

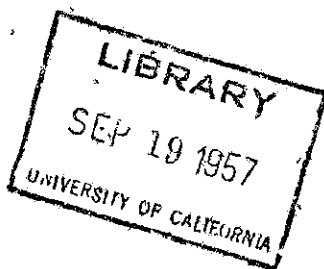
# THE KAROK LANGUAGE

BY  
WILLIAM BRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 13

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EDITORS

C. D. CHRÉTIEN  
M. S. BEELER

M. B. EMENEAU  
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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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## ABBREVIATIONS

a.	active verb theme (520).
A	adverbial satellite (845).
adj.	adjective (600).
adv.	adverb (600).
an.	animate.
C	consonant.
ç	non-geminable consonant (192).
dimin.	diminutive (621.9).
du.	dual.
dur.	durative (757).
emph.	emphatic.
esp.	especially.
fam.	familiar.
i.	intransitive verb theme (842).
imper.	imperative.
inan.	inanimate.
indic.	indicative.
int.	intensive (836.5).
interj.	interjection (250).
intr.	intransitive (of English verbs).
IP	intransitive predicate (842).
lit.	literally.
neg.	negative.
NP	nominal predicate (800).
NzP	nominalized predicate (800).
O	object (in syntax, 843).
ø	zero
obj.	object (in personal morphemes, 520).
p.	personal verb theme (520).
perh.	perhaps.
pers.	personal noun (600).
pf.	perfective (845.7).
pl.	plural.
pos.	positive.
s.	stative verb theme (520).
S.	subject (in syntax, 841).
sg.	singular.
sp.	species.
subj.	subject (in personal morphemes, 520).
t.	transitive verb theme (843).
T.	Texts: i.e., reference is made, by text number and sentence number, to Part III of this work.
tp.	transpersonal verb theme (520).
TP.	transitive predicate (843).
tr.	transitive (of English verbs).
V	short vowel.
V̄	long vowel.
VP	verbal predicate (800).
2t.	double-transitive verb theme (844).
2TP	double-transitive predicate (844).

# GRAMMAR

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: ˘ ˆ 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: páppa·h "the boat," ʔáppap "side."

/t/ is a postdental stop: táttatč "mama," číttat "magpie."

/č/ is an alveolo-palatal affricate [t̚š̺], in position like English ch of church: [t̚š̺]í·š̺ "younger sister," ka[t̚š̺]aká·[t̚š̺] "blue jay." It is clearly distinct from the sequence /tš/, in which the /t/ lacks palatalization (a feature marked by subscript [̚] above) and the sibilant element is noticeably longer. Contrast ʔavansáxxi·čas "boys" with ʔifáppi·tšas "young women."

/k/ is a velar stop: kúkku·m "again," ʔikúkkak "on a log." In J. P. Harrington's publications on Karok, where a largely phonetic writing is used, [kʷ] is generally written after front vowels, but I heard this pronunciation only very rarely from my informants.

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop: ʔaʔ "up," paʔas "the stone," yuʔtimʔí·n "Ike's Falls (a place name)."

/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 [ʃ] in most positions: [ʃ]ú·f "creek," ?i[ʃ]ív[ʃ]a·ne·n "earth," má·[ʃ] "heavy." Only as the second half of a geminate cluster does it have a different value—that of the interdental spirant [θ]: yí[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 [ʃ], sounding much like the s of Castilian Spanish: [ʃ]ára "bread," ?á[ʃʃ]ak "on a rock," ?á·[ʃ] "water."

/š/ is an alveolo-palatal sibilant, in position like English sh: ?išáva·s "man's dead sister's child," pikšip "shadow," ?iššaha "water," tú·yšip "mountain," čí·š "younger sister." /š/ 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: θú[x<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>]aθ "mother's sister," ?úk[x<sup>w</sup>]i·p-šip "he flew away." Before front vowels, the velar friction of /x/ is often accompanied by a voiceless uvular trill: ?a[x<sup>R</sup>x<sup>R</sup>]i·č "child."

/h/ is a glottal spirant: hih "language," ?áhu·p "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 "peppernut," pá·h "boat," and after short vowels in unaccented dissyllables, like paθih "rain" and ?axθah "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 ?u?á·mtih "he's eating" (even though I may have heard only [?u?á·mti]) because of forms like pu-?á·mtih-ara "he isn't eating."<sup>1</sup> 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 páran "father's brother" actually have contrasting finals.

/v/ is an unrounded bilabial spirant [b]: [b]á·s "blanket," pik[b]áh[b]ah[b]e·nač "quail," ?á·[b] "face."

/r/ is a single alveolar flap: ?ára·r "person," ?ikrívra·m "house."

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

<sup>1</sup> 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: *ʔú[j̥<sup>w</sup>]kar* "he killed him."

/m/ is a bilabial nasal: *múmmuh* "dull," *mâ·m* "uphill."

/n/ is a postdental nasal: *nánnač* "elder sister," *ʔá·n* "string."

### 130. Length of consonants.

Two degrees of consonantal lengthening are distinguishable in Karok.<sup>2</sup> 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: *pú·[f·]ič* "deer," *vê·[š·]ur* "horn."

b) after  $\check{V}\check{C}\check{V}$ , where  $\check{C}$  is /h r v/: *ʔuʔíhu[n·]ih* "he danced down," *ʔíri[p·]ar* "pickaxe," *ʔíva[p·]uh* "dead."

c) after a long vowel preceded by an accented syllable: *vuhé·šta·-[k·]ar* "gap-toothed," *ʔiknitípti·[p·]anač* "vetch."

d) before a long accented vowel: *ʔi·[n·]á·k* "indoors," *ča[n·]á·kat* "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, /ʔ h v 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:<sup>3</sup>

*θú[kk]in* "bile" — *čí[k]in* "chicken."

*ʔá[kk]ah* "father" — *tá[k]us* "pelican."

*nú[kk]uh* "deep" — *sú[k]ux* (a woman's name).

*ʔí[pp]at* "doe" — *kí[p]a* "like."

*ʔí[tt]am* "earlier today" — *ʔuču·phí[t]ih* "he's talking."

*ʔu[m̥m]á·hva* "he visited him" — *ʔu[m]áhya·n* "he put it in."

Phonemically, therefore [CC] is analyzed as a doubled or geminate conso-

<sup>2</sup> 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 *ʔíša* instead of *ʔíššaha* [water]."

<sup>3</sup> 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 /θúkkín/, /ʔákkah/, 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 spirantally released [t̪<sup>š</sup>] as the first member of a cluster. An example is ʔá[t̪<sup>š</sup>]ku·n "swamp robin." The only exception to this occurs when /č/ is geminated: it is then an affricate with lengthened stoppage, e. g., in čú[t̪<sup>š</sup>]an "acorn cup."<sup>4</sup>

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[ə]va·t "raccoon." The non-phonemic vowel has the quality of [ə] after /a a·/, the quality of [i] after front vowels, and the quality of [u] after back vowels: ʔík<sup>[i]</sup>ri· "you live," ʔúk<sup>[u]</sup>ri· "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: ʔáffiv<sup>[i]</sup> "bottom," hó·y<sup>[u]</sup> "where?"

150. Vowels.

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

<sup>4</sup>This long affricate might also be analyzed as /tč/. The primary reason for choosing /čč/ is to simplify the distributional statement—/č/, like the other obstruents (except the glottal ones), occurs geminated. A secondary result is simplification of morphophonemic rules. On the other hand, there is one piece of evidence for contrast between /čč/ and /tč/: the compound of ʔapxanti·č "white man" and čampínnišič "herb sp." was heard from one informant as ʔapxanti·čampínnišič "tea" (with reduction of the consonant cluster by a regular morphophonemic rule), but from another informant as ʔapxanti·[t̪<sup>š</sup>]ampínnišič. The latter form would require the writing /čč/, and force the analysis of [t̪<sup>š</sup>] as /tč/. 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,"  
ʔi·ḡ "meat."

/e·/ is a long mid front vowel, generally close: kê·miš "poison,"  
ʔé·θ "slug." But before /x/ it is lowered to [ɛ·]: ʔ[ɛ·]xrih "famine."

/a/ is usually a short low central vowel [a], but when unaccented  
varies to a somewhat higher sound [ə]: ʔ[a]s or ʔ[ə]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," ʔ[á·]s  
"water." But like /a/, it is fronted after a front vowel: ʔimm[a·]n "tomor-  
row."

/o·/ is a long higher-mid back rounded vowel: ê·ra "let's go!,"  
ʔó·t "salmon backbone."

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

/u·/ is a long vowel, usually of the same quality as /u/: xu·n  
"acorn soup," ʔú·t "flea." But when the preceding syllable contains a front  
vowel, a centralized allophone often occurs: nímm[ú·]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 hâ· "yes" and hâ·ʔi· (exclamation of  
annoyance). Short and long [ɛ] occur in čémmi "all right" and ye·, yé·he  
(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).<sup>5</sup> 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. /'/, 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-

<sup>5</sup>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.



zation takes the form of a light glottal interruption of these vowels, with about two-thirds of the vowel's duration preceding the interruption. So tí·m "edge" can be phonetically written [tí<sup>̣</sup>·m].<sup>6</sup> Note that such glottalized vowels are phonetically distinct from the sequence /V̥V̥/, since the latter has a stronger glottal stop and equal duration of the two vowels: compare ?á·s [ʔá<sup>̣</sup>·s] "watter" with ?išpuká?as "quartz."

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

162. /^/, called CIRCUMFLEX ACCENT, has a single allophone—strong stress plus falling pitch, without glottalization, in all positions. So ['mâ·m] "uphill," ['pû·]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 [ , ?ũ' ?á, hò·, hē· e·n ] "he had come" and [ 'mâ· 'páy, kũ·k' ?ũ·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:

<sup>6</sup> Writings 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<sup>̣</sup>] to indicate glottalization.

a) Weak stress with high pitch occurs on initial pretonic syllables with long vowel, as in [ ,ké·č̣]xá·č̣ "widow"; and on all medial pretonic syllables, as in ?a[ ,húp]ʔássip "coffin."

b) Weak stress with mid pitch occurs on long-voweled medial syllables immediately after an accent, as in ní[m[ ,mù·s]tih "I'm looking at it"; on all medial syllables immediately after circumflex accent, as in ?uvô·-[ ,nù]puk "he crawled outdoors"; and on medial syllables two syllables after an acute accent, as in pikváhvah[ ,vè·]nač̣ "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 ?im[ 'mā·n] "tomorrow," kú·k [ 'ʔū·]mi "go there!" Otherwise, the stress falls on the final syllable, as in ?iš[ 'pūk] "money."

d) Weak stress, low pitch, and glottalization occur in long-voweled posttonic syllables which are followed by pause; e. g., ?áp[ ,rī·ḥ] "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., nímmu·s[ ,ṭḥ] "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 [ ,ʔík]xáram "night," [ ,ʔiṣ̌]puk "money"; on medial syllables which are not in such a position as to receive allophone b), as in puvô·nu[ ,pūk,tī,hā]ra "he doesn't crawl outdoors"; and on final posttonic syllables not followed by pause, as in sú[ ,vā] 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 [ 'sú,vā'ník]. 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 [ ,ū'ʔá,hò·,hè·<sup>e</sup>n], 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'ʔū·m]. The first two syllables are both accented, so a juncture is written between them. The third syllable has allophone f), 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·k ʔu·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."

/č/-/k/: čá·s "younger brother," ká·s "nest."

/k/-/ʔ/: ká·s "nest," ʔá·s "water."

/p/-/f/: púriθ "huckleberry," fúriθ "daughter of sibling of opposite sex."

/t/-/θ/: ʔú·t "flea," ʔú·θ "into the river."

/č/-/š/: ʔú·čič "(woman's) breast," ʔú·čiš "milk" (imperfect pair).

/k/-/x/: kí·t "mother's mother, daughter's daughter," xí·t "unripe."

/ʔ/-/h/: pa·ʔ "last year," pa·h "peppernut."

/ʔ/-zero: vupʔáffiv "nape of the neck," yupátrih "eyelash" (imperfect pair).

/θ/-/s/: ʔú·θ "into the river," ʔú·s "pine nut."

/s/-/š/: ʔutasínsir "he brushed it repeatedly," ʔusívšap "he plugged it up" (imperfect pair).

/x/-/h/: ʔá·x "blood," ʔá·h "fire."

/h/-zero: puʔu.mhára "it's not he," puʔu.mára "he didn't arrive."

/i/-/i/: ʔáθθit "trash," ʔáθθi-θ "hazel withe" (imperfect pair).

/i/-/e/: ʔî·m "outdoors," ʔé·m "sucking shaman" (imperfect pair).

/e/-/a/: ʔé·n "board," ʔá·n "string."

/a/-/a/: ʔíšyav "having a good body," ʔíšya·v "winter."

/a/-/o/: ʔá·t "spring salmon," ʔó·t "salmon backbone."

/o/-/u/: ʔó·t "salmon backbone," ʔú·t "flea."

/u/-/u/: ʔúčiš "milk," ʔú·čič "(woman's) breast" (imperfect pair).

/ʔ/-/ʔ/: pú·fič "deer," pú·viš "bag" (imperfect pair).

/ʔ/-no accent: pá·h "boat," pa·h "peppernut."

/^/-no accent: má·m "uphill," θa·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., ʔasiktavanʔíšri·v, vúra "ʔíšri·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 nivâ·rame·š, ?išpúk nikyâ·re·š.

[ \_ \_ \_ - ] \_ \_ \_ - - [ \_ ]

"I'm going to Klamath Lakes, I'm going to get money."

vúra ?u·m yâ·mač tu?í·fšíp.

[ \_ \_ - ] \_ \_ - \_ ]

"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·n!

[ ^ - - ]

"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!," ?akε! "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 /i/:

hû·t ?áta 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 pŭ', and falling-rising tone in a word used to begin myths, written ?ukní'.

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 contour-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)," *sîkspič* "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. /š/ 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 /š/ does not, and could be classed in one phoneme with /š/ except for a few words in which /s/ occurs after a front vowel: *sîkspič* "six bits," *ké:ks* "cake," *sîmsi:m* "knife, metal," *ʔutasînsir* "he brushed it repeatedly." Some of these are obvious loanwords; the less obvious history of the others is discussed in my paper, "Linguistic Innovations in Karok," 1.3. In any case, they create the necessity for a phonemic separation of /s/ and /š/.

192. The phonemes /ʔ 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 predictable. 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 consonant or a heterogeneous cluster does not fill the place, then a geminate cluster must, as in *ʔuppér* "he tells him," *ʔikkuk* "log," *ʔimma:n* "tomorrow." In the second place, a geminate is usually found in the position between a short acute-accented vowel and any other vowel: e.g., in *θúkkin* "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 *číkin* "chicken," *ʔápus* "apple(s), *háma* "hammer," *tákus* "pelican" (< Yurok *tokus*).

2) A few personal names, such as *súkux*, possibly loans in origin.

3) A few members of the grammatical class of adverbs, such as *kípa* "like," *čími* (future marker).

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

Finally, gemination is automatic at the beginning of monosyllabic stems (333): thus *ʔu·mmá·h·va* "he visited him," containing the stem *mah* "to see." No such gemination occurs in longer stems; thus *ʔu·máhya·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 *ʔáččakič* "puppy," *ʔuʔíččunva* "he hides." In this position single /č/ is also common: *píčas* "peach(es)," *ʔuppáčiš* "he throws it down," *múča·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," *ʔaxpih* "fingernail," *kuním·mu·stih* "they are looking at it."

196. The glottal stop is rare in syllable-final position, occurring there only in the stems *máʔ* "uphill," *saʔ-* "downhill," *kaʔ-* "upriver," *yuʔ-* "downriver," *suʔ-* "inside, underneath," *ʔaʔ* "up, above," *ʔiʔ-* "outdoors," and *paʔ* "last year."

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 *prâms* "plum(s)." The prepausal occurrences consist of these loans plus the following elements: *mâ·m* "uphill," *sâ·m* "downhill," *kâ·m* "upriver," *yâ·m* "downriver," *-î·š* "down," *-sí·p* "up (pl.);" and a few interjections such as *hâ* "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-

quences; 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.

	p	t	č	k	ʔ	f	θ	s	š	x	h	v	r	y	m	n
p	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
t	17	18	X	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
č	32	33	34	35	36	37	38			39	40	41	42	43		44
k	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
ʔ		61		62	X						63	64		65		
f	66	67	68	69		70	71		72		73	74	75	76	77	78
θ	79	80		81	82	83	84	X	X	85	86	87	88	89		
s	90	91	92	93	94	95		96	X	97	98	99	100	101	102	103
š	104	105	106	107	108	109		X	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117
x	118	119		120	121		122			123	124	125	126	127	128	129
h	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	X	140	141	142	143	144
v	145	146	147	148	149			150	151		152	X	153	154		X 155
r	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
y	156	157	158	159		160	161	X	162	163	164	165	166	X	167	168
m	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	X	181	182	183
n	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191		192	193	194	X	195	196	197
i	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	<u>205</u>	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213
i'	214	215	216	217	X	218	219	X	220		221	222	223	224	225	226
e'	227	228	229	230	X	231	232	X	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
a	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	X	249	250	251	252	253	254	255
a'	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	X	264	265	266	267	268	269	270
o'	271	272	273	274	X		275	276	X	277	278	279	280	281	282	283
u	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	X	292	293	294	295	296	297	298
u'	299	300	301	302	X	303	304	305	X	306	307	308	309	310	311	312
#	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	<u>325</u>	326	327	328



	i	i·	e·	a	a·	o·	u	u·	#
p	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337
t	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346
č	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355
k	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364
ʔ	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373
f	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382
θ	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391
s	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399
š	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408
x	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417
h	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426
v	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435
r	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444
y	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453
m	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462
n	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471
i	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	472
i·	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	473
e·	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	474
a	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	475
a·	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	476
o·	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	477
u	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	478
u·	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	479
#	480	X	X	481	X	X	482	X	X

## Key to Chart

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. ʔíppih "bone"                              | 11. ʔúxvi·pha "he got angry"     |
| 2. ʔápti·k "branch"                           | 12. ʔápvu·y "tail"               |
| 3. ʔipčimákkkanač "handkerchief"              | 13. ʔapra·x "fox"                |
| 4. ʔápka·s "wild iris"                        | 14. ʔupyáffus "she wore a dress" |
| 5. ʔahupʔámva·ŋ "wood-worm"                   | 15. ʔapma·n "mouth"              |
| 6. ʔuʔáxxupfuruK "he put deermeat<br>indoors" | 16. ʔúpna· "he came back"        |
| 7. ʔúpθiθ "she finished weaving"              | 17. ʔátpi·h "rib"                |
| 8. ʔápsi·h "leg"                              | 18. ʔáttay "salmon eggs"         |
| 9. kunipšé·k "they got heavy"                 | 19. ʔitka·r "mallard duck"       |
| 10. ʔápxa·n "hat"                             | 20. ʔačnátʔi·v "rat's nest"      |
|   | 21. ʔútfak "he looked downhill"  |

22. ʔasaxrátθu·f (name of a creek)
23. ʔúspa·tsur "he broke it off"
24. ʔuʔí·tšur "he left him"
25. ʔuʔitxá·rihva "he woke up"
26. ʔúkvi·tha "he fell asleep"
27. ʔaratváraf "mud"
28. ʔátra·x "arm"
29. ʔupútyi·nkač "he defecated on it"
30. ʔatmahavníka·nič "baby-blue-eyes (a flower)"
31. ʔitní·vka "cruel"
32. ʔáčpu·s "wintergreen"
33. ʔifučtí·mič "last"
34. ʔáččakič "puppy"
35. ʔáčku·n "hookbill salmon"
36. ʔanačʔúhiš "mistletoe"
37. ʔanačfiθθih (a basket design)
38. ʔafčufičθu·f "Crawford Creek"
39. ké·čxav "widow"
40. ʔupšú·nkinačha "he got short"
41. ʔačvi·v "bird"
42. ʔučrívčav "it splashed"
43. ʔafivi·čyá·č "at the very bottom"
44. ʔačna·t "rat"
45. ʔikpat "marrow"
46. ʔuʔá·ktak "he put his hand on it"
47. ʔuʔákčak "he closed his hand"
48. ʔákkah "father"
49. ʔačákʔanamahač "little puppy"
50. ʔúkfiθ "he stripped it"
51. ʔákθi·p "wild barley"
52. ʔuʔá·ksip "he raised his hand"
53. níkšup "I pointed"
54. ʔikxáram "night"
55. ʔúpti·khitih "it has branches"
56. ʔakva·t "raccoon"
57. ʔuʔákrap "he slapped him"
58. ʔúkyav "he made it"
59. ʔúkmar "he met him"
60. ʔaháknah "goose"
61. kaʔtimʔí·n (a place name)
62. ʔáʔkam "top side"
63. ʔuʔáʔha "he got up"
64. ʔaʔvárih "high"
65. ʔaʔyá·č "straight up"
66. ʔuʔíʔpi·θva "it grew here and there"
67. ʔaftáram (place name)
68. ʔífčuy "it got crowded"
69. ʔuʔí·fka "it matched it"
70. yúffiš "salt"
71. ʔaθiθúʔθu·f "Indian Creek"
72. ʔuʔí·fšip "he grew up"
73. káʔhi·č "alum root"
74. ʔapsúnpu·ʔve·n "gopher snake"
75. ʔafru·s "mildewed acorns"
76. ʔafyi·v "friend"
77. ʔifmá·r "married man"
78. ʔáfnu·n "hip"
79. kuniθpuh "they two swam"
80. ʔúθtit "he gambled"
81. ʔáθku·n "throat"
82. ʔiθʔára·n "stranger"
83. ʔufuráθʔip "he got nervous"
84. yáθθa "sharp"
85. ʔupiθxah "he washed it"
86. ʔutáyi·θha "she lashed the base of a basket"
87. kuniθvip "they ran"
88. ʔiθríha "flower"
89. ʔúθyur "he dragged it"
90. ʔúspat "it broke"
91. ʔasta·h "duck"
92. ʔupásčip "he got wet"
93. ʔasku·p "trout"
94. ya·sʔára "rich man"
95. ʔuʔíʔpasfur "she took him in half-marriage"

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|--|--|
| 96. ?ássak "on a rock"                                   | 133. ?áhku·s "inner bark of maple"         |
| 97. ?ásxa·y "damp"                                       | 134. máh?i·t "morning"                     |
| 98. ?u?á·sha "it got wet"                                | 135. ?u?á·rihfak "he jumped down-<br>hill" |
| 99. ?asvu·t "ant"  | 136. ?apsihθákkurar "bowlegged"            |
| 100. ?úsriv "he shot at a target"                        | 137. ?uyú·hsur "he spat it out"            |
| 101. pusya·h "toyon berry"                               | 138. tírihša "wide ones"                   |
| 102. ?asma·x "oriole"                                    | 139. ?apsihxárahsa "long-legged"           |
| 103. ?upásnap "it stuck"                                 | 140. ?ihvaθ "madrone bark"                 |
| 104. ?išpuk "money"                                      | 141. ?úhruv "he used it"                   |
| 105. níštuk "I plucked it"                               | 142. ?úhyiv "he shouted"                   |
| 106. ?iščá·čip "roots for weaving"                       | 143. kuníhmar "they ran"                   |
| 107. níškax "I became quiet"                             | 144. pihní·č "old man"                     |
| 108. ?ipíš?i·t "cannon bone of a<br>deer"                | 145. ?uppá·vpa "he faced it again"         |
| 109. níšfir "I skinned it"                               | 146. ?uváθθi·vtih "he's fighting"          |
| 110. ?iššaha "water"                                     | 147. ?učrívčav "it splashed"               |
| 111. kuníšxax "they became torn"                         | 148. ?ikrívkih "six"                       |
| 112. ?u?úhišha "it went to seed"                         | 149. ?ačviv?áпка·s "iris sp."              |
| 113. ?išva·k "jaw"                                       | 150. ?akrávsi·p "ash tree"                 |
| 114. ?išra·m "deerlick"                                  | 151. ?usívšap "he plugged it up"           |
| 115. ?išyu·x "elk"                                       | 152. ?uyá·vha "he hurried"                 |
| 116. ?išmúččar "angelica leaves"                         | 153. kunívrrar "they fell"                 |
| 117. ?išnur "thunder"                                    | 154. kunivyíhuk "they came"                |
| 118. ?axpih "fingernail"                                 | 155. ?á·vnay (a place name)                |
| 119. ?úxti·vha "he played games"                         | 156. ?úypa·yšip "he shoved it over"        |
| 120. ?uppá·xkiiv "he defeated him"                       | 157. ?úytip "he kneaded it"                |
| 121. ?avax?išra·m (place name)                           | 158. ?atayčúrip "wild blackberry"          |
| 122. ?axθah "mussel"                                     | 159. ?úykar "he killed him"                |
| 123. ?áxxak "two"  | 160. xáyfa·t "don't"                       |
| 124. ?u?á·xha "he bled"                                  | 161. ?u?axáyθip "he rinsed it"             |
| 125. ?axvuh "fuzz"                                       | 162. tú·yšip "mountain"                    |
| 126. ?axrah "dead tree"                                  | 163. ?apvuyxára "long tailed"              |
| 127. ?axyar "full"                                       | 164. ?úsxa·yha "it got damp"               |
| 128. ?axmay "suddenly"                                   | 165. ?uyvé·š "he spilled it"               |
| 129. ?asáxnahič "shallow"                                | 166. ?atáyra·m "star"                      |
| 130. ?uparatánma·hpa "he turned<br>back"                 | 167. ?úθvu·ymaθ "he named it"              |
| 131. ?ahtu·y "trashpile"                                 | 168. piyníknik "kick-dance"                |
| 132. ?uvaxráhčak "his throat was<br>stopped with thirst" | 169. ?úmpuk "it got warm"                  |
|  | 170. ?ámta·p "dust"                        |
|  | 171. ?upámčak "he closed his mouth"        |

72. ʔámku·f "smoke"  
 73. kaʔtimʔí·n (place name)  
 74. ʔúmfir "it got hot"  
 75. ʔimθá·tva "shinny game"  
 76. ʔatayramsišxárahah  
     "dragonfly"  
 77. ʔimšaxvuh "gum"  
 78. ʔúmxa·θtih "it smells"  
 79. ʔišra·mhírak (a place name)  
 80. ʔamvá·mva·n "otter"  
 81. ʔamyiv "soot"  
 82. ʔummah "he saw"  
 83. ʔúmniš "he cooked"  
 84. pávanpa "husband of dead  
     sister".  
 85. ʔapmánti·m "lip"  
 86. čánča·f "foam"  
 87. ʔupmahó·nko·n "he felt"  
 88. kanʔáho· "let me walk!"  
 89. ʔapúnfa·θ "manzanita sp."  
 90. ʔapsúnθu·f (name of a creek)  
 91. ʔávansa "man"  
 92. ʔapsunxára "a mythical  
     serpent"  
 93. ʔuʔávanha "she married him"  
 94. ʔuʔâ·nva "he painted his face"  
 95. ʔapsunyúffiv (a basket design)  
 96. ʔapxánmu·m "bumblebee"  
 97. ʔánnav "medicine"  
 98. ʔúkvip "he ran"  
 99. ʔúθtit "he gambled"  
 00. pú·fič "deer"  
 01. ʔuvik "she wove"  
 02. ʔiʔkúkam "outdoors"  
 03. ʔif "true"  
 04. ʔúpθiθ "she finished weaving"  
 05. murá·sis "molasses"  
 06. ʔúčiš "milk"  
 07. ʔixran "weep!"  
 08. ʔíhuk "flower-dance"  
 209. ʔuʔiv "he died"  
 210. ʔamkir "table"  
 211. kuníykar "they killed him"  
 212. ʔimšáxvuh "gum"  
 213. yúppin "forehead"  
 214. pahi·p "pepperwood"  
 215. máhʔi·t "morning"  
 216. ʔaxxi·č "child"  
 217. ʔuʔi·k "he hit it"  
 218. ʔípmi·f "black deer"  
 219. ʔuʔí·θra "it sits"  
 220. ʔí·š "meat"  
 221. ʔuʔí·hya "it stands"  
 222. ʔí·vhar "board"  
 223. ʔí·riš "floor"  
 224. puʔikrí·yara "he doesn't live"  
 225. ʔí·m "outdoors"  
 226. kunʔi·n "they two live"  
 227. vé·p "mountain mahogany"  
 228. tê·tar "scythe"  
 229. čé·č "quickly"  
 230. ʔupsé·k "it got heavy"  
 231. pihnê·fič "coyote"  
 232. ʔé·θ "slug"  
 233. ʔišké·š "river"  
 234. ʔišviripčé·x "tanager"  
 235. ʔuvê·hšip "it stuck up"  
 236. ʔé·v (term of address used by  
     women)  
 237. ʔé·r "man's brother-in-law"  
 238. ʔussê·ytih "he doesn't know  
     how"  
 239. ʔé·m "doctor"  
 240. ʔé·n "board"  
 241. ʔáppap "side"  
 242. ʔíppat "doe"  
 243. táттаč "mamma"  
 244. ʔáppak "bluff"  
 245. maʔ "in the mountains"  
 246. púraf "oso berry"

247. ʔáθku·n "throat"  
 248. ʔas "rock"  
 249. mahvî·čax "salamander sp."  
 250. ʔaxrah "dead tree",  
 251. ʔuʔav "he ate"  
 252. ʔára "person"  
 253. ʔuʔay "he became afraid of  
 him"  
 254. ʔamkir "table"  
 255. ʔánnav "medicine"  
 256. xá·p "thimbleberry bush"  
 257. ʔá·t "spring salmon"  
 258. čé·mya·č "quickly"  
 259. ʔuʔá·ksip "he raised his hand"  
 260. pa·ʔ "last year"  
 261. ʔá·f "excrement"  
 262. ʔuʔá·θva "he became afraid"  
 263. ʔá·s "water"  
 264. ʔá·x "blood"  
 265. ʔá·h "fire"  
 266. ʔá·v "face"  
 267. ʔára·r "person"  
 268. ʔa·y "grape"  
 269. ʔá·ma "salmon"  
 270. ʔá·n "string"  
 271. puʔáho·p "they didn't come"  
 272. ʔó·t "salmon backbone"  
 273. kó·čʔi·v (a place name)  
 274. ʔó·k "here"  
 275. kó·θ "across river"  
 276. ko·s "such ones"  
 277. mó·x (exclamation drawing  
 attention to an odor)  
 278. ʔukkô·ha "he stopped"  
 279. ʔuʔó·v "he raised him"  
 280. pó·r "pants"  
 281. hó·y "where?"  
 282. káro·m "uphill upriver"  
 283. ʔuʔó·nva "he took them"  
 284. ʔúppas "saliva"  
 285. ʔasvúttar "full of ants"  
 286. ʔúčiš "milk"  
 287. ʔúkra·m "lake"  
 288. suʔ "inside"  
 289. ʔuʔuf "he anointed him"  
 290. ʔuθkanpáhi·p "redwood"  
 291. pusya·h "toyon berry"  
 292. ʔuxra·h "berry"  
 293. ʔuʔuh "he spat"  
 294. púva "not yet"  
 295. ʔúruh "egg"  
 296. ʔuyáha·ma "dogwood"  
 297. ʔummah "he saw"  
 298. ʔunuhyá·č "roundish"  
 299. ʔú·p "possession"  
 300. ʔú·t "flea"  
 301. ʔú·čič "teat"  
 302. ʔimpú·kač "warmish"  
 303. ʔámku·f "smoke"  
 304. ʔu·θ "out towards the water"  
 305. ʔú·s "pinenut"  
 306. ʔú·x "bitter"  
 307. ʔuʔú·hyan "he spoke"  
 308. ʔuʔú·vrin "he turned it around"  
 309. ʔuʔú·rih "he was unwilling"  
 310. ʔu·y "mountain"  
 311. ʔuʔu·m "he arrived"  
 312. xu·n "acorn soup"  
 313. pa·h "boat"  
 314. tá·t "mother"  
 315. čé·č "quickly"  
 316. ká·s "nest"  
 317. ʔá·s "water"  
 318. fá·n "guts"  
 319. θú·f "creek"  
 320. sá·n "leaf"  
 321. špuk "money" (variant of  
 ʔišpuk)  
 322. xu·n "acorn soup"  
 323. hó·y "where?"

324. vâ·řam "long"  
 325. rāpāt "Robert"  
 326. yav "good"  
 327. mât·m "uphill"  
 328. nára "rough"  
 329. píriš "grass"  
 330. pí·t "new"  
 331. ʔuppé·r "he told him"  
 332. ʔuppar "he bit him"  
 333. pá·h "boat"  
 334. pó·r "pants"  
 335. púva "not yet"  
 336. pû·viš "bag"  
 337. ʔáppap "side"  
 338. tírih "broad"  
 339. tí·k "hand"  
 340. tê·nva "earring"  
 341. tas "fence"  
 342. tá·t "mother"  
 343. ʔuttó·r "he counted"  
 344. ʔuttur "she carried wood in a  
     pack-basket"  
 345. tu·y "mound"  
 346. tá·t "mother"  
 347. činnim "skunk"  
 348. čí·š "younger sister."  
 349. čé·č "quickly"  
 350. čánča·f "foam"  
 351. čá·s "younger brother"  
 352. čô·ra "let's go!"  
 353. čúva·rap "let's go!"  
 354. ʔučú·pha "he spoke"  
 355. čé·č "quickly"  
 356. kíθri·p "myrtle"  
 357. kí·t "maternal grandmother"  
 358. ké·č "big"  
 359. káruk "upriver"  
 360. ká·s "nest"  
 361. ʔakkó·r "axe"  
 362. ʔukkúha "he got sick"  
 363. ʔukkû·riš "he sat down"  
 364. tí·k "hand"  
 365. ʔuʔiv "he died"  
 366. ʔuʔi·k "he hit him"  
 367. ʔé·m "doctor"  
 368. ʔas "rock"  
 369. ʔá·s "water"  
 370. ʔó·t "salmon backbone"  
 371. ʔúčiš "milk"  
 372. ʔú·čič "teat"  
 373. ʔaʔ "up"  
 374. fíθθih "foot"  
 375. fi·páyav "straight"  
 376. ʔuʔiffe·š "it will grow"  
 377. faθʔúruhsa "manzanita sp."  
 378. fá·n "guts"  
 379. ʔikfuyfó·r "whistle"  
 380. fúrax "woodpecker head"  
 381. ʔasáffu·n "ocher"  
 382. ʔá·f "excrement"  
 383. ʔuθθírav "he tracked it"  
 384. ʔuθθi·nátih "he has it"  
 385. ʔuʔé·θe·p "he took it away  
     from him"  
 386. ʔuθáffip "he devoured it"  
 387. θa·m "meadow"  
 388. θúkkín "bile"  
 389. θú·f "creek"  
 390. fá·θ "manzanita"  
 391. sírih "shiny"  
 392. sí·h "awl"  
 393. ʔussê·ytih "he doesn't know  
     how"  
 394. sára "bread"  
 395. sá·n "leaf"  
 396. só·r "murderer"  
 397. suʔ "inside"  
 398. sú·f "backbone"  
 399. ʔá·s "water"  
 400. ʔišímfir "brave"

401. ʔúpši·nva "he failed to recognize  
him"
402. kunipšé·k "they got heavy"
403. ʔíššaha "water"
404. kunípša·mkir "they left  
him"
405. ʔipšo·ké·hva·n (a man's name)
406. níkšup "I pointed"
407. níkšu·pka "I pointed at it"
408. ʔí·š "meat"
409. xíkkih "rough"
410. xí·t "unripe"
411. xé·m "seaweed"
412. xah "spider"
413. xá·t "rotten"
414. xô·xhirak (a place name)
415. xuntáppan "acorn"
416. xu·n "acorn soup"
417. ʔá·x "blood"
418. hih "language"
419. ʔanamáhi·č "doll"
420. ʔúxvi·phe·š "he will get angry"
421. hárivarih "when?"
422. há·rih "sometimes"
423. hó·y "where?"
424. ʔíhuk "flower dance"
425. hú·t "how?"
426. ʔá·h "fire"
427. vimta·p "arrow"
428. ʔuvî·hitih "he hates him"
429. ʔuvé·n "he prayed"
430. vássih "back"
431. va·s "blanket"
432. ʔuvó·r "he crawled"
433. ʔuvur "it flowed"
434. vú·p "neck"
435. yav "good"
436. ʔárih "older brother"
437. ʔarári·k "rancheria"
438. ʔararé·špuk "Indian money"
439. ʔára "person"
440. ʔára·r "person"
441. ʔuʔárihro·v "he went upriver"
442. ʔárup "navel"
443. ʔáru·n "empty"
444. ʔára·r "person"
445. ʔuyíkkiha "he got sick"
446. yi·v "far"
447. yê·pša "good ones"
448. yav "good"
449. yâ·mač "pretty"
450. yô·tva "hurray!"
451. ʔuyuh "he spat"
452. ʔuyú·hva "he vomited"
453. ʔa·y "grape"
454. mitimšáxvuh "milkweed"
455. mí·θ "paternal aunt"
456. ʔame·kyá·ra·m (a place name)
457. ʔummah "he saw"
458. má·n "skin"
459. ʔussínmo· "he stayed away  
for a long time"
460. múrax "slippery"
461. ʔummú·mha "it buzzed"
462. ʔé·m "doctor"
463. níššit "wart"
464. ní·namič "little"
465. nê·h "hateful"
466. nára "rough"
467. nám "in-law"
468. ʔunnó·v "he went upriver"
469. núruh "rough"
470. nú· "we"
471. ʔá·n "string"
472. ʔávaha "food"
473. ʔahvára· "hollow tree"
474. ʔuθívke· "he went along"
475. kári "still"
476. ʔúkri· "he lives"
477. ʔuʔáho· "he walked"

478. káru "and"

479. nú· "we"

480. xáy ímčax "don't burn  
yourself!"

481. yánav axxi·č "he saw  
children"

482. kár uhyárih "he still  
stands"



## 200. INTRODUCTION TO THE MORPHOLOGY

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 ?aŋ "to eat," the suffixed form ?áv-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 -?áv-at "ate" is a stem, to which ?u- "he" may be added to create the free form ?u-?ávat "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-?áv-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," ?ô-k "here," and ?ípíh "bone," and the inflected form mu-?ípíh "his bone."

<sup>1</sup> 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."

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 ?ayukĩ "hello!" čǝmi "all right!," čô·rA "let's go!" and ?akε! "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 profixes 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 postfixes are {=aviš} 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 ?ásuv "to grumble" and ?ápiṽ "to seek"; we are given the rule, "v before C is unchanged, but ṽ before C > m"; upon adding -Tih Dürative, we can therefore deduce the forms ?ásuv-tih "to be grumbling" and ?ápiṽ-tih "to be seeking." Note that we write ?ápiṽ-tih, rather than ?ápiṽ-tih, as basic form; once a stem with final ṽ 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?ápiṽ-tih "he is seeking"; but whenever this occurs as a syntactic unit, in a sequence of other syntactic units, we write basic ?u?áppimtih. 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 ?amvá·mma·n "salmon skin."

-iykárat is a combination of iykara "to kill" with -at Past tense; it is used only in combination with personal prefixes, as in kun-iykárat "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 inhí-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 iykára-Tih "to be killing," but also directly with the inflectional affixes, as in kun-íykara "they kill."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>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 puʔiykaráp(h)at "they didn't kill" shows that both puʔiykaráphat and puʔiykarápat 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" + -iš(rih) "down" > \*ikrív-iš(rih) > ikrí·š(rih) "to sit down."

### 300. MORPHOPHONEMICS

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 classifications 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 theme-alternation—such as *tú-yšip* ~ *tuyšipriha-* "mountain"—is indicated in the lexicon. Alternations conditioned by phonemic, morphophonemic, and morphological phenomena, however, will be treated in the present section, under 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  $\check{V}_1 CV$ , where  $\check{V}_1$  is unaccented; or with  $\check{V}_1 C_1 C_2 V$ , where  $\check{V}_1$  may be accented or not, but  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are two different consonants, rather than a geminate cluster. Examples of the first type are *ikuka* "log," *ihê·ra* "to smoke," *iyâ·ramu* "(du.) to go," *imaxáynu·mva* "to lighten," *iváxraha* "dry," and *ivíθva·ykam* "in front of a house." Examples of the second type are *imniš* "to cook," *ikrívra·m* "house," *axpih* "fingernail," *ápsi·h* "leg," and *úkra·m* "lake, pond." The allomorphs which such stems assume are described in the following sections.

311. Vowel-initial stems maintain their basic forms after vowels, after non-geminable consonants, and after any monosyllabic partner,<sup>1</sup> regardless of its final sound. When the stem follows a(·), vowel contraction takes place (323); when the stem follows any other vowel, then the stem's initial vowel is lost.

?amva- "salmon," iváxraha "dry": ?amve-·váchraha "dried salmon."<sup>2</sup>

ni- "I," ?u- "he," imniš "to cook": ní-mniš "I cook," ?ú-mniš "he cooks."

nani- "my," mu- "his," ápsi·h "leg": naní-psi·h "my leg," mú-psi·h "his leg."

fíθih "foot, toe," axpih "nail": fiθih-áxpih "toenail."

apmar- "mouth," axvuh "fuzz": apmar-áxvuh "whiskers."

kun- "they," imniš "to cook": kun-í-mniš "they cook."

?á·x "blood," impa·h "path": ?ax-ímpa·h "blood vessel."

All such stems have allomorphs with initial ? when preceded by juncture: thus ?iváchraha "dry," ?imniš "to cook," ?ápsi·h "leg." They also have allomorphs with initial ? after a geminable consonant of a polysyllabic partner.

mu-kun- "their," impa·h "path": mukun-?ímpa·h "their path."

vê·kin "wagon," impa·h "path": ve·kin-?ímpa·h "road."

In some speakers' usage, ? also appears after h: so fiθih-?áxpih "toenail."

312. A few stems whose basic form begins with ? have vowel-initial allomorphs in certain combinations. E.g.—

?ípih "bone": yup-ípih "eye-bone, i.e., eyebrow."

?ípan "end": ?ay-ípan "grape-end, i.e., grapevine."

?íθan "fir bark": iθár-i·p "fir tree."

?í·θva "to pack": iθvá-sip(riv) "to pack up." So also in other derivatives of ?í·θva, and likewise of ?í·hya "(inan.) to stand" and ?í·θri "(container) to sit."

320. Loss of medial phonemes.

321. Basic y and 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

<sup>1</sup> The 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)."

<sup>2</sup> A 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., ʔû:tihA "obsidian blade," ya:sʔárA "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: -tunvê·č "little (pl.)."<sup>3</sup>  
 ikriv "to sit," -iš(rih) "down": ikrî·š(rih) "to sit down."  
 ʔay "to be afraid of," -at Past tense: -ʔâ·t "was afraid of."  
 iyvay- "to pour," -iš(rih) "down": iyvê·š(rih) "to spill."

Note, however, that basic  $\bar{v}$  (342) is not lost in this way:

ikyiv̄ "to fall," -iš(rih) "down": ikyív̄-iš(rih) "to fall down."

322. When  $\bar{v}$  (but not  $\bar{y}$ ) comes to stand between  $\underline{a(\cdot)}$  or  $\underline{o(\cdot)}$  and a consonant, in that order, it is replaced by lengthening of the preceding vowel (if not already long.)

ʔánav "medicine," -ʔi· "for": ʔaná:-ʔi· "for medicine."  
 ikxaré·yav "god," -tâ·pas "real": ikxare·ya:-tâ·pas "a real god."  
 ʔô·v "to raise (a child), -na· Plural: ʔô·-na· "to raise (children)."

The only exception occurs in reduplicated forms, where  $\bar{v}$  is always retained:

ʔu·mxáv̄xav "to pull up by the roots" (< a stem ʔu·mxav-), -Tih  
 Durative: ʔu·mxavxá·v-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," ʔakva·t "raccoon": pa=·kva·t "the raccoon."<sup>4</sup>  
 ikriv "to sit," -iš(rih) "down": ikrî·š(rih) "to sit down."

323. 2. Contraction of a high vowel with  $\underline{a(\cdot)}$  results in a mid vowel:  $\underline{i(\cdot)} + \underline{a(\cdot)}$  or  $\underline{a(\cdot)} + \underline{i(\cdot)} > \underline{e}$ , and  $\underline{u(\cdot)} + \underline{a(\cdot)}$  or  $\underline{a(\cdot)} + \underline{u(\cdot)} > \underline{o}$ .

amyiv "soot," -ara· "characterized by": amyê·-ra "sooty."  
 ʔánav "medicine," ikyáva·n "maker": ʔane·kyáva·n "doctor."  
 ʔá·ku "to hit," -va Plural Action: ʔa·ko·- "to hit (pl)."  
 pa= "the," ʔúkra·m "lake": pó=·kra·m "the lake."

<sup>3</sup> The sign for double length is not written with  $\underline{e}$  and  $\underline{o}$ , 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 u:

ihyiv "to shout," -uniš "to": ihyû:-niš "to shout to."

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

Acute accent + no accent > circumflex accent:

ikriv "to sit," -iš(rih) "down": \*ikrív-iš(rih) > ikrî:š(rih) "to sit down."

No accent + acute accent > acute accent:

?amva- "salmon," amva·n "eater": \*?amva-ámva·n > ?amvá:-mva·n "otter."

No accent + no accent > no accent:

yíθA "one," -ič Diminutive: yíče-·č "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 morphonemic type known as DOUBLE. Such contractions occur only under rather irregular conditions, described in 325.

324. Loss of syllable due to haplogy 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:

?â·nva "to paint one's (own) face," -maθ Causative: ?â·nvaθ "to paint (someone else's) face."

turá·yva "to look for," -varayva "around": turá·yvarayva "to look around for."

imká·nva "to gather food": imká·nvarayva "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.

páramva "to boil (as meat)," ?á·s "water": parámv-a·s "soup."  
yúruk "downriver," va?ára·ra "its person": yurúk·va·rara  
"Yurok Indian."

?á·s "water," ?ahó·kira "place for going": ?as-ó·kira "flume."  
ápxa·n "hat," tínihič "flat": apxan-tínihič > apxantínič >  
apxantí·č "white man" (all three forms occur).

?asiktáva·n > ?asiktâ:n "woman" (both forms occur).



ʔakáray > ʔakâ:y "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:

ʔî·kam > ʔî·m "outdoors."

kâ·kam > kâ·m "upriver."

yû·kam > yû·m "downriver."

mâ·kam > mâ·m "uphill."

sâ·kam > sâ·m "downhill."

-sî·prina > -sî·p "up (pl.)."

-î·šrih > -î·š "down."<sup>5</sup>

### 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.

ʔi·na "(du.) to live," -kiri Instrumental: ʔiná·kiri "(du.) to live off of."

ʔu·ma "to arrive," -tanmah "in vain": ʔuma-tánmah "to arrive in vain."

ʔí·hya "(long object) to stand," -sip(riv) "up": ihyá-sip(riv) "to stick up."

ʔí·θva "to pack": iθvá-sip(riv) "to pack up"; contrast ʔi·θvú-Tih "to be packing."

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

ʔí·š "flesh, body," yav "good": ʔíš-yav "having a good body."

axvâ·h "head," xu·s "smooth": axvâh-xu·s "bald-headed."

iθívθa·ne·n "world," ʔípan "end": iθivθane·n-ʔípan "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.

pihni:č "old man," xusʔé·θa·n "person who takes care," pihni·č-xusʔé·θa·n "nurse for an old man."

apxanti:č "white man," pú·fič "deer": apxanti·č-pu·fič "sheep, goat."

<sup>5</sup> The last two examples seem to involve apocope as regards the segmental phonemes: the accentuation, however, is indicative of contraction.

- ʔû:tihA "obsidian blade," -hi·č(va) "imitation": ʔu·tihá-hi·č(va)  
 "flint mark (a basket design)."  
 ya:sʔáraA "rich (person)," ʔávansa "man": ya·sʔara-ʔávansa  
 "rich man."

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

- ʔî:n "falls," pí:t "new": ʔí·n-pí·t "new falls (a place name)."  
 But ʔí·npi·t + θú·f "creek" > ʔinpi·t-θu·f "Sandy Bar-Creek."

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

- ápti·k "branch," -ara "characterized by": ·aptík-ara "branchy."  
 ikya·vi·čva "to work," -a·n Agentive: ikyavičv-a·n "worker."

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  $\check{V}C\check{V}$ . Thus all of the following stems may receive lengthening:

- ʔaṽ "to eat," -Tih Durative: ʔá·m-tih "to be eating."  
 ikfuk "to crawl," -fuk "indoors": ikfú·k-fuk "to crawl indoors."  
 ikrívruh "to roll," -rupu "downriver"; ikrivru·h-rupu "to roll downriver."  
 ikré·myah "to blow," -ro·vu "upriver": ikre·myá·h-ro·vu "to blow upriver."

By contrast, note the following stems: the first three end in vowels, and the others contain  $\check{V}C\check{V}$ .

- pata "to eat acorn soup," -Tih Durative: páta-Tih "to be eating acorn soup."  
 iθyuru "to pull": iθyúru-Tih "to be pulling."  
 ikšú·pku "to point at": ikšú·pku-Tih "to be pointing at."  
 ʔápiṽ "to look for": ʔápim-tih "to be looking for."  
 ʔárip "to cut a strip": ʔárip-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:

- ʔax "to bite": ʔu·ʔá·x-at "he bit him," ʔá·x-i "bite him!"  
 ikvip "to run": ʔú·kvi·p-at "he ran," ikvî·p-i "run!"

It does not occur in the following:

iktif "to hit (with a thrown object)": ?u-ktír-at "he hit him."  
 ikšah "to laugh": ikšáh-i "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, profix, or prebound. 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," tá-t "mother": mú-tta-t "his mother."  
 ?amva- "salmon," má-n "skin": ?amvá-mma-n "salmon skin."  
 imxaθa "odor," -kê-m "bad": imxaθa-kkê-m "bad-smelling."  
 ?u- "he," mah "to see," paθ "to throw": ?u-mmah "he sees,"  
 ?u-ppaθ "he throws."

2) Dissyllables containing the sequence  $\check{V}C\check{V}$ , where C is v r h:

mu- "his," sára "bread," xáviš "arrowwood": mu-ssára "his bread," mu-xxáviš "his arrowwood."  
 ?u- "she," páriš "to heat cooking stones": ?u-ppáriš "she heats cooking stones."

3) Dissyllables ending in VCa:

mu- "his," pô-ra "pants": mu-ppô-ra "his pants."  
 ?u- "it," kê-na "to tremble": ?u-kkê-na "it trembles."

4) Suffixed derivatives of the above types of stems:

mu- "his," kê-m-iša "poison": mu-kkê-miša "his poison."  
 ?u- "he," máh-avrik "to see coming": ?u-mmáhavrik "he sees (it) coming."  
 ?u- "he," pá-čuru (< \*pá-θ-suru) "to throw away": ?u-ppá-čuru "he throws (it) away."  
 ?u- "he," xúrihi (< xúri- not occurring elsewhere) "to be hungry":  
 ?u-xxúrihi "he is hungry."

5) Derivatives in which p- Iterative has replaced the initial ? of a monosyllabic stem:

?u- "he," pê-čuru (< ?ê-čuru, < \*ê-θ-suru) "to take away":  
 ?u-ppê-čuru "he takes away."

6) Stem-initial gemination does not apply, however, to č:

mu- "his," čá's "younger brother": mú-ča's "his younger brother."

ʔu- "he," čiv-rúPuk "to peek outdoors" (< čiv- "to peek"):

ʔu-čiv-rúPuk "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" (< saṽ "to flow"): pa=ssa·mváro· "the creek." But with sa·mvaró·-tti·m "creek-edge": pa=sam·varó·tti·m "the creek-edge."

ʔasa "rock," xu's "smooth": ʔasá·xxu'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 kô·hi "to finish," we find both ʔu-kkô·hi and ʔu-kô·hi "he finishes"; the first form reflects an analysis into ko· "all" and -hi Denominative, while the second treats kô·hi 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": káh<sup>h</sup>ih "the Shasta language."

tí·v "ear," várariha "hanging": tiṽ<sup>v</sup>árariha "hound."

ásxa·y "wet," -yâ·č Intensive: asxayâ·č "sopping wet."

iθʔára·n "stranger," -ri·- "place": \*iθʔarân-ri·- > \*iθʔarân-ni·- > iθʔarâ<sup>n</sup>i·- "among strangers."

vô·f "to crawl," -ruPuk "outdoors": \*vô·n-rupuk > \*vô·n-nupuk > vô·n<sup>n</sup>upuk "to crawl outdoors."

340. Nasalization and denasalization.

341. r becomes n after a nasal.

ikxáram "night, darkness," -ri·- "place": ikxarâ<sup>m</sup>m-ni·- "dark place."

iθʔára·n "stranger": iθʔarâ<sup>n</sup>i·- "among strangers."

ʔaṽ "to eat," -ra·m "place": \*ʔam-řa·m > ʔam-na·m "hotel."

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

ʔaṽ "to eat," -Tih Durative: ʔá·m-tih "to be eating." But with -at Past tense: -ʔáv-at "ate."

vuř "to flow": vú·n-tih "to be flowing." But with -unih "downhill": vúr-unih "to flow downhill."

v̄ thus contrasts with the unchanging v in themes like the following:

vaθiv "to fight": vaθí·v-tih "to be fighting."

Attention may also be drawn at this point to the change of both v and v̄ to m, and of both r and r̄ to n, in two other situations. One is in stems followed by {-ič} Diminutive and a few other suffixes; these are lexically conditioned changes and will be described in the discussion of {-ič} (629.9). The other is in imperative forms, e.g., ?aṽ "to eat," ?am "eat!" This change is considered to be an allomorph of the imperative suffix (531), rather than a manifestation of morpheme alternation.

343. 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.

tíšra·m "Scott Valley," -ara "pertaining to": tíšráv-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 ikrixúp-xupa "burning, stinging": apman-?ikrixúp-xupa "pepper."

iθyuru "to drag," -mu "to": iθyúru-vu "to drag to."

?á·θva "to be afraid," -maθ Causative: ?a·θvá·vaθ "to scare."

### 350. 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.

351. Theme-final long vowels are preserved in all positions.

?áho· "to walk": prejunctural ?áho·#; preconsonantal ?ahó·-kiri "to walk on."

?i·hvúna· "(pl.) to dance" (verb) and "brush dance" (noun): prejunctural ?i·hvúna·#; preconsonantal ?i·hvúna·-Tih "(pl.) to be dancing."

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

?ávansa "man": prejunctural ?ávansa#; preconsonantal ?avansá·kka·m "big man."

ʔí·nva "forest fire": prejunctional ʔí·nva#; preconsonantal  
ʔinvá·kka·m "big forest fire."

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.

ʔákunva "to hunt," -i Imperative: ʔákunv-i "hunt!"

ʔá·xhi "to bleed," -at Past tense: -ʔá·xh-at "bled."

kúhi "to be sick," -a·n Agentive: kuh-a·n "sickly (person)."

ʔi·pmu "to go back," -i Imperative: ʔi·pm-i "go back!"

Before juncture, these finals all appear as a.

ʔákunva "to hunt": prejunctional ʔákunva#.

ʔa·xhi "to bleed": ʔá·xha#.

kúhi "to be sick": kúha#.

ʔi·pmu "to go back": ʔi·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.

ʔí·hya "(long object) to stand," -sip(riv) "up": ihyá-sip(riv) "to stick up."

ʔá·xhi "to bleed," -maθ Causative: ʔa·xhí-vaθ "to cause to bleed."

inhi- "to tie," -tunva "together": inhí-tunva "to tie together."

ʔí·nku "to burn (intr.)," -maθ Causative: ʔi·nkú-vaθ "to burn (tr.)."

ʔá·θva "to be afraid," -maθ Causative: ʔa·θvá-vaθ "to scare."

But with -na· Plural and -Tih Durative: ʔá·θva-na· or

ʔá·θvu-na· "(pl.) to be afraid," ʔa·θvú-Tih "to be afraid."

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.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere all these finals are preserved without change. This is illustrated in the following table:

<sup>6</sup> Noun themes with final i and u remain unchanged in all positions. These constitute adverbs such as hári "sometimes," káru "also."

Basic form	Forms with final vowel		Forms without final vowel	
	Form before consonant	Form before vowel-initial theme	Form before vowel-initial suffix	Form before juncture
?asa "rock"	?asá-kka·m "big rock"	?asé-·mfira "hot rock"	?ás-ak "on a rock"	?as#
?ípata "doe"	?ipata-ké·vri·k "old doe"			?ípat#
axi·ča "child"	axičá-tta·y "many children"	axiče- ·krívra·m "child-house, i.e., womb"	axič- ipux "childless"	axi·č#
?ára·ra "Indian"	?arará-tta·y "many Indians"	?araré-·špuka "Indian money"	?ára·r-as "Indians"	?ára·r#
iθyura "auto"	iθyurá-kka·m "big auto"			iθyur# (cf. iθyuru "to haul," below)
ikrívkiha "six"	ikrívkiha-kan "in six places"		iknívkih-ič "just six"	ikrívkih#
vuha "tooth"	·vuha- piθxáhara "toothbrush"	vuhé-·mfira "toothache"	vúh-ipux "toothless"	vuh#
pata "to eat acorn soup"	páta-Tih "to be eating acorn soup"		pát-af "to go eat acorn soup"	pat#
ikrívkiři "to sit on"	ikrivkíři-Tih "to be sitting on"		-ikrivkír-at "sat on"	ikrívkir#
ifyuku "to wander"	ifyúku-Tih "to be wandering"		ifyúk-a·n "wanderer"	ifyuk#
iθyuru "to haul"	iθyúru-Tih "to be hauling"		iθyúr-a·n "hauler"	iθyur#

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.

tíšra·ma "clearing": tíšra·má-ʔa·čip "middle of a clearing (a place name)," but tíšrám·ka·m "big clearing (a place name)."  
 taxyé·ma "yard": taxye·má·kka·m "big yard (a place name),"  
 but taxyé·mā·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.

ʔá·mA "salmon": prejunctural ʔá·ma#.  
 ʔávahA "food": prejunctural ʔávaha#.  
 xárA "long": prejunctural xára#. <sup>7</sup>  
 yíθA "one": prejunctural yíθa#; with the vowel-initial suffix  
 -ič Diminutive, \*yíθa-ič > yíče·č "single."

Still other exceptions are associated with particular morphemes; see -kúNiš (621. 13), =mû·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.

ʔíšahA "water" > ʔíšA.  
 ʔíšahé·kta·mnam "water-bucket" > ʔíšé·kta·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.

ʔá·mA "salmon," -ak Locative: ʔa·má·hak "in salmon."  
 ʔaxváhA "pitch," -ara "characterized by": ʔaxváha·hara  
 "pitchy."

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

ʔákunva "to hunt," -at Past tense: -ʔákunv-at "hunted."  
 ikrívkiri "to sit on": -ikrivkír-at "sat on."  
 ʔa·k "to strike": -ʔá·k-at "struck."  
 ʔá·s "water," -ak Locative: ʔá·s-ak "in water."

After long vowels, the initial a of the suffix is lost.

ʔáho· "to walk," -at Past tense: -ʔáho·-t "walked."

<sup>7</sup> Basic arA of themes is replaced with arah by some speakers; thus I recorded both ʔasa-xará-tu·yšip and ʔasa-xaráh-tu·yšip "long-rock mountain (a place name)."



ʔahvára "hollow tree," -ak Locative: ʔahvára-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.

ʔó·nva "to take (people)," -0θuna "around": ʔo·nvá-θuna "to take (people) around."

taknih "to roll": takníh-iθuna "to roll around."

ʔê·θ "to take": ʔê·θ-iθuna "to take around."

paθ "to throw": páθ-aθuna "to throw around."

vô·ř "to crawl," -0vraθ "into a sweathouse": vô·r-uvraθ "to crawl into a sweathouse."

ikfuk "to crawl": ikfúk-uθuna "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, /š/ and /s/ are in complementary distribution, with /š/ occurring only after front vowels and /y/; while /s/ occurs in all other environments (192), alternation between the two phonemes is a frequent concomitant of morphological processes. Thus š > s when following a mid or back vowel:

mu- "his," išpuka "money": mú-spuka "his money."

ʔu- "he," iškak "to jump": ʔú-skak "he jumps."

On the other hand, s > š after a front vowel:

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

pahip "pepperwood," súruk "under": pahip-šúruk "under the pepperwood (a place name)."

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

tásif "to brush": tasín-sif "to brush repeatedly" (instead of \*tasín-šif.)

The other type is the combination of noun with possessive prefixes. Here idiolectal difference is found:

nani- "my," sárA "bread": nani-ššárA "my bread" for conservative speakers, but nani-ssárA for others.

372. The sequence of θ followed by s is replaced by the link č:

paθ "to throw," -suru "away": páčuru "to throw away."

?ákiθ "to handle a soft mass," -sip(riv) "up": ?ákičip(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 pū·viš "bag," or the sequence  $\check{V}\check{C}\check{V}$ , as in ?áhup "wood," ?ípih "bone." Moving-accent stems, on the other hand, comprise all others, such as ikriv "to sit," ikrívkira "chair," ?á·mA "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. —

?ara<sup>ˆ</sup>rahiTih "(pl.) to live,"<sup>ˆ</sup>-kiri Instrumental > ?ararahiTih-kiri "(pl.) to live off of."

381.2. In some stems, the phonemic sequence / $\check{V}\check{r}\check{V}$ / 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<sup>ˆ</sup>Ramsip(riv) "to start out" acts like a moving-accent stem in ?aramsi<sup>ˆ</sup>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 ?áramsipriv-tih "to be beginning to weave with three strands."

381.3. The presence of a morpheme boundary in the sequence  $\check{V}\check{C}\check{V}$  may cause a stem to have moving, rather than fixed accent. Thus if C is a geminable consonant, then  $\check{V}\check{C}\check{V}$  determines a moving-accent stem:

ʔiná-kiri ("du.) to live off of," -Tih Durative: ʔinakíri-Tih  
 "(du.) to be living off of."

If C is a link (334), then  $\check{V}\bar{C}\check{V}$  likewise determines moving accent:

vupakpákiri "to cut up with" (< \*vupakpák-kiri): vupakpakíri-  
 Tih "to be cutting up with."

But  $\check{V}\bar{C}-\check{V}$  determines fixed accent:

ʔaxayčák-iš(rih) "to seize": ʔaxayčákíšrih-tih "to be seizing."

If, on the other hand, C is a nongeminable consonant (symbolized  $\check{\phi}$ ), then either  $\check{V}-\check{\phi}\check{V}$  or  $\check{V}\check{\phi}-\check{V}$  determines moving accent:

imustihá-yava "good-looking," -hi Denominative: \*imustihayáva-  
 hi > imustihayâ·hi "to be good-looking."

(pu-)ʔiykár-ap "they do(n't) kill," -hat Past tense: (pu-)ʔiykaráp  
 hat "they did(n't) kill."

By contrast with the last example, note the following, where use of a different stem-allomorph separates the non-geminable r from the morphème boundary:

iykára-Tih "to be killing," -at Past tense: -iykáraTih-at "was  
 killing."

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 pre-junctural form.

maʔ "uphill," -ninay "around": máʔ-ninay "in the mountain  
 country."

tí·k "hand," -kan Locative: tí·kan "in (one's) hand."

382.2. PROGRESSIVE accentuation does not affect fixed-accent stems, which retain their original accent.<sup>8</sup> 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.

ʔá·mÁ "salmon," -ak Locative: ʔa·má-hak "in salmon."

<sup>8</sup> The various types of accentuation are considered potentialities of the suffixes, and, as here, do not always result in an actual shift of accent. We may speak of an accentuation type as being applied to a stem, in consequence of which an accent shift may or may not operate.

ʔí·θva "to pack," -sip(riv) "up": iθvá-sip(riv) "to pack up."  
 ikrívkiri "to sit on," -at Past tense: -ikrivkír-at "sat on."  
 ʔuʔí·hya "it stands," -irak "where": ʔuʔi·hy-írak "where it  
 stands."  
 ikrí·hvuTih "to be fishing," -an Participial: ikri·hvúTih-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  $\check{V}C\check{V}$ , then no shift occurs.

ixví·phi "to be angry," -at Past tense: -ixví·ph-at "was angry."  
 uhθá·mhi "to plant," -ara Instrumental: uhθá·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," -paθ "around": ví·k-paθ "to weave around."  
 inhi- "to tie," -tunva "together": inhí-tunva "to tie together."  
 iθva·y "chest," -ak Locative: iθvá·y-ak "in (one's) chest."

But in stems ending with  $\check{V}C\check{V}$ , 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 "(pl.) 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; ikpá·k-suru "to cut off" and kun-ípkak "they cut" are similarly subject to this kind of accentuation. In contrast, stems like ʔí·θva "to pack," which has an inherent accent, or kun-íxvi·phi "they are angry," which shows a regressive accent shift as compared with ixví·phi "to be angry," will not be affected by modified progressive accentuation. The following are instances where modified progressive accentuation does operate:

ikriv "to live," pu=...=ara "not": \*pu=ʔikrív=ara > puʔikrê·ra  
 "he doesn't live."  
 iphí·kirih-tih "to be sweating oneself" (< iphí·kirih, presumably  
 < iphi·-, not occurring elsewhere): pu=ʔiphi·kírih-tih=ara  
 "he's not sweating himself."  
 ikčú·n-tih "to be grinding" (< ikčuf), -ap "they (neg.)":  
 pu=ʔikčú·ntih-ap "they aren't grinding."  
 ni-ʔí·pmu "I go back" (< ʔi·pmu), -aviš Future tense:

\*niʔi·pm=áviš > niʔi·pmê·š "I will go back."

kun-íštúk "they pluck" (< ištuk), =e·š Future tense: kuništúk-e·š "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: ví·k-tih "to be weaving."

fuhíš "to believe": fuhí·š-tih "to be believing."

ikrívkiri "to sit on": ikrívkiri-Tih "to be sitting on."

ʔu·mu "to arrive": ʔu·mú-Tih "to be arriving."

čú·phi "to speak": ču·phí-Tih "to be speaking."

ʔí·mniḥ "to love": ʔi·mniḥ-tih "to be loving."

ví·kpaθ "to weave around": ví·kpaθ-tih "to be weaving around."

All stems of the form CV·(C)ṽ(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. —

ʔa·mvúna· " (pl.) to eat": ʔa·mvúna·-tih " (pl.) to be eating."

ikšú·pku "to point at": ikšú·pku-Tih "to be pointing at."

ʔuθa·námniḥ "he puts it in," =anik Ancient tense: ʔuθa·nám-niḥ=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).

ʔa·víkva "to carry": ʔavi·kvu-Tih "to be carrying."

iyva·yko· "to pour on (pl.)": iyvayko·-tih "to be pouring on (pl.)."

ta·pku·pu "to like": tapku·pu-Tih "to be liking."

i·pu·nva "to rest": ipu·nvu-Tih "to be resting."

ʔa·punmu "to know": ʔa·púnmu-Tih "to be knowing."

ʔa·Ramsip(riv) "to start out": ʔaramsí·priv-tih "to be starting out."

ʔupišunva·va·na "he buries himself": ʔupišunvava·n=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."

ʔárih "elder brother," -ič Diminutive: ʔa·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."

čú·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:

ʔá·s "water," -kíPač "characterized by": ʔa·s-kíPač "wet."

vúxič "to saw," -ê·p "refuse left over from . . . -ing": vuxič-ê·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."

pa·h "peppernut": mú-ppa·h "his peppernut."

vá·san "enemy": mú-va·san "his enemy."

sipnú·kiθ "money basket": mu-sípnu·kiθ "his money basket."

ápma·n "mouth": mú-pma·n "his mouth."

pikšip "shadow": mu-píkšip "his shadow."

#### Examples in compounding:

ʔára·ra "Indian," xuská·mhara "bow, gun": ʔarara-xúska·mhara "bow."

iškê·š "river," ʔá·s "water": išké·š-ʔa·s "river water."

pú·fič "deer," ikyé·pux "hide": pufič-ʔíkye·pux "deerhide." With tá·y "many": pufič-ta·y "many deer."

ʔára·ra "person," pikšip "shadow": ʔarara-píkšip "a person's shadow."

símsi·m "metal," tasa "fence": símsím-tasa "wire fence."  
 ?áhup "wood," amva·n "eater": ?ahup-?ámva·n "woodworm."  
 ?ifápi·t "maiden," ké·vri·k "old woman": ?ifapit-ké·vri·k "old  
 maid."

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

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

?ára·ra "person": ?arara·xvâ·h "a person's head."

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

iθa- "one," ikxáRam "night": iθé-·kxaram "one night."

mu- "his," -?áRamah "child": mú-?aramah "his child."<sup>9</sup>

There is, however, considerable variation in the appearance of R. Thus certain directional terms have the forms káRuk "upriver," yúRuk "downriver," máRuk "uphill," sáRuk "downhill," and iθyáRuk "across river" when they are in compounds; but with the possessive prefixes they are simply káruk, yúruk, máruk, sáruk, iθyáruk.<sup>10</sup>

kišáke·vra- "Hupa," káRuk "upriver": kišáke·vrá·kkaruk "upriver from Hoopa." But with mu- "his": mu-kkáruk "upriver from him."<sup>11</sup>

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.

<sup>9</sup> The same effect is preserved when the addition of the diminutive suffix causes R to become n: naní-?anamah-ač "my little one."

<sup>10</sup> The related derivative súruk "under" never has R: thus ?axyamsurip-šúruk "under the azalea (a place name)."

<sup>11</sup> One other stem has especially anomalous treatment: it is ya:s?árA "rich (person), chief" in older compounds (e.g., ačviv-yá:s?arA "bird-chief, i.e., a bird sp.") but ya:s?árA in modern formations (e.g., ?arara-ya:s?árA "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.

ʔíšahA > #ʔíššaha# "water."

ʔuʔífik > #ʔuʔíffik# "he picks it up."

ʔás-ara > #ʔáss-ar# "wet."

ʔuθvá-sip(riv) > #ʔuθvá-ssip(riv)# "he packs up."

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

ʔárus "seed basket": ʔánus-ič > #ʔánnus-ič# "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,<sup>12</sup> but the initial of a dissyllable is unchanged.

tayi·θ "brodiaea": #pá=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:

čú·phi "to speak," -Tih Durative: #ʔu-ču·phí-tih# "he is speaking."

faθ "to wade," -riPa· "ashore": #ʔu-ffa·θ-rípa·# "he wades ashore."

ʔá·s "water," -kíPač "characterized by": #ʔa·s-kípač# "wet."

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

These will also be written morphophonemically with capitals.

ʔáPus > #ʔápus# "apple(s)."

číKin > #číkin# "chicken."

táKus > #tákus# "pelican" (< Yurok).

súKux > #súkux# (a woman's name) (< Shasta?)

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

pač- "to throw," -iš(rih) "down": #ʔu-ppáč-iš(rih)# "he throws it down."

mu- "his," čá·s "younger brother": #mú-ča·s# "his younger brother."

<sup>12</sup>With one exception, described in 812(1).



yíθA "one," -ič Diminutive: yíče-·č > #yíče-·č# "single."  
But otherwise č within morphemes is subject to gemination, as well as č serving as a link (372).

ʔáčak-ič > #ʔáččakič# "puppy."

ʔu-táčak > #ʔutáččak# "he clips it."

ʔákičip(riv) "to pick up a soft mass," -na Plural Action:

#ʔakičči·prin# "to pick up soft masses."

391.2. When the sequence (C)ŶCV(·)C comes to stand between juncture, medial geminable C becomes doubled.

ima·n > #ʔimma·n# "tomorrow."

ikuka > \*#ʔikuk# > #ʔikkuk# "log."

ikô·ra > \*#ʔikô·r# > #ʔikkô·r# "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.

muvásih > #muvási# "his back" (contrast pre-pausal #muvásih).

ʔuʔikákrih > #ʔuʔikákri# "it freezes."

múppa·h > #múppa·# "his boat."

When a theme ends in ha, the a is lost before juncture by the rule in 350; the h is then also lost if it follows a short vowel, but is retained after a long vowel.

ʔífuniha > #ʔíffuni# "hair." But ʔá·ha > #ʔá·h# "fire."

391.4. The following accentual changes occur before non-pausal juncture:

Words which are basically unaccented, whether they are monosyllables or dissyllables, with short or long vowels, receive acute accent on their last syllable.

ʔaʔ > #ʔáʔ# "up."

akva·t > #ʔakvá·t# "raccoon."

ipit > #ʔippít# "yesterday" (contrast prepausal #ʔippit).

pa·h > #pá·# "peppernut" (contrast prepausal #pa·h).

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

ʔá·n > #ʔa·n# "string."

pá·h > #pa·# "boat" (contrast prepausal #pá·h).

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

ákví·š > #ʔakví·š# or #ʔákví·š# "wildcat" (prepausal #ʔákví·š).

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.

ʔú·m "it, they," tá·y "many": vúra ʔu·m·ta·y.<sup>13</sup> "there are lots of them."

392. One change occurs only after pausal juncture: in this position, forms beginning with unaccented  $\check{V}CC$  have optional alternants lacking their initial vowel. Thus išpuka "money" may be pronounced postpausally as #špuk# (otherwise #ʔišpuk#), and akva·t "raccoon" as #kva·t# (otherwise #ʔakva·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 i or u, it is lost.

ká·n kári ʔuhyárih ~ ká·n kár uhyárih "he still stands there."

ká·n káru ʔúhθa·mhina·hitih ~ ká·n kár úhθa·mhina·hitih "it is also cultivated."

393.2. When the final of the first word is o and the initial of the second is u, then the u is lost.

kó· ʔuxyáre·š ~ kó· xyáre·š "that much will fill it."

muhrô· ʔummah ~ muhrô· mmàh "he saw his wife."

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

vúra ʔu·m ta·y ~ vúr u·m ta·y "there's a lot."

ʔu·m vúra ʔuʔáho·tih ~ ʔu·m vúr uʔáho·tih "he's walking."

paʔávansa ʔummah ~ paʔávans ummah "he sees the men."

But: ʔávansa ʔúkri· ~ ʔávansó·kri· "a man lives."

vúra ʔúksu·ptih ~ vúró·ksu·ptih "he's pointing."

tá ʔíp ʔuʔáho·t ~ té·p ʔuʔáho·t "he has already come."

va· ʔumússahitih ~ vo·mússahitih "he looks like that."

<sup>13</sup> 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.

ʔuxrá· ʔúmka·nvutih ~ ʔuxró·mka·nvutih "she's gathering berries."<sup>14</sup>

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, niʔav̄ "I eat": tá niʔav "I have eaten" (instead of \*tá nniʔav).

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

vúra "just," táy "lots": vúra tta·y "There's just lots."

tah "already," kê·č "big": tá kké·č "It's big already."

vúra "just," xúri-hi "to get hungry": pu-kára vúra xxúrihi-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.

yav "good," vúra "just": yá vúra "Just fine!"

apxantí·čri·k "city," ku·k "to," kunípasmu "they took him back":

pa·pxantí·čri·kú·kuníppasma "They took him back to the city."

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

hû·t "how?," číMi Anticipative: hû·čími ninišše·š "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.

ʔuθá·niṽ "he lies" (> ʔuθá·niv#), muppî·mač "next to him":

ʔuθá·nim muppî·mač "He lies next to him."

<sup>14</sup> 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 ʔávansó·kri· cannot be considered a single word, since then the syllable van 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, ʔuxró·mka·nvutih cannot be divided into two words in the normal manner. If it were divided as \*ʔuxr ó·mka·nvutih, the "word" ʔuxr would be expected to have strong stress, which it does not. If it were divided as \*ʔuxró·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.

vírusura "bear" (> vírusur#), níkúni·hku "I shoot": vírusun  
 níkúnni·hke·s "I'll shoot a bear."

397. When pause-final, the normal circumflex accent changes to acute.

ʔé·m "doctor": ʔi·m úm ʔé·m. "Are you a doctor?"

payʔô·k "here": yáxxa payʔó·k. "Look here!"

However, the morphophoneme known as "double" circumflex accent, written with a tilde (325), does not undergo this change:

tuʔaramsĩ̃p "he came from": hō·y tuʔaramsĩ̃·p. "Where did he  
 come from?"

#### 400. INFLECTION: THE NOUN

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·v "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:

	Examples:
nani- ~nini- "my"	naní-tta·t "my mother"
mi- "your (sg.)"	mí-tta·t "thy mother"
mu- "his, her"	mú-tta·t "his mother"
nanu- ~numu- "our"	nanú-tta·t "our mother"
mikun- "your (pl.)"	mikún-ta·t "your mother"
mukun- "their" <sup>1</sup>	mukún-ta·t "their mother"

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":

pî·mač "in proximity, near": nani-ppî·mač "in my proximity,  
near (to) me."

<sup>1</sup> mikun- 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," ʔú·m "he," and the -kun of ʔi·mkun "you," ʔu·mkun "they." Cf. also kun· "they," a verbal prefix.

káruk "upriver": nani-kkárúk "upriver from me."

Only rarely are these prefixes found with nonpersonal reference:

ipit "yesterday": ?ippít 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.

híh "language": vá-híh "its language," in ?ô·k váhíh "here its-language, i.e., the Karok language."

?irípra·m "mine": va-?irípra·m "its mine," in pi?ê·p va?irípra·m "long-ago its-mine, i.e., an old mine."

ápsu·n "snake": vá·psu·n "its snake," in ?a·s vá·psu·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.

?íriš "floor": kuma-?í·ris "its-floor," in ?á? kuma?í·riš "above its-floor, i.e., upstairs."

ikxáRam "night": kumé·kxaram "its night," in hitíha·n kumé·kxaram "always its-night, i.e., every night."

mah?î·tnihač "early morning": kuma-mah?î·tnihač "its early morning," in ?iθá·n kumamah?î·tnihač "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 . . .":

θú·f "creek": kumá-θθu·f "some creek or other,"

píriš "plant": kuma-ppíriš "kind of plant," in ko·vúra kuma-ppíriš "all kinds of plant."

xáRah "long time": kumá-xxarah "longer."

But when used without antecedent before certain adverbs, *kuma-* is replaced by the allomorph *ku-*. The adverbs involved are *kā·m* "upriver," *yū·m* "downriver," *mā·m* "uphill," *sā·m* "downhill," and *mû·k* "therewith"

*yū·m* "downriver": ku-yū·m "downriver a ways, on downriver."

Cf. panámni·kūma-yū·m "Orleans its-downriver, i.e., downriver from Orleans."

## 500. INFLECTION: THE VERB

### 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?

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 *nuppá·xke* "we won" is analyzed as *nuppá·xkiv* "we win" + -at Past tense, it becomes difficult to explain why progressive accent shift does not operate, producing \**nup·pa·xkê·t*. But the analysis as *nu·* "we" + *-pa·xkê·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)."<sup>1</sup>

These themes designate actions of inanimate objects, as in ?u-páθrih "it rains," ?u-?í'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 ní-kraṽ "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-?í-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 ní- "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 personal singular subject. Thus we find either ní-xxúrihi "I'm hungry," or na-xxúrihi, 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": kín-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."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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."

<sup>2</sup> 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/them"
kán <sup>z</sup>	imperative:	
ná- (pos. and neg.)	indicative and imperative:	2/3 sg. subj., 1 sg. obj.: "thou/he-me."
kaná <sup>z</sup> ~ kaná...-ap	indicative and imperative:	2/3 pl. subj., 1 sg. obj.: "ye/they-me."
nu <sup>z</sup> ~ kín-	indicative:	} 1 pl. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: 1 sg./pl. subj., 2 sg. obj.: "we-him/them, I/we-thee."
nú-	imperative:	
kín <sup>z</sup> ~ kín...-ap	indicative and imperative:	2/3 sg./pl. subj., 1 pl. obj.: "thou/ye/he/they-us."
ʔi- ~ ∅	indicative:	} 2 sg. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "thou-him/them."
∅	imperative:	
ʔi...-ap ~ -ap	indicative and imperative:	3 sg./pl. subj., 2 sg. obj.: "he/they-thee."
ku- ~ -ap	indicative:	} 2 pl. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "ye-him/them."
ki(k) <sup>z</sup>	imperative:	
ki(k) <sup>z</sup> ...-ap ~ ki(k)...-ap	indicative and imperative:	1/3 sg./pl. subj., 2 pl. obj.: "I/we/he/they-you."
ʔu- ~ ∅	indicative:	3 sg. subj., 3 sg. obj.: "he-him."
ʔu- ~ -ap	indicative:	3 sg. subj., 3 pl. obj.: "he-them."
kám-	imperative:	3 sg. subj., 3 sg./pl. obj.: "he-him/them."
kun <sup>z</sup> ~ -ap	indicative and imperative:	3 pl. subj., 3 sg. obj.: "they-him."
kín <sup>z</sup> ~ kín...-ap	indicative and imperative:	3 pl. subj., 3 pl. obj.: "they-them."

The following paragraphs supplement the information above:

521. The writing ki(k)<sup>z</sup> indicates an allomorphic alternation: ki<sup>z</sup> occurs with vowel-initial themes, while ki·k<sup>z</sup> occurs elsewhere.

ki(k)<sup>z</sup> "ye," ivyíhuk "(pl.) to come": ki·-vyíhuk "you-all come."

ki(k)<sup>z</sup> "ye," ʔíčunva "to hide": ki·k-ʔíčunva "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·-Ø "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 ?ê·h "to give," both na-?ê·h "he gives me" and na-?ê·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 {pu-, -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," kárihi "to be ready": kun-kárihi "they are ready."  
?ípaho· "to return": kun-?ípaho· "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:

ʔu- "he," mah "see": ʔu-mmah "he sees."

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 dissyllabic unaccented stem, acute accent falls on the penult:

ʔu- "he," kun- "they," imniš "to cook": ʔú-mniš "he cooks,"  
kun-ímnis "they cook."

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

iktiř "to hit (with a thrown object)": ŷ-iktin "hit it!"

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

ni- "I," -ʔâ·t "was afraid of": ni-ʔâ·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).

ʔu- "he," kun- "they," imni·štih "to be cooking": ʔú-mni·štih  
"he's cooking," kun-ímní·štih "they're cooking."

ipmahó·nko·na "to feel": ʔu-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," ʔá·xhi "to bleed" (stative): ná-ʔa·xhi "I bleed."

But with ʔu- "he," kun- "they": ʔu-ʔá·xhi "he bleeds,"  
kun-ʔá·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 morphophonemically with an acute accent over the hyphen which follows them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Some of these prefixes also belong to the accented class; where desired, these may be written with two accent marks, e.g., nú- "I-thee," representing nú- - nu-.

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

kun- "they," ču·phiTih "to be talking": kun-čú·phiTih "they're talking." But with ʔu- "he": ʔu-ču·phiTih "he's talking."  
 nu- "I—thee," ʔi·mníhtih "to love (dur.)": nu-ʔí·mníhtih "I love you." But with ni- "I—him": ni-ʔi·mníhtih "I love him."  
 nu- "we," -pa·xkê·t "won": nu-ppá·xke·t "we won." But with ni- "I": ni-ppa·xkê·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-ípu·nvuTih "they're resting." But with ʔu- "he": ʔu-pû·nvuTih "he's resting."  
 nú- "I—thee," tapku·puTih "to like (dur.)": nu-tá·pku·puTih "I like you." But with ni- "I—him": ni-tap·kû·puTih "I like him."  
 kun- "they," ʔavi·kvuTih "to be carrying": kun-ʔá·vikvuTih "they are carrying." But with ʔu- "he": ʔu-ʔaví·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-tá·pku·puTih-ap "I like you-all." But with ki·k-...-ap "I—you" (neg.): pu=ki·k-tap·kû·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."  
 ikyâ·tih "to be making": kun-ikyâ·tih "they're making."  
 ta·pku·p "to like": kun-tá·pku·p "they like."

526. The personal morphemes will now be re-presented, this time in tabular form:

OBJECT

SUBJECT	1 sg.	1 pl.	2 sg.	2 pl.	3 sg.	3 pl.
1 sg.: imper.			nú-	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	kánʔ	kánʔ
indic.: pos.			nuʔ	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	ni-	ni-
neg.			kín-	ki·(k)-...-ap	ná-	ná-
1 pl.: imper.			nú-	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	nú-	nú-
indic.: pos.			nuʔ	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	nuʔ	nuʔ
neg.			kín-	ki·(k)-...-ap	kín-	kín-
2 sg.: imper.	ná-	kínʔ			∅	∅
indic.: pos.	ná-	kínʔ			ʔi-	ʔi-
neg.	ná-	kín-...-ap			∅	∅
2 pl.: imper.	kanáʔ	kínʔ			ki·(k)ʔ	ki·(k)ʔ
indic.: pos.	kanáʔ	kínʔ			ku-	ku-
neg.	kaná-...-ap	kín-...-ap			-ap	-ap
3 sg.: imper.	ná-	kínʔ	ʔi-...-ap	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	kám-	kám-
indic.: pos.	ná-	kínʔ	ʔi-...-ap	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	ʔu-	ʔu-
neg.	ná-	kín-...-ap	-ap	ki·(k)-...-ap	∅	-ap
3 pl.: imper.	kanáʔ	kínʔ	ʔi-...-ap	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	kunʔ	kínʔ
indic.: pos.	kanáʔ	kínʔ	ʔi-...-ap	ki·(k)ʔ...-ap	kunʔ	kínʔ
neg.	kaná-...-ap	kín-...-ap	-ap	ki·(k)-...-ap	-ap	-ap

## 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 {=aviš} 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 {-ahe·n} 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 nu?ú·me·šat "we would arrive," =e·š Future precedes -at Past in position, but tactically it is added not to nu?u·m "we arrive" but to nu?ú·m. . -at "we arrived." A similar discontinuity of immediate constituents appears in the following examples:

(pu)?iykaráphat "they did(n't) kill" < -iykár. . -at "killed" +  
-ap "they" (neg.).

ikvithê·šan "one who will fall asleep" < ikví·th. . -an "one who  
falls asleep" + {=aviš} 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 v̄, v, ř, rV, and in long vowels. It conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening, with circumflex accent on vowels lengthened by the latter process.

pífik "to pick up": pífik-i "pick it up!"

kúhi "to be sick": kúh-i "be sick!"

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

ikšah "to laugh": iksáh-i "laugh!"

?if "to grow": ?í·f-i "grow!"

ikvip "to run": ikvî·p-i "run!"

ʔasímčak "to close one's eyes": ʔasimčâ·k-i "close your eyes!"<sup>4</sup>

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:

ikšú·pku "to point at": íkšu·pk-i "point at it!"

ikví·thi "to fall asleep": íkvi·th-i "fall asleep!"

ʔu·ma "to arrive": ʔu·m-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 v̄ and v to m, and theme-final r̄ and rV to n. There is no change of accent or vowel length.

ʔaṽ "to eat": ʔam "eat!"

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

ʔákunvař "to go hunting": ʔákunvan "go hunting!"

ixrara "to weep": ixran "weep!"

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

A zero allomorph occurs after long vowels:

ʔáho· "to walk": ʔáho·-∅ "walk!"

na· "to come": na·-∅ "come!"

Zero imperatives are also sporadically formed from all types of themes: thus I have recorded páčiš "throw it down!" (instead of páčišrih-i),<sup>5</sup> ne·krî·vkuTih "hang on (dur.) to me!" (instead of ne·krî·vkuTih-i), and vúpaksuru (> vúpaksur#) "cut it off!" (instead of vúpaksun).

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:

iknê·č "to live (dimin.)"; iknê·č-han "one who lives," in

ʔá ʔiknê·čhan "one who lives above, i.e., the duck hawk."

The allomorph -an occurs elsewhere:

ʔíhunih "to dance down": ʔíhunih-an "one who dances down."

ʔí·hya "(long object) to stand": ʔí·hy-an "one which stands."

<sup>4</sup> All these examples contain the imperative personal morpheme ∅ "thou(-him)." Note also that imperative verb forms, such as these, are most commonly used with the adverb čími Anticipative (845.1), rather than standing alone; the usual way to say "close your eyes!" would be čími ʔasimčâ·ki.

<sup>5</sup> The theme is páčiš or páčišrih before juncture, only páčišrih- elsewhere.

ikví·thi "to fall asleep"; ikví·th-an "one who falls asleep."

Adding =aviš Future: \*ikví·th-áviš-an > ikví·thê·šan "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·. . - (h)an:

ma·hvúTih "to be visiting": mít ?ippít ?ô·k pa·ku-ma·hvúTih-an  
"the one who was visiting here (?ô·k) yesterday (ipit)."

vúrayvuTih "to be walking around": pa·?ípa ?í·m ku-vúrayvutih-  
an(-hat) "the one who was walking around outdoors (?í·m)."

pimúsař "to go back to look": pa·?ípa ku-pimússar-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.

ikčú·ntih "to be grinding," -ap "they" (neg.): pu·ikčú·ntih-ap  
"they aren't grinding."

ikví·thi "to fall asleep": pu·?ikví·th-ap "they don't fall asleep."

?áho· "to walk": pu·?áho·-p "they don't walk."

-iykár-at "killed": pu·?iykar-áp-hat "they didn't kill."<sup>6</sup>

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:

yá·s tá kun?íffikvanva máh?i·t. vírusur ?u·m tá ?íp ?u?íppakat.

"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 {-aviš} Future, -hat after {-han} Participial, and either -at or -hat after -ap. These allomorphs condition modified progressive accentuation.

nu·?ú·m-at "we arrived," {-aviš} Future: nu?ú·m·e·š-at "we would arrive."

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

kun-iykár-at "they killed," pu· "not": pu·?iykar-áp-hat or  
pu·?iykar-áp-at "they didn't kill."

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

<sup>6</sup>The accent here is that conditioned by {-at} Past, not by -ap.



?á·ksuru "to fire (a weapon)": -?a·ksúr-at "fired."

?é·θih "to tell": -?ē·θíh-at "told."

ikriv "to live": \*-ikrív-at > -ikrê-t "lived."

ikvip "to run": -ikví·p-at "ran."

matnus "to burst": -matnú·s-at "burst."

ixví·phi "to be angry": -ixví·ph-at "was angry."

?áho· "to walk": -?áho·-t "walked."

## 600. DERIVATION: THE NOUN

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 ?úruh "round" is an adjective, appearing in the plural ?úruh-sas "round things" and in compounds like ?asa-?úruh "round rock." An adjective of the type which occurs either as first or second member of compounds is ?a·xkúNiš "red," occurring in the plural ?a·xkúNiš-asa and in the compounds ?axkuniš-?ikrívra·m and ikrivrám-?a·xkuniš, 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 ikrívra·m "house," occurring as first member of the compound ikrivrám-ta·y "many houses" and as second member of the compound ?arare·krívra·m "Indian house." Semantically, adverbs indicate place, time, manner, and amount; samples are ?ô·k "here," payê·m "now," íšya·v "(in) winter," vá·h "thus," yufíšhi·pux "without salt," and the numerals, such as yíθA "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

?asiktáva·n "woman, female," occurring in the plural ?asiktáva·n-sas "women" and in the compounds ?asiktaván-ta·y "many women" and mus-mus-?asiktáva·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 tí·k "finger," occurring in the compounds tí·k-?anamahač "little finger" and ?ačíp-tí·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 ná· "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·ča "child," ikrívra·m "house": axiče·krívra·m "womb."

?á·čip "middle," tí·k "finger": ?ačíp-tí·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": imnišá-yav, either "good cooking" or "one characterized by good cooking, i.e., a good cook."

ápvy·y "tail," -xárA "long": apvyuy-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 ikxá·ram "night" in ?axak-?íkxaram "two nights" and ?átiva "basket-load" in kuyrak-?átiva "three basket-loads." Some nouns undergo a change of meaning when used as classifiers: thus ápxa·n "hat" but iθá·pxa·n "one hatful" (a common measure of acorns); similarly ífíih "foot, i.e., pedal extremity" but iθa-fíθih "one foot, i.e., 12 inches."

613. A special morphophonemic change operates in several compounds

in which the postpound is básically 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 -ʔi·p "tree, bush." The full vowel of this morpheme is seen only in pah-i·p "pepperwood tree" (< pa·h "peppernut"); the ʔ is inferred from the apparently related theme ʔípahA "tree."

pu·n "cherry": púr-ip "cherry tree." Similarly with ʔáf "excrement": púr-af "oso berry, an inedible cherry-like fruit."

Contrast the combination with ʔás·s "water": pún-ʔa·s "cherry juice."

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

axra·t "gooseberry": axrát-ip "gooseberry bush."

xu·n "acorn mush," ʔás "water": xúr-as "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.

ʔásip "basket": ʔasíp-ha·ra "including the basket, basket and all."

yáfus "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 -ič Diminutive (621.9), it behaves like the diminutive suffix in conditioning change of r to n and of θ to č before it.

-ʔáRamah "child": ʔanamáñi·čva "doll."

čiši·h "dog": čišíñi·č "a plant, *Montia sibirica*" (so called because children have mock "dog-fights" with it).

ʔa·ksâ·nva "bad luck": ʔaksanvá-hi·č "a plant, the shooting-star" (reason for name not known).

614.3. -ʔíšarA "how very . . . !, what a . . . !" is added as a further postpound to adjectival compounds.

ʔamá·yav "good-tasting": ʔamaya·ʔíšarA "how delicious!"

ʔifuniha-xxárA "a long hair": ʔifunihaxara-ʔíšarA "what a long hair!"

614.4. -iši·p "best, most, farthest":

ʔánav "medicine": ʔané--ši·p "best medicine."

yê·pša "good ones": ye·pšé·-ši·p "best ones."

ikmaháčra·m "sweathouse": ikmahačram-ʔiši·p "the sacred sweathouse at Katimin."

ʔu·θ "oceanwards (to or at) Eureka": ʔuθ-íši·p "farthest oceanwards, i.e. (to or at) San Francisco."

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

xu·n "acorn soup": xún-ʔi· "for acorn soup."

išpuka "money": išpuká-ʔi· "because of money!"

614.6. -múrax "nothing but . . .":

aθkúrit "grease": aθkurit-múrax "nothing but grease."

fúrax "woodpecker scalps": furax-múrax "made entirely of woodpecker scalps."

ʔávansa "man": ʔavansa-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·-

pahi·p "pepperwood": pahíp-ri·-k "pepperwood-place (a village name)," but pahip-rih-ʔára·ra "person from pahípri·k."

imfira "hot": imfirá-ri·-k "hot place," but imfiná-nih-ič "little hot place."

The sequence -nih-ič is sometimes contracted to -ni·č; thus imfináni·č "little hot place."

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

kâ:rim "bad": ka·rim-tâ·pas "worst."

ʔaʔvárih "high": ʔaʔvarih-tâ·pas "highest."

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

párah "father's brother": paráh-va·s "brother of deceased father."

mí·θ "father's sister": míθva·s "sister of deceased father."

kú·t "male grand-relative through a woman": kút-va·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.

ʔákah "father": ʔakáh-ya·n "stepfather."

tá·t "mother": ip-tat-píya·n "stepmother."

ʔátiš "father's parent, son's child": ʔatiš-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 prepound ends in a vowel, contraction occurs.

iθa- "one": \*iθá-ya·n > iθâ:n "once."

ʔáxak "two": ʔaxák-ya·n "twice."

·kuyra·k "three": kuyrák-ya·n "three times."

pi·θva- "four": piθvâ:-n "four times."

itrô·pa "five": itro·pâ:-n "five times."

ikrívkiha "six": ikrivkihâ:-n "six times."

ʔitáhara- "ten": ʔitaharâ:-n "ten times."

tá·y "many": táya·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.

ikrívra·m "house": ikrívra·m-ak "in a house."

ʔasímpu·kač "warm water": ʔasímpu·kač-ak "in warm water."

Contrast the dissyllable θáxtu·y "baby basket": θaxtú·y-ak  
"in a baby basket."

ʔá·mA "salmon": ʔa·má-hak "in salmon."

ʔá·s "water": ʔá·s-ak "in water."

ʔáfiva "bottom": ʔáfiv-ak "at the bottom."

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

ʔahvára· "hollow tree": ʔahvára·-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."

ʔá·h "fire": ʔá·-k "in fire."

axvâ·h "head": axvâ·-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 dissyllables, but zero accentuation otherwise.

- yíθA "one": yíθa-kan "in one place."  
 ?áxak "two": ?áxakan "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."  
 násak "ankle": násakan "on (one's) ankle."  
 išvirik "elbow": išvirikān "on (one's) elbow."  
 sípnu·k "storage basket": sípnú·kan (also sípnú·k-ak) "in a storage basket."

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

- ?u·θ "oceanward": ?ú·θ-kan- (same meaning): ?uθkan-páhi·p  
 "oceanward boat-tree, i.e., the redwood."  
 ?á·s "water": ?á·s-kan- "in the water": ?askan-yupθúkirara  
 "water panther, a legendary animal."  
 yúras "ocean": yúras-kan- "at the ocean": yuraskan-?áčvi·v  
 "ocean-bird, i.e., the seagull."  
 tíšra·m "valley": tíšrá·m-kan- "in a valley": tíšnamkan-  
 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 preponouns; this is demonstrated in the examples of *-kan* just above. In some cases a theme may be preponounded either with or without *{-ak}*:

- panámni·-k "Orleans": panamnih-?ifápi·t or panamnik-?ifápi·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.

- ?á·x "blood": ?áx-ara "bloody."  
 ápti·k "branch": aptík-ara "branchy."  
 axváha "pitch": axváha-hara "pitchy."  
 ?ifunihaxxára "long hair": ?ifunihaxxára-hara "long-haired."  
 čiši·h "horse": čišíh-ara "on horseback."  
 tíšra·m "Scott Valley": tíšráv-ara "Scott Valley Shasta."  
 xu·n "acorn mush": xúr-ara "thick (of liquid)."

amyiv "soot": \*amyív-ara > amyê-ra "sooty."

A number of derivatives in -ara have been observed to form plurals, as adjectives would do; e.g.—

ámta·p "dust": amtáp-ara "dusty": amtápar-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": xavišará-  
0θu·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 -kúNiš (621.13).

621.3. -ávan Animate may be related, on the historical level, to ?ávan "husband" and ?ávansa "man." It is added to the numerals (except yíθa "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.)"

kuyra·k "three": kuyra·k-ávan "three (an.)"

pi·θva- "four": pi·θv-ávan "four (an.)"

itrô·pa "five": itro·p-ávan "five (an.)"

ikrívkiha "six": ikrívkih-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 yíθA "one" and ?itáhara- "ten," there is no contraction, and the final vowel of yíθA is irregularly lengthened.

yíθA "one": yíθa·-han "first month (after the winter solstice)."

?áxak "two": ?áxak-han "second month."

pi·θva- "four": \*pi·θvá-han > pi·θvâ:n "fourth month."

itrô·pa "five": \*itrô·pa-han > itrô·pa:n "fifth month."

?itáhara- "ten": ?itáhara-han "tenth month."

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

?a? "up": ?á?-hinva "high."



ma? "uphill": má?-hinva or mâ·-hinva (a place name).

sáruk "downhill": sáruk-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 Á:

ihrô·hA "wife": ihro·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": yufiš-i·pux "without salt."

?ípih "bone": ?ipi·h-i·pux "boneless."

?ú·čič "(woman's) breast": ?učíč-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."

tí·k "hand": tík-ipux "handless."

xú·s "mind": xús-ipux "thoughtless."

axi·ča "child": axič-ipux "childless."

axra·n "hoof": axrár-ipux "hoofless."

?atáyra·m "star": ?atayráv-ipux "starless."

621.8. -híruvA "too, excessively" conditions suffixal accentuation with moving-accent stems, but zero accentuation with fixed-accent stems.

tá·y "much": ta·y-híruvA "too much."

ipšú·nkinač "short": ipšú·nkinač-hiruvA "too short."

?unuhyâ·č "rather round": ?unuhyâ·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 -hírurav, is used by some informants:

tá·y "much": ta·y-hírurav "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.—

iθári·p "fir tree": ičáni·p-ič "small fir."

?a?várih "high": ?a?vánih-ič "rather high."

yíθA "one": yíče·-č "only one."

ké·vri·k "old woman": ké·vni·k-ič "old woman" (with connotation of familiarity).

pihnê-f- (as prepound) "coyote": pihnê-f-ič (free form) "coyote."<sup>1</sup>

Special extensions of these meanings also occur:

ʔárus "seed basket": ʔárus-ič "thimble."

píhri-v "widower": pihnî-:č "old man."

tírih "wide": tínih-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·čxáv-ač > ke·čxá:č "widow (fam.)" (progressive accentuation).

ye·ripáxvuh "girl": ye·nipaxvúh-ič "little girl" (progressive accentuation).

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

xakinívkíha "seven": xakinívkíh-ič "just seven" (zero accentuation).

čú·y "slender": čû·y-ič "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 č.

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

kuyrakinívkíha "eight": kuynakinívkíh-ič "only eight."

súruvara "hole": súnuvan-ač "little hole."

θámka·t "an herb, Monardella odoratissima": čamká·t-ič  
"little Monardella."

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

ʔafišríhan "unmarried man," pihnî-:č "old man": ʔafišnihán-  
pihnî:č "bachelor." But aktipanárÁ "a grass, Bromus rigidus,"

-tunvê-·č "small (pl.)": aktipanara-tunvê·č "grass sp."

fá·θ "manzanita berry": fač-tunvê·č or faθ-tunvê·č "little manzanita berries."

<sup>1</sup> -ič also occurs in many animal names, such as pí·fič "deer," which retain the -ič in prepound form: puffč-ta·y "many deer." It would be possible to consider pí·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 {-ič} is present:

yav "good": yâ:m-ač "pretty." A more regular formation, -yâ-:č, functions as an intensive derivative suffix (621.20).  
tát "mother": tát-ač "mamma."

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

-impuka "warm": -impúk-ač "warmish."  
ikšúpara "pointer": ikšúpan-ač "index finger."  
-ʔáRamah "child": -ʔanamah-ač "little."  
-tunví·v "children": \*-tunví·v-ač > -tunvé·č "little (pl.)"  
yíθakan "at one place": yíčakan-ač or yíčakan-ič "at just one place."

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

ʔípan "end": ʔipan-î:č "(the) very end" (also ʔípan-ič "top").<sup>2</sup>  
ʔáfiva "bottom": ʔafiv-î:č "(the) very bottom."  
yá·čkan "daughter": ya·čkan-î:č (a woman's name).

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

píhri·v "widower": pihní-:č "old man": pihní:č-ič "old man (fam.)"

yav "good": yâ:m-ač "pretty": yâ:mač-ič "rather pretty."

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Cases like this, in which a meaning difference seems to be associated with contrast between -ič and -î:č, are obviously grounds for considering the two suffixes to be separate morphemes. These cases are so rare, however, that such an analysis has not been made.

tá·y "many": \*tá·y-iš-ič > tē·šič "several."

-ka·m "big": \*ká·v-iš-ič > kē·šič "bigger."

vâ·rama "long": vâ·nam-iš-ič "rather long."

Otherwise, -iš occurs in only a few derivatives, such as the following:

kač "son": kâ·č-iš "sonny."

ná·m "in-law": ná·m-iš "in-law (fam.)"

ʔišra·m "deer lick": ʔišráv-iš "marshy place."

ʔú·h "tobacco": ʔúh-iš "seed."

xu·n "acorn soup": xúr-iš "shelled acorns."

We may also compare the form ʔúč-iš "milk" with ʔú·č-ič "(woman's) breast"; the stem ʔu(·)č- does not occur elsewhere.

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

ʔá·v "face": ʔá·v-kam "ahead, in front."

vásih "back": vásih-kam "behind, in back, backwards."

yá·sti·k "right hand": yá·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.

ʔa? "up": ʔá?-kam "above."

ma? "uphill, in the mountains": mâ·-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": kâ·-kam "a short distance upriver."

yu?- "downriver": yû·-kam "a short distance downriver."

má?su? "up a creek": mâ·su-kam "a short distance up a creek."

ʔi?- "outdoors": ʔî·-kam "outdoors."

All these derivatives vary freely with irregularly contracted alternants in which the suffix is completely disguised: mã·m, sã·m, kã·m, yũ·m, mâ·su·m, and ʔĩ·m.

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

ʔô·k "here": ʔô·kúkam "on this side."

ka?- "upriver": ka?-kúKam "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.

iθva·y "(a person's) breast": iθvá·y-kam "in front": iθvá·y-kam-kam (same meaning).

621. 12. -kíP-ač "characterized by . . . ," forming adjectives, is a complex consisting of the adverb kíPA "like" plus the diminutive suffix {-ič}; 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 -kíP-ač.

ʔá·s "water": ʔa·s-kíPač "wet" (= ʔás-ara).

ʔá·x "blood": ʔa·x-kíPač "bloody" (= ʔáx-ara).

ʔí·š "body, flesh": ʔi·š-kíPač "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.

ʔasa "rock": ʔas-kúNiš "like a rock."

ʔá·x "blood": ʔa·x-kúNiš "like blood, i.e., red."

ámku·f "smoke": ámku·f-kuNiš "like smoke, i.e., blue."

ikxáRam "night": ikxáRam-kuniš "like night, i.e., black, dark."

kasči·p "porcupine quills": kasči·p-kúNiš "like porcupine quills, i.e., yellow" (because they are dyed yellow in basketry).<sup>3</sup>

Derivatives in -kúNiš have a somewhat special status as adjectives. They form plurals, e.g., ʔa·xkúNiš-asa "red ones," and they occur as postpounds in attributive meaning, but they also occur as prepounds, likewise with attributive meaning; e.g., either ikrivrám-ʔa·xkuniš or ʔaxkuniš-ʔikrívra·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 -mípa·n after vowels; both allomorphs condition shortening of the stem vowel.

ná· "I": ná-mpa·n "I myself."

ʔí·m "thou": ʔím-pa·n "thou thyself."

ʔú·m "he": ʔúm-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.

maʔ "uphill": máʔ-ninay "in mountain country."

ʔô·k "here": ʔô·k-ninay "hereabouts."

<sup>3</sup>In reference to the use of -kúNiš in deriving new terms for colors, see my paper, "Linguistic Innovations in Karok," 3. 2.

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·sas "disk beads."

amtápara "dusty": amtápar·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 č and š:

ko· "such": ko·-sa "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·as# "married men," but

pu=?ifmâ·rasa=hara "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 -ya:č.

xanah·yâ:č "quite long" (< -xárah "long"): xanáhya·č·as "quite long ones."

The allomorph -sa, with the occasional free variant -sas, occurs everywhere else:<sup>4</sup>

?asiktáva·n "woman": ?asiktáva·n·sa(s) "women."

píhah "stiff": píhah·sa(s) "stiff ones."

tírih "wide": tírih·ša(s) "wide ones."

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

típah "brother": nani·tipáh·i·vša(s) "my brothers."

ke·číkyava "sweetheart": mu·ke·číkyáv·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.—

<sup>4</sup> -sa, rather than -sas, occurs before suffixes which follow in the same word: xe·hvaşxarah·sá·hak "in long pipe sacks."

kê·č-asa "big ones": kê·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.

fâ·t "what?": fâ·t-va "something, anything, whatever."

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

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

hû·t "how?": hû·t-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 vá·h "thus": with vúra Intensive are formed both the qualifying phrase vúra vá·h (836.5) or the reduced alternant vúra-vA. The meaning of {-va}, like that of vá·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 ?akáray-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": axyará-vah "all full (of various vessels)."

iθé·kxaram "one night": iθe·kxarám-vah "night after night."

iθa- "one": ičá-mah-ič "one at a time, one by one, one each."

?áxak "two": ?axák-mah-ič "two at a time."

kuyrakinívkíha "eight": kuynakinívkíhá-mah-ič "eight at a time."

čí·mič "a little": čí·míč-mah-ič "a little at a time."

há·rih "sometimes": há·ní·hmah-ič "every once in a while."

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

621. 19. -várih "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?-várih "high."

su? "down": su?-várih "deep."

tí·m "edge": tí·m-várih "toward the edge."

?á·čip "middle": ?á·čip-varih "toward the middle, central."

ikxúrara "evening": ikxúrar-varih "toward evening."

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

píši·p "first": píši·p-varih "before, previous": píši·pvánih-ič  
"a little before."

621. 20. -yâ:-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.

?a? "up": ?á?-ya:č "straight up."

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

yú·p "(in one's) eye": yúp-ya:č "smack in the eye."

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

?úruh "round": ?unuh-yâ:č "roundish."

Deverbative nouns in {-a} (761) are often combined with -yâ: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":

iváxrah "to be dry": iváxrah-a "dry": ivaxnaha-yâ:č "good and

dry": ivaxnaháya: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-á-ya:č-hi "to see well."

pápiṽ "to search": papim-á-ya:č-hi "to search thoroughly."<sup>5</sup>

pasčip "to be wet": pasčip-á-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."<sup>6</sup> Other morphemes which participate less completely in the derivational system are su? "down, inside," ?i?- "outdoors," and iθya- "across" (cf. iθya·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."

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

<sup>6</sup> 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 yúruk "downriver" are used. "East" is expressed either by ?ú·θ "toward the ocean" or by yárupravakam "rising-side." "West" is vákurihakam "setting-side."



As indicated above, the only stems of the group which occur as free forms are *maʔ*, *suʔ*, *ʔaʔ*, and *máʔsuʔ*. In most compounds, all the stems have allomorphs with *h* replacing *ʔ*; e.g., *kah-ʔárah* "upriver-person, i.e., a Shasta Indian" (but *kaʔ-tim-ʔî:n* "upriver-edge falls, a place name"). The stems *ʔiʔ-* and *iθyà-* 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) *mâ·kam* ~ *mã·m* "uphill," *sâ·kam* ~ *sã·m* "downhill," *kâ·kam* ~ *kã·m* "upriver," *yû·kam* ~ *yû·m* "downriver," *ʔîkam* ~ *ʔî·m* "outdoors," and *mâ·sukam* ~ *mâ·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) *máRuk* "uphill," *sáRuk* "downhill," *káRuk* "upriver," *yúRuk* "downriver," *súruk* "underneath," *iθyáRuk* "across water," and *masúRuk* "up a creek, up the Salmon River."<sup>7</sup> 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 *ʔu·θ* "out into the river."

4) *káro·kam* ~ *káro·m* "uphill upriver" and *yuRúkam* "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: *máʔka* ~ *mâ·ka* "uphill," *iθyû·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 . . ."<sup>8</sup>

*má·θ* "heavy": *má·θ-hi* (intransitive) "to weigh."

*ifmâ·ra* "married man": *ifmâ·ra-hi* "(man) to get married."

*ʔá·s* "water": *ʔá·s-hi* "to be wet."

<sup>7</sup> In regard to the presence of *R* in these derivatives, see 383:

<sup>8</sup> The classification of verbs as intransitive and transitive is determined syntactically; see 842, 843.

ʔá·x "blood": ʔá·x-hi (intransitive) "to bleed."

ʔúruh "egg": ʔúruhi "to lay eggs."

úhθa·m "garden": uhθá·m-hi "to plant."

ʔávan "husband": ʔávan-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·nva "to gather (food)": imká·nv-ar-a "food-gatherer":

imka·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," čú·phi "to speak," kú·phi "to do," ikví·thi "to be asleep," and ixví·phi "to be angry." Since ku-, ču·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:

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

ʔúruhi "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:

ʔá·x "blood": im-ʔá·x "to be red."

sírih "shiny": im-šíríh "to shine."

θúkin "bile": im-θúkiř "to be green or yellow" (the change of n to ř is irregular).

## 700. DERIVATION: THE VERB

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," *-ičva* "in pretense" with the pseudopostpound *-hičva* "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.

### 710. 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," *ikxip* "(sg.) to fly" vs. *iθxip* "(du.) to fly," and *ikyiv̄* "(sg.) to fall" vs. *iθyiv̄* "(du.) to fall." An element similar to \*iθ is the \*θa seen in *?iθva* "(sg.) to pack" vs. *θaθva* "(du.) to pack" and *?iθra* "(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"

vs. *ištak* "to become separated," and *ikxaxa* "to split something" vs. *išxaxa* "to become split."

\**im* "involving fire or heat" contrasts with the elements just above in *ikpat* and *išpat* 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," *imtup* "to be cooked." Note, however, the transitive theme *imniš* "to cook." \**im* also occurs in a few nouns, such as *imnak* "charcoal" and *imšuf* "burnt wood."

\**pā* "with the mouth" occurs in such themes as *páčup* "to kiss," *pačnut* "to suck on," *pápuθ* "to chew," *pasnik* "to blow a whistle," and *paxut* "to hold in one's mouth."

\**ʔak* "with the hand" occurs in such themes as *ʔákiθ* "to handle a soft mass," *ʔaknup* "to thump," *ʔakrap* "to slap," *ʔaktuř* "to pluck at," and *ʔakxárap* "to scratch." There is also a theme *ʔak-* "to do with one's hands," but the identification of such a theme in *ʔákiθ*, *ʔaknup* etc., leaves *-iθ*, *-nup* and the like as a residue of unique suffixal elements.

\**imθa* "with a striking implement" occurs in such themes as *imθanúvnuv* "to drum," *imθátif* "to bat," and *imθá-tva* "to play shinny."

\**ta* "with an implement" occurs in such themes as *tásif* "to brush," *tátuy* "to sweep," *taxvař* "to stir soup," and *taxvuk* "to hook."

\**vu* "with a cutting implement" occurs in such themes as *vúpak* "to trim," *vúxič* "to saw," and *vútupiš* "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," *iθxip* "(du.) to fly," and *ʔixip-* "(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 *ʔávansa* "man" and *ʔávans-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-ʔá·m-tih, or, with {-na·} Plural, kun-ʔá·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," ʔi·na "(du.) to live, sit," and ʔara·rahiTih "(pl.) to live, sit." Other verbs have intrinsic number as applied to inanimate things connected with the action, as in paθ "to throw (one thing)" vs. ixya- "to throw (two or more things)."<sup>1</sup> When such stems exist, the expression of number is obligatory rather than optional; a form like \*kun-íkri· "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 Módal; it may also be described in this section. The prefix ʔiru- 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": ʔa·ko· "to hit": p-a·ko· "to hit again."

"back": na· "to come": ip-na· "to come back."

"returning to a previous state": ʔífik "to pick up": p-ífik "to pick up (something dropped)."

"repeatedly": imusa·nko· "to go there to look at": p-imusa·nko  
"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 ʔip- occurs in two such cases:

<sup>1</sup>Such 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.

729. ?ápiṽ "to look for": p-ápiṽ "to look for again."  
 730. ?êčuru "to take off": p-êčuru "to take off again."  
 ikyav "to make": p-ikyav "to fix, repair."  
 ?aṽ "to eat": ?íp-aṽ "to eat again."  
 ?áho "to walk, go": ?íp-aho "to return."

But when a stem begins in i plus a labial consonant or the cluster xv, then the initial i is lost, and the allomorph pa- appears.

- iphí·kirih "to sweat oneself": pa-phí·kirih "to sweat oneself again."  
 ifyuku "to wander, go or come around": pa-fyuku "to come around again."  
 ivyí·hra "to come": pa-vyí·hra "to come back."  
 imfí·pšuru "to come off": pa-mfí·pšuru "to come off again."  
 ixví·phi "to be angry": pa-xví·phi "to be angry again."

The allomorph pi- occurs before stems beginning in p.

- páčiš(rih) "to throw down": pi-ppáčiš(rih) "to throw down again."  
 pikvas "to use as a plume": pi-píkvas "to use as a plume again."

The allomorph ip- occurs before stems beginning in consonants

other than ? and p.

- mah "to see": ip-mah "to find."  
 čivčak "to close": ip-čivčak "to close again."

732. kupa-...-ahi Modal is translatable as "in some way." Derivatives containing this morpheme are usually construed syntactically with nouns which specify what "way" is meant. The accent of these derivatives is as follows: Where kupa- can condition a shift by normal recessive accentuation, then the derivative has the accent resulting from that shift; this is the case whenever the stem contains an acute-accented long vowel. Otherwise progressive accentuation is conditioned by -ahi.

- iykara "to kill": kupe-·ykár-ahi "to kill in some way."  
 tayí·θhi "to lash the base (of a basket)": kupa-táyí·θha-hi "to lash the base in some way."  
 iyvá·yrišuk "to pour out": kupé·yva·yrišuk-ahi "to pour out in some way."

pimθanúvnuv "to tap": kupa-pimθanuvnô·hi "to tap in some way."

But after stem-final a(-)hi, haplology operates to eliminate one ah-sequence; the allomorph of the modal morpheme in this position may be considered to be merely kupa-.

- ikyâ:hi "to be made": kupe-·kyâ:hi "to be made in some way."

#### 740. Reduplication

Reduplication forms derivative verbs meaning "to . . . repeatedly."



iftakan- "to stick, adhere": iftakan-tákan "to be sticky."  
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?akxárap "to scratch (once)": ?akxarap-xárap "to scratch  
 (repeatedly)."

In addition to the above patterns, a few instances of others are found. There is an occasional example of something resembling complete reduplication:

?áxuh "to cough": ?axuh-?áxuh "to have tuberculosis."

Still other unusual patterns of final reduplication are found, but seem not to be productive. Thus ikritítip "to fringe" seems to show reduplication of final  $\begin{matrix} CVC \\ 789 \end{matrix}$  in a trisyllable, but the underlying \*ikrítip 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: θivrú·htih "(one object) to be floating," θivru·hti·h·va "(several objects) to be floating."

Action involving several goals: itrá·mnihtih "to be looking into (one object)," itramni·hti·h·va "to be looking into (several objects)."

Action involving a mass goal: yuh "to spit," yú·h·va "to vomit."

Action in several places: vúrunih "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(rih) "to start to blow," ikre·myahi·šri·h·va "to blow off and on."

Action over an extended time: ?í·mnih "to love," ?i·mni·h·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.

kû·ntaku "to sit on" (rare): \*kû·ntaku·va > kû·ntako· "to sit on" (the form commonly used).

When {-va} is added to underived 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": \*iyva·y·ku·va > iyva·y·ko· "to pour on (pl.)."

ikyí·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´šri·h-va "to glue down (pl.)."

ví·k-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.<sup>3</sup> 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.—

ʔákunv-ař "to go hunting": ʔákunvan-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} > -fúnuk-va, -0θuna "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} > -si·pri-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": ikrív-čak "to sit in the way, blocking passage."

ʔásiṽ "to sleep": ʔasím-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:

ʔaxáy "to take from": ʔaxáy-čak-, occurring only with

-iš(rih) Resultative: ʔaxayčák-iš(rih) "to seize."

<sup>3</sup> {-va} conditions simple presuffixal accentuation when added to unaccented stems;

we find it-kara "to look out over water" vs. itká·n-va "to spear fish."

752.2. -riṽ "at rest" forms intransitive verbs, usually from transitive ones (842, 843). It conditions progressive accentuation and potential lengthening.

- iθxup "to cover": iθxú·p-riṽ "to lie covering."  
 vē·h- "to project": vē·h-riṽ "(du. -pl. inan.) to stand."  
 mut "to place by hand": mú·t-riṽ "to lie in a handful."  
 ʔákiθ- "to be coiled": ʔákiθ-riṽ "to lie in a coil."  
 iyruh "to roll (tr.)": iyru·h-riṽ "(an.) to lie."  
 ʔúru- "to put": ʔúru-riṽ "(du. -pl. an.) to lie."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation in these derivatives:

- ʔúruriṽ "(du.-pl. an.) to lie": ʔúrurim-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": imyáh-sap "to suffocate."  
 ikrup "to sew": ikrúp-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": θí·v-taku "to lie on."  
 iškak "to jump": išká·k-taku "to jump onto."  
 iphi- "to put (several things)": iphí-taku "to put (several things) onto."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation with these derivatives.

- kû·ř- "to sit": kû·n-taku "to sit on": \*kû·ntaku-va > kû·ntako  
 "to sit on (pl.)." Note also the combination with the Class 3 suffix -iš(rih) "down": kû·ntak-iš(rih) "to sit down on."

752.5. -tárař- is an element found only with one of two Class 3 suffixes following it, namely -iš(rih) "down" or -ku "onto." The resulting combinations, -tárar-iš(rih) and -tára·n-ku seem to have about the same meanings as -iš(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-tárar-iš(rih) "to sew down."  
 inhi- "to tie": inhi-tárar-iš(rih) "to tie down," inhi-tára·n-ku  
 "to tie onto."  
 imθa- "to fasten": imθa-tára·n-ku "to nail onto."

This suffix is probably to be related to the element -táran in ʔasa-ttáran "bedrock" (with ʔasá "rock").

753. Suffix-class 3 is composed of the directional suffixes. Those beginning in a consonant condition potential lengthening; those beginning in a vowel (including o, 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 -rô·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:

-mu "thither"	:	-ra· "hither"
-rupu "hence downriverward"	:	-ra· "hither from downriver"
-unih "down from a considerable height; hence downhillward"	:	-ra· "hither from downhill"
-ura· "up to a considerable height; hence uphillward"	:	-faku "hither from uphill"
-rô·vu "hence upriverward"	:	-váarak "hither from upriver"
-sip(riv) "up to the height of a man or less"	:	-iš(rih) "down from the height of a man or less"
-kaθ "hence across a body of water"	:	-rina "hither from across a body of water"
-kara "horizontally away from the center of a body of water"	:	-ríPa· "horizontally toward the center of a body of water"
-kara "into one's mouth"	:	-rúPa· "out of one's mouth"
-rámnih "into a container"	:	-ríšuk "out of a container"
-vara "in through a tubular space"	:	-kiv "out through a tubular space"
-rúprih "in through a solid"	:	-rúpraṽ "out through a solid"
-fúruk "into an enclosed space"	:	-rúPuk "out of an enclosed space"
-vrin "in opposite directions"	:	-tunva "toward each other"
-várayva "here and there within an enclosed space"	:	-θuna "here and there in an open area"

Certain of these suffixes also have a sporadic causative meaning, as in siř "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":

paθ "to throw": pá·θ-faku "to throw down from uphill."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyí·h-faku "(pl.) to come down from uphill."

ʔí·θva "to pack": iθvá-faku "to pack down from uphill."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-faku "to run down from uphill."

{-va} Plural Action conditions progressive accentuation when added to these derivatives; it is preceded by the allomorph -fak- as in ikvíripfak-va "to run down from uphill (pl.)."

753.2. -fúruk "into an enclosed space" (usually a house):

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-fúruk "to throw indoors."

ikfuk "to creep": ikfú·k-furuk "to creep indoors."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-furuk "to run indoors."

{-va} Plural Action is preceded by the allomorph -funuk-:

it-fúruk "to look indoors": itfu·nuk-va "to look indoors (pl.)."

A suffix evidently related to -fúruk is -furu, but this occurs only rarely and without a clearly definable meaning:

vô·ř "to crawl": vô·n-furu "(man) to become half-married."

ʔípas- "to take (a person)": ʔípas-furu "to take in half-marriage."

pax "to catch": pá·x-furu "to catch in a trap." With {-va}

Plural Action: \*pax-fu·ru-va > paxfu·ro· "to catch in a trap (pl.)."

753.3. -iš(rih) "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 V·C<sup>̇</sup>V or CC<sup>̇</sup>V, then the suffix itself has the accented allomorph -í·š(rih).

ikyíṽ "to fall": icyív-iš(rih) "to fall down."

iyvay "to pour": iyvê·š(rih) "to pour down."

θiv "to lie": \*θív-iš(rih) > θí·š(rih) "to put down" (with causative meaning).

ʔi·na "(du.) to sit": ʔin-í·š(rih) "(du.) to sit down."

páθakhi "to kneel": paθakh-í·š(rih) "to kneel down."

ʔí·θri "(a container) to sit": iθr-í·š(rih) "to set down (a container)" (with causative meaning).

A few derivatives also show completely irregular phonology:

paθ "to throw": páč-iš(rih) "to throw down."

ʔásiṽ "to sleep": ʔá·s-iš(rih) "to go to bed."

The last example above shows an important meaning which -iš(rih) has, apart from its directional meaning; this may be called its RESULTATIVE function. It is added to stems which indicate states, to form stems indicating the actions which result in those states.

iškax "to be quiet, inactive": iškáx-iš(rih) "to 'quiet down,' become inactive, i.e., to stop (doing something)."

ikriv "to sit (be in a sitting position)": ikri̇:-š(rih) "to sit down (enter a sitting position)."

kûntaku "to sit on": kûntak-iš(rih) "to sit down on."

ihyárih "to stand (be in a standing position)": ihyárih-iš(rih) "to stand still (come to a halt)."

In a few cases, -iš(rih) carries still other meanings, concerning which no generalizations can be made:

ʔárih "to jump, move rapidly": ʔárih-iš(rih) "to become."

The sequence rih is overtly present in -iš(rih) in two cases: occasionally in word-final position, and always when other suffixal material follows: E.g.—

ʔárih-iš (or, less commonly, ʔárih-išrih) "to become," -at

Past tense: -ʔárihišrih-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 contraction. Thus derivatives in -î·š(rih) have the shortened form -î̇·š, where acute accent + no accent > circumflex accent:

?in-î̇·š(rih) "(du.) to sit down": shortened form ?inî̇·š.

Similarly, derivatives in -î̇·š(rih) have their shortened form with double circumflex accent, resulting from the combination of simple circumflex accent with no accent (325).

ikri̇:š(rih) "to sit down": shortened form ikri̇:š.

{-va} Plural Action is preceded by the allomorph -i̇šri·h-:

pasnap "to glue": pasnáp-iš(rih) "to glue down": pasnapi̇šri·h-va "to glue down (pl.)."

753.4. -kara "horizontally toward the center of a body of water" refers to motion or tendency either ov̇er 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.

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-kara "to swim across the river."

ikxip "to fly": ikxí·p-kara "to fly across the river."

iškak "to jump": išká·kara "to jump into (a river or lake)."

piv- "to step": pí·v-kara "to step out over (a creek)."

In a few cases, -kara has the meaning "into one's mouth":

siř "to disappear": sí·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 -ka·n-:

ihyv "to shout": ihyí·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": pí·v-kaθ "to step over (a creek)."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-kaθ "to swim hence across."

753.6. -kírih "into or onto fire":

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-kírih "to throw into the fire."

iyuř "to put": iyú·n-kirih "to put into the fire."

?í·θri "(container) to sit": iθrí·kirih "to set (a container) on the fire" (with causative meaning): With {-va} Plural Action: iθriki·rih-va "to set (a container) on the fire (pl.)."

753.7. -kiv "out through a tubular space":

vô·ř "to creep": vô·n-kiv "to slip out."

imyah "to breathe": imyá·h-kiv "to inhale."<sup>4</sup>

{-va} Plural Action combines with -kiv to form -ki·-na:

θáyun-kiv "to pull out with one's teeth": θayu·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": ikná·p-ku "to nail onto."

ikšup "to point": ikšú·p-kú "to point at."

paθriř "to spread": paθrí·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): ?í·n-ku "to burn (intr.)" (the commonly used form).

After stems of the forms  $C\hat{V}(C)$  and  $C\check{V}C\check{V}(C)$ , the allomorph -ka· occurs:

<sup>4</sup> 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·ř "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. -kúrih "into water" also indicates motion into any kind of cavity or aperture.

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-kúrih "to throw into water."

ikyiv̄ "to fall": icyí·m-kurih "to fall into water."

?írip "to dig": ?írip-kurih "to dig a hole."

vê·h- "to stick (intr.)": vê·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": pá·θ-mu "to throw to."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-mu "to swim to."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyí·h-mu "(pl.) to arrive."

?ó·nva "to take (several persons)": ?ó·nva-vu "to take (several persons) to."

iθyuru "to drag": iθyúru-vu "to drag to."

sař- "to carry (several objects)": sá·n-mu "to carry to":

\*sa·nmu-va > sa·nmo· "to carry to (pl.)"

753.11. -paθ "around in a circle":

?ih "to dance": ?í·h-paθ "to dance in a circle."

vik "to weave": ví·k-paθ "to weave around."

{-va} Plural Action conditions the allomorph -pa·θ- and progressive accentuation.

ví·k-paθ "to weave around (once)": vikpá·θ-va "to weave around and around."

In the presence of {ip-} Iterative, -paθ before {-va} is replaced by -iro·piθ-. Acute accent falls on the syllable preceding -iro·piθ-.

?í·h-paθ "to dance in a circle": p-íh-iro·piθ-va "to dance in a circle repeatedly."

ví·k-paθ "to weave around": ip-vík-iro·piθ-va "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": pá·θ-ra· "to throw hither, to throw (up) from downhill."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ra· "to run hither, to run (up) from downhill."

vit "to row": ví·t-ra· "to row (up) from downriver."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-ra· "to swim (up) from downriver."

-ra· + {-va} Plural Action > -ra·-na:

ʔífuk- "(du.-pl.) to climb": ʔifu·k-ra·-na "(du.-pl.) to climb (up) from downhill (pl.)"

kunih "to shoot": kuni·h-ra·-na "to shoot (up) from downhill (pl.)"

753.13. -rámnih "in or into a container":

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-rámnih "to throw into (as a basket)."

iyvay "to pour": iyvá·y-ramnih "to pour into."

ʔákiθ- "to be coiled": ʔákiθ-ramnih "to be coiled in."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -ra·mnih- occurs:

iyvá·y-ramnih "to pour in": iyvay-ra·mnih-va "to pour in (pl.)"

753.14. -raṽ "in, into" has a somewhat variable meaning; with several verbs it is translated "in two."

ikvit "to cut": ikví·t-raṽ "to cut in two."

ikpak̄ "to chop": ikpá·k-raṽ "to chop in two."

išpat "to break (intr.)": išpá·t-raṽ "to break (something) in two" (with causative meaning).

ikyiv̄ "to fall": icyí·m-naṽ "to fall into."

ikyav "to make": icyá·-raṽ "to make in, on, with."

mah "to see": má·h-raṽ "to track."

753.15. -rina "hither across a body of water" may seem simply "across" or "through" in some cases.

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-rina "to swim hither across."

faθ "to wade": fá·θ-rina "to wade across, to ford."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-rina "to run across."

ikrup "to pierce": ikrú·p-rina "to pierce through."

-rina + {-va} Plural Action > -ri·ña:

ikrú·p-rina "to pierce through": ikru·při·ña "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.)": išpá·t-rip "to break (something) off" (with causative meaning).

mut "to carry": mú·t-rip "to take out."

pata "to eat acorn soup": páta-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. -ríPa· "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 -ríPa· are "out of water" (opposite of -kúrih) and "out of fire" (opposite of -kírih).

faθ "to wade": fa·θ-ríPa· "to wade ashore."

vit "to row": vi·t-ríPa· "to row to shore."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ripa· "to run on a flat toward the hills (i.e., away from the river)."

ʔê·θ "to take": ʔê·θ-ripa· "to take out of water or fire."

iθyuru "to pull": iθyúru-ripa· "to pull out of water or fire."

-ríPa· + {-va} Plural Action > -ri'pa-na. Note the change of P to p.

tánuk- "to scoop": tanuk-ri'pa-na "to scrape out of fire (pl.)."

axyañ "to be full": axyañi'pa-na "to fill a body of water to overflowing (pl.)." (with causative meaning).

753.18. -ríšuk "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.

ʔê·θ "to take": ʔê·θ-ríšuk "to take out (as from a basket)."

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-ríšuk "to throw out."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ríšuk "to run out (as from a thicket)."

753.19. -rô·vu "hence upriverward" also has the less common meaning "around a basket."

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-rô·vu "to throw upriverward."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-ro·vu "to swim upriverward."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ro·vu "to run upriverward."

ikré·myah "to blow": ikre·myá·h-ro·vu "south wind to blow,"

lit. "(wind) to blow upriverward" (since the Klamath River runs from north to south in Karok territory).

ʔáraṽ "to weave with three strands": ʔáram-no·vu "to weave around (a basket) with three strands."

-rô·vu + {-va} Plural Action > -ro·na:

ʔíšip "to extend": ʔíšip-ro·vu "to extend upriverward":

ʔíši'pro·na "to extend upriverward (pl.)."

753.20. -rúPa· "out of one's mouth":

imyah "to breathe": imyá·h-rupa "to exhale through one's mouth."

pê·θ "to take back": pê·θ-rupa "to take back out of one's mouth."

-rúPa· + {-va} Plural Action > -ru'pa-na. Note the change of

P to p.

pê·θ-rupa "to take back out of one's mouth": pe·θru'pa-na  
"to take back out of one's mouth (pl.)."

753. 21. -rúpraṽ "out through a solid":

?íku- "to point, be headed": ?íku-rupraṽ "(plant) to sprout through the ground."

iyvay "to pour": iyvá·y-rupraṽ "to break out on one's skin."

ikxárip "to chop": ikxárip-rupraṽ "to chop out from the inside."

753. 22. -rúprih "in through a solid":

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-rúprih "to throw in through."

?aṽ "to eat": ?a·m-núprih "(insect) to eat in through (wood)."

ikyíṽ "to fall": kiyí·m-nuprih "to fall in through."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -rú·prih- occurs:

imθavit- "to club": imθavit-rú·prih-va "to club through."

753. 23. -ruprin "through" may be mentioned here, since it obviously belongs in a group with -rúpraṽ and -rúprih. It has only been found, however, in the following cases:

súru- "to make a hole": súru-ruprin "to make a hole through."

\*θa "with the teeth": θá-ruprin "to gnaw through."

753. 24. -rupu "hence downriverward":

saṽ- "to flow": sá·m-nupu "to flow downriverward."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-rupu "to swim downriverward."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyí·h-rupu (pl.) "to go downriverward."

ikré·myah "to blow": ikre·myá·h-rupu "north wind to blow,"

lit. "(wind) to blow downriverward."

753. 25. -rúPuk "out of an enclosure" normally has reference to a house, though a cave or a corral are other possibilities.

Paθ "to throw": pa·θ-rúPuk "to throw outdoors."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-rupuk "to run outdoors."

Before {-va} Plural Action, P is replaced by p:

?áha- "to drive (animals)": ?aha-ru'puk-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 . . ."

?ê·θ "to take, carry": \*?ê·θ-sip(riv) > ?ê·čip(riv) "to pick up."

?ak- "to do with one's hand": ?á·k-sip(riv) "to raise one's hand."

iškak "to jump": išká·k-sip(riv) "to jump up."

ʔí·θva "to pack": iθvá-sip(riv) "to pack up."

saṽ- "to flow": sá·m-sip(riv) "(river) to start to flow, to have its source."

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h-sip(riv) "to start to swim."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-šip(riv) "to start to run."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyí·h-šip(riv) "(pl.) to start off, to leave."

The difference between resultative -iš(rih) and initiative -sip(riv) may be seen in the following:

ihyárih "to stand, i.e., be in a standing position": ihyárih-

iš(rih) "to stand still, i.e., to stop moving and come to a

standstill": ihyárih-šip(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 y is optionally changed to n:

ʔa·Ram-sip(riv) "to start (to go), to come from": \*ʔu-ʔáram-sipriv-aviš > ʔuʔáramsipre·viš "he will start, will come from": ʔaramsí·priv-tih or ʔaramsí·prin-tih "to be starting, coming from."

-sipriv + {-va} Plural Action > -sí·pri-na, which like -sipriv itself has a shorter form, namely -sí·p:

ʔa·Ramsip(riv) "to start, etc.": ʔaramsí·pri-na ~ ʔaramsí·p "to start, etc. (pl.)."

753.27. -suru "off, away":

paθ "to throw": \*pá·θ-suru > pá·čuru "to throw away."

ikyiv "to fall": icyí·m-suru "to fall off."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-šuru "to run off."

táčak "to clip": táčak-suru "to clip off."

tápak "to slice": tápak-suru "to slice off": with {-va} Plural Action, \*tapaksu·ru-va > tapaksu·ro "to slice off (pl.)."

753.28. -tunva "toward each other, together" is usually, though not always, found in conjunction with {-ip} Iterative:

ikmañ "to hit": p-ikmá·n-tunva "to bump together."

inhi- "to tie": inhí-tunva "to tie together."

iftákan- "to adhere": iftákan-tunva "to stick together."

753.29. -θuna "here and there, in various places":

ʔáha- "to drive (animals)": ʔáha-θuna "to drive around."

ʔó·nva "to take (people)": ʔó·nva-θuna "to take (people) around."

takníh "to roll": takníh-iθuna "to roll around."

?ê-θ "to take, carry": ?ê-θ-iθuna "to carry around."

paθ "to throw": páθ-aθuna "to throw around."

ikfuk "to crawl": ikfúk-uθuna "to crawl around."

-0θuna + {-va} Plural Action > -pi·θ·va:

sañ- "to carry (several objects)": san-pí·θ·va "to carry (several objects) around (pl.)."

ifyuku "to wander": ifyuku´-pi·θ·va "to wander around (pl.)."

?if "to grow": ?if-pí·θ·va "to grow here and there."

753. 30. -unih means both "down from a considerable height" (as a tree-top) and "hence downhillward."

ikyiv̄ "to fall": ikyív-unih "to fall down (from a height)." Contrast ikyív-iš(rih) "to fall down (from a standing position)."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-unih "to run downhillward."

ikrívruh "to roll": ikrivrúh-unih "to roll downhillward."

ikyut "to pile (intr.)": ikyút-unih "to pile down, i.e., to snow."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -u´ni·h- occurs:

?ápak "(earth) to slide": ?ápak-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": kuníh-ura· "to shoot up in the air."

ikvírip- "to run": ikvírip-ura· "to run uphillward."

?í·θ·va "to pack": iθv-úra· "to pack uphillward."

-ura· + {-va} Plural Action > -u´ra·-na:

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyíh-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": ?á·k·vara "to put one's hand into (e.g., a glove)."

súru- "to make a hole": súru·vara "to make a hole through."

tâ·t- "to handle with an implement": tâ·t·vara "to put into (e.g., a pipe) with an implement": with {-va} Plural Action, \*ta·tva´ra·va > ta·tva´ra· "to put into with an implement (pl.)."

753. 33. -várah "hither from upriver":

ikpuh "to swim": ikpú·h·varah "to swim (down) from upriver."

ikré·myah "to blow": ikre·myá·h·varah "(wind) to blow down from upriver, north wind to blow."

?i·n "to burn": ?i·n·várah "aurora borealis to appear."

753.34. -várayva "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.

paθ "to throw": pa·θ-várayva "to throw around."

iktaṽ "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. -0vra· has been noted in only a few cases; it may be translated "over," in some rather specialized senses:

pikiyīṽ "to fall back": pikiyív-ivra· "to fall over backwards."

ikfuk "to climb": ikfúk-uvra· "to climb over (a hilltop)."

-0vra· + {-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. -0vraθ 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 sweat-house."

vô·r̄ "to crawl": vô·r-uvraθ "to crawl into, enter a sweathouse."

pavyih- "(pl.) to go back": pavyíh-ivraθ "(pl.) to go back into a sweathouse."

ikiyīṽ "(sg.) to fall": ikyív-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. -0vrin "in opposite directions":

ʔû·- "to put": ʔû·-vrin "to turn (something) around."

pikvírip- "to run back": pikvírip-ivrin "to run (somewhere) and turn around and run back."

-0vrin + {-va} Plural Action > -0'vri·ña:

ikré·myah "to blow": ikre·myah-a'vri·ña "(wind) to blow in all directions."

753.38. -0vruk "down over the edge of something":

ikiyīṽ "to fall": ikyív-ivruk "to fall down over (a bank)."

ʔáxav- "(earth) to slide": \*áxav-avruk > (by haplology)

ʔáxavruk "(earth) to slide down over (a bank)."

-0vruk + {-va} Plural Action > -0'vru·k·va:

va·txarak "to shout": va·txarak-a'vru·k·va "to shout down over (pl.)."

754. 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": ?ír-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. -ař "to go in order to" conditions progressive accentuation.

?ih "to dance": ?ih-ař "to go in order to dance, to go to a dance, to go dancing."

iřxay "to fish": \*iřxáy-ař > iřxâ·ř "to go fishing."

?á·kram "to argue": ?a·krám-ař "to go argue."

čančá·ksuru "to open": čanča·ksúr-ař "to go open."

imká·nva "to gather food": imká·nv-ař "to go gather food."

?api·mpi·θva "to look around for": ?apimπί·θv-ař "to go look around for."

?áho· "to walk, travel": ?áho·-ř "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."

?íhař "to go dancing": ?íha·n·ko· "to go there to dance":  
?íhar-uk "to come 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": \*ikyáv-ara > ikyâ·ra "to make with."

ikrař "to grind": ikráv-ara "to grind with."

ikrup "to sew": ikrúp-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:

?ê·θ "to take": ?ê·θ-e·p "to take away from."

pax "to catch": páx-é·p "to win from."

754.5. -fip "completely" conditions presuffixal accentuation:

čifič "to beat (in a game)": čifič-fip "to beat badly."

pápiř "to search for": papím-fip "to search all over for."

754.6. {-i·čva} "in play, in pretense" conditions change of r to n and θ to č in stems preceding it. The usual allomorph, -i·čva, conditions presuffixal accentuation of the unstable acute type (382.4).

ifyuku "to wander": ikyu 'k-i-čva "to take a stroll."

ʔá-θva "to be afraid": ʔačv-i-čva "to pretend to be afraid."

After the denominative suffix -hi, however, the allomorph -i<sup>h</sup>čva occurs:

ʔê-mhi "to be a doctor": ʔe-mh-i<sup>h</sup>čva "to pretend to be a doctor."

The following example shows suffixes of Class 2 and 3 in sequence with {-i-čva}:

kû-ř- "to sit": kû-n-taku "to sit on, to ride": kû-ntaku-θuna  
 "to ride around": ku-ntakuču 'n-i-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;<sup>5</sup> it may be translated "to, for (a person)." It conditions potential lengthening and progressive accentuation.

paθ "to throw": pá-θ-ihi "to throw to (someone)."

ikšup "to point": ikšúp-ihi "to teach (someone)."

paku 'ri-hva "to sing": pakurí-hv-ihi "to sing to (someone)."

Note that -ihi occurs after another Class 4 suffix, namely -i-čva "in pretense":

ikya 'vi-čva "to work": ikyaví-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.

ʔaĩ "to eat": ʔáv-iruv "to eat too much."

imkuh "to be warm": imkúh-iruv "to be overheated."

ʔiĩ "to die": ʔív-iruv "to be nearly dead from exhaustion."

ʔiš "to drink": ʔiš-inuv "to drink too much."

iváxrah "to be dry": ivaxnáh-inuv "to be too dry."

vištař "to have an appetite": vištán-inuv "to have excessive  
 appetite."

Note that this suffix occurs after another one of Class 4, namely -i-čva "in pretense":

<sup>5</sup> 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 -híruvA "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."

ikriv "to sit": ikrív-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:

'imúskiri "to look on": imu'ski·n·va "to watch a show, to listen to the radio."

A second suffixal morpheme -kiri, also conditioning presuffixal accentuation, must be distinguished. Occuring 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"): ipša·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."

ipê·r "to tell": ipe·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)."

?íhař "to go dancing": ?íha·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-ikrú·p-mara "to finish sewing."  
 ikvař "to buy": p-ikvá·n-mara "to finish buying."  
 ihê·ra "to smoke": p-ihê·ra-mara "to finish smoking."  
 tarúpraṽ "to lace": ip-taruprá·m̄ara "to finish lacing."

The following irregularity is noted among these formations:

?aṽ "to eat": p-ám·va·ra "to finish eating," but pámvara-  
 before other derivative suffixes.

?iš "to drink": p-íš·ma·ra "to finish drinking," but píšmara-  
 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": ?í·f-maθ "to cause to grow, to  
 boil (water)."

iváxrah "to be dry": ivaxrá·h-maθ "to dry (something)."

iškáxiš(rih) "to stop (i.e., come to a stop)": iškáxišrih-maθ  
 "to stop (i.e., bring to a stop)."

?á·θva "to be afraid": ?a·θvá·vaθ "to scare."

?á·xhi "to bleed (i.e., lose blood)": ?a·xhí·vaθ "to bleed (i.e.,  
 draw blood from)."

kunukúnuhi "to have an itch": kunukúnuhi·vaθ "to tickle (some-  
 one)."

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."

ví·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): pakuri·hv-o·  
 "to sing habitually."

754.14. -rih "up" is an element found in a few derivatives, conditioning 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."

?í·hya "(long object) to stand": ihyá·rih "(an.) to stand."

ipší·uva "to fail to recognize": ipšinvá·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 -ri·h occurs:

iktát-rih "to prop up": ikta<sup>˘</sup>tri·h-va "to prop up (pl.)."

754. 15. -saḥ "along with, together with" conditions presuffixal accentuation.

vik "to weave": vík-šaḥ "to weave in together with (as string with twigs)."

ištuk "to pluck": ištúk-saḥ "to pluck (something) along with (something else)."

ʔišunva "to bury": ʔišunvá-saḥ "to bury with."

754. 16. -tánmah "for nothing, for no reason" may be connected with the verb tánmaha "to owe."

ʔê·h "to give": ʔe·h-tánmah "to give for nothing, gratis."

ikyav "to make": ikya·-tánmah "to make for nothing."

ʔif "to grow": ʔif-tánmah "(plant) to grow as a volunteer, without having been planted."

ʔu·ma "to go": ʔuma-tánmah "to go in vain."

754. 17. -uk "hither" conditions progressive accentuation. It occurs freely only after derivatives in -aḥ "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.

imus- "to look at": imús-aḥ "to go to see, to visit": imúsar-uk "to come to see."

išxê·h "to give some to": išxê·h-aḥ "to take some to": išxê·har-uk "to bring some to."

ivyih- "(pl.) to go": ivyîh-uk "(pl.) to come."

ʔih "to dance": ʔîh-uk "to do a puberty dance."

Before {-va} Plural Action, the allomorph -u·k occurs:

imusar-uk "to come to see": imusa<sup>˘</sup>ru·k-va "to come to see (pl.)."

754. 18. {-úniš} "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 -u<sup>˘</sup>niš occurs, conditioning vowel shortening.

ikšah "to laugh": ikšáh-uniš "to laugh at."

ihváramu "to bark": ihváram-uniš "to bark at."

ihyiv "to shout": \*ihyív-uniš > ihyû·niš "to shout at."

ikví·thi "to be asleep": ikvith-u<sup>˘</sup>niš "to dream about."

ixví·phi "to be angry": ixviph-u<sup>h</sup>niš "to be angry at."

754. 19. -û·ř "for a long time" occurs in a small number of derivatives:

vik "to weave": vik-û·ř "to weave for a long time."

ikyiy "to fall": icyiv-û·ř "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.

ʔaṽ "to eat": ʔip-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)."

ikmáarakurih "to slash": p-ikmarakuri'h·va·na "to slash oneself."

754. 21. -Ovrik "in response to motion" conditions zero accentuation.

ʔáha- "to herd, drive (animals)": ʔáha·vrik "to head off."

mah "to see": máh·avrik "to see coming."

ʔê·θ "to take": ʔê·θ·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:

iščuř "to become cracked": iščúr·ahi "to be cracked, i.e., in a cracked condition."

imus- "to see": imús·ahi "to look (like)."

ʔáraṽ "to weave with three strands": ʔárav·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.

súrukurih "to make a hole in": súrukurih·va "to be a hole in":  
súrukurih·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. -

kučičvāsih "lizard-back, a basket design," -hi Denominative:  
kučičvāsihī "to make the lizard-back design": kučičvāsih-  
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":  
imúsa-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": ifyúku-na· "(pl.) to wander."  
ihê·ra "to smoke": ihê·ra-na· "(pl.) to smoke."  
ʔô·v "to raise (a child)": ʔô·-na· "to raise (children)."

After stems whose preconsonantal alternant ends in a consonant, we find the allomorph -vúna· (or in some idiolects -vána·). 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 -vúna· are purely automatic alternants. Neither one, however, occurs in sequence with {-va}.

ʔaṽ "to eat": ʔa·m-vúna· "(pl.) to eat."  
ʔákih "to feed": ʔákih-vuna· "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}.

ví·š(rih) "to descend" (< va- "to go" + Class 2 -išrih "down"):

?irú·vi·š(rih) "(pl.) to descend."

kû·ntako· "to sit on" (< kû·ř- "to sit" + Class 2 -taku "on" +

{-va} Plural Action): ?iru·kû·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 ?ukyavi·čvu-Tih is either "he works (all the time)" or "he is working (now)."<sup>6</sup> It conditions potential lengthening and special progressive accentuation.

ihyákurih "to stick in": ihyákurih-tih "to be sticking in."

fuhíš "to believe": fuhí·š-tih "to be believing."

ikrivkiri "to sit on": ikrivkiri-Tih "to be sitting on."

ikšú·pku "to point at": ikšú·pku-Tih "to be pointing at."

?í·mnih "to love": ?i·mnih-tih "to be loving."

čú·phi "to talk": ču·phi-Tih "to be talking."

?a·punmu "to know": ?a·púnmu-Tih "to be knowing."

iyva·yko· "to pour on (pl.)": iyvayko·-tih "to be pouring on (pl.)."

ta·pku·pu "to like": tapku·pu-Tih "to be liking."

i·pu·nva "to rest": ipu·nva-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."

iphíriř "(du. inan.) to lie, be."

?í·θri "(a filled container or its contents) to sit, be."

<sup>6</sup> 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.

- θaθri·n "(two filled containers or their contents) to sit, be."  
 θaθrí·na· "(more than two filled containers or their contents)  
 to sit, be."<sup>7</sup>  
 ?í·hya "(a long object) to stand, be."  
 vē·hriṽ "(one or more long objects) to stand, be."  
 ihyárih. "(sg. an.) to stand."  
 ?iruvē·hriṽ "(du.-pl. an.) to stand."  
 iyru·hriṽ "(sg.) to lie."  
 ?úruriṽ "(du.-pl. an.) to lie."  
 ?í·kra "(a house) to stand, be."  
 vumni·n "(two houses) to stand, be."  
 vumní·na· "(more than two houses) to stand, be."<sup>7</sup>  
 ikrítuṽ "to lie in a pile."

On the other hand, some themes are never found without -Tih; e.g. -

- ?ara·rahi- (< ?ára·ra "person" + -hi Denominative):<sup>8</sup> found  
 only in ?ara·rahi-Tih "(pl.) to live, sit, be."  
 ta·yhi- (< tá·y "many" + -hi):<sup>8</sup> 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.

- ?ara·rahiTih + -kiri Instrumental: ?ararahiTih-kiri "to live  
 off of": ?ararahiTihkiri-Tih "to be living off of."

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 ixví·phi, though glossed as "to be angry," is also the equivalent of "to become angry"; ixví·phi-Tih, however, is only "to be angry." A similar case is ikví·thi "to be asleep, to fall asleep" vs. ikví·thi-Tih "to be asleep."

758. Class 8 consists of -ač 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 *θ* to *č* in the stem which precedes it.

- ikré·mya·htih "(wind) to be blowing": ikné·mya·htih-ač "(wind)  
 to be blowing a little."

<sup>7</sup> The elements -i·n and -a·, though evidently morphemes, do not occur outside of these four derivatives, and therefore have not been discussed previously.

<sup>8</sup> The accentuation of these forms is irregular; -hi normally conditions simple progressive accent.

paθríš(rih) "to begin to rain": pačníšnih-ač "to begin to rain a little."

ikxáramhi "to become evening": ikxánamh-ač "to just get to be evening."

ikriv "to live": \*iknív-ač > iknê-č- "to live (fam.)" in  
 ?á ?iknê-č-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 {-ič} 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.

?áho "to walk": ?áho-∅ "(the act of) walking."

?u·fíθva "to swim": ?u·fíθv-a "swimming."

čú·phi "to talk": čú·ph-a "speech."

pávanpu "(woman) to marry again": pávanp-a "husband of woman's dead sister."<sup>9</sup>

ikrívkiri "to sit on": ikrívkir-a "chair."

iθyuru "to haul": iθyur-a "automobile."

paθrih "to rain": paθrih-a "rain."

?av "to eat": ?av-a "food."

It should be noted, however, that the prejunctural forms of many deverbative derivatives lack the final a: thus ikrívkir# "chair," iθyur# "automobile," paθrih# "rain," ?av# "food" (see 354). The deverbatives of themes in -iš(rih) "down" (754. 3.) normally have prejunctural forms lacking the whole sequence -riha:

?íšipiš(rih) "to extend down": ?íšipiš# "Ishi Pishi (a place name)," but ?íšipišriha-kam "on the Ishi Pishi side."

After the sequence Vhi, however, {-a} has the allomorph -A, which is preserved even before juncture:

<sup>9</sup>The semantic development here evidently reflects the practice of the sororate.



iyvúrukahi "to be painted": iyvúrukah-A = iyvúrukaha# "paint."  
 {-a} is especially common after verbs containing the suffixes -ahiv  
 "on some occasion," -ara and -kiri Instrumental and -raṽ "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.

pâ·kuhi "to pick acorns": \*pâ·kuh-ahiv > pâ·kuhiv "to partici-  
 pate in the acorn harvest": pâ·kuhiv-a "acorn harvest."

ikraṽ "to grind": ikráv-ara "to grind with": ikrávar-a  
 "pestle."

ikyav "to make": ikyâ::ra "to make with: ikyâ:r-a "tool."

itká·nva "to spear fish": itká·nv-ara- "to spear fish with":  
 itká·nvar-a "fish spear."

tátuyšuru "to sweep off": tátuyšur-ara- "to sweep off with":  
 tátuyšurar-a "broom."

?áho· "to walk": ?ahó·-kiri "to walk on": ?ahó·kir-a "sidewalk."

ikriv "to sit": ikrív-kiri "to sit on": ikrívkir-a "chair."

?aṽ "to eat": ?am-kiri- "to eat on": ?amkir-a "table."

pátum "to put one's head": patúm-kiri- "to put one's head on":  
 patúmkir-a "pillow."

The combination -rav-a usually, though not always, appears in the  
 "portmanteau" form -ram possibly by contamination with -ra·m ~ -ram  
 "place" (767):

mahyá·na "to put": mahyá·na-raṽ "to put into": mahyá·narav-a  
 or mahyá·naram "container."

?iš "to drink": ?í·š-raṽ- "to drink in": ?í·šrav-a or ?í·šram  
 "cup."

When -ak Locative is added, however, only -rav-ar appears:

pata "to eat acorn mush": páta-raṽ- "to eat acorn mush in":  
 pátarav-a or pátaram "mush-basket": pátarav-ak "in a  
 mush-basket."

Nouns in -ar-a occasionally designate the subject of the underlying  
 verb stem, rather than an instrument:

yíkihi "to get sick": yíkih-ara- "invalid."

vô·r "to crawl": vô·r-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 (62.1). The results of  
 this combination are verbs whose meanings contain the idea of collective  
 subject.

xúrihi "to be hungry": xúrih-ar-a "hungry (person)":

xúrihara-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."  
 iθtit "to gamble": iθtít-a·n "gambler."  
 kíxah "to singe": kixá-ha·n "ceremonial brush-burner."  
 kúhi "to be sick": kuh-a·n "sickly (person)."  
 ?ákunva "to hunt": ?akúnv-a·n "hunter."  
 imká·nva "to gather (food)": imkánv-a·n "food-gatherer."  
 ikya´vi·čva "to work": ikyavičv-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.

- ?iṽ "to die": ?íṽ-apuh "dead."  
 ?iftánmah "(plant) to grow as a volunteer": ?iftanmáh-apuh  
 "volunteer plant."  
 vik "to weave": vík-apuh "woven quiver."  
 ikraṽ "to grind": ikráv-apuh "wild oats."  
 ipšá·mkiri "to abandon": ipša·mkír-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.

- išták "to become chipped out": ištá·k-ara "chipped out."  
 ištáktak "to become chipped out repeatedly": ištaktá·k-ara  
 "chipped out repeatedly."  
 imšip "to become extinguished": -imší·p-ara "extinguished,"  
 with ?á·ha "fire" in ?ahé·mši·para "one having an extinguished  
 fire, i.e., a widower."  
 imxaxavára· "to become cracked through (pl.)": imxaxavára·-ra  
 "cracked through."

765. -ê·p "refuse left over from . . . -ing":

- vúxič "to saw": vuxič-ê·p "sawdust."  
 víkara "to use for weaving": vikar-ê·p "sticks rejected for use  
 in weaving."  
 θáruḑ "to peel sticks for basketry": θaruḑ-ê·p "peelings from  
 sticks."

766. -ra·m "place of . . . -ing" forms adverbial nouns, conditioning pre-suffixal accentuation and vowel shortening. After stems which end in CCV, V'CV, or VhV, the allomorph -ram occurs; elsewhere, the allomorph is -ra·m.

imθá·tva "to play shinny": imθatvá-ram "shinny field."

ʔičunva "to hide": ʔičunvá-ram "hiding place."

ʔu·fíθva "to swim": ʔufiθvá-ram "swimming pool."

vê·na "to pray": ve·ná-ram "the sacred sweathouse at  
ʔame·kyá·ra·m."

ʔahi- "to burn": ʔahí-ram "fireplace."

ʔiš "to drink": ʔiš-ra·m "deerlick, saloon."

ʔaṽ "to eat": ʔam-na·m "hotel."

ikriv "to live": ikrív-ra·m "house."

čivčá·ksuru "to close": čivčaksurú-ra·m "door."

The suffix is added to a very few nouns:

ʔú·h "tobacco": ʔuh-ra·m "pipe."

ikmáhač "warm": ikmaháč-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).

ʔasímčak "to close one's eyes": ʔasimčákčakve·nač "wren."

pû·x "to hold in one's mouth": ʔasapû·xve·nač "cliff swallow" (with ʔasa "rock, dirt").

## 800. SYNTAX

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., *hâ* "yes!" or *ʔayukî* "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).<sup>1</sup> 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: *ʔikxaré-yav* "it's a god."<sup>2</sup>

The same, with a satellite: *patú-yšip ʔikxaré-yav* "the mountain's a god."

A verbal predicate without satellites: *ʔuʔí-ftih* "it's growing."

The same, with a satellite: *paʔíppaha ʔuʔí-ftih* "the tree's growing."

A nominalized predicate, occurring only with satellites: *hárivari pa-nuyâ-rame-š* "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

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations of this nature will be used in the description of syntax, to indicate the function of each part of the predications used as examples.

<sup>2</sup>In 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 *ʔikxaré-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 predication, or a combination of two or more predications, separated by comma pause. E.g.—

pačiší· ká·n ʔúkri·, tó·kfu·yšur, ʔumyáhya·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 prefix pa<sub>-</sub>.

The prefix pa<sub>-</sub> 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<sub>-</sub> refers semantically to an individual person 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<sub>-</sub>kú·srah "the sun" and pa<sub>-</sub>mú·tta·t "(the) his mother" are tactical units as well as phonological ones. In this respect pa<sub>-</sub> resembles a prefix. However, pa<sub>-</sub> also forms constitutes with noun phrases, such as with that type consisting of mit(a) "former" followed by a kinship term (836.3). An example is pá·mit muhrô·ha "his former wife," where pa<sub>-</sub> shows the typical behavior of a prefix, being coördinate not with a single word, but with a whole syntactic construction.

In addition to its normal articular use, pa<sub>-</sub> 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.—

ʔô·kukam "this side": pa<sub>-</sub>ʔô·kukam "the person on this side."

samvaró·tti·m "creek-edge": pa<sub>-</sub>samvaró·tti·m "the creek-edge" or "he who lives by the creek-edge (a man's name)."

This prefix conditions some special morphophonemic changes, as follows:

1) When pa<sub>-</sub> is added to an unaccented monosyllable, the combination is unaccented before pause, but has acute accent on pa<sub>-</sub> otherwise. In addition, all monosyllabic stems are subject to initial gemination after articular pa<sub>-</sub>, as they would be after a prefix (333).

pa·h "peppernut": pá<sub>-</sub>ppa· ʔuʔíffikth "he's picking the peppernuts," but also ʔuʔíffikti pa<sub>-</sub>ppa·h (same meaning).

2) When pa<sub>-</sub> is added to a monosyllable with acute accent, this accent shifts to the prefix in all positions.

pá·h "boat": pá=ppa·ʔuví·tih or ʔuví·tikpá=ppa·h "he's rowing the boat."

3) When pa= is added to dissyllables beginning with unaccented ʔVCC, then the glottal stop is normally lost and vowel contraction occurs (323). But in careful speech, the ʔ may be retained.

ʔaxvâ·h "head": pa=·xvâ·h "the head" or pa=ʔaxvâ·h.

ʔišpuk "money": pe=·špuk "the money" or pa=ʔišpuk.

4) When pa= is added to dissyllables which begin with a consonant other than ʔ, 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=čiší·h elsewhere.

5) When pa= is added to other types of words, no morphophonemic change occurs.

ʔápsu·n "snake": pa=ʔápsu·n "the snake."

tíšra·m "clearing": pa=tíšra·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 ʔuʔu·m "he arrives there": pa=ká·n ʔuʔu·m "when he arrives there."<sup>3</sup>

But when the monosyllable is unaccented in its predication, then acute accent falls on pa=, and gemination of the initial occurs.

na· ne·mússahitih "he looks like me": va· vúra pá=·nna· ne·mús-sahitih "that's how he looks like me." (T16.15)

2) When the nominalizer is attached to any word beginning with ʔV̄, the glottal stop is lost and vowel contraction occurs.

ʔutúra·yva "he looks for it": po=·túra·yva "when he looks for it."

ʔúska·ksip "he jumps up": pó=·ska·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

<sup>3</sup>In 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.

ʔuʔu·m "he arrives": xás pó=ʔu·m, čanča·ksúrak ʔutnú·pnih  
 "and when he arrived, he peeked through the smokehole."  
 (T57.20.) But: xás po=ʔú·m yánava tupivaxráhe·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:

nikuphe·š "I will do": hû·t ʔáta pá=nikuphe·š "What ever shall I do?"

When nominalizing pa= is added to a word which already contains the articular pa=, the nominalizer assumes a zero form; this may be considered a case of haplology.

pa=ssa·mváro· ʔummah "he sees the creek": Ø=pa=ssa·mváro·  
 ʔummah "when he sees the creek." Contrast pa=ssa·-mváro·  
 pó=·mmah (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.

ʔiššá·nvutih "you are carrying": fâ·t pe=ššá·nvutih "what (is it) that you are carrying? What are you carrying?"

nuʔíppake·š "we shall come back": ʔifyá· tuʔú·m pa=nuʔíppake·š  
 "what time is it that we shall come back? what time shall we  
 we come back?"

va· mit ʔitahará·n nipikyáva·nhat "I was priestess thus ten times":  
 na· va· pá=mita ʔitahará·n nipikyáva·nhat<sup>4</sup> "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."

po· ʔí·pma mutatʔí·n kunmah "when he got back, his mother  
 saw him."

ʔuʔé·θi·hvuna· po=·kúpha·nik "he told them what he had done."  
 tuʔa·číčha pe=·špúk tó·θθi·nátih "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

<sup>4</sup> 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., ʔuʔá·mtih "he is eating, he eats"; ʔúkri· "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 kírí "may . . .," xa·t or xâ·tik "let . . .," and xay or xáyfa·t "let not . . .":

ʔuʔí·nka "it burns": kírí ʔuʔí·nka "may it burn!"

napíkčah "he takes my picture": xá·t napíkčah "let him take my picture!"

ʔúkvi·tha "he falls asleep": xáy ʔúkvi·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 profix in others (845. 7). This combination is used to express completed action, including momentaneous action occurring simultaneously with the utterance which describes it:

ʔuʔi·k "he hits it": t-uʔi·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 kunθá·rih. kári xás ʔapmá·n ʔúyu·nvar. xás ʔupám-  
čak. kári xás ʔuʔi·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 ʔuʔaṽ "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. {-aviš} 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-ʔípa ʔáva=he·š-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 ʔúkvip. čími kunipáhariθun=e·š. "And he ran (tenseless). They were about to catch him (future)." (T5. 77-78.)

The allomorph -he·š occurs after nominal predicates; it causes no morphophonemic changes.

naniʔávan "my husband": naniʔávan=he·š ". . . will (be) my husband."

The allomorphs -e·š and -aviš are added to verb forms, conditioning modified progressive accentuation. The allomorph -e·š occurs after consonants other than y and y:

ʔuʔif "it grows": ʔuʔíf=e·š "it will grow."

kuništuk "they pick" (< ištuk): kuništúk=e·š "they will pick."

ʔuváxrah "it dries" (< iváxrah, < axrah-): ʔuvaxráh=e·š "it will dry."

nupápiṽ "we seek": nupápiv=e·š "we will seek."

The allomorph -aviš 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 -aviš replaces a final vowel, however, it then contracts within itself to =e·š.

niʔáho· "I walk": niʔáho·=viš "I will walk."

ʔúkyav "he makes": \*ʔukyáv=aviš > ʔukyâ·viš "he will make."

Contrast ʔuʔaṽ "he eats": ʔuʔáv=e·š "he will eat."

ʔúhruv "he uses": \*ʔuhrúv=aviš > ʔuhrô·viš "he will use."

niʔáxay "I take": \*niʔáxay=aviš > niʔáxa·viš "I will take."

niʔí·pma "I go back" (< ʔi·pmu): \*niʔi·pm=áviš > niʔi·pmê·š "I will go back."

níxvi·pha "I get angry" (< ixví·phi): níxvi·phe=·š "I will get angry."

?u?í·θra "(filled container) sits" (< ?í·θri): ?u?í·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.

xás tó ·mmah pa?íššaha po·vú·ntih . . . kári xás . . . ká·n  
 ?u?u·m. yánava tupivaxrá=he·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·fič?ári·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 -C'V'CC'V show a progressive accent shift.

?u?áho· "he walks": ?u?áho·=he·n "he had walked."  
 ?upíθvu·k "he brought it back": ?upíθvu·k=ahe·n "he had brought it back."  
 ?uppê·čip(riv) "he picks it up": \*?uppê·čipriv=ahe·n > ?uppê·čip-re·he·n "he had picked it up."  
 ?upaku·ri·hva "he sang": ?upakuri·hv=ahe·n "he had sung."  
 ?u?á·hka "he sets fire to it": ?u?a·hk=áhe·n "he had set fire to it."

The sequence \*hahe·n, however, contracts to he·n, and the sequence \*háhe·n to hê·n.

?ummah "he sees": \*?ummáh=ahe·n > ?ummáhe·n "he had seen."  
 niyú·pha "I open my eyes": \*niyu·ph=ahe·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.

?ikrívkir "chair": ?ikrívkir=hanik ". . . (was) once a chair."

kun-iykáratih=ánik "they once were killing," pu= "not":

pu-?iykáratih-ap=hanik "they once weren't killing."

The allomorph =aNik, conditioning special progressive accentuation, is used elsewhere. Like {=ahe·n}, it conditions a progressive accent shift in forms ending in -C'V'CC'.

kun?av̄ "they eat": kun?áv=aNik "they once ate."

?úkyav "he makes": \*?ukyáv=aNik > ?ukyâ·nik "he once made."

?uθθa·námni "he puts it in": ?uθθa·námni=aNik "he once put it in."

?upišunva "he buries it": ?upišunv=aNik "he once buried it."

?upišunva'va·n "he buries himself": ?upišunvava'·n=aNik "he once buried himself."

?u?áho· "he goes": ?u?áho·=nik "he once went."

?u?i'θra "(water) lay": ?u?i'θr=áNik "(water) once lay."

823. The **NOMINALIZING POSTFIXES** are two morphemes, falling into Class 4, which occur principally in nominalized satellites; i.e., they normally 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, conditions zero accentuation. The allomorph =aha·k, occurring after verb forms ending in a consonant, conditions progressive accentuation.

čú·yič "narrow": pa=čú·yič=ha·k "when . . . (is) narrow."

yê·pša "good ones": pa=yê·pša=ha·k "when . . . (are) good ones."

kun?í·pma "they return": pa=kun?í·pma=ha·k "when they return."

·?uvô·rura· "he climbs up": po=·vô·rura·=ha·k "when he climbs up."

?i?if "you grow": pe=·?íf=aha·k "when you grow."

kuníkyav "they make": \*pa=kuníkyáv=aha·k > pakuníkyâ·ha·k  
"when they make."

When the suffix follows h or ha, the sequence \*haha·k reduces to ha·k:

tu?û·rih "he is unwilling": \*pa=tu?û·rih=aha·k > patu?û·riha·k  
"when he is unwilling."

kunkúha "they are sick": \*pa=kunkúha=aha·k > pakunkúha·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 number 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=.

itrô·vuTih "to be looking upriver": itrô·vuTih-irak "where one looks upriver (a place name)."

ʔírip "to dig": sak-ʔírip-irak "where one digs flint (a place name)."

In many of these cases the verb theme is a denominative in -hi, not attested as a free form:

ačvi·v "bird": ačví·v-hi- "to be a bird": ačvi·vh-írak "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.

ʔiš "to drink": ʔíš-irak "where one drinks, Cecilville":

ʔiširá-θθu·f "Cecilville-creek, i.e., the South Fork of the Salmon River."

kátiph-irak (a place name, unanalyzable): katíphira-ʔára·ra "person from kátiphirak."

More productively, =irak occurs with complete verbal predicates in the presence of pa=.

kunihyákurih=e·š "they will stick it in": pa=kunihyákurihe·š=irak "where they will stick it in." Note the sequence of temporal and nominalizing postfixes.

ʔuʔí·hya "it stands": po=ʔi·hy-írak "where it stands."

ʔuvúmni·na· "(baskets) are sitting": \*pa=ʔuvumni·ná·=irak > po·vumni·nê·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 pa=. These cases consist entirely of place names.

ʔára ʔuʔipamvâ·natih "a person eats himself": ʔára ʔuʔipamvâ·natih=irak "where a person eats himself, i.e., a place name, Medicine Mountain."

### 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·thê·šan ʔô·k vúra nuʔí·tšure·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."

piʔê·p va-ʔirípra·m "long-ago its-mine, i.e., an old mine."

panámni· kuma-yú·m "Orleans its-downriver, i.e., downriver from Orleans."

va· kumá-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," ko· "so much," ko·vúra "all," ká·kum "some," há·rìh "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 pa= "the." The resulting phrase is endocentric, with the noun as head.

páy pa=vuh "this the-tooth, i.e., this tooth"

páy nanu-ʔávahkam "this our-above, i.e., the sky."

kó· ʔahupyâ·mač "so-much pretty-stick, i.e., such a pretty stick."

ʔáxxak pa=mu-ʔíffunih "two the-their-hair, i.e., two of their hairs."

ʔáxxak-avan pa=ʔávansas "two(-an.) the-men, i.e., two men."

ʔápxa·n-ʔaxyar pa=xuntáppan "hat-ful the-acorn(s), i.e., a hatful of acorns."

Note the discontinuous determinative phrase in the following example:

ko·vúra ʔúkvar pa=píhnê·fič "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 yíθa "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.  $\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  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  $\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  may then occur as a satellite, designating the subject of the verb.

$\text{pa?asiktáva}\cdot\text{n } \text{?íp } \text{?i}\cdot\text{ } \text{na?áxxa}\cdot\text{t}$  "the-woman formerly (subj.) she-took-it-from-me, i.e., the woman took it from me."

When  $\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  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.

$\text{?ára}\cdot\text{ra}$  "person":  $\text{?arara}=\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  "by a person."

$\text{?ávansáxi}\cdot\text{č}$  "boy":  $\text{?avansaxič}=\text{i}\cdot\text{n}$  "by a boy."

$\text{pamúтта}\cdot\text{t}$  "his mother":  $\text{pamutat}=\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$   $\text{kunmah}$  "he is seen by his mother, his mother sees him."

Note, however, that when  $\text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  directly follows a pronoun, rather than a noun, then there is no fusion of words. This is a determining characteristic of the pronoun subclass.

$\text{ná}\cdot$  "I":  $\text{na}\cdot\text{ } \text{?i}\cdot\text{n}$  "by me."

833.2.  $\text{kič}$  "just, only" occurs as a postposition in the special meaning "characterized by, like." The resultant construction is synonymous with single-word derivatives in  $-\text{ara}$  and  $-\text{kíp-ač}$ .

$\text{?á}\cdot\text{s}$  "wafer":  $\text{?a}\cdot\text{s } \text{kič}$  "wet" ( $=\text{?ásara}$ ,  $\text{?a}\cdot\text{skípáč}$ ).

$\text{?á}\cdot\text{x}$  "blood":  $\text{?a}\cdot\text{x } \text{kič}$  "bloody" ( $=\text{?áxara}$ ,  $\text{?a}\cdot\text{xkípáč}$ ).

$\text{ká}\cdot\text{s}$  "nest":  $\text{ka}\cdot\text{s } \text{kíč}$   $\text{pamuxvâ}\cdot\text{h}$  "nest-like (is) his-head, i.e., his hair is disarranged."

833.3.  $\text{kó}\cdot\text{van}$  "together (with several people)" is composed of  $\text{ko}$  "so much" and  $-\text{avan}$  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.

$\text{nupíkva } \text{pa?asiktáva}\cdot\text{nsaš } \text{kó}\cdot\text{van}$  "we-told stories the-women and-X, i.e., the women and I told stories." (T88.12.)

833.4.  $\text{ku}\cdot\text{k}$  "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  $\text{?u}\cdot\text{ma}$  "to go, arrive," and of derivative verbs in  $-\text{mu}$  "thither."

yuma·rári· k̄u·k "land-of-the-dead to": yuma·rári· k̄ú·k ʔu·mi  
"go to hell!"

yû·m ku·k "downriver-to": yû·m ʔíp kú·k tuʔí·pmat "he went  
back downriver."

paʔíppaha k̄u·k "at-the-tree to": paʔíppahak ʔíp kú·k  
ʔuppá·θmat "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).

ʔvá·h "that": va· kuθ "therefore."

hû·t "how?": hû·t kuθ "why?"

xú·n kúθ ʔúkri· "acorn-soup by-means-of he-lives, i.e., he  
lives on acorn soup."

xú·n kúθ ʔukyaví·čvutih "acorn-soup for-the-sake-of he's-work-  
ing, i.e., he's working for acorn soup."

833.6. mú·k "with, by means of" may be called the INSTRUMENTAL postposition. Phrases containing it act as adverbial satellites (845).

ʔás ʔíp mú·k pó·kti·nvat "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 prejunctional form; noun and postposition remain separate words, however.

ʔasa "rock": ʔássa mú·k "with a rock."

θarampúkara "soup-stirrer": θarampúkara mú·k "with a soup-  
stirrer."

833.7. xákka·n "together (with one person)" is probably an irregular contraction of ʔáxak·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).

paʔávansa muhrô·ha xákka·n kunʔi·n "the-man his-wife-and  
they-two-live, i.e., he lives with his wife."

víri ʔakâ·y vúra xákka·n kunvû·nve·š "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-, which then acts as a noun-substitute, translatable as a relative pronoun.

payê·m pa-ʔí·n ʔimússaruktihap va· nanitíppah "now who-(subj.)  
is-visiting-you that (is) my-brother, i.e., the one who is  
visiting you now is my brother."

·pa-ʔípa ʔí·n ʔimússarukaphat va· nanitíppah "who formerly

(subj.) visited-you that (is) my-brother, i.e., the one who visited you is my brother."

kâ·m vuhvúha ʔukyâ·ti pa·kúθ ʔivúrayvutih "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·mû·k ʔuʔê·čiprintih "with-which he-raises-it, i.e., an automobile jack."

834. An **APPOSITIONAL** phrase consists of a noun form followed (or occasionally preceded) by a third person pronoun, either ʔú·m "he, she, it" or ʔu·mkun "they." This construction is endocentric, with the two constituents coördinate 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.—

múttá·t ʔuʔa·čičha patá kunívyi·hšip. xás paʔavansáxxi·č ʔu·m tó·ttárak. "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:

paʔára papivankô·tihan ké·vni·kič "the-person going-there-to-look-for-him (was) an old woman." (T59.22.)

835. A **COÖRDINATE** phrase consists of two or more nouns separated either by comma pause or by the adverbs káru "and, or" or hum "or."

·va· ká·n tá kunímníš xu·n, pú·fič, ʔá·ma "there they cook acorn soup, deer meat, salmon." (T84.13.)

kunikxúrikarati panyúrar káru ʔikritápkir káru tí·pti·p "they decorated them with bear-lily and five-finger fern and chain fern." (T86.11.)

ʔaxaksúppa· ʔasu·xáras muʔí·n káru ʔiθé·kxaram "two-days fasting(-pl.) we-two-are and one-night, i.e., we fast for two days and a night." (T83.24.)

payô·k hámi ʔú·mukič húm hô·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. ʔáTa "maybe, I suppose" occurs after nouns of interrogative meaning, where it may be translated "I wonder."

hú·ka ʔáta tuʔu·m "where, I wonder, has he gone?"



hû·t ʔáta kúθ papunayâ·vahitihara "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. kári "still, yet" is used as an attribute in a single but very common phrase, namely kári xas (or, less often, xás kári) "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 víri "so" is formed víri vá·h, a phrase of weak demonstrative meaning, often translatable by English "there" in its use as an anticipatory subject: ʔíppaha ʔuʔí·hya "a tree is standing," but víri va· ʔíppaha ʔuʔí·hya "there's a tree standing."

836.5. vúra Intensive is the most widely used qualifier. Its intensive meaning, which is often fairly obvious when vúra is used as a satellite to predicates, is weaker when vúra 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 kári vúra "still," kúk·ku·m vúra "again," há·ri vúra "sometimes," káru vúra "also," kúna vúra "but"; it will be noted that vúra normally follows an adverb to which it is attributive. As an attribute to non-adverbial nouns, however, vúra may either precede or follow, and has a more perceptibly intensive meaning:

yav "good": vúra yav "just fine" (or, less often, yá·vúra)—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.—

há·ri ʔitro·paʔáttiv (determinative phrase)—káru vúra (qualifying phrase)—há·ri kumatê·šič (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).

ʔitráhyar mutúnvi·v "ten (S) his-children (NP), i.e., he has ten children."<sup>5</sup>

pa·muxvá·h ʔíp vúra kíč pa·nimmáhat "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).

ʔávansa ʔúkri· "man (S) he-lives (IP), i.e., a man lives," < the theme ikriv.

mahnû·vanač tuyíkkiha "Chipmunk (S) he-is-sick (IP)," < the theme yíkíhi.

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).

paʔasiktáva·nsas ʔápka·s kunʔíššumtih "the-women (S) iris (O) they-extract-fiber-from (TP), i.e., the women extract fiber from iris," < the theme ʔíššumtih. (T68.1.)

paʔávansa va· kunparíšri·hva paʔápka·s "the-men (S) thus they-make-string-from (TP) the-iris (O)," < the theme pari·šri·hva. (T68.2.)

tó ʔsapnsi ʔatayí·θ tišnamkanvínusunač "already he-carried-off (TP) the-brodiaeas (O) skunk-sp. (S), i.e., Skunk had carried off the brodiaeas," < the theme ipšá·nsip(riv). (T46.10.)

<sup>5</sup> 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·xmačmahánnáč ?úkfu·kíra· papiriškâ·rim "lizard-sp. (S) he-grabbed-him (TP) the-grizzly-bear (O), i.e., Lizard grabbed the grizzly bear," < the theme ikfú·kíra· (T34.53.)  
 papiriškâ·rim ?úkfu·kíra· yu·xmačmahánnáč "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·xmačmahánnáč ?úkfu·kíra·, there is no way of knowing whether yu·xmačmahánnáč is subject or object. If, however, we learn that the sequence yu·xmačmahánnáč ?úkfu·kíra· papiriškâ·rim may occur in the same context, then we know that yu·xmačmahánnáč 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.—

?áho "walking": nivî·hiti va-?áho "I dislike walking," < the theme vî·hi "to dislike."

?ákkunvar-a "going hunting": tá né·θvo·nha va-?ákkunvar "I'm eager to go hunting," < the theme iθvó·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 né·θvo·nha ?ákkunvar.

844. 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).

?u·m ta·y ?ukvárar ?asiktáva·n "he (S) much (O) he-buys-her-with (2TP) woman (O), i.e., he pays a lot for a woman," < the theme ikvárara.

pa?ávansa ?u·m pe·špúk xu·s ?u?ê·θtih "the-man he (S) the-money (O) thought (O) he-takes-it-for (2TP), i.e., the man takes care of the money,"<sup>6</sup> < the theme ?ê·θtih.

<sup>6</sup> The Karok idiom xu·s ?u?ê·θtih "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.

ʔávansa ʔummáh yurásti·m "man (O) he-sees-him (TP) sea-shore (A), i.e., he sees a man on the seashore."

káruk ʔiθivθane·n ʔíppa nívâ·ramuthih "upriver (A) world-end<sup>1</sup> (A) I'm-going (IP), i.e., I'm going to the upriver end of the world."

ʔikxúrar ʔa·s tá kunpí·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 nipmahó·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 ʔikmaháčra·m "sweathouse" may occur in a sentence like ká·n ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuʔí·kra "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. čími 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 čími. When a series of such verb forms occurs, however, čími will often occur in the first predication, but not in succeeding ones:

cími naʔáharami. ʔíffuθ ʔáho·. "Follow me! Walk behind!"

kaʔtimʔí·n čími nívâ·rame·š. nanixúkkam nimússare·š. "I'm going to Katimin. I'm going to visit my uncle."

čími 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.

ʔâ·pun "down (to the ground)": čími ʔâ·pun "let's go down!"

pamíyu·p "your eyes": yáxxa čími pamíyu·p "look, let me fix your eyes!" (T60.14.)

In rapid speech the adverb sometimes has the form čí. Before ʔ

plus a short vowel, the i can be lost (393.3); the adverb is then written as a profix, since it has lost its status as an independent word but still retains its tactical independence.

čími niʔíšše·š > čí niʔíšše·š "I'm going to drink."

čími ʔíški ʔa·xi > \*čí ʔíški ʔa·xi > č-iški 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 úm ʔê·m "are you a doctor?"

té ·mmah úm pe·kmaháčra·m "do you see the sweathouse?"

(T60.12.)

nípakurí·hve·š hum "shall I sing?"

púxxič húm tá kuθvuyxâ·ha "do you-all grieve much?"

845.3. ʔik expresses obligation or necessity; it is usually translated "must" or "have to":

xáyfa·t ʔiyú·pha "don't open your eyes": xáyfa·t ʔík ʔiyú·pha  
"you mustn't open your eyes."

When it follows a word ending in the future postfix {-aviš}, ʔik has the irregular alternant ik.

ʔiʔasímča·ktihe·š "you will have your eyes closed": ʔiʔasím-  
ča·ktihe·š ik "you must have your eyes closed."

845.4. ʔip(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 ʔip occurs:

ʔíp ʔuttárúkrišukaʔ paʔíppaha. pa· ʔíp ʔukyá·t. ta·y ʔíp ʔá·ma  
ʔuykárat. ta·y ʔíp vúra paʔávaha ʔumáhya·nat pá·hak. páppa·  
ʔíp ʔupiθyúrukarat. pamuhrô·ha ʔíp ʔukuyâ·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 ʔip(a) occurs immediately after the profix pa-, however, the allomorph ʔípa is found:

pa=ʔípa ʔí·n ʔimússarukaphat "(the one) who came to see you."

It is also found, however, that ʔípa occurs alone with the combined functions of pa- and ʔip(a); this may be regarded as an optional portmanteau formation.

ʔípa ʔí·m kuvúrayvutih(hat) "(the one) who was walking around outdoors."

The cases where  $\text{?ip(a)}$  occurs without  $\{-\text{at}\}$  are: (1) with nominal predicates; (2) with  $\{-\text{aha}\cdot\text{k}\}$  Temporal and  $\text{-irak}$  Local, which as Class 4 postfixes are mutually exclusive with  $\{-\text{at}\}$ ; and (3) with  $\{-\text{han}\}$  Participial. In the last case the presence of  $\{-\text{at}\}$  is optional, as in the example above. Examples of the first two cases are as follows:

ta·y  $\text{?íp}$   $\text{?imafúnva}\cdot\text{nsa}$  "there were a lot of beggars." (T23. 21.)  
 pa= $\text{?ípa}$   $\text{?u}\text{?i}\cdot\text{hy}=\text{írak}$  "where it stood."

845.5.  $\text{mit(a)}$  REMOTE PAST has the same distribution as  $\text{?ip(a)}$  NEAR PAST. Either this adverb or  $\text{?ip(a)}$  is present in every predication containing  $\{-\text{at}\}$ .  $\text{mit(a)}$  most commonly occurs in the allomorph  $\text{mit}$ :

$\text{pišší}\cdot\check{\text{č}}$   $\text{mít}$   $\text{ka}\text{?tim}\text{?í}\cdot\text{n}$   $\text{?u}\text{?ú}\cdot\text{mat}$ .  $\text{xás}$   $\text{mít}$   $\text{va}\cdot$   $\text{ká}\cdot\text{n}$   $\text{?asiktáva}\cdot\text{n}$   
 $\text{?uhró}\cdot\text{t}$ . "First he went to taKimiñ. And he hired a woman there." (T88. 1-2.)

The allomorph  $\text{mita}$  (unaccented) is used after the prefix  $\text{pa}\text{:}$ :

$\text{na}\cdot$   $\text{va}\cdot$   $\text{pá}\text{:mita}$   $\text{?itaharâ}\cdot$   $\text{ñipikyáva}\cdot\text{nhat}$  "I am the one who was priestess ten times."

But as in the case of  $\text{?ípa}$ ,  $\text{pa}\text{:}$  plus the adverb are sometimes combined into the portmanteau morph  $\text{míta}$ :

$\text{?u}\text{?íppaho}\cdot$   $\text{míta}$   $\text{kû}\text{-kam}$   $\text{?u}\text{?arávu}\cdot\text{kat}$  "she went again in the direction she had formerly gone." (T16. 26.)

$\text{mit(a)}$  also acts as an attribute to nouns; see 836.3.

845.6.  $\{\text{pu}\text{-} . . . \text{-ara}\}$  "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  $\text{pũ}\cdot$ ,  $\text{pú}\cdot$ , and  $\text{pû}\cdot\text{hara}$ , all translated as "no."

When occurring with the derivative suffix  $\text{-vA}$  (621.17), it has the allomorph  $\text{pú}\text{-}$ ; thus  $\text{pú}\text{-vA}$  "not yet." A verb form in the same predication as  $\text{púvA}$  has the negative allomorph of its personal morpheme, but does not receive any negative suffixal element.

$\text{?u}\text{-pá}\theta\text{rih}$  "it rains":  $\text{púva}$   $\emptyset\text{-pa}\theta\text{rih}$  "it doesn't rain yet."  
 $\text{ni}\text{-mmah}$  "I see":  $\text{púva}$   $\text{ná}\text{-mmah}$  "I don't see yet."

With  $\text{fâ}\cdot\text{t}$  "what, something,"  $\text{hu}\cdot\text{n}$  "harmful," and  $\text{?akáray}$  "who, someone," the negative morpheme is either a preposund,  $\text{pu}\text{-}$ , or an independent word,  $\text{púra}$ .  $\text{fâ}\cdot\text{t}$  has an unaccented allomorph in this combination, and  $\text{?akáray}$  has the special allomorphs  $\text{kara}$  and  $\text{?akára}$ , so that the results are  $\text{pú}\text{-ffa}\cdot\text{t}$  or  $\text{púra}$   $\text{ffa}\cdot\text{t}$  "nothing,"  $\text{pú}\text{-hu}\cdot\text{n}$  or  $\text{púra}$   $\text{hu}\cdot\text{n}$  "not harmful," and  $\text{pu}\text{-kára}$ ,  $\text{pu}\text{-?akára}$  or  $\text{púra}$   $\text{kára}$  "nobody."

In other environments, the allomorphs  $\text{pu}\text{-} . . . \text{-hara}$ ,  $\text{pu}\text{-} . . . \text{-ara}$ , and

pu= occur. As a profix, 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 profix 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.

ʔú·m "he": pu=ʔu·m=hára "it's not he." (T6.33.)

sákri·v "tight": pu=sakri·v=hára "it't not tight." (T8.20.)

yav "good": pu=yáv=hara "it's no good."

ʔíppararah "reliable": pu=ʔíppararahara "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.

ʔu-ʔu·m "he arrives": pu=ʔu·m=ára "he doesn't arrive."

ʔu-mmah "he sees": pu=mah=ára "he doesn't see."

ʔú-mxa·θtíh "it is smelling" (< imxaθ): pu=ʔimxa·θtíh=ara "it isn't smelling."

ʔu-ʔáho· "he walks": pu=ʔáho·=ra "he doesn't walk."

ʔu-ʔi·pm=ê·š "he will return": pu=ʔi·pmê·š=ara "he won't return."<sup>7</sup>

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-íkčū·ntíh "they are grinding": pu=ʔikčū·ntíh-ap "they aren't grinding."

ʔu-mmáh-at "he saw": pu=máhat "he didn't see."

ʔu-mmáh=e·n "he had seen": pu=máhe·n "he hadn't seen."

ʔu-mmáh=anik "he once saw": pu=máhanik "he once didn't see."

The postfix is also absent when the predicate ends in -xay (854.8).

pú=xay vúra=xay ʔamkú·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:

<sup>7</sup> 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  $\emptyset$ , negative of ʔu- "he(-him)."

čavúra xára tah, axmáj ?asámyi·θ ?úxxak "finally long-time already, suddenly gravel it-sounds; i.e., finally after a long time had elapsed, there was suddenly a sound of gravel."  
(T3.168.)

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 ?, {tah} remains an independent word, and invariably receives acute accent.

kê·č "big": tá kkê·č "(it is) big by now."

ní?áho· "I come": tá ní?áho· "I have come."

2) When the predicate begins with ?VCC, 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.

?úkfuyšur "he's tired": tó ·kfuyšur "he's tired (now)."

?uppê·čip "he picks it up": tó ·ppê·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.

?immah "you see": té ·mmah pa?íššaha "you have seen the water," but pa?íššaha te ·mmah (same meaning).

3) When the predicate begins with the sequence ?VCV, the allomorph t= occurs, replacing the initial ?. In this case the result is a single word, and there is no accentual change.

?ivâ·ram "you go": t=ivâ·ram "you have gone."

?uváxrah "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 ?i, the glottal stop is lost—an external sandhi change peculiar to this combination.

?ímčax "you get burnt": xay ímčax "watch out you don't get burnt!"

xáy pe·kxariya?ára·r ?úkvi·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.

yíθa "one": *pu=yíθa=xay ká·n θa·nê=·ra* "not a single one lay there." (T4. 137.)

*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.

*pú=xay vúra fâ·t mah=ára* "he didn't see anything."

*pú=xay vúra=xay yíθa=xay tá nám mah=ara* "I've never seen even a single one."

*pú=xay vúra=xa ŷa·sʔára ʔaxvahkán=xay=he·š=ara* "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·f* "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· ʔuxxúti* "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· ʔukyâ·ti* "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.

*kári xás ʔuppi·p*, "hô·y ʔimmá·hti pe·špuk." "And he said, 'Where do you find the money?'" (T1. 3.)

*kári xás ʔuxxus*, "čími kanʔarámsi·príni." "And he thought, 'Let me start out!'; i.e., he thought he would start out." (T1. 11.)

"ʔuθíšši·p" ʔixxússe·ntihap "kíri ʔivá·ram." "'To San Francisco, he thinks of you, 'may she go!'; i.e., he wants you to go to San Francisco."

*xás ʔummáh* "ká·n ʔíšké·šti·m kunʔi·n." "And he saw, they were there on the edge of the river." (T35. 23.)

Quotations are sometimes emboxed within one another:

*kári xás kunpi·p*, "na· nixxúti ʔupíti "tá yúrukhe·n." ."

"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 coördinate 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.—

tá kunpávyi·hšip kúčku·m pa·sta·h "already they-left, again the-ducks, i.e., the ducks left again": optionally also tá kunpávyi·hšip, kúčku·m, pa·sta·h.

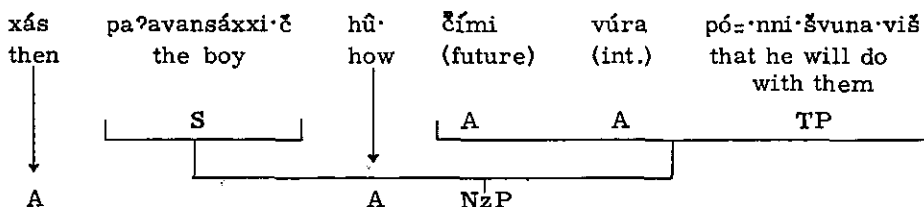
xás ʔuppí·p "čém̄mi." "And he said, 'All right!': optionally also xás ʔuppí·p, "čém̄mi."

Rarely, the comma pause is used after nominalized satellites which precede the rest of a predication:

kári xás pó·ppar, kári xás ʔuʔárihšip "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:



"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:

payê·m ník vúra ʔišáva·s pune·pkupê·šara

"this time, nephew, I won't do it again." (T3.164.)

káruk tá kunpávyi·hma, tusupaháya·čha, pámita ká·n  
 kun?arámsi·printih "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: pu- Negative never immediately precedes {tah} Perfective, and {tah} never immediately precedes pa- Nominalizing. Although the hypothetical sequence pa-tá pu- has not been found, there are many examples like the following:

pa-t-u?áho·ha·k "when he has come."  
 tá pu-?áho·ra "he hasn't come."

Concerning other elements in the predication, the following observations 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 čími Anticipative, ?ip Near Past, kíri Optative, and xay Vetative.
- 3) Quotations tend to follow the predicates to which they are satellites. Occasionally, however, a discontinuous quotation both precedes and follows its predicate; e.g.—  
 pihnê-fič "pá·ha" kúnipê·r "sú ?iθxu·prámnihi." "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 recorded in 1949 from Mrs. Julia Starritt, a Karok speaker of Orleans. The transcription presented is phonemic in all respects, including the indication 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.

paʔára-r <sup>1</sup> the Indian	ʔu·m <sup>2</sup> he	puʔipítihara <sup>3</sup> he doesn't say (dur.)	pamúʔarama <sup>4</sup> his child		
múθvuy <sup>5</sup> his name	patuʔíyaha·k. <sup>6</sup> when he dies (pf.).	káru <sup>7</sup> and	vúra <sup>8</sup> (int.)	ko·vúra <sup>9</sup> all	
pamuʔára·ras <sup>10</sup> when his relatives	tá <sup>11</sup> (pf.)	kunʔívaha·k <sup>12</sup> when they die	puʔipítihara <sup>3</sup> he doesn't say (dur.)		
mukunʔíθvuy. <sup>13</sup> their names.	"va. <sup>14</sup> that	ʔu·m <sup>2</sup> it	kunipíti <sup>15</sup> they say (dur.)	"pitaxyárih." <sup>16</sup> 'swearing.'	
xás <sup>17</sup> and	hâ·ri <sup>18</sup> sometimes	tá <sup>11</sup> (pf.)	kunipíθvu·ymaθ <sup>19</sup> they name him again	míta <sup>20</sup> former	
pakê·miš <sup>21</sup> the deceased person	múθvuy. <sup>5</sup> his name	víriva <sup>22</sup> so	kári <sup>23</sup> still	ʔu·m <sup>24</sup> they	tá <sup>11</sup> (pf.)
kunipíti <sup>15</sup> they say	pe·θvuy, <sup>25</sup> the name,	vúra <sup>26</sup> (int.)	puhú·nhara. <sup>27</sup> (it is) not harmful.		
xás <sup>17</sup> and	hâ·ri <sup>18</sup> sometimes	vúra <sup>8</sup> (int.)	ʔára <sup>28</sup> person	puxúti-hara, <sup>29</sup> he isn't thinking,	
víri <sup>30</sup> there	vúra <sup>8</sup> (int.)	tó <sup>31</sup> (pf.)	·ppi·p <sup>32</sup> he says	e·θvuy. <sup>33</sup> the name	púyava <sup>34</sup> tá <sup>11</sup> then (pf.)
kunixvíphu·niš, <sup>35</sup> they get angry at him,	xás <sup>17</sup> and	tá <sup>11</sup> (pf.)	kunvá·sanha. <sup>36</sup> they become enemies.		
púyava <sup>34</sup> then	ʔu·m <sup>24</sup> he	fâ·t <sup>37</sup> something	tuʔû·kar. <sup>38</sup> he pays (pf.)	xás <sup>17</sup> and	tá <sup>11</sup> (pf.)
kunipčúphu·niš. <sup>39</sup> they speak to him again.	hâ·ri <sup>40</sup> sometimes	ʔitrô·p <sup>41</sup> five	tuʔû·kar <sup>38</sup> he pays (pf.)		
káru <sup>42</sup> and	hâ·ri <sup>40</sup> sometimes	vúra <sup>8</sup> (int.)	ʔitráhyar. <sup>43</sup> ten.		

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.

xás <sup>17</sup>	hâ·ri <sup>18</sup>	vúra <sup>8</sup>	ʔu·m <sup>44</sup>	paʔára·r <sup>1</sup>		
and	sometimes	(int.)	he	the person		
pahú·ntaha·k <sup>45</sup>		ʔára <sup>28</sup>	vúra <sup>26</sup>	tupitaxyárih. <sup>46</sup>		
when (he is) peculiar		person	(int.)	he 'swears' (pf.).		
xás <sup>17</sup>	patá <sup>47</sup>	kuníppe·raha·k <sup>48</sup>	"fâ·t <sup>37</sup>	ʔiyúriš <sup>49</sup>		
and	when (pf.)	when they tell him	something	pay!		
xás <sup>17</sup>	patuʔû·riha·k <sup>50</sup>	púyava <sup>34</sup>	ʔu·m <sup>51</sup>	hâ·ri <sup>18</sup>		
and	when he refuses (pf.)	then	he	sometimes		
ʔára <sup>28</sup>	va· <sup>52</sup>	kúš <sup>53</sup>	tó <sup>30</sup>	·θθá·niv. <sup>54</sup>	ʔíkki·š <sup>55</sup>	
person	that	because of	(pf.)	is killed	maybe	
káru <sup>7</sup>	vúra <sup>8</sup>	mutíppa <sup>56</sup>	káru <sup>42</sup>	muxúkkam <sup>57</sup>		
also	(int.)	his brother	or	his mother's brother		
káru <sup>42</sup>	vúra <sup>8</sup>	ʔakâ·y <sup>58</sup>	vúra <sup>8</sup>	pamʔára·r. <sup>59</sup>	va· <sup>14</sup>	ʔu·m <sup>2</sup>
or	(int.)	any(one)	(int.)	his relative.	that	it
ʔararákku·pha. <sup>60</sup>						
Indian law.						

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

<sup>1</sup>paʔára·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. paʔára·r is < pa= "the" (811) + ʔára·r, basic form ʔára·ra (354) "person, relative, Indian." This theme evidently contains ʔára "person," but beyond that its derivation is obscure.

<sup>2</sup>ʔu·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 ʔú·m (391.4).

<sup>3</sup>puʔipítihara "he doesn't say (dur.)," a transitive verbal predicate, is < pu= . . =ara "not" (845.6) + the verb form ʔu·pítih "he says (dur.)," where the personal morpheme ʔu- "he, she, it" is replaced, in the negative, by a zero allomorph (524). The theme is ipítih p.i. "to say (dur.)," a derivative in -Tih Durative (757) from ipi-, an irregular allomorph of pi·p p.i. "to say!"

<sup>4</sup>pamúʔarama "his child" is head constituent of the possessive phrase (831) pamúʔarama múθvuy "his child's name," which acts as object of puʔipítihara. pamúʔarama is < pa= "the" (811) + the noun form múʔarama, basic form múʔaramah (391.3) "his child," < the possessive prefix mu- "his,

her" (410) + -ʔáRamah "child (as a kinship term)"; for the accent shift, see 383.

<sup>5</sup> múθvuy "his name," a noun form, is the head constituent of a possessive phrase. Basically múθvuya (354), it is < mu- "his" (410) + iθvuya "name"; for the loss of the theme-initial vowel, see 311. iθvuya is < iθvuy p. t. "to be named" + -a Deverbative (761).

<sup>6</sup> patuʔívaha·k "when he dies (pf.)," a nominalized satellite of puʔipítihara, is < pa- Nominalizing (812) + tuʔívaha·k "when he dies (pf.)," t- Perfective (845.7) + ʔuʔívaha·k "when he dies," an intransitive verbal predicate. ʔuʔívaha·k is in turn < the nominalizing postfix =aha·k "when" (823.1) + the verb form ʔuʔiv, basic form ʔuʔiṽ "he dies, < ʔu- "he" (520) + ʔiṽ p. i. "to die."

<sup>7</sup> káru "also, and, or" is an adverb acting as a satellite.

<sup>8</sup> vúra Intensive is an adverb, basic form vúra (354), which in this case modifies the preceding particle in a qualifying phrase (836).

<sup>9</sup> 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).

<sup>10</sup> pamuʔára·ras "when his relatives" is < pa- Nominalizing (812) + muʔára·ras "his relatives." pa- serves to nominalize the whole predication ko·vúra muʔára·ras tá kunʔívaha·k "when all his relatives die," which then acts as a satellite to puʔipítihara. muʔára·ras, basic form muʔára·rasa (354), is a noun form acting as head of a determinative phrase (832); it is < mu- "his" (410) + ʔára·rasa "relatives," < ʔára·ra "person, relative" (note 1) + -asa "plural" (621.12).

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> kunʔívaha·k "when they die" is an intransitive predicate < the verb form kunʔiv "they die" + the nominalizing postfix =aha·k "when" (823.1). kunʔiv, basic form kunʔiṽ, is < the personal morpheme kunʔ "they" (520) + ʔiṽ p. i. "to die."

<sup>13</sup> mukunʔíθvuy "their names" is a noun form serving as object of puʔipítihara. Basically mukunʔíθvuya (354), it is < the possessive prefix mukun- "their" (410) + iθvuya "name" (note 5); for the added ʔ, see 311.

<sup>14</sup> va· "that" is a noun form acting as head of the appositional phrase (834) va· ʔu·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).

<sup>15</sup> kunipíti "they say (dur.);" is a verb form acting as a transitive verbal predicate, basic form kunipítih (381.1, 391.3), < kunʔ "they" (520) + ipítih p. i. "to say (dur.);" (note 3).

<sup>16</sup> pitaxyárih 'swearing' is a nominal predicate in the discontinuous predication va· ʔu·m . . . pitaxyárih "that's 'swearing,'" which is a quotation acting as the object of kunipíti. The noun form pitaxyárih, basically pitaxyáriha (354), is an uninflected theme < pitaxyárih p. i. "to 'swear'" + -a Deverbative (761).

<sup>17</sup> xás "and, then, and then" is an adverb, acting as a satellite; its basic form is xas (391.4).

<sup>18</sup> hâ-ri "sometimes" is an adverb, basically hâ-rih (391.3), acting as a satellite.

<sup>19</sup> kunpíθvu·ymaθ "they name him again" is a verb form acting as a double-transitive predicate, < kun- "they" (520) + piθvú·ymaθ tp. 2t. "to name again" (for the accent shift, see 525.3. This is < p- "again" (731) + iθvú·ymaθ tp. 2t. "to name," < iθvuy a. t. "to be named" + -maθ Causative (754.12).

<sup>20</sup> míta "former" is an adverb, basically míTa, acting as attribute to the phrase pakê·miš múθvuy "name of the deceased"; the whole combination then forms a qualifying phrase (836) which acts as an object of kunpíθvu·ymaθ. míTa is an allomorph of the remote-past adverb mit(a) (836.3).

<sup>21</sup> pakê·miš "the deceased person" acts as attribute to múθvuy "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).

<sup>22</sup> víriva "so" is an adverb, basic form víriva (354), acting as a satellite. It is < the adverb víri (note 30) + -va (621.17).

<sup>23</sup> kári "still, yet" is an adverb, acting as a satellite.

<sup>24</sup> ʔu·m "he, they" functions here as subject of the predication in which it appears; contrast note 2.

<sup>25</sup> pe·θvuy "the name" serves as object of kunipíti; it is < pa= "the" (811) + the noun form ʔiθvuy, basically iθvuya (354) "name," an uninflected theme (note 5).

<sup>26</sup> víra Intensive is an adverb, basically víra (354), which in this case acts as a satellite to the predicate; contrast note 8.

<sup>27</sup> puhú·nhara "(it is) not harmful" is a nominal predicate < pu=...hara "not" (845.6) + the noun form hu·n "harmful," consisting of an uninflected theme.

<sup>28</sup> ʔára "person" is a noun form acting as subject of puxútihara. It is an uninflected theme, of basic form ʔára (354).

<sup>29</sup> puxútihara "he isn't thinking" is a transitive predicate, < pu=...ara "not" (845.6) + the verb form ʔu-xxútihara, with ʔu- "he" being replaced, in the negative, by a zero allomorph (524); note that the gemination conditioned by ʔu- (333) does not occur after pu=. The theme xúTih p. i. "to be thinking" is a derivative in -Tih Durative (757) from xu-, an irregular allomorph of xus p. i. "to think."

<sup>30</sup> víri "so" is an adverb, used as a satellite.

<sup>31</sup> tó represents the first half of a contraction between tá Perfective (note 11) and a verb form beginning in ʔúCC (845.7).

<sup>32</sup> ʔpi·p represents the second half of a contraction between tá Perfective and ʔuppi·p "he says." The latter is a verb form acting as a transitive verbal.

predicate, < ʔu- "he" (520) + pi·p p.i. "to say"; re the gemination see 333.

<sup>33</sup> é·θvuy is the external sandhi form, following a p, of pe·θvuy "the name" (note 25), here functioning as the object of 'ppi·p.

<sup>34</sup> púyava "then" is an adverb, basic form púyavA (354), used as a satellite. It is < púyA, an adverb translatable as "so," + -vA (621.17).

<sup>35</sup> kunixvíphu·niš "they get angry at him" is a verb form acting as a transitive predicate, < kun- "they" (520) + ixvíphu·niš tp.t. "to get angry at" (re the accent shift, see 525.3), < ixví·phi p.i. "to get angry" + {-uniš} "to, at" (754.18).

<sup>36</sup> kunvá·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).

<sup>37</sup> fâ·t "what, something" is a noun form acting as object of tuʔû·kar; it consists of an uninflected theme.

<sup>38</sup> tuʔû·kar "he pays (pf.)" is < t= Perfective (845.7) + the transitive predicate ʔuʔû·kar, basic form ʔuʔû·kara "he pays" (354), a verb form < ʔu- "he" (520) + ʔû·kara p.t. "to pay," lit. "to put across." This is < ʔû- an irregular allomorph of ʔu·v p.t. "to put" + -kara "across" (753.4).

<sup>39</sup> kunipčúphu·niš "they speak to him again" is a verb form acting as a transitive predicate, < kun- "they" (520) + ipčúphu·niš tp.t. "to speak to again" (re the accent shift, see 525.3). The theme is ip- "again" (731) + čúphu·niš tp.t. "to speak to," < čú·phi.p.i. "to speak" + {-uniš} "to, at" (754.18).

<sup>40</sup> hâ·ri "sometimes" is an adverb which, in this case, modifies the following numeral, forming a determinative phrase (832); contrast note 18.

<sup>41</sup> ʔitrô·p "five" is a noun form acting as head of the determinative phrase hâ·ri ʔitrô·p "sometimes five." This phrase is the first member of a coordinate phrase (835) with hâ·ri vúra ʔitráhyar "sometimes ten." ʔitrô·p is an uninflected theme, basically itrô·pa (311, 354). With verbs such as "pay" and "cost," Karok numerals, as in this case, regularly imply a quantity in dollars.

<sup>42</sup> káru "and" is an adverb which, in this case, connects the parts of a coordinate phrase (835); contrast note 7.

<sup>43</sup> ʔitráhyar "ten" is a noun form acting as head of the determinative phrase hâ·ri vúra ʔitráhyar "sometimes ten," which is the second member of a coordinate phrase (835). ʔitráhyar is an uninflected theme, basically itráhyar (311).

<sup>44</sup> ʔu·m "he" is a pronoun used here in an appositional phrase (834) as attribute to a following noun; contrast note 2.

<sup>45</sup> pahú·ntaha·k "when (he is) peculiar" is < pa= Nominalizing (812) + hú·ntaha·k "when peculiar," a nominal predicate < the noun form hú·ntah "peculiar" + the nominalizing postfix -aha·k "when" (823.1). hú·nta is an uninflected theme, evidently containing hu·n "harmful" (note 27), but beyond that its derivation is obscure.

<sup>46</sup> tupitaxyárih "he 'swears' (pf.)" is < t= Perfective (845.7) + the intransitive



sitive predicate  $\text{ʔupitaxyárih}$  "he 'swears,'" a verb form  $\langle \text{ʔu- "he" (520)} + \text{pitaxyárih p.i. "to 'swear.'"} \rangle$

<sup>47</sup>  $\text{patá}$  "when (pf.)" is  $\langle \text{pa- Nominalizing (812)} + \text{tá Perfective (note 11). pa- here nominalizes the predication } \text{tá kuníppe-raha-k "when they tell him (pf.)"} \rangle$

<sup>48</sup>  $\text{kuníppe-raha-k}$  "when they tell him" is a double-transitive predicate  $\langle$  the verb form  $\text{kuníppe-r}$ , basic form  $\text{kunípe-ř}$  (391.1) "they tell him," + the nominalizing postfix  $\text{-aha-k}$  "when" (823.1).  $\text{kunípe-ř}$  is  $\langle \text{kun-}^c$  "they" (520) +  $\text{ípe-ř}$ , an irregular allomorph of  $\text{ipé-ř}$  tp.t. "to tell"; this theme may contain  $\text{ipi-}$ , an allomorph of  $\text{pi-p}$  p.i. "to say," but otherwise its derivation is obscure.

<sup>49</sup>  $\text{ʔiyúriš}$  "pay!" is a transitive predicate; the predication  $\text{fâ-t ʔiyúriš}$  "pay something!" is a quotation acting as object of  $\text{kuníppe-raha-k}$ . The verb form is basically  $\text{iyúriš}$  (311),  $\langle \text{iyúriš(rih)} \text{ p.t. "to pay," lit. "to put down,"} + \text{-} \emptyset$  Imperative (531). This is  $\langle \text{iyuř- p.t. "to put"} + \text{-iš(rih) "down" (753.3)} \rangle$ .

<sup>50</sup>  $\text{patuʔû-riha-k}$  "when he refuses (pf.)" is  $\langle \text{pa- Nominalizing (812)} + \text{tuʔû-riha-k "when he refuses (pf.)"} \rangle$   $\langle \text{t- Perfective (845.7)} + \text{ʔuʔû-riha-k "when he refuses," an intransitive predicate. This in turn is } \langle \text{the verb form } \text{ʔuʔû-rih "he refuses"} + \text{the nominalizing postfix } \text{-aha-k "when" (823.1); the verb form is } \langle \text{ʔu- "he" (520)} + \text{ʔû-rih s.i. "to refuse, be unwilling, be lazy."} \rangle$

<sup>51</sup>  $\text{ʔu-m}$  "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  $\text{ʔu-m.. ʔára}$  "a person (emphatic)" is discontinuous.

<sup>52</sup>  $\text{va}$  "that" is a noun (see note 14) here used as head of the postpositional phrase  $\text{va-kúθ}$  "because of that"; the whole phrase is then a satellite of  $\text{θθá-niv}$ .

<sup>53</sup>  $\text{kúθ}$  "because of," basic form  $\text{kuθ}$  (391.4), is a particle used as a post-position (833.5).

<sup>54</sup>  $\text{θθá-niv}$  represents the second half of a contraction between  $\text{tá Perfective (note 30)}$  and  $\text{ʔuθθá-niv "he is killed."}$  The latter is a verb form acting as an intransitive predicate,  $\langle \text{ʔu- "he" (520)} + \text{θá-niř p.i. "(an.) to lie, to be killed"} \rangle$ ; re the gemination, see 333. The theme is  $\langle \text{θař- p.t. "to put"} + \text{-riř "at rest" (752.2); re the morphophonemic changes, see 332, 342, 341.} \rangle$

<sup>55</sup>  $\text{ʔíkki-č}$  "maybe" is a particle acting as a satellite; its basic form is  $\text{ʔíki-č}$  (391.1).

<sup>56</sup>  $\text{mutíp̄pa}$  "his brother" is a noun form acting as first member of a three-part coordinate phrase (835) with  $\text{muxúkkam}$  "his mother's brother" and  $\text{ʔaká-y vúra pamuʔára-r}$  "any relative of his." The entire phrase acts as a nominal predicate.  $\text{mutíp̄pa}$  is basically  $\text{mutípah}$  (391.1, 391.3) and is  $\langle \text{mu- "his" (410)} + \text{típah "brother."} \rangle$

<sup>57</sup>  $\text{muxúkkam}$  "his mother's brother" is a noun form acting as second member of a three-part coordinate phrase. Basically  $\text{muxúkam}$  (391.1), it is  $\langle \text{mu- "his" (410)} + \text{xúkam "mother's brother."} \rangle$

<sup>58</sup> ?akâ·y "any(one)" acts as attribute to pamu?ára·r "his relative" in a determinative phrase (832). It is an irregularly contracted form (325) of the pronoun ?akáray "who, someone, anyone."

<sup>59</sup> pamu?ára·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 < pa- "the" (811) + mu?ára·r "his relative," basic form mu?ára·ra, < mu- "his" + ?ára·ra "person, relative" (note 1).

<sup>60</sup> ?ararákku·pha "Indian law" is a noun form acting as a nominal predicate. Basically ?araráku·pha (391.1), it is a compound of the nouns ?ára·ra "person, Indian" (note 1) + -kú·pha "doing," < kú·phi p.i. "to do" + -a Deverbative (761).

## INDEX OF MORPHEMES DISCUSSED

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 mu- his 410.  
 -mu to 753.10.  
 mukun- their 410.  
 mú·k' with, by means of 833.6.  
 -múrax nothing but 614.6.  
 -N Imperative 531.  
 ná- thou/he—me 520.  
 ná- I—him/them (neg.) 520.  
 -na Plural Action 751.  
 -na· Plural 756.  
 nani- my 410.  
 nanu- our 410.  
 ni- I—him/them (pos.) 520.  
 -ninay around 621.15.  
 nu- we—him/them, I/we—thee 520.  
 nú- we—him/them, I/we—thee (imper.) 520.  
 -o· Habitual 754.13.  
 p-, pa- Iterative 731.  
 pa= Article and Nominalizer 810.  
 -pa·n Emphatic 621.14.  
 -paθ, -pa·θ- around 753.11.  
 pi- Iterative 731.  
 -pi·θ- here and there 753.29.  
 -piya·n removed in kinship 614.10.

- pu Denominative 622.1.  
pu=..=hara, pu=..=ara not 845.6.
- ra· hither 753.12.  
-ram in + Deverbative 761.  
-ram, -ra·m place 766.  
-rámnih, -ra·mnih- into 753.13.  
-raṽ in 753.14.  
-ri·-, -rih- place 614.7.  
-rih, -ri·h- up 754.14.  
-ri·n-, -rina hither across  
735.15.  
-rip, -ri·p- off, out 753.16.  
-ríPa·, -ri·pa- toward land  
753.17.  
-rišuk out of 753.18.  
-riṽ at rest 752.2.  
-ro·-, -rô·vu upriverward  
753.19.  
-ruk Directional 621.21(2).  
-rúPa·, -ru·pa- out of one's  
mouth 753.20.  
-rúpraṽ out through 753.21.  
-ruprih, -rú·prih- in through  
753.22.  
-ruprin through 753.23.  
-rupu downriverward 753.24.  
-rúPuk, -ru·puk- outdoors  
753.25.
- saf along with 754.15.  
-sa(s) Plural 621.16.  
-sah Directional 621.21(5).  
-sap closing up 752.3.  
-sip(riv), -sī·priv- up 753.26.  
-sī·p up + Plural Action 753.26.  
-sī·pri-, -sī·prin- up 753.26.  
-suru off 753.27.
- ta, tah Perfective 845.7.  
-taku on top of 752.4.  
-tánmah for nothing 754.16.  
-tá·pas most 614.8.  
-taraf- fastening 752.5.  
-Tih Durative 757.  
-tunva together 753.28.
- 00una here and there 753.29.
- ʔu- he-/thém 520.  
-uk, -u·k- hither 754.17.  
-unih, -u·ni·h- down 753.30.  
-uniš, -u·niš to, at, about  
754.18.  
-û·ř long time 754.19.  
-ura· up 753.31.  
-u0 Directional 621.21(3).
- va- its 420.  
-va Indefinite 621.17.  
-va Plural Action 751.  
-va Essive 755.  
-vah Distributive 621.18.  
vá·h thus 836.4.  
-vana· Plural 756.  
-va·na oneself 754.20.  
-varak from upriver 753.33.  
-várayva here and there indoors  
753.34.  
-vara in through 753.32.  
-varih toward 621.19.  
-va·s with connecting relative  
dead 614.9.  
-va0 Causative 754.12.  
-ve·na Agentive 767.  
-0vra· over 753.35.  
-0vra0 into a sweathouse 753.36.  
-0vrik in response to motion  
754.21.  
-0vrin, -0·vri·n- in opposite  
directions 753.37.  
-0vruk down over 753.38.  
-vu to 753.10.  
-vuna· Plural 756.  
vúra Intensive 836.5.
- xákka·n with (one) 833.7.  
xay, =xay Vetative 845.8.
- yâ·-č Intensive 621.20.  
-ya·n removed in kinship  
614.10.  
-ya·n times 614.11.

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*



*b*



*c*



## PLATE 2

### Karok Structures

a. The ʔikmahačramʔišši·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·námam 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.

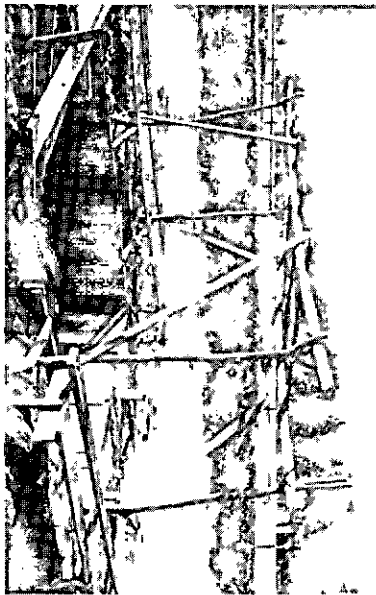
d. A new brush-dance pit in Orleans, photographed not long after its construction in 1954. This was the site of the first brush-dances to be held in Orleans since the 1920's.



o



p



p



q



# TEXTS

## 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 ʔikxaré-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 ʔikxaré-yavs 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 ʔikxaré-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. Succeeding texts are stories of other animal and plant ʔikxaré-yavs; 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 ʔikxaré-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 ʔávansa ʔúkri· "a man lived," rather than ʔávansó·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 ?ára·r ?úkri·; ta·y vúra mupaθúvri·n. 2. ká·n pihnē·fič ?ummá·htih, tó ·mmah po·paθuvrī·nati ?ára ka·n. 3. kári xás ?uppi·p, "hō·y ?immá·hti pe·špuk."
4. kári xás ?uppi·p, "kahyúras."
5. kári xás pihnē·fič xás ?upvâ·ram. 6. kári xás ?uxxúti·h, "tī·kanparišri·hvi. 7. xasī kahyúras nivâ·rami. 8. va· pe·špúk nikyâ·re·š, ?í·f tá nitá·pku·p."
9. xás va· tá·y tuparišri·hva pá·?a·n. 10. ta·?ítam ?ukíffukvahe·n pá·?a·n. 11. kári xás ?uxxus, "čími kan·?arámsi·prini." 12. kári xás ?u·?á·rihro·v, ?á·n ?iθá·?i·θva, ?antunvê·č, va· po·vúppare·š pe·špuk. 13. ví·ri va· pató ·θvássip tó ·θváro·v pá·?a·n.
14. čavúra yí·v káruk tu·?áho·. 15. xás ?íššaha· tó ·xrah. 16. "vúra puná·?íšše·šara."
17. púyava tó ·mmáh passa·mváro·. 18. xás kári to ·xxus, "puna·?íšše·šara." 19. vúra va· ?u·?áho·ti·h.
20. xás čavúra yí·v káruk tu·?áho·. 21. vúra tó ·xrah pa·?íššaha. 22. vúra va· to ·xxus, "puna·?íšše·šara, na· ?išpúk nikyâ·ntih."
23. kári xás čavúra tó ·xrah, vúra tó ·xra pa·?íššaha. 24. kári xás ?uxxus, "payê·m vúra ni·?íšše·š passa·mváro· nimmá·h·k." 25. kári xas púyava čavúra yí·v tu·?áho·. 26. vúra tá kâ·rim, tó ·xra ?íššaha.
27. kári xás yánava pa·?íššaha, passa·mváro· ?úxxa·kti·h. 28. to ·xxus, "ni·?íšše·š paká·n ni·?u·má·h·k." 29. kári xás po·?ú·m yánava tupivaxráhe·n passa·mváro·.
30. kári xás "?:! púya ?í·f ?íššaha tá né·xrah." 31. kári xás ?uxxus, "vúra tá ?í·v nimmáhavrik." 32. tó ·xra pa·?íššaha, vúra tuvá·xrah.
33. kári xás ?uθí·tti·v, ?úxxa·kti·h, pa·?íššaha ?úxxa·kti·h. 34. kári xás ?učunvákki·r pa·?íššaha. 35. kári xás ?ú·mukič tu·?u·m. 36. vúra va· ?uθí·tti·mtih, ?úxxa·kti·h pa·?íššaha patučunvákki·r. 37. xás tó ·mmah pa·?íššaha po·vú·ntih. 38. vúra ?ú·mukič vúra tu·?u·m. 39. kári xás ?ukvíripšip, ká·n ?u·?u·m. 40. yánava tupivaxráhe·n.
41. kári xás ?uxxus, "púya ?í·f tá né·xrah." 42. vúra tá kâ·rim. 43. vúra va· ?u·?áho·ti·h, vúra tá yí·v káruk. 44. sáruk tó ·t·fá·kkuti·h. 45. sáruk pe·š·kê·š ?uvu·nváraktih. 46. xás ?uxxus, "kí·ri páy kári va· ni·?íš."
47. kári xás ?e·! vúra va· ?u·?áho·ti·h, vúra tá kâ·rim. 48. vúra čími ?u·?u·mê·š kahyúras. 49. kári xás yánava yí·v káruk tu·?áho·.
50. kári xás yánava kú·kku·m ká·n ?íššaha ?úxxa·kti·h, ?ussa·mváro·-hitih. 51. kári xás kú·kku·m to ·xxus, "hō·y ?í·f ni·?u·mê·š." 52. kó·va

PART ONE: THE ERA OF THE ʔIKXARÉYAV

Text Number 1: Coyote's Journey<sup>1</sup>

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!
7. Let me go to Klamath Lakes! 8. I will go get that money, I have really taken a liking to it."
9. So he twined a lot of string. 10. Then he tied the string in a bundle.
11. And he thought, "Let me start out!" 12. And he went upriver; the string was in a single pack, the little string, that which he was going to string the money with. 13. When he had packed it up, he carried the string upriver.
14. 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).



- ʔíššaha tó xrah. 53. kári xás kúkku·m ʔu·čunvákki·passa·mváro·.  
 54. kē·č, samvaró·ka·m. 55. xás ʔuxxus, "fi· kú· kaní·kfu·kmi."  
 56. kári xás pamúva·s ʔupišnákkarišuk. 57. kári xás taʔítam páy  
 ʔunniššaha·n. 58. xás ʔímmu·stih, vúra ʔu·m tá·y paʔíššaha, vúra  
 ʔū·mukič. 59. kári xás ʔukvíripšip. 60. xás kú·k ʔuppá·θma  
 pamúva·s. 61. ʔámta·p kíč ʔuθívup. 62. tupiváxra paʔíššaha.  
 63. kári xás ʔuxxus, "ʔi·! vúra tá puná·ʔu·mara, vúra ʔíššaha tá  
 né·xrah." 64. kári xá sáruk tó ·tfákkutih. 65. vúra va· sáruk  
 ʔuvu·nváraktih pe·šké·š. 66. ʔi·! xás ʔuxxus, "čími va· kanʔi·ši  
 pe·šké·š." 67. taʔítam sáruk ʔuʔárihfakahe·n. 68. xás ʔuxxus, "púya  
 ʔif ká·rim tá ní·kú·pha, pačími ʔíšše·š. 69. káruma kahyúras ʔišpúk  
 níkyā·ntih."  
 70. xás ʔastí·p ʔuvi·š. 71. xás ʔú·θ ʔutkáratih. 72. xás ʔuxxus,  
 "vúra punaʔíšše·šara ʔastí·pič." 73. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "čími ʔikkúri·niš·  
 rihi ʔiθári·p." 74. tó ·kkúri·nišrih. 75. xás ʔuváttakar.  
 76. kári xás ʔišké·š·a·čip ʔuʔu·m. 77. kári xás taʔítam ʔukúk·  
 kurihe·n. 78. vúra ʔu·m xára po·kúkkuri paʔíššaha, tuʔíš tá·y.  
 79. kári xás po·pvō·nsip tá·y tuʔiš. 80. víri va· vúra ʔupikyívivra·.  
 81. vássihkam ʔú·θ ʔúkyi·mkar.  
 82. kári xás yúruk ʔuθívru·hrup. 83. čavúra tá yí·v tó ·pθívru·h·  
 varak. 84. čavúra ʔō·k ʔiθivθané·n·a·čip tó ·pθívru·hvarak.  
 85. kári xás yúruk ʔutrū·putih. 86. yánava yúruk ʔifáppi·tša  
 kuntákkiriti ʔasti·p. 87. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "sahʔahupyā·mač kan·  
 párihiš." 88. kári xás sahʔahupyā·mač va· ʔuppárihiš.  
 89. kári xás ʔuθívru·hvarak. 90. ʔū·mukič vúra tó ·mmu·sti  
 pakuntákkiritih. 91. xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔastí·pič vúra kanθiv·rúhi, ʔastí·pič  
 vúra kanθiv·rúhi. 92. mukun·sá·kukamič xasík nipθiv·rúhro·ne·š."  
 93. kári xás paʔifáppi·t sáruk ʔú·θ ʔutkáratih. 94. xás ʔuppi·p,  
 "yáxxa, ʔé·v.<sup>2</sup> 95. ʔo·! yáxxa kó· yā·mač sã·m pasahʔáhup."  
 96. xás yíθθa ʔuppi·p, "hō·y."  
 97. xás ʔuppi·p, "máva sã·m."  
 98. xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔo·! ʔē·v, čími nútta·tripa· pasahʔáhup."  
 99. "čém·mi."  
 100. taʔítam sã·m kuniθvíripunih. 101. tá kunimússar po·pθiv·rúh·  
 ro·natih. 102. xás ʔuppi·p, "čími, ʔē·v, hō·y kíč ʔahúpʔanamahač.  
 103. va· mū·k nuttā·tripa·viš."  
 104. xás taʔítam kuntā·tripa·he·n. 105. xás ʔo·! tá kuntá·pku·p.  
 106. ʔo·! púya ʔif yā·mačič pasahʔáhup, tá kuntá·pku·p. 107. kári  
 xás kú·k ʔuppá·θma yíθθa, tá kuníxti·vhar va· pasahʔáhup. 108. yā·  
 mačič páʔahúpʔanamahač.  
 109. kári xás yíθθa ʔuppi·p·a·ʔifáppi·t, "ʔā·x!" ʔuppi·p, "ʔā·x! ʔatafā·t  
 pih·nē·fič. 110. mít kuníppa·t 'kárúk ʔú·θ tuʔi·mkar."  
 111. kári xás ʔú·θ kũnpíppa·θkar pasahʔáhup. 112. kári xás tá  
 kunʔakíθkiθ pamukúnxu·n, pamukuntákkir. 113. čáva tá xánnahišič  
 yánava xákkā·n vúra tá kunímmu·taraha.  
 114. pih·nē·fič yó ·kpu·hrup, kuyū·m xás ʔukpúhiš. 115. púyava  
 páy pih·nē·fič ʔukúpha·nik. 116. ʔupipšinvárihva pe·špú kárúk ʔukyā·n·  
 tih. 117. kupánnakanakana. 118. pih·nē·fič ʔukúpha·nik.  
 119. paʔú·θ kũnpíppa·θkar θúffip xás ʔuθiv·rúhiš. 120. xás vúrava

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 downriverward 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 downriverward. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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. Kupánnakanakana. 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.

<sup>2</sup> ʔé·v (basic form ʔə·v), here translated "dear," is a term of address used by women  
 to relatives or intimate friends.

ká·n ʔuθá·niv ʔasti·p. 121. kári xás pã·npay pišpišihʔ·n tá kunʔav.  
122. xás vúra va· ʔuθá·niv.

123. čufni·vkačʔ·n káru vúra patá kunʔav. 124. čími vúra pa·svut-  
ʔ·n káru patá kunʔav. 125. vúra va· ʔuθá·niv.

126. kári xás víri tá ʔíppi vúra, pamuʔíppi kíč ʔuθá·niv. 127. xás  
kári vúra va· ʔuθá·niv. 128. xás kári va· vúra kíč ká·n ʔuʔi·šhíti  
vu·travaʔáffiv. 129. kári xás papišpišši ʔuxxus, "tí· páy kanʔam."

130. kári xás va· ʔuʔáv ká·n páʔi·š. 131. kári xás pó·ppar, kári  
xás ʔuʔárihši pihñē·fič. 132. xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔatututututu!" 133.  
kári xás ʔáhup ʔuʔá·sip. 134. kári xás ʔuʔákko·na. 135. púyava  
va· ʔukúpha·nik pihñē·fič. 136. xás· ʔumθavitrú·prijva. 137. víri  
va· kumáʔi· ko·vúra·patú·pičas pamusxíččak.

### Text Number 2: Coyote's Homecoming

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ʔukní·<sup>3</sup> púyava káru káhyúras kunʔára·rahiti pa·sta·h.
2. ko·vúra kumá·sta· káru ʔáxva·y. 3. kári xás púyava ʔikxúrar  
ʔa·s tá kunpí·šar ʔi·nã·k. 4. púyava tá kunpámva·r, xás tá kun-  
píšma·r, káru ʔikmaháčra·m kú·k tá kunpávyi·hma. 5. kári xás tá  
kunpi·p, "čími ʔárihišrih." 6. púyava ko·vúra tá kunpakúri·hvuna·.
7. púyava "ye·! čími ʔímpa·n ʔakkič." 8. tá·y tá kunpakúri·hvuna·.
9. púyava pakunʔē·rišrih púyava "čúva·rap." 10. ʔikxúrar tó·kxán-  
namhač, púyava tá kunvítvarakva, pá·hak súʔ tá kunʔíruna·.
11. pú-  
yava ʔō·k tá kunivyíhuk ʔuknamxánnahič. 12. púyava ká·n xás tá  
kunʔíhukvuna·.
13. kári xás púyava ʔimmá·n yá· nĩk vúra ʔusúppa-  
hiti, kári tá kunpávyi·hšip. 14. káruk tá kunpávyi·hma, tusupaháya·č-  
ha, pámita ká·n kunʔarámsi·printih. 15. kúkku·m vúra ʔimmá·n tá  
kunívyi·hvarak. 16. tá kunʔíharuk. 17. kári xás ʔimmá·n tá kun-  
pávyi·hšip. 18. ʔitaharé·kxaram kunivyihvarákko·tih, xás kunpakúri-  
hvuna·tih.
19. kári xás ʔifučtí·mič ʔi·nã·k tá kunpávyi·hfuruk, ʔá·s tá kunpíš-  
šanva. 20. kári xás páʔa·s kunpíšma·r "ye·! čúva·rap." 21. xás  
ʔikmaháčra·m ʔupvō·ruvraθ. 22. kári xás ʔikmaháčra·m ʔúkyi·mkuri  
suʔ. 23. kári xás ʔuppi·p "yé·he pihñē·fič tuʔáho·he·n." 24. kári  
xás va· yánava pamukunvurá·kir tuʔávahe·n. 25. kári xás kúkku·m  
ko·vúra tá kunivráravraθ. 26. kári xás ʔuppi·p "yé·he pihñē·fič tuʔá-  
ho·he·n. 27. va· kí pūʔípparahara, ta·y kíp ʔukupavē·nahitih."
28. káruma yō·rukam pamukunʔáhup ʔuyvō·ra·hitih. 29. víriva vássih-  
kam ʔuθá·niv papihñē·fič. 30. ʔuθítí·mti pakuníppe·nti "tuʔáho·he·n."
31. kári xás kunpí·p "ye·! čími ʔárihišrih." 32. čavúra ʔitaharã·n  
tá kunparihíšri·hva. 33. "ye·! čúva·rap."
34. kári xás ʔaxmá·y vúra ʔuppi·p "ʔišáva·s, ʔišáva·s, ʔišáva·s."<sup>4</sup>
35. nipθivké·viš, nipθivké·viš naniθívθa·ne·n."
36. kári xás kunpí·p "čém̄mi. 37. ye·! káruma ʔíp níppa· tūʔáho-  
he·n pihñē·fič." 38. čúva·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, "ʔatututututu!" 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.

Text Number 2: Coyote's Homecoming

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Once upon a time . . . <sup>3</sup> 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 said, "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 ʔuknamxánnahič. 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. 27. 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!" <sup>4</sup> 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."

<sup>3</sup>ʔuknf', 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.

<sup>4</sup>ʔišáva's, here translated "nephew," is literally "child of deceased sibling." In the myths, Coyote addresses everyone by this term.

39. kári xás kunippê·r papihñê·fič "ʔiʔasímča·ktihe·š ik. 40. súva ník vúra tá núvyi·hma, núppe·š. 41. xasík ʔiyu·phé·š." 42. "ye! čémmi, yō·tva, yō·tva, ʔišáva·s." 43. kári xás čavúra yí·v tá kunví·tma. 44. kári xás ʔuxxús papihñê·fič "tí·kányu·phi. 45. ʔapapí·čyu·p." 46. kári ʔuyú·pha. 47. yánava "ikmaháčra·m" xás "paniθá·niv." 48. púyava kunivyíhuk. 49. ʔimmá·n kúkku·m tá kunpávyi·hšip. 50. ʔimmá·n máhʔi·t yá·n hō·y ʔusúppa·hitih, púyava kunpávyi·hma. 51. yánava pihñê·fič ka·n. 52. xás ʔuppi·p "ʔišáva·s, kúmate·č vúra nipθivké·viš." 53. kári xás kunpí·p "čémmi. 54. xáyfa·t ʔík mán ʔiyú·pha." 55. kári xás kunívyi·hšip kúkku·m. 56. kári xás pihñê·fič taʔíttam kúkku·m tuθívke. 57. púyava čavúra tá yí·vúrava ʔuʔasímča·ktih. 58. ʔaxmá·y vúra kunvíttiš. 59. kári xás kunpí·p "tá nuvyíhuk." 60. kári xás ʔuʔárihši pāpihñê·fič. 61. kári xás ʔuppi·p "ninišív·ša·ne·n." 62. xás ʔú·θ ʔupítyu·ykar. 63. kári xás tišaníh ʔu·θ ʔupítyu·ykar. 64. katiphirák ʔu·θ ʔupítyu·ykar. 65. tuyvúk ʔu·θ ʔupítyu·ykar. 66. pihñê·fič kó·va tuʔa·číčha, patu ʔíppak pamušívša·ne·n. 67. víri va· kumáʔi· patupítyúka·nva. 68. kupánnakanakana.<sup>11</sup> čé·mya·č ʔík vúra ʔatayčúkkinač ʔiʔu·núprave·š. 69. náya·vhe·š ik. 70. čé·mya·č ʔík vúra ʔišyá·t ʔimšírihra·viš. 71. náya·vhe·š ik. 72. ninivási vúra vitkiniyā·č tah. 73. kó·va tuʔáxxaska, tó ·xxúriha.

Text Number 2A: Coyote's Homecoming

Second Telling by Nettie Reuben

1. káruk ʔi·nā· ká·n tá kunʔá·mvuna. 2. kunxus, "ʔuknamxánnahič<sup>13</sup> čími nuʔíhukanve·š." 3. kári xás kári púyava ʔi·nā·k tá kunpávyi·hfuruk. 4. ʔa·s tá kunʔí·švuna. 5. kári xás tá kunʔímpaha. 6. ʔikmaháčra·m tá kunpavyíhiš. 7. kúkku·m vúra ʔimmá·n tó ·kxáramha. 8. kúkku·m vúra va· kári tá kunpavyíhivraθ. 9. ʔaxmá·y vúra yíθθa ʔukyívívraθ. 10. xás ʔuppi·p, "yé· na·, pihñê·fič tuvō·ruvraθahe·n. 11. pananupiykiríkkir tuʔav." 12. čavúra kunpamfppivraθ. 13. xás kunippê·r "čími ʔárihišrih." 14. kári xás kári taʔíttam ʔupakurí·hvahe·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."<sup>5</sup> 46. And he opened his eyes. 47. And he saw, (he said), "I'm lying in the sweathouse!"<sup>6</sup> 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!"<sup>7</sup> 62. And he kicked (earth) out towards the river. 63. And he kicked it out from tišán-ni-k.<sup>8</sup> 64. He kicked it out from káttiphirak.<sup>9</sup> 65. He kicked it out from tú-yvuk.<sup>10</sup> 66. Coyote was so happy, when he came back to his country. 67. That's why he kicked it out. 68. kupánnakanakana.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

### 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 ʔuknamxánnahič."<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> ʔapapí:čyup, here translated "one little eye," is literally "eye on one little side," from ʔapapí:č "on one side (dim.);" and yú:p "eye." A diminutive of this whole compound occurs in 2A.23.

<sup>6</sup> That is, he was magically transported back to the starting point.

<sup>7</sup> ninišívša:ne:n is a distorted form of ninišíša:ne:n "my country," evidently used for humorous effect.

<sup>8</sup> A village-site at Camp Creek, below Orleans.

<sup>9</sup> A village-site across-stream from Camp Creek.

<sup>10</sup> A village-site at Ullathorne Creek, below Camp Creek. This passage accounts for the origin of the river-bars at the sites named.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> A pond near Camp Creek, locally known as The Frog Pond.

15. kári xás "čém̄mi, čúva·rap." 16. kári xás ʔaxmá·y vúra ʔuppi·p, "ʔišá·va·s, nipθivké·viš, ʔišá·va·s, nipθivké·viš."  
 17. xás kunippi·p "čém̄mi. 18. kúna vúra xáyfa·t ʔík ʔiyú·pha.  
 19. va· ʔík vúra panuví·tiha·k. 20. va· ʔík vúra ʔi·ʔasímčá·ktihe·š." 21. ta·ʔíttam kunpávyi·hšipre·he·n. 22. čavúra yí·v tá kunpávyi·h·ma. 23. kári xás kári ʔuxxus, "tí· kányu·phi, ʔapapí·čyu·pič."  
 24. kári xás ʔuyú·pha. 25. xás yánava "ʔikmahá·čra·m" xás "paniθ·θá·niv. 26. ʔi·! ʔif ká·rim nikuphe·n, paniyu·phé·n."  
 27. kári xás púyava ʔú·mpan mah·ʔí·tñihač tá kunpávyi·hšip, kúkku·m, pa·sta·h. 28. káru tá kunpávyi·hma. 29. káru ʔiθivθane·n ʔíppan tá kunpávyi·hma. 30. púyava kúkku·m vúra kúmate·č po·kxáramhe·š, kúkku·m vúra va· kári kunpávyi·hšipre·viš. 31. tá ʔi·nā·k ʔá·s tá kunpíššar. 32. kúmate·č kunívyi·hšipre·viš. 33. kun·ʔihukanve·š ʔuknamxánnahič.  
 34. kári xás kúkku·m vúra pihñē·fič ʔuppi·p, "nipθivké·viš, ʔišá·va·s."  
 35. xás kunippē·r "čém̄mi."  
 36. kári xás kúmate·č kunpavyihvraθ. 37. ta·ʔíttam "ye· čími ʔárihiš." 38. ta·ʔíttam kun·ʔárihišri·hvahe·n pa·ʔihukar. 39. ta·ʔíttam kunívyi·hšipre·he·n. 40. pihñē·fič ta·ʔíttam ʔupθivké·he·n. 41. kári xás kunippē·r "xáyfa·t ʔík ʔiyú·pha. 42. vúra ník panúvyi·hmaha·k, xasík vúra ʔiyu·phé·š."  
 43. "čém̄mi, ník ʔišá·va·s, puná·yu·phe·šara."  
 44. ta·ʔíttam kunpávyi·hšipre·he·n. 45. čavúra ʔaxmá·y vúra kunvít·tiš. 46. xás kunippē·r "tá nuvyihuk."  
 47. "ʔe·! niniθivθa·ne·n, niniθivθa·ne·n." 48. ta·ʔíttam ʔú·θ ʔupiy·túyka·nvahe·n. 49. panamníh·ʔu·θ ʔú·θ ʔupiytúyka·nva. 50. katiphirá·ʔu·θ ʔú·θ ʔupiytúyka·nva. 51. "niniθivθa·ne·n, niniθivθa·ne·n."  
 52. tišaníh·ʔu·θ ʔú·θ ʔupiytúyka·nva. 53. tuyvúk·ʔu·θ ʔú·θ ʔupiytúyka·nva. 54. "niniθivθa·ne·n, niniθivθa·ne·n, tá ni·ʔíppak, niniθivθa·ne·n."  
 55. kupánnakanakana. čē·č ʔík vúra ʔišyá·t ʔimšírihra·viš. 56. ná·ya·vhe·š ik. 57. vúra ʔu·m tá ne·mčítátko. 58. káru čē·č ʔík ʔatayčúkkinač ʔi·ʔu·núprave·š. 59. náya·vhe·š ik.

Text Number 3: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. pihñē·fič va· ʔukúpha·nik. 2. panámni·k ʔu·ʔíffanik. 3. va· ká·n muθivθa·ne·n. 4. kári xás ʔuxxússa·nik "čími káruk ʔišpú kani·kyā·n kahyúras." 5. xás ʔuparíšri·hva ʔantunvē·č. 6. ʔiθé·šya·v ʔuparíšri·hva. 7. ʔačavúra ʔiθá·ʔi·θva va· kó· ʔuparíšri·hva.  
 8. kári xás ʔuvā·ram. 9. xás páy passā·m ʔussa·mvárakti ʔu·ʔárih·ro·v.<sup>14</sup> 10. ko· vúra pa·ʔára·r ʔummá·hvuna·tih, "ʔi·mkun vúra pufá·tsa·hara. 11. na· kahyúras tá nivā·ram."  
 12. čavúra ʔō·k ʔiθivθané·n ʔa·čip tu·ʔárihro·v. 13. ká·n xás ʔummáh ʔára·r, ʔuphikirí·hvutih. 14. ká·n tuvúrayvike·θun. 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 ʔuknamxannahič.
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 tišánni'k. 53. He kicked it out from tú'yvuk. 54. "My country, my country, I've come back, my country!"
55. kupánnakanakana. 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 14. (Coyote) walked

<sup>14</sup> páy passá'm ʔussa-mváraktih "downhill where that flows down from upriver" is a circumlocution meaning simply "by the river."

<sup>15</sup> This person was ši·mú'č "Lizard"; cf. sentence 177.



fâ·tva ʔuθáθri·na·. 16. xás ʔuxxúti "tí· kanpakatkâ·tih." 17. kári xás ʔupakatkáttahe·n. 18. ʔamaya·ʔíššara. 19. čavúra ko·vúra ʔupáffip. 20. xás pamuʔasípha·r ʔuθaxávxav. 21. kári xás taʔíttam ʔuʔáho·he·n. 22. xás ʔippe·nti "ʔí·m ʔó· kē·míšaʔí·n ʔiʔáve·šap."

23. kári xás po·vó·nupuk ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuvó·nupuk. 24. xás ʔuxúti "ʔe·! na· nippè·š 'pihnè·fič ʔó·k ʔuvúrayvutihe·n." 25. va· paniniʔíššaha tupafipsí·prinahe·n. 26. kári ʔíššaha ʔúxrah." 27. xás ʔuxxúti "va· kíp kó·k ʔuvišta·nti xaθímtas." 28. xás ʔuppí·p "čími kám ʔi·nvi mú·ʔa·vka·m."

29. kárukvari tuʔárihro·v. 30. tuʔinvákka·mha. 31. xás tutú·ra·yva, vúra ʔu·m tá·y paxaθímtas. 32. "vúra punaʔáve·šara." 33. čavúra yi·músič tuʔu·m. 34. xás ʔuxxúti "tí· matè· kó·mahič kanʔíffapvi paxaθímtas." 35. hínupa čími ʔuʔíffapve·š. 36. kári xás ʔuxxúti "hú·t ʔáta kúθ papunayá·vahitihara." 37. xás ʔuxxúti "na· nix·xúti 'íffuθkam napávyi·hrišuktih paniʔá·mti." 38. xás ʔuxxús "čími paniniʔafupčúrax čími kanipšívšá·pi." 39. taʔíttam ʔaxváha ʔukyá·he·n. 40. xás pamuʔafupčúrax va· kummú·k ʔupsívšap. 41. xás ʔuxxús "púya páy ʔu·m, payè·m ʔu·m·nayá·vahe·š. 42. tá ʔíp nipšívšá·pat paniniʔafupčúrax." 43. taʔíttam ʔuʔa·mváhe·n.

44. vúra tuʔinvákka·mha. 45. víri ká·n ʔukučnáxxaθunatih. 46. xás ʔuxxúti "nixxúti 'čími niʔu·mè·š kahyúras." 47. tuθíttiv po·θivnúrutih. 48. va· ʔukupaθití·vahitih, kúniš ʔupíti "huhuhuhuhuhu." 49. xás ʔux·xúti "čími niʔu·mè·š kahyúras." 50. va· kíč po·θíttiv páhuhuhuhuhuhu. 51. hinupáy ʔafupčúrax po·ʔi·nkútih. 52. hinupáy ʔí ʔaʔaxváha mú·k ʔupsívšá·pat hinupáy va· po·ʔi·nkútih. 53. víri hú· čími ʔuʔí·ne·š. 54. va· vúra ká·n ʔa·pun yú·xak ʔukú·ruθun. 55. víri va· kíč ʔupíti "ʔátuhtuhtuhtuhtuh." 56. púyava čavúra ʔúmsip pamuʔafupčúrax. 57. púyava ʔuxxús "payè·m vúra punaʔíppave·šara paxaθímtas. 58. tá ko·, vúra punaʔáve·šara."

59. čímiva va· kúna ʔukú·pha, ʔíššaha ʔúxrah. 60. ʔíma va· ʔu·kúpha·nik, pámitva ʔiθé·šya·v tuparíšri·hva ʔantunvè·č. 61. hō·yvarihva tó·xyáθθuro·vahe·n. 62. víri hú· čími ʔukuphe·š. 63. paʔíššaha tó·xrah. 64. yi·músič tó·tsí·p. 65. yané·kva passa·mváro· ʔuvúrunih·tih. 66. ká·n tuʔu·m. 67. tupivaxráhe·n. 68. pá·npay va· tó·kví·ripšip. 69. ká·n tuʔu·m. 70. tupivaxráhe·n.

71. xás ʔuxxúti "vúra punaʔíšše·šara ʔíšké·šʔa·s." 72. múva·s ʔuʔi·θvútih. 73. "payè·m panimmáha·k passa·mváro· paniníva·s kú·k nippa·θmé·š. 74. xasík va· nipačipčíppe·š." 75. xás po·mmáh pas·sa·mváro· taʔíttam kú·k ʔuppa·θmáhe·n. 76. ʔivaxráhak xás ʔukyíviš.

77. vúra ʔíššaha tó·xrah. 78. "vúra punaʔíšše·šara ʔíšké·šʔa·s." 79. víri va· ʔukupítih. 80. vúra tuʔinvákka·mha. 81. víri ʔú·θ ʔíšké·šak tuʔahirímka·nva. 82. xás ʔuxxúti "xá·tik vúra niʔiš, pe·šké·šʔa·s. 83. kúna vúra puʔastí·pič naʔíšše·šara. 84. vúra ʔíšké·šʔa·čip xasík niʔíšše·š." 85. čavúra ʔummáh yánava ʔiθyáruk ʔukúripa·hiti ʔiθári·p. 86. kári xás ʔuxxús "va· payʔó·k xasík ʔíššaha niʔíšše·š." 87. taʔí·ttam ʔuváttakarahe·n. 88. kári xás ʔíšké·šʔa·čip taʔíttam ʔukúkurihe·n. 89. víri po·kúkkurih čímiva ʔú·θ ʔúkyi·mkar. 90. ʔussí·nvar.

91. taʔíttam ʔupθívru·hvarak. 92. víri vúra ʔu·m tá·y paʔahuptun·vè·čas ʔuʔáθθanvaraktih. 93. xás pihnè·fič ʔuxxús "čími ʔahupyá·mač kanpárihiš. 94. va· ʔu·m hō·y vúrava kané·pta·tripa·viš."

95. yí·v tuθívru·hma. 96. čími ʔaxmá ʔúruk ʔutrú·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."<sup>16</sup> 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, "ʔātuhtuhtuhtuh!" 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.

<sup>16</sup> Coyote thought the noise was made by the falls at Klamath Lakes.

97. víri va· kunkupítih, paʔasiktáva·nsa kunxúti "kírí nítururípán paʔá-hup." 98. xás pihnē·fič tutápku·paʔasiktáva·nsa. 99. čavúra ka·nvári ʔuθívru·hma. 100. víri ʔuvu·nō·vutih. 101. víriva ká·n taʔítam pihnē·fič ká·n ʔuθívru·hma. 102. "ʔo·!" paʔasiktáva·nsa kunpi·p, "ʔo·! yá·xa páyku·kó· ʔahupyā·mač ʔuθivrúhuθunatih. 103. čími núttá·tripa·." 104. víriva kuntafiripíriptih. 105. káruma ʔu·m pihnē·fič ʔuxxúti "xáy kanátta·tripa·." 106. kári xás ʔuxxús "čími kanipθívru·hsun." 107. ta·ʔítam ʔupθívru·hrup.

108. čavúra kúkku·m va· ká·n ʔummáh ʔasiktáva·nsa ʔasti·p, ʔáhup kunikyá·vana·tih. 109. xás yíθθa ʔuppi·p "ʔo·! yá·xa kó· ʔahupyā·mač tuθívru·hvarak." 110. xás yíθ ʔuppi·p "atafā·t na· pihnē·fič. 111. mít kuníppa·t 'kahyúras tuvā·ram.' 112. ʔípparahum, ʔatafā·t na· va·." 113. púyava ní kúnímmu·stih. 114. ká·n vúra tuθivrúhuθun. 115. "xáy·fa·t núhma·čičva." 116. xás ʔú·θ kunpíkfu·tkar.

117. "ʔe·!" xás ʔuxxúti pihnē·fič "yá·s na· nixxúti 'tá nišší·nvar.'" 118. kō·kaninay vúra pakunmá·hti ʔú·θ kunpikfútká·nva. 119. čavúra yū·m kumayúrasak ʔuθívru·hramnih. 120. ká·n xás ʔuθivrúhiš. 121. xás vúra tó·ssir pihnē·fič.

122. ká·n vúra tuvúrayvike·θun. 123. yánava ká·n ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuʔí·k·ra. 124. xás ʔutvá·mnaθ. 125. yánava púra karáxxay vúra. 126. xás ʔuvō·ruvraθ pihnē·fič. 127. xá šú·ʔ pó·ʔu·m, po·tvárayva, pamukunʔikrív·kir ko·vúra ʔaθkuritmúrax vúra. 128. pamukunpatúmkir káru vúra ʔaθkú·rit. 129. káru pamukunpiykiríkkir va· káru vúra ʔaθkúrit. 130. xás vúra tó·xxúriha pihnē·fič. 131. xás ʔuxxúti "tí· kanpakatkā·ti papatúmkir." 132. xás po·pakátkat ʔamaya·ʔíššara. 133. čavúra ko·vúra ʔuθáffip, pamukunpiykiríkkir va· káru vúra ʔuθáffip.

134. xás ʔaxmá·y fā·t kúniš ʔuθíttiv. 135. xás ʔuxxús "čími kanʔíččunvi." 136. xás va· ká·n ʔahupʔiyvo·rámma·m ká·n ʔuʔá·siš. 137. xás ʔikxúrar pakunpavyíhvraθ. 138. ʔiθʔára·n<sup>19</sup> ní kúna tó·pvō·ruvraθ, kuniθyivúnni·h·vutih. 139. kári xás kunpi·p "na· nixxúti 'pihnē·fič ʔō·k·ninay ʔuvúrayvu·tih.'" 140. va· páva· tá kupavē·nahan, ko·vúra tuθáffi pānunupatúmkir."

141. vúra va· ʔuθá·niv, ʔuθítti·mti pakunčuphúruθunatih. 142. kári xás kunpi·p "čími nupákmu·vanvi ʔuknamxánnahič."

143. kári xás ʔuxxúti pihnē·fič "naniθívθa·ne·n tá kunčuphúruθun."

144. xás ʔuʔá·rihrišuk. 145. "ʔišáva·s, nanišavási·vša, nipθivké·viš."

146. xás kunpi·p "čém·mi. 147. kúna vúra xáyfa·t ʔiyú·pha."

148. "čém·mi, va· ník nikuphe·š. 149. vúra punáyu·phe·šara."

150. xás kunippē·r "čími pá·hak váramnih. 151. súva ník ʔasá·myi·θ ʔuxxákke·š, ʔixxusē·š 'tá nupávyi·hma.' 152. púyava ʔí kári xasík ʔiyú·p·he·š. 153. kúna pe·yu·phā·k pukinpávyi·hme·šara. 154. va· vúra ʔō·k nupθivrúhuke·š."

155. "čém·mi, va· ník nikuphe·š." 156. kári xás taʔítam kuní·pvi·tšurahe·n. 157. pihnē·fič "pá·ha" kúnippē·r "sú ʔiθxu·prámmi·hi." 158. taʔítam pihnē·fič ʔú·θxu·prámmi·hi. 159. taʔítam kuní·pvi·tšurahe·n.

160. čavúra tuʔú·ri pihnē·fič pó·θxu·prámmi·hi. 161. xás ʔuxxús pihnē·fič "tí· kanitníššuk." 162. víri po·tníššuk víri ʔu·myā·č kunipθivrúhiš ʔú·θ yurásti·m.

163. xás kuní·ppe·nti pihnē·fič "payē·m pukinípko·kanpe·šara."

164. xás pihnē·fič ʔuppi·p "payē·m ník vúra ʔišáva·s va· pune·pkuphe·šara."

97. They were doing that, the women were trying to hook out the sticks.<sup>17</sup>  
 98. And Coyote took a liking to the women. 99. Finally he floated to that vicinity. 100. There was an eddy. 101. So then Coyote floated to there. 102. "Oh," the women said, "oh, look there, such a pretty stick is floating around. 103. Let's hook it out." 104. But they kept missing it. 105. Coyote was thinking, "Let them not hook me out." 106. And he thought, "Let me float away!" 107. So he floated downriver again.

108. Finally he saw women there on the bank again, they were gathering wood. 109. And one said, "Oh, look, such a pretty stick has floated down from upstream!" 110. And another said, "Maybe it's Coyote. 111. They said he had left for Klamath Lakes. 112. He's not reliable,<sup>18</sup> maybe that's him." 113. So they looked at it. 114. It floated around there. 115. "Let's not fool with it." 116. So they pushed it back out into the river.

117. "Ah," Coyote thought then, "now I think I've drowned." 118. Everywhere they saw him, they pushed him back out into the river. 119. Finally he floated into the ocean downriver. 120. He floated to shore there. 121. Coyote was just lost.

122. He walked around there. 123. He saw a sweathouse standing there. 124. So he looked inside. 125. He saw nobody. 126. So Coyote crawled in. 127. And when he got inside and looked around, (the people's) seats were all of nothing but fat. 128. Their pillows were fat too. 129. And their ladder was fat too. 130. And Coyote was hungry. 131. And he thought, "Let me taste the pillows!" 132. And when he tasted them, they were very good-tasting. 133. Finally he ate them all up, he ate their ladder up too.

134. And suddenly he sort of heard something. 135. And he thought, "Let me hide!" 136. And he lay down there behind the woodpile. 137. And in the evening (the people) came back in the sweathouse. 138. (As) each<sup>19</sup> person crawled in, they fell down. 139. And they said, "I think Coyote is wandering around here. 140. That's who did that, he ate up all our pillows."

141. (Coyote) lay like that, he heard them talking about him. 142. And they said, "Let's spend the night away from home, at ʔuknaraxánnahič."

143. And Coyote thought, "They're talking about my country." 144. And he jumped out. 145. "Nephew, my nephew, I'll go along."

146. And they said, "All right. 147. But don't open your eyes."

148. "All right, I'll do that. 149. I won't open my eyes."

150. And they told him, "Get in the boat. 151. You will hear gravel sound, you will know we have arrived. 152. Then you can open your eyes. 153. But if you open your eyes (before), we won't get there. 154. We'll float back to here."

155. "All right, I'll do that." 156. And so they paddled off. 157. They told Coyote, "Lie face down in the boat." 158. So Coyote lay face down in it. 159. So they paddled off.

160. Finally Coyote got tired of lying face down. 161. And Coyote thought, "Let me look out!" 162. When he barely looked out, they floated ashore out at the ocean, at the seashore.

163. Then they told Coyote, "Now you won't go with us again."

164. And Coyote said, "I won't do it again this time, nephew."

<sup>17</sup> Literally, "the women thought, 'let us hook out sticks!'"

<sup>18</sup> Literally, "is he reliable?" A question is often used in Karok as a rhetorical equivalent of a negative.

<sup>19</sup> Not basic ʔiθʔára'n "stranger," but an external-sandhi variant of basic ʔiθʔára-ra "one person, each person."

165. "čémmi, čō·ra." 166. taʔíttam kunpávyi·hšipre·he·n. 167. taʔíttam kúkku·m ʔuʔasimčákkahe·n. 168. čavúra xára tah, ʔaxmáý ʔasámyi·θ ʔúxxak. 169. kári xás kunippē·r pihnē·fič "čími várípi pá·hak."  
 170. po·váríp yánava "naniθívθa·ne·n tá ni ʔíppak." 171. taʔíttam ʔutak·nhiθunahe·n. 172. "yō·tva, nanišívša·ne·n tá ni ʔíppak."  
 173. púya va· ʔukúpha·nik pihnē·fič. 174. kárúk ʔišpúk ʔukyā·ranik. 175. víri va· ʔukúpha·nik pihnē·fič. 176. púra fā·t vúra yávhanik. 177. či·mu·čʔi·n kunxússe·rani "kíri va· ʔukú·pha, pufā·t vúra yávhe·šara."

Text Number 4: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pihnē·fič ʔu·m ʔišpuké·kyav tó ·θvo·nha. 2. xás ʔuppí·p "kahyúras tá nivā·ram, ʔišpúk tá nikyá·r." 3. xás ʔuʔárihro·v, ʔupakurí·hvutih. 4. "kahyúras nivā·rame·š, ʔišpúk·nikyā·re·š." 5. xás vúra yí·v kárúk tuʔárihro·v.  
 6. xás kâ·m ʔútro·vutih. 7. kâ·n ʔíppaha ʔuʔí·hya. 8. yánava ʔitráh·yar ʔakvát kunʔirukú·ntako·. 9. xás ʔuppí·p "yé·he yō·tva. 10. po·ráppi·t nikyā·viš káru vúra nanivo·nvánna·č káru ʔakvákkir káru vúra naniyukúkkuh."  
 11. xás ʔupixivšúro· pamússa·nva. 12. xás ʔuʔixaxáxxax vúra tí·pičas. 13. xá šáruk ʔuxyáfako·. 14. xás ʔí·škar ʔupihyárihiš. 15. xás kári taʔíttam "čími kankúnni·hki," hínupa páy tó ·kfíripriv. 16. xás pa·kvát sáruk ʔuskákkunih. 17. xás kúkku·m vúra yíθ ʔukúnni·hka. 18. kúkku·m vúra ʔu·m ʔuskákkunih. 19. xás ko·yúra to· kfíriprin. 20. xás vúra kâ·rim tó ·pmahó·nko·n. 21. xá šâ·m ʔukfúkkunih. 22. xás ʔupíffi ko·vúra pamu·šanve·šxaxáxxax. 23. xás taʔíttam ʔupiptákkiθvahe·n. 24. xás ʔíp tá·y ʔá·n ʔussá·nvutihat, káruma va· ʔíp ʔuvúppare·šat pamúspuk. 25. xás ʔupasasf·p. 26. xás ʔuʔárihro·v.  
 27. xás vúra tó ·xxúriha. 28. xás yánava kâ·n ʔuxrá· tó ·mtup. 29. xás ʔuʔá·mva. 30. yánava kâ·n ʔuʔí·nvahitih. 31. yánava vúra tá·y páxxa·θ tó ·mtupíšri·hva, xás vúra ʔamáyav kuniš. 32. xás taʔíttam ʔuʔa·mváhe·n. 33. xás vúra ta·y ʔuʔay. 34. xás vúra hū·tva tuʔi·n, púxay vúra yā·vahiti·hará. 35. xás ʔíffuθkam kú·k ʔupitvú·tih. 36. yánava páxxa·θ va· vúra ʔukupaʔíššipiθunahiti po·kupavúrayvahitihe·n. 37. xás taʔíttam ʔuturá·y·vahe·n. 38. xás yánava kâ·n ʔaxvaha ʔíppaha ʔuʔí·hya. 39. yánava ʔaxva·háttay. 40. xás "čími kanipšivšápva·ni." 41. xás kúkku·m ʔuʔíppav. 42. xás vúra čé·mya·č ʔuyā·vaha.  
 43. xás ʔaxmáý vúra ʔuθítiv ʔišnur. 44. xás ʔuppí·p "hō·y vúra kume··θívθa·ne·n ʔusnúrutih." 45. xás ʔaxmáý vúra "ʔano·! ʔano·! 20 tá né·mčak." 46. xás ʔupitvā·vra·. 47. yánava "tá ná ʔi·nka." 48. xás ʔā·pun ʔukyíviš, xás ʔukrivrúhuθun. 49. xás ʔúmsi pā·ʔa·h.  
 50. xás kári ʔupvā·ram, xás vúra ʔuʔíppaho·. 51. xás vúra xára ʔu·ʔáho·. 52. xás vúra ʔíššaha tó ·xra puxxič. 53. xás pamúpri· vúra pux·xič tuváxrah. 54. xás yánava kâ·n ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuʔí·kra. 55. xás yánava kâ·n ʔára ʔupíkni·hvutih, ʔupakurí·hvutih. 56. káruma vúra tuθapáxrah.

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 raccoons 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!<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> ?ano: "ouch!" is used when a person is burned. Other types of pain occasion the response ?ake:!

57. xás yánava ká·n ʔaxakʔássip ʔaxrátʔa·s ʔuθáθri·n. 58. xás ʔuppí·p "yô·tva, nâ·čis mu ʔíššaha čí niʔíšše·š. 59. čími čí·mic vúra kanpakatkâ·tih." 60. xás kúkku·m vúra "xâ·tik vúra kumatê·šič kanʔí·ši." 61. xás ʔáxxak vúra paʔássip ʔuʔíššip. 62. xás ʔuppí·p "ná·čiš, xáyfa·t ʔík vúra ne·xviphû·niš." 63. xás kári ʔuʔárihro·v.

64. xás pamúnna·θ ʔuʔárihruk. 65. xás ʔuxxús "čí kanʔí·ši." 66. xás yánava paʔássip ʔáru·n kuniphíriv. 67. xás ʔuppí·p "yáxxa ʔáta ʔu·m papih·ne·fič ʔí·n tá nasítvi·k. 68. kínikini vúra ʔu·m ʔuvaxrahčáke·š. 69. xáyfa·t ʔík vúra ʔíššaha ʔummah. 70. ko·vúra ʔík paʔíššaha ʔuváxxra·hvuna·viš."

71. xás pihñê·fič ʔuʔárihro·v. 72. xás ʔíššaha tó ·xrah. 73. xás va· vúra ʔuʔáho·tih. 74. xás vúra puxxič tó ·xrah, xás "čími ʔíššaha kanʔí·ši." 75. xás taʔíttam ʔupáttumkurihe·n. 76. xás ʔámta·p kíč ʔúkpu·pvar ʔapma·n. 77. xás yánava paʔíššaha sáruk tuvú·nfak. 78. xás ʔuʔáharam. 79. xás ník tó ·kfu·kíra. 80. xás ʔivaxrahári·k tó ·skákkiš. 81. xás paʔíššaha tuvú·nfak. 82. xás ʔuppí·p "vúra xâ·tik. 83. miník niʔíšše·š kâ·m."

84. xás ʔuʔárihro·v. 85. xás ʔuθíttiv páθθu·f ʔuvúrunihva. 86. xás ʔukvíripšip. 87. xás ʔuppí· "pananíva·s nippa·θkúrihe·š." 88. xás múva·s ʔuppa·θkúrih. 89. xás ʔámta·p kíč ʔukpúppusip.

90. xás vúra čími ʔuʔíve·š, kó·va tuvaxrahčak. 91. xás ʔuppí· "payê·m nivð·rura·viš paʔíppaha. 92. xasík pananíva·s nippa·θkúrihe·š." 93. xás kúkku·m ʔuθíttiv páθθu·f. 94. xás ʔučunvákkir vúra kačáʔí·mič. 95. xás ʔá ʔuvð·rura· ʔíppahak. 96. xás taʔíttam pamúva·s ʔuppa·θkúrihe·n. 97. xás kúkku·m vúra ʔámta·p kíč ʔukpúppusi ʔo·kyíviš.

98. xás vúra ʔu·m hû· čími ʔuʔíne·š, pamúpri· vúra tuváxxrah. 99. xás yánava "tá ni ʔú·m kahýúras." 100. xás vúra tá puʔahó·tihara, vúra tó ·kfu·kth. 101. xás kári ʔíkúkkak ʔúku·kar. 102. xás ʔuʔiš. 103. xás po·ptáčva·yšip xás kúkku·m vúra ʔuʔiš. 104. xás va· kári pupikva·yšípre·ra, ʔú·θ ʔúkyi·mkar. 105. xás ʔussí·nvar.

106. xás ʔuθívrū·hvarak. 107. xás tá ʔíšya·v. 108. xás to·mmah, ʔastí·p sahʔáhpun kunikyá·vuna·tih. 109. xás tó ·ppí·p "ʔahupyâ·mač kan·párihiš. 110. va· ʔu·m kanaʔê·θripa·viš."

111. púyava tá kunmah, paʔahupyâ·mač tuθívrū·hvarak. 112. xás tá kunpí·p "yáxxa paʔahupyâ·mač tuθívrū·hvarak. 113. čími nuʔê·θripa·" 114. xás ʔaxmáý vúra paʔáhpun tó ·skaksí·p. 115. xás tá kunpí·p "ʔe·! na· nippê·š 'pihñê·fič.' 116. ʔú·θ ki·kpíppa·θkan." 117. púyava xás kun·píppa·θkar.

118. xás vúra tuθívrū·hvarak. 119. xás yurásti·m ʔuθivríhiš. 120. xás mâ·ka ʔuθívrū·hripa·. 121. xás ʔúku·kripa·. 122. xás yánava ká·n ʔára kunʔára·rahitih. 123. yánava ká·n ʔikmaháčra·m ʔuʔí·kra. 124. xás ʔutfúnukva. 125. xás yánava ʔé·ru·n, vúra ʔimpukáčnihič. 126. xás ʔúku·kfuruk. 127. xás ká·n yánava pamukunpatúmkir káru pamukunʔikrív·kir ʔaθkúrit ʔukyâ·rahitih. 128. xás vúra tó ·xxúriha. 129. xás taʔíttam ʔuʔávahe·n pamukunʔikrív·kir káru pamukunpatúmkir. 130. xás ʔuθafípší·p. 131. xás ʔahúpma·m kú·k ʔuʔu·m, xás ʔuʔá·siš.

132. xás ʔaxmáý paʔávansás kunpávyi·hfuruk. 133. yá·s kunpamváratih. 134. xás yíθθa ʔuppí·p "yahé hð·y pananikrív·kir. 135. káru yíθθa ʔuppí·p "hð·y pananipatúmkir." 136. xás kuntúra·yva. 137. xás vúra puyíθθaxay ká·n θa·nê·ra. 138. xás kunpí·p "na· nippê·š 'pihñê·fič.' 139. mít kuníppa·t 'tó ·ssí·nvar kahýúras.'" 140. pihñê·fič vúra ká·n ʔúyru·hriv, púxay vúra kê·natihara. 141. xás paʔávansás kunʔarihišri·hvuna· papákkurih. 142. xás kunʔarihišri·hva vúra tta·y. 143. xás kunpí·p "čími panamnihpákkuri ki·k·ʔárihiš, káruma ká·n čími núvyi·hšipre·viš."

57. And he saw two baskets of berry juice sitting there. 58. And he said, "Hurray, I'll drink nephew's juice! 59. Let me just taste a little." 60. And again (he said), "Let me drink a little more." 61. And he drank up both bowls. 62. Then he said, "Nephew, you mustn't get angry at me!" 63. And he traveled upriver.

64. Then his "nephew" came outdoors. 65. And he thought, "Let me drink!" 66. And he saw the baskets lying empty. 67. And he said, "Look, I'll bet Coyote stole it from me. 68. Let him die of thirst! 69. He mustn't find any water. 70. All the water must dry up."

71. And Coyote traveled upriver. 72. And he got thirsty. 73. But he just kept traveling. 74. Then he got very thirsty, and (he thought), "Let me drink water!" 75. So he put his mouth down to the water. 76. And just dust puffed into his mouth. 77. And he saw the water flowing away downhill. 78. So he chased it. 79. And he grabbed at it. 80. But he landed on dry ground. 81. And the water flowed away downhill. 82. And he said, "Let it go. 83. I'll drink upriver a ways."

84. And he traveled upriver. 85. And he heard a creek flowing down. 86. And he broke into a run. 87. And he said, "I'll throw my blanket in the water." 88. And he threw his blanket in. 89. But just dust puffed up.

90. And he was about to die, he was so thirsty. 91. And he said, "Now I'll climb a tree. 92. Then I'll throw my blanket in the water." 93. So he heard a creek again. 94. And he sneaked up slowly. 95. And he climbed up a tree. 96. And then he threw his blanket in. 97. And again just dust puffed up when it fell.

98. What was he to do? his tongue was just dry. 99. Then he saw, (he said), "I've reached Klamath Lakes!" 100. And he wasn't walking any more, he was creeping by now. 101. And he crept out on a log. 102. And he drank. 103. After he raised up, then he drank again. 104. Then he couldn't raise up any more, he fell into the river. 105. And he drowned.

106. So he floated down from upriver. 107. And it was winter by now. 108. And he saw, they were gathering driftwood on the shore. 109. And he said, "Let me become a pretty stick. 110. Then they'll hook me out."

111. Then they saw it, the pretty stick floating down from upriver. 112. And they said, "Look at the pretty stick floating down! 113. Let's take it out!" 114. And suddenly the stick jumped up. 115. And they said, "Ah, I'll bet it's Coyote! 116. Throw it back in the river!" 117. So they threw it back in.

118. So he floated down from upriver. 119. And he floated ashore on the seashore. 120. He floated up on land. 121. And he crawled ashore. 122. And he saw people were living there. 123. He saw a sweathouse standing there. 124. So he looked in. 125. And he saw it was vacant, it was a nice warm place. 126. So he crawled in; 127. And he saw there that their pillows and their chairs were made of fat. 128. And he was hungry. 129. So he ate their chairs and their pillows. 130. He ate them all up. 131. And he went behind the woodpile, and he lay down.

132. And suddenly the men came in. 133. They had just finished eating. 134. And one said, "Well, where's my chair?" 135. And one said, "Where's my pillow?" 136. And they looked around. 137. And not one was lying there. 138. And they said, "I'll bet it's Coyote. 139. They said he drowned at Klamath Lakes." 140. Coyote lay there, he didn't stir. 141. And the men sang songs. 142. They sang a whole lot. 143. And they said, "Sing an Orleans song, we're going there!"



144. xás vúra tusáyri·hva, xás ʔuváxxiprišuk, xás ʔā·pun ʔukrivrúhuθun.  
 145. xás ʔuppi·p "ʔayukí·panámni·k,<sup>21</sup> naniθívθa·ne·n."  
 146. xás kunpí· "pihnê·fič ʔu·m. 147. ʔú·θ nupíppa·θkan."  
 148. xás ʔúxrar. 149. ʔuppi· "pū·hara, xáyfa·t ʔú·θ kanapíppa·θkar.  
 150. ki·kxúrike·šap yā·mačič. 151. pamikun·ʔaxvā· ki·kxúrike·šap yā·mačič."  
 152. xás kunpí·p "čím̄mi." 153. xás ʔukxúrikvunā·.  
 154. xás tá kunikyá·si pāvé·vyi·hši pānámni·k. 155. xás pihně·fič ʔup·  
 pí·p "čími kanipθívke·"  
 156. xás kunpí· "pū·hara."  
 157. xás vúra tó·xrar. 158. "kanapíppasro·vi."  
 159. xás kunpí·p "čímmi man. 160. kúna vúra ʔi·ʔasimčákke·š ik,  
 xáyfa·t ʔík ʔitxā·rihva. 161. yukún pe·ʔitxā·rihvaha·k ʔō·k ʔipiškákkiš·  
 rihe·š."  
 162. xás ta·ʔittam kunípvi·tra·he·n. 163. xás pihně·fič ʔu·m ʔúyru·h·  
 riv, ʔu·ʔasímča·ktih. 164. xás vúra tu·ʔū·ri pó·yru·hriv, po·ʔasímča·k·  
 tih. 165. tuyá·vha pavá·ʔi·pma. 166. "káru hō·y patanúpvit·tma, kíri  
 nimmah. 167. kíri vúra yunā·mič ni·ʔitxā·rihva." 168. xás vúra yunā·  
 mič ʔu·ʔitxā·rihva. 169. xás yúruk xás ʔupipmahó·nko·n.  
 170. xás kúkku·m vúra kunípvi·tra. 171. xás ʔuppi· "pāyē·m vúra  
 puna·ʔitxā·rihve·š." 172. xás vúra kúniš puffá·t ʔipmahó·nko·nara.  
 173. xás ʔaxmá·y vúra ʔuθíttiv, ʔasámyi·θ ʔúxxak. 174. xás páppa·h  
 kuniθyúruripa·. 175. xás kunippē·r pihně·fič "ʔō·k ʔu·m panámni·k."  
 176. xás kári vúra ʔu·ʔa·číčha, xás ʔukrivrúhuθun, ʔú·θ ʔupiytúyka·nva  
 páyu·x. 177. púyava kúθ ʔu·m po·tíšra·mhití panámni·k. 178. púyava  
 páy ʔu·m pihně·fič ʔukúpha·nik.

Text Number 5: Coyote's Journey

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. pihně·fič ʔuxxus, "tí·kahyúras kanvā·rami, ʔišpú kanikyá·n."
2. kári·xás ʔuvā·ram.
3. kári xás tá yí·v ʔu·ʔu·m. 4. kári xás ká·n ʔummáh ʔakva·t, ʔíppaha  
 kun·ʔirukū·ntako·. 5. kári xás ʔuxxus, "tí·yíθ kanpíkyav pananišša·nva."  
 6. kári xás ʔupititítit pamússa·nva, xá šáruk ʔuxyáffako·. 7. kári xás  
 ʔukúnni·hka písši·p yíθθa. 8. kári xás ʔupiškákkunih. 9. kúkku·m vúra·  
 yíθ ʔukúnni·hka. 10. kúkku·m vúra ʔupiškákkunih. 11. čavúra ko·vúra  
 kunpikakúnni·hva. 12. kári xás ʔupíffik pamússa·nva. 13. xás ʔupipták·  
 kiθ. 14. ʔáhup ʔupvé·hruprih. 15. kári xás ʔupasasí·p. 16. xás  
 ʔu·ʔíppaho·.
17. kári xás tá yí·v ʔu·ʔu·m. 18. kári xás ʔummah, yánava ʔō·k  
 ʔu·ʔi·nváhitih. 19. yánava vúra ʔu·m ta·y, paxaθímtup. 20. xás ʔuppi·p,  
 "na·pukin·ʔáve·šara. 21. kahyúras nivā·ramutih, ʔišpúk nikyá·ntih."  
 22. kári xás ʔuxxus, "tí·kan·ʔám yíθθa." 23. xás vúra ta·y ʔu·ʔav. 24.  
 vúra puyá·vahitih. 25. xás ʔuxxus, "hú·t kumá·ʔi·papunayá·vahitihara."  
 26. hínupa ʔáffup kunpávyi·hrišukti po·ʔá·mtih.



144. Then (Coyote) was homesick, and he flopped out, and he rolled around on the ground. 145. And he said, "Hello Orleans,<sup>21</sup> 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. 150. I'll paint you pretty. 151. I'll paint your heads pretty." 152. And they said, "All right." 153. So he painted them.<sup>22</sup> 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. 160. But you must close your eyes, you mustn't open them. 161. If you open your eyes, you will land back here again." 162. 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! 167. 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. 177. That's why there is a flat at Orleans. 178. 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.

<sup>21</sup> 'ayukf: "hello!" may be used, as here, to address a distant person or place which is thought of nostalgically.

<sup>22</sup> The people whom he painted were ducks (cf. Text 2); this episode accounts for their brightly colored heads.

27. xás ʔaxváha ʔupišnápčak. 28. kári xás ʔuyâ·vaha. 29. čími va· ʔuʔí·nka paʔaxváha pamuʔáffup. 30. xás ʔá·s ʔúska·kurih. 31. kári xás ʔuʔíppaho·.

32. kári xás ʔummah, yánava ʔuθáθri·na· ʔaxra·t. 33. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "na· kahyúras nivâ·ramutih, ʔišpúk nikyâ·ntih. 34. punaʔáve·šara." 35. kári xás ʔuxxus, "i· kanpakatkâ·ti." 36. taʔíttam vúra ʔučafipáya·ča.

37. kári xás ʔuppi·p, ʔači·mu·čpihní·č, "ʔakâ·y tuθáffip naníxra·t. 38. kári čími ʔá·s ʔuxráhe·š."

39. kári xás vúra va· ʔuʔáho· pihnê·fič. 40. kári xás ʔuxxus, "ʔiššaha tá né·xrah." 41. kári xás ʔuθíttiv, ʔá·s ʔuvú·ntih. 42. kári xás ʔukúk·kurih. 43. ʔámta·p kíč ʔukpúppusip.

44. púyava kári xás ʔuʔáho·. 45. "payê·m vúra yi·músič vúra níkvíríp·šipre·viš." ʔuxxus. 46. kári xás ʔá·s ʔuθíttiv. 47. kári xás ʔukúkkurih. 48. ʔámta·p xás ʔukpúppusip.

49. kári xás ʔuʔíppaho·. 50. kári xás ʔuxxus, "payê·m nanikútrahar nippa·θkúrihe·š." 51. kári xás páʔa·s ʔuθíttiv. 52. kári xás ʔukvíripšip. 53. kári xás ʔuppa·θkúri pamukutra·htíhan. 54. ʔámta·p xás ʔukpúppusip.

55. kári xás ʔuʔíppaho·, vúra tó ·xrah. 56. kári xás kahyúras ʔuʔu·m. 57. kári xás ʔukúkkurih. 58. kári xás ʔuʔiš. 59. xás ʔumáθθapha, kári xás ʔúkyi·mkurih. 60. xás ʔussi·nvar.

61. kári xás ʔupθívru·hvarak. 62. kári xás tute·níhaha. 63. "ʔahup·yâ·mač vúra nippárihišrih."

64. kári xás tá kuntaxvukríppan paʔáhu paʔifáppi·tičas. 65. kári xás kunmah, tuθívru·hvarak paʔahupyâ·mač. 66. xás ko·vúra tá kunpi·p, "na· ʔu·m nitáxvu·kripa·viš." 67. kári xás kuntáxvu·kripa·. 68. číva ko·vúra kunímmu·tarahina· paʔifáppi·tičas.

69. kári xás ʔuʔíppaho· pihnê·fič. 70. ʔára·r tó ·ppárihiš, ʔu·m vúra tó ·ppárihiš. 71. kári xás ʔummah, yána ʔô·k páy kunʔihukvuna·tih. 72. taʔíttam ʔuʔihukú·mahe·n. 73. taʔíttam ʔuʔê·θvarayva payê·riphar. 74. kári xás ʔúmmu·taraha. 75. kári xás ʔúkvi pihnê·fič.

76. kári xás kunʔáharam, kunpi·p, "va· páva· tá kupavê·nahan." 77. kári xás ʔúkvip. 78. čími kunipáhari·θune·š. 79. kári xás ʔahvára·k ʔupišta·xva, ʔuppi·p, "kí·vyi·hrišuki, kí·vyi·hrišuki." 80. kári xás ʔasvút kunívyi·hrišuk, kunkitaxríhahitih. 81. víri va· kuníppe·ntih "pihne·fpíš·ta·xva."

82. kári xás kunʔiruve·híšri·hva paʔí·n kunʔáharamutih, kunímmu·stih, kunpi·p, "fâ·tko·k." 83. xás pihnê·fič ʔu·m ta·yi·v.

84. kári xás kúkku·m čími kunipáhari·θune·š. 85. kári xás ʔahvára·k ʔuθóúrivka·. 86. kári xás kunívyi·hrišuk, kunʔixipríššukva pá·čvi·v. 87. kári xás kunʔiruve·híšri·hva, kunímmu·stih, kunpi·p, "fâ·tko·k."

88. va· pakuníppe·nti "pihne·fčúnnivač."

89. kári xás θúffip mummáruk tó ·kvírípvarak. 90. kári xás va· ká·n tuyšipré·ka·m ʔúkri·. 91. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "ipní·namičpi, ʔipní·namičpi." 92. kári xás ʔáppakam ʔukvíripunih.

93. kári xás ʔi·ná·k ʔuvô·nfuruk ʔikmaháčra·m. 94. kári xás kunih·máravarak paʔí·n kunʔáharamutih. 95. kári xás kunitfúnnukva pe·kmaháč·ra·m. 96. kári xás kunpi·p, "hô·y kíč ʔimmáhe·n ʔára·r."

97. kári xás ʔuppi·p pihnê·fič, "ʔéllék<sup>w</sup> m<sup>23</sup>

98. kári xás kunpi·p, "na· nixxúti ʔupíti "tá yúrukhe·n."''

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" (*Astragalinus* 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, "ʔéllékw." <sup>23</sup>

98. And they said, "I think he says he's already downriver."

<sup>23</sup> Yurok for "I don't know," as pronounced by the informant. Coyote is pretending to be a Yurok.

99. kári xás pihnê-fič ?u?árihrupuk. 100. kári xá sâ·m ?ukvíripunih.  
 101. pá·hak ?úska·kramnih, xás ?iθyáruk ?uví·tkar. 102. kári xás ?uppi·p, "sí·t  
 ki·vyíhuki. 103. ki·kθárupri·ni páppa·h." 104. kári xás kunθárupri·n páppa·h.  
 105. kári xás kunpí·pā?í·n kun?áharanutih, "na·nippê·š 'va·pa?ípa  
 ?ikmaháčra·m kúkre·nhat." 106. kári xás kunpíhmaravrin. 107. yánava  
 ?iθyarukirá·sti·p xás ?úkri·. 108. kári xás páppa·h pakunpú·kar. 109. ta·  
 ?ítam ?u?arankúrihe·n, ?ayâ·č pássi·íá kunθárupri·n.  
 110. kári xás pihnê-fič ?ikrívra·m ?umma, yána ?u?í·kra. 111. xás  
 ?uvô·nfuruk. 112. yánava vúra ?u·m ta·y, pa?aθkuritpatúmkir. 113. kári  
 xás ?uθaífka·nva, vúra tuxuniháya·čha. 114. kári xás ?á ?uvô·rura·  
 ?iyvô·rura·k. 115. kári xás ?úkvi·tha.  
 116. kári xás té·kxurar, kári xás ?uθíttiv, kunčú·phitih. 117. kári  
 xás ?utvû·nih. 118. yánava ?asta·h. 119. kári xás kunpí·p, "hú·ka nanu·  
 patúmkir. 120. čím̄mi man, xâ·tik fú·m ?ô·k nupikyê·š." 121. kári xás  
 kuníθvuy pa?úkra·m, yíθθa káru ?u·m ?upítih, "va·kuma?úkra·m nipikvê·š·  
 rihe·š."  
 122. kári xás yíθθa ?uppi·p, "na·?uknamxánnahič nipikvê·šrihe·š."  
 123. púyava kári xás ?u?árihrišuk pihnê-fič. 124. kári xás ?uppi·p,  
 "čími kanipθívke·"  
 125. kári xás kunpí·p, "pú·hara. 126. káruma tiθáífipahe·n pananu·  
 patúmkir."  
 127. kári xás ?uppi·p, "miník ki·kpákkihe·š pamikúnpatúmkir, čími  
 kanipθívke·"  
 128. kári xás kunpí·p, "čímmi man." 129. kári xás kunippê·r "vúra  
 ?ík ?i?asímča·ktihe·š. 130. kári xás ?ík vúra ?itúra·yve·š panúppe·raha·k."  
 131. kári xás kunípvi·tšip. 132. xás vúra ?u·m xára tá kunípvit.  
 133. xás ?uxxus, "tí·kanitníššukvi." 134. kári xás va·ká·n xás ?utníššukva  
 té·p ?u?aramsî·prijvarak.<sup>24</sup>  
 135. xás kunpí·p, "čími nupávyi·hšip."  
 136. xás ?uppi·p, "xâ·tik nipθívke·. 137. miník ki·kxúrike·šap, yâ·mač  
 ki·kyá·višap."  
 138. kári xás kunpí·p, "čímmi man. 139. payê·m ?ík vúra ?i?asímča·k·  
 tihe·š. 140. kári xás ?ík vúra ?itúra·yve·š panúppe·raha·k."  
 141. kári xás vúra kunípvi·tra·. 142. púyava ?uknamxánnahič tá kunpí·p·  
 pasma, kári xás kunippê·r "čími túra·yvi."  
 143. kári xás po·túra·yva kári ?uppi·p, "nanišívša·ne·n." 144. xás  
 ?ú·θ ?upiytúyka·nva páyu·x, ?uknamxánnahič mú?u·θkam, víri va·kumá?i·  
 pakkê·č ?usiriškirahitih. 145. kó·va pihnê-fič ?u?a·číčhanik patu?íppak,  
 kupánnakanakana.

Text Number 6: Coyote Goes to a War Dance

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pihnê-fič va·ká·n mukríhra·m pihne·fθuf?íppan. 2. xás ká·n ?atahári  
 vúra ?ukrihankô·tih. 3. xás tuθíttiv, čími ?uθivtapárahe·š. 4. xás  
 ?ararátta·y čími kunivyíhuke·š.

<sup>24</sup> ?u?aramsî·prijvarak "he started down from upriver" seems to indicate that ?a'Ramsip(riv) "to start out" has an irregular alternant 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 ʔuknamxánnahič."

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!"<sup>24</sup> 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 ʔuknamxánnahič, 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 ʔuknamxánnahič, that's why there's a big bar (there). 145. Coyote was so happy when he got back. kupánnakanakana.

### 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 ʔaʔamsip(riv) as a single morpheme, an analysis supported by its irregular internal structure; see the lexicon under ʔaraṽ-.

5. xás ká·n panamnih·ifáppi·t ?áxxa kun·i·n. 6. xás pu·akara·i·n kínma·h·tihap. 7. xás kunpí· "páyê·m xasík čí kinmáhe·š." 8. xás ?u·m pihnê·fič káru vúra púva haríxay ma·hvúnna·. 9. xás ?uppi·p "miník nikyá·vuna·." xá sípnu· káruk ?u·é·θro·v. 11. xás ?ikríhak ?á ?uθθá·ntak. 12. xás ?uppê·r pasípnu·k "na· ?ík vúra ne·mússahitihe·š pe·kkû·ntako·. 13. xasík ?ík ?ipakurí·hvutihe·š ik." 14. xás kári pamúva·s ?uyxô·rariv pasípnu·k. 15. xás ?uppê·r "va· ?ík vúra kó· ?ó·k ?ikkû·ntako·viš pani·?íppakaha·k, xasík ?ikkô·he·š." 16. xás ta·?íttam ?úkri·hvahe·n pa·sípnu·k, ?upakurí·hvutih. 17. xás pihnê·fič yúruk ?upikvíriprup.
18. xás yánava tuθivtaparákka·mha. 19. xás ?uppi·p "čími yíθ kanpári·hiš. 20. ya·s·?arah·?ávansa kanpárihiš. 21. ko·vúra paniníšša·nva ?išpú kamixúrikarahiti káru fúrax." 22. ta·?íttam ?uθivtápparahe·n. 23. xás yánava pa·?ifáppi·tša xákkarari kun·i·n po·θivtapárahitihirak. 24. xás vúra ko·vura·i·n kunsí·nva vúra ?akárayvava kumaya·s·?arah, vúra kume·mšúp·pap. 25. xás ko·vura·i·n kunímmu·stih.
26. xás tá kunpatánviš "hô·y ?i·aramsî·privtih." 27. "na· vúra yí·v ni·?aramsî·privti páy nanuxákkararih." 28. xás kâ·kum tá kunpi·p, "?atafâ·t ?u·m pihnê·fič. 29. kâ·m ki·mússan pó·kri·hvutihirak."
30. xás pa·?ávansas kâ·kum kunihmáraro·v. 31. yánava ká·n ?úkri·hvutih, ?upakurí·hvutih. 32. xás yúruk pakunpávyi·hma tá kunpi·p, "?u·m vúra pihnê·fič kâ·m ?úkri·hvutih, ?upakurí·hvutih. 33. pu·?u·mhára."
34. "víri ?akáray" tá kunpi·p. 35. "vúra hô·y ?u·aramsî·privtih, tá pukin·?a·púnmhara. 36. číški kúkkum kâ·m ki·kpimússan. 37. ?atafâ·t ník vúra pihnê·fič." 38. xás kúkkum kunpimússar, xás ?ikríhak vúra ?ú·θ kun·u·m. 39. yánava ká·n kíč sípnu·k ?úkri·, ?upakurí·hvutih.
40. ta·?íttam "yé· na· hínupa páy ?u·m vúra pihnê·fič payû·m ?uθivta·ptih. 41. kinpikšáyvu·ništih. 42. čó·ra čími nuykan." 43. xás ta·?íttam kunpih·márarupahē·n. 44. xás kunpi·p "?u·m pihnê·fič paθivta·ptíhan, pu·?u·mhára pe·kri·hvútihan. 45. sípnu· kíč ká·n ?ukkû·ntako·. 46. ta·?íttam čími nuykan, tá kinpikšáyvu·niš."
47. ta·?íttam ?ukvíppahē·n. 48. xás yúruk ?ukvíriprup. 49. xás yánava ká·n ?íppaha ?u·í·hya, xás ?ussúruka·hitih. 50. xás pihnê·fič sú ?uhyívka·n·va "?ararátta·y ki·hmárarišuki, xás kâ·m ki·hmáraro·v." 51. xás ta·?íttam yúruk ?ukvíriprup.
52. xás patišanihyû·m ?ukvíriprup víri kúna kâ·m pa·?i·n kun·?áharamuti tá kunihmáravarak. 53. xás pihnê·fič ?uppi·p "θúfka·m vúra vúrunihí nani·?íffuθ." 54. xás vúra ?ukvíriprup.<sup>25</sup>
55. xás yurúkθu·f po·kvíripma xás "nani·?íffu θúfka·m kam·?árihiš." 56. xás pa·?i·n kun·?áharamuti xára xás kuniθyárukha, ?ayu·?â·č ?išahákka·m.
57. xás vúra yúruk ?ukvíriprup. 58. xás xô·xhirak ?ukvíripma. 59. xás ká·n yánava ?ikmaháčra·m ?u·?i·kra. 60. xás ?úska·kurih. 61. xás ?â·pun ?ukyíviš. 62. xás ?uppi·p "?amtáppar vúra kan·?árihiš, xás panífyu·p ?ámta·p kamixyan. 63. xás vúra pihní·č kan·?árihiš." 64. xás ká·n pihní·č ?úyru·hriv.
65. xás ?axmáý ?i·m kunihmáriš. 66. xás kunihyívra·θva ?ikmaháčra·m. 67. xás kunpi·p "hô·y kíč ?ára kummáhe·n, tó·kvíriprup."

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 tišánni'k, 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.<sup>25</sup>  
 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.<sup>26</sup> 67. And they said, "Where have you seen a person? He ran downriver."

<sup>25</sup> This was the origin of Camp Creek, the large creek just south of Orleans.

<sup>26</sup> kunihyívrá:θva is reduced by haplology from kun-ihyívrá:θ-va "they shouted into the sweathouse (pl.)"



68. xás ʔuppi·p "čiʔé. 69. ká n̄ík čirikiríkkih." 70. xás kunihmárap.

71. xás pihnê·fič ʔúska·krupuk. 72. xás ʔiškê·šak ʔúska·kurih, xás ʔúku·hriñ. 73. xás má ʔukvíripura. 74. xás paʔávansas ʔu·mkun yúruk ník tá kuniθviríppi·θva, xás puvúra fâ·fá mmáhap. 75. xás ʔaxmáý ʔiθyáruk máʔ pihnê·fič ʔukpê·hva "šú···hu···." 76. xás va·vúra pihnê·fič ʔukúpha·nik.

Text Number 7: Coyote Trades Songs

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ʔukní·. pihnê·fič "kahyúras" ʔuxxus, "tî·kanvâ·rami." 2. xás káruk ʔuʔárihro·v. 3. vúra yí·v tuʔáho·. 4. yí·v káruk tuʔárihro·v. 5. xás ʔuθíttiv, ʔakâ·yva ʔupakurî·hvutih. 6. vúra va·ʔuʔáho·tih. 7. xás ʔuxxus, "ʔíf yâ·mač pamupákkurih. 8. tá nitápu·p. 9. kírî nupíra·nva. 10. n̄íp·pe·re·š, 'čími ʔiśáva·s, nupíra·nvi. 11. tá nitápu·pamipákkurih!"
12. ʔu·m káru ʔupakurî·hvuti po·ʔáho·tih, "haninuvê·na·hanuvê·na."
13. káruk vúra yí·v tuʔu·m. 14. vúra va·ʔuθítti·mti po·pakurî·hvutih.
15. hō·yva kúniš kunpakurî·hvutih. 16. xás vúra ʔu·m tutápu·pamupákkurih.
17. vúra va·ʔuʔárihro·vutih. 18. vúra va·ʔupakurî·hvuti ʔu·m pamupákkurih, "haninuvê·na·hanuvê·na." 19. xás yí·v tuʔu·m. 20. xás ʔuxxus, "tî·kaníppu·nvi. 21. nimmáhe·š po·ʔárihvarakaha·k." 22. vúra va·ʔuθítti·mti po·pakurî·hvuti vúra tá ʔû·mukič, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya."
23. ʔaxmáý ʔuʔárihvarak. 24. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p, "čími ʔikrî·šrih. 25. čími n̄úppu·nvi."
26. xás taʔíttam ʔukrî·šrihe·n. 27. vúra xára tá kunʔu·hyánni·čva.
28. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p, "ʔiśáva·s, tá nitápu·pamipákkurih. 29. čími nupíra·nvi. 30. čími ʔárihiš pamipákkurih, kírî niʔíttap."
31. xás ʔuʔárihišrihe·n pamupákkurih, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya."
32. xás ʔuppi·p, "yō·tva, ʔiśáva·s. 33. tá niʔa·číčha patá naʔê·pamipákkurih. 34. tî·na·kúna kanʔárihišrih paninipákkurih." 35. xás pihnê·fič kúna ʔuʔárihiš "haninuvê·na·hanuvê·na." 36. yō·tva, ʔiśáva·s. 37. tá nupíra·nva. 38. čí kanʔárihro·vi."
39. xás ʔuppi·p, "čémmi, na·káru yúru kanʔárihrupi."
40. xás pihnê·fič káruk ʔuʔárihro·v, kahyúras tuvâ·ram. 41. vúrava yí·v tuʔu·m. 42. ʔupakurî·hvutih, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya." 43. xás vúra yí·v káruk tuʔu·m. 44. ʔuxxus, "ʔíf tá naʔû·ri panipakurî·hvutih. 45. tî·kanpíppa·čun." 46. xás ʔuxxus, "pananipákkuri kanpárihiš." 47. xás tó·psinvárihva pamupákkurih. 48. vúra hū·tva. 49. ká·n̄ík tó·kya·várihva. 50. vúra tupišinvárihva pamupákkurih. 51. xás pató·kya·várihvaha·kíč to·ppi·p, "kitâ·na."

And he said, "či'č. 69. There was the sound of footsteps there."<sup>27</sup>  
70. So they ran downriver.

71. Then Coyote jumped out. 72. And he jumped in the river, and he swam 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, "šú...hu...." 76. And Coyote did that.

Text Number 7: Coyote Trades Songs

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ʔuknī'. 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, "haninuvê· na· hanuvê· 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, "haninuvê· na· hanuvê· 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 from upriver." 22. He heard the singing that way just close by, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya·."

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, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya·."

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, "haninuvê· na· hanuvê· 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, "kitâ·na kitâ·na ʔí·ya·." 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, "kitâ·na."

<sup>27</sup> či'č is supposed to be a Yurok word; the informant knew no meaning for it. čirik-kirikkih is "broken Karok" for ʔurikiríkkih "there was a sound of footsteps." Another informant's version of this sentence gives the same word as ʔulikilíkkih, showing substitution of l for the flap r which is lacking in Yurok.

52. ʔačavúra ʔúxvi·pha. 53. xás ʔuppi·p, "fâ·t yáxxa kumakitâ·na.  
 54. višvá·n ʔáta, viškitâ·na ʔáta."<sup>28</sup>  
 55. xás ʔuʔárihro·vutih. 56. vúra tá pupikrô·kara pamupákkurih.  
 57. vúra tó ʔpsinvárihva. 58. vúra yí·v tuʔárihro·v. 59. xás vúra tá  
 pupikrô·kara. 60. vúra tá kunʔáve· ʔamupákkurih. 61. va· ʔáy pihnê·fič  
 ʔukúpha·nik pakáru káhyúras ʔuvâ·ramutih. kupánnakanakana.

Text Number 8: Coyote Goes to the Sky

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ká·n ʔavansáxxi·č ʔáxxak kunʔí·nanik. 2. xás ʔáy nanuʔávahkam kú·  
 kinpô·nva. 3. xás tá kunxús "kíri kunʔíppak." 4. xás vúra hú· čí pakú·  
 kunkupá·ʔu·mahe·š. 5. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p "čími ʔa· ʔupárišri·hvuna·."  
 6. xás "ko·vúra paparišrihva·nsa" ʔuppi·p "ʔô· ki·vyíhuki." 7. xás pih-  
 nê·fič vúra ʔu·m sipnúkka·m tó ʔóáriš paká·n ʔumáhya·ne·š.  
 8. xás ká·n ʔavansatínnihíč ʔukkú·ruθunatih. 9. xás paʔantunvê·č kunʔi-  
 vitšúro·ti víri va· ʔuʔíffiktih. 10. xás va· ʔuparišri·hvutih. 11. xás pamu-  
 sípnu·k ʔu·m ʔipšú·nkinič, kúna vúra tinihyâ·č, ká·n ʔuʔu·čnífmač. 12. xás  
 pihnê·fič tó ʔppi·p "yé· na·, yi·várih. 13. ʔi·m vúra pufa·thára."  
 14. xás va· vúra ko·vúra kunikyávuna·tih. 15. xás čavúra kunpíkya·r.  
 16. xás taʔíttam kunkunihúra·nahe·n páʔa·n. 17. pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p "na·  
 píšši· ʔaniníʔa·n ʔá· ki·kunihúra·." 18. xás ʔupikyívunih. 19. xás čavúra  
 ko·vúra kunkunihúra·. 20. xás čavúra puyíθaxay sakri·vhára.  
 21. xás paʔavansatinihyâ·č ʔuppi·p "čími na· paniníʔa·n ki·kunihúra·."  
 22. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p "ʔo·! vúra ʔi·m pufa·thára. 23. xáyfa·t  
 kukunihúra·."  
 24. xás taʔíttam kunkunihúra·he·n. 25. xás xánnahič xás ʔaxmáý ʔútra·x.  
 26. xás páʔa·n ʔukké·n. 27. xás kunišripíhpih. 28. xás vúra sákri·v.  
 29. xás pihnê·fič ʔuʔa·čičha, xás ʔuppi·p "kúniš ʔíp níppa·t ʔamúʔa·n ʔu·m  
 ká·n ʔúkyi·me·š."  
 30. xás taʔíttam kunʔiruvo·rúra·nahe·n. 31. xás paʔá· ʔunívyi·hma xás  
 kunpí·p "kunʔíhukarahitih." 32. víri paʔavansáxxi·č ʔu·m ʔá·čip pakunʔí·h-  
 tih. 33. xás tá kunímmu·stí paʔi·hvúnna·.  
 34. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p "čími na· kanʔíhi."  
 35. xás kuníppê·r "hô·y ʔif, ʔíkfuyšure·š. 36. yakún ʔu·mkun yúruk  
 ʔiθivθane·nʔíppan kunʔíhmo·ti, káru káruk ʔiθivθane·nʔíppan kunʔíhmo·tih.  
 37. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p "na· vúra va· níkuphe·š. 38. yâ·mahukač ník."  
 39. xás ká·kum va· ká·n kunʔiruvê·hriv po·ssúruruprinahitihirak.  
 40. xás kunpí· "paʔavansáxxi·č ká·n tá kunʔí·hmaha·k va· ʔí kári kuppê·θ-  
 ke·viš."  
 41. xás kári kunʔí·hvuna·. 42. xás pihnê·fič ʔaxmáý hô·yva ʔukpê·hva  
 "šú····hu····." 43. xás yánava vúra tá kuniyúrutih.  
 44. xás ká·n paʔavansáxxi·č tá kunʔí·hma po·ssúruruprinahitihirak.  
 45. taʔíttam kunpíyúruripahe·n. 46. xás taʔíttam kunpíhmárunihe·n.  
 47. púra fáttak pihnê·fič. 48. xás taʔíttam kunpíyúrunihe·n.

52. Finally he got angry. 53. And he said, "Look, what kind of 'kitâ-na' is it? 54. Maybe it's višvá-n, maybe it's viškitâ-na!"<sup>28</sup>

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. kupánnakanakana.

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!"<sup>29</sup>

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, "šū···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.

<sup>28</sup> Trying to understand the word kitâ-na, Coyote confusedly brings in višva-n "belly."

<sup>29</sup> The "flat man" was xah "spider."

49. xás pihnê·fič ʔuʔí·pma po·ssúruruprinahitihirak. 50. ník ʔutúra·yva.  
 51. yánava vúra pukára ká·nhara. 52. xás ʔuppí·p "ʔo! tá kané·pša·mkir.  
 53. víri hú·t vúra panikupe·pvú·nihahē·š." 54. xás ʔutnú·prih. 55. xás  
 ʔuppí·p "ye! vúra ní kúniš ʔú·mukič. 56. yukún pe·θívθa·ne·n vúra θúkkín·  
 kuniš xás kúniš ʔú·mukič. 57. na· nixxúti "vúra niš·kák·kunihe·š."  
 58. xás taʔíttam ʔúska·ksur. 59. xás pó·kyi·mti tukučnáxxavrin, xás tó  
 ·krírihivrin, xás vúra xára ʔukyí·vú·r. 60. ʔitaharahárinay ʔukyí·vú·r.  
 61. xás po·kyíviš vúra ʔíppi kíč káru pamúm·ma·n. 62. xás va· páy ʔu·m  
 pihnê·fič ʔukúpha·nik.

Text Number 9: Coyote Trades Songs and Goes to the Sky

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. kári xás pihnê·fič ʔuʔáho·tih, ʔupakurí·hvutih. 2. kári xás ʔúkmar  
 ʔáxxak ʔifáppi·tšas. 3. hínupa ʔíppat. 4. ʔu·mkun káru kunpakúri·hva.  
 5. kári xás ʔuppí·p "ʔíf yá·mač mikunpákkurih." 6. kári xás ʔuppí·p  
 "čími nupíra·nvi. 7. xâ·tik nupíra·nva."  
 8. kári xás kunpí· "pú·" 9. kári xás kunpí·p "čímmi man." 10. kári  
 xás kunpíra·nva. 11. kári xás papihnê·fič ʔuʔíppaho·, ʔupakurí·hvuti pamu·  
 kunpákkurih.  
 12. kári xás paʔíppat kunpí· "pípšínvárihvi." 13. kári xás yí·v tuʔíppaho·  
 papihnê·fič. 14. kári xás ʔupípšínvárihva.  
 15. kári xás ʔuʔáharamuna·, ʔíffuθkam kú·k ʔukpê·hva. 16. kári xás  
 ʔuppí· "púya, kanapikšúppihi pamikunpákkurih. 17. tá napípšínvárihva."  
 18. kári xás kuníθvip. 19. páy nanuʔávahkam kú·k kuniθvíripma.  
 20. vúra va· ʔuʔáharamuna·tih.  
 21. kári xás va· ká·n ʔummah, ʔataynamtunvê·čas. 22. kári xás ʔuppí·p  
 "fâ·t ʔi·mkun kukyâ·tih."  
 23. kári xás kunpí·p "nu· páy pe·θívθa·ne·n ʔitaharâ· nupíhiro·piθvutih."  
 24. kári xás ʔuppí·p "čími kanθívke·"  
 25. kári xás kunpí· "pú·hara, hô·y ʔíf va· ʔikuphe·š, ʔitaharâ·n ʔipíhi·  
 ro·piθve·š."  
 26. kári xás ʔuppí·p "miník vúra va· níkuphe·š."  
 27. kári xás ʔuppí·p "čímmi man, kúna vúra xáyfa·t ʔík ʔiʔú·rih."  
 28. kári xás ʔuppí·p papihnê·fič "pišší·p níʔárihišrih." 29. taʔíttam  
 ʔuʔárihišrihe·n. 30. kári xás vúra púva yi·v ʔu·m. 31. kári xás yíθ  
 ʔupárihiš. 32. kári xás ʔuppí·p "matê· kuva·n, kanpíhé·n."<sup>30</sup> 33. vúra  
 va· kunʔíhma·θtih. 34. kári xás ʔuppí·p "matê· kuva·n, tá naθurirúvu·kva."  
 35. xás vúra va· kunʔíhma·θtih. 36. xás ʔuppí·p "matê· kuva·n, tá ne·čna·  
 hirúvu·kva." 37. xás vúra va· kunʔíhma·θtih. 38. ʔáppa pámútra·x tá kuniš·  
 pa·tsur. 39. vúra va· kunʔíhma·θtih. 40. ʔáppa kúna pámútra·x kuniš·  
 pa·tsur. 41. kári xás kunpíppáčiš. 42. kári xás ká·n po·θθá·niv.  
 43. kári xás ʔuxxús "hú·t ʔáta níkupe·pvú·nihahē·š." 44. kári xás ʔut·  
 vú·nih. 45. kári xás ʔuyúhunih. 46. "miní kúniš puyívuhara. 47. čími  
 kunfiθíhu·nihi. 48. pú·hara, xáy ʔápsi· né·špat. 49. tí· kanvasíhu·nihi.

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, "matê· kuva·n, let me have a smoke!"<sup>30</sup>

33. They just kept making him dance.

34. And he said, "matê· kuva·n, I'm urinating all over myself!" 35. They just kept making him dance.

36. And he said, "matê· 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.

<sup>30</sup> matê· means "wait a moment!" The meaning of kuva·n was not known to the informant.

50. pû·, xáy vássi né·špat. 51. tí· kanixvâ·hu·nihi. 52. pû·, xáy ?axvâ·né·sxax." 53. kári xás ?uxxús "čími vúra kan?asimčâ·ki." 54. kári xás ?úkyi·mšur. 55. kári xás ?úkyiv, xás vúra xára pó·kyiv. 56. púyava kán ?ukyíviš ?iknú·min. 57. víri va· vúra kán ?uθθá·niv payé·m. 58. pihnê·fič va· kán·po·pikyívišrihanik.

Text Number 10: Coyote Steals Fire

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pi?ê·p ?u·m pa?ára·r ?iθítta·nsahanik. 2. xás pakah?árahsas kuniv·yíhuk. 3. xás ta?íttam kuníθti·tvuna·he·n. 4. xás ko·vúra kinčifíčfip. 5. xás fâ·čími vúra kunpáxra·me·š. 6. xás kunpi·p, "xâ·tik vúra pá?á·h nupáxra·m."
7. xás ta?íttam va· vúra káru tuppá·xkiv. 8. xás ta?íttam pá?á·h kun·pê·čiprin. 9. xás ta?íttam ko·vúra pá?á·h kunímši·pva ?ô·kninay. 10. ko·vúra ní kunikyâ·varihva pá?á·h kunkupe·kyâ·he·š. 11. xás vúra tá pu?á·hára. 12. xás vúra fâ·čími pá?á·h kunikyâ·re·š, tá kunpí·mšavuna·.
13. xás kári pihnê·fič ?uppi·p, "na· xâ·tik nivâ·ram, pá?á·h nippê·θkiv." 14. xás ta?íttam "čémmi."
15. xás kári ko·vúra pe·šnanič ?íšši·pša kuma?ára·r yíča·č ?úkyav. 16. xás ?úppe·nvuna· pe·kvíppa·nsa, "pay?ô·k ?ikrí·š." 17. xás xančí·fič píšši·p ?astí·p ?ukrí·š. 18. xás ?asáxvu tuyšip ?íppanič ?ukrí·š. 19. xás ko·vúra pe·kvíppa·nsa va· kunkupa?íruna·.
20. xás pihnê·fič ?u·m tá ?íp káruk ?u?árihro·vat. 21. xás ?u·m pihnê·fič ?iθivθane·n?íppan ?u?u·m. 22. xás pakán ?u?ú·m yánava vúra ?áhta·y má?ninay, ?úmku·fhina·tih, ?u?i·nvúna·tih.
23. xás papihnê·fič ?u?ú·m yánava ?axxi·č kíč kun?ára·rahitih. 24. xás pa·xxí·č ?upatánvi·švuna·, "hô·y ?u·mkun pa?ávansas."
25. xás pa·xxí·č ?uppi·p, "má?ninay kun?ákkunvuna·tih." 26. xás pihnê·fič ?úppe·nvuna· pá·xxi·č, "čími pamikún?á·v ki·k?â·nvaθap. 27. yâ·mač vúra ki·kyâ·višap."
28. xás pa·xič?í·n kunímmu·stih. 29. xás kunpi·p, "?atafâ·t ?i·m pihnê·fič. 30. pamítti·v ?a·xkúniš."
31. "pû·hára, na· pupihnê·fičhara. 32. na· vúra puna?á·púnmutihara 'hô·y ?u·m papihnê·fič ?úkri·'."
33. xás ta?íttam ?u?â·nvaθvuna·he·n. 34. xás ?úppe·nvuna·, "pay?ô·k ki·tkúrihtih." 35. xás ?á·s ?úyva·yramnih. 36. xás ?uppi·p, "ko·vúra ki·kpi·mustíhva·ni." 37. xás "yâ·mačas kumússahitih."
38. xás pihnê·fič ?u?â·siš, "na· tá níkvi·tha." 39. káruma ?íp ?u·m tó ·yu·nkat ?ahtú·n pamufiθih?íppan. 40. xás kán ?úyru·hriv, ?á·k ?uppi·vkí·rihtih. 41. xás vúra patu?i·nkáya·čha xás té·mnakákka·m.
42. xás kári ?u?árihšip. 43. tupárihrup. 44. xás ?upikvíripšip. 45. xás pató·kfu·yšur xás kári payíθθa ?u?ê· pá?á·h. 46. xás kári ?u·m pató·kfu·yšur yíθθa kúna tu?é·h.
47. xás paka?má?ninay pá?á·h ko·vúra ?úmsi·pvuna·. 48. xás pa?ára·r kunpi·p, "káruma pá?á·h tá kinpê·θe·p." 49. xás ta?íttam kunihmárasipre·he·n, tá kun?áharam pa?ára·r ?í·n tá kinipšítvi·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.



50. xás ʔô·k vúra ko·vúra tá kunpihmá·vavarak. 51. xás ʔáxxak ʔifuč·tî·mič tá kunsá·m. 52. xás ʔasáxvuh tuyšip·ʔíppanič ʔúkri·. 53. xás pa·ʔa·sáxvuh kunʔê· pá·ʔa·h. 54. xás ta·ʔíttam ʔukrívru·hsipre·he·n. 55. xá šáruk ʔiške·š·ʔíppanič ʔukrívru·hma.

56. xás yánava ká·n xančí·fič ʔúkri·. 57. xás vîri kúna kummâ·m kunih·márafak pakah·ʔárahsas. 58. xás paxančí·fič ʔu·ʔi·pkúri ʔiške·šak. 59. xás ʔi·ʔyáruk ʔučí·všip. 60. xás ʔuyúhiš pá·ʔa·h kufipšúruk. 61. xás ʔaxmá·y čišší·kuníkvu·hvuna·. 62. xás pe·ʔyáru kunítká·ratí ʔaxmá·y úmku·fha kufípri·k. 63. xás hínupa páy ʔára tu·ʔi·niš.

### Text Number 11: Coyote as Doctor

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pihnê·fič ká·n ʔu·ʔá·rihro·vutih. 2. ʔuxxús "tî·kanmahvanáyvi·čvan."
3. kári xás ká·n yánava ʔára kun·ára·rahitih. 4. yánava yí·θθá ʔá·pun ʔu·θθá·nív, ʔukkuhítih.
5. xás kunipê·r "ʔatafâ·t ʔi·m ʔararaxus·úmma·n."
6. kári xás ʔuppí·p "hâ·, na· ʔararaxus·úmma·n." 7. xás kári ʔupítih "xk," ʔúxki·kvutih.
8. kári xás kunipê·r "čími patúmko·."
9. xás ʔuppí·p "čémmi." 10. kári xás ʔuppí·p "čími ʔî·m kí·vyi·hrupuki.
11. va· xás nípatumkô·viš."
12. "čémmi." 13. ta·ʔíttam ʔi·m tá kunívyi·hrupuk.
14. xás ʔuppí·p "puxxíč ʔík vúra kupakúri·hve·š."
15. xás "čémmi." 16. ta·ʔíttam súva tupa·kúri·hva. 17. xaká·ni·č ʔi·ná·k páxxu·s ʔu·ʔu·mútih. 18. kári xás kunpakúri·hvuna· puxxíč vúra.
19. kári xás ʔuppí·p yí·θθá "hú·t ʔupítih paye·ripáxvuh, ʔi·ná·k ʔukpê·h·vutih." 20. kári xás kunpihmárafuruk ʔi·ná·k. 21. yánava papihnê·fič ʔávahkam tó ʔoxu·ptaki·š.
22. kári xás pa·ʔáhup ʔa·k ʔu·ʔê·θripa·. 23. kári xás ʔu·ʔa·k, pihnê·fič ʔu·ʔá·k ʔáffup. 24. kári xás pihnê·fič ʔuppí·p "čánha·yfur."<sup>34</sup> 25. xás ʔuppárihrupuk.
26. tó hma·čičva paye·ripáxvuh. 27. hínu páy ʔu·m ʔupíkša·yvutih, putáktahara, pu·ʔararaxus·úmma·nhara. 28. vúra tutá·pku·paye·ripáxvuh. 29. "kíri níhma·čičva." 30. xás paké·vni·kič ʔuppí·p "ʔo·! puyávhara papihnê·fič, tá·y ʔukupavê·nahiti papihnê·fič."
31. kári xás ʔu·ʔá·rihrupuk. 32. xás kun·á·haram. 33. kári xás šáruk ʔú·θ ʔúska·kar. 34. xás ʔu·ʔi·pkúrih. 35. kári xás kunpí·p "tá hú·kava"
36. tá kunívyu·nsip.

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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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, "ǎk," he was making a hawking noise.<sup>33</sup>  
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."  
12. "All right." 13. So they went outdoors.  
14. And he said, "You must sing loudly."  
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!"<sup>34</sup>  
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.

<sup>31</sup> This is said to be why willow root is used in the drill for making fire.

<sup>32</sup> This myth, like others, ends with the sudden and spontaneous generation of the human race. At the same time, the race of ʔikxaré-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.

<sup>33</sup> Doctors make this kind of noise when preparing to regurgitate a 'pain' or disease object.

<sup>34</sup> This word is said to refer to sexual intercourse; its form-class and composition are unknown.

37. xás kári ?ifáppi-tša kun?i-n. 38. xá šáru kúntúra-yvutih, púra fát-ta-k. 39. kári xás kári tá kó- tá kuníyvu-nsip. 40. káruma ?u-m yúruk tó ·kpúhiš.

41. kári xás pa?ifáppi-tša kunpi-p, "čô-ra, ?é-v, ?iššaha nuktávan."

42. kári xás ?uppi-p yíθa pa?ifáppi-t, "?i-! ?if ?é-v sišanayâ-mač tó ·ssí-n-var.<sup>35</sup> 43. ?i-m ?é-v hū-t kíč ?ixxútiḥ."

44. xás ?uppi-p "?i-! na- ?é-v káru vúra va- nixxútiḥ."

45. kári xás pa?iššaha kuníktav. 46. xás kunpínna-, va- kíč vúra pakuni-píth "sišanayâ-mač tó ·ssí-nvar." 47. kári xás ?axmá yúra pa?asiktáva-n ?uppi-p "yáxxa, ?e-! yáxxa ?iθyáruk." 48. ?axmá yúruk ?úska-kro-v, ?upihné-fhitih. 49. hínu páy ?u-m ?iθyáruk tó ·kvíripro-v, káruma ?u-m kunxútiḥ "tó ·ssí-nvar." 50. púyava pihné-fič ?ukúpha-nik. kupánnakanakana. 51. paye-ripáxvu ?úhma-čičva.

#### Text Number 12: Coyote Tries to Reach the Sun

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va- ?ukúpha-nik pihné-fič ?u-m. 2. má-m pakú-sra tuváruprav. 3. ?uxxútiḥ, "kummá-m ?úkri-, pakú-srah." 4. xás ?uxxútiḥ, "va- tá kká-n ?úkri-, pakú-srah." 5. po-kfúkkuvra-, yánava ?iθyáruk xás tuváruprav pakú-srah. 6. čavúra.pumahára, hō-y po-?aramsí-privtiḥ. 7. víri va pihné-fič ?ukúpha-nik.

#### Text Number 13: Coyote's Gambling Song<sup>36</sup>

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va- kunkúpha-nik, ?iθá-n. 2. pe-kxaré-yav yíččakanač ko-vúra kunpam-fipišniháya-ča. 3. kunpavyíhišrihanik. 4. kári xás kunxútiḥ, "čími núθ-ti-tvuna-." 5. ta?ítam kuníθti-tvuna-.

6. pá-mpay va- tá kunkúpha. 7. ?áppakam tá kinčíffič. 8. vúra ko-vúra tá kunpaxe-páya-ča, pamukún?u-p. 9. vúra tá kinčíffič.

10. xánnahičvari ?axmá yu?áho-, pihné-fič. 11. ta?ítam kuntárihe-n. 12. xás ?uppi-p, "na- vúra ninipákkuri nípakúri-hve-š, pani?é-θka-nvaha-k." 13. ta?ítam ?u?é-θka-nvahe-n. 14. ta?ítam ?upakurí-hvahe-n. 15. "?ayiyi-hanija-ne- hanija-ne-ya."<sup>37</sup>

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, sišanayā·mač has really drowned!"<sup>35</sup> 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, "sišanayā·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. kupánakanakana. 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<sup>36</sup>

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. "ʔayiyi-haniḡa·ne· haniḡa·ne·ya."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> sišanayā·mač is literally "pretty one with a penis," from sišara "having a penis" (siš "penis," -ara "characterized by") and yā·mač "pretty."

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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 [j], which has not been found in any other Karok material, is like that in English judge.

16. čavúra ko·vúra ?ixrá·m ?upikyařipáya·čha, pa?ípa kó· kinpáxxe·pat.  
 17. pe·kxaré·ya vúra ?ixrá·m ?upikyařipáya·čha. 18. kári xás ?upvó·nsip.  
 19. xás ta?íttam ?u?íppaho·he·n. 20. púya va· vúra kič.

Text Number 14: Coyote Eats His Own Excrement

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pihnē·fič káruk ?u?ářihiro·vutih. 2. xás čavúra yí·v káruk tu?ářihiro·v.  
 3. xás kári ?axmáý vúra sáruk ?utáppičfak. 4. púyava ?upvó·nsip. 5. pú-  
 yava ?uppárihiro·v. 6. káruk ?u?ářihiro·v. 7. xás ?axmáý vúra máru kúna  
 ?utáppičra·. 8. xás kári ?upvó·nsip. 9. xás ?uxxus, "hú· tá ná?i·n."  
 10. xás kúkku·m ?u?ářihiro·v. 11. čavúra puyi·músič ?u·mára, táma kúk-  
 ku·m ?utáppičfak. 12. sáruk xás ?asivšúnukič ?utáppička·. 13. xás kári  
 ?upitniššukva. 14. kári xás ?uxxútič "hú·t yáxxa tá ná?i·n." 15. kári xás  
 pa?á·pun tutúra·yva, ye·! ?asaya·mač?iššara ?ó·k páy ?uθóá·niv. 16. xás  
 ?upvó·nišuk. 17. pa?ás ?u?é·čip, ?asayá·mač.  
 18. xás ?uxxus, "tí· kanpútyi·nkači." 19. kári xás pa?ás ?uθóáriš, ?á·pun.  
 20. xás kári ta?íttam ?ukú·ntakišřihe·n. 21. ta?íttam ?ukrí·šřihe·n. 22.  
 xás ?upímmu·stih, patupútyi·nkač. 23. kári xás ?uxxus, "?íf yá·mač. 24.  
 tí· kanvínnašsunači. 25. tí· kan?am."  
 26. "ye·! ?amaya·?iššara. 27. tí· tē·šič vúra." 28. kári xás ta?íttam  
 kúkku·m ?upútyi·nkače·n, kumattē·šič. 29., "čémmi, kúkku·m tí· kan?am."  
 30. pa?ás kúniš tuvurúnni·hva, tí·m. 31. kári xás ta?íttam ?uxxus, "čími  
 kan?am." 32. kári xás "?e·! ?a·f pani?á·mtih, ?a·f pani?á·mtih, tUtUtU!"  
 33. kári xás púyava páy pihnē·fič ?ukúpha·nik. 34. mú?a·f tu?íppav.

Text Number 15: Coyote as Lawmaker

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. kunpi·p, "xá·tik ?áppap yúruk ?uvu·núpahitih, káru ?áppap káruk  
 ?uvu·nó·vutih. 2. xá·tik va· ?ukupitih." 3. kári xás "čémmi." 4. va· ?u·m  
 vúra payúruk tá kunví·trup tuθívru·hrup yúruk. 5. iθyáru kúna ?úpví·tro·ve·š,  
 ?uθívru·hro·ve·š káru, káruk ?uvu·nó·vahiti pa?iššaha.  
 6. kári xás pihnē·fič ?uppi·p, "pú·hara. 7.. xáyfa·t va· ?ukupitih. 8.  
 ko·vúra yúruk kámvu·mupahitih. 9. va· ?u·m vúra kán ?ifma·ráppi·t kamík-  
 ta·tro·vutih, káruk ?uvítro·vutih."

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 on 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, tUtUtUt!" 33. So Coyote did that. 34. He kept eating his excrement.<sup>38</sup>

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."

<sup>38</sup> 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 kó'va 'uyúnyu'nhitih "he is so crazy." The same story is told of 'apsunmúnnukič, the Western yellow-bellied racer (a snake), in Harrington, 1932b, pp. 27-28.

10. káři xás kúna kunpi·p, "ʔasiktáva·n pamukunʔáttimna m̄áruk tá kun-sánna·n. 11. púyava máruk xás ʔáhup súʔ tá kunmáhya·n, túr tá kunúkyav. 12. káři xás tá kunpávyi·h̄ši ʔaʔasiktáva·nsa. 13. káři xás va· vúra kán tá kunʔí·tšur pamukúntur." 14. xás kunpi·p, "va· vúra kunʔíruna·tihe·š pattur." 15. káři xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p, "xáyfa·t, pú·hara. 16. vúra ʔu·m yara-ráppi·t vúra kámtu·ntih." 17. káři xás va· ʔukupíti payê·m, tá puʔáho·tihara pattur.

Text Number 16: Coyote Marries His Own Daughter

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ká·n pihnê·fič ʔúkri·, muye·ripáxvu xákka·n kunʔi·n, muhrô·ha támit ʔuʔívat. 2. xás paye·ripáxvu tó·kkê·čha, xás yá·mač tuʔí·fšip. 3. xás papihni·č ʔupí·mni pamúʔaramah. 4. xás ʔuxxús "xá·tik nippê·r 'čími yá-rarahi. 5. va· kán ʔávansa ʔúkri·, páyku·k yí·v ʔúkri·, patuyšiprihaʔáp-papkam. 6. kúna vúra yáv pe·kupe·krê·hitihe·š. 7. xás ʔúppe·nti pamúʔaramah, "kúna vúra yáv pe·kupe·krê·hitihe·š. 8. xá·tik vúra yárahahi, ʔi·m té·kkê·čha. 9. káru na· tá nipihni·čha. 10. hō·y ʔí·f ʔakáray ʔi·n xu·s ʔiʔé·θtihe·šap. 11. na· tá nipihni·čha." 12. xás ʔupíti "čémmi."
13. "kúna vúra pamukrívra·m va· vúra ʔumússahiti panunukrívra·m, ko·vúra po·ttá·yhiti ʔi·ná·k va· vúra ʔumússahiti ʔô·k ʔi·ná·k po·ttá·yhiti. 14. káru ʔu·m na· vúra ne·mússahiti paʔávansa. 15. pamútti·v káru vúra ʔa·xkúnišičas, va· vúra pána· ne·mússahiti pananíti·v. 16. vúra pusake·m·várihe·šara, ko·vúra va· ʔumússahiti panunúʔu·p. 17. čími vâ·rami. 18. kúna vúra páyku·k yí·v ʔáho·n, payô·k xáyfa·t ʔiʔáho·, pe·mpahe·pšô·n·kinič, kâ·rim ʔikuphe·š. 19. hâ·ri vúra xasík napimusarú·kvutihe·š." 20. xás taʔíttam ʔuvâ·ramahe·n. 21. xás po·ʔú·m yánava ko·vúra va· ʔumússahiti pamukunʔi·kam ʔumússahitih, víri vúra ʔí·f kákkač po·pítih va· ʔumússahitih. 22. xás po·vô·nupuk paʔávansa, víri vúra va·hyâ·č pamuʔákka. 23. xás taʔíttam va· vúra kán ʔukrê·he·n. 24. xás ʔupíti "čími pamiʔákka pimússan." 25. xás ʔupvâ·ram. 26. xás kúkku·m va· vúra kán ʔuʔíppaho· míta kú·kam ʔuʔarávu·kat. 27. xás po·ʔí·pma, yánava pihni·č ʔúkri·. 28. xás tuʔa·číčha pató·pma pamúʔaramah. 29. xás ʔupíti "vúra ʔif, ko·vúra va· ʔumússahiti ʔô·k pananúʔu·p, paniniʔávan mukrívra·m." 30. xás kúkku·m ʔupvâ·ram. 31. xás ʔupíti "tá naʔú·ri páyku·k paniʔa·ho·nkô·ti yi·v." 32. xás ʔuppi· ʔapihni·č "va· vúra kán ʔíppaho· kúkku·m, xáy hú·n ʔiʔi·n. 33. puyâ·khara paʔô·kukam." 34. xás taʔíttam ʔupiθvássi ʔamukrívra·m. 35. xás ʔu·m píšši·p tuʔí·pma. 36. xás pâ·npay xás ʔuxxús "na· nixxúti 'napikšayvú·ništi,' yukún ko·vúra va· ʔumússahiti pananúʔu·p, káru ʔu·m vúra va· ʔumússahiti paniniʔákka. 37. víri payê·m panipimússaraha·k víri va· ní káři nimmáhe·š pe·krívra·m kán vúra ʔuʔi·kráha·k." 38. xás taʔíttam ʔupvâ·ramahe·n. 39. xás ʔupíti "čémmi. 40. čô·ra nupxákka·npi payê·m." 41. xás ʔupíti "pú·hara, ʔi·m vúra páče·č ʔipvâ·rami." 42. xás taʔíttam ʔupvâ·ramahe·n. 43. xás pamuʔíffuθ xás ʔupiθvássi ʔamukrívra·m. 44. xás taʔíttam paʔasiktáva·n ʔuparatánma·hpa. 45. yánava vúra púffa·t pe·krívra·m, púffa·t vúra θê·ra. 46. xás taʔíttam

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



ʔuʔáharamahe:n. 47. yánava ká:n ʔára:r ʔuʔáho·tih, ʔikrívra·m ʔuʔi·θvútih.  
48. "yánava paniniʔákka." 49. xás taʔíttam ʔúkfu·kirahe:n, xás taʔíttam  
vúra ʔukpákpak.

50. xás pihnê·fič ʔuppi·p, "va· vúra káru vúra paʔára:r ʔu·mkun kunkúphe·š,  
pánna· tá niku·pha."

Text Number 17: Coyote Gives Salmon and Acorns to Mankind

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ʔáxxak ʔasiktâ·n kunʔí·nani kústá·ras ʔame·kyá·ra·m. 2. kári xás kunpi·p,  
"púra kára vúra ʔá·ma ʔa·mtíhe·šara, yukún tá nupíššunva paʔá·ma."

3. kári xás pihnê·fič ʔuxxus, "púxay vúra va· kupítihe·šara." 4. kári xás  
ʔuxxus, "čími kanimússan." 5. kári xás muvíkka pu ʔuppê·čip. 6. kári xás  
ʔé·pa·x ʔúkruh. 7. kári xás víkka puhak ʔuθθa·námnih.

8. kári xás va· ká·n ʔuʔu·m. 9. yó·ram ʔukrí·š. 10. kári xás kunpatánviš,  
"fâ·t kumáʔi· ʔivúrayvutih."

11. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "káruk ʔiθivθane·n ʔíppan nivá·ramutih."

12. xás vúra ká·n ʔúkri·. 13. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "tá naxxúriha. 14. tí· matê·  
ʔá·ma kanʔam." 15. kári xás ʔuʔê·θrišuk paʔé·pa·x. 16. kári xás taʔíttam  
ʔuʔávahe·n.

17. kári xás kunxús paʔasiktáva·nsas, "hó·y ʔu·m po·ʔaramsí·privtihirak.  
18. ká·n hínupa ʔá·ma kunʔá·mtih."

19. kári xás ʔuppê·r pamukústa·n yíθθa, "čími numní·ši." 20. taʔíttam  
yíθθa pamusvírik mú·k má·ka ʔuʔi·k, θivrihvassúruk. 21. kári xás ʔíššaha  
ʔuvuníššuk. 22. kári xás ʔá·ma ʔúkyi·mnišuk. 23. kári xás taʔíttam  
kunimníššaha·n. 24. kári xás tá kunʔay. 25. pihnê·fič vúra va· ʔúmmu·stih.

26. kári xás kunpi·p, "čími ʔíppaho·. 27. yakú ŋu· tá nuʔíffikar xuntáppan."

28. kári xás ʔuppi·p pihnê·fič, "xâ·tik niθívke·."

29. kári xás kunpi·p, "pô·hara."

30. "vúra xâ·tik niθívke·. 31. miník niθθâ·viš."

32. xás kunpi·p, "čímmi man."

33. kári xás ká·n kunívyi·hma. 34. taʔíttam kunʔíffikahe·n paxuntáppan  
paʔasiktáva·nsa. 35. kári xás pihnê·fič ʔuʔíffik. 36. kári xás kó·kaninay  
vúra ʔúktir paxunyê·p, máruk, sáruk, yúruk, káruk. 37. kári xás ʔuθáha·sha  
paxuntáppan. 38. víri va· kúθ payê·m paxuntáppan kó·kaninay vúra ʔuʔí·ftih.

39. kári xás ʔupíkvip sáru ká·n paʔasiktáva·nsa kunʔí·nirak. 40. kári xás  
ʔusxáxxaripa· paθi·vri·hvar. 41. kári xás paʔíššaha ʔuvuníššuk, xás ko·vúra  
paʔá·ma kunívyi·hrišuk. 42. víri va· kúθ sâ·m ʔussa·mnúputih, káru va· kúθ  
ʔá·ma ʔukvíripra·tih.

43. kári xás kunpirúvi·š paʔasiktáva·nsa. 44. kári xás kunpi·p, "tá hínupa  
ʔutá·yva·r papihnê·fič. 45. víri čó·ra, čímmi. 46. xâ·tik nupkê·viš. 47. yakún  
yíθ ʔára:r ʔuʔi·níšrihe·š."

48. taʔíttam kunpiyá·ramahe·n. 49. kári xás kunʔíffukra· ʔasanamkaráyu·  
rukam. 50. kári xás yíθθa ʔuppi·p, "tá nipipšítta·ni, nanisímsi·m. 51. čími  
kanpávan. 52. čími ʔi·m ʔó·k ne·krú·ntih."

53. víri po·pkíya·vrin sâ·m to ʔpárihfak. 54. víri po·píttiθun yánava pamu·  
kústa·n ʔasaxyíppit tó ʔpárihiš. 55. xás sâ·mvanihič pamukunčíšši· 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 ʔame·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.<sup>39</sup> 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."

32. And they said, "All right."

33. So they went there. 34. Then the women gathered the acorns. 35. And Coyote picked up a stick. 36. And he beat the tan-oak trees everywhere, uphillward, downhillward, downriverward, upriverward. 37. And he scattered the acorns. 38. That's why the acorns grow everywhere now.

39. Then he ran back downhill to where the women lived. 40. And he tore out the wall-boards. 41. And the water flowed out, and all the salmon came out. 42. That's why (the water) flows downstream, and that's why salmon run up the river.

43. Then the women came back down. 44. And they said, "There Coyote has spoiled it. 45. All right, let's go. 46. Let's be transformed. 47. A different people is going to come into existence."

48. So they went away again. 49. And they climbed uphill downriver from ʔasá·nna·mkarak. 50. And one said, "I forgot my knife. 51. 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

<sup>39</sup> Alder bark is red, the same color as salmon flesh.

ʔasaxyíppit tó ʔpárihiš. 56. yakún yíθ ʔára tuʔí-niš. 57. ʔiθyáruk po·tká-ratih yánava pavuhvúha tuʔíššipva, ʔuθítti·mti pakuníhyi·vtih. 58. kári xás va·ká·n ʔasaxyíppit ʔuppárihiš.

59. víri hú·tva kó· ʔiθívθa·ne·n ʔuʔi·náha·k, va·vúra kó· kuníhru·vtihe·š pasímsi·m. 60. va·kummú·k kuníhvi·θtihe·š pe·šyá·t, pe·θívθa·ne·n tá kun-pikyá·ha·k.

Text Number 18: The Perils of Weasel

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. ʔâ·nxus ʔuθítívani "káru ke·čxá·č ʔúkri·" 2. xás vúra ʔu·m yâ·mač muʔasiktavánʔaramah. 3. vikvá·n káru ʔiθvó·n. 4. xás ʔuxxús "tí·ká·n kanvunáyvi·čvan. 5. ʔíkki·č nimmáhe·š paʔasiktáva·n." 6. xás ʔuʔu·m, paké·vni·kič mukrívra·m. 7. ʔuppê·r "pamíʔarama níkváraruktih."
8. xás paké·vni·kič ʔuppí·p "víri nna·čími vθ·nfuruki. 9. ʔimmá·n ʔá ʔúru ʔiktávare·š. 10. xás pe·ʔíppakaha·k xát pananíʔaramah ʔihró·ha."
11. xás ʔâ·nxus ʔuppí·p "va·ník níkuphe·š." 12. taʔíttam máhʔi·t yá·n vúra ʔusúppa·hitih, ʔuvθ·rura·paʔíppaha. 13. ʔá ʔipani·č pákka·s ʔuθíftako·. 14. ʔâ·nxus ʔišviripʔimšáxvu ʔupáppuθtih. 15. ʔišvíť kó·tuʔu·m. 16. xás ʔukré·myah. 17. vúra va·ʔuvθ·rura·tih. 18. va·kíč ʔupíťi paké·vni·kič "yθ·tva tuʔiv, pañaniʔíkkam." 19. ʔâ·nxus ʔu·m káru pákkuri ʔuθθi·ná·tih. 20. xás ʔupakurí·hvutih. 21. vúra tó·kré·myah. 22. xás ʔá ʔíppan ʔuʔu·m. 23. paʔúru ʔuktú·nih.
24. vúrava tó·kré·myah tapasʔikré·myah. 25. xás ʔuxxús "hú·t pánikuphe·š. 26. pananimšáxvuh mŭ·k niʔíppaho·viš." 27. xás ʔá ʔúsna·pka. 28. xás ʔustúttunih. 29. xá sú ʔuʔí·pma. 30. vúra kári ʔúkta·mti paʔúruh. 31. ʔi·ná·k ʔúkta·mfuruk. 32. xás ʔuppí·p "má·páy paʔúruh. 33. čími ʔam."
34. hínu páy ʔikre·myahaʔúru pó·pe·nti "ʔiktú·nihi." 35. paké·vni·kič ʔuxxúťi "po·kre·myáha·k ʔuθivťíffunihe·š. 36. hó·y ʔíť ʔâ·vahar ʔuʔíppake·š."
37. xás ʔâ·nxus ʔuppí· "pamíʔarama níhrθ·hahe·š."
38. xás paké·vni·kič ʔuppí·p "sáruk ʔá·ma ʔúkkuro·vuti. 39. va·čími ʔiθyúruripa·n."
40. ʔâ·nxu sáruk ʔuʔu·m. 41. ʔú·θ ʔutkáratih. 42. "yé·na·ʔapsunxára ká·n ʔúkkuro·vutih." 43. xás ʔuʔárihiš pamupákkurih. 44. xás ʔuʔi·pkúrih. 45. ʔuθyúruripa·paʔapsunxára.
46. va·kíč ʔupíťih paké·vni·kič "yθ·tva tuʔiv pananiʔíkkam." 47. ʔâ·nxus ʔupíkfukra·. 48. xás ʔuhyárihiš. 49. ʔi·ná·k va·kíč ʔuθíťti·mti po·pakurí·hvuti "yθ·tva tuʔi·vʔí·v, ʔíkkamiš tuʔi·vʔí·v." 50. ʔâ·nxus ʔuhyívčak "sá·m ʔuθθá·niv pamíʔa·ma. 51. čími ʔam."

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.<sup>40</sup>

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 up-stream. 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."<sup>41</sup> 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!"<sup>42</sup> 50. Weasel interrupted, shouting, "Your salmon is lying just down hill. 51. Eat it!"

<sup>40</sup> Three quartz rocks can still be seen on the hillside above ʔasánna-mkarak (at Ike's Falls, across-river from ʔame-kyá-ra-m). Two large ones are the sisters, and a smaller one is their dog.

<sup>41</sup> A "long-snake" (to use a literal translation) is a legendary serpent of giant size, called by one informant a 'boa constrictor.'

<sup>42</sup> tu ʔi-vʔí-v is a distortion of the normal tu ʔiv "he's dead."

52. paké·vni·kič ʔuʔárihrupuk. 53. xás ʔâ·nxus ʔuppê·r "papuʔimmá·n ʔívaha·k xá·t paniníʔarama ʔihrô·ha."

54. xás ʔâ·nxus ʔuppí·p "na· ní káru ʔišímfir." 55. ʔiθé·kxaram ʔâ·nxus puʔikvi·thára. 56. yá·p vúra ʔusúppa·hitih, paké·vni·kič ʔúhyiv. 57. ʔâ·nxus ʔuvô·nfuruk. 58. má·ka kíxumnipa·k ʔasimváram tó ·kyâ·he·n pake·čxâ·č. 59. simsimvô· kíč ʔuve·hriššukva.

60. ʔâ·nxus kunipê·r "čími núvu·nvi. 61. pamâ·ka náppa·θripa·ha·k xá·t va· kári naníʔarama ʔihrô·ha." 62. xás ʔuʔárihiš paké·vni·kič. 63. po·paku·rí·hvutih, ʔupítih "ʔâ·nxus ʔitvaratvárat." 64. ʔâ·nxus kúna ʔuʔárihiš "ke·č·xâ·č tí·pti·p ʔá·hrišuk, ke·čxâ·č tí·pti·p ʔá·hrišuk."<sup>43</sup> 65. xás kuní·fu·kíra·ʔâ·nxus. 66. xáyva ʔâ·nxus pake·čxâ·č má·ka ʔuppa·θripa·.

67. xás ʔúxrar pake·čxâ·č. 68. va· kíč ʔupítí "ʔitro·patíšša·mni tá níykar paʔávansas. 69. víri ʔi·m xás ʔí·n tá néykar. 70. xá·t pananíʔarama, ʔihrô·ha." 71. xás pake·čxâ·č ʔuʔiv. 72. xás pamúʔarama ʔuvô·nfuruk. 73. pamússa·nva furaxmúrax. 74. ʔâ·nxus muhrô·ha ʔupíppasip.

#### Text Number 19: The Perils of Weasel

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ké·vni·kič vúra ʔu·m ʔutapkú·puti pó·θti·tih. 2. paʔávansa ká·n tuʔu·má·ha·k tó ·ppi·p, "ʔíkkamiš čími nuθti·ti. 3. yakún tá níxra·m pananíʔaramah." 4. púyava tá kuníθtit. 5. púyava pató ·xus, "tá kanačíffič," kári pamutê·nva tó ·syu·nkiv. 6. kári·va kummú·k tó ·ktir, ʔári·m tuθantíffiš.

7. púyava kúkku·m yíθa tuʔu·m, kúkku·m vúra va· tó ·ppê·r "ʔíkkamiš čími nuθti·ti." 8. čavúra tá·y tó ·ykar.

9. kári xás ʔu·m káru ʔišímfir, ʔâ·naxus. 10. kári xás ʔuxxus, "tí·kanimússan."

11. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔíkkamiš čími nuθti·ti." 12. taʔítam kuniθtíttahe·n. 13. kári xás paké·vni·kič tuʔárihiš, tupakúri·hva, "ʔâ·naxus ʔitvaratvárah."

14. kári xás ʔâ·naxus ʔu·m káru tupakúri·hva, "ké·vni·kič tí·pti·p ʔa·hrišuk."<sup>44</sup>

15. púyava paké·vni·kič tá kunčíffič. 16. kári xás pamutê·nva ʔúsyu·nkiv. 17. kári xás va· kummú·k ʔúktir. 18. ʔâ·naxus ʔúsvay, ʔuθanfírip.

19. kúkku·m kunpíθtit. 20. ʔáppap kúna ʔúsyu·nkiv. 21. va· kúna kummú·k ʔúktir. 22. kúkku·m vúra ʔuθanfírip.

23. kári xás ʔuppi·p paké·vni·kič, "čô·ra nanikinínna·sič ʔiktú·nihi. 24. yukún va· ká·n ʔá ʔuʔí·θra muraxʔipahaʔíppan."

25. kári xás ʔâ·naxus ʔuvô·rura·. 26. kári xás ʔuktú·nih. 27. yánava ʔapsunxarahtúnvi·v. 28. kári xás ʔuppê·r "mâ· páy pamikinínna·sič."

29. kári xás ʔúkvi paké·vni·kič. 30. kári xás ʔapsunxarahʔí·n kunʔav.

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!" 61. If you throw me into (the corner) uphill, let my child be (your) wife." 62. And the old woman sang.  
 63. When she sang, she said, "ʔā·nxus ʔitvaratvárat." 64. Weasel sang in turn, "ke·čxā·č tí·pti·p ʔá·hrišuk, ke·čxā·č tí·pti·p ʔá·hrišuk."<sup>43</sup> 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, 69. Then you killed me. 70. Let my daughter be (your) wife." 71. So the widow died. 72. And her child came in. 73. 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!"  
 11. And she said, "Son-in-law, let's gamble!" 12. So they gambled.  
 13. Then the old woman sang, she sang, "ʔā·nxus ʔitvaratvárah."  
 14. And Weasel sang too, "ké·vni·kič tí·pti·p ʔá·hrišuk."<sup>44</sup>  
 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.

<sup>43</sup> The widow's song consists of the words ʔā·nxus "weasel" and ʔitvaratvárat, for which the informant knew no meaning. Weasel's song consists of ke·čxā·č "widow," tí·pti·p "chain fern," and ʔá·hrišuk, of unknown meaning.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. note 43. The only significant difference in the present songs is the substitution of ké·vni·kič "old woman" for ke·čxā·č "widow."

Text Number 20: The Perils of Weasel <sup>45</sup>

Informant: Daisy Jones

1. ?â·naxus ?uθítti·mti "tá·y tá kiníykar ?ára·ras." 2. xás ?uppi·p "kí·  
čími na· tá nivâ·ram. 3. xâ·tik na· káruk nivâ·ram."  
4. xás kí·t ?uppi·p, "xáyfa·t. 5. xáy iykáráp."  
6. xás ?uppi·p, "xâ·tik vúra nivâ·ram." 7. xás ?úkyav páyu·x, ?úkyav,  
?úkyav. 8. xás va· ká·n pamupíkvas ?uhyákkurih. 9. xás ?uppê·r pamuk·  
kí·t "pe·mmáha·k 'nanipíkvas tó 'kyívunih,' tá ni·?iv."  
10. vúra ?u·m hitíha·n kumasúppa· pó·mu·sti pápíkvas. 11. ?axmáy ?ík  
vúra yav. 12. xás vúra ?i·! xá·s vúra ?ukyívuni pamupíkvas, tó ·xxus,  
" ?i·! tu·?iv."  
( . . . )  
13. papihní·č ?uppi·p, "yθ·tva, nini·?íkkam. 14. tá·y pa·?á·ma. 15. vúra  
yíθθa ké·č. 16. va· kíri ni·?av, pakké·č."  
17. xás ?uppi·p, "čémmi, ?immá· ník niykáre·š."  
18. pa·pasiktavan·?í·n kunipê·r "xáyfa·t, xáyfa·t ?ivâ·ram." 19. ?u·mkun  
kun·?á·punmuti "púxay ?á·mahara." <sup>46</sup>  
20. xás vúra ?uvâ·ram. 21. xás ?úykar pa·?á·ma 22. xás ?uppi·p,  
"čémmi, tá níykar pa·?á·ma." 23. xás ?úxrar papihní·č, hínpa mú·?aramah.  
24. xás ?u·?á·ríhro·v. 25. xás kúkku·m ká·n ?u·m kun·?ára·rahití ?ára·r.  
26. " ?o·! yθ·tva, nini·?íkkam, yθ·tva. 27. va· máruk páyku· kí·nínna·sič  
?úkri·. 28. víri va· nixxúti, 'kíri ni·?axayčákkiš.'"  
29. xás ?uppi·p, "čô·ra." 30. xás má· páyku·k pakínínna·sič ?i·ná·k  
?utnúppukva. 31. xás ?axmáy ?ukré·myah, ?ukré·myah. 32. xás po·kré·m·  
ya pa·?á·pti· kô·vúra ?uvrárasur. 33. ?u·m vúra va· ?â·naxus ?úkri·vkuti  
pa·?íppaha. 34. tó ·ykar pá·čvi·v. 35. papihní·č mú·?arama tá kuníykar.  
36. sáruk ?u·?í·pma. 37. xás ?uppi·p, "čémmi, tá nivâ·ram." 38. káruk  
?u·?á·ríhro·v.  
39. xás va· ká·n pihní·č ?úkri·, ?áxxak pa·?avansáxxi·tičas kunkuna·skún·  
nashitih. 40. ?uppê·r papihní·č, "čími nukuna·skúnnashitih."  
41. xás ?â·naxus ?uppi·p, "pθ·hara."  
42. xás pihní·č kunippê·r " ?ô·k na·."  
43. xás ?â·naxus ?uppi·p, "čími nu· ka·?íru."  
44. "čémmi."  
45. xás papihní·č ?úska·ksur. 46. xás ?uppi·p, "yθ·tva ?u·?iv, yθ·tva  
?u·?iv, yθ·tva ?u·?iv."  
47. xás ?â·naxus ?uppi·p, "hú·t ?ipítih."  
48. "nípítí 'ké·mačko· nini·?íkkam.'"  
49. xás ?â·naxus ?uppi·p, "čími ?ô·k na·, čími nukuna·skúnnashitih."

Text Number 20: The Perils of Weasel<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup>
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.<sup>47</sup> 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!"<sup>48</sup>
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."

<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> The "salmon" was really a long-snake, as in Text 18.

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> 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.



50. pihníč ʔuppi·p, "pú·hara."  
 (. . .) 51. xás ʔâ·naxus ʔúska·ksur, pihníč ʔá ʔukyívura. 52. xás pihníč ʔuppi·p, "yô·tva, ʔíf yáv tá né·kyav. 53. na· vúra ʔô·k nigrê·viš."  
 54. xás ʔâ·naxus tó·nna·, paʔára·r kuniykárana·ti ʔâ·naxus.  
 (. . .) 55. ʔáxru· ʔáhup mú·kúni·nvuti. 56. xás ʔâ·naxus ʔuxxus, "kê·mačko·s." 57. xás ʔuxxus, "čími kanikyav, xuská·mhar." 58. xás ʔúkyav. 59. xás ʔuppi·p, "čími kúnni·hki paʔáxru·h."  
 60. xás ʔukúnni·hka, ʔukyívunih. 61. ʔo·! xás "yô·tva, yô·tva." 62. pavúra ʔixxusáha·k, 'kúniš čí kane·ykáre·š vúra,' ʔikpê·hve·š ik. 63. ník va· ká· ŋuʔú·me·š.  
 (. . .) 64. xás ʔuxxus, "čími niʔíve·š." 65. víri paké·vni·kič ʔúm·mu·sti pamupíkvas. 66. kári xás ʔukpê·hva. 67. ʔaxmá·y kunʔáho· paʔa·vansáxxi·č.  
 68. xás kunipê·r "va· ká·n kúnni·hki mufiθíhka· mupí·mič, va· ká·n pamúθva·y ʔuθθá·niv." 69. xás va· ká·n ʔukúnni·hka, xás ʔukyívišrihe·n. 70. xás papihníč ʔúxrar, múʔarama tá kuníykar.

Text Number 21: The Hair in the Soup

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ʔasáxvu ʔu·m ká·n ʔúkri·. 2. ʔáxxak muyá·nʔi·ftihansa. 3. ʔimusti·hayê·pša káru ʔakúnva·nsa. 4. xás puʔifmâ·rasahara, vúra ʔafišríhansa.  
 5. xás ʔáxxak ʔifáppi·tša kunpi·p, "čími numússanvi payá·nʔi·ftihansa."  
 6. xás tá·y vúra kunsá·nva. 7. xú·n káru kunsá·nva. 8. xás paká·n kunʔu·m, yánava papihníč kíč páče·č ʔúkri·. 9. xás ʔuppi·p, "hô·y ʔu·mkun paʔávan·sas."  
 10. xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔu·mkun té·p kunʔákkunvarat."  
 11. xás ʔikxúrar tá kunímniš. 12. xás xú·n káru tá kunθarámpuk. 13. xás ʔuppi·p papihní·čič, "čími ki·kʔíččunvi. 14. xáyfa·t kí·kmahap."  
 15. xás taʔíttam kunʔíččunvahe·n. 16. xás kunʔíppak paʔávan·sas. 17. taʔíttam kunʔávahe·n. 18. xás kunpi·p, "yé·na·, ʔíf páy paxxú·n ʔamáyav."  
 19. xás kunpi·p, "ʔarákka·s, má·páy pamiváffiš."  
 20. xás kúkku·m ʔimmá·n máhʔi·t kunpiyâ·ram. 21. xás papihníč ʔúp·pe·nvuna·paye·ripáxvuhsas, "čími ki·kpiruvô·nišuki." 22. xás kári kúkku·m paʔifáppi·tša tá kunímniš. 23. xás kári paʔávan·sas patá kunʔíppak ʔikxúrar yánava papihníč ʔupakurí·hvutih. 24. yánava ʔupítih, "čáffič kíč navíšta·ntih." 25. va· ʔukupapakurí·hvahitih, "čáffič kíč navíšta·ntih."  
 26. xás tá kunipê·r pamukunʔákkah, "ye·! ʔarákka·s, hû·ŋi·n. 27. má·páy pamiváffiš." 28. xás tá kunʔav. 29. xás ʔuppi·p yíθθa paʔávan·sa, "ye·!

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."<sup>49</sup>

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."<sup>50</sup>

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

<sup>49</sup> The old man became the sun.

<sup>50</sup> 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.

páy fâ· tã nimmah. 30. yáxxa páy ?ifunihaxxára paniníxxu·nak." 31. xás vúra papihní·č ?učáffičti pa?íppih, xás ?a·x kíč ?uθu·fhíti po·čáffičtih. 32. xás pa?ávansa ?uθyúruripa· pa?íffuni pamu?ássiapak. 33. xás ?uppi·p, "hō·y páy tu?aramsí· pa?ifunihaxxára."

34. xás papihní·č ?uppi·p, "paninivup?áffi va· ká·n ?utakurukíšri·hva, víriva tó·kyi·msur." 35. káruma ?u·m pa?ifáppi·t ?áxxak pamu?íffuni ?uppa·θrámní papáttaravak. 36. xás papihní·č va· vúra ?upakurí·hvutih, "čáffič kíč navíšta·ntih."

37. xás kári kunipê·r pa?arákka·s, "hū· fi?i·n. 38. páy ?u·m pumi?íf·funihara."

39. xás kári pa?ifáppi·t kun?iruvθ·nišuk. 40. xás kunpi·p, "nu· va· nanu?íffunih. 41. pa?arákka·s ?íp ?i·n kiníppe·rat, 'ki·k?íččunvi.' 42. víri ?íp nuxxússa·t 'va· kukupá?a·punmahe·š,' va· ?íp kúθ pañuppa·θrámníhat pa?ássiapak."

#### Text Number 22: Old Man Turtle Dances<sup>51</sup>

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. kahyúras tá kunyíča·čha. 2. ?ayu?â·č páy passa·mnúpahitihan čí kun?í·hrupa·viš. 3. xás payá·n?i·ftihansa tá kunívyi·hma káru pa?asiktáva·n·sas. 4. víri tá kkári pačí kun?í·hrupa·viš, xás ?asaxvuhpihni·č tó·θvo·nha. 5. víri kunipê·r "hō·y ?íf yaxxé·k ?i?ú·me·š. 6. ?ayu?â·č pa?asiktáva·n ?u·m yá·n?i·ftihansa."

7. ?asaxvuhpihni·č vúra tó·θvo·nha. 8. "na· vúra kó·yáv pa?akâ·yva kumayá·n?i·ftihan."

9. pâ·npay vúra tá kunčímmiha. 10. ta?ítam tá kunkáriha. 11. ?asaxvuh·pihni·č ?á·čip tó·hyárihiš. 12. ?u?a·krúprihtih pa?asiktáva·n. 13. xás tá kun?í·hvarak. 14. pâ·npayvari ?asaxvuhpihni·č tó·kfu·yšur. 15. víri ?u?a·rihišrí·hvuti "matê· ké·yiš ?â·pun."<sup>52</sup> 16. vúra va· kun?í·htih. 17. pâ·npay vúra tó·xráratih. 18. "matê· ké·yiš ?â·pun. 19. tá nê·kfu·yšur." 20. vúra va· kun?í·htih.

21. pâ·npay vúra tá kuniθyúrutih. 22. ká· nîk ?uxrarâ·vutih. 23. vúra va· ?á·čip tá kun?í·hvarak. 24. pamútra·x vúra kíč tá kun?á·phutih. 25. va· vúra ká·n ?asaxvuhpihni·č ?upkê·viš ?asánna·mkarak. 26. ?u·m pa?asiktáva·t vúra va· kun?í·hruputih. 27. kun?á·phuti ?asaxvuhpihni·č mútra·x. 28. xás payúrasa kun?íkkakurih, kári va· vúra kun?á·phuti pamútra·x.

#### Text Number 23: The Greedy Father

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. ?é·xri tuví·šrih. 2. xás va· ?u·m tá kunxúrihina·. 3. ?uppi·p "zimá· nîkríhare·š." 4. xás ?asú·xar kun?asíšri·hva. 5. zimá·nkam yá·n vúra

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<sup>51</sup>

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·yiš ʔâ·pun."<sup>52</sup> 16. They kept dancing that way.

17. Finally he was weeping. 18. "matê ké·yiš ʔâ·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 ʔasánna·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

<sup>51</sup> 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.

<sup>52</sup> matê "wait a moment!"; ké·yiš, no meaning; ʔâ·pun "(down) to the ground."

ʔusúppa·hitih, ʔuvâ·ram. 6. pakú·sra tuváruprav. 7. ʔíššahak tó ·mku·h-kurih. 8. ʔaxmá·y ʔummú·yha. 9. víri kún ʔamvákka·m. 10. xás ʔuθyúru-ripa·. 11. ʔimvirámma·m ʔuθθárišrih.

12. xás ʔuxxús "tí· kanimní·ši." 13. ʔayuʔâ·č vúra ʔu·m tá naxxúriha." 14. taʔíttam ʔuhvíθθahe·n. 15. xás paʔíppun ʔuttâ·tsur. 16. xás yð·ram ʔuθθáriš. 17. xás tó ·mniš. 18. víri pó·ʔav, hínpa vúra tuθáffip, xás ʔíffuθ xás ʔúpxu·spa.

19. yá·s ʔupvâ·ramutih. 20. paʔíppun ʔuʔê·čtihač. 21. yi·músič ʔúh-yi·vti "čú páy ʔaxxi·č pipúnni·č, 53 tá·y ʔíp ʔimafúnva·nsa."

22. xás pa·xxí·č tá kuniθvíriprupuk. 23. kuníhyi·vtih. 24. "yð·tva, nuʔáve·š, yð·tva, nuʔáve·š."

25. ʔimmá·n kúkku·m ʔupikríhar. 26. kúkku·m vúra ʔamvákka·m ʔúykar. 27. xás ká·n vúra ʔuʔav. 28. kúkku·m vúra ʔúhyiv "čú páy ʔaxxi·č pipúnni·č, tá·y ʔíp ʔimafúnva·nsa."

29. xás paʔasiktáva·n ʔuxxús "na· nixxúti 'kinʔáhačakutih.'" 30. xás kumé·ma·nkam po·pikríhar. 31. pamutúnvi·v ʔúppe·nvuna· "ʔð·k vúra kí·kʔi·ni. 32. tá niʔáharam. 33. na· nixxúti 'kinʔáhačakutih.'" 34. xás pó·ʔu·m, víri kún ʔamvákka·m tó ·θyúruripa·. 35. xás paʔíppun tó ·ttâ·tsur. 36. yi·vânnihič ʔuθθáriš. 37. xás ʔa·h tó ·kyav. 38. taʔíttam ʔukrí·šrihe·n. 39. čuʔáve·š.

40. xás ʔupikvíripro·v. 41. pamutúnvi·v ʔúppe·nvuna· "tuʔifuyâ·ča. 42. hínpa vúra kinʔáhačakutih. 43. čími nupikyá·si·prin, xasík nupávyi·h-šipre·viš." 44. máruk tá kunpifúkra·n.

45. xás kunθíttiv, sáruk ʔúhyi·vti "čú páy ʔaxxi·č pipúnni·č, tá·y ʔíp ʔimafúnva·nsa." 46. ʔastári·š. 47. xás kúkku·m vúra ʔúhyiv. 48. ʔi·ná·k ʔukvíripfuruk. 49. víri kún si·t kíč ʔuksahárahutih. 50. xás ʔuʔárihrupuk. 51. vúrava kári ʔúhyi·vti "čú páy ʔaxxi·č pipúnni·č, tá·y ʔíp ʔimafúnva·nsa." 52. víri máruk po·trâ·tih. 53. víri kún ká·n tá kunpifúkra·n.

54. xás pamuhrô·ha ʔúhyiv "ká·n páθθa ʔá·mtih. 55. va· kúθ kinʔáhača-kutih."

56. hínpa ník tuʔáharamuna·. 57. káruma yá·n ʔuʔáhačakvuna·tih. 58. pâ·npay vúra tá ʔú·mukič. 59. kári vúra ʔúhyi·vtih. 60. xás po·páha-ri·θvuna· pamuhro·haʔi·n kunipê·r "yaxé·k ʔi·m va· kíč ʔikupítihe·š. 61. sa·mváro·k ʔaratváraf kíč ʔiʔá·mtihe·š. 62. kúna nu· ya·sʔararáʔu·θkam kíč nuʔirukú·npi·θvutihe·š."

63. xás ʔuxxús "pani·namičtâ·pas kaníku·kira·." 64. panyúrar xás ʔupík-ri·vrihva. 65. xás "payíθθa" kúna ʔuxxús "níku·kira·." 66. súrip xás ʔupíkri·vrihva. 67. pamuhrô·ha kúna ʔúku·kira·. 68. ʔišvírip xás ʔupih-yárihiš. 69. kúna ʔu·m va· vúra ká·n ʔúku·sur. 70. va· vúra payê·m kummáhe·š. 71. samvaró·tti·m ʔaratváraf ʔuʔá·mtih. 72. pamuhrô·ha káru pamutúnvi·v patuvuhvúhina·ha·k ya·sʔararáʔu·θkam kunčivítahutih.

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,<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> pipúnni-č is a distorted diminutive of ᳵippun "salmon-tail."

<sup>54</sup> The father became ᳵasaxvanišᳵámva·nič "moss-eater, i.e., the water ouzel." The woman and the children turned into the materials used for making baskets.

Text-Number 24: The Greedy Father

I

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. paθufkírík muhró·ha xákka·n kunʔí·nanik. 2. xás tá·y pamukuntúnvi·v.  
 3. tó ·tka·nvar paʔávansa, ko·kamáhʔi·t vúra tó ·tka·nvar. 4. púyava paté  
 ·kxuráraha·k yi·músič vúra tó ·kpê·hva patuʔíppak. 5. xás tó ·ppi·p "ʔaxi-  
 čapipúnni·šič." 6. púyava tá kunʔa·čiči·vrik. 7. púyava va· tá kunxúriha  
 pá·xxi·č. 8. kúkku·m vúra tuʔíppak, va· tó ·ppi·p "ʔaxičapipúnni·šič." 55  
 9. kári xás ʔuxxús pamukúnta·t "hú·t ʔáta kúθ paʔíppun vúra kíč tuʔavík-  
 vuti patuʔíppakaha·k." 10. kári xás ʔuxxús "čími kanmáhi." 11. tuθaxús-  
 tay. 12. kári xás tuʔasimáčišrihvuna· pá·xxi·č. 13. kári xás ʔu·m ʔuʔá·siš,  
 ʔahinámti·mič. 14. kári xás vúra puʔikvi·thára, káruma kúniš ʔúkvi·thitih.  
 15. kári xás ʔaxmáý ʔupvó·nfuruk paθufkírík. 16. kári xás yó·ram ʔupik-  
 ri·š. 17. kári xás vúra va· ká·n ʔúkri·. 18. kári xás ʔuxxús "ʔáta ʔúkvi·t-  
 hitih." 19. kári xás ʔá·k ʔúkku·kirih. 20. kári xás ʔúyu·nka pamuhró·ha.  
 21. kári xás vúra puʔitxá·rihvara. 22. kári xás ʔuxxús "miník ʔáta tó  
 ·kvi·tha." 23. kári xás kíxxumnipa· kú·k ʔuʔu·m, pasíppa·m ʔuθθa·nê·rak.  
 24. kári xás ʔuʔê·čip. 25. kári xás ʔussaníššukva paʔá·ma. 26. kári xás  
 taʔíttam ʔuʔávahe·n. 27. kári xás yi·vári kú·k ʔuʔí·pma, kúkku·m ʔupítka·n-  
 var.  
 28. kári xás paʔasiktá·n ʔuvó·nsip. 29. kári xás ʔúsnak pasíppa·m.  
 30. kári xás ʔussaníššukva paʔá·ma. 31. kári xás taʔíttam ʔuʔákkihvuna·he·n  
 pamutúnvi·v. 32. taʔíttam kunpáxti·vpuna·, ʔa·čičhar vúra kunpihmaráppi·θva  
 33. kári xás yi·músič vúra ʔukpê·hva "ʔaxičapipúnni·šič." 34. kári xás  
 paʔú·mukič ʔuʔu·m, kári xás ʔuxxús "hú·t kúθ papukanaʔačiči·vriktihara."  
 35. kári xás po·ʔí·pma xás ʔupvó·nfuruk ʔi·ná·k. 36. kári xás ʔá ʔúkki·ptak  
 θí·vakar. 37. kári xás ʔúmmu·sti pamusíppa·m. 38. kári xás ʔuppi·p "hú-  
 huhú·, kúniš nanisíppa·m tuyu·nhítih."  
 39. kári xás ʔuppi·p "hári tiʔáhačakuna· pamitúnvi·v. 40. ko·vúra mí·m-  
 ya·hti va· ʔikupítihe·š, fáta·k ʔá ʔikkú·ntako·viš. 41. víri paya·sʔára hú·tva  
 tuʔí·naha·k, víri paya·sʔára ká·rim tukúpha·k, -va· kári xás ʔík ʔiču·phítihē·š.  
 42. hú·tva kó· mímya·hti patiʔívaha·k púra fá·t vúra ʔí·n ʔa·mtíhe·šara.  
 43. kúna na·, na· káru paninitúnvi·v, páy nanussúru kú·k tá nupávyi·hma.  
 44. hú·tva kó· ya·sʔára ʔuʔí·naha·k, víri ya·sʔararé·θva·ykam nivúrayvutihe·š  
 45. víri va· kuθfti·mtihe·š, pána· ká·rim tá níxkus, pe·šviripšúruk po·fýuk-  
 kutihat, yakú ná va· pe·švirip." 46. xás passárum víri va· paʔássip kunví·k-  
 tih. 47. víri va· ya·sʔararé·θva·ykam ʔuvúrayvutihe·š.

Text Number 24: The Greedy Father

Informant: Mamie Offield

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."<sup>55</sup>  
 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, "hū' huhū', 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)."<sup>56</sup> 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."<sup>57</sup> 46. And they weave the baskets of pine roots.  
 47. They will be around in front of rich people.

<sup>55</sup> From (basic) ?axi-ča "child" plus pipūnni-šič, a distorted double diminutive of ?ippun "salmon tail." Cf. note 53.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> 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. ʔá ʔiknê·čan piriškâ·ri m̄uhrô·ha. 2. kaʔtimʔî·n kunʔi·n. 3. ʔá ʔiknê·čan pamuʔî·n ʔukyâ·nik. 4. xás paʔára·r po·ʔî·nhiti víriva mussúru·kam kunʔíruna·tih.

5. xás ʔuxxús "tišrá·m kanvá·rami." 6. xás ká·n ʔasíktáva·n ʔutápku·p. 7. ʔuʔíppa kúkku·m. 8. vúra ʔupvá·ram. 9. vúra xára tussínmo·. 10. pá·n pay piriškâ·rim tuθíttiv "ká·n tuʔi·mníhva." 11. xás kó·va ʔúxvi·pha, paʔî·n ʔupákta·psip. 12. xás ʔupvá·ram.

13. káruma ʔá ʔiknê·čan ʔuʔíppaho·tih. 14. tišravaráʔi·vre·r tupikfúk·kuvra·. 15. pamuʔî·n hō·y ník ʔúxxa·ktih. 16. vúra va· ʔuʔíppaho·tih. 17. ʔasaʔurúhʔi·vre·n ʔupitší·prin. 18. "yáh na·,<sup>61</sup> pananiʔî·n tá kunpák·ta·psipre·he·n." 19. ʔase·štákkak ʔuʔí·pma. 20. piriškâ·rim tupa·tíra·kaʔtimʔi·nkáro·m. 21. xás ʔuxxús "čími kankúnni·hki." 22. ʔá·pun ʔássak ʔupaθakhí·š. 23. po·ʔá·ksur piriškâ·rim sáruk ʔukyívnih. 24. yánava sáruk tó·krivrúhnih. 25. xás va· vúra payváhe·m pamupaθakhíram ká·n kunmáhe·š. 26. káru ʔá ʔiknê·čan ʔá ʔu·yičak ʔúkri·.

Text Number 26: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va· ʔukúpha·nik ʔá ʔiknê·čan. 2. ʔô·k pamuhrô·ha ʔúkri·. 3. xás tišrá·m ʔufmanahí·čva. 4. tuʔíppak. 5. tišravaráʔi·vre·r yané·kva pamuʔî·n ʔuθivnúrutih. 6. kúkku·m tó·pvá·ram. 7. yíθθa múʔarama ʔúkri·káru muhrô·ha. 8. ʔifučtí·mič po·pitvâ·vnukanik yánava púra fáttak. 9. puθivnúrutihara pamuʔî·n. 10. xás ʔuxxúti, "tá natayvárarimka paniniʔî·n."

11. kári xás ʔupvá·ram. 12. ʔô·k ʔuʔíppak. 13. xás ʔase·štákkak po·pitvâ·vnuk má·m páyku·k ʔummah, tá kunpíffukra· múʔarama xákka·n. 14. xás va· vúra ká·n ʔupaθakhí·š. 15. xás taʔíttam ʔukúnni·hka pamuhrô·ha. 16. púyava ká·n ʔutákni·hkurih. 17. ʔutákni·hvarayva. 18. víriva kumáʔi·kunippe·nti "xú·x mukrivruhvánnamič."<sup>62</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 16. He was coming back like that. 17. He caught sight of it at ʔasaʔurúhʔi-vre-n (a hill near Katimin). 18. "yáh na",<sup>61</sup> my falls have been tipped up on end!" 19. He got to ʔase-štákkak (a spot near Katimin). 20. Grizzly Bear was carrying (her belongings) uphill from Katimin. 21. And he thought, "Let me shoot her!" 22. He kneeled 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 ʔase-štákkak, 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."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> This is the origin of ʔáʔu-yič, 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.

<sup>60</sup> 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.

<sup>61</sup> yáh na' is an interjection occurring only in this text, according to the informant.

<sup>62</sup> 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.

Text Number 27: Duck Hawk and His Wife

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ʔá ʔiknê·čhan muhrô·ha piriškâ·rim. 2. xás mutíppa sí·t. 3. kári xás ʔu·m vúra hári·vahe·š, ʔá ʔiknê·čhan hō·yva tuvâ·ram, sinmō·višar.
4. púyava xás kúkku·m tuʔíppak.
5. kári xás ʔiθóá·n ʔuvâ·ram kúkku·m. 6. kári xá šit ʔupakurí·hvutih.
7. kári xás ʔuppi·p "ʔa·níhič ʔu·m čími ʔuʔíppake·š. 8. yakún sō·mva·n čími ʔuʔíppasuke·š."
9. kári xás ʔuppi·p piriškâ·rim, "hū·té·ppi·p."
10. xás ʔuppi·p sí·t "púra fâ·t."
11. "vúra kúniš hū·té·ppi·p."
12. "pū·, púra fâ·t vúra ne·pítihara."
13. xás ʔuppi·p piriškâ·rim, "ʔáʔ nutákkararihe·š, súrukam ʔa·h nikyâ·viš papupasupí·čvaha·k."
14. taʔíttam sí·t ʔá ʔutákkararihe·n. 15. kári xá šit ʔuppi·p, "ʔa·níhi čími ʔuʔíppake·š, sō·mva·n ʔuʔíppasuke·š."
16. kári xás piriškâ·rim paʔí·n taʔíttam ʔuʔakxáraprupahe·n. 17. yukún yí·v ʔá ʔuttássunihthanik paʔí·n. 18. púyava pó·pva·vruk ʔá ʔiknê·čhan tišravará·vi·vre·n ʔuxxus, "hū·t ʔáta ʔuʔí·nati pananiʔí·n. 19. ʔō·k ʔíp niθítti·mtihat pó·xxa·ktih. 20. vúra punaθítti·mtihara." 21. púyava po·ʔí·pak yánava "pananiʔí·n tó·pvu·mup." 22. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔakâ·y tutá·yva·r pananiʔí·n."
23. kári xá šit ʔuppi·p, "na· ʔíp nipasúppi·čvat pasō·mva·n tiʔíppasuk.
24. víri tú·mihrô·ha piriškâ·rim tutá·yva·r pamiʔí·n."
25. taʔíttam ʔupiykárahe·n pamuhrô·ha. 26. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔakâ·y kíč vúra ʔiššansí·pre·višan pamuʔíppih."
27. kári xás ʔuppi·p kačakâ·č "na· ník nipiššansí·pre·viš." 28. púya ʔupa·tiší·p. 29. xás vi·tkíra kú·k ʔupatímmo·. 30. kári xás va· ká·n xás ʔiθáha·s ʔúkyav. 31. víri·va kumá·ʔi· va· ká·n kíč kunʔára·rahitihanik piriškâ·rim. 32: ʔō·k ʔu·m púffa·thanik papiriškâ·rim.

Text Number 28: Blue Jay As Doctor

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. kačakâ·č ʔuʔe·mhí·čva. 2. tuʔáppur pa·čvív·tunvê·čas. 3. xás tupa·túmko·. 4. tumásna·hva. 5. vúra kumákâ·rim payíkkihar. 6. kúkku·m tá kunpíššavsip xúriš, ʔaθiθxuntáppan, ʔú·s, ko·vúra kumaʔávaha. 7. hínupa vúra ʔu·m ʔuʔapunkô·na·tih, kačakâ·č ʔu·m ʔuʔapunkô·na·tih. 8. púyava pató·xxus, "miní kó· ník patá kanaʔíššavsip," púyava kári xás tuʔarári·h·kanha.
9. ko·vúra tá kunmásma·hvuna· pa·čvív·tunvê·čas. 10. pakunxútih "kíri

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."<sup>63</sup>

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,

<sup>63</sup> Literally, "he will bring a marriage-applicant," i.e., a woman who comes to a man's house to offer herself in marriage; see Harrington, 1932a, pp. 4-5.

nuʔá·punma 'hũ·t kumáʔi· pakunyíkkihiti" púyava kári xás kunpíkkav xánki·t. 11. xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔáču·s kanapíššavs·prini."<sup>64</sup> 12. xás vúra puʔa·púnmara xánki·t.

13. kári xás mahnú·vanač kúna kunpíkkav. 14. kári xás ʔumásma·hva mahnú·vanač. 15. kári xás kačakâ·č ká·n ʔukrí·š. 16. pará·mvar ʔuʔe·θtih. 17. čími ʔúkxa·vkurihe·š.

18. xás mahnú·vanač ʔuppi·p, "ʔakára yákún mové·ni·čva. 19. mán kačakâ·č mové·ni·čva.

20. hínupa ʔu·m kačakâ·č ʔuʔapuñkô·na·tih. 21. mahnú·vanač xás ʔu·m ʔuʔa·púnma. 22. kačakâ·č muʔáppuro·n kummáhe·š hō·yva, ʔíppahak ʔuták·kararihva, súʔ vákkay ʔúkri·.

#### Text Number 29: Blue Jay As Doctor

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. mahnú·vanač tuyíkiha. 2. vá·s kíč ʔuθθiv. 3. kári xás taʔítam xú·s ʔuʔu·máhe·n. 4. sunyíθθi tá kunʔíššavsip kačakâ·č. 5. ʔansáfri·k vaʔárah. 6. kári tuʔarári·hkanha.

7. púyava kúkku·m ʔaxmá yuyíkiha mahnú·vanač. 8. "čími ki·kpíkka·n ʔansáfri·k vaʔárah." 9. tá kunpíkkar. 10. tuʔáho·. 11. kári xás ʔuppi·p "xanpučínni·šve·nač ki·kpíkka·n. 12. čími vúra xánki·t." 13. púyava tá kunimfipíšri·hva paxusʔúmman·nsa.

14. kári xás xanpučínni·šve·nač ʔuppi·p "na· vúra na·pmánʔanamahačhitih. 15. hárivarihva vé·ni·čva."

16. kári xás ʔansáfri·k vaʔára ʔuppi·p "ʔə·x! 17. fatamakê·š kíč ʔára ʔúppe·re·š."

18. xanpučínni·šve·nač ʔupakurí·hvutih. 19. xás ʔupítih "na· vúra na·pmánʔanamahačhitih. 20. kumáʔi· papunaʔú·surutihara. 21. kačakâ·č mové·ni·čva."

22. kári xás čanča·ksúrak xás ʔuʔárihrupuk, "kčkčkčkč!" 23. ʔukača·kâ·čhitih. 24. tuʔá·θva.

#### Text Number 30: The Story of Tan Oak Acorn

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. kári ʔiθívθa·ne·n tó·θθáriš, xás paxuntáppan tá kunʔíffar. 2. pamukunʔápxa·n tá kunví·kvuna·. 3. "čē·č ʔík vúra kupθíθe·š." 4. xás vúra tá kunyá·vha. 5. xánpu·t káru xánθi·p ʔiθe·kxarámva vúra pákunvik. 6. xás čē·č kuníθiθ. 7. xás tá kunkariháya·čha.

"Let's find out why they are sick," then they summoned Bullhead. 11. And she said, "Pay me my fee with ʔáčpu:s."<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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.

7. Then Chipmunk suddenly got sick again. 8. "Go summon Weitchpec person!" 9. They summoned her. 10. She came. 11. And (Chipmunk) said, "Go summon Hummingbird! 12. Let Bullhead (come too)!" 13. So the 'doctors' assembled.

14. And Hummingbird said, "My mouth is too small. 15. There's been mischief sometime."

16. And Weitchpec person said, "ʔə·x! 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, "kčkčkčkč!" 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.

<sup>64</sup> ʔáčpu: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.'

<sup>65</sup> An ʔáppuro:n or 'devil machine' is the object used by a sorcerer ('Indian devil') to impose his spells. The kačakačʔáppuro:n "bluejay's devil machine" is a type of cocoon.

8. yá·s xunyê·p tá kuníppe·r "tikárihahum nik. 9. nu· tá núpθiθ panu·núpxa·n."

10. xás xunyê·p ?uppi·p "na· yá·s ?á·čip kó· niví·ktih."

11. xás kunipê·r "manâ· vúra tá núpsa·mkir."

12. xás ?uppi· "pū·, va· vúra níθxu·ne·š, káruma ník ?á·čip kó· tuvíkka·hitih. 13. yaxxé·k vúra ní kunxússe·š 'xuntáppan tu?íffar!' 14. kírí na·vúra kíč ya·s?arara?í· na?á·mti káru táppas ne·kyâ·viš."

15. víri ?í·futi tá kunívyi·hma paká·n kun?íffe·š, vúra va· ?uθivkê·tih. 16. xás kinipê·r "čími ki·vyíhiš." 17. xánpu·t kípa fá·t pamúpxa·n káru xánθi·p. 18. xás xuntáppan kunipê·r "hú·t ?i·m ?u?í·nati kúθ papu?ipθiθa·he·n pamúpxa·n."

19. xás ?uppi·p " ?u·mkun ?iθe·kxarámva kunví·ktih. 20. kó·va kírí kané·pša·mkir. 21. ?ayu?á·č kanaxxússe·nti 'ká·nimič. 22. hō·y ?í·f yax·xé·k ya·s?ara?í·n kunxússe·š hú·t.'" "

23. xás ya·s?ara?í·n kunipê·r " ?i·m kumá·?i· pa?ára ?u?í·naha·k ?i?á·m·tihe·šap, va· kúθ púharíxxay xúrihitihe·š. 24. ?i·m pa?avahé·ši·phe·š. 25. káruma ník ?apxanyâ·mačas tá kunpiθxunáti·hva, ya·s?arara?í·n pu?iθ·vá·ftihe·šap."

#### Text Number 31: The Story of Tan Oak Acorn

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ya·s?ára ?u?i·níšrihe·š. 2. ko·vúra kunví·kvuna·, yíθθuk čí kunívyi·h·me·š. 3. kári xás kunpí·p "čími čē·mya·č nutákkukvuna·." 4. kári xás kun·pí·p "čēmmi, čúva·rap." 5. kári xás kunpiθxunássi·pre·n pamukun?ápxa·n. 6. ko·vúra yâ·mačas pamukun?ápxa·n.

7. kári xás ?u·m paxuntáppan ?u·m vúra pupikyá·rara pamúpxa·n. 8. kári xás ?upkifínmit. 9. kári xás ?upíθxu·nasip. 10. kári xás ?uppi· "paya·s?ára ?u?i·níšriha·k víri na· pa?avanihičtâ·pashe·š. 11. pahú·tva kó· ya·s?ára ?u?í·naha·k víri na· vúra kíč kaná·a·mtihe·š, káruma ?apxankê·mič paninúpxa·n." 12. víri xuntáppan va· ?úppa·nik.

#### Text Number 32: The Bear and the Deer

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ká·n ?ávansa ?úkri·. 2. ?áxxak muhrō·vas. 3. pamupišip?ihrō·ha ?u·m yíθθa mu?avansáxxi·č. 4. káru payíθθa ?u·m ?áxxak mutúnvi·v, ?avansáxxi·tičas. 5. pa?ávansa ?atahári vúra ?u?ákkunvutih. 6. káru ?u·m

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.<sup>66</sup> 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

<sup>66</sup> The verb *tákuk*, 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?asiktáva·n ?atahári vúra kunikyávi·čvutih, ?ávaha kunikyá·tih. 7. xás papíšši·p ve·hrô·ha ?u·m ?itní·vka. 8. kâ·rim ?ukyá·ti pe·hnohá?anamahač. 9. paxuntáppan kun?íffiktih, kú·k tó ·kvíripma, xás ko·vúra tu?íffik píšši·p. 10. xás pamu?áttimnam ?u·m vúra ?axyár ?atahári. 11. payíθθa ?u·m vúra čí·mič pamu?áttimnak. 12. xás vúra kâ·rim ?ukyá·tih. 13. ?á·θva ?ukyá·tih. 14. xás ?iθθá·n pakun?íppak, xás ?úppe·nvuna· pamutunvé·č "papuna?íppaka ha·k kuxxússe·š 'tá ne·y·kárahe·n!"

15. xás ?iθθá·n ?u?íppak paké·vri·k. 16. xás pa?avansáxxi·č ?upíktar pamúttá·t. 17. xás ?uppi·p "hó·y ?u·m táttáč!"

18. xás ?uppi·p paké·vri·k " ?u·m vúra má? tó ·kvé·š. 19. yakún tá·y vúra ?íp ?úmka·nvat. 20. víri hū· čími ?ukupe·pšá·nvahe·š. 21. víri ?immá·n xasík ?u?íppake·š."

22. xás ?immá·n kúkku·m vúra ?upvá·ram. 23. xás kúmate·č ?ikxúrar vúra xára xás vúra ?u?íppak. 24. xás pa?avansáxxi·tičas tá kun?á·sišrih. 25. xás pa?avansaxičákka·m ?utníššuk vasassúruk. 26. xás yánava pa?át·timnavak ?umáhya·nahiti táhpú·s. 27. ?i·! yánava ?uhyárišukva pamúttá·t múpsi·h. 28. ?i·! xás ?u?a·púnmat pamúttá·tô ·y·kárahe·n. 29. xás ?u?ík·kihvuti po·pvô·nfuruk ma·θ pó·kta·mtih. 30. xás pa?avansáxxi·č ?u?a·púnma "vúra ?if." 31. xás púxay fá·t vúra ?ipítihara.

32. xás ?imá·nkam kúkku·m vúra ?upvá·ram. 33. "pamúttá·t kúmate·č xasík ?u?íppake·š." 34. xás kúkku·m vúra xára xás ?u?íppak ?ikxúrar. 35. yánava ?ussá·nvuti ?axvahasaxárahšas. 36. xás pa?avansáxxi·č vúra ?u·m ?uxráratih, kúna vúra ?u?íččunvuti po·xráratih.

37. xás ?uppê·r pa?avansáxxi·č " ?imá·nkam sáruk ?astí·pamiča·s xák·ka·n ?í kuyá·rame·š ?ikxúrar. 38. xasík pa·xvahasaxárahšas kuvê·hkuri·he·š yú·xak, ?u?ahítihe·š. 39. xasík va· ?ík vúra kó· ká·n ku?í·ne·š pa·x·vâ·har tó ·msíppišriha·k, xasí kupínna·viš."

40. xás kári pa?avansáxxi·č ?a·h ?úkyav ?ikmaháčra·m. 41. xás pa·mu?a·níhič ?uppê·r "čô·ra nupíknihvan ?ikmaháčra·m." 42. xás kun?iruvô·n·furuk. 43. xás pa?avansáxxi·č ?upíška·krupuk, sá·kri·vúra ?úkyav páčivčak. 44. xás pamúča·s xákka·n sáru kuniθvíripak. 45. xás pa·xvâ·har ?uvê·hiš. 46. tu?á·hka. 47. xás ?uppi·p "čími nuθví·pi." 48. xás yúru kuniθvíripup.

49. pa?avansáxxi·č ?ukpê·hvuti ?ikmaháčra·m. 50. "čá·s, ne·pčívča·ksurih, tá ni?í·nka." 51. xás kúkku·m vúra tó ·kpê·hva "ne·pčívča·ksurih, tá ni?í·nka."

52. xás múttá·t ?u?íppak. 53. xás ?umniškírihva pá·?i·š. 54. sáruk ?utfákkutih, yánava pa·xvâ·har kári vâ·ramas ?uvê·hriv. 55. xás pe·kma·háčra·m kú·k ?u?árihma. 56. xás ?uhyú·niš pamú?arama "čé·mya·č ?árihrupuki, tó ·mtu pamú?i·š, čími nu?am." 57. xás púxay ?íhivriktihara. 58. xás čavúra ?u?árihfuruk. 59. "čé·mya·č, čími nu?am." 60. ?i·! xás ?ummah, yánava ?ámta·p kíč ?ukrítuv. 61. xás ?uppi·p "?a·w." 62. xá sáruk ?astí·p kú·k ?ukvíripma. 63. xás ?ukfu·kíra·na·. 64. xás ?a·h kíč ?úkfu·kíra·. 65. xás ?utúra·yva. 66. yánava yúruk tá kuniθvíripupape·n. 67. xás ?ukvíripup.

68. xás pa?avansaxič?anamahač tó ·kfu·yšur puxxič vúra. 69. xás káru kúnítro·vutih. 70. víri kúna káruk ?ukvíripvarak. 71. kúkku·m kunpítro·vu·tih. 72. vúra ?ú·mukič tu?u·m. 73. pa?avansáxxi·č vúra tá pukúniš ?ikvi·p·tíhara, kó·va tó ·kfu·yšur. 74. xás ?iθyáru kunitkáratih. 75. yánava ká·n

were gathering food. 7. And the first wife was cruel.<sup>67</sup> 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. 19. You see, she gathered a lot. 20. How was she to carry it home? 21. 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

<sup>67</sup> The cruel wife, with the single child, was Bear. The one with the two children was Deer.

- ʔára ʔúkri·hvutih. 76. xás paʔavansáxxi·č ʔukpê·hva "kinvítivrik."  
 77. xás ʔuppi·p "na·púffa·t naníppa·h." 78. xás káruk tuθítti·mno·v pó·x·ru·nhitih. 79. xás kári ʔuppi· "pananípši· ʔiθyáruk nippi·vkáre·š. 80. ví·riva kán ki·kʔiruváttariní." 81. xás kunʔíkkakár. 82. víri kúna kukká·m·tó·kvíripvarak. 83. xás pamúpsi· ʔupiθyúrukiv.  
 84. xás paké·vri·k ʔukpê·hva "navítivrik."  
 85. "pú·hara, na·púffa·t naníppa·h."  
 86. xás ʔuppi·p "vúra pí·vkaθi."  
 87. xás ʔuppi·vkar. 88. káru paʔavansáxxi·č ʔu·m tá mmâ·m kunʔíkkakara. 89. xás ʔuváttarin paké·vri·k. 90. xás pa·psihʔa·čip tuʔu·m. 91. xás pamúpxa·n ʔuppu·sur. 92. xás paʔiššaha ʔuttê·kšip. 93. xás ʔúyva·yvar. 94. xás pató·ppi·šrav xás pamúpxa·n ʔumčanáknak pá·psi·h. 95. xás ʔup·pi·p "ʔake·!" 96. xás ʔupiθyúrukiv pamúpsi·h. 97. xás ʔukyívivra·, ʔiškê·s ʔúkyi·mkurih. 98. xás paʔavansáxxi·č ʔu·máruk tú·yšip kuniθvíripura·. 99. páy nanuʔávahkam kú· kuniθvíripma.

Text Number 33: How Deer Meat Was Lost and Regained

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. kačakâ·č ʔíppat yíča·č mukunʔávanhanik. 2. xákka·n vúra kuníkye·hiti po·ʔáve·š, ʔáxxak vúra ʔuppáttati paxxu·n. 3. kári xás paʔíppa fuθarámpuk. 4. kári xás ʔuxxúti pakačakâ·č "hú·t ʔáta kumáʔi· paʔíppat múxxu·n kíč kúníš po·ppáttatih." 5. kári xás ʔuxxus, "tí· kanmáhi hú·t ʔáta po·kupe·kyâ·hitih." 6. kári xás po·θarámpuk taʔítta múpsi· ʔúkpa·travahe·n. 7. taʔíttam pe·kpát ʔuʔínnihnamnihač. 8. kári xás ʔuxxús kačakâ·č "tí· kanθarámpú·ki." 9. kári xás ʔúkpa·trav pamúpsi·h, ʔa·x kúna ʔuʔínnihnamnihač. 10. kári xás ʔúpθa·niv kačakâ·č, ʔa·yâ·č ʔápsi·tó·spat.  
 11. kári xás paʔíppat yíθa múʔaramah, ye·nipaxvúhič. 12. kári xás ʔuppê·r pamúʔaramah, "čími pamiʔákka ʔê·hi paxxu·n."  
 13. púyava pakačakâ·č tó·pyávpa. 14. kári xás tó·kmar pá·xxi·č. 15. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "tâ·k, na·niʔê·h." 16. kári xás ʔâ·pun tó·yvê·š paxxu·n. 17. kári xás tó·ppi·p, "ʔâ·sara ʔúxxane·!"<sup>69</sup> 18. púyava pa·xxi·č yi·vári tuʔí·pma xás tó·pviraxsí·p.  
 19. kári xás kúkku·m vúra va·tó·kku·pha, tutáttuyšiprimtih, xás tó·yvê·š paxxu·n. 20. "ʔâ·sara ʔúxxane·!" 21. xás tó·pviraxsí·p.  
 22. púyava xás pa·xxi·č ʔuppê·r pamútta·t, "ʔúma kačakâ·č va·ʔukupítih, kačakâ·č ʔuyve·šrí·hvuti paxxu·n."  
 23. kári xás paʔíppat ʔuppi·p, "čímmi ma nupiyâ·rami." 24. xás vúra puʔa·púnma hú·kava pátuʔu·m. 25. púyava kári xás ko·vúra kumake·miša·tunvê·čas tá kunxúrihina·, ʔa·yâ·č púffa·t papú·fič ʔ6·kume·θívθa·ne·n.  
 26. kári xás ʔikmaháčra·m kunʔúrurimva.  
 27. kári xás ʔakví·šič ʔukvithayâ·ha. 28. kári xás ʔuʔárihšip. 29. xás ʔupakúri·hva, "ʔáta na·kú·fayu, ʔáta na·kê·šiša."<sup>70</sup>

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!"<sup>68</sup> 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 uphill. 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, "ʔâ·sara ʔúxxane."<sup>69</sup>  
 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. "ʔâ·sara ʔúxxane." 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, "ʔáta na· kû·fayu, ʔáta na· kê·šiša."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The fisherman was ʔáxva·y 'Crane' (actually the blue heron); this explains his long leg.

<sup>69</sup> These words are distortions of ʔássar "watery" and ʔú·x "bitter."

<sup>70</sup> ʔáta "perhaps," na· "I"; the other words are meaningless.

30. kári xás ʔuppi· pihné·fič, "hú· fi·ʔi·n. 31. nu· tá nuxxúrihina· káru tá núkvi·tha. 32. fá·t kúθ pe·pakurí·hvutih."

33. xás vúra hú·kava ʔu·ʔu·m, ʔakví·šič. 34. čavúra xára ʔussínmo·. 35. paká·n kunʔaxúpru·prijvuti papú·fič tó ·mta·pha káru tuxahavíkkaha. 36. kári xás ʔaxmá·y vúra ká·n ʔúxxak. 37. kári xás kunʔifúksi·prin. 38. xás kú· kunítvu·tih. 39. ʔe·! ʔaxmá·y ʔáxxup ʔúkyi·mnuprih. 40. hí·nupa ʔakví·šič hō·yva pufič ʔanamahač tó ·ppē·θuk. 41. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "tá nikvithayá·ha. 42. yakún tá ni·ʔa·púnma. 43. páy nanu·ʔávahkam kú·k tá kunʔí·pma papú·fič káru pamú·aramah. 44. víri tuyē·ripa. 45. ʔu·ʔihu·kárahitih, ve·šura·ʔíppan pakuntá·taθunatih."

46. kári xás kunʔáv papú·fič, ni·namíčmahič kunʔav, ʔípa ʔu·ʔáxxupfuru·kat. 47. xás kunpi·p, "čími nupíkka·n, čími ʔō· kume·θívθα·ne· nupíppasramnihi." 48. kári xás kunpi·p, "hú·t nukupa·ʔiruna·viš." 49. kári xás kunpi·p, "čími nuparíšri·hvi, čími ʔa· nukyav. 50. kári xasík mukuníhura·viš."

51. kári xás pihné·fič vúra ʔu·m tá·y tá pamú·a·n. 52. ká·kum ʔupθα·pákpak, xás ʔupaxyáppiθva. 53. púyava ko·vúra paxxah, ko·vúra mukún·a·n kuníkyav. 54. púyava tá kunpíkya·r. 55. "čémmi, čō·ra." 56. kári xás pihné·fič mú·a·n píšši·č kunkuníhura·. 57. yi·músič kúna ʔu·m táma ʔupikyívunih. 58. ko·vúra paxxáh tá kunkuníhura· pamukún·a·n. 59. yi·músič ník tu·ʔu·m, kári tupikyívunih. 60. kári xás xahamíčmi·č kári xás ʔu·ʔē·θra·pamú·a·n. 61. xás vúra ní·namič po·yrúhahiti pamú·a·n. 62. kári xás ʔuppi· pihné·fič, "ye·! hú·t ʔinníšše·š pamí·a·n, hú·k pa·θmi. 63. pukáru vúra hú·t kó· ʔíppanhe·šara. 64. hú· kíč pa·θmi."

65. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "pú·hara. 66. xā·tik vúra nukya·várihva." 67. ta·ʔítam kunkuníhura·he·n. 68. yó ·ssákri·vha.

69. ta·ʔítam va· kunʔiruna·kírahe·n. 70. kári xás ʔakví·šič ʔuppi·p, "na· píšši·č. 71. na· ni·ʔa·púnmuti pahó·y."

72. ta·ʔítam ʔuppē·θke·he·n. 73. kári xás ʔúkvip. 74. xás yiθe·kúna tó ·θθári pe·šnamičtá·pas. 75. xás ka·nvári kunihmárava, yánava ʔukrámkam ʔu·ʔí·θra. 76. xás yánava xančí·fič ká·n ʔúkri·. 77. xás ʔuppi·p, "tā·k, na·kanaθθárihi."

78. xás kunpi·p, "pú·hara, hō·y ʔíf ʔikvíppe·š."

79. xás ʔuppi·p, "pú·hara, vúra kanaθθárihi, čí ki·páhari·θune·šap."

80. kári xás kunθárih. 81. kári xás ʔapmá·n ʔúyu·nvar. 82. xás ʔupámčak. 83. kári xás ʔu·ʔi·pkúri pó·kra·m. 84. púyava ʔō·k ʔupíppasramnihanič papú·fič.

85. kári xás ʔikmaháčra·m kú· kunʔíppasmanik. 86. xás kunpi·p, "pu·ra·nmásva númmu·stih."

87. kári xás čišši· ʔifučtí·mič. 88. kári xás ʔuxxús páčiši·, "hō·y ʔíf va· páy pámkuphe·š." 89. kári xás ʔa·h mú· ko·vúra ʔu·ʔa·hkó·na· pamukun·fiθθi pakuní·kvi·thina·. 90. víri va· kúθ čišši· fá·t vúra va· ʔuθθíramtih.

30. And Coyote said, "What's the matter with you?"<sup>71</sup> 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) xahamíčmič 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.

<sup>71</sup> 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

1. ?itáharavan kun?íffanik tipahê·ras. 2. xás kári ?axmáý káruk ?ára ?u?árihvarak. 3. xás kári kunímmu·stih. 4. xás ?axmáý vúra yíθa úkfu·kíra, ?u?ax. 5. xás kun?írurav. 6. xás kuntúra·yva. 7. yánava tá púra fáttá·k.

8. kúkku·m vúra ?immá·n káruk tá kunítro·vutih. 9. va· vúra kúkku·m tu?árihvarak. 10. xás kári kúkku·m yíθa ?u?ax. 11. ?asassúru kú·k tá kunihmárava. 12. púyava tutúra·yva yíθa, yané·kva tá púra fáttá·k.

13. púyava kári tá kun?ára·rahiti vúra va· ka·n. 14. xás kári čavúra tá pā·npay ko·vúra tá kí·n?ax. 15. hínupa papirišká·rim po·?arihvárakvutih. 16. víri va· ?í·n pakín?á·xtih.

17. yíče·č tó·ssa·m, pani·namičtá·pas, yu·xmačmahánnač. 18. ?i·! xás ?uxnánnatihač. 19. xás ?uxxus, "hú·t ?áta pánikuphe·š." 20. xás kári ?uxxus, "tí· máru kanvâ·rami." 21. kári xás máruk ?ukyâ·r payi·páhvu·f.

21. kári xás ?úkyav. 23. kári xás vúra ?u·m yâ·mač ?úkyav, vúra ?úkyav.

24. kári xás ?imyá ?úkyav. 25. kári xás ?uxxus, "hú·t ?áta paniníšše·š."

26. kári xás tupikya·náya·čha. 27. xás ?uxxus, "čími kanipvâ·rami."

28. xás ?u?í·pma pamukrívra·m. 29. ye·! xás ?uxxúti, "hú·t ?áta pánikuphe·š." 30. kári xás ?inhírip ?úkyav pe·myah. 31. xás kári ?iv?ávahkam

?uvô·rura, tó·ppi·kívšipriv pé·myah. 32. kári xás kán ?u?í·htih, ?u?í·htih.

33. xás káruk ?útro·vutih, ?axmáý ?u?árihvarak. 34. kári xás čavúra ?ú·mukič tu?u·m. 35. xás kunímmu·sti ?iv?ávahkam ?á· po·?í·htih. 36. kári xás ?uxxús papirišká·rim, "púya ?if yâ·mač po·?i·kívtih. 37. tí· kani·mússan."

38. xás ?iv?ávahkam ?uvô·rura· papirišká·rim. 39. yu·xmačmahánnač vúra va· ?u?í·htih. 40. xás ?uppi·p papirišká·rim, "?if yâ·mač pe·?i·kívtih."

41. xás yu·xmačmahánnač ?uppi·p, "hâ·."

42. kári xás kunipé·r, "hô·y ?immáhanik. 43. púya ?if tá nitápkú·p."

44. kári xás yu·xmačmahánnač ?uppi·p, "man vúra na· ninímya pani?i·kívtih."

45. kári xás ?uppi·p, "víri hú·t ?ikupitih," pirišká·rim, "?if tá nitápkú·p."

46. xás ?uppi·p, "víri hú·t ?ikupa?e·θríššukvahiti pamímyah."

47. kári xás ?uppi·p yu·xmačmahánnač, "na· pay?ô·k sinkanána·mič tá ni?á·kúrih. 48. xás tá niškúruhrišuk paninímyah."

49. kári xás pirišká·rim ?uppi·p, "tí· kanikya·várihvi." 50. xás kári "čími ne·kšúppi." 51. kári xás ta?íttam ?u?á·kúrihe·n, kári xás ?uskúruh·ruprav pamúmya pirišká·rim. 52. kári xás ?ukyíviš ?â·pun. 53. yu·xmač·mahánnač ?úkfu·kíra· papirišká·rim, ?upsáravrik pató·skúruh·ruprav.

54. papirišká·rim ?ukyíviš, pamúmya tó·θyúrurišuk. 55. ta?íttam ?ukyí·višrihe·n. 56. tó·krivruhuni sáruk papirišká·rim.

57. xás kári yu·xmačmahánnač ?uppi·p, "yô·tva, niníva·san tá níykar."

58. papirišká·rim tá·kuníku·kíra· yu·xmačmahánnač, ?uxxus, "kíri ni?ax." 59. xás kán ?ás ?uθá·niv, ké·č. 60. xás ?u?árikha· ?asapatxáxxak.

61. xás kári papirišká·rim ?úkfu·kíra· pa?as. 62. hú· čími ?uníšše·š pa?as, sú ?úkri· payu·xmačmahánnač. 63. kári xás tá pu?axhára, ?ássak sú ?úkri·, ?asapatxáxxak.

64. xás ?ukrívru·hsur. 65. po·ppárihrišuk víri va· yu·xmačmahánnač ?iv?ávahkam po·?í·htih, ?uθívtá·ptih. 66. víri va· kíč ?upíti po·?í·htih.

Text Number 34: Lizard and Grizzly Bear

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. 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. 7. 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-xmačmahánnač*. 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.<sup>72</sup> 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,

<sup>72</sup> This type of lizard has a mark on its chest, resembling a necklace with a pendant.



"šakati·yu·ina· híyo· 73 67. yò·tva, naníva·sa níykar. 68. púyava yu·xmač·mahánnač ʔukúpha·nik. kupánnakanakana. 69. ʔúykar piriškâ·rim. 70. ká·ruma ʔu·ʔi·kívtih, yi·pahvufʔímyah. 71. papiriškâ·ri múmya tó·ʔyúruripa·, tufúhiš, payu·xmačmahánnač ʔupíkša·yvutih, ʔu·m ʔáhup ʔu·ʔi·kívtih, yi·pah·vufʔímyah. 72. púyava va· ʔukupe·ykárahanič papiriškâ·rim. 73. púyava vúra kó·mahič.

Text Number 35: The Story of Madrone

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. kusríppan ʔu·m ʔiθθá·n ʔavansahanik. 2. ʔararaya·sʔára muʔafišrí·han. 3. xás mukunyú·čkamač ʔúkri·. 4. vúra yâ·mač múʔifáppi·t. 5. xás kâ·nimič kunkupaʔára·rahitih. 6. víri ʔú·m tá kuníšya·vha. 7. ká· ník paʔávansa ʔuʔákkunvuti káru ʔuʔahaviškâ·nvutih. 8. vúrava ko·yâ·č tuʔí·p·ma. 9. ʔimmá·nkam kúkku·m tuvâ·ram. 10. vúra kunpíyča·ktih. 11. vúra ʔu·m puharíxxa yáv kupaʔára·rahitihap.
12. kusríppan ʔu·m vúra ʔitíha·n ʔuvunayví·čvutih. 13. káruk ʔuʔárihro·natih. 14. xás paʔifáppi·t kò·θkam ʔutkáratih. 15. ʔummahunâ·natih. 16. xás ʔukfuyvú·niš. 17. xás ʔuhyárihiš. 18. ʔimá·nkam kúkku·m vúra ʔuʔá·rihra·. 19. xás po·mmáhavrik ʔúkp·hrin. 20. hínu páy čí kunčúphi·čve·š. 21. xás xárahirurav ʔussínmo· kusríppan. 22. pamuʔakahʔí·n kunpáppivar. 23. xás ʔummá "ká·n ʔišké·šti·m kunʔi·n. 24. ʔupíppasru pámúʔaramah. 25. xás ʔuppê·r "xáyfa·t ʔík vúra haríxxay kâ·m kú·k ʔiʔí·pma. 26. ʔimta·rássu·n paʔifáppi·t. 27. púra fá·t ʔifkírahitihara."
28. ʔimmá·n ʔupíkpu·hkar paʔifáppi·t. 29. hō·y kíč kusríppan. 30. xanahíčya vúra tó·kri·. 31. yúruk ʔutrú·putih. 32. yánava tó·kvíripa·. 33. xás ʔuppi·p "čé·mya·č nupíkpu·hkari. 34. ʔíp kané·pe·rat 'xáyfa·t ʔò·k ʔinna·." 35. xás kuníθpu·hrin. 36. xás máru kuniθvíripura·. 37. paʔifáppi·t mukrívra·m kú·k ʔuʔu·m. 38. yá·n vúra ʔúkkurarahitih. 39. ʔiθyáruk ʔuʔuhyanárahitih. 40. ʔuppi·p "na· níxxúti 'tá kanapáppivaruk!"
41. xás kuníθvip. 42. ʔiθé·kxaram vúra hō·yva kunikvé·š. 43. ʔimá·nkam kunpirúvi·šrih. 44. vúrava ʔiθyáruk ʔuʔuhyanárahitih. 45. xás kusríppan ʔuppi·p "čími kanipvâ·rami. 46. miník niʔíppake·š." 47. ʔupíkpu·hrin. 48. xás ʔúmmu·sti pamúʔi·š. 49. tó·mxaxasúro·, tuʔur. 50. kusríppan ʔupkê·viš. 51. va· vúra payê·m kummáhe·š, ʔuʔú·ntih. 52. ʔayu·ʔâ·č paʔifáppi·t té·p xákka·n kunikvé·šrihat. 53. víri va· vúra kumakkári kummáhe·š kusríppan, ʔitíha·n kumahárinay tuʔur.

"šakati'yu'ina· híyo·.<sup>73</sup> 67. Hurray, I killed my enemy." 68. So Lizard did it. kupánnakanakana. 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.<sup>74</sup> 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.

<sup>73</sup> These words are meaningless.

<sup>74</sup> 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 yúp·a·xkuniš. 2. sa· kúntáxra·tvuna·. 3. víriva ká·n ?úm·mu·stih. 4. kári xás patá kunpíkyá·r pakuntáxra·ti kári xás ?asmá·x "tí·kan·?íffiki pataxratê·p." 5. kári xás ?utáxra·tih. 6. vúra ?u·m tó·mča·x·ripa·. 7. pó·mmu·sti po·táxra·ti pa·?á·k ?utkírih. 8. púyava kumá·?i· pamú·yu·p ?a·xkúniš po·mča·x·rípa·nik.

Text Number 37: Eel and Sucker

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ?akrá· čámmuxič xákka·n kuníθtit. 2. čavúra ?u·m ko·vúra tá kunčíf·fič ?akrá· čámmuxič·?i·n. 3. ko·vúra tó·xra·m. 4. kári xás ?uppi· pā·kra·h, "nani·?íppi tá níxra·m." 5. kári xás va· káru vúra ?učíffič. 6. víriva kumá·?i· ?akrá· púffa·t mu·?íppih. 7. kúna čámmuxič ?u·m vúra ?íppihar.

Text Number 38: The Story of Slug

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ko·vúra pake·mišatunvê·čas kunpi·p, "xá·tik yíča·č nu·?ê·rahitih." 2. kári xás ko·vúra kuma·ávaha yíča·č kuníkyav. 3. kári xás yíča·č kun·θaríšri·hva. 4. kári xás kunpi·p, "?akā·y ?u·m páxu·s ?ê·θtihe·šán." 5. kári xás ?uppi·p ?ê·θ "na· ník xu·s ni·?ê·θtihe·š." 6. ta·?íttam ko·vúra pake·mišatunvê·čas kunikyávi·čvuna·, yukún va· ká·n kunpávyi·hme·š patupíšya·vpa. 7. púyava vúra ?u·m tá tta·y, tá kuníkyav. 8. kári xás tupíšya·vpa. 9. kári xás pakú· kunpávyi·hma ?axmá·y vúra fá·tva kunθíttiv. 10. kári xás ?uppi·p, (roaring noise). 11. kári xás kun·?íruramva. 12. kári xás kunpi·p, "fá·t kó·k." 13. púyava ?ičámmahič kú· kunčúnvavutih. 14. yakún tá kun·?ay, "fá·t kó·k." 15. čavúra kun·?á·punma, hínupa ?é·θ, hínupa ?uxxútih, "tá tta·y, kírí páče·č ni·?av." 16. va· kumá·?i· pa·?á·θva ?ukyá·vuna·tih. 17. kári xás kuni·pér, "mímya·htih, hū·tva kó· mímya·hti vúra ?i·m fáta·k ?asassúruk va· ká·n ?i·?ifčíkkinkutihe·š. 18. púra fá·t vúra·káru kupítihe·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."

Text Number 39: The Adulterers Discovered

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ?apsunmúnnukič ?ukitaxríharahitih. 2. ?iθ?aran?ihrō·ha xákka<sup>h</sup> kun?ássimtih. 3. xás tó ·ppi·p, ?apsunmúnnukič, "vúra púra kára ?a·púnme·šara." 4. xás kúkku·m vúra ?immá·n tumússar. 5. pa?asiktáva·n káru ?u·m tuvō·nupuk. 6. yi·músič tó ·pmah, ?apsunmúnnukič. 7. ká·n tu?u·m. 8. púyava pató ·kxáramha, pa?asiktáva·n tu?íppak. 9. vúra púra hú·n kupí·tihara. 10. vúra yáv pa?asiktáva·n. 11. káruma ?u·m ?ukitaxríharahitih. 12. xás pa?ávansa vúra ?u·m pu?a·púnmutihara.
13. xás kári kúkku·m vúra ?immá·n tá kunpiθvuyrámmē·š. 14. púyava ?immá·n tuvō·nupuk, pa?asiktáva·n. 15. yanavé·kva tu?áho·he·n, ?apsunmúnnukič. 16. kári xás "ʔi·!" xás ?uppi·p, "vúra ník pukín?a·punme·šap, panukitaxríharahitih." 17. kári xás ?uppi·p, "čími na?íššunvi." 18. kári xás páyu·x ?uxyáttap. 19. ?u?íššunva. 20. púxay vúra kín?a·punme·šap.
21. kári xás pa?asiktáva·n tó ·pvā·ram. 22. kári xás ?apsunmúnnukič ?axmá·y ?uvō·nuprav. 23. xás kári "ʔe·!" kári xás kunpi·p, "ʔu·m ?apsunmúnnukič tukitaxríharaha." 24. tá kun?á·punma po·kitaxríharahitih.
25. kári xás ?apsunmúnnukič ?uppi·p, "payə·s?ára ?u?i·níšriha·k, víri pa?asiktáva·n va· ?ukupítiha·k, ?ukitaxríharahitih·k, xá·t káru ?uxxúti 'vúra pu?a·púnme·šap,' víri va· vúra kun?á·punme·š."

Text Number 40: The Story of Bear

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ká·n yá·n?i·ftihansa kun?ára·rahiti tipahē·ras. 2. xás kári pa?asiktáva·n kunxus, "tí· va· ká· nussō·mvan." 3. kári xás ká·n tá kun?u·m.
4. kári xás vírusur ?uxxus, "tí· na· káru." 5. xás pakunikyá·vuna·ti kun?íffikvuna·tih. 6. púyava vírusur ?u·m ?ikxúrar xás tuvō·nupuk. 7. púyava yá· ník vúra hō·yva ?usúppa·hitihe·š. 8. víri va· ?ukupitih, tusaríšri·hva pakó· kuma?ávaha. 9. hō·yva má? po·mka·nvúrayvutih. 10. púyava máh?i· tu?íppak. 11. púyava ?u·m pa?asiktáva·nsa yá·s kunívyi·hšiprimtih, máh?i·t. 12. yá·s tá kun?íffikvanva máh?i·t. 13. vírusur ?u·m tá ?íp ?u?íppakat. 14. ?u·m ?iθasúppa· vúra ?úkri·.
15. púyava kúkku·m vúra kúmate·č tá kunpavyíhuk pa?asiktáva·nsa. 16. púyava ?u·m kúmate·č pató ·kxuraraha púyava kári vírusur tuvā·ram, tó ·mka·nvar ?ikxáram. 17. xás kunipíti pa?asiktáva·nsa, "púya hú·t kumá?i· pe·kxáram xás ?uva·ramō·tih."
18. xás púyava kumamáh?i·t xás kúkku·m tu?íppak, vúra ?u·m ta·y po·?át·tivutih, pó·mka·nvuti pakó· kuma?ávaha. 19. xás kunpi·p, "púya hú·t kúθ pe·kxáram xás ?uva·ramō·tih."
20. xás kári yíθa ?uppi·p, "yakún húm va· ?ára·r, ?u·m va· vírusur."
21. va· kumá?i· páva· ?ukupíti, ?ikxáram xás pó·mka·nvutih. 22. púyava hínu páy ?u·m vírusur, víri va· kumá?i· pátta·y ?úmka·nvutih.

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.

Text Number 41: The Creation of Eels

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ?iθyarukpíhri·v ?u?árihro·v, ?uxxus, "tí· káru kanvá·rami."<sup>75</sup> 2. xás kári čavúra yí·v káruk tu?árihro·v. 3. xás kuníhyi·vti hō·yva. 4. vúra va· ?u?áho·tih. 5. čavúra yí·v kúkuma tó·hyiv. 6. xás ?upítih, "nakkū·ši."<sup>76</sup> 7. ?iθyarukpíhri·v kuníhyū·ništih, ?uppē·ntih, "nakkū·ši."

8. xás kári ?uxxútih, "ye·! fá·t yáxxa." 9. fá·t kumá?i· pane·hyū·ništih." 10. xás kú·k ?úkfu·kíra·. 12. kári xás ?ukkuθ. 13. kári xás hínupa čantí·rih. 14. va· ká·n sú? vúra ?upíkri·.

15. xás ?u?árihro·v ?iθyarukpíhri·v. 16. xás ?uxxus, "yé· na·, ?íf tá nakkúha." 17. kári xás "hū·t ?áta tá ná?i·n." 18. kári xás čavúra puxxíč tó·kkúha. 19. kári xás ?úkpa·ksur pamússi·š. 20. xás ?ú·θ ?uppá·θkar. 21. xás ?u?árihro·v.

22. čavúra tá yí·v káruk ?u?árihro·v. 23. xás ?uxxútih, "??íf kúkku·m tá nakkúha." 24. xás kári kúkku·m ?úkpa·ksur pamússi·š. 25. xás kúkku·m ?ú·θ ?uppá·θkar.

26. púyava payē·m pa·krá· va· pa?ú·θ ?uxyakā·nvutih. 27. ?iθyarukpíhri·v pamússi·š ?uvupaksúro·nik. 28. hínupa čantirih?i·n sú? patá kunvō·n·kurih, va· kúθ po·kpaksúro·ti pamússi·š.

Text Number 42: The Story of Crane

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ko·vúra kun?ára·rahitih, ta·yvávan vúra. 2. čí kunívyi·hšipre·viš ?uknamxánnahič, ká·n čí kun?íhukvuna·viš. 3. kári xás "čémmi, ki·kpi·kiv·maθap." 4. "čémmi." 5. ta?ítam kunpi·kívši·prinahe·n. 6. xás "čími ?áxva·y núppi·kivmaθi." 7. kári xás ta?ítam kunpi·kivmaθahe·n. 8. vúra ?u·m ta·y pató·ppi·kívšip, θí·n ?axyár vúra. 9. kári xás ?áxva·y, "čémmi," xás tá kko·, tá kunpi·kívšip ko·vúra. 10. kári xás ?áxva·y ?uhyárihšip. 11. kári xás čí·mič sáruk ník ?u?ákkičnimač pamú?i·kiv.

Text Number 41: The Creation of Eels

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Across-the-Water Widower went upriver, he thought, "Let me go upriver!"<sup>75</sup> 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!"<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

Text Number 42: The Story of Crane

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. Everyone was (there), lots of people. 2. They were going to leave for ʔuknamxánnahič, 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).<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> A distortion of nakkŭ-θi; cf. footnote 7.

<sup>77</sup> Another informant offered additional information: Before Across-the-Water Widower's meeting with Tick, men (or rather, male ʔikxaré-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.

<sup>78</sup> 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

1. tú·s tó ·pvā·ram. 2. pamuʔurútva· pō·ʔi·θvúti ʔáʔ vúra. 3. ʔe·! yánava ʔáčku·n. 4. xás ʔáʔ vúra ʔiktít va· po·ʔáttivutih. 5. púyava xás ʔuppi·p, "ʔe·! čími núppu·nvi." 6. xás kuníppu·nva. 7. xás ʔáčku·n kuni·pé·r, tú·s ʔuppi·p, "pamipaku híram tuʔíffikaraha paxuntáppan."  
 8. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "hū·m."  
 9. xás kári taʔíttam ʔō·k tuʔíppak ʔáčku·n. 10. púyava pimna·nihí·š ʔáčku·n tó ·pvā·ram. 11. tú·s máruk xás tó ·mmah, ká·n tó ·kmárihivrik. 12. xás kári ʔáčku·n ʔuppi·p, "ʔúma pamímvir, ʔikriró·v, tó ·ppáx paʔá·ma!"  
 13. púyava taʔíttam ʔō·k ʔuʔíppakahe·n tu·s. 14. púyava ʔu·m tú·s payē·m vúra ʔuʔíppakvutih, tupímna·niharuk. 15. ʔikriró·v múmvir. 16. tú·s ʔu kúpha·nik.

Text Number 44: Why Lightning Strikes Trees

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. čími kunímθa·tvuna·viš. 2. xás kunipé·r, "púya ʔíf yā·mač pe·ppā·nvutih. 3. fá·t kō·k pe·ppā·nvuti ʔi·m."  
 4. kári xás tó ·ppi·p, "mán vúra na· va· kári xás tá nixxus, 'čími kanʔáp·pivan panippā·nve·š'!" 5. púyava ʔíppaha tá nišxáxxa·r. 6. víri va· ká·n tá nimmá panippā·nvutih."  
 7. kári xás ʔíffuθ pakunpímθa·tvuna·. 8. kári xás kúkku·m vúra va· čí kunímθa·tvuna·viš. 9. púyava kuníppe·ntih, "hō·y ʔi·m ʔimmá·htih pe·ppā·nvutih." 10. xás kunxús "nu· káru va· tí· núkku·phi." 11. paʔíppaha kuníffu·ki·ra·. 12. púffa·t vúra páʔa·x.  
 13. káruma ʔu·m paʔára·r tó ·ppar, xás pamúʔa·x tó ·ppū·xsur. 14. víri va· po·ppā·nvuti paʔararáʔa·x. 15. xás ʔararamvanyupsítanač ʔuxxus, "xáyfa·t va· nippi·p," tó ·ppi·p, "ʔíppaha kíč panimmá·hti páʔa·x." 16. púyava payē·m pató ·snur, paʔíppaha tó ·kfu·kíra·, tó ·sxáxxa·r.

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, ?ikrirô·v."

13. So Mockingbird returned here. 14. So now Mockingbird always returns, he comes to spend the summer. 15. ?ikrirô·v is his fishery. 16. Mockingbird did it.<sup>79</sup>

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.

<sup>79</sup> 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. ʔa·h ʔu·m ʔúppa·nik, "púra fá·t vúra ʔí·ña ʔíššiptihe·šara."
2. kári xás pirišká·rim ʔuppi·p, "na·ʔí·ñu ʔíššiptihe·š." 3. kári xás máruk ʔikura·ʔíppan ʔukrí·š. 4. kári xás páʔa·h taʔítam ʔuʔí·ná·he·n.
5. kári xás ʔúkvi pirišká·rim.
6. kári xás ko·vúra kumake·mišatunvê·čas kunikya·várihva. 7. ko·vúra kunʔíruramva. 8. kári xás pa·čví·v kúna kunika·várihva. 9. tákus ʔuppi·p, "na·píšši·č níkrí·šrihe·š." 10. kári xás ʔukrí·š. 11. xás vúra ʔu·m ʔitní·v ʔumússaha. 12. sárukvari pamúvu·p ʔutákkararihva. 13. kári xás páʔa·h ka·nvári ʔuʔu·m. 14. kári xás ʔúkvip tákus.
15. čavúra púra kára ʔí·n ʔiškáxxišrihmaθa páʔa·h. 16. púya xás ká·n ʔuʔu·m, paθrihapihní·č. 17. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "na·ʔí·ñiškáxxišrihmaθe·š."
18. kári xás ʔuppi·p ʔa·h, "na·vúra púra fá·t ʔí·ne·škáxxišrihmaθe·š."
19. kári xás ʔupáθrih, xás vúra ʔupáθrih. 20. taʔítam ʔumsíppahe·n páʔa·h.
21. víri va·kumáʔi·payê·m ʔíššaha, xás vúra kumáʔi·ʔúmsi·pti ʔa·h.
22. káru va·kumáʔi·ko·vúra kumake·mišatunvê·čas kunʔá·yti ʔa·h. 23. yakún púxay vúra míť ʔiškáxxišrihmaθat.

Text Number 46: The Story of Skunk

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. víri va·ká·n ʔu·m vúra kunʔú·pvuna·ti tayi·θ. 2. máruk tá kunítra·tih.
3. ʔaxmáý ʔík máruk ʔára ʔuʔíhunihe·š. 4. čátik vúra tá ʔú·mukič. 5. púyava kunímmu·stih. 6. tá kuntápkú·pakunímmu·stih, ʔuʔí·htih. 7. púyava kunʔára·rahitih, kunímmu·sti ʔaxčaytunvê·čas, mukúnʔu·θkam tupihív·ri·n. 8. púyava kári xás tó·ppif. 9. kári xás tá kuniktíriš paʔaxčaytunvê·čas. 10. kári xás tó·psá·nsi pátayi·θ tišnamkanvínusunač. 11. ʔi·! tá kunpifúksi·p. 12. kári xás tá púffa·t pamukuntáyi·θ.
13. púyava kúkkú·m vúra ʔimmá·n "čími nuʔú·pvanvi kúkkú·m." 14. púyava ta·y tá kunʔú·pva pátayi·θ. 15. xás kúkkú·m kunítra·tih, kúkkú·m tuʔíhiθun. 16. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "púya, payê·m ʔík vō·hara mū·k ʔivúre·š, papayʔō·k tuʔíhiθunaha·k nunúθva·ykam." 17. xás púyava vúra tuʔíhuni tá ʔú·mukič. 18. púyava vúra tá kunkáriha pakunkupavúrahe·š.
19. kári xás víri va·tupuxička·nva po·ʔí·htih, "kú·fan ʔan ʔan ʔan."<sup>80</sup>
20. kú·k tukúčna·xma, ʔupífte·š. 21. kári xás čikkÚs! tuvur. 22. kári xás ʔukyíviš, ʔáffu pátá kunvúr vō·hara mū·k. 23. kári xás pamukuntáyi·θ kunipšánsi·p, kunpíhmar. 24. kunpírurav. 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) tišnamkanvínusunač 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), "kû·fan ʔan ʔan ʔan."<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>80</sup> These words evidently contain ku·f, the name of a species of skunk. It is not clear whether ku·f and tišnamkanvínusunač are two names for the same species.

Text Number 47: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. pe·kxaré·ya va· ?ukúpha·nik. 2. xás pihñē·fič ?ukúpha·nik. 3. xás ?úppa·nik, "xasík ?ahíram ?ukyā·viš." 4. va· xás pá?a·h ?ukyā·nik, xás yánava ?uθθá·niv. 5. kári xás po·?íppak, xás ?u·av. 6. ?axaksúppa· ?ávipux.

7. kári xás pa?ára·r va· yá·nči·p ta·y kun?ára·rahitih. 8. puva·hyā·č kupítihat. 9. víriva yíθθa ?ussá·m ké·vni·kič káru ?axxi·č. 10. víriva ?uksúppi múkku·t. 11. yá·nči·pkam kumattē·šič kun?ára·rahitih pa?ára·ras.

12. víriva ka·nvári tá nipitvá·mnuk pe·škē·š ?ussa·mváarak. 13. tá nipit·kúrihti pe·škē·š ?ussa·mváarak. 14. víri va· kunkúphe·š. 15. pa?á·ma ká·n vúra kunpaxyaníppane·š pe·škē·š po·ssa·mváarak.

16. káru ka·nvári tá níkfukra·. 17. xurišaxara ?ifáppi·t pamúkkura· ka·nvári tá níkfukra·. 18. yá·nči·p ta·y ?u·íffe·š xuntáppan.

Text Number 48: The Origin of the Pikiawish

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pe·kxaré·ya vúra ?u·m kunikyā·nik. 2. fatavé·na·n kuníkyav. 3. kári xás púyava máruk tuvā·ram ?ahíram. 4. kári xás púyava tá kko·, tó ·ppí·n·mar. 5. púyava yá·nči·p vúra ?u·m ko·vúra tá kunkúhina·. 6. tá kuní·pha vúra pa?ára·ras.

7. kári xás púyava "kúkku·m pe·kxariya?ára·r čí kamikrî·š." 8. kári xás kunpi·p, "hū·t pánukuphe·š." 9. kári xás kunpi·p, "man?áttá." 10. xás kunpi·p, "xā·tik payē·m ?ikyáva·n ka?íru." 11. "čémmi." 12. "káru ?imússa·n, káru ko·pitxa·ríhva·n káru kixáha·n." 13. "čémmi."

14. kári xás ta?íttam ?ukkū·rišrihe·n. 15. xás kun?ir. 16. púyava ko·vúra tá kun?ára·rahitih, kixáha·n káru vúra ?imússa·n, káru ?ikyáva·n, káru ko·pitxa·ríhva·n. 17. púyava čavúra tá kunpi·nmar.

18. xás kári púyava yá·nči·p kúkku·m va· tá kkári. 19. púyava ko·vúra ?u·m púxay vúra yíθθaxay kuhítihara pa?ára·ras, ko·vúra vúra yav, púxay ?axvahkánxay. 20. kári xás kunpi·p, "va· páy hínupa ?u·m po·kupítihe·š." 21. kári xás kunpi·p, "víri va· yá·s tá nupíkya·r. 22. paya·s?ára ?u·i·níš·riha·k víri va· pakunkupítihe·š. 23. púxay vúraxá ya·s?ára ?axvahkánxay·he·šara." 24. púyava vúra ko·mahič.

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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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 uphill 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." 11. "All right." 12. "And an assistant priest, and priest's companions, and brush-burners." 13. "All right."

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.

<sup>81</sup> 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.

<sup>82</sup> According to Kroeber and Gifford, p. 27, *xurišaxaraʔifáppi-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 *yupθúk-ki-rar*, and this animal is personified as masculine. *pirišká-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.

Text Number 49: Medicine for the Return of a Sweetheart

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ?ikxunanáha·nič kunʔí·n muke·čikýav xákka·n. 2. kári xás xára vúra yá·mač kunkupáʔi·nahitih. 3. ?axmáý vúra kunpáxvi·pha. 4. kári xás ?up·vâ·ram pe·kxuraráha·n. 5. kári xás čavúra ?upvâppiro·piθvuti pe·θivθa·ne·n. 6. yí·vúra tuʔí·pma.

7. kári xás paʔasiktáva·n ?uxxús "ʔi·! ninike·čikýav. 8. hû·t ník vúra panikupe·pmáhahe·š paninike·čikýav." 9. ʔi·! vúra tusáyri·hva. 10. ʔi·! kú·kam tupikrí·š. 11. "ʔi·! tá nasáyri·hva" tó·xxus. 12. púyava kúkku·m vúra ?immá·n ?ikxúrar tupikrí·š. 13. "hû·t ?áta pánikuphe·š." 14. kári xás ?uxxús "manʔáta pákkuri nikýá·viš. 15. va· xasík vúra panikupe·pmá·hahe·š paninike·čikýav."

16. kári xás kúkku·m ?immá·n ʔi·! kú·kam tupikrí·š. 17. kári xás ?upakú·ri·hva. 18. va· ?uxxús "va· xasík vúra nikupe·pmáhahe·š." 19. taʔíttam ?upakurí·hvahe·n. 20. "ʔi·! ninike·čikýav, mí tá nupáxvi·phat. 21. ʔi·! víri čími núppi·ni. 22. ʔi·! ninike·čikýav, tá nasáyri·hva. 23. víri xát ?iθivθane·n ?íppan tiʔí·pma, va· ká·n ?iparamsí·pre·viš. 24. ?ð·k ?iθivθa·né·n ?a·čip xasík nupinívrú·htunve·š."

25. patupíkya·r po·či·hví·čvuti kári xás pe·kxuraráha·n ?uxxús "ʔi·! tá nasáyri·hva. 26. ?ayukí·ninike·čikýav. 27. čími kanpimússan." 28. ká·ruma tá púffa·t pamúθva·y. 29. kári xasík vúra múθva·y ?upmáhe·š. 30. ká·ruma ?ð·k ?iθivθane·n ?a·čip xasík xákka·n purá·n kunipmáhe·š. 31. kári xasík pamúθva·y ?upmáhe·š. 32. pe·kxuraráha·n pamuke·čikýav purá·n tá kuníku·kira·.

33. kári xás ?uppí·paʔasiktáva·n "paya·sʔára ?u·ʔi·níšriha·k víri xát káru tá kunʔí·tšur, víri va vúra ?upmáhe·š paninipákkuriha mú·k. 34. va· vúra ká·n ?uparamsí·pre·viš, xát káru ?iθivθane·n ?íppan tuʔí·pma." 35. xás ?ikxuraráha·n po·pkê·viš páy nanuʔávahkam ?atayrámká·m.

Text Number 50: Medicine to Get a Husband

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. panamníhma·m ko·vúra tá kunimfipíšri·hva, pe·kxariyaʔifáppi·tšas. 2. kunθítti·mti "va· ká·n kunʔú·pvuna·tih, tayi·θ." 3. víri kð·kaninay kah·yúras tá kunʔaramsípri·n, pe·kxariyaʔifáppi·tšas. 4. tá kunimfipíšri·hva panamníhma·m. 5. kári xás yíθa ?u·m ká·n ?uʔíffanik. 6. ?u·m vúra kâ·nimič. 7. va· vúra ?ukupaʔi·fšípre·nik, pakâ·nimič ?u·ʔi·fšípre·nik. 8. kári xás ?uxxús, "ʔi·! tí·na· káru kanʔú·pvan."

9. kári xás taʔíttam ?u·máhe·n pánamníhma·m. 10. víri po·túra·yva, púra fáтта·k vúra yá·hitihara, pakunʔú·pvuna·ti pe·kxariyaʔifáppi·tša. 11. víri po·ksahárahitih, kuntákka·mtih, paʔasiktáva·n, pakâ·nimič, po·ʔú·pvutih. 12. pamuyáffus ?á·? tó·stakúra·n. 13. víri va yi·músič vúra po·ʔú·pvutih. 14. víri pe·kxariyaʔifáppi·tša tá kunpi·p, "ʔí·f ?uxxútič 'nittä·truprave·š."

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. víri čavúra tapipšítta·ni kári xás kunpi·p, pe·kxariya·ʔifáppi·tšas, "yáxxa, hū·t ʔupítih." 16. yánava ʔupakurí·hvutih, pakā·nimič. 17. yánava ʔupítih, "yō·tva, nini·ʔávan tá nittā·truprav." 18. kári xás pamúva·s xás va·ʔuyxō·rariv.

19. kári xás va·kunkú·pha, pe·kxariya·ʔifáppi·tša. 20. po·túra·yva, yánava ko·vúra tá púffa·t, pe·kxariya·ʔifáppi·tša. 21. tá kunipke·víšri·hva. 22. kári xás ʔuxxus, "paya·sʔára ʔu·ʔi·níšriha·k, víri ʔu·m káru vúra va·ʔukuphe·š, xá·t kā·nimič. 23. víri va vúra ʔávan ʔuθθi·nátihe·š. 24. pani·nipákkuri ʔu·ʔa·púnmaha·k, víri va vúra ʔávan ʔuθθi·nátihe·š, xá·t ʔasikta·vanké·m." 25. víri kári xás yíθθuk ʔu·ʔu·m.

Text Number 51: Love Medicine

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. ʔō·kun·ʔíffanik ʔiθivθané·n·ʔa·čip ʔáxxak ʔikxare·yav·ʔifáppi·tičas.
2. víri pe·kxaré·yav tá kunimfipišniháyavna. 3. hū·čí kuninišše·š. 4. púxay ʔiruvō·nuptihara. 5. kári xás ʔuxxússa·ni kahyuras·ʔafišrihan. 6. xás ʔuxxús "tí·kanvā·rami." 7. ʔuxxús "na·káru ʔikxaré·yav."
8. xás ʔuxxús "hū·t ʔáta nikuphe·š." 9. xás pé·kxurar ʔuθivrúhiš. 10. xá sáruk ʔu·ʔárihfak xás passáruk ʔussa·mváarak. 11. kári xás va·ká·n ʔuvák·kurih. 12. xás ta·ʔíttam pe·ške·š ʔuppuhyí·mahitih. 13. ta·ʔíttam va·ká·n ʔukyámi·čva. 14. xás muppíriš ʔúkyav, pasáhyu·x. 15. kúkku·m vúra ʔim·má·n pé·kxurar ʔuθivrúhiš. 16. kúkku·m vúra va·ká·n ʔupikyámi·čva.
17. kári xás ta·ʔíttam ʔuxxús "čími kanvā·rami ʔō·k ʔiθivθané·n·ʔa·čip." 18. čavúra ʔiθivθane·n·ʔačipkā·m tu·ʔárihvarak. 19. yí·músič vúra ʔutsí·pamukun·ʔikrívra·m. 20. yánava ʔučí·vča·ksurahitih. 21. čavúra ká·n ʔu·ʔu·m. 22. xákkarari ʔu·ʔá·ktak. 23. xás pamuppíriš ʔummū·tiš, sáhyu·x.
24. xás kunipē·r "čími vō·nfuruki." 25. xás kunipē·r "čími vō·nfuruki ʔi·m kahyuras·ʔafišrihan. 26. yō·tva, nani·ʔávanhe·š."
27. xás ʔuppi· "pū·hara. 28. na·ni·ʔáho·tih." 29. ta·ʔíttam ʔu·ʔáho·he·n.
30. yúruk ʔiθivθane·n·ʔíppan ká·n xás mukxurarahíram ʔúkyav.
31. víri te·pšítta·nivanihič ʔaxmá·y kúniš fá·t ʔuθíttiv. 32. káruk ʔútro·vutih. 33. ʔaxmá·y kuniθvíripvarak pe·kxare·yav·ʔifáppi·tičas. 34. kun·ʔáharamutih. 35. víri va·kunkupitih, paθakan·ʔávak tá kunθatakúra·n pamukun·yáffus pamukunypastáran mū·k pakun·ʔívunti kahyuras·ʔafišrihan.
36. kári xás ʔuxxús "čími kan·ʔíppaho·." 37. kári xás páy nanu·ʔávahkam ʔu·ʔíppaho·, páy nanu·ʔávahkam ʔukkā·kamhitih. 38. ká·n xás ʔuxxús "čími ʔō·k ʔikxurarahíram kaníkyav." 39. ta·ʔíttam ʔukyā·he·n. 40. xás ʔi·ná·k ʔupikrī·š. 41. te·pšítta·nivanihič ʔaxmá·y kúniš fá·t ʔuθíttiv. 42. xás yúruk ʔutrū·putih. 43. ʔaxmá yúru kuniθvíripa· pe·kxare·yav·ʔifáppi·tičas. 44. vúrava kun·ʔáharamutih.

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.

45. xás ?i-nā·k ?upvō·nfuruk. 46. te·pšítta·nivanihič ?axmá·y kuníθyi·m-furuk pe·kxare·yav ?ifáppi·tičas. 47. víri pakuníθyi·mfuruk ta ?íttam kun ?i-nívrū·hvarayva. 48. kári xás va·kunkú·pha, kurihkirá ?a·čipvari ?uθri·š pamukunuyupastáran. 49. kári xás ?uxxús kahyuras ?afišríhan "hū·t ?áta ník nínni·švuna·" 50. kári xás ?iθvá·y ?u ?aktararíšri·hva. 51. te·pšítta·nivanihič xás kunpífuksip. 52. xás takrá·v xákkarari kun ?íxxupki·š. 53. xás kunipē·r "yō·tva, nanu ?ávanhe·š. 54. kó·van vúra nupkē·višrihe·š."

55. kári xás ?uxxússa·ni kahyuras ?afišríhan "ya·s ?ára nanippíriš tu ?a·pún-maha·k, ya·s ?ára káru vúra va· ?ukuphe·š." 56. víri na· kíč ?í·n tá nu ?apún-mi·k. 57. víri na· káru va· níkuphe·š.

Text Number 52: Medicine for the Return of Wives

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. va· kunkúpha·nik. 2. ?áxxa kunifyúkkuti ?asiktáva·nsa kō·kaninay. 3. kunmá·hti pe·kxaré·yav tu ?í·fšip. 4. va· tá kun ?áhakuv. 5. kó·mahič ní kō·van tá kun ?ára·rahitih. 6. kári kúkku·m tá kun ?áho·. 7. kúkku·m fáttá·k tá kunmáh " ?ikxaré·yav tu ?í·fšip." 8. púyava kó·mahič ní kō·van tá kun ?ára·rahitih. 9. čavúra páy pe·θívθa·ne·n θa·nē·n kunpiruváppiropiθva.

10. kári xás va· ká·m ?ifučtí·mič kunítva·vnuk ?ase·štákkak. 11. sá·m kunitfákkutih. 12. yánava ?ikxaré·yav tu ?í·fšip. 13. ?ikmahačram ?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav. 14. xás kunxus, "čími nusō·mkir. 15. ta ?íttam kú· kun ?ú·mahe·n. 16. tá ?ítta mū ?iv ?í·kam kun ?irukkū·rišrihe·n.

17. xás ?uxxúti ?ikmahačram ?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav, ?uxxús "na· vúra naní ?i·š pu ?axvíθθinhe·šara." 18. ?u·m vúra hitíha·n va· kíč ?ukupitih, ?úkva·tih. 19. ?immá·n ?úkva·tih. 20. ?ásxa·y ?upýča·kiritih.

21. kári xás ?uxxus, "xá·tik táppas níkyá·vuna·" 22. ta ?íttam ?umússanvuna·he·n. 23. ta ?íttam ?i·nā·k ?u ?o·nváffuruk. 24. kári xás va· kunkú·pha, mukuníkriv kunikyá·he·n. 25. kári xás va· ?ukú·pha, ?ikmaháčra·m kú·k ?u ?í·pma.

26. čavúra te·pšítta·nivanihič xás pamukrívra·m ?upímmu·stih. 27. púxay vúraxay ?amkú·fxay. 28. xás ?uxúti "hū·t ?áta tá kunkú·pha." 29. xás ?uxxus, "tí· kanpimússanvuna·" 30. po·tfúnukva yánava vúra púra fá·t. 31. xás ?uxxúti "hú·k ?áta, tá kun ?u·m, paninihrō·has." 32. xás ?uxxús "miník ni ?a·púnme·š 'hú·k ?áta patá kun ?u·m.'" 33. kári xás ?upatánviš pamukun ?e·nišrúppak. 34. púxay vúraxay ?a·púnmutihara. 35. ká·n kúna

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.<sup>83</sup>

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 *ʔase-štákkak*, 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 19. The next day (also) he gathered sweathouse wood. 20. He spoiled his luck with green wood.<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>83</sup> The last two sentences are addressed to Klamath Lakes Young Man by the person reciting the formula.

<sup>84</sup> This is the spirit who lived in the *ʔikmahačram ʔišši-p*, the sacred sweathouse of Katimin, used in the world-renewal ceremony.

<sup>85</sup> 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.

<sup>86</sup> This is explained by a Karok maxim: *pe-fmâ-raha-k xáyfa-t ʔik ʔasxayʔáhuṗ ʔíyu-nkirihth, ʔayuʔâ-č pamihro-haʔn ʔiʔi-tšúre-šap* "When you marry, you mustn't put green wood in the fire, because your wife will leave you."

pamukun?aktinakírak va· káru yúra pu?a·púnmutihara.

36. kári xás čavúra ?ukko·ha. 37. ?ikmaháčra·m kú·k ?u?í·pma. 38. čavúra ?itaharé·kxaram tá pu?ikvi·thítihara páxu·s ?u?íruvo·ti pamuhrō·has. 39. kári xás mukmaháčra·m táruva ká·n ?upikrí·š. 40. vúra kíč ?ukupitih, xu·s ?u?íruvo·tih.

41. čavúra te·pšítta·nivanihič ?axmá·y va· ?ukú·pha, sá·m ?utfákkutih. 42. ?axmá·y ?ára ?u?á·rihra·. 43. xás ?uxxúti " ?ikxaré·yav ?u?á·rihra·." 44. yánava ?u·m káru va· ?ukupiti pá?u·m ?ukupiti ?ikmahačram?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav. 45. víkka·pu ?uskúruhti. 46. yánava ?u·m káru va· ?ukupitih, víkka·pu ?uskúruhtih. 47. čavúra ka·nvári ?u?u·m. 48. ta?ítam kun?uhyán·ni·čva. 49. xás kun?pe·nti ?ikmahačram?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav "hú·t kíč ?ix·xúti." 50. xás ?uppi·p, "vúra ká·rim panixxúti. 51. yukú nanihrō·has hú·kava tá kun?u·m."

52. xás ?uppi·p, "ník va· nixxúti 'té·kkú·pha.'" 53. kári xás ?uppi·p, "na·ni?a·púnmuti 'pamihrō·vas hō·y kun?i·n.'" 54. xás ?uppi·p, "na·va·nikupítih. 55. páy pe·θí·vθa·ne·n θa·nē·n nipθí·vrú·hiro·piθvutih. 56. víri kō·kaninay ni?a·púnmuti pe·kxaré·yav tu?í·fšip. 57. yúruk ?iθyáruk víri ká·n kun?í·n pamihrō·has. 58. yúruk ?iθyáru ká·n xás kun?iruvárupmanik. 59. víri ká·n xasík ?ípma·hvuna·viš. 60. máh·i·t payá·n tusúppa·hiti va· kári kunví·ktih. 61. ?í·kam tá kunpirukkú·riš, yukún va· kunkupitih, fúrax mukunpikšipíkmaθ. 62. víri·va ká·n ?ípma·hvuna·viš pamihrō·has."

63. kári xás ?uxxus, ?ikmahačram?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav, "púya čími ?ikxá·ramhi." 64. xás vúra pu?ikvi·thára. 65. pe·kxará·m?a·čip tuvā·myuv, xás ?uxxus, "čími kanvā·rami." 66. kári xás mutaxyē·ma ká·n xás ?uhyárihiš. 67. xás va· ?ukú·pha, xánnahič vúra ?uxapyuxúyux. 68. ta?ítam ?utaxá·ra·psipre·viš. 69. yúru kumayurásvi·tkir ká·n xás ?utaxaráppiš. 70. ta?ítam ?ukrí·šrihe·n. 71. yánava tá vúra hári·va tá kunpirukkú·rišrihe·n, tá kunipvíkkahe·n.

72. xás yú·θ ?utrú·putih. 73. kári xás ?uxxus, "čími kanfúm·ta·psur." 74. xás po·fúm·ta·psur víri yú·θ po·trú·putih, xánnahič ?axmá·y va· ?uku·pha, pamukunfuraxpikšipíkmaθ ?axmá·y ?u?á·pučur. 75. víri va· ?uku·pha, ča·ka?í·č kúniš kun?ixipún·ni·hva.

76. xás ?uxxús "va· ník čími kanipvā·ram." 77. xás ?uxxus, "ka·nvári niptaxaráppišrihe·š nanitaxyē·mak." 78. kári xás va· ?uku·pha, xánnahič ?uxapyuxúyux. 79. ta?ítam ?utaxá·ra·psipre·viš. 80. víri čími ?uptaxá·ra·psipre·viš, táma takrá·v xákkarari kunpíkku·yva pamuhrō·has. 81. ta?ítam ?utaxá·ra·psipre·viš. 82. mutaxyē·mak ?utaxá·ra·pramnih. 83. ta?ítam ?i·nā·k ?upo·nvá·ffuruk pamuhrō·has ?ikmahačram?íšši·p.

84. kári xás ?uxxússa·nik ?ikmahačram?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav, "ya·s?a·ra?í·n tana?apún·mi·kaha·k, ya·s?ára káru va· ?ukuphe·š." 85. víri na· kíč ?í·m ?ikmahačram?íšši·p ve·kxaré·yav. 86. víri na· káru va· nikuphe·š.

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

1. pú·fič ʔuʔákkunvare·š. 2. xás va· ʔukúpha·nik páy nanuʔávahkam ve·k·xavnamičmi·f. 3. xás va· ʔukúpha·nik. 4. puffčta·y kuniykáratih, ʔitráhyar mutúnvi·v. 5. xás ʔuxxús "kírí kinpíyča·k pamutúnvi·v."<sup>87</sup> 6. kári xás ʔuh·ravrikú·niš pamuhrō·ha. 7. xás ʔuʔav, papú·fič.

8. xás púyava kunpákkunvanva, kúkkú·m. 9. púra fá·t ʔiykárat. 10. kúk·ku·m vúra ʔimmá·n kunpákkunvanva. 11. víri ká· ħík má·m kunʔiruve·hrím·pi·θva. 12. víri kō·kaninay kú· kunθítti·mutih, pe·kxaré·yav mukinínna·sič. 13. fá·t kúniš kunʔixáxxana·tih. 14. pe·kxaré·yav kunpiykárana·, ʔikxaré·yav mukinínna·sič. 15. kári xás kunxus, "xá·tik nupē·runpa." 16. kunkō·ha paʔa·havíška·nva.

17. kári xás yíθθa ni·namičtā·pas xás ʔuppi·p, "čími nupahavíška·nvi páy nanuʔávahkam." 18. ká· ħí kunpihmáriro·piθva, páy nanuʔávahkam. 19. vúra púra fá·t. 20. ʔikmaháčra·m kunpavyñivraē.

21. kári xás pihní·čič ʔuvō·nsíp, pamukunʔákkah. 22. taʔíttam píriš ʔúkyav. 23. kári xás taʔíttam ʔupakxu·yvávaθvuna·, pamutúnvi·v. 24. yá·s tá kunpákkunvanva. 25. pe·kxúrar púvaxay θivruhiš, ko·vúra ʔaxupaʔiθvuti·harammúrax.

26. kári xás ʔuxxússa·nik, "ya·sʔaraʔí·n tá naʔapúnmi·kaha·k, víri ya·s·ʔára káru vúra va· ʔukuphe·š." 27. na· kíč ʔí·n tá nuʔapúnmi·k. 28. na· káru va· níkuphe·š.

Text Number 54: Shiny Game Medicine

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ʔiknú·min ve·kxaré·yav ʔitráhyar mutúnvi·vhanik, ʔávansas káru yíθθa ʔasiktáva·n. 2. kári xás kunpi·p, ʔasaxē·var ve·kxaré·yav, "xákka·n čími kunímtā·tve·š." 3. yukún ʔu·m káru ʔišímfir, ʔasaxē·var ve·kxaré·yav.

4. kári xás paní·namičtā·pas ʔiknú·min ve·kxaré·yav pamúʔarama va· vúra ʔukupaʔífaha, pamútti·k ʔuʔákča·ktih, xákkarari pamútti·k ʔuʔákča·ktih. 5. vura·kirassúruk vúra ʔúkri·. 6. mučíšši· vúra xákka·n kunʔí·fšip. 7. kári xás kunpú·xhitih.

8. kári xás pe·kpihantā·pas taʔíttam ʔuvā·ramahe·n. 9. ʔasaxē·var ve·k·xaré·yam múʔarama xákka·n tá kunʔí·masar. 10. kári xás ʔuθítti·mtih, pavura·kirassúruk ʔikrē·n paní·namičtā·pas. 11. kári xás ʔuxxus, "máva ʔa·nñhiš tá kunčíffič."

12. kúkkú·m vúra yíθθa ʔuvā·ram. 13. čavúra ko·vúra tá kunívyi·hšip. 14. páče·č tō·ssa·m. 15. kári xás ʔuxxus, "hū·t níkuphe·š." 16. kári xás pamukústa·n ʔuppé·r, "čími ʔárus ví·ki. 17. ʔáxxak ʔík pe·víkke·š."

Text Number 53: Deer-hunting Medicine

Informant: Chester Pepper

1. They were going deer-hunting. 2. And páy nanu ʔávahkam ve·kxav-namíčmi·f (name of an ʔikxaré·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.<sup>87</sup> 6. So he copulated with his wife.<sup>88</sup> 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)."

<sup>87</sup> Literally, "he thought, 'let his children have bad luck.'" A more normal mode of expression would be with . . . nanitúnvi·v "he thought, 'let my children . . .'" The unexpected person of the possessive perhaps reflects the structure of English indirect discourse.

<sup>88</sup> Sexual intercourse is believed to bring bad luck in deer-hunting.



18. taʔíttam ʔuvíkkahē.n. 19. kári xás pató ·pθiθ, kári xás ʔuppi·p, "tá nípθiθ."

20. kári xás "čō·ra, čémmi. 21. tá nippá·tvar. 22. víri panipvárupra·vaha·k, va· ʔí kummú·k ne·θxúppe·š paʔárus."

23. taʔíttam ʔuθxúppahē.n. 24. kári xás po·ppú·sur, paʔárus, taʔíttam ʔuhyárihišrihe.n. 25. víri pamuʔíffuni fúrax kíč ʔuttávahitih. 26. káru pamútti·k yánava ká·n pamutákkasar. 27. yukún va· xákka·n ʔuʔi·fšípre·nik, pamutákkasar.

28. kári xás pamučíšši· taʔíttam ʔúmpa·n ʔuʔi·pkúrihe.n. 29. taʔíttam po·pváruprav taʔíttam ʔupiyóúfrihe.n. 30. taʔíttam kuniθxúppahē.n paʔárus mú·k. 31. víri pakunpú·sur fúrax kíč ʔuttávahiti pamuʔifunihʔíppan.

32. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "čō·ra, čémmi." 33. taʔíttam ʔuʔi·masarahē.n ʔasaxē·var ve·kxaré·yáv xákka·n. 34. víri po·tta·tsi pamutákkasar yá káruk ʔiθivθane·nʔíppan ʔúkkuyva. 35. taʔíttam ʔukvíripšurahe.n pamučíšši·h. 36. taʔíttam ʔupiθvúkkahē.n patákkasar. 37. taʔíttam kúkku·m kunʔi·masarahē.n. 38. yá yúruk ʔiθivθane·nʔíppan kúria ʔúkkuyva patákkasar. 39. yukún ʔu·m ʔikxare·ya·tá·pas ʔuʔi·fšípre·nik ʔiknú·min ve·kxaré·yav. 40. yukú ña· ʔí káru va· níkuphe·š po·kúpha·nik pe·knú·min ve·kxaré·yav.

#### Text Number 55: Wrestling Medicine

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ʔitáharavan kunʔi·fšípre·nik tipahē·ras. 2. kári xás ʔahinámti·č vúra ʔukrē·nik ʔamtápnihič. 3. kári xás kunpi·p, "marukʔára·r va· ká·n ʔuknámti·mič ʔúkri·. 4. víri ʔakā·y vúra xákka·n·kunvú·nve·š." 5. taʔíttam ʔuxxús·sa·nik pe·kpíhantá·pas, "tí· xákka· núvu·nvi." 6. kári xás po·vā·ram, mā·m·vanihič tó·kfu·kra.

7. kári xás ʔuʔárihrupuk, kunā·čʔa·. 8. kári xás ʔátru·pʔaxyar ʔámta·p ʔummú·trupuk. 9. kári xás ʔukpē·hva. 10. kári xás va· ʔuppi·p, "ʔi·mkun úm kúθ níʔí·ftih, ʔi·mkun úm kumá·ʔi· níʔí·ftih. 11. na· káru vúra ká·níʔí·ftih."

12. kári xás ʔuθíttiv, yó·črívčav páʔa·s, paʔúkra·m, pakunpá·θkuri pamutíppah. 13. čavúra ko·vúra tá kunixyákkurih. 14. ko·vúra va· ʔupítih, "ʔi·mkun úm kúθ níʔí·ftih. 15. na· káru vúra ká· níʔí·ftih, kunā·čʔa·." 16. kári xás ʔuxxus, "hú·t níkuphe·š. 17. páče·č tá nissa·m. 18. čími kanvā·rami námpa·n." 19. taʔíttam ʔuvā·ramahe.n.

20. kári xás va· ká·n ʔuʔu·m. 21. taʔíttam ʔuksáhe·n pamarukʔára·r, ʔuxxus, "ʔí ní·namič paxákka· núvu·nve·š."

22. kári xás taʔíttam kunvú·nvahe.n. 23. kári xás ko·vúra papiništun·vē·čas káru ko·vúra paʔíppaha kunihyú·ništih, "kunā·čʔa·, puxí·či."

24. kári xás ʔuppáčiš pamarukʔára·r, ʔukrá·m ʔuppa·θkúrih. 25. taʔíttam ko·vúra kunpimtávahe·n pamutipáhi·všas. 26. taʔíttam kunpávvi·hšipre·n. 27. púyava va· ʔukúpha·ni kunā·čʔa·.

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 shinny-tossel.

27. You see, he had grown up with that tossel.<sup>89</sup>

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 up-river 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-čʷa·) 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-čʷa· 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!"

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-čʷa·) said, "Am I growing up for you people? 15. I am growing up here too, (I,) kunâ-čʷa·!" 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-čʷa·!"

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-čʷa· did that.

<sup>89</sup> 'Tossel' is what English-speaking Karok call the tákkasar 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·θívθa·ne·n ?a·s ?upi·θránik. 2. kári xás ?asiktá·n kinipé·r, "čími sipnúkka·m ki·kví·ki." 3. kári xás kunvik. 4. xás vúra xára kunvikú·r. 5. vúra tá·yva kunvíkro·n ?ičá·m·č. 6. kári xás pakuníθiθ kári xás ?axváha kuniyvúruk.

7. púyava pá?a·s ?upi·θránik. 8. va· ká·n·sú? kunívyi·hramnihani·k, va· ?uθivrúhuθunanik. 9. va· kumá?i· payē·m ?ára·r kun?ára·rahitih. 10. víri va· kiníppe·ranik, "hū·tva kó· ?iθívθa·ne·n ?uθa·nē·ha·k, xáyfa·t ?í kúkku·m vúra va· kukupe·pvíkkaha. 11. yukún ?iθivθane·nta·níha."

Text Number 57: The Boy from ?Itúkkuk

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. ?ukní? 2. ?u·m vúra ká·n ?u?i·fšípre·nik ?afišnihanič, ?itúkkuk. 3. ?u·m vúra ?itíha·n kumamáh?i·t tó·kváttar, ?itukuk?afišríhan. 4. xás ?iθ·θá·n kumamáh?i·t ?uxxus, "iθyáru kanvá·rami. 5. patapriha?asiktáva·n kanimússan." 6. xás ?uví·tkar. 7. ?u?u·m, pakun?í·nirak. 8. víri kún paké·vni·kič ?úkri·, káru patapriha?ifáppi·t. 9. xás ?učuphuníško·, pa?ifáppi·t. 10. xás vúra tá kunví·ha, pake·vni·kič?í·n. 11. xás ?úpka·r. 12. ?imá·kam kumamáh?i·t kúkku·m vúra ?ukváttar. 13. xás ?uxxus, "tí· ?iθyáru kanpimússan pa?ifáppi·t." 14. xás kúkku·m vúra ?učuphuníško·. 15. vúra tá kunví·ha, pake·vni·kič?í·n. 16. kúkku·m vúra ?úpka·r.

17. xás ?uxxus, "hō·y ?áta kuniya·rámmo·tih, pató·kxuraraha·k." 18. xás ?uxxus, "tí· kanimússan." 19. xás ?uví·tkar, kúkku·m. 20. xás pó·?u·m, čanča·ksúrak ?utnū·pnih. 21. xás kunpikyá·si·prinatih. 22. pamukun?áttimnam tá ?axyaráva. 23. xás čanča·ksúrak kuniškurúhru·prijva, pamukun?áttimnam. 24. xás kunpativássi·prin, xás kuniyá·ram. 25. vúrava kun?áho·tih. 26. yí·?úra tá kun?u·m. 27. vúrava ?u?áharamuna·tih. 28. xás yúruk ?utrū·putih. 29. vúra ta·y páppa· tá kunvitíšri·hva. 30. xás ?úmму·stih. 31. "hū·t ?áta pákunkuphe·š." 32. tá kunsánna·mnhiva, pamukún?u·p. 33. xás yá·s kunvitšúro·tih. 34. yúruk tá kun?áččakrup, patá kunvítrupo·. 35. ?itahanatáppasič pamukúnpa·h.

36. xás ?uxxus, "tí· kanpikváttan pananíppa·h." 37. xás vúra ?u·m ní·na·mič pamúppa·h. 38. "xasik ní?áharamuna·viš." 39. xás ?upikvíripro·v.

PART TWO: THE ERA OF THE INDIAN

Text Number 56: The Flood

Informant: Mammie 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 pataprihak (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 pataprihak. 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

40. pamúppa·ʔúkva·tfak. 41. ʔiškē·šak ʔuθθi·vkúrih. 42. kári xás ʔuví·t-šur.
43. yúruk ʔutrū·putih. 44. vúra va kunʔáččakruputih, pamukúnpa·h. 45. xás vúra yí·v tuví·tma. 46. yúruk ʔutrū·putih. 47. ká·n kunʔáččakutih. 48. xás ʔutrū·putih, ʔúmму·stih. 49. vúra xára tá kunʔáččakutih. 50. ʔax·má y xás vúra paʔiššaha ʔučánča·ksur. 51. xás kunvítru·prijva, páppa·h. 52. xás ko·vúra tá kunvítru·prijva, ʔitahanátáppasič páppa·h. 53. xás ʔup·sívšap.
54. xás ʔuvi·tváarak. 55. tupiθrí·šrih, paʔiššaha. 56. xás xanahíčyav tó·krū·ntih. 57. xás ʔučánča·ksur. 58. xás ʔuvi·trúprijh. 59. vúra ʔu·m ní·na·mič pamúppa·h. 60. yíθθukam xás ʔuvi·trúprijh. 61. vúra va ʔuví·trup, yí·vúra tuví·tma. 62. xás ʔutrū·putih. 63. yúruk páppa·h tá kunvitíšri hvahe·n. 64. vúra va· ʔuví·trup. 65. xás ʔuvítíš. 66. xás pamúppa· ʔupíkva·tsip, kufípní·č xás ʔuθθáriš. 67. ʔuxxus, "xáy kunmah."
68. xás máruk ʔúkfú·kra·. 69. pavúra kó· kumaʔíθθivišrih, pakunvuhvú·hina·tih, káru pako·. 70. xás máruk ʔúkfú·kra·. 71. ye·! víri kún ká·n xás kunʔi·n, paké·vni·kič káru paʔifáppi·t. 72. pataprihaʔifáppi·t ká·n xás ʔúkri·. 73. xás kunipé·r, "čími pássas."
74. xás ʔuppi·p, "pū·, na· vúra ká·nimič. 75. hō·y ʔíf nipássase·š!"
76. xás kunipé·r, "vúra čími pássas."
77. xás ʔučímmiha. 78. ʔiθé·kxaram ʔuvakíri·hva. 79. ká·n tó·mmah, pataprihaʔifáppi·t. 80. xás po·súppa·ha, tá kunpávyi·hšip. 81. xás tá kunip·á vitšúro·. 82. vúra ko·vúra tá kunpávyi·hšip. 83. xás yá·s ʔuxxus, "čími na· káru kanípvi·tšun." 84. xás ʔupíššunvarišuk, pamúppa·h. 85. xás pamúp·pa·hak tó·pváramnih.
86. víri kún mummā·m ʔáxxak ʔifáppi·tša kunʔirúffak. 87. kunʔáttivutih. 88. xás kunipé·r, "xá·tik nupkō·kanpa."
89. xás ʔuppi·p, "pū·, na· vúra pananíppa· ní·namič, hō·y ʔíf nuyā·he·š.
90. xáy nutá·pxuv."
91. xás kunpi·p, "pukínta·pxuve·šara."
92. xás kunʔiruváramnih. 93. xás va· kíč kunipítih, "pukínta·pxuve·šara."
94. pamukúnti·k ʔišvít kó· ʔa·s kunʔá kurihtih, pakunʔaxayčákkišrihtih.
95. kunpakúri·hvutih, "xáyfa·t nutá·pxuv."
96. xás kunípvi·tro·v. 97. yí·v tá kunípvi·tma. 98. káru kunítro·vutih. 99. víri kún tá kunpáččakro·v pamukúnpa·h. 100. xás kunípvi·truprijh. 101. xás vúra va ʔuvi·tró·v. 102. xás paká·n kunví·tma, ʔusívša·psur paʔiš·šaha. 103. xás kunípvi·truprijhva. 104. xás kunítro·vutih. 105. káruk tá kunvitíšri·hvahe·n. 106. tá kunpávyi·hma. 107. yá·s ʔupvi·tmutih, ʔu·m káru.
108. xás pakunípvi·tíš ʔuppi·p, "na· vúra nipíkva·tsipre·viš, pananíppa·h."
109. xás ʔupíkva·tsip, xás kunpávyi·hro·v. 110. xás pamussā·m kunpávyi·hma
111. ká·n xás pamúppa· ʔúpθi·vkurih.
112. xás kunipé·r, "sáhyu·x ʔiktávan." 113. xás ʔuktávar pasáhyu·x.
114. ká·n ʔuyvé·š, pakunʔí·nirak, paʔasiktáva·n. 115. xás kunipé·r, "čími ʔikti·ti pananuʔáttimnam." 116. xás pakó· kumaʔarará·ʔu·p, pakunʔativútti·hva

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 pataprihak 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 pataprihak 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 they paddled through. 104. Then 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

<sup>1</sup>The river seems to have been blocked by a wall of water, which opened and closed at intervals.

- pakó· kumé·mya·t. 117. káru pamukrívra·m ?upikčákkiro·piθva, pasípnu·k ?axyaráva. 118. pufičta·hko·, ?ípmi·f káru pakó· kumá?u· pō·θáθri·na·, pasipnú·kak. 119. ?itaharatáppas pamusípnu·k, pō·pikčákkiro·piθva. 120. xás kunipér·r, "háriya pe·máha·k 'pasáhyu·x ?a·s kíč' ?ixxússe·š, 'tá kunpiya·ramahe·n!" 121. tá xxára vúra tá kun?i·n. 122. 'hínu páy kunimus·kíranik, popvakiri·hvutih. 123. xás vúra tá muhrō·has. 124. xás mah?í·tnihač ?u·m vúrava ?ukvatankō·tih. 125. xás ?u?í·pma. 126. víri kún tá kunpiya·ramahe·n. 127. xás ?uxxus, "fí·kan ?ixupsúro·, pasípnu·k." 128. víri kún ?axyaráva, pakó· kuma?arará?u·p. 129. xás ?uxxus, "čími pananíva·s kaníkyav." 130. xás furáxva·s ?úkyav, káru furax·yukúkku káru furaxválnaka·r. 131. xás ?uxxus, "fí· ?iθyáruk patapriha?ifá·pi·t kanimússan." 132. xás ?uví·tkar. 133. xás ?úkfú·kra·. 134. pō·?u·m, čanča·ksúrak pō·tífúnnukva, pamukun?i·nā·k vúra ?u·m ?úm?a·xvarayva. 135. xás paké·v·ni·kič·?uppi·p, "kóku, yáxxa hū· ?u?i·n, panunukrívra·m. 136. tó·m?a·xva·rayva." 137. vúra va· ?úmmu·stih. 138. vura·kira?íppan ?ukku·ntaki·šrih. 139. pamukun?ikrívra·m vúra tó·m?a·xvarayva. 140. vúra furaxmúrax pamússa·nva. 141. xás pō·tífúnnukva, ?ummah, ká·n ?úkri·, pa?ifáppi·t. 142. ?axxi·č tó·θθi·nátih. 143. káruma ?avánhi·pux. 144. káru mít kun·ví·hitihat, pámit' ?umusankō·tihat. 145. xás pō·mmu·stih, paké·vni·kič vúra tupíkšar, káru pa?ifáppi·t vúra tupíkšar. 146. kō·va tá kun?ahára·m, pá·tu?u·m. 147. vúra furaxmúrax pamússa·nva. 148. vúra va· ?úmmu·stihvu·na·tih. 149. vákkay kíč kunikrítuv. 150. xás ?upvā·ram. 151. ?úpvi·tkar, ?itukuk?afišríhan. 152. va· ?ukúpha·nik, ?itukuk?afišríhan.

Text Number 58: A Trip to the Land of the Dead

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ?asiktáva·n muke·číkyav xákka·n vúra puxxíč purá·n tá kuntápkú·putih.
2. kári xás pa?asiktáva·n pamutipáhi·všas kunví·hirimkutih. 3. čavúra kuníykar pa?ávansa.
4. yukún vúra ?u·m xára tá kun?íččunva ?á·siv. 5. púyava xás patá kun?íššunva kári xás pa?asiktáva·n kú·k ?u?u·m. 6. kári xás ?ávahkam ?úθxu·ptaki·š papuyā·hara. 7. čavúra tó·kkúha, tó·mpux papuyā·hara.
8. kári xás ?uxxus, "tá nakkúha, xā·tik vúra nipváruprav."
9. kári xás va· pō·kvi·tha xás ?ukvithū·niš. 10. kári xás ?uppi·p, "?ifu·yā·č húm patanako·hímmačva." 11. kári xás ?uppi·p, "pa?ífha·k víri čími nuppē·n pé·kuphe·š. 12. va· ?í ká·n ?i?u·mē·š pámita nu?ínno·hvo·tihirak pa?a·sivak. 13. víri va· ?immáhe·š ?axviθínnih. 14. káru ?immáhe·š ?áx·xak yu·p ?úθyi·mvarayve·š. 15. xáyfa·t ?ík ná?ay. 16. xáyfa·t ?ík ?íkvip."
17. ta?íttam va· kú·k ?u?u·máhe·n. 18. kári xás va· vúra ?ummah.
19. kári xás ?axmáý ?učú·pha. 20. kári xás ?uppi·p, "?ivíkke·š ík ?áttimnam

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 vánnaka-r (a shirtlike garment). 131. And he thought, "Let me go across river to see the pata-príhak 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 ?itúkkuk rowed back across. 152. The boy from ?itúkkuk 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



21. káru ta-y ?ík vúra yáffus ?ikyā·viš. 22. víri va· pe·píkya·raha·k víri va· ?immáhe·š 'va· ká·n ?asa?íppan ?úkri· ?atipimá·mva·n.' 23. víri va· ?ík ?i?áharame·š. 24. yakún va· yuma·rá·čvi·v."

25. púyava kári xás ta?íttam ?uvíkkahe·n. 26. kári xás ?asiktā·n ?up·pé·r, "nuxákkā·nhi." 27. vúra ?u· mūfyi·v. 28. ta?íttam ?u·m káru ?uvík·kahe·n káru ?úkyav payáffus.

29. púyava tá kunpíkya·r. 30. kári xás kuniyā·ram. 31. kári xás kun·mah, pa?atipimá·mva·n. 32. ta?íttam kun?áharamahe·n. 33. kári xás kun?áho·, vúra ?u·m ta-y súppa· pakun?áho·. 34. vúra va· kun?áharamuti pa?atipimá·mva·n. 35. kári xás hā·ri vúra pirišri·k patá kun?áho·, pamu·kunyáffus tutatitítit.

36. čavúra kun?u·m, vúra ?u·m yā·mač pe·θívθa·ne·n, kípa θúkin. 37. kári xás ta?íttam kinvítivrikahe·n, ?iθyárukirum kinvítíš. 38. kári xás yánava ?áxxa ká·n ké·vni·kičas. 39. kári xás kunipé·r, "mā· kām vuhvúha ?ukyá·ti pakúθ ?ivúrayvutih. 40. fā·t kumá·i· pa?θ·k ti?áho·. 41. ?θ·k ?u·m pu?áho·tihara pa?íppihitihan. 42. víri čō·ra čími nu?íššunvi. 43. xáy kí·kmahap."

44. ta?íttam kin?íššunvahe·n. 45. púyava vúra xánnahišič ká·n tá kun?i·n. 46. kári xás kinipé·r, "čími ki·kpiyā·rami." 47. kári xás kin?ákki ?amve·vāxrah. 48. hínupa ?ačvu·n. 49. yukún va· kunippe·nti yuma·rá·a·ma ?ač·vu·n. 50. kári xás kinipé·r, "pa?ára·r tu?ívaha·k, va· ?ík ?apmánti·m kuy·vúruktihe·š. 51. yakún ?upimtáve·š."

52. ta?íttam kunpiyā·ramahe·n. 53. kúkku·m vúra va· kun?íppaho·. 54. va· vúra pa?atipima·mvan?í·n kinpó·nvu·k. 55. púyava pakun?íppak ?θ·kume·θívθa·ne·n va· ?u·m pakúpha·nhanik pó·kupiti ?ára·r ?utā·naxihitihirak.

56. víri čavúra pu?ára·r ?i·mtíhara, čavúra pe·θívθa·ne·n ?upáxyar pa?ára·r. 57. va· kári xás vúra kun?i·mti po·ffí·pha pa?á·ma.

#### Text Number 59: The Pool in Big Rock

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. čí·nač ?asiktáva·n ?ukrē·nik. 2. xás vúra ?u·m vikakkē·mič. 3. vúra pu?ikvárištihap. 4. xás ?uxxús "tí· máruk činač?ássa kánpa·θkirihi paninis·sárum. 5. kírī na· káru ?íški·t na?árihiš." 6. xás ?uppa·θkúrihar. 7. ká·n xás mah?í·tnihač ?upapivankō·ti pamussárum ?iškē·šak, hō·y kíč tó ·pθív·ru·hruprav. 8. víri ?í·futi ?uθívru·htih. 9. xás ?uptā·tripa·. 10. púyava po·táyi·θharati yí· vúra tá kun?aramsípri·n, kunikvárištih, xá·t káru vikak·kē·mič. 11. púyava passárum ?ánnav tu?árihiš.

12. káru va· ká·n ?ávansa ?upakxuyví·čvuti paká·n tu?i·pkúrih. 13. vúra hā·ri tó ·ssí·nvar, hā·ri tá pupitnúprijhara. 14. ?iθahárinay xás tó ·pθívru·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 čfnač (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."<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> čfnač<sup>2</sup>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.

ruprihva. 15. pe-čkanvíčva·nhanik pa?ávansa. 16. xás kunčífíč. 17. vúra tá púra fá·t θi·nátihara, vúra tá kunčífíčfip. 18. xás po·xxús "máru kanvá·rami." 19. tu?i·pkúrihar, "xá·t káru ni?iv." 20. tá kunko·hímmačva. 21. ?iθahárinay tussínmo·. 22. pa?ára papivankð·tihan ké·vni·kič. 23. ?u·m pa?ára·r páppimtihan ?iθahárinay vúra puma·htihap. 24. xás vúra mah?í·t·nihač pišší·č ?umkatáxra·hvarak. 25. ?árus ?u?áttivutih. 26. ?iθθá·n kumamáh?i·t ?ummá "pačánča·f yí·v ?á? vúra ?úkri·." 27. xás pačánča·f páy ?únniš, pačánča·f ?utaxyássur. 28. víriva kumassúrukam pa?ávansa ?up·pə·θurprav. 29. pamú?i·š ?u·m tá púffa·t, ?uθθe·kvárahutih. 30. ?árusak sú? tó ?θa·námni. 31. xás ?i·nā·k tupa·tífuruk. 32. víriva ?iθahárinay pukínma·htihap. 33. ?iθahárinay ?uθθá·niv. 34. xás ?uyvúrukti sakanko·r·é·kpat. 35. va· ?u?í·fti pamú?i·š. 36. púyava va· ?iθahárinay tó·yvúruk pé·kpat. 37. púyava ?iθahárinay xás tá yav. 38. ko·vura?í·n patá kun?á·kup "čí nuθtí·ti." 39. púyava vúra ?u·m yíča·č tó·kyā·fi pá?u·p. 40. tuya·s?á·ra·raha.

Text Number 60: The Snake People

Informant: Daisy Jones

1. ?ansáfri·k ?ávansa ?uphikiri·hvutih. 2. xás po·vð·nupu ká·n ?u?á·siš.
3. ?axmá y kúniš pay?ð·k fá·t ?upmahó·nko·n. 4. xás vúra púxay kē·nara.
5. yánava ?ápsu·n, ?úmmu·stih, ?úmmu·stih.
6. čavúra púxay xárahara, ?axmá ye·nipaxvúhič ká·n ?u?u·m. 7. xás ?uppi·p, "nini?ákkah." 8. ?úmmu·sti pa?ávansa. 9. xás ?uppi·p, "tá ne·pít·tap um."
10. xás ?uppi·p, "pú·hara."
11. xás ?uppi·p, "nini'tta·t ?ð·k ?imússarukapat. 12. té·mmá húm pe·krívra·máruk."
13. xás ?uppi·p, "pú·hara."
14. "yáxxa čími pamíyu·p." 15. xás ?ufúmpuh. 16. xás ?uppi·p, "té·mmá húm pe·krívra·m."
17. xás ?uppi·p, "hā·."
18. xás ?uppé·r, "čð·ra máruk."
19. "čémmi."
20. kunxákka·nha máruk. 21. xás yánava vúra ta·y pe·krívra·m káru vúra ta·y pa?ára·ras. 22. xás ?uppé·r, "čími ?ð·k vúra ?íkri·," tá kuntápku·pə·rara?í·n.
23. xás ?uppi·p, "puyávhara páyku·k. 24. xáyfa·t ?immu·stih." 25. ?uppi·p, "paθiθxuntáppa númka·nvutih. 26. ?ára·r tó·hvaníčvi·čva páyku·k, puyávhara. 27. víri na· tá ná?a·θva. 28. máruk hō·yva ni?íppaho·, tá ná?a·θva."

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."<sup>3</sup> 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!"<sup>4</sup> 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."

<sup>3</sup>That 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.

<sup>4</sup>The woman indicated is tapas<sup>2</sup>apsu-n, the rattlesnake.

29. pamukrívra·m ʔuʔí·pma. 30. xás ʔuppi·p, "na· vúra máruk níkrê·viš.  
31. na· ʔð·k tá kko·. 32. xáyfa·t ʔí kúykar paʔápsu·n paʔð· kummáha·k.

Text Number 61: The Kidnapped Child

Informant: Lottie Beck

1. ʔavansáxxi·č vúra ʔu·m hitíha·n ʔuxrátatih. 2. xás pamutatʔí·n kuni·  
pê·r "ʔí·kam kú·k ʔu·mi. 3. ʔe·nišrúppak ʔixráran." 4. xás ʔí·kam ʔúyfu·t·  
rupuk. 5. ká·n ʔuxrátatih. 6. pã·npay tó ·kxáramha. 7. vúra va· kári  
ʔuxnánnatihač. 8. ʔaxmáý xás ʔukkò·ha po·xrátatih. 9. xás ʔuxxús "hú·ka  
ʔáta tuʔu·m." 10. xás ʔuvò·mpuk. 11. víri kún tá púra fáttá·k. 12. ká·  
nák ʔúhyi·vtih. 13. vúra tá puʔipmáhara. 14. xás xára vúra ʔupáppiv.  
15. yá·s ʔuxxúti "na· níxxúti 'tá kunʔíppas.'" 16. hínu·páy vúra ʔif. 17.  
kó·va ʔuθvuyxá·ha, pamúyu·p ʔaxváha mú· kuniptáxvah. 18. "va· ʔu·m vúra  
punaturá·yvutihe·šara."

19. pã·npay vúra tá kkê·č paʔavansáxxi·č. 20. ʔí·kam ʔukunihí·čvutih.  
21. xás pámita ʔí·n kunsí·tvat ʔúppe·nti "xáyfa·t má·m kú·k ʔikuníhvira·."

22. xás paʔavansáxxi·č ʔuxxús "fã·t ʔáta kúθ páva· kané·pe·ntih." 23. xás  
mã·m kú·k ʔukúnni·hva yi·músič vúra. 24. xás ʔupávar pamukuníhar.  
25. kã·m kunikfúyvu·niš. 26. ʔúhyárihiš. 27. ʔaxmáý xás paʔú·hyan hō·yva  
ʔuʔaramsí·prin. 28. kuníppe·nti "ʔaxičaʔê·čke·puhič yáxxa ʔíkri·"

29. ʔupikvíripunih. 30. "púya má·m kané·pe·ntih, ʔaxičaʔê·čke·puhič  
níkri·"

31. xás kunipê·r "hê·. 32. yí·v yúruk xás pamítta·t ʔúkri·. 33. pe·p·  
párihrupaha·k yúruk pe·pitvá·vnukahá·k ʔimmáhe·š ʔúmku·fhitih. 34. va·  
ká·n pamítta·t ʔúkri·"

35. taʔíttam ʔupvã·ramahe·n. 36. víri ʔí·futi po·pitru·puti víri kún yúruk  
ʔúmku·fhitih. 37. xás ʔupikvíriprup. 38. ʔe·nišrúppak ʔúska·ktak. 39. xás  
ʔuknívniv. 40. pamúttá·t ʔi·ná·k ʔúhyiv "kaʔíru·! 41. va· ká· nãníʔanamahač  
mufyukúra·m."

42. xás ʔuppi·p "tá niʔíppak. 43. ʔayu·ã·č kané·pe·ntih, ʔaxičaʔê·čke·pu·  
hič níkri·"

44. xás ʔuʔárihrupuk, va· kíč ʔupíti "húm ʔítta, húm ʔítta, húm ʔítta."  
45. xás ʔuppi·p "čími pananíyu·p nupíkyav." 46. ʔitaharahárinay tutaxváha·  
hitih. 47. taʔíttam kunpíkyã·he·n pamúyu·p. 48. xás xákka·n kunpi·n.

29. He went back to his house. 30. And he said, "I'm going to live up-hill. 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, "húm ʔítta, húm ʔítta, húm ʔítta." (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. ʔu·m vúra ʔatahári·š vúra kunmá·htih, tá kunpi·p, "ʔuʔapurúva·nhitih."  
 2. kári xás ʔiθθá·n ʔávansa ʔuxxus, "tí· kanikrú·ntih." 3. kári xás ʔimpá·k ʔukrú·ntih. 4. kári xás ʔummah. 5. káruma tuʔíččunva paʔávansa ʔimpáh·ti·mič. 6. kári xás ʔúska·krišuk, xás ʔúkfú·kíra·po·ʔáho. 7. kári xás ʔuʔaxayčákkiš, pamupáθra·m ʔuʔaxayčákkiš. 8. kári xás ʔimpá·k ʔúska·k·sur paʔasiktáva·n. 9. kári xás va· vúra kó· ʔúsvi·tšur papáθra·m.  
 10. púyava vúra va· ʔuθθi·náti papáθra·m, xás kō·kaninay vúra ʔuʔáppiv, ʔakā·y ʔáta muʔíffunih. 11. vúra puma·htíhara. 12. púyava ʔame·kyá·ra·m xás ʔuʔu·m. 13. va· ká·n ʔasiktá·n ʔúkri·. 14. kári xás yánava púra fáttá·k. 15. kári xás ʔupatanvā·va, ʔuppi·p, "hō·y va·."  
 16. kári xás kunpi·p, "ʔu· mā·su·m ʔuví·kti pahípri·k. 17. va· ká·n ʔuvi·kankō·tih."  
 18. kári xás ʔumússar. 19. yánava ká·n ʔuví·ktih. 20. pamúpxa·n ʔá·papvari xás pó·θxu·natih. 21. kári xás ʔáhup mū·k ʔuttā·tsur. 22. kári xás ʔuppi·p, "yánava púffa·t muʔíffuni ʔáppa ʔamuxvá·h." 23. kári xás ʔuppé·r, "páy hú mī·ʔíffunih."  
 24. xás ʔuppi· ʔaʔasiktáva·n, "xáyfa·t ʔík ʔipasúppi·čva. 25. miní ko·vúra nuʔákkihe·š paniniʔararáʔu·p."

Text Number 63: The Devil Who Died Luaghing

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. ta·y vúra kunpā·kuhina·ti má· ʔā·kuhiv. 2. kári xás tá kunpavyíhší·p ʔu·m ko·vúra. 3. yíče·č vúra kíč kári muhrō·ha xákka·n. 4. kári xás ʔup·pi·p, "tí· kanítka·nvan." 5. kári xás čámmuxič ʔúykar.  
 6. kári xás paʔasiktáva·n ʔuppi·p, "čími kanθimnū·pi." 7. kári xás ʔuθímnu ʔačámmuxič. 8. kári xás páffa·n ʔuyhúkkurišuk. 9. kári xás pamu·kunʔikrívra·m ʔussúruruprinahiti yíθθakan. 10. kári xás va· ká·n ʔuʔákkíθ·rupri páffa·n. 11. hínupa va· ká·n ʔutnū·prihti yíθθa paʔapurúva·n. 12. hí·nupa yúpya·č tuʔákkíθtir.  
 13. kári xás yíθθa paʔapurúva·n ʔúksah. 14. kári xás vúra ʔikšáh ʔuʔah·vákki. 15. ʔimmá·n ʔummáh, ʔuθθá·niv, vúra kári ʔúksa·htih, káruma tuʔívahe·n. 16. púyava yíθθa xás ʔu·m ʔupasúppi·čva.

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 ʔame-kyá-ra-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."<sup>5</sup>

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.

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<sup>5</sup>Ending 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. ?áxxa kustá·ras kunpã·kuhitih. 2. kári xás yíθθa ?uppi·p, "čími kanip·vã·rami. 3. kãnpa·tišrihi kã·kum paxxúriš. 4. čími ?i·m ?ð·k vúra ?íkri·, ?ikrũ·ntihi paxxúriš."

5. kári xás ?uxxus, "tá ná?a·θva, kíp nusúm·ma·htih." 6. kári xás ?uxxus, "tí·sáru kanvã·rami ?impa·k." 7. kári xás ?unhíšri·hva ko·vúra pa?ũ·mukič pa?áθθi·θ, ?impá·k ?unhíšri·hva. 8. kári xás ?u?í·pma po·krí·rak.

9. kári xás ?uxxus, "tí·kanθarampũ·ki." 10. kári xás ta·y vúra ?uθarã·mpuk. 11. "kíri kunxús 'ta·yvãvan panu?ára·rahitih.'" 12. kári xás ?á ?uvð·ru·ra·?iyvð·rura·.

13. kári xás ?ikxáram ?axmãy ?uθíttiv, ?axmãy ?uvð·nfuruk pa?apurúva·n. 14. kári xás ?uppi·p, "išáva·sič hõ·y ?áta ?uvã·ramahe·n. 15. ?íf tá naxumi·háya·čha. 16. matê·kaniptð·ri panini?áppuro·n." 17. kári xás ?uyá·ri·pva pamu?áppuro·n. 18. "páy·?u·m pakumá?i·?axvã·k ?ukkuhê·š. 19. páy ?u·m pavíšvã·n ?ukkuhê·š."

20. čavúra ?utto·rišri·hva po·kupakúhahe·š. 21. xás ?upiya·rá·mni·hva. 22. xás ?uppi·p, "tí·kãnpa·tvan."

23. kári xás ?uskákkuni pa?asiktáva·n. 24. kári xás ?u?ê·či pã?apuro·n·pũ·viš. 25. kári xás ?úkvip. 26. va·kú·k ?ukvíripma pa?ípa ?unhíšri·hvat pa?áθθi·θ. 27. xá šúrukam ?u?arihrũ·prijva.

28. kári xás pa?apurúva·n ?upvð·nfuruk. 29. kári xás ?uppi·p, "nani?áppuro·n tá pa?ê·θe·p." 30. kári xás ?u?áharam. 31. púyava pató·kvíripuni pa?áθθi·θ tó·kku·yva, mã·m xás tupikyíviš.

32. púyava kári xás ?u?í·pma pa?asiktáva·n. 33. kári xás ?uppi·p, "pápnã?a·θvat, 6 víri tá ni?íppak." 34. káruma ?u·m yi·músič tu?iššunvahe·n pa?áppuro·n.

35. púyava vúra tá xxára kári xás pa?apurúva·n ?ummah. 36. kári xás ?uppi·p, "čími ne·pθárihi panani?áppuro·n. 37. miní ko·vúra panani?ararã?u·p nu?ákkihe·š. 38. káru vúra xã·t ne·hrú·θvahi." 39. kári xás ?upãk·kih, xás káru vúra ?úhru·θvah.

Text Number 64: The Devil and the Girl

Informant: Mamie Offield

1. Two sisters were picking acorns. 2. 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 'ip, the adverb marking recent-past time, here occurs in the variant form 'ap, which has been recorded nowhere else. It is perhaps relevant that Yurok has a word 'ap, indicating past time.

PART THREE: THE ERA OF THE WHITE MAN

Text Number 65: The White Man's Gifts

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. kári-pa?apxantínnihič tá kunkō·ha pakunváθθi·na· kári xás pa?ára·r ?afyí·v tá kínmah. 2. tá kunyíča·ča. 3. káruma kári pa?ára·ras kári pa?ára·ras kári kun?á·θvuna·tih. 4. kiníppe·nti "kē·míš pa?apxantínnihi·čas."
5. kári pe·špúk tá kin?é·h. 6. kunxúti "as." 7. púyava sáruk ?astí·p tá kunivyíhiš. 8. kári xás tá kunti·šti·šha.
9. kunikvê·šri pa?apxantínnihič. 10. kári xás kinipê·r "ká·n ?í kúvyi·h·me·š." 11. kári xás kunívyi·hma. 12. xás pe·mpúr kin?ákkih. 13. puviš·tunvê·čas. 14. xás kunpávyi·hši pa?ára·r. 15. xás pakunpávyi·hma xás kunpiyvê·šri·hva pé·mpur. 16. kári xás pamakáyva·s va· kíč táppas kuník·yav. 17. va· ?arará?u·p tá kuníkyav.
18. kári xás va· kúna tá kin?ákki ?ipčimákkanač. 19. kári xás víriva tá kunkū·pha pa?írahiv tah, tá kunpífkutišši·prin. 20. kári xás va· vúra ?u·m tá kunxú·suniš "ya·s?ára." 21. pe·pčimákkanač tá kuniptákvár. 22. pe·pčimákkanač ?a·xkúniš. 23. pe·mpuráva·s patuvuhvúhina· púyava patakuníkvi·pvarayva púyava tá kunsíččakvutva, va· tá kunipyáffus.

Text Number 66: How the Rube Family Was Named

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. yíθθa ?ára·r ?apxantínnihič ?ukyaví·čvihitihanik. 2. xás ?íθθā·n kumé·šya· vúra puxxíč tupáθrih, pa?íššaha tu?uh. 3. xás pa·pxantínnihič ?uppi·p "čími ká·m vā·rami pe·vapiθváram. 4. sáran si· káru yúffiš káru ?asúxxi·m káru rope."
5. xás ta?íttam ?uvā·ramahe·n. 6. xás ?uθvuyā·nati ?ípa kó· kuníppe·rat "íkvan." 7. xás ?u?u·m, paθθú·fak. 8. yána vúra kē·č tu?uh. 9. xás ?uf·fá·θkar, xás vúra kúniš tu?ay, pa?íššaha. 10. xás čími·va ?ukyíviš. 11. xás ko·vúra tupipšinvárihva pé·θvuy, ?ípa kuníppe·rat "íkvan." 12. xás yíče·č vúra kíč ?upikrō·k "rú·p." 13. xás po·?árihro·v kíč po·píti "rú·p, rú·p."
14. xás ?u?u·m, pape·vapiθváram. 15. xás kunipê·r "fā·t panu?ákkihe·š." 16. "rú·p, rú·p."
17. xás pa·pxantínnihič ?uppi·p "Oh, rope!" 18. xás ?u?ē· pá?a·n. 19. xás pape·vapiθva·n ?uppi·p "fā·t kúna."

### 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?"

20. xás ʔuppi·p "manʔáttá, tá punapikrō·kara."

21. xás va· vúra ʔupíθvu·ymaθ rú·p. 22. xás payē·m va· vúra mukunʔíθ·vuy rú·p.

Text Number 67: A Quack Doctor

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. hā·ri paʔē·m kunpíkša·yvutih. 2. káruk yíθθa vaʔē·m kunʔé·θé·panik muʔaráttá·nva papreacher muhro·haʔí·n. 3. papreacher muhrō·ha ʔuθaxu·stā·nik paʔé·m. 4. xás kú·k ʔuʔú·manik papreacher muhrō·ha. 5. xás ʔúmmu·stihanik paʔē·m paʔára ʔupatumkō·tih. 6. xás paʔē·m sičakvutvarattíri ʔusiččakvutvutih. 7. xás kári papreacher muhrō·ha ʔummáh "fā·fuʔúrišuk sičakvutvarassúruk. 8. xás kári po·ʔíššupiš paʔaráttá·nva xás papreacher muhro·haʔí·n kunʔáve· paʔaráttá·nva. 9. yánava sítʔanamahač, ʔaxiče·kyamí·čvar.

10. hínupa páy ʔu·m va· ʔukupavē·nahiti ʔatahári. 11. ʔupikšayvū·niš·vuna·ti paʔára·r. 12. káruma ʔitráhyar káru ʔitrō·p ʔúθvu·yti pakúθ ʔára ʔupatumkō·tih.

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

1. píšši·č pakunʔara·rahiti paʔasiktáva·nsas ʔápka·s kunʔiššumtih.
2. xás paʔávansa va· kunparíšri·hva paʔápka·s. 3. xás ʔuríppi kunvik.
4. xás ʔiškē·šak ʔimvír kuníkyav. 5. xás va· kán kuníkri·hva, ta·y kuníykar paʔá·ma. 6. xás paʔasiktáva·nsas kuníhvi·θtih. 7. xás pimnaníhra·m va· kán kuníkyav. 8. xás va· kán kunsuváxra paʔá·ma.
9. paʔasiktáva·nsas ʔu·m kunʔíffikvuna· xuntáppan. 10. paʔá·ma kunʔá·mti káru vúra paʔé·kō·ns. 11. ká·kum paʔé·kō·ns ta·y vúra tá kunʔíffik, xás ʔitaharaʔáttimnam kó· tó ʔpí·šha. 12. kuyrakhárinay xás ʔamáyav páppi·š.
13. pufíčʔa·n tó ·kyav. 14. va· pú·fič kunkupe·y·kárahitih paʔára·r, kuntáttapvutih. 15. ʔaxaksúppa· tupimússan pamutáttapva. 16. va· kunkupe·y·kárahitih papú·fič. 17. xás ko·vúra va· kunʔá·mtih, papú·fič káru paʔá·ma káru paʔé·kō·ns káru páppi·š. 18. ʔakrá· káru kunʔá·mtih.
19. paxxúriš tó ·krav, páyku·k ʔássa mú·k. 20. xás tuθánta paxxúriš.
21. xá šáruk tutákkir ʔasti·p. 22. xás ʔáhka·m tó ·kyav. 23. paʔás tó ʔpáriš. 24. xás ʔasípkam tumáhya·n paʔé·kō·ns. 25. tuθarámpuk.
26. xás kunʔá·mtih.

### Text Number 69: Salmon Fishing

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paʔára·r ʔu·m paʔá·ma ʔukupé·kri·hvahitih. 2. píšši·p ʔimvír tá kuníkyav. 3. tá·skar kunikyā·ratih. 4. ʔiškē·ša kunvē·hkurihvuti patá·skar.
5. xá šákri·vúra tá kunvē·hkurihva. 6. xás pamukunʔikríhar ʔu·m taskanatanvē·čas ʔukyā·rahitih. 7. xás va· kán paʔuríppi ʔunhíkkahitih. 8. púyava pakuníkri·hvuti va· kán kunkū·ntako· pe·mvirakʔíppan. 9. púyava xás mukunʔuríppi ʔa·s tá kunikríkkurih. 10. xás paʔuripihʔíppan ʔanxára ʔunhí·šrih.
11. paʔuríppi ʔu·m vā·ram ʔukyā·hitih. 12. ʔipani·č vúra ʔu·m čū·yič.
13. paʔávahkam ʔu·m tírih. 14. púyava páʔa·s ʔukríkkurihva púyava paʔá·ma tá kunívyi·hra·, xás ʔuripíhak tá kunihmárvavar. 15. púyava paʔipani·č paʔá·ma tuʔu·máha·k púyava páʔa·n tó ·kké·n. 16. púyava kári paʔára·r paʔuríppi ʔupiθyúruripa·. 17. yanavé·kva paʔá·ma suʔ. 18. púyava xás ʔáʔ tó ʔyúrura·. 19. xás kári paʔá·ma ʔáhup mú·k tuʔákkō·. 20. púyava xás mā·ka tó ·skúruhripa·. 21. víriva paʔá·ma kunkupe·y·kárahitih.

## PART FOUR: ETHNOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIONS

### 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.



22. kunipíti "ʔu·m pupiykáre·ša pāká·n ʔasiktáva·n ʔuvúrayvutihá·k."  
 23. ʔasiktáva·n ʔu·m puká·n vúrayvutihara pe·mvírak. 24. káru puʔa·mtí·hap káru pišpišših.

Text Number 70: Deer Hunting

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. papú·fič kunʔákkunvuna·ti víriva ʔánnav tá kuníkyam máhʔi·t. 2. tá kunpikxúramnih. 3. kári xás tuvákkírar. 4. víriva vúra ʔu·mukič tó ·mmáh papú·fič. 5. púyava ʔitráhyar tó ·ykar. 6. tupáffip. 7. púyava xás kári tó ·pvā·ram. 8. púyava kúkku·m vúra ʔimmá·n tuʔákkunvar.  
 9. papiʔē·p kunkupaʔákkunvutihani kunʔákke·kvutih. 10. káru pavimtá·p kuntakvaratih. 11. káru ká·ku māhʔi·tnihač kuntáttapvuna·ti. 12. paʔíppaha ʔuʔí·hya patá·skar tá kunimθáttap. 13. ko·vúra ʔuyvúrukahiti papufičʔánnav. 14. víriva máhʔi·t patá kuntáttapvanva víri va· ʔukupíth pamukunčíšših·h, víri ko·vúra pamukunčíšših· ʔánnav tá kuniyvúrukva. 15. xás tá kunívyi·hšip. 16. púyava máruk pačišših· papú·fič tá kuniyvúnpi·θva. 17. víriva kú·k tá kunʔahávo· páčišših·h. 18. víriva kú·k tá kunívyi·hma pamukunʔímpa·h. 19. víriva ʔukupitih, patupaxfúro· papú·fič. 20. púyava ko·vúra tá kuniy·kárana·. 21. púyava kári tá kunpávyi·hšip, ta·y tá kuníykar papú·fič. 22. púyava vúra kó·mahič.

Text Number 71; Bear Hunting

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. pavírusur ʔíšya·v kusrahkē·m kári ko·vúra ʔe·rári·va kú·k tá kunpávyi·hma. 2. púyava súʔ kuníkri· ʔiθé·šya·v. 3. kári xás tá kunpí·p "čími nanuʔe·rári·v nupimússan." 4. kári xás tá kunpimússan. 5. kári xás tá kunpí·p "čími vō·nupuki." 6. púra fáтта·k. 7. púyava vúra puxxíč tá kuníh·yiv "čími vō·nupuki." 8. víriva púra fáтта·k vō·nupuktihara. 9. púyava tuvō·nka· paʔávanša. 10. kári ʔí·kam yíθθa ʔúkri·. 11. yanavé·k ʔutákvi·h·riv. 12. púyava tó ·yfu·trupuk pavírusur, ʔí·m tuvō·nupuk. 13. púyava tó ·pvō·nupuk paʔára·r. 14. púyava paʔí·m ʔikrē·n púyava tó ·ykar pavírusur. 15. púyava tá kunpiykárarav, ʔe·rári·vak tá kuníyúrurupuk. 16. púyava ʔíšya·v kunkupe·ykarahitih.  
 17. patá kuníθvi·š kári xás vúra ʔaθkúritar patá kuníšfir pamúmman·n. 18. púyava ʔí·kam ʔáhka·m tá kuníkyav. 19. kári xás va· ʔá·k tá kunpáθ·ri·mkirih. 20. víri pa·θkúri tó ·θri·š. 21. kári xás tá kuníyúruripa·. 22. xás kári vúra ní·namič tuʔárihiš. 23. kári xás tá kuntaxíšxiš pató ·msip. 24. kári xás va· tá kunvupákpak. 25. púyava va· ʔíšya·v kunʔá·m tih. 26. kimkuv.

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. ?išyu·x kuniyvúnkurihvuti pačiših?í·n. 2. pató ·skákkavru ká·n xás tá kuníykar·.

3. pakári ?aθkuritárahiv tá kun?ákkunvanva. 4. víriya ?iθe·kxarámva vúra pakunpikvahrúppukva. 5. púyava patusúppa·ha·k púyava ?ukrá·m kú·k tá kunihmáraya, tá kunpá·tvuna· pa?ávansas. 6. xás ?a·s kun?í·švuna·. 7. púyava ?a·s tá kunpišmarana·. 8. kári xás víri pamukunxúska·mhar víriya ?á·k tá kunsímku ?ánnam mú·k. 9. kári xás tá kunívyi·hšip, tá kun?ákkunvanva. 10. puvé·k vúra ?učváníhič tó ·kri·, tá kunpavyíhiš. 11. ko·vúra pa?išyu·x tá kunθaθvíšri·hva. 12. púyava vúra kič.

Text Number 73: Making Acorn Soup

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paxuntáppan ?u·m kun?íffiktih, ?íppaha kun?í·ftih. 2. xás pató ·mtúp·paha·k paxuntáppan kunivrarasúro·tih. 3. púyava xás kun?íffiktih. 4. xás tá kunčátnak. 5. xás kári tá kunsuváxrah. 6. xás tá kuniyvaxáx, xás pámma·n tá kunívyi·hšur. 7. púyava xás kári tá kuníkrah·. 8. xás kári tá kunθántap. 9. xás pa?áfri· tó ·vrárasur. 10. xás kári pe·kpúr ?u· múruka kuniyváyra·mnihvutih.

11. xás kári tá kuntákkir. 12. yú·xak tá kuntákkir. 13. xás ?íššaha kuniyváyko·ti kača?í·mič. 14. púyava pa?íššaha tuvunfíppaha· kúkku·m tá kuniptákkó·tih. 15. púyava patu?amayā·ha·k xás kári tá kunkō·ha. 16. pú·yava xás tuvaxráhiš. 17. xás tá kun?akíčči·p. 18. xás kári tá kuníθxa ?íššaha mú·k. 19. xás páyu·x ko·vúra tó ·mfi·pšur, xás kári tá kunkō·ha. 20. xás ?ássip tá kun?akíθra·mnihvutih. 21. púyava yá·f tu?árihiš.

22. yá·s čími kunθarampúkke·š. 23. púyava ?a·h tá kuníkyav. 24. xás pa?ás tá kunipáriš. 25. púyava pató ·mfiraha·k páya·f tá kun?ákkiθramni θarámpu·kravak. 26. xás kári ?íššaha tá kuníyva·yramni pakó· kunxúti "ʔuʔú·me·š." 27. xás pa?asé·mfir tá kunkturúra·mnihva. 28. xás θarampúk·kara mú·k tá kunθarámpuk. 29. púyava xás tu?í·vrip. 30. xás pató ·msíp·pišriha·k páttanamíčak tá kuntarívra·mnihva. 31. púyava kári tá kunpat. 32. púyava vúra páy kó·mahič.

Text Number 74: Making Acorn Soup

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. xuntáppan tá kunkítnak. 2. xás yá·s paxxúriš tá kuniyvō·ra·. 3. xás tuváxrah, tá kuniyvō·nih, xás tó ·yvax. 4. xá·šipnú·kan kunmáhya·natih, ?afnú·s kunfíkri·ptih. 5. ?afnú·s ?ássip kunmáhya·natih. 6. púyava ?íššaha

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

tá kunʔiθar ʔiθákku·srah. 7. kári ʔás tá kunʔurúkkurihva. 8. pató ·mtúp·paha·k, paʔás tá kunturúri·pva.

9. xás tá kuntákkir. 10. paxxúriš tá kuníkraʔ. 11. sáhyu·x tá kuniktávar. 12. xás takiríram tó ·kyav. 13. yá·s ʔúspa·stih, tuʔakíθkiθ. 14. ʔiváxra tó, ·kyav. 15. kári xás tuʔakíči·p. 16. tó ·θxah, páyu·x tó ·vyi·hšur. 17. ʔás·sipak ʔusnaprá·mnihva. 18. xás tuθarámpuk. 19. té ·p ʔás ʔupárišat. 20. paʔás ʔutururá·mnihva. 21. ʔá·ma tá kunímníš. 22. ko·vúra ʔimváram ʔuʔifkó·hiti paʔássip. 23. sikíhmu·k mú·k tá kunpáttatih.

#### Text Number 75: Soaking Acorns

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. páppi·š kunikyā·ti ʔu·m xás tá kunpí·šha. 2. xás píšši·p ʔu·m ʔiśahát·ti·mič tá kunʔiripkuri suʔvári vúra. 3. xás kári va· paxuntáppan ká·n tá kuniyváykurihva. 4. há·ri ʔitro·paʔáttiv káru vúra há·ri kumattē·šič. 5. púyava xás kári tá kuníθxup sákri· vúra ʔikukatunvē·čas mú·k. 6. xás ʔasákka·msa mú·k tá kuniyá·ko·. 7. púyava vúra ká·n sú ʔukríttumkuri há·ri ʔiθahárinay káru há·ri kumáxxara. 8. púyava patuʔamayā·ha·k xás kári tá kunʔav.

9. píšši·p tá kuniptáθrip ʔimvarámka·m. 10. xás ʔáttimnak tá kuníyva·y·ramnih. 11. púyava xás tá kunpáramvā. 12. pató ·mtúppaha·k xás kári tá kunʔav. 13. ʔimpú·kač káru kunʔáve·š káru vúra ʔáθθi·k.

#### Text Number 76: The Sweathouse

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. pe·kmaháčra·m ʔu·m yíθ ʔukupe·kyā·hiti káru pe·krívra·m ʔu·m vúra yiθ. 2. pe·kmaháčra·m ʔu·m sú ʔuʔiripkurihahitih. 3. xás ʔivʔávahkam vúra ʔivharatírihšas mú·k ʔuyururá·nahitih. 4. xás ʔiθvá·ykam pačivčak·surúra·m vúra ʔipšú·nkinič paká·n kunvó·nkurihvutih. 5. xás vurá·kir ʔuʔí·hya, xás va· ká·n pakunvó·runi·hvutih. 6. pavurá·kir ʔu·m vúra ʔíp·paha po·kyā·rahitih.

7. xás ʔi·ná·k pamuʔí·riš ʔu·m ʔás ʔupaθrívahitih. 8. xás ʔiríšʔa·čip sú ʔussúrukurihahitih. 9. xás va· ká·n páʔa·h kunikyā·tih.

10. xás ʔáppakam káru ʔussúruruprinahitih. 11. patá kunkō·ha·k ʔi·ná·k vé·kri· xás va· ká·n tá kunvō·nupuk. 12. xá šáru kú·k tá kunʔu·m, xás ʔú·θ ʔiškē·šak tá kunpá·tva. 13. xás patá kunpíkní·hvaha·k, páʔa·h tá kuníkyav, va· kuníhru·vti tahpusʔápti·k. 14. xás va· ʔimfirári·k tá kuníkyá vúra. 15. xás vúra puxxič tá kunímčax, xás tá kunástu·kha. 16. púyava xás kári patá kunʔárihrupuk.

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 pí's̄, 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

1. paʔarare·krívra·m ʔu·m puʔáʔhinvahara, yakún paʔí·vhar ʔipšú·nkin-  
ičas. 2. xá sú ʔuʔíripkurihva. 3. xás ʔá·čip ʔuʔahíramhitih. 4. xás  
paʔi·nâ·k ʔí·vhar ʔuθθi·vârayvahitih. 5. xás pamukunʔí·riš ʔu·m vúra yu·x.  
6. xás vurá·kir ʔuʔí·hya va· ká·n ʔi·nâ·k. 7. xás va· ká·n kunʔáho·ti paʔí·kam  
tá kunvô·nupukaha·k. 8. xás paʔí·vhar ʔu·m ʔipšú·nkiničas pe·krívra·m  
ʔukyâ·rahitih. 9. xás pe·vʔávahkam ʔivharatírihšas ʔuya·kó·hitih. 10. xás  
pamučivčákkar káru ʔu·m ʔipšú·nkinič. 11. púxay vúra ʔihyárihe·šara patá  
ʔí·m kú·k tá kunʔú·maha·k, xás vúra tá kunvô·nupuk.

12. xás ʔás ʔuθθí·vahiti ʔiví·va·y·kam. 13. xás paʔi·nâ·k ʔu·m ʔahʔávah-  
kam ʔusasíppi·θva taskanatunvê·čas. 14. xás ʔukyâ·hiti paká·n kunivá·xra·h-  
maθti paʔá·ma káru vúra fá·t vúra pakuntâ·rahitih. 15. xás ʔâ·pun vúra  
ʔu·m po·ttâ·yhiti pamukunʔássip káru vúra fá·t vúra pakuntâ·rahitih pakunim-  
níšše·š. 16. xás paʔávansa vúra kíč mukunʔikrívkir ʔuttâ·yhiti. 17. paʔa-  
siktáva·n ʔu·mkun vúra ʔâ·pun pakunʔára·rahitih. 18. há·ri pufí·čva·s ʔupa-  
θrívahitih, víriva ká·n paʔasiktáva·nsas kunʔára·rahitih. 19. xás payupsít-  
tanič ʔu·m θaxtú·yak vúra sú ʔúkri·. 20. xás kuní·šta·kti há·ri pamúkitʔí·n.

Text Number 78: The Shiny Game

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paʔararaʔavansé·xti·vha ʔu·m yí·θθa pakumé·xti·vha ʔú·vu·yti ʔim-  
θá·tva. 2. víriva ʔu·m tišrá·mni·k pakuní·xti·vhitih. 3. papanamnihimθatvá-  
ram ʔu·m va· ká·n ʔukyâ·sipre·hiti paGeorgia mutasaʔí·kukam, xás yúruk  
paxánθi·p ʔuʔi·hyí·rak ʔuʔíppanhitih.

4. xás kunsá·nvuti ʔáhup, ʔú·vu·yti ʔimθá·tvar káru tákkasar. 5. xás  
patákkasar ʔu·m ʔahuptunvê·čas, ʔunhíttunvahitih. 6. xákkarari ʔáxxak  
paʔávansas káru ʔá·čip ʔáxxak. 7. yí·θθa ʔu·m paʔávansa po·ʔavíkvuti paták-  
kasar. 8. ʔapmá·n mú·k ʔuppáratih.

9. púyava xás kári tá kunikyâ·sip. 10. xás ʔâ·pun patákkasar tó·kyí·viš.  
11. púyava xákká·n vúra patá kunxús "kí·ri nuttâ·tsip." 12. púyava yí·θθa  
ʔu·m tó·ttâ·tsip. 13. yúruk tó·ttâ·trupuk. 14. púyava xás purá·n tá kunʔí-  
fukira·, xás tá kunvú·nva. 15. púyava xás há·ri xákká·n vúra tá kuni·θyí·viš.

16. púyava xás ʔu·mkun yuʔkúkamkam paʔávansas tá kuni·θví·ripra·.  
17. púyava payí·θθa pe·šna·ní·čha·k ʔu·m píšši·p tuʔú·m patákkasar ʔuphí·ri-  
virak. 18. púyava xás ʔu·m píšši·p tó·ttâ·tsip. 19. káruk tó·ptâ·tro·v.  
20. xás ʔu·mkun káru kaʔkúkam tá kuni·θví·ripravarak. 21. púyava patákkasar  
tó·kyí·višriha·k púyava tó·ttâ·tsip. 22. káruk tó·ttâ·tro·v. 23. xás payuʔkú-  
kam ʔu·mkun káruk tá kuni·θví·ripro·v. 24. púyava há·ri vúra puʔikyí·vivra·θ-  
tihara. 25. púyava há·ri ʔu·m payuʔkúkam paʔávansas píšši·p tuʔu·m, pa-  
tákkasar ʔuphí·rivirak. 26. púyava yúruk tó·ttâ·trupuk.

27. púyava payuʔkúkam tá kuntâ·tivrukaha·k púyava kári tá kunkô·kha

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 Shiny Game

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. One game, of the Indian men's games, was called 'the stick game' (i.e., shiny). 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 shiny 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



payúruk vaʔáras. 28. káru ʔu·mkun pakaʔkúkam vúra kunkuphe·š. 29. va·  
ʔu·m papa·xkívtihan ʔu·m pe·kpihanʔíšši·p káru pe·šnaničʔíšši·p.

Text Number 79: Work Contests

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. paʔifáppi·tša sárip tá kuništúkkanna. 2. xás tá kunpavyíhuk. 3. tá kunturíšri·hva passárip. 4. kári xás vúra ʔu·m ta·yá·nʔi·ftihan paʔafišni·haničas xás tá kunθáru·fvuna·. 5. xás tá kunpí·p "čími nuvú·ksahina·."
6. káruma tá kunʔíffikvuna· páxuntáppan. 7. xás kári tá kunpavyíhuk paʔifáppi·tša. 8. ʔaxyaráva tá kunʔíffik ʔáttimnam. 9. púyava tá kunpavyí·huk, kári xás "čími nuvú·ksahina·." 10. ʔapmá·n mú·kunčátna·ktih.

Text Number 80: The Sucking Doctor

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paʔararaʔə·m ʔu·m ʔára ʔupatumkō·tih. 2. xás va·ká·n tupáttum paká·n paʔarátta·nva ʔukkē·natih. 3. xás va·vúra xánnahič tupatúmko·.
4. xás ʔapmá·n tuʔá·kvar, xás ta·y vúra xúnxun tō·kyav. 5. ʔā·pun ʔúkri·páva· ʔukupitih. 6. xás kári tuvō·nsip. 7. xás tí·kan ʔuyu·hrámmih, xás paʔaratanvaʔúppas ʔúkta·mti tí·kan. 8. púyava xás ʔarátta·nva tupíhruv.
9. xás patukō·ha·k xás paʔarátta·nva tufumyíhpi·θva. 10. púyava xás kúk·ku·m vúra va·tō·pku·pha.
11. há·ri ʔa·x tō·ssá·nsur payíkkihar káru há·ri θúkkín. 12. púyava xás kári tukō·ha. 13. xás ʔíššahak tō·ppá·tva. 14. xás tō·pvō·nfuruk. 15. púyava xás kári tuhé·r. 16. xás kári ʔáv tá kuníkye·. 17. xás víriva vúra tá kko·.

the downriver people won. 28. Those on the upriver side would do it also.  
29. The winners were the strongest and swiftest.<sup>1</sup>

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!"<sup>2</sup>

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 there 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>kukam "the downriver side" and pa-ka<sup>2</sup>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.

<sup>2</sup> The winner was the first to peel ten sticks.

Text Number 81: The Sweating Doctor

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paʔane·kyáva·n ʔu·m píriš pó·hru·vti káru há·ri pírišʔé·pu·m.
2. púyava xás ʔuʔuhyanakō·ti pappíríš. 3. púyava xás ʔássipak tumáhya·n.
4. xás ʔíššaha tó ·yva·yramnih. 5. xás kári ʔasé·mfir tutururá·mniha.
6. púyava xás va· tó ·ppáramva. 7. xás va· payíkkihar mussúrukam tó ·θrí·š.
8. xás vá·s tá kuniyxō·rariv. 9. púyava patukō·ha·k púyava kári paʔánnav ʔí·m tá kunpiyvō·š.
10. káru há·ri tuʔíš ká·kum paʔánnav.
11. púyava páy ʔu·m papíríšʔánnav kunkupe·kyá·hitih. 12. xás paʔane·kyáva·n vúra kúniš ʔikxaré·yav.

Text Number 82: The Pikiawish at Katimin

Informant: Emily Donahue

1. ʔikxariyaʔára·r tó ·krí·š. 2. ʔitro·patišamnihasúppa· sú ʔú·kri· ʔikmahá·čra·m.
3. xás paʔávansas kuníšri·mvana·tih. 4. káru paye·ripáxvuhsas, ʔavansáxxi·tičas ʔasu·xáras.
5. kári xás tá nuʔav, patá nupíšri·š. 6. vúra paʔávansas ʔu·mkun máru kuníšri·mtih.
7. ʔikxúrarvari tá kunpavyíhiš.
8. yá·s tá kunʔav. 9. pe·kxariyaʔára·r ʔúmpa·n tuʔíppak.
10. xás yá·s ʔuppá·tvutih. 11. yá·s tuʔav. 12. xá sú ʔikmahá·čra·m kú·k tuʔí·pma.
13. ʔimmá·n kú·kku·m vúra tó ·kyá·sip máh·i·t. 14. fá·tta· kúna tó ·sriv.
15. čítik vúra tá ʔitro·patišamnihasúppa· tá kunkúnnih, kári xás tupihyá·rihiš.
16. ʔiθé·kxurar vúra kunvuhvúhi·čvana·tih. 17. kunxúti "xáy pe·kxariyaʔára·r ʔú·kvi·tha."
18. ʔimá·nkam xás ʔírahiv. 19. ʔiθasúppa· vúra ʔararé·θti tá kuníθti·tvana·.
20. ʔimá·nkam kú·kku·m tá kunpíθti·tvana·.
21. xás ʔikxúrar xás káh·ir tuvá·rak. 22. xás tá kkó· paʔir. 23. há·ri vúra xára kuníθti·tvana tih, pahū·tva kó· ʔarará·tta·yha·k.
24. yá·s ʔukkō·hiti paʔir.

Text Number 83: The Pikiawish at Katimin

Informant: Nettie Reuben

1. tá níkrav. 2. púyava patá niʔi·k, xás tá niʔasímčak.
3. ʔō·k tuʔá·rih·ra· pe·kxariyaʔára·r.
4. xás kuyrá·kya·n tuʔi·k.
5. xás ʔí·kam tuvō·nupuk.
6. yū·m tuʔá·rihrup.
7. yúruk tó ·trū·putih, pe·šké·š tó ·mmu·stih.
8. ʔú·θ

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

Text Number 83: The Pikiawish at KatiminInformant: Nettie Reuben<sup>5</sup>

1. I pounded (acorns). 2. When I struck, I closed my eyes. 3. The priest came up there. 4. And he struck three times.<sup>6</sup> 5. Then he went

<sup>3</sup> The priest remains standing all night long (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 20).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> The informant had served as 'ifuθkam'ahó'va'n or junior priestess, and dictated this text from the memory of her experience.

<sup>6</sup> kuyrákya'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.

tó ·tkáratih, pe·škē·š tó ·mmu·stih. 9. pe·škē·š tó ·mmu·stih, ʔuvē·natih.  
10. kári ʔi·nā·k nuʔi·n. 11. nuʔasímča·ktih.

12. xás tá ʔivšáʔkukamič tutaxára·pro·v. 13. kasó·hra·m tuvā·ram.  
14. ká·n ʔa·h tó ·kyá·r. 15. pakúmate·č nutákkire·š. 16. púyava ká·n  
sáruk tuʔaramsí·p. 17. máruk ʔahíram tuvā·ram.

18. púyava yá·s níkra·mti paxxúriš. 19. tá nipíkyar ko·vúra. 20. xás  
númpa·n sáruk tá nuyā·ram kasó·hra·m. 21. ʔasipárax nuʔáttivuti káru  
múru káru tásva·n káru taríppa·n, káru ʔikrívkir nuʔē·θtih. 22. kúmate·č  
po·ʔíppakaha·k pe·kxariyaʔára·r va· ʔukrivkíre·š. 23. víriva pató ·θθáriš  
pe·krívkir sákri·v ʔukyā·ti pe·θívθa·ne·n.

24. ʔaxaksúppa· ʔasu·xáras nuʔí·n káru ʔiθé·kxaram. 25. káru puʔíšša·  
ha kínʔi·štihara. 26. xás máhʔi·t čí nupiyā·rame·š, xás táhpu·s nupáθra·mu·  
tih. 27. yá·n vúra ʔusúppa·hitih. 28. xás tá nupiyxō·rar patakiríram. 29.  
xás pananupáθra·m patáhpū·s tá nuvē·hkurih. 30. yá·s tá nupá·tišip, tá kkó·  
máruk tá nupiyā·ram. 31. ʔikmahačramʔíšši·p kú·k tá nuʔí·pma. 32. kári  
ko·vúra tá nupávyi·hra· pe·kxariyaʔára·r káru ʔimússa·n. 33. ko·vuraʔí·n  
kinímmu·stih. 34. ká·n tá kunivyíhišrih. 35. ko·vúra tá kunʔikákpi·θva.  
36. yā·mač tá kunipmahó·nko·n.

37. ʔitro·pasúppa· ʔi·nā·k nuʔára·rahiti ʔikmaháčra·m. 38. ʔikxúrar  
nupá·tvuti ʔukrámkam. 39. xás panunuʔíffuni vúra xáviš mō·k nupákkō·tih,  
kíri vā·ramas ʔuʔif, panunuʔíffunih. 40. tá nukíšša paxxáviš, máruk  
ʔahvára·k tá nupíššunva.

41. sáruk ʔu·m kunʔí·ntih, tá ʔírahiv. 42. ʔupe·čkanvičvárahitih. 43. tá  
kunvuhvúha. 44. káru káhʔir tuvárak. 45. xás yá·s tá kunθarámpuk. 46.  
víri ʔá·ma tá kunikúykirihva.

47. tá kuníkíxxa patú·yšip. 48. xá·sáruk tá kunpavyíhunih. 49. ʔára·r  
patú·yšip. 50. ʔikxaré·yav.

Text Number 84: The Pikiawish at Clear Creek

Informant: Maggie Charley

1. káruk ʔuʔírahiv. 2. ʔúθvu·yti kahʔínna·m. 3. surukúnvu·nup va· ká·n  
ʔa·h kunikyā·tih, kuníšri·mtih. 4. piši·čtā·pas kuníšri·mtih. 5. ʔimá·nkam  
xumvaro·vyúrukam kúna kuníšríve·š. 6. ʔimá·nkam tasáxxa· kúmma·m  
kuníšri·mtih. 7. yuhsahnímʔanamahač yíθa tá kuníkvē·š.

9. xás máhʔi·t pe·kxariyaʔára·r ká·n tó ·krí·š. 9. xás čími ʔuvā·rame·š,  
tá kunʔā·nvaθ. 10. xás kári ko·vúra tá kunpá·tvuna·, xás pá·hak tá kunví·tkai  
ʔiθyáruk pafatavé·na·n. 11. xás va· yí·v yúruk xumvaro·máruk ʔáhka·m tó  
·kyav. 12. káruk yí·v ʔikhurō·k tuʔárhíro·v. 13. yuhsahrímka·m tá kunmal

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) ?ukrámká·m. 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 ?ikxaré·yav (a divine person, a god).

Text Number 84: The Pikiawish at Clear Creek

Informant: Maggie Charley

1. There was a world renewal upriver. 2. (The place) is called kah ?inna·m (Clear Creek). 3. They made a fire there at surukúnvu·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 downriver from xumváro·v. 6. The next day they shot at targets behind tasáxxa·k. 7. They spent one night at yuhsahním ?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

va· ká·n tá kunírnniš xu·n, pú·fič, ?á·ma.

14. pafatavé·na·n po?íppakaha·k ?ikxúrar tó ·pví·šrih, xás vúra pa?ára·r tá kun?íranva. 15. ko·vúra pa?ára·r kunívyñhuktih, kunimússanva. 16. víri páppa· tá kunipvíttiš. 17. xás ?ikxúrar tá kunθívtá·pvuna·. 18. kári xás ?ikxúrar tá kun?av.

19. máh?i·t kúkku·m tá kun?itxá·rihva. 20. xás ta·krípa· kú·k tu?u·m. 21. va· pasiríškir pumá·htih, kun?íččunvahe·n. 22. kári xás kúkku·m fata·vé·na·n tuvá·ram, ?asaxxē·var kú·k tu?u·m. 23. xás va· ?ifuθanpimússan tuvá·ram. 24. ?a·h tó ·kyav. 25. xás pa?afišríhansas kunkúnni·hvuna·, ta·y kuníxra·mtih. 26. ?išríva·nsas tá kunxúrihina·, yá·s kun?á·mtih.

27. pafatavé·na·n yá·s ?u?íppak ?ikxúrar. 28. ?áxxak pa?asiktáva·nsas tá kunikyáva·nha. 29. xás ?ikxúrar tá kunθívtá·pvuna·. 30. va· tá kunkó·ha. 31. xás ta·krípa· kú·k tá kunívyi·hma. 32. ká·n tá kunvuhvúhi·čvuna·. 33. má·ka tá kunpakúri·hvuna·. 34. yá·s kári xás tá kun?av. 35. ko·vúra kári kunikyámmi·čvuna·. 36. ?imá·nkam tó ·pvá·ram pafatavé·na·n. 37. papikyáviš tá púffa·t.

#### Text Number 85: Preparing Basket Materials

Informant: Emily Donahue

1. píšši·č tá nu?ahíšri·hvanva. 2. pakúniš ?iθarípri·k va· ?u·m ká·n saripyē·pšas. 3. patuyšipne·?íppanič va· ?u·m ká·n sarípkē·mšas. 4. va· kumá?i· payē·pšas passárip ?iθarípri·k, ?a·yá·č va· ?u·m vā·ramas káru xúnnutič. 5. patuyšipne·?íppanič vassárip va· ?u·m ?ipšú·nkiničas káru ?úruhsas. 6. nanítta·t mít kiníppe·ntihat, "tuyšipne·?íppanič ?u·m sarípkē·mšas." 7. va· mít kári ?u·m nu?ahíšri·hvutihat. 8. púra fâ·t vúra kiníppe·ntihat. 9. payē·m ?u·m tá kko·, tá púva· kinkupítihara.

10. ?axakhárinay xás tá nústuk passárip. 11. passárip tá kuníštu·kvuna·, kun?ipátsi·prinatih. 12. payē·m ?u·m símsi· mû·k kunvú·tvana·tih. 13. pa·?asiktáva·nsas ?u·m kuníštu·kvana·tih. 14. ?áttimna mû·k tá kunkturúnni·hva. 15. pa?ávansas ?u·mkun tá kuníkvat. 16. payē·m ?u·m tá kkó· pattur, čiš·ší· mû·k ?u·m tah. 17. pasarip?áttimnak pakuntú·nfak.

18. xás kári tá niθóáruv. 19. vúha mû·k pakunθáruvfvana·tih. 20. ?asiktáva·nsas káru vúra ?ávansas ko·vúra kunθáruvfvana·tih. 21. há·ri kunvú·k·sahina·tih. 22. yá·s nišuváxra·hti ?imčáxxahak.

23. papanyúrar tá nu?áhko·. 24. xás tá nústuk. 25. kun?u·mxávxa·vtih. 26. xás tá nusuváxrah.

27. yá· šárum nu?ú·pvutih. 28. vúra fáttá·k xás yáv ?u?í·hya. 29. yi·mú·sič xás pakuníkpa·ksur. 30. xás tá nuhíkkurih. 31. ?a·h píšši·č tá kuníkyav. 32. xás ká·n tá kunihíkkurih. 33. xás yá·s ?a·h ?ávahkam tá kunpíkyav. 34. yá·s nuθatáppa·ntih. 35. xás ?iváxra tá núkyav. 36. kári xás tá nupúθ·ear. 37. yá·s nutáxvi·štih. 38. yá·s nukyá·siprivti pavik.

upriver-pointing ridge. 13. They saw (i.e., met) him at yuhsahrímka·m; there 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·krípa·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·krípa·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.

#### 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-twigs 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

1. ʔararayáffus ʔu·m vúra táffirapu ʔukyá·rahitih. 2. payáffus ʔu·m vúra yíθa vúra puffčma·n. 3. xás va· vúra kuniyxð·rarivahitih. 4. xás pamukuntánta·v táffirapu ʔukyá·rahitih.

5. xás pamukunyafusayē·pša vúra ʔu·m yā·mač ʔukyá·hahitih. 6. píšši·panyúrar ʔutaxapko·hitih. 7. ʔaxyú·s ʔukyá·rahiti káru yuxθáran káru sá·ru·k ʔukyá·rahitih. 8. yuxθáran ʔu·m tú·pičas ʔutapakpákkahitih. 9. mukunyáffus puvā·ramasahara.

10. pamukunʔápxa·n ʔukyá·rahiti sárip káru sárum. 11. kunikxúrikarati panyúrar káru ʔikritápkir káru tí·pti·p. 12. xás patí·pti·p ʔu·m ʔa·xkúniš ʔukyá·hitih. 13. xás pamukunʔápxa·n ʔu·m ʔuvíkkahiti passáru mū· káru panyúrar káru pe·kritápkir káru patí·pti·p.

Text Number 87: Tattoos

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. paʔararaʔasiktáva·n ʔu·m ʔišvá·k ʔuθúkkinhahitih. 2. kuyrá·k ʔusa·sipúnni·hva, yíθa ʔačipyā·č xás xákkararih. 3. hā·ri tírihšas káru hā·ri vúra tú·pičas kuynákmahič po·sasipúnni·hva.

4. xás ʔasayáθa mū·k pakunikxúrikitih. 5. xás ʔamyív·káru ʔaθkúrit tá kuníyšar, xás va· tá kuniyvúruk paθúkkinhak. 6. xás patuʔarári·hkanha·k xás puʔiḡxáramkunišhara, kúniš ʔámku·fkuniš.

7. xás paʔð·k vaʔára·ras pamukúnʔa·v puθúkkinhitihara. 8. vúra páy nanuxákkarari kíč ʔu·m va· kunkupitih.

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.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>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 piššič mít kaʔtimʔi·n ʔuʔú·mat. 2. xás mít va· ká·n ʔasiktáva·n ʔuhró·t. 3. xás yá·s ʔó· kunʔáho·t. 4. yá·s nanítta·t kuníhruv pikvah. 5. xás yá·s káru ʔánnav. 6. xás ko·vúra kumappíríš ʔúθvu·yva. 7. xás yá·s máruk tuyšíp·re· kunívyi·hma. 8. piništunvê·č kunʔáppimtih. 9. xás kári ʔukkô·ha paʔasiktáva·n.
10. xás námpa· ñuxákka·nha. 11. káruk núvyi·hšip tinxu·mnipa·k.
12. xás va· ká· ñupíkva paʔasiktáva·nsas kó·van. 13. xás ʔó·k nupavyíhu kúkku·m. 14. xás kári kúkku·m víra nupíkva·hvuna·.
15. xás yuhʔarári·k núvyi·hšip. 16. sápru·k nuʔíffikanva. 17. xás nu·pavyíhuk.

Text Number 89: A Birthday Party

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. Ramona ʔu·m kê·ks ʔukyá·ti ʔó·k. 2. pamuye·nipaxvúhič Roberta payê· múʔi·pma. 3. kuyrakini·vki·hahárinay tó·kri·. 4. kúmate·č xasík pakunʔáve·š·pamuké·ks. 5. ʔu·mkun víra kíche·š. 6. puxxič kúniš ʔupáθ·ri·htih, víri puxúti·hap "kíri puppê·r pa·xí·tičas 'ʔó· kó·va ñuʔam!'"

Text Number 90: Smoke

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. kuyú·m ʔamkúfka·m. 2. na· nixúti "Herbert ʔuʔa·hkô·ti patáhp·s."
3. hári ttá mít ʔukpákkišrihat paʔíppaha.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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).

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "so they don't think, 'Let's tell the children, "Let's eat here together!'"

Text Number 91: A Blow-outInformant: Julia Starritt<sup>2</sup>

1. káruk ?íp nifyúkkutihat ?ítam. 2. xás ?ipváarakirak panini?ahákni pamuyukúkku ?íp ?umátnu·sat. 3. víri káriveri ká·n ?uθθá·niv. 4. víri pe·nvári payē·m ?upikyā·tih. 5. púyava panipkáraha·k payē·m káru kúna ni?árihro·viš, niptakníhare·š.

Text Number 92: Responses to Pictures<sup>3</sup>

Informant: Julia Starritt

1. ?utíšra·mhith. víri va· ká·n ?íppaha ?u?í·hya. káru ?ávansa ká·n ?uhyárih, ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha.
2. kúkku·m vúra víri payē·m ?áxxak pa?ávansa. víri va· vúra yíθθa ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha.
3. víri payē·m kuyra·k tah, pa?ávansa. káru yíθθa ?úkvi·pti mukún?a·v·kam. víri va· vúra ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha.
4. kúkku·m vúra va· vúra ká·n ?uhyárih, va· vúra ?úksu·ptih. va· vúra payíθθa kári ?úkvi·pti mú?a·vkam.
5. víri va· vúra kári pákuyra·k, ká·n kun?iruvē·hriv. xás vúra va· ?úksu·pti pa?ávansa.
6. xás payē·m ?áxxak tá kunsá·m, pakun?iruvē·hriv. xás va· vúra ?úksu·ptih. xás va· vúra ?úkvi·pti pa?ávansa mú?a·vkam.
7. payē·m ?asiktáva·n pe·hyárihan, ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha.
8. payē·m ?asiktáva·n pe·hyárihan. ?ifunihaxárahsas. xás ?u·m káru ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha. xás mupí·mač ?uhyárih.
9. pa?asiktáva·n va· vúra ká·n ?uhyárih, va· vúra ?úksu·ptih. víri payē·m ?áxxak pa?ávansas.
10. va· vúra ká·n pa?asiktáva·n ?uhyárih, víri va· vúra ?úksu·ptih. xás pa?ávansa ?úkvi·pti mú?a·vkam.
11. va· vúra ká·n kári ?uhyárih. va· vúra pa?ávansa ?úkvi·pti mú?a·vkam. káru yíθθa pa?ávansa mupí·mač ?uhyárih,
12. kúkku·m vúra va· ká·n ?uhyárih, va· vúra ?úksu·ptih. xás payē·m ?áxxak pa?ávansa vúra ká·n mupí·mač kun?iruvē·hriv. káru ?u·m va· vúra ?úkvi·pti mú?a·vkam.
13. ye·ripáxvu ?uhyárih, ?úksu·pkuti ?íppaha, ká·n ?u?í·hya.
14. kúkku·m vúra paye·nipaxvúhič ká·n ?uhyárih, va· vúra ?úksu·pkuti pa?íppaha. xás mupí·mač pamu?ákka ?uhyárih.
15. kúkku·m vúra va· ká·n ?uhyárih, payē·m ?áxxak pa?ávansa mupí·mač kun?iruvē·hriv.
16. paye·ripáxvu va· vúra ká·n ?uhyárih. xás pa?ávansa va· vúra ?úkvi·p·tih, kúniš yi·músič payē·m.

Text Number 91: A Blow-outInformant: Julia Starritt<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>

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.

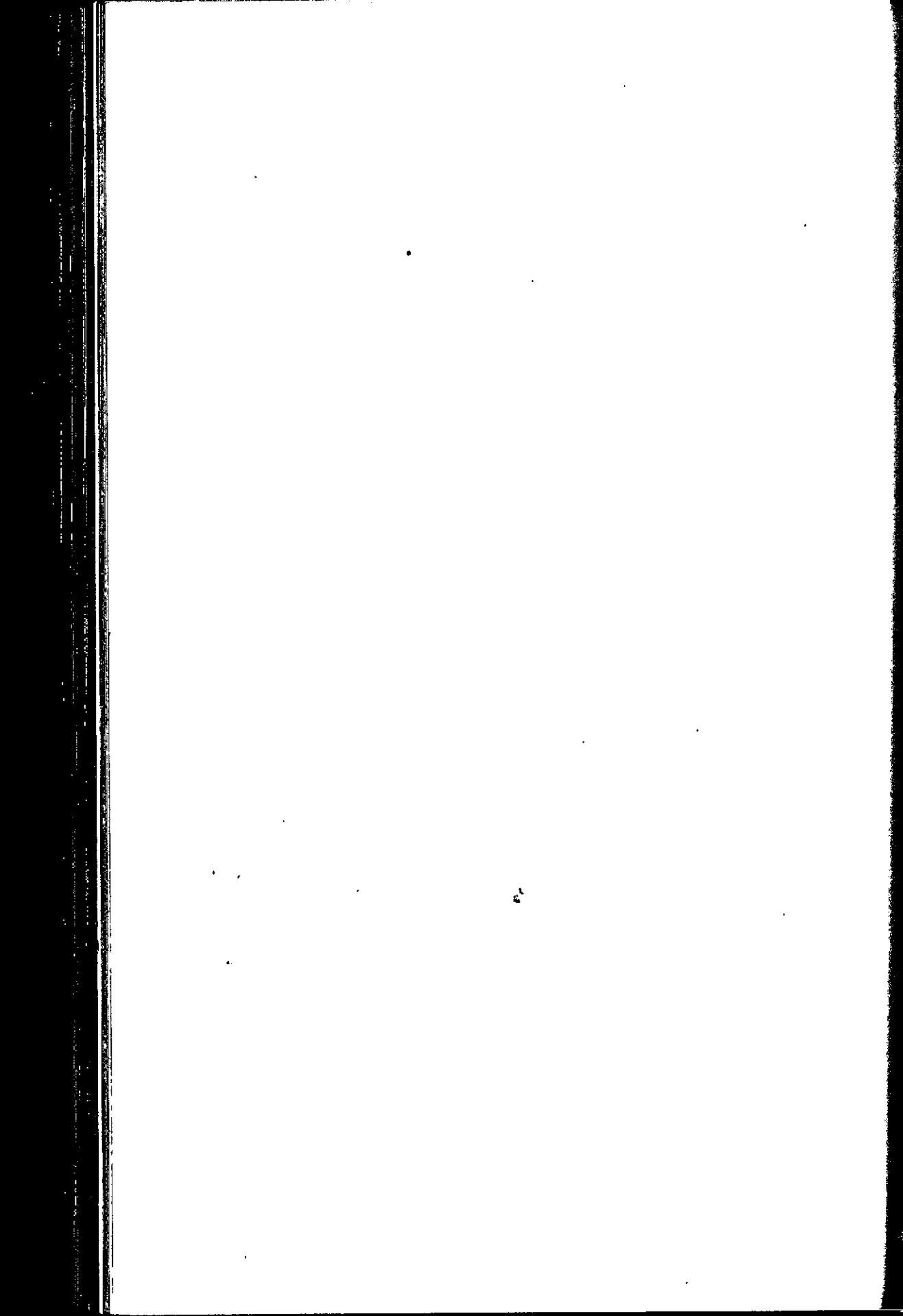
<sup>2</sup>This is an experience of another person, retold in the first person by the informant.

<sup>3</sup>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·ripáxvu va· vúra ká·n ?uhyárih. xás pamu?ákka mupí·mač ?uhyárih. xás ?avansáxxi·č ?u·m ?u?áho·tih, pa?ipahassúru kúniš tu?u·m.
18. xás paye·nipaxvúhič va· vúra ?uhyárih. xás paye·m ?áxxak pa?ávansa kun?iruvê·hrim mupí·mač. xás pa?avansáxxi·č ?ipahassúruk tu?u·m.
19. čiší· ?uhyári ?amkirassúruk.
20. pačiší· ká·n ?uhyárih. xás ?á ?u?ákkura·ti papimustihvá·narak.
21. pačiší· ?uhyári ?amkírak ?a?, ?u?á·mti ?asíp?anamahačak.
22. pa?ávansa ká·n ?uhyárih, ?u?ákkihti páčiší·h.
23. pačiší· ká·n ?uhyárih. xás pa·čví·v ká·n ?úksi·ptih, kúniš tu?áy páčiší·h.
24. pačiší· ?u?áharamuti sahíšyu·xač.
25. pačiší· ká·n ?úkri·, tó ·kfu·yšur, ?umyáhya·htih.
26. tú·yšip ?uvê·hrimva, xás ?utišra·mhití mussúrukam. xás musmus·?asiktá·n ká·n ?uhyárih, píriš ?u?á·mtih.
27. ká·n tišrámka·m, xás ?úhθa·mhitih, káru ?ipahá?anamahač ká·n ?u?í·hya. káru pírišxárahsa ?uvê·hrimva mupí·mač. ?utišramhúnni·hva káru máruk, víri va· ká·n káru ?uhθa·mhíramhitih.
28. pa?ávansa ?usrú·nti payurasčiší·h.
29. ?ukú·ntako· páčiší·h, ?ikrivtakukfí·pux, káru ?išrê·ri·pux.
30. payð·k ?ávansa vura·kírak ?uvð·rura·tih, ?úmka·nvutih.
31. payð·k kuyrá·k ?axxi·č kun?iruvê·hriv. káru tapas?ápsu·n ká·n ?iθyárukírukam ?utákvi·hriv, muxvá· ?á ?uhyárih. xás pa·xxí·č kuníkšu·p·kuti pa?ápsu·n.
32. payð·k ?áxxak pa?ápsu·n, kúniš čiími kuníška·ksipre·viš. pa·xxí·č ?u·mkun káru tá kunmah, pa?ápsu·n.
33. pa?ápsu·n ?iθyáru kuníška·karanik, xás pa·xxí·č tá kun?á·θva, xás kuníhmar. xás yíθθa pa·xxí·č tó ·kyíviš, tó ·kyívivruk.
34. páy ?u·m ?ú·θ yúrasak. xás pakú·sra tuvð·nsip. káru páppa· ?ú·θ ?uθívru·htih.
35. ká·n ?asiktáva·n ?uhyári yurásti·m. xás pa?ávansa ?ú·θ ?uví·tih.
36. payð·k yurásti·m kunifyúkki·čvuti pa?ávansa káru paye·ripáxvuh.
37. páy ?u·m pičas?íppaha ?uvê·hrimya, xás simsfmtas ?uta·spáθahitih.
38. páy ?u·m ?úhθa·m, ko·nmúrax.
39. páy ?u·m tišrámka·m, xás ?utuysi·prinahiti yi·v. xás ?ipahá?anamahač ká·n ?u?í·hya.
40. ?áxxak pátti·k, ?á? kunvê·hriv.
41. páy ?u·m ti·k. xás ?a·s kič. xás pa?íššaha tu?irihšúro·tik?íppanič.
42. ?amkír ?uθθá·niv. ?ássip ?ávahkam ?uθríttako·. pa?asiktáva·n ?utrá·mnihti pa?ássipak.
43. pa?asiktáva·n yi·vári kú·k tu?í·pma, tó ·kta·msi·pa?ássip.
44. pa?amkír ká·n ?uθθá·niv, xás ?ukxúrikahiti ?ávahkam ?íppaha. ká·n ?ávansa ?uhyárih, ?úmму·stih.
45. xás tu?ú·si pa?íppaha, xás yi·vári kú·k tu?í·pma.
46. pa?ávansa muhrð· xákka·n ká·n kun?iruvê·hriv. pa?avansáxxi·č ?á·čip ?uhyárih, paye·nipaxvúhič ?u·m ?áppapakam.
47. ?iškê·šak xákkarari ?áxxak ?ávansa kun?iruvê·hriv. yíθθa ?iθyáruk ?úksu·pkaratih.
48. kúkku·m vúra va· kun?iruvê·hriv pa?ávansas. kúna vúra paye·m ?áppapakam ?asiktáva·n yíθθa. pa?ð·kukam ?u·m ?úksu·pkuna·ti pa?áxxak.
49. paye·m ?u·m pa?asiktáva·n ?ð·kukam. xás ?u·m kunčú·phiti pa?ávansa xákka·n. pa?iθyárukam tá páče·č.
50. ká·n ?ára ?áxxak, yíθθa ?u·m fá·tva ?á·pun ?ukyá·tih.

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 ?aṽ "to eat"; or they may be analyzable in part only, such as kúhi "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 píšma·ra "to finish drinking," from p- Iterative, ?iš "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 ačnatxā·t, from ačna·t "rat" + xā·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 č e f h i k m n o p r s t θ u v x y #. Accent marks, length marks, glottal stop, and the distinction between s and š 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 ?ē·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 zoölogical 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. ʔaʔ adv. up; above
  1. ʔáʔhinva adv. high: G621.16
  2. ʔáʔu-yič adv. Sugarloaf, a mountain near Somes Bar: "little above-mountain"; 1531, G621.9
  3. ʔaʔvárih adj. high: G621.19
  4. ʔá ʔiknê-čhan a bird sp., probably the duck hawk; see Kroeber, 1946, p. 13: "one who lives above"; 493, G758, G532
  5. ʔá ʔiknu-ptíhačhan footed bowl basket (O'Neale, p. 44): "one which pierces upward" (i.e., perh., "is pointed"); 502, G757, G758, G532
  6. ʔá ʔikxi-ptíhan airplane: "one which flies above"; 549, G757, G532
  7. ʔáʔ kumaʔí·riš upstairs: "above floor"; G530, 684
2. ʔáčak- puppy
 

The free form is supplied by the dimin. ʔáčakič.
3. ʔáčaku a.i. to float in a bunch
4. ʔáčavúra adv. a variant of čavúra "finally"
5. ʔáčê·viš a woman's name: G621.10?
6. ʔáčĭ interj. an exclamation of fright
7. ači·č louse: G621.9?
  1. ačičtunvê·č blue grass, *Poa annua* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 28): "little lice," 1398.1
8. ʔa·čĭchi p.i. to be happy: G622.1?
  1. ʔa·čĭčara happy (T24.32): G754.3, G761
  2. ʔa·čĭchi·vrik tp.t. to be glad to see (someone): G754.21, with irreg. morphophonemics
9. ʔači:mû:č a variant of čĭ:mû:č "lizard"
10. ʔá·čĭp adv. middle, center
  1. ʔáčĭpčĭ·nkirak adv. a place name, Bluenose (Map, no. 49): "at middle island"; 299, G621.1
  2. ʔáčĭpʔó·rayva a certain cut of salmon: "middle belly-rumbling"; 1028, G761
  3. ʔáčĭptĭ·k middle finger: 1375
  4. ʔá·čĭp vape·piθváram Van Pelt and Delaney's store in Orleans: "middle store"; G420, 1108.1
11. áčku·n swamp robin
12. ačna·t rat
  1. ačnatʔapvúyhi·č a plant, yarrow, *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 236): "imitation rat-tail"; 125, G614.2
  2. ačnátʔi·v rat's nest: 789
  3. ačnátus place where a rat stores its food: cf. 1239.2
  4. ačnatxá·t flying squirrel: "stinking rat," 1608

13. áčnu·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. ačvi·v bird
1. ačvív?ápka·s a type of wild iris (see Schenck and Gifford, no. 47): "bird iris," 109
  2. ačví·vhirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 74): G622.1, G823.2
  3. ačvívka·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. ?á·f excrement
1. ?afiknívna·mič adv. privy: "little excrement-house"; 493.4, G621.9
  2. ?áfnu·n hip  
-nu·n is not identifiable.
  3. ?áfup buttocks  
-up is not identifiable.
    1. ?afupčú·rax anus  
-čú·rax is not identifiable.
18. ?afčú·fič adv. a place name (Map, no. 108): perh. "little excrement-creek"; 1484, G621.9, but with irreg. accent
1. ?afčufičθu·f Crawford Creek: 1464
19. ?áfira leaves of imká·nva, the 'sunflower' or gum plant, *Grindelia robusta* var. *patens* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 222)
20. ?áfiš p.t. to touch
1. ?afi'še·na p.t. to feel (by touching)  
-e·na is not identifiable.
21. ?afíši·h Western service berry, *Amelanchier alnifolia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 123)
1. ?afíši·p service berry bush: 638
22. ?afišríhan pers. young man, esp. an unmarried one: G753.3, G532? The dimin. is ?afíšnihanič
1. ?afíšnihanpihni·č pers. bachelor: "old unmarried man," 1117.1
  2. ?afíšrihanxárA a man's name: "tall young man," 1622
23. ?afitú·nvà s.i. to be jealous: G751
24. ?áfiv p.t. to make the bottom of (a basket)
1. ?áfiva adv. bottom (of anything): G761  
The dimin. is ?afiví·č "(the) very bottom."
25. áfri·h coarse acorn meal
26. afru·s mildewed acorns
27. aftáram adv. a place name (Map, no. 59)
1. aftarámθu·f Stanshaw Creek: 1464
28. afyi·v pers. friend
1. afyi·v + mah to be friendly with: "to see (as) a friend," 956
29. ?á·h p.i. to carry or handle fire
1. ?á·ha fire; lantern, electric light, electricity: G761  
The irreg. alternant ?á·h occurs in most combinations.
  1. ?ahé·mši·para widower: "one whose fire has gone out"; 593, G764
  2. ?ahikyá·ra·m adv. fireplace, chimney: "fire-making place"; 557, G766

3. ?ahíθyura railroad train: "fire-car," 787.2  
 4. ?áhpá·h steamship: "fire-boat," 1039  
 5. ?ahtákniha automobile: "fire-wheel," 1285.1  
 1. ?ahtákni muyukúkkuh automobile tire: "auto its-shoe";  
 G410, 1713  
 2. ?áhiš(rih) p.i. to set or light a fire: "to put fire down," G753.3  
 3. ?á·hku p.t. to set fire to, to burn: "to put fire on," G753.8  
 30. ?áha- p.t. to herd, drive, as in ?áhaθuna "to herd around" (G753.29)  
 1. ?áharamu tp.t. to follow, chase  
 -ramu is not identifiable.  
 2. ?aha'vo· p.t. to herd toward (T70.17): G753.10, G754.13  
 31. ?áhačaku tp.2t. to withhold from, to hold out on  
 32. ?aháknaħ goose  
 33. ?áhakuv p.i. to go to (a place)  
 34. -?áhara used in counting points of a deer's horns (see 1275) but  
 occurring only in itro·pa?áhara "five-point buck" and ?itahara?áhara  
 "ten-point buck"  
 35. ?ahára·mu s.i. to become ashamed  
 36. ?ahavaráku·sra(h) adv. the ninth month of the Karok year: 932  
 37. ?ahavi'ška·nva p.i. to fish with a type of large dip-net; to hunt or  
 fish (in general): G753.4, G751?  
 38. ?ahčah?ípanač adv. a place name, part of Red Cap rancheria (Map,  
 no. 113): 644, G621.9?  
 39. ?ahí- a.i. to burn (rare; largely replaced by ?ínku, 622.1)  
 1. ?ahíram adv. fireplace: "burning place," G766  
 2. ?ahiri'mka·nva a.i. (trees) to lie burned across a stream  
 (T3.81): G752.2, G753.4, G751  
 40. áhku·s inner bark of the maple  
 41. ?áho· p.i. to go, walk, travel, arrive (here)  
 1. ?ahó·kira sidewalk: G754.9, G761  
 2. ?ípaho· p.i. to return; to travel onward: G731  
 42. ahtú·n oak bark  
 43. ahtu·y adv. trash pile: cf. 1409  
 1. ahtuyšúnukič adv. a sweathouse at ?ame·kyá·ra·m rancheria:  
 "under a trash pile," 1248.3, G621.9  
 44. ?áhup stick, wood  
 1. ?ahup?ámva·n woodworm: "wood-eater," 201.5  
 2. ?ahup?ásip wooden box, coffin: "wooden basket," 156  
 3. ?ahup?ikyáva·n pers. female assistant at the ?ame·kyá·ra·m  
 world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "wood-  
 gatherer"; 557, G762  
 45. ?ahvákiri p.t. to die of: G754.9?  
 46. ?ahvára· hollow tree  
 47. ahyu·m foot-log, bridge  
 48. ?ak- p.t. to put (one's hands), to do with one's hands, to reach, as  
 in ?á·ksip(riv) "to raise one's hands" (G753.26). A phonemically and  
 semantically identical element is identifiable as a submorphemic  
 unit (G710)  
 1. ?akčak p.i. to close one's hands: G752.1  
 2. ?a·krúpriħ tp.t. to lock arms with: "to put one's hands through,"  
 G753.22  
 3. ?á·ksuru 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. ?akō-ra ax: "chopping-instrument"; G751, G754.3, G761  
 1. ?ako-ná?anamahač 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. ?akáhya-n stepfather: G614.10
51. ?ákakurih p.i. (pl.) to shout
52. ?akáray ~ ?akā-y pron. who?, anyone  
 After pu= "not," the allomorphs ?akárA and kárA occur; see 1171.4.  
 1. ?akárayva ~ ?akā-yva anyone, someone, whoever: G621.17
53. ?ákat a.i. to taste like  
 1. pakátkat 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. ?ákih tp.2t. to give (things, or a mass of something) to; to feed
58. ?ákiθ p.t. to handle or move (a soft mass, such as acorn dough)  
 1. ?ákiθtif tp.t. to hit by throwing a soft mass (T63.12): cf. 516
59. ?ákiθ- a.i. to be coiled, as in ?ákiθriṽ "to lie coiled" (G752.2)
60. ?aknap tp.t. to slap, to pat
61. ?aknup p.t. to punch or thump with one's fingers  
 1. ?aknupunúpara guitar: "repeated-thumping instrument"; G740,  
 G761
62. akra-h lamprey, 'eel'
63. ?á-kramu p.i. to argue, to wage war  
 1. ?akramúram adv. a place name (Map, no. 16): "arguing-place,"  
 G766
64. ?akrap tp.t. to slap: cf. 480
65. akrávsī-p Oregon ash tree, *Fraxinus oregona* (Schenck and Gifford,  
 no. 187): 638?
66. ?a-ksā-nva p.i. to incur bad luck  
 1. ?a-ksā-nva bad luck: G761  
 1. ?aksanváhi-č a flower, the shooting-star, Dodecatheon sp.  
 (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): "imitation bad luck," G614.2
67. aksípta-hko adv. a place name, Head Camp: 1273.2
68. ?aktif tp.t. to shove aside: cf. 514, 605
69. aktinákira rocks on each side of the doorway in an Indian house, which  
 one grasps when entering: The accent of the locative aktinakírak shows  
 that there is a morpheme boundary before -kira (G381.3); presumably  
 -kiri (G754.9) and -a (G761) are present.
70. aktipánárA ripgut grass, *Bromus rigidus* (Schenck and Gifford, no.  
 26): 1003  
 1. aktipánaratunvé-č a grass sp.: "small ripgut grass," 1398.1
71. ?aktuṽ p.t. to pluck at  
 1. ?aktumtō-ra guitar: "repeated-plucking instrument"; G740,  
 G754.3 (with irreg. contraction), G761
72. ákθi-p wild barley, *Hordeum leporinum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 31)  
 1. akθip?ámva-n horse (obsolete; now replaced by čiši-h, 305): 201.5

2. akθi·phírak adv. Trinity Summit: "(at) barley-place," G622.1, G823.2 -
73. ákθípiš a man's name: perhaps "little barley"; 72; G621.10
74. ?akunihá·skih a man's name: translated in Kroeber, 1925, p. 108, as "shoots swiftly"; cf. 75, 703
75. ?ákunva p.t. to hunt: G751?  
1. ?akunvá:pxa·n man's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "hunting cap," 126
76. ?á·kup tp.2t. to challenge to (a game)
77. ?akvákira quiver: G754.9, G761?
78. akva·t raccoon
79. akvatí·v adv. a place name (Map, no. 64): perhaps "raccoon-ears"; 1414, but with irreg. accent
80. akvi·n nettle, *Urtica gracilis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 77)
81. ákvi·s wildcat  
The dimin. is akví·šič.
82. akvítip alder tree, *Alnus rhombifolia* or *A. rubra* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 67 and 68): 638
83. ákxa·p ripgut grass, *Bromus rigidus*  
1. akxá·pak ?atatúra·hitihan 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. ?akxárap 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. ?á·mA salmon: perhaps 201, G751 (with irreg. morphophonemics), G761. In preposund position, the alternant ?amva- usually occurs.  
1. ?amvá·mva·n otter: "salmon-eater," 201.5  
2. ?am(v)e·kyá·ra·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 85): "salmon-making place"; 557, G766
87. ?amih- found only in the following compounds:  
1. ?amihkê·m stingy: 868  
2. ?amíhyav generous: 1665
88. ámku·f smoke  
1. ámku·fkuniš adj. blue: "like smoke," G621.13
89. ámta·p dust, ashes; (as postpound) gray  
1. amtáparas 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. amtá·pič earthworm: "little dust," G621.9
90. amti·kê·ra 'Indian cards,' the sticks used in gambling.
91. amtu·p clay; (adv.) a place name, uphill and downriver from puriθ?íp-xuv, 1177.3
92. amyiv soot
93. ?á·n string, twine, thread, rope
94. ?ána·č crow: perhaps "little medicine"; 95, G621.9  
1. ?anačfiθih a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13i): "crow-foot," 360  
2. ?anač?úhiš mistletoe, *Phoradendron villosum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 79): "crow-seed," 1480.2
95. ?ánav medicine

1. ?ane·krívra·m adv. hospital: "medicine-house," 493.4  
 2. ?ane·kyáva·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·kyavan?ikrívra·m adv. hospital: "doctor-house," 493.4
96. ?á·naxus ~ ?á·nxus weasel  
 97. ?anihð·hič 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?ára·r by-name for kačakā·č, the crested jay: "Weitchpec person"; G420, 132
100. ?á·nva p.i. to paint one's (own) face: G751?  
 1. ?á·nvaθ tp.t. to paint (some)one's face: G754.12, with haplology
101. \*ap, a submorphemic element meaning "body part," identifiable in 111, 112, 114, 115, and 125
102. ?ap adv. a variant of ?ip "recent past," 635  
 103. ?apáčih a type of worm, found in the heads of deer; a man's name  
 104. ?ápak a.i. (earth) to slide  
 1. ?ápaka cliff: G761  
 1. ?apaka?ípan adv. a place name (Map, no. 19): "clifftop," 644
105. ?áPakač apricot(s): from the English plural  
 106. ?ápap adv. on one side  
 107. ?ápič tp.t. to seek, look for  
 108. ?á·phu p.t. to carry (two objects)  
 109. ápka·s ground iris, *Iris macrosiphon* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 57)  
 110. apkð·k a man's name  
 111. apkíruh thigh  
 112. apma·n mouth; beak (of a bird)  
 1. apman?ikrixúpxupa pepper: "mouth-burning"; 498, G761  
 2. apmansú·yhi s.i. to have traces of food around one's mouth: 1263, G622.1  
 3. apmantáčučara talkative person  
 G621.2?; -táčuč is not identifiable.  
 4. apmánti·m adv. (on one's) lip: "mouth-edge," 1377  
 5. apmaráfrih lip: -áfrih not identifiable  
 6. apmárara woodpecker-head sash: "having beaks," G621.2  
 7. apmaráxvuh whiskers: "mouth-fuzz," 251
113. apra·x fox  
 114. ápri·h tongue  
 115. ápsi·h leg  
 1. apsihíxánamkunišičasa gold fern, *Gymnogramme triangularis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 5): "little blacklegs"; 538.4, G621.9, G621.6  
 2. apsihəákurara bowlegged: G621.2?; -əákur- not identifiable
116. ápsu·n snake  
 1. apsun?áxra·n quaking grass, *Briza minor* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 29): "snake-tracks," 231

2. apsunmúnukič a type of snake, the Western yellow-bellied racer (H): "slippery snake," 985  
 1. apsunmunukičʔímka·nva mountain hemp, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* var. *nevadense* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 190): "racer's sunflower," 576.1
3. apsúnpu·fve·na gopher snake: G767; -pu·f- not identifiable
4. apsúnθu·f Five Mile Creek: "snaké creek," 1464
5. apsunxárA a legendary giant serpent, called a 'boa constrictor' by one informant: "long snake," 1602  
 1. apsunxaraʔímka·nva a plant, green dock, *Rumex conglomeratus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 80): "long-snake's sunflower," 576.1
6. apsunyúfiv a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13f): "snake-nose," 1685
117. aptíníhič braided bear-lily leaves, from which aprons are made: G621.9?
118. ápti·k branch, limb (of a tree)
119. ʔá·pučur a.i. to collapse (meaning and form uncertain; found only in T52.74)
120. ʔá·pun adv. on the ground  
 1. ʔapúnfa·θ pine-mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 182): "ground manzanita," 352  
 2. ʔá·punič adj. low: G621.9
121. ʔapunáxvuh gum (of plants); glue
122. ʔa·punmu tp.t. to know (a fact), to know about (a person or thing), to find out: 753.10?  
 1. ʔa·púnmi·k tp.t. to learn from: cf. 1241.1
123. ʔápuř tp.t. to bewitch, to 'devil'  
 The allomorph ʔápuru- occurs in some combinations.  
 1. ʔapúnku tp.t. to bewitch, 'devil': G753.8  
 2. ʔápuru·n magic charm or 'devil machine' used by a sorcerer: perh. G532, with irreg. contraction  
 3. ʔapurúva·n pers. evil sorcerer, 'Indian devil': "bewitcher"; G751, G762  
 1. ʔapuruváni·k adv. a place name, part of ʔasánna·mkarak rancheria; "devil place"; G614.7, G621.1
124. ʔáPus apple(s): from the English plural  
 1. ʔapuspā·y apple pie: 1105
125. ápvu·y tail; cf. 1344  
 1. apvuyíθyurara 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. apxánmu·m bumblebee: cf. 983  
 2. apxantíníhič ~ apxantínič ~ apxanti·č white man: "flat-cap" (because of the brims on white men's hats), 1388.1  
 1. apxanti·čampínišič tea: "white man's yerba buena," 1418.1  
 2. apxanti·čʔimšáxvuh chewing gum: "white man's gum," 592  
 3. apxanti·čpu·fič sheep, goat: "white man's deer," 1174  
 4. apxanti·čri·-k adv. city: "white-man place"; G614.7, G621.1  
 5. apxanti·čtáyi·θ potato (obsolete, replaced by putíruh): "white man's brodiaea," 1363

6. apxanti·čya·sʔárA the government: "white-man chief," 1660
127. ʔárA ~ ʔárah person
1. ʔarári·k adv. rancheria, i.e., an Indian village: "person-place"; G614.7, G621.1
  2. ʔaráta·nva disease object or 'pain,' i.e., a magical worm which causes illness: 1307
    1. ʔaráta·nva + kē·na to be disease (in a stated body-part): "a 'pain' to wiggle," 869
    2. ʔaráta·nva + pihruv (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. ʔára ʔuʔipamvā·natihirak Medicine Mountain: "where a person eats himself"; G520, G731, 201, G754.17, G757, G823.2
  4. ʔára ʔutā·naxihithirak the land of the dead: G520, G757, G823.2  
-tā·naxihi- is not identifiable.
128. ʔaráka·s old man
129. -ʔáRamah child (in the sense of "offspring")  
Used only with possessives, except in the derivatives below. The corresponding plural is -tunvi·v.
1. -ʔánamahač adj. little, small: G621.9  
The sequence -ana- behaves morphophonemically like a long vowel (G383). The suppletive plural is -tunvê·č(asa), 1398.1; the corresponding free forms are singular ní·namič, plural tū·pičas.
  2. ʔanamáhi·č(va) doll: "imitation child," G614.2
130. ʔarankúrih a.i. to sink (into water): G753.9
1. ʔarankúrihvara sinker: "sinking-instrument," G751, G754.3, G761
131. ʔarápru·t millipede
132. ʔára·ra pers. man (i.e., human being), person; Indian; (with possessives) relative: cf. 127
1. ʔara·rahiTih p.i. (pl.an.) to live, sit, stay, be: G622.1, G757, with irreg. accent. Corresponds to sg. ikriv, du. ʔi·na.
  2. ʔararamvanyupsítanač ~ -ič a type of fly, the 'horsefly': "baby man-eater"; 201.5, 1698.10
  3. ʔararapišpíših yellowjacket: "Indian bee," 1153
  4. ʔararaprāms wild plum(s): "Indian plum(s)," 1170
  5. ʔararássa·k arrowhead: "Indian bullet," 1196
  6. ʔararaxúska·mhara bow: "Indian gun," 1642
  7. ʔararaya·sʔárA the Bureau of Indian Affairs: "Indian-chief," 1660
  8. ʔararé·pto·rara census taker: "person-counter"; G731, 1396, G754.3, G761
  9. ʔararé·špuka dentalium shells: "Indian money," 716
133. ʔarári·hkanhi s.i. to get well, recover (from an illness); (a wound) to heal: G622.1?
1. ʔarári·hkanhivaθ tp.t. to cure (a sick person): "to cause to recover," G754.12
134. ʔaratváraf black mud
135. ʔáraṽ p.i. to weave with three strands (in basketry)
136. ʔaRaṽ- p.i. to start, to come  
Used only in the following:
1. ʔarávuk p.i. to start from, to come by way of: G754.17
  2. ʔa·Ramsip(riv) p.i. to start out (on a journey): to come from (a certain place): G753.26, with irreg. accent

137. ʔárih older brother, older male cousin  
The dimin. is ʔa-níhič
138. ʔárih- p.i. to move quickly, often translated "to jump," or in some contexts simply "to go;" as in ʔárihro·vu "to go upriver" (G753.19)  
1. ʔárihiš(rih) s.t. to become, to be transformed into: G753.3
139. ʔárihiš(rih) p.t. to sing: G753.3; but no logical connection with 138.1 seems possible
140. ʔári·m adj. dead
141. ʔárip p.t. to cut a strip or thong from
142. ʔárup navel, navel cord  
1. ʔanúphi·č a plant, coast trillium, *Trillium ovatum*; also applied to the root of fat Solomon, *Smilacina amplexicaulus* (Schenck and Gifford; no's. 54 and 55): "imitation navel," G614.2  
2. ʔarupʔišúnva·n a type of lizard, the skink, *Eumeces* sp. (M): "navel-hider"; 732, G762
143. ʔáru·n adj. empty
144. ʔárus seed basket (O'Neale, p. 45)  
1. ʔanúshi·č a plant, *Godetia* sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): "imitation seed basket," G614.2  
2. ʔánusič thimble: "little seed basket," G621.9
145. ʔá·s adv. water; juice  
1. ʔasápsu·n garter snake, *Eutaenia* sp. (M): "water snake," 116  
2. ʔasáxnahič shallow: G621.9; cf. 229  
3. ʔasáxva·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 4): perh. "muddy water"; cf. 246  
4. ʔá·shi s.i. to be wet: G622.1  
5. ʔasíkta·mnam bucket: "carrying water in"; 513, G753.14, G761  
6. ʔasiktáva·n ~ ʔasiktá·n pers. woman; female (as in musmus-ʔasiktáva·n "cattle-female, cow"); "water-carrier"; 513, G762  
1. ʔasiktavankê·m a woman's name: "homely woman," 868  
2. ʔasiktáva·n ʔimxa·θíhan a plant sp.: "that which smells like a woman"; 615, G757, G532  
7. ʔaskanyupθúkirara a legendary animal, identified with the African lion by some informants: "water panther"; G621.1, 1698.11  
8. ʔa·skíPač adj. wet: G621.12  
9. ʔasó·kira flume: evidently a contraction from \*ʔas-ʔahó·kira "water-going instrument"; 41, G754.9, G761  
10. ʔá·s + ʔiš to eat a meal: "to drink water," 689  
1. ʔasʔišáhiva adv. meal, mealtime: "meal-eating occasion"; 754.1, 761
146. ʔasa rock, stone; in some compounds (see subentries 1 and 8), earth, dirt  
1. ʔasáfu·n red earth, ochre: cf. 370  
2. ʔasake·mʔiša·nač adv. a place name (Map, no. 3): perh. "little watery bad-rock"; 868, 689.1 (with irreg. contraction), G621.2, G621.9  
3. ʔasánma·m adv. a sweathouse at ʔame·kyá·ra·m rancheria: "behind a rock," 965  
4. ʔasánna·mkara·k adv. a place name (Map, no. 84): 1009, G753.4, G621.1  
5. ʔasapatxáxak adv. crack in a rock (T33.60): G621.1; -patxax-not identifiable  
6. ʔasappê·č rock wall: 1106, G761, G621.9, with irreg. contraction.

1. *ʔasape·čʔípan* adv. a place name (Map, no. 72): "end (or top) of a rock wall," 644
7. *ʔasapítvu·mupa* adv. a place name (Map, no. 1): "new-rock flowing-downriver"; 1155, 1595, G753.24, G716
8. *ʔasappū·xve·nač* cliff swallow, *Petrochelidon* sp. (M): "one which carries earth in its mouth"; 1186, G767, G621.9
9. *ʔasattáran* bedrock; cement: cf. G752.5
10. *ʔasaʔurúhʔi·vre·n* a mountain near Katimin: "round-rock summit"; 1497, 798
11. *ʔasáʔuy* adv. a hill below the mouth of the Salmon River: "rock hill," 1510
  1. *ʔasaʔuyʔíkura* adv. the ridge leading up this hill, along which the spirits of the dead pass upon leaving this world: 520.1.1
12. *ʔasavê·hka·k* adv. a place name, The Three Sisters: "(at) rock standing-on"; 1539, G753.8, G761, G621.1
13. *ʔasavúrika* adv. a place name (Map, no. 93): "flowing in under a rock"; 1575.2, G761
14. *ʔasaxxárahsa ʔuvê·hrivirak* a place name, Allison's Lodge: "where long rocks stand"; 1602, G621.16, G520, 1539.2, G823.2
15. *ʔasaxxê·m* moss, lichen: "rock-seaweed," 1621
  1. *ʔasaxxê·vara* Baldy Peak: "mossy," G621.2
16. *ʔasáxxu·s* soapstone; rubber: "smooth rock," 1640
  1. *ʔasaxuskútrahara* raincoat: "rubber coat," 945.1
  2. *ʔasaxusyukúkuh* boot(s): "rubber shoe(s)," 1693
17. *ʔasaya:yâ:hara* a rock near *ʔasánna·mkarak* rancheria, having the power to cure stutterers: "stuttering rock"; 1669, G754.3, G716
18. *ʔasó·hra·m* stone pipe: 1480.3
19. *ʔássak va·txarakavrú·kvutihán* 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. *ʔasa* p.t. to wear (on one's body)
148. *ʔasámnih* 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. *ʔasámyi·θ* gravel: 146?
150. *ʔasápi·p* black cottonwood tree, *Populus trichocarpa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 66): 638
151. *ʔasátu·m* adv. a place name, Trinidad (a Yurok town)
152. *ʔasaxrátθu·f* Halverson Creek (?): perh. "water-thorn (or -gooseberry) creek"; 145, 233, 1464
153. *ʔasaxváriš* moss which grows in the water: 145, G621.10?
  1. *ʔasaxvanišʔámva·nič* water ouzel, *Cinclus mexicanus* var. *unicolor* (H): "little moss-eater"; 201.5, G621.9
154. *ʔaxáxvuh* 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. *ʔasaxyípit* quartz: 146?
156. *ʔásip* bowl basket (O'Neale, p. 36); dish, vessel of any kind  
May be used as a classifier.

1. ʔásipak adv. a place name (Map, no. 68): "in a bowl basket," G621.1
  1. ʔasipákθu:f Teneyck Creek: 1464
2. ʔasipʔakramníha: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. ʔasípʔanamahač girl's soup basket (O'Neale, plate 5a): "small bowl basket," 129.1
4. ʔasipárax cooking basket (O'Neale, p. 35) or water basket (ibid., p. 37): 1065?
  1. ʔasipánaxič snail: "little cooking basket," G621.9
5. ʔasipʔiya·takúra·m adv. dish cupboard: "dish putting-on place"; 819, G752.4, G766
6. ʔasipsarišríhra·m adv. dish cupboard: "dish putting-down place"; 1211, G753.3, G766
7. ʔasiptayhitíhra·m adv. dish cupboard: "dish-lying place"; 1361.2, G766
8. ʔasipxánahič a type of basket, used for cooking small quantities: "little tall bowl-basket"; 1602, G621.9
9. ʔasipxaná(h)ʔanamahač boy's soup basket (O'Neale, plate 5b): "small tall bowl-basket"; 1602, 129.1
157. ʔásiṽ p.i. to sleep
  1. ʔasimáčiš(rih) tp.t. to put to sleep (T24.12): G754.12, G753.3, with irreg. accent
  2. ʔasímčak p.i. to close one's eyes: G752.1
    1. ʔasimčákčakve·nač wren, Troglodytes sp. (M): "little one which repeatedly closes its eyes"; G740, G767, G621.9
  3. ʔasimváram adv. bed: "sleeping-place"; G751, G766
  4. ʔá·siš(rih) p.i. to go to bed, to lie down: G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics
158. ʔá·siv cave, overhanging rock
  1. ʔasivtíšra·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 32): "cave-clearing," 1391
159. askamná·θu:f Five Mile Creek (?): 1464
160. asku:p trout
  1. asku:pámva:n kingfisher: "trout-eater," 201.5
  2. askuptunvê·č minnows: "small trout," 1398.1
161. asma·x towhee, Pipilo maculatus (M)
162. ʔásne·pirax a woman's name
163. aspahó·kra·m a pond at Katimin: 1483
164. ʔa·srávara brains
165. asta·h duck
  1. astahvð·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. astári·š quiet, silent
168. asti·p adv. on the river-bank  
The dimin. is astí·pič "right on (or by) the river-bank"
169. astu·k sweat
  1. astú·khi p.i. to sweat: G622.1
170. ʔásuv p.i. to grumble
  1. ʔasúvi·š tp.t. to scold: -i·š not identifiable



171. ?asú·xara adj. fasting
172. ?asúxi·m sugar-pine gum; sugar  
 1. ?asuximpaxvirí·xvira candy: "sugar-sucking"; 1103, G761  
 2. ?asuximxanahyá·č candy cane: "long sugar"; 1602, G621.20
173. asvúfam adv. a place name, the Yurok town of kenek (as recorded in Kroeber, 1925, p. 9)  
 1. asvufám·?asa a basket design (O'Neale, fig. 16): "kenek rock," 146
174. asvu·t ant  
 1. asvutanámka·m wood-ant: 846; -anam- not identifiable  
 2. asvutxá·t red ant: "stinking ant," 1608
175. á·sxa·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. ?á·t 'spring salmon,' king salmon, *Onchorhynchus tshawytscha* (H) (obsolete; now replaced by išyá·t, 744.1)  
 1. ?atmahavnúka·nič 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. ?átiš back meat of salmon: 690? G621.10?  
 1. ?atíšu·f back meat of salmon: 1250
178. ?áTA adv. maybe, I suppose  
 May be used as a qualifier of interrogatives, in the sense of "I wonder" (G836.1)  
 1. ?ataffá·t adv. maybe: 350  
 1. ?ataffá·t na· maybe (T3.110): 994  
 2. ?atahári adv. always, all the time, for some time, anytime: 377  
 1. ?ataháriš ~ ?ataháre·š adv. always: G621.10?
179. ?atáh·?i·všura a woman's name
180. ?atahnú·xve·nač bluebird: G767, G621.9
181. ?atahvíčki·nač common geranium, *Geranium dissectum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 133): G621.9
182. ?átat p.t. to twist
183. ?átay salmon eggs, roe: 177?  
 1. ?atayčúkinač young brodiaea plant, *Brodiaea capitata* (H): "little blue (or green?) salmon-eggs"; 1469, G621.9  
 2. ?atayčúrip California blackberry, *Rubus vitifolius* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 113): -čúrip not identifiable  
 3. ?atáyxu·n salmon roe baked with powdered manzanita berries: "salmon-egg acorn-soup," 1631
184. ?atáyra·m star  
 1. ?ataynamtunvê·č(as) the Pleiades: "small stars," 1418.1  
 2. ?atayramsíšxárahara dragonfly: "star having a long penis," 1238, 1602, 764
185. ?atípi·ma carrion, rotten meat  
 1. ?atipimá·mva·n buzzard: "carrion-eater," 201.5
186. ?átiš 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. ?atíšpiya·n great-grand-relative through a man; i.e., father's grandparent's-sibling, son's or nephew's grandchild: G614.10

2. ?atíšva'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. ?átiṽ p.t. to carry (things which lie in a mass, like acorns) in a burden basket. Derivatives show two irreg. alternants: ?átivu-, as in the durative ?átivuṽih; and ?á-ti-, as in ?á-tífuruk "to carry indoors" (G753.2)
1. ?átimnam '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 ?átimnavak or, irregularly, ?átimnak
2. ?á-tiš(rih) p.t. to carry (acorns or the like) home in a pack basket: "to carry down," G753.3
3. ?a-tišip(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. ?átiva burden-basket load (used as a classifier): G761
5. ?ativákira packsaddle: "carrying-instrument"; G754.9, G761
188. átpi·h rib
189. átra·x arm
1. atrax?ípan adv. shoulder: "arm-end," 644
190. átru·p palm of the hand
191. átvax collarbone
192. ?áθan gill
193. ?áθan p.i. to float
194. ?áθip p.t. to wring
1. ?áθipara wringer: "wringing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
195. ?áθit trash, bits of refuse
196. ?áθi·k adj. cold; cold weather
1. ?áθi·k + ?iṽ (a person) to be cold: "to die cold," 788
197. ?áθi·θ hazel withe
1. ?áθiθxuntápan hazelnut: "hazel-withe acorn," 1631.1
2. ?áθiθu·f Indian Creek: "hazel-withe creek," 1464
1. ?áθiθúftíšra·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 8): "Indian-Creek clearing," 1391
2. ?áθiθúfθu·f Indian Creek: 1464
3. ?áθiθúfvu·nupma ~ -vu·num adv. a place name, Happy Camp (Map, no. 9): 1575, G753.24, G753.10, G761?
198. áθku·n throat
199. aθkúrit fat, grease
1. aθkurit?ámva·n gray jay, *Perisoreus sp. (M)*: "grease-eater," 201.5
2. aθkuritárahiva adv. hunting season (T72.3): G621.2, G754.1, G761? -ahiv is normally added only to verbs.
200. ?á·θva s.i. to be afraid
1. ?á·θva + ikyav to scare (T32.13): "to make afraid"; G761, 557
201. ?aṽ p.t. to eat
1. ?ama- taste: probably containing -á, G761, but with irreg. nasalization. Occurring only in:
1. ?amakkê·m adj. bad-tasting: 868
2. ?amáyav adj. good-tasting: 1665
2. ?amkira table: G754.9, G761
3. ?amkí·nva 'lunch,' i.e. food carried on a journey: G754.9

4. ?amna·m adv. hotel: "eating-place," G766
5. amva·n eater: G751, G762, with irreg. loss of ?
6. ?áva food: "eating," G761
7. ?ávahA food: "being eaten"; G755, G761
  1. ?avahe·knívna·mič adv. pantry: "little food-house"; 493.4, G621.9
8. ?ípaṽ p.t. to eat again: G731
9. pámvā·ra p.t., to finish eating: G731, G754.11; the suffix -mara appears here in an irreg. allomorph. Before derivative suffixes; the alternant pámvāra- occurs.
202. ?á·v adv. face
  1. ?á·vhi tp.t. to face: G622.1
  2. ?áv·i·š cheek: "face-flesh," 690
  3. ?á·vkam adv. ahead, in front: "face-side," G621.11
    1. ?avkam·?ahó·va·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. -?ávah- above  
Occurs only in the locative -?ávak (used only as a postpound) and in the following:
  1. ?ávahkam adv. on top: "above-side," G621.11
    1. ?avahkámva·s waist (i.e., the upper part) of a dress: "top-blanket," 1526
    2. ?avahkam·yukúkuh rubber(s): "top-shoe(s)," 1693
204. ?á·vahara adj. alive
205. ?ávan husband
  1. ?ávanhi tp.t. (a woman) to marry: G622.1
    1. ?avanháhi·č 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. ?ávansa pers. man (i.e., an adult human male): cf. 205
  1. ?avansappíriš a plant sp., having seeds which adhere to clothing; used by men for love medicine: "man-medicine," 1148
  2. ?avansáxi·č pers. boy (of pre-pubertal age): perh. "man-child"; 223, with irreg. morphophonemics. The plural is ?avansáxi·ti·čas.
207. ?ávař p.t. to go (in order to) get: G754.2
208. ?ávax red mud: cf. 215
  1. ?avax·iřra·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 2): "red-mud deer-lick," 689.3
209. ?ave·p tp.2t. to take (something) away from (someone): G754.4?
210. ?a·vika p.t. to carry (a light object): G751
211. ?á·vnay adv. a place name, Cappell (a Yurok town)
  1. ?amnaykú·tič 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. ?á·x blood; (as a postpound) red

1. ?á·xhi s.i. to bleed: G622.1  
 2. ?axímpa·h blood vessel: "blood-path," 585  
 3. ?axímtupa blood clot: 601, G761  
 4. ?a·xkúNiš adj. red; "like blood," G621.13  
 5. im?á·x a.i. to be red: G622.2
216. ?ǎ·x! interj. an exclamation of disgust
217. ?áxak adv. two  
 1. ?áxakhan adv. the second month of the Karok year: G621.5  
 2. ?áxaki·č adv. just two: G621.9  
 3. (?a)xakinívkiha adv. seven: cf. 494  
 1. xakinívkiha·n adv. the seventh month of the Karok year: G621.5  
 4. (?a)xakitráhyar adv. twenty: "two-tens," 755  
 The prepound form is xakitahara-.  
 5. ?axak?ivrávaph twins: "two-born"; 796, G763  
 6. ?axáktak forked-horn buck, i.e., a deer with two points on each horn: "two-point," 1275  
 7. ?axaktíkih ring finger: perh. "two-finger"; cf. 1375.  
 8. ?axákya·n adv. twice: G614.11
218. ?axaríviš adv. a place name (Map, no. 25): G621.10?
219. ?áxaska s.i. (a person) to be thin; to lose weight  
 1. ?áxaska adj. thin (of persons): G761
220. ?áxav- a.i. to collapse, used esp. of earth, as in ?áxavsuru "(earth) to cave off" (G753.27)  
 1. ?áxa:-k adv. cliff: G761, G621.1  
 1. ?axa·?ípan adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: "cliff-top," 644  
 2. ?axa·ssúruk adv. a place name (Map, no. 37): "under a cliff," 1248.3  
 1. pa?axa·ssúruk a woman's name: "the one at ?axa--ssúruk," G810  
 3. ?axa·vúrika adv. a place name (Map, no. 94): "flowing in under a cliff"; 1575.2, G761  
 2. ?áxo·niha landslide: "collapsing down"; G753.30, G761
221. ?áxay tp.2t. to take (something) from (someone)  
 1. ?axayčákiš(rih) tp.t. to grab, seize, catch: G752.1, G753.3
222. ?axáyθip p.t. to rinse
223. axi·ča child; man's brother's child: G621.9? The dimin. is axí·tič.  
 1. axičava·xvâ·x crybaby: -va·xvâ·x not identifiable  
 2. axičaxus?é·θa·n pers. nurse for children: "child care-taker"; 1638.1.5, G762  
 3. axiče·krívra·m adv. womb: "child-house," 493.4
224. axmay adv. suddenly  
 1. ?axmáy ?ik ~ ?axmé·k suddenly; at one moment (T4.114, T20.11): 437, with irreg. contraction in the second alternant
225. axmúhišanač a type of grass: G621.9
226. axpaha headdress  
 1. axpahe·kníkinač 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)

228. áxpu·m meadow mouse, *Microtus* sp. (M)
229. axraha dead tree: cf. 806 (in reference to dryness)
1. axrahassávišriha adv. a place name (Map, no. 24): "dead-tree flowing-down"; 1220; G753.3, G761. The prejunctional form is axrahassáviš#.
230. axra·n foot, paw or hoof of an animal; track(s)
231. axra·s gopher
232. axráspu·f 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. axnatsínihíč snow berry, *Symphoricarpus albus*; also identified as *Draperia systyla* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 196 and 217): "little shiny-thorn"; 1235, G621.9
  2. axrátíp thorn bush, gooseberry bush: 638
234. axrúhíh 'Indian purse,' an elkhorn case for holding small objects
235. axrukuxrúkuh a.i. to rattle: G740
236. áxru·h gray squirrel
237. axθah mussel
238. áxθa·y ground squirrel
239. ?áxuh p.i. to cough
1. ?axuh?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. axva·hara:θkúrit kerosene: "candle-grease," 199
242. axvā·h head
1. axvā·hi- p.i. to have one's head pointing; used with directionals as in axvā·hiro·vu "to lie with one's head pointing upriver" (G753.19); G622.1
  1. axvā·hunih a.i. to go down head first (T9.51); G753.30, with irreg. morphophonemics
  2. axvahihyákuriha gravestone: "head sticking-in"; 433.1, G761
  3. axváhta·hko· blond: "white-head," 1273.2
  4. axváhxu·s bald: "smooth-head," 1640
243. axváhič 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. axvê·p Oregon oak tree: 638, with irreg. contraction
246. axvá·mhi a.i. to be muddy: G622.1; cf. 145.3
247. áxva·y 'crane,' i.e., the great blue heron, *Ardea herodias* (M)
248. axvê·v Dillon Mountain: perh. "crane-house"; 247, 789
249. axviθin dirty (perh. only in the sense of "morally unclean," as in T52.17)
1. axviθirara adj. dirty (physically): G621.2
250. axviθínih grave; graveyard: cf. 249
251. axvuh down, fuzz

252. axyámsurip Western azalea, *Rhododendron occidentale* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 176): 1259  
 1. axyamsuripšúruk adv. a place name (Map, no. 97): "under an azalea," 1248.3
253. axyámθirit cicada
254. axyaf 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. axyúsip 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. ?ayípan grapevine: "grape-top," 644
258. ?áyan (flat-)iron: from English
259. ?áyi-θ ~ ?ayíθri-m adv. a place name, Eyese Bar (Map, no. 55)
260. ?ayú interj. exclamation used to revoke a slip of the tongue
261. ?ayu?á-č ~ ?a-yá-č ~ ?e-yá-č adv. it was because . . . : 260, G621.9?
262. ?ayukī 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-e-kwe, ai-o-kwe "friend" (as given in Powers, p. 479).

## Č

263. čáfič p.t. to gnaw meat from (a bone)  
 1. čáfiča bone to gnaw on: G761
264. čaka?í-mič ~ čaka?í-č ~ kača?í-mič adv. slowly, quietly, gently: G621.9
265. čakapí-pi-h ~ čakakapí-pi-h ' a bird, the bushtit, *Psaltriparus* sp. (M)
266. čakay tp.t. to be disgusted by, to consider nasty  
 1. čakā-hA nasty: G755, G761
267. ča-kíčha-n a man's name
268. čamikní-nač adv. a place name, across-river from sahvúrum rancheria: G621.9
269. čámuxič sucker (a fish): G621.9
270. čamnupu p.t. to break rotten bark off of (trees)  
 1. čamnúpanač a type of woodpecker: "little bark-breaker"; G754.3, G621.9
271. čaná·kat mosquito
272. čanapsñ-yič 'snowbird,' *Junco* sp. (M): G621.9; cf. 1263
273. čánča-f foam  
 1. čánča-fkuniš adj. white: "like foam," G621.13  
 Replaced in postpound position by -ta'hko-, 1273.2.
274. čančak p.i. to close the smoke-hole of an Indian house: G752.1  
 1. čančá·ksuru p.i. to open the smoke-hole: (a.i.) (a barrier) to open (T57.50): G753.27; cf. 1243.1  
 1. čančá·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. čáNiman Chinaman: from English
277. čantírih tick (the animal)
1. čantinihtunvêč tall pepper-grass, *Lepidium virginicum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 100): "small ticks," 1398.1
278. čarihtírih name of a white man: "wide Charley," from English "Charley" + 1388
279. čás younger brother, younger male cousin: cf. 303
280. čáTik ~ číTik adv. finally
281. čatnak p.t. to crack (acorns): cf. 893
282. čatnus a.i. (a boil) to burst: cf. 971
283. čávA adv. of doubtful meaning; once translated as "sure enough, . . ." (T1.113)
284. čavúA ~ ?ačavúA adv. finally: 1577?
285. čêč adv. quickly: G621.9?
286. čémi interj. all right!: cf. 294
287. čémyač adv. quickly: G621.9?
288. čê-xhi a.i. to make the call of the mountain tanager: cf. 737.2
289. čifič tp.t. to beat at gambling
290. čí·hvičva p.i. to sing love songs
1. čí·hvičva love song: G761
291. číKin chicken: from English
1. čikin?úruh (hen's) egg: 1497
  1. čikin?uruhpá·y custard pie: "egg pie," 1105
292. čikus! (with voiceless u) interj. imitation of the sound of poking with a stick (T46.21)
293. čimčf·kara common scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale* var. *robustum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 11): G754.3, G761?
1. čimčikaratunvêč common horsetail, *Equisetum arvense* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 12): "small scouring rushes," 1399.1
294. číMi ~ čí adv. used in anticipative meaning, generally with imperative and future forms (G845.1). The alternant čími, in which the m is subject to gemination, occurs in a few combinations.
1. čímihi p.i. to agree, consent: G622.1
  2. číMivA adv. unexpectedly: G621.17
  3. čími kuyá·pkuh goodbye!: "bid farewell!"; 950, G531
  4. čímmi man all right! come on!: 966
  5. čív axmay suddenly: 224, with irregular sandhi
295. čí·mič adv. few; a little bit: G621.9
296. čí:mú:č ~ ?ačí:mú:č lizard
297. čí·nač adv. a place name, uphill from činač?íši·p rancheria: G621.9
1. čináč?asa Big Rock, downriver from činač?íši·p: "čí·nač rock," 146
  2. činač?axá·tti·m adv. a placename, across-river from činač?íši·p: "čí·nač cliff-edge"; 220.1, 1377
  3. činač?íši·p adv. a place name (Map; no. 101): 614.4
  4. čináčθu·f Chenach Creek: 1464
298. čí·nhi a.i. (water) to be still: G622.1
299. čí·nkira island: G754.9, G761?
300. čínim a type of skunk

1. činímʔanamahač civet cat  
"small skunk," 129.1
2. činimvásih a basket design (O'Neale, fig. 16a, 16b)  
"skunkback," 1528
301. čipákpa·k robin; a man's name
302. čipič ~ čipiš redfish, a stunted variety of *Oncorhynchus nerka* (H):  
G621.9, G621.10
303. číš younger sister, younger female cousin: cf. 279
304. číš cheese: from English
305. čiših dog; horse
1. čišiháhyu·m vehicular bridge: "horse-bridge," 47
  2. čišihffθih a plant sp.: "dog-foot," 360
  3. čišihič Montia sibirica (Schenck and Gifford, no. 86): "imitation dog," because children have mock dogfights with the plant; G614.2
  4. čišihíkna·pkara horseshoe: "horse fastening-on-instrument";  
463, G753.8, G754.3, G761
  5. čišihpúriθ black nightshade, *Solanum nigrum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 207): "dog huckleberry," 1177.3
306. čítat magpie, *Pica pica* var. *hudsonia* (H)
307. čiv- p.i. to put one's head out, to peek, as in čiv·vrúPuk "to peek outdoors" (G753.25)
1. čivnišuk p.i. to peek out: G753.18, with irreg. nasalization
  1. čivnišukač 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. čivčáksuru p.i. to open a door: G753.27
  1. čivčaksurúra·m adv. door: "door-opening place," G766
309. čivit p.t. to line (objects) up
310. čixá·nA logs floating down the river at high-water
311. čð·rA interj. let's go!
312. čúčan cup of an acorn
313. čú·fiš bald eagle, *Haliaeetus* sp. (M)
314. čufní·mkač fly: G621.9
315. čú·kčuk fish hawk, *Pandion* sp. (M)
1. čukčukʔáfup stingy person: "fish-hawk buttocks," 17.3
316. čune·xne·yā·č incense cedar, *Libocedrus decurrens* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 21)
317. čununupní·hvanač a variant of ičyununupní·hvanač "needle," 787.1
318. čunva- p.i. to sneak, as in čunváθuna "to sneak around" (G753.29)
1. čunvákiri tp.t. to sneak up on: G754.9
319. čú·phi p.i. to talk, speak; (rooster) to crow: G622.1?
1. ču·phi·čva p.i. to chat: "to talk in play," G754.6
  2. čuphúruθuna tp.t. to talk about: G753.29?; -uru- is not identifiable.
320. čupyav p.t. to sort
321. čurí·piš ~ čuní·pišič ~ čuripišáva·n black-headed grosbeak, *Zamelodia* sp. (M): G621.10, G621.9
322. čuská·kač ~ -ič chub salmon: G621.9
323. čusučúsuhi a.i. to make a splashing noise: G622.1; cf. 445



324. čúva·rap interj. let's go!  
 325. ču·y slender  
 1. čú·yič adj. narrow: G621.9

## E

326. ʔe! interj. oh!  
 327. ʔə·h tp. 2t. to give to  
 328. ʔə·hkan a man's name  
 329. ʔé·ko·ns acorns (T68): from English, perh. borrowed to fill the lack of a generic term in Karok  
 330. ʔə·m pers. sucking shaman, 'Indian doctor.'  
 331. ʔə·n board, lumber  
 1. ʔe·nákivita a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13g): "lumber-cut"; 533, G761  
 332. ʔe·nákira ridgepole of an Indian house: G754.9, G761?  
 333. ʔé·ni·k deep (of water)  
 334. ʔe·níšrup threshold of an Indian house  
 335. ʔé·pak a.i. (tree) to fall  
 1. ʔe·pákuniha adv. a place name, Wingate Bar (Map, no. 15): "tree falling down"; G753.30, G761  
 1. ʔe·pakúnθu·f Wingate Creek: 1464; the shortening of the preposition is irreg.  
 336. ʔé·pa·x alder bark  
 337. ʔé·pu·m root  
 1. ʔe·pumʔé·pu·m root of the wild grapevine: for another example of a noun compounded with itself, see 640.1  
 338. ʔə·ra man's brother-in-law, male cousin-in-law, nephew-in-law, or aunt's husband  
 339. ʔə·rahi p.i. to store food: G622.1?  
 340. ʔe·rári·v den (of an animal)  
 341. ʔə·riš(rih) p.i. to finish (doing something): G753.3  
 342. ʔé·ru·n vacant (of a house)  
 1. pe·rú·npu p.i. (pl.) to die: G731, G622.1  
 343. ʔə·θ slug (the animal)  
 1. ʔé·θʔakúnva·n a man's name: "slug-hunter"; 75, G762  
 2. ʔe·θvásih a basket design (O'Neale, fig's. 16a and 16b): "slug-back," 1528  
 344. ʔə·θ p.t. to carry; with directionals, to take, bring, as in ʔə·θrišuk "to take out" (G753.18), ʔə·θra "to bring up from downhill" (G753.12). This verb acts as 2t. in the phrase xú·s + ʔə·θ "to take care of" (1638.1.5)  
 1. ʔə·čip(riv) p.t. to pick up, raise, lift: G753.26  
 2. ʔə·θe·p tp. 2t. to take (something) away from (someone): G753.26  
 3. ʔe·θka·nva p.i. to shuffle the 'cards' or sticks used in gambling: G753.4., G751  
 1. pe·čka·nvi·čva p.i. to play 'cards,' to gamble: G731, G754.6  
 4. ʔə·θkiv tp.t. to take (someone) away, to kidnap: G753.7  
 345. ʔé·θih tp. 2t. to tell or relate to  
 346. ʔə·v interj. term of address used by women to intimates  
 347. ʔé·xrih rainbow; famine  
 1. ʔe·xrihpíppa·čurapuh chaparral lily, *Lilium rubescens* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 50): "famine thrown-away"; G731, 1088.2, G763

## F

348. fá·n guts, intestines
349. faratípiš mother-in-law
350. fá·t what?, something  
The allomorph fá·ta- occurs as prepound.
1. fáta·k adv. somewhere: G621.1, with an irreg. allomorph
  2. fatamáha·n pers. lucky person: "something-finder"; 956, G762
  3. fatamakê·š anything (T29.17): -makê·š is not identifiable
  4. fatavé·na·n pers. priest in world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7); busybody: "something-doer"; 1541, G762
  5. fá·tva something, anything: G621.17
351. faθ- p.i. to wade; used with directionals, as in fáθaθuna "to wade around" (G753.29)
1. fá·θrina p.i. to wade across, to ford a stream: G753.15
    1. faθrinára·m adv. ford: "fording-place," G766
352. fá·θ manzanita berry, esp. that of the Parry manzanita, Arctostaphylos manzanita (Schenck and Gifford, no. 181)
1. fáθip manzanita bush, esp. the Parry manzanita: 638
  2. faθúruhsa 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. fíkva·n father-in-law: G751, G762?
355. fí·nhi s.i. to be bald: G622.1?
356. fi·páyav adj. straight: 1665
357. fí·phi a.i. to be all gone: G622.1; cf. G754.5
358. firipámyu·sah adv. a place name, Pecwan or Johnson's (a Yurok town): cf. 1683.7
359. fiš fish (used as a generic term): from English
360. fiθih foot, toe; used as a classifier in the sense of "twelve inches."
1. fičihán?anamahač little toe: 1291.1; -an- is not identifiable.
  2. fiθihánka·m ~ fiθihka·m big toe: 846; -an- is not identifiable.
  3. fiθihu·nih p.i. to go down feet first (T9.47): G622.1, G753.30, with irreg. morphophonemics
  4. fiθihkpa generative organs of the male salmon: "footcut"; 470, G761
  5. fiθihku·nhara a man's name: "crooked-foot"; 918.1, G764
361. fuhiš tp.t. to believe; to obey (a person)
362. fú·k a plant sp., having an edible root; the carrot
363. fū·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. fumtá·psuru p.i. to blow in a certain manner (in magical procedure): G753.27
367. fumyih tp.t. to curse, wish bad luck to
1. fumyi·hpi·θva p.t. (shaman) to blow (disease object) away: G753.29, G751
368. fúPič fifty cents: from English "four bits"
369. furáθip s.i. to be nervous, cranky, fretful: G754.5?
370. fúrax woodpecker head or 'scalp'; (as a postpound) red: cf. 146
1. fúnaxič Indian paintbrush, Castilleia parviflora var. douglasii (Schenck and Gifford, no. 214): "little woodpecker scalp," G621.9

2. funaxʔiʃúnva·nič thrush: "woodpecker-scalp hider"; 732, G762, G621.9  
 3. furaxtákvara 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.

## H

372. hǎ interj. yes  
 373. hǎʔi! interj. exclamation of fear or annoyance  
 374. háMA hammer: from English  
 375. háMi adv. isn't it?  
 376. háNu·n a woman's name  
 377. hǎ·rih ~ hári adv. sometimes, at various times. May be used as a determinative.  
 1. hárivarih adv. when?: G621.19  
 2. haríxxay adv. never: G845.8, with irreg. accent  
 378. hárinay 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 ~ hínu pay used in strong demonstrative meaning (T3.51, T10.63): 1104, with haplology in the second alternant  
 382. hitíha·n ~ ʔitíha·n adv. constantly, all the time, always  
 383. hǎ·ʔičkan a woman's name  
 384. hǎ·tah late  
 1. hǎ·tahi s.i. to be late; to be offended: G622.1  
 385. hǎ·y adv. where?; somewhere. Also used with vǎ·ramu "to go" in the sense of "to where?"  
 1. hǎ·yva adv. somewhere, anywhere: G621.17  
 2. hǎ·y ʔif no, not: "where true," 401  
 386. hǎ·huhū interj. imitation of Owl's cry (T24.38)  
 387. hú·kA ~ hu·k adv. to where?; to somewhere  
 1. hú·kavA adv. to somewhere, to anywhere: G621.17  
 388. hum adv. or; used as a marker of yes-or-no questions (G845.2)  
 389. hū·m interj. is that so?: cf. 388  
 390. hu·n harmful. Found only with negatives, as in puhú·nhara "it's not harmful."  
 391. hú·ntah adj. peculiar (of a person): cf. 390  
 392. hū·t adv. how? Often translated "what?," as in hū·tíʔi·n "what is wrong with you?"  
 1. hū·tva adv. somehow, however: G621.17  
 2. hū·t kič ~ hū·t kíč ʔi·m how are you?: 874, 563  
 3. hū·t kuθ why?: "because of how," 947

## I

394. ʔiʔ- outdoors. Occurs only in:  
 1. ʔiʔkúKam ~ í·kam ~ ʔi·m adv. outdoors: G621.21(1)

395. ?i! interj. oh! alas!
396. ičkus p.i. to walk arm in arm  
1. ičkusa cluster (as of grapes): G761
397. ičnah s.i. to defecate  
1. ičnahiru'vu'kva s.i. to defecate uncontrolledly on oneself  
(T9.36): G754.8, 754.17, G751
398. ičrívčav a.i. (water) to splash
399. ?ičunva p.i. to hide oneself: cf. 318, 732  
1. pičúnva'n jackknife: "one which hides itself again"; G731, G762
400. ?if p.i. to grow, grow up; (water) to boil  
1. ?ifamyuv a.i. to grow too much: cf. 1513.4  
2. ?ifikírahi 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  
4. ?ifmaθ p.t. to boil (water): "to cause to boil," G754.12  
5. ?ifšip(riv) p.i. to grow, grow up: G753.26  
6. ?iftanmáhapuh volunteer plant: "grown for nothing"; G754.16,  
G763  
7. ?ifuniha hair (of the head): "growing down"; G753.30, G761  
1. ?ifunihe·hyákuriha hairpin: "hair sticking-in"; 433.1, G761
401. ?ifápi't pers. young unmarried woman: perh. "new-grown"; 400,  
G761, 1155. The dimin. is ?ifápi-tič.  
1. ?ifapitké·vri'k pers. old maid: "old unmarried woman," 871
402. ?ifapva p.t. to pick up: G751?; cf. 405
403. ?ifčik a.i. to be stuck together: 400?  
1. ?ifčúkin- a.i. to be stuck; used with directionals, as in  
?ifčikinku "to be stuck onto" (G753.8): -in is not identifiable.
404. ifčuy p.i. to be crowded
405. ?ifik p.t. to pick (from the ground), to pick up. The term is applied  
esp. to the harvesting of acorns.
406. ifmā:ra pers. married man.  
1. ifmā:rahi p.i. (man) to get married: G622.1  
1. ifma·nahí·čva 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  
?iftákantunva "to stick together" (G753.28): 400, G752.4?; cf. 403
408. ?ifu adv. true; really. The irreg. prejunctional form is ?if.
409. ?ífuk- p.i. (du.-pl.) to climb, crawl, as in ?ífukra· "(du.-pl.) to  
climb up from downhill" (G753.12): cf. 449  
1. ?ífuksip(riv) p.i. (du.-pl.) to get up (from a lying position):  
"to climb up," G753.26
410. ?ífukira· tp.t. (du.-pl.) to grab, grab at: cf. 450
411. ?í·futih ~ ?í·fitih adv. of doubtful meaning; sometimes translated  
as "sure enough, . . ." (T61.36)
412. ?ífuθ adv. behind; afterward  
1. ?ífučtí·mič ~ ?ífučtí·č adv. last; the last time: "behind-edge";  
1377, G621.9  
2. ?ífuθahó·va'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. ?ífuθanpimúsa'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. ?ifuθkám?i·pma a man's name: "going backward"; G621.11, 637.2, G761
413. ?ifuxá:h 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. ?íhuk p.i. to do the 'flower dance,' i.e., the girls' puberty dance: G754.17?  
1. ?íhuka 'flower dance': G761  
2. ?íhukara '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. ?i·hvúna· brush dance: "plural dancing"; G756, G761
417. ihē·ra p.t. to smoke (tobacco)  
1. ihē·rahA Indian tobacco, *Nicotiana bigelovii* var. *exaltata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 206): "being smoked"; G755, G761  
1. ihe·rahá:mva·n Nuttall's whippoorwill, *Phalaenoptilus nuttalli* var. *nuttalli* (H): "tobacco-eater," 201.5  
2. ihe·rahasípnu·k tobacco basket (O'Neale, p. 40): 1233
418. ihíkurih p.t. to roast (pine roots): G753.9?
419. ?íhivrik 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. ihravriku·niš 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. ihrō·(hA) pers. wife: "being used"; G755, G761. The plural is ihrō·has or ihrō·vas.  
1. ihno·háhi·č common-law wife: "imitation wife," G614.2  
2. ihrō·hahl tp.t. (man) to marry: G622.1  
1. pihrō·hapa wife of a man's dead brother: "marrying again"; G731, G761. The etymology reflects the practice of the levirate.
426. ihru·θ slave: cf. 425  
1. ihrú·θvah 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. ihtáhiš(rih) p.i. (pl.) to swim ashore: G753.3  
2. ihtárina p.i. (pl.) to swim hither across-stream: G753.15
428. ihvani·čvi·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. ihvuř p.t. to dig (pine roots)

433. ?íhya 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. *ihyárih* p.i. (an.) to stand: G754.14
    1. *ihyárihiš(rih)* p.i. to stand still: G753.3
    1. *pihyárihiš(rih)* p.t. to be transformed into (a standing object, as a tree) (T23.68): G731
    2. *ihyárihšip(riv)* p.i. to stand up: G753.26
434. *ihyiv* p.t. to shout
1. *ihyívčak* p.t. to interrupt by shouting (T18.50): G752.1
  2. *ihyívka·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. ?íkak- p.i. (du.-pl.) to jump, as in *?íkakunih* "(du.-pl.) to jump down" (G753.30): cf. 699
439. ?ikákrih a.i. to freeze, be frozen
1. ?ikákriha ice: G761
    1. ?ikakriha?ásip icebox: 156
440. ?íkam son-in-law  
The dim. is ?íkamiš.
441. ikčas p.t. to mash
442. ikčá·xva a.i. to make the cry of the red-tailed hawk: G751
1. *ikčáxva·n* red-tailed hawk, *Buteo borealis* (M): G762
443. ikčuk a.i. to cluck
444. ikčuíř p.t. to grind (used especially of pulverizing tobacco and manzanita; and of sharpening steel): cf. 694
1. *ikčúna·m* adv. a place name: "grinding-place," G766
  2. *ikčúrara* pestle: "grinding instrument"; G754.3, G761
445. ikčusúčusu a.i. to splash: G740, with a stem *ikčus-*; cf. 323
446. ikfiníPa· a man's name: G753.17, G761
447. ikfíripriv tp.t. to miss (in shooting): cf. 1271, 1420  
The plural action form is *ikfíriprina*.
448. ikfiθ p.t. to strip (as branches from a tree)
1. *ikfíθara* trimmed tree, i.e., a fir tree stripped of all branches but two by a person, as his individual landmark: G764
449. ikfuk p.i. (sg.) to climb, to crawl: cf. 409
1. *ikfukrá·kka·m* adj. steep: "big climbing-up"; G753.12, G761, 846
  2. *ikfú·ksip(riv)* p.i. (sg.) to get up (from a lying position): "to climb up," G753.26
450. ikfú·kira· tp.t. (sg.) to grab, grab at: cf. 410
451. ikfuy- p.i. to whistle  
Occurring in:
1. *ikfúyfuy* p.i. to whistle a tune: G740
    1. *ikfuyfθ·ra* whistle (an instrument): G754.3, G761

2. ikfú·yva p.i. to whistle (something other than a tune, e.g., a signal): G751
452. ikfú·yšuru s.i. to be tired: G753.27
453. ?íki-č adv. maybe, perhaps
454. ?íkičvač a certain fin of fish, perh. the anal fin: G621.9?
455. ?íkihva p.i. to grunt: G751
456. ikí·kva p.t. to roast (fish) on a frame over a fire: G751
457. ?íkira short ridge (in mountains)
458. ?í·kiv p.i. to wear a necklace
1. ?í·kiva necklace: G761
  2. pi·kívmaθ tp.t. to put necklaces on (someone): G731, G754.12
  3. pi·kívsi(riv) p.i. to put necklaces on (oneself): G731, G753.26
459. ikmáhač warm (of air, weather): G621.9
1. ikmaháčra·m adv. sweathouse: "warm place," G766
  1. ikmaháčram?íši·p adv. the sacred sweathouse at Katimin (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G614.4
460. ikmař tp.t. to meet; to hit (with one's fist)
1. ikmá·nař tp.t. to hit (with one's fist): G753.14
  2. ikmá·rakurih tp.t. to slash, stab: G753.9, with an irreg. stem-alternant
  3. ikmá·rihivrik tp.t. to meet (someone) coming: G754.7, G754.21
461. ikmih a.i. (grouse) to drum
1. ikmí·ha·n blue grouse, *Dendragapus* sp. (M): "drummer," G762
462. ikná·karav knuckle, joint
463. iknap p.t. to nail: cf. 711, 1075
1. iknapa horseshoe: "nailing," G761
  2. ikná·pkara horseshoe: "nailing-on instrument"; G753.8, G754.3, G761
464. ikná·tara rock to crack acorns with: G754.3, G761, with a stem iknat-
465. iknax s.i. to be cross-eyed
466. ikní·kara 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. pikní·vrař s.i. to be hurt, injured: G731, G753.14
468. iknū·min Burrill Peak
469. ikō·ra stone pipe bowl
1. iko·rá?asa 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. ikpē·hva p.i. to shout: G751?
474. ikpí·han adj. strong: 1115?
475. ikpuh p.i. (sg.) to swim; used with directionals, as in ikpú·h-ro·vu "to swim upriver"-(G753.19): cf. 768
476. ikpup- a.i. (dust) to rise in a puff
- Found in the following derivatives, the first of which shows the alternant ikpupu-:
1. ikpú·pusip(riv) a.i. to puff up (T4.89): G753.26
  2. ikpú·pvara a.i. to puff into (T4.76): G753.32
477. (?)ikpura acorn flour or meal
478. ?í·kra a.i. (house) to stand, be
- Acts as a durative verb.
479. ikrak p.t. to split (wood or the like)

480. ikrap a.i. to make a noise like horse's hoofs: cf. 64
481. ikraṽ p.t. to grind (used esp. of acorns and wild oats)
1. ikrávapuh 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
  1. ikravapuhíšna·nič a grass, Aira elongata (Schenck and Gifford, no. 34): "light wild-oats," 710
  2. ikrávara pestle: "grinding-instrument"; G754.3, G761
  3. ikrá·mnavá ~ -nam hopper for meal (O'Neale, pp. 37-38): "grinding-in"; G753.14, G761
482. ikré·myah a.i. (wind) to blow
1. ikré·myaha wind: G761
  2. ikre·myahvárava·n pers. musician: "one who blows through," evidently with extension of the stem's meaning to include human subjects; G753.32, G751, G762
  3. ikre·myahvára·ra musical instrument of any kind, including violin and piano; phonograph, radio: "blowing-through instrument"; G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761
483. ikrí·čkan adv. tongue of land between a river and a creek; a place name (Map, no. 6)
484. ikrífako·n adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
485. ikrih- p.i. to fish (with a set-net)
- Used in the following:
1. ikríhak adv. fishing platform: G761, G621.1
  2. ikríhaṽ p.i. to go fishing: G754.2
  3. ikríhara fish trap: "fishing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
  4. ikríhra·m adv. fishing platform: "fishing-place," G766
  5. ikrí·hva p.i. to fish (with a set-net): G751
486. ikriki- p.t. to attach, as in ikríkahi "to be attached" (G755)
1. ikríkire·n a.t. to adjoin: -re·n is not identifiable.
  1. ikríkire·na adv. a place name, near the southern end of Orleans: G761
487. ikríkurih p.t. to set (a fish net) into (water): G753.9; cf. 485
488. ikrírih- p.i. to become tilted up onto one side, or into a steep slope; used with directionals, often with the addition of the státiviz-ing suffix (G755), e.g., in ikrírihro·vahi "to be a steep slope running upriverward" (G753.19)
1. ikrírihak adv. steep hillside: G761, G621.1
  2. ikrírihivrin p.i. to roll over and over (sideways) (T8.59): G753.37
489. ikrirð·v adv. name of a fishing spot
490. ikritápkira 'maidenhair' or five-finger fern, Adiantum pedatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 6): G754.9, G761?
491. ikritíptip p.t. to cut a fringe along the edge of: cf. 1387
1. iknitípti·panač vetch, Vicia californica: "little fringed one"; G764, G621.9
492. ikrítuṽ 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 ikrítumkurih "to pile (objects) into (a hole)" (G753.9)
493. ikriv p.i. (sg.an.) to live, stay, sit, be
- Acts as a durative verb. The allomorph -ikri· occurs before juncture, as in ʔúkri· "he lives"; the allomorph -ikri·y- occurs optionally be-



- fore =ara "negative" (G845.6), as in pu?ikrê-ra - pu?ikrî-yara "he doesn't live."
1. ikrî:š(rih) p.i. (sg.) to sit down: G753.3
  2. ikrîvčak p.i. to sit blocking passage: G752.1
  3. ikrîvkira stool, chair: "sitting-instrument"; G754.9, G761
  4. ikrîvra·m adv. house, living-house (as distinguished from a sweathouse): "living-place," G766
  5. ikrivtakúkira saddle: "sitting-on instrument"; G752.4, G754.9, G761
494. ikrîvkiha adv. six: cf. 217.3
1. iknîvkihič adv. only six: G621.9
  2. ikrîvkiha:n adv. the sixth month of the Karok year: G621.5
495. ikrî·vku tp.t. to hold on to: G753.8
496. ikrîvruh p.i. (sg.) to roll (as a ball): cf. 633
1. ikrivrúhuvruka a man's name: "rolling down over"; G753.38, G761
497. ikrî·vrukan adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
498. ikrixúpup a.i. to have a burning taste: G740
499. ikruh p.t. to peel (bark, from a tree or from sticks)
500. ikrú·mah p.i. to live (in the same house) with someone
501. ikrú·ntih tp.t. to wait for
502. ikrup p.t. to pierce; to sew
1. ikrupká·nvara fork: "piercing-through instrument"; G753.4, G751, G754.3, G761
  2. pikrupvá·nara sewing machine: "self-sewing instrument"; G754.20, G754.3, G761
503. ikšah p.i. to laugh; (horse) to neigh
504. ikšî·kva p.i. to whistle between one's fingers: G751
505. ikšup p.i. to point
1. ikšúpanač index finger: "little pointing-instrument"; G754.3, G761, G621.9
  2. ikšúpihi tp.t. to teach: G754.7
  3. ikšú·pku tp.t. to point at: G753.8
506. ikšus p.i. to tear up a rat's nest (done by children for sport)
507. ikšú·suru a.i. (bird) to swoop down: G753.27
508. iktak p.t. to separate: cf. 728
509. iktakatákahA ~ iktakatáka·n ~ iktakatákahe·n ~ iktakatákatihan Western pileated woodpecker, *Phlaeoptomus pileatus* var. *pycinus* (H): G740 (with a stem iktak-), G762, G757, G532
510. iktápas 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. iktá·tîhara umbrella: "holding-up instrument"; G757, G754.3, G761
  2. iktá·tro·vu p.t. to paddle (a boat) upstream: G753.19
513. iktav̄ p.t. to hold or carry (in the palm of the hand); often translated "take" or "bring" when used with directionals
1. iktamku·rihva p.t. to pan for (gold): G753.9, G751
  2. iktá·nih p.t. to carry down, take down (T18.23): G753.30, with irreg. contraction
514. iktif tp.t. to shove over: cf. 68, 605
515. ikti·na p.i. to walk with a cane

1. ikti·na cane: G761  
 2. iktí·nara cane: G754.3, G761
516. iktiř tp.t. to hit by throwing (a hard object): cf. 58.1  
 517. iktířiř p.i. to faint  
 518. iktit p.t. to undo, unpack  
 519. iktit rack for drying acorns  
 520. ʔíku- 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. ʔíkura p.i. to be headed uphill: G753.12  
   1. ʔíkura ridge running uphill: G761  
   2. ʔíkura·hi a.i. to be a ridge running uphill: G755  
 2. ikúřipa p.i. to be headed toward shore (T3.85): G753.17  
 3. ikúřiniř(řih) a.i. (tree) to fall down across-stream: G753.15, G753.3; this combination of directional suffixes is irregular.  
 4. ʔíkuro·vu p.i. to be headed upstream: G753.19  
   1. ʔíkuro·va ridge running upriver: G761. The locative ikhu-rø·k (T84.12) shows irreg. contraction.  
     1. ʔíkuro·vaxxá·ra name of a ridge, above Camp Creek: "long ridge-running-upriver," 1602  
 5. ʔíkutunva joint (in a plant stem): G753.28, G761  
   1. ʔíkutunvaxxá·raharas milkwort, Polygala cornuta: "having long joints"; 1602, G621.2, G621.16
521. ʔi·ku tp.t. to hit (with one's hand, or with a rock held in the hand)  
 522. ʔí·ku p.t. to add onto (something), esp. to add sticks to (the warp of a basket)  
 523. iku·ř red fox, *Vulpes fulvus* group (M)  
 524. ikuka log  
   1. ikuke·kyáva·n pers. lumberjack: "log-maker," 557.5
525. ikú·kiriř p.t. to stick into fire: G753.6; cf. 520  
 526. ʔíkunā·tič red-breasted sapsucker (M): G621.9  
 527. ikú·yiriř p.t. to barbecue (salmon): G753.6  
 528. ikú·yva a.i. (a fallen or thrown object) to hit, to land: G751  
 529. ikvař ~ ikvářiř tp.2t. to buy from  
 530. ikvat p.t. to carry on one's shoulder; to carry sweathouse wood  
 531. ikvay- p.i. to rest on (?) Occurring in the following:  
   1. ikvá·yku p.i. to lean against: G753.8  
   2. ikvá·yřip(řiv) p.i. to raise up (perh. by pushing oneself up with one's hands) (T4.104): G753.26; cf. 668  
   3. ikvø·ř(řih) p.i. to spend the night; to camp: G753.3  
     1. ikve·řriřra·m adv. camp, campground: G766
532. ikvip p.i. (sg.) to run; used of salmon, as well as of creatures with legs: cf. 776. Before most directionals, the allomorph ikvirip- occurs, as in ikviriprupu "to run downriver" (G753.24). The only exception noted is the following:  
   1. ikví·pvarayva p.i. to carry the obsidian blades in the deerskin dance: "to run around," G753.33
533. ikvit p.t. to cut: cf. 739, 793  
 534. ikví·thi s.i. to fall asleep: G622.1  
   1. ikvithayā:hi s.i. to have a good dream (T33.27): G761, 1665, G622.1  
   2. ikvithu·niř tp.t. to dream about (a person): G754.18
535. ikvú·hva a.i. to howl; (cow) to moo; (car) to blow its horn

1. ikvú·hva automobile horn: "howling," G761
536. ikvúriš(rih) s.i. to be tired: G753.3
537. ikxak p.t. to flail  
1. ikxákara flail: "flailing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
538. ikxáRam ~ ikxáram adv. night: cf. 553  
1. ikxarám?a·čip adv. midnight: "night-middle," 10  
2. ikxaram?ikxuraráxxarA adv. late at night: "long night-evening"; 553, 1603  
3. ikxaram?ítu·m adv. dark of the moon: "thick night," 754  
4. ikxáramkuniš adj. black, dark: "like night," G621.13  
5. ikxarámku·sra(h) moon: "night-sun," 932  
6. ikxaramvuráyva·n pers. evil sorcerer, 'Indian devil': "night-wanderer"; 1513.15, G762  
7. pikxárampu a.i. to be cloudy: "to be dark again"; G731, G755  
1. pikxárampa cloud: G761
539. ikxa·ré·hi a.i. to be news, as in fá·t kíč ?ukxá·re·hitih "what's the news? what's new?": G622.1?
540. ikxaré·yav pers. a spirit or god, such as inhabited the earth before the coming of man: 1665?; cf. 539. The alternant ikxariya- occurs as prepound in a number of petrified combinations:  
1. ikxaniyákku·nič sacred stones used in the ?ame·kyá·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·yšip Offield Mountain: "god-mountain," 1411  
4. ikxariye·kmaháčra·m adv. the sacred sweathouse at Orleans: "god-sweathouse," 459.1  
5. ?ikxaré·yam mukiñinna·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·vkurih tp.t. to crush (T28.17): G753.9
544. ikxá·vnamič wolf: G621.9
545. ikxaxáxaxa p.t. to split (wood): G740, with a stem ikxax-; cf. 740, 616, 802
546. ikxay- p.t. to chop (with an irregular cut), as in ikxá·yšuru "to chop off" (G753.27)  
1. ikxáyxay p.t. to cultivate (the earth): G740
547. ikxê·k shin
548. ikxí·kva p.i. (shaman) to make hawking noises in one's throat (as part of doctoring procedures): G751
549. ikxip p.i. (sg.) to fly: cf. 781, 804  
1. ikxipišríhra·m adv. airfield: "flying-down place"; G753.3, G766  
2. ikxipíxipi p.i. to flutter: G740  
1. ikxipíxipa flag: "fluttering," G761
550. ikxiv thunderhead
551. ikxuř- p.i. to make a stripe, as in ikxú·no·vu "to make a stripe running upriverward" (G753.19): cf. 1636
552. ikxurâ·nara garter snake, *Eutaenia* sp. (M): cf. 551

553. i<sup>h</sup>xú<sup>h</sup>rara adv. evening: cf. 538  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>xuraráha·n evening star: G622.1, G762  
 The dimin. is i<sup>h</sup>xunanáha·nič.  
 2. i<sup>h</sup>xurarahíram adv. camp (T51.30): G622.1, G766  
 3. i<sup>h</sup>xurarakámxarA adv. late at night: "long big evening"; 846, 1603
554. i<sup>h</sup>xurará·sva p.i. to make the cry of a certain type of owl: G751  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>xunanásva·nič the above-mentioned type of owl: G762, G621.9
555. i<sup>h</sup>xú<sup>h</sup>rik t.p. to decorate; to write: cf. 551  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>xú<sup>h</sup>rika decorative design (as on a basket); writing, book, paper, letter: 761  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>xuriká?a·s ink: "writing-water," 145  
 2. i<sup>h</sup>xurikačivčaksurúra·m adv. post office: "letter-door," 308.3.1  
 3. i<sup>h</sup>xurika?uhyanavára·ra telegram: "letter-telephone," 1482.2  
 4. i<sup>h</sup>xurika?umúra·m adv. post office: "letter-arriving place"; 1487, G766  
 5. i<sup>h</sup>xurike·kšúpa·n pers. schoolteacher: "writing-pointer"; 505, G762  
 6. i<sup>h</sup>xurike·kšupíhira·m adv. school: "writing-teaching place"; 505.2, G766  
 7. i<sup>h</sup>xurike·xyáramnihva wastebasket: "writing being-thrown-in"; 816, G753.13, G755, G761  
 8. i<sup>h</sup>xuriké·yu·namniha envelope: "writing putting-in"; 823, G753.13, G761  
 2. i<sup>h</sup>xú<sup>h</sup>rikara pen, pencil: "writing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
556. i<sup>h</sup>kyá·mi·čva p.i. to play (non-athletic games): 557, G754.6; but cf. 557.6  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>kyamí·čvara toy: "playing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
557. i<sup>h</sup>kyav p.2t. to do, make, make into; to prepare; to gather, acquire (things other than food). Before suffixes with initial consonant, the irreg. alternant i<sup>h</sup>kyā:- occurs, as in durative i<sup>h</sup>kyā:tih.  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>kyā:fip p.t. to win (stakes, in gambling): "to gather completely," G754.5  
 2. i<sup>h</sup>kyā:kka·m adj. difficult: "big-making"; G761, 846  
 3. i<sup>h</sup>kyā:ra tool: "making-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
 4. i<sup>h</sup>kyā:sip(riv) p.t. to begin, start: G753.26  
 5. i<sup>h</sup>kyáva·n pers. maker; the 'queen' or priestess in the world renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G762  
 6. i<sup>h</sup>kyá·vi·čva p.i. to work: G754.6  
 7. i<sup>h</sup>kyé·hi tp.2t. to make for, gather for, bring to (a person): G754.7, with irreg. accent  
 8. p<sup>h</sup>kyav p.t. to repair, to fix: "to make again," G731
558. i<sup>h</sup>kyá·várihva p.t. to try: 557, G751
559. i<sup>h</sup>kyé·pux hide (of an animal)
560. i<sup>h</sup>kyi<sup>h</sup> p.i. (sg.) to fall, be propelled through the air: cf. 786  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>kyí·mu a.i. (a thrown or shot object) to reach (a certain distance): G753.10  
 2. i<sup>h</sup>kyívura· p.i. to be propelled up (into the air) (T20.51): G753.31
561. i<sup>h</sup>kyut- a.i. to be gathered into a pile, as in i<sup>h</sup>kyú·tsip(riv) "to pile up (intr.)" (G753.26)  
 1. i<sup>h</sup>kyútrih p.t. to plow: "to pile up," with added causative meaning; G754.14

2. ikyútunih a.i. to snow: "to pile down," G753:30  
 1. ikyútuniha snow (while falling): G761
562. \*im, a submorphemic element meaning "by heat or fire," is identifiable in many of the following entries (G710).
563. ?í'm pron. you (sg.)  
 1. ?i'mkun pron. you (pl.): cf. 1484.1
564. ?imafúnva'n pers: person who begs salmon: G751, G762
565. ?imáhku tp.t. to despise: G753.8
566. ?imákananač flashy (?): G754.3, G761, G621.9?
567. ima'n adv. tomorrow, the day after  
 1. ?immá'n múmma'nkam day after tomorrow: "tomorrow its-tomorrow-side"; G410, G621.11
568. ?í'masař p.i. to grapple with one's opponent in a shinny game, preparatory to the start of play: G754.15?
569. imaxáynu'mva a.i. to lighten (of lightning): G751  
 1. imaxáynu'mva lightning: G761  
 1. imaxaynumvá'a'h electricity: "lightning-fire," 29.1
570. imčak s.i. to burn oneself, get burnt
571. imčanáknak p.t. to tap, knock (something, against something else)  
 1. imčanaknákara drumstick: "tapping-instrument"; G754.3, G761
572. imčax s.i. (weather or persons) to be hot  
 1. imčaxa hot: G761  
 2. imčaxahA sunshine: G755, G761  
 3. imčaxe-kyáva'n cicada: "heat-maker"; G761, 557.5
573. imčita'tko' s.i. to have one's bones protrude through one's skin (T2A.57): G753.8, G751
574. imfip- p.i. to gather, assemble, as in imfípivraθ "to gather in a sweat-house" (T2A.12) (G753.36); found more commonly in the following:  
 1. imfípiš(rih) p.i. to gather, assemble: G753.3  
 1. imfipišniháyavhi p.i. to assemble from all over (T51.2) G761, 1665, G622.1, with irreg. morphophonemics  
 2. imfí'pšuru a.i. to come off (of a surface, as paint); to fade: G753.27
575. imfif a.i. (objects) to be hot  
 1. imfira adj. hot: G761  
 2. imfírahi 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:xvā'h a plant, *Amsinkia intermedia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 198): "sunflower-head," 242  
 2. imká'nvurayva p.t. to gather (food) here and there (T40.9); G753.33, with irreg. contraction of \*-va-va- to -vu-
577. imkanviráθθu'f Merrill Creek: 1464
578. imkatáxrah a.i. to be light, bright  
 1. imkatáxraha light: G761
579. imkuh a.i. (air) to be warm; (sun) to shine  
 1. pimkúhara heating stove: "warming-again instrument"; G731, G754.3, G761
580. imnak coal, ember; charcoal

581. imná·nva p.i. to build a stone wall preparatory to the world-renewal ceremony at Clear Creek: G751  
 1. imná·nva·n pers. person who builds this stone wall (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): G762
582. imna·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. ʔi·mnih tp.t. to love  
 1. ʔi·mnihva tp.t. to have a love affair with: G751  
 1. ʔi·mnihva love: G761  
 2. pí·mnih tp.t. to fall in love with: G731
584. imniš p.t. to cook  
 1. imni·škirih p.t. to cook over a fire (as contrasted with stone-boiling): G753.6
585. impa·h(a) trail, path, road  
 1. impahtírih road: "wide path," 1388
586. ʔimpahi p.i. to decide: G622.1?
587. impat a.i. to become broken owing to fire or heat: cf. 471, 715
588. impuk a.i. (objects) to be warm  
 1. impú·kač adj. warmish: G761, G621.9
589. impura (wheat) flour: original meaning not known; cf. 477  
 1. impúrak adv. a place name, just south of ʔasá·xva·m (Map, no. 4), around the river-bend: "in flour," G621.1  
 2. impurá·sa flour sack: "flour blanket," 1526
590. impux a.i. (corpse) to swell
591. imšákara 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. imšut spark
597. imtaraná·mhi p.i. to be visible: G622.1?
598. imtarásu·n bastard
599. imtaxá·ʔu·θkam adv. a place name, part of Orleans: 1505, G621.11
600. imtipahé·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·nku "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. imθanúvnuv p.t. to tap on, to drum on  
 1. imθanuvnō·ra drum: "drumming-on instrument"; G754.3, G761
604. imθá·tap p.t. to lash (onto): cf. 817
605. imθá·tif p.t. to bat (as a ball): cf. 68, 514
606. imθá·tva p.i. to play the 'stick game,' a kind of shinny: G751  
 1. imθá·tva '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 imθavitrū·prijva "to club clear through" (T1.136) (G753.22, G751)
608. ʔneá·yA p.i. to talk without opening one's mouth (said of ventriloquists and pigeons)

1. imθayáha·n band-tail pigeon, *Columba fasciata* (M): G762
609. imus<sup>a</sup> tp.t. to see, look at  
Occurs only in the following:
1. imusakkê·m adj. ugly: "bad-looking"; G761, 868
  2. imusáyav adj. pretty, handsome: "good-looking"; G761, 1665
  3. imúsahi tp.t. to look (like): G755
  4. imúsa·n pers. assistant priest in the world renewal (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "looker," G762
  5. imúsař tp.t. to go to see, to visit: G754.2
    1. imúsaruk tp.t. to come to see, to visit: G754.17
  6. imúskiri 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. imú·stih tp.t. to look at, watch: G757
    1. imustihakkê·m adj. ugly: "bad-looking"; G761, 868
    2. imustiháyav adj. pretty, handsome: "good-looking"; G761, 1665
    3. pimustihvá·nara mirror, glass, window: "looking-at-oneself instrument"; G731, G754.20, G754.3, G761
610. imú·mah p.t. to bum, to beg
611. imú·tara pregnant
612. imváram plate basket (O'Neale, p. 33): G753.14, G761?
613. imvira fishing platform, fishery
614. imxah a.i. to be crisp
615. imxaθ a.t. to smell like
  1. imxaθa smell, odor: G761
    1. imxaθakkê·m adj. bad-smelling: 868
    2. imxaθáyav adj. good-smelling: 1665
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. imyahá:θku·n windpipe: "breath-throat," 198
    2. imyahé·mšī·para widower: "one whose breath (or heart) has been extinguished"; 593, G764
  2. imyáhsap p.i. to suffocate: G752.3
  3. imyá·htih p.i. to live: G757
    1. imyá·htiha life: G761
  4. imyáhyah p.i. to pant: G740
  5. pimyá·hva p.i. to breathe: G731, G751
619. imya·t fur, body hair
620. imyúhA 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. iní·nač adv. the name of two places (Map, no's. 48 and 116): "little crossing"; G761, G621.9

3. inδ·vu p.i. to go upriver: G753.19  
 4. inu·pu p.i. to go downriver: G753.24, with irreg. lengthening
622. ʔi·n a.i. to burn (rare, largely replaced by ʔi·nku)  
 1. ʔi·nku a.i. to burn: "to burn on," G753.8  
 2. ʔi·nva a.i. to be a forest fire: G751  
 1. ʔi·nva forest fire: G761  
 3. ʔi·nvá·rak a.i. the Northern lights (to) appear: "to burn down from upriver," G753.33
623. ʔi·n a.i. (the world, the human race) to exist  
 1. ʔi·niš(rih) a.i. to come into existence: G623
624. ʔi·n rapids in a river, 'falls.'  
 1. ʔi·npi·t adv. a place name (Map, no. 58): "new falls," 1155  
 1. ʔi·npi·t·u·f Sandy Bar Creek: 1464
625. ʔi·n p.t. to do (rare, largely replaced by kú·phi)
626. ʔi·n adv. a postposition, marking the subject of certain predications (G833.1)
627. ʔi·na s.i. to experience something unpleasant, to have something wrong with one, as in hū· ʔi·ni "what (lit., how) is wrong with you?" The durative is ʔi·natih, with irreg. accent (T27.18, T30.18).
628. ʔi·na p.i. (du. an.) to live, stay, sit, be  
 1. ʔi·niš(rih) p.i. (du.) to sit down: G753.3  
 2. ʔi·no·hvo· p.i. (du.) to stay habitually (T58.12): G751, G754.13;  
 -ó·h- is unidentified.
629. ʔi·nā·k adv. indoors, inside a living-house
630. inhi- p.t. to tie, as in inhíku "to tie onto" (G753.8)  
 1. inhírip p.t. to lace: G753.16
631. ʔi·nih co-wife: cf. 628
632. iniš p.t. to do with, to do to: cf. 625
633. ʔi·nvrüh- p.i. (du.-pl.) to roll (as balls); used with directionals, as in ʔi·nivrú·htunva "to roll together" (G753.28): cf. 496
634. ʔi·nva caterpillar
635. ʔip adv. used to indicate recent past time; the alternant ʔi·pa occurs in certain environments (G845.4). Re the variant ʔap, see the footnote to T64.33.
636. ʔip- deer  
 Occurs only in the following compounds:  
 1. ʔi·pa·f deer excrement: 17  
 2. ʔi·pa·xkuniš red deer: 215.4  
 3. ʔi·pámta·p gray deer: 89  
 4. ʔi·pasnáhva·nič 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. ʔi·pmi·f black deer: 974
637. ʔip p.i. to return (?): cf. G731  
 Occurring only in:  
 1. ʔi·pkúrih p.i. to dive: G753.9  
 2. ʔi·pmu p.i. (sg.) to arrive (there) again, go back, return; used as the iterative of ʔu·ma: G753.10, with irreg. lack of accent.  
 1. ʔi·pma birthday: G761
638. -ʔip tree, bush  
 Occurs only as a postpound, with irreg. morphophonemics (G613).
639. ʔipa juniper seed



640. ʔípahA ~ ʔipA tree: cf. 638  
 1. ʔipahaʔípahA juniper tree: probably contaminated from \*ʔipa-ʔípahA, 639 + 640; cf. 337  
 2. ʔipahári-k adv. forest: "tree-place"; G614.7, G621.1  
 3. ʔipahaxáyvi-š tree fungus, including Fomes pinicola and Trameetes subrosa (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 3 and 4): 1618  
 4. ʔíppahak ʔiyununā·natihačhan 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·θun tp.t. to catch up with: cf. 30
642. ʔipak p.i. (sg.) to come back, arrive (here) again, to return: G731?
643. ʔipam sinew
644. ʔípan adv. end, top  
 1. ʔípanhi a.i. to extend (to a certain distance): G222.1  
 2. ʔipanič adv. the very end, the very top: G621.9
645. ʔípara whale
646. ʔípararah reliable (person)  
 1. ʔípananahič likable (person): G621.9
647. (i)páriš p.t. to heat (cooking stones)
648. ʔipas tp.t. to take, bring (a person)
649. ʔípat- p.t. to break (twigs) with one's fingernails, as in ʔípatsip(riv) with the same meaning (G753.26)
650. ʔípata doe (deer)
651. ipčimákananač handkerchief: cf. 566  
 1. ipčimakananáčʔa·x bandanna: "red handkerchief," 566  
 2. ipčimakananáčka·m bandanna: "big handkerchief," 846
652. ipē·f̄ tp.t. to tell, say to; (rarely) to call (apply as a name to) (T26.18). The irreg. alternant ípe·f̄ 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. iphíri·v̄ a.i. (dù. inan.) to lie: G752.2  
 Used as a durative verb.
654. iphí·kirih p.i. to sweat oneself (in a sweathouse): G753.6
655. ʔípih bone
656. ʔípih heel
657. ipirá·nva p.t. to trade, swap: G751
658. ʔipíš·i·t deer leg bone
659. ipit adv. yesterday  
 1. ʔippít múppitkam day before yesterday: "yesterday its-yesterday-side"; G410, G621.11
660. ipkē·viš(rih) p.i. to be transformed (into an inan. object): G731?, G753.3
661. ipkifínmit p.t. to turn inside out: G731
662. ipkiya·vrin p.i. to turn back: G731, G753.37
663. ipmahó·nko·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. 7): 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. ipšú·nkinač adj. short, low: G731, G754.9, G761, G621.9?

668. iptáčva·yšip(riv) p.i. to raise up again (T4.103): G731, G753.26;  
cf. 531.2
669. ipa'ko· p.t. to add (water, in leaching acorn meal) (T73.14):  
G731, G753.8, G751
670. iptaxátiḥ p.i. to comb one's hair: G731?  
1. iptaxatiḥara comb: "combing-instrument"; G754.3, G761, with  
apparently irreg. accent
671. ipḥapákpak p.t. to chew up (T33.52): G731, G740, with a stem  
ḥapak-; cf. 470, 1592
672. ipḥiḥ p.t. to finish weaving
673. ʔipun tail meat of salmon
674. i'pu'nva p.i. to rest, take a rest: G751  
1. ipu'nváram adv. a place name (Map, no. 56): "resting-place,"  
G766
675. ʔiḥ p.i. to celebrate the world-renewal ceremony  
1. ʔira world-renewal ceremony, 'pikiawish' or 'Indian New Year':  
G761  
2. ʔina·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 22): "world-renewal cele-  
brating-place," G766  
1. ʔináḥḥu·f Clear Creek: 1464  
3. ʔirahiva adv. world-renewal ceremony: G754.1, G761
676. ʔiḥ tp.t. (poison oak) to affect (a person), as in kusve·pʔi'n tiʔirap  
"poison oak has affected you, i.e., you've caught poison oak"
677. ʔiram daughter-in-law  
The dimin. is ʔinamiš.
678. ʔiramífa·n a woman's name: G762?
679. ʔiramnihirak adv. a place name, Horseshoe Bend (Map, no. 61):  
G753.13, G823.2?
680. ʔiráya·n a woman's name: G762?
681. ʔíriḥ- a.i. to drip, as in ʔíriḥramnih "to drip into" (G753.13)
682. irikirikihi a.i. to be the sound of footsteps: G755?
683. ʔírip p.i. to dig  
1. ʔíripara pickaxe: "digging-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
2. ʔíripa·m adv. mine: "digging-place," G766  
3. ʔíripva·n pers. miner: "digger"; G751, G762
684. ʔí·riš adv. floor
685. ʔiru- p.i. (du.) to go: cf. G756. Occurs only in:  
1. ʔirúfaku p.i. (du.) to come down from uphill: G753.1
686. ʔíruraḥ p.i. (pl.) to run away: 685, G753.14?
687. ʔíruvo· tp.2t. to turn to (?): 685, G753.10, G751? Occurs only in  
xú·s + ʔíruvo· "to turn one's mind to, to think about" (1638.1).
688. \*iš, a submorphemic element meaning "intransitive" (G710)
689. ʔiš p.t. to drink  
1. ʔišahA ~ ʔišA water: "being drunk," G755, G761  
1. ʔiš(ah)aʔásip bucket: "water-vessel," 156  
2. ʔišahake·mʔišra·m adv. a place-name (Map, no. 3): "bad-  
water deer-lick"; 868, 689.3  
3. ʔišahé·kta·mnam bucket: "carrying water in"; 513, G753.14,  
G761  
4. ʔiš(ah)e·ḥrišri·hrava pitcher: "setting water down in";  
769.1, G753.14, G761  
5. ʔiše·ktáva·nič a woman's name: "little water-carrier";  
513, G762, G621.9

2. ʔíširak adv. a place name, Cecilville, in Konomihu Shastan territory: "drinking-place"; G823.2  
 1. ʔíširáθθu:f South Fork of the Salmon River: "Cecilville Creek," 1464
3. ʔíšra·m adv. deer lick; saloon; a place name, Sulphur Springs: "drinking-place," G766  
 1. ʔíšnamʔíša·nič purple finch, *Carpodacus* sp. (M): "little deer-lick drinker"; 689, G766, G621.9  
 2. ʔíšrá·mak adv. a place name, just downhill from Big Bar: "at a deer lick," G621.1. In prepound position, the irreg. alternant ʔíšramaka- occurs.  
 1. ʔíšramakáθθu:f Slate Creek: 1464  
 2. ʔíšramakáʔu:y Shelton Butte: 1510  
 3. ʔíšra·mhírak adv. a place name, Flower Flat (Map, no. 60): "where there is a deer lick"; G622.1, G823.2  
 4. ʔíšráma·m adv. a place name, Big Bar (Map, no. 115): "behind a deer lick," 965  
 5. ʔíšráviš adv. marshy place: G621.10
4. ʔí·šraṽ p.t. to drink from (T32.94): "to drink in," G753.14  
 1. ʔí·šram cup: "drinking-from," G761  
 2. ʔí·šrávahA cup: "being drunk from"; G755, G761  
 1. ʔíšravahá·pxa:n man's work cap (O'Neale, pp.41-42): "cup-cap," 126
5. píšma·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 píšmara- occurs, as in píšmarana- "(pl.) to finish drinking" (G756).
690. ʔí·š meat, flesh, body  
 1. ʔíšímfira adj. brave, tough (of a person): "hot-flesh," 575.1  
 2. ʔí·škara naked: -kara is not identifiable.  
 3. ʔí·škíPač naked: G621.12  
 4. ʔí·škō·ra naked: 897, G621.2, with irreg. accent?  
 5. ʔíškíkihara sturgeon: "having rough flesh"; 1623, G621.2
691. ʔí·š the 'ace' or marked stick in the Indian gambling game: from English 'ace'?
692. ʔíšavsip(riv) tp.2t. to pay as a fee to (a doctor): G753.26
693. iščā·čip roots used in basketry, esp. willow roots
694. iščuř a.i. to crack (intr.): cf. 444
695. išfiř p.t. to skin (an animal), to skin off (a hide)
696. ʔíšip p.t. to extinguish (a fire): cf. 593
697. ʔíšip a.i. to extend, be in a line  
 1. ʔíšipišriha 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 prejunctional form is ʔíšipiš#. The locative ʔíšipišrihak is also used as the name of the site.
698. ʔíšipišihavní·nač adv. a place name (Map, no. 12): G621.9
699. iškak p.i. (sg.) to jump: cf. 438  
 1. iškákíš(rih) p.i. to land (after jumping): G753.3
700. iškax p.i. to be quiet, to think (i.e., to meditate)  
 1. iškákíš(rih) p.i. to stop (doing something): G753.3  
 1. iškákíšrihmaθ tp.t. to stop (a person): G754.12
701. iškē·š river, the Klamath River

702. iške·tʔipváripirak Fish Lake: G731, 1513, G753.16, G823.2?
703. ʔíškíh adv. quickly
704. íški·t (good) luck; lucky
705. iškuř p.i. to skulk around (holding one's head down, but watching secretly)
706. iškurípa·θ stem of imká·nva, the 'sunflower' or gum plant, *Grindelia robusta* var. *patens* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 222)
707. iškúruh p.t. to carry by a looped handle
708. išmúčara leaves of mahímka·nva, *Angelica tomentosa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 167)
709. išnaka p.t. to put aside  
1. pišnákrířuk p.t. to take off (clothing): G731, G753.18
710. išná·nič adj. light (in weight); quick, swift (of persons): G621.9
711. išnap- p.t. to put (soft material?), as in išnápčak "to put on as a patch, to plug with" (G752.1); cf. 463, 1075
712. išné·kva p.i. to be lame: G751
713. išnuru a.i. to thunder  
1. išnura thunder: G761
714. išpas a.i. (acorn meal) to be leached free from bitterness, to be 'sweet'
715. išpat a.i. to break, i.e. become broken: cf. 471, 587  
1. išpá·tara without money, 'broke': G764; a loan-translation from English?
716. išpuka dentalium shells (used as money); gold  
1. išpukáʔasa quartz: "gold-rock," 146  
2. išpukappê·n pan for panning gold: from English "pan"  
3. išpukasuprávara scales for weighing gold: "gold-measuring instrument"; 1257, G754.3, G761  
4. išpukattā·ra rich (person): "money-owner," 1317  
5. išpukatunvê·č small dentalia used for necklaces; small change: 1398.1  
6. išpuké·mka·nva a plant sp.: "money-sunflower," 576  
7. išpuke·mnířra·m adv. gold refinery: "gold-cooking place"; 584, G766
717. išpú·tač adv. a place name (Map, no. 118): G621.9
718. \*iřr, a submorphemic element meaning "pulling" (including "drawing a bow"), is identifiable in several of the below entries.
719. iřrā·t p.t. to lead  
1. iřrā·tara reins: "leading-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
2. iřrā·tkira reins: "leading-instrument"; G754.9; G761
720. iřre·káre· a woman's name
721. iřrí·kara bowstring; tumpline: G754.3, G761?
722. iřriké·yav a man's name: 1665?
723. iřrípih p.t. to pull tight
724. iřriř p.i. to shoot at targets, 'shoot mark'  
1. išnimvánakač yellowbird, *Astragalinus* sp. (M): "little target-shooting-down-from-upriver"; G753.24, G761, G621.9  
2. iřríva·n pers. archer participating in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8): G762  
3. piřríš(rih) p.i. to return from target-shooting: G731, G753.3, with irreg. contraction
725. ʔiřri·v adj. fat (of persons)
726. iřrū·n 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 ištakúra-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. pištú·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. ?išum p.t. to scrape (iris leaves, to extract fiber for making string)
732. ?išunva tp.t. to bury, to hide: G751; cf. 399
1. pišunvarišuk tp.t. to take out of hiding: G731, G753. 18
733. ?išupiš 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. išvírik elbow
737. išvírip Jeffrey pine, *Pinus ponderosa* var. *jeffreyi* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 15); (adv.) a place name, Pine Flat (Map, no. 38): 638?
1. išvínipič adv. a place name, Three-Dollar Bar (Map, no. 79): "little pine," G621. 9
  1. pe·švínipič a man's name: "the one at Three-Dollar Bar," G810
  2. išviripčē·x a bird the mountain tanager, *Piranga ludoviciana* (M): cf. 288
  3. išviripma·m adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: "behind a pine," 965
738. išvíriptih adv. a place name (Map, no. 42): cf. 737
1. išviriptihθu·f Swillup Creek: 1464
739. išvit p.t. to detach: cf. 533, 793
1. išvita piece, part, half: G761
  1. išví·tač 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. išxáxa·ra p.t. to tear open: G753. 32
741. išxay p.i. to fish (with a hook and line)
1. išxā:ra fishpole: "fishing-instrument"; G754. 3, G761
742. išxē·h tp. 2t. to give (a part of something) to (someone)
743. išxíčak waist (of one's body)
744. išya·v adv. winter
1. išyā·t 'spring salmon,' king salmon, *Oncorhynchus tshawytscha* (H): "winter-salmon," 177
  2. išyá·vhi p.i. to live through the winter (T35. 6): G622. 1
1. pišyá·vpu a.i. to be winter (again) (T38. 6): G731
  1. pišya·vpî·š(riha) adv. autumn: G753. 3
- The dimin. is pišyavpî·šnihač.
745. išyu·n p.t. to pull, as in išyú·nkiv "to pull out" (T19. 5) (G753. 7)
746. išyu·x elk

1. išyuxʔitva·vnúkra·m adv. name of a rock on the mountainside near ʔasána·mkarak: "elk looking-down-over place"; 747.8, G766
747. it- p.i. to look  
Occurs with directionals, as in itkúrih "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. itká·nva p.i. to spear fish: "to look into the river (pl.)"; G753.4, G751  
1. itká·nvara fish-spear: "fish-spearling instrument"; G754.3, G761
  2. itkaratiháyav a man's name: "good looking-into-the-river"; G753.4, G757, 1665
  3. itníšuk' p.i. to peek, look out: G753.18
  4. itnú·prih ~ -nih p.i. to look through: G753.22
  5. itrā·mniḥ p.i. to look into: G753.13
  6. itrō·vuTihirak adv. a place name, Nordheimer (Map, no. 80): "looking-upriver place"; G753.19, G757, G823:2
  7. itrū·pu p.i. to look downriver: G753.24
  8. itvā·vnuk ~ -vā:mhuk p.i. to look down over: G753.38
  9. itvā·vra' p.i. to look over: G753.35
  10. itvā·vraθ ~ -mnaθ p.i. to look into a sweat-house: G733.36
  11. itvū·nih p.i. to look down: G753.30
  12. itvū·tih p.i. to look toward: G753.10, G757
748. ʔita·! interj. exclamation of annoyance at a mishap
749. ʔitam adv. earlier today
750. ʔitap tp.t. to know, be familiar with, recognize
751. ʔitíha·n adv. a variant of hitíha·n "constantly"
752. itka·ra mallard duck
753. itní·vka ~ itni·v adj. mean, cruel
754. ítpu·m adj. thick
755. itráhyar adv. ten  
The alternant ʔitáharā- occurs before all suffixes and postpounds.
1. ʔitahanič adv. only ten: G621.9
  2. ʔitaharaʔáhara ten-point buck: 34
  3. ʔitáharahan adv. the tenth month of the Karok year: G621.5
  4. ʔitaharappáčišriha adv. thousand: "ten hundred," 1088  
The prejunctional form is ʔitaharappáčiš#.
  5. ʔitaharatápas adv. a whole lot: "ten real," 1309  
The dimin. is ʔitahanatápasič.
756. itra·x a.i. (arrow) to strike
757. itrō·pa adv. five
1. itnō·pič adv. only five: G621.9
  2. itro·paʔáhara five-point buck: 34
  3. itrō·pain adv. the fifth month of the Karok year: G621.5
  4. itro·patiša·mniha adv. nine: -tíša·mniha is not identifiable.  
1. itno·patiša·mnihič adv. only nine: G621.9
758. ʔi·tšuru tp.t. to leave, abandon: G753.27?
759. ʔitúkuk adv. a place name, the Yurok village of pak<sup>w</sup>tuł
760. ʔitxā·rihva p.i. to open one's eyes, to wake up: G751?
761. \*iθ, a submorphemic element meaning "dual subject," is identifiable in 768, 776, 781, and 786.

762. i0áha·s scattered (?): 1679? Occurring in:  
 1. i0áha·shi p.t. to scatter: G622.1  
 2. i0áha·s + ikyav to scatter: 557
763. ?í0an bark of the Douglas fir  
 1. i0ári·p Douglas fir, *Pseudotsuga taxifolia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 18): 638; the loss of initial ? is irregular. The dimin. is ičáni·pič.  
 1. ičani·p·u·sič fir cone: "little fir pine-cone"; 1500, G621.9  
 2. i0ariptiri·hma·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 100): "behind a wide fir"; 1388, 965
764. ?í0ař p.t. to soak mildewed acorns in: cf. 1184
765. ?í0iviš(rih) a.i. to be a (specified kind of) 'doings' or celebration: G753.3
766. i0ív0a·ne·n world, country, earth, land: 1426.1.2; cf. 1454  
 1. i0iv0ané·npa·h automobile: "land-boat," 1039
767. ?í·0ka feather  
 1. ?i0kamáhya·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. i0puh- p.i. (du.) to swim, as in i0pú·hrina "(du.) to swim across" (G753.15): cf. 475
769. ?í·0ri a.i. (a filled container or its contents) to sit, stand, be; (liquid) to be at rest, to lie  
 1. i0rí·š(rih) a.i. (liquid), to run together, to collect; (a.t.) to set (liquid) down: G753.3
770. i0ríhA flower  
 1. i0riha·?ásip flowerpot: "flower-vessel," 156  
 2. i0ríhahi a.i. to bloom: G622.1
771. i0tit p.i. to gamble, to play 'Indian cards' (with small sticks held in the hand)
772. ?í·0va p.t. to carry on one's back, to pack  
 1. ?í·0va pack, pack-load: G761  
 2. ičváfakač a man's name: "little carrying-downhill"; G753.1, G761, G621.9  
 3. i0vásip p.t. to raise up with a load on one's back: G753.26  
 4. i0ví·š(rih) p.t. to carry home on one's back: G753.3  
 5. í0vu·k p.t. to bring on one's back: G754.17
773. i0vaf tp.t. to think well of
774. i0vara mat, mattress
775. i0va·y adv. breast, chest, heart  
 1. i0vayfúrax a type of salamander: "red-chest," 370  
 2. i0vá·ykam adv. in front: "breast-side," G621.11
776. i0vip p.i. (du.) to run: cf. 532  
 Before directionals, the alternant i0vírip- occurs, as in i0víripvarak "(du.) to run down from upriver" (G753.34)
777. i0vó·n ambitious, industrious  
 1. i0vó·nhi p.t. to be anxious to, to enjoy (doing something): G622.1
778. i0vuy p.t. to be named; to cost  
 1. i0vuya name: G761  
 2. i0vuyá·nahi p.2t. to call (apply as a name to): G622.1?; -á·na- is not identifiable  
 3. i0vú·yma0 p.2t. to name, give as a name to: G754.12

4. iθvú'yva p.t. to name, tell the name of: G751, with added causative meaning
779. iθvuyxā·hi p.i. to care, be sorry, grieve, mourn: G622.1?
780. iθxah p.t. to wash (leached acorn dough)
1. piθxah p.t. to wash (any inan. object): G731
  1. piθxáhara soap; washboard, washing machine: "washing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
781. iθxip p.i. (du.) to fly; (lovers) to elope: cf. 549, 804
782. iθxu·na p.t. to wear on one's head
783. iθxup p.t. to cover (one object), (sg.) to lie covering: cf. 813
1. iθxú·pramnih p.t. to lie face down in (T3.157): G753.13
  2. iθxú·ptaki·š(rih) p.t. to lie down covering (T58.6): G752.4, G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics
784. iθya- adv. across water, across-river
- Occurring in:
1. iθyáRuk adv. across water, across-river; across a canyon: G621.21(2)
    1. iθyárukhi p.i. to cross (a body of water) (T6.56): G622.1
    2. iθyarukirá:sti·p adv. the opposite shore: 168; -ira- is not identifiable.
    3. iθyárukiru(ka)m adv. the opposite shore: G621.11; -iru- is not identifiable.
    4. iθyarukpíhri·v Across-the-Water Widower, a mythical personage: 1117
      1. ?iθyarukpíhri·v mune·vxā·t a plant, turkey mullein, *Eremocarpus setigerus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 136): "Across-the-Water Widower's stinking armpit"; G410, 1013, 1608
  2. iθyú·k adv. across, on the other side: G621.21
785. iθya·h fish-dam: cf. 784
786. iθyi·v- p.i. (du.) to fall, move through the air; as in iθyíviš(rih) "(du.) to fall down" (G753.3), iθyí·mvarayva "(du.) to float around in the air" (G753.33): cf. 560
787. iθyuru p.t. to drag, pull, haul
1. ičyununupní·hvanač ~ čununupní·hvanač needle: "little pulling-through instrument"; G753.22, G751, G754.3, G761, G621.9
  2. iθyura automobile: "hauling," G761
    1. iθyurá?a·h headlight of an auto: "auto-fire," 29.1
    2. iθyurákka·m truck, bus: "big auto," 846
  3. iθyúra·n pers. driver (of an auto): "hauler," G762
788. ?i·v p.i. (sg.) to die
- Acts as s.i. in the phrase ?áθi·k + ?i·v "to be cold" (196).
1. ?í·mkara p.i. to drown: G753.4
  2. ?í·vapuh dead person: G763
  3. ?í·viruv p.i. to be completely exhausted: "to die excessively," G754.8
789. ?i·v- house; nest (of insects or rodents)
- Occurs only in combination, both as prebound and postbound.
1. iv?ávahkam adv. roof: "house-top," 203.1; the loss of initial ? is irregular.
790. ?i·v meaning unknown, occurring only in:
1. ?i·v + máhavrik to be unable to endure, as in ?í·v nimmáhavrik "I can't stand it": 956.1



791. iváxrah a.i. to be dry, to dry up: cf. G622.2, 229  
 1. iváxraha adj. dry: G761  
 2. ivaxráhčak s.i. to have one's throat close up with thirst (T4.68):  
 G752.1
792. ʔívhara board  
 1. ʔivhanatunvêč shingles: "little boards," 1398.1
793. ʔivit- p.t. to detach, as in ʔivítšú'ro' "to pull off (pl.)" (T8.9)  
 (G753.27, G751): cf. 533, 739
794. ivrara- p.i. (pl.) to fall, as in ivrásasuru "(pl.) to fall off" (G753.27)
795. ʔivrattírih adv. a place name (Map, no. 69): cf. 1388
796. ivraṽ p.i. to give birth to more than one
797. ʔívríp a.i. to bubble, to boil
798. ʔívre·n ~ ʔívre·ra bare summit of a hill or mountain
799. ʔívuf tp.t. to cry for, mourn for
800. ivyih- p.i. (du.-pl.) to go, come, arrive (there)  
 Used with directionals.  
 1. ivyíhiš(rih) p.i. (du.-pl.) to gather, assemble: G753.3  
 2. ivyíhmu p.i. (du.-pl.) to go to, to arrive (going): G753.10  
 3. ivyíhra· p.i. (du.-pl.) to come: G753.12  
 4. ivyíhšip(rih) p.i. (pl.) to go (away), to leave, to go to: G753.26  
 1. pavyíhšip(rih) p.i. (pl.) to go home: G731  
 5. ivyíhuk p.i. (du.-pl.) to arrive (here): G754.17
801. ixak p.i. to make a noise  
 1. ixakáxaka a.i. to rattle: 740  
 1. ixakaxákara gold-cradle: "rattling-instrument"; G754.3,  
 G761
802. ʔíxax p.t. to split, shred: cf. 545, 616, 740
803. ixáxana· p.i. (du.-pl.) to cry, weep: G756
804. ʔíxip- p.i. (pl.) to fly, to move through the air; as in ʔíxiprišuk  
 "(pl.) to fly out" (G753.18), ʔixipu'ni·hva "(pl.) to drift down (pl.)"  
 (T52.75) (G753.30, G751): cf. 549, 781
805. ixme·hváθa·n priest in the Jumping Dance (Kroeber and Gifford,  
 p. 8): G762
806. ixrah s.t. to thirst for, occurring only in the phrase ʔíšaha (or  
 ʔá·s) + ixrah "to be thirsty" (689.1, 145),
807. ixra·mu p.t. to bet (in gambling)  
 1. ixra·má' bet, stake (in gambling): G761
808. ixrara p.i. (sg.) to cry, weep; (cat) to meow  
 1. ixrará·va p.i. to make cries (T22.22): G751; -á·- is not  
 identifiable.
809. ixrú·nhi p.i. to growl: G622.1?
810. ixrup s.i. to have an erection
811. ixtaranaʔípan adv. a place name (Map, no. 36): 644
812. ixtí·vhi p.i. to play (athletic games): G622.1  
 1. ixtí·vha (athletic) game: G761
813. ʔíxup- p.t. to cover (several objects); (du.-pl.) to lie covering:  
 cf. 783  
 1. ʔíxupki·š(rih) p.t. (du.-pl.) to lie against (T51.52): G753.8,  
 G753.3, with irreg. morphophonemics  
 2. ʔíxupsuru p.t. to uncover (several objects): G753.27
814. ixví·phi p.i. to be angry: G622.1?
815. ixvírip p.t. to swallow (by accident): cf. 1103  
 1. ixvínipač pill: G761, G621.9

816. **ixya-** p.t. to throw (two or more objects)  
Used with directionals.  
1. **ixyaramnihváram** clothesbasket: "throwing-in place"; G753.13, G766  
2. **ixyáθuro-v** p.t. to throw away, to lose (two or more objects):  
cf. G753.29. The plural-action form **ixyápiθva** is likewise irregular.  
3. **ixyunihatáyi-θ** firecracker plant, *Brodiaea ida-maia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 48): "throwing-down brodiaea"; G753.30, G761, 1363
817. **ixyátap** tp.2t. to cover with: cf. 816, 604
818. **iyá·ramu** p.i. (du.) to go (away), to leave, to go on to  
1. **piyá·ramu** p.i. (du.) to go home: G731
819. **iyav-** p.t. to put (more than two objects)  
Used with directionals.  
1. **iyē·šri·hva** p.t. to sell: "to put down (pl.)"; G753.3, G751  
1. **iyē·šnihva·nič** pers. peddler: G762, G621.9
820. **iya·θvθ·ra** ceiling
821. **iyfú·trupuk** p.t. to push out (of an enclosed space): G753.25
822. **iyhúkurišuk** 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. **piykára·n** pers. butcher: G762  
2. **piykarára·m** adv. slaughterhouse: G766  
3. **piykaravara** p.t. to finish slaughtering (T71.15): G754.11, with irreg. denasalization
824. **iypá·yšip(riv)** p.t. to shove over: G753.26
825. **iyruh** p.t. to revolve, to roll, to coil  
1. **iynu·htáKač** adv. a place name (Map, no. 66): "little coiling-on"; G752.4, G761, G621.9  
2. **iyruha** a type of headdress: "coiling," G761  
3. **iyrú·hriṽ** p.i. (sg.an.) to lie: G752.2  
Acts as a durative verb
826. **iyšař** p.t. to mix with: cf. G754.15
827. **iytup** p.t. to knead (bread)
828. **iyuř** p.t. to put or stick (a long object); used with directionals, as in **iyú·namnih** "to stick (a long object) into" (G753.13)  
1. **iyúriš(rih)** p.t. to pay (a stated amount): G753.3
829. **iyvax** p.t. to hull (acorns)
830. **iyvay-** p.t. to pour, as in **iyvá·ykurih** "to pour into (a hole)" (G753.9)  
1. **iyvê·š(rih)** p.t. to pour out, to spill: G753.3  
2. **iyvθ·nih** p.t. to take (acorns) down (from racks): "to pour down," G753.30  
3. **iyvθ·ra** p.t. to put (acorns) up (on racks): "to pour up," G753.31
831. **iyvθ·ra** p.t. to pile (wood)  
1. **iyvθ·ra** woodpile: G761  
1. **iyvθ·rura** woodpile; G753.31, G761
832. **iyvuř-** tp.t. to chase, as in **iyvúrunih** "to chase downhill" (G753.30)
833. **iyvúruk** p.t. to rub (something) on, to apply (medicine), to paint  
1. **iyvúrukahA** paint: G755, G761
834. **iyxθ·rara** p.t. to cover

1. iyxō·rariṽ p. 2t. to cover with, to wrap up in: -iṽ is not identifiable.

## K

## 835. kaʔ- adv. upriver

The alternant kah- occurs in most compounds, and the alternant ka- in most derivatives.

1. kahʔárah pers. Shasta Indian: "upriver person," 127
  2. káhih Shasta language: "upriver language," 380
  3. kahʔína·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 22): "upriver world-renewal celebrating place"; 675, G766
  4. káhʔira upriver world-renewal: 675
 

Occurring in:

    1. káhʔira + várak to do a war dance (T82.21): "upriver world-renewal to come down from upriver," 1523
  5. kahʔí·vre·n ~ -ʔí·vre·ra adv. a place name (Map, no. 87): "upriver summit," 798
  6. kahtišra·m adv. a place name, Yreka (in Shasta territory): "upriver valley," 1391
  7. káhθu·f a tributary of Bluff Creek: "upriver creek," 1464
  8. kahyúras adv. Klamath Lakes: "upriver ocean," 1699
  9. kã·kam ~ kã·m adv. (a short distance) upriver: G621.21(1)
  10. káro·(ka)m adv. on a height upriver; (in the longer form only) a place name (Map, no. 99): G621.21(4). The dimin. is káno·kamič.
  11. káRuk adv. (a considerable distance) upriver: G621.21(2)
    1. káruk vaʔára·r Karok Indian: "upriver its-person"; G420, 132
    2. káruk vákku·sra(h) the tenth month of the Karok year: "upriver its-month"; G420 932
  12. kã·sah adv. a place name, perh. designating the upper drainage of the Trinity River: cf. 1683.7. The term kasahʔára·ra "person of kã·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. kasahé·mvirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 13): "at kã·sah fishery"; 613, G621.1
  13. kaʔtimʔi:n adv. Ishi Pishi Falls; the adjacent rancheria, Katimin (Map, no. 70): "upriver-edge falls"; 1397, 624
  14. kaʔtimpe·piθváram adv. Gent's store in Orleans: "upriver-edge store"; 1377, 1108.1
  15. kō·θ adv. across- and up-river: G621.21(3)
 

The dimin. is kō·čič.
836. kač son (rare, usually replaced by ʔavansáxi·č "boy" or ʔafišríhan "young man"). The dimin. is kã·čiš.
837. kačaʔi·mič adv. a variant of čakaʔi·mič "gently, quietly"
838. kačakã·č blue jay, the crested jay, Cyanocitta sp. (M)
  1. kačakačʔápuro·n a kind of cocoon: "blue jay's magic-charm," 123.2
- 839.. káf a plant, saxifrage, Peltiphyllum peltatum (Schenck and Gifford, no. 102)

1. káfhī-č alum root, *Heuchera pilosissima* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 104): "imitation saxifrage," G614.2
  2. kafička-mša a plant, sweet coltsfoot, *Petasites palmata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 238): "big little-saxifrages"; G621.9, 846, G621.16
  3. kafičtunvê-č(as) alum root (same as káfhī-č, above): "small little-saxifrages"; G621.9, 1398.1
840. káFih coffee: from English
1. kafih?ásip coffeepot: "coffee vessel," 156
841. kâ·h automobile: from English "car"
842. ka?íru ~ káru adv. also, too, and
843. ka?íru! 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. kē-č 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 kē-čič.
1. ke-č?í·hyan Preston Peak: "big-standing"; 433, G532
  2. ke-číkyava 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. kapáhra·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 ?irúkka·ra "(pl.) to cross a river" (G756).
850. kári adv. still, yet, already, then
1. kárihi p.i. to be ready: G622.1
  2. kári xas then, so, and then, and so, and, but: 1604
851. kâ:rim adj. bad, bad off, poor, sickly; in-law after death of connecting relative. The dimin. kâ-nimič is used esp. in the meaning "poor" (i. e., impoverished).
1. ka·rimčúpha·n a man's name: "bad-talker"; 319, G762
  2. kâ:rim + 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 ~ kasánukič adv. a place name, Sandy Bar (Map, no. 98): G614.7, G621.1?; G621.9
855. kasaxáni·k adv. a place name (Map, no. 44): G614.7, G621.1?
856. kasči·p porcupine; porcupine quills
1. kasči·pkuniš adj. yellow: "like porcupine quills" (which are dyed yellow for basketry), G621.13
857. kasó·hra·m adv. a place name, near Katimin rancheria (T83.13): G766?
858. kásta·n mourning necklace

859. ká·t a plant, California mugwort, *Artemisia vulgaris* var. *heterophylla* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 237)
860. katási·p bracken, *Pteris aquilina* var. *lanuginosa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 7)
861. katikúxra California vanilla grass, *Torresia macrophylla*; also identified as another grass, *Carex leptopoda* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 35 and 37)
862. ka·thínišukač adv. a place name, uphill and downriver from kátiphirak; 859, G621.9?
863. kátiphirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 104); G621.1, G823.2
864. káyi·č (young) widow: G621.9?
865. ka·ykā·yhi p.i. to make the call of the blue jay: G622.1
866. ké·čxav (old) widow  
The dimin. is ke·čxā:č.
867. kē·ks cake: from English plural
868. -kē·m adj. bad; homely  
Used only as a postpound, except in the following:  
1. kē·mačko· poor, pitiable: G621.9, 897?  
2. -kē·mič adj. poor, inferior: G621.9  
Used only as postpound.  
3. kē·miša something supernaturally dangerous, a devil, a monster; a deceased person; poison; a wild animal: G621.10?  
1. ke·mišá:xi·č half-breed child (obsolete): "devil-child," 223
869. kē·na p.i. to tremble, quiver, wiggle
870. ke·vkaríhθu·f Three Dollar Bar Creek: 1464
871. ké·vri·k pers. old woman; old female (animal)  
The dimin. is ké·vni·kič.
872. kí·h- p.i. to lock a door: from English "key"  
Occurs in:  
1. kí·hara key: "locking-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
2. kí·hšuru p.i. to unlock a door: G753.27
873. kí·h key  
This evidently represents a different line of borrowing from that in the preceding entry. As a noun theme, kí·h- is found in the following:  
1. ipkí·hpu p.i. to lock a door: G731, G622.1  
1. ipkí·hpara key: "locking-instrument"; G754.3, G761
874. kič adv., only, just
875. kifaf p.i. to teach magical procedures
876. kifnuk p.i. to bend, stoop, curl oneself up
877. kifukva p.t. to tie in a bundle: G751? cf. 888
878. kihrá·mhi p.i. to be nauseated: G622.1?
879. kimfiř p.t. to singe (an animal): cf. 575
880. kimkuv bearhide prepared by heating and scraping, eaten in the winter (T71.26)
881. kí·nik adv. a place name (Map, no. 26)
882. kinína·sič pet: G621.9
884. kíPa 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 kípa fā·t "like something, i. e., beautiful" (T30.17) and kípa θúkkin "like bile, i. e., green" (T58.36).

885. kírí adv. would that . . . , let . . . , may . . . !  
Used with indicative verb forms to express wishes.
1. kĭNikini adv. may . . . ! (T4.68): this type of reduplication is irregular.
886. kirívraha wave, riffle (in water)
887. kišáke·vara Hupa Indian  
The alternant kišake·vra-- occurs as prepound:
1. kišake·vráhih Hupa language: 380
  2. kišake·vrári·-k adv. a place name, Hoopa: "Hupa-place"; G614.7, G621.1
  3. kišake·vrássava Trinity River: "Hupa-river," 1220.2
888. kíšap p.t. to tie in a bundle: cf. 877
889. kíšvu·f 'Indian celery,' sweet cicely, *Osmorrhiza nuda* var. *brevipes* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 160)
1. kišvufsansá·nhiTihan columbine, *Aquilegia truncata*: "having leaves like Indian celery leaves": kišvúf·sa·n "Indian celery leaves," 1205; sa·nhítihan "having leaves," 1205, G622.1, G757, G532
890. kí·t ~ kí·t pers. female grand-relative through a woman; i.e., mother's mother, mother's aunt, daughter's daughter, or niece's daughter. The alternant -kĭ·tka occurs as postpound: cf. 942. The dimin. is kí·tač.
1. ipkitpíya·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. kí·tva·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. kitáxrih wing
1. kitaxríhak adv. a place name, near ?uknamxánahič pond: "at a wing," G621.1
  2. kitaxríhara a kind of dangerous spirit: "having wings," G621.2
    1. kitaxríharahi p.i. to be unfaithful to one's spouse: G622.1
892. kí·tifiš a man's name
893. kitnak p.t. to crack (acorns)
894. kí·ri·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. kíxah 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. kixáha·n pers. brush-burner at the world renewal: G762
896. kiyakikí·č 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. kō·hi p.i. to stop, quit: G622.1, with irreg. accent
  2. kō·mahič adv. a little bit; all (T48.24): G621.18, G621.9
  3. kō·vA adv. so much: G621.17
  4. kō·van adv. together (with two or more); (as a postposition) together with (two or more) (G833.3): G621.3
  5. ko·vú·rA adv. all: 1577  
Used as a determinative.
  6. kō·nik enough: 1014

898. kó-čʔi-v adv. a place name (Map, no. 63)  
 1. ko-čʔivkδ-θkam adv. a place name, across-river from kó-čʔi-v:  
 835.15, G621.11
899. ko-hímač- tp.t. to pity  
 Occurring in the following:  
 1. ko-hímačko- tp.t. to pity: G753.8, G751  
*Used mostly with an implied supernatural subject, as in ʔára tá kunko-hímmačko- "(the spirits) took pity on a person, i.e., he became lucky."*  
 1. ko-hímačko- poor, pitiable; deceased father: G761  
 2. ko-hímačva tp.t. to pity: G751
900. kō-ka kind, variety; also used in reference to a deceased person  
 The meaning "every" is found in the following derivatives:  
 1. ko-kamáhʔi-t adv. every morning: 957  
 2. kō-kaninay adv. everywhere: G621.15
901. kō-kanhi tp.t. to accompany, go along with: G622.1
902. kō-khi p.t. to win (stakes, in gambling): G622.1  
 1. ipko-kpíčva-n a man's name: "one who pretends to win again";  
 G731, G754.6, G762
903. kóKu interj. oh-oh!
904. kō-n corn: from English
905. ko-pitxa-ríhva-n pers. sweathouse companion of the priest in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford): 897, G731, 760, G762?
906. kū-čič a type of lizard: G621.9?  
 1. kučičʔápvuy a plant, yarrow, *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa*:  
 "lizard-tail," 125  
 2. kučičvāsih 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. ku-f Western spotted skunk, *Spilogale phenax* (H)
909. kúfip velvet willow, *Salix sitchensis* var. *coulteri* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 65): perh. "skunk-tree," 638  
 1. kufipfúrax red willow, *Salix laevigata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 62): 370  
 2. kufipnárA 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 nákkuhiTih "I'm sick," but -kuhíTih otherwise, as in ʔukkuhíTih "he's sick."
911. kúhu-m adj. unfamiliar
912. kú-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. kukuhamakáyva'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. morphophonemics

917. kun. adv. meaning unknown; occurs only in yakun "you see" (1657.1) and in víri kun, of demonstrative meaning (1553.1)
918. -ku'n adj. crooked  
Occurs only as postpound and in the following:  
1. kú'nhí a.i. to be crooked: G622.1
919. kúNA adv. in addition, in turn; but  
1. kúna vúra but: 1577
920. kunā-čʔa name of a mythical personage (T55)
921. kuna-skúnashi p.i. to play on a teeter-totter: G622.1?
922. kunih p.i. to shoot  
1. kunihara wooden-tipped arrow: "shooting-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
1. kunihare-kxúrikara larkspur, *Delphinium decorum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 90): "arrow-decorating instrument"; 555, G754.3, G761  
2. kuní'hku tp.t. to shoot, shoot at (a person or animal): G753.8
923. kúNÍŠ adv. sort of, kind of, rather
924. kunukúnuhi s.i. to have an itch: G622.1?  
1. kunukúnuhivaθ tp.t. to tickle: G754.12
925. kupánakanakanA interj. word used to end myths
926. kú'phi p.i. to do  
The following combinations are irregular:  
1. -kúpha-ník ancient tense, "once did" (G822.3)  
2. -kúpha-t past tense, "did" (G534)  
3. -kuphe'n anterior tense, "had done" (G822.2)  
4. -kuphe-š future tense, "will do" (G822.1)  
The anterior and future forms are unaccented when preceded by an accented adverb in the same predication: míník na' va' níku-phe-š "I'll do that." Otherwise, forms with post-accented prefixes have penultimate acute accent: paʔára-r ʔu'mkun kunkúphe-š "the people will do it." Those with other prefixes have final circumflex accent: na' va' níku-phē-š "I'll do that."  
5. kupíTih durative, "to be doing" (G757)  
This theme is accented before suffixes, as in ʔukupíTihe-š "he will be doing," but unaccented elsewhere, as in pánukupíTih "what we are doing."
927. kúpri'p Port Orford cedar, *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 22): 638
928. kú-ř- p.i. to sit, to slide (on one's buttocks), as in kú-riš(rih) "to sit down" (G753.3), kú-ruθuna "to slide around" (G753.29)
929. kúrat California woodpecker, *Balanosphyra formicivorus* var. bairdi (H)
930. kuríhkira beam supporting the lower end of the roof in an Indian house: G754.9, G761
931. kuríθxi't a plant sp.
932. kú'sra(h) sun, moon; month (used as a classifier)  
1. kusnáhʔanamahač clock, watch: "little sun," 129.1  
2. kusnahkinína-sič clock, watch: "sun-pet," 882  
3. kusrahkē'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. kusré-kxúrika calendar: "month-paper," 555.1



933. kusrípan madrone tree, *Arbutus menziesii* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 179): cf. 934
934. kusrípiš madrone berry: cf. 933  
1. kusrípiš'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. kúsuxiθ a type of fragrant bush, the branches of which were worn by women in their hair
937. kústa·n pers. sister, female cousin  
The irreg. plural is kustá·ras when unprefixated, -kustári·vša with possessives.  
1. kustáni·čva step-sister: "imitation sister," G614.2
938. kustítik wild pea, *Lathyrus graminifolius* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 131)
939. kustúriv a type of grass, growing on the river-bank
940. kusva·x a plant sp.
941. kusvê·p poison oak, *Rhus diversiloba* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 137)
942. kú·t ~ kú·t 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 kú·tač.  
1. ipkutpíya·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. kú·tva·s 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. kut'ánav 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.. kutráhara coat: "bulging-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
1. kutnahaná'anamahač jacket: "little coat," 129.1  
2. kutraharaxxárA overcoat: "long coat," 1602  
3. kutraharáxxu·s raincoat: "smooth coat," 1640  
2. kutra·htíhan coat (T5.53): "one which is bulging"; G757, G532
946. kútutuk ~ kútukuk left hand
947. kuθ adv. for that reason  
Used as a postposition in the meaning "because of, for" (G833.5)
948. kuθ tp.t. to copulate with
949. kuví·vi·č oriole, *Icterus* sp. (M): G621.9?
950. kuyá·pkuh tp.t. to say goodbye to
951. kú·yiv adv. a place name (Map, no. 88)
952. kuyra·k adv. three  
1. kuyná·kič adv. just three: G621.0  
2. kuyrakíθih 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. kuyrakiní·vkiha adv. eight: cf. 494  
1. kuyrakiní·vkihič adv. just eight: G621.9  
2. kuyrakiní·vkiha:n adv. the eighth month of the Karok year: G621.5

## M

953. ma? adv. uphill, in the mountains.

The allomorph mah- occurs in most compounds, and the allomorph ma- in most derivatives.

1. mahamtáparas a type of lupine, *Lupinus latifolius* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 125): "mountain lupine," 89.1
2. mah?asaxxê·m tree lichen, *Evernia vulpina* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 1): "mountain moss," 146.14
3. maháxra·t a type of berry: "mountain gooseberry," 233
4. mahaxyámsuríp a bush, California rose bay, *Rhododendron californicum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 177): "mountain azalea," 252
5. mahaxyúshi·č a plant, *Tonella tenella* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 210): "imitation mountain digger-pine-nut"; 255, G614.2
6. mahčfših wolf: "mountain dog," 305
7. mahímka·nva a plant, *Angelica tomentosa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 167): "mountain sunflower," 576.1
8. má?hinva ~ mã·hinva adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: G621.16
9. mahiθári·p lowland fir, *Abies grandis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 19): "mountain fir," 763.1
10. mahkačakâ·č gray jay, *Perisoreus* sp. (M): "mountain jay," 838
11. mahkusrípan a type of bush: "mountain madrone," 933
12. mahpúriθ Oregon boxwood, *Pachystima myrsinites* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 138): "mountain huckleberry," 1177.3
13. máhsa·n vine maple, *Acer circinatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 140): "mountain maple," 1206
14. mahtáyi·θ tiger lily, *Lilium pardalinum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 52): "mountain brodiaea," 1363
15. máhθa·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 83): "mountain meadow," 1418
16. máhθu·f a tributary of Bluff Creek: "mountain creek," 1464
17. mahxánθu·n scorpion: "mountain crawfish," 1598
18. mã·kA adv. (a short distance) uphill: G621.21
  1. mã·kavaríh adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: G621.19. The form má?kavaríh, evidently containing an alternant of the same stem, is given as a part of Orleans.
19. mã·kam ~ mã·m adv. (a short distance) uphill: G621.21(1)
20. má?ninay adv. high mountain country: G621.15
21. máRuk 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 alternant masuh- occurs in compounds, and the alternant masu- in derivatives.
  1. masuh?árah pers. Konomihu Shastan Indian: "Salmon River person," 127
  2. masúhíh Konomihu Shastan language: "Salmon River language 380
  3. masúhsava Salmon River, including its North Fork: 1200.2
  4. mã·sukam ~ mã·su·m adv. (a short distance) up a creek, up the Salmon River: G621.21(1)

5. masúruk adv. (a considerable distance) up a creek, up the Salmon River: G621.21(2)
954. mačnat a.i. to flash, shine intermittently
1. mačnátač 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. máhrař tp.t. to track (i. e., follow the tracks of): "to see in," G753.14  
1. mahráva·n, pers. shaman with clairvoyant power, 'mind-reader': "tracker," G762
  3. mahunā·na tp.t. to see coming (T35.15): -unā·na is not identifiable.
  4. má·hva tp.t. to visit: G751
957. máhʔi·t adv. -morning
1. mahʔi·tñihač adv. early morning: G614.7?, G621.9
958. mahnū·vanač chipmunk: G621.9
959. mahō·n a woman's name
960. mahví·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. maktunvê·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 ʔapxan·tñihič, 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 (?)wo·gey, of the same meaning.
1. mákayhi p.i. to have the mange; to be numerous: G622.1
  2. makáyva·s(a) cloth: "white-man's blanket," 1526  
1. makayvase·krívra·m adv. tent: "cloth house," 493.4  
2. makayvasyukúkuh tennis shoes: "cloth shoes," 1693
965. -ma·m 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. manʔátA ~ manā· adv. maybe, perhaps; (as an independent predication) I don't know: 178
967. má·n skin; bark (of a tree)
968. masmá·hva p.i. to do the dance performed by a shaman when curing a patient: G751
969. matê· adv. in a moment; (as an independent predication) wait a moment!
970. matnak a.i. (a part of one's body) to burn, sting
971. matnus a.i. to burst: cf. 282
1. matnusa cotton: G761  
Said to be so called because it was seen bursting out of quilts.  
1. matnusáva·s(a) quilt, comforter: "cotton-blanket," 1526

972. máθ adj. heavy  
 1. máθaphi p.i. to be too heavy (T5.59); G622.1; -ap- is not identifiable.  
 2. má'θhi a.i. to weigh: G622.1  
 A numeral satellite indicates a number of pounds, as in yíθθa ʔumma·θhítih "it weighs one pound."
973. mávA ~ má· interj. look! behold!
974. -mí·f black (?) Occurring only in ʔípmi·f "black deer," 636.5, and in páy nanuʔávahkam ve·kxavnamičmi·f "a mythical personage," 1104.5.1
975. minik adv. of emphatic meaning; often used in reassuring, translated 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. ipmitmítahiva adv. Fourth of July: "repeated-popping time"; G731, G740, G754.1, G761  
 2. mitimšáxvuh milkweed, *Asclepias eriocarpa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 191): "popping-gum"; G761 in an irreg. zero form?, 592  
 3. mitná·θva 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 míTa occurs in certain environments (G836.3)  
 1. mitva adv. previous (acting as a determinative, T3.60): G621.17
978. mí·θ father's sister  
 The dimin. is mí·čiš.  
 1. míθva·s sister of one's dead father: G614.9  
 The dimin. is míčva·sič.
979. mí·θipara red bilberry, *Vaccinium parvifolium* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 185)
980. mó·x interj. exclamation calling attention to a smell
981. múhiš a plant, *Leptotaenia californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 165)
982. mú·k adv. with, by means of (a postposition, G833.6)
983. mú·mhi p.i. to buzz: G622.1; cf. 126.1
984. múmuh adj. dull (as a knife or needle)
985. múnukič slippery: G621.9; cf. 988,
986. mura mole; velvet (because of its similarity to mole's skin)  
 1. murappō·ra corduroy: "mole pants," 1169  
 2. murayáfus velvet: "mole dress," 1650.2
987. murá·sīs molasses: from English
988. múrax adj. slippery: cf. 985  
 The dimin. is múnaxič.
989. múruk mealing tray (O'Neale, p. 38)
990. músmus cow, cattle: from Chinook Jargon, perh. through Shasta mú·smu·s
991. mú·t p.t. to carry in one's (closed) hand, to put or take a handful of  
 1. mú·triṽ a.i. (handful) to lie: G752.2
992. mú·tmu·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 ʔô·k "here," as in čími ʔô·k na· "come here!": cf. G753.12  
1. ʔírunna· 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·kišnakiš 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. namtírih wooden plate for venison: perh. "wide flat"; 998, 1388
1001. nánač older sister, older female cousin: G621.9
1002. ná·pif beetle
1003. nárA ~ núruh adj. rough  
1. narári·-k adv. a place name, near 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·tna·t nuthatch, *Sitta aculeata* (M)
1008. ná·θ pers. man's sister's son  
The dimin. is ná·čiš or ná·čukač.
1009. naṽ a. i. to be flat ground, as in na·mváro·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 tp. t. to hate: G622.1
1012. ne·náre· a woman's name
1013. nē·v' armpit
1014. nik adv. of doubtful meaning, perh. "to some extent, for a while, at intervals"
1015. níKA Negro: from English "Nigger"
1016. ní·knikič sparrow hawk, *Falco sparverius* (M): G621.9
1017. ní·namič adj. little, small: G621.9  
Replaced in postpound position by -ʔanamahač, 129.1. The suppletive plural is tū·pičas, 1400; postpound -tunvê·č(asa), 1398.1.
1018. níšit wart
1019. nō·virukan adv. a place name (Map, no. 5)
1020. nú· pron. we
1021. núkah ~ núkuh adj. deep (of vessels)  
Perh. has the form -nu·k in 1227.2, 1233.
1022. núpnup spot (on an animal)  
1. nupnúpanač fawn; "little spotted one"; G621.2, G621.9

## O

1023. ʔo! interj. exclamation of disdain (T8.22)  
 1024. ʔo! interj. oh! (T1.95)  
 1025. ʔə-k adv. here  
 1026. ʔó·nva tp.t. to take (two or more people): G751?  
 1. ʔó·nvu·k tp.t. to bring (two or more people): G754.17, with  
 irreg. lengthening of the suffix vowel  
 1027. ʔə·rahi a.i. to cost: G622.1?  
 1028. ʔó·rayva p.i. to have rumbling in one's stomach: G753.33?  
 1029. ʔə-t backbone of salmon  
 1030. ʔə·v tp.t. to raise (a child)

## P

1031. \*pa, a submorphemic element, "by means of the mouth" (G710)  
 1032. pa·ʔ adv. last year  
 1033. páčak a.i. to be closed tightly: G752.1  
 1034. pačípčip p.t. to suck on: G740, with a stem pačip-  
 1035. pačnut p.t. to suck at  
 1. pačnutúčnutu p.t. to nibble at: G740  
 1036. páčup tp.t. to kiss  
 1037. páfiš 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. pahi·p 'pepperwood,' the California laurel tree: 638  
 1. pahípna·mvarayva adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria: 1009, G753.33, G761  
 2. pahípri·-k adv. a place name, the Yurok village of ertlerger (as recorded by Kroeber, 1925, p. 10): "pepperwood-place"; G614.7, G621.1  
 3. pahipšúruk adv. name of a sweathouse at ʔame·kyá·ra·m: "under a pepperwood," 1248.3  
 1039. pá·h boat  
 1. pahvítara paddle, oar: "boat-rowing instrument"; 1578, G754.3, G761  
 1. pahvítanač an aquatic insect, the 'skipper': "little paddle," G621.9  
 1040. paha·v green manzanita, Arctostaphylos patula (Schenck and Gifford, no. 180)  
 1041. pahi·č wooden chest, box  
 1042. pahvákiri p.i. to eat or drink too much; to be drunk  
 1. pahvakíra·n pers. drunkard: G762  
 1043. paknú·vař p.i. to go spend the night away from home: G754.2  
 1044. paktá·psip(riv) p.t. to turn up on end: G731, G753.26  
 1045. pá·ku(hi) p.i. to pick or gather acorns  
 1. pakuháky·sra(h) adv. the thirteenth month of the Karok year: "acorn-picking month"; G761, 932  
 2. pá·kuhiva adv. the thirteenth month of the Karok year: "acorn-picking time"; G754.1, G761

1046. pákurih p.i. to sing  
 Inflectional affixes are added only to the plural-action derivative,  
 paku'ri'hva.  
 1. pákuriha song: G761
1047. pakxú'yva p.i. to wash one's hands: G751  
 1. pakxu'yvávaθ tp.t. to rub 'medicine' on (for good luck): "to  
 cause to wash one's hands," G754.12  
 2. pakxu'yvičva p.i. to seek good luck: "to wash one's hands in  
 pretense," G754.6
1048. pakyav s.t. to succeed with, have good luck with
1049. pamčak p.i. to close one's mouth: G731, 201, G752.1?
1050. panáknak p.i. (woodpecker) to peck: G740, with a stem panak-
1051. panámni-k adv. a place name, Orleans (Map, no. 102): perh.  
 "the flat place"; G810, 999, G614.7, G621.1
1052. panipnímta·čič California jay, Aphelocoma sp. (M): G621.9
1053. pánpay 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. páPah pepper: from English
1056. pápuθ p.t. to chew
1057. para tp.t. to bite
1058. páRah pers. father's brother  
 The dimin. is paníhič.  
 1. paráhva-s pers. brother of one's deceased father: G614.9
1059. párak p.t. to split with a wedge
1060. pá·rak sandbar willow, Salix sessilifolia var. hindiana (Schenck  
 and Gifford, no. 63)
1061. parámpuk p.t. to cook (soaked acorns) with hot stones: cf. 1427
1062. páramva p.t. to boil: G751?  
 1. parámva-s soup: "boiling-water"; G761, 145, with irreg. con-  
 traction
1063. parā·mva p.t. to split with a wedge: cf. 1059  
 1. parā·mvara maul for driving wedges: G754.3, G761
1064. paratánma·hpu p.i. to turn back: G731, G754.16, G622.1
1065. párax p.t. to lick (acorn soup) off of cooking stones
1066. páriš p.t. a variant of ipáriš "to heat (cooking stones)"
1067. parišri'hva p.t. to twine, i.e., make string by rolling iris fibers  
 together: G753.3, G751
1068. pá·sahA armor (made of sticks)
1069. pásas p.i. to get dressed, to dress up  
 1. pásasip(riv) p.i. to put one's clothes on (T4.25): G753.26
1070. pásay salmon beetle
1071. pasčip p.i. to be wet
1072. pásip p.i. to shoot
1073. pasirú'u·vre· adv. 'a place name, Presidio Bar (Map, no. 50)
1074. pasná·hva p.i. to draw in one's breath: G751?
1075. pasnap 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. pasni·kê·ra whistle: "whistling-through instrument"; G753.7,  
 G754.3, G761
1077. pá·stak p.t. to hang (something) over

1078. pasúpi·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. pátarava soup basket (O'Neale, p. 36): G753.14, G761  
The dimin. is pátanamič.
1080. pátanva p.t. to ask for, beg for  
1. patanvâ·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 ?itúkuk rancheria (T57.5): G621.1  
1. patapríhakam adv. a place name, a Yurok village at the mouth of the Klamath, perh. wek<sup>Wew</sup>: "pavement-side," G621.11
1082. páтира ground just behind a fishing platform
1083. patrá·kup elk clover, *Aralia californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 157)
1084. patórihiš adv. a place name, Oak Flat (Map, no. 14)
1085. pátum p.i. to put one's mouth or head  
1. pátumku tp.t. (shaman) to suck disease from (a patient): "to put one's mouth on," G753.8  
2. patúmkira pillow: "head-putting instrument"; G754.9, G761  
1. patumkiré·yu·nvara pillowcase: "pillow putting-in"; 828, G753.32, G761
1086. patúru·pve·na western raspberry, *Rubus leucodermis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 112): G767
1087. pá·tva p.i. to bathe, to wash (any part of) oneself: G751?  
1. patváram adv. washbowl, bath tub: "washing-place," G766
1088. paθ p.t. to throw  
1. páčiš(rih) p.t. to throw down: G753.3  
1. -páčišriha hundred: "throwing down," G761  
Used only as a postpound. The prejunctural form is -páčiš#.  
2. pá·čuru p.t. to lose: "to throw away," G753.27  
1. pippá·čuru tp.t. to desert (one's spouse): G731
1089. páθah alone  
The dimin. is páče·č.
1090. páθak knee  
The locative is páθakan.  
1. páθakhi p.i. to kneel: G622.1  
1. paθakhíram adv. a place name, near Katimin: "kneeling-place," because Duck Hawk knelt there to shoot his wife (T25, T26); G766  
2. paθakhí·š(rih) p.i. to kneel down, assume a kneeling position: G753.3
1091. pá·θkira headdress worn in the jump dance: G754.9, G761?
1092. paθput bracelet
1093. páθra·mu p.t. to wrap one's hair with  
1. pačnamvanáhi·č a plant, *Chrysothamnus* sp. (M): G753.32, G761, G614.2; the loss of the stem's final vowel is irreg.  
2. páθra·ma hair-wrapping: G761  
1. pačná·mič a woman's name: "little hair-wrapping," G621.9



1094. paθrih a.i. to rain  
 1. paθriha rain: G761  
 1. paθriharakútrahara raincoat: "rainy coat"; G621.2, 945.1
1095. paθriṽ p.t. to spread on, to cover (a place) with, as in paθrí·mki-rih "to spread over a fire" (G753.6)
1096. paθu'vri·na p.i. to measure strings of dentalia: G753.37, G751  
 1. paθúvri·na string of dentalia: G761
1097. pá·θva p.i. to sneeze: 1088, G751?
1098. pavírutva skirt made of maple bark
1099. pax p.t. to catch  
 1. páxe·p tp.2t. to win from: G754.4  
 2. pá·xfuru p.t. to catch (game) in a trap: G753.2  
 3. pá·xkiv p.t. to win (a game): G753.7
1100. páxah p.t. to remove (acorn soup) from cooking stones with one's thumb
1101. paxut p.t. to hold in one's mouth  
 1. páxuta mouthful: G761
1102. paxvárayva a.i. to run around in a circle: G753.34  
 1. paxvárayvirak adv. a place name, Orleans Basin: G823.2
1103. paxviríxviri p.t. to suck on (something) held in one's mouth: G740, with a stem paxviṽ-; cf. G731, 815  
 1. paxviníxvi·nač candy: "little sucking-on," G621.9
1104. pay adv. this, that (referring to something designated by pointing)  
 Used as a determinative.  
 1. payē·m adv. now: -ē·m is not identifiable  
 2. páyku·k adv. over there: 912  
 3. pay(?)ḡ·k adv. right here: 1025  
 4. payváhe·m adv. nowadays: -váhe·m is not identifiable  
 5. páy namu?ávahkam the sky: "that above us"; G410, 203.1  
 1. páy·namu?ávahkam vē·kxavnamičmi·f name of a mythical personage: perh. "black wolf of the sky"; G420, 544, 974  
 6. páy nanussúruk underground: "that below us"; G420, 1248.3  
 7. páy nanuxákkararih country outside Karok territory: "that on each side of us"; G420, 1586.7  
 8. páy sáruk a by-name for ?amvá:mva·n, the otter: "that one downhill," 1192.10
1105. pá·y píe: from English
1106. pē·h p.t. to lay (stones) to make a wall
1107. pe·nvárih a man's name: from English "Ben Wilder"
1108. pē·vapiθva a.i. to trade, barter: G751?  
 1. pe·(va)piθváram adv. store: "trading-place," G766  
 1. pe·piθvarámta·y city: "many-stores," 1361  
 2. pe·vapiθva·n pers. storekeeper: "trader," G762
1109. pičaku'va·na p.i. to brag: G754.20
1110. píčas peach(es): from English
1111. pi?ē·p adv. long ago
1112. pí·f p.i. to break wind
1113. pífkuti'šī·prina p.t. to put on (across one's chest?) (T65.19): G753.26, G751
1114. píftus scar
1115. píhah adj. stiff
1116. píhnē·f- coyote

The free form is supplied by the dimin. *pihnē-fič*.

1. *pihnē-fčúnivač* yellowbird, *Astragalinus* sp. (M): "little coyote-urine"; 1470.1, G621.9; see T5.88
  2. *pihnē-fhi* p.i. to howl like a coyote: G622.1
  3. *pihnē-fič'píθrĭhA* a flower, the Indian pink, *Silene californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 87): "coyote-flower," 770
  4. *pihnē-fpíšta-xva* a type of winged ant: "Coyote pulling-foreskin-back"; 1154, G761; see T5.81
  5. *pihnē-ftátapva* honeysuckle, *Lonicera hispidula* var. *californica*; also identified as pipe-stem, *Clematis lasiantha* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 92 and 218): "coyote-trap," 1336.1
  6. *pihnē-fθu-f* Wilder Gulch, a small creek running through Orleans: "Coyote-creek," 1464; see T6.1
  7. *pihnē-fyukúkuh* 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. *pĭhri-v* widower
1. *pihnĭ:č* old man: G621.9  
The dimin. is *pihnĭ-čič*.
1118. *pĭkav* 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. *pikčaha* picture, photograph: G761
  2. *pikčáhara* camera: "photographing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1120. *pikčákiro-piθva* a.i. (baskets) to be lined up clear around (the inside of a house) (T57.119): G753.11, G751
1121. *pikfú-tkara* p.t. to push back into a body of water (T3.116): G753.4
1122. *pikní-hva* p.i. to sweat oneself (in a sweathouse): G751
1123. *pikrí-vrihva* p.t. to be transformed into (a plant other than a tree)
1124. *pikrō-k* p.t. to remember: G731?
1125. *pikšaf* a.i. to melt: G731?
1126. *pikšáyva* p.i. to lie, practice deception: G751?
1. *pikšáyva* lie: G761
  2. *pikšayvu'niš* tp.t. to lie, to deceive: G754.18
1127. *pikšip* shade, shadow; ghost
1. *pikšipíkmaθ* sun-shade; shade tree: -ikmaθ is not identifiable.
1128. *piktá-mpaθ* p.i. to be drunk: G753.11
1129. *piktaf* tp.t. to miss, i.e., notice the absence of: G731?
1130. *piktitúra-na* p.i. to pay indemnity: G753.12, G751?
1131. *pikvah* p.i. to tell stories
1. *pikvaha* story, myth: G761
  2. *pikvahrúpukva* 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, headdress feather: G761  
The alternant *pikvaha*- evidently occurs in the first of the following derivatives:
    1. *pikváhač* adv. a place name (Map, no. 31): "little plume," G621.9
    2. *pikvásáhi-č* fat solomon, *Smilacina amplexicaulus*; also identified as *Trillium rivale*: "imitation plume," G614.2
  2. *pikváhvahve-nač* mountain quail, *Oreortyx* sp. (M): "little plume-wearer"; G740, G767, G621.9

1133. pikvê-nač adv. a place name (Map, no. 41): G621.9
1134. pikxúramnih 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 pikiawish, from Karok ʔiθíʋθa·ne·n ʔupikyá·viš "he (the priest) is going to fix the world"
1137. -pí·mač ~ -ič adv. next to (used principally with possessive prefixes): G621.9
1138. pimná·nih summer
1. pimná·nihi a.i. to be summer; (p.i.) to spend the summer; to dry (fish): G622.1
    1. pimna·nihí·šriha adv. springtime (T43.10): G753.3, G761; the preconjunctural form is pimna·nihí·š#.
    2. pimnaníhka·nva adv. autumn: G753.4, G751, G761
    3. pimnaníhra·m adv. camp where people live while fishing, during the summer: "summering-place," G766
  2. pimnaníhtanáka·nič mourning dove, Zenaidura sp. (M): "little summer-mourner"; 1318, G762, G621.9
    1. pimnanihtanakaničkí·tka doodlebug: "mourning-dove's grandmother," 890; see Harrington, 1930, pp. 147-148.
1139. pí·mšaṽ p.i. (a person) to be cold, to freeze: G731, 788?
1140. pimtaṽ p.i. to revive, come back to life: G731, 788?
1141. pí·n pin: from English
1. pí·nič a plant, red-stem filaree, Erodium cicutarium (Schenck and Gifford, no. 134): "imitation pin" (because the seed-capsules resemble pins), G614.2
1142. pí·nšura 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 durative ipí·Tih "to be saying," anterior -ipá·he·n "had said." The past tense -ípa·t and the ancient -ipá·nik are irregular. The optional alternant ipi·p occurs occasionally before juncture; thus kunpi·p ~ kunipi·p "they say."
1145. piptákiθ p.t. to mend: G731?
1146. pipšíta·nih p.t. to forget, i.e., to accidentally leave (something) behind one: G731?
1147. pípta·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. piriš·axvā·haras yerba santa, Eriodictyon californicum; also identified as Draperia systyla (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 196, 197): "pitchy-leaves"; 241, G621.2, G621.16
  2. piriškā·rim grizzly bear: "brush-bad," 851
  3. píriškuniš adj. green: "like grass," G621.13
1149. piruvápiro·piθva p.i. (du.-pl.) to go around (pl.) (T52.9): G731, G756, G753.11, G751
1150. pí·š soaked acorns, i.e., acorns leached by burying in a pit (see T75)
1. pišípa·n pit for soaking acorns: -ípa·n is not identifiable.
  2. pí·šhi p.t. to soak (acorns): G622.1

1151. pišī·p adv. first (of two): cf. G614.4  
 1. pišī·č adv. first (of several): G621.9, with irreg. contraction.  
 The optional alternant pišī·č occurs before non-pausal juncture.
1152. pišišʷikyá·n pers. woman who cooks for the officiants in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 8): G557.5
1153. pišpíših yellowjacket, bee; honeycomb, honey; radiator of a car (because it resembles a honeycomb)  
 1. pišpišihʷa·f beebread, i.e., pollen stored by bees for food: "bee-excrement," 17  
 2. pišpišihxárA wasp: "long bee," 1602
1154. pištá·xva p.i. to pull back one's foreskin: G751
1155. pí·t adj. new, fresh
1156. pitaxyárih p.i. to 'swear,' i.e., to say the name of someone's dead relative
1157. pititititi p.t. to tear up: G740; cf. 1337
1158. pi·txárA a man's name: "tall Pete," 1602
1159. pi·θ adv. four  
 The alternant pi·θva- occurs in most derivatives, e.g., pi·θvávan "four (animate)."  
 1. pí·čič adv. only four: G621.9  
 2. pi·θvá:n adv. the fourth month of the Karok year: G621.5
1160. piθvúyram p.i. to meet, assemble (T39.13)
1161. piv- p.i. to step, put one's foot, as in pí·vkaθ "to step across (a stream)" (G753.5), pí·š(rih) "to step down" (G753.3)  
 1. pi·šríhra·m adv. step (doorstep or stairstep): "stepping-down place"; G753.3, G766
1162. pixivšu·ro- p.t. to rip off (pl.) (T4.11): G753.27, G751
1163. piyča·k tp.t. to inflict bad luck upon  
 Generally used with implied supernatural subject, as in tá kanapíyča·k "they (the spirits) inflicted bad luck on me, i.e., I had bad luck."
1164. piykiríkira ladder: G754.9, G761
1165. piyníknik p.i. to do a 'kick-dance' or 'sweathouse dance,' i.e., the dance for initiating a shaman: G740, with a stem piynik-  
 1. piyníknika kick-dance: G761
1166. piytírih cream bush, *Holodiscus discolor* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 110)
1167. piytú·ykara p.t. to kick out into the river (T2.62): G753.4
1168. piyθúfrih p.i. (dóg) to shake itself
1169. pō·ra pants, trousers
1170. prāms plum(s): from English
1171. pu= adv. no, not; for other alternants, see G845.6  
 1. púffa·t ~ púra ffā·t nothing; gone, not in existence: 350  
 2. pukárA ~ puʷakárA ~ púra kára ~ púra karáxxay nobody: 52, G845.8  
 3. púra fáтта·k nowhere, not present: 350.1  
 4. púra hu·n not harmful: 390  
 5. púvA adv. not yet: G621.17
1172. pū·č boot(s): from English
1173. pū·čišara fresh fish
1174. pú·fič deer, venison: G621.9?  
 1. pufičʷa·n string used for deer snares: 93  
 2. pufičʷímka·nva gamble weed, *Sanicula menziesii* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 158): "deer-sunflower," 576.1

3. pufičta·hko· white deer, white deerskin: 1273.2  
 4. pufičtáyi·θ grass nut, *Brodiaea laxa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 46): "deer-brodiaea," 1363
1175. púfpu·f a type of large amphibian, said to make whistling noises  
 1176. pú·k a.i. to be foggy  
 1. pú·ka fog: G761
1177. pu·n cherry; originally, the choke-cherry, *Prunus demissa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 120)  
 1. púraf oso berry, *Osmundia cerasiformis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 119): perh. "cherry-excrement," 17  
 2. púrip cherry tree: 638  
 1. purípri·-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 43): "cherry-tree place"; G614.7, G621.1  
 3. púriθ California huckleberry, *Vaccinium ovatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 184): cf. 1206.2  
 1. ʔuriθʔípxuv adv. a place name (Map, no. 91): -ʔípxuv is not identifiable.  
 2. puríθka·msa salal berries, *Gaultheria shallon* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 178): "big huckleberries"; 846, G621.16
1178. pura·n each other  
 1. pura·nmásva adv. by turns (T33.86): -másva is not identifiable.
1179. púruruk a man's name; originally, this word presumably had the meaning of the following derivative:  
 1. púnunukič screech-owl, *Megascops* sp. (M): G621.9
1180. púSiħ ~ púsiħ cat; from English "pussy"  
 Often replaced, as a free form, by the dimin. púSiħič ~ púsiħič.  
 1. pusiħičti·v a plant sp., 'cat's-ears'
1181. puya·h toyon berry, *Photinia arbutifolia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 122)  
 1. puyi·p toyon berry bush: 638
1182. putíruh potato: from English
1183. putyí·nkač p.i. to defecate on (T14.18): G753.8, G758
1184. púθař p.t. to soak (e.g., basket materials): cf. 764
1185. pú·viš sack, bag
1186. pú·x p.t. to hold or take in one's mouth
1187. púxa·k Pacific nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor* var. *hesperis* (H)
1188. pú·xhi p.i. to be scabby: G622.1?
1189. puxič p.i. to do with great force, as in imperative puxřči "go to it!" (urging someone on)  
 1. puxič(a) adv. very, very much, hard: G761  
 2. puxi·čka·nva p.i. to do with great force—evidently synonymous with the simple stem; thus imperative puxřčka·nvi "go to it!": G753.4, G751
1190. púyA adv. (and) so; often used as an exclamation of mild surprise, translatable as "my! say there!"
1191. puyā:harA 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."

## S

192. saʔ- adv. downhill, towards the river  
The allomorph sah- occurs in most compounds, and the allomorph sa- in most derivatives.
1. sahʔáhup driftwood: "river wood," 44
  2. sáhʔasa wash rock, i. e., a rock from the river bed: "river rock," 146
  3. sahaxyámsurip Western redbud, *Cercis occidentalis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 124): "river azalea," 252
  4. sahíʃyu·xač rabbit: "little river-elk"; 746, G621.9
  5. sahpihní:č beaver: "river old-man," 1117.1
  6. sahʔusiyxáhara hedge nettle, *Stachys bullata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 204): -ʔusiyxáhara is not identifiable.
  7. sahvuhvúha deerskin dance: "river jump-dance," 1566.1
  8. sáhyu·x sand: "river dirt," 1702
  9. sã·kam ~ sã·m adv. (a short distance) downhill: G621.21(1)
  10. sáRuk adv. (a considerable distance) downhill; down low on a person's body (T42.11, T45.12): G621.21(2)
    1. sarukʔámva·n pers. assistant priest at the ʔame·kyá·ra·m first-salmon ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, p. 7): "downhill eater," 201.5
    2. sárukhinva adv. a place name (Map, no. 96): G621.16
    3. sarukʔiyruhišriha·n pers. assistant priest at the ʔame·kyá·ra·m first-salmon ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 7-8): "he who rolls it downhill"; 825, G753.3, G762
  11. saʔtímʔu·y the lower peak of Offield Mountain: "downhill-edge mountain"; 1377, 1510
  12. saʔvárih adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: G621.19
193. sahsip tall and thin (of a person)
194. sahvúrum adv. a place name (Map, no. 110)
  1. sahvurúmsu·sih a woman's name: from English "Susie"
  2. sahvurúmθu·f Boyce Creek: 1464
195. sák June bug
196. sák 'flint,' i. e., obsidian; arrowhead; bullet
  1. sakʔásip bottle, drinking glass, glass container of any kind: "obsidian-vessel," 156
  2. sakámta·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. sákhi a. i. (a plant) to sprout through the earth: G622.1; the sprout is presumably thought to resemble an arrowhead.
  4. sakʔíripirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 75): "flint-digging place"; 683, G823.2
197. sakanvárihva ~ sake·mvárihva s. i. to be lonesome, homesick
198. sakan(i)kó·ra leg-bone of deer
199. sákri·v adj. hard, firm, tight: cf. 1196
200. sa·m p. i. to remain, be left
  1. ipšá·mkiri tp. t. to leave, abandon: G731, G754.9
  1. ipšá·mkírapuh orphan: "abandoned one," G763
201. sã·may adv. a place name, Seiad
202. samná·nak adv. a place name, Forks of Salmon, a Konomihu Shastan town: G621.1?

1203. samsírih- a.i. to shine, as in samsírih-unih "to shine down" (G753.30): cf. 1235  
 1. samsírihirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 67): "shining-place," G823.2
1204. sámsu·y brown bear
1205. sá·n leaf
1206. sá·n big-leaf maple, *Acer macrophyllum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 139): same as 1205?  
 1. sanpíriš maple leaf: 1148  
 2. sáriθ vine maple, *Acer circinatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 140): cf. 1177.3
1207. sanaktú·pičas mink: cf. 1420
1208. sá·p steelhead, *Salmo gairdneri* (H)
1209. sá·pik poker (for stirring fire)
1210. sá·pru·k olivella shell
1211. sař- 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. ipšá·ravrik tp.t. to help: "to take (things) to meet"; G731, G754.21  
 3. sá·nva clothing: "carrying (pl.);" G751, G761
1212. sárA bread  
 1. sanaʔúnuhič biscuit: "little round bread"; 1517, G621.9  
 2. sarataxunkθ·ra butter: "bread-spreading instrument"; 1373, G754.3, G761  
 3. saraxútnahič pancake: "thin bread," 1663
1213. sarahtú·n oak bark: cf. 42
1214. sá·rarih adv. Saturday: from English
1215. sá·rip twigs of the California hazel bush: 638?
1216. sá·rukbara skirt of a dress: cf. 1192.10
1217. sá·rum roots of the Jeffrey pine  
 1. sarumʔá·pxa·n woman's work cap (O'Neale, pp. 41-42): "pine-root cap," 126  
 2. sarumʔhvu·nvirak adv. a place name (Map, no. 47): "pine-root digging-place"; 432, G751, G823.2
1218. sásip- a.i. (pl.) to extend, be in a line, as in sásipunih "(stripes) run down" (G753.30): cf. 697
1219. satakyí·θhi p.i. to incise one's body for good luck: G622.1?
1220. sař- a.i. to flow (in a course), as in sá·mnupu "to flow downriver" (G753.24)  
 1. sa·mváro· creek: G753.32, G754.13, G761?  
 1. pasamvaró·tti·m a man's name: "the one by the creek-edge"; G810, 1377  
 2. samvaro·kaʔkú·kam 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·vrás-sava "Trinity River."
1221. sá·vak a woman's name
1222. sayrí·hva s.i. to be lonesome: G751?
1223. sē·y p.i. to not know, not know how, be ignorant
1224. síčakvutva p.t. to put on a belt: G751?

1. síčakvutvara belt: G754.3, G761
1225. sí'h awl; nail
1. síhač spike buck, i.e., a deer whose horns are still unforked: "little awl," G621.9
  2. sihtírih adv. a place name (Map, no. 82): "broad awl," 1408
  3. sihtunvêč tacks: "little nails," 1398.1
1226. síkánθu'f Dillon Creek: 1464
1227. síkih spoon
1. síkih máhya·naram spoon basket (O'Neale, p. 34): "spoon putting-in place"; 961, G766
  2. síkínnu'k spoon (of mussel shell?): perh. "deep spoon," 1021
  3. síkih núnuhič mussel: "little rough spoon"; 1003, G621.9
1228. síkspič seventy-five cents: from English "six bits"
1229. símkuh p.t. to heat (a bow, perh. to make it more flexible): cf. 579
1230. símsi'm knife; iron, metal
1. símsím'a'n cable: "metal string," 93
  2. símsím'ásip tin box, tin can, bucket: "metal vessel," 156
    1. símsím'asip'iškúnuhač bucket: "little metal vessel carried with a loop"; 707, G761, G621.9
  3. símsím'ávára table knife: "metal eating-instrument"; 201, G754.3, G761
  4. símsím'iškúruha bucket: "metal carried with a loop"; 707, G761. The dimin. is símsím'iškúmuhač.
  5. símsimtá'ra white man (obsolete, now replaced by ?apxantínihič, 126.2): "metal-owner," 1317
  6. símsímtasa wire fence: "metal fence," 1326.1
  7. símsím'úhra'm metal pipe (as for water): "metal (smoking-) pipe," 1480.3
  8. símsímúruk pan for panning gold: "metal mealing-tray," 989
  9. símsímvô'h sword: "metal digging-stick," 1562
  10. símsímxárA sword: "long knife," 1602
  11. símsímyu'p eye-glasses: "metal eyes," 1698 (probably because of the metal frames)
1231. símsusu a.i. to steam
1232. sípa'm grinding slab
1. sípá'mhi a.i. (moon) to be full: G622.1
1233. sípnu'k storage basket (O'Neale, pp. 38-40): cf. 1021  
The locative is sípnú'kan or sípnú'kak.
1. sípnúk'anamahač trinket basket (O'Neale, p. 41): "little storage-basket," 129.1
  2. sípnuk'átinnam a type of basket used for carrying light loads: "storage-basket burden-basket," 187.1
  3. sípnú'kiθ money basket: -iθ is not identifiable.
1234. síf p.i. to disappear, be lost
1. sí'nkara p.t. to swallow: G753.4, with added causative meaning
    1. sínkána'mič base of the throat: "little swallowing-place"; G766, G621.9
    2. sínkuníhva'nič 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



1. *sinmō·višara* absent a long time (T27.3): *-višara* is not identifiable.
4. *sínva* tp.t. to fail to recognize: G751, with added causative meaning
1. *ipšinvárih* p.i. to forget (to do something): G753, G754.14
5. *sínvara* s.i. to drown: "to disappear in through," G753.32
1. *sinvanáhi·č* California poppy, *Eschscholtzia californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 98): "imitation drowning"; G761, G614.2
1235. *sírih* adj. shiny
1. *imšírih* p.i. to shine: G622.2
1236. *sirikayáfus* silk: from English "silk" + 1650.2
1237. *siriškira* river bar; a man's name
1238. *síšš* penis
1. *síššaf* semen: "penis-excrement," 17
1239. *sít* mouse
1. *sitápvu·y* wall barley, *Hordeum murinum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 32): "mouse-tail," 125
2. *sítus* place where a mouse stores its food: cf. 12.3
1240. *sítipič* adv. a place name, at Thompson Creek: G621.9
1241. *sítva* p.t. to steal: G751; cf. 1239
1. *sítvi·k* tp.t. to steal from: cf. 122.1
1242. *sivátti·m* adv. a place name (Map, no. 11): 1377
1243. *sivšap* p.t. to plug, seal up: G752.3
1. *sivšá·psuru* a.i. to become unplugged (T57.102): G753.27, with irreg. change to intransitive (cf. 274.1)
1244. *siytur·m* Redding Rock (in the ocean, offshore from Yurok territory)
1245. *sō·mkiri* p.i. (woman) to offer herself in marriage, go as a marriage-applicant: G754.9; cf. 1246
1246. *sō·mva* p.i. (woman) to offer herself in marriage: G751; cf. 1245
1247. *sō·ra* murderer
1248. *su?* adv. down, inside
- The alternant *su-* occurs in some derivatives.
1. *sú?hinva* adv. name of a sweathouse at *?ame·kyá·ra·m* rancheria: G621.6
2. *súru-* p.i. to make a hole, as in *súrukurih* "to make a hole into" (G753.9): *-ru-* is not identifiable.
1. *súruvara* hole (through something): G753.32, G761
3. *súruk* adv. under: G621.21(2)
1. *surukampō·ra* men's underwear: "under-side pants"; G621.11, 1169
2. *surukámsa·nva* underwear: "under-side clothes"; G621.11, 1211.3
3. *surukamyáfus* woman's underwear: "under-side dress"; G621.11, 1650.2
4. *su?várih* adj. deep (of a hole): G621.19
1249. *sú·čakrakas* soda crackers: from English
1250. *su·f* backbone
1. *súfan* small of the back: -an is unidentified.
1251. *šū···hu···* interj. imitation of Coyote's howl
1252. *súKux* name of a woman shaman (T67), perh. of Shasta origin
1253. *sumah* p.i. to detect a sound

1254. sunvíš(rih) tp.t. to do evil in secret; to hide; to murder: G753.3
1255. sunyiθih nut of the giant chinquapin, *Castanopsis chrysophylla* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 76)
1256. súpa·h day; acts as a classifier
1. ipšupá·hpu a.i. to be day again; to be the . . -th day of the week, as in yíθa tó ·psúppa·hpa "it's the first day of the week, i.e., Monday": G731, G622.1
  2. supáh·a·čip noon: "day-middle," 10
1257. supra·v̄ 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. suprihva·n pers. surveyor: G751, G762
1259. súrip California hazel bush, *Corylus rostrata* var. *californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 89): 638. The alternant -suRip occurs as postpound, e.g., in ʔaxyámsurip "azalea."
1260. surukúvnu·mup 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. suváxrah p.t. to dry: cf. 791
1. suvaxráhara drying rack: "drying-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1263. su·y dirty (?)
- Occurring only in apmansú·yhi "to have traces of food around one's mouth" (112.2) and čanapsú·yič "snowbird" (272). A story tells that the snowbirds were once children who stole salmon, and were recognized 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. iptáčáka·n pers. barber: G731, G762
  1. iptáčakanhíram adv. barber shop: "place where there is a barber"; G622.1, G766
  2. táčakara scissors: "clipping-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1266. tačiprívra·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. táčuř p.i. to fish for eels
1269. tačyúrih tp.2t. to give as a present: G754.7?
1270. táfiř p.t. to dress (a hide)
1. táfirapuh buckskin: "dressed (hide)," G763
1271. tafiripřirip p.t. to miss, fail to touch (with an implement) (T4.104): G740, with a stem tafirip-; cf. 447, 1420
1272. tah adv. already, by now, now; marker of perfective action (G845.7). The allomorph ta- occurs in the following:
1. tařítam adv. so, and, and so: 749
  2. táMit adv. already in the past: 977, with irreg. morphophonemics
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. whité: 897  
Occurs only as postpound; the corresponding free form is čánča·fkuniš, 273.1.
3. táhsa·k hail: "snow-arrowheads," 1196
4. tahyukúkuh snowshoes: 1693; perh. a loan-translation from English
1274. táhpu·s young fir tree; fir bough  
1. tahpúsip 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 ?axák-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 síhač "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·ksíkih a man's name: from the utterance tā·k síkkih "give me a spoon!" (1227)
1277. taká·ka· valley quail, *Lophortyx* sp. (M): onomatopoeitic
1278. takána·fič a plant, redwood sorrel, *Oxalis oregana* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 132): G621.9
1279. tákararih tp.t. to hang, hang up: G754.14?
1280. tákasara the 'tossel' or double-ball used in shinny: G754.3, G761?
1281. takaṽ tp.t. to ridicule, make fun of
1282. tákik p.i. to fish with a (small) dip-net  
1. tákikara (small) dip-net: G754.3, G761
1283. tákiri p.t. to leach (acorn meal)  
1. tákira leached acorn meal: G761  
2. takirí·ra·m adv. hole for leaching acorn meal: G766
1284. taknah p.i. to hop  
1. takná·hva p.i. to play hopscotch: G751
1285. taknih p.i. to roll (like a log)  
1. takniha wheel, machine, automobile: "rolling," G761  
2. takníhara wheel: "rolling-instrument"; G754.3, G761  
3. takníhkira wheel: "rolling-instrument"; G754.9, G761
1286. taknúriθ maul (for driving wedges)
1287. takraṽ p.t. to put a hoop on
1288. takra·v shoulder
1289. ta·kríPa· p.i. to spear fish: G753.17  
1. ta·kríPa·k adv. a place name, near Clear Creek (T84.20): G761, G621.1
1290. taksí·nač a man's name: G621.9
1291. tákta 'doctor,' i.e., a shaman (T12.27): from English
1292. tákuk p.t. to clean out (a basket), i.e., to cut off the stick-ends protruding on the inside
1293. tákuruk- p.t. to curl, coil, as in tákuruk-riṽ "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 tokus
1296. tákva·x breast meat of salmon

1297. takvih p.t. to loop, curl  
 1. takviha a type of ceremonial headgear: G761
1298. táMA adv. of doubtful meaning, perh. "then"
1299. támčih a woman's name: from her pronunciation, as a child, of tá né-mčak "I'm burnt"
1300. tamsá·kaθva p.i. to yawn: G751?
1301. tánanič adj. old (of baskets): G621.9
1302. ta·níhi 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. tankiríkira drying rack: "hanging-over instrument"; G754.9, G761
1304. tánmah tp.t. to owe  
 1. tánmaha debt: G761
1305. tanmuř p.i. to slip
1306. tánta·v apron
1307. tá·nva p.i. (du.) to die: G751?
1308. tápak p.t. to cut through, slice: cf. 470, 1572
1309. tápas real  
 1. tapas'ápsu·n rattlesnake: "real snake," 116  
 2. tapasxáviš a plant, nine-bark, *Physocarpus capitatus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 108): "real syringa," 1613  
 3. tápas + ikyav to keep, to take care of: "to make real," 557
1310. tápič- p.i. to slip, as in tápičfaku "to slip downhill" (G753.1)
1311. tá·piθ a type of reed
1312. ta'pku·pu tp.t. to like
1313. taprárA common tule, *Scirpus acutus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 36); tule mat  
 1. tapraratunvêč 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. tápuk p.t. to stripe (horizontally?)  
 1. tapúkukve·nač ring-tail civet, *Bassariscus* sp. (M): G740, G767, G621.9
1316. tá·pxuv p.i. to capsize
1317. -tā·ra owner  
 Used as postpound, as in išpukattā·ra "money-owner, i.e., rich man" (716) and in the following:  
 1. tā·rahi p.t. to have, own (several things): G622.1
1318. tárak p.i. to mourn, be sad
1319. tara'mni·hva p.i. to fish with a dip-net: G753.13, G751
1320. tárih tp.t. to 'deal' gambling sticks to (in the game of 'Indian cards'): G754.7?
1321. tarípa·n dipper basket (O'Neale, p. 35): cf. 1322  
 1. tanipaničxu·nanač seal: "little one having worn a dipper on his head"; 782, G764, G621.9
1322. táriv- p.t. to pour, as in tárivramnih "to pour into" (G753.13)  
 1. tárivrip p.t. to bail (water) out (of a boat): G753.16
1323. táruk p.t. to scoop  
 The alternant tánuk- occurs before derivative suffixes.

1. tanukyá·na p.t. to scoop out: -yá·na is not identifiable.  
 1. tanukyá·nara shovel: "scooping-out instrument"; G754.3, G761
1324. tárupak adv. hatchway of a sweathouse
1325. tarúpraṽ 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. tásunih a.i. to be a vertical barrier (T27.17): G753.30
1327. tá·s a plant, soaproot
1328. tasáxa·k adv. a place name (Map, no. 28)
1329. tasáxpih wedge
1330. tásiř p.t. to brush  
 1. iptasinsírara clothes-brush: "repeated-brushing instrument"; G731, G740, G754.3, G761  
 2. tásirara brush for acorn flour: G754.3, G761
1331. tá·skara pole  
 1. taskare·pše·kê·p a type of owl: named after his cry, said to mean "poles too heavy"; cf. 665
1332. tásva·n spatula, soup-stirrer  
 1. tasvan·ípih shoulder blade: "spatula-bone," 655
1333. tá·t mother  
 The dimin. is tátač.  
 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. tátak p.t. to cut into the shape of a point  
 1. tatáktaka a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13d): G740, G761
1336. tátapva p.t. to trap: G751?  
 1. tátapva trap: G761
1337. tatitřiti a.i. to become torn: G740, with a stem tatit-; cf. 1157
1338. tatkunuhpí·θvara an animal, the fisher, *Mustela pennanti* (M): G753.29, G754.3, G761
1339. tatnus p.t. to gut (a deer)
1340. tátuy p.i. to sweep  
 1. tátuyšurara broom: "sweeping-off instrument"; G753.27, G754.3, G761
1341. táθip p.t. to flatten (stems of five-finger fern) by running them through a split stick
1342. taθrip p.t. to strain out (soaked acorns)
1343. távahi a.i. (hair) to be decorated on the ends: G622.1?
1344. tavúyvuy p.i. (dog) to wag its tail: G740, with a stem tavuy-; cf. 125
1345. táxap p.t. to braid  
 1. iptáxapa braid: G731, G761  
 1. iptáxapara Chinaman: "having a braid" (i. e., a queue), G621.2
1346. taxarap- p.i. to stride, as in taxará·pramnih "to stride into" (G753.13)
1347. taxasufkárA adv. a place name (Map, no. 95)  
 1. taxasufkaráθθu·f Perch Creek: 1464

1348. táxaxa-ra p.t. to slash through; perh. G753.32 with a stem táxaxa-
1349. taxišxiš p.t. to scrape: G740, with a stem taxiš-
1350. taxrara 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. taxvaṽ p.i. to stir acorn soup
1357. taxviš p.t. to scrape: cf. 1349
1. taxvišapuh strands of pine roots prepared for weaving: "that which is scraped," G763
1358. taxvuk p.t. to hook
1. taxvúkara hook: "hooking-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1. taxvukanáhi-č 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. taxyê-m(a) yard (in front of a house)
1. taxye-mákka-m adv. a sweathouse at ʔame-kyá-ra-m rancheria: "big yard," 846
2. taxyé-ma-m adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: "behind a yard," 965
1361. táy adv. much, many
- When compounded, occurs as postpound only.
1. táya-n adv. many times: G614.11
2. taŷhiTih 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. tē-šič adv. several: G621.10, G621.9
- The inflected form kumattē-šič (G430) is used in the meaning of "more."
1362. tayav tp.t. to choose; to trust, be satisfied with (a person)
1363. tayi-θ 'Indian potato,' blue dicks, *Brodiaea capitata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 47)
1. tayi-θhi p.t. to lash the base of (a basket): G622.1
1364. táyukunač adv. a place name (Map, no. 21): G621.9
1365. táyunkiv p.t. to pull out with an instrument: G753.7; cf. 1440
1366. táyva-ra p.t. to spoil; to spend (money)
1. tayvárariṽ tp.2t. to spoil for: -riṽ is not identifiable, being apparently different from G752.2
1367. tē-k- p.t. to dip (water), as in tē-kšip(riv) "to dip up (water)" (G753.26)
1368. te-níhahi a.i. to be a freshet (T5.62): G622.1
1369. tē-nva earring
1370. te-pšíta-ni ~ tapipšíta-ni adv. after a while
1371. tē-t p.t. to mow
1. tē-tara scythe: "mowing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1372. tí- adv. let . . ! (used with first person imperative, expressing a decision)

1373. tí'h adv. a place name, Tea Bar (Map, no. 52)
1. tihkáro·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 51): "uphill and upriver from Tea Bar," 835.10
  2. tíhθu·f Tea Creek: 1464
  3. tíhyurukam adv. a place name (Map, no. 53): "uphill and downriver from Tea Bar," 1683.6.2
1374. tí'h tea: from English
1. tíhʔásip teapot: "tea-vessel," 156
1375. tí'k hand, finger
- The alternant -tíkíh occurs in ʔaxaktíkíh "ring finger" (217)
1. tikakvána·č ring (for one's finger): "little putting-finger-in"; 48, G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
  2. tikakvára·ra glove: "putting-hand-in instrument"; 48, G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761
  3. tikánʔanamahač little finger: 129.1; -án- is not identifiable.
  4. tikánka·m thumb: "big finger," 846; -án- is not identifiable.
  5. tikʔárup palm of the hand: "hand-navel," 142
1376. tikpíriš adv. a place name, on Offield Mountain: cf. 1148
1377. tí'm adv. edge
- The dimin. is tí'mič, sometimes contracted to -tí·č in postpound position; however, the alternant -tí'mič occurs in some compounds, e.g., ʔifučtí'mič ~ -tí·č "last" (412)
1378. timkanáxnu·pič 'mountain beaver,' *sewellel*, *Aplodontia* sp. (M): G621.9
1379. timkúruh ~ timkurúhsa·n grouse
1380. timšúkri·h bat: analyzed by one informant as from tí'm sú ʔúkri· "he is at the inside edge" (i.e., of his wings); 1377, 1248, G520, 493
1381. tí·mvúrinay an Indian tribe living far up the Klamath River: cf. 1377
1382. tí'nač killdeer, *Oxyechus vocifera* (M): G621.9
1383. tintí'nhi a.i. (a bell) to ring: G622.1
1. tintí'nhara bell: "ringing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1384. tí'va·p flour-sifter (O'Neale, p. 38)
1385. tí'xnu·mnipa· adv. a place name (Map, no. 27): G753.17, G761
1386. típah pers. brother, male cousin
- The plural (without possessive prefixes) is tipahê·ras
1. tipáhi·čva stepbrother: "imitation brother," G614.2
1387. tí'pti·p chain fern, *Woodwardia radicans* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 8): said to be named from the noise made in a game involving it.
1. típtíphi·č sword fern, *Polystichum munitum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 9): "imitation chain-fern," G614.2
1388. tírih adj. wide
1. tírihič flat; a flat woven mat for ornamental purposes: G621.9
1389. tíripu·s cat: from English "kitty-puss," used to call a cat
1390. tíša·n- of unknown meaning, occurring in:
1. tíša·nhírak adv. a place name (Map, no. 77): G622.1, G823.2
  2. tíšáni·-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 106): G614.7, G621.1
  1. tíšaníhθu·f Camp Creek: 1464
1391. tíšra·m(a) adv. 'prairie,' i.e., a level or unwooded place, a valley or clearing; a (cultivated) field; a place name, Scott Valley
1. tíšnamkanvínusunač a type of skunk: "little valley-bear," G621.1, 1555, G621.9

2. tišramáʔa·čip adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: "middle of a clearing," 10
3. tišrámkam adv. the Bald Hills (those just north of Hoopa): "big clearing," 846
4. tišramθivxurútvvarayva a plant sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): G753.34, G761; -θivxúrut- is not identifiable
5. tišrávara pers. Shasta Indian of Scott Valley: G621.2
6. tišravaráʔi·vre·ra ~ -ʔi·vre·n Etna Mountain: "summit pertaining to Scott Valley," 798
7. tišrá·m ʔišku·ntíhan a by-name for the coyote: "he who skulks in the clearing"; 705, G757, G532
1392. ti·ští·šhi p.t. to skip (rocks) on the water: G622.1
1393. tí·t fin
1394. tí·v ear
1. tivárariha hound: "ear-hanging"; 1522.1, G761
  2. tivárarihva hound: "ear-hanging"; 1522.1, G755, G761
  3. tivʔárusara deaf: "having ears like seed-baskets" (?); 144, G621.2
  4. tivaxrukuxrúkuha bluebell: "ear-rattling"; 235, G761
  5. tivtunvê·č horse: "small-ears" (by contrast with the mule), 1398.1
  6. tivxárahara mule: "having long ears"; 1602, G621.2
  7. tivxárahsas mule: "long-ears"; 1602, G621.16
1395. tð·nak adv. town: English "town" + G621.1
1396. tó·ř p.t. to count
1397. tumé·tus tomato(es): from English
1398. -tunvi·v pers. children (in the sense of "offspring")  
Used only with possessives and in the following:
1. -tunvê·č(asa) adj. small (pl.): G621.9, G621.16  
The corresponding free form is tð·pičas.
  2. tunvê·nač bitch: "little one-having-offspring"; G621.2, G621.9
  3. tunvê·rahi p.i. to give birth: G621.2, G622.1
1399. túPič twenty-five cents: from English "two bits"
1400. tð·pičas small ones, little ones: G621.9, G621.16  
Replaced in postpound position by -tunvê·č(asa), 1398.1
1401. túptu·p Eel River Indian, probably Athabaskan: said to be imitative of their speech
1402. tuř p.t. to carry (things which stand up, like wood) in a burden basket; to gather (wood)
1. túnsip(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 turúkurih "to put (cooking stones) into (soup)" (G753.9)
1405. turuxvíθin 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. tú·θ thick (of liquid)
1409. tu·y mound



1410. tu·y·kírik adv. a place name, part of ʔasána·m·karak rancheria
1411. tú·y·šip hill, mountain: cf. 1409  
The alternant tuyšipriha-, or its contracted form tuyšipre-, occurs before suffixes and postpounds.
1412. tú·y·vuk adv. a place name (Map, no. 109)  
1. tuyvúkθu·f Ullathorne Creek: 1464
- θ
1413. \*θa, a submorphemic element, "with the teeth," is identifiable in 1429 and 1440, and perh. in 1414 and 1428.
1414. θáfip p.t. to devour, eat all up: G754.5  
1. θafi·pka·nva p.t. to eat all up: G753.4, G751
1415. θafra·m stomach (i.e., the internal organ)
1416. θaftá·va p.i. to be jealous
1417. θaká·rihi p.i. to starve: G622.1?
1418. θa·m meadow, marshy place  
1. čampínišič a plant, yerba buena, *Micromeria chamissonis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 203): "little meadow plant"; 1148, G621.9  
2. θámka·t a plant, *Monardella odoratissima* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 205): "meadow mugwort," 859. The dimin. is čamká·tič.
1419. θamtákak adv. a place name, in Yurok territory, upriver from Weitchpec: G621.1?
1420. θanfírip tp.t. to miss, fail to hit (T19.18): cf. 447, 1271
1421. θankō·ra warming rock, i.e., a flat rock used like a hot water bottle: G754.3, G761?
1422. θantap p.t. to winnow, sift (acorn meal)  
1. θantápara sifter (O'Neale, p. 38): "sifting-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1423. θantífiš(rih) tp.t. to strike dead (T19.6): G753.3, with a stem θantif-; cf. 514, 1462
1424. θantut black paint for the face, made of soot and grease
1425. θapáxrah p.i. to be very thirsty: cf. 229
1426. θař- p.t. to lay, put, as in θářiš(rih) "to put down" (G753.3)  
1. θá·niř p.i. (inan.) to sit, be; (an.) to lie, to be dead: G752.2  
1. ipθá·niř p.i. to be laid up (i.e., with an injury) (T33.10): G731  
2. θa·nê·n adv. around: G621.5, with irreg. contraction  
2. θárih tp.2t. to pass to: G754.7
1427. θarámpuk p.i. to stir or cook acorn soup: cf. 1061  
1. θarámpúkara spatula, soup-stirrer: G754.3, G761  
2. θarámpu·krava cooking basket (O'Neale, p. 35): "cooking soup in"; G753.14, G761, with irreg. accent
1428. θáruř p.i. to peel sticks for basketry
1429. θáruprin p.t. to gnaw through: G753.23
1430. θatakta·ra·na a.i. to be tattered (T51.35): G740, with a stem θatař- (cf. 508, 728); G753.31, G751
1431. θatapař p.t. to split roots for basketry
1432. θaθri·n a.i. (two filled containers or their contents) to sit, stand, be: cf. 769, 1568

1. 0a0rí'na· a.i. (several filled containers or their contents)  
to sit, stand, be: cf. 1568.1
1433. 0a0yuru- p.t. (du.-pl.) to drag, pull, haul, as in 0a0yúrufuruk  
"(du.-pl.) to drag indoors" (G753.2): cf. 787
1434. 0a0va p.t. (du.-pl.) to carry on one's back: cf. 772
1435. 0av p.i. to knock down acorns
1436. 0av̄ p.i. to float
1437. 0axávxav p.t. to chew up (T3.20): G740, with a stem 0axav-
1438. 0áxtuy baby basket, cradle basket  
1. 0áxtō·nač baby in a basket: G621.2, G621.9
1439. 0axústay tp.t. to suspect
1440. 0áyunkiv p.t. to pull out with one's teeth: G753.7; cf. 1365
1441. 0e·kvárahí p.i. to be very thin: G622.1?
1442. 0f'hva p.i. (dog) to whine: G751?
1443. \*0im ~ \*0iv, a submorphemic element, "by rubbing" (G710)
1444. 0imkutíkuti p.t. to rub smooth: G740
1445. 0imnup p.t. to cook (fish) by putting hot coals on its belly
1446. 0imyúriš(rih) p.t. to make fire with a fire drill: G753.3  
1. 0imyúrišriha fire drill, 'Indian matches': G761  
The prejunctional form is 0imyúriš.  
2. 0imyúrišrihara fire drill, 'Indian matches': G754.3, G761
1447. 0i·n glands in one's throat
1448. 0i·na p.t. to have, own (one thing)
1449. 0íraṽ p.t. to track
1450. 0iríxa·k hornet
1451. 0irixō·n testicle
1452. 0itiṽ tp.t. to hear: cf. 1394
1453. 0i0unan- referring to territory in Oregon; occurring in:  
1. 0i0unan?ára·ra an Indian tribe of Oregon: 132  
2. 0i0unán?ay mountain grape, Berberis aquifolium (Schenck and  
Gifford, no. 94): 257
1454. 0iv a.i. (sg. inan.) to lie, be  
There is a change to transitive meaning in most directional deriva-  
tives, e.g., in 0i·vkúrih "to put into water" (G753.9)
1455. 0í·vakara drying rack (in a house): G754.3, G761?
1456. 0i·vke p.i. to go along
1457. 0ivnuru a.i. (fire, water) to roar, thunder: cf. 713
1458. 0ivpup a.i. (dust) to puff up: cf. 476
1459. 0i·vrí·hvara wall-board (in an Indian house): G754.3, G761?
1460. 0ivruh p.i. to float
1461. 0ivtap p.i. to do a war dance  
1. 0ivtapa war dance: G761
1462. 0ivtif- a.t. (wind) to blow out of position, as in 0ivtífunih "to  
blow down" (G753.30); cf. 514, 1423
1463. 0ivxiš p.t. to plane (a board): cf. 1349  
1. 0ivxišara plane: "planing-instrument"; G754.3, G761
1464. 0ú·f creek  
1. 0ufkáro·m adv. a place name, near Rock Creek: "uphill and  
upriver from a creek," 835.10  
1. 0ufkaró·m0u·f Rock Creek: 1464  
2. 0ú·fhi a.i. to flow in a stream (T21.31): G622.1
1465. 0úfip. adv. a place name, Requa: perh. "creek-tree"; 1464, 638

1466. *θufkírík* great horned owl, *Bubo* sp. (M)  
The dimin. is *čufkínikič*.
1467. *θúfθa·m* 'water dog,' a type of salamander
1468. *θú·k* 'yellowhammer,' the flicker, *Colaptes* sp. (M): said to be named from its cry
1469. *θúkin* gall, bile; (as a postpound) blue, green, yellow
1. *čúkinhi·č* a plant sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): "imitation bile," G614.2
  2. *imθúkiř* a.i. to be blue, green, yellow; (fat) to be rancid: G622.2, with irreg. change of *n* to *ř*
  3. *θúkinhi* tp.t. to tattoo: G622.1
    1. *θúkinha* tattoo: G761
  4. *θúkinkuniř* adj. blue, green, yellow: "like bile," G621.13
  5. *θukinpířiř* Oregon grape, *Berberis nervosa* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 95): "bile plant," 1148
1470. *θúriv* p.i. to urinate
1. *θúriřa* urine: G761
  2. *θurířa·n* bladder: G762
  3. *θuriru·vu·kva* s.i. to urinate uncontrolledly on oneself (T9.34): G754.8 (with irreg. contraction), G754.17, G751
1471. *θúxaθ* pers. mother's sister  
The dimin. is *čúxač*.
1. *čuxáčřa·s* rattlesnake: "sister of deceased mother"; G621.9, G614.9. Used instead of normal *tapas·řapsu·n*, to avoid offending the snake.
1472. *θuxriv* net bag used to carry game

## U

1473. *řú·čič* teat, (woman's) breast: G621.9
1474. *řúčiř* milk: G621.10
1475. *řu·čníMač* a.i. (short round object) to sit (T8.11): G752.2, G758
1476. *řuf* tp.t. to anoint, rub grease on (someone)
1477. *řúfiθ* pers. woman's brother's son  
The dimin. is *řúfičiř*.
1478. *řu·říθřa* p.i. to swim: G751?  
Never used with directionals.
1479. *řuh* a.i. (water) to rise
1. *puhyí·mu* a.i. (water) to reach the high-water mark: G731, G753.10; -*ři-* is not identifiable, unless perh. with 1680.
1480. *řú·h* tobacco  
Used mainly as a prepound:
1. *řuhířih* tobacco stem: "tobacco-bone," 655
    1. *řuhiphíkčurara* tobacco stem pestle: 444.2
  2. *řúhiř* seed: perh. "little tobacco," G621.10  
Probably applied originally only to tobacco seed.
  3. *(?)uhřa·m* pipe: G766
  4. *řuhsířnu·k* tobacco basket (O'Neale, p. 40): 1233
  5. *(?)úhθa·m* garden: "tobacco-meadow," 1418; probably applied originally only to tobacco plots.
    1. *(?)uhčá·mač* a man's name: "little garden," G621.9
    2. *(?)uhθá·mhi* p.t. to plant: G622.1

1481. ʔúhkiri p.t. to wear as a headband  
1. ʔúhkira headband: G761
1482. ʔúhyana p.i. to talk, speak  
1. ʔúhyana word, speech, voice: G761  
2. ʔuhyanávára-ra telephone: "talking-through instrument";  
G753.32, G751, G754.3, G761  
3. ʔuhya'ničva p.i. to chat: G754.6
1483. (?)úkra·m lake, pond, reservoir: G766  
1. (?)uknamxáhanič adv. the Frog Pond, just upriver from Camp  
Creek: "little long pond"; 1602, G621.9  
2. (?)ukramʔípan adv. a place name (Map, no. 105): "pond-end,"  
644  
3. (?)ukramʔiθrʔikrak adv. a place name (Map, no. 86): 769,  
G753.8, G823.2?  
4. (?)ukrámká·m adv. a pond near Katimin: "big pond," 846  
5. (?)ukramkírík adv. a place name (Map, no. 57): -kírík is not  
identifiable.  
6. (?)ukramsúruk adv. a place name (Map, no. 7): "below a  
pond," 1248.3
1484. ʔú·m pron. he, she, it, they  
1. ʔu·mkun pron. they: cf. 563.1
1485. ʔú·m adv. barely, hardly  
1. ʔú·mukič 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 kuyrá·k tuʔu·m "it's three o'clock." The alternant  
ʔu·mu- occurs before -Tih Durative and -va Plural Action.
1488. ʔu·mxávxav p.t. to pull up by the roots (T85.25): G740
1489. ʔú·niv adv. Merrill Mountain
1490. ʔu·núpraṽ a.i. (plant) to sprout up (out of the ground): G753.21
1491. ʔú·p possession, valuable object, treasure
1492. ʔú·pva p.t. to dig (edible roots): G751?  
1. ʔupvaʔamáyav squaw-root, Carum gairdneri (Schenck and Gif-  
ford, no. 161): "delicious root-digging," G761, 201.1.2  
2. ʔú·pvanič a woman's name: "little root-digger"; G754.3, G761,  
G621.9
1493. ʔúpas saliva
1494. ʔuř a.i. to peel, i.e., (as a tree) to lose its bark
1495. ʔú·rih s.i. to be unwilling, lazy, tired  
1. ʔunihʔú·nihič a woman's name: G740, G761, G621.9
1496. ʔurípíh net  
The locative is ʔuripíhak, with irreg. accent.
1497. ʔúruh adj. round; egg  
1. ʔúnuhič kidney: "little round thing," G621.9  
2. ʔunúhxi·tič baseball: "little unripe (i.e., hard) round thing";  
1625, G621.9  
3. ʔúruhi a.i. to lay eggs: G622.1  
4. ʔúruhas disk beads: "round ones," G621.16
1498. ʔúruhas adv. a place name (Map, no. 40)
1499. ʔurútva·p dip-net frame
1500. ʔú·s pine cone, pine nut, esp. of the sugar pine, Pinus lambertiana  
(Schenck and Gifford, no. 13)

1. ʔúshi-č nut of the knob-cone pine, *Pinus tuberculata* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 17): "imitation pine-nut," G614.2
  2. ʔúsip sugar pine tree: 638
  3. ʔúsʔi·v adv. a place name (Map, no. 34): "pine-nut house," 789
1501. ʔú·t pers. woman's sister-in-law, female cousin-in-law, niece-in-law, or uncle's wife
1502. ʔú·t flea
1503. ʔú:tihA ceremonial obsidian blade
1. ʔu·tiháhi·č a basket design element, the flint mark (O'Neale, fig. 13a): "imitation obsidian-blade," G614.2
  2. ʔu·tihapičxáhna·mič adv. a place name, near Katimin: "little obsidian-blade washing-place"; 780.1, G766, G621.9
1504. ʔútkē adv. a place name (Map, no. 30)
1505. ʔu·θ 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. ʔuθíši·p adv. a place name, San Francisco: G614.4
  2. ʔuθkanpáhi·p 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. ʔuθpiváxrah lungs
1507. ʔu·v p.t. to put, take
- The allomorph ʔúru- occurs before -riṽ "at rest" and before directionals beginning in r and followed by -va Plural Action, as in ʔuru·rišuk·va "to take out (pl.)" (G753.18). The allomorph ʔu- occurs before directionals in r which are not followed by -va, as in ʔú·rišuk "to take out." The allomorph ʔú- occurs before all other directionals, as in ʔú·-suru "to take off" (G753.27).
1. ʔú·kara p.t. to pay (a certain amount): "to put across," G753.4
  2. ʔúruriṽ p.i. (du.-pl.an.) to lie: G752.2
1508. ʔú·x bitter
1. ʔúxʔa·s whiskey, liquor: "bitter water," 145
    1. ʔuxʔasiye·šríhva·n pers. bartender: "liquor-seller"; 819.1, G762
1509. (ʔ)uxra·h berry; sweet
1. (ʔ)úxnáhič wood strawberry, *Fragaria californica* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 114): "little berry," G621.9
  2. (ʔ)uxraháθka·y sour: -áθka·y is not identifiable.
1510. ʔu·y hill, mountain; in the vicinity of Katimin, used to designate Offield Mountain.
1. ʔuyfúnaxič a mountain at the head of Perch Creek: "little red mountain"; 370, G621.9
  2. ʔuypárah Orleans Mountain: cf. 1058
1511. ʔuyáha·mah mountain dogwood, *Cornus nuttallii* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 170)
1512. ʔuyhúrurip tobacco brush, *Ceanothus velutinus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 143): 638?

## V

1513. va- p.i. to go  
Occurs only with derivative suffixes, often with irreg. morphophonemics, as follows:
1. vákirař p.i. to start to go (?) (T70.3): G754.9, G754.2?
  2. vaki'ri'hya 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. vāmyuv tp.t. to pass: cf. 400.1
  5. vápaθ 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. várupmu 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. várupraṽ p.i. to come out; (sun) to rise: G753.21
    1. várupravakam adv. east: "rising-side"; G761, G621.11
  10. vávrin p.i. to turn back: G753.37
  11. vávruk ~ -mnuk p.i. to go down over: G753.38
  12. víš(rih) 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. vūnih p.i. to get down: G753.30
  15. vúrayva p.i. to go around, wander: G753.34
1514. váfiš liver
1515. vákakhi p.i. (frog) to croak: G622.1?
1516. váh 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. *leucocephalus* (H)
1518. vákay worm
  1. vakaytunvêč rice: "little worms," 1398.1
  2. vakayxáA a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13b): "long worm," 1602
1519. vá(·)npit penny: from English "one penny," perh. with influence of the "bit" in "two bits" etc.
1520. va(·)ntáA dollar: from English "one dollar"
1521. vánu·pič a woman's name: G621.9
1522. vára- a.i. to hang, as in várunih "to hang down" (G753.30)
  1. várarih a.i. to hang: G754.14?
1523. várak p.i. to come down from upriver: cf. G753.33
1524. vārama adj. long, tall  
Replaced in postpound position by -xáA.
1525. vāramu p.i. (sg.) to leave, go away, go to (a place)
  1. ipvāramu p.i. (sg.) to go back, to go home: G731
1526. va·sa blanket
1527. vásan pers. enemy  
The plural is va·sár-as.

1528. *vásih* back (of the body or, e.g., of a house)  
 1. *vasíhku·n* hunchback: "crooked-back," 918  
 2. *vasíhu·nih* p.i. to go down back first (T9.49): G622.1, G753.30,  
 with irreg. morphophonemics
1529. *váskak* a man's name
1530. *vaspíhah* strong: cf. 1528, 1115
1531. *vastáran* leather  
 1. *vastarankútraha* leather jacket: 945, G761
1532. *váta-* p.i. to walk on (a log, a bridge),, as in *vátakara* "to walk out (across water) on" (G753.4), *vátarina* "to walk across on" (G753.15)
1533. *va·txáarak* p.i. to shout  
 1. *vatxaráka·n* a man's name: "shouter," G762
1534. *vaθiv* p.i. to fight  
 An irreg. allomorph occurs in the plural *vaθí·na·*.
1535. *va·vrínaθ* a man's name: cf. 1513.10
1536. *váxiprišuk* p.i. to flop out (T4.144): G753.18
1537. *vaxúrih* slow
1538. *váyat* Wiyot Indian: probably from Yurok *weyet*, from Wiyot *wiyat* "Eel River"
1539. *vê·h-* a.i. to stick, project, as in *vê·hkurih* "to stick into" (G753.9)  
 1. *?iruvê·hiš(rih)* p.i. (du.-pl. an.) to stand still: G756, G753.3  
 2. *vê·hriṽ* a.i. (one or more long objects) to be, to stand: G752.2  
 1. *?iruvê·hriṽ* p.i. (du.-pl. an.) to stand: G756
1540. *vê·kin* wagon: from English  
 1. *ve·kin?áhyu·m* vehicular bridge: "wagon-bridge," 47  
 2. *ve·kin?ímpa·h* road: "wagon-trail," 585
1541. *vê·na* p.i. to pray; perh. originally "to do," as in 350.4  
 1. *kupavê·nahi* p.i. to do mischief: perh. "to do in some way," G732  
 2. *ve·náram* adv. sacred living-house used in the world-renewal ceremony (Kroeber and Gifford, pp. 7-8): "praying-place," G766  
 3. *vê·ni·čva* mischief: perh. "doing in play"; G754.6, G761
1542. *vê·p* 'mountain mahogany,' hard tack, *Cercocarpus betuloides* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 118): 638?
1543. *vêšura* horn (as of deer)  
 1. *vê·šurara* buck (deer): "having horns," G621.2
1544. *vî·hi* tp.t. to dislike, hate: G622.1?  
 1. *vî·hirimku* tp.t. to dislike, hate: G753.8; re -rim-, cf. 1366.1
1545. *vik* p.t. to weave (used principally of baskets)  
 1. *víkapuh* woven quiver used in the jump dance (O'Neale, pp. 45-47): "woven thing," G763
1546. *vimčuk* tp.t. to pinch
1547. *vimta·p* stone-tipped arrow
1548. *vimxárap* tp.t. to scratch (vigorously); cf. 84
1549. *vínika* vinegar: from English
1550. *víninikič* pine squirrel, *Sciurus douglasi* group (M): G621.9
1551. *vif* p.t. to suck (on)
1552. *vírax* p.t. to lick; cf. 1103
1553. *víri* adv. of demonstrative or inferential meaning, sometimes translated "so" (T64.33)  
 1. *víri kun* of demonstrative meaning (T23.34)

1554. vírivšaṽ 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. vištaṽ s.t. to like, want (food)
1557. višva·n belly
1558. vit p.t. to paddle, row (a boat); to travel in a boat  
1. vítiš(rih) to beach (a boat): G753.3
1559. vítkira ridge (of a mountain)  
1. vi·tkírik or ~ -ak adv. the Bald Hills (those north of Redwood Creek, in Chilula territory): G621.1; the first alternant is irregular.  
1. vitkiríkθu·f Redwood Creek: 1464
1560. vítvit long-billed dowitcher, Limnodromus griseus var. scolopaceus (H)
1561. vi·θ vulva
1562. vō·h digging stick  
1. vō·hara digging stick: G621.2?
1563. vō·ř p.i. to creep, crawl, move slowly  
1. vō·nfuru p.i. (man) to become half-married: perh. "to crawl in," G753.2  
2. vō·nfuruk 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. vō·nsip(riv) p.i. to get up (from a sitting position); (sun) to rise: G753.26  
4. vō·nupuk p.i. to leave a house: "to crawl outdoors" (G753.25); cf. 1563.2  
5. vo·nvána·č shirt: "little crawling-into"; G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
1564. \*vu, a submorphemic element, "with a cutting tool" (G710)
1565. vuha tooth  
1. vuhapiθxáhara toothbrush: "tooth-washing instrument"; 780.1, G754.3, G761  
2. vuhé·mfira toothache: "hot tooth," 575.1
1566. vuhvúhi p.i. to do a deerskin dance or jump dance: G622.1?  
1. vuhvúha deerskin dance, jump dance: G761  
2. vuhvuhíčva p.i. to do the imitation deerskin dance (with branches instead of deerskins): G754.6
1567. vú·ksahi p.i. to have a work contest (as in shelling acorns): G622.1?
1568. vumni·n a.i. (two houses) to stand, be: cf. 1432  
1. vumní·na· a.i. (several houses) to stand, be: cf. 1432.1
1569. vú·nva p.i. to wrestle
1570. vup p.i. to string beads
1571. vú·p neck
1572. vúpak p.t. to trim, to cut up: cf. 470, 1308
1573. vúpam adv. a place name, Red Cap (Map, no. 114)
1574. vunxarak adv. a place name, Oak Bottom (Map, no. 81)
1575. vuř a.i. to flow (not necessarily in a channel)  
1. vu·nváraka adv. a place name, Nancy's Elbow (Map, no. 111): "flowing down from upriver"; G753.33, G761  
2. vúrik a.i. to flow in underneath: -ik is not identifiable.  
3. vúruvrip a.i. to overflow: -uvrip is not identifiable.



1576. vura tp.t. to jab, poke  
 1577. vúrA adv. of emphatic meaning; often used in qualifier phrases (G836.5)  
 1578. vúsuru p.t. to cut off: G753.27  
 1579. vut p.t. to cut (stems), to mow (grass)  
 1580. vū:trava glans penis  
 1. vu:trava?áfiva testicles (T1.127): 24.1  
 1581. vútupiš p.t. to cut up fish  
 1582. vúxič p.t. to saw  
 1. vúxičara saw: "sawing-instrument"; G754.3, G754.3, G761  
 2. vuxiččəp sawdust: G765  
 3. vuxičra'm adv. sawmill: G766

## X

1583. xačipnúkahič a type of openwork basket with a handle: 1021, G621.9  
 1584. xaha spider  
 1. xahamíčmi-č a type of small spider: -míčmi-č is not identifiable.  
 2. xahávika spiderweb; lace: "spider-weaving"; 1545, G761  
 1. xahávike·kyā:ra crocheting needle: "lace-making instrument," 557.3  
 1585. xáka·n gray hair  
 1586. xáka·n adv. together (with one other), both: cf. 217, G621.3  
 Used as a postposition in the sense "with (one other)" (G833.7).  
 1. xakan?ásiva lover: "together-sleeping"; 157, G761  
 2. xaká·nhí p.i. (du.) to go together: G622.1  
 3. xaká·nič just the pair (of them) (T11.27); deceased sibling: G621.9  
 4. xakan?ifmā:ra pers. co-brother-in-law: 406  
 5. xakan?ína·m pers. dead spouse: cf. 628  
 6. xakanyárara pers. co-sister-in-law: 1658  
 7. xákararih 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. xanáčyuh onion, originally a wild onion, *Alium bolanderi* or *A. acuminatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 44 and 45)  
 1589. xanči·f- (or xanθi·f-?) frog  
 The free form is supplied by the dimin. xančí·fič.  
 1. xančifič?asa rock with a rough surface: "frog rock"; G621.9, 146  
 2. xančifčúkinkunišič a type of frog: "little green frog"; 1469.4, G621.9  
 3. xančifičpúriθ snow berry, *Symphoricarpus albus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 217): "frog-huckleberry"; G621.9, 1177.3  
 1590. xančiška·rararā·h 'snowdrop,' a type of flower  
 1591. xánki·t 'bullhead,' a type of fish  
 1592. xanpučíni·šve·nač hummingbird; a plant sp. (Schenck and Gifford, p. 390): G767, G621.9  
 1593. xanpúkič polliwog: G621.9  
 1594. xánpu·t acorn of the maul oak, *Quercus chrysolepis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 72)  
 1. xanpútip maul oak tree: 638

1595. xanθiffkira adv. a place name (Map, no. 18): perh. "frog ridge," 1589 + 457; but cf. 1596
1596. xanθifti·k a basket design element (O'Neale, fig. 13c): perh. "frog hand," with 1589 and 1375, but connected by informants with 1597
1597. xánθi·p California black oak, *Quercus kelloggii*, or its acorn (Schenck and Gifford, no. 73): 638
1598. xanθu·n crawfish  
 1. xančunʔámva·nič mink: "little crawfish-eater"; 201.5, G621.9  
 2. xančú·nič a man's name: "little crawfish," G621.9  
 3. xanθú·n múva·san barn swallow, *Hirundo sp.* (M): "crawfish's enemy"; G410, 1527
1599. xanva·t clam  
 1. xanváthi·č 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 xaptárariš(rih) "to step on" (G752.5, G753.3)  
 1. ʔiruxá·psip(riv) p.i. (du.-pl.) to get up (from sitting): G756, G753.26  
 2. xapyuxúyuxu p.i. to rub one's foot in the dirt (as part of magical procedure): G740; cf. 1702
1601. xá·p thimbleberry bush, *Rubus parviflorus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 111)  
 1. xapúxra·h thimbleberry: 1509
1602. -xáRA ~ -xárah adj. long (of spatial measurement), tall  
 Replaced as a free form by vā·rama.
1603. xáRAh adv. for a long time; cf. 1602  
 1. xánahič adv. after a while: G621.9
1604. xas adv. then, and then, so, and so, but  
 1. xasík adv. then (in the future): 437, with irreg. morphophonemics
1605. xa·s adv. almost
1606. xá·s (of a basket) having the warp sticks widely spaced
1607. xa·t adv. of permissive meaning, often translated "may," as in xá·t napíkčah "he may take my picture"  
 1. xá·tik adv. of weak hortatory meaning, usually translated "let . . ."; as a predication by itself, "so be it!"; 437, with irreg. morphophonemics
1608. xā·t adj. rotten, stinking
1609. xátikrupma adv. springtime
1610. xatímni·m butterfly, moth
1611. xá·θ grasshopper  
 1. xaθímtas roasted grasshoppers (T4.27): -imtas is not identifiable
1612. xávin a plant, golden-lantern, *Calochortus pulchellus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 49)
1613. xáviš syringa, mock orange, 'arrowwood,' *Philadelphus lewisii* var. *gordonianus* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 105)  
 1. xavišaráθθu·f Ike's Gulch, a creek at ʔame·kyá·ra·m rancheria: "arrowwoody creek"; G621.2, 1464  
 2. xavišti·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 73): "arrowwood-edge," 1377
1614. xavra·m house-pit (?): G766?  
 1. xavrámni·-k adv. a place name (Map, no. 62): G614.7, G621.1

1. xavramníθu·f Irving Creek: 1464  
 2. xavnánnihič adv. a place name (Map, no. 89): G621.9  
 1. xavnamnihičθu·f Wilson Creek: 1464  
 1. xavnamnihičθufyŋ·θ adv. a place name (Map, no. 90): "downriver across-stream from Wilson Creek," 1683.10
1615. xavrámti·kve·na '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. xáyfa·t adv. of strong vetative meaning, usually translated "don't . . . !": 350  
 2. xáy·yhi p.t. to save, keep: G622.1
1617. xáyva' adv. by luck
1618. xayvi·š mushroom, toadstool
1619. xé·čič adj. soft: G621.9
1620. xé·hva·s pipe sack
1621. xê·m seaweed
1622. xe·priha·k adv. cliff: G621.1
1623. xíkih adj. rough
1624. xípu·n connective tissue of sinew
1625. xí·t green, unripe
1626. xk! interj. noise made by shamans (T11.7)
1627. xð·xhirak adv. Martin's Ferry, a Yurok village: G622.1, G823.2
1628. xúkahi tp.t. to long for (a person): G622.1?
1629. xúkam pers. mother's brother
1630. xumváro·v adv. a place name (Map, no. 29)
1631. xu·n acorn soup, acorn mush  
 1. xuntápan acorn, esp. that of the tan oak, *Lithocarpus densiflora* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 74): -tápan is not identifiable.  
 1. xuntapan?ámva·n by-name for the California woodpecker: "acorn-eater," 201.5  
 2. xunyê·p tan oak tree: "good-acorn-soup tree"; 1665, 638  
 3. xúrara thick (of liquid): "like acorn soup," G621.2  
 4. xúras acorn water, i.e., acorn soup diluted with water: 145  
 5. xúriš(a) shelled acorn, acorn meat: G621.10?  
 1. xuriš?ámva·n an insect sp.: "acorn-meat eater," 201.5  
 2. xurišaxara?ifáppi·t pamúkkura· name of a ridge near Katimin (T47.17): "long acorn-meat young-woman her-ridge"; 1602, 401, G810, G410, 520.1.1
1632. xū·nan a man's name
1633. xúnxun phlegm
1634. xupári·š western yew, *Taxus brevifolia* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 23)  
 1. xupariš?íšra·m adv. a place name (Map, no. 33): "yew-deer-lick," 689.3
1635. xúrihi s.i. to be hungry: G622.1?  
 1. xúrihara a woman's name: "hungry one"; G754.3, G761  
 The dimin. is xúnihanač.
1636. xúrip vertical stripe (as a basket design element; O'Neale, fig. 13j): cf. 551
1637. xúrut adj. flexible, limber  
 The dimin. is xúnutič.

1638. xus p.i. to think; occasionally, to feel, to know  
The following tense forms are irregular: past -xúsa't, ancient -xúsa'nik, future -xusê'š. The irreg. durative is xúTih.
- xú's mind, thought, sense: an irreg. deverbative (G761)
    - xúsara sensible (person): G621.2  
The dimin. is xúsanač.
    - xú'shi p.i. to be sane: G622.1
      - ipxú'spu p.i. to realize what one is doing, to be sober: G731
    - xúsipux thoughtless (person): G621.7
    - xúska'm stubborn (person): "big-mind," 846
    - xú's + ʔê-θ to take care of: 344
    - xú's + ʔíruvo' to think of: 687
  - xúse'f tp.t. to think (a certain way) about (a person): -e'f is not identifiable.
  - xú'suniš tp.t. to think (a certain way) about (a person): G754.18, with an irreg. stem-allomorph
1639. xú's gall-bladder
1640. xu's smooth
- xu'skúNiš adj. smooth: G621.13
1641. xu's of unknown meaning, occurring in:
- xu's + ʔu'ma (a shaman) to doctor, treat (a patient): 1487
    - xusʔúma'n pers. shaman, 'doctor': G762
1642. xuská'mhara bow; gun: G754.3, G761?
- xuskamhanáʔanamahač pistol: "small gun," 129.1
1643. xútnahič thin (as of fabric): G621.9
1644. xutná'sak raven
1645. xutyúpin cascara sagrada, Rhamnus purshiana (Schenck and Gifford, no. 141)
1646. xuv̄- a.i. to be a groove, to be a gulch, as in the following:
- xu'mníPa'k adv. a place name (Map, no. 46): "at a gulch running in from the river"; G753.17, G761, G621.1
1647. xu'x an extinct or mythical animal, sometimes identified with the grizzly bear
- xú'x mukrivruhvánamič adv. a place name, near Katimin: "xu'x's little rolling-place" (see T26.18); G410, 496, G751, G766, G621.9

## Y

1648. yá'čkan daughter (rarely used, usually replaced by ye'ripáxvuh "girl" or ʔifápi't "young woman")
- ya'čkanič a woman's name: "little daughter," G621.9
1649. ya'f acorn dough, i. e., acorn meal after leaching
1650. yá'fus- p.i. to wear a dress (?) Occurring only in:
- ipyá'fus p.i. to wear a dress: G731
  - yá'fus(a) (woman's) dress: G761
1651. yahe! interj. exclamation of surprise
1652. yah interj. occurring only in:
- yáh na' exclamation of surprise (T25.18): 994?
1653. yahvú(va)ra- referring to menstruation; occurring only in:
- yahvúvarahi p.i. to menstruate: G622.1

2. yahvure·krívra·m adv. menstrual hut: "menstruation house,"  
493.4. The dimin. is yahvure·knívna·mič.
1664. yá·mahukač adj. easy: G621.9
1655. ya·n adv. just, only recently  
1. yá·nʔi·ftiħan pers. young person, esp. a young man: "one who is just growing"; 400, G757, G532
1656. yá·nči·p adv. next year
1657. yáNA adv. indicates that an action is visible, often translated "he saw that . . ." Occurs most often in the derivative yánavA (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. yáNA itself sometimes occurs in the shortened form yA, both as an independent word and in the following:  
1. yakun ~ yukun adv. you see, . . . : 917
1658. yárara- married woman  
Used as prepound, as in yararáppi·t "newly married woman" (1155), and as postpound, as in xakanyárara "co-sister-in-law" (1586), but never as an independent word.  
1. yárahahi p.i. (woman) to get married: G622.1
1659. ya·s adv. then, after that
1660. ya:sʔárA rich (person); (in myths) Mankind, the human race: 127  
The alternant ya:sʔÁRA occurs in some compounds, as in ačvivyá:s-ʔarA "bird sp." (15).
1661. ya:sʔára·ra pers. rich person: 132
1662. yá·sti·k right hand: 1375
1663. yátiš 'pal,' a term used of male friends
1664. yáθah adj. sharp
1665. yav adj. good  
The alternant yava- occurs in various petrified combinations. The irreg. plural is yē·pša(s).  
1. yā·hi p.i. to fit (into): G622.1; cf. yávhí "to be good"  
2. yā·k adv. good place: G621.1  
3. yā:mač adj. pretty, nice: G621.9  
The dimin. is yā:mačič.  
1. ya·mačkáre· a woman's name: -káre· is not identifiable.  
4. yé·ši·p adj. best: G614.4
1666. yā·vahi s.i. to have enough: G622.1?
1667. yá·vhi tp.t. to be in a hurry, to hurry to (someone): G622.1?
1668. yáxA interj. look!: cf. 1657
1669. ya:yáhi p.i. to stutter: G622.1?  
1. ya·ya·háʔasa 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. yé·na· exclamation of surprise: 994?
1671. ye·fipa·n a man's name: G754.5, G762?
1672. yé·he interj. exclamation, often translated "well, . . ."
1673. yē·riphi p.i. to menstruate for the first time: G622.1?  
1. yē·riphará pers. girl menstruating for the first time: G754.3, G761
1674. ye·ripáxvuh pers. adolescent girl: cf. 1673  
1. yē·nipaxvúhič pers. little (i.e., pre-adolescent) girl: G621.9
1675. yíkihi a.i. to be (seriously) sick: G622.1?

1. yíkihara pers. sick person: G754.3, G761  
 2. yikihe·krívra·m adv. hospital: "being-sick house"; G761, 493.4
1676. yí:p lowland fir, *Abies grandis* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 19): 638?  
 1. yí·páhu·f rotten roots of the lowland fir: -áhu·f is not identifiable.
1677. yí·š pers. woman's sister's child (of either sex)  
 The irreg. diminutives are yí·šan and yí·šúKač.  
 1. išáva·s pers. child of deceased sibling: G614.9  
 Re the irreg. stem-alternant, cf. 1679.
1678. yiθ another (one): perh. a shortening of 1679  
 The alternant iθ- occurs in prepound position.  
 1. iθ·ára·n stranger, person outside one's family: cf. 132  
 2. yíθuk adv. in another place, elsewhere: cf. G621.1
1679. yíθA adv. one, a certain; (in compounds) all, the whole  
 The alternant iθa- occurs in many combinations:  
 1. -ičámahič adv. one at a time, one each: G621.13, G621.9  
 2. iθá:n adv. once: G614.11  
 3. iθé·pta·nva a man's name: translated by an informant as "dying together"; G731, 1307, G761  
 4. yíča·č adv. together, as one: G621.9  
 1. yíča·čhá tp.t. to get together with (T65.2): G622.1  
 2. yíča·č + ikyá:fip to win (stakes): 557.1  
 5. yíče·č adv. single, alone: G621.9  
 6. yíče·pač adv. just one: G621.9; -ip- is not identifiable.  
 7. yíθa·han adv. the first month in the Karok year: G621.5
1680. yí·v adv. far  
 The alternant yívu- occurs in puyívu·hara "not far!"  
 1. yí·múSič adv. a little ways off: G621.9; -múš- is not identifiable.  
 2. yí·várih adv. away: G621.19  
 Used as a predicate in the meaning "go away!"
1681. yō·rukam ~ yō·ram adv. to one side; the part of an Indian house opposite the entrance: G621.11
1682. yō·tva interj. hurray!
1683. yu?- adv. downriver  
 The alternant yuh- occurs in most compounds, and the alternant yu- in most derivatives.  
 1. yuh·árA ~ -?árah pers. Indian from downriver, i.e., either Yurok or Tolowa, but esp. Tolowa: "downriver person," 127  
 1. yuh·arári·-k adv. Crescent City, in Tolowa territory: "Tolowa-place"; G614.7, G621.1  
 2. yuhásku·p surf-fish: "downriver trout," 160  
 3. yúhih Yurok language: 380  
 4. yuhtí·mič adv. a place name, part of Katjimin rancheria: "little downriver-edge"; 1377, G621.9  
 5. yú·kam ~ yū·m adv. (a short distance) downriver: G621.21(1)  
 6. yúRuk· adv. (a considerable distance) downriver: G621.21(2)  
 1. yunuktí·mič adv. a place name, part of Ishi Pishi rancheria: "little downriver edge"; 1377, G621.9  
 2. yúRukam adv. on a height downriver: G621.21(4)  
 The dimin. is yu·núKamíč.  
 3. yurúku·f Bluff Creek: "downriver creek," 1464

4. yurúkva·rara pers. Yurok Indian: contracted from yúruk vaʔára·ra "downriver its-person"; G420, 132
5. yúruk ʔiθyáruk across the ocean: "downriver across-stream," 784.1
7. yū·sah adv. a place name, perh. near Orleans: G621.21(5)
8. yuʔtimʔi:n Ike's Falls, a rapids at ʔame·kyá·ra·m rancheria: "downriver-edge falls"; 1377, 624
9. yuʔtimpe·piθváram adv. Brizard's store in Orleáns: "downriver-edge store"; 1377, 1108.1
10. yū·θ adv. across- and down-river: G621.21(3)  
The dimin. is yū·čič.
1684. yúfiš' salt
1685. yúfiv nose
1. yufívku·nay ~ -ku·nič 'currant,' straggly gooseberry, *Ribes divaricatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 106): "little crooked-nose"; 918, G621.9; -ay is not identifiable.
  2. yufivmatnakvána·č vinegar weed, *Trichostema lanceolatum* (Schenck and Gifford, no. 200): "little nose-burning-through"; 970, G753.32, G751, G761, G621.9
  3. yufívra·t nasal mucus: -ra·t is not identifiable.
1686. yúfma·n split-open salmon head
1687. yuh p.i. to spit
1. yú·hva p.i. to vomit: G751
1688. yúhip adv. a place name (Map, no. 65): perh. "downriver-tree"; 1683, 638
1689. yuhírim flint knife used to cut salmon
1690. yuhʔi·tíhirak 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. yuhnámθu·f Ukonom Creek: 1464
1692. yuhsahrim- of unknown meaning, occurring in:
1. yuhsahnímʔanamahač adv. a place name, near Clear Creek: 129.1
  2. yuhsahrimka·m adv. a place name, near Clear Creek: 846
1693. yukúkuh shoe(s)
1. yukukuhinhíripa shoelace: 630.1, G761
  2. yukukuhvíkapuh snowshoe(s): "woven shoe(s)"; 1545, G763
1694. yuma- pertaining to the dead, occurring in the following:
1. yumáʔarA dead person: 127  
The prepound form is yuma:ra-.
  1. yuma·ráʔa·mA hookbill salmon, dog salmon: "dead-man salmon," 86
  2. yuma·rá:psu:n king snake, *Ophibolus boyli* (M): "dead-man snake," 116
  3. yuma·rapikváhvahve·nač valley quail, *Lophortyx* sp. (M): "dead-man quail," 132.2
  4. yuma·rári·-k adv. the land of the dead, 'Hell': "dead-man place"; G614.7, G621.1
  5. yuma·re·kritápkira by-name for the five-finger fern: "dead-man five-finger-fern," 490
  6. yuma·ré·mpa·h the Milky Way: "dead-man road," 585
  2. yumáʔaramah child of the dead (a word used as a curse): 129
1695. yunā·mič adv. a little bit (T4.167): G621.9

1696. yú·nhí a.i. to be lopsided, to be out of position: G622.1?
1697. yunyú·nhí p.i. to be crazy, insane: cf. 1696
1698. yú·p adv. eye
1. yupastáran tear: cf. 145; -táran is not identifiable.
  2. yupátrih eyelash: -átrih is not identifiable.
    1. yupatrih?ávahkam eyebrow: "eyelash-above," 203.1
  3. yú·phi p.i. to open one's eyes: G622.1
  4. yupíkna·xara adj. crosse-eyed: 465, G764
  5. yúpin forehead: -in is not identifiable.
  6. yupípíh eyebrow: "eye-bone," 655
  7. yupipθárisriha marten, *Mustela caurina* (M): "putting an eye back down"; G731, 1426, G753.3, G761. The preconjunctural form is yupipθáriš.
  8. yúpipux a woman's name: "eyeless," G621.7
  9. yupsírihara adj. blind: "having shiny eyes"; 1235, G621.2
  10. yupsítanač ~ -ič baby: "little mousey-eye"; 1239, G621.2, G621.9
    1. yupsitanačpíriš a plant, *Mirabilis greenii*; also identified as *Silene campanulata* (Schenck and Gifford, no's. 84 and 88): "baby-plant," 1148
  11. yupθúkirara panther, mountain lion: "having green eyes"; 1469, G621.2
  12. yupxâ·t mucus from eyes: "eye-rottenness," 1608
1699. yúras ocean: cf. 1683, 145
1. yurasčíši·h horse: "ocean-dog," 305
  2. yuraskan?áčvi·v seagull: "ocean-bird"; G621.1, 15
  3. yurásti·m adv. seashore, beach: "ocean-edge," 1377
1700. yu·s pus
1701. yu·v foreshaft of an arrow
1702. yú·x dirt, sand
1. yúxna·ím 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. yuxtúy?i·vne·nač 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·yruk adv. a place name, part of Katimin rancheria
1706. yuxθáran abalone shell
1. yuxθaranpíriš water lily: "abalone-shell plant," 1148



ENGLISH-KAROK

A

- abalone yuxθáran 1706  
 abandon, to ?í'tšuru 758,  
     ipšá·mkiri 1200.1  
 above ?a? 1, -?ávah- 203  
 absent a long time, to be  
     si'nmo 1234.3  
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 'ace' ?í·š 691  
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 acorn, black oak xánθi·p 1597  
 acorn, maul oak xánpu·t 1594  
 acorn, Oregon oak axva·m 245  
 acorn, tan oak xuntápan, 1631.1  
 acorn cup čúčan 312  
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 acorn meal (? )ikpura 477  
 acorn meal, coarse áfri·h 25  
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 acorn meats xúriš(a)  
 acorn mush or soup xu·n 1631  
 acorn water xúras 1631.4  
 acorns ?é·ko·ns 329  
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     784.1  
 across the ocean yúruk ?iθyáruk  
     1683.6.5  
 across- and down-river yū·θ  
     1683.10  
 across- and up-river kō·θ 835.15  
 Across-the-Water Widower  
     iθyarukpíhri·v 784.1.4  
 add (water, in leaching), to  
     ipta'ko· 669  
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     axpahe·kníkinač 226.1  
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     ?ē·v 346  
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     xánahič 1603.1, te·pšíta·ni 1370  
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 alder bark ?é·pa·x 336  
 alive ?ā·vahara 204  
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     ko·vúA 897..5  
 all gone, to be fí·phi  
 all right! čími 286, čímmi man  
     294.4  
 . . . all right minik 975  
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     hitíha·n 382  
 Allison's Lodge ?asaxxárahsa  
     ?uvē·hrivirak 146.14  
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- wait for, to ikrŭ·ntih 501  
 wake up (intr.), to ?itxā·rihva  
 760  
 walk, to ?áho· 41  
 walk, (du.-pl.) to ?írunna· 995.1  
 walk, to take a ifyu'ki·čva 415.1  
 walk on (a log or bridge), to  
 váta- 1532  
 walk with a cane, to ikti·na 515  
 wall, rock ?asappē·č 146.6  
 wall-board ōi·vrí'hvara 1459  
 wander, to ifyuku 415, vúravya  
 1513.15  
 want (food), to vištař 1556  
 war, to wage ?á·kramu 63  
 war dance, to do ōivtap 1461.  
 káh?ira + várak 835.4.1  
 warmish impú·kač 588.1  
 warm, (air) to be imkuh 579,  
 ikmáhač 459  
 warm, (objects) to be impuk 588  
 warming rock ōankō·ra 1421  
 wart níšit 1018  
 wash (any inan. object), to  
 piŋxah 780.1  
 wash (leached acorn dough), to  
 iŋxah 780  
 wash one's hands, to pakxú·yva  
 1047  
 wash oneself, to pá·tva 1087  
 wash rock sáh?asa 1192.2  
 washboard piŋxáhara 780.1.1  
 washbowl patváram 1087.1  
 washing machine piŋxáhara  
 780.1.1  
 wasp pišpišihxárA 1153.2  
 wastebasket  
 ikxurike·xyáramnihva 555.1.7  
 watch kusnáhkinína·sič 932.2,  
 kusnáh?anamahač 932.1  
 watch, to imú·stih 609.7  
 water ?á·s 145, ?išahA 689.1  
 water basket ?asipárax 156.4  
 'water dog' ōúfŋa·m 1467  
 water lily yuxŋaranpíríš 1706.1  
 water ouzel  
 ?asaxvaniš?ámva·nič 153.1  
 wave kirívraha 886  
 we nú· 1020  
 wear (on one's body), to ?asa  
 147  
 wear a belt, to síčakvutva 1224  
 wear a dress, to ipyáfus 1650.1  
 wear a necklace, to ?í·kiv 458  
 wear as a headband, to ?ú·hkiri  
 1481  
 wear as a plume, to pikvas 1132  
 wear diagonally across one's chest,  
 to takvara 1294  
 wear on one's head, to iŋxu·na  
 782  
 weasel ?á·n(a)xus 96  
 weave, to vik 1545  
 weave with three strands, to ?árař  
 135  
 weaving, to finish ipŋiŋ 672  
 wedge tasáxpih 1329  
 week, to be the . . .-th day of the  
 ipšupá·hpu 1256.1  
 weep, (sg.) to ixrara 808  
 weep, (du.-pl.) to ixáxana· 803  
 weigh (intr.), to má·ŋhi 972.2  
 Weitchpec ánsáfri·k 99  
 well, . . . ye! 1670, yé·he 1672  
 well, to get ?arári·hkanhi 133  
weikwew (a Yurok village)  
 patapríhakam 1081.1  
 west ?u·ŋ 1505, vákurihakam  
 1513.3.1  
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 wet, to be pasčip 1081, ?á·shi  
 145.4  
 whale ?ípara 645  
 what? fá·t 350, hŭ·t 392  
 wheel takniha 1285.1, takníhara  
 1285.2, takníhkira 185.3  
 when? hárivarih 377.1  
 where? hŋ·y 385  
 where to? hŋ·y 385, hú·ka 387  
 while, for a (?) nik 1014  
 whine, to ōí·hva 1442  
 whip one's hair with a stick, to  
 pa·ko· 49.1.2  
 whippoorwill ihe·rahá:mva·n  
 417.1.1  
 whiskers apmaráxvuh 112.7  
 whistle pasníkara 1076.1,  
 pasni·kē·ra 1076.2, ikfuyfŋ·ra  
 451.1.1  
 whistle, to ikfuy- 451  
 whistle, to blow a pasnik 1076  
 whistle between one's fingers, to  
 ikší·kva 504  
 white čánča·fkuniš 273.1, -ta·hko·  
 1273.2

- white deer pufičta·hko· 1174.3  
 'white grass' panyúrara 1054  
 white everlasting (a plant)  
 ?iθkamáhya·naram 767.1  
 white man apxantínihič 126.2,  
 mákay 964, simsimítá·ra  
 1230.5  
 who? ?akáray 52  
 whole, the yíθA 1679  
 why? hū·t kuθ 392.3  
 why, . . . man 966  
 wide tírih 1388  
 widely spaced, (of a basket) having  
 warp sticks xá·s 1606  
 widow (old) ké·čxav 866  
 widow (young) káyi·č 864  
 widower ?ahé·mši·para 29.1.1,  
 imyahé·mši·para 618.1.2,  
 píhri·v 1117  
 wife ihrθ·hA 425.1  
 wife of a man's dead brother  
 píhriθ·hapa 425.1.2.1  
 wiggle, to kē·na 869  
 wild oats ikrávapuh 481.1  
 wildcat ákvi·š 81  
 Wilder Gulch pihné·fθu·f  
 1116.6  
 will to, to vírivšav 1554  
 willow, Nuttall kufipnára 909.2  
 willow, red kufipfúrax 909.1  
 willow, sandbar pá·rak 1060  
 willow, velvet kúfip 909  
 Wilson Creek xavnamníhičθu·f  
 1614.1.2.1  
 win (a game), to pá·xkiv 1099.3  
 win (stakes), to kθ·khi 902,  
 ikyá·fip 557.1, yíča·č + ikyá·fip  
 1679.2  
 win from, to páxe·p 1099.1  
 wind ikré·myaha 482.1  
 window pimustihvá·nara 609.7.3  
 windpipe imyahá·θku·n 618.1  
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 Wingate Bar ?e·pákuníha 335.1  
 Wingate Creek ?e·pakúnθu·f  
 335.1.1  
 winnow, to θantap 1422  
 winter íšya·v 744  
 wintergreen áčpu·s 14  
 Wintun Indian (?) kasah?ára·ra  
 835.12  
 wipe, to taxuy- 1354  
 wire fence simsimítasa 1230.6  
 wish bad luck to, to furnyih 367  
 with (one person) xáka·n 1586  
 with (several persons) kó·van 897.4  
 with (= by means of) mú·k 982  
 withe, hazel ?áθi·θ 197  
 withhold from, to ?áhačaku 31  
 Wiyot Indian váyat 1538  
 wolf ikxá·vnamič 544, mahčíši·h  
 953.6  
 woman ?asiktáva·n 145.6  
 woman, young ?ifápi·t 401  
 womb axiče·krívra·m 223.3  
 wonder, I ?áTA 178  
 wood ?áhup 44  
 wood, burnt imšuf 594  
 wood, rotten ?ifuxā·h 413  
 wood ant asvutanámka·m 174.1  
 woodpecker, California kúrat 929,  
 xuntapan?ámva·n 1631.1.1  
 woodpecker, Western pileated  
 iktakatákaha 509  
 woodpecker spp. čamnúpanač  
 270.1, išví·tač 739.1.1  
 woodpecker head or 'scalp' fúrax  
 370  
 woodpecker-head sash apmárra  
 112.6, furaxtákvara 370.3  
 woodpile iyvθ·ra 831.1, iyvθ·rura·  
 831.2, táxumka·k 1352  
 Woodwardia fern tí·pti·p 1387  
 woodworm ?ahup?ámva·n 44.1  
 word ?ú·hyana 1482.1  
 world iθívθa·ne·n 766  
 world renewal ?ira 675.1, ?írahiva  
 675.3, pikyáviš 1136  
 work, to ikya·vi·čva 557.6  
 work cap, man's ?išravahá·pxa·n  
 689.4.2.1  
 work cap, woman's sarum?ápxa·n  
 1217.1  
 work contest, to have a vū·ksahí  
 1567  
 worm vákay 1518  
 worm sp. ?apáčih 103  
 would that . . . ! kíri 885  
 wrap one's hair with, to páθra·mu  
 1093  
 wrap up in, to iyxθ·rariš 834.1  
 wren ?asimčákčakve·nač 157.2.1  
 wrestle, to vū·nva 1569  
 wring, to ?áθip 194

wringer ?áθipara 194.1  
 write, to ikxúrik 555  
 wrong with one, to have something  
 ?i·na 627

## Y

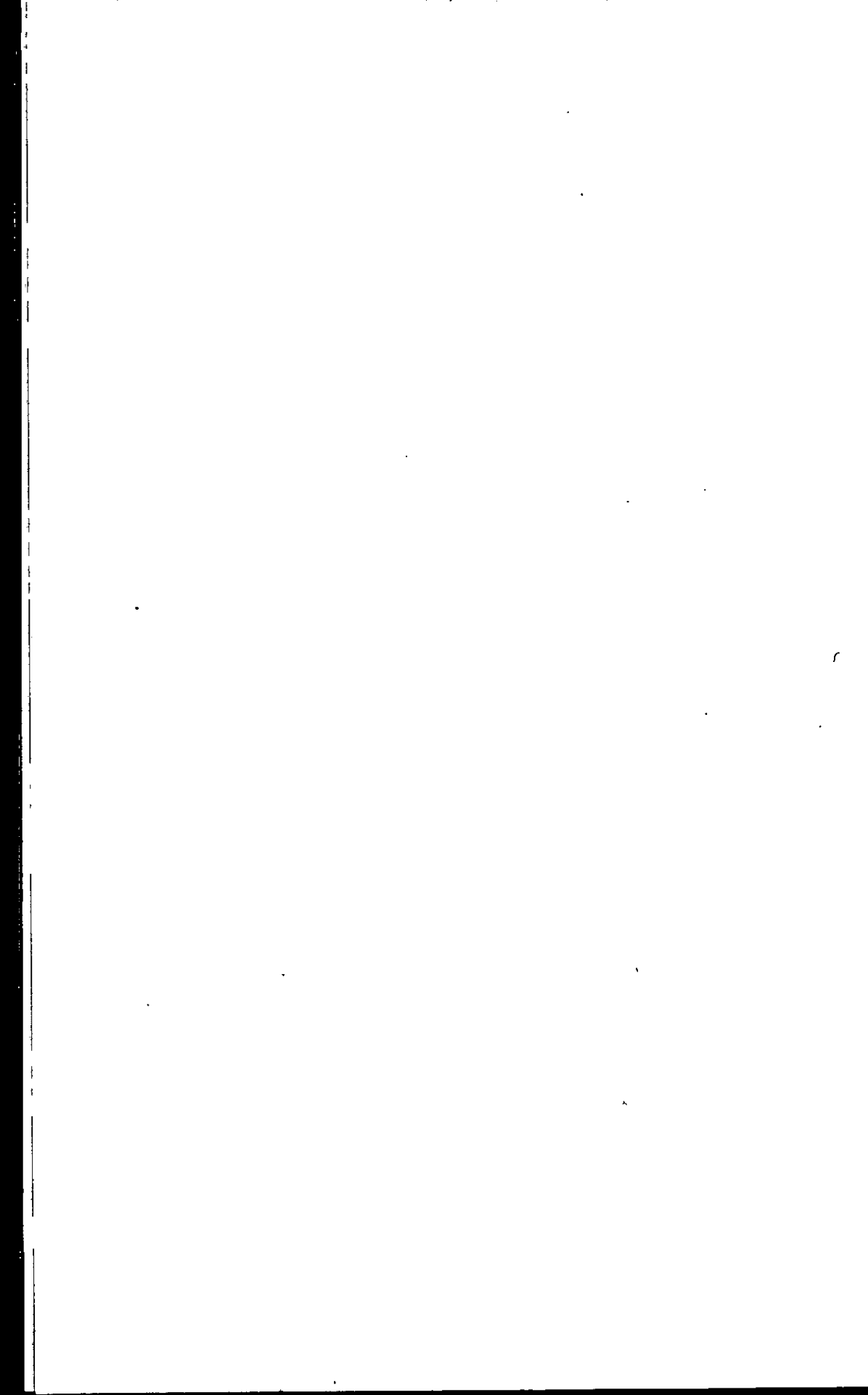
yard (in front of a house)  
 taxyê·m(a) 1360  
 yard (unit of measure)  
 kuyrakfíθih 952.2  
 yarrow (a plant)  
 ačnat?apvúyhi·č 12.1,  
 kučič?ápvu·y 906.1  
 yawn, to tamsá·kaθva 1300  
 year hárinay 378  
 yellow θúkin 1469, θúkinkuniš  
 1469.4, kasčí·pkuniš 856.1  
 yellowbird pihne·fčúnivač 116.1,  
 išnimvánakač 724.1

'yellowhammer' θú·k 1468  
 yellowjacket pišpiših 1153,  
 ?ararapišpiših 132.3  
 yerba buena čampínišič 1418.1  
 yerba santa piriš?axvâ:haras  
 yes hâ· 372  
 yesterday ipit 659  
 yet kári 850  
 yew xupári·š 1634  
 you (sg.) ?í·m 563  
 you (pl.) ?i·mkun 563.1  
 you see, . . . yakun 1657.1  
 young fir tree táhpú·s 1274  
 young man ?afišríhan 22  
 young person, esp. a man  
 yá·n?i·ftihan 1655  
 young woman ?ifápi·t 401  
 Yurok Indian yuh?árA 1683.1,  
 yurúkva·rara 1683.6.4  
 Yurok language yúhíh 1683.3  
 Yreka kahtíšra·m 835.6



## APPENDIX





## KAROK VILLAGE SITES

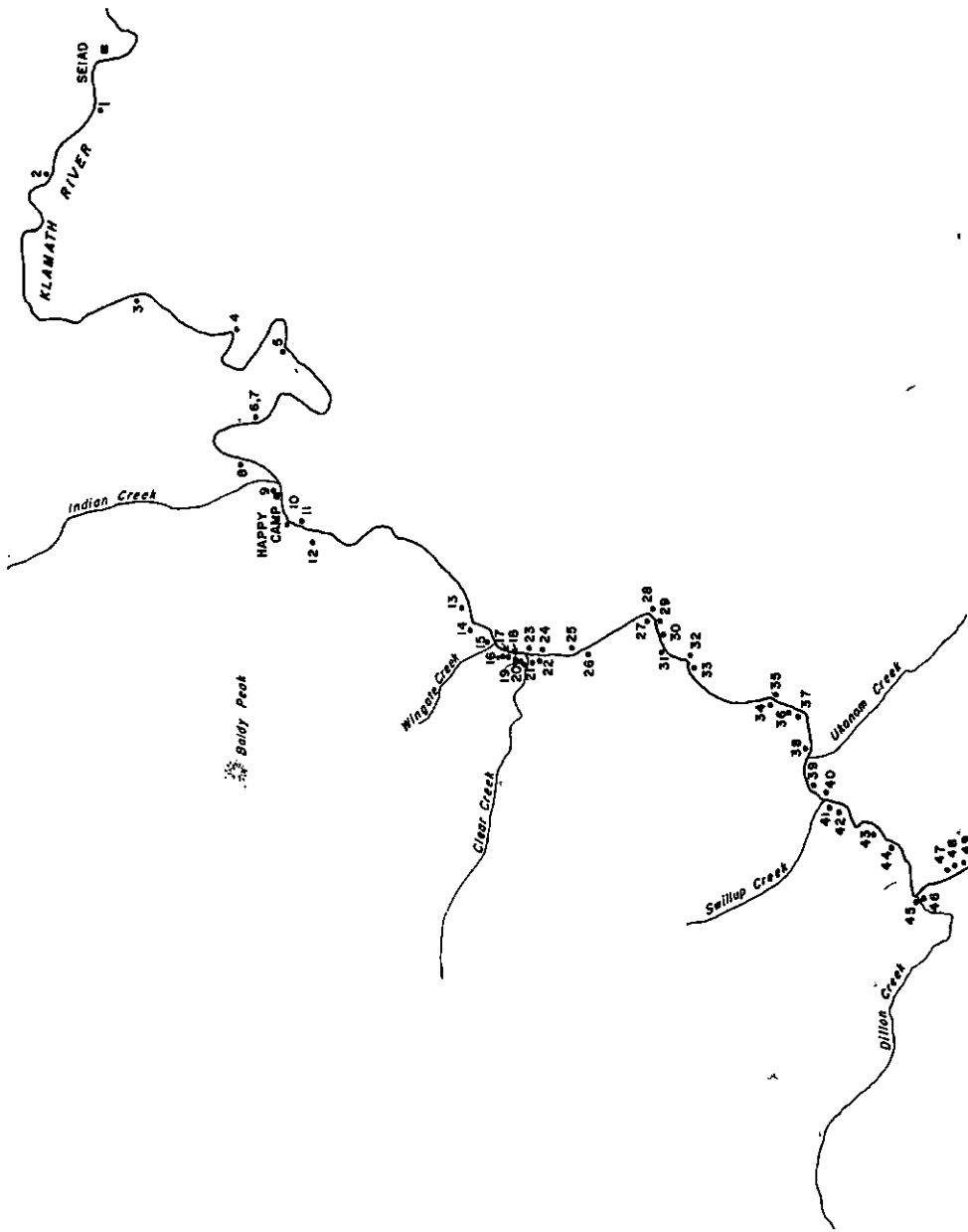
During the course of linguistic field work on Karok, an attempt was made to record phonemically as many as possible of the Karok village names given in Kroeber, 1936, and at the same time to pinpoint the villages on a large map of the area, published by the U. S. Forest Service. Mrs. Lottie Beck, a Karok 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.

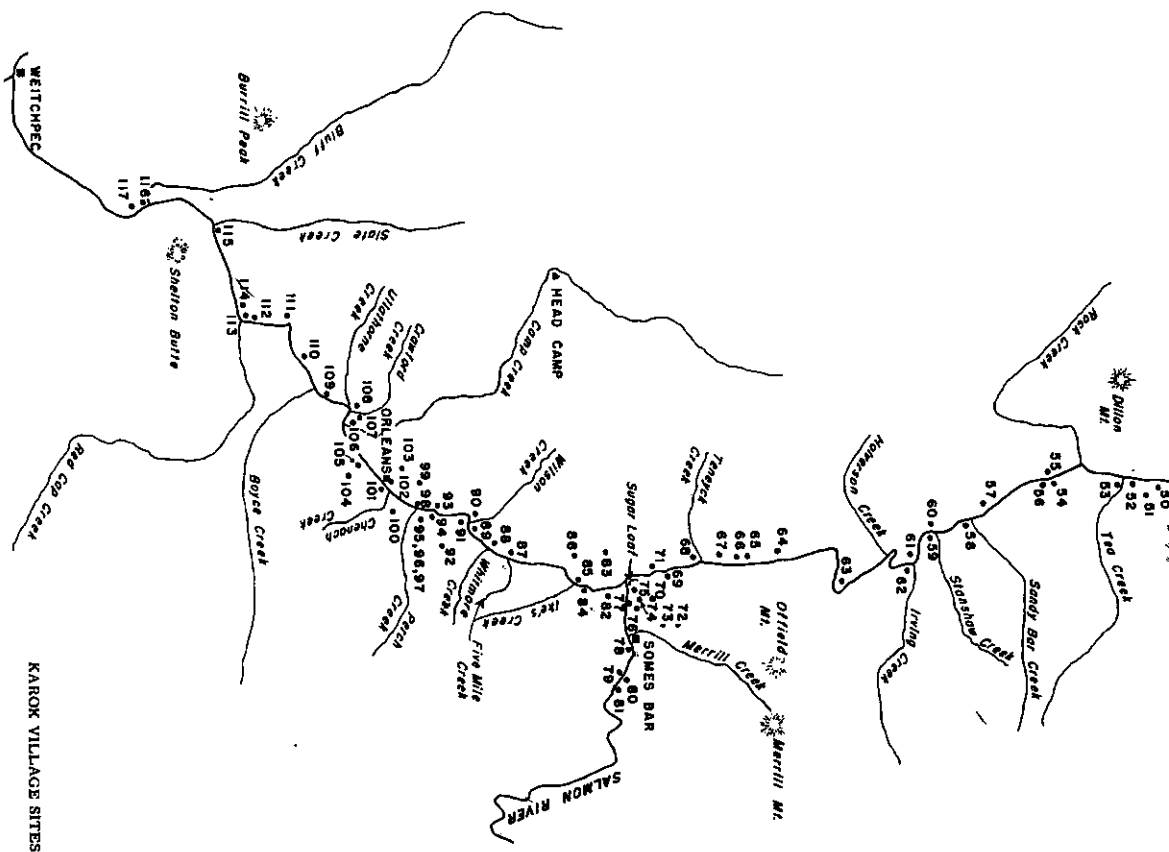
The data were obtained by reading Kroeber's village names to Mrs. Beck, who would then give me the correct pronunciation and help me locate the village on the map. The results are characterized by the following facts:

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.

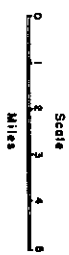
None of the above types of "problem" village-names is extremely numerous; on the whole, there are few serious discrepancies between Kroeber's information and mine. Where discrepancies exist, there seems to be no way of resolving them without further field work.

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.





KAROK VILLAGE SITES



KEY .

1. ?asapítvu·nup, 146.7
2. ?avax?íšra·m, 208.1
3. ?asake·m?íšša·nač, 146.2,  
or ?íšahake·m?íšra·m,  
689.1.2
4. ?asáxva·m, 145.3
5. nō·virukan, 1019
6. ?ikrí·čkan, 483
7. ?ukramsúruk, 1483.6
8. ?aθiθuftíšra·m, 197.2.1
9. ?aθiθúfvu·nupma, 197.2.3
10. yuxtúy?i·vne·nač, 1702.3.1
11. sivátiti·m, 1242
12. ?išipišihavní·nač, 698
13. kasahé·mvirak, 835.12.1
14. patθírihiš, 1084
15. ?e·pákkunih, 335.1
16. ?akramúram, 63.1
17. yúxtu·y, 1702.3
18. xanθifíkkir, 1595
19. ?apaka?íppan, 104.1.1
20. tačiprívra·m, 1266
21. táyukunač, 1364
22. ?inna·m, 675.2, or  
kah?inna·m, 835.3
23. pípta·s, 1147
24. ?axrahassáviš, 229..1
25. ?axaríviš, 218
26. kí·nik, 881
27. tínxu·mnipa·, 1385
28. tasáxxa·k, 1328
29. xumváro·v, 1630
30. ?útke·, 1504
31. pikváhač, 1132.1.1
32. ?asivtíšra·m, 158.1
33. xupariš?íšra·m, 1634.1
34. ?ús?i·v, 1500.3
35. surukúnvu·nup, 1260
36. ?ixtarana?íppan, 811
37. ?axa·ssúruk, 220.1.2
38. ?išvírip, 737
39. yuhna·m, 1691
40. ?úruhas, 1498
41. pikvé·nač, 1133
42. ?išvíriptih, 738
43. purípri·k, 1177.2.1
44. kasaxánni·k, 855
45. samvaro·ka?kúkam, 1220.1.2
46. xu·mnípa·k, 1646.1
47. sarum?ihvu·nvirak, 1217.2
48. ?iní·nač, 621.2.1
49. ?ačípčiči·nkirak, 10.1
50. pasirú?u·vre·, 1073
- \*51. tihkáro·m, 1373.1
52. tí·h, 1373
53. tíhyurukam, 1373.3
54. ?axváhič, 243
55. ?áyi·θ or ?ayíθri·m, 259
56. ?ipu·nváram, 674.1
57. ?ukramkírík, 1483.5
58. ?í·npi·t, 624.1
59. ?aftáram, 27
60. ?íšra·mhírak, 689.3.3
61. ?íramníhirak, 679
62. xavrámni·k, 1614.1
63. kó·č?i·v, 898
64. ?akvatí·v, 79
65. yúhip, 1688
66. ?iynu·htákač, 825.1
67. samsírihirak, 1203.1
68. ?ássipak, 156.1
69. ?ivrattírih, 795
70. ka?tim?í·n, 835.13
71. ?íššipiš or ?íššipišrihak, 697.1
72. ?asape·č?íppan, 146.6.1
73. xavíšti·m, 1613.2
74. ?ačví·vhirak, 15.2
75. sak?íripirak, 1196.4
- \*76. ?imθatyáram, 606.2
- \*77. tíša·nhírak, 1390.1
78. yuh?i·tíhirak, 1690
79. ?išvínnipič, 737.1
80. ?itrō·vutihirak, 747.6
81. vunxarak, 1574
82. sihtírih, 1225.2
- \*83. máhθa·m, 953.15
84. ?asánna·mkarak, 146.4
85. ?ame·kyá·ra·m, 86.2
- \*86. ?ukram?iθríkkirak, 1483.3
- \*87. kah?í·vre·n, 835.5

- \*88. kú-yiv, 951  
 89. xavnámnihič, 1614.1.2  
 \*90. xavnámnihičoufyú-θ,  
 1614.1.2.1.1  
 \*91. puriθ?ípxuv, 1177.3.1  
 \*92. ?ištákkak, 728.1  
 \*93. ?asavúrik, 146.13  
 \*94. ?axa-vúrik, 220.1.3  
 95. taxasufkára, 1347  
 96. sárukhinva, 1192.10.2  
 97. ?axyamsuripšúruk, 252.1  
 98. kasánni-k or kasánnukič,  
 854  
 \*99. káro-kam, 835.10  
 \*100. ?iθariptirihma-m, 763.1.2  
 101. činač?iššá-p, 297.3  
 102. panámni-k, 1051  
 \*103. či-vniššukač, 307.1.1  
 104. káttiphirak, 863  
 105. ?ukram?íppan, 1483.2  
 106. tišánni-k, 1390.2  
 107. kusrípiš?amáyav, 934.1  
 \*108. ?afčú-fič, 18  
 109. tū-yvuk, 1412  
 110. sahvúrum 1194  
 111. vu-nváarak, 1575.1  
 112. ?ikčúnna-m, 444.1  
 113. ?ahčah?íppanač, 38  
 114. vúppam, 1573  
 115. ?išrámma-n, 689.3.4  
 116. ?iní-nač, 621.2.1  
 117. ?išpú-tač, 717

## Explanatory Notes

1. ?asapítvu-mup, 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. ?asake-m?išša-nač, W. Kroeber: E.

4. ?asáxva-m, E. Kroeber: W.

13. kasahé-mvirak, W. Kroeber: E.

15. ?e-pákkunih, W. Kroeber: E.

16. ?akramúram, below last. Kroeber: opposite last.

18. xanθifíkkir, W. Kroeber: E.

26. kí-nik, W, opposite and below ?axaríviš. Kroeber: E, opposite and below tínxu-mnípa.

28. tasáxxa-k, E. Kroeber: W.

30. ?útke-, E. Kroeber: W.

31. pikváhač, W. Kroeber: E.

34. ?ús?i-v, W. Kroeber: E. Sites 32, 33, and 34 are on the river, not "up Elk Creek," as Kroeber's informant said.

38. ?išvírip. Kroeber locates this "above Blue Nose bridge," but this bridge is many miles down the river.

40. ?úruhas, E. Kroeber: W.

65. yúhip, W. Kroeber: E.

72-74. ?asape-č?íppan, xavíšti-m, ?ačví-vhirak. These are listed by Kroeber as parts of ka?tim?í-n.

78-79. yuh?i-tíhirak, ?išvínipič. These are located by my informant on the south bank of the Salmon River; Kroeber, quoting Curtis, places them on the north bank.

80. ?itrθ-vutihirak, opposite Site 79. Kroeber's information from Curtis places it farther up the Salmon River than vunxáarak, Site 81.

81. vunxáarak, on the north bank of the Salmon River. Kroeber's information from Curtis places it on the south bank.

82. sihtírih, on the Klamath River, some distance below the mouth of the Salmon River. Kroeber places it on the Salmon, upstream from Site 75.

116. ?iní-nač, W. Kroeber, after Curtis: E.

117. ?išpú-tač, W. Kroeber, after Curtis: E.