[?]ey *hušk’ayyesmil* *kipat* *[?]a:áta*

sąki=[?]i *hušk’ay-s=mil* *kipat* *[?]a:at=q*

and=HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT

‘and told his own people.’

²⁴⁴ For an example of *šu[?]*- ‘stay’ with a grammatical agent argument see CW:387.

8.2. Connective Enclitics

The second element of the clause-initial reference complex is an element noting the relative order in which events occur. Unlike with *sop*, *son*, *som* discussed in the previous section, switch-reference is still marked in clauses containing the enclitics discussed in the current section. These enclitics as they are observed used in the texts are summarized in Table 52²⁴⁵.

| | Description |
|------------------|--|
| = <i>kiṭ(a)</i> | 'and then' (the action in the current clause is happening following the action in previous clause) |
| = <i>kon</i> | but, although, though (contrasting) |
| = <i>kop</i> | then (but may be the same as <i>-(k)op</i> seen on verbs that means something like 'while'), also |
| = <i>mi</i> | 'therefore', might be connected with the presence of quotes |
| = <i>mika</i> | 'thereupon' |
| = <i>mop</i> | 'but, as' |
| = <i>kim'</i> | 'over there' (may not really be a clitic, just a deictic in this position) |
| = <i>k'om</i> | 'there' |
| = <i>kimas</i> | 'thus' |
| <i>namlík(i)</i> | 'and then', 'therefore' |

Table 52: Connective enclitics

=*kiṭ*, =*kon*, and =*kop* are affixed to either *sq* 'same topic as previous clause' or *si* 'different topic than previous clause'. These three enclitics are also found on verbs with the same meaning they have when affixed to the switch-reference markers *sq* and *si*.

²⁴⁵ For Kroeber's description of the temporal reference enclitics see the beginning of §8.1.

Other enclitics also occur, including =*kimas*, which, despite its similarity to the distributive plural pronoun/demonstrative *kimas(i)*, means ‘thus’ when affixed to *sq* or *si*.

(13) shows =*kiṭ* used in several clauses. In each case =*kiṭ* has a meaning similar to ‘then’, implying that the activity in the *kiṭ*-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are sequential, or a meaning similar to ‘while’, indicating that the activity in the *kiṭ*-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are either simultaneous or overlapping.

(13) Coyote and the World: 171, RM

seʔey ʔáṭq kʼol kimáse kʼoʔil

si=ʔi ʔáṭq kʼol ki-mas-i kʼoʔil

NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki

téwmqmil

tiw-mq=mil

pursue-DIR1=FIN

‘And still other Wailaki pursued;’

Coyote and the World: 172

sikiṭéy ʔóp'a k'ó'il k'olámwit tíwi:mil
si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔop'a k'o'il k'ol=am=wit tiw=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 two.PAT Wailaki other=?=ALL pursue=FIN

'but two of them followed off on the side.'

Coyote and the World: 173

seʔey ʔátq šiwkí:ṭin líláʔ wíṭkimil
se=ʔi ʔátq šiwkiṭin lil=q wiṭ-k=mil
NEW=HSY1 again šiwkítin stone=PAT hurl-PNCT=FIN

'Then šiwkítin again hurled with his stone'

Coyote and the World: 174

sáʔey ṭ'qk namtlmil ʔátq
sá=ʔi ṭ'qk nam-tl=mil ʔatq
SAME=HSY1 completely? lay-TR=FIN again

'and knocked them over'

Coyote and the World: 175

sikiṭey ʔátq túktimil
si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔátq tuk-t=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 again go.on-INTR=FIN

'and again they went on.'

Coyote and the World: 176

sikt̥ey ʔopi k'o'ola šáyyanamlikimáse
si=kit̥=?i ʔopi k'o'ol=q šay-a=namli=ki-mas-i

NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki=PAT alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipáwk toktli ʔey hušk'áyesmil
=?i kipaw=k tok-tl =?i hušk'ay-s=mil
=HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

‘Thereupon the two Wailaki who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

=kiṭa is a variant of =kit̥²⁴⁶ and has the same meaning as =kit̥ ‘then’, in (14).

(14) Coyote and the World: 274, RM

se'éy k'áwtmil
si=?i k'aw-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 light/shine-INTR=FIN

‘Then light showed.’

²⁴⁶=kit̥ and =kiṭa ‘then’ seem certain to be historically connected with kiṭa ‘there’, though their meanings had diverged by this point. Perhaps kiṭa used as an enclitic kept its distal demonstrative meaning, but it came to be applied only to time, as in ‘that time’, which means about the same thing as ‘then.’

Coyote and the World: 275

sikʔta *haye* *ka* *mípaʔ* *ʔi:y*

si=kiʔa *haye* *ka* *mih-paʔ* =ʔi

NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'oʔi* *piláta.*

ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi* *pilát=q*

say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

‘So now, “This (is how it) shall be”, Coyote told the sun.’

In (15), =*kop* can be interpreted as placing the events of Clause 114 contemporaneously with or immediately following those of Clause 113.

(15) Coyote and the World: 112, RM

sqʔey *ʔá:ʔat* *ʔʔilakmil* *kimáša* *ʔaniltʔili*

sq=ʔi *ʔaʔat* *ʔʔiʔ-lak=mil* *ki-mas=q* *ʔanil-t-il*

SAME=HSY1 people count-leave/go=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV

k'oʔóla *ʔʔwli:tinik*

k'oʔol=q *ʔʔw-lit-nik*

Wailaki=PAT war-DIR2-NEC

‘And he counted the people he was about to take to war on the Wailaki.’

Coyote and the World: 113

sq'éy t'uyna'ákina nq šiwkí:tinq 'eyy yqwweymil

sq=?i t'uyna'ákin=q =nq šiwkiṭin=q =?i yqw=mil

SAME=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin=PAT =and Šiwkítin=PAT =HSY1 name=FIN

'And named T'uyna'ákin and Šiwkítin.'

Coyote and the World: 114

sqkópey 'olkáčma yqweymil kimáše

sq=kop=?i 'olkáčam=q yqw=mil ki-mas-i

SAME=then=HSY1 Mouse=PAT name=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

k'ó'ola haykiyúniakpá:miki: kimáša.

k'o'ol=q haykiyu-n-ak-pa'=miki ki-mas=q

Wailaki=PAT do.injury?-AND-SEM-FUT=PURP DST-DSTR=PAT

'Also he named Mouse (among) those who would do injury to the Wailaki.'

=*mi* is used with meanings like 'thereupon' or 'however.' It may be coincidental, but it also seems that very often clauses beginning with a switch-reference marker followed by =*mi*, will also contain quotes. Clause 212, in (16), is marked with =*mi* and is also still marked for switch-reference with *si*, indicating that 'one' is a new topic. Clause 213 is marked with *sq* indicating that the topic in 213 is the same as that in 212.

(16) Coyote and the World: 211, RM

sikqʔéy *haye* *ʔinháwtlmil* *hana* *ʔey*
sikq=ʔi *haye* *ʔin-haw-tl=mil* *hana* *=ʔi*
AGT>PAT=HSY1 now sleep-wish-TR=FIN ? =HSY1

háwesmil

haw-s=mil

wish-CAUS=FIN

‘And now he wished them sleepy; to himself he wished it.’

Coyote and the World: 212

simeyʔéy *pá:k* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
si=mi=ʔi *pá:k* *ʔin-lam=k* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil*
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 one sleep-INCH=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN

‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”,’

Coyote and the World: 213

sqʔéy *nankilmil*
sq=ʔi *nam-k-il=mil*
SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘and lay down.’

Clause 278, in (17), is also marked with *=mi* and conveys a meaning similar to ‘however’ or ‘but’. Switch-reference is tracked in 278 with *sq* indicating that 278 has

the same topic as 277. *sikq* in 279 indicates that the agent argument in 278, *mi* '2SG.AGT', is used as a patient argument in 279, *mis* '2SG.PAT'.

(17) Coyote and the World: 277, RM

sikít *mi* *kíyi* *kiṭa* *húyki* *yíč*

si=kiṭ *mi*[?] *kiy* *kiṭa* *huy=ki* *yíč*

NEW=then 2SG.AGT travel there middle=IN for.a.while

həwəykiltima[?]

həwəy-k-il=ṭima

eat-PNCT-MPSV=self

'And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.'

Coyote and the World: 278

sámi *šú[?]nóhkiltána* *kup*

sa=mi *šu[?]-no[?]-h-k-il-tan-a* *kup*

SAME=therefore sit-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister's.son

mi kó:ɬima

miʔ koʔ=ɬima

2SG.AGT go=self

‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’²⁴⁷

Coyote and the World: 279

sikq mıs ʔú:kʻop čʻúkɬima

sikq mis ʔukʻ=op čʻuk=ɬima

AGT>PAT 2SG.PAT water=LAT fall=self

‘And then you are to fall into the water.’

(18) is included to show the possible correlation between the presence of quoted speech and =*mi*. In this example, Clauses 308 and 310 are marked with =*mi* and also include quotes, while Clauses 307, 309, and 311 are not marked with =*mi* and do not include quoted speech.

(18) Coyote and the World: 307, RM

hílikšiloʔ hulkʻóʔi kip kíwsi ki ʔey kíɬa yq̣w

hilkšiloʔ hulkʻoʔi kip kiw-s ki =ʔi kíɬa yq̣w

everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS DST =HSY1 there name

²⁴⁷ A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Therefore don’t sit there and stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

wá:česmil ki ʔipsák

wač-s=mil ki ʔipsak

show-CAUS=FIN DST boy

‘Everything that Coyote asked him, the boy told (showed) the name there.’

Coyote and the World: 308

símeyʔey šiʔam wí:k'am ʔi:yíki

si=mi=ʔi šiʔam wik'=am ʔiyi=ki

NEW=therefore=HSY1 after.a.while rear?=IN2 what=DST

kiŋki pánhaʔ ʔeyy ʔímeymil hulk'oʔi

kim'=ki pan-haʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

over.there=IN hang-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So after a time, “At the rear of the house, what is that hanging there?”

asked Coyote.’

Coyote and the World: 309

seʔéy ki ʔipšák hušk'áyestanmil hulk'oʔi kip

si=ʔi ki ʔipsak hušk'qy-s-tan=mil hulk'oʔi kip

NEW=HSY1 DST boy tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Coyote 3R

kíwsi ʔey *k'anhaʔámilmil*
kiw-s =ʔi *k'anha-ʔa=mil=mil*
ask-CAUS =HSY1 not.answer-ʔ-ʔ=FIN

‘Then the boy did not tell; he did not answer Coyote asking.’

Coyote and the World: 310

simeyʔey ʔim *lití:tlhą́likí:* *hučkipis*
si=mi=ʔi ʔim *lit-tl=hą́li=ki* *hučki=pis*
NEW=therefore=HSY1 where gather-TR=INFR1=DST outdoors=ABL

ną́wkil ʔeyy ʔimeymil ʔi:psáka *hulk'óʔi*
nąw-k-il =ʔi ʔim=mil ʔipsak=q *hulk'oʔi*
see-PNCT-MPSV =HSY1 say=FIN boy=PAT Coyote

‘So after a while, “Look from outdoors where they may be gathering”, said Coyote to the boy.’

Coyote and the World: 311

seʔéy *lákti* *nąwkílmil* *kí* ʔipsák
si=ʔi *lak-t* *nąw-k-il=mil* *ki* ʔipsak
NEW=HSY1 go.out-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN DST boy

‘Then going out, the boy looked.’

If there is in fact a correlation between the use of *-mi* and the presence of quoted speech, there are likely to be other factors motivating the use of *=mi* in these cases, as there certainly are other clauses with quoted speech that do not include *=mi* marking. In fact, the very next clause following this excerpt also includes a quote, but no *=mi* marking.

Also, the similarity in appearance between *=mi* and *mi*? ‘2SG.AGT’ is difficult not to see. Some, but not all, of the examples of quoted speech in clauses containing *-mi* marking are directed from the speaker to a particular addressee, who from the perspective of the speaker would be somebody filling a second person role.

(19) and (20) show that other types of information can be placed in the position where the connective enclitic is usually found, between the switch-reference marker and the hearsay evidential. In (19) *kí nąk* ‘that night’, specifies the time of the event and in (20), *hánkil kólítyi* ‘approaching the houses’, specifies the circumstances under which the event in (20) occurred.

(19) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

si kί nąk ʔey hulkʼoʔá ʔinámtil ʔa:ʔát kú:htkiwit

si ki nąk =ʔi hulkʼoʔi=q ʔinam-t=mil ʔaʔat kuhtki=wit

NEW DST night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people north=ALL

yí:tiwi kímáša li:támšik ʔiy

yiʔ-t-wi ki-mas=q liʔ-t-m-sik =ʔi

play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1

?imeymil hulk'ó'i

?im=mil hulk'ó'i

say=FIN Coyote

'And at night Coyote dreamed: "The people who went north playing are being killed", Coyote said.'

(20) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

se hánkil kó:lít'yi ?ey ?í:ynom'

si han=k'il ko'-lit-y =?i ?iyi-nom

NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 some.kind-people/tribe

miyá:tk'il muna' kó:yik ?ey ?imeymil k'ó'il

miyát=k'il muna' ko'-y=k =?i ?im=mil k'ó'il

1PL.INCL.DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki

'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going toward us in numbers".'

*namlík(i)*²⁴⁸ is found clause-initially acting as a connective with a meaning 'and as a result' or 'therefore', as shown in (21) and (22).

²⁴⁸ See §9.10.3.6 for discussion of the use of *namlík(i)* in adverbial clauses. See §9.10.2-9.10.4 for discussion of dependent clauses formed with the dependent clause marker =*namlí*.

(21) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

ʔq̄p mǎtli:kon pǎk pǎp'áyakpa ʔey
ʔq̄p ma-tl=kon pǎk pǎp'-ǎk-paʔ =ʔi
1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔímeymil hulk'óʔi.

ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

Coyote and the World: 182a

namlík ʔéy wǎk nǎwéti ʔey pǎk pǎp'íyakmil
namlíki =ʔi wǎk nǎw-t =ʔi pǎk pǎp'-ǎk=mil
therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one pop-SEM=FIN

‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

(22) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

sǎʔéy sǎʔ'ínat mipátat kimás ʔey háye
sǎʔ=ʔi sǎʔ'in=ǎt mipat=ǎt ki-mas =ʔi háye
SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:ʔáta
 ʔa-tl=mil ʔaʔat=q
 pull/put?-TR=FIN people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

Coyote and the World: 412b

namlíkí ʔey ká ʔa:ʔáta sá:ʔ’inat mípat šilóʔ
namliki =ʔi ka ʔaʔat=q sáʔ’in=q mipat šiloʔ
therefore =HSY1 PRX people=PAT Lizard=DAT hand like

ʔatmil ʔa:ʔáta
 ʔa-t=mil ʔaʔat=q
 pull/put?=FIN people=PAT

‘that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard’s.’

Other less common enclitics also occur. In (23), the deictic *kim’* ‘over there’ follows the switch-reference marker and appears to have the same meaning as it does as an independent word.

(23) Coyote and the World: 348, RM

sákim’ t’ók sikíʔ míʔ kup ʔáʔá
sá=kim’ t’ok si=kiʔ míʔ kup ʔáʔá
SAME=over.there? arrive NEW=then 2SG.AGT sister’s.son again

kímpis *kipáwk'il* *kó:tampa*
kim'=pis *kipqw=k'il* *ko'-t-m-pa'*
 over.there=ABL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

“And when you have arrived there, sister’s son, from there you shall go back again,”

In (24) and (25), =*k'om* is affixed to the switch-reference marker and seems to mean ‘there’. =*k'om* resembles =*kon*, but is probably not the same enclitic as the meaning of these enclitics appears different; =*kon* typically means ‘while’ or ‘then’.

(24) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sąk'ómey *ʔal* *t'u'akmil* *hąčmik'al*
są=k'om=ʔi *ʔal* *t'u-qk=mil* *hąč=mik'al*
SAME=there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN floor=around

‘And there he laid sticks around the floor.’

(25) Coyote and the World: 400, RM

sąk'omey *ʔan* *kimás* *ʔál* *píntlmil*
są=k'om=ʔi *ʔan* *kimás* *ʔal* *pin-tl=mil*
SAME=there?=HSY1 long thus stick scatter-TR=FIN

‘And there he scattered sticks thus:’

In (26), the switch-reference marker is followed by =*mika*, which might be related to =*mi* or may be a unique enclitic. The meaning given to this enclitic in Kroeber’s

free translation is ‘thereupon’; however this is also Kroeber’s translation for several other enclitics in this position.

(26) Coyote and the World: 384, RM

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|-------|
| <i>símika</i> | ʔey | <i>musp</i> | <i>kíta</i> | <i>mi:namlíkí:</i> | ʔey |
| <i>si=mi=ka</i> | =ʔi | <i>musp</i> | <i>kíta</i> | <i>mih=namlí=ki</i> | =ʔi |
| NEW=?=PRX? | =HSY1 | woman | there | be=DEP=DST | =HSY1 |
| <i>naxk'mil</i> | | | | | |
| <i>noh-k'=mil</i> | | | | | |
| live-PNCT=FIN | | | | | |

‘Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.’

In (27), *=mop* is affixed to the switch-reference marker and appears to mean ‘but, as’ in this context. Clause 404 describes an event that is contrasted with the event in Clause 403b. He²⁴⁹ is making the hands of the Yukis the same as his, but as he is doing this, Lizard arrived. Thus the meaning of *=mop* may have a component that contrasts two clauses (A happens, but B also happens.) and also temporal component stating that the events in these two clauses happen contemporaneously.

²⁴⁹ From an earlier clause it is known that ‘he’ in 403b is Coyote.

(27) Coyote and the World: 403b, RM

sq'ey *haye* *mipát* *ʔu:k'ámnó:ma* *tatímil*
sq=?i *haye* *mipát* *ʔuk'omnom'=q* *tat=mil*
SAME=HSY1 now hand Uk'omnom'=PAT make=FIN

kípat *šilóʔ* *mipát* *ʔey* *ʔá:t'ismil*
kipat *šiloʔ* *mipát* =?i *ʔat'-s=mil*
3R.DAT like hand =HSY1 make/put.on?-CAUS=FIN

‘And now he made the Yuki (Uk’omnom’) hands; like his own hands he put them on.’

Coyote and the World: 404

simópey *háye* *sá:t'in* *kómmil* *hulk'óʔi* *mípat*
si=mop=?i *haye* *sát'in* *kom=mil* *hulk'oʔi* *mipát*
NEW=but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand

ʔaʔáta *kípat* *šilósik*
ʔaʔat=q *kipat* *šilo-sik*
people=PAT 3R.DAT like-HSY2?

‘But now Lizard came, just as Coyote was making people’s hands look like his own.’

8.3. Switch-Reference in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

No information is available on switch-reference in Huchnom or Coast Yuki. This is likely due to the fact that all Huchnom and Coast Yuki materials are elicited and no records of connected speech exist in either language.

8.4. Switch-Reference in an Areal Context

The areal comparison for switch-reference is left at a basic level. Table 53 shows whether switch-reference is tracked or not in the comparison languages. Mithun (In Press:15-22) provides an in depth comparison of Yuki, Pomoan, and Maiduan switch-reference systems. It was not possible to establish from available data at the time of writing whether Wintu, nearby Athabaskan languages, Achumawi, or Atsugewi also track switch-reference. With regard to Wappo, Mithun (In Press) writes that “there is no counterpart in Wappo” to the Yuki switch-reference system.

Mithun (In Press:20-22) proposes that the Yuki switch-reference system originated as a result of contact with other languages of the region. As she notes, the Pomoan languages to the south and the Maiduan languages further to the east of the Yuki-speaking region both have systems of switch-reference, but no such system is found in Wappo or reconstructible for Proto-Yukian. Mithun goes on to describe the development of switch-reference marking in Yuki as a hallmark of the

ancient nature of language contact in this region and its broad-ranging effects for languages of this area:

[The development of Yuki sentence connectors] points to a larger phenomenon. Northern California is an ancient linguistic area, with deep layers of contact effects. Multilingualism has been the norm. It is probably no accident that switch-reference (or switch-event) systems can be reconstructed for both Proto-Pomoan and Proto-Maidun, families that have never been considered related genetically. In fact systems with similar features exist in languages all over California (not in all languages), though the forms of the markers are different. There is every indication that the developments of many of these systems were stimulated by contact. Because they are so old, and because we cannot always know the prehistoric locations of the communities, it is impossible to know for certain where they originated and how they were copied (In Press: 22).

| | Yuki | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
|-----|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| S-R | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | 0 | 0 | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ | 0 | 0 |

Table 53: The presence of Switch-Reference Systems in Yuki, Wappo, and Contact Languages

Key

1 = Northern Pomo (Pomoan)

8 = Kashaya (Pomoan)

2 = Eastern Pomo (Pomoan)

9 = Wappo (Yukian)

3 = Wintu (Wintun)

10 = Konkow (Maiduan)

4 = Hupa (Athabaskan)

11 = Nisenan (Maiduan)

5 = Central Pomo (Pomoan)

12 = Atsugewi (Palaihnihan)

6 = Southeastern Pomo (Pomoan)

13 = Achumawi (Palaihnihan)

7 = Southern Pomo (Pomoan)

✓ = Switch-reference
marked

X = Switch-reference
not marked

0 = No available data to make
determination

9. Clause Structure

This chapter describes the major clause types of Yuki²⁵⁰. These include indicative, predicate nominal, predicate adjective, predicate oblique, question, and negative clauses. Dependent clauses, including adverbial and relative clauses, and complement clauses are also described.

There exist few earlier descriptions of Yuki syntax. Kroeber (1911:372) presents a summary of his observations pertaining to syntax and word order. He also presents a short text in Yuki with his observations of the function and meaning of individual words, along with these other comments on Yuki syntax. The other main study pertaining to Yuki syntax is presented by Mithun (2008), who describes Yuki argument structure.

9.1. Constituent Order within the Clause

The most basic Yuki clause can contain just a verb. Clauses can also optionally contain grammatical agent, grammatical patient, and dative arguments, adverbs, and obliques. This section describes constituent order within the clause²⁵¹. Yuki

²⁵⁰ Argument structure is discussed in §5.2.

²⁵¹ For constituent order within noun phrases see §4.1.1 and §4.4.1.1. Determiners are the other main type of constituent that occur within noun phrases generally precede nouns within the noun phrase. Numerals show more variation in position. See §4.5.3 for further discussion.

clauses tend to be verb-final²⁵², but some variation in word order does occur. (1) - (3) are examples of elicited clauses showing verb-final word order. Verbs are underlined in each example clause.

(1) Siniard 1967a: 61, MF

sum moʔos mu:šakwičk
sum moʔos muš-qk-wičk
 yesterday 2PL.AGT laugh-SEM-PST2

‘you fellows laughed yesterday’

(2) Siniard 1967a: 81, MF

həw ʔi: tʔuktl ha:mik
həw ʔi tʔuk-tl ham=k
 fish 1SG.PAT gig-TR like=DECL

‘I like to gig (hunt) fish’

(3) Siniard 1967a: 91, MF

kiʔ ʔi: kiʔaʔ saʔak ča:nik
kiʔ ʔi kiʔat sak čan=k
 DST 1SG.PAT 4.DAT baby give=DECL

‘he gave me his (someone else’s) baby’

²⁵² The hearsay evidential ʔi is analyzed as encliticizing to the entire clause and therefore at times is found following the verb in connected speech.

(4) is a sequence of clauses in connected speech. In this example, each clause is marked off with square brackets and verbs are underlined>. Verbs are clause-final in every instance.

(4) Coyote and the World: 30, RM

[sáʔéy hí:li náwkił'mil.]

sá=ʔi hil-i náw-k-il=mil

SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And all [who were in the ceremonial house came out, and] looked.’

Coyote and the World: 31

[sikiṭéy k'ólk'il šákmi tiw:mililyqkmil.]

si-kiṭ=ʔi k'ol=k'il šákmi tiw=ʔim-l-il-qk=mil

NEW-then=HSY1 other=TERM some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And some notified one another elsewhere.’

Coyote and the World: 32

[sáʔey hí:li pąwík'i móp'ṭilmil.]

sá=ʔi hil-i pąwi=k'i mop'-ṭ-il=mil

SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And all gathered in one place’

Coyote and the World: 33

[sáʔéy kí:k wóktmil]

sq=ʔi kik wok-tl=mil

SAME=HSY1 there sing/dance-TR=FIN

[hulkʔóʔi ʔey hɔp yáškilʔmil.]

hulkʔóʔi =ʔi hɔp yáš-k-il=mil

Coyote =HSY1 song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘There they danced; Coyote stood and sang for them.’

A non-verb-final word order occurs when a sentence contains a complement clause. This happens most often following quotations, as shown in (5) and (6). The verbs in both quotes are clause-final. The verb in the main clause in both examples is ʔimeymil ‘said’, which comes immediately after the quote rather than at the end of the main clause. It is followed by its grammatical agent argument *hulkʔóʔi* ‘Coyote’. (6) also contains a grammatical patient *kʔóʔola* ‘(to the) Wailaki’, which follows the grammatical agent *hulkʔóʔi* ‘Coyote’.

- (5) Coyote and the World: 152, RM

se'ey

si=?i

NEW=HSY1

[ʔa hi:li ʔuʂ láktik] ʔey

ʔa hil-i ʔus lak-t=k =?i

yes all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT go.out-INTR=DECL =HSY1

[ʔimɛyml hulk'ói.]

ʔim=mil hulk'o'i

say=FIN Coyote

“Yes, we all have gone out”, Coyote said.’

- (6) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

se'ey

si=?i

NEW=HSY1

[háye hiwqk mo:sí:yat ʔusa wok nqwi hámek] ʔey

háye hiwqk mo'osiyat ʔusa wok nqw ham=k =?i

now in.turn 2PL.DAT 1PL.EXCL.PAT dance see want=DECL =HSY1

[ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi k'ó'ola]

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi k'ó'ol=a

say=FIN Coyote Wailaki=PAT

“Now in turn we want to see your dance”, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

Similarly, in (7), non-verb-final word order is observed in *nqwímil hulk'óʔi* ‘Coyote saw’, which follows *yím yq:hišti* ‘fire blazing up’. In this case too the grammatical agent follows the verb.

(7) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sáʔey

sq=ʔi

SAME=HSY1

[*yím* *yq:hišti*]

yim *yqh-s-t*

fire blaze-CONT-INTR

[*nqwímil* *hulk'óʔi*]

nqw=mil *hulk'óʔi*

see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

Non-final verb word order is also seen following adverbial clauses. In (8) and (9) the adverbial clause is underlined and the verb in the main clause is given in bold.

In both examples the verb in the main clause occurs immediately following the adverbial clause, rather than at the end of the main clause.

(8) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se'ey šiwkítin lil há'namlíkíla 'ey

si=?i šiwkiṭin lil ha'=namli=ki-la =?i

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wítkmil kó'ola

wiṭ-k=mil ko'ol=a

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

'So Šiwkítin **hurled** at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying'

(9) Coyote and the World: 178 (excerpt), RM

... no'namlíkíṭa 'ey

no'=namli=kiṭa =?i

live=DEP=there =HSY1

háye wítmahilmil hulk'ó'i nq kípát 'a:ṭát na

haye wit-mq-h-il=mil hulk'o'i =nq kípát 'aṭat =nq

again return-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN Coyote =and 3R.DAT people =and

'Coyote and his men **returned** to where they lived...'

9.2. Declarative Clauses

Declarative clauses²⁵³ contain a lexical verb. Extensive examples of such clauses are found throughout this grammar. (10) and (11) are examples of declarative clauses.

(10) Coyote and the World: 142, RM

seʔey hqye hi:la ʔínitmil
si=ʔi hqye hil=a ʔin-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN

‘And now all of them slept,’

(11) Coyote and the World: 154, RM

sikiṭéy hó:ṭ hánal yá:htlmil
si-kiṭ=ʔi hoṭ hanal yqh-tl=mil
NEW-then=HSY1 big walls burn-TR=FIN

‘And the walls blazed up greatly,’

9.3. Predicate Nominal Clauses

Predicate nominal clauses are equative clauses formed with *mih*-‘be’. In predicate nominal clauses the single argument of the predicate is a grammatical agent. (12) is

²⁵³ Declarative clauses do not necessarily contain verbs ending in the declarative mood marker =*k*.

an elicited example of a predicate nominal clause. In (12), *ʔap* 'I' is the single argument in this clause and *musp^h* 'woman' is the predicate.

(12) Siniard 1967a: 35, MF

ʔap musp^h mihik

ʔap musp mih=k

1SG.AGT woman be=DECL

'I'm a woman.'

(13) is also an elicited example of a predicate nominal clause.

(13) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF

kiʔat ʔal ka: mehek

kiʔat ʔol ka mih=k

4.DAT stick PRX be=DECL

'This is his stick.'

The single argument can also be omitted from predicate nominal clauses, as shown in (14) and (15).

(14) Siniard 1967b: 11, MF

ʔusat^h kiti mihik

ʔusat kiti mih=k

1PL.EXCL.DAT cat be=DECL

‘it’s our (excl.) cat’

(15) Siniard 1967b: 11, MF

miʔat^h kiti mihik

miʔat kiti mih=k

1PL.INCL.DAT cat be=DECL

‘it’s our (incl.) cat’

The same construction as in (14) and (15) is used to express possession. In (16), the single argument is omitted. The literal translation of this clause would be “My white dog is”.

(16) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM

ʔatʷaqšit čʼala ʔitin mihik

ʔatʷaqšit čʼal=q ʔitin mih=k

dog white=PAT 1SG.POSS be=DECL

‘I have a white dog.’

(17) is an example of two successive predicate nominal clauses in connected speech. In the part of the text from which this example is drawn, Coyote is

addressing different animals and telling them their role in the world. In this example, he first addresses *míli* ‘deer’ and then addresses *ló:pši* ‘Jackrabbit’ telling both that they will always be *ʔa:tátat hqwayʔolʔ* ‘food for humans.’

(17) Coyote and the World: 413b (excerpt), RM

| | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>míʔ</i> | [<i>míli</i> | <i>mípa</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>ʔa:tátat</i> | <i>hqwayʔolʔ</i>] |
| <i>miʔ</i> | <i>mili</i> | <i>mih-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>ʔat=qt</i> | <i>hqway-olʔ</i> |
| 2SG.AGT | deer | be-FUT | always | human=DAT | food/eat-AG/INST |

“You, deer, shall always be food for humans.”

Coyote and the World: 414

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>skit</i> | <i>míʔ</i> | [<i>ló:pši</i> | <i>mí:paʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| <i>si=kit</i> | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>lopsi</i> | <i>mih-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| NEW-then | 2SG.AGT | Jackrabbit | be-FUT | always |
| <i>ʔa:tátat</i> | <i>hqwayolʔ</i>] | | | |
| <i>ʔat=qt</i> | <i>hqway-olʔ</i> | | | |
| people=DAT | food/eat-AG/INST | | | |

“And you also, Jackrabbit, shall always be food for people.”

9.4. Predicate Adjective Clauses

In Yuki predicate adjective clauses, adjectives function as verbs. This is evidenced by the affixation of verb morphology to adjectives. The single argument of the predicate is a grammatical patient.

(18) and (19) are elicited examples of predicate adjective clauses. In (18), the single argument is *kaʔa* ‘she, this one’ and in (19), the single argument is *kʔaʔa ʔon* ‘this ground’. In both clauses the predicate is *tatk* ~ *ʔatʔk* ‘is good’²⁵⁴.

(18) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF

kaʔa *tatk*

ka=q *tat=k*

PRX=PAT good=DECL

‘she [this one] is good’

(19) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF

kʔaʔa *ʔon* *ʔatʔk*

ka=q *ʔon* *ʔatʔ=k*

PRX=PAT ground good=DECL

‘this ground is good’

²⁵⁴ Some phonemic differences are difficult to hear and show a wide variety of attestations in collected data. In these examples the predicate is the same, despite the fact that one form was recorded with /t/ and the other form with /ʔ/.

(20) and (21) are also elicited examples of predicate adjective clauses. In both clauses the single argument is the first person grammatical patient pronoun *ʔi:*. The predicate in (20) is *ʔunšilek* ‘is little’, while in (21), the predicate is *hočʔk* ‘is big.’

(20) Kroeber 1901a:38, RM

ʔi: ʔunšilek

ʔi ʔunšil=k

1SG.PAT little=DECL

‘I am little’

(21) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

ʔi: hočʔk

ʔi hočʔ=k

1SG.PAT big=DECL

‘I am big’

9.5. Predicate Oblique Clauses

Predicate oblique clauses are equative clauses formed with *mih*-’be’. In predicate oblique clauses the single argument of the predicate is a grammatical agent. (22) - (24) are elicited examples of predicate oblique clauses.

(22) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF

mɔl hu:yɔp ʔɔp mehek

mɔl huy=ɔp ʔɔp mih=k

river middle=LAT 1SG.AGT be=DECL

‘I’m in the middle of the creek.’

(23) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 27, MF

misk’an’ sum tinta’ak’e mi:we

mis-k’an’ sum tinta’=k’i mih-wi

2SG.KIN.POSS-mother yesterday town=IN be-PST1

‘Your mother was in town yesterday.’

(24) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 27, MF

pɔwe nɔk ʔɔp kaʔa mi:pa

pɔwi nɔk ʔɔp kaʔa mih-pa’

one night 1SG.AGT there be-FUT

‘I’ll spend one night there.’

9.6. Existential Clauses

Yuki does not have a unique existential clause construction. (25) is translated by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) as an existential clause. However, in terms of the types of constituents present in this clause, which include a noun, a deictic, and *mih-* ‘be’, (25) does not differ from the predicate oblique clause in (24).

(25) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>sahol'</i> | <i>kim'</i> | <i>mehek</i> |
| <i>sahol'</i> | <i>kim'</i> | <i>mih=k</i> |
| eagle | over.there | be=DECL |
| ‘there’s an eagle over there’ | | |

9.7. Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses are formed by adding the imperative suffix *-a(?)* or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb ²⁵⁵. (26) and (27) are elicited examples of imperative clauses.

²⁵⁵ See §3.1 and §7.4.3.2 for additional discussion on the imperative suffix *-a(?)* and its allomorphs.

(26) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF

ʔalap pɔʔqɔnčsaʔ

ʔal=ap pɔʔqɔnč-s-aʔ

stick=LAT write/make.marks-CAUS-IMP

‘write/make the marks on the stick’

(27) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF

table appis pɔʔqɔnčmalʔ haʔamalʔ

table=ap=pis pɔʔqɔnč-molʔ haʔ-mɔ-l-ʔ

table=LAT=ABL write-AG/INST pick-DIR1-?-IMP

‘take the pencil off the table’

(28) is an example of an imperative clause from connected speech.

(28) Coyote and the World: 28, RM

...sɔ hí:li kó:maʔ ka nɔwetaʔ

sɔ hil-i kom-aʔ ka nɔw-t-aʔ

SAME all-ANIM come-IMP PRX see-INTR-IMP

“...all come out of the ceremonial house and look!”

9.7.1. Imperatives in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes imperatives in Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

9.7.1.1. Huchnom

Imperatives in Huchnom appear to be formed by the same method as in Yuki. Huchnom imperatives are formed by adding *-aʔ* to the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant. In Yuki this final glottalization is only observed for resonants. In Huchnom it has thus far been observed only for verbs ending in /l/.

In (29) and (30), imperatives are formed through the addition of *-aʔ*. Imperative and indicative forms of each clause are contrasted in these examples. The verb root in (29) is *hamʂeʔ-* or *hamʂelʔ-* ‘sing’ and in (30), it is *hək-* ‘split’.

(29) Lamb 1955: 94, LJ

hamʂeʔlaʔ ‘sing!’

ʔepe: hamʂeʔleme:liki ‘I am going to sing’

(30) Lamb 1955: 87, LJ

ʔa:l həkitaʔ ‘split wood!’

ʔepe: ʔa:l həkmiiki ‘I am going to split wood’

In (31) and (32), imperatives are formed through glottalization of verb-final /l/. The verb root in (31) is *nam-* ‘lie down’ and in (32), it is *wit-* or *witte:l-* ‘turn around’.

(31) Lamb 1955: 79, LJ

namkil' ka:y' 'lie down right here!'

kata' ?a namkilpa' 'I will lie down here'

(32) Lamb 1955: 100, LJ

ka:ta' wittə:l' 'turn around this way!'

?epe: witθte:lmé:liki 'I am going to turn around'

(33) shows both types of imperatives in the same clause. The imperative of *hək-* 'split' is formed with *-a'* and the imperative of *həwə:y-* 'eat' is formed by glottalizing verb-final /l/.

(33) Lamb 1955: 87, LJ

santiya' hək:kisa' həwə:ykil' 'split the watermelon and eat it!'

9.7.1.2. Coast Yuki

The mechanism for forming imperatives in Coast Yuki is unclear from available data. (34) - (36) show examples of Coast Yuki imperatives²⁵⁶.

(34) Harrington 1942-1943: 391, LP

?ú?k' dʒɪlβəɔdɔ' 'dip up the water!'

?ú?k' hâ:mmə' 'give me water, pass me water!'

²⁵⁶ See §7.6.2 for additional examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.

(35) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB

nawwet'e 'see!'

néwas 'I see you'

(36) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB²⁵⁷

pá:ti 'get up!'

yeškílk 'stand up!'

²⁵⁷ Lamb (1955:80) records the cognate forms for Huchnom: *pa'íta'* 'get up! (from lying position)', *yaşıta'* 'stand up!'.

9.8. Questions

Questions are formed by adding the interrogative suffix *-ha(?)* or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb ²⁵⁸. The interrogative suffix is found in both yes/no questions and question-word questions.

9.8.1. Yes/No Questions

(37) and (38) are elicited examples of a yes/no question and its answer, respectively.

(37) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF

mila mi' li'amha

mil=q mi' li-m-ha

deer=PAT 2SG.AGT kill-IMPV-Q

'Do you want to kill that deer?'

(38) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF

?qhq' ?ap li'imik

?qhq' ?ap li-m=k

yes 1SG.AGT kill-IMPV=DECL

'Yes, I'll kill him.'

²⁵⁸ See §3.2 and §7.4.3.3 for additional discussion on the interrogative suffix *-ha(?)* and its allomorphs.

(39) - (42) are additional examples of elicited yes/no questions, which show interrogative *-ha* following various other types of verb morphology.

(39) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF

ki miʔ p^histlha

ki miʔ pis-tl-ha

DST 2SG.AGT hide-TR-Q

‘Did you hide it?’

(40) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF

ki miʔ p^hislawha

ki miʔ pis-law-ha

DST 2SG.AGT hide-PERM-Q

‘Can you hide it?’

(41) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF

kayt miʔ hu:tmil nahismilha

kayt miʔ hutmil nah-s-mil’-ha

long.ago 2SG.AGT bread make-CAUS?-PHAB-Q

‘Did you use to make bread long ago?’

(42) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF

kayt mis hu:tmil naha:mmilha

kayt mis hutmil nah ham-mil'-ha

long.ago 2SG.PAT bread make like-PHAB-Q

'Did you use to like to make bread long ago?'

(43) and (44) are examples of a yes/no question and its response in connected speech. In this example, the sun has been stolen and when the individuals searching for the sun ask Coyote if he has seen it, he does not introduce his response with *ʔahqʔ* 'yes' or *tqlk* 'no'. Instead in (44), Coyote responds with a conjecture about the location of the sun.

(43) Coyote and the World: 231 (excerpt), RM

...káʔen k'omláme mis hq̄ltha

kaʔin k'om-lam mis hql-t-ha

PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q

ʔey ʔim kíwismil hulk'óʔa kimási

=ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil hulk'oʔi=a ki-mas-i

=HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT DST-DSTR-ANIM

'Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?' so they asked Coyote.'

(44) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

se'áy hulk'ó'i kí hqle 'iyt k'ápkí

si='i hulk'o'i kí =hqli 'it k'ápkí

NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

hó:ṭ sunlámu' 'iy 'ímeymil hulk'o'i

hoṭ sun-lam-wi ='i 'im=mil hulk'o'i

big make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote, “That must be the one which just now moved along resounding loudly below me”, said Coyote.’

9.8.2. Question-word Questions

Question-word questions begin with an interrogative pronoun²⁵⁹. In addition the interrogative suffix *-ha* is added to the verb.

(45) and (46) show elicited examples of a question-word question and its response.

(45) Siniard 1967b: 102, MF

maʔi ki matlha

maʔi ki mat-tl-ha

who DST do-TR-Q

‘Who did that?’

(46) Siniard 1967b: 102, MF

ʔq̣pil ki matlik

ʔq̣pil ki mat-tl=k

1SG.EMPH? DST do-TR=DECL

‘I did that’

(47) - (51) show additional examples of elicited question-word questions using different types of interrogative pronouns.

²⁵⁹ See §6.2.3 for a list of interrogative pronouns.

(47) Siniard 1967b: 100, MF

ʔiyi miʔ haʔye yuʔuyamha

ʔiyi miʔ haʔye yuyʔ-m-ha

what 2SG.AGT now do-IMPV-Q

‘What are you doing now?’

(48) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, AA

ʔim meʔ koʔotha

ʔim miʔ koʔ-t-ha

where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-Q

‘Where do you go?’

(49) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, MF

ʔimwit meʔ koʔomelhaʔ

ʔim=wit miʔ koʔ-mq-il-haʔ

where=ALL 2SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-Q

‘(To?) where are you going?’

(50) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA

ʔiyup meʔ ki matlha

ʔiyup miʔ ki mat-tl-ha

why 2SG.AGT DST do-TR-Q

‘Why did you do that?’

(51) Siniard 1967b: 83, MF

həymas miʔ ki matlha
həymas miʔ ki mat-tl-ha
how 2SG.AGT DST do-TR-Q

‘How do you do that?’

(52) and (53) are examples of a question-word question and its response in connected speech. The fire mentioned in this example plays an important role in the beginning of the ‘Coyote and the World’ story. In (52), Coyote asks Jackrabbit where the fire is gleaming and in (53), Jackrabbit responds.

(52) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

ʔim kɨ: yim čí:yimilamha *kup* *ʔi:y*
ʔim ki yim čí-y-mə-il-m-ha *kup* *=ʔi*
where DST fire glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q sister’s.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi
ʔim=mil hulk’óʔi
say=FIN Coyote

“‘Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?’” said Coyote.’

(53) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

kú:tak'á: *más* *yq̄híyq̄kli* *ša:tammil* *más*

kutak'a *mas* *yq̄h-q-k-il?* *šat-m=mil* *mas*

way.over.there thus blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV? stop-IMPV=FIN thus

nq̄weta'(á) *'ey* *'imeymil* *ló:psí* *hulk'o'q̄.*

nq̄w-t-a' *=?i* *'im=mil* *lopsi* *hulk'o'i=q̄*

look-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

9.8.3. Questions in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes questions in Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

9.8.3.1. Huchnom

Lamb (1955:31) records several Huchnom question-word questions and answers.

The questions begin with a question word, as in Yuki. The verbs in these questions appear to be affixed with *-ʔq̄*, which may possibly be cognate with the Yuki interrogative *-ha*.

Compare the question in (54) with its answer in (55). Note the presence of *-ʔq̄* at the end of the verb *hayima:ʔq̄* ‘doing’ in the question in (54), and its absence on the same verb in (55).

(54) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ

ʔe:ye meʔ hayima:ʔq

what 2SG.AGT do

‘What are you doing?’

(55) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ

ʔe:ye ʔa hoyima: ṭalki

what 1SG.AGT do nothing

‘I’m not doing anything’

(56) is an example of another question-word question. In this example the verb *yašʔq* ‘standing’ also ends in *-ʔq*.

(56) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ

ṃqyʔ kaʔ yašʔq

who PRX stand

‘Who’s this fella standing?’

9.8.3.2. Coast Yuki

Harrington (1942-1943:390) records a single Coast Yuki question-word question and answer. The verb root can be discerned as *méh-* ‘be’, but aside from this too little is

known of Coast Yuki verb morphology to classify the morphemes attached to *meh-*.

(57) shows this question and answer pair.

(57) Harrington 1942-1943: 390, LP

ʔên mé'lo' 'Where is it?'

k'âw méhe' 'Here it is.'

Kroeber records an example of a Coast Yuki yes/no question with its answer.

This question and answer pair is given in (58) and (59).

(58) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB

né:wiloyime

né:wi-loyime

see-?

'(Do) you see me?'

(59) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB

ʔi:mas né:wit

ʔi:ma=s ne:wi-t

NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?

'I don't see you'

Kroeber (1902c:71) gives the Coast Yuki yes/no words as *héw* 'yes' and *ʔe* 'no'.

9.9. Negative Clauses

The primary method for negation in Yuki is the negation of the verb by the suffixation of a negative morpheme *-ʔan* to the verb²⁶⁰. There is also a negative verb *ʔal-*, the use of which is not fully understood. In connected speech, use of *-ʔan* is much more common than *ʔal-*. In elicited speech, *-ʔan* is also more common, and *ʔal-* is almost never seen.

9.9.1. Negation using *-ʔan*

(60) and (61) are an elicited near minimal pair of negative and affirmative clauses. These two clauses have different grammatical agent arguments, *miʔ* ‘you’ and *ʔap* ‘I’, respectively. The verbs in both clauses contain the same morphology, except for the presence of negative *-ʔan* in (60).

(60) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF

ʔal miʔ lu:htlanpaʔ

ʔal miʔ luh-tl-ʔan-paʔ

wood 2SG.AGT chop-TR-NEG-FUT

‘You’re not going to chop wood’

²⁶⁰ For additional discussion about the use of the negative morpheme *-ʔan* see §7.4.3.7.

(61) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF

ʔal ʔap lu:htlipaʔ

ʔal ʔap luh-tl-paʔ

wood 1SG.AGT chop-TR-FUT

‘I’m going to be chopping wood.’

(62) and (63) are another elicited pair. Once again the only difference is that the verb in the negative clause (62) contains the negative suffix *-tan*, while the verb in the affirmative clause (63) does not.

(62) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF

haw mila ʔap li:ʔaktanpaʔ

haw mil=q ʔap liʔ-qk-tan-paʔ

tomorrow deer=PAT 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-NEG-FUT

‘I’m not going to kill that deer tomorrow’

(63) Siniard 1967a: 52, MF

haw ʔap mila hot^h li:akpaʔ

haw ʔap mil=q hot liʔ-qk-paʔ

tomorrow 1SG.AGT deer=PAT big kill-SEM-FUT

‘I’m going to be killing deer all day tomorrow.’

9.9.2. Negative Verb *ʔal-*

The use of *ʔal-* is not fully understood. It appears as an independent verb with a negative meaning akin to ‘to be not’ and also is found at the end of verbs, which are translated with a negative meaning. *ʔal-* also appears in the Yuki negative response to yes/no questions: *ʔalk* ‘no’ or ‘(it) is not’.

In (64) and (65), *ʔal-* is used as an independent verb. In each of its uses in these two examples, it occurs in the same form, *ʔalʔilin(i)k* ‘do not let yourself, must not let yourself’.

(64) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>... miʔ</i> | <i>həwáy</i> | <i>hámilhan</i> | <i>ʔalʔilin(i)k</i> |
| <i>miʔ</i> | <i>həwáy</i> | <i>ha=mil=han</i> | <i>ʔal-ʔ-il-nik</i> |
| 2SG.AGT | food | hold=FIN=but? | NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC |
| <i>ʔeyy</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | | |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | | |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | | |

‘... you **must not let yourself** seem to withhold food”, he said.’

(65) Coyote and the World: 276, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>kíʔa</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>nak’ó:himil</i> | <i>pilát</i> |
| <i>sá=ʔi</i> | <i>kíʔa</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>nak’oh=mil</i> | <i>pilát</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | there | now | teach=FIN | sun |

ka mǐš miʔ haʔámtilhan **tǎlǎtilinʔk**
ka miš miʔ haʔ-am-t-il=han tǎl-ǎ-il-nik
PRX road 2SG.AGT hold-?-INTR-MPSV=but NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

kʻú:sto kimilk mi kup haʔámtilhan
kʻus-to ki=mil=k miʔ kup haʔ-am-t-il=han
tired-when? say-?=DECL 2SG.AGT sister's.son hold-?-INTR-MPSV=but

tǎlǎflin káta mí: kup kʻǎksikí:
tǎl-ǎ-il-nik káta miʔ kup kʻǎk-s=ki
NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC here 2SG.AGT sister's.son rise-CAUS=DST?

ʔu:khó:ǎamwit miʔ kó:tamtímaʔ
ʔukhoǎ=am=wit miʔ koʔ-t-m=ǎima
ocean=?=ALL 2SG.AGT go-INTR-IMPV=

‘And there he taught the sun, “This path **do not ever let yourself** leave holding it as you move, saying you are tired, sister’s son; **do not ever let yourself** leave holding it as you move, sister’s son, when rising there [here?] you are to go toward the ocean.”’

(66) and (67) show *tǎl-* following verbs that have a negative meaning. *tǎl-* is written in these examples as part of the verb, but it is unknown whether *tǎl-* is encliticized to the preceding verb or an independent verb. In (66), *tǎl-* is found in

kopholiltq̄l ‘without taking their feathers off’. In (67), *ṭql-* is found in *ʔintq̄laʔhan* ‘though not asleep’.

(66) Coyote and the World: 141, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------|
| <i>sikiṭey</i> | <i>šiʔam</i> | <i>wo:ksikimása</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si-kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>šiʔam</i> | <i>wok-s=ki-mas=a</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| NEW-then=HSY1 | after.a.while | sing/dance-CAUS=DST-DSTR=PAT | =HSY1 |

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ʔi:nítmil</i> | <i>kopholiltq̄l</i> |
| <i>ʔin-t=mil</i> | <i>kop-hq̄?-l-il-ṭql</i> |
| sleep-INTR=FIN | feather-take?-PFV-MPSV-NEG |

‘Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep **without taking their feathers off.**’

(67) Coyote and the World: 209, RM

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>sq</i> | <i>ʔintq̄laʔhan</i> | <i>ʔinkó:pismil</i> |
| <i>sq</i> | <i>ʔin-ṭql-aʔ=han</i> | <i>ʔinkop-s=mil</i> |
| SAME | sleep-NEG-ʔ=but | snore-CONT=FIN |

‘And **even though not asleep** he snored.’

In Clause 248 in (68), *ṭalk* ‘no’ is *ṭql-* encliticized with declarative *=k*. *ṭalk* is used as a negative response to yes/no questions and in other contexts, such as that shown in (68).

(68) Coyote and the World: 247 (excerpt), RM

ʔuʂá mɪʔ mɪnsil wá:čisšúl ʔeyy
ʔusa miʔ minsil wač-s-šul =ʔi
1PL.EXCL.PAT 2SG.AGT lie tell-CAUS?-apparently =HSY1

ʔimɛymil pɑ:k

ʔim=mil pɑk

say=FIN one

‘... you are telling us lies, apparently’, one of them said.’

Coyote and the World: 248, RM

seʔéy tɑlk ʔimɛymil
si=ʔi tɑl-k ʔim=mil
NEW=HSY1 NEG-DECL say=FIN

‘But, “No”, he said.’

9.9.3. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by adding the negative *-tan* and interrogative *-ha(?)* to the verb. (69) and (70) contrast negative and affirmative forms of the same question.

(69) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF

ʔohwitanha

ʔoh-tan-ha

run-NEG-Q

'Isn't he running?'

(70) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF

ʔohwiha

ʔoh-ha

run-Q

'Is he running?'

(71) is an example of a negative question in connected speech. The sun has been stolen and the people searching for the sun ask Coyote, who appears as an old man, whether he has not heard the sun moving through the area. Coyote's response to this negative question is given in (72).

(71) Coyote and the World: 237, RM

ʔim ʔúʂqt pilá:t wətwički:

ʔim ʔusat pilqt wətw-wič=ki

thus 1PL.EXCL.DAT sun steal-PST2=DST

mis hq̄lamtanka káʔen ʔiy ʔim kíwismil

mis hq̄l-m-tan-ha kaʔin =ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil

2SG.PAT hear-IMPV-NEG-Q PRX.LOC? =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

kiʔa ʔiwóta hanhási kíʔa

ki=q ʔiwot=q han-hq-s ki=q

DST=PAT old.man=PAT house-build-CAUS DST=PAT

“Our stolen sun, **did you not hear** it about here?” thus they asked the old man who was building a house.’

(72) Coyote and the World: 238, RM

se'áy kí hɬle ?it k'ólop hó:ɬ

si=?i ki =hɬl ?it k'ol=op hoɬ

NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT other=LAT big

sunlámwi ?iy ?ímeymil ki ?iwóɬ

sun-lam-wi =?i ?im=mil ki ?iwóɬ

make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN DST old.man

“That must be the one that was resounding loudly as it went along behind me”, said the old man.’

9.9.4. Prohibitives

Prohibitives, or negative imperatives, are formed in a manner analogous to that used for negative questions. To form a prohibitive, the negative *-ɬan* is added to the verb along with imperative *-a(?)*. (73) and (74) contrast prohibitive and imperative constructions.

(73) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF

nan ɬ^hi:ʔaktanʔaʔ

nan ɬi-qk-ɬan-aʔ

fence jump-SEM-NEG-IMP

‘Don’t jump over the fence!’

(74) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF

miʔi nan tʰi:ʔikaʔ

miʔ nan ti-qk-aʔ

2SG.AGT fence jump-SEM-IMP

‘You jump over the fence!’

(75) and (76) are two additional examples also contrasting prohibitive and imperative constructions.

(75) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF

hačʔap naŋkilʔtanʔaʔ

hačʔ=ap nam-k-il-tan-ʔaʔ

floor=LAT lie-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP

‘Don’t lie on the floor!’

(76) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF

hačʔap naŋkilʔ

hačʔ=ap nam-k-il-ʔ

floor=LAT lie-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

‘Lie on the floor!’

9.9.5. Negation in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes negation in Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

9.9.5.1. Huchnom

To the extent that it is understood, negation in Huchnom appears to function in much the same way as in Yuki. A negative morpheme *-təl* is added to the verb in order to negate it. The Huchnom negative *-təl* appears similar in form to the Yuki negatives *-tan* and *təl-*.

Contrast the negative sentences in (77) and (78) with the affirmative clause in (79).

(77) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ʔepe nə:witəlki

ʔepe nə:wi-təl-ki

1SG.AGT see-NEG-?

‘I don’t see it’

(78) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

hən ʔa nə:wɪtəlki
hən ʔa nə:wɪ-təl-ki
house 1SG.AGT see-NEG-?

'I don't see the house'

(79) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ʔepe nə:wiki
ʔepe nə:wɪ-ki
1SG.AGT see-?

'I see it'

9.9.5.2. Coast Yuki

A small number of minimal pairs show the contrast between negative and affirmative clauses. It seems from these examples that Coast Yuki may have employed a different method for negation than Yuki or Huchnom. Negative clauses begin with *ʔi:ma-* or *ʔi:mi-* and verbs in these clauses are affixed with *-t*. In the few available examples, *ʔi:ma-*, *ʔi:mi-* is found only in negative clauses.

(80) and (81) show contrasting pairs of negative and affirmative clauses.

(80a) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB

ʔi:mas *né:wit*

ʔi:ma=s *ne:wi-t*

NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?

‘I don’t see you’

(80b) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB

néwas

néwa=s

see=2SG.PAT

‘I see you’

(81a) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

ʔi:may *miʔát* *hamt*

ʔima=y *miʔát* *ham-t*

NEG?=1SG.PAT 2SG.DAT like-NEG?

‘I don’t like you’

(81b) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

miʔátay *ham*

miʔát=y *ham*

2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT like

‘I like you’

(82) is another example of a negative clause.

(82) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

ʔi:mi *ʔiʔát* *hamt*

ʔi:mi=s *ʔiʔát* *ham-t*

NEG?=2SG.PAT 1SG.DAT like-NEG?

‘you don’t like me’

9.10. Dependent Clauses

Dependent clauses are formed in Yuki by attaching the dependent clause marker *=namli* to the verb, by attaching the demonstrative *=ki* or one of its derived forms, such as *kimasi* directly to the verb, or by attaching to the verb one of several enclitics that are also typically found with the switch-reference marker. All of these morphemes displace the mood and tense markers found in Position XI on the verb template²⁶¹. Purpose clauses, a subset of adverbial clauses, are formed by attaching *=miki* to the verb. *=miki* can attach to bare verb roots or to verbs ending in future tense *-paʔ*.

Relative clauses are formed in two ways. By attaching the dependent clause marker *=namli* or one of its derived forms to the verb. Relative clauses can also be formed by attaching *=ki* or one of its derived forms to the verb. Relative clauses in Yuki are either postnominal or headless. Adverbial clauses are formed by attaching one of the adverbial forms of *=namli*, one of the adverbial forms of *=ki*, the purpose clause marker *=miki*, or one of several temporal coordinating enclitics to the verb.

Serial verbs are another dependent clause construction found in Yuki. Non-final verbs in the serial verb construction can be inflected with aspect markers, but only the final verb in the sequence is marked with finite *=mil*.

²⁶¹ See §7.2.

9.10.1. Serial Verb Constructions

Non-final verbs can be bare verb roots or can be verb roots affixed with derivational morphology, in Yuki serial verb constructions. The non-final verbs in the serial verb construction are never marked for tense or with =*mil*. The final verb in the sequence will be affixed with finite =*mil*. In the examples in this section, serial verb constructions are underlined.

In (83), the serial verb construction is *həp šú: kopwóktmil* ‘sing, sit, and dance the feather dance.’ Two bare verb roots *həp* ‘sing’ and *šú:* ‘sit’ precede *kopwóktmil*, which ends in finite =*mil*.

(83) Feather Dance Narrative: 12, RM

sámi: *kimáse* *həšáʔ* *həp* *šú:* *kopwóktmil*

sə-mi *ki-mas-i* *həša* *həp* *šuʔ* *kop-wok-tl=mil*

SAME-and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM again sing sit feather-dance-TR=FIN

tá:tkí:li.

tat-k-il

fix-PNCT-MPSV

‘And then in turn these others sing, sit, and dance the feather dance
and fix themselves up.’

In (84), the serial verb construction is *lákti nqwkílmil* ‘going out the boy looked’. The first verb root *lak-* ‘go out’ is affixed with the intransitive marker *-t*, but only the final verb in the sequence *nqwkílmil* ‘looked’ ends in the finite *=mil*.

(84) Coyote and the World: 311, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>lákti</i> | <i>nqwkílmil</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>ʔipsák</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>lak-t</i> | <i>nqwk-il=mil</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ʔipsak</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | go.out-INTR | see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | DST | boy |

‘Then going out, the boy looked.’

In (85), the serial verb construction contains two verbs, *ha:tí:li* ‘carrying’ and *kó:t(e)mil* ‘went’. Both verbs have the same actor, Coyote. *ha:tí:li* ‘carrying’ also has a grammatical patient argument *hášmó:la* ‘morning star’ and an oblique argument *pilq̄tq:tk’il* ‘toward the sun’.

(85) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>s̄q̄k̄iṭey</i> | <i>hášmó:la</i> | <i>pilq̄tq:tk’il</i> | <i>ha:tí:li</i> |
| <i>s̄q̄-k̄iṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>hašmol=a</i> | <i>pilq̄t=q̄t=k’il</i> | <i>haʔ-t-il</i> |
| SAME-then=HSY1 | morning.star=PAT | sun=DAT=TERM | carry-INTR?-MPSV |

kó:t(e)mil *hulk’óʔi*

koʔ-t=mil *hulk’oʔi*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote went carrying the morning star toward the sun;’

9.10.2. =*namli* dependent clause marker

=*namli* is the dependent clause marker used to indicate relative and adverbial clauses. =*namli* never occurs on its own on verbs. It is always further encliticized with the distal demonstrative *ki*, one of its derived forms, or the temporal coordinating enclitics =(k)on ~ =*kan* ‘though’ or =*ka* ‘when’. Therefore in addition to marking a clause as dependent, =*namli* also acts as a base for attaching other morphology that specifies the type of relative or adverbial clause. Table 54 shows all of the derived forms of =*namli* observed in the texts.

| Relativizer | Morphemic Analysis | Meaning | Example |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| =namli=ki | =DEP=DST | 'which', 'why', 'who' | CW: 70, 86, 187 |
| =namli=ki-mas-i | =DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM | 'who' | CW: 29 |
| =namli=ki-mas=q | =DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT | 'who' | CW: 413a |
| =namli=ki-mas=qt | =DEP=DST-DSTR=DAT | 'whose' | CW: 147 |
| =namli=ki?at | =DEP=4.DAT | 'who' | CW: 374 |
| =namli=kik | =DEP=there | 'where' | CW: 48 |
| =namli=kik=pis | =DEP=there=ABL | 'from where' | CW:23 |
| =namli=kiṭ(a) | =DEP=there | 'where', 'to where' | CW: 81, 329 |
| =namli=ki=k'il | =DEP=DST=TERM | 'to where' | CW: 189 |
| =namli=ki-la | =DEP=DST-INST | 'with which' | CW: 75 |
| =namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan ²⁶² | =DEP=though | 'though' | CW: 81, 342, 365 |
| =namliki | =because, =why | 'therefore', 'because' | CW: 87 |
| =namli=ka | =DEP=PRX? | ? | CW: 110 |

Table 54: Inventory of derived forms of the dependent clause marker =namli

Kroeber (1911:364-365) provides some examples of some of the forms of =namli and refers to them as “relative suffixes.” He also considers the origin of =namli, which bears a resemblance to the verb root *nam-* ‘lie down’. Kroeber (1911:364) writes: “*Nam* is the root for the idea of lying; but no connection of meaning is

²⁶² =namli=kan, =namli=kon, =namlon appear to be variants of the same adverbial clause marker. All three forms are used with the same meaning in the texts.

traceable between this root and the relative suffix *-nam*.” Kroeber does not propose an analysis for *-li* in *=namli*.

9.10.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed in Yuki through the addition of a series of enclitics to the end of the verb of the adverbial clause. These enclitics are of three types. One type has the same form and meaning as several of the temporal reference enclitics discussed in §8.2. It is important to note that only four types of temporal reference enclitics are found on verbs in adverbial clauses: *=kop*, *=(k)on* ~ *=kan*, *=kiṭ(a)*, *=ka*²⁶³. Yet, as shown in Table 52 in §8.2, there are many more types of temporal reference enclitics, which are never observed in adverbial clauses. Therefore it is unclear whether the enclitics found in adverbial clauses are the same morphemes as the temporal reference enclitics found in the clause-initial switch-reference complex.

The second type of enclitic used for forming adverbial clauses contains the dependent clause marker *=namli* and is further encliticized with either *=(k)on* ~ *=kan* or *=ka*. The difference in meaning between *=(k)on* ~ *=kan* and *=namli=(k)on* ~ *=namli=kan* is unclear, as is the difference between *=ka* and *=namli=ka*. *=namliki* ‘because’ is also used in adverbial clauses.

²⁶³ It is unclear whether *=ka* is the same morpheme as that seen in temporal reference enclitics, such as *=mika*, which are found following the clause-initial switch-reference marker.

The final type of enclitic used for forming adverbial clauses is the purpose clause marker *=miki*. This enclitic is only found on bare verb roots or verbs ending in future tense *-paʔ*. Table 55 shows the adverbial clause enclitics. In the examples in this section, adverbial clauses are underlined.

| Enclitic | Meaning |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>=(k)op</i> | 'while', 'as' |
| <i>=kit(a)</i> | 'while', 'as', 'when' |
| <i>=kon ~ =kan</i> | 'though', 'although' |
| <i>=ka</i> | 'when' (?), 'as' |
| <i>=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan</i> | 'though' |
| <i>=namli=ka</i> | ? |
| <i>=namliki</i> | 'because' |
| <i>=miki</i> | 'so that', '(in order) to' |

Table 55: Adverbial Clause Enclitics ²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ See Table 54 for a morphemic analysis of the *=namli*-derived enclitics.

9.10.3.1. =(k)op ‘while, as’

Events in adverbial clauses marked with =kop occur during or simultaneously with events in the main clause. Kroeber (1911:364) does not differentiate =kop from the lative case enclitic =op used with nouns and states that “when added to a verb [=op] gives the meaning ‘when.’”

In (86), Jackrabbit speaks the quoted text, and while doing so he weeps. The clause containing the verb *k'in-* ‘cry, weep’ is encliticized with =kop and translated as ‘while he wept’.

(86) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sikónʔey</i> | <i>k'inikop</i> | <i>kú:t'a ká:</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| <i>si=kon=ʔi</i> | <i>k'in=kop</i> | <i>kut'a ka</i> | <i>yim</i> |
| NEW=but=HSY1 | cry=while | way.over.there | fire |
| <i>č'iyeyimilmik</i> | | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> |
| <i>či-y-mq-il-m-k</i> | | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> |
| spark.up-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-DECL | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Jackrabbit |

‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

In (87), Coyote is giving a command to become sleepy. He states that this is to occur as the individual he is speaking to is dancing. The clause containing the verb *wok-* ‘dance’ is encliticized with =kop ‘as you are dancing’.

(87) Coyote and the World: 139 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ... <i>wó:ksiká:kop</i> | <i>ʔi:níštaʔ</i> | <i>ʔeyy</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>hulkʔóʔi</i> |
| <i>wok-s-kq-kop</i> | <i>ʔin-s-t-aʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| dance-CONTʔ-ʔ-while | sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote |

“... As you are dancing become sleepy!” said Coyote.’

In (88), a character named T’uynaʔákin exclaims “T’oš!” and while doing so claps his hands. The clause containing the verb *ʔač-* ‘clap’ is encliticized with *=kop* and translated as ‘[while] clapping his hands’.

(88) Coyote and the World: 153, RM

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>sópʔey</i> | <i>mipát</i> | <i>ʔáčtlkop</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>sop=ʔi</i> | <i>mipat</i> | <i>ʔač-tl=kop</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| but=HSY1 | hand | clapʔ-TR=while | =HSY1 |

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>tʔóš²⁶⁵</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>tʔuynaʔákin</i> |
| <i>tʔoš</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>tʔuynaʔakin</i> |
| <i>tʔoš</i> | <i>say=FIN</i> | <i>Tʔuynaʔákin</i> |

‘But then, [while] clapping his hands, “T’oš” said T’uynaʔákin.

In (89), the sun has been lost and the people searching for the sun are about to seize Coyote. Just as they go to do this, Coyote lays down the sun at the base of a

²⁶⁵ An exclamation.

rock. The clause containing the verb *ʔah-* ‘seize’ is encliticized with *=op* and translated as ‘as they moved to seize him’.

(89) Coyote and the World: 249, RM

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>háye</i> | <i>kip</i> | <i>ʔá:mop</i> | <i>lilkú:tiʔ</i> | <i>pilá:t</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>həye</i> | <i>kip</i> | <i>ʔah-mqʔ=op</i> | <i>lil-kut=iʔ</i> | <i>pilət</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now/again | 3R | seize-DIR1=as | stone-start=IN | sun |
| <i>namtlnamlikí</i> | <i>ʔi:čʔəkmil</i> | | | | |
| <i>nam-tl=namli=ki</i> | <i>=ʔiʔ-ək=mil</i> | | | | |
| lay-TR=DEP=DST | =JXT-SEM=FIN | | | | |

‘Now as they moved to seize him (Coyote), he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.’

9.10.3.2. *=kiʔ* ‘while, as, when’

Events in adverbial clauses marked with *=kiʔ* can occur during or simultaneously with events in the main clause or immediately subsequent to events in the main clause. In the cases where the meaning of *=kiʔ* is translated as ‘while’ or ‘as’, it is unclear how the use of *=kiʔ* differs in meaning from the use of *=kop* ‘while, as’. Kroeber (1911:364) describes *=kiʔ* as, “‘while’ or ‘when’; probably derived from the demonstrative *ki*; possibly the demonstrative locative *ki-ʔa*, at that, there.”

In (90), an individual is speaking a long quote as he is being killed. The verb *k'ol-* 'kill' is encliticized with *=kiṭ* and is translated as 'as they were killing him'.

(90) Coyote and the World: 327, RM

se'ey kip k'ó:likṭ ?ey p'išpál hqhinčam
si=?i kip k'ol=kiṭ =?i p'iš-pal hqhin=čam
 NEW=HSY1 3R kill=as =HSY1 sunflower-leaf under=PNOML

?qs čqklamtpa? sikiṭ ?an p'išpal
?qs čqk-lám-t-pa? sí=kiṭ ?án p'iš-pal
 blood stick-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then long sunflower-leaf

hqhinčam k'ít pinṭpa? ?ey ?imeymil
hqhin=čam k'it pin-ṭ-pa? =?i ?im=mil
 under=PNOML bone lie.scattered-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kip k'ó:li ?qlwá?

kip k'ol ?qlwa?

3R kill at.the.same.time.that

'Then, as they were killing him, "Under the sunflower leaves the blood shall stick on and under the sunflower leaves the bones shall lie scattered," he said at the time they were killing him.'

In (91), Dove is not speaking, but at the same time others are telling one another how swift they are. The clause containing the verb *ki-* ‘say, tell’ is encliticized with *=kiṭ* and is translated as ‘while all were telling one another that they are swift’.

(91) Coyote and the World: 56 (excerpt), RM

| | | | | |
|--------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|
| ... sḡ | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>ʔohí:šq</i> | <i>kimq̄l:likit</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| sḡ | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>ʔohiš=q</i> | <i>ki-mq-l-il=kiṭ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| SAME | all-ANIM | fast=PAT | say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=while | =HSY1 |

hḡyú:mi kʔyyéyamtq̄nmʔil.

hḡyumi kʔy-m-tan=mil

Dove talk-IMPFV-NEG=FIN

‘... and while all were telling one another that they were swift, Dove did not talk at all.’

In (92), *=kiṭ* is translated with a slightly different meaning. Instead of marking an action that is occurring at the same time as the action in the main clause, *=kiṭ* appears to be used to indicate that the action in the adverbial clause immediately precedes the action in the main clause. In this example, the character Tʔuynaʔákin, who had been introduced by name in an earlier clause, has just finished smearing everything with pitch. After this has been completed, everyone goes outdoors. The clause containing the verb *huʔu-* ‘finish’ is encliticized with *=kiṭ* and is translated as ‘when (Tʔuynaʔákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch.’

(92) Coyote and the World: 149, RM

sikiṭey *háye* *hi:l t'uy tík* *hu'útlikiṭ*

si=kiṭ=?i *haye* *hil t'uy tik* *hu'u-tl=kiṭ*

NEW=then=HSY1 now/again all pitch smear finish-TR=when?

ʔéy *haye* *hi:li* *la:kšilyakmil* *húčki*

=?i *haye* *hil-i* *lak-š-il-qk=mil* *huč=ki*

=HSY1 again/now all-ANIM go.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN outside=IN

‘And now when (T’uynaʔákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch,
all went outdoors,’

Similarly in (93), the =*kiṭ*-marked clause occurs immediately preceding the events in the main clause. The character being spoken about has just watched another group of individuals. Subsequent to that he went the other way carrying the sun. The clause containing the verb *nqw*- ‘see, watch’ is encliticized with =*kiṭ* and is translated as ‘when he had watched them’.

(93) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

sikiṭéiy *nqwhiméykiṭ* *ʔey* *ʔa'tá* *k'olk'il*

si=kiṭ=?i *nqw-h-m=kiṭ* *=?i* *ʔatá* *k'ol-k'il*

NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPV=when =HSY1 again/now other=TERM

kó:t(e)mil pilá:t háʔti:li.

koʔ-t=mil pilá:t háʔ-t-il

go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV

‘but when he had watched them, he went the other way carrying the sun.’

9.10.3.3. =kon ~ =kan ‘although, though’

=kon ~ =kan is translated as ‘though’, ‘although’, or ‘while’ when encliticized to an adverbial clause. When translated as ‘while’, the difference in meaning between =kon and =kit is unclear.

In (94) and (95) , =kon is translated as meaning ‘although’ and ‘though’ respectively.

(94) Coyote and the World: 385, RM

seʔéy háye šúʔumil kómpaʔaŋkon

se=ʔi háye šuʔ=mil kom-paʔam=kon

NEW=HSY1 now stay=FIN come-FUT=although

‘And now he was staying there although he would come (back).’

(95) Coyote and the World: 396, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>ʔq̄p</i> | <i>matlí:kon</i> | <i>hó:ʔ</i> | <i>kʔytpaʔ</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔq̄p</i> | <i>mat-tl=kon</i> | <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>kʔay-t-paʔ</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | 1SG.AGT | do-TR=though | big | talk/loud.sound-INTR-FUT |

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>ʔq:ʔát</i> | <i>kʔayímiyq̄ki</i> | <i>ʔú:kʔomnomʔ</i> | <i>kʔáni</i> |
| <i>ʔaʔat</i> | <i>kʔay-m-q̄k</i> | <i>ʔukʔomnomʔ</i> | <i>kʔani</i> |
| people | talk-IMPV-SEM | Ukʔomnomʔ | language |

‘And, “Though I do thus there shall be a great babble of people speaking Yuki (Ukʔomnomʔ) speech);”

In (96), =*kan*, which appears to be a variant of =*kon*, is used with the meaning ‘though’.

(96) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>kʔayimílmil</i> | <i>hó:ʔ</i> | <i>ʔíwupa</i> | <i>han</i> | <i>hilk</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>kʔay-mil=mil</i> | <i>hoʔ</i> | <i>ʔiwop=a</i> | <i>han</i> | <i>hilk</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | talk-?=FIN | big | man=PAT? | even | all/something? |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>hąkó:čmi</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>múnaʔ</i> | <i>koyyikíʔa</i> | <i>hílkil</i> |
| <i>hąkoč-mi</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>munaʔ</i> | <i>koʔ-y-kíʔa</i> | <i>hilkil</i> |
| bad-be? | long/always | many | go-PROG-while | one.another |

kíwikilmil *sq* *yatámil* *sq* *ʔán*
kiw-k-il=mil *sq* *yata=mil* *sq* *ʔan*
ask-PNCT-MPSV=FIN SAME wait.for=FIN SAME always/long

huná:kilmil *ʔan* *ká:čma* _____ *mihikan*.
huna-k-il=mil *ʔan* *kačam=q?* *mih-kan*
wait.for-PNCT-MPSV=FIN always/long bad=PAT? be-though

‘And he talked: “Since even a great man may have something go badly with him, many traveling together should always ask one another and discover and wait for him, though he were worthless.”’

9.10.3.4. =ka ‘when (?), as’

Few examples are found of =ka in the texts and the meaning of this enclitic is not entirely clear. Kroeber (1911:364) gives this morpheme as -ika rather than =ka and describes it as, “if, when, also seems demonstrative in form.”

In (97), despite the use of ‘but’ in Kroeber’s translation, it does not appear that this is the meaning of =ka. Instead, =ka is attached to the portion of the clause meaning “And Coyote saw.’ The flow of events suggests that =ka may be used in a manner similar to =kon ~ =kan with a meaning like ‘though’. In this case, (97) could be understood as “Though Coyote looked, he could see nothing.” Alternatively, the

meaning of =ka may just be to indicate two events in immediate succession. Thus, after looking Coyote could not see anything.

(97) Coyote and the World: 21, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>se'ey</i> | <i>hulk'ó'i</i> | <i>náwwít(i)ka</i> | <i>'ey</i> | <i>'imilmil</i> |
| <i>si=?i</i> | <i>hulk'o'i</i> | <i>náw-wit=ka</i> | <i>=?i</i> | <i>'imil=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | Coyote | see-PST2=when? | =HSY1 | blind=FIN |

'And Coyote looked but could see nothing.'

In (98), =ka appears to be used to indicate that the events in the adverbial clause are occurring simultaneously with events in the main clause. Thus the character in this excerpt is stabbing at gophers as the gophers are emerging.

(98) Coyote and the World: 256, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>sá'ey</i> | <i>hu'ú:šk</i> | <i>ko'i</i> | <i>t'ú:kmil</i> | <i>kóya</i> |
| <i>sá=?i</i> | <i>hu'u-s-k</i> | <i>ko'i</i> | <i>t'uk=mil</i> | <i>ko'i=q</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | finish-CAUS?=DECL | gopher | stab.at=FIN | gopher=PAT |

pú:tesika

put-s=ka

emerge-CAUS?=as

'And finishing that, he stabbed at gophers as they emerged (from their holes).

9.10.3.5. =namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan ‘though’, =namli=ka

=(k)on ~ =kan ‘though’ and =ka ‘when’ can also be attached to the dependent clause morpheme =namli. For =namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan the resulting adverbial clauses appears to have the same meaning as adverbial clauses formed with =(k)on ~ =kan. For =namli=ka only a single example has been found and its meaning is unclear.

(99) and (100) show examples of =namli=kon and =namli=ka in use.

(99) Coyote and the World: 342 (excerpt), RM

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------------|-----------|
| sáʔey | kimás | tátikil | huʔútli |
| sq=ʔi | kimas | tat-k-il | huʔu-tl |
| SAME=HSY1 | thus | fix/make-PNCT-MPSV | finish-TR |

lí:tnámilkon

liʔ-t=namli=kon

kill-INTR=DEP=though

‘And thus he finished (re)making himself although killed.’

(100) Coyote and the World: 110, RM

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| sonʔéy | ná:nákmil | hulkʔóʔa | káyit |
| son=ʔi | nənak=mil | hulkʔóʔi=a | kayit |
| therefore=HSY1 | know=FIN | Coyote=PAT | long.ago |

?inámtnamlíka

?inam-t=namli=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=?

'but Coyote knew it from dreaming.'

9.10.3.6. =namliki 'therefore, because'

=namliki 'therefore, because' is not further analyzable morphologically and is treated as being monomorphemic. It is different in meaning than =namli=ki 'which, who'. =namliki can occur encliticized to the dependent clause or can occur at the beginning of the dependent clause. Also, as shown in §8.2, =namliki can occur clause-initially in place of the switch-reference markers *si* and *sq*. In (101), =namliki is encliticized to the dependent clause while in (102), it introduces the dependent clause.

(101) Coyote and the World: 87, RM

sikiṭ *hulk'ó'a* _____ *ʔqsiṭnamliki:* *ʔey*

si-kiṭ *hulk'o'i=q* *ʔqs-t=namliki* =ʔi

NEW-then Coyote=PAT scorch/heat-INTR=because =HSY1

kú:š *ʔqsámil*

kuš *ʔqsamil*

fur yellowish

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

(102) Coyote and the World: 401, RM

san *hó:ṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'áni* *ʔqp* *mátli:kon*

san *hoṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'ani* *ʔqp* *mat-tl=kon*

SAME? big Wailaki language 1SG.AGT do-TR=though/because?

namliki: *hó:ṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'áwlanj* _____ *k'ayyiniʔakmil*

namliki *hoṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'aw-lam=k* *k'ay-n-qk=mil*

therefore big Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN

“Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this”;

therefore many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.’

9.10.3.7. =miki purpose clause marker

=miki is found in two positions: (1) attached to bare verb roots and (2) attached to the end of verb affixed with the future tense -pa[?]. In these contexts =miki appears to be used to form adverbial purpose clauses.

(103) and (104) show examples of =miki attached to bare verb roots. In (103), tat- ‘make’ is encliticized with =miki. In this example a house is being built by Coyote, with the intent of making the Wailaki.

(103) Coyote and the World: 399, RM

| | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>sąkítęy</i> | [?] <i>an</i> | <i>k’o’ila</i> | <i>tát(e)miki:</i> | [?] <i>ey</i> |
| <i>są-kiṭ=’i</i> | [?] <i>an</i> | <i>k’o’il=a</i> | <i>tat=miki</i> | <i>=’i</i> |
| SAME-then=HSY1 | long | Wailaki=PAT | make=PURP | =HSY1 |
| <i>han</i> | <i>hą:tlmil</i> | | | |
| <i>han</i> | <i>hą²-tl=mil</i> | | | |
| house | build-TR=FIN | | | |

‘Thereupon he (Coyote) built a house to make the Wailaki.’

In (104), =miki is attached to wač- ‘tell’. In this example Coyote is speaking to the sun.

(104) Coyote and the World: 283, RM

t’óktli ʔap kipáwk’il kú:pa

t’ok-tl ʔap kipq̄w=k’il kup=q̄

arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=ADESS sister’s.son=PAT

ʔap nąwwinemapaʔ hi:l kú:pa wačmiki: ʔi:y

ʔap nąw-n-mq̄-paʔ hil kup=q̄ wač=miki =ʔi

1SG.AGT see-AND-DIR1-FUT all sister’s.son=PAT tell=PURP =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi pilq̄:tq̄

ʔim=mil hulk’oʔi pilq̄t=q̄

say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

“Having arrived there, I shall come to see you, sister’s son, to tell you everything”, Coyote said to the sun.’

(105) and (106) show examples of =miki attached to verbs ending in future tense -paʔ. In (105), ta:tikilpa: ‘might remake himself’ is encliticized with =miki. In a previous clause Coyote has dashed the sun against rocks and broken it. In this excerpt he is speaking a lengthy quote with the intent of allowing the sun to remake itself.

(105) Coyote and the World: 251 (excerpt), RM

sikiṭéy *t'íma hoy ta:tíkilpa:miki:* *hoy p'íšpal*
si=kiṭ=?i *ṭima hoy tat-k-il-pa?-miki* *hoy p'íš-pal*
 NEW=then=HSY1 self too make-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=PURP too sunflower-leaf

háhinc'am *ʔas* *čqk(t)lámtpaʔ* *sikiṭ* *k'ít* *ʔán*
háhinc'am *ʔas* *čqk-lam-t-paʔ* *si=kiṭ* *k'ít* *ʔan*
 under=PNOML blood stick.on-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then bone too

p'íšpal *háhinc'am* *pí:ntpaʔ* *ʔimeymil kip...*
p'íš-pal *háhinc'am* *pin-t-paʔ* *ʔim=mil kip*
 sunflower-leaf under=PNOML scatter-INTR-FUT say=FIN 3R

‘Then that he might remake himself, “Under the sunflower leaves that blood shall stick on, and the bones shall scatter under them too”, he (Coyote) said...’

In (106), *čúhampa*: ‘should grow’ is encliticized with =*miki*. Earlier clauses tell the tale of Coyote carrying all kinds of food on his back.

(106) Coyote and the World: 389, RM

sáʔey *kimáš* *ʔa:táta* *wáčyikiṭ*
sá=?i *kimas* *ʔaṭat=q* *wač-y?=kiṭ*
 SAME=HSY1 thus people=PAT show-PROG?=when

ʔey šáʔqk ʔonhąhin pítimil
 =ʔi šaʔqk ʔon=hąhin pin-t=mił
 =HSY1 some.of ground=under scatter-INTR=FIN

ki: hilkšiloʔ ʔónpis čúhampa:miki:
 kiʔ hilkšiloʔ ʔon=pis čuh-m-paʔ-miki
 DST all.kinds earth=ABL grow-IMPV-FUT=PURP

‘And when he (Coyote) had shown it to the people, part of it he scattered under the ground that every kind should grow up out of the ground.’

9.10.4. Relative Clauses

Relative clause are formed in Yuki by attaching the dependent clause marker =namli to the verb along with a morpheme identical to the (third-person pronoun/demonstrative) ki or one of its derived forms. An alternative method is to attach =ki or one of its derived forms directly to the verb. The =ki morphemes found in both types of relative clauses refer to a particular noun or pronoun in the main clause. The difference between these two relative clause types is unclear. The enclitics used to form relative clauses are shown in Table 56. In the examples in this section, the relative clause is underlined and the head noun is given in bold.

| Enclitic | Meaning |
|------------------|----------------|
| =namli=ki | 'which, who' |
| =namli=ki-mas-i | 'who' |
| =namli=ki-mas=q | 'who' |
| =namli=ki'at | 'who' |
| =namli=ki-mas=qt | 'whose' |
| =namli=kik | 'where' |
| =namli=kik=pis | 'from where' |
| =namli=kiṭa | 'where' |
| =namli=ki=k'il | 'to where' |
| =namli=ki-la | 'with which' |
| =ki | 'who' |
| =ki-mas | 'who' |
| =ki-mas=q | 'who' |
| =kiṭa=pis | 'from where' |
| =ki=k'il | 'to where' |

Table 56: Relative Clause Enclitics²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ See Table 54 for a morphemic analysis of the =namli-derived enclitics.

In (107), the verb *tat-* ‘arrange’ is encliticized with *=namli=ki* ‘which’ and is modifying *k’amošíl* ‘puma skin’ in the main clause.

(107) Coyote and the World: 206, RM

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sáʔey</i> | <i>náŋkilmil</i> | <i>k’amolšíl</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>nam-k-il=mil</i> | <i>k’amol-šil</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | puma-skin |

kipá _____ *tátlnamlikí*

kip=q *tat-tl=namli=ki*

3R=PAT arrange/fix-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a **puma skin** which they arranged for him.’

In (108), *noʔ-* ‘live, stay’ is encliticized with *=namli=ki-mas-i* ‘who’ and is modifying *hi:li* ‘all, everyone’ in the clause.

(108) Coyote and the World: 29, RM

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>hi:li</i> | <i>ʔiwilhánam</i> | <i><u>nóʔnámlikimási</u></i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>ʔiwilhan=am</i> | <i>noʔ=namli=ki-mas-i</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | all-ANIM | ceremonial.house=IN2 | stay=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM |

ʔey *láksilyqkmil*

=ʔi *lak-s-il-qk=mil*

=HSY1 come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And **all** who were in the ceremonial house came out.’

In (109), the relative clause is formed without utilizing the dependent clause marker =*namli*. Instead =*ki* is attached to the final verb *lak-* ‘put out’ in a serial verb construction. *nqwili lákšiwičkiʔ* modifies *aʔnwí:sq* ‘orphan’.

(109) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

... *ʔanwí:sq* *móʔoš* *nqwili* *lákšiwičkiʔ*

ʔanwísq *moʔos* *nqwil* *lak-s-wiṭ=ki*

orphan 2PL.AGT whip put.out-CAUS-PST2=DST

hoyyímyi *šiloʔómik...*

hoy=ʔim-y *šiloʔ-m=k*

too?=try-PROG like-IMPF=DECL

‘... **the orphan** whom you whipped and put out seems to be trying to tell something...’

9.10.4.1. Restrictive vs. Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

There does not appear to be any morphological distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Yuki. Restrictive relative clauses identify the referent out of a larger group of possible referents. Non-restrictive relative clauses provide additional information about the referent, but this information does not aid in identifying the referent.

Relative clauses with both functions have the same structure. The relative clause is encliticized with a derived form of the dependent clause marker =*naml*i and follows the noun phrase it modifies.

(110) and (111) are examples of restrictive relative clauses. In (110), the relative clause *?iwilhánam nó?námlíkimási* ‘(those) who were in the ceremonial house’ is modifying *hi:li* ‘all’. Instead of talking about everyone everywhere coming out, only all of those individuals located in the ceremonial house came out.

(110) Coyote and the World: 29, RM

se?éy hi:li ?iwilhánam nó?námlíkimási

si=?i hil-i ?iwilhan=am nó?=namlí=ki-mas-i

NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM ceremonial.house=IN2 live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

?ey láksilyqkmil

=?i lak-s-il-qk=mil

=HSY1 come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And **all** who were in the ceremonial house came out.’

In (111), the relative clause *wó:manamlíkimáse* ‘(those) who had come there to dance’ is modifying *?a:ṭát* ‘people’. Instead of talking about people in general, the

relative clause indicates that only those people who came to dance are traveling onward to Lalkúhtki²⁶⁷.

(111) Coyote and the World: 78, RM

sikiṭéy *k'olk'il* *ʔa:ṭát* *wó:manamlikimáse*

si-kiṭ=ʔi *k'ol=k'il* *ʔaṭat* *wok-mq=namli=ki-mas-i*

NEW-then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *túktimil* *lalkúhtkiwit.*

=ʔi *tuk-t=mil* *lalkuhtki=wit*

=HSY1 travel-INTR=FIN Lalkuhtki=ALL

‘Then **the people** who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction to Lalkúhtki.’

(112) is an example of a non-restrictive relative clause. In (112), the relative clause *líl'k'il lačkilnamlíki*: ‘which he had broken against the rock’ is modifying *pilá:t* ‘sun’. There is only one sun and the fact that it had been broken against a rock does nothing to further specify the sun as the referent. Instead this relative clause is only giving additional information about the sun in the context of this story.

²⁶⁷ *Lalkúhtki* is a placename.

(112) Coyote and the World: 264, RM

sąkítęy háye pilq:t líl'il _____ ląčkilnamlikí:

są-kit=?i háye pilqt lil=k'il ląč-k-il=namli-ki

SAME-then=HSY1 now sun rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV=DEP-DST

?ey háye lil pátpis lak'iyakmil hul ną

=?i háye lil pqt=pis lak-ąk=mil hul =ną

=HSY1 now rock crack=ABL leave-SEM=FIN eye =and

sonmám na.

sonmam =ną

brains =and

'Then **the sun** which he had broken against the rock, its eyes and brains
now he took out of the crack in the rock.'

9.10.4.2. Headed vs. Headless Relative Clauses

Examples of both headed and headless relative clauses are found in Yuki. In a headed relative clause, the relative clause follows an overt nominal head.

(113) and (114) are examples of headed relative clauses. In (113), *?un-* 'bring', affixed with the dependent clause marker *=namli=ki* 'which, who', follows the nominal *híl(i)kšilo?* 'everything'.

(113) Coyote and the World: 179, RM

sqʔey kík híl(i)kšiloʔ ʔúnmanamlikí: ʔey
sq=ʔi kik hilkšiloʔ ʔun-mq=namli=ki =ʔi
SAME=HSY1 there everything bring-DIR1=DEP=DST =HSY1

kipat ʔa:táta nqwhsimil
kipat ʔatát=a nqwh-s=mil
3R.DAT people=PAT see-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he showed his people **everything** that they had brought.’

In (114), *noʔ-* ‘lie’, affixed with *=ki* ‘who’, follows the nominal *hí:li* ‘all those (people)’.

(114) Coyote and the World: 140, RM

seʔéy haye hí:li ʔónop_____ nó:hikimása ʔey
si=ʔi haye hil-i ʔon=op noʔ-h=ki-mas=q =ʔi
NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM ground=LAT lie-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔinkóptmil
ʔinkop-t=mil
snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now **all those** who were lying on the ground snored.’

In (115), *hi*[?] ‘escape’ is affixed with the dependent clause marker *=namli=ki-mas-i* ‘who’, but it does not follow a coreferential noun phrase. It is an example of a headless relative clause.

(115) Coyote and the World: 108, RM

sikítey *hi[?]kilnamlikimáse* [?]*ey*

*si=kiṭ=?**i* *hi[?]-k-il=namli=ki-mas-i* *=?**i*

NEW=then=HSY1 escape-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipáwk’il *t’óktmil*

kipáw-k’il *t’ok-tl=mil*

back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN

‘Then whoever had escaped arrived again.’

In (116), *hap šú:h-* ‘sing and sit’ is affixed with *=ki-mas-i*, but does not follow a noun phrase. It too is an example of a headless relative clause.

(116) Feather Dance Narrative: 4, RM

sími: hí:li tat' hu'útlí:li háye

si-mi hil-i tat hu'u-tl-il háye

SAME-and.then all-ANIM fix stop-TR-MPSV now

həp šú:hikimáse hí:li mí:ti yóletmil.

həp šu'h-ki-mas-i hil-i mi:ti yol-t=mil

sing sit-DUR-DST-DSTR-ANIM all-ANIM up stand-INTR=FIN

'And then, all finish fixing themselves up. Now those that are sitting and singing all get up and stand.'

9.10.4.3. Location and Other Oblique Relative Clauses

Relative clauses referring to location are formed by encliticizing deictics to the dependent clause marker =*namli*. The types of locative relative clause markers thus far observed include²⁶⁸: =*namli=kik* 'where', =*namli=kik=pis* 'from where', =*namli=kiṭ(a)* 'where'²⁶⁹, =*namli=ki=k'il* 'to where'. Locative relative clauses can also be formed by attaching =*ki=k'il* 'to where' or =*kiṭa=pis* 'from where' to verbs. (117) - (119) show examples of relative clauses using locative relative clause markers.

²⁶⁸ For a morphemic analysis of these locative relative clause markers see Table 41.

²⁶⁹ Note that =*kiṭ(a)* in =*namli=kiṭ(a)* 'where, to where' is not the same morpheme as the temporal reference enclitic =*kiṭ* 'then'. Instead it appears that this is the deictic *kiṭa* 'there' is encliticized to the dependent clause marker =*namli*.

(117) Coyote and the World: 48, RM

sqʔey ʔim kʔan paʔétmil hulkʔóʔi mi:litéiki

sq=ʔi ʔim kʔan paʔ-t=mil hulkʔóʔi militiki

SAME=HSY1 where voice lift-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ ʔá:ʔat šúknamlík:k tóktli

munaʔ ʔatʔat šuʔ-k=namlí=kik tok-tl

many people sit-PNCT=DEP=there arrive-TR

‘So Coyote preached (“lifted his voice”) at Mílitiki, where many people were sitting having arrived.’

(118) Coyote and the World: 23, RM

seʔéy lówpsi yqšnamlí:k:kpis yqšít kú:ta

si=ʔi lopsi yqš=namlí=kik=pis yqš-t kuta

NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

nqwétmil.

nqw-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

‘And from where Jackrabbit had stood, standing there he looked.’

(119) Coyote and the World: 90, RM

sopéy ʔa:tát ʔú:kpis lá:ksiliyǫki nǎwʔnamlikíʔa
sop=ʔi ʔatát ʔuk=pis lak-s-il-qk noʔ=namli=kiʔa
but=HSY1 people water=ABL come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM live=DEP=there

ʔey tú:mamil hi:li.
=ʔi tuʔ-mǫ=mil hil-i
=HSY1 come.back-DIR1=FIN all-ANIM

‘But the people all coming out of the water, returned to where they lived,’

At least one type of oblique relative clause marker also occurs in the texts. This is =namli=ki-la ‘with which’. (120) and (121) show examples of this relative clause marker in use.

(120) Coyote and the World: 75, RM

sópéy hayú:mi ʔolč’ok háʔnamlikí:la
sop=ʔi hayumi ʔol-č’ok haʔ=namli=ki-la
but=HSY1 Dove wood-dry?/rotten? carry=DEP=DST-INST

ʔéy hǫhinʔam lúktmil.
=ʔi hǫhin=am luk-tl=mil
=HSY1 under=? push-TR=FIN

‘But Dove pushed under (him) with the rotten wood he was carrying.’

(121) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

seʔéy šiwkí:tin lil háʔnamlikí:la ʔey

si=ʔi šiwiki:tin lil haʔ=namlí=ki-la =ʔi

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wíṭkmil kóʔola

wiṭ-k=mil koʔol=a

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying.’

Oblique relative clauses are also formed using =*ki=k’il* ‘to where’ and =*kiṭa=pis* ‘from where’. In (122), =*ki=k’il* ‘to where’ is attached to *yqš-* ‘stand’ forming *yqši(:)kí:k’il* ‘to (the place) he was standing’.

(122) Coyote and the World: 13, RM

sqʔéy yqši(:)kí:k’il hámmil.

sq=ʔi yqš=ki=k’il ham=mil

SAME=HSY1 stand=DST=TERM bring=FIN

‘And brought it to where he was standing.’

In (123), =*kiṭa=pis* ‘from where’ is attached to *yqš-h-* ‘stand’ forming *yqšhikṭáʔapis* ‘from where (I) stand’.

(123) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>kaṭáʔapis</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>yqšhikṭáʔapis</i> | <i>náweta</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>kaṭa=pis</i> | <i>ʔap</i> | <i>yqš-h=kiṭa=pis</i> | <i>náw-t-aʔ</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | here=ABL | 1SG.AGT | stand-DUR=there=ABL | see-INTR-IMP |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>lówpsi</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔa</i> |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>lopsi</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i> |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | Jackrabbit | Coyote=PAT |

‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said to Coyote.’

9.11. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses in Yuki are not identified with unique morphology. A change in word order can signal the presence of a complement clause. In (124) the complement clause *yím yq:hišti* ‘fire blazing up’ occurs before predicate *nqwímil* ‘saw’, in the usual position of an argument.

(124) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sqʔey

sq=i

SAME=HSY1

[*yím yq:hišti*]

yim yqh-s-t

fire blaze-CONT-INTR

[*nqwímil hulk’óʔi*]

nqw=mil hulk’óʔi

see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

Quotations²⁷⁰ also occupy the preverbal position typical of arguments and clauses functioning as arguments. In (125) the quotation precedes the verb *ʔimeymil* ‘said’.

(125) Coyote and the World: 410, RM

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------|
| <i>[miʔ</i> | <i>həkóč</i> | <i>yú:ʔyamʔi:k]</i> | <i>ʔi:y</i> |
| <i>miʔ</i> | <i>həkóč</i> | <i>yuy'-m=k</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| 2SG.AGT | bad | do-IMPV=DECL | =HSY1 |
| | | | |
| <i>[ʔimeymil</i> | <i>sət'in</i> | <i>hulk'óʔa]</i> | |
| <i>ʔim=mil</i> | <i>sət'in</i> | <i>hulk'oʔi=a</i> | |
| say=FIN | Lizard | Coyote=PAT | |

“‘You are doing badly”, said Lizard to Coyote.’

²⁷⁰ Quotations are also discussed in §9.1 and in the discussion of the position of the hearsay evidential *ʔi* in §7.4.4.1.

9.12. Coordination

The coordination of two non-contrasting clauses occurs through the use of switch-reference marking²⁷¹. It is unclear whether =nq ‘and’ can also be used to connect two clauses or if its use is limited only to connecting nominals.

Serial verb constructions can be used to join several verbs together in a single clause. The meaning of some serial verb constructions appears to be similar to that of conjoined non-contrasting clauses.

In (126), “they all slept and snored” is broken up into two clauses, with the switch-reference marking serving as the connective between the two clauses.

(126) Coyote and the World: 217, RM

seʔéy hqye hí:la ʔi:nítmil.

si=ʔi hqye híl=q ʔin-t=mil

NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN

Coyote and the World: 218, RM

seʔéy hó:t ʔinkó:ptʔmil

si=ʔi hoṭ ʔinkop-t=mil

NEW?=HSY1 big snore-INTR=FIN

‘So now they all slept and snored much.’

²⁷¹ See Chapter 8.

Similarly, in (127), ‘he stripped them all off and piled them together’ is broken up into two clauses with the switch-reference marking connecting the two.

(127) Coyote and the World: 221, RM

seʔey ki: hil hqyé pišítmil

si=ʔi ki hil hqye piš-t=mil

NEW=HSY1 DST all now take.off-INTR=FIN

‘So now he stripped them all off;’

Coyote and the World: 222, RM

sqʔéy pəwíkʔi šil tʔú:mil

sq=ʔi pəwi=kʔi šil tʔuʔ=mił

SAME=HSY1 one=IN skin pile=FIN

‘and piled them together:’

In (128) and (129), serial verb constructions are used to express meaning similar to the coordination of non-contrasting clauses. In (128), Coyote stood and sang. In (129), two Wailaki, who were alive, came back and told what had happened.

(128) Coyote and the World: 37, RM

sopʔey hulkʔóʔi hq̄p yáššilmił.

sop=ʔi hulkʔoʔi hq̄p yq̄š-s-il=mił

but=HSY1 Coyote song stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

‘But Coyote stood and sang.’

(129) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

sikítēy ʔópi kʰóʔola šáyyanamlikimáse ʔey

si-kit=ʔi ʔopi kʰól=a šay-a=namli=ki-mas-i =ʔi

NEW-then=HSY1 two Wailaki=PAT alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipáwk toktli ʔey huškʰáyesmil

kipaw-ki tok-tl =ʔi huškʰay-s=mil

back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

‘Thereupon the two Wailaki who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

The coordination of two contrasting clauses occurs through the use of *=han* ‘but, even’. Kroeber (1911:364) describes *=han* as meaning “although, even, though” and states that *=han* may be the subessive case noun enclitic *=han*.

In (130), *=han* is attached to the end of of the second clause *máy kimoʔséyya kápta ʔimeytanan* ‘though none of them said to him “Enter!”’. Coyote enters the ceremonial house, despite the fact that no one has explicitly invited him in.

(130) Coyote and the World: 123, RM

sqʔéy ʔiwilhánam kápšilyakmil

sq=ʔi ʔiwilhan=am kap-s-il-ak=mil

SAME=HSY1 ceremonial.house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

máy kimoʔséyya kápta ʔimeytanan.

máy kimoʔosiya kap-t-a ʔim-tan=han

someone DSTR.R enter-INTR-IMP say-NEG=but

‘And he (Coyote) entered the ceremonial house though none of them said to him, “Enter!”’

10. Summary of Areal Comparisons

The areal comparisons made throughout this grammar have focused on three groups of languages:

- (1) languages immediately surrounding Yuki
- (2) Pomoan languages not directly abutting the Yuki-speaking region
- (3) Wappo and languages in direct contact with Yuki after 1850

The comparison languages were divided into these three groups based on geographic proximity at the time of contact and in the decades afterwards. The implicit assumption is that speakers of languages closer geographically to Yuki would have been in more regular contact with Yuki speakers, and that multilingualism in Yuki and these contact languages would also have been more likely.

The languages of group (1) were Northern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Wintu, and Hupa or Kato. Kato speakers were directly in contact with Yuki speakers, but Goddard's (1912) description of Kato could not be used to include Kato in all of the comparisons. Instead Hupa was generally used in the comparisons as it is an extensively described close relative of Kato. Northeastern Pomo also historically bordered the Yuki-speaking region, but currently no description of this language is available for comparison.

The languages of group (2) were the remaining four Pomoan languages: Central Pomo, Southeastern Pomo, Southern Pomo, and Kashaya. These languages were included in the comparison, because other studies (Mithun 2008, In Press) have shown that Yuki and Pomoan show considerable similarities. Therefore it seemed important to include all of the languages of this family in the areal comparison.

The languages of group (3) include Wappo, the only known genetic relative of Northern Yukian, along with Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, and Achumawi. As discussed in Chapter 1, the speakers of these latter four languages came into direct contact with Yuki speakers in the mid to late nineteenth century, as a result of forced relocation of speakers of these languages to Round Valley during this period. Ancient contact may also have occurred, as discussed by Mithun (In Press:22), but this was not a focus of this study.

The remainder of this chapter provides a brief overview²⁷² of cultural similarities and trade contacts among the various peoples living in this region, as well as, a summary of some of the more noteworthy similarities between Yuki and the comparison languages.

²⁷² This overview and the description of contact in Chapter 1 are not intended to be exhaustive. See the cited references for more information on this topic.

10.1. Overview of Cultural Similarities and Trade Contacts

This section provides a brief overview of cultural similarities and trade contacts among the peoples of the Yuki-speaking region, which may have motivated or been associated with language contact. As discussed in §1.1.5, cultural similarities and trade contacts were common among the speakers of the languages of this region. The Ta'nom' Yuki in the northern part of the Yuki-speaking region were in close contact with the Athabaskan Wailaki. Inter-marriage between the Ta'nom' Yuki and Wailaki was common, as was knowledge of the Wailaki language among the Ta'nom' Yuki. The *Kičilwoknam*, which was main initiation ceremony of the Ta'nom' Yuki, was shared with the Wailaki, but different than the initiation ceremonies of the other Yuki.

The Athabaskan Kato, whose territory bounded the Yuki-speaking region on the north and west, also shared many cultural similarities with the Yuki. Myers (1978:244) writes: "Cahto [Kato] baskets were almost indistinguishable from Yuki baskets. Yuki and Cahto gambling games, men's hair nets, bulb cooking in the ground, the large dance with a roof door, and victory ceremony with a display of enemy scalps were also similar." The Kato were also heavily influenced by contact with Northern Pomo. There was knowledge of the Northern Pomo language among the Kato and considerable cultural similarity with the Northern Pomo. The Kato, often called the Kaipomo, were also initially misclassified as Pomo due to considerable cultural similarities with the Northern Pomo (Myers 1978:144).

The Northern Pomo were in regular contact with the Coast Yuki, with whom they shared rights to hunting and gathering food in the drainage of Tenmile River and for a stretch of coastline (McLendon and Oswalt 1978:283). Kroeber (1925:160) notes that Huchnom customs differed from those of the speakers of Yuki Proper, as the Huchnom had been heavily influenced by contact with Pomoan speakers and their traditions. Kroeber (1925:166-167) also states that the Yuki had regular trade contact with the Pomo and Huchnom. Through this contact the Yuki obtained shells, beads, and various types of ocean foods, such as mussels and seaweed.

10.2. Discussion of Areal Comparisons

The areal comparisons included in this grammar, in addition to other studies of the language contact in this region (Mithun 2008, In Press) indicate that deep structures can be borrowed among languages. These deep structures include argument structure systems, as it appears that Yuki has borrowed its agent/patient system of argument structure from Pomoan (Mithun 2008, In Press). Other types of phonological and morphological features are also shared among the languages of this region. The points below summarize the most noteworthy similarities and their possible implications.

- Yuki and the Pomoan languages shared the most deep similarities, in terms of the compared features. These include:
 - agent/patient argument structure
 - considerable similarity in form for first and second person singular pronouns (this similarity is also shared with Wappo)
 - switch-reference marking
 - rich system for marking evidentiality (this similarity is also shared with Wintu)
 - number marked only for a small group of human nouns
 - unique morphology for kinship terms
 - kinship terms treated as inalienable
 - phonemic distinction between /t̥/ and /t/

- Yuki and Wappo show some noteworthy similarities, but also differences.
 - phonemic glottalized resonants are found in Yuki and Wappo, but not in any of the immediate contact languages
 - kinship terms are inalienable in Wappo, but do not have any unique morphology
 - phonemic distinction between /t̥/ and /t/
 - Wappo and Yuki show similarities in the form of first and second person pronouns, but do not share the same argument structure system. Wappo is nominative/accusative, Yuki is agent/patient.

- inalienable nouns include body parts in Wappo, while in Yuki only kinship terms are inalienable
 - unlike in Yuki, number can be marked for all nouns, though it is often omitted for non-human nouns
- The clusivity distinction in first person plural pronouns is also found in Wintu and may have been borrowed from Wintu (Mithun In Press). Clusivity is not distinguished for pronouns in Wappo or Pomoan.
 - Few features are shared with the more recent contact languages in group (3). This may be due to the briefer period of language contact between the speakers of Yuki and these other languages. Mithun (In Press:22) does point out that some features, such as marking of switch-reference in Maiduan, are shared with Yuki and may arise from ancient contact. Langdon and Silver (1984) also point out that the distinction between two t-like phonemes is a characteristic of California languages in general.

Yuki also shows some interesting differences from languages in the immediate area. Yuki does not distinguish vowel length or aspirated stops. Pomoan distinguishes both of these features, and Wappo probably distinguished aspirated stops. Yuki also has a rudimentary system of vowel harmony governing the

alternation between [e] and [i]. Vowel harmony is not otherwise seen in the languages of this region. As mentioned above, Yuki distinguishes a marginal fourth person and exclusive/inclusive forms of its first person plural pronouns. Though these features are found in nearby languages, they are extremely uncommon in the languages of the region in general.

The areal comparisons add weight to the hypothesis that many different types of structures and features can be borrowed among languages. It is not clear from these comparisons if languages which are extremely dissimilar morphologically would also be able to share the rich variety of features shared by Yuki and its neighbors. Yuki is an agglutinating language and the neighboring language families are generally of the same or similar morphological type. The most dissimilar languages would likely be the Athabaskan languages, which are highly polysynthetic. Future studies of language contact-induced borrowing should examine borrowing in contact situations among languages, which are morphologically more dissimilar than those immediately surrounding Yuki.

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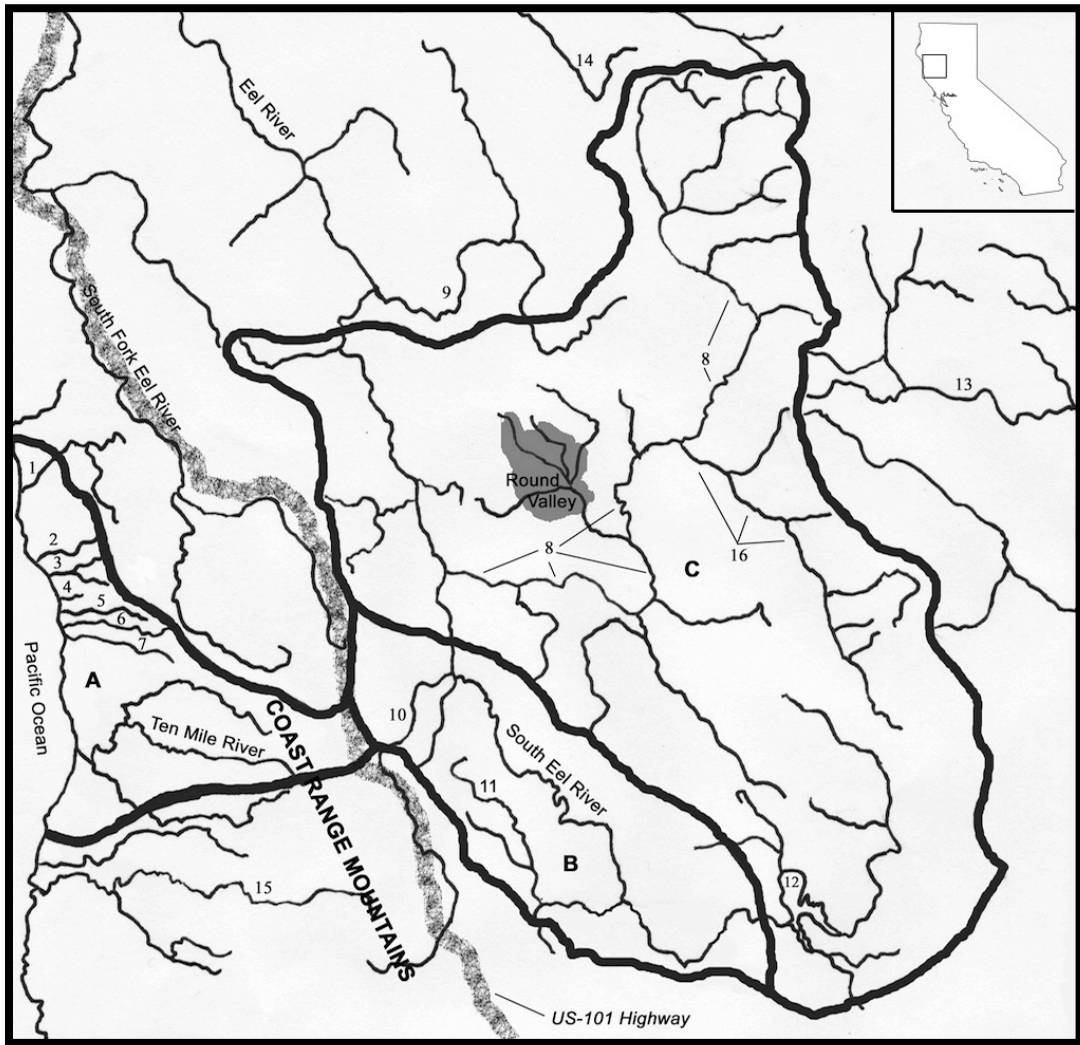
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Appendix 1

Natural and Manmade Landmarks of the Northern Yukian Speech Area



This map²⁷³ shows the location of the major natural features of this region, as well as the location of the US-101 Highway, which is a major contemporary manmade feature of this area. The highway is marked with a thick light gray line. The

²⁷³ The maps in Appendices 1-3 are based on a tracing of a map in Foster (1944:154).

boundaries of the Coast Yuki, Huchnom, and Yuki Proper speech areas and the location of the natural landmarks are based on boundaries given in Foster (1944:154) and Miller (1978:249). The location of the Coast Range Mountains and the US-101 Highway are based on a map of Northern California found in the *Rand McNally Road Atlas* (2001:12).

Northern Yukian Languages

A = Coast Yuki

B = Huchnom

C = Yuki

Natural Landmarks

1 = Cottoneva Creek

2 = Hardy Creek

3 = Alviso Creek, also called Juan Creek

4 = Little Howard Creek

5 = Howard Creek

6 = De Haven Creek, also called Packard Creek or Gordon Creek

7 = Wages Creek

8 = Middle Fork Eel River

9 = North Fork Eel River

10 = Outlet Creek

11 = Tomki Creek

12 = Lake Pillsbury

13 = Willow Creek

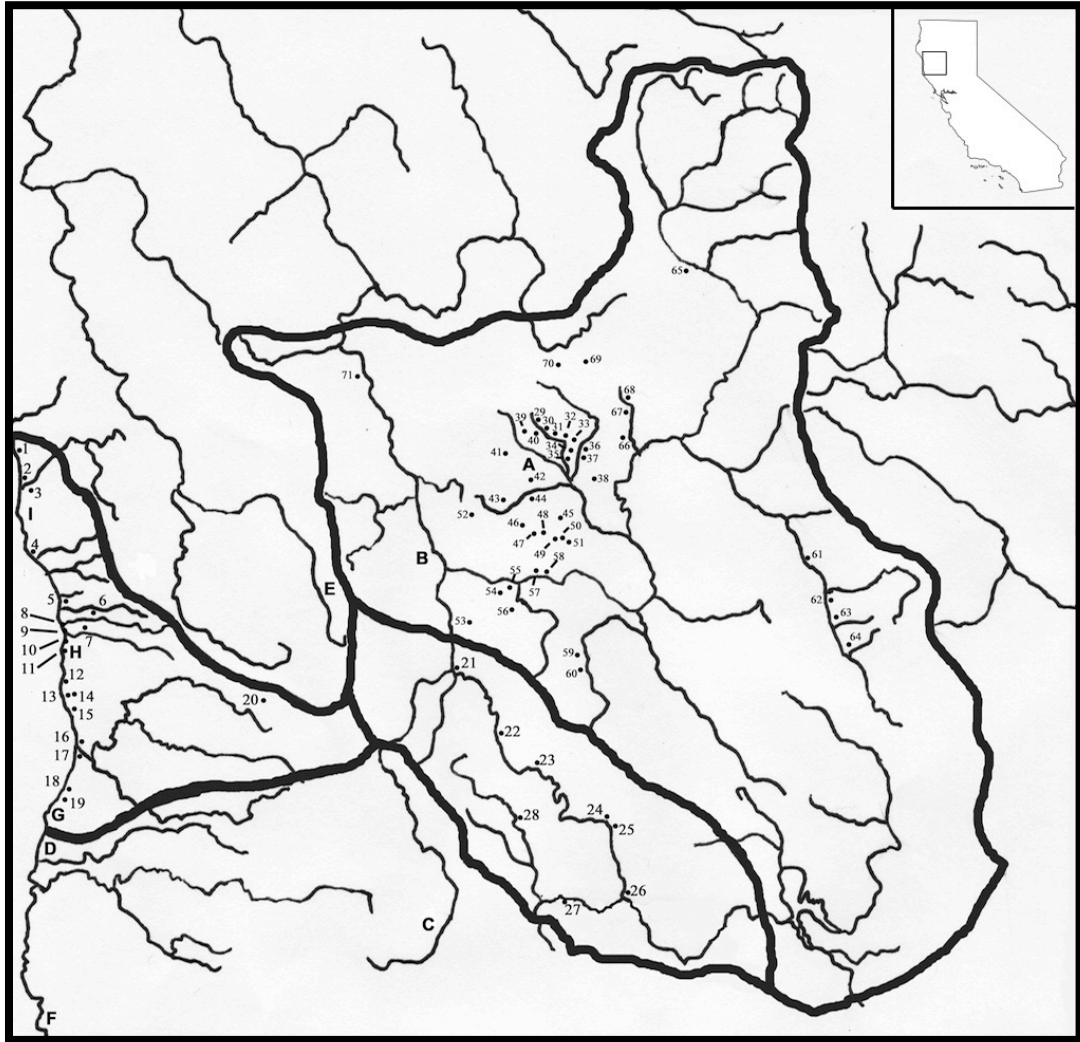
14 = Mad River

15 = Noyo Creek

16 = Black Butte Creek

Appendix 2

Map of Northern Yukian Villages



This map is not an exhaustive and full depiction of all Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki village sites. In this map of village sites, the locations of the Yuki villages and contemporary cities are taken from Foster (1944:154, 158). The location of the Huchnom village sites was reconstructed based on written descriptions by Barrett

(1908:258-60) and Kroeber (1925 [1976]:203), which were then located on a searchable USGS map online (“Trailhead Vagabond” 2010). The location of the Coast Yuki villages was reconstructed based on written descriptions by Gifford (1965:5-13), which were then located on the same online USGS map of the region. The spelling of settlement names was not changed from the spelling as it was in their original source. The spelling of the placenames in this section has been left in the form found in the original reference.

At least one Yuki word is found in placenames in Round Valley in the present day. In 1896, Poonkiny post office was established 12 miles southwest of Covelo. This post office was closed in 1900 (Durham 1998:43). Its name, Poonkiny, derives from Yuki *punkini*, *punk'ini* ‘wormwood’ (Kroeber 1916:56). Variously spelled, Poonkiny survives in the names of several locations in the Covelo area including Poonkinny Creek, Poonkinny Lake, and Poonkinny Ridge (“Trailhead Vagabond” 2011). Poonkiny is also found in the name of Poonkinney Road and in the names of a number of businesses in the Covelo area.

Contemporary Cities

A = Covelo

F = Mendocino

B = Dos Rios

G = Cleone

C = Willits

H = Westport

D = Fort Bragg

I = Rockport

E = Laytonville

Coast Yuki Settlements

These settlements were called “Camps” by Gifford (1965). The name of the Coast Yuki tribelet inhabiting each village is given in parentheses following the name of each village.

1 = Onch’ilka (Onch’ilka-ontilka)

2 = Onchilem (Oluntehem-ontilka)

3 = Shuwakem (Oluntehem-ontilka)

4 = Es’im (Melemisimok-ontilka)

5 = Hisimelauhkem (Hisimelak-ontilka)

6 = Onbit (Alwasa-ontilka)

- 7 = Pol'u (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 8 = Lilp'inkem (Alwasa-ontilka)
- 9 = Nuhanwakem / Nuhanwahatumut (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 10 = Nuhanwahatdape (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 11 = Shipoi (Mishkei-ontilka)
- 12 = K'etim (Mishkei-ontilka)
- 13 = Lilem (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 14 = Kasolak (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 15 = Ok'omet / Shipoi / Olom (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 16 = Metkuyaki (Metkuyak-ontilka)
- 17 = Metkuyakolselem (Metkuyak-ontilka)
- 18 = *Unknown* (Lilhuyak-ontilka)
- 19 = Lalim (Lalim-ontilka)
- 20 = Ch'il (Mishkei-ontilka?)

Some Coast Yuki settlements described in Gifford (1965) could not be reliably located on the maps based on the written description. These villages are:

Melhomi'ikem [located near Juan Creek] (Melemisok-ontilka)

Ukmaslak [located near Juan Creek] (Melemisok-ontilka)

Nes'palem [located near Westport] (Mishkei-ontilka)

Huchnom Settlements

21 = Shipomul

22 = Nonhohou

23 = Yek

24 = Mot

25 = Mupan

26 = Mot-kuyuk

27 = Hatupoka

28 = Pukemul

Yuki Settlements

29 = mamolšíšmol

30 = probable site of muthót

31 = čočohanuk

32 = námol

33 = lilt'am

34 = hulpótinhanč

35 = ukšat

36 = mulkús

37 = sonkáš

38 = probable site of títwa

39 = ólkat

40 = u'wít

41 = onwís

42 = nu'

43 = totimúl

44 = olámtu'

45 = ontít

46 = alniúki

47 = yúksa'ut

48 = ólkat

49 = soípit

50 = milíti

51 = totimant

52 = sonlál

53 = muniúkom

54 = úkpi

55 = ukšišmulhánt

56 = suk'á

57 = hasikat

58 = uklámol

59 = witúkom

60 = ukomtítam

61 = huitít

62 = suk'húi

63 = pilíl

64 = títam

65 = múlčal

66 = kíčil

67 = nuíčkat

68 = yúkat

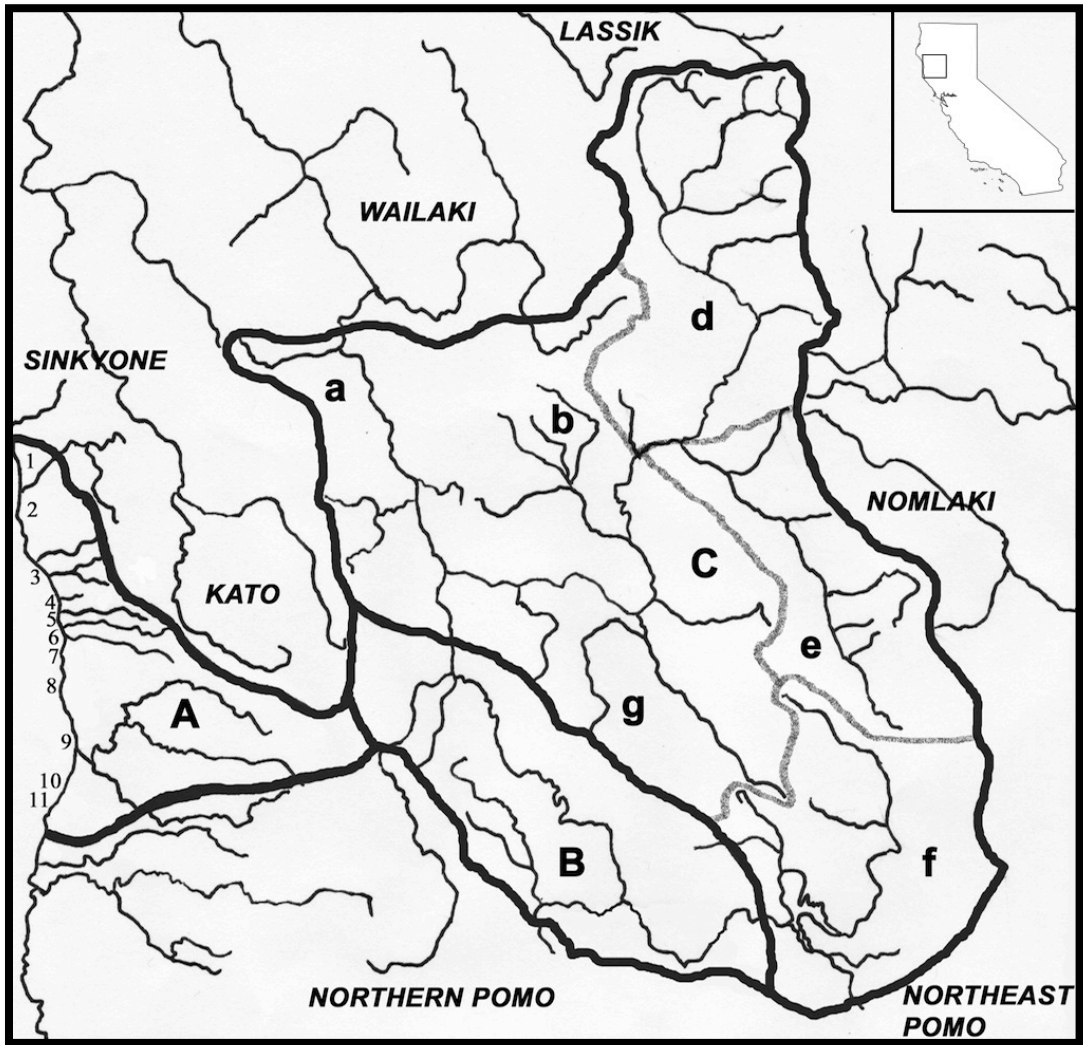
69 = núnlač

70 = lilta'

71 = k'ášasič

Appendix 3

Map of Yuki Tribal Subdivisions and Surrounding Languages



This map shows the approximate location inhabited by members of the Yuki tribal subdivisions and Coast Yuki tribelets. The map also shows the location of other tribes surrounding the Northern Yukian speech region. The location of the Coast Yuki tribelets is based on written descriptions from Gifford (1965:5-16), which were

then located using a USGS topographical map of this region (“Trailhead Vagabond” 2010). The location of tribal subdivisions within the Yuki speech area and the approximate boundaries between some of these subdivisions are based on Foster (1944:154). The location of the tribes surrounding the Northern Yukian speech area is based on Foster (1944:154), Miller (1978:249), and Baumhoff (1958:177).

Northern Yukian Languages

A = Coast Yuki

B = Huchnom

C = Yuki

Coast Yuki tribelets

1 = Onch’ilka-ontilka

2 = Oluntehem-ontilka

3 = Melemisimok-ontilka / Melemisikem-ontilka

4 = Hisimelak-ontilka

5 = Alwasa-ontilka

6 = Mishbul-ontilka / Nanket-ontilka

7 = Mishkei-ontilka

8 = Mishkeun-ontilka

9 = Metkuyak-ontilka

10 = Lilhuyak-ontilka

11 = Lalim-ontilka

Yuki Tribal Subdivisions

a = Ta'nom'

b = Ukomnom'

d = Sukšaltatamnom'

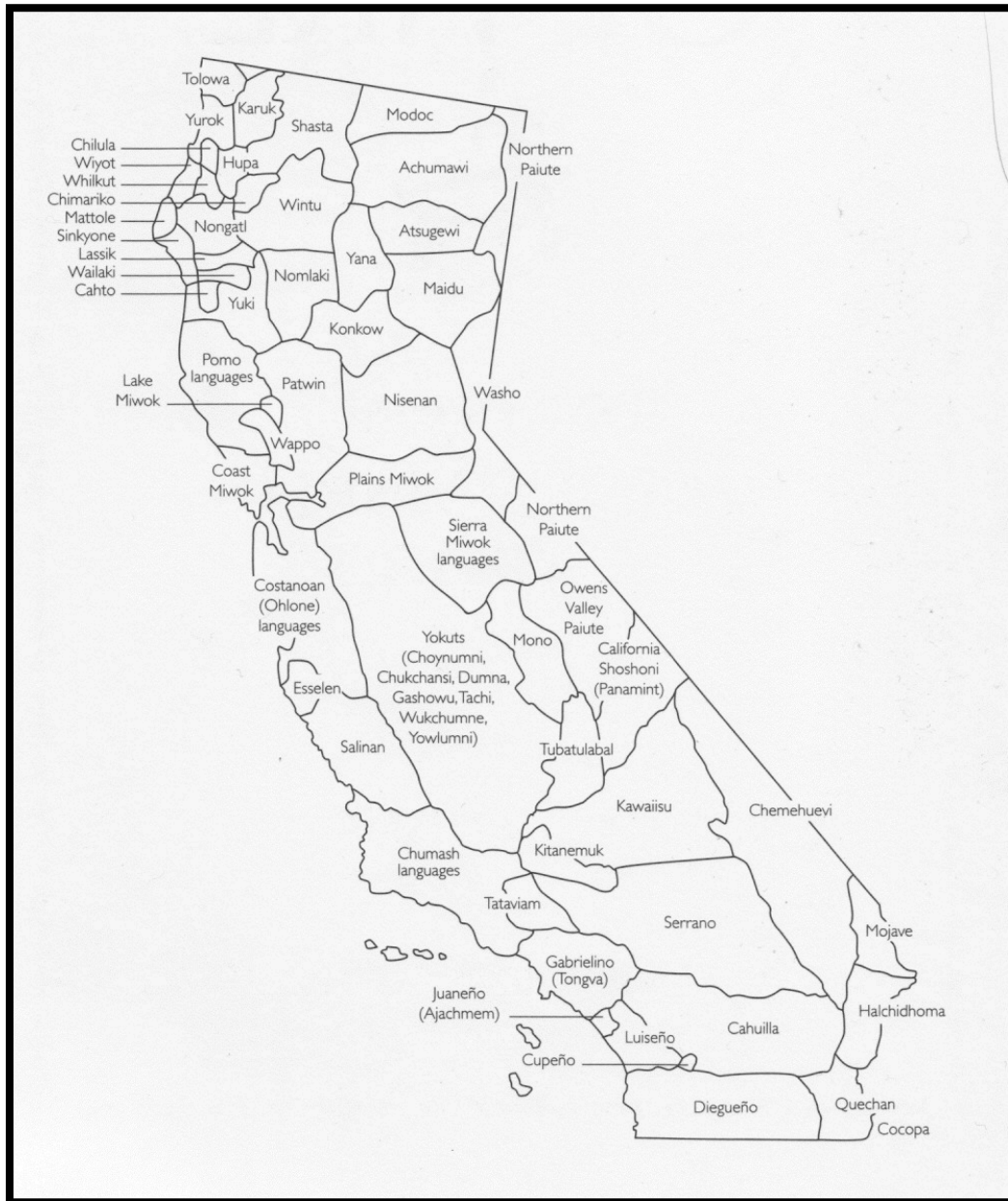
e = Huititnom'

f = Onkolukomnom'

g = Witukomnom'

Appendix 4

Map of the Language Families of California²⁷⁴



²⁷⁴ Reproduced from Hinton 1994.

Appendix 5

*Kroeber's History of the Recording of Yuki*²⁷⁵

I heard my first Yuki in December 1901, spending about a month at Covelo, past New Year's eve (with its celebrating detonations of gunpowder between two anvils), until early January 1902. The sun was warm, but the nights cold at 1300 plus feet, and the Coast Range mountains enclosing Round Valley were white with snow most of the time. I filled notebooks 19 to 23 with Yuki language and culture, including a Huchnom Yuki vocabulary in book 22. My earliest entries of date are Dec. 5 and 7, then Dec. 14. My informant for speech was Ralph Moore, and largely for culture too. He was then about 27 years old, and perhaps a dozen years out of Round Valley Reservation school.

I returned to San Francisco, and within a little more than a month later, Ralph had come to San Francisco, where I was there lodging and where we could work with less loss of time than when he had to travel from his house on the reservation to a hotel in Covelo once or twice a day. I found lodgings for him two or three blocks away, and most meals we ate together. When I had to go to the university, or other business, he went to neighborhood restaurants with which he had become familiar, attended nickelodeons, or otherwise saw sights or amused himself.

²⁷⁵ This description is reproduced verbatim from Kroeber (1958b). Kroeber's noted in the margins that this description is incomplete. However, it is reproduced here as it is a fascinating first hand account of Kroeber's work with Yuki and of the people involved in this work.

Notebooks 27 to 32 were the fruit of this visit; the dates I encounter are February 14 for book 28, 17 for 29, 18 for 30. The bulk of our work consisted of recording and interlinear translating of narratives. These I also rendered into standard English and published in *Anthropos* in 1932 as *Yuki Myths*. Alongside the texts recorded in 1902 were grammatical extensions and ethnographic explanations, as s customary.

The greatest bulk of Yuki data were put down on paper in the winter of 1901-02; but my structured hearing of the language was still crude.

In the fall of 1902, I was back at Round Valley. I probably made some inquiries among other tribes, but for at least three days, September 25-27, I worked with two old Yuki, Diddle and Pike, with Ralph interpreting, at assembling data on the Creator, Ghosts, and Flint “schools” or initiations, on the shaman dance and bear doctors, on the nearly forgotten Yuki octonary count, and on place names in Ta’nom tribal territory.

I slipped, or had slipped for me, the data on the Yuki language in the following years, and worked on it as I could, but there were many languages and cultures needing attention in California.

In 1910 I visited Round Valley for the U.S. Census and spent two days in the Superintendent’s office with Ralph Moore, which showed chiefly that many of the tribal attributions entered in the Government books in the 1860’s were quite random, but that they had been passed on to children and grandchildren.

In 1911 I published a section on Yuki (pp. 345-383) in *The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco*, as no. 3 of volume 9 of the *American Archaeology and Ethnology* series of University publications. For a preliminary report, the morphology is not bad, but the phonological underpinning is weak.

I had also arranged with Boas for a contribution to the *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, of which the first volume also appeared in 1911; but I had asked to be released. The *Handbook* consisted of studies some of which were final and all of which had had far more time expended on them than I had been able to give Yuki. My account of it as published in Berkeley was one of a group of preliminary reports - some of them quite brief sketches; it would have been out of setting in the context of matured grammars by Goddard, Swanton, Boas, Dixon, Jones, and Thalbitzer.

There is one statement on page 370 of the 1911 exposition which it seems pertinent to withdraw and deny explicitly. It is to the effect that the study of Yuki offers less than expectable difficulty "on account of the scarcity of phonetic changes in derivation and suffixation." This was said before morphophonemics had been discovered; but the highly complex and subtle morphophonemic interactions of Yuki might have been recognized then, under another designation, if I had been better able to hear the tones and glottalizations of the language.

About this period, I learned from Goddard of the kymograph tracings devised by Rousselot, one of whose brass machines Goddard had persuaded President Wheeler

to acquire for the University. Between 1911 and 1914 I published on Mohave, Diegueño, and Marshall Micronesian phonetics and mode tracings of Papago and other languages. Later I realized that these visible renderings of speech could not replace properly trained hearing as a foundation, and that Sapir was right in his view that they might serve, like a crutch, in an emergency, but not as a basic method of development of understanding. I think now - after some recent preoccupation with Goddard's Athabascan materials - that Goddard's hearing was fairly sensitive, but remained unsure; and I know that I was unsure, and not only about Yuki. At any rate, in 1912, I had Ralph Moore down to the University again, and recorded some 50 sheets of tracings of Yuki, each bearing perhaps 25 to 50 word tracings. I also had a dentist's palate made to fit Ralph's mouth and used it by dusting with powdered soapstone.

In 1923 I had Ralph at the University once more and this time went over my whole slip catalog of the morphemes of the language, writing on the slips in new green ink what I then heard. This rendering was maturer than before: I recognized durations and breaths pretty satisfactorily, glottal stops and effects better than previously, and might have worked out a rather adequate proto-phonemic system had I not remained deaf to the tones.

It may have been at this time that Lowie dropped in where I was working with Ralph, listened a while, heard tones, and convinced me.

At any rate, in May 1927, I was back at the kymograph with Ralph running it this time at high speed to stretch out the voice vibrations so that the number of them = per inch or centimeter might be counted and the pitch of vowel be ascertained objectively. Again, a case of unsureness, not trusting myself to learn to recognize such tones as there might be - after which the measured counts might have had confirmatory value - I again leaned on the machine to make decisions for me. Quite properly for my pains, I did a lot of counting and measuring with mainly inconclusive results. The most distinct pitch profile that emerged from the counts was a rising one! And its few occurrences do not coincide in their distribution with any take of Uldallian stem tone.

During the same summer of 1927, Fang-Kuei Li, thru a student of Sapir's at Chicago was studying Athabascan Mattole in the county adjoining that in which Round Valley Reservation and Covelo are situated. His publication Mattole, an Athabascan Language appeared in 1930. He had, in the same summer of 1927, some briefer experiences with two other Athabascan languages: Hupa, which Sapir was then studying at Hoopa, and Wailaki, on Round Valley Reservation. At Sapir's request, he undertook to see if any Yuki were available, and to report on the tones. Ralph Moore seems to have been away, and Li did not connect with Eben Tillotson whom George Foster worked with on culture a few years later, and whom I saw at Hull's Valley on a brief visit made with Frank Essene in the summer of 1938. Li did secure material from two informants, [blank] and [blank]

The next effort was through Hans Uldall, the Danish linguist trained by Jones the British phoneticist. He was in the country on a fellowship from the Committee on [blank] , of which Boas was chairman for [blank] The fellowship was for about two years, during which time Uldall lived in Berkeley, except when off in the back country with Indian informants. He worked on Maidu, supplementing Dixon's study; also on Achomawi and perhaps other California languages, in collaboration with Jaime de Angelo and L.S. Freeland. He agreed, with Boas' consent, to detach himself temporarily from these commitments and do what he could to put the Yuki house of tones in order. Ralph Moore again came down to the University, and the three of us began work in 1931. But Ralph had a cough and felt unwell; we had him examined; the report was tuberculosis and diabetes. We persuaded him to enter a Sanitarium which the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained in the Sierra Nevada. So the quest was checked once more.

Ralph's health definitely improved, and in 1932 he returned for a renewed stay at Berkeley, which lasted [blank]

Appendix 6

Northern Yukian Population Data

| Year | Yuki | Huchnom | Coast Yuki |
|------|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1850 | 6,880 | 2,100 | 750 |
| 1864 | 300 | [no data] | 50 |
| 1870 | 238 | 79 | [no data] |
| 1880 | 168 | 50 | [no data] |
| 1910 | 95 | 15 | 15 |
| 1926 | [no data] | [no data] | 4 |
| 1937 | 50 | 8 | [no data] |
| 1973 | 32 | 1 | 0 |
| 2000 | 435 ²⁷⁶ | [no data] | [no data] |

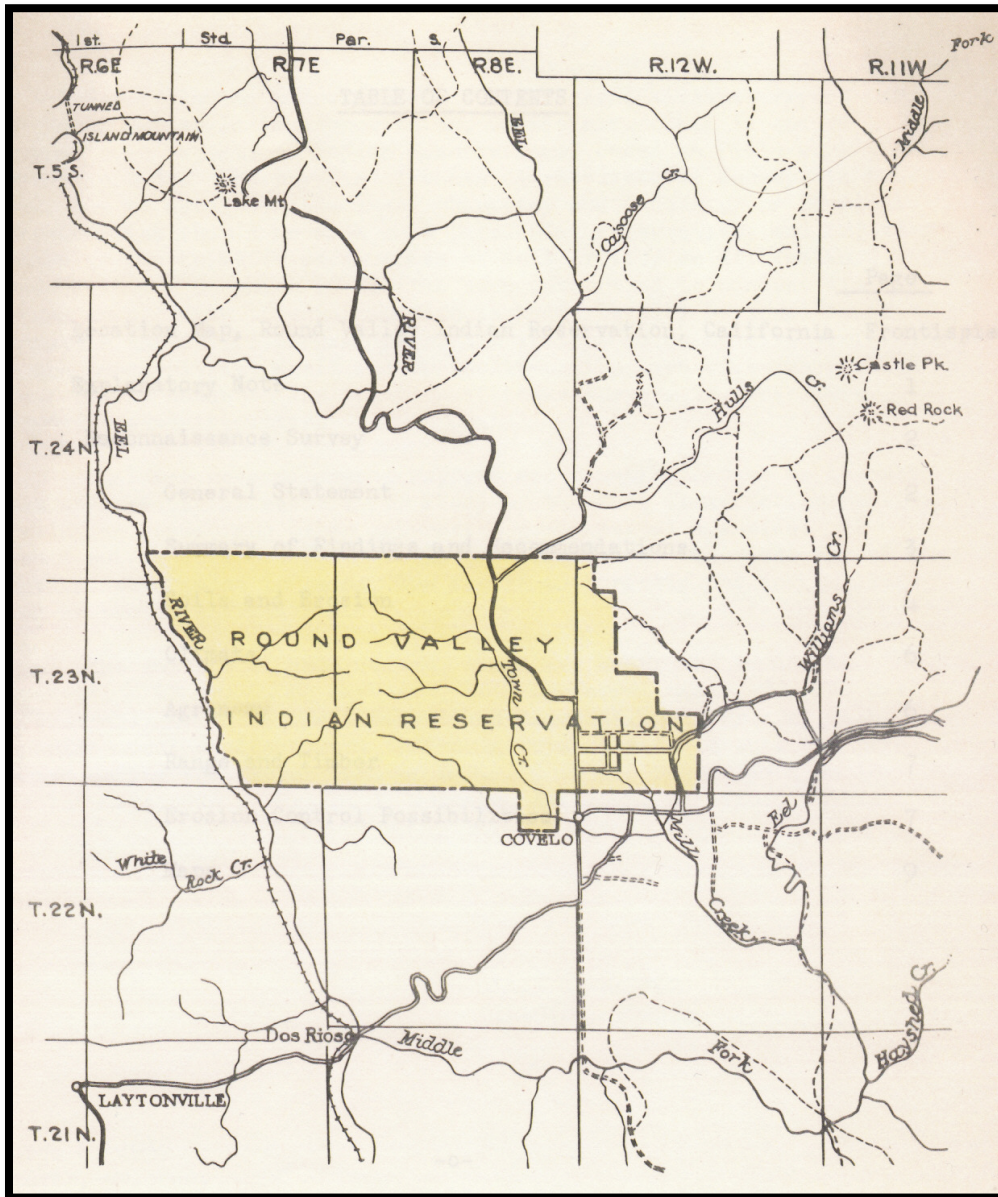
Figures given in the table reflect the number of individuals identified or identifying as Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki. These figures do not reflect the number of speakers of the Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki languages. Data for 1850-1973 and reproduced verbatim from Miller²⁷⁷ (1978:250).

²⁷⁶ U.S. Census Bureau 2003:12. The 2000 United States Census (2003:558) also states that 387 Yukis lived in California of the 435 listed nationally and that 50.6 percent of the Yukis were 18 years or younger at the time of the census (2003:171).

²⁷⁷ See Miller 1978:250 for detailed information on the origin of these figures.

Appendix 7

Map of Round Valley Indian Reservation²⁷⁸



²⁷⁸ Reproduced from Harbison et al 1939. The map is described as the "Covelo Topographic Sheet" of the "U.S.G.S. Topographic Quadrangle" and based on the "Survey of 1923-1924." This map shows Round Valley Indian Reservation, as it has appeared since the first half of the twentieth century.

Appendix 8

Yuki Texts

The texts in this section were told by Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber. The numeration within each text preserves the original numeration by Kroeber in his original handwritten notes. This numeration generally corresponds to sentence divisions. Five narratives are given in this section. The first two narratives, *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*, are described by Kroeber as the two parts of the Yuki account of the Origins of the world (“An Indian Who Gave,” 1902:7). For additional background on the recording of these texts see §1.6.3. The third narrative is an account by Moore of the *Kopawok* or Feather Dance. The last two narratives are translations by Moore from English into Yuki. These two narratives, *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi*, are Chinook myths recorded and published by Franz Boas (1894). The Yuki translations are based on excerpts of Boas’ English translations of these two myths.

1. Origins

Recorded in 1902, Alfred Kroeber (1902b) writes that this myth was told to him by Ralph Moore, but that Moore had been taught the myth by a Yuki speaker named Diddle, who was “recognized as the old man who best knew it [this myth].” In these notes, Kroeber calls this the *Taikomol myth*, but later calls it *Origins* in his (1932) published English translations of the myths that were told to him by Ralph Moore. The English free translations of this myth are taken from one of these translations (Kroeber 1932:906-912).

In comparing the original Yuki recorded in Kroeber’s notes with the translations, it quickly became apparent that the 1932 free translations of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World* were sentence-by-sentence translations of the original Yuki. The free translations are largely unaltered from Kroeber’s original. In rare cases alterations were made when a translation for a particular sentence did not seem to match the original Yuki as well as it could have matched it. Material present in the English translation, but not in the original Yuki, either because of missing pages or other unknown reasons, is given in square brackets. *Origins* is recorded in Notebook 29 (Kroeber 1902b). In some cases Kroeber notes alternate forms. These are given as footnotes in this version. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of these alternate forms are taken from the glosses provided by Kroeber in his original notes.

- (1) *hi:l* *ʔá:tat* *yátʔey*²⁷⁹ *ʔey* *taykómol* *ʔu:kʔop*
hil *ʔatát* *yat=ʔi* *=ʔi* *taykomol* *ʔukʔ=op*
 all people non.existing²⁸⁰=HSY1? =HSY1 Taykómol water=LAT
- kʔakékilmil* *čóʔok* *ʔey*
kʔak-k-il=mil *čóʔok* *=ʔi*
 make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN down.feather =HSY1

‘When all human beings were non-existent, Taykómol in the beginning came into (was in) existence as a down-feather,’

- hu:kú:t* *hil* *ʔon* *tqlop* *ʔú:kič* *nám* *nq*
hu-kut *hil* *ʔon* *tqł=op* *ʔuk=kič* *nam* *=nq*
 stop-INCP all earth NEG=while water=only lay =and
- pót* *nq* *ʔimi* *ʔon* *nqwišilóʔ* *ʔuʔuk* *námmil*
poť *=nq* *ʔimi* *ʔon* *nq̄w=šiloʔ* *ʔuʔuk* *nam=mil*
 grayish.mist =and ? earth see=INFR2 water lay=FIN

‘while the whole earth was not, and only spread-out water and grayish mist lay (as) the earth was invisible;’

²⁷⁹ Alternate form given: *yatop*
yat=op
 non-existing=when

²⁸⁰ *ya:t-* ‘die down’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:301)

ʔi:yi hqymásol' tqł
 ʔiyi hqymas-ol' tqł
 something how?-AG/INST NEG

‘(it was) as if nothing could be done with it,’

máyʔím hqymasól' tqł.
 maɣ-ʔim hqymas-ol' tqł
 someone-? how?-AG/INST NEG

‘no one to do anything with it.’

(2) siʔéy káʔ miʔak'ún mi:páʔmikiʔ k'qkmí:li
 si=ʔi ka miʔat-k'un mih-paʔ=mikiʔ k'qk-mq-il
 NEW=HSY1 PRX IPL.INCL.DAT-father be-FUT=PURP make-DIR1?-MPSV?

kí: ʔéy ʔú:k'op čó'okšilóʔ ʔú:súʔop
 ki =ʔi ʔuk'=op čoʔok=šiloʔ ʔusu=op
 DST =HSY1 water=LAT down.feather=like water.foam=LAT

nq̄p'óhom nq̄.

nq̄p'óhom =nq̄

?²⁸¹ =and

'Then this our father, who was about to come into existence on the water, entered (was in?) the water-foam like a down-feather.'

(3) *sq̄'ey taykómol k'q̄yáyammil kimás 'u:sú'ophan.*

sq̄='i taykomol k'q̄y-m=mil kimás 'usu=op=han

SAME=HSY1 Taykómol talk-IMPV=FIN thus water.foam=LAT=SUBE

'And Taykómol was speaking in the foam.'

(4) *se'ey 'ímeymil hulk'ó'i 'im hq̄ymas kí mi:hq̄lk*

si='i 'im=mil hulk'o'i 'im hq̄ymas ki mih=hq̄l=k

NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote ? how DST be=INFR1?=DECL

hq̄ymás nq̄wihq̄lk.

hq̄ymas nq̄w=hq̄l=k

how see=INFR1?=DECL

'Then Coyote said, "How can he be there? How can he see?"'

²⁸¹ Glossed by Kroeber: 'it was in there with it' , 'feather entered the foam repeatedly'.

- (5) *seʔéy ʔu:súʔop han taykómol kʔyyeyimi²⁸² ʔímeynq.*
si=ʔi ʔusu=op han taykomol kʔy-y-mi ʔim-nq
 NEW=HSY1 water.foam=LAT but Taykómol talk-PROG-? say=and?

‘And he said, “Taykómol is speaking in the foam.”’

- (6) *seʔéy háye ki ʔu:súmikʔál mi: hóham ʔú:kʔop hán.*
si=ʔi háye ki ʔusu=mikʔal mih hoham ʔuk=op han
 NEW=HSY1 now DST water.foam=around be circle? water=LAT but

- (7) *simeyʔéy háʔye kʔi hí:t(i) ʔímeymil ki hulkʔóʔi*
si=mi=ʔi háʔye ki hiʔ ʔim=mil ki hulkʔóʔi
 NEW=?=HSY1 now DST stop say=FIN DST Coyote

háymas kiʔ mi:hqłk.

háymas ki mih-hqł=k

how DST be-INFR1?=DECL

‘And, “(Just) now the foam was spinning on the water, but now it stopped”,
 said that Coyote; “How can he be there?”’

²⁸² Alternate form given: *kʔyyeyam* ‘is talking’

- (8) *sq* *ki* *ʔu:súʔ* *ʔí:yithan* *ʔey* *kʔymílmil*.
sq *ki* *ʔusuʔ* *ʔiy=it=han* =ʔi *kʔy=mil=mil*
 SAME? DST water.foam what=JXT=SUBE =HSY1 talk-?=FIN

‘And from the foam (Taykómol) talked.’

- (9) ***ʔímšaʔ***²⁸³ ***ʔq*** ***həymátli koʔ***²⁸⁴ *ʔímeymil* *ki* *ʔu:sú* *huyítpis*.
ʔimšaʔ *ʔq* *həymatli koʔ* *ʔim=mil* *ki* *ʔusu* *huy=it=pis*
 what will.I.do say=FIN DST water.foam middle=JXT=ABL

“‘What shall I do?’” that one said from out of the foam.’

- (10) *sqʔéy* *həye* *kʔymílmil*
sq=ʔi *həye* *kʔy=mil=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now talk-?=FIN

‘So now he spoke:’

ʔímša: həymátliko⁷

ʔimša *həymatliko*

what will.I.do

“‘What shall I do?’”

²⁸³ Alternate form given: *ʔimsaʔ* ‘what’

²⁸⁴ Bolded text is spoken in Huchnom. Kroeber (1902b:3) gives the following explanation: “ This spoken phrase is Huchnom language [.] The Huchnom are supposed to be better actors than the Yuki. This is because, they claim, T[aykomol] spoke their language first.”

ʔimeymil kɪʔ ʔu:súʔ šilóʔophan ʔán
 ʔim=mil ki ʔusuʔ šilo=op=han ʔan
 say=FIN DST water.foam like=LAT=SUBE for.a.long.time

kiʔ ʔú:kʔop taʔóhəŋkon²⁸⁵ ʔey
 ki ʔukʔ=op taʔo-h-m=kon =ʔi
 DST water=LAT float-DUR-IMPV=though? =HSY1

‘said that one who looked like foam long floating about on the water;’

həp wó:kesmil.

həp wok-s=mil

song sing/dance-CAUS?=FIN

‘(and) he sang a song.’

- (11) seʔey ʔimeymil kɪ hulkʔóʔi
 si=ʔi ʔim=mil ki hulkʔoʔi
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN DST Coyote

‘Then Coyote said,’

ʔán ʔey ki: həp

ʔan =ʔi ki həp

long/always =HSY1 DST song

²⁸⁵ Alternate form given: taʔóhomkon ‘he was floating about’

kíṭaʔ tátmilkí: kʔqkmilkí: ʔiyi ki
kíṭa tat=miki? kʔqk=miki? ʔiyi ki
 there make=PURP? create=PURP? what DST

ʔán háp wó:kesmil.
ʔan háp wok-s=mil
 always song sing/dance-CAUS?=FIN

“Always that song with which he will make himself, with which he will
 come into existence, always that song he was singing.”

- (12) *seʔéy ʔímeymil hulkʔóʔi sqʔey kilímisk*
si=ʔi ʔim=mil hulkʔoʔi sq=ʔi ki-lim-s-k
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote SAME=HSY1 say-?-CONT?-DECL
- háp wáʔokesk²⁸⁶ ʔímša ʔq háymátliko²⁸⁷ ʔey ʔímeymil*
háp wok-s-k ʔimša ʔq háymatliko =ʔi ʔim=mil
 song sing/dance-CONT?-DECL what.will.I.do =HSY1 say=FIN

²⁸⁶ Alternate form given: *wó:kesk* ‘sings’

²⁸⁷ Bolded text spoken in Huchnom.

ki hǎ:p huʔúsík.
 kiʔ hǎp huʔu-s=k
 DST song stop-CAUS=DECL

‘And Coyote said, “Singing that song he says, ‘What shall I do?’, and having said that he ceases his song”.’

(13) seʔey nǎwik hulkʔóʔi ʔímeymil.
 si=ʔi nǎw=k hulkʔóʔi ʔim=mil
 NEW=HSY1 look=DECL Coyote say=FIN

‘Thus Coyote said watching.’

(14) kǎyt kíp kʔákísínamlík ki wí:ʔihǎl(i)namlíkí
 kǎyt kíp kʔák-s-namli=ki ki wíʔi=hǎl=namli=ki
 long.ago 3R make-CAUS?=DEP=DST DST ?=INFR1=DEP=DST

kiʔ nǎw(x)námlímil'.²⁸⁸
 ki nǎw=namli=mil
 DST look=DEP=?

‘He who long ago had come into existence himself, and for that it was he could watch him, it seems.’

²⁸⁸ <x> presumably refers to a voiceless velar fricative.

- (15) *seʔey háye ki: miʔakʔúnʔ kʔqkmí:li ʔey*
si=ʔi háye ki miʔat-kʔunʔ kʔqk-mq-il =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.INCL.DAT-father create-DIR1?-MPSV? =HSY1
- ki čʔoʔokšilóʔ ʔú:kʔop mikʔál taʔóhamwičkí:*
ki čʔoʔok=šiloʔ ʔukʔ=op =mikʔal taʔo-h-am-wiṭ=ki
 DST down.feather-like water=LAT =around float-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST
- ʔey kʔi hí:ṭmil.*
=ʔi ki hiṭ=mil
 =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

‘Now that our father was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.’

- (16) *seʔéy mipʔán kʔqklamil kiṭáʔ ʔu:súʔophan.*
si=ʔi mipʔan kʔqk-lam=mil kiṭa ʔu:su=op=han
 NEW=HSY1 foot make-INCH=FIN there water.foam=LAT=SUBE

‘Then his feet began to come into existence there in the foam.’

- (17) *seʔéy ʔán ki matlám(i) ʔéy miʔil kʔáklamil.*
si=ʔi ʔan ki mat-lam =ʔi miʔil kʔak-lam=mil
 NEW=HSY1 long/always DST do?-INCH =HSY1 leg make-INCH=FIN

‘Then it was long going on that way and his legs came into
 existence.’²⁸⁹

- (18) *seʔey ʔqtáʔ šul kʔáklamil*
si=ʔi ʔqtaʔ šul kʔak-lam=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again body show-INCH=FIN

kiṭá ʔu:súʔophan.

kiṭa ʔusu=op=han

there water.foam=LAT=SUBE

‘And again his body began to take form there in the foam.’

- (19) *seʔéy háye mahič nq kiṭa miʔpát kʔáklamil.*
si=ʔi háye mahič =nq kiṭa mipat kʔak-lam=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now arm =and there hand show-INCH=FIN

‘Then now his arms and hands appeared.’

²⁸⁹ Translation not included in Kroeber 1932.

- (20) *simeyéy hqye nán k'áklamil.*
si=mi=?i hqye nan k'qk-lam=mil
 NEW=?=HSY1 now head show-INCH=FIN

'Then also his head appeared.'

- (21) *sópey húlyo' náhin húl na' hántil kimás ?iy*
sop=?i hulyo' nahin hul =na hanṭil ki-mas =?i
 ?=HSY1 face mouth eye =HSY1 nose DST-DSTR =HSY1

k'áklamil m'aka húlyo'át kimás
k'qk-lam=mil mi'at-ka hulyo=at kimas
 make-INCH=FIN 1PL.INCL.DAT-PRX? face=DAT DST-DSTR

?iy k'áklamil.
=?i k'qk-lam=mil
 =HSY1 show-INCH=FIN

'And so his face, mouth, eyes, and nose, came into existence, like our own face they came into existence.'

- (22) *sá?ey hi:l k'qk'ísto ?ey k'qymílmil ki taykomol.*
sq=?i hil k'qk-s-to =?i k'qy-mil=mil ki taykomol
 SAME=HSY1 all make-CAUS-? =HSY1 talk-?=FIN DST Taykómol

'And being altogether in existence, Taykómol spoke.'

- (24) *seʔéy* *həye* *hulkʔóʔq* *kʔymílmil* *ki* *taykómol*
si=ʔi *həye* *hulkʔoʔi=q* *kʔy=mil=mil* *ki* *taykomol*
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT talk-?=FIN DST Taykómol

‘Now Taykómol spoke to Coyote,’

káyt *tʔu:* *hópišto*²⁹⁰
kəyt *tʔu* *hop-s-to*
 already heart eager?-CAUS?-?

‘already his heart being eager (hasty, uneasy),’

káyt *ʔá:ʔat* *kʔkése*.²⁹¹
kəyt *ʔaʔat* *kʔk-s-to*
 already human make-CAUS?-?

‘already having taken human form.’

- (25) *seʔéy* *hápʔ* *ʔey* *huškʔyesmil* *hulkʔóʔq*
si=ʔi *həp* *=ʔi* *huškʔy-s=mil* *hulkʔoʔi=q*
 NEW=HSY1 song =HSY1 tell/teach-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT

‘His song he taught (told) to Coyote,’

²⁹⁰ *hop* ‘light in weight, thin’ (Schlichter 1984:257)

²⁹¹ Alternate form given: *kʔkése* ‘turned’

ká hq:p wó:kšinik ʔaŋk'í:kan'

ka hq:p wok-s-nik ʔam-k'íkan'

PRX song sing/dance-CAUS-NEC 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother

‘To go to sing this song, my mother’s brother,’

kqyt mámi ʔiwop mihik ʔímilkin'

kqyt mami ʔiwop mih=k ʔim=mil-kin'

long.ago ? man be=DECL say=FIN-?

kqytmay t'u: hopíšta

kqytmay t'u hop-s-ta

long.ago? heart eager?-CAUS?-?

‘long ago you said you were a man,’long ago I have been eager”,’

ʔimeymil taykomol.

ʔim=mil taykomol

say=FIN Taykómol

‘said Taykómol.’

(26) *seʔéy ki taykomol hq:p wóktmil.*

si=ʔi ki taykomol hq:p wok-tl=mil

NEW=HSY1 DST Taykómol song sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘So Taykómol sang his song.’

- (27) *seʔéy hulkʔóʔi hɔp nánesmil.*
si=ʔi hulkʔoʔi hɔp nan-s=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote song help-CAUS?=FIN

‘And Coyote tried to help him sing (with lispings s-sounds injected)²⁹².’

- (28) *sopéy taykómola mu:šíʔyɔkilmil kimilmil.*
sop=ʔi taykomol=a muš-yɔk-k-il=mil ki=mil=mil
 ?=HSY1 Taykómol=PAT laugh-come.out?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN say-?=FIN

‘And because of that Taykómol said he felt like laughing.’

- (29) *seʔéy ʔɔp lákmiʔkɪta*
si=ʔi ʔɔp lak-m=kɪta
 NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT leave-IMPFV=when

ka hɔ:p wóktlinʔk

ka hɔp wok-tl-nik

PRX song sing/dance-TR-NEC

‘‘As I emerge, I go to sing this song’’.’

²⁹² Kroeber’s comment: ‘‘This song C[oyote] sings lispings, with many interjected s.’’

ʔimeymil ki taykomol hulk'óʔq.
 ʔim=mil ki taykomol hulk'óʔi=q
 say=FIN DST Taykómol Coyote=PAT

'he said to Coyote.'

(30) seʔéy háye ki hq̄p kútitmil taykómol.
 si=ʔi háye ki hq̄p kut-t=mil taykomol
 NEW=HSY1 now DST song start-INTR=FIN Taykómol

'And [Taykómol] began to sing that song.'

(31) seʔéy háye hulk'óʔi ki: hq̄p wóktmil
 si=ʔi háye hulk'óʔi ki hq̄p wok-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote DST song sing/dance-TR=FIN

'Now Coyote sang that song.'

káyt ʔey nak'óhimil
 káyt =ʔi nak'oh=mil
 already =HSY1 teach=FIN

'already (Taykómol) having taught him.'

míʔma ʔank'í:kan'
 miʔ-ma ʔam-k'ikan'
 2SG.AGT-? 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother

ʔíwop mihi kímilkin’.

ʔíwop mih ki=mil-kin’

man be say-?-?’

‘You said, my mother’s brother, that you were a man;’

- (32) hóy ʔimí:k kiṭkí ʔáɸ ʔíwop mihi kímilmil’
hoy ʔim=k =kiṭ=ki ʔáɸ ʔíwop mih ki-mil=mil
too? say=DECL =when?-DST? 1SG.AGT man be say-?=FIN

ʔimeymil taykómola hqmilisk ki hulk’ó’i.

ʔim=mil taykomol=a hq-mil-s=k ki hulk’ó’i

say=FIN Taykómol=PAT answer-?-CAUS?=DECL DST Coyote

‘I do not know why I said I was a man’, Coyote said answering Taykómol (in song).’

- (33) seʔéy hqye kí taykómol ʔu:kpis
si=ʔi hqye ki taykomol ʔuk’=pis
NEW=HSY1 now DST Taykómol water=ABL

ṭ’ák šúštlmil.

ṭ’ák šuš-tl=mil

jump stand-TR=FIN

‘Now Taykómol leaped from the water and stood.’

- (34) *sopéy kíta hulk'o'i ki'á:tap pántlilmil.*
sop=?i kíta hulk'o'i ki'át=ap pan-tl-il=mil
 but=HSY1 there Coyote 4.DAT=LAT hang-TR-MPSV=FIN

'And because of that Coyote hung himself on him.'

- (35) *sá'éy ki hulk'ó'i héy héy héy šáhahaha ----- híii*
sá=?i ki hulk'ó'i hey hey hey šahahaha híii
 SAME=HSY1 DST Coyote hey hey hey šahahaha híii

- (36) *?iyi ?imik kak'ikúhtkiwit šiló? ko'otmil taykomol.*
=?i ?im=k kak'-kuhtki=wit šilo? ko?-t=mil taykomol
 =HSY1 say=DECL ?-north=ALL =INFR2 go-INTR=FIN Taykómol

'And as Coyote said: "Hey hey hey šahahaha híii", Taykómol went as if toward the north.'

- (36)²⁹³ *sopéy kíta ?án p'anmil ki hulk'ó'i.*
sop=?i kíta ?an p'an=mil ki hulk'ó'i
 ?-HSY1 there long/always hang=FIN DST Coyote

'But Coyote hung there.'

²⁹³ (36) - (40) are not given an English free translation by Kroeber (1932). The translations are my attempt at translating these clauses. The gloss of *p'an-* in (36) and *pan-* (39) is based on Kroeber's translation of (34), with *pan* 'hang'. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:280, 284) define *pan-* as 'hang, nest, fall' and *p'an-* as 'fall'. *kilímismil* in (40) is glossed as 'said all the time' by Kroeber in the original notes.

- (37) *seʔéy kipqwíyet wíttlilmil taykómol.*
si=ʔi kipqw=it wit-tl-il=mil taykomol
 NEW=HSY1 back=JXT turn-TR-MPSV=FIN Taykómol

‘And Taykómol turned back.’

- (38) *sáʔey kipqwwiyet koʔotmil.*
sq=ʔi kipqw=it koʔ-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back=JXT go-INTR=FIN

‘And went back.’

- (39) *sopéy kiṭá ʔatá pánmil hulkʔʔi.*
sop=ʔi kiṭa ʔatq pan=mil hulkʔʔi
 ?-HSY1 there again hang=FIN Coyote

‘But Coyote again hung there.’

- (40) *sáʔey kilísmil héy héy héy šahaahaáaha hi -----*
sq=ʔi ki-lim-s=mil hey hey hey šahaahaaha hi
 SAME=HSY1 talk-?-?=FIN hey hey hey šahaahaaha hi

ʔeyy ʔímeymil hulkʔʔi.

=ʔi ʔim=mil hulkʔʔi

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘‘He [Taykómol] kept saying ‘hey hey hey šahaahaaha hi’’, said Coyote.’

ʔim kíwismil hulk'o'ǵ.
 ʔim kiw-s=mil hulk'o'i=q
 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT

‘thus he asked Coyote.’

(44) se'éy hulk'ó'i ʔǵ ʔimeymil.
 si=?i hulk'o'i ʔǵ ʔim=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote yes say=FIN

‘And Coyote said, “Yes”.’

(45) se'éy kipat šúlpis hǵwáyí láktilmil
 si=?i kipat šul=pis hǵway lak-t-il=mil
 NEW=HSY1 3R.DAT body=ABL food take.out-INTR-MPSV=FIN

pokom hú:tmil nǵ šǵč hútmil nǵ
 pokom hutmil =nǵ šǵč hutmil =nǵ
 digger.pine.nut bread =and sugar.pine.nut bread =and

ʔolmam hú:tmil nǵ.
 ʔolmam hutmil =nǵ
 hazelnut bread =and

‘So from his own body (Taykómol) took out food, diggerpine-nut bread, and sugarpine-nut bread, and hazelnut bread.’

- (46) *sáʔey* *hoʔ* *kimás* *həwáyí* *kípat* *t'úʔqki* ʔeyy
sáʔ=i *hoʔ* *ki-mas* *həway* *kipat* *t'u-qk* =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 much DST-DSTR food 3R.DAT lay.down-SEM =HSY1

‘So he laid down much food for him,’

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘Coyote told (later)’

- (47) *səkiʔey* ʔonpáqkili²⁹⁴ *naŋkili*²⁹⁵
sə=kiʔ=ʔey ʔon-pan-kili *nam-kili*
 SAME=then=HSY1 earth-hang?-? lay-?

‘Thereupon he lay prone,’

ʔimeymil hulk'ói.

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘Coyote said.’

²⁹⁴ Kroeber glosses ʔonpáqkili ‘with face to the ground’

²⁹⁵ Alternate form given: *namkili* ‘he lay’

- (48) *sq kimás námik hqp wó:kši*
sq kimas nam=k hqp wok-s
 SAME thus lay=DECL song sing/dance-CONT?

‘And lying so he sang,’

?imeymil hulk’ó’i.

?im=mil hulk’o’i

say=FIN Coyote

‘Coyote said.’

- (49) *sikiṭ hqwayáysami kímilmil hulk’ó’i*
si=kiṭ hqway-s-m ki=mil=mil hulk’o’i
 NEW=then eat-CONT?-IMPFV say-?=FIN Coyote

‘Then as he was eating, Coyote said,’

ká:čma? taykómol míhi

kačma? taykomol mih

bad/stinking.PAT Taykómol be

‘“Bad is Taykómol”,’

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

'said Coyote,'

taykómola šaykína²⁹⁶ míhi

taykomol=a šay-kin=a mih

Taykómol=PAT raw-stinking=PAT be

“Stinking (raw) is Taykómol”,’

ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.

=ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'said Coyote.'

- (50) huʔkú:t ʔiy hilkšiloʔ tɬop ʔey kipat č'áwpis
 huʔ-kut =ʔi hilkšiloʔ tɬl=op =ʔi kipat č'aw=pis
 stop-INCP =HSY1 everything NEG=when =HSY1 3R.DAT entrails=ABL

ʔey taykómol hilkšiloʔ la:k'álimil kí:laʔ

=ʔi taykomol hilkšiloʔ lak-q-l-il=mil ki-la

=HSY1 Taykómol everything take.out-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN DST-INST

²⁹⁶ Kroeber's note on šaykínaʔ: "said of blood, menstruation".

ʔon ʔúh(u)mikí: káyt hi:l ʔá:ʔat šu:lišto.
 ʔon ʔuh=miki káyt hil ʔaʔat šul-s-to
 earth sew=PURP already all human body-?-?

‘In the beginning when it seemed as if there was nothing, Taykómol took from out of himself all that with which he would sew the earth, having already all the body of a person.’

- (51) sáʔey hulk’óʔq wíčtilmil ʔon ʔuhmikí:
 sq=ʔi hulk’oʔi=q wič-t-il=mil ʔon ʔuh=miki
 SAME=NEW Coyote=PAT work-INTR-MPSV=FIN earth sew=PURP

‘And he made Coyote work for him as he was about to sew the earth.’

- (52) sáʔey sóʔonšilóʔp ʔiyi ʔi:mísimil.
 sq=ʔi soʔon=šilo=op ʔiyi ʔim-s=mil
 SAME=HSY1 tules/rushes=like=LAT? what? try-CAUS?=FIN

‘He tried (to make it) as it seemed of rushes,’

- (53) sáʔéy kiʔa mačálma páʔiyimímil.
 sq=ʔi kiʔa mačalam=q paʔ-y-m=mil
 SAME=HSY1 there elbow=PAT raise-PROG-IMPV=FIN

‘and raised himself on it with his elbow,’

- (54) *seʔey* *həčʔám* *tqłámmil.*
si=ʔi *həčʔam* *tqł-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 strong NEG-IMPV=FIN

‘but it was not strong (enough).’

- (55) *sákitéy* *ki* *titó:lop* *ʔu:hákmil.*
sə=kiʔ=ʔi *ki* *titol=op* *ʔuh-qk=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 DST coiling=LAT sew-SEM=FIN

‘So he sewed it on a coiled foundation (“warp” or ridge of a coiled basket);’

- (56) *sáʔey* *kipát* *čʔáwpis* *kʔit kí:la*
sə=ʔi *kipat* *čʔaw=pis* *kʔit ki-la*
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT entrails=ABL awl DST-INST

ʔú(h)mol *laʔekʔekmil.*

ʔuh-mol *lak-q-k-il=mil*

sew-AG/INST leave-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘an awl to sew it with he took out of his own body,’

- (57) *sáʔéy* *həp* *wó:kesmil.*
sə=ʔi *həp* *wok-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 song sing/dance-CAUS?=FIN

‘and sang.’

- (58) *sq̣ḳiṭéy* *ʔú:k'op* *táʔik* *ʔú:hmil.*
sq̣=ḳiṭ=ʔi *ʔuk'=op* *táʔ=k* *ʔuh=mil*
 SAME-then=HSY1 water=LAT float=DECL sew=FIN

‘So he sewed floating on the water.’

- (59) *seʔéy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'oʔi* *náw(w)ik.*
si=ʔi *ʔim=mil* *hulk'oʔi* *náw=k*
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote see=DECL

‘Thus said Coyote watching.’

- (60) *sq̣ʔey* *taykómol* *kíṭa* *pá* *ʔi:mi* *ʔúnšil* *hąko:hana.*²⁹⁷
sq̣=ʔi *taykomol* *kíṭa* *pa* *ʔim* *ʔunšil* *hąkoha=na*
 SAME=HSY1 Taykómol there raise try little loose=and?

‘And then, Taykómol trying to raise himself on it, it was (still) a little loose.’

- (61) *siʔéy* *hąye* *kiʔa* *hulk'oʔá* *t'uynaʔákinat* *t'uy*
si=ʔi *hąye* *ki=a* *hulk'oʔi=a* *t'uyna'akin=at* *t'uy*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST=PAT Coyote=PAT T'uynaʔákin=DAT pitch

tu:nóhanamlikí: *ʔey* *hulk'óʔa* *ʔút'in'*
tunoh-a=namli=ki *=ʔi* *hulk'oʔi=a* *ʔut'-n*
 keep-?=DEP=DST =HSY1 Coyote=PAT get-AND

²⁹⁷ Alternate form given: *hąko:čna* ‘it was loose, it was not quite solid.’
 Also, *hąkoč* ‘bad’ (Schlichter 1984:255)

ʔimeymil taykómol.

ʔim=mil taykomol

say=FIN Taykómol

‘So now he told Coyote to go to bring the pitch which T’uynaʔákin (a small bird) had where he lived.’

- (62) *siʔéy hulkʔóʔi kó:ti tʔúynaʔákin nóʔonamlikiʔ*
si=ʔi hulkʔóʔi ko-t tʔuynaʔakin noʔ=namli=ki
NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR T’uynaʔákin live=DEP=DST

tʔóhtli²⁹⁸ ʔey kíwismil.

tʔoh-tl =ʔi kiw-s=mil

get-TR =HSY1 ask-CAUS?=FIN

‘Then Coyote going to where T’uynaʔákin lived, and arriving there, asked him,’

²⁹⁸ Alternate form given: *tʔóktli* ‘he got there’

- (63) *kí:la* *ʔon* *ʔúhʔaŋk* *ʔey* *t'úy* *mis* *kíwisik*
ki-la *ʔon* *ʔuh-am=k* =ʔi *t'uy* *mis* *kiw-s=k*
DST-INST earth sew-?=DECL =HSY1 pitch 2SG.PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL
taykómol *ʔi:y*
taykomol =ʔi
Taykómol =HSY1

“For that with which he will sew the earth, Taykómol asks for your pitch”,’

- ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*.
ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi*
say=FIN Coyote

‘said Coyote.’

- (64) *seʔey* *t'uyna'ákin* *ʔqha* *miʔat* *ʔon* *mihikoʔi:*
si=ʔi *t'uyna'akin* *ʔqha* *miʔat* *ʔon* *mih-koʔi:*
NEW=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin yes 1PL.INCL.DAT earth be-?

‘And T'uynaʔákin, “Yes, our earth it is,”

miʔat mi:paʔá:č ʔey
 miʔat mih-paʔ-ač =ʔi
 1PL.INCL.DAT be-FUT-? =HSY1

‘ours shall it be’,

ʔímeymil tʔuynaʔákin.
 ʔim=mil tʔuynaʔákin
 say=FIN Tʔuynaʔákin

‘Tʔuynaʔákin said,’

(65) sqʔey ʔútʔmil tʔúy hulkʔoʔá.
 sqʔ=ʔi ʔutʔ=mil tʔuy hulkʔoʔi=a
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN pitch Coyote=PAT

‘and handed the pitch to Coyote.’

(66) seʔéy kimáš ʔutʔí:li kipáwkʔil kómmil.
 si=ʔi kimas ʔutʔ-il kipáw=kʔil kom=mil
 NEW=HSY1 thus give-MPSV? back=TERM come=FIN

‘So carrying it he came back,’

(67) sqʔey ʔút(e)mil taykómola.
 sqʔ=ʔi ʔut=mil taykomol=a
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT

‘and gave it to Taykómol.’

- (68) *seʔéy háye kí:la ʔon hqčámečyakmil*
se=ʔi hqye ki-la ʔon hqčam-t-qk=mil
NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth strong-INTR-SEM=FIN

ʔon kú:tčam.

ʔon kut=čam

earth root=PNOML

‘Then he now made the earth fast (strong) at its root.’

- (69) *sqkičey kičá pa ʔimimil titó:lop.*
sq=kič=ʔi kiča pa ʔim=mil titol=op
SAME=then=HSY1 there raise try=FIN coiling=LAT

‘Thereupon he tried there to raise himself on the coiling.’

- (70) *seʔéy hqčámmil ʔunšil.*
si=ʔi hqčam=mil ʔunšil
NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN little

‘Now it was a little solid.’

- (71) *sqʔey* *hąye* *wʔiy*²⁹⁹ *ʔimeymil*.
sq=ʔi *hąye* *wʔiy* *ʔim=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now *wʔiy* say=FIN

‘Then he said, “Weyyi”³⁰⁰;

- (72) *sikiʔey* *hıl̩kʔil* *ʔon* *tinti:li* *šilo:tmil*³⁰¹
si-kiʔ=ʔi *hilkʔil* *ʔon* *tintili* *šilo-t=mil*
 NEW-then=HSY1 everywhere earth level EVID-INTR=FIN

‘and in every direction (“toward all”) the earth seemed to be (spread out) level,’

tát *ʔon* *námʔti*
tat *ʔon* *nam-t*
 good earth lay-INTR

‘lying there a good earth,’

ʔiyi *han* *yąkpa* *šiloʔ*
ʔiyi *han* *yąk-pa* =*šiloʔ*
 what but? stand-FUT =INFR2

‘nothing appearing to stand on it,’

²⁹⁹ Alternate form given: *weyyi*.

³⁰⁰ *wʔiy* / *weyyi* is an exclamation.

³⁰¹ Alternate form given: *šilótmil* ‘like’

ʔól han yákpá šilóʔ
 ʔól han yákp-pa =šiloʔ
 tree but? stand-FUT =INFR2

‘no trees appearing to stand on it,’

ʔey tát wánawól ʔon ʔey námʔmil.
 =ʔi tat wa-náw-olʔ ʔon =ʔi nam-t=mil
 =HSY1 good far-see-AG/INST? earth =HSY1 lay-INTR=FIN

‘it lay a good earth open to view.’

(73) seʔéy hulkʔóʔá kip ʔon hqwáti
 si=ʔi hulkʔoʔi=qá kip ʔon hqwa-t
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth glad-INTR

‘Then “Coyote himself is glad about the earth”,’

kímilmil hulkʔóʔi.
 ki-mil=mil hulkʔoʔi
 say-ʔ=FIN Coyote

‘Coyote said to him.’

(74) sikitey háye ki: ʔúʔukpis lakmiki: ʔéy háye
 si=kiʔ=ʔi háye ki ʔukʔ=pis lak=miki =ʔi háye
 NEW=then=HSY1 now DST water=ABL leave=PURP =HSY1 now

kiʔá hulkʔóʔq nąkʔóhisimil

ki=a hulkʔoʔi=ʔq nąkʔoh-s=mil

DST=PAT Coyote=PAT teach-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon, having come out of the water, (Taykómol) taught Coyote:’

mí:maʔ ʔąŋkʔí:kanʔ ʔíwop mihi

mi-maʔ ʔam-kʔikanʔ ʔíwop mih

2SG.AGT-? 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother man be

kímilkinʔ ʔi:y

ki-mil-kinʔ =ʔi

say-?-? =HSY1

‘You, my mother’s brother, say that you are a man’,’

ʔímeymil.

ʔim=mil

say=FIN

‘he said.’

(75) sąkimás hi:l ʔon huʔútli ki ʔey hąye ʔu:khót

są=kimas hil ʔon huʔu-tl ki =ʔi hąye ʔukhot

SAME=thus all earth finish-TR DST =HSY1 now ocean

mi:paʔmiki: húykot ʔuʔ namtlmil
 mih-paʔ=miki huy-kot ʔukʔ nam-tl=mil
 be-FUT=PURP half-LOC water lay-TR=FIN

‘Thus all the earth being finished, now, (for) the ocean which was to be, he put down water in the middle,’

káta mey mihikiṭ
 kaṭa mi mih=kiṭ
 here 1PL.INCL.AGT be=when?

kʔol ʔaṭat ʔan kʔolkʔil mi:pamiki:.
 kʔol ʔaṭat ʔan kʔol=kʔil mih-paʔ=miki
 other people always other=TERM be-FUT=PURP

‘here where we were to be, but other peoples to be in other directions.’

(76a) sqʔey haʔye ʔú:kʔit tátmiki: kíṭa
 sqʔ=ʔi haʔye ʔukʔ=it tat=miki kíṭa
 SAME=HSY1 now water=JXT good=PURP there

pánap ʔu:kʔí:mpá:miki:.
 paṇap ʔukʔ-im-paʔ=miki
 right.there water-become?-FUT=PURP

‘Now where he would make the shore (water-edge), right there as far as the water would extend,’

(76b) *sáʔey* *lilšiloʔ* *pá:tʔwá* *ʔey* *ʔu:kʔít*
sá=ʔi *lil=šiloʔ* *patʔ-wa* =ʔi *ʔukʔ=it*
 SAME=HSY1 stone=like flat-wide? =HSY1 water=JXT

namtlikí: *ʔey* *ku:ʔtkí* *lawótlmil.*
nam-tl=ki =ʔi *kuhtki* *lawo-tl=mil*
 lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN

‘placing something flat and stone-like, he fastened it in the north.’

(77) *sąkitéy* *hąye* *hil* *mikʔál* *ʔey* *hąye* *ki:* *lil* *pá:t*
są-kit-ʔey *hąye* *hil* =*mikʔal* =ʔi *hąye* *ki* *lil* *pat*
 SAME-then=HSY1 now all =around =HSY1 now DST stone flat

šilo:kí: *ʔey* *hąye* *mikʔál* *ʔu:kʔít* *tʔuʔąki* *ʔey*
šiloʔ=ki =ʔi *hąye* =*mikʔal* *ʔukʔ=it* *tʔuʔąki* =ʔi
 like=DST =HSY1 now =around water=JXT lay=DST =HSY1

lawóličyakmil.
lawo-lit-ąk=mil
 fasten-DIR2-SEM=FIN

‘And now setting this which looked like flat stone all around, around the shore (of the earth), he fastened it.’

- (78) *sqkí:tey*³⁰² *kipat* *ʔq̄tič* *yq̄ki* *taykómol* *šiloʔič* *yq̄ki*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *kipat* *ʔq̄t-it* *yq̄k* *taykomol* *šiloʔ=it* *yq̄k*
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R.DAT ʔ=JXT? station Taykómol like=JXT? station

ʔey *kíṭa* *hílk'il* *hanóhiṭ*³⁰³ *yq̄kmil.*
=ʔi *kíṭa* *hil=k'il* *hanohiṭ* *yq̄k=mil*
 =HSY1 there all=TERM watch.that.place station=FIN

‘Then there in all (directions) Taykómol stationed something like himself, set up in his own shape, to watch.’

- (79) *sq̄kiṭey* *kímpis* *pʔansí:mo:l*³⁰⁴ *ʔonšátʔampa:miki:*
sq-kiṭ=ʔi *kimʔ=pis* *pʔans-molʔ* *ʔonšatʔ-m-paʔ=mi*
 SAME-then=HSY1 over.there=ABL wind-AG/INST storm-IMFPV-FUT=PURP

ʔi:kí: *hil tatísimilnamlíki* *ʔéy* *ʔaṭáta* *nq:nákmil*
ʔiki *hil tat-s-milʔ=namli=ki* =ʔi *ʔaṭat=a* *nqnak=mil*
 therefore? all good-CONT?-PHABʔ=DEP=DST =HSY1 people=PAT know=FIN

³⁰² Alternate form given: *sqkí:ney* ‘and there at those places’

³⁰³ Possibly: *ha-noh=iṭ*
 ʔ-live/place=JXT

³⁰⁴ Alternate form given: *pʔansí:mo:k* ‘the wind would come’

kú:tkipis p'ans 'ey mi kíṭa 'ey 'ónšat hó:ṭ 'onšá:t'ammil.
 kutki=pis p'ans ='i mih kíṭa ='i 'onšat hoṭ 'onšat'-m=mil
 north=ABL wind =HSY1 be there =HSY1 storm big storm-IMPFV=FIN

'And he made those (images) that from there the wind should storm; that is why human being know that when the wind blows from the north, a great storm storms.'

- (80) sikiṭéy 'onháleypis p'ansí:miki: 'ey ('ey) 'an
 si=kiṭ='i 'onhali=pis p'ans=miki ='i (= 'i) 'an
 NEW=then=HSY1 south=ABL wind/blow=PURP =HSY1 =HSY1 always?

'onšá:tammil.

'onšat-m=mil

storm-IMPFV=FIN

'And when it would blow from the south it (would) storm.'

- (81) sikiṭéy 'onháleypis ...
 si=kiṭ='i 'onhali=pis
 NEW=then=HSY1 south=ABL

'So [when it blew] from the south,

[a great rain would rain. And so it is that when the wind comes from the north, it becomes good weather. So he finished making those things.']

(84) ... *hqw-hó:ṭam* *ʔey* *k'ol'ísinʔk* *sq* *šo:hók'ítink* ³⁰⁵
hqw-hoṭ=am =*ʔi* *k'ol'-s-nik* *sq* *šo'hok'-t-nik*
fish-big=? =HSY1 die-CAUS-NEC SAME flay-INTR-NEC

ʔiy *ʔímeymil* *taykómol* *hulk'ó'a* *kí:la'*
=*ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *taykomol* *hulk'o'í=a* *ki-la'*
=HSY1 say=HSY1 Taykómol Coyote=PAT DST-INST

mi:ṭátan̄k.

miṭ-tat=am=k

sky-good/make=?=DECL

[‘And now when he was about to make the sky, he caused Coyote to go to the ocean]

to kill four whales and flay them, with which he would make the sky,

Taykómol told Coyote.’

(85) *seʔéy* *hulkóʔi* *kóʔotmil.*
si=ʔi *hulk'o'í* *koʔ-t=mil*
NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR=FIN

‘So Coyote went.’

³⁰⁵ *šo'hok'*- ‘flay’ may be a compound of *šo'* ‘shell’ and *hok'*- ‘flay’.

(86) *sqʔey* *ʔomahq:t hqwwhó:tam kʔapʔiyakmil.*
sq=ʔi *ʔomahq:t hqwhoʔ=am kʔapʔ-ak=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 four whale=? kill-SEM=FIN

(87) *sqʔey* *šoʔhókʔetʔmil.*
sq=ʔi *šoʔhokʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 flay-INTR=FIN

(88) *sqʔey* *kimás̃ taykómolqtkil* *ʔú:tʔmamil* *hulkʔóʔi.*
sq=ʔi *ki-mas taykomol=qt=kʔil* *ʔutʔ-mq=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR Taykómol=DAT=TERM bring-DIR1=FIN Coyote

‘And he slew four whales, and flayed them, and brought them to Taykómol, [who with them now thought he would make the sky. And Coyote said (to people later) that he himself watched. Then having finished making the sky, “This shall be”, (Taykómol) said. Thereupon, now being about to make human beings, he caused Coyote to build a human house. And Coyote said that he (had) built.”]

(93) *sqʔey* *huʔútl(i)mil.*
sq=ʔi *huʔu-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 finish-TR=FIN

‘And finished it.’

- (94) *seʔéy* *həye* *taykómol* *ʔálnanátlam* *kímʔ*
si=ʔi *həye* *taykomol* *ʔal-nan-atlam* *kimʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol stick-head-? right.over.there

hánʔam *tʔuʔičyakmil* *həčhɪlpis.*
han=am *tʔu-tʔ-ək=mil* *həč-hil=pis*
 house=IN2 lay-INTR?-SEM=FIN house?/camp-all?=ABL

‘Now Taykómol laid down sticks with head in that house, all around the sides of the floor.’

- (95) *səʔey* *mas* *tuʔákmil* *pəwi* *ʔíwis*
sə=ʔi *mas* *tu-ək=mil* *pəwi* *ʔiwis*
 SAME=HSY1 thus lay-SEM=FIN one man.PL

mí:pamikimáša *ʔey* *ho:tmíč* *tʔú:mil.*
mih-paʔ=miki-mas=a =ʔi *hoʔ miʔ* *tʔu=mil*
 be-FUT=PURP-DSTR=PAT =HSY1 big over/up lay=FIN

‘So he laid them (that for) those who would be men he (first) laid larger ones.’

- (96) *səkeyʔéy* *múšp* *miʔhəlikí:* *ʔúnšilniʔ*
səki=ʔi *musp* *mih-həli=ki* *ʔunšil-niʔ*
 and=HSY1 woman be-INFR1=DST small-?

ʔalnanát ʔey ...

ʔal-nan=at =ʔi

stick-head=DAT =HSY1

‘And (for) those [that] would be a woman he laid smaller sticks with heads, [close to (the first), and those to be children he laid all around the circle of the floor; thus he placed them. “This I do; but at dawn many children shall play, and elsewhere babies shall cry and there will be great talking”, said Taykómol.’]

(99) ... kimas hulk’óʔi nqwhi kímilmil.

kimas hulk’oʔi nqw(h) ki=mil=mil

thus Coyote see say-?=FIN

[‘And thus] Coyote saw it, he said.’

(100) namlikí: hawlámmop ʔey ho:ʔ kqyitmil hálǰaʔ³⁰⁶

namliki hawlam=op =ʔi hoʔ kqy-t=mil halǰaʔ

therefore daylight=LAT =HSY1 big speak-INTR=FIN children.PAT

³⁰⁶ Alternate form given: *hálǰaʔ* ‘children’

yí:kili *hóyhil* *sák* *k'inyáki* *yú:tmil.*
yi-k-il *hoyhil* *sak* *k'in-qk* *yu'-t=mil*
 play-PNCT?-MPSV? other baby cry-SEM do-INTR=FIN

‘Which is why at dawn there was a great babble of children playing and elsewhere babies crying.’

(101) *ki* *mátpaʔ* *ʔímeynamliki:* *ki* *taykomol.*
ki *mat-paʔ* *ʔim=namli=ki* *ki* *taykomol*
 DST do-FUT say=DEP=DST DST Taykómol

‘Thus they did, as he had said it would be, this Taykómol.’

(102) *sáʔey* *háye* *ʔa:tát* *hulk'ílqł* *woknámtilpa:miki:*
sá=ʔi *háye* *ʔaʔat* *hulk'ílqł* *woknam-t-il-paʔ=miki*
 SAME=HSY1 now people ghost initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=PURP

ʔiy *háye* *hulk'óʔa* *ʔi:mísa* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
 =ʔi *háye* *hulk'oʔi=a* *ʔim-s-a* =ʔi *ʔim=mil*
 =HSY1 now Coyote=PAT try-CAUS-IMP? =HSY1 say=FIN

taykómol *hulk'óʔa.*
taykómol *hulk'oʔi=a*
 Taykómol Coyote=PAT

‘Then now Taykómol told Coyote that he should try that human beings would make the Hulk'ilál initiation.’

- (103) *seʔey* *ʔátéy* *hulkʼilal* *humąs* *tatísimil* *taykómol*.
si=ʔi *ʔati* *hulkʼilal* *humąs* *tat-s=mil* *taykómol*
 NEW=HSY1 for.a.while ghost real make-CAUS=FIN Taykómol

‘And for a while Taykómol made real Hulkʼilál for him.’

- (104) *seʔey* *halčá* *nąwtámmil* *sąkilhoʔitnomʼa* ³⁰⁷
si=ʔi *halčą* *nąw-t-m=mil* *sąkilhoṭnomʼ=**a*
 NEW=HSY1 children.PAT see-INTR-IMPSV=FIN Sąkilhoṭnomʼ=PAT

noʔho *ʔimeyk*.

noʔ-ho *ʔim=k*

live-? say=DECL

‘Then he took the children (initiates) to watch where the actual
 Sąkilhotnomʼ lived.’

- (105) *sikąʔey* *kʼá:p(am)mil* ³⁰⁸.
siką=ʔi *kʼap-(m)=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 die-(IMPFV)=FIN

‘Thereupon (the initiates) died.’

³⁰⁷ *Sąkilhoṭnomʼ* ‘big spring people, graduates of *hulkʼilal woknamʼ* (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:199)

³⁰⁸ Alternate form given: *kʼáptmil* ‘they died’

- (106) *simonʔéy hulk'óʔi ʔiwilhán hq:tlmil.*
si=mon=ʔi hulk'oʔi ʔiwilhan hq-tl=mil
 NEW=?=HSY1 Coyote ceremonial.house make-TR=FIN

‘And then Coyote built a ceremonial house.’

- (107) *sąk'ámey kípát hálč woknámtmil.*
są=k'am=ʔi kípát halč woknam-tl=mil
 SAME=?=HSY1 3R.DAT children initiation-TR=FIN

‘And in that he initiated his own children.’

- (108) *seʔey sąkilhó:ʔnom' humąsa mihi ʔéy*
si=ʔi sąkilhoʔnom' humąs=a mih =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 Sąkilhoʔnom' real=PAT be =HSY1

hal(i)č hulʔk'óʔat k'áʔapt(e)mil.

halč hulk'oʔi=at k'ap'-t=mil

children Coyote=DAT die-INTR=FIN

Then real Sákilhotnom' being in there, Coyote's children died.’

- (109) *seʔéy ki hąkóčk ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.*
si=ʔi ki hąkoč=k =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi
 NEW=HSY1 DST bad=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“‘That is bad”, Coyote said.’

(110) *si'áy* *haye* *taykomol ...*

si=?i *haye* *taykomol*

NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol

'So now Taykómol

[told him "Try raw human beings (actual persons)". Then Coyote tried human beings (to impersonate the ghosts) when he initiated his children (again). And that was good. And, "This will be good", said Taykómol. And therefore people now always do it thus. "It is good, but again it shall not be good",']

(115a) ... ?imeymil taykómol hul?k'ilal woknám há:p
 ?im=mil taykomol hulk'ilal woknam hq̄p
 say=FIN Taykómol ghost initiation song

máy' ?áttapa? ?an
 maqy' ?q̄t-t̄q̄l-pa? ?an
 who mark.time-NEG-FUT ever

(115b) sikiṭ ?an k'o?iyq̄klikí: ?an ?átpa?
 si=kiṭ ?an k'o?-q̄k-liki ?an ?q̄t-pa?
 NEW=then ever/always have.in.mind-SEM-? ever/always mark.time-FUT

‘Taykómol said; ‘one shall not ever beat time for the *Hulk'ilál*-initiation songs (in vain), but when he has them (seriously) in mind, then he shall beat time for them.’

(116) s̄q̄kí: tát ?ey máktpa? tát'q̄ mil
 s̄q̄ki tat =?i mak-t-pa? tat=?q̄p mil
 and good =HSY1 wake-INTR-FUT good=1SG.AGT deer

táyyampa tát'q̄ h̄q̄w t'ukt̄pa
 tay-m-pa? tat=?q̄p h̄q̄w t'uk-tl-pa?
 cut-IMPV-FUT good=1SG.AGT fish catch-TR-FUT

tát'q šišlúl ʔáwyakpa ʔímeyk mihinʔk
 tat=ʔap šiš-lul ʔaw-ək-paʔ ʔim-k mih-nik
 good=1SG.AGT squirrel-fat eat-SEM-FUT say-DECL be-NEC

hulk'ilal woknám háp k'óʔqiliki: ʔi:y ʔimeymil taykómol.
hulk'ilal woknam háp k'oʔ-q-l-il-ki =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol
 ghost initiation song put-ʔ-PFV-MPSV=DST =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

'I shall awake feeling well, I shall cut up a good deer, spear a good salmon, eat good squirrel-fat', that will they be saying who have in mind the *Hulk'ilál*-initiation songs", said Taykómol.

(117) *sikit ka yuyimikítá nq ka náwiʔíkita*
si=kit ka yuy'-mi=kita =nq ka nqw=kita
 NEW=then PRX do-ʔ=when =and PRX see=when

hilkónwa hawáyikil tqłt'ílin(i)k ʔimeymil
hilkonwa haway-k-il tqł-t-il-nik ʔim=mil
 anything.anyway eat-PNCT-MPSV NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC say=FIN

taykomol hulk'o'á.

taykomol hulk'o'i=a

Taykómol Coyote=PAT

“And when they shall be doing this and when they watch this (rite), they shall cause them not to eat any kind of food (i.e., refrain from meat and fat) in any manner”, Taykómol said to Coyote.’

- (118) *sákiṭey háye kipát haṗút 'ey kípát múšp'a*
sá=kiṭ='i háye kipat haṗut ='i kípát musp=a
SAME=then=HSY1 now 3R.DAT rib =HSY1 3R.DAT wife=PAT

k'qk'ésimil.

k'qk-s=mil

make-CAUS=FIN

‘And now his rib he made come into existence as his wife.’

- (119) *sá'ey 'a:tát múyispamikí: 'ey*
sá='i 'aṭat muy-s-pa'=miki ='i
SAME=HSY1 people copulate-CAUS-FUT=PURP =HSY1

páy tatísimil.

páy tat-s=mil

vagina make-CAUS=FIN

‘And he made (her) vagina so that people would have intercourse.’

- (120) *sqk'ey'ey* *tíma* *?i:mísimil.*
sqki=?i *tíma* *?im-s=mil*
 thereupon?=HSY1 self try-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon he tried it himself.’

- (121) *se'ey* *hqkóčmil.*
si=?i *hqkoč=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 bad=FIN

‘And it was unsatisfactory.’

- (122) *se'ey* *kó'inum* *?iy* *nih'íyi* *míštlmil.*
si=?i *k'o'i-nu=am?* *=?i* *nih=i* *mih-s-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 gopher-sand-? =HSY1 hole=IN be-CAUS-TR=FIN

‘So he caused gopher-soil to be in the opening.’

- (123) *sqk'ey'ey* *tíma* *hqša* *?i:mísimil.*
sqki=?i *tíma* *hqša* *?im-s=mil*
 thereupon?=HSY1 self again try-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon again he himself tried it.’

(124) *seʔey ki ʔqtá həkóčmil.*

si=ʔi ki ʔqta həkóč=mił

NEW=HSY1 DST again bad=FIN

‘And once more it was unsatisfactory.’

(125) *seʔey hqye ʔu:khóťítóp núʔhan ki míhi*

si=ʔi hqye ʔukhoť=it=op nuʔ=han ki mih

NEW=HSY1 now ocean=JXT=LAT sand-SUBE DST be

ki: ʔíy hqye níhiʔiy mihtłmil.

ki =ʔi hqye níh=i mih-tł=mił

DST =HSY1 now hole=IN be-TR=FIN

‘So now the sand which is on the ocean shore, he caused that to be in the opening.’

(126) *sąkeyʔey ʔqta ʔi:mísimil.*

sąki=ʔi ʔqta ʔim-s=mił

thereupon?=HSY1 again try-CAUS=FIN

‘Thereupon again he tried it.’

(127) *sikíta ʔey ka ʔa:ťáta wíyampa:mikí*

si=kiťa =ʔi ka ʔatát=a wi-m-paʔ-miki

NEW=then =HSY1 PRX people=PAT have.emission-IMPFV-FUT=PURP

ʔey wítmil.

=ʔi wi-t=mil

=HSY1 have.emission-INTR=FIN

‘And this emission which human beings would have, he had.’

- (128) seʔéy kaʔ míʔpa ʔey ʔímeymil taykómol ki:
 si=ʔi ka mih-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol ki
 NEW=HSY1 PRX be-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol DST

múšʔq páyyaqpa:mikí.³⁰⁹

mus=q pay-ak-paʔ=miki

woman.PL=PAT vulva/vagina-SEM-FUT=PURP

‘Then, “This shall be”, said Taykómol, “there shall be set a vagina on women.”’

- (129) seʔéy ʔímeymil hulk’óʔi.
 si=ʔi ʔim=mil hulk’oʔi
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘Said Coyote.’

³⁰⁹ Alternate form given: páyyóʔpa:mikí: ‘vulva will be on the woman’

(130a) *sąkiṭey* *háye* *hulk'ó'a* *ʔaniltí:li*
są=kiṭ=ʔi *haye* *hulk'o'i=a* *ʔanil-t-il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT take.with-INTR-MPSV

kú:tkiwit *kó:temil.*
kutki=wit *koʔ-t=mil*
 north=ALL go-INTR=FIN

(130b) *ki:* *ʔá:ṭat* *k'an* *ʔá:ṭat* *k'ayyeyampa:miki:*
kiʔ *ʔaṭat* *k'an* *ʔaṭat* *k'ay-m-paʔ=miki*
 DST people language people talk-IMPV-FUT=PURP

hilónčam *k'áiyenik.*
hil-ʔon=čam *k'ay-nik*
 all-earth=PNOML speak-NEC

‘Now then taking Coyote with him he went north to speak everywhere the human languages with human beings would speak.’

(131) *sąʔéy* *kúht(e)ki* *tóktli* *ʔey* *ʔonmik'áltilmil*
są=ʔi *kuhktki* *tok-tl* *=ʔi* *ʔon=mik'al-t-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 north arrive-TR =HSY1 earth=around-INTR-MPSV=FIN

hí:lónčam *k'olk'ánikič* *k'ayyéyik* *ka ʔónop*
hil-ʔon=čam *k'ol-k'an=kič* *k'ay-y-k* *ka ʔon=op*
 all-earth=PNOML other-language=only speak-PROG=DECL PRX earth=LAT

ʔa:ʔat mihi kimáse ka k'qyyéyampa ʔiy ʔímeymil
 ʔaʔat mih ki-mas-i ka k'qy-m-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 people be DST-DSTR-ANIM PRX talk-IMPV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

hi:lónčam ʔa:ʔat noʔpa:mikiʔin.
 hil-ʔon=čam ʔaʔat noʔ-paʔ=miki=ʔin
 all-earth=PNOML people live-FUT=PURP=LOC?

‘And arriving in the north, he went all around the earth, everywhere speaking another language; “On this earth the people who shall be shall speak this,” he said, “everywhere that people live.”’

(132a) sqčamey kimási mil hut'ó:pispa ʔímʔeyk
 sq-čam=ʔi ki-mas-i mil hut'op-s-paʔ ʔim=k
 SAME-?=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM deer hunt-CAUS?-FUT where=IN

yúyyamil.
 yuy'-m=mil
 make/do-IMPV=FIN

(132b) hi:lónč'am k'ol ʔaʔáta hi:la
 hil-ʔon=čam k'ol ʔaʔat=a hil=a
 all-earth=PNOML other people=PAT all=PAT

kimás yúyyampa.

kimas yuy'-m-pa'

thus do-IMPFV-FUT

(132c) *k'oʔil k'ol yuymikiṭ.*

k'oʔil k'ol yuy-mi=kiṭ

Wailaki other do-?=while

(132b) *yú:kin ʔap ka k'ayyemikí: k'ayimilpa.*

yukin ʔap ka k'ay=miki k'ay-mil-pa'

Yuki 1SG.AGT PRX talk=PURP talk-?-FUT

(132c) *sá:kop ʔitin há:p ʔáhpa ʔey ʔimeymil taykómol.*

sá=kop ʔitin háp ʔah-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol

SAME=then 1SG.POSS song hold-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘Also he arranged where they would have their deer-hunting grounds:

“Everywhere all the different peoples (tribes) will do thus; while the Wailaki

will do differently, the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking; and they

shall hold my song”, said Taykómol.’

(133) *hílikšiloʔ ʔey yúyyamil tí:tampa:mikí: ʔey*

hílikšiloʔ =ʔi yuy'-m=mil tiṭ-m-paʔ=miki =ʔi

everything =HSY1 make/do-IMPFV=FIN rope-IMPFV-FUT=PURP =HSY1

yúyyamil ʔa:ṭát tíṭsákpa:mikí: ʔey yúyyamil.
 yuy'-m=mil ʔaṭat tíṭsak-paʔ=miki =ʔi yuy'-m=mil
 make/do-IMPFV=FIN people snare-FUT=PURP =HSY1 make/do-IMPFV=FIN

‘Everything he arranged; how they would make ropes, he arranged; how people would set snares, he arranged.’

- (134) hí:l ʔaṭáta ʔey k'ól hušk'ayyeyimil pḳwi ʔa:ṭát
 hil ʔaṭat=a =ʔi k'ól hušk'ay-y=mil pḳwi ʔaṭat
 all people=PAT =HSY1 other teach-PROG=FIN one/each people
 míʔkon k'ól yúyyampa ʔey ʔimeymil.
 miʔkon k'ól yuy'-m-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 but? other make/do-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

‘All the peoples he taught differently; “But each people will do differently”, he said.’

- (135) kipḳwkil ko:k kúhtkipis ʔonmik'áltí:li
 kipḳw=k'il koʔ=k kuhtki=pis ʔon=mik'al-t-il
 back=TERM go=DECL north=ABL earth=around-DSTR-MPSV

kipáwkwil kó:k ʔey kimáşeymil.

kipq̄w=k'il koʔ=k =ʔi ki-mas=mil

back=TERM go=DECL =HSY1 DST-DSTR=FIN

‘It was as he was coming back from the north, when he had gone encircling the earth as he was returning, that he did these things.’

(136) *sopʔéy haníçyi:lop hulk'óʔi kiŋk'í:la* ³¹⁰

sop=ʔi han-iŋ-y-il=op hulk'óʔi kim-k'ila

but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when Coyote DST.KIN.POSS-son.PNT

ʔiwomq̄ ʔey k'olítmil.

ʔiwom=q̄ =ʔi k'ol-t=mil

young.man=PAT =HSY1 die-INTR=mil

‘Then, when they were near (their) house, Coyote’s son, a young man, died.’

³¹⁰ Alternate form given: *kimk'í:la*

- (137) *sikimás ki taykómol k'ólki yúyyikiṭ 'ey hulk'o'i*
si=kimas ki taykomol k'ol=ki yuy'=kiṭ ='i hulk'o'i
 NEW=thus DST Taykómol other=IN do=when =HSY1 Coyote
- pí:taḳkik 'ey kí:milnamlikí:k 'éy taykómol kommil.*
piṭaḳkik ='i ki?-mil=namli=kik ='i taykomol kom=mil
 dry.grave =HSY1 bury-?=DEP=there =HSY1 Taykómol come=FIN

‘And Taykómol being engaged (“doing thus”) elsewhere, Coyote having dug a hole and buried him, Taykómol arrived.’

- (138) *sá'ey 'imisk'íli 'ey*
sq='i 'im mis-k'ili ='i
 SAME=HSY1 where 2SG.KIN.POSS-son =HSY1
- 'im kíwismil hulk'ó'a.*
'im kiw-s=mil hulk'o'i=a
 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT

‘So, “Where is your son?” he asked Coyote.’

- (139) *sé'ey hulk'ó'i k'alítu³¹¹ si 'aq kí'yu?*
si='i hulk'o'i k'ol-t-wi si 'aq ki'-wi
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote die-INTR-PST1 NEW 1SG.AGT bury-PST1

³¹¹ Alternate form given: *k'olítu* ‘he died’

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi.

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

'And, "He just died, so I buried", Coyote said.'

- (140) *seʔéy taykómol kí:mi: nqwwin ʔimeymil*
si=ʔi taykomol kiʔ-ʔim? nq-w-n ʔim=mil
NEW=HSY1 Taykómol bury-where? see-AND say=FIN

taykomol hulk'óa.

taykomol hulk'oʔi=a

Taykómol Coyote=PAT

"Let us go to see where he is buried", Taykómol said to Coyote.'

- (141) *seʔéy hi:kílmil.*³¹²
si=ʔi hi-k-il=mil
NEW=HSY1 go-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

- (142) *sqʔey toktlmil.*
sq=ʔi tok-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

'So they went together and arrived.'

³¹² Alternate form given: *hiykílmil* 'they went'
Also: *hiʔ-* 'come out' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:256)

(143) *seʔey taykómol kipáw ʔap ʔótam kʻoʔísini*

*si=ʔi taykomol kipaw ʔap ʔotam kʻoʔ-*sini**

NEW=HSY1 Taykómol back 1SG.AGT breath/life put-?

ʔey ʔimeymil taykómol.

=ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol

=HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘Then Taykómol said, “Let me again put breath into him”, Taykómol said.’

(144) *séʔey hulkʻóʔi tálʔk káyt kʻá:paŋʔk³¹³ ʔim kipáwkil*

si=ʔi hulkʻoʔi tálʔk káyt kʻap=am=k ʔim kipaw=kʻil

NEW=HSY1 Coyote no already die=?=DECL why? back=TERM

kó:tammilimaʔá ʔiy ʔimeymil hulkʻóʔi.

koʔ-t-m=milima-ʔa =ʔi ʔim=mil hulkʻoʔi

go-INTR-IMPV-?-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘But, “No, why should those who are already dead wish to come back?” said

Coyote.’

(145) *seʔey miʔ ʔaŋkʻi:kanʻ nanákhq*

si=ʔi miʔ ʔam-kʻikanʻ nanak-hq

NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother know-Q

³¹³ Alternate form given: *kʻápamʔk* ‘when they die’

kímilmil [?]ey [?]ímeymil.

ki=mil=mil =[?]i [?]im=mil

say-?=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

‘So, “You, my mother’s brother, say that you know”, (Taykómol) said.’

- (146) *sá[?]ey* *ki* *mi:pa[?]á:t* [?]an [?]ímeymil *taykómol*
sá=[?]i *ki* *mih-pa[?]-at* [?]an [?]im=mil *taykomol*
SAME=HSY1 DST be-FUT-? always say=FIN Taykómol

ki[?]k[?]í:la *kipq^w* [?]ó:tam *kipq^wmón.*

kim-k[?]íla *kipq^w* [?]otam *kipq^w-món*

DST.KIN.POSS-son back breath/life back-?

“That shall be forever”, said Taykómol, when he had wished to return breath to his son.’

- (147) *sá[?]éy* *hulk[?]’ó’a* *wáytmil.*
sá=[?]i *hulk[?]’o[?]i=a* *wayt=mil*
SAME=HSY1 Coyote=PAT not.want=FIN

‘But it was Coyote who refused.’

- (148) *sikí* [?]ey [?]a:tát *k’á:pmikimáse* [?]ey
siki =[?]i [?]aʔat *k’ap=miki-mas-i* =[?]i
therefore =HSY1 people die=PURP?-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

k'á:paŋk *kipáwkil* *kó:tamtánmil*
k'ap=am=k *kipáw=k'il* *ko'-t-m-tan=mil*
 die=?=DECL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-NEG=FIN

hulk'ó'a *wáytناملكی:*
hulk'ó'i=a *wayt=namli=ki*
 Coyote=PAT refuse=DEP=DST

'And therefore people who die, when they are dead do not come (go) back,
 because Coyote refused.'

(149) *sá'ey* *háye* *kimáš* *ʔá:tat* *k'ólampa:mikí:* *ʔey* *ki:*
sá=?i *haye* *kimas* *ʔat* *k'ol-m-pa'-miki* *=?i* *ki*
 SAME=HSY1 now thus people die-IMPV-FUT=PURP =HSY1 DST

kí'qkísimil *k'olaŋk* *kipáwkil* *kó:tamtánpa:mikí:*
kí'qk-s=mil *k'ol=am=k* *kipáw=k'il* *ko-t-m-tal-pa'=miki*
 make-CAUS=FIN die=?=DECL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-NEG-FUT=PURP

'So thus he made it to be that those people who should die, would not come
 back when they had died.'

(150) *sákiṭey* *kipáwk'il'* *káyt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
sá=kiṭ=?i *kipáw=k'il* *kayt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
 SAME=then=HSY1 back=TERM before house Coyote

hátlnamlikí:kil *koʔlí:tmamil.*
hə-tl-namli-kiʔ=kʔil *koʔ-lit-mə=mił*
 build-TR=DEP=DST=TERM go-DIR2-DIR1=FIN

‘Then they traveled together back to where Coyote had built a house.’

(151) *səʔey* *ʔətáy* *ki:k* *hulkʔóʔa* *ʔá:tat* *wáh*
sə=ʔi *ʔəti* *kik* *hulkʔoʔi=a* *ʔətət* *wah*
 SAME=HSY1 for.a.while there Coyote=PAT people wide/everywhere?

kʔqmikí: *ʔéy* *nakʔáhimil*³¹⁴.
kʔk=miki =ʔi *nakʔoh=mil*
 make=PURP =HSY1 teach=FIN

‘And for a time there he instructed Coyote what to ordain for people everywhere.’

(152) *simeyʔéy* *kipat* *múspʔa* *tat* *šúʔhinik*
si=mi=ʔi *kipat* *musp=a* *tat* *šuʔ-h-nik*
 NEW=?=HSY1 3R.DAT woman/wife=PAT good sit-DUR-NEC

tat *hálč* *tatí:yaŋk* *míhin(i)k* *ʔey* *ʔim*
tat *halč* *tat-y-am=k* *mih-nik* =ʔi *ʔim*
 good children good-PROG?-ʔ=DECL be-NEC =HSY1 thus

³¹⁴ Alternate form given: *nakʔóhimil* ‘he taught him’

nak'áhisimil *kipat* *músp'a.*
nak'oh-s=mil *kipat* *musp=a*
 teach-CAUS=FIN 3R.DAT wife=PAT

‘And his wife to be good and stay (at home) and to take care well of the children, thus he had him instruct his wife.’

(153) *sakítëy* *hulk'ó'i* *nq* *ʔó'pa* *kipqwk'il*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hulk'o'i* =*nq* *ʔo'pa* *kipqw=k'il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 Coyote =and both back=TERM

kú:xtki *kótëmil.*
kuhtki *ko-t=mil*
 north go-INTR=FIN

‘Then Coyote and (he) both went back north.’

(154) *sikíta* *ʔey* *ʔán* *há:p* *wók'eymil* *taykómol.*
si=kiṭa =ʔ*i* *ʔan* *həp* *wok=mil* *taykomol*
 NEW=then =HSY1 always song sing/dance=FIN Taykómol

‘And all the way Taykómol sang.’

(155) *sqʔey* *t'óktmil* *húʔ* *kilímeynamilki:* *ʔey*
sq=ʔi *t'ok-tl=mil* *huʔ* *ki-lim=namli=ki* =ʔ*i*
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN before talk-?=DEP=DST =HSY1

k'ó'il k'áni k'aymilyakmil
k'o'il k'ani k'ay-mil-qk=mil
 Wailaki language speak-?-SEM=FIN

'And he arrived, and, as he had spoken it before, he spoke the Wailaki language.'

- (156) *sqk'op'áy kimáš han hásikop nó:pa:mikí:*
sq=k'op=?i kimas han hq?-s=kop no?-pa?=miki
 SAME=then=HSY1 thus house build-CAUS?=when live-FUT=PURP

?ey hulk'ó'a han hq:šimil.
=?i hulk'o'i=a han hq?-s=mil
 =HSY1 Coyote=PAT house build-CAUS=FIN

'Then when he would thus have a house for them to live in, he had Coyote build it.'

- (157) *se'áy hq'tlmil.*
si=?i hq?-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 build-TR=FIN

'And he built it.'

- (158) *sikéy kimás ?á:tat k'qkutlikí: mi:namlikí: šiló?*
siki kimas ?atát k'qk-kut-tl=ki mih=namli=ki šilo?
 therefore? thus people make-INCH-TR=DST be=DEP=DAT like

ʔqtá ʔatát kimátlmil.
 ʔqtá ʔatát kimat-tl=mil
 again people do-TR=FIN

‘Then as before he made come into existence the people who were, so again he did thus (to) people.’

(159) sqʔey ʔal tʔúʔakmil.
 sq=ʔi ʔal tʔu-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 stick lay.down-SEM=FIN

‘He laid down sticks.’

(160) sqkipey ʔiy kʔymilmil kʔoʔil kʔáni
 sq=kíp=ʔi ʔi kʔay-mil=mil kʔoʔil kʔani
 SAME=?=HSY1 1SG.PAT? speak-?=FIN Wailaki language

(161) ká: moʔoš kʔyyéyampaʔ ʔey ʔímeymil taykómol.
 ka moʔos kʔay-m-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol
 PRX 2PL.AGT speak-IMPV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘After that, “I spoke Wailaki language; this you shall speak”, Taykómol said.

(162) sqkey kimáš hqww hutʔópispa:mikí:
 sqki kimas hqw hutʔop-s-paʔ=miki
 and thus fish hunt-CAUS-FUT=PURP

k'ó'il ki 'éy háye 'atá ki yúnyakmil
k'o'il ki ='i háye 'atá ki yun-ək=mil
 Wailaki DST =HSY1 now again DST do-SEM=FIN

kimáš k'ói'l háw(w) litpa:mikí.
kimas k'o'il háw lit-pá?=miki
 thus Wailaki fish do-FUT=PURP

‘And there how the Wailaki would take salmon, that now again he arranged, how the Wailaki would fish.’

(163) *səkopey hilkšilo' háye k'o'il yú:yampa:mikí:*
sə=kop='i hilkšilo' háye k'o'il yuy'-m-pa?=miki
 SAME=then=HSY1 everything now Wailaki do-IMPFV-FUT=PURP

'ey háye kimáš yú(y)yammil.
=?i háye kimas yuy'-m=mil
 =HSY1 now thus do-IMPFV=FIN

‘And everything that the Wailaki would do, thus he did now.’

(164) *ká mípa' ka: yúyyampa' k'ó'il 'ey 'imeymil taykómol.*
ka' mih-pa' ka yuy'-m-pa' k'o'il ='i 'im=mil taykomol
 PRX be-FUT PRX do-IMPFV-FUT Wailaki =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

“‘This shall be, this the Wailaki shall do”, Taykómol said.’

- (165) *sqʔéy* *ki: huʔú:tl(i)kít* *ʔey* *kʰolá:ʔat* *kú:xtkiwit*
sqʔ=ʔi *ki huʔu-tl=kít* *=ʔi* *kʰol-ʔat* *kuhtki=wit*
 SAME=HSY1 DST finish-TR=then =HSY1 other-people north=ALL
- náʔ* *kʰólčam* *ʔan* *kí:wit* *ná* *kumnómʔatʔamwit*³¹⁵
 =nq *kʰol=čam* *ʔan* *ki=wit* =nq *kumnomʔat=am=wit*
 =and other=PNOML long.time DST=ALL =and Kumnomʔ=DAT=?=ALL
- ʔa:ʔát* *ʔán* *kimási* *yu:yampa:mikí:* *ʔey*
ʔat *ʔan* *ki-mas-i* *yuyʔ-m-paʔ=miki* *=ʔi*
 people all? DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=PURP =HSY1
- wa* *háye* *kʰqkésimil*³¹⁶; *kúmʔnómʔ* *mi:pa:mikí:*
wa *haye* *kʰqk-s=mil* *kumnomʔ* *mih-paʔ=miki*
 everywhere/wide now make-CAUS=FIN Kumnomʔ be-FUT=PURP
- ʔey* *ki: kʰqkʔésimil* *ʔan* *kimáse* *kʰólʔ*
 =ʔi *kiʔ kʰqk-s=mil* *ʔan* *ki-mas-i* *kʰol*
 =HSY1 DST make-CAUS=FIN ever/always DST-DSTR-ANIM other

³¹⁵ *Kumnomʔ* is variously defined. In (165) as ‘Stony Creek and Paskenti and Newville’, ‘Wintun, Salt People’, ‘Nomlaki’. In Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:146: “salt people; Nomlaki; Stonyford, Salt Pomo; Wintun of Stony Creek.’

³¹⁶ Alternate form given: *kʰqkísimil* ‘he made’

yú:yampa:mikí.

yuy'-m-pa?=miki

do-IMPFV-FUT=PURP

‘And when this was finished, then he made come into existence other peoples toward the north and elsewhere about and toward the region of the Kumnom’ and how they would act; he made the Kumnom’ who ever would act differently.’

- (166) sákiṭaʔey ʔatá kúmnom' k'áni k'qymilmil.
 sá=kiṭa=ʔi ʔatá kumnom' k'ani k'qy=mil=mil
 SAME=then=HSY1 again Kumnom' language speak-?=FIN

‘Then again he spoke the Kumnom’ language.’

- (167) sokóp ʔán kiṭaʔ hilksíloʔ kimáse yu(y)yampa:mikí:
 so-kop ʔan kiṭa hilksíloʔ ki-mas-i yuy'-m-pa?=miki
 ?-then always there everything DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPFV-FUT=PURP

- ʔey ki: ʔatá kimášat kum'no'omat k'qk'ésimil.
 =ʔi kiʔ ʔatá ki-mas=at kumnom'=at k'qk-s=mil
 =HSY1 DST again DST-DSTR=DAT Kumnom'=DAT make-CAUS=FIN

‘And also everything that they would always do he made come into existence there for those Kumnom’.’

- (168) *kimáše* ʔan woknámt̪ilpa:mikí: nɔ̄
ki-mas-i ʔan woknam-t̪-il-paʔ=miki =nɔ̄
DST-DSTR-ANIM always initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=PURP =and

kópawó:kešpa:mikí: nɔ̄ ʔey k'áq'esimil.
kopa-wok-s-paʔ=miki =nɔ̄ =ʔi k'qk'-s=mil
feather-dance-CAUS-FUT=PURP =and =HSY1 make-CAUS=FIN

'And he ordained that they would make the initiation and would dance the feather-dance.'

- (169) *kimáše* mil hut'ó:pisk ló:pis tá(e)san̪k³¹⁷
ki-mas-i mil hut'op-s=k lo:pis tas=am=k
DST-DSTR-ANIM deer hunt-CAUS?=DECL jackrabbit snare-?=DECL

nɔ̄ p'úhlam tá(e)sampa:miki:³¹⁸ na kimás(e)
=nɔ̄ p'uhlam tas-m-paʔ=miki =na ki-mas-(i)
=and rabbit snare-IMPV-FUT=PURP =and DST-DSTR-(ANIM)

³¹⁷ Alternate forms given: *tá(a)san̪k*, *tá(a)sampa:miki*; *tá(e)sampa:miki*: 'snare'

³¹⁸ Alternate form given: *tá(a)sampa:miki*: 'will snare'

ʔán k'ól' yú:yampa:mikí: ʔey k'qk'ésimil.
 ʔan k'ol yuy'-am-paʔ=miki =ʔi k'qk'-s=mil
 always other do-CONT-FUT=PURP =HSY1 make-CAUS=FIN

'How they would hunt deer and (net) jackrabbits and snare cottontail rabbits and how always they would do things differently, he ordained.'

(170) namlikí: ʔey kumnóm' k'ol ʔan yú:yammil
 namliki =ʔi kumnóm' k'ol ʔan yuy'-m=mil
 therefore =HSY1 Kumnom' other always do-IMPV=FIN

káyt taykómol k'qk'ésinamlikí:
 kayt taykomol k'qk'-s=namli=ki
 long.ago Taykómol make-CAUS=DEP=DST

'And therefore the Kumnom' always act differently, because long ago Taykómol made them come into existence like that.'

(171) sqʔéy ki huʔú:tli ʔey háye yú:kin (ʔu:k'omnóm'i)³¹⁹
 sq=ʔi ki huʔu-tl =ʔi háye yukin (ʔuk'omnom')
 SAME=HSY1 DST finish-TR =HSY1 now Yuki (Uk'omnom')

³¹⁹ The Uk'omnom' are one of the subgroups of Yuki speakers. See Chapter 1.

k'ayyéyampa:miki: ʔey *k'aymilmil.*
k'ay-m-paʔ=miki =ʔi *k'ay=mil=mil*
 speak-IMPV-FUT=PURP =and speak-?=FIN

‘Having finished that, he spoke what the Uk’omnom’ Yuki would speak.’

(172) *sqkópʔey* *kíʔa* ʔán *hulk’óʔa* *han* *hq:simil.*
sq=kop=ʔi *kíʔa* ʔan *hulk’oʔi=a* *han* *hqʔ-s=mil*
 SAME=ʔ=HSY1 there always Coyote=PAT house build-CAUS=FIN

‘And so he told Coyote to build a house there.’

(173) *siʔey* *hulk’óʔi* *hq:tlmil.*
si=ʔi *hulk’oʔi* *hqʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote build-TR=FIN

‘And Coyote built it.’

(174) *sqʔey* *kímʔ* ʔál *tuʔákmil* *hqčmik’ál.*
sq=ʔi *kimʔ* ʔal *tuʔa-k=mil* *hqč=mik’al*
 SAME=HSY1 right.over.there sticks lay-PNCT=FIN house/camp=around

‘And in it (Taykómol) laid sticks around the circuit of the floor.’

(175) *sqkíʔaʔéy* ʔap *mátlʔí:kon* *hó:ʔ* ʔú:k’omnóm’ *k’áni*
sq=kíʔa=ʔi ʔap *mat-tl=kon* *hoʔ* ʔuk’omnom’ *k’ani*
 SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=when? big Uk’omnom’ language

*k'ayímiʔakpa*³²⁰.

k'ay-milʔ-ɔk-paʔ

Speak-?-SEM-FUT

'Then, 'I do this, but many will speak Uk'omnom' speech.'

- (176) *sɔkítɛy* ʔu:k'omnóm' ʔan k'ól' ʔɔp
sɔ=kítɛ=ʔi ʔuk'omnom' ʔan k'ól ʔɔp
SAME=then=HSY1 Uk'omnom' always other 1SG.AGT

yúyamwičkí: ʔátɔpáʔ³²¹.

yuy'-m-wiɬ-ki ʔat-paʔ

do-IMPV-FUT=DST go.by.what-FUT

'And the Uk'omnom' always will follow their way according to what I am doing.'

- (177a) *sɔkítɔ* ʔitin hɔ:p wó:kešpaʔ
sɔ=kítɔ ʔitin hɔp wok-s-paʔ
SAME=then 1SG.POSS song sing/dance-CAUS-FUT

'My song they shall sing.'

³²⁰ Alternate form given: *k'ayyemiʔakpa* 'they will talk'

³²¹ *at-* 'think, mimic' (w/o nasal vowel) in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:340.

(177b) *sąkíta* *ʔáp* *woknám^{tl}* *kimás*
są=kíta *ʔap* *woknam-tl-wi* *ki-mas*
 SAME=then 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1 DST-DSTR

woknám^{espa} *taykómol* *woknám.*
woknam-s-paʔ *taykomol* *woknam*
 initiation-CAUS-FUT Taykómol initiation

‘As I have just made initiation, so they shall make initiation with the
 Taykómol-initiation.’

(178) *sąkíta* *tíʔol* *kʔákʔampaʔ* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
są=kíta *tíʔol* *kʔákʔ-m-paʔ* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil*
 SAME=then chief make-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

taykómol *ʔu:kʔomnoʔoma.*
taykomol *ʔukʔomnomʔ=a*
 Taykómol Ukʔomnomʔ=PAT

‘And chiefs will be made by that, said Taykómol to the Ukʔomnom’

(179) *sąkíta* *ʔey* *hulkʔilal* *woknám* *ʔap* *woknám^{tl}*
są=kíta *=ʔi* *hulkʔilal* *woknam* *ʔap* *woknam-tl-wi*
 SAME=then =HSY1 ghost initiation 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1

kimás ʔan woknámespaʔ ʔímeymil taykómol.

ki-mas ʔan woknam-s-paʔ ʔim=mil taykomol

DST-DSTR always initiation-CAUS-FUT say=FIN Taykómol

“And as I have just made the Hulk’ilal-initiation, so always they shall make that initiation”, said Taykómol.’

(180) sǎkí: huʔú:tlíkɨt ʔey ʔǎtǎ mil múhpaʔemikí:

sǎki huʔu-tl=kiɨt =ʔi ʔǎtǎ mil muh-paʔ=miki

and finish-TR=then =HSY1 again deer drive-FUT=PURP

nǎ sí hǎwǎyisampa:mikí: nǎ ʔálič kíʔin

=nǎ si hǎwǎy-s-m-paʔ=miki =nǎ ʔalič kíʔin

=and clover eat-CONT?-IMPFV-FUT=PURP =and Indian.potato DST.LOC?

hǎwǎyisampa:mikí: ʔey ʔímeymil taykómol.

hǎwǎy-s-m-paʔ=miki =ʔi ʔim=mil taykomol

eat-CONT?-IMPFV-FUT=PURP =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘And when he had finished, Taykómol also said (that) they would drive deer and gather clover as food and find brodiaea-bulbs for food.’

(181) ki: kʔkʔesanamlikí ʔey ʔu:kʔomnómi kʔkʔištó ʔal

ki kʔkʔ-s=namli=ki =ʔi ʔukʔomnomʔ kʔakʔ-š-ɬó ʔal

DST make-CAUS=DEP=DST =HSY1 Ukʔomnomʔ make-CAUS-? stick

kimoš *ʔéyya* *hąč* *mik'ál* *túʔak námlon*
ki-mas *ʔíyya* *hąč* =*mik'al* *tuʔa-k-namli=on*
DST-DSTR there.were.but? house/camp =around lay-PNCT=DEP=though?

‘And the Uk’omnom’ (Yuki) whom he made come into existence came into existence from the sticks which he had laid around the floor,’

kąytkil *ʔímeynámlik* *taykómol* *namlikí:* *ʔey* *ʔál*
kąytkil *ʔim=namli=ki* *taykomol* *namliki* =ʔi ʔal
long.ago say=DEP=DST Taykómol therefore =HSY1 stick

hon *ʔa:ʔát* *kąkíšto* *ʔey* *kimás* *híl(i)kšiloʔ*
han *ʔatát* *kąk-s-to* =ʔi *ki-mas* *hilkšiloʔ*
but people make-CAUS-? =HSY1 DST-DSTR everything

taykómol *yúyyamnamlikí* *ʔey* *yú:yammil* *ʔu:komnó:mi.*
taykomol *yuy'-m=namli=ki* =ʔi *yuy'-m=mil* *ʔuk'omnom'*
Taykómol do-IMPFV=DEP=DST =HSY1 do-IMPFV=FIN Uk’omnom’

‘as Taykómol had said before; that is why, although sticks, coming into existence as human beings, the Uk’omnom’ (Yuki) did everything as Taykómol had said before.’

(182a) *sqʔéy* *hi:l kí: ʔu:kʻomnó:ma* *huʔú:l(i)* *wáč*
sq=ʔi *hil ki ʔukʻomnomʻ=a* *huʔu-tl* *wač*
 SAME=HSY1 all DST Ukʻomnomʻ=PAT finish-TR show

‘So having finished showing the Ukʻomnomʻ (Yuki) everything,’

(182b) *sákiṭey* *hučnó:ma* *ʔán kí:ʔan* *wáčeymil*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hučnomʻ=a* *ʔan ki ʔan* *wač=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 Huchnom=PAT just.the.same show=FIN

ʔu:komnó:ma *wáčeyi.*

ʔukʻomnomʻ=a *wač*

Ukʻomnomʻ=PAT show

‘he showed the Huchnom the same as he had showed the Ukʻomnom (Yuki).’

(183) *kimás* *sákop* *han* *ʔey* *ʔu:komno:mát* *kʻáni* *šiló: han*
kimas *sq=kop* *han* *=ʔi* *ʔukʻomnomʻ=at* *kʻani* *šiloʔ han*
 thus SAME=then but =HSY1 Ukʻomnomʻ=DAT language like but

kʻol *kʻayimilnamlikí:* *ʔey*

kʻol *kʻay=mil=namli=ki* *=ʔi*

other talk-?=DEP=DST =HSY1

‘And he spoke like the Yuki but differently,’

hučnó:mi k'ayyéyammil háhlšiló'
 hučnom k'ay-m=mil halšilo'
 Huchnom talk-IMPFV=FIN differently

'(that is why) the Huchnom speak somewhat differently,'

k'áyit taykómol kimáš híl'k'il 'u:komnó'oma
 k'ayt taykomol kimas hilk'il 'uk'omnom'=a
 long.ago Taykómol thus separately Uk'omnom'=PAT

nq hučnó:ma wáčeynamlikí: 'ey kipqw šiló'³²²
 =nq hučnom'=a wač=namliki =?i kipqw šilo'
 =and Huchnom=PAT show=therefore? =HSY1 back like

yú:yammil hilkšiló'
 yuy'-m=mil hilkšilo'
 do-IMPFV=FIN everything

'long ago Taykómol thus taught the Uk'omnom' and Huchnom dividedly;
 that is why they do everything nearly alike;'

namlikí 'ey yú:kin na hučnó:mi 'ey
 namliki =?i yukin =nq hučnom' =?i
 therefore =HSY1 Yuki =and Huchnom =HSY1

³²² kipqw šiló' may mean 'alike'.

yú:yammil taykómol kilímeynamlikí.

yuy'-m=mil taykomol ki-lim=namli=ki

do-IMPFV=FIN Taykómol say-?=DEP=DST

'that is why the Yuki and the Huchnom do (alike, because) Taykómol
said it so.'

(184) kimás yúy'i 'ey nqwhi kímilmil hulk'ó'i.

kimas yuy' =?i nqw ki=mil=mil hulk'o'i

thus do =HSY1 see say-?=FIN Coyote

'That he watched him doing, Coyote said.'

['The following were obtained only in outline in English. He made the
mountains, and the rivers and springs. He went north, married, and had two
sons. He went across the ocean to visit his sister. There he made fish for
Coyote to catch, but, as always, did not himself eat. Also he caused his own
brother to stand at the (north) end of the world in summer, his sister in
winter. After other acts, he went to the sky with his two sons.']

2. Coyote and the World

In 1902, *Coyote and the World* was told by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber (1902b, 1902d). Kroeber calls this text the *Coyote myth* in his original notes, but later calls it *Coyote and the World* in his (1932) published English translations of the myths that were told to him by Ralph Moore. The English free translations of this myth are taken from one of these translations (Kroeber 1932:918-927). In comparing the original Yuki recorded in Kroeber's notes with the translations, it quickly became apparent that the 1932 free translations of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World* were sentence-by-sentence translations of the original Yuki. The free translations are largely unaltered from Kroeber's original. In rare cases small alterations were made when a translation for a particular sentence did not match the original Yuki as well as it could have matched it. Material, which was present in the English translation, but not in the original Yuki, either because of missing pages or other unknown reasons, is given in square brackets. (1) - (91) are recorded in Notebook 29 (Kroeber 1902b). (92) - (423) are recorded in Notebook 31 (Kroeber 1902d). In some cases Kroeber notes alternate forms. These are given as footnotes in this version. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of these alternate forms are taken from the glosses provided by Kroeber in his original notes.

[‘Once a great village was living where the people had built a ceremonial house. And now as they lived without fire and without any daylight and in continual darkness, they continually all ate meat raw. But whipping Jackrabbit and giving him no meat, they always drove him out doors. And standing outdoors, Jackrabbit wept.’]

- (6) ...kipq̄w nahámʔámil.³²³
 kipq̄w naham-a=mil
 at.the.same.time know-NEG?=FIN

[‘And thereupon he discerned fire; but] nevertheless he did not know it (for what it was).’

- (7) sikónʔey kʻinikop kú:tʻa ká:³²⁴ yim
 si=kon=ʔi kʻin=kop kutʻa ka yim
 NEW=but=HSY1 cry=while way.over.there fire

 čí:yeyimilmik³²⁵ ʔey ʔimeymil ló:pši.
 či-y-mq̄-il-m-k =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi
 spark.up-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit

‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

³²³ -ʔa might be a very reduced form of the negative -tan

³²⁴ Alternate form given: ku kʻa ‘way over there’

³²⁵ Alternate form given: čiyimilmik ‘sparks fly up (blaze up at intervals)’

- (8) *seʔéy hulkʰoʔá háltmlil.*
si=ʔi hulkʰoʔi=q hql-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-INTR=FIN

‘And Coyote heard (him).’

- (9) *sqʔey ʔa:táta ʔiwilhánam mihikimása*
sq=ʔi ʔaʔat=q ʔiwilhan=am mih=ki-mas=q
 SAME=HSY1 people=PAT ceremonial.house=IN2 be=DST-DSTR=PAT

ʔí:yi ʔiy háltkihil ʔanwí:sq móʔoš³²⁶ nqwíli
ʔiyi ʔi hql-t-k-il? ʔanwísi=q? moʔos nqwil
 something 1SG.PAT hear-INTR-PNCT-MPSV orphan=PAT? 2PL.AGT whip

lákšiwíčkiʔ hoyyímyi šiloʔómik ʔey
lak-s-wiʔ=ki hoy=ʔim-y šiloʔ-m=k =ʔi
 put.out-CAUS-PST2=DST too?=try-PROG like-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1

³²⁶ Alternate forms given: *moʔos* ‘ye’

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi ʔa:ʔata ʔiwilhanam nóhikimáša³²⁷
 ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi ʔaʔat=a ʔiwilhan=am no-h=ki-mas-a
 say=FIN Coyote people=PAT ceremonial.house=IN2 live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘And to the people who were in the ceremonial house, “Something I hear; the orphan whom you whipped and put out seems to be trying to tell something”, said Coyote to the people who were living in the ceremonial house.’

- (10) seʔéy hi:liʔ hq̄kilmil.
 si=ʔi hil-i hq̄lʔ-k-il=mil
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM hear-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘So all listened.’

- (11) seʔéy ló:pši k'ínik'op mil šáy ʔáwilk
 si=ʔi lopsi k'in=kop mil šay ʔaw-l=k
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while meat raw eat-PFV?=DECL

ʔiy nq̄wilq̄sik ku:t'a ká:³²⁸ yim
 ʔi nq̄wil-q-sik ku'ta ka yim
 1SG.PAT whip-?-HSY2? way.over.there fire

³²⁷ Alternate form given: *kimása* ‘those’

³²⁸ Alternate form given: *kuʔ k'á* ‘way over there’

- (13) *sqʔéy* *yqš(·)kí:k'il'* *hámmil.*
sq=ʔi *yqš=ki=k'il* *ham=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 stand=DST=TERM bring=FIN

‘And brought it to where he was standing.’

- (14) *sqʔéy* *čánimil*³³¹ *ló:psa* *mil* *jšič*³³² *na*
sq=ʔi *čan=mil* *lopsi=q* *mil* *čočič* =*nq*
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT meat pounded =and

sopes *tít*

sopis *tit*

shoulder ?

‘And gave Jackrabbit pounded meat and shoulder.’

- (15) *sqk'iléy* *kíwismil* *ʔi:yi* *šįjkími* *kúp* *hoymiye*³³³
sq=k'il=ʔi *kiw-s=mil* *ʔiyi* *šinkimi* *kup* *hoy-im-y*
 SAME-?=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN what ? sister's.brother too-say-PROG

³³¹ Alternate form given: *čánemil* ‘he gave’

³³² Alternate form given: *čočič* ‘pounded’

³³³ Alternate form given: *hóyímyiʔ šilómwi*

ʔeyy ʔimeymil ló:psiʔ hulk'óʔq hušk'áyesk.
 =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'oʔi=q hušk'qy-s=k
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT tell-CAUS?=DECL

“This is what I said: ‘Far yonder fire gleams at intervals, but eating raw meat they whip me’, I said just now”, said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him.’

- (18) kí hqle ʔi kúp hqlamuʔ ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
 ki =hqł ʔi kup hqł-m-wi ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi
 DST =INFR1 1SG.PAT sister's.son hear-IMPV-FV-PST1 say=FIN Coyote

“That it seems is what, sister’s son, I just heard”, said Coyote.’

- (19) ʔim kí: yim čí:yimílamha kup ʔi:y
 ʔim ki yim čí-y-mq-il-m-ha kup =ʔi
 where DST fire glitter-PROG-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FV-Q sister's.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

- (20) kú:tak'á: más yqhíyqkli ša:tammil más
 kutak'a mas yqh-q-k-il? šat-m=mil mas
 way.over.there thus blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV? stop-IMPV-FV=FIN thus

náwetaʔ(á) ʔey ʔimeymil ló:psí hulk'oʔa.
 nąw-t-aʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'oʔi=q
 look-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

(21) seʔéy hulk'óʔi nąwwít(i)ka ʔey ʔimilmil
 si=ʔi hulk'oʔi nąw-wit=ka =ʔi ʔimil=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote see-PST2=when? =HSY1 blind=FIN

‘And Coyote looked but could see nothing.’

(22) seʔéy kaʔáʔapis ʔap yąšhikíʔáʔapis náweta
 si=ʔi kaʔa=pis ʔap yąš-h=kíʔa=pis nąw-t-aʔ
 NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR=there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

ʔey ʔimeymil lówpsi hulk'oʔa
 =ʔi ʔim=mil lopsi hulk'oʔi=q
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

(23) seʔéy lówpsi yąšnamlí:kpis yąšít kú:ta
 si=ʔi lopsi yąš=namlí=kík=pis yąš-t kuta
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

nqwétmil.

nqw-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

- (24) *sqʔey* *yím* *yq:híšti* *nqwímil* *hulkʔóʔi*
sq=ʔi *yim* *yqh-s-t* *nqw=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

- (25) *sikqʔéy* *humámtohilmil*³³⁵
sikq=ʔi *hum=am-to-h-il=mil*
AGT>PAT=HSY1 glad=?-?-DUR-MPSV=FIN

‘Thereupon he was glad.’

- (26) *sqkítéy* *hamláčkʔi* *yáʔiti* *ʔiy* *čʔal*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hamlač=ki* *yaʔ-t* *=ʔi* *čʔal*
SAME=then=HSY1 smoke.hole=IN climb.up-INTR =HSY1 loud

³³⁵ Unclear whether the morpheme in the middle is *-to* or *-ṭ*.

pək'éyakmil.

pək'-qk=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

'And climbing to the smoke-hole he shouted loudly.'

- (27) *ʔey moʔos míwismil hí:li lákti*
=ʔi moʔos miw-s=mil hil-i lak-t
=HSY1 2PL.AGT disbelieve-CONT?=FIN all-ANIM come-INTR

ʔiwilhánpis sɔ nɔwkwil'
ʔiwilhan=pis sɔ nɔw-k-il-ʔ
ceremonial.house=ABL SAME see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

- (28) *sikiṭ šɔkmiʔ tiw:mililyá:ka sɔ hí:li*
si=kiṭ šɔkmiʔ tiw=ʔim-l-il-qk-a sɔ hil-i
NEW=then sometimes pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM-IMP SAME all-ANIM

kó:maʔ ka nɔwetaʔ hil ʔanwí:sa³³⁶ móʔos
kom-aʔ ka nɔw-t-aʔ hil ʔanwisi=a? móʔos
come-IMP PRX see-INTR-IMP all orphan=PAT? 2PL.AGT

nɔwíli laksiwíčki ʔí:yi t'q̄h'í:k ʔey móʔos
nɔwil lak-s-wiṭ=ki ʔiyi t'q̄h=k =ʔi móʔos
whip put.out-CAUS-PST2=DST something find=DECL =HSY1 2PL.AGT

³³⁶ Alternate forms given: ʔanwisi 'the orphan'

mínismil *hílkšilóʔ* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil* *hulk'óʔi*.
min-s=mil *hilkšiloʔ* =ʔi ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi*
doubt-CONT?=FIN everything =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“You who disbelieve me all come out of the ceremonial house and look! And some go about and notify one another, and let all come and see this! The orphan whom you whipped and thrust out has discerned something, you who doubt everything!” said Coyote.’

(29) *seʔéy* *hi:li* *ʔiwilhánam* *nóʔnámlíkimási*
si=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔiwilhan=am* *noʔ=namli=ki-mas-i*
NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM ceremonial.house=IN2 live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *láksilyqkmil*
=ʔi *lak-s-il-qk=mil*
=HSY1 come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

(30) *sáʔéy* *hí:li* *náwkił'mil*.
sq=ʔi *hil-i* *naw-k-il=mil*
SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And all who were in the ceremonial house came out, and looked.’

- (31) *sikiṭéy* *k'ólk'il* *šqkmi* *tiwí:mililyqkmil.*
si=kiṭ=?i *k'ol=k'il* *šqkmi* *tiw=?im-l-il-qk=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

'And some notified one another elsewhere.'

- (32) *sq'ey* *hí:li* *pqwík'i* *móp'ṭilmil.*
sq=?i *hil-i* *pqwi=k'i* *mop'-ṭ-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN

'And all gathered in one place'

- (33) *sq'éy* *kí:k* *wóktmil* *hulk'ó'i* *'ey*
sq=?i *kik* *wok-tl=mil* *hulk'o'i* *=?i*
 SAME=HSY1 there sing/dance-TR=FIN Coyote =HSY1

hḡp *yáškil'mil.*

hḡp *yqš-k-il=mil*

song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'There they danced; Coyote stood and sang for them.'

- (34) *sopéy* *hí:li* *wóktmil.*
sop=?i *hil-i* *wok-tl=mil*
 but=HSY1 all-ANIM sing/dance-TR=FIN

'So they all danced.'

- (38) *sikéy* *ʔqtá* *ki:* *wók* *huʔúsk* *ʔey* *ʔqtá*
sik=ʔi *ʔqtá* *ki* *wok* *huʔu-s=k* =ʔi *ʔqtá*
 then=HSY1 again DST sing/dance stop-CAUS=DECL =HSY1 again
túkeymil
tuk=mil
 travel=FIN

‘And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.’

- (39) *sqʔéy* *máɫ* *kapísimil* ³³⁷
sq=ʔi *máɫ* *kap-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 river enter-CAUS=FIN

‘And they entered the river.’

- (40) *sqʔey* *hí:li* *ʔúʔ* *lá:ksiliʔakmil.*
sq=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔukʔ* *lak-s-il-qk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM water go.across-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘And all came out (on the other side).’

³³⁷ Alternate form given: *kapésimil* ‘they came to’

- (41) *sikiṭéy* *hulk'ó'a* *ta'étmil.* ³³⁸
si=kiṭ=?i *hulk'ó'i=q* *ta'-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote=PAT drown-INTR=FIN

'But Coyote drowned.'

- (42) *sikiṭéy* *lá:ksiliyąki* *ʔúmey*
si=kiṭ=?i *lak-s-il-ąk* *ʔumi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM up.hill

k'ąkilmil.

k'ąk-k?-il=mil

go.up-PNCT?-MPSV=FIN

'So having come out, they went on up hill.'

- (43) *sikiṭéy* *hulk'ó'a* *tá'lam* *hąli* *yátmil.*
si=kiṭ=?i *hulk'ó'i=a* *ta'-lam* *=hąli* *yat=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote=PAT drown-INCH =INFR1 be.off=FIN

'And Coyote was missing, as if he were floating off drowned.'

- (44) *sikiṭey* *ki* *ʔa:ṭát* *túkinámlíkímáse* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ=?i *ki* *ʔaṭat* *tuk=namlí=ki-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST people travel=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

³³⁸ Alternate form given: *ta'ítmil* 'was drowned'

mi:liti:ki [?]*ey* *tóktmil.*

militiki =[?]*i* *tok-tl=mil*

Militiki =HSY1 arrive.at/reach-TR=FIN

‘Then the people who were traveling reached Mílitiki.’

(45) *sq[?]éy* *ki:k* *hi:li* *nó[?]okmil* *yí:č*

sq=[?]i *kik* *hil-i* *no[?]-k=mil* *yič*

SAME=HSY1 there all-ANIM live-PNCT=FIN for.a.while

‘And there all stayed for a while.’

(46) *sópey* *kí:k* *hulk’ó[?]i* *kómmil.*

sop=[?]i *kik* *hulk’ó[?]i* *kom=mil*

but=HSY1 there Coyote come=FIN

‘But there Coyote came up.’

(47) *sq[?]ey* *k’ayimílmil* *hót* *’íwupa* *han hilk*

sq=[?]i *k’ay-mil=mil* *hoč* *’iwop=a* *han hilk*

SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN big man=PAT even all/something?

hąkó:čmi *’an* *múna[?]* *koyyikířa* *hílkil*

hąkoč-mi *’an* *muna[?]* *ko[?]-y=kířa* *hílkil*

bad-be? long/always many go-PROG=while one.another

kíwikilmil *sq* *yatámil* *sq* *ʔán*
kiw-k-il=mil *sq* *yata=mil* *sq* *ʔan*
ask-PNCT-MPSV=FIN SAME wait.for=FIN SAME always/long

huná:kilmil *ʔan* *káčma* *mihikan.*
huna-k-il=mil *ʔan* *kačam=q* *mih=kan*
wait.for-PNCT-MPSV=FIN always/long bad=PAT be=though

‘And he talked: “Since even a great man may have something go badly with him, many traveling together should always ask one another and discover and wait for him, though he were worthless.”’

(48) *sqʔey* *ʔim* *kʻan* *paʔétmil* *hulkʻóʔi* *mi:litéiki*
sq=ʔi *ʔim* *kʻan* *paʔ-t=mil* *hulkʻoʔi* *militiki*
SAME=HSY1 where voice lift-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ *ʔá:ʔat* *šúknamlík:k* *tóktli*
munaʔ *ʔatʔat* *šuʔ-k=namlí=kik* *tok-tl*
many people sit-PNCT=DEP=there arrive-TR

‘So Coyote preached (“lifted his voice”) at Mílitiki, where the crowd having arrived was sitting.’

(49) *sqʔey* *ʔatqʔ* *kík* *mílití:ki* *ʔey* *ʔáʔtq* *woktlmil*
sq=ʔi *ʔatqʔ* *kik* *militiki* =ʔi *ʔaʔtq* *wok-tl=mil*
SAME=HSY1 again there Militiki =HSY1 again sing/dance-TR=FIN

hulk'ó'i hapyéškilop

hulk'o'i hqp-yeš-k-il=op

Coyote sing/song-stand-PNCT-MPSV=while

‘And there at Mílitiki they danced once more, Coyote standing and singing for them’

(50) *sq'ey hu'útli 'q'tq túktimil.*

sq='i hu'u-tl 'q'tq tuk-t=mil

SAME=HSY1 finish-TR again travel-INTR=FIN

‘And ceasing, they traveled on.’

(51) *sq'ey hqye hulmúnin yim nq̄hiki:'í:čisa 'ey*

sq='i hqye hulmunin yim nq̄h=ki='íč-sa ='i

SAME=HSY1 again Spider fire hold.down=DST=JXT-? =HSY1

háye kí:k wóktlik 'ey 'átat

hqye kik wok-tl=k ='i 'átat

again there sing/dance-TR=DECL =HSY1 people

*t'i:líkilmil*³³⁹ *ʔohí:škimása.*
t'il-k-il=mil *ʔohiš=ki-mas=a*
 pick.out-PNCT-MPSV=FIN swift=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘And now, approaching the place where Spider was holding down the fire,
 dancing there the swiftest ones danced the circle dance.’

(52) *sópey* *máyaq* *ʔohí:š*³⁴⁰ *milimáʔ* *páwkaq* *ʔeyy*
sop=ʔi *maq=q* *ʔohiš* *milimaʔ* *pawkaq* *=ʔi*
 but=HSY1 who=PAT fast nobody.I.think one.PAT =HSY1

ʔohí:šammil *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
ʔohiš-m=mil *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 fast-IMPFV=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘Then, “Who is swift? I think I alone am a swift one”, said Coyote.’

(53) *sqʔéy* *nánšil* *ʔúnol'iʔ* *k'ó:ṭilmil.*
sq=ʔi *nan-šil* *ʔunol'=iʔ* *k'oʔ-ṭ-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 black.oak?-skin quiver=IN keep.in-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And he was keeping black-oak bark in his quiver (as tinder).’

³³⁹ Alternate form given: *wilíkilmil* ‘dance wilol’ wok in circle’.

³⁴⁰ Alternate forms given: *ʔohí:šamu*, *ʔohí:šq*.

- (57) *sáʔey* *ʔatá* *wóktmil.*
sá=ʔi *ʔatá* *wok-tl=mil*
 SAME(?)=HSY1 again sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘And again they danced.’ [‘And again Dove danced.’ ?]

- (58) *siʔéy* *hí:li* *kí:kʻi* *wok* *ʔiy* *máʔlilmil*
si=ʔi *hil-i* *kik* *wok* *=ʔi* *máʔ-l-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM there sing/dance =HSY1 practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN

sá *huʔútlí* *ʔaʔtá* *túkt(i)mil.*

sá *huʔu-tl* *ʔatá* *tuk-t=mil*

SAME finish-TR again travel-INTR=FIN

‘All practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’

- (59) *sáʔey* *hulmúnin* *yim* *náhi* *kitáʔopis*
sá=ʔi *hulmunin* *yim* *náh* *kita=pis*
 SAME=HSY1 Spider fire hold there=ABL?³⁴⁴

ʔey *tóktmil.*

=ʔi *tok-tl=mil*

=HSY1 arrive?-TR=FIN

‘And they arrived near where Spider was holding down the fire.’

³⁴⁴ glossed as ‘there, near this side of it’

- (60) *sqʔéy* *ʔaʔtq* *wóktmil* *kí:* *káyit*
sq=ʔi *ʔatq* *wok-tl=mil* *ki* *kayit*
 SAME=HSY1 again sing/dance-TR=FIN DST already

toktlíkí:

tok-tl=ki

arrive-TR=DST?

‘And having reached it, they danced again.’

- (61) *sikitéy* *hayú:mi* *hulmúninát* *nqkʔi:* *šiloʔ*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hayumi* *hulmunin=qt* *nqk=i* =šiloʔ
 NEW=then=HSY1 Dove Spider=DAT near?=IN =INFR2

ʔey *náŋkilmilʔ* *hayú:mi*

=ʔi *nam-k-il=milʔ* *hayumi*

=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN? Dove

‘Then Dove laid himself down as it were near Spider.’

- (62) *sikitéy* *hí:li* *ʔatq* *wóktmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔatq* *wok-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘And all danced on.’

- (63) *sonʔéy hulmúnina mú:šamtanmil.*
son=ʔi hulmunin=q muš-m-tan=mil
 but=HSY1 Spider=PAT laugh-IMPFV-NEG=FIN

‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ [Probably: Spider did not laugh.]

- (64) *siʔéy hí:li hqye wók huʔútlmil.*
si=ʔi hil-i hqye wok huʔu-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM again sing/dance finish-TR=FIN

‘And now all stopped dancing.’

- (65) *sikiťey wqkʔi ki huʔú(tli) ʔey milmú:ši nq*
si=kiť-i wqk=ʔi ki huʔu(-tl) =ʔi milmuši =nq
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skína nq ʔolkáčam kimáse mólmaʔ ʔey

siskina =nq ʔolkáčam ki-mas-i molmi=q =ʔi

skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three=PAT =HSY1

tátikilmil wokʔnyk

tat-k-il=mil wok=am=k

fix/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN sing/dance=?=DECL

‘Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.’

- (66) *sopey hulk'ó?i ?á?tá kimáſat há:p yaškílmil.*
sop=?i hulk'o?i ?ata ki-mas=qt háp yaš-k-il=mil
 but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And Coyote again stood and sang for them.'

- (67) *sop?éy kimási mólma? ?qlaŋkó:timil*
sop=?i ki-mas-i molmi=a ?qlamko?-t=mil
 but=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM three=PAT dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

'But the three danced in a row to the side.'

- (68) *sá?ey kipáw ?ey ?qlaŋkó:tim'il*
sá=?i kipáw =?i ?qlaŋko?-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

'And they danced back.'

- (69) *sá?éy kipáwki ?qta ?qlaŋkó:timil.*
sá=?i kipáw=ki ?qta ?qlaŋko?-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back=IN again dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

'And again they danced to the side.'

- (70) *sá?ey ?átq kipáwiyit ?qlaŋkó:top ?ey ?olkáčam*
sá=?i ?átq kipáw=?it ?qlaŋko?-t=op =?i ?olkačam
 SAME=HSY1 again back=JXT dance.in.a.row-INTR=as =HSY1 Mouse

ʔúnol' ʔuntilnamlikí: ʔey ʔonop
 ʔunol' ʔun-t-il=namli=ki =ʔi ʔon=op
 quiver carry-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1 ground=LAT

híltimil.

hi-tl-t=mil

drag-TR-?=FIN

‘And as they danced back, Mouse dragged on the ground the quiver he was carrying.’

- (71) *sąkopéy kipát sín’ k’iktamil*³⁴⁵
są=kop=ʔi kipat sin’ k’ik-ta=mil
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R.DAT anus scratch-?=FIN

‘And then he scratched his anus.’

- (72) *sopéy hí:li sohókilmil.*
sop=ʔi hil-i soho-k-il=mil
 but=HSY1 all-ANIM applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘But all applauded.’

³⁴⁵ Alternate form given: *k’iktálimil* ‘scratched’.

- (73) *sopéy hulmúnina hq! ?ímṭ'mil*³⁴⁶
sop=?i hulmunin=q hq ?im-t=mil
 but=HSY1 Spider=PAT EXC try-INTR=FIN

‘And Spider went (*ímtmil* ‘involuntarily tried?’) “HA”.’

- (74) *si'éy ?únšil k'áštemil*³⁴⁷
si=?i ?unšil k'aš-t=mil
 NEW?=HSY1 little rise-INTR=FIN

‘And rose a little.’

- (75) *sopéy hayú:mi ?olč'ok há'namlíkí:la*
sop=?i hayumi ?ol-č'ok ha?=namli=ki-la
 but=HSY1 Dove wood-dry?/rotten? carry=DEP=DST-INST

?éy hqhin'am lúktmil.
=?i hqhin=am luk-tl=mil
 =HSY1 under=? push-TR=FIN

‘But Dove pushed under (him) with the rotten wood he was carrying (and caught fire in it).’

³⁴⁶ Uncertain whether it is <t> or <ṭ>.

³⁴⁷ Alternate form given: *k'ástemil* ‘he rose up’

(76) *sqʔéy* *tó:timil.*
sq=ʔi *tot=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 set.fire=FIN

‘And he set fire (to the grass).’

(77) *sopéy* *hulmúnin* *wąk* *teʔútlmil*³⁴⁸
sop=ʔi *hulmunin* *wąk* *tiʔu-tl=mil*
 but=HSY1 Spider close pursue-TR=FIN

‘But Spider pursued him closely.’

(78) *sikiṭéy* *k’olk’il* *ʔa:ṭát* *wó:manamlikimáse*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *k’ol=k’il* *ʔaṭat* *wok-mq=namli=ki-mas-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *túktimil* *lalkúhtkiwit.*
=ʔi *tuk-t=mil* *lalkuhtki=wit*
 =HSY1 travel-INTR=FIN Lalkuhtki=ALL

‘Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction to Lalkúhtki.’

³⁴⁸ Alternate form given: *tiʔútlmil* ‘pursued him right behind’

k'óletmil *tót* *namnamlikiṭa*.
k'ol-t=mil *toṭ* *nam=namli=kiṭa*
 die-INTR=FIN log lie=DEP=there

(82) *si'éy* *pómil*
si=?i *po=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 burn=FIN

‘Then though Spider pursued him, he died halfway where a log was lying,
 and was consumed.’

(83) *sikiṭéy* *ki* *lalkú:tk* *ʔatát*
si=kiṭ=?i *kiʔ* *lalkuhtki* *ʔatát*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST Lalkúhtki people

ʔóykilnamlikimáse *ʔey* *lál*
ʔoy-k-il=namli=ki-mas-i *=?i* *lal*
 crowd.in?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 lake

míṭkilmil.
miṭ-k-il=mil
 fill.up-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘Then they who had crowded into Lalkúhtki filled up the lake,’

- (84) *sikiṭéy* *šákma* *ʔáséyqkilmil* *yímok*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *šákmi=a* *ʔqs-q-k-il=mil* *yim-ok*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT heat-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN fire-INST

‘and some were scorched by the fire.’

- (85) *siki:ʔey* *ʔáséma* *nan* *ʔásičamil*
siki=ʔi *ʔasima* *nan* *ʔasič-a=mil*
 therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-?=FIN

‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

- (86) *sikéyʔi* *šúpá* *sópis* *ʔásíyqkilmamlikí:*
siki=ʔi *šupá* *sopis* *ʔqs-q-k-il=namli=ki*
 therefore=HSY1 blackbird shoulder scorch/heat-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST

ʔey *ʔáséyč* *tʔáklamammil*
 =ʔi *ʔasič* *tʔak-lam-m=mil*
 =HSY1 red ?-INCH-IMPV=FIN

‘That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.’

- (87) *sikiṭ* *hulk’óʔa* *ʔásiṭnamlikí:* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ *hulk’oʔi=q* *ʔqs-t=namliki* =ʔi
 NEW=then Coyote=PAT scorch/heat-INTR=because =HSY1

kú:š ʔqsámil

kuš ʔqsamil

fur yellowish

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

(88) seʔey ʔán ʔon kʼálammil

si=ʔi ʔan ʔon kʼal-m=mil

NEW=HSY1 long earth burn-IMPV=FIN

‘And now for a long time the world was in conflagration,’

(89) simeyéy šámní:tmil

si=mi=ʔi šamni?-t=mil

NEW?=therefore=HSY1 stop.burning-INTR=FIN

‘but then it extinguished.’

(90) sopéy ʔa:ʔát ʔú:kpis lá:ksiliyáki nájʔnamlikíʔa

sop=ʔi ʔaʔat ʔuk=pis lak-s-il-qk noʔ=namli=kíʔa

but=HSY1 people water=ABL come.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM live=DEP=there

ʔey tú:mamil hi:li.

=ʔi tuʔ-mq=mil hil-i

=HSY1 come.back-DIR1=FIN all-ANIM

‘But the people all coming out of the water, returned to where they lived,’

- (91) *sáʔey kík ʔiwilhánkʔi wóktmil*
sáʔi kik ʔiwilhan=kʔi wok-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 there ceremonial.house=IN sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘and there they danced in the ceremonial house.’

- (92) *seʔey hqye ʔá:mil híp³⁴⁹ tʔlilmil*
siʔi hqye ʔá=mil hip tʔ-l-il=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again roll=FIN hit have.race-PFV-MPSV=FIN

ʔíwis málam kú:htkiwit
ʔíwis mqlam kuhtki=wit
 man.PL young north=ALL

‘And now the young man [men?] had a race rolling hoops along to the north.’

- (93) *seʔéy ku:hʔtʔki tóktmil*
siʔi kuhtki tok-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 north get-TR=FIN

³⁴⁹ *ʔá:mil hip* is identified as the name of the rolling hoop game by Kroeber in the original notes; also unclear whether the verb in this clause is the same as that in the name of the game.

tqmilhíptinamlikimáši

tqmilhip-t=namli=ki-mas-i

play.rolling.hoop.game-INTR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘Then those who were rolling arrived in the north;’

(94) *sqʔey* *kʔolq:tk*³⁵⁰ *tʔóktlmil*

sq=ʔi *kʔol=qt=k* *tʔok-tl=mil*

SAME=HSY1 other=DAT=IN reach-TR=FIN

‘and they had reached the place of other (people).’

(95) *sqʔey* *hánkʔil* *ʔq:milhípmamil*

sq=ʔi *han=kʔil* *ʔqmilhip-mq=mil*

SAME=HSY1 house=TERM play.rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN

‘So they were racing toward the houses.’

(96) *seʔéy* *ʔeyyínomʔ* *miyqtkilʔ* *ko:lítyik*

si=ʔi *ʔiyi-nomʔ* *miyqt=kʔil* *koʔ-lit-y=k*

NEW=HSY1 some.kind-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

³⁵⁰ Alternate form given: *kʔolq:ʔqtap* ‘to another’s place’

ʔey ʔimq̄lilmil k'óʔil
 =ʔi ʔim-mq̄-l-il=mil k'oʔil
 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN Wailaki

‘And the Wailaki said to one another, “People of some tribe are coming toward us”.’

(97) seʔéy ʔiwilhánam káp̄tilyakmil ³⁵¹
 si=ʔi ʔiwilhan=am kap-t̄-il-ak=mil
 NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house=IN2 enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘Then they caused them to enter the ceremonial house;’

(98) seʔey ká:psilyakmil
 si=ʔi kap-s-il-q̄k=mil
 NEW=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

‘and they entered.’

(99) sikaʔéy nákop k'ap'éyakmil k'óʔil
 sikaʔ=ʔi nak=op k'ap'-q̄k=mil k'oʔil
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki

‘Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.’

³⁵¹ *káp̄silyakmil* ‘they caused them to enter’ given as possible though uncertain alternative

- (100) *sikiṭéy* *šqkmi* *hákilmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *šqkmi* *ha-k-il=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some.ANIM escape-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘But some escaped.’

- (101) *sikiṭéy* *čá:minká:pina*³⁵² *ʔúnšilkil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *čqminkapin-a* *ʔunšil=k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT little=TERM

čqk'íkilmil

čqk'-k-il=mil

try.to.club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.’

- (102) *seʔey* *yó:ṭop* *mik'óp* *kapéniʔakmil*³⁵³
si=ʔi *yoṭ=op* *mik'op* *kap-n-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 grass=LAT quick enter-AND-SEM=FIN

‘But he dashed quickly in and out of the grass,’

³⁵² Kroeber glosses *Čaminkapin* as the “name of a bird, a small bird.”

³⁵³ Alternate form given: *kapíniʔakmil* ‘he went in and out there’.

- (103) *sqʔey wílʔiʔ lákti tqšíl holíyammil.*
sq=ʔi wil=ʔiʔ lak-t tqšíl hol-m=mil
 SAME=HSY1 way.up/off=IN leave-INTR quiver shake.at-IMPFV=FIN

‘and escaping to a distance shook his quiver at them’

- (104) *sikʔéy tqł tqł tqł ʔímeymil čáminká:pin*
sik=ʔi tqł tqł tqł ʔim=mil čáminkapin
 then=HSY1 no no no say=FIN Čaminkapin

‘and Čaminkapin said “No, no, no!”’

- (105) *sikíṭey šqkmi ʔonwičop ʔi:tlmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi šqkmi ʔon=wič=op ʔiʔ-tl=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 some.ANIM earth=ALL=LAT flee-TR=FIN

‘Then some had fled a long way,’

- (106) *sikíṭéy wqkʔop čq:minká:pin kó:mil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi wqk=op čaminkapin koʔ=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Čaminkapin go=FIN

‘but Čaminkapin came behind.’

- (107) *si kí nqk ʔey hulkʔoʔá ʔinámtmil ʔa:ṭát kú:htkiwit*
si ki nqk =ʔi hulkʔoʔi=a ʔinam-t=mil ʔaṭat kuhtki=wit
 NEW DST night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people north=ALL

yí:tiwi *kimáša* *li:támšik*³⁵⁴ *ʔiy*
yiʔ-t-wi *ki-mas=q* *liʔ-t-m-sik* *=ʔi*
 play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'óʔi*

ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing are being killed”, Coyote said.’

(108) *sikíʔey* *hiʔkilnamlikimáse* *ʔey*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *hiʔ-k-il=namli=ki-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 escape-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipáwk'il *t'óktlmil*

kipaw=k'il *t'ok-tl=mil*

back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN

‘Then whoever had escaped arrived again.’

³⁵⁴ Alternate form given: *li:támšik* ‘were killed’

- (109) *sóney hušk'qyestanm'il k'o'il 'á:tat li'iyaknamlikí:*
son=?i hušk'qy-s-tan=mil k'o'il 'aʔat li²-qk=namli=ki
 but=HSY1 tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Wailaki people kill-SEM=DEP=DST

'They did not tell that the Wailaki had killed the people;'

- (110) *son'ey ná:nákmil hulk'o'a káyit*
son=?i nʔnak=mil hulk'o'i=a kayit
 but=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

'inámtnamlíka

'inam-t=namli=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?

'but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).'

- (111) *sʔ'ey háye ʔ'qʷ káyakmil*
sʔ=?i haye ʔ'qʷ kʔ-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 again/now war want?-SEM=FIN

'And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.'

- (112) *sʔ'ey 'á:tat ʔ'i:lakmil kimáša 'aniltí:li*
sʔ=?i 'aʔat ʔ'i²-lak=mil ki-mas=a 'anil-t-il
 SAME=HSY1 people count-leave/go=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV

k'o'óla *ṭ'qwlí:tinik*
k'o'ól=a *ṭ'qw-lit-nik*
 Wailaki=PAT war-DIR2-NEC

‘And he counted the people he was about to take to war on the Wailaki.’

(113) *sq'éy* *t'uyna'ákina* *nq* *šiwkí:ṭinaq* *'eyy* *yáwweymil*
sq='i *t'uyna'akin=a* =*nq* *šiwkíṭin=q* ='*i* *yqw=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin=PAT =and Šiwkítin=PAT =HSY1 name=FIN

‘And named T'uyna'ákin and Šiwkítin.’

(114) *sq'ópey* *'olkáčma* *yáwweymil* *kimáše*
sq=kop='i *'olkáčam=a* *yqw=mil* *ki-mas-i*
 SAME=then=HSY1 Mouse=PAT name=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

k'o'óla *haikiyúniakpá:miki:* *kimáša.*
k'o'ól=a *haykiyu-n-ak-pa'=miki* *ki-mas-a*
 Wailaki=PAT do.injury?-AND-SEM-FUT=PURP DST-DSTR=PAT

‘Also he named Mouse (among) those who would do injury to the Wailaki.’

- (115) *seʔey* *kimási* *kó:tmil*³⁵⁵
si=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *koʔ-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM go-INTR=FIN

‘Then they went:’

- (116) *sopéy* *múnaʔ* *kó:tmil*
sop=ʔi *munaʔ* *koʔ-t=mil*
 but=HSY1 many go-INTR=FIN

‘many went,’

- (117) *sopéy* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔʔwhuyáktmil*
sop=ʔi *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔʔaw-huyak-t=mil*
 but=HSY1 Coyote war-leader?-INTR=FIN

‘but Coyote was war leader.’

- (118) *sqʔéy* *kʔóʔolat* *ʔónop* *tóktlmil*
sq=ʔi *kʔóʔol=at* *ʔon=op* *tok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 Wailaki=DAT earth=LAT arrive-TR=FIN

‘And they reached the Wailaki country.’

³⁵⁵ Possibly written as *kótʔmil*. Difficult to tell if the glottalization has been crossed out or not.

- (119) *se hánkil kólítyi ?ey ?í:ynom'*
si han=k'il ko²-lit-y =?i ?íyi-nom
 NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 some.kind-people/tribe
- miyá:tk'il múná? kó:yik ?ey ?ímeymil k'ó'il*
miyát=k'il muna? ko²-y=k =?i ?im=mil k'o'il
 1PL.INCL.DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki

'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going toward us in numbers".'

- (120) *se?éy hulk'o'á hq̄lammil*
si=?i hulk'o'i=a hq̄l-m=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-IMPV=FIN

'And Coyote understood them.'

- (121) *sq̄ki:ey hušk'ayyesmil kipat ?a:тата*
sq̄ki=?i hušk'ay-s=mil kipat ?at=a
 and=HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT

'and told his own people.'

- (122) *sq̄?éy han'ič ko:yikóp hulk'o'i k'o'il*
sq̄=?i han=iṭ ko²-y-k=op hulk'o'i k'o'il
 SAME=HSY1 house=JXT go-PROG-DECL=when Coyote Wailaki

k'áni k'aymil na máy ?iwop mihtan ?i:
k'ani k'ay=mil =nə məy ?iwop mih-tan ?i
 language talk=FIN =and who man be-NEG 1SG.PAT

yəwmil ho:ʔ nó:p han ?əp kó:mił ?i:y
yəw=mil hoʔ noʔ=op? han ?əp koʔ=mił =?i
 name=FIN big live-while? but 1SG.AGT go=FIN =HSY1

*?imeymil hulk'oʔi k'o'olk'ána'ok*³⁵⁶
?im=mil hulk'oʔi ko'ol-k'ani-a?-ok
 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki-language=PAT?-INST

'And when they came near the houses, Coyote talked Wailaki: "Who is a man? There is no one I name, but I come where many live", said Coyote speaking Wailaki.'

- (123) *sə'éy ?iwilhánam kápšilyakmil*
sə=?i ?iwilhan=am kap-s-il-ak=mil
 SAME=HSY1 ceremonial.house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

³⁵⁶ Alternate form given: *k'o'olk'áno'ok* 'in Wailaki language'

máq *kimo'séyya* *kápta* *ʔimeytanan.*
máq *kimo'osiya* *kap-t-a* *ʔim-tan=han*
 someone DSTR.R enter-INTR-IMP say-NEG=but

‘And he (Coyote) entered the ceremonial house though none of them said to him, “Enter!”’

(124) *seʔéy* *šákmi* *k'óʔil* *šáyamasi* *wí:t'ak* *pa'áŋk*
si=ʔi *šákmi* *k'óʔil* *šay-a-mas-i* *wit-ak* *pa-am=k*
 NEW=HSY1 some Wailaki alive-?-DSTR-ANIM back-? think-?=DECL

šilóʔmaʔmási *nóhkil* *ʔey*
šilo-maʔ-mas-i *noʔ-h-k-il* *=ʔi*
 like-?-DSTR-? live-DUR?-PNCT?-MPSV =HSY1

ʔimeymil *šákmi* *k'óʔil*
ʔim=mil *šákmi* *k'óʔil*
 say=FIN some.ANIM Wailaki

‘Then some of the Wailaki said, “They sit down as if they thought they would return alive”.’

(125) *seʔey* *háqlammil* *hulk'óʔa*
si=ʔi *hql-m=mil* *hulk'óʔi=a*
 NEW=HSY1 understand-IMPFV=FIN Coyote=PAT

‘And Coyote understood’

(126) *síkey wá:česmil kípát ʔa:ʔáta.*
siki wač-s=mil kípát ʔatát=a
 then? tell-CIC=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT

‘and told his people.’

(127) *seʔéy háye kʔóʔil kíwismil wóktl*
si=ʔi háye kʔóʔil kiw-s=mil wok-tl
 NEW=HSY1 again Wailaki ask-CAUS?=FIN sing/dance-TR

ʔúsa nqwésaʔ ʔey ʔímeymil
ʔusa nqw-s-aʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 1PL.EXCL.PAT see-CAUS-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

kʔóʔil hulkʔóʔa
kʔóʔil hulkʔóʔi=a
 Wailaki Coyote=PAT

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

(128) *seʔey ʔq ʔímeymil hulkʔói*
si=ʔi ʔq ʔim=mil hulkʔóʔi
 NEW=HSY1 yes say=FIN Coyote

And he said, “Yes”,’

- (129) *sáʔey* *kipat* *ʔa:ʔáta* *woktl* *ʔímeymil*
sá=ʔi *kipat* *ʔaʔat=a* *wok-tl-(ʔʔ)* *ʔim=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT people=PAT sing/dance-TR-(IMP?) say=FIN

‘and told his people to dance.’

- (130) *seʔey* *kimáse* *wóktmil*
si=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *wok-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘So they danced.’

- (131) *sáʔey* *huʔútlmil* *nq̄khuylámop*
sá=ʔi *huʔu-tl=mil* *nq̄k-huy-lam=op*
 SAME=HSY1 finish-TR=FIN night-half/mid-INCH=while

‘And they stopped as it was becoming the middle of the night.’

- (132) *seʔey* *háye* *hiwq̄k* *moʔosí:yat* *ʔúsa*
si=ʔi *háye* *hiwq̄k* *moʔosiyat* *ʔusa*
 NEW=HSY1 now in.turn 2PL.DAT 1PL.EXCL.PAT

wok *nq̄wi* *hámek* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil* *hulkʔoʔi* *kʔóʔola*
wok *nq̄w* *ham=k* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔoʔi* *kʔóʔol=a*
 dance see want=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki=PAT

‘‘Now in turn we want to see your dance’’, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

- (133) *seʔéy kʔóʔil woktlmil*
si=ʔi kʔoʔil wok-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Wailaki sing/dance-TR=FIN

‘Then the Wailaki danced.’

- (134) *sikqʔéy hulkʔóʔi ʔin háwtlmil*
sikq=ʔi hulkʔoʔi ʔin haw-tl=mil
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 Coyote sleep wish-TR=FIN

‘Thereupon Coyote wished them sleepy.’

- (135) *sikiṭéy ʔolkáčam ʔáṭey yi:č lákmik ímil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔolkáčam ʔaṭi yič lak-m=k im=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 Mouse for.a.while for.a.while go.out-IMPV=DECL say=FIN

ʔey lákt(e)mil húčki kʔóʔil wó:ksikiṭ
=ʔi lak-t=mil huč=ki kʔoʔil wok-s=kiṭ
 =HSY1 go.out-INTR=FIN outside=IN Wailaki sing/dance-CONT=while

‘And Mouse, saying he was going out for a while, went outdoors while the Wailaki were dancing.’

- (136) *seʔéy* *ʔan* *wo:kəsmil* *kʔóʔil*
si=ʔi *ʔan* *wok-s=mil* *kʔoʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 long.time sing/dance-CONT=FIN Wailaki

‘And they danced long.’

- (137) *sikqʔéy* *ʔan* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔin* *háwəsmil*
sikqʔi *ʔan* *hulkʔoʔi* *ʔin* *haw-s=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 long/all.the.time Coyote sleep wish-CONT=FIN

‘But all the time Coyote was wishing them sleepy.’

- (138) *seʔéy* *šqkmi* *kʔóʔil* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *šqkmi* *kʔoʔil* *ʔin-lam=k* *ʔi* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 some.ANIM Wailaki sleep-INCH=DECL 1SG.PAT =HSY1

ʔi:mq̄lilmil

ʔim-mq̄-l-il=mil

say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN

‘Then some of the Wailaki said to one another, “I am getting sleepy.”’

- (139) *sikqʔey* *haye* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔiništaʔ*
sikqʔi *haye* *hulkʔoʔi* *ʔin-s-t-aʔ*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 again Coyote sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP

ʔi:níʂtaʔ lil hul p’oyíʂtaʔ
 ʔin-s-t-aʔ lil hul p’oy-s-t-aʔ
 sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP stone eye turn-CAUS-INTR-IMP

wó:ksiká:kop ʔi:níʂtaʔ ʔeyy ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi
 wok-s-kq-kop ʔin-s-t-aʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk’oʔi
 dance-CONT?-?-while sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Become sleepy! Become sleepy! Turn your eyes into stone! As you are dancing become sleepy!”

(140) seʔéy hqye hí:li ʔónop nó:hikimása ʔey
 si=ʔi hqye hil-i ʔon=op noʔ-h=ki-mas=q =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM ground=LAT live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔinkóptmil
 ʔinkop-t=mil
 snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now all those who were lying on the ground snored (in their sleep).’

(141) sikiṭey šíʔam wo:ksikimása ʔey
 si=kiṭ=ʔi šíʔam wok-s=ki-mas=a =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while sing/dance-CAUS=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔi:nítmil kopholiltál
 ʔin-t=mil kop-həʔ-l-il-təl
 sleep-INTR=FIN feather-take?-PFV-MPSV-NEG

‘Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep without taking their feathers off.’

(142) seʔey həye hi:la ʔinitmil
 si=ʔi həye hil=a ʔin-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN

‘And now all of them slept,’

(143) seʔey hó:t ʔinkóp litíniʔakmil kʔóʔil
 si=ʔi hoʔ ʔinkop lit-n-qk=mil kʔoʔil
 NEW=HSY1 big snore do-AND-SEM=FIN Wailaki

‘and were performing a great snore, the Wailaki did.’

(144) sopéy həye hulkʔóʔi čʔal ʔi:níštaʔ
 sop=ʔi həye hulkʔoʔi čʔal ʔin-š-t-aʔ
 but=HSY1 again/now Coyote loud sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP

ʔi:níštaʔ lil hul pʔoyíštaʔ
 ʔin-š-t-aʔ lil hul pʔoy-š-t-aʔ
 sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP stone eye turn.into-CAUS-INTR-IMP

?i:y ?ímeymil hulk'ó'i

=?i ?im=mil hulk'ó'i

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'But now Coyote said aloud, "Become sleepy! Become sleepy! Turn your eyes to stone!"

(145) *sikitéy* *haye* *t'uyna'ákina* *k'qymilmil* *hulk'ó'i*

si=kiṭ=?i *haye* *t'uyna'akin=q* *k'qy-mil=mil* *hulk'ó'i*

NEW=then=HSY1 again/now T'uyna'ákin=PAT say-?=FIN Coyote

t'úy *ha'qtl* *hán'al* *nq* *'á:ṭat* *nó:hikíṭa* *hil*

t'uy *ha'a-tl* *hanal* =*nq* *'aṭat* *no-h=kiṭa* *hil*

pitch rub-TR wall =and people live-DUR=then?/where? all

'Thereupon he spoke to T'uyna'ákin: "Rub pitch on the walls and wherever people are lying."

(146) *se'éy* *t'uyna'ákin* *t'úy* *ha'namlíkí:la* *'ey*

si=?i *t'uyna'ákin* *t'uy* *ha'=namli-ki-la* =?i

NEW=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin pitch rub=DEP-DST-INST =HSY1

t'úyy t'íktlmil³⁵⁷ hán'al na 'á:tat nó:hikíṭa
 t'uy tik-tl=mil hanal =nq 'aṭat no'-h=kíṭa
 pitch paint?-TR=FIN walls =and people lie-DUR=then

'Then T'uyna'ákin smeared the pitch which he had on the walls and on the people who lay about.'

(147) sikit'éy káyit 'olkáçam haway móneti³⁵⁸ lumtít

si=kiṭ=?i káyit 'olkáçam haway mon-t lum-tiṭ
 NEW=then=HSY1 already Mouse food steal-INTR bow?-string

šáyaki čilíyqkik 'ey 'á:tat k'ó'il ki
 šay-qk čil-qk=-k =?i 'aṭat k'o'il ki

chew-SEM? notched.nearly.through-SEM=DECL =HSY1 people Wailaki DST

k'ap'éyaknámlíkímášat t'ól 'ey monítmil

k'ap'-qk=namlí=ki-mas=qt t'ol =?i mon-t=mil

kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR=DAT hair =HSY1 steal-INTR=FIN

'And Mouse, having already stolen their food and gnawed their bow-strings until they were notched nearly through, stole (also) the hair (scalps) of the people whom the Wailaki had killed,'

³⁵⁷ Glossed by Kroeber as 'rubbed', but this probably refers to *ha'*. *tiik* shows up as 'paint' in YV, which seems like a plausible gloss here.

³⁵⁸ Alternate form given: *móniti* 'stole'

- (148) *sqʔéy tuktámiyaqi wíl(l)op tʔú:mil*
sqʔ=i tuk-t-m-qk wil=op tʔuʔ=mil
 SAME=HSY1 travel.with.possessions-INTR-IMPFV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN
mí:šit kiṭa ʔa:ṭát kómpa:miki:
miš=iṭ kiṭa ʔaṭat kom-paʔ=miki
 road=JXT there people come-FUT=PURP

‘and going off with it to a distance, laid it on [near] the trail by which the people would come.’

- (149) *sikiṭey háye hi:l tʔuy tík huʔútlikiṭ*
si=kiṭ=i háye hil tʔuy tik huʔu-tl=kiṭ
 NEW=then=HSY1 now/again all pitch smear finish-TR=when
ʔéy háye hi:li la:kšilyakmil húčki
=i háye hil-i lak-š-il-qk=mil huč=ki
 =HSY1 again/now all-ANIM go.out-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN outside=IN

‘And now when (Tʔuynaʔákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch, all went outdoors,’

- (150) *sikiṭéy pqw kah wí:stmil tʔuynaʔákina*
si=kiṭ=i pqw ka wis-t=mil tʔuynaʔakin=a
 NEW-there=HSY1 one PRX? remain-INTR=FIN Tʔuynaʔákin=PAT

‘and only this Tʔuynaʔákin remained.’

(151) *sqʔey* *kqyit* *hí:li* *láкта*³⁵⁹ *ʔíy* *ʔimeymil*
sq=ʔi *kqyit* *hil-i* *lak-t-ha* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 already all-ANIM go.out-INTR-Q =HSY1 say=FIN

hulk'oʔá *kíwisk*

hulk'oʔi=a *kiw-s=k*

Coyote=PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL

‘And, “Has everybody already gone out?” he said, asking Coyote.’

(152) *seʔéy* *ʔq* *hi:li* *ʔuʂ* *láktik* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *ʔq* *hil-i* *ʔus* *lak-t=k* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 yes all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT go.out-INTR=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'ói.*

ʔim=mil *hulk'oʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

“‘Yes, we are all out”, Coyote said.’

(153) *sóp'ey* *mipát* *ʔ'áčtlkop*³⁶⁰ *ʔey*
sop=ʔi *mipat* *ʔ'ač-tl=kop* *=ʔi*
 but=HSY1 hand clap?-TR=while =HSY1

³⁵⁹ Alternate form given: *láktq* ‘gone out’

³⁶⁰ Alternate form given: *ʔ'átstlkop* ‘clapped’.

t'óš³⁶¹ 'ímeymil t'uyna'ákin

t'óš 'im=mil t'uyna'akin

t'óš say=FIN T'uyna'ákin

'But then, clapping his hands, "T'óš" said T'uyna'ákin.

(154) sikiṭéy hó:ṭ hánal yá:htmil

si=kiṭ=?i hoṭ hanal yaḥ-tl=mil

NEW=then=HSY1 big walls burn-TR=FIN

'And the walls blazed up greatly,'

(155) sikiṭéy 'a:ṭát no'namlidikimáse

si=kiṭ=?i 'aṭat no'=namli-ki-mas-i

NEW=then=HSY1 people lie=DEP-DST-DSTR-ANIM

pa:sílkokímlika 'ey 'at'óhamil

pa-s-il-kok-im-l-ka =?i 'at'-oha=mil

lift-CAUS?-MPSV-?-try-PFV-? =HSY1 fasten-?=FIN

'and the persons who were lying there, when they tried to arise were fastened together,'

³⁶¹ An exclamation.

- (156) *siʔéy háye hi:l han kʼátlmil*
si=ʔi háye hil han kʼal-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again/now all house burn-TR=FIN

‘and all the house was consumed.’

- (157) *sikiʔéy so:hókilmil*
si=kiʔ=ʔi soho-k-il=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 give.whoop-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘Thereupon they gave a whoop,’

- (158) *sqʔey kipáwwop wí:tákmil ʔolkáčám*
sq=ʔi kipáw=op wit-qk=mil ʔolkáčam
 SAME=HSY1 back=LAT turn-SEM=FIN Mouse

həwayimóneti tʼúnamlíkita

həway-mon-t tʼu=namli=kiʔa

food-steal-INTR pile.up=DEP=there

‘and went back to where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’

- (159) *sqʔey tʼól túktimil həwayi kí:la*
sq=ʔi tʼol tuk-t=mil həway ki-la
 SAME=HSY1 hair carry-INTR=FIN food DST-INST

‘And they went carrying the scalps with the food.’

(160) *sópey ku:yítpis k'ó'il kímó'oséyya*

sop=?i kuy=it=pis k'o'il kimo'osiya

but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki DSTR.R

mątılı ?ey lu:mtít só:ṭ'ammil káyit ?olkáčam

mąt-t-il =?i lum-tiṭ soṭ'-m=mil kqyit ?olkáčam

shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow-string snap-IMPV=FIN already Mouse

lu:mtít či:lýaknamlí:

lum-tiṭ čil-qk=namli=ki

bow-string put.notch.in-SEM=DEP=DST

'But as the Wailaki from there shot at them, their bow strings snapped

which Mouse had previously notched.'

(161) *se'éy háye wákop tí'útlmil k'ó'il*

si=?i háye wák=op tí'u-tl=mil k'o'il

NEW=HSY1 now/again behind=LAT pursue-TR=FIN Wailaki

'Then the Wailaki followed after them.'

(162) *se'éy míya k'ó'il tí'uyik ?ey*

si=?i miya k'o'il tí'u-y=k =?i

NEW=HSY1 1PL.INCL.PAT Wailaki pursue-PROG=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi

ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘And “The Wailaki are pursuing us”, said Coyote.’

(163) *seʔéy k'oʔil tíwiyimil ʔič wáʔkop*

si=ʔi k'oʔil tiw-y=mil =ič wáʔk=op

NEW=HSY1 Wailaki follow-PROG=FIN =JXT behind=LAT

‘Then the Wailaki were following close behind.’

(164) *seʔéy šiwkí:tin lil háʔnamlikí:la ʔey*

si=ʔi šiwkí:tin lil háʔ=namli=ki-la =ʔi

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wíʔkmil kóʔola

wíʔ-k=mil koʔol=a

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying’

(165) *sqʔey ʔʔak námtmlil k'oʔóla*

sq=ʔi ʔʔak nam-tl=mil k'oʔol=a

SAME=HSY1 kill lie-TR=FIN Wailaki=PAT

‘and knocked them over dead.’

- (166) *sąkítęy* *ʔátą* *túktimil* *hulk'ó'i*
są=kił=ʔi *ʔátą* *tuk-t=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 SAME?=then=HSY1 again carry-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘So Coyote (and his) and went on carrying,’

- (167) *siką'ény* *ʔátą* *k'ó'il* *wąkop* *t'íwmąmil*
siką=ʔi *ʔátą* *k'o'il* *wąk=op* *t'iw-mą=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 again Wailaki behind=LAT pursue-DIR1=FIN

k'ol *kimási*

k'ol *ki-mas-i*

other DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘but other Wailaki pursued again.’

- (168) *siką'ény* *ʔátą* *šiwkítin* *kipat* *lila'ok* *wítkimil*
siką=ʔi *ʔátą* *šiwkítin* *kipat* *lil-a?-ok* *wił-k=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 again Šiwkítin 3R.DAT rock-?-INST hurl-PNCT=FIN

‘Then once more Šiwkítin threw at them with his stone’

- (169) *są'ény* *ʔátą* *ť'ąk* *námtmlmil*
są=ʔi *ʔátą* *ť'ąk* *nam-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again kill lay-TR=FIN

‘and knocked them over dead;’

(170) *sąkiṭéy* ʔáʔtą ṭúktimil hulk'ó'i.
są=kiṭ=ʔi ʔątą ṭuk-t=mil hulk'o'i
 SAME?=then=HSY1 again go.on-INTR=FIN Coyote
 'and Coyote went on.'

(171) *seʔey* ʔątą k'ol kimáse k'oʔil
si=ʔi ʔątą k'ol ki-mas-i k'oʔil
 NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki

téwmąmil
tiw-mą=mil
 pursue-DIR1=FIN

'And still other Wailaki pursued;'

(172) *sikiṭéy* ʔóp'a k'óʔil k'olámwit tíwi:mil
si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔop'a k'oʔil k'ol=am=wit tiw=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 two.PAT Wailaki other=?=ALL pursue=FIN

'but two of them followed off on the side.'

(173) *seʔey* ʔątą šiwki:ṭin lilaʔ wíṭkimil
se=ʔi ʔątą šiwkiṭin lil=a wiṭ-k=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again šiwkítin stone=PAT hurl-PNCT=FIN

'Then šiwkítin again hurled with his stone'

- (174) *sáʔey* *ʔqk* *namtlmil* *ʔátq*
sá=ʔi *ʔqk* *nam-tl=mil* *atq*
 SAME=HSY1 kill lay-TR=FIN again

‘and knocked them over dead.’

- (175) *sikíʔey* *ʔátq* *túktimil*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *ʔátq* *tuk-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 again go.on-INTR=FIN

‘and again they went on.’

- (176) *sikíʔey* *ʔopi* *kʻóʔola* *šáyyanamlikimáse*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *ʔopi* *kʻóʔol=a* *šay-a=namli=ki-mas-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki=PAT alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *kipáwk* *toktli* *ʔey* *huškʻáyesmil*
=ʔi *kipáw=ki* *tok-tl* *=ʔi* *huškʻay-s=mil*
 =HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

‘Thereupon the two Wailaki, who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

- (177) *kayit* *ʔúša* *nənákwí* *sikí:ki* *ʔús* *kʻólam*
kayit *ʔusa* *nənak-wi* *sikiki* *ʔus* *kʻol=am*
 already 1PL.PAT.EXCL know-PST1 therefore 1PL.AGT.EXCL other=?

(179) *sqʔey* *kík* *híl(i)kšiloʔ* *ʔúnmanamlikí:* *ʔey*
sqʔ=i *kik* *hilkšiloʔ* *ʔun-mq=namli=ki* *=ʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 there everything bring-DIR1=DEP=DST =HSY1

kipat *ʔa:ʔáta* *nqwhsimil*
kipat *ʔaʔat=a* *nqwh-s=mil*
 3R.DAT people=PAT see-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he showed his people everything that they had brought.’

(180) *siʔéy* *kimášat* *kʔúnat* *kimášat* *kʔá:nat*
si=ʔi *ki-mas=at* *kʔunʔ=at* *ki-mas=at* *kʔanʔ=at*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT mother=DAT

ʔey *na:nákmil* *tʔól*
=ʔi *nanak=mil* *tʔol*
 =HSY1 know=FIN hair

‘Then their fathers and mothers knew the scalps.’

(181) *seʔéy* *haye* *hulkʔóʔi* *kʔí:thil* *mopʔítnamlikí:*
si=ʔi *haye* *hulkʔoʔi* *kʔit-hil* *mopʔ-t=namli-ki*
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote bone-all? gather-INTR=DEP-DST

ʔey *číwkʔi* *pʔoyyíčyakmil*
=ʔi *čiw=kʔi* *pʔoy-t-qk=mil*
 =HSY1 acorn.store.house=IN put.in-INTR-SEM=FIN

k'ilúla *há:ʔtq*
k'ilul=a *hqʔ-t-q*
 marrow=PAT rub-INTR-ʔ

‘So now Coyote put them into an acorn storeroom along with their bones which he had gathered, rubbing them with marrow.’

(182) ʔqp *mátli:kon* *pák* *pqp'éyakpa* ʔey
 ʔqp *ma-tl=kon* *pák* *pqp'-qk-paʔ* =ʔi
 1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.
ʔim=mil hulk'oʔi
 say=FIN Coyote

‘‘I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)’’, he said.’

(182a) *namlík* ʔéy *wák* *nqwéti* ʔey *pák* *pqp'iyakmil*
namlíki =ʔi *wák* *nqw-t* =ʔi *pák* *pqp'-qk=mil*
 therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one pop-SEM=FIN

‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

- (183) *sikq'áy* *lak'íyakmil* *č'w̄pis*
sikq=?i *lak'-qk=mil* *čiw=pis*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 take.out-SEM=FIN acorn.storeroom=ABL

'Then he took them out of the storeroom,'

- (184) *sq'áy* *kilúla* *hq̄:timil*
sq=?i *kilul=a* *hq̄'-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 marrow=PAT rub-INTR=FIN

'and rubbed them with marrow.'

- (185) *se'áy* *kimás* *haye* *ʔá:ʔat* *kipáwyakmil* *hulk'ó'i*
si=?i *kimas* *haye* *ʔat* *kipaw-qk=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 NEW?=HSY1 thus now people back-SEM=FIN Coyote

'So thus now Coyote got back his people.'

- (186) *sakitáy* *nánykilk* *ʔinkilmil*
sq=kit=?i *nam-k-il=k* *ʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=DECL sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And then, lying down, he went to sleep.'

- (187) *sikq'áy* *ʔa:ʔát* *pilq̄:t* *námṭilnamlikí:* *ʔiy*
sikq=?i *ʔat* *pilq̄t* *nam-ṭ-il=namli=ki* *=ʔi*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 people sun lay/keep?-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1

ʔinámtil

ʔinam-t=mil

dream-INTR=FIN

‘Thereupon he dreamed of the people who kept the sun.’

(188) sáʔey kipat ʔa:ʔáta huškʔáyesmil ʔinám
 sq=ʔi kipat ʔaʔat=a huškʔay-s=mil ʔinam
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN dream

huškʔáyesstanáʔkʔophán ʔáq ko:mi:lámsik
 huškʔay-s-tan-aʔ=kop=han ʔaq koʔ-mq-il-am-sik
 tell-CAUS?-NEG-?=while?=but 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2

sq ʔáq kó:mi:lik ʔey ʔim
 sq ʔaq koʔ-mq-il-k =ʔi ʔim
 SAME 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-DECL =HSY1 say

kipat ʔa:ʔáta huškʔáyesmil tat nóhinik ʔey
 kipat ʔaʔat=a huškʔay-s=mil tat no-h-nik =ʔi
 3R.DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN good live-DUR-NEC =HSY1

ʔimiyikiṭ *ʔey* *kó:temil* *hulk'óʔi*

ʔim-y=kiṭ =ʔi *koʔ-t=mil* *hulk'oʔi*

say-PROG=then =HSY1 go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘So he told his people, not telling them the dream, but “I am to go, they say, and I shall go”, thus he told his people; “Stay here well”, Coyote said and went.’

(189) *sáʔey* *ʔinámtnamlikíṭaʔ* *humq:s* *kó:mil*

sá=ʔi *ʔinam-t=namlí=kiṭa* *humqs* *koʔ=mil*

SAME=HSY1 dream-INTR=DEP=there straight go=FIN

ʔinámtnamlikí:k'il

ʔinam-t=namlí=ki=k'il

dream-INTR=DEP=DST=TERM

‘And he came straight to where he had dreamed.’

(190) *sáʔéy* *hanʔíçyilkop* *mil* *ṭáyammil*

sá=ʔi *han-it-y-il-k=op* *mil* *ṭay-m=mil*

SAME=HSY1 house-JXT-PROG-MPSV-DECL=then deer kill/cut-IMPFV=FIN

‘And when he came near the house(s), he killed a deer,’

- (191) *sqʔéy* *háyk* *kʔótlmil*
sq=ʔi *hay=k* *kʔoʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 bag=IN put.in-TR=FIN

‘and put it in his net sack,’

- (192) *sqʔéy* *hánkʔil* *ʔúnmaqmil*
sq=ʔi *han=kʔil* *ʔun-mq=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 house=TERM bring-DIR1=FIN

‘and brought it to the house,’

- (193) *sqʔéy* *húčki* *kéytlmil*
sq=ʔi *huč=ki* *kiʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 outside=IN dropʔ-TR=FIN

‘and dropped it outside.’

- (194) *sqkíṭey* *hánam* *káptmil*
sq=kíṭ=ʔi *han=am* *kap-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 house=IN2 enter-INTR=FIN

‘Then he went into the house.’

- (195) *seʔéy* *ʔópa* *mus* *nó:mil*
si=ʔi *ʔopa* *mus* *noʔ=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 two.PAT woman.PL live=FIN

‘Two women lived there.’

- (196) *sikiṭéy* *kápti* *šú:kmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kap-t* *šuʔ-k=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 go.in-INTR sit-PNCT=FIN

‘So having gone in, he sat down.’

- (197) *sqʔéy* *ʔap* *mil* *ʔúnmawi* *ki:*
sq=ʔi *ʔap* *mil* *ʔun-mq-wi* *kiʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT deer bring-DIR1-PST1 DST

kápisa *həwayilitia*³⁶² *ʔey* *ʔímeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
kap-s-aʔ *həway-lit-aʔ* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
 bring.in-CAUS-IMP food-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša *músʔaʔ*
ki-mas=a *mus=a*
 DST-DSTR=PAT woman.PL=PAT

‘And, “I have brought a deer, bring it in to eat!” Coyote said to these women.’

³⁶² Alternate form given: *həwayilitínyaka* ‘and eat it!’

(198) *seʔéy paʔqk lákti kapmíka*
si=ʔi paʔqk lak-t kap=míka
 NEW=HSY1 alone leave-INTR bring.in=?

sá:kʼilmil

sakʼil=mil

can.not.lift?=FIN

‘So one of them, having gone out to bring it in, could not raise it.’

(199) *sqʔey kipqwkil kápt(i) ʔiy múnʼ*
sq=ʔi kipq w=kʼil kap-t ʔi-munʼ
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM come.in-INTR 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister

ʔey sá:kʼlik ʔey ʔimeymil

ʔi sakʼil=k =ʔi ʔim=mil

1SG.PAT can.not.lift?=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN

‘And coming back in, “My younger sister, I cannot raise it”, she said.’

(200) *seʔéy ki:ŋkʼič miwánʔk láktmíl*
si=ʔi kim-kʼič miw-a-nik lak-t=mil
 NEW?=HSY1 DST.INAL.POSS-older.sister help-?-NEC? go.out-INTR=FIN

‘So she went out to help her older sister.’

- (201) *sikq'áy* *'opkí:ya* *sá:-k'ilmil*
sikq='i *'opi=ki=a* *sa'-k-il=mil*
 AGT>PAT?=HSY1 two=DST=PAT can.not.lift-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'But both of them could not lift it.'

- (202) *sq'áy* *kápšiliyaqi* *'úša* *sá:lik*
sq='i *kap-s-il-qa* *'usa* *sal=k*
 SAME=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM 1PL.EXCL.PAT can.not.lift?=DECL

hoṭ hanóṭ míhi 'ey 'imeymil kimási mus

hoṭ hanoṭ mih ='i 'im=mil ki-mas-i mus

big heavy be =HSY1 say=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM woman.PL

'And coming in together, "We cannot raise it it is very heavy", said those women.'

- (203) *se'ey* *hulk'ó'i lákti kapísimil*
si='i *hulk'ó'i lak-t kap-s=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote leave bring.in-CAUS=FIN

'Then Coyote going out brought it in.'

- (204) *sáʔey* *noʔnamlikík* *hámpeyit* *námtmlmil* *ki:* *míl*
sá=ʔi *noʔ=namli=kik* *hamp=it* *nam-tl=mil* *ki* *míl*
 SAME=HSY1 live=DEP=there back=JXT lay-TR=FIN DST deer

‘And he laid that deer behind where they were sitting.’

- (205) *sáʔey* *maš*³⁶³ *həwáysam* *wič* *kóyikap* *máy*
sá=ʔi *mas* *həway-s-m-(ʔ)* *wič* *koʔ-y=kop* *may*
 SAME=HSY1 thus eat-CAUS-IMPV-IMP far go-PROG=as? someone?

hiwítwiča *wičkí:* *may* *ʔínlam*³⁶⁴

hiw-t-wič-a *wič=ki* *may* *ʔin-lam*

tired-INTR-PST2-? far=IN someone? sleep-INCH

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *hulk’óʔi*

=ʔi *ʔim=mil* *hulk’oʔi*

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“So, eat! From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said

Coyote.

- (206) *sáʔey* *nánkilmil* *k’amolšíl*
sá=ʔi *nam-k-il=mil* *k’amol-šíl*
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

³⁶³ Alternate form given: *mas* ‘thus’

³⁶⁴ Alternate form given: *íllám* ‘sleepy’

kipá tátlnamlikí

kip=q tat-tl=namli=ki

3R=PAT arrange/fix-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged for him.’

(207) *sikitéy kimáši mú:s milhúyisk*

si=kiṭ=ʔi ki-mas-i mus mil-huy-s=k

NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM woman.PL meat-cook-CAUS=DECL

həwáyisammil

həway-s-m=mil

eat-CAUS-IMPFV=FIN

‘Then those women, having broiled the meat, ate it.’

(208) *sikitéy hulk’óʔi námmit*

si=kiṭ=ʔi hulk’oʔi nam=mil

NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote lay=FIN

‘And so Coyote lay there.’

(209) *sə ʔintálaʔhan ʔinkó:pismil*

sə ʔin-tql-aʔhan ʔinkop-s=mil

SAME sleep-NEG-ʔ=but snore-CONT=FIN

‘And even though not asleep he snored.’

- (210) *sikiṭéy* *kimási* *mú:s*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *mus*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM woman.PL

mil *həwáyisammil*
mil *həwəy-s-m=mil*
 deer eat-CONT?-IMPFV=FIN

‘And those women were eating the meat.’

- (211) *sikaʔéy* *həye* *ʔin* *háwtmil* *hana* *ʔey*
sikaʔ=ʔi *həye* *ʔin* *haw-tl=mil* *hana*³⁶⁵ *=ʔi*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 now sleep wish-TR=FIN ? =HSY1

háwesmil
haw-s=mil
 wish-CAUS=FIN

‘And now he wished them sleepy; (to himself) he wished it.’

- (212) *simeyʔéy* *pá:k* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
si=mi=ʔi *pək* *ʔin-lam=k* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil*
 NEW-therefore=HSY1 one sleep-INCH=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN

‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”;

³⁶⁵ Alternate form given: *ʔan ʔi* ‘all the time’

(213) *sqʔéy* *naŋkílmil*
sq=ʔi *nam-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘and lay down.’

(214) *sikqʔéy* *ʔi:nítmil*
sikq=ʔi *ʔin-t=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 sleep-INTR=FIN

‘And then she slept.’

(215) *sikiťéy* *kʼolkiʔa* *hoy* *ʔínlámmil*
si=kiť=ʔi *kʼol-ki=q* *hoy* *ʔin-lam=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other-DST=PAT too sleep-INCH=FIN

‘Then the other one too got sleepy.’

(216) *seʔéy* *ʔan* *ʔinháwesmil* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil* *músp*
si=ʔi *ʔan* *ʔin-haw-s=mil* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *musp*
 NEW=HSY1 long sleep-wish-CAUS=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN woman

ʔíy *hoy* *ʔillánʔ* *ʔimyíka* *ʔey*

ʔi *hoy* *ʔin-lamʔ* *ʔim-y=ka* *=ʔi*

1SG.PAT too sleep-INCH say-PROG=when? =HSY1

tóti ʔi:nítmil mipá:t'ey mil há'
 tɔt ʔin-t=mil mipat=ʔi mil ha'
 fall.over sleep-INTR=FIN hand=IN meat hold

‘And all the time he wished them to sleep and the woman said, “I too am sleepy”; saying that she fell over and slept holding the meat in her hand.’

(217) seʔéy haye hí:la ʔi:nítmil.
 si=ʔi haye híl=q ʔin-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN

(218) seʔéy hót:t ʔinkó:pt'mil
 si=ʔi hoʔ ʔinkop-t=mil
 NEW?=HSY1 big snore-INTR=FIN

‘So now they all slept and snored much.’

(219) sikiʔéy haye páʔitmil hulk'óʔi
 si=kiʔ=ʔi haye paʔ-t=mil hulk'óʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 now arise-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote arose.’

(220) sqʔey ki pilq:t nám nanák'q ʔey hót
 sq=ʔi ki pilqt nam nanak-q =ʔi hoʔ
 SAME=HSY1 DST sun lay know-? =HSY1 big

wəʃít'šíl na k'amolšíl hil(i)kšiló'at šil
wəʃít-šil =nə k'amol-šil hilkšilo'=at šil
bear-skin and puma-skin everything=DAT skin

ʔey wáwmił

ʔi waw=mił

HSY1 cover=FIN

'And where he knew the sun lay many bear skins and puma skins and all kinds of skins covered it.'

(221) seʔey kí: hil haýé pišítmił

si=ʔi ki hil haýe piš-t=mił

NEW=HSY1 DST all now take.off-INTR=FIN

'So now he stripped them all off;'

(222) saʔéy paqwik'i šil t'ú:mił

sa=ʔi paqwi=k'i šil t'u'=mił

SAME=HSY1 one=IN skin pile=FIN

'and piled them together:'

(223) *sqʔey* *ʔopíčam* *t'u:mil* *pqawík'i*
sq=ʔi *ʔopi=čam* *t'uʔ=mil* *pqawi=k'i*
 SAME=HSY1 two=PNOML pile=FIN one=IN

‘in two (heaps) he piled them together.’

(224) *samí:ʔi:* *háye* *pilá:ta* *k'óʔhqliki:* *ʔey* *háye*
sa-mi=ʔi *haye* *pilqt=a* *k'oʔ=hqli=ki* *=ʔi* *haye*
 SAME-therefore=HSY1 now sun=PAT be.in=INFR1=DST =HSY1 now

ʔá:tlhqli *ʔey* *muč'úyitmil*
ʔaʔ-tl=hqli *=ʔi* *muč'uy-t=mil*
 touch-TR=INFR1 =HSY1 squeal-INTR=FIN

‘But now where the sun was inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.’

(225) ³⁶⁶*sikaʔéy* *čičičičisúp* *ši:yq* *haymáša* *šup* *miʔ*
sikaʔ=ʔi *čičičičisup* *ki=q* *haymas=a* *kup* *miʔ*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 hush.hush.hush DST=PAT how?=PAT? sister's.son 2SG.AGT

kačq *ʔan* *šú:pa* *h[y]ánop* *šuhól* *mí:* *šup*
kačqʔ *ʔan* *šuʔ-paʔ* *han=op* *šuʔ-h-olʔ* *miʔ* *kup*
 here? always sit-FUT house=LAT sit-DUR-AG/INT 2SG.AGT sister's.son

³⁶⁶ Kroeber's note on (225): “This speech is in C[oyote] language. *šup* = *kup* All the *s* and *š* are about *š*; and lisped a little.”

méy(h)tan mí:t k'olám míhik sikí: si:
mih-tan mit k'ol=am mih=k siki si
 be-NEG 2SG.DAT other=? be-DECL therefore NEW?

kú:pat šanákešto šo ʔáp kup míš
kup-at hanak-što so? ʔap kup mis
 sister's.son=DAT think-? ? 1SG.AGT sister's.son 2SG.PAT

nóʔwinmawi ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
naw-n-mq-wi =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi
 see-AND-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“Hush! hush! hush! sister’s son! Is it, sister’s son, that you shall be here always? You are not, sister’s son, a stayer in the house. Thinking about you being elsewhere, sister’s son, that is why I came to see you, sister’s son”, said Coyote.’

(226) *sáʔey kipat háyki k'ó:tli ʔey*
sá=ʔi kipat hay=ki k'oʔ-tl =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 3R.DAT net.bag=IN put.in-TR =HSY1

háye há:temil
haye haʔ-t=mil
 now take.off-INTR=FIN

‘And putting it in his net sac, he took it off.’

(227)³⁶⁷ *se'áy* *háye* *táltáhi* *'ey* *háye* *múna*

si=?i *háye* *tál-ta-hi* *=?i* *háye* *muna*

NEW=HSY1 now NEG?-?-? =HSY1 now many

'a:át *te'útlmil* *wákop*

'a:at *te'u-tl=mil* *wák=op*

people go.after-TR=FIN after=LAT

'Then missing it, many people pursued after.'

(228) *se'áy* *háye* *hulk'ó'a* *'amílkimil.*

si=?i *háye* *hulk'ó'i=a* *'amil-k-il=mil*

NEW=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And now they had almost caught up with Coyote.'

³⁶⁷ This text is included in the original notes after (227), but is crossed out by Kroeber. Possible glosses are added by me.

'u:k *hó:čamwit* *sá'áy* *ki'* *tóktmil* *máy* *ka:ta*
'uk' *ho'=čam=wit* *sá=?i* *ki* *tok-tl=mil* *máy* *ka:ta*
water ?=PNOML?=ALL SAME=HSY1 DST arrive-TR=FIN someone/who here

kómwičó:ki *miyát* *pilá:t* *wáčaméyk* *'áy* *'i:mikílmil*
komwičoki *miyát* *pilát* *wáč-am=k* *=?i* *'im-k-il=mil*
? 1PL.INCL.DAT sun steal-IMPV?=DECL =HSY1 say/try-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

sá'ey *wákop* *te'útlmil* *'a:át* *sahóney* *hat'enkílmil*
sá=?ey *wák=op* *te'u-tl=mil* *'a:at* *sahon=?ey* *hat'in-k-il=mil*
SAME=HSY1 after=LAT go.after-TR=FIN people ?=HSY1 ?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

- (229) *seʔéy* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔiwóṭ* *kʔqkʔakí:li* *tóṭkʔil*
si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi* *ʔiwóṭ* *kʔqkʔ-a-k-il* *toṭ=kʔil*
NEW=HSY1 Coyote old.man become-?-PNCT-MPSV log=TERM

yikṭilkʔil *ʔey* *námmil* *ʔamilto*
yik-ṭ-il=kʔil =ʔi *nam=mil* *ʔamil-to*
fire-INTR-MPSV=TERM =HSY1 lay=FIN overtake-?

‘Then Coyote, having become an old man, was lying toward a log which he had put fire against, when he was overtaken.’

- (230) *seʔéy* *kimáse* *kík* *téʔumqmil*
si=ʔi *ki-mas-i* *kik* *teʔu-mq=mil*
NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM there go.after-DIR1=FIN

‘So they followed him there,’

- (231) *sqʔéy* *kíwismil* *ʔím* *ʔúsʔat* *pilq:t*
sq=ʔi *kiw-s=mil* *ʔim* *ʔusat* *pilq:t*
SAME=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN where 1PL.EXCL.DAT sun

ʔúsʔat *wátimwičkí:* *káʔen*³⁶⁸ *kʔomláme*³⁶⁹
ʔusat *wqṭ-m-wič=ki* *kaʔin* *kʔom-lam*
1PL.EXCL.DAT steal-IMPV-FV-PST=DST PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH

³⁶⁸ Alternate form given: *káʔin* ‘anywhere about’

mis háltha ʔey ʔim kíwismil
mis həl-t-ha =ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil
 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN

hulk'óʔa kimási
hulk'óʔi=a ki-mas-i
 Coyote=PAT DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘and asked him, “Where is our sun which was stolen from us? Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?” so they asked Coyote.’

(232) *seʔéy hulk'óʔi kí həle ʔiyt k'ápki*
si=ʔi hulk'óʔi ki =həli ʔit k'apki
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

hó:t sunlámuʔ ʔiy ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
hoʔ sun-lam-wi =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi
 big make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote, “That must be the one which just now moved along resounding loudly below me”, said Coyote.’

³⁶⁹ Alternate form given: *k'omlámha* ‘making a noise, sounding’ (a question?)

- (233) *seʔéy kíta teʔútlmil*
si=ʔi kíta teʔu-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 there pursue-TR=FIN

‘So they pursued there.’

- (234) *sikiṭéy nqwhimí kʻólkʻil pilq:t*
si=kiṭ=ʔi nqwh-m kʻol-kʻil pilq:t
 NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR?-? other=TERM sun

há:timil hqšá
haʔ-t=mil hqša
 take.off-INTR=FIN again

‘And having watched them, he took the sun off again in another direction.’

- (235) *seʔéy ʔatq kʻol kimási kip ʔamilemi ʔey*
si=ʔi ʔatq kʻol ki-mas-i kip ʔamil-mi =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM 3R overtake-? =HSY1

ʔqta ʔiwó:t han há:sʔmil
ʔqta ʔiwot han hqʔ-s=mil
 again old.man house build-CAUS?=FIN

‘Then again more of them almost overtaking him, an old man was building a house.’

(236) *seʔéy kík teʔúmamil*
si=ʔi kik tíʔu-mq=mil
 NEW=HSY1 there pursue-DIR1=FIN

‘And they followed to him.’

(237) *ʔim ʔúṣq̄t pilq̄:t wq̄twičkí: mis*
ʔim ʔusat pilq̄t wq̄t-wič=ki mis
 thus 1PL.EXCL.DAT sun steal-PST2=DST 2SG.PAT

hqlamtanka káʔen ʔiy ʔim kíwismil
hql-m-tan-ha? kaʔin =ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil
 hear-IMPV-NEG-Q? PRX.LOC? =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

kiʔa ʔiwóṭa hanh̄q̄si³⁷⁰ kiʔa
ki=q ʔiwot=q han-hq-s ki=q
 DST=PAT old.man=PAT house-build-CAUS DST=PAT

“‘Our sun which was stolen, did you not hear it about here?’” thus they asked the old man who was building a house.’

(238) *seʔéy kí hq̄le ʔi:t kʔólop hó:t*
si=ʔi ki =hq̄l ʔit kʔol=op ho:t
 NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT other=LAT big

³⁷⁰ *hanh̄q̄si* is glossed by Kroeber as ‘house-building’

sunlámwi ʔiy ʔímeymil ki ʔiwót
sun-lam-wi =ʔi ʔim=mil ki ʔiwot
 make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN DST old.man

“That must be the one that was resounding loudly as it went along behind me”, said the old man.’

(239) *sop'éy* *kíṭa* *te'útlmil*
sop=ʔi *kíṭa* *te'u-tl=mil*
 ʔ=HSY1 there pursue-TR=FIN

‘So they pursued that way;’

(240) *sikiṭéiy* *nqwhiméykiṭ* ʔey ʔa'tá *k'olk'il*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *nqw-h-m=kiṭ* =ʔi ʔatq *k'ol-k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPV=when =HSY1 again/now other=TERM

kó:t(e)mil *pilá:t* *há'ti:li*
ko?-t=mil *pilqt* *ha?-t-il*
 go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV

‘but when he had watched them, he went the other way carrying the sun.’

(241) *se'éy* *haye* ʔátá *kíṭa* ʔátá ʔamíllaṅk
si=ʔi *haye* ʔatq *kíṭa* ʔatq ʔamil-lam=k
 NEW=HSY1 now again there again overtake-INCH=DECL

ʔiwóṭ k'áy' ʔámil
 ʔiwot k'ay' ʔa=mil
 old.man mushroom pick=FIN

'And now as they were about to overtake him again, (he was) an old man
 picking mushrooms.'

(242) seʔéy kík tíwinamlikimáse ʔey kómmil
 si=ʔi kik tiw=namli=ki-mas-i =ʔi kom=mil
 NEW=HSY1 there pursue=DEP-DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 come=FIN

'Then those who were pursuing him came there.'

(243) sqʔey ʔim ʔúšʔat pilq:t wá:timwički:
 sq=ʔi ʔim ʔusat pilq:t wq̄t-m-wič=ki
 SAME=HSY1 where 1PL.EXCL.DAT sun steal-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST
 káʔin mis hq̄lamha k'omlámi ki: ʔeyy
 kaʔin mis hq̄l-m-ha k'om-lam ki =ʔi
 PRX?-IN? 2SG.PAT hear-IMPV-FV-Q make.noise-INCH DST =HSY1

ʔim kíwismil
 ʔim kiw-s=mil
 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

“Where is our sun which was stolen? Did you hear it sounding about here?”
 they asked.'

- (244) *séʔey* *kí:* *hąle* *káta* *wi:lísiwiʔ* *hąli* *hó:ɬ*
si=ʔi *ki* =*hąli* *kaɬa* *wil-s-wi* =*hąli* *hoɬ*
NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 here go.past-CONT-PST1 =INFR1 big
- kʼomlámwi* *ʔéyy* *ʔímeymil*
kʼom-lam-wi =ʔi *ʔim=mil*
make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN
- ʔiwóɬ* *ki* *kʼáyʼ* *ʔáʔeyki*
ʔiwot *ki* *kʼayʼ* *ʔa-y=ki*
old.man DST mushroom pick-PROG=DST

“That must be the one that went by here, resounding loudly along”, said that old mushroom-picking man.’

- (245) *siʔéy* *ʔatą* *kíta* *teʔútlmil*
si=ʔi *ʔatą* *kíta* *teʔu-tl=mil*
NEW=HSY1 again there pursue-TR=FIN

‘Then again they pursued that way.’

- (246) *sąʔey* *hąye* *ká* *mí:kon* *míya* *haháʔima*
są=ʔi *hąye* *ka* *mih=kon* *miya* *haha-ma*
SAME=HSY1 now PRX be=but 1PL.INCL.PAT deceive-?

ʔey ʔimikilmil ʔá:pil
 =ʔi ʔim-k-il=mil ʔqpil
 =HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN one.another

‘And now, “This one perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

(247) sqʔey kipqwk'il kó:ma mí' mí:šul síkon
 sq=ʔi kipqwk=k'il koʔ-ma miʔ miʔ-šul si=kon
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM go-DIR1 2SG.AGT 2SG.AGT-EVID? NEW=but

ʔuśá mí' mínsil wá:čisšúl ʔeyy
 ʔusa miʔ minsil wač-s-šul =ʔi
 1PL.EXCL.PAT 2SG.AGT lie tell-CAUS?-EVID? =HSY1

ʔimeymil pą:k
 ʔim=mil pąk
 say=FIN one

‘And coming back, “It is you apparently, but you are telling us lies, apparently”, one of them said.’

(248) seʔéy tąlk ʔimeymil
 si=ʔi tąl-k ʔim=mil
 NEW=HSY1 NEG-DECL say=FIN

‘But, “No”, he said.’

- (249) *seʔéy háye kip ʔá:mop lilkú:tiʔ pilá:t*
si=ʔi háye kip ʔah-mqʔ=op lil-kut=iʔ pilá:t
 NEW=HSY1 now/again 3R seize-DIR1=as stone-start=IN sun
namtlnamlikí ʔi:čʔqkmil
nam-tl=namli=ki =ʔit-qk=mil
 lay-TR=DEP=DST =JXT-SEM=FIN

‘Then as they moved to seize him, he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.’

- (250) *sqʔéy pilá:t lílkʔil čákʔik lăčtlmil*
sq=ʔi pilá:t lil-kʔil čʔqkʔ=k lăč-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 sun rock-TERM hit-DECL break-TR=FIN
lilpátkʔi hul pʔóyčpaʔ húluk kí:la
lil-pátk=kʔi hul pʔoy-t-paʔ huluk ki-la
 rock-crack=IN eye enter-INTR-FUT tear DST-INST
sumám kí:laʔ pʔóyyičpaʔ ʔi:y ʔímeymil
sumam ki-la pʔoy-t-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 brains DST-INST enter-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kípa k'ol:ísi

kip=q k'ol-s

3R=PAT kill-CAUS

‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, “In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter, with the tears and the brains they shall enter”, he said while they killed him.

- (251) *sikiṭéy t'íma hoy ta:tíkilpa:miki: hoy p'íšpal*
si=kiṭ=?i ṭima hoy tat-k-il-pa?=miki hoy p'íš-pal
NEW=then=HSY1 self too fix-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=PURP too sunflower-leaf
- hąhinč'am ?as čqk(t)lámtpa? sikiṭ k'ít ?án*
hąhin=čam ?as čqk-lam-t-pa? si=kiṭ k'it ?an
under=PNOML blood stick.on-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then bone too
- p'íšpal hąhinč'am pí:ntpa? ?imeymil*
p'íš-pal hąhin=čam pin-t-pa? ?im=mil
sunflower-leaf under=PNOML scatter-INTR-FUT say=FIN
- kip táyšyq:ki hóṭ ?am híwiyqki hóṭ pí:č*
kip tay-s-qk hoṭ ?am hiw-qk hoṭ pič
3R cut-CONT-SEM big guts scatter/spill-SEM big flesh

píntlon *ʔey* *kilímismil* *hulk'óʔi*
pin-tl=on =ʔi *ki-lim-s=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 scatter-TR=when =HSY1 say-?-CONT?=FIN Coyote

‘Then that he might remake himself, “Under the sunflower leaves that blood shall stick on, and the bones shall scatter under them too”, he said as they were cutting him up, spilling his guts and scattering his flesh about, (as) Coyote said.’

(252) *sq* *ki* *mátlikit* *kiʔa* *hulk'óʔa* *k'óli*
sq *ki* *matʔ-tl=kit* *ki=a* *hulk'óʔi=a* *k'ol*
 SAME(?) DST do-TR=then DST=PAT Coyote=PAT kill

sqkit *ʔey* *kipáwwap*³⁷¹ *ko:lítimil*.
sq=kit =ʔi *kipaw=ap* *koʔ-lit=mil*
 SAME=then =HSY1 back=LAT go-DIR2=FIN

‘And when they had done this to Coyote after they had killed him, they went back,’

(253) *sqʔey* *noʔnamlikíta* *ʔey* *tóktmil*
sq=ʔi *noʔnamli=kíta* =ʔi *tok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 live=DEP-there =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

‘and arrived where they lived.’

³⁷¹ Alternate form given: *kipáwwap* ‘back’

- (254) *sáʔey* *ʔuʂ* *tq̄hi* *kʰolí* *san* *míʔat* *pilq̄:t*
sáʔ=i *ʔus* *tq̄h* *kʰoli* *sonʔ* *miʔat* *pilq̄t*
 SAME=HSY1 1PL.EXCL.AGT find kill but? 1PL.INCL.DAT sun

lílʰil *lq̄čkilu* *ʔiy* *ʔim* *huʂkʰq̄yesmil*
lil=kʰil *lq̄č-k-il-wi* =ʔi *ʔim* *huʂkʰq̄y-s=mil*
 rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki *hulkʰoʔa* *liʔáknamlíkímási*
ki *hulkʰoʔi=a* *liʔ-qk=namlí=ki-mas-i*
 DST Coyote=PAT kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“We found and killed him, but he broke our sun against a rock”, thus they reported, they who had slain Coyote.’

- (255) *siʔ* *kimási* *kipáwwap* *kó:tekiṭ* *hiwákʰiʔ*
si *ki-mas-i* *kipáw=ap* *koʔ-t=kiṭ* *hiwák=iʔ*
 NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT go-INTR=when after=IN?

kʰít *nq̄* *ʔq̄ʂ* *móp(e)ti* *hi:l* *tát* *mópeti*
kʰit =*nq̄* *ʔq̄ʂ* *mop-t* *hil* *tat* *mop-t*
 bone and blood gather-INTR all good gather-INTR

ʔey háyé p'íški'ólop ʔey ta:tálmil

=ʔi hqye p'íš-ki'ol=op =ʔi tat-q-l-il=mil

HSY1 now sunflower-stalk=LAT =HSY1 fix-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN

‘And after they had returned, gathering his bones and blood, gathering everything well, now he made himself over on sunflower stalks (as a frame).’

(256) sáʔey huʔú:šk koʔi t'ú:kmil kóya

sáʔ=ʔi huʔu-s=k koʔi t'uk=mil koʔi=q

SAME=HSY1 finish-CAUS?=DECL gopher stab.at=FIN gopher=PAT

pú:tesika

put-s=ka

emerge-CAUS?=as

‘And finishing that, he stabbed at gophers as they emerged (from their holes).

(257) sikaʔéy kipáw ʔáhqmil

sikaʔ=ʔi kipáw ʔah-q=mil

AGT>PAT=HSY1 back come.to.pieces-?=FIN

‘Then he came all to pieces again.’

- (258) *sáʔey* *háye* ʔámsóp *tátikílmil.*
sá=ʔi *haye* ʔams=op *tat-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now digging.stick.wood=LAT fix-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘So this time he made himself on (a frame of) digging-stick wood.’

- (259) *sáʔey* ʔátq *koʔi* *tʔúktmil*
sá=ʔi ʔatq *kʔoʔi* *tʔuk-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again gopher stab.at-TR=FIN

‘And again he stabbed at gophers,’

- (260) *siʔéy* *háye* *hąčʔámmil*
si=ʔi *haye* *hąčʔam=mil*
 NEW?=HSY1 now strong=FIN

‘and now he was strong.’ [Possibly: And now it was strong.]

- (261) *seʔéy* ʔátq *koʔi* *tʔúktmil*
si=ʔi ʔatq *koʔi* *tʔuk-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again gopher stab.at-TR=FIN

‘Again he stabbed at gophers,’

(262) *si'áy* *hí:l* *hą'yé* *hač'ámt'mil*.
si=?i *hil* *hąye* *hač'am-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all again strong-INTR=FIN

'and everything was firm.'

(263) *są'yey* *šihí:* *máyetan* *hilp'áhis* *ló:mil'*
są=?i *šihí:* *mąy-tan* *hil-p'ahis* *lo=mil'*
 SAME(?)=HSY1 EXC someone-NEG all-?-? ?=FIN

?i:y *?imeymil* *tat* *hu'útlí:li*
=?i *?im=mil* *tat* *hu'u-tl-il*
 =HSY1 say=FIN fix/make finish-TR-MPSV

'And, "Šihí:!(his laugh)" No one can do anything to me", he said when he had finished making himself.

(264) *sąkítęy* *háye* *pilą:t* *líl'k'il* *ląčkilnamlikí:*
są=kit=?i *hąye* *piląt* *lil=k'il* *ląč-k-il=namli-ki*
 SAME=then=HSY1 now sun rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV=DEP-DST

?ey *háye* *lil* *pątpis* *lak'ýakmil* *hul* *ną*
=?i *hąye* *lil* *pąt=pis* *lak-ąk=mil* *hul* *=ną*
 =HSY1 now rock crack=ABL leave-SEM=FIN eye =and

*sonmám*³⁷² *na.*

sonmam =*nq*

brains =and

‘Then the sun which he had broken against the rock, its eyes and brains now he took out of the crack in the rock.’

- (265) *sáʔey* *kimás* *háyk* *pʔoyitli* ʔáta
sáʔi *ki-mas* *hay=ki* *pʔoy-tl* ʔata
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR bag=IN put-in-TR again

kó:temil ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.

koʔ-t=mil ʔukhoʔ=am=wit

go-INTR=FIN ocean=?=ALL

‘And putting them into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

- (266) *sáʔey* *kímʔ* *háye* *pilá:ʔa* *ta:tísimil* *hí:l*
sáʔi *kimʔ* *háye* *piláʔ=ʔ* *tat-s=mil* *hil*
SAME=HSY1 over.there then sun=PAT fix-CAUS=FIN all

³⁷² Alternate form given: *sumám* ‘brains’

huʔ minamlikimátli

huʔ mih=namli=ki-matli

before be=DEP=DST-?

‘And there he made the sun all as it had been before.’

(267) sáʔey háye kimʔ kqk ʔi:mitʔilmil

sq=ʔi háye kimʔ kqk ʔim-t-il=mil

SAME=HSY1 now over.there make try-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And there then he tried to make it rise.’

(268) siʔéy nqkmil.

si=ʔi nqk=mil

NEW=HSY1 dark=FIN

‘Then it (remained) dark.’

(269) seʔéy ʔatq há:temil.

si=ʔi ʔatq haʔ-t=mil

NEW=HSY1 then run-INTR=FIN

‘So he took it off again’

(270) *sáʔey* *kuhtkipis* *ʔey* *káqʔilmil*.
sá=ʔi *kuhtki=pis* *=ʔi* *káq-t-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 north=ABL =HSY1 make-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘and had it rise from the north.’

(271) *seʔéy* *nákmil*
si=ʔi *nák=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 dark=FIN

‘But it (remained) dark.’

(272) *seʔéy* *áqʔ* *ha:téyli* *kó:temil*
si=ʔi *qʔq* *ha-t-il* *koʔ-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again take-INTR-MPSV go-INTR=FIN

‘So taking it once more, he went,’

(273) *sáʔey* *ʔonkʔólʔam* *ʔiy* *káqʔimil*
sá=ʔi *ʔon-kʔol=am* *=ʔi* *káq-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 earth-other=? =HSY1 make-CAUS=FIN

‘and made it rise in another land (the east).’

(274) *se'áy* *k'áwtmil*
si=?i *k'aw-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 light/shine-INTR=FIN

'Then light showed.'

(275) *sikíṭa* *hąye* *ka* *mípa'* *?i:y*
si=kiṭa *hąye* *ka* *mih-pa'* *=?i*
 NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

?ímeymil *hulk'o'i* *piláṭa.*

?im=mil *hulk'o'i* *piláṭ=a*

say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

'So now, "This (is how it) shall be", Coyote told the sun.'

(276) *sá?ey* *kíṭa* *hąye* *nak'ó:himil* *piláṭ*
są=?i *kíṭa* *hąye* *nak'oh=mil* *piláṭ*
 SAME=HSY1 there now teach=FIN sun

ka *mí:š* *mi'* *ha'ámtilhan* *táḷṭilin'k*

ka *miš* *mi'* *ha'-am-t-il=han* *táḷ-ṭ-il-nik*

PRX road 2SG.AGT hold-?-INTR-MPSV=but NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

k'ú:sto *kimilk* *mi* *kup* *ha'ámtilhan*

k'us-to *ki=mil=k* *mi'* *kup* *ha'-am-t-il=han*

tired-when? say-?=DECL 2SG.AGT sister's.son hold-?-INTR-MPSV=but

tqłtlin *káta* *mí:* *kup* *k'qksikí:*
tqł-t-il-nik *kaťa* *mi'* *kup* *k'qk-s=ki*
 NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC here 2SG.AGT sister's.son rise-CAUS=DST

ʔu:khó:řamwit *mi'* *kó:tamtíma'*
ʔukhoř=am=wit *mi'* *ko'-t-m=řima*
 ocean=?=ALL 2SG.AGT go-INTR-IMPV=selř

‘And there he taught the sun, “This path do not ever let yourself leave holding it as you move, saying you are tired, sister’s son; do not ever let yourself leave holding it as you move, sister’s son, when rising there [here?] you are to go toward the ocean.”’

(277) *sikít* *mi* *kíyi* *kiťa* *húyki* *yíč*
si=kiř *mi'* *kiy* *kiťa* *huy=ki* *yíč*
 NEW=then 2SG.AGT travel there middle=IN for.a.while

hąwaykılřima'
hąway-k-il=řima
 eat-PNCT-MPSV=selř

‘And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.’

(278) *sámi* *řú'nóhkiltána* *kup*
sa-mi *řu'-no'-h-k-il-tan-a* *kup*
 SAME-therefore sit-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister's.son

mi kó:ɕima

miʔ koʔ=ɕima

2SG.AGT go=self

‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

(279) *sikɔ mis ʔú:k’op č’úkɕima*

sikɔ mis ʔuk’=op č’uk=ɕima

AGT>PAT 2SG.PAT water=LAT fall=self

‘And then you are to fall into the water.’

(280) *sɔki: miʔ kup k’ú:htkiwit tákilk*

sɔki miʔ kup k’uhtki=wit ta-k-il=k

and 2SG.AGT sister’s.son north=ALL float-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

miʔ kup mik’áltilɕima

miʔ kup mik’al-t-il=ɕima

2SG.AGT sister’s.son around-INTR-MPSV=self

‘And from there, sister’s son, floating to the north, you will make your way around.’

- (281) *sq miʔ ʔátá ká:meš³⁷³ ʔon wáčyi kíṭa*
sq miʔ ʔata ka-miš ʔon wač-y kíṭa
 SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? ground show-PROG there
- miʔ kup ʔičyí:lop kʼawlamṭima ʔi:y*
miʔ kup =ič-y-il=op kʼaw-lam=ṭima =ʔi
 2SG.AGT sister's.son =JXT-PROG-MPSV=when light-INCH=self =HSY1
- ʔimeymil piláṭa hulkʼóʔi*
ʔim=mil pilṭa=a hulkʼóʔi
 say=FIN sun=PAT Coyote

‘And when you are near this place again which I showed you, sister’s son, it is to begin to become light’, Coyote said to the sun.’

- (282) *sáʔey ʔqṭéy³⁷⁴ káṭa kup šuʔhinik yí:čmah*
sq=i ʔqṭi kaṭa kup šuʔ-h-nik yičmah
 SAME=HSY1 for.a.while here sister's.son sit-DUR-NEC for.a.while

³⁷³ Alternate form given: *ká:mis* ‘this’ Could be ‘this road’.

³⁷⁴ Alternate form given: *ʔqṭih* ‘for a while’

hánkil kó:mil
han=kil ko[?]=mil
 house=TERM go=FIN

“And for a while [you must] stay here, sister’s son; for a little I am going home;”

(283) *t’óktli ʔap kipáwk’il kú:pa*
t’ok-tl ʔap kipəw=k’il kup=q
 arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=TERM sister’s.son=PAT

ʔap nąwwineməpa[?] hi:l kú:pa wačmikí: ʔi:y
ʔap nəw-n-mə-pa[?] hil kup=q wač=miki =ʔi
 1SG.AGT see-AND-DIR1-FUT all sister’s.son=PAT tell=PURP =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi pilq:tə
ʔim=mil hulk’oʔi pilət=q
 say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

“having arrived there, I shall come to see you, sister’s son, to tell you everything”, Coyote said to the sun.’

(284) *sąkítey kót(e)mil hánʔk’il hulk’óʔi*
sə=kít=ʔi ko[?]-t=mil han=k’il hulk’oʔi
 SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN house=TERM Coyote

‘Then Coyote went home.’

(285) *sáʔey háye noʔonamlikíta ʔey háye*
sá=ʔi háye noʔ=namli=kiṭa =ʔi háye
 SAME=HSY1 now live=DEP-there =HSY1 now

tóktmil

tok-tl=mil

arrive-TR=FIN

‘Now where he lived he arrived at;’

(286) *sáʔéy ʔinkílmil*
sá=ʔi ʔin-k-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘and he slept.’

(287) *sikaʔéy ʔatá ʔinámtmlil ʔa:tát laškʔáwolʔ*
sika=ʔi ʔata ʔinam-t=mil ʔaṭat laškʔawolʔ
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 again dream-INTR=FIN people moon

na háwmołʔ tu:nóhílikimášat

=nṭ hawmołʔ tunoh-il=ki-mas=at

=and morning.star keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT

‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of those people that kept the moon and the morning star.’

(288) *sáʔey* *ʔátq* *kipat* *ʔatáta* *nakohísimil*
sá=ʔi *ʔatq* *kipat* *ʔatat=a* *nakoh-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again 3R.DAT people=PAT teach-CONT=FIN

hąša ʔqp *kó:milámsik* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
hąša ʔqp *koʔ-mq-il-m-sik* *=ʔi* *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 now 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And again he instructed his people: “Now I am told I must go”, said Coyote.’

(289) *sákiṭey* *kó:temil*
sá=kiṭ=ʔi *koʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN

‘So he went.’

(290) *sáʔey* *ʔán* *kó:mil*
sá=ʔi *ʔan* *koʔ=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 long go=FIN

‘He traveled a long time.’

(291) *sáʔey* *haničtlíkop* *ʔi* *músp*
sá=ʔi *han-it-tl=kop* *=ʔi* *musp*
 SAME=HSY1 house-JXT-TR=while =HSY1 woman

k'qk'akilmil

k'qk'-a-k-il=mil

make-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And when near the house(s) he turned himself into a woman;'

- (292) *sqkopéy* *ʔonk'at* *páy* *yqktílmil*
sq=kop=ʔi *ʔonk'at* *pay* *yqk-t-il=mil*
SAME=then=HSY1 mud vagina/vulva attach-INTR-MPSV=FIN

'a vagina of mud he stuck on himself.'

- (293) *sqʔey* *hánk'il* *kómmil*
sq=ʔi *han=k'il* *kom=mil*
SAME?=HSY1 house=TERM come=FIN

'And he came to the house.'

- (294) *sikqʔéy* *máy* *ka* *múšp* *táta* *kó(i)yik* ³⁷⁵
sikq=ʔi *may* *ka* *musp* *tat=a* *koʔ-y-k*
AGT>PAT?=HSY1 who PRX woman good=PAT go-PROG-DECL

ʔey *ʔi:mqílilmil* *ʔa:tát* *ki* *ʔónap* ³⁷⁶
=ʔi *ʔim-mq-l-il=mil* *ʔatát* *ki* *ʔon=ap*
=HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people DST ground=LAT

³⁷⁵ Alternate form given: *kó(o)yik* 'coming'

nóʔhi *kimáse* ³⁷⁷

noʔ-h *ki-mas-i*

live-DUR DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘Thereupon, “Who is this pretty woman coming?” said the people to one another who lived in that land.’

(295) *séʔey* *hánkil* *kqyit* *nqnáka* *ʔey*

si=ʔi *han=kʼil* *kqyit* *nqnak=ka* *=ʔi*

NEW=HSY1 house=TERM already know=when? =HSY1

humá:s *kí:kʼil* *kómmil*

humqs *ki=kʼil* *kom=mil*

straight DST=TERM go=FIN

‘And already knowing the house, he came straight toward it.’

(296) *sikáʔéy* *hánam* *ka:písimil* *pá:k* *ʔiwop*

siká=ʔi *han=am* *kap-s=mil* *pqk* *ʔiwop*

AGT>PAT=HSY1 house=IN2 take-CAUS=FIN one man

‘So one man took him into the house,’

³⁷⁶ Alternate form given: *ki ʔónop* ‘in that land’

³⁷⁷ Alternate form given: *kimási* ‘who’

- (297) *sqʔéy* *kʼamolšíl* *tá:tlikʼéy*³⁷⁸ *šútlmil*
sq=ʔi *kʼamol-šíl* *tat-tl=ki* *šuʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 puma-skin fix/make-TR=DST sit-TR=FIN

‘and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

- (298) *siʔéy* *šúmil*
si=ʔi *šuʔ=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 sit=FIN

‘And he sat.’

- (299) *sikiṭey* *mú:s* *siʔ* *lí:tinmil* *hi:li*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *mus* *siʔ* *lit-n=mil* *hil-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 woman.PL clover gather-AND=FIN all-ANIM

‘Then the women all went to gather clover,’

- (300) *sikiṭey* *ʔiwis* *mil* *hutʼóp:pinmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔiwis* *mil* *hutʼop-n=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 man.PL deer hunt-AND=FIN

‘and the men to hunt deer,’

³⁷⁸ Alternate form given: *tá:tlikʼí:ʔ* ‘that they fixed for him’

- (301) *sikiṭey* *páwi* *ʔi:psáka* *wí:st(e)mil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *páwi* *ʔipsak=a* *wis-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 one boy=PAT leave(remain?)-INTR=FIN

‘and one boy was left,’

- (302) *sáki* *ʔey*³⁷⁹ *šúʔmil*
sáki =ʔi *šuʔ=mil*
 and =HSY1 stay=FIN

‘and stayed.’

- (303) *sikaʔéy* *hulk’óʔi* *mús* *yikilnamlíki*
sikaʔ=ʔi *hulk’oʔi* *musp* *yiʔ-k-il=namli=ki*
 AGT>PAT?=HSY1 Coyote woman play-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST

ʔey *ʔipsáka* *hílkšiloʔ* *kíwismil* *hánal* *sulki:*
 =ʔi *ʔipsak=a* *hílkšiloʔ* *kiw-s=mil* *hanal* *sul=ki*
 =HSY1 boy=PAT everything ask-CAUS?=FIN walls hang=DST

‘Now Coyote who was playing woman asked the boy everything (about those things) which hung on the house walls.’

³⁷⁹ Alternate form given: *ʔiy*

- (304) *seʔéy* *ʔi:psák* *huškʔáyesmil*
si=ʔi *ʔipsak* *huškʔay-s=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 boy tell-CAUS?=FIN

‘So the boy informed him.’

- (305) *seʔéy* *hulkʔóʔi* *híl(i)kšilóʔ* *kúpikʔil* *ʔi:yiki*
si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi* *hilkšiloʔ* *kup=kʔil* *ʔiyi=ki*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote everything point.at?=TERM? what=DST

pánhaʔ *ʔey* *ʔímismil*
pan-haʔ =ʔi *ʔim-s=mil*
 hang-Q =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘Pointing at everything, Coyote said, “What is that hanging?”’

- (306) *séʔey* *ki* *ʔi:pšák* *ʔuṣq̄t* *ki* *ʔʔo:t* *pan*
si=ʔi *ki* *ʔipsak* *ʔusq̄t* *ki* *ʔʔo:t* *pan*
 NEW=HSY1 DST boy 1PL.EXCL.DAT DST carrying.basket hang

ʔi:y *ʔímismil*
 =ʔi *ʔim-s=mil*
 =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘So the boy said, “That is our carrying basket hanging”.’

- (307) *hílikšiloʔ hulk'óʔi kip kíwsiki ʔey kíṭa yáw*
hilkšiloʔ hulk'óʔi kip kiw-s=ki =ʔi kíṭa yáw
 everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name
- wá:česmil ki ʔipsák*
wač-s=mil ki ʔipsak
 show-CAUS=FIN DST boy

'Everything that Coyote asked him, the boy told (showed) the name there.'

- (308) *símeyʔey ši'am wí:k'am ʔi:yíki*
si=mi=ʔi ši'am wik'=am ʔiyi=ki
 NEW-therefore=HSY1 after.a.while rear=?=? what=DST
- kiŋki pánhaʔ ʔeyy ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi*
kim'=ki pan-haʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil hulk'óʔi
 over.there=IN hang-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'So after a time, "At the rear of the house, what is that hanging there?"
 asked Coyote.'

- (309) *seʔéy ki ʔipšák hušk'áyestanmil hulk'óʔi kip*
si=ʔi ki ʔipsak hušk'ay-s-tan=mil hulk'óʔi kip
 NEW=HSY1 DST boy tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Coyote 3R

kíwsi ʔey *k'anhaʔámilmil*
kiw-s =ʔi *k'anha-ʔa=mil=mil*
ask-CAUS =HSY1 not.answer-?-?=FIN

'Then the boy did not tell; he did not answer Coyote asking.'

(310) *simeyʔey* ʔim *lití:tl hqlikí:* *hučkipis*
si=mi=ʔi ʔim *lit-tl=hqli=ki* *hučki=pis*
NEW-therefore=HSY1 where gather-TR=INFR1=DST outdoors=ABL

nqwkil ʔeyy ʔimeymil ʔi:psáka *hulk'óʔi*
nqw-k-il =ʔi ʔim=mil ʔipsak=a *hulk'óʔi*
see-PNCT-MPSV =HSY1 say=FIN boy=PAT Coyote

'So after a while, "Look from outdoors where they may be gathering", said Coyote to the boy.'

(311) *seʔéy* *lákti* *nqwkilmil* *kí* ʔipsák
si=ʔi *lak-t* *nqw-k-il=mil* *ki* ʔipsak
NEW=HSY1 go.out-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN DST boy

'Then going out, the boy looked.'

- (312) *sikq'áy* *hulk'ó'i* *wli:pis* *náwkil* *'ímeymil*
sikq'=i *hulk'ó'i* *wil=pis* *náw-k-il* *'im=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 Coyote far=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV say=FIN

'Thereupon Coyote said, "Look from farther.'"

- (313) *se'áy* *wíley* *kó:ti* *'ey* *náwinhale* *'ey*
si=?i *wili* *ko'-t* *=?i* *náw-n=hali* *=?i*
 NEW=HSY1 far go-INTR =HSY1 see-AND=INFR1 =HSY1

yat(e)mil

yat=mil

be.gone/disappear=FIN

'So going farther to look, it seems, he was not (in sight any longer).'

- (314) *sikiṭey* *hulk'ó'i* *laš'awól'* *na* *hawmól'* *na*
si=kiṭ=?i *hulk'ó'i* *laš'awól'* *=nq* *hawmol'* *=nq*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote moon =and morning.star =and

lákesa *háyk* *p'óytlmil*

lak-sa *háy=k* *p'oy-tl=mil*

take.out-? net.sack=IN put.in-TR=FIN

'Then Coyote taking out the moon and the morning star put them into his net sack.'

- (315) *sáʔey* *lákti* *k'ólk'il* *kót(e)mil*
sáʔi *lak-ti* *k'ol=k'il* *koʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 go.out-INTR other=TERM go-INTR=FIN

‘And going outside, he went off to another (direction).’

- (316) *sikiṭéy* *kipáwki* *ki* *ʔi:pšák* *kó:ma* *hanam*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kipaw=ki* *ki* *ʔipsak* *koʔ-ma* *han=am*
 NEW=then=HSY1 back=IN DST boy go-DIR1 house=IN2

kápt(e)mil

kap-t=mil

enter-INTR=FIN

‘Then the boy coming back entered the house.’

- (317) *sáʔey* *máɣ* *múšp* *komwičo:kiʔ* *míyq̄t*
sáʔi *mɣ* *musp* *kom-wič-o=ki* *miyq̄t*
 SAME=HSY1 who woman come-PST2-ʔ=DST 1PL.INCL.DAT

lašk'awól' *na* *hawmól'* *na* *wáčameyk* *ʔeyy*

lašk'awol' =nɔ *hawmol'* =nɔ *wáč-m=k* =ʔi

moon =HSY1 morning.star =HSY1 steal-IMPV=DECL =HSY1

?imeymil ki ?i:psák

?im=mil ki ?ipsak

say=FIN DST boy

‘And “The woman who came is stealing our moon and morning star”,
said the boy.’

(318) sá?ey húčki lákti pąk'éyakmil

sá=?i huč=ki lak-t pąk'-ąk=mil

SAME=HSY1 outdoors=IN go.out-INTR shout-SEM=FIN

‘And going outdoors he shouted.’

(319) si?éy háye mil hut'ópinnamlikimáse ?ey

si=?i háye mil hut'op-n=namli=ki-mas-i =?i

NEW=HSY1 now deer hunt-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

háye kipąwk'il wí:tmąmil

háye kipąw=k'il wit-mą=mil

now back=TERM go.back/return-DIR1=FIN

‘Then those who had gone deer hunting came back.’

(320) sop?éy mú:s si? lítinnamlikimáse hil

sop=?i mus si? lit-n=namli=ki-mas-i hil

but=HSY1 woman.PL clover gather-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR all

wí:t'mqmil

wit-mq=mil

return-DIR1=FIN

'Also the women who had gone clover gathering all came returning.'

- (321) si[?]ey háye ?íwis kíw nó[?]itili ?ey
 si=[?]i háye ?íwis kiw no[?]-t-il =[?]i
 NEW=HSY1 now men.PL arrow carry-INTR-MPSV =HSY1

te[?]ùtlmil wáqkop hulk'ó[?]a
 te[?]u-tl=mil wáqk=op hulk'o[?]i=a
 pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT Coyote=PAT

'And now the men carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.'

- (322) sq[?]ey ?amilkilmil hulk'ó[?]a
 sq=[?]i ?amil-k-il=mil hulk'o[?]i=a
 SAME=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN Coyote=PAT

'And they caught up with Coyote.'

- (323) se[?]éy lašk'áwol' na háwmol' ?ey pístlmil
 si=[?]i lašk'awol' =nq hawmol' =[?]i pis-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 moon =and morning.star =HSY1 hide-TR=FIN

'Then he hid the moon and morning star.'

- (324) *seʔéy ʔamilkílikʼil kíwismil.*
si=ʔi ʔamil-k-il=kʼil kiw-s=mil
 NEW=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM ask-CAUS?=FIN

‘And as they caught him they questioned.’

- (325) *seʔéy ʔím ʔey naháŋk ʔey ʔimeymil hulkʼóʔi*
si=ʔi ʔim ʔi nahán=k =ʔi ʔim=mil hulkʼoʔi
 NEW=HSY1 thus 1SG.PAT know=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So, “Indeed I do not know”, said Coyote.’

- (326) *sikánʔey líʔqmil*
sikq=ʔi líʔqk=mil
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 kill-SEM=FIN

‘However, they slew him.’

- (327) *seʔéy kip kʼó:likit ʔey pʼišpál háhinčam*
si=ʔi kip kʼol=kit =ʔi pʼiš-pal háhin=čam
 NEW=HSY1 3R kill=as =HSY1 sunflower-leaf under=PNOML

ʔqs čaklamtpaʔ sikit ʔan pʼišpal

ʔqs čak-lám-t-paʔ sí=kit ʔán pʼiš-pal

blood stick-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then long sunflower-leaf

hąhinčam k'ít pín̄tpaʔ ʔey ʔimeymil
hąhin=čam k'it pin-ṭ-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 under=PNOML bone lie.scattered-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kip k'ó:li ʔqlwáʔ
kip k'ol ʔqlwáʔ
 3R kill at.the.same.time.that

‘Then, as they were killing him, “Under the sunflower leaves the blood shall stick on and under the sunflower leaves the bones shall lie scattered,” he said at the time they were killing him.’

(328) *siʔéy háye k'óli sąkiṭ kipąwk'il ko:lítimil*
si=ʔi haye k'ol są=kiṭ kipąw=k'il koʔ-lit=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now kill SAME=then back=TERM go-DIR2=FIN

(329) *laš'áwol na háwmol há:t hulk'óʔi*
laš'awol =ną hawmol hąt hulk'oʔi
 moon =and morning.star without Coyote

pístl(i)námlikit są kimási ko:lítikit
pis-tl=namliki są ki-mas-i koʔ-lit=kiṭ
 hide-TR=because SAME DST-DSTR-ANIM go-DIR2=then

hiwəq'i hil p'išpal həhinčam ʔəs

hiwəq'i hil p'iš-pal həhin=čam ʔəs

after=IN? all sunflower-leaf under=PNOML blood

čəklámtnamliki: na p'išpál həhinčam k'i:t

čək-lam-t=namli=ki =nə p'iš-pal həhin=čam k'i:t

stick-INCH-INTR=DEP=DST =and sunflower-leaf under=PNOML bone

pinɬnamliki: ʔey hil mopítik'il

pin-ɬ=namli=ki =ʔi hil mop-t-k'il

scatter-INTR=DEP-DST =HSY1 all gather-INTR=TERM?

tatəlilmil

tat-q-l-il=mil

fix/make-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN

‘Then, having killed him, they went back without the moon and morning star because Coyote had hidden them; and so they went off. Afterwards, gathering all the blood which had stuck on under the sunflower leaves and all the bones which were scattered under the sunflower leaves, he made himself again.’

- (330) *p'iški'ólop* *tátekilmil*
p'iš-ki'ól=op *tat-k-il=mil*
 sunflower-stalk=LAT make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'On sunflower stalks he made (himself).'

- (331) *sop'éy* *kóya* *pútlmil*
sop=?i *ko'i=a* *pu-tl=mil*
 ?=HSY1 gopher=PAT emerge-TR=FIN

'So now gophers emerged (from their holes).'

- (332) *sikq'éy* *'álq'* *sú'tlmil*
sikq=?i *'al=q* *su'-tl=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 stick=PAT stab.at-TR=FIN

'Then with a stick he stabbed at them.'

- (333) *sikq'éy* *kipáw* *ṭátmil*
sikq=?i *kipáw* *ṭat=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 back fix/make=FIN

'Then he came to pieces again.'

- (334) *sqʔéy* *ʔámsop* *tátekilmil*
sqʔ=i *ʔams=op* *tat-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 digging.stick.wood=LAT fix/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘So he made (himself) on digging-stick wood.’

- (335) *sopʔéy* *ʔatq* *kóya* *púʔtlmil*
sopʔ=i *ʔatq* *koʔi=a* *puʔ-tl=mil*
 but=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TR=FIN

‘And again gophers emerged.’

- (336) *sikqʔéy* *ʔálo:k* *súʔtlmil*
sikqʔ=i *ʔal-ok* *suʔ-tl=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 stick-INST stab.at-TR=FIN

‘Then with a stick he stabbed at them.’

- (337) *siʔéy* *hqčʔámmil*
siʔ=i *hqčʔam=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN

‘Then he was firm.’

- (338) *siʔey* *ʔátq* *kóya* *púʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *ʔátq* *koʔi=a* *puʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TR=FIN

‘And again gophers emerged,’

- (339) *siʔey* *ʔátq* *súʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *ʔátq* *suʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again stab.at-TR=FIN

‘and again he stabbed,’

- (340) *seʔéy* *háye* *hil* *hąčʔámʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *haye* *hil* *hąčʔam-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now all strong-INTR=FIN

‘and now he was altogether firm.’ [Probably: all was altogether firm]

- (341) *seʔéy* *šihéy* *máyetan* *hilpʔáhis* *lóʔmil* *ʔi:y*
si=ʔi *šihey* *mąy-tan* *hil-pʔahis* *loʔ=mil* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 šihey somebody-NEG all-? ?=FIN =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulkʔóʔi*

ʔim=mil *hulkʔoʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

‘Then, “Šihéy (his laugh), no one can do anything (to me)”, said Coyote.’

- (345) *seʔéy ʔúnšil kʻáwtmil*
si=ʔi ʔunšil kʻaw-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 little light-INTR=FIN

‘Then it shone a little.’

- (346) *seʔéy ká mít kúp ʔónapa ʔey ʔimeymil*
si=ʔi ka mit kup ʔon-a-pa =ʔi ʔim=mil
 NEW=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son land-?-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

hulkʻoʔi laškʻáwla

hulkʻoʔi laškʻawol=q

Coyote moon=PAT

‘Then, “This, sister’s son, will be your place (land)”, said Coyote to the moon.’

- (347) *sąkitéy ʔqtą mi:š wačísimil*
są=kiṭ=ʔi ʔqtą miš wač-s=mil
 SAME=then=HSY1 too road/way show-CAUS?=FIN

laškʻáwola kaṭá(w)pis mí: kup ʔonkʻolámwit

laškʻawol-a kaṭa=pis miʔ kup ʔonkʻol=am=wit

moon=PAT here=ABL 2SG.AGT sister’s.son east=?=ALL

kó:tampaʔ

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘And to the moon too he showed his way: “From here you, sister’s son, shall go toward the east.”’

- (348) *sqkímʔ* *tʔók* *sikít* *miʔ* *kup* *ʔátá*
sq=kimʔ *tʔok* *si=kit* *miʔ* *kup* *ʔatá*
SAME-over.there? arrive NEW=then 2SG.AGT sister’s.son again

kímpis *kipáwkʔil* *kó:tampa*

kimʔ=pis *kipáw=kʔil* *koʔ-t-m-paʔ*

over.there=ABL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

“And when you have arrived there, sister’s son, from there you shall go back again,”

- (349) *sqkí:mi* *ʔátá* *kup* *kipat* *ʔonap*³⁸⁰ *kaṭá*
sq=kimi *ʔatá* *kup* *kipat* *ʔon=ap* *kaṭa*
SAME-? now sister’s.son 3R.DAT ground=LAT here

tʔok:espaʔ *ʔiy* *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi* *laškʔáwla*

tʔok-s-paʔ =ʔi *ʔim=mil* *hulkʔoʔi* *laškʔawol=a*

arrive-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote moon=PAT

³⁸⁰ Alternate form given: *ʔonəp* ‘place’.

“and here at your own place, sister’s son, you shall arrive”, said Coyote to the moon.’

- (350) *sákiṭey* *hášmó:la* *pilq̄tq̄:tk’il* *ha:tí:li*
sq̄=kiṭ=’i *hašmol=a* *pilq̄t=q̄t=k’il* *ha’-t-il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT sun=DAT=TERM carry-INTR-MPSV

kó:t(e)mil *hulk’ó’i*
ko’-t=mil *hulk’o’i*
 go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote went carrying the morning star toward the sun;’

- (351) *sá’ey* *pilq̄:tq̄* *šú:htlnamlik̄iṭa* *’ey* *kómmil*
sq̄=’i *pilq̄t=q̄* *šú’-h-tl=namli=k̄iṭa* *=’i* *kom=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sun=PAT sit-DUR-TR=DEP=there =HSY1 come=FIN

‘where he had set the sun he came.’

- (352) *sá’ey* *hąwmo’ola* *k̄iṭa* *k̄ąksimil.*
sq̄=’i *hąwmo’=a* *k̄iṭa* *k̄ąk-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 morning.star=PAT there rise-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he made the morning star rise;’

(353) *seʔéy* *ʔúnšil* *kʔáwtmil*
si=ʔi *ʔunšil* *kʔaw-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 little light-INTR=FIN

‘and it shone a little.’

(354) *sikiṭey* *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ*³⁸¹ *ʔan*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ka* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*
 NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son ground-ʔ-FUT always

son *miʔ* *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*

son *miʔ* *kup* *kək-kut-s-paʔ*

therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son rise-INCP-CAUS-FUT

“‘This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.’”

(355) *soméy* *kup* *wíliʔisk*
som=ʔi *kup* *wil-s=k*
 however=HSY1 sister’s.son far-CONT=DECL

³⁸¹ Alternate form given: *ʔonopaʔ* ‘will be country, place’

hánʔam kápsilpa
han=am kap-s-il-paʔ
 house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“‘However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.’”

(356) *skit hayé piláti ká:kespa ʔiy ʔímeymil*
si=kit haye pilat kək-s-paʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 NEW=then now sun rise-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa ʔópi nakahik³⁸²
ki-mas=a ʔopi nak’oh-k
 DST-DSTR=PAT two teach-DECL

“‘And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

(357) *somíy ʔey hi:l mólmíya hilk’il nak’óhisq*
som=ʔi =ʔi hil molmi=a hilk’il nakoh-sq
 however=HSY1 =HSY1 all three=PAT separately teach-?

ʔimiymil lašk’áwl’a nqkop kíč míʔ kup
ʔim=mil lašk’awol=a nək=op =kič miʔ kup
 say=FIN moon=PAT night=LAT =only 2SG.AGT sister’s.son

³⁸² Alternate form given: *nak’ahik* or *nak’ohik* ‘instructing, giving them understanding’, vowel is unclearly written.

kó:tampa

ko[?]-t-m-pa[?]

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

‘However, teaching all three separately, he said to the moon, “At night only, you, sister’s son, shall travel.”’

(358) *sikiṭ* *háwmoł’* *hąwłám* *mi[?]ičop* *kíč* *ká:kəspa*

si=kiṭ *hawmoł’* *hąwłam* *mih=it=op* =*kíč* *kək-s-pa[?]*

NEW=then morning.star daylight be=JXT=while =only rise-CAUS-FUT

“And the morning star shall rise only when the beginning of the day is near.”

(359) *sikiṭ* *piláti* *háwmoł’* *hán[?]am* *kapsí:likiṭ* *pilá:ti*

si=kiṭ *pilát* *hawmoł’* *han=am* *kap-s-il=kiṭ* *pilát*

NEW=then sun morning.star house=IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV=then sun

ká:kəspa[?] *‘i:y* *‘ím* *nak’óhismil*

kək-s-pa[?] =*‘i* *‘im* *nak’oh-s=mil*

rise-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 thus teach-CAUS?=FIN

“And when the morning star enters his house, the sun shall rise”, thus he taught them.’

(360) *sqkítɛy* *hánk'il* *kó:tmil*
sq=kiɬ=?i *han=k'il* *ko?-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 house=TERM go-INTR=FIN

‘Thereupon he traveled toward his house,’

(361) *sqʔey* *t'óktmil*
sq=?i *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

‘and reached it,’

(362) *sqʔey* *?inkilmil*
sq=?i *?in-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘and went to sleep.’

(363) *siʔey* *káytkil* *?ímeynamlíki:* *?ey* *k'áwlammil*
si=?i *káytkil* *?ím=namli=ki* *=?i* *k'aw-lam=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 long.ago say=DEP=DST =HSY1 light-INCH=FIN

‘Then as he had long ago said, it began to dawn.’

- (364) *sonéy* *ʔa:táta* *nəhámqamíl* ³⁸³
son=ʔi *ʔat=a* *nəham-aʔ=mil*
 but=HSY1 people=PAT know-NEG?=FIN

‘But the people did not know it.’

- (365) *siʔéy* *hí:l* *kʻáwtmil* *nəknámlon*
si=ʔi *hil* *kʻaw-t=mil* *nək=namli=on*
 NEW=HSY1 all light-INTR=FIN night=DEP=though

‘So it was full day though it seemed night to them.’

- (366) *seʔéy* *ʔolkátám* *húčki* *láktipis* *ʔey* *pilá:t*
si=ʔi *ʔolkatam* *huč=ki* *lak-t=pis* =ʔi *pilat*
 NEW=HSY1 Mouse outdoors=IN leave-INTR=ABL =HSY1 sun

káktlháli *kʻa:wítmil*

kək-tl=háli *kʻaw-t=mil*

rise-TR=INFR1 light-INTR=FIN

‘Then Mouse having gone outdoors, the sun being about to rise, it was day.’

- (367) *siʔéy* *ʔúsʔat* *háwxti* ³⁸⁴ *šəhə* *ʔusat* *háwxti* *šəhə*
si=ʔi *ʔusat* *hawhti* *šəhə* *ʔusat* *hawhti* *šəhə*
 NEW=HSY1 1PL.EXCL.DAT daylight ? 1PL.EXCL.DAT daylight ?

³⁸³ Perhaps <ə> in this context could be a very reduced form of the negative *təl/tənʔ*

?i:y ?ímeymil ?olkqátám

=?i ?im=mil ?olkqátam

=HSY1 say=FIN Mouse

‘Then, “Our daylight, our daylight”, said Mouse.’

(368) *sikqʔéy* *kínkʔúnʔ* *lil* *há:mqkil*

sikqʔéi *kim-kʔunʔ* *lil* *haʔ-mq-k-il*

AGT>PAT(?)=HSY1 DST.KIN.POSS-father rock carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV

wítik *tʔqláçtlmil* *háwomin(i)k*

wit=k *tʔqlač-tl=mil* *hawom-nik*

throw=DECL break.leg-TR=FIN daylight-NEC?

ka *míkilímtl(h)aʔ* *hilú:tʔismilimʔ*

ka *mih-k-il=?im-tl-(h)aʔ* *hiluʔʔ-s=mil=imʔ*

PRX be-PNCT-MPSV-say-TR-Q foolish-CONT?=FIN=where?

?i:y ?ímeymil *kínkʔúnʔ*

=?i ?im=mil *kim-kʔunʔ*

=HSY1 say=FIN DST.KIN.POSS-father

‘Thereupon his father having picked up a stone and throwing it broke his leg. “There cannot be day! What makes you say so? You are altogether foolish!” said his father.’

³⁸⁴ Alternate form given: *háwhiti* ‘daylight’

- (369) *sopéy* *ʔolkáɬam* *kipáwam* *hánʔam* *káptʔmil*
sop=ʔi *ʔolkaɬam* *kipaw=am* *han=am* *kap-t=mil*
 ʔ=HSY1 Mouse back=IN2? house=IN2 go.in-INTR=FIN

‘So Mouse went back into the house.’

- (370) *sikiɬéy* *haye* *hulkʔóʔi* *hánpis* *lakti* *čʔal*
si=kiɬ=ʔi *haye* *hulkʔóʔi* *han=pis* *lak-t* *čʔal*
 NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL come.out-INTR loud

pəkʔéyakmil

pəkʔ-ək=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

‘But now Coyote coming out of the house shouted loudly:’

- (371) *mó:šampú:lamláčkot* *maʔíyi* *yú:ta* *ʔiymaq* *móʔos*
mošampulamlač-kot *maʔiyi* *yuta* *ʔiymaq* *moʔos*
 Mošampulamlač-LOC something happen? ? 2PL.AGT

*míniskin*³⁸⁵ *hilkšiloʔ* *hí:li*

*min-s-k-in*ʔ *hilkšiloʔ* *hil-i*

believe-CONT?-DECL-NEG? everything all-ANIM

³⁸⁵ Kroeber calls *-in*ʔ a negative in the gloss of this example, but not in any other materials.

lákti hánpis nąwkil' ʔeyy ʔímeymil
lak-t han=pis nąw-k-il-ʔ =ʔi ʔim=mil
 go.out-INTR house=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat ʔa:ʔáta hulk'óʔi
kipat ʔaʔat=a hulk'óʔi
 3R.DAT people=PAT Coyote

‘At Mošampulamláč something is happening! You who could not believe me in anything, all come out of your houses and look!’ said Coyote to his people.’

(372) *séʔey hí:li hánpis la:ksilyá:ki*
si=ʔi híl-i han=pis lak-s-il-ąk
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM house=ABL go.out-CAUS?-MPSV-SEM

nąwkílmil píłá:ti kákyeki:
nąw-k-il=mil píłat kák-y=ki
 see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN sun rise-PROG?=DST?

‘Then all of them coming out of their houses looked at the sun rising.’

(373) *sąkimás huʔútlkiṭ ʔéy ʔinkílmil ʔáṭą*
są=kimas huʔu-tl=kiṭ =ʔi ʔin-k-il=mil ʔáṭą
 SAME-thus finish-TR=when =HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN again

‘So when he had finished everything like this, he went to sleep again.’

(374) *sikqʔéy* *lɔl* *ʔunó:ʔilnamlikiʔat*
sikqʔ=i *lɔl* *ʔu-noʔ-ʔ-il=namli=kiʔat*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 acorn put?-live-INTR-MPSV=DEP=4.DAT

ʔey *ʔinámtil* *hilkšiló:ʔ* *həwáyi*
 =ʔi *ʔinam-t=mil* *hilkšiloʔ* *həway*
 =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN everything food

ʔunó:ʔilnamlikiʔat
ʔu-noʔ-ʔ-il=namli=kiʔat
 put?-live-INTR-MPSV=DEP=4.DAT

‘Thereupon he dreamed of those who kept stored away the acorns, of those who kept every kind of food.’

(375) *sqʔéy* *ʔátq* *ʔqp* *ko:mi:lámšik*³⁸⁶ *ʔey*
sqʔ=i *ʔatq* *ʔqp* *koʔ-mq-il-m-sik* =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 again 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1

ʔimeymil *kipat* *ʔatáta*
ʔim=mil *kipat* *ʔatat=a*
 say=FIN 3R.DAT people=PAT

‘And, “Again I learn I am to go”, he said to his people.’

³⁸⁶ Alternate form given: *ko:mi:lámšik* ‘hear I have to go’

- (376) *sákey kípát múšpa*
sáki kípát musp=a
 and 3R.DAT woman=PAT
- tát šú:hinʔk tát halč tatéymin(i)k ʔey ʔím*
tat šúʔ-h-nik tat halč tat-m-nik =ʔi ʔim
 good sit-DUR-NEC good child good-IMPV-NEC =HSY1 thus
- kípát múšpa nakʔó:himmil*
kípát musp=a nakʔoh-m=mil
 3R.DAT woman=PAT teach-IMPV=FIN

‘And [to] his woman (wife), “You must stay well; look well after the children”, thus he instructed his wife.’

- (377) *sákiṭey kípát múšpa ʔimeymil tát ʔatáta*
sá=kiṭ=ʔi kípát musp=q ʔim=mil tat ʔatát=q
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R.DAT woman=PAT say=FIN good people=PAT
- hąwáysinʔk ka hánap³⁸⁷ kó:támika ʔeyy*
hąway-s-nik ka han=op koʔ-t=mika =ʔi
 food-CAUS-NEC PRX house=LAT go-INTR=? =HSY1

³⁸⁷ Alternate form given: *hánop* ‘house to’

yátimiyík'op *mi'* *həwáy* *hámilhan*
yat-m-yi=kop *mi'* *həway* *ha=mil=han*
 be.gone-IMPV-?=though 2SG.AGT food hold=FIN=but?

təltilin(i)k *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil*
təl-t-il-nik =ʔi *ʔim=mil*
 NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC =HSY1 say=FIN

‘Thereupon he told his wife, “You must feed well the people coming to this house; even though I am gone you must not let yourself seem to withhold food”, he said.’

(378) *ʔán* *ʔiy* *yátpaʔ* *simón* *ʔap* *kómpaʔ*
ʔan *ʔi* *yat-paʔ* *si=mon* *ʔap* *kom-paʔ*
 long 1SG.PAT be.gone-FUT NEW?-but? 1SG.AGT come-FUT

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *kipat* *múspa*
 =ʔi *ʔim=mil* *kipat* *musp=a*
 =HSY1 say=FIN 3R.DAT woman=PAT

“A long time I shall be gone; but I shall come (back)”, he said to his wife.’

- (379) *kimás* *nak'óh*³⁸⁸ *hu'útlíkít* *ʔey* *kó:t(e)mil*
ki-mas *nak'oh* *hu'u-tl=kiṭ* =ʔi *ko'-t=mil*
DST-DSTR teach finish-TR=when =HSY1 go-INTR=FIN

ʔinámtnamlikí:k'il

ʔinam-t=namli=ki=k'il

dream-INTR=DEP=DST=TERM

'Thus having instructed her, he traveled to what he had dreamed of.'

- (380) *sáʔey* *t'óktmil*
sá=ʔi *t'ok-tl=mil*
SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

'and arrived.'

- (381) *sáʔey* *kíṭa* *šú'umil* *ʔan*
sá=ʔi *kíṭa* *šu'=mil* *ʔan*
SAME=HSY1 there stay=FIN long

'and stayed there long.'

³⁸⁸ Alternate form given: *no:k'óh* 'advising'

(382) *sikéy mil hut'óp:pismil*
siki mil hut'op-s=mil
 then deer hunt-CONT?=FIN?

'Then he used to go deer-hunting.'

(383) *sík'ey šú'umil*
siki šu'=mil
 then stay=FIN

'and stayed on.'

(384) *símika ʔey musp kíṭa mi:namlíkí: ʔey*
si=mika =ʔi musp kíṭa mih=namli=ki =ʔi
 NEW-? =HSY1 woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1

*naxk'mil*³⁸⁹

noh-k'=mil

live-PNCT=FIN

'Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.'

³⁸⁹ Alternate form given: *nohkmil* 'with him they lived together'

- (385) *seʔéy háye šúʔumil kómpaʔaŋkon*
se=ʔi háye šuʔ=mil kom-paʔam=kon
 NEW=HSY1 now stay=FIN come-FUT=although

‘And now he was staying there although he would come (back).’

- (386) *soméyʔey ləl na hilkšiloʔ həwáy tunó:hanamlikí:*
səʔ=mi=ʔi ləl =nə hilkšiloʔ həway tunoh=namli=kiʔ
 SAMEʔ=and.then=HSY1 acorn =and everything food keep=DEP=DST
- ʔey háye wá:čammil noʔ haháʔ səkop hí:li*
=ʔi háye wəč-m=mil noʔ hahaʔ səkop hil-i
 =HSY1 now steal-IMPFV=FIN live deceive SAME=then all-ANIM
- mú:s noʔnamlikimási siʔ lí:nikiṭ ʔíwis*
mus noʔ=namli=ki-mas-i siʔ líʔ-n=kiṭ ʔiwis
 woman.PL live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM clover gather-AND=when man.PL
- kʔólkʔil míl múhnikṭ*
kʔol=kʔil mil muh-n=kiṭ
 other=TERM deer snare-AND=when

‘And so now deceptively living with her, he stole the acorns and all the kinds of food which they kept for themselves, when all the women who lived there were gone to gather clover and the men were gone deer-snaring elsewhere.’

- (387) *sopéy páʔqk hulk'óʔi šúʔuhimli ʔey kimás hqwáy*
sop=ʔi páʔqk hulk'oʔi šuʔ-himli =ʔi ki-mas hqwáy
 but=HSY1 alone Coyote sit-? =HSY1 DST-DSTR food
- wá:č(i)mi hil ʔá:tat ya:tíštikiṭ*
wqč-mi hil ʔa:tat yat-s-t=kiṭ
 steal-? all people be.gone?-CAUS?-INTR?=when
- ʔey ʔolʔúhop ləl ʔolú(h)k'i p'óytlikiṭ*
=ʔi ʔolʔuh=op ləl ʔolu(h)=k'i p'oy-tl=kiṭ
 =HSY1 openwork.basket=LAT acorn openwork.basket=IN put.in-TR=when
- k'ilič wo:ṭ hqwqysampaʔimiki:*
k'ilič woṭ hqwqy-s-m-paʔ=miki
 seed seed.meal/pinole eat-CAUS-IMPV-FUT=PURP
- ʔey háyyop p'oyísimil*
=ʔi hay=op p'oy-s=mil
 =HSY1 bag=LAT put.in-CAUS=FIN

'So staying alone, Coyote, stealing the food while all the people were away, after he had put the acorns into an openwork carrying-basket, put the seeds which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.'

(388) *sáʔey hilikšiloʔ hqwayi ʔey ʔunmahmil kipáwkʔil*
sáʔi hilkšiloʔ hqway =ʔi ʔun-mq-h=mil kipqw=kʔil
 SAME=HSY1 all.kinds food =HSY1 carry-DST1-DIR=FIN back=TERM

noʔnamlikí:kʔil

noʔ=namli=ki=kʔil

live=DEP=DST=TERM

‘And he carried all the kinds of food back to where he lived.’

(389) *sáʔey kimás³⁹⁰ ʔa:táta wáçyikit*
sáʔi kimas ʔatát=q wač-yʔ=kit
 SAME=HSY1 thus people=PAT show-PROGʔ=when

ʔey šáʔqk ʔonhąhin pítimil

=ʔi šaʔqk ʔon=hąhin pin-t=mil

=HSY1 some.of ground=under scatter-INTR=FIN

ki: hilkšiloʔ ʔonpis čúhampa:mikí:

kiʔ hilkšiloʔ ʔon=pis čuh-m-paʔ=miki

DST all.kinds earth=ABL grow-IMPV-FUT=PURP

‘And when he had shown it to the people, part of it he scattered under the ground that every kind should grow up out of the ground.’

³⁹⁰ Alternate form given: *kimás* ‘those’

- (390) *sqʔéy* *kimás* *ki:* *huʔútlmil* *həwáy* *wáčmaki:*
sqʔ=ʔi *kimas* *ki* *huʔu-tl=mil* *həway* *wáč-mə=ki*
 SAME=HSY1 thus DST finish-TR=FIN food steal-DIR1=DST

ʔukhó:támpis

ʔukhoʔ=am=pis

ocean=?=ABL

‘And so he finished that stealing of food from the coast.’

- (391) *siʔéy* *həyé* *kimás* *ʔa:tát* *həwáyisammil*
siʔ=ʔi *həye* *kimas* *ʔatát* *həwəy-s-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now thus people eat-CONT-IMPFV=FIN

‘And now the people (lived by) eating that [those things].’

- (392) *sqʔey* *ʔatá* *ʔinkílmil*
sqʔ=ʔi *ʔatə* *ʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And again he went to sleep.’

- (393) *sikəʔéy* *ʔinámt(e)mil* *ʔa:ʔašáy* *tatísaʔ*
sikəʔ=ʔi *ʔinam-t=mil* *ʔatát-šay* *tat-s-aʔ*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN people-alive make-CAUS-IMP

kip ʔimiye ʔey ʔinámtemil
 kip ʔim-y =ʔi ʔinam-t=mil
 3R say-PROG =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN

‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to make human beings, he dreamed.’

(394) sqʔey han hq:tlmil
 sq=ʔi han hqʔ-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 house build-TR=FIN

‘So he built a house.’

(395) sqkʔomey ʔal tʔuʔakmil hqčmikʔal
 sq=kʔom=ʔi ʔal tʔu-qk=mil hqč=mikʔal
 SAME-there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor/inside-around

‘And there he laid sticks around the floor.’

(396) sqʔey ʔqp matlí:kon hó:ʔ kʔytpaʔ
 sq=ʔi ʔqp mat-tl=kon hoʔ kʔay-t-paʔ
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=while big talk/loud.sound-INTR-FUT

ʔq:ʔát k'ayyímiyqki ʔú:k'omnom' k'áni
 ʔaʔat k'ay-m-qk ʔuk'omnom' k'ani
 people talk-IMPFV-SEM Uk'omnom' language

‘And, “Though I do thus there shall be a great babble of people speaking Yuki (Uk’omnom’) speech);”

(397) sikiʔ hálʃa³⁹¹ ho:ʔ yí:kilpaʔ
 si=kiʔ halč=a hoʔ yiʔ-k-il-paʔ
 NEW=then child=PAT big play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

“children also shall be playing much,”

(398) sikiʔ sak k'iniʔákki k'iniʔakpa ʔeyy
 si=kiʔ sak k'in-qk=ki k'in-ak-paʔ =ʔi
 NEW=then baby cry-SEM=DST cry-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil kimás ʔál t'u huʔútli hulk'óʔi
 ʔim=mil ki-mas ʔal t'u huʔu-tl hulk'oʔi
 say=FIN DST-DSTR stick lay finish-TR Coyote

“and crying babies shall cry”, said Coyote as he finished laying the sticks thus.’

³⁹¹ Alternate form given: hálča ‘children’

- (399) *sqkítēy* ʔan k'oʔila tát(e)miki: ʔey
sq=kiṭ=ʔi ʔan k'oʔil=a tat=miki =ʔi
 SAME=then=HSY1 long Wailaki=PAT make=PURP =HSY1

han *hq:tlmil*

han *hqʔ-tl=mil*

house build-TR=FIN

‘Thereupon he built a house to make the Wailaki.’

- (400) *sqk'omey* ʔan kimás ʔál píntlmil
sq=k'om=ʔi ʔan kimas ʔal pin-tl=mil
 SAME-there?=HSY1 long thus stick scatter-TR=FIN

‘And there he scattered sticks thus:’

- (401) *san* *hóṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'áni* ʔqp *mátlí:kon* *namlíkí:*
san *hoṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'ani* ʔqp *mat-tl=kon* *namliki*
 SAME? big Wailaki language 1SG.AGT do-TR=while therefore

hóṭ *k'oʔil* *k'áwlaṅk* *k'ayyíniʔakmil*

hoṭ *k'oʔil* *k'aw-lam=k* *k'ay-n-qk=mil*

big Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN

“‘Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this’; therefore many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.’

(402) *sik̄ɛy* *ʔu:k'am'nó:mi* ³⁹² *ʔú:k'amk'áni* ³⁹³
si=kiɛ=ʔi *ʔuk'omnom'* *ʔuk'om-k'ani*
NEW=then=HSY1 Uk'omnom' Uk'omnom'-language

k'ayyíni'akmil
k'ay-n-qk=mil
talk-AND-SEM=FIN

'And the Yuki (Uk'omnom') also were speaking Yuki (Uk'omnom') speech.'

(403a) *siʔéy* *haye* *kimás* *huʔútlmil* ³⁹⁴
si=ʔi *haye* *kimas* *huʔu-tl=mil*
NEW=HSY1 now thus finish-TR=FIN

'So now he completed that.'

(403b) *sqʔéy* *haye* *mipát* *ʔu:k'ámnó:ma* ³⁹⁵ *tatímil*
sq=ʔi *haye* *mipát* *ʔuk'omnom'=a* *tat=mil*
SAME=HSY1 now hand Ukomnom'=PAT make=FIN

³⁹² Alternate form given: *ʔu:k'om'nó:mi* 'the Yukis'

³⁹³ Alternate form given: *ʔú:k'omk'áni* 'Yuki language'

³⁹⁴ (403a) and (403b) are both numbered (403) by Kroeber in the original notes.

³⁹⁵ Alternate form given: *ʔuk'ómnó:ma* 'Yukis'

kípat šiló' mipát 'ey 'át:'ismil
kipat šilo' mipat ='i 'at'-s=mil
3R.DAT like hand =HSY1 make/put.on?-CAUS=FIN

'And now he made the Yuki hands; like his own hands he put them on.'

(404) simópey háye sá:ṭ'in kómmil hulk'ó'i mípat
si=mop='i háye sáṭ'in kom=mil hulk'ó'i mipat
NEW=but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand

'aṭáta kípat šilósik
'aṭat=a kipat šilo-sik
people=PAT 3R.DAT like-HSY2?

'But now Lizard came as Coyote was causing people's hands to resemble his own.'

(405) sá'ey háymáhésk mi' kimás mípat
sá='i háyma-h-s-k mi' ki-mas mipat
SAME=HSY1 how-DUR?-CAUS?=DECL? 2SG.AGT DST-DSTR hand

'átishah 'eyy 'imeymil sáṭ'in
'at-s-ha ='i 'im=mil sáṭ'in
put.on-CAUS?-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Lizard

'And, "Doing how are you putting the hands on thus?" said Lizard.'

- (406) *si'áy hulk'ó'i'a ?íyi yú:m' tánhqli tát(k) kí:la*
si=?i hulk'o'i=?a ?iyi yum' tan=hqli tat ki-la
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT what ? NEG?=INFR1? good DST-INST
- tát kí:tíl pá:ʔisláwxk ?eyy ?imeymil hulk'ó'i*
tat kitil paʔ-s-law-k =?i ?im=mil hulk'o'i
 good obsidian chip-CONT-PRM-DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote, "What is the matter then? With that they can keep chipping obsidian well", Coyote said.'

- (407) *se'áy sá:ʔ'in ?i:yú'a?kim' ?án hánop*
si=?i saʔ'in ?iyu'a?-kim' ?an han=op
 NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?-over.there? always house=LAT
- šu?ik ki:č'ílkič pá:ʔispa tanhqli(k) kí:la?*
šu?=k kič'il=kič paʔ-s-pa? tan=hql ki-la?
 sit=DECL obsidian=only chip-CONT?-FUT NEG?=INFR1? DST-INST

'Then Lizard, "How is it to happen that always sitting indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?"'

- (408) *lu:wąʔ tá:ʔik kíwk ?an tí:ʔanj k t'olkó'ol*
luwąʔ tat=k kiwk ?an tiʔank t'olkol'
 bow make=DECL arrow always rope net

tá:tipá:miki: híl(i)kšiloʔ mipát:t'aʔ tát ʔáhik
 tat-paʔ=miki hilkšiloʔ mipat=a tat ʔa-h=k
 make-FUT=PURP everything hand=PAT good pull/put?-DUR?=DECL

yú:yampa:miki:
 yuy-m-paʔ=miki
 make-IMPV-FUT=PURP

“Making bows, arrows, ropes, nets they will make, everything they will make holding it well with the hand.”

(409) ʔitin mipát šiló ʔátló:han
 ʔitin mipat šiloʔ ʔa-tl-lohan
 1SG.POSS hand like put.on-TR-?

“Like mine you should put on a hand!”

(410) miʔ hqkóč yú:ʔyamʔi:k ʔi:y
 miʔ hqkoč yuy'-m=k =ʔi
 2SG.AGT bad do-IMPV=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil sqt'in hulk'ó'a
 ʔim=mil sqt'in hulk'o'i=a
 say=FIN Lizard Coyote=PAT

“You are doing badly”, said Lizard to Coyote.’

(411) *seʔey háye hulkʔóʔi sáʔin kip huškʔáyesi*
si=ʔi háye hulkʔoʔi sáʔin kip huškʔay-s
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote Lizard 3R tell-CAUS?

ki ʔeyi háye yúniʔakmil
ki ʔiyi háye yuyʔ-n-qk=mil
 DST what now do-AND-SEM=FIN

‘So now Coyote did what Lizard told him.’

(412a) *sáʔéy sáʔinʔat mipátat kimás ʔey háye*
sáʔ=ʔi sáʔin=at mipat=at ki-mas =ʔi háye
 SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:ʔáta
ʔa-tl=mil ʔaʔat=a
 pull/put?-TR=FIN people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

(412b) *namlíki ʔey ká ʔa:ʔáta sáʔinʔat mípat šiloʔ*
namliki =ʔi ka ʔaʔat=a sáʔin=at mipat šiloʔ
 therefore =HSY1 PRX people=PAT Lizard=DAT hand like

ʔatmil ʔa:ʔáta
 ʔa-t=mil ʔaʔat=a
 pull/put?=FIN people=PAT

‘that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard’s.’

(413a) sʔkíʔey háye huʔ ʔa:ʔát mihnámlikimáʂa
 sʔ=kiʔ=?i háye huʔ ʔaʔat mih=namlí=ki-mas=a
 SAME=then=HSY1 now before people be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT

ʔey ʔawhám kʔkʔésimil
 =?i ʔawham kʔkʔ-s=mil
 =HSY1 animal make-CAUS=FIN

‘Thereupon he made those who had first been people to become animals;’

(413b) míla ʔey miʔ míli mípa ʔan
 mil=q =?i miʔ mili mih-paʔ ʔan
 deer=PAT =HSY1 2SG.AGT deer be-FUT always

ʔa:ʔátat hqwayʔolʔ
 ʔaʔat=qʔ hqway-olʔ
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST

‘to the deer (he said), “You, deer, shall always be food for humans.”’

(414) *síkɪt* *míʔ* *ló:pši* *mí:paʔ* *ʔan*
si=kiɪt *miʔ* *lopsi* *mih-paʔ* *ʔan*
 NEW=then 2SG.AGT Jackrabbit be-FUT always

ʔa:tátat *həwáyol'*
ʔatát=qt *həway-ol'*
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST

“And you also, Jackrabbit, shall always be food for people.”

(415) *síkɪt* *ʔan* *t'úliš* *nə* *káki* *nə* *pú:lam*
si=kiɪt *ʔan* *t'uliš* *=nə* *káki* *=nə* *pulam*
 NEW=then always valley.quail =and mountain.quail =and cottontail

nə *tí:tít* *nə* *kú:čmol* *nə* *ʔitú:kam* *nə* *nə:tam*
=nə *títít* *=nə* *kučmol* *=nə* *ʔitukam* *=nə* *nətam*
 =and robin =and meadowlark =and grouse =and gray.squirrel

šišan *nə* *wəšít* *nə* *milontítam* *(nə)* *kimási*
šišan *=nə* *wəšít* *=nə* *milontitam* *(=nə)* *ki-mas-i*
 ground.squirrel =and bear =and elk (=and) DST-DSTR-ANIM

mo:s *ʔawhámi* *mí:pa* *ʔa:tátat* *ʔey*
moʔos *ʔawhami* *mih-paʔ* *ʔatát=qt* *=ʔi*
 2PL.AGT animal be-FUT people=DAT =HSY1

?imeymil hulk'ó'i

?im=mil hulk'o'i

say=FIN Coyote

“And always quail and mountain quail and cottontail rabbit and robin and meadowlark and grouse and squirrel and ground squirrel and bear and elk, you shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

(416a) *sikiṭ čí:mítq mós čí:mit mípa*
si=kiṭ čimit=q mo'os čimit mih-pa'
NEW=then bird=PAT 2PL.AGT bird be-FUT

(416b) *sąki: mó'oş 'ólmpo nó'opa'*
sąki mo'os 'olam=op no'-pa'
and 2PL.AGT brush=LAT live-FUT

(416c) *sikiṭa ?an ló:psi nq pú:lam 'ólmpo nó'opa'*
si=kiṭa ?an lopsi =nq pulam 'olam=op no'-pa'
NEW=then always jackrabbit =and cottontail brush=LAT live-FUT

?iyy ?imeymil kimása ku:ški'a
=?i ?im=mil ki-mas=a kuški=a
=HSY1 say=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT small=PAT

‘And to the (small) birds, “You shall be birds and shall live in the brush; and jackrabbit and rabbit shall live in the brush”, he said to those small ones.’

- (417) *sikiṭéy* *míla* *nq* *k'ol* *kimása* *ki* *hó:ṭam*
si=kiṭ=?i *mil=a* =*nq* *k'ol* *ki-mas=a* *ki* *hoṭ=am*
NEW=then=HSY1 deer=PAT and other DST-DSTR=PAT DST big=?

kimása *mó'oṣ* *ʔon* *hó:ṭop* *noʔopa* *ʔan*
ki-mas=a *moʔos* *ʔon* *hoṭ=op* *noʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*
DST-DSTR=PAT 2PL.AGT ground big=LAT live-FUT always

ʔawhámi *mí:hkon* *ʔa:ṭátat* *hqwáyol'* *móʔos*
ʔawham *mih=kon* *ʔatát=at* *hqway-ol'* *moʔos*
animal be=although people=DAT food-AG/INST 2PL.AGT

mípaʔ *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
mih-paʔ =ʔi *ʔim=mil* *hulk'oʔi*
be-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And then to the deer and those others that are large, “You shall live on great (rough) ground because being game shall always be food for people”, said Coyote,’

- (418a) *k'áyt* *ʔa:ṭašáy* *k'qk'ísqk*
k'áyt *ʔatát-šay* *k'qk'-s-qk*
already people-alive make-CAUS-SEM

‘already having caused human beings to come into existence.’

(418b) *sqkimás* *ʔey* *huʔú:tlmil*
sq=kimas =ʔi *huʔu-tl=mil*
 SAME-thus =HSY1 finish-TR=FIN

‘Thus he completed that.’

(419) *seʔéy* *kimása* *kʔinhílmil* *šqkma*
se=ʔi *ki-mas=a* *kʔin-h-il=mil* *šqkmi=a*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=PAT sad-DUR-MPSV=FIN some=PAT

‘And some of them felt sad;’

(420) *sikánʔéy* *ʔawhám* *kʔqkʔetmil*
sikq=ʔi *ʔawham* *kʔqkʔ-t=mil*
 AGT>PAT=HSY1 animal make-INTR=FIN

‘but they became animals.’

(421) *siʔéy* *haye* *kimási* *ʔa:ʔát* *hqwqysamil* *ki:*
si=ʔi *haye* *ki-mas-i* *ʔaʔat* *hqwqy-s-m=mil* *ki*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST-DSTR-ANIM people eat-CONT-IMPV=FIN DST

hqwáysampa:miki:

hqwqy-s-m-paʔ=miki

eat-CONT-IMPV-FUT=PURP

‘And now people at them whom they would continue to eat.’

(422) *si háye ki hil' kimás hu'ú:tlmil hulk'o'i*
si háye ki hil' kimas hu'u-tl=mil hulk'o'i
 NEW now DST all thus finish-TR=FIN Coyote

'And so now Coyote completed all that thus.'

(423) *namlíki 'ey ki: méymil kimás k'qkésinamlíki*
namliki ='i ki mih=mil kimas k'qk-s=namli=ki
 therefore =HSY1 DST be=FIN thus make-CAUS=DEP=DST

miyahk'í:kan'

miyah-k'íkan'

1PL.INCL.DAT-mother's.brother

'That is why it is thus, because he caused it to become so, our mother's
 brother.'

3. Feather Dance Narrative

The *Feather Dance Narrative* was told by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber (1901/1903) on December 14, 1901, but is not given a title by him. This narrative is unique in the collection of Yuki narratives recorded by Kroeber. This narrative is neither a myth nor a translated text. Instead it reflects the personal experience of the Yuki speaker, Ralph Moore. As noted in §7.4.4.1, the hearsay evidential *ʔi* is absent from this narrative, yet is ubiquitous in all of the other narratives, which do not reflect the personal experience of the speaker. Kroeber does not provide a free translation for this text. Instead two types of translations are given with each clause. The translations beginning with “B:” (for Balodis) are my own free translations based on the Yuki. The translations beginning with “K:” (for Kroeber) are the glosses given by Kroeber for each Yuki word. Strung together in this way, these glosses form a free translation of a kind, which can also provide an insight into the meaning of the Yuki. The Feather Dance Narrative is recorded in Notebook 20 (Kroeber 1901/1903).

- (1) *kopa'wóklami* *ʔimsop*
kopa-wok-lam *ʔim-s=op*
 feather-dance-INCH say-CAUS?=as

B: 'The Feather Dance happens, (as) they say,'

K: 'Feather-dance-will have they say;'

múna *ʔus* *kí:k'il* *ko:litámmil*
muna *ʔus* *ki=k'il* *ko'-lit-m=mil*
 many 1PL.EXCL.AGT DST=TERM go-DIR2-IMPFV=FIN

wok *náwtáŋk*

wok *nəw-t-am=k*

dance see-INTR-?=DECL

B: 'many people go there to see the dance.'

K: 'lot of us toward there we go to see the dance,'

kimasi *wókmamsi*

ki-mas-i *wok-ma-m-s*

DST-DSTR-ANIM dance-DIR1-IMPFV-CAUS?

k'ol *ʔaṭát* *wókmamsi.*

k'ol *ʔaṭat* *wok-ma-m-s*

other people dance-DIR1-IMPFV-CAUS?

B: 'They will dance and other people will dance³⁹⁶.'

K: 'they will dance other people will dance.'

³⁹⁶ Due to the presence of causative -s in *wókmamsi*, 'will' is probably used here in a causative sense: all people here will be caused to dance not just a statement of the future.

(2) *símili* ʔus wokú:tismil wokmiki:
si=mili ʔus wok-kut-s=mil wok=miki
 NEW=and.then 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance-INCP-CAUS=FIN dance=PURP

ʔuʂ ʔaʔi: həp šú:kú:tismil.
 ʔus ʔaʔi həp šuʔ-kut-s=mil
 1PL.EXCL.AGT for.a.while sing sit-INCP-CAUS=FIN

B: 'And then we are the first to dance, but to dance we first sit and sing for a while.'

K: 'And then we (excl.) dance first going to dance we for a while sit down and sing first.'

(3) *símiliʔ* wókmikkimáʂi kámešna sapátina
si=mili wok=miki-mas kameš=nə sapati=nə
 NEW=and.then dance=PURP-DSTR shirt=and shoe=and

híšilmil
hiʔ-s-il=mil
 come.out-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

B: 'And then those who are going to dance, take off their shirts and shoes,'

K: 'And then those who are going to dance shirts shoes slip/take off'

sq hqɔ šú: hukiɕ tatá:lilmil.

sq hqɔ šu' hu=kiɕ tat-q-l-il-mil

SAME sing sit stop=while fix-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN

B: 'and fix themselves up while they sit still and sing.'

K: 'while they sit still and sing, fix themselves up.'

(4) *sími: hí:li tat' hu'útlí:li*

si=mi hil-i tat hu'u-tl-il

SAME=and.then all-ANIM fix stop-TR-MPSV

B: 'And then, all finish fixing themselves up.'

K: 'And then, all go through fixing up with feathers.'

háye hqɔ šú:hikimáse hí:li mí:ɕi yóletmil.

haye hqɔ šu'-h-ki-mas-i hil-i miɕi yol-t=mil

now sing sit-DUR-DST-DSTR-ANIM all-ANIM up stand-INTR=FIN

B: 'Now those that are sitting and singing all get up and stand.'

K: 'Now those that are sitting and singing all up get up and stand.'

- (5) *sekík* *páŋk* *ʔáti* *wokútlmitl*.
si=kik *pək* *ʔati* *wok-kut-tl=mil*
 NEW=right.there one for.a.while dance-INCP-TR=FIN

B: 'Right there one (of them) danced first for a while.'

K: 'Right there for a while danced first.'

- (6) *səkík* *ʔúnʔšil* *wóktlimi:* *háye* *yimáqʔk*
sə=kik *ʔunšil* *wok-tl-mi* *haye* *yim-qlʔk*
 SAME=right.there little dance-TR-? then/now fire-near?

wok *lák'esimil*.

wok *lak'-s=mil*

dance come.out-CAUS?=FIN

B: 'Right there they dance a little and then they come out to dance near the fire.'

K: 'Right there a little they dance and then/now near the fire they come out/forward to dance.'

- (7) *sqkík* *háye* *wóktmil*.
sq=kik *haye* *wok-tl=mil*
 SAME-right.there then dance-TR=FIN

B: 'And then right there they dance.'

K: 'And then right there they dance.'

- (8) *sekík* *múna* *ʔa:tát* *nqwkílmil*.
si=kik *muna* *ʔatát* *nqw-k-il=mil*
 NEW=right.there many people see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

B: 'Right there many people look at them [watch them?].'

K: 'Right there lots of people look at them.'

- (9) *sekík* *wáʔoksími* *huʔú:tlmil*.
si=kik *wok-s-mi* *huʔu-tl=mil*
 NEW=right.there dance-CAUS?-? quit-TR=FIN

B: 'Right there having danced they quit.'

K: 'Right there having danced they quit.'

- (10) *sop muna sohikil'mil.*
sop muna soh-k-il=mil
 but.then many make.noise-PNCT?-MPSV=FIN

B: 'But many made a roar (applause).'

K: 'And many made a roar, made much noise (applause).'

- (11) *sop šakma t'u:wayhil*
sop šakma t'u²-way-h-il
 but.then some.others.PAT? heart-jealous?-DUR-MPSV

ki:mqlilmil.

ki-mq-l-il=mil

say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN

B: 'But many others (the other tribe) say to each other that they are surprised over their dancing.'

K: 'And some others (the other tribe) don't want to/are jealous/ are surprised (over their dancing) they say to themselves.'

- (12) *sámi:* *kimáse* *hąšáʔ* *hąp* *šú:* *kopwóktmil*
są=mi *ki-mas-i* *hąša* *hąp* *šuʔ* *kop-wok-tl=mil*
 SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM again sing sit feather-dance-TR=FIN

tá:tkí:li.
tat-k-il
 fix-PNCT-MPSV

B: 'And then in turn these others sit, sing, and dance the feather dance and fix themselves up.'

K: 'And then they (who were jealous) again (in turn) sit and sing dance fix up.'

- (13) *samí:* *kimáse* *ʔán* *huʔ*
są=mi *ki-mas-i* *ʔan* *huʔ*
 SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long/always before

wóktlimí:kimás *ʔan* *wóktmil* *yimálekʔ.*
wok-tl-m=ki-mas *ʔan* *wok-tl=mil* *yim-qlik*
 dance-TR-?=DST-DSTR long/always dance-TR=FIN fire-near?

B: 'They dance just the same dance as those that danced before near the fire'

K: 'They dance just the same dance as those that danced before.'

- (14) *sqkík* *wá'oksimí:* *ʔan* *huʔú:tlmil.*
sq=kik *wok-s-mi* *ʔan* *huʔu-tl=mil*
 SAME=right.there dance-CAUS-? long/always quit-TR=FIN

B: 'And right there they stopped dancing.'

K: 'Right there dance quit.'

- (15) *sími:* *wok'áyaki:kí*
si=mi *wok-q-ak=ki*
 NEW=and.then dance-?-SEM=DST

B: 'And then one of them made up the dance.'

K: 'And then the one made up the dance.'

- kimás* *ʔqtéy* *méy* *huʔú:tlik*
kimas *ʔqti* *mi* *huʔu-tl=k*
 thus for.a.while 1PL.INCL.AGT quit-TR=DECL

B: "That's enough for a while, we quit."

K: "That's enough for a while we quit;"

míyq *ki* *k'ólpis*
miyq *ki* *k'ol=pis*
1PL.INCL.PAT DST other=ABL

B: “we from the other side [the other tribe],”

K: “we from the other side [other tribe]”

wok *náwinema'mi:kimáse*
wok *náw-n-má-mi=ki-mas-i*
dance see-AND-DIR1-?=DST-DSTR-ANIM

B: “those that came to see us dance”

K: “those that came to see us dance”

mi: *wok* *náwkil* *ló'ok.*
mi *wok* *náw-k-il* *lo'=k*
1PL.INCL.AGT dance see-PNCT-MPSV ought?=DECL ³⁹⁷

B: “we ought to see them dance.”

K: “we ought to see them dance.”

³⁹⁷ -*lo'ok* ‘may’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 270)

- (16) *sími: kiṭáʔ ʔan wokʼol mí:hqleki*
si=mi kiṭa ʔan wok-ol mih=hqł=ki
 NEW=and.then there long/always dance-AG/INST be=INFR1?=DST
- kʼáyyemilemi kipat ʔá:ṭat ʔiwis mqlam yíwismil.*
kʼqy-mil-mi kipat ʔṭat ʔiwis mql=am yiw-s=mil
 talk-?-? 3R.DAT people man young=? call-CAUS?=FIN

B: ‘And then, the leader of the other tribe called to the young men, “If there are any dance leaders there, would like to see them,” saying to they young men.’

K: ‘And then if there are any dance leaders there would like to see them he was saying to his own tribe young men he (leader of other side) called them.’

- (17) *sámeý kimáše ʔán hqṗ šú:knil.*
sq=mi ki-mas-i ʔan hqṗ šuʔ-k=mil
 SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long/always sing sit-PNCT=FIN

B: ‘And then they sit down and sing.’

K: ‘And then those sit down and sing.’

(18) *sémi* *ʔán* *kimási* *wóktlika*
si=mi *ʔan* *ki-mas-i* *wok-tl=ka*
NEW=and.then long/always DST-DSTR-ANIM dance-TR=then

ʔuʂ *náwkilmil*
ʔus *nəw-k-il=mil*
1PL.EXCL.AGT see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

B: ‘And then we looked at those dancing;’

K: ‘And then those dancing we looked at them;’

hí:li *ʔa:tát* *k’ol* *kimá:se*
hil-i *ʔatat* *k’ol* *ki-mas-i*
all-ANIM people other DST-DSTR-ANIM

wok *nəwinʔmimikimásq*
wok *nəw-n-mi=miki-mas-q*
dance see-AND-ʔ=PURP-DSTR=PAT

B: ‘all those of the other tribe came to see our dance.’

K: ‘all those of the other tribe came to see our dance,’

ʔuʂ wóktʔilmil ʔá:téy
 ʔus wok-t-il=mil ʔati
 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance-INTR-MPSV=FIN for.a.while

B: 'We had them dance for a while.'

K: 'we asked/made them to dance for a while.'

wáʔokʔispaʔaŋkón.

wok-s-paʔam=kon

dance-CAUS-FUT=though

B: 'Though we will dance (soon).'

K: 'We will dance (soon).'

(19) sími: hawlámop kapitán hqwayʔi kʔayákmil.
 si=mi hawlam=op kapitan hqway kʔay-qk=mil
 NEW=and.then daylight=as captain food speak-SEM=FIN

B: 'And then as it became light, the captain made a speech for food.'

K: 'And then at getting daylight captain made a speech for food.'

- (20) *símili* *həwáy* *t'oktmil* *hí:li*
si=mili *həwáy* *t'ok-t-mil* *hil-i*
 NEW=and.then food arrive-INTR=mil all-ANIM

wa'ok'is'tikimáse.

wok-s=ki-mas

dance-CONT?=DST-DSTR

B: 'And then food comes to all those that have been dancing.'

K: 'And then when food comes to ... all of them that have been dancing.'

- (21) *sími:* *həwáy* *hil* *hu'ú:ti*
si=mi *həwáy* *hil* *hu'u-t*
 NEW=and.then food/eat all finish-INTR

B: 'Then they all finish eating.'

K: 'Then ("food") eating all done.'

háye ki nák hí:li háye 'ón'wah wá'ok'esmil.

háye ki nak hil-i háye 'on-wah wok-s=mil

now DST night all-ANIM now earth?-wide? dance-CAUS=FIN

B: 'Now that night everybody dances then in any way they please.'

K: 'Now that night everybody then/now in any way they please they danced.'

- (22) *šq:kč'am* *ʔús* *ʔopi* *nák* *šq:kč'am* *molmi* *nák*
šqkč'am *ʔus* *ʔopi* *nak* *šqkč'am* *molmi* *nak*
sometimes 1PL.EXCL.AGT two night sometimes three nights
- šq:kč'am* *páwi* *wi:ṭ* *ʔus* *wáʔok'išmil.*
šqkč'am *pəwi* *wiṭ* *ʔus* *wok-s=mil*
sometimes one week 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance-CONT=FIN

B: 'Sometimes we dance 2 nights, sometimes 3 nights, sometimes one week.'

K: 'Sometimes we 2 nights sometimes 3 nights sometimes one week (= work [from Sunday to Sunday, one period of work; is not the English word "week"]) we danced.'

4. Ents and Upek

Ents and Upek was translated from English into Yuki by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber in 1902. *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi* are originally Chinook myths, which appeared in Franz Boas' *Chinook Texts* in 1894. *Ents and Upek* appears as *Ēntx!X* in *Chinook Texts*. It appears that Kroeber based the English translations on a short excerpt of both myths and had Ralph Moore translate the English into Yuki. The free translations provided below are mostly those given by Kroeber (1902e) along with the original Yuki. *Ents and Upek* is recorded in Notebook 28 (Kroeber 1902e).

- (1) *kɪʈa ʔey ʔInt nɔ kimteyt ʔUpek mi:nɔ.*
kɪʈa =ʔi ʔint =nɔ kim-teyt ʔupek mih=nɔ
 there =HSY1 Ents =and DST.KIN.POSS-grandmother Upek be=and?

‘There were Ents and his grandmother Upek.’

- (2) *haye ki: muʃp ʔan huʃkayesna kiʔa*
haye ki musp ʔan huʃkay-s=na ki=a
 now DST woman always say-CONT=and? DST=PAT

kó:ti milonti:tma anilma.

koʔ-t milontitam anil-m-a

go-INTR elk bring-IMPV?-IMP

‘Now this woman always said to him “Go bring elk!”’³⁹⁸

- (3) *hil kʼawlaŋk ʔiyi kiʔa kó:ɕilmil*
hil kʼawlamk =ʔi ki=a koʔ-t-il=mil
 all morning =HSY1 DST=PAT go-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘Every morning she made him go.’

³⁹⁸ The original English sentence matching (2) in Kroeber’s notes is ‘Now she always told him to go and get elk.’

kiʔa kimaša ʔaniłtilmil.

ki=a ki-mas=a ʔanil-t-il=mil

DST=PAT DST-DSTR=PAT bring-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘She made him bring them.’³⁹⁹

(4) *seʔéy ki kim kʔoʔi kʔa:pʔimil.*

si=ʔi ki kim kʔoʔi kʔap=mil

NEW=HSY1 DST only gopher kill=FIN

ki: kim šiškič kʔapʔemil.

ki kim šiškič kʔap=mil

DST only squirrel kill=FIN

kʔolʔináʔi kiʔ ʔolkočam kič kʔa:pimil.

kʔol-ʔinaʔi ki ʔolkačam =kič kʔap=mil

other-day DST mouse =only kill=FIN

‘He only killed gophers, he only killed squirrels, sometimes he only killed mice.’

(5) *siʔey ki šq:kčʔam ʔan kʔó:tammil.*

si=ʔi ki šqkčam ʔan koʔ-t-m=mil

NEW=HSY1 DST sometimes always go-INTR-IMPV=FIN

³⁹⁹ The original English sentence matching (3) in Kroeber’s notes is ‘Every morning he went to get them.’

'He went maybe several times.'

- (6) *simeyey* *ki k'ó:te* *ʔéy* *ʔol tɬl kɪʦa* *šú:mił.*
si-mi=ʔi *ki k'oʔ-t* *=ʔi* *ʔol tɬl kɪʦa* *šuʔ=mił*
NEW-and.then=HSY1 DST go-INTR =HSY1 tree NEG there stay=FIN

'Then he went and stayed on the prairie.'⁴⁰⁰

- (7) *seʔey* *ki* *č'al* *p'ąkəkmił*
si=ʔi *ki* *č'al* *p'ąk-ąk=mił*
SAME=HSY1 DST loud shout-SEM=FIN

'He shouted:'

- łákta* *kátá* *ʔol* *tɬłop*
lak-t-a *kaʦa* *ʔol* *tɬł=op*
come.out-INTR-IMP here tree NEG=LAT

“Come out on the prairie [where there are no trees],”

- miłonti:tmi* *mey* *mąmekiłpa*
miłontitam *mi* *mąm-k-il-pa*
elk 1PL.INCL.AGT fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

⁴⁰⁰ In (6) and (15), Ralph Moore translates ‘prairie’ as *ʔol tɬl kɪʦa*, which is glossed by Kroeber as ‘tree-not-where’. Presumably, ‘the place where there are no trees.’ In (7), a different construction is used by Moore for ‘prairie’: *kátá ʔol tɬłop*, which is glossed by Kroeber as ‘here where no trees’. Presumably, ‘here where there are no trees.’

“elk, we will fight,”

meiy wóktlpa.

mi wok-tl-pa

1PL.INCL.AGT sing/dance-TR-FUT

“we will dance.”

(8) *símey ?íyi lakt*

si=mi ?iyi lak-t

NEW=and.then something come.out=INTR

‘Then something came out,’

nq húčki ló:psi méy

=nq huč=ki lopsi mih?

=and? outside=IN rabbit be

‘it was a rabbit.’⁴⁰¹

?ími:mil.

?im=mil

say=FIN

He said;’

⁴⁰¹ Perhaps literally this clause is: ‘and outside, there was a rabbit’.

- (9) *ki* *ʔap* *yúwistan'we*
ki *ʔap* *yuw-s-tan-wi*
 DST 1SG.AGT call-CONT?-NEG-PST1

“That is the one I didn’t call;”

- kiʔat* *šam nók* *šiló:k* *ʔahmol* *kʔayyam mihk.*
kiʔat *šam nok* *šiloʔ=k* *ʔahmol* *kʔayyam mih=k*
 4.DAT ear spoon like=DECL handle long be=DECL

“his ears like spoons with long handles.”

- (10) *simi:* *ʔey* *ló:pši* *kʔiniʔákmil.*
si=mi *=ʔi* *lopsi* *kʔin-qk=mil*
 NEW=and.then =HSY1 rabbit cry-SEM=FIN

‘Then the rabbit cried’

- (11) *sqʔey* *kipáwkwil* *ʔol* *hóčkil* *kótʔmil.*
sq=ʔi *kipqw=kʔil* *ʔol* *hoč=kʔil* *ko-t=mil.*
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM wood much=TERM go-INTR=FIN

‘and went back into the woods.’

- (12) *sq* *kʔinmil.*
sq *kʔinmil*
 SAME cry=FIN

'It cried.'

- (13) *seʔéy* *kʔi* *pʔákeyákmil* *hąšá*
si=ʔi *ki* *pʔák-qk=mil* *hąša*
NEW=HSY1 DST shout-SEM=FIN again

'Then he shouted again: '

lákta *káta* *ʔol* *tál* *kıta* *milonti:tmi.*
lak-t-a *kaťa* *ʔol* *tál* *kıta* *milontitam*
come.out-INTR-IMP here tree NEG there elk

“Come out on the prairie, elk!”

5. Ioi

Ioi was translated from English into Yuki by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber in 1902. *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi* are originally Chinook myths, which appeared in Franz Boas' *Chinook Texts* in 1894. *Ioi* appears as *Blue-Jay and Iō'i* in *Chinook Texts*. It appears that Kroeber based the English translations on a short excerpt of both myths and had Ralph Moore translate the English into Yuki. The free translations provided below are mostly those given by Kroeber (1902e) along with the original Yuki. *Ioi* is recorded in Notebook 28 (Kroeber 1902e).

- (1) *Ioi nq kípát káčeyni kimlána č'qy kíta mí:mil.*
Ioi =nq kípát kačini kim-lana č'qy kíta mih=mil.
 Ioi =and 3R.DAT younger DST.KIN.POSS-brother Bluejay there be=FIN
 'Ioi and her younger brother Bluejay were there.'

- (2) *pqwi nak 'ey 'aʔat 'on hulk'ílal⁴⁰² 'anilmamil mus.⁴⁰³*
pqwi nak ='i 'aʔat 'on hulk'ilal 'anil-mq=mil mus
 one night =HSY1 people earth ghost bring=DIR1=FIN wife
 'One night the ghosts brought a wife.'⁴⁰⁴

- (3) *Ioi'q toketmil.*
Ioi=q tok-t=mil
 Ioi=PAT bring?-INTR=FIN
 'Ioi was bought (there).' ⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Kroeber glosses *'aʔat 'on hulk'ílal* as 'ghosts', but in other texts *hulk'ilal* by itself is glossed as 'ghost(s)'.

⁴⁰³ *mus* is 'women', but is glossed as 'wife' in this text by Kroeber.

⁴⁰⁴ The original English sentence matching (2) in Kroeber's notes is 'One night the ghosts bought a wife.'

⁴⁰⁵ The original English sentence matching (3) in Kroeber's notes is 'Ioi was bought.'

- (4) *kimót hqsól' ?i: ?útemil ki?a múšp'a.*
ki-mas=at? hqsól' =?i ?ut=mil ki=a musp=a
 DST-DSTR=DAT beads =HSY1 take=FIN DST=PAT woman=PAT

'Their beads were taken for her.'

- (5) *kiṭa mu:štemil ki nqk.*
kiṭa muš-t=mil ki nqk
 there marry-INTR=FIN DST night

'She was married there at night.'

- (6) *se?éy ?inqy to:ktmil.*
si=?i ?inqy tok-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 day get.to.be-INTR=FIN

'Then it became day.'

- (7) *se?ey hqye Ioi?q yátitmil.*
si=?i hqye Ioi=q yat-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now Ioi=PAT be.gone-INTR=FIN

'And now Ioi was gone.'

- (8) *seʔéy čqʔey kíta ʔán méymil.*
si=ʔi čʔy kíta ʔan mih=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Bluejay there long be=FIN

‘Then Bluejay was there a long time.’

- (9) *kʔolaništi pʔwi pilwánti ʔi: ʔímeymil.*
kʔolaništi pʔwi pilwant =ʔi ʔim=mil
 afterwards one year =HSY1 say=FIN

‘After a year he said:’

- (10) *ʔqp kówmi:lik háymilk*
ʔqp koʔ-mq-il=k hay-mq-il=k
 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL look.for-DIR1-MPSV=DECL

ʔijki:ča.

ʔim-kič=a

1SG.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT

“I am going to look for my elder sister.”

- (11) *sqʔey ki kiwismil hil ʔól'a t'qhá:ŋk.*
sq=ʔi ki kiw-s=mil hil ʔol=a t'qh=am=k
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all tree=PAT find=?=DECL

‘He asked all the trees, trying to find out.’

- (12) *sqʔéy ki kiwismil*
sqʔi ki kiw-s=mil
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN

‘He asked.’

- ʔimás ʔá:ʔat kʔó:tamnamʔlik kʔolmikí.*
ʔimas ʔaʔat kʔoʔ-t-m=namlí=k kʔol=miki
 whereabouts people go-INTR-IMPFV=DEP=? die=PURP

“‘Where does a person go when he dies?’”

- (13) *sqʔey ki kiwismil hil čʔí:mita.*
sqʔi ki kiw-s=mil hil čʔimit=a
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all bird=PAT

‘He asked all the birds.’

- (14) *seʔéy kimáse wačtáqtilmil.*
siʔi ki-mas-i wač tál-t-il=mil
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM tell NEG-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘They did not tell him.’

- (15) *seʔéy kʰolkíʔa weʃa kíwismil.*
si=ʔi kʰol-ki=a weʃ=a kiw-s=mil
 NEW=HSY1 other-DST=PAT wedge=PAT ask-CAUS?=FIN

‘Next he asked the wedge.’

- (16) *seʔéy kíʔa ʔimeymil.*
si=ʔi ki=a ʔim=mil
 NEW=HSY1 DST=PAT say=FIN

‘It said to him:’

- (17) *wáktlʰ ʔéy*
wákt-tl-ʔ =ʔi
 pay-TR-IMP =HSY1

“‘Pay me!

- ʔamis ʔúntini.*
ʔqp mis ʔun-t-ni
 1SG.AGT 2SG.PAT carry-INTR?-?

I will carry you!’”

(18) *siki wáktlmil.*
siki wák-tl=mil
 therefore pay-TR=FIN

‘He paid it.’

(19) *siʔey ʔúntiʔmil kiʔa ʔon hulkʔilalkʔil.*
si=ʔi ʔun-t=mil ki=a ʔon hulkʔilal=kʔil
 NEW=HSY1 carry-INTR?=FIN DST=PAT earth ghost=TERM

‘It carried him to the ghosts.’

(20) *seʔéy wéjʔna⁴⁰⁶ čq:ʔi toktlmil hoč nó:kil.*
si=ʔi wej=nq čqʔi tok-tl=mil hoʔ nokil
 NEW=HSY1 wedge=and Bluejay arrive-TR=FIN big rancheria

‘The wedge and Bluejay arrived at a village.’

(21) *kiʔa ʔey woyam tqłámmil hóʔ hánlamop han.*
kiʔa =ʔi woyam tqł-m=mil hoʔ hanlam=op =han
 there =HSY1 smoke NEG-IMPV=FIN lots.of house=LAT =but

‘There was no smoke at the houses.’

⁴⁰⁶ The meaning of the apostrophe in *wéjʔna* is unclear.

(22) *séʔey kimáši kómmil huháyk'i hánki*
si=ʔi ki-mas-i kom=mil huhayk'i han=k'i
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM come=FIN furthest house=IN

ho:ta namlik'i:k.
hoʔ=a =namli=kik
 big=PAT =DEP=there

'They came to the last house, which was a large one.'

(23) *haye ʔey kĩa wóyam tq:mil*
haye =ʔi kĩa woyam tqʔ=mil
 now =HSY1 there smoke find=FIN

'Now he saw smoke there.'

(24) *kĩa ʔey ki káptmil.*
kĩa =ʔi ki kap-t=mil
 there =HSY1 DST enter-INTR=FIN

'He went into that one.'

(25) *kĩa ʔey tq'mil k'ĩjk'í:ča.*
kĩa =ʔi tqʔ=mil kim=k'ič=a
 there =HSY1 find=FIN DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT

'He found his elder sister there.'

- (26) *həwáy ʔitin koč'eyní ʔi:lán ʔimeymil ki: mušp kiʔa.*
həway ʔitin koč'ini ʔilan ʔim=mil ki musp ki=a
 oh 1SG.POSS younger brother say=FIN DST woman DST=PAT

“Ah my younger brother,” she said to him.’

- (27) *ʔimpis mi komha.*
ʔim=pis mi kom-ha
 where=ABL 2SG.AGT come-Q

“Where did you come from?”

- (28) *mis k'oletha.*
mis k'ol-t-ha
 2SG.PAT die-INTR-Q

“Are you dead?”

- (29) *ki ʔimeymil tǎlek ʔim ʔi: k'ol tǎlek.*⁴⁰⁷
ki ʔim=mil tǎl=k ʔim ʔi k'ol tǎl=k
 DST say=FIN NEG=DECL NEG? 1SG.PAT die NEG=DECL

‘He said, “No, I am not dead.”

- (30) *ki wej ʔúmawi ʔey kǎǰa kípát hámpo:k.*
ki wej ʔun-mǎ-wi =ʔi kaǰa kípát hámp-ok
 DST wedge bring-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1 here 3R.DAT back-INST

“The wedge brought me here on its back.”

- (31) *sǎʔey híl hanʔk hiliʔakmil.*
sǎ=ʔi híl han-ʔk híl-ǎk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 all house-? open-SEM=FIN

‘He opened all those houses.’

⁴⁰⁷ The meaning of *ʔim* is unclear in *ʔimʔi: k'ol tǎlek* ‘I am not dead’. This negative clause is reminiscent of negation in Coast Yuki, discussed in §9.9.5.2, where two negative morphemes seem to be used: a morpheme *ʔimi*, *ʔima* begins the negative clause and *-t* is suffixed to the verb root. As in the following Coast Yuki example:

Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
ʔi:mas né:wit
ʔi:ma=s ne:wi-t
 NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?

‘I don’t see you.’

(32) *ki hánlamop k'i:tkič nop'ítin'a.*

ki hanlam=op k'it=kič nopit-n'a

DST house=LAT bone=only full-?

'The houses were filled only with bones.'

(33) *p'qwi nank'ít nq hoṭ k'i:t tú:čamil*

pqwi nank'it =nq hoṭ k'it tuč=mil

one skull =and many bone lie.there=FIN

k'ink'i:čatnákei.

k'im-k'ič=at=naki

DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=DAT=near

'One skull and bones lay near his elder sister.'

(34) *se'ey ki 'ímeymil ki'a múšp'a.*

si='i ki 'im=mil ki=a musp=a

NEW=HSY1 DST say=FIN DST=PAT woman=PAT

'He said to her:'

- (35) ?i:yí mi yúni?akpa kimáš hoṭ kít:tna
 ?iyi mi yuy'-n-qk-pa ki-mas hoṭ kit=nq
 what 2SG.AGT do-AND?-SEM-FUT DST-DSTR many bone=and
 ka nank'ít:tna.
 ka nank'it=nq
 PRX skull=and

“What are you going to do with those many bones and this skull?”