WESTERN MIWOK TEXTS WITH LINGUISTIC SKETCH

L. S. FREELAND

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

0. The Miwok Indians occupied a considerable portion of central California. Their territory was not continuous, but consisted of two quite distinct areas. The eastern, and much larger, area covered the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains from south of Yosemite Valley north to the Cosumnes River, and extended westward toward San Francisco Bay far enough to include a part of the valley of the San Joaquin. The smaller western division covered the land north of San Francisco Bay along the coast past Bodega Head. It includes also a little area in the hills of the Coast Range south of Clear Lake.[1] The

eastern and western divisions of the Miwok seem for a long time to have been without contact or knowledge of each other, and between them lies the lower valley of the Sacramento, inhabited by the Wintun.

The languages spoken by the eastern and the western Miwok, while showing a closely similar lexicon, present a very different picture from the point of view of structure. That of the Sierra Miwok is a highly organized language of the inflectional type. That of the Coast Miwok is comparatively simple, and its main interest lies in the two-fold character that it exhibits. For while structural peculiarities are still left that are clearly old, and date back to a period of linguistic development common to both divisions, these are relatively meager, and a trend toward a new type of fusional technique has already set in.

1.1. The symbols used in the text are shown in Table I.

All these represent distinct phonemes, with the exception of s and x. The s appears to be simply a weak form of the glottalized affricative, ṭs. (Similarly the glottalized affricative ṭc has a tendency to be spoken as c, but c exists as a distinct phoneme as well.) The fricative x, (listed as palatal, but in reality variable in position according to the vowel preceeding it) is heard chiefly in one certain position in a word; that is, a number of stems that terminate in a vowel in their simple form show an x before various suffixes (though not all suffixes), and before other stems in composition (páwi *mountain*; pawíx-to' *on the mountain*; húˑni *to relate*; húˑnix-mi' *relate thou!*). Comparison with other dialects

---

[1] The text given here is in the dialect spoken by this small group of Miwok living in the hills of the Coast Range. I first worked with this group in 1922, when quite a number of Miwok were still living. The text was obtained from a middle-aged woman, Maggie Johnson, who is married to a

Pomo. It was analysed with the help of her daughter and son-in-law, and later checked with other informants.

makes it appear probable that this sound represents an s that has disappeared from the simple form of these stems. As far as the morphological processes are concerned, these stems are usually treated as though they ended in a consonant, but there is some inconsistency about it.

TABLE I

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Stops						
Sonant.........	b	d	ḍ			
Intermediate ..	p	t	ṭ		k	
Glottalized		t'	ṭ'		k̇	'
Affricatives						
Intermediate ..		ts		tc		
Glottalized		t's		t'c		
Fricatives						
Surd..........		(s)		c	(x)	h
Nasals						
Sonant.........m			n			
Laterals						
Sonant.........			l			
Aspirated......			L			
Semi-vowels ..... w				y		

Vowels

u   o   a   e   i

The material indicates that the series of stops are defective, no sonant palatal having been noted, and no glottalized labial. Informants differ in their use of the series (ṭapá·ṭi, or dapá·ṭi, to slam). Older individuals appear to be more scrupulous about glottalization than the young. This is interesting in view of the fact that there is only one series of stops in the eastern dialects of Miwok.

Only two nasals appear here, the palatal nasal present in the eastern dialects having been assimilated to n.

The aspirated lateral is extremely rare.

Consonant clusters occur only in medial position.

As regards the vowels, i and u are close in quality when long. When short, and especially when unstressed, they tend to be more open. Some individuals use the open quality of u (that of English pull) where others use the close quality (English pool). Both e and o are open. The a is like French chat, rather than English father.

Both consonants and vowels occur as short and long sounds, the two lengths being phonemically distinct. Various pairs of words can be found that differ only in length of sounds (kúle bear; kúl·e wife; wí·wa gruel; wíw·a grapevine).

1.2. As in all dialects of Miwok, the long syllable is a conspicuous and important factor in word and sentence rhythm. A long syllable is one that contains either a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by two consonants or a long one; for example laki to dance, is short short; yomta shaman, how·o to sit, li·law to speak, are long short. This seems to be the standard duration of a long syllable, and vowels phonemically long normally become short in actuality when a suffix or even a following word causes them to be followed by two consonants.

In the eastern dialects of Miwok, word accent must of necessity fall on a long syllable, and either the first or the second syllable of every word is long and stressed. Manipulation of these lengths and stresses, together with metathesis, is used in that language, as a grammatical process, important in creating the various forms of the verb stem (the verb to roll having, for example, the stem forms hút·el-, huté l·-, huté·l-, hútle-). Only a few vestiges of such a practice are left in the Coast Range dialect, all in forms that are obviously old. For instance, such shifts of stress involving loss of phonemic length occur in terms denoting numerals ('ukú·koṭsi ten < úk·u hand; 'oṭá·koṭs two persons < 'oṭa two). Also in verbs formed

by the use of certain ones of an old series of suffixes expressing concepts of Voice, the verb stem appears in a form resembling the second stem form in verbs of the eastern dialects. ('onín·uka *to bring* < 'ó·ni *to come;* liláwne *to address* < lí· law *to speak*).

The present rhythmic trend of the language is quite different, however, and in all processes of the recent level long vowels and consonants are fixed, and long initial syllables such as those in 'ó·ni and lí·law retain their stress when suffixes or other increments are attached to the stem.

1.3. In the Coast Range dialect, in contrast to the eastern dialects, there are many dissyllabic stems with no long syllable. Given alone, these normally have initial stress (láki *to dance;* lókol *to get wood,* 'óle *coyote,* náwa *old man*). When followed, however, by any syllabic increment (which may be a suffix, a stem in composition, or some logically quite unrelated element) such stems tend to undergo a lengthening of the second syllable together with a shift of stress (lakí·ṭak *dancer;* lokó lmiṭso' *get wood, all of you!;* 'olé·nawa *Coyote Old Man*). In the first and third example, syllabic length is arrived at by the lengthening of a vowel ordinarily short; in the second example by the fact that two consonants are brought together. As is shown by the third example, it is also true that stems occurring in second position in composition may lose stress. Stems used habitually in second position tend to acquire weak forms, and to take on in greater or less degree the character of suffixes.

It is this type of rhythmic treatment that accompanies all the grammatical processes of the recent level, as well as the use of older suffixes in so far as they have kept enough vitality to be free moving.

2.1. As in all Miwok dialects, suffixation is the outstanding grammatical process. Stem changes involving metathesis and shifts of length and stress are present, but

occur only with certain old suffixes and appear to be vestiges of an earlier type of grammatical procedure. The vocabulary offers examples of reduplication in various patterns, but there is little indication that this is a vital process. A few cases suggest that there is some use of vocalic and consonantal variation.

The most conspicuous processes are of a type not found in the inflective eastern dialects. The lack of techniques for expressing relational ideas completely within the word makes necessary a certain amount of dependence on word-order, and this fixity in the order of words leads to loose types of stem-composition. Many transitional elements occur, some of which are clearly weak forms of stems, some, apparently, being modal or adverbial particles. Such elements are, for the most part, suffixed rather than prefixed, thus following the old patterns of Miwok morphology.

2.2. A group of final suffixes in the noun serve, by their presence or absence, to distinguish a series of cases. This system of cases shows similarities to that in the eastern dialects both in concepts and in the elements used to express them. Here, however, the case suffixes are reduced to zero in certain instances. Also, they occur here only in the noun, not in the modifier.

The forms differ somewhat according to whether the noun stem terminates in a vowel or in a consonant.

TABLE II

	Stems Ending in a Vowel	Stems Ending in a Consonant
Predicative Case	0	0
Subjective and Genitive	-n	0
Objective	-t̓s	-ut̓s
Reduced Objective	0	-u, -o
Locative	-to', -t	-to'
Ablative	-m	-mu
Instrumental	-ṭu	-ṭu
Comitative	-ni	-ni
Vocative	0, or shift in length and stress	0

With demonstrative stems and in certain other old forms various irregularities in case formation appear. When the strong form of the locative suffix is used with demonstrative stems, the t is long (nét·o' *here;* dót·o' *over there;* mát·o' *at the place mentioned*). Instead of -ṭu, an old instrumental suffix, -cu (still used freely in the eastern dialects) appears (má·cu *by its means*). An old locative suffix, -m (not to be confused with the ablative), replaces the usual locative ending in expressions formed by the derivational suffix -wa, -a, -ca (dó·ca-m *on the other side;* ní·ca-m *on this side;* wál·iwa-m *on the land side;* kaní na-m *on the north side*).

The cases are used as follows:

The predicative case, in the absence of a verb, has predicative value (dó·do hóypu *that is the chief;* 'óṭ·a-wékwek *there are two hawks.*)

The subjective and genitive cases are formally the same (hóypu-n wé·yi *the chief's house;* hóypu-n wé·ṭa *the chief departs*). This does not give rise to any confusion of meaning in the sentence, however, since a noun in the genitive case always preceeds the noun designating the object possessed, while the position of the subject noun is free.

The objective case may denote either the direct or indirect object of a verb, and is used adverbially to express duration of time. In statements or questions, the object of the verb, either direct or indirect, is normally in this case except when it immediately preceeds the verb. In commands, both direct and indirect objects are in this case regardless of position ('iṭi-ts wáyan ma·-ts *to him give that!;* 'úlki-ts kán·i-ts wáyan *mush me give!*).

The reduced objective case is used where an object immediately preceeds a verb, unless this is an imperative form (wátmay-u móyi *duck he hunts;* although móyi wátmay-uts *he hunts duck;* ní· -'awa 'é·ya *this place he likes;* although ní· -'awa-ts hé l·a 'é· ya *this-place not he likes*).

The locative case expresses primarily the idea of location in space or in time (tú·le-t *inside;* 'áw·e-t *on the morrow*). It can also express the end of motion ('íṭi-t *at him;* yomí·-to' *to the village*). To give the idea of *toward, in the direction of,* the locative suffix is associated with other elements, -pa-, and walimpa- (wál·in-pa-t *onto land;* 'á·la-walimpa-t *eastward;* hí·n-ukán-pa-t *until sundown*).

The ablative case expresses motion away from, or out of (wúw·e-m *from the river;* pawíx-mu *from the mountain;* má·-hinte-m *hence, from now on*).

The instrumental case is primarily used to denote the instrument with which an action is performed ('úk·u-ṭu *with the hand;* tumáy-ṭu *with a stick*). Used with verbs stems, the suffix -ṭu denotes purpose rather than means (kó·ci-ṭu wé·ṭa *to play hand game he goes*).

The comitative case expresses accompaniment ('iṭí·-ni *with him;* 'úlki koná·ku-ni *mush with roast meat*).

The vocative case should perhaps not be regarded as a separate case at all, since ordinarily the absolute form is used in address. However, in certain relationship terms a shift of stress can be definitely heard when these are used in address, the shift sometimes even involving loss of phonemic length (papá· *grandfather!;* 'unú· *mother!,* from pá·pa *grandfather,* and 'ún·u, *mother*).

2.3. There is an old pluralizing element, ko-, which appears in all Miwok dialects, occurring often in numerals and in pronominal forms. In Coast Range Miwok, it is used currently in plural pronominal forms, and in pluralizing personal nouns, or demonstrative stems when these refer to persons ('uṭél-ko *white people* < 'úṭel *possessing magic power;* dók·o *those people* < dó· demonstrative stem of distant reference). In line with the newly developed concept of duality (discussed in connection with the pronouns), a dual form, -kots, has been formed from the plural (putú·-kots *two children;* mák·ots *two people; the two of*

them < má· demonstrative stem of indefinite reference). Sometimes these elements have actually personalizing force, as in the term yomí·-ko *the people of a village* < yómi *village;* or when used with verbal stems, as in koyá·-koťs *two singers* < kóya *to sing,* or in 'elám·ukcumti-koťs *two people who are reciprocally siblings.*

Some of the cases in the dual and plural personal nouns and pronouns are formed differently from the corresponding cases in nouns. These variations apparently are needed to avoid confusion and duplication in forms that would result from the similarity of the dualizing element, ťc, to the objective case suffix.

TABLE III

	Plural	Dual
Predicative Case	-ko	-koťs
Subjective and Genitive	-kon	-koťs
Objective	-kono	-koťsiťs
Reduced Objective	-ko	-koťsi

2.4. The independent pronouns are as follows:

TABLE IV

	Singular	Plural	Dual
First Person	kán·i	ma·	'óťs·i
Second Person	mí·	mí·ko	mí·koťs
Third Person	'i·	'í·ko	'í·koťs

The occurrence of a dual form in all persons is interesting. No duals are present in the eastern Miwok dialects, but the distinction between inclusive and exclusive is sharply marked by the existence of two separate stems in the first person plural; ma, first person plural exclusive, and 'itc·u or 'otc·i, inclusive. In the western dialects, apparently, the inclusive stem has been re-interpreted as a dual, and analogous dual forms have been developed for the second and third persons, while the idea of inclusive as against exclusive has been lost.

Cases other than the subjective and genitive may be formed from these stems, the plural and dual forms involving the pluralizing suffix, -ko-, following the same rules as those given for case in plurals and duals

of nouns. Objective forms, for example, are as follows:

TABLE V

	Singular	Plural	Dual
First Person	kán·iťs, kán·i	má·	'óťs·i
Second Person	mí·	mí·kono	mí·koťsi
Third Person	'íťiťs, 'íťi	'í·kono	'í·koťsi

2.5. The subjective and genitive case of pronouns is supplied by another series:

TABLE VI

	Singular	Plural	Dual
First Person	ka, 'ik, k	ma	'iťs, s
Second Person	'in, n	mon	moťs, mos
Third Person	'iti (genitive only)	kon	koťs, kos

These are weak elements and their place in the sentence is fixed: as subjective forms, they immediately preceed the verb; as genitive forms, they immediately preceed the noun denoting the object possessed.[2] Only in one person (the third singular) is there any distinction between the subjective and the genitive form. In this person, subjectivity is either not indicated, or is indicated by the use of the independent pronoun, 'i·, while possession is indicated by the procliticelement 'iṭi which is similar to the objective case in the independent pronoun.[3]

[2] Although these pronominal elements are preposed to the word with which they have a logical relation, they do not appear to be on the point of developing into suffixes. For they ordinarily attach themselves more closely to a preceding word, when this is present, than to the following one (háyu-n kapé·ṭi, "You are losing the dog," "dog-thou lose"; hayú·-mots kapé·ṭi, "You two are losing the dog.")

[3] Although a formal distinction between possession and subjectivity exists only in this one form, it should perhaps be taken as an indication that the two patterns are not felt to be the same.

However, the fact that the verb in Coast Miwok is treated almost entirely like a possessed noun is interesting. In the eastern Miwok dialects, the subjunctive mode (both dependent and independent forms) is treated in this way, while indicative forms have a quite different treatment. It may be that here, only the one pattern has remained.

These elements are very similar to a series found in the eastern Miwok dialects which denotes possession. There, however, the elements are not preposed, but suffixed.

2.6. In the western Miwok dialects, suffixed pronominal elements are found only in the imperative forms of the verb. The elements exhibit dual forms analogous to those already given in the independent and proclitic series. There are two series of these suffixed pronouns, one used with verbs stems ending in a vowel, the other with stems ending in a consonant:

TABLE VII

	Stems Ending in a vowel	Stems Ending in a Consonant
Singular.............	-n	-mi'
Plural...............	-nťso'	-mitso'
Dual................	-nťsoťs	-mitsoťs

At first glance, these elements look as though they might be recent extensions in use of the second person singular elements of the proclitic and the independent series. In reality, however, they are probably remnants from the older linguistic horizon. The appearance of a final glottal closure in singular imperative forms and of the phoneme tc or ts in plural imperative forms occurs repeatedly in the eastern dialects.

2.7. The distinction in the use of these two series of imperative pronominal elements is a formal one, in that it is dependent on the termination of the verb stem (wé·ța-n *go!;* but 'éts-mi' *go to sleep!*). Examination of the two groups of verbs, however, shows that a greater number of active verbs falls in the first group, and a greater number of inactive or medio-passive verbs falls in the second. It is possible that we have here a remnant of the dual classification of verbs as active versus inactive, a distinction which is a basic factor in the conjugation patterns characteristic of the eastern dialects.

2.8. There are quite a number of suffixes that appear frequently in Coast Range

Miwok, attached to the verb stem and expressing various concepts of voice: reflexive, reciprocal, benefactive, causative, and the like. These suffixes are obviously old. They occur also in the eastern Miwok dialects, where they are integrated with the complex treatment of the verb according to verb classes. In those dialects, each voice suffix has an affinity for a special form of the verb stem and necessitates a special pattern of conjugation. In the Coast Range dialects, on the other hand, these elements are simple derivational suffixes, and in so far as they are still vital and free-moving, are affixed to a verb stem in accordance with the rhythmic shifts that operate at present. In old and crystallized forms, however, these elements can often be noted associated with obsolete forms of a verb stem, forms still in current use in the eastern dialects. For example, the reflexive suffix, -po, occurs at times suffixed to a form of the verb stem in which length and stress of the initial syllable is achieved by the use of metathesis ('ókya-po *to come to life* < 'ókay *to create, to bring to life;* 'úkna-po, *(the sun) sets,* or *(the world) approaches winter* < 'úkan *to go in*).

The voice suffixes noted most frequently are the following. The asterisk indicates that the element occurs also in the eastern dialects in much the same form and meaning: * -n·uka, -nuka causative; * -ne benefactive; * -pa indirective; * -po reflexive; * -mti reciprocal; * -kce medio-passive; * -ce, -ci medio-passive;[4] -ți addative (also a fixed element in many active verbs); -ța intensive; -tuka, -tuk- meaning not determined; -te passive or medio-passive.

These elements are not mutually exclusive, but may occur in combination with each other, as in talá·tukce *to rise* < ta-l·a *to stand,* or in ťápcetuka *to slam shut of itself;* ťapá·ți *to slam.*

Verbs formed by the use of these suffixes appear to be all treated as vowel-ending stems as far as the formation of the imperative is concerned, with one exception. The

verbs having the passive suffix, -te, are given the terminal fricative breath and treated like consonant-ending stems (tsaté-x-mi' *lie thou!;* láktex-mi' *be thou named!*).

2.9. Examples occur of a few other derivational suffixes that appear to be old and well-established, but that fall into no clear cut series.

-wa, -a, -ca *side,* a suffix used with stems denoting points of the compass or other spatial ideas ('á·la-wa *the east side* < 'á·la *east;* wál·i-wa *the outside* < wál·i *world;* hú·ke-wa *front* < hú·ke *first*). The weak form, -a, appears with stems ending in a consonant (kaní·n-a *the north side;* kánin *north;* 'oló·m-a or 'oló·-wa *the south side* < 'ólom *south*). The form -ca occurs only with demonstrative stems (dó·-ca *the far side;* ní·-ca, *the near side*).

-tak, -ak, an agentive or participial suffix with verb stems (koyá·-tak, *a singer* < kóya, *to sing;* 'elá·-tak *a player* < 'éla *to play;* hít̓s·uw-ak *a runner* < hít̓s·uw *to run*). This element may have a passive meaning (malá·k-ak *painted* < málak *to paint*).

-ak, -k, a verbalizing element used with noun stems, *to possess* (cú·t-ak *to have eyes, to possess eyesight* < cú·t, *eye;* mí·w-ak *to marry a man* < mí·w *husband;* kúl·e-k *to marry a woman* kúl·e *wife;* yómi-k *to dwell* < yómi *village, community*)

-n·uka, -nuka, a suffix that appears in descriptive terms (yomún·aka *beautiful, fine,* < yómu *to laugh;* yóltsinaka, *poor, pitiable,* < yóltsi *to pity*). One example suggests that this element may come from an old verb stem, nak- *to reach,* which is still used in the eastern dialects (kolón·aka *extending to the feet,* < kólo *foot*).

2.10. In the eastern dialects of Miwok, the complete expression of relational ideas within the word makes wide variation in word order quite possible. And in the western dialects, the persistence of case in the noun still leaves a certain amount of freedom of position. In certain constructions, however, the order of words is fixed, and here the tendency toward compounding is seen most clearly.

2.11. The modifier, since it lacks case suffixes, must for the sake of clearness be closely associated with the noun. It preceeds the noun, and is loosely compounded with it (tsóy·a-kó·tsa *a live person;* 'ót·a-hé·na *two young men*). The presence of compounding is more evident in cases where the stem of the modifier contains no long syllable, and therefore exhibits the characteristic shift in stress with lengthening of the second syllable or else may lose stress entirely ('adé·-wé·yi *a big house;* 'obú·-kó·tsa *a bad person;* kule-kó·la *Bear Girl;* laki-yómta *a dance shaman*). Compounding is most evident when both stems lack a long syllable, and the only prominence in the composite form is the secondary one on the second syllable ('adé·-wiki *big fire;* tsetáw-nawa *white old-man*).

This process is entirely free and occurs all the time, but there are also many permanent words in the vocabulary that have obviously been formed in this way (komé·-nawa *month,* literally *moon old man;* kowúx-kówpum *middle finger,* from kówu *middle* and kówpum *finger;* tamál-pawi *Mount Tamalpais,* literally *west mountain,* from támal, *west* and páwi *mountain*). The majority of place names are of this type, and many animal names.

2.12. The position of a noun in the genitive case is no more free than is that of the noun modifier; it always preceeds the noun to which it refers (wé·yi-n pukú·ya *top of the house,* literally *house's top;* wíki-n tú·le *the midst of the fire*). The two terms in such phrases are not compounded freely as are the noun and modifier, but tend to maintain their own character without shifts of stress (páwi-n kówu *the middle of the mountain;* not pawí-n-kowu). Nevertheless, many nouns in common use are clear

cases of a possessive phrase that has actually been compounded, and in these, shifts of stress occur where they are phonetically indicated (lume-n-tsokó·ko *bobwhite*, literally *fir's quail;* koló-n-kówpum *toe*, literally *foot's finger;* kolo-n-layá·ki *ankle*, literally *foot's wrist*).

This type of composition is important to recognize, since a number of elements that are transitional to suffixes follow this pattern, in that they are attached to what appears to be the genitive case of the stem.

2.13. Noun stems that appear habitually in second position in composition tend to assume the character of suffixes. Some such stems, having no long syllable, are normally unstressed in second position; others develop weak forms. Elements of this type that occur frequently are: -yomi *village, community*, in place names; -'ala, -ala, -la, < 'alwa *tree*, in names of plants; -wal·i, -wali *world, region* < wál·i *the world, the out-of-doors, dry land* (lí·le-wal·i *the Sky World, Heaven;* 'á·la-wal·i *the east world, the east*).

Some elements appear to have originated from adverbial particles, rather than noun stems: -'aye *indeed, only, on the other hand* (mí·'aye *Thou indeed*, kán·i-'aye *I, on the other hand*, lopúk-'aye *nothing but mud*). -ce, cewa, *time, occasion* (as in 'oṭóṭ·a-ce *four times*), probably connected with cewi *again;* -caka *being like, appearing to be*, appended to the genitive form of stems (kán·i-n-caka *like me;* koló-n-caka *what appeared to be tracks* < kólo *track*). This element occurs as an independent modal particle *as it were;* -pa-, followed by the locative case suffix, -t, a directional element, *to, onto, toward*, following the genitive case of nouns (má-n-pa-t *to that place*, yomí-n-pa-t *toward home*). In fixed terms, the nasal is assimilated to the labial position (dómpat *away*); -walimpat, a directional suffix evidently composed of -wal·i, -wali *region* and -pat, the preceeding element, *in the direction of* (kík-walimpat *toward the*

water; lí·le-walimpat *upward;* 'á·la-walimpat *eastward*).

2.14. Prefixation is not a process characteristic of any Miwok dialect, and even in the fusional tendencies of the Coast Range dialect there is very scant indication that such a process is on the point of developing. Even the preposed pronominal elements cannot be regarded as transitional to prefixes, since they fuse with the preceeding word more often than with the following word to which they refer. There are at least two stems, however, that show weak forms in first position: huna-, an element indicating possession, *one's own*, corresponding to the *suus* of Latin. This is clearly a weak form of the stem hún·a *each, oneself, alone* (huná·-tika *(her) own basket;* huna-lám·a *(his) own ceremonial house);* kuci-, diminutive < kútc·i, kúc·i *little, a little one* (kuci-kó·la *little girl;* kuci-hé·na *little boy*).

2.15. Composition does not occur freely in the verb as it does in the noun. Doubtless it is checked by the fact that a pronominal element so frequently intervenes between object and verb, or between two associated verbs. Nevertheless, while some of the transitional suffixes used with verbs appear to be derived from modal particles, others probably are from verb stems. The following elements occur frequently in the text:

-wel·ak, -welak, desiderative or volitional future, probably comes from a verb stem related to wél·e *to make a wish* (ma-limá·-ṭi-welak *we will go to look*. mát·o-k talí·-welak *there may I wake*.)

-ma, probably a modal element expressing immediacy or emphasis. It may be suffixed to other words, but most frequently follows a verb and has the value of a present (ka-'ánwaṭi-ma *I am leaving now;* wíkiṭs 'an wulá·-ma *fire somebody is stealing!*)

-weno, quotative. This is a modal element that may occur independently anywhere in a sentence, and may be suffixed to nouns or adverbs (as in 'ekál-weno *then-*

it is said). It is frequently suffixed to the verb (yomík-weno *dwell, it is said;* 'ukán-weno *he went in, they say.*)

-miți, connective linking two verb forms, *and, and so,* may be independent or suffixed to the verb (takáx-miți 'úte *toppled over backward and fell down).*

-tuma, suffixed to noun stems, is translated as *to become* (kó·tsa-tuma *to become people;* tumáy-tuma *to become sticks).* Used with verb stems, -tuma appears to have the value of an inceptive (mat yów'ituma *there he pointed;* 'iți lú·tituma *took him in her arms).*

-'enay, -enay, -ena, -na, expressing simple futurity, is an element used very frequently. It does not occur independently, but is undoubtedly derived from an adverb, 'ena-t, or 'ena-y *soon,* still in use in the eastern dialects. This element is attached to the genitive case of the stem (dó·-cam ka-cukú-n-'enay *on the other side I shall be.* tsáket hí·-n-enay *always there will be sun.* 'í·kotsi-ts welík-na *we two will catch the two of them.*)

-tem·a, expressing potentiality, is also attached to the genitive case of a stem (pidá·ți-n-tem·a *to be able to succeed;* té·min-tem·a *to be able to think;* 'á·wi-n-tem·a *to be capable of packing it).* The element -tem·a occurs as an independent expression translated as *that's all right,* or *Okey.*

Two elements occurring often with verb stems and serving to nominalize them should especially be noted, since they constitute an important subordinating device:

-'ó·ni, -o·ni *he who, the one who.* This element is phonetically similar to the verb stem 'ó·ni *to arrive,* but is probably related rather to a suffix -'uni *he who,* in the eastern dialects. yó·k-ó·ni *the one who died;* wé·ța-'ó·ni *the one who came).* It may also be used with noun or demonstrative stems (né·-'o·ni *this one;* 'udí·-'o·ni *the old one).*

-hinte, the omnipresent stem which, when used independently may mean *thing, something, what, to do something, to do what,* is frequently attached to verb stems, and

has the meaning of *that which* (wulá·-hinte *that which was stolen;* pó·ye-hinte *what is put about the neck, a necklace;* lotsók-hinte-t *at the place where it happened* < lótsok *to happen).*

2.16. Many modal particles occur throughout the text. Some of these were noted only in an independent use; others at times attach themselves to stems. The more important ones are these:

cúw·e *may it be that,* an introductory word in magic formulae or expressions of a wish. The following verb usually has the volitional element, -wel·ak, attached to it (cúw·e máyis také·-wel·ak *may the corn come up!*).

cuwá, an introductory word in negative commands. (Imperative verb forms are used only for positive commands.) The verb following is just an ordinary verb form (cuwá mat·o-n wé·ta *do not there thou go!*)

wé·y, an introductory word in hortatory expressions, first person (wéy-ma 'ánwați, *let us all return!*).

mú·, or watse-mú·, or watse ... mú·, *it must be that* (watse kon-célpi mú·, *they must be afraid!*)

ya, or a, an element that is not required, but often appears at the close of questions. It usually gives the impression of being suffixed (hínteka·tu· ka-'okáy-ya *how do I do it?* < 'ókay, *to do, to make).*

'é·, a terminal particle, probably emphatic (ka-'áckay 'é·, *I'm angry!*).

ka·țu·, an element that expresses manner rather than mode. The last syllable may be the instrumental case suffix, -tu. (má·-ka·țu· *in that manner, by that means;* hínte-ka·țu·, ka·țu·-hínte *how).*

'unu, 'un, -un *but that.*

'ak *but.*

3. The Story of the Two Shamans[4]
yónsbil kon-yómik. [*Yountsville they-live*

---

[4] The text is not given phonemically. In order to clarify grammatical analysis, case-suffixes and transitional elements have been separated by hyphens from the stem, and stems in composition have been marked off in the same way.

(plural).] ken·e-kó·la-n yó·k. [*One-girl-*
(subj.) *die.*] mát·o' 'óṭ·a-hé·na 'ekal
'iṭi-'át·a-koṭs mák·oṭs huna-'ów·a koṭs-hek-
bá·ṭi miṭi koṭs-wé·ta. [*There two-young
men then her-elder brother-*dual *they* (dual)
their-younger sister they (dual)*-mourn and
they* (dual)*-go away.*] kén·e-n 'á·la-walim-
pat wé·ṭa, kén·e-n kanín-walimpat wé·ṭa.
[*One-*(subj.) *east-toward go, one-*(subj.) *north-
toward go.*] 'á·la-walimpat wé·ṭa-'ó·ni-n
yó·k, kanín-walimpat wé·ṭa-'ó·ni-n 'óp·oy.
[*East-toward go-the one who-*(subj.) *die,
north-toward go-one who-*(subj.) *travel on.*]
　'ekal mat kúle-kó·tsa pólpol-mu táke.
[*Then there Bear-People lake-from emerge.*]
'ekal má·-ṭáy pólpol-lemén-to' hów·o, miṭi
'í·kon-o háypa. [*Then that-man lake-end-at
sit, and them await.*] kó·tsa-n koló-n-caka
'uṭé·-miṭi wá·yik kuṭcúy-kolo wá·yik 'adé·-
'aye. [*People's track's-the like see-and
some* (were) *many little-track some big-on
the other hand.*] 'ekal má·-ṭáy háypa-weno
kén·e-'umé·ni 'óṭ·a-hí. [*Then that-man
wait-it is said one-night two-day.*] kúle-
kó·tsa-n ma-m táke, 'ekál-weno 'áde-n
hú·ke táke, 'ekal kúṭcuy tóp·a táke. [*Bear-
People-*(subj.) *there-from emerge, then-it is
said big one-*(subj.) *first emerge, then little
ones after emerge.*] 'ekal kúle-kó·la má·-ṭáy
'ácwani, 'ekal 'iṭi wélik, má·-ṭáy wélik
kúle-kó·la-n. [*Then Bear-Girl that-man
address, then him seize, that-man seize
Bear-Girl-*(subj.).] 'ekal 'iṭi wé·nuka,
pólpol-to' 'iṭi 'ú·ne. [*Then him make go,
lake-into him drag.*] 'ekal 'iṭi huna-wé·yi-to'
'onín·uka. [*Then him her-house-into make
come.*] 'ekal 'iṭi 'á·ta-weno, 'ekal 'iṭi-
kulú·mu mú'e wanú·ke mu'é·-kulú·m-u wán-
kuṭa, miṭi 'iṭis púṭ·e cíka, miṭi cáme. [*Then
him cut open-it is said, then his-bone-*(obj.)
all remove all-bone-(obj.) *remove completely
and to him down* (obj.) *stuff, and sew up.*]
'ekal 'iṭi 'ókay. [*Then him bring to life.*]
'ekal 'iṭi mí·wak, 'ekal 'iṭí·-ni yómik. [*Then
him take for husband, then him-with live.*]
　'ekal má·hintem táke wál·i-npat. [*Then
thence emerge land-ward.*] 'ekal huna-
'elám·u-hé·na líma, 'ekal mu'é·-walimpat

wé·ṭa, mu'é·-walimpat líma huna-'át·a-ṭs.
[*Then his-brother-young man seek, then every-
direction go, every-direction seek his-elder
brother-*(obj.).] 'ekal lí·le-walimpat wé·ṭa,
'ekal má·hintet 'ó·ni lí·le-wal·i-n-to'. [*Then
up-direction go, then there reach Sky-World-
to.*] 'ekal yomún·aka wé·yi, 'adé·-wé·yi.
Then beautiful house, big-house (there is).]
ma-n yolé·wa-s páka-n mén-hínte yomún·-
aka-miṭi cúku. [*It's surrounding area-in-
flower-*subj. *plentiful beautiful-and be.*]
　'ekal ká·-t 'ó·ni, ká·-n wál·iwa-m tál·anika.
[*Then door-to reach, door's outside-at stand-
stop.*] 'ekál-weno: "hínte-n 'é·ya, pútu?"
káca. [*Then-it is said: "What-thou wish,
Child?" say.*] 'ekal: "ka-'át·a ka-yó·ne miṭi
ka-'ó·ni." [*Then: "My-elder brother I-miss
and I-come."*]
　" 'á·la-wal·i-t, 'á·la-wal·i-t lóklo-n kowúx-
to' kén·e-kó·tsa-n yó·k-tsáte, lák·o-yó·k."
["*East-land-at, east-land-at valley-of middle-
in one-person-*subj. *dead-lie, thirst-die.*"]
　" 'ow tém·a," káca, 'ekal 'ánwaṭi. ["*Oh,
very well," say, then return.*] 'ekal 'á·la-
walimpat wé·ṭa. [*Then east-toward go.*]
'ekal 'úṭe, yó·k-ó·ni-t 'ó·ni. [*Then find,
die-he who-to come.*] kulúm-'aye-n tené·ne.
[*Bone-only-*subj. *be skeleton.*] 'ekal ma·-t
'ó·ni, miṭi huna-'át·a né·nut. [*Then him-to
come, and his-elder brother recognize.*] 'ekal
túmu, tumá·y-u yáh·e. [*Then haul wood,
wood-*obj. *fetch repeatedly.*] 'ekal 'óka,
miṭi 'ekal láki, hi·-n ukú·kotsi-ni káwul
ukú·kotsi láki. [*Then make fire, and then
dance, day-of ten night-*(of) *ten dance.*]
'ekal 'iṭi-'át·a-n welé·ṭi, welé·ṭi-ṭu tsókte.
[*Then his-elder brother-*subj. *blink, blink-by
means of come back.*] 'ekal huna-'át·a
yúlkuṭi. [*Then his-elder brother raise up.*]
　'ekál-weno kots-'ánwaṭi, 'ekal má·-m koṭs-
tsókte yomí-npato'. [*Then-it is said they
(dual)-return, then there-from they*(dual)*-
come back home-toward.*] 'ekal yomí-t-koṭs
'ó·ni, kawúl-koṭs 'ó·ni. [*Then home-to-they
*(dual) *reach, night-they*(dual) *reach.*] 'ekal
hú·ni huna-'elám·u-ṭs ukán·uka. [*Then
tell his-younger brother-*obj. *cause to enter.*]
'ekal láw-weno. [*Then refuse-it is said.*]

"mí·-'aye, 'ukán-mi'!" káca. ["*Thou-on the other hand, enter-thou!*" *say.*] 'ekal má· 'udí-'o·ni-n 'úkan. [*Then that one old-the one who*-subj. *enter.*] ká· wité·ți, miți tíka wanú·ke. [*Door* (obj.) *open, and screen of reeds remove.*] 'ekal 'iți-'ún·u 'iți lú·ti-tuma, miți 'ekal 'iți·-ni nó·tsa. [*Then his-mother him embrace, and then him-with cry.*]

'ekal 'iți-caná·k-o 'éț·u-weno, huna-'ó·ni-n 'áw·entala, caná·k-o 'éț·u. [*Then his-pine tree*-obj. *climb-it is said, his-arrival-of following day, pine tree*-obj. *climb.*] 'ekal 'iți-kólo-n nówuk. [*Then his-leg*-subj. *break.*] 'ekal 'iți-'ún·u-n nó·tsa. [*Then his-mother*-subj. *cry.*] 'ekal: "lokól-miṭso'! [*Then:* "*Bring manzanita wood-all of you!*] má·te ka-lakí-n-enay." [*Later on I-dance-of-future.*"] 'ekal kon-lokól-weno. [*Then they-bring manzanita wood-it is said.*]

'ekal kon-lám·a-t kon-úkan. [*Then their-ceremonial house-to they-enter.*] 'ekal 'i·-lakíx-weno, 'ekal 'iți kon-é·lu yónte-n yomí-to' 'ekal 'iți kon-célpi-weno. [*Then he-dance-it is said, then him they-watch Yount-of village-at then him they-fear-it is said.*] 'oțóṭ·a-hi· láki, 'ekal nám·i-'úme lúp·u-húya 'é·ya, he· kayá·w-uṭs, he· kíw·a-ṭs, he· 'olú·t-uṭs, he· pé·so-ts. [*Four-day dance, then final-night heavy-beads* (obj.) *want, and tobacco*-obj., *and arrows*-obj., *and baskets*-obj., *and money*-obj.] lúp·u-húya hél·a 'iți kon-wáya; kuṭcúy-huya-ṭs 'iți kon-wáya. [*Heavy-beads* (obj.) *not him they-give; small-beads*-obj. *him they-give.*] 'ekal wíki-t molé·ți. [*Then fire-in pour.*] 'iți-cá·pa-n kolón·aka, 'ekal wíki-n tú·le-t tál·a wí·ți-miți, 'ekal hél·a tsú·p. [*His-hair*-subj. *reach to feet, then fire-of center-in stand stretch out arms-and, then not burn.*]

'ekal yónte-nawa-n 'ó·ni. [*Then Yount-old men*-subj. *arrive.*] hén·elálni 'óṭ·a-tsetáw-nawa·-koṭs célpi-weno, 'ekal 'iți kon-pelé·senuka, wéṭ·e. [*Henelalni* (obj.) *two-white-old men*-dual (subj.) *fear-it is said, then him they-have put in jail, lock in.*] wéṭ·e-t-weno, má·-hinte-m ké·la-táke, 'ekal wál·i-tál·a. [*Lock in-at-it is said, thence repeatedly-come out, then outside-stand.*] 'oțóṭ·-

a-cewa koṭs-wéṭ·e, 'ekal má·-m také·-miți wéno kó·tsa 'áyaw. [*Four-times they*(dual)-*lock in, then thence come out-and it is said people*(obj.) *call together.*] 'ekal huna-héw·e-t kíw·a tál·apo, miți 'ekal ma·-cu túwen. [*Then his-chin-in arrow*(obj.) *stick, and then that-with shoot.*] 'ekal má·-m wé·ṭa, miți lúp·u túwen. [*Then thence go away, and rock*(obj.) *shoot.*] má·-kíw·a-n, náți pólkoyak má·-kíw·a-n. [*That-arrow-of, woodpecker head feathers* (*is*) *feathering that-arrow-of.*] 'ekal kén·e-yó·k-'ó·ni-n 'ici·ca 'ánwaṭi, 'ici·ca, má·-lák·o-ṭs-yó·k-'ó·ni-n. [*Then one-die he who*-subj. *quickly come back, quickly, that-thirst*-obj. *-die-he who*-subj.]

'ekal má·-'uṭél-kots hél·a 'iți 'é·ya, 'iți kots-célpi. [*Then that-white man*-dual (subj.) *not him like, him they*(dual)-*fear.*] 'ekal: " 'ánwaṭi-n, 'ánwaṭi-n, ma-npat 'eké·-yi-'o·ni-hinte-m 'ánwaṭi-n!" [*Then:* "*Return-thou, return-thou, there-to place-arrive-what-from return-thou!*"] 'ekál-weno: " 'ów," káca. [*Then-it is said:* "*Very well,*" *say.*]

'ekal kó·tsa 'ayów-weno, 'ekal, mu'é·wali-m wá·yikwa-yomi-ko-n hél·a 'ó·ni. [*Then people* (obj.) *assemble-it is said, then, everywhere-from some-village-they not arrive.*] 'ekal kon-wé·ṭa kó·tsa-ko-n, 'olé·-yomi-kó·tsa-ko-n wé·ṭa, 'ekal 'ó·ni kó·tsa-n. [*Then they-go people-they, Coyote-village-people-they go, then arrive people.*] " 'oṭóṭ·a-hí· ka-lakí-nenay." ["*Four-day I-dance-future.*"] 'ekal lakíx-weno. [*Then dance-it is said.*] ('ekal ka-há·ma-n wé·ṭa-weno, ka-há·ma-n kuci-kó·la-putu, 'ekal má·-kó·tsa 'elú·ți.) [(*Then my-grandmother*-subj. *go-it is said, my-grandmother*-subj. *little-girl-child, then that-person* (obj.) *go to see.*)]

'ekal láki. [*Then dance.*] 'ekál-weno kon-'é·lu 'an-láki. [*Then-it is said they-watch many-dance.*] telé·ka-hi· láki, 'ekal 'oṭóṭ·a-hi·, weno. [*Three-day dance, then four-day, it is said.*] húya-ṭs yáy·u tolá·-nakapo, lúp·u-húya-ṭs he· natí·-'olú·t-uṭs he· kíw·a-ts he· Loká·y-uṭs, tsami-Loká·y-uṭs, he· lúp·u yáy·u-weno, 'uṭél-ko-n lúp·u

yáy·u, ’uṭél-ko-n pé·so-ṫs. [*Beads*-obj. *demand have thrown at one, heavy-beads*-obj. *and woodpecker feather-baskets*-obj. *and arrows*-obj. *and blankets*-obj., *rabbit skin-blankets, and money*(obj.) *demand-it is said, white-people-of money*(obj.) *demand, white-people-of money*-obj.] ’ekal má·-’uṭél-koṫs lúp·u-ṫs pé·so-ṫs hóye ’adé·-wanteha-to’, pál·a. [*Then that-white man*-dual (subj.) *money*-obj. *silver money*-obj. *put big-pan-into, fill up.*] ’ekal kó·tsa-’aye-n hél·a hóye. [*Then Indians-on the other hand*-subj. *not put.*] ’ekal: “mi·kono ka-liláwne-nenay.” [*Then:* “*You*(obj.) *I-tell-future.*”] ’ekal lí·law-weno. [*Then speak-it is said.*] ’ekal: “kó·tsa-ko-n hél·a-hinte-ṫs né·nut-enay, mon-tsá·m-enay,” kacá·-weno. [*Then:* “*Indians*-pl.-subj. *not-anything*-obj. *know-future, you-be destroyed-future,*” *say-it is said.*] “ ’uṭél-ko-n li·le-npato’ tsókte-nenay tsanéy-ko-n halí·hali nenút-ṭu wé·ṭa-nenay. [“*White-people*-subj. *sky-toward depart-future many-people*-subj. *variety of things* (obj.) *knowing-by means of go-future.*] kó·tsa-n yóltsinaka-nenay. [“*Indians*-subj. *pitiful-future.*] ’awé·tsuma· ka-lí·law ka-’ánwaṭi-ma,” kacá·-weno. [*Be ended my-speaking I-leave-pr,*” *say-it is said.*] kó·tsa-’eke-t mánti-n yó·k-enay-to’, kán·is lí·law-miṫso’! [*People-wherever-among someone*-subj. *die-future-when, me tell about-you!*] makca-to’ má·-kó·tsa-n hénkaṭi-nenay. [*Do thus-when that-person*-subj. *recover-future.*] ka-lákte pés-ta. [*My-name* (*is*) *Pesta.*] ka-wé·ṭa-ma. [*I-go-pr.*] ’ekal wíki-n tú·le-t ’úkan, miṭi má·tsú·p. [*Then fire-of center-into enter, and he burn.*]

The Story of the Two Shamans

They were all living at Yountsville. A young girl died, and there were left, then, two young men, her elder brothers. They grieved so much for their younger sister that they left that place and went away. One of them went east, and the other one went north. The one that went east died, the one that went north traveled on.

He came to the place where the Bear People come out from the lake. And there the man sat down at the end of the lake and waited for them. He saw tracks that looked like those of people, big ones there were, and many little tracks. And the man waited, they say, for one night and two days. And then the Bear People came out; the big ones came out first and the little ones came after. Then the man spoke to Bear Girl, and she caught hold of him, Bear Girl caught hold of him and carried him off, and she dragged him into the lake. And she brought him to her own house. Then she cut him open, they say, and she took out all his bones. All his bones she took completely out, and she stuffed him with down, and then she sewed him up. Then she brought him to life again, and married him, and they lived together.

But after a while, they say, he came out onto land again, and he looked for the young man his brother. Through all the world he went, through all the world he looked for his brother. Then he went upward, and he came there to the World Above. There, there was a fine house, a big house. Around it were flowers growing, many and fine ones.

He came to the door, and outside the door he stopped. Then, they say, “What do you want, Boy?” someone said to him. And he answered: “I long for my elder brother, that’s why I’ve come.”

“In the east, in the east, in the middle of a valley, a dead man is lying who died of thirst.”

“Yes,” said the man, and he went back. Eastward he went, and he found him, he came upon the one who had died. Nothing but bones he was, a skeleton. He went up to it and he knew it for his elder brother. Then he hauled wood, again and again he went after it. He made a fire and he danced, ten days and ten nights he danced. Then his elder brother, blinking, blinking, came back to life, and the younger brother raised him up.

Then they returned from that place and

came back toward home, and they reached home, at night they reached it. And he told his younger brother to go in. But he refused, they say. "You be the one, you go in," he said. And the elder one went in. He opened the door and took out the screen of reeds. Then his mother took him in her arms and they cried together.

Then, they say, the day after he got back he climbed his pine tree. And he fell down, they say, from the top of the tree, and his leg was broken. Then the younger brother said, "Gather manzanita wood, all of you! In a little while I am going to dance." And the people brought manzanita wood.

Then they all went into the ceremonial house, and the younger brother danced. And everybody watched him, there at Yountsville. And people were afraid of him, they say. For four days he danced, and then on the last night he asked for strings of bead money, and for tobacco, and for arrows, and for baskets, and for white-men's money. But the people did not give him these things, only small beads they gave him. And he was angry, and he poured them in the fire. Then his hair grew down to reach his feet, and he stepped right into the middle of the fire and stood there with his arms stretched out, and he did not burn.

Then the two old white men, the Yount brothers, got there, and they were afraid. They were afraid of Henelalni, the man who danced, and they had him put in jail. They locked him up, but every time they locked him up he got out, and stood on the outside. Four times they locked him up, and each time he got out, they say. Then he called the people together. He took an arrow and stuck it in his chin and shot it. He shot it with his chin. Then he went out and he shot a rock. The arrow he used was feathered with woodpecker head feathers. Then the brother who had died quickly, quickly, got well, the one who had died of thirst.

The two white men did not like him.

They were afraid. "Go back! Go back there, to the place you came from!"

"All right," he said. Then he gathered together the people from all around. The people from some places never got there, but from everywhere the people were starting out. All the way from Coyote Valley the people were coming. Then at last they arrived, all the people. "Four days I shall dance!" he told them, and then he danced, they say. (My grandmother was there, they say. My grandmother was a little girl, and she went to see that man.)

Then he danced. And, they say, people watched, and many people danced. Three days, he danced. Then on the fourth day he asked to have beads thrown to him, strings of bead money, and feathered baskets, and arrows, and blankets, rabbit-skin blankets, and money, he asked for, white people's money, white people's silver money. Then the two white men took a big pan and filled it up with silver money for him. But the Indians put in nothing.

"I'm going to speak to you," he said, and he spoke. "Indian people are not going to be wise," he said. "You are all going to be destroyed. It is the white people who will go to the Sky World. There will be many peoples who will have wisdom of many kinds, but the Indians will always be pitiful people. That is all I have to say. I am going back now," he said. "But when there is someone among any of the people who is going to die, tell him about me, and he will get well. And I, I am called Pesta. Now I go."

And he stepped into the fire and was burned.

4. The Stealing of Hawk's Wife[5]

yom'k-weno 'olé·-nawa-n, wékwek-hóypu-n, koló·lo-hukuy, wíw·a-wékwek, cayíts-'ulá·wa, wí·cap-'ulá·wa, tsuyú·luk-'ulá·wa, tsí·lat-kó·la-kots, tú·le-yomi-to'. [*Live-it is said Coyote-Old Man*-subj., *Hawk-Chief-*

---

[5] See fn. 4.

subj., *Frog-Old Woman*(subj.), *Grapevine-Hawk*(subj.), *Bluejay-rascal, Robin-rascal, Hummingbird-rascal, Woodpecker-Girl*-dual (subj.), *Tuleyomi-at.*] 'ekál-weno mát-kon cúku. [*Then-it is said there-they be.*]

'ekál-weno, kon-láki, kon-láki 'oṭóṭ·a-hí· hélwa-má·yen háya. [*Then it is said, they-dance, they dance four-day Pelican-Queen puberty ceremony.*] tsáket kon-lakíx-ṭu kon-wé·ṭa. [*Continually their-dancing-for they-come.*] 'ekal 'iṭí·-kon wét·e. [*Then her-they keep shut up.*] kén·e-komé·nawa 'iṭi kon-wét·e. [*One-month her they-keep shut up.*] 'ekal 'iṭi kon-wanú·ke-weno, 'ekal 'iṭi kon-poyén·uka húya-ts 'ekal 'iṭi kon-layá·kiknuka, 'ekal 'iṭi-kólonlayá·ki-t. [*Then her they-take out-it is said, then her they-cause to put about the neck string of beads-obj. then her they-cause to put on wrist, then her-ankle-on.*]

'ekal tsí·lat-kó·la-koṭs wé·ṭa-weno. [*Then Woodpecker-Girl-dual(subj.) set out-it is said.*] " 'ów 'óy·a-koṭs! [*"Oh, friend-dual!*]'eké·-hinte-t mos-wé·ṭa?" [*Place-what-to you (dual)-go?*"] " 'uyé·, ká·li-ma hiná·ṭi, ká·li-ma wún·i." [*"Come on, clover-we(pl.) go to pick, clover-we(pl.) go for."*] " 'ów, ka-tsókte-welak," káca. [*"Oh, I-go along-will," say.*] 'ekál-weno: " 'ów," káca. [*Then-it is said "Very well," say.*] mate mí· 'is-ká·li-n-'enay. [*Later on thee we (dual)-get clover for-future.*] 'in-tíka-ts cáwi-n," káca. [*Thy-packbasket-obj. bring-thou," say.*]

" 'unú·! kaní·ca ka-wé·ṭa-ma." [*"Mother! I too I-go-pr."*] "cuwá-n wé·ṭa. [*"Do not-thou go.*] mákca-miṭi 'icí·ca hél·a-ma 'óp·oy." [*Thus-and so soon not-we(pl.) go about."*] " 'í·ca ka-wé·ṭa-n-enay," nó·tsa-weno. [*"Nevertheless I-go-future," cry-it is said.*] " 'ów, mate 'iṭis ká·line-nísoṭs!" [*"Very well, later on her get clover for-you(dual)!"*] " 'ów," káca. [*"Very well," say.*]

'ekal kon-wé·ṭa. [*Then they(pl.)-go.*] 'ekal dót kon-'ó·ni lóklo-t. [*Then over there they(pl.)-arrive meadow-at.*] lóklo-t kon-'ó·ni, 'ekal ká·li. [*Meadow-at they(pl.)-*

arrive, then get clover.*] ká·li-weno, 'iṭi kos-ká·line, 'iṭi kos-hiná·ne. [*Get clover-it is said, her they(dual)-get clover for, her they (dual)-pick for.*] 'ekál-weno kon-pál·anuka huna-kon-tíka-ts. [*Then-it is said they (pl.)-cause to be filled own-their-baskets-obj.*] 'ekal: "wéy-ma 'ánwaṭi, 'óy·a!" káca. [*Then: "Let-we(pl.) go back, Friend!" say.*] " 'ów," káca. [*"Very well," say.*]

'ekál-weno kon-wé·ṭa, kon-'ánwaṭi. [*Then-it is said they(pl.)-go, they(pl.)-go back.*] 'ekal 'iṭi kos-hetéy-weno kén·e-mó'u-n dó·ca. [*Then her they(dual)-leave behind-it is said one-hillock-of far side.*] 'ekal múk-lemén-to' weno láka-n yók-tsáte. [*Then trail-end-at it is said goose-subj. dead-lie.*] 'ekál-weno má· 'úṭe, hélwa-má·yen má· 'úṭe. [*Then-it is said that(obj.) see, Pelican-Queen that(obj.) see.*] 'ekál-weno: " 'ów, né·-ts ká·ka-koṭs-iṭs 'ik-hiná·ne, má·-cu koṭs-cál·e." [*Then-it is said: "Oh, this-obj. uncle-dual-obj. I-pick for, that-with they-make things of feathers."*] 'ekal má· hiná·-weno, 'adé·-'aye pá·ka-ts má· 'áyaw. [*Then that pick up-it is said, big-indeed feathers-obj. that gather.*] 'ekal no-ts tsaníx-miṭi huná·-tika tóla. [*Then this-obj. tie up-and own-basket threw into.*] 'ekal 'i-wé·ṭa-weno, 'i-wé·ṭa. [*Then she-go-it is said, she go.*] má·-hinte-m kén·e-yó'kaṭi-ts táke, 'ekal 'í·wak-weno, 'í·wak, 'ekal hínte-m: hochochochoc 'iṭi-'á·wi-hinte-n tú·le-m. [*Thence one-hill-obj. go up, then heavy-it is said, heavy(it is), then somewhere-from: (voice of the Coko) her-pack-what-of inside-from.*] 'ekál-weno weyá-t-'i· kókcetuka-weno, 'i-'úte. [*Then-it is said ground-upon-she drop-it is said, she-fell.*] 'ekál-weno: "lutut!" kacá·-weno, "hocho-chochoc, lutut!" [*Then-it is said: "Lutut!" say-it is said, "Hochochochoc, Lutut!"*] talá·tukce 'é·ya-'ak hél·a talá·tukce-n-tém·a. [*Rise wish-ing not rise-can.*]

'ekál-weno: "tsáts·o, tsáts·o! má·-húya-n pó·ye-hinte ka-'é·ya," káca. [*Then-it is said: "Grandchild, Grandchild! that-beads-thy wear around the neck-what(obj.) I-want," say.*] 'ekál-weno 'oṭóṭ·a-ce 'iṭi túlyaṭi.

[*Then-it is said four-time her circle around.*]
'ekál-weno huna-pó·ye-hinte wanú·ke, 'ekal
'iṭi wáya, 'iṭi-t má· tolá·-weno. [*Then-it is
said own-necklace*(obj.) *take off, then him
give, him-to it throw-it is said.*] 'ekál-weno
wé·ṭa, caka wé·ta-miṭi-ce 'ó·ni. [*Then-it is
said go, in appearance go-and-again come.*]
" 'ów ṭsáts·o! ṭsáts·o! ṭsáts·o!" kaca.
[*"Oh Grandchild! Grandchild! Grandchild!"
say.*] " 'in-layá·ki-t cúku, ka-'é·ya, miṭi-ka
'ó·ni, ṭsáts·o!" [*"Thy-wrist-on be, I want,
and so-I come, Grandchild!"*] 'ekal huna-
layá·ki-ṭs 'iṭi-t wí·paṭi, 'iṭi wáya. [*Then
own-bracelets-obj. him-at throw, him give.*]
'ekál-weno wé·ṭa, 'oṭóṭ·a-ce túlyaṭi, 'ekal
má·-húya cáwi, miṭi wé·ṭa. [*Then-it is said
go, four-times circle round, then that-beads
take, and go.*]

'ekál-weno céwi 'ánwaṭi. [*Then-it is said
again return.*] " 'ów ṭsáts·o! 'in-kólon-
layá·ki-t cúku ka-'é·ya," káca, "miṭi-ka
'ó·ni." [*"Oh Grandchild! Thy-ankle-on
be, I-want," say, "and so-I come."*] 'ekál-
weno kólonlayá·ki-t cúku wít·apo, 'iṭi wáya.
[*Then-it is said ankle-on be strip off, him
give.*] 'ekal má·-ṭáy wé·ṭa, cewi wé·ṭa.
[*Then that-man go, again go.*] cahit 'ánwaṭi-
weno [*Long after return-it is said.*] "ṭsáts·o!
'ekal 'in-kó·le-hinte ka-'é·ya, má· ka-'é·ya,
miṭi ka-'ó·ni, ma·-kó·le-ṭs." [*"Grandchild!
Next they-wear-what I-want, that I-want,
and so I-come, that-garment-obj."*] 'ekál-
weno má· wít·apo miṭi hów·oyṭu hów·o.
[*Then-it is said that strip off and naked sit.*]
'ekal má· wélik, miṭi wé·ṭa-weno. [*Then
that take, and go-it is said.*]

'ekal 'ánwaṭi-weno céwi. [*Then return-
it is said again.*] 'ekal 'iṭi welík-weno,
huna-táwlik hél·a-t hó·ye-weno, 'iṭi 'ú·ne-
weno. [*Then her take-it is said, his-arm's
under-at put-it is said, her carry off-it is said.*]
'ekal 'iṭi wé·nuka-weno kanín-wali-t, kanín-
wali-t, kanín-wali-t kanín-wali-t, kúṭa-n
dó·ca-m 'onín·uka. [*Then her take-it is
said North-World-to, North-World-to, North-
World-to North-World-to, gate's far side-to
bring.*] 'ekál-weno lám·a-n túle-t 'ú·ne, tíl·en
hél·a-t 'iṭi 'ú·ne. [*Then-it is said ceremonial

house-of inside-to carry, drum*(of) *under-at
her put.*]

The Stealing of Hawk's Wife

They lived, so the story goes, at Tuley-
omi; Coyote Old Man, and Frog Old Woman
his wife, the Hawk Chief his grandson, the
Grapevine Hawk, his little grandson, and
those rascals Bluejay and Robin and Hum-
mingbird, and the two Woodpecker Girls.
There they stayed.

They gave a dance, the story says, and
they danced and danced for four days, a
puberty dance for Helwa-Mayen,[6] Hawk's
wife. All the time the people kept coming
for the dance. Helwa-Mayen was kept
shut up; one month they kept her shut up.
Then they took her out and they put strings
of beads around her neck, and on her wrists,
and on her ankles.

Then one day the two Woodpecker Girls
came by. "Oh, Friends! Where are you
going?" "Come along! We're going for
clover, going to pick clover." "Oh yes!"
said Helwa Mayen, "I'll go along." "All
right," said the Woodpecker Girls. "We'll
pick the clover for you. Bring your pack
basket."

"Mother! I'm going along with them."
"No, you mustn't go. Girls never go about
like that so soon after their dance." "I'm
going anyhow!" said Helwa-Mayen, and
she cried, they say. "Oh all right," said
her mother, "But you two must pick the
clover for her." "Yes, of course," said
the Woodpecker Girls.

So they all set out, and a long way off they
came to a meadow. They came to a mead-
ow and there they found clover. They
picked the clover. The two girls got clover

---

[6] There is some doubt about the proper trans-
lation of the name of Hawk Chief's wife.
má·yen is the term for the wife of a chief, and
is translated as *queen* by the Indians. One old
informont said that hélwa was the name of a
big bird, possibly a pelican. A younger infor-
mant said that she did not know of any such bird,
and that in ordinary speech hélwa means *beautiful*.
Her translation of the name was *Exquisite Queen*.

for Helwa-Mayen, they picked it for her. After a while their baskets were all filled up. "Let's go back, Friend!" said the Woodpecker Girls. "All right," said Helwa-Mayen.

And so they went, they started home. The two girls walked on ahead, they say, around the other side of a little hill. At the bend in the trail, there was a dead goose lying. And she saw it, Helwa-Mayen saw it. And she said: "Oh, I must get those feathers for my two uncles! They will be able to use those!" And she picked them up, great big feathers, and bunched them together and tied them in a bundle, and she threw it into her pack basket. And then she went on, they say. She went on, and presently she started up a little hill. The pack began to grow heavy, they say, heavy. Then there came a voice from somewhere: "Hosh hosh hosh hosh!" from somewhere inside her pack. Helwa-Mayen sank down on the ground, they say, she fell. "Lutut!" said the voice. "Hosh hosh hosh hosh! Lutut!" She tried to get up but she could not.

"Grandchild! Grandchild! I want those beads you have around your neck!" It was the Shoko.[7] He had come out of the pack,

and he was circling round her, four times he circled around her. She took off her necklace and gave it to him, she threw it to him, they say. Then he seemed to be going, but he only went and came back again. "Oh Grandchild! Grandchild!" he said, "I want the bracelets that are around your wrists, that's why I came back!" Then she threw her bracelets to him, gave him those. And he went, and circled round her four times, and took the beads and went away.

Then he came back again. "Oh Grandchild! I want the ones on your ankle, that's why I came back!" So she pulled off the strings of beads that were around her ankles and gave him those. And the man went away, he went away again. It was a long time before he came back. "Grandchild! Now I want the skirt you're wearing! That's what I want, that's what I came back for, that skirt!" So she stripped it off and sat there naked. He took it, and he went away.

Then he came back again, they say. And he took her and put her under his arm and carried her off. He took her away to the North World, to the North World, and there he brought her in through the gate to the other side. He carried her into the ceremonial house, and he put her under the drum.[8]

[7] The cóko is described as a being somewhat like the kuksu, but having shorter feathers. The individual who impersonates the cóko in ceremonies wears a feather head-dress considerably smaller than that of the kuksu dancer.

[8] The story continues with an account of the search for Hawk's wife carried on by Coyote Old Man and his Rascals. The whole was never obtained in Miwok.