THE KAROK LANGUAGE

BY
WILLIAM BRIGHT

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EDITORS
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M. S. BEELER
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PREFACE

The need for intensive descriptive linguistic work on the native languages of California was mentioned in several of the papers which were delivered in Berkeley, July 7, 1951, and later published as Papers from the Symposium on American Indian Linguistics (University of California Publications in Linguistics, 10 [1954]:1-68). The introduction to that publication (pp.1-2) sketched the situation and adumbrated a program. At the beginning of 1953 the administration of the University of California, realizing the critical aspects of the problem, generously initiated the Survey of California Indian Languages and made financial provision for the appointment of field workers. Upon the institution of a Department of Linguistics at Berkeley in July, 1953, the Survey became its major research project and has continued to be so since then.

Urgent problems of description—a constant race with extinction—must perforce be the primary preoccupation of the Survey. It is hoped that the urgency will not preclude either long and intensive care in collecting data or refinement in analysis. The study of the Karok language here presented will, the Board of Editors feel certain, serve as a model of what the Survey will offer. Most of the field work represented by this volume was a pilot project before the Survey was initiated by the University administration. Its form of presentation—a complete grammar, texts, and a full lexicon—was dictated by those in charge of the Survey as the minimum that could be acceptable for each language treated. It is planned that other volumes emanating from the Survey and published in the University of California Publications in Linguistics series will continue this ideal presentation.

Many Americanists trained under the guidance of Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield have inherited their comparative interests, and some have been able to follow out those interests with comparative work. The difficulties, however, in the field of the American Indian languages have been great, and not the least of them has been the lack of adequate descriptive materials that can be used in making sound comparisons. In particular the lack of adequate dictionaries has placed insurmountable difficulties in the way of those who wish to further this branch of linguistic scholarship. It is the intention of those in charge of the Survey, first, to make provisions for the production of full descriptive treatments of the native languages of California, and second, given favorable conditions, to include in the scope of the Survey comparative studies based on those materials. It is hoped that these intentions may be realized and that the results may be applauded by the world of linguistic scholarship.
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INTRODUCTION

The Karok are an Indian tribe of northwestern California, originally occupying the banks of the Klamath River for a distance of about sixty miles. The upriver limit of the tribe was somewhat above the modern town of Happy Camp; the downriver limit was around six miles above modern Weitchpec. Members of the tribe are now found not only in the original habitat, but also to the east in Scott Valley, which was formerly territory of the Shasta tribe. The aboriginal population of the Karok is estimated at around 2,000 (Kroeber, 1936). The population reported in the 1930 census was 755. There are perhaps a hundred speakers of the language at the present time. No significant dialect differences are observable among surviving speakers.

Aboriginal Karok culture was essentially the same as that of the neighboring Yurok and Hupa tribes. This distinctive northwest California culture, which may be considered a variety of the North Pacific culture centering in British Columbia, reaches its most intense form among these three tribes. No exhaustive Karok ethnography has been written, but most of what has been recorded of the Yurok (especially in Kroeber, 1925) and the Hupa (Goddard, 1903) applies as well to the Karok. Works on specific aspects of Karok culture are listed in the bibliography.

The Karok language is not closely or obviously related to any other. It has, however, been classified as a member of the northern group of Hokan languages, in a subgroup which includes Chimariko and the Shastan languages, spoken in the same general part of California as Karok itself. Considerable work remains to be done before the historical position of Karok can be properly clarified.

Descriptive work on the Karok language has been published by Kroeber, 1911; by de Angulo and Freeland, 1931; and by Harrington, 1930 and 1932. Of these, the work of Harrington is the most extensive and the most valuable, but consists entirely of texts. No detailed Karok grammar has been published by any of these authors, although part of a manuscript grammar by Harrington is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society; it consists of sections on numerals, adjectives, and interjections.

My own field work was done from February to June, 1949; from June to August, 1950; and during a few days in April, 1951, and September, 1954. Funds were provided by the Administration of the University of California. My informants were as follows:

- Lottie Beck, of Orleans.
- Maggie Charley, of Tea Bar.
- Emily Donahue, of Ike's Falls, below Somes Bar.
- Daisy Jones, of Orleans, now deceased.
- Mamie Offield, of Somes Bar and Los Angeles.
- Chester Pepper, of Tea Bar.
- Nettie Reuben, of Orleans.
- Julia Starritt, of Orleans.

Karok material that I have gathered has appeared in print on six occasions, in publications of my own and in that of Schenck and Gifford (see references).
The phonemic transcriptions appearing in those publications contain, in some cases, special adaptations to the printing facilities, and in other cases phonemic interpretations which have been since changed. Similarly, certain grammatical interpretations mentioned in my first paper (1952a) have been since modified. Wherever discrepancies may be found, therefore, between previous publications and the present work, the contents of the present work are intended to supersede the earlier material.

My thanks go to all my informants; to Professors M. B. Emeneau and M. R. Haas, who assisted my work on Karok from its beginning; to Professor David Reed, who read a draft of my grammar and offered valuable advice; to Professor E. W. Gifford and to Miss Mary Jean Kennedy, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, for the benefits of their familiarity with the Karok; to Professor Herbert L. Mason, Director of the University of California Herbarium, for botanical identifications (which already have been published by Schenck and Gifford); and to my wife Elizabeth, for her never-failing support of my efforts.

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Goddard, Pliny E.
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Harrington, J. P.


Kroeber, A. L.

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Kroeber, A. L., and E. W. Gifford


O'Neale, Lila M.


Powers, Stephen


Schenck, Sara M., and E. W. Gifford


Spott, Robert, and A. L. Kroeber

### Abbreviations

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<td>active verb theme (520).</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>adverbiaal satellite (845).</td>
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<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective (600).</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb (600).</td>
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<td>animate.</td>
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100. PHONEMICS

110. The phonemes of Karok are as follows:

Consonantal

Obstruents:
- Stopped: p t č k ʔ
- Fricative: f θ s š x h

Sonorants:
- Oral: v r y
- Nasal: m n

Vocalic

Front Central Back
i i· u u· e· o· a a·

Junctural: #
Accentual: ' ^ and no mark.
Emphatic: *
Pausal: , . ! i

120. The consonants

All the sonorants are lenis and voiced; all the obstruents are fortis and voiceless. The stopped obstruents are unaspirated. The qualities of the individual consonants are as follows:

/p/ is a bilabial stop: pappa-h "the boat," ?áppap "side."
/t/ is a postdental stop: tattač "mama," čittat "magpie."
/č/ is an alveolo-palatal affricate [tʃ], in position like English ch of church: [ʃ]ʃ "younger sister," ka[ʃ]aká- [tʃ] "blue jay." It is clearly distinct from the sequence /tʃ/ in which the /t/ lacks palatalization (a feature marked by subscript [ʃ] above) and the sibilant element is noticeably longer. Contrast ?avansáxxi-šas "boys" with ?ifáppi-tšas "young women."
/k/ is a velar stop: kúkku-m "again," ?ikúkkak "on a log." In J. P. Harrington's publications on Karok, where a largely phonetic writing is used, [kʃ] is generally written after front vowels, but I heard this pronunciation only very rarely from my informants.

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop: aʔ "up," paʔas "the stone," yuʔimʔi-n "Ike's Falls (a place name)."
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

/f/ is a labio-dental spirant: fá·n "guts," yáffus "dress," ya·f "acorn dough."

/θ/ is pronounced in two different ways, depending on the age of the speaker. For older Karok it is a blade-dental slit-spirant [g] in most positions: [g]ú·f "creek," ?i[gi]v[g]a-ne-n "earth," má-[g] "heavy." Only as the second half of a geminate cluster does it have a different value— that of the interdental spirant [θ]: yá[sθ]a "one." For younger Karok, however, the phoneme is always interdental: [θ]ú·f "creek," yí[θθ]a "one."

/s/ is an apico-alveolar sibilant [s], sounding much like the s of Castilian Spanish: [s]ára "bread," ?á[ss]ak "on a rock," ?á-[s] "water."

/ʃ/ is an alveolo-palatal sibilant, in position like English sh: ?išáva·s "man's dead sister's child," pikšip "shadow," ?iššaha "water," tû·yšip "mountain," ćf·š "younger sister." /ʃ/ is nearly in complementary distribution with /s/, and but for a few words the two could be classified as members of a single phoneme (see 191).

/x/ is a velar spirant: xu·n "acorn soup," ?u?ixaxáxxax "he tore it up." After a back vowel it is labialized, even when another consonant stands between it and the vowel: 6[ɔx̆ɔx̆]aθ "mother's sister," ?u[kx̆]j·p-šip "he flew away." Before front vowels, the velar friction of /x/ is often accompanied by a voiceless uvular trill: ɔ[a]x̆ ć "child."

/h/ is a glottal spirant: hih "language," ?ahup "wood." There is some question about the presence of /h/ in word-final position. It may be heard clearly in monosyllables like hih "language," pa·h "peppermut," pā·h "boat," and after short vowels in unaccented disyllables, like paʰrih "rain" and ɔx̆ah "mussel." Elsewhere, word-final /h/ has also been heard, but only sporadically and with difficulty— principally because it occurs only before pause, where the entire final syllable is likely to be whispered. The policy has been adopted, throughout this work, of indicating the phonemic occurrence of /h/ whenever it is morphophonemically present. Thus ?uʔá·mthi "he's eating" (even though I may have heard only [ʔuʔá·mti]) because of forms like pu-ʔá·mthy-arə "he isn't eating." This practice simplifies the morphophonemic description and creates no ambiguity on the phonemic level. It remains unclear, however, whether the forms written sára "bread" and párən "father's brother" actually have contrasting finals.


/r/ is a single alveolar flap: ɔá-ra·r "person," ɔirosva·m "house."

/y/ is phonetically a palatal semivowel [i] with very little friction: [i]j·v "far," ?u[i]j̥ón[i]u·nhith "he's crazy," ɔ-a·[i] "grape." When preceded by

1 The hyphens are here used only to show morpheme boundaries; they have no phonemic value.
/u/ and followed by a consonant, it often seems to have as much prominence as the /u/; i.e., kuyra-k "three" contains not a falling, but an even-level diphthong. Distributional facts make it inadvisable, however, to count this semivowel as an allophone of /i/. When occurring between a back vowel and a stop, /y/ is labialized: Ꙑ圬[ㆁ]kar "he killed him."

/m/ is a bilabial nasal: Ꙑ Crud "dull," Ꙑ Crud "uphill."

/n/ is a postdental nasal: Ꙑ Crud "elder sister," Ꙑ Crud "string."

130. Length of consonants.

Two degrees of consonantal lengthening are distinguishable in Karok. They may be symbolized by [C'] for the consonant of lesser lengthening and [CC] for the one of greater lengthening. The less-long [C'] is in every case to be analyzed phonemically as an allophone of a single consonant. It occurs in the following positions.

a) after a long accented vowel: Ꙑ Crud "deer," Ꙑ Crud "horn."

b) after Ꙑ Crud, where Ꙑ Crud is an accented vowel: Ꙑ Crud "he danced down."

\(\text{r}i\text{[p]ar} \text{ pickaxe, } \text{r}i\text{[p]ar} "\text{dead.}"

c) after a long vowel preceded by an accented syllable: Ꙑ Crud "gap-toothed," Ꙑ Crud "vetch."

d) before a long accented vowel: Ꙑ Crud "indoors," Ꙑ Crud "mosquito."

The consonants which occur with this type of lengthening are all the obstruents except those of glottal position, plus the nasal sonorants. The remaining consonants, /h n r y/, are never lengthened in any way.

The longer [CC] must, in contrast with [C'], be analyzed as something phonemically distinct from the simple consonant, since pairs of the following type are found:

\(\text{u}[kk] \text{ in "bile"} - \text{u}[kk] \text{ in "chicken."}
\(\text{a}[kk] \text{ ah "father"} - \text{a}[kk] \text{ us "pelican."}
\(\text{n}[kk] \text{ uh "deep"} - \text{n}[kk] \text{ux (a woman's name).}
\(\text{u}[pp] \text{at "doe"} - \text{k}[p] \text{a "like."}
\(\text{u}[tt] \text{am "earlier today"} - \text{u}[tt] \text{am "he's talking."}
\(\text{u}[mm]\text{a-hva "he visited him" - } \text{u}[mm]\text{a-hya-n "he put it in."}

Phonemically, therefore [CC] is analyzed as a doubled or geminate consonant.

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2 That is, in the speech of my informants. There is a tendency among some younger Karok, however, to pronounce all consonants as short. To quote an elderly informant: "Lots of these half-breeds can talk Indian, but they don't say the words just right; they say Ꙑ Crud instead of Ꙑ Crud [water]."

3 The words providing contrast to these double consonants belong to certain special classes, described in 192. It seems likely that at an earlier historical period such contrasts were lacking. At that time [CC] could probably have been analyzed like [C'], as an accentually conditioned allophone of the single consonant.
nant, with the writings /θʊkken/, /ʔakkah/, etc. This is in accordance with the frequency of medial two-consonant clusters in the language.

140. Release of consonants.

141. Certain special effects observed within consonant clusters must be noted. In the first place, in clusters of two stops, the prior member is unreleased; this is exemplified in a word like ʔápti·k "branch." Consistent with this is the fact that geminate stops are phonetically long, as shown in the previous section. However /č/, though classifiable as a stopped obstruent, must be excluded from the statement made above for stops: it is normally the spirantly released [ʃ] as the first member of a cluster. An example is ʔâ[t]ʃku·n "swamp robin." The only exception to this occurs when /č/ is geminated: it is then an affricate with lengthened stoppage, e.g., in ɕu[ʃ]ʃan "acorn cup."

142. When the second member of a cluster is an oral sonorant, the first member, unless homorganic with the second, is usually released into a brief, non-phonemic anaptyctic vowel. Thus the /p/ in the homorganic cluster of ʔápvu·y "tail" is released directly into the /v/ and no transitional vowel is heard, but the contrary is true in ʔak[ø]va·t "raccoon." The non-phonemic vowel has the quality of [ø] after /a a-/ and geminated /u/, the quality of [i] after front vowels, and the quality of [u] after back vowels: ʔáf[kiri] "you live," ʔâku[indiri] "he lives."

143. Oral sonorants in utterance-final position, when pronounced carefully, are heard with a vocalic offglide. This non-phonemic sound reflects the quality of the preceding vowel, in the same way as those discussed above: ʔâffi[í] "bottom," hó·y[í] "where?"

150. Vowels.

/i/ is a short high front vowel, usually close: ʔáppih "bone." Before /ʃ/ and /č/, however, it is lowered to [i]: pú·f[i]č "deer," ɕ[i]ʃi·h "dog." After /x/, in some persons' speech, it is even further lowered: ɕ[i-ʃ]kkih "rough."

*This long affricate might also be analyzed as /ts/. The primary reason for choosing /ts/ is to simplify the distributional statement—/č/, like the other obstruents (except the glottal one), occurs geminated. A secondary result is simplification of morphophonemic rules. On the other hand, there is one piece of evidence for contrast between /ts/ and /č/: the compound of ʔapxanti·č "white man" and čampšunič "herb sp." was heard from one informant as ʔapxanti·čampšunič "tea" (with reduction of the consonant cluster by a regular morphophonemic rule), but from another informant as ʔapxanti·[^í]ʃampšunič. The latter form would require the writing /ts/, and force the analysis of [ʃ] as /č/. However, since the form in question was elicited only with difficulty, its evidence has been discounted in this phonemicization.
/i/ is a long close high front vowel in all positions: pi-θ "four,"
či-θ "meat."

/e/ is a long mid front vowel, generally close: ké-miš "poison,"
čé-θ "slug." But before /x/ it is lowered to [ɛ-]: č[ɛ]-xrih "famine."

/a/ is usually a short low central vowel [a], but when unaccented
varies to a somewhat higher sound [ɔ]: ?[a]-s or ?[ɔ]-s "stone." When the
preceding syllable contains a front vowel, /a/ is often low front [a]: hári-
v[a]-rih "when?"

/a/ is a long low vowel, usually central: v[a]-s "blanket," ?[ə]-s
"water." But like /a/, it is fronted after a front vowel: ?imm[a-]n "tomorrow."

/o/ is a long higher-mid back rounded vowel: čò-řa "let's go!,"
čò-t "salmon backbone."

/u/ is a short back rounded vowel, lower-high but tense: ?úruh
"egg."

/u:/ is a long vowel, usually of the same quality as /u/: xu-n
"acorn soup," čú-t "flea." But when the preceding syllable contains a front
vowel, a centralized allophone often occurs: nímm[u]-stih "I'm looking at
it."

Certain vowel sounds, found in exclamations, either do not occur
at all elsewhere, or do not occur elsewhere in the same phonetic environ­
ment. Thus nasalized vowels occur in hɛ: "yes" and hɛ:ʔ (exclamation of
annoyance). Short and long [ɛ] occur in čɛmni "all right" and ye-ɛ, ye-ʰɛ
(exclamations of surprise).

160. The segmental phonemes of Karok utterances can be divided into
SYLLABLES. The Karok syllable is defined, phonemically, as follows:
Any consonant plus an immediately following vowel, plus any immediately
following consonant that is not immediately followed by a vowel, constitute
a syllable. In other words, Karok speech may be divided into units of the
pattern CV(C).5 With each unit, there occurs one of three suprasegmental
phonemes which will be called ACCENTS. These phonemes consist of fea­
tures of pitch, stress, glottalization, and whispering, in various combina­
tions.

161. /ˈ/, called ACUTE ACCENT, has two allophones. Before pause
(defined in 186), it is a combination of strong stress, falling pitch, and
glottalization. Only long vowels are accented in this position, and glottali-

5 Syllables of the form CCV(C) occur under the conditions stated in 392, and some
loan words also have unusual syllabic structure. However, these are treated the same
way as the typical CV(C) form.
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Glottalization takes the form of a light glottal interruption of these vowels, with about two-thirds of the vowel's duration preceding the interruption. So tīm "edge" can be phonetically written [t̚i̚m]. Note that such glottalized vowels are phonetically distinct from the sequence /V?V/, since the latter has a stronger glottal stop and equal duration of the two vowels: compare ?a's [t̚i̚'a] "watter" with išpukā?as "quartz."

The other allophone of /'/, occurring everywhere except before pause, is a combination of strong stress and high level pitch, without glottalization: [pú'-]iš "deer."

162. /'/, called CIRCUMFLEX ACCENT, has a single allophone—strong stress plus falling pitch, without glottalization, in all positions. So [mā'-]m "uphill," [pū'-]viš "bag."

Syllables containing /'/' or /'/' will be referred to as ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

163. Syllables without acute or circumflex accent show six different combinations of suprasegmental features. If the distribution of these is described only in terms of the phonemes previously listed, a complex picture results. Thus, writing [.] for weak stress, [∗] for mid pitch, and [~] for low pitch, we may contrast the last-two syllables in the utterances [g̃i̚'a],hō',hē',e'n] "he had come" and [mā'-pāy,kā'-k̚i̚'u'-m] "there he is."

An analysis of these contrasts would involve separating features of pitch and stress into separate phonemes.

On the other hand, the results of morphological analysis suggest a way to subsume the six combinations mentioned under a single phoneme. If we assume that a JUNCTURE phoneme, indicated by # or simply by a space, is present at each morphologically determined word boundary, then the following description is possible:

There is a phoneme with six allophones; it is called NO ACCENT and is indicated by the absence of any diacritic. For purposes of discussing it, we will adopt the following definitions: INITIAL means "immediately following juncture," FINAL means "immediately preceding juncture," MEDIAL means "neither initial nor final," PRETONIC means "having an accent intervening before the next following juncture," and POSTTONIC means "having an accent intervening after the nearest preceding juncture."

We will also postulate the occurrence of juncture coincident with every occurrence of pause, including the positions at the beginning and end of every utterance. We may then describe the occurrence of the six allophones as follows:

6Writing enclosed by brackets in this section are phonetic only as regards suprasegmental features; purely segmental features are in phonemic writing, except where long vowels are written [V'V] to indicate glottalization.
a) Weak stress with high pitch occurs on initial pretonic syllables with long vowel, as in [ˌké-ˈč]xá-ˈč "widow"; and on all medial pretonic syllables, as in ʔa[ˌhú]pəˈssip "coffin."

b) Weak stress with mid pitch occurs on long-voweled medial syllables immediately after an accent, as in nǐm[ˌmù-s]tih "I'm looking at it"; on all medial syllables immediately after circumflex accent, as in ʔuvə- ˌnù]puk "he crawled outdoors"; and on medial syllables two syllables after an acute accent, as in píkváhvah[ˌvè-]ˈnáč "quail."

c) Strong stress with low pitch occurs in unaccented sequences preceded by juncture and followed by pause. If a long-voweled syllable is present, the stress falls on it, as in ʔim[ˈmá-n] "tomorrow," kú-ˈk [ˈʔu-]mi "go there!" Otherwise, the stress falls on the final syllable, as in ʔiʃ[ˈpük] "money."

d) Weak stress, low pitch, and glottalization occur in long-voweled posttonic syllables which are followed by pause; e.g., ʔáp[ˌrɪ-1]h "tongue."

e) Weak stress, low pitch, and optional whispering of the whole syllable (marked in phonetic writing by underlining) occur on short-voweled syllables in the position described in d); e.g., nímː mu-ˌtfh "I am looking at it."

f) Weak stress and low pitch without whispering or glottalization occur in all positions not mentioned above: on all initial syllables with short vowels, as in [ˌI5]xarám "night," [ˌʔi5]puk "money"; on medial syllables which are not in such a position as to receive allophone b), as in puvə-nuˌpükˌʈʃˌhā]ra "he doesn't crawl outdoors"; and on final posttonic syllables not followed by pause, as in sú[ˌvā] nik "so long!"

Since the above statements concern the mutual relationships between the suprasegmental features and the juncture phoneme, they may be used in two ways. Given a phonemic writing which shows the occurrence of juncture, the underlying phonetics may be reproduced: thus we can find out that /súva nik/ is pronounced [ˈsúːvāˈnɪk]. On the other hand, given a phonetic writing, we can write it phonemically, complete with juncture, if we adopt one further convention: Between every pair of adjacent accented syllables, juncture will be written. With this in mind, the utterances given at the beginning of this section may be reexamined to illustrate how the position of juncture can be determined.

In [ˌʊ̃ˌʔu-ˌhó-ˌhè-ˈn], the second syllable is the only accented one. The first syllable has allophone f); it is initial but cannot be final, as well, since it has no accent preceding it. The third syllable has allophone b) and so must be medial. The fourth syllable has allophone d), indicating that no juncture occurs between it and the preceding accent. This utterance there-
fore contains no occurrence of juncture between its syllables, and is to be written /ʔuʔáho·he·n/.

A different situation exists in ['mâ·'páy,kū·k'ʔu·m]. The first two syllables are both accented, so a juncture is written between them. The third syllable has allophone ɟ), which means it must be medial or final, since its vowel is long. The fourth syllable has allophone c), indicating that a juncture occurs between it and the accent. This juncture must therefore occur immediately before the last syllable, and the phonemic writing is /mâ·páyku·kʔu·m/.

So it is seen that although juncture has no phonetic quality of its own, every occurrence of it is predictable in purely phonetic terms. Although every occurrence of it coincides with a word boundary, it can be defined independently of morphological considerations.

170. The following section consists of examples designed to support the phonemic analysis made above, by means of minimally contrasting pairs, i.e., pairs of utterances which differ only in a single phoneme. Such utterances have therefore been sought for every pair of phonemes which might be suspected of being in reality allophones of the same phoneme. Although the search has not been completely successful, in that occasionally a non-minimal pair is the best available, the examples below will nevertheless serve to establish the distinctness of the phonemes which have been established.

/t/—/č/: tá·s (a plant sp.), čá·s "younger brother."
/t/—/k/: čá·s "younger brother," ká·s "nest."
/k/—/ʔ/; ká·s "nest," ʔá·s "water."
/p/—/t/: púříθ "huckleberry," fúriθ "daughter of sibling of opposite sex."
/t/—/ʔ/; ʔú·t "flea," ʔá·θ "into the river."
/č/—/ʔ/; ʔú·čič "(woman's) breast," ʔúčič "milk" (imperfect pair).
/k/—/x/: kf·t "mother's mother, daughter's daughter," xf·t "unripe."
/ʔ/—/h/: pa·ʔ "last year," pa·h "peppernut."
/ʔ/—/zero: vupáθiv "nape of the neck," yupáθrh "eyelash" (imperfect pair).
/θ/—/s/: ʔú·θ "into the river," ʔú·s "pine nut."
/s/—/ʔ/: ʔutasfinsir "he brushed it repeatedly," ʔusívšap "he plugged it up" (imperfect pair).
/x/—/ʔ/; ʔá·x "blood," ʔá·h "fire."
/h/—zero: puʔu·mára "it's not he," puʔu·mára "he didn't arrive."
/i/—/i/: ʔáθi·t "trash," ʔáθi·θ "hazel withe" (imperfect pair).
/i/—/e/: ʔé·m "outdoors," ʔé·m "sucking shaman" (imperfect pair).
/e/—/a/: ʔé·n "board," ʔá·n "string."
/a/—/ə/: ʔéasyav "having a good body," ʔéasya·v "winter."
/a/—/o/: ʔó·t "spring salmon," ʔó·t "salmon backbone."
/o/—/u/: ʔó·t "salmon backbone," ʔó·t "flea."
/u/—/u/: ʔúčiš "milk," ʔúčiš "(woman's) breast" (imperfect pair).
/ʔ/—/ʔ/: pú·tič "deer," pú·viš "bag" (imperfect pair).
/ʔ/—no accent: pá·h "boat," pa·h "peppernut."
/ʔ/—no accent: má·m "uphill," ʔá·m "meadow" (imperfect pair).

180. Certain phonemic entities found in Karok utterances may be said to occur simultaneously with sequences of more than one syllable. These are the EMPHATIC phoneme and four INTONATIONAL contours.

181. The emphatic phoneme occurs only with single junctural units, i.e., with the sequences of syllables between two occurrences of juncture, equal to grammatical words. Every such unit has phonetically one strong stress, and the emphatic phoneme consists of extra-strong stress on that syllable. The meaning is emphasis, and the phoneme is symbolized by /"/ before the stressed syllable: e.g., ʔasiktavanʔfšri·v, vûra "ʔfšri·v "a fat woman, just fat!"

182. Four phonemes occur with groups of one or more junctural units; these are the intonational contours. Semantically, they are associated not with any grammatical categories, but rather with the emotions of the speaker. Under the influence of these phonemes, basic high, low, and falling syllable-pitches maintain their relative values, but are modified so as to fit into characteristic pitch-contours. In phonemic writing these contours are indicated by punctuation marks following the sequences which they cover.

The commonest contours are two with rising-falling pitch; they are called COMMA INTONATION and PERIOD INTONATION, after the symbols associated with them. In both these types, each successive syllable is higher-pitched than those of the same relative syllable-pitch preceding it, until a peak is reached. In most cases, this peak is the last accented syllable of the sequence. However, when the penultimate junctural unit (= word) has circumflex accent, the peak often falls upon it. After this peak, comma intonation has a fall to about the same pitch as the lowest
previous one in the contour. In period intonation, however, the fall is to a pitch noticeably lower than anything preceding. Both these contours are associated with lack of marked emotion on the part of the speaker. Note that a sequence with comma intonation is normally followed by some other sequence, i.e., it is never utterance-final unless an interruption of speech occurs. Examples are as follows:

kahyúras nivà·rame·š, ?išpük nikyá·re·š.
[ _ _ - - _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ]
"I'm going to Klamath Lakes, I'm going to get money."

vúra ?u·m yâ·mač tu'f-fśip.
[ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ]
"she grew up to be pretty."

183. A less common intonation is the HIGH one, in which all syllables are given a higher pitch than normal. It is associated with excitement on the part of the speaker, and is written phonemically with /!/:  

hû· ti?i·m!
[ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ]
"What's the matter with you?"

Certain exclamatory words which normally have high level pitch throughout—a phenomenon not attributable to any accent phoneme alone—may be considered to have no accent, but inherent high intonation. Such words are ?o·! "oh!," ?ake! "ouch!," and ?ita·! (expressing annoyance).

184. The least common intonation is the FALLING one, in which each successive pitch is lower than those of the same type preceding it. It is associated with sadness on the part of the speaker, and is written phonemically with /:/:  

hû't ?ata pánikuphe·š;
[ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ]
"What ever shall I do?"

185. Certain tonal phenomena found in interjections may perhaps be ascribed to marginal intonation-phonemes. These are rising tone in the word for "no," written pû·, and falling-rising tone in a word used to begin myths, written ?uknî·.

186. Except for interruptions of speech, all pauses are conditioned by the contour phonemes: they occur optionally after /,/, and invariably else-
where. But even when there is no actual phonetic pause after /\, /, the con­
tour-end still conditions certain-accen­tual phenomena (161, 163). For this
reason a PAUSE is considered to occur at the end of every contour, even
when speech is actually unbroken. The term PAUSE is likewise applied to
the silence preceding an utterance.

190. Distribution. The typical distribution of consonants and vowels in
syllables has been described in 160. It must only be added that an occasional
loanword is found with tautosyllabic consonant-clusters: prâms "plum(s),"
šûskič "six bits." Within these patterns, most consonants and vowels may
occur in any position; the chart at the-end of this section shows the two­
phoneme sequences which have been observed. Some of the gaps in the
chart are no doubt merely fortuitous, but there are also certain systematic
limitations, which will be described here.

191. /§/ occurs only after /y/ and after front vowels, with or without
another consonant intervening: examples of this appear in 120. /s/ occurs
in all the positions where /§/ does not, and could be classed in one phoneme
with /§/ except for a few words in which /s/ occurs after a front vowel:
šûskič "six bits," kê-ks "cake," sîmsî-m "knife, metal," ðutasiññir "he
brushed it repeatedly." Some of these are obvious loanwords; the less ob­
vious history of the others is discussed in my paper, "Linguistic Innova­
tions in Karok," 1.3. In any case, they create the necessity for a phonemic
separation of /s/ and /§/.

192. The phonemes /? h v r y/ do not occur in geminate clusters, and
may be called NONGEMINABLE. The remaining consonants are called
GEMINABLE, and their occurrence in geminate clusters is partly predict­
able. In the first place, the medial consonant(s) in the sequence #CVC(C­
VC# can never be a single geminable consonant; if a non-geminable con­
sonant or a heterogeneous cluster does not fill the place, then a geminate
cluster must, as in ðûppé-r "he tells him," ðikkuk "log," ðimma-n "tomor­
row." In the second place, a geminate is usually found in the position be­
tween a short acute-accented vowel and any other vowel: e. g., in ðûkkin
"bile," xákka-n "together." But in some cases, single consonants occur
in this same position, creating a contrast. The cases thus contrasting may
be classed as follows:

1) Loan words, like Ŕûkin "chicken," ðápus "apple(s), háma "ham
mer," tákus "pelican" (< Yurok tokus).

2) A few personal names, such as šûkux, possibly loans in
origin.
3) A few members of the grammatical class of adverbs, such as kípa "like," chími (future marker).

4) A few derivative suffixes, such as -tih Durative in ?uču-phí-tih "he's talking" (see 391.1).

Finally, gemination is automatic at the beginning of monosyllabic stems (333): thus ?u-mmá-h-va "he visited him," containing the stem mah "to see." No such gemination occurs in longer stems; thus ?u-máhy-a-n "he put it in."

It should be noted that geminate /č/ has a somewhat special distribution. It occurs only in the position after a short acute-accented vowel, as in ?ďččakič "puppy," ?učččunva "he hides." In this position single /č/ is also common: pičas "peach(es)," uppáčiš "he throws it down," mčč-a-s "his younger brother." The second and third examples do not fall into the classification of contrastive cases given above, but are the result of a special morphophonemic phenomenon; see 391.1 again.

193. /v/ does not occur immediately before /m/.

194. /r/ does not occur immediately after juncture except in a few loans like rápat "Robert." It never occurs immediately after nasals. It never occurs preceding another consonant unless juncture intervenes—that is, it is syllable-final only at the end of words.

195. /h/ occurs before juncture only when the juncture is coincident with pause, as in xah "spider," vuh "tooth," ?axphíh "fingernail," kuním-mu-stih "they are looking at it."


197. The distribution of the no-accent phoneme is free as regards segmental features. /’/ is nearly as free, but never occurs on short-voweled syllables immediately before pause. Least free is /~/, which is rare on any kind of prepausal syllable and never occurs on a short-voweled syllable except in a few loan words like prám "plum(s)." The prepausal occurrences consist of these loans plus the following elements: má-m "uphill," sa-m "downhill," ká-m "upriver," yu-m "downriver," i-š "down," sǐ-p "up (pl.)," and a few interjections such as hā: "yes."

198. A chart of Karok two-phoneme sequences appears below. The phonemes in the vertical row stand for the first members of such se-
sequences; those in the horizontal row stand for the second members. An "X" at the intersection indicates that a sequence does not occur. A blank indicates that a sequence has not been found, but that it is believed to be possible. A number indicates that a sequence has been found, and refers to the numbered key of examples following the chart. An underlined number indicates a sequence found only in loan words.

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### Key to Chart

1. ʔïppiŋh "bone"  
2. ʔápti-k "branch"  
3. ʔipčímannakač "handkerchief"  
4. ʔápka-s "wild iris"  
5. ʔahupʔámva-n "wood-worm"  
6. ʔuʔáxxupfuruk "he put deermeat indoors"  
7. ʔúpθiŋ "she finished weaving"  
8. ʔápści-h "leg"  
9. kunipšé-k "they got heavy"  
10. ʔápxa-n "hat"  
11. ʔúxvi-pha "he got angry"  
12. ʔápvu-y "tail"  
13. ʔapra-x "fox"  
14. ʔupyáffus "she wore a dress"  
15. ʔapma-n "mouth"  
16. ʔápna- "he came back"  
17. ʔápti-h "rib"  
18. ʔättay "salmon eggs"  
19. ʔítka-r "mallard duck"  
20. ʔašnti-v "rat's next"  
21. ʔútfak "he looked downhill"
47. "nakat "he closed his hands"
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96. ?aṣṣak "on a rock"
97. ?aṣxa-y "damp"
98. ?u?uša "it got wet"
99. ?asvu-t "ant"
100. ?âsriv "he shot at a target"
101. pusya-h "toyon berry"
102. ?asma-x "oriole"
103. ?upâšnap "it stuck"
104. ?išpuk "money"
105. ništuk "I plucked it"
106. ?iščâ-čip "roots for weaving"
107. niškax "I became quiet"
108. ?ipši?i-t "cannon bone of a deer"
109. nišfir "I skinned it"
110. ?iššaha "water"
111. kunfškax "they became torn"
112. ?u?uhišha "it went to seed"
113. ?išva-k "jaw"
114. ?išra-m "deerlick"
115. ?išyu-x "elk"
116. ?išmuččar "angelica leaves"
117. ?išnur "thunder"
118. ?axpih "fingernail"
119. ?uxti-vha "he played games"
120. ?uppá-xtiv "he defeated him"
121. ?avax?išra-m (place name)
122. ?ašbah "mussel"
123. ?ašxak "two"
124. ?u?uša "he bled"
125. ?axvuh "fuzz"
126. ?axrah "dead tree"
127. ?axyar "full"
128. ?axmay "suddenly"
129. ?asáxnahič "shallow"
130. ?uparatâñma-hpa "he turned back"
131. ?ahtu-y "trashpile"
132. ?uvaxrâhčak "his throat was stopped with thirst"
133. ?áhku-s "inner bark of maple"
134. máh?i-t "morning"
135. ?u?ušfah "he jumped down-hill"
136. ?apsišákkur "bowlegged"
137. ?uyu-hsur "he spat it out"
138. ?uhišha "wide ones"
139. ?apsiškâra "long-legged"
140. ?ihvâš "madrone bark"
141. ?âhruv "he used it"
142. ?uhyiv "he shouted"
143. kunhmar "they ran"
144. pihn-č "old man"
145. ?uppá-vpa "he faced it again"
146. ?uvâ00i-vtiš "he's fighting"
147. ?učrivčav "it splashed"
148. ?išrivčih "six"
149. ?ačviv?apa-s "iris sp."
150. ?akrávsi-p "ash tree"
151. ?usívšap "he plugged it up"
152. ?uyâ-ва "he hurried"
153. kunfvrar "they fell"
154. kunivýhuk "they came"
155. ?å-vnay (a place name)
156. ?uypa-ššip "he shoved it over"
157. ?ušytup "he kneaded it"
158. ?atayčirip "wild blackberry"
159. ?ýykar "he killed him"
160. xâya-t "don't"
161. ?u?ušyšip "he rinsed it"
162. túššip "mountain"
163. ?apvuyxara "long tailed"
164. ?ušxa-yha "it got damp"
165. ?uyvē-th "he spilled it"
166. ?atâyra-м "star"
167. ?thovu-ymaθ "he named it"
168. πiyniθnik "kick-dance"
169. ?uimpuk "it got warm"
170. ?ahtau-p "dust"
171. ?uâmčak "he closed his mouth"
72. ?ámku-f "smoke"
73. ká?tim?i-n (place name)
74. ?ámfir "it got hot"
75. ?im?á-tva "shinny game"
76. ?atayram?ixárahar "dragonfly"
77. ?imšaxvuh "gum"
78. ?ümxa-ethi "it smells"
79. ?išra-mhíra (a place name)
80. ?amvá-mva-n "otter"
81. ?amyív "soot"
82. ?ummah "he saw"
83. ?ümniš "he cooked"
84. pávanpa "husband of dead sister."
85. ?apmanti-m "lip"
86. čánča-f "foam"
87. ?ummahó-nko-n "he felt"  
88. kan?áho "let me walk!"
89. ?apunfa-ø "manzanita sp."
90. ?aptunfu-n (name of a creek)
91. ?ávansa "man"
92. ?apsunxára "a mythical serpent"
93. ?u?iv "he died"
94. ?u?im ?a-vna "he painted his face"
95. ?apsunyáviv (a basket design)
96. ?apxanmu-m "bumblebee"
97. ?ánnav "medicine"
98. ?úkvip "he ran"
99. ?úvtit "he gambled"
100. pú?fič "deer"
101. ?uvik "she wove"
102. ?i?kikam "outdoors"
103. ?if "true"
104. ?úpö?iš "she finished weaving"
105. murá-sis "molasses"
106. ?účiš "milk"
107. ?ixran "weep!"
108. ?šuk "flower-dance"
247. ?a?ku'n "throat"
248. ?as "rock"
249. mahvi-čax "salamander sp."
250. ?axrah "dead tree"
251. ?u?av "he ate"
252. ?ára "person"
253. ?u?ay "he became afraid of him"
254. ?amkir "table"
255. ?ánav "medicine"
256. xá-p "thimbleberry bush"
257. ?á-t "spring salmon"
258. čé-myá-č "quickly"
259. ?u?á-ksip "he raised his hand"
260. pa-? "last year"
261. ?á-f "excrement"
262. ?u?á-thva "he became afraid"
263. ?á-s "water"
264. ?á-x "blood"
265. ?á-h "fire"
266. ?á-v "face"
267. ?ára-r "person"
268. ?a-y "grape"
269. ?á-ma "salmon"
270. ?á-n "string"
271. pu?áho-p "they didn't come"
272. ?ó-t "salmon backbone"
273. kó-čí-lv (a place name)
274. ?ó-k "here"
275. kó-b "across river"
276. ko-s "such ones"
277. mó-x (exclamation drawing attention to an odor)
278. ?ukkó-ха "he stopped"
279. ?u?ó-v "he raised him"
280. pó-r "pants"
281. hó-y "where?"
282. káro-m "uphill upriver"
283. ?u?ó-nva "he took them"
284. ?úppas "saliva"
285. ?asvúttar "full of ants"
286. ?učiš "milk"
287. ?úkra-m "lake"
288. su? "inside"
289. ?u?uf "he anointed him"
290. ?u?kanpáhí-p "redwood"
291. pusyá-h "toyon berry"
292. ?uxra-h "berry"
293. ?u?uh "he spat"
294. púva "not yet"
295. ?aruh "egg"
296. ?uýáha-ma "dogwood"
297. ?ummah "he saw"
298. ?unuhyá-č "roundish"
299. ?u-p "possession"
300. ?ó-t "flea"
301. ?ú-čiš "teat"
302. ?impú-kač "warmish"
303. ?ámkuf "smoke"
304. ?u-č "out towards the water"
305. ?ú-s "pinenut"
306. ?ú-x "bitter"
307. ?u?ú-hyan "he spoke"
308. ?u?ú-yrvin "he turned it around"
309. ?u?ú-rih "he was unwilling"
310. ?u-y "mountain"
311. ?u?ú-um "he arrived"
312. xu-n "acorn soup"
313. pa-h "boat"
314. tá-t "mother"
315. čé-č "quickly"
316. ká-s "nest"
317. ?á-s "water"
318. fá-n "guts"
319. 6ú-f "creek"
320. sán "leaf"
321. ūspuk "money" (variant of Ūspuk)
322. xu-n "acorn soup"
323. hó-y "where?"
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324. və-tam "long"
325. rə-plat "Robert"
326. yav "good"
327. mə-m "uphill"
328. nāra "rough"
329. pīriš "grass"
330. pīt "new"
331. ṭuppé-r "he told him"
332. ṭupper "he hit him"
333. pā-h "boat"
334. pō-r "pants"
335. pōva "not yet"
336. pō-vaš "bag"
337. ṭō-pap "side"
338. tīriš "broad"
339. ti-k "hand"
340. tē-nva "earring"
341. tas "fence"
342. tā-t "mother"
343. ṭuttō-r "he counted"
344. ṭuttur "she carried wood in a pack-basket"
345. turvya "mound"
346. tā-t "mother"
347. činnim "skunk"
348. čiš "younger sister"
349. čē-č "quickly"
350. čanča-f "foam"
351. čā-s "younger brother"
352. čō-ra "let's go!"
353. čūvra-rap "let's go!"
354. čuču-pha "he spoke"
355. čē-č "quickly"
356. kšri-p "myrtle"
357. kī-t "maternal grandmother"
358. kē-č "big"
359. kārōk "upriver"
360. kā-s "nest"
361. ākkō-r "axe"
362. ākkūha "he got sick"

363. ākkū-riš "he sat down"
364. tī-k "hand"
365. ṭu-tiv "he died"
366. ṭu-ri-k "he hit him"
367. čē-m "doctor"
368. čas "rock"
369. čā-s "water"
370. ṭō-t "salmon backbone"
371. čūčiš "milk"
372. čū-čiš "teat"
373. ṭa-p・"up"
374. fôthih "foot"
375. fi-páyav "straight"
376. ṭu-ffe-s "it will grow"
377. fa99uruhsa "manzanita sp."
378. fā-n "guts"
379. ṭikfuyfō-r "whistle"
380. fūrāx "woodpecker head"
381. āsāffu-n "ocher"
382. ṭō-f "excrement"
383. ṭuōfrav "he tracked it"
384. ṭuōthi-nāth "he has it"
385. ṭuōōš-e-p "he took it away from him"
386. ṭuōōśip "he devoured it"
387. əs-m "meadow"
388. ədkkin "bile"
389. əuf "creek"
390. fā-th "manzanita"
391. sfrih "shiny"
392. sf-h "awl"
393. ussē-tyth "he doesn't know how"
394. sāra "bread"
395. sān "leaf"
396. sō-r "murderer"
397. su? "inside"
398. sō-f "backbone"
399. sō-s "water"
400. nišimfir "brave"
401. ?ipši-nva "he failed to recognize him"
402. kunipše-k "they got heavy"
403. ?isšaha "water"
404. kunipša-mkir "they left him"
405. ?ipšo-ké:hva:n (a man’s name)
406. níkšup "I pointed"
407. níkšup-pka "I pointed at it"
408. ?i-ê "meat"
409. xíkkih "rough"
410. xí:t "unripe"
411. xé:m "seaweed"
412. xah "spider"
413. xá:t "rotten"
414. xó:shirak (a place name)
415. xnúntapán "acorn"
416. xu:n "acorn soup"
417. ?á:x "blood"
418. hih "language"
419. ?anamahi-c "doll"
420. ?úxvi-pheš "he will get angry"
421. há-rivarih "when?"
422. há-ríh "sometimes"
423. hó:y "where?"
424. ?íhuk "flower dance"
425. hút "how?"
426. ?á:h "fire"
427. vimta-p "arrow"
428. ?uví-hitih "he hates him"
429. ?uvé:n "he prayed"
430. vássih "back"
431. vá:s "blanket"
432. ?uvó:r "he crawled"
433. ?uvur "it flowed"
434. vú:p "neck"
435. yav "good"
436. ?árih "older brother"
437. ?arará:k "rancheria"
438. ?arará:špuk "Indian money"
478. káru "and"
479. ní- "we"
480. xáy śmčax "don't burn yourself!"
481. yánav axxi-č "he saw children"
482. kár uhyárih "he still stands"
The following section contains definitions of certain basic terms which will be used throughout the morphophonemic and morphemic description. The presentation of the terms at this point is intended to permit understanding of them when they occur subsequently, and at the same time to give an introductory notion of the most important characteristics of Karok morphology.

210. The **THEME** is the most important unit of Karok morphology, being the end-product of all derivation and the foundation for all inflection. It may consist of a single nuclear morpheme, or of two or more of these in composition, with or without derivative affixes. Thus the single morpheme ?av "to eat," the suffixed form ?av-a "food," and the compound ?avá-yav "good food" are all themes.

220. The term **STEM** is used in a broad sense, to include any nuclear element to which affixes are added. A stem may thus be a monomorphemic or polymorphemic theme, like the ones above, or it may be a theme to which inflectional endings have already been added and to which further ones may yet be added; thus -?av-at "ate" is a stem, to which ?u- "he" may be added to create the free form ?u-?avat "he ate."

230. A **VERB THEME** (generally called simply a **VERB**) is a theme which always occurs with one or more inflectional affixes of a class called **VERBAL AFFIXES**; examples are ?u- "he" and -at Past tense. A verb theme with one or more verbal affixes is called a **VERB FORM**; an example is ?u-?av-at "he ate."

240. A **NOUN THEME** (generally called simply a **NOUN**) is a theme which never occurs with any verbal affix. Some noun themes occur with a class of inflectional affixes designated as **NOMINAL AFFIXES**, such as mu- "his." A noun theme, with or without such affixes, may act as a **NOUN FORM**; examples are the uninflected themes ?áva "food," ?é-k "here," and ?ípíh "bone," and the inflected form mu-?ípíh "his bone."

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1 The term theme has been used in different ways by various linguists. The usage here reflects that of, for example, C. F. Voegelin's Delaware (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 6, pp. 130-157, 1946); the theme is there defined (p. 151) as "a form ready for inflection."
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Both types of theme also occur with certain classes of derivational affixes, used to form themes of greater complexity. Similarly, the ability to enter into the formation of new themes by compounding is an attribute of noun themes.

250. An INTERJECTION is a morpheme lying outside any system of inflection or derivation. Examples are ?ayukti "hello!" čími "all right!", čů-rA "let's go!" and ?akš: "ouch!"

260. The WORD is invariably defined and delimited on the phonemic level as the sequence of phonemes between two successive junctures (163). The word may also be delimited, less invariably, on the morphophonemic level, by the distinction between internal and external sandhi (390). Morphologically, the word consists of a theme with or without inflectional affixes. The identification of the theme and the affixes permit the word to be classified as a noun form, a verb form, or an interjection; this classification is also relevant in syntax. Most words, furthermore, are free forms, although some are syntactically bound; thus a past-tense verb form like ?ummáhat "he saw" can be used only in a sentence which contains a past-tense marker such as ?ip, and ?ip in turn can be used only together with a verb form like ?ummáhat.

270. A SYNTACTIC AFFIX is a prefix or suffix which cannot, on the phonemic level, constitute a word by itself, but which nevertheless plays the tactical role of an independent word. These morphemes thus represent a case of breakdown in the distinction between morphology and syntax—a distinction which, however, is still useful enough to be retained in describing Karok grammar. Syntactic affixes are symbolized by the double hyphen, as in pu= "not," =irak "where"—contrasting with the single hyphen which marks morphological affixes.

A syntactic affix of prefixal position is called a PROFIX. The prefixes are two in number: pa=, a phrase-nominalizing morpheme, and pu=, which is part of the negative morpheme {pu= .. =ara}.

A syntactic affix of suffixal position is called a POSTFIX. The suffixes are {=avi3} Future tense, {=ahe:n} Anterior tense, {=anik} Ancient tense, {=aha:k} "when," =irak "where," and {=ara}, which is part of the negative morpheme {pu= .. =ara}. These elements, although outside the morphological system, occur in the same system of suffix-positions as the inflectional suffixes of the verb (530).

280. The following conventions are used in writing Karok:

281. All Karok material, unless placed between diagonals to show that
it is, in phonemic writing, is written in its morphophonemically basic form. By this is meant the form from which all its allomorphic alternants are deducible, according to the morphophonemic rules which are given. For example: We are given the basic forms ?asuv "to grumble" and ?apim "to seek"; we are given the rule, "v before C is unchanged, but m before C > m"; upon adding -Tih Durative, we can therefore deduce the forms ?asuv-tih "to be grumbling" and ?apim-tih "to be seeking." Note that we write ?apim-tih, rather than ?apim-tih, as basic form; once a stem with final m has entered into combination, the alternation between /v/ and /m/ has no further relevance, and the /m/ will persist in all further combinations.

It should be noted, however, that when an element appears as a word in syntactic combination, it may have a different basic form than when it functions as a stem. This is due to alternations which preceding and following junctures condition in the basic form. Thus, in morphological discussion, we write basic ?u?apimti "he is seeking"; but whenever this occurs as a syntactic unit, in a sequence of other syntactic units, we write basic ?u?apimti. The gemination has been conditioned by the fact that juncture stands both before and after this combination of morphemes—that is, this combination now constitutes a word.

282. The following symbols may require some explanation:

The hyphen is used 1) to indicate morpheme boundaries within polymorphemic words; 2) to mark prefixes and suffixes; and 3) to mark stems which, in the form given, occur only as bound forms. E.g. —

?amva- is an allomorph of ?á-ma "salmon" which is used only in the first half of compounds, as in ?amvä-mma-n "salmon skin."

-iykarat is a combination of iykara "to kill" with -at Past tense; it is used only in combination with personal prefixes, as in kun-iykarat "they killed."

Verb themes, however, though they are bound forms, are written with the hyphen only when they have specially limited distribution. Thus inhi- "to tie" is written with the hyphen because it is combined only with derivational suffixes (as in inhi-tunva "to tie together"), and never directly with the personal inflectional prefixes. Verb themes of normal distribution, such as iykara "to kill," are cited without hyphen; this indicates that they are combined not only with derivational affixes, as in iykara-Tih "to be killing," but also directly with the inflectional affixes, as in kun-iykara "they kill." 2

2 Combinations of verb theme + personal inflectional morpheme will generally, as here, be translated by the English present tense in grammatical discussion. Such Karok verb forms are in fact, however, noncommittal as to tense, and within context are often the equivalent of English past tense forms (see 821).
Parentheses enclose sequences which may be omitted under defined conditions; thus pu?iykaráphat "they didn't kill" shows that both pu?iykaráphat and pu?iykarápat occur.

The symbol - is placed between elements which are in non-contrastive distribution, whether the choice between them is determined phonemically or otherwise. Most commonly, though not invariably, this symbol is used between the allomorphs of a morpheme, such as ip- - pi- - p- - pa- Iterative.

Braces are used to enclose the symbol for a group of morphs which are in non-contrastive distribution; e.g., {ip-} Iterative, used to represent the whole group of allomorphs given in the preceding paragraph.

The asterisk is used to mark sub-morphemic elements (710) and two types of hypothetical forms: 1) a non-occurrent form presented for contrast; 2) an intermediate stage in a morphophonemic change, as for example in the formula ikriv "to sit" + -i3(rih) "down" > *ikriv-i3(rih) > ikri-§(rih) "to sit down."
The processes of morpheme alternation may be classified in two ways: 
(1) The factors conditioning a given alternation may be considered: is the 
change predictable in terms of phonemes, or of morphophonemes, or of 
morphological constructions, or of individual lexemes? (2) The phonemic 
character of the alternation itself may be considered: is it a contraction, 
a shortening, a nasalization? We find that in Karok the two possible classi-
fications overlap considerably: thus a single phonemic type of alternation, 
that of gemination, may be conditioned by phonemic phenomena—such as the 
presence of a short accented vowel before a consonant, in the presence of 
juncture (391.1)—or by morphological phenomena—such as the presence of 
certain stem-types after a prefix (333).

In this grammar, lexically conditioned alternation will be covered 
in the description of the individual lexemes involved. Thus an alternation 
which is restricted to a single affix—such as ip- ~ pi- ~ pa- ~ p- Iterative 
—is described in the grammar under the morpheme {ip-}. A unique them-
em-alternation—such as tá:yáp - tuyšípréha- "mountain"—is indicated in the 
lexicon. Alternations conditioned by phonemic, morphophonemic, and mor-
phological phenomena, however, will be treated in the present section, 
ynder the name of morphophonemics. Within this grouping, it is found that 
a more coherent description results from a classification according to the 
phonemic type of the alternations themselves, and that plan has therefore 
been followed.

310. Vowel-initial stems.

There are a number of stems which lack an initial consonant in 
their basic form, such as ikuka "log" and ápsi-h "leg." Such vowel-initial 
stems typically have a phonemic shape beginning with $\tilde{V}_1 CV$, where $\tilde{V}_1$ is 
unaccented; or with $\tilde{V}_1 C_1 C_2 V$, where $\tilde{V}_1$ may be accented or not, but $C_1$ 
and $C_2$ are two different consonants, rather than a geminate cluster. Ex-
amples of the first type are ikuka "log," ihě:ra "to smoke," iyă:ramu "(du.) 
to go," imaxánu:mba "to lighten," iváxraha "dry," and ivíťva:ykam "in front 
of a house." Examples of the second type are inmiš "to cook," ikrívra:m 
"house," axpih "fingernail," ápsi-h "leg," and úkra:m "lake, pond." The allo-
morphs which such stems assume are described in the following sections.
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311. Vowel-initial stems maintain their basic forms after vowels, after non-geminable consonants, and after any monosyllabic partner,¹ regardless of its final sound. When the stem follows α(\(\cdot\)), vowel contraction takes place (323); when the stem follows any other vowel, then the stem's initial vowel is lost.

\[\text{?amva- "salmon," iváxraha "dry": ?amve-\text{-}váxraha "dried salmon."}^2\]
\[\text{ni- "I," ?u- "he," imniš "to cook": ní-\text{-}mniš "I cook," ?d-\text{-}mniš "he cooks."}\]
\[\text{nani- "my," mu- "his," ápsi-\text{-}h "leg": naní-\text{-}psi-\text{-}h "my leg,"}\]
\[\text{mú-\text{-}psi-\text{-}h "his leg."}\]
\[\text{fi8ih "foot, toe," axpih "nail": fi8ih-áxpih "toenail."}\]
\[\text{apmar- "mouth," axvuh "fuzz": apmar-\text{-}áxvuh "whiskers."}\]
\[\text{kun- "they," imniš "to cook": kun-ímniš "they cook."}\]
\[\text{?áx "blood," impa-\text{-}h "path": ?ax-\text{-}impah "blood vessel."}\]

All such stems have allomorphs with initial \(\dot{\text{a}}\) when preceded by juncture: thus ?iváxraha "dry," ?imniš "to cook," ?ápsi-\text{-}h "leg." They also have allomorphs with initial \(\dot{\text{a}}\) after a geminable consonant of a polysyllabic partner.

\[\text{mu-kun- "their," impa-\text{-}h "path": mukun-\text{-}impah "their path."}\]
\[\text{vě\text{-}kin "wagon," impa-\text{-}h "path": ve\text{-}kin-\text{-}impah "road."}\]

In some speakers' usage, \(\dot{\text{a}}\) also appears after \(\text{h}:\) so fi8ih-áxpih "toenail."³

312. A few stems whose basic form begins with \(\dot{\text{a}}\) have vowel-initial allomorphs in certain combinations. E.g.—

\[\text{?ípih "bone": yup-ípih "eye-bone, i.e., eyebrow."}\]
\[\text{?ípan "end": yay-ípan "grape-end, i.e., grapevine."}\]
\[\text{í\text{-}ðan "fir bark": í\text{-}ðar-\text{-}íp "fir tree."}\]
\[\text{í\text{-}ðva "to pack": í\text{-}ðá\text{-}sip(riv) "to pack up." So also in other}\]
\[\text{derivatives of í\text{-}ðva, and likewise of í\text{-}hyá "(inan.) to}\]
\[\text{stand" and í\text{-}ðri "(container) to sit."}\]

320. Loss of medial phonemes,

321. Basic \(\text{\text{-}v} \) and \(\text{\text{-}y} \) are lost when, through morphological processes, they come to stand between two short vowels; vowel contraction (323) then occurs. The long vowels so produced are of a special morphophonemic type, which will be-called DOUBLE-LONG and written with the colon as

¹The term partner is taken from Charles F. Hockett, *Two Models of Grammatical Description,* Word vol. 10, pp. 210-234, 1954: "A composite form consists of two or more IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENTS... each is the PARTNER of the other(s)."
²A morpheme boundary occurring within a long vowel, such as commonly results from contraction, will be indicated by a hyphen between the vowel symbol and the length mark.
length-marker, rather than with a single dot. Such vowels are also found within a few single morphemes, where no contraction can be recognized on a synchronic basis; e.g., ?a:tihA "obsidian blade," ya:s?á:rA "rich (person)."

Double-long vowels as a class are distinguished by their resistance to the regular shortening process (331.2).

-tunvi-v "children," -ač Diminutive: -tunvē-č "little (pl.)."3

ikriv "to sit," -iš(rih) "down": ikrē:-š(rih) "to sit down."

?ay "to be afraid of," -at Past tense: -?å:-it "was afraid of.

iyvay- "to pour," -iš(rih) "down": iyvē:-š(rih) "to spill."

Note, however, that basic v (342) is not lost in this way:

ikiyīv "to fall," -iš(rih) "down": ikyīv-ιš(rih) "to fall down."

322. When y (but not v) comes to stand between a(-) or a and a conso­nant, in that order, it is replaced by lengthening of the preceding vowel (if not already long.)

?ánav "medicine," -yi- "for": ?anā:-yi- "for medicine."

ikxare-yav "god," -tS-pas "real": ikxare-ya:-tS-pas "a real god."

?v-v "to raise (a child), -na- Plural: ?v:n-na- "to raise (chil­dren)."

The only exception occurs in reduplicated forms, where y is always retained:

?u:mxavxav "to pull up by the roots" (< a stem ?u-mxav-), -Tīh

Durative: ?u:mxavxāv:tih "to be pulling up by the roots."

323. When two vowels come into contact, they contract according to the following rules:

323.1. All contractions result in double-long vowels (323). When vowels of identical quality contract, there is no change in the quality of the result.

E. g.-

pa= "the," ?akva-t "raccoon": pa=’kva-t "the raccoon."4

ikriv "to sit," -iš(rih) "down": ikrē:-š(rih) "to sit down."

323.2. Contraction of a high vowel with a(-) results in a mid vowel:

i(·) + a(·) or a(·) + i(·) > e:, and u(·) + a(·) or a(·) + u(·) > o:.

amyiv "soot," -ara-"characterized by": amyē-:ra "sooty."

?ánav "medicine," ikýava-n "maker": ?ane-:kyavā-n "doctor."

?ā-ku "to hit," -va Plural Action: ?a’ko- "to hit (pl.)."

pa= "the," ?ükra:m "lake": pó-:kra:m "the lake."5

The sign for double length is not written with e: and o:, since they cannot be shortened in any case; nor in combinations of the prefix pa:, since such forms are complete words and thus subject only to external sandhi changes, which do not involve vowel-shortening.

4 In the examples containing pa: "the," the stems are complete words rather than themes, and initial glottal stop is lost by a special external sandhi change (811). The vowel contraction is nevertheless of the usual internal sandhi type.
323.3. Other vowel contractions are so infrequent that no rules can be formulated concerning them. Only one example is known, for instance, of the contraction of \(i\) with \(u\), which in this case results in \(ui\):

\[
i^\text{hyv} \quad \text{"to shout,"} \quad \text{\text{"to":} \ i^\text{hyū}=:\text{ni}s \quad \text{"to shout to."}
\]

323.4. The accent of contracted vowels follows the following patterns:

- Acute accent + no accent > circumflex accent:
  \[
i^\text{kriv} \quad \text{"to sit,"} \quad \text{\text{"down":} \ i^\text{kr̥iv}列为\text{rih} \quad \text{"to sit down."}
\]

- No accent + acute accent > acute accent:
  \[
\text{?amva-"salmon," amva-n "eater":} \quad *\text{?amva-\text{?-amva-n} > ?amvá-\text{-mva-n "otter."}
\]

- No accent + no accent > no accent:
  \[
yi^\text{szęA} \quad \text{"one,"} \quad -i^\text{c} \quad \text{Diminutive:} \quad yi^\text{če-\text{-c} "single."}
\]

Acute accent + acute accent > acute accent: This combination evidently does not occur within words, but is attested in external sandhi (393).

Contractions involving circumflex accent are restricted to circumflex accent + no accent, which results in circumflex accent of the morphophonemic type known as DOUBLE. Such contractions occur only under rather irregular conditions, described in 325.

324. Loss of syllable due to haplology is not a common process in Karok, but occurs often enough to deserve notice. Instances where it operates regularly are described under kupa-...-ahi Modal (732) and under pa= Nominalizing (812). Examples of its sporadic and irregular operation are the following:

- ?a-nva "to paint one's (own) face," -ma\(a\) Causative: ?a-nva\(a\) "to paint (someone else's) face."

- tur\(á\)yva "to look for," -v\(a\)-v\(a\)yva "around": tur\(á\)-y\(v\)arayva "to look around for."

- imk\(a\)-nva "to gather food": imk\(a\)-n\(v\)arayva "to gather food here and there."

325. A few morphemic sequences occur in contracted shapes which show completely irregular loss of consonants, often accompanied by irregular accentuation. Such contractions are in some cases optional variants, but in other cases occur to the exclusion of the uncontracted forms.

- pá\(r\)amva "to boil (as meat)," ?a\(s\) "water": par\(á\)mv-a\(s\) "soup."

- y\(ú\)ruk "downriver," va\(\text{?a\(á\)}\-ra "its person": y\(ú\)r\(ú\)k-v\(a\)-\(r\)a

- "Yurok Indian."

- ?a\(s\) "water," ?a\(h\)ō-k\(i\)ra "place for going": ?as-\(\text{?-}\)k\(i\)ra "flume."

- ap\(x\)a\(n\) "hat," t\(i\)n\(i\)h\(i\)č "flat": ap\(x\)an-t\(i\)n\(i\)h\(i\)č > ap\(x\)ant\(i\)n\(i\)č > ap\(x\)ant\(i\)č "white man" (all three forms occur).

- ?asik\(t\)á\(v\)a\(n\) > ?asik\(t\)á\(n\) "woman" (both forms occur).
akaray > akay "who" (both forms occur).

Other irregular contractions exemplify the formation of a special morphophonemic type of circumflex accent, called DOUBLE circumflex and written with the tilde. The special behavior of this morphophoneme is manifested in external sandhi (397). It arises from the combination of circumflex accent and no accent, in the following instances:

- f-kam > f-m "outdoors."
- kâkam > kâ-m "upriver."
- yûkam > yû-m "downriver."
- mâkam > mâ-m "uphill."
- sâkam > sâ-m "downhill."
- sîprina > sî-p "up (pl.)."
- f-šrih > f-š "down."

330. Shortening and lengthening.

331. Those long vowels which have short counterparts, namely i- a- u-, are replaced by the short vowels in three situations:

331.1. In dissyllabic roots with long first vowels, shortening occurs before all derivative suffixes except -Tih Durative.

- i-na "(du.) to live," -kiri Instrumental: ina-kiri "(du.) to live off of."
- u'ma "to arrive," -tanmah "in vain:" uma-tanmah "to arrive in vain."
- f-rya "(long object) to stand," -sip(riv) "up": iyâ-sip(riv) "to stick up."
- f-řva "to pack": rvâ-sip(riv) "to pack up"; contrast f-řvâ-Tih "to be packing."

331.2. i- a- u- are normally shortened in the first members of compounds.

- f-s "flesh, body," yav "good": f-yav "having a good body."
- axvâh "head," xu-s "smooth": axvâh-xu-s "bald-headed."
- f-řvedane-n "world," f-špan "end": f-śvedane-s-śpan "end of the world."

This shortening does not apply, however, to vowels of the morphophonemic type designated as "double-long," often arising from contraction (321), and written with a colon, rather than a single dot for the length marker.

- f-hin:ü "old man," xuš:ë-:a-n "person who takes care."
- pihni-ç-xus:ë-:a-n "nurse for an old man."
- apxanti:ç "white man," pú-fiç "deer."

The last two examples seem to involve apocope as regards the segmental phonemes: the accentuation, however, is indicative of contraction.
37. Certain derivational suffixes condition vowel shortening in stems preceding them:

\[ ?u-tiha-hi-(va) \text{ "flint mark (a basket design)".} \]

But although a double-long vowel is retained in one prepounding, it is shortened when a second prepounding occurs:

\[ ?'in "falls," pi-t "new": ?'in-pi-t "new falls (a place name)." \]

But \[ ?'inpi+t + e'd-f "creek" > ?'inpft-θu-f "Sandy Bar-Creek." \]

331.3. Certain derivational suffixes condition vowel shortening in stems preceding them:

\[ ?u-tiha-hi-(va) \text{ "imitation": } ?u-tiha-hi-(va) \]

\[ ya:s?£rA "rich (person)," ?avansa "man": ya:s?£rA-?avansa \text{ "rich man."} \]

But 9i*npi*t + etf-f "creek" > ?inprt-θu-f "Sandy Bar-Creek."

332. Some suffixes are said to condition POTENTIAL LENGTHENING; this means that they condition vowel-lengthening in the final syllable of certain stems preceding them. In order for a stem to undergo this lengthening, it must 1) end in a consonant and 2) be of the class known as MOVING-ACCENT stems. This class, defined in detail in 381, consists (roughly speaking) of those stems which do not contain the sequence \[ \text{VCV}. \] Thus all of the following stems may receive lengthening:

\[ ?av "to eat," -Tih Durative: ?'am-tih "to be eating." \]

\[ ikfuk "to crawl," -furuk "indoors": ikfúk-furuk "to crawl indoors." \]

\[ ikrívrüh "to roll," -rupu "downriver": ikrívrú-h-rupu "to roll downriver." \]

\[ ikré-myah "to blow," -ro'vú "upriver": ikré-myá-h-ro'vu "to blow upriver." \]

By contrast, note the following stems: the first three end in vowels, and the others contain \[ \text{VCV}. \]

\[ pata "to eat acorn soup," -Tih Durative: páta-Tih "to be eating acorn soup." \]

\[ iôyuru. "to pull": iôyuru-Tih "to be pulling." \]

\[ ikšú-pku "to point at": ikšú-pku-Tih "to be pointing at." \]

\[ ?ápìv "to look for": ?ápim-tih "to be looking for." \]

\[ ?árip "to cut a strip": ?árip-tih "to be cutting a strip." \]

One other qualification must be made: When a suffix begins with a vowel, then potential lengthening affects only stems which end in geminable consonants. Thus lengthening occurs in the following examples:

\[ ?ax "to bite": ?u-?a-x-at "he bit him," ?a-x-i "bite him!" \]

\[ ikvip "to run": ?ú-kvi-p-at "he ran," ikvi-p-i "run!" \]

It does not occur in the following:
iktif "to hit (with a thrown object)": ū-ktir-at "he hit him."
iktā "to laugh": ikštā "laugh!"

333. Length in consonants—i.e., gemination—is always secondarily conditioned, since no morpheme has a geminate in its basic form. Allo­morphs containing geminates occur, however, being phonologically con­ditioned in the presence of juncture (391.1, 391.2) and morphologically conditioned in the cases now to be described.

Basically, the rule is that the initials of monosyllabic stems are subject to gemination—that is, of course, when they are geminable conso­nants and are in intervocalic position, by virtue of following a vowel-final prefix, prefix, or prepound. There are, however, several extensions to the applicability of this rule, so that the types of stems showing initial gemination may be listed as follows:

1) Monosyllables, as in the following:
   mu- "his," tā-t "mother": mu-tta*t "his mother."
   ūamva- "salmon," má'n "skin": ūamvā-mmān "salmon skin."
   imxa8a "odor," -kē-m "bad": imxa8a-kkē-m "bad-smelling."
   ūu- "he," mah "to see," paθ "to throw": ūu-mmah "he sees,"
   ūu-ppaθ "he throws."

2) Dissyllables containing the sequence VCV, where C is r h:
   mu- "his," sārā "bread," xāviš "arrowwood": mu-ssāra "his bread,”
   mu-xxāviš "his arrowwood."
   ūu- "she," pāriš "to heat cooking stones": ūu-pāriš "she heats cooking stones."

3) Dissyllables ending in VCa:
   mu- "his," pō-ra "pants": mu-ppō-ra "his pants."
   ūu- "it," kē-na "to tremble": ūu-kkē-na "it trembles."

4) Suffixed derivatives of the above types of stems:
   mu- "his," kē-m-īša "poison": mu-kkē-miša "his poison."
   ūu- "he," máh-avrik "to see coming": ūu-mmāhavrik "he sees (it) coming."
   ūu- "he," pā-čuru (< *pā-θ-suru) "to throw away": ūu-ppā-čuru "he throws (it) away."
   ūu- "he," xūrihi (< xūri- not occurring elsewhere) "to be hungry":
   ūu-xxūrihi "he is hungry."

5) Derivatives in which p- Iterative has replaced the initial ū of a monosyllabic stem:
   ūu- "he," pē-čuru (< *pē-θ-suru, < *ē-θ-suru) "to take away":
   ūu-ppē-čuru "he takes away."

6) Stem-initial gemination does not apply, however, to ū.
mu- "his," čá-s "younger brother": mú-ča-s "his younger brother."

ʔu- "he," či-vrúPuk "to peek outdoors" (< čiv- "to peek"): ʔu-či-vrúPuk "he peeks outdoors."

7) Stem-initial gemination is also suspended in compounds, in all stems except the one occurring last:

pa= "the," sa-mváro- "creek" (< sačv- "to flow"): pa=ssa-mváro- "the creek." But with sa-mvaró-tti-m "creek-edge": pa=sa-mvaró-tti-m "the creek-edge."

ʔasa "rock," xu-s "smooth": ʔasá-xu-s "rubber." But ʔasáxxu-s + kutráhara "coat." > ʔasaxus-kútrahara "raincoat."

8) Some stems, though obviously based historically on a monosyllable, show a descriptive wavering between monomorphemic and polymorphemic status. Thus from kó-hi "to finish," we find both ʔu-kkó-hi and ʔu-kó-ki "he finishes"; the first form reflects an analysis into ko- "all" and -hi Denominative, while the second treats kó-ki as a single morpheme.

334. When two identical consonants are brought together by morphological processes, reduction to a single consonant occurs. The resulting "link," a consonant belonging to more than one morpheme, may be especially marked by the placing of a hyphen over it.

kah- "upriver," hih "language": káhih "the Shasta language." tí-v "ear," váráriha "hanging": tíváráriha "hound."


vó-f "to crawl," -ruPuk "outdoors": *vó-ň-n-rupuk > *vó-ň-nupuk > vó-ňupuk "to crawl outdoors."


341. r becomes n after a nasal.

ikxáram "night, darkness," -ri- "place": ikxárám-ri- "dark place."

ið¿árá-n "stranger": ið¿aráñi- "among strangers."

ʔáv "to eat," -ra-m "place": *ʔam-ra-m > *ʔam-na-m "hotel."

342. Verb themes ending in the morphophonemes written as ʔ and ʕ have preconsonantal allomorphs in which these are replaced by m and n respectively. Before vowels or juncture, ʔ and ʕ become v and r respectively.

ʔáv "to eat," -Tih Durative: ʔá-m-tih "to be eating." But with -at Past tense: -ʔáv-at "ate."
vuř "to flow": vuř-n-tih "to be flowing." But with -unih "downhill": vuř-unih "to flow downhill."

Υ thus contrasts with the unchanging v in themes like the following:
va8iv "to fight": va8i-v-tih "to be fighting."

Attention may also be drawn at this point to the change of both v and Υ to m, and of both r and ξ to n, in two other situations. One is in stems followed by {-iër} Diminutive and a few other suffixes; these are lexically conditioned changes and will be described in the discussion of {-iër} (628.9). The other is in imperative forms, e.g., ?av "to eat," ?am "eat!" This change is considered to be an allomorph of the imperative suffix (531), rather than a manifestation of morpheme alternation.

In some cases, m and n preceding a vowel are denasalized to v and r respectively. This change is evidently no longer operative in Karok, being preserved only in certain petrified derivatives.

tiš-ti-ra-m "Scott Valley," -ara "pertaining to": tiš-ráv-ara "Scott Valley Shasta Indian."
xu-n "acorn soup," -ara "resembling": xúr-ara "thick (of liquid)."
ápma-n "mouth," axvuh "fuzz": ápmar-áxvuh "whiskers."
But with ikrixúpxupa "burning, stinging": ápman-ikrixúpxupa "pepper."
θyuru "to drag," -mu "to": θyúru-vu "to drag to."
θá-θva "to be afraid," -maθ Causative: θa-θvá-vaθ "to scare."

Theme-final modifications.

The morphophonemically basic forms of themes end in both consonants and vowels. When a final consonant occurs, it is relatively stable; when a final vowel occurs, however, it may be subject to loss or change of quality. Which of these two changes occurs is determinable from the phonemic and morphemic environment.

Theme-final long vowels are preserved in all positions.

ʔáho- "to walk": prejunctural ʔáho-; preconsonantal ʔahó- kiri "to walk on."
ʔi-hvúna: "(pl.) to dance" (verb) and "brush dance" (noun): prejunctural ʔi-hvúna-; preconsonantal ʔi-hvúna- Tih "(pl.) to be dancing."

352. Final a of noun themes, preceded by a consonant cluster, is preserved in all positions.

ʔávansa "man": prejunctural ʔávansa-; preconsonantal ʔavansa-kka- "big man."
MORPHOPHONEMICS

353. Final a_i_u of verb themes, preceded by a consonant cluster or by a single h, are lost before suffixes which begin with vowels.

?ákunva "to hunt," -i Imperative: ?ákunv-i "hunt!"
kúhi "to be sick," -a_n Agentive: kuh-a_n "sickly (person)."
?í:pmu "to go back," -i Imperative: ?í:pm-i "go back!"

Before juncture, these finals all appear as a.

kúhi "to be sick": kúha.
?í:pmu "to go back": ?í:pma.

Before most suffixes which begin with consonants, these finals are preserved in their basic form. The only exception is that final va is changed to vu before -Tih Durative and, in most idiolects, before -na Plural.

?í:hyá "(long object) to stand," -sip(riv) "up": ihyá-sip(riv) "to stick up."
inhi- "to tie," -tunva "together": inhí-tunv-a "to tie together."
?í:nkú "to burn (intr.)," -maθ Causative: ?í:nkú-vaθ "to burn (tr.)."


354. Final a_i_u of verb themes, preceded by a single consonant (except h), are usually lost before juncture and before suffixes (but not themes) beginning in vowels. The same is true of final a of noun themes, preceded by any single consonant. Elsewhere all these finals are preserved without change. This is illustrated in the following table:

---

6 Noun themes with final i and ü remain unchanged in all positions. These constitute adverbs such as hári "sometimes," káru "also."
## Basic form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form before consonant</th>
<th>Form before vowel-initial theme</th>
<th>Form before vowel-initial suffix</th>
<th>Form before juncture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ipata &quot;doe&quot;</td>
<td>?ipata-ké-vrir-k &quot;old doe&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>?ipat#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axi-ča &quot;child&quot;</td>
<td>axičá-tta-y &quot;many children&quot;</td>
<td>axič-ivre-m &quot;child-house, i.e., womb&quot;</td>
<td>axič#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iżyura &quot;auto&quot;</td>
<td>iżyuryá-kka-m &quot;big auto&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>iżyura# (cf. iżyuru &quot;to haul,&quot; below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikrivkía &quot;six&quot;</td>
<td>ikrivkía-ka-n &quot;in six places&quot;</td>
<td>ikrivkíh-ič &quot;just six&quot;</td>
<td>ikrivkíh#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuha &quot;tooth&quot;</td>
<td>vuha-pi9xáhara &quot;toothbrush&quot;</td>
<td>vuhe-efira &quot;toothache&quot;</td>
<td>vuhe#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patá-Tih &quot;to eat&quot;</td>
<td>pat-af &quot;to go eat acorn soup&quot;</td>
<td>mat &quot;to be eating acorn soup&quot;</td>
<td>pat#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikrivkiř &quot;to sit on&quot;</td>
<td>ikrivkiři-Tih &quot;to be sitting on&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>ikrivkir#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifyuku &quot;to wander&quot;</td>
<td>ifyuku-Tih &quot;to be wandering&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>ifyuk#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iżyuru &quot;to haul&quot;</td>
<td>iżyuru-Tih &quot;to be hauling&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>iżyur#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Forms with final vowel

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Form before consonant</th>
<th>Form before vowel-initial theme</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>?asa  &quot;rock&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>axičá-tta-y &quot;many children&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ará-rama &quot;Indian&quot;</td>
<td>?ará-rama-tta-y &quot;many Indians&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iżyura &quot;auto&quot;</td>
<td>iżyuryá-kka-m &quot;big auto&quot;</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ikrivkiři-Tih &quot;to be sitting on&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifyuku &quot;to wander&quot;</td>
<td>ifyuku-Tih &quot;to be wandering&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iżyuru &quot;to haul&quot;</td>
<td>iżyuru-Tih &quot;to be hauling&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Forms without final vowel

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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iżyuru &quot;to haul&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two types of exception to the above rule may be noted here. The first type consists of irregular loss of final \( a \) in noun themes, when used as the first part of compounds. This seems to be associated with idiolectal difference, but in a few cases forms lacking \( a \) have become accepted by all speakers.

\[
\text{tįšra-}\text{ma} \text{ "clearing": tįšra-}\text{má-}\text{-ʔa-čip "middle of a clearing (a place name)," but tįšrám-}\text{ka-}\text{m "big clearing (a place name)."}
\]
\[
\text{taxyė-}\text{ma} \text{ "yard": taxyė-}\text{má-}\text{-kka-}\text{m "big yard (a place name),"}
\]
but taxyė-\text{má-}\text{m "behind the yard (a place name)."}

The other type of exception consists of the preservation of final \( a \) in all positions; this is found only in a certain fixed group of nouns. These nouns are considered to end in a special morphophoneme, which will be written with the capital letter \( A \).

\[
\text{ʔá-}\text{má} \text{ "salmon": prejunctural ʔá-}\text{ma}.\]
\[
\text{ʔá-}\text{vahá} \text{ "food": prejunctural ʔá-}\text{vaha}.\]
\[
\text{xá-}\text{rA} \text{ "long": prejunctural xá-}\text{ra}.\]
\[
yišA \text{ "one": prejunctural yiš-}\text{a; with the vowel-initial suffix}
\]
\[-\text{ič Diminutive, yiš-}\text{ič > yiče-č "single."}
\]

Still other exceptions are associated with particular morphemes; see -kániš (621.13), =má-k (833.6).

355. Sporadic occurrences of apocope are noted, in which theme-final \( ahA \) is reduced in rapid speech to \( A \). This occurs in all positions.

\[
\text{ʔišahA} \text{ "water" > ʔišA.}
\]
\[
\text{ʔišahé-}\text{-kta-}\text{mnam }\text{"water-bucket" > ʔišé-}\text{-kta-}\text{mnam.}
\]

360. Suffix allomorphs.

361. Suffixes which begin in \( a \) undergo the following modifications:

After \( A \), an \( h \) occurs before the \( a \) of the suffix.

\[
\text{ʔá-}\text{má} \text{ "salmon," -ak Locative: ʔá-}\text{má-}\text{hak "in salmon,"}
\]
\[
\text{ʔaxváhA} \text{ "pitch," -ara "characterized by": ʔaxváha-}\text{hara }
\]
"pitchy."

After other short vowels, and after all consonants, the basic form of the suffix, with initial \( a \), occurs.

\[
\text{ʔá-}\text{kunva }\text{"to hunt," -at Past tense: -ʔá-}\text{kunv-at "hunted."}
\]
\[
\text{ikrivkiri }\text{"to sit on": -ikrivkí-}\text{r-at "sat on."}
\]
\[
\text{ʔa-}\text{k }\text{"to strike": -}\text{ʔa-k-at "struck."}
\]
\[
\text{ʔa-}\text{s }\text{"water," -ak Locative: ʔa-}\text{s-ak "in water."}
\]
After long vowels, the initial \( a \) of the suffix is lost.

\[
\text{ʔáho- }\text{"to walk," -at Past tense: -ʔáho-}\text{-t "walked."}
\]

7 Basic \( arA \) of themes is replaced with \( arah \) by some speakers; thus I recorded both
\[
\text{ʔasa-}\text{xará-}\text{-tu-}\text{yšip and ʔasa-}\text{xaráh-}\text{-tu-}\text{yšip "long-rock mountain (a place name)."}
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Agháva- "hollow tree," -ak Locative: Agháva-k."in a hollow tree."

362. An occurrence of vowel harmony is found in some derivative suffixes, having an initial vowel which may be symbolized as $0$. After a vowel, $0$ has the value of zero. Following a consonant, however, $0$ is a short vowel which takes its quality from the vowel of the syllable preceding it. Thus, after a syllable containing $i(-)$, $a(-)$, or $u(-)$, $0$ will have the form of $i$, $a$, and $u$ respectively. After a syllable containing $e$ or $o$, $0$ has the forms $i$ and $u$ respectively.

Agháv-a "to take (people)," -08una "around": Agháv-08áuna "to take (people) around."

Taknih "to roll": Taknih-08una "to roll around."

Aghé-0 "to take": Aghé-08una "to take around."

Paš "to throw": Paš-08una "to throw around."

Vó-ë "to crawl," -0vra8 "into a sweatlouse": Vó-ë-uvra8 "to crawl into a sweatlouse."

Ikhúk "to crawl": Ikhúk-08una "to crawl around."

370. Treatment of inadmissible sequences.

Karok has few restrictions on occurrent sequences of phonemes, and few of the changes described above operate to avoid nonoccurrent sequences. The two changes described below are, then—along with the change of $r$ to $n$ before a nasal (341)—the only ones which serve this function of avoidance.

371. Since, for the most part, /$\theta$/ and /$s$/ are in complementary distribution, with /$\theta$/ occurring only after front vowels and /$s$/; while /$s$/ occurs in all other environments (192), alternation between the two phonemes is a frequent concomitant of morphological processes. Thus $\theta > s$ when following a mid or back vowel:

- $\mu$- "his," Ŭpuka "money": Mú-spuka "his money."

- $u$- "he," Iškak "to jump": Ú-skak "he jumps."

On the other hand, $s > \theta$ after a front vowel:

- ?årip "to cut a strip," -suru "off": ?årip-šuru "to cut a strip off."

Pahíp "pepperwood," Súrük "under": Pahíp-šúruk, "under the pepperwood (a place name)."

However, in two types of combination the expected change may fail to occur. One type is reduplication:

- Tásíš "to brush": Tasín-síš "to brush repeatedly" (instead of *Tasín-síš.)
The other type is the combination of noun with possessive prefixes. Here idiolectal difference is found:

- nani- "my," sáRA "bread": nani-śárA "my bread" for conservative speakers, but nani-ssárA for others.

372. The sequence of ə followed by a is replaced by the link ŋ;
apaə6 "to throw," -suru "away": pą-čuru "to throw away."

373. ?ákivə "to handle a soft mass," -sip(riv) "up": ?ákivip(riv) "to pick up a soft mass."

380. Accentuation.

Various accentual patterns occur incidental to morphological processes. The accentuation in any stem-affix combination (leaving compounds aside for the time being) may be considered the result of two factors: the phonemic and morphophonemic structure of the stem, and the morphophonemic type of the affix.

381. Two stem-types will be distinguished: FIXED-ACCENT and MOVING-ACCENT stems. On the simplest level, fixed-accent stems are those containing circumflex accent, as in pā-viə "bag," or the sequence VCV, as in ə̀hup "wood," ə̀pəh "bone." Moving-accent stems, on the other hand, comprise all others, such as ikriv "to sit," ikrīvkira "chair," ə̀mə "salmon." To these definitions, however, the following exceptions must be made:

381.1. In some stems, the circumflex accent phoneme does not determine fixed accent. It is then considered to be of a morphophonemic type called UNSTABLE, written by placing the accent mark after the vowel instead of over it. Stems containing this morphophoneme are of the moving-accent type; e.g. -


381.2. In some stems, the phonemic sequence /srV/ does not determine fixed accent. This appears to be due to the tendency of such sequences to act like long vowels (333). Stems in which this behavior occurs are written morphophonemically with a capital R. Thus ?a-Ramsip(riv) "to start out" acts like a moving-accent stem in ?aramsi-priv-tih "to be starting out."

With this may be contrasted the phonemically identical but morphophonemically distinct stem ?áramsip(riv) "to begin to weave with three strands"; this is a fixed-accent stem, as shown in ?áramsi-priv-tih "to be beginning to weave with three strands."

381.3. The presence of a morpheme boundary in the sequence əVCV may cause a stem to have moving, rather than fixed accent. Thus if C is a geminable consonant, then əVCV determines a moving-accent stem:
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υια-κιρι ("δυ.) to live off of." - Tih Durative: υιακιρι-Τιθ
"(δυ.) to be living off of."

If C is a link (334), then ΨΓΥ likewise determines moving accent:
υυανακιρι "to cut up with" (< *υυανακιρικιρι): υυανακιρι-Τιθ "to be cutting up with."

But ΨΓ-Υ determines fixed accent:
νουσικιρι-Τιθ "to be seizing." If, on the other hand, C is a nongeminable consonant (symbolized ζ), then either Ψ-Γ or Ψ-Ψ determines moving accent:
υιυακλακερι "to cut up with" (< *υιυακλακερικιρι): υιυακλακερι-Τιθ "to be cutting up with."

But VC-V determines fixed accent:
νουσικιρι-Τιθ "to seize": νουσικιρι-Τιθ "to be seizing."

382. Suffixes (the word is here used to include postfixes) may be morphophonemically classed according to the accentual changes which they condition accordingly, when the suffixes are discussed individually, the accentuation type characteristic of each will be stated: The types found are as follows:

382.1. ZERO accentuation, as applied to polysyllabic stems, means that the stem has the same accent which it would have before juncture within a sentence. The same applies to monosyllables with circumflex accent. Other monosyllables, however, receive acute accent, regardless of their prejunctural form.

 incarceration: ma? "uphill," -ninay "around": ma?-ninay "in the mountain country."

382.2. PROGRESSIVE accentuation does not affect fixed-accent stems, which retain their original accent. It affects moving-accent stems in the following ways:

1) In stems which contain a basic acute accent, this accent shifts to the next following syllable.

υα+αμα "salmon," -ak Locative: υα+αμα-κ "in salmon."
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*i*eva "to pack," -sip(riv) "up": *i*evá-sip(riv) "to pack up."

*ik*rivkiiri "to sit on," -at Past tense: *-ik*rivkír-at "sat on."

?u?i-hya "it stands," -irak "where": ?u?i-hy=frak "where it stands."

*ik*rivhuTiíh "to be fishing," -an Participial: *ik*rivhuTiíh-an "one who is fishing."

But if this would cause the accent to fall on the final syllable of the combination, or on the antepenult of a combination ending in VCV, then no shift occurs.

*i*vxi-phi "to be angry," -at Past tense: *-ixvi-ph-at "was angry."

uh9a-mhi "to plant," -ara Instrumental: uh9á-mh-ara "to plant by means of."

2) In stems which are basically unaccented, acute accent falls on the last stem-syllable.

*vik* "to weave," -pa0 "around": *v*ík-pa0 "to weave around."

*inh*i- "to tie," -tunva "together": *inh*i-tunva "to tie together."

*i*óva*y "chest," -ak Locative: *i*óvá-y-ak "in (one's) chest."

But in stems ending with VCV, the acute accent falls on the stem's penult, rather than on its ultima.

*pata* "to eat acorn soup," -rip "out": *páta-rip* "to eat remnants of food."

*ivrara* "(pl.) to fall," -suru "off": *ivrára-suru* "(pt.) to fall off."

382.3 MODIFIED PROGRESSIVE accentuation operates the same as the progressive type, but affects only stems which are themselves unaccented, or are based on unaccented stems. Thus *ikpak* "to cut," is subject to modified progressive accentuation, because it is basically unaccented; *ik*pak*-suru "to cut off" and *kun-*ikpak "they cut" are similarly subject to this kind of accentuation. In contrast, stems like *?i*eva "to pack," which has an inherent accent, or *kun-*ixvi-phi "they are angry," which shows a regressive accent shift as compared with ixvi-phi "to be angry," will not be affected by modified progressive accentuation. The following are instances where modified progressive accentuation does operate:

*ik*riv "to live," *pu=*ara "not": *pu=ikriv=ara > pu=ikriv=ara "he doesn't live."

*iphi*ki*rih*-tih "to be sweating oneself" (< *iphi*ki*rih, presumably < *iphi*-, not occurring elsewhere): *pu=iphi*ki*rihtih=ara "he's not sweating himself."

*ik*čú*n*-tih "to be grinding" (< *ik*čuf), -ap "they (neg.)": *pu=ikčú*n*tih=ap "they aren't grinding."

ni-?i*pmu* "I go back" (< ?i*pmu), -avíS Future tense:
"ni?i?pm-e viš > ni?i?pm-e "I will go back."
"kun-ištuk "they pluck" (< ištuk), -eš Future tense: kuništuk=-eš "they will pluck."

382.4. SPECIAL PROGRESSIVE accentuation has the same effects as progressive accentuation in many cases. Thus the accentuation in the following examples is the same as it would be under the normal progressive type:

vik "to weave," -Tih Durative: vik-tih "to be weaving."
fuhiš "to believe": fuhiš-tih "to be believing."
ikrívkíri "to sit on": ikrívkíri-Tih "to be sitting on."
?u*mu "to arrive": ?u*mu-Tih "to be arriving."
ču*phi "to speak": ču*phi-Tih "to be speaking."
?i*mnih "to love": i*mnih-tih "to be loving."
víkpa8 "to weave around": víkpa8-tih "to be weaving around."

All stems of the form CV'(C)∞(C), such as those shown in the above examples, are subject to special progressive accentuation. Many other stems containing long vowels, however, are not subject. E.g.—

?a’mvúna "(pl.) to eat": ?a’mvúna-Tih "(pl.) to be eating."
ičú*pu "to point at": ičú*pu-Tih "to be pointing at."
?uθə’a-námnih "he puts it in," —anik Ancient tense: ?uθə’a-námnih—anik "he once put it in."

One group of stems with long vowels, however, does react to special progressive accentuation. This group is composed of stems which have a special morphophonemic type of accent, called UNSTABLE ACUTE accent; such stems are written with the accent mark after the vowel symbol, instead of over it. Such an accent, when shifted, retains its unstable character, and on long vowels changes to an unstable circumflex accent (381.1).

?a’víkva "to carry": ?avi’kvur-Tih "to be carrying."
iýva’yko "to pour on (pl.)": iývayko-Tih "to be pouring on (pl.)."
ta’pku-pu "to like": tapku’p-Tih "to be liking."
i’pu*nu "to rest": ipu*nu-Tih "to be resting."
?a’punmu "to know": a’punmu-Tih "to be knowing."
?a’Ramsip(riv) "to start out": a’Ramsipriv-Tih "to be starting out."
?upišunva’va-na "he buries himself": ?upišunvava=anik "he once buried himself."

382.5. PRESUFFIXAL accentuation means that the syllable preceding the suffix receives acute accent. This occurs both in fixed and moving accent stems.

tákiri "to leach," -a’n Agentive: takír-a’n "leacher."
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?árih "elder brother," -ič Diminutive: ?a-níh-ič "elder brother (fam.)."

However, when any monosyllabic stem is combined with a monosyllabic suffix, presuffixal accentuation produces an accentless result. This holds true also for dissyllabic stems which lose a final vowel.

vik "to weave," -a:n Agentive: vik-a:n "weaver."
čí:phi "to talk": čuph-a:n "talkative (person)."
kó:khi "to win": ko:kh-a:n "winner."

382.6. **SUFFIXAL** accentuation means simply that accent falls on the suffix; in dissyllabic suffixes, it is always the first syllable which is accented. Suffixal accentuation is indicated by including the accent mark in the writing of the suffix, as in the following examples:

vúxič "to saw," bé:p "refuse left over from . . . -ing": vuxič-é:p "sawdust."

383. Accentuation in prefixation and compounding.

In prefixation and compounding, accentuation is commonly of a type which will be called **RECESSIVE**, because it characteristically involves a shift to a preceding syllable. Whether or not the shift takes this form is determined by morphemic and morphophonemic considerations, and especially by the phonemic shape of the second of the two elements involved—the stem, in the case of prefixation, or the second of two stems, in the case of compounding.

In the most general type of accent shift, acute accent comes to rest upon the syllable preceding the last-occurring long vowel. If no long vowel is present, the accent falls on the penult—or, when the compound ends in VCa, on the antepenult. Examples in prefixation:

mu- "his," pá:h "boat": mú-ppa:h "his boat."
pá:h "peppernut": mú-ppa:h "his peppernut."
vá: san "enemy": mú-vá: san "his enemy."
sipnú:kiθ "money basket": mú-sipnú:kiθ "his money basket."
apma:n "mouth": mú-pma:n "his mouth."
pikšip "shadow": mú-pikšip "his shadow."

Examples in compounding:

With tá:y "many": puíč-tä:y "many deer."

?arára "person," pikšip "shadow": ?arara-pikšip "a person's shadow."
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símsí mâ "metal," tasa "fence": símsím-tasa "wire fence.

táhup "wood," amva-n "eater": táhup-támvñ- "woodworm.


However, when the second element involved contains a circumflex accent, this accent is preserved.

mu- "his," axvâ-h "head": mu-axvâ-h "his head.

?ará-ra "person": ?ará-xvâ-h "a person's head.

When the sequence ÊRY occurs in a second element (381.2), it acts like a long vowel, so that accent recedes to the syllable preceding it.

i8a- "one," ikxâRam "night": i8e-xkaram "one night.

mu- "his," -?áRamah "child": mu-?aramah "his child.

There is, however, considerable variation in the appearance of R. Thus certain directional terms have the forms káRuk "upriver," yúRuk "downriver," máRuk "uphill," saRuk "downhill," and íoyáRuk "across river" when they are in compounds; but with the possessive prefixes they are simply kárük, yürük, márük, sárük, íoyárük.

kišáke-vra- "Hupa," káRuk "upriver": kišáke-vrá-kkaruk "upriver from Hoopa." But with mu- "his": mu-kkárük "upriver from him.

Accent shifts varying from those described above are found accompanying the personal prefixes of verbs. These shifts will be described in the section of this grammar which deals specifically with those morphemes (525).

390. Alternations involving juncture.

One criterion defining the word in Karok is that one set of morphophonemic alternations operates within the word—namely, those described above—whereas a somewhat different set operates when juncture is present. The latter set is described in the following paragraphs.

391. The most important changes to be described are those which are conditioned by juncture, preceding and/or following a sequence of morphemes. These changes determine the form which such a sequence will have as a word—the form which is basic in subsequent inter-word sandhi.

9 The same effect is preserved when the addition of the diminutive suffix causes R to become n: nam-?anamah-ác "my little one.

10 The related derivative súruk "under" never has R: thus ?axyamaurip-áruk "under the azalea (a place name)."

11 One other stem has especially anomalous treatment: it is ya:sárá "rich (person), chief" in older compounds (e.g., xóviv-ya:sáará "bird-chief, i.e., a bird sp." but ya:sárá in modern formations (e.g., ?arara-ya:sáará "Indian chief, i.e., the Bureau of Indian Affairs.")
Two types of juncturally conditioned changes have already been described: the addition of initial ʔ (311), and the behavior of theme-final vowels (350). Still other changes involve consonants and accents; they are as follows:

391.1. When any morpheme sequence comes to stand between junctures, single geminable consonants in it are doubled after short accented vowels.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔšahA} & > \#\text{ʔš}ə\text{hə} \ 	ext{"water."} \\
\text{ʔuʔšik} & > \#\text{ʔuʔʃik} \ 	ext{"he picks it up."} \\
\text{ʔás-ara} & > \#\text{ʔáʃ-s-} \ 	ext{"wet."} \\
\text{ʔuvá-ssip(əv)} & > \#\text{ʔuvá-ss}ip(əv) \ 	ext{"he packs up."}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that when ʔ becomes n under the influence of the diminutive suffix (621.9), the resulting n is, unlike ʔ, subject to gemination.

ʔárus "seed basket": ʔánma-ʔič > #ʔánnus-ıč # "thimble."

Exempt from posttonic gemination, however, are the following:

1) Consonants following pa= "the." The initial of a monosyllabic stem will show gemination in this position, by virtue of the rule given in 333, 12 but the initial of a disyllable is unchanged.

\[
\text{tayi-8 "brodiaea": #pà=tayi-θ# "the brodiaea."
\]

2) Certain consonants of suffixes. The occurrence of these consonants is unpredictable on a phonemic basis, so that they must be recognized as special morphophonemes. They will be marked by capitalizing, as in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čú-phi} & \ "to speak," -Tih Durative: \ #?u-čú-phi-θtih# \ "he is speaking." \\
\text{faθ} & "to wade," -riPa- "ashore": \ #?u-ffaθ-riPA# \ "he wades ashore." \\
\text{ʔa-s} & "water," -kíPač "characterized by": \ #ʔa-s-kípač# \ "wet."
\end{align*}
\]

3) Consonants of certain themes known or suspected to be loans.

These will also be written morphophonemically with capitals.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔáPus} & > \#\text{ʔá}pus# \ "apple(s)." \\
\text{čtíKin} & > \#čtíkin# \ "chicken." \\
\text{táKus} & > \#tákus# \ "pelican" (< Yurok). \\
\text{súKux} & > \#súkux# (a woman's name) (< Shasta?)
\end{align*}
\]

4) ʔ, when occurring next to a morpheme boundary (cf. 333) or as a mutation of ʔ within a morpheme (621.9).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pač} & "to throw," -iš(rih) "down": \ #?u-ppáč-iš(rih)# \ "he throws it down." \\
\text{mu} & "his," čás "younger brother": \ #mú-čás# \ "his younger brother."
\end{align*}
\]

12 With one exception, described in 612(1).
yî8A "one." -i£ Diminutive: yîče-č > #yîče-č# "single."
But otherwise _ within morphemes is subject to gemination, as well as _
serving as a link (372).

?áčak-ič > #?áčak-ič# "puppy."
?u-táčak > #?utáčak# "he clips it."
?ákîp(riv) "to pick up a soft mass," -na Plural Action:
#?ákîp(riv)-prin# "to pick up soft masses."

391.2. When the sequence (C)V(CV(-)C comes to stand between juncture,
medial geminable C becomes doubled.

ima-n > #?ima-n# "tomorrow."
ikuka > *#?ikuk# > #?ikkuk# "log."

ikô-ra > *#?ikô-ra# > #?ikkô-ra# "pipe bowl."

vik "to weave," -a-n Agentive: vik-a-n > #vikk-a-n# "weaver."

391.3. When h precedes a juncture which is non-pausal, i.e., in sentence-
medial position, then the h is lost. Before pause, however, it is retained.
muváših > #muváših# "his back" (contrast pre-pausal #muváš-

391.4. The following accentual changes occur before non-pausal juncture:
Words which are basically unaccented, whether they are monosyl-
lables or dissyllables, with short or long vowels, receive acute accent on
their last syllable.

?a? > #?a?# "up."
akva-t > #akva-t# "raccoon."

ipit > #?ippit# "yesterday" (contrast prepausal #?ippit).

pa-h > #pa-h# "peppernut" (contrast prepausal #pa-h).

Monosyllables with basic acute accent (all of which have long
vowels) lost this accent.

?á-n > #?a-n# "string."

Dissyllables of the shape (C)VCCV(C) usually, but not invariably,
show a shift of the acute accent to the second syllable:

ákvi-s > #?ákvi-s# or #?ákvi-s# "wildcat" (prepausal #?ákvi-s).

391.5. Any monosyllable with basic acute accent loses that accent when
two conditions are fulfilled: (1) it is preceded by a non-pausal juncture,
and (2) no accented word occurs between it and pause. This change, together with the one described in the foregoing section, means that such monosyllables preserve their basic accent only when both preceded and followed by pause.

\[ \textit{?à·m "it, they," tá·y "many"; vúra ?u·m·ta·y.} \]

13 "there are lots of them."

392. One change occurs only after pausal juncture: in this position, forms beginning with unaccented \(VCC\) have optional alternants lacking their initial vowel. Thus \(\text{išpuka} \) "money" may be pronounced postpausally as \(\#\text{išpuk}\) (otherwise \(\#\text{išpuk}\)), and \(\text{akvà·t} \) "raccoon" as \(\#\text{kvà·t}\) (otherwise \(\#\text{kvà·t}\)). The existence of such pronunciations has considerable effect on the statement of phoneme distribution within syllables (160).

393. When a word ending in a vowel is followed by a word beginning with a glottal stop + a vowel, then the glottal stop of the second word is lost in rapid speech. One of three types of vowel change then occurs:

393.1. When the final of the first word is \(\text{i}\) or \(\text{u}\), it is lost.

\[ \text{ká·n ká·rì ùháyàrih - ká·n ká·rì uhyárih "he still stands there."} \]

\[ \text{ká·n ká·rì ùháa·mìnì·hìtìh - ká·n ká·rì uhàa·mhìnì·hìtìh "it is also cultivated."} \]

393.2. When the final of the first word is \(\text{o·}\) and the initial of the second is \(\text{u}\), then the \(\text{u}\) is lost.

\[ \text{kò· ùxáyà·kì - kò· xáyà·kì "that much will fill it."} \]

\[ \text{muhrò· ùmìmìh - muhrò· mmìh "he saw his wife."} \]

393.3. When the final of the first word is \(\text{a}\) and the initial of the second is unaccented, then the \(\text{a}\) is lost. But when the initial of the second is accented, then either \(\text{a}\) or \(\text{a·}\) of the first word enters into contraction with it, according to the usual internal sandhi rules (323).

\[ \text{vúra ?u·m tà·y - vúr u·m tà·y "there's a lot."} \]

\[ \text{?u·m vúra ?u·áho·tìh - ?u·m vúr u·áho·tìh "he's walking."} \]

\[ \text{pà·vànsa ùmmìh - pà·vànsa umìh "he sees the men."} \]

But: \[ \text{pà·vànsa ?úkì - pà·vànsà ·kì · "a man lives."} \]

\[ \text{vúra ?úksù·ptìh - vúrò ·ksù·ptìh "he's pointing."} \]

\[ \text{tà ?íp ?u·áho·t - tè ·p ?u·áho·t "he has already come."} \]

\[ \text{và· ùmùssahìtíh - vo ·mùssahìtíh "he looks like that."} \]

\[ ^{13}\text{Here and subsequently, sequences of two or more Karok words should be understood to be preceded and followed by juncture, though the junctures are not explicitly indicated. In other words, such sequences are written phonemically, rather than morphophonemically.} \]
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?uxr?·?úmka-nvutih — ?uxró·mka-nvutih "she's gathering berries."\(^{14}\)

394. Of the three varieties of morphophonemic gemination, the post-tonic and word-medial types (391.1, 391.2) do not operate between separate words. The lack of posttonic gemination is shown in the following example:

- tah Perfective, ni?av "I eat": t?á ni?av "I have eaten" (instead of *tá nni?av).

But the type of gemination which affects stem-initials (333) operates across juncture as well as internally.

- vára "just," tá:y "lots": vára ttá:y "There's just lots."
- tah "already," kék:è "big": tá kkek:è "It's big already."
- vára "just," xúr?hi "to get hungry": pu?kára vára xuxúr?hi-tih-ara "Just nobody is hungry."

The sequence pu?kára in the last example above illustrates another fact: although stem-initial gemination takes place on both the intra- and inter-word levels, it does not occur after the negative pu?.

395. The same reductions of geminate consonants that apply in internal sandhi (334) also apply between words.

- yáv "good," vára "just": yá vára "Just fine!"

In this process, the sequence t#k is reduced to k:

- hú·t"how?", č?mí Anticipative: hú· č?mí niníš?é·s "What (lit. how) shall I do with it?".

396. Oral sonorants become nasal when followed by # plus their corresponding nasals; i.e., v?m > m?m and r?n > n?n. The resulting geminates are exempt from degemination.

- ?u?thá-nív "he lies" (> ?u?thá·niv?), muppi·mač "next to him": ?u?thá-nim muppi·mač "He lies next to him."

---

\(^{14}\) The vowels resulting from inter-word contraction will, as here, be written with a space between the vowel symbol and the length mark. It may be considered in these cases that the juncture phoneme occurs simultaneously with the vowel. The necessity for this analysis may be shown by a consideration of some of the examples. Thus pávansó·kri· cannot be considered a single word, since then the syllable ván would be medial pretonic, and so, according to the allophonic structure which has been defined in terms of juncture (163), would be expected to have high pitch—which it does not. On the other hand, ?uxr?·mka-nvutih cannot be divided into two words in the normal manner. If it were divided as *uxr?·mka-nvutih, the "word" uxr? would be expected to have strong stress, which it does not. If it were divided as *uxró·mka-nvutih, the syllable ka-n would be expected to have strong stress—which it does not. The solution for both utterances is to consider juncture as coterminous with the vowel produced by the contraction.
virusura "bear" (virusur#), nikúni'huu "I shoot": vírusun
nikúnni'hke's "I'll shoot a bear."

397. When pause-final, the normal circumflex accent changes to acute.
?é·m "doctor": ?i·m úm ?é·m. "Are you a doctor?"
payók "here": yáxxa payó·k. "Look here!"

However, the morphophoneme known as "double" circumflex accent, written
with a tilde (325), does not undergo this change:
tu?aramsf p "he came from": hō·y tu?aramsf·p. "Where did he
come from?"
Karok noun themes are of several classes: general nouns, personal nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The distinctions between these classes, however, are evident principally in derivation and in syntactic use (see 600). They are of only slight relevance in inflection, which is of small extent as it affects Karok nouns, consisting entirely of prefixation to show possessor. By contrast, derivation from nouns is almost entirely suffixal.

The overwhelming majority of noun themes are capable of standing alone as noun forms, without any inflectional affix; the commonest exceptions are -ʔáRamah "child" and -tunvi-ν "children" (as kinship terms), which, outside of derivative formations, occur only with possessive prefixes.

The possessive prefixes consist of six personal and three impersonal morphemes. All these prefixes condition normal recessive accentuation (383).

410. The six personal possessive prefixes are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Possessive Prefix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nani- -nini- &quot;my&quot;</td>
<td>naní-tta-t &quot;my mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi- &quot;your (sg.)&quot;</td>
<td>míf-tta-t &quot;thy mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu- &quot;his, her&quot;</td>
<td>mú-tta-t &quot;his mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanu- -nunu- &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>nanú-tta-t &quot;our mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikun- &quot;your (pl.)&quot;</td>
<td>mikún-ta-t &quot;your mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukun- &quot;their&quot;</td>
<td>mukún-ta-t &quot;their mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second alternants of the morphemes for "my" and "our" are used in rapid speech.

The personal possessives often occur after the articular prefix; thus we find either mú-tta-t or pa=mútta-t-"his mother." The difference in meaning between such pairs has not been determined.

When preceding adverbs, the possessive prefixes are often best translated with English "to" or "from":

pf=mač "in proximity, near": nani-pf=mač "in my proximity, near (to) me."

---

1mikun- and mukun- are obviously analyzable into mi- "thy" and mu- "his" respectively, plus an element -kun- Plural. With these morphemes may be compared ʔí-m "thou," ʔ上司 "he," and the -kun of ʔí-mkun "you," ʔ上司-mkun "they." Cf. also kun- "they," a verbal prefix.

[56]
káruk "upriver": nani-kkáruk "upriver from me."

Only rarely are these prefixes found with nonpersonal reference:

ípit "yesterday": ʔípít mú-ppit-kam "yesterday its-yesterday-side, i.e., day before yesterday."

420. The impersonal possessive prefix va- has two functions. In the first function va- is translatable as "its" and has possessive reference to an antecedent noun of the adverb class.

hih "language": vá-hih "its language," in ʔó-k váhih "here its-language, i.e., the Karok language."

ʔíripÍra-m "mine": va-ʔíripÍra-m "its mine," in plʔé:p vaʔíripÍra-m "long-ago its-mine, i.e., an old mine."

ápsu-n "snake": vá-ápsu-n "its snake," in ʔa-s vá-ápsu-n "water its-snake, i.e., a garter snake."

In its second use, va- is added to deverbative nouns in {-a} (761). It then marks these as the objects of certain verb forms expressing emotions; for the details, see 843.

430. The impersonal possessive prefix kuma- has, in part, the same meaning as does va- in its first function.

ʔíripÍ "floor": kuma-ʔíripÍ "its-floor," in ʔáʔ kumaʔíripÍ "above its-floor, i.e., upstairs."

ikÍám "night": kumé-ikÍám "its night," in hitíha- kumé-ikÍám "always its-night, i.e., every night."

mahʔtíňhač "early morning": kuma-mahʔtíňhač "its early morning," in ʔíbá-ń kuma-mahʔtíňhač "once its-early-morning, i.e., early one morning."

This prefix is also used without any expressed antecedent. When it is added to a noun under such conditions, it expresses the meanings "some ... or other," "kind of ...," or "more ...:"

ʔíripÍ "creek": kumá-ʔíripÍ "some creek or other."

píripÍ "plant": kuma-píripÍ "kind of plant," in koʔúra kuma-píripÍ "all kinds of plant."

xáráh "long time": kumá-xaráh "longer."

But when used without antecedent before certain adverbs, kuma- is replaced by the allomorph ku-. The adverbs involved are kañ- "upriver," yǘ-"downriver," mă- "uphill," sā-"downhill," and mú- "therewith."

yú- "downriver": ku-yú- "downriver-a ways, on downriver."

Cf. panámni- kuma-yú- "Orleans its-downriver, i.e., downriver from Orleans."
510. Inflectional apparatus.

An inflected verb form may be divided into three parts, the most basic of which is the verb theme. Generally preceding this is the PERSONAL MORPHEME; indicating the subject, and in many cases also the object, of the verb. Such a morpheme is present in all verb forms except participial constructions (532); however, it is represented in some instances by a zero morph. Furthermore, some personal morphs contain both prefixal and suffixal elements, or a suffixal element alone, so that the personal morpheme may not be the first element of the word in all cases. The third component, which may or may not be present, occurs after the theme and is one of the class of verbal suffixes, forming imperative, past tense, and participial constructions.

The question then arises: What is the immediate-constituent structure of the verb form? Which is more basic, the combination of personal morpheme and verb theme, or the combination of verb theme and verbal suffix?

The problem may be resolved on this basis: One analysis permits application of regular morphophonemic rules, while the other does not. Thus, if nuppa-xke "we won" is analyzed as nuppa-xkiv "we win" + -at Past tense, it becomes difficult to explain why progressive accent shift does not operate, producing *nuppa-xke-t. But the analysis as nu- "we" + -pa-xkë-t "won" is found to be in conformity with the rule established from other cases (523.3). Hence we recognize the following tactical order: (1) verbal suffix is added to theme; (2) personal morpheme is added to the resulting combination.

520. Personal morphemes.

Every verb form contains one, but never more than one, of a series of personal morphemes, which distinguish first, second, and third persons, singular vs. plural number, and indicative vs. imperative mood. These morphemes are for the most part prefixal; several of their allomorphs, however, have discontinuous shapes involving both prefixal and suffixal elements, and still other allomorphs consist of suffixes alone. The indicative morphemes have positive and negative allomorphs, the distribution of which will be described below.

Verb themes may be divided into the following four classes, depending on their possibilities of occurrence with the various personal morphemes:
ACTIVE themes are those which occur only with ?u- "he(—it)." These themes designate actions of inanimate objects, as in ?u-?i-hya "(a tree) stands."

PERSONAL themes are those which occur only with those ten personal morphemes which indicate third person singular object. These themes designate actions which may be performed by animate beings, but which do not have other animate beings as objects of the action, as in ni-krav "I grind (it)," nu-?i-na "we live," ?u-?u-ma "he arrives."

TRANSPERSONAL themes are those which occur with the full total of sixteen personal morphemes, indicating subjects and objects in all persons and numbers. They designate actions which may be performed by animate beings with other animate beings as objects, as in ná-mmah "he sees me," nu-?i-mnih "I love you."

STATIVE themes compose a group which occur with the same personal morphemes as do personal themes, but which have an optional alternative to the combination with ni- "I(—it)." This alternative consists of a transpersonal construction using ná- "it—me." On the syntactic level, this construction may be accompanied by the pronoun ?u-m "it," providing an explicit third person singular subject. Thus we find either ni-xxúrhi "I'm hungry," or na-xxúrhi, with the same meaning, but perhaps more literally translatable as "it hungers me." Themes of this class-usually designate states, rather than actions, of animate beings.

Transpersonal themes admit of a special passive construction, formed with the personal morphemes which indicate third person plural subject and third person singular or plural object. E.g.—

kun- "they—him," mah "to see": kun-mah, meaning "they see him" in some cases, but "he is seen" in others.

kin- "they—them": kin-mah "they see them" or "they are seen."

The formal distinctness of the passive construction is shown by the fact that it may be used in a sentence where the performer of the action is clearly singular: pamutat-?í'n kunmah "by-his-mother he-is-seen, i.e., his mother sees him."

1 Personal morphemes are glossed with English subject and object pronouns, separated by a dash. A diagonal line may be read as 'or'; e.g., "I/we" = "I or we." "He" and "him" are generally used for all third person reference, as abbreviations for "he/she/it" and "him/her/it" respectively. "Thou" and "thee" are used to indicate second person singular subject and object respectively; "ye" and "you" are used similarly in the plural. Translation of third person singular objects may be parenthesized or omitted when dealing with intransitive verbs, where they are semantically nonsignificant; thus ?u- is glossed as "he—him," "he(-him)," or simply "he."

2 The special passive construction cannot be considered as conditioned by the presence of ?í'n Agentive, since this morpheme also occurs with non-passive transpersonal forms; see 833.1.
The personal morphemes will now be listed. The positive and negative allomorphs of the indicative morphemes are given in that order, separated by the symbol - . Where separate imperative forms are not given, they are identical with the positive allomorph of the indicative.

- **ni- - ná-**
  - **indicative:** 1 sg. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "I—him/then.
  - **imperative:**

- **kán-**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 2/3 sg. subj., 1 sg. obj.: "thou/he—me.

- **ná- (pos. and neg.)**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 2/3 sg. subj., 1 sg. obj.: "ye/they—me.

- **kaná- ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 2/3 pl. subj., 1 sg. obj.: "we/they—us.

- **mu- - kín-**
  - **indicative:** 1 pl. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: 1 sg./pl. subj., 2 sg. obj.: "we—him/then, I—we—thee.
  - **imperative:**

- **kín- ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 2/3 sg./pl. subj., 1 pl. obj.: "thou/ye/he/they—us.

- **?i- - ?i-**
  - **indicative:** 2 sg. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "thou—him/then.
  - **imperative:**

- **?i- ap - ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 3 sg./pl. subj., 2 sg. obj.: "he/they—thou.

- **ku- - ap**
  - **indicative:** 2 pl. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "ye—he/then.
  - **imperative:**

- **ki-(k)- ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 1/3 sg./pl. subj., 2 pl. obj.: "I/we—he/you.

- **ki-(k)- ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 1/3 sg./pl. subj., 2 pl. obj.: "I/we—he/you.

- **?u- - ?i-**
  - **indicative:** 3 sg. subj., 3 sg. obj.: "he—him.
  - **imperative:**

- **?u- - ap**
  - **indicative:** 3 sg. subj., 3 pl. obj.: "he—them.
  - **imperative:**

- **kám-**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 3 sg. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "he—him.

- **kun- - ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 3 pl. subj., 3 sg. obj.: "they—him.

- **kín- - kín- ap**
  - **indicative and imperative:** 3 pl. subj., 3 pl. obj.: "they—they.

The following paragraphs supplement the information above:

521. The writing **ki-(k)-** indicates an allomorphic alternation: **ki-(k)-** occurs with vowel-initial themes, while **ki-k-** occurs elsewhere.

- **ki-(k)-** "ye," ivyúhuk "(pl.) to come": ki- -vyúhuk "you-all come.
- **ki-(k)-** "ye," ?išunva "to hide": ki-k- -šunva "you-all hide."
522. The element -ap, occurring in several personal morphemes, appears after the theme in the third class-position of inflectional suffixes. For details, see 533.

523. The imperative personal morphemes have no negative allomorphs; in effect, there is no negative imperative form. A construction of negative imperative meaning can, of course, be formed; this is done on the syntactic level, by the combination of the adverb xáyfa-t "don't" with an indicative verb form. In regard to the occurrence of the imperative personal morphemes, it should be noted that they always occur in conjunction with an imperative inflectional suffix {-i}, which duplicates the imperative meaning. Whether an indicative or an imperative prefix will occur in a given form can, then, be predicted from the presence or absence of {-i}; e.g., when {-i} is present, kán- is always found instead of ni-. Conversely, the presence or absence of {-i} is often predictable from the personal prefix; e.g., when the prefix is kán-, the stem will always contain {-i}. But neither of these predictabilities is complete, on the basis of overt forms. For example, when {-i} appears in a zero allomorph, as it always does after long vowels, then there is no overt sign from which to predict the prefix: from ?áho- "to walk," both ni-?áho- "I walk" and kan-?áho- slot "let me walk!" are formed. Similarly, the prefix ná- serves as both indicative and imperative, so that when this prefix occurs, the presence of {-i} is not predictable; from ?é-h "to give," both na-?é-h "he gives me" and na-?é-h-i "give me!" are formed. For these reasons, the imperative personal morphemes and the imperative suffix are both assigned morphemic status.

524. The negative allomorphs of the indicative personal suffixes are conditioned by the presence of {puz-..ara} "not." At the same time, the choice of personal morpheme conditions varying forms of the postfix {-ara}. This element appears in the fourth class-position of inflectional suffixes; for details, see 845.6.

525. The accent marks over and after certain prefixal elements are morphophonemic signs, indicating that these elements condition special types of accentuation. The shifts involved are special cases of the recessive accentuation applicable in other instances of prefixation (383).

If the stem to which a prefixal element is added has acute accent of the fixed type (381), no accent-shift occurs.

kun- "they," káríhi "to be ready": kun-káríhi "they are ready."

?ápaho- "to return": kun-?ápaho- "they return."

In other cases, however, the following rules apply:

525.1. If both the stem and the prefix of a verb form are unaccented and monosyllabic, then the combination will be unaccented:
Certain prefixes, however, may be morphophonemically considered as
ACCENTED, and are written with acute accent over their vowel. When
these are added to unaccented monosyllabic stems, the combination is
accented on the prefix:

ná- "he—me," mah "to see": ná-mmah "he sees me."

On the other hand, when any prefix is added to a disyllabic unaccented
stem, acute accent falls on the penult:

?u- "he," kun- "they," imniš "to cook": ?u-mniš "he cooks,"
ku-n-imnis "they cook."

When a zero allomorph of a personal prefix is added, it has no effect on
accent:

iktiri "to hit (with a thrown object)" : Q-iktin "hit it!"

525.2. If the stem is monosyllabic and accented, the basic accent is
preserved.

ni- "I,", ?a-t "was afraid of": ni- ?a-t "I was afraid of him."

525.3. If the stem is polysyllabic and accented, several types of accent
shift are possible, as follows:

If a stem has an acute-accented long vowel in some syllable other
than the first, then acute accent will fall on the syllable preceding the last-
occurring long vowel. This is the same as the general rule for recessive
accentuation (383).

?u- "he," kun- "they," imniš-thih "to be cooking": ?u-mniš-thih
"he's cooking," kun-imniš-thih "they're cooking."

ipmahó-nko-na "to feel": ?u-pmahó-nko-na "he feels," kun-
ipmahó-nko-na "they feel."

If a stem has an acute-accented long vowel in its first syllable,
there are two possibilities: (1) If an accented prefix (525.1) is added,
acute accent will fall on that prefix. (2) If any other prefix is added, the
basic stem-accent will be preserved.

ná- "he—me," ?a-xhi "to bleed" (stative): ná- ?a-xhi "I bleed."

But with ?u- "he," kun- "they": ?u- ?a-xhi "he bleeds,"
kun- ?a-xhi "they bleed."

If a stem has an unaccented long vowel in its first syllable, there
are again two possibilities: (1) If one of a class of prefixes, called POST-
ACCENTED prefixes, is added, then acute accent will fall on the syllable
preceding the originally accented one. These prefixes are written morpho-
phonemically with an acute accent over the hyphen which follows them. 3

3 Some of these prefixes also belong to the accented class; where desired, these may
be written with two accent marks, e.g., ná- "I—thee," representing ná- - nu-.
INFLECTION: THE VERB

(2) If any other prefix is added, then the basic stem-accent is preserved,

kun- "they," ču-phiTih "to be talking": kun-ču-phiTih "they're talking." But with ?u- "he": ?u-ču-phiTih "he's talking."

nu- "I—thee," ?i-mnihti "to love (dur.):" nu-?i-mnihti "I love you." But with ni- "I—him": ni-?i-mnihti "I love him."

nu- "we," -pa-xké-t "won": nu-ppá-xké-t "we won." But with ni- "I": ni-ppá-xké-t "I won."

If a stem contains an unstable circumflex or acute accent (381.1, 382.4) in a syllable other than the first, it undergoes the same shifts described in the preceding paragraph.

kun- "they," ipu'nvuTih "to be resting": kun-ipu'nvuTih "they're resting." But with ?u- "he": ?u-pu'nvuTih "he's resting."

nu- "I—thee," tapku-puTih "to like (dur.):" nu-tapku-puTih "I like you." But with ni- "I—him": ni-tapku-puTih "I like him."

kun- "they," ?avi'kvuTih "to be carrying": kun-?avi'kvuTih "they are carrying." But with ?u- "he": ?u-?avi'kvuTih "he is carrying."

It may be noted that prefixal elements in the negative allomorphs of the personal morphemes are never post-accented when they occur with the suffixal element -ap. So we find pairs like the following:

ki-k-..-ap "I—you" (pos.), tapku-puTih "to like (dur.):" ki-k-tapku-puTih-ap "I like you-all." But with ki-k-..-ap "I—you" (neg.): pu-ki-k-tapku-puTih-ap "I don't like you-all."

If a stem has no acute-accented or unaccented long vowels, and no unstable accents except in the first syllable, it preserves its basic accent after all prefixes.

kun- "they," pačnutúčnutu "to nibble": kun-pačnutúčnutu "they nibble."

ikya-tih "to be making": kun-ikya-tih "they're making."

ta'pku-p "to like": kun-tápku-p "they like."

526. The personal morphemes will now be re-presented, this time in tabular form:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
<th>2 sg.</th>
<th>3 pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>neg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 pl.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
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<td>3 sg.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
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<td>neg.</td>
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<td>2 pl.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
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<td>3 sg.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
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<td>neg.</td>
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<td>3 pl.:</td>
<td>indic.: pos.</td>
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<td>neg.</td>
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<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 pl.:</td>
<td>kán-</td>
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<td>nu-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 pl.:</td>
<td>ki-(k)</td>
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<td>ku-</td>
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<td>3 sg.:</td>
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<td>3 pl.:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
530. Verbal suffixes.

As has been stated before, the presence of some verbal suffix in a verb form is common, but not obligatory. When these suffixes occur, they fall into a series of positions after the theme, and may be classed according to these positions. The same positions, however, are occupied by two other types of element, namely, the element -ap (which is part of the personal morpheme system) and the group of syntactic postfixes. The members of each position-class are mutually exclusive within any given form. The classes are as follows:

The first class contains only one morpheme, the imperative suffix {-i}. It has the special distributional characteristic of never occurring in the same form with any other inflectional suffix or with any postfix.

The second class consists of the postfix (=aviS) Future Tense.

The third class consists of {-han} Participial and the suffixal element -ap.

The fourth class consists of {-at} Past Tense, plus the remainder of the postfixes, namely {-ah-e} Anterior Tense, {-anik} Ancient Tense, {-aha-k} "when," -irak "where," and {-ara}, a part of the negative morpheme.

It will be seen that priority of position-class does not coincide with priority of tactical combination. Thus, in the form mu?u*-me*-at "we would arrive," =e*-S Future precedes -at Past in position, but tactically it is added not to mu?u*-m "we arrive" but to mu?u*-m..-at "we arrived." A similar discontinuity of immediate constituents appears in the following examples:

(pu)v?iykaraphat "they did(n't) kill" < -iykar..-at "killed" + -ap "they" (neg.).

ikvithe*-an "one who will fall asleep" < ikvi-th..-an "one who falls asleep" + (=aviS) Future.

The following sections will deal only with the inflectional suffixes and with -ap: the postfixes are discussed in 822 and 823.

531. {-i} Imperative creates verb stems which occur only in combination with the imperative personal morphemes (523). The allomorph -i occurs with all stems except those ending in v, y, r, rV, and in long vowels. It conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening, with circumflex accent on vowels lengthened by the latter process.

p?istik "to pick up": p?istik-i "pick it up!"

kúhi "to be sick": kúh-i "be sick!"

ko-hímačva "to pity": ko-hímačv-i "pity him!"

iksah "to laugh": iksáh-i "laugh!"

?if "to grow": ?if-f-i "grow!"
ikvip "to run": ikvi-p-i "run!"
?asimčak "to close one's eyes": ?asimčá-k-i "close your eyes!"

In addition, moving accent themes which contain a penultimate long vowel receive acute accent on the syllable preceding that vowel. When the long vowel is in the first syllable, then the whole form becomes unaccented:

ikšu-pku "to point at": ikšu-pk-i "point at it!"

ikvithi "to fall asleep": ikvith-i "fall asleep!"

?umá "to arrive": ?um-i "arrive!"

kú-phi "to do": ku-ph-i "do it!"

An allomorph which may be symbolized by -N, standing for final nasalization, changes theme-final ñ and v to m, and theme-final ñ and rV to n. There is no change of accent or vowel length.

?añ "to eat": ?am "eat!"

ikyav "to make": ikyam "make it!"

?akunvač "to go hunting": ?akunvan "go hunting!"

ixrara "to weep": ixran "weep!"

čivča·ksuru "to open a door": čivča·ksun "open the door!"

A zero allomorph occurs after long vowels:

?aho "to walk": ?aho-ñ "walk!"

na- "to come": na-ñ "come!"

Zero imperatives are also sporadically formed from all types of themes: thus I have recorded pačiš "throw it down!" (instead of pačišrih-i), ne·krí·vkúティh "hang on (dur.) to me!" (instead of ne·krí·vkúティhi), and vu·paksuru (> vu·paksur#) "cut it off!" (instead of vu·paksun).

532. (-han) Participial, translatable as "that which ... -s, one who ... -s," is added to verb themes to form participles. These participles are free forms and do not occur with the personal morphemes, though they do occur with other suffixes. (-han) conditions progressive accentuation.

The allomorph -han occurs after occlusives:

ikněč "to live (dimin.):); ikněč-han "one who lives," in

á ūikněč-han "one who lives above, i.e., the duck hawk."

The allomorph -an occurs elsewhere:

?ruhunih "to dance down": ?ruhunih-an "one who dances down."

?ú-hya "(long object) to stand": ?ú-hy-an "one which stands."
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Ikví-thi "to fall asleep"; ikví-th-an "one who falls asleep."

Adding \(=āvīš\) Future: \(\ast\)ikví-th\(ā\)vīš-an > ikví-thē\(ā\)san "one who will fall asleep."

In syntactic combinations containing the past-time markers \(?ip(a)\) and mit(a) (845.4, 845.5), \{-han\} has the discontinuous allomorph ku-...

\[ \text{ma-hvúTih "to be visiting": mit \(?ippit \=\?ē\)k pa-ku-ma-hvúTih-an "the one who was visiting here (\?ē\)k yesterday (\?ipit)."} \]

\[ \text{vúrayvuTih "to be walking around": pa-\(\≠\)pā \(\≠\)m ku-vúrayvuTih-an(-hat) "the one who was walking around outdoors (\(\≠\)m)."} \]

\[ \text{pimusar "to go back to look": pa-\(\≠\)pā ku-pimúsar-an-hat "he who went back to look."} \]

533. The suffixal element -\(ap\) is to a considerable extent a sub-morphemic element, comprising part, and occasionally all, of several personal morphs. It conditions modified progressive accentuation.

\[ \text{ikšú-ntih "to be grinding," -\(ap\) "they" (neg.): pu-ikšú-ntih-\(ap\) "they aren't grinding."} \]

\[ \text{ikví-thi "to fall asleep": pu=ikví-th-\(ap\) "they don't fall asleep."} \]

\[ \text{\(?āho\) "to walk": pu=\(?āho\)\(\≠\)p "they don't walk."} \]

\[ \text{-\(iykar\)-at "killed": pu=\(\≠\)iykar-\(\≠\)p-at "they didn't kill."} \]

534. {\{-at\}} Past Tense is the most general marker of past time. Its reference is made less or more remote from the present by the adverbs \(?ip(a)\) and mit(a) respectively (845.5). In narratives, where most verb forms lack a tense suffix, forms in {\{-at\}} often have pluperfect meaning:

\[ \text{yá-s tá kun?ifikkvanva máh?i-t. vírusur \(\≠\)m tá \(\≠\)p \(\≠\)ippakat. "They were just going to gather acorns (suffixless) in the morning. Bear had already come back (past)." (T40.12-13.)} \]

The allomorphs -\(hat\) and -\{at\} occur after elements of the second and third position-classes: -\{at\} is found after {\{-\(avi\)š\}} Future, -\(hat\) after {\{-han\}} Participial, and either -\{at\} or -\(hat\) after -\(ap\). These allomorphs condition modified progressive accentuation.

\[ \text{nu-\(\ne\)m-at "we arrived," {\{-\(avi\)š\}} Future: nu-\(\ne\)m-e-\(\=\) at "we would arrive."} \]

\[ \text{vúrayvuTih-an "one who is walking around," {\{-at\}} Past: ku-vúrayvuTih-an-hat "one who was walking around."} \]

\[ \text{kun-\(iykar\)-at "they killed," pu = "not": pu-\(\ne\)iykar-\(\ne\)p-hat or pu-\(\ne\)iykar-\(\ne\)p-at "they didn't kill."} \]

The allomorph -\{at\}, conditioning progressive accentuation and potential lengthening, occurs elsewhere:

\[ 6 \text{ The accent here is that conditioned by {\{-at\}} Past, not by -\(ap\).} \]
?á·ksuru "to fire (a weapon)": -ʔa·ksúr-at "fired."
ʔé·óh "to tell": -ʔé·óh-at "told."
ìkriv "to live": *-ìkrív-at > -ìkrë·t "lived."
ìkvip "to run": -ìkví·p-at "ran."
ìtmnus "to burst": -ìtnmú·s-at "burst."
ìxví·phi "to be angry": -ìxví·ph-at "was angry."
ʔáho· "to walk": -ʔáho·-t "walked."
Noun themes serve as the stems for a variety of derivative formations, the main grammatical processes involved being compounding and suffixation. The results of derivation from noun themes are themselves noun themes in most cases; only two affixes operate to produce verb themes.

The description of derivation from nouns raises certain problems regarding noun subclasses. It is found necessary to delimit these subclasses on the basis of syntactical, as well as morphological, data. The definitions which have been adopted are as follows:

An ADVERBIAL NOUN is one which, with or without inflectional prefixes, may act as an ADVERBIAL SATELLITE in the syntactic structure; this latter unit is defined in 845. Adverbial nouns are divided into ADJECTIVES and ADVERBS.

An ADJECTIVE is a noun which fulfills two conditions: (1) It occurs with {-sa| Plural, and (2) it occurs in compounds as second member only, except in certain cases where it may be either first or second member, interchangeably. Thus ʔůruh "round" is an adjective, appearing in the plural ʔůruh-sas "round things" and in compounds like ʔasa-ʔůruh "round rock." An adjective of the type which occurs either as first or second member of compounds is ʔa·xkúNiš "red," occurring in the plural ʔa·xkúNiš-asa and in the compounds ʔaxkúNiš-ʔikrivra·m and ikrivrám-ʔa·xkúNiš, both meaning "red house."

An ADVERB is an adverbial noun which never occurs with the plural suffix, and which has no particular limitation on its occurrence in compounds. An example is ikrivrám-m "house," occurring as first member of the compound ikrivrám-ta·y "many houses"and as second member of the compound ʔarare-ikrivra·m "Indian house." Semantically, adverbs indicate place, time, manner, and amount; samples are ʔóš-k "here," payé-m "now," ʔóšya·v "(in) winter," vá·h "thus," yuffáyí·pux "without salt," and the numerals, such as yíťa "one."

A NON-ADVERBIAL NOUN is one which may never act as base for an adverbial satellite. It may be either a PERSONAL NOUN or a GENERAL NOUN.

A PERSONAL NOUN is one which occurs with {-sas} Plural, but which has no particular limitation on its position in compounds. An example is
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?asiktá-vā·n "woman, female," occurring in the plural ?asiktá-vā·n-sas "women" and in the compounds ?asiktá-vá-n-ta-y "many women" and mus-mus-?asiktá-vā·n "cattle-female, i.e., a cow."

A GENERAL NOUN never occurs with the plural suffix; there is no particular limitation on its position in compounds. An example is ti-k "finger," occurring in the compounds ti-k-?anamahāc "little finger" and ?ačip-ti-k "middle finger." We may, however, distinguish the PRONOUN as a sub-type of general noun which is never compounded (cf. 833.1). An example is na- "I."

610. Compounding.

611. The first and second members of a compound will be called PRE-POUND and POSTPOUND, respectively. Two types of compound may be distinguished, SUBSTANTIVAL and ADJECTIVAL. The substantival type has a personal noun, general noun, or adverb as postpound. Semantically, the prepound is the attribute, and the postpound is the head; the combination is endocentric.

mah- "uphill," ?ára-ra "person": mah-?ára-ra "uphill-person, a type of giant."

axi-Sa "child," ikrivra-m "house": axiče-krivra-m "womb."

?á-čip "middle," ti-k "finger": ?ačip-ti-k "middle finger."

The adjectival compound has an adjective as postpound. In this case, the prepound is the head, and the postpound is the attribute; the combination may be either endocentric, or of the exocentric bahuvrihi type.

imniša "cooking," yav "good": imniša-yav, either "good cooking" or "one characterized by good cooking, i.e., a good cook."

ápuy-y "tail," -xárA "long": ápuy-xárA "long tail; long-tailed."

612. Occurrence in compounds is the criterion for distinguishing a special sub-class of nouns, cutting across the classes already distinguished. Those nouns which may occupy postpound position after the numerals are called CLASSIFIERS; they constitute a rather small group, all designating some unit of measure. The combination of numeral and classifier functions as an adverb of the determinative type (832). Examples of classifiers are ikxāRam "night" in ?axak-ikxaram "two nights" and ?átiva "basket-load" in kuyrak-?átiva "three basket-loads." Some nouns undergo a change of meaning when used as classifiers: thus áp-xa-n "hat" but išá-pxa-n "one hatful" (a common measure of acorns); similarly fsīh "foot, i.e., pedal extremity" but iša-fsīh "one foot, i.e., 12 inches."

613. A special morphophonemic change operates in several compounds
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in which the postpound is basically a long-voweled monosyllable with initial glottal stop. These show irregular loss of the glottal stop and shortening of the postpound's vowel. Such changes are now archaic and are observable only in a few petrified examples, most of which contain -?i-p "tree, bush." The full vowel of this morpheme is seen only in pah-i-p "pepperwood tree" (< pa-h "peppernut"); the ? is inferred from the apparently related theme ?pahA "tree."

pūn "cherry": pūr-ip "cherry tree." Similarly with ?á-f "excrement": pūr-af "oso berry, an inedible cherry-like fruit."

Contrast the combination with ?á-s "water": pūn-?a-s "cherry juice."

fá-θ "manzanita berry": fáθ-ip "manzanita bush."

axrát "gooseberry": axrát-ip "gooseberry bush."

xūn "acorn mush," ?â-s "water": xûr-às "acorn mush diluted with water."

614. There are certain common morphemes which have the tactical status of suffixes, but the morphophonemic characteristics of postpounds; these elements, which may be called PSEUDO-POSTPOUNDS, are listed alphabetically in the following paragraphs.

614.1. -ha-ra "including... and all" forms adverbs.

?âsip "basket": ?asíp-ha-ra "including the basket, basket and all."

yâfus "dress": yafús-ha-ra "with (her) dress and all."

614.2. -hi-č(va) "imitation, make-believe" has the form -hi-č in most idiolects, but -hi-čva in some; cf. the derivative suffix -i-čva "in play," added to verbs (754.6). Evidently containing -i-č Diminutive (621.9), it behaves like the diminutive suffix in conditioning change of r to n and of θ to ẓ before it.

- ?âRamah "child": ?anamáfi-čva "doll."

čiši-ḥ "dog": čišhi-č "a plant, Montia sibirica" (so called because children have mock "dog-fights" with it).

?a'ksâ-na "bad luck": ?aksaná-hi-č "a plant, the shooting-star" (reason for name not known).

614.3. -?išarA "how very...! what a...!": is added as a further postpound to adjectival compounds.

?amá-yav "good-tasting": ?amaya-?išarA "how delicious!"

?ifuniha-xxárA "a long hair": ?ifunihaxa-?išarA "what a long hair!"

614.4. -iši-p "best, most, farthest":

?ânav "medicine": ?ané-?i-p "best medicine."
yê:pša "good ones": ye:pšé~ši-p "best ones."

ikmaháčrá:m "sweathouse": ikmaháčram-šši-p "the sacred
sweathouse at Katimin."

?uθ "oceanwards (to or at) Eureka": ?uθ-šši-p "farthest
oceanwards, i.e. (to or at) San Francisco."

614.5. -?i- "for, because of" is used almost exclusively with the pos­sessive prefix kuma-; the result, kumá-?i-, is used in possessive phrases
(831) as the commonest way of expressing "because of . . ." Occasionally,
however, -?i- is added to noun themes, forming adverbs.

xu'n "acorn soup": xu'n-?i- "for acorn soup."
išpuka "money": išpuká-?i- "because of money!"

614.6. -múrax "nothing but . . .":

aškürit "grease": aškürit-múrax "nothing but grease."
furax "woodpecker scalps": furax-múrax "made entirely of
woodpecker scalps."

?avansa "man": ?avansa-mmúrax "exclusively men."

614.7. {-ri-} "place" forms adverbs which occur only as prepounds
and with the locative and diminutive suffixes. With locative -k, the allomorph
-ri- occurs; elsewhere, the allomorph is -rih-.

pahip "pepperwood": pahip-ri-k "pepperwood-place (a village
name)," but pahip-rih-?ára-ra "person from pahipri-k."
imfira "hot": imfirá-ri-k "hot place," but imfiná-nih-íč "little
hot place."

The sequence -nih-íč is sometimes contracted to -nić; thus imfinánić
"little hot place."

614.8. -tá:pas "extremely, most" is added to adjective stems. It may be
identified with the independent theme tápas "real;"

kà:*rim "bad": kà:*rim-tá:pas "worst."

614.9. -va-s is compounded with kinship terms in the meaning "with the
connecting relative dead;"

parah "father's brother": parah-va-s "brother of deceased
father."
mí-ba "father's sister": míba-s "sister of deceased father."
kà:tu "male grand-relative through a woman": kà:tu-s "father
of deceased mother, son of deceased daughter."

614.10. -ya-n "removed in kinship" occurs in a small number of com­pounds. It appears to have irregular allomorphs -piya-n and ip-...piya-n.

?ákah "father": ?ákah-ya-n "stepfather."

tá:ta "mother": ip-tá:ta-piya-n "stepmother."
?átiš "father's parent, son's child": ?atíš-píya-n "father's grandparent, son's grandchild."

614.11. -ya*n "times" occurs with numerals and a very few other nouns, forming adverbs. When the prebound ends in a vowel, contraction occurs.

*í8a- "one": *í8á-ya*n > í8a:n "once."
?áxak "two": ?axák-ya*n "twice."

kuyrá-k "three": kuyrák-ya*n "three times."
pi-ëva- "four": piëvá-:n "four times."
itro-pa "five": itro-pá-:n "five times."

ikrívkiha "six": ikrivkíhâ-:n "six times."
?itáhara- "ten": ?itahára-:n "ten times."
tá-y "many": táyá-:n "many times."

620. Derivative affixes.

621. Derivative suffixes forming nouns.

The suffixes which are added to noun themes in order to form new noun themes of greater complexity are discussed below, in alphabetical order.

621.1. {-ak} Locative is generally translatable as "in, on, at"; it forms adverbs. It is sometimes added to nouns which are already of the adverb class (though never following itself); in such cases it seems to be merely redundant, adding nothing to the meaning. The commonest allomorph, -ak, conditions progressive accentuation, but with a qualification: when a stem has three or more syllables, and the accented one is followed by a syllable with a long vowel, then no accent shift occurs.

ikrivra-m "house": ikrivra-m-ak "in a house."

?asimpu-kač "warm water": ?asimpu-kač-ak "in warm water."

Contrast the disyllable 8axtu-y "baby basket": 8axtu-y-ak "in a baby basket."

?á-mA "salmon": ?a-má-hak "in salmon."

?á-s "water": ?á-s-ak "in water."
?

?afiva "bottom": ?afiv-ak "at the bottom."

ikrivkira "chair": ikrivkír-ak "on a chair."

?ahvára- "hollow tree": ?ahvára-:k "in a hollow tree."

When {-ak} is combined with nouns ending in V-h, the h is lost, and the locative suffix has the form of -k. An exception, however, is pá-h-ak "in a boat."

?á-h "fire": ?á-:k "in fire."

axvá-h "head": axvá-:k "in (one's) head."

impa-h "road": impa-:k "on a road."

ápsi-h "leg": ápsi-:k "on (one's) leg."
The allomorph -kan occurs after all numerals, after some stems ending in k, and in a very few other cases. This allomorph conditions progressive accentuation when added to disyllables, but zero accentuation otherwise.

 yiθa "one": yiθa-kan "in one place."
 ʔáxak "two": ʔáxakan "in two places."
 kuyra-k "three": kuyrá-kan "in three places."
 ikrívkiha "six": ikrívkiha-kan "in six places."
 ?itáhara- "ten": ?itáhara-kan "in ten places."
 tí-k "hand": tí:kan "on (one's) hand."
 nása-kan "ankle": násakan "on (one's) ankle."
 išvírik "elbow": išviríkan "on (one's) elbow."
 sipnuk "storage basket": sipnú-kan (also sipnú-k-ak) "in a storage basket."

The other occurrences of -kan are imbedded in four compounds:

 "oceanward boat-tree, i.e., the redwood."
 ʔá-s "water": ʔá-s-kan- "in the water": ?askan-yupθúkirara
 "water panther, a legendary animal."
 yúras "ocean": yúras-kan- "at the ocean": yuraskan-ʔáčvi-v
 "ocean-bird, i.e., the seagull."
 tišra-m "valley": tišrá-m-kan- "in a valley": tišnamkan-
 vínusunač "little valley-bear, i.e., a type of skunk."

The theme-forming or derivational, rather than word-forming or inflectional, nature of {-ak} is shown by the fact that forms containing it occur as prepounds; this is demonstrated in the examples of -kan just above. In some cases a theme may be prepounded either with or without {-ak}:

 panamní-k "Orleans": panamnih-ʔifá-p or panamnik-ʔifá-p-ʔ t "girl from Orleans."

621.2. -ara usually has the meaning "characterized by . . . , having . . . " In a few cases the meaning is "connected with . . . , resembling . . . " It conditions progressive accentuation and shortening of long vowels in stems preceding it.

 ʔáx "blood": ʔáx-ara "bloody."
 áptí-k "branch": aptík-ara "branchy."
 axváha "pitch": axváha-ara "pitchy."
 ?ifunihaxára "long hair": ?ifunihaxára-ara "long-haired."
 čiših "horse": čiših-ara "on horseback."
 tišra-m "Scott Valley": tišráv-ara "Scott Valley Shasta."
 xu-n "acorn mush": xúr-ara "thick (of liquid)."
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A number of derivatives in -ara have been observed to form plurals, as adjectives would do; e.g.—

ámtap "dust": ámtáp-ara "dusty": ámtapar-asa "dusty ones, i.e., lupine plants."

However, they have also been found as prepounds, which is not normal for adjectives:

xáviš "arrowwood": xáviš-ara "full of arrowwood": xávišará-

θur-f "full-of-arrowwood creek, i.e., Ike’s Gulch."

On the whole, derivatives in -ara are rare both in plural formations and in compounds, so that the evidence is inadequate for judging whether they should be considered adjectives or not. They may originally have behaved like derivatives in -kûNiš (621.13).

621.3. -ávan Animate may be related, on the historical level, to ?ávan "husband" and ?avansa "man." It is added to the numerals (except yîθa "one"), forming adverbs of the determinative type (832), used when animate beings are counted. It conditions zero accentuation with acute-accented stems; otherwise it has suffixal accentuation.

?áxak "two": ?áxak-avan "two (an.)"

kuyrám "three": kuyrám-ávan "three (an.)"
pí-thvá- "four": pi-thv-ávan "four (an.)"
itró-pa "five": itró-p-ávan "five (an.)"
irkívkihá "six": irkívkih-avan "six (an.)"

621.4.-?axyara "-ful" is a suffixal form of the noun ?axyara "full." It forms determinative adverbs (832), conditioning zero accentuation.

ápxa-n "hat": ápxa-n-?axyara "hatful."

uhrá-m "pipe": uhrá-m-?axyara "pipeful."

621.5. -han "month" is added to the numerals from one to ten to form names for most of the Karok months, conditioning zero accentuation. With most numerals having a final vowel, irregular contraction occurs, with loss of h. But after yîθa "one" and ñitáhara- "ten," there is no contraction, and the final vowel of yîθa is irregularly lengthened.

yîθA "one": yîθa-ñ-han "first month (after the winter solstice)."

?áxak "two": ?áxak-han "second month."
pí-thv- "four": *pi-thvá-han > pi-thvá-n "fourth month."

itró-pa "five": *itró-pa-han > itro-pa:n "fifth month."

ñitáhara- "ten": ñitáhara-han "tenth month."

621.6. -hinva "toward" occurs in a small number of derivatives, conditioning zero accentuation:

?a? "up": ?a?-hinva "high."
ma? "uphill": má?-hinva or má?-hinva (a place name).
sáru?k "downhill": sáru?-hinva (a place name).

621.7. {(-hi-pux)} "without, . . . -less" forms adverbs, conditioning shortening of long vowels and presuffixal accentuation. The allomorph -hi-pux occurs after stems ending in A:

ihrô-ha? "wife": ihrô-há-hi-pux "without a wife."
The allomorph -i-pux occurs after polysyllabic stems whose last vowel is short:

?ávan "husband": ?avár-i-pux "without a husband."
yúfiš "salt": yu?fiš-i-pux "without salt."
?ípîh "bone": ?ípîh-i-pux "boneless."
?ú-čič "(woman's) breast": ?účič-i-pux "flat-chested."
The allomorph -ipux occurs after monosyllabic stems, and after all stems whose last vowel is long:
vuh "tooth": vúh-ipux "toothless."
tík "hand": tík-ipux "handless."
xús "mind": xús-ipux "thoughtless."
axi-ča "child": axi-ča-ipux "childless."
axrâ-n "hoof": axrâ-r-ipux "hoofless."
?atáyra-m "star": ?atáyra-m-ipux "starless."

621.8. -hiruvA "too, excessively" conditions suffixal accentuation with moving-accent stems, but zero accentuation with fixed-accent stems.
tá-y "much": ta-y-hiruvA "too much."
îpîn-kinâč "short": îpîn-kinâč-hiruvA "too short."
?umuyâ-č "rather round": ?umuyâ-č-hiruvA "too round."

This suffix may be identified with the verbal derivative suffix -iruv (754.8).

A slightly different form of this suffix, namely -hirurav, is used by some informants:
tá-y "much": ta-y-hirurav "too much."

621.9. {(-ič)} Diminutive has a meaning ranging from "small, little" through "quite, rather, somewhat" (with adjectives) and "only" (with numerals) to a mere connotation of familiarity with or affectionate feeling for the item-designated. E.g.:
i?âri-p "fir tree": i?âri-p-ič "small fir."
yú?A "one": yú?e-č "only one."
kévni-k "old woman": kévni-k-ič "old woman" (with connotation of familiarity).
pihne-f- (as preound) "coyote": pihne-f-ič (free form) "coyote."

Special extensions of these meanings also occur:

ʔáruš "seed basket": ʔámuš-ič "thimble."
pihri-v "widower": pihni-č "old man."
tfrih "wide": tinih-ič "flat."

The diminutive suffix usually conditions progressive accentuation. Some forms, however, occur with presuffixal accentuation; others occur with zero accentuation; and still others receive a circumflex accent which is not accounted for by any accentuation rule. Such irregular derivatives must be specially noted in the lexicon.

ké-čxav "widow": *ke-čxav-ač > ke-čxav-č "widow (fam.)." (progressive accentuation).

ye-ripáxvuh "girl": ye-nipaxvuh-č "little girl." (progressive accentuation).

ʔárih "elder brother": ʔa-nih-ič "elder brother (fam.)." (presuffixal accentuation).

xakinívkač "seven": xakinívkuč-č "just seven." (zero accentuation).

čuy "slender": čuy-č "narrow." (irregular accentuation).

A special characteristic of derivatives in {-ič} is that, in the stem, every occurrence of r changes to n and every occurrence of θ changes to c.

Examples of these changes have appeared above; others are as follows:

kuyrakinívkač "eight": kuynakinívkuč-č "only eight."
súruvara "hole": súnuvan-č "little hole."
θámka-t "an herb, Monardella odoratissima": čamká-č-č "little Monardella."

Furthermore, when any derivative containing {-ič} is used as a postpound, the preound normally suffers change of r to n and θ to c too. However, forms lacking these changes, particularly that of θ to c, have also been recorded.

ʔafišnihan "unmarried man," pihni-č "old man": ʔafišnihan-pihnič "bachelor." But aktipanárA "a grass, Bromus rigidus," -tunvč-č "small (pl.).": aktipanara-tunvč-č "grass sp."
fač-č "manzanita berry": fač-tunvč-č or fače-tunvč-č "little manzanita berries."

-ič also occurs in many animal names, such as pú-fič "deer," which retain the -ič in preound form: pu-fič-tay "many deer." It would be possible to consider pú-fič and like words as single morphemes, with the sequence ič merely accidentally similar to the diminutive suffix. However, the occurrence of ič in such large numbers of animal names makes it seem more likely that the diminutive morpheme is present.
Analogous to the shift of r to n, a shift of v to m is sometimes found, but is so rare that it must be considered an irregularity. Other irregularities involve lengthening and shortening of stem vowels when {-i£} is present:

- yav "good": yâ:m-a£ "pretty." A more regular formation, -yâ:-č, functions as an intensive derivative suffix (621.20).
- tâ:t "mother": tât-a£ "mamma."

The allomorphs of {-i£} are -i£, -a£, and -č. Of these, -i£ is the commonest, and regularly occurs after most nouns; for examples, see above. -a£, however, is used rather irregularly after stems ending in a, and sporadically with other stems.

- impuka "warm": -impú:k-a£ "warmish."
- ikšúpara "pointer": ikšúpan-a£ "index finger."
- ?aRamah "child": -?anamah-a£ "little."
- tunviv "children": *-tunví:v-a£ > -tunvê:č "little (pl.)"
- yâ:čakan "at one place": yâ:čakan-a£ or yâ:čakan-i£ "at just one place."

The allomorph -č is added to a small number of stems:

- ?ipan "end": ?ipan-č:č "(the) very end" (also ?ipan-i£ "top").
- ?afiva "bottom": ?afiv-č:č "(the) very bottom."
- yâ:čakan "daughter": ya-čakan-č:č (a woman's name).

An unusual distributional characteristic of {-i£} is that it occasionally occurs in sequence with itself. This occurs when a derivative in {-i£}, because of semantic specialization and/or phonological irregularity, comes to be regarded as a single morpheme; another {-i£} may then be added to it.

- pihri-v "widower": pihni-č:č "old man": pihni:č-i£ "old man (fam.)."
- yav "good": yâ:m-a£ "pretty": yâ:mač-i£ "rather pretty."

The diminutive suffix of verbs, -a£ (758), may be identified as an allomorph of {-i£}; it is treated separately, however, owing to the difference in function.

621.10. -č Diminutive has the same meaning as {-i£}, but is morphemically differentiated from it because of the distributional fact that -č and {-i£} regularly occur together, in that order. -č conditions the same stem changes which are associated with {-i£}. It is found principally in the combination of adjective + -i£ + -i£, in which the pair of suffixes express the meaning "more, rather."

Cases like this, in which a meaning difference seems to be associated with contrast between -i£ and -č, are obviously grounds for considering the two suffixes to be separate morphemes. These cases are rare, however, that such an analysis has not been made.
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tá-y "many": *tá-y-iš-ič > tē-šič "several."
-ka-m "big": *ká-v-iš-ič > kē-šič "bigger."
vā-ram "long": vā-nam-iš-ič "rather long."

Otherwise, -iš occurs in only a few derivatives, such as the following:
kač "son": kā-č-iš "sonny."
nâm "in-law": nām-iš "in-law (fam.)."
?išra-m "deer lick": ?išráv-iš "marshy place."
?ū-h "tobacco": ?ūh-iš "seed."
xu'n "acorn soup": xūr-iš "shelled acorns."

We may also compare the form ?uč-iš "milk" with ?ū-č-ič "(woman's) breast"; the stem ?u(-)č- does not occur elsewhere.

621.1. {-kam} forms adverbs; it may be translated as "on the . . . side; in the . . . part, in the . . . direction."

?av "face": ?av-kam "ahead, in front."
vāsih "back": vāsih-kam "behind, in back, backwards."
yā-sti-k "right hand": yā-sti-kam "to or on the right."

Often, however, when added to nouns which are already of the adverb subclass, it has the effect only of making the meaning somewhat more specific.

?a? "up": ?a?-kam "above."
ma? "uphill, in the mountains": mā-kam "a short distance uphill."

The allomorph -kam conditions zero accentuation. In most cases there are no other morphophonemic changes connected with it; however, five adverbs have special allomorphs before -kam. One is ma? "uphill," as given above; the others are:

sa?- "downhill": sâ-kam "a short distance downhill."
ka? "upriver": kā-kam "a short distance upriver."
yu?- "downriver": yū-kam "a short distance downriver."
māsu? "up a creek": mā-su-kam "a short distance up a creek."
?i?- "outdoors": ?ī-kam "outdoors."

All these derivatives vary freely with irregularly contracted alternants in which the suffix is completely disguised: mā-m, sā-m, kā-m, yū-m, mā-su-m, and ?ī-m.

The allomorph -kūKam occasionally occurs, in free variation with -kam. It conditions zero accentuation with accented stems, and has suffixal accentuation elsewhere.

?ō-k "here": ?ō-kukam "on this side."
ka?- "upriver": ka?-kūKam "upriver."

{-kam} has the distributional peculiarity that it may occur in
sequence with itself; that is, it may be added to certain commonly occurring themes which already contain it. The function of such addition seems to be purely redundant.

iñoa-y "(a person's) breast": iñoa-y-kam "in front": iñoa-ya-kam (same meaning).

621.12. -kiPa-ač "characterized by . . . " forming adjectives, is a complex consisting of the adverb kiPa "like" plus the diminutive suffix {-iS}; this combination is found exclusively in a suffixal role, where it is synonymous with -ara (621.2). There are too few examples to establish the accentuation type conditioned by -kiPa-ač.

?í-š "body, flesh": ?í-š-kiPač "naked."

621.13. -kúNiš "like" forms adjectives; it represents a suffixal use of the adverb kúNiš "rather, in a way, kind of." After monosyllabic or unaccented stems, suffixal accentuation is conditioned; elsewhere, there is zero accentuation. Stem-final a is lost before this suffix.

?asa "rock": ?as-kúNiš "like a rock,"
?áx "blood": ?áx-kúNiš "like blood, i.e., red."
ámk-ú "smoke": ámk-ú-kúNiš "like smoke, i.e., blue,"
ikxáRam "night": ikxáRam-kúNiš "like night, i.e., black, dark,"
kašči-p "porcupine quills": kašči-p-kúNiš "like porcupine quills, i.e., yellow" (because they are dyed yellow in basketry).³

Derivatives in -kúNiš have a somewhat special status as adjectives. They form plurals, e.g., ?áx-kúNiš-asa "red ones," and they occur as post-pounds in attributive meaning, but they also occur as pre-pounds, likewise with attributive meaning; e.g., either ikrívrama-?áxkuniš or ?áxkuniš-ikrívra-m means "red house" (see 600).

621.14. -(m)pa-n is an emphatic suffix added to pronouns. The allomorph -pa-n occurs after consonants and the allomorph -mpa-n after vowels; both allomorphs condition shortening of the stem vowel.

ná- "I": ná-mpa-n "I myself,"
?í-m "thou": ?ím-pa-n "thou thyself,"
?ú-m "he": ?úm-pa-n "he himself,"

621.15. -ninay "around" is added to adverbs to form new adverbs with broader meaning, referring to areas rather than points in space and time. It conditions zero accentuation.

ma? "uphill": má?-ninay "in mountain country,"
?ók "here": ?ók-ninay "hereabouts,"

³In reference to the use of -kúNiš in deriving new terms for colors, see my paper, "Linguistic Innovations in Karok," 3. 2.
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payê:m "now": payê:m-ninay "nowadays."

621.16. {-sa} Plural, like other plural morphemes in Karok, is usually only optionally present in those environments where it occurs; thus ?ávansa "man," ?ávansa or ?ávans-asa "men." In a few cases, however, forms with this suffix have a special meaning, and in such cases the suffix may not be omitted without losing this meaning. E.g.—

?úruh "round": ?úruh-asa "disk beads."
amtápära "dusty": amtápä-asa "lupine."

The usual allomorphs of the plural suffix are -asa and -sa(s), with no accent change. The allomorph -asa occurs after vowels and after ĝ and ĭ:
ko "such": ko-asa "such ones."
?ávansa "man": ?ávans-asa "men."
kê-č "big": kê-č-asa "big ones."
?a-xkúNiš "red": ?a-xkúNiš-asa "red ones."

This allomorph has the peculiarity of retaining its final a before the negative postfix -hára (845.6), where prejunctural forms are normally expected:

ifmâ-ra "married man": ifmâ-r-asa "married men," but
pu-?ifmâ-asa-hára "not married men."

-asa conditions a special accent shift in one environment: When it is added to stem ending in -yâ:č Intensive (621.20), the circumflex accent is lost, and acute accent falls on the syllable preceding -yâ:č.

xanah-yâ:č "quite long" (< -xârah "long"): xanahya-č-asa "quite long ones."

The allomorph -sa, with the occasional free variant -sas, occurs everywhere else:

?asiktava-n "woman": ?asiktava-n-sa(s) "women."
pîhah "stiff": pîhah-sa(s) "stiff ones."
tîrh "wide": tîrh-şa(s) "wide ones."

A less common allomorph is -i-vša(s), which is added only to kinship terms (including ke-čîkyava "sweetheart"), and which conditions pre-suffixal accentuation. The resultant plurals are used only with the possessive inflectional prefixes.

típah "brother": nani-típah-i-vša(s) "my brothers."
ke-čîkyava "sweetheart": mu-ke-čîkyav-i-vša(s) "her sweethearts."

{-sa} is added only to adjectives and to personal nouns, thus helping to define these subclasses. The plurals formed are shown to be derived themes, rather than inflected words, by the fact that they act as stems for further derivation. E.g.—

{-sa}, rather than -sas, occurs before suffixes which follow in the same word:
xe-hvægxarah-şá-hak "in long pipe sacks."
kē-č-asa "big ones": kē-časa-hi "to be big ones."

621.17. {-va}, conditioning zero accentuation, is added to a small number of nouns; the allomorphs are -va after consonants and -vA after vowels. With interrogatives, this suffix adds the meaning of indefiniteness.

fāt "what?": fāt-va "something, anything, whatever."

?akāray "who?": ?akāray-va "someone, anyone, whoever."

hō-y "where?": hō-y-va "somewhere, anywhere, wherever."

hūt "how?": hūt-va "somehow, anyhow, however."

{-va} also occurs with a few other adverbs; in most of these cases it is simply a rapid-speech alternant of the adverb vā-h "thus": with vūra

Intensive are formed both the qualifying phrase vūra vā-h (636.5) or the reduced alternant vūra-vA. The meaning of {-va}, like that of vā-h in this construction, is difficult to determine, but often seems something like a weakening of emphasis.

Occasionally {-va} occurs twice in succession, perhaps indicating a greater degree of indefiniteness: thus ?akāray-va-vA "anyone at all (?)"

621.18. -vah Distributive forms adverbs, conditioning presuffixal accentuation. It occurs only rarely at the end of a theme; usually, in the form -mah-, it is followed by -ič Diminutive.

axyara "full": axyarā-vah "full all (of various vessels)."

iōe-kxaram "one night": iōe-kxaram-vah "night after night."

iōa- "one": ičā-mah-ič "one at a time, one by one, one each."

?axak "two": ?axāk-mah-ič "two at a time."

kuyrakinivkiha "eight": kuynakinvkihā-mah-ič "eight at a time."

či-mič "a little": či-mič-mah-ič "a little at a time."

hā-rilh "sometimes": ha-ni-hmah-ič "every once in a while."

?apāp "on one side": ?apāp-mah-ič "from side to side."

621.19. -vārih "in the general direction of, toward" makes adjectives from adverb bases. When the underlying stem is monosyllabic, suffixal accentuation is conditioned; otherwise there is zero accentuation. Stem-final a is lost before the suffix.

?a? "up": ?a?-vārih "high."

su? "down": su?-vārih "deep."

tīm "edge": tīm-vārih "toward the edge."

?ā-čip "middle": ?ā-čip-vārih "toward the middle, central."

ixxurara "evening": ixxurara-vārih "toward evening."

When -ič Diminutive is added to derivatives in -vārih, then the syllable va always receives acute accent.

pīši-p "first": pīši-p-vārih "before, previous": pīši-pvānih-ič "a little before."
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621.20. -yā-č Intensive is a complex consisting of yav "good" + -ač
Diminutive. It carries the meaning "good and . . . , exactly, more, quite, rather." It conditions suffixal accentuation after polysyllabic stems, but zero accentuation after monosyllables.

?ā?- "up": ?ā?-ya:č "straight up."

su? "down, inside": sū?-ya:č "straight down, right inside."

yūp "(in one's) eye": yūp-ya:č "smack in the eye."

yav "good": ya:-ya:č "a little better."

?ūruh "round": ?umuh-ya:č "roundish."

Deverbative nouns in {-a} (761) are often combined with -ya:č; then the denominative -hi is added to the whole combination. An irregular accentual change accompanies this process, so that acute accent comes to fall on the syllable preceding -ya:č (the same change occurs in combinations with -asa Plural; see 621.16.) The resultant derivative is a verb meaning "to . . . well."

ivaxrah "to be dry": ivaxrah-č "dry": ivaxnaha-ya:č "good and dry": ivaxnahaya:č-hi "to be good and dry, to dry (intr.) well."

Other examples, in which the intermediate stages have not been found as free forms, are the following:

mah "to see": mah-ā-ya:č-hi "to see well."

pāpìv "to search": papim-ā-ya:č-hi "to search thoroughly."

pasčip "to be wet": pasčip-ā-ya:č-hi "to be drenched."

621.21. In addition to the suffixes above, a few others are used in a special group of adverbs which indicate directions. The basic stems of this group are the morphemes used in Karok as the terms for cardinal directions are in European languages; these are ma? "uphill, away from the river," sa?- "downhill, toward the river," ka? "upriver," and yu?- "downriver." Other morphemes which participate less completely in the derivational system are su? "down, inside," ?i?- "outdoors," and ı7ya- "across" (cf. ı7ya-h "fish-dam, weir"). One other morpheme, though similar in internal structure to the central group, does not participate in the derivational system: this is ?a? "up." One combination of the above morphemes does enter the derivational system: this is má?su? "up a creek, up the Salmon River."

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5 This is an example of the sporadic change of y to m in derivatives containing the diminutive suffix. Note that the y in ivaxnahaya:čhi "to be good and dry" does not change—but that the change of r to n does occur there, being much more regular.

6 Karok informants will give equivalents for the white man's cardinal points, but they are not normal usage. For "north" and "south" respectively, káruk "upriver" and ydruk "downriver" are used. "East" is expressed either by ?ū-8 "toward the ocean" or by yārupavakam "rising-side." "West" is vōkurihakam "setting-side."
As indicated above, the only stems of the group which occur as free forms are ma?, su?, ?a?, and m£?su?. In most compounds, all the stems have allomorphs with h replacing ?; e.g., kah-?arah "upriver-person, i.e., a Shasta Indian" (but ka?-tim-?i:n "upriver-edge falls, a place name"). The stems ?i?- and i6ya- occur only in the derivative system. All the stems have allomorphs, used in derivatives, which lack any final consonant; in some cases other irregular phonological changes occur.

The derivatives based on these stems may be grouped as follows:

1) må-kam - må-m "uphill," sá-kam - sá-m "downhill," kā-kam - kā-m "upriver," yū-kam - yū-m "downriver," ?i-kam - ?i-m "outdoors," and må-su-kam - må-su-m "up a creek, up the Salmon River." These derivatives may be described as containing -kam "side" (621.11). They imply a short distance in the direction named, as contrasted with the next set of derivatives.

2) màRuk "uphill," sâRuk "downhill," kâRuk "upriver," yûRuk "downriver," sûRuk "underneath," iîyâRuk "across water," and maaRuk "up a creek, up the Salmon River." The element -ruk here perhaps contains the locative suffix {-ak}. These derivatives imply a greater distance in the direction named than do those of the previous set.

3) kô-θ "upriver on the other side of the river" and yû-θ "downriver on the other side of the river." These contain an element -uθ which is contracted with the underlying stems; it may be the same as ?u*8 "out into the river."

4) käro-kam - käro-m "uphill upriver" and yûRukam "uphill downriver." These both seem to contain -kam "side," but no other analysis can be made.

5) kâ-sah and yû-sah, both place names. No meaning can be assigned to the element -sah.

6) A few miscellaneous forms do not fall into sets: mâ?ka ~ mâ-ka "uphill," iîyû-k "across."

622. Derivative affixes forming verbs.

622.1. The principal affix used to derive verbs from nouns is -hi denominative, conditioning progressive accentuation. It forms intransitive verbs with meanings such as "to be . . . , to become . . . , to be characterized by . . . " and occasionally transitive verbs with meanings such as "to make . . . , to get . . . ."

má-θ "heavy": má-θ-hi (intransitive) "to weigh."
ifmâ-ra "married man": ifmâ-ra-hi "(man) to get married."
?á-s "water": ?á-s-hi "to be wet."

7 In regard to the presence of R in these derivatives, see 383.
8 The classification of verbs as intransitive and transitive is determined syntactically; see 842, 843.
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?á·x "blood": ?á·x-hi (intransitive) "to bleed."

?úruh "egg": ?úruhi "to lay eggs."
úhΘa·m "garden": úhΘa·m-hi "to plant."

?ávan "husband": ?ávan-hi (transitive) "(woman) to marry."

A common use of this suffix is in the derivation of verb themes with collective-subject meaning. These are composed of a verb + -ara Agentive (754.1) + -a Deverbative + the denominative -hi. E.g.—

xúrih "to be hungry": xúrih-ar-a "hungry (person)";
xúrihara-hi "to be hungry persons (collectively) to be hungry."

imká·nvá "to gather (food)": imká·nv-ar-a- "food-gatherer":
imká·nvára-hi "to be food-gatherers (collectively) to gather food."

The final sequence hi is found as an inseparable part of a number of common verbs, such as kúhi "to be sick," chú·phi "to speak," kú·phi "to do," ikví-thi "to be asleep," and ixtí·phi "to be angry." Since ku-, chú·p- etc. do not occur elsewhere, there is some doubt whether or not this hi should be identified with the denominative suffix. One fact, however, supports such an identification. This is that the hi of these stems, as well as the denominative -hi, is replaced by -pu when following a stem which contains {ip-} Iterative. The suffix -pu conditions potential lengthening:

Ifmá·ra-hi "(man) to get married": p-ifmá·ra-pu "to get married again."

?úruhi "to lay eggs": p-úruh-pu "to lay eggs again."
kúhi "to be sick": ip-kú·h-pu "to be sick again."

ikví-thi "to be asleep": p-ikví·t-pu "to be asleep again."

622. 2. The only other denominalizing affix is the rare prefix im- "to be . . . , to be like . . . ," which has been noted in the following cases:

?á·x "blood": im-?á·x "to be red."

súrih "shiny": im-súrih "to shine."

θúkin "bile": im-θúkiθ "to be green or yellow" (the change of n to θ is irregular).
Verb themes serve as the stems for a rich derivational system, the products of which are both verbs and nouns. Derivative verbs show the most diversity, being formed by prefixes, by reduplication, and by a large number of suffixes; derivative nouns are formed by suffixation only. Speaking broadly, every verb theme may enter into any derivational formation; there are no important sub-classes of verbs distinguished by their occurrences in derivatives.

A number of the derivative suffixes which are added to verbs show phonemic and semantic similarities with elements of other kinds. Thus -ra*- "hither" may be compared with the verb na* "to come," -i*čya "in pretense" with the pseudopostpound -hi*čya "imitation," -ač Diminutive with the nominal suffix {-ič} Diminutive. Although on a theoretical basis such pairs may be identified as allomorphs of single morphemes, they will nevertheless be discussed separately, in accordance with their distributions.

Submorphemic elements in verbs.

As has been stated, verbs are derived from other verbs by three morphological processes: prefixation, reduplication, and suffixation. Before discussing these processes, however, a word may be said about a phenomenon which is marginal to normal derivation, namely the occurrence of certain sub-morphemic elements at the beginning of verbs. These phonemic sequences, analogous to English sn- in sniff, snort, sneeze, etc., are so limited in distribution as to make it inadvisable to place them on the same level as the usual type of morpheme. However, a common meaning may be traced throughout the various occurrences of each element. The ones which have been most often noted are as follows:

*ik Singular Subject and *iθ Dual Subject contrast in ikpuh "(sg.) to swim" vs. iθpuh "(du.) to swim," ikvip "(sg.) to run" vs. iθvip "(du.) to run," ikxp "(sg.) to fly" vs. iθxp "(du.) to fly," and ikyīp "(sg.) to fall" vs. iθyiū "(du.) to fall." An element similar to *iθ is the *θa seen in ?i*θya "(sg.) to pack" vs. θaθa "(du.) to pack" and ?i*θra "(one container) to sit" vs. θaθri-n "(two containers) to sit."

*ik Transitive and *iš Intransitive contrast in ikpat "to break something" vs. išpat "to become broken," iktak "to separate something"
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vs. ištak "to become separated," and iḵxaxa "to split something" vs. išxaxa "to become split."

*im "involving fire or heat" contrasts with the elements just above in ikpat and ḫpat vs. impat "to become broken due to heat." *im is connected with intransitive meaning in most cases; e.g., imčak "to get burnt," imčax "to be hot," impuk "to be warm," intup "to be cooked." Note, however, the transitive theme inmiš "to cook." *im also occurs in a few nouns, such as imnak "charcoal" and imšuf "burnt wood."

*pà "with the mouth" occurs in such themes as pàčup "to kiss," pàčnut "to suck on," pàpuś "to chew," pasník "to blow a whistle," and paxut "to hold in one's mouth."

*?ak "with the hand" occurs in such themes as ?ačkiš "to handle a soft mass," ?aknup "to thump," ?akrap "to slap," ?aktuš "to pluck at," and ?akřrap "to scratch." There is also a theme ?ak- "to do with one's hands," but the identification of such a theme in ?ačkiš, ?aknup etc., leaves -iš, -nup and the like as a residue of unique suffixal elements.

*imša "with a striking implement" occurs in such themes as imθamávnuv "to drum," imθatíš "to bat," and imθatí-tva "to play shinny."

*ta "with an implement" occurs in such themes as tásíš "to brush," tátyuk "to sweep," tatvašnuv "to stir soup," and taxwuk "to hook."

*vu "with a cutting implement" occurs in such themes as vúpak "to trim," vúxč "to saw," and vútpiš "to cut up fish."

*θim ~ *θiv "by rubbing" is found in such themes as θimkutíkuti "to rub smooth," θimyúriš(rih) "to make fire with a fire drill," and θivxiš "to plane."

After the above elements have been subtracted from the themes where they occur, it is evident that some of the residues may be similarly classified; thus *xip is found in ikxip "(sg.) to fly," iθip "(du.) to fly," and ?xip- "(pl.) to fly": *pak is found in ikpak "to chop," tápak "to slice," and vúpak "to trim." On the whole, however, these elements have an extremely tenuous identity as units, and will not be discussed further.

720. Grammatical number in themes.

Another subject which may be touched upon before discussing individual derivational morphemes is the expression of number in verb themes. Generally speaking, indication of number in Karok applies to human beings only, and is on an optional basis so far as it is accomplished by derivational means. That is, the inflectional distinction between, for example, ni- "I—him" and nu- "we—him" is obligatory, but the derivational distinction between ávansa "man" and ávans-asa "men" is optional. In verb deriva-
tion, then, the elements concerned with number are {-na-} for plural subject (with verbs of the personal class) or plural object (with verbs of the transpersonal class) (756), -ar-a-hi for collective subject (622.1), and {-va} for plural action (751). All of these are, except in certain petrified combinations, of optional occurrence; thus "they're eating" can be either kun-?a-m-tih, or, with {-na-} Plural, kun-?a-m-vuna-tih.

Besides its expression on the inflectional and derivational levels, number is also indicated on the lexical level: some verbs have inherently singular, dual, or plural subjects. An example is ikriv - -ikri- "(sg.) to live, sit," ?i-na "(du.) to live, sit," and ?ara-rahiTih "(pl.) to live, sit." Other verbs have intrinsic number as applied to inanimate things connected with the action, as in pae "to throw (one thing)" vs. ixya- "to throw (two or more things)." When such stems exist, the expression of number is obligatory rather than optional; a form like *kun-ikri- "they live" does not occur.

730. Prefixes forming verbs.

There is only one morpheme of purely prefixal nature which derives verbs from other verbs, namely {ip-} Iterative. Other than this, there is one such derivative morpheme with both prefixal and suffixal elements, namely kupa-. -ahi Modal; it may also be described in this section. The prefix ?iru- Plural, however, is considered an allomorph of {-na-}, and the morpheme as a whole is discussed in the section on suffixes (756).

731. Although {ip-} is labeled as Iterative, its range of meaning is rather wide. The following are the commonest meanings, with examples:

"again": ?a`ko- "to hit": p-a`ko- "to hit again."
"back": na- "to come": ?ip-na- "to come back."
"returning to a previous state": ?ifik "to pick up": p-?ifik "to pick up (something dropped)."
"repeatedly": imusa`enko- "to go there to look at": p-imusa`enko "to keep going there to look at.
"for oneself": iykara "to kill": p-iykara "to kill for oneself, i.e., to slaughter (animals)."

The allomorphs of this morpheme normally condition no accent change. They do condition change of -hi Denominative and -ahi Essive to -pu and -apu respectively; see 621.1, 755.

The allomorph p- is used before most stems beginning in a glottal stop, which it then replaces. However, the irregular allomorph ?ip- occurs in two such cases:

1Such themes are glossed in the style shown, with the number written out after the English verb. This contrasts with the use of the abbreviations "sg.," "du.," and "pl." in glosses; these indicate number of the subject when placed before the English verb, whereas "pl." placed after the verb is used as a gloss for {-va} Plural Action.
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\[ \text{DERIVATION: THE VERB} \]

\[ \text{II.} \quad \text{?ápi}¥"\text{to look for}\text{" p-ápi}¥"\text{to look for again.}\]

\[ \text{...I} \quad \text{?é-čura "to takeoff": p-ò-čura "to take off again."} \]

\[ \text{?ay "to make": p-ikyá¥ "to fix, repair."} \]

\[ \text{?a¥ "to eat": ?ip-a¥ "to eat again."} \]

\[ \text{?áho "to walk, go": ?ip-aho "to return."} \]

But when a stem begins in \( \_j \) plus a labial consonant or the cluster \( \_\text{xy} \), then the initial \( \_j \) is lost, and the allomorph \( \text{pa-} \) appears.

\[ \text{iphi-kirih "to sweat oneself": pa-phi-kirih "to sweat oneself again."} \]

\[ \text{ifyuku "to wander, go or come around": pa-fyuku "to come around again."} \]

\[ \text{iyvi-hra "(pl.) to come": pa-vyi-hra "(pl.) to come back."} \]

\[ \text{imfi-pšuru "to come off": pa-mfi-pšuru "to come off again."} \]

\[ \text{ixvi-phi "to be angry": pa-xvi-phi "to be angry again."} \]

The allomorph \( \text{pi-} \) occurs before stems beginning in \( \_p \).

\[ \text{paši(r)h} \text{"to throw down": pi-paši(r)h "to throw down again."} \]

\[ \text{pikvas "to use as a plume": pi-pikvas "to use as a plume again."} \]

The allomorph \( \text{ip-} \) occurs before stems beginning in consonants other than \( \_j \) and \( \_p \).

\[ \text{mah "to see": ip-mah "to find."} \]

\[ \text{čivčak "to close": ip-čivčak "to close again."} \]

732. \( \text{kupa-} \_\text{ahi Modal is translatable as "in some way." Derivatives containing} \)

\[ \text{this morpheme are usually construed syntactically with nouns} \]

\[ \text{which specify what "way" is meant. The accent of these derivatives is as} \]

\[ \text{follows: Where kupa- can condition a shift by normal recessive accentuation,} \]

\[ \text{then the derivative has the accent resulting from that shift; this is} \]

\[ \text{the case whenever the stem contains an acute-accented long vowel. Other-} \]

\[ \text{wise progressive accentuation is conditioned by -ahi.} \]

\[ \text{iykara "to kill": kupe-ýká¥-ahi "to kill in some way."} \]

\[ \text{tayi-θhi "to lash the base (of a basket)": kupa-táyi-θha-hi "to} \]

\[ \text{lash the base in some way."} \]

\[ \text{iyvá-yrišuk "to pour out": kupé-ýva-yrišuk-ahi "to pour out in} \]

\[ \text{some way."} \]

\[ \text{pimšanuvnuv "to tap": kupa-pimšanuvnuv-hi "to tap in some way."} \]

But after stem-final \( \_a(-)hi \), haplology operates to eliminate one \( \_a \)-sequence; the allomorph of the modal morpheme in this position may be considered to be merely \( \text{kupa-} \).

\[ \text{ikyá:hi "to be made": kupe-akyá:hi "to be made in some way."} \]

740. Reduplication

\[ \text{Reduplication forms derivative verbs meaning "to... repeatedly."} \]
It is added especially to stems denoting activity of very short duration, such as the striking of a single blow; the reduplicated derivative then indicates that a relatively long stretch of time is occupied by successive repetitions of the action. The accentuation of these derivatives is always penultimate—or, with final VCV, antepenultimate. The reduplication is always final, but varies somewhat in extent. In the one case noted of reduplication applied to a monosyllabic stem, the entire stem is repeated:

mit "to pop": mít-mít "to be the sound of shooting."

Reduplication most commonly affects disyllabic stems of the shape (C)V(C)CV(C). In this case the reduplicative addition has the shape CV(C).

ikmāř "to hit with one's fist": ikmán-mař "to beat up."

pářaka "to separate by means of a wedge": pářak-rak "to split logs with wedges."

pāčuř "to kiss": pāčuř-čuř "to kiss repeatedly."

tāsīř "to brush (once)": tāsīn-stīř "to brush (repeatedly)."

A few disyllabic stems, however, have somewhat different treatment, receiving a vocalic increment equal to V before reduplicative addition. After vowel-initial stems, the addition itself then has the shape CVCV.

iyvax "to rub off an acorn-hull": iyvaxá-vaxa "to hull acorns."

ixak "to make a noise": ixaká-xaka "to rattle."

When such a stem has an initial consonant, the reduplicative addition is CCVCV.

pāčnut "to suck (once)": pāčnut-čnutu "to nibble."

taxuvuk "to hook": taxuvuká-xvuku "to hook (repeatedly)."

Stems of three syllables, represented by (C)V(C)CV(C)CV(C), have reduplication of the last two syllables, i.e., of final CV(C)CV(C).

2 This vowel is considered a special stem-increment, rather than a part of the reduplicative addition, in order that the accentuation of reduplicated stems may be described regularly. Thus from ixaká-xaka (see below) is derived the durative ixakaxáka-Tih; this indicates that ?ixaká-xaka is a moving-accent stem, which it can be only if a morpheme boundary immediately precedes the geminable consonant x (see 381.3). That is, the analysis as ixaká-xaka permits application of regular accentuation rules, whereas analysis as *ixak-áxaka would not.
In addition to the above patterns, a few instances of others are found. There is an occasional example of something resembling complete reduplication:

\[ ?\text{nak} \text{xarap} "\text{to scratch (once)}": ?\text{nakxarap-xarap} "\text{to scratch (repeatedly).}" \]

Still other unusual patterns of final reduplication are found, but seem not to be productive. Thus ikritiptip "to fringe" seems to show reduplication of final CV\text{C} in a trisyllable, but the underlying *ikritip is not known to occur.

750. Suffixes forming verbs.

The derivative suffixes which form new verb themes from old ones may be organized into several classes, on the basis of the order in which they occur together after roots. The order-class is easily determined for the suffixes of more common occurrence, but is very difficult to determine for others. Thus we find a large body of suffixes indicating direction, reference, and manner of action; once in a while, two of these suffixes are found in sequence, showing that the establishment of order-classes within this body is at least a theoretical possibility. However, the frequency of such sequences in freely dictated texts is very low, and the greatest difficulty is encountered in trying to elicit them outside of texts. The present classification is therefore made on a somewhat tentative basis, as follows:

The morpheme \{-va\} Plural Action seems, in its most freely functioning role, to occupy a position near the end of the theme, with almost all other derivative suffixes capable of preceding it. However, it is in fact found in every position, having formed "petrified" combinations with many other suffixes, and also with monomorphemic stems, so that it is often found preceding all other suffixal material. Because of the continuing need to refer to such combinations, \{-va\} will be considered to constitute Class 1, and will be discussed first of all.

Excluding \{-va\}, among the first elements to be found after the root are a large number of frequently used suffixes which indicate direction (and occasionally position); these are all mutually exclusive as far as the data indicates, and they are therefore united in one class. Only five derivative suffixes (again excluding \{-va\}) are ever found preceding the directional suffixes; these are likewise mutually exclusive, as far as is known, and are lumped together as Class 2. The directional suffixes themselves then constitute Class 3.
Following these, a number of suffixes of various meaning are found. Some of these are known to occur after the directionals, and there is no evidence against the theory that they all occur in that position. There is evidence that all of them occur before the essivizing suffix -ahi. Occasionally two of these suffixes are found in sequence with each other, but it has not been possible to determine the order-class of each. They are therefore lumped together as Class 4. The sequences which have been noted will be described in the paragraphs devoted to the suffixes involved.

Class 5 then consists of -ahi Essivizing, and the remaining classes are easily defined, each one consisting of a single common suffix.

751. Suffix-class 1 consists of {-va} Plural Action, which expresses the following meanings:

Action by several inanimate objects: òivù·htih "(one object) to be floating," òivru´hti-h-va "(several objects) to be floating."

Action involving several goals: òtrá·mnhthih "(one object)," òtramnì·hti-h-va "to be looking into (several objects)."

Action involving a mass goal: yuh "to spit," yù·h-va "to vomit."

Action in several places: vùrunih "to flow down (in a single stream)," vuru´ni-h-va "to flow down (in several streams)."

Action in an extended place: ?ápakunih "(earth) to slide down," ?apaku´ni-h-va "to be a landslide."

Action at several times: ikre·myáhiš(rìh) "to start to blow," ikre·myahí·šri·h-va "to blow off and on."

Action over an extended time: ?i·mnih "to love," ?i·mnih-va "to be in love."

A few stems occur almost exclusively with {-va}; in these cases the meaning of plural action is not always discernible.

kù·ntaku "to sit on" (rare): *kù·ntaku-va > kù·ntako· "to sit on" (the form commonly used).

When {-va} is added to undervived themes, it usually conditions progressive accentuation. If there are no long vowels present, it conditions potential lengthening as well.

mah "to see": má·h-va "to visit."

taknah "to hop": takná·h-va "to play hopscotch."

When {-va} is added to stems which already contain derivative suffixes, however, the following morphophonemic changes occur:

751. 1. If potential lengthening has already operated in the stem, then {-va} causes its effect to be nullified.

iyvá·y-ku "to pour on": *iyvá´yku-va > iyvá´yko· "to pour on (pl.)."
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ikyi-m-kurih "to fall in": ikyimku'-rih-va "to fall in (pl.)."

At the same time, however, {-va} conditions potential lengthening in certain suffixes which precede it (notice will be made of this when the suffixes are discussed individually). Thus {-va} may simultaneously condition shortening in one part of a stem and lengthening in another.

pasnáp-iš(rih) "to glue down": pasnapi'-šrih-va "to glue down (pl.)."

vík-paθ "to weave around (once)": vikpá-θ-va "to weave around and around."

751.2. The accentuation usually conditioned when {-va} is added to derivative themes might be called PRE-PRESUFFIXAL. That is, when {-va} is added to an accented stem, acute accent will fall two syllables before the suffix. This acute accent is of the unstable variety. For examples, see the ones above.

With some suffixes, on the other hand, {-va} conditions progressive accentuation. E.g.—

?ákuν-vaf "to go hunting": ?ákuνvan-va "to go hunting (pl.)."

Special notice will be taken of such cases when the suffixes are described individually. When no special remark is made about the accentuation of a suffix, it is to be understood that {-va} conditions the "pre-presuffixal" type after it.

751.3. {-va} conditions various irregular allomorphs of suffixes preceding it: thus -furuk "indoors" + {-va} > -fúnu̞k-va, -θuna "around" + {-va} > -pi-θ-va. {-va} itself usually appears in the allomorph -va, but has the form -na after some suffixes: -ro-vu "upriver" + {-va} > -ro'-na. In a few cases {-va} conditions a circumflex accent, contrary to the general accentuation rule given above: -sipriv "up" + {-va} > -si̞pri-na, -rúprih "in through" + {-va} > -rú'prih-va. All such instances of irregularity will be noted when the suffixes concerned are discussed individually.

752. Suffix-class 2 consists of the following suffixes:

752.1. -čak "closing up" conditions presuffixal accentuation.

ikriv "to sit": ikriv-čak "to sit in the way, blocking passage."

?ási̞v "to sleep": ?asím-čak "to close one's eyes."

iváxrah "to be dry": ivaxráh-čak "to have one's throat closed up with thirst."

The combination of -čak with a Class 3 suffix is seen in the following:

?áxay "to take from": ?axáy-čak-, occurring only with -iš(rih) Resultative: ?axayčák-iš(rih) "to seize."

{-va} conditions simple presuffixal accentuation when added to unaccented stems; we find it-kara "to look out over water" vs. iká'-n-va "to spear fish."
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752.2. -riv "at rest" forms intransitive verbs, usually from transitive ones (842, 843). It conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening.

i8xup "to cover": i8xup-riv "to lie covering."

vē-h- "to project": vē-h-riv "(du.-pl. inan.) to stand."

mut "to place by hand": mūt-riv "to lie in a handful."

?aki8- "to be coiled": ?aki8-riv "to lie in a coil."

iyruh "to roll (tr.)": iyruh-riv "(an.) to lie."

?āru- "to put": ?āru-riv "(du.-pl. an.) to lie."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation in these derivatives:

?āruri8 "(du.-pl. an.) to lie": ?ārurim-va "(pl. an.) to lie (pl.)."

752.3. -sap has a meaning similar to that of -čak, but has been found only in a few cases. It is placed in Class 2 not because it has been found before a directional suffix, but merely because of its semantic similarity to -čak.

imyah "to breathe": imyah-sap "to suffocate."

ikrup "to sew": ikrup-sap "to sew shut."

752.4. -taku "on or onto a horizontal surface" acts as the semantic opposite of the Class 3 suffix -ku "onto a vertical surface." It conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening.

θiv "(inan.) to be, lie": θiv-taku "to lie on."

iškak "to jump": iškak-taku "to jump onto."

iphi- "to put (several things)": iphi-taku "to put (several things) onto."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation with these derivatives.

kū-n-taku "to sit": kū-n-taku-va > kū-ntakoi "to sit on (pl.)." Note also the combination with the Class 3 suffix -i5(rih) "down": kū-ntak-i5(rih) "to sit down on."

752.5. -tarar- is an element found only with one of two Class 3 suffixes following it, namely -i5(rih) "down" or -ku "onto." The resulting combinations, -tērar-i5(rih) and -tēra-n-ku seem to have about the same meanings as -i5(rih) and -ku alone. The stems with which these combinations occur are limited in number and all contain the meaning of "fastening."

ikrup "to sew": ikrup-tērar-i5(rih) "to sew down."

inhi- "to tie": inhi-tērar-i5(rih) "to tie down," inhi-tēra-n-ku "to tie onto."

im8a- "to fasten": im8a-tēra-n-ku "to nail onto."

This suffix is probably to be related to the element -tāran in ?asa-ttāran "bedrock" (with ?asa "rock").
753. Suffix-class 3 is composed of the directional suffixes. Those begin-
ing in a consonant condition potential lengthening; those beginning in a vowel (including 0, 362) do not. The class as a whole conditions progressive accentuation; however, there is suffixal accentuation when certain suffixes are combined with unaccented monosyllabic stems. These suffixes are mostly dissyllables like -kírih "into fire," with the single trisyllable -várayva "around"; all have acute accent except -ró-vu "upriverward." When they occur with polysyllabic stems, however, normal progressive accentuation prevails; examples appear below.

Semantically, the morphemes of this class are, for the most part, related to each other in systematically contrasting pairs, providing a highly developed apparatus for direction reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>&quot;thither&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rupu</td>
<td>&quot;hence downriverward&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-unih</td>
<td>&quot;down from a considerable height; hence downhillward&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ura</td>
<td>&quot;up to a considerable height; hence uphillward&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rō-vu</td>
<td>&quot;hence upriverward&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sip(riv)</td>
<td>&quot;up to the height of a man or less&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka9</td>
<td>&quot;hence across a body of water&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kara</td>
<td>&quot;horizontally away from the center of a body of water&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kara</td>
<td>&quot;into one's mouth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ránnih</td>
<td>&quot;into a container&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vara</td>
<td>&quot;in through a tubular space&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rüprih</td>
<td>&quot;in through a solid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fůruk</td>
<td>&quot;into an enclosed space&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vřin</td>
<td>&quot;in opposite directions&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-várayva</td>
<td>&quot;here and there within an enclosed space&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certain of these suffixes also have a sporadic causative meaning, as in síf "to disappear" vs. sí:n-kara "to swallow." These cases will be noted as the individual suffixes are discussed. Such derivatives, as well as many in -ku and -mu, show a change from the intransitive to transitive syntactic class (842, 843).
The suffixes of Class 3 will now be listed individually, in alphabetical order. When a suffix has morphophonemic or semantic peculiarities, these are discussed; otherwise, each paragraph consists merely of examples.

753.1. -faku "hither from uphill":
- pa8 "to throw": pa-θ-faku "to throw down from uphill."
- ivyiθ- "(pl.) to go": ivyiθ-h-faku "(pl.) to come down from uphill."
- iθ-və "to pack": iθ-və-faku "to pack down from uphill."
- ikviriθ- "to run": ikviriθ-faku "to run down from uphill."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation when added to these derivatives; it is preceded by the allomorph -faku- as in ikviriθ-faku-va "to run down from uphill (pl.)."

753.2. -furuk "into an enclosed space" (usually a house):
- pa8 "to throw": pa-θ-furuk "to throw indoors."
- ikfuk "to creep": ikfuk-furuk "to creep indoors."
- ikviriθ- "to run": ikviriθ-furuk "to run indoors."

{-va} Plural Action is preceded by the allomorph -furuk-:
- it-furuk "to look indoors": itfuθ-va "to look indoors (pl.)."

A suffix evidently related to -furuk is -furu, but this occurs only rarely and without a clearly definable meaning:
- voθ- "to crawl": voθ-furu "(man) to become half-married."
- iθ-paθ- "to take (a person)" iθ-paθ-furu "to take in half-marriage."
- paθ "to catch": paθ-x-furu "to catch in a trap."

Plural Action: *paθ-fuθ-va > paθfuθ-θ-va "to catch in a trap (pl.)."

753.3. -iθ(riθ) "down from the height of a man or less" conditions progressive accentuation in most situations, but there is one exception: When a stem ends in VCV or CCV, then the suffix itself has the accented allomorph -θ(riθ).
- ikviθ- "to fall": ikviθ-iθ(riθ) "to fall down."
- iyviθ- "to pour": iyviθ-x(riθ) "to pour down."
- iθiv "to lie": *iθiv-iθ(riθ) > iθiθ(riθ) "to put down" (with causative meaning).
- iθ-na "(du.) to sit": iθ-in-iθ(riθ) "(du.) to sit down."
- paθakhi "to kneel": paθakhi-iθ(riθ) "to kneel down."
- iθ-θri "(a container) to sit": iθ-θri-iθ(riθ) "to set down (a container)" (with causative meaning).

A few derivatives also show completely irregular phonology:
pa9 "to throw": pa9-i3(rih) "to throw down."

?asıv "to sleep": ?ası-s-i3(rih) "to go to bed."

The last example above shows an important meaning which -i3(rih)
has, apart from its directional meaning; this may be called its RESULTA-
TIVE function. It is added to stems which indicate states, to form stems
indicating the actions which result in those states.

i8kax "to be quiet, inactive": i8kax-i3(rih) "to 'quiet down,'
become inactive, i.e., to stop (doing something)."

ikriv "to sit (be in a sitting position)"; ikri-;3(rih) "to sit
down (enter a sitting position)."

kùntaku "to sit on": kùntak-i3(rih) "to sit down on."

ihyärîh "to stand (be in a standing position)"; ihyärîh-i3(rih)
"to stand still (come to a halt)."

In a few cases, -i3(rih) carries still other meanings, concerning
which no generalizations can be made:

?arih "to jump, move rapidly": ?arih-i3(rih) "to become."

The sequence rih is overtly present in -i3(rih) in two cases:
occasionally in word-final position, and always when other suffixal mate-
rial follows: E.g.—

?arih-i3 (or, less commonly, ?arih-i3rih) "to become," -at
Past tense: -?arihî3rih-at "became."

When rih is not present, the form may be regarded as shortened, and
accentual patterns indicate the shortening to be in the nature of a contrac-
tion. Thus derivatives in -i3(rih) have the shortened form -i-3, where
acute accent + no accent > circumflex accent:


Similarly, derivatives in -i3(rih) have their shortened form with double
circumflex accent, resulting from the combination of simple circumflex
accent with no accent (325).

ikri:3(rih) "to sit down": shortened form ikri:3.

(-va) Plural Action is preceded by the allomorph -i3rih-:

pasnap "to glue": pasnap-i3(rih) "to glue down": pasnapi3rih-
va "to glue down (pl.)."

753.4. -kara "horizontally toward the center of a body of water" refers
to motion or tendency either over or under the surface of a creek, lake, or
(most commonly) a river. Continuation of motion across the body of water
is often, though not necessarily, implied.

ikpüh "to swim": ikpüh-kara "to swim across the river."

ikxip "to fly": ikxip-kara "to fly across the river."

i3kak "to jump": i3kak-kara "to jump into (a river or lake)."
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piv- "to step": piv-v-kara "to step out over (a creek)."

In a few cases, -kara has the meaning "into one's mouth":
sìf "to disappear": sì-n-kara "to swallow" (with causative meaning).
táriv "to pour": táriv-kara "to pour into one's mouth, to drink."

-{va} Plural Action is preceded by the allomorph -ká-n-:
ihuiv "to shout": ihvi'v-ka-n-va "to shout across (pl.)."

753.5. -kaθ "hence across a body of water" implies complete crossing, as contrasted with -kara, which is only concerned with movement toward the center:
piv- "to step": piv-v-kaθ "to step over (a creek)."
ikpuh "to swim": ikpú-h-kaθ "to swim hence across."

753.6. -kírih "into or onto fire":
apá "to throw": pa-8-kírih "to throw into the fire."
iyufr- "to put": iyú-n-kírih "to put into the fire."
yífrorì "(container) to sit": yófr-kírih "to set (a container) on the fire" (with causative meaning). With -{va} Plural Action:
yófrorì-kírih-va "to set (a container) on the fire (pl.)."

753.7. -kiv "out through a tubular space":
vo-rôf "to creep": vo-n-kiv "to slip out."
imyáh- "to breathe": imyá-h-kiv "to inhale."

-{va} Plural Action combines with -kiv to form -ki*-na:
èyún-kiv "to pull out with one's teeth": èyú-nki*-na "to pull out with one's teeth (pl.)."

753.8. -{ku} means basically "onto a vertical surface," but also has various extended meanings. The usual allomorph is -ku, as shown in the following examples:

iknap "to nail": iknà-p-ku "to nail onto."
ikśup "to point": ikśù-p-ku "to point at."
parív "to spread": paráfr'-m-ku "to spread on."
kunih- "to shoot (a weapon)": kuní-h-ku "to shoot (an animal or person)."

?á-h "to carry fire": ?á-h-ku "to set fire to."

?i-n "to burn (intr.)" (rarely used alone): ?i-n-ku "to burn (intr.)" (the commonly used form).

After stems of the forms CV(C) and CVÝCV(C), the allomorph -ka- occurs:

It may be supposed that the literal meaning is "to draw air out of the atmosphere," rather than "to draw air in to the body."
vô-fi "to crawl": vô-n-ka- "to crawl onto."

tápič- "to slip": tápič-ka- "to slip onto."

The combination of {-ku} with {-va} Plural Action, in addition to its normal usage, has special meanings and a special position; see 754.10.

753.9. -kurih "into water" also indicates motion into any kind of cavity or aperture.

paθ "to throw": paθ-kurih "to throw into water."

ikyív "to fall": ikyí-m-kurih "to fall into water."

ʔírip "to dig": ʔírip-kurih "to dig a hole."

vē-h- "to stick (intr.).": vē-h-kurih "to stick (something) in"
(with causative meaning). With {-va} Plural Action:

ve-hku'rih-va "to stick in (pl.)."

753.10. -mu "thither, to toward" is denasalized to -vu after vowels (343):

paθ "to throw": paθ-mu "to throw to."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpu-h-mu "to swim to."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyi-h-mu "(pl.) to arrive."

ʔó-nva "to take (several persons)": ʔó-nva-vu "to take (several persons) to."

iθyuru "to drag": iθyuru-vu "to drag to."

saθ- "to carry (several objects)": saθ-n-mu "to carry to."

*saθ-mu > saθnu-va "to carry to (pl.)."

753.11. -paθ "around in a circle":

ʔíh "to dance": ʔíh-paθ "to dance in a circle."

vik "to weave": vik-paθ "to weave around."

{-va} Plural Action conditions the allomorph -paθ- and progressive accentuation.

vik-paθ "to weave around (once)": vikpáθ-vu "to weave around and around."

In the presence of {-p} Iterative, -paθ before {-va} is replaced by -iro-piθ-. Acute accent falls on the syllable preceding -iro-piθ-.

ʔíh-paθ "to dance in a circle": p-ʔíhiro-piθ-vu "to dance in a circle repeatedly."

vik-paθ "to weave around": ip-vik-piθ-vu "to weave around again and again."

753.12. -ra- has three separate meanings: "hither" (as opposed to -mu "thither"), "hither from downhill" (as opposed to -unih "hence downhillward"), and "hither from downriver" (as opposed to -rupu "hence downriverward"). Morphemically, the suffix may be identified, at least in its first meaning, with the theme na- "to come."
paθ "to throw": paθ-ra- "to throw hither, to throw (up) from downhill."

ikvır- "to run": ikvır-ra- "to run hither, to run (up) from downhill."

vit "to row": vi-t-ra- "to row (up) from downriver."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpuh-ra- "to swim (up) from downriver."

-ra- + {-va} Plural Action > -ra-na:

?ifu- "(du.-pl.) to climb": ?ifu'-ra-na "(du.-pl.) to climb (up) from downhill (pl.)."

kunih "to shoot": kunih-ra-na "to shoot (up) from downhill (pl.)."

753.13. -rámnih "in or into a container."

paθ "to throw": paθ-rámnih "to throw into (as a basket)."

iyvay "to pour": iyvay-rámnih "to pour into."

?ákiθ- "to be coiled": ?ákiθ-rámnih "to be coiled in."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -rámni- occurs:

iyvay-rámnih "to pour in": iyvay-rámnih-va "to pour in (pl.)."

753.14. -raV "in, into" has a somewhat variable meaning; with several verbs it is translated "in two."

ikvit "to cut": ikvit-raV "to cut in two."

ikpak "to chop": ikpak-raV "to chop in two."

išpat "to break (intr.)": išpat-raV "to break (something) in two" (with causative meaning).

ikyív "to fall": ikyív-naV "to fall into."

ikyav "to make": ikyav-raV "to make in, on, with."

mah "to see": mah-raV "to track."

753.15. -rina "hither across a body of water" may seem simply "across" or "through" in some cases.

ikpuh "to swim": ikpuh-rina "to swim hither across."

faθ "to wade": faθ-rina "to wade across, to ford."

ikvır- "to run": ikvır-rina "to run across."

ikrup "to pierce": ikrup-rina "to pierce through."

-rina + {-va} Plural Action > -riña:

ikrup-rina "to pierce through": ikrup-riña "to pierce through (pl.)."

753.16. -rip "off, out" is comparatively little used, its meanings being more commonly expressed by -suru and -rišuk respectively.

išpat "to break (intr.)": išpat-rip "to break (something) off" (with causative meaning).

mut "to carry": mut-rip "to take out."
pata "to eat acorn soup": pata-rip "to eat remnants of food left on a plate."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -ri-p- occurs:
išpát-rip "to break off": išpa'-tri-p-va "to break off (pl.)."

753.17. -riPa- "horizontally away from the center of a body of water" denotes motion not only inward to land (usually translated "ashore"), but also continuing on the land as far as it is level (after which it is replaced by -ura- "uphillward"). Other less common meanings of -riPa- are "out of water" (opposite of -kúrih) and "out of fire" (opposite of -kúrih).

fa8 "to wade": fa-θ-riPa- "to wade ashore."
vit "to row": vi-t-riPa- "to row to shore."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-riPa- "to run on a flat toward the hilly center of a body of water, away from the river."

?é-θ "to take": ?é-θ-riPa- "to take out of water or fire."

išyuru "to pull": išyuru-riPa- "to pull out of water or fire."

-riPa- + {-va} Plural Action > -rípa-na. Note the change of P to p.

tánuk- "to scoop": tanuk-rípa-na "to scrape out of fire (pl.)."

axyaθ "to be full": axyaθi-riPa-na "to fill a body of water to overflowing (pl.)." (with causative meaning).

753.18. -rišuk "out of a container" is also used in a general sense of "out"—excluding, however, the meanings "out of water," "out of fire," and "out of an enclosure," for which other suffixes are used.

?é-θ "to take": ?é-θ-rišuk "to take out (as from a basket)."
paθ "to throw": pa-θ-rišuk "to throw out."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-rišuk "to run out (as from a thicket)."

753.19. -ro-vu "hence upriverward" also has the less common meaning "around a basket."

paθ "to throw": pa-θ-ro-vu "to throw upriverward."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpuθ-h-ro-vu "to swim upriverward."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ro-vu "to run upriverward."

ikré-myah "to blow": ikre-myah-ro-vu "south wind to blow," lit. "(wind) to blow upriverward" (since the Klamath River runs from north to south in Karok territory).

?áraθ "to weave with three strands": ?arám-no-vu "to weave around (a basket) with three strands."

-ro-vu + {-va} Plural Action > -ro-ña:

?išip "to extend": ?išip-ro-vu "to extend upriverward."

?iši pro-ña "to extend upriverward (pl.)."
imyah "to breathe": imyah-rupa- "to exhale through one's mouth."

peθ "to take back": peθ-rupa- "to take back out of one's mouth."

-ruPa- + {-va} Plural Action > -ruPa-na. Note the change of P to p.

peθ-rupa- "to take back out of one's mouth": peθruPa-na "to take back out of one's mouth (pl.)."

753.21. -rupra "out through a solid":

?iku- "to point, be headed": ?iku-rupra "(plant) to sprout through the ground."

iyvay "to pour": iyvay-rupra "to break out on one's skin."

ikxarip "to chop": ikxarip-rupra "to chop out from the inside."

753.22. -ruprih "in through a solid":

paθ "to throw": paθ-ruprih "to throw in-through."

?a "to eat": ?a-m-nuprih "(insect) to eat in through (wood)."

ikyiy "to fall": ikyiy-nuprih "to fall in through."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -ruprih- occurs:

imsavit- "to club": imsavit-ruprih-va "to club through."

753.23. -ruprin "through" may be mentioned here, since it obviously belongs in a group with -rupra and -ruprih. It has only been found, however, in the following cases:

sāru- "to make a hole": sāru-ruprin "to make a hole through."

*Baθ "with the teeth": Baθ-ruprin "to gnaw through."

753.24. -rupu "hence downriverward":

sāθu "to flow": sāθu-nupu "to flow downriverward."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpuh-rupu "to swim downriverward."

iyiyh- "(pl.) to go": iyiyh-rupu (pl.) "to go downriverward."

ikre-myah "to blow": ikre-myah-rupu "north wind to blow,"

lit. "(wind) to blow downriverward."

753.25. -rupuk "out of an enclosure" normally has reference to a house, though a cave or a corral are other possibilities.

Paθ "to throw": Paθ-rupuk "to throw outdoors."

ikvīrip- "to run": ikvīrip-rupuk "to run outdoors."

Before {-va} Plural Action, P is replaced by p:

?asha- "to drive (animals)": ?asha-ruPuk-va "to drive out (pl.)."

753.26. -sip(riv) "up to the height of a man or less" has also an important initiative meaning, translatable as "to start to . . . ."

*Baθ "to take, carry": *Baθ-sip(riv) > Baθ-sip(riv) "to pick up."

?ak- "to do with one's hand": ?ak-sip(riv) "to raise one's hand."


iškak "to jump": iškā:k-sip(riv) "to jump up."

*ḥ-ḥva "to pack": *ḥvā-sip(riv) "to pack up."

sāv- "to flow": sā:m-sip(riv) "(river) to start to flow, to have its source."

ikpūh "to swim": ikpūh-sip(riv) "to start to swim."

ikvīrip- "to run": ikvīrip-sip(riv) "to start to run."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyih-sip(riv) "(pl.) to start off, to leave."

The difference between resultative -i3(rih) and initiative -sip(riv) may be seen in the following:

ihyarih "to stand, i.e., be in a standing position": ihyarih-i3(rih) "to stand still, i.e., to stop moving and come to a standstill": ihyarih-sip(riv) "to stand up, i.e., to rise from a sitting position and begin to stand."

The full form of the suffix, -sipriv, is only rarely found in word-final position. It does occur, however, whenever other suffixes follow it. When -Tih Durative follows, the length conditioned by that suffix applies to the syllable sip, and the final v is optionally changed to n:

?u-?aram-sipriv-avi3 > ?aramsipre*viS "he will start, will come from": ?aramsi*prin-tih or ?aramsi*prin-tih "to be starting, coming from."

-sipriv + {-va} Plural Action > -si-pri-na, which like -sipriv itself has a shorter form, namely -si-p:

?a-?arams:tpri-na "to start, etc.": ?aramsi*pri-na > ?aramsi*p "to start, etc. (pl.)."

753.27. -suru "off, away":

paš "to throw": *paš-suru > paš-suru "to throw away."

ikyi" "to fall": ikyi"-suru "to fall off."

ikvīrip- "to run": ikvīrip-šuru "to run off."

táčak "to clip": táčak-suru "to clip off."

tápak "to slice": tápak-suru "to slice off": with {-va} Plural Action, *tákpu ru-va > tákpu ro "to slice off (pl.)."

753.28. -tunva "toward each other, together" is usually, though not always, found in conjunction with {-ip} Iterative:

ikmāf "to hit": p-ikmā:n-tunva "to bump together."

inha- "to tie": inha-tunva "to tie together."

iftākan- "to adhere": iftākan-tunva "to stick together."

753.29. -buna "here and there, in various places":

?ša- "to drive (animals)": ?ša-buna "to drive around."

?óh- "to take (people)": ?óh-buna "to take (people) around."
taknih "to roll": taknih-ιθuna "to roll around."

?e-θ "to take, carry": ?e-θ-ιθuna "to carry around."

paθ "to throw": paθ-αθuna "to throw around."

ikfuk "to crawl": ikfik-υθuna "to crawl around."

-θuna + {-va} Plural Action > -pi-θ-va:

saρ- "to carry (several objects)": san-pi-θ-va "to carry (several objects) around (pl.)."

ifyuku "to wander": ifyuku'-pi-θ-va "to wander around (pl.)."

?if "to grow": ?if-pi-θ-va "to grow here and there."

753. 30. -unih means both "down from a considerable height" (as a tree-top) and "hence downhill."

ikyiv "to fall": ikyiv-unih "to fall down (from a height)." Contrast ikyiv-ιθ(iθ) "to fall down (from a standing position)."

ikvirip- "to run": ikvirip-unih "to run downhill.

ikrivruh "to roll": ikrivruh-unih "to roll downhill."

ikyut "to pile (intr.)": ikyut-unih "to pile down, i.e., to snow."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -u'ni-h- occurs:

?apak "(earth) to slide": ?apak-unih "to slide down":

?apaku'ni-h-va "to be a landslide."

753. 31. -ura- means both "up to a considerable height" and "hence uphillward."

kunih "to shoot": kunih-ura- "to shoot up in the air."

ikvirip- "to run": ikvirip-ura- "to run uphillward."

?ι-θva "to pack": iθ-ura- "to pack uphillward."

-ura- + {-va} Plural Action > -u'ra-na:

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyih-ura- "(pl.) to go up": ivyihu'ra-na "(pl.) to go up (in several groups)."

753. 32. -vara "in through a tubular space."

?ak- "to do with one's hand": ?ak-ν-vara "to put one's hand into (e.g.. a glove)."

sůru- "to make a hole": sůru-νara "to make a hole through."

tα-θ "to handle with an implement": tα-θ-νara "to put into (e.g., a pipe) with an implement": with {-va} Plural Action,

*ta-tva-θ-va > ta-tva-θa- "to put into with an implement (pl.)."

753. 33. -vārak "hither from upriver."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpuh-ν-νara "to swim (down) from upriver."

ikre-myah "to blow": ikre-myah-νara "(wind) to blow down from upriver, north wind to blow."

753.34. -váravay "here and there, in various places—within an enclosure." This suffix generally refers to activity within a house, but may also refer to any enclosed area, such as a dance-ground or a cultivated field.

-vaθ "to throw": pa-θ-váravayu "to throw around."

iktaθ "to carry in one’s hand": iktá-m-varayva "to carry around in one’s hand."

impuk "to be warm": impú-k-varayva "to be warm all over (inside a house)."

753.35. -Ovra- has been noted in only a few cases; it may be translated "over," in some rather specialized senses:

paθ "to throw": pa-θ-varayva "to throw around."

ikfuk "to climb": ikfúk-uvraθ "to climb over (a hilltop)."

-Ovra- + {-va} Plural Action > -0`vra--na:

imtup "to ripen": imtup-u`vra--na "(berries on a slope) to ripen from the bottom to the top, in that order."

753.36. -Ovrar means either "into a sweathouse" or "over." Some informants, however, use it only in the sense of "over," and use -furuk "indoors" to indicate movement into sweathouses as well as into living-houses.

ivrara "(pl.) to fall": ivrára-vraθ "(pl.) to fall into a sweathouse."

vóθ "to crawl": vóθ-uvraθ "to crawl into, enter a sweathouse."

pavyih- "(pl.) to go back": pavyih-ivraθ "(pl.) to go back into a sweathouse."

ikyiθ "(sg.) to fall": ikyiθ-ivraθ "(sg.) to fall into a sweathouse, (of the ‘tossel’ in shinny) to fall over (the goal line)."

ikxip "to fly": ikxíp-ivraθ "to fly over."

taxarap- "to stride": taxaráp-avraθ "to stride over."

753.37. -Ovrin "in opposite directions."

?uθ "to put": ?uθ-avrin "to turn (something) around."

pikvírip- "to run back": pikvírip-irvin "to run (somewhere) and turn around and run back."

-Ovrin + {-va} Plural Action > -0`vri-ña:

ikré-myah "to blow": ikré-myah-a`vri-ña "(wind) to blow in all directions."

753.38. -Ovrurk "down over the edge of something."

ikyiθ "to fall": ikyiθ-ivruk "to fall down over (a bank)."

?áxav- "(earth) to slide": *áxav-avruk > (by haplology)

?áxavruk "(earth) to slide down over (a bank)."

-Ovrurk + {-va} Plural Action > -0`vru-k-va:

va-txarák "to shout": va-txarak-a`vru-k-va "to shout down over (pl.)."
Suffix-class 4 consists of the following:

754.1. -ahiv "on some occasion," conditioning progressive accentuation, is found in a small number of derivatives:

- ?iř "to perform the world-renewal rite": ?iř-ahiv "to have a world-renewal celebration."
- pâ'kuhi "to pick acorns": *pâ'kuh-ahiv > pâ'kuhiv "to participate in the acorn harvest."

754.2. -af "to go in order to" conditions progressive accentuation.

- ?ih "to dance": ?ih-af "to go in order to dance, to go to a dance, to go dancing."
- išxay "to fish": *išxay-af > išxâř "to go fishing."
- ?a'kram "to argue": *a'kram-af "to argue."
- čañá-ksuru "to open": čañá-ksúr-af "to go open."
- imká'nva "to gather food": imká'nv-af "to go gather food."
- ?api'mpi-şva "to look around for": ?apimpí-şv-af "to go look around for."

- ñah "to walk, travel": ñah-af "to go to travel."

This suffix is frequently followed by two other Class 4 elements, namely -ko "to, thither" and -uk "hither"; the combination -ar-uk then means "to come in order to."

- ?ihař "to go dancing": ?iha'n-ko "to go there to dance": ?iha'ń-ko-r "to come there to dance."

754.3. -ara Instrumental forms verb themes meaning "to use . . . in order to . . . , to . . . by means of . . . " The suffix conditions progressive accentuation.

- ikyav "to make": *ikyav-ara > ikyařa "to make with."
- ikrař "to grind": ikrař-ara "to grind with."
- ikrup "to sew": ikrup-ara "to sew with."

When followed by the deverbative suffix, -ara often has agentive rather than instrumental meaning; see 671.

754.4. -e*p "away from (a person)," conditioning progressive accentuation, occurs in a small number of derivatives:

- ?e-ş "to take": ?e-ş-e*p "to take away from."
- pax "to catch": pâx-ş-e*p "to win from."

754.5. -fip "completely" conditions presuffixal accentuation:

- čifíč "to beat (in a game)": čifíč-fip "to beat badly."
- pâpív "to search for": pâpiv-fip "to search all over for."

754.6. {-i-şva} "in play, in pretense" conditions change of ř to n and ŋ to ŋ in stems preceding it. The usual allomorph, -i-şva, conditions presuffixal accentuation of the unstable acute type (382.4).
ifyuku "to wander": icycle-k-i-čva "to take a stroll."

?e-čva "to be afraid": icycle-čv-i-čva "to pretend to be afraid."

After the denominative suffix -hi, however, the allomorph -i-čva occurs:

?e-mhi "to be a doctor": ?e-mh-čva "to pretend to be a doctor."

The following example shows suffixes of Class 2 and 3 in sequence with {-i-čva}:

kû-f- "to sit": kû-n-taku "to sit on, to ride": kû-n-taku-Θuna

"to ride around": kû-n-taku-ŋi-čva "to take a ride for pleasure."

{-i-čva} also occurs preceding another suffix of Class 4, namely {-iruv}; see 754.8.

This morpheme is evidently a combination of {-ič} Diminutive and {-va} Plural Action; such a combination is so irregular, however, that {-i-čva} is best treated as a single morpheme. It may be identified, however, with the pseudo-postpound -hi-č(va) "make-believe" (614.2).

754.7. -ihi Benefactive is added to personal transitive stems to form transpersonal double-transitive ones; it may be translated "to, for (a person)." It conditions potential lengthening and progressive accentuation.

pa6 "to throw": pa6-Θ-ihi "to throw to (someone)."

ikšup "to point": ikšup-ihi "to teach (someone)."

pakuři-čva "to sing": pakurir-čv-ihi "to sing to (someone)."

Note that -ihi occurs after another Class 4 suffix, namely -i-čva "in pretense":

ikya-čva "to work": ikya-čv-ihi "to work for (someone)."

754.8. {-iruv} "too much" has been noted in a few cases. Some of them show the form -iruv, while others show -inuv; the reason for the difference is not known. The suffix evidently conditions change of r to n within stems. Data is insufficient to determine whether progressive or presuffixal accentuation is conditioned.

?av "to eat": ?av-iruv "to eat too much."

imkuh "to be warm": imkuh-iruv "to be overheated."

?iš "to die": ?iš-iruv "to be nearly dead from exhaustion."

iš "to drink": iš-inuv "to drink too much."

ivaxrah "to be dry": ivaxnáh-inuv "to be too dry."

vištār "to have an appetite": vištān-inuv "to have excessive appetite."

Note that this suffix occurs after another one of Class 4, namely -i-čva "in pretense":

5 Regarding the transitive and double-transitive syntactic classes, see 843, 844.
ikya'vi-čva "to work": ikyaví-čv-iruv "to work too much."

This suffix may be identified with -hruvA "excessively," added to nouns (621.8).

754.9. -kiri Instrumental forms verbs meaning "to use . . . in order to, to . . . by means of." This suffix differs in meaning from the semantically similar -ara in that it refers not so much to a tool, but to the object in or on which an action is performed. It conditions presuffixal accentuation and vowel shortening.

?áho- "to walk": ?ahó'-kiri "to walk on, by way of."

íkriv "to sit": íkrív-kiri "to sit on."

?i'na "(du.) to live": ?iná-kiri "(du.) to live by means of."

imus- "to look": imús-kiri "to look on (as a spectator), to admire" (this is a variant from the usual semantic type of derivatives in -kiri).

-kiri + {-va} Plural Action > -ki'n-va:

'imús-kiri "to look on": imús-ki'n-va "to watch a show, to listen to the radio."

A second suffixal morpheme -kiri, also conditioning presuffixal accentuation, must be distinguished. Occurring only in a small number of themes, it seems to involve the idea of motion.

čunva- "to sneak": čunvá-kiri "to sneak up."

Formally, it is differentiated by the fact that its combination with {-va} Plural Action is -ki' re-. E.g. -

ipšá-mkiri "to leave, abandon" (cf. {ip-} Iterative and sa'm "to remain"): ipšá-mki' re- "to leave (pl.)."

754.10. -ko-, conditioning vowel shortening and presuffixal accentuation, is a combination of the Class 2 suffix {-ku} "onto a vertical surface" and {-va}.Plural Action. Often, however, it has the position of a Class 3 suffix and some special meanings. Thus, after stems expressing the action of speaking, it has the sense of "to . . . directly to (a person)"; in this function it may follow another Class 3 suffix, namely -uniš "to."

ipé-ř "to tell": ipé'-n-ko- "to tell to one's face."

čuphu'niš- (< čú-phi "to speak" + {-uniš} "to," but not used alone):

čuphuni'š-ko- "to speak to."

-ko- is also common after the Class 3 suffix -ař "to go in order to": in this case -ko- adds the meaning of "thither, to (a place)."

?ihář "to go dancing": ?iha'n-ko- "to go there to dance."

754.11. -mara: "to finish . . . -ing" conditions potential lengthening and progressive accentuation. Derivatives containing it are used almost exclusively with {-ip} Iterative.
ikrup "to sew": p-ikru-p-mara "to finish sewing."

ikvař "to buy": p-ikvá-n-mara "to finish buying."

ihê-ra "to smoke": p-ihe-ra-mara "to finish smoking."

tarúpra "to lace": ip-taruprá-mara "to finish lacing."

The following irregularity is noted among these formations:

?av "to eat": p-áv-ma-ra "to finish eating," but pámvara-

before other derivative suffixes.

?əs "to drink": p-əs-ma-ra "to finish drinking," but pəsma-

before other derivative suffixes.

754.12. -maθ Causative may be translated "to make . . . , to cause . . . "; added to intransitive stems, it creates transitive ones. It conditions potential lengthening and progressive accentuation, and is denasalized to -vaθ after vowels (343).

?if "to grow, (water) to boil": ?if-maθ "to cause to grow, to boil (water)."

ivárxrah "to be dry": ivaxrá-θ-maθ "to dry (something)."

iškáxiś(rih) "to stop (i.e., come to a stop):" iškáxiśrih-maθ

"to stop (i.e., bring to a stop)."

?ə-θva "to be afraid": ?ə-θvé-vaθ "to scare."

?ə-xhi "to bleed (i.e., lose blood)": ?ə-xhí-vaθ "to bleed (i.e., draw blood from)."

kunukúnuhi "to have an itch": kunukúnuhi-vaθ "to tickle (someone)."

754.13. -o- "habitually" conditions vowel shortening and presuffixal accent of the unstable acute type. It is often added to stems which already contain {-va} Plural Action, which in this environment seems only to reinforce the habitual meaning.

vik "to weave": vi k-o- "to weave habitually." "

vi'kva "to weave (pl.)": vi'kv-o- "to weave habitually (pl.)."

pákurih "to sing" (not used as such in verb forms): paku'ri-hva

"to sing" (the stem normally used in verb forms): paku'ri-hv-o-

"to sing habitually."

754.14. -rih "up" is an element found in a few derivatives, conditioned progressive accentuation. Its occurrence is very limited, and owing to the small number of examples, the only meaning which can be assigned to it is vague and rather doubtful.

iktat "to prop": iktát-rih "to prop up."

?î-hya "(long object) to stand": ihyá-rih "(an.) to stand."

ipśūva "to fail to recognize": ipśinvá-rih "to forget."

The last example above may indicate that -rih conditions vowel shortening,
but there are no other examples to prove or disprove this.

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -ri³-h occurs:

\[ \text{ikt\=t-ri³} \text{ "to prop up"} ; \text{ikta³-tri³-va} \text{ "to prop up (pl.)"} \]

754.15. -sa³ "along with, together with" conditions presuffixal accentuation.

\[ \text{v³k} \text{ "to weave"} ; \text{v³k-ša³} \text{ "to weave in together with (as string with twigs)"} \]

\[ \text{išθuk} \text{ "to pluck"} ; \text{išθuk-ša³} \text{ "to pluck (something) along with (something else)"} \]

\[ \text{?išunva} \text{ "to bury"} ; \text{?išunvá-ša³} \text{ "to bury with."} \]

754.16. -tánmah "for nothing, for no reason" may be connected with the verb tánmahà "to owe."

\[ \text{?e-h} \text{ "to give"} ; \text{?e-h-tánmah} \text{ "to give for nothing, gratis."} \]

\[ \text{ikyav} \text{ "to make"} ; \text{ikya- tánmah} \text{ "to make for nothing."} \]

\[ \text{?if "to grow"} ; \text{?if-tánmah} \text{ "(plant) to grow as a volunteer, without having been planted."} \]

\[ \text{?u-ma "to go"} ; \text{?uma-tánmah} \text{ "to go in vain."} \]

754.17. -uk "hither" conditions progressive accentuation. It occurs freely only after derivatives in -a³ "to go in order to"; the resultant meaning is "to come in order to." Besides these cases, -uk is added to a very few other stems; the meaning "hither" is apparent in some cases, but completely indiscernible in others.

\[ \text{imus- "to look at"} ; \text{imus-a³} \text{ "to go to see, to visit"} ; \text{imusar-uk "to come to see."} \]

\[ \text{išxè-h "to give some to"} ; \text{išxè-a³ "to take some to"} ; \text{išxè-šar-uk "to bring some to."} \]

\[ \text{ivyih- "(pl.) to go"} ; \text{ivyih-uk "(pl.) to come."} \]

\[ \text{?ih "to dance"} ; \text{?ih-uk "to do a puberty dance."} \]

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -u³ occurs:

\[ \text{imusar-uk} \text{ "to come to see"} ; \text{imusaru³-va "to come to see (pl.)"} \]

754.18. {-uniš} "to, at, about" makes transitive stems out of intransitive ones which express various vocal and mental functions. In most cases, the suffix has the form -uniš, conditioning progressive accentuation, but after stems ending in -hi Denominative, the allomorph -u³uniš occurs, conditioning vowel shortening.

\[ \text{ikšah "to laugh"} ; \text{ikšah-uniš "to laugh at."} \]

\[ \text{ihváramu "to bark"} ; \text{ihváram-uniš "to bark at."} \]

\[ \text{ihyiv "to shout"} ; \text{*ihyiv-uniš > ihyú-uniš "to shout at."} \]

\[ \text{ikv³-thi "to be asleep"} ; \text{ikv³th-
ú-uniš "to dream about."} \]
ixvi·phi "to be angry": ixviph-û·niš "to be angry at."

754.19. -û·f "for a long time" occurs in a small number of derivatives:
  vik "to weave": vik-û·f "to weave for a long time."
  ikyïv "to fall": ikyiv-û·f "to fall for a long time."

754.20. -va·na "oneself" forms derivatives with a reflexive meaning. It occurs only in conjunction with {ip-} Iterative, and conditions presuffixal accentuation of the unstable acute type.
  ?avf "to eat": ?ip-a·m·va·na "to eat oneself."
  ikšah "to laugh": p-ikša·h·va·na "to laugh at oneself."
  imčak "to get burnt": p-imča·k·va·na "to burn oneself (on purpose)."
  ikmarakurih "to slash": p-ikmarakuri·h·va·na "to slash oneself."

754.21. -0vrik "in response to motion" conditions zero accentuation.
  ?aḥa- "to herd, drive (animals)"; ?aḥa-vrik "to head off."
  mah "to see": māh-avrik "to see coming."
  ñeθ "to take": ñeθ-ivrik "to catch (a thrown object)."

755. Class 5 consists of {-ahi} ESSIVE, added to transitive and intransitive themes, forming intransitive ones; it conditions progressive accentuation. It is often translated "to be . . . -ed," but the sense is different from that of a passive construction; themes in {-ahi} have the meaning "to be in a certain condition," rather than "to undergo a certain action."

The allomorph -ahi is used after all stems except those ending in -ih:
  iščur "to become cracked": iščur-ahi "to be cracked, i.e., in a cracked condition."
  imus- "to see": imus-ahi "to look (like)."
  ?aрав "to weave with three strands": ?aрав-ahi "to be woven with three strands."

After stems ending in ih, the allomorph -va occurs. This morph must be distinguished from allomorphs of {-va} Plural Action; note that the latter often conditions pre-presuffixal accentuation and vowel length-changes as contrasted with the simple progressive accentuation of essivizing -va.
  várarih "to hang (tr.)": várarih-va "to hang (intr.)." Contrast vara'ri·h·va "to hang (tr.) (pl.)."

But when essivizing -va is followed by -Tih Durative, it is replaced by the more usual allomorph -ahi.
  sürukurih "to make a hole in": sürukurih-va "to be a hole in": sürukurih-ahi-Tih "to be a hole in (dur.)."
{-ahi} must be distinguished from {-hi} Denominative, with which it is at times homophonous. The two suffixes sometimes occur in succession; e.g.:

kučičvásih "lizard-back, a basket design," -hi Denominative:
kučičvásihi "to make the lizard-back design": kučičvásih-ahi "to be made with the lizard-back design."

Like denominative {-hi}, the essive suffix has a special allomorph, namely -apu, when occurring with {ip-} Iterative.

imús-ahi "to look like": p-imús-apu "to look like again."

It might be possible to describe {-ahi} as a combination of -a Deverbative (761) plus {-hi} Denominative. This analysis could be applied to examples of the following types:
imus- "to see, look," -a Deverbative: imus-a "appearance":
imus-a-hi "to have the appearance of, to look like."

It happens, however, that deverbative nouns like imus-a "appearance" are relatively infrequent as free forms, so that most derivative series such as the above would have a bound theme in the second stage. This analysis would also complicate the description of the essive allomorph -va. For these reasons, the suggested analysis is rejected, and {-ahi} is considered a single morpheme.

756. The Class 6 morpheme, {-na-} Plural, usually (but not invariably) has semantic reference to human beings; it refers to the subject of a personal verb, and to the object of a transpersonal verb. The morpheme has both suffixal and prefixal allomorphs. Suffixes occur only when the stem contains no derivative suffix of Classes 2 or 3.

After stems whose pre-consonantal alternant ends in a vowel, the allomorph -na-, conditioning zero accentuation, occurs.
čú-phi "to talk": čú-phi-na- "(pl.) to talk."
ifyuku "to wander": ifyuku-na- "(pl.) to wander."
ihe-ra "to smoke": ihe-ra-na- "(pl.) to smoke."

?ó-ν "to raise (a child)": ?ó-na- "to raise (children)."

After stems whose preconsonantal alternant ends in a consonant, we find the allomorph -вуна- (or in some idiolects -вána-). It conditions potential lengthening and suffixal accentuation after unaccented monosyllables, but zero accentuation elsewhere. It seems likely that, on the historical level, this element is a combination of {-va} Plural Action with -na; however, in the present state of the language, -na and -вуна- are purely automatic alternants. Neither one, however, occurs in sequence with {-va}.

?ař "to eat": ?a-мвуна- "(pl.) to eat."

?ákih "to feed": ?ákih-вуна- "to feed (several)."
imú-stih "to look at": imú-sti-h-vuna- "to look at (several)."

The prefixal allomorph ?iru- occurs whenever derivative suf­fixes of Classes 2 and 3 are present. It conditions normal recessive accentuation. There is no restriction on its occurring in the same theme with {-va).

vi-š(rih) "to descend" (< va- "to go" + Class 2 -išrih "down"): ?irú-vi-š(rih) "(pl.) to descend."

kú-ntako- "to sit on" (< kú-f- "to sit" + Class 2 -taku "on" + {-va} Plural Action): ?iru-kú-ntako- "(pl.) to sit on."

757. Class 7 consists of -Tih Durative, which indicates continuing action, over either a long or a relatively short period of time: thus ?ukyaví-cvu-Tih is either "he works (all the time)" or "he is working (now)." It conditions potential lengthening and special progressive accentuation.

ihyákurih "to stick in": ihýákurih-tih "to be sticking in."
fuhíš "to believe": fuhí-š-tih "to be believing."
ikrivkiri "to sit on": ikrivkíri-Tih "to be sitting on."
ikšú-pku "to point at": ikšú-pku-Tih "to be pointing at."
?i-mnih "to love": ?i-mnih-tih "to be loving."
čú-phi "to talk": ču-phi-Tih "to be talking."
?a-punmu "to know": ?a-punmu-Tih "to be knowing."
iyva-yko "to pour on (pl.)": iyvyayko-tih "to be pouring on (pl.)."
ta-pku-pu "to like": tapku-pu-Tih "to be liking."
i-fu-nva "to rest": i-fu-nvu-Tih "to be resting."

-Tih may be used with almost every verb in the language. The few stems not occurring with this suffix seem to have durative meaning already inherent within them, and may be called DURATIVE VERBS. The common­est ones are the following:

ikriv "(sg.) to live, sit, be."
?i-na "(du.) to live, sit, be."
θiv "(sg. inan.) to lie, be."
iphíriš "(du. inan.) to lie, be."
?í-θiri "(a filled container or its contents) to sit, be."

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6 The morphophoneme written as T is exempt from gemination after a short accented vowel (391.1). In derivatives where -Tih immediately follows a long vowel or a conso­nant, the use of the capital letter is abandoned, since there can no longer be any ques­tion of gemination. In derivatives where -Tih follows a short vowel, however, the capi­tal is always written, since the vowel may receive accent in later grammatical develop­ments, even though it may be unaccented in the isolated durative theme.
9a8ri-n "(two filled containers or their contents) to sit, be."
9a8ri-na- "(more than two filled containers or their contents) to sit, be."
9i-hya "(a long object) to stand, be."
v̄c-hriv "(one or more long objects) to stand, be."
hyārih. "(sg. an.) to stand."
viruvc-hriv "(du.-pl. an.) to stand."
iyrū-hriv "(sg.) to lie."
uduriv "(du.-pl. an.) to lie."
9i-kra "(a house) to stand, be."
vumni- "(two houses) to stand, be."
vumnīna- "(more than two houses) to stand, be."
?i-kra "(a house) to stand, be."
vumni- "(two houses) to stand, be."
vumni-na- "(more than two houses) to stand, be."
iyru-hriv "(sg.) to lie."
?ururiv "(du.-pl. an.) to lie."
?i-kra "(a house) to stand, be."
vumni- "(two houses) to stand, be."
iyru-hriv "(sg.) to lie."
?ururiv "(du.-pl. an.) to lie."

On the other hand, some themes are never found without -Tih; e.g.—
?ara-rahī- (< ?āra-ra "person" + -hi Denominative);
found only in ?ara-rahi-Tih "(pl.) to live, sit, be."
ta-yhi- (< tā-y "many" + -hi): found only in ta-yhi-Tih "(pl.
inan.) to lie, be."

As a matter of fact, the suffix is so welded into these stems that they should perhaps not be considered as containing the durative morpheme at all. This is shown by the fact that a derivative suffix of lower class-number than -Tih may be added to them, and that another -Tih may then be added to the resulting theme.


Finally, it may be noted that many Karok verbs are, in themselves, semantically neutral as between the meanings "to be so-and-so" and "to become so-and-so." When -Tih is added to these, the meaning becomes definitely "to be." Thus ixvi-phi, though glossed as "to be angry," is also the equivalent of "to become angry"; ixvi-phi-Tih, however, is only "to be angry." A similar case is ikvi-thi "to be asleep, to fall asleep" vs. ikvi-thi-Tih "to be asleep."

758. Class 8 consists of -a̱ Diminutive, which may sometimes be translated "a little, just." In other cases it merely indicates a speaker's familiar or affectionate attitude toward a situation. It conditions zero accentuation, plus change of r to n and of ŋ to ñ in the stem which precedes it.

ikre-myahthi "(wind) to be blowing": ikne-myahthi-ač "(wind) to be blowing a little."

The elements -i-n and -a-, though evidently morphemes, do not occur outside of these four derivatives, and therefore have not been discussed previously.

The accentuation of these forms is irregular; -hi normally conditions simple progressive accent.
paəɾ̪ᵝhi₃(rih) "to begin to rain": paɭɪnutiʂnih-aɪ "to begin to rain a little."

ikxáramhi "to become evening": ikxánamh-aɪ "to just get to be evening."

ikriv "to live": *ikniv-aɪ > iknɛ-ɛ- "to live (fam.)" in ɣá ɣiknɛ-ɛ-han "one who lives (fam.) above, i.e., the duck hawk."

This suffix lies on the very border between derivational and inflectional elements; it is never followed by any of the former, and never preceded by any of the latter. It could be classed as an inflectional suffix, rather than a derivational one, without either complicating or simplifying the total description. It is listed as derivational, however, because of the fact that it is obviously related to {-iɪ} Diminutive, which performs a derivational function with nouns.

760. Suffixes forming nouns.

761. {-a} Deverbative has the basic function of forming nomina actionis; the meanings of the resulting nouns are often extended from the abstract to the concrete, however, as can be seen in the examples below. The suffix conditions no accent changes.

The usual allomorph of {-a} is -a. By regular morphophonemic rule (361), this has the form of zero after a long vowel.

ʔáho- "to walk": ʔáho-ɛ "(the act of) walking."
ʔu-fɪoʊva "to swim": ʔu-fɪoʊv-a "swimming."
ɛːphɪ "to talk": ɛːph-a "speech."

pávanp- "(woman) to marry again": pávan-a "husband of woman's dead sister."⁹

ɪkrɪvkiɾi "to sit on": ɪkrɪvkiɾ-a "chair."
ɪʊyur- "to haul": ɪʊyur-a "automobile."
paɭərih "to rain": paɭərih-a "rain."
ʔav "to eat": *ʔav-a "food."

It should be noted, however, that the prejunctural forms of many deverbative derivatives lack the final a; thus ɪkrɪvkiɾ- "chair," ɪʊyur- "automobile," paɭərih- "rain," *ʔav- "food." (see 354). The deverbatives of themes in -i3(rih) "down" (754. 3.) normally have prejunctural forms lacking the whole sequence -rihá:

ɣiʂipɨš(rih) "to extend down": ɣiʂipɨš# "Ishi Pishi (a place name)," but ɣiʂipɨšrihá-kam "on the Ishi Pishi side."

After the sequence Vhi, however, {-a} has the allomorph -A, which is preserved even before juncture:

⁹The semantic development here evidently reflects the practice of the sororate.
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iyvurukahi "to be painted": iyvurukah = iyvurukaha# "paint."
{-a} is especially common after verbs containing the suffixes -ahiv
"on some occasion," -ara and -kiri Instrumental and -rav "in": in many
such cases the verb stem has not been found in verb forms, but only in
these derivatives, which are used as the names of various tools, utensils,
etc.

på·kuhi "to pick acorns": *på·kuh-ahiv > pä·kuhiv "to partici-
pate in the acorn harvest": pä·kuhiv-a "acorn harvest."

ikrav "to grind": ikrav-ara "to grind with": ikrávar-a
"pestle."

ikyav "to make": ikyâ·:ra "to make with: ikyâ·r-a "tool."

itká:nv-ara- "to spear fish with": itká:nvar-a "fish spear."

tätuyé:sur "to sweep off": tätuyé:sur-ara- "to sweep off with":
tätuyé:surar-a "broom."

?aho "to walk": ?aho·:kiri "to walk on": ?aho·kir-a "sidewalk."

ikriv "to sit": ikriv·kiri "to sit on": ikrívikir-a "chair."

?av "to eat": ?am·kiri- "to eat on": ?amkíkira "table."

pátum "to put one's head": patúm·kiri- "to put one's head on":
patúmkíkira "pillow."

The combination -rav-a usually, though not always, appears in the
"portmanteau" form -ram possibly by contamination with -ra·m - -ram
"place" (767):

mahyâ·na "to put": mahyâ·na-ram "to put into": mahyâ·namarav-a
or mahyâ·namaram "container."

?iś "to drink": ?iś·raav- "to drink in": ?iś·rav-a or ?iś·ram
"cup."

When -ak Locative is added, however, only -rav-ar appears:

pata "to eat acorn mush": pata·raav- "to eat acorn mush in":
patarav-a or patarav-ak "in a
mush-basket."

Nouns in -ar-a occasionally designate the subject of the underlying
verb stem, rather than an instrument:

yikih "to get sick": yikih-ara- "invalid."

vô-f "to crawl": vô-f-ara- "slow-moving."

Such nouns are used less as free forms, however, than as stems for further
derivation by means of the denominative suffix -hi (622.1). The results of
this combination are verbs whose meanings contain the idea of collective
subject.

xürühi "to be hungry": xürüh-ara- "hungry (person)"

xürühara-hi "(a group of people) to be hungry."
762. -a·n Agentive is added to verbs to form personal nouns meaning "one who . . . -s." The suffix conditions presuffixal accentuation and vowel shortening.

vik "to weave": vik-a·n "weaver."
iθít "to gamble": iθít-a·n "gambler."
kiθá "to singe": kiθá-ha·n "ceremonial brush-burner."
küθi "to be sick": küθ-a·n "sickly (person)."
qákuθá "to hunt": qákuθ-a·n "hunter."
imká·nva "to gather (food)"; imká·n·v-a·n "food-gatherer."
ikiθá·ví·čva "to work": ikiθá·ví·č-a·n "worker."

763. -apuh may be translated "having . . . -ed" when it occurs with intransitive verbs, and "having been . . . -ed" elsewhere. It conditions progressive accentuation.

qív "to die": qív-apuh "dead."
qíftá·mah "(plant) to grow as a volunteer": qíftá·máh-apuh "volunteer plant."
vik "to weave": vik-apuh "woven quiver."
ikiθá "to grind": ikiθá-apuh "wild oats."
ikiθá·m-kír "to abandon": ikiθá·m-kír-apuh "orphan."

764. -ara is added to a limited number of intransitive verbs, forming adjectives with the meaning "having . . . -ed." The suffix conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening.

iθtak "to become chipped out": iθtá·k-ara "chipped out."
iθtáktak "to become chipped out repeatedly": iθtaktá·k-ara "chipped out repeatedly."
imšíp "to become extinguished": -imší-p-ara "extinguished,"
with qáθa "fire" in qáθa·m-shí·para "one having an extinguished fire, i.e., a widower."
imxaθavára "to become cracked through (pl.)": imxaθavára·ra "cracked through."

765. -e·p "refuse left over from . . . -ing."
vuxíc "to saw": vuxíc-e·p "sawdust."
viθkara "to use for weaving": viθkar-e·p "sticks rejected for use in weaving."
θáruθ "to peel sticks for basketry": θáruθ-e·p "peelings from sticks."

766. -ra·m "place of . . . -ing" forms adverbial nouns, conditioning presuffixal accentuation and vowel shortening. After stems which end in CCY, VCY, or VWV, the allomorph -ram occurs; elsewhere, the allomorph is -ra·m.
imθá·tva "to play shinny": imθatvá·ram "shinny field."
imčunva "to hide": imčunvá·ram "hiding place."
unθá·vá "to swim": unθává·ram "swimming pool."
vē·na "to pray": vē·ná·ram "the sacred sweathouse at
ame·kyá·ra·m."
?ahi- "to burn": ?ahi·ram "fireplace."
?i3 "to drink": ?i3·ra·m "deerlick, saloon."
?ař "to eat": ?am·na·m "hotel."
ünkiv "to live": ?ünkiv·ra·m "house."
čivčá·ksuru "to close": čivčaksurá·ra·m "door."
The suffix is added to a very few nouns:
?u·h "tobacco": ?uh·ra·m "pipe."
ikmáhač "warm": ikmáhač·ra·m "sweathouse."

767. -ve·na Agentive forms derivatives which are used almost exclu­sively in names of animals. This suffix may be related to the verb ve·na,,
which normally means "to pray," but in some combinations seems to mean
"to do." The suffix conditions zero accentuation.
pikvah "to wear a plume": pikváhvahve·nač "quail" (with stem
reduplication and -ač Diminutive).
?asimčak "to close one's eyes": ?asimčák·kve·nač "wren."
pů·x "to hold in one's mouth": pů·x·ve·nač "cliff swallow"
(with ?asa "rock, dirt").
The most important units in Karok syntax are the following:

The SYNTACTIC AFFIX is the smallest syntactical element; phonemically, it is bound within a larger word, but it has the tactical behavior of a free form (270).

The WORD, excluding syntactic affixes which may be phonemically part of it, is the basic building block of syntax. This unit is definable on a combined phonemic-morphophemic basis, apart from its syntactic functions.

The PREDICATION is the most important structure resulting from syntactic combination. A MINOR predication consists of an interjection alone, e.g., ʰʰʼhí: "yes!" or ?ayukí: "hello!" A MAJOR predication is more complex; it always contains as head constituent either a noun-form, a verb-form, or a nominalized construction (812), which acts as the PREDICATE. Depending on which it contains, we may speak of NOMINAL PREDICATES (NP), VERBAL PREDICATES (VP), and NOMINALIZED PREDICATES (NzP).¹ The major predication also may, and usually does, contain other elements, which will be called SATELLITES to the predicate. Examples are as follows:

A nominal predicate without satellites: ʰʰʼikxaré-yav "it's a god."²
The same, with a satellite: patú-yášip ʰʰʼikxaré-yav "the mountain's a god."

A verbal predicate without satellites: ʰuhaná-títh "it's growing."
The same, with a satellite: pašíppaha ʰuhaná-títh "the tree's growing."
A nominalized predicate, occurring only with satellites: hărivari pa-muyá-rame-3 "when (it is) that-we-two-will-go, i.e., when will we two go?"

Satellites may be divided into NOMINAL SATELLITES, NOMINALIZED SATELLITES, AND QUOTATIONS. The composition and use of these elements will be described in following sections.

The SENTENCE is phonemically defined as a stretch of speech containing one intonation contour other than the comma type (182). Syntactically, it is

¹Abbreviations of this nature will be used in the description of syntax, to indicate the function of each part of the predications used as examples.

²In this section, which treats of word combinations, examples are normally written not in their morphologically basic form (281), but phonemically as they would appear in a sentence; thus ʰʰʼikxaré-yav instead of ikxaré-yav. External sandhi changes which occur in rapid speech only, however (392, 393), are not indicated.
not an important unit. As regards its composition, it is either a single predic-
tication, or a combination of two or more predications, separated by comma 
pause. E.g.—

paćiš' kā·n ?ũkri·, tō ·kfu-yšur, ?umyáhya·htih. "The dog is 
sitting there, he's tired, he's panting." (T92.25.)

In either case, the sentence unit is not distinguishable distributionally from 
a single predicate.

810. The profix pa=.

The profix pa= is a syntactic affix with two functions. In the first 
function, it is added to noun forms (and occasionally to noun phrases) and 
acts as a definite ARTICLE, translatable as "the." In the second function, 
it is added to whole predications and has a NOMINALIZING function; i.e., 
it creates a unit which behaves syntactically like a noun form.

811. In its articular use, pa= refers semantically to an individual per-
son or object which is distinguished from a group by previous reference or 
by implication. It generally forms a complete tactical constitute with a noun 
to which it is phonologically attached: thus pa=kú-srah "the sun" and pa-mu-
tta· "(the) his mother" are tactical units as well as phonological ones. 
In this respect pa= resembles a prefix. However, pa= also forms con-
stitutes with noun phrases, such as with that type consisting of mit(a) 
"former" followed by a kinship term (836.3). An example is pa=mit 
muhró·ha "his former wife," where pa= shows the typical behavior of a pro-
fix, being coordinate not with a single word, but with a whole syntactic con-
struction.

In addition to its normal articular use, pa= has a special semantic 
function: when added to adverbial nouns designating places, it may mean 
not only "the," but also "the person who is at . . . " E.g.—

?ũ-kukam "this side": pa=?ũ-kukam "the person on this side."

samvaró·tti·m "creek-edge": pa=samvaró·tti·m "the creek-edge" 
or "he who lives by the creek-edge (a man's name)."

This profix conditions some special morphophonemic changes, as 
follows:

1) When pa= is added to an unaccented monosyllable, the combina-
tion is unaccented before pause, but has acute accent on pa= otherwise. In 
addition, all monosyllabic stems are subject to initial gemination after artic-
ular pa=, as they would be after a prefix (333).

pa-h "peppernut": pa=ppa· ?u?iffiktih "he's picking the pepper-
nuts," but also ?u?iffiktih pa=ppa·h (same meaning).

2) When pa= is added to a monosyllable with acute accent, this 
accent shifts to the profix in all positions.
pá:h "boat": pá=ppa- ?uvítih or ?uvíticpá=ppa-h "he's rowing the boat."

3) When pa= is added to dissyllables beginning with unaccented VCC, then the glottal stop is normally lost and vowel contraction occurs (323). But in careful speech, the ? may be retained.

?axvâ:h "head": pa= ?axvâ:h "the head" or pa=?axvâ:h.

?išpuk "money": pe= ?išpuk "the money" or pa= ?išpuk.

4) When pa= is added to dissyllables which begin with a consonant other than ?, and are completely unaccented, then acute accent falls on the first syllable of the combination when it stands in prepausal position but on the last syllable otherwise.

čiši:h "dog": pá-čiši:h before pause, but pa-čiši:h elsewhere.

5) When pa= is added to other types of words, no morphophonemic change occurs.

?apsu:n "snake": pa=?apsu:n "the snake."

tišra:m "clearing": pa=tišra:m "the clearing."

812. In its nominalizing function, pa= may be added to any predication. If the predication contains satellites, pa= can be attached to any one of them, or to the predicate itself; i.e., pa= may have any position in the predication which it nominalizes. The nominalized unit may then act either as a satellite or a predicate.

The morphophonemic traits of nominalizing pa= are the same as those of articular pa=, with the following exceptions:

1) When the nominalizer is attached to a monosyllable which is accented in its predication, the monosyllable retains its accent, and its initial consonant is not subject to gemination.

ká:n ?uʔu-m "he arrives there": pa=ká:n ?uʔu-m "when he arrives there." 3

But when the monosyllable is unaccented in its predication, then acute accent falls on pa=, and gemination of the initial occurs.

na· ne·músahitih "he looks like me": va· vúra pá=na· ne·músahitih "that's how he looks like me." (T16.15)

2) When the nominalizer is attached to any word beginning with ?, the glottal stop is lost and vowel contraction occurs.

?utúra-yva "he looks for it": po= ?utúra-yva "when he looks for it."

?úska·ksip "he jumps up": po= ?úska·ksip "when he jumps up."

3) When the nominalizer contracts with an unaccented dissyllable, the combination acts like an unaccented word, in that it receives final acute

---

3In these examples pa= is glossed as "when," a frequent translation of its function in nominalized predications.
accent before non-pausal juncture (391.4). Before pause, however, it receives accent on its first syllable.

\( \text{?u}\text{?u}\text{?m} \) "he arrives": \( \text{xas p}\text{?}\text{?u}\text{?m, }\text{?u}\text{n}\text{?u}\text{?n}\text{?h} \)
"and when he arrived, he peeked through the smokehole."

(T57.20.) But: \( \text{xas po}\text{?}\text{?d}\text{?m }\text{yanava }\text{tupivaxa}\text{?h}\text{e}\text{n} \) "and when he arrived he saw it had dried up." (T1.29.)

4) In the rare cases where the nominalizer precedes an unaccented word of more than two syllables, acute accent falls on the nominalizer alone:

\( \text{nikuphe}\text{?} \) "I will do": \( \text{hu}\text{?t }\text{\?ata p}\text{?nikuphe}\text{?} \) "What ever shall I do?"

When nominalizing \( \text{pa} \) is added to a word which already contains the articular \( \text{pa} \), the nominalizer assumes a zero form; this may be considered a case of haplology.

\( \text{pa}\text{?s}\text{sa}\text{?mva}\text{?ro}\text{. }\text{ummah }\) "he sees the creek": \( \text{\?umma}\text{? WHEN he sees the creek.} \) Contrast \( \text{pa}\text{?s}\text{sa}\text{?mva}\text{?ro}\text{. }\text{p}\text{?}\text{?m}\text{mah} \) (same meaning).

812.1. One use of nominalized predications is in the role of predicates. In this usage, however, only predications with verb forms as heads have been found.

\( \text{\?i}\text{?}\text{?a}\text{?nvutih }\) "you are carrying": \( \text{fa}\text{?t pe}\text{?\?a}\text{?nvutih }\) "what (is it) that you are carrying? What are you carrying?"

\( \text{mu}\text{?ippake}\text{?} \) "we shall come back": \( \text{\?i}\text{fy}\text{?tu}\text{?}\text{?m pa}\text{?mu}\text{?ippake}\text{?} \)
"what time is it that we shall come back? what time shall we we come back?"

\( \text{va}\text{. }\text{mit }\text{\?i}\text{ta}\text{?ra}\text{?n nipikyav}\text{a}\text{?nhat }\) "I was priestess thus ten times": \( \text{na}\text{. }\text{va}\text{. }\text{pa}\text{?}\text{mita }\text{\?i}\text{ta}\text{?ra}\text{?n nipikyav}\text{a}\text{?nhat} \) "I (am) that I was priestess thus ten times, i.e., I am the one that was priestess ten times."

812.2. The other use of nominalized predications is as satellites. They are translated as subordinate clauses, introduced most commonly by "when," but occasionally also by "where," "who," "what," or "that."

\( \text{po}\text{\?t}\text{pma mutat}\text{?i}\text{?n kunmah }\) "when he got back, his mother saw him."

\( \text{\?u}\text{?}\text{\?e}\text{?i}\text{hvuna}\text{. po}\text{\?kupha}\text{?nik }\) "he told them what he had done."

\( \text{tu}\text{\?\?e}\text{\?kha pe}\text{\?\?p\?k t}\text{? }\text{\?}\text{i\?nati}\text{?h }\) "he was glad that he had (the) money."

820. Composition of the predicate.

Predicates are composed of a single noun form or verb form, plus or minus a postfix. Following some remarks on the distribution of certain

4 Concerning the alternation between mit and mita, see 845.5.
verb forms, these postfixes will be described individually.

821. Any noun form or verb form may be a predicate. It should be pointed out, however, that the many suffixless verb forms—that is, ones consisting only of personal morpheme plus theme—have specially limited distribution. These forms may be divided into two classes:

1) Forms containing themes with the derivative suffix -Tih Durative, and a few other themes which may be considered inherently durative (757), occur without limitation in conversation and in narrative: e.g., ḫuʔ-mtih "he is eating, he eats"; ḩukri- "he is living, he lives." These forms denote continuing actions or conditions.

2) Suffixless forms which do not contain themes of the types stated occur in three environments:

   a) In both conversation and narrative, they occur in the expression of wishes, after the particles kíri "may . . .," xa-t or xa-tik "let . . .," and xay or xáyfa-t "let not . . .":
      ḫuʔ-kža "it burns": kíri ḫuʔ-kža "may it burn!"
      napíkčah "he takes my picture": xa-t napíkčah "let him take my picture!"
      ḩukwi-tha "he falls asleep": xáy ḩukwi-tha "let him not fall asleep!"

   b) In conversation, and to a lesser extent in narration, they occur after the perfective morpheme {tah}, which is an independent word in some positions and a prefix in others (845.7). This combination is used to express completed action, including momentaneous action occurring simultaneously with the utterance which describes it:
      ḫuʔ-k "he hits it": t-xūʔi-k "he has hit it (sometime recently); he is hitting it (a single blow, right now)."

   c) In narration only, suffixless forms occur unrestrictedly, describing the succession of events. They are then normally translated by the English past tense. Thus in the following sequence, all the verb forms are suffixless:
      kári xás kunčárih. kári xás ʔapmá-n ʔýuy-nvar. xás ʔupám-čak. kári xás ḩuʔi-pkúri pó-kra-m. "And they passed her to him. And he put her in his mouth. And he closed his mouth. And he dived into the lake." (T33.80-83.)

Thus it is seen that the glossing of suffixless verb forms by the English simple present tense, as has been done throughout this grammar in forms like ḫuʔ-sav "he eats," is, although convenient, somewhat misleading, since in context it would never be translated that way, but rather would appear in various combinations meaning "may he eat," "let him eat," "let him
not eat," and "he has eaten," and alone with narrative past tense meaning, "he ate."

822. The TENSE POSTFIXES are a set of three syntactic affixes which are added to noun forms and verb forms which are acting as predicates. As markers of tense, they supplement the single inflectional tense-suffix, {-at} Past tense. These postfixes also fit into the same order-classes in position after the verb theme as do the inflectional suffixes (530).

822.1. {=avi3} Future Tense falls into order-class 2. It is usually translatable by the English future form in "shall" or "will." However, when used together with the past tense suffix {-at}, the translations "be about to," "be going to," or "would" are more appropriate; e.g.—

pa-?pa ?áva=he-§-at "where food was going to be, would be."

A similar translation is in order for simple future forms in narratives, where the sequence of past events is normally indicated by suffixless (i.e., tenseless) forms; e.g.—

kári xás ŋukvip. čími kunipáharioun-e-§. "And he ran (tenseless). They were about to catch him (future)." (T5.77-78.)

The allomorph _he-§ occurs after nominal predicates; it causes no morphophonemic changes.

nani?ávan "my husband": nani?ávan=he-§ "... will (be) my husband."

The allomorphs _e-§ and _avi3 are added to verb forms, conditioning modified progressive accentuation. The allomorph _e-§ occurs after consonants other than y and y:

?ú?if "it grows": ?ú?í= e-§ "it will grow."

kuništuk "they pick" (< ištuk): kuništuk= e-§ "they will pick."

?uváxrah "it dries" (< iváxrah, < axrah-): ?uváxráh= e-§ "it will dry."

nupápi3 "we seek": nupápi3= e-§ "we will seek."

The allomorph _avi3 occurs elsewhere, y and y preceding this suffix are lost by regular process (321), and contraction ensues between the exposed vowel of the stem and the a of the suffix. Where _avi3 replaces a final vowel, however, it then contracts within itself to _e-§.

ni?áho- "I walk": ni?áho=vi3 "I will walk."

?úkyav "he makes": *?úkyáv=avi3 > ?úkyâ-avi3 "he will make."

Contrast *?úav "he eats": ?úav=e-§ "he will eat."

?úhruv "he uses": *?úhruv=avi3 > ?úhrô-avi3 "he will use."

ni?áxya "I take": *ni?áxya=avi3 > ni?áxa-avi3 "I will take."

ni?i-pma "I go back" (< ?i-pmu): *ni?i-pma=avi3 > ni?i-pme-§ "I will go back."
nixvi-pha "I get angry" (< ixvi-phi): nixvi-phe-Š "I will get angry."

?u?i-θra "(filled container) sits" (< ?i-θri): ?u?i-θre-=Š "it will sit."

822. 2 {ahe-n} Anterior Tense falls into Class 4; it designates time previous to that indicated by {-at} Past Tense. In narratives where tenseless forms predominate, however, anterior forms, like past tense forms, may be used in reporting an event immediately past. In either case, {ahe-n} may be translated by the English pluperfect construction.

xås tó- xmmah pa?is3aha po-ñ̃ntiḥ... kári xås... ká-n
?u?u-m. yánava tupivxrâche-n "And he saw the water flowing (tenseless). And he arrived there (tenseless). He saw it had dried up (anterior)." (T1.37-40.)

With nominal predicates, the allomorph =he-n, conditioning zero accentuation, occurs:

mukúnta-t "their mother": papihne-fiš̃ari-m mukúnta-t=he-n
"the dead coyote had been their mother."

With verb forms, the allomorph =ahe-n occurs, conditioning special progressive accentuation. In addition, forms ending in the shape -CV'CCV show a progressive accent shift.

?u?áho- "he walks": ?u?áho=he-n "he had walked."

?upi8vu-k "he brought it back": ?upi8vu-k=ahe-n "he had brought it back."

?uppe-çip(riv) "he picks it up": *?uppe-çipriv=ahe-n > ?uppe-çip-re-he-n "he had picked it up."

?upaku-ri-hva "he sang": ?upaku-ri=he-n "he had sung."?

?u?á-hka "he sets fire to it": ?u?a-hk=he-n "he had set fire to it."

The sequence *hahe-n, however, contracts to he-n, and the sequence *håhe-n to hê-n.

?ummah "he sees": *?ummâh=he-n > ?ummâhe-n "he had seen."

niyu-pha "I open my eyes": *niyu-ph=he-n > niyu-phê-n "I opened my eyes."

822.3 {=anik} Ancient Tense also falls into Class 4; it designates a time more remote than that indicated by the past or anterior morpheme. Forms with this postfix are frequently used to begin stories, which are then continued with tenseless forms.

The allomorph =hanik occurs after noun forms and after the personal suffix -ap; it conditions zero accentuation.

?ikrîvkr "chair": ?ikrîvkr=hanik ". . . (was) once a chair."
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kun-iykâratih=anik "they once were killing," pu= "not":
pu-?iykâratih-ap=hanik "they once weren't killing."

The allomorph "aNik, conditioning special progressive accentuation, is used elsewhere. Like {zahe'n), it conditions a progressive accent shift in forms ending in -CV'-CCV'.

kun?av "they eat": kun?av=aNik "they once ate."
?ûkyav "he makes": *?ukyâv=aNik > ?ukyânik "he once made."
?uûâma:nânih "he puts it in": ?uûma:nâni=aNik "he once put it in."

?upûsunva "he buries it": ?upûsunva=aNik "he once buried it."
?upûsunvav=anik "he buries himself": ?upûsunvav=anik "he once buried himself."

?uâho "he goes": ?uâho=anik "he once went."

823. "The NOMINALIZING POSTFIXES are two morphemes, falling into 
Class 4, which occur principally in nominalized satellites; i.e., they nor-
mally occur in the presence of pa-, whose meaning they make more definite. 

823.1. {=aha-k} TEMPORAL occurs in nominalized satellites with the 
meaning "when . . . " or occasionally "if . . . " The allomorph =ha-k, 
occurring after noun forms and after verb forms ending in a vowel, con-
ditions zero accentuation. The allomorph =a-ha-k, occurring after verb 
forms ending in a consonant, conditions progressive accentuation.

êi-yâ "narrow": paêi-yâ=ha-k "when . . . (is) narrow."
yê-psa "good ones": pa-yê-psa=ha-k "when . . . (are) good ones.

kun?i-pma "they return": pa=kun?i-pma=ha-k "when they return."

?uvô-rura- "he climbs up": po=ô-vô-rura=ha-k "when he climbs up."

?ûîf "you grow": pe=ôîf=aha-k "when you grow."

kunîkyav "they make": *pa=kunîkyav=a-ha-k > pakunîkî=a-ha-k
"when they make."

When the suffix follows h or ha, the sequence *haha-k reduces to ha-k:
tu?ô-rih "he is unwilling": *pa=tu?ô-rih=aha-k > patu?ô-riha-k
"when he is unwilling."

kunûha "they are sick": *pa=kunûha=ha-k > pakunûha=a-k
"when they get sick."

823.2. =irak LOCAL occurs in nominalized satellites with the meaning 
"where . . . ," conditioning progressive accentuation. It is found in a num-
ber of petrified place names, in which it is added to an uninflected verb 
theme; in this use it acts as a derivative suffix, and is not associated with pa-.
In many of these cases the verb theme is a denominative in -hi, not attested as a free form:

*ačvi-v "bird": ačvi-v-hi- "to be a bird": ačvi-vhi-irak "where there is a bird (a place name)."

Place names of these types may occur as prepounds, in which case the final k is absent. It seems likely that on a historical basis this k is to be identified with the locative suffix (621.1), but descriptively it is probably preferable to recognize an allomorph -ira- of the local postfix.

*?iš "to drink": ?iš-irak "where one drinks, Cecilville":

?iširá-θουεf "Cecilville-creek, i.e., the South Fork of the Salmon River."

kátiphi-irak (a place name, unanalyzable): kátiphi-ra-?ara-ra

"person from kátiphirak."

More productively, -irak occurs with complete verbal predicates in the presence of pa₃.

pa=kunihyákurihe-š-irak "where they will stick it in." Note the sequence of temporal- and nominalizing postfixes.

?u?i-hya "it stands": po-?i-hy=irak "where it stands."

?uvumni-na- "(baskets) are sitting": *pa=?uvumni-na-irak > po*vumni-në:rak "where (baskets) are sitting."

In a few cases, -irak is added to a predication consisting of verb form and satellite; the whole resultant complex then acts as a nominalized satellite without the presence of pa₃. These cases consist entirely of place names.


830. Composition of nominal satellites.

A nominal satellite may consist of a single noun form or of a participle; for the use of the latter note the following example:

pe=kvi:θe:šan ?o-k vúra nuγtšure-š "the one-who-will-fall-asleep here (int.) we-will-leave, i.e., anyone who falls asleep we will leave here."

A nominal satellite may also be a NOUN PHRASE, two or more words in a construction with a noun as head. Such a phrase is often discon-
tinuous, being interrupted by other words; examples of this will appear below. The main types of noun phrase are the following:

831. A POSSESSIVE PHRASE is a construction consisting of two noun forms, one of which (usually the second) contains an inflectional prefix of possession. The construction is endocentric, with the prefixed noun acting as head constituent, whereas the other, indicating the possessor, is the attribute.

paʔávansa mú-tta-t "the-man his-mother, i.e., the man's mother."

xanθú-n mú-va-san "crawfish his-enemy, i.e., the barn swallow."

piʔep vaʔiriρra-m "long-ago its-mine, i.e., an old mine."

panámiʔ kuma-yuʔ-m "Orleans its-downriver, i.e., downriver from Orleans."

vaʔ kumáʔ-ʔi "that its-because-of, i.e., because of that."

832. A DETERMINATIVE PHRASE is a construction consisting of two words, the first of which is a member of the group of DETERMINATIVES, comprising members of the adverb subclass (defined in 845). Typical determinatives are tá-y "much," pay "this," koʔ "so much," koʔvúra "all," káʔkum "some," háʔrh "sometimes," all of the numerals, all combinations of numerals with classifiers (612), and all combinations ending in the suffixes -avan Animate and -ʔaxyara "-ful."

The second member of a determinative phrase is a noun form, with or without the prefix paʔ "the." The resulting phrase is endocentric, with the noun as head.

páy paʔvuh "this the-tooth, i.e., this tooth."

páy namuʔávahkam "this our-above, i.e., the sky."

kóʔ aʔhupyaʔ-ʔmač "so-much pretty-stick, i.e., such a pretty stick."

ʔáxxak paʔmuʔ-ʔffunih "two the-their-hair, i.e., two of their hairs."

ʔáxxak-avan paʔávansa "two(-an.) the-men, i.e., two men."

ʔápxa-nʔaxyar paʔxuntáppan "hat-ful the-acorn(s), i.e., a hatful of acorns."

Note the discontinuous determinative phrase in the following example:

koʔvúra ʔukvar paʔpiʔsuʔ-ʔfik "all he-bought the-coyote(s), i.e., he bought all the coyotes."

When the attribute of a determinative phrase is a numeral, it is occasionally found after the noun, rather than before: ʔasiktáva-n ʔyíʔhα "one woman" (T92.48), ʔára ʔáxxak "two people" (T92.50.)

833. A POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE is one consisting of a noun form
followed by an adverb of the group known as POSTPOSITIONS. The noun form acts as head constituent, and the construction is exocentric. The members of the class of postpositions are as follows:

833.1. \( \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n} \) is called the AGENTIVE postposition. It occurs in sentences containing transpersonal verb forms, provided that the object of the verb is animate, but not overtly expressed by a noun satellite. A phrase consisting of a noun plus \( \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n} \) may then occur as a satellite, designating the subject of the verb.

\[
\text{pa}\text{¬asiktává-} \tilde{n} \text{- ná} \text{¬áxxa-t "the-woman formerly (subj.) she-t} \\
\text{took-it-from-me, i.e., the woman took it from me."}
\]

When \( \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n} \) follows a noun directly, it becomes a postfix and combines with the preceding noun. The noun itself takes on the form it would have as first member of a compound—i.e., its morphologically basic form, with long vowels shortened.

\[
\text{?ará} \text{-} \text{ra "person": ?arara} \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n "by a person;}
\]
\[
\text{?ávansáxi-č "boy": ?avansáxič} \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n "by a boy;}
\]
\[
\text{pamúttaxa-t "his mother": pamutaxá} \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n kunmah "he is seen by}
\text{his mother, his mother sees him."}
\]

Note, however, that when \( \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n} \) directly follows a pronoun, rather than a noun, there is no fusion of words. This is a determining characteristic of the pronoun subclass.

\[
\text{ná "I": na} \tilde{\text{?}} \text{-} \text{n "by me."}
\]

833.2. \( \text{kíč} \) "just, only" occurs as a postposition in the special meaning "characterized by, like." The resultant construction is synonymous with single-word derivatives in -ara and -kič-ač.

\[
\text{?á-s "water": ?a-s} \text{-} \text{kíč "wet" (=?á}sara, ?a-skičač).}
\]
\[
\text{?á-x "blood": ?a-x} \text{-} \text{kíč "bloody" (=?á}xara, ?a-xkičač).}
\]
\[
\text{ká-s "nest": ka-s} \text{-} \text{kíč } \text{pamuxvá-h "nest-like (is) his-head, i.e.,}
\text{his hair is disarranged."}
\]

833.3. \( \text{kó-van} \) "together (with several people)" is composed of ko "so much" and -avan Animate. As a postposition it has the meaning "with, and (several people);" when used alone as subject, it is translatable as "(several people) and X, with X," where X is a personal antecedent which has already appeared in the context.

\[
\text{nuñíkva pa} \text{¬asiktává-} \text{n} \text{sas} \text{kó-van "we-told stories the-women}
\text{and-X, i.e., the women and I told stories." (T88.12.)}
\]

833.4. \( \text{ku-k} \) "thither" is used postpositionally in the sense of "to." Constructions containing it act as adverbial satellites (845); they are especially common in the presence of the verb ?u-\text{ma} "to go, arrive," and of derivative verbs in -\text{mu} "thither."
yuma-rári ku-k "land-of-the-dead to": yuma-rári ku-k ʔu-mi "go to hell!"
yūm ku-k "downriver-to": yūm ʔip ku-k tuʔpumat "he went back downriver."
paʔppaha ku-k "at-the-tree to": paʔppahak ʔip ku-k ʔuppaʔmat "he threw it at the tree."

833.5. kuθ "for that reason" is used as a postposition in the meaning "because of, by means of, for the sake of"; as such it is synonymous with the pseudo-postpound -ʔi- and its inflected form kumáʔi- (614.5). Phrases containing it act as adverbial satellites (845).

váʔi "that": va kuθ "therefore."
hūt "how?": hūt kuθ "why?"
xun kuθ ʔukri: "acorn-soup by-means-of he-lives, i.e., he lives on acorn soup."
xun kuθ ʔukyavāv>c√u§i: "acorn-soup for-the-sake-of he's-working, i.e., he's working for acorn soup."

833.6. múʔk "with, by means of" may be called the INSTRUMENTAL postposition. Phrases containing it act as adverbial satellites (845).

ʔas ʔip múʔk póʔktiʔvat "he pelted him with rocks."

When a noun with basic final a immediately precedes this postposition, that noun retains its final vowel, rather than appearing in its prejunctural form; noun and postposition remain separate words, however.

ʔasa "rock": ḥassa múʔk "with a rock."
θarampükka "soup-stirrer": θarampükkaka múʔk "with a soup-stirrer."

833.7. xákka-n "together (with one person)" is probably an irregular contraction of ʔaxak-avan "two (an.)" In its postpositional function it means "with, and (one person)"; used alone as subject, it is best translated as "(one person) and X, with X" (see 833.3).

paʔavansa muhrōha xákka-n kunʔi:n "the-man his-wife-and they-two-live, i.e., he lives with his wife."
viri ʔakây vúra xákka-n kunvūnve: "so who (int.) and-X they will wrestle?" i.e., so who will wrestle with him? (T55.4.)

833.8. The above postpositions, as well as being used after nouns, occur in constructions with the nominalizing prefix pa=. Then acts as a noun-substitute, translatable as a relative pronoun.

payēm paʔi:n ʔimūssaruktiθap va nantīppah "now who-subj. is-visiting-you that (is) my-brother, i.e., the one who is visiting you now is my brother."

paʔi:n ʔimūssarukkaphat va nantīppah "who formerly
(subj.) visited-you that (is) my-brother, i.e., the one who visited you is my brother."

ka-\m vuvv\ha \ukya-ti pa-k\th ?iv\rayvuth "upriver deerskin-dance he-is-making for-the-sake-of-whom you-are-wandering-around, i.e., the one for whose sake you are wandering around is making a deerskin dance upriver." (T58.39.)

pa-m\th \ue-\c\iptih "with-which he-raises-it, i.e., an automobile jack."

834. An APPPOSITIONAL phrase consists of a noun form followed (or occasionally preceded) by a third person pronoun, either "\th-m "he, she, it" or \u\mkun "they." This construction is endocentric, with the two constituents coordinate in meaning; the effect of the construction seems to be the emphasis of the noun form, as contrasted with some other noun form in the context. E.g.—

\u\d\th-t \ue\g\c\ha pata \kunivyi-h\sip. \x\s pa\avans\axxi-\c \ue-m
t\-\tt\arak. "His mother was glad that they had left. But the boy was sad."

Also classifiable as appositional is an occasional construction consisting of a noun form followed by a participle:

pa\dr\a \papivank\th-\than k\vt\-\k\ich "the-person going-there-to-look-for-him (was) an old woman." (T59.22.)

835. A COORDINATE phrase consists of two or more nouns separated either by comma pause or by the adverbs ka\vu "and, or" or hu\m "or,"

va-\ka-n \kun\mn\x xu-\n, p\\fi\c, \\d-ma "there they cook acorn soup, deer meat, salmon." (T84.13.)

kunikx\zikarati pany\rar k\vu \ikrit\kip k\vu t\c-\pti-\p "they decorated them with bear-lily and five-finger fern and chain fern." (T86.11.)

\asaks\oppa- \asuy-xaras \m\k\-\n k\vu \ik\xe\kkaram "two-days fasting(-pl.) we-two-are and one-night, i.e., we fast for two days and a night." (T83.24.)

pay\\k h\m \\m\muki\\ h\m h\y "here isn't-it close or where? i.e., do you mean here close, or where?"

836. A QUALIFYING phrase is an endocentric construction consisting of a noun form (of any class) as head, plus one of a group of adverbs which will be called QUALIFIERS. The head occurs in first position in many cases, but not in all. The commonest qualifiers are the following:

836.1. \d\a\ "maybe, I suppose" occurs after nouns of interrogative meaning, where it may be translated "I wonder."

\\h\ka \d\a\ tu\ue-m "where, I wonder, has he gone?"
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hû-t ?áta kû? papunayá-vahithihara "how I-wonder because-of (is it) that-I-am-not-getting-full? i.e., I wonder why I'm not getting full." (T3.36.)

836.2. kâri "still, yet" is used as an attribute in a single but very common phrase, namely kâri xas (or, less often, xás kâri) "and, then, so, and then, and so." This phrase is indistinguishable in meaning from xas alone; both serve as satellites, standing usually at the head of predications in narrative sequences.

836.3. mit(a) Remote Past occurs as a qualifier only with kinship terms, in the meaning "former, deceased." It occurs either after the head noun, in the allomorph mit, or before it, as either mit or mita. After the article pa-, it remains unaccented and with ungeminated initial.

naníhku-s "my dead mother": naníhku-s mit (same meaning).  
pá-mit muhrô-ha "his former wife" (pa- acts as article; see 811).  
pá-mita mukunke-číkyav "their former sweethearts,"

836.4. vá-h "thus" acts as an occasional attribute, with varying semantic effect. Thus with vírí "so" is formed vírí vá-h, a phrase of weak demonstrative meaning, often translatable by English "there" in its use as an anticipatory subject: ippaha ?u?f-hya "a tree is standing," but vírí vá-ippaha ?u?f-hya "there's a tree standing."

836.5. vura Intensive is the most widely used qualifier. Its intensive meaning, which is often fairly obvious when vura is used as a satellite to predicates, is weaker when vura is used as an attribute to other adverbs, and is hardly ever reflected in informants' translations. In effect, its use seems to be more as a favorite stylistic element, rather than as a bearer of any actual denotation. Frequent combinations are kâri vura "still," kükku'-m vura "again," hâ'ri vura "sometimes," káru vura "also," kúna vura "but"; it will be noted that vura normally follows an adverb to which it is attributive. As an attribute to non-adverbial nouns, however, vura may either precede or follow, and has a more perceptibly intensive meaning:  
yav "good": vura yav "just fine" (or, less often, yâ-vura)—the answer to hû-t kič "how are you?"

837. In addition to the occurrence of nouns in noun phrases, any noun phrase may, generally speaking, act like a single noun, and thus fill a place in a larger noun phrase. E.g.—

hâ'ri ?itro-pa?áttiv (determinative phrase)—káru vura (qualifying phrase)—hâ'ri kumaté-šíč (determinative phrase): "sometimes five basket loads—and (int.)—sometimes more" (a coordinate phrase, basically noun—káru—noun). (T75.4.)
840. Use of nominal satellites.

According to their occurrence in predications, nominal satellites may be divided into NON-ADVERBIAL and ADVERBIAL classes. The characteristics of each class are given in the following sections.

841. NON-ADVERBIAL nominal satellites are subject to distributional restrictions which depend on the nature of the predicates with which they occur. Thus, if the predicate is nominal or nominalized, then only one non-adverbial satellite may occur in the predication; this is the SUBJECT (S).

\[ \text{pitráhyar mutínvi-v } "\text{ten (S) his-children (NP), i.e., he has ten children."} \]

\[ \text{pamuñvá-h } ?ip víra kíč pa-nímmáhat } "\text{his-head (S) formerly just only that-I-saw (NzP), i.e., his head was all that I saw."} \]

842. If the predicate is a verb form, the number of satellites depends on the verb theme which is contained in that form. With some verb themes, only a single non-adverbial satellite may occur; this is, as in the preceding paragraph, the subject. The verb themes involved are considered to comprise the INTRANSITIVE class; and a predicate containing an intransitive verb will be called an INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE (IP).

\[ \text{pávansa } ?úkri- "\text{man (S) he-lives (IP), i.e., a man lives," < the theme íkriv.} \]

\[ \text{mahmú-vanač tuyúkkíha } "\text{Chipmunk (S) he-is-sick (IP)," < the theme yúkkihi.} \]

843. With another group of verb themes, two non-adverbial satellites may occur. One of them is, as before, the subject, while the other is the OBJECT (O). The themes of this group comprise the TRANSITIVE class; a predicate containing such a theme is called a TRANSITIVE PREDICATE (TP).

\[ \text{pa?asiktáva’nsas } ?ápka-s kunpí?ší?sumtih } "\text{the-women (S) iris (O) they-extract-fiber-from (TP), i.e., the women extract fiber from iris," < the theme ?í?ší?sumtih. (T68.1.)} \]

\[ \text{pa?ávansa va-kunparíšrí’hva pa?ápka-s } "\text{the-men (S) thus they-make-string-from (TP) the-iris (O)," < the theme pari’šrí’hva. (T68.2.)} \]

\[ \text{tó'psapnsí } ?ipayi’č tišnamkanvínnsunač } "\text{already he-carried-off (TP) the-brodiaeas (O) skunk-sp. (S), i.e., Skunk had carried off the brodiaeas," < the theme ipá?nsip(riv). (T46.10.)} \]

Throughout most of this section, for the sake of simplicity, the examples use nominal satellites consisting of single noun forms, rather than noun phrases.
When a personal verb theme is present, as in the above examples, there is no formal differentiation between subject and object; in word order, either may occur first. When a transpersonal stem is present, however, word order indicates the difference: the subject precedes the object.

yu’xmačmahánnač ʔukfu-ʔira- papiriškâ-rim "lizard-sp. (S) he-grabbed-him (TP) the-grizzly-bear (O), i.e., Lizard grabbed the grizzly bear," < the theme ʔikfu-ʔira-. (T34.53.)
papiriškâ-rim ʔikfu-ʔira- yu’xmačmahánnač "the-grizzly-bear (S) he-grabbed-him (TP) lizard-sp. (O), i.e., the grizzly bear grabbed Lizard." (T34.58.)

When only one satellite is present, there is no formal indication of whether it is subject or object. The expansions which the predication will permit, however, provide such an indication. Thus in the predication yu’xmačmahánnač ʔukfu-ʔira-, there is no way of knowing whether yu’xmačmahánnač is subject or object. If, however, we learn that the sequence yu’xmačmahánnač ʔukfu-ʔira- papiriškâ-rim may occur in the same context, then we know that yu’xmačmahánnač is the subject.

In certain cases, the object of the verb is marked by the presence of va-, the impersonal possessive prefix (420). This occurs when the head constituent of the object is a deverbative noun in {-a} and the verb theme of the predicate is one of a small number denoting emotion. E.g.—

ʔáho- "walking": nivî-hiti va-ʔáho- "I dislike walking," < the theme vî-hi "to dislike,"

ʔákkunvar-a "going hunting": tá nê-ʔovo-nha va-ʔákkunvar "I’m eager to go hunting," < the theme ʔôvî-nhi "to be eager,"

In this usage, however, va- is optionally replaceable by the article pa- or by the absence of any prefix; thus "I’m eager to go hunting" may also be tá nê-ʔovo-nha ʔákkunvar.

With still another group of verb themes, three non-adverbial satellites may occur. Of these, one is the subject; the other two are both objects, and are not formally distinguished from one another. Verb themes of this group comprise the DOUBLE-TRANSITIVE class; a predicate containing such a theme is called a DOUBLE-TRANSITIVE PREDICATE (2TP).

ʔu-ʔa-y ʔukváran ʔasiktá-vá- "he (S) much (O) he-buys-her-with (2TP) woman (O), i.e., he pays a lot for a woman," < the theme ikvára-.

paʔâvansa ʔu-ʔa-m pe-špûk xu-s ʔuʔâ-ʔôtih "the-man he (S) the-money (O) thought (O) he-takes-it-for (2TP), i.e., the man takes care of the money," < the theme ʔô-ʔôtih.

6 The Karok idiom xu-s ʔuʔâ-ʔôtih "he takes care" is literally translated as "he takes thought"; it is not known whether or not the similarity to the English idiom is accidental.
845. As contrasted with the above, ADVERBIAL nominal satellites (A) have no noticeable restrictions on their occurrence in any type of predication. Semantically, they modify the verb, referring to place, time, manner, or amount.

*ávansa *ummaá yurásti-m "man (O) he-sees-him (TP) seashore (A), i.e., he sees a man on the seashore."

kárúk *iðiæane-n*íppa *nívá-ramuðih "upriver (A) world-end (A) I'm-going (IP), i.e., I'm going to the upriver end of the world."

*íkkurár *a·s tá kunpi·šar "evening (A) water (O) already (A) they-went-to-drink (TP), i.e., in the evening they went to have a meal."

vúra yáv tá *nípmahó·nko·n "just (A) good (A) already (A) I-feel (IP), i.e., I feel just fine."

It should be noted, however, that adverbial satellites may also function semantically as subject or object: thus, the adverbial satellite *íkmaháčra·m "sweathouse" may occur in a sentence like ká·n *íkmaháčra·m *u·íkra "there (A) a sweathouse (A) stands (IP)." There is, however, no formal indication of subject or object function in such cases.

Following the classification of nominal satellites into non-adverbial and adverbial types, we may also put into one class those noun themes which, with or without inflectional prefixes, act as adverbial noun forms. This is the criterion for the adverbial sub-class of noun themes, introduced in 600.

Certain adverbial nouns which have peculiarities of form or of distribution are described in the following sections.

845.1. *çími* is an adverb with a function which may be called anticipative. It occurs principally with imperative and future verb forms; and, for the most part, imperative and future verb forms occur only with *çími*. When a series of such verb forms occurs, however, *çími* will often occur in the first predication, but not in succeeding ones:

*çími* na*áharami. *áfuð* *áho-. "Follow me! Walk behind!"

ka*tím*í·n *çími* *nívá-rame·š. naníkka* ímussare·š. "I'm going to Katimin. I'm going to visit my uncle."

*çími* is sometimes used with nominal predicates; in these cases the adverb indicates that the speaker is urging some unspecified but implied action referring to the noun which is used as predicate.

*á·pun "down (to the ground)": *çími* *á·pun "let's go down!"

pamíyu·p "your eyes": yáxxa *çími* pamíyu·p "look, let me fix your eyes!" (T60.14.)

In rapid speech the adverb sometimes has the form *çí*. Before 2
plus a short vowel, the i can be lost (393.3); the adverb is then written as a prefix, since it has lost its status as an independent word but still retains its tactical independence.

čími niʔišše-s > či niʔišše-s "I'm going to drink."
čími riški ʔa-xi > ʔči riški ʔa-xi > ʔči riški ʔa-xi "bite him quick!"

845.2. hum "or" (cf. 835) is often used to mark yes-or-no questions; its typical position in a predication is after the first word, (with the exception of perfective {tah}). In this usage there is free variation between the forms hum and um.

ʔi·m ūm ʔe·m "are you a doctor?"

Cimi ni?is"se-§ > Ci ni*?isse-§ "I'm going to drink."

Cimi ?fski ?a-xi > *Ci *?i5ki ?a-xi > 5=iski ?a-xi "bite him quick!"

845.2. hum "or" (cf. 835) is often used to mark yes-or-no questions; its typical position in a predication is after the first word, (with the exception of perfective {tah}). In this usage there is free variation between the forms hum and um.

ʔi·m ūm ʔe·m "are you a doctor?"

té:mmah ūm pe·kmaháčra·m "do you see the sweathouse?"

(T80.12.)
nípakurí·hve·s hum "shall I sing?"

puxxíč húm tá kuëvuyxá·ha "do you-all grieve much?"

845.3. *ik expresses obligation or necessity; it is usually translated "must" or "have to":

xáyfa·t ʔiyá·pha "don't open your eyes": xáyfa·t ʔik ʔiyá·pha

"you mustn't open your eyes."

When it follows a word ending in the future postfixed {= aviš}, *ik has the irregular alternant ik.

?iʔasímča·ktihe·s "you will have your eyes closed": ?iʔasím­ča·ktihe·s ʔik "you must have your eyes closed."

845.4. *ip(a) NEAR PAST is used principally in conjunction with the past-tense suffix {-at}, the meaning of which it duplicates in part. It contrasts, however, with mit(a)-REMOTE PAST, which is also used with past-tense verb forms.

In most positions, the allomorph *ip occurs:

*ip putturákrišukat paʔippaha. pa· *ip ʔukyá·t. ta· y *ip ʔá·ma

uykárat. ta· y *ip vúra paʔávaha ʔumáhá·nat pá·hak. páppa·

*ip upišyúrukarat. pamuhró·ha *ip ʔukuyá·pkuhat. "He

hollowed out the tree. He made a boat. He caught a lot of

salmon. He put a lot of food in the boat. He dragged the boat

into the river. He said goodbye to his wife."

When *ip(a) occurs immediately after the prefix pa=, however, the allomorph *ipa is found:

pa·*ipa ʔí·n ʔimússarukaphat "(the one) who came to see you."

It is also found, however, that *ipa occurs alone with the combined functions of pa= and *ip(a); this may be regarded as an optional portmanteau formation.

*ipa ʔí·m kuvúrayvutihan(hat) "(the one) who was walking around outdoors."
The cases where ?ip(a) occurs without {-at} are: (1) with nominal predicates; (2) with {-aha-k} Temporal and -irak Local, which as Class 4 postixes are mutually exclusive with {-at}; and (3) with {-han} Participial. In the last case the presence of {-at} is optional, as in the example above. Examples of the first two cases are as follows:

\( \text{ta'-y} \ ?ip \ ?imafunva-nsa \ "there were a lot of beggars." (T23. 21.) \)

\( \text{pa}-\text{?ip}a \ ?u?i-hy-irak \ "where it stood." \)

845. 5. mit(a) REMOTE PAST has the same distribution as ?ip(a) NEAR PAST. Either this adverb or ?ip(a) is present in every predication containing {-at}, mit(a) most commonly occurs in the allomorph mit:

\( \text{píššf-č mit ka?tim?i'na?u?ú-mat. xás mit va- ká'n ?asiktáva-n} \)

\( ?uhró-t. \ "First he went to taKímih. And he hired a woman there." (T88. 1-2.) \)

The allomorph mita (unaccented) is used after the prefix pa=:

\( \text{na- va- } \text{pa=mita } ?i?ahará- fípi?yáva-nhat } "\text{I am the one who was priestess ten times."} \)

But as in the case of ?ip(a), pa= plus the adverb are sometimes combined into the portmanteau morph mita:

\( \text{?u?ípaho- mita kú'kam } \text{u?arávu-kat } "\text{she went again in the direction she had formerly gone." (T16. 26.)} \)

mit(a) also acts as an attribute to nouns; see 836. 3.

845. 6. {pu= ... =ara} "not" is the principal negative morpheme; it functions as an adverbial satellite, though phonologically composed of syntactic affixes in most environments. It has the following allomorphs:

When occurring between pauses, in the absence of any other morpheme—that is, as a complete predication—it has the forms pu-, pu-, and pfi-hara, all translated as "no."

When occurring with the derivative suffix -vA (621.17), it has the allomorph pú--; thus pú-vA "not yet." A verb form in the same predication as púvA has the negative allomorph of its personal morpheme, but does not receive any negative suffixal element.

\( \text{pu'-pářih } "\text{it rains": púva } \text{pářih } "\text{it doesn't rain yet.}" \)

\( \text{ni-mmah } "\text{I see": púva } \text{ná-mmah } "\text{I don't see yet.}" \)

With fá-t "what, something," hu-n "harmful," and ?akáray "who, someone," the negative morpheme is either a prepound, pu-, or an independent word, púra. fá-t has an unaccented allomorph in this combination, and ?akáray has the special allomorphs kara and ?akára, so that the results are pú-ffa-t or púra ffa-t "nothing," pú-hu-n or púra hu-n "not harmful," and pu-kára, pu-?akára or púra kára "nobody."

In other environments, the allomorphs pu=...=hara, pu=...=ara, and
pu= occur. As a prefix, pu= is attached to any word which stands before the predicate in a predication, or to the predicate itself, except that it is not attached to the prefix pa=, nor to any form of {tah} Perfective. The postfixal elements =hara and =ara are always added to the predicate, in the fourth class-position of verbal suffixes (530). The distribution of these elements is as follows:

=hara occurs after nominal predicates. When the syllable preceding it contains a long vowel with acute or no accent, then acute accent falls on the postfix; otherwise, zero accentuation is conditioned.

 raids "he": pu=?u-m=ára "it's not he." (T6.33.)
 rákri-v "tight": pu=sakri-v=ára "it's not tight." (T8.20.)
 yav "good": pu=yáv=ára "it's no good.
 =pararah "reliable": pu=?pararahar "he's not reliable." 
=ara is used after verbal predicates, when the personal morpheme which is present does not include the suffixal element -ap (533). After monosyllables, the postfix is accented; otherwise, it conditions modified progressive accentuation.

 u-?u-m "he arrives": pu=?u-m=ara "he doesn't arrive." 
 u-?u-?u-m "he sees": pu=mah=ara "he doesn't see,"
 u-mxa-ıth "it is smelling" (< imxaθ): pu=timxa-ıth=ara "it isn't smelling." 
=ara is used after verbal predicates, when the personal morpheme which is present does not include the suffixal element -ap (533). After monosyllables, the postfix is accented; otherwise, it conditions modified progressive accentuation.

 u-?u-m "he arrives": pu=?u-m=ara "he doesn't arrive." 
 u-?u-?u-m "he sees": pu=mah=ara "he doesn't see,"
 u-mxa-ıth "it is smelling" (< imxaθ): pu=timxa-ıth=ara "it isn't smelling." 
=ara is used after verbal predicates, when the personal morpheme which is present does not include the suffixal element -ap (533). After monosyllables, the postfix is accented; otherwise, it conditions modified progressive accentuation.

 The postfixal element of the negative morpheme is completely absent when any personal morph containing -ap is present. It is also absent, regardless of personal morphs, in the presence of all suffixes of the fourth order-class.

 kun-ikCu-ntih "they are grinding": pu=?ikCu-ntih-ap "they aren't grinding."

 u-mmah-at "he saw": pu=máhat "he didn't see."

 u-mmah-e-n "he had seen": pu=máhe'n "he hadn't seen."

 u-mmah-anik "he once saw": pu=máhanik "he once didn't see."

 The postfix is also absent when the predicate ends in =xay (854.10).

 pu=xay vúra=xay ?amku*f=xay "there was no smoke at all."

 845.7. {tah} PERFECTIVE is often translated as "already, by this time, by now." In these meanings it frequently follows nominal predicates:

7 It should be noted that a verb form to which =ara is added always includes the negative allomorph of a personal morpheme. In the above examples, the morph present is ə, negative of ?u- "he(—him)."
However, {tah} may also precede predicates, and is always in first position when the predicate is a verb form. In this case {tah} has the allomorphs tah and t=, acting as a word or as a prefix according to the phonemic form of the predicate. The alternant forms occur as follows:

1) When the predicate begins with a consonant other than ʔ, {tah} remains an independent word, and invariably receives acute accent.
   ke-C "big": tó kke-S "(it is) big by now."
   niʔáho "I come": tó niʔáho- "I have come."

2) When the predicate begins with ʔVC, the glottal stop is lost, and the allomorph tah occurs, contracting with the following vowel. In contrast with the usual external sandhi process (393), this contraction occurs in slow speech as well as in rapid speech. The result is still a two-word sequence.
   ʔkipfuyšur "he's tired": tó ·kipfuyšur "he's tired (now)."
   ʔuppé·čip "he picks it up": tó ·uppé·čip "he has picked it up."

One accentual irregularity is found: when tah contracts with an unaccented dissyllable, both elements are unaccented in sentence-final position, whereas tah alone is accented elsewhere.
   ʔimmah "you see": té ·mmah paʔiššaha- "you have seen the water," but paʔiššaha te ·mmah (same meaning).

3) When the predicate begins with the sequence ʔVCV, the allomorph t= occurs, replacing the initial ʔ. In this case the result is a single word, and there is no accentual change.
   ʔivá·ram "you go": t=ivá·ram- "you have gone."
   ʔuváxrah "it is dry": t=uváxrah- "it is dry (now)."

The meaning of {tah} with verbal predicates is normally simply that of perfective or completed action; see 821.

845.8. xay VETATIVE has two separate functions. In the first, from which it takes its name, it normally precedes a predicate and expresses a warning against the event described by the predicate. In such cases it is translatable as "let not . . .," "may not . . .," or "watch out you don't . . ."

When xay precedes the sequence ʔi, the glottal stop is lost—an external sandhi change peculiar to this combination.
   ʔimčax "you get burnt": xáy ·imčax "watch out you don't get burnt!"
   xáy pe·kxariyaʔára·r ≪kvi·tha- "let the priest not fall asleep!"

(T82.17.)
The second use of xay is postfixal, conditioning progressive accentuation. In this form it is also added to noun forms (preceding all other postfixes), and, occurring only in the presence of pu...ara "not," strengthens the negative meaning.

\[ \text{yiθθa "one": pu=yiθθa=xay kà'n əa-ne-ra "not a single one lay there." (T4. 137.)} \]

\[ \text{pu-itself is among the forms to which -xay may be added. When -xay is added both to pu- and to other forms in the same predication, the negative meaning is all the more strengthened.} \]

\[ \text{pu=xay vúra fà-t mah-åra "he didn't see anything."} \]

\[ \text{pu=xay vúra-xay yiθθa-xay tå námmah-åra "I've never seen even a single one."} \]

\[ \text{pu-xay vúra-xa ëa-ëåra òavahkán-xay=he-he-åra "Mankind will not be sick." (T48. 23.)} \]

850. Quotations as satellites.

When a verbal predicate contains one of a small class of verbs, the principal members of which are pi-p "to say," ipê-r "to tell," xus "to think," and mah "to see," then an entire predication, without any special marker of its function, may act as an adverbial satellite of the predicate. This is to say that complete predications occur in the same position as an adverb like vá-h "that way" in a sentence like va-uxxúth "he thinks that way." They do not occur, however, in the presence of other verbs, e.g., in the same position as the vá-h of va-uxxúth "he makes it that way." Such predications, called QUOTATIONS, occur both as continuous and discontinuous units, like other syntactic combinations in Karok. For ease in reading, though not as a representation of any phonemic phenomenon, such quotations in the Karok material here presented are marked by roman quotes.

\[ \text{kári xás ¿uppi-p, "hò-y ¿immá-hti pe-þpuk." "And he said, 'Where do you find the money?" (T1. 3.)} \]

\[ \text{kári xás ¿uxxus, "çımi kan ¿arásí-príni." "And he thought, 'Let me start out!'; i.e., he thought he would start out." (T1. 11.)} \]

\[ \text{"¿uθšši-p" ¿ixxusse-ntihap "kári ¿iv-ram." 'To San Francisco, he thinks of you, 'may she go!'; i.e., he wants you to go to San Francisco."} \]

\[ \text{xás ¿ümmáh "ká-n ¿išké-ší-m kun-ti-n." "And he saw, they were there on the edge of the river." (T35. 23.)} \]

Quotations are sometimes enbosed within one another:

\[ \text{kári xás kunpi-p, "na-uxxúth ¿upši "tá yúr.ukhe-Å."} \]
"And they said, 'I think, 'He says, 'He's already down-river.'" (T5.98.)

860. The comma pause.

The comma pause is used in the following four ways:

It is invariably used to separate members of a coordinate phrase, when that function is not performed by an adverb; see 835.

It is invariably used to separate independent predications which occur in the same sentence; see the definition of the sentence in 800.

When any predicate is followed by one or more of its satellites, comma pause occurs optionally before each of these satellites. E.g.—
tά kunpávyi-hšip kúkku-m pa-sta-h "already they-left, again the-ducks, i.e., the ducks left again": optionally also tά kunpávyi-hšip, kúkku-m, pa-sta-h.

xás ?uppí-p ćišmi." "And he said, 'All right!'": optionally also xás ?uppí-p, ćišmi."

Rarely, the comma pause is used after nominalized satellites which precede the rest of a predication:
kári xás pó-ppař, kári xás 涌现出 "then when he bit him, then he jumped up." (T1.31.)

870. Word order.

The syntactic elements which have been described above are combined into predications with nearly maximum freedom of word-order. As has been shown in various places, the free word-order often results in discontinuous syntactic constituents. One more example may be given, in which a nominalized predication, acting as a predicate, is interrupted by one of its satellites:

xás pa avanzáxxi-č hû- ćišmi víra póz-nnišvuna viš then the boy how (future) (int.) that he will do with them

A TP

"Then what was the boy to do with them?"

Even a complete predication may be discontinuous. The interrupting elements are underlined in the following examples:

payé-m ník víra ilišáva-s pune-pkupe-šara
"this time, nephew, I won't do it again." (T3.164.)
karuk tá kunkáviaˈhmə, tusupahəyaˈcha, pámita káˈn
kun'arámxiˈprintih "they arrived upriver—it was mid-
morning—where they had started from." (T2.14.)
Of all syntactic elements, those with use as syntactic affixes
have the nearest to a fixed order; they resemble morphological affixes,
then, in this respect as well as phonologically. The order of postfixes in
predicates has been noted (822). As for prefixes, the order may be stated
briefly: puz Negative never immediately precedes {tah} Perfective, and
{tah} never immediately precedes pa= Nominalizing. Although the hypotheti-
cal sequence pa=tá puz has not been found, there are many examples like
the following:

pa=táuʔáhoˈhaˈk "when he has come."
 tá puzʔáhoˈra "he hasn't come."
Concerning other elements in the predication, the following ob-
servations can be made:
1) It has already been shown that subjects precede objects in
certain situations (943).
2) Many adverbs occur only before the predicate to which they
are satellites—though not necessarily immediately before it. Examples
are čámi Anticipative, ʔip Near Past, kírí Optative, and xay Vetative.
3) Quotations tend to follow the predicates to which they are satel-
lites. Occasionally, however, a discontinuous quotation both precedes and
follows its predicate; e.g.—
pihmɛˈfiC "páˈha" kunipɛˈr "sú ʔiθxuˈprámnih." "They told
told Coyote, 'Lie face down in the boat!'" (T3.157.)
4) When a predication contains satellites, there is a tendency for
at least one of them to occur first in the predication. This can be seen in
the examples which have already been given in the discussion of syntax.

900. TEXT WITH ANALYSIS

The following short ethnological text, on the subject of 'swearing,' was re-
corded in 1949 from Mrs. Julia Starritt, a Karok speaker of Orleans. The
transcription presented is phonemic in all respects, including the indica-
tion of external sandhi forms. An interlinear literal translation is given,
and a free translation appears at the bottom of each page. Abbreviations
used here are explained in the list at the beginning of this work.
The Indian did not say his child's name when it died. And when any of his relatives died, he did not say their names. That, they said, was 'swearing.' Sometimes they named someone again with the name of the deceased. Then they could still say the name, and no harm was done.

Sometimes a person just wasn't thinking, so he said the name. Then they got angry at him and became his enemies. Then he paid something. Then they spoke to him again. Sometimes he paid five dollars and sometimes ten.
Sometimes when a person was peculiar, he 'swore' (on purpose). When they told him to pay something and he refused, then sometimes a person was killed because of it. Maybe too it would be his brother or his uncle or any relative of his. That was Indian law.

ANALYSIS

1 pa'ara-r "the Indian, the person," a noun form, is head constituent of an appositional phrase (834) in which the pronoun attribute serves merely to emphasize the noun form; the phrase as a whole acts as subject of the predication in which it occurs. pa'ara-r is < pa= "the" (811) + p'ara-r, basic form p'ara-ra (354) "person, relative, Indian." This theme evidently contains p'ara "person," but beyond that its derivation is obscure.

2 'u-m "he, she, it, they," a pronoun, is here used as attributive member of an appositional phrase (834), serving to emphasize the preceding noun. The basic form of the pronoun is 'u-m (391.4).

3 pu-ipitihara "he doesn't say (dur.)," a transitive verbal predicate, is < pu-...-ara "not" (845.6) + the verb form pu-p'Tih "he says (dur.)," where the personal morpheme pu- "he, she, it" is replaced, in the negative, by a zero allomorph (524). The theme is ipiTih p.i. "to say (dur.)," a derivative in -Tih Durative (757) from ipi~, an irregular allomorph of pi-p p.i. "to say."

4 pam'arama "his child" is head constituent of the possessive phrase (831) pam'arama mūvuy "his child's name," which acts as object of pu-ipitihara. pam'arama is < pa= "he" (811) + the noun form mū'arama, basic form mū'aramah (391.3) "his child," < the possessive prefix mū- "his,
her" (410) + -?áRamah "child (as a kinship term)"; for the accent shift, see 383.

5 mú³vyu" "his name," a noun form, is the head constituent of a possessive phrase. Basically mú³vyua (354), it is < mu- "his" (410) + i³vyua "name": for the loss of the theme-initial vowel, see 311. i³vyua is < i³vyu p.t. "to be named" + -a Deverbatìve (761).

6 pu²ivha-k "when he dies (pf.)," a nominalized satellite of pu²ipíthiha, is < pa= Nominalizing (812) + tu²ivha-k "when he dies (pf.)," t= Perfective (845.7) + ?u²ivha-k "when he dies," an intransitive verbal predicate. ?u²ivha-k is in turn < the nominalizing postfix -aha-k "when" (823.1) + the verb form ?u²iv, basic form ?u²iv "he dies, < ?u- "he" (520) + ?iv p.i. "to die."

7 káru "also, and, or" is an adverb acting as a satellite.

8 vúra Intensive is an adverb, basic form vúRA (354), which in this case modifies the preceding particle in a qualifying phrase (836).

9 ko-vúra "all" is an adverb, basic form ko-vúRA, acting as attribute in the determinative phrase (832) "all his relatives." The word is a compound of the determinative ko- "so much" + vúRA Intensive (note 8).

10 pámú²ára-ras "when his relatives" is < pa= Nominalizing (812) + mu²ára-ras "his relatives." pa= serves to nominalize the whole predication ko-vúra mu²ára-ras tá kun²ivha-k "when all his relatives die," which then acts as a satellite to pu²ipíthiha. mu²ára-ras, basic form mu²ára-rasa (354), is a noun form acting as head of a determinative phrase (832); it is < mu- "his" (410) + ?ára-rasa "relatives," < ?ára-ra "person, relative" (note 1) + -asa "plural" (621.12).

11 tá Perfective is an adverb, acting as a satellite; its basic form is tah (845.7). Its function is simply to mark punctual aspect as opposed to linear.

12 kun²ivha-k "when they die" is an intransitive predicate < the verb form kun²iv "they die" + the nominalizing postfix -aha-k "when" (823.1). kun²iv, basic form kun²iv, is < the personal morpheme kun- "they" (520) + ?iv p.i. "to die."

13 mukun²ivuy "their names" is a noun form serving as object of pu²ipíthiha. Basically mukun²ivuya (354), it is < the possessive prefix mukun- "their" (410) + i³vyua "name" (note 5); for the added ?, see 311.

14 va- "that" is a noun form acting as head of the appositional phrase (834) va- ?u-m "that (emphatic)"; this phrase is then the subject of the predication in which it appears. va- is an uninflected pronoun theme; its basic form is vá-h (391.3, 391.4).

15 kunipi²ti "they say (dur.)" is a verb form acting as a transitive verbal predicate, basic form kunipi²thi (381.1, 391.3), < kun² "they" (520) + ipíthi p.i. "to say (dur.)" (note 3).

16 pitaxyárih 'swearing' is a nominal predicate in the discontinuous predication va- ?u-m . . . pitaxyárih "that's 'swearing,'" which is a quotation acting as the object of kunipi²ti. The noun form pitaxyárih, basically pitaxyáriha (354), is an uninflected theme < pitaxyáriha p.i. "to 'swear'" + -a Deverbatìve (761).
"and, then, and then" is an adverb, acting as a satellite; its basic form is xas (391.4).

"sometimes" is an adverb, basically hâ-rih (391.3), acting as a satellite.

"they name him again" is a verb form acting as a double-transitive predicate, < kun-"they" (520) + piθuv-yma8 tp.2t. "to name again" (for the accent shift, see 525.3). This is < p- "again" (731) + iθuv-yma8 tp.2t. "to name," < iθuv a.t. "to be named" + -maθ Causative (754.12).

"former" is an adverb, basically mîTa, acting as attribute to the phrase pakê-miš mûvuy "name of the deceased"; the whole combination then forms a qualifying phrase (836) which acts as an object of kunpi8vu-yma8. mîTa is an allomorph of the remote-past adverb mit(a) (836.3).

"the deceased person" acts as attribute to mûvuy "his name" in a possessive phrase (831). It is < pa- "the" (811) + the noun form kê-miš, basic form kê-miša (354), an uninflected theme whose central meaning seems to be "something supernaturally dangerous," < the adjective kê-m "bad," perhaps + -iš Diminutive (621.10).

"so" is an adverb, basic form vîrivA (354), acting as a satellite. It is < the adverb vîri (note 30) + -vA (621.17).

"still, yet" is an adverb, acting as a satellite.

"he, they" functions here as subject of the predication in which it appears; contrast note 2.

"the name" serves as object of kunpîti; it is < pa- "the" (811) + the noun form ?îvuy, basically iQvuya (354) "name," an uninflected theme (note 5).

Intensive is an adverb, basically vûra (354), which in this case acts as a satellite to the predicate; contrast note 8.

"(it is) not harmful" is a nominal predicate < pu=.hara "not" (845.6) + the noun form hu-n "harmful," consisting of an uninflected theme.

"person" is a noun form acting as subject of puxûthara. It is an uninflected theme, of basic form ?ârA (354).

"he isn't thinking" is a transitive predicate, < ?u=...ara "not" (845.6) + the verb form ?u-xxûthara, with ?u- "he" being replaced, in the negative, by a zero allomorph (524); note that the gemination conditioned by ?u- (333) does not occur after pu=. The theme xuTih p.i. "to be thinking" is a derivative in -Tih Durative (757) from xu-, an irregular allomorph of xus p.i. "to think."

"so" is an adverb, used as a satellite.

"represents the first half of a contraction between tâ Perfective (note 11) and a verb form beginning in ?êCC (845.7).

"he says." The latter is a verb form acting as a transitive verbal
predicate, < ?u- "he" (520) + pi-p p.i. "to say"; re the gemination see 333.

t is the external sandhi form, following a p. of pe-8uy "the name" (note 25), here functioning as the object of 'pi-p.'

34 puva "then" is an adverb, basic form puyavA (354), used as a satellite. It is < puyA, an adverb translatable as "so," + -vA (621.17).

35 kunixviphu-nिः "they get angry at him" is a verb form acting as a transitive predicate, < kun- "they" (520) + ixviphu-7िः tp.t. "to get angry at" (re the accent shift, see 525.3), < ixviph p.i. "to get angry" + {-uni7} "to, at" (754.18).

36 kun vá-sanha "they become enemies" is a verb form acting as an intransitive predicate, basically kunvá-sanhi (353), < kun- "they" (520) + vá-sanhi p.i. "to be an enemy," < the noun vá-san "enemy" + -hi Denominative (622.1).

37 fa-t "what, something" is a noun form acting as object of tu?u-kar; it consists of an uninflected theme.

38 tu?u-kar "he pays (pf.)" is < t Perfective (845.7) + the transitive predicate tu?u-kara "he pays" (354), a verb form < tu- "he" (520) + 7; kar p.t. "to pay," lit. "to put across." This is < t- an irregular allomorph of tu-v p.t. "to put" + -kara "across" (753.4).

39 kunixviphu-nिः "they speak to him again" is a verb form acting as a transitive predicate, < kun- "they" (520) + ixviphu-7िः tp.t. "to speak to again" (re the accent shift, see 525.3). The theme is ip- "again" (731) + Cuphu-7िः tp.t. "to speak to," < 7िः phi p.i. "to speak" + {-uni7} "to, at" (754.18).

40 hâ-ri "sometimes" is an adverb which, in this case, modifies the following numeral, forming a determinative phrase (832); contrast note 18.

41 itrœ-p "five" is a noun form acting as head of the determinative phrase hâ-ri itrœ-p "sometimes five." This phrase is the first member of a coordinate phrase (835) with hâ-ri vûra itrâhyar "sometimes ten." itrœ-p is an uninflected theme, basically itrœ-pa (311, 354). With verbs such as "pay" and "cost," Karok numerals, as in this case, regularly imply a quantity in dollars.

42 kâru "and" is an adverb which, in this case, connects the parts of a coordinate phrase (835); contrast note 7.

43 itrâhyar "ten" is a noun form acting as head of the determinative phrase hâ-ri vûra itrâhyar "sometimes ten," which is the second member of a coordinate phrase (835). itrâhyar is an uninflected theme, basically itrâhyar (311).

44 ?u-m "he" is a pronoun used here in an appositional phrase (834) as attribute to a following noun; contrast note 2.

45 pahu-ntaha-k "when (he is) peculiar" is < pa= Nominalizing (812) + hûntaha-k "when peculiar," a nominal predicate < the noun form hû-ntah "peculiar" + the nominalizing postfix -aha-k "when" (823.1). hû-nta is an uninflected theme, evidently containing hûn "harmful" (note 27), but beyond that its derivation is obscure.

46 tuipitawayírih "he 'swears' (pf.)" is < t Perfective (845.7) + the intran-
sitive predicate \( ?u \)pitaxyarih "he 'swears,'" a verb form < \( ?u- "he" \) (520) + pitaxyarih p.i. "to 'swear.'"

47 pat\( a-\) "when (pf.)" is < \( pa= \) Nominalizing (812) + t\( a- \) Perfective (note 11). \( pa= \) here nominalizes the predication t\( a- \) kun\( \ddot{a} \)pp\( e-\)ra\( h-a-\)k "when they tell him (pf.)."

48 kun\( \ddot{a} \)pp\( e-\)ra\( h-a-\)k "when they tell him" is a double-transitive predicate < the verb form kun\( \ddot{a} \)pp\( e-\)r, basic form kun\( \ddot{a} \)n\( \ddot{e}-\)p (391.1) "they tell him," + the nominalizing postfix -aha-k "when" (823.1). kun\( \ddot{a} \)n\( \ddot{e}-\)p is < kun\( ^{2} "they" \) (520) + \( \ddot{e}-\)p, an irregular allomorph of \( \ddot{e}-\)p tp.t. "to tell." This theme may contain ipi-\( \), an allomorph of pl-p p.i. "to say," but otherwise its derivation is obscure.

49 ?iy\( \ddot{u} \)ri\( \ddot{a} \)s "pay!" is a transitive predicate; the predication f\( a- \)t ?iy\( \ddot{u} \)ri\( \ddot{a} \)s "pay something!" is a quotation acting as object of kun\( \ddot{a} \)pp\( e-\)ra\( h-a-\)k. The verb form is basically iy\( \ddot{u} \)ri\( \ddot{a} \)s (311). < iy\( \ddot{u} \)ri\( \ddot{a} \)s(rih) p.t. "to pay," lit. "to put down," + -\( \ddot{\imath} \) Imperative (531). This is < iy\( \ddot{u} \)- p.t. "to put" + -\( \ddot{\imath} \)s(rih) "down" (753.3).

50 pat\( u\)\( \ddot{u} \)-riha\( \ddot{a} \)-k "when he refuses (pf.)" is < \( pa= \) Nominalizing (812) and tu\( \ddot{u} \)-riha\( \ddot{a} \)-k "when he refuses (pf.)," < t\( a- \) Perfective (845.7) + tu\( \ddot{u} \)-riha\( \ddot{a} \)-k "when he refuses," an intransitive predicate. This, in turn, is < the verb form tu\( \ddot{u} \)-rih "he refuses" + the nominalizing postfix -aha-k "when" (823.1); the verb form is < \( ?u- "he" \) (520) + \( \ddot{u}- \)rih s.i. "to refuse, be unwilling, be lazy."

51 \( ?u-\)m "he" is a pronoun used here in an appositional phrase (834) as attribute to a following noun, as in 44. In this case, however, the phrase \( ?u-\)m., \( \ddot{\imath} \)ara "a person (emphatic)" is discontinuous.

52 va- "that" is a noun (see note 14) here used as head of the postpositional phrase va- \( \dddot{\kappa} \)t\( \ddot{\imath} \) "because of that"; the whole phrase is then a satellite of \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)niv.

53 \( \dddot{\kappa}- \)because of," basic form ku\( \dddot{\kappa} \) (391.4), is a particle used as a post-position (833.5).

54 \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)niv represents the second half of a contraction between t\( a- \) Perfective (note 30) and \( ?u-\dddot{\kappa}-\)niv "he is killed." The latter is a verb form acting as an intransitive predicate, < \( ?u- "he" \) (520) + \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)niv p.i. "(an.) to lie, to be killed." Re the gemination, see 333. The theme is < \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)p.t. "to put" + -\( \ddot{\imath} \)v "at rest" (752.2); re the morphophonemic changes, see 332, 342, 341.

55 \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)ki\( \ddot{c} \) "maybe" is a particle acting as a satellite; its basic form is \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)ki\( \ddot{c} \) (391.1).

56 mut\( \dot{u} \)ppa "his brother" is a noun form acting as first member of a three-part coordinate phrase (835) with mut\( \dot{u} \)kk\( \dot{a} \)m "his mother's brother" and \( \dddot{\kappa}-\)k\( \ddot{\imath} \)ra pamu\( \ddot{\imath} \)ara-\( \dot{r} \) "any relative of his." The entire phrase acts as a nominal predicate. mut\( \dot{u} \)ppa is basically mut\( \dot{u} \)ppah (391.1, 391.3) and is < mu- "his" (410) + t\( \ddot{\imath} \)pah "brother."

57 mut\( \ddot{u} \)kk\( \dot{a} \)m "his mother's brother" is a noun form acting as second member of a three-part coordinate phrase. Basically mut\( \ddot{u} \)kk\( \dot{a} \)m (391.1), it is < mu- "his" (410) + x\( \ddot{\imath} \)kam "mother's brother."
58. *ʔakâ·y* "any(one)" acts as attribute to *pamuʔara·r* "his relative" in a determinative phrase (832). It is an irregularly contracted form (325) of the pronoun *ʔakâray* "who, someone, anyone."

59. *pamuʔara·r* "his relative" is a noun form acting as head of a determinative phrase which, in turn, acts as third member in a coordinate phrase. The form is *pza* "the" (811) + *muʔara·r* "his relative," basic form *muʔara·ra,* < *mu- "his" + ʔara·ra "person, relative" (note 1).

60. *ʔararáku·pha* "Indian law" is a noun form acting as a nominal predicate. Basically *ʔararáku·pha* (391.1), it is a compound of the nouns *ʔara·ra* "person, Indian" (note 1) + *kú·pha* "doing," < *kú·phi p.i. "to do" + -a Deverbal (761).
INDEX OF MORPHEMES DISCUSSED

The following is an index of the principal allomorphs of all the affixes treated in this work, plus the adverbs to which special attention is given. The glosses appearing here are intended only as tags, not as perfect semantic equivalents.

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PLATES
PLATE 1
Karok Informants

a. Nettie Reuben (wearing a basket-cap woven by herself) and Lottie Beck.
b. Ellen Allen and Mamie Offield, sisters. Only Mrs. Offield was used as an informant.
c. Julia Starritt.

These photographs were taken in 1954. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to photograph the other informants used.
a. The 'ikmahačram'ikšši-p or sacred sweathouse of Katimin, photographed in 1951, from an uphill-downriver position.

b. The same, photographed on the same occasion, from a downhill-upriver position. When seen again in 1954, this structure was much more dilapidated and greatly overgrown with the berry vines which are visible in this picture.

c. The ve'náram or sacred living-house at Katimin, photographed on the same occasion, from a downriver position. Neither of these structures has been used in recent years, since the world-renewal is no longer celebrated.

d. A new brush-dance pit in Orleans, photographed not long after its construction in 1954. This was the site of the first brush-dances to be held in Orleans since the 1920's.
INTRODUCTION

The following collection of texts is divided into five parts on the basis of content. These parts are divided between the two categories of folkloric material and factual descriptions. The first category, that of "stories," is subdivided according to the era in which the action occurs. Thus the texts of Part One, entitled "The Era of the ñlkxaré-yav," concern the "spirits" or "gods" who, in human form, originally inhabited the earth. A number of these texts end with a description of the spontaneous generation of the human race and the transformation of the ñlkxaré-yavas into animals, plants, inanimate objects, or intangible spirits. All these stories may, broadly speaking, be called myths. Each informant usually knows only one story about each ñlkxaré-yav; the great exception, however, is Coyote, who preserves his personality through a whole group of stories. This group of texts, including several Coyote stories which have been recorded in varying forms from different informants, constitutes the first section of Part One. Successive texts are stories of other animal and plant ñlkxaré-yavas; some of these are also presented in variant forms. Two final sections of Part One are devoted to (1) a pair of texts concerning the establishment of the world-renewal ceremony; and (2) a group of "medicine" stories—that is, magical formulas in the form of myths, recited to bring about some desired end. These formulas relate how some ñlkxaré-yav obtained magical fulfillment of his desires, and generally conclude with the hero (or heroine) declaring, "Mankind will do likewise." These texts were among the hardest to obtain, since conservative Karok feel that such medicine will lose its efficacy if revealed to an outsider.

Part Two, entitled "The Era of the Indian," consists of what may be called legends—tales of human beings who lived in olden times, before the coming of the white man. These texts are sometimes considered by informants to represent historical incidents, but the supernatural elements which occur in most of them suggest that they are largely of imaginative origin. A final section of this part contains three stories about 'Indian devils,' human beings with powers of evil sorcery.

Part Three is entitled "The Era of the White Man"; it consists of a few anecdotes of contact between Indians and whites, all occurring within the last hundred years.

The factual category of texts consists principally of Part Four, "Ethnological Descriptions." The main sections within this part deal with food, buildings, recreation, shamanism, and the world renewal ceremony. An additional ethnological text, with detailed linguistic analysis, is in Section 9 of the Grammar.

Part Five consists of a few texts concerning personal experiences or observations of my informants. Included here are the responses of one informant to a set of fifty drawings, designed for text-elicitation purposes.

The transcription of all texts is phonemic rather than morphophonemic. It is "normalized," however, to the extent that optional external-sandhi changes are not indicated; thus ñavansa ñukri- "a man lived," rather than ñavansó ·kri- (Grammar, 393). But simplification of consonant clusters,
occurring by a non-optional external-sandhi process, is indicated by overlining the result; thus yá vúra "just fine," from yav + vúra (Grammar, 395).

Most of the material is, unfortunately, deficient in the recording of supra-word phonemes, especially of intonation. This is due to the fact that most of the texts were recorded before the intonational patterns were adequately understood. The punctuation used, however, indicates intonations which would probably be acceptable Karok.

Paragraph divisions are made on the basis of English usage, and correspond to no formal structure of Karok.

The translations attempt to strike a mean between complete literalness and an intelligible English style. Words placed within parentheses have no direct equivalent in the Karok, but seem necessary in order to make the English understandable.
PART ONE: THE ERA OF THE 'IKXARÉ-YAV

Text Number 1: Coyote's Journey
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ká:n ñára-n ñúkri-n, ta'-y vára mupaávri-n. 2. ká:n píln-n-fíč
úmmá-híti, tó '-mman pó-paávri-nati ñára ka-n. 3. kári xás ñúppí-p,
"hó-y 'imma'-hti pe-şpuk." 4. kári xás ñúppí-p, "kahyúras." 5. kári xás píln-n-fíč xás ñupá-ram. 6. kári xás úxxúsí-tí, "tí-
kanparfi-rííhívi. 7. xásí Kahyúras nívá-ramí. 8. vá- pe-şpúk níkyá-
-ří, "dí tá nišúkpu." 9. xás vá- tází tuparfi-ří-hva pó-a'n. 10. tá-štám űkííftuvahe'-n
pó-a'n. 11. kári xás úxxús, "čími kan-arámsi-príni." 12. kári
xás 'úkáriho-ar, 'ά'-n 'útsí-š, ʔantasunvá, vá- po-vúppará-š pe-şpuk.
13. víří vá- pató 'vááší-pó tó 'vááro-ř pó-a'n. 14. čávúra yí'-v káruk tu-áho. 15. xás úšša-le tá- xrah. 16. "vúra
puna-ñošš-e-šara." 17. púyava tá- 'mman passa-šmávó. 18. xás kári tá- xuxus, "puna-
xás úxxús, "páí'-m vára ni-úšš-eš passa-šmávó- nímmáhá-k." 25. kári
xás páya čávúra čávúra yí'-v tu-áho. 26. vára tá- kářím, tá- xra
úšša-há. 27. kári xás yánava pa-úšša-há, passa-šmávó- úxxa-ští. 28. to-
xxus, "ni-úšš-eš páká-n ni-úm-máhá-k." 29. kári xás po-ř'-m yánava
tupivaxráhe'-n passa-šmávó.- 30. kári xás "¿i-! púyá ¿í-úšša-há tá nè-črah." 31. kári xás
úxxús, "vúra tá ¿í'-v nímmáhavřík." 32. tá- xra pa-úšša-há, vúra
tuvé-črah. 33. kári xás čúííít, 'úxxa-ští, pa-úšša-uxxa-ští. 34. kári
xás úchúuřúkkí pa-úšša-há. 35. kári xás ʔúm-úučí tu-úm. 36. vára
va- ¿úúřúútí, úxxa-ští pa-úšša-há patučúuřúkkí. 37. xás tó-'mman
pá-úšša-há po-úũíntí. 38. vára ʔúm-úučí vúra tu-úm. 39. kári xás
úkvrípšíp, ká- űm. 40. yánava tupivaxráhe'-n. 41. kári xás úxxús, "púyá ¿í tá nè-črah." 42. vára tá- kářím. 43. vára va-
ú-áho-ří, vára tá yí'-v káruk. 44. sárůk tá- táfíkúttíhí. 45. sárůk pe-šké'-š úvunvóraktíhí. 46. xás úxxús, "kíří páy kári va-
nišš." 47. kári xás ¿e-š vúra vá- ú-áho-říti, vára tá- kářím. 48. vúra
čími ʔú-úm-úe'-š kahyúras. 49. kári xás yánava yí'-v káruk tu-áho. 50. kári xás yánava kákkú-š ká- úšša-ští, ḥu-șša-šmávó-ří-
hitíhí. 51. kári xás kákkú-š to- xuxus, "hó-y ñí-ní-úm-úe'-š." 52. kó-ča.
PART ONE: THE ERA OF THE 'IKXARÉ'YAV

Text Number 1: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. A person lived there, he had a lot of strings of money. 2. Coyote saw him there, he saw the person there measuring strings of money. 3. And he said, "Where do you find the money?" 4. And he said, "At Klamath Lakes." 5. So Coyote went home then. 6. And he thought, "Let me twine string. Let me go to Klamath Lakes! 7. I will go get that money, I have really taken a liking to it." 8. So he twined a lot of string. 9. Then he tied the string in a bundle. 10. And he thought, "Let me start out!" 11. And he went upriver; the string was in a single pack, the little string, that which he was going to string the money with. 12. When he had packed it up, he carried the string upriver. 13. Finally he walked a long ways upriver. 15. And he got thirsty. 16. "I won't drink." 17. Then he saw the creek. 18. And he thought, "I won't drink." 19. He was traveling like that. 20. And finally he traveled a long ways upriver. 21. He really got thirsty. 22. He thought like that, "I won't drink, I'm going to get money." 23. And finally he got thirsty, he really got thirsty. 24. And he thought, "Now I'll drink when I see a creek." 25. And so finally he traveled a long ways. 26. He was really bad off, he was thirsty. 27. Then he saw the water, the creek was sounding. 28. He thought, "I'll drink when I get there." 29. And when he arrived he saw the creek had dried up. 30. "Oh, how thirsty I am!" 31. And he thought, "I can't stand it." 32. He was thirsty, he was so dry. 33. Then he heard it, it was sounding, the water was sounding. 34. And he sneaked up on the water. 35. And he got close. 36. He heard it that way, the water was sounding as he sneaked up. 37. And he saw the water flowing. 38. He got real close. 39. Then he broke into a run, he arrived there. 40. He saw it had dried up. 41. And he thought, "How thirsty I am!" 42. He was really bad off. 43. He was walking that way, a long ways upriver by this time. 44. He looked downhill. 45. Downhill the river was flowing downriverward. 46. And he thought, "I wish I could drink that." 47. And oh! he was walking that way, he was really bad off. 48. He was about to get to Klamath Lakes. 49. He saw he was a long ways upriver. 50. And he saw again the water sounding there, there was a creek. 51. And again he thought, "I can't reach it." 52. He was so thirsty.

1 The various versions of Coyote's Journey which have been recorded by myself and by other investigators are discussed and compared in my paper, "The Travels of Coyote" (1955).
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53. kári xás kükku-m ʔuːnúŋákkir passa-mváro'.
54. kë-č, samvaró-ka-m. 55. xás ʔuuxus, "tf-· kë- kánikkú-’kmi."
56. kári xás pamúva-s ʔupiš/unitkárišuk. 57. kári xás təʔittam páy ʔunífrášá-he-n. 58. xás ʔummu’-stih, vúra ʔum-tá-y paʔuššáha, vúra ʔó-mukič. 59. kári xás ʔukvíripšíp. 60. xás kúk ʔupá’ťama pamúva-s. 61. ʔúma-šá kíč ʔušväppup. 62. t五四vaxrá paʔuššáha. 63. kári xás ʔuuxus, "ʔú! vúra tá pánáʔumara, vúra ʔuššáha tá néxrah."
64. kári xá šárük tó -tfákktuth. 65. vúra va- sárük ʔuvu-nváarktí pešké-š. 66. ʔú! xás ʔuuxus, "čími va- kanįš-ší pešké-š." 67. taʔittam sárük ʔuʃáříhfaahe-n. 68. xás ʔuuxus, "púya ʔí ká-riš tá nikúšpha, pačími ʔišše-š. 69. káruma kahyúras ʔišpúk nišyá-nih."
82. xás ʔastí-p ʔuvř-š. 83. ʔavúra tá ʔí-v tá-ʔěšvrú-hvarak. 84. ʔavúra ʔó-k ʔúšvríš-náně-šačíp tá-ʔěšvrú-hvarak. 85. kári xás ʔúvrúk ʔutrú-putih. 86. yánuva yúrk šúʃáʃá-mač káráříšiš. 87. kári xás ʔuppi-p, "sah̕ahupya’d mač káráříšiš." 88. kári xás sah̕ahupya’d mač vaʔuppiříšiš. 89. kári xás ʔěšvrú-hvarak. 90. ʔó-mukič vúra tá ʔummu’-stí pakuntáříškírit. 91. xás ʔuppi-p, "ʔastí-pić ʔuʃáříhfaahe-n, ʔastí-pić vúra kahyúras. 92. mukunsʔukumíči xás kíč ʔuššáha-neš."
93. kári xás pa’šáʃá-mač sárük ʔó-θ ʔutkáraθíth. 94. xás ʔuppi-p, "yáʃxka, ʔé-ʔv.² 95. ʔó! yáʃxka kó- ya’máč sãm pasah’ahup.’
96. xás yáʃθa ʔuppi-p, "ho’-y.’
97. xás ʔuppi-p, "mává sãm.’
98. xás ʔuppi-p, "ʔó! ʔé-v, čími nútta-trípa’ pasah’ahup.’
99. "čímí.’
100. taʔittam sãm kunišvíšėpínih. 101. tá kunišmůšar po-ʔěšvrů-hro’-natih. 102. xás ʔuppi-p; "čími, ʔé-v, ho’ kíč ʔašů’ʔanahmaře.’
103. va- mů’t kášů’ʔanahmaře.’
109. kári xás yiθθa ʔuppi’-pa’šáʃá-mač sárük ʔó-θ ʔutkáraθíth. 110. mít kuniš’ép’t ’káruk ʔó-θ tuʔmákar.’
111. kári xás ʔó-θ kunišpa’-θkar pasah’ahup. 112. kári xás tá kuniškiθkíšiš pamųšínuxu-n, pamųšínukkí. 113. čáva tá xánahšíš čáva tá xánahšíš xánava xákka’-n vúra tá kunišmu’taraθa.
119. pa’-θ kunišpa’-θkar ’ďffíp xás ʔuššáha-neš. 120. xás vúra
53. And again he sneaked up on the creek. 54. It was big, a big creek.
55. And he thought, "Let me crawl to it." 56. And he undid his blanket,
57. And he did this with it (wadded it up, shown by informant's gestures,)
58. And he looked; there was a lot of water, just close. 59. And he broke
into a run, 60. And he threw his blanket at it. 61. Just dust puffed up.
62. The water had dried up.
63. And he thought, "Oh, I can't reach it, I'm really thirsty," 64. And
he looked downhill. 65. Downhill the river was flowing downstream like
that. 66. Oh, he thought, "Let me drink from the river!" 67. So he went
downhill. 68. And he thought, "How bad I do, being about to drink water.
69. I'm going to get money at Klamath Lakes."
70. So he went down to the bank. 71. And he looked out to the water,
72. And he thought, "I won't drink right by the bank." 73. And he said,
"Fall down, fir tree!" 74. (One) fell down. 75. And he walked out into
the river on it.
76. And he got to the middle of the river. 77. And then he stooped down
to the water. 78. He stooped down to the water for a long time, he drank a
lot. 79. And when he got up, he had drunk a lot. 80. So he fell over.
81. He fell backwards into the river.
82. And he floated downhill. 83. Finally he floated a long ways
downriver back to here. 84. Finally he floated back downriver here to the
center of the world.
85. And he looked downriver. 86. He saw young women leaching on the
bank downriver. 87. And he said, "Let me turn into a pretty piece of drift­
wood!" 88. And he turned into a pretty piece of driftwood.
89. And he floated down from upriver. 90. Nearby he looked at them
leaching. 91. And he said, "Let me float to the bank, let me float to the
bank. 92. I will keep floating back upriver just downhill from them."
93. And the girl looked downhill into the river. 94. And she said, "Look, dear. 95. Oh, look at what a pretty piece of driftwood downhill!"
96. And (the other) one said, "Where?"
97. And she said, "There downhill."
98. And (the other) said, "Oh, dear, let's hook the driftwood out!"
99. "All right."
100. So they ran downhill. 101. They went to look at it floating back up­
river. 102. And (one) said, "Come on, dear, where is a little stick?
103. We'll hook it out with that."
104. And so they hooked it out. 105. And oh, they took a liking to it!
106. Oh, how pretty the driftwood was, they took a liking to it. 107. And
one threw it to (another), they played with that driftwood. 108. The little
stick was pretty.
109. Then one girl said, "Ugh!" she said, "ugh! maybe it's Coyote.
110. They said he drowned in the river upriver."
111. And they threw the driftwood back in the river. 112. And they took
up their acorn soup, their leaching. 113. Sure enough, in a little while
they saw they were both pregnant.
114. Coyote floated downriver, he swam ashore downriver from them
then. 115. So Coyote did that. 116. He forgot that he was going upriver
to get money. 117. Kupánñakanakanana. 118. Coyote did it.
(The following episode was added by the informant on another day.)
119. When they threw him back in the river, he then floated ashore at Requa.

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2^*v (basic form ?^*v), here translated "dear," is a term of address used by women
to relatives or intimate friends.
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121. ká:n ʔuθéʔ-nív ʔastí·p. 122. xás vúra va: ʔuθéʔ-nív.
123. čůfni·vkač't:n ká:n vúra patá kun?av. 124. čůfni vúra pa:svut-
133. xás vúra va: ʔuθéʔ-nív. 134. xás vúra va: ʔuθéʔ-nív.

Text Number 2: Coyote's Homecoming

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. °uknő'. 3 puyava ká:n kahyúras kun?ara·rahiti pa:sta·h. 2. ko:vúra kuná·sta: ká:n tuxva·y. 3. ká:n xás puyava ʔi:kxúrer ña:sa t:n kunpi·šar ʔi:nàk. 4. puyava t:n kunpámva·r, xás t:n kunpišma·r, ká:n tiktahuC'ra·m kú:k t:n kunpáyi·hma. 5. ká:n xás t:n kunpi·p, ʔčimí t:arıhišíhí. 6. puyava ko:vúra t:n kunpakúři·huna·. 7. puyava ʔyu! čimí ʔtipa·n, akkiC. 8. t:uy t:n kunpakúři·huna·. 9. puyava pokunpiširi puyava ʔçuva·rap. 10. ʔi:kxúrer t:n 'kxana-
namač, puyava t:n kunvitraraka, pahak se t:n kun'yu:na. 11. puy-
ava ʔt:k t:n kunvitrnuík ʔuknamxannahí. 12. puyava ká:n xás t:n kun'hu:kvuna·. 13. ká:n xás puyava ʔimmá'n yá:nik vúra ʔusúppa-
hiti, ká:n t:n kunpáyi·hspin. 14. ká:n t:n kunpáyi·hspa, tusableha·č-
ha, pámita ká:n kun'ara:msi·printih. 15. kúkku·m vúra ʔimmá'n t:n kunvitrnuík. 16. t:n kun'haruk. 17. ká:n xás ʔimmá'n t:n kun-
páyi·hspi. 18. ʔitaharé·kxaram kunvitrhvaráko·tih, xás kunpakúři-
huna·tih. 19. ká:n xás ʔifuč't:mič ʔi:nàk t:n kunpáyi·hfuruk, ʔá:s t:n kunpiš-
šana. 20. ká:n xás pá:sa kunpišma: ʔyu! ʔçuva·rap. 21. xás ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuwpó:ruvra·y. 22. ká:n xás ʔikmaháčra·m ʔukýi:nkuri su?: 23. ká:n xás ʔuppip ʔyu:he piñhén·fič tu:ʔáho-he·n. 3. ká:n xás pa: yánava pamukunjurá:kip tu:ʔáha·h. 25. ká:n xás kuuku·m ko:vúra t:n kunvitrvarra·y. 26. ká:n xás ʔuppip ʔyu:he piñhén·fič tu:ʔáho-he·n. 27. ká:n xás kuuku·m ko:vúra t:n kunvitrvarra·y. 28. ká:n xás ʔuppip ʔyu:he piñhén·fič tu:ʔáho-he·n. 31. ká:n xás kunpi·p ʔyu!: čimí t:arıhišíhí. 32. čávura ʔitaharé·n t:n kunpáyi·hspi. 33. ʔyu!: ʔçuva·rap. 34. ká:n xás ʔi:náma:vúra ʔi:kxúrer ʔyu:šáva·s, ʔišáva·s, ʔišáva·s. 4 5. ʔiší:vič ʔiší:vič ʔiší:vič ʔiší:vič. 35. nipčiku·vič:vič ʔiší:vič ʔiší:vič. 36. ká:n xás kunpi ʔi:náma ʔyu: ʔáho-he·n piñhén·fič. 37. ʔyu!: káruma ʔip nippa: ʔu:ʔáho-
he·n piñhén·fič. 38. ʔçuva·rap.
120. And he lay there on the bank. 121. And after a while the yellowjackets ate him. 122. And he lay there like that.

123. Flies ate him too. 124. Soon the ants ate him too. 125. He lay there like that.

126. And there were just bones by now, only his bones lay there.

127. And still he lay there like that.

128. And there was still meat there in his testicles. 129. And the yellowjacket thought, "Let me eat this."

130. And so he ate that meat there. 131. And when he bit it, then Coyote jumped up. 132. And he said, "atu tu tutu tu tu!" 133. And he picked up a stick. 134. And he hit them. 135. So Coyote did that. 136. He almost clubbed through them. 137. So that's why they all have small waists.

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Text Number 2: Coyote's Homecoming

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Once upon a time... The ducks lived upriver at Klamath Lakes. 2. There were all kinds of ducks and cranes. 3. In the evenings they went in the living house to eat their meal. 4. So they finished eating, they finished their meal, and they went to the sweathouse. 5. And they sang, "Sing!" 6. So they all sang. 7. Then (they said), "Well, how about you (singing), friend!" 8. They sang a lot. 9. So when they finished, then (they said), "Let's go." 10. It was just getting dark in the evening, then they paddled down from upriver, they traveled in boats. 11. So they came here to ūknamxānnahī. 12. Then they flower-danced there. 13. Then the next day it was just daybreak, and they left again. 14. They arrived back upriver where they came from, it was mid-morning. 15. Again the next day they came down from upriver. 16. They came to dance. 17. And the next day they left again. 18. For ten nights they traveled through to there, and they sang.

19. And they went into the living house for the last time, they went to eat a meal. 20. And when they finished eating, (they said) "Well, let's go!" 21. And (one) went back into the sweathouse. 22. And he fell down into the sweathouse. 23. And he said, "Hey, Coyote has come." 24. And he saw (Coyote) had eaten their ladder. 25. And all of them successively fell into the sweathouse. 26. And (each) said, "Hey, Coyote has come. That one is just not reliable, he just does lots of tricks." 28. Their wood was piled up in the corner. 29. There lay Coyote in back of it. 30. He heard them telling (each other), "He has come."

31. And they said, "Well, sing!" 32. Finally they sang ten times.

33. (And they said), "Well, let's go!"

34. And suddenly (Coyote) said, "Nephew, nephew, nephew!" 35. I'll go along, I'll go along to my country."

36. And they said, "All right. 37. Well! I said Coyote had come! 38. Let's go."

"S'ukni", here translated "once upon a time," is used only to begin the telling of a myth. The diacritics mark falling-rising tone, which occurs only in this word.

"iSava-s, here translated "nephew," is literally "child of deceased sibling." In the myths, Coyote addresses everyone by this term.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

39. kārī xās kunippē' r papihnē'fič "tī'asīmča-kṭihe' s īk. 40. sūva nīk vūra tā nūvī' hma, nūppe's. 41. xasīk pīyu-phē' s." 42. "yē' cēmmī, yō' tva, yō' tva, "nīsāva's."
39. kārī xās čavūra yī' tā kunvī' tma. 44. kārī xās tūxūs papihnē'fič "tī' kānu' phi. 45. "apapi'cyu' p." 46. kārī nyū' pha. 47. yānava "ikmahāčra'm" xās "panītθēa' āniv." 48. pūyava kunvī' huk. 49. tīmmā'n kūkk'um tā kunpāvī' hūp. 50. tīmmā'n máh'ī' tā nī hū' tūsūppa' hūtthi, pūyava kunpāvī' hma. 51. yānava pīnē'fič kā'n. 52. xās "uppī' p" "nīsāva's, kūmāt'e ē vūra nipēlvkē' viš." 53. kārī xās kunpē' p "cēmmī. 54. xāya't ūk mān "iyū' pha." 55. kārī xās kunvī' hūp kūkk'um. 56. kārī xās pīnē'fič tā ūpptam kūkk'um tuśūvke'. 57. pūyava čavūra tā yi' vūrava tū'asīmča' ktihi. 58. tūxūs ē vu rā vā "tū'asīmča' ktihi." 59. kārī xās kunvī' hūp tā nuvī' huk." 60. kārī xās tū'ārihšī papihnē'fič. 61. kārī xās "uppī' p" "tīmši'vša' ē ne's." 62. xās tū'θ tūpītyu' ykar. 63. kārī xās tišanī' tū'θ tūpītyu' ykar. 64. kathirâk tū'θ tūpītyu' ykar. 65. tūyu'k tū'θ tūpītyu' ykar. 66. pīnē'fič kō'vā tū'a' ē čī'ča, pātu'ppak tūmūshī'vša' ē ne's. 67. vūrā vā kumā' tī' pātuśīfūyka' nva. 68. kūppānānakanaka, tē'cē'nya' c ūk vūrā tūtayūkkī' nčū' tū'nuvārvē's. 69. nāya'vhe's īk. 70. tē'cē'nya' c ūk vūrā tū'īkē' tīmši'rihva' viš. 71. nāya'vhe's īk. 72. nīvāvē'sī vūrā vitkīniyā' c tāh. 73. kō'vā tu'āxxaska, tō'xxūrīha.

Text Number 2A: Coyote’s Homecoming

Second Telling by Nettie Reuben

1. kārūk "i'nā' kā' n tā kun'ā'mvuna'. 2. kunxus, "tūknamxānnahē13 čīmī nu' tūhukanve's." 3. kārī xās kārī pūyava "i'nā' k tā kunpāvī' hfu- ruk. 4. tīs tā kun'ī' svuna'. 5. kārī xās tā kun'īmpaha. 6. tīk- mahāčra'm tā kunpāvīhiš. 7. kūkk'um vūra tīmmā' tō'kxāramha. 8. kūkk'um vūra vā' kārī tā kunpāvīhišvraθ. 9. tūxūs ē vūra yō' tha' tūkyūvīvraθ. 10. xās "uppī' p, "yī' na", pīnē'fič tūvō' ruvraθahe' s. 11. pānūpuvīkīr'kāk tū'av." 12. čavūra kunpamfūpivraθ. 13. xās kunippē' r "čīmī tī'rihišrih." 14. kārī xās kārī tā' ēpptam tūpakuřf'vhaθe'n.
39. And they told Coyote, "You must keep your eyes closed. 40. You will hear us arrive, we will say so. 41. Then you can open your eyes."
42. "Well, all right, hurray, hurray, nephew!"
43. So finally they paddled a long ways. 44. And Coyote thought, "Let me open my eyes." 45. (I'll just open) one little eye, 46. And he opened his eyes, 47. And he saw, (he said), "I'm lying in the sweathouse!"
48. Then they came (home). 49. Again the next day they left. 50. The next morning it was just daylight here and there, then they went there. 51. They saw Coyote there. 52. And he said, "Nephew, this evening I'll go along."
53. And they said, "All right. 54. Don't open your eyes."
55. So they left again. 56. And Coyote went along again. 57. So finally he kept his eyes closed like that for a long ways. 58. Suddenly they paddled to shore, 59. And they said, "We've come home."
60. And Coyote jumped up. 61. And he said, "My country!" 62. And he kicked (earth) out towards the river. 63. And he kicked it out from tišán-ni-k. 64. He kicked it out from kätti-nirak. 65. He kicked it out from tii-yvuk. 66. Coyote was so happy, when he came back to his country.
67. That's why he kicked it out. 68. kupán-a-nakanana. Young brodiaea plant, you must come up quickly. 69. You must hurry to me. 70. Spring salmon, you must shine upriver quickly. 71. You must hurry to me. 72. My back is a regular ridge by now. 73. He was so thin, he was hungry.

Text Number 2A: Coyote's Homecoming
Second Telling by Nettie Reuben

1. Upriver they ate there in the living house. 2. They thought, "We'll go flower-dance at 'uknamxannahi."
3. And then they went back into the living house. 4. They ate a meal. 5. And they made up their minds.
6. They went back to the sweathouse.
7. Again the next day it became dark. 8. Again they went back to the sweathouse. 9. Suddenly one fell in.
10. And he said, "Well, Coyote has come into the sweathouse. 11. He ate our ladder!"
12. Finally they all gathered in the sweathouse. 13. And they said, "Sing!" 14. And so they sang.

*apap-fyup, here translated "one little eye," is literally "eye on one little side." from *apap-f "on one side (dim.)" and yu-p "eye." A diminutive of this whole compound occurs in 2A.23.
That is, he was magically transported back to the starting point.
*nini£i8-n is a distorted form of nini8-ane-n "my country," evidently used for humorous effect.
8 A village-site at Camp Creek, below Orleans.
9 A village-site across-stream from Camp Creek.
10 A village-site at Ullathorne Creek, below Camp Creek. This passage accounts for the origin of the river-bars at the sites named.
11 This word is used only to end the telling of a myth. It is sometimes followed; as in this case, by a short prayer for food, reflecting the fact that myths were originally told only in the winter, when food was scarce.
12 The shift here from first to third person reference is difficult to account for. It may be that sentences 68 through 72 are conceived of as being spoken by Coyote.
13 A pond near Camp Creek, locally known as The Frog Pond.
15. kārī xās "čāmmi, čāva-rap.
16. kārī xās ʔaΧmáy vúra ʔuppi-p, "ʔišáva-s, ʔiŋiθ̾vę̆-viš, ʔišáva-s, ʔiŋiθ̾vę̆-viš."
17. xās kunippi-p "čāmmi.
18. kūna vúra xáya-x ʔik ʔiyú-pха.
19. va ʔik vúra panuvț̾iha-k. 20. va ʔik vúra ʔiʔasș̾mə-k tĭ-keš."
21. taʔätz̾tam kunpávți-hšípre-hĕn. 22. čávůra yi'-v tā kunpávți-hma. 23. kārī kās čāmmi "čťă̅x̾kus, ʔaʔapų̆-čyŭ-pič."
24. kārī xās ʔiyú-pха. 25. xās yánava "ʔikmaháčra'-m" xās "paniθ̾-ð̾s-niv. 26. ʔi! ʔik kā-rim nikuphe-ʔn, paniyŭpʰe'-n."
27. kārī xās ʔuyú-pха. 28. xās yánava "ʔikmaháčra'-m" xās "paniθ̾-ð̾s-niv. 29. kārī xās ʔuyú-pха. 30. puyava kūkku-m vūra kūmáte'-č po'kx̾arámhe-š, kūkku-m vūra ʔa kārī kunpávți-hšípre̥-viš.
31. tā ʔi-nâ-'k ʔa's tā kunpíššar. 32. kūmáte'-č kunpávți-hšípre̥-viš. 33. kunpų̆hukanve'-ş õknamxānnahič. 34. kārī xās kūkku-m vūra pihnŭ-fič ʔuppi-p, "ʔiŋiθ̾vę̆-viš, ʔišáva-s."
35. xās kunippe'-r "čămme." 36. kārī xās kūmáte'-č kunpávți-hvirač. 37. taʔätz̾tam "y'i čůmmi ʔariθ̾iš."
38. taʔätz̾tam kunʔariθ̾iši-hváhe-ʔn paʔhukar. 39. taʔätz̾tam kunpávți-hšípre-hĕn. 40. pihnŭ-fič taʔätz̾tam ʔuθ̾vę̆-viš-hĕ-n. 41. kārī xās kunippe'-r "xáyfa-t ʔik ʔiyú-pха. 42. vúra nīk panuvți-hmaha-Ł, xašik vūra "ʔiyú-pʰe'-š." 43. "čāmmi, nīk ʔišáva-s, punayŭpʰe'-šara."
44. taʔätz̾tam kunpávți-hšípre-hĕn. 45. čávůra ʔaΧmáy vúra kunvít-iš. 46. xās kunippe'-r "tā nuvyų̆huk."
47. "ʔi'- niniθ̾və̆-ne'n, niniθ̾və̆-ne'n."
48. taʔätz̾tam ʔi'-ʔuθ̾piyų̆-tuθ̾yų̆ka'və̆-ne'n. 49. panámni-k ʔu'-ʔuθ̾piyų̆-tuθ̾yų̆ka'nva. 50. kătifirá'-ʔu'-ʔuθ̾piyų̆-tuθ̾yų̆ka'nva. 51. "niniθ̾və̆-ne'n, niniθ̾və̆-ne'n."
52. tǐšanθ̾-ʔu'-ʔuθ̾piyų̆-tuθ̾yų̆ka'nva. 53. tuyų̆vų̆kθ̾-ʔu'-ʔuθ̾piyų̆-tuθ̾yų̆ka'nva. 54. "niniθ̾və̆-ne'n, niniθ̾və̆-ne'n, tā nī ʔippak, niniθ̾və̆-ne'n."
55. kūpamnakanaka. ĩe ʔi kūr vūra ʔišy่า'ʔ ʔimθ̾rįhra-viš. 56. nāyuavheš ʔik. 57. vūra ʔum tā ne'-mčtíʔtako. 58. kārī ĩe ʔīk ʔatayčůkkinač ʔiʔu-núprave'-š. 59. nāyuavheš ʔik.

Text Number 3: Coyote's Journey
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. phihnŭ-fič va ʔukúpha-nik. 2. panámni-k ʔuʔtífánik. 3. va-kān muθ̾fθ̾və̆-ne'n. 4. kārī xās ʔuθ̾xǔssa-nik "čůmmi kārūk ʔišpū kaniθ̾kyą-n kahyuраs." 5. xās ʔuparş̾ńi-hva ʔantuńvę'-č. 6. ʔiθ̾ę'ya’-v ʔuparş̾ńi-hva. 7. čávůra ʔiθ̾ę’ʔa-θ̾va va kö ʔuparş̾ńi-hva.
8. kārī xās ʔavə’ram. 9. xās páy passə’-m ʔussə’-mvrakti ʔuθ̾rįhro’-v. 10. ko-vūra paʔa-ra’ ʔumma’-hvuń-tiθ̾, "ximkun vūra pufa'-tsahara. 11. nə- kahyuраs tā nívə̆răm."
12. čávůra ʔiθ̾ę'θ̾və̆-ne’n’č’ip tuθ̾rįhro’-v. 13. kān xās ʔumma’-θ̾ra'-r, ʔuphikirř-hvuthi. 14. kān tuvurayvike’-ʔun. 15. yánava páy
15. And (they said), "All right, let's go." 16. And suddenly (Coyote) said, "Nephew, I'll go along, nephew; I'll go along."
17. And they said, "All right. 18. But you mustn't open your eyes. 19. That's the way it must be when we paddle. 20. You will have to keep your eyes closed like that."
21. So they left. 22. Finally they went a long ways. 23. And (Coyote) thought, "Let me open my eyes, just one little eye," 24. And he opened his eyes. 25. And he saw, (he said) then, "I'm lying in the sweathouse!"
26. Oh, I really did bad, when I opened my eyes!"
27. And then they, the ducks, left again in the morning. 28. And they went back there. 29. And they went to the end of the world. 30. Again in the evening when it was about to get dark, again they were about to leave.
31. By now they went inside to eat a meal. 32. Later on they were going to leave. 33. They were going to flower-dance at 'uknamxannahi. 34. And again Coyote said, "I'll go along, nephew." 35. And they told him, "All right."
36. And later on they went back in the sweathouse. 37. Then (they said), "Well, sing!" 38. So they sang the flower-dance songs. 39. Then they left. 40. Then Coyote went along. 41. And they told him, "Don't open your eyes. 42. When we get there, then you can open your eyes."
43. "All right, nephew, I won't open my eyes." 44. So they left. 45. Finally they suddenly paddled to shore. 46. And they told him, "We've arrived here."
47. "Oh, my country, my country!" 48. And he kicked (dirt) out into the river. 49. He kicked it out from Orleans. 50. He kicked it out from káttiphirak. 51. "My country, my country!" 52. He kicked it out from tišáni-ik. 53. He kicked it out from tő-yvuk. 54. "My country, my country, I've come back, my country!"
55. kupannakanakana, Spring salmon, you must shine upriver quickly. 56. You must hurry to me. 57. The bones are sticking out through my skin. 58. And young brodiaea plant, you must come up quickly. 59. You must hurry to me.

Text Number 3: Coyote's Journey
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. Coyote did that. 2. He grew up at Orleans. 3. That was his country there. 4. And he thought, "Let me go upriver to get money at Klamath Lakes!" 5. And he twined little strings. 6. He twined a whole winter. 7. Finally he twined a whole pack.
8. Then he left. 9. And he went upriver downhill where that flows down from upriver. 10. He saw all the people (and said); "You-all are just nothings. 11. I am leaving for Klamath Lakes."
12. Finally he traveled upriver to the center of the world here. 13. And there he saw a person, he was sweating himself. 14. (Coyote) walked

14 páy passa-m ʔuša-mvára kitih "downhill where that flows down from upriver" is a circumlocution meaning simply "by the river."
15 This person was ʔi-mʊʔ "Lizard"; cf. sentence 177.
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f-tva "u'ediri-na." 16. xás "uxxüti "i'- takapakatkä-tih." 17. kári xás 'upakatkätähe-n. 18. 'amaya-"uššara. 19. čavüra ko'vüra 'upāŚiip. 20. xás pamu?aspha-ru 'uđaxiixxav. 21. kári xás ta'ittam 'u'ahöhe-n. 22. xás "uppe-mi "i'm 0 ke-mişa?t n 'i'ANE-śap."

23. kári xás po'vâ'npuk 'ikmahâcra-m 'uvi-nupuk. 24. xás "uxxüti "e': na' nippë-e 'pînhë-čič 'i'k 'uvûrayvutihe-n." 25. va-panini?uššahe tuapšipš-prinahe-n. 26. kári 'uššahe 'uxxrah. 27. xás "uxxüti "va- kip kók 'uvîšt-nti xañfatmas."

28. xás 'uuppi'-'čîmi kám 'uvi mi'vVu-akam.

29. káruvkâri tuššiirîho'-v. 30. tuššavâka-mha. 31. xás tutu-ra-ya, vârua 'u-m tå-y paxañhtmas. 32. "vârua puna'âve-śara." 33. čavüra yi-mişâ ci tu'um. 34. xás "uxxüti "i'- matë kô-mahic kan 'uššapvi paxañhtmas." 35. Ĥinupa čîmi 'uššapve-š. 36. kári xás "uxxüti "hút-t nä'ta kóu papunayâ-vahitihara." 37. xás "uxxüti 'na' nix- xüti 'uššukam napáyli-hrishtik panjá-minti." 38. xás "uxxüti 'čîmi panini?uššuțurax čîmi kannjâśvâ-ši.pi." 39. ta'ittam 'uvâvâha 'ukyâ-he-n. 40. xás pamu?uššuțurax va- kummi'rek uššapväšap. 41. xás "uxxüs "pûya páy 'u-m, pay'ë 'u-m nayâ-vahë-š. 42. tá 'fip nîpiâšvâ-šat panini?uššuțurax." 43. ta'ittam 'u-mvâ-he-n.}

44. vârua tuššavâka-mha. 45. vîri kâ-n 'ukunçânuñânah. 46. xás "uxxüti "niuxüti 'čîmi ni'vë-më'ë kahyurâs." 47. tuššittiv po'evántüth. 48. va- 'ukupâohtâvânhâ, kümüñ 'uvüti 'huhuvinuhuahi." 49. xás "uxxüti 'čîmi ni'vë-më'ë kahyurâs." 50. va- kë po'evántiv pánuvinuhuahi. 51. Ĥinupây 'uššupšurax po'ë-vëknât. 52. Ĥinupây 'i'pa a 'uvâvâha mák 'uššivâ-šat himpyâv po'ë-vëknât. 53. vîri hë- čîmi 'uë-me-ne.' 54. va- vârua kâ-n 'a-pun yû'xak 'ukû-rûvun. 55. vîrivâ këc 'uvüti "ahtuthuhtuhtuhtuhtuh." 56. pûyava čavüra 'uššisip pamu?uššuțurax. 57. pûyava "uxxüs "pay'ëm vârua puna'âpe-śara paxañhtmas. 58. tá ko-, vârua puna'âve-śara."

59. čîmiva va- kuna 'ukû-phâ, 'uššâha 'uxxrah. 60. 'ûma va- 'u- küphâ-nik, pâmîtvâ 'i'ōe-šu-av tuapnišhî-va 'antunvë-č. 61. hô-'varivhâ to 'u'ahûtro-vohe-n. 62. vîri hë- čîmi 'uššapeš. 63. pa'ieszha to 'xarah. 64. yi-mësič to 'ta-p. 65. yané-kva paswa-mvâso 'uvûrunîhi- tih. 66. kâ-n tu'um. 67. tuviyârhâhë. 68. pûn'pay va- to 'kvî- rîpšip. 69. čîmi tu'um., 70. tuviyâvåhe-n.}

71. xás "uxxüti "vârua puna'âve-śara 'uššê-ša-s." 72. mûva's "u'ii-ëvüthih. 73. "pay'ë-m paninmâhâ-k passa-'mâvâo- paninâs-s kûk nippë-më'ës.' 74. xasik va- nîpaçipšipë-š. 75. xás po'mmâh pas- sa-'mâvâo- ta'ittam kûk 'uppë-ëmâhe-n. 76. "ivaxvâkax xás 'ukyvîv. 77. vârua 'uššâha 'u-shâ. 78. "vârua puna'âve-śara 'uššê-ša-s." 79. vîri va- 'u'ukupîth. 80. vârua tuššavâka-mha. 81. vîri 'û'he 'uššê-šak tu 'ahirîmkânva. 82. xás "uxxüti "xâ-tik vâra ni'gî, pe-'gê-ša-s. 83. kûna vârua pu'astî-čiš na'shê-šara. 84. vârua 'uššê-ša-čiš xasik ni 'uššë-s." 85. čavüra 'ummâh yånava 'u'jovârik 'uššripa-he ti 'i'fâ'i-p. 86. kâri xás "uxxüs "va- pay'ë-k xasik 'uššâha ni'gîš-šë-s." 87. ta'itt- tam 'uvâvâttakarâhe-n. 88. kâri xás 'uššê-ša-čiš ta'ittam 'ušškûkkurîhe-n. 89. vîri po-'kûkkurî fîmîva 'û'he 'ukyî- mmâr. 90. ušsív-švar.

91. ta'ittam 'uššêvîuhrâv. 92. vîri vârua 'u-m tå-y pa 'ahupton- vë-čas 'u'ûânañvâarthik. 93. xás pînhë-čič 'uuxüs "čîmi 'ahupâyâ-mâc kanparïhiš. 94. va- 'u-m hô-y vârua kané-pta-trîpâ-ši.îv. 95. 'û'v tuššívru'-hëma. 96. čîmi 'axmâ 'ûruk 'utru'-putih.
around there. 15. He saw something sitting in baskets. 16. And he thought, "Let me taste it!" 17. So he tasted it. 18. It was very good-tasting.
19. Finally he drank it all up. 20. And he chewed up (the person's) baskets to boot. 21. And then he traveled (on). 22. And he told (the person sweating), "A monster outside here is going to eat you."
23. And when he went out, (the person sweating) came out of the sweat-house. 24. And he thought, "Ah, I'll bet Coyote has been around here!"
25. He's drunk up that juice of mine. 26. May he get thirsty!"
27. And he thought, "He just likes that kind, roasted grasshoppers." 28. And he said, "Let there be a forest fire in front of him!"
29. (Coyote) went on upriver. 30. There was a big forest fire. 31. And he looked around, there were lots of grasshoppers. 32. "I won't eat them."
33. Finally he went a little ways. 34. And he thought, "Let me pick up a few roasted grasshoppers for a moment!" 35. He was going to pick them up.
36. And (after he had eaten them), he thought, "I wonder why I'm not getting full?"
37. And he thought, "I think they're coming out of me in the rear as I eat." 38. And he thought, "Let me seal up my anus." 39. Then he got pitch.
40. And he sealed up his anus with that. 41. And he thought, "There, now I'll get full. 42. I've sealed up my anus." 43. So he ate.
44. There was a big forest fire. 45. (Coyote) was sticking his buttocks around there. 46. And he thought, "I think I'm about to reach Klamath Lakes."
47. He heard it thundering. 48. He heard that, it sort of said, "Huhuhuhuhuhu." 49. And he thought, "I'm about to reach Klamath Lakes." 50. He just heard that "Huhuhuhuhuhu." 51. There it was his anus burning.
52. There it was the pitch he had sealed it with that was burning. 53. (He wondered) what he should do. 54. He slid all over there that way, on the ground, in the dirt. 55. He was just saying, "&uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu!"
56. So finally his anus was extinguished. 57. So he thought, "Now I won't eat roasted grasshoppers again. 58. That's all, I won't eat them."
59. Soon he did this also, he got thirsty. 60. That's what he had done, he twined little strings the previous winter. 61. He had lost them somewhere. 62. So what was he to do? 63. He was thirsty. 64. He looked off a little ways. 65. There was a creek flowing down. 66. He got there.
67. It had dried up. 68. After a while he broke into a run. 69. He got there. 70. It had dried up.
71. And he thought, "I won't drink river water." 72. He was carrying his blanket. 73. "Now when I see a creek, I'll throw my blanket at it."
74. Then I can suck on that." 75. And when he saw the creek, then he threw (the blanket) at it. 76. But it fell on dry ground.
77. He was really thirsty. 78. "I won't drink river water." 79. He did that. 80. There was a big forest fire. 81. There were trees falling out into the river. 82. And he thought, "Let me drink the river water. 83. But I won't drink by the bank. 84. I'll drink in the middle of the river."
85. Finally he saw it, he saw a fir tree lying fallen out across-stream towards him. 86. And he thought, "Here I will drink water." 87. So he walked out on it. 88. And in the middle of the river he stooped down to the water. 89. When he stooped down, he suddenly fell in. 90. He drowned.
91. So he floated back down from upstream. 92. There were a lot of little sticks floating down from upstream. 93. And Coyote thought, "Let me become a pretty stick! 94. That way they will hook me out somewhere."
95. He floated a long ways. 96. Suddenly he looked downriver.

16 Coyote thought the noise was made by the falls at Klamath Lakes.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

174. vírì va- kunkupíth, pa'asiktává-nsa kunxúti "kírì nütüruríppan pa'á-
hup." 98. xás pihné-fič tutápu'- pa'asiktává-nsa, 99. čavúra ka'návári
uviýrú-hma. 100. vírìa uvu-nó-vuthi. 101. vírìva ká'n ta'ittam pihné-
fič ká'n uviýrú-hma. 102. "o:-!" pa'asiktává-nsa kunpi-p, "o:-! yáxx-
xá páyku kó 'ahupyá-mač uviýrú-hununah. 103. čími múta-tripa-".
104. vírìva kunfapiríssiptih. 105. káruma kú-m pihné-fič 'uxxúti "xáy
kanátta-tripa-". 106. kári xás 'uxxúš čími kanpíývú-hsun. 107. ta-
'íttam uviýrú-hru-'
108. čavúra kúkúk-m va- ká'n ummáh pa'asiktává-nsa ąstí-p, 'áhup
cunkyá-vana-tíh. 109. xás yóóta auppi-p "o:-! yáxxá kó 'ahupyá-mač
tuviýrú-hvarak." 110. xás yó ùppip-p "atafá-t na' pihné-fič. 111. mít
kuníppa-t "kahyuras tuvú-ram." 112. ůppararahum, "atafá-t na- va." 113.
púyava nj kunímmu-stíh. 114. ká'n vírú tuviýrú-hun. 115. "xáy-
fa-t núhma-tíčva." 116. xás ąč' kunkípfu-tpkar.
117. "e:-!" xás 'uxxúti pihné-fič 'yá's na' nixxúti 'tá níšč'nvar." 118.
ká'n kaninay vírú pakumááhtí ąč' kunpíkúfuka-nva. 119. čavúra yú-m
kumayúrásak uviýrú-hrámnih. 120. ká'n xás uviýrúhiš. 121. xás vírú
tó 'ssir pihné-fič.
122. ká'n vírú tuviýrayvike-thon. 123. yánava ká'n píkmááhčra-m ąuńk'
ra. 124. xás uviýrhámmá. 125. yánava púra karáxxay vírú. 126. xás
uvi-rúvraθ pihné-fič. 127. xá μó pó 'u-m, poťtvrayva, pamuküíkri-
kir ko-vírú 'aθkurímbráx vírú. 128. pamukunpatúmkir káru vírú uku-
rít. 129. káru pamukunpiýkiríkkir va- káru vírú učkúrit. 130. xás
vírú tá -xuírha pihné-fič. 131. xás 'uxxúti "ft- kenpakakat-či papatúmkir."
132. xás po-pakáktat ąmaya?'čš'ara. 133. čavúra ko-vírú uččêfflip, pamu-
kunpiýkiríkkir va- káru vírú 'uxxúfflip.
134. xás 'uxmáy fá-t kúnič γučč'tív. 135. xás 'uxxúš čími kan 'čč'éunuvi." 136.
xás va- ká'n auphipiyó-o-rámma-m ká'n ęu'-siš. 137. xás 'ikkúxar
pakunpavýñhíva. 138. 'átágára-n ñf kúna tó -po'urvraθ, kunyíyvúní-h-
vuthi. 139. kári xás kunpi-p 'ha' nixxúti 'pihné-fič ęč'kínay 'uviýrayu-
tíh.' 140. va- páva- tā kupavé-nahan, ko-vírú tuučálí pámanupatúmkir. 141.
vírú va- ůuθó-čív, 'uččtí-imtí pakunčuphúrúhunatíh. 142. kári
xás kunpi-p čími nupákmu vanvi 'uknamkánnahîč.
143. kári xás 'uxxúti pihné-fič "nané̃vá-ne-ń tá kunkútrúhun." 144.
'uxxákke-č, 'uxxúš-č 'tá nupávvi-hma.' 152. púyava ać kári xasík 'iyú-'
heč. 153. kúna pe-yu-phá'č pukińpavývi-hme-š'ara. 154. va- vírú 'ęč'
nupóivruhúke-č." 155. "čímmi, va- ník níkkupé-č." 156. kári xás ta'ittam kunčípi-tšura-
heč. 157. pihné-fič "pá-ha'" kunippe-r "ăč tiššu'prámnih." 158. ta'ittam
pihné-fič ţššu-prámnih. 159. ta'íttam kunčípi-tšuraheč. 160. čavúra tu'ó-ri pihné-fič pó-ššu'prámnih. 161. xás 'uxxúš pihné-
fič "čike-šífrísík." 162. vírí po-túrašik vírí 'u-čšá-č kunipóivruhíč ąč-č
yurášíčím.
163. xás kunippe-či pihné-fič "paye'-m pukínípko-kanpe-š'ara." 164. xás pihné-fič "uppi'- "paye'-m ník vírú ţšá-vá's va- punč-pkupe-š'ara."
They were doing that, the women were trying to hook out the sticks. And Coyote took a liking to the women. Finally he floated to that vicinity. There was an eddy. So then Coyote floated to there. "Oh," the women said, "oh, look there, such a pretty stick is floating around. Let's hook it out." But they kept missing it. Coyote was thinking, "Let them not hook me out." And he thought, "Let me float away!" So he floated downriver again.

Finally he saw women there on the bank again, they were gathering wood. And one said, "Oh, look, such a pretty stick has floated down from upstream!" And another said, "Maybe it's Coyote. They said he had left for Klamath Lakes. He's not reliable, maybe that's him." So they looked at it. It floated around there. "Let's not fool with it." So they pushed it back out into the river.

"Ah," Coyote thought then, "now I think I've drowned." Everywhere they saw him, they pushed him back out into the river. Finally he floated into the ocean downriver. He floated to shore there. Coyote was just lost.

He walked around there. He saw a sweathouse standing there. So he looked inside. He saw nobody. So Coyote crawled in. And when he got inside and looked around, (the people's) seats were all of nothing but fat. Their pillows were fat too. And their ladder was fat too. And Coyote was hungry. And he thought, "Let me taste the pillows!" And when he tasted them, they were very good-tasting. Finally he ate them all up, he ate their ladder too up.

And suddenly he sort of heard something. And he thought, "Let me hide!" And he lay down there behind the woodpile. And in the evening (the people) came back in the sweathouse. (As) each person crawled in, they fell down. And they said, "I think Coyote is wandering around here. That's who did that, he ate up all our pillows."

(Coyote) lay like that, he heard them talking about him. And they said, "Let's spend the night away from home, at 'uknaraxănahi." And Coyote thought, "They're talking about my country." And he jumped out. "Nephew, my nephew, I'll go along." And they said, "All right. But don't open your eyes." "All right, I'll do that." I won't open my eyes." And they told him, "Get in the boat. You will hear gravel sound, you will know we have arrived. Then you can open your eyes. But if you open your eyes (before), we won't get there. We'll float back to here."

"All right, I'll do that." And so they paddled off. They told Coyote, "Lie face down in the boat." So Coyote lay face down in it. So they paddled off.

Finally Coyote got tired of lying face down. And Coyote thought, "Let me look out!" When he barely looked out, they floated ashore out at the ocean, at the seashore.

Then they told Coyote, "Now you won't go with us again." And Coyote said, "I won't do it again this time, nephew."

17 Literally, "the women thought, 'let us hook out sticks!'"
18 Literally, "is he reliable?" A question is often used in Karok as a rhetorical equivalent of a negative.
19 Not basic 'iO'ara-ra "stranger," but an external-sandhi variant of basic 'iO'ara "one person, each person."
Text Number 4: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pihnê-fiç ʔu·m ʔispukê-kyav tô ʔevo·nha. 2. xås ʔuppêp "kahyûras tá nîvâ-ram, ʔîspûk tá nîkyâ·r." 3. xås ʔu·avrâhiro·v, ʔupakûr·huvutgh. 4. "kahyûras nîvâ·râme·gš, ʔîspûk·nîkyâ·te·gš." 5. xås vûra yiv kâruk tu ʔavrâhiro·v. 6. xås kâ·m ʔatro·vutgh. 7. kâ·n ʔıppaha ʔu·kì·hyâ. 8. xås yânava ʔîtrâh·yar ʔakvåt·kun·irûk·ntako. 9. xås ʔuppêp "yè·hè yô·tva. 10. po·râppî·t nîkyâ·viš kâru vûra naniavo·vâna·c kâru ʔakvâkkîr kâru vûra naniyukkûkñu." 11. xås ʔu·pûxîvû·uro· pamûsâ·nava. 12. xås ʔu·ʔaxâxaxvax vûra tô·pičas. 13. xå sâruk ʔu·xîyâffako. 14. xås ʔi·skar ʔu·pihyârihiš. 15. xås kâri tu·át·tam "cîmî kankûnî·hkt," hûnupa pây tô ʔkipîrippiv. 16. xås pa·kvåt·sårûk ʔuskàkkûnîh. 17. xås kûkku·m vûra yè·hèkûnî·hka. 18. kûkku·m vûra ʔu·m ʔuskàkkûnîh. 19. xås ko·yûra tô·kîrippiv. 20. xås vûra kâ·rim tô ·pìmahô·nkôn. 21. xå sâ·m hûkûkkûnîh. 22. xås ʔu·pîfî ʔo·vûra pâmù·sânve·shaxâxax. 23. xås tu·át·tam ʔu·pîptåkêkîthâwê·hên. 24. xås ʔîp tô·yâ·kâsâ·nvûtîhât, kûrûma vâ· ʔîp ʔuvûppare·sât pâmûspuk. 25. xås ʔu·pasasâp·p. 26. xås ʔu·avrâhiro·v. 27. xås vûra tô·xxûrûhâ. 28. xås yânava kâ·n ʔuxrâ· tô ·mtûp. 29. xås ʔu·ʔêmâ·mvâ. 30. yânava kâ·n ʔu·kì·nvahîthît. 31. yânava vûra tô·y ʔaxxâ·tô ·mtupîšri·hva, vûra ʔamûhëvûna. 32. xås tu·át·tam ʔu·amûvâhê·h. 33. xås vûra tô·y ʔu·ʔêm. 34. xås vûra hû·tva tô·tû·m, pûxvay vûra yâ·vahîthîhara. 35. xås ʔîtfûkâm kô·k ʔupìtvâ·tît. 36. yânava ʔaxxâ·tô vî vûra ʔukûpa·gîšpiâhûnîhît po·kupàvûrayvahîthê·hên. 37. xås tu·át·tam ʔutû·râ·y·vahe·h. 38. xås yânava kâ·n ʔaxvâhâ·ʔîppaha ʔu·kì·hyâ. 39. yânava ʔaxvâ·hâtta·y. 40. xås "cîmî kînîphîsâpva·te·gš." 41. xås ʔku·kûmû·m ʔu·ʔêmâpav. 42. xås vûra cê·mya·g ãû·vâ·hâ. 43. xås ʔaxmây vûra ʔešîttiv ʔilshur. 44. xås ʔuppêp "hô·yè vûra kume·thyâ·nâmûrûthîh." 45. xås ʔaxmây vûra "ʔano! ʔano! 20 tô nê·mâcâk." 46. xås ʔupîtvâ·vra. 47. yânava "tâ nà·tînka." 48. xås ʔpun ʔukyîviš, xås ʔukrivrûhûhn. 49. xås ʔùmbî ʔa·ʔa·h. 50. xås kâri ʔupvå·ram, xås vûra ʔu·ʔêmâpavo. 51. xås vûra xâra ʔu·pa·ho. 52. xås vûra ʔišshâhê tô·xxra puxxxîc. 53. xås pamûpî·prî vûra puxxîc tûvxârah. 54. xås yânava kâ·n ʔîkâmàhâ·crâ·m ʔu·kra·kra. 55. xås yânava kâ·n ʔàra ʔupîkî·huvutgh, ʔupakûr·huvutgh. 56. kûrûma vûra tušapáxrah.
165. "All right, let's go." 166. So they left. 167. Then (Coyote) closed
his eyes again. 168. Finally it was a long time, (when) suddenly gravel
sounded. 169. And they told Coyote, "Get out of the boat!"
170. When he got out, he saw, (he said), "I've come back to my country!"
171. Then he rolled around. 172. "Hurray, I've come back to my country!"
173. So that's what Coyote did. 174. He went upriver to get money,
175. That's what Coyote did. 176. Nothing was any good. 177. Lizard
thought about him, "Let him do that, nothing will be any good."

Text Number 4: Coyote's Journey
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Coyote wanted to make money. 2. And he said, "I'm leaving for
Klamath Lakes, I'm going to make money." 3. And he went upriver, he
was singing. 4. "I'll leave for Klamath Lakes, I'll go make money." 5.
And he went a long ways upriver.
6. And he looked upriver. 7. A tree stood there. 8. He saw ten rac-
coons sitting. 9. And he said, "Well, hurray! 10. I'll make new pants
and my shirt and a quiver and my shoes." 11. And he ripped off his clothes.
12. And he tore them into little pieces. 13. And he threw them downhill.
14. And he stood naked. 15. And then (he said), "Let me shoot (one)," but
he missed. 16. And the raccoon jumped downhill. 17. And he shot at
another one. 18. It too jumped down. 19. And he missed them all. 20.
Then he felt bad. 21. And he crept downhill. 22. And he picked up his
torn-up clothes. 23. And then he mended them. 24. He was carrying a
lot of thread, that's what he was going to string his money with. 25. And
he put his clothes on. 26. And he traveled upriver.
27. And he got hungry. 28. And he saw berries ripe there. 29. And
he ate them. 30. He saw there was a forest fire there. 31. He saw lots
of grasshoppers cooked, and they were sort of good-tasting. 32. And so
he ate them. 33. And he ate a whole lot. 34. But what was the matter
with him? he wasn't getting full. 35. And he looked behind him. 36. He
saw the grasshoppers strung around where he had been wandering. 37. So
then he looked around. 38. And he saw a pitch tree standing there. 39.
He saw there was a lot of pitch. 40. So (he said), "Let me plug myself up."
41. Then he ate again. 42. And he quickly got full.
43. And suddenly he heard thundering. 44. And he said, "It's thundering
somewhere in the country." 45. And suddenly (he said), "Ouch! ouch! I'm
burnt!" 46. He looked back over (his shoulder). 47. He saw, (he said),
"I'm burning!" 48. And he fell to the ground, and he rolled about. 49.
Then the fire went out.
50. So then he went off again, and he traveled again. 51. And he traveled
a long time. 52. And he got very thirsty. 53. His tongue was very dry.
54. And he saw a sweathouse standing there. 55. And he saw a person was
sweating himself there, he was singing. 56. (Coyote) was terribly thirsty.
26 ?ano! "ouch!" is used when a person is burned. Other types of pain occasion the
response ?akə!"
THE KAROK LANGUAGE


61. xás 'axxak 'vúra pa'axsip 'u'máfíp. 62. xás upphí-p'ňá-čší, xáyaf-t 'şık vúra ne'xvihú-núši. 63. xás ká'-i p'árihó-róv.

64. xás pamánná-n či' p'árihírup'uk. 65. xás "uxxás či' kan'k-tíš. 66. xás yánava pa'axsip ãrm-un kumíphrív. 67. xás upphí-p "yáaxa či' mápap-xečiš'či'n tó nasítví-k. 68. kínikíí vúra či' mápap-xavrahíčške·šíč. 69. xáyaf-t 'şık vúra či' p'sisšaha 'ûmmanhé-vúra-vúna-vúshí.

71. xás pihné·čič p'árihó-róv. 72. xás 'isísšaha tó 'xra'h. 73. xás va- vúra 'uppi-hó-tísh. 74. xás vúra puxxič tó 'xra'h, xás či'mi či' p'sisšaha kan'k-tíš. 75. xás ta'úytam 'ûpáttümkuhí-róv. 76. xás 'àmá-tá p'íč ku'kpu 'vár 'ap'mán. 77. xás yánava pa'axsipášá sášúk tuvú'nik. 78. xás či'áhráma. 79. xás níč tó 'ká-ku'rá. 80. xás tuvaxrahí-rók tó 'skákíši. 81. xás pa'ísásahá sášúk tuvú'nik. 82. xás upphí-p "vúra xá-tik. 83. mínk ni'kášše·š kán'k-tíš. 84. xás p'árihó-róv. 85. xás 'oščтив páá'úf 'ûvúrnihúva. 86. xás vuxvéríšip. 87. xás upphí-p "p'anamívá-s nippa'xkúripe'š. 88. xás mûva-s 'ûppa'kápiúrúh. 89. xás 'àmá-tá p'íč ku'kpu'púppusúp. 90. xás vúra či'mi či' kí-k'vúa tuvaxráhčáč. 91. xás upphí-p"jáš-e'm nívá-rúra-víš pa'ôppahá. 92. xásík panámniva-s nippa'xkúripe'š. 93. xás kúkk-kú 'oščтив páá'úf. 94. xás 'účunýákkír vúra kášá?miš. 95. xás 'û'vú-rúra' 'ôppahá. 96. xás ta'úytam pamámu-s 'ûppa'kápiúrúhí-róv. 97. xás kúkk-kú vúra 'àmá-tá p'íč ku'kpu'púppusúp po'kúviíši.

98. xás vúra 'ûm hú či'mi či' ne'š, pamúpí-p vúra tuváxra'h. 99. xás yánava tó ni'k'ím kahyúras." 100. xás vúra tá pá 'ahu'tohítara, vúra tó 'kfu-kítih. 101. xás ká'í tükáchák 'û'fku'kár. 102. xás či'áš. 103. xás po'páčva'yíšip xás kúkk-kú vúra či'áší. 104. xás vá' ká'í pupíkva'yíšip-ré'rá, 'û'vá'kúyí'í-mkar. 105. xás 'ássú-nvar.

106. xás 'ûfívrú-hvark. 107. xás tá 'išya-v. 108. xás to 'ûmmah, 'astí-p sah'á'nuh kunkiýá-vúna-tísh. 109. xás tó 'ppí-p "rahupýa-máč kán-párihiši. 110. vá' 'ûm kana'té·bíripa'viši.'

111. púyáva tá kunnah, pa'ahupýa-máč tu'bívrú-hvark. 112. xás tá kunqdí-p "yáaxa pa'ahupýa-máč tu'bívrú-hvark. 113. čími ni' či'e'trípa'. 114. xás 'axxmái vúra pa'á'nuh tó 'skaksi-p. 115. xás tá kunqdí-p "tö'-na' nippé·š 'pihné·ftič.' 116. 'û'vá' kí-k'kíppa-ôkán." 117. púyáva xás kunqdí-p'úkáre'.

And he saw two baskets of berry juice sitting there. And he said, "Hurray, I'll drink nephew's juice! Let me just taste a little." And again (he said), "Let me drink a little more." And he drank up both bowls. Then he said, "Nephew, you mustn't get angry at me!"

64. Then his "nephew" came outdoors. And he thought, "Let me drink!" And he saw the baskets lying empty. And he said, "Look, I'll bet Coyote stole it from me. Let him die of thirst! He mustn't find any water. All the water must dry up."

71. And Coyote traveled upriver. And he got thirsty. But he just kept traveling. Then he got very thirsty, and (he thought), "Let me drink water!" So he put his mouth down to the water. And just dust puffed into his mouth. And he saw the water flowing away downhill. So he chased it. And he grabbed at it. But he landed on dry ground. And the water flowed away downhill. And he said, "Let it go. I'll drink upriver a ways."

84. And he traveled upriver. And he heard a creek flowing down. And he broke into a run. And he said, "I'll throw my blanket in the water." And he threw his blanket in. But just dust puffed up. And he was about to die, he was so thirsty. And he said, "Now I'll climb a tree. Then I'll throw my blanket in the water." So he heard a creek again. And he sneaked up slowly. And he climbed up a tree. And then he threw his blanket in. And again just dust puffed up when it fell.

98. What was he to do? His tongue was just dry. Then he saw, (he said), "I've reached Klamath Lakes!" And he wasn't walking any more, he was creeping by now. And he crept out on a log. And he drank. After he raised up, then he drank again. Then he couldn't raise up any more, he fell into the river. And he drowned. So he floated down from upriver. And it was winter by now. And he saw, they were gathering driftwood on the shore. And he said, "Let me become a pretty stick. Then they'll hook me out."

111. Then they saw it, the pretty stick floating down from upriver. And they said, "Look at the pretty stick floating down! Let's take it out!" And suddenly the stick jumped up. And they said, "Ah, I'll bet it's Coyote! Throw it back in the river!" So they threw it back in.

118. So he floated down from upriver. And he floated ashore on the seashore. And he crawled ashore. And he saw people were living there. He saw a sweathouse standing there. So he looked in. And he saw it was vacant, it was a nice warm place. So he crawled in. And he saw there that their pillows and their chairs were made of fat. And he was hungry. So he ate their chairs and their pillows. He ate them all up. And he went behind the woodpile, and he lay down.

132. And suddenly the men came in. They had just finished eating. And one said, "Well, where's my chair?" And one said, "Where's my pillow?" And they looked around. And not one was lying there. And they said, "I'll bet it's Coyote. They said he drowned at Klamath Lakes." Coyote lay there, he didn't stir. And the men sang songs. They sang a whole lot. They said, "Sing an Orleans song, we're going there!"
THE KAROK LANGUAGE


Text Number 5: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Mamie Offield

144. Then (Coyote) was homesick, and he flopped out, and he rolled around on the ground. 145. And he said, "Hello Orleans,21 my country!"
146. And they said, "It's Coyote! 147. Throw him in the river!"
148. Then he cried. 149. He said, "No, don't throw me in the river. I'll paint you pretty. I'll paint your heads pretty."
152. And they said, "All right." 153. So he painted them. 22
154. Then they started to leave for Orleans. 155. And Coyote said, "Let me go along!"
156. And they said, "No!"
157. Then he cried. 158. "Take me back upriver!"
159. Then they said, "All right. But you must close your eyes, you mustn't open them. If you open your eyes, you will land back here again."
160. So then they paddled up from downriver. 163. Coyote lay (there), he kept his eyes closed. 164. And he got tired lying (there), keeping his eyes closed. 165. He was in a hurry to get back (home). 166. "And where have we paddled to? I want to see! Let me open my eyes just a little!" 168. So he opened his eyes just a little. 169. And he felt (himself) back downriver.
170. Then they paddled upriver again. 171. And (Coyote) said, "Now I won't open my eyes." 172. And he sort of didn't feel anything. 173. And suddenly he heard it, the gravel sounded. 174. And they hauled the boat ashore. 175. And they told Coyote, "Here's Orleans." 176. Then he was happy, and he rolled around, and he kicked the dirt out into the river. That's why there is a flat at Orleans. This is what Coyote did.

Text Number 5: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Coyote thought, "Let me go to Klamath Lakes, let me go get money."
2. So he went off.
3. And he went a long ways. 4. And there he saw raccoons, they were sitting in a tree. 5. And he thought, "Let me get a different suit of clothes."
6. So he tore up his clothes, and he threw them downhill. 7. And he shot at the first one. 8. And it jumped down. 9. Again he shot at another. 10. Again it jumped down. 11. Finally they all jumped down. 12. And he picked up his clothes. 13. And he mended them. 14. He stuck twigs through them. 15. And he dressed. 16. And he went on.
17. Then he went a long ways. 18. And he saw it, he saw there was a forest fire here. 19. He saw there were lots of roasted grasshoppers.
20. And he said, "I won't eat you. 21. I'm going to Klamath Lakes, I'm going to get money." 22. Then he thought, "Let me eat one." 23. So he ate a whole lot. 24. He couldn't get full. 25. And he thought, "Why am I not getting full?"
26. There they were coming out of his buttocks as he ate.

21 "ayukt- "hello!" may be used, as here, to address a distant person or place which is thought of nostalgically.
22 The people whom he painted were ducks (cf. Text 2); this episode accounts for their brightly colored heads.
27. So he plugged it up with pitch. 28. Then he got full. 29. Soon the pitch was burning on his buttocks. 30. So he jumped into water. 31. Then he went on.
32. Then he saw it, he saw bowls of gooseberries sitting. 33. And he said, "I'm going to Klamath Lakes, I'm going to get money. 34. I won't eat them." 35. Then he thought, "Let me taste them." 36. So he ate them all up.
37. Then Old Man Lizard said, "Who ate up my gooseberries? 38. Let him get thirsty!"
39. And so Coyote traveled. 40. And he thought, "I'm thirsty." 41. And he heard it, water flowing. 42. And he stooped down to it. 43. Just dust puffed up.
44. So he traveled. 45. "Now I'll break into a run just close to it," he thought. 46. And he heard water. 47. And he stooped down to it. 48. And dust puffed up.
49. So he went on. 50. And he thought, "Now I'll throw my coat in the water." 51. Then he heard the water. 52. And he broke into a run.
53. And he threw his coat in the water. 54. And dust puffed up.
55. So he went on, he was really thirsty. 56. Then he arrived at Klamath Lakes. 57. And he stooped down to the water. 58. And he drank.
59. And he became too heavy, and he fell in. 60. And he drowned.
61. So he floated back down from upriver. 62. And there was a freshet.
63. (He said), "Let me turn into a pretty stick."
64. And the young girls were hooking out the wood. 65. And they saw it, the pretty stick floated down from upriver. 66. And they all said, "I'm going to hook it out." 67. And they hooked it out. 68. Soon all the young girls were pregnant.
69. So Coyote went on. 70. He turned back into a person, he turned back into himself. 71. And he saw it, he saw they were flower-dancing right here. 72. So he flower-danced. 73. And he carried around the pubescent girl. 74. And she became pregnant. 75. Then Coyote ran (away).
76. Then they chased him, they said, "That's the one who did that mischief." 77. And he ran. 78. They were about to catch up with him.
79. So he pulled back his foreskin in a hollow tree, he said, "Come out, come out!" 80. And ants came out, they had wings. 81. That's what they call "Coyote pulling-back-foreskin."
82. And those who were chasing him stopped, they looked, they said, "What is it?" 83. And by this time Coyote was a long ways off.
84. Then they were about to catch up with him again. 85. So he urinated on a hollow tree. 86. And they came out, birds flew out. 87. Then (the pursuers) stopped, they looked, they said, "What is it?" 88. That's what they call "little Coyote-urine" (Astragalus sp.)
89. Then he ran down from upriver, to a place uphill from Requa.
90. And a big mountain sat there. 91. And he said, "Get little, get little!"
92. Then he ran down the other side.
93. Then he crawled into a sweathouse. 94. And the ones chasing him ran down from upriver. 95. And they looked into the sweathouse. 96. And they said, "Where did you see a person?"
97. And Coyote said, "I don't know." 98. And they said, "I think he says he's already downriver."

23 Yurok for "I don't know," as pronounced by the informant. Coyote is pretending to be a Yurok.

Text Number 6: Coyote Goes to a War Dance
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pihné-fič va- kán mukřúhra-m pihné-ʧu:nįppan. 2. xás kán ʔatahâírî vùra ṭu:mmřihankső-tîh. 3. xás ṭu:mmńtiv, čímmi ṭu:mmiç̱tâpårahe-š. 4. xás ʔararâťatta-č čímmi kunyvyňuńke-š. 24 "ařamsi-příhwvarak "he started down from upriver" seems to indicate that ṭa:Ram-sip(riv) "to start out" has an irregular alternate ending in -rih- when it is followed by a directional suffix. There is no other evidence to support this, however. This form also
99. Then Coyote jumped out. 100. And he ran downhill. 101. He jumped into a boat, and he paddled across-river. 102. Then he said, "Mice, come here! 103. Gnaw holes in the boats!" 104. And they gnawed holes in the boats.

105. Then the ones chasing him said, "I'll bet that was him who was in the sweathouse." 106. So they ran back the opposite direction. 107. They saw then he was on the opposite shore. 108. And they put out the boats. 109. But they sank, because the mice had gnawed holes in them.

110. Then Coyote saw a house, he saw it standing. 111. So he crawled in. 112. He saw there were lots of grease pillows. 113. And he ate them all up, he was really hungry. 114. Then he crawled up on the woodpile. 115. And he fell asleep.

116. By now it was evening, and he heard them, they were talking. 117. And he looked down. 118. He saw they were ducks. 119. And they said, "Where are our pillows? 120. Well, let's not camp here." 121. And they named the ponds, and (each) one said, "I will camp at that pond."

122. Then one said, "I will camp at ?uknamxånnahič."

123. Then Coyote jumped out. 124. And he said, "Let me go along!"

125. And they said, "No! 126. You ate up our pillows!"

127. And he said, "I'll give you back your pillows, let me go along!"

128. So they said, "All right." 129. And they told him, "You must keep your eyes closed." 130. Then when we tell you, you can look around."

131. So they started to paddle. 132. And they paddled for a long time.

133. And (Coyote) thought, "Let me look out!" 134. And when he looked out there, he had already come down from upriver.

135. Then they said, "Let's leave again."

136. And (Coyote) said, "Let me go along! 137. I'll paint you. I'll make you pretty!"

138. So they said, "All right. 139. This time you must keep your eyes closed. 140. Then when we tell you, you can look around."

141. So they paddled upriver again. 142. Then they brought him to ?uknamxånnahič, and they told him, "Look around!"

143. And when he looked around, then he said, "My country!" 144. And he kicked the dirt out in the river, out from ?uknamxånnahič, that's why there's a big bar (there). 145. Coyote was so happy when he got back. kúpånnakanakana.

Text Number 6: Coyote Goes to a War Dance
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Coyote's fishery was there at the end of Wilder Gulch. 2. He was always fishing there. 3. And he heard it, there was going to be a war dance. 4. A lot of people were going to come.

presents the rare situation of two directional suffixes, -sip(riv) "up, initiative" and -varak "down from upriver," occurring in sequence. This anomaly can be eliminated by considering 'a'Ramsip(riv) as a single morpheme, an analysis supported by its irregular internal structure; see the lexicon under 'arav-.
5. And two Orleans girls lived there.  
6. And nobody had seen them.  
7. And they said, "Now we are going to see them."  
8. And Coyote had never yet seen them either.  
9. And he said, "I'll fix them!"  
10. So he took a storage basket upriver,  
11. And he set it up on the fishery.  
12. And he said to the storage basket, "You must look like me as you sit."  
13. You must be singing."  
14. Then he covered the storage basket with his blanket.  
15. And he told it, "You must be sitting here like that until I come back, then you can stop."  
16. Then the storage basket fished, it was singing.  
17. And Coyote ran downriver.  
18. And he saw there was a big war dance.  
19. And he said, "Let me turn into someone else!"  
20. Let me turn into a rich man!  
21. Let all my clothes be-decorated with money and woodpecker heads!"  
22. Then he went to the war dance.  
23. And he saw the girls sitting on each side where people were war-dancing.  
24. And they all failed to recognize anyone so rich, so attractive.  
25. And everybody was looking at him.  
26. And they asked him, "Where do you come from?"  
27. "I come from far away, from the outside,"  
28. And some of them said, "Maybe he's Coyote.  
29. Go look upriver where he's fishing."  
30. And some of the men ran upriver.  
31. They saw him there fishing, he was singing.  
32. And when they got back downriver, they said, "It's Coyote upriver fishing, he's singing.  
33. It's not him (dancing)."  
34. "Then who is it?" they said.  
35. "Where does he come from? We don't know.  
36. Go look upriver again quick!  
37. Maybe it is Coyote."  
38. So they went and looked again, and they went out on the fishery.  
39. They saw it was just a storage basket sitting there, it was singing.  
40. So (they said), "Well, that's Coyote who is dancing downriver!  
41. He's deceiving us.  
42. Let's go, let's kill him!"  
43. And so they ran back downriver.  
44. And they said, "It's Coyote who's dancing, it's not him that's fishing.  
45. Just a storage basket is sitting there.  
46. So let's kill him, he's deceiving us!"  
47. So (Coyote) ran.  
48. He ran downriver.  
49. And he saw a tree standing there, and there was a hole in it.  
50. And Coyote shouted in through it, "Lots of people, come out, and run upriver!"  
51. And so he ran downriver.  
52. And when he ran downriver from tišání-m, the ones following him were running down just upriver.  
53. So Coyote said, "Let a big creek flow down behind me!"  
54. Then he ran downriver.  
55. And when he ran to Bluff Creek, then (he said) "Let it become a big creek behind me!"  
56. And those following him were a long time crossing, because there was a lot of water.  
57. And so he ran downriver.  
58. And he ran to Martin's Ferry.  
59. And there he saw a sweathouse standing.  
60. And he jumped in.  
61. And he fell on the ground.  
62. And he said, "Let me become covered with ashes, and let my eyes become full of ashes.  
63. And let me become an old man."  
64. So he lay there (as) an old man.  
65. And suddenly they stopped running outside.  
66. And they shouted into the sweathouse.  
67. And they said, "Where have you seen a person? He ran downriver."  

25 This was the origin of Camp Creek, the large creek just south of Orleans.  
26 kunihy'vra-śva is reduced by haplology from kun-ihy'v-ivra-ś-va "they shouted into the sweathouse (pl.)"
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

68. xás uppí-p "či'či'. 69. ká nük čìrikkir'kkih." 70. xás kunihmára-rup.

71. xás pihné·fič půska·krupuk. 72. xás ?išké·šak půska·kurih, xás ükpu·hrin. 73. xás má ?ukvíripura. 74. xás pəávansaś ?um·kun yůrů ník tá kuniévíripπi·ęva, xás půvůra fá·tá mmáhap. 75. xás ?axmáy ?išyá·růk má? pihné·fič ?ükpe·hva "šů·šů-hu·." 76. xás va· vůra pihné·fič ?ukůpha·ník.

Text Number 7: Coyote Trades Songs

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ?uknī'. pihné·fič "kahyúras" oŏuxus, "tí· kavā·rami." 2. xás káruk ?u?árihro·v. 3. vůra yí·v tů?ahó·. 4. yí·v káruk tů?árihro·v. 5. xás ?u?éttiv, yákša·yva ?upakuri·hvtihi. 6. vůra va· ?ů?áho·tiih. 7. xás oŏuxus, "gīg yī·mač pàmípàkkurih. 8. tā nitàpku·p. 9. kfrí můpřa·nva. 10. ?íp-pee·re·š, čímí ?ičává·s, můpřa·nvi. 11. tā nitàpku· pàmípàkkurih." 12. ?u·m káru ?upakuri·hvti po·?áho·tiih, "haninuvé na· hanuvé na." 13. káruk vůra yí·v tu·u·m. 14. vůra va· ?u?éttiv·mí po·pakuri·hvtihi. 15. hó·yva kúniš kunpakári·hvtihi. 16. xás vůra ?u·m tutápku· pàmípàkkurih. 17. vůra va· ?u?árihro·vutih. 18. vůra va· ?upakuri·hvti ?u·m pàmípàkkurih, "haninuvé na· hanuvé na." 19. xás yí·v tu·u·m. 20. xás oŏuxus, "tí· kaníppu·nvi. 21. nímmáhe·š po·?árihvarakaha·k." 22. vůra va· ?u?éttiv·mí po·pakuri·hvti vůra tá ?ů·múkič, "kitá·na kitá·na ?ů·ya." 23. ?axmáy ?u?árihvarak. 24. xás pihné·fič uppí-p, "čímí ?ikrí·širíh. 25. čímí můpřa·nvi." 26. xás tů?íttam ?ukrít·širíhe·n. 27. vůra xára tá kun?u·hyánní·če. 28. xás pihné·fič uppí-p, "pišává·s, tā nitàpku· pàmípàkkurih. 29. čímí můpřa·nvi. 30. čímí ?árihiš pàmípàkkurih, kfrí ní·nìttap." 31. xás ?u?árihišríhe·n pàmípàkkurih, "kitá·na kitá·na ?ů·ya." 32. xás uppí-p, ?y·tva, pišává·s. 33. tā ni?u·ččha pátá na? pàmípàkkurih. 34. tī· na? kúna kan?árihišríh pànìpàkkurih. 35. xás pihné·fič kúna ?u?árihiš "haninuvé na· hanuvé na." 36. yó·tva, pišává·s. 37. tá můpřa·nva. 38. čí kan?árihro·v." 39. xás uppí-p, "čímí, na· káru yůru kaŋ?árihrupi." 40. xás pihné·fič káruk ?u?árihro·v, kahyúras tuvá·ram. 41. vůra vůra yí·v tu·u·m. 42. ?upakuri·hvtihi, "kitá·na kítá·na ?ů·ya." 43. xás vůra yí·v káruk tu·u·m. 44. oŏuxus, "gīg tá na?u·ri pànìpàkkuri·hvtihi. 45. tī· kan?íppa·čun." 46. xás oŏuxus, "panànìpàkkuri kan?árihiš." 47. xás tő·psin·várihva pàmípàkkurih. 48. vůra hů·tva. 49. kā· nük tő·kya·várihva. 50. vůra tupiššínvárihva pàmípàkkurih. 51. xás pató ·kya·várihva· křč to· pppi·p, "kitá·na."
And he said, "'čičé. There was the sound of footsteps there."27

70. So they ran downriver.

71. Then Coyote jumped out. 72. And he jumped in the river, and he swim across. 73. And he ran up into the mountains. 74. And the men ran around downriver, and they didn't see anything. 75. And suddenly, across river in the mountains, Coyote hollered, "'sú... hu..." 76. And Coyote did that.

**Text Number 7: Coyote Trades Songs**

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. 'ųukni'. Coyote thought, "Let me go to Klamath Lakes!" 2. So he went upriver. 3. He traveled a long ways. 4. He went far upriver. 5. And he heard it, someone was singing. 6. He was traveling like that. 7. And he thought, "His song is really pretty. 8. I like it. 9. Let's trade! 10. I'll say to him, 'Nephew, let's trade! 11. I like your song.'"

12. He was singing too as he traveled, "haninu'në: na: hanuvë: na:.

13. He got a long ways upriver. 14. He heard (someone) singing like that. 15. Somewhere they were sort of singing. 16. And he liked their song.

17. He was going upriver that way. 18. He was singing his song that way, "haninu'në: na: hanuvë: na:.

19. And he got a long ways off. 20. And he thought, "Let me rest. 21. I'll see him when he comes down upriver." 22. He heard the singing that way just close by, "kitā:'na kitā:'na 'yä:'në:.

23. Suddenly (the person) came down from upriver. 24. And Coyote said, "Sit down! 25. Let's rest!"

26. And so he sat down. 27. They chatted for a long time. 28. Then Coyote said, "Nephew, I like your song. 29. Let's trade! 30. Sing your song, let me learn it!"

31. So he sang his song, "kitā:'na kitā:'na 'yä:'në:.

32. And (Coyote) said, "Hurray, nephew! 33. I'm glad that you gave me your song. 34. Let me sing my song now." 35. So Coyote sang, "haninu'në: na: hanuvë: na:.

36. Hurray, nephew! 37. We have traded. 38. Let me go upriver!"

39. And (the other) said, "All right, and let me go downriver." 40. So Coyote went upriver, he was going to Klamath Lakes. 41. He got a long way off. 42. He was singing, "kitā:'na kitā:'na 'yä:'në:.

43. And he got a long ways upriver. 44. He thought, "I'm really tired of singing. 45. Let me throw (the song) away." 46. And he thought, "Let me sing my (own) song again." 47. But he had forgotten his song. 48. (It went) some way or other. 49. He tried (to sing it) there. 50. He had forgotten his song. 51. And when he tried, he only said, "kitā:'na."

27 čičé is supposed to be a Yurok word; the informant knew no meaning for it. Sirik-kirikkih is "broken Karok" for 'turirkirikika "there was a sound of footsteps." Another informant's version of this sentence gives the same word as 'ulikkilikkiha, showing substitution of ı for the flap romium is lacking in Yurok.
52. xačavürə ʔuxvǐ-pha. 53. xəs ʔuppi-p, "faq-yaaxa kumakī-ta-na. 54. vi⅋v'-n ʔa'ta, vi⅋kīt-ta-na ʔa'ta."\[28\]
55. xəs ʔup'ərihro-vułiθ. 56. vuła t'à puπiiʁə-kara pampuʔakkuʁiθ. 57. vuła tə ρσiŋvəɾiθə. 58. vuła yîtrepu'ərihro-ɾ. 59. xəs vuła tə puπiiʁə-kara. 60. vuła tə kunaːve- pampuʔakkuʁiθ. 61. va- pəi pihñe-fič ʔukūpha-ŋik pakáɾu kahvyurəs ʔułv'ɾamutəθ, kupánnaŋakana.

Text Number 8: Coyote Goes to the Sky
Informant: Julia Starritt

52. Finally he got angry. 53. And he said, "Look, what kind of 'kita-na' is it? 54. Maybe it's višva-n, maybe it's viškitä-na!" 28
55. So he went upriver. 56. He couldn't remember his song. 57. He had forgotten it. 58. He went upriver a long ways. 59. And he couldn't remember it. 60. His song had been taken away from him. 61. Coyote did that, when he went upriver to Klamath Lakes. kupännakakanaka.

Text Number 8: Coyote Goes to the Sky

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Two boys once lived there. 2. And they were taken to the sky. 3. Then (people) thought, "Let them come back!" 4. And how were they to get there? 5. Then Coyote said, "Let's twine string!" 6. And he said, "All twiners, come here!" 7. And Coyote put a big storage basket down where they were to put it in.
8. And a flat man was sliding around there. 9. And when they picked off the little strings, he was picking them up. 10. And he was twining that. 11. And his storage basket was short, but it was sort of wide, it was squatting there. 12. And Coyote said, "Hey, go away! 13. You're just nothing!" 29
14. And they were all twining. 15. And finally they finished. 16. And so they shot the string up. 17. Coyote said, "Shoot my string up first!"
18. But it fell back down. 19. And finally they shot them all up. 20. And finally not one (stuck) fast.
21. Then the little flat man said, "Shoot my string up!"
22. And Coyote said, "Aw, you're just nothing! 23. Don't shoot it up!"
24. But then they shot it up. 25. And in a little while, suddenly it struck. 26. And the string quivered. 27. And they pulled on it. 28. And it was fast. 29. Then Coyote was glad, and he said, "I sort of said his string would reach there!"
30. And so they crawled up. 31. And when they got up, then they said, "They're having a flower-dance!" 32. There were the boys dancing in the middle. 33. And they watched the dance.
34. And Coyote said, "Let me dance!"
35. And they told him, "No, you'll get tired. 36. They dance to the downriver end of the world, and they dance to the upriver end of the world."
37. And Coyote said, "I can do that! 38. It's easy!"
39. And some of them were standing where the hole was (through which they had entered the sky). 40. And they said, "When the boys dance to there, you people must pull them out."
41. Then they danced. 42. And suddenly Coyote hollered somewhere, "šu...hu....." 43. And they saw they were just dragging him.
44. And the boys danced there to where the hole was. 45. So they pulled them out. 46. And so they ran back down (to earth). 47. Coyote was nowhere (to be seen). 48. And so they hauled (the string) back down.

28 Trying to understand the word kita-na, Coyote confusedly brings in višva-n "belly."
29 The "flat man" was xah "spider."
49. xás pihné-fič ụ'ụp'pm a po'ssúruruprinahitihirak. 50. ník ụtúra-ya. 51. yánhava vúra pukára ká'nhara. 52. xás ụppí-p "ọ! tá kané-pṣa-mkir. 53. víri hút vúra panikupe-p'vú'-nihehe-ğ." 54. xás ụtuné-prih. 55. xás ụppí-p "ye! vúra ní kúní ụ'ụmú. 56. yukún pe-ọ'so'na-n'vúra ðökkin-kuniš xás kúní ụ'ụmú. 57. na' níxxútít "vúra ní sókkanephye." 58. xás ta'ụttam ụska-ksur. 59. xás po-kyi-mí tuku'nxaxxavrin, xás tó 'kúřirihrívin, xás vúra xará ụyúyí-vúr. 60. ụtahararánanay ụyúyí-vúr. 61. xás po-kyívíš vúra ụppí kíč káru pamúmma-n. 62. xás va' pay ụ'ụm pihné-fič ụkúpah-a-ník.

Text Number 9: Coyote Trades Songs and Goes to the Sky
Informant: Mamie Offield

49. Then Coyote got back to where the hole was. 50. He was looking for it. 51. He saw there was nobody there. 52. And he said, "Oh, they've left me! 53. How am I going to get back down?" 54. And he looked through. 55. And he said, "Say, it's kind of close! 56. The earth is so green and sort of close. 57. I think I'll jump down."
58. And so he jumped off. 59. And when he fell, he turned head over heels, and he rolled over sideways, and he was falling for a long time. 60. He fell for ten years. 61. And when he landed, he was just bones and his skin. 62. And Coyote did that.

Text Number 9: Coyote Trades Songs and Goes to the Sky
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. So Coyote was traveling, he was singing. 2. And he met two young women. 3. They were does. 4. They were singing too. 5. And he said, "Your song is really pretty!" 6. And he said, "Let's trade! 7. Let's trade." 8. And they said, "No." 9. But then they said, "All right." 10. So they traded. 11. And Coyote went on, he was singing their song. 12. Then the does said, "May you forget it!" 13. And Coyote went on a long ways. 14. And then he forgot it. 15. So he chased them, he shouted after them. 16. And he said, "Hey, teach me your song again! 17. I've forgotten it."
18. And they ran. 19. They ran to the sky. 20. He was following them like that.
21. Then he saw the Pleiades there. 22. And he said, "What do you do?"
23. And they said, "We dance around this earth ten times."
24. And he said, "Let me go along!"
25. And they said, "No, you can't do that, you will (have to) dance around ten times!"
26. And he said, "Sure, I can do that!"
27. And they said, "All right, but you mustn't get tired."
28. And Coyote said, "I sing first." 29. So he sang. 30. They hadn't yet gone very far. 31. Then he sang a different one. 32. He said, "matē-kuva-n, let me have a smoke!" 33. They just kept making him dance. 34. And he said, "matē-kuva-n, I'm urinating all over myself!" 35. They just kept making him dance. 36. And he said, "matē-kuva-n, I'm defecating all over myself!" 37. They just kept making him dance. 38. They pulled off his arm on one side. 39. They just kept making him dance. 40. They pulled off his arm on the other side. 41. Then they threw him down. 42. And there he lay.
43. Then he thought, "How ever am I to get back down (to earth)??" 44. And he looked down. 45. And he spat down. 46. "It's not so far! 47. Let me go down feet first! 48. No, I might get a leg broken.

30 matē means "wait a moment!" The meaning of kuva-n was not known to the informant.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

50. pu-, xáy vássi né-ápat. 51. tí’ kaníxva-hu’nihi. 52. pu’, xáy ḍaxvá-
né’-xax. 53. kári xáš wuxuš "čšmí vúra kán’asimčá’ki." 54. kári xáš
vúkyi’-múshur. 55. kári xáš wúkyí, xáš vúra xára pó’kyiv. 56. pýaxva kán
vúkyi’iži’tikúrin. 57. vērī vá vúra kán’ wòqá-ñiv payé-’m. 58. píhñé-fič
va’ ká’n po’piłyívi’šírihanik.

Text Number 10: Coyote Steals Fire
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pívè-p wú’m pa’ára-r vištítta’-nsahanik. 2. xáš pakáh’aráhsas kuniv-
ýhuk. 3. xáš ta’íttam kunúti’tvuna’-he’n. 4. xáš ko’vúra kinčíífičip.
5. xáš fá’ čšmi vúra kunpáax’ra-me’-š. 6. xáš kunpi-p, "xá-tik vúra pā’-a-h
nupáxra’-m.”
7. xáš ta’íttam va’ vúra kárú tu uppá-xkiv. 8. xáš ta’íttam pú-a-h kun-
pé’-čiprin. 9. xáš ta’íttam ko’vúra pú-a-h kunúči’-pwa wó’-kníyay. 10.
ko’vúra ni kunúčy’-vartiha pa’-a-h kunupé’-ký-’he’-š. 11. xáš vúra tá pú-a-
hára. 12. xáš vúra fá’ čšmi pú-a-h kunúčy’-re’-š, tó kunúčy’-máawuna’.
13. xáš kári pihné’-fic uppó-p, "na’ xá-tik nívá’-ram, pú-a-h níppé-’okiv.”
14. xáš ta’íttam “čšmí.”
15. xáš kári ko’vúra pe-šánaniči’-ťiši’-pa kunúčá’ra-r yícčε-č wúkyay.
16. xáš wúppé-nvuna’ pe-čkýppa’-nsa, “payó’k ḍikr’-fič.” 17. xáš xančíífič
pičči’-p wášči’-č pókřé’-š.” 18. xáš wašáxvu tuysípi’-pápanič wúc’kří’-fič.”
19. xáš ko’vúra pe-čkýppa’-nsa va’ kunupé’-fruna’.
20. xáš pihné’-fic wú’-m tá ḍp kárúk wú’árihro’-vat. 21. xáš wú’-m
pihné’-fic wúšivtane’-nýppan wú’-m. 22. xáš paká’-n wú’-m yánava vúra
váhty má’-níníyay, wúmkú-ñhína-tih, wú’-ñvú’-níníyay.
23. xáš papihñé’-fic wú’-m yánava wáxáč’č kíc kunúčá-ra’-rahtíih. 24. xáš
pa’-xci’-č upatáñv’-svuna’, “hó’-y wú’-mün pa’-vánsasa.”
25. xáš pa’-xci’-č wúppi-č, “má’-níníyay kun’akkunvuna’-tih.”
26. xáš pihné’-fic wúppé’nvuna’ pá’-xci’-č, “čšmi pamíkú’-a-v kíc’-ñvá-sap.
27. ýa-máć vúra ki-ký-č’-všú-a’-a’-sap.”
28. xáš pa’-xci’-ń’n kunimmu-stíth. 29. xáš kunpi-p, "pátáf’-t wí’-m pihné’-
fič.” 30. pámúttí’-v wá’-xci’-fič.”
31. “pú-hara, na’ pupihñé’-fičhaří. 32. na’ vúra puna’-a’-púnmutíthara
hó’-y wú’-m papihñé’-fic wúkří’-fič.”
33. xáš ta’íttam wú’-ñváásu’-vuna’-he’n. 34. xáš wú’-ppé-nvuna’, “payó’k
ki’-tkúríahtíih.” 35. xáš wá-s wúyvá-yramníh. 36. xáš wúppi-p, “ko’vúra ki’-ki-
muštíva’-ni.” 37. xáš “y’a-ñaas kunusambahtíih.”
38. xáš pihné’-fic wú’-ša-síš, “na’ tá mjkvi-tha.” 39. káruma ḍp wú’-m tá
wú’-ñkat ahtí’-n pamuflihó’-fruna’-í. 40. xáš kán wúyvyr’-hriw, “a’-čkú’-uppi-č-
ki’-túríahtíih. 41. xáš vúra patú’-níkóyá’-čña xáš tá mnanakkkú’-a.”
42. xáš kári wú’árihó’-fič. 43. tuşárihó’-r. 44. xáš wú’-píkú’-mípípíśip. 45.
xáš pató’-kýú-yýur xáš kári payúí’tó’-wú’- pú-a’-h. 46. xáš kári wú’-m pató’
-kýú-yýur yó’-bá’-kína tu’-e’h.”
47. xáš paká’-máníníyay pá’-a’-h ko’vúra wú’mi’-pú’vuna’. 48. xáš pa’ára-r
kunpi-p, “káruma pá’-a’-h tá kinpé’-č’-e’-p.” 49. xáš ta’íttam kunúmárašipre-
he’n, tá kunúšharam pa’ára-r í’n tá kinpičíłti’-k.”
49. Let me go down back first!  50. No, I might get my back broken.
51. Let me go down head first!  52. No, I might get my head smashed.
53. Then he thought, "Let me just close my eyes!"  54. So he fell off.
55. And he fell, and it was a long time that he fell.  56. He fell to earth
there at Burrill Peak.  57. So he's lying there now.  58. That's where
Coyote landed.

Text Number 10: Coyote Steals Fire
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Long ago the people were gamblers.  2. And the upriver people
came.  3. And so they gambled.  4. And (the upriver people) beat them
completely.  5. Then what were they to bet?  6. Then they said, "Let's
bet the fire."
7. And so (the upriver people) won that too.  8. And so they took away
the fire.  9. And so all the fire went out around here.  10. They tried
everything to make fire.  11. And it wouldn't burn.  12. Then what were
they to make fire with?  They were freezing.
13. So Coyote said, "Let me go, I'll take the fire away again."
14. So (they said), "All right."
15. So he gathered together all the swiftest people.  16. And he told
the runners, "Sit here."  17. And Frog sat down in first place, on the
river bank.  18. And Turtle sat down on a mountain-top.  19. And all
the runners went on that way (i.e., at intervals).
20. And Coyote went upriver.  21. Coyote reached the end of the world.
22. And when he got there, he saw lots of fire in the mountains, there was
lots of smoke, there were forest fires.
23. And when Coyote got there, he saw there were nothing but children.
24. And he asked the children, "Where are the men?"
25. And the children said, "They're hunting in the mountains."
26. And Coyote told the children, "Let me paint you on your faces!
27. I'll make you pretty."
28. And the children looked at him.  29. And they said, "Maybe you're
Coyote.  30. Your ears are red."
31. "No, I'm not Coyote.  32. I don't know where Coyote is."
33. So then he painted their faces.  34. And he told them, "Look in
here."  35. And he poured water in (a basket).  36. And he said, "All of
you look at yourselves!"  37. And (he said), "You look pretty."
38. Then Coyote lay down, (he said), "I'm going to sleep."  39. He
had put oak bark in his toes.  40. And he lay there, he stuck his feet in
the fire.  41. And when (the bark) had burned well, then there was a big
coal.
42. Then he jumped up.  43. He ran back outdoors.  44. And he
started to run.  45. And when he got tired, then he gave the fire to the
(next) one.  46. And when he got tired, he gave it to another one.
47. Then all the fire went out in the upriver mountains.  48. And the
people said, "They've taken the fire away from us!"  49. And so they
started to run, they chased the people who had stolen it from them.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

50. xás ḧó·k vúra ko-vúra tá kumpihmára varak. 51. xás ḥáxxak ḥifuč-tí-mič tá kunsa-m. 52. xás ḥasáxvuh tuyśipʔippanič ḥúkri'. 53. xás pa·sáxvuh kunʔé·páʔa-h. 54. xás tajítam ḥukrívrhuhspré-hé-hn. 55. xá sárik ḥišeʔ-říppaníč ḥukrívrhuhsáma. 56. xás jánava ká-n xančí-říč ḥúkri'. 57. xás vfrí kúna kumma-m kunih-mára fak pakahʔaráhssas. 58. xás pasančí-říč ḥnuʔi·pkrúří ḥišeʔ-šak. 59. xás ḥišyårük ḥuččiʔśip. 60. xás ḥuyúhič páʔa-h kufípšårük. 61. xás ḥaxmáy čiščí kunkvhu-hvuna'. 62. xás pe·yáru kunitkáratí ḥaxmáy ḥůmkhu-hna kufípří·k. 63. xás hínupa páy ḥará tuʔi-niš.

Text Number 11: Coyote as Doctor
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ḥišeʔ-říč ká-n ḥuʔaráhiro-vutih. 2. ḥuʔáxs "tí- kanmahvanávvi·čvan." 3. káří xás ká-n jánavá ḥará kunʔára rahitih. 4. jánavá yícóthá ḥá-pun ḥuđá-niv, ḥukkuhtih. 5. xás kunípěr "ʔatafůt ʔi·m ʔararaxusʔúmma·n." 6. káří xás ḥuıpříp "hů', na· ʔararaxusʔúmma·n." 7. xás káří ḥuപtíh "šík," ḥükki·vutih. 8. káří xás kunípěr "čími patůmko." 9. xás ḥuıpříp "čímmi." 10. káří xás ḥuıpříp "čími ḥmí·kívvi·hrupuki. 11. va· xás nípatumkó·viš." 12. "čímmi." 13. tajítam ḥů-m tá kunfyi-hrupuk. 14. xás ḥuıpříp "puxxíč ḥík vúra kumpákuri·hve·š." 15. xás "čímmi." 16. tajítam sůva típakúri·hva. 17. xáká·ni·č ḥi·ná·k páxe-xu·s ḥuʔú·móthih. 18. káří xás kunpakúri·hvuna· puxxíč vúra. 19. káří xás ḥuıpříp yícóthá "hů·t ḥu iptih paye·ripaxvuh, ḥi·ná·k ḥu kpe·h-vutih." 20. káří xás kumpihmára furuk ḥi·ná·k. 21. jánavá pahižně-fič ḥáfekham tá ḥu·ptaki·š. 22. káří xás pa·hup ᶧa·k ḥuʔé·ripa.. 23. káří xás ḥuʔa·k, pihně-fič ḥuák dáfup. 24. káří xás pihně-fič ḥuıpříp "čánha·yfur. 34 25. xás ḥuıpárihrupuk. 26. tá ḥhma·čičva paye·ripaxvuh. 27. hánu páy ḥu·m ḥuʔíkša·yvutih, putákəhahah, pu·araraxusʔúmma·naha. 28. vúra tutápku· paye·ripaxvuh. 29. "káří núhma·čičva." 30. xás paké-vní·kič ḥuıpříp "ho·l payyvahara pahižně-fič, táy ḥukupavé·nahiti pahižně-fič." 31. káří xás ḥuʔárihrupuk. 32. xás kunáharam. 33. káří xás šáruk ḥů·ʔ úška·kar. 34. xás ḥuʔi·pkrúří. 35. káří xás kunpříp "tá hů·kava." 36. tá kunfyvuvuntsip.
50. And they all ran down from upriver to here.  51. And there were two (runners) left at the end.  52. And Turtle was sitting on a mountain-top.  53. And they gave the fire to Turtle.  54. And so he started to roll.  55. And he rolled downhill to the edge of the river.  
56. And he saw Frog sitting there.  57. And the upriver people were running down from uphill just upslope from them.  58. So Frog (took the fire in his mouth and) dived in the river.  59. And he came up on the other side.  60. And he spat out the fire under a willow.  61. And suddenly dogs howled.  
62. And when they looked across-river, suddenly there was smoke in the willow-grove.  63. And there Mankind came into existence.

Text Number 11: Coyote as Doctor

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Coyote was going upriver there.  2. He thought, "Let me go look around, just for fun."  3. And there he saw people were living.  4. He saw one (girl) lying down, she was sick.  
5. And they said to him, "Maybe you're a doctor."  6. And he said, "Yes, I'm a doctor."  7. And he kept saying, "ék," he was making a hawking noise.  
8. And they said to him, "Suck (the disease out of) her!"  9. And he said, "All right."  10. And he said, "You go outside!"  11. Then I'll suck her that way.
15. And (they said), "All right."  16. So he heard them singing.  17. Just the two of them were indoors when he doctored.  18. And they sang loudly (outside).  
19. Then one said, "What is the girl saying? She's shouting inside."  20. Then they ran back indoors.  21. They saw Coyote was lying on top (of the girl).  
22. Then (one of them) took a stick out of the fire.  23. And he hit him, he hit Coyote on the buttocks.  24. And Coyote said, "Čánha-yfur!"  25. And he jumped outside again.
26. He was fooling around with the girl.  27. There he was lying, he wasn't a doctor, he wasn't a shaman.  28. He just liked the girl.  29. He thought, "Let me fool around with her."  30. And the old woman said, "Oh, Coyote's no good, he does lots of mischief!"
31. So he jumped outdoors.  32. And they followed him.  33. And he jumped into the river downhill.  34. He dived in.  35. And they said, "Where has he gone to?"  36. They had started to chase him.

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31 This is said to be why willow root is used in the drill for making fire.  
32 This myth, like others, ends with the sudden and spontaneous generation of the human race. At the same time, the race of ikxaré-yavs is transformed into animals and into inanimate objects (see, for example, Text 17.) The howling of dogs in the present story is a signal of these changes.
33 Doctors make this kind of noise when preparing to regurgitate a 'pain' or disease object.  
34 This word is said to refer to sexual intercourse; its form-class and composition are unknown.

41. kári xás pa?ifáppi-tša kunpi-p, "qís-ra, šé-v, qísúdáha muktávan." 42. kári xás uppi-p yiθa pa?ifáppi-t, "qi! qí šé-v sìšanayá:mač tó 'ssé?n-var.35 43. qí-m qí-v hú-t kí-k qúsxútih."

44. xás uppi-p "qi! na- šé-v kárú vúra va- niuxútih.


Text Number 12: Coyote Tries to Reach the Sun
Informant: Chester Pepper


Text Number 13: Coyote's Gambling Song36
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va- kunkúpha:nik, qíθá:n. 2. pe'kxaré-yav yqúčakanač ko-vúra kunpam-fípišniháya'čha. 3. kunpayyíshišrihanik. 4. kári xás kunxútíh, "čími miθtí-tvúna.' 5. ta?íttam kunfíšti'tvúna.'

37. And two young women lived there. 38. And they looked for him downhill, (but) he was nowhere (to be seen). 39. So they quit starting to chase him. 40. The fact was, he had swum ashore downriver.

41. And the young women said (to each other), "Let's go, dear, let's go get water." 42. And one young woman said, "Alas, dear, sǐsanayā'mač has really drowned!" 43. What do you think, dear?"

44. And she said, "Alas, dear, I think so too."

45. So they got the water. 46. And they came back uphill; that was all they were saying, "sǐsanayā'mač has drowned." 47. Then suddenly one woman said, "Look, oh look across-river!" 48. Suddenly he jumped up-riverward across-river, he gave a coyote-howl. 49. There he ran up-riverward across-river; the fact was, they thought he had drowned.
50. Coyote did it. kupánnakanakana. 51. He fooled around with the girl.

Text Number 12: Coyote Tries to Reach the Sun
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. Coyote did this way. 2. The sun rose just uphill. 3. He thought, "The sun is just uphill from here." 4. He thought, "The sun's right there." 5. When he climbed up over (the ridge), he saw the sun was rising across (above the next ridge). 6. In the end he didn't find where it came from.
7. Coyote did that.

Text Number 13: Coyote's Gambling Song
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. They did this way once. 2. The gods all gathered together. 3. They had assembled. 4. And they thought, "Let's gamble." 5. So they gambled. 6. Finally they did this way. 7. One side beat them (on the other side). 8. They won all their property from them. 9. They beat them. 10. In a little while, suddenly Coyote came. 11. So they dealt him the 'cards.' 12. And he said, "I'm going to sing my song as I shuffle the 'cards.'" 13. So he shuffled the 'cards.' 14. And he sang. 15. "sayiyi-haniya-ne- haniya-ne-ya." 37

35 sǐsanayā'mač is literally "pretty one with a penis," from sǐśara "having a penis" (sǐś "penis," -ara "characterized by") and yāmač "pretty."

36 The content of this story suggests that it is actually a medicine formula, to be recited by gamblers for good luck. It lacks, however, a closing remark to the effect that "Mankind will do likewise," which is a usual part of such formulas. For that reason, and for the sake of keeping all Coyote stories together, this text is given here, rather than in the later section devoted to "medicine" stories.

37 Coyote's song consists of these meaningless syllables, repeated over and over. No significant pitch or stress can be determined for this sequence; the word-division which is written indicates the phrasing of the melody, rather than a juncture phoneme. The phone [f], which has not been found in any other Karok material, is like that in English judge.
Text Number 14: Coyote Eats His Own Excrement
Informant: Nettie Reuben


Text Number 15: Coyote as Lawmaker
Informant: Nettie Reuben

16. Finally he won back all the stakes, as much as they had won away.
17. He won back the stakes from the gods. 18. Then he got up. 19. And he went on again. 20. So that's all.

Text Number 14: Coyote Eats His Own Excrement
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Coyote was going upriver. 2. And finally he went a long ways upriver. 3. And suddenly he slipped downhill. 4. Then he got up. 5. Then he went upriver. 6. He went upriver. 7. And suddenly he slipped upriver. 8. Then he got up. 9. And he thought, "What's wrong with me?"
10. Then he went upriver again. 11. Finally he hadn't got far, and again he slipped downhill. 12. He slipped downhill under an overhanging rock. 13. And he looked out. 14. And he thought, "Look, what's wrong with me?" 15. And when he looked around on the ground, he said, "Well, a pretty rock is lying here!" 16. And he crawled back out. 17. He picked up the rock, the pretty rock.
18. And he thought, "Let me defecate on it!" 19. And he put the rock down on the ground. 20. And then he sat down on it. 21. So he sat down. 22. And he looked at it again, when he had defecated on it. 23. And he thought, "It's really pretty!" 24. Let me lick it off! 25. Let me eat it!"
26. "My, it's delicious! 27. Let (me eat) a little more!" 28. And so he defecated on it again, a little more. 29. "All right, let me eat it again!" 30. It was sort of running over the edge of the rock. 31. And he thought, "Let me eat it!" 32. Then (he said), "Oh, it's excrement that I'm eating, it's excrement that I'm eating, TutUtuTu!" 33. So Coyote did that.
34. He kept eating his excrement. 38

Text Number 15: Coyote As Lawmaker
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. (The gods) said, "Let (the river) flow downstream on one side, and flow upstream on the other side. 2. Let it do that." 3. Then (they said), "All right." 4. When they traveled downstream by boat, they floated downstream. 5. They would travel back upstream on the other side, they would float upstream also, the water was flowing upstream.
6. Then Coyote said, "No. 7. Let it not do that. 8. Let it all flow downstream. 9. Let the new married man push his way upstream there, (when) he is traveling upstream."

38 Coyote's last utterance indicates his dismay when he realizes what he is doing. However, the reasons for Coyote's actions throughout the story (including the cause of his slipping) are obscure; the informant's only explanation was ko'va ḷuentu'nteel "he is so crazy." The same story is told of ḷapsununiłkęd, the Western yellow-bellied racer (a snake), in Harrington, 1932b, pp. 27-28.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

10. kári xás kúna kunpi-p, "asikta vá-n pamukun’stíma márúk tá kun-
sánna-n. 11. púyava máruk xás ?ñhup sú? tá kurnánhya-n, túr tákunfya-
v. 12. kári xás tá kunpáyí-híši ;és asikta vá-n’nsa. 13. kári xás vá- vàra ká’n tá kun-
tür pamukunfur. 14. xás kunpi-p, "va’ vàra kun?lruna-thëe’s pattur." 15. kári xás piñháñi’ú tópi-p, "xáfa’ t, pú-hara. 18. vàra ?u-m yara-
rápi-t vàra kàmtu’n-tí. 17. kári xás vá- tukúpti payé-m, tá púñáho-thíha-
pattur.

Text Number 16: Coyote Marries His Own Daughter
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ká’n píhnhétí’î kókri’, muyerípáxvu xákkâ’n kun’é-n, muhr’éha támit ?ú?’ívat. 2. xás paye’-ripiáxvu tó ‘kké’-cha, xás yár’máč tú’t’ísip. 3. xás pahpihni’ú tópi-mni pamú’aramah. 4. xás xuxxus "xà’-tik níppér ‘çími yá-
raráhí. 6. va’ ká’n ?ávansa ?ókri’, páyku’k yí-r ‘ókri’, pattyélpihí páap-
pakam. 6. kúna vàra kúnsí tá ‘arákkâ-s." 7. xás yóppé’ntí pamú’aramah,
"kúna vàra yáv pe’-kupér-ké-thíthi-es. 8. xá’-tik vàra yararáhí, ‘í-m tá
‘kké’-cha. 9. káru na- tá nípínhí’-cha. 10. hó’ yí-t ?ákáray ‘í-n xu’s
?í’-thíthi-š. 11. na- tá nípínhí’-cha." 12. xás tópíti ’çímmi.’

13. "kúna vàra pamukrívrá-m và vàra ?umússahíti pamukrívrá-m,
kó’-vrá pót-t’-yíthíti ‘í-ná-k và vàra ?umússahíti ?ó-k ‘í-ná-k pót-t’-yíthíti.
14. káru ‘í-m na- vàra ne’-mússahíti pa’-vànsa. 15. pamú’t’i-káru vàra
?à’-xúnišííías, và vàra pánná- ne’-mússahíti pananííti-v. 16. vàra púsakem-
18. kúna vàra páyku’k yív ‘tíó-h’-n, payó-’k xáya’-t ‘í’h’ó’, pe’mpahe’-tpí-
ñíkíí, ká’-rin ?ikuphe’es. 19. hó’ri vàra xáxkí napímusará’k-kutíthi’es.'
20. xás ta’íttam ?uv’-ramahé-n. 21. xás po’-t’-m yánava ko’-vrá va-
?umússahíti pamú’-kam ?umússahíthí, vàri vàra ?íf kákká’-pó’-ptíthí và
?umússahíthí. 22. xás po’-v’-nupuk pa’-vànsa, vàri vàra hýa’-’c pamú’-
ako. 23. xás ta’íttam và vàra ká’n ?ukré’-hén.

24. xás tópíti ’çímmi pamí’-ákka pímmúnsan.” 25. xás ?úp’-v’-ram. 26. xás kúkkú-m và vàra ká’n ‘íppáho- múa ká-kam ‘ú’-árvu’-’kat. 27. xás po’-
-í’-pma, yánava píhnhí’ú ?ókri’. 28. xás tu’-a’-’écha pató’-’pma pamú’aramah.
29. xás tópíti "vúra ?íf, ko’-vrá va’ ?umússahíti ‘í-k pananíí-’í-p, panina’-
ván mukrívrá-m." 30. xás kúkkú-m ?úp’-v’-ram. 31. xás tópíti "tá na’-t’-ry payk’-k paní-
ha’-nkó’-ti yí-r’v.”
32. xás tópíti pahpihni’ú "va’ vàra ká’n ‘íppáho- kúkkú-m, xáy hú’-n ?í’-n’.
33. payá’-khara pa’-’kakam.”
34. xás ta’íttam ?úpívásíi pamukrívrá-m. 35. xás ‘í-m píkíí-p tu’-’pma. 36. xás pí’-yípa xás xuxxus "na’-nikkúti ‘nàpíkíñy’-niší’ti,’ yúkú kó’-vrá va’
?umússahíti pananíí’-’í-p, káru ‘í-m vàra va’ ?umússahíti paníí’-ákka.
37. vàri payé’-’m panípímmússaharâ-a’-k vàri va’ ní kári nimmáhë’š pe’-krívrá-
má’-n vàra ?ú-’kríkh’-ä.”
38. xás ta’íttam ?úpív’-ramahé-n. 39. xás tópíti ’çímmi.’ 40. ò’-ra
nupáx’-kka’-ni payé’-’m.’
41. xás tópíti "pú-hara, ?í-m vàra páche’t ?úpív’-ramí.’
42. xás, ta’íttam ?úpív’-ramahé-n. 43. xás pamú’ííkú’ll’-í xás ?úpívásíi
pamukrívrá-m. 44. xás ta’íttam pa’?asikta’-n’upártáñama’-h’pa.
45. yánava vàra púf’-a’-te’-krívrá-m, ?úf’-á-t vàra ò’-’ra. 46. xás ta’íttam
10. And next they said, "Women carry their burden-baskets uphill.  
11. Uphill they put wood in them, they make a basket-load.  
12. Then the women leave for home.  
13. And they leave their basket-loads there."  
14. And they said, "The basket-loads will walk (home by themselves)."
15. Then Coyote said, "No, don’t.  
16. Let the new married woman be carrying it."  
17. So now she does that, the basket-load doesn’t walk any more.

Text Number 16: Coyote Marries His Own Daughter
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Coyote lived there, he and his daughter lived, his wife had died.  
2. And the girl got big, and she grew up pretty.  
3. And the old man fell in love with his child.  
4. And he thought, "Let me tell her, 'Get married!'  
5. A man lives there, he lives far off there, on the other side of the mountain.  
6. But he’s sort of old."  
7. And he told his child, "But you will live well.  
8. You should get married, you've gotten big.  
9. And I’ve gotten old.  
10. Nobody will take care of you.  
11. I’ve gotten old."  
12. And she said, "All right."  
13. "But his house looks just like our house, everything that is inside looks just like what is inside here.  
14. And he looks just like me, the man.  
15. His ears are reddish too, just like my ears look.  
16. You won’t be homesick, everything looks like our things.  
17. Go on.  
18. But go by the far way yonder, don’t travel (by the way) right here, on the short road, you'll do badly.  
19. You can come back to see me sometime."  
20. And so she left.  
21. And when she arrived, she saw that everything looked like it looked outside their house, it was true how daddy said it looked.  
22. And when the man came out, he was just like her father.  
23. And so she lived there.  
24. Then (her husband) said, "Go see your father again."  
25. So she left.  
26. And she traveled again the way she had come there.  
27. And when she got back, she saw the old man sitting.  
28. And he was happy when he saw his child.  
29. And she said, "It’s true, everything looks like our things here, in my husband’s house."  
30. Then she left again.  
31. And she said, "I’m tired of going by the far way yonder."  
32. And the old man said, "Just go there again! Something might happen to you (otherwise).  
33. This side is a bad place."  
34. So then he packed up his house.  
35. And he got back first.  
36. Then after a while she thought, "I think he’s deceiving me, everything looks like our things, and he looks just like my father.  
37. Now when I go back to see (my father), then I’ll see if the house is standing there."  
38. And so she left again.  
39. And she said, "All right.  
40. Let’s go back together now."  
41. And he said, "No, you go back alone."  
42. And so she went again.  
43. And behind her then he packed up his house.  
44. So then the woman turned back.  
45. She saw there was no house, nothing was there.  
46. And so she chased him.  
47. She saw a
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

47. yänava kän ya'ra' r yäänó'tih, yikrívra'm yōi-ovuíñi. 48. "yänava panini'ákka." 49. xás ta'íttam yókfu'-kirae'n, xás ta'íttam vúra yúkáppak.
50. xás píňñé-fič yúppi' p, "va' véru káru véra pa'ára' r yú'mkun kunkúphe' s, pánna' tá níku'pha."

Text Number 17: Coyote Gives Salmon and Acorns to Mankind
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. yáxxak yášiktán kün'í-nani kustá-ras yame'kyá:ra'm. 2. kári xás kunpi-p, "púra kára véra yá'áma yámü'he'šara, yukún tá nupüšššunva pa'á'ma."
8. kári xás va' kän yú'ú'm. 9. yó'ram yúkriž. 10. kári xás kunpatánviš, "fá't kumá'pi'? yívúrayvuthí."
11. kári xás yúppi' p, "kárux kúte'vane'n'ppan nívázramuthí."
12. xás véra kän yúkri'. 13. kári xás yúppi' p, "tá naxkúri.'ha. 14. ū' maté' yá'ma kán'am." 15. kári xás yú'óriššuk yé'pa' x. 16. kári xás ta'íttam yú'áva'he'n. 17. kári xás kunxus pa'ásiktu'va'nsas, "hóy yó'm po'pára'mi'privtíhirak. 18. kän húnupa yá'ma kun'á'mtíih."
19. kári xás yúppé' r pamukústa'n yiθa, "čími numniš.'i." 20. ta'íttam ýíθa pamusvfkrik mi'k má'ká yó'í'k, órivrihíassúruk. 21. kári xás yúkíšša ?uvuníššuk. 22. kári xás yá'áma yúkí'-miššuk. 23. kári xás ta'íttam kunimníššahe'n. 24. kári xás tá kunná'y. 25. píññé-fič véra va' yúmmu'stíh.
30. "véra xá'tík niššvke'. 31. minúk niθóš'viš. 32. xás kunpi-p, "čími má'." 33. kári xás kän kunív'í:ma. 34. ta'íttam kún'íffikhe'n pa'ásiktu'va'nsa. 35. kári xás píññé-fič yú'íffik. 36. kári xás kó'káninay véra yúkíšš kaxuny'é, má'ruk, sárúk, yúyruk, kúruk. 37. kári xás yú'bá'na'sha pa'xuntáppan. 38. véri va' kúx payé' m pa'xuntáppan kó'káninay véra yú'í-ftíh.
39. kári xás yúppikyip sáru kän pa'ásiktu'va'nsa kún'í'rák. 40. kári xás yúxáaxxari'a paší-vrí'hvar. 41. kári xás pa'úkíšshá yúxuníshšuk, xás ko'véra pa'á'ma kunívýi'-hríššuk. 42. véri va' kúx sám yú'us'sa'mnípüthí, káru và' kúx yá'ma yúkvíripá'tíh. 43. kári xás kunpirúviš pa'ásiktu'va'nsa. 44. kári xás kunpi-p, "tá húnupa yú'tyé'ya' r papihñé-fič. 45. véri čí'ra, čí'ími. 46. xá'tík mupké'viš. 47. yakún yiθ yá'ára' r yú'mí'niššre'í'."
48. ta'íttam kún'íffikyé'yama'hë'. 49. kári xás yúkíšshá yú'íffukra' 'asanamkarýyu-rúkam. 50. kári xás yiθa yúppi' p, "tá níppáftí'ta' niñisími'-s. 51. čími kanpávan. 52. čími y'm ò'k nè'k'ró'ntíh."
53. véri po'píkú-tra'vin sám'to' ppá'irihi. 54. véri po'píttisun yánava pamu-kústa'n 'asaxyúppít tó ppá'irihi. 55. xás sámvanihiş pamukúntchíši' va' káru
person traveling there, he was carrying a house. 48. "I see it is my father!" 49. So then she grabbed him, and she just chopped him up. 50. And Coyote said, "The people will do just like that too, like I did."

Text Number 17: Coyote Gives Salmon and Acorns to Mankind

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Two women, sisters, once lived at 'ame-kyá-ra-m. 2. And they said, "Nobody will eat salmon, we have hidden the salmon."
3. And Coyote thought, "They can't do that." 4. And he thought, "Let me go see." 5. And he picked up his quiver. 6. And he peeled off alder bark. 7. And he put it in the quiver.
8. Then he arrived there. 9. He sat down in the back of the house.
10. And they asked him, "Why are you wandering around?"
11. And he said, "I'm going upriver to the end of the world."
12. So he sat there. 13. And he said, "I'm hungry. 14. Let me eat salmon for a moment!" 15. And he took out the alder bark. 16. So then he ate it.
17. Then the women thought, "Where is it that he comes from?"
18. They're eating salmon there!"
19. Then one said to her sister, "Let's cook!" 20. So one struck with her elbow on the uphill side (of the house), under a wall-board. 21. And water flowed out. 22. And salmon fell out. 23. And so they cooked it. 24. And they ate it. 25. Coyote was watching this.
26. Then they said, "Go on again! 27. We're going to pick acorns."
28. And Coyote said, "Let me go along!"
29. And they said, "No."
30. "Do let me go along! 31. I'll knock the acorns down."
31. And they said, "All right."
32. So they went there. 33. Then the women gathered the acorns.
34. And Coyote picked up a stick. 35. And he beat the tan-oak trees everywhere, uphillward, downhillward, downriverward, upriverward.
36. And he scattered the acorns. 37. That's why the acorns grow everywhere now.
38. Then he ran back downhill to where the women lived. 39. And he tore out the wall-boards. 40. And the water flowed out, and all the salmon came out. 41. That's why (the water) flows downstream, and that's why salmon run up the river.
42. Then the women came back down. 43. And they said, "There Coyote has spoiled it."
44. All right, let's go. 45. Let's be transformed. 46. A different people is going to come into existence."
47. "Let me go back after it! 48. You wait here!"
50. So they climbed upriver away again.
51. And one said, "I forgot my knife. Let me go back after it! 52. You wait here!"
53. So when she turned around, she went downhill. 54. When she looked around, she saw her sister had turned to quartz. 55. And a little

39. Alder bark is red, the same color as salmon flesh.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

The Perils of Weasel
Informant: Lottie Beck

1. ɾâ-nkus xušítvani "kâru ke'čax-xo'kri." 2. xâs váru t'um yâ'amač mu?asiktañararamah. 3. viñkâ-n kâru t'ëvô-n. 4. xâs xuqxsís "tî- ká'n kanunâxyvi-ëvan. 5. tîkki-č nimâmahe'-s pâkasiktâvan. 6. xâs t'um'=m, pakê-vni'-kič mukríva-m. 7. uñpë'-r "pami?arama nîkvârârukihe." 8. xâs pakê-vni'-kič uñppí'-p "vîrì nhu' cëmi vë'nfuruki. 9. tîmmâ'-n tâ vëru xiktvârë-s. 10. xâs pë'/šumakâ'na-k xâ't panam?aramah ëhìrë'-ha.'

11. xâs ɾâ-nkus uñppí'-p "vâ' nîk nikupešu.' 12. tâ'ñttam mânï't t'ën vrâ' tüsûp-pamhë-tih, tûvô'-ra'- pâ'nppâilha. 13. tâ ëpamë-č pakâ-ka'ns nûjvët-tako'. 14. xâs xuši-ñrivîpimjâxvu tûpâpâuñtëhi. 15. tûñvít kô' tu'um. 16. xâs xukré-myah. 17. vrâ' va' tûvô'-ra'-tih. 18. va' kë'c uñpiti pakë-vni'-kič "yô'-tva tu'iv, pañâni?kkam." 19. ɾâ-nkus t'um kâru pâkkrûri tûbëi'-në-tih. 20. xâs pâpakuri-hvutihe. 21. vrâ' tô 'kRé-myah. 22. xâs tâ ëppan tûvû'=m. 23. paísúru ñuktë'-nhë.

24. vûrava tó 'kRé-myah tapas?ikré-myah. 25. xâs xuqxsís "hë't pânikupehe'-s. 26. pananimjâxvu më- k ni?ëppaho-veš." 27. xâs t'â ñusna'pka. 28. xâs xušítë-tunih. 29. xâ ɾë' pëŠ-pma. 30. vrâ' kâri xûkta-mtì pañûruhe. 31. tîmä'-k xûkta-mfuruk. 32. xâs uñppí'-p "më' pëy pañûruhe. 33. cëmi ?am." 34. hënu pëy xikrë-myahâ'vûru pò'-pënti "piktë'-nihe.' 35. pakë-vni'-kič vuñxëti "po-kré-myahâ'-k xûti-ñvitfûntënihe.' 36. hû'-y tû ñe'ñi'varuh ñûppakešu.' 37. xâs ɾâ-nkus uñppí'. "Pam?'arama nîhrë'-hahe'-s.'

38. xâs pakë-vni'-kič uñppí'-p "sárok t'â'ma tûkkuro-vuthi. 39. va' cëmi tûyûrûrisu'pë'-n.'

40. ɾâ-nxu sàrub t'ëm=mu'-m. 41. tû'ñùtukârâtih. 42. "yê' na' répunxârà kâ-t ñûkkuro-vuthi. 43. xâs t'âría'-hihe šampapâkkrûrihe. 44. xâs t'ê'pkrûrihe. 45. nilûyûrûrisu' pëpapunxârà. 46. va' kë'c uñpitih pakë-vni'-kič "yô'-tva tu'iv, pañâni?kkam." 47. ɾâ-nkus uñpë'kura'. 48. xâs tûyûrûriheši. 49. tîmä'-k va' kë'c xëšitë'-mtì po'pëkkrûri'huñuti "yô'-tva tu'iv-vë'v, ñûkkamiš tî-t'ëvë'-v." 50. ɾâ-nkus uñyûvëcák "s'äm tûbëi'-nìve pam?'amë'-ma. 51. cëmi ?am."
downhill, their dog had turned to quartz. 56. A different people was coming into existence. 57. When she looked across-river, she saw the jump dance lining up, she heard them shouting. 58. Then she turned to quartz there.

59. However long the world exists, so long will they use (her) knife. 60. They will clean the spring salmon with that, when they fix the world.

Text Number 18: The Perils of Weasel

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. Weasel heard that a widow lived upriver. 2. And her female child was pretty. 3. She was a weaver, and industrious. 4. And he thought, "Let me go look around there. 5. Maybe I'll see the woman." 6. So he arrived at the old woman's house. 7. He said, "I am coming to buy your child."

8. And the old woman said, "Well, come in. 9. Tomorrow you will go up to get eggs. 10. And when you come back, let my child be (your) wife."

11. And Weasel said, "I'll do that." 12. So in the morning it was scarcely dawn, he climbed up the tree. 13. Up at the top sat the nest. 14. Weasel was chewing pine-gum. 15. He arrived as far as half-way (up the tree). 16. Then the wind blew. 17. He was climbing up like that. 18. The old woman was just saying, "Hurray, he's dead, my son-in-law."

19. Weasel had a song too. 20. So he sang. 21. The wind just blew. 22. Then he arrived up at the top. 23. He took down the eggs.

24. There was a real wind blowing. 25. And he thought, "What shall I do? 26. I'll go back down by means of my gum."

27. So he fastened it on the top. 28. And he slid down it. 29. And he got down. 30. He was still carrying the eggs. 31. He carried them indoors. 32. And he said, "Here, these are your eggs. 33. Eat them!"

34. There it was eggs of the wind that she told him to take down.

35. The old woman thought, "When the wind blows, it will blow him down. 36. He won't come back alive."

37. And Weasel said, "I'm going to marry your child."

38. And the old woman said, "Downhill a salmon is lying, head upstream. 39. Go haul it out!"

40. Weasel went downhill. 41. He looked into the river. 42. "Say, a long snake is lying there, head upstream." 43. So he sang his song. 44. Then he dived in. 45. He hauled out the long snake.

46. The old woman was just saying, "Hurray, my son-in-law is dead!"

47. Weasel climbed back uphill. 48. Then he stood still. 49. Inside he just heard her singing, "Hurray, he's dead, son-in-law is dead!"

50. Weasel interrupted, shouting, "Your salmon is lying just down hill. 51. Eat it!"

40 Three quartz rocks can still be seen on the hillside above ʔasm̥am̥na-mkarak (at Ike's Falls, across-river from ʔame-kt̓̓əra-m). Two large ones are the sisters, and a smaller one is their dog.

41 A "long-snake" (to use a literal translation) is a legendary serpent of giant size, called by one informant a 'boa constrictor.'

42 ʔuʔv̓ʔv̓ is a distortion of the normal ʔuʔv "he's dead."
52. pake-vni-kič ṭuvārihrupuk. 53. xās ṭa(nxus ṭuppē-r "papaʾimmāʾn ṭivāha-k xāt panan’parama vihrō-ha."

Text Number 19: The Perils of Weasel
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. kēvni-kič vūra ṭu∙m ṭutapkā’puti po-ṭṭi-tih. 2. paḥāvansa kā’n tu∙u∙mā-ha’k tō ’ppi’-p, “ṭikkamīš čīmi muṭī-ti. 3. yakūn tá mīrāx∙m panan’parama mah.” 4. pūyava tá kunūṭṭī. 5. pūyava patò-ṭxus, ”tā kanačīffīč,” kāri pamute’nva tō ’syu’-nkti. 6. kārīva kūmmū-k tō -ktīr. 7. pūyava kūmmū-yiṭa tu∙u∙m, kūkku’mvūra va- tō ’ppē-r “ṭikkamīš čīmi muṭī-ti.” 8. čavūrā táy tō ṭykar.
52. The old woman jumped out.  53. And she told Weasel, "If you do not die tomorrow, let my child be (your) wife."
54. And Weasel said, "I'm tough too."  55. Weasel did not sleep the whole night.  56. It was just dawn, (and) the old woman shouted.
57. Weasel went in the house.  58. In the uphill corner the widow had made a bed.  59. Nothing but swords were sticking out.
60. Weasel was told, "Let's wrestle! If you throw me into (the corner) uphill, let my child be (your) wife."  62. And the old woman sang.
53. When she sang, she said, "'a-nexus 'itvaratvārat."  64. Weasel sang in turn, "ke-ężxą-ći t'pti-p ?a-hrišuk, ke-ężxą-ći t'pti-p ?a-hrišuk." 65. Then Weasel was grabbed.  66. By luck Weasel threw the widow into (the corner) uphill.
67. Then the widow wept.  68. She kept saying, "I killed nine men, then you killed me.  69. Let my daughter be (your) wife."  70. So the widow died.  71. And her child came in.  72. Her clothes were nothing but woodpecker-heads.  74. Weasel took her away (as) his wife.

Text Number 19: The Perils of Weasel
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. An old woman liked to gamble.  2. When a man arrived there, she said, "Son-in-law, let's gamble!  3. I'll bet my child."  4. So they gambled.  5. And when she thought, "I've been beaten," then she pulled off her earrings.  6. She hit him with them, knocked him dead.
7. So again one would arrive, again she would say, "Son-in-law, let's gamble!"  8. Finally she killed a lot.
9. And Weasel was tough too.  10. And he thought, "Let me go see her!"
13. Then the old woman sang, she sang, "'a-nexus 'itvaratvārah."  14. And Weasel sang too, "ke-vni-kic t'pti-p' a-hrišuk."  15. Then the old woman was beaten.  16. And she pulled off her earring.  17. And she hit at him with it.  18. Weasel ducked, she missed him.
19. They gambled again.  20. She pulled off (the earring) on the other side.  21. She hit at him with it in turn.  22. Again she missed him.
23. Then the old woman said, "Let's go, bring down my pet.  24. He's up there at the top of a slippery tree."
25. So Weasel climbed up.  26. And he brought it down.  27. He saw it was baby long-snakes.  28. And he said, "Here's your pets."  29. And the old woman ran.  30. But she was eaten by a long-snake.

The widow's song consists of the words 'a-nexus "weasel" and 'itvaratvārah, for which the informant knew no meaning. Weasel's song consists of ke-ężxą-ći "widow," t'pti-p"chain fern," and ?a-hrišuk, of unknown meaning.

Cf. note 43. The only significant difference in the present songs is the substitution of ke-vni-kic "old woman" for ke-ężxą-ći "widow."
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Text Number 20: The Perils of Weasel

Informant: Daisy Jones

**Text Number 20: The Perils of Weasel**

**Informant: Daisy Jones**

1. Weasel heard that they were killing a lot of people. 2. And he said, "Grandmother, I'm going. 3. Let me go upriver!"
4. And (his) grandmother said, "Don't. 5. Don't let them kill you."
6. And he said, "Let me go!" 7. And he fixed sand, he fixed it and fixed it. 8. And he stuck his headdress-feather in there. 9. And he told his grandmother, "When you see my headdress-feather fall down, I'm dead."
10. She looked at the headdress-feather every day (while he was gone). 11. At one moment it would be good. 12. Then alas! his headdress-feather would almost fall, she would think, "Alas, he's dead!"

(He went upriver and met an old man living with his family.)
13. The old man said, "Hurray, my son-in-law. 14. There are lots of salmon. 15. There's one real big one. 16. Let me eat that one, the big one!"
17. And (Weasel) said, "All right, I'll kill it tomorrow."
18. The women told him, "Don't, don't go." 19. They knew it was not a salmon.

20. Then he went. 21. And he killed the salmon. 22. And he said, "All right, I've killed the salmon." 23. And the old man cried, it was his child.
24. Then (Weasel) went upriver. 25. And again people were living there. 26. (The old man said), "Oh, hurray, my son-in-law, hurray!"
27. (My) pet is uphill there. 28. I am thinking, 'Let me catch him!'"
29. And (Weasel) said, "Let's go." 30. And behold, there the pet peeked out from inside (a nest). 31. And suddenly the wind blew and blew. 32. And when it blew, the branches all fell off. 33. Weasel held on to the tree. 34. He killed the bird. 35. He killed the old man's child.
36. He arrived back downhill. 37. And he said, "All right, I'm going."
38. He went upriver.
39. And an old man was there, (and) two little boys were playing on a teeter-totter. 40. The old man said to them, "Let's (you and I) play on the teeter-totter." 41. And Weasel said, "No."
42. And the old man said, "Come here!"
43. And Weasel said, "Let me and you (do it) too."
44. "All right."
45. Then the old man jumped off (the teeter-totter). 46. And he said, "Hurray, he's dead, hurray, he's dead, hurray, he's dead!"
47. And Weasel said, "What are you saying?"
48. "I'm saying, 'My poor son-in-law!'"
49. Then Weasel said, "Come here, let's play on the teeter-totter."

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45 This version of the Weasel story could not be obtained entirely in Karok, since the informant kept switching into English in spite of herself. The lacunae in the Karok text are indicated by dots ( . . . . ); a condensation of the English material which the informant supplied at these points is given, set off by parentheses, in the translation.
46 The "salmon" was really a long-snake, as in Text 18.
47 Weasel was climbing a tree to get the old man's pet bird, as he did to get the wind-eggs in Text 18 and the long-snakes in Text 19.
48 The Indian teeter-totter seems to have been a flexible board, anchored at one end. One person would bounce up and down on the free end, while another would sit in front of him and ride. If the former person jumped off the board at the end of its downward motion, the rider would be propelled upward with some force.
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50. pihni-C uppi-p, "pū·hara."

51. xās vā·naxus vū·skā-ksur, pihni-C _tA vū·kyyúvura_. 52. xās pihni-C uppi-p, "yō·tva, qīf yāv tā nē·kyav. 53. na·vāra ʔō-k nīkrē-viś."

54. xās vā·naxus tō·naa, pa·āra-t kunyākarana-ti vā·naxus.

55. ( . . . ) 56. xās vā·naxus vūxxus, "kē·mācko·s." 57. xās vūxxus, "čīmi kanikyav, xuskā·mhar." 58. xās vūkyav. 59. xās uppi-p, "čīmi kūnni·hki pa·āxru·h." 60. xās vūkūnni·hka, vūkyyvunih. 61. qō! xās "yō·tva, yō·tva." 62. pavūra vūxxusāna-κ, "kūnni ċī kane·ykāre·ʔ vūra, titēp·hve·e śik. 63. nik va·kā‘ ŋu·mē·e·." 64. xās vūxxus, "čīmi ni·vve·e·ś." 65. vitā pakē·vni·kič vūm-mu·stį pamūpūkvas. 66. kāri xās upkē·hva. 67. vixmāy kun·āho· pa·a·vansāxi·e·.

68. xās kunipē·r "va· kā·n kūnni·hki mufōthka· ʔūmpī·mič, va·kā·n pamūtva·vāθē·niv." 69. xās va· kā·n vūkūnni·hka, xās vūkyyvīṣīrihe·n. 70. xās papihni-C ʔūxrar, mū·qarama tā kunykar.

Text Number 21: The Hair in the Soup

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. vāsāxvu ʔ'um kā·n ʔūkri‘. 2. vāxak muyā·nį-fṭihansa. 3. ʔimusti-hayē-pa kārū ʔakūnva-sa. 4. xās pu·ʔifmā·rasahara, vūra ʔafīrīhansa. 5. xās vāxak ʔifāppitṣa kunpī-p, "čīmi numūssanvi payā·nį-fṭihansa." 6. xās tā·vūra kunsā·nva. 7. xās kārū kunsā·nva. 8. xās pakā‘n kunw·m, yānava papihni-C kīč pāče·e ʔūkri‘. 9. xās uppi-p, "hō·y ʔu-mkun pa·āvan·sas."


15. xās tā̄vītta kunʔēk̥unvahēn. 16. xās kunʔīpāk pa·āvan·sas. 17. tā̄vītta kunʔavēn. 18. xās kunpi-p, "yē· na‘, qīf pāy xaxkī‘n amāyav. 19. xās kunpi-p, "ʔarākkā‘a, má‘ pāy pamīvāssī."

20. xās kūkkū‘m ŋīmmā‘n māh‘-t kunpiyā‘ram. 21. xās papihni-C ʔūp·pē·nvuna paye·rīpāxvuhas, "čīmi ki·k̥pīrūvō·niśuki."

22. xās kāri kūkkū‘m pa·ifāppitṣa tā kunūmniś. 23. xās kāri pa·āvan·sas patā kunʔīpāk ʔīkkū̄rār yānava papihni-C ŋuʃakūrtīvhit. 24. yānava ŋupūthi, "čă̄ffīt kič navūṣ̌an·tih. 25. va· ŋukupapakūrtīvahit, "čă̄ffīt kič navūṣ̌an·tih."

26. xās tā kunipē·r pamukun‘ākkah, "yar! ʔarākkā‘a, hū‘ ŋīn. 27. má· pāy pamīvāssī. 28. xās tā kunav. 29. xās uppi-p yīθa pa·āvansa, "yar!"
50. The old man said, "No."

(But Weasel forced the old man to get on.) 51. Then Weasel jumped off, (and) the old man flew up into the air. 52. And the old man said, "Hurray, I'm really doing well. 53. I'm going to stay here." 54. Then Weasel went upriver, the people were killing (i.e., trying to kill) Weasel.

(Weasel met two boys who were trying to hunt gray squirrels, but had no bows.) 55. They were throwing sticks at the gray squirrels. 56. And Weasel thought, "Poor fellows!" 57. And he thought, "Let me make a bow." 58. So he made it. 59. And he said, "Shoot the gray squirrels."

60. Then they shot (a squirrel), (and) it fell down. 61. Oh, then (they said), "Hurray, hurray! 62. Whenever you think they are sort of about to kill you, you must shout. 63. We will go there (to help you)."

(Weasel was again sent by an old man to fight a monster. The monster was getting the better of Weasel.) 64. And he thought, "I'm going to die."

65. The old woman (his grandmother) was looking at his headdress-feather. 66. Then he shouted. 67. Suddenly the boys came.

68. And they told him, "Shoot him there by his big toe, his heart lies there." 69. So he shot him there, and (the monster) fell down. 70. And the old man cried, his child had been killed.

Text Number 21: The Hair in the Soup

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Turtle lived there. 2. He had two sons (lit., young people).
3. They were good-looking and (good) hunters. 4. And they weren't married men, they were unmarried. 5. And two young women said, "Let's go see the young men." 6. And they carried lots. 7. They carried acorn soup too. 8. And when they got there, they saw only the old man sitting alone. 9. And they said, "Where are the men?"
10. And he said, "They've gone hunting."
11. And in the evening (the women) cooked. 12. And they boiled acorn soup too. 13. And the old man said, "Hide! 14. Don't let them see you."
15. And so (the women) hid. 16. Then the men returned. 17. So they ate. 18. And they said, "Say, this is really delicious acorn soup!"
19. And they said, "Old man, here! this is your liver."
20. And again the next day (the young men) went away in the morning.
21. And the old man told the girls, "Crawl out again!" 22. And the young women cooked again. 23. And when the men returned in the evening, they saw the old man was singing. 24. They saw he was saying, "I just want a bone to gnaw on." 25. He was singing that, "I just want a bone to gnaw on."
26. And they said to their father, "Hey, old man, what's wrong with you? 27. Here, this is your liver!" 28. Then they ate. 29. And one

The old man became the sun.

The old man, being toothless, normally ate only liver. Now that he has (as he thinks) two young women for himself, he fancies that he can chew meat from bones.
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páy tá tá nimmah. 30. yáxxa páy "ifunihaxxára paniníxxu-nak." 31. xás vu rá pápihmí'-č tanaččít ta-pá-heh. xás ḥa-x kíč ṭuθu-fníí po'čaččítih. 32. xás páávansa yúyúurupa- paifuní pamúvássipak. 33. xás uppí-p, "hóy páy tu'aramší' paifunihaxxára." 34. xás pápihmí'-č uppí-p, "pánińvupáaffí ta-klá-n nátkuruńkšíří' húa, vířvá tó'kuyí'msúr." 35. káruna ṭu'm páyáppíč táxak pamúváffi-p páupa-thamí pápat tábarak. 36. xás pápihmí'-č va vu rá upakúrfí-hvutih, "čaččít kíč navíšántih." 37. xás kári kuniččí' páarárka's, "hó- ṭiíí-n. 38. páy ṭu'm pumíšíf-funírah." 39. xás kári páyáppíč couponíuvú'íšířuk. 40. xás kuniččí' "nu va' nanúúíffuníh. 41. páarárka's hip ṭií' kiníppé-rat, 'ki-kíččunví! 42. víri hip nuxxússá-t 'va kukúpá-a'punmahe'sí' va hip kúd páunuppa-thamínháht paássipak.n

Text Number 22: Old Man Turtle Dances

Informant: Lottie Beck


Text Number 23: The Greedy Father

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. tó'xri tnví'šri. 2. xás va' yá'ńím tá kuntárihí'ná. 3. uppí-p "yímmáňikúříháre'sí." 4. xás pasú-xar kunúččšíří-húa. 5. yímmánkam yá'n vírá
man said, "Hey, what's this I see? 30. Look, this long hair is in my acorn soup!" 31. And the old man was gnawing the bones, and nothing but blood was streaming as he gnawed. 32. And the man pulled the hair from his basket. 33. And he said, "Where did this long hair come from?"

34. And the old man said, "It's curled up there at the base of my neck, it fell off." 35. The fact was, the young women had thrown two of their hairs into the soup-baskets. 36. And the old man was singing that way, "I just want a bone to chew on."

37. Then the sons said to the old man, "What's wrong with you? 38. This isn't your hair."

39. Then the young women crawled out. 40. And they said, "It's our hair. 41. The old man told us to hide. 42. We thought you would know it in that way, that's why we threw them in the baskets."

Text Number 22: Old Man Turtle Dances

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. They gathered at Klamath Lakes. 2. It was because they were going to dance downriver that way the stream flows. 3. And the young men and the women arrived. 4. It was time for them to dance down, and then Old Man Turtle wanted to. 5. They told him, "You can't get there. 6. It's because the women are young."

7. Old Man Turtle just wanted to. 8. "I'm as good as any young man.

9. Finally they agreed. 10. So they were ready. 11. Old Man Turtle stood in the middle. 12. He locked arms with the women. 13. Then they danced down from upriver. 14. Finally Old Man Turtle got tired. 15. He was singing, "matê· ké·yiś ṣā·pun." 16. They kept dancing that way.

17. Finally he was weeping. 18. "matê· ké·yiś ṣā·pun. 19. I'm tired."

20. They kept dancing that way.

21. Finally they were dragging him. 22. He gave a cry now and then.

23. They danced down from upriver that way to the middle (of their course). 24. They were just carrying his arms. 25. Old Man Turtle was transformed there at ṣasāna·mkarak. 26. The women kept dancing downriver that way. 27. They were carrying Old Man Turtle's arms. 28. And when they jumped into the ocean, they were still carrying his arms.

Text Number 23: The Greedy Father

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. Famine descended (on the people). 2. And they were hungry. 3. (A man) said, "Tomorrow I'll go fishing." 4. And they went to bed without

51 This and the preceding text are told as a single story by other informants; cf. de Angulo and Freeland, pp. 206-211, and Harrington, 1930, pp. 142-145.

52 matê: "wait a moment!"; ké·yiś, no meaning; ṣā·pun "(down) to the ground."
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eating. 5. The next day it was just dawn, (and) he went. 6. The sun was rising. 7. It was shining on the water. 8. Suddenly the string attached to the fishnet quivered. 9. There was a big salmon (in the net). 10. So he hauled it out. 11. He put it down in back of the fishery.

12. Then he thought, "Let me cook it! 13. It's because I'm hungry." 14. So he cleaned it. 15. And he cut off the tail. 16. He put it to one side. 17. Then he cooked (the salmon). 18. When he ate it, he devoured it (all), and (only) afterwards did he realize it.

19. Then he went home. 20. He was carrying just the tail. 21. Some distance (from home) he was shouting, "Here, children, this is the tail! There were a lot of beggars."

22. Then the children ran out. 23. They were shouting. 24. "Hurray, we're going to eat, hurray, we're going to eat!"

25. The next day he went fishing again. 26. Again he caught a big salmon. 27. And he ate it there. 28. Again he shouted, "Here, children, this is the tail! There were a lot of beggars."

29. And the woman thought, "I think he's holding out on us." 30. And it was the next day that he went fishing again. 31. She told her children, "You stay here. 32. I'm following him. 33. I think he's holding out on us." 34. And when she arrived, there he had pulled out a big salmon.

35. And he cut off the tail. 36. He put it down a little ways off. 37. Then he made a fire. 38. Then he cooked (the salmon). 39. He was about to eat it.

40. Then she ran back upriver. 41. She told her children, "It's really true. 42. He's holding out on us. 43. Let's get started, we're going to leave." 44. They climbed uphill.

45. Then they heard him, he was shouting downhill, "Here, children, this is the tail! There were a lot of beggars." 46. It was silent. 47. Then he shouted again. 48. He ran indoors. 49. There only mice were squeaking. 50. Then he jumped out. 51. He was still shouting like that, "Here, children, this is the tail! There were a lot of beggars." 52. He looked uphill. 53. There they had climbed up there.

54. And his wife shouted, "Eat alone there! 55. For that purpose you held out on us."

56. He was following them. 57. The truth was that he had just been holding out on them. 58. Finally he was close. 59. He was still shouting. 60. And when he caught up with them, his wife told him, "You're going to be doing nothing but this. 61. You'll be eating nothing but mud in the creeks. 62. But we will be sitting around only in front of rich people."

63. And he thought, "Let me grab the littlest one." 64. And (the child) turned into bear-lily. 65. And he thought, "I'm grabbing the other one."

66. And it turned into a hazel-bush. 67. He grabbed his wife in turn. 68. She turned into a pine tree. 69. He, in turn, swooped down there. 70. You will see him like that now. 71. He eats mud on the edge of creeks. 72. (But) his wife and his children, when there is a deerskin dance, are lined up in front of rich people.

53 pipanicič is a distorted diminutive of *ippun "salmon-tail."
54 The father became *asaxvanis'amvanič "moss-eater, i.e., the water ouzel." The woman and the children turned into the materials used for making baskets.
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Text-Number 24: The Greedy Father

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. paufkrik muhr6-ha xakka-n kun9-nanik. 2. xas tae y pamukuntunvi-v.
3. to tka-nvar pa?avansa, ko-kamah?i-t vura to tka-nvar. 4. puyava pa?e
   xurarahaka' yi'musie vura to kp6-hva patu?ppak. 5. xas to ppi-p "pa?i-
   xapiimmili'siC." 6. puyava ta kun?a'siC?i-vrik. 7. puyava va- ta kunxrira
   paxxi-C. 8. kikku-m vura tu?ppak, va to ppi-p "pa?i?apiimmili'siC." 55
9. kari xas uxxus pamukunta-t "hut7 yata kuh pa?ipppun vura kC tu?av
   vutpatu?ppakaha-k." 10. kari xas uxxus "kimini kamahii," 11. tu?axus-
   tay. 12. kari xas tu?asimadi'srihvnna- paxxi-C. 13. kari xas u'm wu'aci
15. kari xas 'axmays uvpov'nfuruk paufkrik. 16. kari xas y6-ram 'upik-
   ri-C. 17. kari xas vura va- k9-n 'ukrii. 18. kari xas uxxus "yata 'u?kvi-t
   hitih." 19. kari xas y4-k 'ukku'-kiri, 20. kari xas y6yu-inka pamurho'-ha.
21. kari xas vura pu?itxa-rihvara. 22. kari xas uxxus "minik yata to
   'kvitha." 23. kari xas kixxumni-ka-k 'u'm, pasippa-m 'u?tha-n'ar." 24.
   kari xas wu'eti'-nip. 25. kari xas ussanid'sukka pa9?ama. 26. kari xas
tau?tam 'u?avahre'n. 27. kari xas y'i-viri k6-k 'u?p'pma, 'ukku-m 'u?ptka-n
   var.
30. kari xas ussanid'sukka pa9?ama. 31. kari xas tau?tam 'u?d'kkihvnna-he'n
   pamutunvi-v. 32. tau?tam kunpak'xti'vpuna- 'a'c?iC har vura kunphimarapii-9va
33. kari xas yi'musie vura 'u?k6-hva "xa?i'xa?ipnimi'siC." 34. kari xas
   pa9'umukiC 'u?m, kari xas uxxus "hut7 kud9 paku'anka?aug?i'vrik'thara." 35.
   kari xas po9p'pma xas uvpov'nfuruk ?i'na-k. 36. kari xas y6 'ukxi-ptak
   thi-vakar. 37. kari xas 'immu-sti pamusippa-m. 38. kari xas 'upip'p "hut-
   'huh7", kuniC nanisippa-m tuyu'nithih." 39. kari xas ?upip'p "hari ti'xahadakuna-9pamitunvi-v. 40. ko'vura m8-
   ya'thi va- 'ukiptihe-9s, fatta-k ?a ?ikko-ntako-viis. 41. viiri paysa's?ara htu-y
   'a?nuha-k, viiri paysa's?ara k9?rim tukupa'ha-k, va kari xas yik 'ukpu-9fihe-9s.
42. h6'tva ko? mfinya'h'ti pati'ya?aha-k pura fa-t vura t?i'n 'a?mihte?hora.
43. kuna na-n, na kari paninitunvi-v, pay nanussuru kdu-k ta nupayi-hma.
45. viiri va- ku9fti-mihe9s, pana k9?rim ta nixxus, pe'sviri'pi9duk po'su9-
   kutihat, yaki ha va pe'sviriip." 46. xas passarum viiri va pa?assip kunvi'k-
   tih. 47. viiri va ya's?ara're-9va-ylam nivu?rayvihe-9s.
1. Owl and his wife lived together. 2. And they had many children.
3. The man went to spear fish, every morning he went to spear fish.
4. When it was evening, he would shout a little ways off as he returned.
5. He would say, "Little children-tail." 6. Then they were glad to see him.
7. The children were hungry. 8. The next time he returned, he would say, "Little children-tail." 9. And (the children's) mother thought, "Why, I wonder, is he carrying only the tail when he returns?" 10. And she thought, "Let me watch him." 11. She suspected him. 12. So she put the children to bed.
13. And she went to bed, at the edge of the fire. 14. But she didn't sleep, the truth was she sort of slept (in pretense).
15. And suddenly Owl came in again. 16. And he sat down in the rear of the house. 17. And he sat there like that. 18. And he thought, "I guess she's asleep." 19. And he stuck a stick in the fire. 20. And he poked his wife (with it). 21. And she didn't wake up. 22. So he thought, "I guess she's asleep, all right." 23. And he went to the corner, where the grinding slab lay. 24. And he picked it up. 25. And he took out the salmon (from underneath). 26. So then he ate it. 27. Then he went away again, he went to spear fish again.
28. Then the woman got up. 29. And she pushed aside the mortar. 30. And she took out the salmon. 31. Then she gave it to her children.
32. So they played again, they ran around again happily.
33. Then he shouted a little ways off, "Little children-tail!" 34. Then when he got near, then he thought, "Why aren't they happy to see me?" 35. And when he got there, he crawled inside again. 36. And he flew up onto the drying rack. 37. And he looked at his grinding slab. 38. And he said, "huh, huh, my grinding slab is sort of crooked."
39. Then (his wife) said, "You held out on your children at various times. 40. All your life you will be doing that, you will sit on something above. 41. However (long) Mankind exists, when Mankind does bad, then you will have to speak. 42. All your life, when you die, nothing will eat (you). 43. But I, I and my children, we are going underground. 44. As long as Mankind exists, we will be around in front of rich people. 45. You will hear it, when I feel sad, when (someone) goes around under pine trees, because I am Pine." 46. And they weave the baskets of pine roots. 47. They will be around in front of rich people.

55 From (basic) *axi-ča "child" plus pipūni-šič, a distorted double diminutive of *ippun "salmon tail." Cf. note 53.
56 Two Karok assertions are involved here: the first, that the owl's cry is a sign that someone has done evil; the second, that no wild animal will eat a dead owl.
57 The reference is to the sad sound made by wind in the pines.
Text Number 25: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. ʔà ñïknë-chan pirïškâ-ɭ muhr6-ha. 2. kaʔtimɨn kunʔi-n. 3. ʔà ñïknë-chan pamuʔi-n ʔukyã-nik. 4. xás paʔâra-r po-ʔî-nhiti vîriva mus sûru-kam kunfruna-tih.

Text Number 26: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Chester Pepper

Text Number 25: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. Duck Hawk's wife was Grizzly Bear.  2. They lived at Katimin.
3. Duck Hawk made his falls (there).  4. And the people traveled behind where the falls were.  
5. And he thought, "Let me go to Scott Valley."  6. He liked a woman there.  7. He came back again.  8. He went away again.  9. He was away for a long time.  10. Finally Grizzly Bear heard he was having a love affair there.  11. And she was so mad, she tipped the falls up on one end.  12. Then she went away.
13. The fact was, Duck Hawk was coming back.  14. He came over Etna Mountain.  15. There was no sound of his falls.  16. He was coming back like that.  17. He caught sight of it at "asasürüh?i-vre:n (a hill near Katimin).  18. "yah na: my falls have been tipped up on end!" 18. He got to "ase-štakkak (a spot near Katimin).  20. Grizzly Bear was carrying (her belongings) uphill from Katimin.  21. And he thought, "Let me shoot her!" 22. He knelt down on a rock.  23. When he released the arrow, Grizzly Bear fell downhill.  24. He saw her roll downhill.
25. And nowadays his kneeling-spot can be seen there.  26. And Duck Hawk lives on Sugarloaf.

Text Number 26: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. Duck Hawk did this.  2. His wife lived here.  3. And he had a mistress in Scott Valley.  4. He came back (from Scott Valley).  5. On Etna Mountain he heard his falls thundering (at Katimin).  6. He was going home again.  7. His one child and his wife lived there,  8. The last time he looked over, (the falls) were nowhere to be seen.  9. His falls weren't thundering.  10. And he thought, "She's spoiled my falls." 
11. So he went home.  12. He returned here.  13. And when he looked over at "ase-štakkak, he saw her right there uphill, she and her child were climbing uphill.  14. So he knelt down there.  15. And he shot his wife.  16. She rolled in (to a hollow) there.  17. She rolled around.  18. For that reason they call it "xu-x's little rolling-place." 62

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58 That is, the falls were so high, and their top jutted out so far, that it was possible to cross the river by walking underneath them.
59 This is the origin of "xe-yif, the hill known in English as Sugarloaf. As stated in sentence 26, this hill is the present-day home of Duck Hawk; see Kroeber, 1946, pp. 13-14.
60 Lit., "Where were his falls sounding somewhat?" This is an instance of the way in which Karok uses a question stylistically to express a negative.
61 yah na: is an interjection occurring only in this text, according to the informant.
62 Duck Hawk's wife is here called xu-x; this name designates an extinct and possibly only legendary animal, identified by some informants with the grizzly bear and by others with the African lion.
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Text Number 27: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. t̓ikné-chan muhró-ha pirišká-rim. 2. xás mutíppa si-t. 3. káří xás w̓um w̓úra hérívahé-s, t̓ikné-chan hó-y̓va tuv̓á-ram, sinm̓ó-višar. 4. puyava xás kúkku-`m tuʔppak.


Text Number 28: Blue Jay As Doctor

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. káčaká-č ʔup̓e:mhí-čvá. 2. tuʔáppuʔ-paʔčvivtunv̓e:čas. 3. xás tupaʔtúmkóʔ. 4. tumášnaʔ-hvá. 5. vúra kúmaká-`rim pàiʔk̓ihāh. 6. kúkku-`m tá kúnp̓ísáʔsavés̓ xúʔiš, ʔaʔíxúntá҂m̓án, ʔú-`s, koʔvúra kumáʔaváhá. 7. hín̓u̓p̓ vá ʔu-m ʔúʔapunkó-naʔitíh, káčaká-č ʔu-m ʔúʔapunkó-naʔitíh. 8. puyava pató ʔuʔxxus, "míní kó- ník patá kanaʔísáʔsavés̓." 9. puyává kúra tá kúnmáʔsn̓áʔh:vuna ʔaʔčvivtunv̓e:čas. 10. pakuʔxáʔtíh "kíří
Text Number 27: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Duck Hawk's wife was Grizzly Bear. 2. And his brother was Mouse.
3. So it would be sometimes, Duck Hawk went off somewhere, he was gone a long time. 4. Then he would come back again.
5. So once he went away again. 6. Then Mouse was singing. 7. And he said, "Big brother is going to come back. 8. He's going to bring home a new wife." 63
9. And Grizzly Bear said, "How did you say?"
10. And Mouse said, "Nothing."
11. "You sort of said something."
12. "No, I didn't say anything."
13. Then Grizzly Bear said, "I'll hang you up, I'll make a fire under you if you don't tell."
14. So she hung Mouse up. 15. Then Mouse said, "Big brother is going to come back, he's going to bring home a new wife."
16. Then Grizzly Bear scratched the falls away downriverward. 17. You see, the falls once were (like) a barrier (reaching) a long ways up. 18. So when Duck Hawk looked down over Etna Mountain, he thought, "I wonder what's wrong with my falls? 19. Formerly I heard them sounding from here. 20. I can't hear them." So when he got back, he saw it, "My falls have flowed downriver." 22. And he said, "Who spoiled my falls?"
23. Then Mouse said, "I revealed that you were bringing home a new wife. 24. Your wife, Grizzly Bear, spoiled your falls."
25. So (Duck Hawk) killed his wife. 26. And he said, "Who is going to carry away her bones?"
27. Then Blue Jay said, "I'll carry them away." 28. So she loaded up a burden-basket. 29. And she carried them to the Bald Hills. 30. And she scattered them there. 31. For that reason grizzly bears lived only there. 32. There were no grizzly bears here.

Text Number 28: Blue Jay As Doctor

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Blue Jay pretended to be a 'doctor.' 2. She bewitched the little birds. 3. Then she sucked them (as treatment for their illness). 4. She did a doctor's dance. 5. The sick person just got worse. 6. They would pay her fee repeatedly with shelled acorns, hazel nuts, pine nuts, all kinds of food. 7. There she was bewitching them, Blue Jay herself was bewitching them. 8. Then when she thought they had paid her enough in fees, then (the patient) would get well.
9. All the little birds were doing doctor's dances. 10. When they thought,
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nu?d-punma 'hô-t kumáti' pákunyjikhihi't' pûyava kári xás kúnpíkkav xánki-t. 11. xás ?uppi-p, "?â'pû's kanapjîsâvsi-prini." 12. xás vûra pu?a-pûnmara xánki-t.


19. hu'nupa vû-m kâčakâ'-č vû?apûnkö-na'tih. 20. mahn?-vanač xás vû-m vû?a-pûnma. 22. kâčakâ'-č muâ'âppuro'n kummanhe'ë hoko'vva, vûppahak vutâk-kararikhva, sú? vákkay yûkri'.

Text Number 29: Blue Jay As Doctor

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. mahn?-vanač tuyjikka. 2. vâs kîc ùnôliv. 3. kári xás ta'îttam xûs ?û'umâhë'ë'n. 4. sunî'êthi tê kundjîsâvsi kâčakâ'-č. 5. vamsâfri-k vâpârah.


14. kári xás xânpûdëfîni'ëve'nač ?uppi-p "në' vûra na'pmân'anamahachitihi. 15. hâricularîva vëmì-'ëva.

16. kâri xás vamsâfri-k vâpâra ?uppi-p "?ç'x! 17. fatamâkë'-ş kîc vâra ?ûppere'ëš."


Text Number 30: The Story of Tan Oak Acorn

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. kâri ìÈôîvëa'-ne'n tô -ôtharë, xás paxuntëppan tê kundîfâar. 2. pumu-kûnxûpâ'na tê kunfî'vûnâ'. 3. "?ê'ë' êk vûra kûnpeôethë-ë." 4. xás vûra tê kunyjà'øha. 5. xânpût káru xânsë't ìÈôë-kxarâmva vûra pûkinvik. 6. xás čë'ë kunpëtho. 7. xás tê kunkarihâ'ë'cha.
"Let's find out why they are sick," then they summoned Bullhead. 11. And she said, "Pay me my fee with géčpu'-s." 12. But Bullhead didn't find out. 13. Then in turn they summoned Chipmunk. 14. And Chipmunk did a doctor's dance. 15. And Blue Jay sat down there. 16. She was holding a maul (for driving wedges). 17. She was going to smash (Chipmunk) with it. 18. Then Chipmunk said, "You see, it's someone's mischief. 19. Why, it's Blue Jay's mischief."

20. There Blue Jay herself was bewitching them. 21. Chipmunk found it out. 22. You can see Blue Jay's 'devil machine' somewhere, it is hanging on a tree, there's a worm inside. 65

Text Number 29: Blue Jay As Doctor
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Chipmunk was sick. 2. She lay as thin as a blanket. 3. Then they doctored her. 4. They paid Blue Jay her fee with chinquapin nuts. 5. She was a Weitchpec person. 6. Then (Chipmunk) got well.
14. And Hummingbird said, "My mouth is too small. 15. There's been mischief sometime."
16. And Weitchpec person said, "ọq-ọx! 17. She'll tell a person just anything."
18. Hummingbird was singing. 19. And she said, "My mouth is too small. 20. For that reason I can't take (the disease object) out. 21. It's Blue Jay's mischief."
22. Then (Blue Jay) jumped out through the smokehole, "kēkēkēkē!
23. She made a noise like a blue jay. 24. She was afraid (of being exposed).

Text Number 30: The Story of Tan Oak Acorn
Informant: Lottie Beck

1. They were creating (lit., laying down) the world, and the acorns came to grow. 2. They were weaving their caps. 3. "You must finish weaving quickly." 4. And they hurried. 5. Maul Oak and Black Oak wove day and night. 6. And they quickly finished weaving. 7. And they were all ready.

*acpu-s is translated by Harrington, 1932b, pp. 29-31, as "gut strings." My informants, however, identify it as 'white stuff under the throat of a salmon.'
An Appuro'n or 'devil machine' is the object used by a sorcerer ('Indian devil') to impose his spells. The kačaka Appuro'n "bluejay's devil machine" is a type of cocoon.
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8. yás xunye-p tá kunippe-r "tikárihahum ník. 9. nu tá nüptíθ pa núnpaxa-n."

8. Then they told Tan Oak, "Are you ready? 9. We've finished weaving our caps."
10. And Tan Oak said, "I've just woven it half-way."
11. And they told her, "Perhaps we're leaving you behind."
12. And she said, "No, I'll wear it this way, (though) the fact is that it's only woven half-way. 13. They'll know (lit., think) that Tan Oak Acorn has come to grow. 14. May Mankind eat me alone and take care of me!"
15. So-sure enough, they arrived where they were going to grow, she accompanied them like that. 16. And they were told, "Gather together."
17. Maul Oak and Black Oak had beautiful caps. 18. And they said to Tan Oak Acorn, "What's the matter with you that you didn't finish weaving your cap?"
19. And she said, "They wove day and night. 20. They wanted so much to leave me behind. 21. It was because they thought, 'She's poor. 22. Mankind won't think (about her) in any way.'"
23. Then Man told her, "For your sake, when people exist, they will eat you, because of that they will never hunger. 24. You will be the best food. 25. The fact is, (the others) wear pretty caps, (but) Mankind won't have much use for them."

Text Number 31: The Story of Tan Oak Acorn
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Mankind was about to come into existence. 2. They were all weaving, they were about to go to a different place. 3. And they said, "Let's clean out our baskets quickly." 4. And they said, "All right, let's go!" 5. And they put on their basket-caps. 6. All their caps were pretty.
7. But Tan Oak Acorn didn't finish her cap. 8. So she turned it inside out. 9. And she put it on. 10. And she said, "When Mankind comes into existence, I will be the most important (lit., the highest). 11. However long Mankind exists, he will eat only me, (though) the fact is that my cap is a poor cap." 12. Tan Oak Acorn said that.

Text Number 32: The Bear and the Deer
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. A man lived there. 2. He had two wives. 3. His first wife had one boy. 4. And the other had two children, they were little boys. 5. The man was always hunting. 6. And the women were always working, they

66 The verb takuk, translated "to clean out" in sentence 3, refers to the process of cutting off the projecting sticks on the inside of a basket, after the actual weaving is finished. The heroine, not having time to do this, put her cap on inside out; as a result, the cups of tan oak acorns are prickly, rather than smooth.
pa'asiktava'-nu'atahara viura kunikyav'oviutih, 'avaha kunikyav'tih. 7. xas papizhi-p ve'hr'ha nu'm utin'vka. 8. k'arim 'ukyay-ti pe'hnoha'nanamahe. 9. paunatapun kunufikihi, k'u'k to'kviripma, xas ko'viura tu'flik pfesi-p. 10. xas pamu'attimnam nu'm viura 'axyar 'atahara. 11. paytha nu'm viura ci-mi 'pamu'attimnak. 12. xas viura k'arim 'ukyay'tih. 13. 'a'eva 'ukyay'tih. 14. xas 'iisah'a pakunufpapak, xas 'uppe'nunama pamutuvne'pi pamu'apppaka ha'k kuxuxsise'ni'ta ne'ykarahe'nviu.'

15. xas 'iisah'a nu'uppak pakhe'vrik. 16. xas pa'avansaaxxi-qi upiktar pamutat'i. 17. xas 'upp'i pu'y nu'm tatate.'

18. xas 'upp' pakhe'vrik 'nu'm viura mai to'kve'i.' 19. yakun ta'vi viura 'up 'dumkakavat. 20. viihi ci'mi 'ukupe'pafiavhe'i. 21. vi'i 'iimm'a xasik upu'ppake'i.'

22. xas 'iimm'a kuku'm viura 'upv'a-ram. 23. xas kumahe'kikuxur viura kara xas viura 'up'ppak. 24. xas pa'avansaaxxi-ti'chas ta kung'aslih. 25. xas pa'avansaaxciakka'm utin'sakuk vasaasuruk. 26. xas yana va'at timnavak 'umahya'nahiti tahu'su. 27. 'i' xasa yuna vuhyariisukva pamutat'mup'si'h. 28. 'i'! xas 'u'a'pummat pamutat 'jykarahen. 29. xas vu'kikhuvi po'pvo'nfuruk ma'eto poka'mtih. 30. xas pa'avansaaxxi-qi 'u'a'pumna 'viura 'jif.' 31. xas puksay fa't viura 'upitihara.

32. xas 'iimm'nak kuku'm viura 'upv'a-ram. 33. 'pamutat' kumahe'kikuxur. 34. xas kuku'm viura xas xas 'up'ppak kikuxur. 35. yanava 'ussa'nuvuti 'axvaharaxxarahas. 36. xas pa'avansaaxxi-'viura nu'm 'axrarathi, kuna viura ku'kikuxurutini po'xrarathi.

37. xas 'upp'e pa'avansaaxxic -'iimm'nak sarak 'astf'pamica's xakkana 'fy'ku'jrame's kikuxur. 38. xasik pa'avaharaxxarahas kuvexhihe's vu'xak, 'u'jahuthe'i. 39. xasik va'uf viura ko'k kung'aslihe's pa'xva'har to'ma'pplerihak, xasi kumpna'vi'i.

40. xas kari pa'avansaaxxi-qi 'a'h 'ukyay 'ikmahahc'ra'm. 41. xas pa'mu'na'nihe' 'upp'e 'i'ko'ra nupikni-hvan 'ikmahahc'ra'm. 42. xas kunjirovi'nofuruk. 43. xas pa'avansaaxxi-qi 'upiska'krukup, sakrii viura 'ukyay pafivcak. 44. xas pamica's xakka'sa'ru kunivfvriripfak. 45. xas pa'xva'har 'uvhe'hih. 46. tu'ad'kka. 47. xas 'upp'i 'ci'mi nuvhi.' 48. xas yuru kunivfvririp. 49. pa'avansaaxxici-quiethuvi 'ikmahahc'ra'm. 50. 'ca's, ne'pofivcak'surhih, ta ni'anka.' 51. xas kuku'm viura to'kpe'hva 'ne'pofivcak'surhih, ta ni'anka.'

52. xas mutta'up'ppak. 53. xas 'umnihkirihva paki'i.' 54. sarak utufakkitui, yana va'pax'har kari va'ramas puve'hriv. 55. xas pe'kma'hacra'm k'u'k 'u'arihama. 56. xas yuhudi'nii pamichaelama 'ce-miya'ce viire'rupu, to'mu pamica'i, ci'mi nu'am.' 57. xas puksy vihivisthara. 58. xas 'avura 'vviire'furuk. 59. 'ce-miya'-ce, ci'mi nu'am.' 60. 'i'ai xas ummah, yana va'amata'kce ukrituvi. 61. xas 'uppl'pa'aw.' 62. xas 'aruk uastf'kuk 'ukvriripma. 63. xas 'ukfuf'kara'n. 64. xas 'a'h kce 'ukfu'kira.' 65. xas tratira'nya. 66. yana va'ruuk taka vinirovipraputahai. 67. xas 'ukvriripurup. 68. xas pa'avansaaxxic nanamahhe ko'kutiuru 'puxx'viura. 69. xas karo kuniftro-vutih. 70. viiri kuna karo kuniftroviparuk. 71. kuku'm kuniftro-vu'tih. 72. viura 'a'muki'ti 'u'm. 73. pa'avansaaxxic viura taka puiknie tiki ARPITAHARA, ko'va to ko'kutiuru. 74. xas 'iissyuru kuniktaraith. 75. yanava k'a'n.
were gathering food. 7. And the first wife was cruel. 8. She treated the little wife badly. 9. When they picked acorns, she would run there, and she would pick them all first. 10. And her burden basket was always full. 11. There was little in the other's burden basket. 12. And she treated her badly. 13. She made her afraid. 14. And once when they returned, (Deer) told her little ones, "If I don't come back, you will know (lit., think) that she's killed me." 15. And once the old woman (i.e., Bear) came back. 16. And the boys missed their mother. 17. And they said, "Where's mama?" 18. And the old woman said, "She's spending the night in the mountains. You see, she gathered a lot. 19. How was she to carry it home? 20. She'll come back tomorrow."

22. The next day (Bear) went off again. 23. And later on, in the evening, she came back late. 24. The little boys had gone to bed. 25. And the big boy was peeking from under the blanket. 26. And he saw fir branches sticking in the burden basket. 27. Oh, he saw his mother's leg sticking out! 28. Oh, then he knew that she had killed his mother! 29. And (Bear) was grunting as she came in, as she was carrying a heavy load. 30. And the boy knew it was true. 31. And he didn't say anything. 32. And the next day she went away again. 33. "Your mother will come back later today." 34. And again (Bear) came back late in the evening. 35. (The boy) saw she was carrying long pieces of pitch-wood. 36. And the boy was crying, but he hid when he cried. 37. And she told the boy, "Tomorrow evening you and your younger brother must go down to the river-bank. 38. You will stick the long pieces of pitch-wood in the sand, they will burn. 39. You must stay there until the pitch-wood is extinguished, then you will come back."

40. Then the boy made a fire in the sweathouse. 41. And he told his older brother (i.e., the Bear's son), "Let's go sweat ourselves in the sweathouse!" 42. And they went in. 43. Then the boy jumped out again, he made the door tight. 44. And he and his younger brother ran downhill. 45. And he stuck the pitch-wood down. 46. He lit it. 47. And he said, "Let's run!" 48. And they ran downriverward. 49. The boy inside the sweathouse was shouting. 50. "Younger brother, open the door for me, I'm burning!" 51. And again he shouted, "Open the door for me, I'm burning!"

52. Then his mother came back. 53. And she cooked the (deer's) meat. 54. She looked downhill, she saw the pitch still standing long. 55. Then she ran to the sweathouse. 56. And she shouted to her child, "Jump out quickly, her meat is cooked, let's eat!" 57. But he didn't answer. 58. Then finally she jumped in. 59. "Quick, let's eat!" 60. Oh, then she saw him, she saw just ashes lying there! 61. And she said, "OW!"

62. And she ran down to the river-bank. 63. And she grabbed at them (i.e., at where she thought the children were). 64. But she grabbed just the fire. 65. Then she looked around. 66. She saw they had run downriver. 67. So she ran downriver. 68. Then the little boy got very tired. 69. And they looked upriver. 70. She in her turn was running down from upriver. 71. They looked upriver again. 72. She was getting near. 73. The boy could hardly run, he was so tired. 74. Then they looked across-river. 75. They saw a

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6 The cruel wife, with the single child, was Bear. The one with the two children was Deer.
I. kacakâ'ê tippat yîca'ê mukun'âvanhanik. 2. xákka'n vûra kun'kye'hitî po-'âve-ê. Táxxak vûra 'uppattâti paxxu'n. 3. kâri xâs pa-'yppa tuhármâpk. 4. kâri xâs 'ûuxxâti pakaçakâ'ê "hû't vêta kumâ'rî. pa-'yppat mûuxxu'n kîc kûnîs po-yppatâtih." 5. kâri xâs 'ûuxxu, "ûî kannámâhi hû't vêta po-kupe-'kyâ-hîthih." 6. kâri xâs po-tuhármâpk ta-ûrta mûpsi' ôkpa-tra'vahê'n. 7. ta-ûrta po'akâp tûûfâmnuhnamnihâçh. 8. kâri xâs 'ûuxxâs kacakâ'ê "tê kanbâramô'kî." 9. kâri xâs 'ûkpa-tra'v pâmûpsi'h. 'a-x kûnâ 'ûûfâmnuhnamnihâçh. 10. kâri xâs 'ûpêñâ'âv kacakâ'ê. 'a-'yê'ê 'ûapsî' tó 'spat.

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man fishing there. 76. And the boy shouted, "Row to meet us!"
77. And he said, "I don't have any boat." 78. Then he heard her growling
from upriver. 79. And he said, "I'll put my leg out across-river.
80. Walk across on that!" 81. So they jumped across. 82. (Bear) in
turn was running down from close upriver. 83. So he pulled in his leg.
84. And the old woman shouted, "Row to meet me!"
85. "No, I don't have any boat."
86. And she said, "Put your leg across!"
87. So he put his leg out. 88. And the boys were already climbing up-
hill. 89. Then the old woman walked across. 90. And she got to the
middle of the leg. 91. And she took off her hat. 92. And she dipped up
water. 93. And she poured it in her mouth. 94. And when she had drunk
from it, she knocked her hat on his leg (to shake the water out). 95. And
he said, "Ouch!" 96. And he pulled in his leg. 97. And she fell over,
she fell into the river. 98. And the boys ran up the mountain. 99. They
ran to the sky.

Text Number 33: How Deer Meat Was Lost and Regained
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Blue Jay and Doe had a single husband. 2. They both made for him
what he was to eat, he ate two (servings of) acorn soup. 3. So Doe cooked
acorn soup. 4. And Blue Jay thought, "I wonder why he sort of eats only
Doe's acorn soup?" 5. And she thought, "Let me see how she makes it!"
6. So when she made acorn soup, then (Doe) broke open her leg. 7. So the
marrow dribbled into (the soup). 8. Then Blue Jay thought, "Let me make
acorn soup!" 9. And she broke open her leg, but (only) blood dribbled in.
10. Then Blue Jay was laid up, it was because her leg was broken.
11. Doe had one child, a little girl. 12. And she told her child, "Give
your father his acorn soup!"
13. Blue Jay was well again by now. 14. And she met the child. 15.
And she said, "Here, I'm giving it to him." 16. Then she poured the
acorn soup down on the ground. 17. And she said, "?a·sara ?uxxane." 18.
Then when the child went away, she licked it up.
19. So she did that way again, she swept up, then she poured the acorn
soup down. 20. "?a·sara ?uxxane." 21. Then she licked it up.
22. So the child told its mother, "Blue Jay is doing that, Blue Jay is
pouring the acorn soup down."
23. And Doe said, "Come on, let's leave." 24. Then (people) didn't
know where she'd gone. 25. So then all the little wild animals were hungry,
it was because there was no deer meat in this world. 26. And they lay in
the sweathouse.
27. Then Wildcat had a good dream. 28. And he jumped up. 29. And
he sang, "?ata na· kō·fayu, ?ata na· kē·sīša." 15

68 The fisherman was 'axva·y 'Crane' (actually the blue heron); this explains his long
leg.
69 These words are distortions of "āssar "watery" and "ux "bitter."
70 "āta "perhaps," na· "I"; the other words are meaningless.
30. And Coyote said, "What's the matter with you?" 31. We're hungry and we're sleeping. 32. Why are you singing?"

33. Then Wildcat went somewhere. 34. Finally he was gone a long time. 35. (The part of the house) where they put in the dressed deer meat was dusty and cobwebby. 36. And suddenly there was a noise there. 37. And they got up. 38. And they looked there. 39. Oh! suddenly dressed deer meat fell in. 40. There Wildcat had brought a little deer from somewhere. 41. And he said, "I had a good dream. 42. You see, I found out. 43. Deer and her child have gone to the sky. 44. (The child) is having her first menses. 45. They're having a puberty dance, they're tossing her around on the ends of their horns."

46. Then they ate the deer, they ate a little bit each, which he had brought in dressed. 47. And they said, "Let's go get her, let's bring her back into this world!" 48. And they said, "How shall we go?" 49. And they said, "Let's twine, let's make string! 50. Then we can shoot it up."

51. And Coyote had a lot of string. 52. He chewed up some of it and threw it away. 53. And all the spiders, all made their string. 54. Then they finished. 55. "All right, let's go!" 56. And they shot Coyote's string up first. 57. But it fell down again just a little ways off. 58. All the spiders shot up their string. 59. It went a little ways, then it fell down again. 60. Then (the spider called) xahamfémik brought up his string. 61. And his string was coiled just small. 62. And Coyote said, "Hey, what are you going to do with your string, throw it (away) someplace! 63. It won't reach that far either. 64. Just throw it (away) someplace!"

65. And he said, "No. 66. Let's try." 67. So they shot it up. 68. They saw it was (stuck) tight.

69. So they went up on it. 70. And Wildcat said, "Me first. 71. I know where."

72. So they took her away. 73. And he ran. 74. Then he passed her to the next fastest one. 75. Then they ran there, they saw a big lake lying. 76. And they saw Frog sitting there. 77. And he said, "Here, pass her to me!"

78. And they said, "No, you can't run."

79. And he said, "No, pass her to me, they're about to catch up with you." 80. So they passed her to him. 81. Then he put her in his mouth. 82. And he closed his mouth. 83. And he dived into the lake. 84. So he brought Deer back here.

85. Then they brought her to the sweathouse. 86. And they said, "Let's watch her by turns."

87. And Dog was last. 88. And Dog thought, "We can't do it like this."

89. So he burned all their feet with fire while they slept. 90. For that reason Dog can track anything that way.

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71 Although Coyote figures in this story, it is not placed among the Coyote stories, since he is not the main character.
Text Number 34: Lizard and Grizzly Bear

Informant: Nettie Reuben


Ten brothers grew up. 2. And suddenly a person came down from upriver. 3. And they looked at her. 4. And suddenly she grabbed one, she killed him. 5. Then they fled. 6. Then they looked around. They saw she was not there.

8. Again the next day they looked upriver. 9. She came down from upriver like that again. 10. And again she killed one. 11. They ran underneath a rock. 12. Then one looked around, he saw she was not there.

13. So they kept living there like that. 14. And finally after a while all of them were killed. 15. There it was Grizzly Bear that was coming down from upriver. 16. It was that one that was killing them.

17. Just one was left, the littlest one, (the type of lizard called) yu-xmašmahâmač. 18. Oh! then he cried piteously. 19. And he thought, "How ever shall I do?" 20. And he thought, "Let me go uphill." 21. So he went uphill to get rotten fir roots. 22. And he got them. 23. And he fixed them pretty, he fixed them. 24. And he made a heart. 25. And he thought, "How shall I do with it, I wonder?" 26. And he finished it good. 27. And he thought, "Let me go back home." 28. And he returned home. 29. Well, then he thought, "How ever shall I do?" 30. Then he put the heart on a string. 31. And he crawled up on the roof, he wore the heart as a necklace. 32. And there he danced and danced.

33. Then he looked upriver, suddenly (Grizzly) came down. 34. And finally she came close. 35. And (Lizard) was looked at as he danced, up on the roof. 36. And Grizzly thought, "My, he's really wearing a pretty necklace!" 37. Let me go look at it!

38. So Grizzly crawled up on the roof. 39. Lizard was dancing like that. 40. And Grizzly said, "You're really wearing a pretty necklace!" 41. And Lizard said, "Yes!"

42. And he was asked, "Where did you find it?" 43. My, I really like it!

44. And Lizard said, "Why, I wear my heart as a necklace."

45. And Grizzly said, "How do you do it? I really like it!" 46. And she said, "How do you take out your heart?"

47. And Lizard said, "I reach in here at the base of my throat." 48. Then I take out my heart."

49. Then Grizzly said, "Let me try!" 50 And (she said), "Show me!"

51. And so (Lizard) reached in, and he took out Grizzly's heart. 52. And (Grizzly) fell to the ground. 53. Lizard grabbed Grizzly, he helped her pull it out. 54. Grizzly fell down, when (Lizard) pulled out her heart.

55. So she fell down. 56. Grizzly rolled downhill.

57. And Lizard said, "Hurray, I've killed my enemy!"

58. Grizzly (in his death throes) grabbed at Lizard, she thought, "Let me kill him!" 59. And a rock lay there, a big one. 60. And (Lizard) jumped into a crack in the rock. 61. And Grizzly grabbed the rock.

62. What was she to do with the rock? Lizard was inside. 63. So she couldn't kill him, he was inside the rock, the crack in the rock.

64. Then she rolled away. 65. When (Lizard) came out, Lizard danced on the roof, he did a war dance. 66. He said only this as he danced,

72 This type of lizard has a mark on its chest, resembling a necklace with a pendant.
"šakati’yu’ina’ hīyo.

Text Number 35: The Story of Madrone

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. kusrīppan ʔu’m ʔθē’k-naʔ ʔavansahanik. 2. ʔararaya’g’ara muʔafiri’han.
3. xás mukunyō’čkamaq ʔukrí. 4. vúra ʔa’mak muʔafāp-pí. 5. xás k’animič kunkupa’kara’rahitih.
6. víri ʔo’m tá kunfiya’-va. 7. k’à nič paʔavansā ʔu’akkunvuti kāru ʔu’ahavišk’a’-nunthi, 8. vúra’ra ko’yəč tuʔf-p-ma.
9. ʔimmā’nkam kúkku’-m tūv’a’-ram. 10. vúra kunpiyça’ktih. 11. vúra ʔu’m puhaulíxwa yáv kupa’kara rahitihih. 12. kusrīppan ʔu’m vúra ʔitha’-n ʔuvunayvi’-čvuti, 13. kárük ʔu’arirho’-natihi, 14. xás puʔafāp-pí t k’-o’kam ʔutkáratih. 15. ʔummahunā-natihi, 16. xás ʔukfyuv’-nič, 17. xás ʔuhyahih. 18. ʔimmā’nkam kúkku’-m vúra ʔu’ar-rihra, 19. xás po’mmahavrik ʔukpu’hrin. 20. hfnu páy či kunčúphi’čve’-s, 21. xás xárahirurav ʔussinm’o’ kusrīppan, 22. puʔu’akahiʔ’-n kunpappi’-var, 23. xás ʔumma”k’a’ ničk’ét í’-m kunʔi’in, 24. puʔpapšru puʔu’aramah, 25. xás puʔpè-r ”káya’t ʔik vúra hafíxwa yáv m kúk ʔiʔf-pma. 26. ”immättá’-ná’nu puʔafāp-pí, 27. puʔa”-t ʔifkírahitihíhara.”
"şakat'yu'ina' hiyo."  67. Hurray, I killed my enemy."  68. So Lizard did it. kupānnakanakana. 69. He killed Grizzly Bear. 70. The fact was, he was wearing a necklace of wood, a heart of rotten fir roots. 71. He pulled out Grizzly's heart, (Grizzly) believed it when Lizard lied, (Lizard) was wearing a necklace of wood, a heart of rotten fir roots. 72. So he killed Grizzly that way. 73. That's all.

Text Number 35: The Story of Madrone

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. Madrone was once a man.  2. He was a rich man's son.  3. And a man lived downriver across-stream from them.  4. His daughter was pretty.  5. But they lived poorly.  6. They barely lived through the winter.  7. The man would hunt and fish there.  8. He would come back with just as much (as he started out with, i.e., nothing).  9. The next day he would go again. 10. He had bad luck. 11. They never lived well.

12. Madrone was always wandering around idly. 13. He kept going upriver.  14. And he saw the girl upriver across-stream.  15. She saw him coming. 16. And she whistled at him. 17. And he stopped. 18. The next day he went up again. 19. And when she saw him coming, she swam across. 20. There they were going to chat. 21. But Madrone stayed away too long. 22. His father went to look for him. 23. And he saw that they were there on the edge of the river. 24. He took his child back home. 25. And he told him, "You mustn't ever go back upriver there. 26. The girl is a bastard. 27. Nothing was paid to legitimize her."

28. The next day the girl swam across again. 29. Where was Madrone? 30. She stayed quite a long time. 31. She looked downriver. 32. She saw him run upriverward. 33. And he said, "Let's swim across from them quickly!" 34. They told me, "Don't go up there." 35. So they swam across. 36. And they ran uphill. 37. They got to the girl's house. 38. It was just evening. 39. There was talking across-stream. 40. He said, "I think they're coming to look for me."

41. Then they ran. 42. They spent the whole night somewhere. 43. The next day they came back down. 44. There was talking across-stream. 45. And Madrone said, "Let me go back home! 46. I'll return, all right." 47. He swam back across. 48. Then he looked at his body. 49. It was scaling off, it was peeling. 50. He turned into a madrone tree. 51. You will see it that way now, it is peeling. 52. It is because he spent the night with the girl. 53. You will see him that way still, every year he peels.

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73 These words are meaningless.

74 This seems to indicate that the girl lived upstream, in contradiction to the statement of sentence 3. Succeeding sentences are consistent with sentence 13, rather than with 3.
Text Number 36: Why Towhee Has Red Eyes
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pa·smá-x yúpʔa·xkuníč. 2. sa·kuntáxra·tvuna·. 3. víriva ká·n tóm­mu·stih. 4. kári xás patá kunpfýkya·r pakuntáxra·ti kári xás pa·smá-x "tš­kan̂iíffikí pátaxraté·p." 5. kári xás putáxra·tih. 6. vírða yu·m tó·mča·x­rípa·. 7. pó·mmu·sti po·táxra·ti pa·pá·k õutkííh. 8. púyava kumάʔi· pamú­yu·p a·xkuníč po·mča·xřípa·nik.

Text Number 37: Eel and Sucker
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ?akrá· čámmmuxič xákka·n kunšitít. 2. čavúra yu·m kovvrá tá kunští­fič ?akrá· čámmmuxič?i·n. 3. kovvrá tó·xrá·m. 4. kári xás yu·píi pa·pa·ra·n, "nani yu·píi tá níxra·m." 5. kári xás va· káru vírða yu·čiʃifič. 6. víriva kumάʔi· ?akrá· pússa·t mu·yppíh. 7. kúna čámmmuxič yu·m vírða yu·pišhār.

Text Number 38: The Story of Slug
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ko·vvrá pake·mišatunvčas kunpi·p, "xátik yícá·č mu·yé·rahíthih." 2. kári xás ko·vvrá kumá·yakhā yícá·č kunikyav. 3. kári xás yícá·č kun­taríší·hva. 4. kári xás kunpi·p, "pakā·y yu·m páxu·s yé·t̲í̂hešan." 5. kári xás yu·píi·p yé·θ "na· ník xu·s ni·yé·t̲íhe·š." 6. ta·t̲ít̲ím ko·vvrá pake·mišatunvčas kunikyáv·čvuna·, yuṅkín va· ká·n kunpávyi·hme·š patupíʃya·vpa. 7. púyava vírða yu·m tá tta·y, tá kunikyav. 8. kári xás tutpiʃya·vpa. 9. kári xás pakú· künpávyi·hmu ·xamáy vírða fá·t̲ívka kunštít. 10. kári xás yu·píi·p, (roaring noise). 11. kári xás kunčrura·mav. 12. kári xás kunpi·p, "fá·t̲í kó·k." 13. púyava yícámmáhíc kú· kunčánvavutih. 14. yuṅkín tá kunʔay, "tʃáʔ kó·k." 15. čavúra kunά·punma, hínupa yé·θ, hínupa yúuxuíthih, "tá tta·y, kírí páčče·č niʔav." 16. va· kumáʔi· pa·a·ta·vá yuyávuna·tih. 17. kári xás kuni­pé·r, "mímýa·híthih, hú·t̲íva kó· mímýa·hítí vírða yí·m fáttak ʔasassúrük va· ká·n ʔi·xíʃíkkinkutihe·š." 18. púra fá·t̲í vírða·káru kunpítihe·šara."
Text Number 36: Why Towhee Has Red Eyes
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Towhee has red eyes. 2. They were attaching arrowheads. 3. He was watching there. 4. And when they finished attaching arrowheads, then Towhee thought, "Let me pick up the scraps." 5. Then he attached arrowheads. 6. The heat was coming out (of the fire). 7. When he looked at his arrowhead-attaching, he looked into the fire. 8. So for that reason his eyes are red, from the heat that came out.

Text Number 37: Eel and Sucker
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Eel and Sucker gambled together. 2. Finally Sucker won everything from Eel. 3. He had bet everything. 4. And Eel said, "I'll bet my bones." 5. Then he won those too. 6. For that reason Eel has no bones. 7. But Sucker is bony.

Text Number 38: The Story of Slug
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. All the little wild animals said, "Let's store our food together." 2. So they gathered all kinds of food. 3. And they put it all down together. 4. And they said, "Who will take care of it?" 5. And Slug said, "I'll take care of it." 6. So all the little wild animals worked, you see they were going to come back there when it was winter. 7. So there was a lot, they gathered it. 8. Then it was winter. 9. And when they came back there, suddenly they heard something. 10. It made a roaring noise. 11. And they fled. 12. And they said, "What is it?" 13. Then they sneaked up to it one by one. 14. You see, they were afraid, (they wondered), "What is it?" 15. Finally they found out, there it was Slug, there he thought, "There's a lot, let me eat it by myself!" 16. That's why he scared them. 17. And they told him, "In your life, in your whole life you will be sticking to the bottom of a rock there someplace. 18. You won't be doing anything, either."
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

Text Number 39: The Adulterers Discovered
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ṭapesunmũnukic ṭukitaxríharahitih. 2. ṭiθ̄araŋθ̄hr̄-ha xákka C
kun̄assimthi. 3. xás tô p̄īī-p, ṭapesunmũnukic, "vúra púra kára ṭā púnm̄-me-šára." 4. xás kúkkú-m vúra ṭimmán tumússar. 5. p̄āsasikta-va-n káru ṭā m tuv̄o-nupuk. 6. yī-mísic tô p̄māh, ṭapesunmũnukic. 7. kâ-n tu ṭā m. 8. púyava pâ-θ̄xârâmha, p̄āsasikta-va-n tūv̄ppak. 9. vúra púra hú-ŋ kupí- thara. 10. vúra yáv p̄āsasikta-va-n. 11. káruma ṭā m ṭukitaxríharahitih. 12. xás ṭā vânsa vúra ṭā m p̄ū-a-púnm̄mutihara.


25. kâ-rî xás ṭapesunmũnukic ṭuppi-p, "p̄ạ-ạ-s̄ára ṭạ-n̄ị-θ̄ri-ha-k, vîrî p̄ạsasikta-va-n va- θ̄kupị́θ̄i-ha-k, ṭukitaxríharahitha-k, xâ-t kâ-rî ṭụx̄̃̃ụ-θ̄iθ̄iθ̄iθ̄i- ṭụv̄ụ̃̃p̄ạ-púnm̄e-šap, vîrî va- vúra kun̄-púnm̄e-š."

Text Number 40: The Story of Bear
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. kâ-n yậ-ʔị-f̄θ̄ịhansa kun̄-θ̄ára-raθ̄iθ̄i tipaḥ-θ̄ras. 2. xás kâ-rî p̄ạsasikta- va-n kunux̄, "tî- va- kâ- θ̄̃us̄-θ̄ọ-θ̄m̄-yâñ." 3. kâ-rî xás kâ-n tá kun̄-púm̄. 4. kâ-rî xás vír̄usur ṭux̄̃s̄, "tî- nạ- kâ-rû." 5. xás pakunika-yâ-va-ti kâ-θ̄̃l̄ikkvuna-títh. 6. púyava vír̄usur ṭā m ṭikxûrá r xás tuv̄o-nupuk. 7. púyava yâ-̀fûk vír̄a hû-yâ sạ-θ̄us̄pạ-θ̄ịθ̄è-š. 8. vírî va- vûkupîθ̄i, tussạf̄̃r̄ị-θ̄hva pakó- kumaθ̄-vâñâ. 9. hû-yâ maθ̄ po-m̄k̄a-nuv̄ravanvùthi. 10. púyava maθ̄-θ̄i-̣̃ tūv̄ppak. 11. púyava ṭạ- p̄ạsasikta-va-na yâ-s kunmûvî-θ̄̃s̄pîmî̀t̄i. 12. yâ-s tá kun̄-θ̄íifikvanva maθ̄-θ̄i-t. 13. vír̄usur ṭạ-m tá tîp ṭuv̄ppakât.. 14. ṭạ-m ṭịθ̄us̄paθ̄-vûra ṭükri-. 15. púyava kâ-kûkkụ-m vír̄a kûmâ-teθ̄ tán kunpâvîñhuk p̄aθ̄sasikta-va-na. 16. púyava ṭụm-θ̄ûkûmû-kâ-rû pâθ̄-θ̄kxû-θ̄ráhansa púyava kâ-rî tíkxârâm, tô m̄k̄a-nvâr ṭikxârâm. 17. xás kunipîθ̄i p̄aθ̄sasikta-va-na, "vîr̄a hû-t kâ-rû-θ̄peθ̄-kxârâm xás ṭụvaθ̄-ramô-títh." 18. xás púyava kûmâmâθ̄-θ̄i-t xás kâ-kûkkụ-m tūv̄ppak, vír̄a ṭạ-m taθ̄-y pọ-θ̄ât̄t̄vûnu, pó-m̄k̄a-nvât̄ pakó- kumaθ̄-vâñâ. 19. xás kunpî-p, "púyâ hû-t kûθ̄ peθ̄-kxârâm xás ṭụvaθ̄-ramô-títh." 20. xás kâ-rî yîθ̄θa ṭuppi-p, "yakûn hûn vá- θ̄a-r, ṭạ-m vá- vír̄usur." 21. va- kûmâ-thî: pâva- vûkupîθ̄i, ṭikxârâm xás pó-m̄k̄a-nvûnu. 22. púyava hû-ŋ mú pâv yâ- ṭụm vír̄usur, vîrî va- kûmâ-thî: pâttay ṭụmka-nvûnu.
Text Number 39: The Adulterers Discovered

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Western Yellow-Bellied Racer (a snake) was being unfaithful to his wife. 2. He was sleeping with another's wife. 3. And Racer said, "Nobody will find out." 4. So again the next day he went to see her. 5. The woman went out too. 6. She saw Racer a little ways off. 7. She arrived there. 8. And when it got dark, the woman returned home. 9. (It was as if) she was doing no harm. 10. She was a good woman. 11. (But) the fact was, she was being unfaithful. 12. And the man (her husband) didn't know.
13. And again the next day they were going to meet. 14. So the next day the woman went out. 15. She saw Racer coming. 16. Then (hearing someone coming) he said, "Oh, they mustn't know that we're being unfaithful!" 17. And he said, "Bury me!" 18. So she threw dirt on him. 19. She buried him. 20. They were not to know.
21. Then the woman went back home. 22. And suddenly Racer crawled out (prematurely). 23. And (people) said, "Oh, Racer is being unfaithful!" 24. They found out that he was being unfaithful.
25. Then Racer said, "When Mankind comes into existence, when a woman does this, when she is unfaithful, even though she thinks they won't find out, they will find out like this."

Text Number 40: The Story of Bear

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Young men were living there, brothers. 2. And the women thought, "Let's go offer ourselves in marriage there!" 3. So they arrived there. 4. And Bear thought, "Let me (go) too!" 5. And when the women gathered (food), they picked up (acorns). 6. Then Bear went out in the evening. 7. Then it was just about to be dawn someplace. 8. She was doing this, she was bringing in all kinds of food. 9. She was gathering food (from bushes, such as berries) someplace in the mountains. 10. So she got back in the morning. 11. Then the women started out, in the morning. 12. Then they gathered acorns in the morning. 13. Bear had already come back home. 14. She just sat all day long.
15. Again later in the day the woman came back. 16. Then later, when it was evening, Bear went off, she went to gather food in the evening. 17. And the women said, "Say, why does she always go off in the evening?" 18. And one morning she came back again, she was carrying a lot in her burden basket, since she had gathered all kinds of food. 19. And (the women) said, "Say, why does she always go off in the evening?"
20. Then one said, "You see, that's no person (lit., is that a person?), that's a bear!"
21. That's why she did that, she gathered food in the evening. 22. So there she was a bear, that's why she gathered (so) much.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

Text Number 41: The Creation of Eels
Informant: Nettie Reuben


Text Number 42: The Story of Crane
Informant: Nettie Reuben

Text Number 41: The Creation of Eels

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Across-the-Water Widower went upriver, he thought, "Let me go upriver!" 75 2. And finally he went a long ways upriver. 3. And there was a shout somewhere. 4. He was traveling like that. 5. Finally, a long ways on, there was a shout again. 6. And (the person) said, "Copulate with me!" 76 7. Across-the-Water Widower was shouted at, (the person) said to him, "Copulate with me!"

8. And he thought, "Well, look! What is it? 9. Why is she shouting at me?" 10. And he grabbed in that direction. 12. And he copulated with her. 13. And there it was Tick. 14. She stayed there inside (his penis).

15. Then Across-the Water Widower went upriver. 16. And he thought, "Say, it really hurts me!" 17. And (he thought), "I wonder what's wrong with me?" 18. And finally it hurt him very much. 19. So he cut off (part of) his penis. 20. And he threw it out into the river. 21. And he went upriver.

22. Finally, he went a long ways upriver. 23. And he thought, "It really hurts me again!" 24. And he again cut off (part of) his penis. 25. And again he threw it out into the river.

26. So now the eels are that which he threw out into the river. 27. Across-the-Water Widower cut off his penis. 28. There it was Tick that crawled into him, that's why he cut off his penis. 77

Text Number 42: The Story of Crane

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Everyone was (there), lots of people. 2. They were going to leave for 'uknamxanganici, they were going to have a flower dance there. 3. And (they said), "All right, put necklaces on them!" 4. "All right." 5. So they put necklaces on. 6. And (they said), "Let's put necklaces on Crane." 7. So they put necklaces on him. 8. He had lots of necklaces on, (his neck was) full up to his throat-glands. 9. And Crane (said), "All right," and that was all, he had on all the necklaces. 10. Then Crane stood up. 11. And his necklaces were just a little dab down at the bottom (of his neck). 78

75 This is the only story about Across-the-Water Widower which I was able to record; one other Karok story about him appears in Harrington, 1932a, pp. 67-72. A character with a similar name is much more prominent in the mythology of the Yurok and the Hupa; cf. Kroeber, 1925, pp. 73 and 134.
76 A distortion of nakkO-16; cf. footnote 7.
77 Another informant offered additional information: Before Across-the-Water Widower's meeting with Tick, men (or rather, male 'ikxarg-yavs) had penises long enough to wrap several times around their necks, and could copulate with a woman on the other side of the river.
78 The point is that Crane had his neck retracted when the necklaces were put on. When he stood up, his neck was so long that the necklaces were hardly noticeable.
Text Number 43: Mockingbird and Swamp Robin
Informant: Nettie Reuben


Text Number 44: Why Lightning Strikes Trees
Informant: Nettie Reuben

Text Number 43: Mockingbird and Swamp Robin
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Mockingbird went home. 2. He was carrying his dip-net frame up (in the air). 3. Well, he saw Swamp Robin. 4. And he was carrying acorn-drying racks in a burden basket, (piled) up (in the air). 5. And he said, "Well, let's rest!" 6. So they rested. 7. And Swamp Robin was told, Mockingbird said, "They're picking the acorns at your acorn-picking grounds."
8. And (Swamp Robin) said, "Is that so?"
9. Then Swamp Robin returned here. 10. Then in the spring, Swamp Robin went back home. 11. He saw Mockingbird uphill, he went to meet him there. 12. And Swamp Robin said, "They've caught the salmon at your fishery, ?ikrirov."
13. So Mockingbird returned here. 14. So now Mockingbird always returns, he comes to spend the summer. 15. ?ikrirov is his fishery. 16. Mockingbird did it.

Text Number 44: Why Lightning Strikes Trees
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. They were going to play shinny. 2. And they said to (Horsefly), "My, your face is painted pretty! 3. What did you paint it with?" 4. And he said, "Why, I thought I would go look for something to paint my face. 5. So I ripped open a tree. 6. There I found what I am painting it with."
7. And afterward they played shinny again. 8. Again they were going to play shinny. 9. So they said to him, "How do you find what you paint your face with?" 10. And they thought, "Let us do that too!" 11. They grabbed the trees. 12. There was no blood (in them).
13. The fact was, (Horsefly) had bit human beings, and taken out a mouthful of their blood. 14. Human blood is what he painted his face with. 15. And Horsefly thought, "Let me not say it"; he said, "I find the blood only in trees." 16. So now when it thunders, (Lightning) grabs the trees, he rips them open.

This story, if it can actually be called that, is based on the observation that the mockingbird arrives on the Klamath in the summer, at the beginning of salmon season, and leaves in the fall. The swamp robin arrives in the fall, at the beginning of acorn season, and leaves again in the spring.
Text Number 45: The Victory Over Fire

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. *?a*h *?i-m ?úppa-nik; "púra fã-t vúra *?i- ña?íššíiptihé:jara."

Text Number 46: The Story of Skunk

Informant: Nettie Reuben

ri:n. 8. púyava kári xás to ʔtípij. 9. kári xás tá kuniktfí:š pa*axcayun-
nve-čas. 10. kári xás tó *psé-níi: pátayí-0 tišáamkánvínmu:nunač. 11. *?í- tá kunúpísíki-p. 12. kári xás púfrá-t pamukúntáyi-0. 13. púyava kuxkú:m vúra *?ímíhá:n "čmi nu?u:pvunvi kuxkú:m." 14. pú-
šánsí-p, kunprémar. 24. kunprémar. 25. púyava vúra ko-mahič.
Text Number 45: The Victory Over Fire

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Fire once said, "Nothing can put me out."
2. Then Grizzly Bear said, "I can put you out." 3. And she sat down uphill on the end of a ridge. 4. Then Fire burned uphillward (toward her) 5. And Grizzly Bear ran.
6. And all the little wild animals tried. 7. They all fled. 8. And the birds tried in turn. 9. Pelican said, "I'll sit down first." 10. And he sat down. 11. And he looked mean. 12. His neck hung down low. 13. Then Fire arrived close to there. 14. And Pelican ran.
15. Finally nothing stopped Fire. 16. So Old Man Rain arrived there. 17. And he said, "I'll stop him."
18. And Fire said, "Nothing can stop me." 19. But then it rained and it rained. 20. And Fire went out.
21. For that reason it's water now, that's why it puts out fire. 22. And that's why all the little wild animals are afraid of fire. 23. You see, they couldn't stop it.

Text Number 46: The Story of Skunk

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. (Ground squirrels) were digging brodiaea roots there. 2. They looked uphill. 3. Suddenly a person was about to dance down. 4. Finally he was close by. 5. So they looked at him. 6. They liked him as they watched him, he was dancing. 7. So they sat, the little ground squirrels watched him, he danced back and forth in front of them. 8. And then he broke wind. 9. And the little ground squirrels fainted. 10. Then (the type of skunk called) tšənəmkəvənušu:išə carried off the brodiaeas. 11. Oh, then they got up again. 12. And they had no brodiaeas.
13. So again the next day (they said), "Let's go dig roots again!" 14. So they dug a lot of brodiaeas. 15. And again they looked uphill, he was dancing down again. 16. And (one) said, "Say, this time we must jab him with a digging stick when he dances around here in front of us." 17. And so he danced down close. 18. And they were ready to jab him.
19. And there he was exerting himself as he danced, (singing), "kə·fan ʔən ʔən ʔən." 20. He turned his buttocks toward them, he was about to break wind. 21. And wham! they jabbed him. 22. Then he fell down, when they jabbed him in the buttocks with a digging stick. 23. Then they carried off their brodiaeas, they ran home. 24. They fled. 25. So that's all.

80 These words evidently contain ku-f, the name of a species of skunk. It is not clear whether ku-f and tšənəmkəvənušu:išə are two names for the same species.
Text Number 47: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. pe\'-kxare\'-ya va\' \- vulkupha\'-nik. 2. x\'as pihne\'-f\'i\'ch vulkupha\'-nik. 3. x\'as vu\'upa\'-nik, "xasik \'ah\'iram vulky\'-vi\'is." 4. va\' x\'as p\'a\'-n vulky\'-nik, x\'as y\'anava vulkupha\'-niv. 5. k\'ari x\'as po\'-n\'ippak, x\'as \'u\'av. 6. \'axaks\'uppa\'\'-\'avipux.

7. k\'ari x\'as\'a\'-ra\'-t va\' ya\'-n\'i\'p ta\'-y kun\'ara\'-rahiti. 8. puva\'-hy\'-\'e\' kup\'ithat. 9. v\'iri\'va yi\'\'o\'a \'uss\'a\'-m ke\'-vni\'-ki\'e k\'aru \'axxi\'-\'e. 10. v\'iri\'va \'aks\'uppi mu\'kku\'-\'t. 11. ya\'-n\'i\'p-kam kumatt\'-\'e\'li\'k kun\'ara\'-rahiti pa\'-a\'-rak. 12. v\'iri\'va ka\'-n\'ari\'i ti ni\'pi\'-\'e\'m \'u\'ssa\'-\'mv\'arak. 13. ta\' nipit\'-\'k\'u\'ri\'hi pe\'-\'i\'i\' \'uss\'a\'-\'mv\'arak. 14. v\'iri\'a\'i\' kunkuphe\'-\'e. 15. pa\'-a\'-ma k\'a\'-n v\'ura kunpaxyan\'uppane\'-\'e pe\'-\'i\'i\' po\'-\'essa\'-\'mv\'arak.

16. k\'aru ka\'-n\'ari\'i ti ni\'ku\'-\'kra\'-\'e. 17. xu\'ri\'axara\'-\'if\'a\'p\'i\'-\'pam\'u\'k\'u\'k\'u\'-\'a\'- ka\'-n\'ari\'i ti ni\'ku\'-\'kra\'-\'e. 18. ya\'-n\'i\'p ta\'-y \'u\'-\'ffe\'-\'e\' xunt\'appan.

Text Number 48: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pe\'-kxare\'-ya \'u\'-\'m kunikya\'-\'nik. 2. fatave\'-\'na\'-\'n kunikya\'v. 3. k\'ari x\'as pu\'yava \'mru\'k tuv\'a\'-\'ram \'ah\'iram. 4. k\'ari x\'as pu\'yava ta\'-\'ko\', ti \'ppf\'-\'nmar. 5. pu\'yava ya\'-n\'i\'p v\'ura \'u\'-\'m ko\'-\'vura ta\' kunku\'hina\'. 6. ta\' kunpf\'pha v\'ura pa\'-\'ara\'-\'ras.

7. k\'ari x\'as pu\'yava \"\'ukk\'\'u\'-\'m pe\'-\'kxariya\'-\'a\'-\'r \'e\' kamikri\'-\'e.\" 8. k\'ari x\'as kunpi\'-\'p, \"h\'\'u\'t p\'amkuphe\'-\'e.\" 9. k\'ari x\'as kunpi\'-\'p, \"ma\'n\'a\'atta.\" 10. x\'as kunpi\'-\'p, \"x\'a\'-\'tik p\'ay\'-\'e \'iky\'ava\'-\'n ka\'-\'uru.\" 11. \"\'e\'-\'m\'. 12. \"\'a\'-\'ru \'im\'u\'ssa\'-\'n, k\'aru ko\'-\'pitx\'a\'-\'r\'ha\'-\'n k\'aru kix\'a\'-\'ha\'-\'n.\" 13. \"\'e\'-\'m.\"

14. k\'ari x\'as ta\'f\'t\'t\'am \'ukk\'u\'-\'ri\'-\'r\'i\'-\'hen\'. 15. x\'as kun\'i\'r. 16. pu\'yava ko\'-\'vura ta\' kun\'a\'-\'ra\'-\'ihat, kix\'a\'-\'ha\'-\'n k\'aru v\'ura \'im\'u\'ssa\'-\'n, k\'aru \'iky\'ava\'-\'n, k\'aru ko\'-\'pitx\'a\'-\'r\'ha\'-\'n. 17. pu\'yava \'avura ta\' kunpf\'-\'nmar.

18. x\'as k\'ari pu\'yava ya\'-n\'i\'p \'ukk\'u\'-\'m va\' ta\' k\'\'a\'. 19. pu\'yava ko\'-\'vura \'u\'-\'m pu\'xay v\'ura yi\'\'o\'a\'-\'ay kuh\'u\'hihara pa\'-\'ara\'-\'ras, ko\'-\'vura v\'ura yav, pu\'xay \'avxakh\'a\'-\'xay. 20. k\'ari x\'as kunpi\'-\'p, \"va\' p\'ay hi\'\'upa \'u\'-\'m p\'o\'-\'kup\'i\'the\'-\'e.\" 21. k\'ari x\'as kunpi\'-\'p, \"v\'\'i\'-\'ri va\'-\'ya\'-\'s ta\' nup\'k\'y\'a\'-\'r. 22. pu\'a\'-\'sa\'-\'a \'u\'-\'i\'-\'ni\'-\'sh\'-\'ri\'-\'ha\'-\'k v\'iri va\'-\'pakunkup\'i\'the\'-\'e. 23. pu\'xay v\'ura\'-\'axay \'ya\'-\'s\'a\'-\'ra \'avxakh\'a\'-\'xay\'-\'he\'-\'s\'a,\" 24. pu\'yava v\'ura ko\'-\'mahi\'e\'.
Text Number 47: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. The gods did this. 2. Coyote did this. 3. He said, "The priest will build a fire." 4. Then he built the fire, and then they saw him lying there. 5. And when he came back, then he ate. 6. He was without food for two days.

7. And the next year there were a lot of people living. 8. But they didn't do it (hold the world-renewal) the same way. 9. Finally one old woman and a child were left. 10. She taught her grandchild (how to hold the world-renewal). 11. The next year there were more people.

12. I look down over (the bank) there where the river flows down from upstream. 13. I look again into the water as the river flows down from upstream. 14. This is what they will do. 15. The salmon will overflow the river there as it flows down from upstream.

16. And I climb up there. 17. I climb up there on the Ridge of Long Acorn-Meats Young-Woman. 18. The next year many acorns will grow.

Text Number 48: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. The gods made it. 2. They made a priest. 3. And so he went up to the fireplaces. 4. And then that was all, he ended the world-renewal. 5. Then the next year everybody was sick. 6. The people died off.

7. And so (the gods thought), "Let the priest take office (lit., sit down) again!" 8. And they said, "How shall we do?" 9. And they said, "I don't know." 10. And they said, "Let there be priestesses too, this time."


14. So then he took office. 15. And they celebrated the world-renewal. 16. And they were all (there), brush-burners and assistant priest, and priestesses, and priest's companions. 17. So finally they ended the world-renewal.

18. And then the next year (they did it) again the same way. 19. And none of all the people was sick, they were all well, they weren't sick. 20. And they said, "That's the way (Mankind) will do it." 21. And they said, "We have just finished. 22. When Mankind comes into existence, they will do like that. 23. Mankind will not be sick." 24. So that's all.

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61 Coyote intended to build fires as far away as Preston Peak. However, he became tired and lay down to sleep at his first fire, only a short distance from Katimin; cf. Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 116 and 123. The present text was recorded under adverse conditions and is hardly more than a fragment of the complete story.

62 According to Kroeber and Gifford, p. 27, xurišaxara'ifappi-t, literally "young woman of long acorn meats," is "a word of respect for panther. . . . The regular word is Pirishkarim, but no one uses it lest Panther be angered." There is evidently some confusion here: the "regular word" for the panther, i.e., the mountain lion, is yupëdk- kirar, and this animal is personified as masculine. piriškä-rim, on the other hand, is the "regular word" for the grizzly bear, which is sometimes identified by the Indians with the African lion, and which is personified as feminine.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

Text Number 49: Medicine for the Return of a Sweetheart
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. 'txxunanähâ'nâč kunk'قن muke-č̱̱iyav xákka'n. 2. kâri xás xára vûra yâ:mač kunkápâ'qi'-nahitiš. 3. 'axmây vûra kunpáksi-vi'pha. 4. kâri xás 'up-vâ'râm pe-'k'xurâhana'n. 5. kâri xás ěvârâa 'upvâpiro-pi'vuti pe-thvä'ane'n. 6. yi'-vûra tu'pfma.


16. kâri xás kîkk'ûm 'immâ'n 'îk'ûkâm tupikrî's. 17. kâri xás 'upakûri-hvâ. 18. va' 'uxxus 'va' xasîf vûra nikupe-pmâhahe's." 19. ta'itätam 'upakûri-hvâ-ne'n. 20. "pi'- ninike-č̱̱iyav, mî tô nupâxvi'-phat. 21. "pi'- víri č̱̱imî nûpî'i. 22. mìkî ninike-č̱̱iyav, tá nasâyri-hvâ. 23. víri xà-t 'îsîvâne'n'tîppan tî'pama, va' kán 'ìparsâmi'-pre-vîš. 24. "hû'k 'îsîvâne'-n'a'-čîp xasîf mûnîyvî'-hûnu-ne'n." 25. patupîksya'ɾ po'-čî-hvî'-Êvuti kâri xás pe-'k'xurarâha'n 'uxxus "pi'- tá nasâyri-hvâ. 26. 'ayuki'-ninike-č̱̱iyav. 27. č̱̱îmî kâpimûs'an. 28. kàrûma tî pûfta'-tambâvây. 29. kâri xasîf vûra mûvâne' upmâhe'-s. 30. kàrûma 'hû-k 'îsîvâne'n'a'-čîp xasîf xákka'n purâ'n kupinmâhe'-s. 31. kâri xasîf panûvî'ya upmâhe'-s. 32. pe-'k'xurarâha'n pamuke-č̱̱iyav purâ'n tâ kunfî'-kîra.'

33. kâri xás 'uppi'- pâ'asiktâvan 'paya'-s'âra 'wîl-nûrîha-k víri xà't kâru tá kun?î'thîur, vírîva vûra 'upmâhe'-s paniniptâkîrihâ mî-k. 34. va' vûra kán 'îparsâmi'-pre-vîš, xà-t kâru 'îsîvâne'n'tîppan tu'pîma." 35. xás 'îkxurarâha'n po-pkê'-viš páy nûnâ'avakhm? atayrâmka'm.

Text Number 50: Medicine to Get a Husband
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. 'pamânuhmà'm ko-vûra tá kunimfîpî'si'hta, pe-'k'xariya?îfâppi-t'as. 2. kunêfttî-mtî 'va' ká'n kun?û?pvuna-tih, tayi'-t. 3. víri kû-kâmînây kah-yûras tá kun?àramsîpri'n, pe-'k'xariya?îfâppi-t'as. 4. tá kunimfîpî'si'hta panâmnhma'm. 5. kâri xás yi'fâa 'û'm kâ'n 'û'îffânik. 6. 'û'm vûra kâ'ni'mîč. 7. va' vûra 'ûkupa'i-fîs'pre-nîk, pakâ'ni'mîč 'wîl-fîs'pre-nîk. 8. kâri xás 'uxxus, "pi'- tî na' kâru kan?û-pvan." 9. kâri xás ta'itätam 'û?m-mâhe'n panâmnhma'm. 10. víri po-tûra'-yvâ, pûrâ fàta-k vûra yâ'hitihâ, pakâm?û?pvuna-ti pe-'k'xariya?îfâppi-t'as. 11. víri po-kâsahârâhitih, kûntôkk'mîth, pâ'asiktâvan, pakâ'ni'mîč, po-?ù-pvuth. 12. pâmuyûfás tâ' tô 'stakâra'n. 13. vírîva yi'-mûsîč vûra po-?ù-pvuth. 14. víri pe-'k'xariya?îfâppi-t'as tá kunpi-p, "hû? 'uxxûthi'întî-tûrprave's.'
Text Number 49: Medicine for the Return of a Sweetheart

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Evening Star lived with his sweetheart. 2. And they lived nicely for a long time. 3. Suddenly they quarreled. 4. And Evening Star left. 5. Finally he went around the world. 6. He went far away. 7. And the woman thought, "Oh, my sweetheart! 8. How will I ever see my sweetheart again?" 9. Oh, she was lonesome. 10. She sat down outdoors. 11. "Oh, I'm lonesome!" she thought. 12. So again the next day she sat down outdoors in the evening. 13. "How ever shall I do?" 14. And she thought, "Maybe I'll make a song. 15. That way I'll see my sweetheart again."

16. And again the next day she sat down outside. 17. And she sang. 18. She thought, "That way I'll see him again." 19. So she sang. 20. "Oh, my sweetheart! we quarreled. 21. Oh, let's live as two again! 22. Oh, my sweetheart, I am lonesome! 23. You may go to the end of the earth, (but) you will come back from there. 24. We will roll together here at the middle of the world."

25. When she finished singing her love song, then Evening Star thought, "Oh, I'm lonesome! 26. Hello, my sweetheart! 27. Let me go see her again!" 28. The fact was, his heart was gone. 29. And he was going to find his heart again. 30. The fact was, they were both going to see each other again here at the middle of the world. 31. And he was going to find his heart again. 32. Evening Star and his sweetheart (finally) clasped one another.

33. And the woman said, "When Mankind comes into existence, (a woman) may also become abandoned, (but) she will find (her sweetheart) again by means of my song. 34. He will come back from there, (though) he may have gone to the end of the earth." 35. Then Evening Star was transformed into a big star in the sky.

Text Number 50: Medicine to Get a Husband

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. All the spirit girls gathered back of Orleans. 2. They heard that (people) were digging brodiaea roots there. 3. They came from Klamath Lakes and everywhere, the spirit girls. 4. They gathered back of Orleans. 5. And one (girl) had grown up there (at Orleans). 6. She was poor. 7. She had grown up that way, since she had grown up poor. 8. And she thought, "Oh, let me go dig roots too!"

9. And so she arrived back of Orleans. 10. When she looked around, she couldn't fit in anyplace where the spirit girls were digging roots. 11. So they laughed, they ridiculed her, the woman, the poor one, as she dug roots. 12. Her dress was ripped up. 13. She dug roots a little ways away. 14. The spirit girls said, "She really thinks she's going to dig up something!"
15. víři čavúra tapipštta·ni káři xás kunpí·p, pe·kxariya·típpí·tšas, "yávša, hú·t vupííth." 16. yánava ṭupakuti·hvyútih, pakáñnímič. 17. yánava ṭupííth, "yó·tva, nini·ávan tá níttá·trupráv." 18. káři xás pamúva·s xás va·yuño·rárví.

19. káři xás va·kunkú·pha, pe·kxariya·típpí·tša. 20. po·túra·yva, yánavá ko·vúra tá páuff·t, pe·kxariya·típpí·tša. 21. tá kunipke·vísří·hwá. 22. káři xás ṭuxxus, "paya·sára ṭu·i·nísříha-k, víři ṭu·m káru vúra va·yukuphe·š, xá·t káñnímič. 23. vfríra vúra táván ṭuñéni·náthíe·š. 24. pani·pákkiри ṭu·uñmáha-k, vfríra vúra táván ṭuñóini·náthíe·š, xá·t pašikta·vanké·m. 25. víři káři xás yícéšuk ṭu·u·m.

Text Number 51: Love Medicine

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. ṭu· kunvfftanik tívínëáne·nva·číp vášax ṭikxare·yavvifddppí·ticas. 2. víři pe·kxare·yav tá kunimfípiśniháyavha. 3. hú· čí kuninishíš·š. 4. púxay tìrvu·nuptihara. 5. káři xás ṭuxxus·na·kahyuras·afišříhan. 6. xás ṭuxxus "tí· kanvá·ramí." 7. ṭuxxus "na· káru ṭikxare·yav." 8. xás ṭuxxus "hú·t xářá níkuphe·š." 9. xás pé·kxurar ṭuñivřuhiš. 10. xá sávuk ṭuñáříhfk xás passarák ṭussa·mvrák. 11. káři xás va· ká·n ṭuvkakurí, 12. tá ta·vítam pe·šè·š ṭupuhyuf-mahitih. 13. ta·vítam va· ká·n ṭuyeámi·čva. 14. xás muppiříš ťukyav, pasáhyú·x. 15. kúkku·m vúra ṭim·ma·n pé·kxurar ṭuñivřuíš. 16. kúkku·m vúra va· ká·n ťupikyámi·čva.

17. káři xás ta·vítam ṭuxxus "čími kanvá·ramí ṭó·k tívínëáne·nva·číp." 18. čavúra tívínëáne·nvačípka·m tu·káříhvarak. 19. yi·músíč vúra ṭuš̱í·pamukun·vitríva·m. 20. yánava ṭuñícíša·ksurahithí. 21. čavúra ká·n ṭu·u·m. 22. xákkarari ṭu·é·ktak. 23. xás pamuppíříš ťummo·tiš, súhyú·x.

24. xás kuniș̱p̱e·r "čími vó·nuruki." 25. xás kuniș̱p̱e·r "čími vó·nuruki ṭu·m kahyuras·afišříhan. 26. yó·tva, namá·nvané·š. 27. xás ṭuppí· "ṳ̄̄hara. 28. na· níváho·tih. 29. ta·vítam ṭuñáho·he·n. 30. ýuruk tiňívánëáne·nńppan ká·n xás mukxurarahírám ťukyav.

31. víři te·páftta·nínvahíš paxmày kúníš fá·t ŭóftít. 32. kářuk ŭótro·vú·tih. 33. paxmày kunítovíripírak pe·kxare·yavvifddppí·ticas. 34. kunóhara·mutí. 35. víři va· kunkupitih, pašakàñvák tá kunáttaktákárna pamukun·yáftas pamukunyupaastfrán mú·k pakun?ývunti kahyuras·afišříhan.

36. káři xás ṭuxxus "čími kaníppaho. " 37. káři xás páy nañúvahkam ṭuíppaho, páy namúvahkam ṭukká·kamhitih. 38. ká·n xás ṭuxxus "čími o·k tîkxurarahírám kanýkav. " 39. ta·vítam ṭuñáho·he·n. 40. xás ýi·ná·k ṭupíkř·š. 41. te·páftta·nínvahíš paxmày kúníš fá·t ŭóftít. 42. xás ýúruk ŭutró·putí. 43. paxmà ýúru kunóvíripíra· pe·kxare·yavvifddppí·ticas. 44. vúra vúra kunáharamutí.
15. Finally after a while the spirit girls said, "Look, what is she saying?" 16. They saw the poor one was singing. 17. They saw her say, "Hurray, I've dug up my husband!" 18. And she covered him with her blanket.

19. Then the spirit girls did this. 20. When (the poor one) looked around, she saw they were all gone, the spirit girls. 21. They were transformed. 22. And she thought, "When Mankind comes into existence, (a woman) will do this way also, (though) she may be poor. 23. She will have a husband. 24. If she knows my song, she will have a husband, (though) she may be a homely woman." 25. Then she went elsewhere (i.e., was transformed).

Text Number 51: Love Medicine
Informant: Chester Pepper

1. Two spirit girls grew up here at the middle of the world. 2. The spirits gathered together. 3. What were they to do with (the girls)? 4. They (the girls) wouldn't come out of the house. 5. Then Klamath Lakes Young Man thought (about it). 6. And he thought, "Let me go there!"

7. He thought, "I'm a spirit too."
8. And he thought, "How shall I do, I wonder?" 9. And in the evening he floated to shore. 10. And he went downhill where the water was flowing toward the river. 11. And he went into the water there. 12. The river was at the high-water mark. 13. So he played (i.e., made 'medicine') there. 14. And he made his 'medicine,' it was (composed of) sand. 15. Again the next day he floated to shore in the evening. 16. Again he played there.

17. And so he thought, "Let me go there (lit., here) to the middle of the world."
18. Finally he was coming down from upriver, just upstream of the middle of the world. 19. He saw their house a little ways off. 20. He saw the door was open. 21. Finally he got there. 22. He put his hands on each side (of the door). 23. Then he put his medicine down, the sand.

24. Then (the girls) told him, "Come in!" 25. They told him, "Come in, you Klamath Lakes Young Man!" 26. Hurray, (you) will be my husband!" 27. And he said, "No. 28. I'm traveling." 29. Then he traveled.
30. He made his camp at the downriver end of the world.

31. After a while suddenly he sort of heard something. 32. He looked upriver. 33. Suddenly the spirit girls ran down from upriver. 34. They were chasing him. 35. They did this, their dresses were all tattered up above the knees from the tears that they were weeping for Klamath Lakes Young Man.

36. And he thought, "Let me go on." 37. So he went on to the sky, he was a little ways upriver in the sky. 38. There he thought, "Let me make camp here!" 39. So he made it. 40. And he sat down inside. 41. In a little while, suddenly he sort of heard something. 42. And he looked downriver. 43. Suddenly the spirit girls ran up from downriver. 44. They were chasing him that way.
Text Number 52: Medicine for the Return of Wives

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va' kunkupha-nik. 2. vaxxa kunifyyukkuti vasiktava-nsa ko'kaninay. 3. kunma'hti pe'kxare-yav tu'?frip. 4. va' ta kun'ahakuv. 5. ko'mbahi n' k'van ta kun'ara-rahitih. 6. kari k'kuku'm ta kun'aho. 7. k'kuku'm fatta'k ta kunmakh 'nikkxare-yav tu?frip." 8. puyava ko'mbahi n' k'van ta kun'ara-rahitih. 9. cavura poy pe'kifthae-n'ka'n'en kunpiruva'piro'piowa. 10. kari k'as va' k'ar'm 'ifudhi-mi'c kunifva-vnuk vose vaccination. 11. sa'm kunitfakkutih. 12. yana'va nikkar'evav tu?frip. 13. nikmahacram'isi'p ve'kxare-yav. 14. k'as kunkus, "chim ni'so'mik. 15. ta'fita kun'uru-mahen. 16. ta'fita mu'vif't'am kun'uru'kirihi'ren. 17. k'as vuxxuti nikmahacram'isi'p ve'kxare-yav, vuxxus "na' vura na'n'ni'pu'axvife'he'xara." 18. u'm vura hit'he'n va' k'if 'ukupitih, nuka'vati'. 19. nimma'nu'kva'kiti. 20. vaxxa' yuplycha'kirihi'. 21. kari k'as vuxxus, "k'tik tappas niyka'vuna." 22. ta'fita kun'meesan-vuna'he'n. 23. ta'fita kun'ritik vup'amu'furu. 24. kari k'as va' kunkupha, mukunfriv kunikya'he'n. 25. kari k'as va' 'ukupha, 'ikmahadera'm k'uk 'up'oma. 26. cavura te'pfitta-nivanhi'c k'as pamukru'vra+m 'upimu'stih. 27. puxay vuraxay 'amkudu-faxay. 28. k'as 'uxxuti "h'u't yata ta kunku'pha." 29. k'as 'uxxus, "ti' 'kanimpussanvuna." 30. po'tfumuva yana'va vura pu'ra fa't. 31. k'as 'uxxuti "h'u'k yata ta kun'umu, paninhu'rhas." 32. k'as 'uxxus "minik ni'a'punme'ni h'u'k yata pata kun'umu." 33. kari k'as upatanvi's pamukun'eo-ni'sruppak. 34. puxay vuraxay 'apunmutihara. 35. k'ar'nu'na.
45. Then he went back inside. 46. In a little while, suddenly the spirit girls fell into the house. 47. When they fell in, they rolled around. 48. They did this, their tears collected halfway up the roof-beam. 49. And Klamath Lakes Young Man thought, "How ever shall I do with them?" 50. Then he pressed his hands on their chests. 51. Then in a little while they got up. 52. And they lay against his shoulder. 53. And they said, "Hurray, (you) are our husband!" 54. We will be transformed together."

55. And Klamath Lakes Young Man thought, "If Mankind knows my medicine, Mankind will do this way also." 56. I alone have learned it from you. 57. I will do that way also.

Text Number 52: Medicine for the Return of Wives

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. They did this. 2. Two women wandered around everywhere. 3. They would see where a spirit had grown up (i.e., was living). 4. They would go there. 5. They would stay with him a little while. 6. Then they would travel again. 7. Again somewhere they would see that a spirit had grown up. 8. So they would stay with him a little while. 9. Finally they went all around this world.

10. And finally, at ?ase-štākkak, they looked over, a little ways upriver. 11. They looked downhill. 12. They saw a spirit had grown up. 13. It was Sacred Sweathouse Spirit. 84 14. And they thought, "Let's offer ourselves in marriage!" 15. So they went there. 16. And they sat down outside his house.

17. And Sacred Sweathouse Spirit thought, he thought, "My body will not become unclean." 18. He did only this all the time, he gathered sweathouse wood. 85 19. The next day (also) he gathered sweathouse wood. 20. He spoiled his luck with green wood. 86

21. And he thought, "Let me take care of them." 22. So he went to see them. 23. So he took them inside the living house. 24. And they did this, they made their living. 25. Then he did this, he went back to the sweat-house.

26. Finally after a little while he looked at his living house. 27. There was no smoke. 28. And he thought, "I wonder what they're doing?" 29. And he thought, "Let me go to see them again!" 30. When he looked into the living house, he saw there was nothing there. 31. And he thought, "I wonder where my wives have gone?" 32. And he thought, "I'll find out where they've gone, all right." 33. So he asked their front porch.

83 The last two sentences are addressed to Klamath Lakes Young Man by the person reciting the formula.

84 This is the spirit who lived in the ?ikmahācram?tigē-p, the sacred sweathouse of Katimin, used in the world-renewal ceremony.

85 That is, the hero avoided sexual intercourse with the women, which would have been magically defiling, and devoted himself to gathering sweathouse wood, an activity of high ceremonial value.

86 This is explained by a Karok maxim: pe-fma-raha-k xayfa-t'ok ?aaxay?shup ?yuc-ñkirith, ?ava?b?c paimπro-χa-¿n ?i?i-tårre-zap "When you marry, you mustn't put green wood in the fire, because your wife will leave you."
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

pamukun'aktinak'ra'k va' k'aru yura pu'a-piumuthara.

36. k'ari xas cavura yuku'ha. 37. 'ikmahac'ra'm k'u' k'up'ama. 38. cavura 'itahar'-'karam ta' pu'kvi-th'ithara pu'xu's pu'fruvo'ti pamuhr'-'has. 39. k'ari xas mukmahac'r'a'tarupa k'ar yup'ikri'-'i. 40. yura k'ic 'ukupiti'h, xu's pu'fruvo'ti'h.

41. cavura te'p'i'tta'nivanihi'c naxm'ay va' yuku'pa, s'am yuf'sakutti'h. 42. naxm'ay 'ara yu'arirha'. 43. xas yuxxi'ti 'nikkar'e'yav yu'arirha'. 44. yana' k'arn k'aru va' 'ukupiti pa'yu'm yukupiti 'ikmahac'aram 'i'isi'p ve'kxar'e'yav. 45. yikkapu yu'kurruti'h. 46. yana' k'arn k'aru va' yuku'piti'h, yikkapu yusku'ruhiti'h. 47. cavura k'arn'ari k'arn'm. 48. ta'ittam kun'yu'yan'ni'cva. 49. xas kun'pp'enti 'ikmahac'ram 'i'isi'p ve'kxar'e'yav 'hut' k'ic yix'uti'h.

50. xas 'uppi'p, "yura k'arin panixxutih. 51. yuku nanihr'-'has h'u' k'ava ta' kun'yu'm.'

52. xas 'uppi'p, "nuk va' nixxuti 'te' 'kku'pha!' 53. k'ari xas 'uppi'p, "na'ni'p'apumuti 'pamihro'v'as h'u' kunn'ni'.' 54. xas 'uppi'p, "na' va' niku'piti'h. 55. p'ay pe'qiva'ne'n 'a'ne'n nip'ikvruhiro'pi'vuthi'h. 56. vi'ri k'okan'ani'ni'p'apumuti pe'kxar'e'yav tu'fisip. 57. yuruk 'toy'aruk vi'ri k'arn k'un'ni' pamihro'-'has. 58. yuruk 'toy'aru k'arn xas kun'ruv'arupmanik. 59. vi'ri k'arn xasik 'itma'huna-vi'i. 60. mahn'it' pay'ni tus'ppa'hi'ti va' k'ari kun'v'kiti'h. 61. 'i'kam ta' kunpirukk'riti', yukan va' kunkupiti'h, f'urax mukunikispikma. 62. vi'ri'va k'arn 'itma'huna-vi'i pamihro'-'has.'

63. k'ari xas yuxxus, 'ikmahac'ram 'i'isi'p ve'kxar'e'yav, "puy'a c'imi 'ikka'ratmi.' 64. xas vura pu'ikvi'th'ara. 65. pe'kxar'arn'la'c'ip tuv'ay'uyu, xas yuxxus, "c'imi kanv'arami." 66. k'ari xas mutaxye'ma k'arn xas unharyihi'i. 67. xas va' yuku'pa, xanmahic vura 'uxaxyuxuyux. 68. ta'ittam 'unataxara'psipre'vi'i. 69. yuruk kumayurasvi'tk k'arn xas 'uxataxarippi. 70. ta'ittan 'ukr'kirihe'ni. 71. yana' vuru h'urva ta' kunpirukk'ri'ihe'ni', ta kunpirukkahe'ni.

72. xas yu'ti' puti'h. 73. k'ari xas yuxxus, "c'imi kanfur'tam'sur." 74. xas po'funtma'psur vi'ri yu't po'tru'puti'h, xanmahic 'axmay va' yuku'pha, pamukunfuraxkipkma 'axmay yu'aputur. 75. vi'ri va' yuku'pha, cakan'c' kuni naxxi'pumini'hva.

76. xas 'uxxis "va' nuk c'imi kanipv'a'ram." 77. xas yuxxus, "ka'navri niptaxarapipirihe'ni nanitaxye'mak." 78. k'ari xas va' yuku pha, xanmahic 'uxaxyuxuyux. 79. ta'ittam 'unataxara'psipre'vii. 80. vi'ri c'imi 'unaxataxara'psipre'vi'i, tam rak'ta'v xakkara kunfikku'ya pamuhr'-'has. 81. ta'ittam 'unataxara'psipre'vi'i. 82. vi'ri c'imi kanfur'tam'sur. 83. ta'ittam 'i'na'k 'upo'nu'uffturuk pamuhr'-'has 'ikmahac'ram 'i'isi'p.

84. k'ari xas yuxxsas'ni'k 'ikmahac'ram 'i'isi'p va'kxar'e'yav, "ya'vara'ra'ni'k kana'a'k, ya's'ara k'aru va' yukupe'-'u. 85. vi'ri na' k'ic 'i'm 'ikmahac'ram 'i'isi'p ve'kxar'e'yav. 86. vi'ri na' k'aru va' nikupe'-'u.
34. (But) it didn't know. 35. The grasping stones there (at the doorway) didn't know either.
36. And finally he stopped. 37. He went back to the sweathouse.
38. Finally he didn't sleep for ten nights, as he thought about his wives.
39. And he sat down there at his sweathouse, in the hatchway. 40. He did only (this), he thought about them.
41. Finally after a while suddenly he did this, he looked downhill.
42. Suddenly a person came up. 43. And he thought, "A spirit is coming up."
44. He saw that (the other person) was also doing what Sacred Sweathouse Spirit was doing. Namely: 45. He was carrying a quiver.
46. He saw he was doing that too, he was carrying a quiver. 47. Finally (the person) arrived there. 48. Then they chatted. 49. And (the person) said to Sacred Sweathouse Spirit, "How are you feeling?"
50. And he said, "I'm feeling bad. 51. You see, my wives have gone somewhere."
52. And (the other) said, "I know you are doing that." 53. And he said, "I know where your wives are." 54. And he said, "I do this. 55. I float around and around this world. 56. I know-everyplace that a spirit has grown up. 57. Your wives are there on the other side of the ocean.
58. They arrived downriver there to the other side of the ocean. 59. You will find them again there. 60. In the morning, when it is just dawn, they are weaving. 61. They sit down again outdoors; you see, they do this; their sun-shades are of woodpecker heads. 62. There you will find your wives again."
63. Then Sacred Sweathouse Spirit thought, "Well, let it get dark!"
64. And he didn't sleep. 65. When midnight had passed, then he thought, "Let me go!" 66. Then he stood still there in his yard. 67. And he did this, he rubbed his foot in the dirt for a little while. 68. He was about to take a stride. 69. Then he ended his stride downriver there, on some ocean ridge. 70. So he sat down. 71. He saw they had sat down again sometime, they were-weaving again.
72. Then he looked down across. 73. And he thought, "Let me blow."
74. And when he blew, as he looked down across, in a little while suddenly they did this, (the women's) woodpecker-head sun-shades suddenly collapsed. 75. They did that, they sort of floated slowly down.
76. And he thought, "Let me go back home!" 77. And he thought, "I'll stride back there into my yard." 78. And he did this, he rubbed his foot in the dirt for a little while. 79. So he was about to stride. 80. He was about to stride back, (when) his wives landed on his shoulders on either side. 81. So he was about to stride. 82. He strode into his yard. 83. So he took his wives back into the sacred sweathouse.
84. And Sacred Sweathouse Spirit thought, "If Mankind has learned it from me, Mankind will do so too." 85. Only I have learned it from you, Sacred Sweathouse Spirit. 86. I will do so too.
Text Number 53: Deer-hunting Medicine
Informant: Chester Pepper


Text Number 54: Shinny Game Medicine
Informant: Mamie Offield

Text Number 53: Deer-hunting Medicine

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. They were going deer-hunting. 2. And páy nanu'ávahkam ve·kxav-namí:cmi-f (name of an ?ikkaré-yav, probably "black little-wolf of the sky") did this. 3. He did this. 4. His ten sons were killing lots of deer. 5. And he wished that his children would have bad luck. 6. So he copulated with his wife. 7. And he ate the deer meat.
8. Then they went hunting again. 9. They didn't kill anything. 10. The next day they went hunting again (but were still unsuccessful). 11. They stood around uphill there. 12. They heard the deer (lit., "spirit's pets") everywhere. 13. They were sort of crying somewhat. 14. The (other) spirits were killing the deer. 15. Then they thought, "Let's die!"
16. They stopped hunting.
17. Then the littlest one said, "Let's hunt in the sky!" 18. They ran around there in the sky. 19. (But) there was nothing (i.e., no deer).
20. They went back to the sweathouse.
21. Then the old man got up, their father. 22. And he made medicine.
23. Then he rubbed it on his children. 24. Then they went hunting again.
25. When evening hadn't (even) floated down yet, they were all doing nothing but carrying dressed deer meat.
26. Then (the father) thought, "If Mankind has learned it from me, Mankind will do this way too." 27. I alone have learned it from you. 28. I will do that too.

Text Number 54: Shinny Game Medicine

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Burrill Peak Spirit had ten children, (nine) men and one woman.
2. And they said, Baldy Peak Spirit (said), "Let's play shinny together!"
3. You see, Baldy Peak Spirit was tough too.
4. And Burrill Peak Spirit's littlest child grew up this way, his hands were closed, both his hands were closed. 5. He stayed underneath the ladder (leading into the house). 6. He and his dog grew up together.
7. And they were covered with scabs.
8. So then the strongest one went off (to play). 9. He and Baldy Peak Spirit's child grabbed each other (preparatory to play). 10. And the littlest one, sitting underneath the ladder, heard it. 11. And he thought, "Look, big brother's getting beaten."
12. Again one went off. 13. Finally they all went (and were beaten).
14. (The littlest one) remained alone. 15. And he thought, "What shall I do?" 16. And he told his sister, "Weave seed-baskets! 17. You must weave two (of them)."

87 Literally, "he thought, 'let his children have bad luck.'" A more normal mode of expression would be with ... namítunvi'h"he thought, 'let my children . . . '." The unexpected person of the possessive perhaps reflects the structure of English indirect discourse.
88 Sexual intercourse is believed to bring bad luck in deer-hunting.
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18. taʔittam uʊ̱vikkah-e-n. 19. kári xás pató \( \dot{p} \)éθ, kári xás ṭuppi-p, "tá n̥pēθ." 20. kári xás \( \ddot{c} \)-ra, čémmi. 21. tá nippa-tvar. 22. víri panipvárupravaha-k, va \( \tilde{y} \) kummm-č ne\( \acute{x} \)ûppe-s paʔarús." 23. taʔittam uʊ̱x̂ppah-e-n. 24. kári xás po-\( \dot{p} \)ppu-sur, paʔarús, taʔittam uʊ̱vyárihihi\( \acute{r} \)ihe-e-n. 25. víri pamuʔifuni fúrax kíčuutt\( \acute{a} \)vahití. 26. káru pamútti-k yánava kán pumatákkasar. 27. yukún va xäkk-a uʊ̱či-fši phê-ník, pumatákkasar. 28. kári xás pamučfšíči taʔittam uʊ̱mpa-n uʊ̱či-pkúririhe-e-n. 29. taʔittam po-\( \ddot{n} \)aprav taʔittam uʊ̱pičtúfirihe-e-n. 30. taʔittam kúmuʔxúppah-e-n paʔarús m̥k-k. 31. víri pakunpu-sur fúrax kíčuutt\( \acute{a} \)vahiti pamuʔifuni \( \ddot{y} \)ppan. 32. kári xás ṭuppi-p, \( \ddot{c} \)-ra, čémmi." 33. taʔittam uʊ̱či-masaráhe-e-n pasax-e-var ve'kxar-e-yav xäkk-a-n. 34. víri po-t\( \ddot{t} \)tu-sí pumatákkasar yá káruk \( \ddot{č} \)³iv\( \ddot{v} \)hane-n \( \ddot{y} \)ppan \( \ddot{u} \)kkú-yava. 35. taʔittam uʊ̱kvírtíp\( \ddot{f} \)urahe-e-n pamučfšíči-h. 36. taʔittam uʊ̱pičtúvikkah-e-n pumatákkasar. 37. taʔittam kúkku-\( \ddot{m} \)un \( \ddot{m} \)saráhe-e-n. 38. yá yúruk \( \ddot{č} \)³iv\( \ddot{v} \)hane-\( \ddot{n} \)ppan kúná \( \ddot{u} \)kkú-yva pumatákkasar. 39. yukún \( \ddot{u} \)m \( \ddot{t} \)kxar-e-yav-tá-pas uʊ̱či-fši phê-ník \( \ddot{u} \)kma\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{n} \)m ve'kxar-e-yav. 40. yukún \( \ddot{u} \)m \( \ddot{t} \)kxar-e-yav-tá-pas uʊ̱či-fši phê-ník pe'knú-\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{n} \)m ve'kxar-e-yav.

Text Number 55: Wrestling Medicine
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ṭitáharavan kunʔi-fši phê-ník tipah-e-ras. 2. kári xás \( \ddot{c} \)ahinámti\( \ddot{c} \) čvúra uʊ̱krá-ník \( \ddot{u} \)mátmánihiči. 3. kári xás kunpi-p, "marukʔáraⁿ va kán uʊ̱knámti-mič uʊ̱kri-. 4. víri paká-y vúra xäkk-a \( \ddot{u} \)kva-n \( \ddot{y} \)ppan. 5. taʔittam uʊ̱kxússas-ník pe'kphihiči-pas, "\( \ddot{t} \)č xäkk-a \( \ddot{u} \)nuvunuvi." 6. kári xás po-\( \ddot{v} \)-\( \ddot{t} \)a-n, ma\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{v} \)aníhič to -kfu-kra. 7. kári xás uʊ̱či-ríhupuk, kunč-čaⁿ. 8. kári xás v\( \ddot{n} \)trup-a-\( \ddot{m} \)xyar \( \ddot{u} \)máma-p uʊ̱mm\( \ddot{m} \)r-trupuk. 9. kári xás \( \ddot{u} \)kph-e-hva. 10. kári xás va- ṭuppi-p, "\( \ddot{u} \)mkuń um kúd ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih, ki\( \ddot{m} \)kun um kumáči ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih. 11. na- káru vúra ká- ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih." 12. kári xás \( \ddot{u} \)fúčítiv, yo ččrúvav póa-a, paʔúkra-\( \ddot{m} \), pakunpá-\( \ddot{m} \)kuri pamutíppah. 13. čavúra ko-\( \ddot{v} \)úra tá kuníxyakkurihi. 14. ko-\( \ddot{v} \)úra va- ṭupfíth, "\( \ddot{u} \)mkuń um kúd ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih. 15. na- káru vúra ká- ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih, kunč-čaⁿ." 16. kári xás uʊ̱xuxus, "\( \ddot{u} \)ń-ńikuphe-e-ci. 17. pače-e č tástáa-\( \ddot{m} \). 18. ččmi kanvâ-rami nám\( \ddot{m} \)pá-\( \ddot{m} \). 19. taʔittam uʊ̱vú-\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{a} \)máhe-e-n. 20. kári xás va kán uʊ̱μ-\( \ddot{m} \). 21. taʔittam uʊ̱kšáhe-e-n pamarukʔáraⁿ, uʊ̱xuxus, "\( \ddot{t} \)č ni\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{m} \)máči paxáka-\( \ddot{m} \)fuuvú-ne-\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{r} \). 22. kári xás taʔittam kunvú-\( \ddot{u} \)vahén. 23. kári xás ko-\( \ddot{v} \)úra papaništun-\( \ddot{v} \)češ káru ko-\( \ddot{v} \)úra paʔúppaha kuníhy-\( \ddot{m} \)-\( \ddot{f} \)thih, "kunč-čaⁿ, pučči-či." 24. kári xás uʊ̱či-ríhupuk pamarukʔáraⁿ, uʊ̱krá-\( \ddot{m} \)uppa-\( \ddot{m} \)kurihi. 25. taʔittam ko-\( \ddot{v} \)úra kunpimávah-e-n pumatipáhi-\( \ddot{n} \)vás. 26. taʔittam kunpávvyi-hši phê-re-n. 27. póyava va- uʊ̱kúpha-ńi kunč-čaⁿ."
18. So she wove them. 19. And when she finished weaving, then she said, "I've finished weaving."
20. Then (he said), "All right, let's go! 21. I'm going to bathe. 22. When I came back out (of the water), you must cover me with the seed-basket."
23. So she covered him. 24. Then when he took off the seed-basket, he stood still. 25. His hair was decorated on the ends with nothing but woodpecker heads. 26. And there in his hands she saw his shiny-tossel.
27. You see, he had grown up with that tossel. 28. So then his dog dived into the water. 29. When it came back up, it shook itself. 30. Then they covered it with the seed-basket. 31. When they took it off, the ends of (the dog's) hair were decorated with nothing but woodpecker scalps.
32. Then he said, "All right, let's go!" 33. So he grappled with Baldy Peak Spirit. 34. When he tossed his tossel, he saw it landed at the upriver end of the world. 35. So his dog ran off. 36. And it brought the tossel back. 37. So they grappled again. 38. He saw the tossel land in turn at the downriver end of the world. 39. You see, Burrill Peak Spirit had grown up into a real *Ikxaré'yav. 40. You see, I must also do that way, as Burrill Peak Spirit did.

Text Number 55: Wrestling Medicine
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Ten brothers once grew up. 2. And (one of them, named kunâ·čʔa·) sat at the edge of the fireplace, in the ashes. 3. And they said, "A giant is staying there at the edge of the lake. 4. Who will wrestle with him?"
5. So the strongest one thought, "Let me wrestle with him!" 6. So when he went, he climbed a little ways uphill.
7. Then kunâ·čʔa· went outdoors. 8. And he brought a handful of ashes outdoors. 9. And he shouted. 10. And he said, "Am I growing up for you people, am I growing up for your sake? 11. I am growing up here too, kunâ·čʔa·!
12. Then he heard it, he saw the water splash in the lake, when (the giant) threw his brother in. 13. Finally (the giant) threw all (the brothers) in. 14. Every time, (kunâ·čʔa·) said, "Am I growing up for you people? 15. I am growing up here too, (I,) kunâ·čʔa·!" 16. And he thought, "What shall I do? 17. I am left alone. 18. Let me go (to wrestle)!"
19. So he went there. 21. And the giant laughed, he thought, "He's really small for us to wrestle together!"
22. So then they wrestled. 23. And all the little plants and all the trees shouted to him, "Go to it, kunâ·čʔa·!"
24. Then he threw the giant down, he threw him in the lake. 25. And all his brothers came back to life. 26. So they went back home. 27. kunâ·čʔa· did that.

*Tossel* is what English-speaking Karok call the tâkkasar or double-ball used in their shinny game; it consists of two short sticks connected by a thong. For a description of the shinny game, see Text 77.
PART TWO: THE ERA OF THE INDIAN

Text Number 56: The Flood
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. pe-θivθan ne-n ka-sa upi-θar-kik. 2. kari xas asikta-kinipé-r. "θími sipnikka-m kl-kví-kí." 3. kari xas kunvik. 4. xas vúra xara kunvikú-r. 5. vúra t’ya kunvik’ro-n θic’-m-é. 6. kari xas pakunfpiθ kari xas ?axváha kunyvdruk.

Text Number 57: The Boy from ?Itúkkuk
Informant: Nettie Reuben

PART TWO: THE ERA OF THE INDIAN

Text Number 56: The Flood
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Water collected on the earth. 2. And the women were told, "Weave a big storage basket!" 3. So they wove. 4. And they wove for a long time. 5. They wove several strands at one time. 6. And when they finished weaving, then they smeared it with pitch. 7. So the water collected. 8. (The people) got inside (the basket) there, they floated around that way. 9. That's why people are living now. 10. (But) they were told, "However long the earth exists, you mustn't weave that way (several strands at a time) again. 11. You see, (it will be) the end of the world."

Text Number 57: The Boy from ?Itúkkuk
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Once upon a time— 2. A young man lived there at ?Itúkkuk (in Yurok territory, opposite Weitchpec). 3. The young man of ?Itúkkuk went gathering sweathouse wood every morning. 4. And one morning he thought, "Let me go across-river! 5. Let me go see the woman at pataprífk (a part of Weitchpec?!)" 6. So he rowed across. 7. He arrived where they lived. 8. There lived the old woman, and the young woman of pataprífk. 9. Then he talked to the young woman. 10. But the old woman disliked him. 11. So he came back across. 12. The next morning he rowed across again. 13. He thought, "Let me go across to see the girl again!" 14. And he talked to her again. 15. The old woman disliked him. 16. He came back across. 17. And he thought, "I wonder where they always go when evening comes?" 18. And he thought, "Let me go see!" 19. So he rowed across again. 20. And when he arrived, he looked in through the smokehole. 21. They were getting ready (to go). 22. Their burden baskets were all full. 23. Then they pulled their burden baskets up through the smokehole. 24. And they put them on their backs, and they went off. 25. They were walking that way. 26. They went a long ways. 27. He was following them that way. 28. Then he looked downriver. 29. A lot of boats were beached. 30. And he looked at them. 31. "I wonder what they're going to do?" 32. They put their possessions in (the boats). 33. And then they rowed away. 34. They floated downriver in a bunch, when they rowed downriver. 35. They had a whole lot of boats. 36. And he thought, "Let me go get my boat!" 37. His boat was just small. 38. "Then I'll follow them." 39. So he ran back upriver. 40. He
THE KAROK LANGUAGE

40. pamúppa-ʔukva-tfak. 41. ʔiskä-ʔiak ʔonoʔi-vkurih. 42. kári xás ʔuví-tšur.
43. yůrúk ʔutruʔ-putih. 44. vůrava kunʔaččakruputih, pamukünpa-h.
45. xás væra yív tuvítma. 46. yůrúk ʔutruʔ-putih. 47. káʔn kunʔaččakutih.
48. xás ʔutruʔ-putih, ʔūmmuʔ-stih. 49. vůrúa tá kunʔaččakutih. 50. ʔax-
máy xás væra paʔtšša ʔučánč-aˌksur. 51. xás kunvfru-prihva, páppa-h.
52. xás kvůřa tá kunvfru-prihva, ʔitahanátáppasič páppa-h. 53. xás ʔup-
sifvšap.
54. xás ʔuví-tvárák. 55. tupiʔriʔ-šrih, paʔšša. 56. xás xanahčyav tó
křin-teh. 57. xás ʔučánč-aˌksur. 58. xás ʔuví-trúpríh. 59. væra ʔum nni-
amič pámpappā-h. 60. yíʔøkəkam xás ʔuví-trúpríh. 61. vůrava ʔuví-trup, yi-
ʔůrua tuvítma. 62. xás ʔutruʔ-putih. 63. yůrúk pápper-h tá kunvitššišiš hvahe-n.
64. vůra wə ʔuví-trup. 65. xás ʔuvíttšiš. 66. xás pamúppa-ʔupkva-tsip,
kũfũnič xás ʔuččaššiš. 67. ʔuxxus, "ʔoxy kunmah.
68. xás máruk ʔúfkə-ˌkrəh. 69. pavoéra kó-kuməʔuččivšrih, pakunvuhvů-
hina-teh, káru pakə-
70. xás máruk ʔúfkə-ˌkrəh. 71. ye! vůři kú kán xás kunʔi-n, pakéʔ-nič káru paʔššapí-p. 72. pataprihaʔifáppi-t kán xás ʔúkri-
73. xás kunípér, "čími pássas.
74. xás ʔuppiʔ-p, "pů, na vôra ká-nimič. 75. hō yíp niptásasenseš.
76. xás kunípér, "vůra čími pássas.
77. xás ʔuččimmiha. 78. ʔiθeʔ-kxaram ʔuvaččiʔ-hva. 79. kán tó nmmah,
pataprihaʔifáppi-t. 80. xás po-sůppa-ha, tá kunpávviʔ-hšiš. 81. xás tá kunip-
šũtšũro. 82. vôra kó-vůra tá kunpávviʔ-hšiš. 83. xás yáʔs ʔuxxus, "čími na-
káru kánfpištšun." 84. xás ʔuppiššunvarišuk, pámpappā-h. 85. xás pamúp-
paʔhak tó ʔpváramnh.
86. vůři kún mummá-m ʔexxak ʔifáppi-tša kunʔirufakt. 87. kunʔáttivuthih.
88. xás kunípér, "xáʔtik nupkó-kanpa.
89. xás ʔuppiʔ-p, "pů, na vôra panańippa-ni-namič, hō-yíp mufʔ-he-š.
90. xás nup-tšuu.
91. xás kuníp, "pukínta-ʔpxuve-šara.
92. xás kuníruváramnih. 93. xás va kíč kunípíthi, "pukínta-ʔpxuve-šara.
94. pamukănšt-k ʔičvič kó-ʔas kumʔa kurihih, pakunʔaxayččikiššištih.
95. kunpakšši-hvuhíh, "xáʔyaʔ tó mutáʔpxuu.
96. xás kunípviʔ-tro-v. 97. yíʔv tá kunípviʔ-tma. 98. kárú kunítro-vuthih.
99. vůři kún tá kunípššakrouv-pamukünpa-h. 100. xás kunípuvú-rprin.
101. xás vůrava ʔuví-třó-v. 102. xás pakə-n kunívftma, ʔušvša-psur paʔšš-
ša. 103. xás kunípviʔ-trupíhva. 104. xás kunítro-vuthih. 105. kárú ták
kunvitššiš-hvahe-n. 106. tá kunpávviʔ-hma. 107. yáʔs ʔuppiʔ-tumuthih, ʔum-
káru.
108. xás pakunípviʔtššiš ʔuppiʔ-p, "na vôra nipíkva-tšipre-všiš, panańippa-ḥ.
109. xás ʔupkviʔ-tsip, xás kunpávviʔ-hro-v. 110. xás pamuśšiʔ-kunpávviʔ-hmi
111. káʔn xás pámpippa-ʔuʔčč-vkurih.
112. xás kunípér, "sahšša ʔikťtšvan. 113. xás ʔuktávar pasáhyuʔ-x.
114. kán ʔuvgéš, pakunʔiy-rarák, paʔasíktáʔa-n. 115. xás kunípér, "čími
ʔiktč-ti panańuʔtatimnani." 116. xás pakóʔ kumaʔararáʔuʔ-p, pakunʔatívùttí-hvə
brought his boat down from uphill. 41. He put it in the river. 42. He rowed away.
43. He looked downriver. 44. Their boats were floating in a bunch like that. 45. And he rowed a long ways. 46. He looked downriver. 47. They were floating in a bunch there. 48. And he looked downriver. 49. They floated in a bunch for a long time. 50. Suddenly the water opened up. 51. Then they paddled the boats through. 52. And they paddled the whole lot of boats through. 53. Then (the water) closed up.1
54. So he paddled down from upstream. 55. The water was filling in again. 56. So he waited a good while. 57. Then it opened up. 58. And he paddled through. 59. His boat was just little. 60. He paddled through to the other side. 61. He paddled downriver like that, he paddled a long ways. 62. Then he looked downriver. 63. Downriver they had beached the boats. 64. He paddled downriver like that. 65. Then he beached his boat. 66. And he picked up his boat, and put it down in a willow grove. 67. He thought, "Let them not see it!"
68. Then he climbed uphill. 69. There was all kind of celebration as they did the deerskin dance and all. 70. And he climbed uphill. 71. Well, there they were, the old woman and the girl. 72. The pataprinak girl was there. 73. And she told him, "Dress up (in dance regalia)!"
74. And he said, "No, I'm poor. 75. I can't dress up."
75. And she told him, "Do dress up!"
76. So he agreed. 78. He danced in front all night. 79. The pataprinak girl saw him there. 80. And when it was day, they left. 81. And they paddled away again. 82. They all left. 83. So then he thought, "Let me paddle away again too!" 84. So he took his boat out of hiding. 85. And he got in his boat.
86. There uphill from him two young women came down. 87. They were carrying burden baskets. 88. And they said to him, "Let us go back with you."
89. And he said, "No, my boat is little, we won't fit. 90. We might capsize."
91. And they said, "We won't capsize."
92. Then they got in. 93. And they said only that, "We won't capsize."
94. They put their hands halfway into the water, when they took hold of (the gunwales). 95. They were singing, "Let us not capsize!"
96. So they paddled back upriver. 97. They paddled back a long ways. 98. And they looked upriver. 99. There were (the others') boats floating upriver in a bunch. 100. Then (the others) paddled through (the barrier). 101. So he paddled upriver like that. 102. And when they paddled to there, the water opened. 103. And when it was day, they left. 104. And they looked upriver. 105. (The others) had beached their boats upriver. 106. They had got back. 107. Then he paddled back there too.
108. And when he had beached his boat again, he said, "I'll pick up my boat." 109. And he picked it up, and they went upriver. 110. And they arrived downhill from his house. 111. And he put the boat back in the water there.
112. And (the women) told him, "Go get sand!" 113. So he went and got sand. 114. He poured it there where the women were. 115. And they told him, "Unpack our burden baskets!" 116. And what they were carrying was

1The river seems to have been blocked by a wall of water, which opened and closed at intervals.
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Text Number 58: A Trip to the Land of the Dead

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. 'asiktava·n muke·čikyav xákka·n vúra puuxič purá·n tá kuntápku·putih.
2. kári xás pa'asiktáva·n pamutipáhi·všas kunvíhirimkuthí. 3. čavúra kunykar pa·ávansa.
4. yukú vúra ·u·m xára tá kun沛číunva ?á-sív. 5. púyava xás patá kun沛číunva kárí xás pa'asiktáva·n ký·k ·u·m. 6. kárí xás pávaham ?áošu·ptaki·š papuyá-hara. 7. čavúra tó·kíkha, tó·m·pux papuyá-hara. 8. kárí xás puuxič, "tá nakkúha, xá·tik vúra nípáru'sprav."
9. kárí xás va· pó·kvi-tha xás ?ukvíthu·níž. 10. kárí xás ?úppi·p, "ifufyá·č húm patanako·hímmačva."
11. kárí xás ?úppi·p, "pa'ashta·k víri čími nuppě·n pé·kuphe·š. 12. va· ?ká·n ·u·m·e·š pámíta nu·mímo·ho·tihirák pa·a·sívak. 13. víri va· ?ímmače·š ?axvihiphí. 14. kárí ?ímmače·š ?ax·xak yú·p ?ošyí·mvarayve·š. 15. xáyfa·t ?ik ná'ay. 16. xáyfa·t ?ik ?ikvívip. 17. ta'ítam va· kú·k ?úm·máhe·n. 18. kárí xás va· vúra ?úm·máhe. 19. kárí xás ?axmáy yúdú·pha. 20. kárí xás ?úppi·p, "ifuvíkke·š ?ík ?áttimma.
every kind of Indian treasure, every kind of fur. 117. And they were lined up around (the inside of) his house, the storage baskets were all full. 118. White deerskins, black deerskins, and every kind of treasure sat in the storage baskets. 119. There were a whole lot of storage baskets lined up around. 120. And they told him, "Whenever you see that the sand is wet, you will know that we've gone again." 121. They lived (there) a long time. 122. They had admired him, when he was dancing in front. 123. So they were his wives now.

124. So he always went early in the morning to gather sweathouse wood. 125. And (one time) he came back. 126. There they had gone away again. And he thought, "Let me uncover the storage baskets!" 128. There they were all full, there was all kinds of Indian treasure. 129. And he thought, "Let me make my blanket!" 130. So he made a woodpecker-head blanket, and woodpecker-head shoes and a woodpecker-head vámnaka-r (a shirtlike garment). 131. And he thought, "Let me go across river to see the pata-príknak girl!"

132. So he rowed across. 133. And he climbed uphill. 134. When he arrived, when he looked inside through the smokehole, it was red all over inside their house (by reflection from his clothing). 135. And the old woman said, "Oh-oh, look, what's wrong with our house? 136. It's red all over." 137. He was looking at them. 138. He sat down on top of the ladder. 139. Their house was red all over. 140. His clothes were nothing but woodpecker-heads. 141. And when he looked inside, he saw her, the girl was there. 142. She had a child. 143. (But) the fact was, she was without a husband. 144. And they had disliked him, when he had gone to see her. 145. And as he watched, the old woman just melted, and the girl just melted. 146. They were so ashamed when he arrived. 147. His clothes were nothing but woodpecker-heads. 148. He was looking at them like that. 149. Only worms lay there. 150. Then he went back home. 151. The boy from ḫituk-kuk rowed back across. 152. The boy from ḫituk-kuk did that.

Text Number 58: A Trip to the Land of the Dead
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. A woman and her sweetheart loved each other very much. 2. But the woman's brothers disliked (the man). 3. Finally they killed the man. 4. You see, (the couple) had hid for a long time in a cave. 5. So when they buried him (there), then the woman went there. 6. And she lay on top of the corpse. 7. Finally she got sick, the corpse was swelling. 8. And she said, "I'm sick, let me go out!" 9. Then when she slept, she dreamed about him. 10. And he said, "Is it true that you grieve for me?" 11. And he said, "If it is true, let me tell you what to do. 12. You must go there where we used to stay, in the cave. 13. You will see a grave there. 14. And you will see two eyes float around. 15. You mustn't be afraid of me. 16. You mustn't run." 17. So she went there. 18. And she saw that. 19. And suddenly (a voice) spoke. 20. And it said, "You must weave a burden basket. 21. And
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21. káru tay "ük víra yáffus ükkyá-viś. 22. víri va pe'ükyá-raha-k víri va' yimmáheś 'va' ká-n trasáippan ükri- vatipimá-mva-n. 23. víri va 'ük yáhara-meś. 24. yakün va' yuma-rá-cvi-v."


29. páyava tá kunpůkkaar. 30. kári xás kuniyá-ram. 31. kári xás kun-mah, pa'atipimá-mva-n. 32. taátam kunyáhamahe-n. 33. kári xás kunyáho', víra yu-m tay súppa' pakunyáho'. 34. víra va kunyáharamuti pa'atipimá-mva-n. 35. kári xás há-rí víra piršší-k patá kunyáho', pamu-kunyáffus tutaítítit.

36. čávāra kunyu-m, víra yu-m ya'mač pe'îvyáa-ne-n, künsi áúkkin.

37. kári xás táta'ítam kínvístuirkahe-n, týyárürkírum kínvístitiš. 38. kári xás yánava 'ákxa ká-n ké'uni-kíchas. 39. kári xás kunípér, "má' ká-m vúhuśa 'ukyá-tí pakó t'ívůrayutíth. 40. fát kumá'í, pa'ô'k t'i'áho'.

41. yó'k yu-m pu'yáho-tíhara pa'íppílithíhan. 42. víri só'-ra čúmi mu'ísšunvi. 43. xáy k'čmahap."

44. taátam kin'ísšunvahen. 45. páyava víra xánnaříšiš ká-n tá kunyi-n. 46. kári xás kinípér, "čúmi kí-kpiyá-rami." 47. kári xás kinákki 'amve-várah. 48. hínupa 'aće'vun. 49. yakün va' kuníppee'nti yuma'rá'ama sač-vu-n. 50. kári xás kinípér, "pa'ára-r tú'ívaha-k, va' yík t'am mánti'm kuy-vúrultíhe-š. 51. yakün 'upímataveš."

52. taátam kunpíyá-ramahe-n. 53. kũkkú-m víra va kunípppahó'. 54. va' víra pa'atipimá-mva-n?ín kinpéné-vu-k. 55. páyava pakuníppak ye'kume'îvyáa-ne-n va' yu-m pakúpha'nhanik pó-kupiti tára-r tútá-naxílithíhírak.

56. víri čávāra pu'ára-r ti'útfíhara, čávāra pe'îvyáa-ne-n 'upáxyar pa'ára-r. 57. va' kári xás víra kun'í-mti po'ffí'pha pa'áma.

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Text Number 59: The Pool in Big Rock

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. čí-nač nasiktáva-n 'ukrê'-nik. 2. xás víra yu-m víkaká-mič. 3. víra pu'íkviáristihap. 4. xás 'uxxáa 'it' máruk čínač'assá kánpa-thiríru paninnis-sárüm. 5. kíří na' káru 'iški-t na'ářítíš. 6. xás 'uppa'-thüríhañ. 7. kán xás mah'-'tiharč 'upápiyankítí pa'músárum 'biškê'šak, hóy tó 'pêvru-huprav. 8. víri 'it'uti 'uěvrühtíth. 9. xás 'upta-trīpa'. 10. páyava po'táyi-tharati yí' víra tá kun'aramspré-n, kunikviáristih, xá-t káru víkak-ká-mič. 11. páyava pasárum 'ánnav tu'arášíš.

12. káru va' kán' távánasa 'upákyuyfč'vútyi paká-n tu'íp'kúrih. 13. víra há-rí tó 'sši'-nvar, há-rí tá púpínuíprühívara. 14. 'išaharinay xás tó 'pêvru-h-
you must make many dresses. 22. When you finish, you will see a buzzard sit there on top of a rock. 23. You must follow it. 24. You see, that is the bird of the dead."

25. And so then she wove. 26. And she said to a woman, "Let's go together!" 27. She was her friend. 28. So she too wove and made the dresses.

29. Then they finished. 30. So they left. 31. And they saw the buzzard. 32. So they followed it. 33. And they traveled, it was many days that they traveled. 34. They were following the buzzard that way. 35. And sometimes it was a brushy place where they traveled, their dresses got torn.

36. Finally they arrived, the country was beautiful and green. 37. And someone rowed to meet them and landed them on the other shore. 38. And they saw two old women there. 39. And (the old women) said, "Look, the one you are wandering around for is making a deerskin dance uphill. 40. Why is it that you have come here? 41. People with bones (i.e., live people) don't come here. 42. Come on, let's hide you! 43. Let them not see you!"

44. So they hid them. 45. So they stayed there for a little while. 46. Then they were told, "Go back home!" 47. And they were given dried salmon. 48. There it was dog salmon. 49. You see, they call dog salmon "dead-man's salmon." 50. And they were told, "When a person dies, you must rub this on his lips. 51. You see, he will come back to life."

52. So (the girls) went back home. 53. They traveled back again that way. 54. The buzzard brought them back. 55. So when they returned to this world, they are the ones who did as it is done in the land of the dead.

56. Finally no person died, finally the people filled up the earth.

57. Then when the salmon was all gone, they died.

Text Number 59: The Pool in Big Rock

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. A woman once lived at șínač (upriver opposite Orleans). 2. And she was a poor weaver. 3. People didn't buy (baskets) from her. 4. And she thought, "Let me throw my pine-roots in the water, uphill at Big Rock." 5. Let me become lucky too!" 6. So she went to throw them in. 7. Then she went early in the morning to look for her pine-roots there in the river, (she wondered) where they had floated out. 8. Sure enough, they were floating (there). 9. So she pulled them out. 10. So when she lashed the base of a basket with them, people came from far away, they bought from her, (though) she might be a poor weaver. 11. The pine-roots had become medicine.

12. And a man is looking for good luck there when he dives in there. 13. Sometimes he drowns, sometimes he doesn't come back up. 14. Then

7Sinâ’as, known in English as Big Rock, is a large rock formation across-river from Orleans. Within the crevices of the rock there is said to be a pool, the water of which is connected with that of the Klamath River.
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Text Number 60: The Snake People
Informant: Daisy Jones

in a year he comes back up. 15. Once a man was a gambler. 16. And they beat him. 17. He didn't have anything, they beat him completely. 18. And he thought, "Let me go uphill!" 19. He went to dive in, (thinking), "I may even die." 20. (The spirits) took pity on him. 21. He was gone for a year. 22. The person who was going to look for him was an old woman. 23. She, the person looking for him, didn't see him for a year. 24. And (when she looked) the light was first coming down from upriver, early in the morning. 25. She carried a seed-basket. 26. One morning she saw the foam was up high. 27. So she did like this to the foam, she separated the foam with her hands. 28. There she took the man out from underneath it. 29. His flesh was all gone by now, he was like a skeleton. 30. She put him inside the seed-basket. 31. And she carried him back into the house. 32. People didn't see him for a year. 33. He lay (there) for a year. 34. And she rubbed deer's leg-bone marrow on him. 35. Thus his flesh grew. 36. So she rubbed the marrow on him for a year. 37. So in a year he was all right. 38. Everybody challenged him, "Let's gamble!" 39. And he won all their possessions. 40. He became rich.

Text Number 60: The Snake People

Informant: Daisy Jones

1. A man was sweating himself at Weitchpec. 2. And when he came out (of the sweathouse), he lay down there. 3. Suddenly he sort of felt something right here (on his body). 4. And he didn't stir. 5. He saw it was a snake, he watched it and watched it. 6. Finally it wasn't long after, (when) suddenly a little girl arrived there. 7. And she said, "My father!" 8. She looked at the man. 9. And she said, "Do you know me?" 10. And he said, "No." 11. And she said, "My mother came to visit you here. 12. Do you see the sweathouse uphill?" 13. And he said, "No." 14. "Look, let me (fix) your eyes." 15. And she blew (on them). 16. And she said, "Do you see the sweathouse (now)?" 17. And he said, "Yes." 18. And she told him, "Let's go uphill!" 19. "All right." 20. They went uphill together. 21. And he saw there were a lot of houses and a lot of people. 22. And she told him, "Live here!"; the people liked him. 23. And she said, "That (woman) over there is no good. 24. Don't look at her!" 25. She said, "We're gathering hazelnuts. 26. That one teases (euphemistic for "bites") people, she's no good. 27. I'm afraid. 28. I'm going uphill somewhere; I'm afraid."

3That is, the girl was the offspring from the contact between the man and the snake.
Another informant offered the information that the king snake was the species involved.
4The woman indicated is tapas ʔapsu-n, the rattlesnake.
Text Number 61: The Kidnapped Child

Informant: Lottie Beck


44. xás vúáríhrupuk, va-ké- íppíti "húm ñíta, húm ñíta, húm ñíta." 45. xás vuppí-p "šíni pananfúy-ú-mpúkýav-š. 46. ñitaharahárinay tuxaxvahah hitih. 47. tá-íttam kunpíkyí-he-š pamúyu-š. 48. xás xákka-n kunpi-š.
29. He went back to his house. 30. And he said, "I'm going to live up­hill. 31. I'm all through here. 32. You mustn't kill the snakes when you see them here."

Text Number 61: The Kidnapped Child

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. A little boy was always crying. 2. And his mother told him, "Go outdoors! 3. Go cry on the porch!" 4. And she pushed him outdoors. 5. He was crying there. 6. Pretty soon it got dark. 7. He was still crying like that a little. 8. And suddenly he stopped crying. 9. And (the mother) thought, "I wonder where he's gone?" 10. And she went outside. 11. There was nothing there. 12. She shouted some there. 13. She couldn't find (the child). 14. And she looked for him for a long time. 15. Then she thought, "I think he's been taken." 16. Sure enough, it was true. 17. She grieved so for him, she sealed up her eyes with pitch. 18. "That way I won't be looking for him."
19. After a while the boy (living with his kidnappers) got big. 20. He was outside shooting in play. 21. And the one who stole him told him, "Don't shoot up over the hill!"
22. And the boy thought, "I wonder why I was told that?" 23. So he shot a little ways uphillward. 24. And he went to get his arrows. 25. He was whistled at, a little ways upriver. 26. He stood still. 27. Suddenly a voice came from somewhere. 28. He was told, "Look, you are a kid­napped child!"
29. He ran back downhill. 30. "Say, I'm told uphill, I'm a kidnapped child!"
31. And he was told (by his kidnapper), "Yes. 32. And your mother lives far downriver. 33. When you go back downriver, as you look down over, you will see there is smoke. 34. That's where your mother lives."
35. So (the boy) went back home. 36. Sure enough, when he looked downriver, there downriver was the smoke. 37. And he ran downriver. 38. He jumped onto the porch. 39. And he knocked. 40. Inside his mother shouted, "Stop it! 41. That's where my little one used to stay."
42. And he said, "I've returned." 43. It was because it was told to me, I'm a kidnapped child."
44. Then she ran outdoors, she said only, "hám ʔɪta, hám ʔɪta, hám ʔɪta." (No meaning.) 45. And she said, "Let's fix my eyes!" 46. They had been sealed up for ten years. 47. So they fixed her eyes. 48. And they lived together again.
Text Number 62: The Devil Discovered
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. tu'm vura 'atahári'i 'vura kunma'hthih, tâ kunpi'p, "tu'apuruva'nhitih."
2. kâri xâs âvô'(n) 'avansa 'uxxus, "ti kanikrûtih." 3. kâri xâs 'impâ'k 'ukrû'tih. 4. kâri xâs 'ummah. 5. kârûma tu'îc'cuna pa'âvansa 'impâh-ti'miç. 6. kâri xâs 'uskâ'krišuk, xâs 'ûkfu'kira' po 'âho'. 7. kâri xâs 'u'axayâkkiš, pamupâra'm 'u'axayâkkiš. 8. kâri xâs 'impâ'k 'ûska'k-sur pa'asiktâvâ'n. 9. kâri xâs va' vûra kô 'ûsvi'tâur papâtra'm.
10. pûyava vûra va' âuöti'nâti papâtra'm, xâs kô'kanânay vûra 'u'âppiv, pâkâ-y 'ata mu'îfûnih. 11. vûra pura'âhthara. 12. pûyava 'ame'kyâ'ra'm xâs 'u'û'm. 13. va' kân pa'asik'tâ'n 'ûkri'. 14. kâri xâs yânava pûra fatta'k. 15. kâri xâs 'upatanvâ'va, 'uppâ-p, "hô'y va'.
16. kâri xâs kunpi'p, "tu' fâs'nu'm tuvi'k'tî pahi'pri'k. 17. va' kân 'uvi-kankó'tih.'
18. kâri xâs 'umûssar. 19. yânava kân 'uvf'kthih. 20. pamûpxa'n 'âp-papvari xâs pó'xu'natih. 21. kâri xâs pàhup mu'k 'uttâ'tsur. 22. kâri xâs 'uppâ-p, "yânava pûffâ't mu'îfûnih 'appa pamuxvâ'h." 23. kâri xâs 'uppé'r, "pây hû mi'îfûnih." 24. xâs 'uppî' 'pa'asiktâvâ'n, "xâyfa't 'îk 'îpasûppi'çva. 25. minî kô'vûrâ nu'âkkhe's ħanini 'arara'p."
Text Number 62: The Devil Discovered

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. People were always seeing (a certain woman), they said, "She's a devil." 2. And once a man thought, "Let me wait (for her)!" 3. So he waited by a path. 4. And he saw her. 5. The fact was, the man had hidden by the side of the path. 6. So he jumped out, and he grabbed at her as she walked. 7. And he grabbed her, he grabbed her hair-club. 8. And the women jumped off of the path. 9. And he pulled off her whole hair-club.
10. So he kept the hair-club, and he looked for her everywhere, (he wondered) whose hair it was. 11. He didn't find her. 12. So then he arrived at ʔameˈkyáˈra-m. 13. A (certain) woman lived there. 14. And he saw she was nowhere to be seen. 15. And he inquired, he said, "Where is that one?"
16. And people said, "She's weaving in the pepperwood grove, up the creek. 17. She always goes there to weave."
18. So he went to see her. 19. He saw her weaving there. 20. And she was wearing her cap over on one side. 21. And he poked it off with a stick. 22. And he said, "I see you have no hair on one side of your head."
23. And he said, "Is this your hair?"
24. And the woman said, "You mustn't reveal it. 25. I'll give you all my Indian treasure." 5

Text Number 63: The Devil Who Died Laughing

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. A lot of people were picking acorns in the mountains, in acorn season. 2. Then they all went home. 3. Only one man and his wife were still (there). 4. And he said, "Let me go spear fish!" 5. And he caught a sucker.
6. And the woman said, "Let me roast it!" 7. So she roasted the sucker. 8. And she took out the guts. 9. And there was a hole through (the wall of) their house at one place. 10. And she threw the guts there. 11. There was a certain devil peeking through there. 12. There she threw it smack in his eye.
13. And a certain devil (accompanying the first one) laughed. 14. And he died laughing. 15. The next day (the first devil) saw him, he was lying (there), he was still laughing; the fact was, he had died. 16. So (that) one told the story.

5Ending at this point, the story may seem incomplete to an outsider, but probably not to a Karok. The man "naturally" accepted the bribe, and preserved the woman's secret.
Text Number 64: The Devil and the Girl
Informant: Mamie Offield

1. 'dxxa kustá-ras kunp9-kuhitihi. 2. kári xás yí-θa ñuppi-p, "čími kanip-
v9-rami. 3. kánpa-tišrjhí ká-kum paxxúriš. 4. čími ʔi-ʔm ʔo-k vúra ʔikrí, ʔikró-nthí paxxúriš."


9. kári xás 'uxxus, "tí-kanḍaramp9-θí." 10. kári xás ta-y vúra ʔuθarám-
puk. 11. "кра kuxúsh ta-yvávan paμá9ára-rahitihi." 12. kári xás ʔa ʔυv0-rú-
ra: ʔiy0-rura."

13. kári xás ʔikxarám ʔaxmó ʔusítí; ʔaxmó ʔuvθ-nfuruk paʔapúro-ŋa. 14. kári xás ñuppi-p, "sišáva-siś hó-y ʔata ʔuv9-ramahe-n. 15. ʔí tá naxu-
háva-čha. 16. mat9-kaniptorí paniμ9-apúro-n." 17. kári xás ʔuyá-ri-v9-
paμu9-apúro-n. 18. "páy ʔu-m pakumáʔi ʔaxv9-θák ʔukkuh9-θ. 19. páy ʔu-m 
pavišv9-n ʔukkuh9-θ."

p9-νιš. 25. kári xás ʔukvip. 26. va-kú-k įukv9řípma paʔípa ʔunhušrí-hvát 
paʔáthi-θ. 27. xá ʔůθrákam ʔuʔaríhr9-priňhva. 28. kári xás paʔapúro-ŋa ʔuvθ-nfuruk. 29. kári xás ñuppi-p, "naniʔap-
pu9-ŋa t9-θ9-θ9-p." 30. kári xás ʔuθáharam. 31. půýava pat9-įukv9řípni 
paʔáthi-θ t9-ʔku-yv9, mám xás tupiy9řiš.

32. půýava kári xás ʔuθiʔpma paʔasiktáva-n. 33. kári xás ñuppi-p, "ąp 
naʔa-θaθa, 6 vári tá niʔfpak." 34. káruma ʔu-m yi-mušić tuʔiššuncahe-n 
paʔapuro-n. 35. půýava vúra tá xxará kári xás paʔapúro-ŋa ʔummah. 36. kári xás 
ʔuppi-p, "čími ne-ʔoθuθihi pananíʔapúro-n. 37. mini ʔo-vúra pananíʔara-
ráʔu-p nuʔákk9h9." 38. káru vúra xát ne-θhr9-θvahi." 39. kári xás ʔupák-
kíh, xás káru vúra ʔuhr9-θvah.
Two sisters were picking acorns. And one said, "Let me go back home! 3. Let me load up some of the shelled acorns! 4. You stay here, wait for the (rest of the) shelled acorns!"

5. And (the one who remained) thought, "I'm afraid; we've been hearing some noise." 6. And she thought, "Let me go downhill on the path!"

7. And she tied all the hazel branches nearby, she tied them across the path. 8. Then she went back where she was staying.

9. And she thought, "Let me cook acorn soup!" 10. So she made a lot of acorn soup. 11. "Let them think we are a lot of people!" Then she crawled up onto the woodpile.

13. Then in the night suddenly she heard it, suddenly the devil came in. 14. And he said, "I wonder where little niece has gone? 15. I'm really hungry! 16. Let me count my charms for a moment!" 17. So he took out his charms. 18. "This one is so that (a person) will have a headache.

19. This one will give him a stomach-ache."

20. Finally he finished counting what he would make (a person) sick with. 21. And he put them back in (a bag). 22. And he said, "Let me go bathe!"

23. Then the woman jumped down. 24. And she picked up the charm-bag. 25. And she ran. 26. She ran there where she had tied the hazel branches. 27. And she ducked underneath them.

28. Then the devil came back in the house. 29. And he said, "She's taken away my charms!" 30. And he chased her. 31. And when he ran downhill, he hit the hazel branches, and he fell back to the ground uphill.

32. Then the woman arrived back at her home. 33. And she said, "I was afraid, so I came back." 34. The fact was, she had hidden the charms some distance away.

35. So after a long time, then the devil found her. 36. And he said, "Give me back my charms! 37. I'll give you all my Indian treasure. 38. And you may even take me as your slave." 39. So she gave them back to him, and she took him as her slave.

6 ⅛p, the adverb marking recent-past time, here occurs in the variant form ⅛p, which has been recorded nowhere else. It is perhaps relevant that Yurok has a word ⅛p, indicating past time.
PART THREE: THE ERA OF THE WHITE MAN

Text Number 65: The White Man's Gifts
Informant: Nettie Reuben


Text Number 66: How the Rube Family Was Named
Informant: Julia Starritt

PART THREE: THE ERA OF THE WHITE MAN

Text Number 65: The White Man's Gifts
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. When the white men finished fighting, then they were friendly to the Indians. 2. They got together with them. 3. (But) the fact was, the Indians were still afraid. 4. They were told that the white men were devils.

5. Then (the whites) gave them money (i.e., coins). 6. (The Indians) thought they were rocks. 7. So they went down to the river bank. 8. And they skipped them on the water.

9. The white men were camped. 10. And they told (the Indians) to come there. 11. So they came. 12. And (the whites) gave them flour. 13. It was (in) little sacks. 14. Then the Indians went back home. 15. And when they got home, then they poured out the flour. 16. And they kept only the cloth. 17. They made Indian treasure of it.

18. Then in addition they gave them handkerchiefs. 19. Then (the Indians) made the world-renewal ceremony, they put (the handkerchiefs) on. 20. Then people thought they were rich. 21. They put on the handkerchiefs across their chests. 22. The handkerchiefs were red. 23. And when they did the deerskin dance, when they carried the obsidian blades, they wore the flour bags around their waist, they put them on that way, as dresses.

Text Number 66: How the Rube Family Was Named
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. A certain Indian once worked for a white man. 2. And one winter it rained hard, the water rose. 3. And the white man said, "Go upriver to the store!" 4. Go get nails and salt and sugar and rope!"

5. So (the Indian) went. 6. And he was naming all that they had told him to buy. 7. And he got to the creek. 8. He saw it had risen high. 9. Then he waded in, but he was sort of afraid of the water. 10. And suddenly he fell down. 11. And he forgot all the names that they had told him to buy. 12. And he only remembered one thing, "rú·p." 13. So as he went upriver he was saying nothing but "rú·p, rú·p."

14. Then he arrived at the store. 15. And they said to him, "What can we give you?"

16. "rú·p, rú·p."

17. And the white man (the storekeeper) said, "Oh, rope!" 18. And he gave him the rope. 19. And the storekeeper said, "What else?"

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Text Number 67: A Quack Doctor

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. hā-ri pa?e·m kunpika·yyutih. 2. kāruk yiθa va?e·m kun?e·θe·panik mu?aráttanva papreacher muhrō·ha'yin. 3. papreacher muhrō·ha ?uθaxu-stā·nik pa?e·m. 4. xás kū·k ?u?·manik papreacher muhrō·ha. 5. xás ?ūmmu·stihanik pa?e·m pa?āra ?upatumkō·tih. 6. xás pa?e·m sičakvutzvarattfri ?uśiččakvututih. 7. xás kāri papreacher muhrō·ha ?ummāh "fō·tu?u?išuk sičakvutzvarassāruk. 8. xás kāri po?čču?iš pa?aráttanva xás papreacher muhrō·ha'yin kun?āve· pa?aráttanva. 9. yânava sit?anamahač, ?āxičč-κyamiččvar.

20. And he said, "I don't know, I've forgotten."
21. So they named him Rube. 22. And now (his descendants') name is Rube.

Text Number 67: A Quack Doctor

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Sometimes the Indian doctors practice deception. 2. The preacher's wife took the 'pain' (disease object) away from a certain doctor upriver. 3. The preacher's wife suspected the doctor. 4. So the preacher's wife went there. 5. And she watched as the doctor sucked a person. 6. And the doctor was wearing a wide belt around her waist. 7. And the preacher's wife saw her take something out of the belt. 8. So when (the doctor) displayed the 'pain,' then the preacher's wife took the pain away from her. 9. She saw it was a little mouse, a children's toy. 10. There (the doctor) was doing that mischief all the time. 11. She was deceiving the Indians. 12. The fact was, she charged fifteen (dollars) for sucking a person.
PART FOUR: ETHNOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Text Number 68: Indian Food
Informant: Maggie Charley

2. xās pa?ávansa va' kunparfāri-h'va pa?ápa's. 3. xās ?urîppi kunvik.
7. xās pîmmanh'ra-m va' kān kuníkya. 8. xās va' kān kunusa?âxr pa?á-ma.

Text Number 69: Salmon Fishing
Informant: Julia Starritt

Text Number 68: Indian Food
Informant: Maggie Charley

1. As they lived at first, the women scraped iris leaves. 2. And the men twined the iris leaves into string. 3. And they wove nets. 4. And they made fisheries in the river. 5. And they fished there, they caught a lot of fish. 6. And the women cleaned (the fish). 7. And they made a summer-camp there. 8. And they dried the salmon there.
9. The women gathered acorns. 10. They ate the salmon and the acorns. 11. Some people gathered a lot of acorns, and put as many as ten baskets to soak. 12. In three years, then the soaked acorns were good-tasting.
13. They made twine for deer-traps. 14. The Indians killed deer that way, they trapped them. 15. Every two days they would go look at their traps. 16. They killed the deer that way. 17. And they ate all that, the deer and the salmon and the acorns and the soaked acorns. 18. They ate eels too.
19. They ground the shelled acorns with that stone over there (pointing to a pestle). 20. And they sifted the shelled acorns. 21. And they leached them, downhill on the river bank. 22. And they made a big fire. 23. They heated stones (for cooking). 24. And they put the acorns in a big soup-basket. 25. They cooked acorn soup. 26. Then they ate it.

Text Number 69: Salmon Fishing
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The Indians fished for salmon in a certain way. 2. First they made a fishing platform. 3. It was made of poles. 4. The poles were stuck into the river. 5. And they were stuck in tight. 6. And their fish-trap was made of little poles. 7. And the net was tied on there. 8. So when they fished, they sat there on top of the fishing-platform. 9. And they set their net into the water. 10. And they tied a long string to the end of the net.
11. The net was made long. 12. At the far end it was narrow. 13. At the top it was wide. 14. So when they set it into the water, when the salmon came up, then they ran into the net. 15. When the salmon got to the end, the string quivered. 16. Then the Indian pulled the net out of the water. 17. He saw the salmon inside. 18. So he pulled it up (out). 19. And he hit the salmon with a stick (to kill it). 20. Then he carried it ashore. 21. They caught the salmon that way.
THE KAROK LANGUAGE


Text Number 70: Deer Hunting
Informant: Nettie Reuben


Text Number 71: Bear Hunting
Informant: Nettie Reuben


22. People said they wouldn't catch (anything) if a woman was around there. 23. A woman didn't go around the fishing platform there. 24. And (the fishermen) didn't eat honey either.

Text Number 70: Deer Hunting
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. When they hunted deer, they made medicine in the morning. 2. They finished. 3. Then (the hunter) started out. 4. He would see the deer close by. 5. He would kill ten. 6. He used up (his limit). 7. Then he would go home. 8. He would go hunting again the next day. 9. They carried bows when they hunted, long ago. 10. And they carried the arrows across their chest. 11. And some men were trapping early in the morning. 12. Where a tree stood, they lashed a pole onto it. 13. They rubbed deer medicine on everything. 14. When they went trapping in the morning, their dogs would do this, they would all be rubbed with medicine. 15. Then they went off. 16. The dogs chased the deer around uphill. 17. The dogs would herd them there (towards the traps). 18. (The deer) would go to their paths. 19. That's what they did, when they snared deer. 20. They killed them all. 21. Then they went back home, they had killed lots of deer. 22. That's all.

Text Number 71: Bear Hunting
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. In the winter, in December, the bears all go into dens. 2. They stay inside all winter. 3. Then people used to say, "Let's go look at our dens!" 4. So they went to look at them. 5. And they said, "Come out!" 6. (The bear) was nowhere to be seen. 7. So they shouted loudly, "Come out!" 8. He didn't come out anywhere. 9. So the man crawled in. 10. And one stayed outside. 11. (The one who crawled in) saw (the bear) curled up. 12. Then he pushed the bear outside, he came out. 13. The person came back outside. 14. And the one who stayed outside killed the bear. 15. They finished killing it, they dragged it out of the den. 16. They killed it that way in the winter. 17. When they brought it in, (the bear) was fat when they skinned off its hide. 18. So they made a big fire outdoors. 19. And they spread (the hide) over the fire. 20. So the fat ran together. 21. Then they dragged it out of the fire. 22. Then it became small. 23. And they scraped it when it was cool. 24. And they cut it up. 25. And in the winter they ate it. 26. It was (called) kimkuv.
Text Number 72: Elk Hunting
Informant: 'Nettie Reuben

1. ʧiʧu-x kuniyvünkurihvuti pačišiŋ ʧi n. 2. ʧatő ʧakavru ká n xás tā kunifykar.
3. ʧakáři ʧaŋkuriťararih tā kunąkkunvanva. 4. vůriva ʧe-ʤaramevą vůrą pakunpikahřapůkva. 5. půyava ʧatuųpaŋa-k půyava ʧukra m ků k tā kunimhrara, tā kunpůŚtvuŋa- paąvašas. 6. xás ʧa-s kunųvųvuna. 7. půyava ʧa-s tā kunąþarara. 8. kůři xás vůrį pamukunšaka-mhar vůriva ʧa-k tā kunšmku ʧannam mú-k. 9. kůři xás tā kunųyip-hųip, tā kunąkkunvanva. 10. puvę-k vůrą țučvamnič tō ʧri-t, tā kunpavyhiš. 11. ko-vůrą paʧyu-x tā kunęaʧvišri-hvą. 12. půyava vůrą kíč.

Text Number 73: Making Acorn Soup
Informant: Julia Starritt

Text Number 72: Elk Hunting
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. The dogs used to herd elk in (to ravines). 2. When (an elk) jumped down over a bank (and disabled itself), then (the dogs) killed it there.
3. When it was hunting season, they went hunting. 4. They made hunting medicine, night after night. 5. When day came, they went to a pond, the men bathed. 6. Then they ate a meal. 7. Then they finished eating. 8. Then they heated their bows by the fire, with medicine. 9. Then they went off, they went hunting. 10. (The sun) was not yet well out, (when) they got back. 11. They all carried the elk home. 12. So that's all.

Text Number 73: Making Acorn Soup
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. They picked the acorns, they grew on trees. 2. And when they were ripe, the acorns fell off. 3. Then they picked them. 4. And they cracked them. 5. Then they dried them. 6. Then they rubbed them, and the skins came off. 7. Then they ground them. 8. Then they sifted them. 9. And the coarse meal fell away. 10. Then they poured the flour into a tray-basket.
11. Then they leached it. 12. They leached it in sand. 13. And they poured water onto it slowly. 14. When the water flowed all away, they added it again. 15. When (the flour) was good-tasting, then they stopped. 16. Then it dried. 17. Then they picked it up. 18. And they washed it with water. 19. And all the sand came off, and then they stopped. 20. And they put it into soup baskets. 21. So it became acorn dough. 22. Then they were about to make acorn soup. 23. They built a fire. 24. And they heated the rocks. 25. When they were hot, they put the acorn dough into a cooking basket. 26. And they poured in water, as much as they thought would go. 27. Then they put the hot rocks in. 28. And they stirred the soup with a soup-stirrer. 29. So it boiled. 30. And when it cooled off, they poured it into soup baskets. 31. Then they ate it. 32. That's all.

Text Number 74: Making Acorn Soup
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. They cracked acorns. 2. Then they put the acorn meats up (to dry). 3. And they dried; they took them down, and they hulled them. 4. And they put them in a storage basket, they separated out the mildewed acorns. 5. They put the mildewed acorns in a bowl-basket. 6. They soaked them
Text Number 75: Soaking Acorns
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pâppi'ë kunikû-à'ti Ð-û'-m xâs tâ kunpî'-sha. 2. xâs pïkõli'-p Ð-û'-m ðìshâât-
tî-mîc tâ kun^îfriêp kuvâ-pâ-râ-û-yâ-râ, xâs kârî vâ' paxuntâppân kâ'n tâ
kunîvyâkurihvâ. 4. hârî ðîtô-pâ^â'vâ târû xâs ta^înâ hâ-rî kumattî^ë-shë.
5. pûyavâ xâs kârî tâ kunfêâ'û-sâkî' xô-rà ðìkukatunvë-ðës mû-k. 6. xâs
kâsäkâ-àsmâ mû-k tâ kunîyà-kâ. 7. pûyavâ xô-rà kâ'n së ðûkrtümâkuri hâ-rî ðìshârinây kârû hâ-rî kümâxxâra. 8. pûyavâ pâtu^amayâ-hâ'k xâs
kârî tâ kunôv. 9. pïkõli'-p tâ kuniêêthîp ðîmîvarâm-kâ'ë. 10. xâs ðàttîmâkâ tâ kunîyava^y-
ramîh. 11. pûyavâ xâs tâ kunpârâmâvë. 12. pâtô 'mtûpâ-hâ'k xâs kârî tâ
kunôv. 13. ðîmpû-kâ'kâ kârû kunôvârâ-ë kârû xô-rà ðëôlî-k.

Text Number 76: The Sweathouse
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pe^kâmâhâ-kâ'-m Ð-û'-m ðûô yô^ô' xûkupë-kyâ'-hîtî kârû pe^kô-râm-à â'-m Ð-û'-m xûra
yô. 2. pe^kâmâhâ-kâ'-m Ð-û'-m së ðìfûriêpkyahahîtîh. 3. xâs ðàvàvahkâm
xûra ðûhârtfrâhësâs mû-k ðûyûrûâ-nahîtîh. 4. xâs ðìvëâ'ykam pàçîvëkâ-
sûrûrû-rûûrû-à ðûra ðëstûkînîc pàkë^n xûnu^ô-nûhîtîh. 5. xâs xûrâ^kîr
ûôhë, xâs vâ' kâ'n pàsunvô^rûnî-hvûtîh. 6. pàsu^â'kîr Ð-û'-m xûra ðûp-
pâhë po^kyâ^rëhîtîh.
7. xâs ðìnëkâ pâmû^rëiî-ë Ð-û'-m xâs ðàpàshîvâhîtîh. 8. xâs ðûrëë-à^êp
së ðûsûrûkuriyahahîtîh. 9. xâs vâ' kâ'n pà^â-kë hûkûkâ^êtîh.
10. xâs ðûppâmâk kàrû ðûsûru^rûprûnahîtîh. 11. pâtâ kûnkô^hâk' ðìnëkâ
vë-kîrì xâs vâ' kâ'n tâ kunôv^mûpûk. 12. xâ sârû kô-k tâ kunôurû^ûûrû-à, xâs ðûô ðëôkë^shëkâ tâ kunôvâ-tvâ. 13. xâs pâtâ kunfëkë-hvâa^hë, pà^â-h tâ kunîyàv,
15. xâs xûra puûxîcê tâ kunômçë, xâs tâ kunôstû'kàhë. 16. pûyavâ xâs kârî
pâtâ kunôrûhirûpûk.
in water for a month. 7. Then they put (hot) rocks in. 8. When (the acorns) were cooked, they took the rocks out.

9. And they leached (the good acorns). 10. They ground the acorn meats. 11. They went and got sand. 12. And they made a leaching-hole.
13. Then (the meal) was leached, they stirred it up. 14. They made it dry. 15. Then they picked it up. 16. They washed it, the sand came off. 17. They put it in a cooking basket. 18. And they cooked acorn soup. 19. They had already heated rocks. 20. They put the rocks in. 21. They cooked salmon. 22. And the plate-baskets (for the salmon) fit into the soup baskets. 23. They ate soup with spoons.

Text Number 75: Soaking Acorns
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. When they made fish, they soaked acorns. 2. And first they dug a deep hole at the edge of the water. 3. Then they poured the acorns in there. 4. Sometimes there were five basket-loads and sometimes more. 5. Then they covered it tightly with little logs. 6. And they put them on with big rocks. 7. So (the acorns) were piled in there, sometimes a year and sometimes longer. 8. And when they became good-tasting, then they ate them.

9. First they strained them with a big tray-basket. 10. And they poured them in a burden basket. 11. Then they boiled them. 12. When they were done, they ate them. 13. They would eat them either warm or cold.

Text Number 76: The Sweathouse
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The sweathouse was made one way and the living-house another. 2. The sweathouse was dug down into the ground. 3. And the roof was put up with wide boards. 4. And in front, there was a low door, where they went in. 5. And a ladder stood (there), and they crawled down (into the house) on that. 6. The ladder was made of a tree.

7. And inside, their floor was covered with rocks. 8. And there was a hole in the middle of the floor. 9. And they made the fire there.

10. And on the other side, there was also a hole through. 11. When they were finished staying inside, then they crawled out there. 12. And they went downhill, and they bathed out in the river. 13. And when they sweated themselves, they made the fire, they used fir boughs. 14. And they made it a hot place. 15. And it got very hot, and they sweated. 16. Then they rushed outside.
Text Number 77: The Living-house
Informant: Julia Starritt


Text Number 78: The Shinny Game
Informant: Julia Starritt


Text Number 77: The Living-house
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The Indian house was not high; you see, the boards were short.
2. And it was dug down into the ground.
3. And there was a fireplace in the center.
4. And on the inside boards were placed around.
5. And their floor was just earth.
6. And a ladder stood there inside.
7. And they walked on that when they went outside.
8. And the boards were short that the house was made with.
9. And broad boards were put on the roof.
10. And their door was low too.
11. They didn't stand up when they went outside, they just crawled out.
12. And rocks were laid in front of the house.
13. And on the inside, above the fire, little poles were stretched around.
14. And they were made so that they dried fish there and whatever (else) they had.
15. And on the floor were their cooking baskets and whatever they had when they were going to cook.
16. And only the men's seats were there.
17. The women sat on the ground.
18. Sometimes a deerskin blanket was spread, and the women sat on that.
19. And the baby was inside a baby-basket.
20. And sometimes it was held by its grandmother.

Text Number 78: The Shinny Game
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. One game, of the Indian men's games, was called 'the stick game' (i.e., shinny).
2. They played it on a level place.
3. The Orleans stick-game field began there just outside Georgia's (Mrs. Georgia Henry's) fence, and it ended downriver where the black oak stands.
4. And they carried sticks, they were called shinny sticks and a 'tossel' (i.e., a double-ball).
5. And the tossel was little sticks, they were tied together.
6. There were two men at each end and two in the middle.
7. One man carried the tossel.
8. He bit it with his mouth (i.e., held it between his teeth).
9. Then they began.
10. The tossel fell on the ground.
11. Both (men) thought, "Let's toss it!"
12. And one tossed it.
13. He tossed it downriver.
14. Then they grabbed each other, and they wrestled.
15. Sometimes both of them fell down.
16. Then the men on the downriver end ran up.
17. If one was swift, he arrived first where the tossel lay.
18. So he tossed it first.
19. He tossed it back upriver.
20. Then the ones on the upriver end ran down.
21. When the tossel fell, (one of them) tossed it.
22. He tossed it upriver.
23. Then the ones on the downriver end ran up.
24. Sometimes the tossel didn't fall over (the goal line).
25. Sometimes the men on the downriver end arrived first where the tossel lay.
26. So (one of them) tossed it downriver.
27. If the ones on the downriver side toss it over (the goal line), then
Text Number 79: Work Contests
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. paŋfappi-tśa sārip tā kuništūkkanka. 2. xās tā kunpavyinhuk. 3. tā kunturiši'hva passārip. 4. kārī xās vūra ṭu'm ta·yān'i'tihan paŋfshinhaničas xās tā kunšāruvuna'. 5. xās tā kunpś'p "čīmi nuvū’ksahina'·n." 6. kāruma tā kunšshikvuna' pāxuntāppan. 7. xās kārī tā kunpavyinhuk paŋfappi-tśa. 8. ḥaxyarāva tā kunšshik vāttimnam. 9. pūyava tā kunpavyinhuk, kārī xās "čīmi nuvū’ksahina'·n." 10. ṭapmā’n mū’kunčātna’ktih.

Text Number 80: The Sucking Doctor
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paŋararaŋ-tś’m ṭu’m ṭāra ṭu’patumkō·tih. 2. xās va·kā’n tupaṭum pakā’n paŋarat’-nva ṭukkē·natin’i. 3. xās va’ vūra xānnahič tupaṭumko’. 4. xās ṭapmā’n tu’kvar, xās ta’y vūra xūnun tō ’kyav. 5. ṭapun ṭukripa’ vukipitih. 6. xās kārī tūvō’nsip. 7. xās tī’kan ṭu’yu’hrāmniḥ, xās paŋarat’anva’uppas ṭukta-ṃti tī’-kan. 8. pūyava xās paŋarat’-nva tūphrv. 9. xās patukō’ha’k xās paŋarat’-nva tufumyihpi’-tva. 10. pūyava xās kūku’m vūra va’ tō ’pu’-pha. 11. hā’ri ṭa’x tō ’sā’snsur payškikaẖ kārū hā’ri ūkkin. 12. pūyava xās kārī tukō-ha. 13. xās ṭiśšahak tō ’ppā’-tva. 14. xās tō ’pō’nturuk. 15. pūyava xās kārī tukhē’-r. 16. xās kārī ṭān tā kunkkye’. 17. xās vīriva vūra tā kko’.
the downriver people won. 28. Those on the upriver side would do it also. 29. The winners were the strongest and swiftest. 1

Text Number 79: Work Contests
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. The young women went gathering hazel sticks. 2. Then they came home. 3. They carried home the hazel sticks in burden baskets. 4. And lots of young unmarried men peeled the sticks. 5. They would say, "Let's have a contest!" 2

6. (Or) the case would be that they were gathering acorns. 7. And the young women would come home. 8. They picked the burden baskets all full. 9. So they came home, and then (they said), "Let's have a contest!" 10. They cracked them with their mouths (i.e., with their teeth).

Text Number 80: The Sucking Doctor
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The Indian doctor (i.e., the shaman) sucked people. 2. She put her mouth where the 'pain' (i.e., the disease object) was quivering. 3. And she sucked at it for a little while. 4. Then she put her hands in her mouth, and she made a lot of phlegm. 5. She sat on the floor as she did that. 6. Then she got up. 7. And she spat into her hands, and she held the pain-saliva in her hands. 8. Then she 'used the pain' (i.e., danced and sang with it). 9. And when she finished, then she blew the pain away. 10. Then she did the same thing again. 11. Sometimes she took blood off of the sick person, and sometimes bile. 12. Then she finished. 13. And she bathed in water. 14. And she came indoors again. 15. Then she smoked. 16. And they gave her food. 17. That's all.

1 Regarding this game, see Goddard, pp. 60-61, and plate 19, figures 3 and 4. Evidently each of the three pairs of players described in the present text consisted of one man from each team. After the middle pair had put the tossel in play, the other pairs would also wrestle, each man trying to keep his opponent from reaching the tossel. In sentences 27 and 28, the terms payu'krikam "the downriver side" and maka'kukam "the upriver side" evidently do not refer to the pairs of opponents at the downriver and upriver ends of the field, but to the downriver and upriver teams, respectively. The course of play is not necessarily, of course, the exact one described in the present text.

2 The winner was the first to peel ten sticks.
Text Number 81: The Sweating Doctor
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pa?ane-kyäva-n ʁu-m píriš pó’hru’vti káru hâ-ri pírišʔé-pu-m.
2. puyava xás tuuhyänakö-ti pappíriš. 3. puyava xás ʁäsäipak tumáhyä-n.
4. xás ʁišäha tó ’yva-’yramnih. 5. xás kári ṭasé-mfir tutururá-mnihva.
6. puyava xás va’ tó ’páramvva. 7. xás va’ payükkihar kusäru’kam tó ’kiri-š. 8. xás vá’s tá kuniyö’-rariv.
9. puyava pátúk-kh’á-k puyava kári pa’ánnav ʁu-m tá kunpiyvė-s. 10. káru hâ-ri tuʔiš ká’kum pa’ánnav.
11. puyava pág ʁu-m papiššann kunku-’yä-hitih. 12. xás pa’ane-kyäva-n vüra künüs ʁikkaré-yav.

Text Number 82: The Pikiawish at Katimin
Informant: Emily Donahue

1. ʁikkaría-ʁá-r tá ’kriš. 2. ’itro-patišamnihasúppa’ sú ʁukrí ʁikmaháčra-m. 3. xás pa’ávansas kunfiši-mvana-tih. 4. káru paeć-ripaxvuhas, ŭavansáxxi-tičas ṭasu-xäras. 5. kári xás tá m’av, patá nupiti-š. 6. vüra pa’ávansas ʁu-’mkun máru kunfiši-mtih. 7. ʁikkarvarvá tó kunpiyvhiš. 8. yá’š tá kun’av. 9. pe’kkaría-.SYSTEM.erraticum tá ŭampá-n tu’ppak. 10. xás yá’s ŭuppa-tvutih. 11. yá’s tu’jv. 12. xá sú ʁikmahāčra-m kú’k tu’ř-pma.

Text Number 83: The Pikiawish at Katimin
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. tá níkra-v. 2. puyava patá niʔi-k, xás tá niʔasimčak. 3. ʁé-k tuʔarirha- pe’kkariania-ärá-r. 4. xás kuyräka-n tuʔi-k. 5. xás ʁi’kam tuvö-nupak. 6. yú-m tuʔarırhr. 7. ydrúk tó ’trú’-putih, pe’-škë-š tó ’mmsú-stih. 8. tó-ʔ
Text Number 81: The Sweating Doctor
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The sweating doctor used plants and sometimes plant roots. 2. And he talked to the plants. 3. Then he put them in a bowl-basket. 4. And he poured in water. 5. Then he put in hot stones. 6. And he boiled them. 7. Then he set them down underneath the sick person. 8. And they covered (the patient) with a blanket. 9. When he was finished, they poured the medicine on the ground, outdoors. 10. And sometimes (the patient) drank some of the medicine. 11. That's how they made plant medicine. 12. And the doctor was kind of (like) an "ikxaré-yav.

Text Number 82: The Pikiawish at Katimin
Informant: Emily Donahue

1. The priest sat down (i.e., assumed office). 2. He lived in the sweat-house for nine days. 3. And the men were target-shooting. 4. And the girls and little boys were fasting. 5. And we ate when we came back from target-shooting. 6. The men were uphill target-shooting. 7. They came back home towards evening. 8. Then they ate. 9. The priest himself came home. 10. Then he bathed. 11. Then he ate. 12. Then he went back inside the sweat-house. 13. The morning of the next day, he started again. 14. They did the target-shooting someplace else. 15. Finally they had done target-shooting for nine days, and then (the priest) stood still. 16. The people did the imitation deerskin dance all evening. 17. They thought, "Let the priest not fall asleep!" 18. And the next day was the world-renewal time. 19. The people played 'Indian cards' all day. 20. The next day they gambled again. 21. And in the evening they did the war dance. 22. Then the world renewal was over. 23. Sometimes they gambled for a long time, however long there were a lot of people. 24. Then the world renewal ended.

Text Number 83: The Pikiawish at Katimin
Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. I pounded (acorns). 2. When I struck, I closed my eyes. 3. The priest came up there. 4. And he struck three times. 5. Then he went

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3 The priest remains standing all night long (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 20).
4 The sequence of events here described is in conflict with that given in Kroeber and Gifford, p. 19. Gifford's information, however, was obtained in considerable part from the mother of my informant, and is probably more reliable.
5 The informant had served as Ifuekamahfia-n or junior priestess, and dictated this text from the memory of her experience.
6 kuyrakya-n may in this case mean not "three times" but "the third time"; this would be in accord with the priestess's experience recounted in Kroeber and Gifford, p. 27.
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tö tkăratis, pe škē-š tö ·mmu·stīh. 9. pe škē-š tö ·mmu·stīh, tvvē·natih.
12. xas tā ·tvvākukami tukaxara·pro-v. 13. kasō-hra·m tvvāram.
14. kān ?a-h tö ·kya·r. 15. pakumate·č mutākkire·š. 16. puyava kān šārūk tu?aramā·p. 17. māruk ?ahāram tvvāram.
18. puyava yās nikra·m tā exhūriš. 19. tā nipāyā r kova·ra. 20. xas númpa·n šārūk tā nuyā·ram kasō·hra·m. 21. ?asipāraz mu?attivuti kāru mūru kāru tāsva·n kāru tarippa·n, kāru ?ikrivkir mu?i·otih. 22. kumate·č po?iippakaha·k pe·kxariya·āra·r va ?ukrivkire·š. 23. viŗiva patō ·thāriš pe·kxirv kir šākrīv ?ukyā ti pe·tivsane·n.
24. ?axaksūpā ·asu xaras mu·n kāru ·tvē·kxaram. 25. kāru pu?išsha·ha kūn?i·štihara. 26. xas māhi·t či nupiyā·rame·š, xas tāhpus nupārā·mu·tih. 27. yā·n vūra ·tvēppa·hitih. 28. xas tā nupiyxō·r patakirīram. 29. xas pananupāra·m patāhpus tā nuvē·hkurīh. 30. yās tā nupā·tišip, tā kōko· māruk tā nupiyā·ram. 31. ?ikmaha·čram ?iši·čo kōk tā nupā·pma. 32. kōrī kovūra tā nupāyī·hra· pe·kxariya·āra·r kāru ?umīs na·n. 33. kovūra tīkinmmu·stih. 34. kān tā kunivyihīrih. 35. kovūra tā kunikākpi·o va. 36. yā·mač tā kunipmahā·nko·n.
37. vitō·pasūpā ·asu·n kū·n vāra·rahiti ?ikmaha·čra·m. 38. ?ikxūrā nupā·tvuti ?ukraμkama·n. 39. xas panumu·tifunī vūra xāvi mōk nupūkko·tih, kūrī vāramas ?u?i, panumu·tifunīh. 40. tā nukīšna ·paxxāviš, māruk ?ahvāra·k tā nupānīnuva.
41. sārūk yōm kunip·ntih, tā ·tvāhiv. 42. ?upe·čkanīvēvārahitih. 43. tā kunuvuhvūh. 44. kāru kāhir tvvārak. 45. xas yās tā kunəhəmup. 46. viṛī ?āma tā kunikyihihvā. 47. tā kunikxαa patū·yš. 48. xasəsārūk tā kunpavųhunih. 49. ?arā·r patū·yš. 50. ?ikxarē·ya v.
outside.  6. He went a little ways downriver.  7. He looked downriver, he looked at the river.  8. He looked out across the water, he looked at the river.  9. He looked at the river, he prayed.  10. And we two (priestesses) stayed inside.  11. We kept our eyes closed.

12. Then he strode upriverward, just downhill from the house.  13. He went to kasó-hra-m.  14. He went to make a fire there.  15. We were going to leach (acorn meal) soon.  16. Then he came from downhill there.  17. He went uphill to the fireplaces.

18. Then I pounded the acorn meats.  19. I finished everything.  20. Then we two ourselves went downhill to kasó-hra-m.  21. In burden baskets we carried cooking baskets and tray baskets and soup stirrers and dippers, and we carried a stool.  22. Later on, when the priest came back, he was going to sit on that.  23. When he put the stool down on the ground, he was making the world firm.

24. We two stayed fasting for two days and a night.  25. And we didn't drink water.  26. Then in the morning we were going to leave, and we wore our hair bound with fir boughs.  27. It was just becoming day.  28. And we covered our leaching-hole.  29. And we stuck in the fir boughs from our hair-binding.  30. Then we took up our burden baskets, we went back uphill with everything.  31. We went back to the sacred sweathouse.

32. We all came back up, (including) the priest and the assistant priest.  33. Everyone looked at us.  34. They gathered there.  35. Everyone jumped around.  26. They felt good.

37. We all lived in the sweathouse for five days.  38. In the evening we bathed in (the pond called) ^ukrámkam.  39. And we whipped our hair with syringa, (thinking), "Let our hair grow long!"  40. (Then) we tied up the syringa, we hid it in a hollow tree uphill.

41. Downhill they were celebrating the world renewal, it was world-renewal time by then.  42. There was gambling.  43. They did the deer-skin dance.  44. And they did the war dance.  45. And then they cooked acorn soup.  46. They barbecued salmon.

47. (Previously) they burned brush on the mountain (i.e., Mount Offield).  48. Then they came back downhill.  49. The mountain is a person.  50. It's an ^kxaréyav (a divine person, a god).

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Text Number 84: The Pikiawish at Clear Creek

Informant: Maggie Charley

1. There was a world renewal upriver.  2. (The place) is called kah'mam (Clear Creek).  3. They made a fire there at surukdnuv'nup (Sing-Ho Bar), they shot at targets.  4. They shot at targets first of all.  5. The next day they would shoot at targets on a height downhill from xumváro-v.  6. The next day they shot at targets behind tasáxxak.  7. They spent one night at yuhsahnim^anamahač.

9. And in the morning the priest sat down there.  9. And he was about to leave, they painted his face.  10. And everybody bathed, and they rowed the priest across-river in a boat.  11. And he made a big fire far downriver, uphill from xumváro-v.  12. He walked far upriver on an
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va' kâ-n tá kunȟmniś xu'-n, pû-fič, ʔâ-ma.

14. paťatavê'-na'-n poʔíppaka-ha'k ʔîkxúra-r tó 'pvâ'-fič, xâs vûra pa'âra'-r tá kunȟrâna. 15. ko'-vûra pa'âra'-r kunívyhíthi, kunímuśana. 16. viři páppa' tá kunívpíčtiš. 17. xâs ʔîkxúra-r tá kunívtâ-pvuna-. 18. kârí xâs ʔîkxúra-r tá kunâv.

19. máhît-kûkku'-m tá kunâiťxâ-rhûva. 20. xâs ta'-kripa' kû'-k tu'â-m. 21. va' pasiřâ-kîmir pûmâ'-thi, kunâiťčhívâ-hêm. 22. kârí xâs kûkku'-m fata-ve'-na'-n tuvâ-ram, ʔâsâxxê-var kû'-k tu'â-m. 23. xâs va' ʔifu'hánpmúsan tuvâ-ram. 24. 'â-h tô ʔî-yâv. 25. xâs pa'âshîřhânsas kuníčâ-hvuna', ta'y kuníxra'-mti. 26. ʔíšříva'nsas tá kuníxričhína-, yâs kunâ'-mti. 27. paťatavê'-na'-n yâs'âs ʔîkxúra-r. 28. ʔâxâk pa'âsíkâ'nsas tá kuníkâyâ'-nâ. 29. xâs ʔîkxúra-r tá kunívtâ-pvuna-. 30. va' tá kuníkâ-hô. 31. xâs ta'-kripa' kû'-k tá kuníxričhíma. 32. kâ-n tá kunìvâhûji'-čvuna-. 33. má'ka tá kunâpakû'řvuna-. 34. yâs kârí xâs tá kunâw-. 35. ko'-vûra kârí kuníkâmmî'-čvuna-. 36. ʔimâ'nmkâm tó 'pvâ'-ram paťatavê'-na'-n. 37. papîkyâviš tá pûfà-t.'

Text Number 85: Preparing Basket Materials

Informant: Emily Donahue

1. pûšî'-č tá nu'ahifikhívâ-nâ. 2. pakûniš ʔîsharîp'ri-k va' ʔù-m kâ'ñ sarippl'y'pâs. 3. patuyšînije-tâpanîč va' ʔù-m kâ'ñ sarippl'ke'-mâš. 4. va- kunâi'-payë-psâs pasâriš ʔîsharîp'ri-k, ʔâ'-yâ'č va' ʔù-m vâ'ramas kârú xün đẩtîč. 5. patuyšîpne'âpanič vassârip va' ʔù-m ʔipš'în'kîničâ kârú ʔûruhas. 6. nanitàt mît kînîppe'nti. 7. va' mît kârî ʔù-m mu'ahifikhívû-nti. 8. pûra fâ't vûra kînîppe'nti. 9. payë'-m ʔù-m tá kko', tá pûva' kinkupîthâra.

10. ʔaxâkhârinây xâs tá mûstuk pasârip. 11. pasâriš tâ kunûštú'-kvuna', kunîpáîta'-prinâthî. 12. payë'-m ʔù-m sâmâš ʔâ-m'k kunûvâ-tvâna'-ti. 13. pa'pasíkâ'nsas ʔù-m kunûštú'-kvuna'-ti. 14. ʔâttimma ʔâ-m'k tâ kánturûn'ni'. 15. pa'âvansas ʔù-m-kun tâ kuniwkv. 16. payë'-m ʔù-m tâ ko'-latt, ʔîsh-šî' mîk ʔù-m tah. 17. pasârip ʔâttimmanak pakuntû'nfak.

18. xâs kârî tá nîthâruf. 19. vihà mîk pakunüärufvana'-ti. 20. pasík- ðâvânsas kârú vûra ʔâvansas ko'-vûra kunûšûfânu'nti. 21. hâ'-rî kunûvû'-kshâhâ-ti. 22. yâs'âs nišuvâxra'-htî ʔimâšâxaxhâ.


27. yâ' sârum nu'â-pâtûhâ. 28. vûra fâ'tta'-k xâs yâv ʔû'v'ya. 29. yî'múišî xâs pakunûfka'-kaur. 30. xâs tá muhûkurih. 31. ʔâ'pûšî'-č tá kunûkâv.

32. xâs kâ'-n tá kunûkûkurih. 33. yâs'âs ʔa'-h ʔâvahkam tá kunûkâv.

34. yâs'âs nušatâppâ'-nti. 35. xâs ʔivâxra tá nûkya. 36. kârî xâs tá nupâ-θâr. 37. yâs'âs mutâxvî'-stå. 38. yâs'âs nukyâ'-siprîvî ti. pavîk.
upriver-pointing ridge. 13. They saw (i.e., met) him at yuhsahrimka-m; they cooked acorn soup, venison, salmon.

14. When the priest returned, evening was falling, and the people were coming to celebrate the world renewal. 15. All the people came, they came to watch. 16. They beached their boats. 17. And in the evening they did the war dance. 18. And in the evening they ate.

19. In the morning they woke up again. 20. And they went to ta-kripa-k. 21. They didn't look at the river-bar, they hid. 22. And the priest went off again, he went to Baldy Peak. 23. And the assistant priest went.

24. He made a fire. 25. And the young men shot arrows, they bet a lot. 26. The target-shooters got hungry, then they ate.

27. Then in the evening the priest returned. 28. Two women acted as priestesses. 29. And in the evening people did the war dance. 30. They finished that. 31. Then they went to ta-kripa-k. 32. There they did the imitation deerskin dance. 33. Farther uphill, they sang. 34. Then they ate. 35. Everybody played games. 36. The next day, the priest went home. 37. The pikiawish was over.

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Text Number 85: Preparing Basket Materials

Informant: Emily Donahue

1. First we went and set fires.  2. The best hazel twigs are those where it is sort of a fir forest.  3. There are bad hazel twigs there on the hilltop.  4. The hazel twigs are good in the fir forest for this reason, it is because they are long and flexible.  5. The hazel twigs of the hilltop are short and stubby (lit., round).  6. My mother used to tell us, "They are bad hazel sticks on the hilltop."  7. We used to set fires (to encourage the growth of the brush).  8. They (the government) didn't say anything to us.  9. Now that's all over, we can't do that.

10. Then after two years we picked the hazel twigs.  11. They plucked the hazel twigs, they broke them with their fingernails.  12. Now they cut them with a knife.  13. The women picked them.  14. They carried them down in burden baskets.  15. (And) the men carried them on their shoulders.  16. Now the use of burden baskets is all gone, it is with horses now.  17. They carried them downhill in hazel-twig burden baskets.

18. Then I peeled them.  19. They peeled them with their teeth.  20. All the men and women peeled them.  21. Sometimes they had a work contest.  22. Then I dried them in the sunshine.

23. We burned the bear-lilies.  24. Then we picked them.  25. They pulled them up by the roots.  26. Then we dried them.

27. Then we dug pine-roots.  28. Some places (the trees) are good.  29. They cut them off some ways out (from the trunk).  30. Then we roasted them.  31. First they built a fire.  32. Then they roasted them.  33. Then they made another fire on top.  34. Then we split them.  35. Then we dried them.  36. Then we soaked them.  37. Then we scraped them.  38. Then we began the weaving.
Text Number 86: Indian Clothes

Informant: Julia Starritt


Text Number 87: Tattoos

Informant: Julia Starritt

Text Number 86: Indian Clothes
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The Indian dress was made of buckskin. 2. The dress was just one deerskin. 3. And they were just wrapped in it. 4. And their apron was made of buckskin.
5. And their good dresses were made pretty. 6. First bear-lily leaves were braided on. 7. It was made with digger-pine nuts and abalone shell and it was made with olivella shells. 8. The abalone shell was chopped up small. 9. Their dresses were not long.
10. Their hats were made with hazel twigs and pine-roots. 11. They were decorated with bear-lily leaves and five-finger fern and chain fern. 12. And the chain fern was made red. 13. And their hats were woven with the pine-roots and the bear-lily leaves and the five-finger fern and the chain fern.

Text Number 87: Tattoos
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. The Indian women were tattooed on the chin. 2. There were three stripes running down, one right in the middle and (two) on each side.
3. Sometimes they were wide and sometimes they were narrow, and sometimes they were each (composed of) three little ones running down.
4. And they made the design with a sharp stone. 5. Then they mixed soot and grease, and they rubbed it on the tattoo. 6. And when it healed, it was not black, it was sort of blue.
7. And the Indians here didn't tattoo their faces (above the chin). 8. Only ones outside our country did that. 7

7 The informant later corrected herself, saying that the Karok sometimes made small marks just above each corner of the mouth.
PART FIVE: PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Text Number 88: Professor Gifford’s Visit
Informant: Emily Donahue

1. Mister Gifford pišši'č mĩ kaptim'i'n puw'í-mat. 2. xás mĩt va' kán?asiktáva'n puhró't. 3. xás yá's ?ó' kun?áho't. 4. yá's naníta't kuníhruv pikvah. 5. xás yá's káru PÁnanav. 6. xás ko'vúra kumappi'íši' pušu'ya'va. 7. xás yá's máruk tuya'sípre' kumívi'í-hma. 8. pinišunvé'č kun?áppimtiíh. 9. xás kári pukkó'ha pa'asiktává'va'n. 10. xás námipa' pušákka'nha. 11. káruk mávu'í'hşiíp tímuxu'mnipa'k. 12. xás va' ká' funíkva pa'asiktáva'nsás kó'van. 13. xás ?ó'k nupavyíhu kúkku'm. 14. xás kári kúkku'm vúra nupíkva'vuna'. 15. xás yuh'aré'í'k mávu'í'hşiíp. 16. sápru'k mú'ífikana'va. 17. xás nupavyíhuk.

Text Number 89: A Birthday Party
Informant: Julia Starrritt

1. Ramona ?ú'm ké'ks 'ukyá'tı' ?ó'k. 2. pamuye'nipaxvúhič Roberta payé' mú'í'pma. 3. kuyrákinikhaharínay tô'kri'. 4. kímate'č xasik pakun?ave'ś pamuké'ks. 5. ?ú'mkun vúra kíiče'g. 6. puxxi'č kúniš 'upái-rí'htiíh, vĩrì puxütíhap "kíři puppè'ɾ pa'xi'tičas '7ó' kó'va hu'am."

Text Number 90: Smoke
Informant: Julia Starrritt

1. kuyú'ɾ ?ámku'í'ka'm. 2. na' nixxútí "Herbert ?ú'a'hkó'ti páta'hpu's." 3. háří ttá mĩt yúkpákkišírihat pa'yppaha.
PART FIVE: PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Text Number 88: Professor Gifford's Visit
Informant: Emily Donahue

1. Mr. Gifford went first to Katimin. 2. He hired a woman there. 3. Then they came here. 4. Then my mother was hired for story-telling. 5. And then for medicine too. 6. And she named all kinds of plants. 7. And then they went up on the mountain. 8. They were looking for little plants. 9. Then the woman (from Katimin) quit. 10. Then I myself went with him. 11. We went upriver to Ferry Point. 12. And the women there and I told stories. 13. Then we came back here again. 14. And we told stories again. 15. Then we went to Crescent City. 16. We went gathering olivella shells. 17. Then we came back.

Text Number 89: A Birthday Party
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Ramona (the informant's daughter-in-law) is here making a cake. 2. Today (lit., now) is her little girl Roberta's birthday. 3. She's eight years (old). 4. Later today they will eat her cake. 5. It will just be them (i.e., the family). 6. It's sort of raining hard, so they don't want to ask the (neighbors') children to eat here with them. 1

Text Number 90: Smoke
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. There's a big (lot of) smoke just downriver. 2. I think Herbert (a neighbor) is burning fir boughs. 3. He cut down a tree sometime (recently).

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1 Literally, "so they don't think, 'Let's tell the children, 'Let's eat here together!'""
Text Number 91: A Blow-out
Informant: Julia Starritt


Text Number 92: Responses to Pictures
Informant: Julia Starritt

Text Number 91: A Blow-out
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Earlier today I was going around upriver. 2. And on the way back down from upriver, my tire (lit., my fire-wheel its-shoe) burst. 3. (The car) is still sitting there. 4. Ben Wilder is fixing it now. 5. When I go back across-river now, I'll go upriver, I'll go drive (lit., roll) back.

Text Number 92: Responses to Pictures
Informant: Julia Starritt

1. It is a valley. There is a tree standing there. And a man is standing there, he is pointing at the tree.
2. Now again there are two men. There is one pointing at the tree.
3. Now by this time there are three men. And one is running in front of them. There is (one) pointing at the tree.
4. Again he is standing there like that, he is pointing like that. The one is still running in front of him like that.
5. There are the three still standing there like that. The man is pointing like that.
6. And now two remain standing. (One) is pointing like that. The man is running in front of him like that.
7. Now a woman is the one standing, she is pointing at the tree.
8. Now a woman is the one standing. She is long-haired. She too is pointing at the tree. Next to her a man is standing.
9. The woman is standing there like that, she is pointing like that. There are two men now.
10. The woman is standing like that, there she is pointing like that. The man is running in front of her.
11. She is still standing there like that. The man is running in front of her like that. And one man is standing next to her.
12. Again she is standing there like that, she is pointing like that. Now two men are standing there next to her. And (the one) is running in front of her like that.
13. A girl is standing, she is pointing at a tree, it is standing there.
14. Again the little girl is standing there, she is pointing at the tree like that. Next to her is standing her father.
15. Again she is standing there like that, now two men are standing next to her.
16. The girl is standing there like that. The man is running like that, sort of far away now.

This is an experience of another person, retold in the first person by the informant.

The following text consists of an informant's response to a set of fifty line drawings, prepared for elicitation purposes under the direction of Alfred S. Hayes (see IJAL, 20, 186) and made available by the Archives of Languages of the World, Indiana University. The numeration corresponds to the numbers of the drawings; individual sentences are not numbered in this text.
17. paye-ripaxvu va' vúra kán 'uhyárih. xás pamu?ákka mupí*mač 'uhyárih. xás pavansáxxi-č 'uv-m 'uváho-tíih, pa'ipahassúru kúníšt tu?u-m. 18. xás paye nipaxvu?ínúči va' vúra 'uhyárih. xás paye-m 'áxak pa'í- vansa kun'íiruvé-hrim mupí*mač. xás pa'ipavansáxxi-č 'ipahassúruk tu?u-m. 19. čííši' 'uhyári 'amkírassúruk. 20. pačíši- kán 'uhyárih. xás 'úv-úvkakura-či papímasúthvá* narak. 21. pačíši- 'uhyári 'âmfrak 'a?, 'úvámti 'asípí'namaháčak. 22. pa'ívansá kán 'uhyárih, 'úvákmíiti pačíšíh. 23. pačíši- kán 'uhyárih. xás pa'áví-v kán 'úxki-ptíih, kúníšt tu'ay pačíšíh. 24. pačíši- 'úváhramutí sahíšyú xač. 25. pačíši- kán 'úkri', tó 'kfu-yúur, 'ûmuyáhyú*htíih. 26. tú'yíšip 'uvé-hrirma, xás 'utísíra-mhíti müssúrukam. xás musmus- 'asíkta-n kán 'uhyárih, píříš 'uvá*mtíih. 27. kán 'tíšrámka-č, xás 'ûhu*ma-mhítií, kárú 'ipahá*panamaháč kán 'uví*xya. kárú pírisáráhásha 'uvé-hrirma mupí*mač. 'utísíramhmínní-hva kárú máuruk, víri va' kán' kárú 'uho*ma-mhrámhíthií. 28. pa'ívansá 'usrusúntí payurasíśíši'h. 29. 'úkú*ntako- pačíšíh, 'ikrivtakókúkri-puxt, kárú 'išréré*puxt. 30. paye- 'uvansá vura-kíírak 'uvó*rú'aráthi, 'úmkam*nuvuth. 31. paye- 'kuýrá*'uaxxi-č kun'íiruvé*hriv, kárú tapas'ápsú'n kán 'úxgyárukíírakam 'útákvi*hriv, múvúx? 'ú'uhyárih. xás pa'axxi-č kuníškú*p- kutí pa'ápsú'n. 32. paye- 'uaxak pa'ápsú'n, kúníšt ñúmi kuníška-kísípre*viší. 'axxi-č 'uvíčíkun kárú tó kunmah, pa'ýa*psú'n. 33. pa'ívansú'n 'úxgyáru kuníška-kararík, xás pa'axxi-č tó kuní*ó*va, xás kunímag. xás yípúx pa'ápsú'č tó 'kyvíši, tó 'kyvívivrum. 34. paye- 'uv-m 'ú'ó* yúrasak. xás pakú*šra tuvú*nsip. kárú paypa? 'ú*ó 'uvínu*hríthií. 35. kán 'ásíkta-vá'n 'uhyári yúrásti-m. xás pa'ívansá 'ú*ó 'uví*thíih. 36. paye- 'yúrásti-m kunífuýukki*čvuti pa'ívansá kárú paye-ripaxvu*hr. 37. paye- 'uv-m pičas'úppaha 'uvé*hriímya, xás simímsítas 'uta*spá*ó*thahíthií. 38. paye- 'uv-m 'uho*ma-m, 'omma*ráx. 39. paye- 'uv-m 'tíšrámka-č, xás 'úxuyíš*prinahíti yí'v. xás 'ipahá*panamaháč kán 'uví*xya. 40. 'uaxak patí*íc, 'úv kunvé*hriv. 41. paye- 'uv-m tó'sí-m. xás 'ú'sí kííč. xás pa'ípíšásha tu'uírihú*ró*tví 'íppánííč. 42. 'amfrk 'úhu*ó*niví. 'ússíp 'úvakhám 'úrfúttakó*?í pa'ásíktává'n 'útírmíntií pa'ásíspáx. 43. pa'ásíktává'n yívári kúk tu?ú*pmá, tó 'kta*mai pa'ássísp. 44. pa'amfrk kán 'úhu*ó*niví, xás 'úxkúríkahíti 'úvakhám 'íppahá. kán 'úvansá 'úhu*ryíh, 'úmmú*stíih. 45. xás tu?í'sí pa'íppahá, xás yívári kúk tu?ú*pmá. 46. pa'ívansá 'úxku*rihú*hrv pášavansáxxi-č 'úvá*číp 'úhu*ryíhí, paye-nipaxvu?ínúči 'uv-m 'áppakam. 47. 'úyké*úak xákkararí 'uaxká 'úvansá kun'íiruvé*hriv. yíóóa 'úyáruk 'úksusú'pkrarathí. 48. 'úkkú*úm 'uva' va kun'íiruvé*hriv páavansá. kúná 'vúra paye-m 'áppakam 'ásíktává'n 'úythó. 'úpa'ó'kúkam 'uv-m 'úksusú'pku*nti pa'áxkak. 49. paye- 'uv-m pa'ásíktává'n 'ó'kúkam. xás 'uv-m kunú*phíti pa'ávansá xákká'n. pa'úyárukam tó pácé*č. 50. kán 'ará 'uaxkak, yíóóa 'uv-m 'tá*va 'ú*pun 'úku*ý*thíih.
17. The girl is standing there like that. Her father is standing next to her. A boy is walking in front, he is sort of going under the tree.
18. The little girl is standing like that. Now two men are standing next to her. The boy is going under a tree.
19. A dog is standing under a table.
20. The dog is standing there. He is putting his paws up on the window.
21. The dog is standing on top of the table, he is eating from a small bowl.
22. The man is standing there, he is feeding the dog.
23. The dog is standing there. The bird is flying there, it is sort of afraid of the dog.
24. The dog is chasing a rabbit.
25. The dog is sitting there, it is tired, it is panting.
26. Mountains are standing, and a valley is below them. A cow is standing there, she is eating grass.
27. A big field is there, and a man is planting there, and a little tree is standing there. And tall grass is standing next to him. There are fields on the slopes uphill also, there is cultivated ground there too.
28. The man is leading the horse.
29. He is riding the horse, without a saddle, and without a bridle.
30. Here a man is climbing on a ladder, he is picking apples.
31. Here three children are standing. And a rattlesnake is lying coiled there across-stream, its head is standing up. The children are pointing at the snake.
32. Here are two snakes, they are sort of going to strike (lit., jump). The children also see the snakes.
33. The snakes have jumped across, and the children are afraid, and they ran. One child fell down, he fell down over (the bank).
34. This is out at the ocean. The sun has risen. And the boat is floating out in the water.
35. A woman is standing there on the seashore. The man is paddling out in the water.
36. Here the man and the girl are taking a walk on the seashore.
37. These peach trees are standing, and there is a wire fence around.
38. This is a garden, nothing but corn.
39. This is a big valley, and there are mountains rising far away. A little tree is standing there.
40. There are two hands, they are standing upwards.
41. These are hands. They are wet. The water is dripping off of the fingertips.
42. A table is sitting. A bowl is sitting on top. The woman is looking in the bowl.
43. The woman goes away again, she carries off the bowl.
44. The table is sitting there, and a tree is drawn on top. A man is standing there, he is looking at it.
45. He picks up the tree, and goes away again.
46. The man and his wife are standing there. The boy is standing in the middle, the little girl is at the side.
47. Two men are standing on each side of a river. One is pointing across-stream.
48. Again the men are standing like that. But now one woman is on one side. The one on this side is pointing at the two of them.
49. Now the woman is on this side. She and the man are talking. The one across-stream is alone by now.
50. Two people are there, one is doing something on the ground.
LEXICONS
INTRODUCTION

This lexicon contains three types of Karok themes. The first type consists of themes which are not completely analyzable into shorter grammatical elements. They may be unequivocally monomorphemic, such as ?av "to eat"; or they may be analyzable in part only, such as kũhi "to be sick," where -hi is probably the denominative suffix, but ku- is not identifiable. The second type consists of derivatives and compounds which have morphophonemic irregularities, such as pũma-ra "to finish drinking," from p- Iterative, pũ "to drink," and -mara "to finish . . . -ing." The third type consists of derivatives and compounds with a meaning greater than the sum of the meanings of their parts; thus ačnatxɑ-t, from ačna-t "rat" + xɑ+t "stinking," has the extended meaning of "flying squirrel."

Entries are given in morphophonemic writing. To convert them to phonemically written Karok, the morphophonemic rules given in Section 300 of the Grammar must be applied. However, entries consisting of two or more words in syntactic combination are written in phonemic form.

Entries are arranged according to an order based on that of the English alphabet: a c e f h i k m n o p r s t u v w y #. Accent marks, length marks, glottal stop, and the distinction between s and ș are ignored in alphabetizing, as is the use of the tilde and of capitalization to write certain morphophonemes.

The second element of most entries is an indication of the theme subclass. The abbreviations used at this point—as elsewhere in the lexicon—are the ones listed at the beginning of the grammar. Entries for which no specific identification is given are nouns of the general subclass.

The translation of a form sometimes includes an expression from the English used by Karok informants, as well as a translation into more conventional English. Such dialectal English forms are written within single quotation marks; e.g., the word '8'm is translated as shaman or 'doctor.' This use of single quotes contrasts with the double quotes used in this lexicon to mark literal translations.

Some translations are followed by a reference to the Texts, marked by the letter T; this is given in cases where forms are morphologically unusual or have a doubtful translation.

Technical terms of basketry and of religion are followed by references to the ethnological works of O'Neale and of Kroeber and Gifford, respectively, where supplementary information may be found (see the references at the beginning of the Grammar). All botanical designations are from the work of Schenck and Gifford, and most references are made to that work by item number, rather than by page number. Some zoological identifications are taken from the various publications of J. P. Harrington, in which case the symbol (H) is used. Others, marked by (M), are from unpublished notes of C. Hart Merriam, made available to me by Professor R. F. Heizer, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

Names of former Karok village sites are accompanied by reference to a map, appearing in the appendix to this lexicon. All such sites which have
been pin-pointed are indicated on the map by numbers, and it is to these numbers that reference is made.

Whenever an analysis of a form seems possible, it is given, preceded by a colon, following the translation of the form. In many cases literal English translations are given, enclosed in double quotation marks. However, where such a translation would be awkward or misleading, or where it seems superfluous, it is omitted. In any case, the morphemes present are identified by reference to their number in this lexicon, or—in the case of affixes—by reference to the sections of the Grammar which describe them. Such references to the Grammar are preceded by the letter G.

Following the analysis, further information is given for some entries, especially when irregular alternants exist. Whenever a diminutive derivative is known, it is given in this position, because of the irregular phonology of such forms.

The English-Karok vocabulary which constitutes the second half of this lexicon is intended primarily as an index. For that reason, the Karok forms cited there are not accompanied by details concerning their usage. Instead, each form is accompanied by the number of its listing in the Karok-English section, where more extensive information may be sought.

The appendix provides not only the map of Karok villages, but a key to the map, and notes comparing the present information on Karok village-sites with that published by Kroeber in 1936.
KAROK-ENGLISH

A

1. a? adv. up, above
   1. a?hinva adv. high: G621.16
   2. a?u-yic* adv. Sugarloaf, a mountain near Somes Bar; "little above-mountain": 1531, G621.9
   3. a?vářih adj. high: G621.19
   4. a? tikné-chan a bird sp., probably the duck hawk; see Kroeber, 1946, p. 13: "one who lives above": 493, G758, G532
   5. a? tiknu-ptśhačhan footed bowl basket (O'Neale, p. 44): "one which pierces upward" (i.e., perh., "is pointed"); 502, G757, G758, G532
   6. a? tikxi-ptśhan airplane: "one which flies above": 549, G757, G532
   7. a? kumaʔṉ-riš upstairs: "above floor": G530, 684

2. ačăak- puppy

3. ačiku a.i. to float in a bunch

4. ačavúra adv. a variant of čavúra "finally"

5. ačhë-viš a woman's name: G621.10?

6. ačí interj. an exclamation of fright

7. ačí-t louse: G621.9?

1. ačšunvěč blue grass, Poa annua (Schenck and Gifford, no. 28): "little lice," 1398.1

8. ačči p.i. to be happy: G622.1?

1. aččhara happy (T24.32): G754.3, G761

2. aččhí-vrick tp.t. to be glad to see (someone): G754.21, with irreg. morphophonemics

9. ačči:múč a variant of čimúč "lizard"

10. ačće adv. middle, center

1. ačće-nkirak adv. a place name, Bluenose (Map, no. 49): "at middle island": 299, G621.1

2. ačće-rayva a certain cut of salmon: "middle belly-rumbling": 1028, G761

3. ačće-k middle finger: 1375

4. ačće vape-pit女áram Van Pelt and Delaney's store in Orleans: "middle store": G420, 1108.1

11. ačku-n swamp robin

12. ačná-t rat

1. ačná-tapvýchč a plant, yarrow, Achillea millefolium var. lanulosa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 236): "imitation rat-tail": 125, G614.2

2. ačná-ti-v rat's nest: 789

3. ačná-tus place where a rat stores its food: cf. 1239.2

4. ačnáxá-t flying squirrel: "stinking rat" 1608
13. áčmu:k eel’s gills; a type of mushroom
14. áčpu:s a part of the salmon, identified as ‘white stuff under the throat’; a plant, wintergreen, Pirola asarifolia var. incarnata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 173)
15. ačviv-v bird
   1. ačviv?ápka:s a type of wild iris (see Schenck and Gifford, no. 47): "bird iris," 108
   2. ačviv-vhirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 74): G622.1, G823.2
   3. ačvivka:m California condor, Gymnogyps californianus (H): "big bird," 846
   4. ačvivyá-s’arA a bird sp.: "birdchief," 1660
16. ačvu:n hookbill salmon, dog salmon
17. paf excrement
   1. pafknivna-mič adv. privy: "little excrement-house": 493.4, G621.9
   2. pafm:n hip
      -m:n is not identifiable.
   3. pafup buttocks
      -up is not identifiable.
   1. pafupčurax anus
      -čurax is not identifiable.
18. pafču-fič adv. a place name (Map, no. 108): perh. "little excrement-creek": 1484, G621.9, but with irreg. accent
   1. pafčufuRF Crawford Creek: 1464
19. pafira leaves of imk&-nva, the ‘sunflower’ or gum plant, Grindelia robusta var. patens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 222)
20. pafiš p.t. to touch
   1. pafiše-na p.t. to feel (by touching)
      -e-na is not identifiable.
21. pafši-h Western service berry, Amelanchier alnifolia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 123)
   1. pafši-p service berry bush: 638
22. pafšrihan pers. young man, esp. an unmarried one: G753.3, G532?
   The dimin. is pafšnihaníč
   1. pafšnihanphnič pers. bachelor: "old unmarried man," 1117.1
   2. pafšrihanxarA a man’s name: "tall young man," 1622
23. pafitú-nva s.i. to be jealous: G751
24. pafív p.t. to make the bottom of (a basket)
   1. páfiva adv. bottom (of anything): G781
      The dimin. is pafívě "(the) very bottom."
25. afrí:h coarse acorn meal
26. afru:s mildewed acorns
27. aftáram adv. a place name (Map, no. 59)
   1. aftáramtuRF Stanshaw Creek: 1464
28. afyiv-v pers. friend
   1. afyivv + mah to be friendly with: "to see (as) a friend," 956
29. pá:h p.i. to carry or handle fire
   1. pá:ha fire; lantern, electric light, electricity: G761
      The irreg. alternant pá:h occurs in most combinations.
   1. pahé-maši-para widower: "one whose fire has gone out": 593, G764
   2. pahikyá-ra:m adv. fireplace, chimney: "fire-making place": 557, G766
3. ?ahi6yura railroad train: "fire-car," 787.2
4. ?ahp&n steamship: "fire-boat," 1039
5. ?ah têmha automobile: "fire-wheel," 1285.1
   1. ?ah técni muyukkukuh automobile tire: "auto its-shoe"; G410, 1713
2. ?a+nisi(rÍh) p.i. to set or light a fire: "to put fire down," G753.3
3. ?ah&ku p.t. to set fire to, to burn: "to put fire on," G753.8
30. ?aha p.t. to herd, drive, as in ?a+huna "to herd around" (G753.29)
   1. ?a+naramu tp.t. to follow, chase
      -ramu is not identifiable.
2. ?aha`vo p.t. to herd toward (T70.17): G753.10, G754.13
31. ?a+ha6uku tp.2t. to withhold from, to hold out on
32. ?a+hánah goose
33. ?a+hakuv p.i. to go to (a place)
34. -?a+ha used in counting points of a deer's horns (see 1275) but
   occurring only in itro*pa+?a+ha "five-point buck" and ?itahara?a+ha
   "ten-point buck."
35. ?a+háramu s.i. to become ashamed
36. ?aharaváku-sra(h) adv: the ninth month of the Karok year: 932
37. ?ahaví?ka+na+va p.i. to fish with a type of large dip-net; to hunt or
   fish (in general): G753.4, G751
38. ?ah+ahapana+ç adv. a place name, part of Red Cap rancheria (Map,
   no. 113): 644, G621.9?
39. ?ahi- a.i. to burn (rare; largely replaced by ?i+nku, 622.1)
   1. ?ahi+ram adv. fireplace: "burning place," G766
   2. ^ahiri+ni+va+na a.i. (trees) to lie burned across a stream
      (T3.81): G.752.2, G753.4, G751
40. ?ahu&s inner bark of the maple
41. ?ahoro p.i. to go, walk, travel, arrive (here)
   1. ?ahorá+kira sidewalk: G754.9, G761
   2. ?ipaho p.i. to return; to travel onward: G731
42. ah+tu+ken oak bark
43. ah+tuy adv. trash pile: cf. 1409
   1. ah+tu+dumukic adv. a sweathouse at ?ame*ky+ra+m rancheria:
   "under a trash pile," 1248.3, G621.9
44. ?ahu+s stick, wood
   1. ?ahu+na+va+na woodworm: "wood-eater," 201.5
   2. ?ahu+sísp wooden box, coffin: "wooden basket," 156
   3. ?ahu+kiya+va+na pers. female assistant at the ?ame*ky+ra+m
      world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "wood-
      gatherer''; 557, G762
45. ?ahváki+p.t. to die of: G754.9?
46. ?ahvára hollow tree
47. ah+yu+mo foot-log, bridge
48. ?ak- p.t. to put (one's hands), to do with one's hands, to reach, as
   in ?a+ksi+prí(riv) "to raise one's hands" (G753.26). A phonemically and
   semantically identical element is identifiable as a submorphemic
   unit (G710)
   1. ?akcak p.i. to close one's hands: G752.1
   2. ?a+ksi+prí p.t. to lock arms with: "to put one's hands through,"
      G753.22
   3. ?a+ksi+uru p.t. to shoot (a weapon): G753.27
49. ?a'k tp.t. to hit (with an implement, as a stick)
   1. ?á'ku tp.t. to hit (with an implement), to chop (with an ax):
      "to hit on," G753.8
   1. ?akó'ra ax: "chopping-instrument": G751, G754.3, G761
      1. ?ako'ná?anamaháč hatchet: "small ax," 129.1
   2. pa'ko* p.t. to whip (one's hair) with a stick, in
      order to dry it after bathing: G731, G751

50. ?ákah father
   1. ?ákáhyá'n stepfather: G614.10
51. ?ákakurih p.i. (pl.) to shout
52. ?ákáray ~ ?áká'y pron. who?, anyone
      After pu= "not," the allomorphs ?ákáRA and káRA occur; see 1171.4.
   1. ?ákárayva ~ ?áká-yva anyone, someone, whoever: G621.17

53. ?ákat a.i. to taste like
1. pakétkat p.t. to taste: G731, G740, with irreg. change from
   intransitive to transitive
54. ?ake! interj. ouch!
55. ?áke'kva p.t. to carry long objects, esp. bows
56. ?akič interj. friend! (term of address used between men)
57. ?ákíh tp.2t. to give (things, or a mass of something) to; to feed
58. ?akič p.t. to handle or move (a soft mass, such as acorn dough)
   1. ?akičtíf tp.t. to hit by throwing a soft mass (T63.12): cf. 516
59. ?akič- a.i. to be coiled, as in ?akičriv "to lie coiled" (G752.2)
60. ?aknap tp.t. to slap, to pat
61. ?aknum p.t. to punch or thump with one's fingers
   1. ?aknumúpara guitar: "repeated-thumping instrument": G740, G761
62. akra'h lamprey, 'eel'
63. ?ákramu p.i. to argue, to wage war
   1. ?ákramíram adv. a place name (Map, no. 16): "arguing-place,"
      G766
64. ?akrap tp.t. to slap: cf. 480
65. akrávsi-p Oregon ash tree, Fraxinus oregona (Schenck and Gifford,
   no. 187): 638?
66. ?a'ksá'nya p.i. to incur bad luck
   1. ?a'ksá'nya bad luck: G761
      1. ?akaanváhič a flower, the shooting-star, Dodecatheon sp.
         (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): "imitation bad luck," G614.2
67. akńípta-hko- adv. a place name, Head Camp: 1273.2
68. ?aktíf tp.t. to shove aside; cf. 514, 605
69. aktínákira rocks on each side of the doorway in an Indian house, which
   one grasps when entering: The accent of the locative aktínákira shows
   that there is a morpheme boundary before -kira (G381.3); presumably
   -kiri (G754.9) and -a (G751) are present.
70. aktípanárA ripgut grass, Bromus rigidus (Schenck and Gifford, no.
   26): 1003
   1. aktípanaraturúvč a grass sp.: "small ripgut grass," 1398.1
71. ?aktúv p.t. to pluck at
   1. ?aktumtórara guitar: "repeated-plucking instrument": G740,
      G754.3 (with irreg. contraction), G761
72. aktí-p wild barley, Hordeum leporinum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 31)
   1. aktíp?ámva'n horse (obsolete; now replaced by šiš'i'h, 305): 201.4
2. akʰi-phirak adv. Trinity Summit: "(at) barley-place," G622.1, G623.2
73. akʰi-pnika man's name: perhaps "little barley"; 72, G621.10
74. akunih-sik a man's name; translated in Kroeber, 1925, p. 108, as "shoots swiftly"; cf. 75, 703
75. akunva p.t. to hunt: G751?
   1. akunva:pxa man's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "hunting cap," 126
76. akup tp.2.t. to challenge to (a game)
77. akvakira quiver: G754.9, G761?
78. akvat raccoon
79. akva:pxa-n man's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "hunting cap," 126
80. akvi:n nettle, Urtica gracilis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 77)
81. akvi:s wildcat
   The dimin. is akvi:sič.
82. akvita alder tree, Alnus rhombifolia or A. rubra (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 67 and 68): 638
83. akxap ripgut grass, Bromus rigidus
   1. akxa:pak ?atatūra-hítihan morning glory, Convolvulus fulcratus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 192): "that which is twisted up onto ripgut grass": G621.1, 182, G753.31, G621.1, G757, G532
84. akxaráp p.t. to scratch: cf. 1548
85. am, a submorphemic element meaning "earth," can be seen in 89, 91, and 208. A different am, meaning "fire," is perhaps to be recognized in 88, 89(?), and 92; cf. 562.
86. amva salmon; perhaps 201, G751 (with irreg. morphophonemics), G761. In preound position, the alternant amva- usually occurs.
   1. amva:n otter: "salmon-eater," 20.1.5
   2. amv(e)kyā:ra:m adv. a place name (Map, no. 85): "salmon-making place": 557, G766
87. amih- found only in the following compounds:
   1. amihkam stingy: 868
   2. amihyav generous: 1665
88. amkuf smoke
   1. amkufkuniš adj. blue: "like smoke," G621.13
89. amta dust, ashes; (as postpound) gray
   1. amtā:paras a type of lupine, Lupinus albifrons; also identified as the cotton-batting plant, Gnaphalium chilense (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 126 and 230): "dusty ones," G621.2, G621.16
   2. amtā:pič earthworm: "little dust," G621.9
90. amti-kē:ra 'Indian cards,' the sticks used in gambling.
91. amtu:p clay; (adv.) a place name, uphill and downriver from puriθp-xuv, 1177.3
92. amyiv soot
93. a:n string, twine, thread, rope
94. a:na:č crow: perhaps "little medicine"; 95, G621.9
   1. anaččíth a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13i): "crow-foot," 360
   2. anaččiš mistletoe, Phoradendron villosum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 79): "crow-seed," 1480.2
95. a:nay medicine
1. *?ane'krfvra-m adv. hospital: "medicine-house," 493.4
2. *?ane'kyává-n pers. shaman or 'doctor' who treats by means of sweating and herbs: "medicine-maker," 557.5
1. *?ane'kyaváni-k adv. hospital: "(at) doctor-place"; G614.7, G621.1
2. *?ane'kyavaní?krfvra-m adv. hospital: "doctor-house," 493.4
96. ?ã-naxis ~ ?ã-?nxus weasel
97. ?anihá-hiê a woman's name: G621.97
98. ?ano-! interj. ouch! (used when burnt)
99. ansáfri-k adv. a place name, Weitchpec (a Yurok town): G614.7, G621.1
1. ?ansáfri-k va?'ará-r by-name for kačakači, the crested jay: "Weitchpec person"; G420, 132
100. ?ã-nva p.i. to paint one's (own) face: G751?
1. ?ã-nvátp.t. to paint (some)one's face: G754.12, with haplogly
102. *ap adv. a variant of ?ip "recent past," 635
103. *apáčin a type of worm, found in the heads of deer; a man's name
104. *apak a.i. (earth) to slide
1. *apaka cliff; G761
1. *apaka?¡pan adv. a place name (Map, no. 19): "clifftop," 644
105. ?ãPakač apricot(s): from the English plural
106. ?ãpap adv. on one side
107. ?ãpi? tp.t. to seek, look for
108. ?ã-phu p.t. to carry (two objects)
109. ápka's ground iris, Iris macrosiphon (Schenck and Gifford, no. 57)
110. apkók a man's name
111. apkúran thigh
112. apmá'n mouth; beak (of a bird)
1. apmaní?krixúphupa pepper: "mouth-burning"; 498, G761
2. apmansá:yhi a.i. to have traces of food around one's mouth: 1263, G622.1
3. apmantášušara talkative person G621.2?; -tášuš is not identifiable.
4. apmánti:m adv. (on one's) lip: "mouth-edge," 1377
5. apmáráfríh lip: -áfríh not identifiable
6. apmárára woodpecker-head sash: "having beaks," G621.2
7. apmaráxvuh whiskers: "mouth-fuzz," 251
113. aprá:x fox
114. ápri-h tongue
115. âpeí-h leg
1. âpsihikxómnkxúshasa gold fern, Gymnogramme triangularis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 5): "little blacklegs"; 538.4, G621.9, G621.6
2. âpsihóókurara bowlegged: G621.2?; -óókur- not identifiable
116. âpsum snake
1. âpsum?áxra-n quaking grass, Briza minor (Schenck and Gifford, no. 29): "snake-tracks," 231
2. apsunmúnikíč a type of snake, the Western yellow-bellied racer (H): "slippery snake," 985
1. apsunmunukíč'ímká:nva mountain hemp, Apocynum andro-saemifolium var. nevadense (Schenck and Gifford, no. 190): "racer's sunflower," 576.1
3. apsunpu:yu'va'na gopher snake; G767; -pu:y- not identifiable
4. apsúnkuu: Five Mile Creek: "snake creek," 1464
5. apsunxárA a legendary giant serpent, called a 'boa constrictor' by one informant: "long snake," 1602
1. apsunxrálímká:nva a plant, green dock, Rumex conglomeratus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 80): "long-snake's sunflower," 576.1
6. apsunyu:liv a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13f): "snake-nose," 1685

117. aptinfhiS braided bear-lily leaves, from which aprons are made: G621.9?
118. áptí:k branch, limb (of a tree)
119. vá-pučur a:i to collapse (meaning and form uncertain; found only in T52.74)
120. vá-pun adv. on the ground
1. vápúnfa:6 pine-mat manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 182): "ground manzanita," 352
2. vá-punić adj. low: G621.9
121. vá-punxuh gum (of plants); glue
122. vá-punmu tp.t. to know (a fact), to know about (a person or thing), to find out: 753.10?
1. vá-punmi:k tp.t. to learn from: cf. 1241.1
123. vápuF tp.t. to bewitch, to 'devil'
The allomorph vápuru- occurs in some combinations.
1. vápünku tp.t. to bewitch, 'devil'; G753.8
2. vápuró:n magic charm or 'devil machine' used by a sorcerer: perh. G532, with irreg. contraction
3. vápuruva:n pers. evil sorcerer, 'Indian devil': "bewitcher"; G751, G762
1. vápuruváni:k adv. a place name, part of váśánná-mkarak rancheria: "devil place"; G614.7, G621.1
124. váPus apple(s); from the English plural
1. váuspá:y apple pie: 1105
125. ápvu-y tail; cf. 1344
1. apvuyúyurara Cooper hawk, Accipiter cooperi (M): "tail-dragger"; 787, G754.3, G761, with irreg. accent
126. ápxa:n basket cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-43); hat (of any kind)
1. ápxánmu:m bumblebee; cf. 983
2. ápxantíníhič - ápxantíníč - ápxantíč: white man: "flat-cap" (because of the brims on white men's hats), 1388.1
1. ápxanti-čampíníhič tea: "white man's yerba buena," 1418.1
2. ápxanti-čimásxuhv chewing gum: "white man's gum," 592
3. ápxanti-čpu:uč sheep, goat: "white man's deer," 1174
4. ápxanti-čri-k adv. city: "white-man place"; G614.7, G621.1
5. ápxanti-čtáyi:θ potato (obsolete, replaced by putífruh): "white man's brodiaea," 1363

127. ?ára - ?aráah person
1. ?arári-k adv. rancheria, i.e., an Indian village: "person-place"; G614.7, G621.1
2. ?aráta-nva disease object or 'pain,' i.e., a magical worm which causes illness: 1307
   1. ?aráta-nva + ká-na to be disease (in a stated body-part): "a 'pain' to wiggle," 869
   2. ?aráta-nva + pihruy (a shaman) to dance and sing while holding a 'pain' which has been extracted from a sick person: "to re-use a pain"; G731, 425
3. ?ára ?úpiamvá-nathirak Medicine Mountain: "where a person eats himself"; G520, G731, 201, G754.17, G757, G823.2

128. ?aráka-s old man
129. *?arámah child (in the sense of "offspring")

Used only with possessives, except in the derivatives below. The corresponding plural is -tunvi-v.

1. -?ánamahac' adj. little, small: G621.9
   The sequence -ana- behaves morphophonemically like a long vowel (G383). The suppletive plural is -tunvi-č(asa). 1398.1; the corresponding free forms are singular nī-namič, plural tâ-pičas.

2. ?anamáhi-č(va) doll: "imitation child," G614.2

130. ?arankúrih a.i. to sink (into water): G753.9
1. ?arankúrihvara sinker: "sinking-instrument," G751, G754.3, G761

131. ?arápru-t millipede

132. ?ará-ra pers. man (i.e., human being), person: Indian; (with possessives) relative: cf. 127
2. ?aráramvanypšítanač -ič a type of fly, the 'horsefly': "baby man-eater"; 201.5, 1698.10
3. ?arárapšípiših yellowjacket: "Indian bee," 1153
4. ?arárapfráms wild plum(s): "Indian plum(s)," 1170
5. ?arárašaka arrowhead: "Indian bullet," 1196
7. ?aráraya-s?ará the Bureau of Indian Affairs: "Indian-chief," 1660
8. ?arárépto-rara census taker: "person-counter"; G731, 1396, G754.3, G761
9. ?aráré-špuka dentalium shells: "Indian money," 716

133. ?arári-hkanhi s.i. to get well, recover (from an illness); (a wound) to heal: G622.1?
1. ?arárf-hkanhivač tp.t. to cure (a sick person): "to cause to recover," G754.12

134. ?arátváraf black mud

135. ?áráv p.i. to weave with three strands (in basketry)

136. ?aráv p.i. to start, to come

Used only in the following:
1. ?arávuk p.i. to start from, to come by way of: G754.17
2. ?aráRamšir(v) p.i. to start out (on a journey); to come from (a certain place): G753.28, with irreg. accent
137. ?arih   older brother, older male cousin
   The dimin. is *arih?i
138. ?arih- p.i. to move quickly, often translated "to jump," or in some contexts simply "to go," as in ?arihro-vu "to go upriver" (G753.19)
   1. ?arih?i(arih) s.t. to become, to be transformed into: G753.3
139. ?arih?i(arih) p.t. to sing: G753.3; but no logical connection with 138.1 seems possible
140. ?ari-m adj. dead
141. ?arih p.t. to cut a strip or thong from
142. ?arup navel, navel cord
   1. ?an?i?i a plant, coast trillium, Trillium ovatum; also applied to the root of fat Solomon, Smilacina amplexicaulis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 54 and 55): "imitation navel," G614.2
   2. ?arup?i?i?na-n a type of lizard, the skink, Eumeces sp. (M): "navel-hider": 732, G762
143. ?aru-n adj. empty
144. ?arus seed basket (O'Neale, p. 45)
   2. ?an?i?i thimble: "little seed basket," G621.9
145. ?a-s adv. water; juice
   2. ?as?i?i shallow: G621.9; cf. 229
   3. ?as?i?i adv. a place name (Map, no. 4): perh. "muddy water": cf. 246
   4. ?a-shi s.i. to be wet: G622.1
   7. ?as?i?i pers. woman; female (as in musmus- ?as?i?i-5 "cattle-female, cow"): "water-carrier": 513, G762
   1. ?as?i?i a woman's name: "homely woman," 868
   2. ?as?i?i-imxa-?i?i a plant sp.: "that which smells like a woman": 868, 615, G757, G532
146. ?asa rock, stone; in some compounds (see subentries 1 and 8), earth, dirt
   1. ?as?i?i red earth, ochre: cf. 370
   2. ?as?i?i adv. a place name (Map, no. 3): perh. "little watery bad-rock": 868, G621.9 (with irreg. contraction), G753.4, G621.1
147. ?as?i?i adv. a sweathouse at ?ame-ky?ra-m rancheria: "behind a rock": 965
148. ?as?i?i-mkara-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 84): 1009, G753.4, G621.1
149. ?as?i?i-5 a rock wall: 1106, G761, G621.9, with irreg. contraction.
1. ?asape-CHIPAN adv. a place name (Map, no. 72): "end (or top) of a rock wall," 644

7. ?asapívítu-nupa adv. a place name (Map, no. 1): "new-rock flowing-downriver"; 1155, 1595, G753.24, G716

8. ?asapó-xvenač cliff swallow, Petrochelidon sp. (M): "one which carries earth in its mouth"; 1186, G767, G621.9

9. ?asattáran bedrock; cement: cf. G752.5

10. ?asaúrúhí-NAVRE a mountain near Katimin: "round-rock summit"; 1497, 798

11. ?asaúrupu-y adv. a hill below the mouth of the Salmon River: "rock hill," 1510

1. ?asaúrufikura- adv. the ridge leading up this hill, along which the spirits of the dead pass upon leaving this world: 520.1.1

12. ?asavê-hka-k adv. a place name, The Three Sisters: "(at) rock standing-on"; 1539, G753.8, G761, G621.1

13. ?asavúrika adv. a place name (Map, no. 93): "flowing in under a rock"; 1575.2, G781

14. ?asaxárraha -?u-évhrivirak a place name, Allison's Lodge: "where long rocks stand": 1602, G621.16, G520, 1539.2, G823.2

15. ?asaxxé-m moss, lichen: "rock-seaweed," 1621

1. ?asaxxé-vara Baldy Peak: "mossy," G621.2

16. ?asáxu-s soapstone; rubber: "smooth rock," 1640

1. ?asaxuskitrahara raincoat: "rubber coat," 945.1

2. ?asaxusykäküh boot(s): "rubber shoe(s)," 1693

17. ?asayáyá:hara a rock near ?asánna-mkarak rancheria, having the power to cure stutterers: "stuttering rock"; 1669, G754.3, G716

18. ?asó-hra-m stone pipe: 1480.3

19. ?ásaxvakxarakvítuh California wood fern, Aspidium rigidum var. argutum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 10): "that which shouts down over from a rock"; G621.1, 1533, G753.38, G751, G757, G532

147. ?asa p.t. to wear (on one's body)

148. ?asámnih adv. a place name; located by Kroeber, 1936, p. 31, as being on the east side of the Klamath, two miles below Tea Bar

149. ?asámy-θ gravel: 146?

150. ?asápi-p black cottonwood tree, Populus trichocarpa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 66): 638

151. ?asátm adv. a place name, Trinidad (a Yurok town)

152. ?asaxrátu-f Halverson Creek (?): perh. "water-thorn (or -gooseberry) creek"; 145, 233, 1464

153. ?asaxváríť moss which grows in the water: 145, G621.10?

1. ?asaxvanáťamva-nič water ouzel, Cinclus mexicanus var. unicolor (H): "little moss-eater": 201.5, G621.9

154. ?axáxvuh turtle; lock (on a door)

The extension of meaning is said to be due to the fact that old-fashioned padlocks resembled turtle shells.

155. ?asaxyítup quartz: 146?

156. ?aisip bowl basket (O'Neale, p. 36): dish, vessel of any kind

May be used as a classifier.
1. ásipak adv. a place name (Map, no. 68): "in a bowl basket," G621.1
   1. ásipák'uf Teneyck Creek: 1464
2. ásipákramnha-n young boy assisting in the Orleans world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "one who reaches into a bowl basket"; 48, G753.13, G762
3. ásipánamahač girl's soup basket (O'Neale, plate 5a): "small bowl basket," 129.1
4. ásiparáx cooking basket (O'Neale, p. 35) or water basket (ibid., p. 37): 1065?
   1. ásipánaxič snail: "little cooking basket," G621.9
5. ásipá'yatákura-m adv. dish cupboard: "dish putting-on place"; 819, G752.4, G766
6. ásiparávrirhara-m adv. dish cupboard: "dish putting-down place"; 1211, G753.3, G766
7. ásipáyalthihra-m adv. dish cupboard: "dish-lying place"; 1361.2, G766
8. ásipáxanahač a type of basket, used for cooking small quantities: "little tall bowl-basket"; 1602, G621.9
9. ásipáxanahihamač boy's soup basket (O'Neale, plate 5b): "small tall bowl-basket"; 1602, 129.1

157. ásip p.i. to sleep
1. ásipáxčiš (rih) tp.t. to put to sleep (T24.12): G754.12, G753.3, with irreg. accent
2. ásipák p.i. to close one's eyes: G752.1
   1. ásipákakve-nač wren, Trögloidytes sp. (M): "little one which repeatedly closes its eyes"; G740, G767, G621.9
3. ásipáxaráram adv. bed: "sleeping-place"; G751, G766
4. ásipáx (rih) p.i. to go to bed, to lie down: G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics

158. ásip cave, overhanging rock
1. ásipífšra-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 32): "cave-clearing," 1391
2. ásipamnha'tuf Five Mile Creek (?): 1464
160. askup trout
   1. askupámva-n kingfisher: "trout-eater," 201.5
   2. askupntuvč minnows: "small trout," 1398.1
161. asma-x towhee, Pipilo maculatus (M)
162. ásnea-pirax a woman's name
163. aspah6-kra-m a pond at Katimin: 1483
164. a-srávara brains
165. asta'h duck
   1. astahvo-nanač coot, Fulica sp. (M): "little slow-moving duck"; 1563, G754.3, G761, G621.9
166. astá-mič adv. a place name, part of Katimin: 621.9
167. astãriš quiet, silent
168. asti'p adv. on the river-bank
   The dimin. is asti'pić "right on (or by) the river-bank"
169. astu'k sweat
   1. astukhi p.i. to sweat; G622.1
170. ásuv p.i. to grumble
   1. ásuvč tp.t. to scold: -iš not identifiable
171. 'asu*xara adj. fasting
172. 'asu*xim sugar-pine gum; sugar
  1. 'asuximpaxvirixvira candy: "sugar-sucking"; 1103, G761
  2. 'asuximxanahyá-k candy cane: "long sugar"; 1602, G621.20
173. asvu*am adv. a place name, the Yurok town of kenek (as recorded in Kroeber, 1925, p. 9)
  1. asvu*am*asa a basket design (O'Neale, fig. 16): "kenek rock," 146
174. asvu*at ant
  1. asvutanámka*m wood-ant: 846; -anam- not identifiable
  2. asvutxat red ant: "stinking ant," 1608
175. ásxa*y adj. damp; green (of wood); green wood: 145?
176. *at, a submorphemic element meaning "body part," may be identified in 188, 189, 190, and 191
177. át*t spring salmon, king salmon, Onchorynchus tschawytscha (H) (obsolete; now replaced by isya-t, 744.1)
  1. 'atmahavnika-ní a flower, baby-blue-eyes, Nemophila menziesii (Schenck and Gifford, no. 195): "little one that sees spring salmon coming"; 956.1, G762, G621.9
  2. 'atíá back meat of salmon: 690? G621.10?
  1. 'atíá*af back meat of salmon: 1250
178: át*TA adv. maybe, I suppose
  May be used as a qualifier of interrogatives, in the sense of "I wonder" (G836.1)
  1. át*affaf*at adv. maybe: 350
  1. át*affaf*at na* maybe (T3.110): 994
  2. átahári adv. always, all the time, for some time, anytime: 377
  1. átahári - átahári*s adv. always: G621.10?
179. átahrí*všura a woman's name
180. átahvúxvëe*nač bluebird: G767, G621.9
181. átahvúčkí-nač common geranium, Geranium dissectum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 133); G621.9
182. át*at p.t. to twist
183. átay salmon eggs, roe: 177?
  1. átayčkinac young brodiaea plant, Brodiaea capitata (H): "little blue (or green?) salmon-eggs"; 1469, G621.9
  2. átayčrip California blackberry, Rubus vitifolius (Schenck and Gifford, no. 113): -črip not identifiable
  3. átáxyu*n salmon roe baked with powdered manzanita berries: "salmon-egg acorn-soup," 1631
184. átáyra*m star
  1. átayamantunvë-č(as) the Pleiades: "small stars," 1418.1
  2. átayramisšíxaráhara dragonfly: "star having a long penis," 1238, 1602, 764
185. át*típima carrion, rotten meat
  1. át*tipima*ma buzzard; "carrion-eater," 201.5
186. átíá grand-relative through a man; i.e., father's father, father's mother, father's uncle, father's aunt, son's son, son's daughter, nephew's son, or nephew's daughter
  1. átíá*íyá*n great-grand-relative through a man; i.e., father's grandparent's sibling, son's or nephew's grandchild: G614.10
2. \(?\text{ati}^-\text{va}'s\) grand-relative through a deceased man; i.e., parent or parent's-sibling of a dead father, child of a dead son or nephew: G614.9

187. \(?\text{ati}^-\text{i}^\circ\text{v}\) p.t. to carry (things which lie in a mass, like acorns) in a burden basket. Derivatives show two irreg. alternants: \(?\text{ati}^-\text{ivu}'-, as in the durative \(?\text{ati}^-\text{ivu}^-\text{Thi}^\circ\text{h}\); and \(?\text{a}'^-\text{ti}^\circ\text{v}, as in \(?\text{a}'^-\text{ti}^-\text{furuk} "to carry indoors" (G753.2)

1. \(?\text{ati}^-\text{mnan} 'pack basket,' burden basket (O'Neale, pp. 32-33); may be used as a classifier, in the sense of "basketful": "carrying in," G753.14; G761. The locative is \(?\text{ati}^-\text{mnvak or, irregularly, \(?\text{ati}^-\text{mnak

2. \(?\text{a}'^-\text{ti}^-\text{s}(\text{rih})\) p.t. to carry (acorns or the like) home in a pack basket: "to carry down," G753.3

3. \(?\text{a}'^-\text{ti}^-\text{s}(\text{pi}(\text{riv})\) p.t. to raise up with a pack basket full of (acorns or the like) on one's back: "to carry up," G753.26

4. \(?\text{ativa} burden-basket load (used as a classifier): G761

5. \(?\text{ativ}^-\text{kira} pack saddle: "carrying-instrument"; G754.9, G761

188. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{p}\) rib

189. \(\text{a}^-\text{tra}^-\text{x}\) arm

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{tra}^-\text{x}^\circ\text{pan adv. shoulder: "arm-end,}" 644

190. \(\text{a}^-\text{tru}^-\text{p}\) palm of the hand

191. \(\text{a}^-\text{tra}^-\text{x}\) collar bone

192. \(\text{a}^-\text{san} gill

193. \(\text{a}^-\text{san p.i. to float

194. \(\text{a}^-\text{tip p.i. to wring

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{para wringer: "wringing-instrument"; G754.3, G761

195. \(\text{a}^-\text{sit trash, bits of refuse

196. \(\text{a}^-\text{sti}^-\text{k adj. cold; cold weather

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{sti}^-\text{k} + \text{i}^\circ\text{v} (a\text{-person) to be cold: "to die cold," 788

197. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h hazel with the

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h}^-\text{xun}\text{t}^\circ\text{pan hazel nut: "hazel-withe-acorn," 1631.1

2. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h}^-\text{u}^-\text{f Indian Creek: "hazel-withe creek," 1464

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h}^-\text{u}^-\text{f}^-\text{fa}^-\text{ra}^-\text{m adv. a place name (Map, no. 8): "Indian-Creek clearing," 1391

2. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h}^-\text{u}^-\text{f}^-\text{u}^-\text{f Indian Creek: 1464

3. \(\text{a}^-\text{ti}^-\text{h}^-\text{u}^-\text{f}^-\text{v}^-\text{u}^-\text{num adv. a place name, Happy Camp (Map, no. 9): 1575, G753.24, G753.10, G761?

198. \(\text{a}^-\text{ku}^-\text{n throat

199. \(\text{a}^-\text{k}^\circ\text{urit fat, grease

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{k}^\circ\text{urit}^-\text{t}^\circ\text{a}^-\text{m}^-\text{va}^-\text{n gray jay, Perisoreus sp. (M): "grease-eater," 201.5

2. \(\text{a}^-\text{k}^\circ\text{urit}^-\text{ra}^-\text{h}^\circ\text{iva adv. hunting season (T72.3): G621.2, G754.1, G761. -ahiv is normally added only to verbs.

200. \(\text{a}^-\text{y}^-\text{va s.i. to be afraid

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{y}^-\text{va} + \text{i}^\circ\text{yav to scare (T32.13): "to make afraid," G761, 557

201. \(\text{a}^-\text{v}^-\text{p.i. to eat

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{v}^-\text{a}^-\text{taste: probably containing -a, G761, but with irreg. nasalization. Occurring only in:

1. \(\text{a}^-\text{mak}^-\text{k}^-\text{e}^-\text{m adj. bad-tasting: 868

2. \(\text{a}^-\text{ma}^-\text{yav adj. good-tasting: 1665

2. \(\text{a}^-\text{m}^\circ\text{k}^-\text{ira} table: G754.9, G761

3. \(\text{a}^-\text{m}^\circ\text{k}^-\text{e}^-\text{va} 'lunch, i.e. food carried on a journey; G754.9
4. 'arnna-m adv. hotel: "eating-place," G766
5. amva-n eater: G751, G762, with irreg. loss of _
6. áva food: "eating," G761
7. 'avahA food: "being eaten": G755, G761
   1. 'avane-kmyn-a-mi adv. pantry: "little food-house": 493.4, G621.9
8. ípáv p.t. to eat again: G731
9. pámva-ra p.t. to finish eating: G731, G754.11; the suffix -mara appears here in an irreg. allomorph. Before derivative suffixes; the alternant pámvara- occurs.
202. ?av adv. face
   1. vfi-vhi p.t. to face: G622.1
   2. ?ávílé cheek: "face-flesh," 690
   3. ?ávkam adv. ahead, in front: "face-side," G621.11
      1. ?avkam?ahóva-n pers. the senior priestess in the world-renewal ceremonies at Katimin and Orleans (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "ahead-walker": 41, G751, G762
203. -?avah- above
   Occurs only in the locative -?avak (used only as a postpound) and in the following:
   1. ?avahkam adv. on top: "above-side," G621.11
      1. ?avahkmva-s waist (i.e., the upper part) of a dress: "top-blanket," 1526
      2. ?avahkamyukkuh rubber(s): "top-shoe(s)," 1693
204. ?a-vahara adj. alive
205. ?av husband
   1. ?avahhi p.t. (a woman) to marry: G622.1
      1. ?avahahi-c common-law husband: G761, G614.2
      2. pávanpa husband of a woman's dead sister: "marrying again": G731, G761. The etymology reflects the practice of the sororate.
206. ?avansa pers. man (i.e., an adult human male): cf. 205
   1. ?avansappfri a plant sp., having seeds which adhere to clothing; used by men for love medicine: "man-medicine," 1148
207. ?avaf p.t. to go (in order to) get; G754.2
208. ?avax red mud; cf. 215
   1. ?avax?íra-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 2): "red-mud deer-lick," 689.3
209. ?ave?p tp.t. to take (something) away from (someone): G754.4?
210. ?a´vika p.t. to carry (a light object): G751
211. ?a-nvay adv. a place name, Cappell (a Yurok town)
   1. ?amnayku-tic a man's name: "little Cappell-grandfather": 942, G621.9
212. "?a-`w interj. imitation of Bear's growl (T32.61)
213. *ax, a submorphemic element meaning "small animal," may be identified in 228, 232, 236, 237, and 238
214. ?ax tp.t. (animal) to rend with the teeth; to kill. Often translated "to bite," but not used of humans, snakes, or insects
215. ?é-x blood; (as a postpound) red
1. ">&*xhi s.i. to bleed: G622.1
2. ?axfémpa-h blood vessel: "blood-path," 585
3. ?axfémpa blood clot: 601, G761
4. ?ax*kNIš adj. red: "like blood," G621.13
5. im?á-x a.i. to be red: G622.2

216. ?ax-x! interj. an exclamation of disgust

217. ?axak adv. two
1. ?axakh?n adv. the second month of the Karok year: G621.5
2. ?axakí:č adv. just two: G621.9
3. (p)axakínkvkihà adv. seven: cf. 494
   1. xakin kvkhà-n adv. the seventh month of the Karok year: G621.5
4. (p)axakítríhàyar adv. twenty: "two-tens," 755
   The prebound form is xakitahars-.
5. ?axak?vrávapuh twins: "two-born"; 796, G763
6. ?axaktk forked-horn buck, i.e., a deer with two points on each horn: "two-point," 1275
8. ?axakýya-n adv. twice: G614.11

218. ?axarvíš adv. a place name (Map, no. 25): G621.10?

219. ?axaska s.i. (a person) to be thin; to lose weight
1. ?axaska adj. thin (of persons): G761
220. *?axav- a.i. to collapse, used esp. of earth, as in ?axavsuru "(earth) to cave off" (G753.27)
1. ?axa:-k adv. cliff: G761, G621.1
   1. ?axa:-?ípan "adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: "cliff-top," 644
   2. ?axa:-súrúk adv. a place name (Map, no. 37): "under a cliff," 1248.3
      1. pa?axa:-súrúk a woman’s name: "the one at ?axa:-súrúk," G810
   3. ?axa:-vúrika adv. a place name (Map, no. 94): "flowing in under a cliff:" 1575.2, G761
2. ?axo-?íha landslide: "collapsing down": G753.30, G761

221. ?axay tp.2t. to take (something) from (someone)
1. ?axayč fåkih(rih) tp.t. to grab, seize, catch: G752.1, G753.3
2. ?axay?íp tp.t. to rinse

222. axi-čà child; man’s brother’s child: G621.9? The dimin. is axí-ťič.
1. axíčava-xvà-X crybaby: -va-xvà-x not identifiable
3. axíče-krívra?m adv. womb: "child-house," 493.4

224. axmay adv. suddenly
1. ?axmáy ?ik ?axmá-k suddenly; at one moment (T4.114, T20.11): 437, with irreg. contraction in the second alternant

225. axmxúšanač a type of grass: G621.9

226. axpáha headdress
1. axpáhe-knífka a flower, the 'fawn-lily' or adder's tongue, Erythronium sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): perh. "little headdress-attaching instrument"; 486, G754.9 (with haplology), G761, G621.9

227. axpih nail (of finger or toe)
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228. áxpu·m meadow mouse, Microtus sp. (M)

229. axraха dead tree; cf. 806 (in reference to dryness)
   1. axrahassáviš'ih adv. a place name (Map, no. 24): "dead-tree
      flowing-down"; 1220, G753.3, G761. The prejunctural form is
      axrahassáviš'.

230. axrub foot, paw or hoof of an animal; track(s)

231. axra′s gopher

232. axráspupu't a plant, Crepis acuminata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 221);
   cf. 231

233. axra't thorn; gooseberry, Ribes roezlii var. cruentum (Schenck and
   Gifford, no. 107).
   1. axnatsínihic snow berry, Symphoricarpus albus; also identified
      as Draperia systyla (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 196 and 217):
      "little shiny-thorn"; 1235, G621.9

2. axrátip thorn bush, gooseberry bush: 638

234. axrúhih 'Indian purse,' an elk horn case for holding small objects

235. axrukuxrúkuh a.i. to rattle: G740

236. áxru'h gray squirrel

237. axsah mussel

238. áxsc'ay ground squirrel

239. ?áxuh p.i. to cough
   1. ?áxuh?áxuh p.i. to have tuberculosis: 740

240. ?áxup p.i. to put dressed deermeat; used with directionals, as in
   ?áxupruprih "to put dressed deermeat in through" (G753.22)
   1. ?áxupa dressed deermeat: G761

241. axváhA pitch (as of the pine)
   1. axvá:hara pitch-wood, i.e., wood containing pitch; candle: an
      irreg. contraction of ?axváhahara "pitchy," which also occurs;
      G621.2
      1. axvá:hara:9kurit kerosene: "candle-grease," 199

242. axvá'h head
   1. axvá:hi- p.i. to have one's head pointing; used with directionals
      as in axvá:hiro*vu "to lie with one's head pointing upriver"
      (G753.19): G622.1
      1. axvá:hu'nih a.i. to go down head first (T9.51): G753.30,
         with irreg. morphophonemics

2. axváhiyákuriha gravestone: "head sticking-in"; 433.1, G761

3. axváhtá:hko* blond: "white-head," 1273.2

4. axváhxu:s bald: "smooth-head," 1640

243. axváhici' adv. a place name (Map, no. 54): G621.9

244. axváhkan sick

245. axva·m acorn of the Oregon oak, Quercus garryana (Schenck and
   Gifford, no. 70)
   1. axvě:p Oregon oak tree: 638, with irreg. contraction

246. axvá·mhi a.i. to be muddy: G622.1; cf. 145.3

247. áxvá:y 'crane,' i.e., the great blue heron, Ardea herodias (M)


249. axvišin dirty (perh. only in the sense of "morally unclean," as in
   T52.17)
   1. axviširara adj. dirty (physically): G621.2

250. axvišínih grave; graveyard: cf. 249

251. axvuh down, fuzz
252. axyamsurip  Western azalea, Rhododendron occidentale (Schenck and Gifford, no. 176): 1259
   1. axyamsurip:adv. a place name (Map, no. 97): "under an azalea," 1248.3

253. axyam•irit  cicada

254. axya• a.i. (contents) to fill (a container)
   1. axyara  adj. full: G761

255. axyu's nut of the digger pine, Pinus sabiniana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 16): 1500?
   1. axyu's  digger pine tree: 638

256. ?ay  tp.t. to be afraid of

257. ?a'y  California wild grape, Vitis californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 147)
   1. ?ayipan  grapevine: "grape-top," 644

258. ?ayan  (flat-)iron: from English

259. ?ay•  a place name, Eyese Bar (Map, no. 55)

260. Vayu- interj. exclamation used to revoke a slip of the tongue

261. ?ayu•a•c - ?a-ya-c - 'e-ya-c  adv. it was because . . . : 260, G621.9?

262. ?ayuk• interj. hello!
   Used when meeting a person, and also to address a distant person or
   place which is thought of nostalgically (T4.145). The word is said to
   have been introduced by whites, who probably took it from Wiyot
   ai-o-kwe, ai-o-kwe' "friend" (as given in Powers, p. 479).

263. čafič  p.t. to gnaw meat from (a bone)
   1. čafiča  bone to gnaw on: G761

264. čakapt•mič - čaka?•č - kača?•mič  adv. slowly, quietly, gently:
   G621.9

265. čakapi•pi•h - čakakapi•pi•h  a bird, the bushtit, Psaltriparus sp. (M)

266. čakay  tp.t. to be disgusted by, to consider nasty
   1. čak•hA  nasty: G755, G761

267. ča•kcha•n a man's name

268. čamikn•nač adv. a place name, across-river from sahůrum
   rancheria: G621.9

269. čamuxič  sucker (a fish): G621.9

270. čamnu• p.t. to break rotten bark off of (trees)
   1. čamnúpanač  a type of woodpecker: "little bark-breaker"; G754.3,
   G621.9

271. čanak•kat  mosquito

272. čanap•yič 'snowbird,' Junco sp. (M): G621.9; cf. 1263

273. čanak•f foam
   1. čanča•kunič  adj. white: "like foam," G621.13
   Replaced in postpostound position by -ta•hko-, 1273.2.

274. čančak  p.i. to close the smoke-hole of an Indian house: G752.1
   1. čanča•ksuru  p.i. to open the smoke-hole: (a.i.) (a barrier) to
   open (T57.50): G753.27; cf. 1243.1
   1. čanča•ksura  smoke-hole; G761
   2. čančakvára  p.i. to hiccup: G753.32, G751
275. čánha-yfur exclamation of Coyote when interrupted while raping a girl (T11.24); said by informant to have reference to sexual intercourse

276. čánNiman Chinaman; from English

277. čántříh tick (the animal)
   1. čantinihtunvě-č tall pepper-grass, Lepidium virginicum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 100): "small ticks," 1398.1

278. čarihtříh name of a white man: "wide Charley," from English "Charley" + 1388

279. čá's younger brother, younger male cousin: cf. 303

280. čáTik - čáTik adv. finally

281. čatnak p.t. to crack (acorns): cf. 893

282. čatnuš a.i. (a boil) to burst: cf. 971

283. čávA adv. of doubtful meaning; once translated as "sure enough, ..." (T1.113)

284. čávůrA ~ ʔačávůrA adv. finally: 1577?

285. čáč adv. quickly: G621.9?

286. čami interj. all right!: cf. 294

287. čám-yač adv. quickly: G621.9?

288. čáxhi a.i. to make the call of the mountain tanager: cf. 737.2

289. čáfič tp.t. to beat at gambling

290. čáfič adv. quickly: G621.9?

291. čáKin chicken: from English
   1. čáKinďruh (hen's) egg: 1497
   1. čáKinďruh-pař custard pie: "egg pie," 1105

292. čákuš! (with voiceless u) interj. imitation of the sound of poking with a stick (T46.21)

293. čášką-kara common scouring rush, Equisetum hyemale var. robustum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 11): G754.3, G761?
   1. čášąŋkaratunvě-č common horsetail, Equisetum arvense (Schenck and Gifford, no. 12): "small scouring rushes," 1399.1

294. čámi - či adv. used in anticipative meaning, generally with imperative and future forms (G845.1). The alternant čámi, in which the m is subject to gemination, occurs in a few combinations.
   1. čámi p.i. to agree, consent: G622.1
   2. čáMičA adv. unexpectedly: G621.17
   3. čámi kuťa-pkuh goodbye!: "bid farewell!"; 950, G531
   4. čámi man all right! come on!: 966
   5. čáv axmay suddenly: 224, with irregular sandhi

295. čá-mič adv. few; a little bit: G621.9

296. čá-mič či adv. - ʔačí:muč lizard

297. čá-nač adv. a place name, uphill from činačʔiši-p rancheria: G621.9
   1. činačʔiša Big Rock, downriver from činačʔiši-p: "činač rock," 146
   2. činačʔaxá-tti-m adv. a placename, across-river from činačʔiši-p: "činač cliff-edge"; 220.1, 1377
   3. činačʔiši-p adv. a place name (Map; no. 101): 614.4
   4. činačʔu-f Chenach Creek: 1464

298. čá-nhi a.i. (water) to be still: G622.1

299. čá-nkira island: G754.9, G761?

300. čánim a type of skunk
1. činím’anamahač civet cat
   "small skunk," 129.1
2. činimvásih a basket design (O’Neale, fig. 16a, 16b)
   "skunkback," 1528

301. či-páka’k robin; a man’s name

302. či-piš - či-piš redfish, a stunted variety of Oncorhyncus nerka (H):
   G621.9, G621.10

303. či-š, či-š younger sister, younger female cousin; cf. 279

304. či-š cheese; from English

305. čiši’h dog; horse
1. čišišh'yu’m vehicular bridge; "horse-bridge," 47
2. čišihísh a plant sp.; "dog-foot," 360
3. čišhi-č Indian lettuce, Montia sibirica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 86): "imitation dog," because children have mock dogfights with the plant; G614.2
4. čišihpúri-pkara horseshoe; "horse fastening-on-instrument":
   G63, G753.8, G754.3, G761
5. čišihpúrič black nightshade, Solanum nigrum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 207): "dog huckleberry," 1177.3

306. číftat magpie, Pica pica var. hudsonia (H)

307. čiv- p.i. to put one’s head out, to peek, as in čiv-řúPuk "to peek outdoors" (G753.25)
1. čiwmúšuk p.i. to peek out; G753.18, with irreg. nasalization
   1. či-vmíšukač adv. a place name (Map, no. 103); "little peeking-out"; G761, G621.9

308. čivčak p.i. to close a door; G752.1
1. čivčaka door; G761
2. čivčákara door; doorknob; "door-closing instrument"; G754.3, G761
3. čivča-ksuru p.i. to open a door; G753.27
   1. čivčaksurú-brum adv. door; "door-opening place," G766

309. čivit p.t. to line (objects) up

310. čix’má’ logs floating down the river at high-water

311. čo-rá interj. let’s go!

312. čučan cup of an acorn

313. čú-fiš bald eagle, Haliaeetus sp. (M)

314. čún-’mkač fly; G621.9

315. čú-čé-k fish hawk, Pandion sp. (M)
1. čúčúk’áup stingy person; "fish-hawk buttocks," 17.3

316. čune-xneyáč incense cedar, Libocedrus decurrens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 21)

317. čununupnú’hvanač a variant of ičyunnunpnú’hvanač "needle," 787.1

318. čunva- p.i. to sneak, as in čunvášuna "to sneak around" (G753.29)
1. čunvákiri tp.t. to sneak up on; G754.9

319. čuí-piš p.i. to talk, speak; (rooster) to crow; G622.1?
1. čuí-phi’-čva p.i. to chat; "to talk in play," G754.6
2. čuí-phúrušuna tp.t. to talk about; G753.29?; -uru- is not identifiable.

320. čúpav p.t. to sort

321. čuí-žiš - čuí-žišč black-headed grosbeak, Zamelodia sp. (M); G621.10, G621.9

322. čuká’kač - ič chub salmon; G621.9

323. čusučú-suhi a.i. to make a splashing noise; G622.1; cf. 445
324. čúva-rap interj.  let's go!
325. čú'y slender
   1. čú'yič adj. narrow: G621.9

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326. ?e'l interj. oh!
327. ?e'h tp.2t.  to give to
328. ?e'hkan  a man's name
329. ?e'ko'ns acorns (T68): from English, perh. borrowed to fill the lack of a generic term in Karok
330. ?e'm pers.  sucking shaman, 'Indian doctor'
331. ?e'n board, lumber
   1. ?e'núkvita a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13g): "lumber-cut": 533, G761
332. ?e'mákira ridgepole of an Indian house: G754.9, Ġ761?
333. ?e'ník deep (of water)
334. ?e'ńarup threshold of an Indian house
335. ?e'pak a.i. (tree) to fall
   1. ?e'pakununga adv. a place name, Wingate Bar (Map, no. 15): "tree falling down"; G753.30, G761
   1. ?e'pakúnu'f Wingate Creek: 1464; the shortening of the prepound is irreg.
336. ?e'pa-x alder bark
337. ?e'pu'm root
   1. ?e'púmp?e'pu'm root of the wild grapevine: for another example of a noun compounded with itself, see 640.1
338. ?e'ra man's brother-in-law, male cousin-in-law, nephew-in-law, or aunt's husband
339. ?e'rahi p.i.  to store food: G622.1?
340. ?e'rări-v den (of an animal)
341. ?e'ri(h) p.i.  to finish (doing something): G753.3
342. ?e'rú'n vacant (of a house)
   1. pe-rú'npu p.i. (pl.) to die: G731, G622.1
343. ?e'8i root (the animal)
   1. ?e'8a?kúnda'n a man's name: "slug-hunter": 75, G762
   2. ?e'8vásh a basket design (O'Neale, fig's. 16a and 16b): "slug-back," 1528
344. ?e'8i p.t.  to carry; with directionals, to take, bring, as in ?e'8rišuk "to take out" (G753.12), ?e'8ra- "to bring up from downhill" (G753.12). This verb acts as 2t. in the phrase xu's + ?e'8 "to take care of" (1638.1.5
   1. ?e'číp(riv) p.t.  to pick up, raise, lift: G753.26
   2. ?e'8e'p tp.2t.  to take (something) away from (someone): G753.26
   3. ?e'8ka'nya p.i.  to shuffle the 'cards' or sticks used in gambling: G753.4,. G751
   1. pe-čka'nvičeva p.i. to play 'cards,' to gamble: G731, G754.6
   4. ?e'8kiv tp.t.  to take (someone) away, to kidnap: G753.7
345. ?e'8ih tp.2t.  to tell or relate to
346. ?e'8i interj. term of address used by women to intimates
347. ?e'xrih rainbow; famine
   1. ?e'xrihppa-čurapuh chaparral lily, Lilium rubescens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 50): "famine thrown-away": G731, 1088.2, G763
349. faratipşa mother-in-law

350. fä- what?, something
   The allomorph fä'ta- occurs as prebound.
   1. fä'ta-k adv. somewhere: G621.1, with an irreg. allomorph
   2. fatamâha-n pers. lucky person: "something-finder": 956, G762
   3. fatamâka-s anything (T29.17): -makâ- is not identifiable
   4. fatâvâna-n pers. priest in world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber
      and Gifford, p. 7); busybody: "something-doer": 1541, G762
   5. fä-ta- anything: G621.17

351. fa8- p.i. to wade; used with directionals, as in fä8a8una "to wade
   around" (G753.29)
   1. fä-thina p.i. to wade across, to ford a stream: G753.15
   2. fä-thina-n adv. ford: "foring-place," G766

352. fä-th manzanita berry, esp. that of the Parry manzanita, Arcto-
   staphylos manzanita (Schenck and Gifford, no. 181)
   1. fä-th manzanita bush, esp. the Parry manzanita: 638
   2. fa8-drusva green manzanita, Arctostaphylos patula (Schenck and
      Gifford, no. 180): "round manzanita berries": 1497, G621.16

353. fikrip p.t. to pick out, separate (from a group): G753.16?

354. fikva-n father-in-law: G751, G762?

355. fi-nhi s.i. to be bald: G622.1?

356. fi-pâya adj. straight: 1665

357. fi-phi a.i. to be all gone: G622.1; cf. G754.5

358. firi8myu'sah adv. a place name, Pecwan or Johnson's (a Yurok
   town): cf. 1683.7

359. fîs fish (used as a generic term); from English

360. fîth foot, toe; used as a classifier in the sense of "twelve inches."
   1. fi8hâna little toe: 1291.1; -an- is not identifiable.
   2. fi8hânk-a-m fi8hka-m big toe: 846; -an- is not identifiable.
   3. fi8hu8nhi p.i. to go down feet first (T9.47): G622.1, G753.30,
      with irreg. morphophonemics
   4. fî8hìkpaka generative organs of the male salmon: "footcut": 470,
      G761
   5. fî8hîku-nhara a man's name: "crooked-foot": 918.1, G764

361. fuhi8 p.t. to believe; to obey (a person)

362. fû-k a plant sp., having an edible root; the carrot

363. fû-m adv. used in vetative meaning (T5.120)

364. *fum, a submorphemic element meaning "to blow," can be identified in
   365, 366, and 367.

365. fumpuh p.t. to blow (with one's mouth)

366. fumâ'psuru p.i. to blow in a certain manner (in magical procedure):
   G753.27

367. fumyi8 p.t. to curse, wish bad luck to
   1. fumyi'hpi'ëva p.t. (shaman) to blow (disease object) away:
      G753.29, G751

368. fîPiΣ fifty cents: from English "four bits"

369. furâtîp f.i. to be nervous, cranky, fretful

370. fûrax woodpecker head or 'scalp'; (as a postbound) red: cf. 146
   1. fûnaxîch Indian paintbrush, Castilleia parviflora var. douglasii
      (Schenck and Gifford, no. 214): "little woodpecker scalp," G621.9
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2. funaxišunva'nič thrush: "woodpecker-scalp hider"; 732, G762, G621.9

3. furatákvara woodpecker-scalp sash: 1294, G761

4. furaxyáfusa red satin dress: "woodpecker-scalp dress," 1650.2

371. fúriθ man's sister's daughter, woman's brother's daughter. The dimin. is fúničiš.

372. hā: interj. yes

373. hāpθ: interj. exclamation of fear or annoyance

374. háMÁ hammer: from English

375. háMi adv. isn't it?

376. háNu': a woman's name

377. hā-rih - hári adv. sometimes, at various times. May be used as a determinative.
   1. hárivarih adv. when?: G621.19
   2. harixxay adv. never: G845.8, with irreg. accent

378. hárína'y year (acts as a classifier)

379. há'yva a woman's name

380. hih language

381. hínupa adv. used in weak demonstrative meaning, often translatable as "there" (T38.15)
   1. hínupa pay - hímu pay used in strong demonstrative meaning (T3.51, T10.63): 1104, with haplology in the second alternant

382. hitíha'n - hitíha'n adv. constantly, all the time, always

383. hó'-ičkan a woman's name

384. hó-tah late
   1. hó-tahi s.i. to be late; to be offended: G622.1

385. hó-y adv. where?; somewhere. Also used with vá-ramu "to go" in the sense of "to where?"
   1. hó-yva adv. somewhere, anywhere: G621.17
   2. hó-y'if no. not: "where true," 401

386. hō: hūhū: interj. imitation of Owl's cry (T24.38)

387. hō-kA - hō-k adv. to where?: to somewhere
   1. hō-kavaA adv. to somewhere, to anywhere: G621.17

388. hum adv. or; used as a marker of yes-or-no questions (G845.2)

389. hō-m interj. is that so?: cf. 388

390. hu:n harmful. Found only with negatives, as in puhú-nhara "it's not harmful."

391. hún'ntah adj. peculiar (of a person): cf. 390

392. hū-t adv. how? Often translated "what?" as in hū-ti'í:n "what is wrong with you?"
   1. hū-tva adv. somehow, however: G621.17
   2. hū-t kīč - hū-t kīč ?i-m how are you?: 874, 563
   3. hū-t kuθ why?: "because of how," 947

394. ?iθ2 outdoors. Occurs only in:
   1. ?iθkúKam - ?i-kam - ?i-m adv. outdoors: G621.21(1)
395. ?i-! interj. oh! alas!
396. iškusa p.i. to walk arm in arm
   1. iškusa cluster (as of grapes): G761
397. išnah s.i. to defecate
   1. išnahiru-"vu-kva s.i. to defecate uncontrolledly on oneself
      (T38.36): G754.8, 754.17, G751
398. ičrívčav a.i. (water) to splash
399. psūnva p.i. to hide oneself: cf. 318, 732
   1. pičsunva- jackknife: "one which hides itself again"; G731, G762
400. ?if p.i. to grow, grow up; (water) to boil
   1. ?ifamuyu a.i. to grow too much; cf. 1513.4
   2. ?ifírahi a.i. (money) to be paid to legitimize a bastard (T35.27):
      "to be used to grow up"; G754.9, G755
   3. ?ifku a.t. to fit on: "to grow onto," G753.8
   5. ?ifírip(riv) p.i. to grow, grow up: G753.26
   6. ?ifíamáhapuh volunteer plant: "grown for nothing"; G754.16, G763
   7. ?ifúniha hair (of the head): "growing down"; G753.30, G761
      1. ?ifúnieháyákuriha hairpin: "hair sticking-in"; 433.1, G761
   1. ?ifápičevi-k pers. old maid: "old unmarried woman," 871
402. ?ifapva p.t. to pick up: G751?; cf. 405
403. ?ifíčik a.i. to be stuck together; 400?
   1. ?ifíčik- a.i. to be stuck; used with directionals, as in
      ?ifíčikínu "to be stuck onto" (G753.8): -in is not identifiable.
404. ?ifíuy p.i. to be crowded
405. ?ifík p.t. to pick (from the ground), to pick up. The term is applied
      esp. to the harvesting of acorns.
406. ifmára pers. married man.
   1. ifmárahí p.i. (man) to get married: G622.1
      1. ifmárahíčva p.i. (man) to acquire a mistress (T26.3):
         "to get married in pretense," G754.6
407. ?iftákan- a.i. to stick, adhere; used with directionals, as in
   ?iftákanúna "to stick together" (G753.28): 400, G752.47; cf. 403
408. ?ifu adv., true; really. The irreg. prejunctural form is ?if.
409. ?ifuk- p.i. (du.-pl.) to climb, crawl, as in ?ifukrá- (du.-pl.) to
      climb up from downhill" (G753.12): cf. 449
   1. ?ifuksip(riv) p.i. (du.-pl.) to get up (from a lying position):
      "to climb up," G753.26
410. ?ifukra- tp.t. (du.-pl.) to grab, grab at: cf. 450
411. ?ifutiθ ~ ?ifitiθ adv. of doubtful meaning; sometimes translated
      as "sure enough, . . ." (T61.36)
412. ?ifuθ adv. behind; afterward
   1. ?ifuθ-mič ~ ?ifučč-e adv. last; the last time: "behind-edge":
      1377, G621.9
   2. ?ifuθačva-n pers. the junior priestess in the world-renewal
      ceremony at Katimin and Orleans (Kroeber and Gifford, p.7):
      "behind-walker"; 41, G751, G762
   3. ?ifuθanpimisa-n pers. an assistant at the world-renewal cere-
      mony at Clear Creek (T84.23), perhaps the same as the imúsa-n:
      G731, 609, G762; -an- is not identifiable.
4. *?ifu6k&m?i-pma a man's name: "going backward"; G621.11, 637.2, G761

413. *?ifu8h rotten wood, punk

414. ifya- how much?, so much

415. ifyuku p.i. to wander; to be or go around (a place)
   1. ifyu"ki-čva p.i. to take a walk: "to wander in play," G754.6

416. *?ih p.i. to dance
   1. *?ihuk p.i. to do the 'flower dance,' i.e., the girls' puberty dance: G754.17?
   2. *?ihukara 'flower-dance' song: "flower-dancing instrument"; G754.3, G761
   3. *?ihukú'm p.i. to do the 'flower dance' (T6.72): -ú'm is not identifiable.

2. ?ihvúna- to dance: "plural dancing"; G756, G761

417. ihá-ra p.t. to smoke (tobacco)
   1. ihá-rehA Indian tobacco, Nicotiana bigelovii var. exaltata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 206): "being smoked"; G755, G761
   1. ihé-rehA:mvA Nuttall's whippoorwill, Phalaenoptilus nuttalli var. nuttalli (H): "tobacco-eater," 201.5
   2. ihé-rehasipnu-k tobacco basket (O'Neale, p. 40): 1233

418. ihkuraih p.t. to roast (pine roots): G753.9?

419. *?ihivrik tp.t. to answer: G754.21?

420. ihku-s deceased mother

421. ihmá-čičva tp.t. to fool around with

422. ihmara p.i. (pl.) to run. Used of salmon, as well as of creatures with legs.

423. ihmavrikumis* tp.t. to copulate with: G754.21, G754.18?

424. ihrup a.i. (a vessel) to leak

425. ihruv tp.2t. to use, for, to hire for
   1. ihró-(hA) pers. wife: "being used"; G755, G761. The plural is ihró-has or ihró-vas.
   1. ihno-hāhi-č common-law wife: "imitation wife," G614.2
   2. ihró-hahi tp.t. (man) to marry: G622.1
   1. pihró-hapa wife of a man's dead brother: "marrying again"; G731, G761. The etymology reflects the practice of the levirate.

426. ihrvu- slaves: cf. 425
   1. ihró-thvah tp.t. to take (someone) as a slave: -vah is not identifiable.

427. ihtak- p.i. (pl.) to swim; used with directionals, as in ihtá-kvarak "(pl.) to swim down from upriver" (G753.24). Irregular stem-allomorphs occur in the following:
   1. ihtáhi(ti)- p.i. (pl.) to swim ashore: G753.3
   2. ihtárina p.i. (pl.) to swim hither across-stream: G753.15

428. ihvanáčvi-čva tp.t. to tease; also used in the meaning "to bite," when speaking of rattlesnakes (the usual verb para "to bite" is said to offend the snake): G754.6.

429. ihváramu a.i. (dog) to bark

430. ihvaθ madrone bark

431. ihviθ p.t. to clean (fish)

432. ihvuf p.t. to dig (pine roots)
433. vihyā a.i. (long object)-to stand, be; (with directionals) to project, stick, as in ihyásip(riv) "to stick up" (G753:26). Acts as a durative verb.
  1. ihyákurih p.t. to stick (a long object) in: G753.9, with added causative meaning
  2. ihyárīn p.i. (an.) to stand: G754.14
     1. ihyárīhiś(rih) p.i. to stand still: G753.3
     2. plhyárīhiś(rih) p.t. to be transformed into (a standing object, as a tree) (T23.68): G731
  2. ihyárīhiśp(riv) p.i. to stand up: G753.26

434. ihyīv p.t. to shout
  1. ihyīvak p.t. to interrupt by shouting (T18.50): G752.1
  2. ihyīvka-nva Durango root, Datisca glomerata; also identified as cow parsnip, Heracleum lanatum (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 152 and 164): "shouting across"; G753.4, G751, G761

435. *ik, a submorphemic element meaning "transitive" (G710)

436. *ik, a submorphemic element meaning "singular subject" (G710)

437. ?ik adv. of obligatory meaning, translated as "must" or "have to" (G845.3). Also used without obligatory meaning, in various combinations expressing sudden or future action (e.g., 224.1).

438. ?ikak- p.i. (du.-pl.) to jump, as in ?ikakunih "(du.-pl.) to jump down" (G753.30): cf. 699

439. ?ikākrih a.i. to freeze, be frozen
  1. ?ikākrita ice: G761
     1. ?ikakriha?āsip icebox: 156

440. ?ikam son-in-law
     The dim. is ?ikamiš.

441. ikčas p.t. to mash

442. ikčāxva a.i. to make the cry of the red-tailed hawk; G751
  1. ikčāxvān red-tailed hawk, Buteo borealis (M): G762

443. ikčuk a.i. to cluck

444. ikčūf p.t. to grind (used especially of pulverizing tobacco and manzanita, and of sharpening steel): cf. 694
  1. ikčūna-m adv. a place name: "grinding-place," G766
  2. ikčūrara pestle: "grinding instrument": G754.3, G761

445. ikčusīčusu a.i. to splash; G740, with a stem ikčus-; cf. 323

446. ikfinkpa a man's name: G753.17, G761

447. ikfrīprihp t.p.t. to miss (in shooting): cf. 1271, 1420
     The plural action form is ikfrīpirina.

448. ikfīp p.t. to strip (as branches from a tree)
  1. ikfī-sara trimmed tree, i.e., a fir tree stripped of all branches but two by a person, as his individual landmark: G764

449. ikfūk p.i. (sg.) to climb, to crawl: cf. 409
  1. ikfukrā-kka-m adj. steep: "big climbing-up"; G753.12, G761, 846
  2. ikfū-ksip(riv) p.i. (sg.) to get up (from a lying position): "to climb up," G753.26

450. ikfūk-kira t.p.t. (sg.) to grab, grab at: cf. 410

451. ikfūy p.i. to whistle
     Occurring in:
  1. ikfūyfūy p.i. to whistle a tune: G740
     1. ikfuyfū-ra whistle (an instrument): G754.3, G761
2. ikľyva p.i. to whistle (something other than a tune, e.g., a signal): G751
452. ikľyšuru s.i. to be tired: G753.27
453. ůšč adv. maybe, perhaps
454. ůščvač a certain fin of fish, perh. the anal fin: G621.9?
455. ůšiba p.i. to grunt: G751
456. ikľva p.t. to roast (fish) on a frame over a fire: G751
457. ůšira short ridge (in mountains)
458. ůš-kiv p.i. to wear a necklace
1. ůškiva necklace: G761
2. pišľyma9 tp.t. to put necklaces on (someone): G731, G754.12
3. pišľvsip(riv) p.i. to put necklaces on (oneself): G731, G753.26
459. ikmáša warm (of air, weather): G621.9
1. ikmaháčram adv. sweathouse; "warm place," G766
1. ikmaháčram ipši ip adv. the sacred sweathouse at Katimin (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G614.4
460. ikmaš tp.t. to meet; to hit (with one's fist)
1. ikmánaš tp.t. to hit (with one's fist): G753.14
2. ikmárvirh tp.t. to slash, stab: G753.9, with an irreg. stem-
3. ikmárhvirk tp.t. to meet (someone) coming: G754.7, G754.21
461. ikmih a.i. (grouse) to drum
1. ikmhán blue grouse, Dendragapus sp. (M): "drummer," G762
462. iknákarav knuckle, joint
463. iknap p.t. to nail: cf. 711, 1075
1. iknapa horseshoe: "nailing," G761
2. iknapa horseshoe: "nailing-on instrument"; G753.8, G754.3, G761
464. iknášara rock to crack acorns with: G754.3, G761, with a stem iknat-
465. iknak s.i. to be cross-eyed
466. iknášara maul (for driving wedges): G754.3, G761, with a stem iknik-
467. ikniv p.i. to knock, esp. to knock on oak trees to make acorns fall
1. pikniivraš s.i. to be hurt, injured: G731, G753.14
468. iknášmin Burrill Peak
469. iknšara stone pipe bowl
1. iknšarāšasa a rock in the river near Katimin: "pipe-bowl rock," 146
470. ikpak p.t. to chop (with a straight cut): cf. 1308, 1572
471. ikpat p.t. to break (by hitting with something): cf. 587, 715
472. ikpat marrow
473. ikpě-hva p.i. to shout: G751?
474. ikšhan adj. strong: 1115?
475. ikpuh p.i. (sg.) to swim; used with directional, as in ikpě-h-rovu "to swim upriver" (G753.19): cf. 768
476. ikpuh a.i. (dust) to rise in a puff
Found in the following derivatives, the first of which shows the
alternant ikpu-:
1. ikpuhspip(riv) a.i. to puff up (T4.89): G753.26
2. ikpuh-pvara a.i. to puff into (T4.76): G753.32
477. (?)ikpura acorn flour or meal
478. ůškra a.i. (house) to stand, be
Acts as a durative verb.
479. ikrák p.t. to split (wood or the like)
480. ikrap a.i. to make a noise like horse’s hoofs; cf. 64
481. ikral p.t. to grind (used esp. of acorns and wild oats)
1. ikråvapuh wild oats, a generic term for food grains including soft cheat, Bromus hordaceus, and cultivated oat, Avena sativa (Schenck and Gifford, no’s. 25 and 33): "ground," G763
2. ikràvara pestle: "grinding-instrument"; G754.3, G761

482. ikråmyah a.i. (wind) to blow
1. ikråmyaha wind; G761
2. ikråmyahvar&v&n pers. musician: "one who blows through," evidently with extension of the stem’s meaning to include human subjects; G753.32, G751, G762
3. ikråmyahv&r&v&ra musical instrument of any kind, including violin and piano; phonograph, radio: "blowing-through instrument"; G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761

483. ikrà&ékan adv. tongue of land between a river and a creek; a place name (Map, no. 6)
484. ikràfako’n adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
485. ikrih- p.i. to fish (with a set-net)
Used in the following:
1. ikråhak adv. fishing platform: G761, G621.1
2. ikråha p.i. to go fishing: G754.2
3. ikråhara fish trap: "fishing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
4. ikråhra&m adv. fishing platform: "fishing-place," G766
5. ikråhva p.i. to fish (with a set-net): G751
6. ikriki- p.t. to attach, as in ikråkah "to be attached" (G755)
1. ikråkire’n a.t. to adjoin: -re’n is not identifiable.
   1. ikråkire’na adv. a place name, near the southern end of Orleans; G761
7. ikråkurih p.t. to set (a fish net) into (water): G753.9; cf. 485
8. ikrårh- p.i. to become tilted up onto one side, or into a steep slope; used with directionals, often with the addition of the stativizing suffix (G755), e.g., in ikrårhv&h&i "to be a steep slope running upriverward" (G753.19)
1. ikrårhak adv. steep hillside: G761, G621.1
2. ikrårhivrin p.i. to roll over and over (sideways) (T8.59): G753.37
9. ikrårov adv. name of a fishing spot
10. ikràtpikra ‘maidenhair’ or five-finger fern, Adiantum pedatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 6): G754.9, G761?
11. ikràtpitip p.t. to cut a fringe along the edge of: cf. 1387
1. ikràtpitip&panac vetch, Vicia californica: "little fringed one"; G764, G621.9
12. ikràtv a.i. to lie in a pile; (pl. inan.) to lie, be
Acts as a durative verb. Combinations with directionals often have causative meaning, as in ikråtvumkurih "to pile (objects) into (a hole)" (G753.9)
13. ikriv p.i. (sg.an.) to live, stay, sit, be
Acts as a durative verb. The allomorph -ikri- occurs before juncture, as in nükri: "he lives"; the allomorph -ikri-y- occurs optionally be-
fore »ara "negative" (G845.6), as in pu?ikratively pu?ikratively "he doesn't live."
1. ikri-S(rih) p.i. (sg.) to sit down; G753.3
2. ikrfVvchak p.i. to sit blocking passage; G752.1
3. ikrfVkira stool, chair; "sitting-instrument"; G754.9, G761
4. ikrfVvra-m adv. house, living-house (as distinguished from a
   sweathouse): "living-place," G766
5. ikrivtaÄkkira saddle; "sitting-on instrument"; G752.4, G754.9, G761

494. ikrfVkiha adv. six: cf. 217.3
1. iknfvkikiç adv. only six; G621.9
2. ikrfVkiha:n adv. the sixth month of the Karok year: G621.5
495. ikrfVvku tp.t. to hold on to: G753.8
496. ikrfVruh p.i. (sg.) to roll (as a ball): cf. 633
1. ikrivrÂhuBrüruka a man's name: "rolling down over"; G753.38, G761
497. ikrfVvrukan adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
498. ikrixÅkpËp a.i. to have a burning taste; G740
499. ikruh p.t. to peel (bark, from a tree or from sticks)
500. ikr-mah p.i. to live (in the same house) with someone
501. ikrVntih tp.t. to wait for
502. ikrup p.t. to pierce; to sew
1. ikrupkÄ'nvara fork; "piercing-through instrument"; G753.4, G751, G754.3, G761
2. pikrupvâ'nara sewing machine; "self-sewing instrument"; G754.20, G754.3, G761
503. ikÁhah p.i. to laugh; (horse) to neigh
504. ikÁ'kva p.i. to whistle between one's fingers; G751
505. ikÁp p.i. to point
1. ikÁpåpanâk index finger; "little pointing-instrument"; G754.3, G761, G621.9
2. ikÁpåphih tp.t. to teach; G754.7
3. ikÁ-pku tp.t. to point at; G753.8
506. ikÁs p.i. to tear up a rat's nest (done by children for sport)
507. ikÁ-suru a.i. (bird) to swoop down; G753.27
508. iktak p.t. to separate: cf. 728
509. iktakå'tkahâ - iktakå'tkahâ-n - iktakå'tkahâ-n - iktakå'tkahâthinah
   Western pileated woodpecker, Phlaeoptomus pileatus var. picinus
   (H): G740 (with a stem iktak-), G762, G757, G532
510. iktÅpas p.t. to smoothen
511. iktas p.t. to make a ruffle
1. iktasa ruffle; G761
512. iktat p.t. to hold up, prop up, push against
1. iktatå'hsara umbrella; "holding-up instrument"; G757, G754.3, G761
2. iktå'tro-vu p.t. to paddle (a boat) upstream: G753.19
513. iktâv p.t. to hold or carry (in the palm of the hand); often trans­
   lated "take" or "bring" when used with directionals
1. iktamku-rîhâva p.t. to pan for (gold); G753.9, G751
2. iktî-nih p.t. to carry down, take down (T18.23); G753.30, with
   irreg. contraction
514. iktf tp.t. to shove over: cf. 68, 605
515. ikti-na p.i. to walk with a cane
1. ik'ti-na cane: G761
2. ik'ti-nara cane: G754.3, G761

516. ik'ti-t p.t. to hit by throwing (a hard object): cf. 58.1

517. ik'tu'iš p.i. to faint

518. ik'tit p.t. to undo, unpack

519. ik'tit rack for drying acorns

520. ?iku- p.i. to lie pointing, to be headed (in some direction); used with directionals. The alternants iku- and ikhu- occur in some combinations, perh. as free variants.

1. ?iku-ra? p.i. to be headed uphill: G753.12
   1. ?iku-ra? ridge running uphill: G761

2. ?iku-ra'h a.i. to be a ridge running uphill: G755

2. ik'uru-pia p.i. to be headed toward shore (T3.85): G753.17

3. ik'uru'iš(rih) a.i. (tree) to fall down across-stream: G753.15, G753.3; this combination of directional suffixes is irregular.

4. ?iku-ro-va p.i. to be headed upstream: G753.19
   1. ?iku-ro-va ridge running upriver: G761. The locative ikhu-rov (T84.12) shows irreg. contraction.
   1. ?iku-ro-vaxx&R a name of a ridge, above Camp Creek: "long ridge-running-upriver," 1602

5. ?ikutunva joint (in a plant stem): G753.28, G761

1. ?ikutunvaxx&Raharas milkwort, Polygala cornuta: "having long joints": 1602, G621.2, G621.16

521. ?ik'u- tp.t. to hit (with one's hand, or with a rock held in the hand)

522. ?ik'u p.t. to add onto (something), esp. to add sticks to (the warp of a basket)

523. ik'ur red fox, Vulpes fulvus group (M)

524. ik'u-ka log

1. ik'u-ke-ky'a-van pers. lumberjack: "log-maker," 557.5

525. ik'u-kirih p.t. to stick into fire: G753.6; cf. 520

526. ik'u-natič red-breasted sapsucker (M): G621.9

527. ik'u-ykirih p.t. to barbecue (salmon): G753.6

528. ik'u-ya a.i. (a fallen or thrown object) to hit, to land: G751

529. ik'wa- ik'varis tp.2t. to buy from

530. ik'vat p.t. to carry on one's shoulder; to carry sweathouse wood

531. ik'vay- p.i. to rest on (?) Occurring in the following:

1. ik'vay-ku p.i. to lean against: G753.8

2. ik'vay-yip(riv) p.i. to raise up (perh. by pushing oneself up with one's hands) (T4.104): G753.26; cf. 668

3. ik'vē-sh(riv) p.i. to spend the night; to camp: G753.3

1. ikve-šhrha-m adv. camp, campground: G766

532. ik'vip p.i. (ag.) to run; used of salmon, as well as of creatures with legs: cf. 776. Before most directionals, the allomorph ikvirip-occurs, as in ikviriprpu "to run downriver" (G753.24). The only exception noted is the following:

1. ik'vipvarayva p.i. to carry the obsidian blades in the deerskin dance: "to run around," G753.33

533. ik'viti p.t. to cut: cf. 739, 793

534. ik'vi-thi s.i. to fall asleep: G622.1

1. ikvithayachi s.i. to have a good dream (T33.27): G761, 1665, G622.1

2. ikvithumiaš tp.t. to dream about (a person): G754.18

535. ikvu'hva a.i. to howl; (cow) to moo; (car) to blow its horn
1. ikvú'hva automobile horn: "howling." G761
536. ikvú'riš(rín) s.i. to be tired: G753.3
537. ikxak p.t. to flail
1. ikxákara flail: "flailing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
538. ikxáRam ~ ikxarám adv. night: cf. 553
1. ikxarám?a-čip adv. midnight; "night-middle," 10
2. ikxaram?ikxuraráxxarA adv. late at night: "long night-evening"; 553, 1803
3. ikxarám?tipú'ım adv. dark of the moon: "thick night," 754
4. ikxarámkuniš adj. black, dark: "like night," G621.13
5. ikxarámkusra(h) moon: "night-sun," 932
6. ikxaramurváva'n pers. evil sorcerer, 'Indian devil': "night-wanderer"; 1513.15, G762
7. pikxarámpu a.i. to be cloudy: "to be dark again": G731, G755
1. pikxarámpa cloud; G761
539. ikxa-ré'hi a.i. to be news, as in fá't kí? úkxá're'hitih "what's the news? what's new?": G622.1?
540. ikxará-yav pers. a spirit or god, such as inhabited the earth before the coming of man: 1655?: cf. 539. The alternant ikxariya- occurs as prepound in a number of petrified combinations:
1. ikxaniy&kku-niS sacred stones used in the ?ame-ky&'ra-m salmon ceremony and in the Orleans world renewal (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "little crooked gods": 918, G621.9
2. ikxariya?ára-ra the 'medicine man' or priest who presides in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "god-person." 132
3. ikxariyátu-yápíp Offield Mountain: "god-mountain," 1411
4. ikxariye'kmašá'ra-m adv. the sacred sweathouse at Orleans: "god-sweathouse," 459.1
5. ?ikxará-yam mukininna'sič deer (the word used in deer-hunting formulas, T53.12): "god's pet": G410, 882
541. ikxárip p.t. to chip (wood)
542. ikxas a plant, poison sanicle, Sanicula bipinnata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 159)
543. ikxá-vkuríh tp.t. to crush (T28.17): G753.9
544. ikxá-vnamiš wolf; G621.9
545. ikxaxáaxaxa p.t. to split (wood): G740, with a stem ikxas-; cf. 740, 616, 802
546. ikxay- p.t. to chop (with an irregular cut), as in ikxá-yšuru "to chop off" (G753.27)
1. ikxáxyay p.t. to cultivate (the earth): G740
547. ikxé'k shin
548. ikxí'kva p.i. (shaman) to make hawking noises in one's throat (as part of doctoring procedures): G751
549. ikxiv p.i. (sg.) to fly: cf. 781, 804
1. ikxipíšříhra-m adv. airfield: "flying-down place"; G753.3, G766
2. ikxipíšlipí p.i. to flutter: G740
1. ikkipíšlipa flag: "fluttering," G761
550. ikxiv thunderhead
551. ikxuí- p.i. to make a stripe, as in ikxú-no'vu "to make a stripe running upriverward" (G753.19): cf. 1636
552. ikxurá-nará garter snake, Eutaenia sp. (M): cf. 551
553. ikxúrra adv. evening: cf. 538
1. ikxurarúna adv. evening star: G622.1, G762
   The dimin. is ikxunánaha-nič.
2. ikxurarahíram adv. camp (T51.30): G622.1, G766
3. ikxurarakámxaRA adv. late at night: "long big evening": 846, 1603

554. ikxurarásavs va p. i. to make the cry of a certain type of owl: G751
1. ikxunanásva-nič the above-mentioned type of owl: G762, G621.9

555. ikkúrif t. p. to decorate; to write: cf. 551
1. ikkúrika decorative design (as on a basket); writing, book, paper, letter: 761
   1. ikkúriká-wa-s ink: "writing-water," 145
   2. ikkúrikačivčaksurúram m adv. post office: "letter-door," 308.3.1
   3. ikkúrikahunyanará-ra telegram: "letter-telephone," 1482.2
   4. ikkúrikahumúrá-m adv. post office: "letter-arriving place"; 1487, G766
   5. ikkúrike-kšúpa-n pers. schoolteacher: "writing-pointer"; 505, G762
   6. ikkúrike-kšupšíram adv. school: "writing-teaching place"; 505.2, G766
   7. ikkúrike-xyarámnhva wastebasket: "writing being-thrown-in"; 816, G753.13, G755, G761
   8. ikkúriké:yunámnhva envelope: "writing putting-in"; 823, G753.13, G761

2. ikxúrikara pen, pencil: "writing-instrument"; G754.3, G761

556. ikyámičva p. i. to play (non-athletic games): 557, G754.6; but cf. 557.6
1. ikyamičvara toy: "playing-instrument"; G754.3, G761

557. ikyav p. 2. to do, make, make into; to prepare; to gather, acquire (things other than food). Before suffixes with initial consonant, the irreg. alternant ikyáv- occurs, as in durative ikyavúth.
1. ikyavíčva p. i. to win (stakes, in gambling): "to gather completely," G754.5
2. ikyávkka-m adj. difficult: "big-making"; G761, 846
3. ikyára tool: "making-instrument"; G754.3, G761
4. ikyá:sp(riv) p. t. to begin, start: G753.26
5. ikyávna-n pers. maker; the 'queen' or priestess in the world renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G762
6. ikyávičva p. i. to work: G754.6
7. ikye'hi tp. 2. to make for, gather for, bring to (a person): G754.7, with irreg. accent
8. pikyav p. t. to repair, to fix: "to make again," G731

558. ikyávařihva p. t. to try: 557., G751

559. ikyé:pux hide (of an animal)

560. ikyév p. i. (sg.) to fall, be propelled through the air: cf. 786
1. ikyév-mu a. i. (a thrown or shot object) to reach (a certain distance): G753.10
2. ikyévura- p. i. to be propelled up (into the air) (T20.51): G753.31

561. ikyut- a. i. to be gathered into a pile, as in ikyut'sp(riv) "to pile up (intr.)" (G753.26)
1. ikyutírih p. t. to plow: "to pile up," with added causative meaning; G754.14
2. ikyítunih a.i. to snow: "to pile down," G753.30
   1. ikyítunih a snow (while falling): G761

562. *im, a submorphemic element meaning "by heat or fire," is identifiable in many of the following entries (G710).

563. ?i*m pron. you (sg.)
   1. ?i*mkun pron. you (pl.): cf. 1484.1

564. ?imáfúna'n pers. person who begs salmon: G751, G762

565. ?imahku tp.t. to despise: G753.8

566. ?imákanač flashy (?): G754.3, G761, G621.9?

567. ima'n adv. tomorrow, the day after
   1. ?immá'n múmma'ňkam day after tomorrow: "tomorrow its-tomorrow-side"; G410, G621.11

568. ?i'masař p.i. to grapple with one's opponent in a shinny game, preparatory to the start of play: G754.15?

569. imaxáymu-mva a.i. to lighten (of lightning): G751
   1. imaxáymu-mva lightning: G761

570. imčak s.i. to burn oneself, get burnt

571. imčañáknak p.t. to tap, knock (something, against something else)
   1. imčañánkánąra drumstick: "tapping-instrument"; G754.3, G761

572. imčax s.i. (weather or persons) to be hot
   1. imčaxa hot: G761
   2. imčáxahA sunshine: G755, G761
   3. imčaxe'-kyáva'n cicada: "heat-maker"; G761, 557.5

573. imčita'ko*s i.i. to have one's bones protrude through one's skin (T2A.57): G753.8, G751

574. imfíp- p.i. to gather, assemble, as in imfípívraO "to gather in a sweathouse" (T2A.12) (G753.36); found more commonly in the following:
   1. imfípíš(ríh) p.i. to gather, assemble: G753.3
      1. imfípíšnhávayvi p.i. to assemble from all over (T51.2) G761, 1665, G622.1, with irreg. morphophonemics
      2. imfí'píšuru a.i. to come off (of a surface, as paint); to fade: G753.27

575. imfíf a.i. (objects) to be hot
   1. imfíra adj. hot: G761
   2. imfírahí s.i. to feel pain: G755

576. imká-nva p.t. to gather (food growing on plants, such as berries or greens); not applied to acorns, which are picked up from the ground: G753.4, G751?
   1. imká-nva 'sunflower' or gum plant, Grindelia robusta var. patens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 222): G761
      1. imkanva-xvá'h a plant, Amsinkia intermedia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 198): "sunflower-head," 242
   2. imká-nvuravayva p.t. to gather (food) here and there (T40.9); G753.33, with irreg. contraction of *-va-va- to -vu-

577. imkanviráho'uf Merrill Creek: 1464

578. imkatáxrah a.i. to be light, bright
   1. imkatáxraha light: G761

579. imkúh a.i. (air) to be warm; (sun) to shine
   1. imkúhara heating stove: "warming-again instrument"; G731, G754.3, G761

580. imnak coal, ember; charcoal
581. **imná'nvą** p.i. to build a stone wall preparatory to the world-renewal ceremony at Clear Creek: G751
   1. imná'nvą-n pers. person who builds this stone wall (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G762

582. **imná's** sibling-in-law of opposite sex; also includes opposite-sexed cousin-in-law, nephew- and niece-in-law, and uncle's or aunt's spouse

583. **?i-mnih** tp.t. to love
   1. ?i-mnihvą tp.t. to have a love affair with: G751
   2. p?i-mnih tp.t. to fall in love with: G731

584. **imniś** p.t. to cook
   1. imniš'škirih p.t. to cook over a fire (as contrasted with stone-boiling): G753.6

585. **impá-h(a)** trail, path, road
   1. impáhtrih road: "wide path," 1388

586. **?impáshί** p.i. to decide: G622.1?

587. **impá** a.i. to become broken owing to fire or heat: cf. 471, 715

588. **impuk** a.i. (objects) to be warm
   1. imp'úkač adj. warmish: G761, G621.9

589. **impúra** (wheat) flour; original meaning not known: cf. 477
   1. impúrak adv. a place name, just south of ?asáxvą-m (Map, no. 4), around the river-bend: "in flour," G621.1
   2. impurávą'sa flour sack: "flour blanket," 1526

590. **impux** a.i. (corpse) to swell

591. **imšá'kara** p.t. to smell

592. **imšá'xvuh** gum (of plants)

593. **imšip** a.i. to cool off; (fire) to be extinguished: cf. 696

594. **imšuf** burnt wood

595. **imšúpap** attractive (of a person)

596. **imšút** spark

597. **imtarán-mhί** p.i. to be visible: G622.1?

598. **imtarásu'n** bastard

599. **imtaxu'ńokam** adv. a place name, part of Orleans: 1505, G621.11

600. **imṯpashe'n** pers. Tolowa Indian
   1. imtipahé-ni'-k adv. a place name, Crescent City, in Tolowa territory: "Tolowa place"; G614.7, G621.1

601. **imtup** a.i. to be ripe, to be cooked; (blood) to clot

602. **imθa-** p.t. to tie; to nail, as in imθatará'ńku "to nail onto" (G752.5, G753.8). A phonemically identical element is identifiable as a sub-morphemic element, meaning "with a tool or implement" (G710).

603. **imθámímvuv** p.t. to tap on, to drum on
   1. imθamuvnů-ra drum: "drumming-on instrument"; G754.3, G761

604. **imθatap** p.t. to lash (onto); cf. 817

605. **imθatif** p.t. to bat (as a ball); cf. 68, 514

606. **imθá-tvə** p.i. to play the 'stick game,' a kind of shinny: G751
   1. imθá-tvə 'stick game,' shinny: G761
   2. imθatváram adv. shinny field; a place name (Map, no. 76): "shinny-playing place," G766
   3. imθá'tvara shinny stick: "shinny-playing instrument"; G754.3, G761

607. **imθavit-** tp.t. to club (someone) as in imθavitń-príhva "to club clear through" (T1.136) (G753.22., G751)

608. **mθyA** p.i. to talk without opening one's mouth (said of ventriloquists and pigeons)
1. imûayâha-n band-tail pigeon, Columba fasciata (M): G762

609. imus- tp.t. to see, look at

Occurs only in the following:
1. imusakkê-m adj. ugly: "bad-looking"; G761, 868
2. imusâyav adj. pretty, handsome: "good-looking"; G761, 1665
3. imusâhi tp.t. to look (like): G755
4. imûsâ-n pers. assistant priest in the world renewal (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "looker," G762
5. imusâf tp.t. to go to see, to visit: G754.2
1. imusâfurk tp.t. to come to see, to visit: G754.17
6. imûskiri tp.t. to admire, to be a spectator: G754.9
1. imu'ski-nva tp.t. to see a show, to listen to the radio: G751

7. imû-stih tp.t. to look at, watch: G757
1. imustihakkê-m adj. ugly: "bad-looking"; G761, 868
2. imustihâyav adj. pretty, handsome: "good-looking"; G761, 1665
3. pimustihvâ-nara mirror, glass, window: "looking-at-oneself instrument"; G751

610. imû-mah p.t. to bum, to beg

611. imû-tara pregnant

612. imvâram plate basket (O'Neale, p. 33): G753.14, G761?

613. imvira fishing platform, fishery

614. imxah a.i. to be crisp

615. imxaâ a.t. to smell like
1. imûxaâ smell, odor; G761
   1. imûxaâkkê-m adj. bad-smelling: 868
   2. imûxaâyav adj. good-smelling: 1665
2. immustihvâ-nara mirror, glass, window: "looking-at-oneself instrument"; G751

616. imxaxa- a.i. to crack, as in imxaxasu'ro- "to scale off (intrans.)" (T35.49) (G753.27, G751): cf. 545, 740, 802

617. imxup a.i. to swell
1. imxupa boil: "swelling," G761

618. imyah p.i. (shaman) to go into a trance; (in derivatives) to breathe
1. imyaha breath; heart: G761
   1. imyahaha:ku-n windpipe: "breath-throat," 198
   2. imyâha-mi'para widower: "one whose breath (or heart) has been extinguished"; 593, G764
2. imyâhsap p.i. to suffocate; G752.3
3. imyâ-hthih p.i. to live; G757
   1. imyâ-hthia life; G761
4. imyâhyah p.i. to pant; G740
5. pimyâ-hva p.i. to breathe; G731, G751

619. imya't fur, body hair

620. imyûhA soap plant, Chlorogalum pomeridianum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 42)

621. in- p.i. to go

Apparently in complementary distribution with va- "to go," 1513; found only in the following derivatives:
1. ina- p.i. to go uphill: G753.12
2. ini-na p.i. to cross a body of water: G753.15, with irreg. lengthening
1. ini-nač adv. the name of two places (Map, no.'s. 48 and 116): "little crossing"; G761, G621.9
3. in nuances p.i. to go upriver: G753.19
4. in nuances p.i. to go downriver: G753.24, with irreg. lengthening.

622. in a.i. to burn (rare, largely replaced by in)
1. inku a.i. to burn: "to burn on," G753.8
2. inva a.i. to be a forest fire: G751
   1. inva forest fire: G761
3. inva a.i. the Northern lights (to) appear: "to burn down from upriver," G753.33

623. in a.i. (the world, the human race) to exist
1. in(rh) a.i. to come into existence: G623

624. in rapids in a river, 'falls.'
1. in a.i. a place name (Map, no. 58): "new falls," 1155

625. in a.i. (du.) to do (rare, largely replaced by kúp[hi])

626. in a postposition, marking the subject of certain predications (G833.1)

627. in a.i. to experience something unpleasant, to have something wrong with one, as in in "what (lit., how) is wrong with you?"
The durative is in-nath, with irreg. accent (T27.18, T30.18).

628. in p.i. (du. an.) to live, stay, sit, be
1. in(rh) i a.i. to sit down: G753.3
2. in-hvo- p.i. (du.) to stay habitually (T58.12): G751, G754.13; -h- is unidentified.

629. in adv. indoors, inside a living-house

630. in p.t. to tie, as in inhiku "to tie onto" (G753.8)
1. inrip p.t. to lace: G753.16

631. in co-wife: cf. 628

632. in a.p.t. to tie, as in inhiku "to tie onto" (G753.8)
1. inrip p.t. to lace: G753.16

633. in adv. used to indicate recent past time; the alternant in occurs in certain environments (G845.4). Re the variant in, see the footnote to T84.33.

634. in caterpillar

635. in adv. deer. Occurs only in the following compounds:
1. ipa deer excrement: 17
2. ipa red deer: 215.4
3. ipa gray deer: 89
4. ipa pygmy owl, Glaucidium sp. (M): 1074, G762, G621.9; this owl is said to kill deer by entering their ears and blowing (or sucking?)

5. ip black deer: 974

636. ip p.i. to return (?): cf. G731
Occurring only in:
1. ipkurih p.i. to dive: G753.9
2. ipmu p.i. (sg.) to arrive (there) again, go back, return; used as the iterative of um-a: G753.10, with irreg. lack of accent.
   1. ipma birthday: G761

637. ip p.i. tree, bush
Occurs only as a postpound, with irreg. morphophonemics (G613).

639. ipa juniper seed
   1. ?ipaha?ipahA juniper tree: probably contaminated from *?ipa-
      ?ipahA, 639 + 640; cf. 337
   2. ?ipahári-k adv. forest: "tree-place"; G614.7, G621.1
   3. ?ipahaxáyvi-§ tree fungus, including Fomes pinicola and Trame-
      tes subrosa (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 3 and 4): 1618
   4. ?ipahak ?iyumuná-natháxchan Western gnatcatcher, Polioptila
      caerulea var. obscura (H): "one who puts things up in a tree":
      G621.1, 828, G753.31, G751, G757, G758, G532
641. ?ipáhari-Øun tp.t. to catch up with: cf. 30
642. ?ipak p.i. (sg.) to come back, arrive (here) again, to return: G731?
643. ?ipam sinew
644. ?ipan adv. end, top
   1. ?ipanhi a.i. to extend (to a certain distance): G222.1
   2. ?ipani-Ø adv. the very end, the very top: G621.9
645. ?ipara whale
646. ?ipararan reliable (person)
   1. ?ipananahič likable (person): G621.9
647. (i)páriš p.t. to heat (cooking stones)
648. ?ipas tp.t. to take, bring (a person)
649. ?ipat- p.t. to break (twigs) with one's fingernails, as in ?ipatsip(riv)
      with the same meaning (G753.26)
650. ?ipata doe (deer)
651. ipčimákananča handkerchief; cf. 566
   1. ipčimakananča-x bandanna: "red handkerchief," 566
   2. ipčimakanančka-m bandanna: "big handkerchief," 846
652. ipč-F. tp.t. to tell, say to; (rarely) to call (apply as a name to)
      (T26.18). The irreg. alternant ípe-F occurs before all suffixes.
653. iphi- p.t. to put, set (two or more objects)
      The object reference is narrowed to dual only in the following
      derivatives:
      1. iphih tp.2t. to give (two objects) to (someone): G754.7
      2. iphiřiš a.i. (du. inan.) to lie: G752.2
      Used as a durative verb.
654. iphi-kirič p.i. to sweat oneself (in a sweathouse): G753.6
655. ?ipih bone
656. ?ipik heel
657. ipirá-nva p.t. to trade, swap: G751
658. ?ipíš-aí deer leg bone
659. ipit adv. yesterday
   1. ?ippit miippitkam day before yesterday: "yesterday its-yesterday-
      side": G410, G621.11
660. ipké-víš(ríh) p.i. to be transformed (into an inan. object): G731?,
      G753.3
661. ipkífínmit p.t. to turn inside out: G731
662. ipkíva-vrin p.i. to turn back: G731, G753.37
663. ipmahókno-na p.i. to feel (emotionally): G731?
664. ipnipá-va-n pers. a past priest or priestess of the world-renewal
      ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. ?); perh. "one who has gone back
      out": 637, G753.17, G751, G762, with irreg. morphophonemics
665. ipšé-k a.i. to be heavy
666. ipšo-ké-hva-n a man's name: G731, G751, G762?
667. ipšů-nkinet adj. short, low: G731, G754.9, G781, G621.9?
iptáčva-yšip (riv) p.i. to raise up again (T4.103): G731, G753.26; cf. 531.2

iptako' p.t. to add (water, in leaching acorn meal) (T73.14): G731, G753.8, G751

iptaxátih p.i. to comb one's hair: G731?
1. iptaxatihara comb: "combing-instrument"; G754.3, G761, with apparently irreg. accent

ipθapápkap p.t. to chew up (T33.52): G731, G740, with a stem θapak-; cf. 470, 1592

ipθes p.t. to finish weaving

iθpun tail meat of salmon

iθpūn-va p.i. to rest, take a rest: G751
1. ipu-nvāram adv. a place name (Map, no. 56): "resting-place," G766

iθf p.i. to celebrate the world-renewal ceremony
1. iθra world-renewal ceremony, 'pikiawish' or 'Indian New Year': G761
2. iθnam adv. a place name (Map, no. 22): "world-renewal celebrating-place," G766
1. iθnāmōu'f - Clear Creek: 1464
3. iθrahiva adv. world-renewal adv. (Map, no. 42): G751, G761

iθf tp.t. (poison oak) to affect (a person), as in kusve-p?r-t n ti?rāp "poison oak has affected you, i.e., you've caught poison oak"

iθram daughter-in-law
The dimin. is iθnamiš.

iθram'fa-n a woman's name: G762?

iθramnihirak adv. a place name, Horseshoe Bend (Map, no. 61): G753.13, G823.2

iθ&ya-n a woman's name: G762?

iθri- a.i. to drip, as in *iθrihramnih "to drip into" (G753.13)

iθrikirkihi a.i. to be the sound of footsteps: G755?

iθrip p.i. • to dig
1. iθripa pickaxe: "digging-instrument"; G754.3, G761
2. iθripa-m adv. mine: "digging-place," G766
3. iθripa-n pers. miner: "digger"; G751, G762

iθriš adv. floor

iθru- p.i. (du.) to go: cf. G756. Occurs only in:
1. iθru'faku p.i. (du.) to come down from uphill: G753.1

iθruś p.i. (pl.) to run away: 685, G753.14?

iθruvo* tp.2t. to turn to (?): 685, G753.10, G751? Occurs only in xu's + iθruvo- "to turn one's mind to, to think about" (1638.1).

iθš, a submorphemic element meaning "intransitive" (G710)

iθš p.t. to drink
1. iθšahA - iθša water: "being drunk," G755, G761
   1. iθšah(a)šāsip bucket: "water-vessel," 156
   2. iθšahake-m?θra-m adv. a place-name (Map, no. 3): "bad-water deer-lick"; 868, 689.3
   3. iθšahē-kt'ama-nnam bucket: "carrying water in"; 513, G753.14, G761
   4. iθš(ah)eθriθrihrava pitcher: "setting water down in"; 769.1, G753.14, G761
   5. iθše-ktāva-nič a woman's name: "little water-carrier"; 513, G762, G621.9
2. ʔiširak  adv.  a place name, Cecilville, in Konomihu Shastan territory: "drinking-place"; G823.2
   1. ʔiširāšu-f South Fork of the Salmon River: "Cecilville Creek"; 1464

3. ʔišra-m  adv.  deer lick; saloon; a place name, Sulphur Springs: "drinking-place," G766
   1. ʔišnam?ša-niš purple finch, Carpodacus sp. (M): "little deer-lick drinker"; 889, G766, G621.9

2. ʔišrāmak  adv.  a place name, just downhill from Big Bar: "at a deer lick," G621.1. In prepound position, the irreg. alternant ʔišramaka- occurs.
   1. ʔišramakšo-f Slate Creek: 1464
   2. ʔišramaká?u-y Shelton Butte: 1510

3. ʔišra-мhīrak  adv.  a place name, Flower Flat (Map, no. 60): "where there is a deer lick"; G622.1, G823.2

4. ʔišrāma-m  adv.  a place name, Big Bar (Map, no. 115): "behind a deer lick," 965

5. ʔišrāviš  adv.  marshy place: G621.10

4. ʔišrav  p.t.  to drink from (T32.94): "to drink in," G753.14
   1. ʔišram cup: "drinking-from," G761

2. ʔišravahA  cup: "being drunk from"; G755, G761
   1. ʔišravahá-pxaway man's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "cup-cap," 126

5. pšma-ra  p.t.  to finish drinking: G731, G754.11; the suffix -mara here appears in an irreg. allomorph. Before derivative suffixes, however, the regular form pšmara- occurs, as in pšmarana- "(pl.) to finish drinking" (G756).

690. ʔiš  meat, flesh, body
   1. ʔišimfira  adj.  brave, tough (of a person): "hot-flesh," 575.1
   2. ʔiškara  naked: -kara is not identifiable.
   3. ʔiškPač  naked: G621.12
   4. ʔiškō-ра  naked: 897, G621.2, with irreg. accent?
   5. ʔišxkihara  sturgeon: "having rough flesh"; 1623, G621.2

691. ʔiš  the 'ace' or marked stick in the Indian gambling game: from English 'ace'?

692. ʔišaveip(riv)  tp.2t.  to pay as a fee to (a doctor): G753.26

693. išča-čip  roots used in basketry, esp. willow roots

694. iščuf  a.i.  to crack (intr.): cf. 444

695. išči  p.t.  to skin (an animal), to skin off (a hide)

696. ʔišip  p.t.  to extinguish (a fire): cf. 593

697. ʔišip  a.i.  to extend, be in a line
   1. ʔišipíšriha  adv.  a place name, Ishi Pishi (Map, no. 71): "extending down" (referring to the ending of a trail at this place); G753.3, G761, G621.1. The prepunctual form is ʔišipíšš. The locative ʔišipíšrik is also used as the name of the site.

698. ʔišipíšrnav'nač  adv.  a place name (Map, no. 12): G621.9

699. iškak  p.i.  (sg.) to jump: cf. 438
   1. iškákšiš(rih)  p.i.  to land (after jumping): G753.3

700. iškax  p.i.  to be quiet, to think (i.e., to meditate)
   1. iškákšiš(rih)  p.i.  to stop (doing something): G753.3

701. išk-eš  river, the Klamath River
702. iške-t?ipváripirak Fish Lake: G731, 1513, G753.16, G823.27
703. t?škīh adv. quickly
704. tškīt (good) luck; lucky
705. tškur p.i. to skulk around (holding one's head down, but watching secretly)
706. tškurūpa-θ stem of imk&'nva, the 'sunflower' or gum plant, Grindelia robusta var. patens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 222)
707. tškūruh p.t. to carry by a looped handle
708. tšmāčara leaves of mahüm-kānva, Angelica tomentosa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 167)
709. tšnaka p.t. to put aside
1. pišnātkrišuk p.t. to take off (clothing): G731, G753.18
710. tšnā-nič adj. light (in weight); quick, swift (of persons): G621.9
711. tšnap- p.t. to put (soft material?), as in tšnapčak "to put on as a patch, to plug with" (G752.1); cf. 463, 1075
712. tšnē-kva p.i. to be lame: G751
713. tšmuru a.i. to thunder
1. tšnūra thunder: G761
714. tšpas a.i. (acorn meal) to be leached free from bitterness, to be 'sweet'
715. tšpat a.i. to break, i.e. become broken: cf. 471, 587
1. tšpē-tara without money, 'broke': G764; a loan-translation from English?
716. tšpuka dentalium shells (used as money); gold
1. tšpukā'asa quartz: "gold-rock," 146
2. tšpukappē-n pan for panning gold; from English "pan"
3. tšpukasupravāra scales for weighing gold: "gold-measuring instrument": 1257, G754.3, G761
4. tšpukattā-ra rich (person): "money-owner," 1317
5. tšpukatunvē-č small dentalium used for necklaces; small change: 1398.1
6. tšpukē-mka'nva a plant sp.: "money-sunflower," 576
7. tšpukē-mnēšra'm adv. gold refinery: "gold-cooking place": 584, G756
717. tšpū-tač adv. a place name (Map, no. 118): G621.9
718. tšrī, a submorphemic element meaning "pulling" (including "drawing a bow"), is identifiable in several of the below entries.
719. tšrā-t p.t. to lead
1. tšrā-tara reins: "leading-instrument": G754.3, G761
2. tšrā-tkira reins: "leading-instrument": G754.9, G761
720. tšre-kāre' a woman's name
721. tšrē-kara bowstring; tumpline: G754.3, G761?
722. tšrikē-yav a man's name: 1665?
723. tšrikēh p.t. to pull tight
724. tšrīv p.i. to shoot at targets, 'shoot mark'
1. tšnimvānakač yellowbird, Astragalinus sp. (M): "little target-shooting-down-from-upriver": G753.24, G761, G621.9
2. tšrīva-n pers. archer participating in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8): G762
3. pišrēś(rih) p.i. to return from target-shooting: G731, G753.3, with irreg. contraction
725. tšrīv adj. fat (of persons)
726. tšrūn p.t. to pull
727. ištak tp.t. to-hold, carry (a person, e.g., a baby)
728. ištak- a.i. to become separated, i.e., to come to have a gap, as in ištakura-na "(a dress) to become ripped upwards (pl.)" (T50.12) (G753.31, G751): cf. 508
1. ištákak adv. a place name (Map, no. 92): "at a gap"; G761, G621.1
729. ištuk p.t. to pick, pluck (flowers, stems, leaves)
1. pištů-krava a woman's name; G731, G753.14; G761
730. ištut- p.t. to pass (rope or the like) through one's fingers, as in ištútunih "to slide down on" (T18.28) (G753.30)
731. tňum p.t. to scrape (iris leaves, to extract fiber for making string
732. tšunva tp.t. to bury, to hide: G751; cf. 399
1. pšunvarišuk tp.t. to take out of hiding: G731, G753.18
733. tšupiš p.t. (shaman) to show, display (a disease object, in the process of curing): cf. 505
734. išva'k chin
735. išvay p.i. to duck (to avoid being hit)
736. išvřík elbow
737. išvirip Jeffrey pine, Pinus ponderosa var. jeffreyi (Schenck and Gifford, no. 15); (adv.) a place name, Pine Flat (Map, no. 38): 638?
1. išvinipiš adv. a place name, Three-Dollar Bar (Map, no. 79): "little pine," G621.9
1. pe'-švinipiš a man's name: "the one at Three-Dollar Bar," G810
2. išviripš'x a bird the mountain tanager, Piranga ludoviciana (M); cf. 288
3. išvirípma'm adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: "behind a pine," 965
738. išviríptih adv. a place name (Map, no. 42); cf. 737
739. išvít p.t. to detach: cf. 533, 793
1. išvítta piece, part, half; G761
1. išvíttač a type of woodpecker: "little piece," G621.9
2. išvít ko- halfway (T18.15, T57.94): 897
ko- seems to act as a postposition here, but has not been found in such a function elsewhere.
740. išxaxa a.i. to become torn, smashed: cf. 545, 616, 802
Combinations with directionals often have added causative meaning, as in the following:
1. išxaxa-ra p.t. to tear open: G753.32
741. išxay p.i. to fish (with a hook and line)
1. išxára fishpole: "fishing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
742. išxáh tp.t. to give (a part of something) to (someone)
743. išxčak waist (of one's body)
744. išya'v adv. winter
1. išya'-t 'spring salmon,' king salmon, Oncorhynchus tschawytscha (H): "winter-salmon," 177
2. išya'-vhi p.i. to live through the winter (T35.6): G622.1
1. pišya-vpu a.i. to be winter (again) (T38.6): G731
1. pišya-vpíšha adv. autumn; G753.3
The dimin. is pišya-vpíšnič.
745. išyu'n p.t. to pull, as in išyu'-nkiv "to pull out" (T19.5) (G753.7)
746.'išyu'x elk
1. iti-vu-vnukra-adv. name of a rock on the mountainside near ?asåna-mkarak: "elk looking-down-over place"; 747.8, G766

747. iti-p.i. to look

Occurs with directionals, as in itkàrih "to look into water" (G753.9), itfaku "to look down from uphill" (G753.1). Many directional suffixes have irregular allomorphs after this stem, as shown in the following:

1. itkà-nva p.i. to spear fish: "to look into the river (pl.)"; G753.4, G751
   1. itkà-nvara fish-spear: "fish-spearing instrument"; G754.3, G761

2. itkarathiyavaV a man's name: "good looking-into-the-river"; G753.4, G757, 1665

3. itniľuk p.i. to peek, look out: G753.18

4. itniľ-prin - -nih p.i. to look through: G753.22

5. itru-mnih p.i. to look into: G753.13

6. itru-vu-thirak adv. a place name, Nordheimer (Map, no. 80): "looking-upriver place"; G753.19, G757, G823.2

7. itru-pu p.i. to look downriver: G753.24

8. itru-aunuk - -válnuk p.i. to look down over: G753.38

9. itru-aunra- p.i. to look over: G753.35

10. itru-àva- -mna8 p.i. to look into a sweathouse: G753.36

11. itnu-nih p.i. to look down: G753.30

12. itnu-thih p.i. to look toward: G753.10, G757

748. ?ita'- interj. exclamation of annoyance at a mishap

749. ?itam adv. earlier today

750. ?itap tp.t. to know, be familiar with, recognize

751. ?itha-ñ adv. a variant of hitha-ñ "constantly"

752. itta-ra mallard duck

753. itni-vka - -ini-v adj. mean, cruel

754. itpu-m adj. thick

755. itrå-har adv. ten

The alternant ?itåhara- occurs before all suffixes and postbounds.

1. ?itahanič adv. only ten: G621.9

2. ?itahara ?hara ten-point buck: 34

3. ?itåharahan adv. the tenth month of the Karok year: G621.5

4. ?itåharappåširiha adv. thousand: "ten hundred," 1088

   The prejunctural form is ?itåharappåšì.

5. ?itåharatåpas adv. a whole lot: "ten real," 1309

   The dimin. is ?itåhanatåpasič.

756. itra-x a.i. (arrow) to strike

757. itro-ìpa adv. five

1. itro-pič adv. only five: G621.9

2. itro-påhara five-point buck: 34

3. itro-pam adv. the fifth month of the Karok year: G621.5

4. itro-patåša-mnhia adv. nine: -tåša-mnhia is not identifiable.

   1. itno-patåša-mnhiač adv. only nine: G621.9

758. ?-tåšuru tp.t. to leave, abandon: G753.27?

759. ?itkuk adv. a place name, the Yurok village of pakwtil

760. ?itxå-rhiva p.i. to open one's eyes, to wake up: G751?

761. *ì, a submorphemic element meaning "dual subject," is identifiable in 768, 776, 781, and 786.
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762. iθáha-s scattered (?): 1679? Occurring in:
   1. iθáha-shi p.t. to scatter: G622.1
   2. iθáha-s + ikyav to scatter: 557

763. ?θοan bark of the Douglas fir
   1. iθári-p Douglas fir, Pseudotsuga taxifolia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 18): 638; the loss of initial ? is irregular. The dimin. is icáni-pič.
      1. icánipou'sič fir cone: "little fir pine-cone"; 1500, G621.9
      2. iθariptir̂h̄ma-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 100): "behind a wide fir"; 1393, 965

764. ?θεař p.t. to soak mildewed acorns in; cf. 1184

765. ?θεiviš(rih) a.i. to be a (specified kind of) 'doings' or celebration:

766. iθívána-n world, country, earth, land: 1426.1.2; cf. 1454
   1. iθíváŋké-npa-h automobile: "land-boat," 1039

767. ?θ̄θ̄ka feather
   1. iθ̄kamáňya-naram a plant, white everlasting, Gnaphalium microcephalum; also identified as Micropus californicus (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 227 and 229): "sticking feathers in"; 961, G753.14, G761

768. ?θpuh- p.i. (du.) to swim, as in iθpú-hrina "(du.) to swim across" (G753.15): cf. 475

769. ?θ̄θ̄ri a.i. (a filled container or its contents) to sit, stand, be;
   (liquid) to be at rest, to lie
   1. iθ̄riš(rih) a.i. (liquid), to run together, to collect; (a.t.) to set (liquid) down: G753.3

770. iθ̄θ̄há flower
   1. iθ̄riha-vàšip flowerpot: "flower-vessel." 156
   2. iθ̄rihahi a.i. to bloom: G622.1

771. iθ̄tit p.i. to gamble, to play 'Indian cards' (with small sticks held in the hand)

772. ?θ̄θ̄va p.t. to carry on one's back, to pack
   1. ?θ̄θ̄va pack, pack-load: G761
   2. iθ̄vářakač a man's name: "little carrying-downhill"; G753.1, G761, G621.9
   3. iθ̄vásipriv p.t. to raise up with a load on one's back: G753.26
   4. iθ̄vís(rih) p.t. to carry home on one's back: G753.3
   5. iθ̄vúk p.t. to bring on one's back: G754.17

773. iθ̄vaf tp.t. to think well of

774. iθ̄vara mat, mattress

775. iθ̄va-y adv. breast, chest, heart
   1. iθ̄vayúr̂ax a type of salamander: "red-chest," 370
   2. iθ̄vá-ȳkam adv. in front: "breast-side," G621.11

776. iθ̄vip p.i. (du.) to run; cf. 532
   Before directionals, the alternant iθ̄vir̂ip- occurs, as in iθ̄vir̂ipvarak "(du.) to run down from upriver" (G753.34)

777. iθ̄vó̄n ambitious, industrious
   1. iθ̄vó̄nhi p.t. to be anxious to, to enjoy (doing something): G622.1

778. iθ̄vuy p.t. to be named; to cost
   1. iθ̄vuya name: G761
   2. iθ̄vuya-nahi p.2t. to call (apply as a name to): G622.1?; -n̄a- is not identifiable
   3. iθ̄vúȳmaθ p.2t. to name, give as a name to: G754.12
4. iOv'yva p.t. to name, tell the name of: G751, with added causative meaning

779. iOvuyxa-hi p.i. to care, be sorry, grieve, mourn: G622.1?

780. i9xah p.t. to wash (leached acorn dough)
   1. pi9xah p.t. to wash (any inanimate object): G731
   2. pi9xahara soap, washboard, washing machine: "washing-instrument": G754.3, G761

781. i0xip p.i. (du.) to fly; (lovers) to elope: cf. 549, 804

782. i0xu-na p.t. to wear on one's head

783. iOxup p.t. to cover (one object), (sg.) to lie covering: cf. 813
   1. i9xu-pramnih p.t. to lie face down (T3.157): G753.13
   2. i9xu-pakinyx(rih) p.t. to lie down covering (T58.6): G752.4, G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics

784. i0ya- adv. across water, across-river

Occurring in:
1. i0yasRuk adv. across water, across-river; across a canyon: G621.21(2)
   1. i0yasRukhi p.i. to cross (a body of water) (T6.56): G622.1
   2. iOyarukiri:sti'p adv. the opposite shore: 168; -iri- is not identifiable.
3. iOyarukiri(kam) adv. the opposite shore: G621.11; -iru- is not identifiable.
4. iOyaruphri'v Across-the-Water Widower, a mythical personage: 1117
   1. iOyaruphri'v mune'vxat a plant, turkey mullein, Eremocarpus setigerus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 136): "Across-the-Water Widower's stinking armpit": G410, 1013, 1608

2. i0yRk adv. across, on the other side: G621.21

785. iOya'h fish-dam: cf. 784

786. iOyi* p.i. (du.) to fall, move through the air; as in i0yi*v(rhi) "(du.) to fall down" (G753.3), iOyi*mvarayva "(du.) to float around in the air" (G753.33): cf. 560

787. i0yuru p.t. to drag, pull, haul
   1. i0yunumphri'hvanač - cumunupm'hvanač needle: "little pulling-through instrument": G753.22, G751, G754.3, G761, G621.9
   2. i0yura automobile: "hauling," G761
      1. i0yurA'h headlight of an auto: "auto-fire," 29.1
      2. i0yurAkka'm truck, bus: "big auto," 846
   3. i0yura'n pers. driver (of an auto): "hauler," G762

788. i0yi p.i. (sg.) to die

Acts as s.i. in the phrase概率: iOyi 'k + i0yi "to be cold" (196).
   1. i0ymkara p.i. to drown: G753.4
   2. i0yapah dead person; G763
   3. i0ymiruv p.i. to be completely exhausted: "to die excessively," G754.8

789. i0v- house; nest (of insects or rodents)

Occurs only in combination, both as prepound and postpound.
   1. i0v?ávakam adv. roof: "house-top," 203.1; the loss of initial 2 is irregular.

790. i0v- meaning unknown, occurring only in:
   1. i0v + máhavrik to be unable to endure, as in i0v nímáhavrik "I can't stand it": 956.1
iváxrah a.i. to be dry, to dry up: cf. G622.2, 229
1. iváxrahá adj. dry: G761
2. iváxráhčak s.i. to have one’s throat close up with thirst (T4.68): G752.1

?ivhara board
1. ?ivhanatuνčε shingles: "little boards," 1398.1

ivvít- p.t. to detach, as in ?ivvítšu "ro. "to pull off (pl.)." (T8.9) (G753.27, G751): cf. 533, 739

ivrara- p.i. (pl.) to fall, as in ivvrarasuru "(pl.) to fall off" (G753.27)

ivvrattírh adv. a place name (Map, no. 69): cf. 1388

ivrāv p.i. to give birth to more than one

?ivript a.i. to bubble, to boil

?ivvren ~ ?ivvre-ra bare summit of a hill or mountain

?ivypt t.p.t. to cry for, mourn for

ivyih- p.i. (du.-pl.) to go, come, arrive (there)
Used with directionals.
1. ivyihíč(rih) p.i. (du.-pl.) to gather, assemble: G753.3
2. ivyihíčmu p.i. (du.-pl.) to go to, to arrive (going): G753.10
3. ivyihíčra- p.i. (du.-pl.) to come: G753.12
4. ivyíhíčrip(riv) p.i. (pl.) to go (away), to leave, to go to: G753.26
1. pavyiíhíčrip(riv) p.i. (pl.) to go home: G731
5. ivyihíčk p.i. (du.-pl.) to arrive (here): G754.17

ixak p.i. to make a noise
1. ixakácakaka a.i. to rattle: 740
1. ixakácakara gold-cradle: "rattling-instrument": G754.3, G761

ixxax p.t. to split, shred: cf. 545, 616, 740

ixálxana- p.i. (du.-pl.) to cry, weep: G756

ixkip- p.i. (pl.) to fly, to move through the air; as in ?ixkiprišuk "(pl.) to fly out" (G753.18), ?ixkipíčč hva "(pl.) to drift down (pl.)." (T52.75) (G753.30, G751): cf. 549, 781

ixmehváha-n priest in the Jumping Dance (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8): G762

ixrah s.t. to thirst for, occurring only in the phrase ?išaha (or ?á-s) + ixrah "to be thirsty" (689.1, 145).

ixrama- p.t. to bet (in gambling)
1. ixrama- : bet, stake (in gambling): G761

ixrara p.i. (ag.) to cry, weep; (cat) to meow
1. ixraràčva p.i. to make cries (T22.22): G751; -v- is not identifiable.

ixráñhí p.i. to growl: G622.1?

ixrup s.i. to have an erection

ixtarana?pan adv. a place name (Map, no. 36): 644

ixtȟ-vhi p.i. to play (athletic games): G622.1
1. ixťe-vhi (athletic) game: G761

ixkip- p.t. to cover (several objects); (du.-pl.) to lie covering:
1. ixkipíč (rih) p.t. (du.-pl.) to lie against (T51.52): G753.8, G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics

2. ixkipíčuru p.t. to uncover (several objects): G753.27

ixvphi p.i. to be angry: G622.1?

ixvífríp p.t. to swallow (by accident): cf. 1103
1. ixvířípač pill: G761, G621.9
816. ixya- p.t. to throw (two or more objects)
Used with directionals.
1. ixyaramvarihram clothesbasket: "throwing-in place"; G753.13, G768
2. ixyathurov p.t. to throw away, to lose (two or more objects):
   cf. G753.29. The plural-action form ixyapov is likewise irregular.
3. ixyumhatayi firecracker plant, Brodiaea ida-maia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 48): "throwing-down brodiaea"; G753.30, G761, 1363

817. ixyatap tp.2t. to cover with: cf. 816, 804
818. iya-ramu p.i. (du.) to go (away), to leave, to go on to
1. piya-ramu p.i. (du.) to go home: G731

819. iyav- p.t. to put (more than two objects)
Used with directionals.
1. iyashhava p.t. to sell: "to put down (pl.)"; G753.3, G751
2. iya-niS pen peddler: G762, G621.9

820. iyav-vora ceiling
821. iyuv-trupuk p.t. to push out (of an enclosed space): G753.25
822. iyuvkurišuk p.t. to take (guts) out (in cleaning fish): G753.18
823. iykara tp.t. to beat; (a person) to kill; to catch (fish)
1. piykara p.t. to slaughter: G731
   1. piykara pers. butcher: G762
   2. piykararm adv. slaughterhouse: G766
   3. piykavrara p.t. to finish slaughtering (T71.15): G754.11, with irreg. denasalization

824. iyvhrp(a)irv p.t. to shove over: G753.26
825. iyruh p.t. to revolve, to roll, to coil
   1. iyruhtakac adv. a place name (Map, no. 66): "little coiling-on"; G752.4, G761, G621.9
   2. iyruha a type of headdress: "coiling," G761
   3. iyurhriv p.i. (sg. an.) to lie: G752.2
   Acts as a durative verb

826. iyysar p.t. to mix with: cf. G754.15
827. iyutu p.t. to knead (bread)
828. iyuk p.t. to put or stick (a long object); used with directionals, as in iyuknamnih "to stick (a long object) into" (G753.13)
   1. iyukhe(r) p.t. to pay (a stated amount): G753.3

829. iyvax p.t. to hull (acorns)
830. iyvay- p.t. to pour, as in iyvaykuriš "to pour into (a hole)"
   (G753.9)
   1. iyvax(e)(r) p.t. to pour out, to spill: G753.3
   2. iyvaxnih p.t. to take (acorns) down (from racks): "to pour down," G753.30
   3. iyvaxra p.t. to put (acorns) up (on racks): "to pour up," G753.31

831. iyvāra p.t. to pile (wood)
   1. iyvāra woodpile: G761
   2. iyvāra woodpile: G753.31, G761

832. iyvuš- tp.t. to chase, as in iyvuruniš "to chase downhill" (G753.30)
833. iyvūrak p.t. to rub (something) on, to apply (medicine), to paint
   1. iyvūrakah paint: G755, G761

834. iyxv-rara p.t. to cover
1. iyx6-rariv p. 2t. to cover with, to wrap up in: -i6 is not identifiable.

K

835. ka?- adv. upriver

The alternant kah- occurs in most compounds, and the alternant ka- in most derivatives.

1. kah?arah pers. Shasta Indian: "upriver person," 127
2. kahn Shasta language: "upriver language," 380
3. kah?fna-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 22): "upriver world-renewal celebrating place"; 675, G766
4. kah?ira upriver world-renewal: 675

Occurring in:
1. kah?ira + v?rak to do a war dance (T82.21): "upriver world-renewal to come down from upriver," 1523
5. kah?fvre-n – ?f?vre-ra adv. a place name (Map, no. 87): "upriver summit," 798
6. kahfi?ra-m adv. a place name, Yreka (in Shasta territory): "upriver valley," 1391
7. kah?hup-f a tributary of Bluff Creek: "upriver creek," 1464
9. k?kam – k?f adv. (a short distance) upriver; G621.21(1)
10. kahro-(ka)m adv. on a height upriver; (in the longer form only) a place name (Map, no. 99): G621.21(4). The dimin. is kano-kami6.
11. kah?huk adv. (a considerable distance) upriver; G621.21(2)
2. kah?huk va?kku-sra(h) the tenth month of the Karok year: "upriver its-month"; G420, 932
12. kah?sah adv. a place name, perh. designating the upper drainage of the Trinity River: cf. 1683.7. The term kasah?ara-ra "person of ka-sah" is given as "Wintun and Chimariko of Trinity River" by Kroeber, 1925, p. 99, and as "New River Shasta" by Curtis, 1924, p. 225.
1. kasah?mvrak adv. a place name (Map, no. 13): "at ka-sah fishery"; 613, G621.1
13. kah?tim?m adv. Ishi Pishi Falls; the adjacent rancheria, Katmin (Map, no. 70): "upriver-edge falls"; 1397, 624
15. k?o adv. across- and up-river: G621.21(3)
The dimin. is k?o6.

836. ka? son (rare, usually replaced by ?avansaxi-6 "boy" or ?afi?r?han "young man"). The dimin. is ka-?i6.

837. kah?mi6 adv. a variant of ka?mi6 "gently, quietly"

838. ka?k?i blue jay, the crested jay, Cyanocitta sp. (M)
1. ka?k?apuro?n a kind of cocoon: "blue jay's magic-charm," 123.2

839. k?f a plant, saxifrage, Peltiphyllum peltatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 102)
1. káfhi-č alum root, Heuchera pilosissima (Schenck and Gifford, no. 104): "imitation saxifrage," G614.2
2. kafčka-msa a plant, sweet coltsfoot, Petasites palmata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 236): "big little-saxifrages"; G621.9, G621.16
3. kafčunvčeč(also) alum root (same as káfhi-č, above): "small little-saxifrages"; G621.9, 1398.1
840. kafith coffee: from English
1. kafihvásip coffeepot: "coffee vessel," 156
341. ká-h automobile: from English "car"
842. kaříru - káru adv. also, too, and
843. kaříru! interj. be quiet!
844. kákač daddy: G621.9
Acts as the dimin. of ?ákah "father."
845. ká-kum adv. some
Acts as a determinative.
846. -ka'm adj. big, large
Occurs only as postpound, except in the following:
1. káč big, large: G621.9
Occurs with the plural suffix, but never as a postpound; its status as adj. is therefore doubtful, unless it is considered an alternant of -ka'm, with which it is in complementary distribution. The dimin. is káččičž.
1. keččɟ'hyan Preston Peak: "big-standing"; 433, G532
2. keččɟ̄kýayava sweetheart, friend: "big-doing"; 557, G761
Forms plural in -i-vša, like kinship terms.
847. ka'n adv. there, in a place previously designated
848. kapahra'm adv. a place name, site of a copper mine: English "copper" + G766
849. -ka'ra p.i. to cross a river: cf. G753.4
Noted only in ipka'ra "to go back across-river" (G731) and ?irǔkka'ra "(pl.) to cross a river" (G756).
850. kárí adv. still, yet, already, then
1. káríhi p.i. to be ready: G622.1
2. kárí xas then, so, and then, and so, and, but; 1604
851. kárim adj. bad, bad off, poor, sickly; in-law after death of connecting relative. The dimin. kárimčič used esp. in the meaning "poor" (i.e., impoverished).
1. karímčúphaña a man's name: "bad-talker"; 319, G762
2. kárim + xus to be sad; "to think bad," 1638
852. kárumA adv. the fact is (was), . . . (T2.28, T2.37, T3.105, T10.39)
853. ká's (bird's) nest
854. kasáni-k - kasámukč adv. a place name, Sandy Bar (Map, no. 98): G614.7, G621.17; G621.9
855. kasaxáni-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 44): G614.7, G621.1?
856. kasči-p porcupine; porcupine quills
1. kasčipkumč adj. yellow: "like porcupine quills" (which aredyed yellow for basketry), G621.13
857. kasóhra'm adv. a place name, near Kátimín rancheria (T83.13): G766?
858. kástα'n mourning necklace
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369. **ká-t** a plant, California mugwort, Artemisia vulgaris var. heterophylla (Schenck and Gifford, no. 237)

370. **katáśi-p** bracken, Pteris aquilina var. lanuginosa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 7)

371. **katikuxra** California vanilla grass, Torressia macrophylla; also identified as another grass, Carex leptopoda (Schenck and Gifford, nos. 35 and 37)

372. **ka-tháníšukăč** adv. a place name, uphill and downriver from kátiphirak: 859, G621.9?

373. **kátiphirak** adv. a place name (Map, no. 104): G621.1, G823.2

374. **ká-yíč** (young) widow: G621.9?

375. **ka-yiká-yhi** p.i. to make the call of the blue jay: G622.1

376. **ké-ťxav** (old) widow

The dimin. is ke-čxavč.

377. **ké-ks** cake: from English plural

378. **-kë-m** adj. bad; homely

Used only as a postbound, except in the following:

1. **kë-mačko** poor, pitiable: G621.9, 897?
2. **-kë-mik** adj. poor, inferior: G621.9

Used only as postbound.

3. **kë-miša** something supernaturally dangerous, a devil, a monster; a deceased person; poison; a wild animal: G621.10?


379. **kë-na** p.i. to tremble, quiver, wiggle

380. **ke-vkarlθau-t** Three Dollar Bar Creek: 1464

381. **kè-vri'k** pers. old woman; old female (animal)

The dimin. is ke-vni-kič.

382. **kì-h** p.i. to lock a door: from English "key"

Occurs in:

1. **kì-hara** key: "locking-instrument": G754.3, G761
2. **kì-hṣuru** p.i. to unlock a door: G753.27

383. **kì-h** key

This evidently represents a different line of borrowing from that in the preceding entry. As a noun theme, kì-h- is found in the following:

1. **ipkì-hpu** p.i. to lock a door: G731, G622.1
2. **ipkì-hpara** key: "locking-instrument": G754.3, G761

384. **kìč** adv. only, just

385. **kìfař** p.i. to teach magical procedures

386. **kìmuk** p.i. to bend, stoop, curl oneself up

387. **kìfukva** p.t. to tie in a bundle: G751? cf. 888

388. **kìhrá-mhi** p.i. to be nauseated: G622.1?

389. **kimfïř** p.t. to singe (an animal): cf. 575

390. **kimkvíř** bearhide prepared by heating and scraping, eaten in the winter (T71.26)

391. **kì-nik** adv. a place name (Map, no. 26)

392. **kimvna-śič** pet: G621.9

393. **kìpa** adv. like

This is evidently used like a postposition (G833), except that it precedes the noun to which it is attribute; it is thus the only preposition which has been found in Karok. The only examples in the texts are kìpa fâ-t "like something, i.e., beautiful" (T30.17) and kìpa thükkíñ "like bile, i.e., green" (T58.36).
885. kírì adv. would that . . . , let . . . , may . . !
Used with indicative verb forms to express wishes.
1. kíNikini adv. may . . ! (T4.68): this type of reduplication is irregular.

886. kirvraha wave, riffle (in water)

887. kiṣake-vara Hupa Indian
The alternant kiṣake-vrā-occurs as prepound:
1. kiṣake-vrāhīh Hupa language: 380
2. kiṣake-vrā-ke adv. a place name, Hoopa: "Hupa-place";
   G614.7, G621.1
3. kiṣake-vrāssava Trinity River: "Hupa-river," 1220.2

888. kīṣap p.t. to tie in a bundle; cf. 877

889. kīṣu-f 'Indian celery,' sweet cicely, Osmorhiza nuda var. brevipes
(Schenck and Gifford, no. 160)
1. kīṣuva-nāhīTihan columbine, Aquilegia truncata: "having
   leaves like Indian celery leaves"; kīṣuvāsa-n "Indian celery
   leaves," 1205; sa-nāhīTihan "having leaves," 1205, G622.1, G757,
   G632

890. kīt - kīt pers. female grand-relative through a woman; i.e.,
mother's mother, mother's aunt, daughter's daughter, or niece's
daughter. The alternant -kītks occurs as postpound: cf. 942. The
dimin. is kī-tač.
1. ipkitpiya-n female great-grand-relative through a woman; i.e.,
mother's grandmother or grand-aunt, daughter's or niece's
granddaughter: G614.10
2. kīktva-s female grand-relative through a deceased woman; i.e.,
mother or aunt of a dead mother, daughter of a dead daughter
or niece: G614.9

891. kitxrih wing
1. kitxrhahak adv. a place name, near ʔuknamxánahič pond: "at a
   wing," G621.1
2. kitxrhaha a kind of dangerous spirit: "having wings," G621.3
1. kitxrhahati p.i. to be unfaithful to one's spouse: G622.1

892. kītifiš a man's name

893. kitnak p.t. to crack (acorns)

894. kīrī-p 'soap bush,' 'wild lilac,' deer brush, Ceanothus integerrimus;
also identified as myrtle, Myrtus communis (Schenck and Gifford,
no's. 144 and 154): 638

895. kīxah p.i. to singe one's hair (as widows do in token of mourning);
to burn brush in connection with the world renewal (Kroeber and
Gifford, p. 21)
1. kīxah-n pers. brush-burner at the world renewal: G762

896. kiyakikič a man's name: G621.9

897. ko' adv. so much, such, as much, however much (many); all
May be used as a determinative.
1. ko'hi p.i. to stop, quit: G622.1, with irreg. accent
2. ko-mahič adv. a little bit: all (T48.24): G621.18, G621.9
3. ko-vā adv. so much: G621.17
4. ko-van adv. together (with two or more); (as a postposition)
together with (two or more) (G833.3): G621.3
5. ko-vuRā adv. all: 1577
Used as a determinative.
6. ko' nik enough: 1014
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898. kó-čə'i-v adv. a place name (Map, no. 63)
1. ko-čə'iv-kö-θam adv. a place name, across-river from kó-čə'i-v:
    835.15, G621.11

899. ko-hímač- t.p.t. to pity
Occurring in the following:
1. ko-hímačko- t.p.t. to pity: G753.8, G751
   Used mostly with an implied supernatural subject, as in ʔára
tá kunko-hímačko- "(the spirits) took pity on a person, i.e.,
hé became lucky."
1. ko-hímačko- poor, pitiable; deceased father: G761
2. ko-hímačva t.p.t. to pity: G751

900. kó'ka kind, variety; also used in reference to a deceased person
The meaning "every" is found in the following derivatives:
1. ko'kamáh'it adv. every morning: 957
2. kó-kamínay adv. everywhere: G621.15

901. kó-kahni t.p.t. to accompany, go along with: G622.1

902. kó-khi p.t. to win (stakes, in gambling): G622.1
1. ipko-kpifčva-n a man's name: "one who pretends to win again";
   G731, G754.6, G782
2. kó-khi tp.t. to accompany, go along with: G622.1

903. kóKú interj. oh-oh!

904. kó'n corn; from English

905. ko-pitxta-ʔíva-n pers. sweathouse companion of the priest in the
world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford): 897, G731, 760,
G762?

906. kúčič a type of lizard: G621.9?
1. kučičʔápvy-y a plant, yarrow, Achillea millefolium var. lanulosa:
   "lizard-tail," 125
2. kučičvásíh a diagonal-bar design used in basketry: "lizard-back,"
   1528

907. kučnax- p.i. to stick out one's buttocks, as in kučná-xmu "to stick
one's buttocks toward" (T46.20) (G753.10)

908. kuť Western spotted skunk, Spilogale phenax (H)

909. kúťip velvet willow, Salix sitchensis var. coulteri (Schenck and
Gifford, no. 65); perh. "skunk-tree," 638
1. kuťipfúrax red willow, Salix laevigata (Schenck and Gifford, no.
62); 370
2. kuťipnárA Nuttall willow, Salix scouleriana (Schenck and Gifford,
no. 64): "rough willow," 1083

910. kúhi s.i. to suffer pain, to be sick (but not seriously): G622.1
The durative has irreg. accent; -kuhiTih after accented personal
morphemes, as in nákkhiTih "I'm sick," but -kuhéTih otherwise, as
in ʔukkhiTih "he's sick."

911. kúhu-m adj. unfamiliar

912. ku-k adv. thither, to there
Used as a postposition in the sense of "to" (G833.4)
1. kú-kam adv. in that direction: G621.11, with irreg. accent

913. kúkuh rough; calico
1. kúkuhmakáyva-s calico: "rough cloth," 964.2

914. kúku-m adv. again
There is a rare variant kúkumA (T41.5)

915. kúkurih p.i. to stoop down to water: G753.9

916. kúMate-č adv. later today: G430, 1361, G621.9, with irreg. mor­
phophonemics
917. kun. adv. meaning unknown; occurs only in yakun "you see" (1657.1) and in viri kun, of demonstrative meaning (1553.1)

918. -ku n. adj. crooked

Occurs only as postbound and in the following:
1. kú-nhi a.i. to be crooked: G622.1

919. kúNÁ adv. in addition, in turn; but
1. kúna vára but: 1577

920. kuná-¢a name of a mythical personage (T55)

921. kuna-skúnashí p.i. to play on a teeter-totter: G622.1?

922. kunih p.i. to shoot
1. kunhara wooden-tipped arrow: "shooting-instrument"; G754.3, G761

2. kunf-hku tp.t. to shoot, shoot at (a person or animal): G753.8

923. kúNÍS adv. sort of, kind of, rather

924. kunukúmuhi s.i. to have an itch: G622.1?
1. kunukúmuhivá tp.t. to tickle: G754.12

925. kupánakanakaná interj. word used to end myths

926. kú-phí p.i. to do

The following combinations are irregular:
1. -kúpha-nik ancient tense, "once did" (G822.3)
2. -kúpha-t past tense, "did" (G534)
3. -kúpue-n anterior tense, "had done" (G822.2)
4. -kúpue-g future tense, "will do" (G822.1)

The anterior and future forms are unaccented when preceded by an accented adverb in the same predication: miník na va niku-pue-g "I'll do that." Otherwise, forms with post-accented prefixes have penultimate acute accent: pa'ára-r ūumkun kunkúpue-g "the people will do it." Those with other prefixes have final circumflex accent: na va nikupue-g "I'll do that."

5. kupíTih durative, "to be doing" (G757)

This theme is accented before suffixes, as in ?ukupíTih-e" he will be doing," but unaccented elsewhere, as in pánkupíTih "what we are doing."

927. kúpri-p Port Orford cedar, Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (Schenc and Gifford, no. 22): 638

928. kó-¢- p.i. to sit, to slide (on one's buttocks), as in kó-ríš(rih) "to sit down" (G753.3), kó-rušuna "to slide around" (G753.29)

929. kúrat California woodpecker, Balanosphyra formicivorus var. bairdi (H)

930. kuríkira beam supporting the lower end of the roof in an Indian house: G754.9, G761

931. kuríxi-t a plant sp.

932. kú-sra(h) sun, moon; month (used as a classifier)
1. kusnáh-anamahá clock, watch: "little sun," 129.1
2. kusnahkinfa-šic clock, watch: "sun-pet," 882
3. kusrahké-m adv. the first month of the Karok year: "bad month," 868

4. kusrátamhi a.i. (moon) to shine: G622.1? -tam- is unidentifiable.

5. kusrè-kxúrika calendar: "month-paper," 555.1
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933. kusripan madrone tree, Arbutus menziesii (Schenck and Gifford, no. 179); cf. 934
934. kusripiš madrone berry; cf. 933
1. kusripiš?amáyav adv. a place name (Map, no. 107): "good-tasting madrone-berries," 201.1.2
935. kúsup a plant sp., said to be eaten by deer and to make their meat taste bad
936. kúsuxiš a type of fragrant bush, the branches of which were worn by women in their hair
937. kústa- pers. sister, female cousin
The irreg. plural is kustá-ras when unprefixed, -kustári-vša with possessives.
1. kustání-čva step-sister: "imitation sister," G614.2
938. kustífik wild pea, Lathyrus gramínofolius (Schenck and Gifford, no. 131)
939. kustúriv a type of grass, growing on the river-bank
940. kusvá-x a plant sp.
941. kusvě-p poison oak, Rhus diversiloba (Schenck and Gifford, no. 137)
942. kút ~ kút pers. male grand-relative through a woman; i.e., mother's father, mother's uncle, daughter's son, or niece's son:
   cf. 890. The dimin. is kútač.
1. ipkutpiya-n male great-grand-relative through a woman; i.e., mother's grandfather or grand-uncle, daughter's or niece's grandson: G614.10
2. kútva- male grand-relative through a deceased woman; i.e., father or uncle of a dead mother, son of a dead daughter or niece: G614.9
943. kutíanav snow plant, Sarcodes sanguinea (Schenck and Gifford, no. 175); perh. "itch-medicine"; 95, and cf. 944
944. kú-thi p.i. to have the itch: G622.1
945. kutrah a.i. to bulge, used esp. in reference to a person's buttocks bulging through clothing
   1. kutrahára coat: "bulging-instrument"; G754.3, G761
      1. kutnahaná-anamaháč jacket: "little coat," 129.1
      2. kutraháraxárá overcoat: "long coat," 1602
      3. kutraháxxu's raincoat: "smooth coat," 1640
   2. kutra-htihan coat (T5. 53): "one which is bulging"; G757, G532
946. kútútuk - kútukuk left hand
947. kuš adv. for that reason
   Used as a postposition in the meaning "because of, for" (G833.5)
948. kuš tp.t. to copulate with
949. kuvi-vič oriole, Icterus sp. (M): G621.9?
950. kuvi-kkuh tp.t. to say goodbye to
951. kuvi-yiv adv. a place name (Map, no. 88)
952. kuva- adv. three
   1. kuyá-kič adv. just three: G621.0
   2. kuyrákkíth a yard (unit of measure): "three feet," 360
      Used as a classifier.
   3. kuyrá-khan adv. the third month of the Karok year: G621.5
   4. kuyránkíkha adv. eight; cf. 494
      1. kuyráníkíkhič adv. just eight: G621.9
      2. kuyráníkíkhan adv. the eighth month of the Karok year: G621.5
953. ma? adv. uphill, in the mountains.

The allomorph mah- occurs in most compounds, and the allomorph ma- in most derivatives.
1. mahamt&paras a type of lupine, Lupinus latifolius (Schenck and Gifford, no. 125): "mountain lupine," 89.1
2. mah?asaxz&m tree lichen, Evernia vulpina (Schenck and Gifford, no. 1): "mountain moss," 146.14
3. maháxra- a type of berry: "mountain gooseberry," 233
4. mahaxyámsurip a bush, California rose bay, Rhododendron californicum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 177): "mountain azalea," 252
5. mahaxyúshí·č a plant, Tonella tenella (Schenck and Gifford, no. 210): "imitation mountain digger-pine-nut"; 255, G614.2
6. mahčši-h wolf: "mountain dog," 305
7. mahímka·na a plant, Angelica tomentosa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 167): "mountain sunflower," 576.1
8. má?hinva - má-hinva adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: G621.16
9. mahíári-p lowland fir, Abies grandis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 19): "mountain fir," 763.1
10. makkačaká·č gray jay, Perisoreus sp. (M): "mountain jay," 838
11. makkusripan a type of bush: "mountain madrone," 933
12. mahpárié Oregon boxwood, Pachystima myrsinites (Schenck and Gifford, no. 139): "mountain huckleberry," 1177.3
13. mánsa·n vine maple, Acer circinatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 140): "mountain maple," 1206
14. mah táyí·θ tiger lily, Lilium pardalinum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 52): "mountain brodiaea," 1363
15. mááhá-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 83): "mountain meadow," 1418
16. mááhu·f a tributary of Bluff Creek: "mountain creek," 1464
17. mááxánθu·n scorpion: "mountain crawfish," 1598
18. má·kA adv. (a short distance) uphill: G621.21
   1. má·kavarih adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: G621.19. The form má?kavarih, evidently containing an alternant of the same stem, is given as a part of Orleans.
19. má·kam - má·m adv. (a short distance) uphill: G621.21(1)
20. má·ninay adv. high mountain country: G621.15
21. má·Ruk adv. (a considerable distance) uphill: G621.21(2)
   1. maruk?ára-ra one of a race of giants said to live in the mountains: "mountain person," 132
22. má?su? adv. up a tributary of the Klamath River, either a creek or the Salmon River: "uphill-inside," 1228. The alternate masuh-occurs in compounds, and the alternate masu- in derivatives.
2. masuñih Konomihu Shastan language: "Salmon River language" 380
3. masuñasava Salmon River, including its North Fork: 1200.2
4. má·sukam - má·su·m adv. (a short distance) up a creek, up the Salmon River: G621.21(1)
5. masúrúk adv. (a considerable distance) up a creek, up the Salmon River: G621.21(2)

954. mačnat a.i. to flash, shine intermittently
1. mačnáťač a man's name: "little flash"; G761, G621.9
   This man was so named because he was reputed to be a sorcerer,
   and so to give off flashes of light when moving around at night
   (cf. Kroeber, 1925, p. 67).

955. mah interj. listen!

956. mah tp. t. to see; to find
1. máhavrik tp. t. to see coming: G754.21
2. máh-rrař̃ tp. t. to track (i.e., follow the tracks of): "to see in,"
   G753.14
   1. mahrávñ pers. shaman with clairvoyant power, 'mind-
      reader'; "tracker," G762
3. mahunána tp. t. to see coming (T35.15): -unána is not identifi-

4. máh-ṽa tp. t. to visit: G751

957. máh?i̲t̿ adv. morning
1. mah?i̲-tnihač adv. early morning; G614.7?, G621.9

958. mahnų-vanač chipmunk: G621.9

959. mah-h̃̃ ñ a woman's name

960. mahvi-čax a type of salamander, Amblystoma sp. (M)

961. mahyá-na p. t. to put in, stuff in

962. má'k a type of grass
1. maktunvé-č a plant, Madia elegans (Schenck and Gifford, no. 232): 1398.1

963. má'kič a woman's name: English "Margaret" or "Maggie" + G621.9

964. mákay mange mite; white man (archaic, now replaced by ?apxan-
   tnínič, 126.2). The extension of meaning was said by one informant
   to be due to the fact that "there were so many of the white people":
   see the derivative mákayhi, below. A more likely derivation of mákay
   "white man" is from Yurok (v)wo-gey, of the same meaning:
1. mákayhi p. t. to have the mange; to be numerous: G622.1
2. makáyva-s(a) cloth: "white-man's blanket," 1526
   1. makáyvase-křfæra-m adv. tent: "cloth house," 493.4
   2. makáyvyasukúkuh tennis shoes: "cloth shoes," 1693

965. -ma'ñ adv. behind
   Used only as postpound.

966. man adv. of doubtful meaning; often used to introduce an answer
   to a question, translatable as "why, . . ." (T28.19, T34.44, T44.4)
1. man?átA - mana? adv. maybe, perhaps; (as an independent
   predication) I don't know: 178

967. má-n skin; bark (of a tree)

968. masmá'ňva p. i. to do the dance performed by a shaman when
   curing a patient: G751

969. matř̃ adv. in a moment; (as an independent predication) wait a
   moment!

970. matnák a. i. (a part of one's body) to burn, sting

971. matnus a. i. to burst; cf. 282
1. matnusáva-s(a) quilt, comforter: "cotton-blanket," 1526
   Said to be so called because it was seen bursting out of quilts.
972. mάθ adj. heavy
  1. mάθαphi p.i. to be too heavy (T5.59); G622.1; -ap- is not identifiable.
  2. mάθφi a.i. to weigh: G622.1
    A numeral satellite indicates a number of pounds, as in yfθa
    wumma'θhθi h "it weighs one pound."

973. máθA - máθ interj. look! behold!

974. -mι-f black (?) Occurring only in ṭιmι-f "black deer," 636.5, and
    in pά y nam?avakam ve'kxavnami-f "a mythical personage."
    1104.5.1

975. minik adv. of emphatic meaning; often used in reassuring, trans­
    lated as "... all right" (T4.83, T6.9, T9.26, T28.8, T35.46, T52.32, T64.37)

976. mit a.i. to pop, explode; (gun) to go off
    1. ṭιmιmtιmihiva adv. Fourth of July: "repeated-popping time";
       G731, G740, G754.1, G751
    2. mitmιsιxvuh milkweed, Asclepias eriocarpa (Schenck and Gif­
       ford, no. 191): "popping-gum"; G761 in an irreg. zero form?
       592
    3. mitmιθιva p.t. to blast (with explosives): "to cause to explode
       (pl.)"; G754.12, G751

977. mit adv. used to indicate remote past time; the alternant mιTa
    occurs in certain environments (G836.3)
    1. mitva adv. previous (acting as a determinative, T3.60):
       G621.17

978. mιθ father's sister
    The dimin. is mιθις.
    1. mιθις sister of one's dead father: G614.9

979. mιθιπ para red bilberry, Vaccinium parvifolium (Schenck and Gifford,
    no. 185)

980. mό'x interj. exclamation calling attention to a smell

981. mό'x a plant, Leptotaenia californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 165)

982. mό'k adv. with, by means of (a postposition, G833.6)

983. mόθι p.i. to buzz: G622.1; cf. 126.1

984. mόμιh adj. dull (as a knife or needle)

985. mόmικις slippery; G621.9; cf. 988.

986. mόra mole; velvet (because of its similarity to mole's skin)
    1. mόrapo'ra corduroy: "mole pants," 1159
    2. mόrayáfu velvet: "mole dress," 1650.2

987. murá'sis molasses: from English

988. mιrιx adj. slippery; cf. 985
    The dimin. is mιrιxις.

989. mιrιk mealing tray (O'Neale, p. 38)

990. mό'smus cow, cattle: from Chinook Jargon, perh. through Shasta
    mό'smus

991. mό't p.t. to carry in one's (closed) hand, to put or take a handful of
    1. mό'trιvι a.i. (handful) to lie: G752.2

992. mό'tμι t buttercup, Ranunculus occidentalis (Schenck and Gifford,
    no. 91); also identified as Potentilla sp. (Schenck and Gifford, no.
    390); said to be named from the noise which children make by
    whistling through the stems.
993. mú-yhi a.i. (string attached to fishnet) to quiver (showing that a fish is in the net): G622.1

N

994. ná· pron. I
995. na· p.i. to come; used only with ñ-k "here," as in čími ñ-k na· "come here!": cf. G753.12
  1. ñ-trunna· p.i. (du.-pl.) to come, go, walk, travel: G756
996. ná-kas Port Orford cedar, Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 22)
997. ná-šnakš pig: said to imitate the sound of grunting
998. ná·m flat ground (?): cf. 1009
999. ná-m spouse's relative, in-law
  The dimin. is ná-miš.
1000. námfrigh wooden plate for venison: perh. "wide flat": 998, 1388
1001. nánsa· older sister, older female cousin: G621.9
1002. ná-píf beetle
1003. nárhK - náruh adj. rough
  1. nará-í-í adv. a place name, negr Gordon's Ferry (above Happy Camp): "rough place": G614.7, G621.1
1004. násak ankle
1005. ná-se'p adv. the twelfth month of the Karok year
1006. násna's dog tick
1007. ná-tña-t nuthatch, Sitta aculeata (M)
1008. ná-th pers. man's sister's son
  The dimin. is ná-čiš or ná-čukač.
1009. náv a.i. to be flat ground; as in ná-mvāro-vu "to be a flat extending upriver" (G751, G753.19)
1010. náxasič a man's name: G621.9
1011. nē'h adj. hateful
  1. nē'hi t.p.t. to hate: G622.1
1012. ne-náre· a woman's name
1013. nē-v' armípit
1014. ník adv. of doubtful meaning, perh. "to some extent, for a while, at intervals"
1015. nīKA Negro: from English "Nigger"
1016. nī-knišč sparrow hawk, Falco sparverius (M): G621.9
1017. nī-namič adj. little, small: G621.9
  Replaced in postpound position by -ñanamahač, 129.1. The suppletive plural is tů-rččas, 1400; postpound -tunvěč(asa), 1398.1.
1018. nísit wart
1019. nō-virukan adv. a place name (Map, no. 5)
1020. nō· pron. we
1021. nükah - nükuh adj. deep (of vessels)
  Perh. has the form -mu·k in 1227.2, 1233.
1022. nümnap spot (on an animal)
  1. nümnapač fawn: "little spotted one": G621.2, G621.9
1023. Ꙃ! interj. exclamation of disdain (T8. 22)
1024. Ꙃ! interj. oh! (T1. 95)
1025. Ꙃ k adv. here
1026. Ꙃ nva tp.t. to take (two or more people): G751?
   1. Ꙃ nva k tp.t. to bring (two or more people): G754. 17, with
      irreg. lengthening of the suffix vowel
1027. Ꙃ rah! a.i. to cost: G622. 17
1028. Ꙃ rayva p.i. to have rumbling in one's stomach: G753. 33?
1029. Ꙃ t backbone of salmon
1030. Ꙃ v tp.t. to raise (a child)

P

1031. *pa, a submorphemic element, "by means of the mouth" (G710)
1032. pa? adv. last year
1033. päčak a.i. to be closed tightly: G752. 1
1034. pačip p.t. to suck on: G740, with a stem pačip-
1035. pačnut p.t. to suck at
   1. pačnutučnutu p.t. to nibble at: G740
1036. pačup tp.t. to kiss
1037. pafiš p.t. to use up: G754. 5
1038. pa h 'peppernut,' nut of the California laurel, Umbellularia californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 97)
   1. pahámva nič by-name for the crested jay: "little peppernut-eater": 201.5, G621. 9
   2. pahip 'pepperwood,' the California laurel tree: 638
      1. pahípmva mvarayva adv. a place name, part of Katimin
         rancheria: 1009, G753. 33, G761
      2. pahíprí k adv. a place name, the Yurok village of
         erlerger (as recorded by Kroeber, 1925, p. 10):
         "pepperwood-place": G614. 7, G621. 1
      3. pahípšruk adv. name of a sweat house at ?amekyra mám:
         "under a pepperwood," 1248. 3
1039. pah h boat
   1. pahvitara paddle, oar: "boat-rowing instrument": 1578, G754. 3, G761
      1. pahvštanač an aquatic insect, the 'skipper': "little paddle," G621. 9
1040. paha v green manzanita, Arctostaphylos patula (Schenck and Gifford, no. 180)
1041. pahič wooden chest, box
1042. pahvákiri p.i. to eat or drink too much; to be drunk
   1. pahvakfrn pers. drunkard: G762
1043. pakmúvař p.i. to go spend the night away from home: G754. 2
1044. paktápslip(riv) p.t. to turn up on end: G731, G753. 26
1045. pahu ki(h) p.i. to pick or gather acorns
   1. pakuhašra(h) adv. the thirteenth month of the Karok year:
      "acorn-picking month": G761, 932.
   2. pakuhiša adv. the thirteenth month of the Karok year: "acorn-
      picking time": G754. 1, G761
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1046. pákuríh p.i. to sing
   Inflectional affixes are added only to the plural-action derivative, paku'ri-hva.
   1. pákuríh a song: G761

1047. pakxu'yváva p.i. to wash one's hands: G751
   1. pakxu'yváva t.p.t. to rub 'medicine' on (for good luck): "to cause to wash one's hands," G754.12
   2. pakxu'yvi'va p.i. to seek good luck: "to wash one's hands in pretense," G754.6

1048. pakyáv s.t. to succeed with, have good luck with

1049. pamčak p.i. to close one's mouth: G731, 201, G752.1?

1050. panāknak p.i. (woodpecker) to peck: G740, with a stem panak-

1051. panámi-k adv. a place name, Orleans (Map, no. 102): perh. "the flat place"; G810, 999, G614.7, G621.1

1052. panplnúmta-chíČ California jay, Aphelocoma sp. (M): G621.9

1053. pānšay adv. after a while

1054. panyúrara 'bear lily,' 'bear grass,' 'squaw grass,' 'white grass,' i.e., the fire-lily, Xerophyllum tenax (Schenck and Gifford, no. 39)

1055. pāPah pepper: from English

1056. pāpu8 p.t. to chew

1057. para t.p.t. to bite

1058. pārāh pers. father's brother
   The dimin. is pa'nāhč.
   1. parāha's pers. brother of one's deceased father: G614.9

1059. pārak t.p.t. to split with a wedge

1060. pā-rak sandbar willow, Salix sessilifolia var. hindiana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 63)

1061. parāmpuk p.t. to cook (soaked acorns) with hot stones: cf. 1427

1062. parāmva p.t.
   1. parāmva's soup: "boiling-water"; G761, 145, with irreg. contraction

1063. parā-mva p.t. to split with a wedge: cf. 1059
   1. parā-mvara maul for driving wedges: G754.3, G761

1064. paratánmac'hu p.i. to turn back: G731, G754.16, G622.1

1065. pārax t.p.t. to lick (acorn soup) off of cooking stones

1066. pāriš p.t. a variant of ipāriš "to heat (cooking stones)"

1067. parīérihva p.t. to twine, i.e., make string by rolling iris fibers together: G753.3, G751

1068. pā-sahA armor (made of sticks)

1069. pāsas p.i. to get dressed, to dress up
   1. pāsasip(riv) p.i. to put one's clothes on (T4.25): G753.26

1070. pāsay salmon beetle

1071. pāsćip p.i. to be wet

1072. pāsip p.i. to shoot

1073. pasirú-v're adv. a place name, Presidio Bar (Map, no. 50)

1074. pasná-hva p.i. to draw in one's breath: G751?

1075. pasnáp a.i. to stick, adhere to: cf. 463, 711

1076. pasnik p.i. to blow a whistle
   1. pasnikara whistle: "whistling-instrument"; G754.3, G761
   2. pasnī-kē'ra whistle: "whistling-through instrument"; G753.7, G754.3, G761

1077. pā-stak p.t. to hang (something) over
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1078. pasűpi-čva p.t. to reveal (information), to 'tell' (in the sense of carrying tales): G754.6.

1079. pata p.t. to eat (acorn soup)
   1. patărava soup basket (O'Neill, p. 36): G753.14, G761
      The dimin. is pátanamč.

1080. pătanva p.t. to ask for, beg for
   1. patanvá-vu tp.t. to ask about, inquire after (someone): G753.10, with irreg. stem-alternant?
   2. patánviš tp.2t. to ask (a question of someone): -iš is not identifiable

1081. patapríha-k adv. pavement in front of a house; name of a place (a house?) across-river from ṣituk rancheria (T57.5); G621.1
   1. patapráhakam adv. a place name, a Yurok village at the mouth of the Klamath, perh. wekwe: "pavement-side," G621.11

1082. pátira ground just behind a fishing platform

1083. patrá-kup elk clover, Aralia californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 157)

1084. patširihiš adv. a place name, Oak Flat (Map, no. 14)

1085. pátum p.i. to put one's mouth or head
   1. pătumku tp.t. (shaman) to suck disease from (a patient): "to put one's mouth on," G753.8
   2. patunkira pillow: "head-putting instrument": G754.9, G761
      1. patumkirá-yu-nvarva pillowcase: "pillow putting-in": 828, G753.32, G761

1086. paturu-pve-na western raspberry, Rubus leucodermis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 112): G767

1087. pátva p.i. to bathe, to wash (any part of) oneself: G751?
   1. patváram adv. washbowl, bath tub: "washing-place," G766

1088. paš p.t. to throw
   1. paš(ríh) p.t. to throw down: G753.3
      1. -pašriha hundred: "throwing down," G761
      Used only as a postpound. The prejunctural form is -paš#
   2. pásuru p.t. to lose: "to throw away," G753.27
      1. pippásuru tp.t. to desert (one's spouse): G731

1089. pășah alone
   The dimin. is păče-č.

1090. pășak knee
   The locative is păšakan.
   1. pășakhki p.i. to kneel: G622.1
      1. pășakhfram adv. a place name, near Katimin: "kneeling-place," because Duck Hawk knelt there to shoot his wife.
      (T25, T26); G766
   2. pășakhfríh(píh) p.i. to kneel down, assume a kneeling position: G753.3

1091. păškira headdress worn in the jump dance: G754.9, G761?

1092. pașput bracelet

1093. pășra-mu p.t. to wrap one's hair with
   1. pașnamvanšč-č a plant, Chrysothamnus sp. (M): G753.32, G761, G614.2; the loss of the stem's final vowel is irreg.
   2. pășra-ma hair-wrapping: G761
      1. pașnám-miš a woman's name: "little hair-wrapping," G621.9
1094. pa'øríh a.i. to rain
   1. pa'øríha rain: G761
   1. pa'øríharakútrahara raincoat: "rainy coat"; G621.2, 945.1
1095. pa'øríf p.t. to spread on, to cover (a place) with, as in pa'ørí'mkí-rih "to spread over a fire" (G753.6)
1096. pa'øu'vrí'na p.i. to measure strings of dentalia: G753.37, G751
   1. pa'øúvri'na string of dentalia: G761
1097. pa'ø'va p.i. to sneeze: 1088, G751?
1098. pavírutva skirt made of maple bark
1099. pa'x p.t. to catch
   1. pa'xep tp. 2t. to win from: G754.4
   2. pa'xfuru p.t. to catch (game) in a trap: G753.2
   3. pa'xkív p.t. to win (a game): G753.7
1100. pa'xah p.t. to remove (acorn soup) from cooking stones with one's thumb
1101. pa'xut p.t. to hold in one's mouth
   1. pa'xuta mouthful: G761
1102. pa'xvárayva a.i. to run around in a circle: G753.34
   1. pa'xvárayvirak adv. a place name, Orleans Basin: G623.2
1103. pa'xvifi'xvíri p.t. to suck on (something) held in one's mouth: G740, with a stem pa'xvíf-; cf. G731, 815
   1. pa'xvífni'nač candy: "little sucking-on," G621.9
1104. pa'y adv. this, that (referring to something designated by pointing) Used as a determinative.
   1. pa'yÁm adv. now: -Á-m is not identifiable
   2. pa'yku'k adv. over there: 912
   3. pa(y)Á-k adv. right here: 1025
   4. pa'yváhe'Ám adv. nowadays: -váhe'Ám is not identifiable
   5. pa'y namí'ávahkam the sky: "that above us"; G410, 203.1
      1. pa'y'namu'ávahkam ve'kxavnami'f name of a mythical personage: perh. "black wolf of the sky"; G420, 544, 974
   6. pa'y namussúrúk underground: "that below us"; G420, 1248.3
   7. pa'y nanuxákka'arahí country outside Karok territory: "that on each side of us"; G420, 1586.7
   8. pa'y súrúk a by-name for ?amvá:mvá'n, the otter: "that one downhill," 1192, 10
1105. pa'y pie: from English
1106. pa'xh p.t. to lay (stones) to make a wall
1107. pe'ná rhí a man's name; from English "Ben Wilder"
1108. pe'vapí'øva a.i. to trade, barter: G751?
   1. pe'(va)píbváram adv. store: "trading-place," G766
      1. pe'píbváramtá'y city: "many-stores," 1361
   2. pe'vapí'øva'n pers. storekeeper: "trader," G762
1109. pičaku'va'na p.i. to brag: G754.20
1110. pi'Cas peach(es): from English
1111. pi'xÁ-p adv. long ago
1112. pi'f p.i. to break wind
1113. pikkutí'zi'-prína p.t. to put on (across one's chest?) (T65.19): G753.26, G751
1114. pi'ftus scar
1115. pi'nah adj: stiff
1116. pi'ná'f- coyote
The free form is supplied by the dimin. pihnē-fič.

1. pihnē-fünivāč yellowbird, Astragalus sp. (M): "little coyote-urine"; 1470.1, G621.9; see T5.88
2. pihnē-fiš p.i. to howl like a coyote: G622.1
3. pihnē-fičührā a flower, the Indian pink, Silene californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 87): "coyote-flower," 770
4. pihnē-fčsta-xva a type of winged ant: "Coyote pulling-foreskin-back"; 1154, G761; see T5.81
5. pihnē-ftātāpva honeysuckle, Lonicera hispida var. californica; also identified as pipe-stem, Clematis lasiantha (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 92 and 218): "coyote-trap," 1336.1
6. pihnē-fču Wilder Gulch, a small creek running through Orleans: "Coyote-creek," 1464; see T6.1
7. pihnē-fyukūkuh lady's slipper, Cypripedium sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390); also identified as stream orchis, Epipactis gigantea (Schenck and Gifford, no. 61): "coyote-shoe(s)," 1693

1117. pihrī-v widower
1. pihri:S old man; G621.9
   The dimin. is pihnē-fič.

1118. pikav tp.t. to get (a person), esp. to summon (a doctor)
1119. pikčah tp.t. to take a picture of, to photograph: from English "picture"
   1. pikčahā picture, photograph: G761
   2. pikčahara camera: "photographing-instrument": G754.3, G761

1120. pikčākarō-piōva a.i. (baskets) to be lined up clear around (the inside of a house) (T57.119): G753.11, G751
1121. pikčū-tkara p.t. to push back into a body of water (T3.116): G753.4
1122. piknē-hva p.i. to sweat oneself (in a sweathouse): G751
1123. pikř-vrhvā p.t. to be transformed into (a plant other than a tree)
1124. pikř-k p.t. to remember: G731?
1125. pikř-k p.t. to remember: G731?
1126. pikš:ya p.i. to lie, practice deception: G751?
   1. pikš:ya lie: G761
   2. pikš:ya:nuš tp.t. to lie, to deceive: G754.18

1127. pikšip shade, shadow; ghost
   1. pikšišpikmaθ sun-shade; shade tree: -ikmaθ is not identifiable.
1128. piktā-mpaθ p.i. to be drunk: G753.11
1129. piktā:tp.t. to miss, i.e., notice the absence of: G731?
1130. piktitira:na p.i. to pay indemnity: G753.12, G751?
1131. pikvaḥ p.i. to tell stories
   1. pikvaḥa story, myth: G761
   2. pikvahṛpukva p.i. to sing good-luck songs for hunting: "to tell stories downriverward (pl.)": G753.25, G751
1132. pikvas - pikvah p.t. to wear (a feather) as a plume in a headdress
   1. pikvasa plume, headress feather: G761
      The alternant pikvaha- evidently occurs in the first of the following derivatives:
      1. pikvāha adv. a place name (Map, no. 31): "little plume," G621.9
      2. pikvastā:č fat solomon, Smilacina amplexicaulus; also identified as Trillium rivale: "imitation plume," G614.2
      2. pikvāvahṛve-nač mountain quail, Oreortyx sp. (M): "little plume-wearer"; G740, G767, G621.9
1133. pikvä-nač adv. a place name (Map, no. 41): G621.9
1134. pikxáramnin p.i. to finish making good-luck 'medicine' (T70.2): G753.13
1135. pikya-ra p.t. to finish
1136. pikyáviš world-renewal ceremony: from local English pikia-wish, from Karok *išivoa-ne-n ūapikyá-viš "he (the priest) is going to fix the world"
1137. -pí-маč - -ič adv. next to (used principally with possessive prefixes): G621.9
1138. pímna-nih summer
1. pímna-nih-a adv. springtime (T43.10): G753.3, G761; the prejunctural form is pímna-nih-š.
2. pímnanhka-am adv. autumn: G753.4, G751, G761
3. pímnanhrá-m adv. camp where people live while fishing, during the summer: "summering-place," G766
2. pímnanhišánaka-nič mourning dove, Zenaidura sp. (M): "little summer-mourner": 1318, G762, G621.9
1139. piš-mgav p.i. (a person) to be cold, to freeze: G731, 788?
1140. pìmtav p.i. to revive, come back to life: G731, 788?
1141. pi*-n pin: from English
1. pinhi-a plant, red-stem filaree, Erodium cicutarium (Schenck and Gifford, no. 134): "imitation pin" (because the seed-capsules resemble pins), G614.2
1142. pi'ngura bean(s): from English; -ura, however, is not identifiable.
1143. pip tp.t. (insect) to sting
1144. pi-p p.i. to say
The allomorph ipi- occurs before suffixes and postfixes, as in dative ipi-th "to be saying," anterior -ipá-he-n "had said." The past tense -ipa-t and the ancient -ipá-ñik are irregular. The optional alternant ipi-p occurs occasionally before juncture; thus kunpi-p - kunipi-p "they say."
1145. piptákiš p.t. to mend: G731?
1146. pipšta-nih p.t. to forget, i.e., to accidentally leave (something) behind one: G731?
1147. pipšta-s adv. a place name (Map, no. 23)
1148. píriš grass, leaf, bush, brush, plant (excluding trees); 'medicine,' i.e., a preparation for magical purposes, not necessarily including plants (T51.14)
1. píriš-axvá:haras yerba santa, Eriodictyon californicum; also identified as Draperia syatyla (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 196, 197): "pitchy-leaves": 241, G621.2, G621.16
2. píriškárim grizzly bear: "brush-bad." 851
3. píriškuniš adj. green: "like grass," G621.13
1149. piruvápio-pítha p.i. (du.-pl.) to go around (pl.) (T52.9): G731, G756, G753.11, G751
1150. piš soaked acorns, i.e., acorns leached by burying in a pit (see T75)
1. piš-pan pit for soaking acorns: -pan is not identifiable.
2. piš-hi p.t. to soak (acorns): G622.1
1151. piši*p adv. first (of two); cf. G614.4
1. piši-č adv. first (of several); G621.9, with irreg. contraction.
The optional alternant piši-č occurs before non-pausal juncture.

1152. pišiš?i[kyáv-a*n pers. -woman who cooks for the officiants in the
world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8); G557.5

1153. pišišši? yellowjacket, bee; honeycomb, honey; radiator of a car
(because it resembles a honeycomb)
1. pišišši?qa-f bee bread, i.e., pollen stored by bees for food: "bee-excrement," 17
2. pišišši?xárA wasp: "long bee," 1602

1154. pištá?xva p.i. to pull back one's foreskin; G751
1155. piť adj. new, fresh
1156. pitaxyářih p.i. to 'swear,' i.e., to say the name of someone's dead
relative

1157. pitťtúti p.t. to tear up; G740; cf. 1337
1158. piť-txárA a man's name: "tall Pete," 1602
1159. pi?i? adv. four
The alternant piťeva- occurs in most derivatives, e.g., pi?evávan "four (animate)."
1. piť-či? adv. only four: G621.9
2. pi?eván adv. the fourth month of the Karok year: G621.5

1160. pišva?ram p.i. to meet, assemble (T39.13)
1161. piv- p.i. to step, put one's foot, as in piv?ka8 "to step across
(a stream)" (G753.5), piš(rih) "to step down" (G753.3)
1. piv?í[rA-m adv. step (doorstep or stairstep): "stepping-down
place"; G753.3, G766

1162. pixivá?ro- p.t. to rip off (pi.) (T4.11); G753.27, G751
1163. piyka?k tp.t. to inflict bad luck upon
Generally used with implied supernatural subject, as in tá kanapýča-k
"they (the spirits) inflicted bad luck on me, i.e., I had bad luck."

1164. piykí[rA ladder; G754.9, G761
1165. piyntímk p.i. to do a 'kick-dance' or 'sweathouse dance,' i.e., the
dance for initiating a shaman; G740, with a stem piynik-
1. piyntímkika kick-dance; G761
1166. piytrírh cream bush, Holodiscus discolor (Schenck and Gifford, no.
110)
1167. piytí-ykarA p.t. to kick out into the river (T2.62); G753.4
1168. piyá[rRhíh p.i. (dog) to shake itself
1169. pů?ra pants, trousers
1170. práms plum(s); from English
1171. pu? adv. no, not; for other alternants, see G845.6
1. půfá?á-'půra fá?á' nothing; gone, not in existence: 350
2. pukárA - pu?akárA - půra kára - půra karáxxay nobody: 52,
G845.8
3. půra fá?a-k nowhere, not present: 350.1
4. půra hú?n not harmful: 390
5. půva adv. not yet: G621.17

1172. pů? č boot(s); from English
1173. pů?cišara fresh fish
1174. pů?fí? deer, venison; G621.9?
1. půfí?u string used for deer snares: 93
2. půfí?imka-nva gamble weed, Sanicula menziesii (Schenck and
Gifford, no. 158): "deer-sunflower," 576.1
3. puštā-hko white deer, white deerskin: 1273.2
4. puštāyī-θ grass nut, Brodiaea laxa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 46): "deer-brodiaea," 1363

1175. pūpÁ-f a type of large amphibian, said to make whistling noises
1176. pū-k a.i. to be foggy
1. pū-ka fog: G761

1177. pu’n cherry; originally, the choke-cherry, Prunus demissa (Schenck and Gifford, no. 120)
1. pūraf oso berry, Osmunda cerasiformis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 119): perh. "cherry-excrement," 17
2. pūrip cherry tree: 638
1. purīp’r- adv. a place name (Map, no. 43): "cherry-tree place"; G614.7, G621.1
3. purīth California huckleberry, Vaccinium ovatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 184): cf. 1206.2
1. purīp’hpxū adv. a place name (Map, no. 91): -hpxū is not identifiable.
2. purīθka’msa salal berries, Gaultheria shallon (Schenck and Gifford, no. 178): "big huckleberries": 846, G621.16

1178. pura’n each other
1. pura’n-másva adv. by turns (T33.86): -másva is not identifiable.

1179. pūruruk a man’s name; originally, this word presumably had the meaning of the following derivative:
1. pūnunič screech-owl, Megascops sp. (M): G621.9

1180. pušh cat: from English "pussy"
Often replaced, as a free form, by the dimin. pušhič ~ pušhič:
1. pushčti’v a plant sp., ‘cat’s-ears’

1181. pusya-h toyon berry, Photinia arbutifolia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 122)
1. pusya-p toyon berry bush: 638

1182. putfruh potato: from English

1183. putšk’nač p.i. to defecate on (T14.18): G753.8, G758
1184. pušař p.t. to soak (e.g., basket materials): cf. 764
1185. pū-viš sack, bag
1186. pū’x p.t. to hold or take in one’s mouth
1187. pūxa’k Pacific nighthawk, Chordeiles minor var. hesperis (H)
1188. pušxh p.i. to be acabby: G622.1?

1189. pušči’ p.i. to do with great force, as in ‘imperative pušči’ti’ "go to it!" (urging someone on)
1. pušči’(a) adv. very, very much, hard: G761
2. puščka’nvi p.i. to do with great force—evidently synonymous with the simple stem; thus, imperative puščka’nvī "go to it!":
G753.4, G751

1190. pūyA adv. (and) so; often used as an exclamation of mild surprise, translatable as "my! say there!"

1191. puy&vhara dead person, corpse: originally "no good," G845.6 + 1685; however, "no good" is now puyávhara

R

Initial r does not occur in native Karok words. It has been noted in a single loan word, namely rápat "Robert."
192. sa?- adv. downhill, towards the river
   The allomorph sa- occurs in most compounds, and the allomorph
   sa- in most derivatives.
   1. sah?ahup driftwood: "river wood," 44
   2. sah?asa wash rock, i.e., a rock from the river bed: "river
   rock," 146

3. sahaxyamsurip Western redbud, Cercis occidentalis (Schenck
   and Gifford, no. 124): "river azaelea," 252

4. sah?yu xa? rabbit: "little river-elk"; 746, G621.9

5. sahpihm? beaver: "river old-man," 1117.1

6. sah?uslyxähara hedge nettle, Stachys bullata (Schenck and Gif­
   ford, no. 204): ~uslyxähara is not identifiable.

7. sahuvuhva deerskin dance: "river jump-dance," 1566.1

8. sah?uyx sand: "river dirt," 1702

9. sah?am ~ sa?m adv. (a short distance) downhill; G621.21(1)

10. sahRuk adv. (a considerable distance) downhill; down low on
    a person's body (T42.11, T45.12): G621.21(2)
   1. saruk?ämva? pers. assistant priest at the胺‘kyä-ra’m
      first-salmon ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7):
      "downhill eater," 201.5
   2. sárakhvinva adv. a place name (Map, no. 96): G621.16
   3. saruk?lyruhläriha? pers. assistant priest at the胺‘kyä-
      ra’m first-salmon ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford,
      pp. 7-8): "he who rolls it downhill": 825, G753.3, G762

11. sa?fnu-y the lower peak of Offield Mountain: "downhill-edge
    mountain": 1377, 1510

12. sa?varîih adv a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: G621.19

193. sahsip tall and thin (of a person)

194. sahvûrum adv. a place name (Map, no. 110)
   1. sahvûrumus?i?i? a woman's name: from English "Susie"
   2. sahvûrumu?u? Boyce Creek: 1464

195. sâk June bug

196. sâk 'flint,' i.e., obsidian; arrowhead; bullet
   1. sak?äsip bottle, drinking glass, glass container of any kind:
      "obsidian-vessel," 156
   2. sakâmata?p obsidian fragments; gunpowder; a type of fly, the
      "no-see-um": "obsidian-dust, bullet-dust," 89; the flies are
      said to resemble obsidian fragments.
   3. sâ?ksi a.i. (a plant) to sprout through the earth: G622.1; the
      sprout is presumably thought to resemble an arrowhead.
   4. sak?ripirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 75): "flint-digging
      place": 683, G823.2

197. sakamvârihva ~ sake?mvârihva a.i. to be lonesome, homesick

198. sakani(k)ô-ra leg-bone of deer

199. sâkri?i? adj. hard, firm, tight: cf. 1196

200. sa?m p.i. to remain, be left
   1. ipšâ?mkiri tp.t. to leave, abandon: G731, G754.9
   1. ipša?mkrâpu? orphan: "abandoned one," G763

201. sâ?may adv. a place name, Seiad

202. sammâ-nak adv. a place name, Forks of Salmon, a Konomihu
    Shastan town: G621.1?
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1203. samsíarih- a.i. to shine, as in samsírih-unih "to shine down" (G753.30); cf. 1235
   1. samsírih-irak adv. a place name (Map, no. 67): "shining-place," G823.2

1204. sámsíu'y brown bear

1205. sán leaf

1206. sán big-leaf maple, Acer macrophyllum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 139): same as 1205?
   1. sampíriš maple leaf: 1148
   2. sáriš vine maple, Acer circinatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 140): cf. 1177.3

1207. sanaktú-píčas mink; cf. 1420

1208. sámp steelhead, Salmo gairdneri (H)

1209. sápik poker (for stirring fire)

1210. sápruk' olivella shell

1211. saf- p.t. to carry, get, bring, take, put (several objects, or a mass of something), as in sa'námnih "to put (things) into" (G753.13)
   1. ipšanta'Ko- p.t. to saddle: "to put (things) on top of"; G731, G752.4, G751
   2. ipšarávrik tp.t. to help: "to take (things) to meet"; G731, G754.21
   3. sá-na clothing: "carrying (pl.)"; G751, G761

1212. sárpA bread
   1. sanázmuhíč biscuit: "little round bread"; 1517, G621.9
   2. saratáunkó-ra butter: "bread-spreading instrument"; 1373, G754.3, G761
   3. saraxútnahíč pancake: "thin bread," 1663

1213. sarahtú'n oak bark; cf. 42

1214. sáraith adv. Saturday: from English

1215. sárip twigs of the California hazel bush: 638?

1216. sárúrkha skirt of a dress: cf. 1192.10

1217. sárúm roots of the Jeffrey pine
   1. sarúmápxa'n woman's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "pine-root cap," 126
   2. sarúmáhuvnávrik adv. a place name (Map, no. 47): "pine-root digging-place"; 432, G751, G823:2

1218. sárisip- a.i. (pl.) to extend, be in a line, as in sásipunih "(stripes) run down" (G753.30): cf. 697

1219. satakí:thi p.i. to incise one's body for good luck: G622.1?

1220. sáv- a.i. to flow (in a course), as in sá'mnupu "to flow downriver" (G753.24)
   1. samvéáro' creek: G753.32, G754.13, G761?
      1. pasamvaró'ttím a man's name: "the one by the creek-edge"; G810, 1377
      2. samvaró-ka:kúKam adv. a place name (Map, no. 45): "upriver from a creek"; 835, G621.11
   2. -sava river: G761
      Occurring only in masúhsava "Salmon River" and kišake-vrássava "Trinity River."

1221. sávak a woman's name

1222. sayríf'hma s.i. to be lonesome: G751?

1223. sá'y p.i. to not know, not know how, be ignorant

1224. sícakvutva p.t. to put on a belt: G751?
1. **sičakvutvara** belt: G754.3, G761

1225. **si’h** awl; nail
1. **si’hač** spike buck, i.e., a deer whose horns are still unforked: "little awl," G621.9
2. **sihtirih** adv. a place name (Map, no. 82): "broad awl," 1408
3. **sihtunväč** tacks: "little nails," 1398.1

1226. **sikánü’f** Dillon Creek: 1464

1227. **sikih** spoon
1. **sikihmäya’naram** spoon basket (O'Neale, p. 34): "spoon putting-in place"; 391, G766
2. **sikinu’k** spoon (of mussel shell?): perh. "deep spoon," 1021
3. **sikihmühüč** mussel: "little rough spoon"; 1003, G621.9

1228. **sikapič** seventy-five cents: from English "six bits"

1229. **simkuh** p.t. to heat (a bow, perh. to make it more flexible): cf. 579

1230. **simsi’m** knife; iron, metal
1. **simsim’ah’i-n** cable: "metal string"; 93
2. **simsim’asip** tin box, tin can, bucket: "metal vessel," 156
   1. **simsim’asip’isikůmuhač** bucket: "little metal vessel carried with a loop"; 707, G761, G621.9
3. **simsim’avara** table knife: "metal eating-instrument"; 201, G754.3, G761
4. **simsim’isikůmuhač** bucket: "metal carried with a loop"; 707, G761. The dimin. is **simsim’isikůmuhač**.
5. **simsim’ta’ra** white man (obsolete, now replaced by ?apxantíni-hič, 126.2): "metal-owner," 1317
6. **simsimtáasa** wire fence: "metal fence," 1326.1
7. **simsim’ahra-m** metal pipe (as for water): "metal (smoking-) pipe," 1480.3
8. **simsimúruk** pan for panning gold: "metal mealing-tray," 989
9. **simsimvü’h** sword: "metal digging-stick," 1562
10. **simsimxaráA** sword: "long knife," 1602
11. **simsimyu’p** eye-glasses: "metal eyes," 1698 (probably because of the metal frames)

1231. **simsusu** a.i. to steam

1232. **sipá-m** grinding slab
1. **sipá-mhi** a.i. (moon) to be full: G622.1

1233. **sipnu’k** storage basket (O'Neale, pp. 38-40): cf. 1021
   The locative is sipnú’kan or sipnú-kak.
1. **sipnu’kanamahač** trinket basket (O'Neale, p. 41): "little storage-basket," 129.1
2. **sipnu’kátimnam** a type of basket used for carrying light loads: "storage-basket burden-basket," 187.1
3. **sipnú’küth** money basket: -iô is not identifiable.

1234. **síf** p.i. to disappear, be lost
1. **sínkara** p.t. to swallow: G753.4, with added causative meaning
   1. **sinkanána-mič** base of the throat: "little swallowing-place"; G766, G621.9
   2. **sinkunhuva-mič** mud hen: "little one that disappears into water"; G753.9, G751, G766, G621.9
   3. **sí nmo’** p.i. to be absent a long time: G753.10, G751
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1. sinmō-višara absent a long time (T27.3): -višara is not identifiable.

4. sfnvā tp.t. to fail to recognize: G751, with added causative meaning
   1. ipšinvārih p.i. to forget (to do something): G753,
   G754.14

5. sfnvara s.i. to drown: "to disappear in through," G753.32
   1. sinvanāhi-č California poppy, Eschscholtzia californica
   (Schenck and Gifford, no. 98): "imitation drowning";
   G761, G614.2

1235. sıfrīh adj. shiny
   1. im sıfrīh p.i. to shine: G622.2

1236. sirikâyāfus silk: from English "silk" + 1650.2

1237. sirıkīra river bar; a man's name

1238. sıf penis

1. sıfrīh p.i. semen: "penis-excrement," 17

1239. sıf mouse

  1. sitāp'vūy wall barley, Hordeum murinum (Schenck and Gifford,
    no. 32): "mouse-tail," 125

  2. sıfūs place where a mouse stores its food: cf. 12.3

1240. sıfzīpād adv. a place name, at Thompson Creek: G621.9

1241. sıf'tva p.t. to steal: G751; cf. 1239

  1. sıfvti-k tp.t. to steal from: cf. 122.1

1242. sıvāttī-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 11): 1377

1243. sıvāp p.t. to plug, seal up: G752.3

    1. sıvāsā-psuru a.i. to become unplugged (T57.102): G753.27,
    with irreg. change to intransitive (cf. 274.1)

1244. sıtum Redding Rock (in the ocean, offshore from Yurok territory)

1245. sı'mkiri p.i. (woman) to offer herself in marriage, go as a
    marriage-applicant: G754.9; cf. 1246

1246. sı'mvā p.i. (woman) to offer herself in marriage: G751; cf. 1245

1247. sı'ra murderer

1248. su adv. down, inside

    The alternant su- occurs in some derivatives.

    1. sı'hīnva adv. name of a sweathouse at ?ame'kyā-ra-m
       rancheria: G621.6

    2. sırū- p.i. to make a hole, as in sūrukūrih "to make a hole
       into" (G753.9): -ru- is not identifiable.

    1. sırvāra hole (through something): G753.32, G761

3. sırūk adv. men's underwear: "under-side pants";
   G621.11, 1169

2. sıruķāmsa-nva underwear: "under-side clothes": G621.11,
   1211.3

3. sıruķāyāfus woman's underwear: "under-side dress"
   G621.11, 1650.2

4. suvārīh adj. deep (of a hole): G621.19

1249. sı'čakrakas soda crackers: from English

1250. sıuf backbone

    1. sıufan small of the back: -an is unidentified.

1251. sıu-"hu..." interj. imitation of Coyote's howl

1252. sıKux name of a woman shaman (T67), perh. of Shasta origin

1253. sumah p.i. to detect a sound
1254. sunvi'-'rih t.p.t. to do evil in secret; to hide; to murder: G753.3
1255. sunyi-'ih nut of the giant chinquapin, Castanopsis chrysophylla
    (Schenck and Gifford, no. 76)
1256. sip'a-h day; acts as a classifier
    1. ipa'upa-hpu a.i. to be day again; to be the ...-th day of the
       week, as in yi'hoa t'o 'psupa-hpa "it's the first day of the
       week, i.e., Monday": G731, G622.1
    2. sip'a-'qip noon: "day-middle," 10
1257. supra'-p.t. to measure (weight or volume): G753.14?
    1. suprávara measuring basket: "measuring-instrument": G754.3,
       G761
1258. suprih p.t. to measure (dimensions): G754.14?
    1. suprih-v a.pers. surveyor: G751, G762
1259. surip California hazel bush, Corylus rostrata var. californica
    (Schenck and Gifford, no. 69): 638. The alternant -suRip occurs as
    postpound, e.g., in 'axýamaRip "azalea."
1260. surukínvu-nup adv. a place name, Sing-Ho Bar (Map, no. 35)
1261. súva adv. indicates that an action is audible, often translated
    "he heard that ... ."
    1. súva nik so long!: 1014
1262. suvárxh p.t. to dry: cf. 791
    1. suvárxhara drying rack: "drying-instrument": G754.3, G761
1263. suvý dirty (?)
    Occurring only in apmansú-yhi "to have traces of food around one's
    mouth" (112.2) and čanapst-l'ič "snowbird" (272). A story tells that
    the snowbirds were once children who stole salmon, and were recog­
    nized because of the grease left around their mouths.

T
1264. *ta, a submorphemic element, "with a tool or instrument" (G710)
1265. táčak p.t. to clip
    1. iptačaka-n pers. barber: G731, G762
    1. iptačakaníram adv. barber shop: "place where there is
       a barber": G622.1, G766
    2. táčakara scissors: "clipping-instrument": G754.3, G761
1266. tačipříva-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 20): G766
1267. tačras p.t. to flatten (stems of five-finger fern) by running them
    through a split stick
1268. táčuf p.i. to fish for eels
1269. tačyúrih t.p.2t. to give as a present: G754.77
1270. táčif p.t. to dress (a hide)
    1. táčirapuh buckskin: "dressed (hide)," G763
1271. tačiripřírip p.t. to miss, fail to touch (with an implement)
    (T4.104): G740, with a stem tačirip-; cf. 447, 1420
1272. tah adv. already, by now, now; marker of perfective action
    (G845.7). The allomorph ta- occurs in the following:
    1. tafaMadv. so, and, and so: 749
    2. tafaMt adv. already in the past: 977, with irreg. morphopho­
       nemics
1273. tá-h snow (on the ground)
1. tahapmánanač a type of bird: "little snow-mouthed one"; 112, G621.2, G621.9
2. -ta'hko- adj. white: 897
   Occurs only as postbound; the corresponding free form is čánča'=kuniš, 273.1.
3. táhsa'k hail: "snow-arrowheads," 1196
4. tahyukúkúh snowshoes: 1693; perh. a loan-translation from English

1274. táhsú's young fir tree; fir bough
   1. tahpú'sip young fir tree: 638

1275. -tak used in counting points of a deer's horns. Karok is like Western American English in counting the points on one side only; thus ṣaxák-tak is a two-point buck (usually called a 'forked-horn'), kuyrák-tak is a three-pointer (in the Eastern U.S., a six-pointer), etc. A deer with unbranched horns, however, is called ṣhač "spike buck," whereas a five-point and ten-point buck are itro-pa?=áhara and ?itahara?=áhara respectively.

1276. tā'k adv. give me . . ! Used as a complete predication in the meaning, "Give it here!"
   1. ta'kšíkíh a man's name; from the utterance ta'k šíkíh "give me a spoon!" (1227)

1277. taká'=ka'= valley quail, Lophortyx sp. (M): onomatopoetic

1278. takána'=fič a plant, redwood sorrel, Oxalis oregana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 132): G621.9

1279. taká=ra'= p.i. to hang, hang up: G754.14?

1280. takasara the 'tossel' or double-ball used in shinny: G754.3, G761?

1281. takav tp.t. to ridicule, make fun of

1282. tākik p.i. to fish with a (small) dip-net
   1. tākikara (small) dip-net: G754.3, G761

1283. tākiri p.t. to leach (acorn meal)
   1. tākira leached acorn meal: G761
   2. takiri'=ram adv. hole for leaching acorn meal: G766

1284. takah p.i. to hop
   1. tah=ná'=hva p.i. to play hopscotch: G751

1285. taknih p.i. to roll (like a log)
   1. taknihá wheelchair, machine, automobile: "rolling," G761
   2. takníhara wheel: "rolling-instrument"; G754.3, G761
   3. takníhara wheel: "rolling-instrument"; G754.9, G761

1286. takníri= maul (for driving wedges)

1287. takrá=p. t. to put a hoop on

1288. takra'v shoulder

1289. ta'křá'=Pá=k p.i. to spear fish: G753.17
   1. ta'kří=kad adv. a place name, near Clear Creek (T84.20):
      G761, G621.1

1290. takš'=nač a man's name: G621.9

1291. tākta 'doctor'; i.e., a shaman (T12.27): from English

1292. tākuk p.t. to clean out (a basket), i.e., to cut off the stick-ends protruding on the inside

1293. tākuruk=p. t. to curl, coil, as in tākuruk-řív "to be in a coil" (G752.2)

1294. takvara p.t. to wear diagonally across one's chest

1295. táKus brown pelican, Pelecanus californicus (M): from Yurok tokús

1296. tákva=x breast meat of salmon
1297. takvih p.t. to loop, curl
   1. takviha a type of ceremonial headgear: G761
1298. tável adv. of doubtful meaning, perh. "then"
1299. támčih a woman's name: from her pronunciation, as a child, of támčak "I'm burnt"
1300. tamsá:kaθva p.i. to yawn: G751?
1301. tánanič adj. old (of baskets): G621.9
1302. tá:nθi p.t. to be spoiled; (persons) to die; (the world) to come to an end: G622.1?
1303. tankiri- p.t. to hang (something) over something, as a rack or a clothesline; Found in the plural-action form tanki're- and in the following derivative:
   1. tankirikira drying rack: "hanging-over instrument"; G754.9, G761
1304. tánmah tp.t. to owe
   1. tánmahä debt: G761
1305. tanmuθ p.i. to slip
1306. tánθav apron
1307. tá:nθva p.i. (du.) to die: G751?
1308. tá:pak p.t. to cut through, slice: cf. 470, 1572
1309. tá:pas real
   1. tapas'ápau:n rattlesnake: "real snake," 116
   2. tapaxáviš a plant, nine-bark, Physocarpus capitatus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 108): "real syringa," 1613
   3. tá:pas + ikyav to keep, to take care of: "to make real," 557
1310. tá:píθ- p.i. to slip, as in tá:píθfaku "to slip downhill" (G753.1)
1311. tá:píθ a type of reed
1312. ta'pku-pu tp.t. to like
1313. tapará common tule, Scirpus acutus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 36); tule mat
   1. tapará:nv bur-reed, Sparganium simplex; also identified as Juncus ensifolius (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 24 and 38): "little tules," 1398.1
1314. ta'pri'hva p.i. to like to be or live (in a place): G751
1315. tá:puk p.t. to stripe (horizontally?)
   1. tapípkvke-'ač ring-tail civet, Bassariscus sp. (M): G740, G767, G621.9
1316. tá:pxuv p.i. to capsize
1317. -téra owner
   Used as postpound, as in l'ípukatťa-ra "money-owner, i.e., rich man" (716) and in the following:
   1. tá:rahi p.t. to have, own (several things): G622.1
1318. tá:raak p.i. to mourn, be sad
1319. tara'-mnθi:hva p.i. to fish with a dip-net: G753.13, G751
1320. tá:rih tp.t. to 'deal' gambling sticks to (in the game of 'Indian cards'): G754.??
1321. taríp̩n dipper basket (O'Neale, p. 35); cf. 1322
   1. tanpíč̩xu-nanač seal: "little one having worn a dipper on his head"; 782, G764, G621.9
1322. tá:riv- p.t. to pour, as in tá:rivmnnih "to pour into" (G753.13)
   1. tá:rivrip p.t. to bail (water) out (of a boat): G753.16
1323. tá:ruk p.t. to scoop
   The alternant támuk- occurs before derivative suffixes.
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1. tanukyá·na p.t. to scoop out: "scooping-out instrument"; G754.3,
   G761
1324. tárupak adv. hatchway of a sweatheuse
1325. tarāpraž p.t. to lace: G753.14?
1326. tas p.i. to build a fence
   1. tasa fence: G761
   1. tasačivčaksurúra·m adv. gate: "fence-door," 308.3.1
2. tāsunih a.i. to be a vertical barrier (T27.17): G753.30
1327. tā·s a plant, soaproot
1328. tasáxa·k adv. a place name (Map, no. 28)
1329. tasáxpíh wedge
1330. tāsir p.t. to brush
   1. iptasínsírára clothes-brush: "repeated-brushing instrument";
      G731, G740, G754.3, G761
   2. tásirara brush for acorn flour: G754.3, G761
1331. tā·skara pole
   1. taskare·pšē·kē·p a type of owl: named after his cry, said to
      mean "poles too heavy"; cf. 665
1332. tāsva·n spatula, soup-stirrer
   1. tasvan?píh shoulder blade: "spatula-bone," 655
1333. tā·t mother
   The dimin. is tātač.
   1. iptatpíya·n stepmother: G614.10
1334. tā·t p.t. to handle with an implement; to toss the 'tossel' in a
   shinny game
1335. tātak p.t. to cut into the shape of a point
   1. tatáktaka a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13d): G740,
      G761
1336. tātavp a p.t. to trap: G751?
   1. tātavp trap: G761
1337. tatitfúti a.i. to become torn: G740, with a stem tatit-; cf. 1157
1338. taškumuhpí-Øvara an animal, the fisher, Mustela pennanti (M):
      G753.29, G754.3, G761
1339. tatimus p.t. to gut (a deer)
1340. tātyú p.i. to sweep
   1. tātyúšóra broom: "sweeping-off instrument"; G753.27,
      G754.3, G761
1341. tāthip p.t. to flatten (stems of five-finger fern) by running them
   through a split stick
1342. tašrip p.t. to strain out (soaked acorns)
1343. távahi a.i. (hair) to be decorated on the ends: G622.1?
1344. tavúvuy p.i. (dog) to wag its tail: G740, with a stem tavuy-; cf.
      125
1345. táxip p.t. to braid
   1. iptáxap a braid: G731, G761
      1. iptáxapara Chinaman: "having a braid" (i.e., a queue),
      G621.2
1346. taxarap- p.i. to stride, as in taxarap·pramnih "to stride into"
   (G753.13)
1347. taxasufkáR adv. a place name (Map, no. 95)
   1. taxasufkará·Øu·f Perch Creek: 1464
1348. táxaxa-ra p.t. to slash through: perh. G753.32 with a stem táxaxa-
1349. taxfšiš p.t. to scrape: G740, with a stem taxiš-
1350. taxra a.i. (a cavity) to be open
1351. taxrat p.i. to attach arrowheads to shafts
1352. táxumka-k adv. woodpile, a space in the Indian house where fire-
wood was kept
1353. taxu’ńko- p.t. to spread with (as bread with butter): G753.8,
G751
1354. taxuy- p.t. to wipe, as in táxuyšuru "to wipe off" (G753.27)
1355. taxvah p.t. to seal shut
1356. taxvav p.i. to stir acorn soup
1357. taxviš p.t. to scrape: cf. 1349

1. taxvišaphu strands of pine roots prepared for weaving: "that
which is scraped," G763

1358. taxvuk p.t. to hook
1. taxvukara hook: "hooking-instrument"; G754.3, G761
   1. taxvukanhič a plant, tibinagua, Eriogonum nudum
   (Schenck and Gifford, no. 80): "imitation hook," G614.2
1359. taxya- p.t. to push with one's hands, as in taxyásuru "to push
away" (G753.27)

1360. taxye-m(a) yard (in front of a house)
   1. taxye-máka-m adv. a sweathouse at ?ame’kyá-ra-m rancheria:
      "big yard," 846
   2. taxye-má-m adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria:
      "behind a yard," 865

1361. táy adv. much, many
   When compounded, occurs as postpound only.
   1. táya’n adv. many times: G614.11
   2. ta’yhiTih a.i. (pl.inan.) to be scattered, be stored, lie, be
      (in a position): G622.1, G757, with irreg. accent
   3. táyva adv. several (T56.5): G621.17
   4. tešiš adv. several: G621.10, G621.9
   The inflected form kumattśiš (G430) is used in the meaning
   of "more."

1362. tayav tp.t. to choose; to trust, be satisfied with (a person)
1363. tayiš 'Indian potato,' blue dicks, Brodiaea capitata (Schenck and
   Gifford, no. 47)
   1. tayišhi p.t. to lash the base of (a basket): G622.1
1364. táyukuč adv. a place name (Map, no. 21): G621.9
1365. táyuniv p.t. to pull out with an instrument: G753.7; cf. 1440
1366. tayvša-ra p.t. to spoil; to spend (money)
   1. tayvšariš tp.2t. to spoil for: -riš is not identifiable, being
      apparently different from G752.2
1367. tešk- p.t. to dip (water), as in teškšip(riv) "to dip up (water)"
   (G753.26)
1368. teňhaši a.i. to be a freshet (T5.62): G622.1
1369. tešva earring
1370. tešpištni ~ tapipštni adv. after a while
1371. teš t.p.t. to mow
   1. teštara scythe: "mowing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1372. teš adv. let...! (used with first person imperative, expressing a
decision)
1373. ŧ̄h̄ adv. a place name, Tea Bar (Map, no. 52)
   1. tihkârōm adv. a place name (Map, no. 51): "uphill and upriver from Tea Bar," 835.10
   2. tihthuť Tea Creek: 1464
   3. thỳurukam adv. a place name (Map, no. 53): "uphill and downriver from Tea Bar," 1683.6.2

1374. ŧ̄h̄ tea: from English
   1. tihʔâšip teapot: "tea-vessel," 156

1375. tīk hand, finger
   The alternant -tīk̆ occurs in vaxaktfkih "ring finger" (217)
   1. tikakâvâ-č ring (for one's finger): "little putting-finger-in": 48, G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
   2. tikakvâra-č glove: "putting-hand-in instrument": 48, G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761
   3. tikâŋ̆anamahâč little finger: 129.1; -án is not identifiable.
   4. tikánkâ-m thumb: "big finger," 846; -án is not identifiable.
   5. tikʔâr̄up palm of the hand: "hand-navel," 142

1376. tiktâr̄iš adv. a place name, on Offield Mountain: cf. 1148

1377. tīm adv. edge
   The dimin. is tī-mič, sometimes contracted to -tič in postpound position; however, the alternant -tī-mič occurs in some compounds, e.g., ?itučt-imič - t-is last (412)

1378. timkanxnu-pīč 'mountain beaver,' sewellel, Aplodontia sp. (M): G621.9

1379. timkuťuh -timkuruhsa-n grouse

1380. timšâkri-h bat: analyzed by one informant as from tī-m sū ʔukri- "he is at the inside edge" (i.e., of his wings): 1377, 1248, G520, 493

1381. ti-mvurinay an Indian tribe living far up the Klamath River: cf. 1377

1382. tînâč killdeer, Oxyechus vociferus (M): G621.9

1383. tinični a.i. (a bell) to ring: G622.1
   1. tīntičnhara bell: "ringing-instrument": G754.3, G761

1384. tînva-p flour-sifter (O'Neale, p. 38)

1385. tînxu-mnipa- adv. a place name (Map, no. 27): G753.17, G761

1386. tipâ pers. brother, male cousin
   The plural (without possessive prefixes) is tipâh-ras
   1. tipâni-čvâ stepbrother: "imitation brother," G614.2

1387. tîpti-p chain fern, Woodwardia radicans (Schenck and Gifford, no. 8): said to be named from the noise made in a game involving it.
   1. tîptîphi-č sword fern, Polystichum munitum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 9): "imitation chain-fern," G614.2

1388. tîrĭh adj. wide
   1. tîrîhič flat; a flat woven mat for ornamental purposes: G621.9

1389. tîrup-ús cat: from English "kitty-puss," used to call a cat

1390. tiša-n- of unknown meaning, occurring in:
   1. tiša-ŋhirâk adv. a place name (Map, no. 77): G622.1, G823.2
   2. tišâni-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 106): G614.7, G621.1
   1. tišânľhutť Camp Creek: 1464

1391. tišarâ-m(a) adv. 'prairie,' i.e., a level or unwooded place, a valley or clearing; a (cultivated) field; a place name, Scott Valley
   1. tišânmkanvînusunač a type of skunk: "little valley-bear," G621.1, 1555, G621.9
2. tišramʔan-čip adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: "middle of a clearing;" 10
3. tišrámka-m adv. the Bald Hills (those just north of Hoopa): "big clearing;" 846
4. tišramʔavurutvarayva a plant sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): G753.34, G761; -óvxúrut- is not identifiable
5. tišrávara pers. Shasta Indian of Scott Valley: G621.2
6. tišravaraʔi-vre-ra -ʔivre-n Etna Mountain: "summit pertaining to Scott Valley;" 798
7. tišrá-m ?išku̲nθan a by-name for the coyote: "he who skulks in the clearing;" 705, G757, G532

1392. tišni p.t. to skip (rocks) on the water: G622.1
1393. ti-v ear
1394. ti-v ear
1395. tō-nak adv. town: English "town" + G621.1
1396. tó-F p.t. to count
1397. tumē-tus tomato(es); from English
1398. -tunv- pers. children (in the sense of "offspring") Used only with possessives and in the following:
1. -tunv-č(asa) adj. small (pl.): G621.9, G621.16
The corresponding free form is tō-picas.
2. tunv-čič bitch: "little one-having-offspring": G621.2, G621.9
3. tunv-čiči p.i. to give birth: G621.2, G621.1
1399. tōpicas twenty-five cents: from English "two bits"
1400. tō-picas small ones, little ones: G621.9, G621.16
Replaced in postpound position by -tunv-č(asa), 1398.1
1401. tōptu-p Eel River Indian, probably Athabaskan: said to be imitative of their speech
1402. tōf p.t. to carry (things which stand up, like wood) in a burden basket; to gather (wood)
1. tōnsip(riv) p.t. to raise up with a burden basket full of (wood or the like) on one's back: G753.26
2. tura burden-basket load (of wood or the like): G761
1403. turá-yva p.t. to look around, to look for, to seek: G753.34
1404. turu-p.t. to handle with an implement; used esp. of hot cooking stones, as in turukurih "to put (cooking stones) into (soup)" (G753.9)
1405. turuxvičin meadowlark, Sturnella sp. (M)
1406. tu-s mockingbird; a plant, hill man-root, Echinocystis oregana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 153)
1407. tutututu (with voiceless vowels) interj. exclamation of Coyote (T14.32)
1408. tū-θ thick (of liquid)
1409. tury mound
1410. tu-ykirik adv. a place name, part of ?asána-mkarak rancheria
1411. tú-yšip hill, mountain; cf. 1409
   The alternant tu-yšipriha-, or its contracted form tu-yšipre-, occurs
   before suffixes and postpounds.
1412. tu-yvuk adv. a place name (Map, no. 109)
   1. tuyvükou-f Ullathorne Creek: 1464

1413. *θa, a submorphemic element, "with the teeth," is identifiable in
   1429 and 1440, and perch. in 1414 and 1428.
1414. øafi p.t. to devour, eat all up: G754.5
   1. øafi-θ̕a-va p.t. to eat all up: G753.4, G751
1415. øafra-m stomach (i.e., the internal organ)
1416. øaft̕-va p.i. to be jealous
1417. øaké-rihi p.i. to starve: G622.1?
1418. øa-m meadow, marshy place
   1. čamphniθ̕ a plant, yerba buena, Micromeria chamiissonis
      (Schenck and Gifford, no. 203): "little meadow plant": 1148,
      G621.9
   2. øamka-t a plant, Monardella odoratissima (Schenck and Gifford,
1419. øamt̕ak adv. a place name, in Yurok territory, upriver from
   Weitchpec: G621.1?
1420. øant̕rip tp.t. to miss, fail-to hit (T19.18): cf. 447, 1271
1421. øank̕-ra warming rock, i.e., a flat rock used like a hot water
   bottle: G754.3, G761?
1422. øantap p.t. to winnow, sift (acorn meal)
   1. øant̕ápara sifter (O'Neale, p. 38): "sifting-instrument": G754.3,
      G761
1423. øant̕iriθ̕(rih) tp.t. to strike dead (T19.6): G753.3, with a stem
   øant̕-; cf. 514, 1462
1424. øantut black paint for the face, made of soot and grease
1425. øapáxrah p.i. to be very thirsty: cf. 229
1426. øaθ̕- p.t. to lay, put, as in øariθ̕(rih) "to put down" (G753.3)
   1. øaθ̕iθ̕ p.i. (inan.) to sit, be; (an.) to lie, to be dead; G752.2
      1. ipøaθ̕iθ̕ p.i. to be laid up (i.e., with an injury) (T33.10):
      G731
   2. øaθ̕iθ̕ adv. around; G621.5, with irreg. contraction
1427. øarámpuk p.i. to stir or cook acorn soup: cf. 1061
   1. øarampókara spatula, soup-stirrER: G754.3, G761
   2. øarámpuk-krava cooking basket (O'Neale, p. 35): "cooking soup
      in"; G753.14, G761, with irreg. accent
1428. øáruθ̕ in p.i. to peel sticks for basketry
1429. øáruprin p.t. to gnaw through: G753.23
1430. øatakt̕akü ra-ña a.i. to be tattered (T51.35): G740, with a stem
   øataθ̕- (cf. 508, 728); G753.31, G751
1431. øataθ̕aθ̕ p.t. to split roots for basketry
1432. øðriθ̕ in a.i. (two filled containers or their contents) to sit, stand,
   be; cf. 769, 1568
1. OaΩ̂r̂în̂a- a.i. (several filled containers or their contents) to sit, stand, be: cf. 1568.1
1433. OaΩ̂ŷûr̂û- p.t. (du.-pl.) to drag, pull, haul, as in OaΩ̂ŷûr̂ufûr̂uk "(du.-pl.) to drag indoors" (G753.2): cf. 787
1434. OaΩ̂v̂a p.t. (du.-pl.) to carry on one's back: cf. 772
1435. OaΩ̂v p.i. to knock down acorns
1436. OaΩ̂v p.i. to float
1437: Ω̂âx̂α̂v̂r̂âv p.t. to chew up (T3.20): G740, with a stem Ω̂âx̂âv̂-
1438. Ω̂âx̂α̂v̂ŷ p.i. baby basket, cradle basket
1. Ω̂âx̂α̂v̂ŷ-nâθ̂ p.i. in a basket: G621.2, G621.9
1439. Ω̂âx̂α̂v̂ŝt̂âŷ tp.t. to suspect
1440. Ω̂âv̂ŷûn̂k̂îv̂ p.t. to pull out with one's teeth: G753.7; cf. 1365
1441. Ω̂ê-kv̂à̂r̂à̂ĥâ p.i. to be very thin: G622.1?
1442. OΩ̂v̂ĥv̂a p.i. (dog) to whine: G751?
1443. *Ω̂îm̂ - *Ω̂îv, a submorphemic element, "by rubbing" (G710)
1444. Ω̂îm̂k̂ût̂ì̂k̂ût̂ì̂ p.t. to rub smooth: G740
1445. Ω̂îm̂m̂ûp p.t. to cook (fish) by putting hot coals on its belly
1446. Ω̂îm̂ŷū̂r̂î(r̂îĥ) p.t. to make fire with a fire drill: G753.3
1. Ω̂îm̂ŷū̂r̂î(r̂îĥ) a.i. fire drill, 'Indian matches': G761
The prejunctural form is Ω̂îm̂ŷū̂r̂î.
2. Ω̂îm̂ŷū̂r̂î(r̂îĥ)ara fire drill, 'Indian matches'; G754.3, G761
1447. OΩ̂n̂ p.i. glands in one's throat
1448. OΩ̂n̂a p.t. to have, own (one thing)
1449. OΩ̂r̂α̂v̂ p.t. to track
1450. OΩ̂r̂îξ̂α̂-k̂ hornet
1451. OΩ̂r̂îξ̂ôn̂ testicle
1452. OΩ̂t̂îv p.t. to hear; cf. 1394
1453. OΩ̂n̂ûn̂an- referring to territory in Oregon; occurring in:
1. OΩ̂n̂ûn̂ân̂-p̂âr̂â-r̂â an Indian tribe of Oregon: 132
2. OΩ̂n̂ûn̂ân̂-p̂âr̂â-ŷ mountain grape, Berberis aquifolium (Schenck and Gifford, no. 94): 257
1454. OΩ̂v a.i. (ag. inan.) to lie, be
There is a change to transitive meaning in most directional deriva­tives, e.g., in OΩ̂v̂-k̂v̂à̂r̂à̂ĥâ "to put into water" (G753.9)
1455. OΩ̂v̂âk̂à̂r̂à̂ drying rack (in a house): G754.3, G761?
1456. OΩ̂v̂ê-v̂k̂ê̂ p.i. to go along
1457. OΩ̂v̂n̂n̂ûr̂û a.i. (fire, water) to roar, thunder; cf. 713
1458. OΩ̂v̂p̂ûp a.i. (dust) to puff up; cf. 476
1459. OΩ̂v̂r̂îξ̂ĥ-ĥv̂ârâ wall-board (in an Indian house): G754.3, G761?
1460. OΩ̂v̂r̂ûh p.i. to float
1461. OΩ̂v̂t̂âp p.i. to do a war dance
1. OΩ̂v̂t̂âp̂â war dance: G761
1462. OΩ̂v̂t̂îf̂- a.t. (wind) to blow out of position, as in OΩ̂v̂t̂îf̂-ûn̂îĥ "to blow down" (G753.30); cf. 514, 1423
1463. OΩ̂v̂x̂îξ̂ p.t. to plane (a board); cf. 1349
1. OΩ̂v̂x̂îξ̂âr̂a plane; "planing-instrument": G754.3, G761
1464. OΩ̂f̂- creek
1. OΩ̂f̂k̂âr̂ô-m adv. a place name, near Rock Creek; "uphill and upriver from a creek," 835.10
1. OΩ̂f̂k̂âr̂ô-m̂û-f Rock Creek: 1464
2. OΩ̂f̂-̂n̂îĥ a.i. to flow in a stream (T21.31): G622.1
1465. OΩ̂f̂îp̂. adv. a place name, Requa: perh. "creek-tree": 1464, 638
1466. ūufkirik great horned owl, Bubo sp. (M)
The dimin. is ūufkĩnikič.
1467. ūufa-um 'water dog,' a type of salamander
1468. ūhīk 'yellowhammer,' the flicker, Colaptes sp. (M): said to be
named from its cry
1469. ūukin gall, bile; (as a postpound) blue, green, yellow
1. ūukinhĩč a plant sp. (Schneck and Gifford, p. 390): "imitation
bile," G614.2
2. imōūukič a.i. to be blue, green, yellow; (fat) to be rancid;
G622.2, with irreg. change of n to ū
3. ūukinhi to tattoo; G622.1
1. ūukinhi tattoo: G761
4. ūukinkunĩš adj. blue, green, yellow: "like bile," G621.13
5. ūukinpriĩš Oregon grape, Berberis nervosa (Schneck and Gif­
ford, no. 95): "bile plant," 1148
1470. ūuriv p.i. to urinate
1. ūuriva urine: G761
2. ūuriva-um bladder: G762
3. ūurivurivu'kvva s.i. to urinate uncontrollably on oneself
(T9.34); G754.8 (with irreg. contraction), G754.17, G751
1471. ūuxaθ pers. mother's sister
The dimin. is ūuxaS.
1. ūuxaSva-r rattlesnake: "sister of deceased mother"; G621.9,
G614.9. Used instead of normal tapasvpsu-um, to avoid
offending the snake.
1472. ūuxriv net bag used to carry game

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1473. ūučč teat, (woman's) breast: G621.9
1474. ūččiš milk: G621.10
1475. ūuččMač a.i. (short round object) to sit (T8.11): G752.2, G758
1476. ūuf to Tattoo, rub grease on (someone)
1477. ūččiš pers. woman's brother's son
The dimin. is ūččiš.
1478. ūuččøva p.i. to swim: G751?
Never used with directionals.
1479. ūu a.i. (water) to rise
1. puhyi-µum a.i. (water) to reach the high-water mark: G731,
G753.10; -yi- is not identifiable, unless perh. with 1680.
1480. ūu-h tobacco
Used mainly as a preound:
1. ūuhphīh tobacco stem: "tobacco-bone," 655
1. ūuhphīhčurara tobacco stem pestle: 444.2
2. ūuhiš seed: perh. "little tobacco," G621.10
Probably applied originally only to tobacco seed.
3. (µ)uhra-um pipe: G766
4. ūuhsphnu-uk tobacco basket (O'Neale, p. 40): 1233
5. (µ)uhθa-um garden: "tobacco-meadow," 1418; probably applied
originally only to tobacco plots.
1. (µ)uhččMač a man's name: "little garden," G621.9
2. (µ)uhθa-mhi p.t. to plant: G622.1
1481. ʔu-hkiri p.t. to wear as a headband
   1. ʔu-hkira headband; G761

1482. ʔu-hyana p.i. to talk, speak
   1. ʔu-hyana word, speech, voice; G761
   2. ʔuhyanavára-ra telephone: "talking-through instrument"; G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761.
   3. ʔuhyá’nčva p.i. to chat; G754.6

1483. (ʔ)ukra’m lake, pond, reservoir; G766
   1. (ʔ)uknámánahic adv. the Frog Pond, just upriver from Camp Creek: "little long pond"; 1602, G621.9
   2. (ʔ)ukramʔípan adv. a place name (Map, no. 105): "pond-end," 644
   3. (ʔ)ukramʔūrfríkap adv. a place name (Map, no. 86): 769, G753.8, G823.1?
   4. (ʔ)ukrámka’m adv. a pond near Katimin: "big pond," 846
   5. (ʔ)ukramkūrkip adv. a place name. (Map, no. 57): -kūrkip is not identifiable.
   6. (ʔ)ukramsūrūk adv. a place name (Map, no. 7): "below a pond." 1248.3

1484. ʔu-m pron. he, she, it, they
   1. ʔu-mkun pron. they: cf. 563.1

1485. ʔu-m adv. barely, hardly
   1. ʔu-mukic adv. near, close by; G621.9; -uk- is not identifiable.

1486. ʔúMA adv. of doubtful meaning, perh. emphatic (T3.60, T43.12)

1487. ʔu-ma p.i. to arrive (there); to go (used with ku’k "thither"); to be . . . o’clock, as in kuyrak’ tuʔu-m "it’s three o’clock." The alternant ʔu-mu- occurs before -Th Durative and -va Plural Action.

1488. ʔu-mxávxav p.t. to pull up by the roots (T85.25): G740

1489. ʔu-niv adv. Merrill Mountain

1490. ʔu-núpra a.i. (plant) to sprout up (out of the ground): G753.21

1491. ʔu-p possession, valuable object, treasure

1492. ʔu-pva p.t. to dig (edible roots): G751?
   1. ʔu-pvaʔamáyav squaw-root, Carum gairdneri (Schenck and Gifford, no. 161): "delicious root-digging," G761, 201.1.2
   2. ʔu-pvanič a woman’s name: "little root-digger"; G754.3, G761, G621.9

1493. ʔu-pas saliva

1494. ʔu-f a.i. to peel, i.e., (as a tree) to lose its bark

1495. ʔu-ríh s.i. to be unwilling, lazy, tired
   1. ʔu-nuhíʔo-níhíč a woman’s name: G740, G761, G621.9

1496. ʔu-ríph net
   The locative is ʔu-ríphak, with irreg. accent.

1497. ʔu-ruh adj. round; egg
   1. ʔu-nuhíč kidney: "little round thing," G621.9
   2. ʔunuhíč’tíč baseball: "little unripe (i.e., hard) round thing"; 1625, G621.9
   3. ʔu-ruhi a.i. to lay eggs; G622.1
   4. ʔu-ruhías disk beads: "round ones," G621.16

1498. ʔu-ruhas adv. a place name (Map, no. 40)

1499. ʔu-ruvá-p dip-net frame

1500. ʔu’s pine cone, pine nut, esp. of the sugar pine, Pinus lambertiana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 13)
1. ʔəshi-ʔ nut of the knob-cone pine, Pinus tuberculata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 17): "imitation pine-nut," G614.2
2. ʔūsip sugar pine tree: 638
3. ʔūʔə-v adv. a place name (Map, no. 34): "pine-nut house," 789

1501. ʔūʔ t pers. woman's sister-in-law, female cousin-in-law, niece-in-law, or uncle's wife

1502. ʔūʔ t flea

1503. ʔō:tiha ceremonial obsidian blade
   1. ʔū-tiha-ʔ a basket design element, the flint mark (O'Neale, fig. 13a): "imitation obsidian-blade," G614.2
   2. ʔū-tihapi:ʔàhna-mi:ʔ adv. a place name, near Katimin: "little obsidian-blade washing-place"; 780.1, G766, G621.9

1504. ʔūkə adv. a place name (Map, no. 30)

1505. ʔūʔə adv. towards the center of a body of water, out into or across a river or lake; towards the ocean, to the west; as a place name, Eureka
   1. ʔū:ši:p adv. a place name, San Francisco; G614.4
   2. ʔūkənπahi-ʔ redwood, Sequoia sempervirens (Schenck and Gifford, no. 20): popularly analyzed as "ocean pepperwood" (G621.1, 1038.2), but more likely "ocean boat-tree" (G621.1, 1039, 638), since the tree grows only in coastal territory and is used for making canoes.

1506. ʔū:pi:vəxrah lungs

1507. ʔūv p.t. to put, take
   The allomorph ʔūru- occurs before -riː "at rest" and before directionals beginning in r and followed by -va Plural Action, as in ʔururiʃuk-va "to take out (pl.)" (G753.18). The allomorph ʔu- occurs before directionals in r which are not followed by -va, as in ʔū-riːʃuk "to take out." The allomorph ʔə- occurs before other directionals, as in ʔə-suru "to take off" (G753.27).
   1. ʔəkə p.t. to pay (a certain amount): "to put across," G753.4
   2. ʔùruriː p.i. (du.-pl.an.) to lie: G752.2

1508. ʔūx bitter
   1. ʔūxʔa:s whiskey, liquor; "bitter water," 145
      1. ʔūxʔasiye-ʔəhνən pers. bartender; "liquor-seller"; 819.1, G762

1509. (ʔ)uxra:h berry; sweet
   1. (ʔ)uxmahi:ʔ wood strawberry, Fragaria californica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 114): "little berry," G621.9
   2. (ʔ)uxrahati:kə:y sour; -əkə:y is not identifiable.

1510. ʔuʔəy hill, mountain; in the vicinity of Katimin, used to designate Offield Mountain.
   1. ʔuʔfəna:xi:ʔ a mountain at the head of Perch Creek: "little red mountain"; 370, G621.9
   2. ʔuʔpərəh Orleans Mountain: cf. 1058

1511. ʔuʔhə-mah mountain dogwood, Cornus nuttallii (Schenck and Gifford, no. 170)

1512. ʔuʔhururip tobacco brush, Ceanothus velutinus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 143): 638?
1513. va- p.i. to go
Occurs only with derivative suffixes, often with irreg. morphophonemics, as follows:
1. vákira' p.i. to start to go (?) (T70.3): G754.9, G754.2
2. vakí'ri'hva p.i. to dance in front (in the deerskin dance)
   (T57.78): "to go into the fire (pl.)"; G753.6, G751
3. vákurih p.i. to go into; (sun) to set: G753.9
   1. vákurihakam adv. west: "setting-side"; G761, G621.11
4. vâ-myuv tp.t. to pass: cf. 400.1
5. vápa8 p.i. to go around: G753.11
6. várip p.i. to get out: G753.16.
7. váramnih p.i. to get in: G753.13
8. vârupmu p.i. to get downriver to (T52.58): G753.24, G753.10;
an irreg. combination of suffixes, with an irreg. allomorph of
   the first
9. vâruprav p.i. to come out; (sun) to rise: G753.21
   1. vârupravakam adv. east: "rising-side"; G761, G621.11
10. vâ-vrin p.i. to turn back: G753.37
11. vâ-vruk - -mmuk p.i. to go down over: G753.38
12. vř-ř(hi) p.i. to come down, descend: G753.3
13. vura- p.i. to climb up: G753.31
   1. vura:kira ladder, stairway: "climbing-instrument";
       G754.9, G761
14. vů-nih p.i. to get down: G753.30
15. vůrayva p.i. to go around, wander: G753.34
1514. vániš liver
1515. vákakhi p.i. (frog) to croak: G622.1?
1516. vâ'h adv. thus, so, the same way: (pron.) this, that, it
   Usually refers to something designated elsewhere in the linguistic
   context.
1517. váka'ra southern bald eagle, Haliaeetus leucocephalus var. leuco-
   cephalus (H)
1518. vákay worm
   1. vakaytvnč rice: "little worms," 1398.1
   2. vakayxářA a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13b): "long
      worm," 1602
1519. vá(-)ntpenny: from English "one penny," perh. with influence of
   the "bit" in "two bits" etc.
1520. va(-)ntářA dollar: from English "one dollar"
1521. vánu:pič a woman's name: G621.9
1522. vára- a.i. to hang, as in vůrínih "to hang down" (G753.30)
   1. vůrarih a.i. to hang: G754.14?
1523. vůrak p.i. to come down from upriver: cf. G753.33
1524. vů:ramu adj. long, tall
   Replaced in postpound position by -xářA.
1525. vů-ramu p.i. (sg.) to leave, go away, go to (a place)
   1. ipvů-ramu p.i. (sg.) to go back, to go home: G731
1526. va.sa blanket
1527. vá:san pers. enemy
   The plural is va:sár-as.
1528. vāśih back (of the body or, e.g., of a house)
   1. vāśihku-n hunchback: "crooked-back," G622.1, G753.30,
   with irreg. morphophonemics

1529. vāśakak a man's name

1530. vaspihā strong: cf. 1528, 1115

1531. vastāran leather
   1. vastarankūṭraha leather jacket: 945, G761

1532. vātā- p.i. to walk on (a log, a bridge), as in vātakara "to walk out
   (across water) on" (G753.4), vātarina "to walk across on" (G753.15)

1533. va-txārak p.i. to shout
   1. vātxārāka-n a man's name: "shouter," G762

1534. vašiv p.i. to fight
   An irreg. allomorph occurs in the plural vaši-na·.

1535. va-vrīnaθ a man's name: cf. 1513.10

1536. vāxiprišuk p.i. to flop out (T4.144): G753.18

1537. vaxūrih slow

1538. váyat Wiyot Indian: probably from Yurok wēyet, from Wiyot wiyat
   "Eel River"

1539. vē-h- a.i. to stick, project, as in vē-hkurih "to stick into"
   (G753.9)
   1. ŭiruvē-hiš(rīh) p.i. (du.-pl. an.) to stand still: G756, G753.3
   2. vē-hrvī a.i. (one or more long objects) to be, to stand: G752.2
      1. ŭiruvē-hrīv p.i. (du.-pl. an.) to stand: G756

1540. vē-kin wagon: from English
   1. vē-kinʔōhyu:m vehicular bridge: "wagon-bridge," 47
   2. vē-kinʔāmpa-h road: "wagon-trail," 585

1541. vē-na p.i. to pray; perh. originally "to do," as in 350.4
   1. kupavē-nahi p.i. to do mischief: perh. "to do in some way,"
      G732
   2. ve-nāram adv. sacred living-house used in the world-renewal
      ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 7-8): "praying-place,"
      G766.
   3. vē-ni-Sva mischief: perh. "doing in play": G754.6, G761

1542. vē-p 'mountain mahogany,' hard tack, Cercocarpus betuloides
   (Schenck and Gifford, no. 118): 638?

1543. vēšūra horn (as of deer)
   1. vē-šūrara buck (deer): "having horns," G621.2

1544. vī-hi tp.t. to dislike, hate: G622.1?
   1. vī-hirimku tp.t. to dislike, hate: G753.8; re -rim-, cf. 1366.1

1545. vik p.t. to weave (used principally of baskets)
   1. vikapuh woven quiver used in the jump dance (O'Neale, pp. 45-
      47): "woven thing," G763

1546. vimčuk tp.t. to pinch

1547. vinta-p stone-tipped arrow

1548. vimxārap tp.t. to scratch (vigorously); cf. 84

1549. vīNikA vinegar: from English

1550. vīnīnikīč pine squirrel, Sciurus douglasi group (M): G621.9

1551. vīf p.t. to suck (on)

1552. vīrx p.t. to lick; cf. 1103

1553. vīři adv. of demonstrative or inferential meaning, sometimes
   translated "so" (T64.33)
   1. vīři kun of demonstrative meaning (T23.34)
1554. vírivšať tp. 2t. to will, bequeath to
1555. vírusura bear; pear (a loan-translation resulting from the Karok speaker's confusion of English b and p)
1556. víštať s.t. to like, want (food)
1557. víšva'n belly
1558. vít p.t. to paddle, row (a boat); to travel in a boat
1. vítíš(rih) to beach (a boat): G753.3
1559. víťkíra ridge (of a mountain)
1. víťkír or -ák adv. the Bald Hills (those north of Redwood Creek, in Chilula territory): G621.1; the first alternant is irregular.
1. víťkír'kůf Redwood Creek: 1464
1560. víťvít long-billed dowitcher, Limnodromus griseus var. scolopaceus (H)
1561. viš vulva
1562. vých digging stick
1. výchara digging stick: G621.2?
1563. vých p.i. to creep, crawl, move slowly
1. výchfurú p.i. (man) to become half-married: perh. "to crawl in," G753.2
2. výchfuruk p.i. to enter a house: "to crawl indoors," G753.2; used of Indian houses because of their low doors, and by extension of white men's houses also.
3. vchénsíp(riv) p.i. to get up (from a sitting position); (sun) to rise: G753.26
4. vchénupuk p.i. to leave a house: "to crawl outdoors" (G753.25); cf. 1563.2
5. vónvánáč shirt; "little crawling-into"; G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
1564. *vu, a submorphemic element, "with a cutting tool" (G710)
1565. vuha tooth
1. vuhaíšxáhara toothbrush: "tooth-washing instrument"; 780.1, G754.3, G761
2. vuhe'míra toothache: "hot tooth," 575.1
1566. vuhihi p.i. to do a deerskin dance or jump dance: G622.1?
1. vuhihi deerskin dance, jump dance: G761
2. vuhihíčva p.i. to do the imitation deerskin dance (with branches instead of deerskins): G754.6
1567. výchsahí p.i. to have a work contest (as in shelling acorns): G622.1?
1568. vumní'n a.i. (two houses) to stand, be: cf. 1432
1. vumní'na' a.i. (several houses) to stand, be: cf. 1432.1
1569. vúnva p.i. to wrestle
1570. vůp p.i. to string beads
1571. vůp neck
1572. vůpák p.t. to trim, to cut up: cf. 470, 1308
1573. vůpam adv. a place name, Red Cap (Map, no. 114)
1574. vuxtárek adv. a place name, Oak Bottom (Map, no. 81)
1575. víř a.i. to flow (not necessarily in a channel)
1. vírnáráka adv. a place name, Nancy's Elbow (Map, no. 111): "flowing down from upriver"; G753.33, G761
2. vířlik a.i. to flow in underneath: -lik is not identifiable.
3. vírvuvrip a.i. to overflow: -uvrip is not identifiable.
1576. vura p.t. to jab, poke
1577. vůrA adv. of emphatic meaning; often used in qualifier phrases (G836.5)
1578. vůsrur p.t. to cut off; G753.27
1579. vůt p.t. to cut (stems), to mow (grass)
1580. vůtrava glans penis
1. vůtrava?áfiva testicles (T1.127): 24.1
1581. vůtupiš p.t. to cut up fish
1582. vůxič p.t. to saw
1. vůxičara saw: "sawing-instrument"; G754.3, G754.3, G761
2. vůxičep sawdust: G765
3. vůxičrap adv. sawmill: G766

X

1583. xačpmúkahíč a type of openwork basket with a handle: 1021, G621.9
1584. xaha spider
1. xahamíčmič a type of small spider: -míčmič is not identifiable.
2. xahávika spiderweb; lace: "spider-weaving"; 1545, G761
1. xahávikekára crocheting needle: "lace-making instrument," 557.3
1585. xákan gray hair
1586. xákan adv. together (with one other), both: cf. 217, G621.3
Used as a postposition in the sense "with (one other)" (G833.7).
1. xakanásiva lover: "together-sleeping"; 157, G761
2. xakánphi p.i. (du.) to go together: G622.1
3. xakánčí just the pair (of them) (T11.27); deceased sibling: G621.9
4. xakanífmára person co-brother-in-law: 406
5. xakanína person dead spouse; cf. 628
6. xakanyára person co-sister-in-law: 1658
7. xákaraří adv. on both sides: -arih is not identifiable.
1587. *xan, a submorphemic element occurring in the names of plants and
animals, is identifiable in 1588 through 1599.
1588. xanáčyu onion, originally a wild onion, Allium bolanderi or A. acumíнатum (Schenck and Gifford, no's 44 and 45)
1589. xančif (or xančif-?) frog
The free form is supplied by the dimin. xančifčič.
1. xančifččasa rock with a rough surface: "frog rock"; G621.9, 146
2. xančifččkinkuničič a type of frog: "little green frog"; 1469.4, G621.9
3. xančifččphiri snowberry, Symphoricarpus albus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 217): "frog-huckleberry"; G621.9, 1177.3
1590. xančička-raráh 'snowdrop,' a type of flower
1591. xánkí-t 'bullhead,' a type of fish
1592. xanpuččíNE-nač hummingbird; a plant sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): G767, G621.9
1593. xanpučt polliewog: G621.9
1594. xánpu:t acorn of the maul oak, Quercus chrysolepis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 72)
1. xanpútip maul oak tree: 638
1595. xanōifikirā adv. a place name (Map, no. 18): perh. "frog ridge,"
(1589 + 457; but cf. 1596)

1596. xanōifikiti-k a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13c): perh. "frog
hand," with 1589 and 1375, but connected by informants with 1597

1597. xānōi-p California black oak, Quercus kelloggii, or its acorn
(Schenck and Gifford, no. 73): 638

1598. xanōun crawfish
   1. xanōun?ānmvā:nīč mīnk: "little crawfish-eater": 201.5, G621.9
   2. xanōun?ā:nīč a man's name: "little crawfish": G621.9
   3. xanōun mūva:san barn swallow, Hirundo sp. (M): "crawfish's
      enemy": G410, 1527

1599. xanvā't clam
   1. xanvāhi-t a plant, stone-crop, Sedum laxum subsp. heckneri
      (Schenck and Gifford, no. 101): "imitation clam," G614.2

1600. xap- p.i. to step, as in xaptārā(rih) "to step on" (G752.5,
      G753.3)
   1. xiruxā-psip(riv) p.i. (du.-pl.) to get up (from sitting): G756,
      G753.26
   2. xapuxyuxvxu p.i. to rub one's foot in the dirt (as part of magi-
      cal procedure): G740; cf. 1702

1601. xā-p thimbleberry bush, Rubus parviflorus (Schenck and Gifford,
      no. 111)
   1. xapxra-h thimbleberry: 1509

1602. -xārā - xārah adj. long (of spatial measurement), tall
      Replaced as a free form by vā:rama.

1603. xārah adv. for a long time: cf. 1602
   1. xānāhič adv. after a while: G621.9

1604. xas adv. then, and then, so, and so, but
   1. xasik adv. then (in the future): 437, with irreg. morphopho-
      nemics

1605. xas adv. almost

1606. xā[s (of a basket) having the warp sticks widely spaced

1607. xan- adv. of permissive meaning, often translated "may," as in
      xān napikčah "he may take my picture"
   1. xān-tik adv. of weak hortatory meaning, usually translated
      "let..."; as a predication by itself, "so be it!": 437, with
      irreg. morphophonemics

1608. xāt adj. rotten, stinking

1609. xātikrupma adv. springtime

1610. xatimnī-m butterfly, moth

1611. xā-x grasshopper
   1. xāılmtas roasted grasshoppers (T4.27): -imtas is not identifi-
      able

1612. xāvin a plant, golden-lantern, Calochortus pulchellus (Schenck and
      Gifford, no. 49)

1613. xāvīɡ syringa, mock orange, 'arrowwood,' Philadelphus lewisii var.
      gordonianus (Schenck and Gifford, no. 105)
   1. xāvīɡarōou-f Ike's Gulch, a creek at 'ame·kyā·ra·m rancheria:
      "arrowwoody creek": G621.2, 1464
   2. xāvīšt-i-m adv. a place name (Map, no. 73): "arrowwood-edge,"
      1377

1614. xavra-m house-pit (?): G766?
   1. xavrāmnī-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 62): G614.7, G621.1
1. xavramnhou=f Irving Creek: 1464
2. xavn&mnhic adv. a place name (Map, no. 89): G621.9
   1. xavn&mnhic=f Wilson Creek: 1464
   1. xavn&mnhicufyuf4 adv. a place name (Map, no. 90): "downriver across-stream from Wilson Creek," 1683.10
1615. xavramti-kve'ta 'dart,' alligator lizard, Gerrhonotus sp. (M): G767; cf. 1614
1616. xay adv. of vetative meaning, translated "let not . . !, watch out you don't . . !" (G845.8)
   1. xayf&'t adv. of strong vetative meaning, usually translated "don't . . !": 350
   2. x&yhi p.t. to save, keep: G622.1
1617. xayva' adv. by luck
1618. xay{i' mushroom, toadstool
1619. x&'cic adj. soft: G621.9
1620. x&'hva's pipe sack
1621. x&'m seaweed
1622. x'p'rhna-k adv. cliff: G621.1
1623. x&k adj. rough
1624. &pu'n connective tissue of sinew
1625. &t green, unripe
1626. x! interj. noise made by shamans (T11.7)
1627. x&'xhuraka adv. Martin's Ferry, a Yurok village: G622.1, G823.2
1628. x&kah t.p. to long for (a person): G622.1?
1629. &kam pers. mother's brother
1630. xumv&v adv. a place name (Map, no. 29)
1631. &n acorn soup, acorn mush
   1. xunt&pan acorn, esp. that of the tan oak, Lithocarpus densiflora (Schenck and Gifford, no. 74): -t&pan is not identifiable.
      1. xunt&panf'mva'n by-name for the California woodpecker: "acorn-eater," 201.5
   2. xunye'p tan oak tree: "good-acorn-soup tree": 1665, 638
   3. xura thick (of liquid): "like acorn soup," G621.2
   4. xura acorn water, i.e., acorn soup diluted with water: 145
   5. xur&'a) shelled acorn, acorn meat: G621.10?
      1. xur&'a'mva'n an insect sp.: "acorn-meat eater," 201.5
      2. xur&'a'mfgra-pamikkura' name of a ridge near Katimin (T47.17): "long acorn-meat young-woman her-ridge": 1602, 401, G810, G410.1.1
1632. xo'nan a man's name
1633. xumxun phlegm
1634. xup&ri' western yew, Taxus brevifolia (Schenck and Gifford, no. 23)
   1. xup&ri'i'f's&m adv. a place name (Map, no. 33): "yew-deerlick," 689.3
1635. xurihi s.i. to be hungry: G622.1?
   1. xuri'ara a woman's name: "hungry one": G754.3, G761
   The dimin. is xinwhanaS.
1636. xuri'p vertical stripe (as a basket design element; O'Neale, fig. 13): cf. 551
1637. xur&'t adj. flexible, limber
   The dimin. is xinutici'.
1638. xus p.i. to think; occasionally, to feel, to know

The following tense forms are irregular: past -xůsa-t, ancient -xůsa-nik, future -xus'-š. The irreg. durative is xůTih.

1. xůs mind, thought, sense: an irreg. deverbative (G761)
   1. xůsara sensible (person): G621.2
      The dimin. is xůsanč.
   2. xůši p.i. to be (a certain way) (a person): G622.1
      1. ipxůšpu p.i. to realize what one is doing, to be sober: G731
   3. xůsipux thoughtless (person): G621.7
   4. xůskam stubborn (person): "big-mind," G621.8
   5. xůs + ?e- to take care of: G621.8
   6. xůs + ?ruvo' to think of: G621.8

2. xůse-f tp.t. to think (a certain way) about (a person): G621.8
   1. xůse-f is not identifiable.

3. xůsunif tp.t. to think (a certain way) about (a person): G754.18, with an irreg. stem- allomorph.

1639. xůs gall-bladder

1640. xůs smooth
   1. xůskůniš smooth: G621.13

1641. xůs of unknown meaning, occurring in:
   1. xůs + u-uma (a shaman) to doctor, treat (a patient): G622.1
   2. xůs + u-uma-n pers. shaman, 'doctor': G762

1642. xuskamhara bow; gun: G754.3, G761
   1. xuskamhara?anamahač pistol: "small gun," G754.3

1643. xůtnahic thin (as of fabric): G621.9

1644. xutnásak raven

1645. xutynipin cascara sagrada, Rhamnus purshiana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 141)

1646. xůr a.i. to be a groove, to be a gulch, as in the following:
   1. xůr FutamPa-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 46): "at a gulch running in from the river": G753.17, G761, G621.1

1647. xůx an extinct or mythical animal, sometimes identified with the grizzly bear
   1. xůx mukrivruhvaunnamč adv. a place name, near Katimin: "xůx's little rolling-place" (see T26.18): G410, 496, G751, G766, G621.9

Y

1648. yáčkan daughter (rarely used, usually replaced by ye-ripáxvuh "girl" or ?ifápt' "young woman")
   1. yáčkanč a woman's name: "little daughter," G621.9

1649. ya- 'acorn dough, i.e., acorn meal after leaching

1650. yáfus p.i. to wear a dress (?) Occurring only in:
   1. ipyáfus p.i. to wear a dress: G731
   2. yáfus(a) (woman's) dress: G761

1651. yah! interj. exclamation of surprise

1652. yah interj. occurring only in:
   1. yah na- exclamation of surprise (T25.18): 994?

1653. yavvóva-ra- referring to menstruation; occurring only in:
   1. yavvóvarahí p.i. to menstruate: G622.1
2. yahvure-krívra-m adv. menstrual hut: "menstruation house," 493.4. The dimin. is yahvune-krívna-mič.

1654. yâ-mahučač adj. easy: G621.9

1655. ya'n adv. just, only recently
1. yâ-npi-ftihan pers. young person, esp. a young man: "one who is just growing": 400, G757, G532

1656. yâ-nčíp adv. next year

1657. yâNA adv. indicates that an action is visible, often translated "he saw that . . ." Occurs most often in the derivative yânavA (G621.17), less often in yané-kva (437, G621.17), yanavé-k (G621.17, 437), and yanavé-kva (G621.17, 437, G621.17), all with similar meaning. yâNA itself sometimes occurs in the shortened form yÂ, both as an independent word and in the following:
1. yakun = yukun adv. you see, . . .: 917

1658. yârara- married woman
Used as prepound, as in yararâjpi:t "newly married woman" (1155), and as postpone, as in xakanyârara "co-sister-in-law" (1589), but never as an independent word.
1. yârârahi p.i. (woman) to get married: G622.1

1659. ya's adv. then, after that

1660. ya:s?ârA rich (person); (in myths) Mankind, the human race: 127
The alternant ya:sârA occurs in some compounds, as in ačvivyâ:s-arA "bird sp." (15).

1661. ya:sârâra pers. rich person: 132

1662. ya-stí'k right hand: 1375

1663. yâtiš 'pal,' a term used of male friends

1664. yâthah adj. sharp

1665. yâv adj. good
The alternant yava- occurs in various petrified combinations. The irreg. plural is yâ-pâa(s).
1. yâ-hi p.i. to fit (into): G622.1; cf. yâvhi "to be good"
2. yâ-k adv. good place: G621.1
3. yâ-mač adj. pretty, nice: G621.9
The dimin. is yâ-mačič.
1. ya-mačkâre' a woman's name: -kâre' is not identifiable.
4. yâ-xí'p adj. best: G614.4

1666. yâ-vahi s.i. to have enough: G622.1?

1667. yâ-vhi tp.t. to be in a hurry, to hurry to (someone): G622.1?

1668. yâxA interj. look!: cf. 1657

1669. yâyâhi p.i. to stutter: G622.1?
1. yâ-ya-hâass a rock on the river opposite Orleans: "stuttering rock," G761, 146. Children were told that playing on this rock would make them stutter.

1670. ye: interj. exclamation, often translated "well, . . ."
1. ye'n- exclamation of surprise: 994?

1671. ye:i-pâ'n a man's name: G754.5, G762?

1672. ye:hs interj. exclamation, often translated "well, . . ."

1673. ye-ripíphi p.i. to menstruate for the first time: G622.1?
1. ye-ripíraphâ pers. girl menstruating for the first time: G754.3, G761

1674. ye-ripáxvuh pers. adolescent girl: cf. 1673
1. ye-nipáxvuh pers. little (i.e., pre-adolescent) girl: G621.9

1675. yïkhi a.i. to be (seriously) sick: G622.1?
1. yïkïhara pers. sick person: G754.3, G761
2. yïkïhe-krîva-m adv. hospital: "being-sick house": G761, 493.4

1676. yï:p lowland fir, Abies grandis (Schenck and Gifford, no. 19): 638
   1. yï:pâñvu-f rotten roots of the lowland fir: -âñvu-f is not identifiable.

1677. yï-z pers. woman's sister's child (of either sex)
   The irreg. diminutives are yi'ñan and yi'-ñKâč.
   1. iñâva's pers. child of deceased sibling: G614.9
   Re the irreg. stem-alternant, cf. 1879.

1678. yï six another (one): perh. a shortening of 1879
   The alternant i6- occurs in prebound position.
   1. i6ñara-n stranger, person outside one's family: cf. 132
   2. yi'ñuk adv. in another place, elsewhere: cf. G621.1

1679. yi'ñA adv. one, a certain; (in compounds) all, the whole
   The alternant iñA- occurs in many combinations:
   1. iñámahï adv. one at a time, one each: G621.18, G621.9
   2. iñän adv. once: G614.11
   3. iñ'é-pa'na a man's name: translated by an informant as "dying together": G731, 1307, G761
   4. yïcï-ca'ë adv. together, as one: G621.9
      1. yïcï-ca'ë  tp.t. to get together with (T66.2): G622.1
      2. yïcï-ë + ikyï:fip to win (stakes): 557.1
   5. yïcï-ë adv. single, alone: G621.9
   6. yïcï-paë adv. just one: G621.9; -ëp- is not identifiable.
   7. yi'ñb-han adv. the first month in the Karok year: G621.5

1680. yï-v adv. far
   The alternant yï-v occurs in puyïvuhara "not far!"
   1. yï-mûSë adv. a little ways off: G621.9; -mûS- is not identifiable.
   2. yï-vârïh adv. away: G621.19
   Used as a predicate in the meaning "go away!"

1681. yï-rukam - yï-ram adv. to one side; the part of an Indian house
   opposite the entrance: G621.11

1682. yï-tva interj. hurray!

1683. yu'- adv. downriver
   The alternant yu- occurs in most compounds, and the alternant yu-
   in most derivatives.
   1. yu'-hàrA - ñaráh pers. Indian from downriver, i.e., either
      Yurok or Tolowa, but esp. Tolowa: "downriver person," 127
      1. yu'-ñarâri-k adv. Crescent City, in Tolowa territory:
         "Tolowa-place": G614.7, G621.1
   2. yu-hüsku-p surf-fish: "downriver trout," 160
   3. yuhih Yurok language: 380
   4. yuhti'-mië adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria:
      "little downriver-edge": 1377, G621.9
   5. yu-kam - yu-'m adv. (a short distance) downriver: G621.21(1)
   6. yuRuk: adv. (a considerable distance) downriver: G621.21(2)
      1. yunuktî-mië adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria:
         "little downriver edge": 1377, G621.9
      2. yuRukam adv. on a height downriver: G621.21(4)
      The dimin. is yu'-mnKâmië.
   3. yuRuk-bu-f Bluff Creek: "downriver creek," 1464
4. yurúkva*rara pers. Yurok Indian: contracted from yuruk va?ára-ra "downriver its-person"; G420, 132
5. yuruk ?yýáruk across the ocean: "downriver across-stream." 784.1
7. yu?-sah adv. a place name, perh. near Orleans: G621.21(5)
8. yu?timpe?i?n Ike's Falls, a rapids at ?ame?kyá-ra*m rancheria: "downriver-edge falls"; 1377, 624
10. yu?-? adv. across- and down-river: G621.21(3)
The dimin. is yu?-cič.

1684. yúfíš' salt
1685. yúfív nose
1. yufívku-nay -ku-nič 'currant,' straggly gooseberry, Ribes divaricatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 108): "little crooked-nose"; 918, G621.9; -ay is not identifiable.
2. yufívmatnakvič vinegar weed, Trichostema lanceolatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 200): "little nose-burning-through"; 970, G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
3. yufívrat nasal mucus: -ra*t is not identifiable.

1686. yúfma-n split-open salmon head
1687. yuh p.i. to spit
1. yu?hva p.i. to vomit: G751
1688. yuhíp adv. a place name (Map, no. 65): perh. "downriver-tree"; 1683, 638
1689. yuhír ím flint knife used to cut salmon
1690. yuhíri?ihíraík adv. a place name, Somes Bar (Map, no. 78): G823.2
1691. yuhna-m fine sand; (adv.) a place name, 'Ukonom (Map, no. 39): cf. 1702.1
1. yuhnámou-f 'Ukonom Creek: 1464
1692. yuhsharím- of unknown meaning, occurring in:
1. yuhshárm?anamač adv. a place name, near Clear Creek: 129.1
2. yuhsharámkamač adv. a place name, near Clear Creek: 846
1693. yukúkuho shoe(s)
1. yukukuhínhírika shoelace: 630.1, G761
2. yukukuhívíkapuh snowshoe(s): "woven shoe(s)"; 1545, G763
1694. yuma- pertaining to the dead, occurring in the following:
1. yuma?arA dead person: 127
   The prepound form is yuma:ra-.
   4. yuma?rári?k adv. the land of the dead, 'Hell': "dead-man place"; G614.7, G621.1
   5. yuma?re'kritávpíra by-name for the five-finger fern: "dead-man five-finger-fern," 490
2. yuma?aramah child of the dead (a word used as a curse): 129
1695. yuná-mič adv. a little bit (T4.167): G621.9
1696. yú-nhì a.i. to be lopsided, to be out of position: G622.1
1697. yunyú-nhì p.i. to be crazy, insane: cf. 1696
1698. yú-p adv. eye
   1. yupastáran tear: cf. 145; -táran is not identifiable.
   2. yuπárih eyelash: -árih is not identifiable.
      1. yupátirh?ávakam eyebrow: "eyelash-above," 203.1
   3. yú-phi p.i. to open one's eyes: G622.1
4. yupikna-xara adj. crosseyed: 465, G764
5. yúpin forehead: -in is not identifiable.
6. yuppih eyebrow: "eye-bone," 655
7. yupiéáriárihí marten, Mustela caurina (M): "putting an eye back down"; G731, 1426, G753.3, G761. The prejunctural form is yupípíáriárihí.
8. yúpipux a woman's name: "eyeless," G621.7
9. yupsírihara adj. blind: "having shiny eyes"; 1235, G621.2
10. yupsítanáx -iž baby: "little mousey-eye"; 1239, G621.2, G621.9
      1. yupsítanáx-píríž a plant, Mirabilis greenei; also identified as Silene campanulata (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 84 and 88): "baby-plant," 1148
11. yupsúkírara panther, mountain lion: "having green eyes"; 1469, G621.2
12. yupxá-t mucus from eyes: "eye-rottenness," 1608
1699. yúras ocean: cf. 1683, 145
      1. yurasí:h horse: "ocean-dog," 305
      2. yurasí:vi-v seagull: "ocean-bird"; G621.1, 15
      3. yurásti-m adv. seashore, beach: "ocean-edge," 1377
1700. yú-s pus
1701. yú-v foreshaft of an arrow
1702. yú-x dirt, sand
      1. yúxna-in sand: perh. "flat dirt," 998
      2. yúxpi-t sand pile used in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8): "new sand," 1155
      3. yúxtu-y adv. a place name (Map, no. 17): "sand-mound," 1409
         1. yuxtá-yi-vné-nañ adv. a place name (Map, no. 10): "little yúxtu-y-summit"; 798, G621.9
1703. yú:xas blue elderberry, Sambucus glauca (Schenck and Gifford, no 216)
1704. yuxmačmahánač a type of very small lizard: G621.9
1705. yúxtu:yrúk adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
1706. yuxtháran abalone shell
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perhaps \( \text{vá} \text{T} \text{A} \text{178}, \text{vataf} \text{á} \text{t} \text{178.1}, \) \( \text{v} \text{ik} \cdot \text{č} \text{453}, \text{manv} \text{át} \text{A} \text{966.1} \)

person \( \text{v} \text{á} \text{r} \text{A} \text{127}, \text{vára} \text{r} \text{a} \text{132} \)

pestle \( \text{ik} \text{d} \text{ú} \text{r} \text{a} \text{444.2}, \text{ikrá} \text{v} \text{a} \text{ra} \text{481.2} \)

pestle, tobacco-stem \( \text{v} \text{uh} \text{pi} \text{h} \text{k} \text{č} \text{ú} \text{r} \text{a} \text{ra} \text{1480.1.1} \)

pet \( \text{kin} \text{č} \text{n} \text{a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{č} \text{882} \)

phlegm \( \text{x} \text{ún} \text{x} \text{ún} \text{1633} \)

photograph, to \( \text{pik} \text{č} \text{a} \text{h} \text{a} \text{1119} \)

pick (up), to \( \text{v} \text{í} \text{f} \text{k} \text{405}, \) \( \text{čf} \text{a} \text{p} \text{v} \text{a} \text{402} \)

pick acorns, to \( \text{pá} \text{ku} \text{h} \text{i} \text{1045} \)

pitch \( \text{wood}, \text{to i} \text{y} \text{v} \text{ó} \text{r} \text{a} \text{831} \)

pill \( \text{ix} \text{v} \text{i} \text{n} \text{i} \text{p} \text{a} \text{a} \text{815.1} \)

pin \( \text{pi} \cdot \text{n} \text{1141} \)

pine, Jeffrey \( \text{v} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{p} \text{a} \text{737} \)

pine roots \( \text{e} \text{r} \text{u} \text{m} \text{a} \text{1217} \)

pipe \( \text{v} \text{uh} \text{ra} \text{m} \text{1480.3} \)

pine cone \( \text{v} \text{ú} \cdot \text{s} \text{1500} \)

Pipe \( \text{f} \text{a} \text{t} \text{737} \)

pine nut \( \text{v} \text{ú} \cdot \text{s} \text{1500} \)

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pipe-stem (a plant) \( \) \text{phne} \text{ťá} \text{t} \text{a} \text{p} \text{a} \text{v} \text{a} \text{116.5} \)

pipe bowl, stone \( \text{ik} \cdot \text{rá} \text{a} \text{469} \)

pipe sack \( \text{x} \text{é} \text{v} \text{a} \text{h} \text{a} \text{a} \text{9} \text{2} \text{0} \)
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whine, to ñî-hvâ 1442
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white čânca-ñkuniš 273.1, -tâ'hko-1273.2
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white deer  pufčta-hko  1174.3
white grass  panyūrara  1054
white everlasting (a plant)  
white man  aprantññhñt 126.2, 

mákay  964, siimsimtä-ra  1230.5

who?  ñakáray  52
whole, the  ykšA  1679
why?  hë-t kuo  392.3
why, . . . man  966

widely spaced, (of a basket) having  

warp sticks  xuś  1606
widow (old)  kóčxav  866
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widower  ?ahé-mši-para  29.1.1, 

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phihrív  1117
wife  ihró-hA  425.1
wife of a man's dead brother  

phihró-hapa-425.1.2:1
wiggie, to  ké-ná  869
wild oats  ikřavapuh  481.1
wildcat  ákviš  81
Wilder Gulch  pihné-tou-f  

1116.6

will to, to  vírivšav  1554
willow, Nuttall  kufipnará  909.2
willow, red  kufipfrax  909.1
willow, sandbar  pā-rak  1060
willow, velvet  kūfip  909
Wilson Creek  xavnamnihčtou-f  

1814.1.2:1
win (a game), to  pá-xkív  1099.3
win (stakes), to  kó-khi  902, 

ikyš:frá  557.1, yčča-č + ikyš:frá 

1679.2
win from, to  pāxe-p  1099.1
wind  ikřé-myaha  482.1
window  pimustihvánara  609.7.3
windpipe  imyahé:oku-n  618.1
wing  kitxrih  891
Wingate Bar  ?apakúniha  335.1
Wingate Creek  ?epakúniuf  

335.1.1

winnow, to  ñantap  1422
winter  fšyáv  744
wintergreen  áčpu-s  14
Wintun Indian (?)  kasahýára-ra 

835.12

wipe, to  taxuy-  1354

wire fence  siimsimtasa  1230.6
wish bad luck to, to  fumíyíh 

with (one person)  xáká-na  1586
with (several persons)  kó-van  897.4
with (= by means of)  mšk  982
withe, hazel  ?ábi-θ  197

withhold from, to  šáhačaku  31
Wiyot Indian  váyat  1538
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953.6
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womb  axiše-kříva-n  223.3
wonder, I  ?ATA  178
wood  šáp  44
wood, burnt  imšuf  594
wood, rotten  ifuxif  413
wood ant  asvutatämka-m  174.1
woodpecker, California  kùrát  929,
xuntapanámva-n  1631.1
woodpecker, Western pileated  

iktatákahá  509
woodpecker spp.  čammúpanč 

270.1, švít-čač  739.1.1
woodpecker head or 'scalp'  fúrax 

370
woodpecker-head  saah  apmára 

112.6, furaxtákvara  370.3
woodpile  iyvó-ra  831.1, iyvó:rura-

831.2, táxumka-k  1352
Woodwardia fern  tf:pti:ph  1387
woodworm  šápámva-n  44.1
word  ŋú:hyana  1482.1
world  ŋóv:ne-n  766
world renewal  yíra  675.1, yírahiva 

675.3, píkyáviši  1136
work, to  ikyá-čva  557.6
work cap, man's  ?išravahá:pxa-n 

689.4.2.1
work cap, woman's  sarum?ápaxon 

1217.1
work contest, to have a  vù:ksahi 

1567
worm  vákay  1518
worm sp.  ?apáčíh  103
would that . . . !  kfrí  885
wrap one's hair with, to  pá:ra-mu 

1083
wrap up in, to  iyxó-ri:ri  834.1
wrestle, to  vù:nva  1569
wring, to  ?ášip  194
wringer ぎょうふりか 194.1
write, to いくする 555
wrong with one, to have something ひな 627

yard (in front of a house) たきょう 1360
yard (unit of measure) くやくきょう 952.2
yarrow (a plant) あかんばやひ 12.1, 
kukizukyuyu 906.1
yawn, to たまざかえびか 1300
year ひろに 378
yellow きん 1469, きんきん 1469.4, kasětkuńişi 856.1
yellowbird にほんふるしい 116.1, 
iškimmabak 724.1
yellowhammer ふるし 1468
yellowjacket しし 1153, 
vrarapiskish 132.3
yerba buena かんばん 1418.1
yerba santa すくひしたれはれ 1657.1
yes はい 372
yesterday あき 659
yet きり 850
yew うるし 1634
you (sg.) い 583
you (pl.) い・みくん 563.1
you see, . . . よかん 1657.1
young ひつじ 1274
young man ふじ 22
young person, esp. a man ひ・みたילה 1655
young woman すな 401
Yurok Indian ふるく 1683.1, 
Yurokka 1683.6.4
Yurok language ふるく 1683.3
Yreka kahtića 933.6
KAROK VILLAGE SITES

During the course of linguistic field work on Karok, an attempt was made to record phonemically as many as possible of the Karok village names given in Kroeber, 1936, and at the same time to pinpoint the villages on a large map of the area, published by the U. S. Forest Service. Mrs. Lottie Beck, a Karok of Orleans, proved able to give most of the desired information. The results are presented in this section, on a map, where Karok village sites are numbered consecutively from upriver to downriver, and in a list of village names, which serves as a key to the map.

The data were obtained by reading Kroeber's village names to Mrs. Beck, who would then give me the correct pronunciation and help me locate the village on the map. The results are characterized by the following facts:

1. In some cases, the informant did not recognize a village name as read to her. In such cases no recording could be made.

2. In some cases, the informant recognized a name and gave its pronunciation, but was unable to locate it on the map. Such names are listed in the body of my lexicon, but not in this appendix.

3. In some cases, the informant located a site, but believed it to have been an uninhabited spot rather than a village site. These cases are also listed in the lexicon, but not included in this appendix.

4. In some cases, the informant located a site at a slightly different place than that given by Kroeber. In such cases an explanation is included in my list of names.

5. In some cases, the informant was able to volunteer and locate sites which are not listed in Kroeber. Such cases are indicated with an asterisk in the list below.

None of the above types of "problem" village-names is extremely numerous; on the whole, there are few serious discrepancies between Kroeber's information and mine. Where discrepancies exist, there seems to be no way of resolving them without further field work.

The village names given here, recorded from Mrs. Beck, are in strictly phonemic writing, as contrasted with the morphophonemic writing of the same names which is used in the body of the lexicon. Two lists are given: the first, serving as key to the map, lists all the village names without any other remarks, except for their reference numbers in the lexicon and the asterisk marking those not listed in Kroeber. The second list is of the problem names, where some explanation is necessary. In the latter list, the abbreviations E and W are used for the east and west sides, respectively, of the Klamath River; above Happy Camp, however, the turning of the river makes south and north more strictly accurate equivalents.

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1. ṁasapītu-vu-nup, 146.7
2. ṁavax-viśra-m, 208.1
3. ṁasake-m-viśa-na, 146.2, or ṁiśahake-m-viśra-m, 689.1.2
4. ṁasāxva-m, 145.3
5. nō-virukan, 1019
6. ṁikrťukan, 483
7. ṁukramāruk, 1483.6
8. ṁaśīhūtiśra-m, 197.2.1
9. ṁaśīśēvīnu-nupma, 197.2.3
10. yuuxtōy-unve-na, 1702.3.1
11. śivāttī-m, 1242
12. ṁiśipīśhāvni-na, 698
13. ṁasahē-mvīra, 835.12.1
14. patōṛihiś, 1084
15. ṁe-pākunī, 335.1
16. ṁakramāram, 63.1
17. yūxtu-y, 1702.3
18. xanśīśkīrir, 1595
19. ṁapakaśīppan, 104.1.1
20. taśśīprīvara-m, 1266
21. tāyukunāc, 1384
22. ṁinnā-m, 675.2, or kah ṁinnā-m, 835.3
23. pīpta-s, 1147
24. ṁaxrāhassāviś, 229.1
25. ṁaxarviś, 218
26. kīnīk, 881
27. tūxu-mnīpa-, 1385
28. tasāṣṣa-k, 1328
29. xumvērov, 1630
30. ṁāṭke, 1504
31. pikvāha, 1132.1.1
32. ṁasvīṭṭīśra-m, 158.1
33. xupariśīśra-m, 1634.1
34. ṁasī-iv, 1500.3
35. surukānvu-nup, 1260
36. xītāranaśūppan, 811
37. ṁaxa-asūrūk, 220.1.2
38. ṁiśvīrīp, 737
39. yuhna-m, 1691
40. śūruhas, 1498
41. pikvē-na, 1133
42. ṁiśvīrīptīth, 738
43. purīpri-k, 1177.2.1
44. kasaśānna-k, 855
45. samvarōkaśūkām, 1220.1.2
46. xu-mṇīpa-k, 1646.1
47. sarumśūnvīra, 1217.2
48. Ṉīnīna, 621.2.1
49. ṁaṭkṣī-ṇīra, 10.1
50. pasīrūvīvṛ, 1073
51. tiḥkāro-m, 1373.1
52. ti-h, 1373
53. tīhyurukan, 1373.3
54. ṁavāhīc, 243
55. ṁaśī- or ṁayūrī-m, 259
56. pūnāvāram, 674.1
57. ṁukramūfrīk, 1483.5
58. ṁnāpīt, 624.1
59. aṭṭāram, 27
60. ṁśra-mvīra, 689.3.3
61. ṁramūhīra, 679
62. xavrāni-m, 1614.1
63. kō-či-v, 898
64. ṁakvats-v, 79
65. yūhīp, 1688
66. ṁyūm-hāka, 825.1
67. samŚrīhīra, 1203.1
68. ṁassīpāk, 156.1
69. pūrvaśūriḥ, 795
70. kṛtŚum-r, 835.13
71. ṃiśśīpiś or ṃiśśśiśriḥak, 697.1
72. ṁasa-pe-Śīppan, 146.6.1
73. xavīśtī-m, 1613.2
74. ṁačvī-hīra, 15.2
75. sakaśŚrihīra, 1186.4
76. ṁimētāṟa, 606.2
77. tiśa-nḥīra, 1390.1
78. yūhītiḥīra, 1690
79. ṁivīṃpiś, 737.1
80. Śiṛō-vūṭhīra, 747.6
81. vunxāra, 1574
82. sīhtśīh, 1225.2
83. māḥa-m, 953.15
84. ṁasānna-ṃkara, 146.4
85. ṁame-kyā-ra-m, 86.2
86. ṁukramṇīrīkkīra, 1483.3
87. kahaśvīvṛ, 835.5
APPENDIX

*88. kú-yiv, 951
*89. xavnámnihič, 1614.1.2
*90. xavnamnihičufyū-t, 1614.1.2.1.1
*91. purizapxuv, 1177.3.1
*92. vištakkak, 728.1
*93. vasavūräk, 146.13
*94. axa-vārīk, 220.1.3
95. taxasukāra, 1347
96. sārakhīnva, 1192.10.2
97. axyamsurīpshūruk, 252.1
98. kasāmnī-k or kasānmukič, 854
*99. kāro-kam, 835.10
*100. vištrtiphūma-m, 763.1.2
101. čina-k?ūni-p, 237.3

102. panaźmi‘k, 1051
*103. či-vmiśiškač, 307.1.1
104. kāṭtphirak, 863
105. ṭukram ‘ippaŋ, 1463.2
106. tiśānni‘k, 1390.2
107. kusripiš deposited, 934.1
*108. pafū‘fič, 18
109. tū-yvuŋ, 1412
110. sahvirom 1194
111. vu-nvārak, 1575.1
112. pikšūmna-m, 444.1
113. ahaša populnač, 38
114. vūppam, 1573
115. viśramma-m, 689.3.4
116. viśnakač, 821.2.1
117. viśpū‘tač, 717

Explanatory Notes

1. vasapītvu-nup, E. Kroeber: W. This was the most upriverward village considered Karok by my informant. Concerning the disputed upriver boundary of the tribe, see Kroeber, op. cit., pp. 35-37.

3. vasake-miśa-nač, W. Kroeber: E.
4. vasāxva-m, E. Kroeber: W.
13. kasahe-mvirak, W. Kroeber: E.
15. e-pākunih, W. Kroeber: E.
18. xanśifikir, W. Kroeber: E.
28. tasāsxa’k, E. Kroeber: W.
30. vište, E. Kroeber: W.
31. pikšūhač, W. Kroeber: E.
34. višti-v, W. Kroeber: E. Sites 32, 33, and 34 are on the river, not "up Elk Creek," as Kroeber’s informant said.
38. viśvīrip. Kroeber locates this "above Blue Nose bridge," but this bridge is many miles down the river.
40. viśruhas, E. Kroeber: W.
65. yhip, W. Kroeber: E.
72-74. vasape-č‘ippaŋ, xavištī-m, pāčvi-vhirak. These are listed by Kroeber as parts of ka?tim‘y-n.
78-78. yin‘tiḥhirak, viśvinnišč. These are located by my informant on the south bank of the Salmon River; Kroeber, quoting Curtis, places them on the north bank.
80. viśti-vuthirak, opposite Site 79. Kroeber’s information from Curtis places it farther up the Salmon River than vunxārak, Site 81.
81. vunxārak, on the north bank of the Salmon River. Kroeber’s information from Curtis places it on the south bank.
82. ximfr, on the Klamath River, some distance below the mouth of the Salmon River. Kroeber places it on the Salmon, upstream from Site 75.
116. viśnakač, W. Kroeber, after Curtis: E.
117. viśpū‘tač, W. Kroeber, after Curtis: E.